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THE TRANSLATION AND LITERARY ANALYSIS OF FRANCISCO DE MONCADA'S EXPEDICION DE LOS CATALANES Y ARAGONESES CONTRA LOS TURCOS Y GRIEGOS

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO ALBUQUERQUE

By

Mary Frances Baker

A Thesis

In partial fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

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MASTER OF ARTS

E. A. Castetter

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THE TRANSLATION AND LITERARY ANALYSIS OF FRANCISCO DE MONCADA'S EXPEDICION DE LOS CATALANES Y ARAGONESES CONTRA LOS TURCOS Y GRIEGOS. By Mary Frances Baker

Thesis committee

Erwin L. Gendler

CHAIRMAN

J. A. Russell

Raymond L. MacCurdy

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LITERARY ANALYSIS OF FRANCISCO DE MONCADA'S

EXPEDICION DE LOS CATALANES Y ARAGONESES

From chronos, the Greek word for "time", the written record of human events is called the chronicle. Since man developed symbolic characters from primitive drawings and became literate, the records expressed with these symbols have been the basis of all history. For the historian, documents that describe chronological events are invaluable; to the student of literature only a few, and these by medieval and comparatively modern scribes, have significant interest. Rarely does a work of this genre achieve true literary stature. It is the thesis of this analysis to establish Francisco de Moncada's Expedición as one of the few great literary chronicles, using the procedure of comparison with other works already accepted as important to literature from one standpoint or another.

During the Dark Ages in Europe all learning withered into the monasteries, where the monastic chronicle had its origin in the Easter tables kept to record the dates of the religious festivals. Spanish cloisters were small and poor, suppressed by Moslem rule until the end of the ninth century. When the Reconquest surged down out of Asturian mountains, monks were encouraged to write down the deeds of their bishops and royalty again. Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo was among the first to gather the chronicles from the monasteries, combine historical materials with the works of Isidoro of Sevilla, and produce a primitive history of Spain.

From these beginnings came the comprehensive España sagrada, most complete of the religious histories of the Peninsula. This eighteenth and nineteenth century series uses the works of Lucas of Tuy and Rodrigo, Archbishop of Toledo, both of whom combined existing materials into universal chronicles of the twelfth century. Then Alfonso el Sabio, 1272 to 1284, was the ambitious father of chroniclers, who collected learned men in his court and directed their efforts toward producing the encyclopedic works that included all known Biblical, historical, and scientific sources under the titles Primera and Segunda Crónica General.

These monastic chronicles demonstrated the characteristic medieval approach to the problem of history. They lacked curiosity concerning the background and cause of events; they did not speculate regarding the future. They were typical of a spiritually preoccupied world, accepting every human happening as God's will. The style of these works was terse and unadorned, preceding the courtly flourishes of their secular descendants. The approach used was direct and objective; factual relation of events with little imagination and less observation of the cause and effect-sequence of incidents. The action was entirely external, presented with limited description but a rich narrative technique.

During the Middle Ages while the monks were still painstakingly illuminating finely scraped sheepskins with ink made by a secret, centuries-old formula, the chronicle genre was also developing outside monastery walls. Heroic deeds and tales of warfare were recorded for

posterity in military chronicles written by noblemen or the occasional literate man who followed them. In Europe these records began with the rendition of epic legends into prose. Folk poetry was combined with eye-witness details to produce the first historical literature.

Spanish heroes — Rodrigo the Goth, Bernardo del Carpio, El Cid, El Conde Fernán González, and the Siete Infantes de Lara — moved out of spoken poetry and song into the first manifestations of the military chronicle. These stories were often disjointed, fragmentary, and usually anonymous. López de Ayala's four chronicles on the kings who preceded Juan II assembled such a mixture of legend and record.

Not until the first personal chronicle, Crónica de don Alvaro de Luna, condestable de los reinos de Castilla y León, appeared in the fifteenth century, did many of these works attain real literary value. Although the author is unknown, he was apparently an intimate friend or servant of the famous constable. He relates in enthusiastic fashion the court rivalries and intrigues, ending the tale with a heatedly indignant dramatization of the noble don Alvaro's execution by order of his ruler, Juan II. The story of this king is recorded by a contemporary in Crónica de don Juan II, which relates the same period and scene with similar approach. The merit of both of these chronicles lies in their presentation of just biographical sketches of title characters as real men, rather than the glorified heroes who moved in an aura of mystery and magnificence through the old songs and legends.

Hernando de Pulgar, 1436-1493, was the first Spanish chronicler whose works have value beyond the contemporary. Serving in the capacity of royal chronicler to Fernando and Isabela, he wrote the Crónica de los Reyes Católicos, which is outstanding because of its artistic style flavored with eloquent passages and classic references. It was the first of the genre to make conscious attempt for literary effect in addition to the primary role of story-telling. These characteristics are also salient in his Libro de los claros varones de Castilla,[1] 1486. Although, strictly speaking, this last is not a chronicle but a series of biographical sketches of twenty-four eminent contemporaries, Pulgar paints a lively picture of the times that serves as a continuation of Las generaciones, semblanzas y obras, by his predecessor, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, 1376-1460 (?). Concerning the introduction of style into historical narrative, mention must be made of two men of the next century; Jerónimo Zurita, author of Anales de la Corona de Aragón, and Ambrosio de Morales, 1513-1591, writer of both Las antigüedades de las ciudades de España and the Crónica general de España. Zurita, 1512-1580, was a careful technician who explored the archives, collected original documents, and made his selections with the true critical judgment that has caused him to be called the first modern Spanish historian. Morales, no less organized and impartial, manages to reach poetic heights in his description, even within the restraints of

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[1] J. Domínguez Bordona, "Introducción". Fernando del Pulgar, Claros varones de Castilla, Clásicos Castellanos. (Madrid: Ediciones de "La Lectura", 1923. P. 60-193.

the genre.[2]

From the wide development of the genre that stems off the monastic and military chronicles, another branch — the artistic histories — have value in Spanish literature. Although he is still presenting national events with the narrative approach, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1510-1575, in his Guerras de Granada, emphasizes the patriot theme by dramatic effect. Writing the story of the Moorish rule in Granada and the wars that Felipe II maintained until he was successful, Mendoza is able to convey with exacting power the sinful dramatic and emotional appeal of the incidents he describes in a few words:

> "They began to climb the mountain, where it was said that the corpses had lain unburied; mournful, miserable view and memory. There were among those who looked upon it the grandsons and descendants of the dead men, and people who knew already by legend this unfortunate place ..." [3]

A century later Francisco Manuel de Melo, 1608-1666 (?), followed the model of artistry in the Guerras, and produced the beautifully rendered record called Historia de los movimientos y separación de Cataluña. This narration is an artistic chronicle valuable for its dramatic interest and vivid style.

In America the remarkable conquest of the New World and exploration of its territoy during the sixteenth century provided

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[2] N. Romera-Navarro, Historia de la literatura española. (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1928) P. 172.

[3] Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Guerra de Granada. Biblioteca de Autores Espanoles, Vol. 21. (Madrid: Librería de los Sucesores de Hernando, 1923) P.

abundant field for the chronicle. Here the genre returned to its original virility of expression and simplicity of style. The writers were men of action, witnesses or participants in the events they described. They lacked the flowery embellishment of Spanish literary men or the polished grammar of contemporary rhetoricians, but they contributed the passionate interest and rich interpretation of men who lived the tales they told.

Of these adventurer-historians, Hernán Cortés, 1485-1547, is most famous.[4] An extraordinary man in many ways, the versatile Spaniard wrote the epic story of which he was protagonist in a series of letters to Carlos V called Cartas y relaciones. Cortés energy and simplicity are typical of his contemporaries, but his more cultured style makes him outstanding in a group of outstanding handlers of both the pen and the sword. One of his soldiers, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, 1492-1581 (?), was moved to write his Verdadera historia de la conquista de la Nueva España in indignation at the Historia general de las Indias that appeared in 1552. It was the work of one Francisco López de Gómara, 1512-1557 (?), a former captain in the Spanish army, and ardent admirer of the Mexican conqueror, who contributed the entire enterprise to the genius of its leader, without reserving any praise for the soldiers.[5]

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[4] Carlos González Peña, Historia de la literatura mexicana. (Dallas, Texas: University Press, 1945) P. 17-18.

[5] Ibid., p. 19.

Another work of more historical than literary value because of its confused organization and careless style is the Historia general y natural de las Indias by Gonsalo Fernández de Oviedo, 1478-1587.[6] The first section was printed in 1535, but the last two remained unpublished until the middle of the nineteenth century. Bartolomé de las Casas, 1474-1566, wrote the first chronicle with social intent. His Historia de las Indias which covered the years from the discovery to 1520 earned for him the title of Protector of the Indies because he was so fervently against the persecution and exploitation of the Indian natives on the Caribbean islands. His chronicle is full of evangelical fire, albeit somewhat exaggerated to support his purpose.

One more man, who wrote a century later, but whose work cannot be overlooked in a discussion of the American chroniclers, is Antonio de Solís y Rivadeneyra, 1610-1686, whose just renown rests on his Historia de la conquista de México, printed in 1684. Solís' artistry in presenting what the earlier writers had only hinted at, the heroic character of his people, the picturesque quality of indigenous customs and civilizations, the grandeur of New World scenery, the pervading atmosphere of tragic beauty throughout the conquest, is always apparent. His appeal is first to the conscious, then to the subconscious appreciation of the reader:

> "What stops you, valiant captain, from killing me with the dagger you carry at your side," cried Cuatemozín to the conqueror.

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6 Ibid., p. 20.

"Prisoners such as I are always burdens to their captors. Finish me at once, that I may have the fortune of dying at your hands, since I am deprived of that of dying while I fight for my country." 7

Throughout these later generation chroniclers, the characteristics of strength, simplicity, and vividness are not only typical but constant. They gave rebirth to the old epic national feeling, presenting their conquerors not only as heroes, but as Spaniards, and offering their deeds for the glorification of the homeland. This epic quality is carried out in references that even the most insignificant soldier makes to his proud heritage and the Spanish blood that he will spill only in an honorable fashion. In addition to this racial feeling, the American chronicles bear out the universal trait of external objectivity. The purposes of the men are obvious and simple; to claim the new country for their homeland, to convert the natives to their traditional faith. Their story is written in clear narration of facts and deeds without the attempt to delve into complicated motives or reactions.

In 1620 a young nobleman named Francisco de Moncada wrote a new kind of chronicle for which he had carefully collected the eye-witness reports and original documents of an expedition that was undertaken three centuries before. Moncada was particularly qualified to write this work, which was called Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos. He came from an ancient and illustrious family,

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7 Antonio Solís y Rivadeneyra, Historia de la conquista de México. Cayetano Rosell, editor. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 28. (Madrid: Librería de los Sucesores de Hernando, 1922) P. 386.

first mentioned in the legends of the Reconquest when it began in Cataluña. Moncadas were listed among the aristocracy of France and Sicily. His grandfather, another Francisco de Moncada, was named Marqués de Aytona by Felipe II. His father served as viceroy of Aragón and ambassador to Rome, and his mother, also a Moncada, was Catalina, the baroness of Callosa.[8] With such a background, he grew up with a detailed knowledge of his titled forbears and a profound appreciation for Aragonese history, including the famous Catalan expedition of 1303.

Little is known of the child and student years of Moncada. It is certain that he had a careful classical education and was well versed in Near Eastern mythology and geography. Much of this he must have learned first hand in his travels with his father who served in the campaigns against Vienna and Flanders. When he was twenty-four he married Margarita de Castro y Cervellón, heiress to the barony of La Laguna, and assimilated her land titles to those of his own family. From then on he lived at court until the advent of Felipe IV. Here, under conditions of leisure and luxury, Moncada began to write. His Genealogía de la Casa de Moncada was published in a Histoire du Beorn by Pedro de Marca. The Antigüedad del santuario de Monserrate is not extant, and Vida de Boecio was not published until six years after the

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[8] Samuel Gil y Gaya, "Introducción", Francisco de Moncada, Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos. Clásicos Castellanos. (Madrid: Ediciones de "La Lectura", 1924) P.9.

author's death.[9]

Suddenly the Aragonese writer found himself named ambassador to Germany, and his literary activities ceased. After his political and diplomatic career began, his life became a series of missions and expeditions. Indl622 the king sent him to Cataluña to pacify a group of discontented citizens who were refusing to accept the bishop Juan Santís as viceroy. He was skillful in calming the disturbing elements that all involved were left satisfied. The rest of his service was equally successful for the interests of the crown, although often full of depression and anxiety for the ambassador. Frequently he lacked funds to carry out his office according to Spanish royal dignity when the king was slow in sending his salary; always he suffered homesickness and morbid nostalgia for Spain.

Then Francisco's father died in 1623 and he inherited the marquisate of Aytona. He felt impelled to return to the lands of his family to arrange his affairs. But the king needed his services more as a counsellor for his weakwilled aunt, Isabel Clara, princess of the Low Countries who was being threatened constantly with attack by the Hollanders and all the enemies of the House of Austria. He went, after a hasty side trip to Milan on the monarch's orders, and, in spite of Isabel's original resentment at her nephew's intrusion in her affairs, she soon considered the talented Aragonese indispensable to her court. He was the second in command of the Netherland forces, respected and

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9 Ibid., p. 12.

popular, But instead of enjoying his comfortable and responsible position, Moncada longed increasingly to go back to Aragón. He wrote long, fervent letters to Felipe, asking to be relieved of his charge. But to the king who depended on him so entirely, such a removal was out of the question. In 1635 Moncada died on the field at Goch in the duchy of Cleves, without realizing his dreams of a peaceful life among his books again. Felipe expressed his grief to the dead man's children, Guillén Ramón ahd Catalina, bemoaning the loss of a great vassal at the time when he needed him most, [10]

So died the noble Aragonese, leaving behind him as a lasting monument not his splendid record in court and diplomatic affairs, his wide classical learning and practical experience, nor his great general popularity, but instead, a charming tale, the Expedición.

Moncada's motives for writing the Expedición sow a fertile field for speculation. His aristocratic family and classical education exposed him to the motivating family and national pride, and made available to him the books and records he needed. In reading the chronicles and accountsof Muntaner, Desclot, Berenguer de Entenza, Zurita, Pachymeres, Gregoras, Chalcocondylas, and Cantacuzeno, to all of whom he makes frequent reference in his text, the young scholar found many

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10 Cayetano Rosell, "Noticia de las obrgs y autores que contiene el presente tomo". Biblioteca de Autores Espanoles, Vol. 21. (Madrid: Librería de los Sucesores de Hernando, 1924), p. vii.

contradictions and discrepancies; sufficient inspiration for an orderly minded writer bent on glorifying his ancestors. Apparently he did not intend to end the narrative where it does close, for he halts the tale by saying "until such time as we have long and accurate records of what happened during the hundred and fifty years they remained in Athens." Whatever his reasons for writing the story of the remarkable expedition, he could not have chosen one with more popular appeal. Memory of the conquering Catalans was so alive in Athens that the most dire curse was still, "May you suffer the vengeance of the Catalans," and in an ancient section of the town, the citizens still spoke Catalan dialect. Along the Adriatic and Albanian coasts the word Katalán-i means monster and preserves a sinister meaning. [11]

It is possible that Hurtado de Mendoza's Guerras de Granada served as a model for the Expedición. Certainly Moncada read it, and there are marked similarities in classical background and language. But there are also many differences, and the likeness may be merely generic. Moncada's work gleams with color, concise description, battle cries, and glory for the chiefs of his family, although the name Moncada itself never appears in the work. Mendoza presents a series of interesting episodes, almost in the manner of the regional sketches, depicting a country he knows well. But Moncada is also a reflective philosopher, whose brief yet profound observations do not interfere with the action, but give purpose to the narrative.

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11 Kenneth M. Setton, Catalan Domination of Athens 1311-1388. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948) P. 1.

Moncada's medium of expression is a fluid but concise language. His choice of words is specific, well suited to the action he describes, and without affectation. His vocabulary indicates education, but is as free from lofty flourishes as it is from colloquialism or archaic usages. His construction is devised for direct meaning, rather than to achieve any indirect effects. The language is more similar to that used by Solís, with his same qualities of polished artistry and appreciation for the picturesque, than to that of Bernal Díaz, whose expression is natural but rustic. The latter was untouched by influence of contemporary historians, but both he and Cortés, his chief, knew of the Catalan legend; quite probably the Mexican conqueror had been inspired to sink his ships for the prevention of desertion when he reached the mainland because Roccafort, the Catalan captain at Gallipoli, had ordered the same stoutly heroic execution.

Moncada's use of directly quoted conversation is limited, but effective where it is used. In such places it becomes a powerful method of depicting passion and characterizing the speaker. There are two outstanding examples of this technique; the first is the argument between Berenguer de Entenza and Roccafort concerning what plan for self preservation should be adopted by the battered Catalan forces that remained at Gallipoli after the loss of Roger de Flor and their general defeat at the hands of the Greeks. This conversation is clear and convincing; it displays considerable powers of oratory for both men, indispensable attributes for leadership in those days, as well as exposing the deep antagonism which eventually led to violent deaths for

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both. Besides characterizing the two as individuals, the quoted argument also points up attitudes and standards of honor and patriotism that were common to all members of the expedition. Berenguer says:

> "My friends and comrades, if the courage and strength of men born like ourselves was ever desperately needed, I believe that we need them to meet the misfortune that we are suffering now... I consider our comrades who died without feeling our insult are luckier than we are, who are left to perish with such bitter feelings alive within us. Without taking satisfaction for this offense we cannot return to our homeland where we would be unworthy of the name and fame that we have cherished for so many years, where our relatives and friends would not receive us and our children would not recognize us, unless we avenge our companions who died through treachery, and erase our disgrace with enemy blood ..." 13

Roosfort's heated answer shows the same attitude toward national honor, but a more practical plan for saving the garrison without dividing its meager forces:

> "The grief I suffer for the death of Roger and our captains is not all that disturbs me; my soul burns for just satisfaction. ... I agree on this point with Berenguer, but I do not agree with his manner of carrying on the war. On the contrary I must oppose it because it seems to me a terrible mistake to divide our forces when we are so few and so unequal to the power of our enemies ... You must realize that all the best captains of the imperial forces are using their most effective strategy on this siege, and it is going to be very difficult for Berenguer to leave the port. And if he does get out, what is going to assure the soldiers left here that he will ever get back? It will be hard to quiet their fears and misgivings, even if Berenguer's blood and background are secure enough pledges to those born like he is ..." 14

Later when Roosfort is established as undisputed chief of the Catalans after leading them through their precarious situation to power and

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13 Infra, p. 158.

14 Infra, p. 160.

victory, Fadrique of Sicily send his nephew Fernando to assume the rule in his name. With the inborn enthusiasm of his men for the House of Aragón, Rocafort is faced by a tight situation which threatens his supremacy. His speech, with which he cleverly wins the sympathy of his listeners and then persuades them to his point of view, finally arousing their spirit of independence to oppose their traditional loyalty to their kings, is a masterpiece of guided eloquence and psychology. In one other instance, a brief quote serves for an instant and purposeful characterization of Michael, the son of Emperor Andronicus:

> "Friends and comrades, the time has come when death is better than life, and life is more cruel than death itself. Die with glory rather than live with infamy!" 15

Apart from the rare use of direct conversation, Moncada develops a simple, effective technique of characterization. It is this attention to his outstanding men as individuals rather than tintype chiefs or noblemen, that distinguishes his chronicle from other works of the genre. It is almost a constant trait of the early historians to present their protagonists as a noble Aragonese, a fierce Almugavar, or a wise king, with all the accompanying characteristics. Moncada, however, contrasts his noble Aragonese men to each other, and makes it possible for the reader to know one wise king from his brother. He brings Berenguer de Entenza and Corberán de Alet sharply into focus, while still retaining the basic characteristics of their particular description.

The author has, of course, relegated many groups to simple group classification; no Almugavar emerges to become more than an Almugavar,

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15 Infra, p. 188.

although this group characterization is one of the best of the work. In his short discussion of their native haunts and warlike customs, he produces special interest in these rugged infantrymen by giving them an ancient Germanic origin and hooding their beginnings in mystery. The Greeks he presents as sly, treacherous, and usually short-sighted. He uniformly discredits their promises and their historical accounts. The Turks appear as savage and cruel, but trustworthy and loyal to a pledge. To the Etruscans, Bulgars, Turkish Greeks, and Italians he gives various but consistent characterizations, which are always carried through in the occasional close-ups that he offers of individuals.

In the case of the main heroes of the chronicle, they are, without exception, men of separate identities; realistic without being too detailed, clear cut without being too consistent. The reader soon knows Roger de Flor for a true leader and man of the world. Of German-Italian parentage, he is a species of literary hero who goes beyond his ancestry and background to become an awesome figure to his men. Even after his early death by Greek treachery, Roger continues to exert a powerful influence over the expedition.

Berenguer de Entenza is a man of great heart and noble bearing, whose kindly attitude and high ideals show through even in the midst of bloody battle. His willingness to help the Company is demonstrated in many ways: by his patient efforts to interest foreign rulers in the Catalan cause; the unflinching contribution of all his personal possessions for their support; his dogged return to them instead of to the

comfort of his Spanish barony after a long, tiresome imprisonment by the Genoese. He is loved and revered for his goodness, but the rugged Catalans shy away from his leadership and turn to a more worldly man for command. That man is Rocafort, admittedly the incarnation of ambitious evil and unholy cruelty. But in spite of his savage passions and scheming wickedness, Rocafort is strong, and the expedition depends upon and is saved by that strength.[16] When the common-born soldier dies miserably, the camp accepts his punishment as the just will of God, but is indignant that it comes about through the highhandedness of a French knight, and grieves for the loss of an able captain.

Other characters are sharply drawn by the expert use of isolated phrases. Ramón Muntaner is the practical man whose careful accounts and administration of supplies and equipment keeps the army rolling and its possessions protected. He is a one-man committee for morale, andthe only captain who managed to gain power without suffering Rocafort's jealous wrath. Jiménez de Arenós is an Aragonese nobleman,more given to following than leading, who always manages to fill a secure position. Corberán de Alet is the feverishly enthusiastic seneschal, who dies young for his impetuousness. All characters are as clearly placed with accurate perspective in the story.

Moncada's style in the Expedición is governed by its generic approach to objective narration. The description is realistic, and the action generally external. Only the main characters suffer internal

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16 Gil y Gaya, op. cit., p. 39.

struggles of conscience and decision; Roger worries whether to accept Andronicus' honors and risk the distrust of his men, Berenguer is torn between desire for vengeance against the Greeks and practical considerations for the preservation of his men; the prince, Fernando, struggles to defeat personal ambition with loyalty to his family. There is a matter-of-fact atmosphere of non-dramatic presentation which is achieved by the quiet simplicity of the language and serves to heighten the intense drama of the situation. The appeal is predominantly to the conscious on the sensual level; action, color, noise, sucking quagmires, and blood running down polished sword points. The work has all the characteristics of the traditional chronicle.

Such literary devices as figures of speech, metaphors, and similes, are rare, but occasionally of lyric quality. Once he calls antiquity "the mother of forgetfulness which has lost many brilliant deeds and shining memories"; in another place he describes abandoned infantry "foundering like a ship without mast or sails in the fury of a hurricane". He compares Constantinople during the Catalan scare in the provinces to the sphere of Empedocles, and describes the demise of one of Rocafort's victims as "no more time to live than there is between the order to the executioner and death."

But the real value of the Expedición lies in its subjective elements. These come to the surface only occasionally and do not interfere with the brisk movement of the narration. They serve to point up the action and give underlying purpose to the work. They include

expressions of polemic attitude, records of Aragonese glory, references to religious faith, and moral and philosophical observations. His polemic attitude toward the common soldier, in spite of his own privileged background, may have stemmed from a secret contempt for the royalty with whom he lived intimately and served most of his life. His observations concerning kings include the following:

> "Although such an ugly deed could not be expected of Fadrique's grandeur; still, kings have a way of placing their fame and reputation above other interests, and they forget with ease their subjects' services when it is convenient" 17 ... "... the virtues of reasonableness and gratitude are rare among kings, who do not worry about the rewarding of great services beyond the bestowing of ordinary mercies" 18 ... "Liberality is a heroic virtue in a ruler if it has two qualifications; if, in the first place, the king has the money to give, and the second, if he gives it to the men who deserve it." 19 ... "Such impositions are to be condoned when there is a pressing need for money, but when a ruler uses us the possessions and resources of his land in useless wastefulness, there is no justification for his lack of organization and care." 20 ... "Although it is true that kings rarely consider themselves obligated, when they do, they hate the person to whom they owe the obligation." 21

Moncada's allusions to the glory of his homeland are best expressed in these lines, but he takes a philosophical view of his own convictions when he exclaims "how brief is glory and how false the attribute of grandeur!"

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17 Infra. P. 57.

18 Infra. P. 59.

19 Infra. P. 87.

20 Infra. P. 87.

21 Infra. P. 147.

"They were all Spaniards who undertook these deeds, and their valor is to their common glory." 22 ... "The grandeur of their spirit was not confined to one country, nor were the Spaniards separated by it from the brave men of French and Italian provinces. Instead, such gallantry expands a man's homeland to the whole sphere of the earth, which is the common birthplace of all mankind." 23

Moncada's religious views are undefined beyond a faith that is medieval in its acceptance of providence. It lacks any reference to Catholic dogma or specific beliefs. His attitude, as revealed in the following passasges, approaches the fatalistic.

"But through the hidden disposition of divine providence, which sometimes changes events beyond common hopes, so that we will realize that only she governs and directs..." 24 ... "Their decline was apparently preordained, as in the case when powerful remedies do not cure the disease for which they are administered, death was almost certain" 25 ... "It often happens that the more warning a man has, the less he is able to escape death and unfortunate ends. And although God warns us with clear and manifest signs, we have such unfounded confidence, that we persist along the roads to our end and punishment." 26 ... "The impartiality of divine justice has demonstrated itslef in all times and ages, but in some years it seems more manifest in the scourges of famine, pestilence, and war." 27

The moral and philosophical observations cover a variety of subjects, but retain a thread of unity in their simple objectivity and apparent thought. On women and love, Moncada says:

"A wise woman, apprehensive for the life of her husband, can usually warn and disclose to him what is being plotted against him." 28 ... "While tender love produces kisses and caresses, insufferable jealousy inspires only the knife and death." 29

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22 Infra, p. 179.

23 Infra, p. 180.

24 Infra, p. 49.

25 Infra, p.

26 Infra, p. 143.

27 Infra, p. 193.

28 Infra, p. 143.

29 Infra, p. 214.

On the ways of soldiers and officers:

> "A wise captain will never plan an undertaking in which his superior has failed, unless he wishes to compete with him for the empire." 30 ... "A commander can sometimes ill afford to force strict obedience if his power to punish comes entirely from the strength of his men, especially when these soldiers are born free and proud." 31 ... "The loss of a good chief is often the cause of inconvenience and damage more considerable than the advantage of the victory won at the cost of his death." 32

His general precepts include such as:

> "Need is always grateful; but like the benefits it receives, the gratitude also ends." 33 ... "They forget what they owe to their blood and background, leaving them neglected for more petty interests; and so often such men are left with no reward but infamy in their ruin."34 ... "Confidence is praiseworthy when there is some faith and security in the word of the enemy ruler, but when the case is so doubtful, such a venture is a sad mistake." 35 ... "To delay in a decision for action is worse than hastily following the wrong course." 36 ... "The man who comes to be a friend in danger when the ruler he offers to assist is threatened by more powerful forces, who has no natural obligation and owes no fidelity as a subject, should be admitted and honored, even though he comes with his or because the enemy has injured or insulted him. For the more offended such a man is, the more useful will be his service." 37

Mention must be made of the author's integrity and acute sense of justice. Although his purpose is admittedly to preserve the ancient honor of his countrymen, he does not avoid the lurid details of their cruelty and the devastation they caused in Greece and Asia. His characterization is strengthened because he presents the faults as well as the admirable qualities, and he has the happy faculty of weighing the reports of both sides to find the balance of accuracy.

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30 Infra, p.

31 Infra, p. 88.

32 Infra, p. 98.

33 Infra, p. 95.

34 Infra, p.

35 Infra, p. 165.

36 Infra, p. 316.

37 Infra, p. 56.

With these qualifications, Francisco de Moncada's *Expedición* stand alone among the Spanish chronicles. In comparison with other works of the genre, its differences belong in three categories: purpose, style, and literary value. The purpose of the chronicle since the age of its conception has been to record human events. This purpose is honored in the *Expedición*; the telling of an extraordinary tale is its major preoccupation. But there are other motivations for the author, which distinguish him from other chroniclers. He writes for the honor of his family and homeland; for the scholarly and artistic presentation of an already-written story; and for the use of a vehicle for his philosophical interpretation of human affairs.

Moncada's style makes his work great. His simplicity and rich narration, his remarkable characterizations of the heroes of the tale, and his subjective expression in a frame of studied objectivity are unparalleled in the genre. The literary value of the *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos* is unique and unequivocal, not only in the genre of the historical chronicle, but in all Spanish literature as well.

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FRANCISCO DE MONCADA

EXPEDITION OF THE CATALANS AND ARAGONESE AGAINST THE TURKS AND GREEKS

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TO DON JUAN DE MONCADA; ARCHBISHOP OF TARRAGONA

PRIMATE OF NORTHEASTERN SPAIN, MY LORD AND MY UNCLE

In obedience to Your Honor's wish, I have organized this short history, which the small, isolated town has placed in my hands with a natural desire to preserve the country's dying memories which merit eternal existence. I have collected what I could of the ancient papers of Cataluña, and with the aid of their writers and the Greeks', I have tried to describe this expedition that our people made to the East. The two terrible antagonists to this story have been the neglect of the sons of its own heroes, and the malice of foreigners who are the enemies of our name and glory; these two forces vie obstinately to cause the death of this history. I found myself with nothing better to do, and so, remembering my promise to you, I went forth in defense of the tale. I am not sure whether this effort has been enough, because the weapons for the defense are the memories of old men and the works of ancient authors, which are often confused and defective so that they hinder me rather than give the help I need. But although I do not add information or even describe the events as they were told to posterity, I have at least replaced them with a longer relation than the ancient Catalans left to us. Their neglect seems born of the belief that fame will preserve such illustrious deeds with more care than history, and that even time cannot obscure them. Barcelona, 3rd of November, 1620.

God grant long life to Your Honor. The Count of Osuna

PREFACE

My purpose is to write the story of the memorable expedition that the Catalans and Aragonese made to the eastern provinces at the time when their valor and desire for fortune prompted them to look there for power and fame. Andronicus Paleologus [2], the emperor of Greece, called upon them to defend his homeland and empire against the Turks, whose forces were so strong that they oppressed his lands and threatened his ruin. But after our people had succeeded in freeing him from his enemies, he turned upon them, abusing and persecuting them with cruelty and fierce barbarity, until they were driven to look for their own defense and preservation. They applied their invincible forces against the Greeks and their chief Andronicus, and they were so formidable that all the major princes of Asia and Europe feared and dreaded them; many nations and provinces suffered total ruin by them, and the whole world admired them.

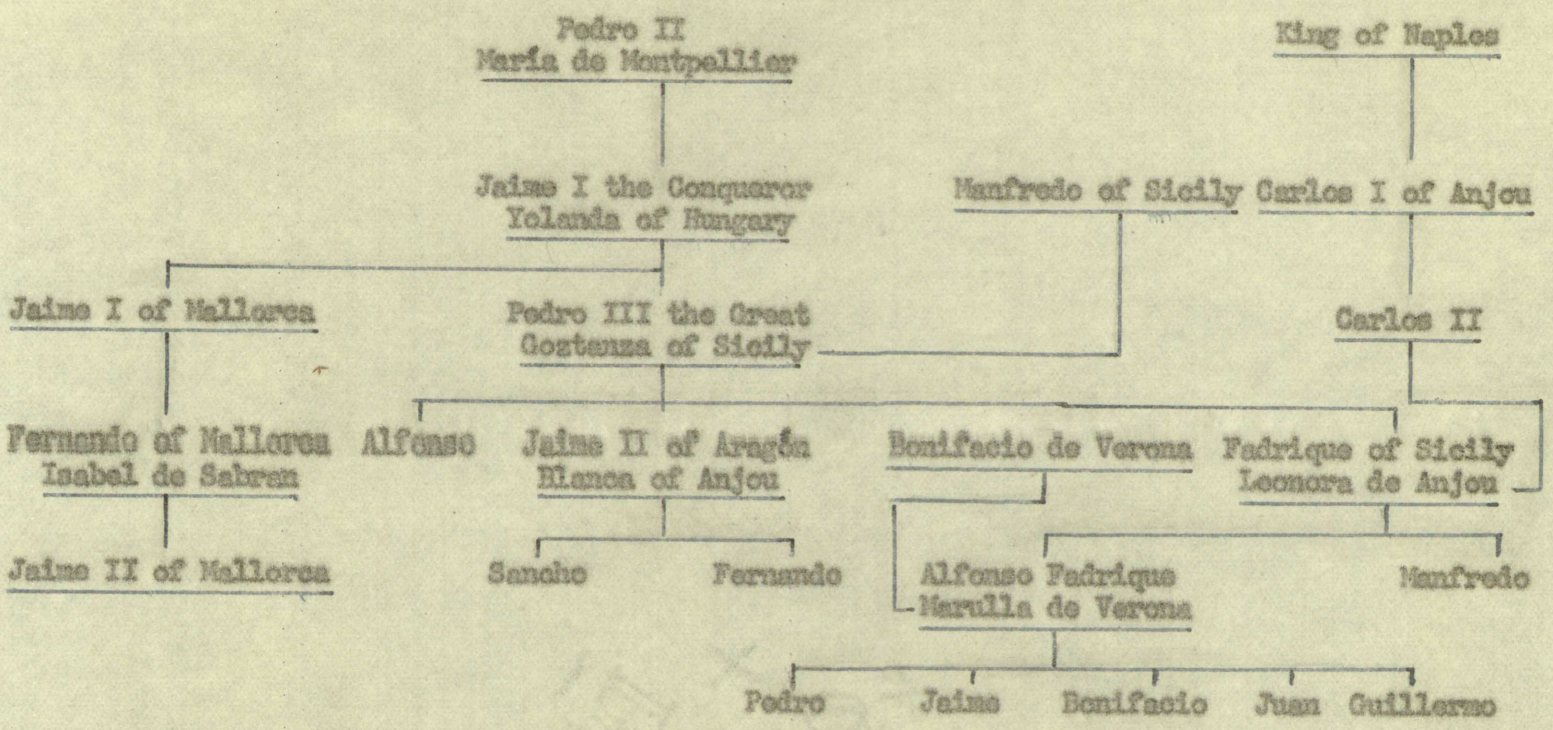
Although this work will be small because of the neglect of the ancients — who were great for deeds, but poor in recording them, it will be full of strange unusual events; of endless wars in far, remote regions with diverse warlike peoples; of bloody battles and unexpected victories; of the dangerous conquests successfully accomplished by a handful of divided Catalans and Aragonese who were at first the laughing stock of nations, and later the instrument of the punishment that God sent to them.

They conquered the Turks in the first bloom of the Ottoman grandeur, dispossessed them of their broad, rich provinces of Asia Minor, and surrounded them in the wild, rough forests of Armenia with the aid of the intense strength and vigor of their swords. Later the Turks turned against the Greeks to free themselves from an ignoble death and yo revenge the injuries that they could not tolerate without disgrace to their reputation and insult to their name; they joined the Catalans who took towns and cities by force; deffeated and broke up powerful armies; conquered and killed kings and princes on the battlefield; left great provinces destroyed and deserted; killed, captured, or exiled their inhabitants. They poured out vengeance that was more deserved than just; penetrated and trampled Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, and Boeotia[3] in spite of all the rulers in the Orient. Finally the duke of Athens, with all the noblemen of his people and of the French and Greeks, died at their hands; his state was occupied, and in it a new dominion founded.

But through all these events there was no lack of treachery, cruelty, plundering, and violence among the Catalans. There was insurrection, the common pestilence not only of an army untrained and weak through the limited power of a supreme chief, but of great and powerful monarchies as well. If the Catalans had succeeded in defeating their ambition and the greed that exceeded the limits of justice as well as they defeated their enemies, and kept themselves united, they would have carried their weapons to the far limits of the Orient, and Palestine and Jerusalem would have known crusader's banners for a second time.

Because the Catalans had valor and military discipline, constancy in adversity, tolerance of work, steadfastness in danger, quickness in action, and other warlike virtues to a pronounced degree, they survived. Even anger did not corrupt them, but the same power that God gave them to punish and oppress so many nations becamethe instrument of their own destruction. With the false pride of success and the vanity of their own prosperity, they came to divide and compete against each other over the government. Once divided, they killed each other, and kindled a civil war so terrible and cruel that there was no comparison between the deaths and injuries it caused and those caused by foreigners.

THE HOUSE OF ARAGON



FIRST CHAPTER

CONDITIONS OF RULERS AND KINGDOMS OF THE HOUSE OF ARAGON IN THOSE TIMES

Before we begin our history, it is important to explain the conditions in which provinces and kings of Aragón were found at the time of the story, their weapons and armies, friends and enemies, and the facts necessary to understand the fundamental causes of the expedition.

King Pedro of Aragón, son of Jaime the Conqueror [4], was called the Great because of his famous deeds. He married Costanza, daughter of King Manfredo of Sicily, who had been killed by Carlos of Anjou with the help of the Roman Pontiff, a blood enemy of Emperor Frederick. With Manfredo's death, Carlos became the king of the two Sicilies. Soon after, the unfortunate Conradino, last king of the House of Suevia, which was broken and destroyed, fell into Carlos' hands, and was sentenced to lose his head on a public scaffold, to the eternal memory of a vile revenge and monstrous example of human changeability. At this time Pedro did not have the strength to satisfy himself for the deaths of Manfredo and Conradino, nor later to hold his throne against the civil wars. The Moors of Valencia were rebellious, and the petty lords and noblemen of Catalunia were resentful and discontented. But they were also declared enemies of Carlos, provoked by French and English arms which were formidable for their strategy. However, the kingdoms of Sicily and Naples were far from theirs, and their people were occupied with defending themselves against closer enemies.

All these difficulties checked the king's offended courage, but they did not lessen the memory of the insult. Occasionally Pedro met with his brother-in-law King Philippe of France for interview to which Carlos, the son of the King of Naples, also came to offer the French king his friendship. Pedro always excused himself when Carlos arrived, showing by his expression the deep contempt and disgust which left his company uncomfortable and ill at ease. Carlos began to make preparations, and armed himself as if he believed the Aragonese king's forces were equal to his spirit and attitude. But heaven sent Pedro enough strength to take satisfaction for Conradino's innocent blood which had been shed by such dark means that no one realized what was happening until the execution itself made them public.

The miserable Sicilians, incited by French insolence and outraged by their insult and dishonor, took arms against their oppressors. In the famous revolt called the Sicilian Vespers [5] they threw off from the common neck the insufferable yoke of Carlos and the French, who had unjustly abused them by leaving them to the arbitration and subjection of tyrannical ministers, a cause which most often produces changes in states and miserable ends to their rulers. Then Carlos collected a powerful army to punish the daring rebellion of his subjects. Realizing that the door to all pity and clemency was closed, they placed their hope in Pedro, the Aragonese king. Like a true Christian prince, he was in Africa with an army of soldiers and nobility from his kingdoms, triumphant against Moorish and Berber chieftains.

Sicilian ambassadors came before the king with enough tears and sorrow to move the heart of not only a king offended by particular insult, but of any man with human feelings. They pointed out that the Sicilian people, so proud of their name and so anti-French, would help him revenge Manfredo's unfortunate death and the outrage of Conradino. Finally they described to him the dangerous state of their liberty, lives and property, explaining that if Pedro did not help them they were threatened by the rigorous punishment of Carlos who was now just above Messina, and promised a pitiful end to the whole kingdom.

Moved by the arguments of the Sicilians and his own desires for vengeance, Pedro left Trapani with all his forces, and overtook his enemy so quickly that Carlos hardly realized he was coming before he saw his men, and found himself forced to leave the place and retreat ignominiously to Calabria.

Carlos' friend, the Pontiff, and his relative, the king of France, openly declared their support and bore arms against Pedro. The king of Castilla, who should have helped the latter both through relation and friendship, was away from his country, and inclined to side with the greater power. Pedro's brother Jaime, king of Mallorca, also abandoned him, even offering help and passage through his country to Pedro's enemies. He made as excuse for this behavior the weak defenses of his country, unequal to opposition against such a powerful enemy. He apologized with the same duplicity that small rulers often use to hide a contemptible deed, blaming necessity for what ambition is responsible.

King Pedro found himself without friends and backed only by his own courage, fortune, and desire to satisfy the insult against his house.

At this time when everyone judged him lost, he managed to defeat his enemies several times, coming out each time reinforced by new assistance and alliances. He destroyed and humbled them either on land or at sea, maintained the name of Aragón, and became the first king of Spain to plant his conquering banners on Italian kingdoms, on which foundation his monarchy exists today.

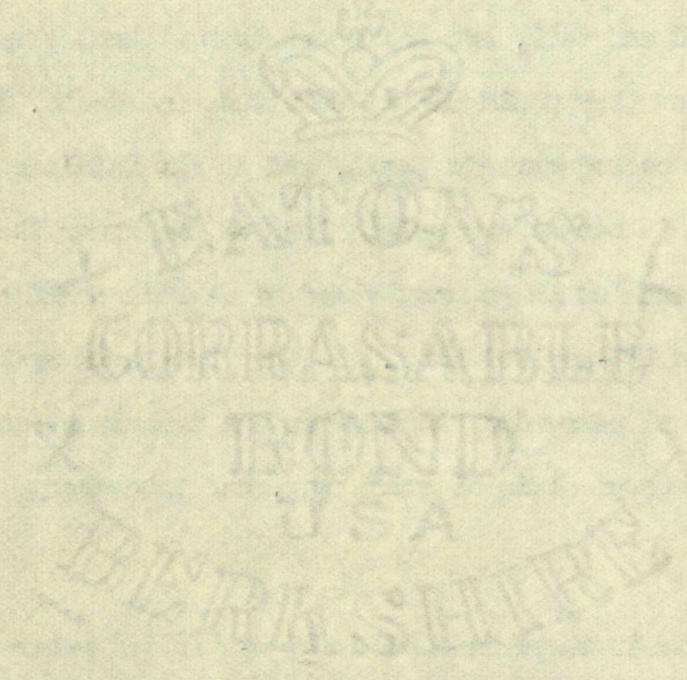
Pedro drove Carlos from Sicily, and with a great effort tried to reduce him to obedience, an attempt which produced remarkable results. But the House of Aragón always confirmed itself within the kingdom with victories, not only against Carlos' power, but against all the major rulers of Europe who had helped him.

Both of the rival kings died from the tremendous fury and rigor of the war, and by right of succession, Carlos, the king of Naples, was followed by his eldest son of the same name, who was at the time a prisoner in Cataluña. Pedro of Aragón was succeeded by his two sons; Alfonso, the elder, in his Spanish kingdoms, and Jaime in Sicily. The war continued until Alfonso died, leaving his brother Jaime as king, since he had no sons. Jaime returned to Spain, leaving his younger brother Fadrique in Sicily to govern the land and defend his name. When Jaime was established in Aragón, he sent for some of the forces of his former kingdom, and then abandoned Sicily to the Church. His motives for this measure were the fear of a combined attack by Castilla, France, and the ecclesiastics, as well as persuasion by his mother Goztanza, a

woman of singular religious fervor who preferred to see her son lose his kingdom than lose more time in making a reconciliation with the Church.

Jaime and Costanza sent ambassadors to Sicily in order to put the renunciation into effect and to deliver the kingdom to the Roman Pontiff's legates. But the natives and former soldiers were indignant at the ease with which their king renounced what they had gained and kept with so much blood and toil, and delivered them without pity to their enemies, from whom they could expect servitude and death. To the Sicilians, the measure seemed certain peril, and to the Catalans and Aragonese living there it seemed a complete loss of the honor that they had won against their enemies in so many years of fighting; all caused by the resolution of an ill-advised king. So they bore arms again, resisted the legates, and persuaded Fadrique as the true successor of his father and brother to proclaim himself king, and take charge of the common defense.

It was not difficult to persuade this high-spirited ruler in the flower of his youth, who could not hope to rise from his position as a vassal subject to his brother's laws; it was sufficient occasion to thrust a few years onto Fadrique's youthful age. He named himself king, and as such was accepted and crowned. Prepared for the cruel war that threatened him with good soldiers and loyal people who were quick to defend him, Fadrique became the second liberator of his country. He opposed his worst and nearest enemy, Carlos; the Pope who was defending his claims; and his brother Jaime, who was his declared enemy. Jaime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collected forces, attacked, and defeated him in a naval battle, with which the war was considered over and Fadrique finished. But through the hidden disposition of divine providence, which sometimes changes eventsbeyond common hopes, so that we will realize that only she governs and directs, Fadrique was retained in his kingdom to the universal happiness of the good, the astonishment and fear of his enemies, and the glory of his name.

