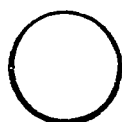


*Marriage and the Politics of Friendship : The Family of  
Charles II of Anjou. King of Naples (1285-1309)*

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MARRIAGE AND THE POLITICS OF FRIENDSHIP: THE FAMILY OF  
CHARLES II OF ANJOU, KING OF NAPLES (1285-1309).

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This thesis aims to reassert the importance of the supranational dynasties of Europe in medieval history by considering the so-called Angevins of Naples, and specifically Charles II (1285-1309), whose matrimonial policies led to the end of the first phase of the Sicilian War and to the peace of Caltabellotta (1302). In particular, the study emphasizes the fact that the Angevins were part of the Capetian French royal house and thus refocusses the role of the Capetians within Christendom at that time, as their previous historiography has concentrated on their role within France. It investigates the part that the various marriage combinations played in the Sicilian peace process and how they connected with Charles II's internal family strategies, demonstrating how his plans to keep most of the patrimony for his *primogenitus* was compromised by deals that meant that large parts of the inheritance had to be passed to daughters instead. The following chapter shows how Charles was prepared to relegate other dynastic interests to achieve these deals and how his unbalanced provision for his sons led to conflict within the dynasty. Moving on to a discussion of the legal side of marriage, the thesis discusses how Charles II was able to work within the canon law on consent, consanguinity and divorce to achieve his aims and how far the aristocratic ideas of the DUBY model still conflicted with the Church. Taking the discussion of political marriage beyond the marriage treaties themselves, using the extensive correspondence between the Angevins and the royal house of Aragon, it is argued that the importance of dynastic marriage lay as much in the bonds of friendship forged between houses that were the basis of reciprocal duties and favours that were the warp and weft of medieval political life.

*To my late father, Mr. T.T.C. Davies*

*1924-1997*

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*Abbreviations*

ACA = Archivo de la Corona d'Aragón / Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó

AN = Archives Nationales

ASN= Archivio di Stato, Naples

ASV = Archivio Segreto Vaticano

Bouquet, *Recueil* = M. Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*,  
24 vols, Paris, 1737-1904

CRD= Cartas Reales Diplomáticas

DBI = *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 47 vols to date, Rome, 1960-

RIS = L.A.Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 24 vols, Milan, 1727-52

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*Preface*

For the research done on this thesis, I am strongly indebted to the British Academy and the British School at Rome for the financial support that allowed me to conduct research both at home and abroad and to the staff of the archives and libraries that I used in the course of my work, especially the British Library, the British School at Rome, the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples, the Archivio di Stato in Naples, the Archivio di Stato in Modena, the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón and the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona, the Archives Nationales in Paris, the Archives des Bouches-du-Rhône in Marseilles, and the National Archive in Budapest. I owe an enormous amount to my supervisor, Professor D.L. d'Avray, whose advice, encouragement and patience have been invaluable. I would also like to thank Dr Fay Glinister and Dr Guy Bradley for their kind last-minute hospitality that was a saviour in an hour of great need. Last, but not at all least, I would like to thank my parents, Mr and Mrs T.T.C. Davies, without whose kind support, this thesis would never have been completed. Unfortunately, my father died before I was examined although he was able to see the thesis in submitted form. It is a testament to his enduringly selfless nature that even on his deathbed, he continued to advise me and put my needs before his own. I dedicate this thesis to his memory.

I acknowledge that any mistakes I have made are my own and especially, apologize for any shortcomings in the footnotes, which the final deadline did not give me time to check fully, but which I intend to review thoroughly before any publication.

*Stephen Davies*

*September 1997/March 1998*

*Note on names*

Given the problems of finding an adequate name for someone called *Challes*, *Carles*, *Karolus* or *Carlo* even in the source material, let alone the secondary literature, is difficult. Thus, I have used English equivalents where at all possible: Charles for Charles/Carles/Carlos/Carlo/Károly, James for Jaume/Jaime, Philip for Philippe, Joanna for Giovanna/Jeanne, although with some names, I have stuck to the local form or left the Latin version of the name untranslated.

One of the main problems with the 'Angevin kings of Naples' is that they never termed themselves Angevins or kings of Naples. On the first point, I have had to concede, although I have preferred to terms them Capetians to emphasize their connections with the French royal house if at all possible, or call them the royal house of Sicily. Of course, this gives rise to confusion, given the fact that there were two rival kings of Sicily in this period, but when talking of James or Frederick, I try to use the term 'of Aragon', used by popes and Angevins to describe them and after 1302, I use the term Trinacria, another contemporary term for Frederick's island kingdom employed by the papacy at the time, even if Frederick himself was not keen on it.

*Chapter One : INTRODUCTION**Who were the Angevins?*

The history of western Europe in the Middle Ages has tended in the past to be viewed in three ways: by region or nation; by general thematic topic, such as death, women or the economy; or by two over-arching institutions, the Holy Roman Empire and the Church.

In such a schema, one type of political unit has largely been ignored - the supranational dynasty. From the post-Carolingian age up to the modern era, an international elite of royal, ducal and comital dynasties were able to use war, diplomacy and marriage to 'take over' rights to lands and territories on a large scale, often in different geographical areas of the continent. For example, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the house of Hohenstaufen was able to acquire the county of Burgundy and the kingdoms of Sicily and Jerusalem by marrying heiresses. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, the Habsburgs emerged as the most powerful family in Europe by inheriting a wide array of lands through marriage, while in the seventeenth/ eighteenth centuries, the kingdoms of Scotland and England came together through inheritance as a consequence of the marriage of Margaret Tudor and James IV of Scotland. At the same time, international marriage went hand-in-hand with trans-European diplomacy as families strove to improve their situations by forging kin relationships with possible friends and allies among the elite; a king like Henry II of England numbered the Duke of Bavaria and the kings of Castile and Sicily among his sons-in-law.

Some dynasties, such as the Habsburgs, have left a lasting impact on European history down to this century; others died out too quickly to be able to do so. One classic case is that of the so-called Angevins of Naples, named after Charles, Count of Anjou, younger brother of Louis IX of France, who succeeded in establishing himself

as king of Naples (Sicily). Although their central power-base, the kingdom of Naples was a military conquest, they also built up their power by a series of important marriages - thus acquiring Provence, Hungary, Poland, and claims to the Latin Empire (Greece), which devolved to various branches of the family. They died out, however, within two centuries, on the death of Joanna II of Naples in 1435, leaving little long-term impression on European history. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, however, with their extensive dominions and their position as co-allies of the papacy in the so-called Gueff alliance, the Angevins were one of the major players in European and especially Mediterranean politics.

The aim of this thesis is to help elucidate their role in the political world of the Middle Ages; in order to do this, however, it is important to establish what the nature of family or dynasty was in this period.

#### *Debates on the family in medieval Europe*

Any discussion of the nature of the family in medieval Europe has been dominated in recent decades by the question of lineage, promoted by the historians Karl Schmid and Georges Duby.<sup>1</sup> These *lignages* or *Geschlechter* were kin groups based on the idea of descent from a common ancestor in the male line replacing the previous *Sippen*, Germanic horizontal kin-groupings based on consanguinity with the individual. Rather than dividing the inheritance equally between children, the *lignage* system favoured the inheritance of most family property by the eldest son, with the restriction of property rights and marriage for younger sons, while daughters received

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<sup>1</sup>See K. Schmid, 'Zur Problematik von Familie: Sippe und Geschlecht. Haus und Dynastie beim mittelalterlichen Adel: Vorfragen zum Thema 'Adel und Herrschaft im Mittelalter', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 105 (1957), 1-62, G. Duby, *Medieval Marriage*, trans. E. Forster, Baltimore, 1978, G. Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest*, trans. B. Bray, New York, Harmondsworth, 1983-4; *Famille et parenté dans l'Occident médiéval*, Rome, 1977; *Femmes, mariages, lignages, XIIe -XIVe siècles, melanges offerts à Georges Duby* Brussels, 1992.

dowries on marriage as their share of family property. There has been a great deal of debate about when lineages began to predominate. Georges Duby, for instance, saw the rise of lineage in the tenth and eleventh century as a combination of a more peaceful period following the Viking invasions and the end of the dispersal of Carolingian estates meant that aristocratic families used primogeniture and the restriction of marriage to secure patrimonial lands from dispersal. Others have disputed the timing of the change, while the anthropologist Jack Goody has challenged any idea of *lignages* being patrimonial kin-groups or lineages in the strict anthropological term. He has preferred to use the term *domus* (house), which he sees as having an agnatic bias, but as bilateral over inheritance, as women were able to inherit property, even if at a disadvantage.<sup>2</sup>

#### *Angevins as Capetians*

Looking more closely at the Angevin concept of family, what is most obvious is their identification with the Capetian line of France. Following the adoption of the fleur-de-lis as a device by Louis VII in the twelfth century, in the following century it became associated with the Capetian royal house in general, but was also used by all the other cadet lines from the thirteenth century, such as the comital house of Artois and of course, the so-called Angevins.<sup>3</sup> Another particular Capetian affiliation is the use of many of the same leading names in the cadet lines as in the senior royal line of France. Thus, Louis, Robert and Philip were consistently given to Angevin princes as they were to the other Capetian lines, though there was a difference in stress in the male names, in that Charles took prominence in the Angevin lines and was given to all

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<sup>2</sup>A. Callandar Murray, *Germanic Kinship structure, Studies in Law and Society in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Toronto, 1983; J. Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe*, Cambridge, 1983, esp. 227-31, 237-8.

<sup>3</sup> Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State*, Cambridge, Mass., London, 1981, 137, 168, 170, 180-1. For the Capetians and Angevins, see Genealogical Tables I, II..



the eldest sons. Other lesser Capetian names like John and Peter were also used, while the prominence of the name Blanche among the women is a testament to the memory of Blanche of Castile that was found in all branches.<sup>4</sup> This self-identification as Capetians however was not just restricted to names or symbols, but also found open expression in the letters of Angevin family members. Thus, in a letter to his nephew, the Infante Alfonso of Aragon on the marriage of his sister Maria to Alfonso's cousin James of Sicily in 1326. King Robert of Sicily (Naples) mentioned the close relations between the houses of Aragon and Sicily and stressed that the royal house of Sicily was of the same blood as the king of France.<sup>5</sup> In 1309, following the death of Charles II of Sicily, Charles's son Philip of Taranto wrote to his brother-in-law, King James II of Aragon, protesting about calumnies that he was plotting against his brother, the new Sicilian king Robert, stressing that he would never do this as they were princes from the royal house of France.<sup>6</sup> Contemporaries, Pope John XXII and Dante among them, also saw the so-called Angevins and Capetians as coming from the same family.<sup>7</sup>

Of course, the Capetian was not the only family ancestry that Charles I and his descendants focussed on. Like the main Capetian French line, the Angevins stressed

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<sup>4</sup>For example, Louis IX, Robert of Artois and Charles of Anjou all called their eldest daughter Blanche. On the leading-names of the Capetians, see Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France*, 24, 26, 27, 28, 47-8, 49-50, 55, 57-8, 72, 105, 106, 110, 113, 286n.90.. On leading names in general, see K.F. Werner, 'Liens de parenté et noms de personne. Un problème historique et méthodologique', *Famille et Parenté dans l'Occident Médiéval*, Rome, 1977.

<sup>5</sup>A.C.A. C.R.D. Jaime II, 10110.

<sup>6</sup>A.C.A. C.R.D. Jaime II, 10023.

<sup>7</sup>John XXII's granting of a dispensation for the marriage of Charles IV of France and Maria of Luxembourg in 1322 was done despite qualms the pope felt about a marriage to the daughter of one who had gravely offended King Robert of Sicily and so also, the Roman Church, to whom he was a faithful vassal, and also the house of France, *cuius est rex ipse membrum nobile*. See *Jean XXII, Lettres secrètes et curiales relatives à la France*, ed. A. Coulon, S. Clémencet, 4 vols, Paris, 1906-72, no. 1510; G. Tabacco, 'La casa di Francia nell'azione politica di papa Giovanni XXII', *Istituto Storico per il Medio Evo, Studio Storico*, fasc. 1-4 (1953), 253-4. Napoleon Orsini wrote to Alfonso IV of Aragon in 1328 that King Robert had requested help from King Philip VI of France, *cum hoc deberet facere et quia avunculus et quia de domo Francie*, H. Finke (ed.), *Acta Aragonensia*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1908, 1922, I, no. 339, Tabacco, 'La casa di Francia', 254; for Dante's account of Hugh Capet in purgatory and the avarice of his descendants, including Charles I and Charles II of Sicily, see Dante, *Purgatorio* Canto XX.

the Carolingian blood they had inherited in the female line through Adela of Champagne and Isabella of Hainault, wives of Louis VII and Philip II respectively, although their reasons differed somewhat. Whereas the French Capetians' interest followed as a reaction to prophecies of the return of the kingdom of France after seven generations to Carolingian rule, the interest of Charles of Anjou and his successors lies more in the Italian context, of his role as the new Charlemagne, fulfilling different Sibylline prophecies.<sup>8</sup> The importance of the Carolingian side to the Angevins and especially, the heritage of Charlemagne, can be seen in the promotion of the name Charles in the family; Charles II's eldest son was named Charles Martel, a clear homage to the grandfather of the great emperor and victor over the Arabs, at a time when the Sicilian royal house was seeking to lead Latin Christendom against schismatic Greeks in Constantinople and the Infidel in the Holy Land.

Like the Capetian senior line, the Angevin kings of Sicily were also aware of their inheritance on the maternal side, especially in the names of younger sons and daughters. The importance of the Provençal inheritance of his mother to Charles II was demonstrated by his naming of two children, Raymond Berengar and Beatrice after his mother and maternal grandparents. The memory of Beatrice of Provence in bringing what became part of the central patrimonial holdings into the family was kept alive as her name became one of the leading-names of her descendants; this was true of the names Blanche, Isabella, Margaret, Joanna and Matilda in this and other Capetian branches.

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<sup>8</sup> B. Guenee, 'Les généalogies entre l'histoire et la politique: la fierté d'être Capétien, en France, au Moyen Âge', *Annales, ESC*, (1978), 450-77; Lewis, *Royal Succession*, 106-20; Elizabeth A.R. Brown, 'La notion de la légitimité et la prophétie à la cour de Philippe Auguste', R.-H. Bautier, (ed.) *La France de Philippe Auguste: le temps de mutations*, Paris, 1982, 77-110; Laetitia Boehm, 'De Karlingo Imperator Karolus, Princeps ac Monarcha Totius Europae. Zur Orientpolitik Karls I. von Anjou', *Deutsches Jahrbuch* 1 (1968), 1-35, C. Merkel, 'L'opinione dei contemporanei sull'impresa italiana di Carlo I d'Angio', *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, Anno CCLXXXV (1888), 4 ser, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, 4, 277-9, 281-2, 285, 306.

The continuing importance of these maternal connections is a testament to the bilaterality of kinship still maintained through both paternal and maternal sides, despite the importance of *domus*. While this study focusses on the marriages of the *domus* of Charles II - the marriages of his descendants in the male line - any discussion of marriage must be concerned with the nature of blood relationships forged through marriage with other *domus*.

*The Angevins and Capetian historiography*

Use of terms like Angevins, Valois and Bourbon by historians to denote branches of the Capetian line has to a large extent obscured the true role of the Capetians in European history of the last millenium, despite the fact that the fleur-de-lis and Capetian leading-names continued right to the French Revolution, when the deposed Louis XVI was tellingly termed 'Louis Capet'.<sup>9</sup> Once the role of the cadet lines is reassembled, then the role of the Capetians in history can be demonstrated as stretching much wider than France.<sup>10</sup> In the thousand years since the death of Hugh Capet, for only forty-five years this century and a short six year period after the deposition of Isabella II of Spain in 1868 has a Capetian not sat on a European throne;

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<sup>9</sup>On the origin of the term 'Capetian' during the French Revolution, see E. Hallam, *Capetian France 987-1328*, Harlow, New York, 1980, Appendix I, Why the 'Capetians?', 330-1.

<sup>10</sup> The Capetians and their cadet lines ruled the following kingdoms : kings of France (Capet, Valois, Bourbon, Bourbon-Orleans) 888-98, 923-36, 987-1792, 1814-1848; Spain (Bourbon) 1700-1808, 1814-68, 1874-1930, 1975-, Sicily (Anjou, Bourbon) 1266-1435, 1734-1860; Hungary (Anjou) 1310-1395; Poland (Anjou, Valois) 1370-1399, 1573-4; Portugal (Burgundy, Avis, Braganza) 1139-1580, 1640-1853, Emperors of Brazil (Braganza) 1822-1889; Dukes of Burgundy (Capet, Valois) 1032-1361, 1361-1482, Dukes of Brittany (Dreux) 1213-1514, Counts of Provence (Anjou, Valois-Anjou) 1245-1382, 1382-1481, Counts and Dukes of Anjou 1204-1246, 1246-90, 1290-1480, Emperors of Constantinople (Courtenay) 1216-61, titular 1261-1373, Dukes of Parma (Bourbon) 1731-1859, Kings of Etruna (Bourbon) 1801-1807, senators of Rome, titular Kings of Jerusalem. See R.F. Tapsell, *Monarchs, Rulers, Dynasties and Kingdoms of the World*, London, 1983, 38.

Compare the Habsburgs They ruled Holy Roman Empire 1273-1291, 1298-1308, 1440-1806, Austria 1278-1918, Burgundy/Netherlands 1477-1792, Castile and Aragon 1504/16-1700, Bohemia 1526-1918, Hungary 1526-1918, Tuscany 1737-1860, Modena 1814-1860. Technically, however, the male line ceased with the Empress Maria Theresa in the eighteenth century; thereafter, the dynasty was Habsburg-Lorraine or strictly speaking, Lorraine-Vaudemont.

the last interregnum ended with the re-establishment of the Spanish monarchy under King Juan Carlos, descended thirty generations in the male line from Hugh Capet. In the medieval period, the use of the term 'Angevins' is particularly confusing and unhelpful. This is because of the existence of other lines, also termed 'Angevins', as they also held the county of Anjou at some stage, notably the early counts who subsequently became kings of England from Henry II, and the house of Anjou-Provence, who descended from Louis I, Duke of Anjou (d. 1384), son of King John II of France. The so-called Angevins of Naples and Hungary never called themselves Angevins; the term 'of Anjou' was associated above all with Charles I, who was given the counties of Anjou and Maine as an apanage before he became king of Sicily, rather than the rest of the dynasty that followed; in any case, the counties of Anjou and Maine were lost to the 'Angevins' from 1290 by the marriage of Charles II's daughter Margaret to Charles, Count of Valois, brother of King Philip of France: from then on Charles, Count of Anjou was not Charles II but Charles of Valois.<sup>11</sup>

Given this confusion and the nationalist focus of much previous historiography, the rise of the Capetians in the thirteenth century has been largely seen within French terms, focussing on the expansion of French royal power from the royal domain centred on Paris to the far corners of the kingdom and the institutional change that went with it. The growth of 'Angevin' power in the Mediterranean has generally been treated separately, partly as a result of the nationalist focus, but also because of the extraordinarily wide use of archives, knowledge of languages and historical background that a fully overarching view of Capetian history demands. Now that Capetian historiography has started to move away from its institutional focus and to the development of the dynasty, especially in works such as Lewis' *Royal Succession in Capetian France*, it is time to review the rise of the Capetians within its European

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<sup>11</sup>See below, p. 44-7.

perspective and re-attach the Angevins to this process. In particular, by focussing on Charles II of Sicily, it is possible to view the rise of a Capetian branch from a Mediterranean rather than a northern French perspective.

*Charles II within the Angevin dynasty*

While the Angevins' role within the rise of the Capetians has been obscured by historiographical tunnel-vision, so the reign of Charles II has often been sandwiched between the much more studied Charles I and Robert in a cursory and superficial manner, despite the fact that the outcome of the Vespers' War and the treaty of Caltabellotta were crucial for the future fortunes of the dynasty.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, most of the work on the political events that Charles II played a key role in, from the Sicilian wars to the drama of Boniface VIII, has been focussed on other figures, such as the Aragonese kings of Aragon and Sicily, the various popes or Philip IV of France; Charles II appears as some sort of historiographical bridesmaid, playing a vital supportive part in books on others, but never receiving a full-length study himself.<sup>13</sup> Part of the reason for this has been due to the nature of the Neapolitan archive; first its

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<sup>12</sup>Émile G. Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, It. translation, *Gli Angioini di Napoli*, trans. R. Liguori, Varese, 1967, still the most comprehensive work on the dynasty, only devotes forty-three pages to the reign of Charles II (excluding sixteen on the interregnum), compared to one hundred and fifty-seven for the conquest of Sicily and reign of Charles I, and one hundred and sixty-four for the reign of Robert, although he shows a similar lack of interest in the last two rulers of the line, Ladislao and Joanna II. Sir Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers. A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1958, the most familiar work to the English reader on the subject, tails off after the deaths of Charles of Anjou and Peter of Aragon, as if the Vespers' War under Charles II were just a minor addendum to previous events.

<sup>13</sup> See especially M. Amari, *La guerra del Vespro*, 9th edition, Milan, 1886, a work demonstrating much hostility to thirteenth century Capetian rulers of the kingdom of Sicily in the Angevins as coming from an opponent of their nineteenth century Capetian descendants, the Bourbons of Naples; Vicente Salavert's works, particularly 'El tratado de Anagni y la expansion mediterranea de la Corona de Aragón', *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón*, Zaragoza, V (1952), 209-360 and *Cerdeña y la expansión mediterranea de la Corona de Aragón*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1956, analyse and publish central documents from the Archive of the Crown of Aragon on the diplomatic process of the Sicilian war and the Sardinian question, but from the perspective of James II of Aragon; Georges Digard in *Philippe le Bel et le Saint-Siège de 1285 à 1304*, 2 vols, Paris, 1936, discusses the political scene in the same period, but centring on the French king Philip the Fair.

immense richness during his reign meant the task of covering the period was too great; later, its destruction and the slow process of reconstruction has been a dampener on all research into the dynasty.<sup>14</sup>

The picture that has emerged of Charles II is one of a lame, unimpressive, peaceable, but wily king who preferred to secure his ends by diplomacy rather than by war.<sup>15</sup> This study aims to delve deeper into Charles' diplomatic aims by analysing the complicated network of marriages that lay at their heart. In particular, it will focus on how he reorientated the Angevin kingship away from both France and wider Greek ambitions towards the central Provence-Sicily axis and how his desire for Sicilian peace corresponded with the other dynastic interests, such as those in Italy, Hungary or the kingdom of Jerusalem. At the same time, it will look at how Charles' matrimonial projects were connected to his internal strategy and the implications that these had for the future of the dynasty.

*Charles II and the historiography of medieval marriage: marriage, law and Georges Duby*

Older studies of royal marriage have tended to be antiquarian or to only look from a political angle; but in recent decades, there has been something of a vogue for studies of medieval marriage, stimulated in large part by the work of Georges Duby, but offering quite a wide variety of approaches. For example, Dieter Veldtrup's book on the marriage policies of the Emperor Charles IV explored attempts to use laws on marriage and property to dynastic political advantage; Elizabeth Brown's recent work on the marriage aid of Philip the Fair centres on the relationship between royal marriages and taxation and the resistance to it; Richard Famiglietti's discussion of

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<sup>14</sup>On the destruction of the archives, see J. Mazzoleni, 'Les archives des Angevins de Naples' in I. Bonnot, (ed.), *Marseille et ses rois de France, la diagonale angevine 1265-1382*, Aix-en-Provence, 1988, 25-29.

<sup>15</sup>Leonard, *Gli Angioini* 215-16; T.S.R. Boase, *Boniface VIII*, London, 1933, 46.

marriage in France takes a more anecdotal angle, but looks at subjects as such as brother-sister incest, abuse of wives and wife-murder.<sup>16</sup> Elliott's work on spiritual marriage and Boswell's on same-sex unions have also broken new ground.<sup>17</sup>

Much discussion of marriage in this period has been heavily influenced by anthropology and particularly by alliance theorists, such as Lévi-Strauss, who viewed marriage in terms of alliance between kin groups rather than just for the continuation of the group (descent theory); Marcel Mauss in his seminal work *The Gift* saw the reciprocation of gifts and the process of exchange as the basis of marriage and thus the property exchanges and political alliances that went with it.<sup>18</sup> Paula Sutter Fichtner adapted these theories to explain the marriage policies of the Emperor Ferdinand I (d. 1564), stressing the importance of exchange in dynastic marriage and the bonds of reciprocation they forged; the failure of the terms of marriage agreements to be met could often be due to the inadequacy of the terms rather than the alliance itself, which could be readopted and readjusted; she also links marriage with the reinforcement of social prestige.<sup>19</sup> Scott Waugh's work on the English nobility and Anthony Molho's on the elites of medieval Florence have centred on the circulation of property and have emphasized the desire to keep wealth circulated through inheritance, marriage and family grants within a narrow group.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Dieter Veldtrup, *Zwischen Eherecht und Familienpolitik. Studien zu den dynastischen Heiratsprojekten Karls IV*, Warendorf, 1988; Elizabeth A.R. Brown, *Customary Aids and Royal Finance in Capetian France. The Marriage Aid of Philip the Fair*, Cambridge, Mass., 1992. and 'The Political Repercussions of Family Ties in the Early Fourteenth Century: The Marriage of Edward II of England and Isabelle of France', *Speculum* 103 (1988), 573-95; R.C. Famiglietti, *Tales from the Marriage Bed from Medieval France*, Providence, RI, 1992.

<sup>17</sup>D. Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock*, Princeton, 1993; J. Boswell, *Same-Sex Unions in Pre-Modern Europe*, New York, 1994.

<sup>18</sup>Claude Lévi-Strauss, 'The Principles of Kinship' in J. Goody, (ed.) *Kinship*, Harmondsworth, 1971; R. Fox, *Kinship and Marriage*, Harmondsworth, 1967; M. Mauss. *The Gift. Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. trans. I. Cunnison, London, 1970.

<sup>19</sup> Paula Sutter-Fichtner, 'Dynastic Marriage in Habsburg Diplomacy and Statecraft: An Interdisciplinary Approach', *American Historical Review* 81 (1976), 243-65.

<sup>20</sup>Scott L. Waugh, *The Lordship of England. Royal Wardships and Marriages in English Society and Politics 1217-1327*. Princeton, 1988; Anthony Molho, *Marriage Alliance in Late Medieval Florence*,

This nature of the sources and the length of time needed to finish the thesis has meant that it has been impossible to address all the issues that have been raised by recent work on medieval marriage. For example, the in-depth study of marital aids and taxes is not part of this research, largely because of the problems of the archive in Naples, subject to destruction on the part of the Germans during World War Two. The domination of Georges Duby's work in the sphere of medieval marriage is well-known: that his discussion centring on the conflict between the aristocratic and religious models of marriage in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is focussed to a large extent round Capetian forbears of Charles II makes comparisons drawn from this later period particularly fruitful. Duby claimed that the 1215 Fourth Lateran Council witnessed the settlement of the differences between lay and aristocratic views.<sup>21</sup> My thesis aims to take the discussion to the later period and see how far aristocratic and clerical models were still in conflict at the end of the thirteenth century and to see how a king like Charles II was able to work within the legal framework that emerged in the decades up to 1215, as a compromise between the two. This thesis looks at the marital concerns of a king from the same dynasty at a time when the 1215 Lateran Council had clarified marriage law.

*Marriage and the politics of friendship*

The final section in the thesis aims to consider the issues raised by the anthropological perspective : the nature of the blood-ties created by marriage and the connection between the *domus* and the marital kin.. What were the political consequences of the marriages and what did they mean for family relationships? Did the marriages that Charles II organised mean more than the sum of the treaties and marriage agreements or less? The existence of a large number of letters between the

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Cambridge, Mass., London, 1994.

<sup>21</sup>Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest*, 209, 282-4.



royal houses of Sicily and Aragon, much intermarried as a result of Charles II's diplomacy, is a rich source for the consideration of the nature of the bonds formed by the marriages.

*Chapter Two : MARRIAGE AND THE POLITICAL WORLD OF CHARLES II : THE CAPETIAN EXPANSION INTO THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE SICILIAN WAR*

Dynastic marriage was concerned with reciprocal alliance involving exchange - that of the bride and gifts - that included political deals. For royal families of medieval Europe, it involved alliance and the circulation of wealth within a restricted group and the need to protect or increase the dynasty's wealth and power by making alliances with neighbours.

In order to put Charles II's matrimonial schemes in context, it is necessary to look at his antecedents - the Capetian royal family.

### **The Capetians to Charles of Anjou**

*The rise of the Capetians in the thirteenth century - expansion within and beyond France*

The rise of the Capetians in the thirteenth century has traditionally been viewed within a French nationalist perspective, as defeats of English Angevins in the north, the counts of Toulouse and the house of Barcelona in the south meant that the Capetians were dominant within the kingdom of France, as they gained Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Poitou and Languedoc.<sup>1</sup> However, this is a far too limited viewpoint from which to judge their triumph, which was to encompass a much larger stage.

Even before their successes in Poitou and Languedoc, the royal line of France had already looked to extend their power outside the kingdom as well as within it. Building

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<sup>1</sup>See in general, R. Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France, Monarchy and Nation, 987-1328*, trans. L. Butler and R.J. Adams, London, 1960, esp. 145-55; Elizabeth M. Hallam, *Capetian France 987-1328* Harlow, New York, 1980, esp. 126-36, 180-90, 207-12.

on their successes against King John of England within France, the Capetians moved to take his English kingdom from him as Louis, son of King Philip Augustus. Later Louis VIII, claimed the English throne in the right of his wife Blanche of Castile and invaded England in 1216-17. Although Louis was unsuccessful, it was not by much that he lost; rather it was the death of the unpopular King John, leading to a rallying of the barons round William Marshal, the papal legate and the boy king Henry III that saved England from Capetian conquest. The English royal house, however, was not able to withstand the Capetian offensive against Poitou in the 1220s.<sup>2</sup>

The next stage of Capetian expansion, in Languedoc, against Count Raymond VII of Toulouse, opened the way for the first major gain outside the kingdom of France in this period - the county of Provence. The marriage of Louis IX's youngest brother, Charles to Beatrice, heiress of the counties of Provence and Forcalquier, marked the beginning of a glittering cadet line of the dynasty, better known in the future as the Angevins of Naples. As previous dynastic success limited opportunities for the ambitious Charles within the kingdom of France, he was to be the standard-bearer of Capetian expansion beyond it. Although he was unable to retain the county of Hainault, briefly held in the mid 1250s, his ability to overcome opposition within the county of Provence was the jumping-off point for Capetian moves into Italy, first Piedmont, and then, the great prize, the kingdom of Sicily. The acquisition of Provence and Sicily, henceforth the central axis for this Angevin branch of the Capetians, was made at the expense of the same three dynasties, the royal houses of England and Aragon and the imperial Hohenstaufen. The elimination of the Hohenstaufen in particular with the defeats and deaths of Manfred and Conradin at Charles' hands led to the establishment of the papal-Angevin Guelf hegemony in northern and central Italy,

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<sup>2</sup>M. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers (1066-1272)*, London, 1983, 198-206; Hallam, *Capetian France*, 133, 135

the expansion of Charles into Greece, Albania and the kingdom of Jerusalem. From being kings of France centred on Paris, with the successes of Charles of Anjou, the Capetians now ruled a plethora of dominions across Christendom.<sup>3</sup>

It is important to stress, however, that Capetian expansion beyond the kingdom of France did not begin and end with Charles of Anjou and his branch. Earlier cadet lines had sought fame and fortune beyond the kingdom's confines and emerged as the royal house of Portugal and the Courtenay emperors of Constantinople; however, by the late thirteenth century, these distantly related lines had far weaker links and identification to the main Capetian royal line than the closely connected Angevins and subsequent branches, who maintained and vaunted their French royal connection in their fleur-de-lis insignia and leading names.<sup>4</sup> Of course, much later Bourbon Capetians were to be established as kings of Spain, as they still are. In the late thirteenth century, the successes of Charles of Anjou and the prestige of St Louis, building on the earlier Capetian expansion and prophecies concerning the Carolingians, fuelled ideas of Capetian supremacy. Although both Louis VII and Philip Augustus had been on crusade to the Holy Land, it was Louis IX's crusades, in which many Capetian family members fought and died, and the spiritual leadership that the future saint gave, that led to the elevation of the Capetian royal house to be political leaders of Christendom, backed by the papacy. This proved the starting-point for Capetian princes to take over the Hohenstaufen legacy, first as kings of Sicily through Charles of Anjou and then as candidates for the imperial throne.<sup>5</sup> The success of Charles of Anjou was to be

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<sup>3</sup>On the career of Charles of Anjou, see P. Herde, *Karl I. von Anjou*, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne, Mainz, 1979; Léonard, *Gli Angioini*, 42-198.

<sup>4</sup>The leading names of the Portuguese royal family, for example, were different: Afonso, Sancho, Ferdinand. The Courtenays, more closely related, were more heavily influenced by their ties to the counts of Flanders and Hainault; hence their use of the name Baldwin, although some names were shared with the main Capetian line, such as Robert and Philip.

<sup>5</sup>On Louis IX and his crusades, see J. Richard, *Saint Louis*, Paris, 1983, William C. Jordan, *Saint Louis and the Challenge of the Crusade*, Princeton, 1979; on the imperial elections, see Lewis, *Royal Succession*, 125; L. Capo, 'Da Andrea Ungaro a Guillaume de Nangis. Un'ipotesi sui rapporti tra Carlo I

emulated by the career of Charles of Valois, younger brother of Philip IV of France, at one time candidate for the Holy Roman and Latin Empires and the kingdom of Aragon, although this nearly man of the late thirteenth-early fourteenth centuries was only to be marked out for the sad fate of being the son of a king, father of a king, though never a king himself.<sup>6</sup>

The ambition of the French royal house in this period is also clearly reflected in the writings of Pierre Dubois. In his *Summaria brevis*, he advocated the full-scale Capetian domination of Christendom. In his blueprint for Capetian supremacy, the pope would abandon to the King of France the title of senator of Rome, the patrimony of St Peter and the rights of supremacy over different castles, towns and kingdoms of Europe; the German king Albert would cede Lombardy to France and also the kingdom of Arles; the increase of resources could support the rights of Charles of Valois over the empire of Constantinople after his marriage to its heiress Catherine of Courtenay; the succession of the Infantes de la Cerda, grandsons of Louis IX, in Castile and Charles of Anjou's great-grandson in Hungary, plus increased French influence in Germany would thus lead to universal monarchy under the Capetians. In his later *opinio cuiusdam*, he argued for the establishment of a younger son of the French king as king of Cyprus.<sup>7</sup>

Dubois' writings espoused an extreme ideal of Capetian supremacy; how far these matched up to the real goals of the dynasty is less important than their vision of the French royal family as players throughout the whole of Christendom, rather than just their kingdom and its borders. Although Charles of Valois was unable to achieve what his great-uncle had done, the French royal line were able to expand their power

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d'Angio e il Regno di Francia', *Mélanges de l'École Française d'Athènes et de Rome* 89 (1977), pt 2, *Moyen Age, Temps Modernes*, 842-7, J. Pett, *Charles de Valois (1270-1325)*, Paris, 1900, 120.

<sup>6</sup>On the career of Charles of Valois, see Pett, *Charles de Valois, passim*.

<sup>7</sup>On Pierre Dubois, see Pierre Dubois, *The Recovery of the Holy Land*, ed. and trans W. Brandt, New York, 1956.

beyond the southern and eastern borders of the kingdom of France. Philip III in particular was keen to intervene within the Iberian peninsula, securing the kingdom of Navarre through the marriage of his son Philip to its heiress Joanna, advocating the cause of the Infantes de la Cerda, sons of his sister Blanche and finally, and fatally, pursuing a crusade in Aragon to secure the kingdom for his son Charles of Valois.<sup>8</sup> As Bálint Hóman has stressed, the Capetian expansion in Europe was part of the wider establishment of Francophone dynasties on European thrones, from the Norman conquests in England and Sicily, the rise of the Plantagenets, the establishment of the crusader kingdoms, the Latin Empire and associated princes to the rule of the Iberian kingdoms under the Burgundian Capetians (Portugal), the comital house of Burgundy (Castile and León) and the house of Barcelona, descended from the Frankish count Borel (Aragon).<sup>9</sup> By the thirteenth century, not only had Francophone dynasties established a political and cultural hegemony in Europe, but among them, the Capetian royal house of France had risen to pre-eminence.

*Matrimonial policy and expansion 1100-1285*

Like their main rivals, the Plantagenets and the Hohenstaufen, the Capetians were leading players on Christendom's marriage market. In the twelfth century, they had been eclipsed by their rivals on this score. The Plantagenets rose to greatness on the back of a series of marriages: those of the Empress Matilda to Count Geoffrey of Anjou and Maine, their son Henry II of England to Eleanor of Aquitaine and Henry and Eleanor's son Geoffrey to Constance of Brittany had established the main branch of the family in a network of kingdoms, counties, duchies and overlordships that stretched from the Cheviots to the Pyrenees. The European status of this royal house is

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<sup>8</sup>On Philip III and the Iberian peninsula, see Georges Daumet, *Mémoire sur les relations de la France et de la Castille de 1255 à 1320*, Paris, 17-88, Joseph Reese Strayer, 'The Crusade Against Aragon', *Speculum*, XXVIII, no. 1 (Jan 1953), 102-13.

<sup>9</sup>Bálint Hóman, *Gli Angioini di Napoli in Ungheria 1290-1403*, Rome, 1938, 286

demonstrated by the marriages of Henry II's children to the kings of Castile and Sicily, the Duke of Saxony, princesses of France and Navarre. Meanwhile, the second marriage of Count Geoffrey's father, Count Fulk V to Melisende of Jerusalem brought the crown of Jerusalem to a junior branch of the family for over seventy years.<sup>10</sup>

As for the Hohenstaufen, having risen to imperial status with the elections of Conrad III and Frederick I Barbarossa, they had increased their power through the marriage of Henry VI to Constance, heiress of the Norman kingdom of Sicily; once their son, Frederick II was able to secure his inheritance, he managed to increase it by marrying another heiress to the kingdom of Jerusalem, Isabella-Yolande of Brienne, granddaughter of the last Plantagenet queen. They too made marriage alliances on a European scale until their demise in the 1260s: apart from these Sicilian and Jerusalem marriages, there were matrimonial connections with the kings of Aragon, England, Castile, Bohemia, and the Byzantine emperor of Constantinople.<sup>11</sup>

In comparison, the Capetians secured fewer advantages from their marriages in the twelfth century than these rivals : Louis VII's need for a son led him to seek the annulment of his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine, thus losing her great inheritance for his dynasty; the main matrimonial gain of the twelfth century, the county of Artois, achieved through the marriage of Philip Augustus and Isabella of Hainault, was small beer in comparison. The small domain of the family meant that younger sons, and even King Louis VI, at first, often married into the families of castellans; although by the reign of Louis VII, royal status seems to have improved sufficiently for not only the Aquitaine marriage, but also a series of important alliances with the powerful house of Blois-Champagne, plus marriages with the royal houses of England and Castile to take place. Under Philip Augustus, the matrimonial network had extended much further,

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<sup>10</sup>Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, 136-7.

<sup>11</sup>For the Hohenstaufen, see especially, D. Abulafia, *Frederick II. A Medieval Emperor*, London, 1988; E. Kantorowicz, *Kaiser Friedrich II*, 2 vols, Berlin, 1927-31.

with the marriages of the king's sisters to the king of Hungary and the emperor of Byzantium, as well as the king's own unfortunate match to Ingeborg of Denmark, which all took place before Philip's great conquests. Although the Capetians had been outdone by Plantagenets and Hohenstaufen, by the end of the twelfth century, their position in the marriage market had improved substantially on that of the reigns of Philip I and Louis VI.<sup>12</sup>

In the thirteenth century, however, the Capetians were to dislodge their rivals, not only as the leading royal house in Europe, but also in terms of their prestige and success within the marriage market. Compared to the previous century, they were more successful in securing the best heiresses to increase their domains, especially the provision for younger sons. Thus, Philip Hurepel, younger son of Philip Augustus married Matilda, Countess of Boulogne (1216), while Louis IX's younger brothers Alfonso and Charles married Joanna, heiress of Toulouse (1241) and Beatrice, Countess of Provence (1246) respectively. Louis IX's younger sons, who received far smaller apanages than their uncles, were provided for largely through their marriages to the heiresses of Nevers, Blois and Bourbon. The marriage of the future Philip IV to Joanna, heiress of Champagne and Navarre was envisaged in a similar manner; the untimely death of Philip's elder brother Louis, however, led to the association of Joanna's territories with the main patrimonial succession. These matrimonial successes were achieved at the expense of rivals, such as the Plantagenets, the Hohenstaufen, the kings of Castile and Aragon, who were not able to secure the same degree of papal support, and therefore the all-important dispensations, that allowed these matches to go ahead.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>On the marriages of the Capetians up to Philip Augustus, see in general, Duby, *Medieval Marriage*; Duby, *The Knight, The Lady and the Priest*, 3-22, 75-86, 189-210, Lewis, *Royal Succession*, 20-8, 45, 47, 50-1, 54-5, 59-60, 62-5, 71-2, 108; Constance M. Bouchard, 'Consanguinity and Noble Marriages in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *Speculum* 56 (1981), 268-87.

<sup>13</sup>For the Capetian apanages in the thirteenth century, see Lewis, *Royal Succession*, 158-78, Charles T.



Similarly, the alliance structure reflected the expanding concerns of the dynasty. The Low Countries, which became a focus for continued Plantagenet-Capetian rivalry, was a source of many marriage alliances, perhaps also due to the Carolingian antecedents of the counts of Flanders and Hainault and the dukes of Brabant, something that became more important with prophecies foretelling the return of the kingdom to Carolingian rule. Another family with Carolingian connections, the comital house of Champagne, from 1234 rulers of the kingdom of Navarre, also became closely reconnected by marriage to the French royal house under Louis IX and Philip III, once enough generations had passed for dispensations to be possible. Meanwhile, expansion in the south was aided and confirmed by marriages into the comital houses of Toulouse and Provence and the royal houses of Aragon and Castile. The other main network of alliances, to the east, was centred on the family of Duke Hugh IV of Burgundy: his son and heir Robert II married the youngest daughter of Louis IX, while four of his granddaughters married Capetian princes : one, Maria of Brabant became the second queen of Philip III.<sup>14</sup>

Of course, the career of Charles of Anjou, extending Capetian power across the Mediterranean, also diversified the matrimonial connections of the dynasty, whose main branch, under Louis IX and Philip III, was centred on France and its close neighbours. Although his first marriage to Beatrice of Provence reaffirmed close connections to his brother Louis IX and the Plantagenet brothers Henry III and Richard of Cornwall, married to Beatrice's sisters, as we have seen, it marked the first major

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Wood, *Capetian Apanages and the French Monarchy 1224-1328*, Cambridge, Mass., 1966. On the dispensations granted by the papacy, see J. Dauvillier, *Le Mariage dans le Droit classique de l'Eglise depuis le décret de Gratien jusqu'à la mort de Clément V (1314)*, Paris, 1933. See also, Genealogical Table II.

<sup>14</sup>Hallam, *Capetian France*, 211,212, 215,221,222, 275, 276; Richard, *Louis IX*; Langlois, *Le regne de Philippe III le Hardi*, 21-2, 33-4; E. Pett, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la race capetienne avec des documents inédits et des pièces justificatives*, Paris, 1894, V, 73-4, 97,127-30, 139-40, VI, 29-31. For the marriages of the Capetian royal house in the thirteenth century, see Table II and for the its connection with the ducal house of Burgundy, also Table VIII.

thirteenth-century Capetian move outside the kingdom of France, into imperial territory. Whilst Charles' eldest daughter Blanche married Robert of Flanders, a traditional Capetian marriage arranged before the conquest of Sicily, the Angevin's determination to reconquer Constantinople required the establishment of matrimonial connections in the east, although many of these were to Frankish dynasties established there by the Fourth Crusade, and were made in the spirit of restoring Frankish rule in the great city, driven out by the Greeks under Michael Palaeologus in 1261.<sup>15</sup> The treaty of Viterbo of 1267 and the accompanying agreement with William of Villehardouin, Prince of Achaia, the bases for the Angevin backing for the reestablishment of the Latin Empire, were sealed by the future marriages of Charles' daughter Beatrice to Philip of Courtenay, son of Baldwin II, exiled former Emperor of Constantinople and William's daughter and heiress Isabella to Charles' second son Philip.<sup>16</sup> The following year, Charles I added another element by marrying Margaret,

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<sup>15</sup>Blanche and Robert were married by the time of the will of Beatrice of Provence, dated 30th June 1266, where Blanche is described as the wife of Robert, son of the Count of Flanders. See R. Filangieri *et al.*, (edd.), *I Registri della cancellaria angioina ricostruiti*, Naples, 1950-, II, no. 92, p. 294-6. For connections between Charles I and the house of Dampierre, his interventions in the conflicts between the Dampierres and the d'Avesnes over the inheritance of Countess Margaret of Flanders in the 1250s, the involvement of Robert and other members in the Dampierre family in his Italian campaigns, and the long-term settlement of Robert's brother Philip in the kingdom of Sicily, see C. Duviolier, *La querelle des d'Avesnes et des Dampierre jusqu'à la mort de Jean d'Avesnes (1257)*, Brussels, Paris, 1894; B. Croce, *Filippo di Fiandra, Conte di Chieti di Loreto. Prima e dopo la sua partecipazione alla guerra contro Filippo il Bello*, Naples, 1930; C. Minieri-Riccio, *Genealogia di Carlo I d'Angiò*, Naples, 1857, 31-2, 39, 44-5; R. Sternfeld, *Karl von Anjou als Graf der Provence (1245-1265)*, Berlin, 1888, esp. 94-111; Herde, *Karl I von Anjou*, 35-6; Léonard, *Gli Angioini*, 52-3. After Blanche's early death in 1269-70, Robert married Yolande of Burgundy, Countess of Nevers, sister of Charles I's second queen, Margaret; Robert and Blanche's son, Charles was left to be brought up at the Sicilian court and was affianced to Isabella of Burgundy, an aunt of Margaret and Yolande, but died before they could be married. See A. Duchesne, *Histoire Généalogique des Ducs de Bourgogne de la Maison de France*, 2 vols, Paris, 1619, 1622, II, 83, 88-90; E. Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne*, V, 149; Croce, *Filippo di Fiandra*, 6-7, 9-12; C. Minieri-Riccio, *Genealogia di Carlo I*, Naples, 1857, 39. Also see Tables I, VIII.

<sup>16</sup>Filangieri, *I Registri*, I, no. 3, p. 94-6; D. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West 1258-1282, A Study in Byzantine Relations*, Cambridge, Mass., 1959, 197-200; Léonard, *Gli Angioini*, 124-5. Léonard, *Gli Angioini*, 128 claims that that Helena, wife of Stephen Uros I of Serbia was the sister of Philip of Courtenay and that her claims were ignored by the treaties. Recently, G. McDaniel has refuted the idea that Helena was a Courtenay. See G. McDaniel, 'The House of Anjou and Serbia', *Louis the Great King of Hungary and Poland* edd. S.B. Vardy, G. Grosschmid, L.S. Domorokos,

granddaughter of Hugh IV of Burgundy; Baldwin had sold rights to the kingdom of Thessalonica to Hugh in 1266, making him another interested party in the reconquest.<sup>17</sup> The next stage of this process was to secure the adherence of the Arpad royal house of Hungary through the marriages of Charles' children Charles and Isabella to Maria and Ladislas, children of Stephen V of Hungary; an added dimension of anti-Palaeologue feeling was the fact that Stephen's mother, Maria Lascaris, was of the family that had been deposed by Michael Palaeologus as Greek emperors in Nicaea, prior to his conquest of Constantinople.<sup>18</sup> Thus, the matrimonial policy of Charles of Anjou, matching and spurring on his political ambitions, demonstrates how far Capetian ambition had stretched from the mother kingdom.

The continuing rivalry of the Plantagenets and the Capetians, however, is illustrated in the last major matrimonial scheme that Charles of Anjou was involved with, the Habsburg alliance, and the accompanying plan to set up the kingdom of Arles. Despite the loss of Normandy, Anjou, Maine and Poitou to the Capetians, and their failure to realize plans to take over the Hohenstaufen inheritance, the Plantagenets remained important players in western Christendom and well-connected, especially through the house of Savoy and Eleanor of Provence, wife of Henry III; it was this link that lay behind plans to revive the ancient kingdom through the marriage of Edward I's daughter Joanna to Hartmann, younger son of Rudolf of Habsburg, king of the

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New York, 1986, 191-200. See also Table I.

<sup>17</sup>U Plancher, *Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne*, Dijon, 1739-81, II, pr. LXXI, LXXXI; E. Pett, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne*, V, 72, 97, 129-30 and P.J. nos. 3468, 3624; E. Martene and U. Durand, *Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum*, Paris, 1717, II, 602; C. Del Giudice, *Codice Diplomatico del Regno di Carlo I e Carlo II d'Angiò*, Naples, 1863-9, II, I, 273. In March 1269, Baldwin II gave Theobald, King of Navarre and Count of Champagne, husband of Isabella, daughter of Louis IX of France, a quarter of his empire excepting the conventions made with King Charles of Sicily and Duke Hugh IV of Burgundy, reserving the rights of the Venetians, and excluding the city of Constantinople. Pett, *Histoire des ducs*, V, 294, P.J. no. 3641. See also Tables I, VIII.

<sup>18</sup>Geneakoplos, *Emperor Michael*, 176, F. Carabellese, *Carlo d'Angio nei rapporti politici e commerciali con Venezia e l'Oriente*, Bari, 1911, 153-60; M. Schupa, 'Carlo Martello angioino', *Archivio per le province napoletane*, Anno 14 (1888), 23-8, Minnen-Riccio, *Genealogia di Carlo I*, 35-6, 117-18. See also Tables I, V.

Romans, supported by Eleanor of Provence and her sister Queen Margaret of France, who wished for a greater share of the paternal inheritance that had gone virtually completely to their sister Beatrice, late wife of Charles I. Yet again, it was Charles who was victorious, as an alternative scheme, involving the marriage of his grandson Charles Martel to Rudolf's daughter Clementia, with the kingdom of Arles as a dowry. As in the 1250s, the whiff of Plantagenet ambition had spurred the Capetians on to apparently much more stunning successes.<sup>19</sup>

*The Sicilian Vespers - the crisis of Capetian expansion*

By 1282, the Capetian family was dominant among the royal houses of Europe: kings of a France in which they were now supreme, they had extended their power to the counties of Provence and Fourcalquier, the realms of Sicily, Jerusalem, Albania, the overlordship of the Romania and the lordship of many towns in northern and central Italy. Now they were poised to establish themselves as kings of Arles and Navarre and reconquer a Latin Empire of Constantinople that they would dominate. Their main rivals for primacy, the Hohenstaufen had been eliminated, while Plantagenet failure in continental Europe now turned the English kings' priorities inward, first to civil war, and then to the conquest of Wales.<sup>20</sup> Elsewhere, the burgeoning of Premyslid power under Ottocar II of Bohemia had been sharply curtailed, firstly by the failure of Ottocar's attempt to seek imperial election and then by Ottocar's defeat and death at the Durnkrüt at the hands of Rudolf of Habsburg, losing them the Babenburg inheritance of Austria, Carinthia and Styria; on the other hand, Habsburg power, although increasing, had neither the depth nor the extent of the Hohenstaufen.<sup>21</sup> Elsewhere, the ambitious Alfonso X of Castile, disappointed in his

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<sup>19</sup>On this question, see below p. 113-15.

<sup>20</sup>Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, 181-283, M. Prestwich, *Edward I*, London, 1988.

<sup>21</sup>On the Habsburgs and the Premyslids in this period see O. Redlich, *Rudolf von Habsburg*,

imperial dreams. was sinking into a sad dotage of civil war and family conflict; the expansion of the kings of Aragon, conquerors of Majorca and Murcia, was limited by the gains of the Capetians to the north and across the Mediterranean and by the kings of Castile to the south and west.<sup>22</sup>

Of course, this success had not been achieved without great difficulty. The minority of Louis IX had witnessed a number of attempts to reverse Capetian fortunes; however, the great ability of the regent Blanche of Castile had not only safeguarded the inheritance, but also augmented it.<sup>23</sup> It should also be stressed that Louis IX did not favour dynastic expansion at all costs, refusing the offer of the Holy Roman Empire made to his brother Robert of Artois, blocking Charles of Anjou's ambitions in the Low Countries and only consenting to the Sicilian enterprise with great reluctance.<sup>24</sup> Charles of Anjou's successes, likewise, had led to something of a Ghibelline fightback in northern and central Italy, while his Albanian kingdom was largely lost to the Byzantines by 1281.<sup>25</sup> However, a much greater setback was to afflict the Capetian family that was to seriously alter their fortunes in the future - the Sicilian Vespers revolt.

The rebellion against Charles of Anjou's rule began in Palermo on 30 March 1282 and became steadily more serious as first, Capetian forces were driven out of the island completely and then, the communal government invited King Peter of Aragon and his wife Constance, daughter of King Manfred to become king and queen of Sicily. The rebellion has been seen by many historians as a plot forged by John of Procida, Sicilian chancellor of Aragon and the Byzantine emperor Michael

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Innsbruck, 1903, J K. Hoensch, *Premysl Ottokar II von Böhmen. Der Goldene König*, Graz, 1989.

<sup>22</sup>J.N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms. Volume I 1250-1410: Precarious Balance*. Oxford, 1976, 243-4.

<sup>23</sup>On Blanche, see G. Sivery, *Blanche de Castille*, Paris, 1990..

<sup>24</sup>L. Capo, 'Un'ipotesi', 812-16

<sup>25</sup>Leonard, *Gli Angioini*, 133-66

Palaeologus, desiring to forestall the planned invasion of his empire. Whether this is true or not, the overthrow of Capetian rule on the island and the subsequent invasion of the mainland territories of the kingdom revealed the strength of the Capetians' foes not only in the south, for Peter of Aragon's Ghibelline allies in northern Italy and the Byzantine emperor in the Morea also used the opportunity to strike hard at Charles of Anjou.<sup>26</sup>

The next two years witnessed the continuance of the war as attempts to settle the conflict by personal combat between Charles and Peter ended in farce. The harshness of the blow to Charles' fortunes, however, was to some degree mitigated by the solidarity shown to him both by his Capetian relatives in France and the pope, Martin IV. While Charles' nephew, Count Robert of Artois, associated with the government of the kingdom of Sicily in the 1270s, led a force that included King Philip of France's younger brother, Count Peter of Alençon, that came to Charles' aid in the south, Martin IV and Philip III plotted to strike King Peter of Aragon closer to home. Having excommunicated the Aragonese royal pair and their supporters, Martin IV now moved to declare them deposed from their Iberian kingdom; the crown of Aragon and its dependent territories were settled on Charles of Valois, younger son of Philip III, and a crusade was launched with a view to its conquest.

Thus, despite the losses incurred by Charles of Anjou, the Capetian royal house might have turned the tables on its enemies by expanding still further into the Iberian peninsula, had the crusade been a success. It was not, as the French forces were struck down with pestilence that killed King Philip III and the Aragonese were able to take revenge on the French king's ally, King James of Majorca, who had fallen out with his

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<sup>26</sup>Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*; H. Wieruszowski, 'La corte di Pietro d'Aragona e i precedenti dell'impresa siciliana', *Politics and Culture in Medieval Spain and Italy*, Rome, 1971, 185-222; H. Wieruszowski, 'Politische Verschwörungen und Bündnisse Königs Peter von Aragon am Vorabend der sizilianische Vesper', *Politics and Culture in Medieval Italy*, 223-278, on the Greek and Piedmontese situations, see below p 126, 140

brother King Peter after being compelled to swear homage to him, by occupying most of his lands. Meanwhile, the war in Sicily went from bad to worse as Charles, Prince of Salerno, son and heir of King Charles was captured in a sea battle and taken back to prison on the island.<sup>27</sup>

The year 1285 marked a changing of the guard, as first Charles of Anjou, followed by Martin IV, Philip III and then Peter III, all died. The attitude of their successors to the wars they had inherited was thus to play a vital role in Capetian fortunes.

### **Charles II : a battered inheritance**

#### *Charles II's inheritance*

On the death of Charles I, his eldest son lay in captivity in Cefalù in Sicily; Prince Charles was transferred a few months later to Catalonia, where he continued as a prisoner until being released after the treaty of Canfranc in November 1288. During this period, authority within the kingdom was exercised by two regents, Gerard, Bishop of Sabina, on behalf of the papacy and Count Robert of Artois, on behalf of the Capetian family, until the majority of Charles Martel, eldest son of Prince Charles or the release of the prince himself; full status was not conferred on the future Charles II until he was crowned by Pope Nicholas IV at Rieti in May 1289, although thereafter he dated his reign from the death of his father.

Charles II received a battered inheritance. From the heady days of his father's planned conquest of Constantinople and acquisition of the kingdom of Arles, the family's fortunes now sunk into a defensive situation, in which Charles II strove above

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<sup>27</sup>Amari, *La guerra del Vespro*, I, 191-374, II, 1-106, Strayer, 'The crusade against Aragon'.

all to get back the lost island part of his kingdom: elsewhere. Charles was forced to abandon his father's schemes in practice and merely hope to hold on to what had not yet been lost, while waiting for better times to recoup previously held lands.<sup>28</sup> Meanwhile, the accession of Philip IV to the crown of France had important implications for both Charles II and the Capetian house in general. Son of Philip III's first wife Isabella of Aragon and thus nephew to King Peter, the new French king's abandonment of the crusade against Aragon was painted by contemporaries as motivated by family feeling for his uncle. While this may be exaggerated, what is clear is that the young Philip had differing views of Capetian priorities than his father or his stepmother, Maria of Brabant. Although he was keen for his brother not to give up his rights to Aragon without adequate recompense, King Philip was less interested in Capetian expansion in the Mediterranean, either in the Iberian peninsula or in the kingdom of Sicily; later on, his interest in crusades to the Holy Land or his brother's schemes to become emperor of Constantinople were to fall short of the required energetic determination and support. Rather, King Philip's reign is notable for his desire to extend his power within his kingdom at the expense of King Edward of England or Count Guy of Flanders, plus an interest in his eastern borders that included Flemish territory, the county of Burgundy and the Rhône area. Although relations between Charles of Anjou on the one hand and Louis IX and Philip III on the other had been disturbed to some extent by the machinations of Margaret of Provence and marred by fraternal tensions between Louis and Charles, under Charles II and Philip IV, the divergence of interest between the Capetian royal houses of France and Sicily was to increase substantially.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>On Charles II's captivity, see especially L. d'Anenzo, 'Documenti sulla prigionia di Carlo II d'Angiò', *La Società Mediterranea all'epoca del Vespro*, Palermo, 1983, 489-555, on the interregnum and Charles' return, see Léonard, *Gli Angioini*, 198-214.

<sup>29</sup>On Philip IV in general, see Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, Princeton, 1980, Elizabeth A.R. Brown, 'The Prince is the Father of the King: The Character and Childhood of Philip the Fair of France',



*Charles II 's marriage policy*

Charles II 's marriage policy reflected his concentration on the Sicilian war and his interests in making alliances in the Mediterranean, especially the western Mediterranean. He gave up his father's original apanage, the counties of Anjou and Maine and the residence in Paris, suggesting a move away from northern French to Mediterranean orbit; nor was he much interested in matrimonial schemes to further family interests in low priority Hungary and the kingdom of Jerusalem. Meanwhile, the growing divergence between Sicilian and French Capetians was reflected both in the at times conflicting matrimonial strategies of Charles II and Philip IV and the attempts to rebind the two branches of the family by marriages between them.

At the same time, Charles had to take into account other important factors. First was the need to secure heirs for the continuation of his house, and thus nubile, fertile brides for his sons. Secondly, his matrimonial policy had to dovetail with the differing roles assigned to members of the royal house, especially the provisions Charles made for the succession to the various kingdoms and counties, endowments for younger sons and dowries for daughters.

*Charles II's decisions and the Angevin family*

One of Charles II's greatest successes was to be able to father a large family - at least seven sons and five daughters.<sup>30</sup> Unlike the equally fecund contemporary queen

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*Medieval Studies* 49 (1987), 282-334.

<sup>30</sup>Charles Martel, Louis, Robert, Philip, Raymond Berengar, John, Peter, Margaret, Blanche, Eleanor, Maria, Beatrice. There was also the mysterious John-Tristan and Charles II also had a bastard son, Galeazzo. See C. Minieri-Riccio, *Genealogia di Carlo I, passim*; C. Minieri-Riccio, 'Genealogia di Carlo II d'Angio', *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, VII (1882), 5-67, 201-18 and

of England. Eleanor of Castile, Charles' queen, Maria of Hungary managed to produce a brood that had an amazing ability to survive into adulthood.<sup>31</sup> This meant that Charles II had a large number of children whom he had to provide with both property and suitable marriage partners. The fact that he had seven sons and five daughters caused particular problems as the share-out of property among so many younger sons made finding suitable endowments for all sons difficult while maintaining the superior rights of the eldest under primogeniture.

Another important factor that affected Charles II's marriage strategy was the age range of his children. The family was born over a very long period, from 1271 to around 1295; Charles II's imprisonment in Sicily and Catalonia from 1284-1288 essentially split it into two groups - an older pre-imprisonment group of five sons and two daughters and a younger group numbering of three daughters and two sons that were of similar age to the first group of Charles II's grandchildren.<sup>32</sup>

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Genealogical Table I.

<sup>31</sup>Of the known children of Charles II and Maria, only the mysterious John- Tristan is likely to have died in infancy. There are mentions of children of Charles of Salerno called John in the registers for 1284 and a Tristan for 1288, but thereafter they disappear from the historical record. Minieri-Riccio says 'John Tristan' became a monk, although I have seen no other evidence for this. See Filangieri, *Registri ricostruiti*, XXVII, 242, 296; XXXII, 104; A.S.N. Mss. Minieri-Riccio, II, 1126, quoting Reg. Ang. 1309 B no 185 ff.194, mentions the fact that Tristan, son of Charles II was dead by 25 April 1294: his nurse was called Flandrina and had been the nurse of Philip of Taranto. This John cannot have been John of Gravina, who was still *impuber* in 1305, see below p. 162-3. On Eleanor of Castile, see J.C. Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth Century England*, Basingstoke, London, 1994.

<sup>32</sup> The pre-imprisonment group were Charles Martel, Louis, Robert, Philip, Raymond Berengar, John Tristan, Margaret and Blanche. For the childhoods of the five eldest brothers see M. Schipa, 'Carlo Martello angioino' and M. Toynbee, *Saint Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonisation in the Fourteenth Century*, Manchester, 1929; on Margaret, see 'Carlo Martello', 234, for Blanche's age in 1295, see below. Eleanor (b. 1289), Maria (b.c. 1290), Beatrice (b.c. 1292), John and Peter (born 1291/7), were around the same ages as Charles Robert (b. 1288), Beatrice (b. 1290) and Clementia (b. 1293), children of Charles Martel, and Charles of Calabria (b. 1298) and Charles of Taranto (b. 1297), the eldest sons of Robert and Philip. On their ages and birth dates, see A. Kiesewetter, 'Eleonora d'Angiò', DBI, 42, 396; for evidence that Maria was a year younger than Eleanor, see Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 67; on John and Peter, see below, p. 162-3; on the grandchildren, see Minieri-Riccio, 'Genealogia di Carlo II, Re di Napoli', *Archivio Storico per le province napoletane*, 7 (1882), 33-42.

Clearly, Charles II's marriage policies were affected by both the availability of marriageable children and grandchildren and by his decisions regarding the succession to the diverse Angevin lands and the careers that he envisaged for individual members of the family.

*Marriage and the kingdom of Sicily*

The lands that were due to fall to the children and grandchildren of Charles II - the counties of Anjou and Maine, Provence, Sicily, Jerusalem, Greek lands, Hungary - were a diverse agglomeration that had differing succession rules. While Anjou, Maine and Provence were heritable fiefs, the kingdom of Sicily had been granted to Charles I by the papacy which retained the right to determine the succession; Hungary was an elective kingship conferred by coronation with the crown of Saint Stephen.<sup>33</sup> In the Capetian family, succession practice had been established since 987 of father-son succession, with cadets being given non-patrimonial holdings or being sent into the Church.<sup>34</sup> At the beginning of the reign of Charles II, the heir to the kingdom of Sicily and the county of Provence was his eldest son, Charles Martel. Charles Martel had even been designated successor together with his father, the Prince of Salerno, by his grandfather Charles I as his father's capture at sea had made his succession impossible; during the interregnum period, the government was exercised by the regents Robert of Artois and Gerard of Sabina in his name. Charles Martel, however, never assumed full office and was not crowned. When Charles of Salerno returned from imprisonment, it was he who was crowned by Nicholas IV and assumed royal office; Charles Martel

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<sup>33</sup>Although Hungary's elective kingship was disputed by the papacy, which was to argue for the hereditary rights of Mana of Hungary, wife of Charles II and her son and grandson. See section on Hungary, p. 154-6.

<sup>34</sup>In general, see Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France*

was made prince of Salerno and given the honour of Monte Sant'Angelo. honours that his father had held in the lifetime of Charles I. In 1291, Charles Martel assumed the title of King of Hungary after his mother Maria renounced the claim she had inherited from her brother Ladislas IV in his favour.<sup>35</sup>

Not surprisingly, the marriage of Charles Martel was arranged well before that of his brothers. Discussions began in the early 1270s to find a bride for Charles Martel, a good twenty years before evidence emerges that marriage plans were initiated for any of Charles II's younger sons . The negotiations with Emperor Rudolf I for the hand of one of his daughters, first Guta and then Clementia, involving the kingdom of Arles as a dowry, belong more to the reign of Charles I than his son.<sup>36</sup> Clementia arrived in the kingdom in 1281 and was brought up with her future husband, his sister Margaret and his cousin Catherine of Courtenay. The couple were too young to consummate the marriage, as Charles Martel was just ten, and it is unclear when a formal marriage was entered into.<sup>37</sup>

The Sicilian Vespers and the subsequent war, however, was to lead to a change of priority in the family alliance needs.

### **From Cefalù to Anagni: marriage and peace with Aragon 1285-95<sup>38</sup>**

#### *The Sicilian war*

The Sicilian Vespers revolt of March 1282 was the defining moment in the history of the Angevin kings of Sicily. The success of the rebels in driving and keeping out their French rulers from the island was assured by the intervention of King Peter

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<sup>35</sup>On the career of Charles Martel, see Schipa, 'Carlo Martello'.

<sup>36</sup>See p. 113-15.

<sup>37</sup> Schipa, 'Carlo martello', 245-6..

<sup>38</sup>For the marriage alliances discussed in the rest of this chapter, see esp. Genealogical Tables I, II, III, VII.

and Queen Constance of Aragon, who, as new monarchs of the island part of the kingdom, were to establish an Aragonese dynasty there that the Angevins were never to topple. For Charles II, the settlement of the Sicilian war, by military or diplomatic means, was to be the essential aim of his reign, with the ultimate intention of recovering the island and restoring the unity of the kingdom. Charles's matrimonial policy, above all, was to be dominated by his attempts to seek an amicable settlement with the house of Barcelona by neutralizing the feud through marriage.

#### *Marriage and the peace settlement*

The Sicilian war up to the peace of Caltabellotta has been the subject of much historical debate; rather than re-examining the process as a whole, the purpose of this section is to dwell on the role that marriage played in resolving it. At the same time, it is possible to move away from discussion centring on the aims of Aragonese kings, to look in detail at how the various peace treaties connected with Charles II's decisions about the inheritance of his lands.

#### *Cefalù*

The first major matrimonial scheme deployed to secure a peace settlement was the agreement made between Charles II and James and Constance of Sicily in autumn 1285, while Charles was being held captive in the castle of Cefalù in Sicily. According to the documents later annulled by successive popes Honorius IV and Nicholas IV, it involved the cession in perpetuity by Charles II to James of Aragon of the following: the island of Sicily, the archdiocese of Reggio and the tribute owed by the rulers of Tunis to the king of Sicily. Meanwhile Charles was to seek confirmation of the agreement from the papacy, as well as the lifting of the ecclesiastical sentences and especially the revocation of the donation of Aragon by Pope Martin IV to Charles of Valois. This was to be sealed by two marriages : James of Sicily was to marry Charles

II's eldest daughter Margaret, while James's sister Yolande was to wed the eldest son of Charles II, Charles Martel. However, other sources seem to indicate that another marriage was also planned - James' younger brother Frederick to Charles's second daughter Blanche, with the assignment of landed dowry coming from the part of the kingdom occupied by Charles, possibly the honour of Monte Sant'Angelo and the principality of Taranto, which had been held by Frederick's grandfather Manfred of Hohenstaufen before he became king of Sicily.<sup>39</sup>

This treaty made by Charles set the tone for future agreements by dealing with a consistent group of factors - the revocation of the Martinian donation, the lifting of the sentences, the return of hostages, a settlement over Sicily and a matrimonial element aimed at re-establishing inter-dynastic harmony. It was the provisions concerning Sicily - Charles's surrender of it, in fact - that indicate how far the pendulum had swung against the Angevins at this stage of the process. At this point, Charles was held in captivity by his co-negotiators and according to chronicle evidence,

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<sup>39</sup> Bull of Honorius IV, 4 March 1287, in *Les Registres de Honorius IV*, ed. M. Prou, Paris, 1888, no. 184; Odonicus Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici ad ann 1287*. For Nicholas IV's bull, 12 Sept 1289, see *Les Registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. E. Langlois, Paris, 1886-1905, no. 1389. Bartholomew of Neocastro, *Historia Sicula*, ed. G. Paladino, *RIS*, n.s., XIII, III, cap. XCIX reports the same terms except for the fact that it was Philip, who Bartholomew terms Charles's *secundum filium* to marry Yolande; J. Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, Saragossa, 1610, IV.bxxii says that James was to marry Blanche and that Louis, Charles' second son, would marry Yolande. Whether these were earlier versions of the agreement is unclear, it is clear that in early 1287 the marriage combinations revolved around James and Charles' eldest daughter (i.e. Margaret), and Frederick and Charles' second daughter (Blanche). On 27 February 1287, King James of Sicily named his procurators to go to his brother King Alfonso of Aragon and negotiate *per verba de presenti* with Charles, Prince of Salerno (i.e. Charles II) and the eldest daughter of Charles, according to the agreement made between Charles and James before. See G. La Mantia, *Codice Diplomatico dei Re di Sicilia Vol I. (1282-1291)*, Palermo, 1918, doc. CLX, from A.C.A. Pergs. Alfonso II, no. 133 bis. On the same day, the Infante Frederick, aged over twelve years but under fourteen years, chose the same procurators with the consent of his mother Queen Constance to negotiate his marriage with Charles' second daughter, also according to the previous treaty. See La Mantia, *Codice Diplomatico*, Doc. CLXI, from A.C.A. Pergs. Alfonso II, no. 132. For other documents relating to these negotiations, see La Mantia, *Codice Diplomatico*, docs. CLIX, CLXII; James stressed in letters of procuration dated 10th March 1287, that in any event, the island of Sicily, plus Malta, Gozo, Pantellena, Lipari, other minor islands and the Tunis tribute were to stay with James. See La Mantia, *Codice Diplomatico*, doc. CLXIII, from A.C.A. Pergs. Alfonso II, no. 135. On the Angevin and Aragonese royal families, see Tables I, III.

in serious personal danger. It is not surprising, therefore, that Charles should have agreed to do what the Aragonese wanted, even going as far as effectively breaking off an engagement made between his eldest son and the daughter of the German king in favour of one with of an Aragonese princess; the humiliating sending back of Clementia to her father would have ruined a carefully constructed alliance with a Habsburg emperor that had been vital in maintaining Angevin rights to Provence, that had been challenged by Charles II's aunts, Queen Margaret of France and Queen Eleanor of England. This project was the beginning of a policy, later revived by Charles II, not just to seek peace with the house of Barcelona through marriage, but by marriage between an Aragonese princess and the heir to the kingdom of Sicily. Such a marriage would unite both houses and leave a posterity descended from each of them; marriages to cadet sons would not have the same effect. At the same time, the matrimonial agreements reflected a possible dynastic plan for the succession of Charles II's dominions. In this particular case, Charles II was in effect ceding Sicily, Calabria and the Tunis tribute to his daughter Margaret as her part of the inheritance, as a dowry with which to endow James of Aragon; Blanche was also receiving a landed dowry in the shape of the principality of Taranto and the honour of Monte Sant'Angelo. In this sense, the matrimonial seal meant that the lands were being ceded indirectly; what was affected was the succession of the patrimonial lands of Charles II in the male line. It was this that those defending the Capetian royal house of Sicily were seeking to defend. The problem with the agreement, however, was winning acceptance for it in the Curia and with the regents of the kingdom of Sicily, Cardinal Gerard Bianchi and Robert, Count of Artois. This was something it never achieved, as the death of the hardline Francophile Pope Martin IV did not lead to a major softening of attitudes towards the Aragonese and Sicilians : the agreement was annulled by both his successors Honorius

IV and Nicholas IV. while Charles Martel's marriage to Clementia of Habsburg was consummated, with the birth of a son, Charles Robert, following in 1288.<sup>40</sup> Although the Aragonese continued to press for the agreement, it became obvious that a solution could only be attained if Charles II were released, a process achieved through negotiations at Oloron and Canfranc in 1287 and 1288 through the mediation of Edward I of England. In return, however, Charles had to send three of his sons - Louis, Robert and Raymond Berengar, as it turned out - to be hostages in Catalonia. The Oloron and Canfranc treaties were not, however, concerned with peace over Sicily itself and thus contained no matrimonial element.

*The treaties of Corbeil and Senlis*

The release of Charles from captivity at the end of 1288 was followed by his coronation in May 1289 at Rieti by Nicholas IV, establishing him as ruler of Angevin Sicily. The following September, the pope declared the nullity of the Oloron and Canfranc agreements and released Edward I and Charles II from their oaths to Alfonso III of Aragon.<sup>41</sup> Charles II now embarked on a new phase of negotiation that was to replace the matrimonial arrangements made at Cefalù. Following the re-establishment of the marriage of Charles Martel to Clementia of Habsburg, Charles II moved a step further from the previous agreements by seeking a dispensation for the marriage of his daughter Blanche to John, son of William, Marquis of Montferrat.<sup>42</sup> On 1 November 1289, he appeared at the Col de Panizar, thus fulfilling the terms of the Canfranc treaty, but as no delegate representing Alfonso appeared to take him to prison, he notified the court of Barcelona that he could no longer negotiate on the basis of Cefalù

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<sup>40</sup>Presumably the naming of the child Charles Robert is a reflection of the honour and esteem with which Robert of Artois was held during his regency.

<sup>41</sup>*Les Registres de Nicolas IV*, no. 1389, 12 Sept 1289

<sup>42</sup>*Les Registres de Nicolas IV*, no. 1402, 26 Sept 1289 Digard, *Philippe le Bel*, I, 79 says wrongly that this bull gave a dispensation for the marriage of Charles of Valois and Charles II's daughter Margaret; this came later.



and Canfranc.<sup>43</sup> The stage was now set for the next stage of matrimonial planning - the treaties of Corbeil and Senlis with King Philip IV of France.

The treaty of Corbeil, of 28-29 December 1289, called for the marriage of King Philip's brother Charles of Valois to Margaret, eldest daughter of Charles II, thus eliminating the last matrimonial combination stipulated at Cefalù. The dowry was to be the counties of Anjou and Maine, the original apanage of Charles II's father, although its status was dependent on whether peace was attained with the king of Aragon. If this did happen and Charles of Valois renounced his rights to the kingdom of Aragon with papal consent, then he was to hold the counties in his own right (*in propriam hereditatem*), to be passed on to children of any marriage by him and reverting to Philip IV if he died without issue; if not, then he was to hold them in his wife's right (*in maritagium*), with the counties going only to the children of Charles and Margaret or to Charles II if Margaret died childless. In return, Philip IV was to renounce his rights over Provence, Fourcalquier and the city of Avignon. The other main clauses involved the rights of Charles II to levy aids in the counties and his responsibility to pay incomes due to Queen Margaret of France, Queen Margaret of Sicily, Queen Maria of Sicily and Maria of Antioch from the counties, plus the organisation of military support from Philip IV for Charles II's war effort and the securing of papal financial backing for this.<sup>44</sup>

With papal backing, a dispensation was secured and Charles of Valois and Margaret were married in August 1290, with a revised marriage contract and following

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<sup>43</sup>T. Rymer *et al*, *Foedera, conventiones, litterae et cuiuscunque generis acta publica, inter reges Angliae et alios quosvis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes vel communitates*, London, 1816 I, 3, 54, and for Alfonso's protest to Edward I over Charles II's breach of Canfranc, see Rymer, *Foedera*, I, 3, 58; Digard, *Philippe le Bel*, I, 100.

<sup>44</sup>A.N. J 511, no. 7 *bis*, pub. in Digard, *Philippe le Bel*, I, *Pieces justificatives*, no. X, also A.N. J 410, nos 2, 3. Maria of Antioch was the claimant to the kingdom of Jerusalem that Charles I had bought out. See p. 147-8.

treaty.<sup>45</sup> There were a few amendments made, sorting out the complex questions of succession to the counties and details over the payments of the aids.<sup>46</sup> The accompanying treaty was influenced by the presence of two papal legates, cardinals Gerard Bianchi and Benedict Gaetani (the future Pope Boniface VIII). The basis of the agreement was that if peace were concluded with the king of Aragon, then King Philip would raise revenues in France to continue the war to regain Sicily, but if it was not, then King Charles would help Philip to conquer Aragon once Sicily had been reconquered.

