

SPIROS N. ASONITIS

JACQUES DE BAUX, LORD OF CORFU: 1381-1382

As sources on the political history of Corfu during the last years of the Angevin domination are strictly limited, our knowledge on that subject is rather vague¹. It is for this reason that every piece of new information concerning the history of Corfu in that period is welcome. The document presented below belongs to the private collection of Mr. John Collas and it is of particular interest, as it contains the earliest evidence we have about Jacques de Baux's lordship in Corfu².

It was issued on 26.11.1381³ at Tarent by Jacques, titular Emperor of Constantinople, Despot of Romania, Prince of Tarent and Achaia, at the request of John Cavasila, son of Alexius, baron of Corfu⁴. The main points

1. Most of the documents concerning the history of Corfu during the Angevin domination were destroyed in 1943. On this event see J. Longnon, "Les registres angevins et leur reconstruction", *Journal des Savants*, Janvier-Mars 1959, 1-4. - On the contents of the Angevin Archives before their destruction see B. Capasso, *Inventario cronologico-sistematico dei registri Angioini conservati nel Archivio di Stato di Napoli*, Napoli 1984. - P. Durrieu, *Les Archives Angevins de Naples*, 1-2, Paris 1886-1887.

2. It is my duty to express my gratitude to Mr. John Collas, who has kindly entrusted to me his private collection of documents for consultation and publication. The document presented below is written on a piece of parchment 42 cm long and 27,5 cm wide. Below the text, on the left, there are traces of red sealing wax.

3. Up to the present we have known the contents of two other documents issued by Jacques de Baux as lord of Corfu. Both have been dated by K. Hopf 26.11.1381: K. Hopf, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf unsere Zeit*, Ersch-Gruber, *Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Wissenschaften*, vol. 86 (2), Leipzig 1968, 33 (cited hereafter as Hopf, *Geschichte*). According to R. J. Loenertz, these documents should be dated one month later: R. J. Loenertz, "Hospitaliers et Navarais en Grèce (1376-1383)", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* XXIII (1957) 341, regestes 40-41 (cited hereafter as Loenertz, *Hospitaliers*).

4. He was in all probability a son of Alexius Cavasilas, one of the leaders of the Epirote revolt against the Byzantine Emperor Andronicos III in 1338-1339 (Cf. D. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros, 1267-1479. A contribution to the history of Greece in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge 1984, 114-122. Cited hereafter as Nicol, *Despotate*). His political activities as late as 1387 indicate that he shouldn't be identified with John Cavasilas, who even before 1331 had been proclaimed by Philip I, prince of Tarent, as count of Aetos and marshal of the

of its contents are the following: Before 26.11.1381 Jacques had received a written protest from his loyal vassal John Cavasila against Macius de Luser⁵. The latter, representing the interests of the neapolitan Marino Caratzulo⁶ in Corfu, had taken by force from Cavasila's fief 99 "meters" of must, worth 99 yperpera⁷. As Macius had ignored all his appeals for a compensation,

Despotate (Cf. J. Valentini, *Acta Albaniae Veneta saeculorum XIV et XV*. Vol. 2, Milano 1968, 36 (321) 8.1.1387. - A Luttrell, "Guglielmo di Tocco, Captain of Corfu: 1330-1331", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 3 (1977) 49. - Nicol, *Despotate*, 155 n. 22). According to K. Hopf, *John Cavasilas had been granted some feudal possessions in Corfu by Robert, prince of Tarent (1346-1364)* (Hopf, *Geschichte*, 2, 44). In 1382, when Jacques' authority in Corfu had been abolished, John Cavasilas had met some problems with the officials of the king Charles III, who intervened in his favour (N. Barone, *Notizie tratte dai registri di cancelleria di re Carlo III di Durazzo, con aggiunta di altri documenti*, Napoli 1887, 28. Cited hereafter as Barone, *Carlo III*).

