Introduction

The eastern Mediterranean during the period 1291–1352 underwent a series of dramatic transformations which would alter its religious and political makeup for centuries to come. In some senses the period can be considered as one in which the eastern frontiers of Christendom were eroded in the face of unrelenting Islamic expansion. That was certainly the case in the south-eastern Mediterranean, where the last of the crusader outposts on the Syrian coast were expunged by the Mamluks of Egypt, who gradually extended their empire across the coast of north Africa and through Syria up to the borders of Asia Minor and Cilician Armenia. This was also the case further north where the Turks quickly overran the Byzantine territories in western Anatolia and began to extend their influence into the Aegean and Greece. By the end of the period the Ottomans were poised to cross into Europe, leading to the Turkish domination of the Balkans and eastern Europe in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Crusading at this time changed in response to the expansion of these Muslim groups. Initially plans were made to recover the Holy Land from the Mamluks and as the fourteenth century progressed attention was increasingly turned to halting the advances of the Turks in the Aegean. However, while the expansion of the Mamluks and Turks at the expense of the Byzantines and Latins cannot be disputed, the period should not be simply viewed as one of Islamic expansion and crusade. Italian commercial contacts with the Levant continued despite the loss of the crusader states and the volume of merchant traffic visiting Mamluk ports, as well as the size and importance of Latin merchant colonies, increased throughout the period. In the Aegean especially, things were even more complicated and the policies of the different groups in the region were not always aligned to simplistic religious affiliations: the Turkish principalities were often in conflict with one other, as were the Latin and Byzantine states. In fact most of the Aegean powers fought amongst themselves and made informal alliances and traded with those of different cultural and religious backgrounds when it suited them.

This book examines crusading in the Aegean region during this convoluted and transformative period from the perspective of the Latin merchants who operated there, men like the Genoese Zaccaria lords of Chios or the Venetians who participated in the naval leagues against the Turks. These "merchant crusaders" as I have called them came to be considered as the

most suitable defenders of Latin Christendom in the region, rather than the monarchs and nobles of Western Europe who formed the backbone of crusading in earlier years. The term "merchant crusaders" is, however, a loose one into which many people could fit in one way or another; most of the Latin polities in the area were involved in crusading in some way and all were engaged in trade, often with neighbouring Greeks and Turks who were themselves targets of crusades. Because of this, merchant crusaders cannot be studied in isolation and other groups connected to crusading in the region also have to be considered. This book therefore analyses crusading against the wider backdrop of trade and conflict in the Aegean where actions were driven by a host of conflicting factors, ranging from papal policy to commercial necessity. But at all times the defence of the faith had to be carefully balanced with the competing priorities of secure trade and predominance over commercial rivals. It is the attempts of the Latin powers to overcome these apparent contradictions that this book aims to address.

Trade and Crusade

Studies on the crusades traditionally treated the period as ending in 1291; but with the acceptance of the pluralist definition the subject has gradually broadened. Now crusading in the centuries after the fall of Acre has become an area of considerable vitality in its own right, even if it does not receive the same level of attention as that given to the earlier period.[1] Joseph Delaville le Roulx and Nicolai Jorga pioneered the study of the later crusades and were followed by Aziz Atiya, who published his now rather dated, but nevertheless landmark, monograph, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, in 1938.[2] This was surpassed forty years later by Kenneth Setton in his monumental multi-volume work *The Papacy and the Levant*, which covered over 350 years of history, from 1204–1571.[3] Setton received much criticism for the narrative focus of his study, although it still impresses with its vast scope and level of detail. Within the period of the later crusades, the fourteenth century in particular enjoyed considerable attention during the 1980s and 1990s when Norman Housley, Christopher Tyerman and Silvia Schein, amongst others, all contributed significant studies which demonstrated the vigour and popularity of the crusading movement at this time, despite the ultimate failure

[1] For an overview, see N. Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 122–43.

[2] J. Delaville le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIVe siècle*, 2 vols (Paris, 1886); Idem, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre: 1100–1310* (Paris, 1904); Idem, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes, 1310–1421* (Paris, 1913; repr. London, 1974); N. Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières, 1327–1405, et la croisade au XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1896); A.S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938).

[3] K.M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant: 1204–1571*, 4 vols (Philadelphia, 1976–84).

to recover the Holy Land.[4] Since then a number of scholars have focussed on particular themes within this time-frame, including the naval leagues and the works of the crusade theorists.[5] Understandably, studies into the crusades have focussed mainly on cultural and military opposition between Latins, Greeks and Muslims in the period, with a heavy reliance on sources from the papacy, as well as the churchmen, monarchs and advisors who discussed crusade planning in the courts of western Europe. As a result the priorities and commercial concerns of the local powers in the Aegean, which are the focus of this book, have sometimes been overshadowed.

