

AN ISLAND AND ITS KING: PETER I OF LUSIGNAN

A Ph.D. Dissertation

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December 2022

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LUSIGNAN

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To My Parents,

AN ISLAND AND ITS KING: PETER I OF LUSIGNAN

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

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An Island and Its King: Peter I of Lusignan
By Turac Hakalmaz

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

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ABSTRACT

AN ISLAND AND ITS KING: PETER

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December 2022

Peter I of Lusignan, the King of Cyprus who ruled between 1358 and 1369 is one of the most picturesque rulers of Medieval Cyprus and the Mediterranean history. From the very beginning of his rule to his murder, Peter raided to the Anatolian coasts and launched two tours to Europe to be able to gain support for his planned Crusade. He was unable to obtain financial support he sought to receive, but he managed to strengthen his position to throne and, after a few years of effort, in control of a small army he had been harvesting for years, launched the Alexandrian Crusade despite the fact that he could only sack the city and was forced to retreat. In the following years, he continued the raids against the Mamluks and the Turkish emirates in Anatolia, but Peter's plans failed to go as planned as he was killed by his lords as a result of never-ending conflicts and troublesome domestic affairs. Peter is considered as one of the most energetic rulers in Lusignan Cyprus, but Available studies predominantly and separately focus on the economics or the political aspects of this period. These studies are shortfall as they are unable to generate integrated works. This thesis proposes that Peter's actions in his life are derived out of his ambitious and dedicated character. In this context this thesis, developing a new point of view, aims to provide a convincing biography of Lusignan king Peter I, and aims to portray the king by underlining the rationale behind the important developments during his reign.

Keywords: Kingdom of Cyprus, Lusignans, crusades, Alexandrian Crusade, Peter I.

ÖZET

BİR ADA VE KRALI: LÜZİNYANLI PETER I

Hakalmaz, Turaç

Doktora, Tarih Bölümü

Danışman: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Luca Zavagno

Aralık 2022

1358 ve 1369 yılları arasında hüküm süren Kıbrıs kralı Lüzinyanlı Peter I Orta Çağ Kıbrısı'nın ve Akdeniz tarihinin resmedilmeye en değer hükümdarlarından biridir. Henüz hükümdarlığının en başından, öldürülmesine kadarki süreçte Peter Anadolu kıyılarına akınlar düzenlemiş ve planladığı Haçlı Seferi için destek bulmak adına iki Avrupa Turu tertiplemiştir. Beklediği maddi desteği bulamasa da taht üzerindeki hakkını sağlamlaştırmış, ve bir süredir toparladığı ordunun başında, sonucunda şehri yağmaladıktan sonra geri çekilmeye zorlansa da İskenderiye Haçlı Seferi'ni düzenlemiştir. Sonraki yıllarda Memlûklere ve Türklere karşı seferlerine devam etmiş olsa da Peter'in planları başarısız olmuş ve hiç bitmeyen savaşlar ve giderek kötüleşen iç ilişkileri sebebiyle öldürülmüştür. Peter, Lüzinyan kralları arasında en etkili olanlardan biri olarak gösterilse de mevcut çalışmalar çoğunlukla onun ekonomik ve siyasi yönüne odaklanmakta ve entegre çalışmalar ortaya koyamamaktadır. Bu tez ise Peter'in icraatlerinin, onun hırslı ve adanmış karakterinin bir sonucu olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Bu bağlamda bu tez, yeni bir bakış açısı getirerek Peter'in tatmin edici bir biyografisini ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kıbrıs Krallığı, Lüzinyanlar, Haçlı Seferleri, İskenderiye Haçlı Seferi,

1. Peter.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

*“O worthy Petro, kyng of Cipre, also,
That Alisandre wan by heigh maistrie,
Ful many a hethen wroghtestow ful wo,
Of which thyne owene liges hadde envie,
And for no thyng but for thy chivalrie
They in thy bed han slayn thee by the morwe.
Thus kan Fortune hir wheel governe and gye,
And out of joye brynge men to sorwe”
-Geoffrey Chaucer¹*

On the morning of 17 January 1369, Peter I of Cyprus, perhaps the most striking figure of the house of Lusignan, had retired to his chamber in the royal palace with his mistress Échive of Scandelion,² when a group of his knights broke into his room and stabbed him to death.³ Before gasping his life out, the king said: *“Handmaid of God, Virgin most glorious, Mother and*

¹ George Hill quotes Chaucer’s lines regarding Peter’s shocking death. See, George Hill, *A History of Cyprus. Vol. 2: The Frankish Period 1192-1432* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 368; Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. Walter W. Skeat (Scholar Select: Oxford, 2015), 256, nos. 401-408.

² With whom the king was retired in his chamber was narrated differently by the medieval historiographers. See below, “The Murder of the King”

³ Leontios Machairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled “Chronicle,”* ed. Richard M. Dawkins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), 264; Guillaume de Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria (Crusade Texts in Translation)*, eds., Peter Edbury, Janet Shirley (New York; London: Routledge, 2021), 187; For another version, see Guillaume de Machaut, *La Prise D’Alexandre (The Taking of Alexandria)*, ed. and trans. R. Barton Palmer (New York, London: Routledge, 2002); Nicolae Iorga, *Philip de Mézieres 1327-1405: La Croisade au XIV siècle* (Paris, 1896), 390. For the story in detail and a discourse, see below chapter.

Maid, the Father's daughter, mother of the Son, my goddess, love, and lady, now receive my soul and take me home to be with you!" and died.⁴ This shocking moment marked the end of an era, not only for the Kingdom of Cyprus but for the late medieval world. Peter was an inspiring and passionate figure whose ideas and policies were fueled by his obedience to the divine call against the infidels. He was a leader, a "*Christian champion*," a devoted knight of Christ, and a legend in Europe who received praise from many of his contemporaries, such as Petrarch.⁵ During his ten-year reign, the Kingdom of Cyprus gained an international identity, and he became a well-known personality throughout the Mediterranean and Europe. In 1363 Peter left Cyprus for Europe to solve the dispute against his right on the throne, and also, inspired by his early successful wars against the Turkish emirates in Anatolia, he undertook a journey in Europe to assemble an army for *passagium generale*. Between 1363 and 1365, he visited the most prominent monarchs and political figures of his time in Italy, France, England, Germany, and many more, thus representing his illuminating character throughout Europe.

However, his fame arose from many difficulties he had to overcome by the time he was crowned. His nephew Hugh challenged him, and his legitimacy

⁴ Machaut, *La Prise D'Alixandre*, 189.

⁵ Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 368; Peter Edbury, "The Murder of King Peter I of Cyprus (1359–1369)," *Journal of Medieval History* 6, no. 2 (January 1980), 219; Petrarch, in a letter sent on 20 July 1367, praised him for the capture of Alexandria. See, Nicolae Iorga, "Une Collection de lettres de Philippe Méziers (Notice sue le ms. 499 de la bibl. de l'Arsenal)," in *Revue Historique*, XLIX (1892), 312-314; Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571) Vol. 2: The Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1997), 278. Petrarch and Philip Méziers had a mutual friend who had served for Peter, presumably during the capture of Alexandria. For an analysis, see, Ernest Wilkins, "Petrarch and Giacomo de' Rossi," *Speculum* Vol. 25, No. 3 (July, 1950), 374-78.

was at stake. Immediately after his first conquest, he undertook his European tour. He settled the dispute between himself and his nephew, propagated his crusading plans, and was lavishly received by the European polities. When in Europe, Peter was everywhere; he participated in every knightly tournament, joust, and festivities in his name. He voyaged with some of the most important contemporary figures, such as Peter Thomas and Philip de Mézieres, and received promises from the European monarchs and princes. These marked the apogee of his reign. Nevertheless, Peter emerged from the difficulties as a determined, more rounded, militarily capable, and religiously admired ruler. His first action was to fight against the Turkish emirates in Anatolia, and his capture of Antalya was only a preview.

When he was about to set sail for the East, however, he had lost some of his most important allies, and political turmoil had crippled the future of his expedition. Nevertheless, even though it proved to be below his expectations, with considerable effort and spending, he managed to assemble a crusading army and attacked the pearl of the Mediterranean: Alexandria. Peter's determination and skills helped disheartened crusaders to capture the city. Then, they plundered and terrorized it by slaughtering the population regardless of their age and sex. However, despite Peter's protest, the council of war decided to leave the city only a few days after capturing it. This decision was a blow to Peter's lifetime goal: to recover the Holy Land, the Kingdom of Jerusalem; his rightful heritage.⁶

⁶ Peter's goals and motivations are discussed in the subsequent chapters.

The postbellum years of his reign passed with ups and downs, as he indeed negotiated with the Mamluks; but, at the same time continued to work on organizing another expedition. He launched raids against the coasts of Syria and Egypt, which irritated the enemy. However, these raids brought him nothing but the annoyance of the trading communities, predominantly the Venetians and the Genoese. Finally, realizing that he could only make a difference by a major expedition, he left his kingdom for the last time for Europe, for another tour during which he was well received but was advised to make peace with the Mamluks.

Unsatisfied and disappointed, Peter, received a report pointing out the possibility of his wife, Queen Eleanor of Aragon's adultery, after which he returned to Cyprus in September 1369. It was his last homecoming. However, bitterness prevailed, and the last months of his life became the most lamentable in his entire life, which resulted with his murder by his own knights by the time Peter was only 39 years old. Peter's reign constituted one of the most significant periods in the history of the Kingdom of Cyprus. He is famously known for his crusading expedition to Alexandria. However, above all, he created a more dynamic kingdom and successfully defended it against the rival powers in the Eastern Mediterranean, such as the Turkish emirates and the Mamluks. Tributes to his reign prove that he was an essential part of the European polity and an approved figure whose image prevailed even after his death.

This thesis examines the reign of Peter I of Lusignan and aims to build a biography of the Cypriot king to illuminate and underpin Peter as a medieval figure and a personality apart from certain developments of his age. In this sense, this study focuses on the significance of king's characteristics on his decision-making processes by paying attention to his actions, nature, and policies. However, in this dissertation, as well as his economic, political, and religious motivations in decision-making processes will be discussed, his characteristic, which is mostly unfolded in recent literature, will be the center of the argument. The aim of this approach is not to deny the significant developments of Peter's reign and age or to ignore the significant actions underpinning the moira of the Kingdom of Cyprus, but rather it focuses on the king and his fibre and aims to underline the rationale behind Peter's actions. Thus, the principal approach adopted in this study is to revisit and reinterpret the primary and secondary evidence, portraying Peter as a person and building his reign accordingly.

From a broader scope, this dissertation predominantly benefits from the documentary evidence and associates this evidence with the present scholarly works, which are a few. By adopting this approach, this study attempts to create a story of Peter while also adopting a confrontational approach to fill the gap within the present scholarship. The main argumentations -though these are not all- are (1) Peter's motivations did not derive solely out of his eagerness to elevate his kingdom to a trade center in the Mediterranean, though economic facets were significant enough not to deny (2) The aim of Peter's visit to England is slightly different from the

present suggestions in the scholarly works (3) Alexandria was chosen as a target, derived out of a necessity (4) Peter was not murdered due to his mental state but as a result of his poor relationship with his lords precipitated by the king's quondam policies and behavior. (5) Contrary to present scholarship Peter's reign and his image were perhaps one of the last representations of the chivalric values in the late medieval era. Additionally, this study adopts an analytical approach and, originating from archival evidence, builds a detailed guide to Peter, his travels, and his actions. Thus this study sheds light on Peter's reign, personality, and specific aspects of the Kingdom of Cyprus by highlighting and acknowledging the king's decisions, sentiments, sensitivities, and intentions.

1.1 Methodology, Historiography, and Outline: Constructing the Biography of Peter I

Writing a biography of a medieval person contains specific difficulties, mainly if the subject king, such as Peter, was not a ruler of a major kingdom i.e. the Kingdom of France or the Kingdom of England, where documentation is well rounded, and the exuberancy in material evidence expedite building a biography. One specific discourse, as Prestwich underlines, is that historians should avoid writing a biography because biographers face greater difficulties than other historians focusing on other fields of history due to the scarcity and nature of the evidence, which limits the biographer.⁷ Sarah Foot

⁷ Michael Prestwich, "Medieval Biography," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* Vol. 40, No. 3, (2010): 327.

underlines a similar problem in her biography of King Athelstan, stating that the monarchs were conveyed as kings rather than as men.⁸ These interpretations hold true as most of the surviving documentary evidence contains a public character. Papal records, royal charters, rolls, coins, and the evidence alike reflect the “kingship”, not the “personality.” As for Peter’s reign, one might consider himself slightly luckier, as two of the notable characters, the papal legate Peter Thomas and chancellor Philippe de Mézieres were under the king’s service, if not all, during a considerable part of his reign. Guillaume Machaut and Leontios Machairas, two significant historiographers also dedicated their works to constructing Peter’s reign and underlined his achievements. Eyewitness accounts made it relatively comfortable for me to undertake this research. However, herein emerges another difficulty: the objectivity of these accounts. As can be seen in the following chapters, these chroniclers’ comments and approaches differ, partly due to their source of information and partly due to the image of the king. Machaut, for instance, follows a pro-Frankish tone, while Machairas distances himself from Peter.⁹

At this point, another question is whether these accounts provide all the necessary information to build Peter’s biography. Although this evidence is invaluable to construct this biography, there are nebulous parts regarding Peter’s reign. First of all, the accounts mentioned above concentrate on the most important events, which causes another problem. For instance, it is

⁸ Sarah Foot, *Athelstan: The First King of England* (London: Yale University Press, 2011), 34.

⁹ For a detailed discussion regarding the chronicles used in this study see below.

known that Peter was born on 9 October 1329, but details are obscure, and Machaut is the only source corroborated to this date.¹⁰ His childhood remains blank, and our information is lost regarding his youth focusing between 1329 and 1342. Where Peter was born is unknown, and in a similar way, it is difficult to explain where he spent his childhood. In 1342 he was married but the details are yet unknown. This marriage is known because of a papal dispensation. Moreover, Peter and his first wife, Echive of Montfort are only the subjects in the letters exchanged between Hugh IV and the pope. Nevertheless, the details are lost.¹¹ Until his accession, this problem repeats itself: between 1342 and 1347, 1347 and 1349, 1349 and 1353, and finally between 1353 and 1358 until he was crowned as the king. It is challenging to monitor Peter, as the documentary evidence is silent. The provided dates label singular events in Peter's life, and the narrative evidence cannot deliver consistent or detailed information. However, as soon as Peter was crowned as a king, the chroniclers' mentioned above began providing detailed information about the king, especially regarding his overseas activities and wars.

Yet, another problem occurs. Peter spent most of his reign either in Europe or fighting against his foes to fulfill his personal extravaganza: to recover the Holy Land. When in action, tracking him down and observing his bilateral relations is relatively more straightforward. However, what he has been doing, achieving, imposing, or implementing in his homeland could be more

¹⁰ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 21.

¹¹ Benedictus, *Lettres closes et patentes, intéressant les pays autres que la France*, ed. J. M. Vidal, G. Mollat, (Paris: Boccard, 1913-1950), nos. 1967, 2500.

obscure and disjointed. Documentary evidence regarding Peter's actions in Cyprus is mostly based on administrative or diplomatic records, which are not many.¹² This particular problem makes Peter invisible to an extent and makes it even harder to corroborate his actions, manners, and behavior against his local servants. This paucity is aggravated by the fact that when Peter was on his journeys, he left his brother as the regent, and while he was personally conducting international business, local affairs were either dealt with by the regent or -if Peter was involved in any of the events about Cyprus- the evidence is now lost. This insufficiency is crucial because information regarding the former years of Peter's actions on the island is lost, and we know only the last months of his reign. That is to underline that Peter's last months and problems with his lords are eminent. However, recent findings lack the necessary information concerning his relationship with the local lords before Peter's return from his second European tour. As a result, present scholarly works can only make assumptions regarding his death, and his story which brightly starts, suddenly ends after a series of unfortunate actions.

This study naturally aims to build an academic narrative story and a biography of Peter. However, it is not always possible to maintain a singular approach due to the difficulties in writing a medieval biography.. The story of

¹² Partly due to the troublesome history of the island. Invasions, changing political milieu, and eventually, the Ottoman conquest beclouds the island's local history. The most factual information that can be found in the sources about the island is about the kingdom's economy. The documentary evidence is predominantly based on Western sources created by the Italian notaries and papal records (See below). Sarah Hamilton indicates that administrative evidence is a form of public documents, and despite informing us regarding perceptions and projections of a king, they lack the information in which the researcher might find the thoughts and motives of him, which I affiliate her. See, Sarah Hamilton, "Review Article: Early Medieval Rulers and Their Modern Biographers," *Early Medieval Europe* Vol. 9, No. 1 (July 2000): 248.

Peter and the reflections of his story is not always produced by the king himself. Present scholarly works described below correlate specific aspects, such as economic factors, to Peter's personality. This understanding is visible within these studies in which Peter's motivations behind his steps are solely related to the economy of Cyprus and the Mediterranean in the fourteenth century. The Cypriot economy is quite important in constructing Peter's biography, and this study does not deny the effects of the economy altogether. Instead, this study argues that the effects of economic aspects on Peter's personality are not as significant as suggested, according to the documentary evidence. It concludes that Peter had a multi-dimensional character and was not fueled by any form of pure avaricious nature. To build his story, thus, this work revisits and narrates the world Peter ruled in, and the second chapter adopts a chronological narrative framework, in which not only the economy of Cyprus is narrated but also the politics of Europe and the Mediterranean are described. The second chapter avoids unnecessary details but underpins the frequently discussed topics. Cypriot economy, especially the trading communities in the financial system, is narrated, if not in great detail. This is because the study needed a sufficient explanation of specific elements but also had to stick with its central subject, Peter.

At this point emerges another question. How long and detailed a narrative should be built, and on which topics a work should focus. A good example regarding the detail of biography is Mark Omrod's almost 700 pages long - primarily political- biography of Edward III.¹³ Omrod deals with every single

¹³ Mark Omrod, *Edward III* (Yale University Press, 2012).

aspect of the kingdom and provides many details. Of course, his approach is understandable, as Edward III's reign is far more well-documented.

Government, administration, religion, and many subjects are revisited. On the contrary, Simon John's biography of Godfrey of Bouillon adopts a more robust approach trying not to deviate from the main subject.¹⁴ It is undeniable that constructing Godfrey of Bouillon's biography presents many problems. Compared to Omrod's Edward III, documentary evidence is scarce, yet the biographer tries to distinguish the state from his subject.¹⁵ This study follows a similar approach by dissociating the state from the subject due to the fact that some aspects of the state are irrelevant or loosely related to the ruler, such as the legislation. For instance, *Haute Cour*, an assembly of the knights, an authority in all matters concerning the nobility, is a judicial institution transplanted from the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Regardless of the ruler himself, this institution was installed within the system, therefore irrelevant to the subject, and thus not diffusively included in the study.¹⁶ This is of course not to deny that this institution was insignificant, as Peter's neglect of *Haute Cour* was probably one reason behind the deterioration of relations with his lords.

¹⁴ Simon John, *Godfrey of Bouillon: Duke of Lower Lotharingia, Ruler of Latin Jerusalem, c.1060–1100* (London: Routledge, 2018).

¹⁵ Foot adopts a similar approach as well. See, Foot, *Athelstan*.

¹⁶ For the *Haute Cour*, See, Jean Richard, "The Institutions of the Kingdom of Cyprus," in *A History of the Crusades: The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East Vol. 6*, eds. Kenneth M. Setton, Norman Zacour and Harry Hazard (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 150-75; Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 43.

In the subsequent chapters (the third chapter and onwards) Peter's reign is partially-narrated because, at the same time, an argumentative approach is adopted. In an effort not to disrupt the story of the king, some important but disruptive discussions were placed in the footnotes. The third and fourth chapters recreate the story of Peter's travels, wars, and diplomacy and portray the king accordingly. These chapters benefited from the chroniclers, royal and papal letters, as well as official registers. Documentary evidence is more generous regarding this era of the king's rule than the final years of his reign.¹⁷ The third chapter starts with Peter's accession, concentrates on the early months of his reign, and explains the family circle. We are unable to explore Peter as a child. However, his household is explained, and the dispute on his rule is underpinned, as his actions against the Turkish emirates and the first tour to Europe, as can be seen, are associated with Peter's intentions, and his main purpose is discussed accordingly. Moving away from the king's household, the next chapter concentrates on Peter's capture of Antalya and his European tour. Alexandrian Crusade follows the story of the king in Europe, but also this chapter explores and discusses the motivation of Peter's choice to attack Alexandria, by challenging present scholarly works.

Despite many obstacles in writing Peter's biography, there are also some advantages. First, he witnessed a splendid chain of events during his first European visit. Peter traveled to many towns, met with many royalties, joined festivities and tournaments, and eventually left his trace everywhere in

¹⁷ See below "Literature Review"

Europe. For instance, his visits to France and England were recorded by the main chroniclers of his reign but also narrated by other chroniclers, such as Froissart.¹⁸ While English chronicles recorded his visit to London, German chronicles mentioned him but not in great detail. This richness in narrative evidence allowed this study to track Peter down, analyze his actions and picture the king accordingly. Moreover, these recordings paved the way to enquire about what influenced, shaped, or changed the king during his tour in Europe, as Peter left visible and demonstrable traces. The fourth chapter, therefore, adopts an approach in which Peter's movements are narrated, but at the same time, the historical events he involved in are discussed, revisited, and reconstructed. This chapter integrates as much documentary evidence as possible into the story. Additionally, archival research was conducted in England under the sponsorship of Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey's (TUBITAK) BİDEB program, which contributed to building the biography of Peter.¹⁹ This chapter, fueled by further documentary evidence, sheds light on Peter's, (somehow obscure and divergent in modern scholarly works) story in England.

To construct this biography, a chapter devoted explicitly to the king and his relations and his death was a necessary part for readers to understand the king's complex reign. So the king's household after his coronation, his private life, and his traits are discussed separately. Discussions regarding his politics

¹⁸ Jean Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, Spain and the Adjoining Countries: From the Latter Part of the Reign of Edward II to the Coronation of Henry IV*, Vol. I, ed. Thomas Johnes (London: 1857).

¹⁹ Tübitak Bilim İnsanı Destekleme Kurulu.

and government are thus separated from the king's privacy, and they are avoided integrating the king's characteristics into the general narrative of the earlier chapters. Instead, these characteristics are mentioned in the earlier chapters but discussed in detail in a specific chapter.

Documentary evidence regarding Peter clearly expresses his external career, but his inner circle is partly visible. Nevertheless, documentary evidence to assess the king's character is limited and dependent on the chronicles. The closeness of the creator of these materials to the subject directly affects the story and needs an assessment.²⁰ In this study, Machaut and Mézieres' works are great examples. Machaut employs dramatization when depicting Peter, and Mézieres demonstrates his admiration for his subject, Peter Thomas, who was one of Peter's most significant allies. On the one hand, dramatization and personal view of the creators of these accounts reflect how the contemporaries saw the king and provide clues regarding his image. But on the other hand, these sources make it difficult to assess the king's personality. This study benefits from the chronicles but tries to avoid coming to conclusions regarding particular personal characteristics of Peter. Peter's psychological state in his last months, for instance, is often reflected as "unstable," "melancholic," or "mad."²¹ The basis of these assumptions is particularly Machairas, but this study does not have the necessary evidence or experience to conduct a psychological analysis of the king. It is, from the evidence, safe to assert that he was occasionally bad-tempered. However,

²⁰ Prestwich, *Medieval Biography*, 332; Hamilton, *Modern Biographers*, 248.

²¹ Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 364; Setton, *The Papacy*, 281, fn. 108.

this trait simply is not enough to diagnose the king, and also staying away from such premature conclusions is safer to avoid an anachronistic approach. On the contrary, this study is more comfortable asserting that the king had a pious nature, was devoted to chivalric virtues, and lived accordingly. This can be observed in the entirety of Peter's life, and the documentary evidence (despite exaggerations) reflects these personality traits of the king.

