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Correction of Catherine Baillon's Grimaldi Ancestry

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Many French Canadians descend from the noble lady Catherine Baillon and through her they have ancestors far removed from the cold shores of the St. Lawrence. Among her medieval Franco-Italian ancestors who once basked in the warmth of the Mediterranean are the Grimaldis. In the *Table d'ascendance de Catherine Baillon (12 générations)* two Grimaldi descents for Catherine Baillon are presented.¹ The first goes through the Grimaldi of Beuil family and the second is through the Grimaldi of Antibes family.² While the former stands intact, the latter is in need of correction.

In the ninth generation of Catherine Baillon's ancestry she descends from Rainier Lascaris, count of Vintimille and co-seigneur of La Briga and Limone. He was the son of Ludovic (or Louis) Lascaris, count of Vintimille, and Tiburge Grimaldi de Beuil. Rainier was married around 1400-1403 to Madeleine Grimaldi, the daughter of Luc Grimaldi and Yolande Grimaldi, whose parents, and thus her relationship to Luc, are unknown. Luc was the brother of Marc Grimaldi, with whom he shared the seigneuries of Antibes, Cagnes, and Menton.³ It is well established that Luc and Marc were the sons of Antoine Grimaldi who was married to Catherine Doria.⁴

The issue is who are the parents of Antoine Grimaldi?

In the *Table d'ascendance de Catherine Baillon (12 générations)* the answer to this question is that Antoine Grimaldi was the son of Rainier I Grimaldi, the founder of the family that eventually became the princes of Monaco.⁵ Although the authors found no original document naming Antoine's parents, this relationship was based on three observations:

1. Rainier I Grimaldi was the seigneur of Cagnes and Villeneuve and these two seigneuries were owned by the descendants of Antoine.⁶

¹ René Jetté, John Patrick DuLong, Roland-Yves Gagné, Gail F. Moreau, and Joseph A. Dubé, *Table d'ascendance de Catherine Baillon (12 générations)* (Montréal: Société généalogique canadienne-française, 2001), 117-118, 129-130, 143-145, 155-158.

² The arms of the Grimaldis used by the principality of Monaco were, with a few exceptions, apparently used by other branches of the family including the Grimaldis of Antibes. The arms are: *Fuselé d'argent et de gueules*. The Grimaldis of Beuil used: *Ecartelé: au I et IV, d'or à l'étoile de seize rais de gueules (Beuil); au II et III, fuselé d'argent et de gueules (Grimaldi)*. Pierre-Robert Garino, *Armorial du comté de Nice* (Nice: Serre Éditeur, 2000), 67-68.

³ Antibes, Cagnes, and Menton are all in Alpes-Maritimes.

⁴ François-Alexandre Aubert de la Chenaye-Desbois and Jacques Badier, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse, contenant les généalogies, l'histoire et la chronologie des familles nobles de France*, 3rd ed. 19 vols. (Paris: Schlesinger, 1863-1876), 9:cols. 828-829. Louis Moréri, *Le grand dictionnaire historique, ou Le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane*, rev. ed. by Claude-Pierre Goujet and Étienne François Drouet, 10 vols. (Paris, Les libraires associés, 1759), 5:377. Pol Louis Potier de Courcy, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France*. vol. 4 and vol. 9 in 2 parts (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et Cie., 1868-1879), 4: 459-460. Potier de Courcy work is a revision and updating of Anselme de Ste-Marie, Père [alias Pierre de Guibours], *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la Maison royale de France, des pairs, grands officiers de la Couronne et de la Maison du Roy et des anciens barons du royaume*. . . 9 vols., continued by M. Du Fourmy, 3rd ed., reviewed, corrected, and augmented by P. Ange and P. Simplicien, augustins déchaussés (Paris, 1723-1733), 4:492-493.

⁵ Jetté et al., *Table d'ascendance de Catherine Baillon*, 144.

⁶ Cagnes is now Cagnes-sur-Mer, Alpes-Maritimes. Villeneuve is Villeneuve-Loubet, and it is just to the southwest of Cagnes. La Chenaye-Desbois and Badier, as well as Potier de Courcy, place Villeneuve in Normandie and Moréri changes its name to Neuville, but they are mistaken. La Chenaye-Desbois and Badier, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse*, 9:col. 824. Moréri, *Le grand dictionnaire*, 5:376. Potier de Courcy, *Maison royale de France*, 4:457.

2. Charles I Grimaldi, seigneur of Monaco, and the well documented son of Rainier I, most likely had a brother named Antoine as the names Charles I and Antoine are mentioned together in numerous contemporary documents, and they were co-seigneurs of Monaco.
3. According to Abbé Alliez, Claudine Grimaldi, the Monaco heiress and descendant of Charles I, was married in 1465 to Lambert Grimaldi, co-seigneur of Antibes, and descendant of Antoine, and they were related in the fourth to the fifth degree of consanguinity.⁷ This would be consistent with Charles I and Antoine being brothers. However, it is unclear if Alliez was calculating this relationship based on published genealogies or an original document.

In addition, several leading French genealogical sources indicated that Antoine and Charles I were brothers and the sons of Rainier I Grimaldi and Marguerite Ruffo.⁸ Furthermore, the nineteenth century archivist of the Principality of Monaco, Gustave Saige, refers to Antoine and Charles I as brothers in several publications of original documents.⁹

A thorough analysis of the available facts reveals that Antoine and Charles I Grimaldi were not brothers but were cousins.

The Grimaldis of Antibes, Beuil, and Monaco were originally from Genoa. To solve the problem of Antoine's parents and his position in the Grimaldi family, it is necessary to understand Genoese cultural practices and history during the Middle Ages. In particular, there are three points that frame the facts that will be reviewed here.¹⁰

- The *albergo* was an association of minor families under the protection of a major family. The albergo worked together to achieve common goals and to protect its members. Thus, a member of an albergo would be well aware of his fellow members and there would be close ties between brothers, cousins, and others received into the albergo. It would not be uncommon for cousins, even several generations removed, to be closely associated in political, economic, and religious activities. Even in 1448, in an agreement adding the Ceba family to the Grimaldi's albergo, all the branches of the Grimaldi family are identified—Antibes, Cagnes, Beuil, Monaco, and Menton—even though they were separated by several generations before this date.¹¹ Thus, while two Grimaldi brothers might be expected to cooperate with each other, because of the albergo system it would also be common for two distant Grimaldi cousins to work closely together or even two unrelated members of the same albergo.¹²

⁷ Abbé Alliez, *Histoire du monastère de Lérins*, 2 vols. (Paris: Didier, 1862), 2:328.

