

IV

THE MOREA, 1311–1364

By the two treaties of Viterbo (May 1267) Charles I of Anjou had obtained the legal basis for the predominance of his house in the affairs of the remaining Latin states in Greece. The death of William of Villehardouin in 1278 without a male heir had left Charles prince of Achaea. King of Sicily and claimant to the throne of Jerusalem, Charles was also king of Albania, and this mountainous land at the western end of the Via Egnatia, together with the flourishing principality of the Villehardouins, was the base for the great *Drang nach Osten* whose aim had been the recapture first of Constantinople and later of Jerusalem. The Sicilian Vespers had, however, ruined these plans and involved the Angevins in a long war with the Aragonese in Sicily.

To a considerable extent this and the succeeding chapter are based on published sources already cited in the opening note to chapter VII of volume II of this work, pp. 235–236. Of these sources, we cite here those that are indispensable for chapters IV and V, together with a number of works bearing directly or indirectly on the Morea and Latin Greece in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. We also cite certain periodical articles based on research in Mediterranean archives and presenting new evidence or interpretations. Most of the publications mentioned in this note appear in the extensive bibliography to chapter IX, “The Latins in Greece and the Aegean from the Fourth Crusade to the End of the Middle Ages,” by K. M. Setton, in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, IV-I (1966 ed.), 908–938.

For the connections of the principality of Achaea with the kingdom of Naples see the documents in Ch. Perrat and J. Longnon, eds., *Actes relatifs à la principauté de Morée 1289–1300* (Paris, 1967, Collection de documents inédits sur l’histoire de France, 8° ser., vol. 6); these charters were copied from the Angevin registers of Naples before their destruction in 1943. The *Chronicle of the Morea* is a most valuable source despite numerous errors of fact. The French version is cited in the edition of Longnon, *Livre de la conquête de la princée de l’Amorée: Chronique de Morée (1204–1305)* (Paris, 1911); the Greek version in that of J. Schmitt, *The Chronicle of Morea: To chronikon tou Moreōs* (London, 1904); and the Aragonese in that of A. Morel-Fatio, *Libro de los fechos et conquistas del principado de la Morea . . .* (Geneva, 1885). The Greek version has been translated by H. Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea* (New York and London, 1964; [Columbia University] Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, LXIX). On the question of the original chronicle and the relationship of the versions to one another see, besides Lurier’s introduction, especially D. Jacoby, “Quelques considérations sur les versions de la ‘Chronique de Morée,’” *Journal des savants*, July–September 1968, pp. 133–189, and the articles of G. Spadaro, “Studi introduttivi alla Cronaca di Morea,” *Siculorum gymnasium*, n.s., XII (1959), 125–152, XIII (1960), 133–176, and XIV (1961), 1–70; also cf. review by P. Topping in *Speculum*, XL (1965), 737–742, and A. Luttrell, “Greek Histories Translated

Charles II of Anjou had been willing that Isabel of Villehardouin, William's elder daughter, should rule Achaea as his vassal following her marriage in 1289 to her second husband, Florent of Hainault. But the restoration of the Morea to the Villehardouins was "by pure liberality and special grace," and on the pretext that she had not sought his permission to marry her third husband, Philip of Savoy,

and Compiled for Juan Fernández de Heredia . . .," *Speculum*, XXXV (1960), 406 and note 36.

The code of feudal Achaea was edited by G. Recoura, *Les Assises de Romanie* (Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, fasc. 258; Paris, 1930), English translation with commentary by Topping, *Feudal Institutions as Revealed in the Assizes of Romania, the Law Code of Frankish Greece* (Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of History, 3rd ser., vol. III; Philadelphia, 1949). For all questions concerning the Assizes and the feudal law of the Latin states see above all Jacoby, *La Féodalité en Grèce médiévale: Les "Assises de Romanie": Sources, application et diffusion* (Paris and The Hague, 1971; École pratique des hautes études, VI^e sect., Documents et recherches . . . , X). C. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873) contains chronicle sources and documents on the principality of Achaea; its genealogical tables badly need correction and revision. Of the many works of J. A. C. Buchon on Frankish Greece, the *Nouvelles recherches historiques sur la principauté française de Morée et ses hautes baronnies* (2 vols., Paris, 1843 [1845 in some copies]) has greatest value for the present chapters. The sources on the Acciajuoli in Greece are cited in Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens 1311–1388* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), pp. 66–68.

Valuable documents or summaries thereof relating to Achaea from 1311 to 1432, especially to its external relations, are to be found in the following editions: R. Predelli and P. Bosmin, *I Libri commemoriali della republica di Venezia: Regesti* (8 vols., Venice, 1876–1914); C. N. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge* (9 vols., Paris, 1880–1890); O. Raynaldus (Rinaldi), *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno 1198* (15 vols., Lucca, 1747–1756); N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV^e siècle* (6 vols., Paris and Bucharest, 1899–1916); A. Rubió i Lluch, *Diplomatari de l'Orient català (1301–1409)* (Barcelona, 1947); and in the monumental series, *Lettres des papes du XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1900 ff., 3rd ser. of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*). On this series, and on other editions of papal correspondence, see Setton in *Catalan Domination*, pp. 273–274, and *Cambridge Medieval History* IV-I (1966 ed.), 911.

Byzantine historians relevant to the present chapters are Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia byzantina*, ed. L. Schopen and I. Bekker (*CSHB*, 3 vols., Bonn, 1829–1855); John Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum libri IV*, ed. Schopen (*CSHB*, 3 vols., Bonn, 1828–1832); Laonicus Chalcocondylas, *Historiarum demonstrationes*, ed. E. Darkó (2 vols. in 3, Budapest, 1922–1927); Ducas, *Historia byzantina* (ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB*, Bonn, 1834; ed. V. Grecu as *Historia turcobyzantina (1341–1462)* [Scriptores byzantini, I; Bucharest, 1958]); and George Sphrantzes, *Memorii, 1401–1477*, ed. Grecu (Scriptores byzantini, V; Bucharest, 1966).

Among secondary works, that of Ch. Du Cange still must be consulted on the affairs of Achaea: *Histoire de l'empire de Constantinople sous les empereurs français* . . . (Paris, 1657; 2nd edition, ed. J. A. C. Buchon, 2 vols., Paris, 1826). The massive work of Hopf, "Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf unsere Zeit," in J. S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber, eds., *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, vols. LXXXV and LXXXVI (Leipzig, 1867–1868; repr. New York, 1960), has considerable value for the history of the principality, especially because of its numerous citations from the now-destroyed Angevin registers; Hopf's statements and references must, however, be closely checked whenever possible. Important later accounts are W. Miller, *The Latins in the*

Charles in 1304 declared Isabel and her third consort deposed. In reality Charles was acting to put his second son Philip, prince of Taranto, into actual possession of the Morea. Already in 1294 he had transferred to this son his rights as suzerain over the principality of Achaëa, the duchies of Athens and of the Archipelago, the kingdom of Albania, and the province of Vlachia (Thessaly). Philip's marriage

Levant: A History of Frankish Greece (1204–1566) (London, 1908; 2nd ed., in Greek, by Sp. P. Lampros, 2 vols., Athens, 1909–1910), and J. Longnon, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1949). A. Bon, *La Morée franque: Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205–1430)* (Paris, 1968) is especially valuable for topography and the monuments.

For Catalan-Achaean relations see Setton, *Catalan Domination, passim*, and R. J. Loenertz, O. P., "Athènes et Néopatras: Regestes et notices pour servir à l'histoire des duchés catalans (1311–1394)," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXV (1955), 100–212, 428–431. On Latin Patras consult E. Gerland, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Erzbistums Patras* (Leipzig, 1903). For Byzantine-Achaean contacts see D. A. Zakythinis, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, vol. I, *Histoire politique* (Paris, 1932), and vol. II, *Vie et institutions* (Athens, 1953); also Loenertz, "Pour l'histoire du Péloponèse au XIV^e siècle (1382–1404)," *Études byzantines* (later *Revue des études byzantines*), I (1943), 152–196. On the Knights Hospitaller of Rhodes and Achaëa, and on the manner in which the Navarrese entered the principality, see Loenertz, "Hospitaliers et Navarrais en Grèce 1376–1383: Regestes et documents," *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XXII (1956), 319–360. Further on the Hospitallers and the defense of Greece, see Luttrell, "Intrigues, Schism, and Violence among the Hospitallers of Rhodes: 1377–1384," *Speculum*, XLI (1966), 30–48, and his articles cited therein, and in chapter VIII, below. In addition see his "Aldobrando Baroncelli in Greece: 1378–1382," *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XXXVI (1970), 273–300. Two articles by R. Cessi deal with the claim of Amadeo of Savoy, lord of Pinerolo, to Achaëa and with the relation of the dispute over Argos thereto: "Amedeo di Acaia e la rivendicazione dei domini sabaudi in Oriente," *Nuovo archivio veneto*, XXXVII (1919), 5–64, and "Venezia e l'acquisto di Nauplia ed Argo," *ibid.*, XXX (1915), 147–173 (reprinted in Cessi, *Politica ed economia di Venezia nel trecento: Saggi* [Rome, 1952], 249–273). See also Luttrell, "The Latins of Argos and Nauplia: 1311–1394," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XXXIV (n.s., XXI; 1966), 34–55.

The following are important works which touch on the affairs of the principality as part of much larger subjects: R. Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi tempi* (2 vols., Florence, 1922–1930); G. M. Monti, *Nuovi studi angioini* (Trani, 1937); and É. G. Léonard, *La Jeunesse de Jeanne I^{re}, reine de Naples, comtesse de Provence* (2 vols., Monaco and Paris, 1932), continued by *Le Règne de Louis de Tarente* (1936). A fourth volume intended to complete Léonard's masterly dissertation has not been published; for a condensation of it, as well as of the preceding volumes, see his *Les Angevins de Naples* (Paris, 1954).

For the trade of the Morea there are notices in W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge* (trans. Furcy Raynaud, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1885–1886, repr. 1923, 1936, 1967), and F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au moyen-âge: Le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XII^e-XV^e siècles)* (Paris, 1959, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 193). Pertinent archival sources are inventoried in *idem*, *Règistes des délibérations du sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie* (3 vols., Paris and The Hague, 1958–1961; École pratique des hautes études, VI^e sect., Documents et recherches . . . , I–II, IV), and B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant au moyen âge* (Paris and The Hague, 1961; in the same series, no. V). On the society and rural economy of Achaëa see the materials in *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIV^e siècle*, ed. Longnon and Topping (Paris and The Hague, 1968; in the same series, no. IX), and the following studies: Topping, "Le Régime agraire dans le Péloponnèse latin au

to princess Tamar of Epirus in the same year had given him an important foothold in that state. The titular Latin empress of Constantinople, Catherine of Courtenay, may have had higher rank than Philip in the heraldic lists, but he was a kind of viceroy who had large authority, direct or indirect, over the Greek lands not held by emperor Andronicus II. It is not surprising that the Morea was not the major preoccupation of a ruler who bore the exalted title “despot of Romania and lord of the kingdom of Albania,” and who also had important responsibilities in the Angevin kingdom of Naples.¹

In 1306 Philip made his only visit to the Morea in order to direct a campaign against the Byzantines of Mistra. Some notable successes on this occasion were followed by an unsuccessful invasion of the despotate of Epirus. During the period when he was formally prince of Achaëa (1307–1313), Philip, like his father and grandfather when they held the same title, resorted to the unsatisfactory practice of ruling the Morea through bailies. In 1309, with the aim of anticipating any claims to Achaëa that Mahaut of Hainault, the daughter of Isabel of Villehardouin by Florent, might make, he arranged her betrothal to his eldest son, Charles of Taranto. Two years later Isabel, still considering the principality of her fathers as hers to dispose of, willed her rights to Mahaut. Isabel’s act was in itself ineffectual, but her hopes were to be partially realized in 1313.