A little later Jaime of Aragón destroyed the alliance by separating from it, which caused considerable regret and resentment among the other kings, who believed that without the strength of Aragón it was a fatal and impossible task to conquer a king of the same house. Experience had shown that when Jaime left the alliance, Fadrique's enemies were always defeated. The young Aragonese continued to gain victories until his opponents were forced to ask for peace, leaving him with his kingdom, a situation which they found annoying. Finally after some disaggreements, a firm peace was established with the marriage of Carlos' daughter Leonora to Fadrique. With this arrangement Sicily was left free from the fear of returning to the ancient servitude, and King Fadrique became the peaceful lord of the country he had defended with so much courage.

His brother, King Jaime, maintained the kingdoms of Aragón, Cataluña, and Valencia with peace and distinction; beloved by his subjects, feared by infidels, and served by great chieftains. He was powerful on the sea, and watched every opportunity to magnify his crown in

imitation of his ancestors. The king of Mallorca, least ruler of the House of Aragón, peacefully reigned over the dominion of Montpellier, and the counties of Roussillon, Cerdagne, and Coblents. These lands were difficult to defend because of their scattered locations and the strength of their neighbors, among whom the lesser kings were always wavering. But during these times, Jaime of Mallorca ruled with the same high reputation and fortune equal to that of the other kings of his house.

SECOND CHAPTER

THE GENERAL DECISION

Such was the state of the kings of Aragón, Mallorca, and Sicily, when the old soldiers and chosen captains who had served under Pedro the Great, his son Jaime, and finally the younger son, Fadrique, realized that war was finally over in Sicily now that peace was strengthened by the marriage of Leonora to their king, a bond of friendship between the two major powers. But the restlessness and ambition, which are the causes of most burning enmities and implacable hatreds, neither dissolved nor diminished for these veterans in the atmosphere of peace. When they could no longer look forward to a rift and war in Sicily, they decided to plan a new expedition against the infidels and enemies of Christianity in remote, isolated provinces. It was the strength and courage of these fighting men as well as their desire for more glory and triumph, that had helped them spread their influence on Sicilian battlefields, and now they were determined to look for tougher opportunities and more dangerous risks in order to increase their fame and fortune.

Two motives, both concerning their self-preservation, helped them to arrive at this decision. The first was that they had little security in returning to Spain, their homeland, and living there with comfortable reputation because they had defended Fadrique so obstinately against Jaime, their king and natural lord. But although Jaime was not a ruler of vengeful nature, he had considered them traitors during the war

against his brother and punish them in cold blood when they offended him by following Fadrigue's banners against his own. And although the insulted majesty of the ruler now offered them forgiveness, the memory of their offense would continue to stay with him. It might not be strong enough to injure them, but it would certainly prevent them from serving in the offices that their qualifications merited, as noblemen and administrators either in peace or war.

The second motive which forced them to leave Sicily was the fact that Fadrique was no longer able to support them with the same generosity as before, since much of the royal household had been spent or destroyed by twenty years of war. They were accustomed to enjoying themselves to excess in foreign houses as well as their own, and when they needed anything they plundered the towns and cities that they had conquered to get it. Since they could not go on living in peace and war was finished, they decided that it was impossible to reduce themselves to living with moderation.

Like his father and brother, King Fadrique was a shrewd observer of the industry and valor of his subjects, watching their usefulness in war while witnessing their deeds, and he was rarely deceived in dividing favors. He gave more credit to his eyes than to his ears, and always distributed his awards according to service and not to personal favor. Because of this there were fewer complainers and malcontents in his kingdom; they realized that he could not distribute the states and households to everyone who deserved them, and that some were necessarily left

with less compensation than their services merited. When their subjects saw the kings of the House of Aragón giving what they legally could with lavish liberality and grandeur their outstanding captains, they suppressed their dissatisfaction, attributing the selections to the virtue and valor of those who were preferred and finding themselves inferior.

These were the causes that moved the Spaniards in Sicily to attempt to advance themselves in new undertakings and conquests. There were four outstanding leaders who encouraged and strengthened the rest of the group that served under their standards: Roger de Flor, vice-admiral of Sicily; Berenguer de Entenza and Fernán Jiménez de Arenós, both noblemen, and Berenguer de Rocafort, all well known and highly regarded among their men.

They spoke about their plans to their retainers and friends, and found them well disposed and ready to follow them on whatever journey they might resolve to take as most profitable and honorable. To make final agreements they met in secrecy where they decided to choose a chief before planning the expedition. They realized that without a leader who could and would command, determination and wise counsel were useless. By common acclaim of all those who were present , Roger de Flor, powerful vice-admiral of the sea, was named chief. He was a valiant, distinguished soldier, fortunate sailor, and richer in money and possessions than all the other captains, a condition which was the principal cause of his election.

THIRD CHAPTER

WHO WAS ROGER DE FLOR

Roger de Flor, he who was elected by our people as general and supreme chief, was born in Brindisi, the son of noble parents. His father was a German named Richard de Flor who served as retainer for Emperor Frederick; his mother, an Italian woman, native of Brindisi. Richard died in the battle between Carlos of Anjou and Conradino, whom he supported because he was the grandson of Frederick, Richard's king and lord.

When Carlos, who was insolent with victory, had cut off Conradino's head, he confiscated the land of all those who had helped the unfortunate ruler. With this loss, Roger and his mother were left in poverty, and the boy was raised under these conditions until he was fifteen. At this age a French gentleman named Vassiall, who was a member of the Order of the Templars [6], took a fancy to young Roger and offered him in Brindisi the opportunity of working on the Aleon, Templar ship of which Vassaill was the captain. Roger sailed with him for several years, and managed to make such a good impression in his employment that the Order received him among its members, and gave him rank of sergeant friar, which was almost equal to that of knight in those times.

In this capacity Roger began to be known and feared in all the eastern sea. When the city of Ptolemais, also called Acre, surrendered to the forces of Melech Tasaraf, the sultan of Egypt, Roger, according to the historian, Pachymeres, was one of the men helping there in a

monastery of the Templars. He realized that the city could not be defended, managed to collect in a ship a crowd of Christians with the property they were able to carry off, and succeeded in escaping from the cruel fury of the barbarians.

Roger did not lack enemies among the men of his own order; many of them were jealous of his success. They made trouble between him and his Master, accusing him of collecting profit by a means not becoming to his profession, of abusing the common privileges, and of making off with the spoils he had taken from Acre. By now this famous brotherhood had reached the last stages of its old age and was nearing the end; its members had become weak with the vices of age and time. Their hearts were full of envy, avarice, and ambition in place of the ancient valor, brotherly attachment, and Christian piety that had once made them admired and venerated in all the provinces.

The Master planned to seize Roger when he heard the first accusation, but the wily youth learned of these intentions. He knew the greediness of his chief and the baseness of his brothers. Without staying longer at Marseilles, where he happened to be when he heard the news concerning his status with the Templars, he rushed off to a more secure place and waited for the false, malicious accusations to blow over.

He retired to Genoa where he collected friends, including one Ticin de Oria, who helped him fit out a galley. In this craft he sailed to Naples to offer his services to Roberto, Duke of Calabria, who was preparing for a war with Fadrique. Roberto paid little attention to

this offering, judging Roger quickly by his small crew of men. This lack of appreciation annoyed Roger so much that he went to serve Roberto's enemy Fadrique, who received him with gratitude and open arms. His appreciation was not only an expression of his generous nature and comradely ease with soldiers, but also of the force of necessity produced by the impending war. It would not have been prudent for the Sicilian prince to decline the services voluntarily offered in such pressing times, when his life and liberty were in danger, and he was separated from all the friends and people who were obligated to him. The man who comes to be a friend in danger, when the ruler he offers to assist is threatened by more powerful forces, who has no natural obligation and owes no fidelity as a subject, should be admitted and honored, even though he comes with his own interests or because the enemy has injured or insulted him. For the more offended such a man is, the more useful will be his service.

The war raged between Roberto and Fadrique, and Roger credited himself with several outstanding feats. He often helped in places tightly pressed by the enemy, and with a small fleet took it upon himself to impede the free navigation of the Naples seas and coast. He became a vice admiral, and in less than three years performed so many remarkable services that he was one of the main causes for Fadrique's remaining in Sicily. His name became immortal and he collected more wealth than any of the young ruler's vassals. This was the situation in which Roger de Flor found himself when the Catalans and Aragonese chose him their chief for the undertaking they were planning.

FOURTH CHAPTER

THE LEADERS PLAN THEIR JOURNEY AND ASK PERMISSION OF THE KING

With their new general the leaders discussed what undertaking would be most suitable and advantageous for them. Finally they resolved by common consent to offer themselves to the emperor of the Greeks, Andronicus Paleologus, who was being uncomfortably pressed by the Turkish forces. The Greek emperor was looking for help from foreign nations; he was doubtful of his own, and he was a ruler who had a brief relationship with the Pope. This condition appealed to Roger because he feared the Pope's wrath at his having mistreated some of the provinces of the church during time of war, and he still lived in apprehension that the Pope would demand of Fadrique that he hand the former Templar over to the justice of his Order and Master, as an effective way of gaining vengeance against him.

Although such an ugly deed could not be expected of Fadrique's grandeur, still, kings have a way of placing their fame and reputation above other interests, and they forget with ease their subjects' services when it is convenient. Besides, if Fadrique did refuse to deliver up Roger, it might be the occasion for a break and war, which the king could not well afford at this point. Roger neither wanted to involve his king in new difficulties, nor place his own liberty in the danger it risked in Sicily.

Pachymeres says in the thirteenth chapter of his second book that the Pope did ask Fadrique for the delivery of Roger. But the king, who

felt how unjust it would be to turn over a man who had served him so well, offered instead to write to Andronicus and ask him to accept Roger's service. In this way he could allow the young adventurer to leave honorably from his lands without giving the Pope pretext for complaining that he was helping the escape of a fugitive from a religious order. But Pachymeres is apparently uncertain on this point, because he assures his readers that if he is mistaken about this it is not his fault, but rather that of the people who spread the story. And he adds that he heard it from the Greeks, who were never very accurate when it came to rumors about the Catalans and Aragonese. He and the historian Muntaner differ here because the former states definitely that the Pope asked Fadrique for the person of Roger; while Muntaner claims that this was feared, but never actually happened.

When all plans for the journey had been decided and several days spent in making arrangements for its execution, the men gave Roger the charge of speaking to Fadrique, explaining their plans to him, and asking him on behalf of the whole expedition for his approval, since they did not consider it fitting to make such an attempt publicly without his consent. The king was at Messina [7] just concluding the celebrations of his marriage to Carlos' daughter Leonora. Roger went there and spoke to him in secret. He explained that the Catalans and Aragonese wanted to leave Sicily and go East, not so much for their own advantage, but because it would free the kingdom of the rather heavy and bothersome burden of their presence during peacetime. He assured the king that his men remained devoted to their ruler, and they would be there to defend

him to the last borders of his land if he ever needed it. But in the meantime they would appreciate the exercise of his strength and authority in their behalf.

The king answered that he wanted them to make known their resolve to leave Sicily because, although it would better their maintenance, it might damage his reputation. People might believe that he had ordered their departure so as to free himself of his obligations to the Spaniards, and he did not want anyone to think him so ungrateful. He told Roger that he would help them with everything he had if they were called by the hope of new acquisitions and enterprises, were resolved to go, and would promise to publish their intent. He regretted his inability, because of the poverty of the times imposed by the long war, to reward Roger's men as he wished to.

The answer was worthy of a ruler so noble, and was particularly admirable because the virtues of reasonableness and gratitude are so rare among kings, who do not worry about the rewarding of great services beyond the bestowing of ordinary mercies. Roger thanked him in the name of all for his favor and the honor he did them, and left Fadrique to return to his men with an account of the interview. When the adventurers heard the story, the night was noisy with celebration, and praises for their king.

Fadrique became one of the outstanding rulers of his age. Through the grandeur of his spirit and the glory of his deeds, he met and broke the forces of Italy, France, and Spain who were united for his ruin. In

spite of all his competitors he retained the kingdom of Sicily for himself and his posterity, with whom it is happily preserved today. Nothing more useful for the peace and security of his new kingdom could have happened than the departure of the guests whose quartering and expenses were a real trial for his people. During the war when they feared Carlos to death, they offered their land and possessions to the foreign soldiers with desperate liberality. But when peace came, the fear left, and they began to feel the uncomfortable closeness of the outsiders. Quarrels and annoyances arose that might have caused grave dangers if the plans for the new expedition had not appeared to intercept them.

FIFTH CHAPTER

DELEGATION FROM THE COMPANY TO THE EMPEROR ANDRONICUS AND HIS ANSWER

Then Roger and other other principal chiefs of the army decided that they would send two ambassadors to the Emperor Andronicus to offer their service. Ramón Muntaner, one of the most important historians of the expedition who always offered his counsel and assistance, helped give the ambassadors their instructions. The two knights, whose names are wrapped in the darkness of time and neglect, left for Constantinople to deliver their message to the nation. They arrived in a few days on a galley furnished by Roger. Knowing of their coming and something of the message they brought, Andronicus received them with pleasant consideration.

The older of the two ambassadors explained their mission. He told Andronicus that the Catalans and Aragonese, after making peace with Carlos, king of Naples, and Fadrique, king of Sicily whom they served, were determined not to look for rest in their homeland, but instead to increase their military reputation acquired in the past wars by new deeds. They had forces sufficient in valor and strength for this undertaking; soldiers trained in long, dangerous war; and officers known for their victories and noble blood. The ambassadors offered their aid in the name of all with particular relish because the House of Paleologus had been the only friend of the House of Aragón when their other allies had left, and because they looked forward to ridding the empire of the enemies of the Christian name.

The emperor was pleased with the unexpected delegation and its

offering from the Catalans, who seemed to be of particular value to the Greeks since they had managed to sustain the kingdom of Sicily against all Italy. He was impressed with the grand way in which the whole group had offered to serve him, and he received them accordingly.

Andronicus began to discuss the conditions under which the Westerners would wage war. According to their instructions, the ambassadors asked for a fixed wage for the soldiers, and for Roger the title of archduke and a wife from among the emperor's granddaughters. With such pledges, the Spanish chief planned to secure his position in the service. Andronicus conceded everything they asked without alteration; he did not even make an observation concerning the obvious difference between the state and quality of Roger and that of his granddaughter. Apparently the Greek realized that such inequality of Roger's was made up by the general worth of the people he governed, particularly in this hour of need when the emperor was so hard pressed by the Turks and so uncertain of the loyalty of his people.

John Lascaris, the legitimate successor to the empire, was living blind and exiled in a country town of Bithynia [8]. Although he was useless as a future ruler, he remained nevertheless a constant monument to Andronicus' tyranny, and the malcontents of the government considered him sufficient justification to take arms against the present ruler. This situation made the emperor fearful and suspicious; he was forced to avail himself of foreign aid. He had received into his service ten thousand Alans, a barbaric people more Christian in their faith than

their actions. They came from the other side of the Danube, and were recognized as masters by the other tribes of Europe. They had sent first their ambassadors to the emperor, offering their service. Nicephorus Gregoras, a contemporary Greek writer, records that Andronicus was so grateful for the offer that it seemed "as agreeable to the emperor as if it had come from heaven". But his own people had become so antagonistic to the Alans that they were making friendships and alliances among foreigners to the extent that the Greek ruler wished he had never hired the Europeans.

He had also taken into his army several companies of Christian Turks; men with Greek mothers who had left the Sultan Asan and been baptized. All these outsiders were considered formidable, but Roger's band was superior beyond the words that the Greek had to praise them. Andronicus sent the two ambassadors back to their chief with the insignia of archduke, which is equal to a general of the sea and of high dignity, although not the greatest, and went about making the arrangements for the wedding.

SIXTH CHAPTER

THE EMPEROR GRANTS A SALARY TO THE FIGHTING MEN AND MANY HONORS AND PRIVILEGES FOR THE OFFICERS

Andronicus granted wages to Roger's men according to their occupation and possession of weapons. He gave four ounces of silver each month to the men of arms, two to the light horsemen, and the same to the pilots and mariners who handled the fleet. To the infantrymen he gave one ounce, with the stipulation that they would receive four months' wages when they arrived at the coast of some province of the empire, and would be provided for two months when they wanted to go back to their homes, either alone or together.

George Pachymeres, the Greek author whose observations have often shed light on this story in spite of his being a great enemy of the Catalans, writes that their wages were twice as good as those of the Turkish Greeks or the Alans, a statement which illustrates clearly the reputation that the Catalanand Aragonese militia had acquired to make such a difference in their preference above those who served the empire. Oddly enough, the historians do not name the wages, share pay, or bonuses that were offered the officers and nobles; only the rank and honor of archduke for Roger and of seneschal for Corbarán de Alet are recorded. One suspects that the dignity of their positions limited their salaries, and that arrangements were made for the officers to receive money by signifying the amount and later turning in their accounts of its use to the comptrollers and ministers of Andronicus' estate.

The ambassadors returned to Italy where they found Roger in Licata, keeping his post and waiting for their message. When he heard the good word that they brought, he set out to see his king and make a report of the honorable reception Andronicus had given his ambassadors and the conditions that he had offered them. The journey was announced publicly, and the officers collected their men at Messina where the fleet was being prepared for navigation in a few days.

The adventurers' fleet consisted of thirty-six sailing vessels, including eighteen galleys and four heavy ships, most of them fitted out with money from the king and from Roger who used the estate that he had acquired during the past wars, plus twenty thousand ducats that he had drawn in the name of the emperor. The assembly of men ready to leave was less than expected because the two Berenguers, of Entenza and Rocafort, had decided to postpone their departure until the following year. Berenguer de Entenza was expecting new companies from Cataluña to increase his strength and reputttion. Berenguer de Rocafort was waiting for some men from Calabria whom he had refused to deliver to King Carlos of Naples because the ruler owed him back wages.

Although the lack of these two officers with the principal parts of his army could have justly detained him, Roger was determined to leave, and embarked on the appointed day. The king, in addition to furnishing ships and galleys, ordered them equipped with food, supplies, and money, realizing the fatigues and dangers of such a trip as only a king reigning in those times could.

This was the reward that was offered the most invincible and victorious militia of the age, which had served twenty long years under three kings, Pedro, Jaime, and Fadrique, winning five naval and three land victories without the expense of extra battles or the loss of many men, in addition to their remarkable courage and incredible perserverance in defending Sicily. Such was the moderation of those times; quite different from those of today when we see soldiers who have scarcely faced the enemy being repaid with major privileges.

SEVENTH CHAPTER

DEPARTURE OF THE FLEET FROM SICILY; THE ALMUGAVARS.

Our people sailed from the port of Messina, but before they left the lighthouse they were joined by a throng of Almugavars, fifteen hundred men to serve on shipboard and four thousand infantrymen, according to Muntaner. Nicephorus Gregoras, and author who is not too trustworthy on many occasions, says that Roger left Greece with only one thousand men, but here George Pachymeres agrees with the Catalan chronicler that there were eight thousand. This seems a more logical number, since it is certain that he arrived with sixty-five hundred wage soldiers, who were probably increased to eight thousand with the servants and families of the nobles. Although Nicephorus and Pachymeres do not agree, the former is usually doubtful. I cannot convince myself that Andronicus would have made Roger an archduke and married him to his granddaughter, if he had been chief of only one thousand men and just entering his service.

It does not seem beyond our story to say something of the Almugavars, since the infantry was composed of them. Antiquity, the mother of forgetfulness, which has lost many brilliant deeds and shining memories, and left others confused, also holds the origin of the Almugavars. From what I have been able to find, they were among the barbaric nations that destroyed the Roman empire in Spain and set up their own in it place. This was preserved in splendor and majesty until the Saracens overran them in less than two years, and forced the remnants of their

people into the most rugged mountains, where they killed wild animals to provide themselves with food and clothing. There the ancient strength and endurance of the race that had been buried in comfort and luxury during their domination was restored by the life of labor and fatigue. They left the forests, taking with them to use on the Moors weapons wielded before against the animals.

They took up their old wandering habits, never building houses or staking out properties. They lived in the fields and on enemy frontiers, sustaining themselves and their families with plunder from the Saracens, for which they continually sacrificed their lives, developing no other craft or occupation than service for wages in war. When kings did not hire them, they followed their own chiefs to raid the frontiers, until the name Almugavar became synonymous with plundering among the ancients.

They took with them their women and children, witnesses of their glory or defeat, and, like Germans of all ages have done, dressed in animal skins, with sandals and leggings of the same hide. Their weapons included an iron device worn on the head like a helmet, a sword, a pointed staff somewhat like those used today in companies of harquebus fighters, and usually three or four throwing darts. They handled these darts with such speed and violence that they challenged armed men and horses, a feat which would seem improbable if it had not been recorded by both Bernat Desclot and Muntaner, serious authors of our history, who relate the deeds of our people with ability equal to that of the most distinguished Greeks and Romans.

Once when Carlos, king of Naples, called into his presence some Almugavar prisoners, he marveled at the poverty of their clothing and weapons, apparently useless against the bodies of armed and mounted men, and asked scornfully if these were the men with whom the king of Aragón planned to wage war. One of the soldiers, with characteristic freedom to defend his reputation, replied; "Sir, if we seem so unfit to you and you estimate our power so little, select one of the outstanding knights of your army with the offensive and defensive weapons of his choice, and I will challenge him on the field with only my sword and darts." Planning to punish the Almugavar's insolence, Carlos accepted the challenge and went out to watch the battle. A Frenchman appeared, armed completely and mounted with his sword and battle ax. And there was the Almugavar alone with his sword and dart. But scarcely had he entered the stockade before he had killed the horse and was preparing to do the same with its master, when the king's voice stopped him, proclaiming him victor and free.

During the same war, another Almugavar was attacked by twenty armed men on the banks of a river, and managed to kill five of them before he died. Many other instances could be cited, enough for a separate history. Only their name is doubtful; whether it originally belonged to an army or a nation. I am sure that they were a nation, and to back my opinion Pachymeres says the Almugavars are descendants of the Avars, comrades of the Huns and Goths. Although no author contradicts this belief, several of the laws of the Partidas clearly refer to them as an army. However, this situation does not contradict the first opinion,

because both statements may be true.

In the beginning, Pachymeres says they were a nation, but as time went on and they developed no art or profession, the name Almugavar came to mean any man who served for wages in the army, in the same way that arts and sciences often take the names of their inventors. But I doubt greatly if many people who were not of their own nation joined the Almugavars for a life of fatigue and dangers. Unless natural inclination made them follow the profession of their fathers, few men would chose a life that had been discomfort and continual work from its beginning. Nicephorus states that Almugavar is the name that the Latins --for so the Greeks called all Westerners -- gave to their infantry soldiers. But there is no object in presenting argument to such a manifest error, especially against an author so little versed in our affairs as Nicephorus.

The fleet left Messina and arrived with good navigation at Malvasia, part of Morea where they were affably received and offered provisions according to the emperor's order. Before sailing again, orders came to Roger to supervise the navigation. The people left, cheered by their entertainment, and a few days later during the month of January they docked at Constantinople, where, according to the thirteenth chapter in Pachymeres' second book, they were received with universal rejoicing in the city that recognized them as forces for their aid and defense. The emperors Andronicus and Michael and all the Greek nobility received them with honor and demonstrations of friendship. Andronicus ordered the Catalans tp disembark and finding lodging in the section of the city

called Blanquernas, and the next day they were paid four months' wages according to the agreement.

EIGHTH CHAPTER

ROGER IS MARRIED, AND THE CATALANS AND GENOESE FIGHT IN CONSTANTINOPLE

Apparently the emperor realized that it was to his best advantage to comply with all the promises he had made the Catalans and punctually, and in order to do this efficiently he began with the most difficult task; that of marrying his granddaughter María to Roger. With that promise satisfied, he judged that the remaining privileges were less important and easier to bestow.

The ceremony was held with all the solemnity of royalty, since Roger's valor could equal his wife's nobility. She was María, the daughter of Prince Asan of the Bulgars and Andronicus' daughter Irene; she was fifteen years old, beautiful, and extremely intelligent.

While the wedding feasts were going on, a quarrel and then riot broke out between the Catalans and Genoese that almost became a bloody battle, and was started, as is often the case, from some small cause. Pachymeres says that the disagreement was over the twenty thousand ducats that had been lent to Roger before he left Sicily and which the emperor was now offering to consider his payment. But the most evident cause was a fracas started by an Almugavar who, while roaming around the city, had met up with two Genoese who saw that he was alone and began to laugh at his clothes and appearance. The Almugavar's belligerent spirit took offense at the witticisms, and, being more expressive with hands than his tongue, he opened the argument by rushing his tormentors with his sword.

Friends and onlookers arrived to take one side or the other, and since the two nations had been mutually suspicious and antagonistic, they now met each other with intent to destroy completely. The Genoese pulled their banner and emblem and attacked the barracks where the Almugavars had been assigned in the Blanquernas section. Our knights, realizing the danger of their Almugavars, divided into two squads and closed in on the Genoese. With this maneuver they protected the inhabitrymen who came out of their barracks, and joined them in the mutilation of their attackers. They fought obstinately man to man until the Genoese captain Roseo de Final was killed, and his men retreated with several casualties and much damage.

Andronicus watched the fight with enthusiasm from his palace windows, and expressed his disgust with the Genoese when he saw them being pushed around and even killed. But when he realized that the Almugavars with their customary fervor were destroying everything that got in their way, he began to worry that all the Genoese in Constantinople might die that day, which would be an uncomfortable situation for his own protection, because the peace of his empire depended upon the Genoese. It is true that Andronicus would have enjoyed being free from the Genoese yoke, if he could have managed it safely. But this was difficult because he needed to keep the power of his empire divided in order to keep it oppressed; if he allowed the people in Constantinople to suffer, it would irritate other forces left whole outside the city. And so with prayers and promises he begged the Catalan captains to call off their men. Pachymeres reports that he sent his chief of fleet,

Esteban Marzala, to quiet the tumult and pacify both sides, but the unfortunate admiral was killed and torn to pieces in the savage uproar. Finally the presence and authority of Roger and the other captains was strong enough to force obedience, and their men retired reluctantly, for they had drawn their banners and were ready to attack and plunder Perasa[9] to avenge their mistreatment.

The Genoese population was divided from the city of Constantinople by a narrow stretch of sea known as the Horn of Byzantium[10] to the ancients, and Galatea[11] to the Turks and Greeks of today. When the Catalans had retreated and calmed down, the emperor, consistent with his usual punctuality, ordered them to pay damages, for they had left almost three thousand dead Genoese in the city. Although the fight and reparations caused them inconvenience then, it was also the beginning of much future grief. They had insulted a powerful rival nation, whose friendship was necessary to keep the army in the empire, for Genoese strength was feared everywhere in the East. They were arbitrators in peace and war; colonizers in Greece, Pontus[12], and Palestine; admirals of powerful fleets; possessors of great riches amassed by their courage and industry; and absolute masters of European trade for which they maintained forces equal to those of the major kingdoms and republics. Through these accomplishments they came to be near masters of the Greek empire.

When the Catalans arrived at Constantinople, the Genoese had surveyed the forces they brought and realized that they were dangerous in the vicinity of their own forces. And so began the dislike and implacable

enmity between the two nations which lasted many ages until both of them finally lost their strength and the dominion over the sea. Not until then did the rivalry end which had caused them to fight so often with varying outcomes.

NINTH CHAPTER

THE FLEET MOVES TO ANATOLIA AND SENDS THE MEN TO THE CAPE OF ARTACE

After the damaging quarrel between the Catalans and the Genoese, Andronicus realised what could happen with two armed and offended nations within the city; that there would undoubtedly be a break, and on less occasion than there had been the first time. He called in the Catalan officers and explained how happy he would be to have them helping this miserable Christian subjects than being oppressed by the Turks in Asia, and at the same time averting the possibility of more disorder at home. Roger and his captains agreed to embark with their people immediately, but they asked one concession to their peace of mind and the satisfaction of their people. They asked him to name an officer of their own nation to be in charge of their relief and reinforcement. They felt that they could depend on such a man with more security, for they considered it a dangerous practice to leave such a charge as their relief in the hands of a strange people. They were afraid that Andronicus might appoint a man among the Greeks or Genoese with whom there was always the danger of rivalry and competition, serious quarrels and injury, and during wartime the possibility of a base or malicious general who would deliberately slow up reinforcements, blaming his treachery on the difficulty of the times and other imaginery dangers.

Andronicus conceded this request by giving the charge to Fernando de Aonés, making him a general of the fleet with title of admiral. Fernando, who was a knight of known blood and personal gallantry, also

asked to married to a relative of the emperor's in order that the new relationship would give more authority to his charge. The title of admiral was not as supreme as it is in our times; he was subject to the archduke from whom he received his orders. The emperor ordered a Roxanic insignia captain named Marulli to join Roger's people, and also sent with them George of the Alans and most of his men. The army embarked in ships and galleys of the fleet, crossing the sea of Propontis [13] which is calledd Marmora today. They made land at the Cape of Artace [14] a little more than a hundred miles from Constantinople, at a placeethey found suitable for the desembarkation of the knights. This cape, called Artaqui by Muntaner and Artacio by the ancients, lies not far from the ancient city of Cyzicus.

The same day that Roger arrived with the fleet, he learned that the Turks were planning to take a rampart about a half mile long on the stretch of the cape with the most solid ground, where any struggle would be left more to the fortification of the place than the valor of the defenders. The cape extended from this battlement several leagues down to the sea, and here the abundant valleys and fertile hills were thickly populated. In ancient times this section was an island that was gradually closed off by the accumulating sands.

When Roger had definite information that the Turks had already attacked the cape rampart and realized that they could not be far off, he hastily unloaded his men and sent spies to scout the enemy camp. In a few hours they came back with the news that the Turks were living

according to the old customs of the Scitas --from whom they claimed descent --roaming in warlike tribes over the level country, lodging in tents and sheds, and changing their scenery with the shift in season and resulting produce of the land. Now they were camped six miles away between two streams with their wives, children, and households. Their main strength was in their horsemen who were governed by captains and princes, men of courage rather than blood, who were obayed more through respect than obligation. They waged perpetual war against their neighbors without military order, like the Arabians who now possess Africa. Following this kind of life they left the shores of the Volga River and went into Asia Minor where they gained fame among more barbaric Greeks and Asiatic nations. The same happens to monarchies as it does to men; they are born, grow and die. Greece sprung up when she defended herself from Xerxes, destroying his numerous armies and forcing the barbarian monarch to retreat across a bridge of boats over the Hellespont. She had her growth when Alexander's forces went beyond the Ganges and the borders of nature itself were the limits of his ambition. Her death came when barbaric hordes, through the weakness of Greek princes and the lack of loyalty among their officers, were able to place them in servitude.

During the time that Andronicus occupied the Eastern empire, the Turks were divided by civil wars. But through the advice and authority of Orthogules, they were pacified and decided to settle their disputes by casting lots. Gregoras and Chalcocondylas report that the provinces went to seven captains, all of whom aspired to the universal government. To Caramano's lot fell the Mediterranean section of the province of

Phrygia [15] from Cilicia to Philadelphia; however, one author claims that there were no seven captains and that he reigned only in Caria. Carcano received the part of Phrygia that extends to Smyrna, and Calami with his son Carasi got the Lydia as far as Mysia. Bithynia and the other provinces near Mount Olympus fell in Ottoman's lot. This ruler rose up in his monarchy, conquering and subjecting the tyrants of the other provinces until he became master of all of them. Paflagonia and the other lands in the Black Sea area went to the sons of Amurat. In this condition the Catalans found Asia split among its Turkish lords, making the land with its divided forces vulnerable for our people's victories.

TENTH CHAPTER

THE CATALANS AND ARAGONESE CONQUER THE TURKS

Since Roger knew how near the Turks were and did not wish to lose the opportunity to strike before the army learned of their arrival and had time to arm or retreat, he called the camp together. In a brief talk he explained to them how he planned to take the enemy camp the next day, which could be done easily if they were careful. He pointed out the glory that would be theirs if they won, and that through their first encounter would come the fear or confidence on which their reputation depended. He ordered them to spare the lives of none but children, because they would inspire more terror among the barbarians that way, and because they themselves were fighting with no expectation of life if they were beaten. He gave the order on which they would march, and thus ended his speech. His men listened to him with enthusiasm, and that same night they left the camp in order to attack at dawn.

Roger and Marulli led the vanguard of horsemen, bearing only two standards; one with the arms of Andronicus and one with their own. The infantry followed in one long squadron, commanded by Corberán de Alet, seneschal of the army. He too carried only two banners, contrary to the common use of the times, which were born at the head of the line, instead of back in the center in a stronger and better defended position. One banner showed the arms of Jaime of Aragón, and the other, those of Fadrique, king of Sicily; one of the conditions of service that the Catalans had demanded of the emperor was the right to carry the emblems of their

native rulers.

The soldiers meant to take with them the memory and authority of the kings who believed that the weapons of Aragón were invincible. From this desire could be seen the affection and veneration that their rulers inspired in the Catalans and Aragonese; since they preserved their memory and fought for them even under foreign rulers in distant provinces. Although this fidelity was remarkable, instead of being rare, it was always the case. The Catalans never abandoned a ruler; no matter how cruel or wicked he was they preferred to suffer his rigor and severity rather than submit to a new master. They did not consider the Sicilian ruler a bastard brother, nor did they exclude the rightful king from their affections. They did not prefer the second brother to the first, but accepted them in the order that nature and heaven had disposed, without altering the situation by particular dislike or regard. It was a contrast to the common order of things, when there was hardly a kingdom which was not rife with such changes and substitutions.

At midnight the Catalans moved onto the rampart that divided the cape from the mainland, and at dawn they came upon the Turks. The enemy was camped in a secure area which to their knowledge was far from the attackers; they had no sentinels and were sleeping carelessly in their tents. Roger and Marulli closed in with the horsemen and tore through tents and thin battlements with great relish. The Almugavars followed them in the same spirit, furnishing a bloody by fortunate beginning to the new war. The Turks who were not immediately stopped by

the furious rigor of Company swords while they slept, woke up to the noise of weapons and voices, terrified and confused by the sudden assault. They snatched their weapons to defend themselves, but they were few, divided and unarmed. Their resistance was futile and luckless against the strength and daring of their attackers, who were everywhere at once. But they fought desperately, watching the ruin of their most precious belongings by a people whose name they did not even know.

The Catalans came out completely victorious, leaving the camp strewn with three thousand dead Turkish horsemen and ten thousand men. The few who were left alive were those who had realized in time, amid all the disorder and loss, that the Catalans were impervious to their short-lance blows, and escaped. Others who tried to do the same thing later only met their death the faster, because they were so occupied in hurrying away their women and children that they left off defending themselves.

There were several prisoners, most of them captive children. Nicephorus describes the terror of this first attack in these words: "As the Turks saw the fierce impetuosity of the Latins --their valor, military discipline, and heavy, gleaming weapons, they fled terrified and aghast, not only far from the city of Constantinople but way into the depths of the empire." The Catalans continued their pursuit a little way, but they did not know the land, so they returned to the camp the same night, after scouting their own camp for safety.

ELEVENTH CHAPTER

THE ARMY RETREATS TO SPEND THE WINTER AT THE CAMP ON THE CAPE OF ARTACE

With four galleys full of rich presents for both Andronicus and Michael, the Catalans sent word of their victory to the rulers. The most precious lot of the capture was sent to Roger's wife María in the name of the soldiers. Both the richness of the booty and the quickness with which the foreigners had won such a remarkable victory cause widespread admiration among the Greeks who began to sing the praises of their champions. They were free at last from fear of the Turks, who, insolent with their successes over Greeks along other parts of the channel, had been threatening the city with their naked cutlasses.

But most of the nobility, instead of showing their gratitude for the benefits derived, were filled with ill-concealed envy at the foreigner's luck. Some of Andronicus' court favorites and the more prominet members of his cabinet began to fear the Catalan forces, realizing that they were superior to their own, and that so much power in the hands of strangers within the town was a dangerous thing. These opinions and remarks encouraged the emperor Michael, who was goaded by a hidden resentment that dominated his soul.

A few months before, Michael had crossed the channel with a powerful army, but either through fear of the enemy or lack of confidence in his own men, he came home very embarrassed, without having taken anything or having had even a small skirmish with the enemy. And when he saw the Catalans who were so few in number conquering the enemy that

he had not even dared to attack with his adequate army, his annoyance began to develop into hatred and active desire for Catalan ruin. The officers greatly resented anyone who outdid them in courage, or was even more clever at making wise remarks, particularly when the virtue belonged to a foreign whose ability rivaled theirs. If the trifling competition against a ruler in composing poetry could cause the death of Lucan[15], how much more would be at stake if fortune and valor were pitted in competition? And so, for this reason, a wise captain will never plan an undertaking in which his superior has failed, unless he wishes to compete with him for the empire.

In spite of their success, the Catalans did not press their victory or attempt to move forward; a stand which damaged their reputation and required explanations that irritated the local Greeks and natives.. They planned to move inland, but the first day of November brought such rigorously cold wind and water that they stopped. The rivers were so high they couldn't be forded; the sterile lowlands were full of enemies; and the roads over which they would have to travel to aid Philadelphia were so impassable, that they decided to put off all enterprise. With the opinion and advice of his captains, Roger resolved to winter in the city of Cyzicus, a comfortable location because of its protection from the wind, and its abundance of food. They also chose this as a strategic position for embarkation to Greece the following year, when the task of loading and unloading so many horsemen would be a problem.

They sent the emperor word of their decision, which he heartily approved because they would be camped between him and his enemy and away

from Constantinople and the rest of the Greeks who were grumbling and discontented because the hired soldiers had been camped for nearly three months in Asia without accomplishing anything, meanwhile draining the land of tribute to support themselves. Andronicus ordered that all types of food not available on the cape should be shipped to Roger's men, so that his people passed the winter comfortably. Roger sent four galleys for his wife Maria.

Orders were circulated in the barracks to prevent quarrels between the soldiers and the natives who served them. The soldiers named six of their own people and the city dwellers had an equal number of representatives to decide what price to put on food. Overcharging would have worked an unjust hardship on the Catalans; low payment would have been damaging to their hosts who did not enjoy the ordinary commerce of most populations in that area. The Admiral Fernando de Aonés ordered the fleet to winter on the Isle of Chios [17] which had a port secure against the enemy coastline. This island is the most remarkable one in the Aegean Sea, for it is the only place in the world where the mastic tree grows.

TWELFTH CHAPTER

FERNAN JIMENEZ DE ARENOS LEAVES THE COMPANY

Because of general agreement in the disposition of affairs both on land and sea, the winter passed in peace and harmony. But then Roger's forces began to be weakened by internal discord. Fernán Jiménez de Arenós, a knight of noble background and a good soldier, had a disagreement with Roger over the government of his men. Apparently feeling unequal to the competition, he left the army with his people and headed back to Sicily.

On the way back he stopped in Athens, where he was honorably received by the duke and stayed on in his service. He was offered some military responsibility and remained in the duke's employ until his former comrades needed him in Gallipoli, where he rejoined them, venturing his life and liberty in their cause like a true knight. Pachymeres says that Roger and Fernán parted because the archduke had frequently warned his captain to reprimand or punish his men for infractions of discipline. And since Fernán did not wish to obey, he separted from the Company with his men. Strong wills were revealed here, when the army, just out of danger from foreign arms, began to flame up with rivalries and civil wars among themselves!

When the new season came in, Roger and María returned to Constantinople with four galleys to speak to the emperor about the next expedition, and to ask him for money to pay general expenses before the army went into the field again. Michael was also in Constantinople for

the time being; he summoned Roger to question him about plans for the coming year and asked for a report of the treatment of his vassals at Cyzicus [18]. Roger received money from Andronicus with such generosity that he could have paid doubly for his expenses. This would have been noble liberality on the part of the emperor, if he had owned the possessions and money necessary to afford it.

Liberality is a heroic virtue in a ruler if it has two qualifications; in the first place, if the king has the money to give, and in the second, if he gives it to men who deserve it. If one of these two conditions are lacking, there is no virtue, but injustice. Andronicus satisfied the second quality of liberality by conferring gifts on people of merit, but by the first quality he made a grave mistake.. His national treasury and the commerce of the empire were so depleted that he could not make payment on other pressing obligations of his government. There is nothing so dangerous as the squandering of money claimed for the common defense; for when the situation really does tighten up and there is serious need for new taxes and assessments, there is also just cause for complaint and rebellion against the former excesses. Such impositions are to be condoned when there is pressing need for the money, but when a ruler uses up the possessions and resources of his land in useless wastefulness, there is no justification for his lack of organization and care.

Roger and the emperor discussed the administration of the war that year, in which Andronicus charged him only with the aid to Phila-

delphia. The rest of the campaign he left up to the arbitration of Roger and his officers, since he realized that wise orders cannot be made in advance to suit the situation that might arise, especially in the uncertainly of wartime.

Roger left Maria in Constantinople and sailed around the cape with his four galleys on the first day of March in 1303. Shortly after his return to the Company, he took over the business of paying the accounts run up by his soldiers during the winter with the natives. He discovered that in the four months they had wintered, some of his men had spent wages for eight months, and others for as much as a year. Roger was disgusted by the excess and disorder of the army; as a wise and prudent captain he realized the folly of their ways. But he also knew that his own authority rested on the decision of his soldiers, and he decided not to risk it by applying the remedy to the situation that he thought suitable. A commander can sometimes ill afford to force strict obedience if his power to punish comes entirely from the strength of his men, especially when these soldiers are born free and proud.

Roger, aware of the progress of the season, paid off their debts in full, satisfying the natives for all they had spent in maintaining the soldiers. But he also wanted to assure his men their wages, so he kept enough aside to give them four months salary. Then he took the books in which were recorded the account of the rations and excesses of his army and burned them in the public square of Cyzicus, thereby destroying all of their debts to his personal liberality.

Greek authors claim that Cyzicus and all the surrounding region was ruined by Catalan cruelty and robbery, and that Andronicus, afraid that Roger would loiter in taking his badly disciplined army off to war, sent his daughter, mother of Maria, around the last of March, to advise her son-in-law to leave with his army because the season and conditions were favorable for war. And the recently paid soldiers went with enthusiasm.

EATON'S
CORRASABLE
BOND
USA
BERKSHIRE

THIRTEENTH CHAPTER

THE COMPANY LEAVES TO HELP PHILADELPHIA AND CONQUERS CARAMANO, THE TURKISH LORD OF THE PEOPLE BESIEGED THERE

Roger's desire to get started on the spring campaign, augmented by his mother-in-law's persuasion, speeded preparations for the departure which was scheduled for the ninth of April. While everyone was busily storing supplies for the trip, two Almugavars went up to a mill after grain, where they found a woman busy separating meal, and began to annoy her. Two Alans who had been waiting inside the mill for wheat to be ground, came out to defend the woman. An argument followed in which the Alans shouted against their Catalan leader, and claimed that when the opportunity came he would attempt to make himself supreme chief of the imperial army. One of these was Alejos Raul, who was later stabbed by a dart for treason. The Almugavars reported what they had heard to Roger, and either by his order or consent, that same night they fell upon the Alans of the Company and would have killed them all, if they had not been protected by the darkness of the night and the alertness of their neighbors. As it was, many of them died, including the valiant son of George, head of the Alans. In the morning they fought again, and the Catalans came out on top, having killed more than three hundred Alans. If the citizens of Cyzicus, irritated by repeated bad treatment, had not taken weapons and fought with the Alans, there would probably have been none left.

After this incident most of the Alans left Roger's army. Promises and pleas persuaded only about one thousand of them to stay. Roger tried to repay George for the death of his son with money, but the father scorned

the gift and added the insult of the offering to his grief for his son's death. The barbarian was full of resentment, but he hid his feelings and waited for an opportunity for vengeance.

The quarrel postponed departure until the last of May, when six thousand Catalans, a thousand Alans, and the Romanic companies under Marulli's command embarked. Mastago, a royal steward, also went with them. With these forces they arrived at Anchialus [19], andancient city of Cilicia. From there they set out to lay siege to Germe, a place held strongly by the Turks. But their fame traveled before them, and when the Turks realized the determination of their enemy, they retreated as soon as they heard the Catalans were coming. But they did not get away in time to avoid grave injury to their rearguard.

From there they went to a place that Pachymeres' history does not record; he only says that in connection with its defense Sausi Crisanislao, a famous soldier and captain of the Bulgars, was hanged with twelve of his best men. The reason for this execution is not certain. It is only assumed that the prisoners had done a bad job of defending some position that was their responsibility, or surrendered some fortress. Sausi had argued with Roger, attempting to excuse himself, and in the course of the discussion drew his sword and wounded the archduke, for which offense he was surrendered the the hangmen. The Greek captains delayed the execution and asked Roger to pardon the man, because they knew how Andronicus disapproved of punishing a man of so much quality and ability without sufficient cause. Crisanislao had been among the Bulgar

captains captured by Andronicus' father, Michael, in the war of Chana, kept in prison for a long time, and finally freed by the emperor who gave him military and governmental charges in the provinces. For this reason he was in Phrygia occupied in service to Andronicus.

