

**The Deeds of William of Villehardouin: An Annotated
Translation of a Part of the Medieval Work,
*La Chronique de Morée***

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis, titled *The Deeds of William of Villehardouin: An Annotated Translation of a Part of the Old French La Chronique de Morée*, I have translated a portion of one of the remaining French texts from a period just following the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204). The portion I used of the text is taken from Jean Longnon's critical edition in Middle French based on the sole 14th century manuscript now at the Royal Library in Brussels 15702. However, the events related in the *Chronique* span an earlier period of 1095-1304¹. The stanzas that I will translate, 439 to 534, concern Prince William of Villehardouin, the last prince of Morea, which is the old name for the Peloponnesian peninsula in Greece. This passage explores William's life across his assistance of King Charles, his defense of Morea, and his court hearings concerning the ownership of the land of Madame Margaret. I have provided historical footnotes for prominent people and places. Through analysis of the lexicon used in the original text, I will also attempt to make inferences as to the author's provenance because he is currently unknown. Though written in Middle French, the text is heavy with Italianisms. Any discoveries relating to the author's homeland could help reference the growth and history of French as a language in this time.

¹ Longnon, Jean. *Livre De La Conquete De La Princée De L'Amorée: Chronique De Morée (1204-1305)*. Paris: Librairie Renouard, H. Laurens, successeur, 1911.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL INFORMATION

French in the Mediterranean

Beginning in the early 12th century, French vernacular literature, as Latin was still considered the administrative and legal language of the time in which one usually wrote, saw an outpouring of impressive numbers. This was due, in part, to the growing rate of literacy among people of all classes, but especially among members of the nobility. The diaspora of the French language as a vernacular was assisted further by a large amount of recently available writings in the French language of the time, Old and Middle French, which became most popular in the aristocracy. These writings included *chansons de geste*, writings about romance and chivalry, and troubadour (in the south) and trouvère (in the north) poetry². The spread of the French language as a spoken form was boosted by the Crusades (1096-1487), which were designed to push into the eastern territories of Europe and the western areas of Asia, all with varying degrees of success. Fordham University's "French of Outremer" website mentions that the Crusades "introduced a new political presence and a novel cultural construct where the French language was used on a daily basis, and where French language texts were created, circulated, and amended in much the same manner and at times in direct correlation with French texts produced in areas traditionally associated with early French-language

² Cantor, Norman F. *The Civilization of the Middle Ages*. New York: HarperPerennial, 1993. Print.

development"³. As the Crusades continued to take place, Europe saw a massive number of French speakers making their way to Jerusalem and Constantinople, but many stopped en route to start their lives in these newer territories. The University of Ottawa's website about the history of the French language attests to the spread of French as a language: "Although French was still not an official language, it was used as a vehicular language by the upper echelons of society and the royal army, which carried it to Italy, Spain, Cyprus, Syria, and Jerusalem during the crusades. Written French began to be used in the 12th century, particularly in the royal administration, which used it simultaneously with Latin."⁴

Historical Context of Medieval Greece

In the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade, which took place between 1202 and 1204, in which the Western kingdoms sought to attack Jerusalem by way of Egypt but ended up sacking Constantinople, many Greek duchies were broken up into smaller kingdoms and controlled by Western rulers. The southern part of Greece, what we now call Peloponnese, was once known bureaucratically as the Principality of Achaea, but the natives referred to the area as Morea. The name is thought to be derived from the Greek word "morea," meaning mulberry, which was important for the silk trade, as it was the main food source of the silkworm⁵. The area is also thought to have this name because its shape is similar to that of a mulberry leaf. Fordham's "French of Outremer" website notes

³ "The French of Outremer." *French of Outremer*. Fordham University. Web.

⁴ "History of the French Language." *History of the French Language*. University of Ottawa. Web. 04 Mar. 2016.

⁵ Liddell, Henry George, and Robert Scott. "Henry Geogre Liddell, Robert Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon." *A Greek-English Lexicon, μωρέα*. Web. 20 Feb. 2016.

that "the Morea, also known as the Principality of Achaëa, was an important locale for the production and proliferation of French language texts in the years after the Fourth Crusade, when Frankish leaders expanded outwards from Constantinople into other Greek lands, and established themselves in the northern part of the region of Southern Greece now called the Peloponnese"⁶. The website continues by saying that, despite popular belief that Morea was a new France, "the Morea was instead an area where diverse cultures and languages, including French, interacted within the shifting political climate of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries"⁷. Though multiple princes ruled this autocracy, we concern ourselves mainly with prince William of Villehardouin (Guillaume II de Villehardouin). His rule was the last prosperous time in this region and marked the decline of Morea under his family's name. Little is known about this area during the time, because the literature has been scarcely preserved.

The Four Versions

La Chronique de Morée is but one of eight manuscripts that survived in a 14th century version of the history of Morea during the 13th century. Only one manuscript was written in French, but prose was used in other versions: Italian and Aragonese (late 14th century), while a Greek version is in verse (14th or 15th century). Because the literature has been preserved in such a way, historians are uncertain as to which version came first between the Greek and French versions. However, it is known that these two versions came before the Italian and Aragonese versions. In his book titled *Mediaeval*

⁶ "French in the Morea during Frankish Rule." *French of Outremer*. Fordham University. Web.

⁷ "French in the Morea during Frankish Rule." Ibid.

Greece, Nicolas Cheetham notes that Harold Lurier, a translator known for his translation of the Greek version of the Chronicle⁸ of Morea, had attempted to discover a common ancestor:

H. E. Lurier, in his introduction to his translation of the Greek *Chronicle*, pp 35-61, argues strongly that both the Greek and the French versions are derived from a lost French prototype composed between 1304 and 1314. He concludes from internal evidence and on linguistic grounds that the present French version is an abridgment of the prototype, while the Greek version 'was composed around the year 1388 by a Greek-speaking French scribe, who translated the original into Greek idiom for the benefit of Greek-speaking Franks'.⁹

The four versions, while they tell the same story as far as concrete details, are quite different in nature. They have been used to fill the gaps in each other, though. As one often does when a text is offered in multiple versions, the lost parts from one version are filled with the same part from the other versions to provide as much information as possible. Because historians are unsure about the original version, it is entirely possible that the French version was the original text because, unlike the Italian and the Aragonese versions, it is not based on the Greek text. However, according to Jean-Claude Polet in his 1995 book *Patrimoine littéraire européen*, the original text appears to have been

⁸ By definition, a chronicle is "a historical account of events arranged in order of time usually without analysis or interpretation" and it comes from the Greek word *chronos*, meaning "time."

⁹ Cheetham, Nicolas. *Mediaeval Greece*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981. Print.

lost¹⁰. At this point in time, Western kingdoms owned much of Greece and continued their conquests within it. The *Chronicle* is also known for having historical inaccuracies of number at the very least. Numbers in all terms, be it the size of an army or simply an exaggerated detail, vary from version to version. According to Fordham University's summary of the *Chronicle*, most believe that "the French text was written between 1331 and 1346, and now remains in only one manuscript, currently housed in Brussels. The work is believed to be an abridgement of an earlier text since the scribe who copied it states that he was transcribing parts of the *Chronicle* from an exemplar that belonged to Bartolommeo Ghisi, a castellan¹¹ who lived near Thebes in the early fourteenth century"¹²

The Author of the French Version

We will also attempt to decipher the possible provenance of the author based on his linguistic usage throughout the text. Despite the fact that it was dictated and written in French, particular spelling conventions and words should point us in the directions of the author's homeland. Narrowing down to a specific author would be impossible, but attributing this important text to a kingdom or area could bring us one step closer. French had, by this time, become a *lingua franca* and was used in the conquered territories to the east, which included Morea, at least on a spoken level.