On March 15, 1311, on a Boeotian battlefield near the Cephissus river and the classical Chaeronea, the soldiers of fortune of the Catalan Grand Company, with the aid of Turkish allies, completely destroyed one of the finest armies ever assembled in Frankish Greece, captained by the headstrong Walter I [V] of Brienne, last French duke of Athens. The victors organized a state which was to last about three-quarters of a century, drawing its dukes from the Catalan houses of Sicily and Aragon. The Catalans’ triumph spread fear throughout Frankish Greece. The Briennist fiefs of Argos and Nauplia were threatened. The allies of Brienne, notably Achaëa, the

XIV^e siècle,” *L’Hellénisme contemporain*, 2nd ser., X (1956), 255–295; Longnon, “La Vie rurale dans la Grèce franque,” *Journal des savants*, 1965, pp. 343–357; and Jacoby, “Les Archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque,” *Travaux et mémoires*, II (Paris, 1967, Centre de recherche d’histoire et civilisation byzantines), 421–481.

1. The real basis of Philip of Taranto’s power and influence was the large and privileged territory of Tarentum, which Charles II had reconstituted for his favorite son from the Norman-Swabian principality of that name. It consisted of many lands scattered through Lucania and Apulia; in it Philip had the rarely given authority of the *merum et mixtum imperium*. See Léonard, *La Jeunesse de Jeanne I^{re}*, pp. 126 ff. On events in the Morea before 1311, including the Angevin diplomatic maneuvers, see volume II of this work, chapter VII.

duchy of the Archipelago, and the marquisate of Bodonitsa, having lost their finest chivalry in the disaster at the Boeotian Cephissus, feared that the offensive power of the Catalans would soon be turned against them. Venice was anxious for the security of the important colony of her citizens at Negroponte, in Euboea. The Neapolitan Angevins were naturally disturbed by the extension of Aragonese power into central Greece.

King Philip IV of France and pope Clement V were forced to reconsider plans for the recovery of Constantinople and the revival of the crusade against the Moslems, now that they were deprived of the French duchy of Athens as a base. All the popes of the Avignonese line were to show themselves consistently hostile to the Catalans of Greece, whose suzerains they regarded as usurpers of the papal fief of Sicily, bestowed by an earlier French pope, Urban IV, upon Charles I of Anjou. Writing from Vienne on May 2, 1312, Clement V warned the Catalans to abandon "certain conventions and pacts" that they had entered into "with the enemies of the Catholic faith" against prince Philip of Taranto, under pain of excommunication. On the same day Clement wrote to Fulk of Villaret, the master of the Hospitallers, to urge him to coöperate with the prince of Taranto in a campaign to expel the Catalans from Athens. But the knights, only recently established in Rhodes and striving to extend their sway over the neighboring islands and coast, declined to enter into hostilities with the redoubtable Company.²

Philip the Fair's interest in the crusade, however insincere, and his position as head of the house of France, made it natural for him to intervene in the troubled affairs of the Frankish states of Greece. Thus in 1312 and 1313 he promoted several political marriages which directly or indirectly affected these states and which it was hoped would enable them to present a solid front to the Catalan danger and finally to achieve the reconquest of Constantinople. The recapture of the great city was a precondition of Philip's own assumption of the cross.

With the death of Catherine of Courtenay early in 1308, her rights to the Latin empire had passed to her daughter Catherine, whose father was Philip's brother, Charles of Valois—"fils de roi, frère de roi, père de roi, et jamais roi." Charles favored a match between his daughter and Philip of Taranto in order to combine the prince of Taranto's real authority in the Balkan peninsula with Catherine's claims to the empire. The Angevin prince was free to

2. On Fulk and the Hospitallers, see below, pp. 283-288. On the Catalan duchies, see below, chapter VI.

consider such a match, since in 1309 he had repudiated his wife Thamar on grounds of flagrant adultery, and after a short imprisonment the beautiful Epirote princess had died. But an obstacle to the match remained. Catherine of Valois had been affianced from infancy to duke Hugh V of Burgundy, whose mother, Agnes of France, widow of duke Robert II, could not be persuaded to break the engagement. So the child-empress—Catherine was not yet twelve—was made to declare before witnesses on September 30, 1312, that she did not consider the duke strong enough to “undertake the needs of the empire;” she preferred as her husband the “prince of Taranto, son of the king of Sicily.” Thereupon Hugh V, whose health was always precarious, gave up his fiancée, and five matches were arranged involving the houses of France, Naples, and Burgundy, and the princely line of the Villehardouins.

Philip of Taranto married Catherine of Valois at Fontainebleau on July 29, 1313. He had to agree that his child-bride’s maternal lands of Courtenay and other estates in France, Flanders, and Hainault be ceded to Joan of Burgundy, Hugh V’s sister, and that Mahaut of Hainault receive the principality of Achaea. Hugh V was betrothed to another Joan, daughter of Philip IV’s second son, the later king Philip V the Tall. Joan of Burgundy became the wife of Catherine’s half-brother Philip of Valois, the future king Philip VI of France, bringing to him as her marriage portion the Courtenay lands. Hugh V’s brother Louis married Mahaut, also (probably) on July 29, 1313, thereby obtaining the principality of Achaea. Hugh gave up to Louis the rights to the Latin kingdom of Thessalonica which the last Latin emperor, Baldwin II, had given in 1266 to the grandfather of Hugh and Louis, Hugh IV. Louis in return renounced all claims to his parents’ inheritance, for the benefit of Hugh V. Finally, Philip of Taranto’s eldest son, Charles, who for four years had been the fiancé of Mahaut, was, in compensation, betrothed to Joan of Valois, the younger sister of the Latin empress.

The return of the Morea to the Villehardouin family was hedged about with restrictions typical of Angevin calculations. If Louis died childless before Mahaut, she would have only the usufruct of the land during her lifetime. She had to promise not to marry in the future without the prince of Taranto’s consent, even as her mother had promised his father not to marry against the latter’s wishes. After her death the principality would in any case revert to the house of Burgundy, whether or not she left children by another marriage. Philip the Fair’s distrust of the prince of Taranto is revealed in the obligation he imposed on the latter to obtain the approval of the

pope for the cession of the Morea to Mahaut and for certain related arrangements; if Philip of Taranto violated these conventions, he was liable to excommunication and interdict. Likewise, he was required to obtain the approval of his brother Robert the Wise, king of Naples.

The new prince of Achaea did homage to Philip of Taranto for his principality and pledged his assistance in the campaign to recover Constantinople. In an act issued at St. Denis in October 1314, Philip the Fair defined the military service that Louis would owe his suzerain if he succeeded in conquering Thessalonica. Louis's proxies had arrived in the Morea a year earlier to take possession of the peninsula in his name and Mahaut's.

Nothing seemed less likely, following the elaborate arrangements of 1313–1314 under the high auspices of the king of France, than that when Louis of Burgundy should arrive in the Morea he would have to engage in a violent conflict with a determined claimant to the coveted title prince of Achaea. Unfortunately for him, his preparations for his departure from Burgundy and Hugh V's premature death (May 1315) delayed his arrival in Greece until early in 1316. The summer before, the infante Ferdinand of Majorca had landed at Glarentsa to claim the principality.

The adventurous infante, younger son of king James I of Majorca, had already figured in the turbulent politics of the Near East when he served briefly as commander of the Catalan Grand Company in 1307 in the name of his cousin, king Frederick II of the island of Sicily (Trinacria). His claim to the Morea derived from his marriage to Isabel of Sabran, the daughter of Margaret of Villehardouin, who was the younger daughter of prince William, and was known as the lady of Akova from the Arcadian barony of that name.³ Soon after the death of her sister Isabel in 1311, Margaret had visited the court of king Robert of Naples to ask for the cession of the Morea, or at least one-fifth of the principality. Her claim, however, was a tenuous one, if only because Charles II had in 1289 granted the principality expressly to Isabel of Villehardouin and the heirs of her body; thus Mahaut of Hainault had rights in it superior to those of her aunt. In reality the Angevin suzerains of the Morea disposed of the land in any way that suited their tortuous diplomacy, and as we have noted they saw fit in 1313 to cede it to Mahaut and Louis of Burgundy in

3. Isabel was Margaret's only child, her daughter by her first husband, Isnard of Sabran (d. 1297), an important feudatory of the Angevin kingdom of Naples.

order to facilitate the match between Philip of Taranto and Catherine of Valois.

Having been rebuffed by the Angevins, the lady of Akova had looked about for a champion to sustain her pretensions. None was likelier and more willing than the landless infante of Majorca, who accepted Margaret's offer of her daughter's hand; nor was his cousin of Sicily averse to the prospect of the further extension of Aragonese-Catalan influence in Greece at the expense of the Angevins. The marriage was solemnized at Messina in February 1314. Isabel of Sabran brought to her husband virtually all her mother's possessions and claims, including the barony of Akova and whatever rights she may have had to the principality of Achaea, or at least to one-fifth thereof. When Margaret returned to the Morea, however, in the early summer of 1314, the leading feudatories severely reproached her for giving her daughter to a Catalan, and they proceeded to confiscate the barony of Akova and her personal property. Nicholas le Maure, acting as bailie for Louis of Burgundy, arrested Margaret and imprisoned her in the great castle of Clermont in Elis. There, in February or March 1315, the unlucky princess died. Her jailers had naturally refused the repeated demands of the infante Ferdinand for the restitution of his mother-in-law's possessions.

To help his cousin in the impending contest with the Angevins and Burgundians for the possession of the Morea, Frederick of Sicily lent Ferdinand military assistance and accepted his homage for the principality. He also wrote to the Venetian doge, John Soranzo, on April 28, 1315, to commend his cousin to the republic and to inform its government that Ferdinand had sworn not to harm its possessions in Greece. Early in 1315 Ferdinand was finally ready to invade the Morea with a force of five hundred mounted troops and a much larger number of infantry. But he was further delayed by the birth on April 5 of a son (who was to become the ill-fated last king of Majorca, James II), and by the death of his young wife thirty-two days later, both events occurring at Catania. Isabel willed the fief of Akova and her claim to Achaea to her son, and in the event of his death to her husband. Ferdinand entrusted the baby to the famous chronicler, Raymond Muntaner, to take to his mother, the queen-dowager Esclarmonde, at Perpignan. Then he set sail for the Morea from Messina about the end of June.

Landing near Glarentsa, Ferdinand was at first checked by the defending forces but rallied to rout them. The burgesses of the port city promptly recognized him as their legitimate lord. On August 17, 1315, the infante wrote to king James II of Aragon to report his

capture of the city and his subjugation of "almost the entire principality." More accurately, he was master of the rich plain of Elis, including Andravida, the capital of the Frankish state. He called himself "lord of the Morea" and minted coins bearing his name at Glarentsa, the rarest of all the *tournois* of Achaea.