The treaties were more than just an agreement between Charles II and Philip IV, but were stated as being part of a peace deal between Philip IV and Alfonso III of Aragon. By tempting their Capetian cousins into agreement with the Aragonese with the weighted offer of the wealthy counties of Anjou and Maine to the poorly apanaged Charles of Valois, Charles II was hoping to neutralize Alfonso III, leaving his brother James to fight on alone from Sicily.<sup>47</sup> At the same time, the marriage offered an opportunity to reinforce family bonds between the Angevins and Capetian cousins, at a

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<sup>45</sup>For the dispensation, granted on 24th March 1290, see *Les Registres de Nicolas IV*, no. 7370; A.N. J 435 no.7; Arch. Bouches-du-Rhône, B 389; for the marriage, celebrated 16th August 1290, see Guillaume de Nangis, *Historia Francorum*, in Bouquet, *Recueil*, XX, 574; *Chronique de Saint-Denis*, Bouquet, *Recueil*, XX, 657; Gérard de Frachet, *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto et anonyma ejusdem operis continuatio*, Bouquet, *Recueil*, XX, 10; for the contract of marriage, 18 August 1290, see Martene, *Thesaurus*, I, cols. 1236-40; act of the same date completing the subsidy and mentioning promises of subsidies made by the cardinals, see A.N. J 511 no.7; the treaty of Senlis, 19 August 1290 between Charles II and Philip IV in the presence of Gerard Bianchi, cardinal-bishop of Sabina and Benedict Gaetani, cardinal-deacon of St Nicholas *in carcere tulliano*, see A.N. J 511 no. 8, pub. in Digard, *Philippe le Bel*, I, *Pièces Justificatives*, no. XII.

<sup>46</sup>For example, if Charles of Valois died before Margaret when the counties were held in *maritagium*, then Margaret was to get the county of Maine in her lifetime, while the county of Anjou was to fall to Charles II or his principal heir, while Charles II's queen, Mana, renounced her rights over the counties. Under the new agreement, the aids were to be split between Charles II, his stepmother Queen Margaret of Sicily and Charles of Valois, who was now to receive the lion's share.

<sup>47</sup>Charles of Valois' meagre apanage as count of Valois only consisted of four castellanies: Crépy, la Ferte-Millon, Pierrefonds and Bethusy, with a revenue of 10, 000 *livres parisis*, he only had administration of it in 1291. Charles' county of Valois numbered only 9, 392 hearths; the counties of Anjou and Maine 136, 141. See J. Pett, *Charles de Valois (1270-1325)*, Paris, 1900, 11, 23. Philip IV did later augment it by adding the counties of Alençon and Chartres in 1293, however. See Pett, *Charles de Valois*, 23 n.2.

time when Charles II was faced with the accession of a less supportive French king in Philip IV than his predecessor, and one who was the son of an Aragonese princess. The sacrifice of Anjou and Maine, accompanied by the cession of Charles II's *hôtel* in Paris to Charles of Valois and Margaret represented a shifting away from the northern French roots of the Capetian family on the part of Charles II in favour of the Mediterranean Provence-Sicily axis, that was confirmed by Philip IV's renunciation of rights over Provence and Avignon.<sup>48</sup> It also represented the desperate need that Charles II had for military and financial support from France, something which had been faltering since the abandonment of the crusade against Aragon by Philip IV. Finally, like the treaty of Cefalù before it, the Sicilian peace process was also affecting the succession of Charles II's lands. Charles II was in effect removing the counties of Anjou and Maine, patrimonial lands as his father's original apanage, from the future inheritance of his son Charles and granting them to his daughter Margaret, at a time when money dowries had become the conventional share of the inheritance for daughters, when sons were still living. The weighting of the succession rules, effectively transferring the counties from Margaret to her husband if he agreed to renounce Aragon, was an even greater favour to Charles of Valois. Thus the senior Capetian line were no different from the house of Barcelona in aiming to secure part of Charles II's inheritance through marriage. The culmination of this phase of negotiation was the treaty of Brignoles of February 1291. Under this agreement, Alfonso III promised not to help his brother James of Sicily and undertook to appear before Pope Nicholas IV. It did not, however, amount to a full settlement of the Sicilian question and there was no matrimonial element. Rather, the Corbeil-Senlis-Brignoles deal aimed at peace between

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<sup>48</sup>On the agreement that Charles II made that Charles of Valois and Margaret have the use of his *hôtel* in Paris, see A.N. J 377 no.1, 2 March 1293. For Charles Martel's ratification of the marriage agreement and his renunciation of his rights over the counties of Anjou and Maine, 28 June 1295 See A.N. J 410, no.7.

France and Aragon as a way of weakening the Sicilians to surrender, by military or diplomatic means in the future. Besides, Alfonso III was committed to a long delayed engagement to Eleanor, daughter of Edward I of England, while the non-participation of King James of Sicily ruled out combinations involving him or his Sicilian-based siblings, Frederick and Yolande.<sup>49</sup>

*The treaty of Monteagudo: Aragonese -Castilian alliance*

Attempts to secure reconciliation with Aragon were dashed, however, by the sudden death of Alfonso III, unmarried and childless, in June 1291. He was now succeeded as king of Aragon by his brother, King James of Sicily. The accession of King James, excluded from the Corbeil-Senlis-Brignoles peace deals formed between France and Aragon, exposed their major weakness - their failure to settle the Sicilian question. The new king's attitude was soon apparent: he was determined to retain the kingdom of Sicily for his dynasty, and furthermore, by holding on to the island himself instead of passing it onto his next brother Frederick, as stipulated by the will of their father Peter III, he ensured that any new deal would have to include a settlement over Sicily. Unsurprisingly, he soon rejected Tarascon-Brignoles.<sup>50</sup> His determination to look away from settlement with Charles II for marriage was indicated by his matrimonial alliance with Isabella, daughter of his brother's former enemy, Sancho IV of Castile, preceded by a treaty at Monteagudo at the end of November 1291, which called for a Castilian-Aragonese pact against France.<sup>51</sup> This marriage also marked the

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<sup>49</sup>On the treaty of Brignoles-Tarascon, see especially L. Klüpfel, *Die aussere Politik Alfonsos III von Aragonien (1285-1291)*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1911/1912, 81.

<sup>50</sup>V. Salavert de la Roca, 'El tratado de Anagn', 223, *Memorial Histórico Español, colección de documentos, opúsculos y antigüedades que publica la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, 1851-, III, 458; H. E. Rohde, *Der Kampf im Sizilien in den Jahren 1291-1302*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1913, 15-16.

<sup>51</sup>On the treaty, which took place at Monteagudo on 29 November 1291, followed by the marriage at Soná on 1 December, see *Memorial Histórico* III, 426-63, Zunta, *Anales*, IV, cxxiv; Rohde, *Der Kampf*, 11, 17-18, 23-4; Mercedes Gaibros de Ballesteros, *Historia del reinado de Sancho IV*, Madrid, 1922, 1928, II, 139 *et seq* *Collección Diplomática*, no. 384-6. In no. 385, a letter from James to Isabella from Soná, 1 Dec 1291, in which he assigns her lands, including places in Sicily, he describes her as

interconnection between the settlement of the Sicilian war and the Castilian succession conflict.

The Castilian succession crisis had emerged after the death in 1275 of Ferdinand de la Cerda, eldest son of King Alfonso X of Castile, as Ferdinand's sons by Blanche, sister of Philip III of France, competed for the right to succeed their grandfather with their uncle, Infante Don Sancho, Alfonso's eldest surviving son. Blanche and her sons, known henceforth as the Infantes de la Cerda, were strongly supported initially by Philip III of France, who was prepared, if only briefly, to go to war with Alfonso X in 1276 after the ageing Castilian king recognised Sancho as heir. Matters became more complicated further when Alfonso's queen, Yolande, fearing for her grandsons' safety, fled with them and their mother to the court of her brother Peter III of Aragon in 1277. From this time on, the Infantes remained under Aragonese control. Although Sancho was able to succeed his father in 1284, the Aragonese retained the Infantes as a weapon to use against him. Sancho's difficult position was made worse by his need for French and papal support, as he required a dispensation to validate his marriage to Maria of Molina and legitimize his children.<sup>52</sup>

Not surprisingly, Sancho was forced to play a double-game, flirting with both Aragon and France at different times; matters were made more complicated by noble factions supporting either side. Despite the Castilian-Aragonese alliance of 1281, the French court in the 1280s was more interested in seeking Castilian support for Charles of Valois' claims to the Aragonese throne than supporting their de la Cerda cousins' rights. In 1288, Sancho IV and Philip IV had signed the treaty of Lyons: Sancho was only to cede Murcia and Ciudad Real to his nephews, while supporting Philip with a thousand knights against Aragon. Philip was to use his influence to get the dispensation

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*Reyna de Aragon et de Seçilia, mujer nra. todos los tiempos de nra. vida.*

<sup>52</sup>See G. Daumet, *Memoire sur les relations entre la France et la Castille de 1255 à 1320*, Paris, 1914, 10-100. Also Table VII

for Sancho's marriage. The whole matter was to be sealed by the marriage of Alfonso de la Cerda, the elder infante, to Isabella, Sancho's daughter. In 1290, the alliance had been strengthened by a meeting between Philip and Sancho at Bayonne, which had led to settlement with the previously recalcitrant Blanche.<sup>53</sup>

The problem with these settlements, of course, was that the Infantes remained under Aragonese control and the marriage alliances could not therefore be effected. The betrayed Alfonso III had reacted to Sancho's advances towards France by proclaiming Alfonso de la Cerda king of Castile and declaring war on Sancho. The combination of Charles II's agreements with Philip IV and Alfonso III in 1290-1 was thus extremely threatening, as any Franco-Aragonese alliance meant that the natural supporters of Alfonso de la Cerda could unite to dethrone Sancho IV. The Monteaugudo treaty was therefore a reaction by those who stood most to lose from the Senlis-Tarascon rapprochements - Sancho IV and James II.

However, Sancho's alliance with James had severe limitations of its own. Although the Infantes de la Cerda were neutralized for the moment, Sancho's own succession was threatened by the continued invalidity of his marriage. At the same time, James and Isabella were also related within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity and required a dispensation that was not to be forthcoming, despite Castilian complaints. This opened the door for a possible realignment under papal influence, especially as Isabella's age ruled out full consummation for three or four years.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>Daurnet, *Les relations*, 101-9.

<sup>54</sup>See the comments in Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 7, end 1291/early 1292 of the surprise that the marriage took place without papal dispensation, as the alliance of Aragon and Castile was valuable in the war against the Moors.

*Castilian mediation and its failure : Guadalajara to Logroño**Guadalajara*

The failure to resolve the Sicilian conflict by military means led to a new phase of negotiations in 1293, as James II of Aragon and Sicily was drawn back into negotiation through the mediation of Sancho IV, who hoped to earn thereby papal recognition of his rule as well as the two dispensations. The first meeting was arranged at Guadalajara in February between James II, Sancho IV and Boniface de Calamandrana, ambassador of Charles II. For the first time since Cefalù, a comprehensive peace settlement involving Sicily was formulated. Coming from a hardline James II, it differed little from that previous agreement. The sentences were to be lifted, Charles of Valois to renounce his rights over Aragon, but Sicily was to be retained by the house of Barcelona. James' slight concession was that Sicily was to be the dowry of Charles II's daughter Blanche, who was to marry Frederick of Aragon. The other marriage put forward was that of Charles II's son, Philip, his eldest unmarried and free son, to James's sister Yolande, with Calabria as dowry; Philip was to have Taranto. This agreement therefore represented a concession on the part of James II of the mainland parts of the kingdom, such as the principality of Salerno and the honour of Monte Sant'Angelo, that had been demanded earlier on.<sup>55</sup>

On the part of Charles II, the Guadalajara proposal indicates the strong connection between the endowment of Charles' sons and the matrimonial agreements over Sicily. The Cefalù agreement had moved for the marriage of Yolande of Aragon to Charles Martel as the heir to Charles II's Sicilian lands, but now that Charles Martel

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<sup>55</sup>Bartholomew of Neocastro, *Historia Sicula*, ch. XXIV; Gaubrois de Ballesteros, *Sancho IV*, II, 187 *et seq.*, 197 *et seq.*; Rohde, *Der Kampf*, 44; Salavert, 'El tratado de Anagnù', 225-6. See also James II's letter to Boabdil, Emir of Granada, Guadalajara, 6 February 1293, relating to his meeting with King Sancho, *nuestro padre e nuestro senor*, and the possibility of peace between Aragon, France and the Church and his meeting with Boniface of Calamandrana. See Digard, *Philippe le Bel, Pieces Justificatives*, no. XVI, Rohde, *Der Kampf*, 47-54.

had consummated his marriage to Clementia of Habsburg, any agreement involving one of his younger brothers substituting for him as Yolande's potential husband had to involve the provision of another part of the inheritance by Charles II for him. In the Yolande-Philip case, the principality of Taranto not only invited echoes of King Manfred, but the establishment of Philip and Yolande as rulers of Taranto and Calabria would place them as a sort of buffer between Charles Martel, the Naples-based king, not connected by marriage to the house of Barcelona, and Frederick and Blanche, who were to be set up by James of Aragon, himself equally unconnected to the Capetian-Angevins by marriage, as king and queen of Sicily. The symmetry of this agreement is typical of the ideals of exchange, in this case, that is, of the daughters of the two royal houses and the disputed rights over the kingdom of Sicily. Both kings would also at the same time be able to provide for cadet princes, whose marriages and accompanying property provisions, would make them intermediaries between King James and King Charles Martel in the future. For Charles II, the promotion of Philip in particular over his captive elder brothers as a sort of surrogate second son, marked him out for an unbalanced favour within the royal family that was to create tensions in the future; despite the failure of the Guadalajara proposals, Philip was still granted the principality of Taranto the following year.<sup>56</sup>

### *Pontoise*

The response to Guadalajara was a treaty signed at Pontoise near Paris in April between Charles II and two Castilian mediators, Martin Gonzalez, Bishop of Astorga and John, chanter of Palencia. This was formulated in terms of proposals advanced by the Castilian mediators replied to by Charles II. Charles II agreed to many demands - the lifting of the sentences, that he would work to secure the dispensations for the

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<sup>56</sup>On Philip, see p. 144-5



marriages of James and Isabella and Sancho and Maria, that the Church would agree to Charles of Valois' renunciation; he also demanded that the island be restored within three years and that the King of Majorca have his lands returned by James II. There were also disagreements - about whether Sicily should be restored before Philip IV and Charles of Valois gave back the Aragonese territories they had occupied and the way this should be done, although a deadline was agreed for the handing back of the mainland territories and the islands associated with them (*Sicilia citra Farum*). On the marriage front, Charles II was to choose which son would marry Yolande and that he would give him the county of Caserta, from which Yolande would be dowered; the second marriage - Frederick and Blanche - was put on hold until a meeting between Charles II and James II could take place, where Charles's sons and the other hostages would be restored. Thus, although Charles II and James II agreed on many things - particularly the concessions on behalf of Philip IV and Charles of Valois, there remained a fundamental difference on the question of Sicily, that was reflected in the marriage settlements proposed.<sup>57</sup> In particular, Charles was not interested in the idea of granting the island of Sicily to Frederick and Blanche; the island was something that he saw as pertaining to the central inheritance of Charles Martel and not to be given as a dowry to one of his daughters as a way of keeping it in Aragonese hands. This is a clear contrast, of course, to his attitude to the patrimonial apanage of Anjou and Maine. Similarly, the settlement on Yolande and the younger son of Charles that he was to select was far smaller than the Calabria-Taranto combination that James II envisaged; again, Charles II wished to see Calabria returned to the principal inheritance and not to endow one of his younger sons. This was to be reflected again in the aftermath of the death of Charles Martel; from then on, the duchy of Calabria was to be associated with

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<sup>57</sup>For the treaty of Pontoise, see A.N. J 915, no. 13, published in Digard, *Philippe le Bel, Pièces Justificatives*, no. XVI, Rohde, 47-54; Salavert, 'El tratado de Anagnu', 227.

the *primogenitus*, thus preventing the re-emergence of deals envisaging the settlement of the Sicilian question in terms of effectively dividing the kingdom between children of Charles II, engaged to members of the house of Barcelona.

### *Logroño*

The next major stage of the negotiations, the meeting between Charles II and James II to sort out the unresolved questions, was scheduled for St Magdalen's Day, 22 July 1293, and was to take place at Logroño, under the aegis of Sancho IV. Preparations for imminent peace were made. In May, Charles of Valois agreed to renounce his rights to Aragon if a settlement did come out of the meeting and Sicily was returned, while James II handed over Charles's sons to Sancho IV at Tarazona in June, in anticipation of a resolution and their full return to their father.<sup>58</sup> In the event, however, the Logroño conference was a failure. Charles II and James II agreed on the marriage between Charles's son and James's sister, but James not only rejected the idea of the county of Caserta as their assignation as too small, but raised the stakes to new heights by announcing his preference for the counties of Provence and Fourcalquier. Furthermore, James stood up for the marriage of Frederick and Blanche, which Charles had not agreed to at Pontoise, and although he did not repeat the Guadalajara demand of Sicily, echoed Cefalù in asking for a large settlement from the mainland kingdom, in this case, the principality of Taranto and the honour of Monte Sant'Angelo, the inheritance of Manfred. James II did agree to restore Sicily, within a deadline of three years, depending on the election of the new pope, and it was also agreed that some form of compensatory kingdom would be found for Frederick. However, James' other demands meant that Charles II was unable to agree.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>On Charles of Valois' promise, see A.N. J 587, no. 18; J. 915, no. 16, quoted in Pett, 21; on Tarazona, see Rohde, 55-6.

<sup>59</sup>Gabrois de Ballesteros, *Sancho IV, Colección Diplomática*, nos. 494-5, Aug 1293, Rohde, 59-63.

Again, James II focussed on the principle of the large-scale division of Charles II's inheritance between his children as a way of sorting out the Sicilian war. Although he was willing to give back Sicily, his demand that Charles should give one of his younger sons the counties of Provence and Fourcalquier challenged Charles' determination that his principal territories, of which Provence and Fourcalquier formed one axis, and the kingdom of Sicily the other, should not be divided and should fall to the *primogenitus* alone. For James II, the cession of most of his maternal inheritance stood to be compensated by counties which had been held by the cadet branch of his own house, of which Charles' mother had been the last representative; his continued desire for Manfred's principality to devolve on Frederick and Blanche, also shows how far even his scaled-down demands were influenced by rights of inheritance and by a determination to endow a younger brother with a part of the kingdom that had been due to him by the will of Peter III.

The main consequence of the Logroño conference was not, therefore, the hoped-for Sicilian peace, but the breakdown in relations between James II and his father-in-law Sancho IV. The Castilian alliance, instead of strengthening James's hand, had weakened it, as King Sancho had become influenced once more by a desire for alliance with Philip IV, this time involving a marriage between their children. James II demanded the return of the Angevin hostages from Sancho, and that Sancho fulfil the obligations of their alliance against France, but this went unheeded, due to the fact that Sancho was already compromised by his own alliances with France. From then on, negotiation was to proceed, not just without Sancho IV, but at his expense.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>Salavert, 'El tratado', 228-9. For the treaty of Lyons between Sancho IV and Philip IV of May 1288 and the Bayonne pact of 1290, also between Sancho and Philip, see Gaibros de Ballesteros, I, 212-14, II, 41-51, Daumet, *Les relations*, 97-110.

*Tarazona*

The about-turn of James II from the Castilian alliance was swift. Even before Logroño, his envoy in Sicily was negotiating the union of Yolande of Aragon with Alfonso de la Cerda, while at home, separation of king and queen was a precursor to their matrimonial future.<sup>61</sup> The following month, at Tarazona, his abandonment of the Castilian alliance was completed by his proposal to Philip IV and Charles II via Boniface de Calamandrana that he marry Philip's sister, thus dropping his yet-to-be validated marriage to Isabella of Castile. James' determined rejection of Sancho IV as encapsulated in the de la Cerda marriage and his repudiation of Isabella was to be a fundamental part of the move towards Sicilian peace in the next two years.

The Alfonso de la Cerda-Yolande of Aragon combination was not just a rejection of Sancho IV, but of the failures of the negotiating process that had led up to the split. It must have been clear to James II that Charles II was totally unwilling to base Sicilian peace around any deal that would reduce Charles Martel's Sicilian-Provençal inheritance to any great extent. As Charles Martel was still married to Clementia of Habsburg, this precluded not only any scheme of marital union between the two royal houses of Sicily, but diminished even further the far more limited appeal of Charles II's younger sons in James' eyes, as they stood to inherit neither the kingdom of Sicily nor any other large part of the inheritance. Following the feudal practice of the Capetian family, Charles II wished to reserve the patrimony for his eldest son and like Louis IX and Philip IV of France, this meant long-delayed and reduced shares for younger sons. The offer to Philip IV represented a new direction for James II - favourable peace via France. In this instance, James was to keep Sicily for life in return for paying a doubled census to the Church, assuming naval responsibilities to defend Cyprus and taking part

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<sup>61</sup>Salavert, 'El tratado de Anagní', 228-9; Zunta, *Anales* V 7.

in the crusade. As well as the de la Cerda marriage, he proposed a new marriage deal for Frederick. For the first time, this did not involve territory within the Sicilian kingdom, either *citra Farum* or *ultra Farum*, but new lands as yet unconquered. Under this scheme, Frederick was to marry either a daughter of Charles II with the kingdom of Sardinia as a dowry or Catherine of Courtenay, Charles II's niece and heiress to the Latin Empire of Constantinople, with the empire as a dowry. Charles II was to get Calabria except Reggio and the rest of *Sicilia citra Farum*.<sup>62</sup> The offer was not acted upon, but elements of it were to be very influential in later negotiations. In particular, the desire to arrange a matrimonial deal for Frederick that would compensate him with minimal loss for Capetian interests was all-important. The kingdom of Sardinia, last held nominally by Charles II's younger brother Philip of Anjou in 1269, had been ruled by James II's great-uncle, Enzo of Hohenstaufen before his imprisonment and had been claimed by James I of Aragon in the 1260s; the title seems to have fallen into disuse by the death of Philip in 1277, so its granting to Frederick via marriage to Blanche of Anjou was a good way of conferring royal prestige on a disinherited Aragonese prince, massaging Aragonese *amour-propre* by appearing to restore some of the Hohenstaufen inheritance, while costing Charles II very little in practical terms. The alternative marriage, to Catherine of Courtenay, was even more prestigious, but in practical terms would not harm Charles II's interests : Catherine was too closely related to marry one of his own sons, while the terms of the treaty of Viterbo, still valid, meant that the reconquest of the Latin Empire was bound to benefit Charles II.

### *La Junquera*

Charles II, however, must have been unimpressed by the Tarazona offer, for when he and James II met at La Junquera in December, a deal less favourable to the

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<sup>62</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, doc. 11, 19-20, Gabrois de Ballesteros, II, 244n.1

Aragonese king emerged. Instead of retaining Sicily for life, he agreed to return it to the Church by All Saints 1297. The Church was not to grant the island out for another year. Meanwhile, all *Sicilia citra Farum* and its associated islands were also to be given back unless securities failed; James II was also to restore the Balearic islands to his dispossessed uncle of Majorca on the proviso that the Majorcan king swore homage to him. In addition, James was to pay reparations to the Church and Charles II, a census and help the Church against the rebellious Sicilians. On the other hand, this time Charles undertook to secure compensatory land from the papacy for James, rather than from Charles. The matrimonial elements were also quite different. Although James II was still prepared to drop his Castilian wife, he was now set to marry Charles II's daughter Blanche instead of Philip IV's sister, although he was to receive a dowry of 100,000 silver marks. The de la Cerda marriage was also replaced by the revival of earlier schemes involving Yolande and a son of Charles II; this time this amounted to Charles' own choice between Louis and Robert, the two eldest of the captive princes, with the principality of Salerno or the duchy of Amalfi being granted to the bridegroom. The key to the settlement was, however, the marriage of James II and Blanche of Anjou, and the whole matter was to be void if this did not take place.<sup>63</sup>

The treaty of La Junquera was therefore a triumph for Charles II. He had come a long way from the Cefalù concessions and achieved most of what he had wanted at Pontoise. Although James was to restore Sicily to the Church initially, there was nothing in the deal that stopped it from regranting it to Charles after 1298. Unlike previous Aragonese agreements, the elimination of a marriage between Frederick and Blanche of Anjou ruled out the large assignments of territory held by Charles either in Provence or *Sicilia citra Farum* to an Aragonese prince; on the other hand, similar settlements to Robert or Louis, based on a marriage to Yolande of Aragon, only

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<sup>63</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, 13; Salavert, 'El tratado de Anagni', 232-3 and docs. I, II; Rohde, 68-73.

amounted to a respectable apanage due to the second son of a Sicilian king. Finally, the granting of a money dowry to Blanche instead of the landed settlements associated with her before, meant that Charles Martel's inheritance stood to remain largely intact. Thus for Charles II, the La Junquera settlement combined the advantages of the three-layered bond formed by the marriages without the disadvantages of significant cessions of patrimonial lands. Some historians have questioned how James II could have agreed to such a plan; Salavert has argued that James' Mediterranean ambitions were always much wider than Sicily and that the lure of alternative lands offered by Charles was enough to make him agree to the treaty, at least in the short term.

The final success of Charles II seemed assured. In June 1294, James told Duke Otto of Bavaria that he could not marry Yolande as she was already promised to a son of Charles II.<sup>64</sup> Meanwhile, the election of a new pope, Celestine V, under the influence of the Angevin, ensured full-scale papal backing. In October, the new pope and the cardinals confirmed the La Junquera treaty, although the secret marriage clauses were not revealed.<sup>65</sup> At about the same time, however, Pope Celestine sounded the death knell of the Castilian marriage, condemning it as incestuous and sinful, and urged James and Isabella to separate.<sup>66</sup> With the stage thus set for the revelation of the new matrimonial arrangements, Charles sought a new meeting with James II on Ischia, an island held by the Aragonese, but as a dependency of *Sicilia citra Farum*, due to return to Charles II.

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<sup>64</sup>See James' letter to Otto and also those to his brother Frederick and John of Procida, in Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, nos. 152-4

<sup>65</sup>Raynaldi, *Annales Ecclesiastici* ad ann. 1294; Rohde, 105-6.

<sup>66</sup>F. J. Miquel Rosell, *Regesta de letras pontificias del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, Madrid, 1949, no. 207, Raynaldi, *Annales Ecclesiastici* ad ann. 1294; Potthast, 23993; Rohde, 107

*The threat to peace : the Franco-Aragonese marriage project*

The non-appearance of the Aragonese king at Ischia, however, ushered in a new threat to the La Junquera settlement. Philip IV, now at war with Edward I of England in Gascony, having witnessed the breakdown of his own Castilian marriage project, desired James II as an ally. Negotiations began in November 1294 and continued into the spring of 1295. In March, the King of Aragon was instructing his envoys at the Curia to push for Frederick to marry Charles' daughter instead, with a dowry of Sardinia, plus 100, 000 marks from Charles II and 50, 000 from James II himself. If Charles refused this, then Catherine would be suggested instead, with the Latin Empire as her dowry. If Charles refused both, there would be peace, but then James would not help him reconquer Sicily; if he allowed either, then James would support him with 40 galleys. The key marriage in this version of the peace settlement still involved James II, but this time he was to wed Philip IV's sister Blanche, as in the previous Tarazona proposal. Dependent on this was the return of Sicily to the Church, which was to follow the revocation of the Martinian donation, the lifting of the sentences and the return of the hostages. The envoys, however, were told that James of Majorca was not to get Majorca back. The other matrimonial articles concerned a dispensation for the marriage of Yolande to Alfonso de la Cerda, or anyone else related to her in the third degree and the annulment of James' unconsummated marriage to Isabella by the new pope.<sup>67</sup>

This was just the beginning of a Franco-Aragonese compact which was turning away from Sicilian peace altogether. Negotiations continued between James II and French envoys at his court centring on the French marriage terms, especially the size of the dowry and dower, but the most important new element was the matter of military

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<sup>67</sup>On the opening of the Franco-Aragonese negotiations, see Rohde, 118-19; Digard, *Philippe le Bel*, I, 192; Salavert, 'El tratado de Anagni', 234-5; .



support by James for Philip IV, which was to threaten the whole concept of the Sicilian peace.

The version of the settlement between James II and Philip IV that emerged in the spring of 1295 was a peace between France and Aragon and not over Sicily. Apart from the marriage of James II and Blanche of France, most of the articles were concerned with the new military alliance between France and Aragon, whereby King James would send an admiral and forty galleys to aid the French king. In return, Philip and Charles of Valois agreed to renounce their rights to the crown of Aragon, although the Val d'Aran was to be resolved in the future. Although it was agreed that the assent of the Holy See and the King of Sicily were required, there was no express settlement over Sicily included.<sup>68</sup>

Whereas the Corbeil-Senlis-Brignoles negotiations of 1289-91 had planned for a Franco-Aragonese alliance to exclude the Aragonese king of *Sicilia ultra Farum*, the Franco-Aragonese project of 1295 now served to ignore the Capetian-Angevin king of *Sicilia citra Farum*. Although there had been initial discussion of military support for the conquest of Sicily, the forty galleys involved were now switched to the Anglo-French war. Similarly, while the marriage of Frederick to an Angevin princess was mooted at one stage, the later agreement focussed only on the marriage of James and Blanche of France. At the same time, James' reversion to the Yolande of Aragon-Alfonso de la Cerda combination revealed his lack of interest in a marriage between his sister and a poorly endowed junior Angevin prince. On the French side, there had been negotiations going on for a double marriage between Philip IV's eldest son Louis and Sancho IV's daughter Beatrice and a daughter of Philip and Sancho IV's eldest son Ferdinand in 1293 and 1294, but Philip's excessive demands had obstructed the process; the agreement suggests that Philip IV was now prepared to go further and

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<sup>68</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 20, Salavert, 'El tratado', 241-4, doc. X.

reject his seven-year alliance with Sancho IV in favour of a return to his father Philip III's support for their de la Cerda kin.<sup>69</sup> Whatever the case, the agreement only amounted to Aragonese support for France at this stage and not the other way round, clearly a good thing for Charles II, as it ruled out the appalling possibility of Philip intervening in the Sicilian war on the Aragonese side. In fact, the need for the assent of the Pope and Charles II, as well as desire for Aragonese-Castilian peace demonstrated elsewhere, indicate that the agreement amounted to the demotion of Charles II's interests rather than any alliance against them: the only enemy that this deal was focussed against was Edward I of England.

*Victory for Charles II : the intervention of Boniface VIII, the agreements at Velletri and Anagni*

Fortune was to smile, however, on King Charles with the election of the vigorous and determined Boniface VIII to the pontificate. At the same time as James and Philip were planning their alliance, Boniface sent a letter to the Aragonese king, urging his marriage to Blanche of Anjou, for the sake of peace. This intervention proved decisive as a papal dispensation was necessary for the French marriage to take place and the pope made it clear that he would only permit one marriage for James - one to Blanche of Anjou.<sup>70</sup> Bowing to the pressure, in May James sent out new instructions to his envoys that he was to marry Blanche of Anjou, not to Blanche of France, although he demanded that they see her first. In such circumstances, he refused military support to either Philip IV or Charles II, although he still expected a dowry of 50, 000 silver marks. Some elements of earlier negotiations with the French were

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<sup>69</sup> Daunet, *Mémoires sur les relations de la France avec la Castille*, 112-23; Elizabeth A.R. Brown, *Customary Aids*, 22-3.

<sup>70</sup> Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, doc. 19.

retained, however, notably the marriages of Yolande to Alfonso de la Cerda and Frederick to Catherine of Courtenay.<sup>71</sup>

Meanwhile, the new Pope's impressive contribution to the peace process was demonstrated in his meeting at Velletri with Frederick of Aragon, James' lieutenant on the island, and a man whose support was crucial to the success of the enterprise, given the hostility in Sicily to a return to Angevin rule. Quite separate negotiations took place with the prince, leading to his agreement that he would leave Sicily if Catherine accepted his hand by September and he was assured a military force, a dowry of 40, 000 ounces, plus the annual sum of 30, 000 ounces to conquer the empire.<sup>72</sup>

The climax of the peace process was a series of agreements made at Anagni in June and July 1295. This involved the marriage of James II and Blanche of Anjou, with the payment of an increased dowry of 100, 000 silver marks. The sentences to be lifted, the hostages and mainland restored, King James recognised as king of Aragon, while his officials and subjects were to leave Sicily to the Church. At the same time, Philip IV and James II made peace; the Martinian donation being renounced by both Philip and Charles of Valois and the renunciation was confirmed by the Pope. The matter of Majorca, however, was left to the Pope, who judged that Majorca should be returned to its king, but that King James of Majorca should pay homage to his nephew. The Val d'Aran was to be put in the hands of Cardinal William of San Clemente until a decision made. Meanwhile, James took advantage of the peace dividend to sort out the matrimonial affairs of his unmarried siblings. As well as securing the full annulment of his marriage to Isabella of Castile, he also received dispensations for his sister Yolande

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<sup>71</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 21.

<sup>72</sup>Nicholas Specialis, *Historia Sicula*, RIS, X, lib II, 21; Digard, *Philippe le Bel*, I, 217-18; E. Jaffé, *Die Ehepolitik Bonifazius VIII*, PhD Diss., Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1921, 146

to marry Alfonso de la Cerda and his youngest brother Peter to marry Guillerma of Montcada.<sup>73</sup>

This was the official version of the Anagni settlement. According to a contemporary and a later historian, there were also secret clauses, involving the sending of forty galleys by Aragon to France and the cession of Sardinia and Corsica to James II and his successor as a pontifical fief.<sup>74</sup>

Thus the Anagni-Velletri agreements were a victory for Charles II, thanks to Boniface VIII, as James II's marriage to Isabella of Castile was annulled once again and the Aragonese king was now promised to Charles II's daughter and not Philip IV's sister. However, The La Junquera treaty had been knocked off course by the revival of the marriage project between James II and Philip IV's sister and although the final treaties had restored the basic La Junquera formula - the marriage of James II and Blanche of Anjou as a basis for the return of the Aragonese-occupied parts of the kingdom of Sicily - much else had changed and many of the clauses of the deals between James II and Philip IV had been adopted in their place. In particular, the question of the compensation for Frederick of Aragon, hitherto an important Aragonese demand that Charles II was reluctant to consider, had been revived. As one combination involving the marriage of Frederick to Blanche of Anjou involving Sardinia had become impossible, attention had now fallen on the second choice match, the Catherine of Courtenay marriage, so Frederick would now be compensated by the prospect of conquering the Latin Empire. Again, the reinstatement of the Yolande of Aragon - Alfonso de la Cerda marriage combination was another concession for Charles II; what it illustrated was James II's keenness to establish his sister as queen of a

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<sup>73</sup>On Anagni, see Salavert, 'El tratado' *passim*, Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 21; Rohde, 148; Reg. Boniface VIII, nos. 163-85, 208-18.

<sup>74</sup> See the letter of Bernard d'Altoire to Mascarosa, Countess of Rodez, pub. in E. Baluze, *Histoire généalogique de la maison d'Auvergne*, Paris, 1718, II, 549; Zurita, *Anales*, V, ch. 10.

de la Cerda-ruled Castile rather than the much less attractive sounding positions of duchess of Amalfi or countess of Caserta; at the same time, James looked to provide for his youngest brother Peter by arranging a marriage to the rich heiress Guillerma of Montcada. Therefore, as under La Junquera, the marriages and endowments of James II and his siblings were not made at the expense of the Capetian-Angevin patrimony and most importantly, Charles II's three eldest unmarried sons, Louis, Robert and Raymond Berengar, were now to be freed to play their part in his dynastic masterplan. Of course, the negotiations between James II and Philip IV had revealed a disturbing lack of family solidarity on the part of the French king for his cousin in Naples. For Philip IV, the war with Edward I was clearly of much greater importance than the Sicilian conflict and he was quite prepared to sacrifice Charles II's interests for his own ends. Evidently, the marriage of Charles of Valois to Margaret of Anjou had not been able to form a bond influential enough to counteract the weakening of ideas of common interest between the senior and Sicilian Capetian lines. Of course, Philip IV, Charles of Valois and King James of Majorca were inextricably linked to any proper settlement, although it is clear that Charles II and Boniface VIII were keen that remaining difficulties over the kingdom of Majorca and the Val d'Aran would not impede settlement over Sicily. At the same time, the lack of any new marriage linking in either the senior Capetian line or the royal house of Majorca to the settlement, either to the Aragonese or Capetian-Sicilian royal families, indicated how far the Anagni-Velletri deal was geared to Charles II, James II and Boniface VIII, rather than the French or Majorcan kings. Naturally, the secret clauses, for which Salavert has established some credence, would indicate why both James II and Philip IV were finally able to adhere to what had been an enforced agreement.

*Marriage and the consequences of Anagni*

The treaties had been agreed: the next stage was ensuring their fulfilment. In the weeks afterwards, Charles II began to prepare his journey to Catalonia with Blanche; however, they were delayed by the illness of William, Cardinal of San Clemente, who had to be replaced by William of Mandegoth, Archbishop of Embrun.<sup>75</sup> The marriage finally took place at Vilabertrán on 1st November 1295 and amounted to the ratification of the clauses related to James II of Aragon. Thus the sentences were lifted by the archbishops of Embrun and Arles, the crown of Aragon returned to James, who was now to give back the occupied territories of *Sicilia citra Farum*. Blanche's three hostage brothers were handed over to their father. Of the dowry, 25, 000 silver marks was paid at the time, with the rest to follow. The island of Sicily was also to be restored to Charles II, although this now depended on the outcome of the other marriage negotiated, that of Frederick and Catherine.<sup>76</sup>

Unfortunately, the Velletri agreements had already run into trouble. The year before, Catherine had left the Angevin court to visit her lands in northern France and had not returned. Unlike the case of Blanche, the agreements had been made without her participation ; her consent had to be secured in the summer that followed, and this was to prove an impossible task. On July 13, a concerned Boniface VIII wrote to Philip IV to induce her to marry Frederick; at the beginning of August, he followed this up with anxious letters to Catherine, Philip IV again, and Catherine's great-uncle, John of Acre, *grand bouteiller* of France, informing them that he had sent the Bishop of Le Puy and the Abbot of St Germain-des-Prés to fetch her to Rome.<sup>77</sup> These missives had

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<sup>75</sup>Salavert, 'El tratado', 258.

<sup>76</sup>Salavert, 'El tratado', 258-62, docs. XXV, XXVIII-XXXI, XXXIV-XXXVII, XXXIX ; Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, doc. 24.

<sup>77</sup>*Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. G. Dugard *et al*, Paris, 1884-1935, nos. 804, 809.

no effect on the titular empress. By the time of the marriage of James and Blanche, the October deadline had already passed without a positive reply from Catherine. Under these circumstances, Charles II and James II had to make a new agreement on Frederick: Frederick was to be recalled from Sicily and James promised not to support him if he refused to leave the island.<sup>78</sup> In January, a new legation was sent by Boniface VIII under William, Bishop of Urgel and the experienced diplomat Boniface de Calamandrana, was sent to Sicily to persuade Frederick not to give up the idea of peace. Frederick had to be informed that Catherine had refused him on the grounds of his lack of lands, although measures were being taken to remedy this issue, and the Pope still urged Frederick and Constance to continue to support the project and told them that the occupation of the island or mainland was unacceptable.<sup>79</sup> It was too late. Within days of Boniface's letters, it emerged that Frederick was abandoning the peace process altogether, and far from returning Sicily, was to be its new king, with the intention of conquering the mainland territories too.<sup>80</sup>

The outcome of the Anagni settlement was dependent on two marriages organized for the sake of Charles II. The first one, that of James II and Blanche of Anjou, triumphed over rival matches to Isabella of Castile and Blanche of France, and thus opened the door for peace with Aragon and the return of Charles' sons. The second, that of Frederick and Catherine of Courtenay did not take place and thus the second half of the peace project, the return of Sicily was not achieved. This now continued to be the main aim of Charles II's military, diplomatic and therefore matrimonial policy.

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<sup>78</sup>Salavert, 'El tratado', doc. XXXVI.

<sup>79</sup>*Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, nos. 857, 858; Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, doc. 25.

<sup>80</sup>Aman, *La guerra del Vespro* II, 280-96; Franchi and Rocco, *La pace di Caltabellotta*, 350-1; Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 26.

The non-marriage of Frederick and Catherine and its effects on the settlement with Sicily have been somewhat of a puzzle for historians. Vicente Salavert has questioned James II's real commitment to the return of Sicily and joined others in seeing Frederick's fulfilment of the marriage and the restitution of the island as highly unlikely.<sup>81</sup> Clearly, Frederick was under a lot of pressure, both from nobles and towns within Sicily and from his own attachment to his Hohenstaufen inheritance, which had been intensified by his upbringing on the island, the impact of his own name and his loyalty to the cause of his mother Constance, who seems to have affected him deeply in the subconscious as well as conscious worlds.<sup>82</sup> Whether he was ever fully committed to the Velletri agreement, the doubts created by Catherine's behaviour must have been enough to finally put him off the scheme.

Others have highlighted the refusal of Catherine, seeing it as strongly linked to the influence of Philip IV, since Catherine was living in France at this time and had refused to return to the kingdom of Sicily, despite having promised to Charles II that she would do so within a year.<sup>83</sup> Du Cange wrongly connected her action as due to Philip IV's desire for her to marry Charles of Valois, which did happen eventually, but at this time, Charles of Valois' first wife Margaret of Anjou still lived, and continued to

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<sup>81</sup>Salavert, *Cerdeña*, I, 170-1.

<sup>82</sup>On the character of Frederick, see A. De Stefano, *Federico III di Sicilia (1296-1337)*, Bologna, 1956 ; R. Olivar Bertrand, *Un rei de llegenda, Frederic III de Sicilia*, Barcelona, 1951; M. Menendez-Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, Madrid, 1880-2, I, 773-4 for letter of Fr Romeo Ortiz to James II of Aragon on a recurring dream of Frederick featuring a veiled Constance urging him to reject the world for the evangelical life.

<sup>83</sup>Contemporary sources implicating Philip IV in Catherine's actions include the *Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium*, ed. J. Barrau, L. Dihgo, Barcelona, 1925, lib. XXX, cap. xiii: *Et cum domina Frederico promissa cum rege moreretur et fuisset per dominum papam ipsi regi Francie nuntiatur ut deberet ipsi et Ecclesiae mittere vel tradere dominam supradictam, dictus rex Francie facere recusavit.* Of Frederick's decision to abandon the peace plan and be crowned king of Sicily, the *Gesta* adds: *Rex tamen Francie per retentionem praedictae dominae istorum omnium fuit causa.* See also, Geoffrey of Collon, Excerpts and Chronicle, Bouquet, *Recueil*, XX, p.11 : *Illo tempore, filia Philippi, imperatoris Constantinopolis, ex filia regis Siciliae Karoli primi, venit in Gallias ad regem Francorum, sperans per ipsum regem sponsum accipere qui imperium suum amissum posset recuperare; et viso rege Francorum consanguineo suo, negotioque suo emanato in hereditate sua proposuit facere in Francia, videlicet in castellaria Cortineti in villa quae Gallicantus nominatur*



do so for a further four years; the possibility that Margaret's health was very poor cannot be discounted, of course.<sup>84</sup> There is no evidence, however, that Philip IV was interested in arranging a marriage for Catherine at this stage at all; indeed, other close relatives of the French king, such as his youngest brother Louis of Évreux, or his cousins Robert II of Artois (a widower since 1288) or Louis of Clermont could have provided more likely possibilities than Charles of Valois, but given Boniface VIII's attitude to the Blanche of France match, it is very unlikely that he would have given the necessary dispensation that would have been required for a marriage between Catherine and any close relative of Philip IV. At the same time, the idea that Philip IV wanted to upset the Velletri agreement as revenge for the failure of his own matrimonial project seems unlikely. The answer seems to lie with the stubborn Catherine herself.

#### **The road to Caltabellotta and the Majorca marriages 1296-1304**

##### *War against Frederick, alliance with Aragon and the marriage of Robert and Yolande*

In 1296, with the Velletri agreement over, war resumed with the new King Frederick invading Calabria. The diplomatic and military failures now called for a new deal that was enacted in the spring of 1297.<sup>85</sup> This involved getting James II to fight his brother and reconquer Sicily with papal support. In return for this military aid, James was to be officially granted the kingdoms of Sardinia and Corsica by Boniface VIII. The deal was to be sealed by a marriage between Robert, Charles' third son and Yolande of Aragon, that required intricate manoeuvres on both sides.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup>C. Du Cange, *Histoire de l'empire de Constantinople sous les empereurs françois*, Paris, 1657/1729, 56.

<sup>85</sup>For the war in Calabria, see Amani, *La guerra del Vespro*, II, 295-8.

<sup>86</sup>For the lead-up and detailed discussion of the deal, see Salavert, *Cerdeña*, I, 113-24. For the dispensation granted by Boniface VIII for the marriage of Robert and Yolande, 17 March 1297, see Rosell, *Regesta*, no. 275; for the investiture of James II with the kingdoms of Sardinia and Corsica, see *Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, no. 2336, 4 Apr 1297; Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici ad ann 1297*;

The death of Charles II's eldest son and heir, Charles Martel, in August 1295 had created a succession problem for the Angevin king. His two eldest surviving sons, Louis and Robert, were in captivity in Catalonia; Charles Martel's son, Charles Robert, was a child of seven. The release of the Angevin princes became a matter of urgency; it was lucky for Charles that they had been transferred to Catalonia instead of languishing in Sicily. Their liberation revealed a new problem : Louis' desire for the life of a Franciscan.<sup>87</sup> Although a formal renunciation was not achieved until 1297, it was clear by the spring of 1296 that Robert was to be promoted as new principal heir to Charles II, being designated *primogenitus* and granted lands and titles befitting his new status, including the duchy of Calabria.<sup>88</sup> This process was confirmed by a judgment of Boniface VIII in March 1297, clarifying the succession to Charles II. This established the preferential rights of those most closely related to Charles II : sons and daughters in order of age stood to inherit before grandsons. Charles Robert, the son of the previous heir Charles Martel, lost out not just to Robert, henceforth designated successor of the Sicilian kingdom, but to all the other children of Charles II.<sup>89</sup>

Evidently, the whole question of the contrasting succession rights of the children of the eldest son and those of younger sons had not been clarified under the succession rules established under Charles I. Given contemporary examples, the rights of younger sons, more closely related to the father, were usually judged to have the stronger claim, as the right of propinquity predominated over that of representation, whereby the grandchild 'represented' the dead eldest son in the succession order, however, this was firmly disputed, as the quarrels over the successions of Alfonso X of

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Potthast, 24502; A. Franchi and B. Rocco, *La pace di Caltabellotta: 1302 e la ratifica di Bonifacio VIII: 1303*, Palermo, 1987, 351.

<sup>87</sup>See p. 183-5 below.

<sup>88</sup>R. Caggese, *Roberto d'Angio e i suoi tempi*, Florence, 1922, 1930., I, 5-7.

<sup>89</sup>Odoncus Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici ad ann. 1297*.

Castile, Robert II of Artois and Robert II of Flanders show. and in the fourteenth century, the right of representation clearly gained ground.<sup>90</sup>

In Charles II's case, it is clear that among the reasons why an adult son should have been preferred to a nine-year-old grandchild was the fact that Robert was also the eldest marriageable son of suitable age to marry Yolande of Aragon. The timing of Boniface's decision - within days of the granting of the dispensation for Robert and Yolande's marriage - would indicate that the confirmation of Robert's status was part of the marriage deal. Clearly, the marriage of Robert and Yolande served not only to balance that of James and Blanche, but to symbolise the future of the Sicilian kingdom - a reconquered, reconstituted kingdom in the hands of an Angevin-Aragonese couple; a marriage between Yolande and a male Angevin not expected to succeed Charles II as king of Sicily would not have had the same effect. The fact that the marriage took place in Rome and was attended by not only Charles II, but James II, Boniface VIII, Queen Maria and Robert's three next younger brothers, Philip, Raymond Berengar and John - in other words, the second, third and fourth in line of succession to the Sicilian throne -

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<sup>90</sup>Matilda, daughter of Robert II of Artois succeeded in winning her claim for the county of Artois before the Parlement in 1309 against her nephew Robert III, as the right of propinquity was judged superior. Robert III continued to fight the decision for the rest of his life, despite being awarded the county of Beaumont-le-Roger by Philip IV and won the backing of many Artois nobles. With regard to the succession claims of the Infantes de la Cerda, grandsons of Alfonso X of Castile, versus those of his son, the future Sancho IV, Alfonso X went against his own *Partidas* in favouring Sancho, although he was to change his mind; the victory of Sancho was based more on his age, political and military experience. In the aftermath of the Artois decision, however, the right of representation seems to have gained ground. In 1320, the marriage of Louis of Nevers, grandson of Count Robert of Flanders to Margaret, daughter of Philip V of France only took place on condition that the succession of the county of Flanders would go to Louis if his father died before his grandfather, thus recognising the previously unknown right of representation in the county; the boy's uncle Robert of Cassel had to renounce his claims. When Louis' father predeceased his grandfather by two months in 1322, Louis' rights were challenged by both Robert of Cassel and his aunt Matilda of Lorraine, who invoked Robert's renunciation; Charles IV, however, decided in favour of Louis in 1323. In comparison, the smooth accession of the boy Richard II in preference to his uncle John of Gaunt to the throne of England in 1377 is a sharp contrast to these conflicts, and to the previous precedent of 1199. See M. Gonzalez Jimenez, *Alfonso X el Sabio 1252-1284*, Palencia, 1993, 115-49; G. Daumet, *Les relations*; Charles T. Wood, *The French Apanages and the Capetian Monarchy*, 59-63; Henn Pirenne, 'Robert de Flandre, sire de Cassel', *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, XIX, Brussels, cols 463-74; Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, 186; W.M. Ommrod, 'Edward III and His Family', *Journal of British Studies* 26 (1987), 420.

served to encompass the participation and acceptance of this new arrangement by the most important of interested parties.<sup>91</sup>

One of the most striking things about the 1297 marriage was that, contrary to all the previous negotiations, from Cefalù negotiations, a matrimonial compact involving Yolande of Aragon was not designed to make peace with Sicily, but war. Yolande had lived on the island with her mother Queen Constance since the 1280s; during the whole of the conflict, they had stood four-square behind King Peter and then King James of Sicily. The split engendered as a fall-out from Anagni-Velletri caught these royal ladies in the middle. In April 1296, when Frederick wrote to his brother the King of Aragon of his coronation as king of Sicily and his plans to conquer the whole kingdom, he also informed him that he was sending an embassy to the Greek emperor Andronicus II concerning a marriage between Andronicus' son and co-emperor Michael IX and Yolande.<sup>92</sup> This was not only reviving the earlier anti-Angevin alliance between Michael VIII and Peter III and a clear slight to Boniface VIII, who favoured the Latin reconquest of Constantinople, but amounted to a final rejection of the Velletri-Anagni agreement in two ways. Firstly, it was the total reversal of Velletri - Frederick's plan to marry the Latin claimant Catherine and conquer the empire- but the marriage of Yolande and Michael also would have contradicted part of the Anagni settlement, which had been the proposed marriage of Yolande to Alfonso de la Cerda. The split in the house of Barcelona was thus revealed not only in differing attitudes to peace with Charles II, but in marriage partners for the common sister of James and Frederick. James II and Boniface VIII now undertook to force not only Frederick, but also the other family members to follow the lead of the Aragonese king. The Infante Peter, James' youngest brother, had been brought up in Catalonia and

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<sup>91</sup>Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, I, 9.

<sup>92</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 26.

Aragon; his adhesion was simpler to procure than that of his Sicilian-based siblings, and was symbolised by his marriage to Guillerma of Montcada, which had been dispensed for as part of the peace. Even then, Charles II and James II had already come to an agreement that he would be punished if he followed Frederick; in the event, his Iberian-focussed military activity led to his untimely death during 1296.<sup>93</sup> As for Constance and Yolande, intense pressure was exerted on them by both Boniface VIII and James II to leave Sicily and Frederick; during 1296, these family splits were affecting political allegiances within the Sicilian and Catalan-Sicilian nobility, whose loyalty was also divided between James and Frederick. The result of this was that in February 1297, Queen Constance, accompanied by Yolande, finally succumbed to the pressure to leave Frederick. The exodus of the royal ladies and other leading figures on the Sicilian side, such as Roger of Lauria and John of Procida, symbolised the isolation of Frederick; the departure of Yolande in particular allowed for her marriage to Robert to take place, not as part of a plan to make peace over Sicily, but in a reversion to the tactics of 1289-91, as part of an anti-Sicilian alliance. Of course, unlike Cefalù or Anagni-Velletri, no Sicilian peace meant that no marriage to Frederick was included in the deal.<sup>94</sup>

The marriage agreement of 1297 amounted to a large advance on the 1295 position. From merely being at peace with the Church, James was now its standard-bearer and admiral; secret promises about Sardinia were now formalised. The marriage deals were also aimed at an intensification of the Angevin-Aragonese alliance. The pairing of Robert and Yolande was not just a rejection of Frederick, but also of

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<sup>93</sup>On the marriage of Peter and Guillerma, supposedly arranged by Blanche of Anjou, see Ramon Muntaner, *Cronica Catalana*, ed. A. de Bofarull, Barcelona, 1860, cap. CLXXXIII; on the agreement between Charles II and James II, see Salavert, 'El tratado de Anagni', doc XXXVI, on the death of Peter at Leon, see Muntaner, *Cronica*, cap. CLXXXIX.

<sup>94</sup>On the disputes between Frederick and Roger and the departure of Constance and Yolande, see Amari, *La guerra del Vespro*, II, 287-326.

Alfonso de la Cerda, who had been promised to Yolande as part of the Anagni agreement. Not for the first or last time, the Infantes de la Cerda, like their rivals Sancho IV and Ferdinand IV (king from 1295), were to be demoted as a consequence of Sicilian affairs. The marriage also amounted to a reversion to Charles II's favoured Pontoise/ La Junquera formula - James-Blanche, Louis/Robert-Yolande, but no match for Frederick. James's commitment to continue the alliance was also emphasised in his request for an additional dispensation for affinity, due to the relationship between Blanche and Isabella of Castile; unlike the case of poor Isabella, James' marriage to Blanche was not to be annulled for the lack of the correct dispensation.<sup>95</sup>

As for the grant of Sardinia and Corsica, as we have seen, it was more than just a simple compensation for the Aragonese king for the loss of Sicily. In practical terms, Sardinia and Corsica remained in Pisan and Genoese hands; James was not able to seize control of Sardinia till 1323. In the short term, Charles II's support for James II was to be a keystone of their alliance. Salavert, in his book on Sardinia, has seen Charles' attitude as going against that of his dynasty, as he was helping his Aragonese rivals secure a further foothold in the western Mediterranean that would weaken the Angevin position in the long term.<sup>96</sup> However, Charles was always keen to promote the interests of his daughters and sons-in-law as well as his sons, as can be seen by his attitude to his other daughters Eleanor and Beatrice, as long as they did not prejudice the rights of the *primogenitus*. More importantly, support for James was vital in securing his friendship or at least his neutrality in conflicts with Frederick; how committed James was to the alliance has also been questioned, by contemporaries and modern historians. It is undoubtedly the case that many Catalans continued to trade with Frederick and to fight for him. James' continued contact with his brother could

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<sup>95</sup>Rosell, *Regesta*, no. 274.

<sup>96</sup>Salavert, *Cerdeña*, I, 280-1

open him to questions of double-dealing; he never seems to have felt comfortable fighting him and was relieved to withdraw from the conflict when the time came. Nevertheless, the alliance of 1297 did secure the military involvement of James against his brother in 1298 and 1299 and if it did not lead to the conquest of Sicily, it did drive Frederick's forces onto the defensive while it lasted. In the long term, however, it ensured that James was unable to support his brother openly for decades to come and ruled out a full Aragonese-Sicilian military alliance, such as had existed before the Anagni peace. The 1297 alliance thus served to weaken the house of Barcelona in Sicily, Charles II's main interest; compared to that, the concession of an unconquered Sardinia and Corsica was of lesser moment.

*1298-9: moves towards peace with Frederick*

In 1298, James II arrived in Italy with his forces, leading to an important shift in the Angevins' favour. Calabria was reconquered during that year, leading to moves to capture the island from Frederick. It was now that the Aragonese king's preference for a diplomatic rather than a military solution, especially in a conflict with his brother, re-emerged.

The peace proposals of James II of 1298 were based around a similar focus to Cefalù, Guadalajara and Velletri; reconciliation would be achieved by the marriage of Frederick and one of Charles II's younger daughters, now reaching the ages of eight and nine. Frederick had to be tempted into peace by compensation : his assumption of the royal title meant that this had to be on a grander scale than, for example, the Cefalù or Guadalajara proposals - a kingdom was required. Three main alternatives were suggested. One idea that Frederick should be king of the island of Sicily, this was rejected by Charles II. Another was that Frederick should receive the kingdoms of Sardinia and Corsica, plus the March of Ancona. The third alternative was that Frederick be granted the kingdom of Murcia, contested between Castile and Aragon.

The kingdom was to be held as a fief from James II, thus echoing similar arrangements just settled within the royal house over the kingdom of Majorca; to further forestall any possibility of peace or alliance between kings of Murcia and Castile, Frederick was also banned from marrying one of Ferdinand IV's sisters, should his Angevin wife predecease him.<sup>97</sup>

Vicente Salavert has seen James II's proposals as inspiring what was to become the peace of Caltabellotta, and indeed it did contain many of the elements that were to comprise that settlement.<sup>98</sup> For the first time since Anagni-Velletri, peace over Sicily involved the marriage of Frederick to a close relative of Charles II. Catherine of Courtenay, presumably, was ruled out as a potential wife this time. Although she was still unmarried, she had remained in France and plans had since emerged for a match to James, eldest son of King James of Majorca; given James II's recent settlement with his uncle at Argeles, it is unlikely that he would have tried to upset this arrangement.<sup>99</sup> Besides, given Catherine's previous behaviour and the reaction of Frederick to the delays it had caused, it was probably deemed better not to revive the proposal, even with a better compensation deal for Frederick and Catherine. In default of Catherine, Charles II would have to turn to his own younger daughters, Eleanor, Maria or Beatrice. They had been born after his return from captivity, unlike their elder sisters Margaret and Blanche, which explains why they did not play any part in earlier

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<sup>97</sup>Salavert, *Cerdeña*, II, docs. 33, 34; Salavert, 'Jaime II de Aragón, inspirador de la paz de Caltabellotta', *Studi in onore di Riccardo Filangieri*, Naples, 1959, I, 361-9

<sup>98</sup>Salavert, 'Jaime II de Aragón'.

<sup>99</sup>During her stay in France, Catherine is supposed to have shared the existence of Queen Margaret, widow of Charles I and assisted her in works of charity and devotion. Petit, *Histoire des ducs*, V, 135. Certainly, in 1299, Charles II wrote to her to take the advice of Queen Margaret in choosing a husband. Perrat-Longnon. However, she also spent much time with Robert, Count of Artois and his new wife, Margaret of Hamault in 1298-9 and received sums of 1000 livres and twice the sums of 600 *livres* from Philip IV. See J. Petit, *Charles de Valois*, 55-6. For the marriage plan between Catherine and James of Majorca, see A.N. J 509, no. 11; for the Argeles settlement, see A. Lecoy de la Marche, *Les relations politiques de la France avec le royaume de Majorque*, Paris, 1892, 351-60, J. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms, Vol I*, 264; D. Abulafia, 'The Problem of the Kingdom of Majorca (1229-1276-1343)', 1. *Political Identity*, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 162.



negotiations. As in the case of Blanche, however, the extreme youth of the princesses meant that there was still some time before a fully consummated union could take place.

The other main element, common to all the settlements with Frederick, was the question of his compensation. As Catherine and her Latin Empire claims were not on the agenda this time, it meant that either Charles II or James II would have to provide a royal title for the couple, to make up for the one that Frederick would now have to renounce. Allowing Frederick to be king of the island of Sicily would at least have recognised the *fait accompli*; the problem remained, for the royal title, which covered both mainland and island territories, could not be divided, even if Frederick and Charles had really been so keen to share the kingdom, to which both of them laid complete claim. Although Charles II refused it at the time, this was to be the element that was to resurface in the final Caltabellotta peace. Otherwise, Frederick would be provided an apanage kingdom by his brother, as King James of Majorca had been by his father James I. James II, unlike his grandfather or father, had been keen to keep all his lands and kingdoms together, and as we have seen, had retained the kingdom of Sicily, when it should have been passed on to Frederick. Handing over the claim to the kingdom of Sardinia would cost James II what he had been promised to fight against his brother, and presumably, any final settlement would have had to compensate James accordingly. However, at least it ensured that Sardinia would still fall to the house of Barcelona, even to a cadet branch. Finally, there was the question of the kingdom of Murcia. This amounted to a further rejection of Alfonso de la Cerda, to whom it had been promised earlier on; from now on, Frederick would be the instrument of James II's firm hostility to Ferdinand IV and his mother Maria of Molina. The fact that the agreement was invalid if Frederick married a sister of Ferdinand IV if his Angevin wife died, was to remove all possibility of an accommodation between Frederick and Castile

that could have threatened James in the same way that the alliance of the kings of France and Majorca had done in the past.

These peace plans did not end the war; rather, they went hand in hand with it as offering a way out to the stubborn Frederick from ensuing military catastrophe. On 4 July 1299, this duly happened to Frederick, in the sea battle of Capo Orlando, leaving the rebels close to disaster. Within a month, Boniface VIII had granted his legate in Sicily, Cardinal Gerard Bianchi, the right to negotiate with Frederick. Again, he called for Frederick and Sicily to return to the mandates of the Church. Under the terms of Boniface's offer, Frederick was to marry King Charles' fourth daughter Maria with the kingdom of Jerusalem as a fief. Frederick himself was to be granted the island of Rhodes, held by the Greeks or Sardinia and Corsica, with the consent of James II.<sup>100</sup> Like James II's earlier proposal, Boniface VIII underlined the need to compensate Frederick for returning Sicily, but this time, he offered a more favourable agreement to the errant prince, in that, this time, a land dowry was offered with Charles II's daughter Maria. Unlike previous deals involving Charles' daughters, this was not part of the kingdom of Sicily, but the kingdom of Jerusalem. This royal title, which unlike that of Sardinia, was always used by Charles, had always been contested by the Lusignan kings of Cyprus and the last remnant of the kingdom, Acre, had fallen in 1291, so Charles II was ceding nothing but the powerful prestige that went with such a title.<sup>101</sup> Like the 1295 Velletri agreement, this suggestion had the added benefit of pushing the energetic Frederick into a crusade against the enemies of western Christendom, in this case the Infidel, rather than the schismatic Greeks, although this too was on the agenda if Frederick accepted the offer of Byzantine-held Rhodes for himself. Yet again, the suggestion that James II give up the kingdom of Sardinia to Frederick illustrates how

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<sup>100</sup>*Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, no. 3398; Salavert, *Cerdeña*, II, doc. 35.

<sup>101</sup>For Charles II and the kingdom of Jerusalem, see the next chapter, p 147-54.

far the concession of that kingdom to James had been allied to Sicilian affairs: perhaps Boniface had always intended only to grant James Sardinia and Corsica in full if he totally defeated his brother, while keeping the kingdoms as compensation for Frederick if James failed to do this and there was a need for negotiated settlement. Whatever the case, Frederick was not interested in any proposal that did not mean that he would retain the island of Sicily.

*The withdrawal of James II and the alliance with Charles of Valois*

The success of Capo Orlando was short-lived. Heeding appeals from the representatives of his Iberian territories and news of untoward events regarding Castile, James II made plans to withdraw his forces shortly after the victory, to the fury of Boniface VIII, who accused him of letting Frederick off.<sup>102</sup> Worse was to follow in December when an ill-advised campaign in Sicily led by Philip of Taranto ended in disaster at Falconaria, resulting in the prince's capture. The gains of the previous two years were now largely lost, while Philip's captivity forced Charles II to return to the pacific approach that had been necessary to secure the release of himself and his other sons up to 1295. By January 1300, Charles and Robert were already involved in secret negotiations with Frederick, leading to a furious castigation and dire warnings from the Pope for receiving Frederick's envoys without his permission.<sup>103</sup>

Events during 1299, however, had opened the door to an alternative matrimonial policy still based on the military defeat of Frederick. First of all, the death of Margaret of Anjou, wife of Charles of Valois, on 31 December, left the French king's brother free to marry.<sup>104</sup> Meanwhile, Catherine of Courtenay was again released onto the marriage market by the decision of her fiancé, James of Majorca, eldest son of

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<sup>102</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 49.

<sup>103</sup>*Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, no. 3425, 9 Jan 1300

<sup>104</sup>Petit, *Charles de Valois*, 43-4.

King James of Majorca, to become a Franciscan.<sup>105</sup> The marriage of Charles of Valois and Catherine, then, was to be the basis for a new military alliance, involving the sending of Charles of Valois with a military force to aid Boniface VIII both on the Italian mainland and in the Sicilian war. The reward for Charles' endeavours was Catherine and her claims to Constantinople, which were to receive papal backing, once Sicily was reconquered. The marriage took place at Saint-Cloud in January 1301, with the departure of Charles and Catherine for Italy taking place shortly after.<sup>106</sup>

Clearly, Catherine found Charles of Valois a much more appealing match than she had found Frederick of Aragon. Since he had given up his claims to the kingdom of Aragon as part of the Anagni peace, Charles had been able to keep the counties of Anjou and Maine *in propriam hereditatem*, so they had not gone to his son Philip on the death of his wife; meanwhile, he had had his apanage increased by the granting of the county of Alençon by his brother in 1292. Thus, Charles of Valois was a much better-endowed prospective husband in 1301 than Frederick of Aragon had been in 1295. Another important element of the package related back to Charles of Valois' own previous marriage. As his reward for renouncing his rights over Aragon had been to hold the counties in his own right, so the prize for fulfilling papal desires at this juncture, by pacifying Italy and fighting against Frederick, was that he was to be granted Catherine's properties in France and Flanders and her claims to Constantinople and the county of Namur in his own right also.<sup>107</sup> Thus, it was intended that Charles of Valois would be the standard-bearer of western Christian ambition over Constantinople even if Catherine died prematurely and childless, a possibility, given the fact that she was now in her mid-twenties; the agreement also stipulated that the succession of these

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<sup>105</sup>See the letter of R. Calnet, knight of Gerona to James II of Aragon, 16 March 1299, in Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 36.

<sup>106</sup>Petit, *Charles de Valois*, 55-8.

<sup>107</sup>A.N. JJ 37 fol 36v-37, no 64, Pett, *Charles de Valois*, 56.

claims would then pass to his children by Margaret of Anjou. Clearly, now that the papacy had offered the kingdoms of Sardinia and Jerusalem to the house of Barcelona, it wanted to avoid the cession of other parts of Charles II's kingdoms in an attempt to win over Charles of Valois. Also, given that Charles of Valois had already married a daughter of Charles II, he would be unable to marry another, as the current practice was to limit dispensations to the second degree of affinity. Catherine thus offered the dual benefit of being the closest possible relative of Charles II that Charles of Valois could marry, plus having the compensation of claims to the Latin Empire, that Charles II himself could not at this stage exploit for one of his own sons, and which meant that Charles II did not have to give Charles of Valois yet more of his lands.

Charles II's role in this marriage arrangement was a passive one. Since Catherine had left for France in 1294, it was Philip IV who had taken the primary role in arranging the engagement to James of Majorca and also gave backing for Charles of Valois' enterprise.<sup>108</sup> Charles II's ability to influence Catherine's choice of husband lay above all in the clauses of the Viterbo treaty, renewed by Catherine before her departure, which meant that if she married without his consent, he would be relieved of his obligations to help reconquer the empire of Constantinople. Charles II's assent to the Charles of Valois match therefore was a necessary part of securing his adhesion to the conquest of Constantinople, but given the fact that Charles of Valois was coming to his aid in the Sicilian war first, it was clearly in Charles II's interest to do so, and it was finally given in the following September.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>108</sup>See the articles of marriage between James and Catherine, A.N J 509 no.11 in the presence of King Philip and Queen Joanna of France, Robert, Duke of Burgundy and his wife Agnes of France and Robert II, Count of Artois.

<sup>109</sup>A.N J 410 no. 12.

*The Majorca marriage project of 1301*

Despite the Charles of Valois alliance, a diplomatic settlement with Frederick was still envisaged, although its nature clearly stood to be affected by the military outcome. It is undoubtedly for this reason that despite his hostility to Charles II's secret negotiations, Boniface VIII annulled vows made between Eleanor, Charles II's eldest unmarried daughter and Philip of Toucy, thus releasing another Angevin princess into the marriage market during 1300. It was probably this attachment that had led to the 1299 papal proposal to suggest the marriage of Frederick and Eleanor's younger sister, Maria.<sup>110</sup>

During 1301, matrimonial matters became more complicated with the emergence of a new prospective link with the house of Barcelona. This was the marriage project with the royal house of Majorca, involving Sancho, son of King James of Majorca and a daughter of Charles II.<sup>111</sup> From the crusade to Aragon until the Anagni settlement, King James of Majorca had been allied with his brother-in-law Philip III of France and then his nephew Philip IV against his own brother Peter III of Aragon and then against Peter's successors, his nephews, Alfonso III and James II; as a result of this, the Majorcan king had lost his Balearic territories.<sup>112</sup> Although the Anagni treaties did not solve their differences, it did pave the way for the 1298 Argeles treaty which restored to the Majorcan king his lands under terms of vassalage to his nephew the Aragonese king. Since then, relations between the kings of Aragon and Majorca had been transformed from hostility to close co-operation and alliance; the

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<sup>110</sup>M. Camera, *Annali delle due Sicilie*, Naples, 1841, II, 74; G. Leanti, *Nel sesto centenario della morte di Federico II d'Aragona, Re di Sicilia (25 giugno 1337)*, Noto, 1937, 11.

<sup>111</sup> Letter of James II of Aragon to King James of Majorca, 24 March 1301, see Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 67.

<sup>112</sup> For the political relations of the kingdom of Majorca in this period, see Lecoy de la Marche, *Les Relations*, I, *passim*; Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms, Vol I*, 255-6, 260; D. Abulafia, *A Mediterranean Emporium: The Catalan Kingdom of Majorca*, Cambridge, 1994.

sudden restoration of King James of Majorca's dynastic loyalty had gone as far as expressing open disapproval for James II's war against his brother Frederick. Now that there was peace, the Majorcan king was prepared to turn his back on the Capetian and Angevin allies that had supported him in the years up to 1298 in order to recreate a family solidarity that he had been quite prepared to sacrifice when his own interests had been threatened. It was this newfound alliance between uncle and nephew that was at the heart of this new matrimonial scheme. Certainly, it is remarkable that little interest was shown in marriage alliances with the royal house of Majorca during the years it supported the Capetians against the Aragonese; the reason for the new project, therefore, lay less in the Majorcan royal family *per se*, but in its revived role within the house of Barcelona. By 1301, James II and all his siblings except for Frederick were married; his children by Blanche were too closely related to the children of Charles II for marriages to be arranged between them. This was not the case for the children of James II's uncle, the King of Majorca, who were now able to play a part in further reinforcing the bonds between the houses of Barcelona and Anjou. The crucial role that James II and Blanche played in organising and mediating this project indicates how far it was envisaged as a Anjou-Aragon marriage. In the end, this matrimonial element aimed at forging a close triangular bond of consanguinity and affinity between the royal houses of Aragon, Majorca and Sicily, that would be of benefit to all.

The emergence of the Anjou-Majorca marriage project was another consequence of the decision of the *primogenitus* James of Majorca to become a Franciscan; his younger brother, Sancho, like Robert of Calabria, now took on the role of *primogenitus*. Like Robert, Sancho's new status also resulted in his new promotion in the marriage market. Which daughter of Charles II was to be selected to marry him now became the issue. The release of Eleanor from her vow to marry Philip of Toucy meant that Charles had three daughters free to marry; however, the youngest, Beatrice, had been brought up in the convent of Ste-Marie-de-Nazareth to be a nun, although

she was not yet of an age to take her vows. Age seems to have been a decisive factor in Charles' decision, given the fact that Eleanor was just approaching puberty; Maria and Beatrice were too young for an immediate marriage. It was presumably this reason that led Charles to reserve Eleanor for the more pressing prospect of a marriage to Frederick as part of an urgently needed Sicilian peace; the less important Majorca project could be delayed until Maria had reached a suitable age.<sup>113</sup>

It was the Sancho-Maria combination that Charles II recommended, and according to James II and Cardinal Matteo Rosso Orsini, Maria did have advantages over her sister in terms of beauty and from the fact that she was Boniface VIII's favourite of Charles II's children, as he had baptised her, and it was felt that this affection could translate into prospective papal favour for the Majorcan royal family.<sup>114</sup> Unfortunately, Boniface VIII was not the only important figure connected with the project to have played an important role at Maria's christening; King James of Majorca had acted as her godfather, and by canon law confirmed by Boniface VIII, the marriage between his son Sancho and Maria was not permitted.<sup>115</sup> By May, matters seem to have been well in hand to secure a dispensation, but in the event Boniface refused it on the grounds that he had never granted one for such a reason before; the fractious pontiff queried Charles' desire for such a marriage alliance and derided the poverty of the Majorcan king.<sup>116</sup> Clearly, the pope was hostile and suspicious towards

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<sup>113</sup>On Charles II's preference for Maria, see Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 67; for the education of Beatrice at Notre-Dame-de-Nazareth, see N. Coulet, 'Un couvent royal. Les Dominicaines de Notre-Dame-de-Nazareth d'Aix au XIIIe siècle', *Les mendiants en pays d'Oc au XIIIe siècle*, Toulouse, 1973, 252-3.

<sup>114</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 67; also letter of G. de Albalato to James II of Aragon, 14 Sept 1301, in H. Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII. Funde und Forschungen*, Münster.-i.-W., 1902, no 9.

<sup>115</sup>Finke, *Aus den Tagen*, no. 9; Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 74.

<sup>116</sup>On the attempts to secure a dispensation, see the letter of James II to Charles II, 29 May 1301, A.C.A. Reg. 334 f. 23, 23v. On Boniface's refusal and his disparaging remarks about King James of Majorca, see the report of Gaufrid, Abbot of Foix to James II of Aragon, 25 August 1301, Finke, *Aus den Tagen*, no. 7; the letter of G. de Albalato to James II of Aragon, 14 September 1301, Finke, *Aus den Tagen*, no 9; the letter of James II of Aragon to Charles II, 5 December 1301, Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no 74



Charles II's and Robert's pro-Catalan sympathies since the departure of James II in 1299, but the fact that he was willing to dispense for Sancho and Eleanor for the openly stated reasons of keeping peace between James II of Aragon and Charles II, shows that it was canonical scruples that prevented him from doing so for Maria.<sup>117</sup>

*The treaty of Caltabellotta and the Majorca marriages*

Despite the dispensation for Sancho and Eleanor, Charles II did not relent; he was so determined on the marriage of Eleanor and Frederick that he preferred Beatrice as a second choice, despite the fact that she was still in the convent.<sup>118</sup> In February of 1302, the mediation of Yolande brought Frederick and Robert to a truce at Syracuse; at the same time, James II had to write to his uncle of Majorca that King Charles would not come to a final decision on the marriage of Sancho and Eleanor until the autumn.<sup>119</sup>

Charles' delaying tactics over the Majorca project continued as Charles of Valois arrived in Rome and made plans to campaign in Sicily. In May, however, when Charles II granted the French prince the military power to reconquer the island, he also gave him the authority to negotiate peace.<sup>120</sup> At the same time, Charles II's attitude to the Majorca marriage had led to a legation headed by Bernat de Montecalacri at the behest of King James and Queen Blanche of Aragon, concerned, surprised and embarrassed at his opposition to the marriage of Sancho and Eleanor, to which he had originally given his assent, and the disgrace his refusal to conclude would cause, given

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<sup>117</sup>For the dispensation for consanguinity between Sancho and Eleanor, 21 Oct 1301, see *Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, no. 4190.

<sup>118</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 74.

<sup>119</sup>On the truce of Syracuse, see Nicholas Specialis, *Historia Sicula*, RIS, X, 1037; diary of Laurentius Martini, Jan-Mar 1302, Finke, *Aus den Tagen*, no. 10; letter of G. de Albalato to James II of Aragon, 18 March 1302, Finke, *Aus den Tagen*, no. 8. For the letter of James II of Aragon to King James of Majorca, A.C.A. Reg. 334. f. 47v.

<sup>120</sup>Franchi and Rocco, 356-8.

the publicity given to the marriage in the Curia and the courts of Aragon and Majorca.<sup>121</sup> It was at this point that Charles embarked on a desperate measure designed to keep both Sicilian and Majorcan marriage projects afloat - the removal, possibly by force, of Beatrice from the convent at Aix and her transfer to him. Now equipped with Beatrice as a possible replacement for Eleanor as bride of Sancho, Charles was able to save the Majorcan project from disaster and avoid any harm thus caused to his relations to King James of Majorca, and more importantly, James II of Aragon.<sup>122</sup>

As it was, the campaign of Charles of Valois proved unsuccessful and short-lived, as his forces were hit by plague. Within three months, the fighting was an end, as peace was negotiated by conventions at Castronuovo, followed by the final treaty signed between Sciacca and Caltabellotta on 29th August 1302. The main terms of the treaty were that Frederick was to remain as king of the island of Sicily for life and was to be married to Eleanor; Charles II was to negotiate with Boniface VIII and the cardinals the concession to the eventual children of Frederick and Eleanor the kingdom of Sardinia or Cyprus or another kingdom of similar value; if this proved impossible by the time of Frederick's death, then they would keep Sicily until Charles had paid them 100, 000 oz of gold. At the same time, all territories held by Charles in *Sicilia ultra Farum* or by Frederick in *Sicilia citra Farum* would be exchanged, as would hostages,

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<sup>121</sup>A.C.A. Reg. 334.f. 54-55v., partially quoted in Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 74 note.