5. That family name is met with in Corfu as early as 10.11.1357, when an abbot named John "de Lusere, cantor", canon of the archbishopric of Corfu, is reported as a witness in a case (I. Romanos, «Ανδραγικόν δίπλωμα του Ταραντίνου ηγεμόνος Φιλίππου του Β' περιέχον μετάφρασιν χρυσοβούλλου Μιχαήλ του Β' Δεσπότης της Ηπείρου», *Kerkyraika Chronica* 7 (1959) 105). It was in all probability the same person ("abba de Luxeu") who had some financial dispute with Theodoros Cavasilas, baron of Corfu (J. A. C. Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches historiques sur la principauté française de Morée et ses hautes baronnies à la suite de la 4e croisade*. 1. Paris 1843, 414). On 16.4.1364 one of the most important barons of Corfu, "Matteo de Losora", is reported in a document concerning the concession of a fief as witness (Hopf, *Geschichte*, 2, 33). In about 1360 a certain "Marco de Luser" had financial relations with the Venetian merchants established in the island. As in 1376 the local authorities had been accused of having favoured him in a dispute he had with the heirs of the Venetian Marco Urso, on 18.7.1376 Joan I, queen of Naples, commanded her officials in Corfu to re-examine the case (E. Lunzi, *Della condizione politica delle Isole Jonie sotto il dominio Veneto, proceduta da un compendio della storia delle Isole stesse dalla divisione dell'impero Bizantino*, Venezia 1860, 78-80, cited hereafter as Lunzi, *Isole Jonie*). According to K. Hopf, the Luser family had contributed some years later to the restoration of Charles III's authority in Corfu and in 1383 Matteo de Lusere received for life the possession of the islands Othonoi, Erikusa, Diaplo and S. Stefano (Hopf, *Geschichte*, 2, 45).

6. In 1364 Marino Caracciolo exchanged some feudal rights he had in Naples with a fief in Corfu, till then possessed by Martucello de Bolino. The annual revenue of that fief was 40 ounces of gold and it was re-affirmed to the benefit of Marino Caracciolo by Joan I (1377) as well as by Charles III (1382) (Hopf, *Geschichte*, 2, 44).

7. "Metra" was a unit of capacity used for wine in Corfu during the Angevin as well as the early Venetian domination. It is interesting to point out that by the end of the 13th century three different units under the common name "metra" were used in Corfu: (a) The official unit ("metra...ad mensuram fundici civitatis Corphiensis"), used in the official accounts of the "Camera" of Corfu, directed by the "magister massarius" (J. Mazzoleni, "Possibilità di ricostruzione dei Fascicoli Angioini", *Studi in onore di Riccardo Filangieri*. I, Napoli 1959, 324). (b) The "metra" used in the accounts concerning a levy called "Dukikon".

Cavasilas had asked for the intervention of the lord of Corfu. It was for this reason that Jacques issued the document under consideration. His orders to his officials in Corfu were to investigate the case and to force Macius to redress the damage, if Cavasila's claims were well-founded⁸.

As documents and references about Jacques' administration in Corfu are rather limited, sometimes even questionable, I consider the publication of this document as an opportunity to deal with that subject⁹.

In 1294 Corfu, having been for about 28 years under the direct control of the kings of Naples, was granted by Charles II of Anjou to his son Philip I, prince of Tarent, as a hereditary possession together with the other Angevin dependencies in Romania¹⁰. In contrast to their possessions in mainland Greece, where the Tarentine princes were gradually losing control¹¹, they didn't face serious problems with Corfu¹². Their complete control of the local administration, the bonds of vassallage they had created with the local aristocracy, and finally their respect for the ancient privileges of the population, had secured for the house of Tarent the loyalty of the people of Corfu¹³.

On 25.11.1373 Philip II, prince of Tarent, died leaving as his heir Jacques de Baux, son of his sister Margaret and of the duke of Andria François de Baux. This succession marks a turning point in the history of Corfu, as the

The capacity of that unit was double the official one (J. Mazzoleni, *op. cit.* 324). (c) The "metra" used in the accounts concerning another levy, called "metrologion". Its capacity was triple the official one (J. Mazzoleni, *op. cit.* 324). - On the levies "Dukikon" and "metrologion" in Corfu see also A. and S. Asdrachas: «Στη φεουδαλική Κέρκυρα: από τους πάροικους στους vassalli angararii», *Historica* 2/3, May 1985, 86-87, 89-90. - E. Schilbach has suggested that the capacity of the "metra" of Corfu in early 15th century could be either 45,070 or 60,094 liters: E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie*, München 1970, 151-152.