It was only at the end of November 1315 that the legitimate prince of Achaea, Louis of Burgundy, arrived at Venice on his way to the Morea. The new situation caused by the infante's usurpation no doubt prompted him to seek more Venetian aid, at least in ships and money, than his earlier plans had called for.⁴ According to the Aragonese version of the *Chronicle of the Morea* princess Mahaut preceded her husband to Achaea, going directly from Marseilles to Port-de-Jonc in southwestern Messenia—the "Port of the Rushes" of the Franks, better known under the celebrated name of Navarino. She led a thousand Burgundians, while Louis was to follow with the main force. The bailie, Nicholas le Maure, came to receive her when he learnt of her arrival, and the count of Cephalonia, the baron of Chalandritsa, and others who had taken Ferdinand's side declared themselves her lieges and were pardoned.⁵ The infante reacted to these defections by capturing and garrisoning Chalandritsa and demanding that archbishop Renier surrender Patras. On being refused he at once attacked the city, but failed to capture it. Soon afterward, on February 22, 1316, according to the Aragonese Chronicle, there occurred at a place called Picotin, near Palaeopolis (the ancient Elis),⁶ a hard battle between the princess's troops and the Catalans. The latter were victorious, and among the fallen was Gilbert Sanudo, brother of duke William I of the Archipelago.⁷

4. Hopf cites a document of the *Misti del Senato* (State Archives of Venice) which evidently refers to this Venetian assistance ("Geschichte Griechenlands . . .," in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXV [1867], 400; repr. 1960, I, 334).

5. The chief exception was the baron of Nivelet, who remained loyal to Ferdinand. According to the lengthy document composed sometime during the reign of James II of Majorca (1324–1349) and usually referred to as the *Declaratio summaria*, concerning the Achaean venture of the infante Ferdinand, his early success gained for him the allegiance of the count of Cephalonia, the bishop of Olena, and even Le Maure, the bailie. The text of this recital, surviving only in Du Cange's copy, is in Du Cange, *Histoire de l'empire de Constantinople*, ed. Buchon, II, 383–392, and in Buchon, *Recherches historiques sur la principauté française de Morée* (2 vols., Paris, 1845), I, 442–450.

6. S. N. Dragoumis connected Picotin with the village of Boukhioti in the vicinity of Palaeopolis (*Chronikon Moreos toponymika, topographika, historika* [Athens, 1921], pp. 260–261); this identification is not convincing. Picotin is mentioned again in a document of 1361 (cf. below, p. 138).

7. There is a reference to the infante's victory in a letter from Nicholas Doria to James II of Aragon dated at Genoa, May 5, 1316 (published in Rubió i Lluch, *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, pp. 99–100). This confirmation of an event otherwise mentioned only in the Aragonese Chronicle helps to establish the general authenticity of that chronicle's account

It would appear that Louis and his forces arrived in Greek waters about the time of the battle of Picotin. Messengers sent by the princess urged them to hasten their landing in the Morea in order to prevent the infante from exploiting his victory. On hearing of Louis's arrival, the infante dispatched a galley to Majorca to obtain reinforcements from his brother, king Sancho, and sent a second galley to Attica to request aid from the Catalan Company. Louis failed in an attempt on the castle of Chalandritsa, despite the use of a machine against the tower. He then visited Patras to rest his troops and while there was advised by the archbishop to seek aid from the Byzantine governor at Mistra, Cantacuzenus. From Chalandritsa the infante started on his way to Glarentsa, where he could safely have waited for the reinforcements; these would have given him equality with the Burgundian forces. This strategy was urged upon him by his counselors, especially since the arrival of a numerous force of Greeks from Mistra had given Louis a large superiority in numbers. Louis was now pressing the enemy and anxious to engage him before he reached Glarentsa. But the proud infante told his counselors "that he was the son of a king and that it did not please God that he should flee the camp to avoid a battle."

The fateful clash took place at Manolada in the Elian plain northeast of Glarentsa, on July 5, 1316. In the first collision the infante broke through the line led by count John (Orsini) of Cephalonia, for whom he had a great hatred, not only because he had violated the oath of fealty so recently sworn by him but also because he had mistreated the infante's late mother-in-law, the lady of Akova.⁸ But Louis, leading the second line of the Burgundians, broke the Catalan attack, and in the ensuing melee the infante was thrown to the ground and killed, despite Louis's orders that his person be unharmed. The baron of Nivelet was taken prisoner and executed as a traitor. The infante's forces had gone into battle already demoralized, and many of them virtually deserted by fleeing to Glarentsa while the fighting was in progress.⁹ The Catalan triumph of 1311 in Boeotia was not to be repeated on the field of Manolada

of the infante Ferdinand's Achaean venture, though it confuses personal names and errs in chronology.

8. Margaret of Villehardouin's second husband was Richard Orsini, count of Cephalonia (d. 1304), the father of John. On Richard's death Margaret had to bring suit in the high court of Achaea against her stepson to try to recover Richard's personal property.

9. Hopf, citing the *Misti del Senato*, points out that Ferdinand's relations with Venice were bad at the very time his military position had been weakened; his men had harassed Venetian merchantmen. Rubió i Lluch searched in vain in the Venetian archives for the document cited by Hopf, as he reports in "Contribució a la biografia de l'infant Ferran de Mallorca," *Estudis universitaris catalans*, VII (Barcelona, 1913), 314, note 2.

in 1316. The counterpart to Walter of Brienne was not another French prince but the infante of Majorca, whose severed head was displayed before the gates of Glarentsa on the morrow of his defeat.

The troops sent by the Catalans of Athens had arrived at Vostitsa on the Gulf of Corinth on the eve of the battle at Manolada, but they turned back when they learnt of Ferdinand's death. A few days after the battle ten ships bearing reinforcements from Majorca arrived in Glarentsa harbor. Part of the Aragonese-Catalan forces in the city insisted on holding the place against Louis, in the name of the infante's son James as prince of the Morea. Though they had the support of the new arrivals from Majorca, the faction which favored surrender to Louis prevailed, thanks in part to a liberal flow of Burgundian money into their leaders' purses.

Only four weeks after Manolada, and before the negotiations for the surrender of Glarentsa had been completed, the young prince of Achaea—he was scarcely eighteen—was dead. The French version of the *Chronicle of the Morea* states that he was stricken by a fatal malady, but a pro-Catalan source¹⁰ charges that he was poisoned by the sinister count John of Cephalonia. Louis's death made Mahaut, at twenty-two, a widow for the second time.¹¹ She was hardly more than the nominal ruler of a principality that was on the point of dissolution, caused by invasion and civil conflict. She had to face powerful external enemies in the Catalans of Athens and the Byzantines of Mistra, the latter having aided Louis only in order to prevent an Aragonese-Catalan conquest of the Morea.

Mahaut's weakness was revealed when she proved unable to answer an appeal for military aid from the barons of Euboea, one of her vassal states, who were fighting an invasion by the Catalan Company. She could only urge doge John Soranzo, in a letter from Andravida dated March 28, 1317, to send aid to expel the invaders from the island and to order the Venetian bailie there (Michael Morosini) not to make any peace or accord with them. The republic responded by sending twenty galleys to Negroponte under a new bailie, Francis Dandolo. This action was decisive. The Catalans, although now led by their great vicar-general Don Alfonso Fadrique, withdrew from the island, except for Carystus at its southern end.¹² But if the Catalans yielded to Venetian pressure in respect to Eu-

10. The so-called *Declaratio summaria* (see note 5, above).

11. She had been left a child-widow by the death of duke Guy II de la Roche of Athens in 1308.

12. On Don Alfonso's career see below, chapter VI.

boea, they felt under no obligation to desist from aggression upon Mahaut's principality, which they were still raiding in 1321.

The Angevins were not minded to allow Mahaut to enjoy, without interference, the life usufruct of Achaea that she was entitled to by the will of Louis of Burgundy. To bring her land under direct Angevin rule, and at the same time to provide his youngest brother, John of Gravina, with a fine appanage, king Robert of "Sicily" (Naples) made it known to Mahaut through certain Moreote vassals that he wished her to marry John. When the princess refused, the king dispatched two high officials to Achaea to bring her to Naples. Here Robert arbitrarily assumed her consent to the marriage, and in July 1317 instructed Philip of Taranto, the immediate suzerain of Achaea, not to dispose of the principality in any manner, since it was now the possession of their brother. Mahaut adamantly refused to submit to a third political marriage. Robert then enlisted the aid of pope John XXII in the effort to persuade the princess to accept the proffered match. According to the Aragonese Chronicle, confirmed by Giovanni Villani, Robert acted to prevent Mahaut from escaping to France from Rome, to which she had been allowed to make a pilgrimage. In the end the princess's resistance was worn down so far that she consented under oath to a complicated convention with Robert which amounted to a surrender of her claims if she did not marry his brother (June 13, 1318). The king promptly communicated this agreement to the feudatories of Achaea and sent Frederick Trogisio as his bailie in the land.

Even now the Angevins' hold on the unfortunate principality was not uncontested. Duke Odo IV of Burgundy, who had succeeded Hugh V, asserted his own claim to it as the heir of their brother Louis. He enjoyed the diplomatic backing of his father-in-law, king Philip V of France, whose daughter Joan was married to Odo after the death of her first fiancé, Hugh V. It is not likely that Odo ever contemplated an expedition to the distant Morea; after twice protesting the Angevins' "usurpation" to the pope he agreed to sell his rights to Achaea and the kingdom of Thessalonica to Louis, count of Clermont and later first duke of Bourbon, for 40,000 livres (April 14, 1320). However, at this juncture Philip of Taranto intervened effectively to satisfy the Burgundian claims by negotiating their purchase for the same sum of 40,000 livres, from which 5,500 livres was deducted as repayment of a loan made by Baldwin II, the last Latin emperor of Constantinople, to Odo's grandfather, Hugh IV.

This settlement was undoubtedly facilitated by the marriage in May 1321 of prince Philip of Taranto's eldest surviving son by

Thamar, the despot Philip, to Beatrice, the daughter of count Louis I of Clermont. Furthermore, the prince of Taranto quickly found the money for the transaction at the French court. In 1313 Philip the Fair had promised to provide the Angevin with five hundred men, to be maintained for a year, to help him recapture Constantinople, whose repossession was regarded as a step "preparatory and very necessary" for the *passage d'outremer* to recover the Holy Land. Philip V had renewed this agreement in 1319. But it was further agreed in September 1321 that Philip of Taranto should receive this aid in the form of 70,000 livres, that he should buy the Burgundian claims¹³ with part of the sum, and that the principality should be the perpetual and proper inheritance of Catherine of Valois and of her direct heirs by prince Philip.

The last act in the contest of wills between the king of Naples and the refractory Villehardouin princess took place in Avignon, where Robert resided from 1319 to 1324 and to which Mahaut was now brought (1321). Pope John XXII once more ignored her plea to invalidate the match with John of Gravina, bidding her to accept him as her husband. Mahaut now revealed that this was impossible, inasmuch as she had been secretly married for some time to a Burgundian knight, Hugh of Lapalisse, who had very probably gone to the Morea among the troops accompanying prince Louis. The admission played into Robert's hands. Both Mahaut and her mother had on various occasions pledged themselves not to remarry without the consent of their Angevin overlords. These pledges were invoked against Mahaut and she was declared forfeit of the principality. Robert now arranged its assignment to John of Gravina, who paid their brother Philip, according to the Aragonese Chronicle, either 40,000 florins or 10,000 gold ounces, a sum which we may take to be the equivalent of that paid by the prince of Taranto to Odo of Burgundy. In an impressive ceremony at the papal court on January 5, 1322, the king invested Philip with the much-disputed principality, and the latter in turn accepted the homage of his younger brother for it.¹⁴

Any possibility that Mahaut might return to the Morea and upset

13. To the Morea only, the kingdom of Thessalonica being excluded.

14. We have the act of January 5, 1322, in a summary by C. Minieri-Riccio of the original in the Angevin archives: "Genealogia di Carlo II d' Angiò," *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, VII (1882), 481-484.

