

YUNUS DOĞAN THE TRANSFORMATION OF AN ITINERANT ARMY: FROM THE CATALAN COMPANY TO THE CATALAN DUCHY OF ATHENS AND NEOPATRAS (1303-1388) Bilkent University 2019

THE TRANSFORMATION OF AN ITINERANT ARMY:
FROM THE CATALAN COMPANY TO THE CATALAN
DUCHY OF ATHENS AND NEOPATRAS (1303-1388)

A Master's Thesis

by
YUNUS DOĞAN

Department of History
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University
Ankara
July 2019

To my sisters, Leyla and Gülcan



THE TRANSFORMATION OF AN ITINERANT ARMY: FROM THE CATALAN
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(1303-1388)

Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by
YUNUS DOĞAN

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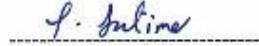
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Asst. Prof. Dr. Luca Zavagno

Supervisor

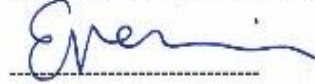
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Asst. Prof. Dr. Paul Latimer

Examining Committee Member

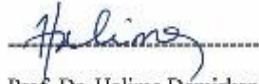
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Asst. Prof. Dr. Evrim Türkçelik

Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences



Prof. Dr. Halime Demirkan

Director

ABSTRACT

THE TRANSFORMATION OF AN ITINERANT ARMY: FROM THE CATALAN COMPANY TO THE CATALAN DUCHY OF ATHENS AND NEOPATRAS (1303-1388)

Doğan, Yunus

Department of History

Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Luca Zavagno

July 2019

This thesis examines the transformation of the Catalan Company into a political, social and cultural institution from the arrival of the Company at Constantinople in September 1303 until the fall of Catalan Athens to the Navarrese Company in 1388 by mainly using written sources (chronicles, archival documents, notary documents, tariffs and secondary sources) and the archaeological and architectural remains (seals, castles, church inscriptions and coins). Except a few scholars like Antonio Rubio y Lluch and Kenneth Setton who studied on the socio-political and cultural aspects of the Catalan Company and that of the Catalan Duchies of Athens and Neopatras, most of the scholars concentrated mainly military aspects of the Catalan Company. On the contrary of the historiography, this study tries to bridge the gap between the history of the Catalan Company and that of the Catalan Duchies. Bearing in mind the limits and problems of the sources, this thesis attempts to scrutinize the relationship between the

Catalans, their neighbours (Venetians, the Turkish Beyliks and the Byzantines) and the Greeks as well as to understand the place of the Catalan Company in the socio-political and cultural history of Asia Minor, Greece and also of the Mediterranean during the 14th century.

Key Words: Cultural Fusion, Relationship, The Catalan Company, The Catalan Duchies of Athens and Neopatrass, Transformation,



ÖZET

SEYYAR BİR ORDUNUN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ: KATALAN ASKERİ BÖLÜĞÜNDEN KATALAN ATİNA VE NEOPATRAS DÜKLÜĞÜNE (1303-1388)

Doğan, Yunus

Tarih Bölümü

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Luca Zavagno

Temmuz 2019

Bu tez, yazılı kaynaklar (kronikler, arşiv belgeleri, noter belgeleri, gümrük dokümanları ve ikinci el kaynaklar) ile arkeolojik ve mimari kalıntıları (mühürler, kaleler, kilise yazıtları ve sikkeler) temel alarak Katalan Askeri Bölüğü'nün Eylül 1303'te Konstantinopolis'e gelmesinden 1388'de Atina Katalan Düklüğü'nün düşüşüne kadar geçen süreçteki politik, sosyal ve kültürel dönüşümünü inceler. Katalan Bölüğü ve Atina Katalan Düklüğü'nün sosyal-politik ve kültürel yönleri üzerinde çalışan Antonio Rubio y Lluch ve Kenneth Setton gibi birkaç yazar dışında, yazarların çoğu Katalan Bölüğü'nün askeri seferleri üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır. Tarih yazımındaki bu yaklaşımın aksine, bu çalışma Katalan Bölüğü ile Katalan Dükleri'nin tarihi arasındaki boşluğu kapatmaya çalışır. Kaynakların eksikliklerini göz önünde

bulundurarak, Katalanlar, Yunanlar ve komşuları (Venedik, Türk Beylikleri ve Bizans) arasındaki ilişkileri ve 14. yüzyılda Katalan Askeri Bölüğü'nün Küçük Asya, Yunanistan ve Akdeniz tarihindeki sosyal-politik ve kültürel yerini irdelemeye çalışır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bağlantı, Dönüşüm, Katalan Askeri Bölüğü, Katalan Atina ve Neopatras Düklüğü, Kültürel Kaynaşma



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A NOTE ON NAMES AND TOPONYMS

All books dealing with the history of the Catalan Company face many problems in terms of terminology and toponymy. Given that most of the literary and documentary sources refer to the Catalan company with different names such as *Gran Companyia Catalana*, *Societatis exercitus catalanorum*, *Universitas Felicis Francorum exercitus Romanie*, *Host dels Franchs qui regnen en Romania*, *Societatis cathalanorum*, *Magna Societas Catalanorum*, it is a difficult task to clarify a single name applied to it. I have decided to use the simplest one and so I will use the name *The Catalan Company*, and *The Catalan Duchies of Athens and Neopatras* to define its settlement in Greece.

The geographical terms also constitute a problem for those who study on the history of the Catalan Company. While some historians used the term *East* or *Orient* to refer to the expedition of the Catalan Company to the former Byzantine territories, others preferred *Anatolia* or *Asia Minor*. I will therefore use the term *Asia Minor* to refer to those territories which mainly cover the southern coast of the Marmara Sea and the western coast of the Aegean as part of modern Turkey.

Finally, I want to mention here the use of the toponym *Greece*. Indeed, in this thesis *Greece* will indicate the geographic region encompassing the whole southern portion of the Balkan Peninsula and the Peloponnese. In this light, and although the Catalan duchies included only a small part of the abovementioned region, with the term

Greece, I will also refer to those territories where the Catalans established their duchies (mainly Attica and Boeotia).



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“Then, Lord,” said Frey Roger, “by your leave, I shall send two knights with an armed galley to the Emperor of Constantinople, and shall let him know that I am ready to go to him with as great a company of horse and foot, all Catalans and Aragonese, as he wishes, and that he should give us pay and all necessities; that I know he greatly needs these succours, for the Turks have taken from him land of the extent of thirty journeys; and he could not do as much with any people as with Catalans and Aragonese, and especially with those who have carried on this war against King Charles.”

[Ramon Muntaner, *The Chronicle*]¹

The adventures of the Catalan Company (a mercenary force composed of Catalans, and natives of Aragon, Majorca and Navarre)² in the Eastern Mediterranean, in the early years of the 14th century constitute one of the most extraordinary episodes in medieval history. The epic that took these Hispanic mercenaries from the Aragonese and Catalan mountains to Byzantine western Anatolia and ended with the establishment of the Catalan duchies in Greece had been an attractive subject for historiography and as well as for sculpture, theatre, and painting, such as *Escena de los almogávares I y II* (painted by Mariano Fortuny Marsal in 1855) and *La entrada*

¹ *The Chronicle of Ramon Muntaner*, L. Goodenough (ed), (Cambridge: Ontario, 2000), CXCIX, 400-401.

² Longnon, Jean, *The Frankish State in Greece, 1204-1311*, in *A History of the Crusades*, Setton, Kenneth (ed) vol. II, (Madison:Wisconsin, 1969), 270.

de Roger de Flor en Constantinopla (painted by José Moreno Carbonero in 1888) throughout the centuries (Appendix A and B). Moreover, the influence of this epic is also seen in literary works, like *Tirant lo Blanc*, written after 1460 by Joanot Martorell (1410-1468).³ Although several studies have been carried out on the history of the Company, and that of the Catalan duchies, much attention has been paid mainly to the Company's military expedition to the east from 1303 to 1311 and to its connections with the Crown of Aragon.⁴ This prevents us from considering the history of the Catalan Company and that of the Catalan duchies together and drawing a complete picture of political, social, economic, military and cultural connection between these two subjects. There is no doubt that the origin and social conditions of the members of the Company together with their institutions, established during this long journey, played a significant role in the life of the Catalan Duchies of Athens and Neopatras. This thesis examines the transformation of the Catalan Company into a political, social and cultural institution from the arrival of the Company at Constantinople in September 1303 until the fall of Catalan Athens to the Navarrese Company in 1388 by mainly using written sources (chronicles, archival documents, notary documents, tariffs and secondary sources) and the archaeological and architectural remains (seals, castles, church inscriptions and coins).

First, the transition of the Catalan Company from a semi-nomadic military institution to a socio-political and cultural institution will be analysed. In particular, the following chapters will focus on the relationship between the Catalans, their neighbours (Venetians, the Turkish Beyliks and the Byzantines) and the Greeks as well as the

³ *Tirant lo Blanc* is an epic cavalry novel written in Catalan by Joanot Martorell. The novel tells the story of a knight Tirant, whose adventures span from England to North Africa and finally to Constantinople, where he helps the Byzantine Emperor in the war against the Turks. Martorell, Joanot, *Tirant lo Blanc*, (Valencia, 1490).

⁴ For a complete historiography on the Catalan Company see Chapter II, 7-19, 25-30.

development of institutions appropriate to the new political framework and the adoption of non-military activities. Indeed, the establishment of the Catalans in Greece and their adaptation to the conditions resulting from the conquest of new territories, as well as the reaction and approaches of the local Orthodox population to this new situation did not constitute a dramatic break in the history of the Company or in life of the Greeks; rather, it demonstrates a level of continuity in the social, administrative and cultural structure that includes a combination of Byzantine customs and the evolution of new and pragmatic institutions. Within this context, it is the aim of this thesis to analyse and interpret the conditions behind and beyond this continuity in order to better understand the transformation of the Catalan Company and the socio-political, economic and cultural relations between the Catalans, their neighbours and the local orthodox population in Greece.

Secondly, this present thesis intends to fill a gap in the literature. Although-as will be seen in Chapter II- several works have been devoted to the history of the Catalan Company, most of them concentrate on the written sources, mainly the chronicle of Ramon Muntaner and the history of George Pachymeres.⁵ As a consequence, archaeological, architectural and numismatic evidences have often been glossed over when trying to picture a better understanding of the history of the Catalan Company and the Catalan duchies.

In fact, and as a final point, this thesis does not intend to offer a complete picture of every single detail in the history of the Catalan Company and that of the Catalan duchies in Greece. Rather it examines the socio-political and cultural situation between

⁵ *The Chronicle*, the major source for the history of the Catalan Company, was written in 1325 by Ramon Muntaner (1265-1336), a prominent member of the Catalan Company. *Historia* is a Byzantine source, which covers more than fifty years, 1254-1307, written by George Pachymeres (1242-1310). As witnesses of the Catalan expedition and campaigns in Asia Minor, both writers provide essential information for the history of the Catalan Company. See Chapter II, 12-19.

the Catalans and their above-mentioned neighbours and to understand the way of negotiation, reaction and rapprochement. Through the use of written sources and different kinds of material evidence, this thesis shall try to answer the following questions: why did the Catalan Company move to Greece? How did the political and military aspects of the members of Company determine life in Greece? How did the Catalans sustain and develop their relations with Western powers and with the local communities in Greece? What was the reaction and rapprochement of these communities to this new situation? To what extent was the Catalan Company transformed from a military organization into a socio-political, economic and cultural institution?

In Chapter II, I will critique the historiographical approaches to the topic and analyse the written and material sources on the subject. First, I will begin by examining the approaches and changes in Spanish, Catalan and Greek historiography to the history of the Catalan Company. Secondly, I will discuss the written sources. In this part, the Spanish and Byzantine primary sources, chronicles and histories, shall be scrutinized. Thirdly, I will focus on the analysis of the material evidences (seals, settlement places, architectural structures, coins, church paintings and inscriptions) and their contributions to the subject. Finally, I will finish this chapter by referring to the main and most relevant secondary sources which set the ground for the studies of the history of the Catalan Company and the Catalan Duchies of Athens and Neopatras.

In Chapter III, the history of the Catalan Company in Asia Minor shall be evaluated. First, I will start with background on the figure of Roger de Flor and on the origins of *almogavars*. Second, I will try to draw a picture of the Catalans' military campaigns against Turkish Beyliks in Asia Minor from 1303 to 1305. Third, I will mention the

Catalan's military campaigns against Byzantine Empire in Gallipoli and Thrace from 1305 to 1311: a period known as the *Catalan Vengeance*.

Although the main objective of this thesis is not to focus on the military expedition of the Catalan Company, it is still necessary to mention its campaigns both in Asia Minor and in Gallipoli, since they are important elements to analyse the link between the history of Catalan Company and that of Catalan Duchies of Athens and Neopatras. However, the chapter not only focuses on military campaigns, but also studies the political relations between the Catalan Company, the Byzantine Empire, the Turkish Beyliks and tries to analyse the Catalan Company in an international political-military context of Mediterranean. As we will see in the following pages, on one hand, the treaty of Caltabellotta changed the relations between the East and the West. The armies of Frederick III of Sicily (1295-1337) and Charles of Valois (1284-1325) were ready to action against Byzantine Empire.⁶ On the other hand, following the establishment of their quarter in Constantinople, both Venice and Genoese began to dominate Aegean and Mediterranean Sea economically and militarily.⁷ In addition to all these, the Turkish Beyliks (the small Turkic principalities) began to settle along the western coasts of Asia Minor and gradually threatened the political and economic interests of the Christian powers (like Venice, or the Hospitallers based in Rhodes) which had long established their commercial and political presence in the Mediterranean.⁸ Therefore, this thesis will mention the political, military and economic role of the Catalan Company in this political-military context of the Mediterranean. Furthermore, the

⁶ Laiou, Angeliki, *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II 1282-1328*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 130.

⁷ Abulafia, David, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 354-357.

⁸ Laiou, Angeliki, *The Palaiologoi and the World Around Them (1261–1400)*, in *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c. 500–1492*, Shepard, Jonathan (ed), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 803-809.

shifting political balance between the Company and Byzantium, as well as the internal confrontation between the leaders of the Company will be addressed. The military campaigns and relationships will help us further to understand how changing social, political and military conditions and the Company's relations with different actors played a role in the formation of the Catalan duchies in Greece.

In Chapter IV, which should be regarded as the core of this thesis, the focus will be on the pragmatic co-existence and hybrid social, political, economic and cultural structures developed by the Catalan duchies in Greece in relation with the local Orthodox population and the Venetians, the Crown of Aragon and the Turkish Beyliks. Firstly, I will examine the administrative-religious structures of the Catalan polity in Greece. The first decade after the establishment of the Catalan duchies ushered in a new era for the Catalans and for the local Orthodox population in Greece. On the one hand, during this decade the Catalans started bolstering their relations with the Papacy, the Turkish Beyliks and the Venetians. On the other hand, they tried to establish their institutions and customs without forcing a dramatic change in the existing socio-political local habits. In this context, it is my aim to evaluate these relations and institutions to understand the new acceptances and conditions resulting from the Catalan conquest.

Secondly, the economic and commercial activities of the Catalans in the Catalan duchies will be carefully examined, mainly based on numismatic evidence as well as notarial documents, commercial contracts and tariffs yielded in the archives of Venice, Mallorca and Aragon. As will be seen, after the Catalans settled in Greece, they ensured a continuity in the economic life of Greece by sustaining their old trade networks and creating new ones. They maintained economical activities along two different trade routes which wove the Catalan duchies into the economic life of the

Mediterranean: one more regional centred on the Peloponnese and one inter-regional, linking the Duchies with Barcelona and Mallorca. In this part, this integration of the Catalan duchies will be studied by focusing on the trade routes, the commercial actors, and the mercantile goods as well as the main regional commercial hubs in order to understand how the new economic structures created by the Catalans fit with into those already existing in Greece.

Finally, I will try to review the process of hybridization and the way of cross-cultural negotiation between the Catalans and their neighbours in the Mediterranean. The pragmatic administrative and social organization created by the Catalans as well as the integration of the Catalan duchies into the economic life of the Aegean and the Mediterranean brought a complex and broader situation of continuity and alteration into the life in Greece which created a period of the political stability, economic prosperity and cultural exchange between different communities under the Catalan domination. This period shall also be evaluated from the perspective of religion, political-religious architecture, and political-cultural aspects to better analyse the transformation process of the Catalan company from a mercenary army to a socio-political organization from 1303 to 1388.

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF THE SOURCES

2.1. Historiography

In the historiography of the Catalan Company, a preliminary literature review shows that the work has been done so far, does not fulfil the need for an analysis of, as Kalopissi-Verti states, “*the way of negotiation, the acculturation and the good terms of coexistence between Greeks and the Latins*” under the rulership of the Catalan Duchies of Athens and Neopatras.⁹ Studies dealing with the subject have concentrated mainly on the military expedition of the Catalan Company to the East, its relationships with the Western kings and the Byzantine emperor, as well as its military campaigns against both Turks and Byzantines. Although a few scholars, like Kenneth Setton, have dealt with the later period of the Catalan Company, most of them -notably Jose Maria Echavaria and David Augusti- have focused on the formation of the Company or on its military expedition, covering the period between 1302-1311. This kind of approach

⁹ Kalopissi- Verti, S, *Monumental Art in the Lordship of Athens and Thebes under Frankish and Catalan Rule (1212-1388): Latin and Greek Patronage*, in *A Companion to Latin Greece*, Nickiphoros I. Tsougarakis & Lock, Peter (ed), (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 416-417.

to the subject has arisen from the political situation and historiographical perspectives of the past century.¹⁰ The following chapter will be a critical analysis of the main sources to put the reader in touch with the history of Catalan Company and the Catalan duchies (1311-1388). First by analysing the main historiographical approaches on the subject and, second by referring to the primary and secondary sources, both written and material, it will try to lay a basis for the subject and this thesis.

Although Spanish historiography has seen more work on the subject when compared to Greek historiography, most of it, especially the studies of Antonio Rubio to whom I will return in a few moments, has focused on the history of the Catalan Company from a nationalist perspective which dates back to the end of the 19th century. Through the rise of national history, the Spanish and Catalan historians have begun to build the Spanish identity by creating a national history in response to foreign publications and especially to British and French scholars such as Samuel Dunham (1796-1858) and Charles Romey (1804-1874) who criticized the lack of a methodological study of the history of Spain written by Spanish historians.¹¹ Especially following the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, Catalan historiography has reached to an autonomous level and touched upon the essential periods of Catalan history. The establishment of the *Junta para la Ampliación de Estudios* (1907-1939), the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* (1907) and as well as using the *Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* brought a new perspective to Catalan historiography. They became main institutions that encouraged Catalan scholars to study national culture and history with a critical and systematic approach. Consequently, a historian like Ferran Soldevilla

¹⁰ The works of Spanish-Catalan scholar Antonio Rubio (1856-1937) and the Greek historian Spyridon Lambros (1851-1919) are the main examples which reflect this approach.

¹¹ Lopez, Roberto, *De Numancia a Zaragoza. La la construcción del pasado nacional en las historias de España del ochocientos* in *La construcción de las historias de España*, Garcia, R. (ed.), (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2004), 198-200.

(1894-1971), who wrote a national history of Catalonia, began to address the essential problems of the Catalan past including the expedition of the Catalan Company from a nationalistic perspective.¹² Antonio Rubio y Lluch (1856-1937), a Spanish-Catalan scholar, dedicated his early works (books, articles and monographs) to glorifying the Catalan domination in Greece.¹³

Following the end of the regime of Francisco Franco (1939-1975), a generation of historians took Spanish and Catalan historiography one step further towards becoming an academic and professional area. The interaction between the historians, the publication of new journals like *L'Avenç* (1977) and *Debats* (1982) and the establishment of institution such as the *Asociación de Historia Social* (1989) that hold periodic conferences have all enabled historians to expand their fields of study with new theoretical, thematic and objective approaches. These organizations and publications brought topics such as the history of mentalities, popular culture, and methodology such as oral history for the first time to Spanish historiography.¹⁴ However, this new approach had little effect on the historiography of the history of the Catalan Company. Since the Catalan Company is regarded as one of the most important examples of a military expedition in the Mediterranean, most of the recent studies focus only on the military side of the history of the Catalan Company.

If we now move to the “other end” of the Mediterranean, we realize that the history of the Catalan Company and its domination of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras have

¹² Hofrichter, A. A, *Spanish History of Historiography – Recent Development*, History Compass, 8, (2010), 673.

¹³ Setton, Kenneth Meyer, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388*, (UK: Variorum Reprints, 1975), 249.

¹⁴ Adell, Oscar, R, *La recepción en España de la historiografía internacional desde 1950*, Bulletin d'histoire contemporaine d'Espagne, (43), 2007, 111-137; Cabrera, Miguel A, *Developments in Contemporary Spanish Historiography: From Social History to the New Cultural History*, The Journal of Modern History, (77), 2005, 988–1023.

taken an important place in Greek historiography since the second half of the 19th century. Nevertheless, much like Spanish historiography, the first sources on this subject were written under the influence of a Greek national wave. After the hard-won independence of Greece (1832), Greek writers and institutions played an important role in the creation of a national history which would be main element of Greek historiography during the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century.¹⁵ For them, the essence of national history was to epitomize their history with the period of classical antiquity, and to approach the Byzantine, Frankish and Turkish domination with a Hellenistic spirit. This Hellenistic spirit would resurrect Greece like the mythical Phoenix, after it had been enslaved by the Romans, the Byzantines and the Turks.¹⁶ In this sense, nationalist writers, such as Constantine Sathas (1842-1914) and Constantine Paparrigopoulos (1815-1891) analyzed the Catalan period in Greece several times in a negative perspective.¹⁷ The British historian George Finlay (1799-1875), who participated in the War of Greek Independence (1821–29), may also have been affected by this approach. In his book “*A History of Greece: Mediaeval Greece*

¹⁵ This national history was combined with the reinterpreted concepts such as “*the myth of Ancient Greece*” and “*myths of national origin*”. The reinterpretation of this concepts and the tradition of written text (Greek, Latin and Hebrew) were connected and transformed into a national ideology and history. Liakos, Antonis, *The making of the Greek History: The construction of national time*, in Jacques Revel and Giovanni Levi, *Political Uses of the Past, The Recent Mediterranean Experience*, (London: Frank Cass, 2001), 27-42.

¹⁶ The Greek philosopher Petros Vrailas Armenis (1813-1884) explains briefly this meaning of Hellenism as: “*In what concerns the historical past of Greece, meaning the mission of Hellenism, it is necessary to examine the ways Greece is related to its preceding Oriental World, what it was itself, the influence it exercised on the Romans, its relation to Christianity, what happened to Greece in the Middle Ages, in which ways Greece contributed to the Renaissance, how it contributes to contemporary civilization, how and why Greece survived till our times although it was enslaved, how it resurrected itself, which is its mission today.*” Liakos, Antonis, *The making of the Greek History*, 27-42; Glycofyridi-Leontsini, Athanasia, Petros Vrailas-Armenis: *History and Philosophy in National Context*, in Hohenegger, Hansmichael & Pozzo, Riccardo (ed), *Relations de la philosophie avec son histoire*, (Florence, Leo Olschi Editori, 2017), 149-163.

¹⁷ Rubio y Lluç, Antonio, *La Expedición y Dominación de Los Catalanes en Oriente, Juzgado por los Griegos*, (Barcelona: Real Academia de Buenas Letras, 1883), 79-95.

and the empire of Trebizond. A.D. 1204-1461”, he speaks of the Catalan “*The expedition of Catalan in the East is a wonderful instance of the success which sometimes attends a career of rapacity and crime... Had their military execution and inhuman devastations been the only prominent features in their history...*”¹⁸ However, the highest judgement for the Catalan period was also conveyed by Spyridon Lambros (1851-1919), who was one of the greatest historians of the Greek nation and the prime minister of Greece (1916-1919). He wrote a drama in five acts, *The Last Count of Salona*, which was published in Athens in 1870. In this work, he approaches to the history of Catalan Company in Greece from a nationalistic and Hellenistic way. To him, the Catalan domination of Greece was horrible, and the Catalans were “*wilder than the beasts that roar on gloomy nights in the mountains of Aragon*”.¹⁹

This type of approach in Greek historiography underwent a rapid process of professionalization in the second half of the 20th century. Especially, with the fall of dictatorship in 1974, a generation of historians breathed a new life into Greek historiography. It saw the founding of new institutions, archives, libraries and journals like *Mnimon* (1971), *Ta Istorika* (1983) and *Istor* (1990), which have become landmarks in the development of Greek historiography. Not only did they publish new books and articles, they also created an environment for historians to conduct discussions, researches, and conferences, in which to develop new methodologies.²⁰ All these progressions have shifted the attention of historians from political and

¹⁸ Finlay, George, *A History of Greece: Mediaeval Greece and the empire of Trebizond. A.D. 1204-146*, (UK: Clarendon Press, 1877), 147.

¹⁹ Rubio y Lluch, Antonio, *La Expedicion y Dominacion de Los Catalanos en Oriente*, 89-90.

²⁰ Liakos, Antonis, *Modern Greek Historiography (1974-2000): The Era of Transition from Dictatorship to Democracy*, in *(Re)Writing History: Historiography in Southeast Europe after Socialism*, Brunnbauer, Ulf, (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004), 351-378.

national history to cultural and social history. They began to reanalyze Byzantine, Frankish and Catalan domination, concentrating on cultural activities rather than political ones. As I will move to the primary sources in the following paragraph, I would like to conclude this section by pointing out that although these new methodological developments created a rapid process of professionalization in the Spanish and Greek historiography, the history of the Catalan Company was still dominated by national and military history, because it is still regarded as one of the most important military expeditions in the Mediterranean.

2.2. Sources

2.2.1. Primary Sources

The main sources on the expedition of the Catalan Company consist of chronicles. Among them, one of the most important is the chronicle of Ramon Muntaner, who was born in 1265 in the village of Peralada in northern Catalonia as a noble man whose ancestors had participated in the Aragonese war against Muslims. He was familiar with Aragonese monarchy since he was very young and followed the lives of its monarchs with admiration. This made great impact on his perspective and ideology which, later on, would dominate his writings. Afterwards, he met Roger de Flor in Sicily in 1300 and came to Constantinople in 1302 as a member of the Catalan Company and devoted himself totally to the Crown of Aragon and Roger de Flor.²¹ He began to write his chronicle in 1325, when he was already in his sixties. His book starts with birth of James I in 1207 and ends with coronation of Alfonso IV in 1327. Although his book

²¹ Rubiés, Joan-Pau, *Rhetoric and ideology in the Book of Ramon Muntaner*, *Mediterranean Historical Review*, (26:01), 2011, 1-29.

covers a long period and many events, the most important part of it is the Aegean campaigns (since he witnessed these campaigns himself) of the Catalan Company. Due to his role as a prominent member of the Company until 1307 and a friend of Roger, Muntaner provides a detailed account of the Almogavars and of Roger de Flor before formation of the Catalan Company. Unlike his Byzantine contemporaries like Georgios Pachymeres (1242-1310) and Nicephorus Gregoras (1295-1360), to whom I will return later, Muntaner writes a strictly chronological account with a simple narrative style, especially when he tells of the battles between the Catalans and the Turks. He uses a very simple and direct language, such as "*What shall I tell you? The battle was very hard and lasted from sunrise until the hour of nones.*"²² Furthermore, when compared with Pachymeres, Muntaner does not interrupt his account with unrelated information.

Although his book is probably the most reliable source in terms of events and names, its reliability and credibility are still debatable issues, as he misinterprets some events in favour of the Catalans. The main reason for this is the underlying political ideology and national perspective of his chronicle, which comes from his admiration for the monarchs and crown of Aragon. He explains the reasons why he has written this book as:

*"...And I wish to tell you about it in this place, because his deeds, which follow, were most marvellous and important and are all counted, as they should be, to the glory of the House of Aragon. And what has partly moved me to make this book are the great marvels which have happened through him, and the great Catalan and Aragonese victories there have been in Romania, which were begun by him. Of these marvels no one can recount the truth so well as I who was in Sicily in the time of his prosperity as his procurator-general and took part in all his affairs, in the most important he undertook by sea and by land. Wherefore you should all the more believe me."*²³

²² Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CXCI, 387-389.

