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**THE EASTERN POLICY OF ALFONSO V OF ARAGON.
DOCUMENTARY SOURCES**

The relations of King Alfonso V of Aragon and I of Naples with the Albania of Skanderbeg during the last part of his reign, in the forties and fifties of the fifteenth century, cannot be understood regardless of what has been called in historiography for more than a century his "Eastern policy". This was precisely the title of the pioneering work of Francesco Cerone in 1903 and the same one that Constantin Marinescu and Alan Ryder subsequently used¹. It is no coincidence that none of them were Spanish scholars. Spanish and specifically Catalan historiography has until recently ignored this issue and more generally the figure of Alfonso V. Regarding the presence of the Crown of Aragon in the eastern Mediterranean, interest has focused on the fourteenth century and especially in the famous episode of the conquest of the duchy of Athens and Neopatria and its incorporation to the Crown between 1379 and 1388². Possibly, Alfonso's perception as an alien king, due to his origin from the Castilian dynasty of Trastámara, and more interested in Italy than in Catalonia, has influenced this trend. Therefore, his oriental policy has been considered more linked to the

¹ Francesco Cerone, *La politica orientale di Alfonso di Aragona*, Napoli, 1903, strato dall'Archivio storico per le province Napoletane, 27 (1902). Constantin Marinescu, *La politique orientale d'Alfonse V d'Aragon roi de Naples (1416-1458)*, Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1994; this edition was prepared in 1928 but remained unpublished, due to the Spanish Civil War, until the rediscovery of its incomplete galley proofs. Alan Ryder, "The Eastern policy of Alfonso the Magnanimous", *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana*, 28 (1979), pp. 7-26.

² The documentary sources were compiled by Antoni Rubió i Lluch, *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català (1301-1409). Col·leció de documents per a la història de l'expedició catalana a Orient i dels ducats d'Atenes i Neopàtria*, Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1947 (facsimile ed., Barcelona, 2001). A complete update of the studies on these episodes in Ernest Marco, *Almogàvers. La història*, Barcelona, La esfera de los libros, 2005 (Greek translation by Kleri Skandami, *Αλμογάβαροι. Η ιστορία τους*, Athens, 2011).

kingdom of Naples than to the traditional lines of action of the Crown of Aragon.

However, both Marinescu and Ryder have rightly pointed out that King Alfonso, although he certainly assumed and continued some Neapolitan policies, such as his intervention in Albania, maintained the traditional axes of Aragonese politics in the Levant, with primary attention to Catalan trade with North Africa and his claim for sovereignty in the duchy of Athens and Neopatria, and by extension throughout Greece. In any case, the different interpretations of his oriental policy emanate from the same documentary sources, which have been partly published for more than a hundred years. Their analysis and assessment is the object of these pages.

Although in all the archives of the European powers of the moment (Burgundy, Venice, Florence, the Papacy) relevant documents on this issue can be found, we will focus here in the main core of our sources in this regard, the documents of the Aragonese chancery preserved in the Archives of the Crown of Aragon, in Barcelona. We will examine briefly the circumstances of the discovery and dissemination of the documents of this Archives interesting for the history of the Eastern policy of Alfonso V, since they have conditioned all subsequent studies. The first who drew attention to the richness and importance of this documentation was the Hungarian Lajos Thallóczy, who in 1896 visited the Archives sent by the Budapest Academy of Sciences to look for what could be found there in relation to the history of Hungary, Croatia, Bosnia, Albania and Turkey. By the abundant and interesting correspondence preserved between Thallóczy and the then director of the Archives, Francisco de Bofarull, we know that his visit did not last more than twenty days and was not repeated, although the epistolary relationship was maintained for years³. During the brief time of this visit he could not carry out an exhaustive personal investigation, but in the following months copies of relevant documents were sent to him. These copies, not always free of errors, sometimes even important dating errors, are the ones he published in successive years in his collections of documents about Bosnia, Serbia or the Count of

³ Barcelona, Archives of the Crown of Aragon (ACA), Secretaría, 131.

Frangepan, among other works⁴. A part of these copies was transferred to the Società Napoletana di Storia Patria and served as a documentary basis for the aforementioned work of Cerone. This was therefore not the result of a personal investigation in the Archives but the elaboration of a historical interpretation based on a partial compilation of documents provided by Thallóczy.

The limitations of the works of Cerone and Thallóczy became apparent by the exhaustive investigation that Marinescu made personally in the Archives of the Crown of Aragon in the twenties. It was the basis of several articles, among which the one dedicated to the relationship between Alfonso V and Skanderbeg's Albania⁵. His most ambitious and global project on Alfonso's Eastern policy, however, as we have already mentioned, could not be published due to the Spanish and European political situation and was forgotten until his rediscovery and publication in 1994 from incomplete galley proofs. In the book and articles of Marinescu the documentary references are correct, the result of his first-hand research, far exceeding in quantity and quality the documentary base provided by Cerone and Thallóczy. On the contrary, not only did he not publish the aforementioned documents in full, but in most cases he only facilitates a brief archival reference as the basis of his statements, without providing details about the nature and precise content of each document, or even its full date. Ryder, meanwhile, despite the validity of many of his conclusions, largely bases his work on Cerone's limited documentary selection. It is important to remember, therefore, the circumstances of the elaboration of these works, because they still constitute, together with the monumental collection of documents about Skanderbeg and Albania published in 1942 by Jovan Radonic⁶, which is however not entirely exhaustive as regards the documents of the Archives of the Crown of Aragon, the documentary basis of all studies on this subject.

⁴ Ludwig von Thallóczy, *Studien zur Geschichte Bosniens und Serbiens im Mittelalter*, München und Leipzig, Verlag von Duncker & Humboldt, 1914. Lajos Thallóczy y Samu Barabás, *A Frangepan Család Oklevéltára*, Budapest, Kiadja a Magyar Tud. Akadémia, 1910. Lajos de Thallóczy, *Frammenti relativi alla storia dei paesi situati all'Adria*, estratto dall'*Archeografo Triestino*, vol. VI della III serie, Trieste, 1911.

⁵ Constantin Marinescu, "Alphonse V, roi d'Aragon et de Naples, et l'Albania de Scanderbeg", *Mélanges de l'École Roumaine en France*, 1, Paris, 1923, pp. 1-135.

⁶ Jovan Radonic, *Durad Kastriot Skenderbeg i Arbanija u XV veku: istoriksa grada*, Beograd, Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1942.

Alfonso V of Aragon spent the last twenty-six years of his life in the kingdom of Naples, first engaged in the war of conquest and since 1442 already settled in his new kingdom, without renouncing the government of his "western kingdoms." It is from that date and until his death in 1458 when Eastern policy, including its relationship with Albania, has an important role in the whole of his international policy and it is at this period that we will confine our attention.

In 1467, nine years after his death, a part of all the documentation accumulated in his chancery in Naples was transferred to the Royal Archives of Barcelona, where it has been preserved until today. On the contrary, what remained in Naples has been almost completely lost. What documents are not preserved, then? First, all the documentation received. This is a sensitive loss, since the documentation of this type preserved for previous reigns, including that of his father Ferdinand I, allows us to assess its great importance. This means that we have neither originals nor copies of any of the numerous letters addressed to King Alfonso by Skanderbeg and the rest of the kings and princes with whom he maintained close diplomatic relations, nor of the equally numerous reports and letters sent by his officers and ambassadors. We certainly know their existence, as they are mentioned in the king's response letters, which were copied in the register books that, as we will see, have been preserved. These responses sometimes include a brief summary of the letter to which they respond, but only very exceptionally the received letter is copied verbatim⁷.

These register books of the chancery of Alfonso V are the main historical source that we possess about his reign. We will briefly stop at them to understand their scope and value. In the Crown of Aragon, the registers, that is, the volumes in which the documents issued in the name and by mandate of the king in his chancery were copied in full, appear in the mid-thirteenth century. At the end of the century, especially under the reign of James II (1291-1327) their fundamental characteristics and their system of organization were fixed, and remained with few changes until the 18th century. For their conservation James II himself created in 1318 the Royal Archives in his

⁷ This happens in some responses of the king to the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI. For example, the latter's letter to King Alfonso dated February 25, 1449 is copied entirely in the response of the king of June 27 (ACA, Register 2655 (*Curiae I*), fol. 61v-62r).

palace in Barcelona. Thanks to this Archive, called Archives of the Crown of Aragon since the 18th century, and which has just celebrated 700 years of uninterrupted operation, more than 8,000 registers of the chancery of the kings of Aragon, 3,500 of them from medieval times, have come to us. Almost a thousand correspond to the reign of Alfonso V⁸.

A circumstance with important consequences in the registers of this reign is the aforementioned absence of the king of his Spanish kingdoms from 1432 until his death. He left there as lieutenant or viceroy his wife Queen Maria and later also his brother King John of Navarre. A dual government was thus established, led by the king in Naples and by his lieutenants in Spain, each with his own chancery and with his own registers. Just over half of all the registers of the reign of Alfonso V kept in the Archives contain documents of the king and the rest of his lieutenants. While the lieutenants dealt only with the administration of the Hispanic kingdoms and with relations with Castile, the king intervened from Naples in the affairs of all his kingdoms and in those of international politics.