G. M. Monti, in his *Nuovi studi angioini*, pp. 606-629, published for the first time eight documents issued by Robert of Anjou at Avignon in 1321 concerning the claims to Achaëa by his brothers and Odo of Burgundy and the plans to reconquer the parts of the Morea which were then in Byzantine hands. John of Gravina was to head the campaign by virtue of a special appointment as vicar-general.

the Angevins' rule was forestalled by her confinement in the Castel dell' Uovo at Naples. Robert even manufactured grounds for her arrest and imprisonment by charging her with being the accomplice of Hugh of Lapalisse in a plot against his life. This conspiracy, which is reported by Villani, supposedly occurred in September of 1322. In 1324 Mahaut's cousin, count William I of Hainault, in vain offered Robert the sum of 100,000 livres for her release. The next year king Charles IV of France made an unsuccessful plea on her behalf. In 1328 the unfortunate woman was removed to Aversa, where she died three years later, only thirty-eight years old. The last princess of the Villehardouins remains a pathetic figure in the often violent annals of Frankish Greece, where women of high birth had repeatedly to play important roles in public life and were pawns in the diplomacy of political marriages.

In the meantime the feebleness of the Frankish Morea was being revealed by the alarming inroads of the Greeks of Mistra. The imperial governor was the capable Andronicus Palaeologus Asen, nephew of emperor Andronicus II and son of the deposed Bulgarian tsar, John III Asen. His term of service from 1316 to about 1323 contrasts with the shorter terms of the Angevin bailies.¹⁵ With the aid of liberal bribes to their castellans, Asen in his campaign of 1320 captured the vital Arcadian strongholds of Akova or Matagrifon, Karytaina, and St. George. At St. George the Franks, led by the bailie Trogisio, were badly ambushed (September 9, 1320); the commander of the Teutonic Knights lost his life, and bishop James of Olena and the grand constable of Achaea, Bartholomew II Ghisi, were among the many captured. Asen promptly freed the bishop (whose ear had been cut off in the battle) on account of his rank; but he took Ghisi to Constantinople, where this leading magnate, who was a triarch of Euboea and lord of the islands of Tenos and Myconos, remained a prisoner for several years until freed through Venetian intervention. Asen's campaign is narrated in the Aragonese Chronicle, and is supplemented by the report in the French version that he captured Polyphengos,¹⁶ a castle southwest of Corinth, also during 1320. It was Asen's victories that led many Frankish settlers of Arcadia, perhaps mainly the offspring of Greek mothers, to go over to the Orthodox church. In a letter dated October 1, 1322, John XXII called on Nicholas, the titular Latin patriarch of Constan-

15. On the dates of Asen's service see Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, II, 64.

16. A site corresponding to the ancient Phlious. One of the Byzantine "short chronicles" mentions the capture of Akova, Karytaina, and St. George under the year 6829 (1320–1321 A.D.). See Loenertz, "Pour l'histoire du Péloponèse," p. 154.

tinople, and on William Frangipani, archbishop of Patras, to take energetic measures against the converts.

In the desperate situation resulting from the Byzantine successes, the barons looked around for a better protector than the Neapolitan Angevins and decided to offer the principality to the Venetians. We learn from two documents of June 1321, addressed to the doge, John Soranzo, that John of Les Vaux, grand preceptor of the Hospital in "Romania," along with James, bishop of Olena, and the chancellor Benjamin, sent Peter Gradenigo, prior of the Franciscans in "Romania," as their agent to Venice, and instructed him to acquaint the signoria with the plight of the barons, "whose lord seems not to care much for them," and to offer the principality together with the suzerainty of Negroponte to the republic. The Venetians hesitated to accept the thorny gift. They had shown themselves favorable to Mahaut's claims, interceding with the pope on at least one occasion. This attitude was no doubt one cause for hesitation, since Mahaut was not yet, in the summer of 1321, entirely the prisoner of her Angevin hosts.

The reduced principality, whose direct rule John of Gravina assumed in 1322, consisted mainly of the western and northern coastal areas of the Morea. Excluding the Venetian way-stations of Modon and Coron in the extreme southwest, the Frankish holdings covered—to use the ancient names—the provinces of Messenia, Triphylia, Elis, Achaea, Corinthia, and the Argolid; of the last, Argos and Nauplia were enfeoffed to the Enghien family by the Briennist claimants to the duchy of Athens. With the loss to the Byzantines of Akova and Karytaina in 1320, there now remained only three of the original twelve baronies—Patras, Vostitsa, and Chalandritsa, neighboring fiefs in the district of ancient Achaea.

Patras, with its fine port and fertile lands, was a flourishing ecclesiastical barony virtually independent of the prince of Achaea and acknowledging the pope as suzerain. In this period it was ably governed by the Franciscan William Frangipani (1317–1337), of a distinguished Roman family. He and his successors were generally on good terms with Venice, whose government allowed the archbishops to travel on its merchantmen and to import arms. In return the republic was secure in its commercial interests in Patras and enjoyed considerable political influence, thanks in part to the Venetian origin of some of the cathedral canons. But the archbishops consistently obeyed the papal direction in matters of church discipline and the propagation of the faith, and Frangipani followed John XXII's bidding in supporting Walter II [VI] of Brienne's unsuccessful campaign

in 1331–1332 to reconquer his father's duchy from the Catalans. Venice had compacted with the excommunicated masters of that state and had rejected the papal entreaties to assist Walter. Frangipani twice pronounced excommunication against the Catalans, in 1332 and 1335.

The port of Vostitsa (the classical Aegium) was the seat of another flourishing barony. Nicholas of Martoni, the notary and pilgrim from Carinola, near Capua, who touched there in 1395, describes it as an opulent town with a fine castle. The founding family of Charpigny became extinct in the male line early in the fourteenth century. According to the Aragonese *Chronicle of the Morea* (par. 624), Louis of Burgundy married the heiress to one of his knights, Dreux of Charny, to whom he also gave the fief of the traitorous lord of Nivelet. The baronies of Vostitsa and Nivelet were later bought from Guillemette of Charny by Marie of Bourbon, who in turn sold them to Nerio Acciajuoli in 1363.¹⁷

The fief of Chalandritsa was in the hinterland of Patras, and the founding family of Dramelay or Trémolay of Burgundy was represented in the early fourteenth century by Nicholas of Trémolay.¹⁸ We have seen how he finally remained loyal to Louis of Burgundy in the struggle with the infante Ferdinand; but he died just before the battle fought at Picotin, whereupon Louis granted the barony to two of his knights, the brothers Othon and Aimon of Rans. When Othon died Aimon decided to return to his homeland, even as a more famous Burgundian, Othon de la Roche, conqueror and "Great

17. Cf. page 140, below. On the basis of the Angevin registers Hopf stated that the Nivelet widow Beatrice was married to the Catalan Bertrand Galcelm or Ganselmi in 1316 (in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXV [1867], 406B and note 80; repr. 1960, I, 340B). It may be doubted, however, if Galcelm thereby entered the feudal aristocracy of the Morea as lord of Nivelet. In any case it is certain that Vostitsa and Nivelet were united in the hands of the Charny family in the middle decades of the fourteenth century (see Du Cange, ed. Buchon, II, 224, 264–265).

18. The genealogy of the family of Trémolay or Dramelay, like that of many of the Frankish lines of the Morea, is imperfectly known. Hopf shows "Audebert de la Trémouille" as the founder of the family and the father of Guy, who was baillie in 1282–1285 (*Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 472). It is unlikely that the two men's lives spanned a century. A "G." of Dramelay is mentioned in a document in 1209; he is very probably the grandfather of the baillie. (Cf. Jean Longnon, "Problèmes de l'histoire de la principauté de Morée," in *Journal des savants*, 1946, p. 86, and *L'Empire latin*, p. 261; he also corrects Trémouille to Dramelay or Trémolay.) As for Nicholas of Trémolay, Longnon calls him simply the last baron of this family (*ibid.*, p. 315), but it is not clear whether he belonged in the main line. Hopf gives him no place in it. There is an interesting mention of Nicholas and his treason in the eighteenth chapter of the *Assizes of Romania*; it would appear from it that Aimon of Rans was related to him. Since Nicholas is here mentioned only as lord of a fief (Mitopoli) within the barony of Chalandritsa, it is possible that he did not hold the entire barony, as the Aragonese Chronicle assumes.

Lord" of Athens, had done a century before. Aimon sold Chalandritsa to Martin Zaccaria of the famous Genoese family, a nephew (or less probably a grandson) of the great Benedict Zaccaria. Martin was already co-seigneur (1314–1329) of the rich island of Chios, which Benedict had seized from the faltering Byzantine state in 1304. He so distinguished himself against the Turkish pirates, providing valuable protection to Latin merchants and travelers, that Philip of Taranto and the empress Catherine bestowed upon him the exalted but empty title "king and despot of Asia Minor" (1325). His "kingdom" was made up of a number of large and small islands off the Asian coast, including, besides Chios, Samos and Cos. Martin promised his Angevin suzerains five hundred horsemen to help in the recovery of Constantinople. He became a still more important feudatory of the Morea in 1327 through his marriage to Jacqueline de la Roche, who was the heiress of Damala in the Argolid (near the ancient Troezen), a fief belonging to a cadet branch of the Athenian La Roche family. Damala was in a sense a fourth original barony, inasmuch as the La Roches had held the "conquest" fief of Veligosti jointly with Damala and continued to use the title lord of Veligosti after this place had fallen to the Greeks.¹⁹

It is a striking fact that in a little over a century since the establishment of the principality all the original French baronial families had become extinct in the male lines. Not enough of the followers of Louis of Burgundy remained in the Morea to reinforce the French element to any significant degree. Italian families like the Venetian Ghisi, the Genoese Zaccarias, and shortly the Florentine Acciajuoli entered the aristocracy of the fourteenth-century Morea through marriage to the French heiresses or by receiving grants of lands. We must not overlook, however, the two important French families of Aulnay and Le Maure (or Le Noir), who settled in the Morea in the second half of the thirteenth century. When the conquest of Constantinople by the Greeks in 1261 made him a refugee, Vilain I of Aulnay received from his cousin William of Villehardouin the important fief of Arcadia (the ancient Cyparissia) in Messenia, which was formed out of the princely domain. In John of Gravina's time the fief was in the possession of Erard II of Aulnay and his sister Agnes. With Agnes's marriage to Stephen le Maure, the son of Louis of Burgundy's bailie, half of Messenian Arcadia was merged with the barony of St.-Sauveur, the fief of the Le Maure family, likewise in Messenia. Another Messenian barony, Molines,

19. The town of Veligosti was the medieval successor to Megalopolis, though not located on the same site.

was at this time held by Janni Misito, the castellan of Kalamata, whose name seems to show a Greek origin. At all periods in the history of the principality there were Greek landowners (the *archontes* of the *Chronicle of the Morea*) who accepted Frankish rule and retained their estates. The Misito family remained important fiefholders in the Kalamata area until nearly the end of the fourteenth century.

Outside of the Morea the authority of the prince of Achaea as suzerain was now much diminished as compared with his position before the Catalan triumph of 1311. The powerful Company of course ignored the Angevins' claims to suzerainty over Athens. The marquis of Bodonitsa and the triarchs of Euboea continued technically to be the vassals of the principality throughout the fourteenth century, but we have seen how Mahaut was unable to help the Euboeans against the Catalans, while the Angevins themselves were hardly more effective as suzerains. Like Patras, Bodonitsa and Negroponte came to depend more and more on the great merchant republic of the Adriatic, although Venice might choose to refer a dispute involving the two to the Angevin bailie of Achaea, as happened in the time of the marquis Nicholas I Giorgio or Zorzi (1335-1345). Bodonitsa, however, did not escape Catalan pressure altogether: in the reign of Nicholas I's son Francis I (1358-1382), and probably as early as the father's rule, the small border state had to pay an annual tribute of four equipped horses to Catalan Athens.