<sup>122</sup>For Charles II's letter to Richard de Gambatesa, seneschal of Provence, ordering Beatrice's removal from the convent to the castle at Aix, dated 28 May 1302, see Archives des Bouches-du-Rhône, B 419. N.Coulet, 'Un couvent royal: Les dominicains de Notre-Dame-de-Nazareth d'Aix au XIIIe siècle', *Les mendiants en pays d'Oc au XIIIe siècle*, Toulouse, 1973, 252 wrongly dates the letter as 28 May 1301; Richard de Gambatesa did not even become seneschal until January 1302, see F. Cortez, *Les grands officiers royaux de Provence au Moyen Age*, Aix-en-Provence, 1921, 51-2. Coulet, 253 also errs in associating the removal of Beatrice with her later marriage to Azzo of Este, following the chronicler Ptolemy of Lucca. On Ptolemy's comments, see below p. 132 n. 105. Earlier, Charles II had written to James II on the subject of the Majorca marriage project that Beatrice had not yet taken her vow. See A.C.A. Pergs. Jaime II 137.

such as Philip of Taranto, while Charles II would also procure the lifting of the sentences.<sup>123</sup>

The marriage of Frederick and Eleanor lay at the crux of the peace. As in all previous attempts to make peace with Sicily, the Caltabellotta treaty involved the marriage of the island's ruler with an Angevin princess. The marriage also acted as a complement to that of Robert and Yolande : in both cases, the unions of Aragon and Anjou lay at the centre of the future rulership of the opposing halves of the kingdom of Sicily. The fact that the compensation was only due to the children of Frederick and Eleanor illustrated how far the concession was a form of dowry to Eleanor, rather than just a settlement for Frederick; if Eleanor died childless, presumably Frederick would only hold Sicily in his lifetime, whereas children by another wife stood to inherit nothing. Yet again, the matrimonial element of the peace deal was forged in the terms of the division of Charles II's inheritance.

The settlement itself was a major concession on the part of Charles II from previous negotiating positions; only when he was held captive by the Sicilians had he agreed to any proposal that Sicily should not be returned by the Aragonese in the near future. The treaties of Anagni and La Junquera had called for the speedy restoration of the island. Compared to these positions, the idea that Frederick would keep the island in his lifetime always held out the possibility that it would be retained for decades, and certainly after the death of Charles II. At the same time, Charles II was forced to recognise Frederick's royal status, something which he had never done before, and which was to cause particular problems as they aspired to the same title of *rex Sicilie*. The treaty of Caltabellotta was therefore less of an ultimate peace than a long-term truce, aimed at buying time for the settlement of Frederick and Charles' mutually incompatible positions.

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<sup>123</sup>For the conventions of Castronuovo and the treaty of Caltabellotta, see Franchi and Rocco, 361-7.

*The dispensation for Frederick and Eleanor and the Castilian project*

The next stage of the process was to secure the adhesion of Boniface VIII. Once he had discovered its contents, the pope refused to confirm the treaty in December 1302. However, the fact that he did give the necessary dispensation for consanguinity for the marriage of Frederick and Eleanor at the same time, shows that it was the peace itself, but the elements of the agreement that he was not satisfied with.<sup>124</sup> The following month, Beatrice made an open declaration before a large number of witnesses that she did not want to become a nun and that she would not return to the convent. Despite his agreement to give a dispensation for Frederick and Eleanor, Boniface had not yet relented on the matter of the spiritual affinity between Sancho and Maria, so Charles II was clearly aiming at this point for the marriage of Sancho and Beatrice.<sup>125</sup>

Meanwhile, with the Majorca marriage deal as yet uncompleted, a new project emerged for a marriage involving an Angevin prince at the recommendation of James II and Blanche of Anjou. In the summer of 1302, shortly before the peace of Caltabellotta was signed, Yolande, Duchess of Calabria had died; the following January, her brother the King of Aragon sent a legation under Henric de Quintavall to her grieving husband and his father on the question of a new wife for Duke Robert.<sup>126</sup> King James and Queen Blanche were now proposing the marriage of Robert and Isabella, sister of Ferdinand IV of Castile, James II's former jilted wife. This was linked to the plans for peace between James II and Ferdinand IV that had been moving ahead

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<sup>124</sup>*Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, nos. 5070-6, esp. 5074 for the dispensation, granted 6 December 1302; Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici ad ann 1302*.

<sup>125</sup>For Beatrice's declaration, 23 January 1303, see Archives des Bouches-du-Rhône, B. 419, pub. in Papon, *Histoire générale de Provence*, III, pr. XXXI. Agan Coulet's date, 28 May 1302, is totally inaccurate. See Coulet, 'Les dominicaines', 252.

<sup>126</sup>For the legation, see A.C.A. 334 f. 100, with excerpts quoted in Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, p. 114

since Boniface VIII had finally accepted the legitimacy of the marriage of Sancho IV and Maria of Molina, and thus of Ferdinand IV, in 1301.<sup>127</sup> James and Ferdinand were already planning a marriage between Ferdinand's brother Peter and James's eldest daughter Maria; the combination of Robert and Isabella would complement this, at the same time as repaying some of the disgrace associated with Isabella's earlier abandonment. It was perhaps this shame that lay behind Queen Blanche's strong backing of the match. The choice of Robert was also motivated by his age and status: James' sons were too young for Isabella, even if a highly unlikely dispensation for the first degree of affinity had been granted, whilst Sancho of Majorca's younger brothers lacked land and position. For the Angevins, however, the marriage had a lot less to recommend it than the Majorca marriage. Unlike the Majorcan kings, the Castilian royal family were not Mediterranean rulers, and an alliance with them therefore offered less strategic advantages; also, as they were not members of the house of Barcelona, the marriage did not promise to strengthen the bonds with the Aragonese royal family in the same way. Indeed, the chequered nature of relations between the kings of Castile and Aragon meant that a marriage could mean an alliance with James II's enemies. Charles II apparently was strongly opposed to the match, but the interest shown by Boniface VIII, influenced by the persuasive Castilian cardinal Petrus Hispanus, and the attitude of Robert himself seem to have prolonged negotiations into 1304. Far from being afraid of marrying the sister of an enemy of James II, Robert was positive about the role it could play in the Aragonese-Castilian peace process; as far as he was concerned, his marriage with Isabella would at least prevent her marrying an enemy of James II.<sup>128</sup> In March of 1304, in the Calatayud meeting between James II and

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<sup>127</sup>Boniface VIII had declared that the dispensation granted for the marriage of Sancho IV and Maria of Molina had been false in March 1297, see *Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, no. 2335, 21 Mar 1297. For the bull legitimizing Ferdinand, Isabella and their brothers and sister, see *Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, no. 4403, 6 Sept 1301.

<sup>128</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 50

Ferdinand IV's uncle, the Infante Don John, the marriage of Robert and Isabella was discussed; that it did not form part of the ultimate peace of Agreda was due to the emergence of an alternative project during that year.<sup>129</sup> Perhaps Queen Maria of Molina's demands for a large settlement for Isabella and her children in Provence or Apulia, given that they were not due to succeed to the Sicilian throne, may have proved too much for Charles II.<sup>130</sup>

*The ratification of Caltabellotta and the conclusion of the Majorca marriages*

Although Boniface VIII had been steadfastly opposed to peace with Frederick, the events of the winter of 1302 and the spring of 1303 were to bring a seachange in his attitude. In particular, his quarrel with Philip IV, increasing in magnitude as time went on, coupled with the threat of his Colonna enemies, made the previously inflexible pope into a much more amenable person. In May 1303, he finally ratified a revised treaty of Caltabellotta. The main result was the lifting of the ecclesiastical sanctions against Frederick, the establishment of a census payable by Frederick and a new royal title *rex Trinacrie* for Frederick that illustrated how far the kingdom of Sicily was still seen as a whole, with only one king, Charles II. Interestingly, there was no mention of the compensation clause for the children of Frederick and Eleanor, who were finally married just before Boniface's pronouncement.<sup>131</sup>

The worsening position of the pontiff in the next few months led to one last concession - his agreement to give a dispensation for the marriage of Sancho of Majorca and Maria of Anjou. The news of this event was relayed to Sancho's father by King James of Aragon unknowing as the *attentat* of Anagni was actually taking

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<sup>129</sup>Zurita, *Anales*, I, V, cap. LXVI; C. Gonzalez Minguéz, *Fernando IV de Castilla (1295-1312): La Guerra Civil y el Predominio de la Nobleza*, Vitoria, 1976, 175.

<sup>130</sup>A.C.A., C.R.D. Jaime II, 433 sin fecha.

<sup>131</sup>Franchi and Rocco, 375-6

place.<sup>132</sup> Negotiations on the marriage settlement, however, became protracted as it emerged that the dower lands requested for Maria were already obligated to her future mother-in-law Queen Esclairmonde.<sup>133</sup> At one point, King James of Majorca seems to have feared that the plan would fall through.<sup>134</sup> In the event, the Majorcan alliance was not only achieved but augmented by the marriage of Robert of Calabria to Sancia, sister of Sancho in June 1304.<sup>135</sup> The new pope Benedict XI granted the necessary dispensation for the second degree of affinity between Sancia and Yolande of Aragon, a rare favour, in May 1304.<sup>136</sup>

The hurried dispensation for Robert and Sancia, within weeks of the Calatayud discussions between James II and the Infante John of Castile, promoting the marriage of Robert and Isabella of Castile, illustrated the fast pace at which the Majorcan project was now coming to a close after the years of delay and difficulties. The conclusion of the Majorca marriages in 1304 marked the last stage of the matrimonial bond formation between the houses of Barcelona and Anjou, intending to end the enmity of the war; the impending peace between the kings of Castile and Aragon meant that a Castilian dimension was to be added. While Isabella's marital career moved northwards towards France, history was to repeat itself as attempts to secure a marriage between a Castilian princess and an Aragonese prince led to a further jilting before the final marriage of Eleanor of Castile and Alfonso IV of Aragon in 1329.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>132</sup>See the series of letters to King James of Majorca, Charles II, Maria of Hungary and Robert, Duke of Calabria from James II of Aragon, 9 Sept 1303, A.C.A. Reg. 334 f. 149-152v. and King James of Majorca's reply, 21 Sept 1303, A.C.A. C.R.D. Jaime II, 1988.

<sup>133</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 51.

<sup>134</sup>A.C.A. Reg. 235 f. 82.

<sup>135</sup>For Sancia's giving of her consent to Robert's procurator, Bernard, prior of Montserrat and the accompanying agreement, see A.N.P. 1354<sup>r</sup>, nos 820, 821, 854; for agreements relating to the marriage of Maria and Sancho on the same date, see A.N. P. 1354<sup>r</sup>, no. 822.

<sup>136</sup>*Les Registres de Benoît XI*, ed C. Grandjean, Paris, 1883-1905, no. 697.

<sup>137</sup>For Isabella's marital career, see below p. 186-7 and 186 n.7. For the ill-fated marriage project between the Infante James of Aragon and Eleanor, daughter of Ferdinand IV, who was jilted at the altar, and Eleanor's subsequent marriage to James brother, Alfonso IV, see R. Sablonier, 'The Aragonese royal family around 1300', *Interest and emotion Essays on the study of family and*

Compared with the marriages of James and Blanche and Frederick and Eleanor and their associated treaties, the marriage alliances involving the royal house of Majorca were of lesser importance, as Charles II's attitude to them clearly indicates. The terms of the agreements dealt primarily with the minutiae of dowries and property settlements that were not allied to the sorting out of political conflicts; unlike her sisters Margaret and Eleanor, Maria's dowry was a monetary one, and the marriage's lesser importance to Charles II was also indicated by the fact that Maria was assigned a smaller dowry even than Blanche. As far as Sancia was concerned, her dowry was also monetary and of course, more interest was taken in the property settlements for her and her children, as the children of the second wife of Robert had little chance of inheriting the kingdom of Sicily, due to the existence of two sons by the first marriage. The fact that the marriages were arranged, however, reveals how determined Charles II and James II were to keep strengthening the bond that had been forged by the Anagni peace. Digard, in his book on Philip the Fair, has seen these marriages as part of an alliance against Philip the Fair; this seems very doubtful, given the alliance between Charles II and Charles of Valois in 1301-2.<sup>138</sup> Rather, they were about adding another layer of family relationship between two previously warring dynasties and continuing the co-operation, whether over Sicily or Sardinia, that was so vital to the interests of both Charles II and James II. In such circumstances, it was not surprising that Yolande, Duchess of Calabria, so instrumental in bringing Robert and Frederick together, should be replaced by her closest marriageable relative in the house of Barcelona - Sancia of Majorca - as Robert's wife.

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*kinship*, ed. H. Medick and D.W. Sabeau, Cambridge, 1984, 226.

<sup>138</sup>Digard, *Philippe le Bel*, II, 120, n.1.



### *Conclusion*

The main aim of Charles II's matrimonial policy - the return of Sicily and peace with the house of Barcelona - were thus only partially realized in the plethora of treaties and matrimonial arrangements organized between 1285 and 1304. In the end, the stubbornness of Frederick and the Sicilians and the Angevins' own military failures ensured that peace had to come at the price of only a vague promise to return the island and its associated territories. In the long term of course, even the peace did not last, and the war continued on and off till 1372, when Sicily was finally written off by the Angevins. Charles did achieve the end of the war with the kings of Aragon, however, and this was to be a major contribution to the revival of Angevin power after the dark years of the late 1280s, leading to the resurgence of fortune in Greece and Piedmont and in the newly acquired kingdom of Hungary.

Charles II's matrimonial aims reflect traditional Capetian family values in that he was determined to keep the patrimonial core - in this instance, Provence and the kingdom of Sicily - for the *primogenitus*. Only the inability of the competing house of Barcelona to accept this led to the compromises which involved cessions of part of the inheritance to daughters, the counties of Anjou and Maine to Margaret and the island of Sicily or its equivalent compensation to Eleanor and her posterity. Above all, resolving conflict by marriage involved realigning contentious lands and rights between the opposing dynasties, a process that, it was hoped, would establish peace and amity based on the matrimonial exchange.

*Chapter Three :MARRIAGE AND THE POLITICAL WORLD OF CHARLES II:  
BEYOND THE SICILIAN WAR*

The long and well-documented road to Caltabellotta has always deservedly attracted much interest from historians, but the resolution of the Sicilian war was not the only aim of Charles II even if it was the primary one. Dynastic interests elsewhere in France, the kingdom of Arles, northern Italy, Greece, the kingdom of Jerusalem and Hungary, also played a part in Charles II's matrimonial plan in connection to the Sicilian negotiations and his internal family strategy.

**Fleur-de-lis entwined : alliances between French and Sicilian Capetians<sup>1</sup>**

*Charles II and his Capetian relatives*

Despite the setbacks of the previous reign, the French monarchy under Philip IV was the most powerful in Europe and its members were natural family allies to the Angevin kings of Sicily. However, the relationship inevitably became more distant with time: whereas Louis IX and Charles of Anjou were brothers, Philip IV and Charles II were only related within two degrees of consanguinity on one side and three on the other. The relationship with the French court was thus much weaker under Charles II and Philip IV than under Charles I and Philip III, although there had been anti-Angevin elements at the French court since the marriage of Charles of Anjou to Beatrice of Provence and Beatrice's succession to Provence had made an enemy of Louis IX's wife Margaret. Another property dispute emerged after the death of Charles I's elder brother Alfonso of Poitiers and his wife Joanna of Toulouse in the aftermath of the Tunis crusade, as Charles contested Philip III's inheritance of the county of Toulouse from

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<sup>1</sup>For the family relationships of the Capetians, see Genealogical Tables I, II.

Joanna, who had willed it to Charles.<sup>2</sup> This, however, was to prove less threatening to Charles than the machinations of Margaret of Provence, who seems to have put her hatred of Charles above loyalty to the Capetian line, as she seems to have received more support from her sister Queen Eleanor of England and nephew Edward I than she did from her own son Philip III. Although Margaret's plotting almost led to war between Charles and her coalition of nobles in the kingdom of Arles in 1282, Philip III and the mainstream French court were at the least neutral and in the main very supportive of Charles' endeavours, which, of course, many nobles were also able to profit from. Charles-Victor Langlois in his study of Philip III's reign has mooted the existence of anti-Angevin factions at the French court that were headed by Queen Margaret and Pierre de la Broce; de la Broce was behind the accusations against Philip III's queen, Maria of Brabant of murdering her stepson, Louis; it was Maria who headed the pro-Angevin, pro-Infantes de la Cerda faction.<sup>3</sup> In fact, it is very hard to establish clear-cut factions at any one time, as the leading nobles and courtiers of both 'sides' were strongly interconnected by blood, marriage and friendship, while some were hostile to the Sicilian king on some issues and at some periods, but not at others. It is undoubtedly the case, however, that Queen Margaret, for example, was a consistent enemy of Charles of Anjou, while Robert II, Count of Artois demonstrated a strong affiliation to his Angevin uncle, serving him in Italy in 1275-6, as well as leading the force of French knights in 1283, and later serving as regent in Sicily during the

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<sup>2</sup>Langlois, *Le regne de Philippe III*, 57.

<sup>3</sup>According to B. Resmini, *Das Arelat im Kräftefeld der französischen, englischen und angiovinischen Politik nach 1250 und das Einwirken Rudolfs von Habsburg*, Cologne, Vienna, 1980, 108-10. Langlois sees the factions of the court of Philip III in a slightly different manner: Pierre de la Broce opposed by feudal nobility faction led by Maria of Brabant until his execution in 1278; after 1278 three factions: Maria of Brabant, supported by Robert II of Artois, Robert II of Burgundy, John I of Brabant, backing Charles of Anjou and Blanche of France; Queen Margaret, pro-English and anti-Charles; the household officers, old friends of St Louis, such as Mathieu de Vendôme, Imbert de Beaujeu and John of Acre. See Langlois, *Le regne de Philippe III le Hardi*, 13-43.

captivity of Charles II.<sup>4</sup> Whatever the case, when Charles I hit crisis-point in 1282, the French court showed great solidarity towards him. While Charles I neutralized Margaret herself in a settlement in 1283, some of her former supporters, like Count Otto IV of Burgundy and Margaret's son, Count Peter of Alençon joined the French force led by Robert of Artois to support Charles in Sicily.<sup>5</sup> Philip III's most important contribution to Charles' war effort, however, was the crusade against Aragon in 1285; on 6 January 1285, the day before his death, Charles entrusted Philip with the task of defending Provence and his French dominions, while Robert II of Artois became co-regent with Gerard of Sabina during the interregnum of 1285-1289.<sup>6</sup>

The death of Philip III was a blow to the Angevin cause as the pro-Angevin Maria of Brabant lost influence at court and Philip IV, son of Philip III by his first wife Isabella of Aragon, gave up the crusade and thereafter obstructed Angevin policies. On occasion, he refused to let papal taxes supporting Sicilian wars leave France and as we have seen, his plan to marry his sister Blanche to James II of Aragon threatened to derail the Sicilian peace settlement in 1295. Compared to the crusades of Louis IX and Philip III and the earlier part of the war, the Sicilian war under Charles II was much less of a Capetian family enterprise; it took the special inducement of the Catherine of Courtenay marriage to get Charles of Valois to fight for the Sicilian king; only perhaps Robert II of Artois demonstrated the previous degree of family solidarity. Philip IV was much less supportive in military terms than his predecessor. Meanwhile, differing interests emerged, particularly over the English and Flemish wars, which Philip IV prioritized above the Sicilian one. Whereas Charles of Anjou's conquest of Sicily had

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<sup>4</sup>On Robert of Artois, see L. Capo, 'Da Andrea Ungaro', 855-6.

<sup>5</sup>For Margaret's settlement with Charles I, see A.N. J 511 no.4; on Otto and Peter, see Petit, *Histoire des ducs*, VI, 41, P. Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles et de Vienne (1138-1378)*, Paris, 1891, 269.

<sup>6</sup>For Charles I's entrusting of Provence, Fournalquier, Anjou and Maine to Philip III while Charles of Salerno was in prison, see A.N. J 511 no 5; on Robert of Artois as regent, see Leonard, *Gli Angioini*, 198-214

taken place in the aftermath of Louis IX's peace with Henry III of England. Philip's revival of hostility with the Plantagenets served only to hamper the Sicilian war effort.<sup>7</sup> Philip IV was equally uninterested in advancing family interests in the Iberian peninsula, ending the crusade against Aragon, ultimately conceding the Val d'Aran, and giving little support to his de la Cerda cousins in their attempts to win the throne of Castile.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, Philip's alliance with Wenceslas II of Bohemia, whose son was opposing Charles II's grandson Charles Robert as candidate for the crown of Hungary during 1302-3 revealed the frailty of the Franco-Sicilian relationship under the pressure of Philip's quarrel with Boniface VIII; worse still for Charles II and his successors was the prospect of the marriage of Philip IV's youngest son Robert to Frederick of Trinacria's daughter Constance around 1307, arranged to support Charles of Valois' ambitions over Constantinople, but which could have spelt future problems for the Angevins by establishing a much closer relationship between the French and Trinacrian kings. Fortunately for Charles II, Robert's premature death prevented the marriage from taking place.<sup>9</sup>

As we have seen, the marriage of Charles of Valois and Margaret of Anjou in 1290 took place as part of Charles II's plan to make peace with Aragon, by providing the poorly endowed French prince with a good apanage settlement that was weighted to be more favourable to him if he gave up his claims to Aragon. In the short term, the marriage was also linked to French military and financial support for the Sicilian war effort; in the longer term, it achieved the neutralization of Charles of Valois' maternal link to the house of Barcelona by giving him an Angevin bride and thus maintaining

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<sup>7</sup>Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, 314.

<sup>8</sup>Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, 11, 15, 368-72.

<sup>9</sup>For the Franco-Trinacrian alliance, see below p. 107, for Philip's pact with Wenceslas II, see Digard, *Philippe le Bel*, II, 140..

close family links with between the cadet Sicilian and the senior French branch of the Capetian royal house.

The death of Margaret in December 1299 opened the way for Charles of Valois' second marriage to Catherine of Courtenay in 1301. This was a useful deal of great potential benefit to Charles II, Boniface VIII and the couple themselves. Charles II and Boniface VIII stood to gain the military support that was desperately needed in the campaign against Frederick that had lost momentum since the withdrawal of James II of Aragon; Charles of Valois and Catherine of Courtenay both saw the opportunity of the reconquest of Constantinople for the future. For Charles II, the marriage also offered a means of renewing the bond between Charles of Valois and his family; as Charles II's other daughters were too close affines of Charles of Valois to be married to him without an unprecedented dispensation, Catherine offered the closest possible alternative, the second degree of affinity. Although Charles II still had close allies at the French court in the form of his stepmother Queen Margaret and Robert II of Artois, his determination to maintain the matrimonial connection with Charles of Valois illustrates his strong desire to keep close links with the senior Capetian line through a prince, who was the most Mediterranean-focussed of his generation, and as such, much more sympathetic to the interests of Charles II than other Capetian princes would have been and who, as King Philip's eldest brother, had a position of great influence at the French court.

*The attentat of Anagni and the Margaret of Clermont marriage project*

The breakdown in relationships between Boniface VIII and Philip IV that led to the so-called *attentat d'Anagni* has been well-documented; less has been written on the

repercussions it had on Charles II.<sup>10</sup> This is especially important to a study of his marriage policy as it coincided with the period of negotiations for a marriage between his son Raymond Berengar and another close relative of Philip IV.

The woman involved in the project was Margaret, daughter of Robert, Count of Clermont. Count Robert was one of the younger sons of Louis IX, and thus uncle to Philip IV; in fact, Margaret was the closest marriageable relative of the French king who could marry a son of Charles II, given the contemporary papal dispensation practice.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, the participation not only of King Philip, but also of his wife Queen Joanna, his brother Charles of Valois and sister-in-law Catherine of Courtenay is clear from documents concerning the negotiation and provision of Margaret's dowry.<sup>12</sup> The Margaret of Clermont marriage project, like the Charles of Valois one before it, had as its aim the reaffirmation of the close family bond between the main branch of the Capetian family and its Neapolitan cousins.

As for Raymond Berengar, Charles II's fifth son, the late date of the first marriage project he was known to have been involved with is indicative of his low importance in Charles II's dynastic plan up to 1300. Part of the reason for this delay lay in the long years of his captivity in Catalonia, but during this time, Raymond Berengar and his elder brothers had already lost ground on their free brother Philip, Charles' fourth son, who was married and well-endowed with lands and rights over a year before their release. After the death of Charles Martel, Charles II's attentions had

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<sup>10</sup>See esp. P. Dupuy, *Histoire du différend d'entre le pape Boniface VIII et Philippe le Bel Roy de France*, Paris, 1655; R. Holtzmann, *Wilhelm von Nogaret*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1921; T.S.R. Boase, *Boniface VIII*, London, 1933.

<sup>11</sup>Philip IV's sisters Blanche and Margaret were married; his daughter Isabella was too young; his brother Charles of Valois's daughters by Margaret of Anjou were granddaughters of Charles II. The closest relatives in the male line were thus the daughters of Robert, Count of Clermont, brother of Philip III. Ironically, it was at a tournament to mark the arrival of the future Charles II of Sicily at the court of Philip III in 1278, that Count Robert received the head injuries that badly affected his mental capacities for the rest of his life. See A. Pinvert, *Notice sur les sires de Bourbon, comtes de Clermont-en-Beauvaisis et sur le comté*, Paris, 1903, 10-11.

<sup>12</sup>Monti, *La dominazione angioina in Piemonte*, Turin, 1930, 401.

shifted to his third son, Robert, but despite this and the succession ruling of 1297 that placed him third in line, Raymond Berengar was not promoted by his father, either in terms of property settlement or marriage plans. It was only in the years between 1300 and 1304, when he was granted a number of honours in the Sicilian kingdom, including the honour of Monte Sant'Angelo and the counties of Gravina and Andria that Raymond Berengar's profile within the royal house began to be raised, with important implications for his matrimonial prospects; even at its greatest, however, Raymond Berengar's settlement was more than a shade poorer than Philip's.<sup>13</sup>

The negotiations for the marriage of Raymond Berengar and Margaret seem to have taken place over at least a three year period, although it could well have been longer. The beginnings of the project are unclear, but it may well have originated at the time that Raymond Berengar was staying at the court of Philip the Fair, in the spring of 1301.<sup>14</sup> Whatever the case, by August 1302, Charles II had sent two envoys to negotiate terms with Charles of Valois; that he was confident of a quick resolution is demonstrated by the fact that he was already making arrangements with the seneschal of Provence for Margaret's reception in the county and subsequent journey to the kingdom of Sicily.<sup>15</sup> The marriage was not concluded quickly, however: in January 1305, Philip IV was still engaged in providing for her dowry.<sup>16</sup> Interestingly, Raymond Berengar had just been made Count of Piedmont the previous month; as with the granting of titles and lands to his brothers Robert and Philip, this was a clear prelude to matrimony; that the matter was seriously close to conclusion is also indicated by Charles' own instructions to officials in Provence to buy dower lands worth 20, 000

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<sup>13</sup>Monti, *La dominazione angioina*, 71-5; P. F. Palumbo, 'Honor montis sancti Angeli', *Citta, terre e famiglie dall'eta sveva alla angioina*, Rome, 1989, 65.

<sup>14</sup>H. Moranville, 'Les projets de Charles de Valois sur l'empire de Constantinople', *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes*, LI (1890), 64n.1.

<sup>15</sup>Archives des Bouches-du-Rhône, B 1370, f 33v, 34.

<sup>16</sup>Monti, *La dominazione angioina* 401.



*livres* for the forthcoming bride.<sup>17</sup> Thereafter, however, there is no mention of Raymond Berengar's and Margaret's marriage; the absence of further documentary material makes it impossible to be sure if it took place at all. Although some historians have stated it as a fact, Gennaro Maria Monti doubted it, as Margaret was not mentioned in Raymond Berengar's will and there is no evidence that she ever set foot in the kingdom of Sicily.<sup>18</sup> In fact, this is not the only evidence that would support this view. Certainly, papal dispensations given to Margaret after Raymond Berengar's death refer to her as *domicelle*.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, it would appear that negotiations for an alternative marriage, between Raymond Berengar and Maria of Lusignan, sister of King Henry of Cyprus, were only halted by Raymond Berengar's death.<sup>20</sup> Whether or not the Margaret of Clermont match was still a proposition at this stage is unclear, but it seems more than likely that Raymond Berengar died unmarried; why the Clermont marriage did not take place can probably never be known. Certainly, in 1302, Raymond Berengar was not as well-endowed with lands and favours as he was in 1305, which may have been one of the reasons the project was revived. Another important reason for delays was that the breakdown of the relationship between the papacy and Philip the Fair between 1301 and 1304 hindered any matrimonial activity on the part of the French monarchy. As we have seen with the house of Barcelona, dispensations were a vital papal favour, that once denied, could damage any attempt to contract a useful matrimonial alliance. It is probably no coincidence then, that during 1301 to 1304 there was a cessation in papal dispensations granted to the close family of the French king. Marriages within this group that took place within this period were

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<sup>17</sup>Abbe Papon, *Histoire generale de Provence*, III, Paris, 1777-86, pr, XXXII.

<sup>18</sup>Palumbo, "*Honor montis Sancti Angeli*", 65 n.2; G. Conglio, 'Angio, Raimondo Berengano d', DBI, III, 272 among the former group, for Monti on the subject, see *Dominazione angioina in Piemonte*, 75,401.

<sup>19</sup>Two indulgences granted to Margaret in January 1306, see Clemens V, *Regestum*, ed. a cura et studio monachorum Ordinis S. Benedicti, Rome, 1885-92, no. 609, 649.

<sup>20</sup>See section on Jerusalem below p. 150-2.

either equipped with dispensations granted before the quarrel or had no need of one.<sup>21</sup> The projected marriage of Raymond Berengar to Margaret of Clermont would have required a dispensation for the third degree of consanguinity and there is no evidence that one was ever granted. For the period up to Benedict XI's rehabilitation of Philip in 1304, this may well have been due to papal opposition.<sup>22</sup> It was Benedict who ended the three-year drought in the summer of 1304 by granting a dispensation for the third degree of consanguinity for the marriages of Philip, eldest son of Charles of Valois and Joanna, daughter of Robert II of Burgundy and Hugh, son of Robert II of Burgundy and Catherine of Valois, combinations arranged more than a year earlier.<sup>23</sup> The sudden death of Benedict and the months before the coronation of his successor Clement V added a further period of delay that left little time before Raymond Berengar's death in 1305 for a dispensation to be granted.

Whether or not papal hostility actively held up the marriage, it is undoubtedly the case that the conflict posed difficult questions for the Neapolitan king, given the close ties he had to both parties, neither of whom he wanted to alienate. However, it also offered Charles II the opportunity to extort important favours and concessions from the beleaguered Boniface VIII that were to have considerable repercussions on his marriage policy.

Perhaps the most important consequence for Charles of the breakdown in relations between Boniface and Philip was the softening of the pope's attitude towards

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<sup>21</sup>The marriage of Philip IV's eldest son, Louis to Margaret of Burgundy in 1305 had been dispensed for consanguinity in 1300, similarly, the marriage of Isabella of Valois and John, grandson of John II of Brittany in 1303. Margaret of Clermont's sister Blanche married Robert of Auvergne and Boulogne in 1304, but this seems not to have needed a dispensation.

<sup>22</sup>See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, nos. 91-3 on the contemporaneous plan of a marriage between a son of Philip IV and a daughter of James II of Aragon, especially, no. 93, where King James has heard that Boniface VIII has revoked all the privileges of the Church of Rome on marriages that are to be conducted, and fears that he will refuse the dispensation for the marriage. For the lifting of all processes against King Philip by Benedict XI in March 1304, see *Les Registres de Benoît XI* nos. 1254-67.

<sup>23</sup>*Les Registres de Benoît XI*, no. 790, 3 June 1304.

the resolution of the Sicilian war. Boniface's initial condemnation of the Caltabellotta peace, or indeed any peace that did not result in the complete and immediate withdrawal of Frederick of Aragon from Sicily, could not withstand the growing need for allies against the French king. In the spring of 1303, as events in both Italy and France became more and more threatening, Boniface relented and confirmed the treaty, with a few alterations. He also gave the required dispensation for the marriage of Frederick and Charles II's daughter, Eleanor.<sup>24</sup> His change of heart was due to a desire to forge an alliance with both Charles II and Frederick against Philip IV and the Colonnas; indeed, there is some evidence that the two rival kings of Sicily were involved in some military co-operation in the immediate aftermath of the *attentat*.<sup>25</sup>

This was not the only political favour that Charles II gained during this period. Boniface's staunch objection to granting a dispensation for spiritual kinship for the marriage of Eleanor's younger sister Maria to Sancho of Majorca also crumbled.<sup>26</sup> This marriage project, hitherto scorned by the querulous pontiff and in serious danger of collapse, was thus saved from disaster. Again, it is likely that Boniface saw it as a way of building up credit with three powerful western Mediterranean kings in Charles II, James II of Majorca and James II of Aragon at a time when Philip IV was involved in marriage projects with two of them.<sup>27</sup>

Boniface's condemnation of Philip IV also coincided with a full commitment to support Charles II's grandson Charles Robert as prospective King of Hungary.<sup>28</sup> Given Boniface's recognition of Charles Robert's previous rival, the lately deceased Arpad

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<sup>24</sup>See above, p. 89.

<sup>25</sup>See P. Fedele, 'Per la storia dell'attentato d'Anagni', *Bulletino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano*, 41 (1921) 219-222.

<sup>26</sup>See above, p. 90.

<sup>27</sup>For the Franco-Aragonese negotiations, see Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 93.

<sup>28</sup>*Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, no. 5363, 31 May 1303, 5364-6, 11 Jun 1303, 5367-8, 3 Jun 1303; J. Kauffmann, *Eine Studie über die Beziehungen der Habsburger zum Königsreich Ungarn in den Jahren 1278 bis 1366*, Burgenländische Forschungen, Eisenstadt, 1970, 48.

Andrew III as king, this was a major step forward for the stuttering Angevin candidature, recently gazumped by the son of the Bohemian king, Wenceslas II. The switcharound in alliances at this time, evident in the Caltabellotta settlement, was completed by papal recognition of the Habsburg German king, Albert I, while Philip IV, rejecting both his Angevin relative and his recent Habsburg marriage alliance, negotiated with Wenceslas.<sup>29</sup>

That Philip would ally with Wenceslas at this time illustrates the very real dangers that Charles II could face from supporting the wrong side; there is also evidence of strain and distrust between Charles and Boniface. Some contemporaries interpreted Boniface's rapprochement with Frederick as a direct threat to the Neapolitan king. Ferreto of Vicenza portrays Boniface as blaming Charles II for not stopping the *attentat* and of trying to make an alliance with Frederick against him.<sup>30</sup> Not surprisingly, Guillaume de Nogaret in his denunciation of Boniface painted the recognition of Caltabellotta as a plot against Charles II and part of his hatred against the French in general.<sup>31</sup> In the later trial of Boniface, which took place after Charles's death, he even claimed that Charles had witnessed and condemned Boniface's black arts on seeing the the 'private demon' that the pope had inside a ring, which had belonged to King Manfred.<sup>32</sup>

Clearly, this was a confused period for Charles II. Papal backing for his matrimonial schemes and dynastic goals was very strong after a period of disagreement; the one exception may have been the Clermont marriage. Indeed, the hiatus between 1302 and 1305 may be explained by the possibility that the project was dropped altogether at this time due to the conflict, by either or both Charles and Philip, only to

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<sup>29</sup>Digard, *Philippe le Bel*, II, 140, Kauffmann, 47.

<sup>30</sup>Ferreto of Vicenza, *Historia*, Murator, *RIS*, IX, bk III, col. 1010C, Fedele, 219.

<sup>31</sup>Dupuy, 104, 340-2.

<sup>32</sup>Dupuy, 331-3

be resumed once Philip IV had returned to papal favour in 1304-5. While Charles did maintain a close relationship with the papacy, there is no proof, however, that he actively opposed his cousin of France. Like James II's war against Frederick, conflict with Philip would have gone against Charles's dynastic loyalties: he was keen above all to keep close bonds with all his close relatives, by blood or marriage. Charles was probably very reluctant to get deeply involved on either side. Certainly, he reacted with horror against the *attentat* itself and made efforts to punish the culprits, although like Benedict XI, these actions were directed at individuals involved directly in the crime and not their French royal backer. According to Aragonese sources, Charles seems to have offered to mediate with Philip in person in March 1302, but little else is known, and it was clearly unsuccessful.<sup>33</sup> Guillaume de Nogaret later claimed as a defence against the charges of Benedict XI, that he was unable to go to the papal see due to threats to his life and that he had had to negotiate through Charles II.<sup>34</sup> Whatever the case, despite losing out on a useful marriage alliance with France, Charles demonstrated considerable political skill by obtaining much greater prizes for his house in securing the Sicilian peace and the Majorcan alliance and their attendant marriages.

*The daughters of Charles of Valois and Catherine of Courtenay*

The marriage of Charles of Valois and Catherine of Courtenay in January 1301 gave the French prince claims to the as yet unreconquered Latin Empire of Constantinople and overlordship over Frankish Greece; the peace of Caltabellotta provided the best conditions for two decades for reconquest since the planned

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<sup>33</sup> *Item sciatis, inclite domine, quod auditis rumoribus de Frantia supradictis rex Carohus obtulit se pape, quod propter hoc libenter ad regem Frantie accederet et eum ad statum pristinum revocaret.* Report of G. de Albalato to James II, 18 March 1302, Rome, pub. in Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII*, no. 11.

<sup>34</sup> Dupuy, 251.

expedition of Charles of Anjou had been halted by the Sicilian Vespers rebellion. The background of Charles of Valois' planned expedition has been covered elsewhere; what is important for this study is its relationship to the marriage policy of Catherine's uncle, Charles II of Sicily.<sup>35</sup>

The marriage of Charles of Valois and Catherine of Courtenay proved fecund very quickly. Their eldest daughter, also named Catherine, was born within a year<sup>36</sup>; a sister, Joanna, followed shortly after. A short-lived son, John, Count of Chartres was also born to a couple, as was another daughter, Isabella, but the essential fact is that for all but a brief period, Catherine and Joanna were the heiresses of the Latin Empire and succeeded their mother as the most desirable matches in Mediterranean Europe in the first decade of the fourteenth century.<sup>37</sup>

Charles of Valois' plan to reconquer the Latin Empire emerged quickly after his marriage to Catherine; his desire for a quick peace between Charles II and Frederick of Trinacria was undoubtedly motivated by his intention to win the support of both for his scheme, something he tried to achieve in agreements made immediately after the Caltabellotta peace was signed.<sup>38</sup> By 1303, Charles initiated a series of marriage negotiations involving his infant daughters by Catherine and his sons by his first marriage to Margaret of Anjou-Sicily that were intended to bind useful allies to both the short-term and long-term outcome of the reconquest. The first port of call was Duke Robert II of Burgundy, son-in-law of St Louis and as inheritor of claims to the kingdom of Thessalonica, a likely backer of any Latin reconquest plans. A planned future marriage was forged between Robert's son and heir Hugh and the baby

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<sup>35</sup>For Charles of Valois' attempts to gain the Latin Empire, see especially Pett, *Charles de Valois*, 106-13; Angeliki E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II 1282-1328*. Cambridge, Mass., 1972, 200-20, 233-42..

<sup>36</sup>Catherine was baptised in Siena on 18 November 1301. See Pett, *Charles de Valois*, 65.

<sup>37</sup>On the children of Charles of Valois, see Pett, *Charles de Valois*, 236-49, esp. 244-5 for his children by Catherine..

<sup>38</sup>For the agreement with Frederick, dated 27 September 1302, see Du Cange, p. 43

Catherine of Valois on the one hand, while Hugh's sister Joanna was promised to Catherine's half-brother Philip.<sup>39</sup> In 1306-7, this was augmented by a double marriage plan with King Frederick of Trinacria, supported by Philip IV - Robert, fourth son of Philip IV was to marry Frederick's daughter Constance, while Charles of Valois' third daughter by Catherine, Isabella was to marry Frederick's eldest son Peter.<sup>40</sup> In 1308, Charles secured the support of the Serbian ruler Stephen Milutin by the proposed marriage of his second son Charles to Stephen's daughter.<sup>41</sup>

As the major power in Frankish Greece, it is not surprising that Charles II became drawn into Charles of Valois' matrimonial web. The fact that the Valois heiresses were only second cousins to similarly aged grandsons of Charles II meant that dispensations were much more likely than the ground-breaking ones for the second degree of consanguinity that would have been necessary for the marriage of their

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<sup>39</sup>E. Petit, *Histoire des ducs*, VI, 104 and P.J. 5683; Du Cange, 45; Pett, *Charles de Valois*, 45. For Hugh's renewal of consent in 1306 after the death of his father for his marriage with Catherine and his sister's marriage to Philip of Valois, see A.N. J 410, nos. 17, 18.

<sup>40</sup>On 29 May 1306, Frederick III of Trinacria constituted Eximenus de Yver and Perronus Guercii his procurators to negotiate the marriage of his daughter Constance and the youngest son of King Philip of France. A.N. J. 408, no. 13. In October 1306, Johannes Burgundi reported to James II of Aragon that envoys of King Frederick, who had come to France, had not yet arrived at... H. Finke, (ed.) *Papsttum und Untergang des Templeordens*, Münster i. W., 1907, no. 16. On 4 October 1306, the conventions *pro matrimonio inter Robertum filium regis Francie et Constanciam filiam regis Sicilie* were drawn up. Constance was to have a dowry of 50,000 oz. of gold and to be sent to the French court to be brought up. Philip IV was to send ambassadors to see her by All Saints 1307, then Constance was to return with them. The dowry was to be paid by All Saints 1308, with damages if the agreement was broken by Frederick. A.N. J. 408, nos. 12, 14. A month later, on 9 November 1306, Johannes Burgundi wrote to James II of Aragon to tell them that Frederick's envoys had negotiated and agreed marriages between the daughter of King Frederick and the third-born son of King Philip [i.e. the future Charles IV] and the son of King Frederick and the daughter of the Lord Charles, i.e. Charles of Valois. See Finke, *Papsttum*, no. 19. This news he repeated in a letter, dated 25 February 1307; however, on 27 March 1307, Johannes Burgundi reported to James conflicting accounts of Frederick's envoys and Cardinal Stephen, former chancellor of the King of France, who said *pro certo de tercio genito nichil erat actum*. Finke, *Papsttum*, nos. 22, 23. On 14 May 1307, Johannes Burgundi sent another report to James II, after conversations with Cardinal Stephen and Johannes de Rochafort, James' knight, that Charles of Valois had three daughters by his second wife: the first [Catherine] had to contract with the son of the Duke of Burgundy; that the treaty concerning the son of King Frederick was with the third daughter [Isabella], while the treaty had mentioned nothing of the second daughter [Joanna]. Finke, *Papsttum*, no. 23. On this marriage project also see Brown, *Customary Aids*, 24..

<sup>41</sup>For the treaty of Lys of 27 March 1308, see Petit, *Charles de Valois*, 111-12

mother Catherine to one of Charles II's sons:<sup>42</sup> this gave Charles II an opportunity to secure claims to the Latin Empire for one of his male line that was absent a generation earlier. Even more worrying must have been the possibility of the Franco-Trinacrian alliance. The fact that Philip IV was prepared to marry one of his sons to the daughter of Frederick of Trinacria implied a degree of alliance that would have been deeply threatening to Charles II, especially as the marriage contract termed Constance, *filiam regis Sicilie*, a recognition of Frederick's rights to the title that Charles II claimed for himself.<sup>43</sup> In the summer of 1307, probably in an attempt to neutralize this untoward development, Charles II arrived in Poitiers in person, with the aim of securing the yet-to-be affianced Joanna of Valois for his grandson Charles of Calabria to find to his annoyance that a rival bid had already emerged from his son-in-law James II of Aragon, who wanted Joanna for his son Alfonso.<sup>44</sup>

In 1307, Charles II was well behind in the race to secure the inheritance of the claims to Constantinople, but the next six years were to usher in a reversal of fortune and a glorious matrimonial success for the Neapolitan royal family over their rivals. Perhaps a lack of enthusiasm for a reconquest campaign to help Charles of Valois or the possibility of the birth of a healthy son to Catherine of Courtenay held Charles II back, but this situation changed with the events of 1307-8. Firstly, the death of the Empress Catherine in the autumn of 1307 without male heirs increased the value of the Valois princesses substantially, as no little brother could come to deprive them of their

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<sup>42</sup>For the effective bar on marriages between first cousins till the 1320s, see below p. 175 n. 36. This also explains why the agreements between Charles II and Charles of Valois, unlike the Burgundian ones, did not include complementary marriages between Philip or Charles, sons of Charles of Valois and Margaret of Anjou and any of the daughters of Philip of Taranto and Thamar of Epirus, as they were first cousins. This also explains why Philip and Charles were not included in the projects involving James II of Aragon and Frederick of Trinacria, both married to sisters of Margaret - presumably the reason why the more distantly related Robert of France was substituted to marry Constance of Trinacria.

<sup>43</sup>A.N. J 408, nos. 12, 14.

<sup>44</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 305.



inheritance.<sup>45</sup> Secondly, the marriage plan between Catherine of Valois and Hugh of Burgundy began to be called into question, as both Charles of Valois and Philip IV seem to have had increasing doubts over the Burgundian's ability to provide the necessary military and financial support for a successful reconquest. Meanwhile, the death of Robert of France and disputes between Charles of Valois' supporters and Frederick of Trinacria's proteges, the Catalan Company seem to have wrecked the nascent Franco-Trinacrian alliance.<sup>46</sup> In these circumstances, Charles II and James II of Aragon emerged as the two most likely supporters of a reconquest. This was reflected in a change of prospective marriage partners for the Valois princesses. By January 1309, Philip IV was appealing to Clement V that the engagement of Hugh of Burgundy and Catherine of Valois be repressed and that he grant dispensations for a new set of matrimonial combinations : Catherine of Valois and Charles of Taranto (henceforth replacing his cousin, Charles of Calabria in the negotiations), Joanna of Valois and the second son of the King of Aragon, while Hugh of Burgundy was to be demoted to a marriage with Margaret of Valois, daughter of Charles and Margaret of Anjou, and thus having a much weaker claim to the Latin Empire.<sup>47</sup>

Thus, Angevin ambitions concerning the Valois heiresses were centred round two of Charles II's grandsons, Charles of Calabria and Charles of Taranto; the fact that these two were promoted by their grandfather rather than other unmarried male members of the royal house demonstrates their importance in the dynastic plan of Charles II and followed on from his promotion of their fathers, Robert of Calabria and

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<sup>45</sup>Petit, *Charles de Valois*, 120, 244-5.

<sup>46</sup>Brown, 'The prince is the father of the king', 311 and n.102 for the discussion as to whether Robert died in August 1307 or August 1308. The marriages of Philip IV's remaining unmarried sons, Philip and Charles to Joanna and Blanche of Burgundy in 1307 and 1308 also ruled out any prospect of Robert being replaced by one of his brothers as potential husband of Constance of Trinacria, while Isabella of Valois was engaged to Louis, son of Louis, Count of Nevers in March 1308. Brown, *Customary Aids*, 24; Petit, *Charles of Valois*, 114, 134.

<sup>47</sup>Clement V's reply to Philip, 26 January 1309, from the monastery of Boulbonne, is published in G. Lizerand, *Clement V et Philippe IV le Bel*, Paris, 1910, p. 453-6.

Philip of Taranto. As Charles II's reign came to an end, Charles of Calabria's chances of succeeding to the Sicilian kingdom improved, while Charles of Taranto always stood to inherit his father's vast possessions in Greece and southern Italy, notwithstanding the succession compact of 1297. In these circumstances, their marriages mattered more than older but junior members of the family, such as their cousin Charles Robert of Hungary or their uncles, John and Peter, whose matrimonial careers do not seem to have been advanced at all by Charles II. It was ironic that Charles of Calabria and Charles of Taranto's rivals in this respect were not relatives in the male line, but Alfonso of Aragon and Peter of Trinacria, also grandsons of Charles II, but in the female line.

The death of Charles II in May 1309 did not interrupt the negotiations; they continued with even more vigour in the following years. In 1309-10, the death of Thamar, Princess of Taranto released her husband Philip onto the marriage market; as inheritor of the Greek elements of the Angevin inheritance, Philip was much the best candidate for Catherine and soon supplanted his son. The desire for the close alliance between Charles of Valois and his Angevin relatives was further enhanced by a scheme to marry his newborn daughter, Maria, by his third wife, Matilda of Saint-Pol to Charles of Calabria, a project that faltered at this stage, but which was to come to fruition in 1324, after the death of Charles of Calabria's first wife, Catherine of Austria.<sup>48</sup> Meanwhile, Charles of Valois' inability to get his reconquest plan off the ground had led to a truce between his allies the Venetians and Andronicus II; the disappointed prince now looked to cede his rights over the Latin Empire to his eldest daughter and her husband.

The cause of the delay in celebrating these marriages sooner seems to have been the objections of Duke Hugh of Burgundy to the breaking-off of his marriage

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<sup>48</sup>Caggese, *Roberto d'Angio*, I, 114, 657-8

project with Catherine. Under these circumstances, Pope Clement V refused to give the necessary dispensations for the Taranto-Valois marriages as late as 1312, although he allowed Philip and his children to marry anyone else related to them in the third or fourth degrees of consanguinity.<sup>49</sup> The Taranto-Valois faction, however, were not about to give up and the stakes were raised when young Catherine, announcing a very premature puberty, declared that she would not marry Hugh, but Philip of Taranto, citing the same objection that her mother had used against Frederick of Aragon.<sup>50</sup> Stubbornness paid off and in the winter and spring of 1312-13, a deal was forged with both the Burgundians and Clement V, who blessed it with a string of dispensations.<sup>51</sup> The Angevins emerged even better off than before as Philip of Taranto's marriage to Catherine was supported by that of Charles of Taranto to Joanna, thus ensuring that the Latin Empire would fall to a Taranto prince. The long-delayed marriage of Philip of Valois to Joanna of Burgundy was celebrated at last, but with a financial penalty, while Burgundian pride was also appeased by the granting of the kingdom of Thessalonica to Hugh's younger brother, Louis, who in addition was married to Matilda of Hainault, established as Princess of Achaia by Philip of Taranto.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Reg. Clement V, nos. 8056, 8057.

<sup>50</sup>A.N. J 411, nos. 23, 24; J 510, no. 20; Du Cange, *Histoire, Chartes*, p. 65; Petit, *Charles de Valois*, 123. Charles of Valois also rebuffed the bishop sent by Andronicus II to the Council of Vienne to ask for Catherine's hand for one of his sons, answering that she would marry Philip of Taranto. See the letter of James II of Aragon to Vidal de Vilanova, Huesca, 7 Jun 1311, Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, no. 465; Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 241.

<sup>51</sup>In the dispensation finally granted by Pope Clement V to Philip of Taranto and Catherine of Valois on 21 December 1312, it was stressed that Catherine was *proxima pubertati* and that she assented, whereas she had not been seven or even six when the previous contract was made, that she had not been taken to the household of Duke Hugh, nor had she made an assent after her seventh year. The marriage was also recommended as useful for the recovery of Constantinople, as the couple could produce powerful offspring, and as the prince had extensive lands nearby. Clemens V, *Regestum*, no. 8898. The dispensation for the marriage of Charles of Taranto and Joanna of Valois, however, was not granted until 19 May 1313. Clement V, *Regestum*, no. 9276. See also Clement V, *Regestum*, no. 8897, Avignon, 23 December 1312 (absolution of vows made by Charles of Valois, Catherine and Hugh and those renewed by Hugh on Duke Robert's death)

<sup>52</sup>A.N. J 411 nos. 25, 28, 29, 31, 33, J 510 nos. 20 bis, 21, 21 bis no.2, 21 bis no 3; Petit, *Charles de Valois*, 123. As for Hugh of Burgundy, his previously mooted match with Margaret of Valois had been dropped; she married John of Châtillon, later Count of Blois in 1311. Hugh died childless in 1315.

All in all, the Valois marriages were a posthumous triumph for Charles II. Yet again, the Angevins were able to see off difficult - in this case, Burgundian, Aragonese and Trinacrian - opposition to secure the best deal for their house on the marriage market.

### Provence and the kingdom of Arles<sup>53</sup>

Closely linked to relations with their Capetian cousins in France, of course, were affairs in the county of Provence. Bordering on the French kingdom, it fell in imperial territory within the ancient kingdom of Arles. Acquired by the marriage of Charles of Anjou to the heiress Beatrice, this rich county became, along with the kingdom of Sicily, the central domain of the Angevin rulers. For Charles II, the vital importance of Provence, his birthplace, is underlined by the amount of time he and members of his family spent there and by his determination to keep Provence united with the kingdom of Sicily as Robert's inheritance. Its impact on his marriage policy, however, was marginal and illustrates the retrenchment of Angevin ambition in the kingdom of Arles during his reign.

#### *The establishment of the Capetians in Provence*

Charles of Anjou's fortune had been made in 1246 when he was married to Beatrice, youngest daughter and heiress of Raymond Berengar, Count of Provence. Although it took over a decade for the young count to establish himself in a secure position there, due to opposition from among the towns, the nobles and from his own mother-in-law, Beatrice of Savoy, the prosperous and strategically important county

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<sup>53</sup> For this section, see esp Genealogical Tables I, II, IV, VI.

was to become one of the two cornerstones of Angevin power, along with the kingdom of Sicily after acting as a launch-pad for Charles's Italian conquests.

Although after the 1250s, Charles' main drive for acquisition shifted away from the kingdom of Arles, first to Hainault, then into Italy and the east, he continued to nurse ambitions in the Rhône area. In 1257, he bought the claims of William des Baux, Prince of Orange to the kingdom of Arles; in 1271, he claimed, though without success, the succession of the county of Poitiers from his lately deceased brother Alfonso and the Comtat-Venaissin from his late sister-in-law Joanna of Toulouse.<sup>54</sup> Always alive to dynastic opportunity, he urged his nephew Philip III of France to seek election as emperor in 1272-3, the first of a series of Capetian candidacies to imperial thrones that illustrated the dynamic self-confidence of the French royal family at this time. The most ambitious project that he became involved with, however, was a matrimonial scheme that was to have repercussions into the reign of Charles II and beyond.

*The Habsburg alliance and the kingdom of Arles*

The candidacy of Philip III to the empire failed; the winner, Rudolf of Habsburg, with family lands in what is now German-speaking Switzerland, was already an important player in the kingdom of Arles. Shortly after Rudolf's accession, Pope Gregory X tried to smooth over tensions over Charles's retention of imperial vicariates in Italy and Rudolf's close connections to the Hohenstaufen by furthering a marriage between Charles' grandson Charles Martel and Rudolf's daughter Guta. This did not come off, and the coolness between Sicilian and German kings grew threatening to Charles in the kingdom of Arles. Firstly, in 1274, Rudolf appeared to accede to the demands of Charles's sister-in-law, Margaret of Provence, who claimed part of the

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<sup>54</sup>Papon, *Histoire generale de Provence*, III, 53

county. Three years later, he was drawn into a planned marriage between his second son, Hartmann and Joanna, daughter of Edward I of England, backed by Margaret and her sister Eleanor, Joanna's grandmother. involving the coronation of Hartmann as king of Arles and presumably, the imposition of Margaret's claims on Charles of Anjou. This menace was staved off by an alternative plan that emerged in the summer of 1278. Under this scheme, Guta having married Wenceslas II of Bohemia, Charles Martel was promised to her sister Clementia. The kingdom of Arles was to be Clementia's dowry, Charles of Anjou was to be confirmed as count of Provence, while papal support favoured Rudolf's chances of full coronation as emperor. An added attraction of the alliance was the common enmity that Rudolf and Charles had for the counts of Savoy, their rivals in Helvetia and Piedmont respectively, Margaret's desire for peace between Rudolf and her Savoyard uncles and cousins seems to held less appeal for the Habsburg. Contemporary sources also mention the scheme of Pope Nicholas III to secure the division of the empire into three hereditary segments, Rudolf securing Germany and Nicholas northern and central Italy for his Orsini relatives. Whether this was ever a serious part of the scheme, it would not have outlived Nicholas, who died in 1280. The marriage plan continued to flourish, while the English scheme faded. In the spring of 1281, Clementia duly left Vienna for the journey to Naples, where she was to be brought up until the couple were of an age to marry. What is more remarkable, however, is that, unlike most other schemes involving the kingdom of Arles, the Habsburg-Angevin marriage project seems to have been a serious attempt to establish an active kingship. While Charles of Salerno mustered his forces for a possible conquest of Lyons and Vienne and built up a coalition of supporters within the kingdom, Margaret of Provence led a powerful group of opponents, including Robert II, Duke of Burgundy, Otto IV, Count of Burgundy and Philip, Count of Savoy, who

declared their determination to resist an Angevin kingship at Mâcon, with the hope of military support from Edward I of England.<sup>55</sup>

The attempt to recreate the kingdom of Arles under Charles Martel was also a testament to the importance of the counties of Provence and Fourcalquier to Charles I. Although acquired by marriage, the counties, along with the Sicilian kingdom, had grown to become the core of the Angevin landholdings. Just as Charles I had not granted the counties in apanage to his younger son Philip, so the desire to establish Charles Martel as king of Arles meant that Charles I and Charles of Salerno intended for the kingdom of Arles, and therefore also Provence and Fourcalquier that it included, to follow the senior line of succession along with the kingdoms of Sicily and Jerusalem.

*The Sicilian Vespers, the breakdown of the plan and the accession of Charles II*

As it turned out, the Angevin kingship of Arles did not materialize, not because of the league of Mâcon, but because of events taking place further south - the Sicilian Vespers of March 1282. Charles of Salerno's forces were withdrawn from the Rhône area to fight in the Sicilian war. As Angevin military efforts were concentrated on attempts to regain Sicily for the next two decades, the kingdom of Arles scheme was effectively over. Not only were Lyons and Vienne not conquered, but even the title, like that of Sardinia, fell into disuse. Although Charles II continued to use that of Jerusalem after the fall of Acre and his son that of Hungary although he was never able to set foot there, let alone be crowned, all pretensions of holding the kingdom of Arles seem to have faded for the rest of Charles II's reign. In such circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the last few years of the reign of Charles I and the first few of Charles II

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<sup>55</sup>On the marriage scheme, see especially Resmini, 131-75 ; Eugene L. Cox, *The Eagles of Savoy*, 14-23, Pett, *Histoire des ducs*, V, 37.

witnessed the weakening of both the Habsburg alliance and the Mâcon league. In 1283, Charles of Anjou and Margaret of Provence at last came to a settlement; some erstwhile opponents like Peter, Count of Alençon and Otto, Count of Burgundy even joined the Angevin campaign against the Aragonese in Sicily or later the crusade against Aragon.<sup>56</sup> The following year, Emperor Rudolf, seeking new alliances in the kingdom, married Isabella, half-sister of Robert II, Duke of Burgundy and recognised the latter's claims to the dauphinate of Viennois, as against Humbert of La Tour and Anne of Viennois, vassals of Charles of Sicily and recognised as dauphins by him.<sup>57</sup> Angevin weakness in Provence was illustrated by the request of the dying Charles I to his nephew Philip III of France to act as its guardian on his death in January 1285.<sup>58</sup>

Despite the failure of the main components of the deal, the Habsburg marriage itself remained in place after the death of Charles I, when the Angevin lands were ruled in the name of the young Charles Martel during the captivity of Charles II in Catalonia; Clementia continued to live with some of the other Angevin royal children in the kingdom of Sicily in preparation for the consummation of the marriage. Even this, however, was to come under threat with the Cefalù treaty. It was just as well for Clementia that the treaty, made under duress, was never accepted by successive popes, Charles Martel or the regent Robert of Artois. The birth of a son, Charles Robert in 1288 to Charles Martel and Clementia, shows that it was decided to consummate the marriage before the release of Charles II and thus stall any attempt by the freed king to revive any matrimonial project similar to Cefalù. By 1288, then, from its illustrious beginnings, the Habsburg marriage had become something of a negative move to prevent a far worse scheme from being realized.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>Petit, *Histoire des ducs*, VI, 41; Fournier, 269;

<sup>57</sup>Petit, *Histoire des ducs*, V, 149; Fournier, 258; Cox, 438-43.

<sup>58</sup>Fournier, 264.

<sup>59</sup>On Charles Martel and Clementia in the 1280s, see Schupa, *Carlo Martello*.



*The release of Charles II. Senlis. Tarascon and Cudrefin*

The release of Charles II from captivity in Catalonia at the end of 1288 marked a new phase in Provençal affairs, as the king's attempts to formulate a peace deal with Alfonso III of Aragon and Philip IV of France over Sicily affected the county. The negotiations leading up to the treaty of Brignoles and the marriage of Charles' daughter Margaret to Charles of Valois had important repercussions for Provence as Charles II exchanged his father's apanages within the kingdom of France - the counties of Anjou and Maine - for Philip IV's share of Avignon, part of the French king's inheritance from Alfonso of Poitiers.<sup>60</sup> This served to consolidate Charles's hold on the east bank of the Rhône, but the French king remained a powerful neighbour, his officials based at Beaucaire on the other side of the river from Angevin Tarascon. More importantly, the agreements emphasized the reorientation of the Sicilian Capetians from their northern French roots towards the Mediterranean. The crucial importance of the counties of Provence and Fourcalquier to this schema were underlined by these agreements.

The reemergence of Charles II does not seem to have revived plans to implement the Habsburg marriage agreement, as far as the kingdom of Arles was concerned. It is possible, however, that this may have been on the agenda of Charles' meeting with the Emperor Rudolf at Cudrefin at the end of April 1291. Unfortunately, the lack of surviving evidence as to what was discussed means that one can only speculate. It seems likely that Charles was interested in support for his family's Hungarian claims and especially in persuading Rudolf to give up imperial claims to lordship over the crown of Saint Stephen that he had advanced with the aim of setting

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<sup>60</sup>For the marriage terms, see p. 44-7 above. For the donation made by Philip IV to Charles II of his share of Avignon, see Papon, *Histoire générale de Provence*, III, pr. no. XXIII; J. de Romefort, 'Le Rhône de l'Ardeche a la mer, frontière des Capetiens au XIIIe siècle', *Revue Historique*, CLXI (mai-août 1929), 87; Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* 366.

his son Albert on the Hungarian throne. On the other hand, Rudolf's meeting at Murten a couple of days after Cudrefin with a number of Savoyard enemies, such as Humbert I of Viennois, Count Arnadeus of Geneva and Count Aymar of Valentinois, suggests an attempt to build up a grand alliance against Count Arnadeus of Savoy.<sup>61</sup> The death of Rudolf in June, however, effectively ruled out any major schemes, as the Habsburgs went into eclipse during the subsequent six-year reign of Adolf of Nassau.<sup>62</sup>

*Charles II, Philip IV, the English war and the Dauphins of Viennois*

While Charles II seemed to show little interest in reviving the kingdom of Arles after his accession, his cousin Philip IV of France moved to extend his power within the kingdom. In 1286, for example, he acted as mediator between Robert II of Burgundy and Humbert of La Tour over their rival claims to the dauphinate of Viennois, a role more naturally played by their overlords Charles II and Rudolf I.<sup>63</sup> Despite the cession of his share of Avignon to Charles II, the French king asserted his rights to the islands and river bed of the Rhône, clashed with Charles II over his bridge at Avignon and built a threatening testament to his power in the tower at Villeneuve-lès-Avignon on the west bank.<sup>64</sup>

A comparison of their marriage policies reveals a striking difference with the reigns of their predecessors Philip III and Charles I - now it was the French king who was making the important gains, while Charles seems to have been moving in his slipstream. In 1291, Philip took advantage of the indebted Otto, Count of Burgundy to secure an agreement for the future marriage of Otto's daughter and heiress Joanna to

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<sup>61</sup>Redlich, 639; Fournier, 278-9; Resmini, 271.

<sup>62</sup>Fournier, 280.

<sup>63</sup>Redlich, 615; Cox, 443.

<sup>64</sup>de Romefort, 'Le Rhône', 87-8; Strayer, 366.

one of his sons; four years later, the deal was confirmed.<sup>65</sup> The Sicilian king's role in the affair was to convey the dispensation granted by Boniface VIII.<sup>66</sup>

Compared to this marriage, Charles II's major matrimonial scheme, an alliance with the dauphins of Viennois, was small beer. In 1296, Charles arranged the marriage of his granddaughter, Beatrice of Anjou-Hungary to John, eldest son and heir of Humbert and Anne of Viennois. The size of the dowry, 20, 000 *livres tournois*, was but a fifth of that given to Beatrice's aunt Blanche of Anjou in marriage to James II the previous year, the death of Beatrice's father Charles Martel in 1295 had led to the demotion of Beatrice, her sister and brother within the family hierarchy, that was to be confirmed by the succession compact of 1297, which lowered them past all of Charles II's children as heirs to the kingdom of Sicily. Beatrice was thus a low status princess within the Angevin family and allotted a poor dowry - the Viennois marriage was clearly not a flagship alliance for Charles II.<sup>67</sup>

However, the dauphins had been important Angevin allies and vassals since Anne's father Guigues VII had sworn homage to Charles I for the Gapençais region in 1257, and had supported them over the kingdom of Arles.<sup>68</sup> This alliance was deepened by a common enmity : due to a dispute over the inheritance of the parents of Beatrice of Savoy-Faucigny, *La Grande Dauphine*, Anne's mother, the dauphins had a long-running quarrel with the house of Savoy, also rivals of the Angevins in Piedmont.<sup>69</sup> The marriage thus served to maintain this close link between friendly

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<sup>65</sup>Brown, *Customary Aids*, 22-3; Fournier, 299-300.

<sup>66</sup>*Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, no. 218, 1 July 1295.

<sup>67</sup>For the marriage contract, dated 25 May 1296, see J.P. Valbonnais, *Histoire de Dauphiné et des Princes qui ont porté le nom des Dauphins*, Geneva, 1722, *Preuves sous Humbert Ier*, LXXIV, b. 77 and a. 247; for the ratification made by Anne, Dauphine of Viennois, 26 March 1297, of the conventions made in March 1296 and the assignation of the dowry of Beatrice, 3000 *librarum ceronatorum* p.a. in Gapençais, Embrunois and Briançais, see Papon, *Histoire générale de Provence*, III, pr. no. XXIX.

<sup>68</sup>Valbonnais, a. 173; Resmini, 160-1.

<sup>69</sup>Cox, 368-71, 374-8; Resmini, 91-100; for the wars which resumed in 1286, see Valbonnais, 235-6; Carlo Alberto, Conte di Gerbaux di Sonnaz, *Studi storici sul contado di Savoia e marchesato in Italia nell'età del mezzo*, Turin, 1883, III, 24-5, 34-9, 55-6.

neighbours and natural allies within the kingdom of Arles. However, its timing owed more to the exigencies of Philip IV's alliance structures during his war with Edward I in 1294-7. Both kings were keen to build up support from imperial princes, both in the Low Countries and the kingdom of Arles. Edward I, allied with the German king Adolf, had a long-standing friendship with the house of Savoy through his mother Eleanor of Provence. Count Amadeus V even named his eldest son Edward and was a staunch ally of his English cousin. In such circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the dauphin of Viennois should gravitate towards the opposing camp.<sup>70</sup> Indeed, as a taste of things to come, Philip IV made Dauphin Humbert a money vassal in 1294, part of a trend towards seeking vassals among the main noble and spiritual powers in the kingdom of Arles.<sup>71</sup> The Angevin marriage took place in the aftermath of a visit by Humbert and John to the French court in Paris; the determination on the marriage may be explained by desires to foil the alternative plans of *La Grande Dauphine* for John and his sister Alice - double marriage and peace settlement with the house of Savoy.<sup>72</sup> In the event, the Savoy-Viennois project was scuppered by Pope Boniface VIII, who specifically refused a dispensation and steered Margaret of Savoy, John's intended, to a marriage with John, Marquis of Montferrat instead.<sup>73</sup> To complete the shuffling of a complicated matrimonial structure, John of Montferrat himself was denied a dispensation to marry the Capetian princess Maria, daughter of Robert, Count of Clermont, removing the final obstacle to the Montferrat-Savoy match.<sup>74</sup> Whatever the case, the Angevin marriage served to fix the dauphin within the Capetian alliance structure and avert the possibility of a settlement with Anglophile Savoy. As if to

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<sup>70</sup>For the coalitions of Philip and Edward, see Fournier, 291-3; Gerbaix di Sonnaz, *Studi storici*, 80-1.

<sup>71</sup>Valbonnais, a. 246; Fournier, 288.

<sup>72</sup>On the Savoy-Viennois marriage project, see Gerbaix di Sonnaz, *Studi storici*, 78, 102-5. For Humbert and John's visit to the French court, see Valbonnais, 247.

<sup>73</sup>*Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, no. 887.

<sup>74</sup>*Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, no. 886. For the marriage agreement between John and Maria, the second daughter of Count Robert, 13 October 1295, Vincennes, A.N. J 408 no 8

reinforce the point, the widowed Count Amadeus, previously linked with the sister of John of Viennois, moved to try to forge a deeper alliance with Edward by marrying his daughter, Joanna, Countess of Gloucester, (and ex-fiancee of Hartmann of Habsburg); on the revelation of Joanna's clandestine marriage to the knight Ralph de Monthermer, Amadeus adjusted by marrying Maria of Brabant, whose brother was married to a daughter of Edward I, and who was escorted to the Alps by a son-in-law of Edward I.<sup>75</sup> In the final twist, Alice of Viennois, previously linked to Amadeus, was married to John, Count of Forez, vassal of Philip IV. Unsurprisingly, war between Humbert of Viennois and Amadeus of Savoy resumed in 1297.<sup>76</sup>

Clearly, during the period of the English war, Charles II had greater priorities than the kingdom of Arles. The Anagni settlement had already precluded the alternative Franco-Aragonese marriage alliance and having deprived Philip IV of Aragonese military support against Edward I, it is not surprising that Charles made efforts to be supportive of his cousin in the area where he could exercise his influence to greatest benefit without jeopardizing the Sicilian peace - the kingdom of Arles.

*The death of Charles Martel, the kingdom of Arles and the future of Provence*

The deaths of Charles Martel and Clementia of Habsburg in the summer of 1295 had important repercussions, not just on the succession of the kingdom of Sicily, but also the counties of Provence and Fourcalquier and presumably, that of the kingdom of Arles. Had the marriage agreement been carried through to its conclusion and Charles Martel and Clementia become king and queen of Arles, even in name, then there is little doubt that the succession of the kingdom, and so also of the counties of

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<sup>75</sup>Gerbaix di Sonnaz, *Studi storici*, 78-80. Mana's brother John II of Brabant had married Margaret, daughter of Edward I of England in 1290; Mana was escorted by Henry, Count of Bar, married to Eleanor, also daughter of Edward I of England and once engaged to Alfonso III of Aragon. Mana, of course, is not to be confused with her aunt of the same name, wife of Philip III of France.

<sup>76</sup>Valbonnais, a.258; Gerbaix di Sonnaz, 105.

Provence and Fourcalquier, would have gone to their children, Charles Robert, Beatrice and Clementia. On the death of Charles Martel, however, Charles II was keen to establish Robert as *primogenitus*, ending up with the succession agreement of the kingdom of Sicily in 1297. Agreement on the future of Provence and Fourcalquier, however, did not emerge till later. This followed the same line as the Sicilian agreement, except for the fact that if the male line of Robert failed, then the succession would fall to Philip of Taranto and his sons. Thus, Charles II was determined to keep the counties and the kingdom of Sicily under one ruler, but even more, he wanted to ensure that they would remain in the hands of his descendants in the male line, even if the kingdom passed to another house through marriage. Charles' affection for Provence was spelled out even more in his determination to be buried there, with the stipulation that his successor was to lose the kingdom of Sicily if he failed to carry out his wishes. For Charles Robert and his sisters, Charles II's actions were to cost them not only their rights to the kingdom of Sicily, but also to that of Arles and of the counties of Provence and Fourcalquier. During Robert's reign, when another scheme to establish the kingdom emerged via the marriage of an Angevin prince to an emperor's daughter, it was to be Charles of Calabria and the Emperor Henry VII's daughter Beatrice of Luxembourg that it concerned, thus forgetting all memories of the earlier Habsburg arrangement.<sup>77</sup>

*From the end of the English war to the end of the reign of Charles II*

From 1297 until the death of Charles II, Philip IV continued to make the running in the kingdom of Arles, expanding French royal power along the west and east banks of the Rhône, while the Sicilian king concentrated on alliances aimed at resolving the Sicilian war and building up his power on the Italian side of the Alps.

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<sup>77</sup>Caggese, *Roberto d'Angio*, I, 120-1.

Philip's matrimonial policies were focused to a large extent on the kingdom of Arles and the east, as is indicated by the marriages of his sister Blanche to Rudolf III of Habsburg (1299), his sons Philip and Charles to Joanna and Blanche, daughters of Otto, Count of Burgundy (1307 and 1308) and his son Louis to Margaret, daughter of Robert II, Duke of Burgundy (1305).<sup>78</sup> During the first decade of the fourteenth century, he also acquired Lyonnais and in deals with the bishop of Viviers, gained the bishop himself as a vassal and then half of the bishop's rights in Vivarais in a *pariage* agreement. At the same time, he gained concessions from Charles II over salt tolls on the Rhône and over jurisdiction over offences committed on the river, opening the way for French royal officials to interfere in Provence in future decades.<sup>79</sup>

In comparison, Charles II did not make an effort to build up matrimonial alliance structures in the kingdom of Arles on such a scale. After the Viennois match, the only alliance forged was one made right at the end of his reign - the marriage of Charles II's youngest daughter, Beatrice, widowed Marchioness of Este to Bertrand of Baux-Berre in 1309. Interestingly, this took place around the same time as Charles II had made an agreement with Bertrand's cousin and namesake, the Prince of Orange, whereby the latter would serve him if he became king of Arles.<sup>80</sup> Evidently, Charles II had not forgotten his claim to the kingdom of Arles, as he was solicitous of other royal titles, such as that of Jerusalem. However, it is hard to see this marriage as part of a scheme to revive the kingdom, like the Habsburg project. Bertrand of Baux-Berre was a landless younger son from a lesser branch of the family than the Prince of Orange and had been originally destined for the church.<sup>81</sup> Indeed, the marriage was notable for

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<sup>78</sup>Digard, *Philippe le Bel*, I, 390-1; Brown, *Customary Aids*, 22-5; Petit, *Histoire des ducs*, V, 113; VI, 99

<sup>79</sup>de Romefort, 'Le Rhône', 88-9.

<sup>80</sup>Fournier, 329-30.

<sup>81</sup>For the conferral of *canonicatum* of the church of Le Puy to Bertrand, son of Bertrand of Baux, lord of Berre, see Clemens V, *Regestum*, no. 1506, Lyons, 18 Jan 1306 .

the provisions for the couple by Charles II; Bertrand's meteoric rise led him to be dubbed *comes novellus*. The later years of Charles's reign are therefore notable for the absence of attempts to re-establish the kingdom. The return of a Habsburg as emperor in Albert I (1298-1308) was not accompanied by the revival of the previous alliance. More importantly, Philip IV seems to have been resolutely opposed to such a plan, which threatened his own successes east of the Rhône.<sup>82</sup> The cautious Charles II was perhaps wise to avoid a possible collision course, that future attempts to revive the kingdom, for French or Sicilian kings, were to create in the coming decades. In the long term, however, conflict was unavoidable as the French kings' expansion clashed directly with the Angevins' interests in the kingdom, first over Viennois and ultimately over Provence itself.<sup>83</sup>

#### Piedmont and northern Italy<sup>84</sup>

Angevin involvement in northern Italian politics predated the Sicilian conquest and followed on from Charles I's subjugation of the Provençal opposition in the late 1250s. Moving into Piedmont, Charles became lord of various cities in the region for varying periods; as he became the papal choice to destroy the Hohenstaufen, his power base moved further south into Tuscany. As head of the Guelf alliance, Charles I became lord of Florence and Lucca. In such circumstances, it is not surprising that Angevin marriage policies became intertwined with the main dynasties of the region.

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<sup>82</sup>For Philip IV's opposition to the marriage project of 1309 between Robert and Henry VII and his letter persuading Clement V to promise that the kingdom of Arles would never be transferred except to the Roman Church, see Strayer, *Reign of Philip the Fair*, 367.

<sup>83</sup>For the fate of the dauphinate of Viennois and the designs of Charles V of France and his brother Louis I, Duke of Anjou on Provence, see below p. 243 and note 120 and generally, de Romefort, 'Le Rhône', 89

<sup>84</sup>For this section, see esp. Genealogical Tables I, IV.



In the 1270s and 1280s, despite Angevin successes elsewhere, there had been a decline in Angevin power in this area as powerful coalitions had built up against them. For Charles II, released from Catalan captivity, the aim was to restore the dynasty's fortunes and rebuild something from the losses by a diplomacy that included marriages with key noble families in the region.

### *Montferrat*

The Aleramid marquises of Montferrat, along with the house of Savoy, were the most illustrious and powerful of Piedmontese dynasties; as such, they were important potential allies for the Angevins, both in terms of the Piedmont political situation and the wider Italian scene, especially once the Sicilian enterprise was underway. William VII of Montferrat, marquis from 1254, was thus courted by the major contenders for the Sicilian throne in turn in the 1250s and 1260s. Following English schemes to establish hegemony in Italy through the election of Henry III's brother Richard of Cornwall as German king and the establishment of Henry's younger son, Edmund as king of Sicily, a marriage was organised by the common Savoyard relatives of William and Edmund, involving William and Isabella de Clare, daughter of Richard, Earl of Gloucester.<sup>85</sup> After a period allied to Manfred, William switched to supporting Charles of Anjou in 1264; in the period after the death of Beatrice of Provence in 1267, the Marchioness Isabella tried to organise a marriage between her sister Margaret of Gloucester and the widowed Charles or a younger sister or daughter of Earl Gilbert of Gloucester and the future Charles II.<sup>86</sup> The alliance ended, however, as Angevin power in Piedmont grew to threaten the Aleramids' interests in the region,

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<sup>85</sup>A. Bozzola, 'Un capitano di guerra e signore subalpino - Guglielmo VII di Monferrato (1254-1292)', *Miscellanea di storia italiana*, 3rd ser, XIX (1930), 301-4.

