

The Crusading Plans During the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century

Dr. Hayat Nasser Al-Hajji

It is difficult to try an attempt for describing the whole wide-shaped picture of the crusading propaganda in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Nevertheless, one must not hesitate to shed light on the main elements which might be considered as the most important aspects of the whole project. From the preliminary look one could easily understand that the different features are concerning a certain period which completely changed from the passed years with its old crusading song. It is a different period with new aspects and activities. The crusade of this period is completely a different image which differs in its meanings and aims from the old ordinary plans.

The crusade against Tunis could be taken as an example that crusading project had been changed to serve personal ambition.

CHARLES of Anjou arrived Tunis immediately after the death of his brother. The command of the army of St. Louis naturally fell to Charles, and he meant to use the pilgrims to his own advantage. The ruler of Tunis, alarmed at the preliminary success of the Crusaders, was ready to negotiate peace. Charles reminded him that the tribute due from Tunis to Sicily had lapsed, and insisted that the payment must be given. The former accepted the condition, and Charles, as King of Sicily, received an addition to his coffers. The Crusade could now have been launched against Egypt or Syria, but Charles had other opinions. His eyes were still fixed on Byzantium. Even if he could have induced the army to move against Constantinople, however, its strength was inadequate for such a project. **Consequently**, Charles proposed that the crusaders and the pilgrims should return to their homes. The Crusade, he was careful to point out, must not be regarded as abandoned: It was temporarily postponed. Charles and the barons solemnly vowed to resume the Holy War in three years. (1)

1. Campbell, *The Crusades*, 447.

On the other hand one could not deny that the Capetian king St. Louis is one of the most important Christian leaders who sacrificed their freedoms and their lives for helping the latin kingdoms in Syria. He was greatly and deeply eager to give different kinds of assistance and promotion, but unfortunately he was unaware of the changes regarding the European world. Therefore, all his exertions were fruitless.

Besides, if he had understood those European internal changes, his endeavours and efforts would have been a great use for the Kingdom of France during his rule, although he did his best for the sake of his state, and succeeded after a lot of troubles in having a strong kingdom with fortified borders.

“Acre, along the rallying-point of the Cristians, put up a brave defence before its capture in May, 1291. Over a hundred thousand Moslems surrounded it on the land side, but no blockade from the sea was attempted and ample supplies could be obtained from Cyprus. The Moslem siege-engines, however, made breach after breach in the walls, and only superhuman efforts on the part of the defenders stemmed the rushes of the fanatical attackers. It was decided to send the women and children to Cyprus.”⁽¹⁾

“There was no lack of shipping in the harbour. Thousands of Christians rushed in panic to the boats and set sail for Cyprus; but a storm sprang up, and many of the ships foundered or were blown back on the coast, where the Moslems captured the passengers.”⁽²⁾

The Fall of Acre could be estimated as the most decisive turning-point in the history of the Crusading movement in the East.

Besides the whole function might be described as the most important achievement which had been accomplished on the hands of Sultan Al-Ashraf Khalil b. Qalawun. It was the expected end which St. Louis feared to happen as he saw the weakness of the Latin Kingdoms in the Syrian coast. **Partly it was Europe's** responsibility for the internal affairs of these Kingdoms along the last forty years before the fall of Acre at the hands of the Muslims.

1. Campbell, The Crusades 451.

2. Loc. cit.

Besides the vital role which had been played by the Mamluk forces in order to ruin the Crusading existence in the Syrian coast. One of the immediate conclusions of the fall of Acre was the fate of the Templar who suffered a bad state. After the loss of the Holy Land in 1291, they retired to Cyprus. They settled throughout Christendom and the call was sounded for the whole strength of the order to assemble in the island for an attempt to restore the Holy Land. The project was soon realized to be unsuccessful with their own forces and none of the princes would support the venture. Consequently, the Templars occupied themselves with running their big estates in the European countries. Their wealth and arrogance had long earned them unpopularity, and a severe punishment was to fall upon them. (1)

The period of Latin Rule in the Holy Land was past. Only Peter Embriaco, Lord of Jebail, though under Mamluk surveillance, held on to his domain until 1298, possibly because he could count on the traditional support of the Christian Lebanese whose resistance the Mamluks were unable to break, until after 1300. In 1303 the Templars evacuated their last station, the island of Ruad. (2)

The Templar base on Ruad island was useful only for as long as it was planned to return to Jerusalem. The fact that they held on to it until 1303 clears that they did have that hope. It was as inconceivable to them as to the rest of their contemporaries that the Holy Land must be in any but Christian power, and there was no lack of plans for injecting new vivid activity into the crusading movement. (3)

Therefore the European leaders encouraged the highly educated scholars to plan new schemes for the same well known target, and a new era had begun.

An expedition to Egypt and Syria in 1300 was hardly a more useful affair, so far as results went. (4) Sixteen galleys with other smaller vessels were equipped by King Henry II, (5) the Templars and the Hospitallers, and placed under the command of Baldwin de Picquigny as admiral, the troops they carried were captained by Raymond Visconte. With Henry II were his brother Amaury, Lord of Tyre, The Grande Master of the Templars, the Commander of the Hospitallers,

1. Campbell, *The Crusades*, 459.

2. Mayer, *The Crusades*, 274.

3. Mayer, *The Crusades*, 275.

1. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, II, 213.

2. Henry II, (1285—1324), son of Hugh III.

and an envoy of the Mongol Khan Ghazan. The expedition left Famagusta on 20 July, sailed to Capechelidoni and thence made for Rosetta. Five Muslim galleys which they encountered retired up stream. They landed some hundred horse men and sacked and burnt a village. Four Mongols who were with the Muslims, seeing the banner of Ghazan which was flown on the ship in which his envoy was, escaped and joined the Crusaders. From Rosetta the fleet sailed to Alexandria and entered the port, but remained only until the next day, when it made for Acre, capturing and burning on the way a Moorish Ship coming from Scandelore, from which thirty hostages were taken. (3)

At Acre the expedition Landed and found thirty horse-men and 300 foot of the Muslim, whom they routed, killing seven, sailing on to Tortosa, they again put to flight some hundred horse-men, killing six. Next day the Hospitallers landed at Maraclea from two small vessels, raiding and indulging in food and drink, seeing that they were separated from the rest of the fleet the enemy surprised them and drove them back to their ships, killing a knight and twenty foot soldiers. The whole fleet then left by way of the Armeno-Cicilian coast to Cyprus. (4)

Thus, we see that the crusading new plans were hardly fruitful, for the Muslims became strong enough to drive back any expedition coming for crusading aims.

The Mamluk Sultans felt that it was their duty to keep the Muslim Lordship in the Holy Land, and nothing would stop them from fighting for this purpose.

On the other hand we see another chapter of the cooperative work between the Christians and the Mongols against the Islamic World. That United powers never achieved any success at the expense of the Muslims.

In the same year 1300 messenger from Ghazan reached Cyprus, announcing that the Khan intended to make a campaign against Syria in the coming winter, and asking the king and all the Franks to wait for him in Armenia, whose ruler and people were making preparations for the campaign. Ghazan's envoy may have been the Zolus de Anestasio who was in Famagusta in 25 May 1301, some time before which he had sent one Viscard thence on an embassy to the Pope. (5)

3. Hill, A History of Cyprus, II, 214.

4. Hill, A History of Cyprus, II, 214.

1. Hill, A History of Cyprus, II, 214-215.

Messengers from the East had brought the news of Ghazan's triumphs to Rome early in 1300, as appears from a letter of Boniface VIII to Edward I dated 7 April 1300.

Accordingly, Amaury de Lusignan⁽²⁾ sailed with 300 mounted men, and as many of the Templars and Hospitallers, to the island of Ruad. Thence they made a descent on Tortosa itself, remaining there for some time. But when the Mongols failed to come, and the Muslim army was seen to be gathering to attack them, they came back to Cyprus. It was not until next February that the Mongol Prince Kutlugh-Shah, arrived in the region of Antioch with 40,000 horse. Summoning Hayton, the king of Armenia who had with him Guy d'Ibelin, Count of Jaffa; and John, Lord of Giblet, he explained that Ghazan had been prevented from keeping his promise by illness and bad weather. After raiding the territory of Aleppo as far as Homs, he returned home. Amaury and his Cypriots thereupon retired from Ruad to Cyprus, but not before they had suffered considerable losses at the hands of the Muslims. But Ruad was not yet to be in the hands of the Muslims.⁽¹⁾

The King's enemies later accused him of refusing supplies to this campaign, which would have starved had not he eventually been persuaded to let the members of it to obtain supplies at their own expense.