The registers, both those of the king and those of his lieutenants, were divided into different series depending on the subject of the documents to be registered. Initially, the documents relating to all the kingdoms and territories of the Crown were copied indistinctly. From the fourteenth century onwards, however, specific series were created for the newly incorporated kingdoms, such as Sardinia, Sicily and Naples. King Alfonso's registers for Sardinia and Sicily were also sent to the Barcelona Archives after his death, but the series of Neapolitan registers remained in the kingdom, with the sole exception of the *Privilegiorum cancellariae Neapolis*. These are, unfortunately, the only preserved Neapolitan registers, as those that were not sent (we know a parcial list of more than a hundred Neapolitan) were lost in a fire in the 17th century⁹. Although most of the diplomatic correspondence was

⁸ Study and revised catalog of these registers: Beatriz Canellas and Alberto Torra: *Los registros de la Cancillería de Alfonso el Magnánimo*, Madrid, Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2000.

⁹ The recent edition of these registers *Privilegiorum Neapolis* includes an extensive introductory study on the vicissitudes of the Neapolitan documentation of Alfonso V: Carlos López Rodríguez and Stefano Palmieri, *I Registri Privilegiorum di Alfonso il Magnanimo della serie Neapolis dell'Archivio della Corona d'Aragona*, Napoli, Accademia Pontaniana, 2018.

copied in the registers that have been preserved, there were also certainly documents about the relationships with Albania and other countries in the Neapolitan registers now lost.

The most important series of registers of Alfonso V for the history of his foreign policy are the series *Curiae* and *Secretorum*, which include the instructions given by the king to his ambassadors; *Exercituuum*, with letters and orders regarding the preparations for its military campaigns in Italy and abroad; *Diversorum*, which contains grants and privileges, including those granted to foreigners. Relevant documents, however, can be found in other series, such as *Commune* or *Officialium*.

In consideration of the enormous amount of documents contained in the registers¹⁰ and the complexity of their organization, it is well understood the difficulty involved in historical research on any specific topic and in particular about the Eastern policy of Alfonso V. The relevant documents, including those concerning the same issue, are scattered not only among the registers of different series, but also in the various registers of the same series that were simultaneously open. The chancery of Alfonso V did not use special registers to group the documents of a very specific matter, the way it did in the reign of Peter IV with the register *Regum sarracenorum*, which collects the documents of the diplomatic relations with the Muslim countries, or the register *Ducatus Athenarum* for those relating to the duchy of Athens and Neopatria during the time of their incorporation into the Crown. Thus, documents relating to territories that, such as Skanderbeg's Albania, lent vassalage to Alfonso V, or to those that were directly annexed to the Crown, such as the small island of Castellorizo along the Turkish coast¹¹, are distributed in the general series together with thousands of other documents related to the most diverse matters.

Another added difficulty for the researcher is that although in the Archives the registers maintained the organization they had received in the chancery, over the centuries and for various reasons, such as bookbinding or loss of the original titles, this organization has suffered

¹⁰ Although the number of pages and documents contained in each register is variable, most of those corresponding to the reign of Alfonso V usually consist of about 400 pages and between 300 and 400 documents each.

¹¹ Daniel Durán Duelt, *Kastellórizo, una isla griega bajo dominio de Alfonso el Magnánimo (1450-1458)*. Colección documental, Barcelona, CSIC, 2003.

numerous errors and alterations that have hindered the correct identification of some registers. An example: a register *Curiae* of the secret seal of the years 1448-1453 was mistakenly identified since the 16th century as a register for Sicily. Consequently, it was overlooked by Marinescu and other scholars. Thus, among other documents of interest, an embassy sent by Skanderbeg to Naples in February 1452, mentioned in the king's reply letter copied in this register, had been completely ignored¹².

Any research, therefore, in order to be complete and accurate must be based on the systematic review of a large number of registers. Otherwise you run the risk of not only ignoring relevant documents but also of drawing erroneous conclusions. It is not uncommon to find that what is stated in one document is denied in another document copied in a different register. Ryder cites, for example, the detailed procurement granted by King Alfonso to his counsellor Luis de Santangel to negotiate with the Sultan of Egypt¹³. But he ignores that three months later this procurement was categorically revoked¹⁴.

In order to correctly assess all the documents kept in the registers of the chancery of Alfonso V related to its Eastern policy, it is therefore necessary a systematic research which will allow the location of the numerous documents that remain unpublished¹⁵. Not all of them, however, due to their different typologies, can provide information of the same value.

An important part of these documents are letters addressed by King Alfonso to kings and princes of the Levant, both Christian and Muslim. It is a large correspondence throughout this period and especially intense in the years immediately before and after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. We know up to 15 letters addressed by King

¹² ACA, Register 2895, fol. 93v (Appendix, doc. 4). This volume, cataloged as *Curiae Siciliae VIII*, was formed in the 18th century when two independent registers were bound together, the register *Curiae IX* of the secretary Francesc Martorell, not related to Sicily (current folios 1-124), and the register *Curiae Sicilie VII* of the protonotary Arnau Fonolleda (folios 7-48, 2nd numbering). Cf. B. Canellas y A. Torra, *Los registros*, pp. 71, 107 y 165.

¹³ A. Ryder, *Eastern policy*, p. 18, n. 45, with reference to ACA, Register 2697 (*Secretorum III*), fol. 103v-105v, dated July 6, 1451.

¹⁴ ACA, Register 2655 (*Curiae I*), fol. 175r-v, dated October 24, 1451.

¹⁵ Just in the series *Curiae* and *Secretorum* of the years 1442-1458 have we been able to locate more than one hundred and fifty unpublished documents related to the Eastern policy of Alfonso V (see in Appendix some of them related to Albania).

Alfonso to Skanderbeg, 22 to the Bosnian leader Stjepan Vukčić, 15 to the kings of Hungary and their governor Johannes Hunyadi, plus others to Durad Branković of Serbia, Emperor Constantine and the despots of Morea. Also to the Ottoman Sultan, to the Turkish bey of Karaman (the "Great Caramano" as he is named in the documents) or to the Sultan of Egypt. The vast majority is response to letters received by the king through ambassadors sent to that effect, but not all provide relevant data, beyond confirming the existence of a direct diplomatic contact.

Many are credentials, with the request that full credence be accorded to the bearer, who must personally convey the message of the king, of which no concrete details are given. This is, for example, the letter of credence for his usher, Joan Claver, sent to Simon Zenevise, lord of Strovili in Albania¹⁶. Although the letter of credence is usually accompanied by other documents that provide us with more information on the content of the response, from some embassies we have no knowledge other than such documents¹⁷.

Sometimes, however, the king's letter is of greater interest and contains extensive response to the demands presented by the foreign ambassador. This is the case of the first letter addressed to Skanderbeg, which answers point by point and in detail to what was stated by his ambassador Fray Antonio of Naples¹⁸. In contrast, other letters are disappointingly concise and elusive, such as the one sent to Demetrio Paleólogo, despot of Morea, in which he shows his satisfaction for what his ambassador has explained, without giving any indication about the content of his message¹⁹.

¹⁶ ACA, Register 2660 (*Curiae V*), fol. 154r, dated June 16, 1455 (publ. F. Cerone, *La politica orientale*, pp. 328-329).

¹⁷ For example, the embassy of Stephanus Pignolis, envoy of the king of Cyprus in April 1447, or that of Jeronimus Romanus, ambassador of the king of Bosnia Stjepan Thoma, of May 1448. We know about both of them only by the letter of King Alfonso informing of having received the ambassador and announcing that he will transmit his response (ACA, Register 2654 (*Curie VII* of Arnau Fonolleda), fol. 134v, dated April 30, 1447; and Register 2657² (*Curiae VIII* of Francesc Martorell), fol. 125v, dated May 8, 1448, publ. L. Thallóczy, *Studien*, doc. 48).

¹⁸ ACA, Register 2657¹ (*Curiae VIII* of Arnau Fonolleda), fol. 24r-v, dated December 14, 1447; publ. J. Radonic, *Durad Kastriot*, doc. 16. Equally detailed is the response to the requests of Stjepan Vukčić presented by his ambassadors the counts Georgio and Paulo (ACA, Register 2939 (*Secretorum III* of Arnau Fonolleda), fol. 77v, dated February 15, 1444; publ. L. Thallóczy, *Studien*, doc. 26).

¹⁹ ACA, Register 2655 (*Curiae I*), fol. 184r, dated November 13, 1451.

Other letters sent to kings and rulers do not respond specifically to a previous embassy. They may be, for example, letters of recommendation in favour of their agents or officers, or intended to report a specific issue, such as those addressed to Skanderbeg and other Albanian chiefs, informing them of the arrival of Ramon d'Ortafà as governor of the city of Croya²⁰.