<sup>86</sup>*Les Registres de Clement IV (1265-1268)*, ed. E. Jordan, Paris, 1893-4, no. 1369, May 1268.

particularly in Alessandria and Ivrea. From 1271, therefore, the marquis became a key figure in anti-Angevin Ghibelline politics in north-west Italy. Following the death of Isabella de Clare, he married Beatrice, daughter of Alfonso X of Castile in 1271, planning a follow-up marriage involving his daughter Margaret by Isabella to Alfonso's son John. As part of the deal, William was to support Alfonso as emperor and Frederick of Meissen-Thuringia as king of Sicily.<sup>87</sup>

The consequences of the Castilian-Montferrat alliance were devastating for Charles of Anjou's fortunes in Piedmont. In the mid 1270s, William led a conquest of much of Angevin Piedmont with Castilian help. The losses continued after the Sicilian Vespers, as Angevin enemies took advantage of their preoccupation with the reconquest of Sicily. William's role in the anti-Angevin coalition was sealed by the 1284 marriage of his daughter Yolande to Andronicus II Palaeologus.<sup>88</sup> In 1285-8, Thomas I of Saluzzo, allied to William VII, took Borgo San Dalmazzo, Caraglio, Morozzo and Montemale, the last remnant of Angevin Piedmont except for the Val di Stura. Total annihilation was only halted in October 1288, when Charles Martel accepted a truce from King Sancho of Castile in the name of Thomas I of Saluzzo.<sup>89</sup>

Grim though the situation was, the truce coincided with Charles II's release from imprisonment. Established as king, Charles II now had to use his diplomatic skills to the utmost to try to retrieve the situation; that he was able to do this was partly a reflection of his own weakness. As William VII's power had increased at the Angevins' expense, so other regional powers began to feel under threat. In 1289, therefore, the marquis faced a powerful league of enemies that numbered Amadeus V of Savoy, Pavia, Milan, Brescia, Cremona and Piacenza; Genoa and next year, Asti were also to join against him. William was therefore willing to forget old enmities to forge a new

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<sup>87</sup>Bozzola, 'Un capitano', 330-5.

<sup>88</sup>Bozzola, 408; Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 45-6.

<sup>89</sup>Monti, *La dominazione angioina in Piemonte*, 61-2.

alliance, with the added advantage of the papal support that switching to the Angevin-Guelf side brought with it; for his part, Charles II could use it as a stepping stone in a reconquest of Angevin Piedmont. The fact that Charles was willing to pledge his second daughter Blanche in marriage to William's son John shows that both sides saw the alliance as a serious long-term proposition.<sup>90</sup> The final nullification of the treaty of Cefalù by Nicholas IV and the coronation of Charles as King of Sicily had also freed Charles from a commitment to marry Blanche to Frederick of Aragon at the same time. Given the fact that he was already busy arranging the marriage of his elder daughter Margaret to Charles of Valois and that his third daughter Eleanor was only just born in the course of 1289, Charles must have placed a very high value on the alliance as it used his only uncommitted daughter.<sup>91</sup> Despite this, Charles II proved unable to be much help to William VII, who was captured in 1290 by the Alessandrines and died in prison in February 1292.<sup>92</sup>

Charles II, however, did show increasing interest in Piedmont in the early 1290s. His response to the capture of Marquis William was to arrange for the sending of young John of Montferrat to his court in Naples, using Dauphin Humbert I of Viennois as an intermediary.<sup>93</sup> At the same time, he sought to protect John's territories (and his own interests) from the depredations of greedy neighbours, such as Asti, by sending a governor to Chivasso to take charge of Montferrino. Meanwhile, Charles made other useful alliances in Piedmont, taking Antonio del Carretto, Marquis of Savona into his service and making clear his intention to retake lost territory by

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<sup>90</sup>Monti, *La dominazione angioina*, 63-5.

<sup>91</sup>For the dispensation granted to Blanche of Anjou and John, son of William, Marquis of Montferrat for the fourth degree of consanguinity, 26 Sept 1289, see *Les Registres de Nicolas IV*, no. 1402.

<sup>92</sup>Monti, *La dominazione angioina*, 65.

<sup>93</sup>*Codex Astensis qui de Malebayla communiter nuncupatur*, Rome, II, 62-3; F. Gabotto, *Storia del Piemonte nella prima metà del secolo XIV (1292-1349)*, Turin, 1849, 13; A. Tallone, *Tommaso I, Marchese di Saluzzo*, Pinerolo, 1916, 295; Monti, *La dominazione angioina*, 65.

promising lands to Marquis Manfred of Busca and his nephew's lands that had been seized by Thomas of Saluzzo in 1277.<sup>94</sup>

Charles's interest in Piedmont and therefore also in the Montferrat alliance, however, was to be short-lived and it seems that instead of increasing his territory in the area, he managed to lose even the last remnant by the end of 1292. In 1293, the Montferrat alliance started to breakdown as Charles became heavily involved in forging a peace deal with Aragon over the Sicilian war. These negotiations committed Blanche to a marriage to either James or Frederick of Aragon, not to John of Montferrat. Charles II neglected Montferrat, which was attacked by Matteo Visconti at the end of 1292. By spring 1293, two of the governors, Uberto di Cocconato and Bonifacio di Tiglio had to go to Milan and create Visconti captain and governor of the marquisate for five years; the Angevin governor, Gaucelm was already returning to Montpellier. The following year, John returned from the other side of the Alps, re-entering Montferrat in April.<sup>95</sup> He now sought new allies and fiancées - first, Marie, daughter of Robert, Count of Clermont and later Margaret of Savoy.<sup>96</sup> In 1295, John made an alliance with Philip of Savoy against Asti and the following year, sought the support of Philip's uncle, Amadeus V, whose star was on the rise, having sorted out family squabbles, made peace with the Dauphin of Viennois and the Count of Geneva and received privileges from Boniface VIII. Therefore he married Margaret, daughter of Amadeus V of Savoy, old enemy of Charles II. The nuptial contract was signed on 23 March 1296, the bride arriving in June with a retinue of Savoyard lords.<sup>97</sup> As for

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<sup>94</sup>Gabotto, *Storia del Piemonte*, 15-16; Monti, *La dominazione angioina*, 65-6.

<sup>95</sup>*Codex Astensis*, II, 67; Gabotto, *Storia del Piemonte*, 16-17.

<sup>96</sup>Reg. Boniface VIII, nos. 886-7, 28 Jan 1296

<sup>97</sup>On the marriage of John I of Montferrat and Margaret of Savoy and the alliances with Philip and Amadeus, see S. Guichenon, *Histoire généalogique de la Maison de Savoye*, Lyons, 1660, I, 369; Gabotto, *Storia del Piemonte*, 19-20; F. Gabotto, *Asti e la politica sabauda in Italia al tempo di Guglielmo Ventura*, Pinerolo, 1903, 137-9.

Charles II, his indifference to Piedmontese reconquest was confirmed by his truce with Thomas of Saluzzo in November 1293.

The fortunes of the Montferrat marriage plan are an example of how Charles II was prepared to sacrifice subordinate interests in favour of his all-encompassing desire for Sicilian peace. As the prospect of a treaty with James II of Aragon rose, he was prepared to neglect Piedmontese concerns almost completely. It was only years later in the post-Caltabellotta aftermath that the Angevin, freed from the strains of Sicilian war and peace negotiation, was to make new plans to regain the lost Piedmontese lands, under the aegis of his fifth son, Raymond Berengar, created Count of Piedmont.

*Philip of Savoy and the Montferrat inheritance*

The re-establishment of Angevin Piedmont in 1303-5 under Raymond Berengar was achieved with the support of traditional enemies of the Angevins in the region - the house of Savoy, or more especially, Philip, heir to the Piedmontese inheritance of Savoy. Philip's closer connection to Charles II had been established by his marriage to the Angevin vassal, Isabella of Villehardouin, Princess of Achaia in 1301. Although the marriage took place against the wishes of the Neapolitan king, leading to the initial forfeiture of the principality, pressure from Boniface VIII had resulted in a change of heart on the part of Charles II and Philip of Taranto.<sup>98</sup> Having granted the principality back to the errant couple, it was Philip of Taranto who persuaded the Savoyard to support his brother in Piedmont against the Astigiani Castelli faction and their supporters John I of Montferrat and Manfred IV of Saluzzo, leading first to the submission of Alba and Mondovì to the Angevins in 1304, followed by much greater gains in 1305, including Cuneo, Cherasco and Savigliano.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>98</sup>S. Guichenon, *Histoire généalogique de la Royale Maison de Savoye*, Lyons, 1660, I, 317; Monti, *La dominazione angioina*, 67-8.

<sup>99</sup>Guichenon, *Histoire généalogique*, 318; Monti, *La dominazione angioina*, 68-78.

This alliance was to be tested, when events promised yet greater opportunities for aggrandizement. The death of John I of Montferrat in 1305 led to a confusing scramble for his domains, involving two main claimants, Manfred IV of Saluzzo and Theodore Palaeologus, son of the Byzantine emperor Andronicus II and John's sister Yolande. During the conflict that ensued, Charles II and Philip of Savoy both played a part, sometimes in alliance and sometimes changing sides. Initially, the alliance between Charles and Philip against Manfred and Asti continued.<sup>100</sup> At the beginning of 1306, a secret convention was made between Rainaldo de Leto, grand seneschal of Provence and Philip, for the conquest of Asti and Chieri, to be shared the conquest, ratified by Robert of Calabria in April. It was presumably at this point that a marriage was suggested between Robert's nephew Charles of Taranto and Margaret, daughter of Philip and Isabella, an agreement negotiated by two Piedmontese gentlemen.<sup>101</sup> The Savoy alliance, however, did not last the summer. The increasing desperation of Manfred of Saluzzo's position and the imminent arrival of his Palaeologue rival led the marquis to seek Charles II's help - the price was Manfred's claim to the Montferrat inheritance and Fossano. Fossano was transferred in May 1306, followed by Moncale, Vignale and Lu. In return, Charles was to support Manfred against Asti, Chieri and Philip. The move against the Savoyard was swift - in June, he and Isabella were again declared deposed as princes of Achaia, which was transferred to Philip of Taranto. The marriage alliance, presumably, was dropped too.

The war over Montferrat continued throughout 1306 and into 1307, now with Charles and Manfred fighting Philip and Theodore Palaeologus, who arrived in Genoa in August 1306. In May 1307, however, alliances shifted once again. Philip and Charles came to a new agreement - Philip was to sell the principality of Achaia to

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<sup>100</sup>Montu, *La dominazione angioina*, 82-4.

<sup>101</sup>Guichenon, *Histoire généalogique*, 318, 322-3.

Charles for the county of Alba in Abruzzo, Asti and Chieri were to be conquered by Philip as fiefs of Charles II, while Montferrat was to be shared, two parts to Charles, one part to Philip and one part to Amadeus V of Savoy. There is no evidence.

however, that the marriage alliance was revived and this agreement went the way of the others, when Charles betrayed Philip once again, settling with Theodore, tempted by the greater prize of an alliance with Genoa.<sup>102</sup>

Thus, Charles' dealings with Philip of Savoy and the Montferrat inheritance are examples of his deft diplomacy in an area traditional for its shifting alliances. The Savoy marriage plan in particular seems to have been a temporary expedient in his plan to revive Angevin fortunes in Piedmont, first at the expense of Asti and the Marquis of Saluzzo, then in his desire for the Montferrat inheritance. The end result - the deal with Theodore prefiguring the Genoese alliance, shows as with the earlier Montferrat marriage plan, that Charles II was prepared to sacrifice Piedmont in order to court a friendship more useful in the western Mediterranean - and therefore Sicilian - context. Also instructive is the absence of any planned matrimonial alliance between Raymond Berengar, Count of Piedmont from 1304-5 and the houses of Savoy, Montferrat or Saluzzo; despite the establishment of Raymond Berengar as the presumed head of a future Piedmontese branch of the royal house, his matrimonial career was a reflection of Charles II's interests in France and the Levant, not north-west Italy. After Raymond Berengar's death, Charles II retained the county for himself, rather than granting it to his next son, John, still a minor in 1309, so there was no reason for a marriage alliance to benefit a new count either. In Charles' internal family strategy, also, Piedmont occupied a secondary role, reflected in his matrimonial planning.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>102</sup>Monti, *La dominazione angioina*, 85-97.

<sup>103</sup>For Raymond Berengar as count of Piedmont and Charles' subsequent family policy as regards the county, see Monti, *La dominazione angioina*, 71-81.

*The marriage of Beatrice of Anjou and Azzo of Este*

Charles II's matrimonial schemes in Italy, however, stretched further than north-west or southern Italy, as the notorious Estense alliance demonstrates. The successful completion of the Majorca double marriage in the summer and autumn of 1304 meant that Charles II's youngest daughter Beatrice was still available on the marriage market. An alternative to Sancho of Majorca soon appeared in the form of Azzo VIII, marquis of Este and lord of Ferrara, Modena and Reggio, a preliminary deal being struck in November 1304, revised in April 1305.<sup>104</sup>

What was remarkable about this marriage were the incredibly favourable terms that Charles II was able to wring from Azzo VIII of Este, something which shocked contemporaries, including Dante, who accused the Sicilian king of selling his daughter.<sup>105</sup> Going against what had become the usual custom, Charles provided no dowry, while Azzo was to provide a huge 51, 000 florin marriage-gift to buy lands within the kingdom of Sicily and the 'marquisate of Este', presumably in the region of Ferrara-Modena-Reggio.<sup>106</sup> The other key element of the settlement was that the children of Azzo and Beatrice were to succeed in both the 'marquisate' and the newly-acquired Sicilian lands by order of primogeniture, excluding others, especially, Azzo's brothers and his illegitimate children, who would have expected at least shares in the inheritance. The later revisions only amounted to a clarification of the succession to the

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<sup>104</sup> Archivio di Stato di Modena, Archivio Segreto Estense, Documenti Riguardanti la Casa e lo Stato, busta 358, fasc. 38/1991 (marriage contract of Azzo and Beatrice, Naples, 10 November 1304, revised version, agreed 10 April 1305, witnesses including Robert, Duke of Calabria, Sergio Sigimulfo and Bartholomew of Capua); no.8, docs. 2, 3 (quittances for Azzo's payment of dowry for Beatrice, 10 April 1305). On this marriage, see especially T. Dean, 'The Sovereign as Pirate: Charles II of Anjou and the Marriage of his Daughter, 1304', *English Historical Review*, 441 (Apr. 1996), 350-6.

<sup>105</sup> Dante, *Purgatorio*, XX, 79-81; Dean, 'Sovereign as Pirate', 350. Ptolemy of Lucca lugubriously linked the unfortunate outcome of the marriage with the fact that Charles had taken Beatrice out of the convent. Ptolemy of Lucca, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Muratori, RIS, XI, col. 1225E.

<sup>106</sup> The money purchased the county of Andria in the kingdom of Sicily for 30, 000 fl, and the Terre de Coppero and Migliaro and the Valli of Comacchio in Ferrarese and the third part of the Terra di Lendinea sull'Adigetto in the area of Padua for 21, 000 fl. See Camera, *Annali*, II, 115.



lands should Beatrice die without issue - they were to go to the children of another marriage of Azzo - while it was also agreed that the marquis was to hold the land that he bought in the kingdom of Sicily as a fief from King Charles.<sup>107</sup>

The Estensi had a tradition of supporting the Angevins since the days of Charles I. Azzo's father Obizzo had supported Charles against Manfred and Conradin and had welcomed Clementia of Habsburg on her journey south through Italy; Azzo VIII had continued his father's Guelf policy, hosting Charles of Valois and Catherine of Courtenay with great splendour when they travelled through the peninsula.<sup>108</sup> The tenor of this settlement indicates that Azzo was the one in need of alliance, at a time when he was about to conquer Bologna. For Charles II, the marriage had many advantages. First of all, he was absolved of the need to provide a dowry for his youngest daughter, a costly and time-consuming enterprise for his other ones. Secondly, it offered him a way of establishing a branch, albeit in the female line, of his house in the Emilia region. The determination to favour the children of Azzo and Beatrice over other possible heirs echoes the Caltabellotta stipulation for the offspring of Eleanor of Anjou in showing how the Capetians were to promote the rights of their daughters and their daughters' descendants. The clause establishing the relationship between Charles and Azzo as 'special father' and 'special son' amounted to the virtual adoption of Azzo into the Sicilian royal house, while the age difference between the couple and the likelihood of a minority if children were born allowed maternal relatives Charles or Robert the possibility of assuming temporary headship of the Este dynasty as regents. All in all, the marriage promised less of an alliance, more of an Angevin domination.

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<sup>107</sup>Archivio Segreto Estense, Casa e lo Stato, Busta 358, fasc.38/1991.

<sup>108</sup>Petit, *Charles de Valois* 61-2.

It is not surprising, that such a controversial agreement should lead to opposition within the Este family and lordship, on top of the numerous enemies that Azzo already had in the region. Francesco, Azzo's brother, refused to countenance the deal and left Ferrara in disgust, while Modena and Reggio rebelled in response to rumours that Azzo was planning to endow his new wife with the two cities.<sup>109</sup>

The rumours were not far away from the truth, so it turned out. In his will dated 24th January 1308, despite making his grandson Folco, son of his illegitimate son Fresco, his principal heir, Azzo left Modena and Reggio to his father-in-law Charles II, while the county of Andria and the other Apulian lands, plus what was contained in both Azzo and Beatrice's *camerae* went to Beatrice herself.<sup>110</sup> Although Azzo changed his mind and in a codicil dated six days later, reduced Charles II's legacy by giving some districts of Modena and Reggio to Folco, the will still echoed the marriage settlement in being astonishingly favourable to Beatrice and her family.<sup>111</sup> On Azzo's death, shortly afterwards, the Angevins were only able to secure the Sicilian share of the inheritance, as the childless Beatrice left for the south; the county of Andria and her other Apulian properties were used to endow her for her next marriage to Bertrand des Baux; they were never able to secure long-term domination of Modena and Reggio.

As we have seen with the numerous plans to secure Sicilian peace, Charles' diplomacy and his matrimonial policy were interwoven with the future division of his domains. Charles' determination to secure the succession of his lands to his sons was affected by the concessions he had to make to secure peace or win allies, reflected in the form of dowries given to his daughters. Whilst Margaret received the counties of

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<sup>109</sup>Ptolemy of Lucca, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Muratori, RIS, XI, l. xxiv. cap.i., col. 1226E; *Chronicon Estensi*, Muratori, RIS, XV, col. 351D; *Chronicon Parmense*, Muratori, RIS, IX, col. 859A; Dean, 'Sovereign as Prate', 354.

<sup>110</sup>Modena, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Segreto Estense, Documenti Riguardanti la Casa e lo Stato b. 324. fasc. 4/1957.

<sup>111</sup>*Ibid.*

Anjou and Maine and Eleanor effectively Sicily, the marriage of Beatrice and Azzo reflects the opposite end of the bargaining scale; instead of taking part of the paternal inheritance in either land or money, she received money to buy lands from her husband. This unusually favourable arrangement puts the desperation of Charles II's Sicilian deals in context and highlights the extreme reversals of his diplomatic fortunes; it also demonstrates the attraction of the Capetian and other prestigious lineages to the rising *signori* of northern and central Italy, something that was to be increasingly apparent, with similar results, as the century wore on.<sup>112</sup>

*The Spinola marriage project*

Bertrand des Baux was not the first suitor to appear for the widowed youngest daughter of Charles II. In the late summer of 1308, the captain of Genoa, Obizzino Spinola suggested his son as a possible husband for the Marchioness Beatrice.<sup>113</sup> The background to this particular matrimonial combination lay in the complex relations between the Angevins and the maritime city. During the Sicilian war, both sides had sought the valuable naval support of Genoa. With the expulsion of the Genoese Guelfs in 1297, the dominant Ghibelline faction came to support Frederick of Aragon openly, as the captain Corrado Doria resigned his position to become Frederick's admiral in place of the recently departed Roger of Lauria. Although peace was made between Charles II and Genoa in 1300, leading to a withdrawal of Genoese ships from the war, relations remained shaky due to the continued threat of the Genoese Guelfs, based in Monaco, which led to a brief resumption of support for Frederick on the part of the Ghibellines in the city. During the complicated Montferrat succession crisis, the two

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<sup>112</sup>For the marriage of Isabella, daughter of John II of France and Giangaleazzo Visconti in 1360, where Galeazzo Visconti paid John II 600,000 gold florins see B. Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous Fourteenth Century*, New York, 1978, 191.

<sup>113</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, no. 406.

captains of Genoa supported rival candidates : Obizzino Spinola formed an alliance with Theodore Palaeologus, who married his daughter Argentina, while Bernabo Doria married his daughter Isabella to Marquis Manfred of Saluzzo. Although Charles II had backed Manfred, he was prepared to sacrifice him to secure a full alliance with Genoa and the increasingly dominant Obizzino Spinola in November 1307. In return for Genoese naval support in the event that he sought their help to conquer Sicily, Charles II was prepared to give up his alliance with Philip of Savoy and Manfred against Obizzino's son-in-law.<sup>114</sup>

The suggestion of the marriage alliance, however, does not seem to have come as part of this agreement, but emerged the following year, with the death of Azzo and the reaction of the furious Frederick of Trinacria, who saw the treaty as part of an Angevin plan to reconquer his island kingdom in contravention to the treaty of Caltabellotta. In 1308, Frederick seems to have been involved in winning over the support of Obizzino's co-captain, Bernabo, by means of a marriage between Bernabo's son and Frederick's illegitimate daughter Isabella, widow of Rogeron de Lauria. This marriage would have revived the close Doria contacts of the Sicilian war, at a time when Charles II had also abandoned the cause of Bernabo's son-in-law, Manfred of Saluzzo. The threat to Charles II's alliance with Genoa thus caused him to send envoys there to negotiate with the captains. In particular, Charles sought the friendship of the Spinola family, just at the time when Obizzino was planning to assume personal rule of the city and depose his co-captain Bernabo Doria. Obizzino's determination to raise his family above the level of communal importance to participation in the royal marriage market of Christendom, already evinced by the marriage of his daughter to the son of the Byzantine emperor, was now seen in his desire for that of his son to the daughter of

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<sup>114</sup>G. Caro, *Genoa und das Mittelalter 1257-1311*, Halle, 1895, 1903, II, 42-52, 112-15, 159-72, 235-7, 243-7, 262, 268-303, 336-8, 347-72.

the Sicilian king. Unlike previous alliances between Genoa and the Angevins, Obizzino Spinola saw this one in dynastic and therefore matrimonial terms; the fact that the marriage did not take place perhaps indicates that Charles II did not share this point of view. Although Obizzino did secure the deposition of Bernabo in November 1308 and his own promotion to perpetual and general captain of the commune of Genoa, he was unable to sustain his position and by June 1309, had been defeated and driven out. Although the Spinola family were useful allies for Charles II, as the Dorias were for Frederick, neither family were dynastic rulers of a heritable Genoa, and thus were less attractive on the marriage market than the likes of the marquises of Montferrat. It is telling that Frederick proposed the marriage of an illegitimate daughter to the son of Bernabo Doria, rather than considering his legitimate daughter Constance; Charles II had no known illegitimate daughters to turn to. Thus, although the Genoese alliance was of crucial importance to Charles II, it followed the pattern of relations with other communal powers in not taking a matrimonial form.<sup>115</sup>

### The Balkans

On defeating and killing Manfred in 1266, Charles I not only gained the kingdom of Sicily, but acquired claims on the other side of the Adriatic, as he assumed rights over the dowry of Manfred's captured widow Helena of Epirus; these territories, including Corfu, came under full control in the 1270s. Even more importantly, the new king of Sicily inherited a close alliance with the most important figures of Latin Greece : Baldwin II, titular Emperor of Constantinople since his expulsion by the Greeks under Michael Palaeologus in 1261 and William of Villehardouin, Prince of Achaia, foremost

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<sup>115</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, no. 406; M. Deza, *Istoria della famiglia Spinola*, Piacenza, 1694, 159, 165, 167-8; Caro, *Genoa*, II, 359-72; G. Nuti, 'Bernabò Doria', *DBI*, XLI, Rome, 1992, 293-7.

of the Latin princes still ruling in the Peloponnese. In 1267, at Viterbo, a momentous alliance was formed. Charles I was to help Baldwin II recapture Constantinople in return for overlordship over Latin Greece and a large share of the reconquered territory; this was sealed by the engagement of Charles' daughter Beatrice to Baldwin's son and heir Philip. In a separate agreement with William of Villehardouin, William's daughter and heiress Isabella was affianced to Charles' second son Philip; under the terms of this treaty, the principality was to revert to Charles if Philip died without issue.

The treaty was the basis of Charles I's most ambitious enterprise - his planned reconquest of Constantinople. In 1270-2, this had been followed by the marriage alliance with the Arpads of Hungary. Despite all Charles' vigour and determination, however, the project was delayed by military distractions and attempts to secure peace through Church union; his last serious attempt to achieve his objective disappeared with the onset of the Sicilian war in 1282. Meanwhile, the Byzantine emperor worked hard against his enemy, neutralizing the Arpads through the marriage of his son Andronicus to Anne of Hungary (sister of Maria and Ladislas) and becoming part of an anti-Angevin alliance with Peter III of Aragon, Alfonso X of Castile and William of Montferrat; indeed, Michael VIII's reputation for diplomatic subterfuge extends as far as being seen as the progenitor of the Sicilian Vespers rebellion itself.<sup>116</sup>

Charles II therefore inherited important dynastic concerns within the Balkan peninsula. At his accession, the terms of the treaty of Viterbo still stood, thus committing him to the idea of reconquering the Latin Empire, in order to safeguard his rights as overlord over the existing Latin-held territories. An important part of his concerns lay in his decisions over the future of the greatest heiress of the Romania, his niece Catherine of Courtenay. Brought up with her cousin Charles Martel, she had become titular Latin empress, following the death of her father in 1283. The question

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<sup>116</sup>For Michael's diplomacy, see Geneakoplos, *Emperor Michael, passim*; Laiou, 27.

of her future marriage, and whether it would be used to aid peace or war with the Greeks was a matter of key importance to her uncle and guardian Charles II. Another crucial aspect of Charles' matrimonial policy *vis-à-vis* the Balkans was the question of his internal family strategy. His father, Charles I had to some extent built his Balkan marriage policy around his second son Philip, granted the title of king of Thessalonica by Baldwin II as well as securing the principality of Achaia through his marriage to Isabella of Villehardouin.

Charles II followed his father in seeking marriage alliances in the Greek political arena. Charles I had sought allies against Michael VIII in Hungary and William of Villehardouin, Prince of Achaia. Charles II's strategy varied from a more pacific attitude towards the Palaeologi to alliances with Palaeologue enemies - the Despot of Epirus - to the idea of gaining allies elsewhere through using Catherine of Courtenay's claims to the Latin Empire as a reward. Like Charles I, Charles II chose a son called Philip to be the central focus of his Balkan ambitions.

*The marriage project of Catherine of Courtenay and Michael Palaeologus*

The year 1282 marked not only the ruin of Angevin plans to conquer Constantinople, but also the accession of a new Greek emperor, Andronicus II Palaeologus. Unlike his father, Andronicus rejected the idea of church union, and the early years of his reign were a continuation of the old hostility to the Angevins and their vassals in Greece.<sup>117</sup> After the death of his first wife Anne of Hungary in 1281, he had been suggested by his father as a husband for Yolande of Aragon; though this fell through due to Peter III's reluctance for an outward alliance with schismatics, another anti-Angevin marriage scheme materialized through Alfonso X of Castile, involving Alfonso's granddaughter Yolande of Montferrat, daughter of William VII of

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<sup>117</sup>Laiou, 7, 39.

Montferrat, Charles' leading enemy in north-west Italy. At the same time, Andronicus II continued his father's attacks on the Latin-held parts of the Morea.<sup>118</sup>

By the time of Charles II's release, however, Andronicus' attitude towards the Angevins and their Latin allies had changed. In 1289, he responded to the peace overtures of the new prince of Achaia, Florent of Hainault, with a truce that was to last over six years. The basis for this new accommodation was his desire to neutralize western pretensions to his empire by matrimonial schemes. His own marriage to Yolande of Montferrat had involved not only military support for Yolande's father against the Angevins, but also the cession of claims held by the marquises of Montferrat to the kingdom of Thessalonica, ruled by their Aleramid forefathers from 1204 to 1225.<sup>119</sup> By 1288, Andronicus' eye was focussed on the greatest prize and threat - his rival as emperor of Constantinople, the young heiress Catherine of Courtenay. That spring he sent an embassy to Robert of Artois to ask for Catherine's hand for his eldest son Michael; this marriage entailed not only the end to Latin and Greek rivalry over the empire, but also the prospect of Byzantine overlordship over the Latin-held Morea.<sup>120</sup> Pope Nicholas IV urged Robert to take the advice of Philip IV of France before proceeding, and it seems that the envoys did visit France.<sup>121</sup> Nothing concrete was agreed, however, perhaps because the pope saw the marriage as the chance for church union, which Andronicus was very much opposed to, or because of delays before the release of Charles II from captivity. Despite this, matters clearly looked promising enough for Andronicus to agree to the truce with Florent in 1289.<sup>122</sup> The newly freed Charles was not not interested in pursuing conflicts that distracted him

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<sup>118</sup>Laiou, 39, 44-6.

<sup>119</sup>Laiou, 45-6.

<sup>120</sup>Laiou, 49.

<sup>121</sup>Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici ad ann 1288*; Potthast, 22735; Nordern, 648; Du Cange, II, 28;

Laiou, 49

<sup>122</sup> Laiou, 39-40.



from Sicilian affairs: the pope was evidently keen on the plan; so apparently was Charles' wife Maria, strongly favouring a marriage between her nephew and a niece over whom her own husband later ascribed her much influence.<sup>123</sup> Meanwhile, a new level of family connection looked set to be established when Charles II secured a dispensation for the future marriage of his daughter Blanche and Andronicus II's brother-in-law, John of Montferrat.<sup>124</sup>

Negotiations continued to proceed in the early 1290s. Nicholas IV continued to urge the match in a letter to the Greek emperor in 1290; in the next couple of years, envoys were sent by both sides, and reports on the young Michael were said to be favourable.<sup>125</sup> Moving from truce to 'perpetual peace and friendship' was slow, however. Andronicus' keenness was increased as he turned his aggression away from Latin-held Greece and towards the despotate of Epirus, leading to a full-scale invasion in 1292 and the sieges of Arta and Ioannina.<sup>126</sup> On the Angevin side, however, matters became complicated by the Despot Nicephorus' desire for an alliance with Charles II and a marriage between Nicephorus' daughter Thamar and a son of Charles; the worried despot also appealed for military aid from Charles II's vassals, Prince Florent of Achaia and Count Richard of Cephallonia.<sup>127</sup> Thus, envoys from both Nicephorus and Andronicus now vied for Charles II's attention and had to contend with long delays in seeing him due to his punishing diplomatic itinerary, particularly in 1293, when he had to travel to Pontoise, Logroño and then back to La Junquera in search of Sicilian peace.<sup>128</sup> These were not the only problems to threaten the scheme. Nicephorus' wife

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<sup>123</sup> For Maria's attitude, see Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo*, II, 153 and C. Perrat and J. Longnon, (edd.), *Actes relatifs a la Principauté de la Morée*, Paris, 1967, no. 130.

<sup>124</sup> *Les Registres de Nicolas IV*, no. 1402.

<sup>125</sup> *Les Registres de Nicolas IV*, no. 7242; Perrat-Longnon, no. 44; Norden, 648; Laiou, 49-50.

<sup>126</sup> Laiou, 40.

<sup>127</sup> Perrat-Longnon, nos. 21, 40, 43; D.M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479*, Cambridge, 1984, 37; Laiou, 40.

<sup>128</sup> Perrat-Longnon, nos. 60, 64, 65, 68, and especially no. 130; Nicol, *Despotate*, 44.

Anna was also a cousin of Andronicus II and sought peace with the Byzantine emperor rather than an Angevin alliance through the marriage of Michael and Thamar.<sup>129</sup> This obstacles was overcome, however, by Andronicus' preference for the original scheme: the prospective marriage of Michael and Thamar was declared consanguineous and therefore forbidden.<sup>130</sup> A much greater stumbling block was the inflexible resistance of Catherine herself to the scheme, as a later letter of Charles II indicates.<sup>131</sup> In May 1294, Michael's status was enhanced by his coronation as co-emperor to his father, a ceremony attended by Angevin envoys, while the monk Sophonias arrived in Italy to negotiate with the pope and King Charles.<sup>132</sup> By this stage, however, the whole project was in serious trouble. The death knell of the scheme was Catherine's trip to France to pay homage to Philip IV for her lands there, agreed in May 1294; the same month, Thamar of Epirus married Charles' son Philip of Taranto.<sup>133</sup> Although Catherine promised to return within a year, that is by July 1295, on pain of losing Charles II's prospective support for reconquest of Constantinople, the Sicilian king had little control over her while she was there, as he expressed in a letter to Andronicus II in January 1295. Indeed, the letter indicates that on both sides, they were prepared for the failure of the scheme and hoped to rely on the already existing consanguinity between their children to establish a harmonious and peaceful relationship.<sup>134</sup> Andronicus' patience had already run out. Negotiations with the Armenian king had led to the arrival of two Armenian princesses in Constantinople in the summer of 1294; in the same month as Charles's letter, one of the princesses, Rita, rechristened Maria, married Michael.<sup>135</sup> Although Sophonias remained at the Neapolitan court till 1296, Boniface VIII and

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<sup>129</sup>Nicol, 44-5; Laiou, 41.

<sup>130</sup>Nicol, 45.

<sup>131</sup>Perrat-Longnon, no. 130.

<sup>132</sup>Laiou, 50.

<sup>133</sup>Perrat-Longnon, nos. 82, 87, 88, for the marriage of Philip and Thamar, see below p. 143-4.

<sup>134</sup>Perrat-Longnon, no. 130.

<sup>135</sup>Laiou, 54-5.

Charles II now moved away from peace with Andronicus II, as schemes emerged to compensate Frederick of Aragon with the loss of Sicily, by marriage to Catherine of Courtenay and help to reconquer Constantinople, that became formalized in the Velletri agreement of May 1295. This also failed, but that did not mean that peace between Charles II and Andronicus II was revived. On the contrary, in 1296 the newly crowned King Frederick sought an alliance with the Greek emperor, while the truce in the Morea ended with renewed Byzantine aggression.<sup>136</sup> While Catherine did remain outside Charles II's power from then on, the 1294 agreement meant that his assent was needed for her marriage if the treaty of Viterbo was to remain in force; he was to give it for the Charles of Valois marriage aiming at the reconquest of Constantinople.<sup>137</sup> In the next generation, Catherine's daughters were sought after as part of similar projects. Thus, the failure of the plan to marry Michael and Catherine was a major setback for the cause of peace between the Sicilian king and the Byzantine emperor. The relationship that remained, the consanguinity between Andronicus' children and those of Charles II was too close for marriage, but too distant to withstand the opposing interests of the Palaeologi and the Angevins in the Balkans.

*The marriage of Philip of Taranto and Thamar of Epirus*

Although the Byzantine project did not come to fruition, Charles II had already moved to make an alliance with Nicephorus I, Despot of Epirus, as we have seen. Nicephorus' father Michael II had joined with Manfred, Baldwin II and William of Villehardouin against Michael Palaeologus of Nicaea in 1259 that had been sealed by the marriage of Michael II's daughter Helena to Manfred; it was Helena's dowry of Butrinto and Corfu that had later fallen into Angevin hands. After the reconquest of Constantinople by Michael Palaeologus in 1261, the continued existence of the separate

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<sup>136</sup>Laiou, 40, 56.

<sup>137</sup>see above page 81.

despotate, like the sebastocrators of Thessaly and the Latin princes, was a threat to the concept of a fully restored and unified Greek empire. In such circumstances, the despots sat in an uneasy position between the Greek emperors in Constantinople and the Latin princes hoping for the restoration of their rule over the great city. Conflict with Andronicus II thus led to the revival of the earlier alliance by Nicephorus I, with the suggestion of the marriage alliance with the Angevins.

The groundwork for the conclusion of the marriage was the endowment of Philip by his father in the months preceding the wedding. Following a precocious knighthood, Philip was granted the principality of Taranto; in August, Charles gave him authority over all the Angevin overlordship in Greece, including the principality of Achaia and the duchy of Athens.<sup>138</sup> The final stage in Philip's advancement was the marriage with Thamar. The new bride brought four castles and a dowry of 100, 000 *hyperpyra* with her marriage; on Nicephorus' death, Philip and Thamar were to succeed as rulers of the despotate. Although Thamar's younger brother Thomas was allowed to retain some of Epirus as a fief, the province of Vagenetia and the castle of Hagios Donatos still had to be ceded to Philip. To crown Philip's new position as overlord of an area that would now include Epirus as well as Achaia, Athens and Corfu, he was now entitled *despotus Romaniae*.<sup>139</sup>

*Philip of Taranto, the favoured son*

The Epirus marriage therefore was part of Charles II's plan to establish his son Philip as a powerful ruler in Greece and reflected Charles' unequal treatment of his sons. The good fortune of Philip, Charles' fourth son, had been evident from a very

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<sup>138</sup> Minieri-Riccio, *Supplemento di Codice Diplomatico*, suppl. I., no. LX; Perrat-Longnon, nos. 116, 117, 121; Laiou, 42-3; Nicol, 44-7.

<sup>139</sup> Perrat-Longnon, no. 121; Minieri-Riccio, *Saggio di Codice Diplomatico*, Suppl. I, no. XLI, p. 56-7; Nicol, 47-8.

young age, when he avoided the fate that befell his three nearest brothers, Louis, Robert and Raymond Berengar - seven years of captivity in Catalonia after their father's release in 1288. His luck was compounded by the slow pace of peace negotiations, which led to him being promoted above his allotted place in the fraternal hierarchy, both in terms of his property settlement and marriage; while Louis was to choose a clerical path, Robert had to wait two to three years for endowment and marriage after Philip. Clearly, Charles II was determined not to allow such important alliance opportunities pass at a time when all his other marriageable sons were imprisoned; the possibility they might suffer the decades of imprisonment that had afflicted various Hohenstaufen princes, including the sons of Manfred that he still held captive, meant that Charles had to promote Philip as his main cadet son at this stage. If Charles Martel had died at a time when there stood to be no likelihood of their release, Philip may well have become heir to Sicily and Provence too.

As it was, the release of Philip's brothers and the succession crisis led to the promotion of the previously neglected Robert into the gap left by Charles Martel. Despite his displacement, Philip was better placed to profit from the various succession agreements than any of the other Angevin princes bar Robert. By the 1297 agreement, Philip became second in line of succession to his father as king of Sicily; Charles II's later will over Provence called for Philip's succession over the female heirs of Robert. This controversial provision not only contradicted the succession custom of Provence, which after all had come to Charles II through his mother Beatrice, but helped to sow dissension within the family that was to have serious repercussions for decades. On the death of Charles II, the tension between Robert and Philip surfaced when Robert moved to nullify the clause at once and make Philip renounce rights to Provence.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>140</sup>For Philip's renunciation of his rights over Provence and Fourcalquier, see M. Huillard-Breholles, *Titres de l'Ancienne Maison Ducale de Bourbon*, Paris, 1867, I, no. 1231, 24 May 1309.

Philip's later refusal to swear homage to Robert's son Charles of Calabria or his granddaughter Joanna sprung from his own belief in his superior rights of succession under the will of Charles II; although Robert quelled the problem at the time, he criticised his father's excessive generosity to Philip. The thwarted ambitions of the Taranto branch of the family, raised by the indulgent Charles II, of course, were to resurface in the troubled reign of Joanna I.

*The Taranto branch and the Latin Empire of Constantinople*

Although plans to reconquer Constantinople had to be postponed indefinitely due to the Sicilian war, the career of Philip of Taranto was a testament to Charles II's continuing ambitions in the Balkans. Although Philip had been unable to marry Catherine of Courtenay as they were too closely related even for a dispensation, as we have seen, Charles II focussed his matrimonial projects to secure her daughters and heiresses in marriage largely on Charles of Taranto, eldest son of Philip and Thamar, before Thamar's death allowed Philip to supplant his own son in the reckoning; Charles of Taranto's other marital possibilities, Margaret of Savoy-Achaia and Matilda of Hainault, both daughters of Isabella of Villehardouin, by her second and third husbands, also reflect the Greek focus of this branch of the family.

**Jerusalem and Hungary**

Although it was over Sicily that Charles II directed his main efforts, this was not the only royal title held by his family that was contested during his reign. Both Charles and King Henry of Cyprus claimed the title of king of Jerusalem, while his wife Maria followed by his eldest son Charles Martel and grandson Charles Robert each were

among a group of pretenders to the throne of Hungary after the death of Maria's brother Ladislas IV in 1290. As we shall see, Charles II's marriage policy echoed his military one in concentrating on resolving the Sicilian conflict, while neglecting Hungary and the Holy Land.

### *Jerusalem*

The Angevin claim to the kingdom of Jerusalem was in many ways the culmination of generations of Capetian family involvement in crusades to the Holy Land, established by the participation of Philip I's younger brother, Count Hugh of Vermandois, in the First Crusade, followed by Louis VII, Philip Augustus and most notably, Saint Louis in the Seventh and Ninth Crusades. These last two crusades in particular marked the climax of this process as most of the senior members of the family joined the French king in enterprises which, although militarily unsuccessful and often fatal for those involved, conferred huge moral prestige on the French royal house within western Christendom, leading directly to the canonization of St Louis.<sup>141</sup> That this was matched by the political expansion of Capetian rule within western Europe and especially the establishment of the Angevin branch as kings of Sicily and overlords of Latin Romania meant that it was only natural that Capetian princes were seen as central to the numerous schemes to revive or resuscitate the ailing Christian presence in the Holy Land. The decline and fall of the house of Hohenstaufen, completed by Charles of Anjou, not only left the imperial and Sicilian thrones vacant, but also that of Jerusalem, contested by the Lusignan kings of Cyprus and Maria of Antioch, none of whom were able to reverse the fortunes of the crusader kingdom. From his leading role

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<sup>141</sup>The Seventh Crusade claimed the life of Robert I of Artois, brother of Louis IX and Charles I of Anjou, killed at Mansourah in 1250; the Ninth Crusade proved fatal for no less than seven family members during the Crusade and during the journey home - St Louis himself, his son John Tristan, his daughter Isabella and her husband King Theobald of Navarre, his daughter-in-law Isabella of Aragon, his brother Alfonso of Poitiers and sister-in-law, Joanna of Toulouse.

in the crusade to Tunis in 1269-70, Charles I of Sicily took a strong interest in Outremer, sending food, troops, war materials to the Holy Land.<sup>142</sup> By 1276, Charles I had taken the Cross yet again, joined this time by his son Charles of Salerno.<sup>143</sup> This activity did not result in a crusade against the Infidel, however, but presaged an Angevin takeover of the remnant of the crusader kingdom itself in 1277, as Charles first bought the claim of Maria of Antioch and then sent Roger of San Severino to Syria as his vicar to establish Angevin rule, as opposed to that of the Lusignans.<sup>144</sup> This proved to be the high watermark of Angevin interest. After 1280, Charles I's scheme to conquer Byzantium and then the Vespers war meant that Angevins were unable to devote manpower to take full control of the kingdom, let alone defend it from the Infidel. At the end of 1282 Roger and his men were summoned back to join the war effort in Sicily, leaving only a skeleton force under his successor Eudes Poilchien.

The reign of Charles II made little difference to this state of affairs. In 1286, Eudes Poilchien ceded control of Acre to King Henry of Cyprus, leaving the Lusignans in practical control till the fall of the city five years later.<sup>145</sup> Charles II maintained his claim to the title, but the failure of peace negotiations over Sicily in the late 1280s meant that Christendom was unable to respond to Moslem threat to the Holy Land; the peace of Brignoles came too late to save Acre, which fell in May 1291.

Charles II's response to this disaster was theoretical rather than practical. In 1292-4, he produced the *conseil*, his scheme to reconquer the Holy Land, based on the idea of the combination of the military orders under a grand master/king of Jerusalem; in 1300, he even appointed a new vicar for his phantom kingdom in Mellorus de

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<sup>142</sup> S.Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274-1314*, Oxford, 1991, 60.

<sup>143</sup> Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, 45.

<sup>144</sup> N.Housley, 'Charles II of Naples and the Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Byzantion* LV (1984), 529.

<sup>145</sup> Housley, 'Charles II', 529



Ravendel.<sup>146</sup> Charles was never willing, however, to devote military resources to regaining the Holy Land, although it was repeatedly argued that the conquest of Sicily was a vital step in the process, as were schemes to bring Constantinople within the western fold, either by church union or battle. The peace of Caltabellotta had little impact on the Holy Land, as western interest centred on Charles of Valois' plan to take Constantinople, while Angevin military activity was concentrated in Piedmont, Tuscany and the Romania.

Despite this, Charles II was keen to remain king of Jerusalem. As far as Charles' dynastic policy was concerned, he was also determined to keep the kingdom of Jerusalem associated with that of Sicily in being passed on to his primary heir. It was only under the severe pressure of the Sicilian war negotiations that Boniface VIII, presumably with Charles II's agreement, was willing to discuss the kingdom as possible compensation for Frederick of Aragon in return for Sicily and this was through giving it as a dowry to his daughter Maria, who was to marry Frederick. The kingdom did not end up being ceded to Frederick and the title passed on with that of Sicily to Robert, although in the following reign, further proposals were made in similar vein. Otherwise, discussion on the future of the Holy Land raised the question of who was best fitted as king to lead its reconquest; Pierre Dubois recommended that Charles II be deprived of the title in favour of a younger son of the king of France.

In the meantime, King Henry of Cyprus remained the only other Christian ruler to call himself king of Jerusalem in competition with Charles II. Hostility between the two dynasties remained, despite the fact that neither held the kingdom in practice since the fall of Acre. It was as a consequence of this, and also presumably a development of the earlier offer of Boniface VIII, that when the peace of Caltabellotta was signed in 1302, it was the Lusignans' kingdom of Cyprus that was suggested as an

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<sup>146</sup>Housley, 'Charles II', 532.

alternative to Sicily for the children of Frederick and Eleanor. This was carrying the rivalry with the Lusignans a stage further than before and whether the threat was very serious or not, it is noticeable that King Henry's successor reacted very strongly to hints of Angevin interference in his kingdom.<sup>147</sup> Certainly, Henry II's claim to the throne of Cyprus was not undisputed. His father, Hugh III had been challenged by a cousin, Hugh, Count of Brienne for the right of regency of the kingdom of Jerusalem and then for the Cypriot throne; the disappointed count had then joined the service of Charles of Anjou, taking part in the campaign against Conradin. As a result of this support, Count Hugh was given most of the lands that had been held by his forefathers, including the county of Lecce; further large grants by Charles I, Charles of Salerno, Robert of Artois and then Charles II transformed the fortunes of the hitherto poor family. In the 1270s, Count Hugh had tried to use his new wealth to mount an invasion of Cyprus, possibly with Angevin support, although nothing came of it. Thereafter, Count Hugh served valiantly in the Vespers War, being captured with Charles of Salerno in 1284, again in 1288 and was ultimately killed in battle against Roger de Lauria in 1296. During his second period of captivity, Count Hugh had offered his claim to King Alfonso of Aragon; around 1300, Pierre Dubois was suggesting that the Brienne claim should be purchased by a Capetian prince. It seems likely, therefore that the Caltabellotta agreement was based on the possibility that the Brienne claim would be ceded to Frederick and Eleanor's children, although the vagueness of the clause and the lack of any evidence of an agreement with the young Count Walter IV (Gauthier IV) would indicate that no firm deal had been made.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>147</sup>For Hugh IV of Cyprus' behaviour, see below p. 260-1, notes 195, 196.

<sup>148</sup>On the activities of Hugh of Brienne and his claim to the kingdom of Cyprus, see P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191-1374*, Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, 1991, 36, 107-8; Fernand, Comte de Sassenay, *Les Brienne de Lecce et d'Athenes*, Paris, 1869, 137-63.

Charles II's marriage policy, like his military one, did not centre around the kingdom of Jerusalem, either in terms of reconquering it from the Infidel or settling the claim with the Lusignans. Rather, as we have seen, Jerusalem appears in the context of the settlement with Aragon. The exception to this seems to have been the very obscure negotiations for a marriage between Raymond Berengar of Anjou and Maria of Lusignan, eldest sister of King Henry of Cyprus, which seem to have taken place just before Raymond Berengar's death in 1305. According to the one known letter that alludes to it, the only detail known is that the dowry was to have been 50,000 florins, but Raymond Berengar died before it was concluded.<sup>149</sup> The letter also indicates that King Henry was looking for a king or a prince expecting to succeed to a throne for his sister and offered her as a bride to King Philip of France after the death of his wife Queen Joanna in April 1305. Given the fact that Raymond Berengar was not of such high status, it is probable that the project was formed after Cypriot disappointment at King Philip's answer.<sup>150</sup> Raymond Berengar had been involved in close negotiations for marriage to Philip's cousin Margaret of Clermont as late as January 1305; whether these broke off before the Lusignan match was suggested or after cannot be known, but it is clear that King Henry was determined on a Capetian husband for his sister in 1305. The Capetians were the most powerful family in western Christendom and King Henry was undoubtedly looking for their participation on a new crusade to recover the Holy Land after the disappointing results of the recent Mongol and Lusignan

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<sup>149</sup>J. Martinez-Ferrando, *Jaime II, su vida familiar*, Barcelona, 1948, I, 99-100; II, doc. 70.

<sup>150</sup>Rumours surrounding a possible remarriage of Philip IV continued, however, after Raymond Berengar's death. In May 1306, however, James II's ambassadors at Bordeaux quashed stories about a marriage to Joanna of Burgundy in the following terms: *Rex Francie, qui dicebatur hoc anno contraxisse matrimonium cum filia comitis Burgundie, nondum cum ea vel cum alia contraxit*. In October of the same year, one of the same ambassadors reported with respect to a marriage with Isabella of Castile, that Philip told the Castilians that *negocium illud matrimonii erat sibi cordi*. The following March, it was rumoured that he intended to marry the sister of the Countess of Foix. See Finke, *Papstum*, nos. 10, 18, 22. In the end, Philip was never to remarry, despite his relative youth and nine-year widowhood.

campaigns against the Mamelukes.<sup>151</sup> Presumably, an Angevin marriage would have had the added attraction of sorting out the conflicting claims to the kingdom of Jerusalem. It is likely that Charles II would also have had to recognise King Henry as king of Cyprus, rejecting both the Brienne claim and the possibility of the Caltabellotta compensation clause being realized, at least as far as Cyprus was concerned. It is interesting that the marriage project just preceded the seizure of power by Amalric, lord of Tyre, who was to rule Cyprus from 1306 to 1310, with his brother the King kept under close guard and then exile.<sup>152</sup> Some late chroniclers associated his act to a fear of disinheritance from his brother; discussions for the subsequent marriage of James II of Aragon and Maria in 1315 hinged on Aragonese hopes for her succession to the throne over her imprisoned brother Aimery and her nephews, judged to be less closely related.<sup>153</sup> These ideas have been dismissed by recent historians and not mentioned by those writing closer to the time, so it is probable that the marriage plan predated any idea of Maria inheriting the Cypriot throne.<sup>154</sup> Whatever the case, Raymond Berengar's death ended the scheme and no other marriage plans with the Lusignans seem to have been considered.

The failure of the Angevins and the Lusignans to resolve their differences was a lost opportunity that inhibited the recovery of the Holy Land. Otherwise, the main marriage connection mooted between an Angevin and an Outremer family was that of Charles II's daughter Eleanor to Philip, son of the Angevin admiral, Nargaud of Toucy and Lucia, Princess of Antioch and Countess of Tripoli in the immediate period before the fall of Tripoli in 1289. Nargaud and Lucia's marriage had been part of a double

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<sup>151</sup> Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 104-7.

<sup>152</sup> On this period see Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 113 *et seq.*

<sup>153</sup> Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 115. A contemporary example of the succession of a sister, judged a closer relative than a grandson, was the succession of Matilda of Artois to her father Robert II. See above p 71 n.90.

<sup>154</sup> See Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 115.

marriage plan involving the royal house of Antioch and Angevin nobility just after Charles I took over Acre in 1277.<sup>155</sup> The marriage was presumably suggested some time early in the 1290s for as the Anagni settlement started to unravel, at least on the Sicilian side, it was clear that King Charles intended to reserve Eleanor for the complicated negotiations with King Frederick of Sicily and King James of Majorca. The project must have been quite advanced by 1300, as although Eleanor had been too young to give her consent hitherto, it seems that Philip had. The result was that Boniface VIII had to intervene, absolving Philip from his vows and Eleanor had to go through a formal process of denying her consent. What the Toucy marriage amounted to cannot be known due to a lack of evidence, but it must have been important to Charles II at some stage, given the shortage of Angevin princesses that was to disturb many marriage projects during his reign. If he did have any plan to set up Philip and Eleanor as rulers of a reconquered Antioch and Tripoli, all trace of it has been lost.

Apart from the Lusignan and Toucy marriage plans, there is little evidence that Charles II was interested in seeking marriage alliances in Outremer. The Hetoumid royal family of Cilician Armenia, doubly intermarried with the Lusignans in the late 1280s/early 1290s, does not seem to have excited Angevin interest during the reign of Charles II, although in 1316, Philip of Taranto's daughter Joanna was married to King Oshin of Armenia as a response to a worrying trio of marriages between the Lusignans and the Aragonese.<sup>156</sup> Whilst Charles I had organised marriage alliances between nobles from his lands and the royal family of Antioch, especially those of Margaret of Beaumont to Bohemond VII of Antioch, and his admiral, Nargaud of Toucy to

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<sup>155</sup>Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, 60. Charles I also arranged the marriage of Margaret of Beaumont to Lucia's brother, the then Prince Bohemond VII of Antioch.

<sup>156</sup>In 1286 and 1290, dispensations were granted for the marriages of King Henry's sister Margaret to Thoros, son of King Leo of Armenia and his brother Amalric to King Leo's daughter, Isabella. See Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 115. For the marriage of Joanna of Anjou-Taranto and King Oshin and the rival Cyprus-Aragon matches, see below p. 232 and n. 75.

Bohemond's sister and heiress Lucia, neither Charles I nor Charles II seem to have been very interested in the nobility of Outremer as prospective spouses for their family. Unlike the Lusignans, the Angevins did not forge close bonds with powerful families such as the Ibelins and the Montforts; it is not surprising that in Montfort territory such as Tyre, the Angevin claim was not accepted, even during their domination of Acre. Relying on the support of a French garrison paid for by their Capetian cousins and the ultimately unreliable military orders, the Angevins never received more than superficial allegiance even in Acre, where the reoccupation by King Henry of Cyprus was loudly acclaimed.<sup>157</sup> The Lusignans, more deeply rooted in the political world of the crusader kingdoms and intermarried with most of its most important families, were thus able to re-establish themselves in the kingdom, with only the French garrison reacting with anything but indifference at the last.<sup>158</sup>

#### *Hungary*<sup>159</sup>

The Angevin family connection to the Arpads of Hungary was made in 1270-2 by the double marriage of Charles and Isabella, children of Charles I of Sicily to Maria and Ladislas, children of Stephen V of Hungary. Forged as part of Charles I's network of anti-Byzantine alliances that were to form a basis for his planned reconquest of Constantinople for the Latins, these alliances failed to deliver their initial promise, but were to have much more momentous, if totally unexpected consequences. The unhappy and childless marriage of Ladislas and Isabella, marked by an ill-treatment of the young queen that aroused papal indignation over a decade, plus the premature

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<sup>157</sup> Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 97.

<sup>158</sup> King Henry of Cyprus's mother, Isabella was an Ibelin; his sister Margaret was the wife of John of Montfort, lord of Tyre. On the Lusignans and their connections in general, see Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus, passim*, Schem, *Fideles Crucis*, 60.

<sup>159</sup> For this section, see esp. Genealogical Table V.

deaths of Ladislas's brothers, meant that a succession crisis emerged after Ladislas was murdered by his members of his Cuman retinue in 1290.<sup>160</sup> For the next twenty or so years, the crown of St Stephen was disputed by a variety of candidates, many related in the female line. Foremost of these was the Angevin one, represented by Queen Maria herself, by her eldest son Charles Martel. It took many years, however, before the claim was realized.<sup>161</sup> In the 1290s, although they were keen to proclaim themselves as king and queen of Hungary and made grants using these titles, Maria and Charles Martel were too preoccupied by affairs in Provence and the Regno to launch the military offensive required to dislodge the new king Andrew III.<sup>162</sup>

The death of Charles Martel had disastrous repercussions for his son Charles Robert, as we have seen. By the settlements of 1297 and 1308, the main Angevin inheritance went to his uncle Robert instead. The deprivation of Charles Robert's rights went further than contemporary custom, as he was not even allowed to enjoy the Italian part of his paternal inheritance, the principality of Salerno and the honour of Monte Sant'Angelo. This must have rankled for years, for once established as king of Hungary, Charles Robert appointed his brother-in-law John II, Dauphin of Viennois as his representative to regain these paternal lands.<sup>163</sup>

It was decided early on by Charles II, however, that Charles Robert would be allowed to inherit the Hungarian claim; in 1296, the Sicilian king appealed to his sister-in-law Queen Catherine of Serbia to support Charles Robert against Andrew III.<sup>164</sup> However, with little support within the kingdom, even papal backing, hitherto the

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<sup>160</sup>For papal protests at Ladislas' behaviour towards Isabella, the papal legate Philip, Bishop of Fermo and the Church in general, see *Les Registres de Grégoire X*, ed. J. Guiraud and L. Cadier, Paris, 1892-1906, nos. 764, 765; *Les Registres de Nicolas III*, ed. J. Gay and S. Vitte, 2 vols, Paris, 1898-1938, nos. 312, 313, 607, 610; *Les Registres de Honorius IV*, nos. 761, 762, *Les Registres de Nicolas IV*, nos. 194-202. For Ladislas' death, see Hóman, *Gli Angioini*, 80.

<sup>161</sup>Hóman, 80-1.

<sup>162</sup>Hóman, 80-92; Kauffmann, 41.

<sup>163</sup>Valbonnais, *Histoire de Dauphiné, Preuves sous Jean II*, XLIII; b. 170-1.

<sup>164</sup>Hóman, 92.

mainstay of the Angevin claim, lapsed and Boniface VIII recognised Andrew III as king. The sending over of the new heir, Charles Robert, to Croatia in 1300, followed by the death of Andrew without a male heir and the renewal of papal enthusiasm for Charles Robert in 1301 amounted to a relaunch for the dwindling project.<sup>165</sup> Progress, however, proved slow as the Angevins failed to win sufficient support within Hungary to overcome two further claimants, who both pipped Charles Robert for the crown: firstly Ladislas, son of King Wenceslas II of Bohemia and then Otto, Duke of Bavaria.<sup>166</sup> Only once these candidates had withdrawn, leaving Charles Robert the only major player still on the scene, was the Angevin claim able to come to fruition. Even then it took three years to achieve a recognised coronation and a further decade for royal authority to be re-established in Hungary.<sup>167</sup>

The enormous difficulties that faced the Angevin claim in the period up to 1310 were not alleviated by the attitude of Charles II. Although he was delighted at his grandson's later successes, he was not moved to provide significant financial or military backing for the scheme.<sup>168</sup> Even after the peace of Caltabellotta, Hungarian affairs seem to have come a very poor third behind Italian and Greek ambitions; Charles Robert's success was mainly due to his ability to outlast his less resilient rivals; unlike Wenceslas of Bohemia or Otto of Bavaria, Charles Robert had no other inheritance to look to if his Hungarian ambitions failed. Occupied in a distant and difficult conflict and without any Italian lands, the potentially troublesome Charles Robert was denied

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<sup>165</sup>Hóman, 98-101; Kauffmann, 33, 38.

<sup>166</sup>Hóman, 102-15; Kauffmann, 46, 48-9, 55-6.

<sup>167</sup>On Charles Robert's struggle to restore royal authority from 1310-1323, see P. Engel, 'Az ország újraegyesítése. I. Károly küzdelmei az oligarchák ellen. (1310-1323)', *Századok*, 122 (1988), pt 1, 89-146.

<sup>168</sup>For Charles' delight at Charles Robert's success in Hungary, see Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 75. There is no evidence, however, to suggest that Charles II sent any military forces to support his nephew's claim to the throne. Indeed, Charles Robert's *magister*, Philip Druget, the son of Charles Martel's, Nicholas, was the only Frenchman among his suite; the rest were Hungarians or Croats. Philip became ispan of Szépes and Abaujvár and helped to defeat Kopasz Borsa's rebellion in favour of Andrew of Galicia in 1317. See Hóman, 121, 124-5.



the opportunity to interfere in Italian affairs and possibly dissolve the carefully constructed integrity of the Sicilian-Provençal inheritance, that had been reserved for Robert of Calabria. Certainly, Charles Robert's career contrasts with that of his father, who was retained to act as vicar for Charles II in Naples rather than being allowed to fulfil his own Hungarian ambitions.<sup>169</sup>

Charles II's lack of interest in devoting resources to pursuing the Hungarian claim was mirrored by the focus of his marriage policy. There is no evidence that Charles II organised any marriage alliances with the intention of furthering Charles Martel or Charles Robert's candidacy. For example, Charles II does not seem to have been involved in any such negotiations with any of Charles Robert's rivals, such as Andrew the Venetian, Ladislav of Bohemia or Otto of Bavaria, with a view to neutralizing their claims. Similarly, there is no evidence that Charles II sought matrimonial links with Albert I of Austria, Wladyslaw Lokietek of Poland, Stephen Dragutin or Stephen Milutin of Serbia, all potentially useful allies. Clearly, this may be due to the minimal nature of evidence relating to Hungary and the east during this period, when compared to the Aragonese sphere; many possible marriages were also ruled out through consanguinity. Still, it must be noted that Charles II did nothing to enhance Charles Robert's marriage prospects by not only all but eliminating his prospects of succeeding to the Provence-Sicily bulk of the Angevin inheritance, but also by taking away Charles Robert's paternal lands, leaving him landless except for what he could win in Hungary. It is symptomatic of Charles II's priorities that Charles Robert's sisters, Beatrice and Clementia, did not make marriages that served their brother's cause; Beatrice married the son of the Dauphin of Viennois and Clementia remained unmarried at Charles II's death, although she was sixteen, an age by which all Charles's daughters had been married. Close consanguinity through their Habsburg

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<sup>169</sup>For the career of Charles Martel, see Schipa, 'Carlo martello angioino', *passim*.

mother ruled out many of the best matches for Charles Robert and his sisters, but unlike other instances under Charles II or Robert, Charles II did not try to aid his grandson by substituting another less closely related child or grandchild instead. Good marriages that were possible by canon law and practice were not attained. Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew III would have been an excellent match - her engagement to Ladislas of Bohemia was the foundation of his initial success; neither before this nor after the marriage and Ladislas's candidacy were stalled by her removal from Hungary by her step-mother Agnes of Habsburg was Charles Robert able to take advantage.<sup>170</sup> An alliance between Charles Robert with Wladyslaw Lokietek, made in 1304, was not followed by a marriage.<sup>171</sup>

Under these circumstances, the first marriage that Charles Robert made is so obscure that there is a dispute even as to who the woman involved was. Traditionally, it has been argued that Charles Robert first married Maria, daughter of Casimir II, Duke of Silesia-Beuthen (Bytom).<sup>172</sup> Indeed, that he did marry this Maria at some stage is attested to in the numerous chronicles that mention her death in 1317.<sup>173</sup> That Charles Robert married Maria by 1306 has been argued by the existence of a charter issued by *Maria dei gracia Regina ungrie* in June of that year.<sup>174</sup> More recently, however, Gyula Kristó has rejected this hypothesis, arguing that the Maria mentioned in the document was not Charles Robert's wife but his grandmother, Maria, wife of Charles II, who maintained her title of queen of Hungary after 1290.<sup>175</sup> He also cited a passage

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<sup>170</sup>Kauffmann, 36-7, 44.

<sup>171</sup>Kauffmann, 54.

<sup>172</sup>For example, see A.Pór, 'Magyar-legyel érintkezés a XIV-ik században', *Századok* (1903), 308-12.

<sup>173</sup>The chronicles disagree on the year of her death. A charter dated 24th February 1317, however, does not refer to Maria as dead, which would indicate her death in this year. See Anjoukori Okmánytár, no. 375, p. 415. Charles Robert married Beatrice of Luxembourg in 1318.

<sup>174</sup>*Codex Diplomaticus Somus Senioris Comitum Zichy*, Pest, 1971, I, 112; Por, 309.

<sup>175</sup>The fact that Maria describes the late Isabella (Elizabeth), widow of Ladislas IV as *fratrissam nostram* perhaps lends some weight to this view, given the fact that Isabella was the sister of Charles II. *Zichy*, I, 112.

from the *Anonymi descriptio Europae orientalis*, written around 1308, describing King Charles Robert as recently marrying the daughter of Leo, prince of Galicia-Volhynia, corroborated by a charter of Charles Robert's of 1326, referring to a visit *in Rutheniam. quo..pro adducenda prima consorte nostra*.<sup>176</sup> He argues from events described in the charter that the trip took place between 1304 and 1306 and that the Leo involved was not Leo Danilovich, dead in 1301, but his grandson Leo II.<sup>177</sup> He suggests that the county of Bereg, hitherto under Galician rule and which came under Hungarian rule in the reign of Charles Robert may have been the princess's dowry.<sup>178</sup>

The Kristó hypothesis is not without its problems. One quibble, pointed out by Pál Engel, is that Maria, wife of Charles II usually entitled herself *regina Hungarie Sicilie et Jerusalem*, so it is quite likely that the Maria mentioned in the charter was a wife of Charles Robert.<sup>179</sup> Queen Maria also describes Charles Robert as *consors noster* in the charter.<sup>180</sup> Otherwise, Engel tends towards the view that Charles Robert married a Maria of Galicia first, then Maria of Beuthen. The problem then remains as to when the first Maria gave way to the second. A similar charter of 1312 of *Maria dei gracia Regina Hungarie*, again referring to *Serenissimo principi domino Karolo per eandem Regi Ungarie Consorti nostro karissimo*, gives no clue as to which it would be.<sup>181</sup> Olgierd Górka, editor of the *Anonymi* goes for a compromise solution, that Maria of Silesia-Beuthen was a granddaughter of Leo Danilovich through her mother, the mysterious Helena.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>176</sup>Gyula Kristó, 'Károly Róbert első felesége', *Acta Universitatis Szegedensis De Attila József Nominatae, Acta Historica*, LXXXVI (1988), 28; Górka (ed.), *Anonymi*, 40;

<sup>177</sup>Kristó, 'Károly Róbert', 28-9.

<sup>178</sup>Kristó, 'Károly Róbert', 29-30.

<sup>179</sup>In a note to his article, 'Temetkezések a középkori székesfehérvári koronázások', *Századok* 121 (1987), 622 n.18, 634 however, Engel describes Maria of Beuthen as Charles Robert's second wife, married around 1310. In which case, the Maria of the charter would be the Galician princess.

<sup>180</sup>Zichy, I, 112.

<sup>181</sup>Anjoukon Okmánytár, no. 257, p. 280-1.

<sup>182</sup>Górka, *Anonymi*, Intro.

Whatever the case, these disputes confirm the obscure nature of the first marriage of Charles Robert; at no stage do they indicate that his grandfather Charles II was involved. Indeed, an instance from 1309 demonstrates a clear lack of communication between Charles Robert and the court of Naples over the marriage of a family member close to both - Charles Robert's sister Clementia. King Robert was forced to drop plans to marry her to his brother-in-law Ferdinand of Majorca when it was revealed that Charles Robert and the papal legate in Hungary, Cardinal Gentilis were organising a match for her with a Hungarian noble.<sup>183</sup>

Charles Robert's motives for a Galician marriage were threefold. The Prince of Galicia was a useful ally to the north-east, especially at a time when other neighbouring princes were either fellow competitors for the throne or otherwise hostile. Kristó suggests that the Bereg region came under Hungarian control at the time and that it could have been a dowry for the princess. For the Galician princes, an alliance with Charles Robert could have precluded a revival of the pretensions that Hungarian princes and kings had had over their principality, which had been conquered by Béla III for his son Andrew (later Andrew II) at the end of the twelfth century. Although control was maintained for only short periods thereafter, Andrew II and his successors continued to use the title *rex Galicie et Lodomerie*.<sup>184</sup> For Charles Robert, the Galician princely family were also fellow descendants of Béla IV, through the marriage of Béla's daughter Constance to Leo Danilovich and were thus possible rivals for the throne. Indeed, it is noteworthy that their son George was one of the few claimants not known to have advanced his rights during the twenty years after the death of Ladislas IV, although a rebellion did break out in favour of the claim of George's son Andrew in

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<sup>183</sup> A.M. Huffelmann, *Clemenza von Ungarn, Königin von Frankreich*. Berlin, Leipzig, 1911, 14-17.

<sup>184</sup> E. Winter, *Russland und das Papsttum*, Berlin, 1960, I, 83-4; G. Stokl, 'Das Fürstentum Galizien-Wolhynen', *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands* Stuttgart, 1980, I, 501-2, 504, 509-12; J. Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia 1200-1304* London, New York, 1983, 14, 28-9, 37-8, 74.

1317.<sup>185</sup> This reluctance may be explained by Galician preoccupation with the growing power of Witen of Lithuania and his successors.<sup>186</sup>

The Silesia-Beuthen match is harder to fathom. Antal Pór, in his discussion of relations between Hungary and Poland at this time, dismissed it as a poor marriage with the daughter of a 'third-rate feudatory prince' that was an indication of the miserable situation faced by Charles Robert in 1306 and decried its main consequence, the influx of a number of Maria's relatives to the court of Charles Robert, where many were richly favoured.<sup>187</sup> It is quite possible that it was connected to the marriage of Charles Robert's main competitor, Wenceslas III (Ladislav) of Bohemia to Viola-Elizabeth of Teschen, daughter of Duke Casimir's brother, Mieszko, which also took place in 1306. The Silesian dukes' move away from the Polish into the Bohemian orbit had been confirmed by the oath of allegiance sworn by Duke Casimir to Wenceslas II in 1289.<sup>188</sup> This match was condemned in Bohemian chronicles as unbecoming, given the poverty and insignificance of Viola's family.<sup>189</sup>

Given the lack of support from Charles II, in diplomatic, financial or military terms, it is not surprising that the otherwise landless and mostly unrecognised Charles Robert was unable to secure an illustrious marriage in the years before he was finally crowned in 1310. The contrast with his later matrimonial career is stark. Charles Robert did much better in 1318 when he married Beatrice of Luxembourg, sister of King John of Bohemia and in 1321 when he married Elizabeth, daughter of his old ally

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<sup>185</sup>Homan, 124-5; Engel, 'Az orszag', 114.

<sup>186</sup>Stokl, 'Das Fürstentum Galizen-Wolhynien', 529.

<sup>187</sup>Pór, 309-11.

<sup>188</sup>A. Pór, 308.

<sup>189</sup>*Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, cap. LXXXIV, p. 106: *Hanc autem puellam, pauperis principis filiam, iste rex inclitus et prepotens nullatenus duxisset legitimam si ei ex quorundam consilio fallaciter non fuisset.*

Wladyslaw Lokietek, himself just recognised as king of Poland.<sup>190</sup>

*John, Peter and Clementia*

If Charles II seems to have played no role in organising Charles Robert's marriage, then at least Charles Robert was able to arrange one for himself. Charles Robert's sister Clementia remained unmarried on Charles II's death, despite reaching the age of sixteen, and only received a very small amount of money in Charles II's will for a dowry, if she chose to marry rather than enter a convent. Clementia, however, was to become the centre of matrimonial interest in the early years of Robert's reign, leading up to a prestigious marriage to Louis X of France in 1315, probably because of the lack of other nubile, unmarried Angevin princesses during this period.

Similarly, Charles II's two youngest sons, John and Peter were of a very junior status within the family hierarchy. Partly, this was due to their age: the youngest of Charles II's children, they were put in the care of their mother on their father's death.<sup>191</sup> However, they also received far less in land than their elder brothers. After the death of Raymond Berengar, John, who was the next brother in line, was only granted the honour of Monte Sant'Angelo and the county of Gravina from his holdings; the county of Piedmont, Raymond Berengar's chief honour, went back to Charles II, before being granted to Robert of Calabria, thus ensuring it would remain with the patrimony. As if that were not enough, the comparatively small settlements that John and Peter had were subject to change due to the agreements made on both the marriages of their sister Beatrice. The position of John remained poor enough that in 1317, Pope John XXII was moved to admonish Robert for his meanness towards his

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<sup>190</sup>On Charles Robert's later marriages, see Por, 312-14; Homan, 126, 128.

<sup>191</sup>On Queen Maria being granted the *baliatus* of John and Peter by King Robert, see A.S.N. Notamenta De Lellis, IV, pars II, 343.

brother, whose endowment, he argued, was unfitting for a prince of his status.<sup>192</sup> Attempts to secure the principality of Achaia for John by marriage to and later, confiscation from, the princess Matilda of Hainault evidently meant to atone for this, but all that resulted was a serious quarrel with Philip of Taranto over the principality that poisoned relations between the brothers, their wives and descendants that were to dog the reign of Joanna I. Not surprisingly, neither John nor Peter seem to have been linked to any matrimonial projects of Charles II: John's first marriage to Matilda of Hainault only took place in 1318, while Peter, although briefly linked with a sister of Edward II of England shortly after Charles II's death, was unmarried when he was killed at the battle of Montecatini in 1315.

### Conclusion

Charles II's need to resolve the Sicilian war above all else was clearly reflected in his matrimonial policy. Looking beyond the treaties that involved Sicily directly, it is clear that Charles was prepared to sacrifice other matrimonial and dynastic interests in attaining his main goal. Whereas Sicily was linked to the *primogenitus*, regions linked to cadet sons and grandsons, such as Greece, Hungary and Piedmont were of lesser interest in the matrimonial sphere. Even then, however, there was a great imbalance in Charles II's attitude. Whereas Philip of Taranto was promoted and favoured and given wide powers over Greece, the decision to apanage Piedmont on a younger son was short-lived, while the meanness shown towards Charles Robert and John of Gravina, evident in both property settlements and marriage, caused lasting resentment within the family that was to explode in the reign of Joanna I. Despite this, Charles II was still able to secure some very favourable marriage deals, especially over the Epirus and Este marriage, even if the promised gains proved ultimately impossible to secure.

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<sup>192</sup>A.S.V. Reg. Vat. 109, f. 68v., c.301.

## Chapter Four : *MARRIAGE AND LAW*

The success of Charles II in achieving his diplomatic and matrimonial aims as set out in the previous chapter was accomplished despite the fact that kings did not have free rein over the marriages of their children. This was due to the Church's monopoly over marriage law, which had set up a legal framework within which kings had to work to ensure valid marriage and inheritance.

Debate on this question has centred round the work of Georges Duby, whose books *Medieval Marriage and the Knight, the Lady and the Priest* proposed the idea that there were conflicts between clerical and aristocratic ideas of marriage in the two centuries leading up to the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215: the clerical ideas stressing the importance of individual consent, the indissolubility of marriage and the need to avoid incest, while the aristocratic favoured parental consent, easy repudiation of unwanted spouses if sterility or a better political alliance required a new marriage, plus the possibility of marriage to close relatives to keep property within the lineage. The solution to these differing ideas emerged in the decades up to the Fourth Lateran Council, amounting to a compromise: individual consent remained the basis for marriage, although consummation made it binding; marriage was kept indissoluble; the incest bar became less strict.<sup>1</sup>

The compromise was in many ways superficial. The Church kept control of marriage, but that is not to say that aristocrats abandoned their ideas. James Brundage, among others, has questioned how far the conflict was resolved by 1215.<sup>2</sup> In fact, what the 1215 settlement did was to stabilise the set of legal rules that kings like Charles II

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<sup>1</sup>Duby, *Medieval Marriage and the Knight, the Lady and the Priest*; C. Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage*, Oxford, 1989, 119-72..

<sup>2</sup>J.A. Brundage, 'Matrimonial Politics in Thirteenth Century Aragon: Moncada v. Urgel', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31 (1980), 271-82.



had to work within to achieve the same dynastic ends as their forbears.<sup>3</sup> In order to put Charles II's matrimonial projects into context, it is necessary to see how he was able to achieve his aims, given that he had to take into account these legal restrictions and to see how far aristocratic and clerical models were still opposed at the end of the thirteenth century. To do this, it is important to consider three main areas : divorce, consanguinity and consent.

### Divorce

In the earlier middle ages, kings had tended to discard wives if they proved to be barren or if a better political alliance could be achieved by a new marriage. However, the establishment of the clerical monopoly over marriage law meant that divorce became impossible and marriage indissoluble. The only grounds for the separation of a couple was annulment, which implied that the marriage was invalid from the start. It also, however, meant that the children of such a union were illegitimate. Attitudes to illegitimacy varied across Europe. In Italy, it did not prove a bar to succession, and in Tancred of Lecce, Manfred of Hohenstaufen and Ferrante of Aragon, the three other major medieval dynasties of Sicily all produced bastard kings. However, one of the conditions for the granting of the kingdom to Charles of Anjou had been that illegitimate children would be debarred from the succession.<sup>4</sup> In the light of this consideration, Charles II had to follow his Capetian forbears rather than previous Sicilian kings in seeking legitimate heirs to succeed as an essential dynastic aim.