¹⁰ Polet, Jean-Claude, and Claude Pichois. *Patrimoine Littéraire Européen: Anthologie En Langue Française*. Bruxelles: De Boeck, 1995. Print.

¹¹ Governor of a castle

¹² "Chronicle of Morea." *French of Outremer*. Fordham University. Web.

The author of this version, currently unknown, states in the French version that it was but a "résumé" of what happened.¹³ One could barely consider the French version a complete text by any definition. In fact, Jacoby continues, in French, saying:

De toute évidence, le texte du manuscrit de Bruxelles, le seul à rapporter cette version, est incomplet. Sa fin est abrupte, et on n'y trouve point l'explicit usuel du scribe, figurant au bas du texte des chroniques de l'époque: ni invocation, ni souscription finale quelconque de l'auteur de la copie, ni indication de la date à laquelle il acheva son travail. Tel était déjà l'état du modèle dont s'est servi notre copiste, ainsi qu'en témoigne cette notice figurant au bas du texte: *Tant com j'ay trouvé, tant j'ay escript de ceste conquête de la Morée.*¹⁴

The Author's Provenance

When reading the French version of The Chronicle of Morea, one cannot ignore the blatant Italianisms within. Words like "cui" (which) and "neveu" (nephew, but used as grandson) are given new light when looked at from an Italian perspective. French and Italian are both Romance languages and share the native ancestor of Latin, but they are still fairly similar today despite hundreds of years of divergent evolution. The grammar of the text could be attributed to either language, with Italian having a looser restriction on word order in my experience. Despite being written in French, it is fair to say that, without making too many assumptions, the author most likely knew Latin because it was the language of administration and the Church at the time. He also knew French, as

¹³ Jacoby David. Quelques considérations sur les versions de la « Chronique de Morée ». In: *Journal des savants*, 1968, n°3. pp. 133-189.

¹⁴ Jacoby. Ibid.

evidenced by his writing. The influences from Italian, however, indicate that he probably knew that as well. Therefore, it is possible that the author was an Italian who spoke French, a Frenchman who spoke some Italian, or a Greek who spoke both French and Italian. These are, of course, just assumptions on what would be the most likely scenario for the author to be Francophone with Italianisms. Given that the text has Italianisms but is not riddled with them, I would say that the most likely choice would be a Frenchman who spoke Italian and traveled to Greece, or a Frenchman whose French was influenced by French speakers who spoke Italian around him.

Concerning the Text

The focus of this translation is the French version. The base text of this translation is titled *Livre des la conquête de la princée de l'Amorée (Chronique de Morée) (1204-1305)* by Jean Longnon, who compiled this version with notes from the original French version based on the Brussels manuscript titled, from its incipit, *C'est le livre de la conquête de Constantinople et de l'empire de Romanie, et dou pays de la princée de la Morée*. This text is the complete document, or what remains from history's toll on it, in the original Middle French with notes to assist the reader. The son of Geoffrey I of Villehardouin, William came to power after the death of his brother Geoffrey II. Under him Morea was unified and reached its largest extent, covering almost the entire peninsula. This victory, however, would be short-lived because William was forced to use his unified land as collateral for his safe release, thus fracturing his kingdom. The story of his coming to power and the rest of his life will be the subject of the translated

portion, which concerns stanzas 439 to 534. He is the focus of the translated portion because he ruled the area when it was at its peak. He also saw its decline just before he died, so his rule was surely the most pivotal of the princes of Achaea.

The Relevance of the Text

When this text was chosen, it had never been translated into print. Over the course of my work, however, a translation¹⁵ was released in January of 2016, which I consulted for minor lexical choices after having completed the thesis. With translation of all four versions, fundamental comparisons could be more easily made. The text itself, despite the inaccuracies between the versions, provides great insight into the history of Frankish Greece, but the fact that it is in Middle French reduces the accessibility to anyone who cannot read or understand it. Having this text in English, if even only a small portion, would increase the accessibility and allow more people to work with it, including those who focus specifically on this area, but don't speak French. Stemming from the Fourth Crusade, this text provides history about almost the entirety of the larger kingdoms in Europe at the time: France, Italy, Greece, the Holy Roman Empire, Germany, and more.

Organization

This thesis is organized to match Longnon's version with notes. In that respect, each page will have only what is shown on one of Longnon's pages so that my translation into English matches his document in Middle French. This also means that my thesis is

¹⁵ Arsdall, Anne Van, and Helen Moody. *The Old French Chronicle of Morea: An Account of Frankish Greece after the Fourth Crusade*. Ashgate Publishing, Limited, 2016. Print.

aligned by stanza. This will make reading the translation that I offer alongside the original as easy as possible for readers, and it will offer another dimension for those who would like to compare my work with choices they might have made instead. Because he added notes to make reading easier, however, many of my pages will seem short while his will seem full and long. I used some of the information from his notes, but my notes are, for the most part, my own. I chose to use footnotes to avoid the needless flipping of pages back and forth while reading.

The Map of Morea

I have noted the many locations mentioned within the text. Near the end of the thesis in the Appendix there is a map of the Peloponnesian peninsula to which the reader can refer when reading about the area. It shows most of the major areas for which there are notes. The main areas that should be looked at on the map are the baronies in Morea. Not all are mentioned in the text, but a few are. These areas, while mainly just cities today, were entire small kingdoms during this time and finding their location on a map may help the reader visualize the landscape a little better.

Challenges

No matter what type of thesis one chooses to write, there will always be challenges. That said, I would argue that a translation thesis presents different challenges than a literary or scientific thesis does not. Furthermore, this translation is from Middle French to English, which skips over Modern French. Longnon's notes helped along the way, but there were many phrases that took time to understand and others that made little

sense in light of Modern French. I tried to remain as close to the original text as possible while translating into English, but some liberties were taken to prize comprehensibility over authenticity. By that, I mean that my word choice is designed to reflect the closest possible definition for those who are not familiar with this time period or perhaps with this vocabulary. Because much of the text was about battles fought mainly in both Italy and Greece, there are many terms that relate back to the military of the time. I have tried my best to provide readers with the easiest possible relation despite, perhaps, the definition being slightly different from what Middle French had intended.

Because Middle French is close to Modern French, it was not difficult to get a sense of what the author meant just by trying to read it. Nevertheless, the syntax hindered the process enough to make the task of translation somewhat time consuming and confusing. The words often had a jumbled order, which made my original translation fairly clumsy, and the spelling was inconsistent because Middle French, like Old French, does not have standard spelling and has looser grammatical rules than Modern French. On top of that, many words meant different things in different contexts in Middle French, so research was needed to find words in English that accurately portrayed the same word in Middle French. Grammar was present, which helped, but it was not as strict as Modern French and syntax made the existing grammar confusing.