Some of the most interesting letters are those written by the king explaining in detail the news that have come to his knowledge on matters of great importance. In a letter dated July 6, 1453, Alfonso V refers to the Pope the fall of Constantinople, as he had been told by a French galleon arriving from the East and by the prince of Taranto²¹. In October of the same year, also writing to the pope to ask for financial help for his fight against the Turks, he includes a complete report of the expensive activities of his army in the Levant under the command of Captain Bernat de Vilamarí, of the fortification of the island of Castellorizo, granted by the pope in 1450, and of the military aid provided "in Albanis regionibus" to "Georgio Castrioti aliter Scanderebech et Arianito"²².

These letters with news sent to third parties sometimes allow us to know details of embassies whose existence we would otherwise ignore. This happens with the one sent by the bey of Karaman to King Alfonso in July 1453. We only know the contents of it by the king's letters to the Pope, Emperor Frederick and Johannes Hunyadi informing them that the ambassador had communicated the disposition of the bey to fight the great Turk, for which he asked for Hungarian and pope's help²³. This is also the case of the mission entrusted to its usher and commander of Ulldecona, Brother Joan Claver, sent to the east. His objective in Albania before Simon Zenevisi is not known by the aforementioned credential letter but by the letters sent two months later

²⁰ ACA, Register 2660 (*Curiae V*), fol. 21r-v, dated April 24, 1452; publ. J. Radonic, *Durad Kastriot*, doc. 54.

²¹ ACA, Register 2661 (*Curiae VI*), fol. 21r-v; publ. F. Cerone, *La politica orientale*, pp. 247-248.

²² ACA, Register 2661 (*Curiae VI*), fol. 35v-36v, dated October 27, 1453; publ. D. Durán Duelt, *Kastellórizo*, doc. 31.

²³ ACA, Register 2661 (*Curiae VI*), fol. 23v, dated July 19, 1453.

to both the Pope and the Doge of Venice explaining how Joan Claver has completed his mission by getting Zenevisi's entry into vassalage²⁴.

There are other types of documents related to embassies. Some are formulaic and do not provide much information, such as letters of safe-conduct, issued by King Alfonso V to guarantee the passage of foreign ambassadors through his domains, or requested by him to other rulers in favour of their own envoys²⁵. Of greater interest are the so-called *Memoriales* or summaries given to the king's envoys and ambassadors with instructions on what they should say and do in their mission. We know about thirty of them directly related to the Eastern policy of this period. The Aragonese chancery began very early to register this type of documents -of high value for the historians-, and soon appeared a specific series dedicated primarily, although not exclusively, to collecting them: the series called according to the times *Legacionum* or *Secretorum*. We do not, however, have the *Memoriales* of all embassies sent by the king during this period, either because they were not issued or because they were not always registered.

In some cases the registered document serves only to verify the existence of oral instructions, probably to guarantee its secrecy. Thus, the few lines of the *Memorial* delivered to Jeroni Bellavista in August 1449, "of the things that should be done with the Great Karaman and the Despot Demetrios", only indicate that he will tell them the things "commisioned orally by His Majesty"²⁶. In general, however, these *Memoriales* to the ambassadors are the documents that give us more information about the true intentions and motivations of King Alfonso's eastern policy. With regard specifically to relations with Skanderbeg, we know four *Memoriales* of instructions to his envoys: those delivered

²⁴ ACA, Cancillería, Register 2661 (*Curiae VI*), fol. 97r, dated August 26, 1455. A similar letter of the same date addressed to the bailiff of the island of Corfu (*ibid.*, fol. 97v) was published by F. Cerone, *La política orientale*, p. 329, n. 1.

²⁵ For example, the safe-conduct granted by King Alfonso to "Atabey teucus illuster Magni Caramanni orator ad nos destinatus" (ACA, Register 2661 (*Curiae VI*), fol. 24v, dated July 18, 1453) or the safe-conduct requested for Bernat Vaquer, sent "in partes Albanie pro nonnullis nostris negociis peragendis" (ACA, Register 2655 (*Curiae I*), fol. 132v-133r, dated May 23, 1451; Appendix, doc. 2).

²⁶ "Memoriale (...) daquello deve fare con lo Gran Caramanno e Dispoto Dimitri (...). Primo (...) le dira e praticara con lui de le cose che per la prefata Maiesta a boca le sono state comisse (...)" (ACA, Register 2699 (*Secretorum II*), fol. 171r).

to Bernat Vaquer, the royal commissioner in Albania, in May 1451²⁷; to Ramon d'Ortafà, a year later, when he was appointed governor of the city of Croya²⁸ and later when he returned as viceroy of Albania in June 1454²⁹; and finally to Pelerino de Palermo in April 1455, who was sent before Ramon d'Ortafà and Skanderbeg³⁰. Other similar orders and instructions were issued by the king in the form of a mandate to his ambassadors and other officers, including those already mentioned Bernat Vaquer and Ramon d'Ortafà³¹. Especially interesting, and many still unpublished, are the *Memoriales* of instructions to his ambassadors before the pope and other kings and western rulers to deal specifically with the question of the Levant, especially the preparation of armed intervention against the Turks after the fall of Constantinople³². Altogether, all these instructions and orders, while directed to high rank officials very near to the King, are especially revealing of his intentions and free from the rhetoric that usually adorns diplomatic correspondence and often conceals their true motives.

The agreements reached after the visit of the ambassadors could be included in another type of document of special interest. Due to their characteristic disposition in chapters or points, these covenants or treaties are generally referred to as "Capitulations" or simply "Chapters." Well known are those signed in March 1451 with Skanderbeg and three months later with Gjergj Arianiti³³. They are not the only ones. Alfonso V had already signed an extensive protection treaty with the Duke of Bosnia Stjepan Vukcic, which was repeated ten

²⁷ ACA, Register 2655 (*Curiae I*), fol. 135r-136r, dated May 31, 1451; publ. J. Radonic, *Durad Kastriot*, doc. 47.

²⁸ ACA, Register 2660 (*Curiae V*), fol. 22v-24v, dated April 26, 1452; publ. J. Radonic, *Durad Kastriot*, doc. 56.

²⁹ ACA, Register 2799 (*Exercituum II*), fol. 114v-115r, dated June 14, 1454 (Appendix, doc. 5).

³⁰ ACA, Register 2798 (*Exercituum I*), fol. 158r-159r, dated April 12, 1455 (Appendix, doc. 14).

³¹ For example, orders addressed to Bernat Vaquer to take over the city and castle of Croya (ACA, Register 2658 (*Curiae III*), fol. 150r-v, dated May 23, 1451; Appendix, doc. 1)

³² For example, the memorial delivered to Juan Fernández de Híjar, ambassador to the Pope, on October 19, 1455, where it is proposed, among other things, to request the passage of Jacopo Piccinino to Albania (ACA, Register 2700 (*Secretorum IV*), fol. 103v-104v; with an addendum of October 25, fol. 105v-106r).

³³ ACA, Register 2697 (*Secretorum III*), fol. 100r-v, dated March 26, and fol. 101r-102v, June 7; publ. J. Radonic, *Durad Kastriot*, doc. 38 and 48, respectively.

years later³⁴, and another also with the Despot of Morea³⁵, which reflected Alfonso's ambition to intervene directly in Greece, because it raised the possibility that Alfonso could succeed the Despot as emperor. These agreements, however, unlike the one reached with Skanderbeg, did not become effective due to lack of the final signature of the other party. Therefore, they must sometimes be understood as a proposal held by the ambassadors before reaching the final agreement. This is expressly said about the Capitulations delivered in November 1446 to the Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Rhodes, so that he would know the limits to which he should abide in his negotiations with the Great Turk and the Sultan of Egypt³⁶.

We will finally mention two types of documents that were usually registered in specific series: the appointments of royal officers and the grant of royal mercies. The former are usually found in the series called *Officialium*. Of special relevance are those of the viceroys. Along with the appointment of Ramon d'Ortafà as viceroy "in provinciis Grecie, Albanie et Sclavonie"³⁷, we find that of Giovanni di Ventimiglia, marquis de Geraci, appointed viceroy of the ducats of Athens and Neopatria in November 1444, when Alfonso V had hopes of recovering the ducats, already in the hands of the Turks³⁸, and that of Joan Claver, viceroy "in partibus orientalibus" since July 1456³⁹. The appointments of the captain general of the army of the Levant, Bernat de Vilamari⁴⁰, and the commander of the so-called 'Castel Alfonsí' (Alfonso's Castle), fortified by the king on the island of Castellorizo⁴¹, are also preserved.

Royal grants and privileges, meanwhile, were registered in the series called *Diversorum*. Here we find an important privilege granted to the

³⁴ ACA, Register 2939 (*Secretorum III* of Arnau Fonolleda), fol. 76r-77r, dated February 19, 1444 and Register 2700 (*Secretorum IV*), fol. 65r-68r, June 1, 1454; publ. L. Thallóczy, *Studien*, doc. 29 and 63, respectively.

³⁵ ACA, Register 2697 (*Secretorum III*), fol. 98r-99v, dated February, 1451; publ. F. Cerone, *La politica orientale*, pp. 191-195.