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<sup>3</sup>To see an interesting fourteenth century comparison, see Veldtrup, *Zwischen Eherecht* on the Emperor Charles IV.

<sup>4</sup>*Bullarium Romanum*, III, 744-59

The result of this was that royal houses had to be more circumspect about contracting marriages in general. The process of negotiation became staggered and princes and princesses often had long engagements before marriages took place. Instead of divorce, prospective unions were often broken off at the engagement stage once they were no longer politically useful. Charles II of Anjou was able to use this flexibility to arrange marriages with Aragonese princes to daughters who were engaged to others who offered less important alliances. Thus, Blanche of Anjou's five year engagement to John of Montferrat was broken off when the better prospect of James II of Aragon loomed, while Eleanor of Anjou had her engagement vow to Philip of Toucy annulled by Boniface VIII to enable marriage with either Sancho of Majorca or Frederick of Aragon. Such a situation was far preferable to that of Philip of Taranto in 1309, whose marriage to Thamar had become tainted by accusations of adultery, while the intended political benefits had failed to materialize, as property disputes led to war with Thamar's family rather than alliance. It was only Thamar's convenient death that allowed Philip to build a better matrimonial deal with Catherine of Valois.<sup>5</sup> Some princes and princesses had long careers and multiple engagements before they finally got married. Catherine of Courtenay was first linked to Michael Palaeologus in 1288, followed by Frederick of Aragon and James of Majorca before finally marrying Charles of Valois in 1301, when she was in her mid-late twenties.<sup>6</sup> Isabella of Castile had an even longer career, starting with a plan to marry Alfonso de la Cerda in 1288,

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<sup>5</sup>Some historians, for example, Nicol, *Despotate of Epiros*, 61-2 state that Philip divorced Thamar, without any evidence to show how it could have happened, given contemporary canon law. Rather, the convenient death of Thamar, which took place *after* Philip had expressed interest in marrying Catherine suggests comparison with another ill-fated royal adulteress, Margaret of Burgundy, first wife of Louis X of France. Perhaps this could explain Clement V's initial resistance to granting a dispensation to Philip and Catherine.

<sup>6</sup>For the career of Catherine of Courtenay, see chapters on the Sicilian war and beyond the Sicilian war. Catherine was born in 1274-5, given that her parents, Philip of Courtenay and Beatrice of Anjou-Sicily were married on 15th October 1273 at Foggia and Beatrice died between 16th November and 13th December 1275. See Minieri-Riccio, *Genealogia di Carlo I*, 34.

then a four year engagement with James II of Aragon in 1291, before being discussed as a possible wife for no less than the future Edward II of England, Robert, Duke of Calabria, Philip IV of France and Ferdinand of Majorca, before she finally married John, *primogenitus* of Duke Arthur II of Brittany in 1310.<sup>7</sup> Thus the solution to the competing needs of legitimate heirs and political flexibility was the breaking off of alliances at the engagement phase, although once marriage had been fully entered into, there could be no going back. Thus, Philip of Taranto had to keep Thamar of Epirus after the political alliance had lost its value, while the future King Robert had to retain his second wife Sancia despite the sterility of the union.

### Consanguinity

#### *The forbidden degrees of relationship and papal power*

One of the main developments of the canon law over marriage was the establishment of forbidden degrees of relationship that were much wider than previous Roman law. This involved the prohibition of marriages between close blood relations (consanguinity), those related by marriage (affinity), or even people related to someone one had been engaged to (public honesty) or marriages to the children of one's godparents (spiritual kinship or *cognatio spiritualis*). Marriages were also invalid with those who had made vows to enter a religious order (*impedimentum voti*). The extent of these prohibitions varied over the centuries, but reached its greatest extent in the eleventh and twelfth centuries when all marriages within seven degrees of

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<sup>7</sup>For her connections with Alfonso de la Cerda, James II and Robert of Calabria, see above, esp. 49-51, 88-90; for Philip IV, see 152 n. 150; for the proposal of her marriage with Edward, Prince of Wales, see the letter of Edward I of England to the Infante Henry of Castile, April 1302, in A. Benavides, *Memorias de Don Fernando IV de Castilla*, Madrid, 1860, II, doc. CXCIX, p. 282; for the negotiations involving Ferdinand of Majorca, in April 1309, and her subsequent marriage to the future John III of Brittany, see A. Rubió i Lluch, *Contribució a la biografia de l'infant Ferran de Mallorca*, Barcelona, 1915, 19 and doc. X. John had been married to Isabella, daughter of Charles of Valois and Margaret of Anjou. See Genealogical Tables II, VII.

consanguinity, that is, between sixth cousins, were technically invalid. In 1215, at the Fourth Lateran Council, however this had been limited to four degrees for both consanguinity and affinity.<sup>8</sup>

The whole question of consanguinity had profound effects on marriage selection for the kings of western Christendom. The number of families in Europe of sufficient status and influence to be considered for marriage alliances was small, and thus tended to be closely interrelated. It soon became very difficult to find prospective brides of royal status that fell within the rules. Henry I of France was forced to look to Russia to find a suitable wife; his successors had to look to lower status wives to fulfil such strict conditions, while in the twelfth century, the large number of royal annulments indicated a system that was beginning to crack. Even after 1215, the prohibitions still made marriage partner selection complicated.<sup>9</sup>

Fortunately, the development of a system of dispensations led to a certain amount of flexibility in this system, and this was something that increased in both number and range as the thirteenth century progressed. The idea behind dispensations was that under certain conditions the Church could grant special permission for couples to marry within the forbidden degrees. Under Innocent III, they became more or less a papal privilege, although the power to dispense could be delegated to archbishops and bishops.<sup>10</sup>

#### *Charles II's marriage policies and papal dispensations*

Charles II's marriage policies relied in large part on marriages within the forbidden degrees.<sup>11</sup> Only a minority could have gone forward without papal

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<sup>8</sup>J. Dauvillier, *Le Mariage dans le Droit classique de l'Église depuis le décret de Gratien (1140) jusqu'à la mort de Clément V (1314)*, Paris, 1933, 143-200.

<sup>9</sup>In general, see Dauvillier, *Le Mariage*; Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe*; Bouchard, 'Consanguinity'.

<sup>10</sup>Dauvillier, *Le Mariage*, 201, 204-8.

<sup>11</sup>See Consanguinity Tables I-V..

dispensation.<sup>12</sup> It was therefore vital for him to have papal support for his marriage policies, so that he could secure the necessary papal dispensations. Whatever the case, it meant that popes played an important role in deciding on the marriages of Charles II's family.

The general theory behind dispensations had been that they were given for marriages, when their contribution to peace and generally the best interests of Christendom outweighed the incest that would otherwise have made them invalid.<sup>13</sup> In the thirteenth century, the theological climate towards this issue softened compared to the previous ones, as theologians such as Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Bernard of Parma and Bartholomew of Brescia argued that it was acceptable to give dispensations for all cases within the forbidden degrees except for the Leviticus restrictions, although there was some disagreement as to what they were; Innocent III himself had argued that it was acceptable to give a dispensation for forbidden degrees to avoid dissolving a marriage unless the degrees were forbidden by divine law; thus the degrees forbidden by the Church were seen now as more of a moral principle than an absolute. By the turn of the century, Giovanni d'Andrea (Johannes Andreae) was arguing that popes could dispense even from Leviticus prohibitions in specific cases for a suitable cause.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>I can find no grounds necessary for the following combinations:

Philip of Taranto and Thamar of Epirus 1294.

Beatrice of Anjou and Azzo of Este, married 1305.

Beatrice of Anjou and Bertrand des Baux, married 1309

Eleanor of Anjou and Philip of Toucy.

Charles of Taranto and Margaret of Savoy.

Catherine of Courtenay and Michael Palaeologus.

Catherine of Courtenay and James of Majorca.

Beatrice of Anjou -Hungary and John of Viennois.

The mystery surrounding Maria of Beuthen/Galicja makes it unclear whether one should have been granted for her marriage with Charles Robert of Hungary.

<sup>13</sup>Marriage without the necessary dispensation was denounced as incest if it was displeasing to the Church for other reasons. Celestine V castigated James II of Aragon for living in sin with Isabella of Castile, although this marriage was condemned anyway as being contrary to the cause of peace within Christendom. See Odoncus Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici ad annum 1294*; Potthast, 23993; Rohde, *Der Kampf*, 107.

<sup>14</sup>See H.A. Kelly, 'Canoncal Implications of Richard III's Plan to Marry His Niece', *Traditio* 23 (1967),

This was explicitly stated in a number of dispensations granted to the family of Charles II. When in 1301, Boniface VIII wrote to King James of Majorca, granting a dispensation for the marriage of his son Sancho to Charles II's daughter Eleanor for consanguinity to the third degree on the one hand and four degrees on the other, he stated that he wanted to promote peace between the houses of Barcelona and Anjou, at war for twenty years over Sicily.<sup>15</sup> A year later, when Charles II suggested another marriage for Eleanor, again within the forbidden degrees, to Frederick of Aragon, with whom he had been at war over Sicily, Boniface not only granted the dispensation, but urged the match in the name of peace of Christendom.<sup>16</sup> Similar consideration was given to marriages promoting either the Union of the Churches or the recovery of the Latin Empire. Dispensations on these grounds were given to a number of Angevin marriage projects, especially those involving Catherine of Courtenay, and later, her daughters Catherine and Joanna.

Clearly, though, the granting of dispensations to Charles II of Anjou amounted to more than a disinterested papal desire to promote peace in general. The Angevin kings of Sicily were not just like any other European monarchs in this respect - their especially close relationship to the papacy meant that to a large extent the promotion of Angevin family interests was an extension of papal policies. Charles I of Anjou had inherited the good relations formed by Blanche of Castile and Louis IX - the dispensation for his marriage to Beatrice of Provence had been granted as a favour to the Capetian family that had been denied their competitors, Peter of Aragon and the

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269-311; H.A. Kelly, *The Matrimonial Trials of Henry VIII*, Stanford, 1976.

<sup>15</sup>*inter quos hactenus rancor et scandalum*, Boniface VIII, *Registres*, no. 4190, 21 October 1301; J. Dauvillier, *Le mariage dans le droit civil*, 243. According to G. de Albalato's letter to James II of Aragon, however, Boniface VIII's initial reaction to Charles's proposal of such a marriage was far from positive, asking why he wanted to give his daughter to a man who must not be called king after his father's death. See Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII*, no. 9, p. XXXV.

<sup>16</sup>Boniface VIII, *Registres*, no. 5076, 2 Dec 1302; Dauvillier, *Le mariage*, 251

Emperor Frederick II.<sup>17</sup> It is not surprising that the popes turned to the increasingly powerful Capetians when looking for military support to defeat and destroy their enemies, the Hohenstaufens. Charles I's successes against Manfred and Conradin were achieved at papal invitation, with papal political and financial support; in return, the Angevin had promised to swear homage to the papacy for the kingdom of Sicily and pay an annual *census*. From the beginning, the Angevins of Naples were papal vassals and allies, and along with Florence became the cornerstone of the Guelf alliance that was to dominate Italian politics until the death of Robert of Anjou in 1343.<sup>18</sup> Outside of Italy too, the papacy supported Angevin aims, most especially to the kingdom of Hungary, where papal claims to overlordship were used by a series of popes and legates to promote the Angevin claim to the throne.<sup>19</sup> Although the intensity of the alliance was to wax and wane during this period, and the Angevins and the papacy did have divergent interests to some extent, the essential continuity of the connection meant that most of the time, Angevin marriage policies were identified with the cause of the peace and the goodwill of Christendom, giving them a clear advantage over rivals in the marriage market also in pursuit of dispensations.

Papal favour towards the Angevins was clear for the dispensations granted *ex causa impulsiva*, that is, those given just for those in favour with the Church, with no specific other reason. Robert of Calabria received two such dispensations from Boniface VIII in 1299, and another one from Benedict XI in 1304.<sup>20</sup> This contrasted to the refusals to give dispensations to those who had offended the papacy. During the Sicilian Vespers' War, the house of Barcelona not only had to face crusade, interdict,

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<sup>17</sup>R. Sternfeld, *Karl von Anjou als Graf der Provence (1245-1265)* in J. Jastrow, *Historische Untersuchungen*, Heft X, Berlin, 1888, 12-24.

<sup>18</sup>N. J. Housley, *The Italian Crusades*, Oxford, 1982.

<sup>19</sup>See B. Homan, *Gli Angioini di Napoli in Ungheria 1290-1403*, Rome, 1938.

<sup>20</sup>Boniface VIII, *Registres*, no. 2914, 2915, 28 February 1299; Benedict XI, *Registres*, no. 697, 9 May 1304; Dauvillier, *Le mariage dans le droit civil*, 257.

and excommunication, but the denial of dispensations that so sabotaged their attempts at a marriage policy, that none of Peter III's children were able to conclude a valid marriage for thirteen years, until the peace of Anagni in 1295. Alfonso III of Aragon was unable to marry his fiancée, Eleanor of England, as a succession of popes refused to give the necessary dispensation for consanguinity.<sup>21</sup> James II's marriage to Isabella of Castile was never recognised by the papacy despite the efforts of Sancho IV of Castile; that marriage annulled, James was persuaded to work towards peace and an Angevin marriage to Charles II's daughter Blanche.<sup>22</sup> When James tried to wriggle out of the agreement and marry Blanche of France instead, Boniface VIII made it quite clear that he would only grant a dispensation for the Angevin match.<sup>23</sup> Not surprisingly, James took advantage of the peace of Anagni deal to try and get necessary dispensations so that he could arrange matches for his other unmarried siblings, Frederick, Yolande and Peter.<sup>24</sup>

The favour given to the Angevins by the papacy is also evident in the nature of the dispensations given to them. In the thirteenth century, it was very rare for popes to dispense for within the fourth degree of consanguinity. So when Nicholas IV granted a dispensation for the third degree of consanguinity for the marriage of Charles of Valois to Margaret of Anjou in 1290, it is only one of six that he is recorded as having given during his four year pontificate.<sup>25</sup> For their Angevin and French allies, however, popes were willing to cross the threshold of the second degree, to show their especial favour:

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<sup>21</sup>On Alfonso's problems, see L. Klüpfel, *Die äussere Politik Alfonsos III von Aragonien (1285-1291)*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1911, 1912.

<sup>22</sup>A dispensation for consanguinity was denied to James and Isabella by Nicholas IV, despite the fact that the marriage was seen as promoting the struggle against the Moors in Spain and therefore in the interests of the Christian faith. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 7.

<sup>23</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 19.

<sup>24</sup>In the same week that dispensations were granted to James II and Blanche of Anjou, they were also given for a marriage of Yolande of Aragon to Alfonso de la Cerda and Peter of Aragon to Guillema of Moncada. See *Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, no. 180, 182, 183. The marriage of Frederick of Aragon to Catherine of Courtenay had been organized separately as part of the Velletri agreement.

<sup>25</sup>Dauvillier, 217. For the consanguinity relationship, see Consanguinity Table iii.



when Charles of Valois married Catherine of Courtenay, the dispensation for the third degree of consanguinity and second degree of affinity was the only one known to be granted by Boniface VIII.<sup>26</sup> Benedict XI later matched this with a similar dispensation for the marriage of Robert of Calabria and Sancia of Majorca.<sup>27</sup> For the Angevins, Boniface was to change his mind over the question of spiritual kinship over the marriage of Sancho of Majorca and Maria of Anjou. After initially refusing Charles II's request for a dispensation on these grounds, as he had never given one like it before, he tried to conciliate the Sicilian king by granting a dispensation for consanguinity which would allow Maria's sister Eleanor to marry Sancho instead, but Boniface eventually gave in to Charles' determination that Maria would wed Sancho.

At times, the papacy's role in Angevin marriage policy amounted to more than just sympathetic consideration of dispensations. Boniface VIII was a key mover behind the Anagni and Velletri agreements of 1295, prevented the Blanche of France match and confirmed Celestine V's annulment of the Castilian marriage.<sup>28</sup> The final stage of the Anagni negotiations took place at the papal palace; Blanche of Anjou gave her formal consent to marry James there.<sup>29</sup> As overlord over Sicily, any peace agreements over the island directly involved the papacy, and Boniface used all sorts of inducements to try to bring off the marriages. While promising to lift all the ecclesiastical sanctions, Boniface also acted as financial guarantor for the marriages on behalf of the deeply indebted Charles II.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>Dauvillier, 218; see also Consanguinity Table iii.

<sup>27</sup>*Les Registres de Benoît XI*, no. 697; Consanguinity Table vi.

<sup>28</sup> After thwarting Philip IV on this occasion, Boniface was careful, however, to dispense for the marriage of a son of Philip to a daughter of the Count of Burgundy a week later, on 1 July 1295. See *Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, no. 218.

<sup>29</sup> Boniface also called her Queen of Aragon from this point, which led her to be recognized as such in the whole of the Cuna, according to the priest Bernard d'Altoire's letter to Mascarosa, Countess of Rodez, written at the time. See Baluze, *Histoire généalogique de la Maison d'Auvergne*, Paris, 1718, II, 549.

<sup>30</sup> Boniface guaranteed the dowry, providing the 75,000 silver marks, using the Hospitallers and Templars in the kingdom of Aragon as well as paying 12,000 *livres tournois* to James to restore Sicily

Cardinals also played an important role. Approval of dispensations and treaties such as Caltabellotta needed the assent of the College of Cardinals.<sup>31</sup> The particular status of the kingdom of Sicily meant that papal legates, such as Gerard Bianchi played a vital political role during royal minorities or *interregna*; in Hungary, these legates acted as chief promoters of the Angevin cause within the kingdom. Not surprisingly, this could have repercussions for marriage policies.<sup>32</sup>

Generally, however, the papacy's role was mainly to confirm the validity of marriage arrangements already negotiated for some time previously. The securing of a dispensation tended to come late in the marriage process, when an official recognition of the engagement of the couple was needed, often just before the marriage was celebrated. The Anagni dispensation for the marriage of James II to Blanche of Anjou was granted in June 1295, five months before the couple married at Vilabertran, but seven or eight years after the first time a marriage between James and an Angevin princess had been raised. In other cases, it happened much earlier. Blanche was dispensed for consanguinity with John of Montferrat at the age of six, though the projected marriage was dropped definitively five years later, when John returned to Montferrat from the Angevin court.<sup>33</sup> In any case, the acquisition of a dispensation was a serious legal necessity, not just a rubber stamp. When it was found out less than two years after Anagni that Boniface VIII had failed to dispense Blanche for affinity with James II's first wife Isabella of Castile, a new dispensation was required, as otherwise the marriage was invalid.<sup>34</sup> As occurred later with Charles IV of France and Blanche of

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to papal control immediately after the marriage. See Reg. Boniface VIII, nos. 209, Anagni, 2 July 1295; 209bis, 210, Anagni, 3 July 1295; no. 212, Anagni, 3 July 1295, G. Dugard, *Philippe le Bel et le Saint-Siège de 1285 à 1304*, Paris, 1936, I, 224.

<sup>31</sup> And Matteo Rosso Orsini voted against Caltabellotta in consistory. See Franchi and Rocco, *La pace di Caltabellotta*, 376.

<sup>32</sup> See above p. 160 and n. 183 for the case of Clementia of Hungary.

<sup>33</sup> See Reg. Nicholas IV, no. 1402, 26 September 1289; G. M. Monti, *La dominazione angioina in Piemonte*, 64-7.

<sup>34</sup> Miquel-Rosell, *Regesta*, no. 274; see also Consanguinity Table vi.

Burgundy. failure to secure the correct dispensation at the time of marriage could lead to future annulment and dissolution of the dynastic alliance.<sup>35</sup> For the Angevins, the papacy and James II of Aragon, the marriage to Blanche was too valuable to allow such mistakes to risk its future.

Although, as I have said, Charles II benefited in the main from strong papal support when it came to his marriage policies, there were occasions when the papacy did not prove amenable. I have already mentioned the problems he had with Boniface VIII over spiritual kinship. Even with the Angevins and their French relatives, there were limits to the grounds of dispensation. The furthest that Boniface VIII was allowed to go was two degrees on one side and three degrees on the other, in order to validate the marriage of Sancho IV and Maria of Molina and thus legitimize Ferdinand IV of Castile; it was only after Charles II's death that it became practically possible to secure dispensations for marriages involving first cousins.<sup>36</sup> This state of affairs meant that a number of matches were excluded that would have appealed to Charles II. Catherine of Courtenay, for example, was unable to marry one of Charles's sons because of this; it is notable that Charles II moved swiftly to secure the hands of her daughters and heiresses for his sons and grandsons, as they were not so closely related.<sup>37</sup> The greatest victim of this rule, however, was Charles Robert of Hungary. His options were extremely limited due to the large family of his mother Clementia of

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<sup>35</sup>On the Charles IV and Blanche of Burgundy case, see J.R. de Chevarne, 'Charles IV le Bel et Blanche de Bourgogne', *Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, Bulletin Philologique et Historique (Jusqu'à 1715)*, Années 1936 et 1937 (1938), 313-50.

<sup>36</sup>For the dispensation granted for Maria of Molina, see *Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, no. 546. It was only with the marriage of Charles IV and Joanna of Évreux in 1324 that even Capetians could attain first-cousin marriage. John XXII was also the first pope to grant a dispensation for the first degree of affinity. See *Jean XXII, Lettres secrètes*, no. 2106, A. Esch, *Die Ehedispense Johans XXII und ihre Beziehung zur Politik*, Berlin, 1929, 18-19, Veldtrup, *Zwischen Eherecht*, 100.

<sup>37</sup>For the close relationship of Catherine and the children of Charles II, see Genealogical Table I, Consanguinity Tables iii, v. Of course, Philip of Taranto ended up marrying Catherine of Valois, the eldest daughter, while his son Charles married Joanna, the second daughter, in 1313. One wonders whether Philip would have married Catherine of Courtenay herself and not Thamar of Epirus had he been able.

Habsburg: connections through this side of the family meant that he was first cousin to most of his potential rivals and allies in the east, like Wenceslas III of Bohemia, the Habsburg dukes, the children of Louis II of Bavaria, Albrecht II of Saxony, Otto VI of Brandenburg; Otto of Bavaria was an uncle. This not only hampered his search for allies in Hungary, but also disqualified him from being able to take advantage of the end of the male line of the Premyslids in 1305. Unlike Henry of Carinthia or John of Luxembourg, Charles Robert was unable to marry a sister of Wenceslas III or make a bid for the vacant Bohemian or Polish thrones. At the same time, he could not bind himself closer to the Neapolitan core of his father's family by marrying a Taranto cousin; marriages to other Angevins had to wait till the next generation when his son Andrew of Hungary married Joanna of Naples. It is under this restriction that his poor early marriages may be judged.<sup>38</sup>

There was only one other instance when the papacy refused to support Angevin marriage policy during his reign. The first was the marriage deals that were part of the treaty of Cefalù with King James of Sicily in 1287. This was a special circumstance, however, in which Charles was not acting in the interests of the Angevin dynasty in general and as a captive, was not recognised as its head. These examples only serve to show that, while the papacy was not prepared to support Charles II's matrimonial schemes if they veered too far from the path of peace and order, in general, the Angevin king worked extremely successfully with a succession of popes to secure the legal backing his marriage policies needed.

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<sup>38</sup>For the close family connections of Charles Robert, see Genealogical Tables I, V, VI. Of course, Charles Robert's cousins, such as Wenceslas III of Bohemia, were as badly affected as him. One of the reasons why Frederick the Fair of Austria married Elizabeth of Aragon in 1314 was because he was unable to marry in Germany, as his envoy Father Chunradus explained to his prospective father-in-law James II of Aragon: *Insuper sciatis domine Rex quod propter consanguinitatem que est inter eum et principes Alymanie non potest habere uxorem in Alemanya quia dominus meus et dominus Rex Ungarie sunt auunculi*. See H. von Zeissberg, 'Elisabeth von Aragonien, Gemahlin Friedrichs des Schönen von Oesterreich (1314-1330)', *VII Abhandlungen der Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 137 (1898), doc. no. 3.

### *Consent*

When the Church was debating what constituted marriage in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the issues boiled down to the question of whether consent of the couple or consummation made a marriage. Alexander III decided for the primacy of consent, although he also ruled that it was consummation that made marriage indissoluble. Within this overall framework, rules were made over the ages that men and women could consent to marriage. Children had to reach the age of reason, about seven or eight, to make a vow to contract marriage *per verba de futuro*, but formal marriage *per verba de presenti* could normally only take place once they had reached puberty, about twelve for girls and fourteen for boys. Although parents could make promises on behalf of their children, even before their offspring had reached the age of reason, these had to be confirmed by the children for a formal engagement or marriage to be recognised by the Church.<sup>39</sup>

### *Kings and marriage - the role of Charles II himself*

Despite the legal position, it is clear from all the documentary evidence concerning marriages in the royal house of Sicily in this period that kings, such as Charles II, were the leading proponents of marriage policies. This should not be surprising. The arrangement of marriages was traditionally a vital paternal role in a dynasty, as the king strove on the one hand, to organize the careers of his children, while on the other hand, marriages were inextricably intertwined with the political aims of the house in general. At a time when such connections were seen in terms of

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<sup>39</sup>Dauvillier, 43-130 , Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage*, 126-43.

families and dynasties rather than individuals, the king was the natural embodiment of the dynasty and thus the focus for diplomatic initiatives from outside.

The extreme youth of the princes and princesses and often the initial vagueness in many negotiations as to which child was involved indicate that it was their father, the king, who initiated the projects. In the Angevin royal family, as in most others, marriage negotiations began for the royal children when they were very young; Blanche of Anjou was only about three years old when her imprisoned father concluded the treaty of Cefalù, envisaging her marriage to the Infante Frederick of Aragon, while Charles Martel was about the same when a Habsburg marriage was first mooted for him.<sup>40</sup> Clearly, negotiations involving children under the age of reason could not involve their consent in any meaningful manner, and it was recognised under canon law that such arrangements had to be confirmed by the children themselves at a more suitable age. In the case of Charles II's granddaughter Beatrice, whose marriage to John of Viennois was arranged when she was only seven years old, the King promised to secure her consent when she reached the legal age. Given that she was delivered into Dauphin Humbert's hands at this stage to be educated and that the dowry was to be paid in half within a year, this was probably assumed.<sup>41</sup> Although Charles II complained to his son-in-law James II of Aragon about him marrying off his children too young,<sup>42</sup> that did not stop him from trying to arrange the future of his youngest

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<sup>40</sup>Blanche was twelve in 1295 when she gave her procurators the right to give her consent to marry James II of Aragon; she must have been two when the Cefalù agreement was made in 1285. Charles Martel was born in 1271; a marriage between him and Guta of Habsburg was first mooted in 1274-5. See Redlich, *Rudolf von Habsburg*, 184-5.

<sup>41</sup>Valbonnais, *Histoire de Dauphiné, Preuves*, A. LXXIV.

<sup>42</sup>This took place when King Charles encountered James's ambassador, Johannes de Rochafort at Portiers in 1307. Both Charles and James were interested in marriage alliances with the daughters of Charles of Valois and Catherine of Courtenay, who stood to be heirs to the Latin Empire of Constantinople. A piqued Charles complained that James was marrying his children too young. Rochafort defended himself by saying that it was the emperor and empress that had humiliated them and asked first; that King Frederick's children were younger but were involved in marriage negotiation and that the Duke of Calabria's son was young anyway. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 305. Charles's comments are rather an expression of his annoyance at finding his son-in-law as competition - the

daughter Beatrice before she could decide whether to take her vows as a nun. The fact that it was Charles rather than Beatrice who changed his mind over whether Beatrice should have an ecclesiastical or marital career is clear from a forceful letter the King wrote to his seneschal in Provence, Richard de Gambatesa.<sup>43</sup>

The specific child involved in negotiations was often unclear at the outset, and there was a tendency to plan marriages between vague 'sons' and 'daughters'. In the Cefalù arrangements of 1287, for example, it was planned that James of Aragon should marry Charles II's eldest daughter and that his younger brother Frederick, the second daughter, with no names mentioned. In the La Junquera agreement of 1293, parental arrangement of children's marriage was even more explicit - Yolande of Aragon was to marry a son of Charles II, 'whichever he should choose'.<sup>44</sup> Under such arrangements, the specific child could be replaced or changed. The complex agreements leading up to the treaty of Anagni led to a number of switch-arounds, before the final couplings were

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Infantes James and Alfonso of Aragon were about the same age (between eight and ten) as his grandson, Charles, Duke of Calabria; all were suitors for Joanna of Valois, the second daughter of Charles and Catherine, who could not have been more than four at the time. King Frederick's children were indeed younger. According to James' emissary Johannes Burgundi, King Frederick's envoys were negotiating about the marriage of his daughter to a son of the King of France and the marriage of Frederick's son to a daughter of Charles of Valois in November 1306; discussions continued in 1307. In November 1306, Frederick's daughter, Constance was only two and his son, Peter, only one.

<sup>43</sup>Frederick of Trinacria seems to have had an opposing view to this. In a letter to Maria of Molina, Queen of Castile concerning a proposed arrangement between his daughter Constance and the Infante Philip of Castile, negotiated by Archbishop Bartholomew of Palermo against his will, he said that he did not agree with the idea of marrying his children too young as he wanted to let them choose whether they wanted to marry or enter a religious order. See H. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, no. 441.

Obviously, this does not square with his earlier negotiations at Poitiers and may be just an excuse to avoid an unwanted alliance. Having said that, Frederick's younger daughters, Margaret and Catherine became nuns at Santa Chiara di Messina; in the next generation, his granddaughter, Constance became abbess of the convent and her sister Euphemia lived there also until becoming *vicaria* for her brother Frederick IV of Aragon. Of course, Charles II was also hostile to his son Louis' decision to become a Franciscan and not to marry Yolande of Aragon, the bride he had selected for him. See below p. 183-5.

<sup>44</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 13: *Item dictum est, quod dominus rex Aragonum sororem suam dabit in uxorem Ludovico vel Roberto filio dicti regis Sicilie, videlicet illi, de quo mahuerit et elegerit dictus dominus Karolus rex Sicilie.* Compare the treaty of Pontoise between Charles II and the representatives of Sancho IV of Castile in April-May of the same year. *Item rex Sicilie procurabit unum de filiis suis quem mahuerit matrimonialiter collocari cum domicella Yolandi, sorori dicti Jacobi [of Aragon].* See Article 14 of the treaty, in Digard, *Philippe le Bel et le Saint-Siege de 1285 a 1304, Piece Justicative* no. XVI.

settled. The classic example for this was the negotiations for the marriage of Sancho, eldest son of King James of Majorca to a daughter of Charles II. The choice of the individual child, then, usually, came later on in the negotiations. When the idea of a marriage alliance with Despot Nicephorus of Epirus was first proposed in June 1291, two of Charles's sons, Robert and Philip, were selected as candidates for the hands of Nicephorus's daughter Thamar<sup>45</sup>; by May of the following year, this choice had narrowed just to Philip, the younger brother, probably due to Robert's continuing imprisonment in Catalonia.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, Louis of Anjou, Charles's second son, appears in negotiations of the early 1290s as a possible husband for Yolande of Aragon, but was not mentioned later on, despite his seniority, probably because of his own refusal to marry and his determination to become a Franciscan.<sup>47</sup>

Parental consent for the marriage of royal children is also sometimes explicitly stated on the documentation. Before Catherine of Courtenay left her uncle's care in 1294 to go to swear homage for her lands in France, she swore not to marry without his consent.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, when James II's envoys visited Naples in June 1295 and saw Blanche of Anjou, it was her father Charles II who promised that she would marry James.<sup>49</sup> When Robert, Duke of Calabria turned down Isabella of Castile as a suitable bride, he told his sister Blanche that one of the reasons for his decision was that their father was opposed to the match.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>D.M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479*, Cambridge, 1984, 37; C. Perrat and J. Longnon, *Documents relatifs a la Principaute de la Morée*, no. 21, p. 40, 43.

<sup>46</sup>Nicol, *Despotate of Epiros 1267 -1479*, 44; Perrat-Longnon, *Documents*, no. 41, p. 53-4.

<sup>47</sup>See below p. 183-5.

<sup>48</sup>Du Cange, *Histoire de l'empire de Constantinople sous les empereurs françois*, Paris, 1657, *Chartes*, p. 34-6.

<sup>49</sup>Salavert, 'El tratado de Anagni', doc. XVI, 309-10

<sup>50</sup>*Si que lendemain nos et lamirayll en parlam ab lo rey nostre pare, lo qual trobam ab lo rey nostre pare, lo qual trobam de non bone voluntat a consentir per algunas rasos..A.C.A. C.R.D. 12 427. Also Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 50.*



Parental control was exercised not just in the formal area of consent and child selection - the arrangement of financial questions such as dowries meant that the father had control over a vital area of marriage negotiation. In practice, Charles II's involvement in this matter varied. The marriage of Charles II's eldest daughter Margaret to Charles of Valois in 1290 included the alienation of the original family apanage, the counties of Anjou and Maine and therefore concerned Charles II closely; the marriages of the younger daughters required special subventions on the royal lands that needed to be organized by the king.<sup>51</sup>

Charles II's hard bargaining over settlements for his daughters was particularly evident in the very favourable agreement he reached with Azzo of Este over the marriage of his daughter Beatrice. Others, however, could play an important role in the process. Boniface VIII, as we have seen, guaranteed the dowries of the Anagni agreement by paying most of the money from papal coffers and bringing in the military orders to guarantee the payment of subsequent installments. On the question of the marriage of Charles's fourth daughter Maria to Sancho of Majorca, Charles delegated property negotiations to his daughter and son-in-law the King and Queen of Aragon.<sup>52</sup>

Of course, queens and noble wives could also played an important role in negotiations, as the examples of Maria of Molina and the Despina Anna show; it must be significant that the agreement for the marriage of Robert of Calabria to Sancia of Majorca was signed in the chamber of Sancia's mother Queen Esclarmonde.<sup>53</sup> Catherine of Courtenay, the titular Latin Empress, was as headstrong a negotiator for the marriages of her daughters as for herself, and proved just as irritating for her uncle.<sup>54</sup> As for Charles II's wife, Maria of Hungary, she does not seem to have played

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<sup>51</sup> For the levying of aids for the marriages of his daughters, see E. Baratier, *La démographie provençale du XIIIe au XIVe siècle*, 1961, 19.

<sup>52</sup> A.N.P. 1354<sup>r</sup>, no. 829.

<sup>53</sup> A.N. P. 1354<sup>r</sup>, no. 821.

<sup>54</sup> Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 305. The marriage alliance proposed between the Infante Alfonso of

a large part in marriage negotiation, and whatever favour she may have had for the Byzantine marriage for Catherine of Courtenay did not lead to its conclusion.<sup>55</sup>

*Consent theory and the role of individual princes and princesses*

Although kings like Charles II may have continued the traditional aristocratic role of being promoters of their children's marriages, canon law meant that as well as usually needing the Church's backing for their children's marriages, they had to secure the consent of their children as well for their matrimonial projects to be successful. This is clear from the documentation. Blanche of Anjou nominated two procurators to give her consent to marry James II of Aragon, as she had reached the requisite age of twelve; Charles had earlier promised ambassadors of the Aragonese king that he would obtain her agreement for the marriage.<sup>56</sup>

Clearly, the nature of marriage negotiations usually tended to assume that princes and princesses would comply with parental wishes on these matters. Blanche made clear that she was giving her consent *de expreso consensu dicti regis*; on this and most of the other marriage projects involved, the consent of the individual princes and princesses constituted a very late stage in negotiations that often began when the couple involved were infants.<sup>57</sup> Despite this, it would be a mistake to see the matter of the children's consent purely as a formality. For Charles II himself was to learn bitter

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Aragon and Catherine's daughter Joanna that so infuriated Charles II seems to have been proposed by Catherine to her cousin Queen Blanche of Aragon.

<sup>55</sup>See section on Catherine of Courtenay and Michael Palaeologus, p. 139-43.

<sup>56</sup>Salavert, 'El tratado de Anagni' doc. XVI.

<sup>57</sup>Salavert, 'El tratado de Anagni', doc. XXV. Similarly, when Sancia of Majorca gave her consent to marry Robert Duke of Calabria in June 1304, it was in the presence of her parents, King James and Queen Esclarmonde, *et eis conscientibus et approbantibus*; a few months earlier, Maria of Anjou gave her consent to marry Sancho of Majorca *cum beneplacitu et consensu eidem domini Regis genitoris nostri*. See A.N. J 1354<sup>2</sup>, nos. 821, 828. Interestingly, also present at Sancia's formal consent were her brothers, Sancho and Ferdinand and at Maria's, her mother Queen Maria and her brother Duke Robert of Calabria. The association of all primary dynastic figures - king, queen and senior heirs - with the consent process is a further expression of the dynastic rather than individual nature of these marriages.

lessons from the refusal of family members to comply with the matrimonial plans he had for them.

*Refusals to follow royal choice*

Charles II faced problems in his marriage projects from two of his children, a niece, and from a prospective son-in-law, while his son and successor was to find trouble when a number of female relatives and a prospective daughter-in-law refused to comply with his wishes.

*Saint Louis of Toulouse, Beatrice and the religious life*

One of the main reasons for refusing to comply with royal wishes was the desire not to marry, to take an oath of chastity or to take religious orders. Vows of chastity like the marriage vows could be taken from puberty. Charles II had such problems when trying to arrange a marriage for his second son Louis.

Louis, along with his younger brothers, Robert and Raymond Berengar, spent seven years as a hostage in Catalonia after the release of their father in 1288. During this period, when Louis was out of paternal control, he became influenced by the Franciscan Order to the extent that he decided to take vows to join it, which involved giving up his worldly inheritance and taking a vow of chastity. Unlike his younger sister Beatrice, Louis's early education seems to have been organised for a worldly rather than a spiritual role, like his younger brothers. As late as 1293, Louis was suggested as a candidate in a marriage project with Yolande of Aragon.<sup>58</sup> It is clear from all the available evidence that Louis's decision did not follow some pre-ordained plan of his father's, but amounted to a rebellion. Although sources like the Process of Canonisation should be treated with caution, it seems very likely that Charles II strongly opposed his

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<sup>58</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, doc. 13, p. 23

second son's vocation and tried all he could to dissuade him from it.<sup>59</sup> The problem was especially acute as Louis' elder brother Charles Martel had died in the summer of 1295, leaving Louis as Charles II's eldest surviving son. Charles's continued efforts, however, failed and by early 1296, Charles had accepted Louis' refusal to play his pre-ordained dynastic role. Accepting Louis' renunciation of all claims to his father's property, he made arrangements to reorganise the succession around his third son Robert, who was also made duke of Calabria and given other important lands and political responsibilities.<sup>60</sup> As if the replacement of Louis by Robert was not complete, he served to confirm it by organising the marriage of Robert to Yolande of Aragon. Instead of organizing Louis' matrimonial future, Charles switched to trying to make his son into a powerful prelate, and after his death, securing his canonisation.<sup>61</sup>

The desire of Louis to become a Franciscan and reject parental and royal authority by refusing to marry was part of a wider situation that involved many other leading royal families in Europe at the same time. Following the holy examples of the royal saints Saint Louis of France and Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, their relatives

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<sup>59</sup>According to the life of Saint Louis by P. Calò, Louis decided to join the Order at sixteen, when his father had ordered him to leave Provence and marry the sister of the King of France, leading him to make a vow in chapel. Margaret Toynbee in *Saint Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonisation in the Fourteenth Century*, Manchester, 1929, p. 79 argues that it was more likely in 1293-5 after the Yolande of Aragon negotiations. Petrus Johannes Olivi wrote to Louis and his brothers while they were in captivity in 1295, that he had been told by a trustworthy person that Charles was very afraid that Louis would fall under his influence and become obsessed with the divine. Although Charles seems to have tacitly accepted Louis' decision by the time of Blanche's wedding in 1295, where Louis preached the sermon, having been tonsured by the Sicilian royal barber, he seems to have renewed his efforts to dissuade Louis on the journey home from Catalonia. According to the Process, Charles was angry with Louis for riding a mule and not eating off silver and to force him to wear costly clothes; John of Orta says that Charles offered him the governorship of Provence and urged him to take a wife. Toynbee, *Saint Louis of Toulouse*, 95-6. This did not, of course, stop Charles from trying to get him canonised after his death in 1297, see Edith Pásztor, *Per la storia di San Ludovico d'Angiò*, Rome, 1955, 23.

<sup>60</sup>Louis made a formal vow renouncing his rights to the kingdom of Sicily at Castelnuovo in a large assembly of barons and prelates, probably in January 1296. Robert was knighted and created duke of Calabria in February of that year. The agreement was confirmed by Boniface VIII in February 1297, just after Robert was formally invested as duke of Calabria. See Toynbee, *Saint Louis of Toulouse*, 101-2.

<sup>61</sup>E. Pásztor, *Per la storia*, 23.

became infected with desires to follow the Franciscan ideal that in some cases did lead to such rebellion. Isabella, sister of Louis IX and Charles I of Anjou, had refused a number of suitors, including the Emperor Frederick II, in her strict determination to remain a virgin; Charles I himself had seen himself rejected for the same reasons by St Elizabeth's niece, Margaret, who threatened to disfigure herself to avoid marrying him;<sup>62</sup> Elizabeth of Töb, daughter of Andrew III of Hungary, proved obstinate in refusing marriage, even when a frustrated Henry of Austria ripped her veil off and tried to abduct her from her convent.<sup>63</sup> Other relatives tried an alternative route - the chaste marriage, such as St Margaret's sister Cunegonde and her husband Boleslas of Poland.<sup>64</sup> Robert of Calabria's second wife, Sancia, wanted to become a nun, although on this occasion the pope stepped in to remind her that it would serve God best if she performed her earthly duties to her husband.<sup>65</sup>

A different situation emerged when Charles II became involved in plans to arrange the marriage of his youngest daughter, Beatrice. Unlike with her elder brother Louis, it seems that it was the original intention of the king to put Beatrice into holy orders and she was brought up at the convent of Notre-Dame-de-Nazareth at Aix-en-Provence.<sup>66</sup> However, when Beatrice's name cropped up over the Majorca marriage debacle, King Charles stressed to James II that she was still not old enough to take vows and therefore a matrimonial career was not beyond her.<sup>67</sup> Indeed, Charles soon became persuaded that Beatrice should give up any ideas of becoming a nun, so that

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<sup>62</sup>On Margaret of Hungary, see G. Klaniczay, *The Uses of Supernatural Power. The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early Medieval Europe*, trans. S. Singerman, ed. K. Margolis, Oxford, 1990, 97-8.

<sup>63</sup>On Elizabeth, see her life by Elsbet Stagel, *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töb*, ed. F. Wetter, Berlin, 1906.

<sup>64</sup>L. Wadding, *Annales minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco Institutorum*, Quarrachi, 1931, V 1276-1300, V., p. 79.

<sup>65</sup>A.S.V. Reg. 109, Littere de coronatione, no. 8, f. 2v.

<sup>66</sup>Coulet, 'Un couvent royal', 252.

<sup>67</sup>A.C.A. Pergs. Jaime II, 137.

the Majorca project could survive. Anxious to avoid a repeat of his problems with Louis, Charles not only had his daughter removed from the convent, quite possibly by force, and even banned anyone in clerical clothes from her presence, so she could not be persuaded to resume her vocation.<sup>68</sup> Unlike her brother, however, Beatrice proved compliant to the paternal will; she made a very strong declaration before witnesses that she did not want to become a nun, that though the clerical life was good, the worldly one would satisfy her more. Upon being asked to consider longer, she made it plain that she would not change her mind and did not want to return to the convent.<sup>69</sup> The Majorca question being settled, Beatrice then married Azzo of Este in 1305. Beatrice's desire to enter the religious life, then, was weaker than her brother's, as she could have withheld her consent to marry; after her husband's death in 1308, she returned to the Angevin court and married again, to Bertrand des Baux, who rather ironically had been destined for a clerical career himself. Perhaps Beatrice favoured her change of circumstances as much as her father did.

*Catherine and Charles Martel*

Charles II was not faced only with religious objections to his marriage policies from his family, but with opposition of a more prosaic kind. Catherine of Courtenay, Charles's niece and heiress to claims to the Latin Empire of Constantinople refused both Michael Palaeologus and Frederick of Aragon as husbands. Her objection to Frederick was connected to her refusal to accept a landless husband. She was not convinced that the union of a landless princess to a Frederick deprived of Sicily would lead to the reconquest of her empire and pushed for extra lands to be given by Pope Boniface to provide a better launching-pad for her desires.<sup>70</sup> Such a forthrightly

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<sup>68</sup> Archives des Bouches-du-Rhône, B1370, f. 15, 15v.

<sup>69</sup> Archives des Bouches-du-Rhône B. 419 ; Papon, *Histoire de Provence*, III, pr. XXXI, 23 Jan 1303.

<sup>70</sup> In 1312, Catherine's daughter and heiress, Catherine of Valois, at just ten or eleven years of age, used similar reasons to refuse the suit of Hugh of Burgundy. Referring to the fact that the arrangement

independent attitude can be explained by Catherine's special position within the Angevin family. She was not a daughter of Charles II, but a niece, the daughter of his sister Beatrice and Philip of Courtenay and thus represented a lineage that had interests of its own that differed from the Angevin family. As titular empress, she was very aware of her special status and was determined not to sell herself cheap, refusing to subordinate her desire to regain Constantinople to the Angevins' central aim, the reconquest of Sicily. As well as this, she was a vassal to Philip IV of France for her Courtenay lands, which necessitated her 1294 visit to France to swear homage. Indeed, it was during this sojourn that she refused to marry Frederick and she has been seen as a pawn of Philip IV.<sup>71</sup> Whatever the case, Charles II's weakness with regard to Catherine during her absence is clear. Before she left for France, he made her confirm the treaty of Viterbo and promise not to marry without the consent of himself or his successor as king of Sicily.<sup>72</sup> That this was a strong possibility is clear from the actions that Charles took to protect his interests in its event and from the statement that Catherine was liable to follow counsels that differed from her uncle's.<sup>73</sup> Later on, when Charles wrote to the Byzantine emperor, Andronicus Palaeologus, he stressed his inability to influence her while she was out of his power. All he could do was to write to her and urge her to follow the wise counsel of Angevin supporters at the French court, such as Queen Margaret, widow of Charles I.<sup>74</sup> Although Charles recognized the

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had been made by her father and the Duke of Burgundy while she was still a child, Catherine was able to reject it as she had been too young to give her own consent. Now being of an age to make her own decision and as heiress to the empire of Constantinople, she needed a husband who was ready to reconquer her empire. As Hugh was unable to do this, she refused the marriage and expressed her desire to marry Philip, Prince of Taranto if the Church, the King of France and her father agreed. A.N. J 510, no. 20.

<sup>71</sup>See p. 68-9.

<sup>72</sup>Du Cange, *Chartes*, 34.

<sup>73</sup>*Consideratione etiam habita, quod eadem neptis nostra ex fragilitate sexus et imbellicitate aetatis, ex aliqua persuasione consilii, posset nubere personae alicui, nobis et nostris haeredibus importunae.* See Du Cange, *Chartes*, 35. In the event of such a marriage, Charles II and his heirs were released from all obligations towards Catherine with respect to the Latin Empire.

<sup>74</sup>Perrat-Longnon, no. 205.

necessity of Catherine's visit, he did stipulate in the agreement that Catherine should return within a year, something that she was to ignore. The rules of consent therefore meant that even a strong pope like Boniface VIII and a king like Charles II were powerless in the face of a strong-willed princess like Catherine.<sup>75</sup> Catherine thereafter remained in France, where Charles II's ability to organize her marriage was strictly limited. In the proposed plans to marry James of Majorca and then Charles of Valois, it was Philip IV of France and not Charles II who took centre stage.<sup>76</sup>

Catherine apart, only on one other occasion did an Angevin prince or princess refuse to follow Charles II's policy. This was when Charles Martel did not follow the Cefalu agreement and marry Yolande of Aragon; instead, he married his child-bride Clementia of Habsburg. In this case, however, the strange circumstance of Charles II's captivity meant that he could not represent Angevin family interest, as his agreements had no validity as he was acting under duress. At the time, the kingdom was ruled by the papal legate Gerard Bianchi and Robert of Artois, representing the Angevin family.

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<sup>75</sup>Indeed, such difficulties with women were to beset Angevin marriage policies every generation, particularly when the woman in question was out of the royal sphere of influence. In 1320, Joanna of Anjou-Taranto, King Robert's niece, refused to return to the Angevin court after the murder of her husband King Oshin of Armenia, and compounded the fault by marrying her suspected lover and her husband's murderer, Oshin, Lord of Kirakos. See Count W.H. Rüdt de Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans. The Structure of the Armeno-Cilician Dynasties*. Paris, 1963, 13, 15. Charles II's daughter Maria, widow of King Sancho of Majorca, ignored the urgings of Pope John XXII and her brother King Robert to go to Provence and marry a candidate of her brother's choice and ended up marrying the Aragonese prince James of Xerica. Matilda of Hainault, Princess of Achaia, proved obdurate to Angevin desires that she should marry John of Gravina. After her first excuse, consanguinity, was ruled out by a dispensation, she then claimed that she was already married to a knight called Hugues de la Palisse. Unfortunately, her stubbornness only led ultimately to her life imprisonment in the Castel dell'Ovo. In the reign of Joanna I, the problem became even more acute. The queen's sister Maria eloped with Duke Charles of Durazzo and married without royal consent; their daughter Joanna proved unamenable to the queen's schemes for her to marry Frederick IV of Trinacria due to her love of Aimone of Geneva. Despite the legal necessity for consent, it is clear from these examples and from the others mentioned that the physical control of these princesses was vital and that kings such as Charles II and Alfonso IV of Aragon were quite prepared to use force to ensure the compliance of rebellious female relatives.

<sup>76</sup>Catherine's consent to marry James of Majorca was made in the presence of the French king; similarly, the marriage of Catherine to Charles of Valois seems to have been organized by Boniface VIII and Charles of Valois. See A.N. J 509, no. 11.



During this period of interregnum, it was these regents who played the most prominent role in marriage policy, as is clear from Robert of Artois' role in negotiations for a match between Catherine of Courtenay and Michael Palaeologus indicate. Behind Robert stood Philip IV of France, whose advice he sought on this matter as representative of the senior branch of the line.

The other close relative of Charles II whose marriage was arranged after a long period away from the court of King Charles was his grandson Charles Robert of Hungary; there is no evidence to link Charles II with his obscure early marriages. The lack of communication between Charles Robert and Naples, however, is clear from events that took place shortly after his grandfather's death.<sup>77</sup>

### Conclusion

Although kings usually took the initiative in negotiation and other powerful figures, such as queens and feudal lords all had their part to play, the canon law of marriage meant that they had to act within a restrictive framework that always required the consent of the couple and generally that of the pope too. Charles II was particularly fortunate in having papal backing for most of his schemes, unlike his Aragonese enemies; his most disastrous matrimonial mishap, the Catherine of Courtenay - Frederick of Aragon project was the result of his own inability to ensure the co-operation of one of his own family. In general, following on from Duby's models, we can see that aristocratic concepts of marriage continued to flourish and to some extent gained ground as the number and range of dispensations for consanguinity and affinity increased, thus allowing for closer endogamy. Nevertheless, it was papal sovereignty and the dispensing power that went with it that made it possible for most dynastic objectives to be pursued successfully within the church's rules.

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<sup>77</sup>See above p. 160.

*Chapter Five : AMOR AND AMICITIA : LOVE, FRIENDSHIP AND POLITICS  
PART ONE : FAMILY CONTACT AND CORRESPONDENCE*

**Marriage and the family**

In 1307, Charles II of Anjou went to Poitiers to see Pope Clement V with the intention of arranging a marriage for his grandson Charles of Calabria to Joanna, daughter of Charles, Count of Valois and Catherine of Courtenay, titular Empress of Constantinople. To his great dismay, he found that he had competition - his son-in-law James II of Aragon had wanted to marry one of his sons to Joanna. James's envoy, Johannes de Rochafort, told that his master was being too hasty, said that, like King Charles, the Aragonese king 'only wanted to have more friends'<sup>1</sup>.

This was not an isolated example- for kings such as Charles II, friendship lay at the core of such marriages. This is not always revealed in the marriage agreements, which tend to dwell on the particulars of the deals. However, when Azzo VIII of Este married Charles's youngest daughter Beatrice, a clause was included that mentioned that Azzo would be Charles's special son, and that Charles intended to counsel and honour him as such<sup>2</sup>. Otherwise, it is often chronicle descriptions, and the letters accompanying negotiations that stress the importance of friendship. When it was suggested that Yolande of Aragon should marry a son of King Charles in 1295, it was with the idea that 'peace and love between them would always be served'<sup>3</sup>.

The series of marriages made between the houses of Anjou and Barcelona from 1295 onwards were made not just in the spirit of ending a war and returning Sicily to

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<sup>1</sup> Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 305. Sablonier 'The Aragonese royal family around 1300', 223, wrongly attributes Charles's remark to the King of France.

<sup>2</sup> Archivio di Stato, Modena, Archivio Segreto Estense, Documenti Riguardanti la Casa e lo Stato, 358, fasc. 38/1991.

<sup>3</sup> 'quod semper servetur amor et pax inter eos', A.C.A. Pergaminos Jaime II, 227.

the Angevins, but also with the idea of bringing lasting peace by neutralizing a long-running feud and replacing enmity with harmony and friendship between the two families. Along with chronicle accounts such as Bartholomew of Neocastro, King Robert himself later ascribed the cause of the feud to Queen Constance of Aragon's desire to avenge the deaths of her father Manfred and her cousin Conradin and to reclaim her lost inheritance<sup>4</sup>. The marriage of her son James II to Charles II's daughter Blanche was seen to symbolize a new era of peace and harmony between the two families.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, in 1303, when another daughter of Charles, Eleanor, arrived in Messina to marry Frederick of Aragon as part of a subsequent peace deal, crowds

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<sup>4</sup> Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 202, p. 297. Bartholomew of Neocastro, *Historia Sicula*, ed. G. Palladino, RIS, n.s. XIII, III. Ramon Muntaner describes King Peter's need to avenge the wrongs done to his wife, *Crònica*, ed. G. de Bofarull, Barcelona, 1860, ch. XXXVII. Constance also used the title of queen in her own court after her father's death, while her father-in-law James I of Aragon still lived; she surrounded herself with exiles from the Hohenstaufen entourage, including her aunt Constance-Anna, widow of the Nicaean emperor John Vatatzes, her Lancia relatives and Roger of Lauria, son of her wet-nurse Donna Bella. Peter and Constance were also heavily involved in anti-Angevin plots, both within and without the kingdom of Sicily, See H. Wieruszowski, 'La corte di Pietro d'Aragona e i precedenti dell'impresa siciliana', *Politics and Culture in Medieval Spain and Italy*, 185-223. The Hohenstaufen link was maintained by the survival of the old empress Constance-Anna, living in Valencia till 1307 and that of Manfred's illegitimate sons, detained by Charles I and Charles II, despite James II's entreaties; Constance's sister Beatrice, released from captivity at the time of Charles of Salerno's capture in 1284 forged a new Hohenstaufen link with her marriage to Manfred, Count of Saluzzo. In July 1307, Bernabo Doria wrote to James II on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter to Manfred of Saluzzo, stressing their connection through the recently deceased Beatrice. See Salavert, *Cerdeña*, II, doc. 222. The survival of the feud for decades after Conradin's death is amply demonstrated by the events of the battle of Montecatini in 1315. Rarieri di Donoratico, whose father had been decapitated with the Hohenstaufen prince, had himself knighted while he put his foot on the body of Charles of Taranto, great-grandson of Conradin's killer, Charles I of Anjou. See G. Coniglio, 'Carlo d'Angiò', *DBI*, II, 263; N. Toscanelli, *I conti di Donoratico della Gheradesca*, Pisa, 1937, 301-4; E. Teza (ed.), 'I reali di Napoli nella rotta di Montecatini', *Rime di Cino da Pistoia e d'altri del secolo XIV ord. da G. Carducci*, Florence, 1862, 609-21. Both James II and his brother Frederick showed a strong affection for their mother. In 1297, Constance left Sicily with her daughter Yolande to join James; her emotional strain is depicted in a scene in the chronicle of Nicholas Specialis, which shows her looking from the prow of the ship, looking back and forth between the island and the son she was leaving behind and the sea and the son she was rejoining. See Nicholas Specialis, *Historia Sicula*, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, X, cols. 985-6.

<sup>5</sup> Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica*, cap. CLXXXII. *que la apellaren Blanca de sancta pau, que sancta pau e bonaventura vench per ella a tota la terra.*

appeared at the port to see her, as representing the indissoluble link between the two families and the cause of peace.<sup>6</sup>

Papal dispensations were often granted to marriages that were seen as promoting peace and the good of Christendom in general.<sup>7</sup>

The marriage celebrations themselves were occasions whereby the two families could come together. For the marriage of James II and Blanche at Vilabetràn in 1295, Charles II attended, as did his three sons, Louis, Robert and Raymond Berengar, just released from custody in Aragon. Louis read the sermon at the wedding.<sup>8</sup> The previous year, the Despina Anna came to the wedding of her daughter Thamar to Charles's fourth son Philip, who then arranged an escort of three ships to take her back to Epirus.<sup>9</sup> The festivities were often an ideal occasion to engender personal bonds of friendship between family members.<sup>10</sup>

Once marriages took place, meetings between in-laws were occasional occurrences. The year after her marriage, Thamar went back to see her parents in Epirus.<sup>11</sup> Often military and diplomatic purposes went hand-in-hand with such family reunions. In August 1296, for example, Pope Boniface VIII demanded that Philip IV of France send his brother Charles of Valois on a secret mission to Rome under the pretext of a pilgrimage or the desire to see his father-in-law, King Charles of Sicily.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> *quam omnino sperabant indissolubile vinculum, causamque praecipuam tantae pacis*, Nicholas Specialis, *Historia Sicula*, VI, xix.

<sup>7</sup> There are many examples of this, the best being those granted for marriages associated with peace in the Sicilian war. See in general, p. 170 above

<sup>8</sup> Margaret Toynbee, *Saint Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonization in the Fourteenth Century*, Manchester, 1929, 86.

<sup>9</sup> C. Perrat and J. Longnon, *Actes relatifs à la Principauté de la Morée 1289-1300*, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, vi, Paris, 1967; D. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479*, Cambridge, 1984, 47, 49.

<sup>10</sup> Also while the family were travelling to and from the wedding. According to Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica*, ch. CLXXXII, it was when Charles II was staying at the court of King James II of Majorca at Perpignan on his journey back from Blanche's wedding that Louis of Anjou and James, *primogenitus* of the king of Majorca, became such firm friends that they both decided to become Franciscans.

<sup>11</sup> Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479*, 49; Perrat-Longnon, *Documents*, no. 126, 135, 140.

<sup>12</sup> Pothast, 24834; J. Petut, *Charles de Valois (1270-1325)*, Paris, 1900, 33.

James and Blanche returned to Italy in 1298 to take part in the Sicilian war; their second son Alfonso was born in Catania the following year.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, Charles of Valois, husband of two Angevin princesses in succession, joined his brother-in-law Robert of Calabria for the campaign in 1301-2.<sup>14</sup> On the diplomatic side, both Charles II and Robert used their constant travelling between Italy, Provence, and Avignon as occasions for regular meeting with their Capetian in-laws<sup>15</sup>; Charles Robert attended several conferences with his Habsburg cousins.<sup>16</sup> Even the journeys of royal brides could be the occasions of family reunions - Elizabeth of Aragon visited the territories of her first cousin, Beatrice of Anjou, Dauphine of Viennois *en route* to her wedding to Frederick of Austria in 1314.<sup>17</sup>

Separation was the norm, hardly surprising given the distances involved. The Angevin royal family itself was usually dispersed throughout its territories. Of the

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<sup>13</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 40.; Jésus-Ernesto Martínez-Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón, su vida familiar*, Barcelona, 1948, I, 17. Queen Blanche was in Naples in September 1298 with her father, while her husband was on campaign. See A.S.N. Notamenta Minieri-Riccio, 949.

<sup>14</sup>When Charles of Valois was in Sicily, his wife Catherine of Courtenay remained in Naples. On 9 June 1302, for example, she went to visit her uncle the King in Castelnuovo, where she was entertained on the following day, Pentecost and she returned on the third Sunday in August. See G. de Blasiis, *Racconta di storia napoletana*, Naples, 1908, 130 n. 3. Charles of Valois' return to Naples on 31 October 1302 was marked by a banquet attended by Charles and Catherine, Queen Maria and her children and Charles II's sister, Isabella, Queen of Hungary. See A.S.N. Minieri-Riccio, 1018v. When Charles and Catherine left Naples on their return journey to France on 7 November, King Charles accompanied them as far as Capua. *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup>Examples of meetings include Charles II's visit to France, February 1297, see G. Digard, *Philippe le Bel et le Saint-Siège de 1285 à 1304*, Paris, 1936, I, 294; Raymond Berengar's visit to the French court, where he was ill, see Moranvillé, 'Les projets de Charles de Valois', 64 n.1.

<sup>16</sup>In particular, the family council of 1313 after the death of the Emperor Henry VII that took place in Vienna included Dukes Frederick, Leopold, Albert, Henry, Otto, their mother Elizabeth of Tyrol, their sister Agnes, widow of Andrew III of Hungary and Charles Robert. Also attending was Elizabeth's brother Duke Henry of Carinthia, who was the rival of Henry VII's son John for the throne of Bohemia. See J. L. Kauffmann, *Eine Studie über die Beziehungen der Habsburger zum Königsreiche Ungarn in den Jahren 1278 bis 1366*, Burgenländische Forschungen, Eisenstadt, 1970, 60.

<sup>17</sup>Henrich von Zeissberg, 'Das Register Nr. 318 des Archivs der aragonesischen Krone in Barcelona', *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der kaiserlichen akademie der Wissenschaften* 140 (1899), p. 14; Heinnch von Zeissberg, 'Elisabeth von Aragonien, Gemahlin Friedrichs des Schönen von Österreich (1314-1330)', *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 137(1898), p. 196, Anhang 72; Johanna Schrader, *Isabella von Aragonien, Gemahlin Friedrichs des Schönen von Oesterreich*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1915, p. 54.

children of Charles II, Charles Martel, Margaret and Philip were brought up largely near Naples, along with Catherine of Courtenay and Charles Martel's child-bride, Clementia of Habsburg, whereas Louis, Raymond Berengar and Robert spent most of their childhood in Provence, before going into captivity in Catalonia; Beatrice, Charles's youngest daughter was educated at the convent of Notre Dame de Nazareth at Aix-en-Provence.<sup>18</sup> Despite this, desire for meeting was often expressed in letters. Maria of Anjou, Charles's fourth daughter and childless wife of King Sancho of Majorca, expressed a touching desire to see the children of her sister Blanche, though she later refused to return to the court of her brother King Robert once she was a widow.<sup>19</sup> Letters between Charles II and his daughter Blanche and son-in-law James II also expressed desire for reunions after the return of James and Blanche from Sicily in 1299; although they never did see each other again.<sup>20</sup> Sometimes, separation proved too much: the Empress Anna-Gertrude of Hohenburg was supposed to have died of a

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<sup>18</sup>Toynbee, *Saint Louis of Toulouse*, 39-42. See also, M. Schipa, 'Carlo Martello angioino' *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, 14 (1888), 17-13, 132-58, 204-64, 15(1889), 5-125. The dispersal of the royal children seems to have been a deliberate policy of Charles II to ensure the loyalty of both the kingdom and Provence by having some of the family brought up in both areas. Sometimes, children were moved between the two, and Charles was keen to ensure that at least one of his children was always in the county. Louis, Robert and Raymond Berengar were left in Provence after their father's departure in 1282. The princes stayed there till they went into captivity at the end of 1288; shortly after, their sisters Margaret and Beatrice were sent there, where they remained till their marriages in 1290 and 1295 respectively. After Beatrice married and Raymond Berengar died in 1305, Charles II's youngest sons, John and Peter, were sent to live in the county. Cousins in the female line were also brought up with the Angevin children. Catherine of Courtenay, daughter of Charles I's daughter Beatrice and Charles of Flanders, son of Charles I's daughter Blanche spent most of their childhoods in the kingdom of Naples with Charles Martel, Margaret and Philip, children of Charles of Salerno and Margaret, daughter of Charles I by his second wife Margaret of Burgundy.

<sup>19</sup>James II wrote to Blanche from Perpignan in October 1305 to ask her to bring their children, James, Alfonso, Maria and Constance with her when she arrived there as Maria wanted to see them. See J. E. Martínez-Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón, su vida familiar*, II, doc. 31. For Maria's behaviour in widowhood, see below.

<sup>20</sup>In August 1306, for example, James and Blanche wrote to Charles expressing a desire to meet, as they wanted his counsel over their planned conquest of Sardinia and Corsica. See Salavert, *Cerdeña*, II, doc. 170. Charles was very disappointed in 1308, when James and Blanche did not come to meet him at Marseilles. See Salavert, *Cerdeña*, I, 336 and II, doc. 250.

broken heart when her daughter Clementia left for the Angevin court.<sup>21</sup> Refusal to meet could thus indicate a deep family rift.<sup>22</sup>

In such circumstances, therefore, contact had to be maintained by a series of envoys and messengers. As Philip of Taranto explained to his sister Blanche, they had to keep in touch by letter as they were so far apart from each other.<sup>23</sup> Sometimes these letters were used as a back-up for meetings. In 1314, King Charles Robert of Hungary wrote to his uncle James II of Aragon about his visit to Vienna to see his cousin Frederick of Austria and his new wife, Elizabeth, who was James's daughter. Charles Robert wanted James to use his influence as father-in-law to get Frederick to give assistance to him.

#### The family correspondence of the houses of Anjou and Barcelona

The reign of James II of Aragon (1291-1327) witnessed a huge expansion in record production and retention in the royal archives in the kingdom of Aragon. For example, for the reigns of his predecessors James I (1213-76), Peter III (1276-85) and Alfonso III (1285-91), there is only one *caja* of *cartas reales* each; there are 109 for James II alone. Connected with this increase in documentation was a huge expansion in Aragonese-Catalan diplomacy. James was fabled for having more ambassadors at the Curia than any contemporary monarch;<sup>24</sup> indeed comparisons with the volume of

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<sup>21</sup>O. Redlich, *Rudolf von Habsburg*, Innsbruck, 1903, 372; O. Redlich, *Regesta Habsburgica*, Innsbruck, 1905, I, 697.

<sup>22</sup>For the case of Eleanor of Anjou and Charles of Calabna, see below p. 203.

<sup>23</sup>'*quod locorum distancia tollitur suppleatur presencia litterarum*', A.C.A., Pergaminos extra-inventarios de Jaime II, no. 333; Martínez-Ferrando, *Jaime II*, I, 17. He mistakenly ascribes the letter to Philip's son, also called Philip.

<sup>24</sup>*Se diu clarament en la cort que mes escrits vos, senyor, tot sol, que entre tots los altres princeps del mon'*, letter of Vidal de Villanova to James II, Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, no. 354, p. 537.

diplomatic correspondence of kings such as Philip IV of France (1285-1314) would seem to bear this out.

The result of this is the survival of a huge number of letters concerning relations between James and his Angevin in-laws; as well as letters of envoys, agents and important political figures, such as popes and cardinals, there exists an extensive inter-family correspondence unique for the period that numbers several hundred for the period 1295-1309 alone. This represents a hugely important source for the study of the family relations of the Angevins and one unmatched for their Capetian relatives.

#### Who is involved in the correspondence?

One of the most striking things about the family letters is the number of family members involved. Charles II and Maria of Hungary had a large number of children and grandchildren, many of whom were dependent on the Angevin court into the reign of Robert and beyond.<sup>25</sup> Most of the letters were written by or on behalf of the leading political figures: Charles II, his third son Robert, Duke of Calabria and his two sons-in-law, James II, King of Aragon and James's brother Frederick, *de facto* King of the island of Sicily from 1296. However, a substantial number were from 'lesser' figures, especially the wives of the above-mentioned quartet: Queen Maria, Charles's wife and matriarch of the Angevin house; Blanche, daughter of Charles and wife of James; Yolande of Aragon, sister of James and Frederick and first wife of Robert;

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<sup>25</sup>This applied especially to three of Charles's sons, Robert, Philip and John. For examples of payments made to the children of Philip of Taranto, see Archivio di Stato, Napoli, Notamenta De Lellis, III, pars I, 111 - assignment of 100 ounces of gold for Blanche, Beatrice and Joanna, daughters of Philip of Taranto; R. Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi tempi*, 2 vols., Florence, 1922, 1930 criticises Robert for the great drain on resources that this large parasitical group represented: on payments to Blanche and Beatrice of Taranto, see I, 646-7; for money for repair of John of Gravina's houses near Castelnuovo, October 1308, see Caggese, I, 95-6; for expenses for Philip of Taranto's expeditions to the east, see Caggese, I, 642. .



Sancia of Majorca, Robert's second wife and first cousin of James; Eleanor, daughter of Charles and wife of Frederick. These were the members of the respective families central to their inter-relationship, and the large number of letters concerning them cannot be too surprising. However, there are also a reasonable number concerning Angevin family members with a less direct link to James II of Aragon : Charles's youngest daughters, Maria and Beatrice and their husbands, Sancho of Majorca and Azzo of Este; Charles's fourth son Philip, Prince of Taranto and his wife Thamar (Catherine) of Epirus; Charles's younger sons, Raymond Berengar, John and Peter; Charles, Count of Valois and his wives, Margaret of Anjou, eldest daughter of Charles II and Catherine of Courtenay, Charles II's niece; and one from the child Charles of Calabria, son of Robert and Yolande. The only big gaps concern the Hungarian branch of the family, but correspondence does exist with this group for after 1309.<sup>26</sup>

#### The main power-brokers

The greater part of the correspondence revolves around the four leading political figures in the Anjou-Barcelona axis: Charles II, his son Robert, Duke of Calabria, James II, King of Aragon and his brother Frederick. In terms of quality, their letters tend to be the fullest and the most detailed, concentrating on matters of political and military importance rather than simple greetings messages.

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<sup>26</sup>The Hungarian branch consisted of Charles Martel, eldest son of Charles II and Mana of Hungary, who claimed the kingdom of Hungary from 1290; his wife, Clementia of Habsburg; their children, Charles Robert, King of Hungary (1310-1342), Beatrice, Dauphine of Viennois and Clementia, wife of Louis X of France. Charles Martel (d. 1295) and Clementia of Habsburg (d. 1295) died before the marriage of James and Blanche and so before close friendly contact between the families had been established; correspondence involving their children survives for the period after Charles II's death. The only other important member of the family excluded is Saint Louis of Toulouse, but he also died soon after the marriage, in 1298.

Clearly, the kings had the biggest chanceries; more people were involved in writing letters for them in all types from secret letters to more generic document production. Also, the fact that their letters tended to be more politically important could be the reason for greater preservation than simple greetings notes and multiple copies; on the other hand, the highly political nature of much of this correspondence could indicate that it was contact between the kings that mattered most. Connections were established with their relationships in mind, rather than closer blood relationships, like mother-daughter, father-daughter.<sup>27</sup>

### The role of women

All members of the royal family had access to scribes from a very young age. In 1307, the household of Beatrice of Anjou, Marchioness of Este, included *notarius unus qui scribat expensas et litteras*.<sup>28</sup> In the court of Aragon, Queen Blanche and the *primogenitus* had their own chanceries.<sup>29</sup> Not surprisingly, though the smaller scale operation of letter production for female members of the family meant that surviving letters tend to be fewer in number, shorter and involve less weighty matters, such as simple enquiries about health or greetings. Often, women received or sent virtually letters that were duplicate to their husbands rather than ones that were distinct in content.<sup>30</sup> Clearly, the importance of these women lay in their influence over men rather than in their own right; Angevin queens were secondary figures on the political level until the death of Robert in 1343 led to the accession of one woman, Joanna I and

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<sup>27</sup>This would certainly explain the rather larger number of preserved letters between Charles II and Robert of Calabria to James II of Aragon, their son-in-law and brother-in-law respectively, rather than to James's wife, Blanche, who was Charles's daughter and Robert's sister.

<sup>28</sup>A.S.N. Notamenta De Lellis, IV, II, p. 626.

<sup>29</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, Intro, p. LIX, CLXXX.

<sup>30</sup>For example, the letters of King Robert and Queen Sancia to James II of Aragon on the occasion of their coronation in Avignon. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no 94.

in the short term, the regency of another, Queen Sancia.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, the scale of the correspondence does illustrate the roles that all members of the family group had in keeping good relations between the families. The influence that women could wield is mentioned expressly on many occasions. Although only married to Robert of Anjou for a short time due to an untimely death in childbirth, Yolande of Aragon became a strong influence within the Angevin family, especially as a promoter of peace with her brother Frederick, who carried on the war over Sicily.<sup>32</sup> She organised meetings between her brother and husband at Castelnuovo and at Syracuse, and played a major role in the events leading up to the peace of Caltabellotta, although she did not live to see it.<sup>33</sup> Indeed her influence became worrying to the papacy of Boniface VIII, which generally took a stronger line on the Sicilian war than the Angevins themselves. Robert of Calabria was criticized by the papal legate Gerard of Sabina for being under the thumb of his wife and as a result too willing to make peace<sup>34</sup>; Charles II was also won over by Yolande and praised her 'to the clouds' to Boniface VIII himself,<sup>35</sup> even after her

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<sup>31</sup>In the later period, Angevin queens became much more prominent. Not counting Joanna I (1343-82) and Joanna II of Naples (1414-35), there were also queens regnant in the shape of Maria of Hungary (1387-95) and her sister, Hedwig of Poland (1382-99). Besides Sancia, there was also three other important queens regent. Elizabeth of Poland, widow of Charles Robert of Hungary, governed Poland for her son Louis I of Hungary from 1370 to 1381; Elizabeth Kontromanich, Louis I's widow, intrigued to secure the Hungarian throne for her daughter Maria, secured the assassination of the rival king Charles of Durazzo before being murdered herself; Margaret of Durazzo, widow of Charles of Durazzo, acted as regent during the minority of her son King Ladislas of Naples (1386-1414).

<sup>32</sup>See for example the report of Robert's desire for peace with Frederick in 1302 in Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 48.

<sup>33</sup>See A. Franchi and B. Rocco, *La pace di Caltabellotta: 1302 e la ratifica di Bonifacio VIII: 1303*, Palermo, 1987 = Quad. di Ho. Theologos, 3 (1985), and documents, esp. p. 354-6; diary of January-March 1302 of Lorenzo di Martino, sent to Raymond, Bishop of Valencia, H. Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII, Funde und Forschungen, Vorreformationsgeschichte Forschungen*, ii, Münster-i-W, 1902, no. 10, p. XLIV-LV; letter of G. de Albalato to James II of Aragon, 18 March 1302, Finke, *Aus den Tagen*, p. LII; Nicholas Specialis, *Historia Sicula*, RIS, X, col. 1037.

<sup>34</sup>*Messire Gerart de Parma legat en Sicilia ha escrit al senyor papa, que el duch no es hom, qui vale re a obs de guerra ne de batala ne de fer conquesta ne vol entendre en neguna re sino plaer a sa mulier, no ne vol creure sino la mulier et los Cathalans e que ja nul temps lo fait de Secilia no vendra a cap per el, per que lo senyor papa ha auda voluntat de trametre en Sicilia altre capitans, mas ara par, que aquesta voluntat li sia passada.* Letter of Galfridus of Foix to James II of Aragon, 7 December 1300, Finke, *Aus den Tagen*, no. 6.

<sup>35</sup>*Dixit etiam michi dictus dominus Matheus, quod rex Carolus coram papa comendavit multum*

death, her successor Sancia of Majorca would invoke her memory to keep relations with the house of Barcelona close.<sup>36</sup>

Yolande was not the only woman of influence as far as inter-family relations were concerned. Blanche of Anjou played a similar role in maintaining good relations between James II and the house of Anjou. The success of the marriage was both political and personal and Blanche became an influential queen, who spent most of her time by her husband's side, striving to promote harmony between her husband's and father's families. Certainly, the correspondence of Blanche and her parents shows a great deal of affection, which her father was able to use to promote Angevin dynastic interests at the Aragonese court; revealingly, Blanche's attachment to her own family was mirrored by her coolness towards the sons of King Manfred, still imprisoned in Naples.<sup>37</sup> As well as acting as regent of behalf of her husband, Blanche became involved in diplomacy from an early age, negotiating with other Iberian rulers, such as King James of Majorca, Queen Isabella of Portugal or the veteran Castilian queen regent, Maria of Molina; in 1309, Arnau de Vilanova expressly appealed to her to use her position as mediator to bring peace to Christendom.<sup>38</sup> She played a key role in organizing marriages in the family.<sup>39</sup> On her premature death after childbirth in 1310,

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*usque ad nubes dominam ducissam sororem vestram. Et papa audivit omnia pacienter nec ulum verbum mordax potuit respondere'*, letter of G. de Albalato to James II of Aragon, 14 September 1301, H. Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII*, no. 9, p. XXXVI.

<sup>36</sup>See H. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 170. and below p. 12.

<sup>37</sup>Finke used this as evidence of Blanche having a cold personality in general. See Blanche's letter to Frederick, son of King Manfred, June 1307, *Ibid*, I, no. 172. I am more inclined to agree with Martinez-Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragon, su vida familiar*, I, 11 in saying that this was due to Angevin family hostility to King Manfred's sons in particular. Earlier, in 1298, Charles II's envoy explained to Queen Constance that they could not be released *propter turbacionem temporis instantem, quia ex liberacione ipsorum posset oriri magnum scandalum et peryculum d. regi ad presens et maxime propter mala verba, quibus ipsi infantes utuntur*. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 33, p. 73.