Over the duchy of the Archipelago the princes of Achaea enjoyed a real suzerainty, as is proved by the substantial aid in men and arms which the island dukes provided to Mahaut and Louis and again to John of Gravina. The aid to Mahaut led to savage reprisals by the Catalan Company against the population of Melos, an event recalling the brutal enslavement of the Melians by Athens during the Peloponnesian war. When Venice protested to the Company's suzerain, king Frederick II of Sicily, he replied with legal exactness that the republic's remonstrance was groundless because the island duchy was vassal only to the principality of Achaea.

The question of the suzerainty of Achaea over the strategically situated county of Cephalonia and Zante was at this time complicated by Angevin designs on the expiring despotate of Epirus. Count Nicholas Orsini (1317-1323), however, upset these plans in 1318 by murdering the despot Thomas, who was his uncle. He married Thomas's widow, Anna Palaeologina, and further to ingratiate himself with his subjects he adopted the Greeks' religion and made some use of their language. When king Robert of Naples and Philip of

Taranto ordered him to do homage in 1319, an act by which he would have admitted Angevin suzerainty over both his island domain and the despotate, he boldly defied them. His career was fittingly cut short by assassination at the hands of his own brother, John II. The new ruler also ignored Philip of Taranto's claims to the despotate and even threatened Corfu and the other holdings comprising the Angevin "despotate of Romania."

The troubled situation in Epirus helped to hasten the preparation of the important expedition of John of Gravina and Philip of Taranto to the Morea and Epirus—an expedition which might even, it was hoped, result in the recovery of Constantinople for the titular empress, Catherine of Valois, and her Neapolitan consort. In May 1323 the two brothers formally pledged mutual assistance; each agreed to contribute two hundred knights, five hundred foot, and ten ships to a joint armament. The Angevin registers revealed that throughout the years 1322 to 1324 large amounts of money and provisions flowed from Naples to the Morea. A new bailie, Perronet de Villamastray, went out from Naples in November 1322, and he in turn was replaced by an able French knight, Nicholas of Joinville (1323–1325), a great-grandson of the biographer of St. Louis. The titular duke of Athens, Walter II [VI] of Brienne, was eager to ally himself with the Angevins in the hope of regaining his father's duchy, but financial difficulties in his Italian fiefs kept him at home. The efforts which king Robert of Naples himself made to persuade Venice to join the expedition failed; that most commercial of states was not on sufficiently bad terms with the Catalans and the Greeks to go to war to help a powerful Angevin prince replace the weak Andronicus II on the throne of the *basileis*.

The fine armament led by John of Gravina finally set sail from Brindisi in January of 1325. It stopped at Cephalonia and Zante and easily occupied those islands. The Orsini dynasty was declared deposed, but count John II was secure in his mainland domain, having shut himself up in the fortress of Arta. The invading force went on to land at the chief port of the Morea, Glarentsa. Here the assembled barons of the principality, on this rare occasion of a personal visit of a prince of the house of Anjou, did homage and swore fealty to John of Gravina. The duke of Naxos, Nicholas, was present with a contingent to assist his superior lord. The Aragonese Chronicle also mentions the presence of archbishop William Frangipani of Patras and of the Euboean lords Peter dalle Carceri and Bartholomew Ghisi, the latter only recently released from his captivity in Constantinople.



4. Frankish Greece



5. The Levant in 1300

The Greeks had securely garrisoned the castles on the frontier between the principality and the despotate of Mistra. The Frankish forces advanced to attack the Arcadian fortress of Karytaina, one of the strongest military points of the Morea. While they were concentrated there, the Byzantines made damaging raids on the Frankish lands. The defenders of the fortress held out successfully until the cold weather set in, forcing John of Gravina to return to Glarentsa for the winter. In the spring of 1326 he departed for Naples, never to return to his Greek domains. Although the warlike duke of Naxos, whom he left in command of his army, defeated the Byzantine forces in a hard battle fought below the castle of St. Omer in Elis, this was not a decisive setback to the Greeks.²⁰

The costly expedition of the prince of the Morea was an almost total failure; even the islands of Cephalonia and Zante soon returned to the rule of the Orsini house. For Achaea the most permanent result of the enterprise was the introduction into the ranks of its nobility of the famous Florentine commercial and banking family of the Acciajuoli, which was destined to play a leading role in the affairs of Latin Greece for more than a century. John of Gravina borrowed heavily from the Acciajuoli in order to prepare his expedition; while it lasted they sent great quantities of provisions to the Morea. They received payment in the form of two fiefs in Elis, Lichina and Mandria. Other Italians to whom Gravina was in debt were also given estates in the Morea. One of these was a Diego Tolomei of Siena, who received lands at Mandria and an estate called Speroni. Thus did the "Italianizing" of the Achaean landholding class make further progress, at the expense of the waning French element.

While John of Gravina filled various important posts in Italy in the service of king Robert, the Morea was governed by four bailies in the years 1325-1332; of these the most notable was the archbishop of Patras, William Frangipani, who was the first cleric appointed to the position (1329-1331). It was necessary to import grain from Apulia throughout these years to provision the fortresses of the principality. We hear of the bailies deciding minor feudal cases and of Frangipani mediating a dispute involving Stephen le Maure and the Venetians.

In August 1331 young Walter of Brienne left Brindisi with a large

20. Caggese, in his *Roberto d'Angiò*, devotes several pages to the military and diplomatic preparations for John of Gravina's campaign (II, 312-317); his account is based on the Angevin registers of Naples, destroyed in 1943. Once the expedition had arrived in Greece the enthusiasm for it quickly evaporated, for lack either of an organic plan of action or of the necessary means. Many Neapolitan sailors and crossbowmen, having no desire to risk their lives in distant parts, left the expedition before reaching their term of voluntary service, but having first collected their pay (*ibid.*, II, 317).

force in an attempt to regain his father's duchy of Athens from the Catalans. His successes at Leucas and in Epirus are described elsewhere, as is his inability to bring the Catalans to battle. He spent some months in Patras, which seems to have served as his headquarters, before returning to Brindisi in the late summer of 1332, never to set foot in Greece again. His son by Beatrice of Taranto died an infant in Greece in 1332, so he was succeeded as titular duke of Athens by two sons of his sister Isabel, Sohier (1356–1364) and Louis (1381–1387/90) of Enghien; their brother Guy inherited Walter's lordship of Argos and Nauplia.²¹

During Walter of Brienne's absence in Greece Philip I of Taranto died in Naples on December 26, 1331. He had tried ineffectually for over a generation to play a large role in the affairs of the Balkan peninsula. His sons by Thamar of Epirus having predeceased him, it was his eldest son by Catherine of Valois, Robert, who succeeded to his lands and titles, including the suzerainty over Achaea, under the tutelage of his mother. But John of Gravina refused to do homage for Achaea to a mere nephew and a female guardian, and it required king Robert's intervention as the superior suzerain to end the family dispute. By the compromise reached on December 17, 1332, John agreed to exchange the principality of Achaea for the duchy of Durazzo and the lordship of the "kingdom of Albania," plus a payment of 5,000 gold ounces to compensate him for the greater value Achaea represented as compared with the somewhat shadowy realm in Albania. The money was, not surprisingly, advanced to Catherine by the Acciajuoli. Pope John XXII confirmed the settlement in January 1333.

Robert of Taranto was technically prince of Achaea from 1333 to 1364, but the empress Catherine as his regent and guardian was in reality princess till her death in 1346. Catherine promptly sent a bailie to take possession of the principality on her behalf. But neither he nor his successor could impose his authority effectively upon the greater lords. The increasing independence of the archbishops of Patras has already been noticed. When the great William Frangipani died in 1337, Catherine's third bailie, Bertrand of Les Baux, a member of the highest Neapolitan nobility, occupied various lands of the archbishopric and laid siege to Patras, in an effort to bring the ecclesiastical state under the suzerainty of the empress. Pope Bene-

21. Guy's daughter Marie, lady of Argos and Nauplia (1377–1388), was to cede this fief to the Venetians in 1388. Sohier's son Walter (1364–1381) was a namesake of Isabel's husband, Walter of Enghien, count of Conversano. On Walter of Brienne see below, chapter VI.

dict XII had to remind Catherine that Patras was a fief of the holy see, and when Bertrand continued his attacks he directed the bishops of Coron and Olena to lay all Achaea under an interdict.

Catherine decided to go to Greece to deal with the situation in person. Hers was no hasty visit. Her sons Robert, Louis, and Philip accompanied her. She had three hundred men-at-arms, and she took provisions for the castles of the principality. Above all she had as her close adviser and factotum one of the most astute Italians of the Trecento in the person of Nicholas Acciajuoli (1310-1365). Nicholas began with great advantages as a member of the Acciajuoli house and son of a chamberlain and privy councillor of king Robert. But his own ability, driving ambition, capacity for intrigue, and personal charm mainly account for his extraordinary rise to the position of grand seneschal of the kingdom of Naples and arbiter of its destiny during much of the turbulent reign of Joanna I. Buchon exaggerated in ascribing to the twenty-two-year-old Nicholas the leading role in the negotiations over the Morea between Catherine and John of Gravina in 1332, but the young man impressed Catherine favorably and won her confidence and kept it until her death.²² She made him administrator of the affairs of her young sons and put him in charge of their education. In 1334 he replaced the company of the Acciajuoli as holder of the fiefs of Mandria and Lichina in Elis. From Diego Tolomei he acquired the fief of Speroni and his possessions at Mandria. In 1335 king Robert conferred knighthood on him and appointed him master of the household and guardian of prince Louis. Between 1336 and 1338 Catherine and her eldest son Robert granted Nicholas several more fiefs in the principality as a reward for his "immense and fruitful services." In further appreciation they reduced the customary service, notwithstanding, they admitted, that the lands and rights ought to carry greater feudal service to accord with their annual value, and that the customs of the principality prohibited diminution in the service and revenues of fiefs. Nicholas's suzerains went even further and gave him the right to exchange, sell, or mortgage his fiefs freely, provided that they did not fall into the hands of possessors unable to perform military service for them, like ecclesiastics.

It was, then, as a privileged liege feudatory of Achaea that Nicholas Acciajuoli joined his suzerains on November 15, 1338, at Brindisi to embark for Glarentsa; his entourage included twenty-five mounted

22. Following L. Tanfani (*Niccola Acciajuoli* [Florence, 1863], p. 24), É. G. Léonard, in his *Boccace et Naples* (Paris, 1944), pp. 16-17, rightly rejects the gossip, which is reflected in one of Boccaccio's *Bucolics* and reported by Giovanni Villani, that Nicholas was Catherine's lover.

men. On September 28 he had made a remarkable will, much of which was concerned with the building of a Carthusian monastery (Certosa) near Florence where he planned to have an imposing tomb with a statue of himself in knightly armor. "No vainglory and no vanity push me to this, but a zeal full of love of God and for the world." With these words the late bourgeois, who had been made a knight only three years earlier at the age of twenty-five, tried to disarm the criticism of his associates and friends. Once more the empress had set aside the feudal customs of Achaea to accommodate her protégé: by an act dated July 15, 1338, she approved the arrangement whereby the revenues of Nicholas's Moreote estates, in case he died leaving only minor heirs, would go to the building of his mausoleum until his children reached their majority. As it turned out, the Certosa of the Val d'Emma was completed within Nicholas's lifetime, having been built in part from the spoils of a Greece which was a profitable colonial area for the Italian merchants and financiers of the fourteenth century. Writing to his father on October 8, 1338, Nicholas expressed the hope that for every denier expended in Achaea he would receive ten; the actual return on his Peloponnesian investment was probably a profitable one though surely not as spectacular as that.