After that Roger took his army to Geliana on the road to Philadelphia, where he received word from the people subjected in Turkish strongholds that they were suffering violence and asking his help, since they were Romanics and ready to rise against the enemy. Roger sent reply that he would help them willingly. With this in mind he pressed forward to aid Philadelphia, although it was a great city supplied with its own armed men who would be preparing to fight in anticipation of the friendly army. It was his main objective. Carmano, who had besieged the town since his government was extended to this province, received warning of the approach of the Catalan army. He collected his men at the places assembled them for war, and got ready to avenge the defeat that his comrades had received the year before. Apparently it suited him to place no guard over Philadelphia. They threw up some strong masonry battlements designed to prevent the citizens from going out, and at a distance of two miles they could be seen at dawn drilling for the fight on one side or another. The Turkish army approached eight thousand horses and twelve thousand soldiers, all Carmano's men, the bravest and most intrepid of the nation. They were superior in numbers to our men but quite inferior in courage, discipline, military organization, and offensive and defensive weapons; the only equality was in spirit and desire to fight.

Roger divided his horsemen into three groups: Alans, Romanies, and Catalans. Corbarán de Alet whose charge was the infantry, divided it into squadrons, signaled for the attack, and rushed in with gallant spirit. The battle was soon a bloody one for the Turks, because the Catalans were more calm in striking and more sure of their offensive weapons; they inflicted much damage on the enemy with very little for their own.

The fiercest onslaught was out near the city conduits. But the Turks were valiant and daring; they refused to leave by the roads that were available to them, and for a while the victory looked doubtful. The fighting moved back and forth until noon, but by that time the Catalans customary strength asserted itself with savage injury to the Turks. They began to run for it, with a thousand of the original eight thousand horsemen and only five hundred of the soldiers managing to escape. Carmano retreated wounded. Of the Spaniards eighty horsemen and one hundred soldiers perished. After the battle, the squadrons formed again an advanced slowly on Philadelphia, with a careful eye out for ambush by remnants of the copious Asiatic army. The Turks manning forts abandoned them and followed their defeated leaders when they heard of the rout. According to Muntaner, the capture and gains made in this battle were considerable.

With this victory other Asiatic cities began to raise their heads, cheered by the liberation that our people had begun against the oppressive Turks. This pressure had reached such an extreme that women and

children were escaping to tell the champions of their predicament. The ancient temples and monasteries where the bodies of saints were buried and the relics of the original church that flourished in these provinces were preserved, had been profaned. False, abominable adoration of the prophet was being substituted for the true religion. But the just decision of God was being felt in the destruction and enslavement by the entire Turkish nation. However, it seemed to be of small advantage for the oppressed people to receive their freedom; their decline was apparently preordained, as in the case when powerful remedies do not cure the disease for which they are administered, death was almost certain. The captains of our people stopped on the way to Philadelphia, inspecting outlying towns where Turks might have retreated to reorganize. But they were all found free of the oppressor, who had been scared far, far, away.

FOURTEENTH CHAPTER

THE VICTORIOUS COMPANY ENTERS PHILADELPHIA, TAKES SOME STRONGHOLDS HELD BY THE ENEMY NEAR THE CITY, AND DEFEATS THE TURKS AGAIN NEAR TYRE.

The people of Philadelphia, freed from the oppression that had so distressed them by the agency of the Catalan forces, went out to meet the army. Their administrators and Teoleptus, the bishop, a man of rare sanctity whose prayers had done more to defend the city than the arms of the people who guarded it, headed their people. The troops of horsemen entered first, waving the conquered banners taken from the Turks. After them came the carriage filled with enemy plunder and then a crowd of captive women and children, led by some boys spared for the triumphal entrance.. The companies of infantry walked in last, bearing in their midst their banners and the outstanding officers, gleaming with horses and weapons, in a display such as the Asiatics had never seen. They stood watching in wondering admiration.

Not a soldier entered who was not dressed in silk or scarlet cloth, although the Turks did hot dress in rich clothing in those times. But they had taken quantities of fine cloth and linen from the Greeks, and these spoils were recovered in the victory.

The Catalans stayed fifteen days in the city, entertained with feasting and celebrations and treated with enthusiastic affection and respect by the citizens, who regarded them as their life and liberty, since they had risked their own for the Greek cause. Need is always grateful; but like the benifits it receives, the gratitude also ends.

Roger left Philadelphia to liberate a group of people in the power of the Turks, Cilla among others, some miles east of the city. But when the Turks heard of their army's flight, they also retreated. The natives greeted their rescuers with open gates, as people who had just been freed from servitude. With this gesture they hoped to attain pardon for having surrendered to the Turks so easily before. Roger pardoned the multitude of the people, but punished some of them severely. He cut off the governor's head, and condemned the principal officer of the regiment to the gallows. When he hung for a while without dying, the people who were watching believed it a miracle, cut the rope, and freed the condemned officer.

The Company went back to Philadelphia where Pachymeres says Roger recovered several duchies and forced them to contribute what they could to the city which was now feeling the pinch for food. Not only was the town very populous itself, but with the army stationed there, too, the food situation was so disrupted after long oppression, that an ass head sold for an incredible price. Mastago, duke and imperial steward who had been assigned to Roger's army, left for Constantinople because as a Greek himself he could not stand to see the abuses and excesses caused by Roger's presence among the Philadelphians. He tried to get a hearing with the emperor, but was prevented by Maria's relatives and friends. From what I understand, he finally went to the old patriarch and through him Andronicus heard the complaints he filed against Roger. As a result a loud disagreement flared up in the palace between the archduke's friends and his rivals.

The officers of the Company decided it would be logical to strike the enemy first in the coastal provinces , since their rearguard was not so powerful and they would be supported by the proximity of their fleet. With this plan they left Philadelphia for Nicaea [20], a city of Lycia, and from there on to Magnesia on the banks of the Maeander River [21]. Roger had scarcely arrived there when two Tyrian citizens came to ask his help, telling him that their town was not strong enough to defend itself against enemy attack and that it would certainly be lost if aid were delayed. They described the ease with which the Turks siezed whatever was scattered on the lowland plains, and suggested that it would be of advantage to the Catalans to stay in the woods during the night and come out with the sun to tackle the Turks when they began their morning depredations. Roger hastily collected his lightest and fastest people, and rushed off for Tyre in order to make it before daylight. They arrived in good time by traveling thirty-six miles in eighteen hours, without seeing or hearing anything of them.

Morning came and the Turks started down the plains toward the city. They were approaching the gates for their usual attacks, when Corbaran de Alet, the seneschal, and two hundred horsemen and a thousand soldiers rushed out from all directions. He charged them fiercely, breaking up and destroying most of the raiders, except those who recognized their attackers and made off for the mountain fastnesses. Corbaran followed with some of his horsemen, but since the Turks were scattered and the Catalans weighed down with arms, they all arrived at the foothills about the same time. The Turks, terrified and concerned

only for their lives, left their horses and improved their positions by taking to the heights, where they could defend themselves and hinder their enemies' climb.

The seneschal, with more enthusiasm than judgment, ordered his men to dismount as he did so himself, and went after the Turks a second time. But they were stationed on the heights with some protection, defending the summit with stones and lances, and delivering more certain blows to the men exposed below. Corberán, a brave and sturdy knight, was among those more closely pressed. In order to climb lightly and more freely, he got rid of his weapons and then his helmet, which was the act that caused his death. They gave him a lance blow on the head and he died, after which his companions retreated.

The death of such a captain changed the victory of the day to sorrow; the loss of a good chief is often the cause of inconvenience and damage more considerable than the advantage of the victory won at the cost of his death. Roger grieved deeply; he had planned to marry one of his daughters to the young captain and place his hope in his person. Corberán died more honorably than some of the other captains; he went down with his sword in his hand and himself in victory, instead of by the hands of traitors as some of his companions had. There was little conversation among the men who had suffered a great loss during what could be counted one of their most fortunate stands. But Corberán was destined to die an honorable death, rather than one cruel or disgraceful, because he ran the same risks as the other officers. They buried him in

a temple two leagues from Tyre, where Muntaner says the body of Saint George lies. Ten Christians from the Company, who also died in the encounter, accompanied their leader to the grave, over which their comrades raised a marble sepulchre, honoring them with praises. They stayed eight days in that place to keep their memory.

From Tyre they sent an order to their fleet, harbored at the Isle of Chios, to move with top speed to the Asiatic mainland and wait at Ania for the second order.

FIFTEENTH CHAPTER

BERENGUER DE ROCAFORT ARRIVES IN CONSTANTINOPLE WITH HIS PEOPLE, AND JOINS ROGER AT EPHESUS BY THE EMPEROR'S ORDER

By this time Berenguer de Rocafort had arrived from Sicily, coming into Constantinople with two hundred horsemen and a thousand Almugavars on two galleys and a few ships. They had finally managed to collect from Carlos the money he owed them, and restored to their rightful owners the castles in Calabria that had been in his power. Andronicus ordered him to sail for Asia to try to find Roger's forces. So he arrived at Chios without wasting any time; found Fernando de Aonés preparing to leave; and went with him to Ania. There they sent two fast riders out to find Roger and tell him of Rocafort's coming. The news reached him before he left Tyre and caused light-hearted rejoicing in the camp. Not only were the men Rocafort brought many and good, but also in general opinion their leader was a valiant captain. Roger sent Ramón Muntaner to him with orders to leave Ania and come to Ephesus [22], also called Alterlocus.

Muntaner left with a troop of about twenty riders and some civilians to guide them over devious roads on which they would probably avoid the the Turks who habitually roamed the countryside and attacked the best traveled highways. This foresight and preparation did not turn out to be of much value to Muntaner who had to open his way through the road with his sword several times, but finally got to Ania safely. He welcomed Rocafort in behalf of his people and gave him Roger's orders concerning

their departure. Rocafort obeyed, leaving a garrison of five hundred Almugavars with the fleet, and with the rest of his people took the road to Ephesus where they arrived in two days, accompanied by Muntaner.

The city is one of the most intriguing in all Asia; the famous temple to the goddess Diana is there, worshipped not only by the Romans, but also by the Persians and Macedonians who were there before the time of the empire. All of the rites and customs of the temple were preserved even under the empire, so great was the respect in which the ancients held ritual which they believed had something of the supernatural. But the best claim to fame for the city was that the apostle and evangelist, Saint John, established there the first fundamentals of the faith. I will record what Muntaner says of this man, since the story bears some relation to our history.

They say that the tomb of Saint John is in this city of Ephesus where he was buried when he left the realm of the mortals. Shortly after his funeral a great cloud that looked like fire rose over the place, and the people believed that his body was carried off in it, because they could not find it afterwards. There is no other basis for the truth of this story than the traditions of the locality which Muntaner has written down. On the eve before Saint John's Day a peculiar growth appears in the nine depressions of the marble over his tomb and continues there until sunset of the next day. This substance grows in such quantity that it reaches a palm's breadth in height above the stone which is eight palms long and five wide. It is said to have

the power of curing several serious diseases, which Muntaner records in detail.

Four days after Rocafort and Muntaner got to Ephesus, Roger also arrived with all his army. Everybody was happy to see Rocafort, old friend and companion of the Sicilian wars. The help he brought them, far away in enemy lands, was very important and augmented the Aragonese forces considerably. Roger gave Rocafort the office of seneschal which had been vacant since Corbarán's death, and in order that the newcomer would succeed his last favorite in everything, he also gave him as wife the daughter that had been promised to Corbarán. By this new relationship Roger assured Rocafort's rank and responsibility, and he prepared to make new plans. He gave the new seneschal a hundred horses with equipment for the people he had brought with him, and paid them four months' wages. Pachymeres records that Roger and the Catalans resorted to atrocities to extort money in Ephesus, cutting off limbs, torturing and beheadin the unfortunate Greeks. In Mytilene [23] a wealthy, prominent man named Macrazi was beheaded because he did not properly supply five thousand coins that they demanded of him. Such is the military license and customary audacity of badly disciplined warriors.

Roger sent all the money, horses, and weapons that he could collect in contributions from local cities to the city of Magnesia with a good escort. He determined to spend the winter in this town which was the strongest in the provine. The rest of the people Ephesus and joined Fernán de Arenós and the fleet at Ania. The soldiers stationed

at Acre gave Roger and Rocafort a rousing welcome, coming out to meet them with gay affection, sure that there were now plenty of them to throughout the Turks, and recover Asia.

Roger was pleased and gratified with this inspiring welcome. He paid wages to all the soldiers of the fleet, and sent some people for the safety of Tyre, since it was left unfortified and defenseless. Diego de Oros, Aragonese nobleman and fine soldier, was sent with thirty horsemen and one hundred infantrymen, which seemed sufficient to guard the city and countryside. They were trusting more to the reputation of their strength than to their actual numbers; they often relied on this fame when they lacked the forces.

SIXTEENTH CHAPTER

THE COMPANY CURBS THE DARING OF SARCANO THE TURK, AND CARRIES ITS BANNERS TO THE BOUNDARIES OF ANATOLIA AND THE KINGDOM OF ARMENIA

Our captains held council concerning the road they would follow, and all agreed to return to the Eastern provinces. They crossed the mountains and went into Pamphylia where they believed that most of the Turkish forces were, and hoped to be able to force them into battle. This was always their intention, because the army was so small it could not make war for a long time, or occupy cities and regions where they would have to leave a garrisons Such tactics would divide and destroy their strength, so that it always seemed their lot to search out the Turks to fight them.

But while they were discussing plans for their departure, Sarcano the Turk, even though he knew that the Catalan Company was in the city, dared to raid the outlying plains and put to blood and fire everything that came in his way. He soon paid for his daring and madness; our people were so offended by the insolence of the barbarian that they rushed down on him in wild haste without keeping order or waiting for their captains. The Turk tried to retreat then, but could not without serious damage because he was attacked on all sides and had to fight his way out. The Catalans chased him till nightfall, and then returned to the city full of enthusiasm, leaving a thousand enemy horsemen and two thousand soldiers dead on the field. The feat was scarcely believable for those who stayed in the city — because the Catalans had gone out so

late and so disorderly.

Roger and his captains decided that they would be adding to their danger if they delayed the departure by explaining to the soldiers the details of the road and the undertaking they were planning, so they arranged to leave within six days while their men were still enjoying their victory. They left Ania, crossing the province of Caria and all the wide provinces that lie between Armenia and the Aegean Sea, in order to find an enemy who would oppose them.

The camp moved forward very slowly, depending on the accommodations of the countryside, comforting the Christian peoples and strengthening their defenses as they went along. The Catalans were received with universal admiration by all the Christians, who were happy to have Christian arms so near. Those living at that time had never seen Christian soldiers, although they had always hoped and often prayed for them. But the weakness of the Greeks did not permit them to come to these distant provinces until the Catalans and Aragonese appeared among them.

SEVENTEENTH CHAPTER

THE CATALANS AND ARAGONESE FIGHT THE TURKS WITH ALL THEIR POWER IN THE FOOTHILLS OF MOUNT TAURUS AND WIN AN OUTSTANDING VICTORY

Shortly before they arrived in the foothills of Mount Taurus, which divides the provinces of Cilicia and Asia Minor, the Catalans climbed high and inspected entrances and dangerous passages, expecting as always, and such was the case, that the enemy was watching for them. Our horsemen, sent out to scout the field, observed the enemy army camped among the valleys of the mountain foothills. Both sides prepared for war; the Turks realised that their strategy had been discovered and was useless, and decided to go out on the plain to attack their opponents, who seemed somewhat travel fatigued, before they could rest or improve their position.

There were two thousand Turkish soldiers and ten thousand horsemen in the camp, most of them the survivors of past defeats. The horsemen were lined up on the left and the infantry on the right of the Christian camp. Roger and his horsemen opposed those of the enemy who cut off his front and flank. Rocafort headed the infantry, and Marulli, his own men. Almugavars gave their customary signal used for the hardest encounters, sticking their sword points and lance picks into the ground and crying "Iron, awaken!" Besides this beginning for their day of victory, they congratulated each other and started out confident of success.

The battle began with everyone in equal position; varied and

terrible shouts filled the air, and the fighting was savage because the life and liberty of both sides depended on the victory of that day. If the Catalans came out on top, it was because they stood their ground a little more calmly, realizing that they would have to retreat such a distance that it would mean certain death, or, what they considered worse, captivity in the hands of the offensive barbarian. The Turks suffered the same danger, since the natives of the Christian provinces would probably finish them off, satisfying their own just revenge, if their oppressors came back routed and defeated.

In the first encounter, the infinite number of barbarians made the attack costly; the victory looked doubtful. But the Catalan captains shouted the battle cry "Aragón!" a second time, restoring vigor and animation to their men. This shout planted a fear in their enemies that matched only the incredible strength of our forces. Until then the fighting had moved from one side to the other with sword and cutlass blows, but the Catalans began to show an advantage with their defensive weapons, and the battle leaned their way. They used all the customary fury and severity of wars against infidels. The Turks on the other hand were all desperation, facing death with such determination and stamina that there were no indications toward surrender, only a resolve to die like people of courage, since they lacked any hope for pity from their conquerors. As long as their weapons made wounds they did what they could; when they weakened, their eyes and expressions showed that only the body was beaten, not the spirit.

The Catalans were not content with chasing them from the field; they followed the Turks as energetically as they had fought them. Finally night and fatigue of killing brought an end to the pursuit, but even the next morning found them still with weapons in their hands. The sun came out revealing the extent of the victory, and a vast silence hung over the blood-soaked earth, piled here and there with the bodies of men and animals. Muntaner claims that they reached six thousand horsemen and twelve thousand soldiers, and remarks that the day bore witness to so many courageous feats of arms that he had scarcely ever seen better. With this observation, he makes reference to no particular men, to the misfortune of our times, since such valor deserves perpetual memory.

The Company was so elated with this victory that its men forgot their fears of all major difficulties and began to clamor for crossing the mountains and invading Armenia. They wanted to go to the farthest boundary of the Roman empire, and recover in a short time what the emperors had taken centuries to lose. But their captains calmed this daring determination, and proceeded with the prudence worthy of the difficulty of such an undertaking.

EIGHTEENTH CHAPTER

THE CATALANS RETURN TO THE COASTAL PROVINCES WITH THE COMING OF WINTER, AND THE PEOPLE OF MAGNESIA REBEL. ROGER ATTACKS THEM, BUT IS CALLED BY ANDRONICUS TO COME TO THE MOUTH OF THE STRAIT WITH ALL THE ARMY

The Catalans stayed at the scene of the battle for eight days collecting their booty. They continued on their way to a place that Muntaner calls the Iron Gate, boundary between Anatolia and Armenia. Roger stopped there for three days, uncertain of which road to take, but at last, feeling that autumn was near, and not being sure of the devotion of the provinces where he was, decided with his captains' approval, to go back to Ania for the winter. He planned to stay there until it was the season to go out on the field again, since the enemy had already been routed four times that year, and as many provinces restored. Nicephorus says that they did not press forward because they lacked spies and civilian guides in the land, without whom advancement was a dangerous business; and Roger was too astute as a leader to make such a foolhardy venture.

They made short trips, so that their retreat would not appear to be from fear, traveling from one position that they knew on the trail to another. Greek historians charge the Catalans with cruelty and insolence along the way, declaring that they did more damage in Asiatic cities than the Turkish enemies of the Christian faith had ever done. Although there was undoubtedly some destruction, I do not believe that it was so great as claimed. One reason for my contention is that our people were only in Asia for a short time, most of which they spent chasing and defeating

Turks, from whom they took such infinite quantities of possessions that that they often left them behind because they did not consider them of sufficient value or because they did not want to be bothered with carrying them. What the Greeks claim is probably true, but it does not lessen the glory of the Catalan victories. What army ever recorded has been a model of moderation and temperance --particularly when its wages were in arrears? There is no doubt that a badly disciplined ally army is as dangerous in a province as enemy troops; consequently, the Greeks allot the major part of their histories to complaints about the damages, with more exaggeration than is worthy of a historian.

The army was approaching Magnesia where Roger had stored most of his possessions and treasure, when they received word from the natives that their chief, Atoliote, was rebelling and had destroyed the Catalan garrison they had left in the city, making off with thetttreasure. The incident had happened this way.

Magnesia was a large, strong city, for both of which reasons it was hard to invade when the citizens were united. Roger had entered the town and announced, in an ill-advised manner, that when he returned he would expect horses and money for the support of his men. The Magnesians, influenced by the hatred for the Catalans that was borne by the Alans who lived among them, and moved by greed for possession of the treasure collected by Roger, decided to take arms and rebel. They consulted Atoliote with their plan; he approved, so they prepared to carry it out. They had always lived in a free city and they feared

subjection. The citizens were many and armed, their ranks were augmented by the Alans, the storage houses were full of wheat, money, weapons, and military supplies. Finally they took oath among themselves, and put most of the Catalans within the city to the knife, depositing the survivors in secure prisons. After this they were all committed to rebellion; nothing could have secured it more than such a deed, for the atrocity ended all hope of pardon. Apparently the event did not seem so to Pachymeres, who instead of considering it blameworthy, approved and praised their action; a stand which really deserves more apology than even the Greek's history.

When Roger heard of the Magnesian rebellion, he wanted to punish them then, so he took some of his Alans, part of the Romanies, and all of the Catalans and went to the city, intending to repay them for the ugly wickedness. He organised the machines and weapons for battle with remarkable energy, and a few days later made a general attack. But the citizens barricaded in the town beat them back scornfully, abusing and insulting the Catalan leader. Roger wanted to destroy the conduits into the town, but the defenders received warning of the plot in time to prevent it.

The Catalans continued their siege until they received a dispatch from Andronicus who ordered them to leave Magnesia and join his son Michael who was helping Roger's brother-in-law, the prince of the Bulgars. He said that one of the Bulgarian ruler's uncles had risen in rebellion with part of his state, and the hard pressed

prince was about to lose the struggle if he did not get help soon. I am sure that this uprising was invented by Andronicus for the apparent purpose of drawing Roger from Asia. He must have been afraid that the new archduke with so many victories to his credit would use his strength to deny obedience to the emperor. And so, to press Roger more with the obligation, he added his brother-in-law's plight to the story. The captain who served the small prince or tyrant lives always subject to these dangers; suspicion and misgivings have first place in the councils of such rulers. Happy is the man who serves a great, proud, monarch, whose majesty can take no offense in the advancement of his vassals.

It is very difficult for me to get a clear picture of the next movements of the Company, for Nicephorus does not speak of them, and he suggests a different cause for our people's failure to press forward with their victories. He writes that the Catalans were mortally afraid of Andronicus, for which reason their proud reputation was damaged, and they failed to restore all the cities and provinces of the ancient Roman empire. These are Nicephorus' very words: "Roger took council with his men and decided to answer the emperor. He had tried to take Magnesia, but the resistance from within was so strong that he was forced to retire with both loss of fame and people. Then he attempted to bargain with the citizens for the return of his money, but with no success. Because of this rebuff, and the departure of the Alans from his ranks, he got ready to leave the region, announcing that the emperor had ordered it. But his people retained a hidden resentment against leaving the provinces without punishing the Magnesians for the robbery of their

possessions, and without placing protection for the towns they had won from the fury and cruelty of the barbarians, into whose hands they would fall again, now that they were defenseless. There were several among the regular soldiers with secret bitterness and spirit dampened for new conquests, who said among themselves: 'What point is there in our winning so many victories when the spoils are not left in our hands? Why should we leave our land and the reward of our country to be paid with the dangers of life — small payment when life itself is so uncertain. After we take a province, we are ordered to leave it and rewarded for our services with a new and dangerous war?' The captains and noblemen hid their feelings and accepted the new decision on the exterior, but were nevertheless disappointed with the departure, and convinced that it sprang more from the suspicions of Andronicus than the situation in Bulgaria.

The Catalans reached the city of Ania where they took the road through all the coastal provinces up to the mouth of the strait. The fleet sailed up to the pass while they marched overland. In this way they all arrived at the cape which faces Gallipoli across the channel, called the Mouth of Aner by Muntaner. From there they sent word to the emperor that they were preparing to embark according to his orders. Andronicus was quite gratified by their prompt obedience, and sent them letters praising their punctuality in fulfilling his orders. He also informed them that the disturbance in Bulgaria had been settled with the mere knowledge that the Catalan army was on the way. This is according to Muntaner, but Pachymeres seems to be nearer the truth when

he says that the second dispatch reported the control of affairs when the emperor's son, Michael Palaeologus, intervened with his offended Greeks and the soldiers of other nations in his service. Michael had probably written to his father from apprehension of the Catalan strength and numbers, and asked him not to send Roger's men to join him because he feared civil wars. He argued that he could not stand the insolence of their manners or the habits of living that the army had been allowed in Asia, and added that George of the Alans still felt the death of his son so strongly that seeing Roger and his men would be the cause of an open break.

This being the situation, Andronicus prevailed upon his daughter Irene, with Maria, who were then in Gallipoli, to get Roger to leave most of his men in Asia and join Michael with only a thousand picked soldiers. Roger consulted his captains about the suggestion, but it was agreed that the division of the Company would be a dangerous move, especially since they began to suspect treachery. Roger told his mother-in-law that he did not have the heart to split his men, taking only a thousand to Greece and leaving the rest in Asia. Irene sent her father the Catalan's answer. This marked the end of the Asiatic war in less than two years; a short time for the achievement of enough outstanding deeds to make a century illustrious.

NINETEENTH CHAPTER

ROGER QUARTERS THE COMPANY ON THE THRACIAN PENINSULA AND LEAVES FOR CONSTANTINOPLE

Following Andronicus' orders, the army embarked in the ships and galleys of their fleet to cross the strait and land on the Thracian peninsula where they established headquarters for their weapons and lodging at Gallipoli. In those days the city, located at the mouth of the channel and facing north, was the largest in the province. The isthmus or peninsula of Thrace extends seventy miles with a width of six miles, narrowing in some places to three. On one side of the channel, which the ancients called the Hellespont [24], the waters bathe the shores Orient, dividing Europe from Asia. On the west the strait empties into the Aegean Sea and southward, and at the other end of the seventy-mile length is the Sea of Propontis, now called Marmora.

In the past this neck of land was inhabited by the Crusade, and in the section connected to the mainland were the cities of Lysimachia [25], made famous by its founder Lysimachus, and Sestus [26], known for the story of the two unhappy lovers. By the time the Catalans and Aragonese got to the province, only the ruins remained, among them the castle of Examille in ancient Lysimachia. There were now many country towns and small communities, and it was among these that our people spent the winter, using Gallipoli as the main center of concentration and the garrison for common defense. They adopted the same arrangements for maintenance that they had used the year before on the cape of Artace,

to the apparent satisfaction and peace of all.

Roger went to Constantinople with four galleys and the most select men of his infantry to report to Andronicus the details of the restoration of several provinces and to receive the privileges and honors merited by such victories. They arrived in the city where they were universally admired and accompanied to the palace by all the citizens. There Andronicus received Roger with demonstrations of honor and affectionsuch as he had never used before. The Catalan leader gave him a full statement on the provinces he had freed, and asked for money to make a general payment to his men. The emperor answered with great courtesy, assuring him that such valor did not deserve a delay in wages so well earned, and promised to distribute the money immediately.

But although the answer was what Roger desired on the surface, the emperor was secretly annoyed with the request. It seemed to him that after taking such abundant captures and rich spoils in his campaigns, Roger's demand for petty wages was plainly insatiable avarice that all the wealth of the Greek empire would have a hard time satisfying. But that which a soldier takes in victory serves more as a luxury than for necessity, and he spends it liberally on gambling, comrades, and feasting. Wages are due him for his blood and labor, and necessary to meet the requirements of his existence. If they are denied or delayed, he suffers greatly, particularly when his ruler is spending the money lavishly on a vain display of his own majesty, ignoring the obligation on which is founded and depends the true grandeur of kings.

TWENTIETH CHAPTER

BERENGUER DE ENTENZA ARRIVES IN CONSTANTINOPLE WITH REINFORCEMENTS WHERE HE IS MADE AN ARCHDUKE AND ROGER IS OFFERED THE TITLE OF CAESAR

Roger stayed in the city for several days waiting for the emperor's official order, and dealing with the administrators of his possessions, who maliciously hid the money and put all sorts of obstacles and difficulties in the way of his collecting it. Such arts are always practiced by those who manage the affairs of rulers; but in this case the emperor cooperated.

About this time Berenguer de Entenza, a man known for his noble blood and valor, arrived at Gallipoli at the urgent request of the emperor. Although Berenguer had already offered to come and serve, Andronicus sent a special ambassador to him the second time with many advantageous propositions. Berenguer left Messina, moved by this second call, and came to Greece with some galleys and five armed ships, manned by a thousand Almugavars and three hundred horsemen, all outstanding men. They stopped ten days in Gallipoli, where they were joyfully welcomed by their countrymen. Berenguer sent out two riders to inform Roger of his coming, and waited on the peninsular for his orders.

Roger was quite pleased to have Berenguer de Entenza in the Company. There had long been a close friendship between the two, and they felt a strong obligation to preserve it. Roger wrote his countryman to come to Constantinople, where the emperor wanted to honor him personally, and this invitation was confirmed by two letters from Andronicus, sealed in gold and enclosed in Roger's message. So Berenguer went to the

capital, where he entered the imperial palace, accompanied not only by Roger and all the Catalans, but also many prominent Greeks who publicly professed friendship. The emperor gave all appearances of receiving him happily, but he was hiding mounting fears and suspicions, that were promoted by the Catalan increase, not only in reputation but reinforcements. Although he had procured Berenguer's services by his own particular insistence, it had been before the Catalans achieved the series of victories over the Turks. Since then his misgivings had grown with his estimation of this powerful Company in his realm. Pachymeres says that he hesitated to receive into his employ all of the new troops, explaining that there were more companies than he had asked for.

Displaying one of the traits for which he was famous, Roger de Flor felt the gratitude he owed his friend and recognized in public his obligations to Berenguer de Entenza, who had come to his rescue and changed his fortunes when he arrived in Sicily poor and friendless. Roger asked the emperor's permission to renounce his own rank of archduke and bestow it upon the newcomer, giving as his reasons for the change the Catalan's courage and nobility, equal to that of kings, and declaring that the first position in his army belonged to a knight of such pure blood. In a similar burst of friendship, Berenguer begged the emperor to reward Roger's great services with the title of caesar, arguing that his marriage to María had already admitted him to the royal household, and declaring that he himself would feel sufficiently honored if Roger accepted. Such a competition was rare, not only as it is in these days, but in ancient times as well, when moderation and sobriety

were apparently more valued. Roger was powerful with riches, credited with victories, and honored by his royal relationship. Berenguer was illustrious both through ancestry and bearing. Both men would have had reason to expect the supreme position. But the same qualities in them that inspired imitation also caused these men to behave with the dignity and moderation for which they contrasted advantageously to foreigners and inferior men of their own people.

The day after Berenguer arrived, the entire nobility, foreign as well as native, turned out at court to watch Roger de Flor transfer his rank to the new Catalan, with Andronicus' permission. Roger took off his helmet, the insignia of his rank of archduke, and with the seal, emblem, and banner of the office, offered them to Berenguer. But his countryman rejected the honor, and undoubtedly would never have accepted it at all if the emperor had not expressly ordered him to do so. Roger's courtesy caused intense admiration among the Greeks, and Andronicus bestowed upon him the signal honor of the title of caesar, one of the greatest of the empire, which prescribed mutual obligations between the two. But Andronicus' countrymen were not pleased that their ruler had placed on a foreigner the ancient title of caesar which had long been unused, because so much power went with it, that it caused suspicion among the emperors.

In ancient times when the Roman empire flourished, to name a man caesar was to name him successor to the empire, in the same way that among western emperors a king is named for the Romanies, a dauphin in

France, and prince in Spain. Since the decline of Roman power with the division of the empire, Greek emperors had bestowed the title of caesar without the accompanying right of succession. But the office retained its prestige, although a mere shadow of what it had been. Later the title of sebastocrator took its place, when Alexius Comnenus received second highest rank in the empire of Isaac. This office also lost its prestige when the same Alexius, having no sons, married his eldest daughter to Alexius Paleologus, to whom he gave the title of despota. This title carried with it the implication of lord, and undoubtedly designated Paleologus as next emperor, if he did not die before his father-in-law. Consequently the rank of caesar had reached third in the empire, being preceded by despota, the first high-ranking title, and then, sebastocrator.

Caropalates says that these three ranks fall into no order of precedence, but that among them the caesar is called lord, a designation reserved for pomp and ceremony, which during ancient times was applied only to God Himself. From what we read of Augustus and Tiberius, even the emperors refrained from using the title of lord among themselves, nor did they allow their subjects to call them such. The Greeks referred to their new caesar as "his majesty"; crowned him with a helmet of fine cloth and gold; dressed him in a scarlet cape and sky blue shoes and stockings; seated him in a chair like the emperor's except for the eagles; placed him next to the emperor at public gatherings and appearances; stationed him in the palace; and, when he died, gave him last rites almost as ceremonious as those of the emperor

himself. All these events are described in Muntaner's history, and left recorded for us in Berenguer's memoirs. There is some variation in the account in the eleventh chapterroof George Pachymeres' twelfth book. What he says cannot be reconciled with the above stories, but in order to present a clear record to the reader, I will include all, so that he may judge for himself what seems nearest the truth.

Since the emperor was determined to receive Berenguer de Entenza among his forces, he sent to Gallipoli for him several times, where he heard that he was camped. In his letters sealed with gold, he assured the Catalandthat he wanted him to stay with him, and swore that he would treat him in good faith and friendly spirit, allowing him to leave his service without hindrance whenever he wished. When Berenguer received the dispatches, he sailed for Constantinople with two ships, but when he got there he sent word to the emperor of the arrival instead of leaving the ships himself.

When Andronicus ordered him to come to the court, and sent horses and coaches to transport him through the city in due dignity and authority. But Berenguer did not feel disposed either to leave his ships or to obey, and instead asked the emperor to send him as hostage his son, the despota, John. This obvious distrust of his word and oath did not set very well with the emperor or with anyone else, and the Catalan spent several days in solitary meditation on his ship. Finally, on Christmas Day, Andronicus sent him another message, extending his good will again, since he was assured of Berenguer's honesty. The

Catalan was still doubtful for a long time, but at last made up his mind, and went to see the emperor, who received him magnificently. But rather than stay in the court, the Catalan went home every night to his ships, where the ruler was obliged to extend his hospitality.

On Christmas Day the emperor administered to his new officer the oath of fidelity, gave him the rank of archduke of the senate, and presented him with the golden staff, Andronicus' own invention. The Catalan was clothed in the manner and instructed in the customs of a senator. Shortly afterward he left his ships and moved in with Commodio and several other Catalans who had also been honored with titles and privileges. After that Berenguer began to wield tremendous influence among the members of the court and the councils of Andronicus.

When he had taken the oath of fidelity, the Catalan had disguised any mental reservations he may have held, and appeared to be all truth and simplicity. He swore to be a friend of Andronicus' friends and an enemy to his enemies --with the exception of Fadrique, to whom he had sworn friendship before. The wiser among the onlookers scented some deep secret beneath the surface of the proceedings. Most of them approved Berenguer's attitude, pointing out that since he was loyal to Fadrique, so he would probably be in his relations with the emperor. By these methods, he gained good will and approbation, and followed Plato's observation that honest appearances are the best methods by which to win confidence and plant deceit.

TWENTY-FIRST CHAPTER

THE GENOESE PERSUADE THE EMPEROR TO WAGE WAR AGAINST THE CATALANS, WHICH MICHAEL PALEOLOGUS JOINS, AND THE SOLDIERS RIOT AT GALLIPOLI

The Genoese of Perasa, who had just finished fortifying their city with trenches and battlements, were among the first people to raise suspicions against our forces and cast doubt upon their loyalty. They reported to the emperor that they had news from the west that a large, powerful fleet was being prepared, apparently for a spring attack on the provinces of the empire. They were also sure, having arrived at the conclusion by manifest conjecture, that the Catalans formerly in the imperial service and those recently arrived with Berenguer de Entenza were united for the emperor's damage rather than his defense. They pointed out that the Westerners had secret correspondence with Sicily, whose king, the bastard brother Fadrique, had an understanding with them concerning twelve ships he had to join their fleet. They were undoubtedly waiting for these additional reinforcements to declare their position and put their plans in execution.

With these lies the Genoese attempted to ruin the Catalans, at the same time establishing themselves as faithful vassals, deeply concerned for the common good of the empire. According to Pachymeres, they advised Andronicus to attack the Catalans in open war immediately, offering the fifty ships they had ready, to be combined with as many more as the emperor had armed or could give them money to arm. They promised to put his ships to sea, even if he was obliged to pay them in

long installments. They were moved to all this generosity only by dislike of seeing the mistreatment of the Greeks and the destruction of the country they now considered their homeland by the people who had come to defend it. However, the emperor did not give much credit to the Genoese stories, accepting them as complaints developed in their malicious and envious imaginations, and born of the incident when the Catalans had them at their feet in Greece. The good faith that the Catalans had always kept with him also assured him. So he replied to the Genoese that he appreciated their concern over the troubles of the Greeks, but ordered them to be quiet, for he would decide what should be done, and when he decided, he would do it.

At the same time the honor and deference Andronicus showed Berenguer irritated the sould of Michael Paleologus, to the misfortune of the Catalans. Aided by the persuasion of his own countrymen, he began to plan for the Catalan downfall, using all the methods he found most effective, even though they violated all laws human and divine. The Greeks were so envious and arrogant that they developed an incredible fury, and went about plotting treachery and perfidy, although they managed to keep their scheming secret. With glib tongues and eloquent hands they begged Michael, who was now distinctly inclined against the foreigners, to observe the increasing strength of the Catalan arms and their occupation of the supreme positions of the empire, to the disgrace and loss of honor of native nobility.

The Greeks had always believed the Spaniards to be like Alans and

Turkish Greeks, with no desire beyond the drawing of their meager, miserable wages. But when they saw the offices of caesar, archduke, seneschal and admiral conferred upon their rivals, and realized that they also aspired to the remaining offices, they felt insulted that the honor and power of the empire rested in strangers' hands.

Meanwhile these discussions and currents of feeling were moving among the Greeks, the soldiers in the garrisons were waiting for delayed wages and mistreating the Greek natives in the towns where they were stationed. Such a reaction is an unavoidable evil of war, in spite of the military severity of the highest ranked captains who attempt to stop it. Michael Paleologus, who had an attentive ear for any complaining against the nation, used these disruptions to argue with his father for stopping the Catalan insolence, which he declared would bring on the eventual loss of the empire and the dynasty. These intruders were not content with the excessive wages they received in imperial employment, or the rich spoils they had taken in Asia; they were oppressing friendly towns to satisfy their greed. There was no point in conquering the Turks to free the empire of servitude, if they were only to be placed in the more cruel and insufferable hands of the Catalans who now mastered the common liberty. It was in vain that Michael Paleologus had recovered the empire, if it was to be thrown to the Latins; they might as well surrender voluntarily. If their arrogance was not stopped, downfall of the Greek domination was exactly what would happen. If they were left in charge of Greek forces and their schemes succeeded, the Greeks would soon be oppressed by them in every way. And whatever obligations were

owed to the foreigners for their conquering of the Turks, were now obliterated by Catalan arrogance and subversive relations. Their victories could be considered damages rather than services, because instead of establishing peace in the empire, their weapons were making new war among friendly peoples by inflicting intolerable tributes and bad treatment.

Andronicus was so continually pressed by the persuasion of his son and his counsellors, and the complaints of the Greeks commiserating their dishonors, that he began to show the effects of the arguments against the Catalans. When Roger and Berenguer sent him word that they needed money for the war, he replied that he did not wish to pay them until they returned to Asia and started fighting. Such language had never been used before by the emperor, who until then had always gone to great lengths to reward them with all kinds of privileges and more money than they asked for.

When Andronicus' answer came back to the people on Gallipoli, it caused such a riot in the camp that the captains were forced to attack some of the imperial strongholds and take over their forces and supplies. The two leaders, Roger and Berenguer, displayed deep regret that the ruler had delayed in giving them satisfaction, but they realized that their blood and safety were at stake, so they avoided displeasing Andronicus, from whom they still expected some support. They refrained from pressing him as they should have for the wages so well earned. Finally their suspicions began to mount to such an extent that they decided to send some ambassadors to the emperor to ask for their wages

and promise their continued loyal service, even assuring him that they would punish any of their men who dared to offend or mistreat friendly people.

This delegation was so courteous in its speech and bearing that Pachymeres writes they went in fear and trembling of the army Michael had collected to check their boldness and bravery. Andronicus received the ambassadors, but the great payment they asked for seemed to him impossible to satisfy. He wanted to avoid an open break with declared war, so he sent them back to Berenguer de Entensa with part of the requested money, hoping to quiet them this way. They were satisfied with what he gave them and went back to Gallipoli.

When they arrived, Roger had returned with his wife, mother-in-law, and brother-in-law, who had wanted to come back with him. He had taken them, I suspect, in order to have Irene, his mother-in-law, and the emperor's daughter, on hand to hold as hostage, in case Constantinople made any action against him as a rebel if the riot in camp reached larger proportions.

TWENTY-SECOND CHAPTER

THE SOLDIERS ARE PAID SHORT WAGES BY ANDRONICUS' ORDER AND A NEW RIOT BREAKS OUT

Forced by necessity and guided by Greek fraud and slyness, Andronicus ordered that the ambassadors be paid in silver coin, which would lessen the amount of the debt by more than a third of its original value, although he expected the soldiers to accept it as full payment. The captains, who were not familiar with treachery, were easily persuaded, and left, taking the money back to Gallipoli where their men were demanding money almost mutinously. The coin was counted out and divided to the accompaniment of complaints and grumbling concerning its scarcity; but finally it was accepted as full settlement, although the soldiers realized that it was short, and all was quiet again. There was a different reaction shortly afterwards when the Genoese, who had arranged with the emperor to send their fleet against the Catalans for a certain quantity of money, were paid in the same coin. They returned it immediately and asked to be discharged from the service.

After accepting the coin that had been paid to them as wages, the Catalans and Aragonese attempted to pay their local Greek creditors, but the natives refused to take the coin at the value at which it was offered to them. Since the necessity for food and maintenance did not allow delay, the debtors took what they had to have and forced the Greeks to receive their coin payment. The natives were angered, and the Catalans had to look for their food with weapons, so that many towns in

the region were laid waste. Infinite complaints of the soldiers' disorders and outrages began to pour into the capital, so that Andronicus found himself accepting his son's opinion in favor of a violent and effective remedy for such damage. He probably would have attacked them if the diversity of officers in his army had held full authority over his subjects, or had been united. For whenever a ruler uses devices so unworthy of his obligations as to pay his men money so far lacking in original price, without issuing an edict to the subjects of his empire to accept the coin at the same value, he can expect an open break between the people and the military forces. It is quite possible that both emperors Andronicus and Michael had planned this method to make the Catalans mistreat the Greeks to the point that they would take arms for vengeance at the offense, under which conditions the foreigners would probably be exterminated and the emperors thereby freed of their obligation. The plan succeeded as far as inducing the Catalans to invade country towns when they needed money; they extorted tribute and met resistance with customary military license, abusing by hand and tongue anyone who opposed them.

Since the Greek author Nicephorus belonged to the offended people, most of his account deals with the excesses of the army. George Pachymeres' history does even more so; he gives free rein to his passions, reviling the Catalans maliciously. But Muntaner denies that the Catalans were cruel or implacable to the Greeks. He recalls how the foreigners had helped many of them who had fled from Turkish servitude in the Asiatic provinces, and collected in Constantinople where the suffered the hunger and misery of poverty. The native Greeks were apparently

unmoved by pity for the misfortunes of their friends and comrades, but the Catalans had been liberal and helped many of those in trouble generously. He who reads this relation can judge readily which historians should be credited, if he looks first at their backgrounds. The Greeks, Nicephorus and Pachymeres, are frequently careless with the truth, and preoccupied with the offenses of the Catalans, even when they do not relate to the case in hand. Muntaner, the Spaniard was witness to all these events, and the simplicity of the style in which he writes seems to assure the truth of his accounts.

Andronicus began to be afraid that Roger would openly take arms against him, for which the Catalans were agitating because of the deceit he had used in the coin of their wages. He sent for the prince, Marulli, who had fought with Roger in the Orient, but was now with the emperor's troops in the capital. He assured the Romanic ruler of his good will and desire to promote him; then ordered him to return to his daughter Irene with his summons to come to the capital, since Andronicus relied on her ability to persuade her son-in-law in important matters. Marulli went back to Gallipoli with the message. Roger answered him plainly that he would not consider leaving Gallipoli to accept some responsibility in Constantinople that would cause his men to suspect him. He also excused Irene for her poor health that did not allow her to travel.

Marulli traveled back to the emperor and clearly explained to him that the Company had not been fully paid and was in no mood for

agreements. But in spite of all this plain talk, Andronicus tried again by means of his daughter to persuade Roger to move to the Orient, where he would send him supplies. He said that Philadelphia was in worse difficulty than it had been the year before; that they were suffering so much that even the dead were not spared of their need. Roger wanted to obey the emperor, but his men were more irritated than ever, and if he had displayed an eagerness to give in to Andronicus on this point, it would have been at the risk of his authority and his life.