In more recent years, studies of the crusades in the fourteenth century have largely given way to those focussing on crusading and the relations between the western powers and the Ottoman empire in the fifteenth century and beyond. One approach has been to explore the image of the Turks from the European perspective, especially within the context of the literature produced by the Renaissance humanists, an area which is touched on in this book.[6] These studies have helped to re-balance western perceptions of Islam during the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance, with this

[4] See, in particular N. Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, 1305–1378* (Oxford, 1986); Idem, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580. From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford, 1992) and the collection of articles in Idem, *Crusading and Warfare in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, Variorum Reprints (Aldershot, 2001); C.J. Tyerman, 'Marino Sanudo Torsello and the lost crusade: lobbying in the fourteenth century: the Alexander Prize essay', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 32 (1982), 57–73; Idem, 'Sed nihil fecit? The last Capetians and the recovery of the Holy Land', in *War and Government in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Gillingham and J.C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 170–81; Idem, 'Philip VI and the recovery of the Holy Land', *English Historical Review* 100 (1985), 25–52 (Tyerman's articles are reprinted in Idem, *The Practices of Crusading: Image and Action from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Centuries*, Variorum Reprints (Farnham, 2013), I, III, V); S. Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1274–1314* (Oxford, 1991).

[5] Of particular relevance are T. Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2013); A. Leopold, *How To Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot, 2000); A. Demurger, 'Le pape Clément VI et l'Orient: ligue ou croisade?', in *Guerre, pouvoir et noblesse au Moyen Âge, Mélanges en l'honneur de Philippe Contamine*, ed. J. Paviot and J. Verger (Paris, 2000), pp. 207–14; V. Ivanov, '*Sancta Unio* or the Holy League 1332–36/7 as a political factor in the eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean', *Études Balkaniques* 48 (2012), 142–76; C.J. Tyerman, 'New wine in old skins? The crusade and the eastern Mediterranean in the later Middle Ages', in *Byzantines, Latins and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1150*, ed. C. Holmes and J. Harris (Oxford, 2012), pp. 265–89. See also the contributions by Ryder, Lock, Carr and Binbaş in *Contact and Conflict in Frankish Greece and the Aegean,1204–1453*, ed. M. Carr and N.G. Chrissis (Farnham, 2014), pp. 97–112, 115–34, 135–49, 153–75.

[6] See notably R. Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453–1517)* (Nieuwkoop, 1967); M.J. Heath, 'Renaissance scholars and the origins of the Turks', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 41 (1979), 453–471; J. Hankins, 'Renaissance crusaders: humanist crusade literature in the age of Mehmed II', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995), 111–207; N. Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia, 2004); M. Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*

sub-genre now enjoying a popularity comparable to the study of Christian–Muslim relations during the period of the traditional crusades to the Holy Land from 1095 to 1291. However, many of these studies do not give significant attention to the earlier fourteenth century – possibly because this period is regarded as preceding the traditional era of Renaissance humanism, but also because scholars studying the Turks have tended to overlook the period of the beyliks in favour of the Ottoman empire.[7] This is surprising given that the images and rhetoric born in the early fourteenth century had a direct influence on the nature of Latin–Turkish perceptions formulated in later years, as is explained in Chapter 2 of this book.

Research into Latin–Turkish interaction has benefited from its relevance to the growing field of Mediterranean Studies, which places much importance on cross-cultural contacts, as well as the debates over notions of East and West and otherness, especially in the early modern period.[8] The crusades, although traditionally regarded as representing an earlier age, are nevertheless inherently connected to these themes. So too are studies relating to Levantine commerce which have been viewed as providing the other side of the story, i.e. that of trade and exchange rather than conflict. Early examples of these studies include the monumental multi-volume works of Depping, Hopf and Heyd, who helped to demonstrate the connectivity of the Mediterranean during the Middle Ages and the complexities of exchange between its many peoples and regions.[9] Later Shelomo Goitein and Eliyahu Ashtor did much to expand knowledge of trade in the Islamic world, through their use of commercial documents from the Cairo Geniza and Arabic archives.[10] To add to this, Freddy Thiriet and Michel Balard produced extensive studies

(Cambridge, MA, 2008), p. 150; N. Housley, *Crusading and the Ottoman Threat: 1453–1505* (Oxford, 2012), with an overview of the historiography on pp. 1–6.

[7] See C. Hillenbrand, *Turkish Myth and Muslim Symbol: The Battle of Manzikert* (Edinburgh, 2007), pp. 3–4.

[8] This has been the focus of a series of review articles, for example, S. Kinoshita, 'Re-viewing the eastern Mediterranean', *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies* 2 (2011), 369–85; E.R. Dursteler, 'On bazaars and battlefields: Recent scholarship on Mediterranean cultural contacts', *Journal of Early Modern History* 15 (2011), 413–34, esp. 419–22; F. Trivellato, 'Renaissance Italy and the Muslim Mediterranean in recent historical works', *Journal of Modern History* 82 (2010), 127–55, esp. 140–4; M. O'Connell, 'The Italian Renaissance in the Mediterranean, or, between East and West: A review article', *California Italian Studies Journal* 1 (2010), 1–30, esp. 17–21. For an international perspective of cross-cultural trade, see P.D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge, 1984), esp. pp. 1–14, 109–35.

[9] G.-B. Depping, *Histoire du commerce entre le Levant et l'Europe depuis les croisades jusqu'à la fondation des colonies en Amérique*, 2 vols (Paris, 1830); K. Hopf, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf unsere Zeit*, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1867–8); W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge*, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1885–6). For a discussion of these works, see G. Christ, 'Materials, products and services of exchange 300–1550', in *Mapping the Medieval Mediterranean, c. 300–1550*, ed. A. Nichols Law (Leiden, 2015), forthcoming.