<sup>38</sup>*Entretant, madona, prec vos et amnest de part vostre senyor Jhesu Christ, qus no desemparets lo negoci e que mes siats curosa de procurar pau e amor, si fer o podets, en tots crestians, que en altre temps, quar sapiats per cert, que les dispositions del mon, que ara corren, molt son pyors que hom no portia pensar ni aesmar*. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, no. 435.

<sup>39</sup>See below p. 250.

her husband stressed the attachment he had to her family, clearly representative of the affection and high esteem with which she had been held.<sup>40</sup>

Robert remarried in 1304 to Sancia, daughter of King James of Majorca as part of a double marriage alliance organised by James II of Aragon.<sup>41</sup> The new Duchess of Calabria was quick to start a correspondence with her Aragonese cousins, sending several missives from the siege of Pistoia.<sup>42</sup> Not surprisingly, her main family interest lay with her Majorcan relatives. Her brothers Ferdinand and Philip and her nephew Ferdinand the younger all spend periods of time at the court of Naples; she stood up for the rights of her nephew James III of Majorca against successive Aragonese kings and intervened in his quarrels with his brother Ferdinand and Philip VI of France.<sup>43</sup> However, her main role within the family was as stalwart supporter of her husband against his enemies, including her own brother Ferdinand; her own personal desire to become a nun and her revulsion at Robert's infidelities never translated into political opposition or intrigues against her husband.<sup>44</sup> Spiritually devout and politically devoted,

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<sup>40</sup>R. Sablonier, 'The Aragonese royal family around 1300', H. Medick and D.W. Sabeau (edd.), *Interest and emotion: Essays on the study of family and kinship*, Cambridge, 1984, 215; H. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, 180. In a letter of condolence to King James, Eximinius, bishop of Saragossa compared Blanche to Rachel, A.C.A. C.R.D. 12985.

<sup>41</sup>On Sancia, see especially Ronald G. Musto, 'Queen Sancia of Naples (1286-1345) and the Spiritual Franciscans', in J. Kirshner and S.F. Wemple (eds.), *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in Honor of John H. Mundy*, Oxford, 1985, 179-214.

<sup>42</sup>A.C.A.C.R.D. 9816, 9866, 11814; Finke, 'Nachträge und Ergänzungen zu den Acta Aragonensia (I-III)', *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft* 4 (1933), 422.

<sup>43</sup>See below p. 249, 251, 258-9.

<sup>44</sup>Robert seems to have been involved in relationships with several women outside marriage, including the wife of the lord of Aquino and Cantelma Cantelmi, whose son Charles Artus was rumoured to be the king's, see G. De Blasius, *Racconti di storia napoletana*, Naples, 1908, 167-9; *Chronicon Estensi*, RIS, XV, 421. The marital problems of Robert and Sancia occasioned by such behaviour led to a series of admonitions to both parties by Pope John XXII, to Robert for his Reheboam-like behaviour and Sancia for her misguided belief that going into a convent was preferable to serving her earthly husband. See Reg. Vat. 109, fol 2v, c. 8, Sept 1316; Reg. Vat. 109, f. 32v, c.131 (= Odoricus Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici ad ann. 1317*, no. XXVI). Sancia compromised and swore to become a nun after her husband's death; in 1344, after a period of regency for Joanna I, she retired to her foundation of S. Chiara at Naples. See E.G. Leonard, *Histoire de Jeanne Ire, reine de Naples et comtesse de Provence (1343-1382)*, Monaco, Paris, 1932, I.

Sancia was thus a natural candidate for the regency of her step-granddaughter Joanna I.<sup>45</sup>

Charles II's wife, Maria of Hungary was in a strong position to exert influence as the matriarch of the family, surviving her husband by fourteen years to die in 1323. She wrote many letters to Blanche and James, often enquiring about their health. James made a point of stressing the affection he had for her on Blanche's death.<sup>46</sup> She did not play such an important part in political mediation as her daughters-in-law, although she was supposed to have stepped in at one point with Queen Sancia to try and mediate peace over Sicily.<sup>47</sup> Her relations with her other sons-in-law are less clear, but her will showed her continued attachment to her daughters and their offspring.<sup>48</sup>

Other women were less successful in maintaining good relations between their husbands and their parents' families. Eleanor, Charles II's third daughter, also married into the house of Barcelona, like her brother Robert and sister Blanche but her influence over her husband Frederick seems to have been negligible, certainly as far as inter-family peace was concerned. Although peace was maintained in the reign of Charles II, tension remained. Frederick's negotiations with Boniface VIII raised Charles's suspicions within months of the marriage<sup>49</sup>; disputes over Frederick's title and

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<sup>45</sup>In fact, Sancia was the only member of the royal family on the regency council on Robert's death. See Léonard, *op. cit.*, I, 214-15.

<sup>46</sup>Martínez-Ferrando, *Jaime II*, I, 15.

<sup>47</sup>Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica*, cap. 258. In general, Maria seems to have left a more active political role to the male members of the family. She was not regent for her son, Charles Martel in the kingdom of Naples during the captivity of her husband - this was left to her husband's cousin, Robert of Artois; she was also quick to renounce her own claims to the Hungarian throne in favour of her son, Charles Martel and then her grandson, Charles Robert. She seems to have played a more important part in the government of Provence, where she acted as vicar-general in 1291 during her husband's absence. See C. Minieri-Riccio, *Genealogia di Carlo I d'Angiò*, Naples, 1857, 27. Maria was also granted the vicariate of the kingdom of Sicily during a visit by Charles II to the papal curia in February 1302. See A.S.N. Notamenta De Lellis, IV Bis, pars III, 1143.

<sup>48</sup>Bequests were left to Eleanor, Queen of Trinacria and Maria of Baux, daughter of Beatrice of Anjou and Bertrand of Baux; Beatrice of Anjou-Hungary, Dauphine of Viennois and her sister Clementia, Queen of France; the children of Margaret of Anjou and Charles of Valois.

<sup>49</sup>See Christian Spinola's letter to James II of Aragon of December 1303 in Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 105.

his possession of the Calabrian castles rankled, while Sicilian fears of invasion, fuelled by the Angevin alliance with Genoa cast a further shadow.<sup>50</sup> From 1312, war was renewed, as Frederick joined the Emperor Henry VII in attacking the Angevins in Italy; meanwhile, in Greece, the Catalan Company, having defeated and killed the Angevin vassal, Walter (Gautier) of Brienne, Duke of Athens, and taken the city, swore allegiance to Manfred, son of Frederick and Eleanor, the first of a series of their sons to be dukes in opposition to the Briennes and the Angevins.<sup>51</sup> Thereafter war followed intermittently both in Sicily and Greece, and carried on after the death of Frederick into the reign of Frederick and Eleanor's son Peter II and beyond. Personal relations remained very bitter, and Frederick is even suspected of plotting to have Robert assassinated. Eleanor's role in all this is rather shadowy, but she seems to have made some attempts to reconcile them. In 1317, John XXII wrote to her appealing for her support;<sup>52</sup> in the following year, the pope was involved with negotiations with her envoy Tornellus de Tornello and wrote to the queen in July, expounding once again his desire for peace between her husband and her brother, urging her not to give up trying.<sup>53</sup> Her most daring piece of diplomatic initiative took place during the campaign of her nephew Charles of Calabria in the 1320s when she left the besieged city of Messina in a personal attempt to make a peace appeal to the enemy camp. Eleanor's attempt, however, ended in humiliation when the duke refused to see her, fearing the anger of his father King Robert.<sup>54</sup> Eleanor continued to be seen as a possible intermediary in the early 1330s, when both John XXII and Benedict XII appealed to

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<sup>50</sup>For Frederick's preparations for defence, his protests to his brother James II and Charles's complaints about him, see Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, nos. 78, 79, 80, 83.

<sup>51</sup>Walter's son, also named Walter, titular Duke of Athens married Philip of Taranto's daughter Beatrice in 1325 and was supported by King Robert and the Papacy in his attempts to seize back the duchy in 1331 and 1334-5. See K.M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens (1311-1388)*, Cambridge, Mass, 1948, 39, 40.

<sup>52</sup>A.S.V Reg. Vat. 109, f. 3, c. 12.

<sup>53</sup>A.S.V Reg. Vat. 109, f. 177. c. 663.

<sup>54</sup>Nicholas Specialis, *Historia Sicula*, VII, xvii.

her sense of piety by stressing what her husband's attitude was doing for his chances of salvation.<sup>55</sup> After Frederick died in 1337, Eleanor came out of the shadows and along with her daughter-in-law Elizabeth of Carinthia, supported mediation and reconciliation.<sup>56</sup> However, Eleanor's desire for peace did not mean that she was willing to sacrifice the interests of her family in Trinacria; Eleanor's surviving letters to her sister Blanche and her brother-in-law James II do not betray much devotion to the Angevin family, but rather one to her husband.<sup>57</sup> Most of her letters are written on his behalf or promoting his affairs, and her self-entitlement as *Regina Sicilie* at certain times indicate clearly where her priorities lay.<sup>58</sup> She also supported the marriage of her daughter Constance to Peter, son of James II of Aragon, which, although ostensibly was supposed to promote peace, was seen by both the Pope and King Robert as threatening to Angevin interests. There is no sense in all of Eleanor's activities that her desire for peace was equated with fulfilling the terms of the peace of Caltabellotta, which by envisaging the return of Sicily to her brother's family after her husband's death effectively disinherited her children.<sup>59</sup> To some extent the inadequacy of the peace deal must have weakened long-term hopes of reconciliation not just by being unsatisfactory to Frederick, but also by ensuring the hostility of the Angevin princess who should have been one of its chief promoters.

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<sup>55</sup>Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici ad ann. 1332, no. XVII; ad ann. 1334.*

<sup>56</sup>For Eleanor's attempt to mediate between her son Peter II and her brother King Robert in 1340, see A. Kiesewetter, 'Eleonora d'Angiò', *DBI*, 42, 366-9. Like Elizabeth, she was associated with the 'Latin' elements at court as opposed to the 'Catalan', who tended to adopt a more conciliatory tone towards the traditional enemy; Eleanor had particularly close relations with the Chiaramonte family, whom she had tried to protect from disgrace during her husband's reign. By the time of Eleanor's death in 1341, however, the Latin faction had already been ousted by the Catalans headed by Eleanor's younger son, John, Duke of Athens and Neopatra. See F. Giunta, *Aragonesi e Catalani nel mediterraneo*, 2 vols. Palermo, 1953, 1959, I, 24-6.

<sup>57</sup>A letter of Petrus Marini, *familiaris* of Frederick, stresses the warmth of relations between James and Blanche, Frederick and Eleanor. A.C.A. C.R.D. 12270.

<sup>58</sup>A.C.A. C.R.D. 9773, 9782, for favours asked of James II, C.R.D. 9754, Eleanor calls herself *Regina Sicilie*.

<sup>59</sup>See above section on Sicilian war p. 85-6



Another 'failure' was Thamar of Epirus, first wife of Philip, Prince of Taranto.<sup>60</sup> This marriage was supposed to secure an alliance between the Angevins and the Epirote despotate, but failed when the Angevins demanded the lion's share of Epirus for Thamar and Philip to the disadvantage of Thamar's brother Thomas. The Despina Anna, mother of Thamar and Thomas, had originally opposed the marriage deal and had tried to arrange an alternative one involving Michael Palaeologus, the eldest son of the Byzantine emperor. Despite this, relations were initially good, even after the death of Anna's husband, Despot Nicephorus I, who had originally promoted the project. In 1304, however, Anna and Thomas refused to pay homage to Philip, as stated in the marriage accord, and war ensued. There was little that Thamar could do to stop it. Indeed, she was forced to pawn her jewels and denied the right to practise her Eastern rites rather than the Latin ones, as promised in her marriage agreement and even took the new name Catherine. Despite producing a large number of children for her husband, relations deteriorated to the extent that Thamar was accused of adultery; linked to this scandal, though how is unclear, was the powerful count-chamberlain, Bartolomeo Siginulfo, count of Telesse and Caserta.<sup>61</sup> What happened to Thamar is

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<sup>60</sup>For the story of Thamar, see especially, Nicol, *Despotate of Epiros*, 37-62.

<sup>61</sup>*In eodem anno [1308] orta est turbatio in domo regis Caroli ex adulterio imposito uxori domini quae fuit despoti. Propter quam causam, Comes camerarius, qui tempore regis fuerat dominus in regno proscriptus est et multi cum ipso. Unde Neapolitani in magno fuerunt commotore. In quo facto non fuit actum ut debuit quia talia naturam habent stercoris quod tanto plus foetet.* Ptolemy of Lucca, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, bk 8, col. 1232 C. It should be noted that Ptolemy puts events taking place in 1308 and 1309, such as the death of Charles II and the accession of Henry VII, all in 1309, so the events probably refer to 1309. In the condemnation of Siginulfo shortly afterwards, he was supposed to have been involved in 'machinations' while Charles II was still alive; these came to the attention of Philip of Taranto, then captain-general of the kingdom of Sicily for the new King Robert, who had gone to Avignon to be crowned by Pope Clement on his father's death. Siginulfo himself humbled himself before the king, proclaimed his innocence and then demanded the right to return to Naples to prove it. This the king allowed, but while in Naples, Siginulfo was supposed to have sent two Apulian vassals and others to Aversa to kill Philip. King Robert was informed and Siginulfo was summoned to appear before the court of peers in Naples. After some arguments over a safe-conduct, he refused to appear and was condemned as contumacious 24 December 1309; further attempts were made to get him to submit to justice once King Robert returned, but they failed and a year later he was declared a public enemy, all of his goods and fiefs being confiscated. He finally fled to Sicily. See C. Minieri-Riccio, 'Genealogia di Carlo II d'Angio', *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, Anno 7

unclear, and it seems that Philip may have been negotiating his second marriage to Catherine of Valois even before this.<sup>62</sup> Catherine, as the heiress to the claims to the Latin Empire, was a much more prestigious match than Thamar. Thamar was certainly dead by 1313 when Philip's marriage to Catherine was celebrated at Fontainebleau.

Female influence, however, could not just be ineffective; it could also be negative. Robert, when king, opposed the idea of the marriage of his niece Clementia of Hungary to the widowed James II as he feared that Clementia would use her

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(1882), 222-4; G. De Blasiis, *Racconti di storia napoletana*, 144-7. Robert's strained relations with Philip of Taranto are clear from the whole episode. The fact that he was prepared to believe Signulfio initially above his brother is one thing; Philip's letter to James replying to rumours about him being involved in plots against the king comes from this time. Robert's hostility to Philip is also evident in the prompt way he forced him to renounce his rights to Provence.

<sup>62</sup> Du Cange, *Histoire*, 63, 144, traces the beginning of the negotiations to the Poitiers meetings between Clement V, Philip IV and Charles of Valois. He says that this was when it was decided to revoke the earlier promise between Catherine and the son of the Duke of Burgundy, so she could marry the Prince of Taranto. However, Du Cange believes Thamar dead at this point, which she clearly was not. According to De Blasiis, *Racconta*, 149, Philip sent Fr Domenico della Foresta to the King of France in 1309 to solicit the Pope to annul Catherine's previous contract and on 23 August 1309, Clement V answered the King that he had not yet obtained the renunciation of Duke Hugh. Petit, *Charles de Valois*, 121-2, says that Charles of Valois sent his faithful negotiators, Guillaume du Perche and Jacques de Saint-Samson to the court of Charles II in May 1309 to negotiate over the question of the marriage of Catherine and Philip and that this was interrupted by the death of Charles II on 5 May. On 1 February 1310, Philip IV arranged a meeting at Troyes for 25 March 1310 with King Robert of Sicily over the same question. See also, *Compte de l'Orient*, 71, 75, 78; A.N. JJ 42, f. 105 v. On 26 May 1312, Clement V gave a general dispensation for the third degree of consanguinity for Philip and his children, excepting the daughters of Charles of Valois. See Clemens V, *Regestum*, VII, 108. According to the *Chronique de Morée*, Orient Latin, IV, 125, which gives a muddled account, confusing Philip the Fair with Philip of Valois, the negotiations began after Thamar's death : *et peu de temps après la morte de madame Thamar femme du prince Philippe, celui cil aprit que messire Philippe de Valois, roi de France avoit une soeur qui se nomma madame Catherine, la quelle, par héritage de sa mère fille du fils de l'empereur Baudouin, revenait à la succession de l'empire de Constantinople et a cause de cette succession le Prince Philippe agit et fit tant auprès du roi de France que celui-ci lui donna sa soeur*. The date of Thamar's death is uncertain. N.B. The last mention of her as still alive is on 4 November 1308, when Charles II granted her the concession of the lands of Ginosa, Laterza, Gioifalco, Palagiano that Philip had given her on 15 September 1308. See G. de Blasiis, *Racconti di storia napoletana*, Naples, 1908, 144 n.1. According to the French chronicle of the Morea, she died *quelque temps après que messire Philippe eut quitté le despotat d'Arta*. See G.F. de Heredia, *Chronique de Morée*, Orient Latin, IV, 125. M. Camera, *Annali*, II, 168 puts her as dead in the first half of 1309. A letter of James II of Aragon to King Robert, of 3rd December 1309, however, discusses the question of the princess and the chamberlain, but Thamar is not mentioned as *quondam: Super articulo siquidem processus ab honorabilis principisse Tarenti et comitis Camerarii, quem gravem suscepimus et molestum ...* See Salavert, *Cerdeña*, II, no. 410. Perhaps, then, Thamar died between 1308 and the beginning of 1310.

influence to get James to support his nephew and her brother Charles Robert in the event of conflict between them. Quoting the Book of Ezra, Robert stressed the power of queens and cited the malign influence of James's own mother Constance, whose desire for vengeance against the Angevins he blamed for the Sicilian conflict<sup>63</sup>; his grandfather, Charles I had also had to contend with two malevolent queens in the shape of his sisters-in-law, Margaret and Eleanor of Provence. Queens were able to exert influence not just as wives but as mothers of the future generations.

Clearly, then, the correspondence of the Angevins with their Aragonese in-laws shows the important role that women played in maintaining inter-family relations. As embodiments of the alliance, they were the natural conduits for diplomatic negotiation, able to act like ambassadors, but of an unofficial kind, without the constriction of accreditation.

#### The role of younger sons and child princes

Less explicit information is available on the influence of younger sons and child princes, but it is clear that James II also deemed it necessary to have direct contacts with them. Charles II's fourth and fifth sons, Philip of Taranto and Raymond Berengar were given major political and military responsibilities by their father during his reign and were important figures in their own right. To some extent, then, the contacts

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<sup>63</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 202; Sablonier, 'The Aragonese royal family', 212-13; Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, I, 154-5. The negative influence of women was also used as a reason for denying a dispensation for the marriage of Peter of Aragon, son of James II to his first cousin Constance, widowed Queen of Cyprus. Pope John XXII made a general statement about the defects of the female personality, while stressing that Constance's seniority in years meant that her influence would be stronger than over an older husband. See Finke, 'Nachträge', p. 409 and R. Olivar Bertrand, 'Jean XXII et le mariage de Constance de Chypre avec l'enfant Pierre d'Aragon', *Annales du Midi*, 63 (1951), 5-31. In 1337, John's successor Benedict XII refused a dispensation for the marriage of Peter's brother Raymond Berengar and Eleanor, daughter of Peter II of Trinacria. See Martinez-Ferrando, *Jaime II*, I, 180.

reflected their own political importance within the family. Some of the family negotiations, particularly over Sicily, affected them personally. At one stage, for example, it was suggested that Frederick be given Angevin Greece as recompense for losing Sicily; Philip was promised a pay-off of 70,000 ounces of gold for Albania from his brother.<sup>64</sup> John and Peter, Charles's youngest sons, found their landed settlements subject to change due to agreements made on both the marriages of their sister Beatrice. The succession agreement of 1297, whereby the eldest surviving adult son of Charles II took preference over grandsons in succession to the kingdom of Sicily must also have enhanced the position of the younger sons. After all, Robert, king of Sicily from 1309, was only the third son of Charles II, his nephew Charles Robert being passed over. The preoccupation with health news in the letters is thus a reflection not just of family concern, but also of the political changes that death could bring; the protests of Philip of Taranto against rumours of disloyalty to his brother the new king Robert in 1309 illustrate the suspicions that permeated the Angevin family at a time when Philip's wife was implicated in an obscure plot and when Robert also felt threatened by the claims of his Hungarian nephew. The need to maintain good relations between the families over a long period thus necessitated the forging of early links with child members. Messages of goodwill arrived from John and Peter, Charles II's youngest sons, at a time when they were still landless children; one exists from Charles of Calabria, when aged under eleven.<sup>65</sup> The same was also true of contacts between

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<sup>64</sup> In 1311, it was proposed that Frederick should be compensated with the principality of Achaia or the kingdom of Albania in return for Sicily. A three-year treaty between Philip of Taranto and Robert was agreed, with the 70,000 oz of gold as compensation for Albania. For these negotiations and Frederick's reaction to them, see Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, nos. 443, 444, 445. In around 1316/17, King Robert revived the idea, but with an improved offer, proposing that Frederick should receive half of Sicily for life, the principality of Achaia and the kingdom of Albania. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, no. 449.

<sup>65</sup> A.C.A. C.R.D 9962 In the letter of John and Peter, they are not given any titles other than 'sons of King Charles'; therefore it must predate 1305. John and Peter's youth is also clear from the fact that they remained so long under their mother's care; John's youth was also used as a selling point to persuade Matilda of Hainault to marry him in 1317. A.S.V. Reg. Vat. 109, f. 158v, c. 648. Neither prince was probably much older than their nephew Charles of Calabria; John XXII wrote letters to both John

Angevin monarchs and junior members of the house of Barcelona. In 1319, the Infante James, eldest son of King James II of Aragon, defied his father by refusing to marry his intended bride and tried to flee. In his confusion, the prince tried to justify his conduct to his uncle King Robert among others.<sup>66</sup> Removed from the succession and imprisoned, James's place was taken by his younger brother Alfonso. Even before this, the Angevins took a keen interest in James II's younger sons. As early as 1312, Robert wrote to James II with the explicit demand that Alfonso, or, if not, the next eldest lay son of James, would lead a group of one hundred knights to support him. Clearly, Robert was trying to associate the young prince with his cause from his early teens, and set a trend of family contact and support that would stop the next generation from being influenced by enemies such as Frederick of Aragon.<sup>67</sup> After the Infante James was disgraced, of course, contact with the new heir was intensified. Queen Sancia was particularly worried that he would be sympathetic to his paternal uncle Frederick and wrote a letter stressing the connections he had to the Angevin house through his mother Blanche of Anjou and his paternal aunt Yolande, first wife of King Robert. She stressed the good that Robert could do for him and warned against being a Reheboam to his father's Solomon, or following the evil example of her own brother Ferdinand.<sup>68</sup>

### The role of *familiares*

Contact was maintained however not just with family members but also with a wider group of associates. Sometimes, copies of letters were produced for a large list of

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and Charles in 1316, urging them to act morally and sensibly at their young age, Reg. Vat. 109, f. 3v, c. 13, 14.

<sup>66</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, p. CLXXXVIII; Sablonier, 'The Aragonese royal family around 1300', 225; Martínez-Ferrando, *Jaime II*, I, 89-90.

<sup>67</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 202. Given the fact that Alfonso's next brother, John, had entered holy orders, the alternative was Peter, aged about seven at the time.

<sup>68</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, no.170, 5.

influential people.<sup>69</sup> Some court figures and *familiares* play an important role in the correspondence; military commanders like Roger of Lauria and Bernat de Sarrià; top officials like Bartholomew of Capua, Giovanni Pipino, Bartolomeo Siginulfo and John of Procida. Clearly, their influence could be decisive. Roger of Lauria, brought up with the future Queen Constance of Aragon at the Hohenstaufen court as son of her nurse, Donna Bella, had been part of the coterie of Sicilian malcontents at the Aragonese court before his decisive role in the Vespers War as admiral of Catalonia and Sicily; after the Anagni peace, he quarrelled with Frederick of Aragon and left Sicily to rejoin the service of James II. Thereafter, he was admiral for the combined forces of both James and Charles in the war against Frederick, becoming such a devoted adherent of the Angevin-Aragonese alliance that he urged James II not to abandon his 'father' Charles, who 'loved him very much' when the latter's enthusiasm for the war began to wane<sup>70</sup>, and showing strong resistance to returning to Catalonia until his services were no longer required by James's 'father' and the Church.<sup>71</sup>; Lauria's daughter Margherita later married Bartholomew of Capua, protonotary of the kingdom of Naples and

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<sup>69</sup>On 1 January 1304, James II of Aragon wrote to Charles II and his son Robert of Calabria on matters relating to Sardinia, but copies were also sent to the following: Pietro di Vicco, prefect of Rome; Peter, Bishop of Lecce, chancellor of Sicily; Bartholomew of Capua; Giovanni Pipino; Sergio and Bartolomeo Siginulfo; Diego de la Rath; the elect of Salerno, chancellor of the Duke of Calabria; Christian Spinola; Francesco Scarcaficu; Fulk, dean of León; Roger de Lauria, admiral; Arnau de Villanova; Poncello Orsini (*de filius Ursi*); the seneschals of Beaucaire and Provence; Genoese nobles; Garcia, prior of Santa Cristina; the Chiarenti. Other Angevin family members included were Queen Maria, Philip of Taranto and his wife Catherine (Thamar) and Raymond Berengar. See Salavert, *Cerdeña*, II, doc. 66-7.

<sup>70</sup>*A mi pare, deyats ajudar al rey Carles queus ama axy com a fill, que ben sabets.* Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 56. Frederick, not surprisingly, harboured a grudge against his ex-admiral. He tried to poison his brother's mind against him, although James found it hard to believe what the admiral was supposed to have said about him, see Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, nos. 70, 72, 73.

<sup>71</sup>Roger did not want to return when James II summoned him to appear before his court to answer a property dispute with Jaspert de Castelnou in 1301. Roger maintained that his services were still needed and that since James had left him, that he had *ben servit al rey vostre pare e al duch e madona la duquessa*. He pointed out with indignation how willing James was to take away his castles when he had not paid him for his services and how this conflicted with a previous attempt of James's to ask for money, which he was unable to achieve, due to giving King Charles 12,000 oz. of gold. See Roger's letter to James II, Rome, 25 February 1301, Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 45.

leading adviser for three Angevin kings. Lauria's power, however, became a matter of dispute after his death in 1305, due to the effect it had on the balance of power between Charles II and Frederick of Aragon in Calabria. Under the Caltabellotta settlement, the castle of Aci in Calabria had been settled on Roger, the other four castles, Calanna, Motta, Fiumare Muri and Catona on Vinciguerra Palizzi, a supporter of Frederick's. On the death of Roger, however, Frederick tried to arrange a marriage between Roger's son, Rogeron and his illegitimate daughter, Isabella, thus bringing the Lauria family under his influence. Despite Rogeron's premature death in 1307, Frederick was still able to get what he wanted, as Rogeron's half-brothers, Charles and Berengar and their mother, Saurina of Entenza moved into his camp. Charles II then called for a renegotiation of the settlement, which, after a great deal of argument, led to an new arrangement declared by James II of Aragon in March 1309. This called for Charles II to give Aci to Frederick, the other four castles to Charles along with the Tunis tribute.<sup>72</sup>

Other Catalan adherents proved to be hostile. Bernat de Sarrià replaced Roger as James's leading admiral, but his sympathies lay with Frederick, to whom he gave unofficial help on several occasions to a storm of protests from Angevins and popes.<sup>73</sup> Perhaps not surprisingly, Bernat was '*enemic mortal*' of Lauria, having lost his position as admiral on the return of Roger from Sicily in 1297.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>See E. Haberkern, *Der Kampf im Sizilien*, 23-5.

<sup>73</sup>In 1313, Bernat landed with troops in Sicily to support Frederick after the resumption of the Sicilian war. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 117. 'For our part, we expected help and not opposition from you, nor from your people', moaned Robert in a letter to James, adding that such mistakes could cause him 'to lose a brother'. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 447. Unfortunately, Bernat de Sarrià seems to have been more of a role-model than Roger de Lauria; Ramon de Peralta, a later admiral was the cause of similar complaints in the 1330s and even married an illegitimate daughter of Frederick of Trinacria. See Léonard, *Histoire de Jeanne Ire*, I, 86.

<sup>74</sup>See Duke Robert's letter, excerpted in Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 45, p. 105: *Avem entes que vos aves trames Bernart de Sarrián ab XX galeas e ab CL homes a caval a groayuar en terres de Sarrasins. De la qual cose en mi don gran mervella, car manifesta cosa est, lo dit Bernart es enemic mortal de lamiral meser R. de Lauria et pot em crese, quel destorbarie volenters tota cose, per que el agues don e desonar e aquels, que el aman. Per ço pot en rasonablemen pensar o al mens duptar,*

Pope John XXII was perhaps the most important and unusual Angevin *familiaris*. Unlike other popes, such as Boniface VIII, who justified obedience in terms of the good of Christendom or the recovery of the Holy Land, John's relations with both Angevin and Aragonese kings were coloured by his position as ex-chancellor for Charles II. On his accession, which had largely been due to Robert's influence, he wrote to James II of Aragon thanking him for his congratulations and stressing the ties that bound them as the son-in-law and the ex-chancellor of the late king. Later on, John was supposed to favour the idea of the promotion of the Infante John of Aragon to the cardinalate, because he was the son of King Charles's favourite daughter and the nephew of King Robert 'to whom he was much obliged'.<sup>75</sup>

Envoys and other agents could play an important role, reporting on the activities of family members and rumours going around the Curia. The disengagement of James II from the Sicilian war in 1299, Charles II's dealings with Genoa and Robert's with Pisa all provoked deep suspicion between the families that unscrupulous informants could exacerbate. Certainly, figures hostile to the Angevin-Aragonese alliance, such as Frederick of Aragon or Napoleon Orsini<sup>76</sup>, often did their best to spread rumours, lies and distortions and paint as black a picture as possible of Angevin motives.<sup>77</sup>

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*quel no empacha larmada, de la qual aprop nos deu esser amiral messer R., de la qual li pot venir honor e profit.* James II appointed Bernat de Sarrià admiral after Roger de Lauria remained with Frederick in Sicily after the Anagni peace. In 1297, after quarrelling with Frederick, Roger was welcomed back into the fold by James, who restored him to his former position. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 24.

<sup>75</sup>*tanquam ille, qui multum afficiebatur ad honorem vestrum et domini Johannis, allegando etiam causas, propter quos reputabat se dicto domino Johanni multum teneri: tum quia filius vester, tunc etiam propter dominam matrem suam, quam dominus Carolus inter ceteros filios diligebat, et quia nepos domini regis Roberti, cui multum se reputat obligatum.* Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 148. This did not stop John from eventually disagreeing with the idea. Later on, John showed great hostility to James's plans to conquer Sardinia. See below p.239.

<sup>76</sup>Napoleon Orsini was an inveterate enemy of the Angevins. In 1328, he urged Alfonso of Aragon to support Frederick because he had 'time to take vengeance for all the evil done in the past and receive the greatest honour that the house of Aragon ever had'. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 290. For John XXII's cat-and-mouse game with the cardinal over his Guelf sympathies, see *ibid.* II, no. 393. For the cardinal in general, see C.A. Willemsen, *Kardinal Napoleon Orsini (1263-1342)*, Leipzig, 1927..

<sup>77</sup>In 1314, Bernat de Sarrià reported to James II that Robert had made offensive remarks about



Bartholomew of Capua, reported to have made severe criticisms of James II in the Curia, replied that he could not even have been where he was supposed to have been, as he was ill at the time<sup>78</sup>; in 1309, Philip of Taranto was furious when James II relayed to him rumours concerning his loyalty to his brother Robert. Deception, of course, was not a monopoly of hostile interests. James II's plot with Philip IV of France to marry Philip's sister instead of Charles's daughter was only revealed when word reached Boniface VIII through loose tongues at the Curia. James also had secret double dealings with Frederick over the succession of Sicily that undermined the peace of Caltabellotta<sup>79</sup>; on the Angevin side, Robert's alleged support for James's Sardinian expedition in the 1320s was also false.<sup>80</sup> In general, though, correspondence between the two families was aimed at stressing the positive sides of the relationship, maintaining alliance and asking for favours or redress for complaints; background gossip was left to the envoys, agents and 'friends'. They did not play a negative role, however, in inter-family relations, as on some occasions, correspondents could relay positive information and help to relieve tensions. Roger of Lauria, for example, when

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Frederick: *E dix moltes paraules, qui lo paren de rey ni de savi senyor, dien aqueles viltats e desonries, que deya de la persona del senyor rey Frederick*. Bernat also related a story of Robert's that was insulting of Catalans in general and said that he was allied with Pisa, James's main opponent over Sardinia. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 118.

<sup>78</sup> Berengarius de Pavo, in a report to James II in October 1299 related a conversation with Cardinal Landulf on the question of papal suspicions about him after his departure from the Sicilian war. Landulf said that Bartholomew of Capua among others had said *phura sinistra* to the Pope. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, 50. In an earlier letter of September 13 1299, Berengarius described Bartholomew as *obloquitor et detractor fame vestre*. See Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII*, doc. no. 3. For Bartholomew's defence, see A.C.A. C.R.D. Jaime II 11892.

<sup>79</sup> F. Giunta and A. Giuffrida, *Acta Siculo-aragonensia tra Federico III di Sicilia e Giacomo II d'Aragona*, Palermo, 1972, 14-15 & docs. 33-37. The agreement, made in August 1304, contained two main provisions. Firstly, Frederick and James would give each other aid against all except for the Church, King Charles and Robert, Duke of Calabria; this clause was declared null if the Angevins attacked Frederick first. Secondly, it allowed for the mutual succession of Frederick and James to each other's kingdoms if either of them died without issue. This, of course, contravened the Caltabellotta treaty, which presumed that Frederick's Trinacrian kingdom would revert to Robert and his heirs after Frederick's death. In April 1305, the treaty was modified, so that if one side went to war with the Angevins, that the other would stay neutral and try to stop attacks from hostile powers. *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>80</sup> On Robert and Pisa, see below p. 238-9.

urging James to support his father-in-law in the Sicilian war, took pains to point out Charles's defence of James before Boniface VIII.<sup>81</sup> The importance of maintaining contact, and thus the possibility of presenting one's own point of view rather than allowing hostile forces to do it instead, explains the sheer volume of the correspondence maintained. In this sense, the continually reiterated demand for news, the complaints at not receiving any, and the apologies for not having written can be judged.

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<sup>81</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 56.

*Chapter Seven : AMOR AND AMICITIA : LOVE, FRIENDSHIP AND POLITICS  
II: FAMILY CORRESPONDENCE AND THE BONDS OF FRIENDSHIP*

**Expressions of family feeling**

The most common type of letters found in the correspondence is the greetings letter; indeed, all letters contain some element of it. Some of these letters are very short notes, written in a formulaic way, especially when several members of the family would be written to at once. One of the most striking things about the form of the greeting is the stress on the family relationship. As well as addressing a person by name and title, family relationship was always mentioned too. Indeed the recognition of relationship could extend to quite distant connections. At the time of Henry VII's descent into Italy, James II wrote a friendly letter to Henry's wife, his *consanguinea*, stressing the importance of the bond of their blood relationship, the *debitum sanguinis*.<sup>1</sup> Margaret of Brabant was only James's fourth cousin.<sup>2</sup> In terms of relations between the houses of Anjou and Barcelona, the use of family terms was again synonymous with terms of affection and obligation and a tendency to stress the closeness of the connection. Charles II called his son-in-law James II of Aragon 'son'<sup>3</sup> and was commonly referred to in letters between his son Robert, Duke of Calabria and James as 'our common father' or simply 'father'<sup>4</sup>; Queen Maria was termed *mater*, and indeed, when Blanche died in 1310, James made a point of stressing the filial bond he had with her remained as strong as ever and would remain so in the future.<sup>5</sup> Brothers-in-law habitually called each other 'brothers' in a similar way, James's sisters-in-law were termed 'sisters' and

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<sup>1</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 184.

<sup>2</sup>They were both great-great-great grandchildren of Frederick Barbarossa.

<sup>3</sup>In October 1298, for example, Charles II wrote *a tres excellent et noble son tres chier et ame filz Jacques, per la grace de Dieu roy d. Arragon*. See V. Salavert de la Roca, II, *Cerdeña*, doc. 34.

<sup>4</sup>James II wrote to Robert in December 1303, describing Charles as *comuni patris nostro*, and again on 1 January 1304, using the same phrase. See Salavert, *Cerdeña*, II, docs. 61, 67.

<sup>5</sup>James wrote to Maria, *Quamquam filiam e mundo amiseritis, non tamen filium amiseritis*. A.C.A. Reg. 218 f. 225, quoted in Finke, 'Nachträge', 397; Martínez-Ferrando, *Jaime II*, I, 15.

even Thamar, wife of Philip of Taranto, addressed James as brother.<sup>6</sup> Charles Robert of Anjou referred to his Habsburg cousins as *fratres nostri*.<sup>7</sup> This tendency to use terms of close family relationships was echoed in other generations too; Ferdinand, younger brother of King James III of Majorca, who was brought up at the court of Naples, praised his aunt Sancia and described her treatment of him as 'more like a son than a nephew'.<sup>8</sup>; his brother King James was described in a letter of Queen Sancia of 1331 as 'my nephew and my son'.<sup>9</sup>

The importance of the use of these terms lay in the bonds of affection and obligation that they bestowed. In every letter, conventional phrases of affection, whether filial, fraternal or paternal are used. Clement V told Vidal de Vilanova that King Robert 'very much loved the King of Aragon'.<sup>10</sup> More importantly, love and duty were invoked when requests for assistance were made. Thus, when Roger of Lauria tried to persuade James to help Charles, he emphasized how his father-in-law had defended him against a suspicious pope, that 'King Charles loves you very much', and then stressed the double family connection through the marriages of James to Charles's

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<sup>6</sup> When James II wrote to Charles II, Robert and powerful figures at the Angevin court on the Sardinian question on 1 January 1304, among those he addressed was *sorori karissime* Catherine, Princess of Taranto. Catherine was the name Thamar took within several years of her marriage to Philip of Taranto - she is not to be confused with Philip's second wife, Catherine of Valois, who was also styled *imperatrix Constantinopolitana*. See Salavert, *Cerdeña*, docs. 166-7.

<sup>7</sup> F. Kurz, *Österreich unter Friedrich dem Schönen*, Linz, 1818, Beilage XVI, 23 July 1314, Charles Robert stresses the role of their family relationship in making a political alliance in the following terms - *Quod nos cum magnifico principe domino Friderico duce Austrie et Styrie, fratre nostro carissimo sicut decet amicitie federa seruare volentes, prout sibi ex unione sanguinis naturaliter obligamur, promittimus fide nostra deo debita mediante nomine juramenti ipsum Fridericum et suos fratres contra omnem hominem iuuare*; Kurz, Beilage XIX, 23 November 1321, for similar language used for a treaty between Charles Robert and the Habsburg dukes, Frederick, Leopold, Henry, Albert and Otto *fratribus nostris karissimis*; also Kurz, Beilage, XX, 30 February 1323; Beilage, XXXII, 31 September 1328.

<sup>8</sup> A.C.A. C.R.D. 10063. John XXII's letter to Isabella, Countess of Jaffa, the boy's mother also stresses the 'maternal affection' that Sancia had for Ferdinand; A.S.V. Reg. Vat. 112 f. 232v. c.981..

<sup>9</sup> L. Wadding, *Annales minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco Institutum*, VII, p. 140.

<sup>10</sup> 'quel rey Robert ama molt carament el rey Darago', Clement V to Vidal de Villanova, 1310, Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, no. 485 n.1.

daughter and James's sister to Charles's son.<sup>11</sup> Boniface VIII showed his disapproval of the non-arrival of James and his military force in 1297 by saying that it was contrary to the honour of King Charles to whom he owed filial affection and that his reputation would suffer as a result.<sup>12</sup> On a more mundane level, when his mother Constance was in financial difficulties in 1298, James II told her to stay with and be consoled by his wife Blanche and his sister Yolande 'to whom she was tied in filial affection'.<sup>13</sup>

The whole question of filial affection lay at the heart of dynastic marriage. By astute management, a king such as Charles II could increase his sphere of political influence by acquiring powerful sons-in-law who owed him respect and support. The stress on *paternitas* and filial duties in the correspondence shows how kings could try to demand obedience in a manner similar to a natural father. In 1304, when James II and Blanche of Anjou were negotiating a marriage between Blanche's sister Maria and Sancho of Majorca, Charles II charged their filial affection to negotiate *discrete et studiosse* and secure a decent and honourable settlement for Maria.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Letter of Roger de Lauria to King James II of Aragon, 27 April 1300, Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 56. After Boniface VIII had granted James II a three-year tenth, messages had arrived at the Cuna that James had said that anyone could go and help Frederick and that the ships could go to Alexandria, *de la qual cosa lo papa et ells cardenals son molt torbats*. Charles II defended James, saying *que vos erets bon crestian et no consentriets res, que fos contra les gleya et axy que ly pregava, que la delma que us avia promesa, que la us deges der*. Roger urged James to support Charles - *deyats ajudar al rey Carles, queus ama axy com a fill, que ben sabats que aquests feyts son del rey pare vostre et el rey vos pagara, et ells feyts del rey son vostres et Ceçilia del duch et de vostres rebots deu esser et deu vos menbrar, que vos leixas lo duch en Ceçilia et leixas hi mi et bona partida de vostres gents, et el duch a major fe en vos, quen person del mon et ha bells dos fills de vostre sor et vos, senyor navets IIII, de madona la regina sa sor*.

<sup>12</sup> *defectu honori nostro et eiusdem ecclesie ac statui carissimi in Christo filii nostri C. Sicilie regis illustris soceri tui, ad quem affici affectu filiali teneris; tueque fame depereat, quantave ex hoc sumptus et alias dampna provenerint*. Letter of Boniface VIII to James II of Aragon, October 1297, see Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 29.

<sup>13</sup> Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 38.

<sup>14</sup> See V. Salavert de la Roca, *Cerdeña y la expansión mediterránea de la Corona de Aragón*, II, 82. Charles II conceded the authority to James and Blanche to contract the marriage treaty between Sancho and Maria in February 1304. See A.N. P 1354<sup>r</sup>, no. 829. For an interesting discussion on the use of family terminology of premodern Christians, contrasting paternal expressions involving authority, such as God the father, pope and abbot with fraternal ones emphasizing equality, see J. Boswell, *Same-Sex Unions in Premodern Europe*, New York, 1994, 22-3.

The political importance of the connections made and the need to stress their closeness serves to explain not only the terms used between Charles II and his Aragonese sons-in-law, but also his other connections by marriage. Charles of Valois, like James II, was termed *filius noster* in correspondence; this continued after the death of his wife Margaret, Charles II's daughter and his second marriage to Charles II's niece, Catherine of Courtenay. On one occasion, Catherine was referred to as *neptis nostre consortis ...Caroli..filii nostri*<sup>15</sup>. The desire of Charles II to affirm a paternal relationship with a powerful French prince thus would seem to have overridden his relation with his own niece. Another instructive example is the relationship between Charles II and John of Montferrat, who was engaged to Blanche of Anjou from 1289 to 1293. Despite the fact that no marriage ever took place, John was referred to as '*filius noster*' in official documentation whilst the engagement lasted.<sup>16</sup> Rather different terms were used to refer to another son-in-law, Bertrand of Baux-Berre. Despite his illustrious family, Bertrand was a younger son of a lesser branch and did not have the status of many of the other Angevin connections. References to him in Angevin documents of Robert's reign as *affini consiliario familiari* do not put him in the same mould as 'brothers' such as James II of Aragon, but nearer to close advisers of lower rank such as Bartholomew of Capua or Giovanni Pipino.<sup>17</sup>

Relations between the central males were the most important politically; the daughters and sisters tended to play a secondary role. Charles II wrote to his daughter Blanche in 1301 to try to get her husband to support him against Genoa.<sup>18</sup> Filial affection was not the only bond that was used to exert pressure on relatives. Appeals to other close family ties were also made. One of the arguments used by Robert to get

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<sup>15</sup>A.S.N. Notamenta De Lellis, IV, II, p. 570.

<sup>16</sup>Perrat-Longnon, *Documents relatifs à la Principauté de la Morée*, no. 50, p. 58.

<sup>17</sup>A.S.N. Notamenta De Lellis, IV, II, p. 832.

<sup>18</sup> Charles wanted 2000 foot-soldiers sent. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III. no. 46, 1.

Frederick to make peace over Sicily was that it was the son of Frederick's sister, that is, the son of Robert and Yolande of Aragon who would inherit the Sicilian throne.<sup>19</sup>

Uncle-nephew ties were also used in the opposite direction, to try to bind Alfonso of Aragon and Philip of Valois to the Angevin house. James II of Aragon warned Alfonso that honour was owed to both his uncles and the Church, telling him that favouring Frederick above Robert would lead to 'scandal'.<sup>20</sup>

Of course, such ties relied upon affection within the *domus* as well. Blanche's position as favourite daughter of Charles II was an undoubted asset in relations with her husband James II and perhaps provides an answer for the ineffectiveness of attempts to make peace through the marriage of Frederick of Aragon to the less favoured Eleanor. Affection within the Angevin family was openly referred to on occasion. Queen Maria was very attached to Catherine of Courtenay, according to her husband.<sup>21</sup> She also showed great concern for her sons, campaigning for the release of her son Philip of Taranto on two occasions; after the battle of Montecatini, when Philip was captured and his son Charles and youngest brother Peter killed, Maria not surprisingly became very afraid for the safety of her other son John and needed papal reassurance.<sup>22</sup> As matriarch of the dynasty, it was to her that the Pope appealed when her granddaughter Clementia drifted into despair, intrigue and debt after the deaths of her husband and son.<sup>23</sup> Papal condolence letters presumed not only grief for the deceased but also that

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<sup>19</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 48.

<sup>20</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 197.

<sup>21</sup>Charles II's letter to Andronicus Palaeologus, Perrat-Longnon, no. 130: *que ipsam vehementer affectat*.

<sup>22</sup>A.S.V. Reg. Vat. 109, f. 187, c. 709. See also the contemporary ballad, 'I Reali di Napoli nella battaglia di Montecatini', in E. Giudici, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, Florence, 1835, I, 208 *et seqq.*; *Rime di Cino da Pistoia e di altri del secolo XIV*, ord. by G. Carducci, Florence, p. 602; Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, I, 226-7 which portrays Maria's lament for the death of her son and grandson, her demands for revenge and her bitterness towards Robert.

<sup>23</sup>A.S.V. Reg. Vat. 109, f. 235r-235v, c. 835. Even while Clementia was under her grandmother's care in Naples, her uncle had to pay 21 *tari* to pay debts due to playing dice. See A.S.N. *Notamenta de Lellis*, IV Bis, pars III, 1143.

the family would rally round to support each other. Robert's depression on the death of Charles of Calabria was so strong that John XXII wrote a string of concerned letters to his wife Sancia and brother Philip.<sup>24</sup> In the Angevin family, problems lay not in the lack of family feeling but in the imbalance of paternal love. Charles II's affection for Philip of Taranto was judged later by Robert to have been excessive.<sup>25</sup> The 1297 succession agreement favoured Charles's sons against his grandsons; like Alfonso X of Castile and Robert II of Artois, Charles was only storing up trouble for his dynasty that would result in serious conflict sooner or later. Inequality in the settlements made by Charles II for his sons led to quarrels during his son Robert's reign that were to be a prelude to the wars of Joanna's.<sup>26</sup> When the *domus* itself was split or lacking in cohesion, then ties of affinity were also weakened. The quarrel between Charles Robert and Robert only served to split the *amicitia* networks created by Charles II<sup>27</sup>, while the death of Robert produced further fissures in the Angevin house as affines ranged round four branches of the family, Joanna I, the Hungarian branch, the Tarantos and the Durazzos.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>A.S.V. Reg. Vat. 115, f. 173v, 174t, c. 860, 862, 865; f. 175, nos. 867-8. The lethargy that the event induced in Robert threatened to derail important marriage negotiations with Theodore, Marquis of Montferrat. See John's letter to Theodore, A.S.V. Reg. 115, f. 14v(42v), no. 88.

<sup>25</sup>E. Léonard, *Histoire de Jeanne Ire*, I, 139n.

<sup>26</sup>On Robert's relations with Philip of Taranto, see below p. 233-4. The need to provide for John of Gravina led to disputes between John and Philip over Achaia that dogged Robert's reign; inherited by their widows Catherine of Valois and Agnes of Périgord, they carried on into Joanna's reign.

<sup>27</sup>See below p. 234 for the behaviour of the dauphins of Viennois. Robert was already suspicious of his nephew by 1302, as he indicated in his desire to form an alliance with Frederick of Trinacria as *ultramontani* threatened his succession; this could be a reference to the dauphin. On the other hand, the royal house of Majorca was more closely allied to Robert through Robert's wife Sancia when it came to Hungarian affairs. When a pretender to the Hungarian throne, falsely claiming to be Andrew, Duke of Slavonia, brother of Ladislas IV, fled to the lands of King Sancho, King Robert asked his brother-in-law to send him to Montpellier to be given over to the custody of the seneschal of Provence. Sancho acquiesced, and the impostor was imprisoned firstly in the castle of Castellane, before being moved to Naples to the custody of his 'sister' Queen Maria of Sicily. See Leonard, *Histoire de Jeanne Ire*, I, 123 n.4. Léonard, *op. cit.*, I, 115, 122-3 sees Maria of Hungary as a supporter of Robert to the succession (probably true), but views Blanche of Anjou's ascription of the title duke to Robert well after his accession as due to support for Charles Robert. For the contemporary explanation for her strange behaviour, see below p. 231 and note 72.

<sup>28</sup>Not that even these branches were united, of course, especially the Tarantos. Philip VI supported his



The continuing need to invoke these ties of family affection did not reflect presumption on the part of the families involved, but the existence of other, and perhaps conflicting ties, that could drive them apart. The use of the terms 'father' and 'brother' to define Charles II and Robert to James was mirrored by the amalgamated term 'brother and father' used by Frederick towards his brother.<sup>29</sup> Both 'brothers', Frederick and Robert were in constant competition for the support of their other brother James; the three-cornered relationship dominated the reign of Robert. At one point, James alluded to this directly by saying that while Frederick was his brother in blood, Robert was his brother in affection.<sup>30</sup> Frederick and Robert also used the memory of their 'common fathers', Peter III and Charles II to win James over.<sup>31</sup>

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sister Catherine in her bid to marry her Taranto sons to Queen Joanna and her sister Maria by writing to both King Robert and Pope John XXII in February 1332. See Léonard, *Histoire de Jeanne Ire*, I, 145. When Charles of Durazzo married Maria without papal or royal consent in late 1343, Catherine demanded compensation for her son Robert; King Philip thereupon wrote in his sister's favour to Pope Clement VI, asking for a fief in the papal states, such as the duchy of Spoleto, county of Romagna, the March of Ancona and Comania, plus the equivalent within the kingdom too, that is, land worth 10,000 oz. p.a., so that the position of the Tarantos and the Durazzos would be equalized. See Léonard, *Histoire de Jeanne Ire*, I, 281-2, 295-6; *Pièce justificative* II. John's sons and widow, Agnes of Périgord, was backed by Agnes's brother, Cardinal Talleyrand, at the Curia.

<sup>29</sup>There are many examples of this. Frederick wrote to James in 1298 of his desire for unity between brothers, or rather 'father and son'; in his instructions to his ambassadors to James in March 1298, he again asks his brother as 'father and governor, brother and elder' to go over to his side; in August 1313, Frederick wrote to James that *Cum non tantum in fratrem verum etiam in patrem nos reputemus, rex inclite, reprehensibiles quidem essemus*. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, nos 34, 35, 225. In March 1312, James wrote to Frederick, worried about news of his contacts with the Emperor Henry VII, describing his situation between Frederick and Robert: *que vos fets e podets fer comte de nos de pare et de frare e nos, Deu ho sab, amam eus tenim com a fill; de la altra part ha tans de bons deutes entrel rey Robert e nos e nostres enfants e el seu, que ell avem a tenir on compte de frare*. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 197. Eleanor, Frederick's wife, also referred to James's *paternitas* in a letter to him, A.C.A. C.R.D. 10025. The Angevins were also well aware of James's 'paternal' obligations to Frederick and tried to get him to use them to persuade Frederick to give up Sicily. James did try to get Frederick to observe the treaty *in loco patrio*. John of Gravina used a similar phrase with respect to Robert 'non solum velut frater sed etiam velut filius' in a letter to John XXII in January 1331; A.S.V. Reg. Vat. 116, no. 442, qu. in Léonard, *Jeanne Ire*, I, 136.

<sup>30</sup>*Cum rex Fredericus sit nobis a natura fraterna colligacione conjunctus et rex Robertus ex affinitate et dilectione, ....sitque de ambobus suspicio de dissensione, non est nostrum vobis consulere, ut petitis, ad quem eorum accedere debeatis*, quoted in Finke, 'Nachträge', 394; Sablonier, 'The Aragonese royal family', 230.

<sup>31</sup>In September 1313, King Robert wrote to James II in his own hand, begging for help in the Sicilian war, recalling the aid he had given to his father. *Vostre fraternitat preguem et requerem, tant com posem, que a vos placia, de a nos agudat....et non lassas tant layda macula en vostra casa. Car sia*

The need to form marriage alliances in the first place and then keep reinforcing them with subsequent unions must therefore be seen in terms of the need to keep these bonds strong. After the initial marriage of James II of Aragon to Blanche of Anjou in 1295, further marriages between the two families followed in 1297, 1303, 1304, 1305, and 1328, and more were planned that did not take place.<sup>32</sup> Multiple marriages were also contracted with the Angevins' Capetian relatives.<sup>33</sup> Another way of forming

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*cert, que altre tal ferie a vos et a nostre nebot vostre fills, com el ha fach aduc, quant el veure temps. Et vos altre volte vengues per amor de nostre pare, placia vos de venir en nostra aguda, et de nostre fill vostre nebot per amor nostre, si com vos voleu, que nos fassam per vos....* Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 226. Similar language was used for communication between the families of James and Frederick. In a letter of May 1325 to Frederick, James describes Frederick's daughter as *la molt alta dona Constança, reyna de Xipre, filla vostra et neboda nostra molt cara, la qual amam et tenim com a filla* and later in the letter to *vostres fills et filles nos tenim en compte de nostres*. See Mas-Latie, *Histoire*, III, 712-14. In another letter of December 1324 that Frederick's son Peter to his uncle King James, he called King James *reverendo et karissimo patruo suo imo patri* and referred to his sister Constance as *sororis nostre karissime, neptis vestre imo filie*. *Ibid*, III, 709-10. When Frederick wrote to his nephew Alfonso, Count of Urgel in May 1326, he called him *Alfonso...carissimo nepoti suo ut filio atque fratri*. *Ibid*, III, 711.

<sup>32</sup>Marriages that took place were: Robert of Anjou and Yolande of Aragon 1297; Eleanor of Anjou and Frederick of Aragon 1303; Maria of Anjou and Sancho of Majorca 1304; Robert of Anjou and Sancia of Majorca 1305; Philip of Anjou-Taranto, son of Philip of Taranto by Tamar of Epirus, and Yolande of Aragon 1328; Blanche of Anjou-Taranto and Raymond Berengar of Aragon 1328. Among those that did not take place were: Catherine of Courtenay and Frederick of Aragon c. 1295; Catherine of Courtenay and James of Majorca 1299; Clementia of Anjou and Ferdinand of Majorca 1309. In the 1320s, James II sent Gaston, Bishop of Huesca to negotiate a marriage between Philip the younger of Taranto and Constance of Trinacria, which could have led to peace. This failed, however. See G. Coniglio, 'Rapporti tra Giacomo II d'Aragona ed i Principi di Taranto' *Studi di storia pugliese in onore di Nicola Vacca*, 47. See also Genealogical Tables I, III.

<sup>33</sup>Especially Margaret of Anjou to Charles of Valois 1290; Catherine of Courtenay and Charles of Valois 1301; Philip of Taranto and Catherine of Valois 1313; Charles of Taranto and Joanna of Valois 1313; Clementia of Anjou and Louis X of France 1315; Charles of Calabria and Maria of Valois 1324. Most of these marriages revolved around Charles of Valois rather than the kings of France themselves. For Charles of Calabria's problems in attempting to marry a French king's daughter, see below. The other main branch of the Capetian royal family that the Angevins tried to make links with were the house of Clermont-Bourbon: Louis, Count of Clermont, first cousin of Philip IV, was appointed as captain-general of the crusade by Philip V in 1317. Raymond Berengar of Anjou was engaged to Margaret of Clermont around 1304; Philip, Despot of Romania was affianced to Beatrice of Clermont in 1321; his younger half-brother Robert eventually married Beatrice's sister Maria, widow of Hugh, Prince of Galilee. It was Louis that helped to arrange the reconciliation between Eudes IV of Burgundy and Robert over Achaia. See below, p. 242 and note 115. By King Robert's will of 1343, his younger granddaughter, Maria was to marry Charles, son of John, Duke of Normandy or Philip, Duke of Orleans, the younger son of King Philip VI, if Louis of Hungary married the daughter of King John of Bohemia. Again, it shows the preference given to the relatives of the senior branch as against closer, junior members of the family, such as the Tarantos and the Durazzos. Léonard, *Histoire de Jeanne Ire*, I, 223. See Genealogical Tables I, II.

strong bonds was the double marriage, such as the Majorca matches of 1304-5, or even the triple marriage, such as the Fontainebleau marriages of 1313. These could be used to create links between several different families at the same time, typically in settlements involving three or more parties.<sup>34</sup> Given the precarious nature of children's lives in this period, multiple unions offered the better bet of a project ending in marriage and a long-term alliance resulting from it. On the other hand, connections with hostile families, such as the Luxembourgs, were seen as deeply threatening, as they could supersede older connections and lead to the long-term breakdown of the bond.<sup>35</sup> John XXII refused to give a dispensation for the marriage of Frederick's daughter Constance to James's son Peter on the grounds that Constance would use her influence to get support for her father.<sup>36</sup> Robert expressed his gratitude to James II for rejecting a marriage to his niece Clementia for 'not having formed affinity with our enemies'.<sup>37</sup> James II dissuaded his son-in-law Frederick of Austria from a marriage

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<sup>34</sup>The classic example was the Fontainebleau marriages of 1313. See above, p. 111.

<sup>35</sup>The marriage planned between Henry VII's daughter Beatrice and Peter of Trinacria in 1311 was the cornerstone of the anti-Angevin alliance of Frederick and Henry; James II of Aragon was also worried that an alternative match between Beatrice and Charles of Calabria would be prejudicial to his interests in Sardinia. In 1319, King Robert was allegedly afraid to leave Apulia, *perplexus*, as a result of Beatrice of Luxembourg's marriage to his nephew Charles Robert, which he feared would lead to a Hungarian invasion of his realms, abetted by King John of Bohemia. Even as late as 1322, John XXII only gave a dispensation for the marriage of Charles IV of France to Maria of Luxembourg with some qualms, due to the memory of Henry's previous hostility to Robert. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 216, III, no. 102; Coulon, no. 1507, 1510-12; Tabacco, 'La casa di Francia', 209, 253; Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, I, 120-1, 127-8, 143-96.

<sup>36</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, no. 517; R. O. Bertrand, 'Jean XXII et le mariage de l'infant Pierre d'Aragon avec Constance de Chypre', *Annales du Midi*, 63 (1951), 10-11. Although this match did not come off, the weakening of ties between the kings of Naples and Aragon after the death of King Robert led to a series of Aragon-Trinacria marriages, notably the marriages of Eleanor, daughter of Peter II of Trinacria to Peter IV of Aragon in 1349, and Peter IV's daughter Constance to Eleanor's younger brother Frederick IV in 1361. From the 1350s, Queen Eleanor of Aragon was involved in trying to get Sicily back for her sons and the senior branch of the house of Barcelona, a process finally achieved by the marriage of Frederick IV's daughter and heiress Maria to Eleanor's grandson Martin and the Catalan takeover of 1392. See F. Giunta, *Aragonesi e catalani nel mediterraneo*, I, 49, 54-9, 91, 101-17, 134, 150-94.

<sup>37</sup>*Encara uos regraciam quant(?) non entendes auer affinitat de matrimoni ab personas enemigas nostras au raysonablement sospitozas*. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 98, p. 213, Salavert, *Cerdeña*, II, doc. 473.

alliance with his brother Frederick of Trinacria, but favoured one with Robert, as he hoped that the Habsburg could use his position to negotiate for peace.<sup>38</sup>

Other bonds and obligations could also oppose the family bond. Frederick justified his support for Henry VII against his own brother-in-law Robert on the grounds of his higher duty to the emperor as leader of Christianity.<sup>39</sup> John II, Dauphin of Viennois similarly owed a higher allegiance to Henry VII as an imperial vassal despite being a vassal of Robert in the Gapençais region and being married to his niece Beatrice.<sup>40</sup> The contradiction became especially problematic in 1312, when Robert was placed under the imperial ban. John was relieved of all obligations to his Angevin overlord and followed the emperor against him.<sup>41</sup> Unlike Frederick, however, John's hostility to the Angevins was short-lived; after Henry's death, he was quick to build his bridges with them and make common cause against mutual Alpine enemies.<sup>42</sup> By 1314, Guigues of Viennois, John's brother was captain-general of Robert's forces in Lombardy; at the same time, however, the duplicitous Guigues was being granted the kingdom of Thessalonica and the castle of St. Omer-de-Thèbes by the Catalan

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<sup>38</sup> H. von Zeissberg, 'Das Register Nr. 318', p. 42, 44; *MGH, Const*, V, 339, 376; J. Schrader, *Isabella von Aragonien*, 49; Theodor E. Mommsen, 'Das Habsburgische-Angiovinische Ehe-Bundnis von 1316', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 50 (1933), 609; G. Tabacco, 'La politica italiana di Federico il Bello, re dei Romani', *Archivio storico italiano*, CVIII (1950), 16-25.

<sup>39</sup> Frederick argued in a letter to James in 1312 that he supported the Emperor, *El dit rey en frederick que li porres, quelí ajudaria volenter a son poder per amor dela dita justicia, axi con a aquell, que tenia per catholic crestia e fill e braç dela esgleya, e que era cert, que qui ell ajudara, ajudara ala esgleya e a tota chrestianitat, de la quall ell era cap en temporal*. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 209. In another letter, a year later, Frederick again justified his actions in terms of the higher loyalty owed to the emperor than to his family. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 225. In 1314, Frederick argued that Robert's felonies against 'Caesar' meant that Sicily belonged to him and his heirs. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 121.

<sup>40</sup> The dauphins were also money vassals to the French kings from 1294, see J. P. Valbonnais, *Histoire de Dauphiné et des Princes qui ont porté le nom des Dauphins*, Geneva, 1722, a. 246; *Preuves*, A. LXXII.

<sup>41</sup> Valbonnais, *Histoire de Dauphiné*, a. 270, *Preuves*, A. XXI; U. Chevalier, *Documents historiques inédits sur le Dauphiné*, Nogent-le-Rotrou, Lyons, 1871, II, no. 25; Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, I, 194.

<sup>42</sup> John sent his brother Guigues, Baron of Montauban to Naples to conclude a new treaty with King Robert, in which he recognized his overlordship again. At the same time, a treaty of confederation, to last six years, was made against Amadeus, Count of Savoy. See Valbonnais, *Histoire de Dauphiné*, a. 271, *Preuves*, A. XXII.

Company, in flagrant opposition to the Angevin-backed candidate, Louis of Burgundy.<sup>43</sup> Similarly, Catherine of Courtenay was a vassal of Philip IV of France for her lands in France; Charles II found it impossible to bend Catherine to his will while she was away visiting them.<sup>44</sup> Of course, the Angevins were themselves vassals of the papacy for the kingdom of Sicily, the emperor for the county of Provence and the King of France for the counties of Anjou and Maine; deft political manoeuvring was thus required to keep such diverse overlords happy.

Another important group of non-family ties were links with political powers that were outside the dynastic and feudal orbit - the communes of Italy, especially the maritime republics. Given the Mediterranean focus of the Angevin dominions, alliances with these naval powers were crucial, especially against hostile Catalan fleets.<sup>45</sup> Thus, Charles II's alliance with Genoa infuriated Frederick of Aragon and helped to ruin the post-Caltabellotta atmosphere.<sup>46</sup> Robert's links with Pisa threatened James's Sardinian campaign. As well as maritime connections, the Angevins played a key role in the political alliances of northern and central Italy as one of the cornerstones of the Guelf alliance, along with the papacy and Tuscan Guelf cities such as Florence and Lucca. Traditionally Guelf communes looked to the Angevins for military support against their

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<sup>43</sup> On Guigues in Lombardy, see Valbonnais, *Histoire de Dauphiné*, a. 271, *Preuves sous Jean II*, A. XXIII. On the grants to Guigues by the Catalan Company, see Rubió i Lluch, *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català*, docs, LXX, LXXI; Valbonnais, a. 271-2, *Preuves sous Jean*, XXIV. Whether or not Robert was aware of Guigues' negotiations with the Catalans, by June 1315 he was trying to get him to join his service in the kingdom of Sicily. Guigues probably never went to Greece and died shortly after, in 1317, anyway. See Valbonnais, a. 271-2, *Preuves sous Jean II*, XXVI, XXVII.

<sup>44</sup> See above p. 66-9, 142.

<sup>45</sup> Of course, important families did often control them, but generally, their status was lower than a royal family such as the Angevins. Despite numerous attempts to court an alliance with Genoa, only once was a marriage between the Spinola family and the Angevins mooted. Hostility towards marriage alliances between mercantile and signorial dynasties can be seen by the attitudes to the marriage of Azzo of Este to Beatrice of Anjou and the description of Andrew III of Hungary, the son of Tommasina Morosini, from the Venetian family, as a *filius mercatricis*. On Andrew III of Hungary, see Kauffmann, *Eine Studie über die Beziehungen der Habsburger zum Königsreiche Ungarn in den Jahren 1278 bis 1366*, 30.

<sup>46</sup> See Giunta and Giuffrida, *Acta siculo-aragonensia*, doc. LI.

Ghibelline enemies; at times, this was translated into periods of *signoria* for Angevin kings and princes. For the Angevins, this alliance was the best way of establishing political hegemony in northern Italy; meanwhile, the Guelf cities and their bankers provided the financial flexibility required by a deeply indebted crown. Clearly, the triangular Guelf alliance between the Angevins, the Papacy and the Tuscan cities was one of the most valuable elements about close connections with the Angevins; one of the reasons that James II of Aragon was so keen to maintain friendship with King Robert was his close connection with the cities of Guelf Tuscany and the hope of their backing for his Sardinian campaign.<sup>47</sup>

Even then, it is important to emphasize that non-family ties were often reinforced by new family connections. Frederick of Aragon, for example, tried to bind himself to Henry VII, not just through Christian duty to the emperor but also by marriage alliances.<sup>48</sup> Generally, therefore, political ties and obligations were often inextricably linked to family ones, and the failure of these bonds to be realised could be disastrous. This was clearly the case with the relationship between Robert and Frederick as opposed to Robert and James. In the former case, the family bond made was never strong enough to counterweigh deeply opposed political interests and personal suspicions. After a period of tension, the war over Sicily resumed in 1312 and continued on and off till the final settlement in 1372; despite this failure, peace was symbolised by the marriage of Frederick IV of Trinacria to Antonia des Baux<sup>49</sup>. Certainly, here the limitations of female influence in inter-dynastic coherence can be gauged. Where Blanche of Anjou was revered by both families with affection, Eleanor

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<sup>47</sup>On the Sardinian question, see Salavert, *Cerdeña*.

<sup>48</sup>Especially the marriage of his son Peter to Henry's daughter, Beatrice.

<sup>49</sup>Giunta, *Aragonesi e catalani*, I, 135-8. Antonia was the granddaughter of Philip I of Taranto and Catherine of Valois, see Table I. The peace negotiations between Joanna I and both Frederick and his brother Louis over the previous thirty years had hinged round marriages to other various Angevin princesses, especially Joanna and Margaret of Durazzo.

failed to bring Frederick and Robert together, as we have already seen. Perhaps the most instructive indicator of the failure of the Caltabellotta marriage alliance is the change in the terms used by Frederick and Robert to refer to each other in the correspondence - he who was once described as *frater noster* became simply *hostis noster*, the family term being completely expunged by the inimical one.<sup>50</sup> Although it was Robert who had been extremely favourable to peace prior to Caltabellotta, by the end of Charles II's reign, he was blamed by Frederick in letters to his brother James as deliberately smearing Frederick's name and persuading Charles to make a hostile alliance with Genoa against him.<sup>51</sup> Similar terminology was also used for Ferdinand of Majorca, brother of Sancia, wife of Robert, who supported Frederick in the Sicilian war and tried to gain possession of the Morea against the Angevin-backed claimant Matilda of Hainault.<sup>52</sup> Even several years after Ferdinand's death, Sancia referred to him as *hostis* in a letter trying to dissuade the young Infante Alfonso of Aragon from following his terrible example.<sup>53</sup> This enmity, however, does not seem to have extended itself to Ferdinand's wife and children, or survived long after Ferdinand's death. Sancia intervened with Pope John XXII to secure a dispensation for the remarriage of Ferdinand's widow Isabella of Ibelin to Hugh, Count of Jaffa<sup>54</sup>, his

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<sup>50</sup>For example, in January 1315, Frederick described Robert in a letter to James as *dominum Robertum quondam regis Karoli filium hostem nostrum* and Sancia as *consors prefati hostis*. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 124.

<sup>51</sup>*rex Karolus ad instanciam, suasionem, et urgens quasi consilium ducis filii sui pre ostensis super his multis et diversis iniquam mentis eorum publicavere conceptum cum Ianiensibus fedus pacis et amicitia ineuntes...Item pro dato hiis in quo pro ut eidem Sanchio videbitur temporis intervallo et sumpta postmodum per [...] aliqua congruente via incipi[...] exponere eidem domini regi aragonum deformes et viles astucias quibus dux filius regis Karoli a tempore inite pacis in antea contra dictum regem usus exstitit et ubi non desinit'*, Giunta and Giuffrida, *Acta Siculo-aragonensia*, doc. LI. In the same letter, Frederick accused Robert of reneging on a promise made over the question of his title. For alleged calumnies made against Frederick during Robert's reign, see his letter to James in Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, doc. 118.

<sup>52</sup>On Ferdinand of Majorca, see A. Rubió i Lluch, *Contribució a la biographia de l'infant Ferran de Mallorca*, Barcelona, 1915; B. Berg, 'The Moreote expedition of Ferrando of Majorca in the *Aragonese Chronicle of Morea*', *Byzantion* 55 (1985), 69-90.

<sup>53</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, 170, no. 5.

<sup>54</sup>See Count W H Rudt de Collenberg, 'Les Ibelin aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles', *Epeteris tou Kentrou*

younger son Ferdinand was brought up with great affection by Robert and Sancia: the elder son, later James III of Majorca, was to receive Angevin support against Aragonese attempts at domination.<sup>55</sup> In a letter to the general committee of the Order of St Francis at Perpignan in 1331, she asked for prayers, not just for her husband or her late stepson, Charles, Duke of Calabria, but '*specialiter*' for her dead brother Ferdinand, father of her 'dear nephew and son' the King of Majorca.<sup>56</sup>

Linked to the question of family terminology was the question of royal titles. The Sicilian war produced not just a martial conflict, but problems over who was to be called *Rex Sicilie*, as the old kingdom split. The Angevins' royal titles, as kings of Sicily, Jerusalem and Hungary were thus all disputed during the reign of Charles II. Their use in correspondence both to and from the Angevins was a recognition of their claims; hence the refusal of Frederick of Aragon to use the alternative *Rex Trinacrie* and his use of the plain *Rex Fredericus tertius* or *Fredericus Rex Sicilie* when at war. During these periods of conflict, Frederick called Robert *dominus Robertus filius quondam regis Caroli*; Robert called Frederick *dominum Fredericum fratrem regis Aragonie*. Again, the family ties created by marriage were called upon in this question of recognition. As illustrative are the letters to third parties, such as ambassadors or other royal figures. The fact that King James of Aragon and his ambassadors had a tendency to call King Charles and King Robert by their plain titles *Rex Carolus* or *Rex Robertus* rather than their full titles in such correspondence rather than *Rex Sicilie et Jerusalem* while ascribing the Sicilian title rather than *Rex Trinacrie* to Frederick says much about

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*Epistemon Ereunon*, IX (1977-9), 192.

<sup>55</sup>Peter II of Trinacria (1337-42) urged Peter IV of Aragon to unite against 'common enemies', i.e. Robert. See L. d'Arienzo (ed.) *Carte reali diplomatiche di Pietro IV il Ceremonioso, re d'Aragona riguardanti l'Italia*, Padua, 1970-1, no. 153.

<sup>56</sup>L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco Institutorum*, Quarachi, 1931, VII, p. 140.



the fundamental leanings of the Aragonese king in the Sicilian conflict after the Caltabellotta peace.<sup>57</sup>

### *Gift-giving*

The sending of gifts was an important accompaniment of greetings and maintaining good inter-family relations; they are mentioned occasionally in the inter-family correspondence between the houses of Anjou and Barcelona. Charles II and Queen Maria kept a luxurious court that was maintained by their successors.<sup>58</sup> In 1304, James sent the sword of his late father King Peter to his brother Frederick as symbolic of their recent agreement; Blanche sent her brother-in-law a horse. Two years later, James II was looking out for another horse that Blanche could send to Robert of Calabria.<sup>59</sup> A silver cup was given to the messengers of Dauphin Humbert II of Viennois by his great-uncle King Robert of Naples.<sup>60</sup> In 1317, Robert sought the help of his brothers-in-law James II of Aragon and Sancho of Majorca in getting some gold vases brought back from Catalonia to Avignon which he had pawned to a merchant.<sup>61</sup> After the death of Queen Blanche in October 1310, James sent four *paria armorum* to her brothers John and Peter and her nephews, Charles of Calabria and Philip the younger of Taranto; Blanche had had these made for them during her lifetime.<sup>62</sup>

Occasionally, the correspondence speaks of mishaps occurring to gifts in transit. Charles II had problems when the wine he was intending to send James from Naples went putrid; he apologised to his son-in-law and promised to send him a jasper

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<sup>57</sup>On this question, see especially E. Pispisa, *Regnum Siciliae. La polemica sulla intitolazione*, Palermo, 1988.

<sup>58</sup>See G. de Blasiis, *Racconta*, 139; Durrieu, *Les Archives Angevines*, I, 136.

<sup>59</sup>Martinez-Ferrando, *Jaime II*, II, doc. 37.

<sup>60</sup>Barone, 'Ratio thesaurarum', 584.

<sup>61</sup>R. Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, I, 639.

<sup>62</sup>Martinez-Ferrando, *Jaime II*, I, 17; II, doc. 79.

cup emblazoned with his arms on the base in recompense.<sup>63</sup> Sometimes, family connections were used as a way of attaining desired objects. In 1320, James II managed to obtain one of Saint Thecla's arms from King Oshin of Armenia, husband of his late wife's niece, Joanna of Taranto for the cathedral of Tarragona, where Thecla was patron saint.; the unfortunate Oshin having been murdered by the time the relic arrived in Valencia, James had to write a combined letter of condolence and thanks to Joanna and her stepson, the new King Leo V.<sup>64</sup> Thus, James was able to secure not only earthly political support but the divine aid that holy relics conferred through the agency of his Angevin in-laws.

### The importance of news

One of the duties of *amicitia* as seen in the family correspondence was the sending of information. The vast scale of the correspondence between the Angevins and the Aragonese is a testament to the closeness of their relationship but lack of evidence does not mean that contacts with other in-law groups, such as the Capetians were not also close; it may just be because messages were more often oral than written, or due to a non-preservation of trifling correspondence. Along with general greetings and a reiteration of family sentiment, general news on the health of the family was often requested and given. This was not just a bland formula, as details of illnesses were often given. Thus both Yolande and Robert reported to James and Blanche when they were struck down by quartan fever<sup>65</sup>; James II complained of his 'discrasia'<sup>66</sup>;

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<sup>63</sup>Salavert, *Cerdeña*, II, doc. 251.

<sup>64</sup>Condolence letter of King James to Joanna, Queen of Armenia, 27 November 1320, Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, no. 459 and especially, C. Marinesco, 'La Catalogne et l'Arménie au temps de Jacques II (1291-1327). Envoi par le roi Ochine des reliques de Sainte Thecla à la cathédrale de Tarragone.' *Mélanges de l'École Roumaine en France*, 2 (1923), 3-37. James had sent Oshin a present of two horses and jewels, but apparently, the Armenian king kept the saint's thumb for himself. See Marinesco, 15-16.

<sup>65</sup>A.C.A. C.R.D. 10225, 12455.

<sup>66</sup>James wrote to his father-in-law in August 1306, that he was in good health, *rejecta quadam discrasia que nos per aliquos dies detinuit*. See Salavert, *Cerdeña*, II, doc. 170 [1].

Charles II suffered from his bad leg, fevers and scabies.<sup>67</sup> Indeed, James II, Blanche, Frederick and Charles shared the medical services of Arnau de Vilanova. It was Arnau who recommended the baths of Pozzuoli for Charles's scabies problem; he also acted on occasion as an envoy and mediator.<sup>68</sup> Pregnancies were also reported, such as the birth of Alfonso to Blanche during her husband's Sicilian campaign in 1299. The fact that rewards were given to messengers relaying the births of sons to Charles II's daughters as well as his daughters-in-law would indicate the importance that childbirth meant not just to the continuation of the dynasty, but to the friendship networks caused by marriage.<sup>69</sup> Clearly, childless marriages, such as that of Robert of Calabria to Sancia of Majorca and Maria of Anjou to Sancho of Majorca, were a source of tension.<sup>70</sup> Another important duty was the reporting and in return, condolence for deaths. The death of Blanche in childbirth in 1310, for example, led to a string of letters from James, stressing the depth of his loss and the attachment that still bound him to the Angevin family. Sometimes, the news was slow in coming and rumours arrived first. Thus, Sancho of Majorca wrote to James II in 1305 to confirm rumours he had heard of the death of their brother-in-law Raymond Berengar.<sup>71</sup> Sometimes, such news was deliberately kept secret. James II and Robert, for example, did not tell Blanche of the death of her father in 1309, due to the effect that it would have on her undoubtedly fragile health.<sup>72</sup> Faulty news was another problem - in 1316, Sancho mistakenly told James that their niece Queen Clementia of France had given birth to a daughter.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> On Charles 's scabies problem, which required a visit to the baths of Pozzuoli, see Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 78; Salavert, *Cerdeña*, II, doc. 251.