³⁶ ACA, Register 2653 (*Curiae VII* de F. Martorell), fol. 123v-124r y 124r-v, respectively, dated November 5, 1446.

³⁷ ACA, Register 2661 (*Curiae VI*), fol. 70v-71r, dated June 15, 1454; publ. J. Radonic, *Durad Kastriot*, doc. 80.

³⁸ ACA, Register 2655 (*Curiae I*), fol. 29v-30v, dated November 26, 1444.

³⁹ ACA, Register 2602 (*Officialium V*), fol. 143v-145r, dated July 8, 1456.

⁴⁰ ACA, Register 2655 (*Curiae I*), fol. 67v-69r, dated November 15, 1449.

⁴¹ ACA, Register 2660 (*Curiae V*), fol. 159v-161v, dated May 1, 1450; publ. D. Durán Duelt, *Kastellórizo*, doc. 17.

city of Croya in February 1457, following the agreement with Skanderbeg six years earlier, and which in fact confirmed its Byzantine privileges⁴². This is also one of the last testimonies of Alfonso V's relations with Skanderbeg, although still in November of that same year of 1457 the king received his ambassadors, the Englishman John Newport and the Albanian Paulo⁴³. A few months later, in June 1458, the king died at the Castel dell'Ovo in Naples.

The interest of King Alfonso in intervening in the eastern Mediterranean was constant throughout his reign, especially after the conquest of Naples in 1442. His eastern policy, however, cannot be understood separately from the whole of his diplomatic and military activity and especially his struggle for hegemony in Italy. Italian policy, together with the government of its western kingdoms, of which he never disinterested despite his absence from Spain from 1432 until his death, appear as the dominant themes of the documents contained in the registers of his chancery. These registers have been studied and partly published by historians for more than a century. However, they still contain a large number of unpublished documents that allow us to deepen our knowledge.

APPENDIX

1

Torre del Greco, 23 May 1451.

King Alfonso V of Aragon, by virtue of the pacts signed with Gjergj Kastrioti, entrusts Bernat Vaquer, official of his treasury, the guard and govern of the city and castle of Croya.

ACA, Register 2658 (*Curie III*), fol. 150r-v.

Alfonsus et cetera, nobili viro Bernardo Vacquer de nostra thesoreria familiari fideli nostro dilecto, gratiam nostram et bonam voluntatem. Cum virtute capitulorum nuper inter maiestatem nostram ex una, et venerabilem in Christo patrem dominum Stephanum episcopum Croye et religiosum magistrum Nicolaum de Burguzi ordinis Sancti Dominici, oratores spectabilis et magnifici Georgii Castrioti domini dicte

⁴² ACA, Register 2623 (*Diversorum X*), fol. 118r-119v, dated April 19, 1457; publ. J. Radonic, *Durad Kastriot*, doc. 137.

⁴³ ACA, Register 2661 (*Curiae VI*), fol. 179r-v (Appendix, doc. 20 and 21).

civitatis Croye et suorum consanguineorum baronum in Albania partibus ex altera, prefatus Georgius et sui consanguinei teneantur et obligati sint nobis ad nonnulla peragenda, et presertim quod si nos mitteremus in ipsorum presidium et defensionem adversus teucros gentem armigeram, statim cum gens predicta ad ipsos applicuisset, civitatem et castrum Croye predictae assignaret illi quem illuc nos mitteriemus, ut hec et alia in predictis capitulis ad que nos referimus largius enarrantur. Cumque impresentiarum in partis Albanie ad predictum dominum Croye et suos consanguineos nostras gentes, victualia et alia nonnulla in eorum presidium mittamus, volentes onus huiusmodi eundi scilicet ad partes illas et capiendi nomine nostro civitatem et castrum Croye predictae et alia faciendi, que nos pro presenti prefatorum capitulorum vigore facere possemus alicui diligenti, sufficienti et ydonee persone imponere, inter ceteros vos delegamus, cui confidentes ad plenum de vestri diligencia, prudencia, sollicitudine et sufficiencia^{/150v;} in aliis magis arduis negotiis vobis commissis expertis, onus predictum inponi dignum visum est. Quam ob rem vobis tenore presencium, de certa nostra sciencia et expresse dicimus, comittimus et mandamus quatenus statim receptis presentibus personaliter ad dictam civitatem Croye vos conferatis, ad quam postquam una cum dictis nostris gentibus applicueritis nomine et parte nostris dictam civitatem Croye eiusque castrum capietis et ad manus vestras apprehenditis, creando et faciendo in ea illos officiales et ministros qui vobis videbuntur, ac castrum iddem custodietis, vel illi persone seu personis comendabitis cui seu quibus vobis illud comendari debere visum fuerit, vosque seu ille vel illi cui seu quibus ea comittetis civitatem et castrum predictum teneatis, custodiat et gubernetis vel teneant, custodiant et gubernent ad honorem, fidelitatem et servicium nostrum, virtute iuramenti et homagii quod ab eis nostro nomine exigetis et recipietis ore et manibus ut est moris. Et demum omnia alia facietis et exequamini que nos presenti, si illuc accederemus, in premissis et circa ea faceremus et facere possemus, dantes etiam et concedentes vobis plenissimam facultatem et potestatem imperandi, percipiendi et mandandi ad vestrum libitum voluntatis predictis nostris gentibus et eorum comestabilis et aliis subditis nostris et fidelibus inibi existentibus, quibus earumdem tenore presencium firmiter et expresse mandamus, sub nostri gracia et amoris obentu ac fidelitate qua nobis tenentur, quod vobis commissario nostro in omnibus honorem, fidelitatem, comodum et utilitatem ac servicium nostrum concernentibus pareant, obediant et intendant tanquam nobis. Nos enim vobis in premissis omnibus et singulis exequendis cum incidentibus, emergentibus, dependentibus et connexis eisdem vices, voces et posse nostrum comittimus serie presenti. Sit itaque in huiusmodi onere vobis imposito vos geratis quod mereaminini coram nobis merito comendari, quemadmodum in vobis ad summum confidimus, presentes propterea litteras comuni^{a)} nostro sigillo in dorso^{b)} munitas vobis fieri iussimus. Datum in castello Turris Octavi die XXIII maii XIII^{c)} indiccione anno M^o CCCC LI. Rex Alfonsus.

Dominus rex mandavit michi Arnaldo Fonolleda. Probata.

a) comuni] *interlinear over parvo deleted.*

b) dorso] *interlinear over pede deleted.*

2

Torre del Greco, 23 May 1451.

King Alfonso V of Aragon asks all jurisdictional lords and their officers and subjects to let free pass to Bernat Vaquer, whom he has sent to Albania for certain affairs.

ACA, Register 2655 (*Curiae I*), fol. 132v-133r.

Alfonsus et cetera, illustribus, spectabilibus, magnificis, nobiles et egregiis viris quibusvis ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, baronibus, terrarum dominis et dominabus comunitatibusque et singularibus personis, amicis benivolis et devotis nostris, salutem; officialibus vero et subditis nostris quibuscumque ad quos presentes pervenerint seu fuerint quolibet presentate, consiliariis et fidelibus nostris dilectis, gratiam nostram et bonam voluntatem. Nobilem virum et dilectum familiarem nostrum Bernardum Vaquer quem impresentiarum in partes Albanie pro nonnullis nostris negociis peragendis mittimus, vobis et unicuique vestrum quam possumus comendatum facimus, vos amicos benivolos et devotos nostros attente pro amicitiam et benivolentiam nostram mutuam rogantes et precantes, vobis vero officialibus et subditis nostris sub nostre gratie et amoris obtentu mandantes, ut eidem Bernardo et secum euntibus in omnibus pro quibus ad vos recursum habebit subveniatis, assistendo sibi et suis omne ope, auxilio, consilio et favoribus oportunis, necnon ipsum et socios cum pecuniis, eques, valisiis, rebus et bonis quibuscumque que secum deferent pro quasvis civitates, terras et loca, passusque, pontes et scafas absque solutione iuris passagii, scafagii et aliorum quorumcumque vectigalium libere transire sinatis et permittatis, nullum impedimentum, damnum, molestiam, moram aut tarditatem eisdem inferentes vel inferri a quoque patientes si vos amici, benivoli et devoti nostri ad summum ^{/133r/} nobis complacere ac hoc idem in vestros nobis commissos nos efficere cupitis, et vos officiales et subditi nostri predicti gratiam nostram habetis caram, iramque et indignationem nostram non subire cupitis. Datum in castello Turris Octavi die XXIII may anno M CCCC LI. Rex Alfonsus.

Dominus rex mandavit mihi Arnaldo Fonolleda.

3

Torre del Greco, 10 June 1451.

King Alfonso V of Aragon appoints Gjergj Arianiti as commissioner and solicitor to receive in his name all the barons of Albania under Turkish rule who want to be placed under his protection and dominion.

ACA, Register 2619 (*Diversorum VI*), fol. 79v-80r.

Golomi Arenit.