In the seventh chapter, despite briefly, the king's relationship with women is also taken into consideration. Thanks to the studies in gender history, women in the medieval era began to be studied. However, compared to medieval men, evidence regarding women are considerably scarce. The queens and widows are relatively easier to trace, but mistresses and unmarried women are usually lost in history.²² This holds for Peter's story, as well. Peter's wife, Queen Eleanor of Aragon did not hold a politically significant role during Peter's reign, but after his death, she became more visible in the documentary evidence. However, during Peter's reign, she became known for her alleged adultery with one of Peter's knights, John of Morphou. Moreover, she is known for her cruelty against Peter's mistresses, such as lady Joanna l'Aleman. Nevertheless, we know about Joanna only because she conflicted with the queen, and whatever happened to her after her

²² For medieval women in Europe, see Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras, *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Margaret Schaus, *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia* (New York; London: Routledge, 2016); Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Pauline Stafford, "Writing the Biography of Eleventh-Century Queens," in *Writing Medieval Biography: Essays in Honor of Frank Barlow*, eds. David Bates, Julia Crick, and Sarah Hamilton (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2006), 99-109.

confrontation with the queen is partly known. This chapter, however, also tries to tell the story of the king, the queen, and the king's mistress.

Lastly, perhaps one of the most valuable outcomes of this dissertation is the emergence of a detailed itinerary of Peter, which had not been attempted to be built since the nineteenth century. The most detailed, albeit in narrative form, itinerary is provided by Romanian historian, Nicolae Iorga, in his work *Philip de Mézières 1327-1405: La Croisade au XIV siècle* published in 1896.²³ Despite his main subject being Philip de Mézières, he provides a massive amount of documentary information regarding Peter's international affairs, despite not in the form of an itinerary but in a narrative form. Another work, on the other hand, is the French historian Mas Latrie's *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*.²⁴ Mas Latrie, however, provides only a very brief itinerary of Peter. The emergence of the itinerary of Peter in this study is derived from detailed documentary research, during which the pieces of evidence regarding Peter's reign, scattered around, were brought together and additionally fueled with archival research. The primary aim was to record every single move of the king and trace the events he became a part of during his lifetime. However, even though this study tries to construct a blow-by-blow itinerary, some periods of Peter's reign are, as mentioned above, not thoroughly documented. For instance, while documentary evidence regarding his first tour to Europe is plentiful, his second tour is less well-documented. It is primarily due to the

²³ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*.

²⁴ Louis de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, Vol.2 (Paris: Impremière Impériale, 1852-1861).

fact that between his two visits, the European motivation and aspiration towards an expedition faded. Moreover, the West was politically unstable. As a consequence of this fact, Peter's second trip turned out to be a shorter journey, at the end of which the king abandoned the idea of assembling a Western army and, without prolonging his visit, returned to Cyprus.

1.2 Literature Review: Documentary Evidence

Constructing the biography of Peter I of Lusignan, four main surviving medieval accounts are predominantly used. Peter's tours to Europe, military expeditions, relationships with the European polities, his murder, and image attracted contemporaries or near contemporaries in the fourteenth century, and as Peter Edbury suggests, "gave him the highest literary profile of any of the Lusignan kings."²⁵ These four medieval narratives are created by Guillaume de Machaut, Philippe de Mézieres, Leontios Machairas, and anonymous *Chronicle of Amadi*.²⁶

²⁵ Peter Edbury, "Machaut, Mézieres, Machairas and *Amadi*: Constructing the Reign of Peter I (1359-1369)," in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, eds., Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Kiril Petkov (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 349; Angel Nicolaou-Konnari also discusses the narratives of Mézieres and Machairas. See, Angel Nicolaou-Konnari "Apologists or Critics? Reign of Peter I of Lusignan (1359-1369) Viewed by Philippe de Mézieres (1327-1405) and Leontios Machairas (ca. 1360/80-After 1432)," in *Philippe de Mézières and His Age Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, eds., Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Kiril Petkov (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 359-401.

²⁶ Philippe de Mézieres, *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, ed. Joachim Smet (Rome: 1954); Leontios Makhairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled Chronicle*, ed. Richard M. Dawkins (Oxford: 1932); "Chronique d'Amadi," in *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, ed. René de Mas Latrie (Paris: Impremiere Nationale, 1891-1893); Guillaume de Machaut, *La Prise D'Alixandre (The Taking of Alexandria)*, ed. and trans. R. Barton Palmer (New York: 2002). In this study, however, more recent editions and translations of "the Chronicle of Amadi" and "La Prise D'Alixandre" are used. See, Guillaume de Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria (Crusade Texts in Translation)*, eds., Peter Edbury, Janet Shirley (New York; London: Routledge, 2021); *The Chronicle of Amadi Translated from Italian*, eds. Peter Edbury, Nicholas Coureas (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2015).

To start with, Mézïeres' work on Peter Thomas, without a doubt, provides an invaluable insider view of the reign of the king. Peter was a Carmelite friar and was later appointed as the patriarch of Constantinople and the papal legate during Peter's expedition to Alexandria.²⁷ He composed his work in 1366, after Peter Thomas' death, and Mézïeres depicts king Peter as an ideal crusader and the defender of Christendom, although the main protagonist in his narrative is Peter Thomas. However, the king's image in Mézïeres' work is deliberately polished as Peter Thomas and king Peter were crusade enthusiasts, and the work was composed to persuade people.²⁸ Thus Mézïeres promotes the Order of the Passion, and tends to create a memory of a king who devoted himself to Christianity.²⁹ However, Mézïeres stayed in Cyprus only for a short period of time, so the details underlining the king, apart from his travels and wars, are limited. In this sense, his narrative is different from that of Machairas, a Greek historiographer who resided on the island.³⁰

²⁷ Philippe de Mézïeres (1327-1405). For scholarly works about Mézïeres, see Abbé J. Lebeuf, "Mémoire sur la Vie de Philippe de Maizières, conseiller du roi Charles V, & Chancelier du royaume de Chypre," *Mémoires de littérature tirés des registres de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 1re. no. 17 (1751): 491–514; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*; Sylvie Lefèvre, "Philippe de Mézières," in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: le Moyen Age*, ed., G. Hasenohr and Michel Zink (Paris: 1992), 1144–46.

²⁸ Edbury, "Machaut, Mézïeres, Machairas and Amadi," 350.

²⁹ For the Order of the Passion, see Abdel Hamid Hamdy, ed., "Philippe de Mézières and the New Order of the Passion," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts* 18 (Alexandria University Press, 1964): 1-104; Andrea Tarnowski, "Material Examples: Philippe de Mézières' Order of the Passion," *Yale French Studies*, No. 110 (2006): 163–75.

³⁰ Konnari, "Reign of Peter I of Lusignan," 360-61.

After two or three years of Peter's death, Machaut composed *the Capture of Alexandria*, an attempted biography of Peter.³¹ Machaut was one of the most accomplished French poets and composers of the century. His work was critical because he was closer to the events of Peter's reign, as his informants were French crusaders who accompanied Peter during his journeys and expeditions. His work provides many details regarding the capture of Alexandria and the subsequent events.³² Despite his dramatized, and rhymed biographical style, his details are sacrosanct.

On the other hand, Machairas is another chronicler this study benefited from, whose work was created in the fifteenth century and later translated from Greek to Italian by Diomedes Strambaldi.³³ However, Machairas' depiction of Peter is quite different from that of Mézieres. For instance, according to Machairas, Peter's only purpose in undertaking his first journey to Europe was to settle the dynastic dispute with his nephew, and he traveled to Avignon because the pope summoned him to solve this problem. Unfortunately, Machairas is the only historiographer who pinpoints this information, and we do not have a shred of supportive documentary evidence regarding this papal summons. What is more, the given information in

³¹ Guillaume Machaut (ca. 1300-1377) For Machaut as a poet and musician, see Douglas Kelly, *Machaut and the Medieval Apprenticeship Tradition: Truth, Fiction and Poetic Craft*, (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014); Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Guillaume de Machaut: Secretary, Poet, Musician*, (Ithaca; New York; London: Cornell University Press, 2011); Gilbert Reaney, *Guillaume De Machaut*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971). In 1877, Louis de Mas Latrie edited Machaut's work, and scholars widely used his edition in the past. See, Louis de Mas Latrie, ed., *Guillaume de Machaut et la prise d'Alexandrie*, 2 Vols. (Paris: 1876).

³² Edbury, "Machaut, Mézieres, Machairas and Amadi," 351.

³³ Diomedes Strambaldi, "Chronica del Regno di Cypro," in *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, ed. René de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1891-1893), 2.

Machairas' narrative about Peter's visits is obscure, sometimes chronologically confused and fragmented. In contrast, he provides very detailed information about the Cretan revolt. However, Peter as a crusader is barely mentioned in a phrase stating that Peter begged the Western rulers to help him recover the Kingdom of Jerusalem.³⁴

As for the Alexandrian expedition, his information corresponds to what Mézieres provides, with only minor differences, such as the number of the vessels in Peter's fleet, despite the fact that both historiographers express the events from different perspectives.³⁵ Machairas' narrative, however, is very detailed regarding the negotiations with the Mamluks, although he overlooks the events after the capture of Alexandria. At this point, it must be mentioned that Machairas' career is not very well known, nor his childhood and exact date of birth are available. He served as a royal officer in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, which means that he must have been a child or not born by the time Peter was crowned. Therefore, his source of information is unknown.³⁶

³⁴ Machairas, *Chronicle*, 1:131.

³⁵ For the number of ships and a discussion, see below "the Alexandrian Expedition" For an analysis and comparison of Mézieres and Machairas, see Konnari, "Reign of Peter I of Lusignan," 383-86.

³⁶ For Machairas' career, see Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, "Diplomatics and Historiography: the Use of Documents in the Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas," in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000–1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communications*, eds. Alexander D. Beihammer, Maria G. Parani, and Christopher D. Schabel (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 293-95. For a detailed analysis of the survived manuscript of Machairas, see Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, "Sweet Land of Cyprus': History of Manuscripts and Intellectual Links" in *Medieval Chronicle X* Vol. 10 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015): 163-201; Edbury, "Machaut, Mézieres, Machairas and Amadi," 351-52.

16th century Italian works, *Chronique d'Amadi* and Florio Bustron's *Historia overo commentarii de Cipro* on the other hand, seem related to Machairas' narrative as they mostly follow the same pattern with Machairas and provide almost identical information, although the relationship between these texts are not scholarly and systematically studied. Furthermore, Edbury claims that Florio Bustron may have adapted the information given in *Amadi* or the narrators used a common source which is now lost.³⁷

The chroniclers mentioned above significantly differ in other aspects, such as Peter's early years, chivalric character, and death. Machaut and Mézïeres provide a story in which Peter was pictured as a heroic holy fighter who devoted himself to fighting against the infidels by taking up arms against them. These chroniclers do not mention the dynastic dispute over Peter's rule. While Machaut ignores this fact, Mézïeres underpins twice that Peter was the rightful leader of the crown of the Kingdom of Cyprus, also ignoring any challenge to his heritage.³⁸ On the other hand, Machairas and *Amadi* depict that Peter was crowned by his father, Hugh IV, before his death, demonstrating that he was aware of a possible dispute. As for the king's death, according to Machaut and Mézïeres, Peter's brothers James and John were, without a doubt, guilty.³⁹ On the contrary, other historiographers, Machairas, *Amadi*, Bustron, and Strambaldi, do not precisely enunciate the

³⁷ Edbury, "Machaut, Mézïeres, Machairas and Amadi," 351.

³⁸ Mézïeres, *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, 89–92.

³⁹ Machaut, *Alexandria*, 12; Philippe de Mézïeres, *Songe du viel pelerin (en français moyen)*, édition critique par Joël Blanchard avec la collaboration de Antoine Calvet et Didier Kahn, Vol. 1, ed. Joël Blanchard (Genève: Librairie Droz, 2015), 259.

king's brothers as guilty, despite the fact that they claim that they witnessed the event.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, at the time of Peter's murder, Mézieres and Machaut were not on the island, and the presence of any chronicler when the king was murdered is highly doubtful.⁴¹

The narratives mentioned above are just some of the primary documents this study has benefited from. Especially regarding Peter's visits to Italy, France, and England, Froissart's narratives proved to be more than useful.⁴² Apart from Froissart, a range of primary works have been selected. *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois, 1327-1393*,⁴³ is one of the selected works which provided information especially about Peter's first journey to Europe. For the details regarding Peter's visit to London, during which he attended a feast together with Edward III and other monarchs⁴⁴ the present study benefited

⁴⁰ Machairas, *Recital*, 1:261–281; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," 102-114; *Amadi*, p. ; Florio Bustron, *Chronique de l'Île de Chypre*, ed. René de Mas Latrie (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1884), 272-76.

⁴¹ Edbury, "Machaut, Mézieres, Machairas and Amadi," 353.

⁴²This study favored a nineteenth-century edition of Froissart's chronicles, for practical reasons. See, Jean Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, Spain and the Adjoining Countries: From the Latter Part of the Reign of Edward II to the Coronation of Henry IV* (London: Longman & Co., 1808); Jean Froissart, *Chroniques de Jean Froissart (1360-1366) publiées pour la Société de l'histoire de France*, Vol. 6, ed., M. Siméon Luce (Paris, 1869-1899).; For another edition see Jean Froissart, *Chroniques: Livre 1: Le manuscrit d'Amiens*, Vol. 3, ed. George T. Diller (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1992).

⁴³ *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois (1327-1393)*, publiée pour la première fois pour la Société de l'histoire de France ed. M. Siméon Luce (Paris, Renouard, 1862). For an assessment of the account see Isabelle Guyot-Bachy, "La Chronique abrégée des rois de France et les Grandes chroniques de France: concurrence ou complémentarité dans la construction d'une culture historique en France À la fin du Moyen Âge?" in *The Medieval Chronicle* 8, eds. Erik Kooper and Sjoerd Levelt (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 205-32.

⁴⁴ For a detailed discussion, see below "The Feast of the Five(?) Kings."

from English chronicles: *Eulogium Historiarum*,⁴⁵ *Chronicle of Reading*,⁴⁶ *Knighton*,⁴⁷ *Historia Anglicana*.⁴⁸ As for Peter's journey to Northern Europe, *Beiträge zum Itinerar Karls IV*⁴⁹ and *Monumenta Poloniae Historica: Pomniki Dziejowe Polski*,⁵⁰ proved to be fruitful.

Many of Peter's actions during his first tour were traceable thanks to a vast majority of correspondence and papal registers. At this point, the contribution of the afore-mentioned Louis de Mas Latrie to the studies of Cyprus is undeniable and widely used by scholars principally focusing on the studies about the island. Mas Latrie's nineteenth-century collection of documentary evidence of Cyprus, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan* might only be labeled as the most crucial for this study. Mas Latrie not only provides letters and correspondence but also processes documentary evidence, making his works unique and irreplaceable. Especially, two of his works have been cited in this study:

⁴⁵ "Eulogium Historiarum Sive Temporis" In *Eulogium (Historiarum Sive Temporis): Chronicon Ab Orbe Conditio Usque Ad Annum Domini M.CCC.LXVI.: A Monacho Quodam Malmesburiensi Exaratum*, Vol.3, ed. F. S. Haydon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). For a discussion see, George. B. Stow, "The Continuation of the Eulogium Historiarum: Some Revisionist Perspectives," *The English Historical Review* Vol. 119, no. 482 (June 2004), 667-81.

⁴⁶ John Reading, *Chronica Johannis De Reading Et Anonymi Cantuariensis, 1346-1367*, ed. James Tait (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1914).

⁴⁷ Henry Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle 1337-1396: Oxford Medieval Texts*, ed. G. H. Martin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

⁴⁸ Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley (London, 1864).

⁴⁹ Karl Herquet, "Beiträge zum Itinerar Karls IV. und zu seinem Aufenthalt in Schlesien mit dem König von Cypren im Jahre 1364," in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Altertum Schlesiens* 14, (1879), 521-27.

⁵⁰ *Monumenta Poloniae Historica: Pomniki Dziejowe Polski*, Vol. 2, ed. August Bielowski (Lviv, 1872).

Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan and *Nouvelles Preuves de l'Histoire de Chypre Sous Le Règne Des Princes de la Maison de Lusignan*.⁵¹ On the other hand, some of the papal material was revisited and edited by Jean Richard Charles Perrat and Christopher Schabel's *Bullarium Cyprium*. This project was envisaged many years ago but finished in 2012. The third volume of this three-volume series is particularly used in this study.⁵²

Considering that there is not a monograph nor a biographical study on Peter I of Lusignan, it is safe to assert that this study is the first attempt to construct a detailed biography of Peter. The attempts to narrate the story of Peter are not complete, packed within solo chapters or only some particular aspects of his reign are revisited (i.e. politics, economy, religion etc). This is partly due to an effort to avoid any risks considering the difficulties of building a biographical work, and thus historians tend to retire into a safe zone. Present scholarly contribution to the subject, despite salient, is far from complete as Peter's story needs to be taken into consideration with more focus. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning some colossal studies that the present work benefited from.

⁵¹ Louis de Mas Latrie, ed., *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, Vol. 2 (Paris: Impr. impériale, 1852-1861); Idem., "Nouvelles preuves de l'Histoire de Chypre (deuxième article)" in *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, Vol. 34, (1873) 47-87.

⁵² The third volume of *Bullarium Cyprium* is composed of almost entirely the registers of Avignon popes. See, Jean Richard and Charles Perrat, eds., *Bullarium Cyprium Lettres papales relatives a Chypre 1316-1378* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2012).

The first and foremost study, without a doubt, is George Hill's monumental work *A History of Cyprus*, a three-volume study that specifically focuses on the History of Cyprus from the conquest of Richard the Lionheart to the Ottoman conquest. One chapter of his second volume, *the Frankish Period 1192-1432* focused explicitly on Peter, and this scholarly work is still one of the most significant sources for the Cypriot studies.⁵³ In his chapter focusing on Peter's reign, Hill carefully establishes the story of Peter, although he does not attempt to build a biography but a narrative political history. Compared to more recent scholarship, Hill refrains from coming to assertive conclusions regarding Peter's reign, but his study carefully considers the material evidence in every form; documentary sources, charters, bulls, letters, and every other source.

The contribution of Iorga's work *Philip de Mézieres 1327-1405: La Croisade au XIV siècle* is undeniable, and his study is another colossal analysis that this dissertation has benefited from. Iorga creates a story of Philip Mézieres but simultaneously constructs a narrative underpinning many aspects of Peter's reign. However, his work suffers from some limitations in providing answers to the vital questions that need to be answered. Peter in Iorga's work is narrated but not assessed and scarcely discussed.

⁵³ Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 308-70.

More recent scholarship, was produced by Peter Edbury, whose studies are predominantly focused on Frankish Cyprus.⁵⁴ Edbury's contribution to the history of Cyprus is, without a doubt, undeniable, and some of his assertions are definitive. His monograph *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191-1374* and episodic publication *Kingdoms of the Crusaders from Jerusalem to Cyprus* hold explicitly particular importance. Edbury focuses on the evidence regarding Peter's reign and underlines his political motives in his various studies. However, his approach to Peter, apart from his murder, differs from that of this dissertation. Edbury suggests that Peter's expeditions and policies were motivated not by his wish to reconquer the Holy Land but by his commercial alacrity. In his monograph, *Machaut, Mézieres, Machairas and Amadi: Constructing the Reign of Peter I (1359-1369)* Edbury portrays Peter as a political pretender and indicates his belief that Peter's medieval historiographers Mézieres and Machaut were "publicists, with a clear propagandist intent." This dissertation, however, despite challenges to Edbury's conclusions on Peter's character, benefits from his bibliographical survey, edited translations, and critical view, predominantly regarding the subject's political aspects in the initial sourcing phase.

Additional work on the topic, although it is not as recent as Edbury's literature, is Kenneth Meyer Setton's *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-*

⁵⁴ Peter Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191-1374*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Idem, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders from Jerusalem to Cyprus*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997); Idem., "The State of Research: Cyprus under the Lusignans and Venetians, 1191-1374," *Journal of Medieval History*, 25-1 (1999), 57-65; Idem., *Machaut, Mézieres, Machairas, and Amadi*; Idem., "Franks" in *Cyprus, Society and Culture, 1191-1374*, eds. A Nicolaou-Konnari and C Schabel (Leiden, Brill, 2005), 63-101; Idem., "The Latin East, 1291-1669," in *The Oxford History of the Crusades*, ed. J Riley-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 294-325.

1571.⁵⁵ Setton's definitive study provides a complete account of the political history of the fourteenth century by skillfully assessing the documentary evidence and creating a narrative accordingly. Like many previous scholarly works regarding the period, this dissertation benefits from Setton's vivid demonstration of the fourteenth-century Mediterranean world. His study draws a detailed picture of Peter's wars and subsequent events of his reign. Peter's negotiations with the Mamluks and the papal and Italian interference in the peace negotiations are clearly and well-documented by Setton. Setton additionally draws a picture from the standpoint that Peter's actions, despite having pragmatic motives, were not solely political and economical. Furthermore, Setton, although he refrains from coming to a definitive conclusion, by analyzing the documentary evidence, portrays the king as a person devoted to his life goals.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Setton, *The Papacy*.

⁵⁶ A separate literature review has been installed within the second chapter because the said chapter focuses on the state of Cyprus before Peter's coronation.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNING: The State of Cyprus in the Fourteenth Century: Economy and Politics

And there was great wealth there: all rich lords...and the riches which they had are beyond my power to describe, for the merchant ships of the Christians which came from the West did not venture to do their business anywhere else but in Cyprus; and all the trade of Syria was done in Cyprus. For thus were the commands and prohibitions of the most holy pope on pain of excommunication, that the profit might go to the poor Cypriots, because they dwell upon a rock in the sea, and upon one side are the Saracens, the enemies of God, and on the other the Turks. And because Syria is near Famagusta, men used to send their ships and convey their wares to Famagusta, and they had agents there for the sale of their goods...And when the ships of Venice, of Genoa, of Florence, of Pisa, of Catalonia and of all the West arrived, they found the spices there and loaded their ships with whatever they needed and went on their way to the West. And therefore the people of Famagusta were rich and so was the whole island, and the land began to be an object of envy.⁵⁷

-Leontios Machairas

Machairas' depiction of Cypriot wealth in the 14th has its logic which fits well in the general picture, especially for the first half of the 14th. The economy of 14th Cyprus was an aspect that affected Peter's reign and became a significant turning point for the kingdom's future. However, above all, it is essential to define what is meant by the economy of Cyprus.

The Cypriot economy was heavily dependent on international trade. The main contributors to wealth and prosperity were generated from the

⁵⁷ Machairas, *Recital*, 92.

production and seaborne trade. The local economy was based on agricultural production, which had been the traditional economic characteristic of Cyprus since the island was under Byzantine rule, being one of the island's most important sources of income.⁵⁸ With the further expansion of the commercial capacity of the island in the 13th, local production gained an international identity, and the goods produced in Cyprus and the demand for these products gradually increased, creating a demand for local products in the West.

If Machairas' interpretation above is evaluated, about the Cyprus economy, can it be said that it was that simple? It is much more complicated than that, considering that the 14th century Cypriot economy witnessed major setbacks and steps forward. Machairas' picture holds true, at least for the first half of the 14th century as the Cypriot economy made impressive progress along with its major commercial center, Famagusta. Contrary to this progress, when Peter I was crowned in 1359, his father, Hugh IV, had exhausted the royal treasury, whose contributions to the wars against the Turks and piracy had adverse effects. Nevertheless, this contribution should not be considered the sole reason behind the treasury's emptiness, despite making sense and needs further examination.

⁵⁸ For the economy of Cyprus in the Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages, see Luca Zavagno, *Cyprus Between Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages (ca. 600-800), an Island in Transition*, (London; New York: Routledge, 2017); David M. Metcalf, *Byzantine Cyprus 491-1191*, (Nicosia: Theopress, 2009); Tassos Papacostas, "Troodos Mountains of Cyprus in the Byzantine Period: Archaeology, Settlement and Economy," *Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes*, 43 (2013), 175–200.