²³ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCV, 414-415.

His portrayal of the Catalans as brave and honourable men, and of the Byzantines as cowardly, arrogant and faithless people whom God has punished by taking away their good sense, reflects traditional western prejudices.²⁴ Besides that, throughout his book, Muntaner not only writes as a sort of official spokesman of the kingdom of Aragon, Sicily and Mallorca, but also creates an account similar to the Romance genre; in other words, he wrote a book with a hero (Roger de Flor) who never behaved in an unchivalrous way but was always committed to heroic deeds. This admiration for Roger affects the reliability of his book and causes him not to mention some events. For example, he does not mention the piratical expedition that Roger de Flor carried out in the western Mediterranean in the spring of 1301, when he attacked not only ships of Charles II (1285-1309), but also the subjects and possessions of his allies, the House of Barcelona.²⁵ Perhaps the most outstanding obfuscation concerns the great fight between the Catalans and Genoese in Constantinople that ended with the death of almost three thousand Genoese on the wedding day of Roger and Maria in 1303. He gives the details of this incident as: "*But whilst this feast was great, some Genoese, by their arrogance, caused a fight with the Catalans; it was a great fight. And a wicked man, called Roso de Finar, carried the banner of the Genoese and came before the palace of Blanquerna...This Roso and over three thousand Genoese were killed there...*"²⁶ While Muntaner blames the Genoese for this conflict and does not explain the reasons behind it, Pachymeres argues that the conflict arose from an amount of money (20.000

²⁴ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCIII, 410-411.

²⁵ Hierro, Ernest Marcos, *Retratos de un héroe: Roger de Flor en Paquimeres y Muntaner*, in *De Falsa et Vera Historia I*, Guzman, Antonio & Velazques, Isabel (ed), (Madrid, 2017), 362; Rubio y Lluch, *Diplomatari de l'Orient català (1301-1409): col·lecció de documents per a la història de l'expedició catalana a Orient i dels ducats d'Atenes i Neopàtria*, (DOC), (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2001), doc. VI-VII.

²⁶ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCII, 406-408.

hyperpyra) which Roger had borrowed from Genoese merchants for transportation to Constantinople.²⁷

Despite his diplomatic knowledge, Muntaner seems to have misunderstood Byzantine traditions. While he interprets the title of Grand Duke as “*lord over all the soldiers, and all the islands of Romania*”, the Byzantine source describes this title solely as commander of all naval forces. This shows that either Muntaner was not familiar with Byzantine diplomatic tradition, or he exaggerated the function of the title.²⁸ Nevertheless, despite its overarching ideology and approach, the Chronicle of Ramon Muntaner remains one of the most important sources for the Catalan expedition to Asia Minor, because as a witness to all these events, he can give a detailed account of the expedition.

The *Expedición de los Catalanes y Aragoneses Contra Turcos y Griegos*, written in 1623 by Spanish historian Francisco Moncada (1586-1635), a Spanish commander, writer and diplomat, is the other main Spanish source on the history of the Catalan Company. Francisco Moncada was descended from one of the oldest noble families in Catalonia and had the titles of Count of Osuna and later Marquis of Aitona. He served as royal ambassador in the court of Germany, near the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II (1578-1637). After 1633, he became the governor in Spanish Netherlands.²⁹ His close relation with Spanish monarchy brought a concomitant nationalistic intention to his writings. As he explains, the motive that prompted him to write his work was the natural desire to preserve almost dead memories of the country,

²⁷ Pachymeres, Georgii, *De Michael et Andronico Palaeologis libri tradecim*, I. Bekker (ed), (Bonn, 1835), 397-398.

²⁸ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CXCIX, p. 403; Codinus Curopalates, *De officialibus palatii Constantinopolitani et de officiis magnae ecclesiae liber*, E. Bekker (ed), (Bonn, 1839), 28.

²⁹ Ochoa, Eugenio, & Mendoza, Diego Hurtado de, & Mello, Francisco Manuel de, *Tesoro de historiadores españoles*, (Paris: Boundry, 1840), 125-130.

which deserve eternal duration (*el deseo natural de conservar memorias casi muertas de la patria, que merecen eterna duracion*).³⁰ He began to write his history in 1623 with the intention of writing the memorable expedition of Catalans to the Levant (“*Mi intento es escriure la memorable expedicion i jornada, que los Catalanos i Aragoneses hizieron a las Provincias de Levante*”).³¹ In his book, he focuses directly on the Catalan expedition by adhering to the chronicle of Ramón Muntaner. In addition, he refers to the chronicles of Bernat Desclot and Jerónimo Zurita, as well as to the Greek sources (George Pachymeres and Nicephorus Gregoras) to complete and compare with the chronicle of Ramon Muntaner. Even if he tells his story in favour of Catalans, he does not hesitate to correct Muntaner and the Byzantine sources when they do not reflect the truth. For example, following the assassination of Roger de Flor in Co-emperor Michael Palaeologus’s (1294-1320) palace in Adrianople in 1305, many Catalans and Aragoneses were killed by Greek in both Adrianople and in Constantinople. Although Muntaner blames the Emperor for these events, Moncada finds Muntaner's argument very "*apasionado*" (passionate) and he points to the Greeks as the assassins rather than the Emperor.³² However, in respect of reliability, his work also poses great problems. Despite using a variety of sources to write a reliable story, his work nevertheless represents the national perspective and heroism. While he judges Pachymeres as a great enemy of the Catalans, he justifies the Catalan expedition as a punishment of God for the Byzantines:

“Esta última se tomó para castigo de Andronico, y de los Griegos que apartados de la obediencia de la Romana Iglesia, madre universal de los que militan en la tierra,

³⁰ Moncada, Fransico de, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, (Barcelona: L.Deu, 1623), 3.

³¹ Moncada, Fransico de, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, 1-2.

³² Moncada, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, X-XXVIII, 28- 74; Palmer, José Simón, *Expedición de los Catalanos y Aragoneses contra Turcos y Griegos*, de Francisco de Moncada: *Fuentes Bizantinas*, Erytheia: Revista de estudios bizantinos y neogriegos, (15), 1994, 95-104.

*cayeron en mil errores y por ellos, y por los demas pecados que antes se siguieron, permitió Dios que los Catalanes fuesen los ministros de su ejecucion.”*³³

In a general manner, despite of its reliability, his book cannot be considered as the main source for the expedition of the Catalan Company. Throughout his book, he rarely goes beyond a repetition of the chronicle of Ramon Muntaner, nor does he give information for the Catalan period in Athens.

Among the Byzantine historians, George Pachymeres is the best source for the long reign of Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282-1328), and especially for the Catalan expedition to Anatolia. George Pachymeres was born in 1241 in Nicaea and came to Constantinople in 1261. During his time in Constantinople, he was well educated in logic, rhetoric, mathematics, and ancient Greek philosophy. He held two important offices during his life; *protekdikos* (an ecclesiastical official) and *dikaiophylax* (an imperial official, dealing with legal cases).³⁴ His high-level educational background, the positions he held, and his contacts with members of the patriarchal and imperial courts made a great contribution to allowing him to build up his own approach to history. In general, unlike his Western counterparts, such as Muntaner or the French historian Jean de Joinville (1225-1317)³⁵ who wrote the story of a man or a war, George Pachymeres was aware of the meaning of history as a guide and wrote his story to tell the truth to the future generations.³⁶ He explains his philosophy of history as:

³³ “The latter was taken for the punishment of Andronicus, and of the Greeks who, apart from the obedience of the Roman Church, universal mother of those who militate on earth, fell into a thousand errors and for them, and for the other sins that were previously followed, God allowed the Catalans to be the ministers of their execution.” Moncada, VI, XXXVII, p. 16, 102; Baró i Queralt, Xavier, *La Presència del Llegat Grec en la Catalunya Moderna Francesc de Montcada i l'Expedició de los Catalanes y Aragoneses contra Turcos y Griegos*, Pedralbes: Revista d'història moderna, (18), 1998, 475-482.

³⁴ Cassidy, Nathan John, *A Translation and Historical Commentary of Book One and Book Two of the Historia of Georgios Pachymeres*, (PhD Dissertation, University of Western Australia, 2004), xiii; Kazhdan, Alexander P.(ed), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), vol.I, 625; vol. III, 1743.

³⁵ Jean de Joinville was a French historian who wrote the *Chronicle of Crusades*, based on story of a nobleman who travelled and fought in Sixth and Seventh Crusades.

³⁶ Laiou, Angeliki, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 346.

“En effet, l'ame de l'histoire, pourrait-on dire, c'est la verite, et l'objet de la verite est necessairement sacre, mais qui met le mensonge avant la verite est manifestement sacrilege.”³⁷ Naturally this approach, his oath to tell truth and to be impartial, had a great influence on his use of the evidence. As he explains his method for collecting sources was based on what he himself had seen, or what he has obtained from those who had seen.³⁸ The most important work of Pachymeres is the “*Historia*” which covers more than fifty years, 1254-1307. The “*Historia*” consists of thirteen books in two parts. Its first part, in six books, is a detailed political and religious account of the reign of Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus (1259-1289); while the second part, seven books, is focused on the internal affairs of the reign of Andronicus II (1282-1328).³⁹ The last two books of his history deal with the Catalan Company’s expedition and their relations with the Byzantine Empire. Unlike other Byzantine historians, Pachymeres is generally familiar with European affairs and well informed about the Company’s leaders, especially Roger de Flor.⁴⁰ Contrary to Ramon Muntaner, Pachymeres does not write the history of a hero. Based on Roger’s career as a member of the Order of the Templars and later as a pirate in the Mediterranean, Pachymeres portrays him as a soldier and an adventurer person.⁴¹ What makes his book more reliable on the subject of the Catalan expedition is that Pachymeres history provides information to fill the gaps that Muntaner left in his story such as the origin of the conflict between the

³⁷ “indeed, the soul of history, one might say, is truth, and the object of truth is necessarily sacred, but who puts falsehood before truth is clearly sacrilege.” Pachymeres, Georgii, *Relations Historiques*, Failler, Albert (ed), I. Livres I-III (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1984), 22-24; Cassidy, Nathan John, *A Translation and Historical Commentary of Book One and Book Two of the Historia of Georgios Pachymeres*, 1.

³⁸ Pachymeres, Georgii, *Relations Historiques*, 22-24; Rubio y Lluich, Antonio, *La Expedicion y Dominacion de Los Catalanes en Oriente*, 49-50.

³⁹ Pachymeres, Georgii, *Relations Historiques*, X.

⁴⁰ Pachymeres, Georgii, *De Michael et Andronico Palaeologis libri tradecim*, 393-395.

⁴¹ Hierro, Ernest Marcos, *Retratos de un héroe*, 357-366.

Catalans and Genoese in Constantinople and the Catalan devastation of Thrace. In general, Pachymeres' work is one of the best sources for the period of Catalan expedition. Especially when compared with Muntaner, Pachymeres draws a more reliable and complete picture of the Catalans' behaviour in the Empire.

Yet despite his claims he tells the truth, Pachymeres sometimes loses his impartiality and reliability while describing the Catalans and their behaviour. As with Muntaner's description of the Greeks, Pachymeres is biased while describing the Catalan. His reproaches to the commander of the Catalan Company and to the Almogavars are a clear reflection of the animosity of the Orthodox Byzantines towards Roman Catholics. He repeatedly describes the Catalans as cruel, arrogant, greedy, self-interested soldiers who do not have any loyalty to the Emperor.⁴² In addition to being partial, another problem in his book is its complexity of language and confused chronology. Throughout the whole work, his advanced knowledge of ancient literature and philosophy as well as his regular interruptions of the chronology to digress into a wholly new subject often make his language difficult to understand. In this context, his work should be interpreted as an example of classical Greek historiography, a text of intellectual complexity and linguistic difficulty. Although he does not provide any information about the Catalan domination in Greece, Pachymeres is considered as one of the best Byzantine sources for the Catalan Company's expedition. His detailed account not only fills gaps in the history of the Catalan Company, but also provides a different perspective that shows the reactions to this expedition from the Byzantine

⁴² Laiou, Angeliki, *Constantinople and the Latins*, p.136-170; Morfakidis, Moschos, *La presencia catalana en Grecia: relaciones entre griegos y catalanes según las fuentes*, Erytheia, (8.2), 1987, 217-231.

point of view. His work is of great importance for this thesis, especially to check Muntaner's account and its reliability.

Nicephorus Gregoras is the second major Byzantine historian who wrote the history of the Catalan Company. His book "*Roman History*", in thirty-seven books, covers the period from 1204-1359 and was written in a different period of time and under different political conditions. The narrative about the activity of the Catalan Company in the Byzantine Empire is included in the seventh book which continues until the establishment of the Catalan Duchy of Athens in 1311. Since he gives details which are missing in Pachymeres, especially after 1307 (the year that Pachymeres history finishes), his book is very important for reconstructing the Catalan Company's campaigns in Macedonia and Thessaly. However, Gregoras generally ignores a lot of important information related to the Catalan expedition and makes many mistakes, especially related to the size of the Catalan army. For example, although both Muntaner and Pachymeres give the size of Catalan Company as between eight and ten thousand men, Gregoras gives this number as two thousand.⁴³ His history is not as detailed or accurate as Muntaner's and Pachymeres's on the subject of the Catalan expedition.

2.2.2 Material Sources

Since the study of the history of the Catalan Company requires a broad understanding of the sources, both written and material, this present thesis also benefits from

⁴³ Gregorae, Nicephori, *Byzantine Historiae*, vol. 1, Ludwig Schopen (ed), (Bonn: 1829), 220; Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCI,405; Pachymeres, *De Michael et Andronico Palaeologis libri tradecim*, 393.

archaeology, architecture, epigraphy, church paintings, and numismatics to propose a different analytical approach to the history of the Catalan Company in general and for its settlements in Greece in particular. Although a few scholars, such as Antonio Rubio, Eusebi Ayensa i Prat and Sophia Kalopissi-Verti (to whom I will return in a few moments) have tried to examine Catalan archaeology, architecture, and numismatics separately in Greece, this thesis attempts to analyse and combine all these material sources to better understand the history of Catalan Duchies and methodically complement the written sources.

The first material source that gives information about the history of the Catalan Company, and especially the political and military situation in the East from 1302 to 1305, is the seal of the Catalan Company in 1305 along with a royal flag. The seal was found in the collection of Count Pierre de Viry (ambassador of Sardinia, 1774-1777) and published by Gustave Schlumberger.⁴⁴ In the center of the seal, St George is depicted as a knight riding his horse while attacking the dragon with a spear, along with the inscription "*S(IGILLUM) FELICIS (FRAN)CORUM EXERCITUS IN ROM(A)NIE F(...)BUS(?) COMORANTIS*". This representation of Saint George and the inscription on the seal of the Catalan Company offer valuable information. Firstly, it is obvious that although the seal of the Catalan Company has a depiction of the legend of Saint George which comes from the iconographic traditions of the Crown of Aragon, it also contains certain oriental elements of art that I will analyse later.⁴⁵ Secondly, the seal together with the royal banner of the Crown of Aragon shows that the Catalan Company still maintained close political and cultural relations with the

⁴⁴ Schlumberger, Gustave, *Le sceau de la compagnie des routiers catalans à Gallipoli, en 1305*, Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, (69-2), 1925, 131-137.

⁴⁵ Schlumberger, Gustave, *Le sceau de la compagnie des routiers catalans à Gallipoli, en 1305*, 135; Menéndez Pidal, Juan, *Sellos Españoles de la Edad Media*, (Madrid, Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos, 1918); Anguera, Pere, *Sant Jordi, patró de Catalunya*, ESTUDIS D'HISTORIA AGRARIA, (n. 17), 2004, 67-76.

Crown of Aragon and the King of Sicily. In this sense, I believe that this information supports this thesis's attempt to analyse the process of transformation of a mercenary army into an administrative institution permanently established in Greece. Also, it helps us to sketch a clearer picture of the political and cultural relationship between the Catalan Company and the Crown of Aragon which plays an important role especially during the Catalan domination in Greece (Appendix C).

This present thesis also benefits from the archaeological evidence coming from the excavations at Panakton in the Skourta plain, a settlement place between southern Boeotia and Attica, located in the modern village of Prasina, midway between Athens and Thebes. The excavations were conducted by Martha Taylor and her colleagues in the summer of 1991 and 1992 and completed in the summer of 1999, with the objective of obtaining a sample of stratigraphy throughout the site to establish the distribution of the remains and study the Greek village in the Late Middle Ages.⁴⁶ The excavations reveal that the village was built as an agrarian settlement on the ruins of an ancient Hellenistic garrison fort mentioned by Thucydides.⁴⁷ Although the identity of its residents is still open to question, the excavations suggest that Panakton was inhabited a little more than a century; from the beginning of the 14th century to a point in the first half of the 15th century, roughly covering the period of Catalan (1311-1388) and Florentine rule (1388-1458).⁴⁸ Panakton is a very important archaeological site for both historians and archaeologists, as it reveals information about the daily life of Greek peasants under Western rulers, as well as on the structure of medieval towns in Greece. The information gathered from ceramic vessels, fortifications, small houses,

⁴⁶ Sharon E. J. Gerstel, Munn, M., Grossman, H., Barnes, E., Rohn, A., & Kiel, M. *A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton*. *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 72(2), (2003), 153; Sharon E. J. Gerstel, *Rural Lives and Landscapes in Late Byzantium: Art, Archaeology, and Ethnography*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2105), 1-10.

⁴⁷ Sharon E. J. Gerstel, *A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton*, 148.

⁴⁸ Sharon E. J. Gerstel, *A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton*, 221.

coins, and graves all contribute to the study of identity and daily life of the local population under the Western rulers of Greece.

Castles and towers also provide information for the defence system of the Catalan duchies in Greece. After the conquest of the Duchy of Athens, the Catalans concentrated on fortification activities, either by building new forts or restoring ancient Byzantine castles and towers, to protect their territories in Greece, since they were surrounded by the Venetians, the family of Roche and Pope Clement V (1305-1314). Although it is not possible to fix the exact date of castles and towers of Greece or to postulate their primary function, the castles of Livadia, Neopatras, Zeitounion, Sidecastron, and Athens, and the towers of Panakton, Parori (Aegina), and Tanagra (Aegina) are all prominent examples of Catalan fortification activity in Greece.⁴⁹ These fortifications and many others not only provide information about the administrative and military organization of the duchies but also show their defence system under Catalan domination. In addition, they are important examples through which examine the characteristics of the settlement pattern established by the Western powers in Greece. These fortifications help us analyse the relations between the Catalans and their neighbours in times of turbulence and struggle.

After establishing their administrative system in the duchies, the Catalans not only focused on fortification, they also gave great importance to the construction or decoration of ecclesiastical buildings. For instance, the frescoes of a cave church of Zoodochos Pege, the paintings in church of the Taxiarches, and the church of St. Nicholas Mavrika in Aegina as well as the inscriptions dedicated to Don Alfonso Fadrique (1317-1338) in the church of St Nicholas Mavrika (Aegina) and to Don Pedro

⁴⁹ Prat, Eusebi Ayensa, *Els catalans a Grècia: Castells i torres a la terra dels déus*, (Barcelona: Editorial Base, 2013), 32-33.

II Fadrique (1376-1380) in the church of Agios Ioannis Theologos (Aegina) are the main examples of ecclesiastical architecture under Catalan ownership. These monumental building activities offer valuable information in many ways for this thesis. The sheer number of ecclesiastical monuments and the quality of the paintings reveal a period of economic and cultural prosperity that allowed the local population to build and decorate churches during the Catalan domination. In addition, the inscriptions in the church of San Nicolás Mavrika (Aegina) and in the church of Agios Ioannis Theologos (Aegina) show that the Latin rulers took an active role in donating money to monumental activities in Greece. These church paintings help us to examine religious tolerance and acculturation between the local Orthodox population and the new Catholic Catalan rulers in Greece, as well as to understand the reaction and rapprochement of both sides towards each other. Second, the combination of Latin painting motifs, especially the figure of St. George, with the painting style of Greek Orthodoxy opens the way for us to discuss the "*orientalisation*" of the Catalans.

Catalan numismatic surveys and commercial activities in Greece have received little interest from scholars, as we have no evidence that the Catalans minted their own coinage in Greece. However, even limited numismatic data still provides information for the period of Catalan domination. The coins which have been found individually or as hoards show that during the Catalan domination, the Venetian *soldino*, the French *gros tournois*, the Italian *pierreali* and Greek *tournois* coins were in circulation in the Greek economy.^{50*} This is valuable evidence for the political and economic situation

⁵⁰ Baker, Julian, *Money and Currency in Medieval Greece*, in *A Companion to Latin Greece*, Nickiphoros I. Tsougarakis & Lock, Peter (ed), (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 217-254; Baker, Julian & Galani-Krikou, Mina, *Further considerations on the numismatics of Catalan Greece in the light of the Athens Roman Agora (Lytsika) 1891 hoards*, in *Κεράμια φιλίας. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον Ιωάννη Τουράτσογλου*, 1, Athens (2009), 457-473.

*Soldino: Venetian fine silver denomination, which was introduced in 1332.

Gros tournois: French silver coin

of the Catalan duchies of Athens. The quality, quantity, and diversity of coins show that, although the Catalans were under the political and military threat from the Venetians, French, and Greeks, they nevertheless enjoyed economic and commercial interactions with these neighbours. Furthermore, they reflect that, in spite of political and military rivalries in Greece, Athens continued to maintain its economic importance and prosperity under Catalan domination. The numismatic evidence allows us to understand political and military conflicts and the commercial exchange between the Crown of Aragon, the Catalans in Greece and their neighbours in the Mediterranean.

2.2.3. Secondary Sources

This section does not intend to touch all the secondary sources related to the Catalan Company and the Catalan Duchies of Athens. However, it aims to present the main secondary sources for the Catalan company. For a broader perspective, readers should refer to the footnotes and the extensive bibliography, as here for the sake of brevity I will include only the main and most relevant works on the subject. The most extensive works on the subject were done by Antonio Rubio i Lluch (1856-1937) a Spanish - Catalan professor who wrote many books, articles and monographs on the subject. For a long time, Antonio Rubio did not contribute anything new to the topic that Muntaner and Moncada had not written, nor did he offer a new point of view. In response to Greek nationalists, such as the abovementioned Lampros and Sathas, Antonio Rubió dedicated part of his works to countering the negative reputation of the Company and

Pierreali: Italian silver coin, see also Schlumberger, Gustave Léon, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, (Paris, E. Leroux, 1878).

to vindicating the patriotic greatness that Catalonia had in the East.⁵¹ His first work on the subject is "*La Expedicion y Dominacion de Las Catalanes en Oriente, juzgados par Las Gringos*", published in 1883, which analyses the Catalan domination in Greek memories, traditions, popular songs, and literature. As Kenneth Setton states that "*this study is still of some value, but is untrustworthy in details; the author worked, too, with an insufficient library at his disposal...*"⁵²

"*Diplomatari de l' Orient Catalan (1301-1409. Colleccion de Documents per la Historia de l' expedicio Catalana a Oriente dels ducats d' Atenes i Neopatria 1302-1409*" is the most important and valuable work written by Antonio Rubio on the Catalan expedition and Catalan Duchies. The work is a collection of more than 700 documents (in six languages; Latin, Catalan, Aragonese, Greek, Italian and French) which come from the archives of Aragon, Venice, Palermo and the Vatican. Although this study does not focus on the political and cultural transformation in Catalan Greece, it provides valuable documents that attest to the military and political activities of the Catalan Company (1302-1311) and the Catalan Duchies of Athens (1311-1388) as well as the commercial activity of the Catalans in the Levant.⁵³

The great historian of the Crusades Kenneth Setton was one of the first to write the modern history of the Catalan Duchies of Athens and Neopatras. In his book entitled "*Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388*", published for the first time in 1948,

⁵¹ Setton, Kenneth Meyer, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388*, (UK: Variorum Reprints, 1975), 249.

⁵² Rubio y Lluç, Antonio, *La Expedicion y Dominacion de Los Catalanes en Oriente, Juzgado por los Griegos*, also Setton, Kenneth Meyer, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 286-287.

⁵³ Rubio y Lluç, Antonio *Diplomatari de l' Orient Catalan (1301-1409). Colleccion de Documents per la Historia de l' expedicio Catalana a Oriente dels ducats d' Atenes i Neopatria*, (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2001). His other works on subject of Catalan Company are: *Los Navarros en Grecia, y el Ducado Catalán de Atenas en la Época de Su Invasión* (Barcelona: Impr. de J. Jepús, 1886); *La Grecia catalana, desde 1377 a 1379* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1914); *El record dels catalans en la tradició popular, històrica i literària de Grècia* (Barcelona: Curial Edicions Catalanes, 2001), and so on.

Setton not only studied the political and military history, but also addressed the civil and religious administration of the seventy-seven years of Catalan government in Athens, in the context of the archaeological monuments, the language, and the culture. As Setton devotes almost the entire book to the political history of the Catalan Duchies, only two out of twelve chapters (Chapter IV and chapter XI) deal with social and cultural situation. Setton offered a very detailed account of the complicated political and economic relations, not only between Greeks and Catalans, but also between Christians and Muslims. In short, Setton produced a general foundation, based on not only written sources, but also on archaeological, architectural and cultural sources, for historians and researchers who intend to study the Catalan Duchies of Athens and even the political and military situation of the Mediterranean from the 14th century to 15th century. Nevertheless, it does not meet the needs of those who intend to study the social and cultural transformation in the Catalan duchies of Athens and Neopatras, because it generally focuses on the political situation of the Catalan Duchies rather than on their social and cultural life.⁵⁴

David Agustí is another scholar who has devoted part of his study to the expedition of the Catalan Company to the East. In his work entitled " *Los Almogavares: La expansion Mediterranea de la Corona de Aragon* ", published in 2004, he focuses on the expansion of the Catalan-Aragonese Crown through the experiences of the Almogavars in Asia Minor. He develops his thesis on the idea of the decisive role played by the Almogavars in the land -that once had been ruled by Alexander the Great- within the context of the Mediterranean expansion of the Crown of Aragon between 14th and 15th century. He gives detailed information concerning the great

⁵⁴ Setton, Kenneth Meyer, *Catalan Domination of Athens*.

battles, betrayals, murders, conquests, and defeats in a chronological and almost novelistic style. However, based on his preference to focus on the military side of this expedition, one could argue that he does not really go beyond a brief repetition of Ramon Muntaner chronicle.⁵⁵

A Companion to Latin Greece, edited by Nickiphoros I. Tsougarakis and Peter Lock, provides a general history of the Latin states that emerged as a result of the Fourth Crusade in the former lands of the Byzantine Empire. With chapters related to art, literature, architecture, money, economy, society, and religious organization of these Latin states, this book provides a starting point for those who intend to study Latin Greece. Chapter 11 entitled "*Monumental Art in the Lordship of Athens and Thebes under Frankish and Catalan Rule (1212-1388): Latin and Greek Patronage*" written by Sophia Kalopissi – Verti, offers a good introduction to Latin patronage in Greece. In her article, Kalopissi – Verti examines the murals and monumental arts in churches under Latin domination. She not only presents the role of Latin rulers in the promotion of architectural and cultural activities, but also analyses the reaction and approach of the local Orthodox population in Greece to these new Latin rulers. Even if she focuses generally on the Frankish period from 1212 to 1311, her article continues to be important in understanding the cultural relations between the Catalans and the Greeks, as she extends her analysis over the paintings and inscriptions of churches under the dominion of the Catalans.⁵⁶ This analysis shows the cultural exchange between the

⁵⁵ Agusti, David, *Los Almogavares: la Expansion Mediterranea de la Corona de Aragon*, (Madrid: Silex, 2004).

⁵⁶ Kalopissi- Verti, S, *Monumental Art in the Lordship of Athens and Thebes under Frankish and Catalan Rule (1212-1388): Latin and Greek Patronage*, in *A Companion to Latin Greece*, Nickiphoros I. Tsougarakis & Lock, Peter (ed), (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

Catalans and Greeks and helps us to examine the combination of Catalan and Greek artistic and iconographic structures.