It is possible; therefore, either that the whole idea of the campaign originated with Amaury rather than with the king, or that seeing it was bound to fail, Henry refused to maintain it any longer.

The Grand Master of the Templars realized that Ruad would be a suitable point from which to annoy the Muslims, and put up buildings to shelter a garrison, consisting of the greater part of the Brethren, whom he left behind under the command of the Marshal Bartholomew. The numbers of the Christians in the island are given as 120 knights, 500 archers and 400 other men and women. They had some transports, but no galleys.⁽³⁾ The Sultan Al-Nasir Muhammad, sent a fleet of sixteen galleys and smaller ships to Tripoli. There the leader to whom the command was entrusted manned them, and himself marching to Tortosa landed on Ruad at two places. There was hard fighting, the Syrian archers making a fine defence but the Templars were forced to take refuge in a tower.

2. The brother of the king of Cyprus Henry II (1285-1324) The son of Hugh III de Lusignan.

1. Hill, A History of Cyprus, II, 215.
2. Hill, A History of Cyprus, II, 215-216.

Lastly, trusting in the enemy's word to let them depart in safety whither so ever they wanted, Brother Hugh de Dampierre came to terms with the enemy, and the defenders yielded. All the Christian Syrian foot-soldiers were at once cut to pieces, and also some 300 of other men, and Templars were carried off to Egypt. Thus was lost the last foothold of the crusaders in Syria. (3)

By this short survey we can understand that the continuous wars were useless, and it looked as if there was no way to recapture the Holy Land in the east. Then it would be futile to try a full parade of the fourteenth century propagandists. Nevertheless, we must not overlook one principal idea, that of alliance with the Mongols for more successful crusading against Islam. This new aspect captivated the Western imagination and gave rise to the Latin mission to the Mongols with great results for the crusade. Started during the pontificate of Innocent IV (1243-54) and the reign of St. Louis (1226-70), the most spectacular phase in the Catholic Mission to Cathay may well be associated with the names of John of Monte Corvino and Oderic of Pordenone. (2) John, of his own desire and without any fuss, went to the kingdom of Khan Baliq and is stated to have baptized 5,000 souls at Peking in 1304, built two churches and even translated the Psalms and the new Testament into the language of his congregation (3). A decade later he was joined by Oderic, who had rounded the continent of Asia by way of Iran, India, and Indonesia. Oderic came back to Avignon in 1330 tired and sick to die at Udine in the following year. (4) Meanwhile, in recognition of his victory John was appointed archbishop of Sultaniya and the Far East by the Pope, who also sent seven bishops suffragan to help him in that big new diocese. He died in 1328, and his last successor, John of Florence, was killed at an unknown place in China during 1362. (5)

Thus, as we have seen, the Popes had played an important role in the missionary works among the Mongols in order to gain the Mongol support against the Muslims or to be more precise, the Mamluk Sultanate, which increasingly intended to keep the eastern territories under the Muslim domination. At last the Mamluks succeeded in achieving full control over the Muslim lands and had no intention to allow the crusaders to come back at any expense.

3. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, II, 216.

1. Atiya, *Crusade, Commerce and Culture*, 99.

2. *Op. Cit.*, 99—100.

3. *Op. Cit.*, 100.

4. *Loc. Cit.*

But some of the Catholic rulers were deeply determined to accomplish a new crusade to save the Holy Land from the hands of the Muslims.

Henry II de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, and nominally king of Jerusalem, sent two messengers to submit his views on the crusade to Pope Clement V and the council. Henry and his representatives are not concerned with the details of the preparations for the campaign. As a man of action, whose kingdom lies within reach of Egypt, he is mainly cared about the general strategy of the expedition. The king and his representatives are aware of the importance of the preparations which should be fulfilled on a large scale. For the immediate aim of weakening the military strength of the Mamluk Sultan and the Muslims, the maritime blockade of Egypt and Syria shall be found an effective and vital instrument. (1) A number of galleys may immediately be equipped in order to capture the treacherous Christians who carry new white slaves to reinforce the Mamluk army as well as war material and provisions to the enemy. An essential condition for the success of his fleet in its mission is its independence of the communes of Venice, Pisa, Genoa and all the other maritime powers of Italy whose loyalty to the cause of Christianity against Islam the king regards with unmistakable suspicion, for the fears that they may take advantage of any connection with the navy of the crusade to enhance their own impious interests in Mamluk commerce. If these restrictions are observed strictly for about three years, the maritime power of Egypt will be destroyed and her resources depleted. (2) In the meantime, it will be advisable to instal a band of knights and arabalesters in the crusading ships, for these may cause considerable damage to the coastal towns of the enemy and strike terror in their hearts, until the time is ripe for successful crusade. (3) Henry prefers the sea way to Cyprus for the Crusaders, and there they and their horses may land for a period of recuperation and may afterwards sail direct to Egypt and not to Armenia, Syria or elsewhere. (4) Here he follows the example of St. Luois as distinct from the advice of Marino Sanndo, and Prince Hayton of Armenia, who suggest that Armenia may be regarded as a suitable base. The king of Cyprus, on the other hand, regards a landing in Armenia with grave misgivings. The Strategy which involves the use of that country as a base for operations against Syria and Egypt involves incalculable perils to the host. Armenia is a much-harassed and weakened land and its people are apt to flee to the mountains in search of safety (5)

1. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 58.

2. *Loc. Cit.*,

3. *Op. Cit.*, 59.

4. *Loc. Cit.*

5. *Loc. Cit.*

Besides, the journey to Cairo by way of Ghazza is a long one, lasting twenty days, and the way through Syria is obstructed by desert and mountain as well as strong castles. The direct descent on Egypt has, on the contrary, numerous advantages. The journey by sea from Cyprus to the Egyptian Coast is short and direct, lasting only five or six days. Landing will present no serious difficulty, especially as the Sultan will be left in the dark regarding the destination of the Christian forces. The Muslim contingents of Syria will be unable to leave their posts and come to the succour of their master in Egypt for fear of Mongol invasions, which are not infrequent against the Asiatic possessions of the Mam-luks. Further, Egypt is a country where provisions are much more plentiful than in Syria. (1)

They were, in fact, individual cries which could not accomplish a successful crusade by depending upon its own efforts. In the year 1309 Pope Clement V had made plans for a new Crusade, to this aim he accumulated a large sum, 300,000 gold florins. (2)

The Hospital, in whose favour he suppressed the Temple, was to lead the campaign. In May 1309, the Commander of the Hospital, Guy de Severac, presented to all prelates a bull informing them that the Pope with the king of France had ordered a new Crusade, to be commanded by the Grand Master of the Hospital, and exhorting the Christians of Cyprus and Armenia to contribute to the holy mission in money and men. Many indulgences were granted for the loan of money for the accomplishment. The Governor towards the end of July summoned all the knights and lieges of the realm to present themselves at Nicosia on 10 August without their horses, and unarmed. After three days of their gathering on that date, he announced that ordered preparations to be made for their reception, by providing horses and weapons, and increasing the number of retainers, as far as the revenues and fiefs allowed. (3) Such an honourable reception would thus add to the good reputation of the lieges of Cyprus, should the intentions of the crusaders be good, "but if they come with a mind to injure our country, we shall be prepared to defend our property, our wives and children, our honour and our lives." (4) To control the situation, he ordered the election of a council from among their elder and more experienced members, and the Constable and the Prince of Galilee, with forty others, were chosen to form this body. (5)

1. Loc. Cit.

2. Hill, A History of Cyprus, II, 238.

3. Hill, A History of Cyprus, II, 239.

4. Hill, A History of Cyprus, II, 239.

1. Loc. Cit.

Such, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, was the view taken by a practical ruler of the dangers of entertaining the crusaders. But Amoury had certain reasons for his fears. In the first place, he knew that the general feeling in the papal court was hostile to him. In the second, he must have known that, according to one school of politicians, a Crusade, though ostensibly for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Muslims, did not exclude the acquisition of the crowns of Jerusalem and Cyprus for one of the sons of the French King. This suggestion had been put forward by Peter Dubois in his tract on the recovery of the Holy Land, which was composed between 1306 and 1308, as well as in a special memoir.

On Thursday, 21 August, the Governor took a step to persuade the king⁽²⁾ to acknowledge his position, sending a deputation of clerics and religions, who asked him to make peace with his liegs in order that the crusaders when they came must find a settled state of affairs, and the Governor would be able to do his duty to them. The King, Henry II de Lusignan, replied that he was glad to hear of the arrival of the crusaders from overseas and that, if there were no peace, it was not owing to his opposition, he for his part was content to abide by his word and to act according to the advice of a few good counsellors whom he trusted. ⁽³⁾

This answer was put in writing. The Governor next day sent the same envoys to tell him that the answer was not what they wanted, their desire was that he must confirm the Governor and give willing consent to his governing the country by the time of the arrival of the crusade. The king asked for a written statement of their demands, which they submitted. ⁽⁴⁾

It stated that the election of Amaury as ruler had been confirmed and re-confirmed by the king, by a written deed, bearing the seals of the parties, but since then there had occurred many problems, which had hindered the Governor in the due exercise of his rights and powers. Also it was pointed out that the Pope had actually addressed Amaury as Governor, and was sending contingents to help in the recovery of the Holy Land, but difficulties made by the King's representatives at Rome had hindered the Pope's action.