Nos Alfonsus et cetera. Perspecta optima voluntate vestri magnifici viri Golemi Arenit Comninovich de Albania devoti nobis plurimum dilecti erga nostrum fideique catholice augmentum, tenore presencium de certa nostra sciencia vos eundem magnificum Golemi Arenit facimus, constituimus et fiducialiter ordinamus nostrum commissarium, procuratorem et generalem gestorem negociorum nostrorum infrascriptorum, dantes et concedentes vobis harundem serie facultatem et potestatem

quod vice et nomine nostris possitis et libere valeatis omnibus et quibuscumque baronibus et magnatibus Albanis existentibus sub teucrorum et aliorum infidelium ditione nostras partes sequi et nobis se dedere, et sub protectione et dominio nostrum venire volentibus, in vim presentium confirmare omnes et singulas civitates, oppida, feuda et terras suas, introitus, redditus et iura quecumque per eos nomine possessa seu que hactenus habuerunt sub et cum illis ^{/80r/} pactis, capitulis et contractibus ad id expedientibus et necessariis quibusque cum eisdem aut eorum aliquo concordaveritis, nec minus possitis et valeatis nostro nomine ab ipsis recipere solitum et consuetum fidelitatis ligium et homagium cum cautelis et scripturis publicis aut alias quomodocumque et demum omnia alia et singula agere, facere, procurare, administrare, promittere et convenire in predictis et circa ea, cum dependentibus, emergentibus et connexis ex eis, que pro effectuali executione premissorum vobis expediencia videbuntur et que nos ipsi capitularem et facere possemus si in premissis personaliter adessemus. Promittentes vobis in nostra regia bona fide nos semper habituros ratum, gratum, firmum et validum quicquod per vos eundem Golemi Arenit in et super predictis omnibus et singulis procuratum, capitulatum, conventum, promissum, factum et administratum fuerit quomodolibet sive gestum, et nullo unquam tempore contravenire seu revocare. In quorum testimonium presentes fieri iussimus nostro comuni sigillo inpendenti munitas. Datum in Turri Octavi die decimo mensis iunii M^o CCCC^o quinquagesimo primo, regnorum nostrorum anno XXXVI^o, huius vero regni nostri Sicilie citra Farum anno decimo septimo. Rex Alfonsus.

Dominus rex mandavit michi Bartholomeo de Reus, visa per magnum camerarium et per conservatorem generalem. Probata.

4

Pozzuoli, 17 February 1452.

King Alfonso V of Aragon informs Gjergj Kastrioti Skanderbeg, captain general in Albania, that he has received his ambassador Teodoro Manay and rejoices in his successes against the Turks, advising him to reach with them a peace agreement.

ACA, Register 2895¹ (*Curiae IX de F. Martorell*), fol. 93v.

Rex Aragonum et cetera.

Spectabilis et magnifice vir, strenue gentium armorum noster generalis capitaneus nobis dilecte, vostra littera havimo recepta et auduto Teodoro Manay vostro ambassiatore sopra le cose che nce have explicate de vostra parte ve respondimo che havimo havuto singularissimo piacere deli prosperi successi vostri contra deli turchi, con li quali per alcuni boni respecti nce pare de presente vuy debiate fare la pace demandata per loro con quelle condicione, pacti e capituli che meglio ve parerano essere expediente per ben de quissi facti. Quanto al providere a Croya, nui lo farrimo incontinente. Data in civitate Puteolorum die XVII^o februarii anno Domini M^o CCCC^o LII^o. Rex Alfonsus.

Dominus rex mandavit mihi Ioanni Olzina. Probata.

Spectabili et magnifico viro Georgio Castriotti dicto Scandalberch, provinciarum Albanie domino strenuo gentium armorum nostro capitaneo generali nobis dilecto.

5

Castel Nuovo of Naples, 14 June 1454.

Instructions of King Alfonso V of Aragon to Ramon d'Ortafà on what he must do in Albania as viceroy.

ACA, Register 2799 (*Exercituum II*), fol. 114v-115r.

Instruccions acomanades per lo serenissimo senyor rey d'Arago e de les dos Sicilies et cetera, al magnifich mossen Ramon d'Ortassa conseller del dit senyor rey e visrey en les parts de Albania de les coses que per part del dit senyor deu fer en les dites parts.

E primerament, dada la letra e dites les saluts acostumades per part del dit senyor al magnifich Jordi Castrioti dit Scandarbech, li dira e notificara la provisio per lo dit senyor rey feta per guardia e defensio dels castells de les parts della, e com lo dit senyor rey ha ordenat que ell dit magnifich Jordi haia cascun any sobre les salines, les quals lo dit senyor mana fer per lo dit mossen Ramon en lo Cap d'Arago, mil e cincents ducats de provisio. E axi per les presents instruccions mana lo dit senyor al dit visrey que ho deia complir de les pecunies procehidores de la sal de les dites salines.

Item, vol e mana lo dit senyor rey que de les pecunies de la dita sal sien dats per lo dit visrey cascun any durant lo beneplacit del dit senyor al magnifich Areniti trescents ducats per sosteniment del castell de Crepatore.

^{/115r}Item, vol e mana lo dit senyor que a Musey Thobia e altres barons de Albania los sia dat algun sosteniment de les pecunies procehidores de la dita sal a conexença del dit visrey e del dit Jordi.

Item, mana lo dit senyor que los castellans dels castells de Croya, Scallutzo e Cap d'Arago sien pagats de les pecunies procehidores de la sal demunt dita, a raho de doscents ducats per cascu per any, e que los castellans dels altres castells sien per semblant pagats de les dites pecunies a conexença del dit visrey.

Item, en vitut de les presents instruccions, lo senyor rey dona licencia al dit visrey que pusca fer batre moneda en Croya, ço es reyls d'argent de la liga, pes e cuny dels reyls qui de present se baten en la ciutat de Napols.

Expeditum in Castello Novo Neapolis die XIII^o junii anno a nativitate Domini M^o CCCC^o quinquagesimo quarto. Rex Alfonsus.

Dominus rex mandavit michi Arnaldo Fonolleda. Probata.

6

Castel Nuovo of Naples, 21 October 1454.

King Alfonso V of Aragon responds to a letter of Ramon d'Ortafà, his viceroy in Albania, delivered by the ambassador of Paolo Ducagini, who has given him feudal homage. In return the king has granted Ducagini 300 annual ducats to be paid from his salt marshes in Albania.

ACA, Register 2661 (*Curiae VI*), fol. 76v.

Lo rey et cetera.

Visrey, vostra letra reebem en dies passats per lo embaxador de Paulo Dughagino, a la qual vos responem com nos, oyt lo dit embaxador, lo trametem a nostre sant pare, scrivint en se recomendacio. Apres, tornant de Roma nos ha prestat sacrament e homenatge. Havem nos stablida annua provisio al dit Paulo de trecents ducats pagadors dels diners de les nostres salines fetes e ques faran en aquexes parts, segons largament veureu en lo privilegi. Torna se ara lo dit embaxador be desempachat, fareu li pagar la dita sua annua provisio segons tenor del dit privilegi. Dada en lo Castell Nou de Napsols a XXI de octubre M CCCC LIII. Rex Alfonsus.

Arnaldus Fonolleda prothonotarius.

7

Pozzuoli, 23 February 1455.

King Alfonso V of Aragon begs Pope Nicholas V to receive Paulo Gazolo ambassador of Gjergj Kastrioti Skanderbeg.

ACA, Register 2660 (*Curiae V*), fol. 132v.

Sanctissime et cetera, profiscitur impresentiarum ad pedes beatitudinis vestre egregius miles Paulus Gazolus orator magnifici et strenui viri Georgii Castrioti aliter Scandarbegi, capitanei generalis in partibus Albanie fidelis nostri dilecti, pro expediendis cum eadem vestra sanctitate nonnullis suis negociis redentes itaque illum vestre sanctitatis prefate specialiter commissum eidem. Supplicamus humiliter ut cum virtutibus ipsius Georgii, cum nostri gracia et amore, ipsum Paulum Gazolum oratorem quamprimum et ad votum expedire dignetur. Hoc in singularis muneris loco sumus suscepturi ad eadem vestra sanctitate, quam omnipotens tueatur feliciter ad vota regimini Ecclesie sue sancte. Data in civitate Puteolorum die XXIII^o febroarii anno Domini M^o CCCC^o LV^o. Rex Alfonsus.

Eximie santitati vestre et cetera.

Dominus rex mandavit michi Arnaldo Fonolleda. Probata.

Sanctissimo ac beatissimo domino nostro pape.

8

Pozzuoli, 23 February 1455.

King Alfonso V of Aragon begs the Doge of Venice to receive Paulo Gazolo ambassador of Gjergj Kastrioti Skanderbeg.

ACA, Register 2660, fol. 133r.