⁸ La Chenaye-Desbois and Badier, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse*, 9:col. 828. Moréri, *Le grand dictionnaire*, 5:377, gives her surname as Ruffa. Potier de Courcy, *Maison royale de France*, 4:459-460.

⁹ Gustave Saige, *Documents historiques relatifs à la principauté de Monaco depuis le quinzième siècle*, 3 vols. (Monaco: Imprimerie du gouvernement, 1888-1891), 1:xxv, xxx, 653; 2:817 n. 1; 3:xi, 666.

¹⁰ Jean-Baptiste Robert, "Sur les origines et l'évolution historique du droit successoral de la maison des Grimaldi," *Annales Monégasques* 3 (1979): 171-186, 172-173.

¹¹ Stacy Grimaldi, "Act of Aggregation of the Family of Ceba to the Family of Grimaldi, 1448" in his *Miscellaneous Writings Prose and Poetry from Printed & Manuscript Sources* (London, Privately printed, 1874), 195-198, available at <<http://books.google.com>> (1 Oct. 2006). In general Stacy Grimaldi's work must be used with caution as he was not always critical of his sources, but as this is a translation of an original document it appears safe to use. The families eventually associated with the Grimaldi albergo between 1528 and 1576, and their arms, can be found in Angelo Scorza, *Libro d'Oro della Nobiltà di Genova* (Genoa: Casa Editrice Orsinidemarzo.com, 1920), passim.

¹² Diane Owen Hughes, "Urban Growth and Family Structure in Medieval Genoa," *Past and Present* no. 66 (Feb. 1975): 3-28, 7.

- Seigneuries were often shared among the members of an albergo following a principle of *indivision* (joint possession). Seigneuries were either considered common property of the albergo, or if held by individuals, it might be divided by heirs into shares. Thus many seigneuries had several co-seigneurs. Furthermore, a person could acquire a seigneurie not only through inheritance, but through making deals between albergo members. A researcher cannot assume that because a person holding a seigneurie in one generation is the grandfather of persons two generations later holding the same land. There could have been an intervening transfer of the land between albergo members thus breaking the chain of inheritance. Despite the principle of *indivision* of albergo property, it was not unknown for persons to sell property to individuals outside their albergo when necessary.
- Lastly, the role of conflict in Genoa and its impact on the Grimaldi family is an important background feature that must be considered.¹³ In Genoa the four most prominent families were the Dorias, Spinolas, Grimaldis, and Fieschis. In general, the first two were Ghibellines and allied to the Holy Roman Emperor while the last two were Guelphs and promoted the interests of the Pope and the Angevin rulers of Sicily and Naples. The Ghibellines and Guelphs struggled for control of Genoa and, depending on the shifting fortunes of either party; the Grimaldis were either welcomed or exiled from Genoa. The Grimaldis were exiled three times from Genoa, in 1270, 1296, and 1335.¹⁴ It is interesting to note that despite these conflicts, it was not uncommon—indeed it appears to have been the practice—to marry outside the albergo.¹⁵ So it would be reasonable to expect to see a Grimaldi marrying a Doria or a Spinola. This tension between parties also explains why the exiled Grimaldi sought out safer places to live along the Côte d’Azur of what would become France.

Given this background to frame this case, a study of original documents involving the Grimaldis is required. Thanks to the work of Gustave Saige and Léon-Honoré Labande, archivists of the principality of Monaco, the original documents concerning the history of Monaco and the Grimaldi family have been transcribed and published.

There are indeed two documents which refer to Antoine Grimaldi as a brother of Charles I Grimaldi. The first is a 1344 confirmation of an act of King Robert of Naples and Sicily by Queen Jeanne to Charles I and Antoine Grimaldi, of Genoa, brothers, appointing them as *viguers* of the County of Provence and Forcalquier.¹⁶ The second document is another confirmation dated 1346 of Queen Jeanne to Charles I and Antoine Grimaldi, of Genoa, brothers, of a subsidy to guard Monaco.¹⁷ These documents would seem to be irrefutable proof that Antoine and Charles I were brothers. However, Saige warns us that these documents are wrong in qualifying these close partners as brothers.¹⁸ The acts were prepared in Naples by clerks who assumed that Charles I and Antoine must be brothers because of their mutual interests and close interactions.

¹³ To learn more about the complex history of medieval Genoa and the struggles between the various factions please consult Steven A. Epstein’s *Genoa & the Genoese, 958-1528* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

¹⁴ Christopher Kleinhenz, ed., *Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia*, 2 vols. (New York: Routledge, 2004), 1:462.

¹⁵ Hughes, “Urban Growth,” 27.

¹⁶ Gustave Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle relatifs à la seigneurie de Monaco et à la maison de Grimaldi* (Monaco: Imprimerie de Monaco, 1905), item CIX, 328-329, 27 Mar. 1344, Naples. A *viguier* is a judge in the south of France who renders justice in the name of a lord or king.

¹⁷ Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item CXVIII, 349, 19 Dec. 1346, Naples.

¹⁸ Gustave Saige, *Monaco: ses origine et son histoire* (Monaco: Imprimerie de Monaco, 1897), 59.

There are numerous documents jointly naming Antoine Grimaldi and Charles I Grimaldi. They first appear together in a treaty of 1341 concluded between Simon Boccanegra, the Doge of Genoa, and the banished Genoese in Monaco.¹⁹ In a document from 1342, they are named as co-seigneurs of Monaco, but Antoine is also mentioned adjacent to Gabriel Grimaldi, another co-seigneur of Monaco and Lucien Grimaldi, called the Red, his nephew, who was the vicar of Monaco.²⁰ Charles I and Antoine are named again in a document from the Commune of Florence in 1343.²¹ In another document of 1343, Queen Jeanne orders the annual payment of 500 florins to Charles I and Antoine to guard Monaco.²² In 1349, King Louis and Queen Jeanne of Naples again order the payment to Charles I and Antoine Grimaldi for guarding Monaco.²³ Pope Clement VI in 1349 invited Antoine and Charles I as well as other members of the Grimaldi family to join King Alphonse XI of Castile to crusade against the Moors in Spain.²⁴ In a 1349 preliminary agreement between the Doge of Genoa and the Grimaldi albergo, Charles I and Antoine are again mentioned together.²⁵ And they appear again together in the 1350 peace terms presented to Genoa by the Grimaldis.²⁶ The last document they are jointly mentioned on involves their co-possession of Monaco in 1352.²⁷ Given the numerous times Antoine and Charles I are named together, it is easy to understand why some scholars have assumed they were brothers. However, none of these documents state the family relationship between Antoine Grimaldi and Charles I Grimaldi.