-
2. The King Henry II de Lusignan was kept away by his brother Amaury in order the latter could be crowned instead as king of Cyprus.
 3. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, II, 240.
 4. *Loc. Cit.*

The Government and the society of Cyprus were busied in the struggle which was raised by Amaury to be crowned in the place of his brother who was banished to little Armenia for Henry's return were now begun. (1)

Meanwhile the Legate and his company had come in Lajazzo on 18th July. After nine days delay, while the king of Armenia was being informed of their coming, they were brought to his presence (2) The shifty monarch put many difficulties in the way of their access to king Henry, until he was faced with the formal challenge, in the name of all Henry's Barons and men in Cyprus, that unless the prisoner were safely freed with out any hindrance, they would do as they liked. And the Armenian ruler Oshin would have to deal with the united forces of Christendom, who were expected to arrive for a crusade, would undertake the liberation of the king as gladly as they would that of Jerusalem. (3) Lastly Henry returned to Cyprus. (4)

Alone among the Christian rulers, Peter I, King of Cyprus, desired to devote himself to the crusade. In the middle of the fourteenth century, sixty years after the expulsion of the Christians from Acre, he took up the struggle against the Muslims and some of the fervour which had distinguished the early Crusaders was again to be seen in an army of the Lord. Peter of Cyprus founded the Order of the Sword for the recovery of Jerusalem in the name of the Saviour, and his operations against the infidel, especially in Egypt, were successful. But not the capture of Jerusalem. (5)

Therefore it could be said that the whole political situation of the European world had been changed for ever, thoughts and intentions were no longer the same, and all the papal efforts would not be of any use. It is a new world with completely different aims.

People started thinking and working for pure personal interests. They began to care more about the benefits which might be gained from this plan or that scheme. They were no more careful for crusading interests or papal hopes. Even the popes cared more about personal profits and gains than common catholic welfare. It was or became a question of how much advantage one could avail this crusade or that campaign. It was no longer the Medieval Roman

-
1. Loc. Cit.
 2. Op. Cit., 258.
 3. Loc. Cit.
 4. Op. Cit., 260.
 5. Campbell, The Crusades, 469.

Catholic world, but the late Medieval European countries and realm Emperors, Kings, rulers, military leaders started to think and care more about the national welfare and personal privileges.

Leo II succeeded the throne of Armenia in 1271, and seemed to cling to the Mongol alliance against Egypt, therefore he had come to an open rupture with the Pope. Besides he reached close alliance with Byzantium.⁽¹⁾ But none of these hopes was put into effect, and all his efforts were in vain for the Catholic European world was no longer interested in recapturing the Holy Land. Therefore he had to understand the whole changed situation to begin new relations and different contact with the Mamluk Sultanate. The new world needed certain materials and objects which were in the hands of the Muslims, therefore other ways should be tried.

The only method which could be attempted by the Popes and might be useful to the European interests was the diplomatical relations. Consequently in 1326 al-Nasir Muhammad was asked by Pope John XXII to treat his Christian subjects in the Mamluk Sultanate kindly, with the promise that the same would be done for the Muslims in the West.⁽²⁾

Thus the Mamluk court became the destination of the European messengers, all came seeking the sultan's help either for commercial benefits or religious purposes. In conclusion one might describe the fourteenth century as the period of diplomatical advance in regard to national relations and worldly communications.

On the other side one could say that the fourteenth century was the real age of propaganda for the Crusade, especially in its early decades. This was the national reaction of the European conscience to a situation which was increasingly becoming ruined in the East.⁽¹⁾ The discomfiture of the Crusaders to save Jerusalem and defend the city of Acre was one of the most poignant aspects of the period, and Europe had to search for the causes of its failure in the face of Islam. In fact the promoters of the idea of the Crusade seem to have come from all classes of medieval society and included Popes, Rulers, Leaders, Kings, Nobles, Princes, and Men of the pen, Ministers of state and of

1. Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures of the Study of Medieval and Modern History*, 217.

2. Al-Hajji, *The Internal Affairs in Egypt*, 124.

1. Atiya, *Crusade, Commerce and Culture*, 94.

religion, and an endless stream of pilgrims returning from Jerusalem with touching tales to tell about the East. Theorists pondered, not only over the reconquest of the birthplace of Christ, but also over the most effective behavior where by it could be retained in the hands of Christians after the reinstatement of the lost kingdom of Jerusalem. A certain Thaddeo of Naples, an eye witness of the Acre disaster in 1291, inaugurated the movement with a tract called "Hystoria" in which he explained the fate of this last stronghold of Latin Christianity on the coast of Palestine. His efforts for union among all the nobles of Catholic Europe under the rule of the church Militant to save the holy heritage were in full conformity with the official policy of the papacy.⁽²⁾ Nicholas IV. (1288-92), his contemporary, planned a Crusading campaign in collaboration with Charles II of Anjou (d. 1309), whose interest in the project was enhanced by his claim to the crown of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.⁽³⁾

It is a new chapter in the history of the Crusade; some were working for pure religious aims, others were busy in planning the most proper schemes to gain further personal profits, while the rest were mixed up between the two parties and dreamed to accomplish the two different kinds of interests at the same time. In fact all the three groups were far away from the new political situation in Egypt and Syria in regard to the strong and formidable rule under the Mamluk Sultans who were determined to keep their domination over all the Muslim countries without any hesitation.

In the age of faith, the idea of saving the Holy Land could not possibly sink into complete oblivion. Surely, there were times of indifference and negligence towards an aim for which so many christians died in bygone centuries. Yet, reminders of the Christians of the East and the duty incumbent upon their fellowmen in the West were numerous. Travellers came back from the Muslim countries with stories of suffering, sacrilege and misery, but perhaps the most potent of reminders were the wandering princes of Christian Kingdoms which either extinct or on the verge of extinction at the hand of the Muslims.⁽⁴⁾

The question arises here: how far these tales would effect the whole project of crusading propaganda? And how far the educated propagandists would be effected by these stories that they would make their best to form the most suitable plans?

2. Op. Cit., 95.

3. Lo. Cit.

1. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 14-15.

Before we try to find out the answers for these questions, it might be useful to shed light upon the great energy displayed in the writings of pilgrims and propagandists of the Later Middle Ages for the Crusade.⁽²⁾ The enormous body of literature emanating from the pen of these enthusiasts is indeed one of the permanent aspects of the period.

If the Crusade had aroused so much pity in Europe, how can we account for the meagreness of its results and the failure of the Crusade as a whole? The futility of all efforts to save the Holy places might be ascribed partly to the circumstances of European politics.

On the other side the condition of the Islamic world was yet another fundamental element in the frustration and failure of the Crusade. It would be idle to study all the happenings and institutions which formed the basic strength of Egypt during that time, although a brief survey of some of these aspects seem both important and helpful⁽³⁾ Moreover one must say that Egypt in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was one of the most prosperous countries in the world, and the Mamluk Sultanate was strong enough to fight the Crusading countries to save the Holy Land. They had both men and money to stand in the face of all military forces; besides diplomatical treaties with the Spanish Kingdoms to fight together against the crusading west. The capture of Acre by the Mamluks in May 1291 may be appropriately regarded as the end of one period and the beginning of another in the history of the crusades. The three or four decades immediately following the fall of the Latin Kingdoms in the Holy Land formed a period of propagandist activities in Europe for the recovery of the lost heritage of Christ. For this aim many notable men of letters and religious dignitaries of the fourteenth century devoted their efforts with some success.

The new campaigns, though rightly bearing the name of crusades, differed considerably from the old expeditions in constitution and conclusion. Although they had one common feature, it was the conquest of the Syrian cities and the Holy Land in Palestine.⁽⁴⁾

In fact one might say that it was a complete new project, although it served the old well known aim. And on the other side it proved that education and thoughts began to play an important role in the crusading field, but with less success.

2. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 16.

3. *Op. Cit.*, 16-17.