Rex Aragonum utriusque Sicilie et cetera. Illustrissime et potens dux amice noster carissime, profiscitur impresentiarum ad vos egregius miles Paulus Gazolus orator magnifici et strenui viri Georgii Castrioti aliter Scandarbechi, capitanei generalis in partibus Albanie vassalli nostri dilecti, viri profecto, non ignani nec inertis sed continue summo studio et diligencia adversus turcos pro Christi nomine dominantis, ut vobiscum nonnulla eius nomine agat. Rogamus itaque vos affectuose ut contemplacione nostri Paulum Gazolum oratorem prefatum specialiter commissum

suscipere, eumque quamprimum et ad votum expedire velitis. Hoc enim nobis gratissimum erit placebitisque nobis in eo agendo [...]. Data in civitate Puteolorum die XXIII febroarii anno Domini M^o CCCC LV^o. Rex Alfonsus.

Dominus rex mandavit michi Arnaldo Fonolleda.

9

Pozzuoli, 16 March 1455.

King Alfonso V of Aragon confirms and grants Simon Zenevisi, after receiving his oath of fidelity and homage, all the lands in Albania that he and his predecessors owned before the Turkish rule, reserving in recognition of his supreme domain the ordinary tributes that used to receive the Great Turk.

ACA, Register 2621 (*Diversorum VIII*), fol. 35r-v.

Simonis Gimboxe.

Nos Alfonsus et cetera. Cum vos magnificus vir Simon Gimboxa dominus in una parte Albanie fidelis nostri dilectis, qui noviter vos et dominium vestrum quod habetis ad presens et habebitis in futurum dicioni et imperio nostro subiecistis, prestans seu prestari nobis faciens pro vobis vestrisque heredibus et successoribus fidelitatis debite iuramentum et homagium nobis impresentiarum, inter cetera supplicaveritis ut terram Argirocastri sitam in partibus Albanie cum pertinentiis eius omnibus que quondam vestra et vestrorum predecessorum fuit, nunc autem per Magnum Teucrum occupata detinetur, vobis et vestris heredibus et successoribus in perpetuum confirmare et de novo concedere benignius dignemur ex nunc prout ex tunc quando illam a posse et manibus predicti Magni Teucri, quod brevi facturum vos speratis, ad omnium vestrum reduxeritis. Nos supplicationibus vestris huiusmodi benigne annuere volentes, cupientesque in aliis multo maioribus vobis nos liberales reddere, predictam terram Argirocastri cum omnibus eius tenimentis, territoriis, iurisdictionibus, introitibus, redditibus, iuribus, pertinentiis, actionibus, rationibus et ceteris quibuscumque ad dictam terram pertinentibus et spectantibus, et cum quibus illam vestri predecessores olim ante occupationem dicti Magni Teucri tenuerint, vobis predicto Simoni Gimboxe vestrisque heredibus et successoribus ex vestro corpore legitime descendentibus natis iam et in antea nascituris in perpetuum, tenore presentium litterarumstrarum, de certa nostri sciencia et liberalitate mera confirmamus damusque, donamus ^{/35v/} et de novo concedimus et elargimus, solum nobis in dicta terra reservantes pro recognitione suppremi domini collectas et pensiones ordinarias quas singulis annis nunc dictus Magnus Teucer ab ea percipit et consequitur, quasque nobis et nostre curie quolibet anno dari et solvi volumus, modo et forma quibus nunc ipsi Magno Teucro dantur et solvuntur. Itaque vos dictus Simon vestrique heredes et successores predicti terram ipsam quamprimum recuperata fuerit cum omnibus pertinentiis et aliis predictis habeatis, teneatis et possideatis pacifice et quiete, investientes pro inde vos dictum Simonem pro vobis vestrisque heredibus et successoribus predictis in perpetuum de presenti nostra confirmatione, concessione et gracia per expeditionem presentium litterarumstrarum quam investituram, vim, robur et efficaciam vere et realis confirmationis et concessionis predictae, volumus et decernimus obtinere. Et propterea

mandamus per has easdem magnifico viro et dilecto consiliario et viceregi nostro in partibus Albanie Raymundo de Ortofa militi et aliis universis et singulis officialibus et subditis nostris in predictis partibus Albanie et alibi constitutis maioribus et minoribus, quovis nomine, officio et potestate fungentibus, ad quos spectet ipsorumque officialium locatenentibus presentibus et futuris, de certa nostri sciencia et expresse, ut forme presentis nostre confirmationis et concessionis per eos et unumquemque eorum diligenter attenda illam ipsi et quelibet eorum vobis predicto Simoni Gimboxe ipsisque vestris heredibus et succesoribus in perpetuum teneant firmiter et observent, tenerique et observari ab omnibus inviolabiliter faciant atque mandent. In cuius rei testimonium presentes nostras litteras fieri iussimus magno maiestatis nostre sigillo pendenti munitas. Datum in civitate nostra Puteolorum die XVI mensis martii III indictione anno a nativitate Domini M CCCC LV, huius citra farum Sicilie regi anno XXI, aliorum vero regnorum nostrorum XXXX. Rex Alfonsus.

Dominus rex mandavit mihi Arnaldo Fonolleda et vidit P. regii patrimonii generalis conservator. Probata.

10

Pozzuoli, 16 March 1455.

King Alfonso V of Aragon confirms and grants the brothers Murico and Georgio Orphanites, subjects of Simon Zenevisi, after receiving his oath of fidelity and homage, the lands of Saint Blaise and Doglani in Albania that he and his predecessors owned before the Turkish domain, reserving in recognition of his supreme rule the ordinary tribute that the Grand Turk used to received.

ACA, Register 2621 (*Diversorum VIII*), fol. 36r.

Pro Georgio et Murico Orphani.

Nos Alfonsus et cetera. Cum vos egregii viri Muricus et Georgius Orphanites fratres consanguinei et subditi magnifici viri Simonis Gimboxe, domini in una parte Albanie fidelis nostri dilecti, qui noviter se et dominium suum quod ad presens habet et habebit in futurum dicioni et imperio nostro subiecit, prestans seu prestari nobis faciens pro se heredibusque et successoribus suis fidelitatis debite iuramentum nobis impresentiarum, inter cetera supplicari feceritis ut terras Sancti Blasii et Doglani sitas in partibus Albanie cum pertinentiis *et cetera, ut in alia proxime registrata mutatis mutandis, cum eadem signatura et mandato*^{a)}.

^{a)} Reference to document 9.

11

Pozzuoli, 16 March 1455.

King Alfonso V of Aragon informs Venetian officials in Corfu that Simon Zenevisi, lord of a part of Albania, has become his vassal, so he begs them to treat him well.

ACA, Register 2621 (*Diversorum VIII*), fol. 36r.

Rex et cetera.

Nobiles viri devoti nostri dilecti, lo magnifico Simoni Gimbixa segnore in quesse parte de Albania novamente se e facto vassallo nostro, submittendo se e lo suo stato ad la iurisdictione e imperio nostro. La qual cosa notificando ve per la presente, ve pregamo che damo in anti voglate bene tractare per nostra contemplatione lo dicto Simoni, sue terre et vassalli, si como li altri nostri subditi e vassalli tractate, de che ne compiacerite grandemente. Data in civitate nostra Puteolorum die XVI mensis martii anno Domini M CCCC LV. Rex Alfonsus.

Dominus rex mandavit mihi Arnaldo Fonolleda. Probata.

Dirigitur officialibus Cruffoni.

12

Castel Nuovo of Naples, 11 April 1455.

King Alfonso V of Aragon sends to Ramon d'Ortafà, viceroy in Albania a credential letter for his constable Pelerino of Palermo.

ACA, Register 2798 (*Exercituum I*), fol. 159r.

Lo rey d'Arago et cetera.

Mossen Ortaffa, de present trametem aqui Palerino^{a)} de Palermo conestable nostre, al qual havem comes vos diga de nostra part algunes coses en execute altres qui per ells^{b)} vos seran referides. Manam vos que, donant li fe e creenca en quant de nostra part vos dira com farieu a nos propi, executeu lo que per ell vos sera dit, com de vos fermament confiam e lo negoci requer. Dada en lo Castell Nou de Napols a XI dies del mes de abril del any M CCCC LV. Rex Alfonsus.

Arnaldus Fonolleda prothonotarius. Probata.

Al magnifich amat conseller e visrey nostre en les parts de Albania mossen Ramon d'Ortaffa.

^{a)} Palerino] *interlinear over Antonello deleted.* ^{b)} ells] *sic instead of ell.*

13

Castel Nuovo of Naples, 11 April 1455.

King Alfonso V of Aragon sends to Gjergj Kastrioti Skanderbeg a credential letter for his constable Pelerino of Palermo.

ACA, Register 2798 (*Exercituum I*), fol. 159r-v.

Rex Aragonum et cetera.

Spectabilis et magnifice vir consiliarie fidelis nobis plurimum dilecte, de presente mandamo da vuy lo nobile et strenuo comestabulo de gente a pede Palerino^{a)} de Palermo ^{/159v/} per alcune cose concernente nostro servicio, le quale le havemo comese debia con vuy conferire. Comandamo ve per czo che, dando li fede in quanto sopra czo de nostra parte ve dira como ad nuy proprio, debiate darre prompta expedicione secundo vederite el caso requeude. Data in Castello Novo Neapolis die XI^o mensis aprilis anno a nativitate Domini millesimo CCCC LV^o. Rex Alfonsus.