In contrast, there are several documents that clearly identify the father and brothers of Antoine Grimaldi. In 1332 by order of King Robert of Naples, Gabriel, Antoine, and Percival, the sons and heirs of Gaspard Grimaldi are given a perpetual rent.²⁸ In this document Gabriel is called the eldest son of Gaspard. Originally, King Robert granted this rent of 150 ounces of gold to Gaspard Grimaldi, knight of Genoa, in 1324.²⁹ In the treaty concluded with the Dodge of Genoa in 1341, Gabriel Grimaldi is again mentioned as the son of Gaspard and Antoine and Percival both appear in this document but are not called his brother.³⁰ As already mentioned, in 1342 Gabriel was one of the co-seigneurs of Monaco and associated in this role with Antoine, and it would appear that both were the uncle to Lucien Grimaldi, called the Red, who would have been the son of Percival.³¹ Lastly, in a 1343 order of Queen Jeanne, providing an annual pension to Gabriel, Antoine, and Percival, they are again called brothers and the sons and heirs of Gaspard Grimaldi of Genoa.³²

We know that Charles I Grimaldi came to depend on other members of Antoine's branch of the Grimaldi family. Between 1338 and 1341, Rabella Grimaldi, the son of Gabriel Grimaldi and the brother of Gaspard Grimaldi, was entrusted by Charles I to buy out the interest of the Ghibelline Nicolas Spinola

¹⁹ Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item XCVIII, 291-306, 2 Feb. 1341, Genoa.

²⁰ Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item CII, 313-315, 5 Aug. 1342, Monaco.

²¹ Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item CIV, 317-318, 8 Apr. an 7 July 1343, Florence.

²² Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item CVIII, 327-328, 3 June 1343, Naples.

²³ Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item CXXIII, 361-362, 1 Mar. 1349, Naples.

²⁴ Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item CXXV, 364-365, 15 June 1349, Avignon.

²⁵ Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item CXXXV, 381-383, Oct. 1349, Monaco.

²⁶ Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item CXXXVI, 383-388, 15 Apr. 1350, Monaco.

²⁷ Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item CXL, 397, 29 June 1352, Monaco.

²⁸ Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item LXXII, 3rd piece, 189-190, 24 June 1332, Castellamare de Stabia, "Gabrielis, Antonii et Percevalli de Grimaldis, familiarium et fidelium nostrorum, filiorum, heredum prefati quondam Gaspari."

²⁹ Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item LXXII, 2nd piece, 186-188, 27 July 1324.

³⁰ Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item XCVIII, 291-306, 2 Feb. 1341, Genoa.

³¹ Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item CII, 313-315, 5 Aug. 1342, Monaco.

³² Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item CV, 318-319, 10 May 1343, Naples, "pro Antonio, Gabriele et Percivallo, fratribus, filiis et heredibus quondam Gasparis de Grimaldis de Janua."

and his family's rights and property in Monaco once the Guelphs took the city back.³³ Rabella would be Antoine's uncle and Charles I's cousin.³⁴

Lastly, the evidence from the available documents indicate that Luc and Marc Grimaldi, the sons of Antoine, did not inherit Cagnes, but that they purchased it from their cousin Rainier II Grimaldi, the son of Charles I. Vinciguerra Grimaldi renounced his rights to Cagnes to his brother Charles I in 1334.³⁵ Queen Jeanne confirmed the sale of half of the seigneurie of Cagnes made by Rainier II Grimaldi, of Genoa, knight, to Marc and Luc Grimaldi, of Genoa, brothers in 1371.³⁶ The ownership of nearby Villeneuve-Loubet by the Grimaldi d'Antibes branch was also most likely the result of an exchange of property rather than inheritance from Rainier I Grimaldi.

What of Abbé Alliez's contention that Claudine Grimaldi and Lambert Grimaldi were related in the fourth to the fifth degree of affinity and consanguinity? Examining Alliez's text one sees that he is actually quoting a manuscript prepared by Don Théodule Bon, the last prior of Lérins (ca. 1781).³⁷ It is most likely that Bon was simply drawing a conclusion about the relationship between Claudine and Lambert based on reviewing the published genealogies of the Grimaldis available to him in the eighteenth century.³⁸ Bon is not alone in making the statement that Claudine and Lambert were related in the fourth and fifth degree. This statement can also be found in the work of Henri Métivier published in 1865.³⁹ It is known that Métivier relied on a less than accurate genealogy prepared in the seventeenth century.

The source of much misinformation about the Grimaldi family appears to be Charles de Venasque's *Genealogica et historica Grimadae gentis arbor* printed in 1647.⁴⁰ This is a rare book in North America, and I have been unable to view it, but it appears from analyzing the work of several genealogists who cite him that Venasque is the source of many mistakes in the genealogy of the Grimaldi family. In particular, Venasque made extravagant claims that the Grimaldis descended from a Norman family. It is very likely that Venasque is the person who first identified Antoine and Charles I as brothers, the sons of Rainier I Grimaldi and Marguerite Ruffo, and that their descendants Lambert and Claudine would thus be related in the fourth and fifth degree of consanguinity.⁴¹

³³ Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item LXXX, 231-237, 9 July 1338; item XCIX, 307-309, 12 May 1341; item C, 309-310, 12 May 1341; and item CI, 310-312, 14 May 1341, all signed in Genoa. In this last document Rabella Grimaldi specifically acknowledges that he was acquiring the property of the Spinolas in Monaco on behalf of Charles I Grimaldi.

³⁴ Rabella appears to have been the nickname for Bonifacio Grimaldi, the son of Gabriel Grimaldi. Natale Battilana, *Genealogie delle Famiglie Nobili di Genova*, 3 vols. (Genoa: Dalla Tipografia dei Fratelli Pagano, 1825-1833), 3: Grimaldi article, table 6.

³⁵ Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item LXXVII, 212-216, 27 Jan. 1334.

³⁶ Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item CLXVII, 472-475, 8 Nov. 1371, Aversa.

³⁷ Alliez, *Histoire du monastère de Lérins*, 118, 327-330, 489.

³⁸ Furthermore, a search of the cartulary of the abbey of Lérins does not reveal any documents relating to the relationship between Lambert and Claudine Grimaldi. Henry Moris and Edmond Blanc, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Lérins*, 2 vols. (Paris: H. Champion, 1883-1905).