Ernest Marcos Hierro⁵⁷, Ruben Saez Abad⁵⁸, Ricardo de Isabel Martinez⁵⁹, and Maria Dourou Ellopoulau⁶⁰ are just a few examples of historians who have recently studied the history of Catalan Company. Although, they write on the subject based on archival documents, written and material sources, they directly focus on the political and military history of the Catalan Company from its arrival to the Constantinople until its conquest of the Duchies, and the political-diplomatic relationships that the Byzantine Empire maintained with the Catalan-Aragonese Crown.

In spite of this flourishing of interest, the history of the Catalan Company and the Catalan Duchies of Athens remains, to a certain extent, both fragmentary and insufficient. This is mainly the result of three reasons. Firstly, although the Greek and Spanish authors have recently changed their approach to the Catalan Company, the current literature is still under the influence of the nationalist and political perspectives of the last century, causing both sides to approach the issue from a narrow point of view. During the twentieth century many Spanish authors turned their gaze to the eastern Mediterranean to glorify the history of the Catalan Company and its domination in Greece, while Greek historians analysed Latin domination in Greece as a whole, rather than examining each political powers of the period (Frankish domination 1205-1311; Catalan period 1311-1388; and the Florentine family 1388-

⁵⁷ Ernest, Marcos, *Almogavares: la Historia*, (Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros, 2005).

⁵⁸ Abad, Ruben Saez, *Los Almogavares y la Amenaza Turca 1303-1312*, (Madrid: Almena Ediciones, 2008).

⁵⁹ Martinez, Richardo de Isabel, *Almogavares: La Mejor Infanteria del Mundo*, (Madrid: Ediciones Falcata Iberica, 2000).

⁶⁰ Ellopoulau, Maria Dourou, *The Catalan Duchy of Athens and the Other Latin Powers in Greece Especially the Principality of Achaia (1311-1388)*, ΕΘΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΣΤΙΕΡΙΑ 4, (1999 – 2000).

1458). This approach has caused the Catalan period to be neglected for a long time. Secondly, despite the large volume of works published on the history of the Catalan Company, most of them focus exclusively on the political and military adventures of the Almogavars by following the works of Ramon Muntaner, George Pachymeres, and Antonio Rubio. Although these works provide immense sources for those who intend to study the military and political aspects of the Catalan Company, they push the political, social and cultural history of the Catalan Duchies of Athens into the background. Thirdly, although the archaeological, architectural, numismatic and artistic evidence has been indispensable as sources for the history of the duchies of Athens, the later Latin adoption of the same architectural and artistic style has led to problems in the dating and identification of these structures. Moreover, given that most of the published works analyse these material sources under the whole Frankish period from 1205 until 1458, it would not be wrong to argue that the Catalan period has been pushed into the background of the History of the Peloponnese.

Given the abundance of specialised studies on the political and military history of the Catalan Company, writing a detailed account of its military expedition to Anatolia and its formation are far beyond the main aims of this thesis. Rather, it will be an attempt to analyse social and cultural exchange between the Catalans and the local orthodox population in Greece to find out the political, social and cultural transformation of the Company. This thesis can be conceived as an analysis of the essential aspects of the social, cultural and political exchange that emerged in the aftermath of the establishment of the Catalan Duchies of Athens. Also rather than writing from a narrow point of view, it attempts to combine different kind of sources (mainly Spanish and Greek primary and secondary sources as well as material evidence). In brief, this thesis aims to contribute to the current literature and also to further researches to show

that Catalans in Greece were something beyond the image that historiography has heretofore assigned to them as warriors, whether noble or brutal, who did not engage in cultural and social activities.



CHAPTER III

THE CATALAN COMPANY IN ASIA MINOR, 1303-1311

As mentioned in the introduction, it is my intention to include the history of the Almogavars, the Catalan Company's campaigns in Asia Minor, as well as the period of devastation- known as the *Catalan Vengeance*- against Byzantine Empire to this chapter, as they are important to better understand the general argument of this thesis. Firstly, the key events of the expedition of the Catalan Company in Asia Minor -from its arrival at Constantinople (September 1303) to the Battle of Halmyros (March 1311) - reveal the main reasons behind the march of the Catalan Company towards Greece and its conquest. Secondly, they explain the relationships of the Catalans with the Byzantines, the Turkish Emirates, and the Genoese in Asia Minor, and this will allow us to better understand their later relationships with the Aydınoğulları, Menteshe, and the Venetians under the Catalan Duchies of Athens and Neopatras (1311-1388), which will be mentioned in the next chapter. Thirdly, they show how the different actors are reflected in different stories, especially in the narratives of Muntaner and Pachymeres, and offer the opportunity to compare Spanish and Byzantine historiography.

3.1 Historical Background

In order to better comprehend the Catalan Company and its expedition to the East, it is crucial to know of Roger de Flor⁶¹ as well as the *Almogavars*. Roger de Flor (1267-1305) was one of many soldiers of fortune who had gotten great opportunities from the expansion of Europe in the East. He was born in the city of Brindisi in Italy as the son of a noble family. His father Richard de Flor was a German who was the falconer of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen (1220-1250). His mother was the daughter of a wealthy and honorable family from Brindisi. After Richard de Flor died in Battle of Tagliacozzo in 1268, Roger moved with his mother and his brother to the city of Brindisi to be with his grandfather. At that time, Brindisi was a harbour for pilgrims and for ships belonging to the Orders of Templars and Hospitalers to pass the winter and as well as to load their cargoes of oil, wine and wheat.⁶² According to Muntaner, when Roger de Flor was only eight, he met Friar Vassall, a commander of a Templar ship which anchored in Brindisi to pass the winter. Friar Vassall was impressed by Roger's agility and ability and took him aboard his ship. He taught him about weaponry and navigation.⁶³ In fact, at fifteen, Roger was already recognized as an expert navigator. Soon afterwards, he became a member of the Templar Order and was appointed as captain of one of the most powerful galleys of the Templar fleet, "*The Falcon*", the largest ship that had been built at that time.⁶⁴ According to Muntaner, during the siege of Acre by the Mamluks in 1291, Roger de Flor saved many people and great treasure by taking them to the castle in Montepeligrino (south of Haifa) in exchange for gold and money.⁶⁵ Although he sent a large amount of this

⁶¹ Rutger von Blume, For family name, Robert D. Hughes, *The Catalan Expedition to the East: from the Chronicle of Ramon Muntaner*, (Barcelona: Woodbridge, 2006), 21.

⁶² Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CXCV, 389.

⁶³ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CXCV, 390.

⁶⁴ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CXCV, 390.

⁶⁵ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CXCV, 391.

gain to the Masters of the Order, he was still accused of withholding immense treasure. After his all properties were seized by the Order, he escaped to Marseilles, and left “The Falcon” there. After moved to Genoa, Roger borrowed an amount of money from his friends and purchased a new galley called the “*Oliveta*.”⁶⁶ Then he went to Naples and offered his service to the Duke of Calabria Robert of Anjou (1296-1309). However, Robert did not accept this offer and after three days Roger left Naples to head for Messina. He offered his service together with his galleys and men to King Frederic III of Sicily (1295-1337). The king accepted Roger de Flor with great honour. Soon, Roger de Flor became a member of Frederick’s household and the commander of a well-organized group of mercenaries known as the “*Almogavars*.”⁶⁷

Almogavar is the name of a class of soldier recruited by James I the Conqueror (1213-1276) to fight against Muslims in the Christian Reconquista of the Iberian Peninsula. The etymology of the word “*almogavar*” comes from Arabic word ر المغاو “*al-mughāwir*” (the one who makes an incursion) deriving from the verb غاور “*gawara*” (make an incursion).⁶⁸ When the term was used in the Spanish sources, it was combined with the Arabic article and became “*almogavars*.”⁶⁹ The earliest historical reference appeared in the Arab chronicle “*Akhbar Muluk Al-Andalus (The History of Kings of Al-Andalus)*”, written by historian Ahmed Ibn Muhammed al-Razi (887-955) known among Christians as Moor Rasis.⁷⁰ In his chronicle, he describes the cities of

⁶⁶ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CXIV, 390-392.

⁶⁷ Moncada, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, III, 9-11.

⁶⁸ Maíllo Salgado, Felipe. *Puntualizaciones acerca de la naturaleza de los amogavares: contribución al estudio del medioevo español al de su léxico*. Cahiers de Linguistique Hispanique Médiévale, 9, (1984), 164.

⁶⁹ Maíllo Salgado, Felipe. *Puntualizaciones acerca de la naturaleza de los amogavares*, p.164; Martinez, Richardo de Isabel, *Almogavares*, 20.

⁷⁰ Al-Razi, Ahmad b. Muhammad, *Crónica del moro Rasis*, Pascal de Gayangos (ed), (Madrid: E.F. Rueda, 1850), 88-89.

Al-Andalus along the Ebro Valley. He refers to some groups called almogavars in the city of Saraqusta (Zaragoza):

“... et de todas lass us villas y ciudades de Tarragona fue gran tiempo camara de los Almoxeres y fue tomado de los guerreadores, et quando les dieron la cibdad de Zaragoza acogianse alli los Alcaldes y los Almogavares...” (“...and of all the towns and cities of Tarragona was a great time the chamber of Almoxeres and was taken from the warriors, and when they were given the city of Zaragoza, the Alcaldes and the Almogavares were welcomed there...”)⁷¹

Although the etymology of the word is known, the origin of the Almogavars is not completely clear and has been discussed by scholars like Felipe Maillo Salgado, José María Moreno Echevarría for a long time. Various studies have been devoted to theorizing over their origins. The Spanish historian Francisco Moncada (1586-1635) argued that the Almogavars descended from the Visigoths. Based on their life style, he claims that after the Arab invasion, many Visigothic groups took refuge in the mountains under hard conditions. This difficult life gave them back their old warrior vigor and they once again began to live their life by making incursions.⁷² On the other hand, Byzantine historians, especially George Pachymeres (1242-1310) - based on the phonetic ending between *Ávaro-Almogávaro-Almogávar*- argues that they originated from the Avars.⁷³ However, the most accepted explanation is that they were formed by farmers and shepherds from the Pyrenees Mountains after the Muslim conquest of the Iberian Peninsula in the 8th century. The arrival of invaders forced the population living along the Ebro Valley to leave their farms and castles and seek refuge in forests and mountains. As a result, borders and conquered areas remained deserted with no political and military authority. These unsafe and deserted areas become important places for these people to make quick raids, steal animals, and take captives from other

⁷¹ Al-Razi, Ahmad b. Muhammad, *Crónica del moro Rasis*, 88-89

⁷² Moncada, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, VII, 18-19.

⁷³ Pachymeres, Georgii, *De Michael et Andronico Palaeologis libri tradecim*, 416; Echevarria, Jose M. Moreno, *Los Almogavares*, (Barcelona: Ediciones Marte, 1970), 27.

side.⁷⁴ *The Chronicle of Bernat Desclot (Llibre del rei en Pere d'Aragó e dels seus antecessors passats)*, one of the four great chronicles of Catalan literature, describes clearly this life style of the Almogavars:

“Aquestes gents qui han nom “almogàvers” són unes gents qui no viuen sinó d’armes no estan en ciutats ne en viles, sinó en muntanyes e en boscs, e guerregen tots jorns ab sarraïns e entren dins la terra dels sarraïns una jornada o dues, en lladronyant e apresant, e en traen molts sarraïns preses e molt d’altre haver.”

*(“These people who are called Almogavars who do not live without weapons, they do not live in cities nor in towns but in mountains and forests, and they fight every day against Muslims. They enter into the land of the Saracens a day or two, plundering, stealing and taking captives...”)*⁷⁵

In a later period, they were formed as one of the most effective infantry groups of their time and they participated in the Reconquista especially during the reigns of James I the Conqueror (1213-1276) and his son, Peter III the Great (1276-1285). Especially, from the chronicle of James I of Aragon (1213-1276), it seems that they were used effectively to make quick raids on the frontiers: “...I then determined to make a raid on the banks of the Xucar, with perhaps a hundred and thirty knights, up to a hundred and fifty almogavars and seven hundred footmen...”⁷⁶ After the Aragonese Reconquista, they were hired and participated in the War of Sicilian Vespers (1282-1302), fought over the domination of Sicily between the Aragonese kings of Sicily and the Angevin kings of Naples. Finally, after the Treaty of Caltabellota (August 31, 1302) that brought an end to the war, they formed the Grand Catalan Company and began their journey to the East which would end up with the establishment of Catalan Duchies of Athens and Neopatras (1311-1388).

⁷⁴ Agusti, David, *Los Almogavares: la Expansion Mediterranea de la Corona de Aragon*, (Madrid: Silex, 2004), 9.

⁷⁵ Desclot, Bernard. *Llibre del rei en Pere d'Aragó e dels seus antecessors passats*, Soldevila, Ferran. *Les quatre grans cròniques*, (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2007-2014. 4 vol.), 87.

⁷⁶ *The chronicle of James I, King of Aragon*, John Forster (tr), (Cambridge: Ontario, 2000), 107.

3.2 The Catalan Campaigns in Asia Minor

31 August 1302 was a turning point for the future of Roger de Flor and for the Almogavars. Over nearly a decade Roger de Flor and his men had fought in the War of Sicilian Vespers. However, after the abovementioned Peace of Caltabellotta, agreed by Charles II of Anjou (1285-1309) and Frederick III of Sicily (1295-1337), Roger de Flor found himself in a difficult situation. First, mercenary groups such as the Almogavars who were accustomed to living off the spoils were a danger in times of peace. Keeping them without any occupation would have been a burden for Frederick III of Sicily and Roger de Flor. Therefore, he needed to find another king to hire them. Second, and more important, Frederick made peace with Charles of Anjou and the Pope, who could demand from him to surrender Roger to the Templar Order.⁷⁷ This request would have put both Roger and Frederick in a difficult situation. As a solution, Roger de Flor visited Frederick III of Sicily and asked his permission to let him offer his help to Emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282-1332) of Byzantium.⁷⁸ With the permission of Frederick, Roger de Flor sent two envoys to Andronicus and offered his help against the Anatolian Beyliks.⁷⁹ As I will return to the geo-political situation in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean in few moments, it is important to stress here that Ramon Muntaner states that Andronicus promised to honor Roger de Flor with the title "*Megas Dux*" and to marry his niece Maria (the daughter of the Bulgarian tsar Ivan III Asen, (1279-1280) to Roger. Muntaner interprets the title of "*Megas Dux*" as:

⁷⁷ Barber, Malcolm, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 177, 240-241.

⁷⁸ Laiou, Angeliki, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 131-132; Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CXCIX, 400-401.

⁷⁹ Pachymeres, Georgii, *De Michael et Andronico Palaeologis libri tradecim*, 395.

“And Grand Duke is a title which means the same as Prince, and lord over all the soldiers of the Empire, with authority over the Admiral; and all the islands of Romania are subject to him, and also all the places on the sea-coast.”⁸⁰ It seems that Muntaner misinterprets and overrates the function of a Grand Duke in Byzantium. Byzantine sources describe the title as the commander of all naval forces.⁸¹ Also, it was agreed that the Emperor would pay four ounces (*onzas*) of silver per month to each armed horseman and one ounce (*onzas*) of silver to each foot-soldier; and that four months would be paid in advance.⁸² According to Byzantine sources, although this payment to the Catalans was greater than the one paid to other mercenaries, the emperor accepted this agreement with great joy.⁸³ The main reason behind the emperor’s decision was the military and political exhaustion of Empire. Many Turkish tribes had been driven west by the Mongol invasions in the middle of the 13th century and the Empire’s territories in western Asia Minor had become open to attacks from tribes in search of land and booty. The Emirate of Karası invaded south of the Sea of Marmara and shared a long frontier with the Byzantine Empire, from the region of Kyzikos to the Gulf of Edremit which allowed it to control the Asiatic coast of the Dardanelles (Çanakkale Boğazı).⁸⁴ The areas in the Aegean region, between the Meander (Menderes) and the Hermos (Gediz) rivers, had been occupied by the Emirates of Saruhan, Aydın and Menteshe. Many cities such as Philadelphia (Alaşehir), Magnesia (Manisa), and Anaia (Kadı Kalesi) had continuously suffered from the attacks of these tribes.⁸⁵ On the other side, the

⁸⁰ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CXCIX, 403.

⁸¹ Codinus Curopalates, *De officialibus palatii Constantinopolitani et de officiis magnae ecclesiae liber*, 28.

⁸² Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CXCIX, 402; Moncada, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, VI, 17-18.

⁸³ Pachymeres, Georgii, *De Michael et Andronico Palaeologis libri tradecim*, 395.

⁸⁴ Zachariadou, Elizabeth, *The Emirate of Karasi and that of the Ottomans: Two Rival States*, in *The Ottoman Emirate (1300-1389)*, Elizabeth Zachariadou (ed), (Rethymnon: Crete University Press, 1993), 225-226.

⁸⁵ Korobeinikov, Dimitri, *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 252-275.

Ottomans were continuing to launch their raids into the interior of Bithynia (Bitinya). On 27 July 1302, by defeating the Byzantine army in the battle of Bapheus (Koyun Hisar), the Ottomans managed to break the Byzantine border defences and opened the way to the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus.⁸⁶ To stop Turkish attacks and to recover western Asia Minor, Andronicus II (1282-1332) counted on Alan military support in return for granting them permission to settle in the Empire. Although the co-Emperor Michael (1294-1320), along with Greeks and Alans, advanced on the Turks, he was defeated by them several times.⁸⁷ By 1302, Turkish emirates thus held nearly the whole of western Asia Minor. In this situation, as Pachymeres states, Roger's offer was a gift for Emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus.⁸⁸ After all preparations had been made, Roger de Flor sailed from Messina together with his army, including Catalans, Aragonese, and Almogavars. The Catalan Company arrived at Constantinople in September 1303. Muntaner gives the size of the army as one thousand five hundred horsemen, four thousand Almogavars and one thousand foot-soldiers, while Pachymeres states that together with their wives and children, the exact size was eight thousand men.⁸⁹

The first event that overshadowed the arrival of the Catalan Company was an unpleasant incident that occurred between Almogavars and Genoese merchants whose colony was located at Pera across the Golden Horn. During the celebration of Roger and Maria's wedding, some Almogavars were provoked by a group of Genoese led by Rosso of Finar who had come to the Palace of the Blachernae (the official residence of the Byzantine Emperor). After being provoked by the Genoese flag waving at them,

⁸⁶ Korobeinikov, Dimitri, *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century*, 274; Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, cilt 1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988), 105-110.

⁸⁷ Ostrogorsky, George, *History of the Byzantine State*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968), 492.

⁸⁸ Pachymeres, *De Michael et Andronico Palaeologis libri tradecim*, 395.

⁸⁹ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCI, 405; Pachymeres, *De Michael et Andronico Palaeologis libri tradecim* p.393; Gregorae, Nicephori, *Byzantine Historiae*, vol. 1, 220.

the Almogavars left their places and a terrible battle broke out. It was the first time that the people of Constantinople heard the battle cry of the Almogavars “*Desperta Ferro*” (“*Awake the Iron*”). The Catalans began to march towards Pera (the commercial centre of the Genoese) to plunder.⁹⁰ Although Roger de Flor and some knights were able to stop them, nearly three thousand Genoese were killed including Rosso of Finar.⁹¹ The sources at our disposal give different accounts for the reasons behind this conflict. Muntaner explains that from the arrival of the Catalan Company, the Genoese regarded the Catalans as a threat to their privileges in Constantinople.⁹² However, Pachymeres says that the reason was the Genoese merchants asking Roger de Flor to repay the loan (20,000 hyperpyra) which they had lent him in Sicily for transportation of the Catalan Company.⁹³ This incident showed clearly that Almogavars staying at Constantinople was a big problem for the Empire. So, Andronicus decided to send them far from the capital as soon as possible.

After the winter passed, the Catalan Company -together with Alan mercenaries and Greek troops- sailed to Cape Artake (Erdek), near the ruin of ancient Cyzicus (Kyzikos) on the Kapıdağ Peninsula. According to Muntaner, the peninsula was a very large area including more than twenty thousand farms and smallholdings. The abovementioned Karasid Turks had attacked the region many times.⁹⁴ As soon as Roger de Flor arrived, he ordered a group of Almogavars to form up and explore the area. After being informed that Karasid troops were not far from Artake (Erdek), he decided to make a sudden attack. Early in the morning, Almogavars attacked the

⁹⁰ Echevarria, Jose M. Moreno, *Los Almogavares*, 174-176.

⁹¹ Echevarria, Jose M. Moreno, *Los Almogavares*, 172-175; Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCII, 407.

⁹² Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCII, 406; Moncada, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, VIII, 21-24.

⁹³ Pachymeres, *De Michael et Andronico Palaeologis libri tradecim*, 397-399.

⁹⁴ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCIII, p.408; Moncada, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y Griegos*, IX, 23-26; Ayönü, Yusuf, *Katalanların Anadolu ve Trakya'daki faaliyetleri (1302-1311)*, (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Basımevi, 2009), 35-38.

Karasid camps and surprised them. The attack was very quick. Before the Turks realized it, more than thousand Karasid foot-soldiers had perished. The Battle of Artake (Erdek) in 1303 was thus a complete victory for the Catalan Company.⁹⁵ After staying in Artake (Erdek) throughout the winter, the Catalan Company prepared to march into the interior of Anatolia. However before leaving, an incident occurred between the Alans and Catalans. During the incident three hundred Alans were killed including the son of Girgon, their leader.⁹⁶ Therefore, a large part of Alan forces left the Catalan Company. As will be seen, this dispute would lead to very serious consequences for the Catalan Company. Finally, at the beginning of April 1304, the Catalan Company (6000 Catalans, and a thousand Alan and Greek troops) departed from Artake to the direction of Philadelphia (Alaşehir). This city was a well-fortified and strategic point for the defence of the provinces of Asia Minor as it was located on the principal roads leading east.⁹⁷ At that time, the governor of the Germiyanids Yakub bin Alişir (1303?-1340?) was besieging Philadelphia. After four days, the Catalan Company arrived at the Byzantine fortress of Achyraus (Bigadiç) and then following the Kaikos River (Bakırçay), the Catalans arrived at Germe (Soma). After this region was taken under control, the Company moved on to its destination: Philadelphia. The Catalans and the Turks came face to face at Aulax.⁹⁸ According to Muntaner, the Turks were the tribes of Sasa and Aydın (*la gavilla de Cesa y de Tui*); Pachymeres

⁹⁵ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCIII, 408-411; Moncada, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, IX, 23-26; Augusti, *Los Almogavares*, 54-55.

⁹⁶ Moncada, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, XIII, 33-37; Augusti, *Los Almogavares*, 57; Pachymeres, *De Michael et Andronico Palaeologis libri tradecim*, 421-424

⁹⁷ Cheynet, Jean-Claude, *Philadelphie, un quart de siècle de dissidence, 1182-1206*, in *Philadelphie et autres études*, (Byzantina Sorbonensia IV) Ahrweiler, Hélène ed, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 1984), 39-54.

⁹⁸ Aulax was a small town which is mentioned in *Testament of Maximos for the Monastery of the Mother of God at Skoteine near Philadelphia*, tr. Dennis George in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, Thomas John & Constantinides Hero Angela (ed), vol.1, (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), 1182-1187. From Muntaner and David Augusti, we understand that Aulax was located one day's march away from the Philadelphia.

claims it was Yakub bin Ali Şir Germiyanoglu.⁹⁹ From the *Düsturname-i Enveri*, we know that Sasa and Mehmed Beg had come from the land of Germiyanids as subaşı (military commander) of Yakub bin Alişir.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, the battle was against the confederation of the Turks under the command of Yakub bin Alişir, whose army, according to Muntaner, was eight thousand horsemen and twelve hundred foot-soldiers.¹⁰¹ Although both sides were strong enough, the Almogavars under the command of the Marshal Corberan de Alet made a quick raid and killed many of their foes. At the end of day, the Battle of Aulax (1304) was another great victory for the Catalans.¹⁰² Following this victory, Roger de Flor led his company to Kula. By following the valley of the river Hermos (Gediz River), he entered the city of Magnesia (Manisa) and established his headquarters. However, while the Catalan Company was resting, Roger de Flor was informed that those Turks who had escaped from the Battle of Aulax had united with the tribe of Monteshe (*la gavilla de Mondexia*) and had attacked Tyre (Tire) where the body of the patron saint of Catalonia, Saint George (San Jorge), was buried.¹⁰³ Tyre (Tire) was not sufficiently fortified to defend itself from these attacks. Immediately, Roger de Flor left half of his forces in Magnesia and ordered a march to Tyre in order to arrive there in the morning before the Turks. In the early morning, the Monteshe Turks began to attack the city walls without being aware of the Catalan troops inside. Two hundred horsemen and a thousand foot-soldiers led by Corberan de Alet rushed out of the city and attacked the Monteshe forces

⁹⁹ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCV, 414-415; Pachymeres, *De Michael et Andronico Palaeologis libri tradecim*, 421.

¹⁰⁰ *Le Destan d'Umur Pacha (Düsturname-i Enveri)*, Melikoff-Sayar, Irene (ed.), (Paris: Presses Univsitaires de France, 1954), 45-47.

¹⁰¹ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCV, 414-415; Moncada, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, XIV, 37-39; Ayönü, *Katalanların Anadolu ve Trakya'daki faaliyetleri*, 42-43; Augusti, *Los Almogavares*, 58.

¹⁰² Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCV, 414-415.

¹⁰³ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCVI, 415-416; Moncada, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, XIV, 37-39.

immediately. Muntaner states that more than seven hundred Turks were killed in the first attack. Then Corbaran decided to follow those who were in the mountains. Since, it was difficult for Catalans to climb mountains with horses and heavy armours, Corbaran removed his helmet and was killed by an arrow to the head.¹⁰⁴ Roger de Flor ordered a fine tomb for him and he was buried in the Church of Saint George, together with the other Catalans soldiers who died in the battle. After eight days, Roger de Flor sent a messenger to the island of Chios and ordered Admiral Ferran de Ahones to leave the island with all the galleys and sail to the city of Anaia (Kadı Kalesi).¹⁰⁵ Meanwhile, Berenguer de Rocafort, as he promised to Roger de Flor, came to Constantinople with galleys carrying two hundred horsemen and a thousand Almogavars to join the Catalan Company. After he met with Emperor Andronicus in Constantinople, he sailed to Chios and joined Ferran de Ahones. Together, they sailed to Anaia. Finally, they met Roger de Flor in Ephesus and Berenguer de Rocafort was appointed as the Catalan Company's new Marshal (replacing Corbaran de Alet). With the participation of these new soldiers, the Catalan Company made its preparations.¹⁰⁶ In Anaia, Roger de Flor was informed that the Turks, according to Muntaner the tribe of Tira (*la gavella de Tira*); according to Moncada the tribe of Saruhan (*Sarcano Turco*) were raiding the countryside of the city.¹⁰⁷ The Almogavars came out quickly to repel these raids. During the battle, a thousand Turkish horsemen and two thousand foot-soldiers died,

¹⁰⁴ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCVI, 416-417; Moncada *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos* XIV, 37-39.

¹⁰⁵ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCVI, 416.

¹⁰⁶ Pachymeres claims that the Catalans collected money, weapons and horses from the local population by force, and even tortured many of them. Ayönü, *Katalanların Anadolu ve Trakya'daki faaliyetleri*, 48; Pachymeres, *De Michael et Andronico Palaeologis libri tradecim*, 436-437; see also Talbot, Alice-Mary Maffry, *The Correspondence of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Constantinople. Letters to the Emperor Andronicus II, Members of the Imperial Family and Officials*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1975), 72-75, 245-246.