8. See the document published below.

9. On Jacques de Baux's domination in Corfu see A. Mustoxidi, *Delle cose Corcirese*, Corfu 1848, 450 (cited hereafter as Mustoxidi, C.C.). - Lunzi, *Isole Jonie*, 78-98. - W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908, 523-524 (cited hereafter as Miller, Levant). Some views of these authors on the subject have been opposed by R. J. Loenertz. See Loenertz, *Hospitaliers*, 327, 340 (37), 341 (40).

10. Nicol, *Despotate*, 47.

11. Nicol, *Despotate*, 77, 97, 123, 147. - D. Zakythinis, *Le Despotat grec de Morée. I. Histoire politique*. Paris 1932, 71-76, 106-110.

12. The acquisition of Corfu was one of the main purposes of Venetian policy in the Ionian Sea during the 14th century. However Venice was trying to succeed in its intention by means of negotiations. On this subject see F. Thiriet, "Les interventions vénitiennes dans les îles Ioniennes au XIV siècle", *Πρακτικά Γ' Πανονίου Συνεδρίου*, 1, Corfu 1967, 374-385.

13. I. Romanos, «Δημοσία κερκυραϊκή πράξις», *Kerkyraika Chronica* 7 (1959) 120. - Hopf, *Geschichte*, 1, 427-428, 451-452. 2, 32, 44-45. - Miller, *Levant*, 517-522.

conflict between the arrogant duke of Andria and Joan I, queen of Naples, in the next few months brought about the end of the domination of the house of Tarent on the island. François de Baux, after his defeat by the queen's army, had left for Provence, while his son Jacques had also been forced to leave Italy¹⁴. Some historians have suggested that Jacques had taken refuge in his Greek territories¹⁵ or even that he had tried to detach Corfu from Joan I¹⁶.

According to A. Mustoxidi, the funeral inscription on Jacques' tomb as well as the information provided by a document, issued on 4.5.1373 by Joan I, could be considered as sufficient evidence for his suggestion, that Jacques had tried to detach Corfu from the queen's obedience¹⁷.

As far as Mustoxidi's suggestion is concerned we have to point out that the funeral inscription ("Hic Romanie, et Despotus Achaye (sic) Urbes subjecit bello. an. Dom. 1383.")¹⁸ is referring rather to Jacques' military successes in the years 1381-1382 than to the unfortunate events of 1373-1374¹⁹. Nevertheless there is evidence that Joan I had met with some problems concerning Corfu by the beginning of 1373. According to a document issued on 4.5.1374 the queen had granted the corfiote Guglielmo de Altavilla an annual revenue of 10 ounces of gold as a recompense for his sincere devotion, declared after Philip II's death, when Altavilla had laboured for the re-instatement of Corfu to the royal domain²⁰. Although from this information we come to the conclusion that the queen had met with some problems in Corfu by that time, this is not necessarily implying that Jacques had tried to detach the island

14. P. Giannone, *Istoria civile del Regno di Napoli*. Vol. IV, Napoli 1865, 478-479.

15. P. Giannone, *op. cit.*, 479. - Miller, *Levant*, 523.

16. Mustoxidi, *C.C.*, 450. - Lunzi, *Isole Jonie*, 78.

17. Mustoxidi, *C.C.*, 450.

18. M. Camera, *Elucubrazioni storico-diplomatiche su Giovanna I, regina di Napoli* Salerno 1890, 314.

19. In 1381-82 Jacques de Baux occupied the territories of the principality of Tarent, while his authority was recognised in Corfu as well as in the principality of Achaia: L. Barthélemy, *Inventaire chronologique et analytique des chartes de la maison de Baux*, Marseille 1882, 451 (1574) 6.5.1382 (cited hereafter as Barthélemy, *Inventaire*). - Loenertz, *Hospitaliers*, 340 (37) 7.9.1381, (38) IX-XII 1381.

20. E. Duru-Eliopulu, *Η ανδεγαυική κυριαρχία στη Ρωμανία*, Athens 1983, 214: "...In examino itaque nostre mentis deliberaliter revolventis sinceritatem devotionis et fidei qua Guielmus, alias Gullus de Altavilla de civitate Corphoy fidelis noster ad honorem et fidelitatem nostram et presertim post obitum illustris Philippi Imperatoris Constantinopolitani, carissimi fratris nostri in reductione ad antiquum nostrum demanium, et dominium civitatis et insule Corphiensis laudabiliter claruit...eidem Guillelmo, et suis utriusque sexus heredibus... in perpetuum de annuo reditu unciarum auri decem...duximus providendum".

from her, as Mustoxidis had suggested²¹. It is likely that these problems were similar to the ones met with at the same time in the principality of Achaia, where the queen's delegate had faced the temporary reservedness of some barons, loyal to the house of Tarent²².