³⁹ Henri Métivier, *Monaco et ses princes* (La Flèche, France: Imprimerie et lithographie d'Eug. Jourdain, 1865), 341.

⁴⁰ Charles de Venasque, *Genealogica et historica Grimadae gentis arbor, eminentissimo principi Hieronymo cardinali Graimdllo sacra* (Paris: Apud viduam Ioannis Le Bove, Robertvm de Nain, et Gavfridvm Le Cordier, 1647). Supposedly, Venasque was assisted by the historian Jean Le Laboureur, Quentin Bell, "The Legend of the Grimaldis," *History Today* 2, no. 4 (April 1952):259-265, 262. Venasque was writing this work under the auspices of Prince Honoré II Grimaldi of Monaco who had an interest in reinforcing his family's ties to France, hence a Norman origin was found for a Genoese family.

⁴¹ No original documents have been found to verify that Marguerite Ruffo was married to Rainier I Grimaldi or that she was the mother of either Charles I. According to Potier de Courcy, the Ruffo family is from the Calabria region of Italy and was counts of Sinopoli, *Maison royale de France*, 4:457. Perhaps she was not from distant Calabria, but

Genealogists who relied on Venasque, such as Le Chenaye and Badier and Potier de Courcy, were skeptical of the Norman roots and ties back to the Carolingians for the Grimaldis that Venasque fabricated, they nevertheless still appear to have fallen for the idea that Antoine and Charles I were brothers and thus their descendants, Lambert and Claudine, must be related in the fourth and fifth degree.⁴² Venasque's book is now considered to be an untrustworthy reference.⁴³

Thus the evidence based on original documents indicates that Antoine and Charles I were not brothers, despite their close working relationship. Rather, they were members of the Grimaldi albergo who cooperated with one another and trusted each other. It is interesting to note that the official Monaco archivist, Saige, came to reject the brother's theory and to accept the cousin theory sometime between 1891 and 1897, probably under the influence of preparing the documents relating to Monaco before the fifteenth century.⁴⁴ The cousin theory is also supported by Labande and the most recently written history of the Grimaldi family.⁴⁵ Lastly, the official Grimaldi family website also rejects the brother's theory.⁴⁶

If Antoine Grimaldi was not the brother of Charles I Grimaldi, then what is his lineage?

According to Natale Battilana, the genealogist who studied the noble families of Genoa, the correct lineage for the Grimaldi d'Antibes family would be as follows:

Grimaldo, mentioned 1162, 1184, consul of Genoa, the father of ⁴⁷
 |
 Oberto Grimaldi, m. Corradina, daughter of Oberto Spinola, ⁴⁸

rather a Roffo (or Ruffo) from Genoa. This family was a member of the Grimaldi albergo. Angelo M. G. Scorza, *Le Famiglie Nobili Genovesi* (Genoa: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1924), 210-211. Scorza, *Libro d'Oro*, table XXXII. One wonders if perhaps Marguerite was the wife of Gaspard Grimaldi and thus indeed Antoine's mother? Further research is required to confirm or deny this theory.

⁴² This would make them second cousins, once removed. However, they were really sixth cousins. La Chenaye-Desbois and Badier, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse*, 9: col. 824; and Potier de Courcy, *Maison royale de France*, 4:456, specifically mention Venasque as a source they used. An analysis of Moréri, *Le grand dictionnaire*, 5:376, shows that he too probably used this work. Lastly, a researcher can get idea of what other fabulous materials Venasque may have included, but which serious scholars have ignored by reviewing Stacy Grimaldi's "Descent of the Grimaldi Family" in his *Miscellaneous Writings Prose and Poetry from Printed & Manuscript Sources* (London, Privately printed, 1874), 262-267, available at <<http://books.google.com>> (1 Oct. 2006), which was apparently prepared for Burke's *Peerage of England* (London, 1852). You will note how prestigious spouses are conveniently provided for several generations.

⁴³ Bell, "The Legend of the Grimaldis," 262. Grace L. Hudson, *Monaco* (Santa Barbara, CA: Clio Press, World Bibliography Series, no. 120, 1991), 50.

⁴⁴ In the third and last volume of Saige's *Documents historiques relatifs à la principauté de Monaco depuis le quinzième siècle* published in 1891 he still calls Antoine and Charles I Grimaldi brothers, xi, 666. However, by 1897 when he published his *Monaco: ses origine et son histoire* he has rejected the brothers theory and clearly states that they were cousins and that Antoine descends from Ingo Grimaldi, 41, 58-59, 91. Saige died in 1905 while preparing his *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle relatifs à la seigneurie de Monaco et à la maison de Grimaldi* for publication so he was well aware of the documents cited in this article to prove Antoine's lineage.

⁴⁵ Léon-Honoré Labande, *Histoire de la principauté de Monaco*, 2nd ed. (Monaco: Les Éditions de l'Imprimerie nationale de Monaco, 1957, 37 n. 1. Philippe Delorme, *Les Grimaldi, 700 ans d'une dynastie* (Paris: Éditions Balland, 1996), 30, 55, 375.

⁴⁶ Vincent Grimaldi de Puget, "The House of Grimaldi: A Very Short Introduction," <<http://www.grimaldi.org>> (1 Oct. 2006). Specifically, compare the Grimaldi of Antibes family table on <<http://www.grimaldi.org/en/history/antibes.asp>> with the Grimaldi of Monaco one on <<http://www.grimaldi.org/en/history/monaco.asp>>.