This section, in this sense, revisits the trading communities in Cyprus, whose activities were boosted after the fall of Acre in 1291, strengthening Cyprus's position as an *entrepot* between the East and the West. Revisiting these communities is particularly important because their relations with Peter I directly affected his reign, especially after the Alexandrian expedition. Additionally, this section draws a general picture of the economic life of the Kingdom of Cyprus in the first half of the 14th century, aiming to follow a comparative approach by expressing the external effects on the economy, such as the papal embargo.⁵⁹

The 14th century Cyprus economy not only directly affected Peter's reign but also marked a significant turning point for the future of the kingdom. In order to understand the situation of Peter and the Kingdom of Cyprus, it is essential to consider the century in general terms. However, first of all, it is necessary to correctly distinguish what the "Cypriot Economy" means. The Cypriot economy can be divided into two main elements. The first and most prominent of these will be commercial activities. Cyprus was not only a base for future Crusades, but it also served as an *entrepot* between East and West. This function of Cyprus became so strong in the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century that it almost came to a position to compete with some important trade centers. We can easily say that all this trade was of an international nature.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Coureas, "Economy" in *Cyprus, Society and Culture*, 154-55.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 156.

The second economic element is agriculture and production, which is a part of the local and international economy and constitutes the traditional economic characteristic of Cyprus since the Byzantium. Agriculture was one of the island's most important sources of income. With the further expansion of the commercial capacity of the island in the 13th century, local production gained an international identity, and the goods produced in Cyprus and the demand for these products -which was increasing gradually- were internationally traded between the West and the East. A significant part of the local population was active in all this agricultural production. In this sense, agriculture constituted an essential part of the local economy of Cyprus.⁶¹

In addition to these two important elements of the Cypriot economy, craftsmanship could also be mentioned. But the weight of craftsmanship in economic inputs is less. It can be said that Cyprus was important in branches such as lumbering and woodworking, copper mining, and copper work. On the other hand, the most important income sources of the state treasury were taxes taken from agriculture and trade.⁶² Although the way these taxes were collected changed from time to time, the exemptions and concessions granted to Western merchants, in particular, became one of the reasons that provoked the Cypriot merchants and manufacturers, as well as the Lords, against Peter and prepared his end. Therefore, when discussing the Cypriot

⁶¹ Jean Richard, "Agriculture in the Crusader States," in *A History of the Crusades*, 275-276; Luttrell, "The Sugar Industry and Its Importance for the Economy of Cyprus During the Frankish period" in *The Development of the Cypriot Economy: from the Prehistoric Period to the Present Day*, eds. V. Karageoghis and D. Michaelides (Nicosia: University of Cyprus; Bank of Cyprus, 1996), 163-66.

⁶² Coureas, "Economy" in *Cyprus, Society and Culture*, 155-60.

economy, trade, agriculture, production, and the role of the merchant communities in this entire system will be prioritized.

2.1 Agriculture and Production

The topography of Cyprus mainly influenced the agriculture and production of the island. In the center of the island was Mesaoria plain, which was precipitated and crisscrossed by the rivers, thus making it ideal for growing certain products, grain, and fruits. The most prevalently produced goods were sugar, cereals, wine, and salt. But olives, olive oil, carob, cotton and spices, and lentils, beans, and peas were the goods produced and exported.⁶³ Olive and wine production was largely based on the ideal conditions the Trodos Mountains provided for the vegetation of olive trees and grapes. However, grain production was by far the most crucial aspect of Cypriot agriculture.⁶⁴ Barley, wheat, and oats were the main crops, in addition to beans, lentils, peas, linseed, and sesame oil. Agricultural production was predominantly expanded through the Central and Southern parts of the island. Sugar plantations were particularly important and also prevalent alongside wine and cotton.⁶⁵ These terrains were also suitable for olive, carob, and fruit trees. In the 13th and 14th centuries, Venice and Military Orders played a vital role in the trade of sugar cane and sugar products. Kolossi, Episkopi, and Kouklia were where sugar was produced the most. Some of the most important exports in the fourteenth century were

⁶³ Coureas, "Economy," 112.

⁶⁴ Richard, "Agriculture in the Crusader States," 275.

⁶⁵ Coureas, "Economy," 112-13.

honey, wax, soap, and carobs, which were traded alongside the Mediterranean as far as Tunis.⁶⁶

As for the production, textiles, timber, and minerals such as silver were important. Cotton plantations and sheep breeding were prevalent, and the textile industry benefited from this. Camelottes, carpets, and many other fabrics were produced and traded. Italian merchants were particularly interested in the Cypriot textile, predominantly the Genoese and the Venetians. The evidence shows that these merchants also exported the Cypriot textile to Egypt, Cilicia, and Syria. According to Marino Sanudo, cotton was widely produced in the fourteenth century in southeastern Cyprus, near Limassol. Fabric production was also closely related to cotton production, as the fabrics were obtained from the weaving of cotton and wool.⁶⁷

Sugar cane was also of extreme importance as sugar was one of the main products exported, especially by the beginning of the fourteenth century. At the beginning of the 13th century, some business for sugar production had already been established, especially by the Hospitallers, the Templars, and the Venetians.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, the process of producing sugar was complex,

⁶⁶ Luttrell, "The Sugar Industry," 166.

⁶⁷ Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Middle Ages*, (Princeton; New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983), 62; Idem., "The Venetian Cotton Trade in Syria in the Later Middle Ages," *Studi Medievali* Vol. 17 (1976), 686-87.

⁶⁸ The Templars' situation changed at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Until the mid-fourteenth century, the Ibelins were active in sugar production, but by the reign of Peter, this monopoly shifted from the localities to the Westerners, as Venetians, especially the Cornaro

and Cypriot sugar, thanks to its well-established infrastructure, became vital, especially in the 14th century, after the Black Death, which destroyed Egyptian sugar production.⁶⁹

Cypriot production benefited in the major part from its natural sources. Famous geographer Idrisi, described 12th century Cyprus as a prosperous center of resources such as timber and copper, which had been important since Late Antiquity. Salt was another natural source due to the salt plains located in the south of the island, producing an enormous amount of income for the producers and the kingdom's treasure. Salt lakes near Limassol, for instance, generated five thousand bezants per year during Peter's reign. According to Bustron, these lakes contributed more to the income obtained from the natural sources of Cyprus.⁷⁰ Moreover, the salt resources on the island were close to Limassol and Larnaca ports, making these products painless to transport.⁷¹ In the 13th and 14th centuries, the Venetians benefited from salt trade, as this product was highly valued in Italy and was

family, became major producers and traders. See, Nicolas Coureas, "Hospitaller Estates and Agricultural Production on Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Cyprus," in *Islands and Military Orders, c.1291-c.1798*, ed. E. Buttigieg, S. Phillips (Ashgate: Farnham; Burlington, 2013), 215-16; Marina Solomidou-Ieronymidou, "The Crusaders, Sugar Mills and Sugar Production in Medieval Cyprus", in *Archaeology and the Crusades*, eds. Peter Edbury, Sophia Kalopissi-Verti (Athens, 2007), 63.

⁶⁹ After the fall of Acre in 1291, Western access to sugar became more expensive and complicated. However, thanks to the papal bans and the Black Death, by the mid-fourteenth century, Cyprus became one of the most important centers for the sugar trade. Sugar production had been focused on the south and western part of the Mesoria plain. See Marina Solomidou-Ieronymidou, "The Crusaders, Sugar Mills and Sugar Production in Medieval Cyprus," in *Medieval Cyprus: a Place of Cultural Encounter*, eds. Sabine Rogge, Michael Grünbart (New York: Waxmann Verlag, 2015), 147-75.

⁷⁰ Bustron, *Chronique*, 28; Coureas, "Economy" 106.

⁷¹ Nicolas Coureas, "The Structure and Content of the Notarial Deeds of Lamberto Di Sambuceto and Giovanni Da Rocha, 1296-1310," in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean*, 229.

famous for its bright white color. Aware of this demand, in the early 14th century, King Hugh II decided to increase customs duties to export salt, and despite the fact that the customs duties were doubled, the Italians continued the salt trade throughout the century. Lastly, Trodos Mountains provided a rich resource for the Cypriots: timber, prevalently exported and used for ship-making.⁷²

2.2 Trade and The Trading Communities: Documentary Evidence

Among the sources regarding the economy of Cyprus in the early 14th century, notarial acts are of paramount significance. Of the present evidence, Genoese notary Lamberto Sambuceto's registers are perhaps one of the most valuable, as his registers shed light upon the early 14th century Cypriot trade and merchant community, providing the historians with more than 1500 acts (5 volumes), recorded between 1296 and 1307.⁷³ Despite some of his registers are now lost, a primal part of his documents, alongside an additional set of 88 documents, was compiled by his colleague, another

⁷² Coureas, "Economy," 108

⁷³ *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (3 iuglio 1300–3 agosto 1301)*, ed. V. Polonio, CSFS 31 (Genoa, 1982); *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (6 iuglio–27 ottobre 1301)*, ed. R. Pavoni, CSFS 32 (Genoa, 1982); *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (11 ottobre 1296–23 giugno 1299)*, ed. M. Balard, CSFS 39 (Genoa, 1983); *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (31 marzo 1304–19 iuglio 1305, 4 gennaio–12 iuglio 1307)*, *Giovanni d Rocha (3 agosto 1308–14 marzo 1310)*, ed. M. Balard, CSFS 43 (Genoa, 1984); *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (gennaio–agosto 1302)*, ed. R. Pavoni, CSFS 49 (Genoa, 1987). CSFS: Collana storica di fonti e studi.

notary, Giovanni Rocha between 1308 and 1310.⁷⁴ Moreover, 19th century addition of further documents by Cornelius Desimoni contributes to the richness of the archival evidence regarding the period.⁷⁵ This richness is extended even further by more recent scholars, and further documents are published.⁷⁶ Lamberto arrived in Famagusta around 1296 after spending three years in Caffa, working as a notary and scribe for the commune of Genoa.⁷⁷ In Famagusta, he used a shop owned by a spicer, Bertozzo Latinus, as his seat, but eventually moved to another shop, possessed by a Genoese named Peter Pelleterius. The exact locations of the shops are not precise, but Edbury claims that the shops may have been situated near the harbor and Genoese loggia.⁷⁸ One of the most important records is the manual of an employee of the Florentine banking house of Bardi,⁷⁹

⁷⁴ The earliest track of Giovanni's presence on the islands dates back to 1306. It is not known if he was on the island before this date. See, Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, 2, 152; Lamberto Sambuceto, 1304-1305-1307, Giovanni de Rocha, 1308-1310, [Balard], 9-10.

⁷⁵ Cornelius Desimoni, "Actes passés à Famagouste de 1299 à 1301 par devant le notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto," *Archives de l'Orient latin*, 2 (1884). For a study on the Cypriot documents in Archivio di Stato, see Geo Pitarino, "Fonti documentarie genovesi per la storia medievale di Cipro", in *Saggi e Documenti del Civico Istituto Colombiano*, Vol. 6, ed. Civico Istituto Colombiano (Genova, 1985). For the works of Lamberto Sambuceto and Giovanni Rocha, see, Nicholas Coureas, "The Structure and Content of the Notarial Deeds of Lamberto di Sambuceto and Giovanni da Rocha 1296-1310", in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean*, 223-34.

⁷⁶ Michel Balard, W. Duba and Chris Schabel, *Actes de Famagouste du notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto (décembre 1299 – septembre 1300)* (Nicosia: Centre de Recherche Scientifique, 2012); Michel Balard, L. Balletto and Chris Schabel, *Gènes et l'Outre-Mer. Actes notariés de Famagouste et d'autres localités du Proche-Orient (XIVe–XVe)* (Nicosia: Centre de Recherche Scientifique, 2013); For a discourse on the new documents, see, Michel Balard, "New Documents on Genoese Famagusta" in *Crusading And Trading Between West And East: Studies In Honour of David Jacoby*, eds. Sophia Menache, Benjamin Z. Kedar and Michel Balard (London; New York: Routledge, 2019), 147-61.

⁷⁷ For Caffa, see, Michel Balard, ed. *Les actes de Caffa du notaire Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1289–1290: Documents et recherches sur l'économie des pays byzantins, islamiques et slaves et leurs relations commerciales au Moyen Âge*, Vol. 12, (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018).

⁷⁸ Peter Edbury, "Franks" in *Cyprus Society and Culture*, 100.

⁷⁹ For the banking houses, see below.

Francesco Balducci Pegolotti's *La pratica della mercatura*.⁸⁰ Pegolotti was a resident on the island between 1324 and 1329, but returned to Florence in 1329, coming back around 1335 or 1336.⁸¹ His experiences in Famagusta and Nicosia provide valuable information for the researchers, and his manuals are particularly important as these records provide evidence about the variety of communities traded in Cyprus, the role of the merchant communities in this trade, and the geographical information on the trade of the commodities. For example, Pegolotti's notes show that among the regions Cypriot ports contacted to, were Syria, Egypt, Cilician Armenia, Anatolian coasts, Black Sea, Aegean and Greek Islands, Mediterranean Islands, Bosphorus, Italy, Southern France, Spain, Catalonia, Tunis, Britain, and Flanders.⁸²

Even though the documentary evidence to draw a picture in Cypriot trade and economy in the first half of the 14th century is generous, it is necessary to underpin the scarcity of evidence due to a paucity of chronicles and notarial deeds on the subject after 1350. Compared to the early 14th century, inadequacy in the documentary evidence, especially in the notarial evidence, may be attributed to political developments in the Levant. Continuous Mamluk attacks on the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia interrupted the trade

⁸⁰ Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La Pratica della Mercatura*, ed. Allan Evans (Cambridge: The Academy, 1936).

⁸¹ Laura Balletto, "Cipro nel 'manuale di mercatura' di Francesco Balducci Pegolotti," in *Praktika tou Deuterou Diethnous Kupriologikou Sunedriou* Vol. 2, eds. Theodore Papadopoulos Benoit Englezakis (Nicosia: Etaireia Kupriakou Spoudou, 1986), 259-67; Nicholas Coureas, "Commercial Relations Between Cyprus and Chios 1300-1480," *Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών*, 29 (2003), 44.

⁸² Pegolotti, *La Pratica della Mercatura*.

routes, and the interruption was worsened by the fall of Laiazzo and Sis in 1332 and 1337. In addition to the ever-increasing piracy, these events fed the western urge to assemble a naval league.⁸³ Moreover, security concerns in Syria and Persia led the Italian merchants to prohibit trade in Persia in 1338, 1340, and 1341. Eventually, in the 1340s, trade routes from Cilicia and the Black Sea to Alexandria and Syrian ports mainly were interrupted.⁸⁴ This also caused the merchants to push the papacy to lift the embargo on Egypt.

Furthermore, the coastal towns of Syria and Palestine were destroyed in 1291. The conquest was so destructive that Acre, Tyron, Beirut, Djubail were severely damaged and almost razed to the ground. By the mid-fourteenth century, these towns had not yet been recovered. A visitor, William of Boldensale describes that the cities of Acre and Tyre were still damaged in 1332, and the port of Acre was crushed under the remnants of destroyed houses.⁸⁵ Likewise, Giacomo of Verona reports that Tyre was not inhabited while Acre was not any better, where only a few Muslims resided.⁸⁶ Ludolf of Sudheim, a German priest who spent his time in the Levant between 1336 and 1341, also describes Acre as a destroyed place where only some poor people live.⁸⁷ A Franciscan, Niccolo Poggibonsi, who traveled to the Holy

⁸³ See below "The Capture of Antalya"

⁸⁴ Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 64-65; Nicholas Coureas, "Lusignan Cyprus and Lesser Armenia: 1195-1375," *Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών*, 21 (1995), 37.

⁸⁵ Carl Ludwig Grotefend, "Die Edelherrn von Boldensele oder Boldensel," *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen* (1852), 242-43.

⁸⁶ Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 42.

⁸⁷ Ludolphus de Sudheim, "De Itinere Terre Sancte," ed. Guillaume Antoine Neumann, *Archives de l'Orient Latin* Vol. 2 (1884), 340.

Land for pilgrimage, also describes Acre, as a place only a few poor people resided, and its port was unusable, filled in the Muslims.⁸⁸ However, this is different from saying that trading relations with the merchant communities were completely diminished in these regions, despite the fact that the western merchants felt insecure. Pegolotti describes the conditions of trade, which shows that merchant traffic continued.⁸⁹

As for narrative evidence, Ludolf of Sudheim, provides some clues for the researchers. In addition, his travels provide information about the economy of the towns such as Salamis and Limassol.⁹⁰ But, in the sense of notarial evidence, Venetian notary Nichola Boateriis' and Simeone's deeds are the primary archival documentation contributing to the Cypriot trade between the 1350s and 1370s.⁹¹ These records are particularly significant since these are drawn up during the reign of Peter I. Boateriis stayed in Cyprus between 1360 and 1362 and Simeone between 1362 and 1364, coming to Cyprus again in 1368 staying until 1371.

2.3 The Trading Communities in Cyprus

As has already been mentioned, the fall of Acre provoked rapid immigration to Cyprus. However, migration to Cyprus, predominantly to Famagusta, had

⁸⁸ Niccolo de Poggibonsi, *Libro D'oltramare Di Fra* (Charleston: Nabu Press, 2012), 80.

⁸⁹ Pegolotti, *La Pratica della Mercatura*, 69.

⁹⁰ Sudheim, "De Itinere Terre Sancte"; "Ludolf von Suchen," in *Excerpta Cypria* ed. Claude D. Cobham, (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1908), 19-21.

⁹¹ Nicola de Boateriis, *Notaio in Famagusta e Venezia (1355-1365)*, ed. Antonino Lombardo (Venice, 1973); Catherine Otten-Froux, "Un notaire vénitien à Famagouste au XIVe siècle. Les actes de Simeone, prêtre de San Giacomo dell'orio (1362-1371)," *Thesaurismata*, 33 (2003), 15-159.

already begun as early as the 1240s as an immediate effect of the Muslim advance in the Holy Land. The continuous fall of the Latin settlements in Palestine and Syria boosted migration, especially after 1265, reaching its peak by 1291.⁹² The need for more data on the immigrants in Cyprus makes it problematic to draw a clear picture of the numbers and whereabouts of the immigrants. However, some clues make it possible to estimate the diversity to some extent. In the latter half of the 13th century, the population movement included Arabic-speaking Christians, Jacobite Syrians, and Syrian Melkites that exceeded the Greek population in Famagusta.⁹³ Until the fall of Acre, the settlers in Syria and Palestine had an opportunity to immigrate to Acre and Beirut, but this option disappeared in perpetuum when Acre fell. As a result, Cyprus was crowded by immigrants from Laodicea, Beirut, Gibelet, Tyre, Tortosa, Sidon, Tripoli as well as those from Antioch, due to the advance of Sultan Baybars, fled to Cyprus and settled in Famagusta, Nicosia, and Limassol.⁹⁴

⁹² John L. LaMonte, "A Register of the Cartulary of the Cathedral of Santa Sophia of Nicosia Register of Nicosia", *Byzantion*, 5 (1929-1930), 439-522 no. 61. Originally published by Mas Latrie in his work *Histoire* Vol. 3 (see "Abbreviations"); David Jacoby, *Medieval Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond: Variorum Collected Studies* (London; New York: Routledge, 2018), 114-15; Idem, "Mercanti genovesi e veneziani e le loro merci nel Levante crociato," in *Genova, Venezia, il Levante nei secoli XII-XIV. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Genova-Venezia, 10-14 marzo 2000*, eds. Gherardo Ortalli and Dino Puncuh (Genova: Ivsla, 2001), 221-23; Coureas, "Economy" in *Cyprus Society and Culture*, 128-29; Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 101-102.

⁹³ Ibid., 14. For the communities on the island, see Andrekos Varnava, Nicholas Coureas, and Marina Elia, eds. *The Minorities of Cyprus: Development Patterns and the Identity of the Internal-Exclusion*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014); For the population of Cyprus, see also, Benjamin Arbel, "Cypriot Population under Venetian Rule: A Demographic Study", *Μελέται καί Υπομνήματα*, 1 (1984), 183-215; David Jacoby, "The Frankish States of the Levant and Cyprus under the Lusignans: a Century of Relations (1191-1291)," in *From Aphrodite to Melusine: Reflections on the Archaeology and the History of Cyprus*, eds. Matteo Campagnolo and Marielle Martiniani-Reber (Geneva: La Pomme d'or, 2007), 121-38.

⁹⁴ For the people from Acre resided in Famagusta, see Sambuceto, 1299-1301, [Desimoni], nos. 224, 225, 292, 295; Konnari and Schabel, *Cyprus Society and Culture*, 128; Balard, "New Documents on Genoese Famagusta," 148.

This rapid influx of population to Cyprus had a negative outcome at the end of the 13th century as it had damaged the economic life, causing the food prices and rents to skyrocket. Moreover, the value of the goods and services the immigrants provided drastically dropped down, reducing them to poverty which had already been a major problem for them. What is more, harvest failures in the 1290s and 1300s worsened the conditions for the immigrants. King Henry II endeavored to relieve the pressure on the price of bread by issuing an ordinance.⁹⁵ Henry linked Famagusta to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, commercially and institutionally, acknowledging the offices and the privileges associated with it, which was an attempt to reconstitute the Kingdom of Jerusalem on Cyprus.⁹⁶

Those of Italian origins, mostly the Genoese and the Venetians, became a part of the population influx.⁹⁷ Italian merchants' growing interest reached its

⁹⁵ Marino Sanudo Torsello, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, ed. Peter Lock (London: Ashgate, 2013), 232; Paul Crawford, trans. *The 'Templar of Tyre': Part 3 of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), nos. 268, 280; Jean Richard, "L'ordonnance de Décembre 1296 sur le prix du pain à Chypre", in *Orient et Occident au Moyen Age: contacts et relations XIIIe-XVe siècle*, ed. Jean Richard (London: Variorum, 1976), xx, 45-46; Edbury, *the Kingdom of Cyprus*, 101.

⁹⁶ Konnari and Schabel, *Cyprus Society and Culture*, 128; See also Peter Edbury, "Famagusta Society ca. 1300 from the Registers of Lamberto di Sambuceto," in *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft: Einwanderer und Minderheiten im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans Eberhard Mayer (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1997), 87-95; Michel Balard, "L'activité commerciale en Chypre dans les années 1300," in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. Peter Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), 251-63. For the trading communities in the ports before the fall of Acre, see Nicholas Coureas, "Western Merchants and the Ports of Cyprus up to 1291," *Proceedings of the International Symposium 'Cyprus and the Sea', Nicosia 25-26 September 1993*, (Nicosia, 1995), 255-61.

⁹⁷ David Jacoby, "the Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the Late Thirteenth Century," *Μελέται και Υπομνήματα*, 1 (1984), 151-52; Jean Richard, "Le peuplement latin et syrien en Chypre au XIIIe siècle," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 7, (1979), 168-70; Konnari and Schabel, *Cyprus Society and Culture* (Brill, Boston, 2005), 13; For the geographical proximity of Famagusta to the Cilician Armenia and its effects on the increasing

peak after the fall of Acre as, for instance, Venetians appointed a consul in Limassol and, due to increasing Venetian refugees in Famagusta, transferred their main officer to this city with the title of Venetian *bailo* in Cyprus.⁹⁸ In 1302 and 1308, Venetians appointed additional officers, respectively; the consul of Nicosia and the *bailo* of Limassol.⁹⁹ The Genoese, cultivated their presence on the island, as well. From 1292 on, the Genoese *podestas* resided in Nicosia, where the Genoese loggia was established after 1297. Genoese officers were also placed in Limassol, Paphos, and Famagusta. At the beginning of the 14th century, the Genoese possessed a warehouse in Famagusta, and they were contemplating to install a church dedicated to St. Lawrence, which they already acquired in Nicosia.¹⁰⁰

The escalating interest of the Italian merchants elevated Cyprus into an international commercial hub in the first decade of the 14th century. From the notaries of Lamberto Sambuceto, we are well aware of the Genoese activities on the Cypriot trade. At the beginning of the 14th century, Genoese merchants concentrated on the grain trade, which generated around %30 of all commodities traded between Cyprus and Cilician Armenia. Most of the merchants involved in the grain trade between the two kingdoms were

importance of the city, see Jean Richard, "La situation juridique de Famagouste dans le royaume des Lusignan", in *Orient et Occident au Moyen Age: contacts et relations (XIIe-XVe siècles)*, ed. Idem (London: Variorum, 1976), 221-22.

⁹⁸ Bailo was a position that the officer who had the authority to exercise judicial power, concerning the agreements between the Venetians. See, Jacoby, *Medieval Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean*, 34.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Peter Edbury, "Famagusta Society ca. 1300 from the Registers of Lamberto di Sambuceto" in *Kingdoms of the Crusaders*, xvii, 90; Konnari and Schabel, *Cyprus Society and Culture*, 130.