Meanwhile Berenguer de Entenza was feeling the suspicion and mistrust of the Greeks, who regarded him only as a Catalan, and at the same time, the lessening of faith in him among the Catalans, because he held such a high position in the imperial government that it seemed obvious for him to be on the emperor's side and approving the wrong he was doing them. Finally matters reached the stage at which Berenguer could no longer remain neutral, or act as an intermediary between Andronicus and the Catalans without the risk of losing everything. So he resolved to go back to his original obligation and sacrifice his personal interest in preference to the estimation and honor of his nation, which he was on the point of losing. He asked the permission of Andronicus to go back to Gallipoli, and left, in spite of the pleading and offers of the emperor who tried to stop him. He embarked in two galleys that he had at anchor at Blanquera, sailing, according to Pachymeres, with a troubled countenance that showed the conflict of thoughts that were tormenting him. From his galley he sent back to the emperor thirty gold and silver vases which he had given him. The same author

adds that he tossed his insignia of the rank of archduke into the sea to show that from then on he was renouncing his friendship to the empire. The Greeks condemned this action as infamous and vile, but it was the most praiseworthy deed of this knight in the Orient. His honors and dignities had not changed his outlook toward justice; a worthy example to those who plan to promote themselves through damage to the public welfare or the reputation of their homeland. So often they forget what they owe to their blood and background, leaving them neglected for more petty interests; and so often such men are left with no reward but infamy in their ruin.

While Berenguer was preparing to leave, the emperor sent to call him back several times, being unable to believe that his honored officer would actually leave him. Some men from Malvasia offered their services to Andronicus for an attack on the Catalan's two galleys to avenge the small value he placed on his former friendship, as well as to recover one of the ships in which they had part interest. But the Greek did not allow them to carry out their plan, which he considered a degrading scheme. That night Berenguer set sail for Gallipoli, where he found the town reeking with a thousand suspicions and misgivings.

TWENTY-THIRD CHAPTER

ANDRONICUS GIVES THE ASIATIC PROVINCES TO THE CATALAN COMPANY IN FIEFS

Andronicus planned to divide the Catalans among themselves, in order to be able to punish them more safely later. By means of Irene's personal advisor, Canavurio, who handled most of the negotiations of the Catalans because of his frequent trips between Constantinople and Gallipoli, the emperor again attempted to assure Roger of his desire for the Catalan's honor and advancement. But in reality the insolence of the foreign soldiers, the jealousy of the Greeks, and the pressing arguments of his son began to change his interest and devotion to Catalan affairs to mortal hatred. From then on the emperor and his son planned to give apparently honorable satisfaction to all the Catalan desires, while secretly scheming for their downfall. Although historians do not trace this development, it can be easily inferred from the events that took place afterward.

Aided by the arrangements of Canavurio and forced by the conditions of his empire, such as the general fear of the Catalans which had had its beginning in the reputation that preceded them from Sicily, the draining of the exchequer and the royal treasury by long-time payments, the pressing need for money to meet obligations and expenses which was not sufficiently forthcoming from the regular tribute collections, Andronicus began to formulate a plan to remedy the situation. He was going to appeal to the Spanish captains to help him execute the administration that was important for the welfare of all. After several long

and detailed discussions between the emperor and Roger, it was decided that the Asiatic provinces would be given in fief to the Catalan knights and nobles. In return Andronicus and his successors were to be able to summon their help at their own expense any time it was needed. From the time of the conclusion of the arrangements on, the emperor was no longer obliged to pay wages to the soldiers beyond thirty thousand in coin and one hundred twenty thousand Roman measures of wheat as donation every year. But he still owed them the money of the wages in arrears to the day of the agreement.

With this arrangement Catalan affairs were evidently settled. The officers found themselves masters of all the Asiatic provinces, which the emperor had presented to them in payment for their services. And since they had taken the lands with their weapons, freeing them from Turkish servitude, whatever titles they bore individually were enough to give them the right of lordship in everything.

This development was one of the most remarkable of the entire expedition, and sufficient to make the whole history of the Catalandand Aragonese nations illustrious. When the Romans won Asia by conquering Mithridates [27], they achieved one of their major glories; and what the strength of such famous captains and armies had accomplished with many years of fighting, our people had done in two. If deceit and treachery had not attacked their fortunes, they would probably still be absolute lords in Asia; and perhaps if they had been able to stay there, they would have stopped the Turks in the beginning, preventing the huge

expansion in the boundaries of the empire that the infidels possess today.

The agreements with the empire were sworn before the image of the Virgin, according to the custom of the empire. Pachymeres and Muntaner agree on the story of this transfer of possession, with the exception that the Greek differs in one circumstance. He records that Andronicus held aside a few of the cities that he did not wish to include in the gift.

TWENTY-FOURTH CHAPTER

THE SOLDIERS REBEL WITH GREATER FURY THAN BEFORE THROUGH MISTRUST OF ROGER

Andronicus prepared to fulfill his oath to the Catalans, and sent Theodore Chumo to Roger with the signed contracts sealed in gold, the thirty thousand in coin, the insignia of the rank of caesar, and the word that the wheat Roger had ordered was now being collected. Theodore of Ripi was a sensible and peaceful man who made the trip very carefully because he realized that matters with the Catalans in Gallipoli were getting worse. Finally he decided not to go any farther until he could find out for sure the state of things there, especially since he heard that a brother of his in Cancilio had been making armed raids against Roger's people, for which the Catalans might be offended. So it seemed like sheer providence when Irene's minister, Canavurio, happened along on his way to see the emperor's daughter. Theodore charged him with announcing to Roger that he was coming with the supplies ordered from the emperor, and asked him to come back with news on the situation concerning the new mutiny. The cautious Greek was not disposed to venture his person and the money carried, without more security than he had.

Theodore traveled very slowly in order to give Canavurio ample time to make his trip and return with information before the former ran into any danger. At Brachialo he was filled with more apprehension, because he received news that the Catalan chief was not planning to accept the insignia of caesar. He was afraid that this new honor from

the emperor would antagonize his men even more, and they were already showing signs of losing confidence in him because he was collecting riches and honors while they were being defrauded in their wages. Theodore began to be fearful of his charge and decided to reassure himself by retiring to the strong town of Ripi where he stayed several days. But even there he realized that the people would probably not keep the secret of his presence, and began to worry that if the Catalans heard he was in Ripi with thirty thousand in coin they would attack him and make off with the money. So in the dark of night, he left stealthily with all the rent collection tribute he had with him, and went back to Constantinople. There he explained to the emperor that he had been stopped on his journey and forced to return to the capital without carrying out his order.

Roger judged that for the sake of his reputation and safety he should satisfy the suspicions that his men were expressing concerning his good faith. He sent for the main leaders of his army to come to Gallipoli, being careful th leave their stations in strong hands. When they were all together, he told them that the hardships and dangers he had suffered for the welfare of the Catalans and Aragonese nation did not deserve to be repaid with doubts of his loyalty. He pointed out that he had proved his intentions in the Sicilian war, when he was serving the king and governing the Catalan people during times when he was so suspicious of everyone that no one dared offend him, and that during the Asiatic wars he had fulfilled his obligations wherever his duty called. He told them that, although the emperor had given him many honors, they did not equal his services, and that he was not a man to be so impressed by the

recognition that he would forget his original obligations.

Then the Catalan chief explained to his men that the emperor wanted to make him caesar, but that he did not wish to receive an honor which he could not live up to with entire satisfaction. He assured his men that he had left Constantinople and returned to their camp to help them and try to lift their spirits, in spite of the emperor's efforts to stop him and bestow the promotion. He was determined to share the fortunes of his people, even until the emperor should send his army to attack them. This eventuality also seemed possible, for Andronicus had sworn to stop the Catalan pillaging. And Roger knew that when he was forced to take up arms it would be in the common defense against the Greeks. With this speech, the Catalan chief reestablished his credit among his men, whose suspicions were allayed, and who recognized him commander as always, blaming their doubts on the evil misgivings of a few.

Shortly afterward, the Turks attacked the isle of Chios, which was under the charge of Roger and his men. They took almost all of it, much to the chagrin of the Spanish forces. A few of the garrison stationed there were able to retreat from the island and make foretheir stronghold in forty boats they had managed to collect, but these were pitifully lost and sunk in a storm off the island of Scyros [28]. With this defeat both sides were irritated; the Greeks were annoyed because it seemed that the Catalans were so absorbed in extracting petty tributes, that they could not be bothered with guarding against the infidels.

On the other hand the defenders blamed the loss on Andronicus, because he had delayed so long in fulfilling his promise of supplies. They insisted that if they had received their wages on time, they could have met their obligations and defended their charge. Because they had no money, they were obliged to go after it with much disturbance in all the towns and communities of Thrace.

TWENTY-FIFTH CHAPTER

THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR ADVANCING TO THE ORIENT ARE COMPLETED AND ROGER IS OFFERED THE MONEY WITH THE INSIGNIA OF CAESAR

Roger's public statement concerning his loyalty to his men reached the ears of the emperors, Andronicus and Michael, and they were highly offended. They wanted to send the army that they had mustered at Adrianopole to attack the Catalan leader, but Roger's brother-in-law Azan, who had recently been dignified with the title of panipersebastor, persuaded Andronicus not to. The emperor ordered his son not to execute the plans, and placed his confidence at getting at Roger through his grandson. Azan wrote to Roger describing the emperor's indignation, and suggested that the best way to return to his good graces would be to leave for Asia with the army and start the war.

Roger wrote back to his brother-in-law, including a reply to the emperor in the same message, explaining the necessity that had forced him to clarify his position to his men, because they would undoubtedly have killed him, if they felt confirmed in their suspicions of his treachery. He assured the emperor that he would always be loyal, and would observe the many honors he had received from his hand, and if he had offended his ruler with his tongue, it had been to prevent the Catalans from offending him in deed. They would have chosen a new chief, who would not block the execution of their impulses. Roger assured them that he would not have been able to approach his men in any other manner, because at the time there had been scarcely a thousand men ready to obey

him. After receiving this letter, Andronicus again ordered his son not to offend the Catalan, unless it was necessary to prevent his raids on the countryside.

Asan wanted to further Roger's cause, so he persuaded the emperor to send out Theodore Chuno again, so that he could reach the Catalans before they left for Asia. Andronicus complied by sending him the insignia of caesar, for which Roger was garbed and acclaimed on the day of the resurrection of Lazarus. With the insignia he sent thirty thousand in coin and ten thousand measures of wheat, and ordered Roger to send on all but a thousand of his men. Roger made apparent demonstrations that he would obey, but secretly made arrangements for any eventuality in his council. He sent some of his men to Berenguer de Entenza, who was now a declared rebel and enemy of the empire; the rest he sent to Cyzicus and Mytilene, where there were already Catalan garrisons. In addition to the wheat the emperor had given him, he collected another large quantity which the Catalans had taken in tributes.

TWENTY-SIXTH CHAPTER

ROGER LEAVES TO SEE MICHAEL PALEOLOGUS AGAINST THE WARNING OF HIS WIFE AND HIS CAPTAINS

During the time that the Catalans were so full of hopes and fears, Andronicus and Michael were busily scheming for the methods they could use to effect a shattering punishment on them for their daring. Although this circumstance is remarkably without reference in the works of Greek historians, the facts are borne out by events, and their treachery revealed. Roger's evil luck opened the way for them to accomplish this with maximum safety to themselves and misfortune to the Catalans.

The time came for the departure from Greece for the war, and Roger resolved to go to Michael Paleologus to discuss with him his father's plans for the war, and, according to Nicephorus, to ask him for money. But Roger's wife, María, and her mother and brothers were strongly against the trip; they were members of the emperor's household, and familiar with the sort of treachery generated there. María, to whom the matter was most important, warned her husband in secret not to allow himself to fall in Michael's hands. She told him that he uncle was only looking for an opportunity; that he had warned her when she left home that she was an orphan, and could not longer look to his government for protection; and that she neither trusted his words nor his intentions, for reasons that were not merely born of her concern, but from positive indications by which she realised that Michael was plotting her husband's ruin. All these arguments, accompanied by tears and pleading, María gave

to Roger; she was a Greek, and intimate in the house of the ruler. Although he had been suspicious of her and refrained from revealing his plans, in spite of all the emperor's caution, she got news of the situation. For a wise woman, apprehensive for the life of her husband, can usually warn and disclose to him what is being plotted against him.

Roger paid little attention to his wife's advice, and her worries mounted to a greater point than she wanted him to realize. She tried to find some means to persuade him; finally she called together the principal captains of the army and told them of her suspicions, begging them to ask Roger to desist from his plan to visit Michael at Adrianople. They came at her insistence, and listened to her arguments, which seemed to them to have some foundation. Approaching Roger, they asked him to cancel or postpone his departure until they were more sure of the emperor's attitude. He answered them resolutely that no fears they could present would stop him from complying with an obligation as necessary as his conferences with Michael, to whom he owed the same respect as to his father, the emperor. He told them that the emperors would have an ample reason for a quarrel with him if he left for Asia without giving them a full report of his plans and methods. He pointed out that such a quarrel would be very inconvenient for all of them, adding that Maria's fears were born of her love, and since they had no other foundation they were not logical evidence to detain him.

Roger's fatal destiny called him without warning of his danger; or if with warning, at least without fear of it. It often happens that

the more warning a man has, the less he is able to escape death and unfortunate ends. And although God warns us with clear and manifest signs, we have such unfounded confidence, that we persist along the roads to our end and punishment. As in the case of Roger, neither his experience with and knowledge of Greek nature, nor the warnings of his wife and pleading of his men could stop him from his voluntary surrender to death.

With his departure approaching, María and her relatives, who did not want to be left in Gallipoli because they were sure of foul play by Michael, determined to go with Roger. Since she felt no obligation to stay there in his absense, Roger ordered Fernando de Aonés to take María to Constantinople with four galleys, three hundred knights, and a thousand soldiers. He left Berenguer de Entenza in his place, and traveled to Adrianople, the principal city of Thrace, often called Orestiade, and used as a court by emperors and kings, as it was at that time by the emperor Michael. Zurita did not realize that the city was called by both names, and referred to Adrianople and Orestiade as different places. Nicephorus uses the more ancient name of Orestiade, and Muntaner uses Adrianople, which was the current name by the Greeks, preserved today with little change.

Michael learned from Roger's brother-in-law that the caesar would arrive on the twenty-second of April. There was a marked change in the ruler when he heard of this arrival; he sent one of the knights from his house to meet Roger a day before his landing to ask if he were coming of

his own free will, or because Andronicus had ordered it. The caesar answered humbly that he came only to show his obedience and respect for his obligations, in order to consult the emperor concerning his approaching voyage to the Orient. Michael was calmed by this answer, and expressed his pleasure at the conference. He sent out men to receive his visitor with all suitable courtesy. Roger arrived on the Wednesday of St. Thomas in the second week of Lent, and on the same night went in to see the emperor, who met him with obvious demonstrations of affection.

TWENTY-SEVENTH CHAPTER

THE ALANS CRUELLY KILL ROGER AS HE EATS WITH MICHAEL, THE EMPRESS MARÍA, AND ALL OF THEIR COMPANY

Since they were received so cordially by Michael, Roger and his men decided that María's suspicions were unfounded, and forgot any apprehensions they had for the danger so close at hand, to the extent that they split up and went about through the city unarmed as if they were among friends and confederates. Also in town at the time were the Alans and their chief, George, whose son had been killed by the Catalans in Asia. Turkish Greeks were there, too; some under the leadership of the Bulgar, Basila, and others under Meleco. The Romanics were led by the primiserio, Casiano, who was the duke of the companies called Etruscans [29]. All of these people were suspicious of Roger's coming, and had collected in the city on the pretext of demonstrating their obedience to Michael, but for the actual purpose of observing his forces and making subsequent reports to their councils.

The Alanic chief, George, bore the greatest grudge against Roger, and was determined to take his satisfaction by any means that he could. He finally accomplished this, either by his own motive alone, or with Michael's permission, the day before Roger's scheduled departure. The Catalan was eating with Michael and his empress, María, enjoying the honor that the rulers did him, when the room was suddenly invaded by George, Meleco with some of his Turkish Greeks, and Gregory. George fell upon Roger, wounded him several times, and, with the help of some

of his men, cut off the foreign chief's head. His mangled body fell among the food on the ruler's table, which was itself considered a sure pledge of friendship. It seemed impossible that such would be the place where the life would be taken of a friendly captain of so many outstanding services; a guest and a kinsman, enjoying the hospitality of Michael's house at his table, and in the presence of himself and his wife.

No set of circumstances could be collected to bring more infamy to this affair, which was certainly a deed unworthy of a man who bore the name and obligation of a ruler. Although it is true that rulers rarely consider themselves obligated, when they do, they hate the person to whom they owe the obligations. Sometimes this passion develops to the point that they cease to fear thedamage to their reputation and openly destroy him. Certainly it is true that a ruler more readily overlooks the punishment for displeasures from small people, than he pardons the offense of little consideration committed by men who have done him great service. But what evil is there that an unjust ruler will not undertake, if it strikes his fancy that it is necessary to his welfare? The justice and punishment of God, to which they are alone subjected, seems so far away that they almost lose sight of it altogether. And they cannot be convinced of the fragile means by which they also can be punished; even though the hand of a determined man is capable of destroying both lives and kingdoms.

Such a wretched end was the death of Roger de Flor when he was thirty-seven, a man of great valor and greater fortune. He was fortunate with enemies and unfortunate with friends; the former made him a famous

captain and the latter took his life. He was of rugged appearance, ardent heart, and diligent habits in executing what he had determined to do. He was magnificent and liberal, a trait which made him a general among his people; his gifts had won friends who placed him in the position which was among the best, with the exception of king or emperor, for those times. When he died, his wife, Maria, was pregnant, and soon afterward she bore a son who was living at the time Muntaner began his history.

According to Nicephorus, Roger was killed near the imperial palace, but does not state by whom or whose order it was done. In most of the particulars concerning the death, Pachymeres agrees with Muntaner, but says that the Catalan chief was attacked by George, the Alan, as he was leaving the imperial chamber where he had been eating with the emperors. When Roger realised the assault, he retreated to where the august empress sat, and fell dead near her with a sword thrust between his shoulders. When the news of Roger's death and the confusion of the fighting between the attacking Alans and the unprepared Catalans reached Michael, he was in another room of the palace. He almost fainted of the shock and only managed to ask if the empress had been hurt in the disturbance. Later he learned the full details of the murder, and ordered George to appear before him to explain his motive for killing Roger. The vengeful Alan replied that he did it in order that the empire would have one enemy less. With this description, Pachymeres excuses Michael of the evil deed, but disclosed that whether or not he was the express author of the death, he did allow it to go unpunished, which establishes

his participation in the crime.

The Alans were not satisfied with only the death of Roger; at the same time they attacked all the Catalans and Aragonese that were in his company, mangling their bodies atrociously. Pachymeres reports that Michael ordered his uncle Theodore to stop the Alans and their confederates of other nations who, soaked with Catalan blood, were leaving the city to search out other Catalans they might happen to meet. They raged through the barracks of surrounding villages with such blood lust that Michael was afraid he had lost all control of his own men and that they would be destroyed by their own impulsiveness.

But with this development, it seems to me that Michael's intentions were without doubt to finish off all the foreigners at once. All the organized horsemen in the city were attacking Catalans and Aragonese both in Adrianople and out, although many of the wounded and abused seized weapons and did equal damage to the enemy before they died. Only three knights managed to escape the pitiful tragedy, contrary to Nicephorus' report that most of them were able to get away. One was called Ramón Alquer, the son of Gilabert Alquer, native of Castellón de Ampurias; and the other two were Guillén de Tous and Berenguer de Roudor from Llobregat. The few who did not die immediately were placed in irons and later cruelly burned, according the the description in Pachymeres' relation. The three survivors defended themselves courageously by taking a church, where they were forced to retire to the tower, but which they held by fighting so desperately from above that no one was able either

to kill or capture them. When Michael had finished his bloodthirsty execution, he began to look around for a means to bolster his reputation for pity and clemency; so he ordered that no one bother the three remaining Catalans, and let them return to Gallipoli in peace.

Nicephorus differs somewhat in this part of the story from Muntaner. The Greek says that Roger came to Adrianople with only two hundred knights, and that he came to see Michael not only for the purpose of giving him the detail of what he was planning on the subject of war, as Muntaner states, but also to ask for money. And when he was refused the financial aid, he prepared to take it by force. So Nicephorus states, with, as far as I can understand, little argument against the fact that the emperor was in Adrianople with a powerful army. It does not seem probable that a captain as prudent as Roger, who even the Greeks considered wise, would make such a blunder on this occasion as to arrive with three hundred horsemen to threaten an emperor in a large city with a strong army.

TWENTY-EIGHTH CHAPTER

THE CATALANS BEAR OPEN ARMS AGAINST THE GREEKS, AND MEN OF THE COMPANY ARE KILLED IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COUNTRY

The men with Berenguer and Rocafort decided to resort to the last attempt to induce Andronicus to pay their wages. They sent three ambassadors to the emperor with the message that if he did not pay them at least part of what he owed them within fifteen days, they were determined to withdraw from his service and use their weapons to accomplish what they could not with reason and justice. The emperor received the three soldiers, Rodrigo Pérez de Santa Cruz, Arnaldo de Moncortés, and Ferrer de Torellas, in the presence of most of his counsellors and ministers. He spoke to them curtly, assuring them that the Greek empire was not so weak and impoverished that it could not collect a powerful army to punish Catalan daring and rebellion. He told them that whatever services they had done in the Oriental wars were now erased by the excesses, outrages, and lack of respect they had shown for the crown.

Finally Andronicus told them that he would do what he considered reasonable, and warned them against rushing into any desperate action that would only result badly for them, or violently demanding anything that he was capable of denying just as violently. He pointed out that their loyalty of which they were so proud would have no value if they attempted to force indulgences from their ruler. Then without waiting to hear their answer, or giving them more satisfaction for their requests, he ordered them to discuss the matter among themselves, make a decision,

and speak to him. A few days later the news of Roger's death at Adrianople, and of the violent reaction of his people at Gallipoli arrived in Constantinople. As a result, the Greek citizens rose up in vengeance against the Catalans, according to Pachymeres; but Muntaner says that the Catalans and Aragonese were attacked at the same time in all the cities of the empire by order of Andronicus and Michael. It is possible that Muntaner lost his objectivity on this point in blaming the emperors entirely; but I am sure that they made no attempt to stop their people from carring out this evil.

In Constantinople the people rose up and attacked the Catalan quarters, raging through the city and killing as though they were on a wild animal hunt. After beheading most of them, the mob arrived at the house of Raul Paqueo, who was a relative of Andronicus and the father-in-law of the Catalan admiral, Fernando Aonés. There they demanded that he deliver to them all the Catalans he had inside, and when he failed to do this as quickly as they wanted, they set fire to the house. It burned completely with everyone in it, I am sure, including the admiral and the three ambassadors. The patriarch of Constantinople appeared in an effort to check the mutinous mob, but his presence had little effect and he was forced to retire in danger. The only obstacle that prevented the complete destruction of the Catalan nation was that their stronghold at Gallipoli was well defended, and those who were stationed in outlying towns with their arms at hand were warned in time to escape or join their countrymen in the city.

Michael, who feared a Catalan attack at Gallipoli when they heard of Roger's death, sent the primicerio with the main body of the army to

besiege the town. His order was carried out by sending some captains ahead on fleet horses to attack before the garrison was warned. Many of the Catalans were caught scattered among their lodgings and asleep in bed, the guards they trusted apparently being useless to arouse them in time. Horsemen rode through houses, running through with their swords any Catalans or Aragonese they met. A few were warned in time to escape by the groans and screaming of their tortured comrades; others got away in the time that their greedy attackers took to rob the men they killed.

The noise of battle and shouting could be heard as far away as Gallipoli, where some of the sentinels prepared to leave for scouting the trouble out on the lowlands. But Berenguer de Entenza and the other commanders checked this impulse, fearing that if they allowed some to go, the rest would follow, since the obedience of the men was not all that it should have been at that point. Nevertheless a few of the more rebellious men challenged Berenguer and went to comb the roads for news, in spite of their chief's fear that they would leave Gallipoli defenseless, much to the danger of the common health.

There was much discussion at Gallipoli concerning the possible cause of the noise and confusion down on the lowland. Some suggested that the Greeks were fed up with the oppression of the military forces and were staging a rebellion for their freedom. Others believed that the Turks had crossed the wide expanse of the sea and were attacking the Catalan quarters. But in all the variety of conjectures, no one guessed the inhuman truth of the situation. With the aid of nightfall and the general confusion, a few of their countrymen were able to escape to

Gallipoli, but they could only report that they had been attacked in their lodgings at the towns by armed soldiers.

TWENTY-NINTH CHAPTER

BERENGUER AND THE SOLDIERS AT GALLIPOLI, LEARNING OF ROGER'S DEATH, DESTROY ALL THE NATIVES, AND ARE BESIEGED

The general riot which broke out when the word came of Roger's death had been the signal which brought on the attack on the Catalans and Aragonese in Adrianople, which through Michael's orders spread to the region of Gallipoli. The Catalans had been so infuriated at the killing of their leader that they had turned on the Greeks nearest at hand and massacred all the residents of the city. Pachymeres and Nicephorus agree that everyone died without consideration for sex or age, although Muntaner gives no details. Pachymeres goes on to describe the horror of the episode, telling how children were tortured with sharpened sticks; an abominable evil if it were true, which is doubtful, considering that the chronicler is Greek and an enemy. But if such a reaction could ever be justified, it was in this case, for the Greeks had already perpetrated against their people that satisfaction of their own savage cruelty.

From then on the war raged all fury and cruelty, appearing more like a struggle between animals than men. But Greek atrocities undeniably outdid the Catalan excesses, because the Catalan soldiers had never broken their pledge of fidelity to those people they had served, even though they habitually lived with dissipation and ignored the laws of orderly people. They had not expected such a treacherous attack, and the inequality of the battle excused what misdemeanors they

had committed in the region.

The Catalan captains collected within the confusion to discuss some means of alleviating their situation. Their current state was so pitiful, that even their enemies could have felt sympathy for their misery. They had lost all their physical stamina from the long lack of sleep and constant tension; they had lost their reputation because they had taken such punishment with so little opportunity to do any damage in return, while their previous record of victories demanded outstanding performance, allarge part of their number were dead; and their own death faced them.

They found themselves entering the winter season at Gallipoli without supplies or fortifications, and faced with an enemy of about thirty thousand soldiers and fourteen thousand knights, including men of the three nations of Greeks, Alans, and Turkish Greeks. They were besieged almost to their very walls, and threatened with a pitiful end because Michael was busily collecting forces all through Thrace and Macedonia, pressing into service many people who did not customarily fight for the emperor's wages. In order to close in on their position, he had moved from Adrianople to Pamphylia, and sent word to the duke of the Etruscans at Basilia, and to Umberto Palor at Brachialus near Gallipoli, to add their pressure to the siege.

Meanwhile our people decided first to fortify the outskirts of the town, to prevent the enemy from occupying it without great cost in time and lives. They barricaded houses and built walls and trenchworks,

which involved a great deal of labor because there were few Spaniards left and the area of suburbs was broad. But after they finished, they resolved to send ambassadors to Andronicus to withdraw from his service in the name of all the nation, and to challenge him one hundred Catalans against a hundred of his men, or ten against ten, according to the practice of the times. They wished to take satisfaction in such a battle for their accumulated grievances, which had reached a climax in the treacherous death of Roger and his men at the hands of Michael's Greeks.

A knight that Muntaner calls Siscar, a captain named Pedro López, two Almugavars, and some sailors were sent to represent all the branches of the Catalan forces. They left before the news reached Gallipoli of the deaths of the other three ambassadors Berenguer de Entenza sent. While the Catalans were awaiting the last word from the emperor by means of their delegation, the enemy forces, now grown powerful on the field, were moving in on Gallipoli, and our people with their customary valor, were attempting to hinder and delay their progress with raids and small skirmishes outside the city.

THIRTIETH CHAPTER

THE COMPANY TAKES COUNSEL AND DECIDES TO FOLLOW BERENGUER DE ENTENZA, NOT BECAUSE HE IS THE BEST MAN, BUT HE IS MORE POWERFUL

There were diverse opinions among the captains at Gallipoli concerning the manner in which they should attempt such an overpowering war, so that it became necessary for the principal chiefs to take counsel and make a decision. Among them Berenguer de Entenza spoke up: "My friends and comrades, if the courage and strength of men born like ourselves was ever desperately needed, I believe that we need them to meet the misfortunes we are suffering now. Our troubles are as cruel and terrible as human beings can inflict upon other mortals, because we are being persecuted, tortured, and killed by people who should be helping and defending us. To what purpose do all those victories, those bloody defeats, those provinces we acquired, serve us, if, when the time comes for us to receive just recompense for so much effort, we are paid off instead with such barbaric cruelty that we can scarcely believe it?

"I consider our comrades who died without feeling our insult as luckier than we are; we are left to perish with such bitter feelings alive within us. Without taking satisfaction for this offense we cannot return to our homeland, where we would be unworthy of the name and fame that we have cherished for so many years, where our relatives and friends would not receive us and our children would not recognise us, unless we manage to avenge our companions who died through treachery, and erase our disgrace with enemy blood. The small forces we have left now living in humiliation will be able to oppose the great power because

we have reason and right on our side. The invincible spirit takes on courage in difficulty; the greater the danger, the more strength we will have. Asia was freed from Turkish subjection by our weapons; our reputation will be preserved by them. If Greece admired our victories, she will soon feel the cold steel of the swords which will maintain our strength and our defense. Everyone has given us up for lost, or at least believes that we will sail back to Sicily in the ships and galleys still left to us. But they will soon be undeceived, because their spirit does not frighten us, and we will not leave until we have taken some revenge for our injuries.

"The defense of Gallipoli is now our main problem; since it is the entrance to the channel, we can effectively control foreign shipping and the affairs of the sea even when they involve fleets superior to ours. So we will have to look for money and supplies to sustain the town. Whatever help we may get will have to come from far away and will probably be too late if it comes at all, since our kings are busy with the occupation of cities closer home. We are completely surrounded by enemy nations and rulers; our only salvation will be what we can win with our own ships and galleys. To manage this we will first have to look for the sustenance that we need now, and we will have to divert our enemies' attention from concentration upon us here. We will have to shift the scene of warfare to a port where the enemy is not superior. That way we will be able to win some kind of victory more easily and restore our reputation to its deserved level. Some of the coastal provinces close by would be completely unsuspecting, since they figure that

we lack even enough men to defend Gallipoli, and will not be leaving these walls as long as we can hold out. This situation can offer us a definite opportunity to do a lot of damage with our ships and galleys against the coasts and islands of the empire. And since this plan is my idea, I will also take the responsibility for carrying it out."

At Berenguer de Entenza's last words, Rocafort jumped up with a stormy face and his voice full of rage and vengeance, shouting, "The grief I suffer for the death of Roger and our captains is not all that disturbs me; my soul burns for a just satisfaction for their loss. We must make some resolution today because of the severity of our injury; but in this case he must not make it too quickly and without ample consideration because we have disagreements in our consultation. If we went back to our homeland our name would be disgraced, even if we did take full vengeance against the Greek treachery. I agree on this point with Berenguer, but I do not agree with his manner of carrying on the war. On the contrary, I must oppose it because it seems to me a terrible mistake to divide our forces when we are so few and so unequal to the power of our enemies. I am sure that Berenguer would successfully rob, destroy, and burn the neighboring coasts as he offers, but in the meantime, while he is raiding on the seas, who is going to prevent the loss of the meager few still at Gallipoli? And then, Berenguer, where will you put in your fleet with your spoils of victory? No port is left open to us until Sicily. I feel certain that we will lose Gallipoli; an enemy victory is guaranteed if you take away our soldiers to man your fleet.

"Besides this all-important consideration, you must realize that all the best captains of the imperial forces are using their most effective strategy on this siege, and it is going to be very difficult for Berenguer to leave the port. And if he does get out, what is going to assure the soldiers left here that he will ever get back? It will be hard to quiet their fears and misgivings, even if Berenguer's blood and background are secure enough pledges for those born like he is. The compulsion of our vengeance is so strong it hardly allows us to be careful and prudent, nor is it a good idea for us to delay the war because we are so few. We might as well give free rein to our wrath and venture our lives in the danger ahead. So it is my opinion that we should get out on the field and fight the enemies that face us. And although victory is usually sure for the army with the greatest multitude, we have on our side the just cause and the same courage that defeated the Turks and conquered the Greeks. We can trust this same strength to break through copious squadrons, overthrow the eagles like we overthrew the crescents. And if we should meet our end in the battle, it will be worthy of our glory that we died with sword in hand, occupied with ruining such a treacherous people."

This last opinion was most popular among the captains of the conference, because it was the quickest action, although more dangerous and uncertain. But Berenguer de Entenza's power was greater than that of Rocafort, and without his approval they could not carry out the plan of attack. Ramón Muntaner reports that the pleading and arguments of many of his comrades did not succeed in changing Berenguer's mind.

At this point the Catalans received word that Prince Sancho of Aragón had arrived with ten galleys from the king of Sicily on Mytilene, an island of the archipelago near Gallipoli. Berenguer de Entenza and the other captains sent word asking him to come to Gallipoli and receive their homage and their oath of fidelity to the Sicilian king. They described their perilous position and the discredit that would come to the name of Aragón if they were not helped, for they had been prominent and faithful subjects. Sancho displayed his desire for their welfare by his quick action. He left Mytilene and arrived at Gallipoli with the ten galleys where he was received with universal approbation. The Spaniards believed that with his help they could take full satisfaction for their insults; they shared with him the few supplies and money that they had, and without having any definite obligation to obey him, he was recognized by all as chief.

THIRTY-FIRST CHAPTER

AT THEIR RETURN TO CONSTANTINOPLE, THE CATALAN AMBASSADORS ARE CAPTURED AND CRUELLY MURDERED IN THE CITY OF RODESTO

The ambassadors from the Company who were sent for the purpose of breaking the agreements they had with the emperor, and this done to challenge him, arrived at Constantinople after a dangerous journey. They presented themselves before the knight commander of Venice, the Genoese potentate, the consuls of the people of Ancona and Pisa [30], and all the magistrates and chiefs of the nations in commerce and correspondence with the imperial provinces.

To these representatives they made their declaration. They told them that according to their understanding, the emperor, Andronicus, and his son, Michael, had given the order to destroy all Catalans and Aragonese to be found in Adrianople and the other towns of the empire; all these people had been living under their protection, soldiers as well as merchants. They declared that the Catalans and Aragonese remaining at Gallipoli were resolved to die to gain satisfaction for the deaths of their countrymen, but they regarded the honor of their own word so highly that they would not declare open war until it was publicly announced, in the name of the whole nation, that they were withdrawing from the agreements and alliances that they had made with the emperor. From that time on these previous manifestos would be considered invalid and unenforced, and in their place the Spaniards challenged the Greek as a traitor. They offered to defend this challenge on the field, one

hundred men to a hundred or ten to ten, and trusted to God that their swords would serve as the instruments of justice to punish such foul play.

The crime had been more than a violation of the public faith by killing strangers who traded peacefully and unsuspectingly in their lands; besides that, they had dealt cruel, disgraceful death to the very people who had brought them freedom by defending their provinces, fighting their enemies, and enlarging the empire. Soldiers' insolence was insufficient cause for such inhuman retaliation. The guilty soldiers had been punished for their crimes, without any consideration for the services they had rendered to moderate the severity. They could have given the foreigners ships to return to their homeland, it would have been ample punishment to send them without reward. But instead, they had been destroyed with utter cruelty, without pardon for sex or age, or separation of the innocent from guilty, the good from bad.

The Venetian knight commander and the other representatives prepared the notice from the delegation for the emperor, but they could reach no agreement with their ruler because feelings were so generally offended and everyone doubted the word or oaths of their neighbors. Under such conditions an open war is better for both sides than an insecure peace; when there is no faith, the name of peace serves as a pretext and opportunity for great treachery.

The emperor answered the challenge with the insistence that the action against the Catalans and Aragonese had not been by his order, and

that he had not been attempting vengeance against them. But it was true that he had ordered the death of Fernando Aonés, the admiral, and of all the Catalans and Aragonese who had come with him to Constantinople with the four galleys bearing the caesar's wife, Maria, and her mother and brothers. Still, Muntaner is brief concerning the deed, although he mentions the day that the killing was executed.

The ambassadors asked Andronicus for security for their return trip to Gallipoli, which he conceded in the person of a commissary who accompanied them as far as Rodesto, a town about thirty miles from Constantinople, where, by his order they were taken prisoners with about twenty-six servants and sailors, and given public slaughter house as living quarters.

Such an evil seems to me to justify any cruelties that could be done to avenge it, since none of them could be more savage than this violation of the universal rights of the people, established by human and divine law, as well as by the inviolate customs of both civilized and barbaric nations.

This unfortunate outcome was the reward of an ill-advised captain. Confidence is praiseworthy when there is some security in the faith and word of the enemy ruler, but when the case is so doubtful, such a venture is a sad mistake. When our king, the Emperor Charles V went to Paris and fell into the hands of his greatest rival, his self-confidence was praised as being as strong as the faith of Francis. But if the queen, Leonora, had not been informing her brother Charles of

all that was being said, this confidence could have been strictly judged as rashness, and his faith in his rival's integrity could have been called deceit. This clearly shows that praise and criticism are leveled on results, not on the intentions behind them.

Berenguer de Entenza made an unfortunate mistake in sending ambassadors to a ruler of such doubtful honesty; to a man who had so brutally and treacherously taken the lives of Roger and his men. The Catalan should never have expected the rest of the world to keep faith as he did, nor sent his openhearted ambassadors into the hands of men on the side of those he knew were traitors. He realized that these people were the ones who had executed such brutality in the Gallipoli region, and he should have been prepared for even more cruelty when the occasion would present itself.

THIRTY-SECOND CHAPTER

BERENGUER SENDS AMBASSADORS TO SICILY AND GOES OUT WITH HIS ARMED FLEET, TAKING THE CITY OF RECREA AND CONQUERING ANDRONICUS' SON CALO JOHN ON LAND

By this time the news of their ambassadors' deaths had reached Gallipoli, and words could not exaggerate the righteous anger and burning desire for vengeance in the souls of their countrymen. They could scarcely believe that such inhuman treatment had been accorded men who should have been protected and defended. Meanwhile more people were surrounding the Catalan stronghold every day, closing in on the city and preventing the movement of supplies from the land. Berenguer and his forces and captains, still resolved not to leave Greece without vengeance, began to consider where they could turn for help. They decided to name Fadrique the master of their forces, and oblige him to come to their defense by swearing fidelity to him. Such was their principle motive, but they used arguments of more careful consideration and purpose to persuade him.

A knight of Fadrique's household called Garcilópez de Lobera received the oath of fidelity in the king's name. With this soldier who followed the banners of Berenguer, two more were elected to serve as ambassadors to the king. They were Ramón Marquet, Barcelona citizen and son of Ramón Marquet, I presume, who was an illustrious sea captain under the great King Pedro, and Ramón de Copo, who were to serve as witnesses to the oath taken before Garcilópez, and to describe the state in which they found themselves. They were to beg Fadrique to show them favor if

he remembered their former services at all; to assure him that his former vassals were interested not only in him, but in his advancement and glory; and to point out that they had opened the way for him to occupy the Orient, if he would help them relieve their desire for vengeance and their desperate situation.

The three ambassadors sailed for Sicily, leaving their comrades with some hope for help from Fadrique. For, as always, although they were suffering themselves, they could take heart and cheer up the people among them who were still worse off.

Prince Sancho, at the departure of the messengers, offered not only to follow Berenguer on the journey he was planning, but to help with his ten galleys until they received word of the king's reaction. Entenza accepted the offer in the name of all, and thanked the prince for such an honorable decision, worthy of a son of the House of Aragón. After this, Berenguer made rapid preparations for the departure, and put to sea with his people. But when the time came to sail, Sancho suddenly changed his mind, going back on the word he had given a short time before, much to the detriment of his honorable reputation. Such a quick change of face surprised everyone; the time had been so short since he announced his resolution, that it was impossible that any new situations could have developed to demand his attention. If there was any event of such importance that it would oblige him to break this pledge based on grave necessity, it is not th be found among the written histories left to us by the ancients.

The cause that could move a prince to take a turn so to his discredit is unknown; but when Berenguer asked him to fulfill his word, he left with the answer that by so doing, he was carrying out a service for his brother. It might be presumed that the prince had been warned that there was peace between Andronicus and Fadrique, and therefore he had decided that he should have an express order before he manned his galleys against a friendly ruler. This possibility seems to me a plausible excuse for the young prince's refusal to fulfill his offer. But he had pledged his word, and when he saw the mistreatment of his brother's best subjects and vassals, he displayed disgraceful ingratitude in not standing by to help them, especially since Andronicus had broken the peace first by destroying the Catalans and Aragonese in his empire.

With the feeling that could be expected, Berenguer wrote in a letter to King Jaime II of Aragón that in spite of his arguments and prayers, he had not been able to stop Sancho's leaving, behavior not at all like the son of his father. The Catalans did not lose heart when the prince left, nor did their abandonment by the best forces cause them to change their plans. Berenguer de Entenza sailed in five galleys, two old ships propelled by oars, and sixteen boats with eight hundred noblemen and fifty knights. Leaving Gallipoli, he headed back toward the Sea of Marmora, called Propontis by the ancients. He harbored, landed his people, sacked most of the towns, and killed the natives, regardless of age or sex. Afterwards he raged about, destroying anything that might have been of use or comfort; since it was his first undertaking after so many insults, he was motivated more by vengeance than greed.

Continuing with the same speed and brutality, Berenguer next hit the coasts of Thrace with more successes. He captured some ships and took Recrea, a great, rich city, which he entered in full force with little loss among his own men. He dealt his customary severity to the conquered, selected their ships and galleys that were of the best construction and condition, and set fire to the buildings, so that even silent, inanimate objects should serve as witnesses and memorials to his vengeance.

Andronicus received word of the loss of Recrea at a time when he judged the few remaining Catalans to be slinking back to Sicily. In order to stop the damage Berenguer was doing all along the shores of the sea called Natura by the Greeks, he commanded his son, the despota, Calo John, to take four hundred knights and the infantry, and to find and attack Berenguer, preventing him from landing his people. Near Puente Regia Berenguer heard that Calo John was coming, and got information on the number and type of his forces. In numbers his men were obviously inferior, but in the quality, he seemed to have the advantage over his enemy. So he unloaded his men and went to see Calo John. The Greek had also been warned by his scouts that Berenguer and his men were on land, so they closed in on the roads, fearing that they might not be able to retreat.

No one could believe that the Catalans would venture against a company so strong, even though they were loaded with rich spoils, when they were masters of such small forces. The two sides met with equal

ferocity and in a short time it became clear that victories depend upon valor rather than multitudes, for the few Spaniards stood the conquerors over a crowd of broken and destroyed Greeks. Calo John escaped with his life and returned to Constantinople crushed by defeat. Andronicus forced his townspeople to arm themselves because all the fighting men were away at Gallipoli, and he was afraid that Berenguer might attack the city.

This Catalan victory happened on the last day of May in 1304. The Greek defeats had been so sudden and in such diverse parts of the empire, that they believed the Catalan forces had increased and that Berenguer was not the only marauder doing them so much damage with his few men.

THIRTY-THIRD CHAPTER

THE CAPTURE OF BERENGUER DE ENTENZA, UNFORTUNATE LOSS FOR THE CATALANS

The Catalan forces had such a fortunate beginning against the Greeks, under the leadership of Berenguer de Entenza, that it seemed they would continue with luck and good timing, with the conclusion of one victory serving as the beginning for another. The marauders planned to attack the ships anchored in the ports and along the shores of Constantinople, and to burn their arsenals, an undertaking which sounds more difficult than it was. They sailed for the beach between Pactia and the Cape of Cano to execute their plan, making good time. At dawn they discovered sails between their fleet and Gallipoli, and when they realized that they were cut off from their home base, they took council on what should be done, agreeing that they should disembark.

Once on land they grounded their ships with the prows as close together as they could, sterns seaward, since the galleys whose prows were not equipped with artillery offered their best defense in their height. They took arms, and carefully prepared they watched for the intentions of the eighteen galleys that were now bearing down upon them. The ships were Genoese, which carried their navigators to seas far remote from their native land, in search of an outlet for their avarice and adventurousness, like the Catalans themselves. Recognizing each other first on one side and then the other, the Genoese were the first to salute, at which the Catalans dropped their weapons and signalled them like allies and friends.

From what the Genoese had heard in discussions of Berenguer's recent successes, they were aware that it would be much to their advantage as well as to the pleasure of Andronicus and the Greeks, if they could manage to capture Berenguer and his galleys. They decided that it would be more desirable to break their faith than to let such an important prisoner get out of their hands, so they sent Berenguer de Entenza an invitation, offering him their word before God that he would receive no insult or injury. They sent word that he should honor their admiral's ship, where they would discuss matters important to all of them. With this guarantee, Berenguer took no warning from the past, or from the dangers in which his trust had placed him, and went aboard the flagship. There he was received and honored by Eduardo de Oria and many other knights. They ate and drank together with much comraderie and merrymaking, to the end that he spent the night on board, after continuing late in discussions concerning the maintenance of his forces.

In the morning when Berenguer prepared to return to his own galley, Eduardio de Oria disarmed him and took him prisoner. At the same time, the men who had come with him were made prisoners, and the eighteen galleys surrounded the Catalan ships, which were careless and unguarded. Four of them were taken at a loss of two hundred Genoese, but the galley led by Berenguer de Villamarín, which had some time to defend itself, put up such a fight that, although eighteen prows were surrounding it, every man, without the escape of a single one, who attempted to come on board was killed. Three hundred Genoese died in the battle over this one galley, and several more

were wounded.