¹⁰⁷ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCVII, 417; Moncada, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, XVI, 42-43.

and the rest of the tribe retreated. After this victory, the Almogavars returned and stayed there for two weeks.¹⁰⁸

After a long discussion with his Admiral and Marshal, Roger de Flor decided to go through to the interior of Anatolia. So, the Catalan Company left Anaia and by marching deep into Asia Minor, finally the Catalan Company arrived at the so-called Iron Gates on the Taurus Mountains: the frontier between Kingdoms of Anatolia and Armenia.¹⁰⁹ Muntaner tells that when the Catalan Company was about to enter the Iron Gates, the Turks (*gavilla de Atia que habían sido desbaratados en la huerta de Ania*) who had escaped from Anaia -together with other tribes- attacked them.¹¹⁰ The number of those Turks was ten thousand horsemen and eight thousand foot-soldiers.¹¹¹ Immediately, Roger de Flor commanded the cavalry and Bernard de Rocafort led the Almogavars. With their famous cry “*Desperta Ferro*” (“Awaken, Irons!”), the Catalans rushed to meet the Turkish troops. At the end of the day, the battlefield was full of dead bodies. Muntaner argues that the Turks lost more than six thousand horsemen and twelve thousand foot-soldiers. The Catalan Company spent eight days to gather up the spoils and then turned around in the direction of Anaia.¹¹² However, the information that Ramon Muntaner gives in his chronicle for this expedition is very doubtful. Considering the regions where the Turkish Beyliks settled, it seems impossible to envision the tribes of Aydın or Monteshe at the Iron Gates in the Taurus

¹⁰⁸ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCVII, 418; Ayönü, *Katalanların Anadolu ve Trakya'daki faaliyetleri*, 48-49.

¹⁰⁹ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCVII, 418; Augusti, *Los Almogavares*, 62.

¹¹⁰ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCVII, 418; Lemerle, Paul, *L'Emirat D'Aydın Byzance Et L'Occident Recherches Sur "La Geste D'Umur Pacha"*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957), 16-17.

¹¹¹ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCVII, 418-419; Moncada, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, XVI,43-44; Ayönü, *Katalanların Anadolu ve Trakya'daki faaliyetleri*, 49-50.

¹¹² Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CVII, 419. Echavarría argues that Muntaner exaggerated the number of the Turkish loss. Echavarría, *Los Almogávares*, 251.

Mountains.¹¹³ The main problem which makes it suspicious is the location of the battle which Muntaner called as Iron Gate. Korobeinikov considers this expedition is “*pure invention on the part of Muntaner; it was probably one of the passes in the mountains south of the Maeander.*”¹¹⁴ On the other hand, Keith Hopwood points to a different region and claims that the place Muntaner called the Iron Gate should be a Hittite rock relief in Karabel Pass near Nymphaion (Kemalpaşa).¹¹⁵

When Roger de Flor arrived in Magnesia (Manisa) from Anaia, he saw that the local Greek population had destroyed the Catalan garrison and had seized all the treasures that the Catalan Company had kept in the city. Roger de Flor besieged the city and ordered the building of catapults and towers to attack the city and quell the Greek uprising.¹¹⁶ However, during the siege, a messenger came to Roger de Flor and informed him that Andronicus II Palaeologus needed him and his company was to return to Constantinople immediately, because of the war between the Byzantine Emperor and the new Tsar of Bulgaria Theodore Svetoslav (1300-1322).¹¹⁷ The Catalan Company immediately journeyed to the Dardanelles (Çanakkale Boğazı) and arrived at Lapsacium (Lapseki) in October 1304. Roger de Flor sent a messenger to the Emperor to get his orders. The Emperor ordered him to cross the Strait and settle down in the Gallipoli Peninsula (Gelibolu Yarımadası). After leaving his company there, Roger de Flor returned to Constantinople to inform the emperor about the Catalan campaigns in Anatolia. Within that period, he was informed that Berenguer de

¹¹³ Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu Devletleri*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1969), 70-83, 104-120.

¹¹⁴ Korobeinikov, Dimitri, *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century*, 287.

¹¹⁵ Hopwood, Keith, *The Catalan Company in Anatolia and the Turkish Conquest of the Western Seaboard*, Serdar Çavuşdere (tr), Tarih Okulu, II, (2009), 127-136; Korobeinikov, Dimitri, *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century*, 287.

¹¹⁶ Augusti, *Los Almogavares*, 68-69.

¹¹⁷ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCVIII, 419-420; Treadgold, Warren, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 750.

Entença, the other leader of the Catalan Company- together with three hundred horsemen and one thousand Almogavars- had come to Gallipoli (Gelibolu) to join the Company.¹¹⁸ At the request of Roger, he came to Constantinople to meet him and the emperor. The next day, Roger de Flor asked the Emperor's permission to let him assign his title of "Grand Duke" to Berenguer de Entença. With a great ceremony, Berenguer de Entença took the hat and seal of Grand Duke, and Roger de Flor was promoted as "Caesar of the Empire,"¹¹⁹ a title clearly redolent of the Byzantine court. Again, Muntaner misinterprets the title of the Caesar by describing it as:

*"There is no difference between the Emperor and the Caesar, except that the chair is half a palm lower than that of the Emperor and the Emperor wears a scarlet cap and all his robes are scarlet, and the Caesar wears a blue cap and all his robes are blue with a narrow gold border."*¹²⁰

Before continuing, it is necessary to open a parenthesis to understand the relations of the Catalan Company with the Western powers and to analyse its place in the international context. Berenguer de Entença should not be seen as an ordinary leader, rather he should be regarded as a personal agent who carried western kings' idea to conquer the Byzantine Empire. This idea of counting the Catalan Company as a major factor in the crusade against the empire has already been in the mind of the King James II of Aragon (1291-1327) and his brother Frederick III of Sicily (1295-1337).¹²¹ A document dated to October 30, 1303, shows that King James tried to maintain his connection with Roger de Flor and Berenguer de Entença shortly after the departure of the Catalan Company.¹²² In his letter in 1304, Frederick informed the King James

¹¹⁸ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXI, 422, Pachymeres, *De Michael et Andronico Palaeologis libri tradecim*, 484-486.

¹¹⁹ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXII, 423.

¹²⁰ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXII, 423; Angeliki, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 143-144; for the title of Caesar see Kazhdan, Alexander P.(ed), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. I, 363.

¹²¹ Angeliki, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 137.

¹²² DOC, doc. IX, 9; Angeliki, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 137.

II of Aragon about his plan to conquer the Byzantine Empire together with the forces of Roger de LLuria and the Catalan Company.¹²³ It seems that Berenguer de Entença paid attention to this crusading idea. Although he came to Constantinople under the royal patronage of Frederick III of Sicily, he negotiated with King James II of Aragon before his departure.¹²⁴ In his letter in June 20, 1304, he informed James II of Aragon that he was going to the Romania to carry out said commands (*per cumplir lo dit manament*).¹²⁵ It is also obvious that the Catalans considered themselves as crusaders. As we will see in the following pages, after 1305, delegates were sent to Pope Clement V (1305-1314) and James II of Aragon to seek help for the Company's fights against the infidels.¹²⁶ If we need to close the parenthesis, it can be seen that the Catalan Company maintained its relations with the Papacy, Frederick III of Sicily, James II of Aragon and even Charles II of Naples (1285-1309) and carried the idea of crusade. This also demonstrates the policies, relations and diplomatic methods pursued by the kings of Aragon over the Byzantine Empire and the Mediterranean.

In the early spring of 1305, Roger de Flor -as he had promised Andronicus II- began to make all the necessary preparations to return to Anatolia to campaign against the Turks. However, before leaving, he decided to visit co-Emperor Michael IX Palaeologus (1295-1320). In spite of his wife's and his knights' warning about Michael's hostility towards him, he emphasized the importance of visiting Michael to inform him about the current campaigns. Having left Berenguer de Entença in charge of the Catalan Company and Bernard de Rocafort as marshal, Roger de Flor -together

¹²³ DOC, doc. XI, 11; Burns, R. Ignatius, *The Catalan Company and the European Powers, 1305-1311*, (Speculum 29, no. 4, 1954), 755.

¹²⁴ Burns, R. Ignatius, *The Catalan Company and the European Powers, 1305-1311*, 766; Angeliki, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 139.

¹²⁵ DOC, doc. X, 10; Angeliki, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 139

¹²⁶ DOC, doc. XXIII, 28; *The Catalan Company and the European Powers, 1305-1311*, 756.

with three hundred horsemen and one thousand foot-soldiers- travelled to Adrianople (Edirne) where Michael had established his headquarters.¹²⁷ Muntaner claims that Roger's motivation for visiting Michael was pure loyalty:

“... Now I shall turn to speak to you of the Caesar, who fitted himself out with three hundred horsemen and a thousand men afoot to go to Adrianople to see Skyr Miquelil, eldest son of the Emperor, in spite of all his friends and his vassals. This he did from the great loyalty of his heart, and great love and fidelity that towards the Emperor and his son; and he taught that as he was full of all loyalty, so the Emperor and his sons were also; but it was quite the contrary, this will be proved further on, as you shall hear.”¹²⁸

However, Pachymeres gives a different reason for this visit. According to him, Roger de Flor wanted to visit Michael in order to spy on his camp in Adrianople.¹²⁹ On 23 April 1305, Roger de Flor arrived at Adrianople and he was received by Michael with great honor. At that time, two different Byzantine forces (the Alans led by Girgon and Turcoples led by Melik) were in the city.¹³⁰ Roger de Flor spent six days with Michael IX and on the seventh day (30 April 1305), Michael arranged a farewell dinner for him and the Catalans. However, during the feast, a group of Alans- headed by Girgon- entered the main room and attacked the Catalans. On 30 April 1305, Roger de Flor was assassinated in Michael's palace together with all the Catalans attending the dinner.¹³¹ After that, Michael sent Alans and Turcoples to kill all the Catalans in Adrianople. All were killed except three (Catalan Knight Ramon Alquere, Catalan Knight Ramon de Tous and Berenguer de Roudor from Llabregat) who managed to escape by climbing a bell tower.¹³² After they defended themselves valiantly, Michael

¹²⁷ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXV, 427; Moncada, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, XXVI, 68-70;

¹²⁸ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXV, 427.

¹²⁹ Pachymeres, *De Michael et Andronico Palaeologis libri tradecim*, 523-524.

¹³⁰ Turcoples are the Christianized Turkish mercenaries serving in Byzantium army. Ayönü, *Katalanların Anadolu ve Trakya'daki faaliyetleri*, 75.

¹³¹ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXV, 428; Moncada, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, XXVII, 71-72; Pachymeres, *De Michael et Andronico Palaeologis libri tradecim*, 523-526.

¹³² Gregoras argues that two hundred soldiers came to Adrianople with Roger de Flor and many of them returned to Gallipoli. Gregoras, *Byzantine Historiae*, 224.

spared their lives and let them return to Gallipoli (Gelibolu)¹³³. The assassination of Roger de Flor in Michael's palace was not a surprise, since there had been hostility between Roger de Flor and Michael from the Catalans' arrival. For Muntaner, the only reason for this hostility was that Michael was always aggrieved at the Catalans' successes against the Turks, since he had himself lost many times against them. He claims that although he went to Artake (Erdek), together with twelve thousand horsemen and a hundred thousand foot-soldiers, he returned in disgrace without having fought against the Turks. Muntaner explains Michael's reaction against the Catalans' victory in Artake (Erdek) as:

*"But, whoever else rejoiced, the Genoese were sorrowful. As so likewise had Skyr Miqueli, the eldest son of the Emperor, great displeasure at it and envy, so that, from that day, he was angry with the Grand Duke and his company, He would rather have lost the Empire than that they should gain this victory, because he had been to that place with so many followers and had been defeated twice, although he, himself, was one of the accomplished knights of the world."*¹³⁴

Like Muntaner, Pachymeres also points out Michael's hostility and aggressive policy towards the Catalans. It is true that Roger's victories had played a role in this hostility, but the Catalans' unpleasant behaviour in the Empire, especially their behaviour towards the Greek population of Cyzicus (Kyzikos) during the winter of 1303-1304 had also created the great hatred against the Catalans.¹³⁵ Moreover, the increasing number of the Catalans in the Empire and their demands from the emperor made Michael believe that it would be to the detriment of the Empire if the Catalans stayed in Anatolia.¹³⁶ In any case, the assassination of Roger de Flor in Michael's palace in Adrianople created a point of no return between the Catalans and the Byzantines. The

¹³³ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXV, 428.

¹³⁴ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCIII, 410.

¹³⁵ Pachymeres, *De Michael et Andronico Palaeologis libri tradecim*, 405-406.

¹³⁶ Moncada, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, XXI, 57-58.

Catalans could not leave the Empire without reacting and the period of looting and terror which is known as “The Catalan Vengeance” began.

3.2 The Catalan Vengeance

As soon as the news of assassination of Roger de Flor and his companions arrived at Gallipoli, the Catalans swore revenge. Meanwhile, Michael IX sent a great army - including the Turcoples, the Alans, and the Greeks- from Adrianople to Gallipoli to put an end to the Catalan problem. After a long discussion with the Catalan Council; the new appointed leader of the Catalan Company Berenguer de Entança established a new strategy against the Byzantines. Firstly, the Catalan Company ordained a council (The Knight En Sischar, The Captain En Pedro Lopis, an adalil, two commanders and two boatswains¹³⁷) to the Emperor Andronicus in the name of the Catalan Company to defy him and impeach him for the assassination of Roger de Flor and other Catalans.¹³⁸ Secondly, he decided to take all galleys and carry out raids on Byzantines cities along the coast to provide money and food for the Company. So, with five galleys and two light vessels, he left Gallipoli and sailed toward Constantinople. Ramon Muntaner (Captain of Gallipoli) and Bernard de Rocafort (Marshal of the Catalan Company) remained together with two hundred and six horsemen and one thousand two hundred fifty-six foot-soldiers in Gallipoli.¹³⁹ Yet, the first stage of this strategy did not go well for the Catalan Company. Firstly, once the council arrived at

¹³⁷ Adalil is a person who guides or leads and accompanies an army. The term comes from the Arab term الدليل (*ad-dalil*), a noun derived from the verb to guide; *The chronicle of James I, King of Aragon*, 120. Boatswain is the warrant officer who in the old Navy was responsible for all the gear that set the ship in motion and all the tackle that kept her at rest; Callender, Geoffrey, *Sea Passages: A Naval Anthology and Introduction to the Study of English*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 198.

¹³⁸ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXVI, 430; Augusti, *Los Almogavares*, 78.

¹³⁹ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXV, 428.

Constantinople, they met with the emperor and blamed him for what he had done to the Catalans. After the emperor denied all accusations, the meeting reached on impasse. So, the council decided to return and asked the emperor to give them a group to guide them safely to Gallipoli. However, when the council arrived at Rodosto (Tekirdağ), all the members of the council were killed by those Byzantines who had been assigned to guide the council.¹⁴⁰ Secondly, having left the company, Berenguer de Entança arrived at the city of Heracleia (Ereğli). He plundered the city and sailed from there to Gallipoli with immense booty. On the way back, he came across eighteen Genoese galleys on the shore between Panion and Cape Ganos. Since the Catalans and Genoese were not enemies officially, the Genoese captain, Eduardo Doria, greeted Berenguer de Entança and invited him to his ship for a banquet. Yet, during the feast, the Catalans galleys were attacked by Genoese and many Almogavars were killed. Berenguer himself was taken captive and was sent to Constantinople.¹⁴¹ Having heard of his captivity and the death of the Council's members, the Catalan Company gathered another council to decide to what to do. The council focused on two options: to sail to island of Mytilene and defend themselves there or to hold Gallipoli and fight to the death.¹⁴² The Catalans decided to stay and offered their first battle in Gallipoli against Michael. It is clear that the geographical position of the Gallipoli had direct influence on this decision. Ramon Muntaner emphasizes its geographical and strategic importance as:

“ ...the peninsula of Gallipoli. And this peninsula has a length of altogether full fifteen leagues and is in no place wider than one league; the sea encircles it on every side; and it is the best provided peninsula of the world, as well with good bread, as with good wines and a great abundance of all fruit. At the entrance to the peninsula from the mainland there is a good castle called Examille, which means six miles, and it is called so, because, at that place, the peninsula is not more than six miles wide. And

¹⁴⁰ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXVII, 431.

¹⁴¹ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXVIII, 432-433; Pachymeres, *De Michael et Andronico Palaeologis libri tradecim*, 535-537; Augusti, *Los Almogavares*, 82.

¹⁴² Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXVIII, 433-434; Augusti, *Los Almogavares*, 82-83.

this castle stands in the middle, to defend all the peninsula, and on one side of the peninsula is Boca Daner and, on the other, the Gulf of Saros, and then, within the peninsula, are the cities of Gallipoli and of Potamos and of Sexto and Maditos; each of these is an important place, and besides these places there are many manors and fiefs.”¹⁴³

Also, the council decreed the coat of arms and seal of the Catalan Company. It converted Gallipoli into a military republic. On one side of the coat of arms the image of Saint George appears, while on the other side the shield of the Catalan Crown takes its place with the inscription in Latin: “*Sigillium felicitis exercitus Francorum in Romania parti commorantis.*”¹⁴⁴ On 6th June 1035, the Catalan Company began to make all its preparations to defend Gallipoli. The next day, the Catalan Company faced the Byzantine army. According to Muntaner, the Byzantines had eight thousand horsemen and two thousand foot-soldiers. At the end on the day the Byzantines forces were defeated. This victory enabled the Catalans to prepare for the next battle.¹⁴⁵

On July 1305, the two spies that the Catalan Company had sent to Adrianople returned and reported that Michael had gathered a big army and marched towards Gallipoli. The army which was led by Michael’s uncle Theodore included the Thracian forces; the Macedonian army, and the army of the East. Also, Michael collected Alans, Turcopoles, and Greek soldiers.¹⁴⁶ Although the size of the Byzantines army was significant, it seems that Muntaner exaggerates the number.¹⁴⁷ Michael’s aim was to besiege the Catalans’ headquarter in Gallipoli and take the fort. On the other hand, so as to not be besieged in Gallipoli again, the Catalans decided to confront the Michael’s army as far as possible from the fort. Also, they believed that this way would enable

¹⁴³ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCIX, 421.

¹⁴⁴ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXIX, 434; Augusti, *Los Almogavares*, 84

¹⁴⁵ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXX, 435-436; Moncada, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, XXXV, 93-95.

¹⁴⁶ Pachymeres, *De Michael et Andronico Palaeologis libri tradecim*, 549; Moncada, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, XXXVI, 97-98.

¹⁴⁷ A hundred thousand foot-soldiers and seventeen thousand horsemen according to Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXX, 437.

them to attack the vanguard.¹⁴⁸ Therefore, the Catalans left a hundred men with women in Gallipoli and began their march. After having travelled for three days, they arrived at Apros (İnecik), near Rodosto (Tekirdağ) where Michael was spending the night. The next day, the two armies confronted each other on the battlefield. Despite the superiority of Michael's army, the Almogavars managed to rout the vanguards in the first attack. Then the front lines (Alans and Turcoples) of Byzantine army collapsed. Although Michael -together with hundred knights- attacked the Catalan center, he could not break the front lines and was wounded. He was carried to the castle of Apros by his men and the Byzantines army retreated.¹⁴⁹ The Battle of Apros (10 July 1305) was more than a victory for the Grand Catalan Company. Not only Michael's army was destroyed, the Catalans also realized that the whole Gallipoli and Thrace stood in front of them without a Byzantine threat. Ramon Muntaner states the importance of this victory as:

*“And from that hour all Romania was conquered and we had so put fear into their hearts, that we could not shout ‘Franks’ but they were at once prepared to flee...And then, every day, we made raids and raided as far as the gates of Constantinople...”*¹⁵⁰

At this point, it is important to touch on the relationship between the Catalans and Turkish Tribes as allies. From the siege of Gallipoli to the arrival of the Catalan Company in Greece, the Turks had become an important ally of the Catalan Company and had played a part in plundering Thrace. Also, in order to understand the later alliances between the Catalan Duchies and the Turkish tribes, it is necessary to mention their relations in Asia Minor. It is known that the Turks moved to Rumelia and stayed there after 1352 when the Byzantine Emperor VI. Ioannis Kantakuzenos (1347-1354)

¹⁴⁸ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXXI, 437.

¹⁴⁹ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXVI, 437-439; Moncada, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, XXXVI, 96-101; Pachymeres, *De Michael et Andronico Palaeologis libri tradecim*, 549-551; Gregoras, *Byzantine Historiae*, 229-233.

¹⁵⁰ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXVI, 439.

gave the Çimpe Castle (Çimpe Kalesi) to Orhan Beg (1323-1362) in return for his military assistance.¹⁵¹ However, before that time, many different Anatolian Beyliks' troops had already been active in Rumelia. At the beginning of the 14th century, two different Turkish groups were active in Gallipoli as allies of the Catalan Company. The first group was the Karasid Turks led by one Halil Ece.¹⁵² Gregoras tells us that after the first Byzantine attack to Gallipoli, the Catalans sent envoys to the Turks who lived on the opposite littoral and offered them an alliance against the Byzantines.¹⁵³ The second group was the Turcoples led by Xemellic (called Isaac Melech by Muntaner) who had fought against the Catalans in the Battle of Apros.¹⁵⁴ The Spanish and Byzantine sources give different information about the alliances of Turks with the Catalan Company. Gregoras claims that few days after the Battle of Apros, the Turcoples went to the Catalans camps and were happily accepted, while Muntaner tells that the Turcoples joined the Company after the siege of Gallipoli by the Genoese captain Antonio Spinola, who had come to Constantinople and promised to the emperor that he would fight with the Catalans in return for a marriage between the emperor's youngest son Theodore I Palaeologus (1306-1338) and Argentina Spinola - the daughter of Genoese merchant and politician Sir Opicino Spinola (c.1275-1315).¹⁵⁵ Muntaner gives the details as:

"...There came a Turkish captain to Gallipoli, called Ximelic, and asked for a parley and said, if it were our pleasure, he wished to pass into Gallipoli to speak to us. And I sent him an armed leny and so he came with ten knights who were kinsmen of his, and he came before En Rocafort and En Ferran Ximeno and myself and said he was ready to pass over to us with his company and with his wife and children; that he would render oath and homage to us, that he would be as a brother to us, he and all his company; and they would put their wives and children under our power; and they wished to be in all and for all under our comment, like the least of the Company; and

¹⁵¹ Inalcık, Halil, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600*, (Phoenix Press, 2000), 9.

¹⁵² Wittek, Paul, *Yazijioghlu 'Alī on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja*, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol.14, No. 3, (1952), 639-668.

¹⁵³ Gregoras, *Byzantine Historiae*, 228-229.

¹⁵⁴ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXXVIII, 453

¹⁵⁵ Gregoras, *Byzantine Historiae*, 229-232; Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXXVIII, 454.

that they would give us the fifth of all they would gain and of this we had advice and council of all the company and all thought it well that we should receive them. With that we received this Ximelic, who passed over to us with eight hundred horses and two thousand foot. And if ever people were obedient to a lord, they were to us; and if ever men were loyal and true, they were to us always, and they were very expert men of arms and experience in all affairs. And so, they stayed with as like brothers and they always remained near us forming a host by themselves.”¹⁵⁶

Both Muntaner and Gregoras give different accounts about the size of Turkish forces.

While Muntaner tells that the Turks were eight hundred horsemen and two thousand foot-soldiers together with their families¹⁵⁷, Gregoras gives the size as three thousand soldiers -one thousand one hundred of them led by Ximelic and the rest from the tribe of Halil.¹⁵⁸ Over two years, the Turks together with the Catalans lived in Gallipoli and Thrace by plundering the region from Maroneia (south of Gümülcine) to the Rhodope Mountains.¹⁵⁹ These Turks decided to return to Anatolia after the Catalan Company arrived in Greece.¹⁶⁰

After the victory of Apros, the new route of the Catalan Company was Thrace. Like Byzantines, the Catalans also were aware of the strategic importance of Thrace. As it has been mentioned before the Gallipoli was indispensable for them, however the Thrace was essential for their survival, since they were provided with food from there. They prefer to attack and plunder urban centres. The first city which suffered from the Catalans' attacks was Rodosto (Tekirdağ). Rodosto was the granary of Thrace where the Byzantines collected grain to be sent on to Constantinople.¹⁶¹ It was also the place where the Catalan council had been slaughtered. So, in the summer of 1305 the Catalan Company began its march towards the city of Rodosto. Michael's plan for defence was

¹⁵⁶ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXXVIII, 454.

¹⁵⁷ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXXVIII, 454.

¹⁵⁸ Gregoras, *Byzantine Historiae*, 248.

¹⁵⁹ Ayönü, *Katalanların Anadolu ve Trakya'daki faaliyetleri*, 79.

¹⁶⁰ While Gregoras argues that the Turks left the Company in 1309 before moving to Thessaly, Muntaner says that the Turks decided to return in 1311. Gregoras, *Byzantine Historiae*, 248; Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXLI, 483.

¹⁶¹ Angeliki, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 166.

that while he was trying to collect some forces at Didymoteichon (south of Adrianople), Andronicus would come to Rodosto with a new army. Together they would enclose the Catalans still in Gallipoli.¹⁶² However, since the imperial treasury was empty, this plan never happened.¹⁶³ The Catalans entered the city and destroyed it by killing all men, women, and children and burning the houses. Muntaner admitted the cruelty; yet he also justified it: “...*And it, assuredly, was a very cruel deed, nevertheless they wreaked this vengeance.*”¹⁶⁴ Although, they conquered the city easily, the fort held out for nearly a year. However, in summer 1306, the population could hold the fort no longer and surrendered to Berenguer de Rocafort.¹⁶⁵ After a while, the Catalans gathered the council and set a new target: to launch an expedition against the Alans led by Girgon, who had killed Roger de Flor. By that time, the Alans had returned to their homeland which was located within the boundaries of the Kingdom of Bulgaria.¹⁶⁶ This expedition would be difficult for the Catalans, since the destination was far from their headquarters and they were strangers to the region. Therefore, the Catalans decided to leave women, children and all the properties in Gallipoli under the command of Ramon Muntaner together with twenty horsemen and two hundred foot-soldiers; the rest of the Company led by Berenguer de Rocafort and Ferran de Ximeno went to Kingdom of Bulgaria to face the Alans.¹⁶⁷ The Catalans marched nearly twelve days without any trouble until the border of Bulgaria where the Alans had set their camps. Although Girgon was informed about the Catalan expedition, the Alans were caught unprepared. The fight lasted until noon and ended up with the deaths of many Alans including Girgon. Gathering immense spoils

¹⁶² Angeliki, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 166.

¹⁶³ Pachymeres, *De Michael et Andronico Palaeologis libri tradecim*, 576.

¹⁶⁴ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXXII, 440.

¹⁶⁵ Angeliki, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 167.

¹⁶⁶ Ayönü, *Katalanların Anadolu ve Trakya'daki faaliyetleri*, 69.

¹⁶⁷ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXXV, 444.

including the Alans' wives and children, the Company prepared to make its return to Gallipoli.¹⁶⁸

Having heard that the large part of the Company had marched on Alans, the Emperor Andronicus realized that it was the perfect moment to attack the headquarters of the Catalan Company. He was informed that Gallipoli was guarded only by a small group of soldiers. Immediately, he made an agreement with Sir Antonio Spinola who already had come to Constantinople from Genoa together with eighteen galleys. Antonio Spinola went to front of Gallipoli and sent a messenger to Ramon Muntaner to demand that he abandon the city on behalf of the Republic of Genoa. After realizing that the Catalans would not abandon the city, Spinola returned to Constantinople to begin his preparation for the battle.¹⁶⁹ This time, he came to Gallipoli with his eighteen galleys and seven galleys of the emperor under command of a Genoese named Andrea Morisco. Since there was only a small group of soldiers in the city, Ramon Muntaner also armed the women and positioned them along the ramparts. While Spinola was besieging the city from the sea, he ran through the landward city gate with four hundred men. Muntaner faced Spinola with a hundred men and the battle continued until the next day. The Catalans finally managed to break the siege, even though Muntaner was wounded. Spinola then lifted the siege and sailed back to Genoa.¹⁷⁰ This siege is very important since it shows how the Catalans legitimized themselves and connected themselves with European powers. It is true that after the assassination of Roger de Flor, the Company made its own seal "*Segell de la host franchs que regnen lo regne de Macedonia*" (*Seal of the Host of the Franks who are ruling the Kingdom of*

¹⁶⁸ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXXVI, 445-447; Augusti, *Los Almogavares*, 87-88.

¹⁶⁹ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXXVII, 447-448.

¹⁷⁰ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXXVII, 449-452.

Macedonia).¹⁷¹ More interestingly, before the siege of Gallipoli, Muntaner clearly declared their legitimacy in the letter that he sent to Antonio Spinola.