Genoese, although immigrants from Latin Syria and merchants from Western Europe were involved in the grain trade, as well.¹⁰¹ In the notarial acts, Laiazzo seems to be the main destination for the grain exported from Cyprus, but also Tarsus is mentioned in the documents. In November 1300, records show that two arrangements were made; one of which was made between Oddone Sexto, Nicholas Signano, and Conrad Clavaro. Conrad loaded wheat worth of 954 white bezants in Paphos sailed to Tarsus and returned to Famagusta, receiving 1/4 of the total profit.¹⁰² In the same month, another contract to export wheat and barley to Cilicia was drawn between Nicholas de Monleone and Giacomino Pinellus. Nicholas received a loan from Pinellus to invest in this trade to Laiazzo, guaranteeing to repay in his return.¹⁰³

Pisans and Sicilians also migrated to Cyprus, chiefly to Famagusta, even though it is unclear how many of the Pisan immigrants arrived in Cyprus before the fall of Acre and how many arrived directly from Italy. Among the Pisans, were merchants and artisans, in addition to some families, among which were Tuscans of Pisan nationals.¹⁰⁴ In 1291, Henry II granted them the right to have their judicial officer and promised their safety. Their loggia was

¹⁰¹ Nicholas Coureas, "Genoese Merchants and the Export of Grain from Cyprus to Cilician Armenia: 1300-1310", *Hask Hayakidagan*, 11, (2009), 1.

¹⁰² Sambuceto, 1300-1301, [Polonio] 31, no. 69.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, no. 100.

¹⁰⁴ Coureas, "Economy" in *Cyprus Society and Culture*, 128. In the end of the thirteenth century, Pisans developed a favorable relationship with the Mamluks. This community was notably active in the Alexandrian trade, see, *Les gestes des Chiprois: Recueil de chroniques françaises écrites en Orient au 13e & 14e siècles (Philippe de Navarre et Gérard de Montréal) publié pour la première fois pour la Société de l'Orient latin*, ed. Gaston Reynaus (Geneve: Imprimerie Jules-Guillaume Fick, 1887), 234-35. Due to the advanced relations of the Pisans with the Mamluks, merchants of Florence and San Gimignano claimed that they were Pisan nationals. See Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 14.

situated in Limassol and Famagusta, of which the latter was subordinate to the former.¹⁰⁵ Sicilian trade was intensified on the island as there was a considerable number of Sicilians from Syracuse, Tapani, Palermo, and Messina.¹⁰⁶ Merchants from Marseilles, Barcelona, and Majorca contributed to Cypriot trade in the same period.¹⁰⁷

It can also be observed that Pisans remained active on the island, as they are frequently mentioned in the documents. Most of them enjoyed the commerce in Cyprus to the point that a Pisan, Siger Nucius Porcellus acquired wood for shipbuilding in Famagusta, in 1325. Among the Pisan residents, there was a variety; Pisan officers, bailiffs, notaries, as well as artisans, tailors, dyers, clothiers, and sailors. However, the Pisan commune's interest in the Pisans in Cyprus diminished in the later decades, and some of the residents became subjects to the Lusignans. In 1364, a Pisan involved in a fight was sentenced by the Genoese *podesta*. Pisans collaborated with other Pisans and Genoese, in addition to Venetians and Tuscans, trading a wide variety of goods such as wine, cotton, drapes, sugar, grain, textiles, carobs, and ginger. Pisans predominantly traded to Cilician Armenia but also transported goods to Venice, Aegean islands, and Adriatic littoral.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Coureas, "Economy" in *Cyprus Society and Culture*, 134; Catherine Otten-Froux, "Les Pisans en Chypre au Moyen-Age," in *Πρακτικά του Δεύτερου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου*, Vol. 2, ed. Theodoros Papadopoulos (Nicosia: Society of Cypriot Studies, 1986), 128-130, 137; Pegolotti, *La Pratica della Mercatura*, xx, 84.

¹⁰⁶ Sambuceto, 1299-1301, [Desimoni], nos, 170, 241, 324, 374, 394, 395.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, nos, 73, 429, 457.

¹⁰⁸ Coureas, "Economy" in *Cyprus Society and Culture*, 135; Otten-Froux, "Les Pisans en Chypre au Moyen-Age," 130-37.

Several families and banking houses signed contracts, enjoying the economic boom of Cypriot trade and investments in the early 14th century. Genoese families of de Mari¹⁰⁹, Rubei¹¹⁰, de Porta¹¹¹, Clavaro¹¹², Florentine banking houses of Bardi¹¹³, Peruzzi¹¹⁴, and Mozzi¹¹⁵ and Piacenzan Cavazoli,¹¹⁶ and Pietro Diani¹¹⁷ were among the investors, in addition to the Catalans and Christians from Syria. Some of these banking houses and their contractors held privileges. For instance, Florentine merchants' customs duties were reduced by King Hugh IV in 1324, from %4 to %2, leveling up with the Pisan, Anconitan, Provençal, and Catalans. Before this, only the Florentines who had been employed by the Bardi and Peruzzi paid %2 of customs instead of %4.¹¹⁸ Banking houses of Bardi, Peruzzi, and Mozzi invested in grain trade to Cyprus from Naples, and Lamberto Sambuceto's

¹⁰⁹ Sambuceto, 1296-99, no. 37.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 138.

¹¹¹ Sambuceto, 1297, [Balard] 39, no. 12.

¹¹² Sambuceto, 1299-1301, [Desimoni], no. 48.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, no. 109.

¹¹⁴ Sambuceto, 1300-1301, [Polonio] 31, no. 76.

¹¹⁵ Sambuceto, 1299-1301, [Desimoni], no. 109.

¹¹⁶ Sambuceto, 1302, no. 64.

¹¹⁷ Sambuceto, 1302, nos. 18, 102.

¹¹⁸ Pegolotti, *LaPratica della Mercatura*, 84; Coureas, "Economy" in *Cyprus Society and Culture*, 137; Nicholas Coureas, "Commercial Relations Between Cyprus and Florence in the 14th Century" *Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών* 15, (1999), 62.

deeds show that these houses lent and borrowed significant sums that several trading nations involved in transactions.¹¹⁹

Notarial deeds delineate that Florentines, too, enjoyed Cypriot trade in the early 14th century. Florentine banking houses sponsored grain trade predominantly from Apulia to Cyprus. In October 1300, employees of the Peruzzi and Bardi, namely lanotuccio Bartoli and Lipus Bonacorso, launched a ship from Barletta loaded with wheat by a vessel belonging to Lorenzo Goso. Loaded on the ship were 17.466 *salmae*¹²⁰ of wheat but the cargo, except for 80 *salmae*, were confiscated by the Venetian officers in the port of Candia in Crete. The cargo had been purchased by Marino Sanudo to be undertaken to Cilician Armenia for the purpose of reselling it. When the ship arrived at Famagusta, Bartoli and Bonacorso complained to the Venetian consul Niccolo Zugno, expecting to receive compensation.¹²¹

Although they continued trading, the Florentine activities were reduced in Cyprus due to the relaxation of the papal embargo in 1344 and the collapse of the banking houses of the Bardi and Peruzzi, who financed the King Edward III of England's campaigns against France, but not get paid back. Before 1345, these banking houses had been assisting the naval league against the Turks and contributed to the capture of Smyrna in 1344.

¹¹⁹ Sambuceto, 1300-1301 [Desimoni], nos. 102, 142, 178.

¹²⁰ In provinces such as Naples and Sicily, grain was measured in *salmae*. 1 *salmae* equals roughly 3 hectoliters, which equals 300 liters.

¹²¹ Sambuceto, 1300-1301, [Polonio] 31, no. 76. For Candia in the Levant trade, see Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 38-39.

However, in 1345, the Commune of Florence refused the pope's request for financial support to the league.¹²² Nevertheless, Florentine merchants continued to trade in Cyprus to some extent. For instance, according to the notarial deeds, the number of Florentines trading in Cyprus was 46 in the first decade of the 14th century, but this number reduced to 5 around 1360. It also applies to the number of the Pisan merchants, as there were 97 merchants but reduced to 1 in the same period.¹²³ The decline of Florentine activities in Cyprus was inevitable but not diminished completely. Boateriis' notes indicate that Florentines maintained their activities during the reign of Peter I. Merchants exported textiles (capes) from Famagusta and Limassol, and sold slaves on the island. In an instance, Merchants also acted as mediators between Peter I and Florentine Barna Luce Alberti.¹²⁴

Provençals and the Catalans were other communities on the island. These communities collaborated with the Templars in the early 14th century.¹²⁵ Despite the war between Aragon and Anjou disrupting the routes, Marseillais continued to draw contracts involving Cyprus.¹²⁶ Notarial evidence proves

¹²² Coureas, "Commercial Relations Between Cyprus and Florence," 64.

¹²³ Coureas, "Economy" in *Cyprus Society and Culture*, 136; Laura Balletto, "Toscani nel Mediterraneo: l'Occidente, l'Africa, Cipro" in *La Toscana nel secolo XIV. Caratteri di una civiltà regionale*, ed. Sergio Gensini (Pisa, 1988), 261-63.

¹²⁴ Nicola de Boateriis, *Notaio*, nos. 14, 101, 113, 143.

¹²⁵ Sambuceto, 1299-1301, [Desimoni], nos. 73, 74; Idem., 1300-1301, [Polonio], nos. 221, 240, 241.

¹²⁶ Coureas, "Economy" in *Cyprus Society and Culture*, 136. For the routes from/to Marseilles, see John Henry Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War, Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean 649-1571*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 89-90. For a particular study on the Provençal trade, see Nicholas Coureas, "Provençal Trade with Cyprus in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries" *Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών*, 22 (Nicosia, 1996), 69-92.

that the Templars, Catalans, Pisans, Genoese, and Piacenzan banking houses of Scotti and Pietra Dani participated in the Provençal contracts.¹²⁷ In 1300, a vessel bound to a Marseillais Geoffrey Cervera was loaded with cotton, sugar, pepper, and ginger. Ships cruised to Provence loaded the goods originated from Cilician Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, and some ships loaded their cargo in these regions before taking off from Famagusta, which also shows the importance of Cyprus as a bilateral exchange point in the Eastern Mediterranean.¹²⁸

Provençals and Catalans also arranged business contracts with the Hospitallers, but the business relations were disrupted when the Hospitallers transferred their headquarters to Rhodes and the Templars were doomed by the papacy.¹²⁹ On the other hand, according to the evidence, Catalans were involved in piracy against the Genoese and Venetians and also violated the papal embargo in some instances. Moreover, between 1318 and 1325, Catalans allied with the Turks and extended their acts of piracy. In June 1318, a fleet of sixteen Catalan and Turkish ships, with around two thousand Turkish soldiers on board, was expected to attack Crete.¹³⁰ Nonetheless, Catalan trading relations remained after the relaxation of the embargo in 1344. New destinations like Beirut and Syria were elevated for the merchants

¹²⁷ Sambuceto, 1300-1301, nos. 148, 246-247, 413; Idem., 1301, nos. 18, 102.

¹²⁸ Sambuceto, 1300-1301, nos. 121, 246.

¹²⁹ Sambuceto, 1301, no. 6.

¹³⁰ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 111, 170-71, 203-205, 707-708, 728-36. Boateris, *Notaio*, nos. 59, 155. See also, David Jacoby, *Recherches sur la méditerranée orientale du XIIe au XVe: Peuples, sociétés, économies*, (London: Variorum Reprints, 1974), 246-50.

as many ships began bypassing Cyprus for Syria and Alexandria, except the times that they were assigned for the trade of local Cypriot commodities such as sugar after the 1360s.¹³¹ Customs dues, however, became a matter of disturbance among the Provençals. In consequence of their complaints to Pope Urban V, Peter I approved lowering the customs dues (which had previously been increased to 4 percent) to 2 percent (1 percent on export), chartering dues to 1/10 (from 1/5) in 1363, when he was in France, and extended their criminal and jurisdictional powers, as he had done in 1360 by granting extended powers to Venetian *baili*.¹³²

Another community that established trading relations with Cyprus was Anconitans. In the early 14th century, Anconitans chiefly traded cotton from Cyprus and Cilicia, as Ancona was the main cotton provider to central Italy. Notarial acts show that several shipments were made between 1300 and 1301. In October 1301, for instance, Baronus Pellegrinus Calante's ship was loaded with cotton, sugar, and incense to be transferred to Ancona by Lipus di Ancona.¹³³ Later on, in collaboration with his partners and bankers of Peruzzi, he exported salt from Cyprus to be sold in Ancona and Venice.¹³⁴ In other instances, Anconitans carried commodities to Cyprus loaded at ports

¹³¹ Coureas, "Economy" in *Cyprus Society, and Culture*, 140-41.

¹³² *Lettres d'Urban V (1362-1370): Textes et Analyses*, Vol. 1, ed. Camille Tihon (Rome: Institut Historique Belge, 1928), nos. 115, 185; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 250, 268-72; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 317

¹³³ Sambuceto, 1301, [Pavoni] 32, nos. 220, 221.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1302, [Pavoni], 49, nos. 159, 164.

other than Italy.¹³⁵ Collaborated with the Anconitans were the Genoese and Venetians from Latin Syria.¹³⁶ According to the notes of Pegolotti, some of the main commodities traded by the Anconitans, in addition to cotton, sugar, and incense, were salt, spices, honey, grain, cotton waste, wine, olive oil, legumes, wool, oars, textile, wax, and soap.¹³⁷ Boateriis' records, on the other hand, indicate that Anconitans continued trading during the reign of Peter I, as one of the documents mentioning carobs were loaded at Limassol to be transferred to Venice, and several documents showing that local products such as sugar were traded several times in the 1360s.¹³⁸

Merchant communities contributed not only to the long-distance trade but also short and medium distance trade, mostly under Genoese and Venetian dominance. Venetians had already captured Crete in the early 13th century and had control over Euboea, a Greek island, after 1204, and their control increased in the latter half of the century.¹³⁹ Genoese, on the other hand, founded their colonies in Pera and Caffa, and also assisted the Hospitallers to capture Rhodes in the early 14th century. Thus, Cyprus' position quickly elevated and the island integrated into the commercial activities in the region. Sicilian, Pisans, Provençals, and Cretan Jews participated in these networks,

¹³⁵ For trade from Pera, Giovanni de Rocha, (1308-1310), [Balard], nos. 28, 69.

¹³⁶ Coureas, "Economy," *Cyprus Society and Culture*, 145.

¹³⁷ Pegolotti, *La pratica della Mercatura*, 83-84, 93-94, 157-58.

¹³⁸ Boateriis, *Notaio*, nos. 85, 91, 93, 145, 177.

¹³⁹ See Coureas, "Commercial Relations between Cyprus and Euboea, 1300-1362", *Σύμμεικτα*, 13, (2004). 87-100.

but this participation was overshadowed by the Venetians, Genoese, and Greeks.¹⁴⁰

From the notarial documents, it can be observed that in addition to the Genoese and the Venetians, Sicilians, Pisans, and native Greeks were involved in trade between Cyprus and Rhodes in the early 14th century.¹⁴¹ Present evidence indicates that during the reign of Peter I, trade between Cyprus Rhodes and Crete was intensified in which even Greeks from Constantinople and Peloponnese took part. For instance, in 1361, an authorized Venetian was appointed to investigate a robbery in Famagusta, Rhodes, and Crete. Other deeds mentioning two Cretans sailing from Famagusta via Limassol and Paphos on their way to Rhodes.¹⁴² Kyrenia is mentioned as well as it functioned as a place of embarkation for those traveling to Rhodes and Anatolia, especially for those from Rhodes who undertook a journey to Anatolia.¹⁴³

Genoese, Venetian, and Anconitan traders from Cyprus and Crete were also involved in trade between these regions. For example, merchants bonded to Cyprus coming from the West stopped by Venetian ports of Crete and Euboea before reaching Cyprus in the 1330s. These merchants carried

¹⁴⁰ Coureas, "Economy", *Cyprus Society and Culture*, 148.

¹⁴¹ Sambuceto, 1300-1301, no. 272; *Ibid.*, 1301, no. 235.

¹⁴² Boateriis, *Notaio*, nos. 28, 29, 98. Boccaccio mentions a Cypriot merchant coming from Paphos who visited Rhodes. See, Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, lxii-lxiii, 141-42; Konnari, Schabel, *Cyprus Society and Culture*, 150.

¹⁴³ Boateriis, *Notaio*, nos. 98-99, 114, 139-40.

spice, grain, cheese, olive oil, cereals to Cyprus, loading salt and sugar for their return.¹⁴⁴ Crete and Cyprus were mentioned in also slave trade in the 1350s, in which dealers and purchasers mentioned chiefly resided in Famagusta.¹⁴⁵ Documents show that a Jewish community and Jewish travelers also existed in Famagusta before and during the reign of Peter I. In September 1352, a Jewish in Crete received a debt to undertake a journey to Famagusta, and another acknowledged debts promising to repay.¹⁴⁶

In the fourteenth century, a powerful Venetian family, named the Cornaro family, who had already possessed estates in Crete and Candia, and also practiced cultivation, moved a branch in Cyprus. Cornaro family exported the wheat and wine they produced in their estates in Crete to Karpathos Island and Cyprus. Their Cypriot estates were predominantly situated in Episkopi, where they were involved in sugar plantation and refinement, exporting their product from Limassol.¹⁴⁷

Boateriis' documents refer to a Cypriot interest in Euboean slaves traded on the island. According to the documents, a slave market was situated in Nicosia, and mention a Venetian officer's bid, which was the highest, in an

¹⁴⁴ Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 38-39. Crete was a significant spice market that, in some instances, the payments were made in pepper. See, Benvenuto Brixano Notio in Candia: 1301-1302. *Fonti relative alla Storia di Venezia*, Venezia, 1950, nos. 233, 382.

¹⁴⁵ Boateriis, *Notaio*, nos. 60, 80-81.

¹⁴⁶ Sambuceto, 1300-1301, no. 8; Boateriis, *Notaio*, no. 126; Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 1, 397; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 3, 734.

¹⁴⁷ Nicholas Coureas, *Commercial Activity in the Town of Limassol during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries* "Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών 28 (Nicosia, 2002), 23, 27-31; Anthony T. Luttrell, "The Greeks of Rhodes under Hospitaller rule, 1306-1421," *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, 29 (1993), 200-201.

auction that the officer purchased a slave and then freed him. Among those who participated in the auction was an officer of Peter I. In some cases, the slaves freed themselves, and in some others, the vendee liberated them.¹⁴⁸

2.4 Politics and Holy War

The fourteenth-century politics of Cyprus and the Mediterranean was affected by some significant megrims. The most crucial Christian outpost in the East, Acre fell in May 1291. Consequently, the Christians lost almost all of their settlements in Syria and Palestine due to flooding Mamluk troops and increasing political pressure. The fall of Acre followed the fall of Tyre in May, Sidon, Beirut, and Jaffa in July, and many others in the following months. In a brief period of time, the Christians' political existence in the Holy Land had been destroyed, which was painful for the Christians. However, it was an expected end for the Christians for a long time, as what they had in the Holy Land were remnants of a once more powerful state. The fall of Acre was a vital blow as any future Christian expedition to the East would need a safe port to recover what was lost. With the fall of Acre, now that it turned out to be a complicated and dangerous move to organize an expedition.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Boateriis, *Notaio*, nos. 2, 52, 60, 77, 78, 100, 123, 123, 124, 152, 157, 167; Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 1, 482.

¹⁴⁹ For the Latin settlements and the collapse of the Latin rule, see Jean Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Amsterdam; New York: North-Holland, 1979); Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* 4 Vols. (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Marshall W. Baldwin and Kenneth Meyer Setton, eds., *A History of the Crusades, Volume 1: The First Hundred Years* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2006); Marie Luise Favreau-Lilie, "The Military Orders and the Escape of the Christian Population from the Holy Land in 1291," *Journal of Medieval History* Vol. 19 (1993), 201-27. Riley Smith specifically focuses on the topic, for a selection of his works, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Crusaders and Settlers in the Latin East* (London: Routledge, 2008); Idem., *Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1973); Idem, *Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and*

On the other hand, the fall of the Christian polities in the East underlined the importance of the Kingdom of Cyprus, and to an extent, the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia. On the one side, the Christians lost their most valuable assets in the East But, for them, it was not as shocking as the loss of Jerusalem to Saladin a century earlier due to the fact that crusading became a political tool among the European polities and spiritual benefits of holy war were not as significant as it had been in the earlier centuries. However, for Cyprus, these events elevated the kingdom to a more advantageous position because now the kingdom was the easternmost Christian stronghold.¹⁵⁰

Decreased interest in waging holy war was precipitated by weakened unity in Europe. The papacy was in turmoil, the papal seat had been transferred to Avignon, and disputes in Italy were intensified. Italian city-states had been in a competition for dominance in trade, Aragon and Castile were dealing with the Moors, and France and England had been involved in a never-ending battle, during which Scotland was harmed, as well. In the east, Byzantine Empire was far from its former glory, and the Turkish emirates had been a severe problem in Anatolia as well as in the Balkans. On the other side, the

Cyprus (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1967); Idem, *The Crusades: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005). Edbury, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders*.

¹⁵⁰ Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*; Idem., *Kingdoms of the Crusaders*; Nicholas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195-1312* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997). For the Kingdoms of Cyprus and Cilician Armenia, see Idem., "Lusignan Cyprus and Lesser Armenia 1195-1375," *Journal of the Cyprus Research Centre* 21 (1995), 33-71. See also Idem., "Friend or Foe? The Armenians in Cyprus as Others Saw them During the Lusignan Period 1191-1473," in *La Méditerranée des Arméniens, XIe-XVe siècle*, ed. C. Mutafian (Paris: Geuthner, 2014).

Mongol invasions had changed the political situation as none of the polities in the East were safe.¹⁵¹

In addition to the political crisis, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, Europe suffered from a series of famines that dramatically affected the society and skyrocketed the prices of essential goods. Between 1315 and 1317, poor harvests and famines triggered epidemics among the population, resulting in a severely weakened and unhealthy society.¹⁵² Ever-growing troubles were exacerbated by the Black Death in the mid-fourteenth century, causing a death toll of a third of the European population.¹⁵³ When Peter I succeeded his father, Europe had recently been trying to recover from the outrageous effects of the disastrous first half of the fourteenth century.

Despite many difficulties, the papacy endeavored to make a positive impact on the disastrous events in the east. After the Fall of Acre, the papacy sought to organize new crusades, and to be able to achieve this end, it became necessary to deprive the Muslims out of some certain supplies which were provided by the Italian merchants. Both tasks were equally complex. First,

¹⁵¹ Robert Lee Wolff, Harry W. Hazard, and Kenneth Meyer Setton, eds., *A History of the Crusades, Volume 2: the Later Crusades, 1189-1311* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962), pp. 55-57, 72-73. For the effects of the Mongols in the Mediterranean, see Reuven Amitai, "Dangerous Liaisons: Armenian-Mongol-Mamluk Relations, 1260-92," in *La Méditerranée des Arméniens, XIe-XVe siècle*, ed. Claude Mutafian (Geuthner: Paris, 2014); Idem., "The Brilliant Diplomacy of Cilician Armenia," in *Armenian Cilicia*, eds. Richard G. Hovannisian, Simon Payaslian (California: Mazda Publishers, 2008); Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West : 1221-1410* (London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2018).

¹⁵² Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 319.

¹⁵³ Eliyahu Ashtor, *Technology, Industry and Trade: The Levant Versus Europe, 1250-1500* (London: Variorum, 1992), 112-115.

the rise of Turkish emirates in Anatolia endangered Western transportation and threatened the Byzantines. As a result, before organizing a *passagium*, the West needed to secure the Mediterranean and resist Turkish expansion. As for the second task, the papacy had to convince the Italian merchants, especially the Venetians and Genoese, had involved in a very profitable business with the Muslims, and they feared both losing their business and also having political disputes with the Mamluks. Under these circumstances, the papacy had to deal with many problems. Trading with the Muslims had already been a problem before the fourteenth century and was one of the reasons behind the collapse of Latin settlements in the East. Therefore, the papacy had to take precautions which dramatically affected Cyprus, as well.¹⁵⁴

Immediate Papal response to the losses of 1291 was extending bans on trade with the Muslims which augmented the visits of Western merchants to Cyprus. Papal embargo however served in favor of Cyprus; Famagusta, Limassol, and other Cypriot cities such as Nicosia.¹⁵⁵ Especially between the

¹⁵⁴ Norman Housley, "The Franco-papal Crusade Negotiations of 1322-23," in *Crusading and warfare in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, ed. Norman Housley (Aldershot, 2001), 35-37; Antony Leopold, *How to recover the Holy Land: the Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Burlington: Aldershot 2000), 69-71; Peter Edbury, *The Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus and its Muslim Neighbours*, (Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 1993), 16.