1. Atiya, *The Crusade in the later Middle Ages*, 29.

The distinctive aspect in the history of the crusade during the first four decades of the fourteenth century is the abundance of propagandists who exhorted all good Catholic to uphold the cause of the Crusade. Pilgrims, missionaries, statesmen, schemes for projects of crusade to those in power including Popes, Kings, and Councils. In these plans, preparations, routes and possibilities of successful expeditions to the East were discussed in great detail. The labours and enthusiasm of the propagandists of this period were at last rewarded when Catholic Europe embarked on a number of campaigns against the Muslims in the remaining decades of the century. Consequently, propagandist literature passed through a period of marked extinction and the reason is not far to seek, for men's intentions turned to action instead of the exhortation of others to do what was regarded as their sacred duty to recover the Holy Land. Nevertheless it would be an error to assume that this era was quite devoid of the propagandist activity which filled the first years of the century. Therefore it took a different form, and the treaties on the crusade, were now supplanted by diplomatic correspondence and negotiation, for immediate action. (2)

Propagandist Literature reached its height during the fourteenth century. It was generally characterized by a marked sense of devotion and genuine enthusiasm for the recovery of the Holy Land. It would be an error to contend that all the fourteenth century pilgrims, travellers and propagandists were entirely free from those extraneous motives of the love to travel for adventure, the quest of trade and material profit, and the work of diplomatic and military reconnaissance in the East, which prevailed during a later period. The occasional deprecation of pilgrimages on the ground of resultant waste of money in lands subject to the Muslims, the opposition of the Italian merchants to a cause which they considered as ruinous to their Oriental markets, and the growing influence of missionary activities as a peaceful substitute for armed expeditions into Muslim countries all these were elements existing long before the beginning of the fifteenth century. Looked upon projects for crusade with open disfavour. (1)

Therefore one could say that the history of the crusade in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries may be divided into three fairly distinct periods, each contains a series of events which bear the same general marks, and each following the other as a natural corollary. (2) The first, extending from the beginning

2. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 128.

1. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 187.

2. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 281.

to approximately the middle of the fourteenth century, was an age of active propaganda and of minor preludes to the great battles of the west in the East. Consequently it would be vital for people interested in such matter to have some idea concerning the vivid propaganda of this period which we are concerned about. Besides, as we have explained in the last few pages, its main object is the crusade, and the most suitable methods to serve a project with more successful conclusions and lasting results.

Even before the fall of Acre, a Franciscan by the name of Fidenzio of Padua advised Pope Nicolas on the details and plan of the projected campaign in a work entitled "Liber Recuperationis Terre Sancte." (2)

The maritime blockade of the Mamluk Sultanate, the problem of military bases in Armenia and Syria, naval and land forces, routes to the East, and other important subjects were discussed in detail by Fidenzio on the assumption that Acre was still in Christian hands, a fact which minimized the value of some features of his counsel. Nevertheless, the pontificate of Nicholas IV. witnessed the birth of a new chapter in the literary and diplomatic propaganda for the Crusade. (1)

The Propagandist output of the time is bewildering in its dimensions, and a severe measure of selectivity must necessarily be noticed in the treatment of some of its representative or outstanding Landmarks. (2)

His advice for effective reconnaissance is of interest, since he sheds light and draws attention to the skilful system whereby the Sultan kept himself informed by his agents of the actions of the Christians in the parts near to his own country as well as in remote regions. After dealing with the qualities and virtues befalling the leader of the host, Fidenzio suggests that war with the Muslims, should be waged by two forces, by sea and by land. Besides, he upholds the maritime blockade of Egypt which might be carried out with success by means of a fleet costing of about fifty galley galleys all well equipped with men and war material. Their first duty would be to intercept all those ungodly and insubordinate Christians who for the sake of worldly profits and in defiance of the penalty of excommunication imposed by the Roman Church, continue to trade freely with the enemy. (3)

3. Atiya, *Crusade, Commerce, and Culture*, 95.

1. *Loc. Cit.*

2. *Op. Cit.* 96.

3. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 40.

Besides a maritime blockade of the coast of Egypt and other Muslim countries would be a good weapon against Muslim prosperity owing to the Muslim's ignorance of the art of navigation. Describing the Mamluk gains from trade, Fidenzio states that from Alexandria alone comes a daily income of one thousand old besants or in other words more than a thousand florins, which the Sultan may spend on the equipment of Muslim horsemen. If the Christians stop travelling to Egypt, the Muslims would lose all this income and thus remain a hard blow. Fidenzio then deals with the means of deflecting the Indian trade from the Red Sea and Egypt to Persia and Christian Armenia. Another point in favour of the maritime blockade is the possibility of stopping the importation of young men from the shores of the Black Sea to reinforce the enemy's army of Mamluks. (4)

On the other side, the famous Majorcan missionary Raymond Lull (1235-1316), an almost terrifyingly prolific writer, put less emphasis, in his "Liber de Fine", on purely crusading war. For him the best way to recover the Holy Land was by peaceful missionary work aimed at converting all the Muslims to Christianity, war played only a supporting part in his schemes. Lull believed that an education in foreign languages was important for missionaries. Therefore the Council of Vienne (1331) decreed that chairs of Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac must be established in the universities. Nothing much came of this decree but it gave the first impulse to oriental studies in Europe. (5)

Lull was one of the most extraordinary personalities of his age. A poet, a philosopher, a writer of at least several hundred books, and the author of a new system of philosophy based on the unity of knowledge as demonstrated in his work entitled "Arbor scientiae". He was also one of the earliest Orientalists, who mastered the Arabic tongue and even composed Arabic Poetry. Though he began his life by promoting a new scheme of Crusade in his book "Liber de Fine", it soon dawned upon him that it might be more appropriate if Europe succeeded in converting the Muslims to Christianity. This step would finally bring the Holy Land and the whole Islamic world into the fold of the faithful without violence or the shedding of blood. (6) Consequently the study of Arabic and Islamic theology was a vital element for the preaching of Christianity.

4. Op. Cit., 40—41.

1. Mayer, *The Crusades*, 275.

2. Atiya, *Crusade, Commerce, and Culture*, 96.

Thrice he crossed over to North Africa with this perilous quest in view. In the first trip he formulated his debates with Ibn Ammar, the grand mufti of Tunis, in a treatise called "Disputation Raymundi Christini et Hamar Sarra-ceni" (3) In the second, he was captured at once by the Tunisian authorities and kept in jail until his deputation by the Lenient Muslim governor. In the third, he earned his much desired crown of martyrdom when he was stoned by a mob outside the Algerian seaport of Bugia, when he had reached the advanced age of eighty-two, his body was recovered by Genoese mariners and deposited in the cathedral of Las Palmas on the island of Majorca. (4)

At the same time the traditional crusading spirit was being nurtured at the French court, where Philip IV. (1285-1314) after humiliating Pope Boniface VIII. (1294-1303) in Rome and establishing the Papacy within his realm at Avignon, envisioned the extension of French hegemony over most of the world. (5)

Moreover, he desired to install one of his sons to be the ruler of a new Eastern Empire incorporating Byzantium, the Holy Land and the Mamluk Sultanate. (6)

Seemingly he regarded himself as the legal heir to the universal leadership of the Holy Pontiffs, with the Crusade as the basic factor of his foreign policy. Therefore his court harbored men who flourished on feeding royal aspirations with propagandist documents of the highest aims. (7) Especially among them were two famous French jurists namely, Pierre Dubois and William of Nogaret. Besides eminent men of action such as James de Molay, grand master of the Templars, Fulk de Villaret, grand master of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, Henry II de Lusignan, Latin King of Cyprus, and Benito Zaccharia, the Genoese Admiral of the French navy, came to solicit co-operation in executing the French monarch's schemes. (8) Pierre Dubois was born in the district of Capitances in Normandy between 1250 and 1260, studied at the University of Paris where he heard Thomas Aquinas deliver a sermon, and attended the lectures of Siger de Brabant on the Politics of Aristotle. In 1300 as an accepted legal

3. Loc. Cit.

4. Loc. Cit.

1. Atiya, *Crusade, Commerce and Culture*, 96—7.

2. Mayer, *The Crusades*, 275—276.

3. Atiya, *Crusade, Commerce and Culture*, 97.

4. Loc. Cit.

authority, he handled several cases for Philip IV and Edward I. It is believed that he died after 1321. (5)

On the other hand he wrote numerous memoirs, most of which he submitted to the king, on matters of social, ecclesiastical, military and financial reform. (6) Though holding no high office in Philip's administration, he was in favour with the king who listened to his advice. His ideas, like Philip's character might be regarded as the age of the Renaissance rather than the early decades of the fourteenth century because they were both bold and unconventional. A staunch supporter of the French monarchy, he hoped that the king of France might be elected Emperor and establish his worldly authority.