⁴⁷ Battilana, *Genealogie delle Famiglie Nobili di Genova*, 3: Grimaldi article, tables 1, 6, 12, and 18.

mentioned in 1188 and 1210, died 1232, the father of
 |
 Ingone Grimaldi, mentioned in 1210, 1225, and 1235, father of
 |
 Luca Grimaldi, mentioned in 1234, 1255, and 1263, father of
 |
 Gabriele Grimaldi, m. Cattarina, daughter of Giovanni Zaccaria⁴⁹
 (called a widow in 1278), mentioned in 1269 and 1271, father of
 |
 Gaspare Grimaldi, mentioned in 1277, 1309, father of,
 |
 Antonio Grimaldi, m. Argenta, daughter of Corrado
 Malaspina, mentioned in 1328, 1332, and 1356, the father of,
 |
 Luca Grimaldi, m. Cattarina, mentioned in 1383.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Battilana, *Genealogie delle Famiglie Nobili di Genova*, 3: Spinola article, table 1, shows that Oberto Spinola, mentioned in 1156 and 1183, was the husband of Sibilla, the daughter of Ingone della Volta (or de Volta). His father was Guido Spinola or Visconti, consul of Genoa, mentioned in 1102, 1110, and 1126, whose wife was Alda —?— and she was a widow by 1156. The Spinolas were part of the Visconti family. Guido's father may have been Belus de Visconti, the grandson of Obertus de Maneciano, and the great-grandson of Ydo Visconti who was alive in 952. Luigi T. Belgrano, "Tavole genealogiche a corredo della illustrazione del registro arcivescovile di Genova," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, vol. 2, part 1, appendix (1873), tables XIX, XXIX. Please note that Belgrano records that Conradina (or Corradina), the wife of Oberto Grimaldi, was the daughter of Guido Spinola, the brother of Oberto Spinola, see table XXIX. Neither Battilana nor Belgrano present the evidence they used to determine the parents of Conradina Spinola.

The Spinola arms: *D'or à la fasce échiquetée d'argent et de gueules de trois tires surmontée d'un toiret ou épine de gueules*. Garino, *Armorial du comté de Nice*, 99.

Assuming that Conradina Spinola was indeed the daughter of Oberto Spinola and Sibilla della Volta, her grandfather would be Ingone (or Ingo) de Volta flourished 1156-1163 and was married to Guilia —?—. Ingone della Volta was a wealthy and prominent citizen of Genoa. The father of Ingo was Wilielmus (or Guilielmus) de Volta. d. 1157 and served several times as consul of Genoa between 1123 and 1143. Wilielmus was the son of another Ingo de Volta, flourished 1134-1139, and the grandson of Merlo de Volta, who died in 1104. Belgrano, "Tavole genealogiche," table XXXVIII. Epstein, *Genoa & the Genoese*, 59, 80-82. Eugene H. Byrne, "Genoese Trade with Syria in the Twelfth Century," *American Historical Review* 25, no. 2 (Jan. 1920):191-219, see 200-206.

The della Volta arms were: *Bandato d'argento e di rosso (Bandé d'argent et de gueules)*. Giovanni Battista di Crollanza, *Dizionario storico-blasonico delle famiglie nobili e notabili italiane estinte e fiorenti*, 3 vols. in 1 (Pisa, Italy: Presso la direzione de Giornale araldico, 1886-1890), 3:110.

⁴⁹ Giovanni Zaccaria was married to Emergina —?—, he flourished 1183-1248, and was the son of Ogerio Zaccaria who flourished 1182-1200 d. before 1248, and the grandson of Zaccaria (or possibly Fulcone) di Castro who flourished 1158-1160. The Zaccaria were nobles and, like so many others in Genoa, merchants. Roberto Sabatino Lopez, *Genova marinara nel duecento Benedetto Zaccaria ammiaglio e mercante* (Massina, Milano: Casa Editrice Giuseppe Principato, *Biblioteca storica Pincipato*, XVII, 1933), appendix X, "Albero genealogico degli Zaccaria." The Zaccaria family is supposedly descended from the Castro or Castello family and this family in turn is derived from the Visconti family. More research is required to clarify the Zaccaria genealogy beyond Zaccaria (or Fulcone) di Castro. Belgrano, "Tavole genealogiche," tables XXIX, XXX. Scorza, *Le Famiglie Nobili Genovesi*, 65, 262.

The arms for the Zaccaria family are also unclear. They might have been: *Inquartato di rosso e d'argento (Ecartelé de gueules et d'argent)*. Crollanza, *Dizionario storico-blasonico*, 3:114. However, Scorza records two different arms: *Trinciato d'oro e di rosso (D'or tranché de gueules)*; and *Inquartato di rosso e d'oro (Ecartelé de gueules et d'or)*. Scorza, *Le Famiglie Nobili Genovesi*, 262.

⁵⁰ Battilana does not mention Madeline Grimaldi, the ancestress of Catherine Baillon, but her relationship to her father, Luc Grimaldi d'Antibes, is established in his testament of 14 Jan. 1409, in which she is named as the spouse of René Lascaris, co-seigneur of La Brigue (Briga). Madeline and René must have been married before the end of

An observation, a correction, and an addition must be made to Battilana's lineage for the Grimaldis of Antibes. First, Luc Grimaldi's wife is called Yolande, not Catherine, by other scholars.⁵¹ Most genealogists identify his wife as Yolande Grimaldi, of unknown parents, but obviously a relative. However, the historian Eugène Tisserand indicates that she was Yolande de Villeneuve, the daughter of Hélión de Villeneuve le Grand, seigneur of Trans and of Arcs, and sister of Antoine de Villeneuve who was married in 1389 to Hémeline de Grasse-du-Bar, whose dot included the seigneurie of Gourdon.⁵² Unfortunately, Edme de Juigné de Lassigny's well researched and documented genealogy of the Villeneuve family fails to mention a Yolande married to Luc Grimaldi, and some of the other facts Tisserand relates about the Villeneuves do not fit into the Villeneuve genealogy.⁵³ Given the lack of confirmation, the wife of Luc remains uncertain. Secondly, Argenta Malaspina is not the wife of Antoine Grimaldi, but rather his daughter Argentina (or Berlanda) who was married to Moruello Malaspina, Marquis of Mulazzo.⁵⁴ Antoine's wife was Catherine Doria, of unknown parentage.⁵⁵ Lastly, Saige adds that Otto Canella, who was consul of Genoa in 1133 and who died in 1143, was the father of Grimaldo and thus the earliest known ancestor of the Grimaldi family.⁵⁶ This lineage for Luc and Antoine Grimaldi now conforms to that found on the official Grimaldi family website.⁵⁷

The Grimaldis played an important role in the history of Genoa. Grimaldo, whose given name would become the family surname, was appointed one of the consuls of Genoa in 1162, 1170, and 1184, as well as serving as an ambassador to Frederick Barbarossa, the Holy Roman emperor, to the king of Morocco, and to the court of the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople.⁵⁸ His son, Oberto Grimaldi, who was the first to use the surname Grimaldi, also served as an ambassador for Genoa, was an admiral, and was a commissioner of the city in 1188.⁵⁹ Little is known of Ingone (or Ingo) Grimaldi the son of Oberto, but Ingone's son, Luca (or Luchetto) Grimaldi, was the *podestà* of Milan in 1242 and fought in the Acre campaign of 1267 in the Holy Land.⁶⁰ His son, Gabriel Grimaldi, started the family tradition of serving the house of Anjou. King Charles I of Sicily rewarded Gabriel for his service with 250 livres of gold in

1403 since there was a quittance regarding her dot issued in that year. La Chenaye-Desbois and Badier, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse*, 9: col. 830. Moréri, *Le grand dictionnaire*, 5:378.