Another challenge I faced was the history of the document. I had not studied much about Greece except during mythological times. Learning about the locations and the people mentioned in the text required quite a bit of research and even more reading about the lineage of the royal families in each area mentioned. This text refers to Italy,

Germany, France, Greece, and more. During the time period, these weren't unified countries, but smaller kingdoms, empires, duchies, and baronies. It represents an immense amount of people to read about, but all the research paid off as I reread my translation, trying to make sense of what I had written. About halfway through, in stanza 475, the French version had a loss of pages. This gap had to be filled by the Greek version, which Longnon translated into Modern French. The Greek version references the word "neveu," meaning nephew in French. However, the man he described as a nephew was actually the grandson of that relative. It seems like a minuscule detail, but it actually relates back to the spread of languages at the time because the word "nipote," nephew in Italian, is also the Italian word for grandson.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DEEDS OF WILLIAM OF VILLEHARDOUIN

439. This is where we stop talking about good King Charles¹⁶ and we turn to the good Prince William¹⁷.

440. The tale tells that since the lord of Carinthia¹⁸ came back from Apulia¹⁹, just as the story previously told, he found an agreement and had the grace of Prince William his lord and gave him his land this way just as he had done before, that is to say to the direct heirs of his body, not all the subsequent heirs, thus the prince led his war against the Greeks his enemies in many ways, because one time they would win and another they would lose, as it usually is in war, which would be more work to write rather than read²⁰.

441. And when the prince heard the news that King Charles had killed King Manfred²¹ and won his realm and lordship, he was very pleased and it brought him great joy, because the language and the lordship were French and close to him and his country.

442. Then he forethought about another important thing, because he said to himself that, because the lordship of the emperor

¹⁶ King of Sicily (r. 1266-1285) and inherited Morea after the death of William de Villehardouin

¹⁷ Final prince (r. 1245-1278) of Achaea (Morea) and ruled during its height of power and saw its initial decline

¹⁸ Southernmost Austrian state located in the Eastern Alps

¹⁹ Region in southern Italy bordering the Adriatic Sea - the heel of the boot of Italy

²⁰ Longnon has a note that the negation here was perhaps a slip of the tongue. I have included it regardless because it is in the text.

²¹ King of Sicily (r. 1258-1266)

of Constantinople was so tangled up in his own country of Morea that he couldn't throw him out without help from any great lord who was more powerful than he, since God did not give him the grace to have a male heir, but females, he sees no other good way forward but to be related to King Charles, and so the son of King Charles took his daughter as his wife, because in this way he could have some help to recover and take back control of his country.

443. So he called the wisest men he could find that he trusted. He told them what he had in mind. And when these worthy men heard the intent of the prince their lord, they discussed at length this matter. And in the end they agreed thusly, that the will and the intent of the prince was so wise and so noble and of high consideration, because there is no higher baron to which he could be related, his daughter could marry only the son of King Charles, if this is what he wished to do.

444. There spoke Sir Nicolas of Saint Omer the elder²², who was one of the wisest men

²² A French knight who became a lord in the duchy of Athens

in Romania and said to the prince: "Sire, if you want me to tell you something that I am thinking about, I will take on the responsibility that the king would agree with doing this marriage with you. It's true that your ancestors conquered this land; and your esteemed father, to whom this principality belonged; he did not take this land from any man but God. But your brother, prince Geoffrey²³, for he took and married the daughter of the Emperor Robert of Constantinople²⁴ in the way that we know, to come to his goal, of his own will, agreed with Emperor Robert of his own accord and became his man, and received his land from him. So, it is said this way, because your brother could do it during his time and to his kingdom; all this and more; but be he blessed, he could put neither you nor his heirs between them after him, by neither right nor reason. This way it seems to me that, just as your brother, for his need and his advancement made this agreement with Emperor Robert, so could you do for your great need and necessity, to accord yourself with King Charles and to make his son your heir, and that he take Isabella²⁵ as his loyal wife. And I am certain that the king will agree willingly, to come to these accords.

445. And [when] Sir Nicolas of Saint Omer had said and finished his speech and his advice in this manner that you heard, Prince William and the others of his council agreed with everything Nicolas had said. And since it was affirmed in the way that you heard, so ordered the prince bishop James of Olena²⁶ and

²³ Third prince of Achaea and prince under whom the are was regrouped due to his power

²⁴ Latin Emperor of Constantinople from 1221-1228

²⁵ Daughter of William of Villehardouin who married the son of King Charles I

²⁶ Now the city of Oleni, Olena was a see in northeast Morea

Sir Peter of Vaux the elder, who was then one of the wisest men in the land, and sent them to King Charles.

446. Those went by sea and by land to come to the city of Naples where the king was. And when they were before the king, they showed him the letters that they brought from Prince William, which stipulated he was indebted to him. And since the king had read the letters and heard, he entered his chamber and called for the messengers of the prince. He started to question them about the occasion for which the prince had sent them to him; because the letters from the prince contained only for them to believe all that he would say to him verbally.

447. Then the bishop began, and after, Sir Peter, counted and related to the king everything the prince had told them. And when the king had diligently heard all the reasons for which the prince had sent them to him, he responded to them that he wanted to have their messages of advice and then he would respond to them.

448. So the king summoned the wisest men of his council; and he showed them the prince's letters and then read to them word by word all the reasons for which the prince had sent them to him. And when they had spoken and debated enough over this matter, they called for the messengers of the prince; and asked them and diligently questioned the prince's conditions, how and in which manner

and from whom he had received his country and land and what country he was from.

449. Then Sir Peter of Vaux started to tell and relate the whole matter: how the prince had received his land, and from whom. And when the king was certified and informed of all the situations and conditions of Prince William and his country, his council agreed to marry his son to the daughter of Prince William. Then he ordered his messengers, a bishop, two barons and two knights and sent them to Morea, in the company of the messengers of the prince.

450. And when they reached Morea, they found the prince in Andravida²⁷ where he was waiting for them, because he had already known of their coming as he was in Corfu²⁸. And when the messengers had come to Andravida and had spoken to the prince, they certified to him how much the marriage pleased the king, by such a manner and condition that the prince had to take his daughter and lead her to Apulia and meet with the king to carry out the union.

451. And when the prince was certain that the marriage would please the king in the ways and conditions that he had sent him by messengers, he was very happy and joyous. So he settled his affairs in his country and left his manager

²⁷ Town in the northwest area of the Peloponnesian peninsula and former capital of Frankish Achaea

²⁸ Small Greek island in the Ionian Sea

in order to govern his country and his affairs. He sent word to Negroponte²⁹ for a ship and armed another ship in Glarentza³⁰, so this way he had two ships. And then he dressed as handsomely and elegantly as he could. And he, his daughter, and the people he had with him boarded the ships. They traveled as much by sea as by land until they reached Naples where the king then was.

452. And when the king knew that the prince came for him in Naples, he made him many great honors; for not only he but the entire barony that was in Naples, came to greet him from far away and received him most honorably. And because the prince was in Naples, the king housed him most nobly. And the next day he invited the kings; and ate with him; and hosted a court for the love of the prince.

453. And after eating, the king entered his chambers and led the prince where he and all the barons were. And then they were enough and they brought with them the messengers that the king had sent to Morea³¹, they began by telling and relating their messages before the king and the prince: how they had organized the marriage that had to be between their children, because Our Lord God wanted them

²⁹ Crusader state established on the island of Euboea, the second-largest Greek island

³⁰ City at the westernmost point of the Peloponnesian peninsula founded by William II of Villehardouin

³¹ Peloponnesian peninsula

to be joined to each other, and they thought to accomplish this agreement, by way that it was their honor and good standing for their people and their country.

454. And when the messengers had finished their reasoning, the prince heard their words; and started telling and relating to the king all the reasons why and how, by the good will of the king, he had brought his daughter and that it was designed to accomplish all he had said to the king through his messengers. Thus the king responded that everything the prince had said and related was true and wanted the agreement to be accomplished just as he had proposed.

455. And then after he related the pact and the conditions that must be between them, they summoned the children; and the archbishop of Naples engaged them. After the engagement, the prince paid homage to King Charles who had received his land from him; and left the control in the hands of the king. And the king gave back the control to Sir Louis³² his son as his rightful heir. And after this, the control of the land was given to Sir Louis, which he had to keep for his life.