[10] S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as*

into the Venetians and Genoese in the north-eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries.[11] Since then there has been a growing interest in the relationships between merchant communities and their host societies.[12] Within this hybrid field of economic and cultural history, the Aegean has received particular attention, precisely because of its highly fragmented and complex nature.[13] However, it is not the primary purpose of these studies to engage with the influence of the Latin Church on trade, or of the spiritual concerns of merchants, both of which heavily influenced the activities and policies of the resident powers in the Aegean theatre and are discussed in this book.

Studies into the interplay between the great themes of crusade, commerce and cross-cultural contact are therefore relatively thin on the ground when compared with those which focus on either the economic history of the eastern Mediterranean or the later crusades. In fact, in the past historians have often misinterpreted the role of the merchant republics in the crusades as one primarily motivated by greed and a desire to manipulate 'religious' zeal in an attempt to further commercial ends.[14] However, in more recent years this view has been modified, as a more balanced appreciation of the complex interplay between holy war and commercial exchange has been adopted. This has been helped by recent research into the mechanisms used to facilitate and obstruct commercial exchange across cultural boundaries, notably those dedicated to illicit trade in the Mediterranean and in particular

Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza, 6 vols (Berkeley, 1967–93); E. Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983).

[11] F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au moyen âge: le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien, XIIe–XVe siècles* (Paris, 1959); M. Balard, *La Romanie génoise, XIIe – début du XVe siècle*, 2 vols (Rome, 1978).

[12] See, for example G. Christ, *Trading Conflicts: Venetian Merchants and Mamluk Officials in Late Medieval Alexandria* (Leiden, 2012), esp. pp. 113–19; F. Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross–Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven, 2009); P. Skinner, *Medieval Amalfi and its Diaspora, 800–1250* (Oxford, 2013). Many other relevant works are discussed in the review articles noted in n. 8 above.

[13] Of particular interest is Epstein, *Purity Lost*, esp. pp. 52–136. See also the recent collections of essays and their bibliographies in *Contact and Conflict in Frankish Greece and the Aegean, 1204–1453*, ed. M. Carr and N.G. Chrissis (Farnham, 2014); *A Companion to Medieval Greece*, ed. N.I. Tsougarakis and P. Lock (Leiden, 2014); *Byzantines, Latins, and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1150*, ed. C. Holmes, J. Harris and E. Russell (Oxford, 2012); *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. J. Herrin and G. Saint-Guillan (Farnham, 2011).

[14] These views are especially prevalent for literature concerning the First Crusade, see the citations in M. Carr, 'Between Byzantium, Egypt and the Holy Land: The Italian maritime republics and the First Crusade', in *Jerusalem the Golden: The Origins and Impact of the First Crusade,* ed. S.B. Edgington and L. García–Guijarro (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 75–87, at 81–3 and also Carr, 'Trade or crusade?', pp. 115–16.

the papal trade embargo.[15] The numerous works of David Jacoby should be mentioned here as being of particular importance in this regard.[16] In many ways Elizabeth Zachariadou has come closest to striking a balance between the analysis of commerce and crusade with her landmark work published in 1983 on the commercial relations between Venetian Crete and the beyliks of Aydin and Menteshe.[17] Zachariadou analyses in detail the surviving treaties made with the Turks, publishing many of them for the first time. Unfortunately papal policy is not studied in enough depth for a detailed discussion of crusading ideology, but her work nevertheless remains essential for information on commercial contacts between Crete and the emirates, as well as the Venetian contribution to the crusading ventures of the period.

This book aims to cut across the sub-genres of economic and crusading history. It has three main objectives: first, to look at the changing Latin perceptions of the Turks in this period, as they came to dominate crusade thinking and supplant the Byzantines and Mamluks as a target for western military aggression; second, to study the nature of the Latin military response to the Turks, which became dominated by the maritime crusaders in the Aegean; and third, to analyse the relationship between the papacy and the merchant republics in the context of an Aegean crusade, or in other words, to explore the interplay between mercantile objectives and the crusading ideals of the popes.

With this in mind, Chapters 1 and 2 address the first objective of this book. Chapter 1 sets the scene in the Aegean by analysing the fragmentation of the Byzantine empire after 1204 and the evolution of crusading against

[15] The best treatment of the embargo is given by S. Stantchev, *Spiritual Rationality: Papal Embargo as Cultural Practice* (Oxford, 2014); Idem, 'The medieval origins of embargo as a policy tool', *History of Political Thought* 33.3 (2012), 373–99, and also G. Christ, 'Kreuzzug und Seeherrschaft. Clemens V., Venedig und das Handelsembargo von 1308', in *Maritimes Mittelalter*, ed. N. Jaspert and M. Borgolte (Ostfildern, 2015), pp. 261–82; A. Esch, 'Der Handel zwischen Christen und Muslimen im Mittelmeer-Raum. Verstöße gegen das päpstliche Embargo geschildert in den Gesuchen an die Apostolische Pönitentiarie (1439–1483)', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 92 (2012), 85–140. On slavery, see H. Barker, 'Egyptian and Italian Merchants in the Black Sea Slave Trade, 1260–1500' (Unpublished PhD thesis, Columbia University, 2014).