⁵¹ La Chenaye-Desbois and Badier, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse*, 9: col. 830. Moréri, *Le grand dictionnaire*, 5:377. Potier de Courcy, *Maison royale de France*, 4:460.

⁵² Eugène Tisserand, *Histoire d'Antibes* (originally published in 1876; Marseille: Laffitte Reprints, 1973), 185.

⁵³ Edme de Juigné de Lassigny, *Histoire de la maison de Villeneuve en Provence*, 3 vols. (Lyon: Impr. D'A. Rey, 1900-1902). There is a Yolande-Claude de Villeneuve who wed René de Grimaldi d'Antibes in 1560, but this is obviously not the Yolande who married Luc Grimaldi, 1:65.

⁵⁴ Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item CXXXVI, 383-388, 15 April 1530, Monaco, see 387. Davide Shamà, "Genealogie delle famiglie nobili Italiane," "I Malaspina dello Spino Secco : linee di Giovagallo e Mulazzo," <<http://www.sardimpex.com/malaspina/malaspina-giovagallo.htm>> (7 Oct. 2006).

⁵⁵ La Chenaye-Desbois and Badier, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse*, 9: col. 828. Moréri, *Le grand dictionnaire*, 5:377. Potier de Courcy, *Maison royale de France*, 4:460. Although we do not know her parents, she was undoubtedly a member of the historically important Doria family of Genoa.

The Doria arms: *Coupé d'or sur argent, à l'aigle de sable, couronnée du même, becquée, membrée et languée de gueules, brochant sur le tout*. Garino, *Armorial du comté de Nice*, 51.

⁵⁶ Saige, *Monaco*, 40. The earliest known generations of the Grimaldis, including "Otto Cannella," are also found in Belgrano, "Tavole genealogiche," table XLVI. From about 1099 to 1190 Genoa was a commune ruled by four to six elected consuls who were usually nobles. In 1190 this system of government was replaced with a *podestà* form. A *podestà* is similar to a modern-day city manager but was also a judge and military commander and was expected to govern impartially. Epstein, *Genoa & the Genoese*, 33, 88, 334 n. 147.

⁵⁷ Vincent Grimaldi de Puget, "The House of Grimaldi: A Very Short Introduction, Branch of Antibes" <<http://www.grimaldi.org/en/history/Antibes.asp>> (1 Oct. 2006).

⁵⁸ Kleinhenz, *Medieval Italy*, 1:462. Saige, *Monaco*, 40-41. Puget, "Branch of Antibes."

⁵⁹ Saige, *Monaco*, 41. Puget, "Branch of Antibes."

⁶⁰ Puget, "Branch of Antibes." "Storia di Milano: Cronologia di Milano dal 1226 al 1250," <<http://www.storiadimilano.it/cron/dal1226al1250.htm>> (7 Oct. 2006).

1269 and a military sash (*ceinture*) of honor.⁶¹ His son, Gaspard Grimaldi, also received a rent of 150 ounces of gold from King Robert of Naples.⁶² In 1317, Gaspard was appointed, along with Charles Fieschi, a captain of the people and a rector of the community of Genoa.⁶³ The Grimaldi's loyalty to the house of Anjou would have been natural for a Guelph family. Gaspard's sons, Gabriel, Antoine, and Percival continued his support of the Angevin cause.

Now that Antoine's place in the family genealogy is established, and particulars have been provided about the role of his ancestors, what of his place in history?

Like other members of the Grimaldi family, Antoine was a warrior. Unlike his cousin, Charles I Grimaldi who usually served the king of France on land, as at the battle of Crécy in 1346 at the head of the arbalesters (crossbow men), Antoine was to fight on the seas. He served Genoa and the royal house of Naples as an admiral of galleys.

As early as 1312, Antoine Grimaldi, the son of Gaspard Grimaldi, was the admiral of a fleet of thirty-six galleys in the service of King Robert of Naples.⁶⁴ In 1328, he was an admiral of Genoa and reimbursed by King Robert for the service of his galleys.⁶⁵ In 1332, Antoine was the admiral of the Genoese fleet of forty-five ships, charged with revenging the attacks the Aragonese had made on the coast of Liguria. He ravaged the coast of Catalonia, destroying towns, and taking many prisoners and much spoils. He captured several Aragonese galleys near Majorca and closed the port of Minorca. The Aragonese sent a fleet of twenty-four ships against him, that he defeated near Minorca.⁶⁶ In 1352, he commanded five galleys in the Adriatic Sea and harassed the Istria region near Venice.⁶⁷

Around 1348 Antoine was made a counselor of Queen Jeanne of Naples. In most documents he is not referred to as a knight, while his cousin Charles I Grimaldi is nearly always called a knight. Nevertheless, he may have been knighted around the same time he became a counselor to the Queen. His position, as a counselor, and his status, as a knight, both appear in the same document in which the Queen rewards him for his service with the donation of the seigneuries of Prats, Blégiers, Estublon, Chaffault, and Utelle.⁶⁸ Antoine was also known as the seigneur of the valley of Lantusque.⁶⁹ Lastly, he was the co-seigneur with Charles I Grimaldi of Monaco.

⁶¹ Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item XXII, 37-38, 16 Feb. 1269, Foggia.

⁶² Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item LXXII, 2nd piece, 186-188, 27 July 1324.

⁶³ Scorza, *Le Famiglie Nobili Genovesi*, 123.

⁶⁴ Scorza, *Le Famiglie Nobili Genovesi*, 123.

⁶⁵ Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item LXXIV, 3rd piece, 199-200, 16 Apr. 1328, Naples.

⁶⁶ Jean Chrétien Ferdinand Hoefer, *Nouvelle biographie générale*, 46 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot frères, 1852-1883), 21: cols. 71-72. Joseph F. Michaud and Louis Gabriel Michaud, *Biographie universelle*, 85 vols. (Paris: Michaud frères, 1811-1862), 17: 548.

⁶⁷ Roberto Damiani, "Corsari del Mediterraneo: Antonio Grimaldi," <<http://www.corsaridelmediterraneo.it/corsari/g/grimaldi-antonio.html>> (7 Oct. 2006).