Pachymeres says that the night that the Catalans joined the Genoese, the latter secretly sent one of their galleys to Perea with the word that they had come upon the Catalans, who they heard were the object of the emperor's wrath an desire for punishment. The messenger also bore the news that they might be persuaded to attack the Greek's enemy. When the galley arrived at Perea and gave the Genoese message to Andronicus, he ordered them to attack, offering them all kinds of rewards. So the next day they executed their plan.

Thus came to a pitiful end Berenguer's expedition, so well executed although badly determined; but how difficult it is for human councils to foresee such happenings! He reflected on the determination to make such a journey among the captains, and on the dangers that they had been afraid would catch up with him. But of those many and various dangers that they had suggested, this accident had neither been foreseen nor imagined, which proved that the judgment of man, even though founded on logic, cannot foresee the judgment of God. Blame for this event could be placed on Prince Sancho, since he came nearest to being the cause of the loss. If he had gone with Berenguer as he should have, the Catalan victories would have been greater, and the Genoese would not have dared to attack their augmented forces; the war would have continued with greater gain in profit and reputation.

Berenguer and some knights of his company were conducted in degrading chains to Perea, and then, because they were afraid that

Andronicus would not allow them to realise the ransom they thought satisfactory for his person, they removed him to the city of Trapezus, located on the Sea of Ponte, where the Genoese had a trading post. There they left him until the galleys returned. This maneuver was wisely planned, because they took the Catalan ships to Perea, but were not forced to turn over any prisoners to the Greeks, or sell any of the goods they had captured, even though the emperor received them with affection and honor.

Andronicus attempted to deal with these Genoese in the same way as he had with those who undertook to destroy the Catalans at Gallipoli, and offered them six thousand in coin. He was pleased with their work, and sent them messages to that effect with the payment. But the Genoese were wary people and alert to profit; they weighed the money, found it lacking and sent it back. Andronicus replied that he would satisfy the deficiency, but they refused, since they realised what value he placed on their undertaking, they did not accept his offering as fair pay.

The emperor knew that they had taken Berenguer prisoner; he tried to get them with threats and prayers to surrender, finally offering twenty-five thousand coins for his person. But the Genoese denied him everything, probably fearing, I suspect, that the king of Aragón would not be so happy to hear that a vassal of his, so great and notorious, should die at the hands of Andronicus. In the meantime, the Greek emperor was employing any effective means that he could, offering certain galley skippers eight thousand coins and sixteen suits of bro-

cade clothing if they could manage some scheme to deliver him; but the deal was discovered, and in order to get away before Andronicus resorted to violence, they sailed, leaving an annoyed emperor on the shore.

The Genoese were met at the entrance of the strait by Ramón Muntaner in a frigate representing the Catalans who remained at Gallipoli. He asked Eduardo de Oria to turn over to him the person of Berenguer offering almost five thousand coins, which was all he had been able to collect for ransom. But the Genoese would not accept it, either because they thought the amount too small, or what is more likely, they were afraid of irritating Andronicus to the limit by freeing his enemy in a place held by his worst enemies, who could still destroy his provinces and raze his cities for a second time. But Muntaner was desperate to rescue his captain, so he left part of the money that he brought with him, and assured him in the name of the army that he would send ambassadors to the kings of Aragón and Sicily to ask them to satisfy an insult so grievous as to imprison the vassal of a friendly king while he is under oath of security.

THIRTY-FOURTH CHAPTER

THE FEW REMAINING CATALANS ON GALLIPOLI SCUTTLE ALL THE SHIPS OF THEIR FLEET

With Berenguer de Entenza imprisoned and the best knight and soldiers who followed him dead, his seneschal, Rocafort, was left at Gallipoli with only twelve hundred infantrymen, two hundred horsemen, and four knights, who were good soldiers; the Catalans Guillén Sisear and Juan Pérez de Caldés, and the Aragonese Fernando Gord and Jimeno de Albaro, with Ramón Muntaner, the captain of Gallipoli. This was the small number of men who were defending the town, but when they heard that Berenguer's fleet had been lost, and realised that they aid they were expecting was now no longer forthcoming, they did not lose spirit, although they were aware of their certain danger. With the advent of adversity came greater courage, and they left a rare example to posterity for what should be done in cases when honor runs the risk of having the purity, which has been preserved for long years without the note of infamy, stained by an ill-advised decision.

The Catalans called a conference in which there were differing opinions. To some of them the abandonment of Gallipoli seemed imperative, and an attempt to defend it, foolish. They were in favor of sailing back to the island of Mytilene in their ships, because they could easily take and defend this stronghold, from which they could raid the seas with more security for themselves and more damage fore their enemies, gaining better satisfaction with their depleted forces.

But this suggestion was so badly received by most of the captains, that they shouted against it with speech full of threats, declaring that they would defend Gallipoli and that any man who refused to, was an infamous traitor. They were so determined that they prevented all possibility of desertion by scuttling the ships, which ended all hope for the men of retreating by the sea, and left only the avenue that they would cut through enemy lines with their own swords for escape.

With this act the leaders were following the example of Agathocles [31] in Africa, and providing it for Hernán Cortés in the New World, both of which instances are revered in the memory of man as the most illustrious that human valor could produce. Agothocles, king of Sicily, sailed to Africa with a fleet against the Carthaginians. There he landed with his people and sunk his ships, forcing the Sicilians to win or die. But he had more reason and assurance for victory; he took with him thirty thousand men, and Carthage was the only nation he was making war with. The Catalans found themselves an isolated few, far from their country, and at war with the whole Orient.

The determination of Cortés surpasses the greatest praise; for who could sink his ships and choose an almost certain death for an impossible victory in unknown provinces, separated from his country by immense distance, except a man who God had chosen to spread his true faith over the major part of the land? I do not wish to choose between his deed or that of the Catalans, because I believe that they were both so great that it would be doing them an unjust insult to look for some-

thing inferior in one, in order to prefer the other. They were all Spaniards who undertook these deeds, and their valor is to their common glory.

THIRTY-FIFTH CHAPTER

THE COMPANY LEAVES GALLIPOLI TO FIGHT THE GREEKS AND WIN A REMARKABLE VICTORY OVER THEM

After the Company had scuttled its fleet and so prevented the possibility of damaging its reputation with a retreat, they reorganized their government. Rocafort received twelve counsellors by whose advice he was to govern. These men were selected by a majority vote of the army, and they were bestowed with authority in the council equal to Rocafort's. He was to carry out the decisions made by the group as a whole.

The Company created for its official messages and letters a seal with the image of St. George and these words: "Seal of the army of the Franks who rule in Thrace and Macedonia." Wisely enough, they used the name Frank instead of Catalan, because it was a more general and less hated one, and indicated that the Company was composed of all the anti-Greek nations of Europe, it being the common cause for everyone to help them. The grandeur of their spirit was not confined to one country, nor were the Spaniards separated by it from the brave men of French and Italian provinces. Instead, such gallantry expands a man's homeland to the whole sphere of the earth, which is the common birthplace of all mankind.

The enemy was closing in on the Gallipoli walls, and settling down on the outskirts for the siege. There were several skirmishes in which the Catalans lost a few people, although they managed to do worse damage

to the Greeks. Finally the Company decided to go out and fight, risking all their strength in a battle for their lives and liberty. Such is the necessary decision for men who cannot continue war for very long.

Of the defenders at Gallipoli there were barely fifteen hundred soldiers and horsemen available for the fight. Nicephorus puts the figure at three thousand, but he writes according to the account of the Greeks, who could well have been deceived by fear to the point of doubling the number of their enemies. The men of the Company hoisted their standard with the image of St. Peter to the highest tower in the town, and made earnest demonstrations of their faith before marching out to fight. They fell on their knees, praying to the saint and invoking the Virgin. While they were repeating the Salve Regina in confused but devoted voices, the sky, which had been clear all day, suddenly clouded over, and a gentle rain fell on them until they finished their prayers. Then, just as suddenly, the cloud disappeared. The worshippers watched amazed, feeling profound piety in their hearts and accepting their victory as certain, in view of the signs with which heaven had just favored them.

That night Catalans slept without fearing for their lives. The next morning was Saturday, twenty-first of June; the Company climbed out over the walls and battlements of their city. Meanwhile the Greeks had left part of their army to guard the camp at Brachialus, two miles from the town, and were advancing with eight thousand horsemen and even more soldiers. The Company ranged its cavalry along the left flank of the infantry, leaving its right side to the protection of the rough terrain.

An old knight from Catalunña, Guillén Pérez de Caldés, carried the emblem of the king of Aragón, and Fernán Cori bore the banner for Fadrique of Sicily. Although both rulers had forgotten their errant vassals, the Company still honored them. Jimeno de Albaro carried the standard for St. George, and Rocafort commended his own emblem to Guillén de Tous.

The sentinels, posted on the towers in Gallipoli to watch enemy maneuvers, sent down the signal for attack when they saw Greeks winding their way through the hills. They closed in first on one side and then another, clashing with such fury at the first encounter that Muntaner claims that the people left at Gallipoli thought there was an earthquake. Although they had them greatly outnumbered, the Greeks could not hold out against soldiers so fierce and determined to win. They prepared to go back to their camp in an attempt to rally. When the guard they had left behind saw the broken ranks filing in, they went out to stop the enemy, but were stopped themselves instead by the incredible fury and savagery of the Catalans making a final bid for victory. At first the fresh reinforcements held the victors somewhat, because they were the Greeks' best men. But the Company shouted the name of St. George, charged in again, and beat down the Greeks completely, even taking the camp.

Umberto Palor, Basila, and the great Etruscans led a Greek retreat, running as far as Monocantano. The Catalans were close behind them, killing those they overtook without any resistance because they had left their weapons in haste. Otherwise they might have defended themselves

against the few tired and scattered Catalans who followed them. But Greek cowardice was so great that they dared not turn back to look, for fear of being wounded in the face, even though they might have found opportunity to hold their own. This must be the ultimate misery of a man, when is more afraid of injury than of infamy. Several of the Greeks died from drowning. They threw themselves into small boats along the shore, crowding so that they sank or split at the seams. The Catalans followed the little craft into the water, seizing their gunwales and attacking the occupants with knives, until they were forced to go overboard or die.

At nightfall the Company left off its chase, and by midnight they were back in Gallipoli without having stopped to examine the spoils left by their enemies. Apparently they were more interested this time in taking the lives and shedding blood of the people who had so unmercifully done the same for their friends and comrades.

The next morning they went out to collect their capture, which was so immense that eight days passed before they got back to Gallipoli, dressed in silk and gold, more valuable in those days than now because they were less common. They were laden with shining weapons, precious stones, and three thousand pack horses carrying supplies so abundant that they were not without food for many days. Twenty thousand enemy soldiers and six thousand horsemen had died, but the Company lost only one knight and two soldiers. I hesitate to record such an impossible ratio; but creditable authors have verified it in their accounts.

THIRTY-SIXTH CHAPTER

MICHAEL PALEOLOGUS PREPARES TO MARCH AGAINST GALLIPOLI. THE CATALANS TRAVEL OUT THREE DAYS TO MEET HIM, FIGHT THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE TOWNS OF APROS AND CIPSELA, AND WOUND AND DEFEAT THE EMPEROR

News of the strength and effectiveness of the Catalan arms began to put Andronicus and Michael on guard; until then they had not been able to believe that so few people could force the Greeks to mobilize all their defenses in order to manage their defeat. But after the affair at Gallipoli, the emperors decided to collect their men and march against the enemy before they could recruit any help from Catalunya or Sicily. A Greek spy warned our people of these plans and preparations. Muntaner had sent him after information with deep misgivings about the probability of his return, since several other spies of his nation had been sent out, and had never come back. He could not use Catalans for these missions because they were always recognized, even though they carefully disguised their nationality with Greek clothing and language.

When the Catalans received this warning of their enemy's maneuvers, they resolved to march out and look for the Greeks in their own land; a decision as courageous as any they had made. I doubt if such constant boldness and nobility of action is recorded in many histories, and for this reason I am afraid sometimes that the credibility of my story may be doubted. But I assure you that in this case both the Greek authors, Pachymeres and Nicephorus Gregoras, agree with Muntaner — which seems even more incredible. Muntaner claims that the main

reason for this Catalan move was their affection for the riches that they had accumulated, adding that any fear they may have had of losing them did not make them value their reputation less.

After continued deliberation, they decided to follow a more prudent and less foolhardy course. They left their belongings, women, and families with a garrison of one hundred Almugavars at Gallipoli, and marched for Adrianople. Here they were joined by an army with a firm determination of fighting Michael, even though he was backed by the major powers of the empire.

The Catalans and their companions traveled through Thrace for three days, destroying and laying waste to the countryside as they went. Finally one night they came to a place where they pitched their camp in the foothills of some rugged mountains. The guards that they sent up to the heights came back with the news that they had seen great fires burning on the other side of the mountain. Scouts were sent out who came back a little later with two Greek prisoners. From these men they learned that Michael was camped with six thousand horsemen and a great many nobles between the two villages of Apros and Cipsela, and was guarding the countryside.

Several of the Catalans wanted to cross the mountain and attack the unprepared army that very night. Apparently this suggestion was not approved for some unknown reason, since they were placed in a position where fighting was inevitable, such a venture would have been a better risk in the darkness and confusion where the scarcity of their number

would not be so quickly recognized. Instead, they all confessed and took the sacrament of the Eucharist, made one squadron of the infantry, which was flanked at each side by divisions of cavalry, and a second squadron left in rearguard to help where they were needed.

They began the march over the mountain, and when the sun came up they found themselves on the other side, overlooking the camp of the enemy, which was even more powerful than the prisoners had described. They stopped there for two hours, waiting for the main part of the army to catch up. By this time the Greeks were aware of their approach, and since they estimated that between nobles and horsemen there were no more than three thousand Catalans, they decided that the enemy had come to surrender their arms and beg Michael's clemency. They were so sure of this that they made no effort to take arms or leave their camp. But Michael knew from his own sad experience the valor of these people. He armed himself, mounted, called out his men, and ordered the squadrons to form.

The imperial infantry was divided into five squadrons under the command of Michael's uncle Theodore, general of all the militia that had come to the Orient. On the left flanks the troops of cavalry made up of Alans and Turkish-Greeks were commanded by Basila; on the right flanks were posted the most select Thracian and Macedonian horsemen, together with the Wallachians and the adventurers, under the orders of the great Etruscan nobles. Michael and his personal retinue stayed in the rearguard with the nobles responsible for his defense. His brother, the despota, Senacarip Angelo, accompanied him because he did not want the charge of soldiers under him; he was too occupied with the protection of the emperor and the security of his own skin.

Michael reviewed his squadrons and prepared them for battle. They began to close in. The Catalans, divided into four squadrons and fortified by tremendous spirit and resolution, rushed in against the Alans and Turks. When the enemy forces met the invincible Almugavar squadrons, their fury was broken completely. Pachymeres says they retreated pell mell, but Nicephorus states that the Massagetes and Greeks fled whenthhey heard the trumpet blast to charge, because the Alans had decided not to support the emperor, and the Turkish Greeks had reached an understanding with the Catalans. Whenever it was that they went, before the command to charge or after, they abandoned the infantry, which found itself floundering like a ship without mast or sails in the fury of a hurricane.

Most of the Catalan cavalry, which had been joined by the sailors and Almugavars, dismounted and continued the attack on foot. They left their horses because they found the animals useless in close combat. The remaining squadrons of enemy infantry, now free of their flanking cavalry, closed in on the front lines of the attackers with such energy that they decapitated most of the first ranks. The stronger, more valiant soldiers held their ground, but the rest of the infantry was put to flight. Only the cavalrymen from Thrace and Macedonia, stoutest and most famous in the provinces, maintained their position for a long time. They defended the one squadron that remained unbroken until the Almugavars opened their outer flank and attacked the front. The enemy cavalry suffered great loss, gave up and left their post, escaping back to Cipsela.

Michael, as valiant a soldier as he was a good ruler, saw his squadrons broken, and the cavalry in which he had placed great hope of victory partly destroyed and partly retreated. He reined in his horse and headed back toward the enemy, but his bridle broke and was torn from the mount. He stopped some of the men of his guard and mounted another animal, rushing on to encourage and help his soldiers, without paying attention to the evil omen of the broken bridle. He threatened and prayed and called the officers on the field by name until they turned their heads, charging them to keep resisting and not to lose the day with so much disgrace to the Roman empire. But both officers and men had ceased worrying about their reputations, and rushed on the commit the ugly crime of abandoning their ruler. Even his prayers and complaints were lost on them, since the greater the infamy of a deed, the more difficult the repentance. So, since his words had failed, Michael tried to oblige them with example. He realized it was a cowardly act not to risk his life for his men, and turning to the few who stood by him, he said:

"Friends and comrades, the time has come when death is better than life, and life is more cruel than death itself. Die with glory rather than live with infamy!" He lifted his face to the sky, asking for help, and rushed into the middle of the Catalan ranks. About one hundred of his most faithful men followed him and for some time put the victory in doubt. So much can be accomplished when a ruler ventures his own life!

Two men were killed, and a great many wounded. One Catalan sailor

called Berenguer had found himself on the day of the battle on a fine horse decked out with polished weapons, spoils of some past victory. He made a mad charge into the struggling Greek ranks, and because of his appearance and bearing, Michael mistook him for some outstanding captain of our nation, and, in an effort to prove his strength, fell upon him, and stabbed him in the shoulder with a knife. The sailor turned on him so quickly that the emperor did not have time to move his horse, but only to draw his shield in protection against Berenguer's war club. Savage blows wounded his face, killed his horse, and almost overcame him. Some of his bodyguard came to his rescue, and one of them offered his own horse, which the prince took to save himself, leaving the dead soldier behind him.

Although most of his people were lost, Michael managed to free himself from danger through valor and oratory, and came out of the battle carried more by the strength of his men than his own will. Several times he tried to come back into the fighting and regain his lost reputation, but he was always stopped, and finally his fortitude broke down in tears. He retreated into the castle at Apros, and the victory was declared for the Catalans.

The victors made no attempt to chase the Greeks because they knew how entire Greek armies often retreated, only to prepare to fight a second time. Pachymeres says they were afraid of ambush, and adds that this was a providential fear that prevented them from pressing the victory and capturing Michael. Instead, they were satisfied with being made masters of the field, and waited until morning to be sure that their sus-

picions of ambush were unfounded. They kept their weapons at hand all night long. When morning came, they realized that their victory had been complete.

That same day they fell upon Apros and took it easily, since it was defended only by its citizens. There they stayed eight days, allowing their wounds to heal and their tired bodies to rest. They learned from spies' reports that all the men Michael had available had joined him before the battle, and were now all beaten. The Catalans calculated that the enemy had lost ten thousand horsemen and fifteen thousand foot soldiers, in comparison to their twenty-seven infantrymen and nine knights.

Michael had retreated to Apros where he was not captured during the first night after the battle, and managed to escape to Pamphylia, and from there to Didimoto where his father was. According to Nicephorus' account, the old man was sadly chagrined that his son's person had been placed in such grave danger. He insisted that action that should be praised in a soldier or officer was worthy of criticism in an emperor; words born of a father's affection rather than valid counsel. I do not know whether or not a great ruler bears the obligation of venturing what Michael ventured when he saw his squadrons destroyed, his reputation endangered, his people dead, and his land lost. What great ruler, celebrated in the memory of his people, has not risked his life in a situation of similar significance and grandeur?

With this victory, most of the provinces of Thrace were left open

to the pillage of the Catalans. The strong, well-populated cities were left free from this common disaster, because the Catalans were so few that they did not want to attempt scaling walls in an operation that would undoubtedly cost them many men. They did take a few cities when the enemy was so unprepared that they could accomplish it without any risk. Most of the inhabitants of small country towns were so terrified when they heard of the loss of their army, that they abandoned their homes, possessions, and the wheat that was now ready to harvest and wandering through neighboring kingdoms. Pachymeres says that the fear of the Catalans increased until the people were pouring into the cities in hordes; Constantinople seemed like the sphere of Empedocles.[32]

But this Catalan victory was the cause of a horrible end for the seventy Catalan prisoners that had been held in Adrianople since the death of Roger de Flor. When the captives heard of the victory of Apros, they were motivated to attempt their liberty. In their jail room of a tower they broke their chains and rushed the door, but it would not give way. Then they climbed to the top of the building and looked around for some way of escape, but their situation was desperate. They were hopeless of getting any pity from the Greeks, so they took up anything they could lift to serve as weapons and savagely began to beat off the Adrianople citizens who were besieging the tower.

The Greeks tried to force the tower by their strength of arms, but the defenders held out so stubbornly that they could do them no damage. Finally, after many of the townspeople were wounded, they gave up trying

to make the prisoners surrender and decided to set fire to the whole tower. They started fires in several places and the building was soon burning furiously. But the prisoners kept up the struggle, throwing stones and dropping arrows until they were half burned alive. At length they said farewell to each other, embraced, crossed themselves, and leaped into the fire. Two courageous brothers of noble spirit and lineage jumped from the tower and escaped the fire, but were torn to pieces by the treacherous steel of the Greeks. Among these seventy desperate men only one showed signs of a desire to surrender, and he was thrown from the tower by his companions.

The rest of the Catalans continued to destroy and lay waste to most of the province until they returned to Gallipoli. They were rich and famous, and their numbers were greatly increased by Italians, Frenchmen, and Spaniards who had joined them to escape the furious cruelty of the Greeks.

THIRTY-SEVENTH CHAPTER

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS WITH ANDRONICUS AND THE GREEKS

The impartiality of divine justice has demonstrated itself in all times and ages, but in some years it seems more manifest in the scourges of famine, pestilence, and war. With this last disaster, Andronicus and the Greeks felt their punishment for rampant disobedience to the Roman Catholic Church, universal mother of those who rule the earth. They had fallen into a thousand sins, and for these God had permitted the Catalans to become his ministers of justice.

Added to the evils of war were the malice and family quarrels that are always of disastrous import among rulers; counsels are stymied and confused, and forces are weakened until they become a brief obstacle to the country's ruin. Andronicus' wife, Irene, who felt her grandeur and noble blood strongly, resented the fact that her three sons, John, Theodore, and Demetrius, occupied no part in the government of their father's empire, since the older sons by another mother held precedence in all the possessions. Michael was now called emperor and his brother Constantine was a despota.

Irene had used all the methods she could think of to get Andronicus to divide some of the provinces of his empire among her sons, but he paid no attention to her demands. Then she tried another angle, more compromising and dangerous for the empire than the others. She begged her husband to declare the three princes as successors and companions to their brother Michael. But Andronicus refused this, too. Finally the

ambitious woman decided to resort to her last source of power; the great love she knew Andronicus felt for her. She realized that a separation from him would increase his desire, and believed that his longing for her would be more effective than all her prayers had been. So she packed up her jewels and left for Salonika [33]. Andronicus objected strongly to her leaving, but in order to keep their intimate dissensions secret, he pretended on the exterior that he was not displeased. But Irene's absense did not turn out to be the means of increasing his affection that she had planned. Instead Andronicus nursed his resentment against her, and his love began to wane.

When Irene realised that she was losing her husband's affection, she despaired of the success of her scheme, and stopped her pretenses. She changed her entreaties to threats. She began to open relations with foreign rulers and made agreements with Andronicus' enemies. She sent for her son-in-law, Cralos, prince of the Serbian tribes, who was married to her daughter, Simonide. To this young Serb, Irene gave all the jewels she owned, as well as so much money that Pachymeres claims the ruler was able to furnish and maintain a hundred galleys for the defense of the seas and coasts of the empire. With such a division in power, what government would not be destroyed, what king would not be overthrown, particularly when faced with an army whose desire for vengeance continually drove them to victory or death?

THIRTY EIGHTH CHAPTER

THE CATALANS GO RAIDING AND TAKE THE CITIES OF RODESTO AND PACTIA

After their victory the Catalans went back to Gallipoli, where they were absolute masters of the countryside. Andronicus and Michael were so afraid of their enemies that they did not dare leave Constantinople or Adrianople. Complaints came pouring in to the emperors about the injuries that the Catalans had done in the provinces. But Andronicus shrugged his shoulders, blamed the misfortunes on their sins being punished by God, and confessed that he had no strength to resist. The conquerors had even entered Rhodope and Brizia [34], 170 miles from Gallipoli. The provinces suffered universal fear, for there was no place free from the invader's fury, no matter how distant or isolated.

The cities, although protected from attack by the strength of their walls, felt the scourge in the surrounding plains and lowlands where the best gardens were burned and many prisoners taken, who were held for enormous ransoms. Sometimes these forays were made by four or six men instead of entire companies.

One night Pedro de Maclara, an Almugavar who served in the cavalry, was gambling with his companions and lost everything in the game. He decided to go out to look for something to replace his losses, and at the same time revenge himself in an advantageous way for an injury the enemy had given him. He and his two sons mounted and rode off, traveling all the time among enemies until they got to the farming country outside of Constantinople. There two Genoese merchants, a father and son,

fell into their hands. They took them prisoners, and made them ride all the way back to Gallipoli, without being molested by anyone on the road. The Catalans extracted fifteen hundred in coin for their charges, with which Pedro repaid his debts and won reputation as a brave and clever soldier.

The boldness of the Catalans reached such a degree that Muntaner reports many other such exploits equally fortunate and remarkable. Rome had once been the capital of the world, reining in such grandeur and glory spread by her victories and triumphs, that people believed that her superiority was eternal. But the hordes of Goths and Vandals had swept down to prove how brief is glory and how false the attribute of grandeur. The same thing was now happening at Constantinople, the capital of the oriental empire where both power and piety had been promoted by the great Constantine. His strength was preserved in his successors until God's wrath brought their punishment and delivered them up for pillage to foreign nations. During this age these people, who had given laws to so many kingdoms and people, were almost forced to receive them from a handful of Catalans and Aragonese.

In the hearts of these Catalans there burned a fearful desire for vengeance for the disgraceful death of their ambassadors in Rodesto. They had heard the gory details of the story of how the Greek citizens had savagely killed and torn to pieces their Catalan prisoners. So they set out on the journey, taking even the children, who also felt the powerful passion of revenge in spite of the weakness of their age. Rodesto is located by the sea, seventy miles by road from Gallipoli. In

order to reach the city, the Catalans had to pass through enemy territory, which separated them from their stronghold. Realizing this, Rodesto residents were careless of their safety because they did not imagine that their enemies would attempt such a dangerous venture. But the Catalans considered their insult so great that they did not notice obstacles.

At dawn they climbed the walls and entered the city without any resistance. Then they set about killing people with such ferocity that even today the most terrible Greek curse is "May you suffer the vengeance of the Catalans!" So well preserved is the memory of that havoc, that the curse is still full of malice and hatred. Muntaner exaggerated the horror of the soldiers whose officers could not stop their cruelty, and who reverted to savage behavior, mutilating the bodies of innocent people, who were incapable of guilt because of their age, and even torturing animals to death because they wanted to leave nothing living in that place.

From there they marched to Pactia, a neighboring city, and took it as easilyand treated it as harshly as they had Rodesto. The officers decided to garrison these posts, since their numbers had increased enough to allow a division of their forces. Now they had people for the campaign against Constantinople, whose ruin was their ultimate ambition and the goal of all their dangers and fatigues. They left only Muntaner with some sailors, a hundred Almugavars, and thirty knights in Gallipoli.

THIRTY-NINTH CHAPTER

FERNÁN JIMÉNEZ ARRIVES IN GALLIPOLI, BEGINS INLAND RAIDING, AND DESTROYS TWO THOUSAND ENEMY INFANTRYMEN AND EIGHT HUNDRED NOBLES ON HIS RETREAT

One of the most outstanding Aragonese officers who came to Greece with Roger de Flor was Fernán Jiménez de Arenós. As we have told before, Fernán had left the Catalan Company after a quarrel with his captain. Taking the few men who were prepared to follow him, he went to the court of the duke of Athens and stayed there for some time, serving in the many and varied wars that the duke waged against his neighbors. In all of these tribulations that the small states suffer when they have powerful rulers for neighbors, Fernán distinguished himself with honorable service. But when he heard that his countrymen were in danger, he rushed to leave his certain future and risk his person to help them. He received permission from the duke to go, and left for Gallipoli in a galley with eighty old soldiers. There he was received with real pleasure and furnished with the horses and arms that his men needed. Three hundred foot soldiers and seventy knights of his former friends and comrades joined his company, and with these forces he prepared to go inland.

Fernán went to see the captains stationed in Rodesto and Pactia, and told them of his plans to march on Constantinople. Then he began the march, crossing the river that the ancients called Eatinia, and sacking and burning towns until he came within sight of the capital. Andronicus watched his progress by the smoke of burning houses on the horizon as he stood on the walls of his city. But he made no effort to send his men

out on the field; he simply put them on guard and left the defense of the city to the strength of the walls, hoping that the Catalans would be using their swords for their own ruin that day. The people, terrified by the accounts of the surrounding villages and accustomed to leisure instead of hardship, suffered grave misgivings about their security within the city, but did not try to take up arms for themselves. The Alanic and Turkish Greek mercenary soldiers, who were bound to the service of the emperor neither by patriotism nor obligation, refused to go out and face the danger, increasing even more the suspicion that they had made a treaty with the Catalan officers.

Andronicus was filled with fear and misgivings when he realised that Fernán Jiménez de Arenós with only three hundred men caused all this damage, and that the main body of the army was with Rocafort at Rhodope. He picked eight hundred cavalrymen and two thousand infantrymen of his scanty remaining forces and ordered them to go out for the attack on Fernán, as he was retreating with his rich spoils. They left with fairly good spirit, crossing the river during the night, and camped in an advantageous spot where they expected to lay an ambush for the Catalans. They were waiting in a pass high in the mountains, through which the Aragonese captain would have to go.

But the wily Catalan scouts discovered the ambush and reported it to Fernán. He told his men that they would have to go through the pass anyway, since it was the only route for their retreat. "Now, my friends, the pass is surrounded, and we will have to take it by force. Nothing less

than our lives are going to be risked here; we will be in serious danger. But these men in front of us are the same ones that we have conquered before when the odds were very unequal; their multitudes have only served to make our victories more glorious. Our victory is as sure here as it has ever been anywhere, since they are resolved to attack us. They are confident because they have the best position, but they have forgotten how our swords have penetrated the most impregnable defenses. I know these cowards whenever they have to face our vengeance!"

So saying, he ordered the Almugavar infantrymen to close in, and himself charged the enemy cavalry with his few horsemen. They fought savagely; the three hundred Almugavars soon beheaded most of the two thousand Greek infantrymen, and went to the aid of Fernán and his cavalry. Their help was so effective that the pass was quickly cleared of enemies, who had lost six hundred knights, either dead or captured. Laden with spoils and the exhilaration of victory, they marched on and came to Pactia, where Rocafort had just arrived after raiding Rhodope.

FORTIETH CHAPTER

FERNAN JIMENEZ TAKESSTHE TOWN ANDCASTLE OF MODICO

It became apparent to Fernán Jiménez that in order to assure his position, he must take some town where he could quarter his men apart from those of Rocafort, since their relations did not make it feasible for them to live together. Fernán's nobility of blood, and that of many of his followers, was more outstanding than that of any of Rocafort's men, but the latter captain was the more powerful, and Fernánd did not choose to cause any resentment between them. His men depended upon the support of their countrymen, but they preferred the security of separate headquarters. The nearest enemy town was Módico, located on the channel south of Gallipoli.

Fernán planned to take the place by surprise, but the scheme did not work. When they arrived for the attack they found the city surrounded by trenches and fortifications. The Catalan captains who were well experienced in military strategy warned Fernán that his two hundred foot soldiers and eighty knights would never succeed in taking a town with seven hundred men in it who could bear arms. But the Aragonese believed that the lethargy of the townspeople in comparison to the bold constancy of his own men would make the impossible easy. When a nation lacks courage and energy it will eventually give way to the enemy that plans to subjugate it, because neither a crouded populace nor strong walls will serve as protection.

Seven hundred miserable Greeks crouched behind the walls of their

city as though the surrounding fields were full of besigging Catalans. They made no attempt either to go out against the three hundred invaders or to interfere with their industrious efforts toward ruining the countryside. Fernán had built a catapult, and was absorbed in bombarding the parts of the city walls that seemed weakest. But the machine would only fire light stones, so that he made little impression on the walls, which were strong and high.

Next he occupied his men with building ladders and trying them against the walls, but that method was also fruitless. Muntaner was constantly sending them food, so that their siege would at least be comfortable, but Fernán was almost too busy with strengthening his fortifications and bothering the emgytto notice.

Finally, by dint of Aragonese stubbornness and with the aid of Muntaner's supplies, they managed to accomplish their object. After seven long months of the siege, the Greeks began to ignore their enemies, and grew careless in keeping their walls guarded. Their sentries became fewer and were less regular on the watch. Around the first of July the town got ready to hold one of its big festivals, joyously observed by the drinking of much wine, the vice that has been the disgrace of the Greek nation through all the ages. They drank long and deeply, forgetting that the enemy was lurking close under their walls, and watching for any opportunity to get into the city. The citizens danced and laughed and slept in the shade, leaving the walls as free of guards as they had been in the days of peace.

By this time Fernán had begun to despair of ever being able to force Módico to surrender, and on the day of the festival he was sitting in his tent, sunk in gloom and wondering what to do next. Suddenly he heard the voices and clamor of the dancers within the city, and he rushed out of the tent to see what was going on. As he approached the walls he realised there were no guards. The Aragonese captain lost no time in ordering a hundred of his men to climb the walls, and led the rest of them to attack the gate. His commands were put into action with incredible speed and efficiency. About seventy of the climbers got over the walls before they were seen, and they all managed to occupy three fortified towers within the city.

When the Greeks awoke from their costly sleep, they grabbed their weapons,csapd, incited more by wine than courage, tried to throw the Catalans out of their towers. While all the townspeople were thus occupied, they paid no attention to Fernán's attack on the gate, and no one was left to defend it. The Catalans succeeded in battering the gate to the ground, and surged unceremoniously over it on foot. Then they attacked the crowd around the towers from the rear. The Greeks fought up and down the narrow streets around the towers, finally retiring and escaping as best they could. The town and castle were left free for Fernán, with most of the inhabitants' belongings included. And so ended the siege of Módico, because of the fortunate obstinacy of the Aragonese captain during the eight months that the campaign lasted.

Of the Catalans who were garrisoned in the other towns, I find

nothing of interest to record. They were engaged in routine raids on the countryside, looking for their necessary sustenance.

FORTY-FIRST CHAPTER

THE CATALANS DIVIDE INTO FOUR CENTERS, AND MUNTANER DEFEATS GEORGE OF CHRISTOPOL

When Fernán Jiménez de Arenós had taken the town and castle ast Módico, he established his garrison and headquarters there. Rocafort had divided his men between Rodosto and Pactia, and Muntaner, the quartermaster, was left in charge of Gallipoli where the arms and supplies for the whole field were collected and stored. When soldiers in outlying garrisons needed weapons, horses, or clothing, they sent to Gallipoli for them. Merchants of all nations, the wounded, the old men, and other useless people lived there, since it was considered the garrison most secure because of its distance from the enemy.

The Catalans were sustained by this method for five years; in none of their districts was either field or vineyard cultivated, and only the natural produce of the land was harvested. Time has changed and improved this approach to making war; today the conqueror's intent is not the desolation and destruction of fields, but their conservation for his own use. To take a province simply by the ruin of its cultivation is the same as not winning it at all; particularly when its produce is necessary to the invaders if they wish to maintain themselves. But our people were not aware of this logic, nor were they ready to ease up on their severity. They had driven the farmers out of their lands , until they suddenly found themselves in such need --in spite of their victories, that the lack of food forced them out of Thrace into danger and hardship.

Around this time George of Christopol, who was a rich and important gentleman of Macedonia, was making a trip from Salonika to Constantinople with eighty horsemen to have an interview with Andronicus. George had heard that Gallipoli was now sparsely guarded, and decided to take advantage of this promising opportunity. He left the highway, and, with the aid of some expert spies, managed to come close to Gallipoli without being apprehended. Just outside the city he met up with a string of carts and wagons heading out for firewood.

An old cavalry soldier named Marco was at the head of the caravan. George ordered his men to take the carts, but when old Marco saw his people being suddenly attacked, he sent them to retreat behind the walls of a mill, and himself rode off back toward Gallipoli. The Macedonians did not stop to force the mill, but followed Marco, hoping to follow him into the town. But he knew the land, and managed to give Muntaner the warning first. The garrison was alerted to defend the walls, and Muntaner went out with fourteen knights and some Almugavars to meet the enemy. In the meantime, Catalans scattered outside had collected within.

Muntaner and his small troop of fourteen closed in on the eighty Macedonians, and fought so fiercely that George was soon on the road home, leaving six of his men dead or captured. The Catalans bore down on them until they reached the mill, where Muntaner retrieved the wood carts and rescued Marco's people. Back in Gallipoli he set his few prisoners free and divided the booty with twenty-eight gold pieces for the men-at-arms, fourteen for each lighthorseman, and seven apiece for the soldiers.

FORTY-SECOND CHAPTER

ROCAFORT AND FERNAN JIMENEZ DE ARENOS TAKE ESTAÑARA AND RECAPTURE THEIR FOUR GALLEYS

At the same time that Muntaner was having such good luck with George the Macedonian, Rocafort and Fernán Jiménez collected their forces that were divided among Pactia, Rodesto, and Médico, and marched through Thrace toward the great sea, sacking and setting fire to towns, destroying and burning fields, killing, taking captives as they went. Their thirst for vengeance never wavered. Finally they decided to take Estañara, a busy port town on the Hellespont where most of the Thracian ships were manufactured. They crossed the forty long leagues and entered the town without finding resistance, since the natives had never feared the Catalans, because the enemy garrison had been so isolated for security.

After they had taken the town, the Catalans attacked the ships and galleys in the harbor, where Muntaner claims they took one hundred and fifty vessels as easily on the sea as they could on land. They made off with rich capture, and recovered the four galleys that the Greeks had taken in Constantinople when they killed the Catalan admiral Fernando Aonés. The spectacle of that day was terrific; they changed the order of nature itself, flooding the land by breaking the dikes that held back the water of the irrigation ditches, setting fire to the ships at sea, and otherwise using the elements to administer their wrath. They exceeded all law and limit for the ruin of their oppon-

ents; the distortion was such that everything seemed to return to primitive chaos. Many perished by burning on the water; others drowned on the land. Only the four galleys were saved from the fire, loaded with spoils and Catalans, and sent back to Gallipoli.

They passed through the channel of Constantinople, much to the terror of their enemies, since they had no forces to oppose the four ships. But they moved on, Rocafort and Fernán marching toward their garrisons little by little while making forays into the land in all directions to find sustenance for their army. The natives abandoned their towns as the Catalans approached and fled to the mountains.

Andronicus realised his losses, but did not consider his forces strong enough to restore them. He set out to cut off his enemies on the road, but was not desperate enough to risk his provinces against Catalan arms, doubtful not so much of the courage as of the loyalty of his men. Such is the situation that rulers suffer who make their most faithful subjects disloyal with their cruelty and tyranny.

In the Greek empire rulers were accepted more by the acclamation of the army than by right of succession, and they greatly feared losing their positions by the same arts that they gained them. They were constantly tortured by suspicions of the subjects whose courage and good advice they depended upon, the rich, honored, and respected, as well as the daring or rebellious; they were afflicted equally by the virtues of some and the vices of others. Because of these fears terrible atrocities were committed on those suspected of disloyalty;

blinding, cutting off of ears and noses, forced exiles, and execution for imagined or pretended crimes in order to prevent any imitation or aspiration. Often the oppressed were men of whom the emperor had never been afraid. But Andronicus was a ruler of singular sagacity. During his last years he observed the daring and ability of his young grandson, and left the empire to the boy. So end all reigns and empires that are preserved and guarded for political reasons.

FORTY-THIRD CHAPTER

THE CATALANS AND ARAGONESE WREAK VENGEANCE ON THE MASSAGETES, BEATING BACK OF THE FOOTHILLS OF MOUNT HEMO

The Catalans and Aragonese could not entirely satisfy their thirst for vengeance as long as the Massagetes [35] and George, their general, who had been mainly responsible for the deaths of the caesar, Roger, and his men, were allowed to escape to their country without receiving just recompense for the outrage they had committed. As for the news that they were able to learn about the Massagetes, the enemy was apparently tired of the efforts and fatigues of war, and, with Andronicus' permission, had gone back to their own land. Here they suffered the servitude and subjection to their ancient masters, the Scites, instead of the liberty they had enjoyed among the Greeks. So strong is the love of homeland that suppression within can seem sweet, and freedom away from it, insufferable.

The search for the Massagetes was a challenge to the Catalans, and they set out for Mount Hemo which divided the Greek empire from Bulgaria. They decided against trailing the enemy into Bulgaria, because the retreat would be dangerous; the mountain passes were precarious, the paths in and out of the forest were not well marked; and the Bulgarian people were belligerent because of their friendship with Andronicus.

The Catalan captains collected at Pactia from where they planned that the major action would issue. Then, in order to mobilize more men,

they summoned the garrisons out of Pactia, Rodosto, and Módico, leaving only the Gallipoli contingent in tact. All the women were sent there under the guardianship of Ramón Muntaner with two hundred infantrymen and twenty knights. Muntaner objected to being left behind, complaining that it damaged his reputation not to go along on the journey they were planning. But the pleas of the army obliged him to stay, somewhat consoled with the confidence they showed in him by charging him with their wives, children, and possessions. In payment for these services they offered him and his men a third of the fifty that would fall their lot in the booty taken on the venture. But Muntaner's garrison considered this a small partition of the winnings that were sure to be great on such an undertaking, and wanted to go with the army. After several of his men had left during the night to join Rocafort, Muntaner gave permission to go to any who wished, since he saw that they were resolved to go anyway. He was also motivated in this leniency by a promise of the share in any spoils his men collected.

There were soon a hundred thirty-four left of the two hundred that had been appointed to stay in Gallipoli, and only seven of the twenty horsemen. But there were still two thousand women to be protected, and as Muntaner himself says: "We were Latins poorly accompanied by men, but well accompanied by women. All those from the garrisons had been sent well escorted to Gallipoli, after which their men set out from Pactia to attempt the long marches back against the Massagetes. These people heard of the Catalan plans and hastened their departure from the country. But their anxiety was no greater than their misfor-

tune; after twelve days of travel their enemies had reached the pass at Mount Hemo. Catalan scouts discovered the Massagete camp one afternoon, and found out from natives that there were around three thousand horsemen and some six thousand infantrymen, supported by countless pack animals carrying their families and possessions.

Rocafort and Jiménez went about among their men warning them that the Massagetes were mounted. The camp rested for a full day after their arrival. At dawn the next day the people prepared for battle, full of enthusiasm after their rest. The Massagetes, who were the most valiant of all the Eastern nations and therefore admired as well as feared by their enemies, took up their weapons and went out to meet their attackers in defense of the women and children. George, the general who had been mainly responsible for Roger de Flor's death, lead a thousand horsemen out to begin the fearful combat.

The Catalan cavalry took position behind some makeshift defenses of their carts. The battle soon became bloody when the remaining troops of infantry closed in on both sides. There were majestic deeds of arms that day, for, although the numbers were unequal, the courage was the same on both sides. The theater of this tragedy was a plain which extended two leagues toward the foothills of the Hemo. The cavalrymen, with their weapons destroyed, swords and maces broken, and horses dead, were forced to fight with their hands and their whole bodies. Such conditions fired some of the men with the insatiable desire for vengeance; others were concerned only with their own preservation. By this time

the Massagetes had overrun the Catalan defenses and the fighting had become close and confused.

Until noon the victory was still uncertain and repeatedly changing. Then George, a general whose banners had been honored like those of other valiant leaders, was killed, and the battle began to favor the Catalans. The losers attempted to retreat behind their own battlements, but the maneuver failed because their enemies had already gained entrance and were savagely killing them in the very arms of their women. These dauntless creatures often grasped the swords from their dead mates and, regardless of sex or age, rushed into the fighting to protect their children and wounded husbands, exposing their bodies to the finality of death.

As victory became more certain for the Catalans, the conquered soldiers began to put their women and children on horses to escape. When the Massagetes were alone they rarely thought of personal safety, and few ever looked for freedom in escape. But their natural love, which is powerful even among barbarians who scorn death, stopped them from risking the lives of their families to great danger. They scattered over the plains, some of them reaching the protection of the mountains. But the horses were tired, and the women they bore, terrified and weighed down with children they carried in their arms, did not often succeed in saving themselves. Most of the fleeing Massagetes were overtaken, and because they fought desperately against their captors, most of them died, while their women managed to escape. Nicephorus

and Muntaner agree that of the nine thousand who had taken arms only three hundred were left alive.

A strange and pitiful incident happened during the chase. One brave young Massagete realised that the battle was lost and that Catalan weapons were everywhere. He was torn between rallying his fellows to get back to the fight, and helping his beautiful young wife to escape. With the haste that the danger demanded, he charged in to bring her out of the battlements where blood and death were running rampant. He put her on the first horse that chance offered, and, grabbing another one for himself, headed out toward the mountains. Close behind the woman came three Catalan soldiers, motivated by greed or perhaps by her exotic beauty.