456. And once all the duties were done, some news about the country of Morea came to the prince of how the emperor had sent a great gentleman to Monemvasia³³ who was his nephew, to a great company of armed men from the Levant,

³² Son of King Charles

³³ Small island off the east cost of the Peloponnesian peninsula

Turkey, Cumans and Greece. And when the prince heard this news, they went to find the king to tell him of this news; and said that, if it pleased him, that they would go to his land to comfort the people and fortify his castles. And the king consented and said because it was good that they go rescue the land.

457. So the king took leave and he went straight to Brindisi³⁴; and at that moment he boarded his ships and went to Glarentza. And when the people of Morea heard of his coming, they became joyous and happy, because they had a great doubt about the people of the emperor who had come to Morea.

458. And when the prince had come back from Apulia, they made known to all the barons and captains that it was truly done and all the duties with the king were achieved and that the captains had fortified the fortresses with armed men and furnished the castles with everything, as was their duty.

459. And after he had rested a little in Andravida, he took his own household and asked for his barons to accompany him; and he got on horseback among his horsemen, comforting his people and arranging the frontiers and provisions, how each must maintain itself.

460. We will cease speaking about Prince William for a little while and tell you about what good King Charles did after the prince left him in Naples.

³⁴ A city in Apulia

461. When Prince William left Naples and King Charles, and came to his own land of Morea, just as the story told you earlier, the good king, who was a wise and good warrior, thought to himself that, for the emperor to have sent such a large number of men to Morea to fight the prince, because the prince would have as his duty to defend his people and keep his country safe. So he ordered a large baron gentleman called Galeran of Ivry and gave him 100 men on horseback and 200 on foot, 100 arbalests and the...³⁵

461 A. The king summoned one of his knights, an experienced warrior, named Galeran of Ivry, and sent him to Morea with 100 horsemen, 200 foot soldiers, all men of high rank, 100 archers, and the rest on horseback, all paid for six months. Galeran had to be at their head in terms of governor and captain. He left for Brindisi, sailed, and made it to Glarentza within three days.

461 B. The prince was in Vlisiri and was warned of his arrival from Apulia by messengers of Sir Galeran; he mounted his horse and went to meet with him. On his own side, Sir Galeran left as well to meet him. They met on the edge of the river in Gastouni. Galeran gave the prince the compliments of the king, and the prince thanked the king with the rescue he sent to him.

³⁵ The manuscript of Brussels was missing this portion, so Longnon filled the lack with a summary from the Greek version. I have translated these portions from the French that Longnon gave.

461 C. In Glarentza, the prince unloaded the soldiers of their baggage that each placed on his horse; he then took council, left with his army along the banks of the Alfeios river and arrived in Isova. The captains and the barons joined together with their troops; each took provisions for two months; then the reunited council agreed that each should go to the plains of Nikli where the land was good and where the troops could relax.

462. ... Since he had such skilled soldiers, if he would come to this nice battlefield and approach near the captain of the emperor, and if by chance he had the will to fight on this plain, because the prince, if God were to bestow his grace upon them, having such skilled soldiers, hoped to have victory; because if God gave grace, that easily he could take back his country that the emperor had taken from him.

463. So he rode upstream along the Alfeios river to its end, ending at the noble castle of Karytaina³⁶. And when the lord of Karytaina saw the coming of the prince, he came to meet him 4 miles away; and from the other side came Sir Walter of Rosières³⁷, the lord of Mattegrifon³⁸ to all his people, who had, between him and the lord of Karytaina, at least 150 men on horseback and 200 on foot.

464. And when the prince was in Karytaina and found these 2 barons so well accompanied by good people, he became very happy. And when the princes were hidden under

³⁶ City near the center of the Peloponnesian peninsula

³⁷ First lord of the Barony of Akova

³⁸ The fortress of Akova in the Barony of Akova, it means "kill Greek," Grifon being an old French term for "Greeks." See the map in the Appendix for more information.

Karytaina in this river, he called the lord of Karytaina and the lord of Akova and asked them their advice on which route would be best to take. If they agreed to go by the plain of Nikli³⁹, just as he had been advised, because the lords of Karytaina would say that he knew the captain of the emperor to be so prideful and lightheaded, in the certitude that he had in the good people that he had brought with him, if he would set himself to fight against them and that, if God gave them the victory, that he easily could recover his country. So the princes agreed with all the others at this council.

465. The next day they left from Karytaina and within two days they went to the city of Nikli. And then as they were there, the prince ordered the most agile people that he had and sent messengers in the country of Gardelevio and of the Lacedaemonia⁴⁰, which had rebelled against the prince and would stand before the emperor. They ran and pillaged all the castles of this country until Monemvasia; and they won so much livestock that was marvelous. And when they had run, ravaged, and pillaged this country, they met back at Nikli.

466. But already for this, the Greek captain did not move once from the Lacedaemonia to go toward our people to defend Lacedaemonia that our people had run to for four or five days. And if one would ask why the captain did so,

³⁹ The Barony of Nikli located in the southern Arcadia region of the Peloponnesian peninsula

⁴⁰ Region in the southeastern part of the Peloponnesian peninsula

I would respond to him that since our people destroyed the Greeks at Brenice and then at Macri Plagy, the emperor ordered and defended his people if they were not audacious enough to fight our French people on the battlefield, because he would say that, when his people were destroyed on the battlefield by so few Latins⁴¹, they were destroyed other times, that the country could be easily lost; and for this he didn't want the people to fight the French on the field, but rather in the mountains and fortresses, that they would take advantage when the French were assembled as an army.

467. And when our people heard the news, they were advised to go there where he was, to Lacedaemonia. But there were enough who didn't agree, because they were wiser; and said that, between Nikli and Lacedaemonia, there was a steep hike, and that the Greeks had more foot soldiers than our people, and the Turks, who were horse-riding archers, could come and go by these mountains.

468. So the prince called Sir Galeran and all his barons and asked their council regarding what they would do. It was greatly debated: Some said to keep camp in Nikli and gather as much food as they could, to hibernate there and to hold borders against their enemies, serve himself so that the captain could not go out against our people to have more supplies; because, if our people left from there, and they found the country empty, they would run to Argos

⁴¹ Though the text is vague, it is likely that the Latins (a term used for a few different groups) were the soldiers of the Latin Kingdom to the east.

and to Corinth and to Skorta and take over the entire country.

469. But in the end the prince did not agree, due to Sir Galeran and his company, who were mercenaries and couldn't find what their duties would be. And for this the prince armed the city of Nikli with provisions and everything useful to him and let lord John of Nivelet⁴² with all 100 horsemen and 200 on foot, of which there had to be 50 in Veligosti⁴³ to come more easily, and when he would need them to be at the command of the lord of Nivelet.

470. And when the prince had so prepared the city of Nikli, he went to Karytaina and dismissed the men of the castle of Kalamata and to the lord of Akova; but the lords of Karytaina kept him company and accompanied him to Glarentza.

471. And when the prince was in Morea, he called Sir Lienart the chancellor and the lord of Karytaina and asked for their advice regarding Sir Galeran

⁴² John of Nivelet was the lord of the Barony of Geraki

⁴³ The Barony of Veligosti was a barony in southern Arcadia, but eventually also included Damala.

of Ivry: what a grace and an honor he could make him in the honor of the king who had thusly sent after him with such good company of soldiers to help and rescue him; and how the prince, in the trust of these men, went searching for the captain of the emperor to fight him and went there speedily from Lacedaemonia; and that, with much honor, the king would be more favorable to the prince when the need be for him.