The problems faced in Corfu being removed²³, the queen, following the policy of the Tarentine princes, tried to safeguard the loyalty of the population to the throne of Naples²⁴. Nevertheless Jacques de Baux had not given up his claims and the trouble occurring in the kingdom of Naples some years later provided him with the opportunity to return to Italy.

On 21.4.1380 Pope Urban VI proclaimed Joan I's deposition. As the Pope intended to confer the throne on Charles of Durazzo, Joan I reacted by adopting Louis d'Anjou, brother of the king of France (29.6.1380). One year later Charles of Durazzo arrived in Italy and after he was crowned by the Pope as Charles III, king of Naples (2.8.1381), he defeated Joan I's army, commanded by her husband, Otto of Brunswick. Joan I was seized (24.8.1381) and put in prison, where she died in July 1382²⁵.

The crisis of 1380-1382 in the kingdom of Naples had its repercussions in all neapolitan dependencies in Greece, including Corfu. There is no evidence about the exact date Joan's authority in Corfu was abolished. What can be said on this subject is that even before his arrival in Italy Charles of Durazzo was laying claim to Corfu and Buthroton. This is evidenced by a Venetian document, in which reference is made to a grant which Charles of Durazzo had bestowed upon the corfiote Giorgio Zochio, dated as early as 1380.

21. Mustoxidi, C.C., 450.

22. A. Morel-Fatio, *Libro de los fechos et conquistas del Principado de la Morea, compilado por comandamiento de don Fray Johan Ferrandez de Heredia*, Geneva 1885, § 705-708. - The barons' reservedness was removed by 16.4.1374: F. Gregorovius, *Ιστορία της πόλεως Αθηνών κατά τους Μέσους αιώνας, μεταφρασθείσα εκ της γερμανικής μετά διορθώσεων και προσθηκών υπό Σπυρίδωνος Π. Λάμπρου*, 2, Athens 1904, 174, n. 1.

23. According to Stefano Magno, "Philippo Tarentino mortuo, "Zuanna", Apuliae regina, Corcyra potitur": K. Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, Berlin 1873, 182.

24. During her direct domination of Corfu Joan I confirmed the ancient privileges of the orthodox clergy and the immunities of the community of Corfu. She also protected the Jews of the island and tried to control closely the local magistrates. Finally she confirmed the fiefs of the local barons, while she granted new ones to her loyal subjects: Barone, *Carlo III*, 24. - Lunzi, *Isole Jonie*, 79-82. - Hopf, *Geschichte*, 2,33. - I. Romanos, *Περὶ του Βουθρωτού». Kerkyraika Chronica* 7 (1959) 113. - F. Miklosich-J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata medii aevi sacra et profana*, III, Vindobonae 1865, 345-347, 21.9.1374.

25. E. Leonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, Paris 1954, 464-465. - Loenertz, *Hospitaliers*, 335, 340.-K. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, 1, Philadelphia 1976, 117-118.

That grant consisted of an annual income of 36 ducats, resulting from the revenues of the fisheries of Buthroton²⁶.

Meanwhile the crisis in the kingdom of Naples had favoured Jacques de Baux's plans to return to Italy and claim his inheritance in the principality of Tarent as well as in Greece. Considering that Jacques' main purpose should have been the submission of the capital city of Tarent, where his banners were unfolded on 7.9.1381²⁷, it is most probable that the establishment of his authority in Corfu took place after that date and before 26.11.1381, when he is reported for the first time as lord of Corfu.

It is likely that Jacques' hereditary rights in Corfu had been supported by some members of the local aristocracy. That aristocracy must have been anxious about their future, as Joan I, still alive, was in the hands of Charles III, whose position was also precarious, since his rival, Louis d'Anjou, was preparing to invade Italy²⁸. This situation, as well as the establishment of Jacques' authority at Tarent, seem to have contributed to the recognition of his hereditary rights in Corfu by some of the local barons. One of them, Adam de Sancto Ippolito, received on 26.12.1381 the island of Paxos as a fief from Jacques²⁹. It was on the same day that Jacques confirmed the hereditary feudal rights of another corfiote baron, Carlo de Sancto Maurizio³⁰. The request of John Cavasila for Jacques' intervention in his dispute with Macius de Luser as early as November 1381 indicates that by that time he had recognised Jacques' authority in Corfu³¹.