The husband soon recognised her pursuers as enemies and realised their persistent chase. He urged his wife's horse on by shouting and beating him with his knife handle, but the animal had already given in to heat and fatigue. Finally the Massagete decided it would be the lesser evil to leave the woman behind rather than stay to be killed himself. He spurred ahead, but his wife's tears and pleas stopped him. He turned his horse, and coming up beside her, he wrapped her in his arms, kissing her tenderly. Choking with tears, he told her good-bye, and then lifted the knife, cutting off her head with one blow.

What a strange confusion of events that could join embraces with the knife, and gentle kisses with death! Such fierce, barbaric cruelty was the result of the passion of a lover. While tender love produces

kisses and caresses, insufferable jealousy inspires only the knife and death. Jealousy had conquered the young Massagete because he could not bear that his enemies should enjoy what he had lost. The two most powerful motives in the spirit of man, love and the desire for life, had burned equally strong in this youth.

Just as the beautiful Massagete girl fell dead from her horse, Guillén Bellver, one of the three Catalans, rode up and caught her husband's rein. The young barbarian, bathed in the blood drawn by his own hand, rose up in the saddle with incredible strength and fury and struck off Guillén's arm, leaving him dead with the blow. Then he turned on Arnau Miró and Berenguer Ventallola, dealing out blows and receiving them until he suddenly fell by the body of his wife. He seemed to be fulfilling the laws of the lover, since he had sacrificed the life of his wife to jealousy, he gave his own for love.

Although the case may be dishonorable for a rational man, it did not seem so for the pagan. Tacitus wrote a similar account of the son of the Iberian king, Tarosmanes. The young prince Radimisto and his wife, Zenobia, were riding hard on their horses in enemy territory near the River Araxes. The girl was pregnant and when she suddenly began to feel the pains of labor, Radimisto was afraid she would fall into the hands of his offended enemies. He believed they would take bitter revenge on him by insulting Zenobia cruelly. So he stabbed her five times and threw her bloody body into the river. But Zenobia's story had a different end from that of the Massagete's wife. She lived and was

rescued by villagers who took her out of the river some distance downstream. They cured her wounds and delivered her to her husband's enemy, King Tiridates.

After the victory over the Massagetes, the Catalans collected their captives and loot and marched back to their garrisons, full of glee and rejoicing that they had so satisfactorily gained their vengeance. The road home was tiresome and dangerous for it went many miles through enemy territory. The soldiers traveled with their arms at hand, camping in strong places that were the fruits of recent exploits on the battlefield, and living on meals that were often bought with blood and lives.

There are some differences between Nicephorus and Muntaner on the story of this journey. The former maintains that the Catalans tried to persuade the Turkish Greeks to join them, reminding them of the times they had fought together under the banners of the empire, and pointing out that the Massagetes, in spite of having the greatest reputation, were not fair in their division of spoils and did their comrades, the Turkish Greeks, an injury for which they should take satisfaction. Muntaner only says that the Greeks thought well of their former comrades, and that no urge for vengeance was necessary for them to take sides with the Catalans. It is certain that our people had received their warning of the Massagete's departure from the Turkish Greeks, and that soon after many of them joined their forces. But they were not augmented by the whole nation, because it was not until after this over the Massa-

getes that their captain Kideco left the service of Andronicus and came with his men to the Catalans. This story will be told in its place.

FORTY-FOURTH CHAPTER

THE GENOESE ATTACK GALLIPOLI AND RETREAT AFTER THE LOSS OF THEIR GENERAL

While Rocafort and Fernán Jiménez were beating the Massagetes, Ramón Muntaner, the captain at Gallipoli, was conquering the Genoese. It was a remarkable battle which demonstrated clearly how unforeseen are the accidents of war, since both victories and losses are often neither expected nor hoped for.

Antonio Spínola, the marquis of Monferrato, arrived in Constantinople with eighteen Genoese galleys to call upon Demetrius, the third son of Andronicus and the empress Irene. Antonio spoke to the young prince's father and discussed with him the state of affairs with the Catalans still ensconced in Gallipoli. Then, with more foolhardiness than wisdom, Spínola offered to take Gallipoli and run the enemies out of Thrace, if Andronicus would arrange a marriage between Demetrius and the daughter of Opicín Spínola as reward for such significant service. The emperor accepted the terms, and pledged his word that he would marry off his son.

This done, the arrogant Genoese sailed for Gallipoli under security. There he asked to be shown to the captain, and, coming up to him, said in lofty, uncivil tone: "I am Antonio Spínola, general of my republic. I have come to order you to leave this province free and to return to your own country without complaint or delay. Otherwise we will use the strength of our arms to overcome you and subject you to our severity."

Ramón Muntaner, finding himself without forces, and being a pru-

dent and sensible soldier, answered courteously and with restraint, pointing out to the Genoese that the evacuation of Gallipoli could not be quite so impetuously accomplished. He assured the marquis that to threaten the garrison with force was outside all reason, as well as being outside the jurisdiction of his republic. He added that he had been placed in the city to guard it and that he would continue to do so. Antonio replied two or three times, challenging all the Catalans in terms full of insult. He even tried to give his challege legal tone by having it published by a notary.

Finally Muntaner was so irritated by the insolence that he lost control and boldly answered that this war declared by Spinola on behalf of his republic was entirely unjust. Swearing before God and the faith that both sides professed in common, he shouted that all the outrages, bloodshed, robbing, burning, and killing to be done would be the responsibility of the Genoese whose unjust offense they would be forced to resist. He pointed out that the republic of Genoa had no authority to require them to leave Thrace, since the country was not subject to their dominion. He declared that if the Genoese strength planned to overpower them it would soon find itself subjected, thereby learning that there is a great difference between saying and doing. Muntaner ended his tirade by calling Andronicus a false schismatic and declaring that he would eventually be ruined by Catalan weapons in spite of the bravado of the Genoese.

After this answer from Muntaner, Antonio went back to his galleys

and sailed for Constantinople, where he reported to the emperor all that had happened, assuring him that Gallipoli was the same as taken because the defenses were so poor. Andronicus, who was eager to get hold of the headquarters of his greatest enemy, gave Spínola seven galleys under the command of his captain Mandriol, who was a Genoese by birth. With these ships added to the seventeen Spínola already had, the emperor hoped to facilitate the matter in hand. Antonio embarked with Demetrius and twenty-five galleys, arriving the next day at two in the afternoon at Palomares near Gallipoli, and began to unload his people.

Muntaner boldly rushed to the water's edge with the few horsemen he had to impede the landing. But farther up the coast ten of the galleys that had become separated from the rest succeeded in putting on land all the men they had brought. Muntaner was wounded, and his horse killed under him. The Genoese believed that they had killed the Catalan leader and said aloud, "The captain is dead, and Gallipoli is ours." But with the help of a servant, the dauntless soldier escaped from their hands with five wounds. He arrived in Gallipoli covered with sweat and his own blood, much to the consternation of his men, who were afraid that his injuries were fatal. But he paid so little attention to them that they did not hinder either his fighting nor his governing. He garrisoned the walls of the town with two thousand women, placing one of his Catalan supply men in charge of each group of ten; armed them with pikes, swords, and stones to defend their liberty; and warned them to take over their husbands' courage as well as their jobs.

The Genoese found themselves masters of the field. They assembled their troop divisions, marched on Gallipoli, and began to climb the city walls, firing clouds of darts as they moved up. They pressed the assault bravely, but even more so when they saw the walls were defended only by women. But the resistance proved that they were women only in name, because they had the strength and unbreakable endurance of men. After they succeeded in beating back, killing, and wounding many of the men on the walls, the women were convinced that the natural weakness of their sex could be overcome with obstinate combat.

A second attack was organized but turned back with the same damage. Antonio Spinola was watching from his admiral's ship, and when he realised that his men were being beaten, he despaired on having enough power on land to be effective. So he led out four hundred horsemen himself to add impetus to the assault. He arrived at the walls, which he would never have undertaken to storm if he had realised how many dead and wounded soldiers it would cost. But he encouraged his men and charged bravely. The fight started again, but the women's spirit increased with the danger, even though they were wounded and covered with blood. They were so loyal to their posts that some of them would not leave even with as many as five face wounds, because they felt the honor of holding their husbands' positions and would not give them up without giving up their lives.

The Genoese fought stubbornly, ashamed of being beaten off by a crowd of gallant women. As soon as one man fell dead from the steps of

the ladder another would be there to take his place. Ramón Muntaner took stock of the situation, observing the losses suffered by the enemy; the depletion of their dart supply, the disorganization of their squadrons, due to the numbers wounded or tired and beaten by the severity of the struggle and the weather, since it was shortly after noon on a hot day in July.

The Catalan captain took one hundred men and six knights, all without defensive weapons in order to travel more lightly, and left the city to attack the enemy outside. He opened the gates, and he and six horsemen threw themselves on the sweating Genoese, already discouraged and beaten by the weight of their weapons and the heat. The hundred infantrymen followed and made short work of the remaining attackers. The beaten army made for their galleys, pressed from behind by the Catalans, who killed most of them in the chase. The ships had their land ladders dropped to receive the remnants of the army, and one zealous Catalan chased his quarry up the ladder and on board before he killed him. Many of the Genoese galleys would probably have stayed in Muntaner's power that day if he had had a few people for reinforcement.

Demetrius, the emperor's son, and the other captains still alive, made haste to put sea between themselves and the land, in mortal fear of Catalan zeal. The four hundred horsemen had all died with their captain, Antonio, on the same spot within the city walls where he had challenged the Catalan army and declared war for his republic. It had been the appropriate end for a man so arrogant as to start a war with-

out cause. His death served as a warning to other ambitious men who pledge themselves to undertakings subject to the uncertainty of war. With the burning of war and the stabbing of the sword, even what is most certain is doubtful, much moreso that which is already insecure.

The Genoese captain, Antonio Rocanegra, found the passage out of the strait cut off for his galley. He and his forty men were forced to abandon ship and find shelter on a small hill. After news had come into Gallipoli that all the Genoese had run for their galleys and escaped, Muntaner heard about the little band still left on the Hill. He took a group of his people and went down to where they were. After a short fight the refugees were all dead or beaten, except Rocanegra, who stood alone with his broadsword, dealing out fierce proof of his manliness. Muntaner watched him and was impressed by the man's courage. He ordered the soldiers who were attacking him to stop, went up to speak to him, and with great courtesy, asked the captain if he would not consider leaving the battle as a prisoner. But the brave Genoese was resolved to die before surrendering, and scornfully refused Muntaner's offer. The Catalans were annoyed by his rude reply and closed in on him, swinging their swords. The victory and the field soon belonged to Catalan masters.

The seventeen Genoese galleys did not dare return to Constantinople, although they were in dire need of supplies and were badly undermanned. But they were afraid of Andronicus' indignation and the insolence of the Greek people, so they sailed out of the strait and back to Italy, taking Demetrius with them. The other seven galleys who had

attacked Gallipoli but were commanded by Mandriol went back to Constantinople to report their luck to the emperor.

At last the word of Gallipoli's danger reached the Catalan army that had dispersed to its garrisons after the Massagete victory. They were badly alarmed about losing the stronghold before it was too late to bring help, and making haste on the road, they arrived two days after the beaten Genoese had set sail. Every soldier was filled with hatred and disappointment that they had not come in time to help with the punishment of these people who had broken the peace during their absense and attacked their stronghold when it was defended only by women. This feeling was increased when they found their wives wounded and mistreated. But the rejoicing over their victory was greater, and together they held a grand celebration in honor of both victories.

FORTY-FIFTH CHAPTER

THE TURKS AND TURKISH GREEKS ENTER THE SERVICE OF THE CATALANS

Since the Greeks and Catalans were now occupied with ruining each other, the Turks were no longer afraid of the powerful army that could be formed if the two nations had been still agreeable and united. They went back to their old course of victories and occupation in the Asiatic provinces, no longer concerned with an army able to oppose the current of their prosperous fortune. According to Pachymeres' account, by the twenty-fourth year of Andronicus' reign, or the year 1306 of Christ, the Greeks had abandoned everything in Asia -- only three years after the Catalans had left. This loss was the outstanding example of the damage resulting from the Greek-Catalan split. With the provinces was also lost the chance to crush the arrogant Turkish nation at the outset, which could have been managed easily at this time.

But now that the Turks were absolute masters in Asia, they developed an interest in Europe, and planned to spread their conquering arms into the West. For several years they were prevented in this ambition by the lack of ships which were necessary to get by the people from the other side of Gallipoli. Recognizing the present opportunity with the Catalans as Greek enemies, they sent messengers to Gallipoli to feel out their attitude and attempt the negotiation of some treaty which would allow them to enter Catalan service.

The Catalans were not displeased with the idea. They sent the messengers home in an armed frigate to bring back their captain, Ximelix,

and ten comrades to conclude the treaty. He offered to bring eight hundred knights and two thousand foot soldiers to pledge the oath of fidelity to the Catalan general. The conditions of the agreement included separate quarters where the Turks could live with their families; half of the amount of spoils paid to a Catalan soldier; and freedom to return to their homeland when they wished without any violence in attempt to stop them. When the Turkish proposal was presented, they were accepted into the service by commonconsent, and received oath that their conditions would be observed. With this business finished, Ximelix sailed back through the strait to prepare his people for the arrival of the fleet. Shortly afterward they embarked on the ships and galleys sent for their use, and two thousand foot soldiers and eight hundred knights arrived in Gallipoli with their wives, children, and possessions.

This deed of the Catalans has been severely condemned by both ancient and modern writers. They claim that the Spanish Company was the means that allowed the barbarian infidels, enemies of the Christian faith, to enter Europe; thereby staining that otherwise glorious expedition with a decision that sanctioned such an impious and detestable act by such a gallant and powerful nation. This is without doubt an unjust charge laid against the Catalans by over-impassioned and underinformed authors, both of which conditions are grave errors in a historian.

Such a decision may have lack piety, and it might have turned

out to be dangerous if the Turks had appeared with stronger forces than their own. Under such circumstances they would certainly have been able to bare their fangs and do harm to the Christians, justly oppressing the liberty of the people who had called them into their company. If these new recruits had been stronger than their own forces, the same misfortune would have happened to the Catalans as happened to Scipio in Spain, when thirty thousand Celtiberians treacherously abandoned him, because he did not have sufficient forces of his won. It is from this story that Livy wrote his famous account.

There were not quite three thousand Turks and they were inferior to the Catalans in both weapons and courage. These being the conditions it is presumable that they did what the Catalans ordered, and did nothing to endanger the Christian faith, since they were so much in the minority. Back in the times of our forefathers, the Moslems were the most loyal fighters in the province of Valencia, and their use in wars against other Christians who were rebelling was considered both lawful and necessary. It was the same situation in Greece where the Catalans needed the help of the infidels for their own defense. Could any republic or ruler under pressure of foreign or civil wars refuse to call in the help of people of different customs or religion? Often they have done so, giving access to their kingdoms to powerful neighbors in order to free themselves from present dangers, without realizing that they would fall prey to pillaging whether they were victors or not.

Sometimes a close danger is stopped by a greater one, and in

such a case when the question is of perishing ultimately in one way or another, it is better to delay in choosing assistance and look for a distant ally who will go home peacefully when the fighting is over.

If the Catalans had done what Stilicho [36] and Narses did, one enlisting the aid of the Goths and the other calling in the Lombards in order to defeat Italy and the empire, they could not have been more abused by the tongues and pens of historians. Some writers called them impious and sacriligious; others called them pirates, which is the name for the common pestilence of the people, men without law, reason, or God.

All this was brought on because the Catalans accepted the Turks. But when the case has been fully investigated and understood, it becomes apparent that there is no cause even for light blame, much less such accusations full of insolence and insult. When men are a thousand miles from their homeland and have suffered the deaths of their captains and ambassadors, they are forced to a point of taking violent means for their own preservation. When these people were in the wrong, your writer is able to judge the case with moderation.

There is also some disagreement concerning the date when the Turks joined the Catalan forces. Nicephorus states that they came before the battle of Apros when Michael was preparing to march against the Spaniards, and adds that there were only five hundred. But I discredit this account because Muntaner contradicts it both in the matter of the date and the number of the people. Although Muntaner was

Catalan and prejudiced against the acceptance of the Turks, his story is an eye -witness relation and should be given more credit. During the course of his history, Muntaner often describes stories against the people of this nation, freely condemns their evil doings, and expresses his disbelief in any good remarks that other historians make about them. Because of this attitude it seems improbable that he would overlook a mistake of four years in the arrival date of the soldiers he scorned.

Zurita [37], who continues the chronicle by Berenguer de Entenza, also differs from Nicephorus when he claims that Berenguer himself enlisted the Turks after he found out about the death of his ambassadors. He says that fifteen hundred went to Gallipoli at that time and offered him their pledge of fidelity.

I also discount this relation, because it seems impossible that all this could have happened during the fifteen days that Berenguer was resting in Italy after he was declared enemy of the empire. Zurita says he summoned the Turks who were in Asia, made an agreement with them by which they would join him with fifteen hundred horsemen, and received them after they sailed and came to him to swear fidelity. These arrangements, even though managed with the utmost speed, could hardly be finished in fifteen days.

Muntaner clearly states the truth in regard to the time that the Turks joined the Catalans. It was four years after the beginning of the expedition. This can be accepted as a certainty because there are no

difficulties or impossibilities to explain away as there are in the case of Nicephorus and Zurita. Therefore, as far as affairs of the Turks are concerned, I will stick to Muntaner as my authority, since he seems to be nearer the truth because of his personal attendance on all these campaigns.

During this same period the Turkish Greeks who were in the service of the emperor rebelled. They tried to hire themselves out for wages or force the countryside dwellers to contribute to their support, but they were too few to be successful. So they asked the Catalans for permission to join their company. Their answer was that they could come safely under the same conditions that the Turks did, with more privileges, because they were Christians.

Almost a thousand fine horsemen came to swear fidelity under the same agreement that the Turks made, and were placed under the command of Juan Pérez de Caldés. Since the Alans and the Turkish Greeks had left his service, Andronicus found himself without any foreign militia and was so lacking in soldiers that he had no forces to stop anyone who led an attack on any of his provinces. This strength that the emperor lost Rocafort gained, for both Turks and Turkish Greeks recognized and respected him as their supreme chief. Feeling secure in the devotion and obedience they showed him, the Catalan became proud and hateful, governing all with insolence and absolute power.

FORTY-SIXTH CHAPTER

WHAT HAPPENED TO BERENGUER DE ENTENZA FROM THE TIME OF HIS IMPRISONMENT AND LIBERATION TO HIS RETURN TO GALLIPOLI

The Catalans were considerably reinforced by the new arrival of the Turks and Turkish Greeks, as well as by the addition of many Spaniards who came out of concealment in various places throughout the empire, where they had been merchants or people posing as other nationalists. Since the army had won credit for so many victories, everyone vied for its friendship; some motivated by a desire for vengeance, but most by greed. They wanted to share in the riches that which the fame of the army had spread news everywhere.

About this same time Berenguer de Entenza was freed from his long, tiresome imprisonment, and began wandering through the courts of all the princes of Europe, spreading the story of the Catalan expedition. Finally he arrived in Gallipoli with one ship and five hundred worthy men. His appearance somewhat disturbed the peace and quiet of the Company, since with it the old rivalry for the government was raised between him and Rocafort. But before we explain the cause and effects that one side or the other had for this competition, it would be well to give a detailed relation of what had happened to Berenguer from his imprisonment to his return.

When the Genoese galleys that held the Catalan captain prisoner came back through the strait of Gallipoli on their return from Trupezus, Ramón Muntaner, by order of the rest of the officers of the army, tried

to rescue him. But he failed. Then he and his men were sure that when the fleet docked at Genoa, Berenguer would be freed and given compensation in addition, because he was the officer and subject of a friendly king. But it did not go as they expected. Although the republic well realized the unpleasant situation, they neither punished their own general nor awarded freedom and indemnity to Berenguer. Instead of punishing the crime, they apparently approved.

When the Catalans of Thrace heard how Berenguer was being held in a prison unworthy of his nobility, without any noticeable move toward giving him his freedom, they decided by common consent to appear before King Jaime of Aragón and ask him to use his authority to interpose for their countrymen with the republic, since they did not have the strength of arms to force it. For this job they appointed García de Vergua, Pérez de Arbe, and Pedro Roldán, all of the Council of Twelve, as ambassadors.

These three arrived in Cataluña and delivered their message to the king. They described the wrong done them when their captain Berenguer was taken captive while under the protection of word, and how he was still held prisoner. They asked him in behalf of all the Company to forget any past quarrels he had with them and give prompt attention to their petition. They threw themselves at his feet, begging for clemency.

After this demonstration, they gave the king a detailed account

of their victories and of the present state of affairs of their own and the empire's. They assured him that he could be master of the entire empire is he would provide them with the necessary aid, since the provinces were now defenseless and vulnerable to the weapons of anyone who attacked them. They promised to carry his banner as one of their major emblems, and to promote his crown until his name was obeyed in the most remote corners of Europe and Asia, at the cost of their own sweat and blood.

The king answered that he would certainly show his favor by using his authority and contributing supplies in behalf of such good vassals, since it was so important, and particularly since it involved Berenguer de Entenza who was one of his best men. But he excused himself from giving any further help by referring them to his brother King Fadrique of Sicily, saying that it would be more appropriate for him to handle the case since his kingdom was much closer. He pointed out that it would be very difficult for Cataluña to sustain Greek provinces even if they did win them. But he approved the messengers' cause anyway.

With this errand done, the three ambassadors left for Rome to present their case to the Pope. They told him that they had the opportunity of reducing the empire of Greece to his obedience if he would provide them with some substancial assistance. They suggested that it would be of great help if he would concede the investiture to King Fadrique with a representative of Santa Sede, so that they could

legally make the expedition under his command. Or they asked him to declare a crusade to encourage people to join them or make contributions. But the Pope did not take kindly to their suggestions nor make any attempt to help them, since he had important problems of his own. One of these was the fear that the name of the House of Aragón would not be glorified by this undertaking.

In order to fulfill his promise, King Jaime sent a message to the republic of Genoa, telling them that he was greatly offended at the imprisonment of Berenguer, one of his greatest vassals, and assuring them that their action was in direct opposition to the attempts for general peace that the Pope had been making. He asked them to free Berenguer and give him satisfaction for the wrong he had suffered; otherwise he declared he would be forced to make some demonstration. The republic decided to obey the king's orders and sent him an explanation of the incident, claiming that their general, Eduardo de Oria, had been forced into his treatment of Berenguer by a riot among the galley crews, which the general and his captains had not been able to stop until they put their demands into action. They assured the king that they were now in a position to free the Catalan, and they named eleven people that they were sending to whatever place the king desired to discuss the matter of reparations to Berenguer for the loss of his galleys and his imprisonment.

With this favorable response the king sent his ambassadors, and the republic matched them with as many of their own representatives.

There was such strong feeling among the Catalan deputation that the Genoese general had wronged one of their men, although he was not entirely to blame, that the Genoese ordered Berenguer to be returned to Sicily and what they had taken from him to be restored.

Then the Genoese sent a message back to the king begging him to order the Catalans of Thrace to leave the company of their Turkish recruits and abandon the provinces with which the republic of Genoa carried on most of its trade, since they were continually suffering from the raiding forays that went on there. The king replied that he would first find out if Berenguer had been satisfied. By this time the Catalan was free and the king's deputies had gone to Montpellier, the place designated for the discussion of the reparations. The republic had sent Señorino Donsalli, Meliado Salvagio, Gabriel de Sauro, Rogerio de Savignano, Antonio de Guillelmis, Manuel Cigala, Jacomo Bechamo, Rafo de Oria, Opisino Capsario, Guidero Pignolo, and Jorge de Bonifacio, all of their council.

Those were the men who met with the king's deputies and became entangled in many long discussions and proposed agreements. The Pope's injunction for peace had little influence on them and they never took any opportunity to reach a conclusion. Finally the meeting was dissolved without arriving at any compensation for Berenguer. Apparently the whole idea of the meeting for reparations, so courteously presented by the Genoese, had been to oblige the king to consider their request for a check on the Catalans who were endangering their trade routes.

This problem they were finally able to adjust on friendly terms.

But meantime Berenguer despaired of ever receiving his recompense. He went to the king of France and a second time to the Pope to ask help for the Catalans in Thrace, offering the same proposition that the three ambassadors had. But neither the Pope nor the king would grant him anything, and he was forced to go back to Catalunña. There he sold part of his possessions and collected five hundred men, all well known people, and sailed in a large ship for Gallipoli, leaving the peace of his household to help his former comrades.

FORTY-SEVENTH CHAPTER

BERENGUER DE ENTENZA AND BERENGUER DE ROCAFORT SPLIT THE COMPANY INTO FACTIONS

When Berenguer de Entenza returned to Gallipoli, he expected to resume the command he had held before being taken prisoner. But Berenguer de Rocafort explained to him that things had changed, and he no longer had responsibility for any but the men he brought with him, since the others already had a general. Both men became heated in the discussion, each one claiming the right to supreme authority. The friends and allies of each threatened each other impudently, promising to make the other side obey by force of arms. The entire army was soon split by this rivalry with disorder everywhere approaching the point of a break, because of the talk that passed from mouth to mouth. In some cases they almost broke into hand fighting, for there were always men among them eager to hurt an enemy or uphold a friend.

Both sides presented their arguments with well-founded reasons. Berenguer's men said that before his imprisonment he had been the first general to attackthe provinces successfully, and that he had lost his position through the treachery of the Greeks rather than through any failure of his own ability. They pointed out that relief from his command was no just appreciation for the captivity he had suffered because he was their general, a position which had been offered to him as an honor that he had been reluctant to accept. It seemed unfair that through misfortune he should lose his honor that he had gained with valor.

They observed how he had sold part of his possessions to help out his comrades as soon as he was free. Finally they added the crowning argument that was most offensive to Rocafort; the great difference in the two men in quality, bearing, and lineage. Berenguer was of ancient nobility; Rocafort was a private knight. The former was courteous, liberal, and agreeable; the other was harsh, avaricious, and insolent.

But the men of Rocafort's side pushed his claim with arguments that were also worthy of consideration. They said he had governed for six years as supreme chief, taking control when the Catalan cause seemed lost everywhere, and restoring their strength by the force of his own industry and valor. They declared that his nation had become the most powerful and respected in all the Orient during his time, and insisted that it would be the height of injustice to deprive him of his government at a time of prosperity. Rocafort had brought his people through periods so depressing that they often preferred death as the least of the evils they expected. His side believed that the first fruits of a man's labors should be enjoyed by the one who had suffered and not by a usurper, no matter how great and noble he was. The argument was ended with the complaint that it would be a grave outrage to take away the command of this man who had added to their reputation with so many remarkable victories and spared his people from the miserable death that had haunted them to the point of certainty.

The case was discussed on one side and another until the people almost came to an open break, referring the settlement of their dis-

agreement to their weapons. Many times there was nearly a battle, all for the lack of a judge to decide the case for them. Since the Company was divided into two camps, each of which felt their devotions and obligations strongly, no one was able to govern or control for the common welfare. However, as always, there were a few well-intentioned people who placed the public good above their own individual interests. These men expressed themselves as neutral and offered their services to bring agreement among the others. Such a position is always dangerous when the public is divided into factions; when a man is not considered a friend under such circumstances , he is usually hated among the enemies of first one side and then another.

Berenguer de Entenza's side would certainly have been lost if they had not used the means of mediators to prevent the other side from taking arms. Rocafort had a great many more people; not only most of the Almugavars, but all of the Turks and Turkish Greeks who continued to obey him blindly since they had placed their fidelity at his hands. Even though Berenguer had much fewer men than Rocafort, he was the best man. It seems that in those days the fewest number always went to the best.

The mediators finally persuaded Rocafort to let them arrange an agreement. They asked him to relax his judgment and to relinquish the claim to his rights to a jury of twelve counsellors from the Company, explaining to him the general disaster that would be suffered at an open break in the army. They told him that even if he succeeded in

destroying the entire opposing faction with few losses among his own men, he would still suffer an irreparable loss because he would be left without the forces necessary to ward off the enemies who were all around them. They said that he would gain no individual credit by coming to arms, but would only damage the glory of his nation. They pointed out that his name would be much more honored if he conceded his command to Berenguer than if he beat him. At last Rocafort was convinced, realizing the impending danger, and believing that he could easily persuade the twelve counsellors to take his side.

The twelve judges came to the decision that Berenguer, Rocafort, and Fernán Jiménez would each govern his own men separately, and that every soldier would have the right to serve under the government he preferred. Without this settlement, there would have been useless violence between the sides. In this case it was the only certain course to follow; if one man had been named captain general over his rival and competitor, the other would have chosen death to such subjection. Besides this, the twelve counsellors did not have the authority to set up a commander over both factions, since they were only serving as mediators between the two.

On the surface things became much quieter. But the men continued to harbor secret animosities and suspicions, hoping for a chance to take revenge for the injuries which they imagined the other side would have done them. Every man who did not receive exactly the position he had desired considered it a grievance. So often great undertakings are

made impossible by the rivalries of the men who command, when there is no ruler great or powerful enough to punish the insolence of the daring and ambitious. Because of this situation, the malicious always make an issue from any fortunate or unfortunate incident when an enterprise is begun, and the malcontents launch out with great daring until good men are obliged to defend themselves. Finally there are so many intrigues of suspicion, envy, and hatred that it is impossible for an honest man to disentangle himself. For this reason, the expedition of the Catalans and Aragonese was peculiarly remarkable because they had avoided such danger for eight years.

When Godofre made his expedition to the Holy Land, one of the most glorious journeys referred to in the histories, he was threatened by the danger of internal dissentions from the outset. There were the rivalries between Tancred and Balduin and between Bohemod and the Count of Tolosa. There are always some men on any expedition who are more motivated by their own ambition than by the piety and devotion that is supposed to be the principal reason for the undertaking.

Fernán was free to separate himself and govern his own men according to the agreement, but he did not wish to leave Berenguer. He did not believe that he would be sacrificing his own pride to serve a man who was equal to him in blood and older in years. Also his men were few and afraid of Rocafort's aggressiveness. So Berenguer and Fernán united their forces and became generally more feared and respected.

FORTY-EIGHTH CHAPTER

ROCAFORT ESTABLISHED HIS CAMP AT NONA AND BERENGUER GOES TO MEGARIX. TICIN JAQUERIA, THE GENOESE, TAKES THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF FRUILLA WITH WITH THE HELP OF THE CATALANS

Although open disagreements were over and everyone seemed to be at peace again, neither faction of the army was very sure of the other, and they continued to be full of suspicions. Hatred developed between the two camps which prevented any real attempt for harmony. Since every man had been obliged to enter the service of one captain of the other, there were no longer any neutrals or mediators to decide questions that came up for jurisdiction. Danger made them draw apart when old arguments did no longer.

Berenguer moved his men to a site above Megarix, and Rocafort left for Nona, which was seventy miles from Gallipoli and thirty from the other camp. The distance still seemed short because the men were stirred up, particularly those in Rocafort's section, since there were more of them and they felt disgraced that the others dared compete with them. The Turks, Turkish Greeks, Almugavars, and some knights followed Rocafort; the Aragonese and all the noblemen who had served on the sea were with Berenguer. Because of his office as quartermaster, Muntaner had to stay at Gallipoli and so did not have to declare himself on either side. For this reason, he was the only man left who had the confidence of both sides.

About this time a young Genoese named Ticin Jaqueria, who was

former governor of the town and castle of Fruilla, came with a ship of eighty oars to join the service of the Catalans. He came because he wanted their help in getting revenge for a grievance against his uncle, Benito Jaqueria. Ticin told them that he had ruled Fruilla in his uncle's name with care and loyalty for five years, after Benito had inherited the place from another uncle. But the youth had some disagreements with his uncle over stories that had been carried to the older man about Ticin's government. After Benito went back to Genoa, Ticin got word that he was sending four galleys to seize Fruilla and his nephew. The young Genoese felt the insult strongly and wanted to avenge himself, but he did not have the forces that he would need to sustain himself alone if he were to take over the castle. If he threw out his uncle's friends, he did not have enough men left who he could trust. So he went to Gallipoli, hoping to get the help he needed from the Catalans.

Ticin could not find the generals of the Company, so he went to Muntaner and told him his problem. He promised to serve the Catalans with fidelity. Muntaner entered him and ten armed horsemen on the Company books in order that they would receive their share of the profits. It was the quartermaster's custom to list some knights and the more outstanding men as having more people than they actually brought with them in order to offer them a special advantage.

Then Ticin offered to place the town and castle in Muntaner's hands if he would give him some men -- an investment which he was sure would realize fine profit. The Catalan did not consider whether the

deal was responsible and just; he only considered the fact that a man had asked his aid and placed himself under his protection. He issued him horses, weapons, supplies for his fifty men, and more people to help him in the undertaking. Muntaner was a mortal enemy of the Genoese and wasted no opportunity to do them some damage. He trusted the assistance for this young man to his cousin Juan Muntaner and four of his Catalan counsellors, warning them not to do anything without Ticin's opinion.

The day after Palm Sunday the expedition left in a well armed galley and four smaller ships. They sailed on to the castle at Fruilla, arriving the night before Easter. The boy Jaqueria, smarting under his grievance, carried out his plan smoothly. He unloaded his people and set the ladders of the walls in the silence of the night. Daylight came and the townspeople discovered their presence in time to defend the gate. But the attackers fought fiercely and managed to take the gate from the inside; they threw it open to those who were still outside. Five hundred men without either arms or determination defended the castle with a resistance that was tough at first, but almost one hundred and fifty of them died. Some of them were taken captives, but most of them escaped. After the castle was taken, the almost defenseless Greek village was set upon before the natives had time to prepare any resistance or hide their belongings.

The spoils were rich. Not only did Jaqueria's men find plenty of gold, silver, and precious clothing, but they also came upon three

ancient relics that had been pawned to Benito Jaqueria by the Turks. Tradition had it that the relics were originally left in the tomb of Saint John the Evangelist, whose legends have already been related. One of them was a piece of wood from the cross of Christ at the part where he had rested his head. Muntaner reports that the saint always wore this relic hanging from his neck as long as he lived. It was set in a beautiful mounting of gold, inlaid with valuable stones and accompanied by a white gown, worked by the hand of the Virgin and worn by Saint John when he said mass, and a copy of the Revelations written by the saint himself and bound with a magnificently rich cover.

Juan Muntaner and Ticin Jaqueria realized that Fruilla was far from any garrison that could maintain it, so they decided to dismantle and abandon it. The Genoese was satisfied with his revenge and the soldiers with the gold they had appropriated, so they went back to Gallipoli and gave Muntaner and his men their share of the spoils. Of the relics, the Catalans took the wood from the cross which would eventually have reached the kingdoms of Spain, if they had not been unfortunately robbed of it later in the Black Sea. Encouraged by this past success, Ticin Jaqueria decided to attempt an enterprise to find himself a permanent location. Muntaner gave him some men to help in this undertaking also, and a little later the young Genoese took a castle on the Island of Tarso. He held this place, much to the advantage of the Catalan nation, as we will see later.

FORTY-NINTH CHAPTER

KING FADRIQUE SENDS PRINCE FERNANDO, SON OF THE KING OF MALLORCA, TO GOVERN THE ARMY AT GALLIPOLI IN HIS NAME

Soon after the Catalans had gone their separate ways to Megarix and Nona, Prince Fernando, the son of the king of Mallorca, arrived in Gallipoli with four galleys. He was sent by King Fadrique of Sicily, who had decided that it was important to the glory of his house to place someone with his own hand to rule the Catalans of Thrace. They had pledged their fidelity to Fadrique himself five years before, but he had not been able to help them when they were hard pressed, and he was not sure they would accept his name without any difficulties.

The young prince took this new responsibility solemnly, gave his pledge that he would contract no marriage in France without his uncle's consent, and promised that he would govern the Catalans in his uncle's name. The rulers of the House of Aragón were so impressed with the successes of their countrymen when they realised that they had grown even stronger than the Greek empire, that they were anxious to keep them in obedience to their own kings, even though through the agency of a prince. Fadrique was a man of singular prudence and a past master at the art of reigning. He had avoided risking his reputation on Catalan arms when he believed they were lost. Neither would he declare himself an enemy of Andronicus, until he was sure the emperor was without forces to defend himself. But the situation had turned out to be so different to what the king expected, that his former determined stand did not leave

him in as good a position as he would have had if he had helped them when they needed it.

The people in Gallipoli were quite happy at the arrival of the prince, particularly Muntaner who was an ardent servant of the House of Aragón. Although there were not many people there, everyone at the town accepted Fernando as a lieutenant of the king without any questions, and were delighted to be the first to receive him. They sent messengers to Berenguer, Rocafort, and Fernán Jiménez to let them know of the prince's arrival, and sent them the letters from the king that explained how Fernando was to govern in his name. Muntaner gave the young man fifty horsemen for his service and more pack animals to use for his household. And then, because his lodging was among the best in Gallipoli, the patriotic quartermaster moved out and gave it to the prince.

Berenguer was at Megarix, thirty miles from Gallipoli, when Muntaner's two riders came with the news of the prince's arrival and the letter from the king. He left immediately with a few men and got to Gallipoli the first of the captains, welcoming the prince and swearing to accept him as his supreme chief. Fernán Jiménez de Arenós followed shortly after Berenguer. The two noblemen welcomed this change because they were less powerful and still feared Rocafort. With the coming of the prince they hoped for peace between the towns and the respect that was due their merit and lineage. The general joy spread from Berenguer's camp to Rocafort's people. Here the captain was somewhat agitated by the untimely arrival of a new contender, and probably would have refused

his obedience if his men had not demonstrated such approval for the prince. Rocafort found himself in a perturbing situation; he was a man of wisdom and foresight in all his decisions, but in spite of all his shrewdness, this was a development that had never occurred to him to fear. After consulting with his intimates on the matter, he decided that it would be most appropriate to be very happy about the prince's coming. He sent the young ruler a message to the effect that he shared everyone's joy, but that his camp was so far from Gallipoli that he did not dare leave it to come offer his obedience. Therefore on behalf of his people, he begged Fernando to come to Nong where they were eagerly waiting for him. So saying, he sent his reply to the prince, and then set to work discussing the situation with his relatives and confidants until they were all disposed to accept his opinions.

When Rocafort's message came back to Gallipoli, Fernando did not want to make up his mind until he talked it over with Berenguer and Fernán, as well as the other captains who he trusted and who knew something of Rocafort's schemes. They agreed that delay was dangerous, and advised the prince to go before the army's enthusiasm for his arrival could cool off and Rocafort would have time to finish his plans for avoiding service to the king and obedience to the newcomer.

So the prince set out, accompanied by most of the men of Berenguer and Fernán Jiménes, although their captains had decided against going. They realized that it would not be tactful for Fernando to appear before Rocafort for the first time, flanked by his two bitter

rivals before the prince had an opportunity to gain the recalcitrant officer's good will. The two noblemen deferred their visit until the prince would judge it a more suitable time, after his authority was established and they were in a position to make friendly gestures.

FIFTIETH CHAPTER

ROCAFORT MANAGES BY HIS SCHEMES TO EXCLUDE THE PRINCE FROM THE GOVERNMENT

Prince Fernando left Gallipoli as well accompanied as possible, with his escort entrusted to Muntaner's hand-picked captains. After three days travel over the coast road, he reached the camp where he was welcomed by universal rejoicing, and entertained royally by Rocafort for the few days that he stayed to discuss his uncle's orders. The prince had hoped that Rocafort would accept the government without necessity of his return a second time to reestablish control. But he soon saw that the Catalan was shying away from obedience to the king, and not eager to reach an understanding. Fernando gave him the letters that the king had written to the Company, explaining the purpose of his nephew's coming, and ask that he call a general council to hear them. Rocafort obeyed affably and announced that he would call a council the following day.

Fernando was only planning to stay at Nona a few more days, so Rocafort hastily contacted his intimates in the camp to spread the word that it would be wise to consider the matter prudently before accepting the young prince as king, and that at least the decision should be postponed temporarily. He acted carefully because he was afraid that the Company might see Fernando and acclaim him king on the spot. But the suggestion for the council was acceptable to everyone. The ignorant common man rarely realizes underlying intentions; therefore Rocafort

managed to continue with the plan.

The next day the milling mob of the general council, which consisted of every man listed on the payroll, collected in the field to wait for the prince. He appeared in the company of several members of his household and the Catalan captains. He handed the letters to a secretary and asked them to be read aloud. When they were read, Fernando talked briefly to the men, explaining how King Fadrique had been impressed with their plans for the future, about which he had learned from their ambassadors who had come to swear fidelity to him. Although the Sicilian ruler had not been in a position to contribute to their defense, he did wish to show his affection for them by subordinating his affairs to theirs. For that reason he had ordered that they be governed in his name, and offered his help when they needed it again. The Company replied, according to Rocafort's interpretation, they they would think over his offer carefully and give him andanswer later. Fernando left the field and went back to his lodging.

Rocafort stayed with his men, feeling a little uncertain about the decision that so many people arguing together might make. He was uneasy about some of the knights, who, even though they were his friends, might be in favor of a consolidated government headed by the prince. So he suggested to the crowd that the case should be discussed by a few less people, since the multitude only brought confusion. There was so much noise that it was hard for anyone to consider the angles on such an important question. Out of the mob he selected

fifty men, those in whom he had the most confidence, and asked them to discuss and think over the advantages and disadvantages of the matter, making a resolution which they would present to the rest of the people. In this way the army would have complete freedom to condemn or approve the decision, and yet the inconveniences of discussion among so many could be avoided.

Rocafort took for granted the tendency of the common man to follow a captain that he trusted in any opinion, whether wise or foolish, because he is governed more by will than reason. When he chose fifty men to discuss their problem with him, they did not consider how much simpler it is to bribe fifty men than a great croud. A long step in Rocafort's plan was accomplished when he took out the fifty, for the few that we not hand-picked he thought he could persuade easily, not so much because they lacked arguments for their own point of view, but because Rocafort could be so forceful in maintaining his own. The limited council met with their captain who made them the following speech.

"Friends and comrades, the arrival of our prince has been one of the most fortunate events that we could desire. He has been sent by the powerful hand of the king who has always stood behind us, much to the increase of our reputation and the discouragement of our enemies. Our troubles are over and our contentment can be complete if we accept this prince, for we have this personal pledge of our kings, to whom we can safely surrender our lives and liberty. But our security will be more complete if we take Fernando, not as the lieutenant of his uncle

as he desires, but rather as an absolute ruler in his own right, free from any subjection or dependence. We will be making a great mistake if we leave the election of our ruler to those who do not live among us, and are occupied elsewhere with the government of large states. We will do better to take a chief who will always live with us and share our fortunes, both prosperous and adverse. If we accept Fadrique as our king, we accept practical servitude, because he is not able to accompany us in person, and will have to send someone to govern this victorious army and the provinces we take.

"What worse could happen to us than to be ruled by someone besides our real king as a reward for our victories? But Fadrique himself will never disturb his kingdom of Sicily to come to our aid. Then why do we have to accept such discrimination? We get the labor, danger, and losses; but not only does the king get as much glory and profit as we do, he gets more and gets it safely. If we lose, we die or go as slaves, but Fadrique is free and as great a ruler as before. But if we take new states or provinces, they all go to him. Does anyone actually agree to this system when he is free to decide whether he will offer his obedience or not? Furthermore, are you satisfied with the kind of wages he got when we left Sicily? We did well if we got away with a hard biscuit that could hardly be denied servants and slaves!

"No, friends, it is not particularly convenient for us to accept Fadrique as king. It was not convenient for him to give us any help when we needed it so badly, but it is convenient for him now that it is

not to our advantage. It is obvious that he is sending us not arms, men, supplies, money, or anything we do need for war, but instead a ruler to govern us, as if we needed one and would never be able to win another victory without the guidance of his hand.

"We are not convinced that the reward for our services should be distributed through the agencies of king's governors and ministers. Such channels are always influenced more by passion than honesty, and more concerned with individual interest than common usefulness. They would treat our provinces in the same way that people usually handle property they are only temporarily concerned with. They enjoy another man's possessions in the present without any care for the future. This would be particularly true when the king is so far away that any complaints would arrive too late if they ever got there at all. And if we needed help it would probably come as fast as it did the last time we asked for it. Now it is coming, when we needed it urgently six years ago.

"So, in view of all these considerations, I move that we reject Fadrique in favor of Prince Fernando. We have with us a man who will venture his life when we do, and will be a witness, as well as a judge, of the services we do him. He will be as concerned about affairs as he is for his own, because the preservation of our lives will be parallel to his. Fadrique will have to content himself with Sicily, which we took and defended for him, and leave us his nephew Fernando. The trials of war are uncertain and dangerous; we have lost our provinces, and our

only hope is to conquer new kingdoms and holdings."

After this convincing argument, any who had been doubtful before were now converted to Rocafort's opinion. Then two of the council of fifty were commissioned to go through the camp and spread the news of the decision, accompanied by all of Rocafort's arguments. They were met with general approval and a movement for giving the prince his answer immediately. All of the council of fifty agreed, and they presented the message to Fernando.