<sup>68</sup> In 1331, Philip of Taranto used his medical need to take the waters of Pozzuoli as a reason for not swearing homage to Joanna. See Léonard, *Jeanne Ire.*, I, 137.

<sup>69</sup> Charles II paid a pension to Blanche's valet for reporting him news of the birth, see A.S.N. Notamenta De Lellis, IV, II, p. 597. Charles of Calabria paid similar rewards in the 1320s when sons were born to his sisters-in-law Catherine of Valois and Agnes of Périgord, see Barone, 'Ratio Thesaurarium', 415, 416.

<sup>70</sup> See below for John XXII's letter to King Sancho, A.S.V. Reg. 112, no. 809

<sup>71</sup> A.C.A. C.R.D. 2512.

<sup>72</sup> Robert and Sancia wrote to James in August 1309, Robert calling himself king, and informing James

The importance of health news was very much linked up to another sector of news information, political news. The births and deaths of family members would have important repercussions on the political scene and on the whole nature of the *amicitia* itself. Friendship, although attached to the whole family was channeled through particular key individuals, whose deaths could devalue or rupture the friendship, or could have positive alliance or inheritance consequences.<sup>74</sup> The death of Azzo VIII of Este in 1308, for example, weakened the Anjou-Este alliance, as his widow Beatrice of Anjou had no children to continue the blood-friendship connection. In general, such deaths required a reiteration of the alliance, often found in the condolence letter. The death of Blanche in 1310, for example, led James to stress the continuing bonds that held him to the Angevin family; Robert feared that he would remarry to a hostile princess. He was right to be concerned, for when James did remarry in 1315, it was to Maria of Lusignan, sister of King Henry II of Cyprus, the rival for the Angevin claim to the kingdom of Jerusalem, and more worryingly, part of a triple marriage combination that involved other Angevin enemies.<sup>75</sup> Thankfully, this grouping proved less

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that he had not told Blanche, *denique volentes dominam reginam consortem vestram...vehementia turbacionis afficere*. A later letter of James II informed Robert that if Blanche still called him duke, it was because she had not been informed of the death of her father. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 94. Robert still called himself Duke of Calabria when he reported the death of his younger son Louis to James and Blanche in 1310. A.C.A. C.R.D. Ap. gen. 44. Blanche died in childbirth in October 1310, but had already made her will in August 1308 when pregnant with her penultimate child, Raymond Berengar. See Martinez-Ferrando, *Jaime II*, I, 3; II, doc. 57.

<sup>73</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, 311.

<sup>74</sup>Especially Charles of Valois and Blanche of Anjou.

<sup>75</sup>Ferdinand of Majorca was to marry Isabella of Ibelin, cousin of Henry and Maria and worst of all, King Henry was to marry King Frederick's daughter, Constance. The marriage of King Robert's niece Joanna of Taranto to King Oshin of Armenia in 1316 was the Angevin riposte to this alliance; certainly Justin de Justines, the *advocatus* of King Henry of Cyprus viewed it as a hostile act in a letter to James II of Aragon in August 1316. King Oshin's court was a centre for those exiled from the turbulent Cypriot court and he was also closely allied to the Spinola family. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, *Nachträge*, no. 32. During 1306-10, when Henry was overthrown by his brother Amalric, married to Oshin's sister Isabella, Oshin had supported Isabella and Amalric to the extent of keeping Henry and some of his supporters in detention in Armenia. Even after Henry's release in August 1310, relations remained tense for over a decade. On Amalric's coup and the aftermath, see Sir G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, Cambridge, 1940-52, II, 216-77; P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191-1374* Cambridge, 1991, 113-30, 135-6.

threatening in fact and the marriage of James and Maria was a disaster, due to the failure to James's expectations in all areas, the Cypriot inheritance, the dowry, and even, the bride herself, who was middle-aged and in poor health. The contrast with the success of James's marriage to Blanche thus can only have helped the Angevins' cause in maintaining the bonds of affection through the memory of the dead queen.<sup>76</sup>

The death of Charles II in 1309 also had important effects for *amicitia* networks, as it led to a split in the Angevin family. Robert was very insecure in his succession to the kingdom of Sicily, and feared that his nephew Charles Robert would try to make good his claim. As early as 1302, Robert feared that *ultramontani* would oppose the succession of his children, and was urging his enemy King Frederick to make peace and support his sister's children in the case of a possible conflict.<sup>77</sup> The intrigue of the Princess of Taranto and the count chamberlain, revealed at about the time of Robert's accession, made for a worrying time when allegiances were called into question, above all that of Robert's eldest surviving brother, Philip of Taranto, who was forced to give up claims to Provence bequeathed to him by Charles II, and had to write to James to scotch rumours that he was plotting against his brother. Meanwhile, Robert

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<sup>76</sup>Sablonier 'The Aragonese royal family', 215-17; Martínez-Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón*, I, 15.

<sup>77</sup>From the instructions of Frederick to James II concerning the embassy of Fr, Petrus de Squerreriis in 1302. *Item quod idem frater Petrus veniens ad Fridericum sibi parte...Robertus retulit, quomodo. Robertus diligebat et affectabat multum esse amicus suus multis de causis et maxime, quod ipse dominus Robertus habebatur odio ab ultramontanis et sciebat pro certo, quod, si ipse modo moreretur, filii sui exheredarentur pro eo, quod sunt filii sororis sue, set si ipse habebit pacem cum eodem domino rege Frederico reputabit se ita fortificatum, quod non timebit aliquos nec in vita sua, nec post mortem suam de filiis, et proinde super hoc vellet habere vistas cum eo, et quod interesset in vistis ipsis domina Yolant uxor sua et eius soror et quod in vistis ipsis taliter tractaret de pacificando cum eo, quod Fridericus haberet in pace ipsa votum suum.* Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 48. The fact that Robert was concerned about the succession of his children in the case of his own premature death indicates that he was planning to reject the 1297 settlement, which favoured the rights of his next brother Philip of Taranto over Robert's son Charles if Charles was still a minor. For Robert's suspicious attitude to Philip at the time of his accession, his rejection of Charles II's will leaving Provence to Philip and Philip's hostility to Charles of Calabria and his daughters, see below. At the same time, Robert was also threatened by his nephew Charles Robert and the *ultramontani* may refer to Charles Robert's close allies the Dauphins of Viennois. Unlike Robert's sons, neither Philip nor Charles Robert was the son of an Aragonese princess; Yolande's important mediatory role in the negotiations has already been attested.

tried to secure the friendship of as much of the Angevin alliance structure as he could. The dauphins of Viennois, certainly, while periodically allies of Robert, seem to have veered towards Charles Robert, the brother of the dauphine Beatrice. Charles Robert appointed his brother-in-law Dauphin John II as his representative in his fight to get his father's inheritance, the principality of Salerno and the honour of Monte Sant' Angelo<sup>78</sup>; John and his son Humbert played important mediatory roles in marriages involving the Hungarian Angevins - Clementia of Anjou-Hungary to Louis X in 1315 and the marriages of Robert's granddaughters to Charles Robert's sons in 1333.<sup>79</sup> Interestingly, although Humbert spent time at the Neapolitan court as a protégé of Robert's, being loaded down with honours and marrying Maria of Baux, Countess of Andria, daughter of Robert's sister Beatrice and Bertrand of Baux, when Louis I of Hungary invaded the kingdom to avenge the murder of his brother Andrew, Humbert supported him and not Queen Joanna.<sup>80</sup> Death, however, was not just a worrying problem; it could open the door to new alliances. Thus the death of a queen or

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<sup>78</sup>Valbonnais, *Histoire de Dauphiné*, a. 270, *Preuves*, A. XXI; U. Chevalier, *Documents inédits sur le Dauphiné*, II, no. 425, p. 84-5.

<sup>79</sup>Clementia seems to have been particularly close to this family, and made her nephew Humbert of Viennois her heir on her death in 1328. See Valbonnais, *Histoire de Dauphiné*, a. 292, *Preuves*, A. XXXVI. This did not stop the dauphins, however, from some typical skulduggery. Clementia complained bitterly to Pope John XXII when her brother-in-law Dauphin John II deceived her over debts owing to her uncle Philip of Taranto. The prince had lent her 1000 florins to be paid back via the Dauphin, but the Dauphin had claimed it had been 2000 florins and pocketed the difference. Humbert and John of Gravina met Charles Robert and Andrew of Hungary when they met at Barletta in 1333. See Léonard, *Histoire de Jeanne*, I, 151.

<sup>80</sup>In 1347, it was rumoured that Humbert was planning to invade Provence on King Louis' behalf. At about the same time, it had been proposed by Clement VI that Charles Martel, the infant son of Andrew and Joanna, should be conducted into his care; this demand was later reiterated by Humbert himself. Léonard, *Histoire de Jeanne Ire*, II, 30, 64-9. Bertrand of Baux, Humbert's father-in-law, and great-uncle of both Joanna and Andrew, also seems to have been sympathetic to the Hungarian branch of the family, at least after the death of Robert. From being sent to meet Charles Robert by Robert in 1333, Bertrand had become counsellor, familiar and domestic to the Hungarian prince and was especially entrusted with his care by Queen Elizabeth of Hungary after her visit to Naples in 1344. Later on, it was Bertrand who was Grand Justiciar in charge of the pursuit and execution of the regicides, many of whom were favourites of Queen Joanna and demands to the Empress Catherine, Princess of Taranto to hand over suspects she harboured. Once Joanna married Louis of Taranto, Bertrand's power in the kingdom seems to have been threatened by a backlash, but he died soon after, in autumn 1347. See Léonard, *Histoire de Jeanne Ire*, I, 337-8, 582-92, 682-3

empress such as Margaret of Brabant, wife of Henry VII, allowed for new proposals to come to fruition.<sup>81</sup> The death of Catherine of Courtenay in October 1307 led Charles of Valois to cede his rights to the Latin Empire to his daughter, also named Catherine, whose marriage to Philip of Taranto was to return these phantom territories to Angevin domination.

The alliances and common goals associated with the marriages meant that news was often requested and given on the progress of the attainment of such mutual interests. Charles II was delighted to inform James II, for example, of the successes of his grandson Charles Robert in Hungary.<sup>82</sup> Thus news of the Sicilian war provides a major part of the correspondence between Charles II, James II and Robert, the Sardinian question was also of great importance to James II.

#### Military and financial assistance

Associated with news was the question of military and financial assistance, a key part of *amicitia perpetua*. After the peace of Anagni in 1295, the Angevins made huge efforts to make sure that James II would fulfil promises of military assistance against his brother. The slowness of James's response, delayed till 1297, in return for the explicit granting of claims to Sardinia and Corsica by Boniface VIII in 1297, led to a stream of complaints. Once involved, demands for money, ships, troops and supplies

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<sup>81</sup> See Christian Spinola's letter to James II, reporting Margaret's death in Genoa in December 1311. *Cum quo iste dominus rex posset facere parentatum nec reperire scivi regem aliquem filiam aut sororem habentem nisi maiestatem vestram, que duas filias habet que digna forent isti domino regi per matrimonium copulari*. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 194. In the case of the marriage of Clementia of Anjou and Louis X of France in 1315, this was arranged even before Louis' previous wife, Margaret of Burgundy had died! For these sinister negotiations and for similar ones concerning Charles, Count of La Marche during the lifetime of his first wife Blanche of Burgundy, Margaret's co-accused in the adultery scandal of 1314, see Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 240, II, no. 517, note, p. 836.

<sup>82</sup> Letter of Charles II to James II, January 1308, see Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 75. Galfridus, abbot of Foix informed James II on the Hungarian coronation of 1301. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 75, p. 112.

became a mainstay of correspondence.<sup>83</sup> After James withdrew in 1299, Charles and Robert still hung on for military aid. In 1301, for example, Charles requested that James send him 2000 Catalans against Genoa, which had formed an alliance with Frederick.<sup>84</sup> Failing that, they hoped for non-military help in the war or at the very least, assurances that neither James nor his subjects would support Frederick. Even this proved to be a tall order, as bitter complaints about arms-smuggling merchants and piracy indicate. Despite this, request for Aragonese support resumed along with the wars of Robert's reign. Robert wanted James to send his son Alfonso with a hundred knights to aid him in his fight against Henry VII in 1312.<sup>85</sup> Generally, though, both James II and his son Alfonso preferred to stay neutral in the Sicilian conflict. More help was offered when enemies from outside the family group threatened. In 1328, Alfonso IV offered to send his brother Raymond Berengar with troops to help Robert against the invasion of Louis the Bavarian, and a force did set out under James of Xerica, a member of a junior branch of the Aragonese royal family recently married to Robert's sister Maria.<sup>86</sup>

On James's side, the correspondence revolves around support for his main military scheme, the conquest of Sardinia. Angevin support or at least indifference was crucial, especially due to their close links with the Tuscan Guelfs, natural allies against Ghibelline Pisa, which controlled much of the island. James appealed to his 'father' and

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<sup>83</sup>Examples of this include: a number of letters, published in Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 33, for instance, James II's letters to Charles II and Duke Robert requesting money in 1298; a letter to Charles II of December 10 1298, thanking him for military supplies and requesting more; a letter to Charles, 16 September 1298, asking for provisions and siege-engines to capture Syracuse; a request of 4 October 1298 to Charles that Duke Robert and the 600 troops accompanying him to Calabria be sent to Sicily.

<sup>84</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 68.

<sup>85</sup>See above p. 208.

<sup>86</sup>For Alfonso's offer, see Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 255. For a letter of John XXII congratulating James of Xerica on his plans to fight Louis, see *Jean XXII, Lettres secrètes*, no. 3629, 8 July 1328. It should be noted that Raymond Berengar had just married Blanche, daughter of Philip of Taranto in a double marriage also involving Philip II of Taranto and Yolande, sister of Alfonso and Raymond Berengar.



'brother' for support. In May 1303, Charles II sent Guglielmo di Ricoveranza, a Pisan Guelf rebel, to see the Guelfs of Tuscany to negotiate help for James's Sardinian expedition<sup>87</sup>, and six months later, Robert wrote in his own hand to James for news on his plans and expressed an interest in joining it himself.<sup>88</sup> The following year, Vidal de Vilanova reported to King James from the Curia that King Charles's representatives were very keen in their promotion of Aragonese interests on this question.<sup>89</sup>

According to Bartholomew of Capua, Robert accepted the sovereignty of Tuscany because it could help James's cause in Sardinia.<sup>90</sup> In 1308, Charles went as far as going to Genoa to negotiate on James's behalf as well as sending out numerous letters of recommendation to the communes of Tuscany.<sup>91</sup> Later in the same year, having heard rumours that James was sending a fleet to conquer the island, Robert wrote to him in his own hand, asking him why he had not been told about the enterprise and reiterating his promise of personal assistance.<sup>92</sup> Financial support, however, proved elusive as the debt-plagued Angevins were unable to give assistance.<sup>93</sup> Once Robert acceded to the throne, Angevin support for the Sardinian campaign became more lukewarm; Robert wrote to James, strongly denying that he was opposed to it and stressing his friendship for James.<sup>94</sup> Robert continued to promise military support for his brother-in-law. In the 1320s, indeed, Robert became actively involved in plotting with Pisa to stop the conquest, and relations between the brothers-in-law reached a post-Anagni low.<sup>95</sup> This was in marked contrast to the behaviour of Frederick of

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<sup>87</sup>Salavert, *Cerdeña*, II, doc. 55.

<sup>88</sup>Salavert, *Cerdeña*, II, doc. 57.

<sup>89</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 113.

<sup>90</sup>*esse poterit utilis ad causam vestram de regno Sardinie*. See Salavert, *Cerdeña*, I, 281 and II, doc. 111.

<sup>91</sup>Salavert, *Cerdeña*, I, 336-8, 342, 384, and note 23; II, docs. 250-2, 260, 261, 271-3.

<sup>92</sup>See letter of Duke Robert to James II, Naples, Nov. 18 (prob. 1308), in Finke, 'Nachträge', no. 16.

<sup>93</sup>Charles II and Duke Robert were asked for 1200 florins support in July 1304, but could not give anything. See Vidal de Villanova's report to James II in Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 114.

<sup>94</sup>Salavert, *Cerdeña*, II, doc. 406.

<sup>95</sup>For Robert's peace with Pisa in August 1316, see Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, II, 15. By 1320, John

Trinacria, who supported his brother, leading to a serious weakening of James's previous objectivity in Sicilian affairs.<sup>96</sup> Even then, however, Robert would not openly oppose James with a military force, despite the intense pressure that was exerted on him by Pope John XXII, who castigated him as a miserable wretch.<sup>97</sup> Robert feared that the bonds between him and James would be broken, and that James would go into Frederick's camp once and for all.

Allied to the question of military help were other levels of political co-operation. During the Sicilian negotiations, both James II and the Angevins were called on at various times to make concessions of their own to bring Frederick to make peace. However, neither side proved very willing to do this. James proved unamenable to suggestions that he should give up the kingdom of Murcia to his brother, let alone his cherished dreams of Sardinia and Corsica<sup>98</sup>; the Angevins discussed giving up the kingdoms of Jerusalem, Albania and the principality of Achaia, but to no greater effect.<sup>99</sup>

The Aragonese were not the only Angevin in-laws who were requested to give military backing and the connection with past support was maintained with the marriage of Charles of Valois to Margaret, daughter of Charles II. Henceforth, Charles of Valois

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XXII and Robert were trying to delay James II's invasion plans. In 1322, James sent Vidal de Villanova to Avignon to urge them to support him, but in the following year, messages were reaching him of their opposition and their attempts to forge an alliance between Pisa and Genoa to prevent the conquest. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, nos. 255, 264; I, no. 262; II, no. 375; III, no. 175; Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, II, 43-4

<sup>96</sup>Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, II, 211.

<sup>97</sup>*Certe, nos fuimus et sumus decepti in isto misero rege Roberto qui est miser et miserabilis.* John XXII's alleged comment in the Cuna, see Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, no. 392; Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, II, 45. In 1326, Pisa offered Robert the *signoria* of Cagliari and 200,000 florins if he would make war on James II and send them a fleet of 50 galleys, but he refused. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 277; Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, II, 87.

<sup>98</sup>For the negotiations leading up to Caltabellotta, see above. In December 1309, James II rejected a proposal of Robert's that he leave Corsica and Sardinia to Frederick. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, no. 436.

<sup>99</sup>Arnaud de Villanova wrote to James II in 1310/11 on the question of giving the title of the kingdom of Jerusalem to Frederick. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, no. 440. For the Albania negotiations, see above p. 208 and note 64.

was to be the key Angevin ally and intermediary with the French kings.<sup>100</sup> After Margaret died in 1299, he married Charles II's niece Catherine of Courtenay, heiress to the Latin Empire. As part of the deal, he led a military force to bring peace in northern Italy and fight for the Angevins in Sicily. Meanwhile, the Angevins tried to create another bond by arranging a marriage between Charles II's son Raymond Berengar and Philip IV's first cousin, Margaret of Clermont. Philip IV had already tried to keep up the diplomatic pressure on the rebellious Sicilians by sending an embassy to Genoa to try to get them not to support Frederick on behalf of the Pope and King Charles.<sup>101</sup> After the Caltabellotta peace, negotiated by Charles of Valois alongside Robert, the French prince signed an agreement with the Neapolitan king to get support for his plan to conquer the Latin Empire.<sup>102</sup> Angevin poverty meant that this amounted to little in practice, and Charles was unsuccessful in his bid.<sup>103</sup> After the death of Charles II, French support for their Angevin relatives remained the norm. Philip IV supported Robert against Henry VII<sup>104</sup>; Louis X sent 1000 knights to help Robert and the Guelfs;<sup>105</sup> Philip V gave money for Philip of Taranto's expedition of 1321.<sup>106</sup> Again it was through Charles of Valois that the link was strongest - it was his sons Philip and

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<sup>100</sup> The closeness was rumoured to be such that James II of Aragon was informed in 1316 that Robert, Charles and John XXII were said to be *unanimus et unus simplicis voluntatis*. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, p. 574, no. 374; G. Tabacco, 'La casa di Francia nell'azione politica di papa Giovanni XXII' *Istituto storico per il Medio Evo, Studio Storico*, fasc 1-4 (1953), 58. Philip IV's relations with Charles of Valois were especially warm, see E. A. R. Brown, 'The prince is the father of the king: the character and childhood of Philip the Fair of France', *Medieval Studies* 49 (1987), 301.

<sup>101</sup> See Christian Spinola's letter to James II of Aragon, December 1, 1300 in Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 62.

<sup>102</sup> Charles made a similar agreement with their former enemy, Frederick of Aragon. See Petit, *Charles de Valois*, 85.

<sup>103</sup> Still, the Angevins were as useful as they could be. In April 1307, for example, Robert of Calabria allowed his brother-in-law to export 1200 *salme* of grain from Manfredonia to Barletta to prepare biscuit at Trani and Brindisi for men on twenty galleys. See Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, I, 42.

<sup>104</sup> For Philip's interventions in favour of Robert in the College of Cardinals at the time of Henry VII's imperial ban against him, see Johannes Lupi's letter to James II of Aragon of July 1313 in Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 114.

<sup>105</sup> Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, no. 368, p. 561.

<sup>106</sup> Tabacco, 'La casa di Francia', 241.

Charles who took part in the expedition to support their Angevin uncle in the early 1320s.<sup>107</sup> As King Robert stressed, the Capetian kings and the Angevins were both from the same house and should work together for its benefit; with the regent Philip of Valois in 1328, he was also keen to stress his family relationship as uncle.<sup>108</sup> This connection was further reinforced by a series of marriages between the Angevins and the Capetians, especially the Valois. most important of these was the marriage of Louis X of France to Clementia of Anjou in August 1315.<sup>109</sup> Although widowed within a year, Clementia continued to exercise some influence at court and had an extensive correspondence with Pope John XXII. The pope turned to her when promoting the marriage of Charles of Calabria and Maria of Valois in 1324.<sup>110</sup> She was also urged to use her power to secure military support from Philip of Valois in 1328, in the common interests of the house of France.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>107</sup>Tabacco, 'La casa di Francia', 192-3.

<sup>108</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 339. John XXII appealed directly to Philip of Valois himself and Louis, Duke of Bourbon in the same way. See Tabacco, 'La casa di Francia', 254. In a similar letter in 1319, Robert appealed to Philip V at the siege of Genoa for help in the name of the unity of the blood and honour of the house of France. See M.G.H., *Const*, V, no. 505; Tabacco, 'La casa di Francia', 187. See also above p.

<sup>109</sup>On the marriage of Louis and Clementia, see Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 240; Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, I, 224.

<sup>110</sup> On this marriage and Clementia's intervention, see *Jean XXII, Lettres secrètes*, nos. 1763, 1777; Tabacco, 'La casa di Francia', 71-2. Thus a new level of close family relationship was created. During the tempestuous reign of Joanna I, the Queen sought her uncle Philip VI's support on several occasions. In March 1346, Clement VI asked the French king to arbitrate and if necessary, intervene as uncle and born defender of the Queen and as the prince recognised as the head of their house; four months earlier, he wrote a stream of letters to the French court to get Joanna's maternal grandmother, Matilda, Countess of Valois to go to Naples to look after her granddaughter. See Léonard, *Histoire de Jeanne Ire*, I, 496-7, 519.

<sup>111</sup> Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 339, p. 509; Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, II, 113-14.. On Clementia, see A. M. Huffelmann, *Clemenza von Ungarn*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1911, also Caggese, *Roberto il Saggio*, I, 646 n. 3, 674, II, 47, 168, 362 n. 4; Tabacco, 'La casa di Francia', 71-2. As sister of the Hungarian king Charles Robert, but brought up at Naples by her grandmother Queen Mana, Clementia occupied a curious position within the Angevin family, with strong links to both Neapolitan and Hungarian branches. In 1309, her uncles King Robert and James II of Aragon and their wives Sancia of Majorca and Blanche of Anjou were involved in a scheme to marry her to Sancia's brother, Ferdinand, recently taken prisoner after his exploits on behalf of the Catalan Company, which was strongly linked to the Angevins' number one enemy, Frederick of Trinacria. This marriage was seen as producing an extra bond of affinity between the Majorcan and Angevin families to complement the marriage of Robert and Sancia, although it was prevented by the intervention of Cardinal Gentilis and Charles Robert. (see

However, despite a general rule of support, military aid for the Angevins was strictly limited, especially when their aims were in conflict with those of the Capetians. Philip IV was obstructive to the peace negotiations in the 1290s, refused to let papal taxes destined for the Sicilian war leave France and tried to gazump Charles II's alliance with James II by marrying his sister to the Aragonese king.<sup>112</sup> In 1302, Charles of Valois was summoned back from the Sicilian war to help his brother after the battle of Courtrai, effectively forcing the Angevins to acquiesce to a peace that favoured the French prince in his own ambitions to conquer Constantinople.<sup>113</sup> In 1303, the dispute

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above). For the next few years, Clementia seems to have been strongly associated with her brother, whose relations with King Robert were at this point very tense. Even at the time of the Majorcan match, the marriage was conditional on Ferdinand's swearing *ne ullo unquam tempore contra dictum regem Robertum statum aut regnum eius nocumentum faciet vel contrarium persequetur*. See James II of Aragon's letter to King James II of Majorca of 3 December 1309 in Rubió i Lluch, *Contribució a la biografia de l'infant Ferran de Mallorca*, doc. XII. When James II of Aragon proposed to marry Clementia in 1311 after Blanche had died, Robert was very hostile, as he feared that the Aragonese court could come under a harmful pro-Hungarian influence. By 1315, when Clementia married Louis X, his fears seem to have calmed, although this may also be due to a lessening of tension with Charles Robert. Indeed, Clementia maintained close relations with the her Dauphinois brother-in-law, who acted as intermediary for her marriage, and later her nephew Humbert; this family had already had a history of supporting the Hungarian Angevins. Despite all this, Clementia was still strongly linked to the Neapolitan court. In her sad widowhood, John XXII appealed to her grandmother Queen Maria to give her the counsel she so badly needed; along with Charles of Valois, she was asked to mediate on behalf of Robert at the French court on several occasions until her death in 1328. Clearly, though relations between Hungarian and Neapolitan Angevins were not always hostile from the death of Charles II to the double marriage of 1333 and varied considerably. In 1317, Charles Robert again pushed forward his claims to at least the principality of Salerno and the honour of Monte Sant'Angelo by appointing his brother-in-law the Dauphin of Viennois as his representative; two years later, King Robert was afraid that an alliance between the Kings of Hungary and Bohemia would lead to an invasion of his kingdom. However, Charles Robert and Philip of Taranto did make a common alliance against Stephen Uros Milutin of Serbia from 1318 and after Milutin's death, supported Stephen Vladislav against Stephen Decanski as king of Serbia. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 216; Angeliki E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 281-2, 293-4.

<sup>112</sup> In 1287, Philip IV disrupted Charles II's attempts to have the Oloron agreement with Aragon from being carried out by refusing to let hostages travel through his lands and trying to hinder the delivery of 30,000 marks to Edward I of England; two years later, the French king arrested and imprisoned for three years the Aragonese envoy, Guilabert de Cruilles, travelling on his way from Aragon to Provence, despite papal safe-conduct. See L. Klüpfel, *Die äussere Politik Alfonsos III von Aragonen (1285-1291)*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1911/12, 46, 55.

<sup>113</sup> Immediately after the Caltabellotta peace, Charles of Valois secured promises of military support from both Charles II of Naples and Frederick of Trinacria for his planned attempt to reconquer the Latin Emperor in the name of his wife, the 'Empress' Catherine. See J. Petit, *Charles de Valois (1270-1325)*, Paris, 1900, 86; Du Cange, *Chartes*, 43.

between Philip IV and Boniface VIII led to particular strains, as we have seen. Thereafter, the continuing conflict with Flanders always took priority over helping the Angevins' needs and meant that French kings were unable to help their cousins on several occasions, including 1328-9.<sup>114</sup> In 1316, Philip V supported the rights of the house of Burgundy against the Angevins in Greece at a time when he was attempting to woo Duke Eudes into supporting his claim to the throne, as against their common niece, Joanna; in 1320, Philip's continuing support for Eudes led to John XXII attempting unsuccessfully to resolve the conflict.<sup>115</sup> From an early stage, French and Angevin ambitions clashed over the kingdom of Arles, as both French and Sicilian kings sought the kingdom from the Luxembourgs. In 1311, Robert of Naples planned to marry his son Charles of Calabria to Beatrice, daughter of the Emperor Henry VII and be granted the kingdom;<sup>116</sup> the marriage of Charles IV of France to Maria of Luxembourg and the engagement of Wenceslas of Luxembourg, renamed Charles in favour of his uncle, to Blanche of Valois in 1322-3 led to King John of Bohemia suggesting that the kingdom of Arles be reconstituted for the still throneless Charles of Valois.<sup>117</sup> This close alliance was inherited by Philip VI, who married his son and heir to another Luxembourg princess, and an alliance was formed between Philip VI of France, John of Bohemia and John XXII, involving the granting of the kingdom to the

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<sup>114</sup>Tabacco, 'La casa di Francia', 294-6.

<sup>115</sup>Tabacco, 'La casa di Francia', 196-7. Joanna was the daughter of Louis X and Margaret, sister of Eudes; in 1317, Eudes married Philip V's daughter also called Joanna. See Table X. On the childless death of Louis of Burgundy, Prince of Achaia in right of his wife Matilda, in 1316, the Angevins tried to reassert control over Achaia by forcing Matilda to marry John of Gravina; Eudes IV claimed it as an inheritance from his brother. After further fruitless negotiations in 1320 spearheaded by John XXII, matters improved when Eudes sold his rights over Achaia to Louis, Count of Clermont in spring 1321. Louis proved much more accommodating than the Burgundian duke and even affianced his daughter Beatrice to Philip, Despot of Romania, son of Philip of Taranto. The resulting settlement reduced tensions between the Angevins and the French court. See Tabacco, 241.

<sup>116</sup>Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, I, 120-1.

<sup>117</sup>Tabacco, 'La casa di Francia', 256. It is noteworthy that at the same time, Philip of Taranto was negotiating the marriage of his daughter Blanche to Henry, Duke of Carinthia, old rival of John of Luxembourg for the Bohemian throne. See A.S.V. Reg. 112, f. 220v, 221r, 221v, letters to Philip of Taranto, 10 October 1323, and Charles of Calabria.

French king; King Robert backed an opposing Guelf-Ghibelline alliance and made up with his nephew Charles Robert, who was on bad terms with the Bohemian king.<sup>118</sup> A decade later, these problems resurfaced when Philip VI signed an accord with the Emperor Louis IV, something which Robert saw as an 'infinite danger for the kingdom and all its friends in Italy'.<sup>119</sup> In the 1330s and 1340s, Robert and Philip were rival bidders for the dauphinate of Viennois; Philip won.<sup>120</sup>

Still, it would be a mistake to exaggerate the level of Capetian-Angevin conflict. Even when co-operation or alliance with Angevin enemies was on the agenda, the Capetians avoided direct attacks on their cousins.<sup>121</sup> In 1319, for example, Charles, Count of La Marche turned down an offer by Matteo Visconti to captain a Ghibelline league in northern Italy, due to his family links with the Angevins and papal

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<sup>118</sup>Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, II, 153-8; John of France, later the unlucky King John II the Good, married Guta, renamed Bonne, daughter of King John of Bohemia, in 1332. Relations between the Luxembourgs and the Valois remained close and King John of Bohemia was famously killed fighting on the French side at the battle of Crécy in 1346.

<sup>119</sup>Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, II, 263-6.

<sup>120</sup>After the death of his son Andrew, Dauphin Humbert II decided first of all to leave his lands to King Robert, sending an emissary, Jacques Tête-Grosse to Naples to discuss terms. Humbert's demands were excessive and no agreement was concluded. Following a period of tension between Humbert and Robert, due to clashes between their officials, Humbert then decided in 1343 to leave his lands to John, Duke of Normandy, son and heir of King Philip VI of France. Humbert then tried to make another treaty with Robert, willing him (and later, his grandson-in-law, King Andrew) the lands he had reserved for himself after the French deal, plus 2, 000 *livres* that King Philip had assigned him on the *sénéchaussee* of Beaucaire for 30, 000 florins. Nothing came of this deal. Meanwhile, the Neapolitan court tried to get Gapençais back from the King of France, arguing that it should have been excluded from the sale. During the reigns of Philip VI's successors, John II and Charles V, French royal ambitions extended towards the acquisition of Provence to add to Dauphiné, leading to invasions in 1357 and 1368; in 1374, Charles V even claimed rights to Naples too through his great-grandmother Margaret of Anjou. Ultimately, though, Joanna I was to chose the French Valois against her Hungarian relatives in choosing her heir - Louis, Duke of Anjou, Charles V's brother, in 1380. The long term consequence of this was the establishment of the second house of Anjou-Provence, the descendants of Duke Louis, who were to rule the Provençal half of the Angevin domains and fight the Aragonese for the kingdom of Naples after the death of Joanna II in 1435. II See Valbonnaus, *Histoire de Dauphiné*, a. 311-13, 326-32, *Preuves*, A. C, CIX, CLXXXVII; Léonard, *Histoire de Jeanne Ire*, I, 271-5: II, 281-5, 534-5, 563-4, 581.

<sup>121</sup>For example, the treaty of Lys between Charles of Valois and Stephen Uros Milutin, King of Serbia stressed that the alliance was not made against either the Pope or Philip of Taranto. For the treaty, see Du Cange, *Chartes*, 59.

pressure.<sup>122</sup> Although alliance was the norm, it had to be maintained through hard work and appeals to a family relationship that became weaker as the generations passed. In such circumstances, it is unsurprising that the Angevins tried to strengthen this through repeated marriages.

Long-term military support does not seem to have been so much of a feature of the other Angevin connections. King James II of Majorca fought alongside the French and the Angevins in the 1280s and 1290s, but this was more concerned with his attempts to regain his own kingdom. Once a settlement was achieved in 1298, James of Majorca not only refused to support his nephew James of Aragon in the war against Sicily, but offered ships to bring him and his army back to Catalonia.<sup>123</sup> The double marriages of 1304-5 led to a close family relationship, but this was not echoed by military support. Majorcan attitudes to the Sicilian conflict were variable. Philip of Majorca and his brother King Sancho acted as mediators in the conflict, but offered no support against their Aragonese relative. More provocative was the conduct of their brother, Infante Ferdinand of Majorca. An adventurer who had already angered his father to violence and banishment over machinations in Languedoc against Philip IV of France, Ferdinand mounted an expedition to Romania in support of the Catalan Company, forging an alliance with Frederick of Trinacria at Milazzo in May 1307, promising to have the same enemies and friends as the Trinacrian king and not to marry without his consent.<sup>124</sup> This expedition ended in disaster and captivity soon after. More important was Ferdinand's later involvement in supporting Frederick in the Sicilian war from 1312 and his second expedition to Romania as the Trinacrian-backed

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<sup>122</sup>Tabacco, 'La casa di Francia', 191-2. However, distrust engendered by the failure of Philip of Valois' expedition of 1320 and his rapid peace with Matteo Visconti meant that Philip V was forced to deny that Visconti had offered Philip of Valois the *signoria* as part of the peace deal. See Tabacco, 202.

<sup>123</sup>See the letter of R. Calnet to James II of Aragon, Collioure, March 16 1299, Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 36.

<sup>124</sup>A. Rubió i Lluch, *Contribució a la biografia de l'infant Ferran de Mallorca*, Barcelona, 1915, doc. VII.



candidate for the principality of Achaia, fighting the Angevin-backed Matilda of Hainault and Louis of Burgundy till his death in battle at Manolada in 1316. During this campaign, he was supported by his brother King Sancho, who sent him a fleet of ships, that arrived too late. Sancia's hostility to her brother is evident in the letter several years after his death, citing his fate as an example of the judgment of God against ingratitude; King Sancho, on the other hand, had a grudge against Charles of Valois for years due to some bitter comments that the French prince had made about Ferdinand at the French court.<sup>125</sup> This attitude was somewhat modified when Robert was faced with an enemy outside the Anjou-Aragon axis. In 1313, Sancho wrote to James II that they should support Robert against Henry VII on account of the affinity and consanguinity that bound them.<sup>126</sup> After the death of King Sancho in 1324, however, connections became closer due to the desire of Robert and especially Sancia to preserve Majorca from Aragonese domination. In the 1340s, when Peter IV of Aragon made the most determined attempts to conquer the Balearic kingdom, James III of Majorca made an alliance with his uncle King Robert against John II of Montferrat. Promising military support, the Majorcan king was appointed Robert's vicar in Lombardy in return for being allowed to keep any conquests he made in Montferrat; his younger brother Ferdinand, brought up in the Angevin kingdom by his uncle and aunt, had already served his time as vicar and seneschal before his departure for Cyprus.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>125</sup>Sancho had defended his brother in the quarrel, saying that an insult against Ferdinand was an insult against himself. Despite the intervention of Philip IV, relations stayed frosty for years. Even during the reign of Charles IV of France, when Charles of Valois was likely to be the next king and therefore also overlord of Sancho for Montpellier, Sancho proved very reluctant to write friendly words to him, although peace finally seems to have been made at this point. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 323 and notes.

<sup>126</sup>*Cum igitur ipse rex vobis et nobis sit part gradu consanguinitatis et affinitatis conunctus et tam ardua negocia ipsius non videantur debere negligi per nos et vos, sinceritatem vestram consulendam et rogandam ducimus ut provideat et consulat nobis, si expediens videatur nos aliquid et quid et qualiter circa premissa facere debeamus. Et super hiis vestra sublimitas nobis dignetur rescribere intencionem et voluntatem suam, cui semper volumus et intendimus adherere.* Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 222; Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, I, 194.

<sup>127</sup>Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, II, 288; G. M. Monti, *La dominazione angioina in Piemonte*, 187-8,

Unfortunately, the alliance came to nothing as James and his forces never arrived.<sup>128</sup> Despite this, relations between the two courts remained close. After the death of Robert in 1343, Peter complained to Sancia among others of Angevin naval support for the Majorcan king.<sup>129</sup> Having said that, James III of Majorca was pleased to accept the offer of the principality of Achaia from a baronial faction in 1344, based on the claims of his father and an alleged testament of the imprisoned Matilda of Hainault.<sup>130</sup> By and large, however, military support was not a primary reflection of the relations between the Angevin and Majorcan royal families.

The marriage of Charles II's youngest daughter Beatrice to Azzo of Este seems to have led to military alliance. In June 1307, for example, Charles sent Simone Guindazzo of Naples with two galleys full of troops to the Adriatic to meet with Ferrarese forces as military support for his son-in-law.<sup>131</sup>

A different type of relationship existed altogether between Robert and Beatrice's next husband, Bertrand des Baux. A younger son of a Provençal family, his wealth and position largely came along with his marriage to Beatrice of Anjou in 1309; unlike the dauphins, his only allegiance was to the Angevins. He therefore spent a large part of Robert's reign on military and diplomatic business for his brother-in-law. In 1311, he was involved in organizing the feudal militia of Capitanata, Basilicata and the Terra d'Otranto against the feared invasion of Henry VII; the following year, he led a force of

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198, 201-2.

<sup>128</sup>Monti, *La dominazione angioina*, 202.

<sup>129</sup>d'Arenzo, *Carte reali diplomatiche di Pietro IV il Ceremonioso, re d'Aragona*, no. 153. Also Finke, 'Nachträge', 424. In a long letter to Andrew of Hungary, King of Sicily and Jerusalem *consanguineo suo carissimo*, dated 6 September 1343, Peter drew attention to the peace of Anagni forged by their progenitors, how he had kept the peace and how he intended to do so in the future, and urged that, with respect to this peace and the *vinculum amoris* and the *nexus sanguinis* established between the two houses that King Andrew should not give aid to King James of Majorca. Leonard, *Histoire de Jeanne Ire*, II, *Piece justificative* no. IV

<sup>130</sup>Rubió i Lluch, *Contribució*, 29; A. Rubió i Lluch, *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català (1301-1409)*, Barcelona, 1947, doc. CLXXI.

<sup>131</sup>Matteo Camera, *Annali*, II, 116. In April, Duke Robert had allowed the marquis to take 800 *salme* of corn freely from parts of Apulia. See Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, I, 42.

500 knights to aid Florence. For much of his career, he had a close connection with Angevin interests in Tuscany, serving as vicar for Robert after the disastrous battle of Montecatini, captain-general for Charles of Calabria or commander of the Guelf forces in 1330-1.<sup>132</sup>

#### Mediation in family quarrels

The existence of complex networks of ties and obligations between the royal families of Europe did not result only in competition for alliance, but also for the mediation of quarrels as kings often had ties to both warring parties. Edward I of England, for example, was the major mediator between the kings of Sicily and Aragon in the 1280s, as the cousin of Charles II of Sicily and the intended father-in-law of Alfonso III of Aragon. The ties created by the marriages of the family of Charles II had similar effects. The most important conflict affecting the house of Anjou in the first half of the fourteenth century was, of course, the Sicilian one, and many of the relatives shared by both Robert and Frederick were involved in attempts to solve it. James II of Aragon was the most important of these, as 'common brother' of both participants. His position of seniority in the house of Barcelona, as 'brother and father' of Frederick gave him especial influence which the Angevins repeatedly tried to bring to bear on the errant Trinacrian king. Once it became clear that James was unwilling to give direct military support to the Angevins from 1299 onwards, his mediation was actively sought. In 1299, for example, Queen Maria asked him to try and persuade his brother to release his 'other brother' Philip of Taranto, held in chains in a Sicilian jail.<sup>133</sup> Blanche's position as mediator has already been alluded to. From 1309, James was the main mediator over Sicily. The way in which his influence could be exerted is exemplified in a letter he wrote to Frederick in March 1312. Hearing of his brother's

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<sup>132</sup>On Bertrand, see J. Göbbels, 'Bertrando Del Balzo de Baux', *DBI*, 36, 304-8.

<sup>133</sup>A.C.A. C.R.D Jaime II, 10219.

secret negotiations with Emperor Henry VII, he feared the revival of conflict between Frederick and Robert. As his 'brother' and 'father', he loved him like a 'son'; he also reminded him of the close relationship between him and King Robert, between their children, that King Robert was a brother to him.<sup>134</sup> In return, James sought support over Sardinia and tried to get Angevin mediation to secure possession of the heiress, Joanna of Gallura, niece of Azzo of Este, another son-in-law of Charles II.<sup>135</sup> James II was not the only Angevin relative involved in mediation in the Sicilian dispute - his sisters Yolande, Duchess of Calabria and Isabella, Queen of Portugal,<sup>136</sup> Queen Maria, wife of Charles II, Sancia of Majorca, wife of Robert<sup>137</sup> and her brothers Sancho and Philip<sup>138</sup> and Eleanor of Anjou, wife of Frederick also played mediatory roles in the conflict. James II approved the marriage of Charles of Calabria to Catherine of Austria in 1316 because he felt that Frederick the Fair, Catherine's brother and his own son-in-law, could use his position to be mediator. At one stage, Charles IV of France and

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<sup>134</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 197.

<sup>135</sup> Perhaps as early as 1305, Charles II's *familiaris*, Guillelmus de Recuperancia (Guglielmo di Ricoveranza) was writing to James II on the matter of Joanna of Gallura; in August 1307, at the Poitiers meeting, James's envoy, Guilabert de Centelles conversed with Charles II in person on the same subject. Guilabert was instructed to try to get Charles to use his influence with Azzo to give Joanna to him and to stress the dangers of her falling into Ghibelline hands. By April 1310, James was recommending a marriage between Joanna and Ferdinand of Majorca, Queen Sancia's wayward brother. Salavert, *Cerdeña*, II, docs. 120-3, 216, 226a, 411.

<sup>136</sup>Queen Isabella sent an embassy to her brother Frederick in 1317, along with envoys from Aragon and the Curia. Isabella's proposals revolved around the idea that the kingdom of Sicily had been granted to Charles I of Anjou for three generations originally, which meant that the grant would come to an end with the death of Robert. She proposed that the Church regrant the kingdom, allowing both kings to keep the lands they then retained, but that Frederick would have to pay a census. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, no. 452, n.4.

<sup>137</sup>In January 1315, Frederick informed James that Sancia was negotiating with her brother Ferdinand, an ally of Trinacria, in order to intervene to prevent war and arrange a truce. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 124.

<sup>138</sup>In July 1315, James II proposed to send Philip of Majorca and the Archbishop of Tarragona to both Robert and Frederick, with the proposals that Frederick keep Sicily under Church rule and pays the census, that Frederick's heirs hold Sicily from Robert and that when Robert conquers Tunis, Tunis should go to Frederick and Robert should regain Sicily. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, no. 448. note. Later on, Philip was described as *qui est persona multum conveniens et multum communis utrique parti*. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, no. 450, note. For Philip's secret negotiations with King Frederick in 1317, see *Ibid*, II, 492.

Charles of Valois, brother-in-law of both Robert and Frederick offered to settle the Sicilian dispute.<sup>139</sup>

Sicily was not the only sphere of inter-family mediation. The Angevins were heavily involved in sorting out disputes concerning the kingdom of Majorca. Charles II helped to negotiate between Philip IV, James II of Aragon and James II of Majorca as part of combined attempts to seek peaceful settlement over the disputed kingdoms of Aragon, Sicily and Majorca. Connections became closer with the double marriages of 1304-5 between the houses of Anjou and Majorca; Robert's wife Sancia took a keen interest in Majorcan affairs, particularly during the reign of her nephew James III (1324-49). In 1324, Sancia and Pope John XXII wrote to James II of Aragon to stop a planned invasion of the kingdom, which he promptly cancelled; the following year, the young Majorcan king refused to ratify a treaty of alliance with the Aragonese king until he had taken their advice. Queen Sancia also tried to intervene to sort out problems between the regent Philip and rebel forces, due to her maternal affection for the young king.<sup>140</sup> Later on in the reign Sancia and Robert tried to make peace between James III of Majorca and his brother Ferdinand; Sancia also tried to dissuade Peter IV of Aragon from attacking her nephew; Angevin offers to arbitrate over differences between James III and Philip VI of France over Montpellier were rejected, however.<sup>141</sup>

The complex web of relationships formed by marriage meant that for many problems, a close relative was available who could use their influence to help solve problems. The Angevins' closeness to the Papacy meant that their help was useful when spiritual favours were required; James II sought Robert's help in his attempt to secure a cardinalate for his son John. The dauphins of Viennois used their close connections to

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<sup>139</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 201.

<sup>140</sup>See John XXII's letter to King James III of Majorca, 15 October 1325, A.S.V. Reg. 113, f. 234v-235, c. 1374 and also the letters following.

<sup>141</sup>Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, II, 288; Lecoy de la Marche, II, 7-8, 55, 107.

Capetians and Angevins to act as mediators. Humbert, lord of Faucigny was an ideal candidate for mediator between Charles Robert and Robert a nephew of the former and protégé of the latter. He played an important part in the negotiations running up to the settlement of 1333.<sup>142</sup> Later on, he represented Robert in negotiations with Philip VI of France and Louis the Bavarian.

The relationships formed through the Angevins could be used for mediation in disputes that did not involve the Angevin family directly. The disputes between the kings of Aragon and France over the Val d'Aran, a consequence of the ill-fated crusade to Aragon, are a good example. Charles of Valois wrote a letter to his sister-in-law, Queen Blanche of Aragon in 1308, saying that he would try to obtain the Val from his brother King Philip for her husband King James, if King James would get his brother Frederick and Bernat de Rocafort to put the Catalan Company in his service and help him conquer Constantinople.<sup>143</sup>

#### Arrangement of marriages

A reflection of the mediatory role that family networks took on is the role they played in the negotiation of each other's marriages. James II and Blanche were the major organizers of the marriage project between James's cousin Sancho of Majorca and a daughter of Charles II. They also recommended Eleanor of Anjou as a wife for Frederick, stressing her high 'linyatge'.<sup>144</sup> After the death of Yolande of Aragon in 1302, Blanche promoted Isabella of Castile as wife for Robert, but with less success. In 1309-10, James and Blanche promoted a further connection in the marriage of the Infante Ferdinand of Majorca to King Robert's niece, Clementia of Hungary.<sup>145</sup> During

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<sup>142</sup>Humbert travelled to Hungary to negotiate with King Charles Robert and then travelled with the Hungarian king to Naples. See Valbonnais, *Histoire de Dauphiné*, a. 299, *Preuves*, A.XLV.

<sup>143</sup>A.C.A. Reg. 335 f. 238; Petit, *Charles de Valois*, 114.

<sup>144</sup>A.C.A. Reg. 335 f. 89, 89v.

<sup>145</sup>See Rubio i Lluch, *Contribució*, docs. XII-XVII.

the reign of Robert, King Robert and Queen Sancia took care to organize marriages to two proteges of theirs related by marriage, Ferdinand of Majorca, baron of Aumelas and Humbert of Viennois.<sup>146</sup> Charles II was involved in a project between a son of James II of Aragon and a daughter of Edward I of England in 1307<sup>147</sup>; Robert was called upon for a similar plan concerning King Oshin of Armenia,<sup>148</sup> while during the reign of Robert, John II, Dauphin of Viennois played an important part in the mediation of the marriage of his sister-in-law Clementia of Anjou to Louis X of France.<sup>149</sup>

However, co-operation over marriages was matched by competition and opposition. In the 1320s, worsening relations between the courts of Barcelona and Naples were exemplified by contradictory marriage policies. Sancia of Majorca, for example, conspired to prevent the marriage of her nephew James III of Majorca to Constance of Aragon, granddaughter of James II of Aragon, which threatened to give the Aragonese king too much power over the Balearic kingdom.<sup>150</sup> Meanwhile, James II of Aragon urged his son Peter, Count of Ribagorza to marry his niece, Constance,

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<sup>146</sup>Sancia tried to arrange a marriage between Ferdinand and Blanche of Castile, granddaughter of James II of Aragon in 1326, but John XXII denied a dispensation. See John XXII, *Lettres closes*, no. 2793, Avignon, 4 May 1326. Later on, Ferdinand was engaged to Robert's niece, Maria de Baux, Countess of Andria, but this marriage did not take place as Maria ended up as the wife of Humbert of Viennois. Ferdinand ultimately married Eschiva, daughter of King Hugh of Cyprus, a marriage negotiated by Robert and Sancia. See below. In December 1346, Ferdinand was being discussed as a candidate for the hand of the widowed Queen Joanna I, although his wife was still living and continued to do so till 1363. See Finke, 'Nachträge', no. 59, 2.

<sup>147</sup>A.C.A. Reg. 336 f. 335. Also the eldest daughter of James II to a son of Edward I May 1307. Reg. 336 f. 323.

<sup>148</sup>In November 1312, James wrote to Robert concerning negotiations that Robert had discussed with him for the marriage of King Oshin to one of James's daughters. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 232. Marinesco, 'La Catalogne et l'Arménie', 13-14 says that King Oshin wanted to marry James's daughter Isabella and sought the intervention of Frederick III of Sicily, but Isabella had been promised to Frederick, Duke of Austria, whom she was to marry in 1314. He quotes Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, p. 344-5 as a source for this. In 1316, King Oshin married Joanna of Anjou-Taranto, niece of both James and Robert.

<sup>149</sup>In April 1315, King Louis expressed interest in marrying Clementia and sent John and Guigues of Viennois to Naples, as John was married to Clementia's sister, Beatrice. See the report of Johannes Lupi to James II of Aragon, Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 240.

<sup>150</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, nos. 225, 226, 240 and 'Nachträge', 423.

widowed Queen of Cyprus, the daughter of Frederick of Trinacria and reject alternatives such as the daughter of Edward II of England.<sup>151</sup> This was at a time when children of Philip of Taranto were being promoted as suitable matches by both John XXII and King Robert<sup>152</sup>; the Aragon-Trinacria marriage alliance, although touted as contributing to peace over Sicily, was seen as a threat by King Robert and the pope, who refused to issue the necessary dispensation. When Philip VI of France attempted to intervene in favour of the marriage, the pope professed to be astonished that he could cause such harm to his uncle King Robert.<sup>153</sup> James II, Charles II and Frederick were all in competition for the hands of the daughters of Charles of Valois and Catherine of Courtenay, who stood to inherit claims to the Latin Empire.<sup>154</sup>

The Sicilian conflict led to a series of conflicting marriage agreements. In 1295, Philip IV and Charles II tried to arrange different marriages for James II. During the reign of Robert, Robert and Frederick both sought the same brides for their sons in Beatrice of Luxembourg and Catherine of Austria; here, the mediation of James II was important. He tried to dissuade Frederick of Austria, his son-in-law, from choosing the Trinacrian match, but did not oppose the Angevin one.<sup>155</sup> Frederick of Trinacria also

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<sup>151</sup>James said that *cor no seria honor nostra, ne de la dita reyna, ne del rey et de la reyna, pare et mare della* [ie. Frederick and Eleanor of Trinacria] *,si s'esdevenia cas que lexat lo seu, feessets altre cap de matrimoni*. See the letter of James II to Peter of September 1326 in Mas-Latrie, *Histoire*, III, p. 716-17.

<sup>152</sup>John XXII tried to sell Blanche of Taranto as a marriage partner by view of her personal qualities. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, 517.. Indeed, in May 1326, King James himself had promoted the marriage of Constance to King Robert's nephew, Philip of Taranto, Despot of Romania in a letter to Frederick in the following terms, *ex inde posset in tractatibus pacis agendis inter vos et dictum regem premissum matrimonium multum congruum provenire*. See Mas-Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 716. It is noteworthy, however, that James also advised Frederick on other occasions about husbands for Constance, urging a Cypriot instead of an English or Castilian marriage at one stage and asking Alfonso de la Cerda to find a suitable French husband for her at another. See Mas-Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 712-14, 718-19, 722-3.

<sup>153</sup>*El papa resposli, ques maravellava, com procurava tan gran dan al rey Robert son avoncle*. See instructions of King Alfonso IV of Aragon to his ambassadors, Finke, 'Nachträge', no. 44. King Philip apparently argued that the dispensation would bring peace sooner, but this was rejected by the pontiff.

<sup>154</sup>See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, 305 and above, p. 105-12.

<sup>155</sup>Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, I, 143-96, II, 3, 11-18.



showed his hostility to the Angevins by arranging two marriages for his cousin Ferdinand, the brother of Queen Sancia that were harmful to Angevin interests.<sup>156</sup>

One of the biggest rumpuses occurred over the second marriage of Charles of Calabria.<sup>157</sup> This was vital for the Angevins as the duke was childless. From a numerous selection of princesses and noblewomen, Isabella of France was the desired choice, but it all went wrong for Charles when she married his cousin Dauphin Guigues VIII of Viennois, leaving him without a French king's daughter to marry. The furious Charles sought to have Isabella's marriage dissolved so he could marry her, but John XXII refused and he had to make do with one of Charles of Valois' daughters.<sup>158</sup>

The contrasts of co-operation and mediation on the one hand and the competition and conflict on the other thus illustrate perfectly the tensions between the interests of royal houses, like that of Sicily and those they intermarried with. While one of the main purposes of marriage alliance was to foster the sort of amicable relations exemplified by the organization of other marriages for affines, the narrow range of good marriages on offer meant that it was only natural for clashes to occur with this same group.

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<sup>156</sup>Ferdinand married firstly Isabella of Sabran, the daughter of Margaret of Villehardouin, lady of Akova. Margaret was a claimant to the principality of the Morea, but her claim had been rejected by King Robert in favour of her niece Matilda, who was granted the principality and married to Louis of Burgundy as part of the Fontainebleau negotiations of 1313. Ferdinand's marriage to Isabella in 1314, arranged by Frederick, was intended as an attack on Angevin power in Greece, as Ferdinand then launched a campaign to conquer the principality with Frederick's backing. Isabella died in May 1315, shortly after the birth of a son, James, whereupon Ferdinand married again, to Isabella of Ibelin, part of a triple marriage alliance with Cyprus. Ferdinand was ultimately killed at the battle of Manolada in 1316 by the forces of Louis and Matilda. See Rubió i Lluch, *Contribució a la biographia de l'infant Ferran de Mallorca*; Berg, 'The Moreote expedition'.

<sup>157</sup>His first wife Catherine of Austria died in January 1323. For this and the subsequent marriage negotiations, see Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, II, 46-8.

<sup>158</sup>Letter to Charles, Duke of Calabria, Avignon, 23 May 1323, Jean XXII, *Lettres secretes relatives a la France*, no. 1680. Isabella was the third daughter of the late king Philip V and Joanna of Burgundy. Charles of Calabria married Maria, daughter of Charles of Valois, by his third wife, Matilda of Saint Pol, in 1324.

### Dowries and financial settlements

An important number of letters involve demands for the payment of dowries and the implementation of marriage settlements. The indebtedness of Charles II meant that James II and Blanche both made repeated requests for payments of arrears on revenues due to Blanche from the wedding treaty. Money owed to the Aragonese king for his war service in 1297-9 served to increase Charles II's indebtedness to his son-in-law.<sup>159</sup> Securing payment from the Angevin king was not easy. In 1305, Bartolomeo Siginulfo, Bartholomew of Capua and Richard de Gambatesa all wrote to King James, explaining why Charles had not paid 2000 ounces of gold from the *focage* raised in the county of Provence for the marriage of Charles's daughter Beatrice, pleading the heavy expenses of a possible papal visit and the pressing nature of affairs in Piedmont.<sup>160</sup> On another occasion, problems were caused by the merchant Castellus Jamfillacii over payments due from Provence occasioned an angry letter from Gambatesa.<sup>161</sup> This was only somewhat balanced by James's own failure to pay Yolande's dowry.<sup>162</sup> Charles II also reneged on promises to send money to James's Granada campaign of 1309.<sup>163</sup> Thus, marriage and military alliances demanded a heavy financial commitment that Charles II found difficult to keep to, particularly due to the exorbitant costs of the Sicilian war over a long period.

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<sup>159</sup>See Archives des Bouches-du-Rhône, B 208, *R. Aragonense auxilium*, a record on the Marseilles archives of Charles II's debts to James II. On 5 October 1302, James II claimed a sum of 30,000 *sous* from Richard de Gambatesa, seneschal of Provence based on revenues assigned to him in the county in return for loans made during his father-in-law during the war. See Archives des Bouches-du-Rhône, B 1371; interestingly, both Blanche *and* her brother Robert, Duke of Calabria wrote supporting letters to the seneschal, *Ibid*.

<sup>160</sup>See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 62.

<sup>161</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 82.

<sup>162</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, nos. 59, 64.

<sup>163</sup>For Robert's excuses, see Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, II, no. 434.

### Interventions for others

As feudal lords and rulers of independent kingdoms, king like Charles II and James II had duties and responsibilities for vassals and subjects. They used their power and influence to intervene in their favour, and one of the duties of the *'amicitia'* network was to respond to such pleas and demands.

One important duty each had was to ensure the safety of the other's subjects in his own dominions. Letters of credence and safe-conducts for envoys form a large part of the correspondence between the Angevins and Aragonese courts.<sup>164</sup> In war situations especially, this could not be guaranteed, as the numerous complaints over piracy and brigandage indicate. In 1305, for example, Charles II complained to James II over an attack on his merchant Stephanus Quaranta by subjects of James II and demanded justice on his behalf<sup>165</sup>; nine years later, James II complained to Robert about piratical attacks<sup>166</sup>; Even closer to home there could be problems. Giovanni Pipino even suffered *'contrarietates'* at the Aragonese court itself, as Robert of Calabria complained.<sup>167</sup>

A particular problem was one caused by the divided loyalties of the Vespers' War - the involvement of subjects of the kings of Aragon on the side of the rebellious Sicilians. This was a cause of continuing complaint by Charles II and his successor Robert, but there seemed little that James II or Alfonso IV were willing, or able to do. Maria of Hungary, for example, wrote to James about Catalan merchants bringing arms to Sicily, but her complaints seem to have achieved little<sup>168</sup>. James II told his

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<sup>164</sup> In 1298, Charles II even went behind the back of Boniface VIII to support the secret visit of James II's envoy, R. Ollomar to the Roman curia; Boniface's anger led to *alcuns dies en vyl prezo* for the unfortunate ambassador. See the letter of Berengut de Granoyls to James II of Aragon in Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no. 31.

<sup>165</sup> Salavert, *Cerdeña*, II, doc. 126.

<sup>166</sup> Archives des Bouches-du-Rhône, B2, f

<sup>167</sup> A.C.A.C.R.D. Jaime II, 10219.

<sup>168</sup> A.C.A. Pergaminos extra inventarios, 202.

father-in-law on another occasion that he was unable to prevent Berengar of Entenza from joining the Sicilians, although he did claim that the vicar of Tarragona's attempt to stop him had led to many being wounded.<sup>169</sup> As can be seen from the behaviour of Bernat de Sarrià and Ramon de Peralta, this question was to dog relations between the two families for decades without resolution.

When subjects, vassals and junior relatives were in the direst of need, then it was only natural that monarchical *amicitia* would be called upon. The exchange of prisoners was a keystone of the peace-making process between Angevins and Aragonese, from the release of Queen Constance's sister Beatrice in 1284, to the release of Charles II in 1289, and the liberation of his sons as part of the Anagni peace. Not surprisingly, the capture of Philip of Taranto during the 1299 campaigns led Maria of Hungary to use the new marriage bond created with the house of Barcelona and seek James II's help in securing her son's freedom; the unfortunate prince was being held in chains in appalling conditions in Sicily<sup>170</sup>. James did write to his brother and asked him to treat Philip humanely in his own interest,<sup>171</sup> Philip was released in 1302 as part of the Caltabellotta peace. Similarly, when Ferdinand of Majorca was captured during his military involvement with the Catalan Company in Greece, he was released due to the influence of King Philip of France, Charles of Valois and his brother-in-law, Robert, Duke of Calabria.<sup>172</sup> Both King James and King Frederick urged the release of their uncles, King Manfred's sons, imprisoned by the Angevins since 1266.<sup>173</sup> Charles II, however, proved obdurate on this matter. Even James's wife Blanche's Angevin

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<sup>169</sup>Rubió i Lluch, *Diplomatari*, no. I; Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 68.

<sup>170</sup>A.C.A. C.R.D. 10291.

<sup>171</sup>Letter of James II of Aragon to King Frederick, July 1302 in Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 80.

<sup>172</sup>See the letter of King James II of Majorca to King James II of Aragon, Rubió i Lluch, *Contribució*, doc. IX.

<sup>173</sup>James II wrote to Frederick, son of King Manfred that he had written to Charles II on his behalf, as had his brother Frederick of Trinacria. In another letter, of June 1304, James wrote to Charles of the suffering of his other uncle, Henry, in prison. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, nos. 161, 162.

hostility to the Hohenstaufen got the better of her; she wrote to Frederick, one of the two prisoners, that her husband did not want him to come.<sup>174</sup> Generally, though, the close military and family alliance forged between Charles II and James II in 1295-7 seems to have given the Neapolitan king a favourable impression of the Catalans that Pope Boniface VIII found rather startling.<sup>175</sup> How long it lasted after the Caltabellotta peace is a moot point.

Such interventions were not just reserved for royal princes; concern was also evident for captive *familiares*. Again, Maria of Hungary sought the help of James II on behalf of a *familiaris* also held in a Sicilian jail.<sup>176</sup> James II asked his father-in-law for clemency for a subject accused of murder.<sup>177</sup> After the arrival of Charles of Valois and Catherine of Courtenay at the Neapolitan court in May 1302, one of the favours granted to Catherine was the grace of three prisoners held at Capua.<sup>178</sup> During the subsequent campaign, Charles II was able to ask for similar favours in return from Charles of Valois - the release of two merchants from Savona and one from Pisa, who had been seized with their ships.<sup>179</sup> The intercession of Blanche and James with Charles II led to the restoration of the lands of a knight called Borrellus de Busso.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Letter of Blanche, Queen of Aragon to Frederick, son of King Manfred, June 1307. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, no. 172.

<sup>175</sup> An incident is told in the letter of G. de Albalato to James II of Aragon in September 1301, published in Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII*, doc. no. 9, p. LXXXVI. During a conversation in which Boniface had heard King Charles praise his daughter-in-law, Yolande of Aragon, the pope turned to the subject of Catalans: *Nuper dixit papa regi Karulo : Invenisti unquam Catalanum b(ene)ff(icientem) et qui bona operaretur? Respondit rex: Pater, multi sunt boni. Dixit papa : Immo est magnum miraculum, quod aliquis Catalanus faciat bonum, et ego non inveni unquam, qui faceret, nisi modo(?); inveni enim unum Catalanum facientem bona, scilicet magistrum Arnaldum de Villanoua, qui fecit michi sigilla aurea et quoddam bracciale, que deffero, et servant me a dolore lapidis et multis aliis doloribus et facit me vivere.*

<sup>176</sup> A.C.A. Pergaminos extra inventarios, 19. Such complaints were matched by similar ones by Frederick against Angevin ill-treatment of Catalans. Frederick complained in one letter to his brother that Ramon Muntaner had been captured, imprisoned and tortured 'against God and justice' in Naples. See Giunta and Giuffrida, *Acta siculo-aragonensia*, doc. LI.

<sup>177</sup> A.C.A. C.R.D. 429.

<sup>178</sup> Petit, *Charles de Valois*, 80, from Reg. Ang. 119, fol. 196 r.

<sup>179</sup> Petit, *Charles de Valois*, 83.

<sup>180</sup> A.S.N. Chiarito, Repertorium et Index Regesti serenissimi regis Caroli II 1306 A., 9v.

Often, though, less serious requests were made between monarchs, especially when people passed from the service of one king to another. In 1330, for example, Francesco de Genester, squire of Alfonso IV left for the court of Robert.<sup>181</sup> Yolande, Duchess of Calabria asked her brother James to provide for her '*domicella et familiaris*' Jordana Xemenes;<sup>182</sup> Robert, Duke of Calabria sent a letter of recommendation for Berengar of Entenza in January 1306 to his brother-in-law, King James of Aragon, describing the Catalan adventurer as *fidelis vester et dilectus fidelis et familiaris noster*.<sup>183</sup> Maria of Anjou, lady of Xerica, recommended the services of two '*jutglars*' to her nephew Alfonso IV of Aragon, because they had so impressed her brother King Robert of Naples and his son, Charles, Duke of Calabria.<sup>184</sup> An allied case were those nobles who had lands under more than one liege lord. In September 1329, Alfonso IV wrote to Robert and Sancia that he would protect the goods that Joanna, widow of John of Procida possessed in his realm.<sup>185</sup>

#### Care for junior family members

The family links established by marriage are evident in the treatment accorded to junior family members by the senior ones. King Robert of Naples surrounded himself not just by members of his own *domus* but by younger sons from houses related by marriage, many of whom he tried to involve in military service in return for lands and illustrious marriages. Various members of the royal house of Majorca, connected to Robert through his second wife, Sancia were accorded high favours. In

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<sup>181</sup> *Carte reali diplomatiche d'Alfonso III il Benigno, re d'Aragona riguardanti l'Italia*, Padua, 1971, no. 74.

<sup>182</sup> A.C.A. C.R.D. 12449.

<sup>183</sup> Rubió i Lluch, *Diplomatari*, doc. XXII.

<sup>184</sup> Rubió i Lluch, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-eva*, I, doc LXVIII, letter of Maria, lady of Xerica to Alfonso, King of Aragon, Xerica, 28 December 1327.

<sup>185</sup> F. Casula, (ed.) *Carte reali diplomatiche di Alfonso III il Benigno, Re d'Aragona riguardanti l'Italia*, Padua, 1971., nos 53-4.

1311, his brother-in-law, the Infante Ferdinand of Majorca, was received with honour in Naples by King Robert, Queen Sancia and Queen Maria.<sup>186</sup> His younger son, Ferdinand, Baron of Aumelas, was brought to the court of Naples from his mother in Cyprus at the behest of his aunt Sancia in 1326 at the age of nine, following a stream of letters to the Cypriot court from Pope John XXII.<sup>187</sup> He spent the rest of his childhood there with other royal children, such as the king's granddaughters, Joanna and Maria and played games with the young Andrew of Hungary.<sup>188</sup> As he grew up, he started joining military campaigns, and being sent on missions by his aunt and uncle, while his brother sent him money to acquire land holdings of his own in the Regno.<sup>189</sup> He was also seen as a possible husband for various Angevin princesses, and a dispensation was issued by John XXII for him to marry Maria of Baux, daughter of King Robert's sister Beatrice and Bertrand of Baux, Count of Montecaglioso.<sup>190</sup> Sancia and Robert's influence over him was clearly strong; he wrote in glowing terms to Alfonso IV of Aragon about the treatment he had received from them, saying that his

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<sup>186</sup>Rubió i Lluch, *Contribució*, 20. The visit was cut short by the final illness of Ferdinand's and Sancia's father, King James, which necessitated the Infante's departure. Notwithstanding the hospitality, Ferdinand was to fight against his brother-in-law for Frederick of Trinacria when the Sicilian war resumed the following year.

<sup>187</sup>John wrote not only to Ferdinand's mother, Isabella, Countess of Jaffa, but also to King Hugh of Cyprus, John, Archbishop of Nicosia, Baldwin, Archbishop of Famagusta, Hugh, Count of Jaffa (Ferdinand's stepfather), Manfred of Montfort, Guy of Ibelin, seneschal of Cyprus, Geraldus de Vitrius, archdeacon of Benevento, the apostolic legate and Maria of Ibelin. See A.S.V. Reg. 112, f. 232v, c. 981-3. For payments for the arming of two galleys to bring Ferdinand over from Cyprus, see A.S.N. Notamenta De Lellis, IV Bis, Pars III, 858.

<sup>188</sup>Léonard, *Histoire de Jeanne Ire*, I, 168. For payments for Ferdinand's palfreys and for footwear for Ferdinand and Yolande, Despina of Romania, see A.S.N. Notamenta De Lellis, III, pars I, 446-7; payments to Ferdinand's clerical entourage, including an almoner and a chaplain, *Ibid*, 448; wages for all those serving in Ferdinand's household and another entry for knights, squires and others in the households of the Duchess of Calabria, Ferdinand and Yolande, Despina of Romania, *Ibid*, IV Bis, Pars III, 385.

<sup>189</sup>See above p. 245 for his service in Lombardy and also p. 269 for his loss of a screen. King James paid Ferdinand 50,000 gold florins to buy lands and feudal rights in the kingdom. See A.S.N. Minier-Riccio, 1460.

<sup>190</sup>A.S.V. Reg. Vat. 115, no. 968; J.M. Vidal, 'Proces d'inquisition contre Adhemar de Mosset, noble roussillonnais inculpé de béguinisme (1332-4)', *Revue de l'histoire de l'église de France*, 1(1910), 712 n.5. This marriage plan was dropped by November 1330, when Ferdinand was seeking to be tonsured.

aunt treated him more like a son than a nephew. He took after his aunt in his strong attachment to the Franciscan Order; at the age of eleven, he made vows to observe the rule of the *fratres minores*, something that very much worried his cousin King Alfonso of Aragon, who wrote concerned letters to the boy's mother, Isabella, Countess of Jaffa.<sup>191</sup> His attachment to the Angevin court was clearly stronger than that to that of his brother, King James III of Majorca. King James tried repeatedly to get his brother and heir to return to the kingdom, but failed.<sup>192</sup> Again, it was Sancia and Robert who tried to negotiate in the fraternal quarrel and it was they who also arranged his marriage to Eschiva, daughter of King Hugh of Cyprus.<sup>193</sup> Ferdinand's marriage to Eschiva unfortunately proved to be unlucky, as quarrels with his father-in-law, King Hugh intensified, ultimately leading to Ferdinand's flight from Cyprus.<sup>194</sup> In the long description of his indignities given subsequently to his brother, the King of Majorca, it is clear that the Infante continued to enjoy close contacts with the Neapolitan court while living in Cyprus, and that these helped to contribute to King Hugh's suspicions of his son-in-law.<sup>195</sup> King Robert and Queen Sancia were moved to write to King Hugh

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<sup>191</sup> Benedict XII, *Lettres communes*, no. 3765. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia, Nachträge*, no. 45, 1. In November 1330, he obtained authority to receive a tonsure. Two years later, he asked to be exempted, but John XXII refused because of King Robert's opposition. It was only in August 1336 that Benedict XII finally dispensed Ferdinand from his vows and allowed him to marry. See Vidal, 'Procès', 712 n. 5.

<sup>192</sup> Vidal, 'Procès', 715 n. 1.

<sup>193</sup> Vidal, 'Procès', 715 n. 1. The Archbishop of Nicosia was ordered to dispense for the marriage of Ferdinand and Eschiva in March 1337, see J. M. Vidal, *Benoît XII, Lettres communes*, Paris, 1903, I, no. 4833. Sancia paid Ferdinand 50,000 florins on his marriage with which to buy land. See M.L. de la Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de l'Île de Chypre sous le Règne des Princes de la Maison de Lusignan*, Paris, 1852, II, 179.

<sup>194</sup> From initial problems over the dowry payments, the relationship degenerated due to Ferdinand's close relations with the Franciscans (see below p. 269-70.) King Hugh made insulting remarks, claiming that Ferdinand had another wife, calling Eschiva *meretrix* and their daughter Alice *spuria*. He also vented his hatred on Ferdinand's mother and stepfather, the Count and Countess of Jaffa, whose goods were seized, while Countess Isabella was accused of using witchcraft to kill King Hugh's daughter. Eventually, King Hugh went as far as seizing Eschiva and making her live apart from her husband in his household. In 1342, Ferdinand fled Cyprus; his mother and stepfather were thereupon expelled by the furious king. Ferdinand went into exile and died in 1346. For his confidential memoir on the matter, see M.L. de la Mas Latne, *Histoire de l'Île de Chypre sous le Règne des Princes de la Maison de Lusignan*, Paris, 1852, II, 182-203.

<sup>195</sup> Among Ferdinand's myriad complaints was that King Hugh insisted on seizing and opening letters



himself to pacify him on their nephew's behalf, but given the Cypriot king's hostility to them, this achieved nothing.<sup>196</sup>

Ferdinand's Franciscan sympathies were probably enhanced by the presence of another Majorcan prince, the Infante Philip, who came to Naples to join his sister in 1329 after the end of his regency in Majorca. Philip and Sancia formed the centre of a Spiritual Franciscan movement at the court, attracting proscribed luminaries such as Angelo Clareno and Michael of Cesena.

Another group of affines favoured by Robert were the dauphins of Viennois, related through the marriage of his niece Beatrice of Anjou-Hungary to the future Dauphin John II in 1296. Guigues, baron of Montauban, younger brother of John II, was appointed Robert's captain-general in Lombardy in 1314; the following year, Robert tried to entice him to serve in the kingdom of Sicily himself for a pension of 400 ounces of gold on Robert's revenues in Apulia. Revealingly, the terms of the agreement involved Guigues resettling in Apulia with his wife and child as one of the lords of the land, with the commitment that not just Guigues, but his descendants, born and to be born, were to die in the service of Robert and his heirs.<sup>197</sup> Guigues never took up the offer and died within two years.

Another young Viennois relative favoured by Robert was his great nephew, Humbert, baron of Faucigny, younger son of Beatrice of Anjou-Hungary and Dauphin John II. Having come to the Neapolitan court in 1332, he was loaded with lands and honours and married to Maria of Baux, whose marriage to the other protégé,

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addressed to Ferdinand from the court of Naples - this happened to letters from both Queen Sancia and Catherine of Valois, Empress of Constantinople. Ferrarius de Seriniano, a *familiaris* of Ferdinand's, carrying letters from King Robert and Queen Sancia, also had the letters seized and opened; he was also detained and tortured by the Cypriot king. Later on, Catherine, a *familiaris et domestica* of Ferdinand's mother, Isabella, Countess of Jaffa, arriving in Cyprus from Naples was also detained on arrival at Famagusta and had her letters seized. See de Mas-Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 193, 194, 196, 201.

<sup>196</sup> de la Mas-Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 193. For King Hugh's hatred of the Franciscans, something clearly associated with Ferdinand, Sancia and Sancia's brother Philip, see below p. 269-70, note 238.

<sup>197</sup> Valbonnais, *Histoire de Dauphiné*, a. 271-2, *Preuves sous Jean II*, XXVI.

Ferdinand, had not taken place.<sup>198</sup> Humbert also played an important part in negotiating between Robert and his Hungarian relatives in 1333 and the double marriage project.<sup>199</sup> Humbert's stay in Naples, however was shorter than expected, as the death of his brother Dauphin Guigues VIII the same year necessitated his return to Grenoble.<sup>200</sup> Thereafter, relations became cooler, as conflicts between officials, Humbert's support for the Hungarian Angevins and his sale of his lands to Philip VI instead of King Robert led to a souring<sup>201</sup>; Bertrand, Maria's father, however, was not included in this ill-feeling despite Maria's death in 1343, and later showed some interest in Humbert's crusade plans.<sup>202</sup> Bertrand himself was perhaps the greatest beneficiary of Angevin generosity to junior relatives.<sup>203</sup>

Robert was not the only Angevin king to surround himself by people connected to the dynasty by marriages in Charles II's reign. The main result of the marriage of Charles Robert of Hungary to Maria of Beuthen was the arrival of large numbers of her relatives at his court, many of whom were rewarded with important lands and honours, especially ecclesiastical, by the Hungarian king. Maria's brother Boleslas became archbishop of Esztergom and Grand Master of the Hospital in Hungary under the influence of Charles Robert; another brother, Mieszko became bishop of Nyitra

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<sup>198</sup>Maria of Baux was the heiress to the county of Andria. Humbert was also granted superior jurisdiction over all the lands he had and would acquire in the future. See Valbonnais, *Histoire de Dauphiné*, a. 300, *Preuves*, A.XLV, I.