[16] See, for example, the following Variorum Reprints: D. Jacoby, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine* (London, 1975); Idem, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XIIe au XVe siècle: peuples, sociétés, économies* (London, 1979); Idem, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton, 1989); Idem, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 1997); Idem, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2001); Idem, *Commercial Exchange across the Mediterranean: Byzantium, the Crusader Levant, Egypt and Italy* (Aldershot, 2005); Idem, *Latins, Greeks and Muslims: Encounters in the Eastern Mediterranean, Tenth–Fifteenth Centuries* (Farnham, 2009).

[17] Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, the treaties are published on pp. 187–239. See also the collections in Idem, *Romania and the Turks, c.1300–1500* (London, 1985); Idem, *Studies in pre-Ottoman Turkey and the Ottomans* (Aldershot, 2007).

the Greeks until the third decade of the fourteenth century. This is followed in Chapter 2 by an overview of the emergence of the Turkish beyliks in the consciousness of western Europe during the first half of the fourteenth century. Particular attention is given to chronicles and documentary sources depicting the Turks. These elucidate the transitional period when perceptions of the Turks shifted from one of amity to one of aggression, as they came to be considered as posing the greatest danger to Christians in the East, eventually supplanting the Mamluks of Egypt and the Holy Land. This change in perception manifested itself in the person of Umur Pasha, the Turkish lord of Smyrna, who became portrayed as the scourge of Latin interests in the region. Umur was depicted in several Italian sources of the mid-fourteenth century, where his persona was adapted to suit various situations. His actions were used to justify crusades against him, but also as a means to critique political strife within the Italian peninsula; a motif which was commonly used when portraying Ottoman sultans in the fifteenth century.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the nature of the Latin military response to the rising power of the Turks. This took the form of a naval league, a new military strategy which took advantage of the maritime capabilities of the merchant crusaders who organized and participated in the campaigns. In Chapter 3, the evolution of the concept of a league is mapped out, from its origins in the papal economic embargo and plans to patrol the eastern Mediterranean, to the pragmatic alliances formed by the eastern Aegean states in the early fourteenth century. It finishes with a detailed analysis of the campaigns of the naval leagues of 1333–34 and 1343–52. Chapter 4 discusses the logistics and strategies used by the Latin captains against the Turks. The military campaigns in the Aegean were not recorded in detail by many chroniclers, but the wealth of archival evidence relating to the planning of the leagues as well as surviving reports of the battles allows for a reconstruction of the tactics employed and of the numbers involved. The leagues attracted significant participation and the Latins relied upon a sophisticated network of communication to ensure superiority on the sea.

Chapters 5 and 6 address the the interplay between papal crusade policy and the commercial concerns of the merchant republics in the East. These two chapters blend together two facets of research which have usually been the preserve of either economic or crusade historians and have consequently often been studied in isolation. Chapter 5 assesses the leagues specifically within the context of wider papal crusading strategy in the fourteenth century. As will be shown, papal commitment to the Aegean ventures was by no means whole hearted. In many instances other matters, such as conflicts within Europe and the influence of Franco-Angevin initiatives, took precedence over military campaigns against the Turks. An important part of this discussion is the implementation of crusade mechanisms in the Aegean theatre. Indulgences, in particular, can be very illustrative in

determining papal commitment to a venture and the motivations of participants. The chapter therefore ends with a detailed discussion of the spiritual privileges issued to those fighting in the Aegean. These ranged from lesser indulgences, granted *in articulo mortis*, in the earlier decades of the century, when the Turks had yet to evolve into the main target of crusading, to the full crusade indulgence, accompanied by all the usual mechanisms associated with a crusade to the Holy Land issued for the Crusade of Smyrna.

Chapter 6 explores the other side of Latin-Turkish relations during the period, that of commercial contact in contested border zones and the problems this caused for crusading. As the merchant republics became increasingly central to the upholding of Latin territories in the Aegean, the Church became aware of the need to adopt new methods which would encourage the defence of faith but also facilitate limited trade with the infidel. Strong commercial contacts were essential to the survival of the Latin colonies in the eastern Mediterranean, but were hampered by crusading campaigns. The need for a solution to this conundrum triggered a change of thinking which resulted in the issuing of numerous trading exemptions, many of which specifically permitted trade with Mamluk Egypt in order to facilitate crusades against the Turks in the Aegean. As will be shown, this policy consequently balanced the crusading objectives of the papacy with the commercial concerns of the merchant republics.

Sources for the Aegean Crusades

The wealth of archival sources from the Vatican and the Italian republics in the fourteenth century means that they represent the core source-base for this area. Chronicles, which usually form the backbone of crusading history, unfortunately provide far less information on crusading in the Aegean than they do for the earlier crusades to the Holy Land, or even for those launched against the Ottomans in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[18] As a result, vivid descriptions of the campaigns in the Aegean and the accounts of those who participated are hard to come by, making assessments of the professed motivations of crusaders sometimes difficult to determine. However, the rich documentary evidence does compensate for this in many ways. It provides a level of detail in regard to economics, logistics and spiritual provisions that is not always presented in narrative sources, and sometimes – especially when petitions can be consulted – it provides a new insight into the priorities and concerns of those involved. It is the combination of documentary sources relating to trade and crusade,

[18] There are of course some chronicles which provide useful information on the Aegean crusades. These are discussed below at pp. 12–15.

augmented by the narrative sources, that provides the most cohesive picture of crusading in the Aegean.