Once in the Morea Catherine asserted her authority in order to end her bailie's attempted subjection of Patras. It can scarcely be doubted that the close financial ties between the Acciajuoli house and the papacy were a factor determining Nicholas's advice to the empress to restrain Bertrand of Les Baux and acknowledge the archbishop's dependence on the papacy. Catherine also realized she must have the pope on her side to help her stop the incessant and damaging raids of the Turks on the coasts of the principality. She and Nicholas spent two and a half years in the Morea in a concerted effort, in which money was not spared, to exact obedience from feudatories and to restore the defenses of the principality against the Turks, Catalans, and Greeks. Nicholas at his own expense built a fortress in "the barony which is called the vale of Calamy" for the defense of northern Messenia against incursions from Mistra. Among grants which he received while in Greece were this barony and the castle of Piada in the Argolid, near Epidaurus. The king of Naples confirmed the old and the new concessions in an act of April 27, 1342, which lists all the estates and gives their annual value in gold ounces.²³ For his extensive possessions Nicholas is held to the

23. Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, II, 109–114. Robert is here acting, as on previous occasions, in his capacity of higher suzerain over Achaea: "ratione et potestate majoris domini quod nobis competere noscitur in principatu jam dicto" (*ibid.*, p. 112).

service of one knight and fourteen squires, "according to the usage and custom of the principality." But earlier custom had exacted much more than such light service: the host of barons, lieges, men of simple homage, and sergeants mentioned in the *Chronicle of the Morea* and the *Assizes of Romania* was now replaced by a smaller number of great lords—some of whom were often absentees like the Acciajuoli—and above all by hired troops. From the document just cited we also learn that in the decade 1332-1342 the Acciajuoli had advanced to John of Gravina and Catherine of Valois 40,000 gold ounces altogether for the purchase of the principality of Achaea and for its maintenance and defense, of which sum 3,000 ounces were still outstanding. To appreciate the size of these expenditures we may recall that John of Gravina had purchased the principality for 10,000 gold ounces from his brother Philip.

We should consider at this point, at least briefly, the question of a relationship between Catherine of Valois and the two fundamental sources for the history and institutions of the principality of Achaea, the *Chronicle of the Morea* and the *Assizes of Romania*. It has been argued that the lost prototype of the Chronicle was composed in Italian about 1325 and that the French version—which alludes to the empress as still living—was prepared for her at the end of her residence in Greece. It has been further suggested that Nicholas Acciajuoli interested himself in the production of the French *Chronicle of the Morea*.²⁴ However, a recent and thorough comparative analysis of the principal versions of the Chronicle has led to different findings which are much more persuasive than the above hypotheses. It is very likely that the original text of the Chronicle was composed in French about the beginning of the fourteenth century, and served as the basis for a shorter French version made about 1320-1324. In turn, this prose version was recopied with interpolations between 1341 and 1346. It was this copy that was rendered into Greek "political" verses for recital before an audience of Greek landholders of the principality. The author of the Greek version belonged to this milieu and perhaps even to the Roman church, for his invectives against the Byzantine and Epirote Greeks are more violent than those of the French version. Finally, it has been shown that the basic text incorporated in the Aragonese version of the *Chronicle of the Morea* was first composed in French in the Morea during 1377-1381 and

24. See Longnon, *L'Empire latin*, pp. 317, 325. Longnon also conjectures that Boccaccio may have been referring to the French Chronicle when he described Nicholas as writing "in French of the deeds of the knights of the Holy Expedition." However, Léonard has shown that the allusion is to a lost "Golden Book" of the "Ordre du Saint-Esprit au Droit Désir" known to have been composed by Nicholas (*Boccace et Naples*, p. 116).

drew liberally from both the French and the Greek versions, besides adding valuable information from other sources, especially for events of the fourteenth century.²⁵

The connection of the empress Catherine with the law code of feudal Achaea—familiar under the modern title *Assizes of Romania*—is even more tenuous than that with the Chronicle. The view that the Assizes were officially recorded under the auspices of the Angevin rulers of the principality about 1320²⁶ must be abandoned. Far from having an official character, the Assizes were a private collection of the customs of the principality made by an unknown legist who wrote in French, about the middle of the fourteenth century. The law he recorded had evolved progressively in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. It had been partly recorded in a set of assizes that existed in the princely chancery about 1275. From this and other written texts, as well as from unrecorded customs, the author of the Assizes made his final redaction. Although never officially sanctioned in Achaea, the Assizes answered the needs of the feudality of Latin Greece as a whole. They have reached us in a Venetian translation probably made in Negroponte in the late fourteenth century. By permitting their application in its own colonies, the Venetian government assured their survival long after the end of the principality of Achaea.²⁷

The empress Catherine and her party returned to Naples in June 1341. Events were quickly to show that nothing short of continuous residence of the ruling family could maintain the Angevin authority in the Morea. In fact, even while the empress was still in Greece Robert the Wise had to write (December 24, 1340) to the prelates and barons of the principality to exhort them to be loyal to his sister-in-law and nephews, since he had learned that archbishop Roger of Patras and the bishop of Olena, with Philip of Jonvelle (the lord of Vostitsa) and other conspirators, had leagued with the Greeks.

This letter helps to confirm the report in the memoirs of John VI Cantacuzenus of the negotiations in 1341 between himself and a

25. See Jacoby, "Quelques considérations sur les versions de la 'Chronique de Morée'," *Journal des savants*, July–September 1968, pp. 133–189.

26. Cf. Recoura, *Les Assises de Romanie*, pp. xiii, 44–46; Longnon, *L'Empire latin*, p. 318; Monti, *Nuovi studi angioini*, pp. 630–634.

27. See Jacoby, *La Féodalité en Grèce médiévale, passim*. Jacoby shows that the document of November 21, 1342, issued by Robert of Naples has been wrongly used to prove the existence of the Assizes by this date and to connect Catherine and her son Robert with them (*ibid.*, p. 82).

party of Achaean notables. In the years immediately preceding, Andronicus III and Cantacuzenus, then the grand domestic, had succeeded in recovering Epirus, Acarnania, and Aetolia for the empire—one of the last glorious achievements of Byzantine policy, which the earlier Palaeologi and the Nicaean emperors had vainly attempted. The boy despot, Nicephorus II, was deposed, but he managed later to escape to the court of Catherine of Valois at Patras. With Angevin encouragement and material aid a serious revolt was organized against the central authority, centering in the inland fortresses of Arta and Rogoi and in Thomokastron on the coast. Nicephorus himself crossed over to Thomokastron with an Angevin naval contingent. In the spring of 1340 the emperor and Cantacuzenus reappeared in western Greece to press the siege of the rebel strongholds already begun by subordinate commanders. Thanks in large part to Cantacuzenus's persuasive diplomacy, all three places surrendered in the course of the year. In a meeting with the envoy of the Thomokastron rebels—a certain Richard, the Frankish tutor of Nicephorus—Cantacuzenus argued that the defenders were greatly deceived if they hoped to recover their independence with the aid of the Angevins, who if victorious would only enslave their allies. He also promised to give one of his daughters in marriage to Nicephorus and to rear him as his own son.

With the surrender of Thomokastron the emperor's authority was reestablished in the despotate, and the titular empress of Constantinople had lost a battle in the unending contest between the Latins and Byzantium for control of the Balkan peninsula. The Achaean feudatories and troops that took part in the defense of Thomokastron returned to the Morea much impressed by Cantacuzenus, and supported a movement to offer the principality to him. An embassy composed of bishop Andrew of Coron and John Siderus visited the grand domestic in his camp at Demotica in Thrace and announced the desire of the leading men to place themselves under the emperor, provided that they could hold their estates and pay the same dues as those to the prince. It was revealed to Cantacuzenus by letter that the Moreote nobles had planned to go over to the empire while Andronicus III was still living, but that the news of his death (which occurred on June 15, 1341) had upset their plans. Cantacuzenus told the envoys that since it was already autumn he could not take his army beyond the frontiers, but that he would appear in the Morea the following spring. In the meantime, he was sending a familiar of his, Jacob Vroulas, back with them to the Morea to act for him in preparing the change to imperial control.

At about the same time, in a council summoned to discuss how to meet the Serbian danger, Cantacuzenus expressed high hopes for the restoration of the empire, in words which anticipate the "great idea" of modern Greek political leaders. "For if, God willing," he quoted himself as saying, "we should gain control over the Latins dwelling in the Peloponnesus, the Catalans who live in Attica and Boeotia would have to yield to us whether willingly or through force. When this is done and the hegemony of the Romans extends unbroken from the Peloponnesus to Byzantium as it did in former times, we can envisage that it would not be a difficult task to exact retribution from the Serbs and the other neighboring barbarian peoples for the injuries which they have been inflicting upon us for so long." All the hopes and plans of the Byzantines, however, were shattered by the outbreak of the disastrous civil war of 1341–1347 and by the spectacular expansion of the Serbian state under Stephen Dushan as far as the Gulf of Corinth.

The failure of the overture to the Greek emperor led the barons of Achaëa to turn to a distant Latin ruler who had a connection with the land—James II of Majorca, the son of the unlucky infante Ferdinand. The pressing Turkish peril and the neglect of the principality by Catherine and her sons, now involved in the murderous politics of the reign of Robert's granddaughter, Joanna of Naples (1343–1382), justified the search for a better protector. According to a document seen by Du Cange, the barons met at Roviata in Elis in October 1344, and approved an act which was conveyed to James probably by Erard III le Maure (Mavro), baron of Arcadia and St.-Sauveur. By it they notified him that he was the "legitimate" heir to the principality inasmuch as his mother Isabel was the daughter of Margaret of Villehardouin, the younger daughter of prince William; on his arrival in the Morea they would acknowledge him as their rightful lord. The seals of Roger, archbishop of Patras, of fifteen barons and knights, and of eight squires authenticated the document.

A few years before, about 1338, a memorandum had been prepared which set forth in greater detail the purported rights of James II.²⁸ According to it William of Villehardouin had named Margaret and her children as his heirs after his older daughter Isabel, in case

28. This document has survived in Du Cange's copy and was thrice printed by Buchon; see also the reprinting of it in the *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, pp. 222–224, where Rubió i Lluch argues for the date c. 1338; Hopf adopted the date 1338. William Miller (*Latins in the Levant*, pp. 275–276) and Jean Longnon (*L'Empire latin*, p. 326) make no distinction between the act at Roviata (seen by Du Cange) and the earlier memoir, although Du Cange refers expressly to two documents (*Histoire de l'empire de Constantinople*, ed. Buchon, II, 224–225).

the latter died childless. As it happened, the document alleged, not only did Isabel's daughter, Mahaut, die a prisoner of the Angevins without leaving issue, but while being conducted to the Castel dell' Uovo she exclaimed that she was being unjustly imprisoned and that she was leaving whatever she possessed as of right to James of Majorca. The memorandum of course chose to ignore the fact that by her third husband, Philip of Savoy, princess Isabel had had another daughter, Margaret, who was still living. In its closing section it furnishes several interesting details about the principality. We are told that Peter dalle Carceri and Bartholomew Ghisi are among its vassals and that between them they control the island of Negroponte (Euboea), said to be as large as Majorca. Nicholas Sanudo of the Archipelago is also a vassal of Achaea *de jure et de facto*. Walter of Brienne holds Argos and Nauplia under fealty to Robert of Taranto. The Catalan Company, however, ignores the suzerainty of Achaea. Whoever should hold the entire principality of Achaea would have under him one thousand baronies and knights' fees, each of them worth 300 pounds of Barcelona annually. After deducting the expenses for the maintenance of the castles, the prince would have left 100,000 florins. These figures are exaggerated, unless they are meant to refer to the principality at its largest extent, before the establishment of the despotate of Mistra, with the addition perhaps of the lands of its vassal states.