This turned his attention to the project of crusade to recover the Holy Land, reconquer Byzantium, and even invade Egypt. For this aim he wrote two important tracts. (7)

Perhaps the most important of Dubois' works is the "De Recuperatione Terre Sancte". (8)

In this work there is one subject of great interest from the standpoint of the crusade is Dubois' suggestion that the king should exert all his efforts to establish an Eastern Empire for one of his sons, while he may himself stay at his court to deal with the affairs of France. Further more Dubois again deals with this subject at some length in a separate document. The new kingdom may contain all countries of the Near East, including Egypt, whose conquest he regards to be an easy step owing to the vulnerability of its coast. Finally, it must be noted that Dubois, may be under the influence of Ramon Lull, his contemporary, who emphasized the importance of the study of the Eastern Languages and advises the establishment of schools in the Holy Land where Latin may be taught to maintain the use of the Roman rite among future settlers, and also Greek and Arabic so as to facilitate a movement for the conversion of both schismatic and Muslim to Catholicism. (9)

5. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 49.

6. *Philippe le Bel (1285—1314)*.

1. *Op. Cit.*, 49—50.

2. *Op. Cit.*, 50.

3. *Op. Cit.*, 52.

The prevailing ideas at French court are best represented in Dubois's remarkable treatise "De Recuperatione Terre Sancte" Dubois worked out a set of rules for worldly Lordship with his imperious master as the central figure in authority. (4) Political differences among the nobles of the west should be eradicated, either by persuasion, or if necessary by force. A European tribunal consisting of three high clerics and three Laymen must be set up for international arbitration, and economic sanctions might be imposed on rebellious countries. The right of appeal to the Papacy was maintained, but the Popes should go on living in France within the French monarch's sphere of power as they had done since the beginning of the Babylonian Captivity at Avignon. (4)

Church Lands must be run by the French King, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy should return to the original state of poverty. The orders of the Templars and Hospitallers must be merged into one organization, and their revenues confiscated for use in financing Eastern expeditions. The constitution of the Holy Roman Empire was to be transformed into an hereditary regime with a French Prince at its head. The Lordship of Egypt and the Holy Land after the reconquest must be in the hands of Philip's second son. Details of the new reformed military government of the East were provided, and missionary work among the dissident Eastern Christians and the Muslims, were to be carried on by scholars conversant, with oriental languages. The first step to this incongruous patchwork of plans was the implementation of the crusade to confirm French Lordship over the Whole World. Dubois was a propagandist with preconceived thoughts but no personal experience in the field. (3)

So even the French court acted for personal interests and more power over other parts of the world. The Crusade for holy heritage was not the only aim which the French King cared about, he worked also for the wide spread rule of his son at the expense of Muslim countries.

There was no more period of St. Louis rule with its Crusading enthusiasm and the true and honest intentions to help the Latin Kingdoms in the Syrian coast, to destroy the Muslim power in Egypt, and lastly preaching Christianity among Asian People.

4. Atiya, *Crusade, Commerce and Culture*, 97.

1. *Loc. Cit.*

2. *Op. Cit.*, 98; cf. Mayer, *The Crusades*, 275—276.

Marino Sanudo was born in Venice at the beginning of 1270. His father Marco Sanudo of the Torsello family, was a venetian noble and a nephew of Duke Enrico Dandolo of Fourth Crusade fame. (3) He further enriched his store of learning and experience by wide travels in Italy, Greece, Armenia, Syria and Egypt. (4) In 1286 he stayed in the venetian quarter of Acre for a certain period. His knowledge of Greek and Latin enabled him to study with great care the learned works of his medieval predecessors. (5)

Therefore, his standard of high education enabled him to serve the crusading movement of the fourteenth century with more useful plans and other kinds of holy war schemes. But on the other hand one may say that he is a propagandist of a different personality. A reasonable thinker, Sanudo spent a lifetime in the Levant and was a descendant of the Archipelago. Besides he was a man of great acumen and wide knowledge of an area in which he had travelled far and wide. During his comprehensive travelling he succeeded in collecting tremendous information about the countries of the Near East in the form of detailed descriptions, figures, and statistics. Consequently Sanudo might claim the title of the first statistician in European history. (1)

All this made him one of the European propagandists who enjoyed immense fame with good reputation. In conclusion he became well known in the contemporary courts for the sake of the old cause, the recovery of the Holy Land from the Muslim hands.

Besides a collection of letters and his Testament, Sanudo compiled a work called "Istoria di Romania" which he completed about 1328. (2) His greatest work was the "Secret Fidelium Crucis," sometimes known as the "Conditiones Terrae Sanctae". As this work was begun in 1306 and finished in 1321, it should have taken him about fifteen years before the completion of its last redaction. (2).

3. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 116.

4. *Op. Cit.* 117.

5. *Op. Cit.* 117—118.

1. Atiya, *Crusade, Commerce and Culture*, 98.

2. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 119—120.

3. *Op. Cit.*, 120.

His argument was fundamentally based on economic considerations. If the Sultan of Mamluk Egypt had been deprived of his main source of revenue, which was commerce, he would ultimately fall into a state of material and military bankruptcy. In conclusion the Crusaders could defeat his armies and reconquer the Holy Land without any difficulty. (4)

Therefore, a historian might understand that Sanudo emphasizes on an economic blockade in order to cut all kinds of communications between Egypt and outside world. Thus the Egyptian flourished markets would be completely dead in a short time. Besides Egyptian military power might become extremely weak within a few months, and it would be easy then to defeat the Mamluk Sultanate.

In the three chief parts of his book, Sanudo dealt with what he regarded as the three natural steps of peaceful crusade. (1) It was important and necessary to throttle and weaken Egypt economically at first. When this was done the conquest of Mamluk Land might follow without difficulty as the second step.

In the third and final part he explained the ways by which the invasion might be sustained and the Holy Land retained in the hands of the crusaders.

To begin a crusade with a land campaign meant only suicide. The armed forces of Egypt were far beyond the power of Western troops to subdue.

If Egypt were to be conquered, its resources should be depleted, therefore the nations of the west could preform without any serious danger.

In order to gain gold and silver the Mamluk Sultans depended upon the spices and such other goods as were imported by sea way and carried to Alexandria. If commerce with Egypt were to be cut for sometime, it would bring the economic ruin of that country and the impoverishment of its sultans. Consequently it was the duty of the Pope to send a strong fleet to enforce the prevention of intercome with Egypt. (2)

Ten galleys would be enough, and might easily be raised without difficulty—one from Zaccharia of Genoa, the reigning prince merchant in Ghois, another from Guillelmo Sanudo of Naxos together with the Ghisi, a third from the

4. Atiya, *Crusade, Commerce and Culture*, 98.

1. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 120.

2. *Loc. Cit.*

Patriarch of Constantinople, two from the Hospitallers, a sixth from the Archbishop of Crete and the remaining four from the King of Cyprus and his clergy and nobility. (1) For the guidance of the admiral of the fleet, Marino explained the Levant, and especially Egypt, marking the mouths of the Damietta and Rosetta branches of the Nile for special wariness. This fleet was to have other uses which included the interception of the many embassies from the Greek Emperor to Egypt and above all the Sultan's embassies to the Mongols of the Crimea who continually reinforce his armies with large numbers of Mamluks. Two or three years of this sea blockade would prepare the way for the first and preliminary land which Sanudo considered in the second division of his book. (2)

Though the plan received the Holy Pontiff's immediate help it was completely failed by two main circumstances: first the issue of papal dispensation to some Venetian ships to resume trade with the enemy, and second, perfidious Genoese smuggling of war material, wood and slaves to the Egyptian markets in exchange for valuable staples, special trade privileges and personal interests. (3)

Lastly it might be worth stating that the first edition of Sanudo's book "Secreta" was dedicated to Pope Clement V in 1309, and the second edition to the French King Charles IV. (4)

The first function of sea power should be the enforcement of the boycott of trade, which, mainly directed against the Mamluk Sultanate and the whole field of Islamic countries including and Kingdoms of Tunis, Granada, and the rising Turkish Sultanate in Asian Minor. (5)

In order to meet the urgent trade requirements of the West which were then available only in the markets of Egypt, Marino suggested two ways. In the first place, the importance of the products of Egypt itself could be avoided by a policy which must aim at producing these products in territories under Christian rule in the Levant. Some of these articles, for example, cotton which was grown in Egypt on a limited scale, might be obtained from Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete, Sicily and Malta. Perhaps the only exception to this rule was flax sold in abundance at the markets of Alexandria and Damietta. In the second place indispensable items imported from India through Egypt could successfully be deflected to the

-
1. Op. Cit., 120—121.
 2. Op. Cit., 121.
 3. Atiya, Crusade, commerce and culture, 98—99.
 4. Op. Cit., 98.
 5. Op. Cit., 123.

friendly Mongol Empire of Persia and overland to Christian Armenia whose defence against the Mamluk Sultanate might be supported vigorously and on every possible occasion. (1)

While the Crusading propagandists were trying to find the most fit methods for successful crusade, the Venetians sought papal dispensation to carry on their trade with Egypt, the Genoese, acting under menace of excommunication, continued to be the foremost agents for selling Mamluks to reinforce the Mamluk forces. (2)

Burcard lived in the fourteenth century. (3) He travelled to the Near East in 1308 where he stayed there for more than twenty-four years, during which he preached Christianity according to the Catholic creed and acted for the Papacy in bringing the Armenians to Roman Church. When he returned to Europe, the projected crusade of Philip de Valois was publicly well known, and Burcard immediately began the preparation of the "Directorium" which he dedicated to the French King in 1332. (4)

The readiness for the Crusade must be inaugurated by general prayer in all the Catholic churches of Christendom. Men should amend their lives and purify their souls from the taint of sin. Besides they must abide by the rules of discipline and the canons of chivalry.