¹⁵⁵ Konnari and Schabel, *Cyprus Society and Culture*, 8-9; This was not the first embargo laid upon the Muslims as Pope Alexander brought forward economical sanctions towards the Muslims in the Third Lateran Council in 1179 which was renewed in 1215 during the Fourth Lateran Council and again by Pope Gregory IX in the fourteenth century. See, Sophia Menache, "Papal Attempts at a Commercial Boycott of the Muslims in the Crusader Period" *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 63 no. 2 (March 2012), 238-244; Stefan Stantchev, *Embargo: The Origins of an Idea and the Implications of a Policy in Europe and the Mediterranean ca. 1100-ca.1500*, (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2009), 45; Aziz Surya Atiya, *Crusade, Commerce and Culture* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1962), 97-98. For the effects of the papal embargo, see, Jean Richard, *Le Royaume de Chypre et*

end of the thirteenth and in the middle half of the fourteenth centuries, Cyprus became pleasingly prosperous.¹⁵⁶ Ludolf of Sudheim had described Cypriot prosperity, including architectural excellence, a few years before the Papal restrictions were loosened.¹⁵⁷ There were reasons behind this prosperity and the papal prohibitions also affected Cypriot trade with the ports of southern Anatolia.

Before the Papal bans, Western merchants had been trading in the Eastern Mediterranean ports in Syria and Egypt, and after the prohibitions, it became difficult to trade, especially from the beginning of the fourteenth century onwards. Therefore, the merchants were involved in illegal trading. There is no doubt that it was hard to monitor the commercial activities in the Mediterranean, but Cypriot rulers strove to enforce the embargo as it worked well for the Cypriot economy.¹⁵⁸ They benefited from the embargo in different ways. The first benefit was the increase in the commercial vessels trading in the Cypriot ports and the second was the illegal trade legitimized by the middlemen. Famagusta became a crossroad in the Eastern Mediterranean as the merchants re-supplied themselves in Cypriot ports, precipitating the

l'embargo sur le commerce avec l'Egypte (fin XIIIe-début XIVe siècle), *Croisades et états latins d'Orient*, (London: Variorum, 1992), 122-32; John Day, "The Levant Trade in the Middle Ages," in *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002). At the end of the thirteenth century, King Henry II maintained routine patrolling on the routes to effectively apply papal measures flourished the Cypriot economy. See, Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 103.

¹⁵⁶ Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 151; Coureas, "Economy" in *Cyprus Society, and Culture*, 141-45; Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 38.

¹⁵⁷ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 210-12; For the architecture of Famagusta, see Michael J. K. Walsh, Peter Edbury and Nicholas Coureas, eds. *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta Studies in Architecture, Art and History* (London: Routledge, 2012).

¹⁵⁸ Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 131-132, 151; Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 39-42.

local and royal income. Visits to Cypriot ports contributed to an increase in the export of the island's agricultural and manufactured goods.¹⁵⁹

Furthermore, Cyprus benefited from merchant trafficking between the ports of Cyprus, Syria, and Cilicia.¹⁶⁰ Flouting the ban, Famagusta based middlemen acquired the goods imported from Asia, on the ports of Syria, re-sold them to the Western merchants in Famagusta and Cilicia, and traded in Antalya and Alanya.¹⁶¹ Middlemen trafficking flourished Cypriot share from the trade.¹⁶² Had papal embargo lifted, Cypriot officials would not have imposed a double -sometimes triple- levy on the re-sold goods as it would also have meant that merchants would trade freely in the East, bypassing the Cypriot ports.¹⁶³

On the other hand, the papacy had been striving to support new crusades since the 1270s because of the worsening conditions in the Latin settlements. The papacy imposed a new tithe for the expeditions, threatened

¹⁵⁹ Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 151; Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 41-42; Konnari and Schabel, *Cyprus Society and Culture*, 7-10; For agricultural products, specifically grain which was one of the major export goods at the beginning of the fourteenth century, see Coureas, "Genoese Merchants," 1-21.

¹⁶⁰ Nicholas Coureas, "Famagusta: A Lifeline for the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia" in *The Armenian Church of Famagusta and the Complexity of Cypriot Heritage*, ed. Michael J. K. Walsh (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 44.

¹⁶¹ Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 151-52; David Jacoby, "Refugees from Acre in Famagusta Around 1300" in *The Harbor of All this Sea and Realm: Crusader to Venetian Famagusta*, eds. Michael J. K. Walsh et al. (Central European University Press Medievalia, 2014), 64-65.

¹⁶² For the papal correspondence on King Henry II and his officials ignoring illegal trade based on Cyprus, see, John XXII, *Lettres Communes 1316-1334*, ed. A. Fontemoing, (Virginia: The University of Virginia, 1906), nos. 14103, 18100, 18119, 20386. For several contracts middlemen involved, see, Sambuceto, (Balard), 39, nos. 39, 40, 71, 72, 94, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 141, 143, 147.

¹⁶³ Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 133-34; Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 39-41.

the merchants who traded with the Muslims with excommunication and confiscation, and also forbade the tournaments until a *passagium*. Full indulgence was also guaranteed for the potential participants. On the other hand, the papacy sought to establish peace between the belligerents while considering ways to strengthen the military orders. Especially during Pope Gregory's pontificate, he constantly tried to mediate to unite the West for *passagium* and strived to maintain and control the papal bans imposed on the merchants. Despite all his effort, the papacy failed to convince any European ruler to take arms as a leader of the *passagium*.

At the end of the thirteenth-century instability prevailed in the papacy, and it turned out to be a chaotic period. Many popes established their offices, but none of their pontificates were long-termed, which paralyzed the papal efforts. The only noticeable achievement was gathering a sum of money to construct necessary vessels for an expedition. By the pontificate of Nicholas IV, this situation was stabilized, but the fall of Tripoli in 1289 had a direct effect on the papacy. Despite the pope's efforts to strengthen the defense of Acre, only a minor aid could be sent. Otherwise, he planned to organize a *passagium*, but the rulers were not inquisitive. The papacy sought to strengthen the political situation of the kingdoms of Cyprus and Cilician Armenia, to be able to suppress the Muslims, and defend these two kingdoms. For this, he managed to gather a small fleet to protect Cyprus from a projected Muslim attack. The fleet reached Cyprus and also undertook offensive missions against the Muslims in Egypt, Syria, and Anatolia. After

minor raids, they sailed to Alexandria in the hope of capturing the city, but this fleet was not powerful enough.

In the middle of the fourteenth century, two very important occurrences affected Cyprus: the Black Death and the lift of the Papal embargo in 1344. The former affected the Mediterranean altogether, but the latter specifically diminished Cypriot share in trade. What is more, the political changes such as the end of the Ilkhanid rule, which caused instability in the regions where merchant caravans carried Asiatic goods, impeded Cypriot trade. Upon relaxation of the embargo, Western merchants used different routes. Before 1344, in the 1330s and early 1340s, the number of trade ships stopped over in Famagusta was nearly equal to that of Constantinople.¹⁶⁴ After the fall of Ayas to the Mamluks in 1337, trade through Syria and Cilicia shifted to Famagusta. However, from 1345 onwards trade missions to Alexandria began to be a common way of trading in the Eastern Mediterranean as the merchant ships began passing over Famagusta. For instance, Venetian ships bound to Cyprus, which had usually been numbered around 6 to 8, were now halved and in the following years, out of 24 ships, only 9 were destined for Cyprus which meant that the merchandise being sold in Famagusta shrank.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 64-65; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 151-52. The surviving evidence regarding how bad the Black Death struck Cyprus is scarce. For the outbreaks during Peter's reign, see Machairas, *Recital*, no 135; Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 96-100.

¹⁶⁵ Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 78-80; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 152; Peter Edbury, "The Crusading Policy of King Peter I of Cyprus" in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands*, ed. P. M. Holt (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1977), 95-98.

During his pontificate Boniface put special emphasis on Cyprus and sought to maintain political stability on the island. For instance, he was involved in the dispute between Henry II of Lusignan and the Templars, counseling them to settle their problems for the sake of the future of the Christendom.¹⁶⁶ In 1308, however, another problem emerged in Cyprus. Amaury of Lusignan, who abducted the crown from his brother Henry II, asked for aid from the papacy, stating that the Mamluks would soon invade the island. His appeal triggered the Pope Clement V who had been preparing for an expedition to the East. Clement supported the Hospitallers and provided support for the kingdoms of Cyprus and Cilician Armenia.¹⁶⁷

Papal embargos, despite not very effective, continued during the second quarter of the fourteenth century, especially during the pontificate of Pope John XXII, who specifically focused on those who were breaking the embargo. On one occasion, he sent a letter threatening the Cypriot merchants in 1320.¹⁶⁸ Additionally, he gave permission to the patriarch of Jerusalem residing in Cyprus to inspect the trade with the Muslims. On another occasion, he permitted king Hugh IV to send envoys to the Mamluks on condition not to deliver prohibited goods to the Muslims. John XXII also endeavored to organize a *passagium* and almost achieved it, but his efforts

¹⁶⁶ For the Templars and the military orders on the island, see Nicholas Coureas, "Fluctuating Territoriality: The Military Orders and The Crown of Cyprus: 1191-1313," in *Ordres Militaires et Territorialité au Moyen Âge: entre Orient et Occident*, ed. Marie-Ann Chevalier (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 2020); Malcolm Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Emmanuel Buttigieg, S. Phillips, eds., *Islands and Military Orders, c.1291-c.1798*, (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2013).

¹⁶⁷ Coureas, "Fluctuating Territoriality," 125-127; Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, 112.

¹⁶⁸ Jean Richard, "L'état de guerre avec l'Egypte et le Royaume de Chypre," in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, eds. Nicholas Coureas and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Nicosia 1995), 130.

came to nothing. Eventually, in 1351, during the Black Death pandemic, Pope Clement VI urged the archbishop of Nicosia not to preach crusading due to the fact that the population loss was huge because of the pandemic. Moreover, the pandemic had raised suspicions that the island's defense was fragile and more vulnerable to a possible Muslim invasion.¹⁶⁹

Despite economic and financial drawbacks, perhaps the papal effort's most important outcome was establishing a league against the Turkish expansion in the Aegean and the Mediterranean coasts. This expansion threatened the Christian trade and prevented any attempts at a passage from the West to the East, which worried the Venetians and motivated them to support the papal efforts. Especially after the fall of the Latin settlements in the East, the Aegean and the Anatolian coasts elevated to a more important position for the kingdom of Cyprus, which owed its security to the adjacent polities and the Italian merchants. The insecure milieu generated anxiety for the Cypriots as it was a threat that could trigger being cut off from all communication and connection between the West and the island resulting in complete isolation. Under these circumstances, different polities had different, and intertwined concerns: (1) The Italian concern, without a bit of doubt, was derived from commercial worries. (2) The papal concern was to wage a holy war, and protect the Latin kingdoms in the East, but at the same time, the pope needed to cherish the Italians as he was particularly in need of their naval power. (3) The Cypriot existence depended on the continuum of their financial and political position which were the nucleus of their protection. In

¹⁶⁹ Nicholas Coureas, "Cyprus and the Naval Leagues 1333-1358," *He Kypros kai hoi Staurophories*, (1995), 113-15.

this sense, a naval league was favorable for all the polities, especially Cypriot. Peter's father, Hugh IV supported the naval league reasonably, but above all worries, he ebulliently promoted the efforts due to his pious nature, which was to be inherited by his son.

The reign of Hugh IV, thus, witnessed a major change in the politics which affected Peter's reign as well. This major change was the continuous participation of the kingdom in the naval leagues. On one hand, naval expeditions worked in favor of the kingdom by providing a level of security, but on the other hand it harmed the Cypriot treasure. Military expenses multiplied as Cyprus joined naval leagues and became a regular member of the alliances. In 1334, a naval league was formed which arguably secured the island but aggrandized the financial burden to maintain a fleet. Joining the naval league exacerbated piracy, after the port of Ayas, despite Cypriot aid, fell in 1322.¹⁷⁰ However, the naval league of 1334, in which the papacy, Venice, Hospitallers from Rhodes, Byzantine Empire, and France took part, succeeded against the Turks around Lesbos. The league members had promised to provide forty vessels, six of which were provided by Cyprus. League was projected to last five months, but the Hospitallers and the Cypriots continued and attacked İzmir after the rest of the league's departure.¹⁷¹ In 1336 and 1337, Hugh renewed his operations dispatching

¹⁷⁰ Edbury, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders*, XI, 234; Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 64-66. A fleet of six vessels were sent to assist. See, Mas Latrie, *Chronique d'Amadi*, 395, nos. 409-10; Machairas, *Recital*, 619-20; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 142-50.

¹⁷¹ Richard and Perrat, *Bullarium Cyprium*, 151, no. r-498; Lemerle, *L'Emirat D'aydin Byzance et L'occident. Recherches sur La Geste D'umur Pacha*, (Paris, 1957), 90-100; Norman Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, 1305-1378* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 25-26.

more galleys to fight with the Turks, and he was congratulated by the pope.¹⁷² Owing to Cypriot naval success in the 1330s, as Ludolf of Sudheim states, Antalya, Alanya, Siq, and Anamur began paying tribute to Hugh IV, at least between 1336 and 1341 which would have also meant that, in addition to being a direct source of income, the ports of Anatolia provided a more satisfying atmosphere for the merchants.¹⁷³

In 1343, pioneered by Hugh, a new naval alliance was formed. The reasons behind his motivation are unknown as it seems impractical to waging another war after southern Anatolian cities accepted paying him a tribute. It is highly possible that Hugh may have wanted to achieve more. According to Pope Clement VI's letter dated 8 August 1343, a fleet of twenty vessels was assembled, by the Hospitallers contributing with 6 galleys, Venice with 5, the Kingdom of Cyprus with 4, the papacy with 4 and the island of Naxos with 1.¹⁷⁴ This new league defeated the Turks near the Chalkidiki peninsula and this success was followed by the capture of İzmir in 1344.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² J. M. Vidal ed., *Lettres communes du pape Benoit XII, 3rd series*, 3 vols., (Paris: Befar, 1903-1911), Appendices no. 8378.

¹⁷³ Georges Dument ed., *Benoit XII (1344-1342): Lettres closes, patentes et curiales se rapportant à la France*, (Paris: E. De Boccard, ancienne librairie Fontemoing & cie., 1920), no.1673; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 180-181, 216; Nicholas Coureas, "The Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus and the Sea, 13th–15th Centuries," *The Sea in History: The Medieval World*, eds. Michel Balard and Christian Buchet (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), 372; Anthony T. Luttrell "The Hospitaller interventions in Cilician Armenia: 1291- 1375," in *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, ed. Thomas S. R. Boase, (Edinburgh; London: Scottish Academic Press, 1978), 137-43.

¹⁷⁴ Richard and Perrat, *Bullarium Cyprium*, 190-191 nos. t-63, t-64.

¹⁷⁵ For the details on the capture of izmir, see Lemerle, *L'Emirat d'Aydin*, 181-184; Setton, *The Papacy*, 183-190.

Until 1350, the naval league's advance had halted after a failed attempt of Humbert of Vennois' crusade in 1346 and the outbreak of the Black Death one year later. The new naval league was revived for ten years in 1350 as a result of Turkish aggression on the sea.¹⁷⁶ Members of this alliance had to provide a total of ten ships for patrolling the coasts and Cyprus was obliged to provide two of the vessels.¹⁷⁷ However, the projected league had to be delayed since a war broke out between Venice and Genoa. Postponing the league for a misty future, Pope Clement sent letters to Cypriot clergy to no longer preach for the crusade, but on the other hand, he asked Hugh to be ready to help against the Turks.¹⁷⁸

Cyprus's involvement in the naval leagues meant additional costs to cover. According to a document, league of 1350 -which was renewed in 1353- by the successor of Pope Clement, Pope Innocent VI asked each of the participants to cover one-fourth of the expenses of the garrison in İzmir. The sum of money each of the league members had to pay, was 3000 florins in addition to the pope's share from the clerical taxes generated in Cyprus. On 3 May 1355, the pope reminded Hugh to fulfill his promise in 1350, either paying by cash or providing two ships.¹⁷⁹ In 1357, upon the pope's request, the final naval league during the time of Hugh came into existence in which

¹⁷⁶ Richard and Perrat, *Bullarium Cyprium*, 281, no. t-522; Setton, *The Papacy*, 218-222.

¹⁷⁷ Richard and Perrat, *Bullarium Cyprium*, 281, no. T-522.

¹⁷⁸ Richard and Perrat, *Bullarium Cyprium*, 297, nos. t-621, t-623. Dated 8 September 1351; *Ibid.*, 298, no. t-629. Dated 24 September 1351.

¹⁷⁹ Richard and Perrat, *Bullarium Cyprium*, 281, no. t-522; *Ibid.*, 306, no. u-24. Dated 3 November 1353; *Ibid.*, 314, no. u-71. Dated 3 May 1355; Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 160; Coureas, *Cyprus and the Sea*, 373.

the Cypriots, Venetians, and the Hospitallers agreed on paying 3000 florins and furnish 2 galleys each.¹⁸⁰

The new league actively performed military operations in 1359 and had a victory against the Ottomans. It took two years to actively engage in a naval operation for the league as Hugh's participation, unlike his participation in the former leagues, was limited because a strong Cypriot economy before the mid-fourteenth century, was now fragile and the king was hesitant to pay the league regularly. Furthermore, he was also hesitant to send his valuable forces far from Cyprus. What motivated Hugh in the previous leagues, was that he was willing to break Turkish power before they come as close to eastern Rhodes and threaten not only the coasts of the kingdom but also commercial and pilgrimage trafficking. This policy of King Hugh was one of the major ideological conflicts between him and his son Peter as for Peter, chivalrous and pious virtues were of utmost importance.¹⁸¹ In any case, Hugh died in October 1358 and Peter followed his father Hugh's and his grandfather Henry's pattern but adopted a more aggressive policy blended with Christian idealism.

¹⁸⁰ Richard and Perrat, *Bullarium Cyprium*, 334, no. u-165. *Innocent VI, Lettres secretes*, no. 2006; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 230. Edbury and Hill state that the league was renewed on 20 March 1357 while Coureas mentions it was renewed and effective after September 1357. See, Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 160; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 302; Coureas, *Cyprus and the Sea*, 373. Due to the letter provided above, the pope's letter is dated 22 September 1357. In Mas Latrie's *Histoire*, it is dated 20 March 1357. See, Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 221.

¹⁸¹ Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 302; Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Methuen and Company, 1938), 319-320.

CHAPTER III

PETER I OF LUSIGNAN: A NEW HOPE, THE ROYAL FAMILY AND SUCCESSION

*“Or est nez nostres jovenciaus,
A qui li dieux qui est en ciaux
Doint grace, honneur et bonne vie.
Mais il est drois que je vous die
L’année et le jour qu’il fu nez.
Et pour ce vueill que vous tenez
Que dieux et Nature homme nuef le feïrent l’an .xxix.,
le jour de feste saint Denis,
'a leure que jours est fenis.”¹⁸²*

-Guillaume de Machaut

The second of four sons of King Hugh IV (1324-1358) and Queen Alice of Ibelin, Peter was born on 9 October 1329.¹⁸³ Only Machaut recorded the exact date of his birth, while Machairas is confused, and Amadi mentions Peter’s brother’s marriage that same year, but does not mention Peter’s birth. However, Machaut’s information seems likely given the sources related to

¹⁸²“ Now our young child is born. God give him grace,
good life and honour! Which day did he come?
Nature and God created this new man
in the year twenty-nine, Saint Denis ’day,
as daylight faded and evening fell.” See, Mas Latrie, *Guillaume de Machaut et la prise d’Alexandrie*, 5. For Edbury’s translation see Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 21.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

the family's history.¹⁸⁴ The early years of Peter's life are little known. For example, we do not know Peter's precise place of birth, where and how he spent his preadolescence, and what kind of education he received. However, looking at the family's history again, it is possible that the early years of his life were chiefly spent in Nicosia, except for his brief escape to Europe, which angered his father extensively.

King Hugh IV had been married twice. The first of these marriages was with Maria of Ibelin, from which Guy (the later Prince of Galilee) was born. Maria was the daughter of Guy of Ibelin, Count of Jaffa, and his cousin Maria of Ibelin. Guy, the eldest son, was naturally the heir to the throne. After Maria's death, upon a papal dispensation, Hugh had his second marriage with Alice of Ibelin, Guy of Ibelin's daughter, born with Isabelle of Ibelin.¹⁸⁵ Hugh and Alice had at least eight children, but only four grew to maturity; Peter (future Count of Tripoli and King Peter I), John (future Prince of Antioch and Constable of Cyprus), James (future King James I), and Echive.¹⁸⁶ Peter was the eldest son born from Hugh's second marriage.

¹⁸⁴ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 21, fn. 4. Machairas mentions Hugh IV's sons, but his description is faulty, as Peter was not Hugh's oldest son and he was not the future Peter II. Peter II was Peter I's son succeeded him in 1369. Machairas, *Recital* v2, §78; *Amadi*, n.795, 368.

¹⁸⁵ Rudt de Collenberg "Les Ibelin aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles" *Επετηρίς Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών Κύπρου*, 9, (1979), 186-7, 212-13; idem., "Les Lusignan de Chypre," *Kentron Epistimonikōn Ereunōn*, (1980), 122-123, 124-140; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 143.

¹⁸⁶ Edbury states that Hugh had three sons and two daughters from this marriage. However, in his chronicle, Machairas mentions only one daughter, Echive. See, Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 2, Genealogical Table, *at end*; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 143. Also see, Collenberg, "Les Ibelin," 186-7, 212-13; idem., "Les Lusignan", 122-3, 124-140. Lignages d'Outremer, on the other hand, states that Hugh had five sons and three daughters from both marriages: "Guido, Piero, Gioanne, Giacomo, Thomaso, Civa, Isabella e Marietta." It also states that Isabella and Marietta (Margaret) died without having children. Margaret was married to Walter of Dampierre. See Marie-Adélaïde Nielen, ed., *Lignages d'outramer. Introduction, notes et*

Having four sons and a daughter provided an opportunity for Hugh to establish links with western royalties. Echive married Fernand of Majorca, brother of King James II of Mallorca, in 1340, upon a papal dispensation obtained in 1337.¹⁸⁷ However, this marriage proved to be problematic as Hugh and Ferrand squabbled for an obscure reason, which triggered Ferrand who worried about his life, and wrote to his brother and friends. He also wrote a detailed memorandum stating that Hugh insulted him, his wife, and his house, humiliating them extensively, even torturing and imprisoning Ferrand's men and women serving him. What is more, he wrote that he was isolated from his wife, who was also kept captive on 22 April 1341. Hugh assembled the Haute Cour, accusing Ferrand of treason. He failed to have a judgment but deprived Ferrand off of his fiefs. Soon, Ferrand's accusations were heard by King Peter of Aragon and Pope Benedict XII, and their reaction was to urge Hugh not to harm Ferrand, otherwise the Aragonese would retaliate.¹⁸⁸ Hugh did not accept these accusations and responded that

édition critique par Marie-Adélaïde Nielen, Paris, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres: Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, 18, (Paris: 2003), 168.

¹⁸⁷ Machairas, *Recital*, §43, 47. The papal dispensation was obtained on 5 March 1337. See, Vidal, *Lettres communes*, no. 4833, cf. nos. 7088-9, 7330-32; Richard and Perrat, *Bullarium Cyprium*, 164, no. s-28. The reason behind the papal dispensation was that, in 1316, another Fernand of Majorca, Prince of Achaia, married king Henry II of Lusignan's cousin, Isabel of Ibelin, who bore him two sons: James II King of Majorca and infante Fernand of Majorca. Later, after her husband's death, Isabel married Hugh of Ibelin, the count of Jaffa and Ascalon. Therefore, Fernand was related to Echive in the fourth degree. See, Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 295. For the sum assigned to Eschive by Hugh (30.000 bezants per annum), see Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 179.