⁶⁸ Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle*, item CXXI, 357-359, 20 Dec. 1348, Naples. Prats (most likely near Digne), Blégiers, Estublon (Stoublon), and Chaffault (probably Le Chaffaut-St-Jurson) are all in Alpes-de-Haute-Provence, while Utelle is in Alpes-Maritimes.

⁶⁹ La Chenaye-Desbois and Badier, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse*, 9:col. 828. Moréri, *Le grand dictionnaire*, 5:377. Potier de Courcy, *Maison royale de France*, 4:459. This would be Lantosque, Alpes-Maritimes, and it is up stream from Utelle on the Vesubie River.

Antoine Grimaldi appeared well on the way to fame and a significant role in the history of Monaco and Genoa, but the fates were against him.⁷⁰ Although the tensions between the Guelphs and Ghibellines still existed in the 1350s, both camps were back in Genoa and the city-state was at war again with Venice and Aragon. In 1352, the Ghibelline admiral Paganino Doria had recently won a costly victory against a combined fleet of Venetians, Aragonese, and Greeks in the Bosphorus strait near Constantinople. However, due to the loss of life, he was denied recognition on his return to Genoa, and the Guelphs used this situation to leverage his replacement with Antoine. He was placed in command of about sixty ships and assigned the task of relieving the Genoese port of Alghero on Sardinia.⁷¹ This port was blockaded by the Aragonese fleet of twenty-two galleys. Antoine drove his ships on to meet the Aragonese who withdrew from Alghero on sighting his fleet on 29 August 1353. Antoine pursued them to just off Porto Conte, when the Aragonese turned to fight the Genoese. Antoine ordered his fleet to close with the enemy and engage them as quickly as possible. The Genoese were pounding the Aragonese fleet and would have soon triumphed, but suddenly, around the nearby cape, the Venetian fleet of over fifty ships appeared. They took the Genoese by surprise and the center of the Venetian feet drove through them to join the Aragonese while the wings simultaneously attacked the flanks of the Genoese. In the melee that followed, the Genoese lost most of their ships. Antoine was able to escape, with only nineteen galleys. Genoa lost several thousand sailors killed, wounded, drowned, or captured. Coming so soon after the plague that had struck Genoa in 1348, this was a devastating defeat to Genoa. The Genoese in this weakened condition feared invasion. They panicked and asked Giovanni Visconti, Archbishop and Lord of Milan, to protect them against their enemies. The Guelphs were once again out of favor and the Ghibellines recommenced their control of Genoa. Paganino Doria resumed his command of the fleet rebuilt with the aid of the Lord of Milan. Doria went on to win a victory against the Venetians at the battle of Porto Longo, off of Modon in the Ionian Sea in 1354.

Antoine had failed spectacularly, was exiled from Genoa, and retreated into obscurity. We know that he drew up a will on 26 February 1358 in Genoa and left a legacy to his wife Catherine Doria and to his sons Marc and Luc who were to share equal parts of his estate.⁷² He probably died around that time, but it is unclear if he passed in Genoa, Monaco, or on one of his seigneuries. Not only can the descendants of Catherine Baillon claim Antoine as their ancestor, but because his great-grandson Lambert Grimaldi, married Claudine Grimaldi, the heiress of Monaco, the present Prince Albert II of Monaco is also his descendent.

The descendants of Catherine Baillon are indeed fortunate that much of their Genoese ancestry is found in the documents transcribed and published by the principality of Monaco. Undoubtedly much more could be learned about Catherine Baillon's Grimaldi ancestry by consulting original documents in France, Spain, Italy, and at the Vatican. In particular, Genoa holds many medieval records that could be studied.⁷³ However, this research would be done at a great expense, take several years, and would require special skills including the ability to read ancient script in Latin, French, Provençal, Monégasques, Spanish, and the Genoese dialect of Italian.

⁷⁰ The information for Antoine's role in the battle of Alghero comes from the following sources that do not necessarily agree with one another in particular details, especially regarding the number of vessels, casualties, and prisoners. J. Theodore Bent, *Genoa: How the Republic Rose and Fell* (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1881), 166. Damiani, "Antonio Grimaldi." Epstein, *Genoa & the Genoese*, 220-221. Hoefer, *Nouvelle biographie générale*, 21: cols. 71-72. Michaud and Michaud, *Biographie universelle*, 17: 548. Foxhall Alexander Parker, *The Fleets of the World: The Galley Period* (New York: D. van Nostrand, 1876), 88-96.

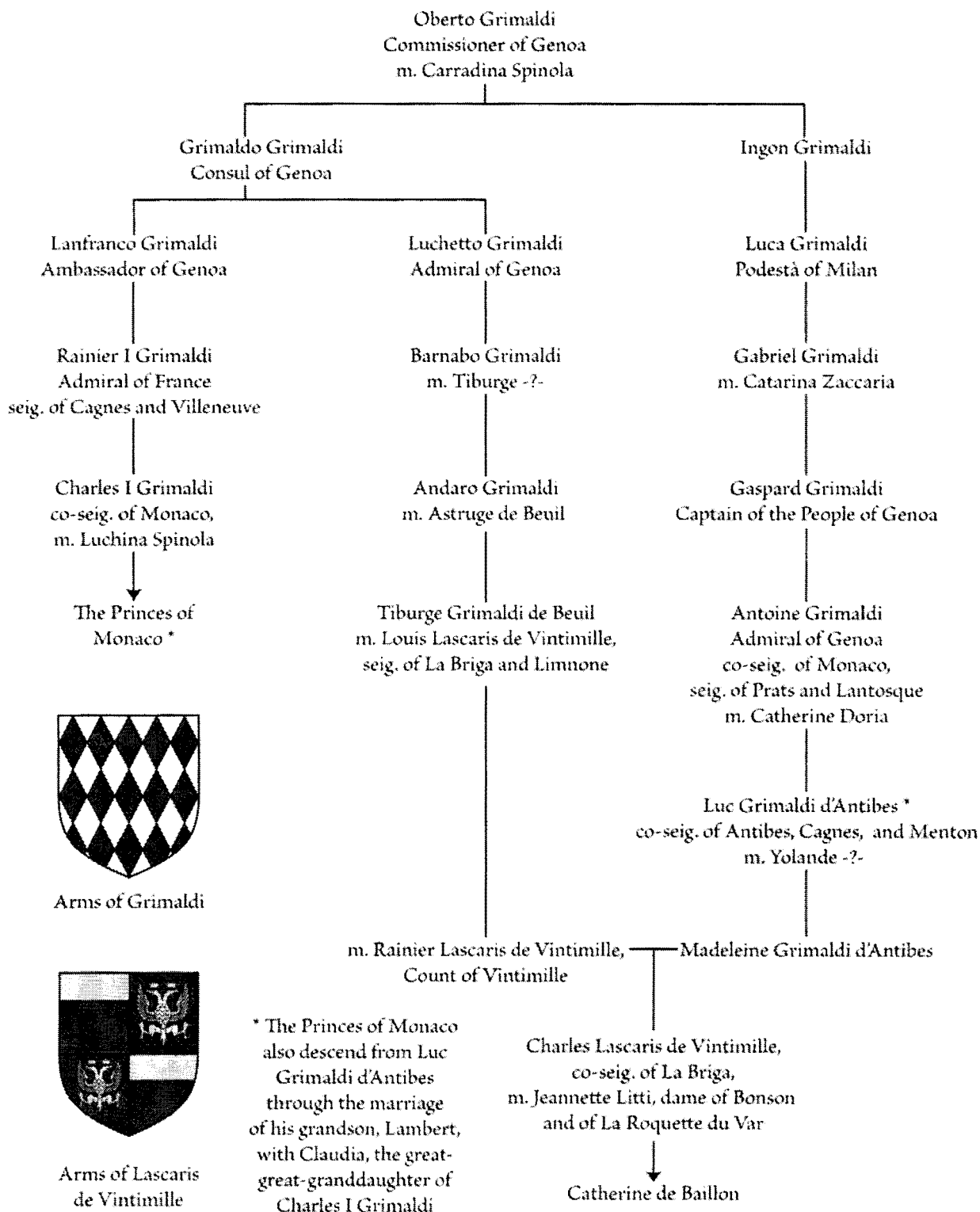
⁷¹ Alghero is referred to as La Loiera, La Lojera, or La Loyera in some accounts.