The document presented in this publication provides the only evidence we have on the character of Jacques' administration in Corfu. His instructions to his officials, that there shouldn't be any formal trial on the dispute of John Cavasila with Macius de Luser³², indicate that normal conditions of administration hadn't been established in Corfu. Although general conclusions on the subject cannot be deduced from this particular source, this information as well as the fact that the people and the barons of Corfu revolted some months later against Jacques' officials³³, indicate that the inhabitants

26. D. Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale. Les "Assises de Romanie". Sources, application et diffusion*, Paris-La Haye 1971, 260.

27. Loenertz, *Hospitaliers*, 340.

28. On his invasion see E. Leonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, Paris 1954, 465-476.

29. Loenertz, *Hospitaliers*, 341 (41) 26.12.1381.

30. Loenertz, *Hospitaliers*, 341 (40) 26.12.1381.

31. See the document published below.

32. *Ibidem*, 9-10.

33. Barone, *Carlo III*, 24, 16.9.1382.

of the island had no particular reason to be content with Jacques' administration.

The establishment of a normal administration in Corfu required the reconciliation of Jacques with the new king of Naples. Such a prospect was in view early in 1382, when Charles III, anxious about the military preparations of Louis d'Anjou, tried to attract Jacques into his orbit. To that purpose the king had given his approval for the marriage of his sister-in-law, Agnese, to Jacques. The marriage was celebrated in Naples on 3.3.1382 but Jacques was only represented by the archbishop of Corfu, John of Amelia³⁴. Not long after, Jacques made a series of raids in the kingdom of Naples, in a demonstration of his independence from the king³⁵. Such a hostile attitude induced the latter to suspend his efforts at reconciliation.

On 6.5.1382 the supreme judge of the kingdom of Naples was ordered to impose on Jacques a fine, because he had occupied some territories and had forced the people to give him an oath of vassallage. Jacques should be forced to pay indemnity to all the king's subjects for the damage he had caused them³⁶. On 18.5.1382 a 15 day term was fixed for him to present himself in front of the sovereign³⁷.

As the relations between Jacques and the throne had returned to the point they were in 1374, it was obvious to the Corfiotes that his irreconcilable attitude was not only suspending the establishment of normal conditions on the island but also included dangers for their interests. It was for these reasons that they were induced to play a more decisive role in the affairs of their island at the same time as Charles III was issuing his orders against Jacques.

The earliest evidence of a movement against Jacques' domination in Corfu is met in a decree by the Venetian Senate dated 19.5.1382. According to that document as early as in April 1382 a group of Corfiotes, mainly noblemen, had been in negotiation with the Venetian consul in Corfu, Giovanni Panemsacho. On 1.5.1382 the latter was reporting to the authorities in Venice that these Corfiotes had expressed their intention to cooperate with the Vene-

34. Loenertz, *Hospitaliers*, 343, 2.3.1382. - About John of Amelia, archbishop of Corfu (1376) and cardinal of the Roman Church (1378-1385) see G. Fedalto, *La chiesa Latina in Oriente*, II, Verona 1976, 94. - C. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, Monasterii 1898, 22.

35. Loenertz, *Hospitaliers*, 343-344 (48) 6.5.1382. - Barthélemy, *Inventaire*, 451 (1574). - A. Valente, Margherita di Durazzo, vicaria di Carlo III e tutrice di re Ladislao. *Archivio Storico per le Provincie Napoletane*, n.s., 1 (1965) 283 (cited hereafter as Valente, Margherita).

36. Loenertz, *Hospitaliers*, 343-344 (48) 6.5.1382.

37. Loenertz, *Hospitaliers*, 344 (49) 18.5.1382.

tians to the purpose of submitting the island to Venice, under the terms that their privileges should be respected and that Venice should try to acquire the island in a peaceful way. On 19.5.1382 the Senate accepted these proposals. It was decided then that a delegate should be sent to the prince of Tarent as well as to Charles III with the purpose of informing them about the intention of Venice to acquire Corfu³⁸.