“...And upon this Sir Antonio came to Gallipoli with two galleys and defied us in the name of the Commune of Genoa. And the challenge was this: that he commanded and told us, in the name of the Commune of Genoa, to get out of their garden, namely the Empire of Constantinople, which was the garden of the Commune of Genoa; otherwise if we did not get out, that he defied us in the name of the Commune of Genoa and of all the Genoese in the world. And I answered him that we did not accept their challenge; that we knew that the Commune had been and was the friend of the House of Aragon and Sicily and Mallorca and so, that there was no reason that they should send this challenge, nor that we should accept it. And so he had a public letter made of what he had said, and I of what I had answered for all the Company. And then, a second time, he returned to this same thing, and I answered the same, and more letters were made of it. And then, a third time, he returned to it, and I answered that he was wrong in persisting in these challenges, and that I had come to Romania in the name of God and to exalt the Holy Catholic Faith, and that he should cease from these challenges; rather, I required him, in the name of the Holy Apostolic Father, whose banner we had, as he could see, to join us against the Emperor and his followers, who were schismatics and very treacherously had killed our chiefs and our brothers when we came to serve them against the infidels; and so we required him, in the name of the Holy Father and of the King of Aragon and of the King of Sicily, to help us to take this vengeance...”¹⁷²

Although the seal and the letters are not definitive evidence to claim that the Company declares itself legally bound to the King of Sicily, the King of Aragon and the Pope, they nevertheless demonstrate that the Catalan Company legitimized its action by binding itself unofficially to these three powers.¹⁷³

During the following three years, the Catalan Company suffered a period of internal confrontation provoked by leaders of the Catalan Company and the interests of the foreign powers. Berenguer de Entança who was captured by Genoese after the sack of city of Heraclia, was released at the entreaties of James II of Aragon (1291-1327). Berenguer de Entança returned to the Gallipoli with five hundred men in summer 1306.

¹⁷¹ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXXV, 445. Unlike Muntaner, other sources give a different inscription of the seal. For further information see Schlumberger, Gustave, *Le sceau de la compagnie des routiers catalans à Gallipoli, en 1305*.

¹⁷² Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXXVII, 447-448.

¹⁷³ Angeliki, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 180.

However, he came into conflict with Berenguer de Rocafort over the leadership of the Company. Therefore, the Catalan Company was ruled by three commanders- Berenguer de Entança, Berenguer de Rocafort and Ferran Ximeno de Arenos- until mid-1307.¹⁷⁴ Secondly, in March 1307, King Frederick III of Sicily (1295-1337) sent Ferdinand of Majorca (1278-1316) to Gallipoli as captain of the Company.¹⁷⁵ Although Ramon Muntaner, Berenguer de Entança and Ferran Ximeno recognized Ferdinand of Majorca as leader of the Company; Berenguer de Rocafort opposed him. Ferdinand of Majorca then decided to stay with the Company for a while to negotiate with Berenguer de Rocafort. Meanwhile, in the summer of 1307, the Company decided to abandon Gallipoli and move to the Kingdom of Salonica. As Muntaner states, for two years the Company had exhausted all the resources of Gallipoli and Thrace and depopulated the countryside and the Catalans had to move on to find another rich region.¹⁷⁶ The Company set out for Christopolis (Kavala). However, on the way, a clash erupted between Berenguer de Entança and Berenguer de Rocafort which ended up with the death of Berenguer de Entança.¹⁷⁷ With the death of Berenguer de Entança, Rocafort strengthened his position in the Catalan Company and refused to recognize Ferdinand of Majorca as the leader of the Catalan Company. So, Ferdinand of Majorca and Ramon Muntaner separated from the Catalan Company, leaving Berenguer de Rocafort as the sole head. The Catalan Company proceeded on its way and in August 1307 arrived at the town of Kassandreia (near Halkidiki), on the Gulf of Thessaloniki.¹⁷⁸ During their stay in Kassandreia, Berenguer de Rocafort offered his

¹⁷⁴ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXXIX, 454-454; Augusti, *Los Almogavares*, 91-92.

¹⁷⁵ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXXX, 456-457; DOC, doc. XXXII, 38-40.

¹⁷⁶ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXXXI, 460.

¹⁷⁷ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXXXII, 461-462.

¹⁷⁸ Jacoby, *The Catalan Company in the East: The Evolution of an Itinerant Army (1303– 1311) in The Medieval Way of War: Studies in Medieval Military History in Honor of Bernard S. Bachrach*, Gregory I. Halfond (ed), (UK: Ashgate 2015), 156.

service to Charles of Valois (1284-1325), the son of King Philip III of France (1270-1285). Charles of Valois then sent his representative Sir Thibaut of Cepoy as his commander of the Catalan Company.¹⁷⁹ From 1308 to 1309, the Catalan Company began to make raids and to plunder the region of Thessaloniki and the Chalcidice peninsula (Halkidiki) including Mouth Athos monastery, despite the orders of James II of Aragon (1291-1327).¹⁸⁰ At that time internal problems began to arise within the Catalan Company because the other commanders protested the tyranny that Rocafort exercised over the Catalan Company. They together with Thibaut of Cepoy seized Rocafort and imprisoned him. However, in the spring of 1309, Thibaut of Cepoy left the Catalan Company without a leader by taking Berenguer de Rocafort with him.¹⁸¹ The Catalan Company moved from Kassandreia to Thessaly and stayed there until 1310. (Map. 1)

On 5 October 1308, the Duke of Athens Guy II de la Roche (1287-1308) died without an heir and his relative Gautier (Walter) V of Brienne (1308-1311) succeeded him. However, when Gautier arrived in the Morea, he founded himself in a difficult situation, since the Despot of Epirus, the Lord of Thessaly and the Emperor Andronicus were not willing to approve his position.¹⁸² In the spring of 1310, Gautier sent envoys to Roger Deslaur -the new leader of the Catalan Company- and offered six months' wage in return for military assistance. The Catalans left Thessaly and came to the Morea where they were welcomed by the duke with great honor. After they were paid two months' salary in advance, they began their campaigns. For six months, the

¹⁷⁹ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXXXVI, 471-472.

¹⁸⁰ Echavaria, *Los Almogávares*, 610; Jacoby, *The Catalan Company in the East*, 156; DOC, doc. XL, 50.

¹⁸¹ Thibaut of Cepoy handed Rocafort over to King Robert. He put Rocafort in a vault in Aversa where he died of starvation. Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXXXIX, 478-479; Moncada, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, LIX, 161-162.

¹⁸² Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXL, 80; Ayönü, *Katalanların Anadolu ve Trakya'daki faaliyetleri*, 96; Jacob, David, *The Catalan Company in the East*, 157.

Catalans made many successful campaigns which allowed Gautier to extend his rule as far as the Gulf of Pegasea, recovering over thirty castles.¹⁸³ Yet, after he took control of all regions, he refused to pay the Catalans the remaining four months wages and ordered them to abandon the Morea. The Catalans reacted to the duke by declaring war. Gautier then collected seven hundred French knights and twenty-four thousand foot-soldiers and met the Catalan Company near Halmyros. By the end of the battle, all the French knights, Greek barons and Gautier himself had been killed.¹⁸⁴ The Battle of Halmyros (15 March 1311) thus opened a new page in the history of the Catalan Company.

In short, all these events support the main arguments of this thesis in several ways. Firstly, they allow us to analyse the main reasons that opened the way for the march of the Catalan Company towards Greece and the establishment of the Catalan duchies of Athens and Neopatras (1311-1388). Knowledge of the early years of the Catalan Company in Asia Minor and its relations with the Turks, the Genoese, and especially with the Byzantines provides a basis for analysis of the social, political, and cultural reactions and approaches between the Catalans, their neighbours, and the local orthodox populations in Greece. Secondly, the analysis of political and military relations between the Catalans, the Byzantines, the Turkish Emirates, and the Genoese in Asia Minor not only helps us to understand the political and military situation among all these actors in Asia Minor, but also shows the formation of new political, military, and economic conditions among them under the Catalan duchies of Athens and Neopatras (1311-1388), which will be mentioned in the next chapter. Thirdly, all these relations with the European powers indicate that the expedition of the Catalan

¹⁸³ Muntaner, *The Chronicle* CCXL, 481; Jacoby, David, *The Catalan Company in the East*, 157; Ayönü, *Katalanların Anadolu ve Trakya'daki faaliyetleri*, 97.

¹⁸⁴ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXL, 182; Jacoby, David, *The Catalan Company in the East*, 158.

Company was not an episode completely isolated from the military, economic and political interests of the Western kings, but was part of the long international context that continued from the Fourth Crusade in 1204 . This context allowed the Catalans to legitimize their actions by linking with the King of Sicily, the King of Aragon, and the Pope. In addition, it shows that this legitimization had already begun before the Catalan company moved to Greece. This allows us to understand how the Catalans maintained their relationships and interests with these powers and carried the idea of crusade to the Catalan duchies.



Map. 1: The route of the Catalan Company in Asia Minor and Gallipoli,
www.emersonkent.com/map_archive/catalan_company.htm

CHAPTER IV

THE CATALAN STATE IN GREECE

As repeatedly mentioned, the Catalan conquest of 1311 created a new political, social, economic and cultural environment in Greece, in which the Catalans developed a hybrid and pragmatic coexistence with the local Orthodox population and its neighbours (the Venetians, the Crown of Aragon and the Turkish Beyliks). This chapter will focus on this coexistence from three perspectives: First it will analyse the organisation of the Catalan Duchies, then it will move to the economic activities in the Catalan duchies and finally it will focus on the cultural hybridity between the Catalans and Greeks. By analysing these aspects, we can more fully understand the socio-political dynamics in Greece under the Catalan domination and the way of negotiation between the Catalans and their neighbours in Mediterranean.

4.1. The Organisation of the Catalan Duchies

The focus of this section will be on the administrative-religious structures of the Catalan polity in Greece; I will first start with the first decade in the Catalan Duchies, then move on to the administrative and ecclesiastical organisation and then analyse the settlement pattern reflected by this organisation. Finally, I will mention the dynamics of the interactions with the local Orthodox population from the perspective of settlement patterns.

4.1.1. The First Decade in the Catalan Duchies

The victory of Halmyros (March 15, 1311) marks the beginning of a new era in the history of the Catalan company and in the history of the Mediterranean world. They were no longer a mercenary army but the conquerors of Greece. However, the decisive victory of Halmyros also brought hostility to the Catalans. As soon as the news of the fall of the Duchy of Athens into Catalan hands reached Europe, the Catalan Company found itself surrounded by mortal enemies.¹⁸⁵ The Papacy was the first among those who bore hostility to the Catalans. During the Catalan domination in Greece, the Papacy had been forced to move to Avignon from 1309 to 1378¹⁸⁶ and consequently was under the influence of the French monarchy and defended their political interests. Since the Catalans had taken the Duchy of Athens from the French family of Brienne, they were continuously placed under bans of excommunication and confronted with problems as the Papacy continuously supported the claims of the Briennes hoping to gain Athens back and appointed foreigners to the churches in the Catalan duchies.¹⁸⁷ Indeed, two letters of French Pope Clement V (1305-1314) show that the Pope threatened the Company with excommunication and ordered Foulques de Villaret

¹⁸⁵ William, Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece (1204-1566)*, (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company 1908), 235; Bolea, Chuse L., *Almugávares, vía sus!*, (Aragon: ARA Cultural, 2010), 406.

¹⁸⁶ Zutshi, P.N argues that it was not Pope's intention to make the Avignon his permanent residence but gives several advantages of the Avignon for Papacy. "However, the advantages of Avignon for the papacy soon became apparent. It was adjacent to the Comtat-Venaissin, which had been in the possession of the papacy since 1274, and which was the only extensive papal territory outside Italy. However, Avignon itself belonged to the count of Provence, who was also king of Sicily (Naples) and thus a vassal of the Holy See. To complicate matters further, Avignon's ultimate temporal suzerain was the emperor, although his powers there were only nominal. Avignon is on the eastern bank of the Rhône, which was one of the main European trade routes, above all for the traffic between the Netherlands and Italy. The city was more conveniently situated than central Italy for most countries with which the papacy was in frequent contact". Zutshi, P. N. R, *The Avignon Papacy*, in, *The New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume 6, C.1300-c.1415*, Reuter, Timothy, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 653-654.

¹⁸⁷ Setton, Kenneth, *The Avignonesse Papacy and the Catalan Duchy of Athens*, Byzantion, Vol. 17 (1944-1945), 281-303; for the Papacy see Zutshi, P. N. R, *The Avignon Papacy*, 653-674.

(1305-1319), the Grand Master of the Hospitaller based in Rhodes, to expel the Catalans from Greece.¹⁸⁸

The house of Anjou and the Venetians also became enemies of the Catalan Company. While the Prince of Achaia Philip of Taranto (1307-1313), repeatedly tried to expel the Catalans from Greece with the aid of Papacy, Joanna of Chatillon (1285-1354), the widow of Walter Gautier V de Brienne (1308-1311), sought alliances to recover the duchy from the Catalans.¹⁸⁹ From the Venetian point of view, the Catalan conquest of the Duchy of Athens meant that the Venetian colony of Euboea (Negroponte) was no longer safe.¹⁹⁰ Since they had acquired so many enemies as soon as they settled in Greece, the defence of their newly acquired rights and properties became their main concern. The Catalans understood that they could not defend their acquisitions without having a leader and learning the language of diplomacy. Therefore, it was necessary for them to negotiate with their neighbours and elect a powerful lord who not only understood the military situation, but also knew how to handle the complicated political and economic straits of the Mediterranean. However, among all seven thousand Catalans who conquered the Duchy of Athens, none was powerful and prestigious enough to rule and take a stance on their behalf against the Papacy and other Mediterranean powers.¹⁹¹ So, naturally they returned to the house of Aragon and send an envoy to the King Frederick II of Sicily (1296-1337). Muntaner gives details as:

“...And when the Catalans saw themselves thus settled in the Duchy of Athens and lords of the country, they all sent their messengers to Sicily, to the Lord King, to say that, if it pleased him to send them one of his sons, they would take the oath to him as their lord and would deliver up to him all the fortresses they possessed. They saw

¹⁸⁸ DOC, doc. LVI, LVII, 71-72.

¹⁸⁹ William, Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, 235; Bolea, Chuse L., *Almugávares, vía sus!*, 406.

¹⁹⁰ William, Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, 235; Bolea, Chuse L., *Almugávares, vía sus!*, 406.

¹⁹¹ Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 14.

clearly that it was not well for them to be without a lord. And the Lord King of Sicily held a council and decided to give them, as their lord, his second son, namely the Infante Manfredo."¹⁹²

Since Manfred (1306-1317) was still too young to rule, Frederick choose a knight, Berenguer Estanyol (1312-1316), to rule the Catalan Company on his behalf. By accepting Manfred as their lord, the Catalans took the protection of the Crown of Aragon until 1388 (from 1312 to 1379 under the King of Sicily and from 1379 to 1388 under the Crown of Aragon).¹⁹³ It is true that the Catalan Company had already bound itself to the Crown of Aragon during its campaigns against Byzantine Empire. As Muntaner tells us during their campaigns against the Byzantines in Gallipoli in 1305, the Catalan Company had already made a great seal and royal banners of the Lord King of Aragon, the King of Sicily and of Saint George.¹⁹⁴ Moreover, in some letters to King James II of Aragon (1291-1327) in 1306 and in Muntaner's letter to Sir Antonio Spinola written during the siege of Gallipoli, the Catalans emphasized that they were fighting against infidels for the honour of Holy Catholic faith and the King of Aragon.¹⁹⁵ The letters and even the continuous usage of the Byzantine title of *megadux* (great Duke) by Berenguer de Entenza are clear indications of the unofficial bonds of the Company with the Kings of Aragon and Sicily.¹⁹⁶ After they settled in Greece, therefore, the Company seem to have started to politically and legally attach themselves to the Crown of Aragon. Being under the Crown's protection, the Catalans

¹⁹² Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXLII, 484-485; DOC, doc LIII, 67.

¹⁹³ Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 15-17.

¹⁹⁴ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXIX, 433-434.

¹⁹⁵ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXXVII, 447-448; "*Dey gracia mediante et vestra, ardua facta et honorificencia per eum et dictam comitivam incepta in imperio supradicto in exaltationem catolice fidei et vestre regie magistratis, ad eternum finem et prosperitatem veniant prosperam et felicem*". DOC, doc XXIII, 28-29.

¹⁹⁶ DOC, doc 28. "*Megas Doux (great Duke) or megadoux, commender of the fleet. The Office of doux of the fleet (stolos) was probably created by Alexios I of Komnennos after 1085 and replaced by that of megas doux ca.1092*". Kazhdan, Alexander P.(ed), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. II,1330.

created a form of political relations that provided great practical values for both sides. In the first place, the Catalans in Greece enjoyed all the advantages of legitimization without losing any of their recent territorial acquisitions in Greece. These relations with the Crown provided them protection and diplomatic support against the Papacy, the house of Anjou, and the Venetians. In the second place, these relations also became a pragmatic tool for the Crown itself, which had already been looking for ways to bolster its imperial aspirations in the Mediterranean. In this light, taking the Catalan Duchies of Athens and Neopatras under their protection created an opportunity for the Aragonese kings to expand and strengthen their power throughout Greece.

A large number of archival documents show that monarchs like James II (1291-1327), Alfonso IV (1327-1336) and Pedro (el Cerimoniós) IV (1336-1387) took great interest in the political situation of the Duchies and established diplomatic relations on behalf of the Catalan Company with the Byzantine Emperor, the Popes, and the Angevins.¹⁹⁷ A document dated to 1349 shows that King Pedro IV gave permission to the Duke Frederick to build ships in Barcelona to defend the duchies.¹⁹⁸ Also documents dated to 1354 and 1355 indicate that the Aragonese Kings intervened in all matters related with the Church, and appointed officers in the duchies.¹⁹⁹ Moreover, a document dated 1599, more than two centuries after fall of Catalan Duchies, states that King Philip III of Spain (1598-1621) continued to use the title of *Dux Athenarum et Neopatriae* and this shows the attempt of the Spanish Monarchs to keep in close contact with the duchies.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ Eliopoulou, Maria Dourou, *The Presence of the Aragonese in Romania Based on 14th-Century Aragonese Documents*, Έῶα καὶ Ἑσπέρια, (7), 2007, 47-55.

¹⁹⁸ DOC, doc CXCI, 250.

¹⁹⁹ DOC, doc. CCXXIII- CCXXVI, 298-301; Eliopoulou, Maria Dourou, *The Presence of the Aragonese in Romania*, 47-55.

²⁰⁰ *Colección de documentos inéditos del archivo general de la Corona de Aragón, Tomo XLI*, F. De Bofarull y Sans (ed), (Barcelona: Tipografía L. Benaiges, 1910), doc. CXVII, 375.

In the year 1316 Berenguer Estanyol died and King of Sicily sent his eldest son Don Alfonso Fadrique (1317-1330) to serve as vicar general of the Duchy of Athens on behalf of his brother Manfred (1306-1317). However, the death of Manfred in 1317 put Alfonso Fadrique in the sole position of power in the Duchy of Athens for a long period that would bring expansion, security, peace, and negotiations with its neighbours.²⁰¹ He is referred in the contemporary documents as: “...*magnificum dominum, dominum Alphonsum, excellentissimi domini, domini Federici, Dei gratia regis Siciliae filium, ec felici Francorum exercitui in ducatu Athenarum et in aliis partibus Romanie imperii presidentem* (the magnificent lord, Lord Alfonso, son of the most excellent lord, Lord Frederick, by the grace of God King of Sicily, and the commander of the fortunate army of the Franks in the Duchy of Athens and other parts of the empire of Romania.)”²⁰² During the first three years of his rule, Alfonso Fadrique chose military expansion as a way of negotiation. He formed an alliance with the powerful Lombard Crusader Boniface of Verona (1270-1317), lord of Carystus in Negroponte. In 1317, Alfonso Fadrique married Marulla (Maria) de Verona and became the main heir of Boniface of Verona, obtaining many castles as dowry:

“...And, before long, the Infante Manfredo died. And so, the Lord King sent to tell them that, as the Infante Manfredo had died, they should henceforth have En Alfonso Federico as head and chief. And they were very content and soon procured a wife for him and gave him to wife the daughter of micer Bonifazio of Verona, to whom had been left all micer Bonifazio possessed, namely the third part of the city and of the town and of the island of Negroponte, and full thirteen castles (Larmena and Carystus in the island of Negreponte; Zeitounion (Lamia) and Gardiki in Thessaly) on the mainland of the Duchy of Athens. And so, he had to wife this damsel who was the daughter of that noble man who was, I believe, the wisest and most courteous noble ever born. And to show his worth I will relate to you the honour the good Duke of Athens showed him...”²⁰³

²⁰¹ Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 27-28.

²⁰² *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum Sive Acta et Diplomata res Venetas, Graecas atque Levantis*, Vol.V, Thomas, Georg Martin (ed), (Venice: Sumptibus Societatis, 1880), no.70,120; Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 28.

²⁰³ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXLIII, 485-486; Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 29.

After Boniface of Verona died in 1318, Alfonso Fadrique claimed the island of Negroponte as his wife's dowry and invaded. This occupation created a period of military conflict between the Catalan Duchy, the Republic of Venice, and the Turkish Beyliks that lasted for a decade. From the chronicle of Muntaner, it is known that the Turkish tribes had been allies of the Catalan Company since the siege of Gallipoli in 1306 and returned to Anatolia after the Catalan conquest of the Duchy of Athens in 1311.²⁰⁴ From the letters of the Venetian historian and diplomat Marino Sanudo Torsello (1270-1343)²⁰⁵ one can see that the Catalans in Athens formed a new relationship and alliance with Turks.²⁰⁶ Especially in one of his letters, he called attention to the military alliance between Don Alfonso Fadrique and the Aydinid Turks.²⁰⁷

The Venetian Duke of Crete Niccolo Ziani (Zane) also provided some information for the Catalan-Turkish alliance. In his two letters (dated June 1318 and July 1318), he informed the doge of Venice about the Turkish plundering of the islands of the Aegean Sea and the Catalan-Turkish alliance as well as reporting that the Turks were brought to the island of Negroponte by Alfonso Fadrique.²⁰⁸ This military alliance with Muslim Turks caused concern among the Catalan Company. Hence, the Republic of Venice

²⁰⁴ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXXVIII, 453-454; CCXLI, 483-484.

²⁰⁵ Marino Sanudo Torsello was a Venetian diplomat and the crusade propagandist. He is known as writer of two major works, *Secreta fidelium crucis* (1307-1321) and *Istoria del regno di Romania* (c.1326- 1333), and several letters, written from the years 1323 to 1337. These letters not only provide information for the propaganda of the crusade against the Turks Beyliks, but also mention the political relations between these beyliks and the Catalans. They allow us to understand the complex diplomatic and military situation of the Mediterranean in the 14th century. For Sanudo family see Locke, Peter, *Marino Sanudo Torsello, The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross: Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, (London: Routledge, 2011).

²⁰⁶ Cerlini, Aldo, *Nuove lettere di Marino Sanudo il vecchio*, La Bibliofilia, Vol. 42, No. 11/12 (1940), 321-359.

²⁰⁷ Cerlini, Aldo, *Nuove lettere di Marino Sanudo il vecchio*, 350; Zachariadou, Elizabeth A, *The Catalans of Athens and the Beginning of the Turkish Expansion in the Aegean Area*, Studi Medievali, 3 Serie, XXI, Spoleto 1980, Serdar Çavuşdere (tr), 238.

²⁰⁸ DOC, doc. XCVI, 115-116; doc.CI, 122-123.

immediately stood out against the Catalan-Turkish alliance and their attacks on the island of Negroponte. Undoubtedly, the main concern of the Republic was not the problem of making an alliance with the enemy of Christian faith; rather, the Republic was worried for the safety of the island. Since 1211, the Republic had expanded what was initially possession of a quarter of the island into rule over the whole of it and its periphery. Losing this economically and militarily strategic island would have resulted in great damage to the economic activity of the Republic in the Aegean.²⁰⁹ Following the Catalan-Turkish attacks, the Republic immediately send letters of protest to Alfonso Fadrique, and also tried to put an end to this situation by sending an embassy to King Frederick III (1295-1337) of Sicily.²¹⁰ Finally, the Republic decided to defend the island. The new *bailo* of Negroponte, Francesco Dandolo (1317-1319) landed on the island with twenty galleys and took it back.²¹¹ In the end, the Catalans and Alfonso Fadrique learned the polite language of diplomacy. To survive in these lands, they had to change their ways by opening themselves to negotiation with their neighbours and the local population in Greece. On 9 June 1319, Alfonso Fadrique signed a six-month agreement on behalf of the Catalan Company with Francesco Dandolo. Alfonso Fadrique not only agreed to renounce collaboration with the Turks, but also to draw their ships up on land. In return, they were allowed to use the port of Livadastro (in the northeast corner of the Corinthian Gulf) as a trading outpost.²¹² The Catalans and the Republic renewed the agreement in 1321 and 1331.²¹³

²⁰⁹ For Venice-Negroponte relations see Jacoby, David, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale: Les Assises de Romanie: sources, applications et diffusion*, (Paris: La Haye, 1971), 187-203.

²¹⁰ DOC, doc. LXXXIX, 108-109; doc. XCII, 111; Zachariadou, Elizabeth A, *The Catalans of Athens and the Begining of the Turkish Expansion in the Aegean Area*, 241.

²¹¹ Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 30; Jacoby, David, *Turcs et Venitiens en Romanie (1305-1332): un nouveau témoignage de Marino Sanudo Torsello*, Studi medievali, 3a serie, no:15 (1974) 243-245; DOC, doc.XCV, 114-115.

²¹² DOC, doc. CIX, 132-134; Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 34-35.

²¹³ DOC, doc. CXVI, 141-144; doc. CLIII, 196-200.

This first decade in the history of Catalan Duchy of Athens presents two important points. Firstly, in those years, the Catalans expanded their domination over Greece. They conquered many important castles including Larmena and Carystus on the island of Negroponte; Zeitounion (Lamia), Gardiki, Neopatras in Thessaly, Siderocastron (near the ancient Heraclea), Loidariki in central Greece, Salona as well as the island of Aegina. They conquered the important urban center of Neopatras in 1319 and thereafter their rulership was called Duchies of Athens and Neopatras.²¹⁴ Secondly, the Catalans and their vicar general Alfonso Fadrique learned the way of negotiation with their neighbours and local populations of Greece in order to survive and to protect their new acquisitions. In addition, accepting the suzerainty of the Crown of Aragon and the alliances with the Republic of Venice brought about a period of prosperity and coexistence that is reflected in their administrative and ecclesiastical organisations as well as in their cultural activities; it is now to the former that the attention of the reader will be turned.

4.1.2. The Administrative and Ecclesiastical Structure

The Catalan conquest of Athens, like other Latin conquests, resulted in the redistribution of lands in favour of the Catalans.²¹⁵ They took strategic points and castles and confiscated some properties belonging to the members of the Byzantine social elites. The Catalan Company became the legal owner of all the lands, but they adopted a pragmatic approach in the administrative, fiscal and social structure of the institutions.²¹⁶ They understood that the best way to govern the duchies was to show

²¹⁴ Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, p 29-31; Bolea, Chuse L., *Almugávares, vía sus!*, 428.

²¹⁵ Jacoby, David, *Italian Migration and Settlement in Latin Greece: The Impact on the Economy*, in *Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 37* H. E. Mayer (ed), (München, 1997), rep. in *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean*, (UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2001), chap, IX, 97-100.