Arnaldus Fonolleda prothonotarius. Probata.

Dirigitur Ieorgio Castrioti alias Scandarbech et cetera.
 Similis alea fuit expedita directa sequenti:
 Spectabili et magnifico viro Musayche consiliario fideli nobis dilecto.

^{a)} Palerino] *interlinear over Antonello deleted.*

14

Castel Nuovo of Naples, 12 April 1455.

Instructions of King Alfonso V of Aragon to his constable Pelerino de Palermo on what he must deal in Albania with the viceroy Ramon d'Ortafà and with Gjergj Kastrioti Skanderbeg.

ACA, Register 2798 (*Exercituum I*), fol. 158r-159r.

Memoriale comisso per la sacra maiesta del serenissimo signiore re d'Aragona, de Sicilia citra et ultra farum et cetera, al nobile et strenuo homo Palerino de Palermo, comestabulo de fanti ad piedi, de le cose le quale per parte de la ditta maiesta deve dire, exponere et comunicare con li magnifici misser Raymundo de Ortaffa vicere per la dicta maiesta in Albania, et misser Jorgio Castrioti dicto Scandarbecho, et provvedere in le parte de Albania.

In primis, iunto che sera lo dicto Palerino in la citate de Croya o altra parte de Albania dove seranno li dicti magnifici vicere et misser Jorgio, dicte ad ipsi le consuete salutacione per parte de la ditta maiesta et date le littere credenciale de ipsa maiesta ad li predicti directe, dira et exponera como la ditta maiesta, hauta informatione per le littere de lo dicto vicere et anche per lo so homo, et de lo dicto misser Jorgio, de li castelli li qual facilmente se poriano havere per lo dicto vicere et recuperare de turchi, avendo sucursu de^{a)} gente de issa maiesta, a deliberato de fare et mandare dare lo ditto succurso^{a)}, lo quale mette gia in ordine vo in questo mezo tempo che quello mette in ordine per potere meglo provvedere a le cose bisognassero, manda ad ipsi lo dicto Palerino como persona apta, intelligente et experta in simile cose per che si possibile sera proveda ad occio li diti castelli et li terrenni, passi et paysi d'aquilli.

E per zio per parte de la dita maiesta, notificando li la ditta causa de la sua andata in quella parte, reuedera a lo ditto vicere et a lo ditto misser Jorgio che incontinenti li donano guide et quella companyia che ad ipsi parera, con la quale lo ditto Palerino possa sicuramente andare ad provvedere li diti castelli, terrenni, passi et paysi, a tal che provedute le ditte cose per lo ditto Palerino et bene comprese possa prestamente retornare et fare plena informatione de tutto distinctamente a la ditta maiesta, et ipsa maiesta secundo la ditta informatione mandare subito quello succurso de gente et altre cose che ad executione de tale impresa necessarie seranno. Et in questo lo ditto Palerino usara de la sua solita diligencia ^{/158v/}secundo la ditta maiesta de ipso confida. Et si finalmente lo ditto Palerino potesse andare fin ad lo payse de Simoni Gimbixa, lo quale novamente se e facto homo de la dicta maiesta, anche andara lla et provedera tutto lo payse a tal che de tutto possa fare vera relacione et informacione ad la ditta maiesta.

Ceterum, lo ditto Palerino notificara a li ditti vicere et misser Jorgio la morte de papa Nicola et como per gracia divina a li di octo de lo presente mese de aprile per lo collegio de li cardinali e stato electo in summo pontifice misser Alfonso de Borgia, primo cardinale de Valencia et ora nominato Kalixto papa tercio, lo quale e vassallo et e stato gran tempo ufficiale de la predicta maiesta et in la sua corte, como sa be lo ditto vicere, et e persona multo intelligente et virtuosa et affectata a la impresa contra li turchi et altri infideli per deffensione et augmento de la catolica fide. Et e certa la ditta maiesta che incontinente con summo studio attendera in la dicta impresa, et inter alia ad subvenire et adiutare in quella parte in altro modo che per lo ditto quondam papa Nicola non e stato facto per lo passato. Per tanto, le dira che ipsi et specialmente lo dito misser Jorgio vogliano confortari da questo tutti li populi de quello paysi et animar li ad continuare in la deffensione del paysi et offensione contra li dicti turchi virilmente, de li quali con lo aiuto divino indubie se obtenera la victoria.

Insuper, si lo dicto Palerino se vedera con lo magnifico Musayche, lo salutara per parte de la ditta maiesta et li dira como ipsa maiesta e multo bene informata de lo suo laudabile portamento con lo vicere in omne cosa concernente lo servizio de la ditta maiesta et beneficcio de la impresa, de che non fo may in dubio la ditta maiesta. Et per tanto de parte de ipsa maiesta lo confortara al continuare et intendere se bene in omne cosa con lo ditto vicere, como sempre virtuosamente ha fatto. Rex Alfonsus.

^{/159r/} Exeditum in Castello Novo Neapolis die duodecimo aprilis anno a nativitate Domini millesimo CCCC LV°.

Dominus rex mandavit michi Arnaldo Fonolleda. Probata.

^{a-a)} de gente... ditto succurso] *interlinear*.

15

Castel Nuovo of Naples, 14 April 1455.

King Alfonso V of Aragon informs [Manuel Kantakouzenos] that he has received an ambassador from his father [Georgios Kantakouzenos] who has communicated the goodwill of Albanian gentlemen to enter his service. He urges him to overcome the differences with Thomas Palaiologos Despot of Morea and fight against the Turks.

ACA, Register 2661 (*Curiae VI*), fol. 85r-v.

Rex Aragonum et cetera.

Magnifice vir fidelis nostri dilecte, por uno ambasciatore dello illustre principe vostro patre simo stati informati de la strenuitate vostra, et anche ^{/85v/} de la volunta bona che hano quissi gentilomini albanisi verso li servicii nostri havimo ne grande piacere. Et per tanto ve advisamo che vuy et loro ve donate bona voglia, ca nuy mandarimo presto una persona notabilissima, la quale sera per aconciare la diferencia che havite con lo dispotho chyer Thoma vostro patre et vuy. Et speramo in Dio che le virtute vostre le expreririmo contra li turchi et acrexerimo lo stato et lo honore de ciasqueduno de vuy. Pregando ve che ve sforcete tenere ben preparato et in puncto quesso castello de lo Columuczi per czo che secundo simo informati e cosa molto disposta per le facende nostre et vostre. Data in Castello Novo Neapoli die XIII aprilis III indicione M CCCC LV. Rex Alfonsus.

Dominus rex mandavit michi Arnaldo Fonolleda. Probata.

16

Castel Nuovo of Naples, 26 August 1455.

King Alfonso V of Aragon informs Pope Calixto III that Simon Zenevisi, lord of Strovili in Albania, has given him oath of fidelity and homage.

ACA, Register 2661 (*Curiae VI*), fol. 97r.

Sanctissime et cetera, his nostris litteris sanctitatem vestram certiolem reddimus^{a)} quemadmodum magnificus Simon Gimboxi dominus Castrivillari in Albanie subiecit se statumque suum dicioni nostre, prestans nobis fidelitatis iuramentum et homagium, quam rem non dubitamus sanctitate vestre fore gratissimum. Quapropter eximie sanctitati vestre supplicamus humiliter ut dignetur precipere patronis vestrarum triremium in partes orientis profectarum ut Simonem ipsum suasque terras et vassallos comendatissimos habeant, omnem illis si opus fuerit favorem et adiumentum prestantes, nam ab eodem Simone et suis terris habere potuerunt victualia et alia eis necessaria iusto precio sanctitatem vestram omnipotens, et cetera. Data in Castello Novo Neapolis die XXVI mensis augusti anno Domini M CCCC LV. Rex Alfonsus.

Dominus rex mandavit mihi Arnaldo Fonolleda. Probata.

Sanctissimo ac beatissimo domino nostro pape.

^{a)} *Aside note:* Non bene reddimus, sed latine dicte dum est facimus.

17

Castel Nuovo of Naples, [26] August 1455.

King Alfonso V of Aragon informs Francesco Foscari Doge of Venice that Simon Zenevisi, lord of Strovili in Albania, has given him oath of fidelity and homage, and begs him to order his officials in Corfu to treat him well.

ACA, Register 2661 (*Curiae VI*), fol. 97r.

Rex et cetera. Illustrissime et potens dux amice nostre carissime, his nostris litteris *et cetera ut in proxima usque*^{a)} quam rem, vobis gratissimam fore arbitrati sumus quin quidem honorem et commodum nostrum e que vobis ac nobis cure esse propter mutuam inter nos amicitiam et benevolentiam non dubitamus. Quo circa vos vehementer rogamus ut vestris litteris precipere velitis baiulo et officialibus insule Crufoni ac quibuscumque patronis tam navium et triremium quam aliorum quorumvis vasorum maritimorum subditis vestris, ut ipsi Simoni suisque terris et vassallis, omni favori adiumento et consilio sint eosque ut bonos vicinos decet tractent. In quo tamen nobis placebitis quantum dici potest. Data in Castello Novo Neapolis die XVI^{b)} augusti anno Domini M CCCC LV^o. Rex Alfonsus.