Ten days later (30.5.1382) the Senate, having received new information on the subject, was constrained to revoke its first decision. It was decided then that the intention of Venice shouldn't be disclosed to the king of Naples, as it could result in the failure of the Venetian plans. A secret delegate should negotiate the concession of Corfu only with the prince of Tarent³⁹. This modification of the decision taken on 19.5.1382 implies that after 1.5.1382, the date in which Giovanni Panemsacho had written his first report to Venice, circumstances had changed in Corfu.

The nature of that change is revealed by Giangiacopino Caroldo. According to the Venetian chronicler, the secret delegate Pietro de Compostellis had instructions to start the negotiations with the prince of Tarent by pointing out that the Doge was aware of the fact that the Corfiotes had recently taken control of their island⁴⁰. It is evident therefore that a revolt had broken out in Corfu in May 1382 occasioning the abolition of Jacques' authority in the island. This conclusion is confirmed by the information provided by a document dated 16.9.1382, according to which, the condition of the town of Corfu was by that time miserable and the inhabitants had spent their own money on detaching the castles and fortifications of the island from Jacques' officials⁴¹.

It was this news that had constrained the Venetian Senate to revoke its decision of 19.5.1382 about Corfu. From this fact, as well as from the expressed wish of the pro-venetian faction of Corfu for a peaceful political change

38. Lunzi, *Isole Jonie*, 86 n. 1, 19.5.1382. - F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, 1, Paris 1958, 153 (625). - Loenertz, *Hospitaliers*, 356-357.

39. Lunzi, *Isole Jonie*, 87, n. 1: "...habita bona et diligenti informatione super hoc non sit necessarium ullo nostro mittere ad dominum regem Karolum ijmo mittendo ad eum posset esse causa faciendi illum locum ire ad manus alienas". - Cf. Loenertz, *Hospitaliers*, 357, 30.5.1382.

40. Giangiacopino Caroldo, *Codex Marcianus*, Classe VII Ital. No. 127, coll. 8034, f. 630r: "...Allora fù mandato all'illustre Prencipe di Taranto Pietro de Compostelli, nodaro Ducale e ord(inat)o di esporre a sua s(umma) serenitate, come era pervenuto a notizia dell' eccelso Duce, che quelli di Corfu havevano pigliato in loro il Dominio dell'Isola, et Terra di Corfu, la qual sarebbe molto commoda allo stato Veneto".

41. Barone, *Carlo III*, 24, 16.9.1382.

in the island, we come to the conclusion that the revolt of May 1382 wasn't the work of the pro-venetian faction⁴². On the other hand the decision taken by the Senate after the Corfiote revolt, that the Venetian plans shouldn't be disclosed to the king of Naples, provides sufficient evidence that the revolt had been occasioned by the followers of Charles III⁴³.

It was for this reason that the negotiations with the prince of Tarent should be held in secret. As Jacques' rights in Corfu were now only theoretical, it would be rather difficult for him to reject the sum of 30.000 ducats, offered by Venice for the concession of the island⁴⁴. No matter whether these negotiations ever took place⁴⁵, the fact is that one month later Charles III is reported as lord of Corfu.

The earliest evidence of Charles III's domination in Corfu after the revolt of May 1382 is dated 3.7.1382, when the king confirmed the feudal rights of Adam de Sancto Ippolito on the island of Paxos as a recompense for his services regarding the restoration of the authority of the throne in Corfu⁴⁶. It is obvious that Adam de Sancto Ippolito, who had received his fief from Jacques⁴⁷, on considering that loyalty to his feudal lord wasn't securing his interests, had tried to safeguard them by changing camp in time. On 18.8.1382

42. Giangiacopino Caroldo, *op. cit.*: "...A questo tempo Veneziani havevano pro consule à Corfu Gio(vanni) Panisacho il qual scrisse al Veneto Dominio, che multi di quella città, et Isola desideravano venire sotto il Dominio Veneto. Gli fu risposto alli 19 Maggio 1382 che dovesse riferir gratie alli Nobili et huomini dell'Isola dell'ottima loro disposizione ad honore dello Stato Veneto; et sopra questo era stato promisso per quel modo che gli era parso conveniente, et di procurare, si come desideravano et era stato ricordato, che si ottenesse quella Isola pacificamente et quietamente". - See also Lunzi, *Isole Jonie*, 86 n. 1.