The Vatican *Archivio segreto* contains many documents integral for the understanding of papal crusade policy which will be used throughout this study. Of especial importance to this book are the drafts of the papal letters held in the *Registra Avenionensia* series, many of which were later duplicated in the parchment series of the *Registra Vaticana*.[19] The majority of the letters in these registers are the so-called 'common' letters – those issued in response to written petitions submitted to and approved by the Roman Curia. They consist usually of favours of some kind bestowed upon individuals or institutions. Other notable letters found in these registers are the so-called 'secret' letters. These usually contain political correspondence and were not issued as a result of a petition, but from curial initiative.[20]

Most of the registers of the popes relevant to this study have been published, or partly published, in the great editions of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*.[21] It should be noted, however, that these editions do not include the full text of every document. This is illustrated most pertinently by the common letters of John XXII which are only published in calendar form, with the result that many important documents, such as the granting of indulgences to those fighting in the Aegean, are not printed in full. When this is the case, the original manuscripts have been consulted.[22] The registers of Clement VI also contain some very inadequate summaries of important letters. Take for example the bull *Insurgentibus contra fidem* proclaiming the Crusade of Smyrna. This is only given a nineteen-word summary by the editors, despite the full document spanning five pages of printed text and containing arguably the most important

[19] The *Registra Vaticana* are at least two removes from the original letters, which were first drafted or registered in the *Registra Avenionensia*. Where possible I have referenced both the *Registra Avenionensia* and the *Registra Vaticana*, but the former are sometimes extremely damaged and hard to read. A detailed discussion of these series is given by L.E. Boyle, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of its Medieval Holdings* (Toronto, 1972), pp. 103–31.

[20] See P.N.R. Zutshi, 'The letters of the Avignon popes (1305–1378): A source for the study of Anglo-Papal relations and of English ecclesiastical history', in *England and Her Neighbours, 1066–1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, ed. M. Jones and M. Vale (London 1989), pp. 259–75, at p. 261; Idem, 'The personal role of the pope in the production of papal letters in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries', in *Vom Nutzen des Schreibens: soziales Gedächtnis, Herrschaft und Besitz im Mittelalter*, ed. W. Pohl and P. Herold (Vienna, 2002), pp. 225–36, at pp. 225–6.

[21] For example, John XXII, *Lettres communes*; John XXII, *Lettres secretes*; Benedict XII, *Lettres à la France*; Benedict XII, *Lettres autres que la France*; Benedict XII, *Lettres communes*; Clement VI, *Lettres à la France*; Clement VI, *Lettres autres que la France* and also Clement V, *Regestum*, which are not edited by the *Écoles françaises*. Some papal documents are also published in the *Annales Ecclesiastici*, ed. C. Baronio, O. Raynaldi and J. Laderchi, 37 vols (Paris, 1608–1883).

[22] See, for example, the grant of indulgences published in Appendix 4, doc. 2, pp. 158–9.

information for crusading against the Turks in the period.[23] The document is of such significance that a full translation has been published by Norman Housley.[24] Overall, the papal registers are extremely useful for portraying the papal reaction to events in the Aegean and of European crusading trends in general. They are also the sources which, unsurprisingly, provide the most detail about the spiritual privileges which were granted to crusaders. As will be shown in Chapter 5, a close analysis of crusading indulgences implemented in the Aegean demonstrates the evolving papal attitude towards a crusade against the Turks and also reflects the spiritual concerns of the participants. When used in conjunction with other sources, papal sources can also help to clarify specific details of a crusade, such as dates, finance, numbers of men involved, galleys contributed, and so forth.

Throughout this study, emphasis has been placed on the problem of using common letters as an indicator of papal policy. The initiative in issuing them did not lie with the pope, so they are in many senses more informative about the motivations of those making the petitions than about those of the papacy.[25] Where possible the petitions copied into the Vatican registers of supplications (*Registra Supplicationum*) have also been consulted. These are important because in many instances no outgoing letter was issued in response to them, even when the petition was successful. Furthermore, they provide an unparalleled glimpse of the concerns of those who made the supplication, how they voiced these to the pope, and of the papal response. The petitions for trade licences, in particular, are vital for assessing the contrasting spiritual and economic motives of merchant crusaders and have been studied extensively in Chapter 6.[26] Unfortunately, however, the registers of supplications were only begun at the start of Clement VI's pontificate in 1342, which means that petitions do not survive for previous popes.[27] This is a great shame as earlier supplications, particularly those made to John XXII, might be extremely informative. Fortunately, in many outgoing papal letters some details of the original petition are included, which can be analysed in the same manner. This information is of course inferior in

[23] Summary in Clement VI, *Lettres à la France*, vol. 1, doc. 433; full text in *Acta Pontificum Suecica*, ed. L.M. Baath, 2 vols (Stockholm, 1936–57), vol. 1, pp. 369–71, doc. 337.

[24] *Documents on the Later Crusades, 1274–1580*, ed. and trans. N. Housley (London, 1996), pp. 78–80, doc. 22.