The young prince answered as the noble gentleman that he was, explaining to the army that he had come in his uncle's name and had accepted the responsibility for this undertaking with his uncle's men and equipment. He told them that he would be failing his obligation if he did not carry out his orders as soon as possible, and that under no circumstances could he accept their offer, because he could serve as nothing but lieutenant to Fadrique. Rocafort started the rumor that the prince could not accept the offer they made him because he was responsible for some crime against the king. Otherwise, he pointed out, the prince could be persuaded to stay as ruler, if he did not feel compelled to return to Fadrique.

For fifteen days the prince and the counsellors argued and discussed the question. All the time the prince believed that eventually they would obey the king. Since Rocafort had all the Turks, Turkish Greeks, and part of the army at his disposal, no one dared change his mind on the subject. This was the way in which Rocafort's section of

the Company prevented the acceptance of Fernando as the king's governor. The truth was that Rocafort had no intention of preferring Fernando's rule over his uncle's; the wily captain did not want any outside rule. But Rocafort was a wise man and knew that he was dealing with one of the best knights of his time, who would have nothing to do with any dishonest arrangements. Therefore, he had worked it so that the army would discard Fadrique for the popular young prince, whom he was sure would not accept. And since, through Rocafort's shrewdness, most of the army declared itself for the prince, he knew they would be too stubborn to accept the king after they had once rejected him.

Rocafort had planned his strategy with care, confident that even if it was realized later he would suffer no damage, since he had the dependable protection of his Turks and Turkish Greeks, as well as his confidants, who made up most of the army.

The captain can hardly be criticized for this stand that he had taken. Even under normal conditions, a man who had led his army through so many victories and governed them for five years so successfully, could be expected to justly refuse a superior. But when his greatest enemies, Berenguer and Fernán Jiménez, had already curried favor in the eyes of the new pretender, he had little choice than to protect himself against their advantages of noble birth and secure relations with the king. Although the prince had left these two in Gallipoli because they were suspicious of Rocafort's reaction to their presence, nothing of the situation had escaped the captain at Nona.

The prince had been careful to maintain appearances and conceal his predominating confidence in Berenguer and Fernández Jiménez. These last two were just as careful in concealing their disappointment at the rejection of their new hope. They voiced no complaint at hot having him accepted by the Company. There is no situation that can sharpen a man's powers of penetration and insight like the fear of losing a position as prominent as the one Rocafort held, particularly when the man is so many-sided and experienced.

FIFTY-FIRST CHAPTER

ROCAFORT TAKES NONA BEFORE THE PRINCE LEAVES THE COMPANY, AND BY COMMON CONSENT OF THE CAPTAINS, HE ABANDONS THE GARRISONS IN THRACE AND PREPARES TO GO TO MACEDONIA

When Prince Fernando came to Thrace, the native Greeks despaired completely and came to surrender to the Catalans, losing all their possessions, but sparing their lives. At the same time, Berenguer took over Megarix.

The camp now began to feel the pressure of shortened rations, since their last ten forays into the countryside surrounding Gallipoli had left the land ruined and wasted. In the last five years of the seven that the Company had been in the province, the men had lived off the produce of the land without cultivating it, and had not even approached the orchards and vineyards except th take the fruit. Inevitably they began to feel the pinch of need, and to look about toward the other provinces where they could find food and eke out a living. This move had been postponed by the quarrels between Berenguer and Rocafort, which were still so hot that the leaders did not dare quarter their men together or join forces. There was always the possibility that the distrust between the factions would force a break. So much can individualinterests and dislikes do, that they can hinder the common welfare and make men want to die rather than live burning with their insanely ambitious pretensions.

Everyone agreed to abandon Gallipoli and the other garrisons,

including the rival captains and the Turks and Turkish Greeks. The good-hearted, unimpassioned people who served him begged Prince Fernando to stay with the army until it was settled in another province, because they hoped that his authority and reputation would help the Company to travel safely and perhaps be able to settle the differences between Berenguer and Rocafort. The prince realized their need, and agreed to go with them, probably motivated by pity for Berenguer and Fernán Jiménez who would be left in their enemies' hands without the deterring influence of his respect for the prince to delay his vengeful spirit. So Fernando decided to hang on and try to promote harmony in order to leave them peaceful and united enough to be successful, and perhaps even recognize his constant hope that they would promise obedience to the king that they had refused.

The prince met with the army chiefs and members of the council to make plans for leaving the Thracian garrisons, discussing which route to take and which city in Macedonia to occupy. There were several opinions, but most of them favored the city of Christopol on the Thracian-Macedonian border, because it was easily approachable from both provinces, and the retreat would be secure. There was also the advantage of access to the sea which could not be blocked easily as it could at Gallipoli, where the strait, when occupied by a few warships, could prevent any free commerce that came across the sea to bring help. Ramón Muntaner was charged with bringing the thirty-six ships of the fleet, among them four galleys, to Christopol with the women, children, and old people. This maneuver would complete the abandonment of all the

garrisons along the coast that had been held by the Catalans, from Gallipoli and Nona, to Pactia, Módico, and Megarix.

Together the prince and the other counsellors arranged the order of departure. Rocafort would leave with his Turks and Almugavars a day before Berenguer and Fernán, and they would continue to keep this much separation along the road. With Berenguer always a day behind, they hoped to avoid the clashes that would happen if the men camped together. They decided that they were able to make this division safely because there was no powerful enemy in the field. The day's separation would have prevented any help if they needed it, but most of the native soldiers preferred to defend themselves within city walls rather than march out to take on the Catalan army, which had already been done too often with unfortunate results for the Greeks, and more glory to the invaders.

When all the other garrisons had been abandoned, Rocafort left with his people, taking the road along the seneschal. The next day Berenguer and the prince left, occupying each position as Rocafort moved on. After a few days traveling, they began to come into the more populated part of the province where Catalan forces had never been before. But the inhabitants were terrified by the stories of the Company, and evacuated inland, leaving their towns well supplied, so that the army moved along comfortably without the lack of any necessities.

This expedition overland into unknown provinces without the security of an established headquarters or an allied ruler was one of the Company's greatest undertakings. Xenophon [36] writes the story of

the ancient expedition of ten thousand Greeks, but these travelers were always heading for their homeland, and used their arms only to cross foreign provinces. But the Catalan goal was not the rest and comfort of their homeland; it was the capture of a strong city that they had planned to attack before they left Gallipoli. For them the end of one dangerous, fatiguing undertaking was the beginning of another.

FIFTY-SECOND CHAPTER

BERENGUER'S VANGUARD ACCIDENTALLY OVERTAKES ROCAFORT'S REARGUARD AND THERE IS ALMOST A BATTLE, IN WHICH ROCAFORT'S MEN KILL BERENGUER, AND FERMAN JIMENEZ ESCAPES THE SAME FATE BY GOING OVER TO THE GREEKS

Rocafort finally reached a country village two day's journey out of Christopol. The place was situated on a plain full of orchards and waterways, and the houses were empty of people, but full of bread, wine, and luxuries for comfortable living. They stayed in the town longer than sensible, well-disciplined soldiers should have. By noon they were still there, conquered by confort and delight in the sort of hospitality that they had not enjoyed before. Meanwhile, Berenguer's advance guard had started earlier than usual, hoping to escape the heat of the sun by leaving before dawn. Suddenly, without realizing it, they found themselves right behind Rocafort's rearguard. These men turned, and finding themselves face to face with their enemies, jumped to the conclusion that they were being attacked. They grasped their weapons confusedly and rushed against Berenguer's soldiers.

When Rocafort recognized some of his enemies' men, he also decided that treachery was the only reason the other captain would break their traveling agreement without warning him first. As a suspicious man always does, he looked for reasons to confirm his distrust, rather than to relieve it. He did not consider his carelessness in allowing the men to linger until noon, and it never occurred to him why the other group could have risen early. Therefore, either because he was suspicious, or simply because he was seizing the opportunity to get Berenguer into his

hands, he mounted, armed from head to foot, and charged furiously into the skirmish.

Fernando and the rest of the captains coming up behind got word of the disorder. Berenguer rode out unarmed, except for a hunter's dart and his authority, in an attempt to stop his men and send them back. Rocafort's brother Gisbert and his uncle Dalmau de San Martín watched the nobleman ride into the fracas and thought he was either encouraging his men to fight or looking for his chance to take on Rocafort. Berenguer, the good and innocent, looked up in time to see Gisbert and Dalmau bearing down on him, and turned to say to them, "What is this, friends?" But at that moment, they each pierced him with a lance thrust. The valiant knight fell dead from his horse, unable to defend himself because he was unarmed, unsuspecting, and believed himself to be among comrades.

The fight raged on after Berenguer died; Rocafort's men lashed out with their fury to kill as many as they could of the other band. There could have been no greater cruelty than Rocafort's madness to kill and tear to pieces the men of his rival, who after losing their own chief had no choice but to accept the other leader. But Rocafort's pride and arrogance was now forcing him to make war not against his enemies, but against his own countrymen, using the aid of the Turks to cruelly finish off Berenguer's band to the last man.

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heard the Berenguer had been killed and that the murderers were out to do him in, too. With this news he took as many of his men as he could collect at such short notice and left the field, deciding quickly that it would be safer to turn himself over to the Greeks than to left Rocafort get ahold of him. He went to a nearby castle, was received under security, and later taken before the emperor, Andronicus.

Meanwhile Prince Fernando attempted to defend the tortured men of Berenguer's faction by jumping into the fight with the few armed men who followed him. But all except the prince himself died on the swords of Rocafort's Turks. Fernando's presence commanded such respect, that even after Rocafort had so treacherously killed Berenguer and his men, he placed himself at the prince's side and ordered his men to stand off. Five hundred soldiers and a hundred and fifty knights died that day, most of them men from the companies of Berenguer and Fernán Jiménez.

After the skirmish had been quieted and the fighters separated to their own standards, Rocafort and the prince went together to the center of the field where Berenguer's body was laid out. Fernando jumped from his horse and took the body in his arms. According to Muntaner, he cried bitterly, kissing and embracing his dead comrade over and over again. The grief was universal; even his enemies cried. Suddenly the prince turned to Rocafort and told him that Berenguer's death was the evil work of a traitor. The captain humbly explained that his brother and uncle had not recognized the Catalan noble until he was already wounded. Fernando was forced to accept this story, since he had

no forces to back up his accusation. Otherwise he would undoubtedly have made some demonstration.

He ordered that the Company would remain two days to bury the body of Berenguer and do honor to his memory. The dead captain was placed in the nearby hermitage of San Nicolás close to the high altar. Considering the humility and isolation of the hermitage, the tomb was hardly a worthy place for such a high born Catalan. But it soon became famous, even though it was deep in enemy territory, and the inscription on his grave is known everywhere, preserving the story of the two great Catalans who left their homelands to look for adventure, and died in the land they subjected to their courage.

So died Berenguer de Entenza, a nobleman by blood and deeds, respected by both native and foreign kings. As a youth he served the rulers of his country in Cataluña and then Sicily, building a great reputation and accumulating friends and possessions. He followed whatever road fortune offered him, winning the glory and wealth that he deserved. In Spain the captain had extensive holdings, but his generosity is declared by the fact that all of his land does not remain today within the limited boundaries of the barony that is known as Entenza now. He was brave and enthusiastic in the face of any danger, strong in fatigue, constant in decisions, and equally famous for his prosperpus or adverse fortunes. At the peak of his power he suffered a long and painful imprisonment, from which he was just able to escape and return to his men when fate tricked him again, and he died at the hands of his

comrades.

When the camp was calm again, Prince Fernando sent word to Fernán Jiménez to return to the Catalans under the security of his word. Fernán's reply asked the prince's pardon, but explained that he could not obey the order because he had given his word that he would present himself with all his company before Emperor Andronicus. Under the circumstandes, Fernando relieved him of the obligation, and Fernán collected his few remaining followers to go to Constantinople.

There Andronicus received him with gestures of friendship and asked the Catalan to enter his service. In order to strengthen the agreement , the emperor offered Fernán his widowed niece Theodora as wife, and gave him the rank of archduke that Roger de Flor and then Berenguer de Entenza had held before him. Fernán Jiménez became the most fortunate and secure captain of the whole expedition, and he alone maintained the dignity of archduke, escaping the disastrous ends that his predecessors had suffered.

FIFTY-THIRD CHAPTER

PRINCE FERNANDO LEAVES THE COMPANY, TAKING MUNTANER WITH HIM AFTER HE DELIVERS THE FLEET

While Fernando was resting at the place where Berenguer had been killed, his four galleys arrived under the command of Dalmau Sarrán and Jaime Despalau of Barcelona. He was greatly relieved to have the means of escape from Rocafort, but before leaving he decided to call the general council again and place his petition before them once more, asking them to accept him in the name of King Fadrique. But they did not accept and he prepared to leave.

Rocafort, who had been the instigator of the first decision when they were offered the same proposal, was even more powerful now. He no longer had any rivals who dared to contradict him, and it was now easy to command the opinion of the whole camp, since his will was stronger than that of any other individual. The prince got the same answer he had before, and with more determination. After this he gave up his mission and sailed with his galleys, leaving Rocafort absolute master of the Company. He went back to the island of Thasos six miles from the mainland, where the Catalans were camped.

Fernando came into the harbor just about the time that Muntaner arrived with the fleet. He told the loyal Catalan about Rocafort's treachery and the loss of Berenguer and FernándJiménez, and then ordered him to leave the Company in the name of the king and himself. Muntaner obeyed most willingly because he was rich and afraid of Rocafort.

although he had been his comrade. The friendship of a powerful but ambitious man should not be trusted too far, since such an alliance is easily dissolved when it stands in the way of the stronger man's desire or vengeance.

Muntaner asked the prince to wait for him while he gave an account of the possessions he had in his trust to the captains to which they belonged. He had most of the belongings and all of the women and children of the Catalan army. The prince agreed, and Muntaner sailed with the fleet for the beach where the Company was camped, which was a day's journey beyond Fernando's camp. He allowed no one to disembark until he was sure that all was safe for the women, children, and goods of the men of Berenguer and Fernán Jiménez. He let them go free wherever they liked. Those who wanted to go, he took to the castle where Fernán had retired. He gave them fifty carts to travel in, two hundred Turks and fifty Christian horsemen to escort them, and sent them to the castle. The people who did not wish to stay either with Rocafort or Fernán he gave armed ships and sent them to Euboea.

The camp was occupied with these preparations for two days, at the end of which Muntaner called the general council and turned over to them the seal and records of the Company, explaining that Fernando had ordered him to go with him, and that he felt obliged to obey. He told them that he did not intend to leave until he had given a strict account of all that was charged to him, and that he was grieved to leave his old comrades. But he added that his conscience would not let

him stay with them because of the wicked treatment they had given those who had governed and served them as generals. He accused them of being responsible for Berenguer's death and Fernán's surrender to an uncertain future with the Greeks.

Muntaner felt safe in making these statements because he knew he could depend upon the Turks, who he had always treated with affection. In return they called him Cata, which means "father" in their language. Even if Rocafort had commanded them to do so, they would not have harmed the loyal Catalan. The whole nation joined in asking him to stay. The Turks begged Rocafort to prevent his leaving. But he was determined to go, and since he had spoken so openly in favor of Berenguer and Fernán, he had no intention of giving Rocafort the small opportunity he would need to offer him the same treatment the others had fallen heir to.

So Muntaner left the army with a twenty-oared ship and two armed vessels loaded with the belongings of his own and his men. He docked in at the island of Thasos where Fernando was waiting for him. There he rested several days, taking on supplies and planning the navigation for the rest of their trip. Tidin Jaqueria, the Genoese who had taken the castle of Fruilla and then occupied Thasos with Muntaner's help, gave them a royal welcome, offering them the keys to the castle and the service of his life and belongings.

In this way Muntaner realised that there is always an advantage in doing a good turn; and that the recompense often shows up when it is

least expected. Although many charities seem to be lost on the people who benefit, occasionally one pays off to such an extent that the damage suffered for all the others seems negligible. Muntaner and the prince found security and luxurious comfort on the island, all because he had once helped the young Genoese, even though he himself had profited from the adventure at the time.

FIFTY-FOURTH CHAPTER

THE ARMY LEAVES FOR MACEDONIA

With Muntaner gone from the camp, Berenguer de Entenza dead, and Fernán Jiménez escaped, Rocafort was left complete master of the Company. Consequently, his will and desires ruled all the council's decisions. The decision to leave the old garrisons, attack Christopol, and make a strong position there, was confirmed among all the captains as it had been in Gallipoli. They planned to enter through both provinces of Thrace and Macedonia. At the beginning, the undertaking seemed easy because they expected to catch the careless Greeks unaware. They were going to do this by traveling fast, taking only four days on the road, and not stopping to avenge their individual grievances. This way they would not give the Greeks enough time to organize for their defense, even if they would come out for an offensive attack to stop the expedition, a possibility which seemed remote with the Greeks' lack of foresight or courage. Delay in carrying out any maneuvers in war is dangerous, and whatever haste can be mustered is useful. The loss of one day, an hour, or even less time, can mean the loss of great opportunities.

When Rocafort heard that the city was being defended, he decided to march down along the strait of Christopol on the sea side of the forest of Rhodope, and waste no time in making the attack. The next day they tramped the long, rugged way, fatigued by slow pack animals and sick women and children. The Greeks had been warned of the Catalan movements but were not able, or did not dare, to hinder their passage. They came through the forest of Rhodope and onto the Macedonian fields,

eight thousand strong. There were fighting men from many nations; a great army for any undertaking, as long as they were united by one purpose. But the death of Berenguer had made Rocafort despicable even in the eyes of his friends.

It was the end of autumn and the Company found itself in the middle of the province of Macedonia, surrounded by powerful enemy towns that had not yet suffered the destruction of war. But they had been warned by the ravages undergone in the neighboring province of Thrace, and had stored their harvests within the city walls. For this reason, the Catalans were careful in picking a comfortable location for their winter headquarters.

The soldiers explored the countryside, inspecting possible positions and storing up supplies which they bought with food or money. Finally, after raging through much of the province, they settled in the ancient ruins of Casandria. It was one of the strongest positions in the countryside because it was accessible to the sea and all of the cape. It was peaceful and fertile, watered by the many bays and inlets of the sea, through which they would be able to make an easy entrance inland. With the Catalans in this area, Salonika, capital of the province, would be in continual suspicion of danger.

FIFTY-FIFTH CHAPTER

PRINCE FERNANDO IS TAKEN PRISONER AT NEGROPONTE

Fernando left the island of Thasos with Ramón Muntaner, and ordered that his finest galley, the Española, be delivered to the quartermaster's command. With his four galleys, an armed ship, and one of Muntaner's vessels, they said up the coast of Thrace and Macedonia to the port of Almiro in the duchy of Athens. Here the prince had left four men to make biscuits for the ship supplies against his return. But Fernando found that the natives had broken their faith, confiscated the biscuits, and mistreated the men who had made them.

Fernando took satisfaction for his damage by unloading the men of the fleet and sacking Almiro until it was left a ruin of blood and fire. When they had revenged their loss, they went to the island that Muntaner calls Espol, but is known as Scyros today. He swept over the island and attacked the castle but did not succeed in taking it. From there they took the cape on the island of Euboea, and the prince wanted to enter the old city of Negroponte as a friend, because he had been cordially received and entertained there when he first came to Romania. But Muntaner and other experienced captains warned him against risking the safety of his person and that of the people who were with him, after they had sacked the towns belonging to the duke of Athens, with whom the lords of Negroponte were allied.

But Fernando did not listen to their good advice, and insisted on exercising his absolute power. He entered the city, surrounded by

evident danger and found in the port ten Venetian galleys which had been called in by Carlos of France. The Pope had given this monarch the right to the kingdoms of Aragón when King Pedro went against his wishes and occupied Sicily.

This delegation was headed by a French knight named Tibal de Sipoys, who directly represented his ruler Carlos, and had been sent to Greece to arrange new alliances and confederations. His special mission, however, was to approach the Catalans, whose aid Carlos was hoping for. He was planning to come to the East in person, overthrow Andronicus, and establish himself by his own claim to the empire.

Fernando realised that he could neither retreat nor repent his folly because such an act would surely arouse suspicion. However, he asked for their assurance that no harm would be done to him. This they affirmed with apparent willingness. Tibal presented himself; Juan Tarin and Marco Mismot, the captains of the Venetian galleys, and the administrators of Euboea followed. Fernando thought he was safe. He disembarked and accepted the officials' invitation, leaving the galleys which were his only defense, and taking with him who always accompanied him, including Muntaner.

They had scarcely put foot on the ground when the Venetian galleys attacked the prince's fleet. A crowd of natives collected to join the fracas because they had heard of the riches to be had on board. Forty men who tried to defend themselves were killed immediately, and the prince with ten of his best men were captured.

Tibal turned Fernando over to Juan de Misi, and rich landholder who owned a third of Buboes, and ordered him to take the prince to the duke of Athens in the name of Carlos of France. He told him to obey the duke's command in regard to the disposal of King Fadrique's young nephew. So Fernando went to Athens with eight knights and four squires, surrendered to the duke, and retired to the castle of Saint Omer under heavy guard. Here he remained for many months.

FIFTY-SIXTH CHAPTER

ROCAFORT AND HIS MEN SWEAR FIDELITY TO TIBAL DE SIPOYS IN THE NAME OF CARLOS OF FRANCE

Tibal seized his opportunity to sign Rocafort and the Company into the services of Carlos, and used every means at his disposal to gain this result. He had plenty of people to advise him in ways to win Rocafort's favor, and learned that none would be more effective than to deliver to him two of the prisoners he held. One was Muntaner and the other was García Gómez Palacín, one of Rocafort's greatest enemies.

Tibal accepted this advice and without further investigation sent the two to the Catalan chief in his galleys. He himself appeared at the Cape of Cassandria where the Catalans were wintering. No sooner had he sailed in than he presented the two prisoners, believing that they would be the best means to effect his alliances. These agreements were arranged, but at the cost of the blood of an innocent man. Both prisoners were delivered, but to different ends; one lost his life and the other gained his freedom.

Muntaner was honored with joyous demonstrations, but Palacín's head was cut off by Rocafort's order then and there, allowing him no more time to live than there is between an order to the executioner and death. No one dared to object to Rocafort. It does not seem altogether strange there could be found a man as vile as Rocafort among these rough men, but one does marvel that among all the soldiers there was

not one good man to hinder or cry out against such a deed, warning Rocafort that he was savagely offending his name and faith with such an inhuman execution! García Gómez Palacín was Aragonese, a brave soldier and honorable knight, the unfortunate principal defender of the faction of Berenguer de Entenza and Fernán Jiménez de Arenós.

After this deed, unworthy of any man who would do it, Rocafort rapidly lost reputation and friends. He had killed a man who had come back to his homeland beaten and unable to offer any competition to Rocafort's supremacy. His death was a manifest sign of the captain's fierce cruelty. Muntaner had been the army quartermaster as well as the chief in all matters concerning writing, and profited by winning the affections of all the soldiers who loved him like a father. Such a circumstance is a strange one; soldiers are rarely devoted to men of learning, who they usually scorn and grumble against because they suspect them of continual resting. They believe them to be deceitful and lying, accumulators of riches at the expense of the poor soldier who suffers constant labor and trouble, the heir to eternal misery.

Muntaner was met with general rejoicing and offered the most respectable lodging in Sassandria. The Turks gave him twenty horses and a thousand coins; Rocafort added a valuable riding horse and other costly gifts. There was hardly a man in the Company who did not contribute something to his rehabilitation. Tibal de Sipoys and the Venetian captains were somewhat chagrined to see so honored this man they had just robbed of all he owned. They were apprehensive that he would use his

influence to block their plans and break their claims. But Muntaner was a sensible man and not eager to stay in the camp, so he expressed no opinion, either for or against them.

Until then Rocafort had been uncertain about accepting the offer of Carlos of France, because of the respect he had for the House of Aragón. But he had come to realize that the kings of Aragón, Sicily, and Mallorca were no longer his friends since he had rejected Fadrique through the prince. So he complied with Tibal's wishes, and offered the services of the Company to Carlos. In return his men were to receive good wages and many privileges. It can be logically deduced that many of Rocafort's men forced by his violence to swear this fidelity against their wishes, because it is not probable that the Catalans and Aragonese would willingly accept a foreign enemy as ruler after rejecting their own king. And Rocafort himself would hardly have succeeded in doing it if he had not had the blind obedience of the Turks and Almugavars. His act was not treachery in his own opinion because he was not bearing arms against his rulers, but only officially leaving their service, a custom which was both common and legal in those days, particularly if the former vassal held any grievances against his king.

The change was not for any enmity, however, that Rocafort had for the House of Aragón, nor for any great love he felt for the House of France. He was simply allying himself with the less powerful ruler so that it would be easier to separate himself again when his affairs got back to the state he expected. Rumor was going through the ranks that

the ambitious captain was planning to crown himself king Salonika. There were apparent signs of these intentions, too; he had replaced the image of San Pedro on the seal of the Company with a crowned king. When Rocafort found himself chief of a victorious army, it seems likely that his schemes would be developed beyond mere dreams to become absolute ruler if his great arrogance and avarice had not put a stop to his progress just at the time when he was about to take over a title with which he could have founded and glorified his house.

It is quite possible that if Rocafort had been alive when the Catalans took over the states of Athens and Neopatras, they would never have appealed to the king of Sicily, but would have accepted their general as ruler instead. The promotion would have been a just one since he had served them as chief for so many years, through all kinds of hardships and led them with his able government into successful enterprises and victorious battles.

As soon as Tibal had succeeded in getting himself named general of the army in Carlos' name, he returned to his city with the Venetian galleys, taking Muntaner with him. The Catalans begged their old favorite to stay with them, but he well knew how little security he would have under Rocafort's regime. So he would not stay with them, even though Tibal himself added his earnest request for reconsideration.

FIFTY-SEVENTH CHAPTER

MUNTANER RETURNS TO EUBOA WITH THE VENETIAN GALLEYS AND MEETS FERNANDO IN ATHENS

By Tibal's order, Juan Tari, the admiral of the Venetian ships, gave Muntaner a galley for his own use in transporting men, clothing, and possessions. Muntaner himself sailed in the admiral's ship with Tari, who was quite accommodating and courteous. Tibal gave the Catalan letters of introduction to Euboea in which he ordered that all the quartermaster's goods that had been taken when his galley was robbed be returned. He threatened death penalty for anyone who hid spoils that he had taken.

With this auspicious start, Muntaner saildd for Euboea with the Venetians, arriving in good time. Once there he delivered Tibal's letters to the chief justice. This official read the letters publicly, including the penalty for evasion. Then Juan de Misi and Bonifacio de Verona, the other island administrators, spread the news in their lands, impressed by the letter from Tibal, who was supreme minister for the king of France in those parts.

But little attention was awarded to the announcements. They had been written only as a gesture on Tibal's part, and once the letters were read, their purpose was fulfilled. Muntaner got none of his goods back, nor any satisfaction for his losses. However, as a loyal vassal he asked Juan Tari for permission to go to Athens to see the prince, in an effort to console him in prison. He felt that since he had been

born subject to the House of Aragón, he could not avoid a duty as pressing as to visit his lord in captivity. Tari courteously offered to wait for him for four days in Euboea, which would allow him plenty of time to visit Fernando and return because the island was only twenty-four miles from Athens.

Muntaner made his journey with five horsemen and went to see the duke as soon as he got to the city. The ruler was sick at the time, but sent word for Muntaner to come into his presence anyway. He received the gallant Catalan politely, expressing his regret at the robbery of his guest's galley in Euboea, and offered to do all that he could to help him now. Muntaner explained that he certainly appreciated the honor and consideration that the duke had shown him, but that his only desire was to see Prince Fernando.

The duke graciously gave him permission and published the order that while Muntaner was visiting the prince anyone else who was interested in seeing Fadrique's nephew would also have permission to enter the castle. Muntaner went into Saint Omer freely and found the prince. When they met the Catalan burst into tears, oppressed by grief at seeing the noble youth held by strangers. Instead of offering the prince comfort, Fernando was the one who encouraged his friend and heartened him with brave words.

Muntaner stayed with him for two days, discussing ways and means of procuring his liberty. Finally he asked to stay with Fernando and serve him there in prison, but the prince would not consent. He wanted

him to go to Sicily and ask his uncle to rescue him. He wrote letters for the Catalan to take to the king, and asked him to give Fadrique eye witness accounts of all that had befallen the young man in Thrace and Macedonia concerning the matter of his being accepted in the king's name.

Muntaner said farewell to the prince and went to get the duke's permission to leave. The Athenian ruler gave him some precious jewels since he had left all his money with Fernando and distributed his possessions among his men. He sailed back for Euboea in the galleys, navigating along the coasts of Morea until they got to the island of Sapiencia. Here they encountered four galleys commanded by Rimbau Dasfar, with whom Muntaner had already reached an understanding.

The Venetians, ever-suspicious even though they lived in a republic, took Muntaner aside and asked him if Rimbau was a man they could trust. The Catalan replied that he was an honest knight and would do no harm to friends of the king of Aragón. He told them they could safely join forces and pay their respects to Rimbau. The Venetians relaxed and Muntaner went aboard his friend's galley. Soon afterward all the captains were invited to enjoy the Catalans' hospitality in complete comfort and security.

They sailed into Clarencia where the Venetian ships docked in and Muntaner changed his belongings to Rimbau's galley. In this admiral's company he went on to Sicily, arriving at Castronuevo to see the king. There he related to Fadrique the long story of all that had happened, and

delivered to him the prince's letter. Fadrique seemed considerably concerned and immediately wrote to the kings of Aragón and Mallorca to ask their help in freeing Fernando.

At the same time, Carlos, brother of the king of France, wrote to the duke in Athens to ask him to send the prince to King Roberto of Naples. The duke obeyed, and Fernando arrived in the Italian city still a prisoner. But here he spent a year in a much more comfortable jail. He ate with the royal family and went hunting with Roberto and his queen, who was the young prince's sister. Finally Fernando's father, Jaime of Mallorca, managed to procure his son's freedom through the king of France. Fernando sailed immediately for Colibre to see his father.

FIFTY-EIGHTH CHAPTER

BERENGUER AND GISBERTIDE ROCAFORT ARE IMPRISONED

After the Catalans had accepted Tibal as general, swearing fidelity in the name of Carlos of France, they maintained their post at Casandria, sustaining themselves by raids inland as far as Salonika. There the empress and her court held most of the riches and treasures of the Greek empire. The ambitious woman had accumulated possessions for her sons, so they could compete with their stepbrother, Michael, who was his father's legal successor.

Meanwhile, Rocafort continued to contrive for his own increase, without realizing the changes that were taking place in the Company. The era of his prosperity was over and his misfortunes beginning. Man can have no faith or security in the stability of human affairs, or trust power, which is so transient that it can cause either his rise or his ruin. The first great objection that Rocafort's enemies had to him was his lack of obligation to his own countrymen. Besides this, he was cruel and lustful, both insufferable vices in men who command. Life, honor, and material goods, which are the most cherished possessions of mortal man, were always in danger under Rocafort.

The general desire for vengeance for the insults suffered from the proud Catalan was hidden by fear until the coming of Tibal offered an avenue of opportunity. Rocafort showed little respect for the Frenchman, and was apparently wrapped up in his own pursuit of grandeur. His men approached the new general, sympathizing with him for his

insults, and assuring him that his treatment was common with all of them.

They told Tibal that they would help him rise from his degrading position and would punish the insolence of the man who had forgotten how to be a good governor and captain, who had used his power to transgress all laws of reason and blood relationship, and who had made his men slaves and their possessions his own. They decided that it was now time to punish Rocafort's evils and put his wickedness to an end. Since he was the supreme chief it was the only way they could get just satisfaction for their injuries.

Tibal was alone and an alien. He was constantly afraid that Rocafort's spies would report his feelings, so he answered in ambiguous words, neither incriminating Rocafort nor refusing the soldiers. The Frenchman was both prudent and skillful, and although he felt Rocafort's cruelties as keenly as anyone, he determined to follow the middle road and keep the men calm. His mission was to get the Catalans on his side, not to establish his own authority, except in what was necessary for the ruler whose minister he was.

Tibal's first move was to talk to Rocafort secretly, asking him about his immediate plans, and bringing up the dangers that were to be considered. But Rocafort was not accustomed to tolerating people who tried to interfere with or correct his plans. He answered the Frenchman so brusquely that Tibal decided he would have to resort to more violent methods. He gave up the idea of trying to keep Rocafort in

in Carlos' service without permitting his vile habits, and planned to revenge himself by relieving him of the Company.

The Frenchman concealed this decision until the arrival of one of his sons with six Venetian galleys that he had sent for some months before. The ships were ready in a few days, and, when he was sure that there were no guards around, he sent a secret message to the conspiring captains, telling them of what had happened in his attempts to deal with Rocafort. They answered that they would hold council and send him their decision.

Tibal waited. The next day the council met, sending Rocafort's message to the effect that they had important matters to talk over with him. He appeared in his usual aura of insolent arrogance. As soon as the discussion opened everyone began to voice his complaints. Until then no man had dared to contradict the captain or make an open gesture of objection.

Rocafort answered in his habitual haughty manner and sarcastic tone, expecting to crush his accusers as always. But the conspirators rose from their seats and surrounded him, shouting their accusations and repeating grievances. Finally they seized Rocafort and his brother Gisbert who were powerless to resist because their attackers were so many and so determined.

The brothers were taken prisoners and delivered to Tibal, after which the army attacked the Rocafort lodging and sacked it to the extent of the full military license that he had always taken in similar

cases. They were not deterred for a minute by the respect that they should have had for the house of a man who had been their general for so many years, defending them so often with his courageous sword.

FIFTY-NINTH CHAPTER

TIBAL LEAVES THE COMPANY, RETURNING WITH THE TWO BROTHERS TO NAPLES, WHERE THEY ARE PUT TO DEATH

Rocafort's imprisonment caused several effects. The intimates who had participated in his crimes were resentful and probably would have attempted to free him, but they realized that such a serious case would bring imprisonment for anyone who declared himself. Besides it was still not certain who were friends or enemies, which is often the case with such a sudden attack.

The Turks and Turkish Greeks, ever loyal to Rocafort, were so stunned by the change that they could not make up their minds. The Almugavars were divided; some loved him, and others hated him. But all the men of noble blood, who had suffered his insults the most, were in favor of his complete destruction.

The night that the Rocafort brothers were taken prisoners, the camp was full of noise, riot, and suspicion. But by morning it had begun to quiet down because the men knew that Rocafort and his brother were alive. As soon as Tibal believed that the enemy had become careless and unsuspecting, he stole out one night in great secrecy, put the prisoners on his galleys that were sailing for Euboea, and left the Catalans behind completely deceived.

The next morning the galleys were missed and the populace realized that Tibal had gone off with the Rocaforts. Everyone got excited.

Arguments were raised that although Rocafort was an admittedly vile man, he was still their captain and did not deserve to be turned over to the enemies who would ridicule him and the whole nation. They declared that he would be made to suffer a low, disgraceful death that would be an insult to all of them. They added that if he had deserved such an end the army would have given it to him with their own hands, and not turned the job over to their worst enemies.

Quarrels fanned by Rocafort's friends burned fiercely, and the Turks and Almugavars rose up to attack the men who had figured in the capture, tearing through lodgings with incredible fury, killing every knight or soldier there without find one who dared to resist them. Such was the devotion of the cruel Catalan's warriors that his evil dealings had no effect on their loyalty, and they could not be calmed until they had taken vengeance to their complete satisfaction.

After the riot fourteen of the captains who were Rocafort's known enemies and several of their comrades who had made an attempt to resist in the beginning were found dead. It was a remarkable situation how the Catalans, camped in the middle of enemy territory, were torn continually by civil war for three years, shedding more of their own blood than foreigners had during all the wars. Civil wars are usually the result of peaceful interludes between wars with foreigners, but this was not the case with the Company. They killed each other at the same time they were attacking the enemy.

Meanwhile Tibal arrived in Naples with the Rocafort brothers and

turned them over to their mortal enemy, King Roberto. The hatred between them was an old one which had started when Berenguer de Rocafort had made a treaty with the king to overcome some Calabrian castles. When the job was done, the Catalan expected to continue receiving wages from Roberto. The king demurred, and Rocafort forced the payments out of him. Since then, even though the captain had been quite satisfactory in his service, Roberto harbored resentment against him.

The king sent the two brothers to a castle at Avera where they were locked in a dark dungeon and left without food until they died.

Berenguer de Rocafort was one of the most valiant and successful captains that the Catalans produced in many ages. He would have been the most praiseworthy, if the period of his prosperity had not so greatly developed his vices. He served as captain under King Pedro and his sons Jaime and Fadrique. Later he went to look for adventure, joining Roger de Flor in Asia and offering him no inconsiderable help. When Corberán de Alet died, he replaced the former senescahl as field marshal and general of the army. Then when Roger was killed and Berenguer taken prisoner, he took over the government and held it for five years without any competition. During this time he destroyed several provinces and cities, won three important battles despite heavily uneven odds, one of which was with the oriental emperor.

Rocafort had continued to wage war for many years throughout the enemy provinces, finally traveling from Gallipoli to Cassandria and burning and destroying the Greek countryside as he went. The Catalan had

never been beaten even in the smallest skirmish. He had triumphed over every enemy, either civil or foreign, and had become a habitual victor. But his tale of fortune ended abruptly with miserable imprisonment and death. Most people agreed that his punishment was justly sent from heaven to atone for all the innocent blood he had shed among his allies and the other unfortunate wretches who fell into his hands.

Gisbert de Rocafort shared his brother's fate, although, according to what little can be gleaned from his contemporary historians, he was neither so dissolute nor so cruel. Undoubtedly he took part in most of his brother's crimes, especially in the murder of Berenguer de Entenza, but the obscurity of his position made his misdemeanors less obvious. The greater a man's fortune, the more noticeable his vices.

Who were the knights who died and of what family in Cataluña they came, Muntaner leaves undisclosed. The same is true of many other men who took part in this remarkable undertaking, but whose names are nowhere recorded. It is a significant mistake, either careless or intended, and and unfortunate one for the noble Spanish houses who can claim forbears among the adventurers of the Catalan expedition.

SIXTIETH CHAPTER

THE CATALANS ELECT GOVERNORS AND GO TO THE AID OF THE DUKE OF ATHENS WHEREHE SOLICITS THEIR SERVICE

After the miserable affair of Rocafort and the riot it caused, the Company was left not only without a chief, but without any man capable of shouldering the responsibility. Such a varied collection of people, used to being commanded by famous captains in whose service they had grown old, would not readily accept a man who was not their equal in courage and nobility of blood.

Roger de Flor had been the first to lead them, and he was one of the most outstanding captains of his time. Berenguer de Entenza, illustrious both for birth and deeds succeeded him. Then had come Rocafort, who was famous for his victories. Most of the knights and captains of particular ability had died under Rocafort's stringent regime, eliminating all possibility of rivals or competitors. When a man is concerned with holding such a position, he can rarely be prevailed upon to worry about the life of another man who threatens him, nor does he consider whether the means he uses to maintain himself are good or bad, so long as they succeed in backing his claim.

The council met to attack the problem of selecting a new chief. Aware of their need for a man to fill the post, they decided to name a committee of two knights, an Almugavar, and a chief, to give their advice to the Council of Twelve. These two bodies would pick the man to govern the camp.

With these problems the Catalans were occupied for some time at Cassandria, during which they received ambassadors from Athens. The count of Brena had become ruler of that duchy at the death of the old duke, who was the last descendant of Boemundo. Since he lacked an heir for the state, it was left to his brother, the count. A Catalan knight named Roger Deslau of Roussillon, who had been in the count's service for some time, headed the delegation.

Roger Deslau arranged a treaty with the council, offering them six months' advance pay and the same privileges they had enjoyed in Andronicus' service, if they would come to Athens. The Catalans replied that they would need a fleet for transportation, since travel by land was almost impossible. They would have to cross many enemy provinces, swift rivers, rugged mountains, and unknown territory. But they agreed unanimously to accept the offer eventually in spite of the difficulties.

They spent the following winter with the pinch of hunger again. As time went on and supplies were almost exhausted, the council discussed plans for leaving Cassandria and invading the province capital at Salonika. The forces of the area were concentrated there, and the Catalans believed that if they succeeded in taking the city they could found their own empire and finance it with the riches of the orient, collected there by Andronicus' wife Irene, and Maria, the wife of his son Michael, who lived there with their court.

They did not manage to keep these plans secret from Andronicus. He knew the Catalan enthusiasm for undertaking projects so big they

seemed impossible. He sent his expert military men to Macedonia to organize the natives into defending their own cities. He ordered his people to store their harvests inside the city walls, realizing the extent to which the Catalans depended on this food. The land was soon so bare that no man could have maintained himself with what he found there.

Then Andronicus ordered that a great wall be built from Christopol to the adjoining mountains in an effort to cut off the invaders' retreat to Thrace. With all these preparations, the emperor hoped that his tormentors would leave the country without bearing arms against him. He thought they would not attempt the venture because the odds seemed to great. And these plans of the emperor would have been successful, if the valor of the Catalans had not rendered them useless.

SIXTY-FIRST CHAPTER

THE ARMY LEAVES CASANDRIA FOR THESSALY

The company left Casandria with all its strength and marched on Salonika, expecting to find it as carelessly guarded as a city so large and populous could afford to be. But they found the situation quite different from what they had hoped. The city was apparently forewarned and well fortified with soldiers and provisions. The attackers tried a lively storm assault, but the two empresses holding out inside managed to keep the city free, with the aid of the best captains in the empire. When the Catalans realized what a stout defense they were up against, they gave up the fight and retreated to the surrounding villages.

From these positions the men of the Company raided the countryside in search of food. But they found it completely empty of either people or cattle, and became aware of another of the enemies' schemes that they had not foreseen. Finally they decided to leave. Eight thousand men, not counting the prisoners, horses, and pack animals, were too many to be supported on what little was left of the native harvest. They saw that ruin was inevitable for them, so they prepared to go back to Thrace over the same road they had taken. But one of their prisoners warned them that the pass at Christopol was closed by a wall, and sufficiently defended. At this discomforting news, the Catalans almost gave themselves up for lost because they believed that with this protection the Macedonians, Thracians, Illyrians, Acarnanians [40], and the people of Thessaly, as well as all the neighboring tribes, would join forces to

attack them. At least they would surely combine to prevent the invader's search for food, without which they could not live.

Finally the need for sustenance made them decide to march across the whole province of Macedonia and go into Thessaly where the people did not expect them. There the natives felt safe because they thought that Macedonia with all its strength stood as an impenetrable wall between them and the Catalans.

No sooner had the Company made its decision than they carried it out, making all haste to beat Andronicus' preparations. They collected and mobilised their forces with incredible speed, planning to elude any enemy interference at the mountains, and stopping in local towns as they went only long enough to take the food they needed. This time their fear was greater than their greed and they wasted no time in feeding their avarice.

On the third day out they came upon the banks of the River Penus that ran between Mounts Olympus and Ossa and watered the beautiful valley of Tempe, so often alluded to by the ancients. Here they passed the bad weather of the winter season among the luxury and mild climate of the ranches and shore towns. They found opportunity for rest and comfort and security because of the abundance in this peaceful land that had been rarely troubled before by warlike people. The Greeks of earlier ages considered this valley sacred, not only for the gentleness and consistency of the climate, but for the gods and goddesses which

they believed lived among the mountains and forests and in the river. Here was such a paradise on earth that it seemed a proper habitation for their gods.

When the Greeks heard which road the Catalans had taken, they were uncertain. They were not sure that the invaders would not return, and they had no desire to irritate them. Even though their tormentors had left with such speed that they could not have overtaken them if they had tried, the Greeks were still fearful of these people whose strength and courage always succeeded in overcoming their combined forces and wisdom.

SIXTY-SECOND CHAPTER

THE CATALAN COMPANY MARCHES DOWN TO THESSALY, BUT BY GENERAL AGREEMENT LEAVES THE PROVINCE TO GO ON TO ACHAEA

When spring came the Company marched out of the valley and down to Thessaly without meeting an enemy to oppose them. Therefore most of the towns along the way were forced to contribute liberally to the upkeep of the invaders as they moved along. At this time the province was subjected to a ruler of no little ability who was married to Irene, the illegitimate daughter of Andronicus. This man was in bad grace with his father-in-law because of his reluctance to recognize the obedience he owed the empire. By this time the oriental monarchy of the Greeks had already begun its final decline and many of the subject rulers were rebelling against its authority, since it lacked the forces without which its claim was lost. Only the powerful can maintain subjection.

The Greek empire was dying in the same way as the Roman empire of the East. That powerful system gradually came to hold only the vain title of its former grandeur. France, Italy, Spain, and England, all of whom had once rendered tribute to it and obeyed its laws were now free, and the loss of its claim came as power declined. The Goths and northern tribes had reduced the great stronghold to this misery.

When the Thessalian ruler learned that the Catalans had arrived in his territory with stronger forces than his own, he decided to meet the situation with wise decision and tactful ministers when he could not use weapons. He sent his men well armed with gifts and sweet words to

ask the invaders to leave his country. While the polite delegation was off bearing its message, he set to work fortifying some of the main cities and posts in his defense system.