¹⁸⁸ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 202-206; For Ferrand's memorandum sent to his brother, see *Ibid.*, 182-202, for Echive's taken away from him 189. For Pope Benedict XII's letters (one dated 17 October 1341 and the other is unknown), see Richard and Perrat, *Bullarium Cyprium*, nos. s-81, s-82, 176. It seems that Hugh accused Fernand that he would secretly leave the island and when he took his fiefs off, he also forced him to sell his horses, jewels, and clothes. Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 204-205. According to Hill, Ferrand may have been sworn never to leave the kingdom by the time he married Echive. Otherwise, the nucleus of the problem

he offered Fernand ideal opportunities. To think that the whole story was precisely as Fernand told it in his memorandum would be a bit much, considering the marriage of Hugh's son John. Nevertheless, Fernand fled in 1342, leaving Echive and her young daughter on the island. He died a few years later. Echive, as Amadi reports, deceased in 1363, possibly of the plague that struck Cyprus on 1 March when Peter was in Avignon.¹⁸⁹

One year after his daughter's unsuccessful marriage, Hugh arranged another marriage between the houses of Aragon and Lusignan, in 1343, for his son John, Peter's younger brother, to marry Constance of Sicily. Hugh was granted a papal dispensation in the same year.¹⁹⁰ Constance had married twice; her first husband was Henry II of Lusignan, whom she married in 1317 when she was fourteen. After considering different options, her second husband became King Leo IV of Cilician Armenia in 1331. However, Leo IV was murdered in 1341, and Constance was widowed again in her late thirties.¹⁹¹ Thus, by the time she has married John, she was around her early

may have been related to Echiva's dowry. See, Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 295-297; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 144-145.

¹⁸⁹ Amadi, no. 823, 376.

¹⁹⁰ Papal dispensation is dated 16 April 1343. See Rudt de Collenberg, *Les dispenses matrimoniales accordées à l'Orient Latin selon les Registres du Vatican d'Honorius III à Clément VII (1283-1385)*, Vol. 89, (Rome: L'ecole française de Rome, 1977), no.1, 74-75, no. 88 and note 47; Nielen, *Lignages d'Outremer, Le Vaticanus Latinus 7806, El Parentado de Lusignan* no. 8, 169.

¹⁹¹ For Constance's remarriage with Henry, see Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 3, 709 fn. 2; For marriage with King Leo IV (Leo had murdered his first wife), *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Documents Arméniens*, Vol. 2 (Paris: Impr. Royale, 1896-1906), 20; Richard and Perrat, *Bullarium Cyprum*, t-52, 188; Robert Bedrosian, trans., *Smbat Sparapet's Chronicle: Venice Manuscript*, (New Jersey, 2005), no. 780, 671, and Leo's assassination, Jacob Ghazarian, *The Armenian Kingdom in Cilicia During the Crusades: The Integration of Cilician Armenians with the Latins, 1080-1393*. London: Psychology Press 2008), 73-75; Boase, *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, 30. Edbury states that Constance married Leo V, but he was born in 1342 in Cyprus, and Constance married Leo IV, not Leo V. Edbury, *Kingdoms of Cyprus*, 145.

forties and had little chance to bear a child for John, who was around twelve or thirteen years of age. There is no doubt that Hugh considered this before arranging the marriage, but, according to Edbury, he may have thought that Constance's dower income in Cyprus and Cilician Armenia might be generative for John, as well as it would have been an opportunity to heal the relations with the Aragonese royalty that had been hurt because of Echine and Ferrand's marriage.¹⁹² This idea seems entirely plausible given the marriages Hugh arranged for his children. Nevertheless, Constance died after June 1344, and John remarried a lady from within the Cypriot nobility, Alice of Ibelin, daughter of Guy of Ibelin, Seneschal of Cyprus.¹⁹³ When Peter became king, John was the Prince of Antioch and the Constable of Jerusalem. He acted with the barons involved in Peter's murder and became regent of his nephew Peter II, after Peter. However, he was later killed in 1375 on the orders of Peter's widow, Queen Eleanor.¹⁹⁴

The early years of Peter's several years younger brother James, future seneschal and constable of Jerusalem by 1369, and the future King James I of Cyprus, is also somewhat obscured. Unlike his early years, especially after his brother's accession, his actions during the reign of Peter, his involvement in Peter's murder, and the period until his own succession are better known. James married Heloise of Brunswick, daughter of Philip of Brunswick, and

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Papal dispensation for this marriage is dated 14 April 1350. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum* Vol. 5, 463; Collenberg, "Les Lusignan," 110, 130-131.

¹⁹⁴ **See relevant section**

Alice of Ibelin, Hugh's widow, in 1365.¹⁹⁵ So, this marriage was not arranged by his father Hugh.¹⁹⁶ After Peter's murder in 1369, in which he and his brother John were involved, he served Peter's son, Peter II. However, he was later captured by the Genoese in 1374 and lived in Genoa until he became king in 1382. Many of his children were also born here during this time.¹⁹⁷

Peter married Echive of Montfort in June 1342, when he was just 13 years old, but this marriage did not go as smoothly as one might think. Pope Benedict XII contacted Hugh to find a suitable wife for Echive of Montfort, who was almost of marriageable age and was the only female heir to this noble family. However, Hugh offered in return that Echive could be married to Peter. Although the pope opposed the marriage in 1339, as Peter and Echive were related by blood, Clement VI, who succeeded Benedict, approved the marriage, and, on 28 June 1342, Peter and Echive were married. Although it is not known where and how this marriage took place, the mediation of a cardinal, a distant relative of Echive, was effective in granting permission. Unfortunately, the chronicles are insufficient to provide information about Peter and Echive, but we know of the marriage from papal

¹⁹⁵ Heloise was both Alice of Ibelin's stepdaughter and daughter-in-law, as, after Hugh's death, Alice married Heloise's father, Philip of Brunswick, and Heloise were married to James.

¹⁹⁶ Pope Urban V's dispensation for this marriage is dated 13 May 1365. Richard and Perrat, *Bullarium Cyprium*, v-121, 396.

¹⁹⁷ For his imprisonment by the Genoese, see *Amadi*, nos. 965-967, 969-976, and return 1005-1012, his sons born in Genoa, 1011; Machairas, *Recital*, §§545-548, and return §599-612; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," 231-232, and return 252-256; Bustron, *Chronique*, 336-338 and return 349-351; Chris Schabel, "Like God from Heaven, But They Don't Call him King: The Rebellion against James I of Cyprus," *Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 43 (2013), 381-382; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 208-209.

correspondence.¹⁹⁸ Inherited of the Cypriot lands of the lords of Beirut, Echive was a wealthy heiress and, king Hugh probably sought to arrange this marriage for Peter to provide him a livelihood.¹⁹⁹ However, Eschiva died in 1350 for an unknown reason, without leaving an infant.²⁰⁰

Peter's new wife had to be someone who was in line with the political stakes of Cyprus and could also give birth to an heir. From Hugh's point of view, Eleanor of Aragon appeared like a suitable prospect for this. The Aragonese royalty ruled Sardinia, Sicily, and the Balearic Islands outside of Aragon and were also suzerains of Athens. While it was essential to consolidate ties with an ally with such a vast political influence, these two royalties also harbored a common dislike for the Angevin Naples and the Genoese. From this, one can figure that the Kingdom of Cyprus was close to Venice in the Genoese-Venetian war of 1350-1355. Because when the marriage contract between Peter and Eleanor was made in 1353, the Aragon royalty were allies of Venice. Moreover, Cypriots, Venetians, and military orders had already joined an alliance against the Turks in the Aegean since 1330s.²⁰¹ Thus Peter and Eleanor were married at the end of 1353. Although the date of

¹⁹⁸ *Lettres closes et patentes*, nos. 1967,2500; Abraham Bzovius, ed. *Annales Ecclesiastici* 1342, §23; Also see, Mas Latrie, *Généalogie des rois de Chypre de la famille de Lusignan*, (Venice: Imprimerie de Marco Visentini, 1881), 25, fn. 9; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 308, fn. 2. Amadi, like the other chroniclers (i.e. Bustron), does not note Peter's first marriage. Moreover, he wrongly states that his wife's name was "Alice of Catalonia." See *Amadi*, §812, 372. Otherwise, she is also called "Constance" in some sources. This may have been a confusion as Constance was Peter's younger brother John's wife, Frederick III of Sicily's daughter. See, Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 107, n.2.

¹⁹⁹ Edbury, *the Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191-1374*, p. 146.

²⁰⁰ She may have died slightly before 1350. See Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 107; Mas Latrie, *Généalogie*, 25.

²⁰¹ Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 146; Edbury, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders*, XIV, 113-114; For Eleanor of Aragon, See relevant section.

their marriage is unclear, we know that Eleanor set out for Cyprus on 23 August 1353 from Barcelona.²⁰² Eleanor's dowry was 42,000 bezants or talents, which her son Peter II compensated in 1392, after she returned to Aragon, giving her mother four villages on the island.²⁰³

Of all these marriages, the one that most concerned the kingdom was that of Hugh's eldest son, the heir to the throne, born of his first marriage, Guy. Hugh appointed three representatives to negotiate Guy's marriage to Duke of Bourbon, Louis of Clermont's daughter, Maria, in 1328.²⁰⁴ However, by the time this marriage was arranged, Guy and Maria were not of age, so that the actual marriage took place two years later, in late January 1330, when Maria and her company arrived in Famagusta at the beginning of this month.²⁰⁵ Louis of Clermont was Louis IX of France's (Louis the Saint) grandson and King Philip V of France's cousin. Louis was a crusade enthusiast, and he was assigned as the captain-general of Philip's future crusading army.²⁰⁶ Thus, this marriage would notably be fruitful as the kings of Cyprus were

²⁰² Mas Latrie, *Généalogie*, 25, fn. 10.

²⁰³ Mas Latrie, *Généalogie*, 26. While their marriage was a rational decision for Hugh, although their political affiliation was beneficial, and the kingdom was at the height of royal prosperity, the Lusignans were never seen at the level of the Aragonese and French royal houses. See, Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 146.

²⁰⁴ On 2 March 1328. Representatives were: Bishop Mark of Famagusta, Butler Peter of Montolif, and Canon of Famagusta, Lambertino of Bologna. See Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol.2, 140. Oaths were taken on 29 November 1328. *Ibid.*, 144.

²⁰⁵ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, 144-148. For the papal correspondence regarding Maria's journey to Cyprus and indulgences regarding her company, see Richard and Perrat, *Bullarium Cyprium*, nos. t-6 (undated), r-401 (24 April 1329), r-420, (19 July 1329), 178, 127, 131. Her dowry was assigned on 31 January 1330. She was to be given 1650 florins a year, and after her husband's death, 5000 florins a year. See, Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, 162. Amadi records that they married in January 1329, but this date is mistaken. See *Amadi*, n.795, 368. For Maria, see Olivier Troubat, "La France et le royaume de Chypre au xive siècle: Marie de Bourbon, impératrice de Constantinople," *Revue Historique*, Vol. 278, No. 1 (563) (September, 1987), 3-21.

²⁰⁶ Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 144; Housley, *The Avignon Papacy*, 233-236.

titular kings of Jerusalem, and a future expedition that might revive the Holy Land would exceptionally work in favor of the kingdom. Nevertheless, Guy died in 1343, leaving a son, Hugh. Maria married Robert of Anjou, titular emperor of Constantinople, in 1347. She died in 1387.²⁰⁷ This marriage was far from being as effective as Hugh had hoped, and, on the contrary, it became the rationale behind the dispute to Peter's accession.

On 24 November 1358, Peter was crowned when his father was still alive. Bishop of Lemesos, Guy of Ibelin, performed the ceremony.²⁰⁸ For the first time under Lusignan rule in Cyprus, a coronation ensued when the previous ruler was still alive. For Edbury, Hugh attempted to secure Peter's place to prevent his grandson Hugh's claim on the throne, which became a question since Guy's death in 1343.²⁰⁹ Long before Peter's coronation, the succession problem had already been brought to the pope's attention.²¹⁰ However, inheritance customs were different in the West than the East, as the deceased king's grandson would be inherited to the throne in the West, while the deceased king's surviving eldest son was considered a closer relative in

²⁰⁷ Pope Clement VI expresses his condolences after Guy's death, Richard and Perrat, *Bullarium Cyprium*, t-91, p. 196. For Maria's death, see Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol.2, 407-409; Mas Latrie, *Genealogie*, 16; Troubat, "La France et le royaume de Chypre," 20-21.

²⁰⁸ Machairas, *Recital*, 86, 90; *Amadi*, no. 811, 372; Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 30. Strambaldi, "Chronicha," 36. Leontios Makhairas dated the ceremony twice; firstly, 24 November 1358, and secondly, 24 November 1359. Hill depicts that it was a mistake, but Edbury claims this may have been a rationalization to make the coronation dated after Hugh's death. See, Hill, *History of Cyprus*, p. 308, fn. 2; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 147, fn. 24; Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 30 fn. 5.

²⁰⁹ Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 147.

²¹⁰ Clement VI, *Lettres closes patentes et curiales se rapportant à la France publiées ou analysées d'après les registres du Vatican, 1342-1352*. no. 825.

the East.²¹¹ Therefore, Hugh, his mother, and her relatives believed that Hugh should be the next king. What is more, they brought forward that Maria's marriage contract had a specific clause revealing that Guy and Maria's son would be inherited the throne in case of Guy's premature death. However, we lack documentary evidence supporting the existence of such a clause.²¹²

Hugh IV died on 10 October 1359, and Peter was crowned as the King of Jerusalem by the papal legate Peter Thomas on Easter day in Famagusta cathedral on 5 April 1360.²¹³ By the time Hugh was living in the West as Hugh IV had allowed him and his mother to leave the island in 1346.²¹⁴ Thus, they received significant approval from the West during this time. John II, King of France was among their supporters.²¹⁵ When Peter's envoys reached

²¹¹ For instance, Edward the Black Prince deceased before King Edward III of England, and, in 1377, Edward's grandson Richard succeeded him. See, Mark Omrod, *Edward III*, 550-577.

²¹² Mas Latrie provides the contract but does not mention this clause. Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol.2, 144-149. For the pope's awareness of the issue, Clement VI, *Lettres closes...France*, no. 825. See also, Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 2, §105. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 309; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 147-148.

²¹³ Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 91-92; Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 2, §104. *Amadi*, no 812, p. 372. (*Amadi* does not provide a date, stating Peter was crowned after Hugh's death on 10 October.) Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 3, 352-353; Edbury, "Constructing the Reign of Peter I," 355-356. Until James I's reign (1382-1398), during which Famagusta was captured by the Genoese, the coronation ceremonies to be crowned as the king of Jerusalem were held in Famagusta. Before Famagusta, ceremonies took place in Acre until it fell in 1291.

²¹⁴ In 1344 pope asked Hugh IV to pay Maria's dowry and allow her to leave the island to see her relatives in the West. However, Hugh was hesitant to let her leave the island. Another letter from the pope revived this request, and Maria, concurrently with Hugh, left the island. See Richard and Perrat, *Bullarium Cyprium*, t-107, t-185, pp. 200, 215. Payment of Maria's dowry became problematic, not only during the reign of Peter but also after he died. For the payment of the dowry during Peter's reign, see Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol.2, 253, 289.

²¹⁵ Bustron, *Chronique*, 258-259. Hugh and John II were called cousins, but they were only third cousins as they were great-great-grandsons of Saint Louis IX of France. See, Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 2, §105. For French and papal backing, see also Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 115.

Avignon to acquaint his accession, Hugh claimed the throne for himself.²¹⁶ Pope Innocent VI sent a severe letter, on 24 May 1360 to Peter, requesting him to elucidate the issue and advising him to leave the throne to Hugh unless he would want to be called usurper and face a possible war.²¹⁷ Peter's mission was led by a knight, Raymond Babin,²¹⁸ who put considerable effort to explain the pope the Assizes of the Kingdom, according to which the surviving son is the next kin inherited the throne. Innocent was not thoroughly convinced but had to come to terms with Peter for two reasons: Firstly, the Cypriot mission had been more successful in convincing the French king, and the second, Peter was crowned by Peter Thomas, the papal legate in the East. It is highly probable that Peter specifically sought to be crowned by Peter Thomas, to be able to weaken his nephew's claims on the throne. In his account, Mezieres does not highlight the Hugh's claim on the throne, but picturing Peter as a crusading leader pursuing to recover Jerusalem depicts his coronation as legitimate. He also says that, aware of Peter Thomas' reputation, Peter contacted him when he was then in Rhodes and asked to be crowned by him as the king of Jerusalem.²¹⁹

²¹⁶ The papal legate Peter Thomas' actions precipitated a riot on the island. Envoys also informed the pope about this issue. See, Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 309; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 148. Amadi reports that Peter Thomas arrived on 8 December, and provoked the Greeks. See *Amadi*, n. 814, p. 373. Also see Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 2, §101; Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 92-94.

²¹⁷ Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 2, §105-108; *Annales Ecclesiastici 1360*, §§13,15-16, 55-57. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 115-116. Iorga asserts that the letter was sent in June.

²¹⁸ See Richard and Perrat, *Bullarium Cyprium*, u-231, 349.

²¹⁹ Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 91-93, for early connections 74-75. For a discussion, Edbury, "Constructing the Reign of Peter I," 356. Maria was not happy with Peter Thomas' role in Peter's coronation. See, Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 94.

In June 1360, Innocent sent another letter, softer in tone, requesting that Hugh's expectations be met. Meanwhile, he had assigned Hugh as the Senator of Rome.²²⁰ Peter dispatched another mission led by John of Morphou, count of Edessa and Marshall of Cyprus, and Thomas of Montolif²²¹ in the late 1361. Peter's envoys first dwelled Avignon and then traveled to France to contact John II. Here, both sides were able to come to an agreement as Hugh gave up his assertion on the throne in return for an annual sum as compensation. The exact sum is unknown as the sources are contradictory. According to Amadi, it was 150.000 bezants, and Bustron says it was 5000 ducats. However, Machairas' statement seems more suitable, which is 50.000 bezants per annum.²²² Additionally, it was agreed that John of Morphou's daughter would marry Hugh.²²³ Despite that Peter's position seemed to be secured, this agreement was not decisive.

In 1362, Pope Innocent VI died and was succeeded by Urban V. Makhairas notes that the king of France pushed Urban V to bring up the accession case, and the pope, in 29 November, asked Peter to explain it in person, summoning at the papal curia. Edbury claims that if Machairas' account is correct, the primary motivation behind Peter's visit to Europe may have been derived out of his desire to solve this problem rather than assembling a

²²⁰ He was assigned in 1360 but did not assume the title until 1361, when the pope asked the reason for him to come up to his court in person to take up the office. See, Rudt de Collenberg, 'Les Lusignan', p. 141. Machairas says the pope requested Peter to summon at Avignon, but he is wrong. See, Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 2, §107, Baronius, Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici 1360*, §16, 55. See also Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 309, fn. 4; Edbury *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 148.

²²¹ Thomas of Montolif was an auditor under Hugh IV. Later he served Peter I and his son Peter II. See, Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 2, §108.

²²² Amadi, n.816, p. 373 ; Bustron, *Chronique*, 260-261 ; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol.2, 233 and Vol.3, 741 ; Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 2, §108-109. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 117, fn.4

²²³ Machairas, *Recital*, Vol.2, §108; Amadi, n.816, 373.

crusader army. Considering Peter's early political actions, Edbury's explanation holds true. However, that is not to say that Peter had not had motivations to wage a holy war.²²⁴ On the papal letters, it appears that Urban asked Peter to treat Hugh generously, and it seems that Urban was already recognized Peter as the king.²²⁵ Nevertheless, it is certain that the case was still open and needed to be settled, which eventually happened during Peter's visit to Avignon in 1363.²²⁶

At this point, we cannot know what would have happened on the island if Hugh had been crowned king, but based on the present evidence, it does not seem possible to talk about the existence of a nobility supporting Hugh on the island. Moreover, by 1350, Peter had already been regarded as Hugh's heir by the Cypriot nobility. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that Hugh and Maria left the island long before Peter acceded to the throne. So Hugh was not well known on the island and his supporters were exclusively Westerners. Hugh and Maria must have known that after Peter was crowned, Hugh could no longer be king; because after leaving the island, although they informed the pope of the matter, they did nothing to return to the island and claim the throne. It might be perhaps due to that Hugh and Maria had no animosity with Hugh IV in the 1350s, and it is likely that they did not expect Hugh to crown Peter before his death. After all, it was in such a chaotic

²²⁴ See relevant section

²²⁵ Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 2, §129-131. Richard and Perrat, *Bullarium Cyprium*, v-10, 365-366, a second letter on the issue with an unknown date v-11, 366. Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 149.

²²⁶ March 1363. See relevant section.

atmosphere that Peter's reign began. While dealing with the influence of his Western-backed nephew on the legitimacy of his reign, he had to contend with the increasingly dangerous piracy activities in the Mediterranean. Meanwhile, the idea of Holy War had been a source of motivation for him since his youth.

3.1 The Capture of Antalya: The Spark of an Idea

During the early years of his accession, first acts of Peter were to make appointments to the state offices, inform the pope about the death of his father, and renew the privileges of the trading communities. Venetians were the first ones congratulated the king and enjoyed privileges. Peter was also aware that he should soon solve the dispute with his nephew Hugh. The people of Corycos, on the other hand, offered the city to Peter in return for protection, and Peter accepted their offer on 8 January 1359.²²⁷ Shortly after accepting the offer, he dispatched two galleys to Corycos, for its defence.²²⁸ These two galleys were originally equipped for the defence of Smyrna. On the other hand, rumors reached to Peter that the Turkish emirates formed an alliance to raid Cypriot coasts. Hearing about the rumors, Peter gathered a fleet and sailed on 12 July from Famagusta to Larnaca for further preparations.²²⁹

Shortly afterwards, on 23 August 1361, Peter's fleet, commanded by himself on the flagship, landed near Antalya. Before his arrival, the Emir of Teke who

²²⁷ Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 2, 114.

²²⁸ Two galleys carried four contingents of archers, led by an English knight Robert. See, Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 2, 114. This knight might be Robert le Roux who was in Peter's service in 1367. See, below.

²²⁹ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol.3, 221.

had suspected that the expedition's target was Antalya, sent envoys to Peter to direct him to other targets. Ignoring the emir, Peter's army immediately took action, and the city surrendered on 24 August. By the time the armies reached Antalya, the ruler and his troops were not situated in the city.²³⁰ Appointing a turcopolier, Jacque de Nores,²³¹ as the commander of the city, Peter marched to Alanya on 8 September 1361, and upon the emir's surrender, he claimed his suzerainty.²³² Aware of the situation, after Alanya, the emir of Manavgat, sent envoys to the king with valuable presents, and Peter accepted his submission. In September 1361, he returned to Nicosia, where he was welcomed and received a great honor.²³³ The capture of Antalya is his first serious achievement in foreign affairs in his early years on the throne.

The prevalent approach claims that Peter's expedition to the southern coasts of Anatolia was encouraged by his economic concerns. It is not deniable that the Cypriot trade had been dealing with some difficulties when Peter succeeded.²³⁴ However, the general approach draws an analogy between

²³⁰ Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 2, nos. 121-123; *Amadi*, 411; Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 641.

²³¹ His name is mentioned in a papal document of 20 August 1359, in which the pope urges the king to punish him. The document addresses Hugh IV to bring justice but it is not known if any punishment was imposed on Jacque de Nores. It seems that he was important for Peter's expedition as he consigned ships and troops to Jacque to capture Myra, an outpost, for some unknown reasons Jacques razed it to the ground instead of capturing it. See, below. *Amadi*, 411-312, 415-416; Bustron, *Chronique*, 259-260, 263-264; Atiya, *The Crusade*, 325-326; Coureas, *Cyprus and the Sea*, 373-374. For the papal document, see, Richard and Perrat, *Bullarium Cyprium*, 345, no. u-216.

²³² Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 2, no. 123.

²³³ Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 2, no. 125; *Amadi*, 411-412.

Peter's later policies in the Eastern Mediterranean and the capture of Antalya, and, concludes that Peter's ambitions were determined only by the island's economy.²³⁵ Peter's concerns, on the contrary, were more serpentine than they seemed, and his subsequent activities should be discussed within their dynamics. At this point, several factors need to be revisited and reevaluated.