Moreover, peace and unity should be established among all the European nations. Without these necessary precautions, neither courage nor skill in the art of war could be of any use. He notes the hostilities between the Kings of Aragon and Sicily, and between the Genoese and the Catalans. Best soldiers must have deflected the ruination of each's fortunes (5) with regard to the matter of provisions, he advises the king to order a search for these in France and in the countries beyond the sea where much can be gained in abundance at a lower cost. (1)

-
1. Op. Cit., 124; cf. Mayer, *The Crusades*, 276.
 2. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 8.
 3. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 97.
 4. Op. Cit., 98.
 5. Op. Cit., 100.

1. Loc. Cit.,

Once these preparations are complete with all the materials of war, the king can deal with Venice and Genoa for the shipping of all provisions from the West to the Lands of Romania by way of the sea. The Venetians hold of Crete, Negropontis and more than twenty other islands in the Archipelago, and the Genoese hold the fortified city of Pera near Constantinople and the colony of Caffa on the north coast of the Black Sea in the empire of the Mongols. Their nautical experience and information of those regions and their maritime power would be of great use. Before sailing it is necessary to equip about twelve galleys to guard the waters of Syria and Romania against any aggressive action by false Christians or the Muslims.⁽²⁾ The island of Cyprus will provide suitable headquarters for his fleet. Burcard shows fears that some Christians, for the sake of personal profit, may cede some of the crusaders' cargo to the Mamluk Sultanate which owns no vessels and has neither materials nor engines of war.

He also prefers the maritime blockade of Muslim countries and makes an appeal to the High Pontiff to renew his ban on trade with Alexandria, Damietta and other Muslim markets.⁽³⁾

Besides Burcard explains at considerable degree the vital subject of the routes to the East. Of these he enumerates the four main ones. First is the African route, mentioned only once before by Ramon Lull, and described by Philippe de Mezieres at a later time. Burcard does not like this route which bristles with difficulties. The distance from Gibraltar to Acre, situated within two days journey from Jerusalem, is 3,500 miles, and even if the Crusaders sail direct to Tunis, this will result in the saving of only a hundred miles. After landing at either Gibraltar or Tunis, the Crusading army will have to reckon with the fortified castles and the impregnable cities of the Muslim countries of North Africa. If they fulfill this difficult task, which is doubtful, they will still have many days journey across the Libyan desert, which is so barren that no creature can stay alive in it.⁽¹⁾

Even if they overcome these difficulties and safely descend into the valley of the Nile, the Mamluk Sultan will muster all his forces to inflict a crusading defeat upon them. Burcard asserts that there is no chance of a successful crusade

2. Op. Cit., 100-101.

3. Op. Cit., 101.

1. Loc. Cit.

by this route, and he cannot find any justification for St. Louis previous crusade against Tunis in 1270. (2)

The second is the sea route, which has often been preferred by crusaders and is regularly adopted by pilgrims to the Holy Land. In following this route the fleet may sail from Agiues-Mortes, Marseilles or Nice to Cyprus where a council of war may be held to decide on immediate operations, thence to Egypt or Syria. This route is inconvenient for the French and Germans who are not accustomed to the sea with its tempests, sickness, the bad food, dirty water and lack of room on board of the ships. The horses will be much weakened and tired by the want of exercise and loss of sheep on account of the unsettlement of the sea and the smallness of the place given to them. (3)

Therefore many will die on the way. Other difficulties are the sudden change of weather from cold to hot which has an adverse effect on man and horse, the loss of time by enforced delay in Cyprus during the winter season, and the effects of idleness on the morality of the soldiers. While in Cyprus Louis IX lost 250 counts, barons, knights and other nobles. Therefore Burcard can not recommend this route with all its inconveniences and troubles. (4) The third route by way of Italy may be followed in three directions — either round the north coast of the Adriatic by the towns of Aquileia and Capodistria to Dalmatia, Serbia and Byzantium, or to Brindisi, and across the Adriatic to Durazzo and through Albania and Blachia to Byzantine territory, or to Otranto, the Island of Corfu, Achaia, Blachia and Byzantium. After study of these three ways, Burcard chooses Thessalonica as the first objective before the final march against Constantinople. (5) Consequently, the Aquileian and Istrian route seems to be the most suitable. There will be no sea to cross and no need for carrying provisions as the crusaders will march through fertile countries partly obedient to the Catholic Church of Rome. This is the historic route followed by the Romans, the French and the Germans who came to help or to chastise Byzantium. (6)

Fourth, is the route through Germany, Hungary and Bulgaria leading to Constantinople. It had been favoured by the nobles of France Germany, Languedoc, Guienne, Bretagne and by Peter the Hermit. Burcard explains in one chapter the distribution of crusades among the various routes. He chooses for the

2. Loc. Cit.

3. Op. Cit., 101—102.

4. Op. Cit., 102.

5. Op. Cit., 102. 103.

1. Op. Cit., 103.

King and the main army the Land route through Germany and Hungary to the Balkans. A group of men accustomed to the sea may sail on the galleys and transports conveying provisions by the Mediterranean. The forces from the south of France and Italy will find it more suitable to travel by the Italian routes of Brindisi and Otranto. Thessalonica, in all cases, will be the common rendezvous. (2)

With regard to the Mongols, Burcard seems to conclude that they would be inclined to lend their help to the crusading host. They have invaded Persia and abolished the Muslim caliphate in Baghdad. Moreover, a few years before the Mangol Khan had sent his forces to Egypt and succeeded in killing some of the Muslim army.

This irreparable loss to the Mamluks is bound to make the crusading conquest of the Holy Land a light task. The Mongols may also reinforce the King's army. It is known that when Louis IX was in Cyprus Mongol ambassadors hastened to offer him the services of their ruler, and there is no reason why the same old help and alliance should not be offered on this occasion. (3)

Jean de Bourgogne starts the actual work with some explanations of the land route from the West side of the world through Germany and Hungary to the land of the Bougres and Constantinople. It is the same route followed by the crusaders of Nicopolis who never reached their last destination. (4) From Constantinople Jean explains that there are two routes to Jerusalem — first across the Bosphorous and Asia Minor towards the city of Nice by land; and second by sea to Rhodes, Cyprus and Tyre. Jean does not forget the route from Western Europe through France, Burgundy and Lombardy with embarkation at Genoa or Venice for Cairo. For the sake of both pilgrims and crusaders, he devotes some care to the routes leading to Jerusalem from the Syrian coastal town and from Cairo by way of the Mountain of "St. Catherine" in Sinai. For the crusader he gives an account of the armed forces of the Mamluk Sultanate. (1) The Sultan, he states, can lead out of Egypt more than 20,000 soldiers, and out of Syria, and Turkey, and other countries that he holds, he may raise more than 50,000. All these are at his wages, and they are always prepared beside the people of his country, who each of them has six florins by the year, but he

2. Loc. Cit.

3. Op. Cit., 107.

4. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 163—164.