[25] Zutshi, 'The letters of the Avignon popes', 266–7.

[26] For more on the process of petitioning and the value of the *Registra Supplicationum*, see M. Carr, 'Crossing boundaries in the Mediterranean: Papal trade licences from the *Registra Supplicationum* of Pope Clement VI (1342–1352)', *Journal of Medieval History* 41 (2015), 107–29, esp. 110–15.

[27] On this, see P.N.R. Zutshi, 'The origins of the registration of petitions in the Papal Chancery in the first half of the fourteenth century', in *Suppliques et requêtes: Le gouvernement par la grâce en Occident (XIIe–XVe siècle)*, ed. Hélène Millet (Paris, 2003), pp. 177–91, esp. pp. 178–80.

detail to the original petitions as entered in the *Registra Supplicationum*, but it at least partly compensates for the absence of the registers of supplications prior to 1342.

The motives and priorities of crusaders in the Aegean can only be sufficiently analysed when set against the backdrop of trade in the eastern Mediterranean. As a consequence, the other core body of archival material for this study is that from the Italian merchant republics. In the case of Venice, the most relevant are the deliberations of the Great Council (*Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio*) and of the Senate (*Deliberazioni Misti del Senato*), as well as the acts of notaries overseas, such as on Crete. Although many of these records have now been summarized or even published in full, it still been necessary to consult some of the original manuscripts.[28] The Venetian archival material often includes the decisions of the various administrative bodies situated either in Venice or on Crete in regard to the Turks, Byzantines, and the other Latin powers in the Aegean. It thus provides an insight into the state policy of the Republic, as well as a valuable account of Venetian attitudes towards these different groups in the context of crusading and commercial exchange. Like the papal documents, the Venetian archives also provide specific details and dates for the intricate preparations precluding a crusade.[29]

The Venetian archives, however, do not give the full picture of Latin involvement in the Aegean. They are not concerned with the activities of the Genoese, the details of which are partially held in the various archives of that city. These contain information on the involvement of the Commune and its citizens in eastern Mediterranean trade, but unfortunately for the early fourteenth century many of the records are notoriously fragmented; civil war wracked the city for most of this period causing extreme instability, whilst the archives of the most important Genoese overseas colony for this study – that of the Zaccaria of Chios and Phokaia – do not survive.[30] Nevertheless, some Genoese material for this period is of considerable value, especially notarial records which record the shipments of goods from the

[28] See notably, the recent transcriptions of the *Misti del Senato* in *Venezia-senato: deliberazioni miste*, ed. F.-X. Leduc *et al.*, 20 vols (Venice, 2004–, ongoing) and also Theotokes, *Thespismata*; Thiriet, *Assemblées*; Thiriet, *Sénat*.

[29] A detailed discussion of the relevant Venetian archival sources can be found in D. Jacoby, 'Social evolution in Latin Greece', *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K.M. Setton, 6 vols (Madison, 1969–1989), vol. 6, pp. 175–221, at pp. 175–80, n. 1; Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne*, pp. 9–15.

[30] On the Genoese archival material, see the collections of notarial acts from the Genoese overseas, published by the Collana storica di Fonti e Studi in seven volumes, the latest at the time of writing being: *Gênes et l'outre-mer: Actes notaries de Famagouste et d'autres localités du Proche-Orient (XIVe-Xve s.)*, ed. M. Balard, L. Balletto and C. Schabel (Nicosia, 2013) and also C.F. Wright, *The Gattilusio Lordships and the Aegean World, 1355–1462* (Leiden, 2014), pp. 10–11; K. Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State: The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 1–2.

Genoese colonies in the eastern Mediterranean to western Europe, and those which provide evidence of Genoese trade with the Turks in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.[31] In addition to Venice and Genoa, archival material relating to the Hospitallers of Rhodes and the Catalans in the Aegean has been consulted.[32] The reconstruction of commercial activities in the Aegean can be aided further by sources relating to specific merchants, such as the trading handbook of Francesco Balducci Pegolotti and the collection of letters written to Pignol Zucchello.[33] To add to this, archaeological and numismatic evidence can help to fill the gaps in the documentary material, this is especially the case in regard to the Zaccaria, who minted coins during their rulership of Chios which survive.[34]

The substantial archival evidence has been supplemented by chronicles, histories and treatises, which although common for the period, are sporadic in their coverage of crusading or of events in the Aegean. Nevertheless, there are some which provide valuable information on these matters, such as the chronicle of Ramon Muntaner, for the early fourteenth century. Muntaner was a member of the Catalan Company in Anatolia and Greece from 1302 to 1307 and provides a detailed account of the expansion of the Turkish beyliks and the Catalan involvement in the crusade plans of the early fourteenth century.[35] The work of the Venetian crusade theorist Marino Sanudo Torsello is also of the utmost importance. Like Muntaner, he was familiar

[31] For example *Les relations commerciales entre Gênes, la Belgique et l'Outremont d'après les archives notariales génoises aux XIII et XIV siècles*, ed. R. Doehaerd, 3 vols (Brussels, 1941), vol. 3, docs 1356, 1357, 1530, 1667, 1675, 1723.