472. And when the prince had received his advice, they called Sir Galeran in the presence of all men and established that he was regent and the governor of the principality for the king, and in the name of the king and of the prince. And about this he told him the commission and gave him his glove of the office of regent. And Sir Galeran, who was wise and valorous, seeing that it was good and honorable for the king, received it willingly.

473. This is how you heard that it was Sir Galeran of Ivry (regent) for the principality of Achaea for the life of Prince William; such as he established it to please King Charles.

474. But yet the tale will stop telling about Prince William and will speak of King Charles, and how Conradin⁴⁴ came to Apulia.

475. It occurred that, after some time passed, King Charles conquered in battle and killed King Manfred and had

⁴⁴ Conradin was the son of Conrad IV of Germany and the grandson of Frederick II, the Holy Roman Emperor from 1220 to 1250. Conradin was Duke of Swabia, King of Jerusalem, and King of Sicily. He was beheaded (included later in this translation) at age 16, thus eliminating the Hohenstaufen line.

conquered the kingdom of Apulia and Sicily and Calabria and held the lordship peacefully, Conradin from Germany, who was grandson...⁴⁵

475 A. A nobleman from Germany, Conradin, the grandson⁴⁶ of Emperor Frederick and cousin of King Manfred, having learned of the victory of Charles over Manfred, and yielding to his own desires and the will of his people, he gathered his troops to fight King Charles. He crossed the whole of Germany, summoning all the knights, and arrived in Lombardy where he found the Ghibellines⁴⁷, "these oppressors of the Church, these enemies of the Pope," who liked the Germans more than the French. Having gathered an innumerable army, he entered Apulia.

475 B. Learning this, King Charles wrote to his brother, the King of France, who sent to him his brother⁴⁸, the count of Artois, with two thousand elite knights. From Provence, Charles summoned, in sixty vessels, troops and horses. The Pope on his side had permitted King Charles to collect from the treasury of Saint Peter and had given the order to the cardinals and the archbishops to lend him the aid of troops, promising absolution like in the Crusades. The sovereigns of all the kingdoms sent troops on horseback and on foot.

⁴⁵ The manuscript of Brussels was missing this portion, so Longnon filled the lack with a summary from the Greek version. I have translated these portions from the French that Longnon gave.

⁴⁶ Both the French version and the Greek translated into French represent Conradin as the "neveu" (niés) of Emperor Frederick, but he was his grandson in reality. This probably comes from the influence of the Italian word "nipote," which means both nephew and grandson.

⁴⁷ The Ghibellines were a faction of people who supported the Holy Roman Emperor over the Pope, while the Guelphs supported the Pope.

⁴⁸ Longnon makes the note that Robert II, the count of Artois, was the nephew of the King of France, not the brother.

475 C. The King also sent word to Morea to ask the prince to come to his aid. The prince, highly doubting Conradin and fearing for King Charles, hastened to form a one-year truce with the captain of the Emperor in Mystras. He then made his preparations to take with him the elite of Morea: the lord of Karytaina, the lord of Akova, the grand constable John Chauderon, Geoffrey of Tournay and other knights numbering more than 400; and without delay he sailed to the despotate and landed at Brindisi. They quickly found the necessary horses and arrived in Benevento where the King was. At the news of the arrival of the prince, King Charles went to meet and thank him.

475 D. However we learned that Conradin had entered the land of Apulia with large forces, looking for the King everywhere, so much so that he was very close.

476. ... vehemently in the country of Apulia went searching for the king so much that he found him. And when the armies approached one another, Prince William who was accustomed to war in Romania and had learned the skills of the Greeks and Turks, got on his horse and took with him a group of men who knew war well enough and went so that they went uphill and found the high ground to see

and discover the army of the emperor. And when he was under the mound, he looked above and among them all over where the army of the emperor and the army of Conradin were being housed. And when he had seen them all and considered them well, he was truly amazed and said to his company that truly they were the best army that he had ever seen and that although it seemed that they were twice the size of the army of King Charles. And when he had really seen and discovered all the strength of the army that Conradin had, he came back to the army of King Charles.

477. And when the king called as he was leaving and said to him: "Sire, I tell you that I certainly saw and discovered the army and the strength that Conradin has; it seems to me, in my opinion, that they are more numerous than we. And, on the other hand, I know these Germans, who are a desperate army and fight without measure and are barbaric in their fighting.

So, if you want to fight against them with sense and skill, such as those of the Levant did, I am sure that, with the help of god, we will have the victory."

478. "My dear brothers, said the king to the prince, there are no skills I would not employ to ensure the victory, so what we use against our enemies. Since you are wise and informed and have such ability and have had feats of war, I rely on you to command and judge and I will do all your command."

479. "Sire, said the prince" when you command it, I will tell you my opinion. It is true that neither the Turks, nor the Cumans, nor the Greeks fear destruction of many horsemen in our army and also as God took kindness from them, he gave them malice. And they fight with such skill that we could barely beat them; this way always helped the best, because with their skill they destroyed the Emperor Baldwin⁴⁹ and King Boniface of Thessalonica⁵⁰. So, when it pleases you that I do it, I will tell you how it will be done.

480. "You will command and do share the most agile men that you have in all your army and will form 2 or 3 battalions or more if you have enough men and the best that you have. You will fight as many

⁴⁹ First emperor of the Latin Empire of Constantinople

⁵⁰ Boniface of Montferrat, Marquess of Montferrat from 1192, leader of the Fourth Crusade, and King of Thessalonica from 1205

battles as you are able; and they will be with you as long as our enemies aren't in an uncovered place, but in a place where they can see us. And I want to be on the other side with my army alone; and I will be waiting in ambush in such a way that I will not be seen.

481. "And when our enemies will come toward us to fight, this agile army that I devise for you will go straight toward our enemies to fight. And they will be ordered, when they are and come upon the point of battle and they will assemble their lances against their enemies, to flee and they will go straight to our lodging. And I am sure that as soon as the Germans see them fleeing, they will begin to chase after them.

482. "And this, our army, won't stop there, neither here nor there; after passing the lodgings, keeping their eye and their watch fixed on you, and me where I'll be. And I'm sure that the Germans and the other soldiers who are so envious and covetous of the victory that, as they come by our lodgings and see the pavilions and the draperies and riches, because they will give up the chase and begin to gain the victory. And we will have our ambushers who watch their coming and their behavior.

483. "And as soon as they think they've won

and start scattering by the lodges and you, presently, or all your battles, coming from one side and me from the other; and making them go back when they come to me. And then we will find them scrambled and scattered just as I have explained to you. We will thwart them as easily as no army ever has before."

484. - "By God the father!" said the king to the prince; "you have it so well planned that I want to do it just like this without other advice." So they planned and sent out the armies just as the prince had explained and told the king.

485. So for what would be a large bore of telling particularly in writing how they went and fought, I will tell you in just a few words; because just as the prince had advised the strategy to the king, so was it commanded and done. Because just as the Germans started chasing our army, they came

to the lodges; and immediately they came across the nice things and riches that were there for them to be deceived, they started celebrating and became scattered in such a way that each lost his companion in arms and abandoned his banner.

486. And when King Charles and the prince saw the Germans so villainously broken⁵¹ and scattered, they surrounded them on all sides and attacked them so forcefully that Conradin was taken and his army was thwarted and beaten like no other army was before.

487. And when King Charles saw how such a victory was reached, he gave grace to God; and then truly thanked the prince in a loud voice; and said that by his good sense and command they conquered and beat Conradin of Germany and all the good men he had in his company.