1. Op. Cit., 164.

is expected to keep three horses and a camel. Jean shows the coast of Egypt as being exceptionally well fortified and its rockiness makes it the more dangerous. Alexandria, Jean states, is indeed "a very strong city, but it has no water except what is brought by conduit from the Nile, which enters into their cisterns, and if any one stopped the water from them they could not hold out a siege".⁽²⁾ Jean refers to the Eastern Christians of the Greek and Nestorian Churches in a few short parts, but he remarks nothing about the help which they may give for a catholic crusade. Besides Jean devotes a chapter to the manners, customs and religion of the Muslims. The main interest of this part lies in the fact that it is one of the rare writings of Islam in the Literature of Medieval Europe, where legend is mixed with some truth.⁽³⁾ The rest of the book is about the Holy Land in Palestine and the countries of the Middle and far East which Jean had never visited and the accounts of which he copied from other travellers works. It must be noticed that "Plagiarism", a practice neither discredited nor discountenanced in the Middle Ages, was practised freely by Jean de eBourgoigne.⁽⁴⁾ Then he explains the glory of the Egyptian capital "Cairo" and Gives a survey of the Mamluk army. Cairo, he states, has a wonderful and formidable citadel with strong walls and large towers accommodating a regular militia of 20,000 horse according to the estimate of foreign merchants in those parts. This militia consists of Muslims, Turks, Greeks and Christian Slaves who adopted Islam. Every soldier owns a horse, though the horses are small. They have a steel helmet but no coat of mail, and their chief weapon is the bow. The huge tombs of the Mamluks in the neighbourhood of Cairo attract his attention as objects of beauty, the like of which he has never, seen in the whole of Catholic Europe.⁽¹⁾ In a humble try to give a geographical statement of Egypt and the Nile, he states that the river is the normal means of communication between Cairo and Alexandria. But he does not give any discription of Alexandria. Besides he visited Damietta as it happens to be near the Land route which Jean has to follow back to Ghazza.⁽⁵⁾

The harbour of Damietta, like those of Jaffa, Acre and Tyre, has been sieged by huge boulders so as to render its water unnavigable for crusading fleets aiming to attack Egypt and Syria at those strategic points.⁽³⁾

-
2. Op. Cit., 164.
 3. Op. Cit., 164-165.
 4. Op. Cit., 165.

 1. Op. Cit., 166.
 2. Op. Cit., 166-167.
 3. Op. Cit., 167.

Jean de Bourgogn visited in 1335 the Holy places for a pilgrimage. On his way back he saw in the Syrian capital an Armenian embassy which had come to beg for peace with the Mamluk Sultan.⁽⁴⁾ How far this incident would emphasize the fact concerning the Lat Medieval World that had been greatly changed in many different ways. Some christian countries started diplomatical relations with the Mamluk Sultanate for the sake of national interests. Others began to care more about their economic gains and commercial activities. Though it is difficult for a historian to state that the crusading movement had ended with the fall of Acre 1291, for it is most suitable to say it had been clothed with new and different aspects. It has not been limited with war projects and functions, but widen with much more methods and procedures. These new attempts were born or to be more precise begins with the arrival of the diplomatical missions from the Spanish Kingdoms such as Aragon and Barcelona. This means without any doubt that some of the European countries starts to believe war is no more useful for the sake of newly interest, and other different ways must be tried. Therefore new political relations put into effects with the Mamluk Sultanate, and diplomatic intercome starts to be extremely futile for both sides. On the other hand another part of Europe where governments were still strong and kings of extensively ambitious minds continued to think of new campaigns against the Muslims for the same old aim "the reconquest of the Holy Land." Consequently the highly educated preachers found a fertile ground to plant their seeds. The French court was the centre where they practised their activities freely. Some of them had suggested an economic blockade with which should be besieged. Others preferred an alliance with the Mongols and then waged war against Egypt from different sides of its borders. Nevertheless not even one project was put into action, and life went on in Egypt without any kind of Western pressure. Even Kings of France were not serious concerning the plan of sending new crusading campaign for they had other important matters to be concerned of. Therefore all efforts regarding the aim of founding united work had been vanished. On the other side the Popes tried their best to put the Catholic Europe in full alert for the sake of helping the whole crusading movement. The economic blockade was the last chance which might be of any help for the Papal ambitions. But at the same time some of the European countries were extremely busy with their commercial relations with the Islamic world. Consequently there was no hope of gaining its support or participation.

4. Op. Cit., 168.

The fact which was difficult for the Popes to believe was that the old crusading world no more existed, people's thoughts were completely changed, countries began to think about their national interests and merchants were busy thinking about the best commercial contracts for extra benefits. It is a new world with different thoughts and projects. Besides the propagandists words were useless concerning any change with regard to the personal interests, or the new era of different aspects.

Bibliography :

i) Books :

Arberry, A. J.

The Chester Beatty library, A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts, 7 vols, Dublin 1955-64.

Arnold, Thomas W.

The Caliphate, London, 1965.

Ashtor, Eliyaho.

Histoire des prix et des salaires dans L'Orient Medieval, Paris, 1969.

Atiye, Aziz Suryal.

(1) Crusade, Commerce and Culture, London, 1962

(2) Egypt and Aragon, Leipzig. 1938.

(3) The Crusade in the later Middle Ages, London 1938.

Ayalon, David.

L' Esclavage du Mamelouk, Jerusalem. 1951.

Balog, Paul.

The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria, New York, 1964.

- Baron, Salo Wittmayer.**
A Social and Religious History of the Jews, vols. iii
New York, 1957.
- Brockelmann, Carl.**
Geschichte der Arabischen litteratur, 2 vols,
Leiden,
1943-44 and sup. 3 vols, Leiden, 1937-42).
- Budge, Sir Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis.**
A History of Ethiopia, Nubia and Abyssinia, 2 vols, London 1928.
- Burbidge, P. G.**
Notes and References, Cambridge, 1952.
- Campbell, G. A.**
The Crusades, London, 1935.
- Canard, Marius,**
Byzance et les Arabes, Vols. i, ii, Paris, 1935.
- Cook, M. A.**
Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East from the rise
of Islam to the present day, London, 1970.
- Crump, G. G., Jacob, E. F.**
The Legacy of the Middle Ages, Oxford, 1926.
- Dubnov, Simon.**
History of the Jews, 5 vols, translated from the Russian fourth
definitive revised edition by Moshe Spiegel, South Brunswick, New
Jersey, 1967-1973.
- Dunlop, D.M.**
Arab Civilization to A.D. 1500. London, 1971.
- Esposito, Mario,**
Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis Ab Hybernia Ad Terrum Sanctum.
Dublin, 1960.
- Fawtier, Robert**
The Capetian kings of France Monarchy and Nation 987—1328
Translated from the French by Lionel Butler and R. J. Adam
U.K., 1974.

- Ganshof** **F. L.**
 Feudalism
 London, 1952.
- Gibb,** **H. A. R.**
 Studies on the civilization of Islam, London, 1962.
- Glubb,** **Sir John.**
 A short History of the Arab peoples, London, 1969.
- Goitein,** **S. D.**
 (1) A Mediterranean Society, 2 vols, University of California Press, 1967.
 (2) Jews and Arabs, New York, 1955.
 (3) Studies in Islamic History and institutions, Leiden, 1966.
- Hale,** **J. R., High Field J. R. L., Smalley B.,**
 Europe in the Late Middle Ages London, 1970.
- Al-Hajji,** **Hayat Nasser**
 The Internal Affairs in Egypt
 During the third reign of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad B. Qalawun
 Kuwait, 1978.
- Haskins** **C. H.**
 The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century Cambridge, 1928.
- Hearnshaw** **F. J. C.**
 Some Great Political Idealists of the Christian Era.
 London, 1937.
- Heaton,** **H.**
 Economic History of Europe
 New York, 1948.
- Herr** **Friedrich**
 The Medieval World, Europe from 1100 To 1350, Translated from
 German by Janet Sondheimer; U.K., 1974.

- Heyd, Wilhelm.**
Hist. du Commerce de levant au Moyen Age, 2 vols,
Leipzig, 1885.
- Hill, Sir George,**
A History of Cyprus, 4 vols, Cambridge, 1972.
- Holt, P.M. A. S. Lambton and B. Lewis.**
The Cambridge history of Islam, Vol. 1 Cambridge, 1970.
- Howorth, Sir Henry,**
History of the Mongols, 4 vols, London, 1876-1927.
- Iorga, Neculai.**
(1) Brève Historie de la Petite Arménie. L' Arménie Cilicienne
Conférences et récit historique, etc, Paris, 1930.
(2) Notes et extraits pour servir a 'L' Histoire des Croisades au
XVe Siecle, Paris, 1899.
(3) Philippe de Mézières (1327-1405) et la Croisade au XIVE
Siecle, Paris, 1896.
(4) Relations entre L'Orient et L'Occident au Moyen age, Paris,
1923.
- Keen, Maurice**
The Pelican History of Medieval Euro/U.K., 1973.
- Lammens, Henri,**
Petite histoire de Syrie et du Liban, Paris, 1934.
- Lane-Poole, Stanley.**
(1) The Art of the Saracens in Egypt, London, 1888.
(2) The Mohammadan Dynasties, Paris, 1925.
(3) Social life in Egypt, London, 1883.
(4) The Story of Cairo, London, 1902.
- Lapidus, Ira Marvin.**
Muslim Cities in the later middle Ages, Harvard Univ. Press,
Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1967.