43. Although the peace of Turin had been concluded some months before (24.8.1381), Venice was anxious about Genoese intentions in the Ionian Sea. The Genoese then had good relations with Charles III, who had been their ally against Venice during the war of Ghioggia. On the other hand Charles III had reasons to bear a grudge towards the Venetians, since they had recognised *de facto* the rebel Jacques de Baux, by signing a treaty with his officials in Achaia. It was therefore possible that the Genoese would induce Charles III to commit them to safeguard his authority in Corfu. The Venetian anxiety on this prospect is revealed in the Senate's decisions about Corfu one year later. See Lunzi, *Isole Jonie*, 94-68. - L. de Mas Latrie, Documents concernant divers pays de l'Orient latin. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LVIII (1897) 4, 18.1.1382. - Loenertz, *Hospitaliers*, 342. - Zorzi Dolfin, *Cronica Codex Marcianus*, classe VII ital. No. 794, coll. 8503, f. 242v-243r.

44. Lunzi, *Isole Jonie*, 87 n. 1, 30.5.1382, 88-89 n. 1, 3.6.1383.

45. According to E. Lunzi Jacques had accepted the Venetian proposals, but the plan failed because he had claimed all the sum immediately: Lunzi, *Isole Jonie*, 97-98.

46. Barone, *Carlo III*, 18, 3.7.1382.

47. See above, n. 29.

the king confirmed the grant of an annual revenue of 40 ounces of gold to Marino Caracciolo⁴⁸.

In September 1382 a Corfiote delegation was in Naples, asking for the confirmation of the old privileges of various groups of the population of the island⁴⁹. This was an occasion for the king to express his gratitude to his devoted subjects, as well as to secure their loyalty in the future. On 14.9.1382 Charles III confirmed all the privileges granted to the population of Corfu by the despots of Epiros⁵⁰. Two days later other privileges of the people, the orthodox clergy and the barons of the island were confirmed⁵¹. It was on the same day that the king decided that all his subjects who had spent their own money during the revolt against Jacques officials should be recompensed⁵².

Considering all this, it is obvious that the members of the Corfiote delegation would have been astonished to hear on that very day (16.9.1382) of the king's decision to grant Corfu to Agnese, Jacques' wife, as a dowry⁵³. As this decision was obviously in great contrast to the others Charles III had taken on the same day, it is necessary to try to conceive his motives.

We have already mentioned the unsuccessful efforts of the king to attract Jacques into his orbit. Jacques hostile attitude had provided Charles III with an excuse to keep Agnese in Naples in separation from her husband. In reality the king had a financial difference with Agnese, as he was claiming from her the sum of 38.000 florins, her dowry for her first marriage with the late lord of Verona⁵⁴. In July 1382 Agnese, pressed by the king, pretended to condescend and signed a document by which she promised to write to the Florentine bankers to send the money to Naples. As the financial dispute seemed to have been settled, on 9.9.1382 Charles III gave his permission for Jacques to come to Naples and escort his wife to Tarent⁵⁵. One week later the king signed the act of concession of Corfu to Agnese.

Considering the presence of the Corfiote delegation, consisting of Jacques' opponents, the date chosen by the king to grant Corfu to Agnese

48. Barone, *Carlo III*, 20.

49. Hopf, *Geschichte*, 2, 44. - N. Barone, "Notizie storiche tratte dai registri di cancelleria di re Carlo III di Durazzo", *Archivio Storico per le Provincie Napoletane* 12 (1887) 26-27.

50. N. Barone, *op. cit.*, 26, 14.9.1382.

51. N. Barone, *op. cit.*, 23-24, 26-27. - F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, 1, Paris 1958, 176 (729) 16.9.1382.

52. Barone, *Carlo III*, 24.

53. Loenertz, *Hospitaliers*, 346. - Barthélemy, *Inventaire*, 453 (1579) 16.9.1382.

54. Valente, *Margherita*, 283-284.

55. *Ibidem*, 284-285.

shouldn't be regarded as incidental. As the members of the corfiote delegation, facing the prospect of the re-establishment of Jacques' authority on their island, would have been very anxious about their future, a strong opposition to the king's decision was more than expected. It is therefore likely that all this was a plan of the king with the purpose of providing himself with an argument to justify the suspension of the concession of a dowry to Agnese, at least until such a time, as he had the money he was claiming from her.