488. But the noble people of Naples, who truly loved King Charles for his great goodness, as soon as they had taken Conradin, they removed his head

⁵¹ In terms of breaking rank in a military formation

and then they put it on a lance and carried it to King Charles, thinking it would bring him pleasure. But when the king saw the head of Conradin, he seemed very repulsed and said it was because he would like it to cost ten ounces⁵² that they hadn't cut off his head. Had he remained alive, he would have given him great honor, because he deserved no ill will. He deserves to be honored and valued by the whole army because he put himself in great pain and adventure to die to avenge his friend.

489. After the kings commanded that the prisoners be sent in the castles and the fortresses

⁵² Longnon mentions that the Greek version says that he would have offered one of his best provinces for Conradin to remain alive. I have chosen to directly translate the French version as it is.

of the realm and were sent according to their condition⁵³. And then the king ordered that everyone had what he had won, except the tent and the pavilion and the room of Conradin and his harness, which he kept for himself.

490. And when this victory was just as you heard, the kings dismissed all his men, that each man went to his land and to his home. But the princes went to the company of the king to see the queen and her daughter. And when they were there, the king praised the prince and told the queen, in front of everyone, how they had the victory over their enemies by the intelligence and good command of the prince.

491. And the king, who truly loved the prince and brought him great honor, and kept him in his company for 20 days, celebrating and leading the best life in the world. And he was open to the idea of keeping him longer; but some news came to the prince from his country of Morea, how the Greeks his enemy had destroyed the peace and the truces that he had with them. He convinced himself to leave the company of the king earlier than he wanted to go back to his own country.

492. And the king, who knew that by the good sense and command of the prince he had conquered his enemy and taken back his country that he thought he had lost, and that

⁵³ "Condition" in this sense means that the people were separated both by social status and by health.

the prince had largely depended on his service and a lot of money but not given him for the service the king gave him much to have and some good jewels and 100 horses, the best he could have, taken from the battle he had won. After, the king gave him 50 horsemen and 200 on foot, paid for 6 months, to lead into Morea and aid him with his war.

493. And when the king had given the prince all these things, the prince took his leave from the king; and came by these days to Brindisi, where he found his ships and the closed vessels for the horses of the king that were waiting to welcome him. He boarded and all his army went straight to Glarentza, without any hindrance. And when it was known by Morea that the prince had come back from Apulia where they had great honor and victory, men came from all sides to show him and to celebrate and for their parents and friends who were there coming with the prince. And their coming brought him great joy.

494. And when the prince was sure that the Greeks had destroyed the country that he had done when he went to Apulia, by their will and not because his army had done anything, then he commanded the army that the king had given him, and gave them to the lord of Karytaina

and told him to go in his company to hold the frontier against the Greek warriors.

495. And when the lord of Karytaina had this army in his company, he was truly joyous, thinking and hoping that, because he had them with him, they could harm their enemies and conquer them. So the prince led them to his country of Skorta. He commanded them to be at a nice castle called the Grand Arachova⁵⁴, because it was the best and most beautiful frontier one could have to fight the Greeks and defend the country, that the enemies could neither enter nor damage the other areas.

496. Subsequently because this army came to the Grand Arachova, they did not stay for a long time that it seemed that, due to the cold waters that were at this castle, which welcomed an illness (dysentery, according to the Greek), from which the majority of them caught. Nevertheless, the lords of Karytaina did not let them stay or waste time, and thus took them and kept riding and to get a win against their enemies.

497. But after this, little time passed until misfortune came to Morea, that the very valiant knight, Sir Geoffrey of Briel⁵⁵, the lord of Karytaina, fell under an illness from which he died.

⁵⁴ A former town in western Boeotia, Greece

⁵⁵ French knight and third lord of the Barony of Karytaina who had his title revoked and given back twice: once for rebelling against his uncle, another time for leaving his area to stay with a mistress in Italy

Prince William and all those from his country were pained and scattered, large and small, because he was the best knight in all of Romania who maintained and governed the whole country against all enemies. So, because he left no heir after him to inherit the land, he split the barony into two parts. And half was given to his wife, the sister of the duke of Athens, and the other half went to Prince William.

498. But little time after that, duke Guy II de la Roche, who was the brother of this lady, by the will and consent of the king and prince, he ordered the marriage of his sister to the nobleman Sir Hugh, the count of Brienne and Lecce⁵⁶, who was then in Apulia, in the country of Lecce that the good King Charles had given him. And when the marriage agreement was settled between count Hugh of Brienne and the duke of Athens, he passed through the county of Apulia and came to Morea. And from the other part came the duke

⁵⁶ Hugh inherited Lecce, a county in southern Italy, when his older brother killed his father in Cairo.

of Athens. And when they were together in Morea, they summoned the lady to come from where she was, in the castle of Karytaina; and married them in Andravida.

499. And when the count had married the lady, he received the lordship of the half of Skorta and settled his affairs and placed officials in the land. And they didn't want to stay long in Morea, so he took the countess his wife and went to Apulia, to his land of Lecce. Just a little later the lady conceived a son with the count that they named Walter, which brought great honor and great status, and was one of the good knights in the world and of good renown.

500. And when duke Guy II de la Roche had died, he earned by heritage, on his mother's side, the duchy of Athens. This made him a duke. And he agreed with the Catalan Company and made him come to Thessaly⁵⁷. And then he was in disagreement with the Catalan Company, in Larissa⁵⁸. He then died defeated, and was undone by his pride in the year of Our Lord God Jesus Christ 1310 the 15th day of the month of March, on a Monday of the eighth indiction⁵⁹.

⁵⁷ Region of mainland Greece (not the peninsula) that touches the Aegean Sea

⁵⁸ Capital city of Thessaly

⁵⁹ Originally referring to the dating method of agricultural or land taxes, indictions were used to date documents.

501. If we will leave speaking about the count of Brienne and the duke of Athens and we will speak of Akova and how he died without heir of his body and gave the barony and his heritage to the noble lady, Madame Margaret, the daughter of the former Sir John of Nully⁶⁰, the marshal of the land of Achaea, and mother of the very noble Sir Nicholas of Saint Omer, the grand marshal of the aforementioned land and lord of a part of Thebes, may God save his soul.

502. When Prince William was in the prison of the emperor of Constantinople, he suffered much from leaving money for ransom. But for nothing

⁶⁰ French knight from Nully who became the first Baron of Passavant, a barony in the principality of Achaea

that he, or others for him, could say or do so that they could convince the emperor to release the prince from prison, unless he gave the emperor a part of Morea. The prince stayed three years attending to this and hoping that he paid money for ransom. And when he saw the bad situation, by the advice of the lord of Karytaina of other barons of his, he gave the emperor, for his ransom and release, the castles of Monemvasia, Mystras, and Grand Magne⁶¹. And when he [had] made and ordered his agreement and all his conditions for leaving prison he agreed to leave some hostages; and he took the sister of Sir John Chauderon⁶² and Madame Margaret, the daughter of Sir John of Nully, the grand marshal of the land.

503. It so happened that once Prince William left prison the noble baron Sir Walter of Rosières, who was the lord of Akova, died without a direct heir. From which came his heritage to the aforementioned Madame Margaret, because her mother was a blood sister of Sir Walter of Rosières and Madame Margaret was his niece. So, because the lady found herself in prison for her lord and was not in the country to request the inheritance that was owed to her by the death of her uncle, the prince took the castle of Akova and the entire barony for himself and kept it for himself while she was in prison.