The offer to James II of Majorca came to nothing. His conflict with the kingdom of Aragon, which cost him his kingdom and his life, removed any possibility that he might have gone to the Morea to make good his claim. His only recorded action as "prince of Achaea" was to appoint Erard III le Maure hereditary marshal of the principality and to grant him all the lands which had belonged to Nicholas Ghisi, formerly constable of Achaea; this is known to us from an act drawn up in Montpellier on November 24, 1345. With the failure of the overtures to Cantacuzenus and James a state of anarchy became almost normal in the Frankish Morea, except in the ecclesiastical fief of Patras, whose independence reached its height under archbishop Reginald (1351-1357).

Robert of Taranto was never to revisit the Morea after living there in his early youth with his mother. The Aragonese version of the *Chronicle of the Morea* mentions his coming of age soon after the family's return to Italy and his performance of homage for the principalities of Taranto and Achaea before his uncle, king Robert.²⁹

29. *Libro de los fechos*, ed. Morel-Fatio, par. 675. Robert was born in 1326 (Léonard, *La*

Upon the death of Catherine of Valois in October 1346, he became prince regnant of Achaea and took the title emperor of Constantinople. For several months preceding his mother's death he had occupied the exalted position of vicar-general of the kingdom of Naples, but he had failed ingloriously.³⁰ Having lost out to his brother Louis in the competition for the hand of the young widowed queen Joanna of Naples, Robert married Marie, daughter of duke Louis of Bourbon and widow of Guy de Lusignan, the oldest son of king Hugh IV of Cyprus, in September 1347. The Aragonese Chronicle (paragraphs 676, 677) reports that he sent four bailies to Achaea before he was taken prisoner by his cousin, Louis I the Great of Hungary, on the latter's invasion of the kingdom of Naples. Since Bertrand of Les Baux had a second bailliage in Morea in 1341–1344,³¹ Robert's appointees probably belong to the years 1344–1348. He was to spend four years as a captive in Hungary (1348–1352).

Pope Clement VI, always a strong protector of the Italian Angevins, showed great solicitude for Robert and his fellow-prisoners (his brother Philip and two sons of John of Gravina). Among other measures he sent letters to the prelates, officers, lords, and bourgeois of the principality of Achaea bidding them remain loyal to their captive suzerain.³² The Aragonese Chronicle reports that Robert's wife Marie, who had gone to Avignon, sent as bailie in 1348 an able French knight, John Delbuy, whose appointment is confirmed by the *Misti del Senato*. But his early death, the Chronicle continues, led the prelates and barons assembled at Glarentsa to choose as temporary bailie one of themselves, Philip of Jonvelle, the lord of Vostitsa. Envoys were sent to prince Robert in Hungary and to Marie in Avignon to announce Delbuy's demise, whereupon the empress designated archbishop Bertrand of Salerno as bailie. During the term of this prelate a Burgundian knight with several companions seized the

Jeunesse de Jeanne I^{re}, I, 178, note 1). If we assume that he came of age about 1342 it follows that he at least shared in the government of Achaea before 1346, when Catherine died. His appointment of bailies, as reported in the Aragonese Chronicle (pars. 676, 677), suggests that his role in Achaean affairs was an active one even before 1346. Hopf wrongly makes Louis the oldest son of Philip of Taranto (*Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 470).

30. See Léonard, *La Jeunesse de Jeanne I^{re}*, I, 595.

31. Hopf, who did not know the Aragonese Chronicle, gives 1341–1346 as the dates of Bertrand of Les Baux's second term (in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXV, 435 [repr., I, 369]; no source cited). Jules Gay, in *Le Pape Clément VI et les affaires d'Orient (1342–1352)* (Paris, 1904), p. 59, note 5, shows that Bertrand was no longer bailie after 1344. Joanna's marriage to Louis I's brother Andrew had ended with his murder in 1345.

32. Léonard, *La Jeunesse de Jeanne I^{re}*, II, 97; Gay, *Clément VI*, p. 154. The captive princes of Durazzo were Louis and Robert, whose brother Charles had been executed by Louis I during his occupation of Naples in 1348.

castle of the Messenian Arcadia in the absence of its lord, Erard III le Maure, capturing his wife and his daughter. They retained the stronghold and their prisoners for some time until Erard agreed to a ransom.

The dominating factor in the external relations of Frankish Morea during Robert's personal rule was the increasing Turkish danger. So great now was the threat to the Christian states in the eastern Mediterranean that the Avignonese popes, Clement VI (1342–1352), Innocent VI (1352–1362), and Urban V (1362–1370), labored unceasingly to build up an effective coalition to stop the piracy and raids of the Anatolian emirates *per partes maritimas Romaniae*.³³

The "holy league" of Venice, Cyprus, and the Hospitallers of Rhodes which Clement had succeeded in forming had won a great victory when it captured the castle of the port of Smyrna from the Selchükid emir Umur Pasha of Aydin in 1344. This feat of Christian arms had aroused intense enthusiasm in the west. The pope had tried to stop the Hundred Years' War and to organize an expedition of united Christendom against the "infidels" as in the great age of the crusade. To emphasize the Turkish danger Clement had written to Philip VI of France (May 11, 1345) to urge him to strike at once against the Turks, inasmuch as they were threatening the principality of his nephew, Robert of Taranto, and unless checked might easily go on to Naples. But the exigencies of the war with England were such that Philip, who a decade earlier had displayed great zeal for the crusade, now felt that a new expedition to the Near East would deprive him of very valuable knights.

A more immediate blow to the Christian cause was the ignominious failure of the dauphin Humbert's expedition, under the auspices of the papal league, to relieve Smyrna (1346). This defeat was only partly redeemed by the naval victory at Imbros—mainly the achievement of the Hospitallers' galleys—over a large Turkish fleet (1347). That the naval resources of the Turks were not decisively weakened is shown by the great raid on the principality of Achaea by a fleet of eighty ships, based at Ephesus, which entered the Gulf of Corinth in the spring of 1349. Under papal pressure Venice, Cyprus, and Rhodes renewed the maritime league in 1350, 1353, and 1357, but the bitter commercial war between Genoa and Venice paralyzed the allied effort from the beginning.

According to Giacomo Bosio, the sixteenth-century chronicler of

33. For a vivid Turkish account of the "holy war" against the eastern Christians in the 1330's and 1340's, see *Le Destân d'Umür Pacha (Düstürnâme-i Enverî)*, ed. and trans. by Irène Mélikoff-Sayar (Paris, 1954), and P. Lemerle, *L'Émirat d'Aydın, Byzance et l'Occident: Recherches sur "La Geste d'Umur Pacha"* (Paris, 1957).

the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (the Hospitallers), pope Innocent VI in 1356 sought to induce the order to buy the principality of Achaea and thus insure that its population would be "devoted and obedient to the holy see."³⁴ This project lay very close to Innocent's heart; the correspondence in 1356-1357 between the pope and the master Roger de Pins, which Bosio cites, alludes repeatedly to the *negotio dell' Acaia*. James of Savoy, who laid claim to Achaea, was willing, says Bosio, to sell the principality, and the pope wanted the knights to buy it from him.³⁵ At the same time, Robert of Taranto had to approve the transaction. However, when the pope, early in 1357, sent the archbishop of Salerno and a knight of the Hospital to Naples to see the prince, the latter refused his consent. Thus, concludes the chronicler, the "affair of Achaea" was concluded only in the time of Juan Fernández de Heredia.³⁶ It is reasonable to infer from Bosio's account that Innocent wanted the Hospital to acquire Achaea in order to assure its effective defense against the Turkish raiders. But a modern historian of the Order of St. John had no warrant for asserting that Innocent planned to move the Hospitallers from Rhodes to the Morea and that the true author of this scheme was not the pope but the future grand master Heredia, who enjoyed such high influence and favor at Avignon.³⁷

Although frustrated in his plan to extend the Hospitallers' sway to the Greek mainland, Innocent continued to press the Angevins to defend Achaea. On October 12, 1357, he appealed to Robert's brother, king Louis of Naples, to help the church relieve the plight of the faithful in the principality. He informed Louis that he was writing to Robert, too, and that he was sending the archbishop of Salerno to Naples to act for the holy see. From another letter of

34. *Dell' istoria della sacra religione ed illustrissima milizia di S. Gio. Gerosolimitano*, II (Rome, 1629), 91.

35. James's father, Philip of Savoy, the third husband of Isabel of Villehardouin, had continued to use the title prince of Achaea, inasmuch as the Angevins had not fully carried out the terms of the agreement of 1307 (cf. vol. II of this work, p. 268) whereby Philip relinquished the principality to Charles II of Anjou in return for the county of Alba. Philip remarried after Isabel's death, and the male descendants of this union, starting with James, styled themselves princes of Achaea until 1418.

36. Bosio, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-94. For Heredia and the Hospitallers in the Morea 1376-1381 see below, chapter V, pp. 147-149, and chapter VIII, pp. 302-303.

37. See J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la mort de Philibert de Naillac, 1310-1421* (Paris, 1913), pp. 130-133. Delaville Le Roulx was in part misled by Karl Herquet, who believed, mistakenly, that Heredia was in Patras in 1353 and that he rather than Innocent conceived the scheme of acquiring Achaea in 1356 (*Juan Ferrandez de Heredia, Grossmeister des Johanniterordens, 1377-1396* [Mühlhausen i. Th., 1878], p. 28 and p. 37, note 1). See Luttrell, "Greek Histories Translated and Compiled for Juan Fernández de Heredia, Master of Rhodes, 1377-1396," *Speculum*, XXXV (1960), 402 and note 5, as well as chapter VIII, below.

Innocent's, written in 1359 to Nicholas Acciajuoli, we learn that the grand seneschal was at that time preparing a fleet to attack the Turks.³⁸ Only the year before, Nicholas had received the strategic castellany of Corinth from prince Robert; this acquisition made it imperative for him to deal seriously with the Turkish peril. However, although he strengthened the defenses of Corinth, he did not undertake any naval expedition against the Turks.

In contrast to these abortive efforts stands the victory of a Christian coalition over a Turkish fleet off the coast of Megara about the year 1359. The allies were Walter of Lor, the bailie of Achaea, Manuel Cantacuzenus, the despot of Mistra, the Venetian signoria, and the Hospitallers of Rhodes. The Venetians and the knights contributed a certain number of galleys. "They were all together at Megara and there burnt thirty-five vessels of the Turks, and the Turks fled to Thebes to Roger de Lluria." Thereupon the commanders of the land forces and the captains of the galleys, being unable to do further injury to the Turks, dispersed to their home places. Such is the brief account of this action preserved in the Aragonese *Chronicle of the Morea* (pars. 685–686). John Cantacuzenus probably refers to the same event when he reports an invasion of Boeotia against Roger de Lluria by the Peloponnesian Greeks and Latins under the command of his son, the despot Manuel.³⁹ In the same passage the ex-emperor mentions, certainly with exaggeration, "many victories" of the allies over the Turkish raiders. He also magnifies the degree of his son's ascendancy over the Franks of the Morea. But there is no doubt that Manuel—whose long rule (1349–1380) at Mistra was a model administration compared to the turbulent situation in the Angevin Morea—enjoyed great prestige throughout Achaea, and he may well have taken the initiative in forming the coalition which gained the victory near Megara.⁴⁰

At best, however, this isolated victory could have given the harassed population of the Morea only temporary relief from the Anatolian raiders. Like his predecessors Clement VI and Innocent VI, pope Urban V showed much concern over the plight of the exposed Frankish principality. On August 10, 1363, he wrote to Robert of Taranto commending the newly appointed archbishop of Patras, Bartholomew, who apparently was prevented by the Turks and the "schismatic Greeks" from occupying his see. In 1364 the pontiff

38. Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, II, 135–136.