The ambassadors made sure that the Catalans would not be leaving the certain wealth of their land for a doubtful province; they offered them experienced guides to Achaea [41] or wherever they wanted to go and supplemented their needs with large sums of money. When power is so inferior as in this case, an attempt to buy off such a menace with money can be hardly considered cowardly or disgraceful.

The army officials met to discuss the difficulties and dangers they might face if they stayed in the province, finally agreeing that departure and continued travel was their best move. As they went southward they knew they were closer to any help that might come from Spain or Sicily. So they accepted the proposal of the provincial ambassadors and closed the agreement. The ruler sent the food and money he had promised and the Company departed on the scheduled day. Thessaly had freed itself from severe damages by its timely persistence, and the Catalans had managed to avoid injury to themselves. In war everyone suffers and often the victor's losses differ only in number from those of the beaten.

The Catalans traveled out of the province through the mountainous area called Blaquia. Zurita makes a grave mistake in referring to this road followed by the Company. He calledthe land that they crossed Valaquia since he was not aware of the area known as Blaquia, and corrects

the name as Muntaner uses it because of its similarity to the former place. Actually the Catalans were never within a hundred leagues of Velaquia. But Blaquia, as it should be called, according to Nicetas in the end of his history, is the mountainous section of Thessaly through which the road of the Catalans passed.

The inhabitants of this area are called Blacos, a warlike people who have resisted the oppression of oriental emperors for many years. Even today as subjects of such a barbaric and powerful people as the Turks, they retain their reputation for courage. Muntaner never left off describing the painful passage of the Company over this road. The men moved forward by dint of continual fighting, with their weapons always in hand because of the fierce resistance of the natives. One of the greatest enterprises of the Catalan expedition turned out to be the opening of a road through the land of this violently belligerent tribe.

At last the Company came through, to the universal admiration of all the local communities who knew of the danger and learned of the triumph from the Thessalian guides who had gone with them through the fighting. They marched down along the pass of Thermopylae, known for its story of Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans who died defending the pass and the liberty of Greece against Xerxes. From there they traveled on down the banks of the River Cephisus [42] that flows eastward from Mount Parnassus. [43] On the north side the people are called Locrenses, Opuntians, and Epicnemidians [44] by the ancients, and on the south there is Achaea and Boecia. The river runs as far as Lebadea and

Haliartus [45] where it divides and loses its identity, becoming the Asopus and the Ismenus. [46]

The Asopus River washes through half the province of Attica [47] until it reaches the sea; the Ismenus joins the Aulide and empties into the Sea of Euboea, called Negroponte today. Along these rivers in the local towns of the Locrenses tribes, the Company passed the autumn and winter, conferring together in the long evenings on the course they would follow when spring came.

SIXTY-THIRD CHAPTER

THE DUKE OF ATHENS ACCEPTS THE CATALANS INTO HIS SERVICE

When the duke of Athens heard that the Catalan army had crossed the mountains and come through Mlaquia, he hastily sent ambassadors to call on the Company chiefs, fearing that other local rulers would sign the men into their service Before he could get there. The Catalan army was so generally admired and feared, that everyone was making a bid for its favor. The duke added his offers of wages and privileges, reminding the men that they had given their word in Casandria to Roger Deslau that they would come to serve him. When the army heard the offers made by the duke's delegation, they decided that his friendship would be more to their advantage than any of the neighboring rulers. So they closed the treaty with him under the same conditions as they had with Andronicus.

With these new forces the duke found himself strong enough to begin a campaign for the restoration of his land that was now occupied by enemies. The nearest and most powerful of these was the Klaco chief, Angelo, and Andronicus, who hated the duke's Latin name and the Frenchmen who followed him. The despots of Larta, or Andracia, as it was known to ancient writers, also threatened with his men. The duke began war against these three enemies, who were powerful enough even when divided. But the Athenian was so successful that he not only stopped the ambition of his neighbors and defended his territory, but he also took back thirty forts that they had usurped from him. Finally treaties were concluded among them, all with distint advantages for the duke.

No historian has recorded the events of this war that the Catalans fought against the duke's enemies, except to claim that they were great and remarkable. No memorial or document remains from which a scholar could find clues to illustrate these incidents which must have been outstanding because of the powerful courage and strength of the combatants. Such is the misfortune of the Catalan nation that their story, which could have perpetuated their fame in coming centuries, is buried now in silence.

SIXTY-FOURTH CHAPTER

THE DUKE UNGRATEFULLY DISMISSES THE COMPANY FROM HIS SERVICE AND REFUSES TO THEM, SO THAT THE CATALANS PREPARE FOR WAR

When the duke realized that he had become absolute master in a peaceful state, he was no longer interested in paying the price he had offered the Catalans when he called them into his service. Before his success he had treated them with careful civility; now he was preoccupied with planning their downfall, a turn of affairs which seems impossible in view of their recent and significant help in restoring his land and checking such menacing enemies. The Catalans and Aragonese looked upon this change of attitude with surprise; they had expected to live on his rewards in honor and comfort the rest of their lives. This they believed in especially because the duke had been raised in the Sicilian castle of Agosta, had been quick to show his affection for the Catalan people, and spoke their language like a native. Therefore, they were amazed with the new treatment they received in place of more gifts and courtesies.

Meanwhile, the duke had developed a scheme for ridding his country of the annoyance that unpaid soldiers are in a free state. He selected two hundred of the knights with the most followers and three hundred of the knights with the most followers and three hundred foot soldiers, among whom he divided a moderate area of land holdings throughout the state. He figured that this select few would be well satisfied with their lot, and the others quieted by the expectation of

similar liberality. But instead, while they were peacefully awaiting the rest of their rewards, the duke suddenly issued an order for the Catalans to leave his land within a brief grace period. The ultimatum ended with the threat that if they were not gone by the end of this time they would be treated as rebels and enemies.

The Company was somewhat confused and upset by this unforeseen blow, but with their habitual courage and determination, they replied that they would obey with pleasure as soon as they received the back wages he owed them. They pointed out that in spite of their loyal service, they had never been paid the six months' advance wages he had offered when they came, adding that with this much money they would be able to buy ships to return to their homeland safely, although still unjustly underpaid.

The duke replied to this demand with arrogant disdain of their past services and ordered them to leave his presence and his country, declaring that he neither owed them nor had any intention of paying them wages they so shamelessly asked for. He added that their departure had best be speedy if they did not expect to be dead men or captives. With this speech the Catalans decided that they would die before they left Athens without revenging this treatment. After announcing their decision they set themselves up in strategic locations and forced the natives to feed them.

When the duke saw that the Catalans were planning to defend themselves, he collected all the natives and foreigners he could enlist to

oust the disturbing element from his land, even though the wages he owed them would have cost him much less than all he was about to lose in danger, expenses, and damaged reputation. But he was determined to throw them out by force and signed a huge army for the purpose. The limited Catalan forces were greatly outnumbered by the crowds of Athenians, Thebans, Plataeans, Locrenses, Tocenses, Megarians [48], and the eight hundred French horsemen.

Altogether the Catalans faced about sixty-four hundred horsemen and eight thousand infantrymen. In this case Muntaner claims that there were many more, but Nicephorus was nearer to the scene, and seems to be more accurate. The Greek, although too wordy and definitely prejudiced when writing events that involve his own people, takes a neutral stand concerning the affairs of foreigners. On the other hand the two hundred knights and three hundred soldiers, who had been singled out by the duke for reward, heard of the preparations for war against their comrades, and immediately feared that they would be next on the list. They went straight way to their benefactor and told him that they understood he was collecting a large army to go against their countrymen. They announced that if such was the truth, they were leaving the possessions they now held in Athens to go to the aid of their comrades. They believed that they would be more fortunate to die defending their own people than to enjoy riches while their countrymen were killed.

The duke was sure of his strength which was so superior to the few Catalans. He answered the indignant landholders so scornfully and

insultingly, that if they had not already been resolved to leave his service, this speech alone would have changed their minds. A man should always have a prudent tongue, particularly a ruler, because discourtesy breeds hatred and the desire for revenge. Uncivil words cause just indignation even in the most humble, while courtesy is an effective snare for good will, which, when used among enemies is often a means of calming them in the heat of fury.

The five hundred men went back to the Catalans and Aragonese, telling them all they knew of the duke's plans. Nicephorus reports that the Athenian ruler was so confident with the horde of strong soldiers at his command that his plans expanded beyond the immediate destruction of the Catalans. From there he dreamed of carrying a cruel, bloody war through the provinces until he reached Constantinople. But the principles of these designs attacked God and were destined to fail because of the duke's unfounded confidence in himself.

SIXTY-FIFTH CHAPTER

THE DEATH AND DEFEAT OF THE DUKE OF ATHENS AT THE HANDS OF THE CATALANS, WHO OVER HIS STATE AND REST FROM THEIR WANDERINGS

When the Catalans and Aragonese heard that the duke was marching on them with all his recruited forces, they reacted in the same way they always had when pressed by necessity; they faced the situation courageously. They decided to meet the attack even though their numbers were so unequal. At this time they answered the muster at thirty-five hundred horsemen and four thousand soldiers among the three nations who assembled at their quarters to meet the duke.

The first day, the army went out to pitch camp in a wide meadow that was cut by a large irrigation ditch. This waterway offered them a plan for strategy against the enemy. The meadow grass was about a foot high, tall enough to hide the terrain. The men set to work to flood all the surrounding fields where they judged that the duke's cavalry would have to open its attack. They left a dry area to which they own people could retreat when the time came in the skirmish. Their scheme worked well. The Athenian chief appeared the next day, careless about enemy traps because of the confidence in his overwhelming power. He believed that the mere glitter of his army's weapons and uniforms would be enough to subdue to recalcitrant Catalans.

When the soldiers of the Company came into view, the duke ordered his squadrons forward. Since he had great trust in the cavalry, he sent them all ahead, leading the riders himself with two hundred of the most

brilliant French horsemen in the province, who served as vanguard. As the Athenian ruler bore down on the battleground, the Catalans were ready for him with their foot squadrons and Turkish soldiers intermixed. But all of a sudden the Turks hung aside and refused to fight, explaining that it did not seem logical to them that the duke of Athens would actually be attacking men who had served him so well. Therefore they had come to the conclusion that this battle was simply a scheme to destroy the Turks because of their different religion.

The Catalans were not upset by this development, even though they had no time to argue with their Turkish comrades and it was too late to call off the battle. With their customary fortitude they charged out to the skirmish to bait the enemy that had come bent on their destruction. The duke and his vanguard headed for an infantry squadron that was posted on the other side of the flooded area. The unarmed cavalry hurled itself into the middle of the marsh, at which the Almugavars, fast and unburdened except by the darts and swords they brandished over their heads, fell upon the men weighted down with iron and caught with their horses in the mud. The duke, since he was well known, was among the first to die at the hands of the people he had scorned and insulted such a short time before. Often the vain and arrogant end in this way, perishing when they believe they will conquer.

When the duke and his vanguard were dead, the rest of his army fell into terror and confusion. The Catalans and Aragonese were attacking them from both sides and the Turks, who were no longer suspicious

since they saw their comrades realistically killing the duke's men, came back into the fight and added their strength to the victory.

Many prominent Athenians died with the duke in the red fields that day; of the seven hundred knights who went into the battle only two came out alive. One of these was Bonifacio de Verona, and the other was the Roussillon knight, Roger Deslau, who the Catalans knew well because he had come to their camp several times with ambassadors from the duke when the Company was living at Cassandria. The battle had been bloody and terrible, but the chase afterwards lasted longer than the initial routing had taken. Since there had been so much disorder among the troops after the duke and his cavalry bogged down and died, they were easy to destroy.

After winning such a remarkable victory, the Catalans pushed on, taking the city of Thebes and then Athens within a few days. All the duke's remaining forces were soon in their power, most of them having surrendered without waiting for a siege because all their defenses had been lost in the battle. The Catalans and Aragonese stood masters of the province after three years of war. They stopped their wandering and settled into their lodgings, enjoying the women and possessions of the people they had beaten.

Since the members of the Company had established themselves without rivals, most of them married the rich, prominent women of the province and founded a new state that the Aragonese kings held in high esteem. The position had been won without the aid of any of the forces

or support of the Spanish kingdoms; instead it was the achievement of individual men who were subject to these rulers. It was a matter of intense pride to the rulers to have such vassals to whom the rigors, costs, and hardships made little difference. Furthermore, the fruits of their victories, the conquest of kings and the glory entailed, as well as the command and government of these new islands, fell to the ruler in whose kingdom the conquerors were born.

There were no outstanding knights among the Catalans whom they considered capable of governing them, so they asked Bonifacio de Verona, one of the two survivors of the Athenian battle, to serve as their captain. But Bonifacio was afraid that he would hold about the same authority with them that Tibal, the Frenchman, had before him, so he refused their offer. Such a circumstance was particularly strange for two reasons; first, that the Company should look to a prisoner and a foreigner to rule them, and second, that he should refuse.

Afterward they selected Roger Deslau, whose good will they trusted, and gave him the rich widow of the lord of Sola as wife. Roger continued to rule the state for some time.

SIXTY-SIXTH CHAPTER

THE TURKS LEAVE THE SERVICE OF THE CATALANS AND HEAD FOR THEIR HOMELAND, RETURNING TO GALLIPOLI BY THE SAME WAY THEY CAME

When the Turks and Turkish Greeks saw that their comrades had ended their wandering and were resolved to establish their homes and headquarters in this new state, they decided to leave the Company and go back to their homeland. The Catalans offered them villages and lands where they could live comfortably and enjoy with the other soldiers the reward of their victories. But nothing would stop them, because they were ready to go back to their friends and relatives. Since they had enjoyed so much prosperity and were laden with riches, they wanted to go back to their native land with the wealth.

After making this decision, the Turks left their comrades in the Company and headed back toward Anatolia. They followed the same route they had taken when they came from Gallipoli with the Catalans. They marched across all of Thrace without finding anyone to resist them, savagely tearing through and wasting all the country they came to.

The Turkish Greeks, under their captain, Meleco, were Christians, although more in name than in deed. When they left the Company, they did not want to go back to the service of Andronicus and the Greeks, since the battle of Apros. Either they were afraid they would not be accepted, or they feared vengeance later, for Meleco knew that his men were not popular after they had been the first to abandon Michael. Later they had left the service of the imperial banners to join their former master's

worst enemies, the Catalans and Aragonese. For six years they had fought with them continually against the empire, sufficient reason in itself to fear the possibility of any reconciliation. Their offenses against Andronicus were too great to be forgotten.

When Meleco realized that this plan was impossible, fortune offered him another opportunity. The king of Serbia asked him to enter his service under the conditions that his men would never bear arms or use them except at the king's command. Meleco agreed, and the Turkish Greeks stayed in Serbia, living a peaceful and quiet life that was certainly different from that they had led until then.

With thirteen hundred horsemen and eight hundred soldiers, the Turkish captain Calel decided to settle in Macedonia until he saw himself able to get on to his homeland. While he was there, his barbarians made so much havoc in the province that the native approached them in an attempt to bargain for their departure. Finally both sides agreed that Calel would leave the country if he could be assured of the pass at Christopol and would be supplied with ships to cross the channel. Without either of these conditions the Turks could not get back to Anatolia.

Then the Turks discussed among themselves these plans to sail, and decided that they had not yet taken advantage of all the opportunities available on the mainland. Calel realized that he could not depend on help from people of his nation on the other side of the sea, because they lack ships. Then there was the pass at Christopol that

would be impossible to break through because of the wall thrown up there after the Catalans had passed.

Andronicus was advised of the terms that the Turks had set for leaving the province. He pondered over the dangers and risks his people would undergo if the Turkish departure was delayed. He knew well what all Macedonia would suffer if the Turks became desperate with being blocked at the pass or on the road to Anatolia. They would be capable of attacking Salonika or trying some similar strategy if they were forced to by desperation. Andronicus remembered well the price it had cost him to scorn the Catalans. He made a quick decision to accept the Turks' arrangements, opening the pass for them and providing ships for transportation across the small strait at the Hellespont.

In addition to these concessions, he sent an escort of three thousand Greek horsemen under the famous captain Senacerip Estratopedorca, one of the outstanding dignitaries of the empire. With these people accompanying them to prevent any resistance to their passage, the Turks crossed the Christopol pass and went down to Gallipoli where they were to assemble for embarkation.

SIXTY-SEVENTH CHAPTER

THE TURKS DISCOVER THAT THE GREEKS ARE PLANNING TO BREAK THEIR WORD, SO THEY CAPTURE AND FORTIFY A CASTLE

While the Turks and their escort were waiting for the arrival of the ships, Senancarip's men began to notice the riches carried by the barbarians, and to reflect that these were spoils of their own provinces. They assured each other that it would be an abominable situation to let these Turks get back to their homeland with the stolen possessions, especially since there were so few of the barbarians. At last they decided that it would be a worse disgrace to let them escape than it would be to break the royal pledge. So they plotted their method and time of attack and set it during the night, which is the most auspicious time to surprise careless people.

But the Greeks were not so secret with their plans but that the Turks got word of the plot that was being arranged to the great offense of reason, justice, and the universal law of mankind that the promised word is inviolable even between enemies. During the night they left their camp and went out to occupy the closest available castle. They prepared the fortress for its defense and determined among themselves to die revenged.

When Senancarip and his officers learned that their plan was discovered, they were thoroughly confused, uncertain whether to go ahead with the attack, or to tell the emperor all that had happened. The latter opinion prevailed, and they sent the message right away.

But, although the news left immediately and arrived in good time, Andronicus delayed in answering. Such a fault is common among rulers, and quite harmful; decisions are held up until the tense moment is past, and come after they are too late to be of any value. This is particularly dangerous if the business is as important as war, when small mistakes can cost kingdoms and monarchies. To delay in a decision for action is worse than hastily following the wrong course. Andronicus was faced with the problem of ordering his men to attack the Turks, or give them the ships they needed to cross the channel. But he was full of doubts and suspicions concerning which course to authorise, and succeeded in delaying the decision so long that the Turks were able to fortify their castle and prepare for battle.

Since the Turks had become undeceived concerning the Greek untrustworthiness, they were desperate, and made a great effort to get in touch with the Turks on the other side of the channel. When their kinsmen heard of the danger that Calal's men and their riches were in, they began to pour across the strait in a stream of small boats that were obliged to make several trips. Soon the men of the Turkish nation were collected on the one side and were aware of their strength. They resolved not only to defend themselves, but to take the offensive again in raiding the land.

SIXTY-EIGHTH CHAPTER

THE TURKS DEFEAT MICHAEL AND WREAK SEVERE HAVOC IN THRACE

At last Andronicus made the decision and ordered his men to finish off the Turks at once, a resolution that almost cost the life of his son, Michael Paleologus, who led the campaign with his own soldiers and a multitude of villagers who were more interested in collecting spoils than in fighting. Everyone was sure that the barbarians would surrender as soon as they were exposed to Michael's vain, ostentatious courtiers, and the Greeks were as careless in preparation as if they were going on a hunting trip. They marched without holding ranks or observing any usual military order, either through ignorance, or because it seemed useless to make an effort for so few enemies. On the other hand, the Turks had no alternative but to fight or die disgraced. They left their families and possessions behind the battlements of their fortress with enough men to defend them, and the seven hundred horsemen went out to meet the enemy.

Since Michael had made no attempt to scout the Turks, he was expecting to find them defending their little patch of fortified land, rather than out on the field. When the troops suddenly met up face to face with the horsemen, there was so much disorder and confusion among the villagers, that they broke ranks before they were attacked. The Turks charged in on the side where they saw Michael's standards and his emblem raised, and found the emperoriin an insecure position without even a dependable defense.

By this time the villagers had already been turned back by Turkish swords and had abandoned their posts. Even the personal soldiers in whom Michael had so much confidence had left the villagers behind them, and in a brief moment the emperor was beaten without a fight. His emblem was lost, and although he begged and shouted after the men who were escaping, he was neither heard nor heeded. When he realized that he was alone and almost surrounded, he turned his horse and galloped off after the rest, crying bitterly.

The Turks dashed off in pursuit, and if a few honorable officers and men had not turned in an attempt to delay them, they would undoubtedly have overtaken Michael. But the few who resisted stopped the chase long enough for the Turks to bend their energy toward killing those who tried to defend themselves. They were finished off in a little while, and the victory was complete.

Afterwards, while the conqueror's were sacking Michael's tent and lodgings, they found quantities of money and valuable jewels, among which was an imperial crown set with stones of inestimable price. This treasure fell into the hands of Calel, who placed it on his own head, making fun of the imperial dignity and laughing at what the former owner had lost so disgracefully.

One of the causes of Michael's defeat was the fact that his men were fighting against people with whom they had broken their word. Because the observance of a promise is a universal law, both human and divine, God allowed such a punishment to come to these people who had

broken it. The barbarians were permitted to triumph over Christians because of the latter's evil. The Greeks should have remembered what it cost them a few years before to break their word to the Catalans. The empire itself was on the point of being lost if the Company had had a strong leader to encourage it.

After this unexpected victory, the Turks were proud and daring. They rampaged through the whole province of Thrace, destroying whatever they could. Andronicus made no attempt to stop them, and for two years they kept the natives in such terror that they did not dare to come out even for the cultivation of their land.

SIXTY-NINTH CHAPTER

FILES PALEOLOGUS DEFEATS THE TURKS, KILLING OR CAPTURING ALL OF THEM

While Andronicus was trying to enlist foreign militia to make up the lack of his own men, a kinsman of his named Files Paleologus asked for permission to collect the men he chose and to take charge of the campaign. The emperor listened to the request of this man, who was known for his bashfulness and the preference for the quiet of his own house. The offer seemed like a heaven-sent remedy for so many damages, and the Greek ruler put the war into Files' hands. He left the nobleman to make his plans in his way, because he was convinced that his own sins were the cause of his long series of misfortunes. A great army had not been enough to conquer these few Turks before, so he placed all his hopes in the ability of his quiet kinsman, who he supplied with horses, money, and the men he wanted.

Files left the campaign, but only after he had ordered all his men to confess, because he believed it would be impossible to have success otherwise. He distributed most of the money he had been given to charity for the poor and alms for monasteries, so that they would pray for him continually. He accepted these precautions as a general panacea for all ills, believing that they would placate God's wrath and win His compassion.

When these observances were done, he sent scouts out everywhere to locate the enemy. He soon received information that Calal and twelve hundred horsemen were raiding the Bessian countryside, where they had captured great wealth. Following the directions, they traveled three

days out of the villages near Constantinople, and pitched camp along the river known to the villagers as Xerogipso. They rested here for two days, until one night the news came that the Turks were near and heavily laden with spoils.

Files prepared his men for battle and went out at sunrise, when both sides saw each other distinctly. The Turks hastily drove their carts in a circle around their possessions and spoils, made their customary prayer, according to Gregoras' account, and sprinkled their heads with dust. Files opened the fighting by leading his right flank against the enemy and killing two Turks with his own hands. Then he was wounded in the foot and had to leave the battle.

Files' removal from the battlefield had a disheartening effect on his men, who might have given up without his courageous words cheering them on. They fought for a long time, until the victory began to incline for Files and the Turks were broken and beaten, either dead in the battle or escaped. They continued the chase as far as the Turks' fortified castle, and Files pressed his victory a few days later by returning to lay siege.

When Andronicus heard of the fortunate outcome of the undertaking, he sent some Genoese galleys to guard the channel against any attempt by outsiders to come to the aid of the besiged Turks. The men in the castle were desperate when they saw all their avenues of escape or help closed to them. Finally they decided to leave the castle during the night and die like men. Two thousand tribal horsemen and

several Genoese came to help Files press the siege. And, although the Turks realized that Files was even more powerful, they did not change their decision. One night they crept out of the castle, full of courage and spirit, and fell upon the camp quarters, but were soon beaten back with severe losses.

The next night they tried their luck again, penetrating the tents and lodgings of the tribesmen, and coming out again badly beaten. As a last resort they decided to abandon the castle and make for the sea where the Genoese galleys were, hoping to find some sympathy among these people who they had never offended. The night they chose was very dark and many of them fell into Greek hands as they moved toward the water, dying without pity. Those who escaped plunged into the sea. Nicephorus reports that the Genoese killed several and took a few captives, but Muntaner maintains that they first offered to take them across safely to Anatolia, lured them on board, and then threw them in chains and killed them.

So died the Turkish comrades of the Catalans and Aragonese, after disturbing the entire empire for almost three years as they marched back the five hundred miles, more or less, that lie between Athens and Gallipoli. For their eventual destruction, Andronicus had been forced to employ foreign tradesmen and Latins, finally accepting their defeat by Files as a miracle of God. After they had witnessed Michael's surprising failure, the Greeks had believed that not enough human forces existed to drive them off, and therefore divine interference was necessary.

SEVENTIETH CHAPTER

ADVENTURES OF THE CATALANS AND ARAGONESE IN ATHENS

The Company was now securely established in the provinces of Athens and Boeotia under the rule of Roger Deslau. But this rule was soon over, either because the knight died, or his subjects grew tired of his government and dismissed him. The Catalans sent ambassadors to King Fadrique, to whom they were still deeply devoted, in spite of the scorn and insults they had borne from him, and asked him to send a ruler to govern them. The king received this embassy with gloating satisfaction, since he still felt resentment that they had not accepted Prince Fernando to ruler in his name.

But Rocafort, who had been the obvious source of the irritating decision was dead, and his people were asking for the same offer that had been proposed to them before. Although he did not manage to conceal his rudeness completely, Fadrique stifled his old anger over the situation, because he recognised a good opportunity to promote his son with this great estate.

The king discussed with the Catalans which man would be suitable to rule them, and named his second son, Manfredo, as lord of the states. The ambassadors accepted this appointment in the name of the Company. Manfredo, however, was still quite young, and his father did not want him to leave home yet. So he sent Berenguer Estañol, a man of courage and wisdom, to govern in the prince's name until he grew up. The Catalan delegation, which had complete power for the Company, were satisfied with

this arrangement, and accepted Berenguer. The new chief went back with them in their galleys to Athens, where he was well received. The Cataland and Aragonese now felt themselves under the protection of their native rulers, which they would have accepted before, had not Rocafort prevented these honorable intentions for his personal interests.

After Berenguer Estañol took charge of the Catalan government, there was continuous warfare with neighboring rulers, first one and then another. The chief believed that these were the only secure means of keeping the Company established in its state; he realized how necessary it was to keep the Catalans occupied with foreign war, in order to prevent the civil and domestic dissentions that leisure awakened in their fierce natures. The Catalans in Athens wisely accepted this counsel as a principal means for their preservation.

The emperor Andronicus, with whom they were rarely at peace, was on one side, and on the other was the king of Morea; in two other directions were the despota of Larta and Angelo of Blaquia. While fighting with one they declared truce with the others, maintaining themselves for many years this way. In the history of Cantacuzeno, which Father Pontano brought to light, it is related how Juan Cantacuzeno refused to leave the side of Andronicus' grandson in Constantinople to go out and govern a province, explaining that the land was too close to the Catalans and he did not have enough soldiers to protect himself. This excuse was considered creditable, and accepted.

Zurita tells the story of a Dominican friar who was encouraging the

king of France to conquer the Holy Land. He pointed out that the Catalans had already opened the way, and suggested that it should be a helpful addition for the Company to be on their side, undertaking the campaign with them if possible.

As long as Berenguer Estañol lived there were wars in Athens. The Company never opposed all of its enemies at once, but took them on one at a time, without ever allowing their weapons to rest. When Estañol died, ambassadors went again to Fadrique to ask for a governor in Manfredo's name. The Sicilian ruler wanted to send them an outstanding man, so he ordered his son Alfonso to come from Cataluña. The prince sailed for Athens well escorted by ten galleys to govern the state for his younger brother.

The Catalans and Aragonese were extremely pleased to have a member of the royal House of Aragón among them. But Alfonso did not rule long for his brother; Manfredo died soon afterwards. Then at last Fadrique sent word that the Company was to receive Alfonso himself as their permanent ruler. Again the Catalans were well satisfied, and felt secure in their position under the guidance of the young ruler.

Great care was taken in the selection of a wife for Alfonso; they wanted his sons and descendants to be strong in order to preserve the royal line. Finally he was married to the heiress and only daughter of Bonifacio de Verona, who they had loved and honored as long as he lived. After his death, the Catalans wished to perpetuate his line in the gov-

ernment of their state. Bonifacio's daughter owned a third of Euboea, and thirteen castles on the mainland of the duchy of Athens. She bore Alfonso many sons, and became one of the most remarkable women of her times, although Zurita does not agree with Muntaner in his praise of her.

Here ends the tale of the Catalan-Aragonese expedition until such time as we have long and accurate records of what happened during the one hundred fifty years they remained in Athens.

NOTES

1 (39) Don Juan de Moncada was the brother of Gastón de Moncada, who served as second marquis of Aytona, and became the father of Francisco. Juan became bishop of Barcelona and was then appointed archbishop of Tarragona in May, 1612.

2 (40) Andronicus Paleologus was the eastern Roman emperor who lived from 1260-1332. As elder son, he succeeded his father, Michael Paleologus in 1282. When he allowed the fleet that his father had organized to fall into decay, the empire became too weak to resist the demands of the rival powers of Venice and Genoa. The Turks, under their chief, Osman, had also closed in on most of Bithynia when Andronicus hired Roger de Flor to help him meet his enemies.

3 (41) Boeotia was the fertile plains country in the center of continental Greece north of the Corinthian Gulf. The valleys of the Asopus and Cephisus Rivers that flowed through this land were inhabited by people known for their dull wits.

4 (44) Jaime I the Conqueror lived from 1208 to 1276, one of the greatest Spanish kings. He was a huge man of immense strength, astute and patient. The son of Pedro II and María de Montpellier, he inherited lands in Provence that entangled him in wars between the Albigenses and Simón de Montfort. During his childhood he was placed in the care of the Order of the Templars, who brought him to Saragossa. At the age of thirteen he married Leonora, the daughter of Alfonso VIII of Castilla,

but divorced her later on the grounds of consaguinity. Then he married Yolanda, the daughter of Andrew II of Hungary. He achieved the conquest of the Balearic Isles in four years, took Valencia from the Moharmedans, and signed a treaty with Louis IX for the surrender of French claims to Cataluña. At his death, he gave his son Pedro his Spanish possessions, and to Jaime, Mallorca and Montpellier.

5 (49 Sicilian Vespers was a mass revolt of the Sicilian people against their Angevin rulers, on Easter Tuesday, 1282. The rebellion began spontaneously in a church near Palermo, when a French soldier insulted a Sicilian woman. The rising spread to the city, where a republic was proclaimed, and moved through the rest of the island where thousands of French people were slaughtered. Charles I of Anjou led an expedition to besiege Messina, but the island was saved by Pedro III of Aragón, who was eager to assert his claim to Sicily because of his wife, Costansa, daughter of the former king, Manfredo. Instead of winning the right to their free communes, the rebels of the Sicilian Vespers had to submit to royal authority again.

6 (54 Order of the Templars, or the Poor Knights of Christ of the Temple of Solomon, was one of the three great military orders founded in the twelfth century. Unlike the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Knights, it was a military order from the beginning. The founders were a Burgundian knight named Hugues de Payns and Godeffroi de St. Omer, a northern French knight, who protected the pilgrims to the Holy Land after the crusade of 1119. Six other knights soon joined them, and they organized

themselves into a religious community, swearing before the patriarch of Jerusalem to guard the public roads and forsake worldly chivalry. Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem, offered the order the part of his royal palace next to the Al-Aska mosque, called the Temple of Solomon, and for more than a hundred years the Templars were among the wealthiest and most influential factors in European politics.

7 (58) Messina was an ancient Sicilian town originally called Zancle, which means sickle, because of the strangely curved shape of the harbor, which is formed of sand and shells. The name was changed when Anaxilas invaded the city because he was a Messenian from the Peloponnesus.

8 (63) Bithynia was the broad northern section of Asia Minor on the Black Sea coast, east of Mysia and north of Phrygia. The land was first invaded by Thracian tribes and later by people who came from Lydia on the Aegean Sea. It is fertile land, intersected here and there by wooded mountains.

9 (74) Perasa is a general Greek term which means the country on the opposite side of the river. Here it is the Genoese settlement across the strait from Constantinople, still called Pera today.

10 (74) Byzantium is the ancient classical name for Constantinople. The original town was built by the Magarians in 658 BC, and grew to an important commercial town because of its commanding position at the Black Sea outlet. The name was changed to Constantinople when Constantine built a new city on the site in 330 and made it capital of the east empire.

11 (74) Galatia is an area of northwestern Asia Minor, partly of Cappadocia and partly of Phrygia, so called because its inhabitants were Gauls who settled the area during the third century BC. From St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians, it is known that most of the Christians churches here were filled with Jewish converts.

12 (74) Pontus was a kingdom in the northeasternmost part of Asia Minor along the Black Sea coast. Ariobarzanes founded it in the fourth century BC; Mithridates, the savage ruler who murdered his mother, sister, and concubines, and took poison himself in small does until he was immune, led the kingdom in wars against the Romans at the height of their power, and Nero made the kingdom a Roman province in 62 AD.

13 (77) Propontis is the Sea of Marmora, separated from the Black Sea, or Pontus, by the strait of Constantinople.

14 (77) Cape of Artace was on the Sea of Marmora coast of the Cyzicus peninsula. The seaport town of Artace was built here.

15 (79) Phrygia is the great central and southern area of Asia Minor. Flute music adopted by the Greeks came from Phrygia, but after the Persian conquest, the Phrygians gained a reputation for stupidity and submissiveness.

16 (84) Lucan was a Roman poet born in Córdova of Spain in 39. He was the son of Annaeus Mella and nephew of Séneca, the philosopher. While he was a young man in Rome, Lucan wrote a heroic poem called Pharsalia in ten books, which describe in detail the struggle between Caesar and

Pompey, but ends abruptly in the middle of the Alexandrian War. When he was twenty-six, he was forced to kill himself for being involved in a conspiracy against Nero.

17 (85) Chios, which is located opposite the peninsula of Clazomenae on the Ionian coast, is one of the largest and most famous islands in the Aegean Sea. It is well known for its wine, marble, and the mastic tree, or Pistacia lentiscus, which produces gum resin through incisions, and is valuable as an astringent and an ingredient for varnish.

18 (87) Cyzicus, one of the most ancient and powerful Greek cities in Asia Minor, was located on an island off the Mysian shore in the Sea of Marmora. It was connected to the mainland by two bridges and later by a causeway which eventually accumulated into a considerable isthmus. The Spanish born emperor, Hadrian, began a magnificent temple there that was finally finished by his relative, Marcus Aurelius.

19 (94) Anchialus was an ancient city of Cilicia, the southeastern area of Asia Minor, which was located near the coast west of the Cydnus. Legend has it that the original town was built by Sardanapalus, the great Assyrian king who drove the Ethipians out of Egypt, and conquered Tyre.

20 (97) Nicaea was the Bithynian city famous for the Nicene Creed drawn up there as a decision in the Arian controversy. The emperor Constantine called the Oecumenical Council in 325 to settle the question.

21 (97) Meander River runs through Asia Minor and is proverbial

for its wandering, for it rises in the south of Phrygia, forms the boundary between Lydia and Caria, and empties into the Icarian Sea between Mycis and Priene.

22 (100) Ephesus was the chief city of twelve Ionian cities on the coast of Asia Minor. The temple of Artemis stood on the plains outside the city walls until it burned by order of Herostratus on the night Alexander the Great was born in 356. All the Ionian cities joined forces to rebuild the structure which was considered one of the wonders of the world. After the establishment of the Christian church in Ephesus, both St. John and St. Paul visited and addresses epistles to the city.

23 (102) Mytilene was the largest city on the island of Lesbos in the Aegean Sea off the Lydian coast. Aeolians colonized and became an important naval power which founded colonies on the Mysian and Thracian coasts. Here the Aeolian school of lyric poetry began, and the writers Terpander, Sappho, and Theophrastus were born.

24 (166) Hellespont, or the Straits of the Dardanelles, is the long, narrow channel which connects the Sea of Marmora and the Aegean Sea. It is about fifty miles long, with the width varying from six miles at the upper to two at the lower end. This strait is the boundary of Europe and Asia.

25 (116) Lysimachia is an important Thracian town on the Gulf of Melas, which was founded by one of Alexander's generals named Lysimachus, who fell heir to Thrace and named himself king in 360. He made his

capital at Lysimachia, and moved the inhabitants of the neighboring town of Cardia to his new city. His reign was long and tumultuous; he conquered Antigonus at Ipsus, invaded Getae and was taken prisoner by King Dromichaetes, ran Demetrius out of Macedonia, and became the king there himself. When he was quite old, his wife Arsinoë persuaded him to kill his own son, Agathocles. His subjects were alienated by the bloody deed and Lysimachus died in a battle on the plain of Corus.

26 (116) Sestus is the Thracian town opposite Abydos at the narrowest part of the Hellespont. According to legend, the beautiful girl, Hero, lived here, and was sacrificing turtle's blood to Venus in the temple when she met the manly Leander, who had come across the strait for the festival. The two fell in love, and Leander began to swim the Hellespont at nights to visit her, guided by a torch that she burned in her tower window. But one night a storm came up, and Leander's strength failed in the rough sea. He drowned and his body was washed up on the Sestus shore, where Hero found him and threw herself into the sea in grief!

27 (134) Mithridates the Great was a powerful king of Pontus who reigned from 120 BC to 63 BC, a man of great energy and ability, who had such a memory that he was said to have known twenty-five languages. After conquering all his neighbors, he attacked Rome and took over the Roman province of Asia. Wars with Rome over the various parts of the empire lasted the rest of his reign. Finally he killed himself to avoid falling into Roman hands when his son, Pharnaces, rebelled with the whole army.

28 (138) Scyros is an Aegean island east of Ebboea where the sea goddess Thetis was supposed to have hidden her son, Achilles, in women's clothing among the daughters of King Lycomedes in order to prevent his going to the Trojan war.

29 (146) Etruscans were aristocratic warriors from Etruria in central Italy. The origin of the people is unknown, but they were governed by a family called Lucomones, who presided over religious as well as civil affairs. The Etruscans were highly civilized people whose religious and political institutions were borrowed by the Romans, and who furnished the last three Roman kings.

30 (164) Ancona and Pisa were old Italian cities, the former on a promontory into the Adriatic Sea for which it was named "Ancon" which means elbow, and the latter, one of the twelve cities of the Etruscan federation, located at the junction of the Arnus and Serchio Rivers.

31 (178) Agothocles was a Sicilian king who grew up as a potter in Syracuse. A rich nobleman of the town noticed his strength and personal beauty, and took the boy into his home. When the old man died, Agothocles married his widow and became one of the richest men in the city. He collected an army and declared himself king. He defeated the Carthaginians and raided Italian settlements. In his old age, his grandson, Archagathus, murdered his own father in an attempt to inherit the throne. The king himself died from a horrible poison that was concealed in the quill he used to clean his teeth. It produced a cataleptic sleep, which led historians to believe that he was burned alive on

his pile, without being able to give a sign that he was not dead.

32 (191) Empedocles was a Sicilian philosopher who lived about 444 BC. He was wise, eloquent, and so skilled in curing diseases with the aid of a tranluscent ball that he was considered a magician. When he disappeared suddenly, the people believed he was a god, but Mount Aetna discharged one of his sandals in a volcanic flow, and they realized that he had thrown himself into the flames.

33 (194) Salonika or Thessalonica is an ancient Macedonian city located on the northeast extremity of the Thermaic Gulf. Originally it was an obscure town called Therma, occupied by the Athenians before the Peloponnesian War in 432 BC. Soon after the war, the city was restored to its chief, Perdiccas. Around 315 BC Cassander made Therma an important city by collecting there all the inhabitants from nearby towns. He called the place Thessalonica in honor of his wife, who was the sister of Alexander the Great. It was a large, flourishing city when the apostle Paul came there around 53 AD.

34 (195) Rhodope and Brizia were Thracian districts named for the great mountains there. Rhodope, one of the highest ranges in Thrace, was considered sacred to Dionysus, the god of sensuality.

35 (210) Massagetes were wild, warlike tribes of central Asia, roaming north of the great Syr River and the lake called the Sea of Aral. The name included most of the nomad people in the

Caspian area. They killed almost everyone who tried to overcome them, including Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Persian empire, and the conqueror of all Asia.

36 (228) Stilicho was the son of a Vandal captain who became one of the most distinguished generals under Theodosius I, who he succeeded as ruler of the east under the emperor Honorius. The Roman poet Claudian addressed a historical epic called On the Consulate of Stilicho to him as his patron.

37 (229) Jerónimo Zurita, who served as secretary to Felipe II from 1560-1580, was the first modern Spanish historian. He investigated archives, collected original documents, and selected his material with scientific care and analysis for his Anales de la Corona de Aragón, which followed the history of the kingdom from its origin in the ninth century to 1516.

38 (260) Xenophon was an Athenian boy who studied under Socrates and marched with Cyrus' army into upper Asia. Although he was neither an officer nor a soldier, he was suddenly elected general when Cyrus was killed in the battle of Cunaxa. He served a long and successful career until he was finally expelled from his quiet retreat at Scillus by the Eleans, and went to Corinth for the rest of his life. There he wrote Anabasis in which he describes Cyrus' expedition and the Greek retreat, and Cyropaedia, which is a sort of political romance based on the history of Cyrus. Afterwards he produced Hellenika, which is a dry narrative of events in continuation of Thucydides' history. His style is plain,

simple, perspicuous, and unaffected; generally agreed to have important literary merit.

39 (267) Thasos is a north Aegean island off the coast of Thrace and opposite the mouth of the Nestus River. The name comes from the tradition that Thasus, the son of the sea god, Neptune, led the Phoenicians there to find the valuable gold mines. Later the island was colonized in 708 BC by the Parians, among them the poet Archilochus. Finally Thrasybulus took Thasos from the Spartans and restored it to the Athenians in 407.

40 (295) Illyrians, barbarians with Celtic and Thracian origin, were all the people inhabiting the broad area along the Adriatic Sea from Macedonia to Italy and Gaul; the Arcananians came from the most western province of Greece surrounded by the Ambracian Gulf, Ionian Sea and Aetolia. They were rude people who lived by piracy and robbery, famous for their skill with a sling, and their traits of loyalty and courage.

41 (299) Achaea is the north coast country of the Peloponnesus. It was called Aegialea, which means coast land, until the Acheans, one of the chief Greek races, migrated there from Thessaly. Many of these people were of Celtic and Northern blood with fair skins and blue eyes. They organized their twelve cities into the Achean League which was finally destroyed by the Romans.

42 (300) Cephisus River flows down through the fertile valley in

Phocis and Boeotia of continental Greece, falling into Lake Copias. This great Boeotian lake drains into the Euboean Sea by means of subterraneanchhannels, and is famous for its eels. There is another Cephisus stream in Attica which rises on the western slope of Mount Pentelicus and flows past Athens into the Saronic Gulf.

43 (300) Mount Parnassus is a double peak in the Parnassus range just north of Delphi. The sides of the mountain are well wooded with myrtle, laurel, and olive trees at the foot, fir trees higher up, and snow on the summit. Parnassus was sacred to the god Apollo, the Muses, and Dionysus.

44 (300) Locrenses, Opuntians, and Epicnemidians were tribes from the Greek district of Locris which reached from Thessaly and the pass of Thermopylae along the coast of the Euboean Sea to the frontiers of Boeotia. Locris was a fertile, well-cultivated country in which the Epicnemidians lived to the north around Mount Cnemis and the Opuntians inhabited the south part, centering at Opus, their principal town.

45 (301) Lebadea and Haliartus were both ancient Boeotian towns. Lebadea was built at the foot of a huge rock where the oracle of Trophonicus, a Greek prince who was worshipped as a hero after his death, lived in a cave. Haliartus was built south of Lake Copias and destroyed by Xerxes in 480 BC, when he invaded Greece. Later it was rebuilt, and under its walls Lysander, the distinguished Spartan general and diplomat, who planned to abolish hereditary royalty and make the throne of Sparta elective, died in a battle in 395 BC.

46 (301) Asopus and Ismenus were small Boeotian rivers, the latter fed by the stream called Dirce after the wife of Lycus, a Theban citizen who had divorced his former wife, Antiope, to marry Dirce. The new wife was cruel to Antiope, whose sons Amphion and Zethus took vengeance against her by tying her to a wild bull which dragged her until she died. They threw her body into a spring afterwardsdcalled the fountain of Dirce.

47 (301) Attica is the triangular tip of continental Greece which is washed by the Aegean Sea and the Saronic Gulf, and separated from Boeotia by rugged mountains. Attican soil is not fertile, but it is adaptable to growing olives, figs, and grapes, and there is an abundance of wild flowers which produce fine honey.

48 (306) Plataeans came from the ancient city which deserted the Boeotian confederacy and asked for protection from Athens. When the Persians invaded Attica in 490 BC, a thousand Plataeans went to fight with the Athenians at the battle of the Marathon. Ten years later Xerxes came through and destroyed the town, and in 429 the Spartans razed Plataea to the ground. Once more it was ruined by the Thebans in 374. Finally it was restored under the Macedonians. Megara is a city in a small Greek district between the Corinthian and Saronic Gulfs. Megarians are famous in the history of philosophy; they developed a school of philosophical thought under Euclid, a native.

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