504. And when it pleased God that the woman left prison, she came before the prince and requested the inheritance, showing and proving how she was the closest heir to her uncle, Sir Walter.

⁶¹ Monemvasia is in the southeastern part of Lacedaemonia. Mystras is a city just above the Mani Peninsula. Grand Magne was a castle in the Mani Peninsula.

⁶² Baron of Estamira and Grand Constable of the principality of Achaea

But the prince responded to her and said that she had no legal ground, as she had lost it because she failed to request it in following terms of the one day and one year, according to the customs of the country's laws.

505. And when the lady heard the prince responded thusly, she was amazed, because she believed that the prince didn't have to question it, because he had taken her hostage; as this is for this reason that, she was ousted from the country; so she would not have failed to request it in time and according to the legal terms. As the lady saw that she could not have any other response from the prince, she left and went to her home most upset. And after a little time had passed, the lady went back to ask the prince again, for a second and third time, her right, by the way and manner that one must demand inheritance that is owed to someone for the death of one's nearest relative. But the prince gave an immediate response and offered her again the consideration of his court.

506. And when the lady saw that the prince appeased her thusly with words and wanted neither to give up nor to release the castle and the Barony of Akova, she asked the advice of her friends and parents that she had then. So they advised her to marry a man who had the sense and power to ask for her right, because as long as she was a widow, she could benefit from nothing nor come to her own defense.

507. And when the lady saw the bad situation, that otherwise

could not meet her need, she consented to the advice of her friends. Her friends ordered and guided her so well, that she took as her husband the noble baron John of Saint Omer⁶³, the brother of Sir Nicholas of Saint Omer⁶⁴, the lord of a part of Thebes with lord Otho⁶⁵ too. These three brothers of Saint Omer were very noble men, as Sir Bela their father (father of Saint Omer) had married the sister of the King of Hungary, and the duke Guy II de la Roche was their first cousin. And the duke had three German brothers who were knights of great standing. Of which you can say that, when these seven barons wanted to do something at the time, nothing could stop them.

508. And then Sir John of Saint Omer had married this woman; he entered the lordship of her inheritance and was made grand marshal of the land. After this, without much delay, he requested his brothers, Sir Nicholas of Saint Omer and Sir Otho, to come and accompany him to request the Barony of Akova from the prince, which was owed by ancestral right to his wife. So went the brothers of Thebes to Morea most nobly.

509. And when they had arrived, they went to see the prince; and after two days Sir John of Saint Omer took his wife and went to the prince and presented his wife to him; and he himself asked the prince

⁶³ Marshal and baron of a third of Akova in the principality of Achaea

⁶⁴ Lord of half of Thebes and bailiff of the principality of Achaea

⁶⁵ First baron of Kalavryta

for what he owed to him to hold a court assembling all the barons. And the prince responded kindly that he could. So the prince ordered the barons and knights to come on the named date.

510. And when they had come, the prince⁶⁶ took his parliament, and his court to the convent of Saint Sophia in Andravida. And when the court was assembled, Sir Nicholas of Saint Omer spoke the words on behalf of sister-in-law. He took her by the hand and his brother by the other, and presented them to the court of the prince and said this:

511. "Sire, it is the truth that Madame Margaret, the wife of my brother here, is the niece of Sir Walter of Rosières, daughter of his sister, upon whose death the Barony of Akova, which Sir Walter held until his death, is owed to her, as she is his closest heir and relative. And it is true that the woman had not found herself in the country when her uncle died, to present herself before your court within fortieth day of the year according to the customs of the country. But her excuse is loyal and just which all men can see, that you yourself had taken her hostage

⁶⁶ Longnon notes that this should be "king."

for your own release as you were then in Constantinople when her uncle left this world.

512. "And as soon as you released her and she returned home, she presented herself before you and offered herself as true heir and relative of her uncle, asking and requesting from you the repossession and the taking back of the inheritance that was owed to her after the death of her uncle. And you, neither by the council nor by the view of your vassals, told her she had no right. And this, as an ill-advised woman, took leave from you without having right. And then, thanks be to God, she was married to a man such as my brother who is here. For which they present themselves before you and your court, these as true heirs and relatives and the others as their confessors; and they offer you allegiance and service, as the barony owes it. And they beg of you, by asking you as their lord, to please repossess the two castles and set right the Barony of Akova.

513. And the prince responded thusly to his lord Nicholas of Saint Omer and said: "We have heard word to word what you've said before us and our court; and we know that you have said only the truth and that Madame Margaret, who is here, was disinherited due to the fact that she was taken hostage by us and that she wasn't in the country within the year, then the death of her uncle, in order to request her right; for which we want to know from you if you asked of us right

or pardon for which she was disinherited from us."

514. Then the lord of Saint Omer responded thusly to the prince: "Sire, if I believed my sister-in-law wasn't right, I would ask pardon from you. But, because her claim is just, that you yourself took her hostage for your own release, and that for your own purpose she was hindered for not being in the country to ask her right, I do not request pardon from you, but justice."

515. "-Admittedly, said the prince to Sir Nicholas of Saint Omer, when you request the justice of my court, I would be lying if I refused it to you. So for this wish I reinforced my court with the wisest men of my country, clergy and laity; and so I will place this matter in their hands and their souls, to judge and sentence as loyally as they could, according to the uses and customs of the empire of Constantinople that Emperor Robert gave prince Geoffrey my brother."

516. Then the prince ordered all the barons, superiors and all the other vassals to come to Glarentza to deliver the verdict that Sir Nicholas of Saint Omer had asked of the court.

And

when they had all come and gathered in the convent of Saint Francis to hold court, the prince asked Sir Nicholas, who was his lawyer. And Sir Nicholas responded to the prince, as he himself would be first to speak in defense of his sister-in-law.

517. "In the name of God, said the prince, because you deign to be a lawyer for this case, and I, for your love, I will join in your company and I will bring forth the words and the defense for the court myself." And then the prince went to the regent that he kept in Lienart the chancellor, who was then his lord counselor and the man he trusted most, and told him before the court: "I recommend to you the office of my lordship; and request and command that you, by the advice of these noble men who are here, must hold the right of this woman as well as these of the court." And then the prince had recommended the office of the lordship of the chancellor; he got up as the equal of Sir Nicholas of Saint Omer and stood before the court.

518. And so began Sir Nicholas to speak and pose the question of the marshal's wife, his sister-in-law from the beginning: how the prince had taken her hostage, just as he had at his first request to the prince; how, as the lady was in prison, the lord of Akova died, the brother of the mother of Madame Margaret; and, because the term of the year and day passed, that the statutes ordered that each request heritage when he owes

and the lady wasn't in the country to request her rights, the prince and his officials seized the Barony of Akova for the court; "I say and propose that, because the lady was in prison, that the sire put her there for himself, as no case can, in his place, disinherit her by right, as the fault was that of the prince and not that of the lady."

519. And when the lord of Saint Omer had said and finished his reasoning, the prince began responding and making allegations and his defenses as best he could. It was the most debated item in court, on the points and allegations that each put for his defense; but in the end, when he saw that the court would lean toward the justice of the lady, they heard all that the lady didn't have to lose her heritage because she had been in prison strictly by order of the prince, and the prince who was well-informed and advised, had brought forth the book of customs; and proved before the court, by the content of the chapter that said and ordered how each faithful man is required to enter prison for his lord if he requires it.

520. Then the prince said to the court and affirmed at that point that, because the lady, repaid her debt, as it was her duty to her loyal lord, how he made her not be in the

country to request her trial and not bring herself in trial before him, according to reason and right, by the content of the chapter of the book that contained it, that she was disinherited and that for this she put herself in the consideration of the court.