Whatever the king's motives could have been, the fact is that before one single day had passed, his decision about the grant of Corfu to Agnese was revoked. On 17.9.1382 Charles III signed a new act about the island. In that document the king, after an exaltation of the climate and the natural beauties of Corfu, proclaimed the island as royal domain not to be given either to Agnese or to any other magnate⁵⁶.

In the next few days the king continued with his grants to the Corfiotes, who had contributed to the establishment of his authority in the island⁵⁷, Jacques' hereditary rights remaining only theoretical. In July 1383, about one year after his dominion in Corfu was abolished, Jacques de Baux died at Tarent⁵⁸.

56. Barone, *Carlo III*, 23 n. 1. - *Archivio di Stato di Napoli. Ricostruzione Angioina*. Reg. Ang. No 359, f. 243t.

57. In the next few days the king confirmed some privileges of the population as well as the feudal revenues of Gullo, Nicola di Donato, Riccardo de Altavilla and Gerardo de S. Maurizio. He also recompensed Andronico Fustolo for his labours to the purpose of restoring the royal authority in Buthroton. On the same day secondary offices were granted to Corfiotes: Barone, *Carlo III*, 25-29.

58. Jacques de Baux left as his heir Louis d'Anjou: Loenertz, *Hospitaliers*, 348-349 (66) 15.7.1383.

DOCUMENT

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Iacobus dei gratia Imperator Constantinopolitanus, Romanie despotus, Achaye et Tarenti princeps, capitaneis civitatis nostre et insule Corfiensis ac eorum curie presentibus et futuris familiaribus et cambellanis nostris /² devotis, salutem et dilectionem sinceram. Petitionem in auditorio nostro lectam Johannis Alexi Cavasule, devoti baronis et fidelis vassalli maiestatis nostre de dicta civitate Corfoy, recepimus continentie quod /³ Macius de Luser de dicta civitate Corfoy, vicarius et procurator domini Marini Caratzuli de Neapoli, suis iuribus non contemptus (sic), volens suas manus ad aliena extendere, vini musti metra nonaginta novem /⁴ valoris ad yperpera nonaginta novem, provenientia ex feudo antiquo dicti exponentis, per violentiam cepit et abstulit ab eodem in ipsius exponentis dampnum et non modicum detrimentum, quod /⁵ vinum sive valorem communem ipsius eidem exponenti dictus Macius recusavit et recusat ad presens restituere, solvere et assignare, licet fuerit a dicto exponente pluries exinde /⁶ requisitus. Supplicatione subiuncta per eum ut mandare dictis capitaneis nostris, presentibus et futuris, cogi et compelli prefatum Macium ad dandum, restituendum et assignandum sibi dictum /⁷ vinum seu eius jam dictum valorem secundum justiciam dignemur. Nos vero actendentes quia spectat ad officium iudicii petenti suum vel sibi debitum super eo ministrare iustitie complementum ideo/⁸ devotioni vestre committimus et mandamus expresse harum serie de scientia certa nostra quatenus vocato dicto Macio ad petitionem prefati exponentis seu eius procuratoris, si summarie et de plano, sine strepitu /⁹ forma et figura iudicii et absque dampnacione libelli, inspecta solummodo substantia veritatis, inveneritis rem ita cause, ut exponitur, compellatis dictum Macium per arta juris remedia que /¹⁰ fore noveritis opportuna ad dandum, solvendum et assignandum dictum vinum

seu eius valorem predicto exponenti, prout fuit rationis, cauti ne in premissis commictatis negligentiam vel de/¹¹fectum, sicut gratiam nostram cupitis caram habere et per consequens indignationem evitare, taliter in predictis vos gerentes, quod non sit opus ulterius item scribi, presentibus post oportunam inspectionem /¹² earum remanentibus presentanti. Data in castro civitatis nostre Tarenti per iudicem Orlandum Cerminam de Neapoli, iuris peritum, vice prothonotarium nostrum nostreque Curie magistrum ra/¹³tionalem ac nostri hospitii iudicem, consiliarium et familiarem nostrum dilectum. Anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo octuagesimo primo, die vicesimo sexto Novembris quinq[ue] indictionis/¹⁴ Imperii et principatus nostrorum /¹⁵ anno secundo.