²¹⁶ Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 18.

continuity in the social and administrative structure. They maintained the existing agrarian and social infrastructures as well as the taxation system by combining them with the political customs and medieval laws of the county of Barcelona (*Los Usatges de Barcelona*).²¹⁷

The *capitula et conventiones* which was signed between the Catalan Company and the King of Sicily in 1312 states that the Catalans accepted the customs of Barcelona and the protection of the Sicilian king.²¹⁸ The organization of Catalan Greece illustrates a system of a combination between feudal and municipal institutions. As the legal owner of the land, the Catalan Company (or as it is mentioned in documents: *Universitas Felicis Francorum exercitus in partibus imperii Romanie existentis, societas felicis Francorum in Athenarum ducatu Morantium; Host dels Franchs qui regnen en Romania*) practised a medieval system of contract (*pactum*) between ruler and subject.²¹⁹ In this system, the vicar general was the most important administrative officer in the duchies (Appendix D). However, in practice, the administration and the defence of duchies were held by three local officers: the *vaguer*, the *captain* (*capitania*) and the *castellan*. The office of *vaguer* whose origin dates back to the Carolingian *vicarius* was the most important position which followed that of vicar general.²²⁰ The *vaguer* (*veguerias*) was already well established in Catalonia in the 12th century as seated in the capital Barcelona with the military, judicial, and administrative duties on behalf of the count's authority. As the representative of the monarch, the office of

²¹⁷ Jacoby, David, *Italian Migration and Settlement in Latin Greece*, chap. IX, 97-100; Jacoby, David, *From Byzantium to Latin Romania: Continuity and Change*, in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, B. Arbel & B. Hamilton & D. Jacoby (London: Routledge, 1989), 1-2. The *Usatges of Barcelona* were the customs, created by in the 11th and 12th century, to regulate the rights and duties of the count and all its territory, see Kagay, Donald J, *The Usatges of Barcelona: The Fundamental Law of Catalonia*, (USA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).

²¹⁸ DOC, doc. LIII, 67-68.

²¹⁹ Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 18; for variant titles of the Catalan Company see Rubio y Lluch, *La Grècia catalana des de la mort de Roger de Lluria fins a la Frederic III de Sicília (1370-1377)*, Anuari de l' Institut d'Estudis Catalans, MCMXIII-XIV, Vol. I, 1915, 456.

²²⁰ Setton, Kenneth, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, (UK: Variorum Reprints, 1975), chap. V, 275.

vaguer guaranteed public order and watched over royal rights of royalties.²²¹ By accepting the sovereignty of the Crown of Aragon, the Catalans imported the office of *vaguer* to the duchies from the county of Barcelona. Assisted by a council (a judge, an assessor and a notary), the *vaguer* held the administrative and jurisdictional duties in the duchies, especially in Athens, Thebes, and Livadia for a period of three years.²²² However, at Siderocastron, Salona and Neopatras, the same duties were held by an officer with the Italian title of *captain* (*capitania*) which was imported to the duchies from Sicily.²²³ Similar to the *vaguer*, the *captain* was assisted by a council consisting of a judge, assessor, and notary and mostly dedicated to criminal cases. Most of the time, however, the offices of *vaguer* and *captain* were held by the same person in the duchies despite being of different origins.²²⁴ The other representative figure in the Catalan structure of the duchies was the *castellan* who carried out the duties of defending the castles and was responsible for their garrisons. Since the Catalans were a minority in Greece, the castles, especially those of the border of the Peloponnese and Thessaly, became one of their main methods of defending the duchies. Therefore, despite being under the sovereignty of the Crown and the existence of the office of *castellan*, the Catalans considered the castles as the property of the Company and granted them as hereditary fiefs.²²⁵ The Company tried to keep the most important castles of Livadia, Neopatras, and Siderocastron, while the family of Alfonso Fadrique held the castles of Salona, Zeitonion, and Loidoriki as hereditary fiefs.²²⁶

²²¹ Curull, Flocel Sabaté, *El veguer a Catalunya: anàlisi del funcionament de la jurisdicció reial al segle XIV*, Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics, (6), 1995, 149-150; Retortillo, Ricard Gracia, *La Vegueria com a Govern Local Intermedi a Catalunya: encaix constitucional de la seva regulació estatutària*, (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Autònomic, 2008), 26-27.

²²² DOC, doc. CCLXXIII, 357-358; Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 80.

²²³ Setton, Kenneth, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, chap. V, 276.

²²⁴ Setton, Kenneth, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, chap. V, 276.

²²⁵ Setton, Kenneth, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, chap. V, 277.

²²⁶ Setton, Kenneth, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, chap. V, 277; for castles and fortifications see

In term of ecclesiastical organisation, although we do not have much information about the organisation Latin Church of Greece under Catalan domination, we can assume that the ecclesiastical organisation remained much the same as in the Frankish period. Regarding the ecclesiastical organisation of the Catalan Duchies of Athens and Neopatras, the most important document is a memorandum for the royal chancery of King Pedro IV, dated to 1381, after the annexation of the Catalan duchies to the Crown of Aragon.²²⁷

*“Aqueste son los prelats dels ducams de Athenes e dela patria. Primo Mic. Anthoni ballester Arcabisbe de Cetines- E aquets sots si sufraganis XIII bisbes. Los IIII son en los ducams d’Athenes. E aquets son la Maguera, La Dablia, La Sola e la bandoniça. Item larcabisbat d’Estives e aquest es solament. Item larcabisbat de la patria. E aquest ha un sufragani ço es lo bisbe del Citon qui es dintre en lo ducam dela patria.”*²²⁸

According to this document, under the Catalan domination, the Latin Church in Greece was divided into three provinces: Athens, Thebes and Neopatras. The Archbishop of Athens had thirteen suffragan bishops and four of them were in the Catalan duchy of Athens: Megara, Daulia, Salona, and Boudonitza. While the Archbishop of Thebes had no dependent bishoprics, the Archbishop of Neopatras had jurisdiction over the bishop of Zeitounion. Including the bishopric of the island of Aegina in 1380, the Latin Church in Catalan Greece consisted of three archbishops and six bishops.²²⁹ The titular archbishops of the three regions were subject to the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, and therefore evidently linked to the Papacy. Although ecclesiastical norms should have forced them to reside in their domains, they never visited their sees in Greece.

Bon, Antoine, *Forteresses médiévales de la Grèce centrale*, Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, Volume 61, 1937.

²²⁷ Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 93

²²⁸ Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 93; Rubio i Lluch, *Los Navarros en Grecia y el Ducado Catalán de Atenas*, 70-71; DOC, doc. CDLXXXIX, 547-548.

²²⁹ Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 93.

The only archbishop who resided in Athens was the Catalan Antoni Ballester (1370-1387), the last archbishop of the Catalan domain.²³⁰

The organization of the Greek Church had been taken over by the Catalans without significant modifications. As in the Frankish period, the Greek Church was driven to the lower position under the Catalans and remained in that same position until the end of the Catalan period (1388).²³¹ Although the Orthodox Church was driven underground, in many parts of the Catalan duchies, especially in Aegina, a breakdown of barriers between Latin and Greek also occurred. As I will mention at the end of this chapter, the paintings in the church of Agios Ioannis Theologos (Aegina) and the church of St. Nicholas Mavrika (Aegina) as well as the inscriptions dedicated to Don Alfonso Fadrique (1317-1338) in the church of St Nicholas Mavrika and to Don Pedro II Fadrique (1376-1380) in the church of Agios Ioannis Theologos reveal the Catalan relationship with the Greek Church and the intensity of the interaction between Catalan and Greek religious worlds. This administrative and ecclesiastical organisation provided a basis for the settlement patterns (both urban and military) of the Catalan duchies in Greece. As we will see in the following pages, the Catalans divided duchies and appointed *vaguer*, *captain*, and *castellan* according to this organisation.

4.1.3. The Settlement Pattern

After the Catalans settled in the region of Attica and Boeotia, the duchies were divided into five municipalities: Athens, Thebes, Siderocastron, Livadia, and Neopatras, as based on Catalan political, social life and customs. Antonio Rubio defines them as “.....*municipis nostrats transplantats al bell cor de la Grecia clàssica* (our

²³⁰ Setton, Kenneth, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, chap. V, 272; Agusti, David. *Los Almogavares*, 113.

²³¹ Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 92.

municipalities transferred to the beautiful heart of classical Greece)”.²³² Although their fundamental structures were feudal in origin, the organization and the duties of them represented a municipal system.²³³ Thebes, as the capital and administrative centre of the duchies, was the heart of the Catalan Greece until its fall to the Navarrese in 1379. Under the Catalans, Thebes was both an urban and military settlement. The city was the residence of an archbishop and the official place of the vicar general and continued to have importance as the seat of the military governor of the province of central Greece.²³⁴ Thanks to its location on the passage to the south, Thebes became an important communications hub between the Parnas and the Pentelic.²³⁵ The city was the main settlement of Catalan and Greek families. The documents located in the archives of Barcelona, Venice, and Palermo reveal that Thebes was the political, commercial, and industrial centre for the Catalan and Greek families to stay and have properties.²³⁶

Athens was a comparatively small urban settlement with an impregnable fortress in the medieval period. The Acropolis, located in the heart of the ancient settlement, dominated city life in Athens. Life in the city had continued around a small area near the Acropolis during the Byzantine period, especially during the 10th-12th centuries.²³⁷ The city was endowed with a large number of churches and residential areas had been built during this time. Athens was a religious, administrative, and economic centre for the aristocratic families and for the merchants.²³⁸ During the Catalan period, Athens

²³² Rubio i Lluch, *Els Castells Catalans a la Grècia Continental*, Anuari de l' Institut d'Estudis Catalans, MCMVIII, (1909), 390.

²³³ Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 88-89.

²³⁴ Prat, Eusebi Ayensa, *Els catalans a Grècia: Castells i torres a la terra dels déus*, (Barcelona: Editorial Base, 2013), 122.

²³⁵ Prat, Eusebi Ayensa, *Els catalans a Grècia*, 122.

²³⁶ Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 85-88.

²³⁷ Bouras, Charalambos, *Byzantine Athens, 10th- 12th Centuries*, (New York: Routledge, 2010), xxxvi.

²³⁸ Bouras, Charalambos, *Byzantine Athens, 10th- 12th Centuries*, p.1-10; M. Kazanaki-Lappa,

remained a small urban settlement. Ludolf of Sudheim (?-c.1380), a Westphalian priest who spent the years 1336-1341 travelling in the Holy Land and the Eastern Mediterranean islands, describes Athens as “*Haec civitas quondam fuit nobilissima, sed nunc quasideserta*” (This city was once famous but now nearly deserted).²³⁹ However, an Italian notary Niccolo da Martoni gives a different image of the city of Athens in 1395, shortly after the city was taken by Venetians. He stayed at Athens for couple of days and in his account, Niccolo describes Athens as a great and glorious city with many columns and blocks of marbles.²⁴⁰ These two different accounts give us a picture of the urban settlement of the city of Athens and its functions during the Catalan period. As I mentioned before, the city of Athens was a small settlement but was still an important centre. The Acropolis (el castell de Cetines) was converted into a medieval castle, becoming the official residence of the governors and captains of the city.²⁴¹ As an administrative centre, residence of the archbishop, and market place, Athens was an important urban settlement for many Catalans and Greeks under Catalan rule.²⁴²

Neopatras had greater prestige during Catalan domination. After it was taken by Alfonso Fadrique in 1319, the city inherited the title of the duchy and became the capital of its northern part.²⁴³ Through its boundaries with the important castle and town of Zeitonioun (the ancient Lamia), Neopatras was settled by Catalans as an administrative and military centre. While the administrative duties were held by a

Medieval Athens, in *The Economic History of Byzantium*, Angeliki E. Laiou (ed.), (3 vols, Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002), 644–645.

²³⁹ Ludolph de Sudheim, *De Itinere terae Sanctae Liber*, Fredinand Deycks (ed), (Stuttgart: Litteral, 1851), chap. XVII, 23

²⁴⁰ Martino, Nicholas, *Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni, notaire italien (1394-1395)*, ed. Leon Legrand, *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, III (Paris: E. Leroux, 1895), 649-652.

²⁴¹ Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 241-242.

²⁴² Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 85-90.

²⁴³ Prat, Eusebi Ayensa, *Els catalans a Grècia*, 251-264.

captain, the garrison in the castle was commanded by a *castellan*.²⁴⁴ Although the Duchy of Neopatras was an administrative, military, and ecclesiastical settlement (and a residence for the local Archbishop), due to its isolated location, it was not as important as that of Athens.²⁴⁵

Livadia (in Boeotia region), a small town in the classical period, became one of the most important administrative and military settlements under the Catalan government from 1311 to 1393. Livadia had a *vaguer* and *castellan* who performed the administrative and military duties and became the third area (after Thebes and Athens) densely populated by The Catalans in the duchies.²⁴⁶ Its importance comes from its military function rather than administrative one. Just as Thebes was the administrative capital and Athens was its glorious city, Livadia was the true military capital of the duchies. This position came from its fort and large castle, located in the middle of the Catalan domains, from where it controlled the roads leading to the Duchy of Neopatras in the north.²⁴⁷ Due to its strategic location and its strong castle, Livadia occupied a place of honour in relation to the rest of Catalan possessions.

The castle of Siderocastron, built on top of a hill near the Duchy of Neopatras, was one of the most important castles of the Catalan duchies. After it was conquered by Catalans in 1318, Siderocastron was populated by Catalans, and become one of the main settlements of the duchies, along with Thebes, Livadia, Athens and Neopatras.²⁴⁸ Given that Siderocastron is on the border of the northern duchy, where it could repel possible attacks and invasions coming from the north, it played a very important role

²⁴⁴ Prat, Eusebi Ayensa, *Els catalans a Grècia*, 251-264; Setton, Kenneth, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, chap. IV, 175.

²⁴⁵ Setton, Kenneth, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, chap. IV, 175.

²⁴⁶ Rubio y Lluch, *Els Castells Catalans a la Grècia Continental*, 374-375.

²⁴⁷ Prat, Eusebi Ayensa, *Els catalans a Grècia*, 150-151.

²⁴⁸ Rubio y Lluch, *Els Castells Catalans a la Grècia Continental*, 389-390.

for the Catalans.²⁴⁹ Due to its location and military functions, Siderocastron become, as the documents call it, “*clavis Athenarum ducatus* (the key to the Duchy of Athens).”²⁵⁰ Apart from these settlements, the island of Aegina become an important administrative and religious place especially under the rule of Alfonso Fadrique’s family. However, the island of Aegina will be discussed later. These settlement patterns (urban and military) together with the administrative and ecclesiastical organisation created political, social and economic dynamics of interaction between local Orthodox population and the Catalans in Greece as we will see in the following pages. (Map. 2)



Map.2: The cities, castles and towers of Greece during the Catalan domination (Eusebi Ayensai Prat, *Els catalans a Grècia. Castells i torres a la terra dels déus*,10)

²⁴⁹ Prat, Eusebi Ayensa, *Els catalans a Grècia*, 300-302.

²⁵⁰ DOC, doc. CCLXXXIX, 374-375; William, Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, 329.

4.1.4. The Dynamics of Interaction among the Local Population

The conquest of Greece by Latins (Venetian, Crusader, and Catalans) created two distinct socio-political and ethnic groups. While the first group comprised of the Latin conquerors together with western immigrants and their descendants, the second group included the indigenous Greeks.²⁵¹ As conquerors and owners of these lands, the Catalans enjoyed the full right to acquire, sell, and inherit properties and to hold administrative offices. As mentioned before, they held many important castles such as Livadia, Neopatras, and Siderocastron, and they confiscated many properties belonging to former Byzantine elites.²⁵² Although the law did not allow Catholic women to marry Greeks, Catalan men from all ranks were free to marry Greek women.²⁵³ Among them, the marshal of the Company Odo de Novalles (1331-1335), who married the sister of Greek Archon of Castri, and the Count of Salona Don Luis Fadrique (1375-1382) who married the Byzantine princess Helena Cantacuzena are outstanding examples.²⁵⁴ Although the exact number of the Catalan population in Greece is unknown, according to Antonio Rubio, the Catalans (of all ages and conditions) in the Duchy of Athens (in Boeotia and Attica) were approximately five or six thousand.²⁵⁵ As already mentioned, Athens and Thebes were the main cities where the Catalan population settled and owned properties. Rubio argues that in the 1370s, a third of the population of Athens was composed of important Catalan aristocratic

²⁵¹ Jacoby, David, *From Byzantium to Latin Romania*, 5.

²⁵² Setton, Kenneth, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, chap. V, 277; Jacoby, David, *Italian Migration and Settlement in Latin Greece*, chap. IX, 97-100

²⁵³ Setton, Kenneth, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, chap. V, 247-248.

²⁵⁴ Setton, Kenneth, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, chap. V, 248; Rubio y Lluch, *Los Navarros en Grecia y el Ducado Catalán de Atenas*, 61.

²⁵⁵ Rubio y Lluch, *La Grècia catalana des de la mort de Roger de Lluria fins a la Frederic III de Sicília (1370-1377)*, vol. I, 424.

families, such as the Ballesters, Cavaliers and Ollers.²⁵⁶ Moreover, many documents also reveal that members of the Catalan aristocracy, such as Roger de Lluria, Galceran de Peralta, and William de Almenara owned properties in the duchy of Athens.²⁵⁷ As a conquered population, the Greeks were in theory excluded from civil rights and were not allowed to acquire, sell, or inherit properties. Generally, they were forbidden to marry Catholic women.²⁵⁸ However, in practice, many documents show that these rules were often ignored. The Catalans learned to live in peace with the local Greek population. Several documents reveal that many Greeks received full franchise rights (the right granted to an individual or a group), including property, marrying Catalans to their children, and even holding important positions in Salona, Athens, Livadia and Thebes.²⁵⁹ For example, after the victory of Halmyros, the inhabitants in Livadia received the right of franchise, since they had opened their gates to the Catalans. The Greek notaries Nicholas de Mauro and Constantine de Mauro-Nichola were among those who received the full right of franchise in the duchies.²⁶⁰ In a similar manner, because of their resistance to Navarrese invasion, King Pedro IV of Aragon (1336-1387) granted citizenship to inhabitants of Livadia with full rights “to enjoy the privilege of franchise, liberty, customs, constitutions and the *usatges* of Barcelona (...*et libertatibus quibus ea tenebatis et possidebatis, possitis etiam uti et consuetudinibus, ussibus, constitutionibus et usatcis Barchinone...*)”²⁶¹ Several documents state that King Pedro intervened directly in numerous conflicts between

²⁵⁶ Rubio y Lluch, *La Grècia catalana des de la mort de Roger de Lluria fins a la Frederic III de Sicília (1370-1377)*, Vol. I, 424; Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 85-88.

²⁵⁷ Setton, Kenneth, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, chap. V, 243; DOC, doc. CCXCI, 379; doc. CCCXXV, 415; doc. CCCXXVIII, 417.

²⁵⁸ William, Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, 240.

²⁵⁹ William, Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, 240.

²⁶⁰ Setton, Kenneth, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, chap. V, 244; DOC, doc. CCLXVIII, 352-353, DOC, doc. CDLXXIX, 540-541.

²⁶¹ Setton, Kenneth, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, chap. V, 244; DOC, doc. CDLXXVIII, 539.

Catalans and the Greek population. In his letter on September 1351, he ordered the release of a certain Michael of Thebes (Michel Destiva, apparently a Greek, and his wife who had been captured by a Valencian galley on their way from Sicily to the Holy Land in 1351).²⁶² Among the others, one of the most notable persons who received the full right of franchise was Demetrius Rendi, a Greek notary of Athens.²⁶³ In the year 1362, Frederick III (or IV) of Sicily (1355-1377) granted Rendi, his sons, daughters and descendants the right of retaining their Orthodox faith and marrying Latin Catholics.²⁶⁴ In 1380, King Pedro IV renewed these privileges and directed his official in duchies to “consider the pure and true loyalty of the notary Demetrius Rendi, citizens of our city of Athens. He showed his sincere devotion to the royal majesty and with all his power, he defended our duchies against our enemies (*...que consideran la pura feultat e sencera lealtat de notari Dimitri Rendi ciutadà de la nostra ciutat de Cetines lo qual bé, feel et leyalment envers a la nostra reyal majestat haja estat e perseverat et de son poder e esforç haja mantengut e defensat lo dit pahis del ducats de la nostra reyal majestat e contre als enemichs nostres capitals...*)”²⁶⁵ On 10 April 1383, Demetrius Rendi received two families of Greek villagers, houses, lands, and vineyards.²⁶⁶ Finally, the King granted him and his heirs the office of chancellor of Athens with an annual income of forty gold dinars.²⁶⁷ The documents show that Albanians also became important citizens in the Catalan duchies, especially in Thessaly, and were granted some privileges. A document dated to 1380 reveals that Count Dimitri, who lived in southern Thessaly, had received the right to have 1500

²⁶² DOC, doc.CCI, 259.

²⁶³ Setton, Kenneth, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, chap. V, 243.

²⁶⁴ DOC, doc. CCLXIX, 353-354; Rubio i Lluch, *Une figure Athénienne de l'époque de la domination catalane. Dimitri Rendi*, Byzantion, Vol. 2 (1925), 193-229.

²⁶⁵ DOC, doc. CCCXCI, 473-479; Rubio i Lluch, *Une figure Athénienne de l'époque de la domination catalane. Dimitri Rendi*, 212.

²⁶⁶ DOC, doc. DXLIII, 592-593.

²⁶⁷ Setton, Kenneth, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, chap. V, 270.

horsemen in his service and the royal banner of the Crown of Aragon.²⁶⁸ In April 1381, not only Count Dimitri but also all the other Albanians living in Thessaly were granted some privileges by King Pedro IV for their brave resistance to the Navarrese invasion.²⁶⁹

The archaeological site of Panakton is one of the most outstanding examples that shows the political, social, and economic dynamics of the relationship between the local Orthodox population and the Catalan rulers of Greece. As mentioned above, Panakton was established as an agrarian village and inhabited during the period of Catalan (1311-1388) and Florentine rule (1388-1458).²⁷⁰ Based on the results of an extensive survey of the ruins of houses and fortification of Panakton, we may conclude that nearly thirty families were engaged in agricultural activities.²⁷¹ The institutional statutes of the community share similar characteristics of the settlement patterns of Latin rulers in Greece. Compared to the towers in Attica and Boeotia, scholars believe that the Panakton tower is a sign of land tenure granted to those who enjoyed Catalan citizenship, or the "right of franchise".²⁷² Although the identity of its habitants is still open to question, the findings provide a broader demographic pattern of Catalan Greece. An osteological analysis revealed a population mixture, based on intermarriage between males of one kinship group with females of the other kinship group.²⁷³ Moreover, burial findings provide information for this broader demographic pattern. Comparisons with Frankish burials in Greece demonstrate that funerary practices at medieval Panakton not only include local customs, but also reflect a broad

²⁶⁸ Setton, Kenneth, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, chap. V, 246; DOC, doc. CDLXXXIX, 247-248.

²⁶⁹ Setton, Kenneth, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, chap. V, 246; DOC, doc. CDLXI, 528.

²⁷⁰ Sharon E. J. Gerstel, *A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton*, 148

²⁷¹ Sharon E. J. Gerstel, *A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton*, 222-223.

²⁷² Sharon E. J. Gerstel, *A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton*, 224.

²⁷³ Sharon E. J. Gerstel, *A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton*, 223-223.

inter-cultural pattern.²⁷⁴ Also, the decoration and furniture of local churches, as well as the fragments of architectural sculpture share characteristic similarities with the Byzantine style as seen in examples from Attica and Boeotia.²⁷⁵ These findings support the idea that the population of Panakton was Orthodox and maintained a continuity in the standard practice of Byzantine construction and decoration.²⁷⁶ The example of Panakton allows two important conclusions related to the dynamics of relations between the Orthodox population and the Catalan rulers. First, it shows that the Orthodox population shows a continuity in the structure of the local buildings, the style of decoration, the funerary practice and the agricultural village economy under Catalan domination. Second, as we have seen previously, many Greeks received the right to franchise, such as possession of properties and the holding of offices of castellan and notary. This statute of the franchise reflects the progressive breakdown of the socio-political barrier between Latin and Greek at the highest level of society. In the case of Panakton, we can conclude that this breakdown of barriers can also be seen in everyday life and resulted in a culture of coexistence between the Orthodox and the Catalans.

Before moving to analyse the economy and trade of Catalan Greece, I would like to conclude this section by pointing out that the Catalan domination and to a greater extent, the Latin domination created a complex situation of continuity and alteration in the socio-political structures, religious traditions, culture, and mentality between the Latin and Byzantine populations. Regarding the administrative and social organization, the Catalans created a system that consisted of the continuation of Byzantine institutions together with the simultaneous development of feudal structures that were taken from the county of Barcelona. These structures, the Catalans' relations

²⁷⁴ Sharon E. J. Gerstel, *A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton*, 217.

²⁷⁵ Sharon E. J. Gerstel, *A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton*, 189.

²⁷⁶ Sharon E. J. Gerstel, *A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton*, 189-224.

with their neighbours, the right of franchising, and marriage between Catalans and Greeks created a legal, social, and cultural coexistence that broke down barriers and produced an integration between the Greeks and Latins without resulting in full assimilation.²⁷⁷

4.2. The Economic Activities in the Catalan Duchies of Athens and Neopatras

As already mentioned, the approximately eighty years of Catalan domination in Greece has been studied and well-documented by many historians, such as Antonio Rubio and Kenneth Setton²⁷⁸; however, the commercial activities within the Catalan duchies in Greece generally have been pushed into the background. In fact, recent developments in archaeology, especially in the field of numismatics, as well as a more careful examination of documents, such as notarial documents, trade contracts, and tariffs, from the archives of Venice, Mallorca and Aragon have revealed that the Catalans created a commercial system that brought together different socio-political actors

²⁷⁷ Jacoby, David, *Social Evolution in Latin Greece*, in *A History of the Crusades*, Setton Kenneth (ed), (Madison: Wisconsin, 1989), 219-221.

²⁷⁸ Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388*, (UK: Variorum Reprints, 1975), *Athens in the Middle Ages*, (UK: Variorum Reprints, 1975); Rubio y Lluch, Antonio *Diplomatari de l' Orient Catalan (1301-1409). Col·lecció de Documents per la Història de l' expedició Catalana a Orient dels ducats d' Atenes i Neopàtria*, (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2001), *Los Navarros en Grecia, y el Ducado Catalán de Atenas en la Época de Su Invasión* (Barcelona: Impr. de J. Jepús, 1886); *La Grecia catalana, desde 1377 a 1379* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1914); *El record dels catalans en la tradició popular, històrica i literària de Grècia* (Barcelona: Curial Edicions Catalanes, 2001).

(Barcelona, Mallorca, Sicily), different trade routes (regional and long-distance), and different cities (Athens, Thebes, Neopatras).

After the establishment of Catalan Duchies, the members of Company engaged in commercial activities, based on two different trade routes: one more regional centred on the Peloponnese and an inter-regional one linking the Duchies with Barcelona and Mallorca. On the one hand, the abundance of material, like coins, tariffs and trade contracts, shows that the Catalans exploited the regional trade route which linked Thebes (as the main centre of Catalan trade) and Athens, with Negroponte and Candia (Venetian Crete). It is true that these Greek cities (Thebes and Athens) had already been important commercial centres during the 12th and 13th centuries. Thebes, as capital of the Byzantine province of Hellas and Peloponnese, had already been a prosperous city, a productive and commercial centre with its location on the road that links the Peloponnese with the centre and north of Greece along with Corinth, Larissa and Thessaloniki.²⁷⁹ With the production of wine, oil, and cereals in the fertile area of Lake Copais (in the centre of Boeotia, west of Thebes), the city played an active role in the economic development of the region.²⁸⁰ The systematic production of silk became the unchallenged source of wealth for the city, and Thebes became a magnet for Genoese and Venetian merchants as well as for Jewish travellers. The Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela (1130-1173) said they (Jews) were "*the most skilled artificers in silk and purple cloth throughout Greece.*"²⁸¹ As we will see, Thebes

²⁷⁹ Armstrong, Pamela, *Byzantine Thebes: Excavations on the Kadmeia, 1980*, The Annual of the British School at Athens, Vol. 88 (1993), 295-335; Symeonoglou, Sarantis, *The Topography of Thebes from the Bronze Age to Modern Times*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014).

²⁸⁰ Louvi-Kizi, Aspasia, *Thebes*, in, *The Economic History of Byzantium*, Angeliki E. Laiou (ed.) (3 vols, Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002), 630-639.