521. And when the prince had shown to the court the book of customs, and proved by right that the woman held her debt to enter prison for her lord, and that, while repaying his requirements, the inheritance came to her, and she was not in the country to present herself before the lord in the commanded terms, so the court debated thusly.

522. But in the end everyone agreed in one accord; and said, according to the contents of the book of laws, that the lady had no right to the inheritance and that it would remain with the prince because she, being in prison for him, disinherited herself from the barony. So they called the peers and told them of the consideration of the court. And the prince thanked the court. But Sir John of Saint Omer, who lost the trial, responded loudly to the court that he would render no thanks when he had lost his trial.

523. And the prince turned his head to face Sir Nicholas of Saint Omer and said this: "In the trust of your great intelligence, today you have damaged your sister Madame Margaret. Because I was informed by the book of customs better than you, and I knew that she was wrong, and with this intention I asked if you wanted right or pardon; and if you had asked pardon of me, by my soul, I had good will to do it to your sister, because I know openly that by my doing so she was

disinherited. And of this I beg forgiveness from God and of the men who are here." So left the court and each went to his home; but criticized Sir Nicholas as they were leaving the court.

524. And when the prince was back in his home, he entered his rooms and summoned Lienart the chancellor and said this: "Chancellor, said the prince, know that I have great pity for Madame Margaret the marshal's wife, because she lost her inheritance because of me. And God knows that, it wasn't for the great pride and impertinence of Sir Nicholas of Saint Omer, as when I was advised by the book of laws that she had no right to have the Barony of Akova, that my trial was partly to give pardon to Madame Margaret and the other half to my daughter.

525. "However, although I won the trial by the consideration of the court, my conscience takes hold of me, because I know that, by my service, she was thusly disinherited. So I want you to do me a favor, for the love of the good lady; because the Barony of Akova represents twenty-four fiefdoms for the knights, in homage and in manorial land, that you divide eight fiefdoms, which is the third in the barony, five in

manorial lands and three in homage, and that these be the best fiefdoms; and that with these you make a privilege, that I give it, of a special pardon as a new gift, to Madame Margaret and the heirs of her flesh."

526. And the chancellors who were wise and prudent, seeing the good will of the prince, called the first in command of the palace Colinet and others who knew the barony. They divided the eight fiefdoms just as the prince commanded it. These fiefdoms included as manorial land: the land of Kalavryta⁶⁷, the fiefdom of Gueraines and that of Guomenice, close Akova, the fiefdom of Cocovax, close to Chalandritsa⁶⁸, the fiefdom of Julianel in the plain of Morea, the fiefdom of Petite Gastoigne, together the castle of Charpigny and part of Estransses.

527. And the fiefdoms of homage were: that of Sir Jaque of Veligosti, of the fiefdom of Valte, where all the castle of Regranice and that of Coscolomby; the homage of Madame [Margaret] who was the cousin of

⁶⁷ The Barony of Kalavryta, one of the original baronies in the principality of Achaea, was in the northern part of the Peloponnesian peninsula.

⁶⁸ The Barony of Chalandritsa, a barony in the principality of Achaea, was just west of Kalavryta and was also one of the original baronies.

Sir Walter of Rosières, for the fiefdom of Lisarée and the majority of the fiefdom of Toporice and Valaques that Sir John Chauderon held, and after him Madame Bathoméé his daughter; and the homage of Sir Charpigny for the half-fiefdom of Escuel in the mountains of Movri, where the castle of Saint Omer was then that formerly noble man, Sir Nicholas of Saint Omer the young, grand marshal of the land, closed to his time and called him Saint Omer, for that of Thebes that the Catalan Company took for him when they arrived in Thebes.

528. And when the deed was done, the chancellor carried it to good Prince William. And when the prince had seen and read the deed, he put it under the covering of his bed and then he commanded the chancellor. And he went for Madame Margaret; and told her how the prince ordered him to find her to come to him, and that she bring neither the baron nor any of his brothers. And when the lady had come before the prince, the prince addressed her by name and said:

529. "Madame Margaret, you know that I know that, because of me, you were disinherited of the Barony of Akova. And certainly, my intent was to grant you pardon. But as for your brother, Sir Nicholas, who refused my pardon and started a

fight with me, you have lost by consideration of the court your trial. Although I don't want in any way for you to be disinherited or spoiled of your inheritance that is owed to you by law. But lift the covering of this bed and take the letters and their contents, and I reinvest in you by my reverence chaperone and command the chancellor to place you in possession."

530. And the lady, who was wise and informed, like those who did not believe that she should have claimed, when she heard the prince speak, she was very happy, and sweetly thanked him, and took the deed and went to her home. And when Sir John of Saint Omer knew the pardon that the prince had given his wife, he was very happy, because he thought the prince would give them no pardon, since he had won the trial by consideration of the court.

531. And when the prince had given his third of the Barony of Akova to Madame Margaret of Saint Omer, just as you have heard, he summoned the chancellor and told him to write out another deed, how he gave his daughter, lady Margaret⁶⁹ the castle of Akova and the two parts of the barony, except the third that he had given to the marshal's wife and to the heirs of her flesh. And when the deed was completed, the prince summoned his daughter, Margaret, and adorned her with his glove of the

⁶⁹ Prince William's daughter was also named Margaret. He gave her 16 different fiefdoms, but the Treaty of Viterbo forced the Villehardouin lands into the hands of King Charles. Margaret later tried to reclaim the land, but her attempts were in vain. She had her daughter marry a prince who had no land in Italy and she passed her titles and claims to them. When she returned to Achaea, she was imprisoned and later died in prison. Her daughter and son-in-law invaded Achaea, trying to take the principality from Louis of Burgundy, but their army was forced to withdraw after a loss at the Battle of Manolada.

castle of Akova; and then he put it in her possession.

532. And after the prince had ordered this and settled other affairs of his country, just as it was pleasing to God, the good prince fell ill in the castle of Kalamata, at the same place where he was born, where he was suited to die. And when he felt that he could not escape this illness, he sent out to find all the best and wisest men in his land and commanded and made his final will and testament, he, like all wise and prudent men do when God gives them the grace to make a good end.

533. And when he had settled all his affairs, he ordered Sir John Chauderon as regent of his country, the grand constable, pending the king's will.

And then he wrote to King Charles how he would require him as his head lord, that his first wife and daughters be under his protection, and after, all the people, of high and low birth; and that all the things he had given, as much to churches as to other people, for God, to be kept forever.

534. And when he had settled his affairs, he gave his soul to Our Lord God Jesus Christ the first day of the month of May in 1277⁷⁰.

⁷⁰ Longnon notes that Prince William actually died in 1278, that 1277 was just a stylistic notes.

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APPENDIX

Map 1.1. Peloponnese Middle Ages Map



VITA

Houston F. McClure was born in Nashville, TN, to James and Belinda McClure. He is the younger brother by one minute to his identical twin brother Logan. He attended Beech Elementary and continued to Merrol Hyde Magnet School in Hendersonville, TN. After graduation, he headed east to The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, where he continued his studies in French and business. During his studies, Houston studied abroad in Caen, France, which was an important milestone in his career with French. He obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree in French and World Business from The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, in May 2014. He then accepted a graduate teaching assistantship at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, with the French department in the same year. Houston graduated with a Master of Arts degree in French and Francophone Studies in May 2016. He would like to continue his education by earning a PhD in Romance language linguistics or Translation studies, but has not yet made further educational commitments in favor of taking a short break after six continuous years of study.