<sup>199</sup>See above p. 249-50.

<sup>200</sup>Valbonnais, *Histoire de Dauphiné*, a. 300.

<sup>201</sup>Humbert had a series of clashes with his great-uncle, as his officers in the Gapençais interfered with the jurisdiction of the Count of Provence. They were accused of preventing appeals to the courts of Provence, by making them go to the court of judgment at Grenoble, the castellan of St Bomet was accused of seizing Chassagnes from Robert's vassal, the Viscount of Tallard, while the authority of the king was threatened by changes to the road to Piedmont, which passed by Tallard and Sisteron, the seat of the king's justice, making it less accessible. See Valbonnais, *Histoire de Dauphiné*, a. 312-13, *Preuves*, A. CIX.

<sup>202</sup>For Bertrand's request to Queen Joanna to join Humbert's crusade in 1345, see Léonard, *Histoire de Jeanne Ire*, I, 451.

<sup>203</sup>On Bertrand's wealth, see Léonard, *Histoire de Jeanne Ire*, I, 30-2.

and later of Veszprém. Despite Maria's premature and childless death in 1317, her relatives continued to exert influence in Hungary for decades to come.<sup>204</sup>

The marriage agreements also concerned the welfare of widows and care for widowed female relatives was an important part of *amicitia*; in the absence of a husband, the senior male relative was supposed to take charge. Charles of Valois was called upon to be supportive of Clementia of Anjou, widow of Louis X of France; Alfonso IV wrote to his 'very dear uncle' Charles Robert of Hungary to look out for his sister Elizabeth, widow of Frederick of Austria.<sup>205</sup> In 1298, Charles II gallantly offered to transport Queen Constance, his son-in-law's mother from Sicily to the mainland, as well as paying her expenses.<sup>206</sup>

One of the most instructive examples of the role of *amicitia* and widows concerns Maria of Anjou, Charles II's fourth daughter and widow of King Sancho of Majorca from September 1324. She became a problem and an embarrassment for successive Aragonese kings when she refused to return to her brother Robert in Provence, who desired to arrange another match for her, and instead occasioned scandal and papal censure for her generally unwise conduct, especially her association with dubious young men, including a chaplain involved in forgery.<sup>207</sup> For both the

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<sup>204</sup>Por, 310-11.

<sup>205</sup>*quocirca excellenciam vestram tota mentis affectione duximus deprecendam, quatenus pensantes quod ad dictam reginam regales affectus extenditis.* Alfonso IV to Charles Robert, 1330. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no.262. Elizabeth died before the letter was written.

<sup>206</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, no.33

<sup>207</sup> John XXII spent two years without success trying to persuade Maria to leave for Provence. *Jean XXII, Lettres secrètes*, III, no. 2215, letter of John XXII to Maria, Queen of Majorca on his concerns about her chaplain, Johannes Alegre, canon of Elne and his involvement with *fraudes* of apostolic letters, September 1324; John XXII's letters of November 1324 to James III, King of Majorca and Philip of Majorca to persuade Maria to transfer herself to Aix-en-Provence at the request of her brother King Robert, *Jean XXII, Lettres secrètes*, III, nos. 2267-70; John's letter to King James of Aragon in July 1325 that John's letters of October 1325 to James III of Majorca and Maria to get Maria to go to Aix and have a meeting with Helionorus de Villanova, master of the Hospital, and his desire for her to have an *honesta comitiva*; John's letter of May 1326, ordering Maria to go to Provence so that Robert may find her a suitable husband as her reputation is in danger, see Mollat, III, 2824-6. Maria's rebellious and wayward nature may well be linked to John XXII's rebuke of her husband King Sancho for his ill-treatment of her shortly before Sancho's death. See A. S. V. Reg. 112, fol. 207, c. 809, May 1324. As

unhappy Maria and concerned outsiders, her natural protector was thus her brother-in-law James II of Aragon, to whose family she was much attached.<sup>208</sup> The Aragonese king thereafter arranged her second marriage to a junior relative, James, Lord of Xerica.<sup>209</sup> Perhaps unsurprisingly, this proved disastrous, due to Maria's alleged dishonesty and mental instability. Held under house arrest by her husband, she refused to take Communion for over a year, despite the persuasions of another nephew, John of Aragon, Patriarch of Alexandria.<sup>210</sup> Widowed a second time, Maria threatened to become as much of a problem for her nephew Alfonso IV as she had been for his father James II. Like John XXII, Alfonso was convinced of the need to surround Maria with a decent and honest entourage<sup>211</sup> and to stop her from marrying a third time; again, though, Alfonso saw the permanent solution to her situation in terms of her returning to her brother King Robert in Naples.<sup>212</sup> Determined to break his aunt's will,

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early as the condolence letter for Sancho's death in September of that year, John was stressing Maria's need to change her entourage and seek the counsel of older and wiser men and women, and that she should get rid of the bad influence of younger people, while in another letter, he was encouraging her brother Robert that she *diu non perseveret vidua*. See A.S. V. Reg. 113, fol. 27, c. 231, 21 Sept 1324; fol. 64v, c. 416, 10 Sept 1324 .

<sup>208</sup> Maria wrote to her brother-in-law James II of Aragon in January (1326) 1327, imploring him to have compassion for her sad state and rescue her before 'some worse harm' befell her. 'You, lord, are a special refuge to us. We intend to live and die in your domain'. See Finke, *Acta Aragonensia, Nachträge*, p. 652, n. 21. At about the same time, James II's son, the Infante Peter wrote to his father that ascertain Brother Ferrer Reygal had things to tell him concerning the welfare of Queen Maria's honour and soul. Revealingly, Peter appealed his father for his aunt's sake as the husband of Maria's late sister: *es germana de la molt alta senyora reyna dona Blanca de bona memoria, mare nostra, per la qual raho, vos, senyor, la devets tenir en compte de sor*. See Finke, 'Nachträge', no. 31. For Maria's earlier desire, expressed in a letter to her sister Blanche, to see Blanche's children, see above p. 194 and n. 19.

<sup>209</sup> See Finke, 'Nachträge', no. 32. For the family and marital connections of the house of Xerica, see Table III.

<sup>210</sup> Finke, 'Nachträge', no. 65, letter of Alfonso IV of Aragon to his uncle King Robert of Naples, May 1335. Alfonso also described Maria's 'insanity' in a letter to Robert's wife Sancia. See A.C.A. Reg. 544 f. 87. However, as early as December 1328, John XXII was writing to Alfonso, his brother John, Patriarch of Alexandria and her other nephew King James III of Majorca to console her and look after her. A. S. V. Reg. Vat. 115 f. 198 r-v, c. 977.

<sup>211</sup> On the news of James of Xerica's death, Alfonso sent *personas honestas et honorabiles cum decenti familia apud locum de Xericha*; he stressed that Robert should send *decentem et honestam familiam* to her by land or sea to bring her to Naples with decent honour, meanwhile, she was to be kept under his control at Valencia *civitate fideli et honesta familia*. See *Ibid.*

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*

Alfonso ordered that she should be starved for a day and then taken against her will if she refused to go to Valencia.<sup>213</sup> It seems, that this threat must have worked, for Maria did move to Valencia before returning to Provence in 1337-8, where she held a small court at Barjols until her death around 1346-7.<sup>214</sup>

Another widow who became a problem for the houses of Anjou and Barcelona was Yolande of Aragon, Despina of Romania. This Yolande was the youngest daughter of James II of Aragon and Blanche of Anjou, who, after a chequered career on the marriage market, married Philip, Despot of Romania, son of Philip of Taranto as part of a double marriage package in 1328.<sup>215</sup> Within three years of marriage, however, Yolande was widowed and childless, having just suffered a miscarriage.<sup>216</sup> Tensions had already arisen due to the non-payment of her dowry,<sup>217</sup>

Her future was now determined by the royal families of both Aragon and Naples. Unlike her aunt Maria, Yolande wanted to return to her homeland. In

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<sup>213</sup>Finke, 'Nachträge', no. 65, letter of Alfonso IV to Guillelmus Richerii and Peregrinus de Monte, April 1335.

<sup>214</sup>See A. Venturini, 'Un compte de l'hôtel de Marie d'Anjou, reine de Majorque, retirée en Provence', *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes* 146 (1988), 76-8. Joanna of Anjou-Taranto was another 'problem widow' for the Angevins. During her marriage to King Oshin of Armenia, Pope John XXII had been moved to write to her on several occasions to remind her of her duties to her husband and that she should love him. See A.S.V. Reg. 109, f. 87r, 87v, c. 372, 30 October 1317; f. 129r + v, c. 537, 1318. In 1320, Oshin was murdered; Joanna disobeyed the advice of her uncle Robert and Pope John XXII to return home and compounded matters by contracting an uncanonical marriage to his murderer Oshin of Konikos. See M. Camera, *Annali*, II, 275, who claims that Joanna's reply was '*Che la prima donna che peccò, fu assoluta per dimanderme il perdono*'; A.S.N. Notamenta De Lellis, IV Bis, Pars III, 215. See C. Köhler (ed.) '*Lettres pontificales concernant l'histoire de la petite Arménie au XIVe siècle*', *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé*, Paris, 1969., 303-27. It seems, however, that John XXII at least accepted the *fait accompli* by granting a retrospective dispensation in August 1321 to Joanna and Oshin of Konikos and even favoured them further by another one for the marriage of the new King Leo V, Joanna's stepson to Oshin of Konikos's daughter Alice. Eight years later, Leo gained revenge for his father's death by the murder of both Oshin and Alice of Konikos; shortly after, he married Constance, daughter of King Fredenck of Tmracia and widow of King Henry II of Cyprus.

<sup>215</sup>The same year, Yolande's brother Raymond Berengar, Count of Ampurias married Philip's sister Blanche. On 7 April 1328, John XXII wrote to King Alfonso of Aragon to tell him of the coming of Blanche to Nice to meet Yolande. See John XXII, *Lettres secrètes*, no. 3546.

<sup>216</sup>Martínez-Ferrando, *Jaime II*, I, 187.

<sup>217</sup>Finke, 'Nachträge', 417-19; Martínez-Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón, su vida familiar*, I, 188; R. Sablonier, 'The Aragonese royal family', 232-3.

February 1331, a month after Philip's death, King Robert was sent a letter by Yolande's older brother, the Infante Peter, that, as Yolande had expressed a desire to return to Catalonia, he would send a person of trust to accompany her.<sup>218</sup>

### *Amicitia* beyond the grave

Recognition of relatives beyond the '*domus*' was reserved not just for this life but also for the next. Bequests in wills indicate that connections were maintained. In her testament, made in April 1296, Margaret of Anjou, Countess of Valois left gifts for her parents, her brother Philip, her sisters Eleanor and Blanche and her cousin Catherine of Courtenay.<sup>219</sup> Charles II and Queen Maria likewise showed an interest in descendants in the female line, so cementing them together as inheritors.<sup>220</sup> Clementia of Anjou-Hungary, Queen of France did not leave property to her brother, King Charles Robert of Hungary, but to her sister Beatrice and especially, Beatrice's younger son, Humbert.<sup>221</sup>

For the living relatives too, masses and funeral sermons were ways of commemorating those connected by marriage as well as those belonging to the *domus* proper. On the death of Charles of Valois in 1325, for example, masses were said for his soul in the cathedral at Naples, the chapel of the Castel Nuovo and at Santa Croce in Florence.<sup>222</sup> John of Aragon, Archbishop of Tarragona and Patriarch of

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<sup>218</sup>*Carte reali diplomatiche di Alfonso III*, no. 66.

<sup>219</sup>Archives Nationales, Paris, A.N. J 403, no. 14. Margaret left her father King Charles a breviary that the friar-preachers used that she had had made at a cost of 100 *livres tournois*; her mother Queen Maria 100 *livres parisis* with which the executors could buy a jewel that was *pulcrum et sufficiens tale domine*; to her brother Philip a gold *capium* worth 100 *livres tournois*; to her sisters, Blanche, Queen of Aragon and Eleanor and to her 'dearest cousin' Catherine, daughter of the Emperor of Constantinople were bequeathed gold hats worth 50 *livres tournois*.

<sup>220</sup>Charles II left 100 oz. of gold to the children of his late daughter Margaret, Countess of Valois, 300 *livres tournois* to his granddaughter Beatrice, Dauphine of Vienne, also 100 oz in dowry to his daughter Beatrice and 8000 oz for the dowry of his unmarried granddaughter Clementia, which was to be reduced to 1000 oz if she became a nun. Camera, *Annali*, II, 174.

<sup>221</sup>Clementia made Humbert her major beneficiary; Beatrice received *nostre Image de Nostre-Dame d'argent aux Tableaux peins*. See Valbonnais, *Histoire de Dauphiné, Preuves*, A. XXXVI.

<sup>222</sup>A.S.N., Notamenta De Lellis, III, pars I, 16-17. In 1327, a Messer Pietro Capo was paid the price of

Alexandria wrote a sermon eulogizing the memory of his mother's brother, Philip of Taranto. <sup>223</sup>

One particular example of links maintained after death was the case of holy relatives. The cult of Saint Louis of Toulouse, second son of Charles II, was venerated not just by the Angevins but by the families that married into them. When John XXII proclaimed Louis canonised, he wrote not just to King Robert of Naples, but also to his brothers-in-law, King James II of Aragon and King Sancho of Majorca. <sup>224</sup> Indeed, such relatives were prominent among those who benefited from the saint's miraculous powers. King Dinis of Portugal, who was married to Isabella of Aragon, sister-in-law of Blanche of Anjou, built an altar to the saint; Saint Louis was supposed to not only have saved the king's life but also resurrected his favourite falcon. <sup>225</sup> King Philip VI of France, nephew to the saint via his mother Margaret of Anjou, prayed to him when his son John was desperately ill; upon the boy's cure, he visited Louis's shrine with King James of Majorca, whose aunt and uncle had married a brother and sister of the saint. <sup>226</sup> Saint Louis also appeared in a vision to another nephew, Peter of Aragon, Count of Ribagorza, who thereupon decided to leave the material world and become a Franciscan like his illustrious forebear. <sup>227</sup>

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856 pounds of wax delivered to the cardinals, prelates, clerics and Florentine and foreign religious for the obsequies at Santa Croce and in the chapel of the palace where Charles, Duke of Calabria was residing for both Charles of Valois and Pierre Duèze, brother of the Pope. See Barone, 'Ratio Thesaurariorum', 417.

<sup>223</sup>D.L. d'Avray, *Death and the Prince . Memorial Preaching before 1350*, Oxford, 1994, 53, 86. The connection between Philip and the royal house of Aragon had undoubtedly been strengthened by the double marriage of 1328; at the time of his death, his daughter Blanche was living in the kingdom as the wife of the Infante Raymond Berengar, John's youngest brother.

<sup>224</sup>John XXII also wrote to the saint's mother, Queen Maria of Sicily, his brother Philip of Taranto, his sister Queen Mana of Majorca, his sister-in-law Queen Sancia of Sicily, his nephew Charles, Duke of Calabria, his niece Joanna of Taranto, Queen of Armenia, and two Capetian cousins, Philip V, King of France and Agnes, Duchess of Burgundy, daughter of Saint Louis of France. See E. Bertaux, 'Les saint Louis dans l'art italien', *Revue des deux mondes*, 4158 (Mar-Apr 1900), 624.

<sup>225</sup>L. Wadding, *Annales minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco Institutorum*, Quaracchi, 1931, V, p. 453-4.

<sup>226</sup>Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, II, 301.

<sup>227</sup>Martinez-Ferrando, *Jaime II*, I, 167..

The promotion of the cult of Saint Louis of Toulouse in the first half of the fourteenth century was to a large extent a family affair. This extended beyond the Angevin family proper, but also into their relatives by marriage. Humbert II of Viennois, son of Saint Louis's niece, Beatrice of Anjou-Hungary, founded a monastery for the daughters of St Clare at Iseron in his honour<sup>228</sup>. The saint's Aragonese nephews and nieces also promoted the cult; King Alfonso IV of Aragon gave the Friars at Teruel a triptych portraying scenes from Louis' life;<sup>229</sup> his sister Elizabeth, wife of Frederick the Fair, Duke of Austria introduced the cult to Vienna by building a chapel to her holy uncle there<sup>230</sup>; I have already mentioned their brother Peter. Indeed, Saint Louis's close connection with this family group cannot be surprising, given his long imprisonment in Catalonia. It was here, through the Catalan Spiritual, Petrus Johannes Olivi, that he became first involved with ascetic poverty; his close connection with James II of Aragon and his sister Blanche is revealed by his reading of a sermon at their wedding and his visit to Catalonia at the time of his death to mediate between King James and Count Gaston of Foix.<sup>231</sup> St Louis, of course, was also supposed to have incited James of Majorca's renunciation of the throne. Indeed, the royal house of Majorca, itself closely identified with the Spiritual Franciscans, was also connected to his cult. Queen Sancia also associated her nephew and protégé, Ferdinand of Majorca, by sending him to deliver a decorated screen to the saint's shrine at Marseilles; the luckless Ferdinand,

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<sup>228</sup>Valbonnais, *Histoire de Dauphiné*, a. 326; *Preuves*, A. CLXXV.

<sup>229</sup>P. Sanaluya, *História de la seráfica provincia de Cataluña*, Barcelona, 1959; Jill R. Webster, *Els Menorets - The Franciscans in the Realms of Aragon from St Francis to the Black Death*, Toronto, 1993, 90.

<sup>230</sup>The chapel was built with a costly altar dedicated to the saint in the choir of the church of the Franciscans in Vienna and in November 1328, John XXII granted indulgences to those visiting the chapel. By Elizabeth's will of 24 April 1328, she wanted to be buried in the chapel, and 40 marks a year for buying cloth, 2 marks for a meal on Saint Louis' day, 2 marks for 2 candles, 1 of which was for Saint Louis' altar, one for her own grave, and women were to be paid 4 marks for repairing the glasses in her chapel, see von Zeissberg, 'Elisabeth von Aragonien', p. 99-101.

<sup>231</sup>'Process of Canonisation', *Analecta Franciscana* VII (1951), 33; Edith Pasztor, *Per la storia di San Ludovico d'Angiò*, Rome, 19.



disaster-prone as ever, managed to lose the screen *en route*.<sup>232</sup> Indeed, the close family connection of the Angevins were stimulated by attachments to the Spiritual Franciscans shared by many relatives, especially Robert and Sancia, Sancia's brothers James and Philip of Majorca, Frederick and Eleanor.<sup>233</sup> Indeed, in a letter to the Franciscans, posing revealingly as 'spiritual mother', Sancia made much of her 'spiritual lineage', stressing the saints and holy people linked to her through blood and marriage, including St Elizabeth of Hungary, her mother Esclarmonde of Foix, her brother James of Majorca, her brother-in-law Louis of Toulouse and her mother-in-law Maria of Hungary.<sup>234</sup> Sancia's brother Philip came to her court in 1329, after giving up the regency of the Balearic kingdoms, and the two became the centre of a pro-Spiritual grouping at court, gathering exiles such as Roberto da Mileto.<sup>235</sup> Sancia's nephew, Ferdinand, who was brought up at the Angevin court, also became heavily influenced by the Spiritual movement. A concerned Alfonso IV of Aragon wrote to the boy's mother, Isabella of Ibelin, Countess of Jaffa that he was afraid that Ferdinand would become a Franciscan, and it does seem that Ferdinand did flirt with the idea and take vows.<sup>236</sup> However, he found the regime too strict, and asked Benedict XII to absolve him.<sup>237</sup> Even after he married Eschiva of Lusignan and went to live in Cyprus, he was still devoted to the Order; this was one of the main reasons for his dramatic falling-out with his father-in-law, King Hugh.<sup>238</sup> Devotion to the Spiritual Franciscans, however

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<sup>232</sup>Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò*, I, 651.

<sup>233</sup>For example, Blanche and her sister Eleanor were both held up as examples by Arnau de Villanova for their disdain of jewellery and their charitable works. See Martínez-Ferrando, *Jaume II*, I, 12.

<sup>234</sup>St Elizabeth was her father's mother's sister. She describes both Esclarmonde and Maria as *filia vera beati Francisci*. See L. Wadding, *Annales minorum*, VIII, 1334, § 172.; for Sancia's relations with the Spirituels, see Ronald G. Musto, 'Queen Sancia of Naples and the Spiritual Franciscans (1286-1345)' in J. Kirshner, S.F. Wemple (eds.), *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in Honor of John H. Mundy*, Oxford, 1985, 179-214.

<sup>235</sup>Musto, 'Queen Sancia', 195-202.

<sup>236</sup>Finke, *Acta Aragonensia, Nachträge*, no. 45,1; Vidal, 'Adhémar de Mosset', 712n.5.

<sup>237</sup>Vidal, 712n.5; Mercedes Van Heuckelum, *Spiritualische Strömungen an den Höfen von Aragon und Anjou während der Höhe des Armutstretes*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1912, 83-4.

<sup>238</sup>On Ferdinand's quarrel with King Hugh, see above, p. 260-1 and his confidential memoir to his

did not equal devotion to the Angevin house. Two of King Robert's bitterest enemies, his brother-in-law King Frederick of Sicily and the Emperor Louis IV, shared the Angevin king's favour for the Fraticelli, but this did not have any effect on their political enmity. Rather the common blood inheritance of many royal saints associated with the mendicant orders, such as Elizabeth of Hungary, was reinforced by intermarriage, along with the influence of leading pro-Spirituals at the time, such as Olivi and Arnau de Vilanova, led to a common devotion that went beyond political boundaries.<sup>239</sup>

### Conclusion

The correspondence between the royal houses of Aragon and Sicily in this period is a window on the world of dynastic marriage and what it meant beyond the treaties established to end the Sicilian war. While born of a need to end that particular conflict, the marriages established a family connection involving duties of obligation and affection between both parties involved that operated on many different levels and for purposes that went far beyond the clauses of the agreements, from patronizing performers to promoting family cults. The use of the same kin-terminology as blood-relatives, such as brother or sister, to describe relations between in-laws, strengthened the idea that more than just acquiring a wife, a king like James II of Aragon acquired

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brother, King James of Majorca, published in L. de Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, II, 182-202. King Hugh hated the Franciscans and called the poor Clares *meretrices et male mulieres et paterine*. His hostility to his son-in-law seems to have intensified when Ferdinand tried to get his wife Eschiva to confess to Minorites. The situation became so bad that Ferdinand became afraid of confessing to them himself. In his general condemnation of the Franciscans, Hugh also strongly criticised Eschiva, and perhaps, not surprisingly, Queen Sancia and Philip of Majorca: *Et quociensque poterat habere opportunitatem loquendi dicte filie sue, immediate veniebat ad verba illa, et tot mala egrediebantur de ore suo, maledicendo filiam suam et ordinem Minorum necnon reginam Cecilie et dominum Philippum de Majoricis, avunculum ipsis domini infantis, vocando eosdem paterinos et ipsam filiam et suam uxorem domini infantis mecum, quare volebat confiteri fratribus minoribus*. See Mas-Latrie, *Histoire*, II, p. 185.

<sup>239</sup>On this, generally see Mercedes van Heuckelum, *Spiritualische Stromungen*

parents, and brothers and sisters as well on his marriage; as the case of Frederick and Robert shows, these new brothers could compete with the blood-brother in affection. In particular, Charles II was able to exploit his paternal role to acquire new and powerful 'sons', on whom he could exercise a semi-parental influence from a distance; more junior relatives by marriage, such as the house of Viennois or Bertrand des Baux were encouraged to establish themselves at the royal court and enter royal service more directly.

Of course, the value of these ties had to be constantly re-affirmed to avoid their slackening, given the existence of other family and political ties that could conflict with them. Multiple connections were often made to strengthen the bond by involving as many family members as possible and excluding rivals. Death, new marriages and connections and changing political circumstances meant that more new marriages often had to be made with the next generation to keep blood ties close, as long as canon law allowed. In a political world where family ties were appealed to even where none existed and where heritable power was the norm, selection and exploitation of the right marriage alliance were of vital importance.

## CONCLUSIONS

*Charles II. the Angevins and the Capetians*

Angevin history is Capetian history and deserves to be treated as such. Although the outlook of the Sicilian branch of the Capetian family was not focussed on northern France, but turned towards the Mediterranean, the importance of the French link was maintained, despite the growing distance in blood-relationship with the senior royal line. This was done partly by numerous marriages with people more closely related to the French kings than the Angevins, such as Charles of Valois and his daughters. However, the fact that Charles II was prepared to sacrifice his father's original apanage and thus move his dynasty further out of the northern French orbit by giving it in marriage with his daughter shows how far the 'Angevins' had left Anjou behind for Provence and Sicily. It was the preservation of this central Provençal-Sicilian axis as the central patrimony for his *primogenitus* that was Charles' main aim, of which the protracted matrimonial negotiations and settlements over the Sicilian war played a key part. Charles II was a skilled and adaptable negotiator, but his success in achieving his ends was mixed - neither James II nor Charles of Valois were able to deliver the complete military victory that was necessary to unite a kingdom that was fiercely divided. Instead of passing on the island of Sicily as an inheritance to his *primogenitus* Robert, Charles II had to compromise by establishing his daughter Eleanor on the throne instead at least in the short and medium term, while the search for a final solution to the conflict continued. Given the hostility of both Frederick and the political community on the island towards the return of an Angevin king, he was probably about as successful as he could have been. In such a schema, other interests, like Greece, Piedmont, Jerusalem, Hungary, and the kingdom of Arles in general were subordinated to these needs in varying degrees. Although Charles' matrimonial policy still aimed towards alliances with the key Mediterranean dynasties, he preferred to

establish multiple bonds with the house of Barcelona and the senior Capetian line above all else. Of the royal titles that had been held or claimed under Charles I and Charles II, all were contested or barely established. Under Charles II, only three were retained, but Charles II fought only for Sicily; Jerusalem he held on to in name but did nothing to regain; the success of Charles Robert in securing the throne of Hungary was largely due to papal support and the aristocratic support within Hungary, not the support of Charles II. In this time of retrenchment after the towering ambitions of his father, Charles II quietly dropped Arles, Albania and Sardinia even from use. Following Capetian family strategy, Charles II favoured the *primogenitus* Robert rather than giving large apanages to all sons, although Philip was strongly favoured also and Charles was prepared to cede territories as dowries to daughters to secure Sicilian peace. However, his unfair treatment of the Hungarian branch, neglect of his younger sons and excessive favour to Philip, both in terms of apanage and the provocative Provence succession stipulation, led to hostility between different branches of the family that was to lead to conflict in the reigns of Robert and Joanna I and sow the seeds of destruction for the dynasty.

### *Marriage and law*

The marriages of the family of Charles II illustrate how far the clerical view of marriage was accepted in terms of the legal requirements - consent, indissoluble marriage and exogamy, but they also indicate how aristocratic ideas continued. The violent removal of Beatrice from Notre-Dame-de-Nazareth could come from the early medieval period; though even here, however, Charles had to go through the accepted formality of an open declaration of her desire to renounce her vows. Charles' complicated matrimonial schemes presumed the consent of members of his family, but the cases of St Louis of Toulouse and Catherine of Courtenay show how things could go wrong. The question of indissolubility, such a problem for Philip Augustus, among

other Capetian forbears clashing with the Church over marriage, was largely surmounted by breaking off unwanted political alliances at the engagement phase: more thorny questions of fecundity were not so possible to resolve. On consanguinity, the 1215 formula proved a workable if limiting arrangement for both kings and popes, compared to the impossibly complicated rules that operated before. To some extent, aristocratic ideas regained some ground as the number and range of papal dispensations increased in the period in a less strict theological environment; however, this meant a large dependence on papal favour, something which a king like Charles II was able to exploit to his best advantage over rivals in the marriage market, although even he could not breach first-cousin marriage. In a more stable legal environment, kings were not able to divorce, but were ensured valid marriages, legitimate children and a practical choice of marriage partners.

#### *The politics of friendship*

Dynastic marriage was more than just the sum of the treaties and marriage agreements, but was the basis for the creation of bonds of friendship and family relationship that were of real importance and which could be of political use in all sorts of situations.

Kings like Charles II were able to use their paternal role over their new 'sons' to increase and dominate other lineages and bring affines into their orbit, whether by political alliance at a distance or bringing them to their courts. In Charles II's particular case, the multiple alliances with the royal house of Aragon and the warm personal relationship thus established between Charles and James II of Aragon helped to ensure that the Aragonese king would not support his brother Frederick in the Sicilian war; the appeal to family relationship was continued by Charles' successor Robert. At the same time, the strong identification of the Angevins with the senior royal line of France was increased by marriages with it, thus maintaining a close family relationship between

branches of the family that were becoming distant in terms of male line descent. For Charles II, the absence of such warm bonds with Frederick of Trinacria contributed to the resumption of the Sicilian war, but even this was ended ultimately in a final marriage settlement between the warring dynasties. While historians have rightly devoted their attention to the importance of the lineage and the household in studies of the family in the medieval period, the correspondence between the royal houses of Sicily (Naples) and Aragon illuminates the considerable role that affines and matrilineal relatives still played in family relationships.

*CHARLES II'S MARRIAGE PROJECTS 1285-1309*

N.B. Projects leading to marriage in bold  
Rival projects in italics in brackets

*Cefalù (1285-6)*

Charles Martel, eldest son of Charles II (1271-95) - Yolande, sister of James of Aragon, King of Sicily (c. 1275-1302)

Margaret, eldest daughter of Charles II (1272/6-99) - James of Aragon, King of Sicily (1268-1327)

Blanche, second daughter of Charles II (1283-1310) - Frederick, younger brother of James of Aragon (1273/5 - 1337)

(by 1287)

Charles Martel consummated marriage to Clementia of Habsburg, daughter of Emperor Rudolf I (1267/73 -95) (engaged since 1281)

*Greek proposal (1288)*

Michael, son of Andronicus II, Emperor of Byzantium (1275-1320) - Catherine of Courtenay, niece of Charles II, heiress to Latin Empire (1274/5 -1307)

*Montferrat alliance (1289)*

Blanche, second daughter of Charles II - John, son of William VII, Marquis of Montferrat (1272/80 -1305)

*Treaty of Corbeil (1289), followed by Treaty of Senlis (1290)*

Margaret, eldest daughter of Charles II to marry Charles of Valois (1270-1325) (m. 1290)

*Epirus alliance (1291)*

Philip, fourth son of Charles II (c. 1279 -1331) or Robert, third son of Charles II (1277/8- 1343) - Tamar, daughter of Nicephorus I, Despot of Epirus (d. 1309/10)

[Monteagudo (1291) - *James II of Aragon married Isabella, daughter of Sancho IV of Castile (1283-1328), but without dispensation or consummation*]

*Guadalajara (1293)*

Blanche, second daughter of Charles II - Frederick of Aragon

Philip, fourth son of Charles II - Yolande of Aragon

*Pontoise (1293)*

Louis, second son of Charles II (1275-98) or Robert, third son of Charles II - Yolande of Aragon



*Logroño (1293)*

Louis or Robert of Anjou - Yolande of Aragon  
 Blanche, second daughter of Charles II - Frederick of Aragon

[Tarazona proposal between James II and Philip IV (1293)- *Yolande of Aragon - Alfonso de la Cerda* (c. 1273 -1333); *James II of Aragon - Philip IV's sister Blanche of France* (c. 1280-1305); *Frederick of Aragon - Blanche of Anjou or Catherine of Courtenay, niece of Charles II* ]

*La Junquera (1293)*

Blanche, second daughter of Charles II - James II of Aragon  
 Louis or Robert of Anjou - Yolande of Aragon

[1293-4. *Anna, Despina of Epirus plan - Thamar of Epirus - Michael Paleologus*]

*Epirus marriage (1294)*

Philip, fourth son of Charles II, created Prince of Taranto married Thamar of Epirus

[Franco-Aragonese project (winter 1294/5) - *James II of Aragon - Blanche of France; Yolande of Aragon - Alfonso de la Cerda; Frederick of Aragon - Blanche of Anjou or Catherine of Courtenay*]

*Velletri (1295)*

Frederick of Aragon - Catherine of Courtenay

*Anagni (1295)*

James II of Aragon's marriage to Isabella of Castile finally annulled  
 James II of Aragon to marry Blanche of Anjou (married Nov. 1295)  
 Yolande of Aragon to marry Alfonso de la Cerda  
 Peter of Aragon (1276-96) to marry Guillerma of Montcada (d. 1309)  
 son of Philip IV of France to marry Joanna (1291-1330), daughter of Otto IV,  
 Count of Burgundy and Matilda of Artois

*Viennois alliance (1296)*

Beatrice, granddaughter of Charles II (1289-1354) married John, son of Humbert I, Dauphin of Viennois (1284-1319)  
 John I, Marquis of Montferrat married Margaret of Savoy  
 Alice of Viennois married John I, Count of Forez

*Philip of Toucy marriage plan (late 1290s, abandoned 1300)*

Eleanor, third daughter of Charles II (1289 -1341) - Philip of Toucy

*Rome (1297)*

**Robert, Duke of Calabria married Yolande of Aragon (d. 1302)**

[ 1298 - *Catherine of Courtenay affianced to James of Majorca*]

*Peace proposals of James II (1298)*

**Frederick of Aragon, King of Sicily - daughter of Charles II**

*Boniface VIII's peace proposal (1299)*

**Frederick of Aragon - Maria, fourth daughter of Charles II (1290-1346/7)**

*Alliance with Charles of Valois (1300-1)*

**Charles of Valois married Catherine of Courtenay**

*Majorca marriage project (1301) - Charles II's version*

**Maria, fourth daughter of Charles II - Sancho, second son of King James of Majorca (d. 1324)**

**Eleanor, third daughter of Charles II reserved for Frederick of Aragon**

*Majorca marriage project (1301) - Boniface VIII's version*

**Maria of Anjou - Frederick of Aragon**

**Eleanor of Anjou - Sancho of Majorca**

*Majorca marriage project (1302) - Charles II's new preferred version*

**Eleanor of Anjou - Frederick of Aragon**

**Beatrice, youngest daughter of Charles II (c. 1292 - 1316) - Sancho of Majorca**

*Treaty of Caltabellotta (1302)*

**Frederick of Aragon to marry Eleanor of Anjou (m. 1303)**

*Margaret of Clermont project (1302/5)*

**Raymond Berengar, fifth son of Charles II (c. 1282 -1305) to marry Margaret, daughter of Robert, Count of Clermont and first cousin of Philip IV of France (d. 1308-9)**

[*Valois-Burgundy alliances (1303) : Catherine, daughter of Charles of Valois and Catherine of Courtenay (1301-46) to marry Hugh, son of Robert II of Burgundy (c. 1295-1315); Robert II's daughter Joanna (c. 1293-1348) to marry Philip, son of Charles of Valois and Margaret of Anjou (1293-1350)*]

*Castilian project (1303-4)*

**Robert, Duke of Calabria - Isabella, sister of Ferdinand IV of Castile and former wife of James II of Aragon**

*Conclusion of Majorca marriages (1304)*

**Maria of Anjou married Sancho of Majorca**

**Robert of Calabria married Sancia, sister of Sancho (c. 1286 - 1345)**

*Este alliance (1304-5)*

**Beatrice, youngest daughter of Charles II married Azzo VIII, Marquis of Este (d. 1308) 1305**

*Hungarian marriage (1304/6)*

**Charles Robert, grandson of Charles II, claimant to Hungarian throne (1288-1342) married Maria of Galicia or Maria of Beuthen (d. 1317)**

*Cyprus project (1305)*

**Raymond Berengar of Anjou (d. 1305) to marry Maria, sister of Henry II, King of Cyprus (c.1280- 1322)**

*Savoy alliance (1306)*

**Charles, son of Philip of Taranto (c. 1297-1315) - Margaret, daughter of Philip of Savoy**

**[Franco-Trinacrian alliance (1306-7) Peter, son of Frederick of Aragon, King of Trinacria (1305-42) to marry Isabella, third daughter of Charles of Valois and Catherine of Courtenay (c. 1306-49); Robert, fourth son of Philip IV of France (1297-1307/8) to marry Constance, eldest daughter of Frederick of Aragon, King of Trinacria (1304-43/50)]**

*Valois - Anjou alliance (1307)*

**Charles, son of Robert, Duke of Calabria (1298-1328) - Joanna, second daughter of Charles of Valois and Catherine of Courtenay (1303-63)**

**[Valois-Aragon alliance (c. 1307), Alfonso, son of James II of Aragon (1299-1336) to marry Joanna, second daughter of Charles of Valois and Catherine of Courtenay]**

**[Valois-Serbia alliance (1308) Charles, son of Charles of Valois and Margaret of Anjou (1296-1346) to marry Zarza, daughter of Stephen Milutin, King of Serbia]**

*Spinola proposal (1308)*

**Beatrice, youngest daughter of Charles II, widowed Marchioness of Este - son of Obizzino Spinola**

*Baux marriage (1309)*

**Beatrice, youngest daughter of Charles II, widowed Marchioness of Este married Bertrand of Baux-Berre (d. 1347)**

*Philip IV's proposal to Clement V (1309)*

Catherine of Valois - Charles, son of Philip of Anjou, Prince of Taranto

Joanna of Valois - Alfonso of Aragon

Hugh V, Duke of Burgundy - Margaret, daughter of Charles of Valois and Margaret of Anjou (c. 1297 - 1342)

*Fontainebleau (1313)*

**Philip of Taranto married Catherine of Valois**

**Charles of Taranto married Joanna of Valois**

**Philip of Valois married Joanna of Burgundy**

**Louis, younger brother of Hugh V of Burgundy (c. 1297-1316) married Matilda of Hainault, Princess of Achaia (1293-1331)**

*GENEALOGICAL TABLES***Key**

=	married
(1) =	married first
†	died
aff.	affianced
c.	about
ann.	annulled
Abp.	archbishop
Bp.	bishop

Table I. The Capetian Dynasty - The Angevin Kings of Sicily (Naples)

CHARLES I, Count of Anjou, (1)= 1246, Beatrice, Countess of Provence †1267 Maine, Provence and Fourcalquier (2)= 1268, Margaret of Burgundy, Countess of Tonnerre †1308 King of Sicily 1266-85 and Jerusalem 1274-85						
(1) <b>CHARLES II</b> King of Sicily 1285/9-1309 =1270, Maria of Hungary †1323	(1) Philip King of Thessalonica †1277 = (1)1271, Isabella of Villehardouin †1311	(1) Blanche †1269 = (1) 1265, Robert of Béthune, later Count of Flanders †1322	(1) Beatrice †1275 =1273, Philip of of Courtenay titular Emperor of Constantinople †1283	(1) Isabella †1303 =1272, Ladislas IV King of Hungary †1290	(1) Catherine, titular Empress of Constantinople (2) Frederick of Aragon †1307 (3) James of Majorca = 1301, Charles of Valois*	
Charles aff. Isabella of Burgundy †c. 1280						
Charles Martel Prince of Salerno titular King of Hungary †1295 = 1281/7, Clementia of of Habsburg †1295	St Louis Bishop of Toulouse †1298	Margaret †1299 = 1290, Charles Count of Valois †1325	ROBERT Duke of Calabria King of Sicily 1309-43 (1)=1297, Yolande of Aragon †1302 (2)=1304, Sanctia of Majorca †1345	Blanche †1310 =1295, James II King of Aragon †1327		
Charles Robert King of Hungary 1310-42 ?(1)=1306, Maria of Galicia (2)(1)=Maria of Beuthen †1317 (3)(2)= 1318, Beatrice of Luxembourg †1319 (4)(3)=1320, Elizabeth of Poland †1380 (4)= (4) Louis I King of Hungary 1342-82	Beatrice †1354 =1296, John II Dauphin of Viennois †1319 Guigues VIII Dauphin of Viennois †1333 = 1323, Isabella of France †1348	Clementia †1328 =1315, Louis X King of France †1316 Humbert II Dauphin of Viennois †1355 =1332, Maria des Baux* Andrew †young	(1) Charles Duke of Calabria †1328 (1)=1316, Catherine of Habsburg †1323 (2)=1324, Maria of Valois †1331 (2)= JOANNA I Queen of Sicily 1343-82 (1)=1333, Andrew of Hungary* (2)=1346, Louis of Taranto* (3)=1363, James IV of Majorca †1375 (4)=1376, Otto, Duke of Brunswick-Grubenhagen †1399	Louis †1310 =1295, James II King of Aragon †1327 Maria †1366 (1)=Charles of Durazzo* (2)=Robert des Baux †1354 (3)=Philip III of Taranto*		
Philip I Prince of Taranto †1331 (1)=1294, Thamar of Epirus †1309/10 (2)=1313, Catherine of Valois †1346	Raymond Berengar Count of Piedmont †1305 aff. (1) Margaret of Clermont (2) Maria of Lusignan-Cyprus	Eleanor †1341 =1303, Frederick III, King of Trinacria †1337	Maria †1346/7 (1)=1304 Sancho, King of Majorca †1324 (2)=1326, James II Lord of Xerica †1335	Beatrice †1316/21 (1)=1305, Azzo VIII Marquis of Este †1308 (2)=1309, Bertrand des Baux-Berre Count of Montescaglioso †1347 (2)	John Count of Gravina †1335 (1)=1318 Matilda of Hainault ann. 1321, †1331 (2)=1321, Agnes of Périgord †1345	Peter Count of Eboli †1315
(1) Charles †1315 =1313, Joanna of Valois †1363 Yolande of Aragon †1353	(1) Philip II Despot of Romania †1331 =1328 Joanna of Aragon †1353	(1) Joanna †c.1323 (1)=1317, Oshin, King of Armenia †1320 (2)=1320, Oshin of Kirakos †1329	(1) Blanche †1338 =1328 Raymond Berengar of Aragon †1364	(1) Beatrice †before 1342 = 1325, Walter of Brienne, Duke of Athens †1356	(1) Maria Countess of Andria †1347 =1332, Humbert II* (2)= Maria* Louis = Margaret Count of Gravina †1362	(2) Margaret †1412
(2) Robert Lat. Emp. †1364 = Maria of Bourbon †1387	(2) Louis †1362 = JOANNA I* (1)=Maria*	(2) Philip III †1373 (1)=Maria*	(2) Margaret †1380 Francis des Baux, Duke of Andria Anzonia †1375 = 1373, Frederick IV of Trinacria	(2) Margaret †1412 Francis des Baux, Duke of Andria Anzonia †1375 = 1373, Frederick IV of Trinacria	(2) LADISLAS King of Sicily 1386-1414	(2) JOANNA II Queen of Sicily 1414-35
(2) CHARLES III King of Sicily 1382-6						

Table II. Capetian Dynasty - The Royal House of France

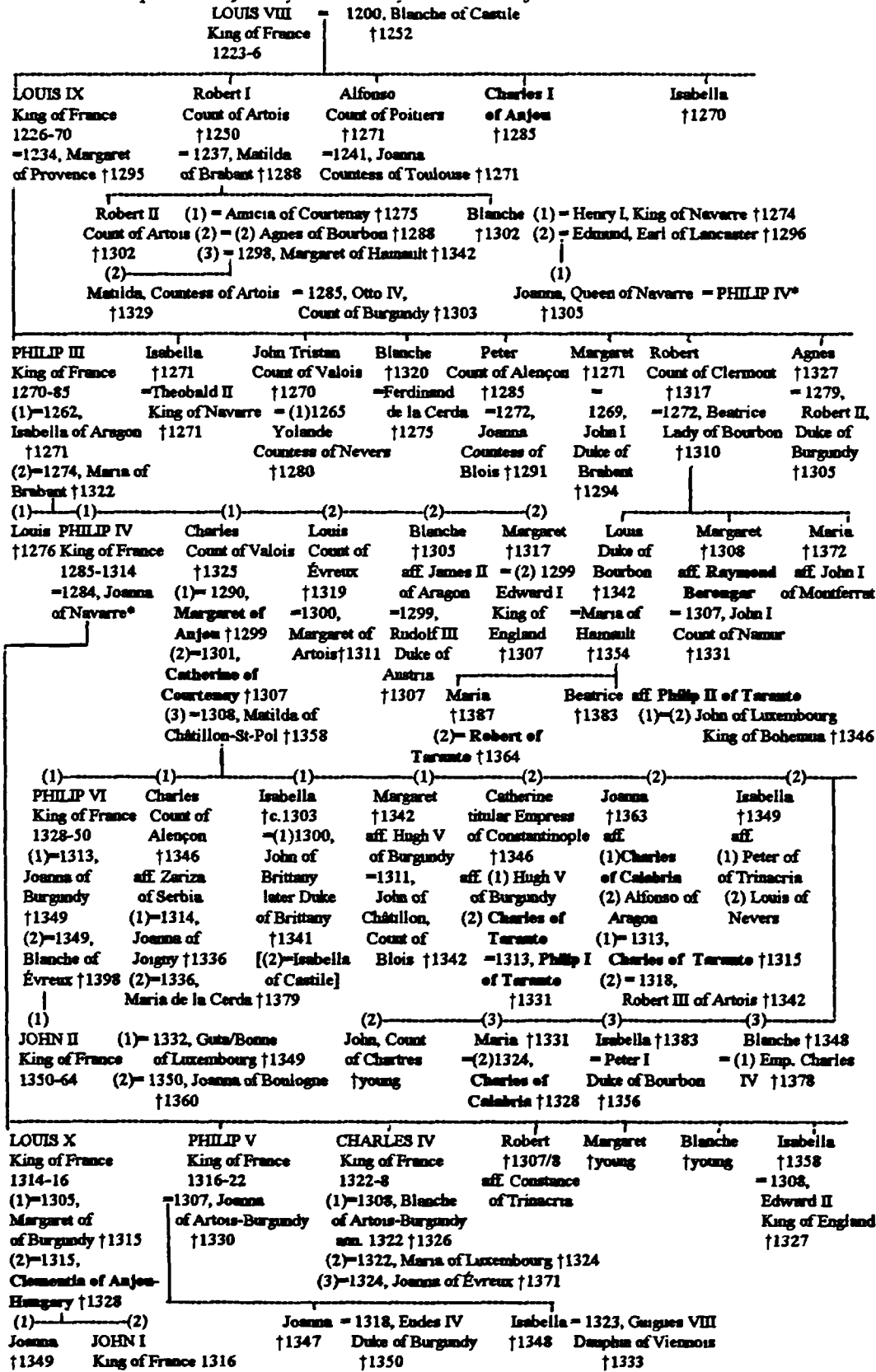


Table III. The House of Barcelona - Kings of Aragon, Trinacria and Majorca

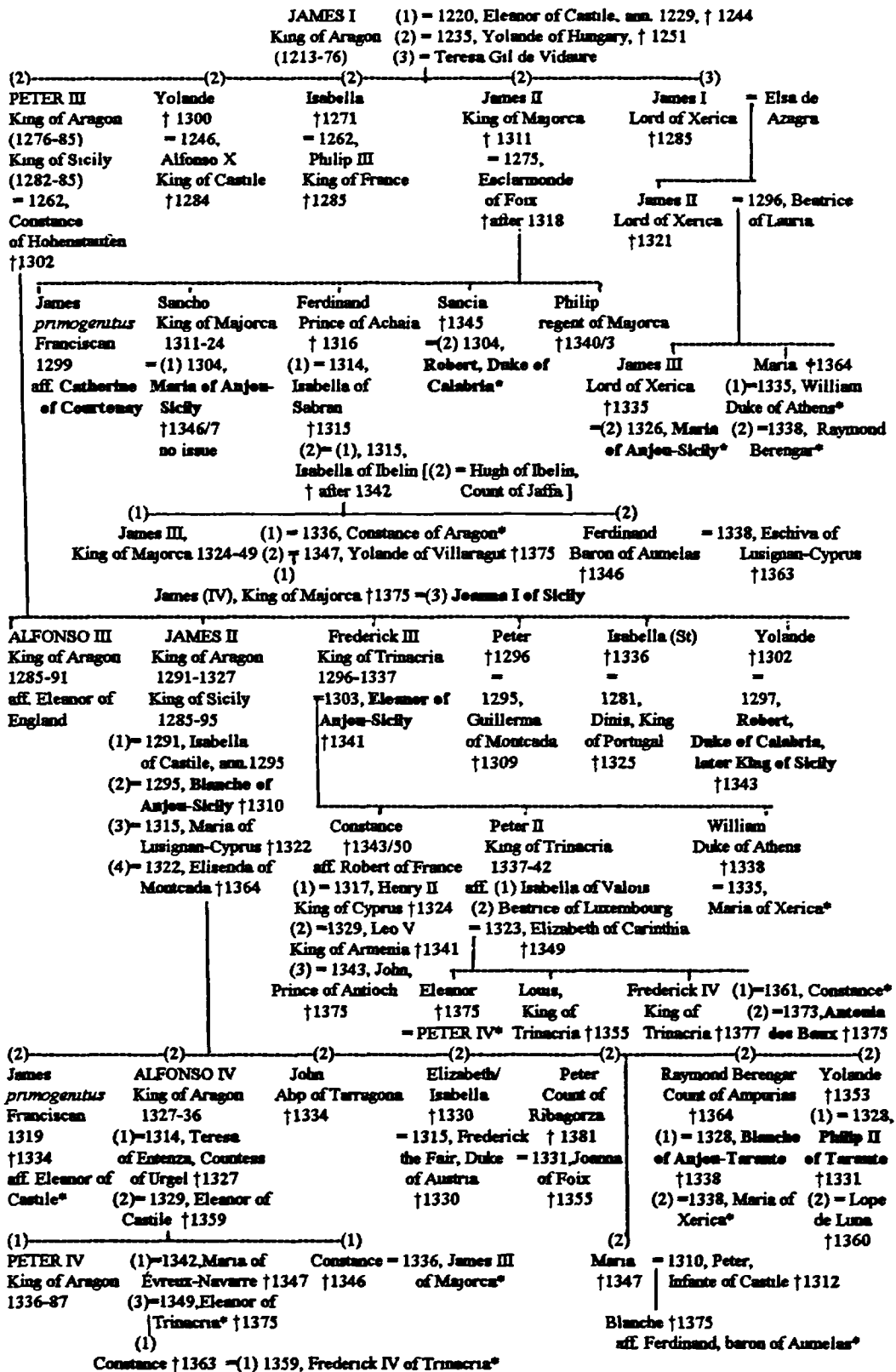
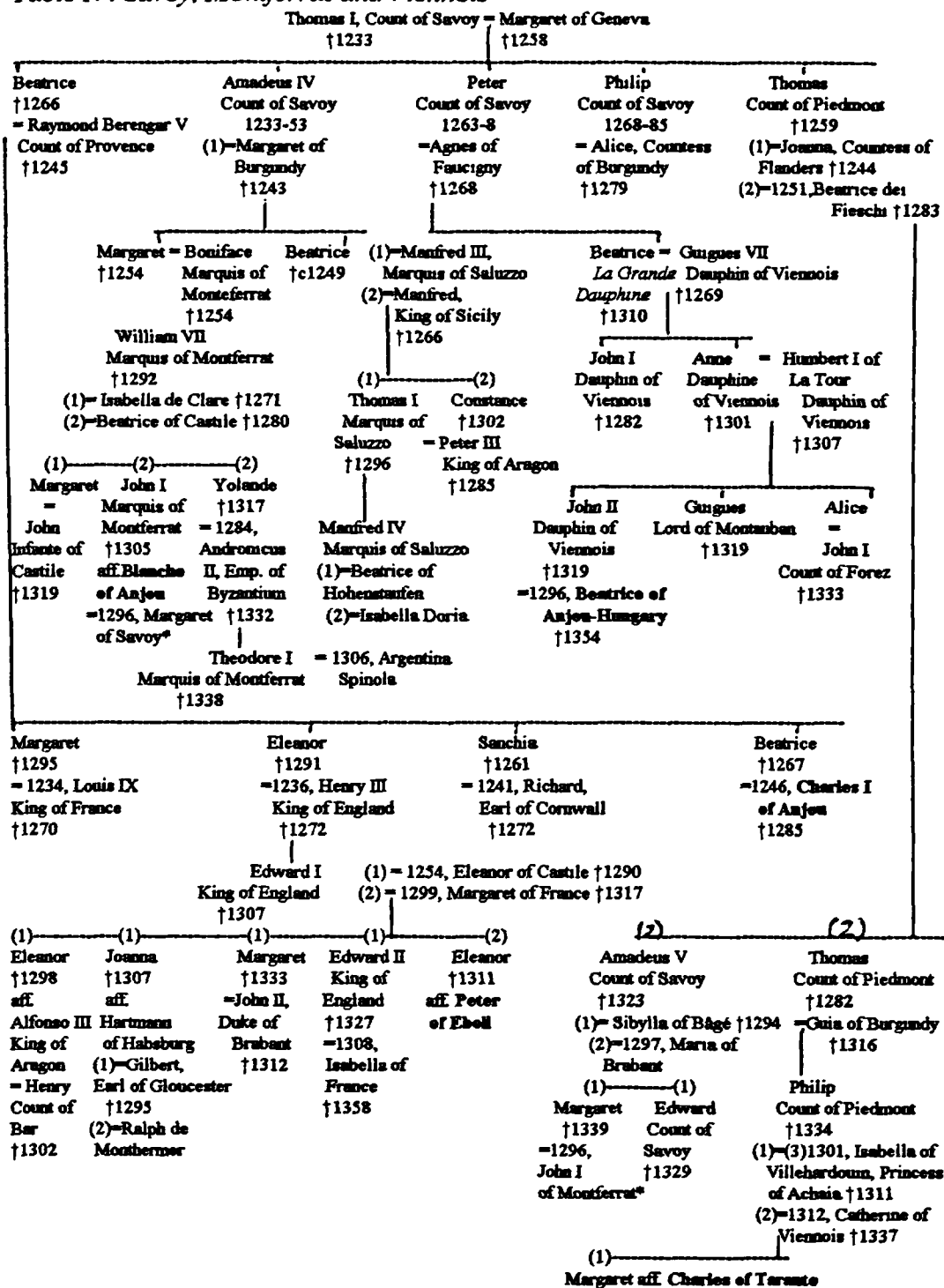




Table IV. Savoy, Montferrat and Viennois



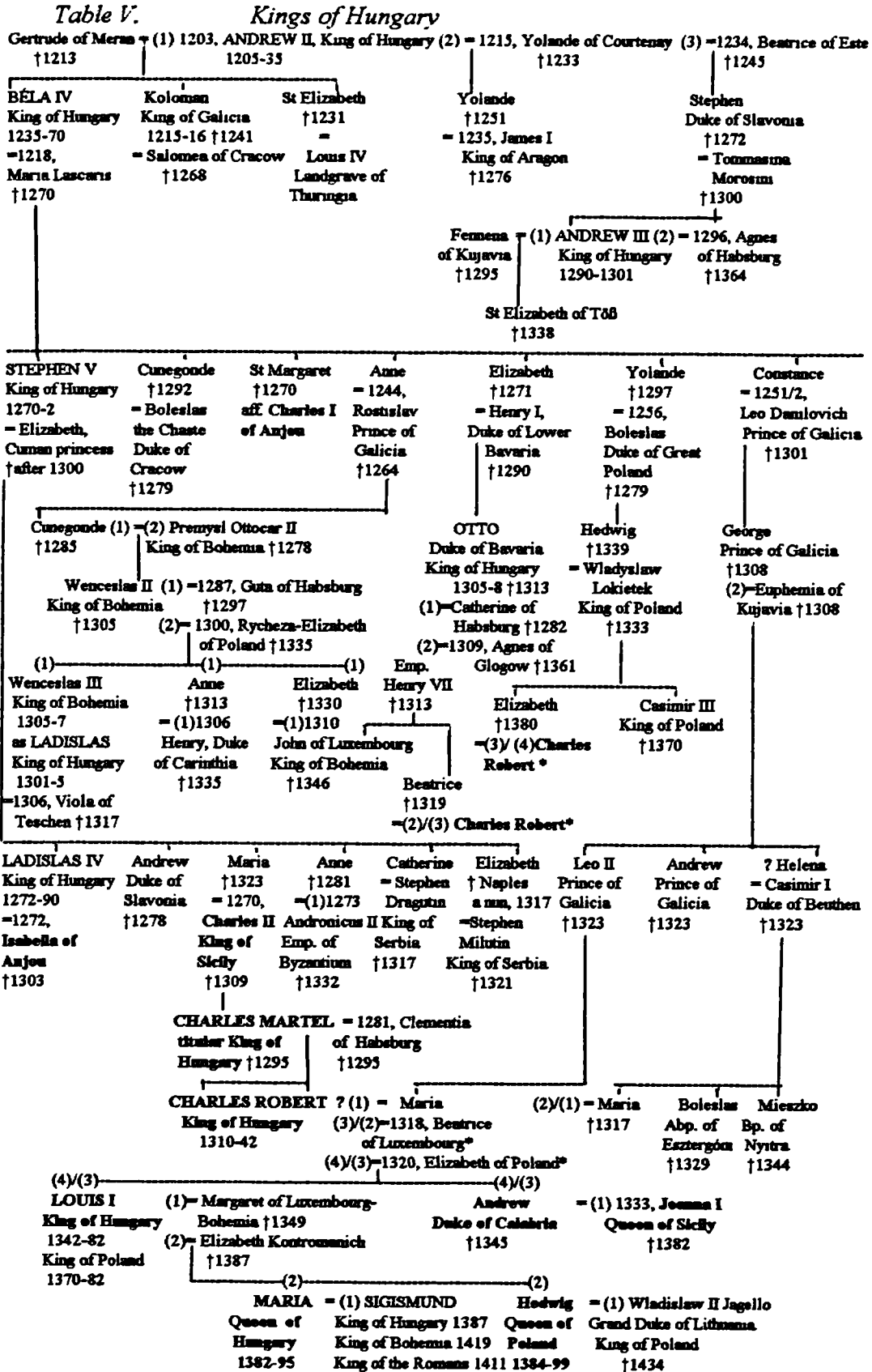


Table VI. The Hohenstaufen, the Dukes of Carinthia and the Habsburgs.

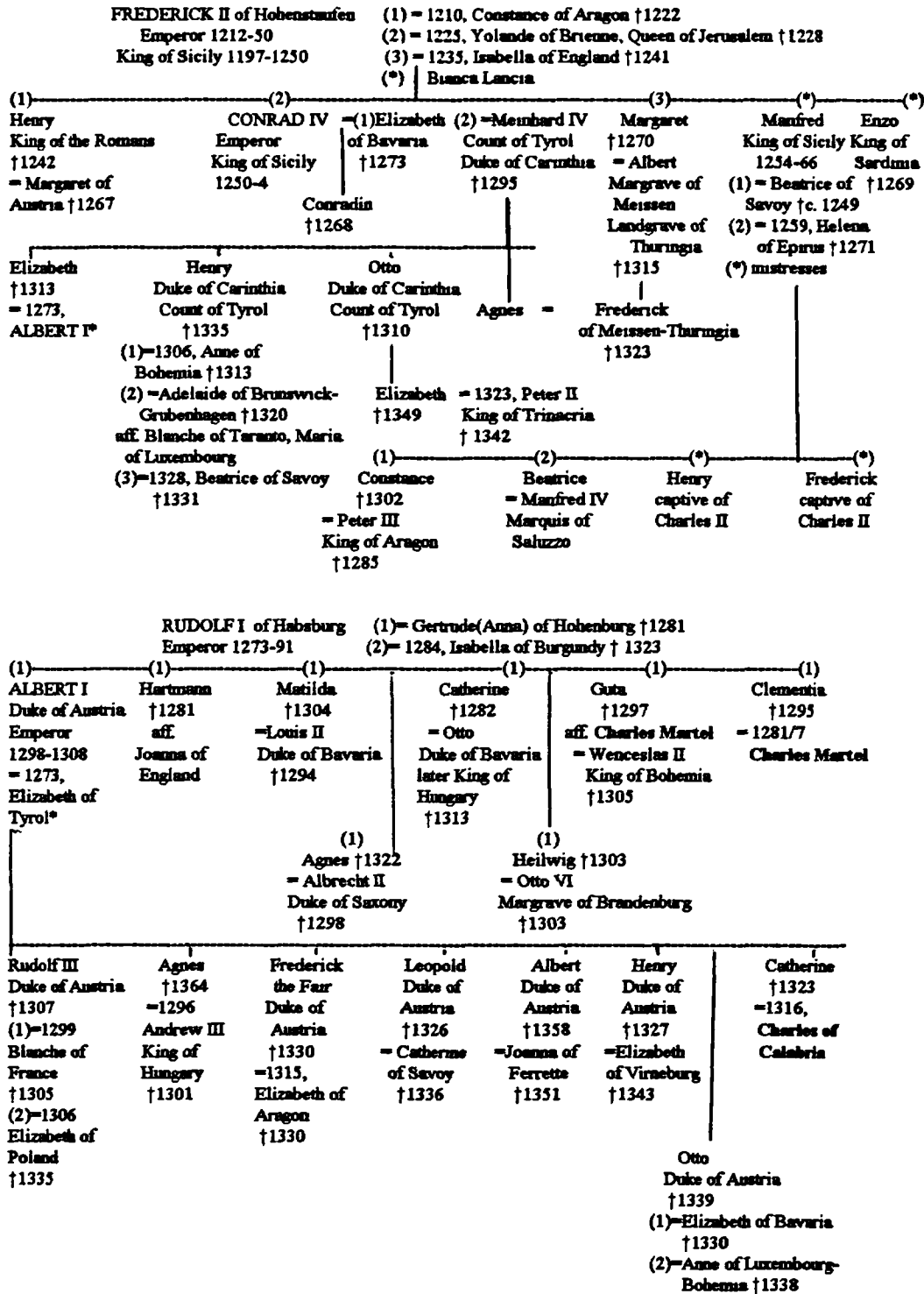


Table VII. The Royal House of Castile

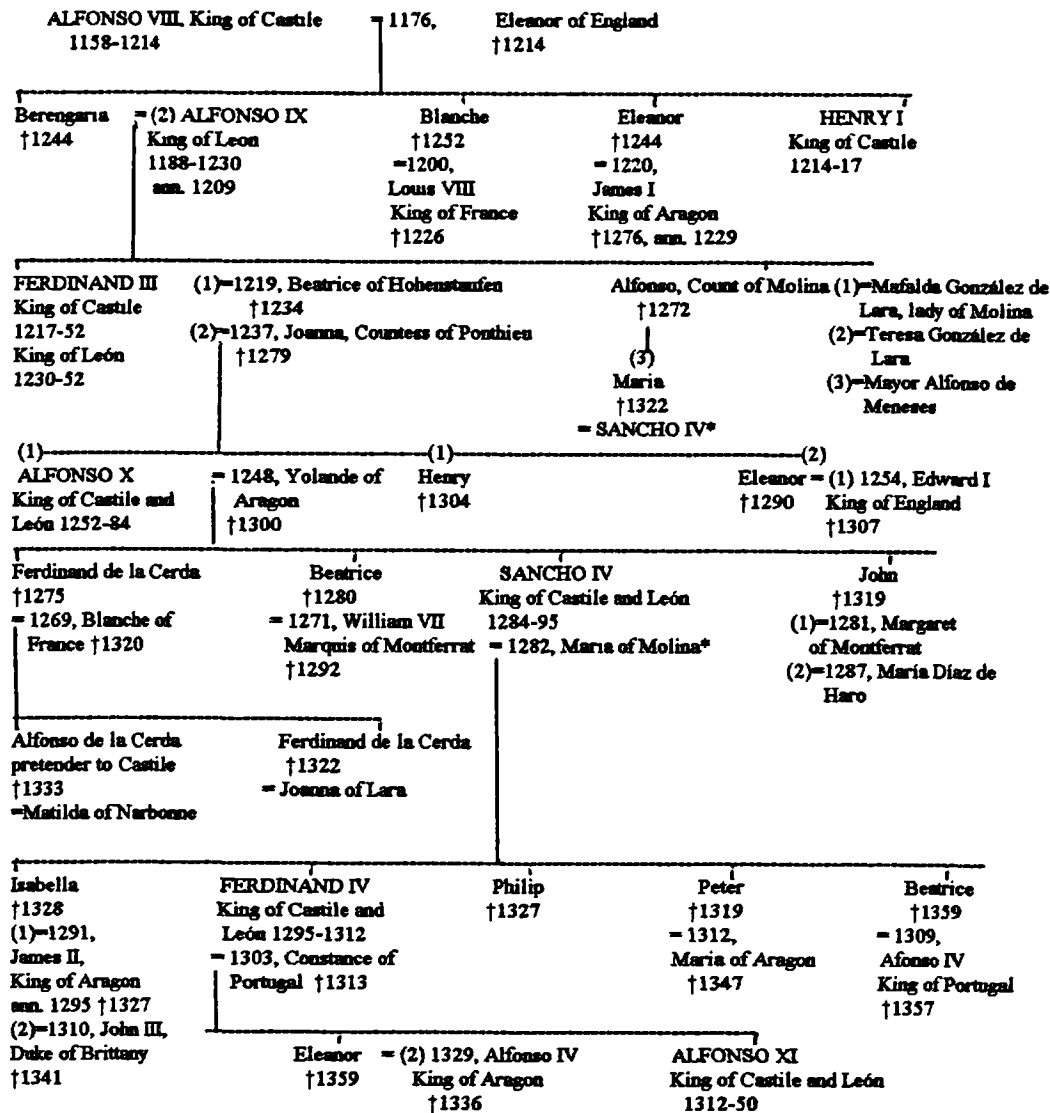
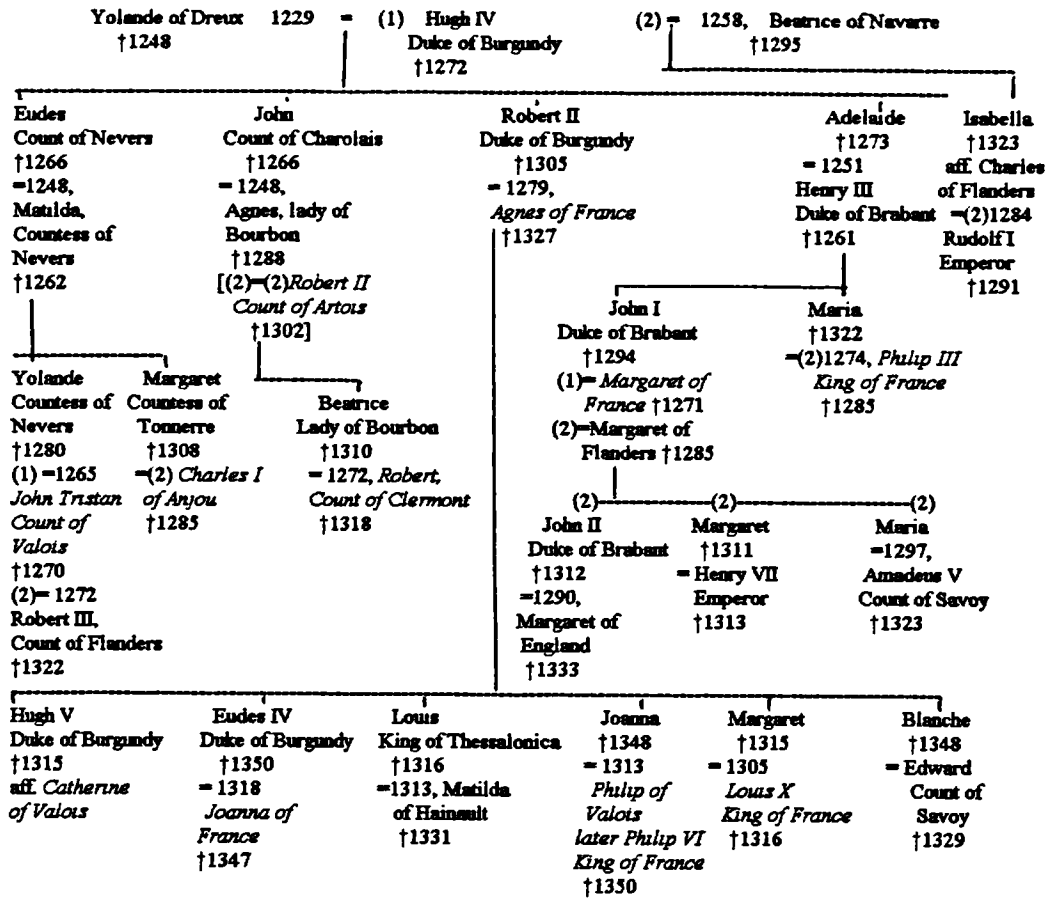


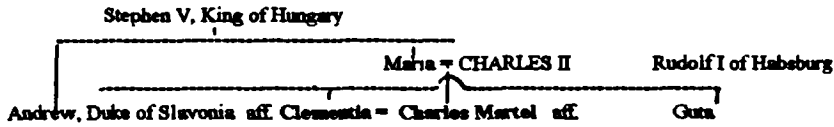
Table VIII. The Ducal House of Burgundy



For those in *Italics*, see Table II. The Royal House of France.

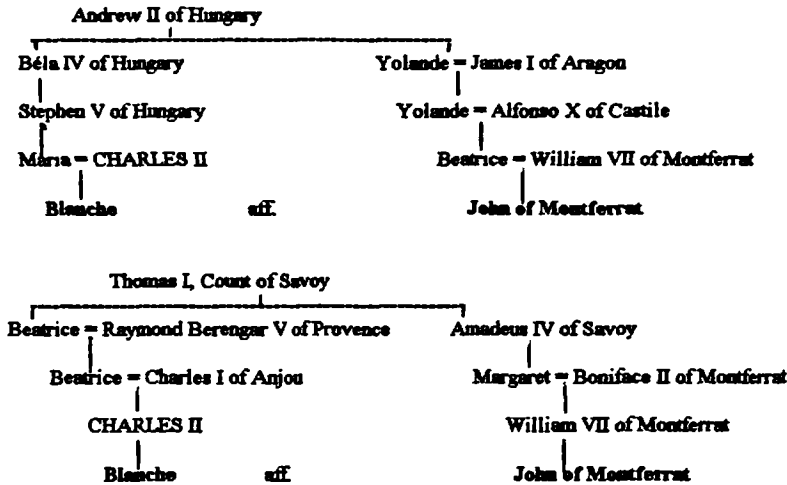
Consanguinity Tables

i. Charles Martel - Clementia of Habsburg



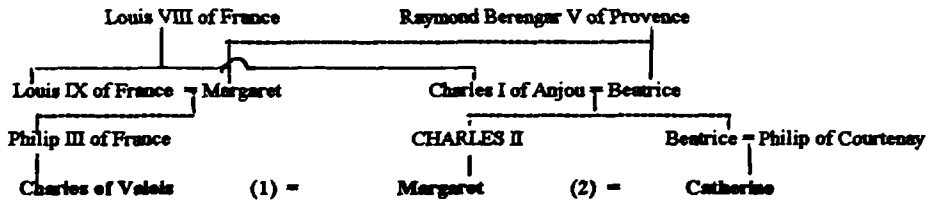
Dispensation needed for 1st degree of public honesty on one side and second degree on other.

ii. Blanche of Anjou - John of Montferrat



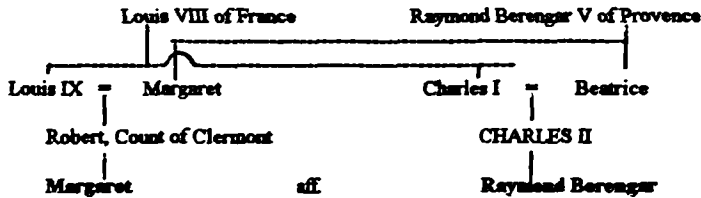
Fourth degree of consanguinity, twice over.

iii. Charles of Valois - Margaret of Anjou - Catherine of Courtenay



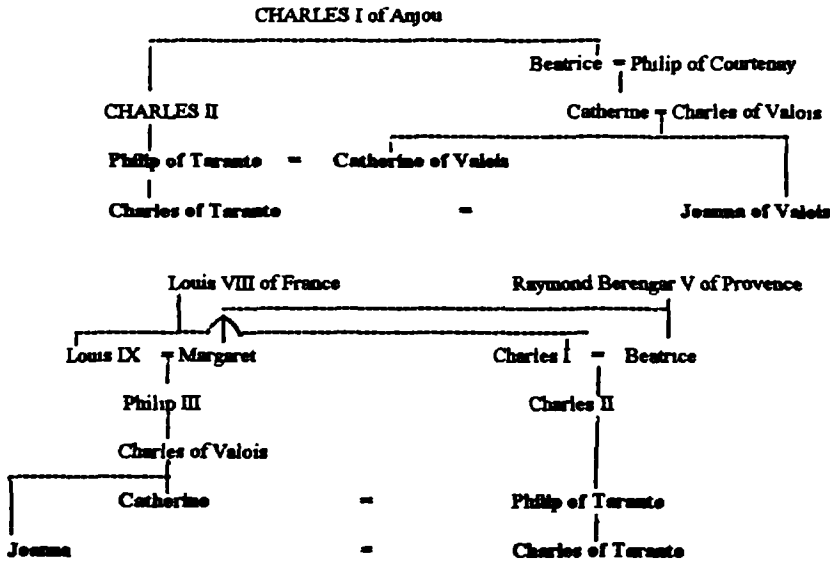
Charles- Margaret: Third degree of consanguinity twice over.  
 Charles - Catherine: Third degree of consanguinity twice over, plus second degree of affinity.

iv. Raymond Berengar - Margaret of Clermont



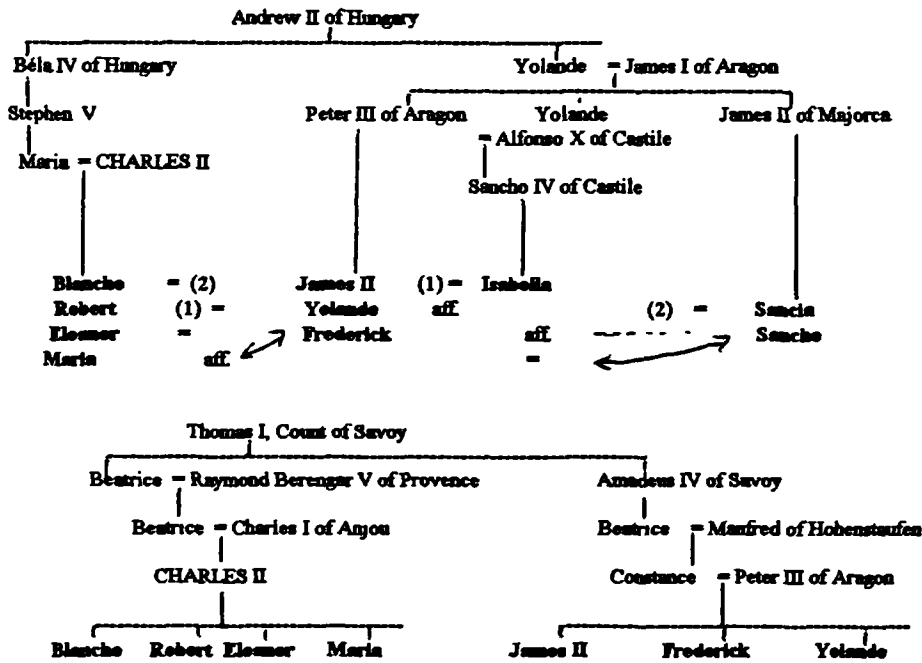
Third degree of consanguinity :twice over.

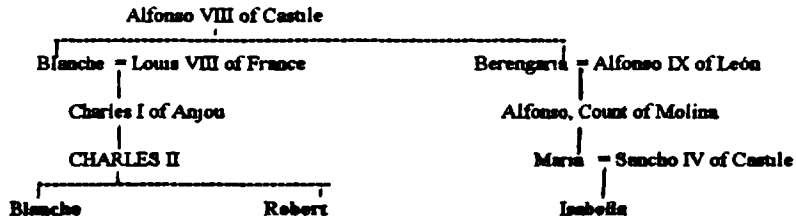
v. Philip of Taranto-Catherine of Valois / Charles of Taranto - Joanna of Valois



Philip/ Catherine: Through her mother, Catherine was related to Philip to the second degree of consanguinity on one side and the third degree on the other; through her father, it was three degrees on one side and four on the other.  
 Charles/Joanna: Three degrees of consanguinity through Joanna's mother and four degrees of consanguinity through her father.

vi. Blanche of Anjou / James II of Aragon, Yolande of Aragon / Robert of Calabria  
Frederick of Aragon/ Eleanor of Anjou, Sancho of Majorca / Maria of Anjou,  
Sancia of Majorca/ Robert of Calabria, Isabella of Castile / Robert of Calabria





Blanche/ James II :

1. Three degrees of consanguinity on one side and four on the other through Andrew II of Hungary.
2. Four degrees of consanguinity through Thomas I of Savoy.
3. Four degrees of affinity twice over through Andrew II of Hungary and Alfonso VIII of Castile, due to James's first marriage to Blanche's third cousin, Isabella of Castile.

Robert/ Yolande, Eleanor/ Frederick:

Same degrees of consanguinity as Blanche/James.

Maria/Sancho:

1. Three degrees of consanguinity on one side and four on the other through Andrew II of Hungary.
2. Also spiritual kinship as James II of Majorca was Maria's godfather.

Robert/ Sancia:

1. Same consanguinity as Maria/Sancho.
2. Second degree of affinity as Sancia was the first cousin of Robert's wife Yolande of Aragon.

Robert/ Isabella:

1. Four degrees of consanguinity through Alfonso VIII of Castile and Andrew II of Hungary.

As well as these, Romolo Caggese in *Roberto d'Angiò*, I, 14 mentions the proposal of a marriage between Charles II's daughter Eleanor and the son of the King of Aragon, i.e. her nephew. This would have been a landmark in terms of degrees of consanguinity dispensed if it had been so. In fact, Caggese confused the son of King James of Aragon with that of King James of Majorca, i.e. Sancho of Majorca.



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