[32] Sources from these archives have, however, been limited to printed material, for example *DOC*; *Cartulaire général des hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310*, ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris, 1894–1905). On the Hospitaller sources, see A.T. Luttrell, *The Town of Rhodes: 1306–1356* (Rhodes, 2003), pp. 1–11.

[33] Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La Pratica Della Mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (New York, 1936); *Lettere di Mercanti a Pignol Zucchello (1336–1350)*, ed. R. Morozzo della Rocca (Venice, 1957).

[34] For an overview of the archaeology of the Aegean region, see A.K. Vionis, *A Crusader, Ottoman and Early Modern Aegean Archaeology: Built Environment and Domestic Material Culture in the Medieval and Post-Medieval Cyclades, Greece (13th–20th Centuries AD)* (Leiden, 2014), esp. pp. 27–45; J.L. Bintliff, *The Complete Archaeology of Greece: From Hunter-Gatherers to the 20th Century AD* (Chichester, 2012), pp. 416–35; P. Lock and G.D.R. Sanders, *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece* (Oxford, 1996). On numismatic evidence, see G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'orient Latin*, 2 vols (Paris, 1878); D. Promis, *La Zecca di Scio durante il dominio dei Genovesi* (Turin, 1865); D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, 2nd edition (London, 1995); A. Mazarakis, 'The Chios mint during the rule of the Zaccaria family (1304–1329)', *Nomismatika Chronika*, 2 (1992), 43–52; Idem, 'A martinello of Manuele and Paleologo Zaccaria (1307–1310)', trans. M.J. Tzamali, *Nomismatika Chronika* 18 (1999), 111–18.

[35] Ramon Muntaner, *The Catalan Expedition to the East: from the Chronicle of Ramon Muntaner*, trans. R. Hughes (Barcelona, 2006). For more on Muntaner's chronicle, see R.G. Keightley, 'Muntaner and the Catalan Grand Company', *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 4 (1979), 37–58.

with the eastern Mediterranean, having travelled there extensively since the 1280s. During his life Sanudo wrote two major works, 'Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis' (1307–21) and *Istoria del regno di Romania* (*c*.1326–33), as well as numerous letters between 1323 and 1337 to important dignitaries concerning the crusade, of which forty-two now survive.[36] Sanudo sheds much light on the logistics of crusade planning as well as providing an invaluable insight into the changing Latin perceptions of the Turks, especially in his letters. The other crusade theorists are also helpful in this regard, in particular the Dominican William of Adam who travelled to the East in the first decades of the fourteenth century.[37] William spent time in the Aegean and most probably visited Chios, as he regularly praises the activities of the Zaccaria family in their military endeavours against the Turks.[38] Also worth mentioning here is the work of the French knight and crusader Philippe de Mézières. He wrote mostly towards the end of the fourteenth century, but was present at the Crusade of Smyrna as a young man. Philippe's views of the Turks mostly concern the Ottomans, but at times he does shed light on the maritime beyliks in the early period.[39]

In addition to this, some chroniclers based in Italy commented on events in the Aegean, possibly because of their close link to trade in the eastern Mediterranean. The Florentine Giovanni Villani, for example, remarked on maritime encounters against the Turks, whilst many of the characters of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, written in c.1351, were inspired by real individuals, some of whom can be connected to the Aegean region.[40] In addition to

[36] Marino Sanudo Torsello, 'Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis' in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. J. Bongars, 2 vols (Hannover, 1611; repr. Jerusalem, 1972), vol. 2, pp. 1–287; *Istoria di Romania*, ed. and Greek trans. E. Papadopoulou (Athens, 2000). For more on Sanudo, see Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, trans. P. Lock (Farnham, 2011), pp. 1–20. Sanudo's letters are published in various works listed in the bibliography, and translated in S. Roddy, 'The Correspondence of Marino Sanudo Torsello' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1971). On Venetian chronicles from the period, see F. Thiriet, 'Les chroniques vénitiennes de la Marcienne et leur importance pour l'histoire de la Romanie Gréco-vénitienne', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 66 (1954), 241–92.

[37] William of Adam, *How To Defeat the Saracens*, ed. and trans. G. Constable (Washington, 2012).

[38] The anonymous author of the *Directorium ad Passagium Faciendum*, writing in c.1332, also claimed to have spent time with the Zaccaria overseas: 'Directorium ad Passagium Faciendum', in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: documents arméniens*, 2 vols (Paris, 1869–1906), vol. 2, pp. 367–517. For the connection between the two authors, see William Adam, *How To Defeat the Saracens*, pp. 5–8.

[39] See, for example, Philippe de Mézières, *Une epistre lamentable et consolatoire, adressée en 1397 à Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne, sur la défaite de Nicopolis, 1396*, ed. P. Contamine and J. Paviot (Paris, 2008), pp. 212–15. For an overview of Philippe and his many works, see the introduction to *Philippe de Mézières and His Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and K. Petkov (Leiden, 2011), pp. 1–16.