²⁸¹ Jacoby, David, *Silk crosses the Mediterranean*, in *Le vie del Mediterraneo: idee, uomini, oggetti (secoli XI-XVI)*, Gabriella Airaldi (ed), (Genova:1997), rep in *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean*, (UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2001), chap. X, 55-79; Benjamin of Tudela, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, vol. I, Marcus Adler (ed), (New York: Phillip Feldheim, 1907), 10.

managed to keep this economic importance during the Catalan period. Especially after the agreement with the Republic of Venice in 1319, which allowed the Catalans to use the port of Livadastro (in the northeast corner of the Corinthian Gulf), the city became the centre of the Catalans' trade with Catalonia, Majorca and Sicily. In addition to all of that, Thebes played an active role in the economy as a slave market where merchants from Majorca and Barcelona engaged in the trade.²⁸²

Athens was another important place for agriculture and commercial activities. Numismatic evidence and written sources, like the letters of the Archbishop of Athens, Michael Choniates (ca.1138-ca.1222)²⁸³, suggest that Athens was a densely populated city benefitting from the production of oil from the olive groves of Attica, the famous honey of Mount Hymettus, grapes, and wine.²⁸⁴ The Arab geographers Al- Idris (1099-1165) describes Athens as a populous city surrounded by gardens and cultivated fields.²⁸⁵ Moreover, production of ceramics and textiles also bolstered the economy of the city as Athens acted as a centre where goods could be exported along long-distance networks of trade.²⁸⁶ In short, the archaeological evidence and documents show that during the Catalan domination, Athens still had some importance as an agricultural centre and more, due to its geographical proximity to Crete, the city was able to maintain commercial contacts and acquire an important role in trade, as we will see in the next paragraphs.²⁸⁷

²⁸² Setton, Kenneth, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388*, 85-87.

²⁸³ Setton, Kenneth, *Athens in the Later Twelfth Century*, *Speculum*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (1944), 179-207.

²⁸⁴ M. Kazanaki-Lappa, *Medieval Athens*, 644-645.

²⁸⁵ Al-Idrisi, *Géographie d'Edrisi*, Jaubert, Pierre-Amédée (tr), vol.6, (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1836), 295.

²⁸⁶ Shawcross, Teresa, *Golden Athens: Episcopal Wealth and Power in Greece at the Time of the Crusades*, in *Contact and Conflict in Frankish Greece and the Aegean, 1204-1453*, Chrissis, Nikolaos G & Carr, Mike (ed), (London: Routledge, 2014), 70.

²⁸⁷ Duelt, Daniel Duran, *Los ducados de Atenas y Neopatria en el comercio regional e internacional durante la dominación catalana (siglo XIV). I: El comercio regional a través del observatorio de Candia*, *Estudios bizantinos* 6 (2018), 132-134.

The Catalan conquest of Greece changed the economic structure but did not ruin the commercial activities in Thebes and Athens at a regional level. The military campaigns of the Catalans, especially their first conflict with their neighbours, interrupted trade activities, but written documents and archaeological evidence point to a continuity in the trade. The Florentine merchant Francesco Balducci Pegolotti (d.1347) points to the existence of commercial relationship between Thebes and other regions and markets. He also refers to trade in wheat and wine between Thebes and Glarentza (a medieval town located near Kyllini in the Morea).²⁸⁸ Moreover, a commercial manual which was compiled in Florence (1315-1320) mentioned the export of red silk fabrics (*scamiti di Stivo [...] in cholore vermigli*) from Thebes to Egypt.²⁸⁹ Beside these, since Negroponte was a strategic and economic centre for Venice, the Venetian authorities, especially the notary of Candia, kept account of trade activities in Negroponte, including of course Catalan activities. A document dated to 1355 mentioned the textile trade between Thebes and Negroponte. One example is Catalan Jaume Clavell of Thebes who was involved in a business of gray cloth together with Leo Scolo, an inhabitant of Negroponte.²⁹⁰ The numismatic evidence also shows flourishing Athenian economic life during Catalan domination. Stray coin finds, and hoards show that during the Catalan domination, the Venetian *soldino*, French *gros tournois*, Italian *pierreali* and Greek *tournois* coins were in circulation in the Duchies.²⁹¹ The first year

²⁸⁸ Pegolotti, Francesco Balducci, *La Pratica della Mercatura*, Allan Evans (ed), (Cambridge: Medieval Academy Books, 1936), 118; Duelt, Daniel Duran, *El comercio regional a través del observatorio de Candía*, 125.

²⁸⁹ Daniel Duran, *El comercio regional a través del observatorio de Candía*, 125; Bautier, Robert-Henri, *Les relations économiques des occidentaux avec les pays d'Orient, au Moyen Âge. Points de vue et documents*, in *Sociétés et compagnies de commerce en Orient et dans l'océan indien. Actes du huitième colloque international d'histoire maritime*, M. Mollat (ed.), (Paris: S. E. V. P. E. N, 1970), 319.

²⁹⁰ Daniel Duran, *El comercio regional a través del observatorio de Candía*, 126.

²⁹¹ Baker, Julian, *Money and Currency in Medieval Greece*, 217-254; Baker, Julian & Galani-Krikou, Mina, *Further considerations on the numismatics of Catalan Greece in the light of the Athens Roman Agora*, 457-473.

of Catalan conquest brought a rapid renewal in the minting of Greek *tournoise*. To assemble armies or to pay off enemies, minting was renewed at Glarenza, Thebes and Neopatras.²⁹² Following the ongoing political and economic ties with the kingdom of Sicily, the French *gros tournois* and Italian *pierreali* became an important part of the Catalan monetary system. Finally, in 1332 the Venetian *soldino* became dominant in the local trade and monetary system.²⁹³

At this point, it would be worth comparing the monetary system of the Catalan duchies with the monetary customs of the Catalan motherland (Barcelona) in order to stress the peculiarity of the Athenian Catalan Duchies. Although the monetary system in the kingdom expanded as a result of territorial expansion (the annexation of Sicily, Sardinia and Naples) and economic growth in the Mediterranean between the late 13th century and the mid-14th century, it was characterized by its stability and conservatism relative to the coinage of many European countries.²⁹⁴ The *Croat* coin and *florin* dominated the Crown's monetary system and remained unchanged until the end of the Middle Ages.²⁹⁵ However, as mentioned above, the Catalans used different types of coins in Greece despite being under the sovereignty of the Crown. This acceptance and use of the different currencies that circulated in the duchies is indicative of the peculiar and fluid socio-cultural and economic structures of Catalan domination. The

Soldino: Venetian fine silver denomination, which was introduced in 1332.

Gros tournois: French silver coin

Pierreali: Italian silver coin

²⁹² Baker, Julian, *Money and Currency in Medieval Greece*, 243.

²⁹³ Baker, Julian, *Money and Currency in Medieval Greece*, 244-245.

²⁹⁴ Gerli, E. Michael (ed.), *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia*, (New York: Routledge, 2003), 241-242; Grierson, Philip & Balaguer, Anna M. & Crusafont, Miquel, *Medieval European Coinage: The Iberian Peninsula*, vol. 6, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 115-135.

²⁹⁵ Gerli, E. Michael (ed.), *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia*, 241-242.

Croat: a silver coin, introduced in 1285

Florin: a gold coin, introduced in 1340

agricultural economy, especially the production of wine and cereals (wheat and barley) took place in many regions under the control of the Catalans, including the island of Aegina. The aforementioned agricultural settlement of Panakton is again a good example of an agricultural economy during Catalan rule. Nearly thirty families in Panakton actively engaged in the production of cereals.²⁹⁶ In a general context, from the archaeological and numismatic point of view, Catalan rule represents a continuity in the agricultural economy and regional trade between the Catalans, Greeks, and Venetians.

On the other hand, the most important change in the field of trade during the Catalan domination was the insertion of the duchies into long-distance trade in which the island of Mallorca and the city of Barcelona took pride of place as the main actors.(Map. 3)



Map. 3: The Expansion of the Crown of Aragon in the Mediterranean (13th-15th centuries), www.cellcode.us/quotes/crown-aragon-map.html

²⁹⁶ Sharon E. J. Gerstel, *A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton*. 147-234.

Without a doubt, the existing trade activities in booty and provisions for the army between the Catalan Company and the Crown of Aragon during the Catalan campaigns in Asia Minor played a decisive role in this rapid insertion of the duchies into the Mallorcan long-distance trade network. These economic activities, together with the social and political ties between the Catalan Company and the Crown of Aragon, attracted merchants, especially Mallorcan ones, towards the duchies and led them to establish business in Greece.²⁹⁷ But Mallorcan merchants were not the only seaman who established commercial contacts with the Catalan duchies. The Catalans' close contacts with Aragonese Kingdom of Sicily also attracted Sicilian merchants who wanted to strengthen their existing trade contacts with the entire eastern Mediterranean.²⁹⁸ A document dated to 1313 refers to the first commercial contacts with the duchies. The document shows three contracts of commendation in favour of Andreu Ripoll, citizen of Thebes and native of Mallorca; one of Cervia de Freixenet worth 130 pounds, another one of Bernat de Prats and Julia d' Estany worth 480 pounds and one of Bernat de Prats for a value of 17 pounds.²⁹⁹ Documents also reveal that some Mallorcan merchants followed the trade route that connects Livadostro (the port of Thebes), Sicily, Cagliari and the island of Mallorca. A freight contract indicates that a Mallorcan citizen, Andreu Alegre, engaged in trade between Mallorca and Thebes in 1351.³⁰⁰ Alegre chartered the boat to Francesc Nogueró, Pere de Valls, and Bernat Andreu. He promised to sail from Mallorca and directly go to Livadostro with

²⁹⁷ Duelt, Daniel Duran, *Los ducados de Atenas y Neopatria en el comercio regional e internacional durante la dominación catalana (siglo XIV). II: El comercio de larga distancia a través del observatorio de Barcelona y Mallorca*, Estudios bizantinos 7 (2019), 1-4.

²⁹⁸ Duelt, Daniel Duran, *De l'autonomia a la integració: la participació siciliana en el comerç oriental als segles XIV i XV*, in, *La Corona catalanoaragonesa i el seu entorn mediterrani a la Baixa Edat Mitjana*, M. T. Ferrer i Mallol, J. Mutgé i Vives, (Barcelona: Editorial CSIC, 2005), 66-99.

²⁹⁹ Duelt, Daniel Duran, *El comercio de larga distancia a través del observatorio de Barcelona y Mallorca*, 4.

³⁰⁰ Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca (ARM) , L.C.26, f. 47v as cited in Duelt, Daniel Duran, *El comercio de larga distancia a través del observatorio de Barcelona y Mallorca*, 7.

these fleets which could be loaded with goods worth 2500 gold real.³⁰¹ Moreover, one of the most outstanding examples of the intense commercial activities between Mallorca and Thebes is the case of professional trade partners, Bernat Eimeric and Bartomeu Sunyer, who organised numerous commercial expeditions with their ship, the Santa Maria. From some notarial protocols, we know that in 1359, they had planned a commercial expedition to Mallorca-Cagliari-Syracuse-Livadostro/Thebes and returning to Cagliari or Mallorca.³⁰² According to the contract, they recognised two Mallorcan merchants, Domenec Timora and Pere Sabater, to have commended 350 pounds to invest in a company for a trip to Cagliari-Sicily-Thebes-Mallorca.³⁰³ On January 4, 1359 they recognised Commenda de Benet de Dameto, merchant of Mallorca, to have commended 160 pounds for the same purpose.³⁰⁴ The documents also provide information on the type of products that were imported and exported in this long distance trade. Freight contracts, commercial agreements, and the tariffs mention the exportation of woollen clothes, oil, fish jars, ceramic jars, figs, and rice in the Catalan duchies of Athens and Neopatras.³⁰⁵ The tariff of 1351 gives the details of the duties to be paid for entrance: 10 s. (sueldos) for each piece of woollen clothes, 5s. for each jar of oil and fish.³⁰⁶ From the tariffs of 1359, we know that the duty to be paid changed according to whether the destination of the goods was Cagliari, Syracuse

³⁰¹ Duelt, Daniel Duran, *El comercio de larga distancia a través del observatorio de Barcelona y Mallorca*, 8.

³⁰² Duelt, Daniel Duran, *El comercio de larga distancia a través del observatorio de Barcelona y Mallorca*, 9.

³⁰³ Arxiu de la Catedral de Mallorca (ACM) 14574, f.1r, Duelt, Daniel Duran, *El comercio de larga distancia a través del observatorio de Barcelona y Mallorca*, 10.

³⁰⁴ ACM, 14574, f. 2v, Duelt, Daniel Duran, *El comercio de larga distancia a través del observatorio de Barcelona y Mallorca*, 10.

³⁰⁵ Duelt, Daniel Duran, *El comercio de larga distancia a través del observatorio de Barcelona y Mallorca*, 33.

³⁰⁶ ACM, 14784, f.72v-74r, Duelt, Daniel Duran, *El comercio de larga distancia a través del observatorio de Barcelona y Mallorca*, 33.

or Thebes.³⁰⁷ The contracts provide information about both products and the merchants. On January 1359, Pere de Font, merchant inhabitant of Mallorca, and his brother Perico de Font, went in on a shipment of white cloth and fish to be taken from Cagliari, Syracuse, or Thebes.³⁰⁸ In October, Berenguer Hug, citizen of Mallorca, invested money in a shipment of figs to be taken to Cagliari, Sicily, and Thebes.³⁰⁹ Although, these cases do not specify in which port the goods should be unloaded, still we can see that the duchies took an active part in these activities in some way. In short, the intense naval traffic, the commercial activities of the merchants and the strong relationship with the Crown show that active and secure commercial relations were established between the Catalan duchies, Barcelona, and Mallorca. Moreover, the contracts and documents reveal that Thebes, Athens and also Negroponte took an active part as commercial centres for these long-distance trade activities.

As far as traded goods are concerned, the Catalan duchies' commerce was shaped around a new product, slaves, which came to dominate both regional and long-distance trade. Undoubtedly, the slave trade was not *terra incognita* for the Catalans. In fact, the Catalans had already engaged in slave trading activities during their campaigns in Asia Minor and in Gallipoli, from 1303 to 1311.³¹⁰ From the chronicle of Ramon Muntaner, we know that the Company slave trade operated in two places: Gallipoli and Cassandra. Especially, he mentions the existence of a slave market and auction in

³⁰⁷ ACM, 14575, f.228r, Duelt, Daniel Duran, *El comercio de larga distancia a través del observatorio de Barcelona y Mallorca*, 34.

³⁰⁸ ACM, 14575, f. 7v-8r, Duelt, Daniel Duran, *El comercio de larga distancia a través del observatorio de Barcelona y Mallorca*, 35.

³⁰⁹ ACM 14787, f.158v-159r, Duelt, Daniel Duran, *El comercio de larga distancia a través del observatorio de Barcelona y Mallorca*, 35.

³¹⁰ Hierro, Ernest Marcos, *The Catalan Company and the Slave Trade*, in *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 ce)*, Amitai, Reuven & Cluse, Christoph (ed), (Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017), 320-322.

Gallipoli after his victory against a baron in the Kingdom of Salonica. He gives details as:

“...And next day we had an auction of the horses and of the prisoners and of what we had taken and we had, of the booty, twenty-eight gold hyperpers for each armed horse and fourteen for each light horse and seven for each foot soldier, so that everyone had his share...”³¹¹

In addition, the Venetian notarial acts of Candia contains numerous documents that provide information on the slave trade of the Catalan company, including the characteristics of this trade, the names of the merchants and the origins of the slaves.³¹²

While a notary document of Angelo da Cartoria of Candia mentions that a father and son, Sergio and Emmanuel Venetando sold three slaves in May 1306, another one shows that Sismondus Rico from Candia had contacts for the slave trade with members of the Company during their stay on Cassandra.³¹³ The acts of Angelo Cariolo, notary in Candia, also reveal the capacity of the slave trade and the ethnic origins of the slaves together with their prices. For instance, they mention 43 bills of sale for slaves that were captured by the Catalan Company (*the Exercitus Catalanus que est apud Thessalonicam*) between July 1308 and April 1309. The ethnic origin of these slaves is varied, including 33 Greeks, 4 Bulgarians, 4 Vlachs and 3 of unknown origin.³¹⁴ This diversity of the slaves shows the Catalans' connections and access to the different markets in Gallipoli, Cassandra, and Asia Minor. This allows us to reconstruct the expansion of the slave markets in the Catalan duchies. Indeed, and based on these data, we can assume that the sales of booty and slaves played an important role in the economy of the Catalan Company, especially during its campaigns against the

³¹¹ Muntaner, *The Chronicle*, CCXXIV, 442-443.

³¹² Hierro, Ernest Marcos, *The Catalan Company and the Slave Trade*, 338-343.

³¹³ Hierro, Ernest Marcos, *The Catalan Company and the Slave Trade*, 338.

³¹⁴ Hierro, Ernest Marcos, *The Catalan Company and the Slave Trade*, 343; the list of the price is provided in Duelt, Daniel Duran, *La Companyia Catalana i el comerç d'esclaus abans de l'assentament als ducats d'Atenes i Neopàtria*, in *De l'esclavitud a la llibertat: esclaus i lliberts a l'edat mitjana*, Ferrer, María Teresa & Vives, Josefa Mutgé, (Barcelona: Institució Milà i Fontanals, 2000), 568-571.

Byzantine Empire. These early experiences in the slave trade would develop later and provide a basis for the Catalan Duchies' slave trade, most notably in Thebes. As soon as the Catalans settled in Greece, the slave trade became one of the most important businesses and sources of income in the Duchies.³¹⁵ The documents of Notai di Candia indicate that the Catalans in Greece carried out an intense slave trade with Sicily, Candia, and Crete. In September 1316, Simone Massone, an inhabitant of Trapani (Sicily), was involved in the sale of ten slaves with the Catalans in Thebes.³¹⁶ On April 8, 1317, Nicolau Toro, a Catalan inhabitant of Thebes, sold a Greek slave named Juan to Bertino Tallino, an inhabitant of Candia for 11 Cretan hyperpers.³¹⁷ In October 1332, another Catalan, Guillem Simone, also an inhabitant of Thebes, sold fourteen slaves (12 Greeks, 1 Vlach and 1 Turk) who had been brought from Thebes.³¹⁸ Although Thebes was clearly the centre of the slave market in the duchies, the documents show that the Catalans were also engaged in the slave trade in Athens. A document dated to December 1321 mentions Pere Ros, a Catalan resident in Candia, selling a slave named Basilio, who was brought from Athens, to Giovanni Enzo, another resident of Candia, for 20 Cretan *hyperpera*.³¹⁹ The documents from the Archive of the Cathedral of Mallorca indicate that the Catalan slave trade did not only remain limited to Candia and Crete, but also expanded to Mallorca and Barcelona. Especially after the first contacts for long-distance trade had been made, the slave trade attracted many merchants from Mallorca and Barcelona and became a prominent

³¹⁵ Hierro, Ernest Marcos, *The Catalan Company and the Slave Trade*, 348.

³¹⁶ Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASV), Notai di Candia, busta 233, f.28r as cited in Duelt, Daniel Duran, *El comercio regional a través del observatorio de Candia*, 129.

³¹⁷ DOC, doc.LXXXVII, 107.

³¹⁸ ASV, Notai di Can, busta 244, f.121r-v as cited in Duelt, Daniel Duran, *El comercio regional a través del observatorio de Candia*, 130; Verlinden, Charles, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale. Tome II: Italie-Colonies italiennes du Levant-Levant latin-Empire byzantin*, (Gent: Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, 1977), 835.

³¹⁹ ASV, Notai di Candia busta 9, f.76r, Duelt, Daniel Duran, *El comercio regional a través del observatorio de Candia*, 133.

element in the long-distance trade of the Duchies. A document dated 1329 which was studied by Antonio Rubio shows that two merchants from Barcelona John Bruni and Francisco Cama were involved in the Greek slave trade.³²⁰ In 1349, Ramon Vives, a merchant inhabitant of Thebes sold a Greek slave named Juan, for 35 pounds to Pere Fabrer, a citizen of Mallorca.³²¹ In 1351, a resident of Thebes Jaume Ferran sold a Greek slave, Maria, for 90 pounds to Bernat Pere Sabater, a citizen of Mallorca.³²² In addition, some contracts give information on the capacity of this trade and mention a trade of 100 slaves between the duchies and Mallorca.³²³ The Greeks were not the only ones who were sold as slaves by the Catalans, Bulgarians, Vlachs, and Turks also became the victims of this trade. On April 1354, Francese de Colomer from Thebes sold two Turkish slaves, named Mussa and Issa, for 100 pounds to Nicolau Tora, a citizen of Mallorca.³²⁴

In a general context, the role played by different mercantile actors and products, along regional (Thebes-Athens-Candia-Negroponte), and long-distance trade routes (Thebes-Sicily- Mallorca-Barcelona), as well as the archaeological sources such as coinage clearly highlight some characteristics of economic activities in the Catalan Duchies of Athens and Neopatras. First of all, Catalan domination in Greece entailed a broad and well-organized economic and commercial continuity. The quality, quantity, and diversity of coins as well as the participation of different actors like Venetian, Mallorcan, and Aragonese merchants show that despite the animosity

³²⁰ DOC, doc. CXLIII, 173.

³²¹ ACM 14566 f.7v-8r as cited in Duelt, Daniel Duran, *El comercio de larga distancia a través del observatorio de Barcelona y Mallorca*, 26.

³²² ACM, 14792, f.10r, Duelt, Daniel Duran, *El comercio de larga distancia a través del observatorio de Barcelona y Mallorca*, 26.

³²³ Duelt, Daniel Duran, *El comercio de larga distancia a través del observatorio de Barcelona y Mallorca*, 27.

³²⁴ ACM, 14580, f.21v-22r, Duelt, Daniel Duran, *El comercio de larga distancia a través del observatorio de Barcelona y Mallorca*, 27.

between the Catalans and their neighbours, they managed to position themselves commercially in the region and opened the way to economic and commercial negotiations with their neighbours. This acceptance of different monetary units is a sign of cross-cultural awareness and economic pragmatism in the Catalan duchies. It also reflects the local economic prosperity and stability among Catalans, Greeks, Venetians, and the Crown of Aragon in the Catalan duchies of Athens and Neopatras. Moreover, the rapid growth of Athens and Thebes in the commercial routes of the Eastern Mediterranean made these two cities important for the political and economic expansion of the Crown of Aragon throughout the Mediterranean. Secondly, the political and economic ties forged by the Company with the Crown of Aragon, as well as the geographical proximity between the duchies and Sicily were the key elements in the continuity and development of commerce during the Catalan domination of Greece. These social, political and economic ties became the main factors which encouraged merchants, especially from Mallorca and Barcelona, to navigate towards the duchies and go into business with Catalans in Greece. They gave Aragonese merchants the opportunity to directly access the sphere of commerce and offered a special advantage in Greece without competing with other groups that had already established themselves in the duchies. All these developments not only contributed to the economic success of the Catalan duchies, but also led the integration of the duchies in the Catalan commercial geography even after the fall of Catalan duchies to the Navarrese Company in 1390.

4.3. Cultural Hybridity in the Catalan Duchies

As mentioned before, on the one hand, the Catalans created a pragmatic administrative and social organization by bringing together Byzantine institutions and the customs of the county of Barcelona. As a natural consequence of this new system, socio-political relations developed among Catalans, the local population and their neighbours. On the other hand, after the establishment of the Duchies, the Catalans engaged in regional and long-distance trade that brought together Catalans, Mallorcans, Venetians, and Greeks. These trade activities not only led the Catalan duchies to integrate into the Catalan and Aragonese commercial geography in the Mediterranean world, but also created a period of economic growth in the Catalan duchies of Athens and Neopatras with the contribution of Catalans, Greeks, Venetians, and the Crown of Aragon. In the light of this administrative, social and economic organization, the following pages will analyse cultural fusion in the Catalan Duchies, from the perspectives of religion (relics and paintings), political-religious architecture (churches and inscriptions), and political-cultural aspect (language). These particular aspects allow us to understand the transformation of a mercenary army into a political and cultural institution as well as to analyse the acceptance and reaction of the Greeks towards the Catalan rulers of Greece.

From the 11th century, especially after European expansion and the emergence of Latin states in the East, Oriental religious relics become one of the most important targets for Western kings, not only for their economic value but also for their political and symbolic functions.³²⁵ Especially, after the active policy of the Crown of Aragon to acquire important relics from the early 14th century to the beginning of the 15th century, the relics also become one of the main objects for the treasure of the Crown. The

³²⁵ Sala, Vicent Baydal, *Santa Tecla, San Jorge y Santa Bárbara: Los monarcas de la Corona de Aragón a la búsqueda de reliquias en Oriente (siglos XIV-XV)*, *Anaquel de Estudios Arabes* 21 (2010), 153-162.

economic value of relics (with precious stones) as well as their symbolic functions which provide political legitimation and bolstered monarchical patronage over the main churches and monasteries of its kingdom, spurred the monarchs of the Crown of Aragon to carry out a policy of acquisition of relics in the East.³²⁶ In line with this purpose, three important relics need to be mentioned here: the arm of Saint Thecla in Armenia, the head of Saint George in Greece, and the body of Saint Barbara in Cairo.³²⁷ Among them, the head of Saint George became a bone of contention between the Crown of Aragon and the Catalan duchies in Greece. The relic was originally a part of the treasury of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople. It had been stolen by the Franks and brought to Greece (kept in the castle of Livadia) after 1204.³²⁸ After the Catalans settled in Greece in 1311, the monarchs of Aragon attempted several times to get the head of Saint George. Between 1354 and 1355, King Pedro (el Cereminos) IV de Aragon (1336-1387) sent an envoy to the Duke of Athens and Neopatras, the vicar general of the Duchies, and the dean of the church of Thebes with the aim of obtaining this relic of Saint George.³²⁹ Also in the same year, he promised to use his full influence in Avignon to lift the excommunication which the Catalans had faced since their first establishment in Attica and Boeotia, if they would send the head of Saint George.³³⁰ Finally in 1393, the King John I of Aragon (1387-1396) wrote a letter to Guillem Ramon de Montcada, in order to get the relics of Saint George.³³¹ However, despite of all this insistent desire of the House of Barcelona to obtain it at all costs, the lords of Livadia and Aegina never gave up on the head of Saint George.

³²⁶ Sala, Vicent Baydal, *Santa Tecla, San Jorge y Santa Bárbara*, 153-162.

³²⁷ Sala, Vicent Baydal, *Santa Tecla, San Jorge y Santa Bárbara*, 153-162.

³²⁸ González, Manuel Antonio, *El Sinaí, Constantinopla y Cataluña en torno a 1400: imágenes sagradas, políticas y peregrinación*, in *Imagens e Liturgia na Idade Média*, Carla Varela Fernandes (ed), (Porto: Bens Culturais de Igreja, 2016), 17.

³²⁹ Sala, *Santa Tecla, San Jorge y Santa Bárbara*, 158; DOC, doc.CCXIV-CCXXI, 293-298.

³³⁰ Setton, Kenneth, *Avignones Papacy*, 297.

³³¹ DOC, doc. DCXXXIX, 668-669.

The reason for this resistance lays in the cult of Saint George and its importance for the Catalan Company. It should be remembered that the Catalan Company cried out the name of Saint George and carried his holy flag next to those of the Kings of Aragon and Sicily before each battle either against the aforementioned Turkish *Beyliks* or the Byzantine Empire. Moreover, the Catalans made a great seal in 1305 in which Saint George was depicted as a warrior who rode and spurred his horse while attacking the dragon. This depiction and the cult of Saint George not only provided protection for the Catalan Company, but also become a symbol of identity for them. There is no doubt that the Catalans continued to use Saint George in this way during their whole time in Greece from 1311 to 1388. It is true that in times of trouble, having an important relic of “San Jordi” assured incontestable divine protection to both the knights of Livadia and those of Aegina.³³² Apart from this protection function, it can be assumed that, like the Franks, the Catalans who settled in Greece considered themselves as natural descendants of the Crusaders and used the symbol of the cult of Saint George and his relic to legitimize their conquests.³³³ Moreover, this symbol of the cult of Saint George was not only limited to the relics but was also represented in church paintings made under the Catalan rule. Two paintings in particular are outstanding examples of this iconography. (Figures 1-2)

³³² González, Manuel Antonio, *El Sinaí, Constantinopla y Cataluña en torno a 1400*, 20.

³³³ González, Manuel Antonio, *El Sinaí, Constantinopla y Cataluña en torno a 1400*, 20.



Figure. 1: Saint George on horse spearing the dragon ca.1330. Hagios Nikolaos Mavrita (Aegina). (González, Manuel Antonio, *El Sináí, Constantinopla y Cataluña en torno a 1400*, 23)



Figure. 2: Saint George on horse spearing the dragon ca. 1338-1350. Hagios Ioannis Theologos (Aegina). (González, Manuel Antonio, *El Sináí, Constantinopla y Cataluña en torno a 1400*, 35.)