Narrating the capture of Antalya with portraying Peter as an economical warmonger has almost become a cliché that needs to be reinterpreted by also considering the anxiety of the Lusignan rulers about the protection of the island, their precautions and the effects of these precautions on the Cypriot treasure. The relevance of this is the fact that, as is discussed below, the capture of Antalya, despite offered economical advantages, was more of a protective measure than simply restoring the economy. The close encounter between the Kingdom of Cyprus and the polities in southern Anatolia began in the early years of the establishment of the kingdom. For the Lusignan rulers, the security of their kingdom was the major concern which was precipitated by the belief that several polities had been plotting against them.²³⁶ Furthermore, piracy became quite problematic for the kingdom,

²³⁴ For the contribution of Famagusta in trade, See David Jacoby, "the Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the Late Thirteenth Century," *Μελέται και Υπομνήματα*, 1 (1984); 145-179; Coureas "Economy" in *Cyprus Society and Culture*; Michael J. K. Walsh, Peter W. Edbury and Nicholas Coureas, eds., *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta*, (Farnham: Routledge, 2012); Michael J.K. Walsh, Tamás Kiss, Nicholas Coureas, *The Harbor of All this Sea and Realm*.

²³⁵ Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*; Idem., *Kingdoms of the Crusaders*, XI, XII.

²³⁶ Edbury, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders*, XI, 225-235; Pryor, "The Turks" in *Geography, Technology, and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean 649–1571*, John H. Pryor (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 165-193.

harming its political, defensive, and economic policies. At this point, to leave all traditional assumptions aside, it is also crucial not to explain this expedition solely based on Peter's personality traits.²³⁷ Instead, a more dynamic interpretation should be applied by discussing the effects of his disputed reign which was also questioned by the papacy.

Firstly, to understand the reasons behind Peter's conquest of Antalya and why it was not solely economic, it is significant to understand the relations. Cypriot interest in the southern coast of Anatolia began in the early thirteenth century. Walter of Montbeliard who acquired the regency after Aimery's death in 1205 sought the opportunity to acquire the most important port in southern Anatolia, Antalya, following the Fourth Crusade in 1204 which destroyed Byzantine power in the area.²³⁸ However, the port was granted to the Templars and it was confirmed by Pope Innocent III, although this possession was only theoretical for the Templars and they never controlled it.²³⁹ In 1207, the Seljuk Sultan Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev I sieged the city, by the time in the possession of an Italo-Greek named Aldobrandino who asked help from Walter.²⁴⁰ Embraced the idea to help Antalya, Cypriots sailed to the

²³⁷ Hill, *History of Cyprus*; Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Joshua Prawer, *The History of the Crusaders*; Setton, *The History of the Crusades* Vol.2; Atiya, *The Crusades*; Runciman, *History of the Crusades*.

²³⁸ For a detailed description of his regency and the death of King Aimery see, Setton, *The History of the Crusades*, Vol. 2, 604-605; Runciman, *History of the Crusades* Vol. 3, 134; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 73-78; Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 40-46. Walter of Montbeliard participated in the Fourth Crusade. See, Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *Memoirs or Chronicle of the Fourth Crusade and the Conquest of Constantinople* (Wyatt North Publishing, LLC, 2020).

²³⁹ Jacques Paul Migne ed., *Innocent III, Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 215, (1865), 1019-1020; Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus* 42; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 74.

²⁴⁰ Niketas Choniates, *Urbs capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences*, ed. Angeliki Laiou (Paris, 2005), 842; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 74; Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus* 42.

city and their expedition forced the Sultan to retreat.²⁴¹ But due to some unknown reasons, the Greeks chose to turn against Walter and called the Sultan to drive the Cypriots off.²⁴² Besieged in the castle, Cypriot forces surrendered to the Sultan.²⁴³ If Walter managed to capture Antalya, it would have been a great achievement for him, both to promote the Cypriot economy and strengthen his position on the island. After Walter's fell from the regency, the Cypriot interest in capturing Antalya ceded, and with the beginning of Aimery's son Hugh I's rule, a more peaceful and profitable relationship was established as Hugh made an agreement in which the safety of Cypriot and Turkish merchants trading between Cypriot and Turkish ports was guaranteed. The Sultan, realizing the possibility of commercial gain, in addition to the agreement he had made with Hugh, also concluded treaties with the Venetians and the Pisans.²⁴⁴

After Walter of Montbeliard's attempt to capture Antalya and Hugh's agreement with the Seljuks, it seems that the Latins and the Turks met on common ground and the trade between the ports of Cyprus and Southern

²⁴¹ Walter may have led the expedition himself heading 200 soldiers. See, Choniates, *Urbs capta*, 843.

²⁴² Walter may have rather intended to keep Antalya for himself, which escalated unrest among the Greeks. Additionally, the city lacked supplies as the Sultan had not completely retreated to his own lands. See, Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 74-75; From the evidence of the thirteenth century, it is believed that Walter also tried to acquire Rhodes. See, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Lois*, 2 vols., (Paris, 1841-1843), 428.

²⁴³ It is not clear if Walter escaped or paid a ransom. See, Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol.2, 13; *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Occ.* "Eracles," 316; Choniates, *Urbs capta*, 843; Zāhir al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī, *Selçuknâme*, (2018), 53-57.

²⁴⁴ Claude Cahen, *Le commence anatolien au debut du XIIIe siecle in Melanges d histoire* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1951), 93-94; Idem., *The Formation of Turkey: The Seljukid Sultanate of Rum: Eleventh to Fourteenth Century*, trans., P.M. Holt (London: Routledge, 2001), 48-53.

Anatolia developed. Settling down with Hugh, the Sultan Alaaddin Keykubad I (1220-1237) made agreements with the Italian merchants -Venetians, Pisans, Genoese, and Provençals- in 1220, and privileges he granted to the merchants became varied after his capture of Alanya in 1221.²⁴⁵ During Keykubad's reign, Turkish merchants traded with Cyprus and also Egypt. Even after the disaster of the Battle of Köseadağ in 1243, Italian merchants established a trade link between Venice, Antalya, Alanya, Cyprus, and Alexandria in 1255.²⁴⁶ Until the end of this century, Turkish rulers and the Latins benefited from commercial trafficking and refrained from disrupting it.²⁴⁷

The Mamluk conquest of Latin possessions in Syria and Palestine in 1265 and 1291 affected Cypriot trade mostly and notably in a positive way. Immigrants from the lands lost to the Muslims contributed to life in Cyprus. This contribution was not limited to Famagusta but also in Nicosia and Limassol. In addition to the refugees, it attracted the merchants to sell their products in the ports of Cyprus, and they promoted the export of Cypriot products.²⁴⁸ It was not after 1291, a Cypriot based attack to southern

²⁴⁵ Customs duties were dropped to 2 percent from 10 and some goods were duty-free. Nicholas Coureas, "Trade Between Antalya, Alanya and Lusignan Cyprus, during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών* 38 (2015), 176; Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War*, 165.

²⁴⁶ Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War*, 165; Claude Cahen, "The Turks in Iran and Anatolia," in *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 2, eds. R.L. Wolff, H.W. Hazard, (Madison; Milwaukee; London, 1969), 682; Coureas, "Trade Between Antalya, Alanya and Lusignan Cyprus," 176.

²⁴⁷ Edbury, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders*, XI, 229; Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War*, 167.

²⁴⁸ Schabel, *Cyprus Society and Culture*, 8; Coureas, "Famagusta: A Lifeline for the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia," 46, 48-49. Refugees after 1290 were mostly Franks and Syrian Christians who grew poor and seriously affected by harvest failures. See, Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*,

Anatolia was launched. Despite hostility derived out of the general political milieu at the time, trade between Cyprus, Antalya, and Alanya sustained.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Anatolian cities like Antalya, Miletus (Palatia/Milet), Altoluogo (Ayasuluk/Selçuk), in addition to Alanya, Ayas (Laiazzo/Yumurtalık/Adana) and Corycos (Kız Kalesi/Mersin), had already been incorporating into the Mediterranean trade networks established predominantly by the Western merchants.²⁴⁹ Specifically for Antalya, one of the earliest notarial deeds is dated 1 October 1297 in which it can be seen that a Genoese merchant in Nicosia, named Giovanni Bulla, contracted a commercial mission with Nicholas of Monleone to Antalya and other ports of Anatolia.²⁵⁰ Later in October 1297, Nicholas of Moneaone concluded other contracts one of which was contracted in Nicosia, on 4 October, in the Genoese loggia, with the Genoese Podesta of Cyprus Paschal de Mari, to conduct a commercial mission to Antalya and Alanya in return for one-fourth of the profits. Another notarial deed dated 28 October 1297 indicates that Nicholas contracted for another mission to Antalya with the same Paschal acting on behalf of his brother.²⁵¹ In April 1302, a Pisan, Benaia Balbus concluded a contract acknowledging a receipt from Linardo

101; For refugees in Famagusta, see Jacoby, "Refugees from Acre in Famagusta around 1300," 53-69.

²⁴⁹ F. E. Thiriet, "Les itineraires des vaisseaux venitiens et le role des agents consulaires en Romanie Greco-Venitienne aux XVe-XVe siecles," in *Le Genti del Mare Mediterraneo I*, ed. R. Ragosta (Naples, 1981); Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War*, 172; Coureas, "Famagusta: A Lifeline for the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia," 44-45.

²⁵⁰ Sambuceto, *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (11 Ottobre 1296 - 23 Giugino 1299)*, ed. M. Balard, Genoa: Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi (CSFS), 39, 1983, no. 69.

²⁵¹ *Notai Genovesi*, 39, nos. 70-72; Coureas, "Trade Between Antalya, Alanya and Lusignan Cyprus," 176-177.

Gaytanus for a journey to Antalya agreeing on half of the profits in return. Additionally, they also contracted that Benaia would pay half if he fails, probably due to the piracy making the journey dicier even though it is a short-distance journey.²⁵²

Antalya was one of the main markets for cloth trade and merchants frequently transported textile to this port. In a contract of 21 November 1300, the contractor takes the goods, which were mostly clothes, from Famagusta to Antalya and continues to Cilicia to sell, after which he returns to Famagusta.²⁵³ Notarial deeds also show that Alanya was another destination for the merchants. Different deeds contracted between 1301 and 1304 points out that Genoese merchants traded in this port.²⁵⁴ Not all the journeys to the Southern Anatolian ports were taken for trading but also currency exchange. In notarial deeds dated to September 1301, Genoese and Venetian merchants travel to Antalya and Alanya to exchange bezants for *daremi* at attractive rates.²⁵⁵ Trading on the Anatolian coast remained attractive for the Italian merchants after the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Textiles exported to Antalya and Alanya diversified in this period as camlets and gold

²⁵² *Notai Genovesi*, (gennaio-agosto 1302) R. Pavoni, ed., Genoa: (CSFS), 49, 1987. No. 187.

²⁵³ *Notai Genovesi*, (3 luglio 1300-3 agosto 1301), V. Polonio ed., Genoa: (CSFS) 31, 1982, no. 125; Coureas, "Trade Between Antalya, Alanya and Lusignan Cyprus," 179; For cloth trade in Cyprus, see, David Jacoby, "Camlet Manufacture in Cyprus," in *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta*; Kate Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State: The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 103-106.

²⁵⁴ *Notai Genovesi*, (31 Marzo 1304-19 Luglio 1305, 4 Gennaio – 12 Luglio 1307) e Giovanni da Rocha (3 Agosto 1308 – 14 Marzo 1310), M. Balard, ed., Genoa: (CSFS), 43, 1984, no.28; Idem., 49, no.96; *Notai Genovesi*, (6 luglio-27 ottobre 1301), R. Pavoni, ed., (CSFS), 32, 1982, no. 173.

²⁵⁵ *Notai Genovesi*, (6 luglio-27 ottobre 1301), R. Pavoni, ed., (CSFS), 32, 1982, nos. 132, 145, 153, 169. For a debate on the deeds, see Coureas, "Trade Between Antalya, Alanya and Lusignan Cyprus," 179-181.

threads had been the exports encompassing to Anatolia including Cilician Armenia, the Black Sea, and to Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.²⁵⁶ However, by the time of Peter's reign, this situation had already changed.

Herein, the question that should be asked is that if economic slowdown solely provoked an offensive against the Turks or not. Although now the Cypriot trade was diminishing, it was not the only reason behind taking military actions towards the Turks as Western merchants had already developed commercial relations further with the Turkish emirates and began trading in the Aegean and the Mediterranean ports, where the Western merchants were controlling much of the commerce. For instance, when visited Antalya, Ibn Battuta mentions that there was a Latin quarter in the city.²⁵⁷

Another factor that contributed was piracy. It is important to examine the safety factor which would not only damage the rulers of Cyprus but also the Western merchants and the military orders of the southern Aegean Islands. To dominate the routes from West to East, through Rhodes to Cyprus and Syria and Egypt, the western Bay of Antalya was important. However, the bay is once known as *Portus Pisanorum*, (named after Pisan corsairs), was

²⁵⁶ Jacoby, "Camlet Manufacture in Cyprus," 22; Idem., "Cypriot Gold Thread in Late Medieval Silk Weaving and Embroidery" in *Deeds Done Beyond Sea: Essays of William of Tyre, Cyprus and the Military Orders*, eds. Susan Edgington and Helen Nicholson (London: Routledge, 2014), 111; In his manual, Florentine banking house of Bardi employee Francesco Balducci Pegolotti reveals information on camlet and gold thread trade destinations. See Coureas, "Trade Between Antalya, Alanya and Lusignan Cyprus," 182.

²⁵⁷ H. Gibb, trans., *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, A.D. 1325–1354: Volume 2*. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 417-418.

still an ideal destination for the pirates in the fourteenth century.²⁵⁸ By the beginning of the fourteenth century, Turkish corsairs expanded through Aegean and Southern Anatolia as Turkish maritime expansion around the 1330s, by the Emirate of Aydın, endangered the Western trade which eventually caused the fall of İzmir in 1344, which may have been provoked by the Genoese merchants.²⁵⁹ Increased piracy and Turkish maritime raids once proved that the routes from the West to the East needed to be protected. This protection was not necessary just for the sustainability of commercial activities but also crucial for sailing to the Eastern Mediterranean. Due to the winds and currents of the region, it was necessary to follow a more northerly route through the ports of Southern Greece, Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus needed to be secured since these locations were also significant for a projected crusade to liberate the Holy Land.²⁶⁰ On the other hand, it was equally crucial to safely arrive at the ports of Cyprus since, to complete a voyage to the Holy Land, travelers had to follow the routes rounded Cyprus.²⁶¹ Those who reached the Southern coast of Anatolia,

²⁵⁸ Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War*, 157.

²⁵⁹ For the emir of Aydın, Umur Bey's affairs, see, Lemerle, *L'emirat d'Aydın*, 58-9, 64, 84. For an edited, transcribed and translated version of the text of Enveri, see, Irene Melikoff-Sayar trans., *Düsturname-i Enveri, Le Destan d'Umur Pacha* (Paris, 1954); Italian chronicler Marcha di Marco Battagli da Rimini blames Genoese for the attack on İzmir. See, G. Carducci, V. Fiorini eds., "Marcha di Marco Battagli da Rimini (1212-1354)" in *RIS XVI* (Citta di Castello, 1912), 51-51; Kate Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade*, 59.

²⁶⁰ John H. Pryor, "A Medieval Mediterranean Maritime Revolution: Crusading by Sea," in *Maritime Studies in the Wake of the Byzantine Shipwreck at Yassiada*, eds. Deborah N. Carlson, Justin Leidwanger and Sarah M. Kampbell (Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 2015), 182. The reasons behind the necessity to stop by several ports along the route to the Holy Land is subject to another scholarly debate. For an account of the voyage of the early Crusaders traveled by sea, see, Frances Rita Ryan, trans., Harold S. Fink, ed., *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127: Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana 1095-1127* (Knoxville; Tenn: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), trans. F. Rita Ryan, ed., Harold Fink, 1969.

mostly Cape Gelidonya, the southmost area of Teke peninsula near Antalya, had to travel to Cape Arnauti, Western Cyprus, and then to Paphos, Limassol and from Cape Greco to Syria (and then to Acre along Syrian coast).²⁶²

Piracy was a real threat against the defense of Cyprus as the island was strategically important for all Latin polities in the East. It was not only in the fourteenth century that piracy dramatically affected maritime activities but it had been endemic since the twelfth century. The piracy was not an activity peculiar to the Muslims as there were various groups of Latin origin in the Eastern Mediterranean. Piracy was either conventional or legitimized privateering under the control of political entities. Moreover, it became a business and integrated into the economy. For instance, the ships were multi-national and it was quite common that corsairs from various states entered in service of others: there were Genoese, Venetian, Pisan, and Muslim corsairs licensed by the Byzantine in the thirteenth century as Greeks were hired by the Turkish emirates in the fourteenth century.²⁶³ According to Marino Sanudo Torsello, targeting Southern Aegean Islands, Cilician

²⁶¹ Pryor, to portray the routes, draws attention to a text compiled at Pisa at the end of the twelfth century: *Liber de existencia riveriarum et forma maris nostri Mediterranei* in addition to *Tabula Rogeriana* by Muhammad al-Idrisi and *Rihla* of Ibn Jubayr, See, Carlo de Landberg ed., *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Salâhed-dîn, Vol. 1: Texte Arabe* (Kessinger Publishing, 2010); See, Pryor, "A Medieval Mediterranean Maritime Revolution: Crusading by Sea," tables 15.1, 15.2, 15.3 and figures 15.1 and 15.2.

²⁶² Edbury, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders*, XI, 228; Pryor, *Crusading by Sea*, 182-183, fig. 15.2.

²⁶³ Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War*, 153-155; Balletto, "Mercanti, corsari e pirati nei mari della Corsica (sec. XIII)", in *Miscellanea di storia italiana e mediterranea per Nino Lamboglia* (Genoa, 1978); For a selection of primary documents regarding the Byzantine policy, see, Franz Miklosich and Josephus Müller, eds., *Ada el diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, vol. 3 (Vienna: Carolus Gerold, 1865, edited and reprinted Cambridge 2012). Niketas Choniates mentions a certain Gaffario who is Genoese in service of the emperor. See, Niketas Choniates, *O city of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. H. J. Magoulias (Detroit, 1984), 264-265, nos. 482, 483. Boccaccio, in *Decameron*, narrates a merchant who, selling his merchant ship and buying another one suitable for privateering, is involved in piracy against the Turks. See, Boccaccio, *Decameron*, 93-7.

Armenia, and Cyprus, Turkish raids had already increased at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and before the mid-fourteenth century, Turkish corsairs had raided various regions in the Aegean, from Thracian coasts in the North to Santorini in the South.²⁶⁴ To ensure the maritime trafficking and to protect Cyprus, Rhodes, and Crete, armed vessels began patrolling in the sea lanes.²⁶⁵

It is disputable that to what extent ensuring the safety of the routes did cost for the Western maritime powers. But Cypriot coasts had been under constant Turkish raids, in the middle of the fourteenth century, and it had a cost. Despite the fact that Cyprus became the major *entrepot* in the first half of the fourteenth century, it never became a major maritime power. Cypriot maritime activities are predominantly based on Western merchants and there is no surviving evidence suggesting that Cypriots themselves prevalently involved in commerce.²⁶⁶ Major economical gain relied on agricultural merchandise being exported to the ports by the Western ships. Therefore, Cypriot naval power heavily depended on the Western maritime powers. While low-value goods were transported with smaller merchant vessels, higher-value goods were transported via galley's and galleasses which were

²⁶⁴ Torsello, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, 29, 32; Lemerle, *L'Emirat D'aydin*, 247-253; Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War*, 171. Although Turkish raids were continuous in the fourteenth century, only a little was achieved. For instance, in the 1330s Altoluogo and Miletus became important for slave trading, and from the former one, Ibn Battuta purchased a virgin Greek slave girl for 40 dinars. See, Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, Vol. 2, 444.

²⁶⁵ Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 161.

²⁶⁶ Those who were not of Western origin were Greeks from Crete, Constantinople, Chios, Peloponnese or Eastern Christians speaking Arabic who was refugees who had come from Syria in the thirteenth century, See, Coureas, "The Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus and the Sea," 369-370; David Jacoby, "Greeks in the Maritime Trade of Cyprus Around the mid-fourteenth Century," in *Latins, Greeks, and Muslims*, David Jacoby (2009), 59-83.

also used in wartime.²⁶⁷ It is therefore the Kingdom of Cyprus spent a considerable amount of its resources on either hiring the merchant ships or involved in alliances that the kingdom had to support financially.

As for the warships, it is possible to assert that Cyprus had achieved to generate a royal fleet before the beginning of the fourteenth century, but this fleet, which harmed the treasure, heavily relied on the Templars and the Hospitallers. In 1293, joining to a papal fleet, a fleet of fifteen Cypriot vessels of King Henry II unsuccessfully attacked Antalya. Admirals of the Cypriot fleet at the time were those among the Hospitallers and the Templars, as they are mentioned in 1299 and 1301 respectively.²⁶⁸ In 1311, King Henry II dispatched a memorandum to the pope before the Council of Vienna, encouraging the use of Cyprus as a base for the future expeditions to the Holy Land and claimed that he could assemble vessels to join the Christian fleet. Henry, trying to impress the pope, also stated that royal ships captured many Muslim vessels violating the embargo.²⁶⁹ In 1323 Henry renewed his memorandum and sent his envoys to the pope.²⁷⁰ In this period, fortifying Famagusta, Henry advocated that a papal fleet was necessary to secure the seas since he was aware of the fact that Cyprus was incapable of achieving

²⁶⁷ Coureas, "The Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus and the Sea," 370;

²⁶⁸ Le Roulx ed., *Cartulaire general de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de St. Jean de Jerusalem*, 1894-1906, Vol. 3, 4464,4468; *Amadi*, 228; *Notai Genovesi* in *Oltromere*, (luglio 1300-3 agosto 1301), Polonio, CSFS 31, Genoa (1982), no. 413; Coureas, "The Admirals of Lusignan Cyprus," in *Crusades*, eds. Benjamin Z Kedar et al., (London: Routledge; Taylor & Francis, 2017), 118; Coureas, "The Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus and the Sea," 371; Riley Smith, *Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 1967), 200. The Templars provided 6 ships. See, Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 203, n.1.

²⁶⁹ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 121-122; *Amadi*, 399-401; Coureas, "The Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus and the Sea," 371; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 134.

²⁷⁰ John XXII, *Lettres secretes*, no. 1690.

this end. Furthermore, he defended the idea that naval assistance is a prerequisite before *passagium generale*.²⁷¹ Although Henry continuously proposed to the pope that he had conflicted with the Muslims, it was not until the reign of Hugh IV that Cypriot ships regularly conflicted with the Muslims and took serious measures for the protection of the island.

According to the accounts of the capture of Antalya, it is possible to claim that the Cypriot treasure was able to furnish a large fleet. But it had a great cost. When Peter succeeded, his father had already spent the resources in the treasure; every possible income, including revenues, arrears, and payments were spent. So Peter had to take every measure to raise money from local and foreign sources.²⁷² This meant that comparing to financial gains from the capture of Antalya, it was a huge burden on the economy. According to Leontios Makhairas, for the expedition of Antalya, Peter had prepared 50 ships, which were varied in size and four of the ships belonged to other rulers. These 50 ships were reinforced by 56 other ships, 2 papal ships, and 12 Christian pirate ships making the final number of the ships 120.²⁷³ The Chronicle of Amadi, and the chronicle of Florio Bustron give a total number of 106 ships, of which 46 were galleys, 20 transports, 12 galliots, 6 brigantines, and other smaller vessels. Additionally, the Chronicle

²⁷¹ *Amadi*, 291; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 134-135.

²⁷² Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 2, 157; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," 63; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, Vol. 2, 318.

²⁷³ Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 2, nos. 117-118, 177-178, 190-191.

of Amadi mentions an additional fleet of 12 ships that took troops from Antalya to capture Myra.²⁷⁴

It is known that, capable of building small and some middle-sized vessels, there was a shipyard in Famagusta that Peter's ships were built at. However, manpower and some of the materials to build ships were brought to Famagusta from somewhere else. For instance, manpower was brought among the Greeks of Rhodes, Latins from Italy, France, and Catalonia.²⁷⁵

As a newly crowned king, his early decisions were not only driven by his personality but derived out of necessity. To claim this is not to deny the economical concerns but to refrain from oversimplified explanations. Primary motivations for the naval league participants were different from each other and for Cypriots the naval league meant protection both politically and economically. Kings before Peter avoided unnecessarily offensive actions which in return they believed would be harmful. For instance, Hugh, while initiating offensives against the Turks for the protection of his kingdom and the commercial trafficking, saw it pointless and dangerous to provoke the Mamluks because, especially after the fall of Ayas in 1337, goods being re-sold on the island had predominantly been transported from Mamluk ports.²⁷⁶ Hugh repeatedly had the popes to avoid antagonizing the Mamluks in the

²⁷⁴ *Amadi*, i, 411-312, 415-416; Bustron, *Chronique*, 259-260, 263-264; Atiya, *he Crusade*, 325-326; Coureas, "The Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus and the Sea," 373-374.