Dominus rex mandavit mihi Arnaldo Fonolleda. Probata.

Illustrissimo et potestati Francisco Foscari Venetiarum domini amico nostro carissimo.

^{a)} Reference to document 16. ^{b)} XVI] sic instead of XXVI.

18

Castel Nuovo of Naples, 19 June 1456.

King Alfonso V of Aragon thanks Ramon d'Ortafà, viceroy in Albania, for the news on his latest letters and urges him to continue informing him of the actions of the Turks. He also informs him, among other things, about sending infantry reinforcements with Joan Claver and the arrangements of the pope's army.

ACA, Register 2798 (*Exercituum I*), fol. 172v-173r.

Lo rey d'Arago et cetera.

Visrey, reebut havem dues letres vestres, fetes la una a XV^{a)}, l'altra a XXIII del mes de maig prop passat, e regratiam vos de totes les noves que per aquelles nos avisau, pregant vos affectuosament que segons vostre bon costum vullats continuar totes les voltes que oportunitat haureu per que dels procehiments dels turchs siam continuament avisats. Quant del fet de Pere Spau, lo qual nos scriviu vel^{b)} esser home nostre, ja per altra vos havem scrit e declarad nostra intencio, la qual es que som contents de nostra ^{/173r/}part lo accepteu e li prometau que on fortuna administras, lo que Deu no vulla, que lo turch lo lanças de casa sua, per nos li sera donat sosteniment per la vida sua, per manera que rahonablement se deura contentar. Havem haut plaer com es arribat lo gra que trametiem e loam vostra deliberacio de fornir Troya^{c)} principalment, avisant vos per semblant havem deliberat de fornir vos ne de mes. Quant al socorriment dels infants, vos avisam que nos desempaxam frare Johan Claver ab una galera armata, la qual trametiem per visitar aquexes maritimes, et ab la dita galera trametem peccunies per socorrer per los dits infants e encara per pagar lo capella dels castells de Croya e companyons. Per tant, confortau los a ben servir e virilment, car indubitablement ab la dita galera hauran lo dit socorriment e paga. De la armada de llo papa, de la qual es capita e legat lo cardenal camerlench, es veritat ques desempachna en Roma e ab aquellas entenem a trametre algunes galeres nostres. Haurem plaer vos informeu ens aviseu de la disposicio de la Volona e altres terres a la marina vehines, per que ans de la partida de la dita armada avisats, pugam provehir a dar orde que la dita armada passas per aqui sins aparra, e n aço vos pregam ens encarregam siau solicit com se pertany. Dada en lo nostre Castell Nou de Napols a XVIII del mes de juny del any mil CCCCLVI. Rex Alfonsus.

Arnaldus Fonolleda prothonotarius.

Al magnifich e amat conseller nostre mossen Ramon d'Ortaffa visrey en les parts de Albania.

^{a)} XV] corrected over XXV. ^{b)} vel] sic instead of vol. ^{c)} Troya] sic instead of Croya.

19

Castel Nuovo of Naples, 13 October 1457.

King Alfonso V of Aragon recommends to Philip III Duke of Burgundy his poursuivant Montreal, whom he had sent to Albania with a military company and who

on his return will inform him of the deeds of Skanderbeg and the events in those lands.

ACA, Register 2661 (*Curiae VI*), fol. 175v.

Rex Aragonum utriusque Sicilie et cetera. Illustrissime et potens dux consanguinee et amice noster carissime, dilectus et devotus noster Montreal, porsavantus vester, quem nuper ad magnificum Georgium Scandarbech in Albaniis regionibus nostris cum armigeris miseramus, acta et gesta illis in partibus, tam per dictum Georgium cum armigeris nostris quam per inmanissimum illum Mahometum teucrorum dominum Christi nominis inimicum quia in pluribus affuit, vobis plenius referet. Vos propterea affectuosissime rogantes ut prefatum Montreal cum ad vos venerit benigne audire ipsumque nostri contemplacione recomissum suscipere velitis, quod loco complacencie singularis vobis ascribemus. Data in Castello Novo Neapolis die tercio decimo mensis octobris anno a nativitate Domini M CCCC LVII^o. Rex Alfonsus.

Dominus rex mandavit michi Arnaldo Fonolleda. Proбата.

Illustrisimo et potenti Filipo duci Burgundie consanguineo et amico nostro carissimo.

20

Castel Nuovo of Naples, 28 November 1457.

King Alfonso V of Aragon informs the papal secretary Miquel Ferrer and various cardinals that his camerlengo John Newport, together with the envoy of Gjergj Kastrioti, are going to the Pope to ask for his immediate help against the Turks.

ACA, Register 2661 (*Curiae VI*), fol. 179r-v.

Reverendissime et cetera, rediit ad nos nuper ex Albanie oris strenuus vir Ioannes Nauport miles anglicus, consiliarius et camarlengus noster dilectus, quem iam pridem in presidium spectabili viro Georgio Castrioti cum quibusdam nostris peditibus quibus preerat miseramus, et enuntiavit nobis una cum nobili viro Paulo milite Albanense, oratore ipsius Castrioti ad nos misso, tot tantisque periculis Castriotum eundem ab hostium multitudine cingi, ut nisi a summo pontifice, cui in primis hoc faciendum accedit, deinde a ceteris Christi fidelibus celerius presidium magnum accipiat, aut pereat aut fugiat sit ^{/179v/} necesse, quod profecto si eum facere conveniat ovantes iam latium hostes invadere prospicimus, non enim preter illum qui in eos impetum faciat habent. Nos equidem ipsum quibuscumque rebus potuimus sepe minimo iuvimus et quamdiu potuerimus iuvabimus, atque inpresentiarum de hac re ad eundem summum pontificem litteras damus, ei magnopere supplicantes ut Castriotum ipsum, tam forti animo pro religione christiana contra teucros iam diutius dimicantem, tot tantisque periculis nunc cinctum [...] oculis inspicere iuvare, reique publice christianorum consulere^{a)} dignetur et velit. Acceduntque ad illum et ad vestram paternitatem reverendam ea de causa Ioannes et Paulus ipsi commemorati, uberius omnia exposituri, que cum ita sint, paternitati vestre reverende vehementissime rogamus atque ita ut maiori studio iustioreque de causa rogare non possimus, ut hominibus his aditum ad ipsum summum pontificem quotiens opus fuerit patefaciat et muniat, atque

rem hanc quibuscumque rebus potuerit iuvet. Pluribus verbis paternitatem vestram reverendam teneremus nisi iam satis illam in christianorum salutem comparandam incitatum cognosceremus. Data in Castello Novo civitatis nostre Neapolis die XXVIII^o mensis novembris anno a nativitate Domini millesimo CCCC LXVII^o. Rex Alfonsus.

Dominus rex mandavit michi Arnaldo Fonolleda. Probata.

Dirigitur cardinali Portugalensi.

Similes fuerunt expedite quinque alie directe sequentibus:

Cardinali Ilerdensi.

Cardinali Niceno.

Cardinali Andagavensi.

Cardinali Firmano.

Cardinali Sancti Marci.

Et Michaeli Ferrer secretario domini nostri pape.

^{a)} consulere] *interlinear over conservare deleted.*

21

Castel Nuovo of Naples, 30 November 1457.

King Alfonso V of Aragon informs Pope Calixto III that John Newport and Paulo Albanian, envoys of Gjergj Kastrioti, have let him know about the war initiated by Stjepan Vukčić Duke of Bosnia against Ragusa, and urges him to beg the Duke to give up the war against Christians.

ACA, Register 2661 (*Curiae VI*), fol. 179r.

Sanctissime pater, et cetera. Accepimus dudum ex sermone nobilium virorum Iohannis Nauport, anglici consiliarii et camerlengi nostri dilecti, et Pauli Albanensis, militum oratoris per spectabilem virum Georgium Castriotum alias Scanderbecum ad nos missi, illustrem Sthpanum^{a)} Bocine ducem arma contra raguciensis ingenti manu sumpsisse, ab eo que tam dire illos iam opprimi, ut nisi a sanctitate vestra celerius videant consultum iri, eos magno teucrorum duci conveniat aut dari aut tributarios reddi. Nos ad ducem ipsum nostras litteras dabimus quibus satis accurate eum ut ab ea re desistat armaque contra fideles ferre desinat rogabimus. Quare sanctitatem vestram etiam magnopere obtestamur ut statim his litteris lectis hominibusque ipsis humane auditis accedunt enim ad eam hec uberius relaturi, ad ducem eundem suas litteras Ioanni Nauport predicto dare dignetur. Et velit almam personam vestram diu omnipotens conservare dignetur regimini Ecclesie sue sancte. Data in Castro Novo civitatis nostre Neapolis die XXX^o novembris anno M CCCC LVII^o. Rex Alfonsus.

Dominus rex mandavit michi Arnaldo Fonolleda. Probata.

^{a)} Sthpanum] *sic.*