⁷² Moréri, *Le grand dictionnaire*, 5:377.

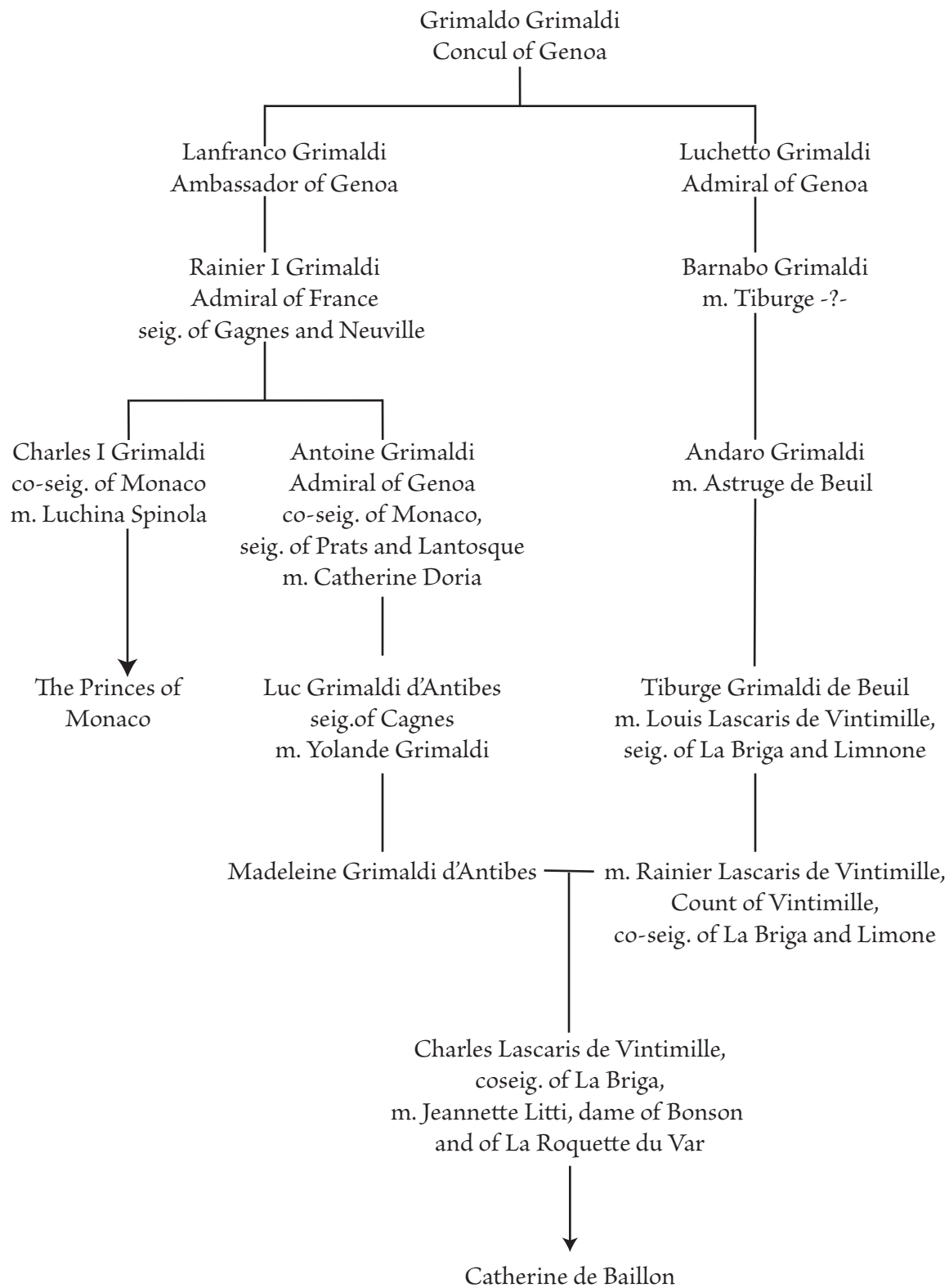
⁷³ George W. Day, "Genoese Prosopography (12th-13th Centuries): The State of the Questions and Suggestions for Research," *Medieval Prosopography* 4, no. 1 (1983):31-44. Day lists many published and manuscript resources for further researching Genoese medieval families.

Based on the facts reviewed here, the following revised table clarifies Catherine Baillon's descent from the Grimaldis:

Catherine de Baillon's Grimaldi Ancestors as Revised



Catherine de Baillon's Grimaldi Ancestors as Published



Catherine de Baillon's Grimaldi Ancestors as Revised