[40] See, for example Giovanni Villani, *Nuova cronica*, ed. G. Porta, 3 vols (Parma, 1990–1),

this, the chronicle of the Anonimo Romano, written c.1357–60, provides a detailed description of the Crusade of Smyrna, embellished with fantastic details and apocryphal tales.[41] Possibly connected to the Anonimo Romano is the anonymous apocryphal letter known as the *Epistola Morbasiani*, supposedly written by Umur Pasha to Pope Clement VI.[42] This fascinating source, along with the Anonimo Romano, is highly critical of the policy of the Venetians in the Aegean, and although it should not be taken at face value, it is illustrative of contemporary feeling on the Italian peninsula, as well as of popular perceptions of the Turks outside of the eastern Mediterranean. These sources are explored in detail in Chapter 2.

Other authors closer to events than the Italians were the Byzantines. Of them, George Pachymeres gives a vivid account of the Turkish advances in the early fourteenth century, although his attention was mostly focussed on political events within the empire itself.[43] John Kantakouzenos, who later became emperor, and Nikephoros Gregoras are more useful for Byzantine relations with the Latins during crusade negotiations of the 1320s onwards and also for Greek relations with the Turks.[44] Kantakouzenos, for instance, was an eye-witness to the capture of Chios from Martino Zaccaria by Andronikos III and he also later formed an alliance with Umur of Aydin during the Byzantine civil wars.[45] However, the accounts of these authors tend to contradict one another and can be confusing when attempting to re-construct certain episodes: Kantakouzenos does not write within a strict chronological framework, whilst Gregoras has a tendency to telescope events. Like Pachymeres, both should be considered first and foremost as concerned with the situation within the Byzantine empire itself, rather than relied on for information regarding the Latins or political developments in the Aegean.[46]

vol. 2, bk. 9, ch, 106, pp. 198–9, bk. 10, ch. 120, p. 323, vol. 3, bk. 12, ch. 18, p. 58, bk. 13, ch. 49, pp. 388–91; Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, pp. 83–7 (II:4), pp. 124–5 (II.7).

[41] Anonimo Romano, *Cronica*, ed. G. Porta, 2nd edition (Milan, 1981), esp. pp. 100–17. For information on the author and the writing of the chronicle, see G. Seibt, *Anonimo romano: scrivere la storia alle soglie del Rinascimento* (Rome, 2000), pp. 1–107; M. Carr, 'Humbert of Viennois and the Crusade of Smyrna: A reconsideration', *Crusades* 13 (2014), 237–51, at 250.

[42] There are over eighty manuscript variants of the *Epistola Morbasiani*. For a discussion, see Chapter 2, pp. 53–5.

[43] See, for example, George Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, vol. 4, bk. 10, ch. 19–22, pp. 346–52, ch. 25, pp. 358–67, ch. 29, pp. 376–7.

[44] For example, Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, 3 vols (Bonn, 1829–55), vol. 1, bk. 11, ch. 1, pp. 523–5, vol. 2, bk. 13, ch. 13, p. 689, bk. 16, ch. 7, pp. 834–5.

[45] For his account of the Zaccaria, see John Kantakouzenos, *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris Historiarum libri IV*, ed. L. Schopen and B.G. Niebuhr, 3 vols (Bonn, 1828–32), vol. 1, bk. 2, ch. 10–12, pp. 370–88.

[46] For a discussion of the Byzantine sources, see in particular A.E. Laiou, 'Italy and the

The Turks for their part did not produce a great deal of historical writing in the pre-Ottoman period and even Persian and Arabic accounts of the beyliks are rare for the fourteenth century.[47] Only the *Düstūrnāme*, an epic poem by the poet-chronicler Enveri, contains any significant information on relations with the Latins. This source, written in c.1465, although possibly based on a lost contemporary account, contains a whole section (Book 18) devoted to the heroic exploits of Umur of Aydin. These include details of his raids against the Latins in the run up to the first naval league, his alliances with the Byzantines, and the Crusade of Smyrna.[48] It is worth noting that many Greeks served in the fledgling administrations of the beyliks and the international diplomatic language they used was Greek, as was that of the Seljuks before them and even the Ottomans until the end of the fifteenth century.[49]

The Greek and Turkish sources are therefore used to complement the western material, which provides the greatest amount of information for the Aegean crusades. Crucially it is the combination of one corpus of material, relevant to the papacy and crusading, with another, relating to the merchant republics and trade, that allows for the most nuanced analysis of the organization and prosecution of crusading in the Aegean during this period.

Italians in the political geography of the Byzantines (14th century)', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995), 73–98 and also G. Page, *Being Byzantine: Greek Identity Before the Ottomans* (Cambridge, 2008), esp. pp. 141–6; *Sources for Turkish History in the Hospitallers' Rhodian Archive: 1389–1422*, ed. A.T. Luttrell and E.A. Zachariadou (Athens, 2008), pp. 23–4.

[47] On the dearth of historical sources regarding the Turks for this period, see Kafadar, *Between the Two Worlds*, pp. 93–4.

[48] Enveri, *Le destān d'Umūr Pacha (Düstūrnāme-i Enverī)*, trans. I. Mélikoff-Sayar (Paris, 1954). The work is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, pp. 51–2, and also in P. Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'occident: Recherches sur 'La geste d'Umur pacha'* (Paris, 1957), *passim*.

[49] On the language used by the beyliks, see Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, pp. 185–6. For more on Turkish sources during this period, see Kafadar, *Between the Two Worlds*, pp. 60–117; *Sources for Turkish History in the Hospitallers' Rhodian Archive*, pp. 21–3.