- Larrivaz, Felix.**
Les Saintes Preregrination de Bernard de Breydenbach (1483),
Cairo, 1904.
- Lewis, Bernard.**
A Handbook of diplomatic and political Arabic, London, 1947.
- Lewis, Bernard, and P. M. Holt.**
Historians of the Middle East, London. 1962.
- Little, Donald Presgrave.**
An introduction to Mamluk Historiography,
Wiesbaden, 1970.
- Maspero, Jean.**
Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie, Ouvrage revu et publié par
G. Wiet, Paris, 1923.
- Mayer, Hans Aberhard,**
The Cursades, trans. John Gillingham, London, 1972.
- Muir, Sir William,**
(1) The Caliphate, its rise, decline and fall, Edinburgh, 1915.
(2) The Mameluke or slave Dynasty of Egypt,
Amsterdam, 1968.
- Poliak, A. N.**
Feudalism in Egypt, Syria. Palestine and Lebanon, London, 1939.
- Popper, W.**
Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultand 1382-1468 A. D.
Systematic notes to Ibn Taghri Birdi's chronicles of Egypt, 2 vols.,
Berkeley and Los-Angeles. 1955-1957.
- Wuatremere, E.**
Memoire sur l'Egypt Hist. de Sultan Mamlouks de l'Egypte, 2 vols.
Paris, 1837-1845.
- Rabie, Hassanein.**
The Financial system of Egypt, A. H. 564-741 A. D. 1169-1341,
London, 1972.

- Rosenthal, Franz.**
A History of Muslim Historiography, Leiden, 1968.,
- Runciman, Steven.**
A History of the Crusades (V. III) 3 Volumes
U.K., 1971.
- Sauvaget, J.**
Introduction a l'histoire de l'Orient Musulman : elements de
Bibliographie, Paris, 1961.
- Shaw, Stanford J.**
The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development
of Ottoman Egypt, 1517-1798, Princeton, New Jersey, 1962.
- Scanlon, George T.**
A Muslim Manual of war, on the Military Arts, Cairo, 1961.
- Schafar, Barbara.**
Beitrage zur mamlukischen Historiography nach dem Tode al-
Malik al-Nasir mit einer Teiledition der Chronik Sams ad-Din
as-Suga' is, Freiburg im Berggau 1971.
- Setton, Kenneth M.**
A History of the Crusade, Vol. ii, The later Crusades 1189-1311,
ed. by Lee Wolfe and Harry W. Hazard, London, 1962.
- Smail R. C.**
The Crusaders First published, U.K. 1973.
- Stubbs, William.**
(1) Lectures on European History, London, 1904.
(2) Seventeen lectures on Medieval and Modern History,
Oxford, 1900.
- Tamrat, Tadesse.**
Church and states in Ethiopia 1270 — 1527.
Oxford, 1972.
- Thenaud, Jean,**
Le voyage D'outremer (Egypte, Mont Sinay, Palestine 1512),
Paris, 1884.

- Thomas, Georg Martin,**
Diplomatarium Veneto-levantium 1330-1350.
vol. 5, Venice 1880.
- Toussoun, Omar Prince,**
- (1) Mémoire sur les finances de l'Egypte depuis les pharaons jusqu'à nos jours (Mem. de l'Inst. d'Egypte, 6), Cairo, 1924.
 - (2) Mémoire sur l'histoire du Nil, 3 vols. (Mem. de l'Inst d'Egypte, 8-10) Cairo, 1925.
 - (3) Mémoire sur les anciennes branches du Nil (mem. de l'Inst, d'Egypte, 4) Cairo. 1922.
 - (5) Atlas tarikhi li asfal al-ard (historical atlas of lower Egypt from the first century of Hijra to A. H. 1353 (1934) Cairo, 1934.
- Trimingham, John Spencer.**
Islam in Ethiopia, London, 1952.
- Tritton, A. S.**
The Caliphs and their non-Muslim subjects, Oxford. 1930.
- (ii) **Encyclopaedias and articles in periodicals.**
The Encyclopaedia of Islam, iv vols. first edition,
Leiden 1913. Second edition, Leiden 1960-in progress.
- Ashtor, E.**
- (1) "Debat sur l'évolution economico-sociale de l'Egypte a la fin du moyen age, a propos d'un livre recent", J.E.S.H.O., xii (1969), pp. 102-109.
 - (2) "Some unpublished sources for the Bahri period" Studies in Islamic history and civilization, (Scripta Hierosolymitana, ix), Jerusalem, 1961, pp. 11-30.
- Ayalon, David.**
- (1) "The Muslim city and the Mamluk military aristocracy" Proceeding of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. ii (1968), pp. 217-259.
 - (2) "Notes on the Furusiyya exercises and games in the Mamluk Sultanate". Studies in Islamic history and civilization (Scripta Hierosolymitana, ix) Jerusalem, 1961. pp. 31-62.
 - (3) "The plague and its effects upon the Mamluk Army" J. R. A. S. 1964. pp. 67-73.

- (4) "The system of payment in Mamluk military society",
J. E. S. H. O. i (1958), pp. 37-65.
- (5) "Studies on the structure of the Mamluk army".
B. S. O. A. S. xv (1953), pp. 203-228, 448-476, xvi (1954).
pp. 57-90.
- (6) "Studies on the transfer of the Abbasid caliphate from Baghdad
to Cairo", Arabica. 7 (1960), pp. 41-59.
- (7) "The wafidia in the Mamluk kingdom", Islamic Culture, xxv
(1951), pp. 89-104.

Bosworth,

C. E.

"Christian and Jewish religious dignitaries in Mamluk Egypt and Syria : Qalqashandi's information on their hierarchy, titulature, and appointment", I. J. M. E. S., iii, (1972), pp. 59-74, 199-216.

Brinner,

W. M.

"The murder of Ibn an-Nasu : social tensions in fourteenth century Damascus", J. A. O. S., Ixxii (1957), pp. 207-210.

Dols,

Michael W.

"Plague in early Islamic history". J. A. O. S. xciv (1974)
pp. 371-383.

Fischel,

Walter J.

"The spice trade in Mamluk Egypt. A contribution to the economic history of medieval Islam", J. E. S. H. O., i (1958), pp. 157-74).

Goitein,

S. D.

"New light on the beginnings of the Karim merchants",
J. E. S. H. O., i (1958), pp. 175-184.

Haig,

Sir Wolseley.

"Five Questions in the History of the Tughluq Dynasty of Delhi",
J. R. A. S. (1922), pp. 319-372.

Holt,

P. M.

"The Sultanate of al-Mansur Lachin (696-8/1296-9)",
B. S. O. A. S. xxxvi (1973), pp. 521-532.

Labidus,

L. M.

"The grain economy of Mamluk Egypt",
J. E. S. H. O., xii (1969). pp. 1-15.

- Perimann, M.**
 "Notes on Anti-Christian propaganda in the Mamluk Empire",
 B. S. O. A. S., x (1940-42), pp. 843-861.
- Poliak, A. N.**
 (1) "Le caractère colonial de l'état mamelouk dans ses rapports
 avec la Horde d'or" *Revue des études islamiques*, ix (1935),
 pp. 231-248.
 (2) "Some notes on the feudal system of the Mamluks",
 J. R. A. S. (1937), pp. 97-107.
- Sauvaget, J.**
 "Decrets mamelouke de Syria", B.E.O., ii (1932), pp. 1-52 iii
 (1933), pp. 1-29; xii (1947-8), pp. 5-60.
- Stern, S. M.**
 "Petitions from the Mamluk period". B.S.O.A.S., xxix
 (1966), pp. 233-76.
- Vermeulen, U.**
 "Some remarks on rescript and Nasir Muhammad B. Qala'un on
 the abolition of taxes and the Nusaryis (Mamlaka of Tripoli),
 717/1317".
Orientalia Lovaniensa periodica, i (1970), pp. 195-201.
- Wansbrough J.**
 "Venice and Florence in the Mamluk commercial privileges",
 B.S.O.A.S., xxviii (1965), pp. 483-523.
- Wiet, G.**
 (1) "Le relations égypto-abyssines sous les Sultans Mamlouks".
Bulletin De La Société D'Archéologie Copte, iv
 (Cairo, 1938), pp. 115-140.
 (2) "Un réfugié Mamlouk, a la cour mongole de Perse".
Mélanges D'orientalism offerts a Henri Masse
 (Teheran, 1963), pp. 388-404.
 (3) "Les marchands d'épices sous les Sultans Mamlouks"
'Chaiers d'histoire Egyptienne, vii, (1955). pp. 81-147.