The first painting is found on the east wall of the church Aghios Nikolaos Mavrita (Aegina), and dates to ca.1330. In the painting, Saint George is represented on horseback while spearing the dragon. The second, on the church of Aghios Ioannis Theologos (Aegina), dates to ca.1338-1350. In a similar way, Saint George is depicted as a warrior who has defeated a dragon.³³⁴

The relics of Saint George and these two particular paintings allow us to reach three clear points. Firstly, the traffic in relics became one of the most important military, diplomatic, economic, and cultural contacts between the West and the East during the 14th and 15th century. Especially, in the case of the head of St. George, the officers, merchants or ecclesiastics sent by the monarchs of the Crown of Aragon intensified relations with the ruler and local authorities in the Catalan Duchies in Greece. Despite

³³⁴ González, Manuel Antonio, *El Sináí, Constantinopla y Cataluña en torno a 1400*, 23-35.

these intense relations and pressures from the Crown, the Catalan rulers in Greece continued to keep the relic of St. George in Livadia and it became their symbol of protection, especially in times of troubles. Secondly, as Manuel Antonio Gonzales points out, the representation of Saint George on horseback, and spearing the dragon, was not the most usual iconography of painting in the North of Greece in that period but was a representation of military saints which was spread by Crusaders after 1204.³³⁵ This allows us to argue that the Catalans in Greece not only used the relics of Saint George for protection, but they tried to legitimize their conquests by using this representation. Finally, it can be assumed that the representation of Saint George in the Orthodox churches in Greece shows a degree of acculturation and an inclination towards rapprochement between the local Orthodox population and the Catalan families. This degree of acculturation can be further exemplified when examining the political-cultural interaction between the local Orthodox population and the Catalan community on the island of Aegina.

The Latin conquest of Greece brought about a less strict and more flexible transformation of political-cultural aspects and the ecclesiastical architecture. The synthesis of Late Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture and Latin art and architectural style yielded a new character in which the cities developed their own artistic and architectural peculiarities. Paliachora, on the island of Aegina, is one of the most outstanding examples of such a city under Catalan domination. The Byzantine history of Aegina began in the 9th century. During that time, because of its strategic location as the gateway to Athens and an important point for navigation in the Saronic Gulf, the island became an important military and commercial centre. However, due to this

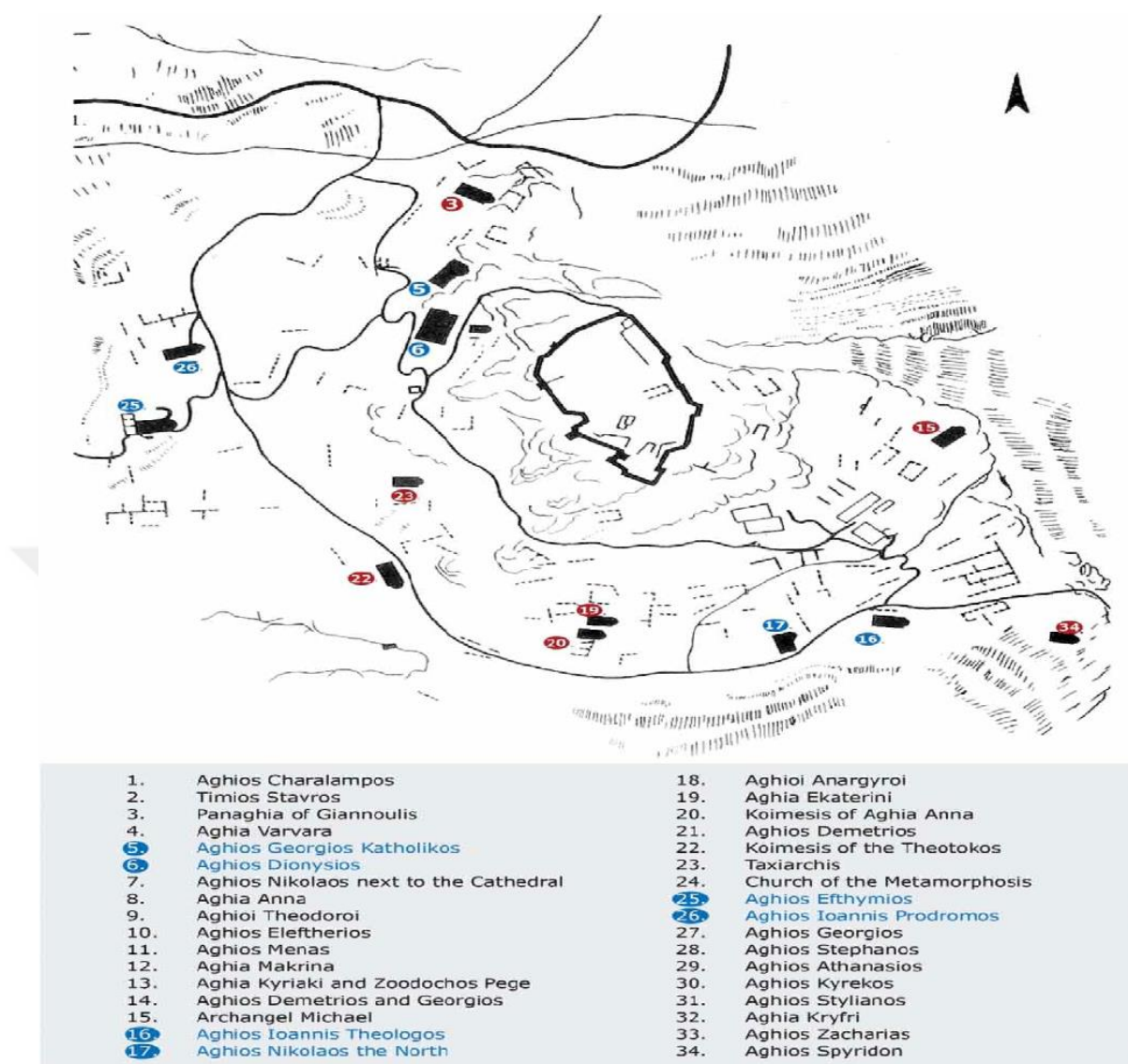
³³⁵ González, Manuel Antonio, *El Siná, Constantinopla y Cataluña en torno a 1400*, 27.

strategic position, the island had continuously been attacked by Arabs, Saracens and Berbers from the 9th century to the 12th century. After 1204, the island was awarded to the Venetians and only a year later came under the rule of the Franks. In 1296, the island was given to Boniface of Verona (1270-1317) as a nuptial gift. Finally, in 1317, Alfonso Fadrique become Lord of Aegina after his marriage to the daughter of Boniface. The island fell under the hegemony of the Catalan family of Alfonso Fadrique until 1394.³³⁶ This long Catalan dominion (1317-1394) was very fruitful for the island. Catalan families began to live on the island and brought their administrative and ecclesiastical characteristics. Hence, the daily life, the ecclesiastical architecture, and the artistic promotion began to change and develop.³³⁷ Under Catalan rule, the urban character of Paliachora (Aegina) become more elaborate, with the appearance of squares as well as commercial and social centres. However, the most outstanding characteristics were displayed in the field of ecclesiastical architecture and artistic promotion. Archaeological evidences show that during the rule of Fadrique family, the most elaborate churches were built: *Aghios Georgios Katholikos*, *Agnios Dionysios*, *Aghios Ioannis Prodromos*, *Aghios Efthymios* (double basilica), *Aghios Nikolaos Mavrita (the North)* and *Aghios Ioannis Theologos*.³³⁸ (Map. 4)

³³⁶ Ermioni, Karachaliou, *The Island of Aegina: An Example of Modus Vivendi in the Medieval Mediterranean*, *Al-Masaq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean*, 25:3 (2013), 279-304.

³³⁷ Ermioni, Karachaliou, *The Island of Aegina*, 287.

³³⁸ Ermioni, Karachaliou, *The Island of Aegina*, 287.



Map. 4: Map of the churches constructed under Catalan rule. (Ermioni, Karachaliou, *The Island of Aegina*, 288.)

Among them, *Aghios Georgios Katholikos* and *Aghios Dionysios* were the most important. While the former served as the social centre of the island, the latter one was the principal church. Their location also indicates their prominence position within the urban topography. While the other churches were built in the lower part of the city, these two churches were located on the higher level of the hill. This is the clearest indicator of their status and hierarchy among the others.³³⁹ The churches of *Aghios*

³³⁹Ermioni, Karachaliou, *The Island of Aegina*, 287.

Nikolaos Mavrita and *Aghios Ioannis Theologos* -thanks to their paintings and inscriptions- are the most important examples for understanding the interaction between the local Orthodox population and the Catalan family of Fadrique. In the case of the church of *Aghios Nikolaos Mavrita*, the frescoes of the church dated to ca.1330 depict images of the Virgin of the Deesis and Saint Basil. On the east wall, Saint George is represented on horseback, spearing the dragon. From one of the inscriptions of the church, we know that the donors were a priest and three laymen with their families. Moreover, the inscription points that the painter of the first two images was Georgios Aras. The other inscription mentions Lord Alfonso Fadrique, and the artistic promotion of his family.³⁴⁰ The church of *Aghios Ioannis Theologos* is another example of cultural hybridity between local Orthodox population and the Catalan family of Fadrique. In addition to the representation of Saint George on the east wall, it is also worth mentioning its inscription, which dates from 1376-1380. The inscription, which is now kept in the Archaeological Museum of Aegina, was decorated with cross and circle motifs around the main text. The text shows that Count Peter I Fadrique, the Count of Salona (1338-1355), was responsible for the construction of the church of *Aghios Ioannis Theologos*:

“*ΝΑΟΤ ΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ Κ ΕΝ ΔΟΞΟΥ ΑΠΟΚΤΟΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΑΝΓΕΛΗΣΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΥ Κ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΥΠΕΡ ΕΦΕΣΕΟC ΑΜΑΡΤΗΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΥ ΟΥ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ΚΟΜΙΤΟC*”
 “*The church of the holy and glorious Apostle and Evangelist and Theologian, and of the Virgin, for the forgiveness of the sins of your servant, Count Peter*”³⁴¹ (Figure. 3)

³⁴⁰ González, Manuel Antonio, *El Sinaí, Constantinopla y Cataluña en torno a 1400*, 24; Kalopissi-Verti, *Monumental Art in the Lordship of Athens and Thebes under Frankish and Catalan Rule (1212-1388)*, 413.

³⁴¹ González, Manuel Antonio, *El Sinaí, Constantinopla y Cataluña en torno a 1400*, 33; Ermioni, Karachaliou, *The Architectural and Iconographic Identity of Paliochora on Aegina: An Introduction to its Late and Post Byzantine Churches*, PhD Thesis (UK: The University Manchester, 2012), 70-71.



Figure. 3: The inscription of Hagios Ioannis Theologos (Paliachora, Aegina), in which Count Pedro Frederic (1338-1350) apologizes for his sins. Archaeological Museum of Aegina. (González, Manuel Antonio, *El Sinaí, Constantinopla y Cataluña en torno a 1400*, 31)

Both the paintings and the inscriptions serve as a good testimony of cultural hybridity between the local Orthodox population and the Catalan ruling family of Aegina. First, it is worth mentioning the quality of the paintings at this point. In addition to the use of Byzantine motifs along with the style of Western art, and the rendering of the figures show that the painters were familiar with the artistic developments of great centres at that time, like Constantinople and Thessalonica.³⁴² This shows that, in particular Aegina and in general the Duchies as a whole were not closed societies, but rather took

³⁴² Kalopissi- Verti, *Monumental Art in the Lordship of Athens and Thebe under Frankish and Catalan Rule (1212-1388)*, 407.

part in the social, political, and cultural life of the Mediterranean. Secondly, and more importantly, the reference to foreign rulers in the Orthodox churches, built by the local population, is exceptional but very important. It shows the peculiarity of the acculturation between the members of the Catalan families and the local population.³⁴³ While one side of the coin indicates that the political strategy of the Catalan rulers covered the protection and donation to local Orthodox churches, the other side reveals that although the local population remained loyal to the Byzantine Empire, they also opened the way for the negotiation of loyalty with the new Catalan rulers.

In tune with a conclusion to this chapter, it is worth mentioning that one of the main changes that occurred after the Catalans occupied the duchy of Athens right after the Battle of Halmyros in 1311 was the spread of the Catalan language through Greece. Indeed, the Catalan language had already spread through the Mediterranean world in the 12th and 13th centuries, especially under the reign of King James I of Aragon (1213-1276) and his successor Peter III of Aragon (1276-1285). The military and commercial expansion of the Crown of Aragon through the Mediterranean took the Catalan language far beyond the geographical limits of its origin. The Catalans carried their language into the conquered regions. In the 14th century, Catalan became the language of politics and diplomacy in the states bordering the Mediterranean basin. Catalan was known and spoken in most of the Mediterranean centres, like Valencia, Balearic Islands, Sicily, Greece, Sardinia, and Constantinople.³⁴⁴ The Catalan duchies of

³⁴³ Kalopissi- Verti, *Monumental Art in the Lordship of Athens and Thebes under Frankish and Catalan Rule (1212-1388)*, 376, 413-414.

³⁴⁴ Wieruszowski, Helene, *The Rise of the Catalan Language in the 13th Century*, *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (1944), 9-20; Badia, Lola & Grifoll, Isabel, *Language: From the Countryside to the Royal Court*, in *The Crown of Aragon: A Singular Mediterranean Empire*, Flocel Sabaté (ed), (Boston: Brill, 2017), 361-386.

Athens and Neopatras also played an important role in the expansion of the Catalan language.

After the conquest of Greece, the *lingua franca* was replaced by the *llengua catalana*, and Catalan, together with Latin, became the official language of the duchies, used in administration and external relations. Both the Articles of Athens and the Articles of Salona as well as the chancellery and the notarial documents were written in Catalan throughout the duchies' existence.³⁴⁵ In the last years of Catalan domination, Catalan was used more frequently than Latin, not only in the duchies and the county of Salona, but also in Morea and the rest of Greece.³⁴⁶ This shows that the Catalan language was used as a political, diplomatic and cultural tool between the Crown of Aragon and the Catalan Duchies. On the one hand, through the use of the Catalan as official language in the Catalan Duchies of Athens and Neopatras, the Aragonese kingdom found another way to expand and strengthen its power across eastern Greece and the Aegean Sea. On the other hand, the Catalan language became the indicator of identity and self-consciousness for the Catalan population in Greece. More importantly, this allowed the Catalan Duchies to maintain their social, political and cultural ties with the Crown of Aragon and played an important role in the insertion of the Catalan Duchies into the Catalan-Aragonese cultural geography in the Mediterranean.

We can come to a conclusion related to the social, political, religious, and cultural life between the Catalans and the local Orthodox population in Greece. The complex,

³⁴⁵ Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 216-220.

³⁴⁶ Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 216-220.

pragmatic and extensive continuity and alteration of socio-political structures, religious traditions, culture and mentality, as well as the insertion of the Duchies into regional and long-distance trade, created a period of religious and socio-political coexistence among Catalans and the Greeks. The ruling Catalan families became sponsors of socio-political and religious structures that catered to the needs of both Catholics and Orthodox. Instead of creating a closed society, they negotiated with their neighbours and the local population and managed to place the Duchies squarely into the political, economic, and cultural life of the Mediterranean world. From the side of the local Orthodox population, this period meant both reaction and acceptance. On the one hand, they showed their reaction to the Catalans by adhering to their Byzantine traditions, dedicating themselves to Orthodox rituals and orienting themselves towards Constantinople. On the other hand, they accepted the challenge and opened the way to dialogue with the Catalans by using their motifs, socio-political structures and reaching an important position in the administration. Hence, social, political and cultural barriers began to break down and an integration between the Greeks and the Catalans was created.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The end of the Catalan state in continental Greece came with the appearance of the Navarrese Company.³⁴⁷ In the spring of 1379, the Navarrese Company, financed by the Nerio I Acciaioli (1325-1394) from a Florentine family, leaves from Morea with the sole objective of occupying the duchies. The Navarre launch a terrible attack and, in a short time, entered the city. The weakness of the Catalan defence contributed to the defeat. Finally, Thebes, the capital of the Catalan duchies, fell.³⁴⁸ The Navarrese continued to march and launched to a new attack. In 1380 the fortress of Levadia, where the head of Sant Jordi was kept, was taken. Athens, the glorious city of Catalan duchies, was captured by Navarrese Company on May 2, 1388 and the capital of northern part, Neopatras was occupied in 1390.³⁴⁹ At the end of 1393 and the beginning of 1394, Sultan Bayezid I (1389-1402) occupied a large part of central Greece, including Neopatras and Livadia, which were ruled by Nerio Acciaoli, and also the Catalan possession of Salona with the castles of Zeitouni (Lamia).³⁵⁰ Although the Catalan domination of the duchies has ended, the Catalans continued living in Greece and mostly engaged in commerce. The island of Aegina remained in the hands of a Catalan ruler, Aliot de Caupena and his heirs until 1451 when the Venetian took the control of the island.³⁵¹ The fall of Aegina put an end to the Catalan expedition which

³⁴⁷ For Navarrese Company see Rubio y Lluç, Antonio, *Los Navarros en Grecia, y el Ducado Catalán de Atenas en la Época de Su Invasión*, 17-40.

³⁴⁸ Agusti, David, *Los Almogavares*, 127-130.

³⁴⁹ Agusti, David, *Los Almogavares*, 127-130.

³⁵⁰ Agusti, David, *Los Almogavares*, 127-130; Bolea, Chuse L., *Almugávares, vía sus!*, 483.

³⁵¹ Agusti, David, *Los Almogavares*, 127-130

began in 1302 with the pact between the Catalan Company and the Emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282-1332).

However, this expedition and its results continue to be studied many times in the academic area with a romantic, nationalist, realistic or Hellenistic spirit. Generally, historians have considered that the expedition of the Catalans to the East was the simple desire of mercenaries to find a new field of action for their war activities: they did not create or build anything, except some small churches, nor did they leave any art and culture in the territories that they settled.³⁵² Their name is associated with revenge and destruction. Their expedition was accepted as an absolutely negative heroism, since they did not leave anything stable or constructive except a horrible memory, ruins and devastation.³⁵³ For centuries, the word Catalan was used as an insult and left a mark in the oral tradition in Greece and in Thrace. The following phrase was used as a curse in Thrace: *¡Qué te alcance la venganza de los catalanes!* (May the revenge of the Catalans reach you!).³⁵⁴ In Bulgaria one could hear the old woman wishing the worst to someone by shouting: *¡Ojalá te alcance un catalán!* (I hope you are caught by a Catalan!).³⁵⁵ On the island of Negroponte the following was stated: *Eso ni un catalán lo haría* (Not even a Catalan would do it).³⁵⁶ However, as seen in the previous pages, archaeology and a refined analysis of material indicators paired with a reassessment of the available documentary and literary sources clearly show that the history of the Catalan Company's campaigns in the Aegean as well as that of the polities these brought about (the Catalan Duchies of Athens and Neopatras) went

³⁵² Echevarria, Jose M. Moreno, *Los Almogavares*, 679-680.

³⁵³ Echevarria, Jose M. Moreno, *Los Almogavares*, 680-681.

³⁵⁴ Rubio y Lluch, Antonio, *Los Catalanes en Oriente*, 13; Bolea, Chuse L., *Almugávares, vía sus!*, 488-489.

³⁵⁵ Bolea, Chuse L., *Almugávares, vía sus!*, 488-489.

³⁵⁶ Bolea, Chuse L., *Almugávares, vía sus!*, 488-489.

beyond this statements and had its own peculiar socio-political and cultural trajectories.

Although, the conquest of the duchy of Athens could be regarded as the end to the epic of the *almogávares* (almogavars), it was also the conclusive step in a process of the transition from a semi-nomadic military institution to a socio-political and cultural institution. These semi-nomadic mercenaries created a new political framework and the adopted non-military activities. They became the lords of these lands, owners of the fortress and the citizens of Thebes, Athens, Livadia and Neopatras. As a way of adopting this new life style, they lived in the cities, intermarried with the local population and embraced local traditions along with their own customs.

More importantly, the Catalan settlement in Greece did not remain an isolated polity, rather it was a society open to negotiation, reaction and rapprochement with its neighbours and Greek subjects. This has allowed us to describe it as a centre of connectivity, cross-cultural encounters and familiarity with the other, which went beyond religious or political identity. The complex socio-political framework the Catalans created and lived in not only yielded political and economic return, but also resulted in the construction of a cultural fusion between them, the local populations and their neighbours in the territories they settled. This showed a tendency towards acculturation and rapprochement from both sides and affirmed the union and loyalty of the local community with these new rulers.

Last but not least, what the Catalan Company and the Catalan Duchies left behind was to open the possibility for the political and economic expansion of the Crown of Aragon throughout the Aegean Sea and the eastern Mediterranean. The adaptation of

the customs of Barcelona and the integration of the Duchies into the long-distance trade allowed the expansionist strategy of the various monarchs and powerful merchants over the big cities in the eastern Mediterranean. Moreover, the duchies play an important role in the expansion of the Catalan language. Catalan not only became the official language of Greece, used in administration and in external relations, but also let Catalan culture transcend its geographical limits. In brief, the Catalan expedition from 1303 to 1388 constituted an important element in the growth of the Aragonese dynastic empire.

In a word, the Catalans and their society in Greece had a meaning beyond the definition that until now the historiography has given to them as warriors who had not been interested in any artistic or architectural endeavour beyond the construction of castles. Instead, their society was part of a long period that demonstrates a degree of continuity, adaptation and transformation process in social, political and cultural structures. The Catalan Company and Catalan Duchies constituted an important pillar in the history of Asia Minor, Greece and also of the Mediterranean at a transitional moment in the history of the Eastern Mediterranean, when the effects of the Fourth Crusade waned, and a variety of socio-economic and political actors crisscrossed the Aegean as the Ottoman conquest loomed large. This pillar could be regarded as a hub between the two worlds, East and West, where not only political powers but also cultural and ideological ones were involved in a certain degree of interrelationship and interchange. As Echevarria states:

“La decisión de los aragoneses y catalanes que se hallaban luchando en Sicilia, de trasladar su campo de acción al imperio bizantino, está estrechamente vinculada a un trascendental hecho histórico: la expansión catalana en el Mediterráneo, de primordial importancia si se tienen en cuenta las consecuencias que tuvo en el futuro concierto político europeo.” (The decision of the Aragonese and Catalans who were fighting in Sicily to move their field of action to the Byzantine Empire, is closely linked to a transcendental historical fact: the Catalan expansion in the Mediterranean,

if the consequences that it had in the future European political concert are taken into account, have paramount importance).³⁵⁷



³⁵⁷ Echevarria, Jose M. Moreno, *Los Almogavares*, 684-685.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Escena de los almogávares II, painted by Mariano Fortuny Marsal in 1856
(www.artehistoria.com/es/obra/escena-de-los-almogavares-ii)



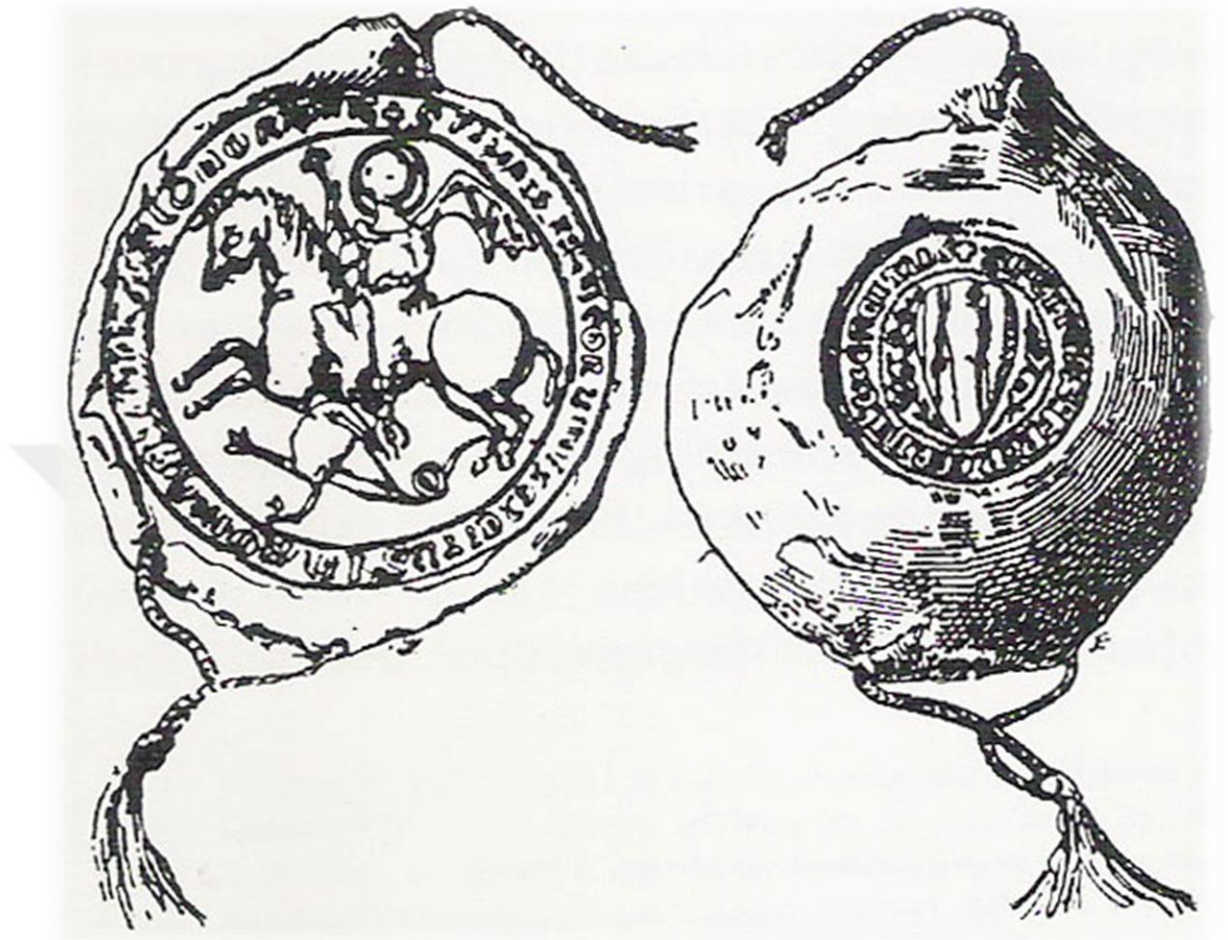
APPENDIX B

La entrada de Roger de Flor en Constantinopla (painted by José Moreno Carbonero in 1888
(www.senado.es/web/conocersenado/arteypatrimonio/obrapictorica/fondohistorico)



APPENDIX C

Seal of the Catalan Company (Schlumberger, Gustave, Le sceau de la compagnie des routiers catalans à Gallipoli, en 1305)



Vicar Generals of the Duchies (Bolea, Chuse L., *Almugávares, vía sus!*, p.493)

Roger Deslaur	(1311-1312)
Berenguer Estanyol	(1312-1316)
Guillermo Thomás	(1316)
Alfonso Fadrique of Aragón	(1316-1330)
Nicolau Lancia	(1330-1354)
Odón de Novelles	(1330-1354)
Pedro Fadrique, son of Alfonso Fadrique	(¿?)
Ramón Berner de Sarbou	(1354-1359)
Jaime Fadrique,	(1356-1359)
Gonzalvo Ximénez d'Arenós	(1359-1360)
Matheu de Moncada, titular	(1360-1365)
Pere de Pou (Petrus de Putheo)	(1361-1362)
Gonzalvo Ximénez d'Arenós,	(1362-1366)
Roger de Lauria	(1366-1369/70)
Matheo de Peralta	(1370-1375)
Luis Fadrique de Aragón	(1375-1380)
Felipe Dalmau,	(1380-1386)
Ramón de Vilanova	(1382-1386)
Bernat de Cornellá	(1386)
Pere de Pau	(1386-1388)
Pere de Villalba	(-)
Pere de Fornollet	(1392)