39. IV, 13–14 (*CSHB*, III, 89–90).

40. Various dates, as early as 1357 and as late as 1364, have been proposed for the battle near Megara. Our preference for *circa* 1359 is based in part on the probable dates for the bailliage of Walter of Lor. Cf. Loenertz, "Athènes et Néopatras . . .," pp. 430–431.

urged Bartholomew, Peter Thomas, Latin patriarch of Constantinople, the Venetian bailie of Euboea, and the feudality of that island to concert all measures to defend the principality. He wrote in similar terms to the Angevin bailie and to the ecclesiastics and lords of Achaea. These appeals did not, apparently, lead to any united action by the Latins of Greece against the Turks. The crusade led by Peter I of Cyprus with the zealous support of Urban V might have brought important relief to the Latin states of Greece if directed against the emirates of Anatolia.⁴¹ Instead, Peter's spectacular capture and sack of Alexandria in 1365, far from liberating Jerusalem, would only weaken the whole Christian position in the Levant and allow the Turks to plunder and penetrate the Greek peninsula almost at will.

Robert of Taranto had returned to Naples from his Hungarian captivity early in 1353. As the elder brother of queen Joanna's consort, Louis of Taranto, and as an important territorial lord, it was natural that he should try to play a leading role in the affairs of the kingdom of Naples, the "Regno." But he was as ineffectual now as in the years before his captivity. If the Regno counted for something at this time in the Italian peninsula and in Europe, it was due solely to the statesmanship of Nicholas Acciajuoli, who had been appointed grand seneschal in 1348. In the principality of Achaea Nicholas's influence was still greater than before; he acted as Robert's principal adviser in Greek matters, as he had done for Catherine of Valois, and his services were again rewarded with large estates in the Morea. In a letter dated February 22, 1356, which the grand seneschal addressed to his familiar, Americo Cavalcanti, and to his favorite cousin, Jacob, he reports that "the emperor" (i.e., Robert) has commissioned him "to reform the principality." Nicholas needs to send out a good bailie and wants Americo to consider the post. But he adds frankly that "the emperor" has no money to give from Italy and that the country is no longer as prosperous as it used to be. A few weeks later (March 14, 1356), writing to his cousin Jacob, Nicholas reports that he will advise Robert to appoint Adam Visconte bailie. It was probably Visconte to whom Robert sent orders on July 10, 1356, to enforce respect for the trading privileges of the Venetian merchants in Achaea.⁴²

41. Cf. A. S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938), p. 332, note 1. See chapter X, below.

42. The texts of these letters are in Léonard, *Louis de Tarente*, pp. 574-575, 589-590; partial text of the letter of March 14, 1356, is in Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, II, 124-125. Adam Visconte is probably the same person as "micer Adam, vizconte de

Early in 1358 the inhabitants of the castellany of Corinth sent a despairing plea to their prince to rescue them from impending enslavement by the Turks. Robert responded promptly by granting the entire strategic area to Nicholas Acciajuoli as a barony, with rights of high justice (April 1358). Shortly after (November 1358), at the grand seneschal's instance, Robert ordered the remission of all the dues which Nicholas's "men and vassals" in Achaea and in the castellany owed to the princely fisc. At the same time Robert ordered that measures be taken to induce the serfs who had fled from the unprotected castellany to return to their habitations. The prince further allowed Nicholas to perform all the feudal service which he owed for his Greek estates on the frontiers of the exposed barony. Archaeological evidence indicates that Nicholas spent large sums to rebuild a long stretch of the great circuit wall of Acrocorinth.

Du Cange long ago remarked on the special affection and solicitude which Robert of Taranto demonstrated for Marie of Bourbon. The prince had given repeated proof of his sentiments by granting his consort large estates and by treating her son, Hugh of Galilee, as if he were his own. He had warmly espoused Hugh's claims to the throne of Cyprus. At the time of their marriage (September 1347) Robert had assigned to Marie for her dower an annual revenue of 2,000 gold ounces from his possessions in Italy and in Corfu and Cephalonia. In 1355 he granted her for her household an annual income of 1,050 ounces from his Italian lands. In 1357 he bestowed on her the rich castellany of Kalamata, with two dependent castles and the rights of high justice. About this time Marie purchased the two important baronies of Vostitsa and Nivelet.⁴³ The purchase was made from Guillemette, heiress of the Charny family, and her spouse, Philip of Jonvelle; it included the castle of Phanaro on the left bank of the Alpheus a little to the east of Olympia. In 1359 Robert conferred

Tremblay" mentioned three times as a bailie in the Aragonese Chronicle, pars. 676, 684 (the appointment of 1356?), and 688. Difficulties arising over the commercial privileges of Venice in Achaea and the treatment of her merchants were frequent in these years. Cf. Predelli, *I Libri commemoriali*, II, 234, nos. 101, 102; and II, 249, nos. 167, 170, 171, 172; Léonard, *Louis de Tarente*, p. 496, note 7, and Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXVI (1868; repr. 1960, II), 2. Venetian merchants had a privileged status in Robert's Italian domains, especially at Trani; the relations of the two sides were mutually profitable here (Léonard, *Louis de Tarente*, pp. 494–495).

43. These baronies are often confounded, with Nivelet being placed near Vostitsa (cf. Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, p. 148). However, from the content of the report of Nicholas of Boyano (see note 44, below) it is certain that Nivelet consisted of scattered estates in Messenia and that it was here that John I of Nivelet received compensation for the loss of his ancestral barony and castle of Geraki following the reëstablishment of the Byzantines in the southeastern Morea in 1262.

upon her and his stepson a village and the mountain of Moundritsa, situated close to Phanaro.

In the winter of 1360–1361 an emissary of Marie's, Nicholas of Boyano, made a careful inquiry into the state of her extensive domains in the Morea. The report on this mission which he addressed to her "imperial majesty, madame the empress," is a precious record of the economic and political state of the Frankish Morea in the middle of the fourteenth century.⁴⁴ In addition to the baronies of Kalamata, Vostitsa, and Nivelet, and the castle of Phanaro, Marie also held the fief of Picotin in Elis. Nicholas of Boyano mentions the production of silk, valonia, and salt on this estate. But in general the agricultural yield of Marie's estates, especially in cereals, was poor, partly because of bad weather in 1359–1360. He recommends that two villages in the barony of Nivelet should cultivate the vine instead of planting wheat. At two other places in this barony the serfs complained of having to do the *corvée* at distant points a whole day's march or more from their villages, to the neglect of their own fields and houses. Two years after the concession of Corinth to Nicholas Acciajuoli, Nicholas of Boyano finds that its villages, along with those of Basilicata (Sicyon) and the environs of Vostitsa, were still deserted because of Turkish pirates. He plans to visit the area if he can go securely by sea, and will try to rent the lands to somebody (*mello è pocu avere che perdere tutto*, he remarks). He had inventories drawn up in Greek of the Nivelet estates and intended to do the same for Vostitsa.

As striking as the report of the poverty of the country is Nicholas of Boyano's testimony to the insecurity in the principality caused by the feebleness of Angevin authority. He mentions the failure of several important vassals of the prince to provide feudal service or payments—the grand seneschal (Nicholas Acciajuoli), the count of Cephalonia (Leonard I Tocco), Centurione I Zaccaria, baron of Chalandritsa, and the lord of Arcadia (Erard III le Maure). The insubordination of Zaccaria was a scandal. He would need more than two days, Nicholas says, merely to record all of the complaints he heard about Centurione's excesses. When Nicholas sent him a command to make amends for damage done to Marie's property, Centurione "replied with bland words, acting as if he were prince William [of Villehardouin] himself come back to life." Prince Robert's own bailie was powerless to curb the insolent baron—a "tyrant," Nicholas

44. The original is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Mss. Fr. 6537); it is published as document VIII by Jean Longnon and Peter Topping in *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIV^e siècle*. On the dating of this document see *ibid.*, p. 144.

warned the empress, whom she must effectively curb if she and her son were ever to enjoy any real authority "in Romania." Nicholas of Boyano concludes his report with the news that Venice was arming twenty galleys for the capture of Constantinople, in order to avenge the "schismatic" emperor's mistreatment of Venetian merchants and officials. This was the hour, he urged, for prince Robert to form a league with Venice for the recovery of Marie's imperial heritage; the opportunity was the more favorable because the "signor of the Turks" was causing such devastation on land that no one dared emerge from the gates of Constantinople. This was fascinating intelligence, indeed, if accurate. One suspects, however, that Marie's humble servitor was exaggerating various reports and rumors reaching the Morea in order to flatter their imperial majesties.

Early in 1360 Nicholas Acciajuoli was in Avignon on an important mission for the Neapolitan court. Through his efforts large sums of the *cens* of the kingdom, for long in arrears, were paid into the papal coffers. A grateful Innocent VI bestowed on the grand seneschal the highest papal decoration, the Golden Rose, till then reserved only for princes. He further rewarded him by naming his kinsman, John Acciajuoli, to the vacant see of Patras (May 1360). The archbishopric was in a troubled state internally, and it was no doubt hoped that the secular authority of Nicholas Acciajuoli would help his cousin restore stability there.

John's brother Nerio went to Patras as leader of a small armed force, to enable the youthful archbishop to impose his authority.⁴⁵ This is the first appearance in Greece of the young Florentine destined to wear the ducal coronet of Athens. He was one of the two adopted sons of the great Nicholas, who had already provided lands in Italy for him in his final testament, drawn up in September 1359. Now both his adoptive father and his brother the archbishop tried to improve Nerio's prospects in Greece through a brilliant marriage. They sought for him the hand of Florence Sanudo, who was left heiress to the Archipelago when her father John I, the sixth duke, died in 1361.⁴⁶ They asked queen Joanna of Naples and Robert of Taranto, as suzerains of the Archipelago, to write on Nerio's behalf to Venice. The two rulers informed the republic that as their vassal Florence was free to dispose of her hand as soon as Robert gave his consent thereto. A firm rejoinder came that Florence was first of all a Venetian citizen and subject whose heritage would long since have

45. É. G. Léonard, "La Nomination de Giovanni Acciaiuoli à l'archevêché de Patras (1360)," *Mélanges offerts à M. Nicolas Iorga* (Paris, 1933), pp. 513-535.

46. For this date see Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, p. 590, note 3, and Jacoby, *La Féodalité en Grèce médiévale*, p. 301, note 8.

disappeared except for Venetian protection; since Robert provided no protection, it was the republic's matter to care for the duchess's future and security. The republic was of course determined that Florence should marry only a Venetian subject and thus continue the regime of indirect Venetian control of the Archipelago. To forestall any attempt by the Acciajuoli to kidnap Florence, the Venetian authorities of Euboea abducted her first and conveyed her to Crete. In 1364 she was married in Venice itself to her cousin Nicholas Sanudo, called Spezzabanda.

Archbishop John Acciajuoli died in 1363.⁴⁷ On November 8, 1365, the life of his famous kinsman Nicholas would end. Although he would be succeeded as grand seneschal by his eldest son Angelo, his true successor as the most influential Acciajuoli in Greece was to be his young cousin Nerio. Already in 1363–1364 Nerio had entered the ranks of the Achaean feudality by purchasing for 6,000 ducats the baronies of Vostitsa and Nivelet from Marie of Bourbon, who had at first pawned them to Nicholas. We shall have frequent occasion in the following chapter to allude to the later activities of the Acciajuoli in Greece, especially the extraordinary fortune which Nerio found there.

47. On this date see Léonard, "La Nomination de Giovanni Acciaiuoli," p. 513, note 1, and p. 531, note 3. Louis of Taranto had died in 1362, and Joanna had taken as her third husband James of Majorca (d. 1375).