²⁷⁵ Jean Richard, *les comptes de l'evêque géraud de Paphos et les constructions navales en Chypre*, in *Documents Chypriotes des archives du Vatican (XIV et XV siècles)*, 1962, 31-49

²⁷⁶ Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 38, 54, 80; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 161.

crusade preachings in 1336, 1346, and 1351.²⁷⁷ However, according to Makairas, Peter's expedition began after a Turkish attack on Cyprus.²⁷⁸ In the beginning of 1360s, it was said that the local emirs (İbrahim Bey of Karaman and the emirs of Antalya, Alanya, and Manavgat) formed a naval league and plotting against Cyprus which may have been triggered by handing over the city of Corycos in Cilician Armenia that was offered by the Armenians to Peter in return for protection.

The capture of Antalya, on the other hand, brought the entire Cypriot policy into a different state. Now that the kingdom's next achievement was to keeping the city in the hand which was going to be proved very difficult to achieve. In the 1360s the kingdom spent considerable amount of sources to protect Antalya. Immediately after the fall of the city, the local emirs were placed under tribute and the Turkish raids on the coasts were ostracized. But only a year later, the city was blockaded by land, and the resources needed for the inhabitants were carried on by sea.²⁷⁹

If Peter's personality was on the one hand, on the other there were his nephew Hugh's claims on the throne that pushed Peter to take action. When Peter succeeded, Pope Clement had an intention to investigate Peter's right on the throne, so Peter had to gain prestige in the papal curia. Peter's chivalrous and pious nature which was full of enthusiasm, perfectly suited to

²⁷⁷ Benedict XII, *Lettres closes*, nos. 732-733; Clement VI, *Lettres closes*, nos. 108, 2496.

²⁷⁸ Machairas, *Recital*, Vol, 1, 116-117; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," 44-45; *Amadi*, 411.

²⁷⁹ Edbury, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders*, XII, 91.

the political situation he was in.²⁸⁰ Now the Cypriot king had another motivation other than defensive or commercial purposes: to promote his position. But on top of every other aspect, the papacy was convinced that securing the Eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean was a prerequisite for future expeditions. Pope Urban V, in his letter to Emperor Charles IV (1346-1378) depicts that the Holy Land is too far but King Peter, whose kingdom is 'at the gates of the infidels' captured Satalia and the other lands, and, the pope asked the emperor to prepare for *passagium generale* beginning on 1 March 1365.²⁸¹ At least before the Alexandrian Crusade, in the fourteenth century, reorganizing a Crusader expedition had already been on the carpet and for the first time, *passagium generale* was reserved for the kings of Cyprus thanks to Peter's early actions on the throne.²⁸²

²⁸¹ Richard and Perrat, *Bullarium Cyprium*, 377, no. v-38. Dated 25 May 1363.

²⁸² Atiya, *rusade, Commerce and Culture*, 102.

CHAPTER IV

FIRST JOURNEY TO EUROPE: FIRST STEPS

In 1362, Peter's accession case was still open. So Peter sought to travel to Europe to settle down the problem. In the beginning of the journey to Europe, we do not know much about Peter's main purpose, but, his motivation behind his visit may not be derived solely from his purpose to assemble a crusading army. However, on 15 June 1362, Peter sent a letter to the Florentine government and the Seneschal of the Kingdom of Naples, Niccolo Acciaiuoli, asking for help to recover the Holy Land. Acciaiuoli offered to lend ships to use in the expedition, and on 15 September 1362, Peter expressed his gratitude to him. The projected date for the crusaders to assemble was 1 March 1364.²⁸³

At the end of the summer of 1362, Peter, waiting for the plague to disappear, designated Jean of Carmadino²⁸⁴ as the captain of Antalya, ordering him to fortify the fortress. In October, Peter traveled from Nicosia to Paphos,

²⁸³ Giuseppe Müller, *Documenti Sulle Relazioni Delle Città Toscane Coll'Oriente Cristiano E Coi Turchi Fino All'anno MDXXXI* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), pt. 1, doc. 82. 119; Mas Latrie. *Histoire*, v2, 236, for Acciaiuoli, 239; Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 2, 109; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 142-143; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 324; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 242.

²⁸⁴ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*. 120, 142-143; Amadi, 375 fn. 2, Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 2, 66.

accompanied by Peter Thomas, Philip of Mezieres, his son, future King Peter II, his brother, and a retinue of knights and servants. He left his brother John in charge of the island,²⁸⁵ and on 24 October 1362, departed from Paphos to Rhodes with four galleys and five frigates.²⁸⁶

In early November, he was in Rhodes, where he met with the Grandmaster of the Knights Hospitaller, Roger de Pins (1355-1365), who received Peter's party with great honor and hospitality, pledging him to help. The Grandmaster had helped him in Peter's Cilician expedition, and he figured Peter as a mediator between the order and the papal Curia²⁸⁷. At Rhodes, relatives of former commanders to Antalya, Peter of Sur and Jacques le Petit, joined him.²⁸⁸ Peter stayed here for a few days and, on 5 December 1362, headed to Venice, where he was warmly received by the Doge Lorenzo Celsi (1361-1365), who had succeeded Giovanni Delfino (1356-1361) a year before.²⁸⁹ Celsi escorted Peter from Bucentaure to the Monastery of Saint Nicholas. On the way, a bridge collapsed while Peter was

²⁸⁵ Iorga and Mezieres also note other names: John of Ibelin, John of Fenio, Jean Thenouri, and John of Gaurelle. See, Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 142-143; Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 102-103.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 94. Bustron, *Chronique*, 259; Iorga, Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 142-143; Edbury, *The Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus and its Muslim Neighbours*, 13; Idem., *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 164; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 324-325. According to Amadi, Peter had three galleys and an armed foist. See Amadi, n. 822, 375. Gian Giocamo Caroldo records that Peter arrived in Venice with three galleys. See, Mas Latrie *Nouvelle Preuves*, Vol. 34, 68.

²⁸⁷ Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 330-331, fn. 3.

²⁸⁸ These two knights might be the relatives of Jean of Sur and Jacques of Nores. See, Machairas, *Recital*, Vol.1, 71; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 144.

²⁸⁹ Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 1, 71-72; Amadi, n. 822, 375; Bustron, *Chronique*, 261; Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 103; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol.2, 239, fn. 1; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 144-145; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 331. For a discussion about the date, Peter arrived in Venice, see Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 325, fn. 1.

passing through, and he fell into the water. Later he said that he has now become a real Venetian.²⁹⁰ Doge Celsi pledged to help Peter, and Peter restored the 1328 grants. Celsi also offered his help to mediate between Peter and other rulers of Europe to orchestrate the Crusade. However, they decided to keep the plans secret for a time.²⁹¹

In Venice, Peter stayed at Palazzo Cornaro, where the Duke Albert of Austria stayed before, near Saint Lucas, on the Grand Canale.²⁹² Enthusiastic about Peter's plans, Celsi supported him.²⁹³ The Senate voted and assented to provide 12 galleys to Peter; 6 will be decorated in Venice and 6 in Crete. Moreover, the Senate assured the maintenance of the ships and the supplies necessary to set sail.²⁹⁴ Around the same time as Peter, Celsi sent his envoys to Avignon to support Peter's negotiations. It is opinable that Celsi sought to obtain credit from Peter's expedition by offering help to him, hoping to fish for compliments, especially from the pope. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Celsi bypassed risking the Venetian trade and the profit cultivated from the East.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁰ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 147. Setton suggests that this tale should refer to Peter's return to Venice on 11 November 1364. See, Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 245 fn. 106.

²⁹¹ Sanudo, *Le Vite Dei Dogi Di Marin Sanudo*, (Venice: Tipi dell'editore S. Lapi, 1900), Col. 655; Mas Latrie, *Histoire* Vol.2, 228-232, 239-241; Machairas, *Recital*, Vol. 1, 71; Bustron, *Chronique*, 260-261; Mézières, *St. Peter Thomas*, 103; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 148-149; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 242; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 331; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 164; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 348-349.

²⁹² Mas Latrie. *Nouvelle Preuves*, Vol.34, 68; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 147.

²⁹³ He presented Peter with many gifts. See Mas Latrie, *Nouvelle Preuves*, Vol.34, 68.

²⁹⁴ Venice, Archivio di Stato, Senato Misti, Reg. 30, fol. 119, 124. Fol. 119 is dated 30 November and fol. 124 is dated 31 December; Mézières, *St. Peter Thomas*, 103.

²⁹⁵ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 149.

Peter had a good reputation in Europe, and his visit aroused interest among the rulers. When in Venice, Peter had invitations from Nicholas II of Ferrara and Francis I of Padua to visit their cities. Nicholas sent Peter gifts, and both Nicholas and Francis offered help. However, expressing his gratitude for their offer, Peter kindly refused to see Nicholas as he had to visit with the pope.²⁹⁶ During the reception, Peter was presented with six horses with scarlets, fourteen boars, twenty calves, fourteen peacocks, two hundred pairs of cartridges, and two hundred capons.²⁹⁷ Additionally, four Ragusan representatives were selected to greet Peter in Venice on 20 November 1362. There is no surviving evidence that they virtually met with Peter, but, likely, they came together in Venice.²⁹⁸

On 1 January, Peter left Venice. Receiving permission from the council to leave the city, Doge Lorenzo Celsi and the Podesta of Treviso, Andrea Zane, accompanied him beyond Mestre and Marghera.²⁹⁹ Carlo Zeno, the future admiral and one of the commanders during the War of Chioggia, was in

²⁹⁶ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 147-148; Nicholas Coureas, "Commercial Relations between Lusignan Cyprus and the Kingdom of Naples in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," in *Crusader Landscapes in the Medieval Levant: The Archaeology and History of the Latin East*, eds. M. Sinibaldi, K.J. Lewis, B. Major and J.A. Thompson (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2016), 7.

²⁹⁷ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 148; Lodovico Antonio Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Vol. 15. (1733), 485-86. Benedictine Abbot Niccolo of Gavello, *Libro del Polistore's* author, attended the reception. See, Lodovico Antonio Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Vol. 24, (1733), 843. Francis I of Padua had sent six knights with a large retinue to greet Peter. See, Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 148.

²⁹⁸ Nicholas Coureas, "Cyprus and Ragusa (Dubrovnik) 1280–1450," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 17, no. 2 (December 2002), 7.

²⁹⁹ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol.2, 247; Mas Latrie, *Nouvelle Preuves*, 68-69.

Peter's retinue and accompanied him during his tour of Europe.³⁰⁰ Through Mestre and Marghera, Peter traveled to Northern Italy. Near Padua, at Dolo, Francis I greeted Peter and chaperoned him to Padua. Peter stayed a few days at the palace and received four horses from Francis as a gift.³⁰¹ He headed to Milan via Vicenza and Verona with two hundred knights and a large retinue, eventually reaching Milan on 21 January 1363.³⁰² Bernabo Visconti received him in the city, and, very interested in Peter's expedition, he offered great help to Peter. However, the Visconti was not convinced of the outcome of the Crusade. Keen on reaching Avignon, Peter stayed here for a few days and left the city in late January. According to Mas Latrie's itinerary, the king remained in Milan for twelve days, but the exact date of his departure is unknown. Moreover, he was already at Voghera on 1 February.³⁰³

After Milan, Peter headed to Pavia, and Galeazzo II Visconti generously greeted him in Late January. He was at the court of John II of Montferrat, the grandson of the Byzantine Emperor Andronicus II Palaiologos, at Voghera on 1 February 1363. Finally, on 2 February 1363, he reached Tortona, spent the night in the town, and headed to Genoa at dawn. On the fourth or fifth day of

³⁰⁰ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 149.

³⁰¹ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol.2, 239-40 fn.1; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 150; Atiya *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 331; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 243.

³⁰² Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 239-40, fn. 1; Mas Latrie, *Nouvelle Preuves*, 68-69; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 150-51; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 331; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 243.

³⁰³ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, 240; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 150.

February 1363, Peter reached Genoa, greeted by the Doge Simone Boccanegra (1339-1345, 1356-1363).³⁰⁴

Boccanegra was an ally of John II of Montferrat and was a powerful and enthusiastic supporter of Peter and his plans. A reception was organized in honor of Peter in Genoa, which was luxurious, for which a massive sum of money was spent to honor Peter. At Boccanegra's request, Peter made his son, Baptist Boccanegra, a knight. After the reception, Boccanegra's chamberlain, Pierre Malosello, invited the guests to his residence in Sturla near Genoa for a feast. Boccanegra and Peter³⁰⁵ attended the feast, during which Boccanegra was poisoned.³⁰⁶

At the beginning of March, Boccanegra died and was replaced by Gabriel Adorno. Boccanegra's death was announced to the public on 14 or 15 March.³⁰⁷ Adorno was not as friendly as Boccanegra and was not a keen supporter of Peter's expedition. Upon Genoise's request, on 5 March 1363,

³⁰⁴ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 239-40, fn. 1; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 150-51. John II, Marquis of Montferrat, is the son-in-law of James III of Majorca by his marriage to Isabella of Majorca. Iorga mistakenly depicts that John is the son-in-law of James II, who died in 1311. See, *Ibid*, 150.

³⁰⁵ Peter's presence at the feast is dubious, but it is likely that he was there as one reason for the dinner was the promotion of the Doge's son to knighthood.

³⁰⁶ Mézières, *St. Peter Thomas*, 103-4; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 151-152. Boccanegra re-established the office of the Doge in 1356, and his second time at the office began. However, he pursued anti-noble policies and lost internal support, eventually leading to his end. Despite not being proven, it is known that some nobles plotted against him, so poison is suspected. See John Law, "The Italian North" in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 6, ed. Michael Jones, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 460-461.

³⁰⁷ According to Iorga, Boccanegra's death was spread on 13 March. A commission was designated and elected Adorno as the Doge. Otherwise, Boccanegra's brothers were locked up, and his children were exiled after his death. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 151, fn 4. Amadi records that Peter's sister died as well, probably due to the plague on 1 March. See *Amadi*, 376.

Peter restored the rights and trading privileges granted by king Henry I of Cyprus in 1232.³⁰⁸ Among the witnesses were Chancellor Phillippe Mezieres, the Marshal of Jerusalem Simon Tenouri, and Guido di Bagnolo.³⁰⁹ Gabriel Adorno intimidated Peter with war and thus obtained further privileges, offering three ships for Peter in return.

Meanwhile, Peter Thomas had already headed to the Papal Curia. When he sent a letter to Peter, Pope Urban also sent letters to Peter's brother John and to Peter Thomas, asking them to persuade Peter, in favor of Hugh, about the succession problem. Although he was the papal legate, Peter Thomas mediated between the pope and Peter, trying not to risk the future of the crusading expedition. Peter Thomas had fellows at the Curia, such as Elias Talleyrand of Périgord, and was well received. The King John II of France was at the Curia since late November as well, residing at the summer house of Clement VI. The Curia was interested in the news about Peter. Praising him, Peter Thomas represented Peter's crusading plans, from which the

³⁰⁸ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol.2, 51-56 (1232 grants) and 248-49 (the renewal in 1363); Reinhold Röhrich, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, MXCVII-MCCXCI., (Jerusalem, 1960), 271; Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 103-4, fn. 5; Bustron, *Chronique*, 261-62; Mas Latrie, *Nouvelle Preuves*, 68; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 151-52; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 243; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 312, 325. This agreement was renewed, and additional privileges were endowed on 18 January 1365. For the agreement, see the relevant section. Konnari claims that Machairas summarized the treaty, conceivably overlooking some significant points of the clauses. For a discussion about Machairas' confusion about the spectators of the document, see Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, "Diplomatics and Historiography, the Use of Documents in the Chronicle of Leontios Machairas," in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean*, 320-321. This agreement created tribulations for the Cypriots in the future. Genoese acquired complete liberty and were freed from the jurisdiction of the king's officers. Additionally, they were permitted to visit and leave the island freely, possibly obtaining the right to interfere militarily if the agreement was violated. (Articles 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12). For all the treaty articles in Machairas' work, see Machairas, *Recital*, 83-85.

³⁰⁹ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 248-49; Machairas, *Chronique*, 83-86; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 152.

pope and the Curia were overjoyed. Previously attached to the archbishopric of Coron, Peter Thomas was promoted to the archbishopric of Crete on 6 March.³¹⁰

4.1 Peter at Avignon

In the following days of March, Peter Thomas disclosed Peter about the reaction in the Curia and having an unpleasant relationship with the new Doge Adorno, Peter left Genoa at the end of March, reaching Avignon on 29 March 1363, with a large retinue, two days before the Good Friday.³¹¹ Peter was lovingly received at Avignon by Pope Urban V, John II, and the cardinals who went out to meet him and stayed with Peter, who was being served wine and spices.³¹²

Two days later, Urban, celebrating the crowd, gave the cross to John II, Peter I, and Cardinal Talleyrand of Périgord, alongside other barons and countless nobles.³¹³ John was proclaimed the rector and the captain-general

³¹⁰ Mézïeres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 104-5; Etienne Baluze, Guillaume Mollat, *Vitae paparum avinionensium; hoc est Historia pontificum romanorum qui in Gallia sederunt ab anno Christi MCCCXV usque ad annum MCCCXCIV*, Vol.1, (Paris, 1900), 384, 395, 399; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 152; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 244; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 164.

³¹¹ Mézïeres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 105; Amadi, n.822, 375; Baluze, Mollat, *Vitae Paporum*, Vol. 1. 352-53; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 165-66; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 164; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 245; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 331; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 325.

³¹² Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 303; Mézïeres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 105; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 164; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 245; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 331; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 325. Pope Innocent died on 12 September, and Urban V was elected as the new pope in September.

³¹³ Among those who took the cross was Amadeo IV, Count of Savoy, Jean d'Artois, Count of d'Eu, Charles, Count of Dammartin, Jean II, Viscount of Melun, Count of Tancarville, and noble Arnoul d'Audrehem; Robert of Juilly, the future Grand Master of the Hospitallers and also the Grand Prior of France, as well as Jean I, the Marshal of France. It is also noted that Danish

of the expedition, and Talleyrand of Périgord was appointed as the legate. Urban also assigned John a tithe and many other privileges to help him raise the necessary funds for the expedition. Additionally, he granted indulgences and placed protection on the crusaders' possessions.³¹⁴ Additionally, concessions were extended to the archdioceses of Crete, Corfu, and Rhodes.³¹⁵ However, at the time, the primary target of the expedition was not specific, although *passagium generale* was announced, and it was to recover the Holy Land. From the papal documents, it may be deduced that potential

King Waldemar IV was also in Avignon, but this needs to be corrected. He arrived in Avignon in February 1364. See, Joseph Delaville, *La France En Orient Au Xive Siècle*, (1886). 121-22; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 162, 166; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 332, fn. 1; Setton, *The History of the Crusades*, 354. For Cardinal Talleyrand of Périgord, see Norman Zacour, "Talleyrand: Cardinal of Périgord," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society New Series*, Vol. 50, No. 7 (1960), 1-83.

³¹⁴ Captain-general's soldiers and followers were to enjoy the indulgences and graces as well, and John II was allowed to muster two hundred knights in France, two thousand in other regions, and six thousand men-at-arms throughout Europe. See, Urban V, *Lettres secretes*, nos. 352-353, 488; *Lettres d'Urban V, (1362-1370)* Vol.1, no. 719; Baluze and Mollat, *Vitae*, Vol. 1, 352-53, 384-85; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 171; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 245.

³¹⁵ Mézières, *St. Peter Thomas*, 105; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 245. Tithes of Cyprus had been consigned for the defense of İzmir and other possessions against the Turks, and the Archbishopric of Nicosia and the suffragans had to pay tithes for the same purpose for three years. Captain of Smyrna, Peter Recanelli had to receive half of the sum collected from the revenues in Cyprus, 3000 florins, from Peter Domandi, the collector. The date of the first document is 19 November 1362, and the latter is 12 May 1363. See Bullarium, Richard and Perrat, *Bullarium Cyprum*, v-7, v-33, 365, 376. For Peter Domandi and the collectors, See Jean Richard, "Les évêques de Chypre et la Chambre apostolique: un arrêt de compte de 1369" in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, eds. John France and William G. Zajac (London: Routledge, 1998), 181-82. The apostolic authority would protect any possible effort to prevent the passage. Additionally, the Church would pray and celebrate the deliverance of the Holy Lands. Urban dispatched a special prayer to the archbishop of Reims and the suffragans to deliver during the prayers. See, Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 169 and fn. 3.

targets for the pope were the Mamluks, the Aegean, or the Balkans.³¹⁶ The time fixed for the departure was 1 March 1365.³¹⁷

Like the pope and the cardinals, John II was impressed by Peter's incentives. During his stay at Avignon, he exchanged his ideas about the expedition with Peter and the pope. However, John had an additional reason to participate in this initiative. First of all, his father Phillip had the vow to take the cross, and secondly, the *free-companies*³¹⁸ had recently become a severe problem in his lands. This was not solely John II's problem as Urban sought to draw out these companies terrorizing the countryside out of Europe, hoping they would join the expedition. Nevertheless, this was a disappointing effort as the crusaders failed to enlist these groups into the expedition.³¹⁹ Later on, the pope needed to issue indulgences against them. Upon John II's death, it proved harder to enlist volunteers as individuals did not choose to leave their

³¹⁶ Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 165; Housley, *Avignon Papacy*, 41-43. Iorga states that Peter sought to launch the crusade not solely as a piece of an adventure, but to reconquest the Holy Lands. John's participation was especially important as Peter would not wish to be the only leading figure of the expedition. His sources and troops would not be enough for reconquest, and his troops would soon reduce to the defensive. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 175-176. Also see below.

³¹⁷ When the *passagium generale* was announced, King John appeared to need more time to be prepared, and Peter seemed impatient to launch the crusade before March 1365. (See Peter's letter to Niccolo Accioioli above) However, when Peter met with John in France, John's pious zeal prevailed, and he stated that he would be ready before the projected date. See Froissart, *Chroniques de Jean Froissart (1360-1366)*, 87-88; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 167; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 325, fn. 4; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 245; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 165.

³¹⁸ Unemployed mercenaries and irregular groups. For Housley's detailed work, see Norman Housley, "The Mercenary Companies, the Papacy and the Crusades 1356-1378," *Traditio* Vol. 38 (1982), 253-80.

³¹⁹ Only a small group of them participated.

lands for a journey to the East while *free companies* were still threatening the countryside.³²⁰

The most problematic issue for Peter, without a doubt, was the dispute over his succession. After hearing of Peter's visit, his nephew Hugh came to Avignon to express his complaints and rejuvenize his claims to the throne. Both parties propounded their arguments, and after many discussions, the pope and the cardinals settled that Peter should remain the legitimate king of Cyprus. Hugh did homage to the king, and Peter agreed to pay Hugh an annual fee. For Makhairas, the fee is 50.000 bezants a year. Amadi does not specify an amount, but Strambaldi, too, remarks that the amount is 50.000 bezants.³²¹ Without a doubt, the negotiations about the *passagium generale* positively affected Peter's accession case to be solved quickly in favor of Peter. He attained the consent of the pope, the cardinals, and the nobles, and it was an auspicious and encouraging start for a new journey to the East. Nevertheless, having an unfavorable decision would risk the expedition altogether.

Urban dispatched letters through Christendom and invited the rulers of Europe to join the expedition. He mediated between John II and Charles II the Bad, the king of Navarre, to make peace with France and Aragon. He also asked Charles not to prolong the former hostilities when John II was on

³²⁰ Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 303, 305; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 165. Particularly France suffered from these groups. See Housley, "The Mercenary Companies," 271-72.

³²¹ Machairas, *Chronique*, 72; Amadi, n.822, 375; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 51.

the expedition. Urban also sent letters to Edward III of England, Emperor Charles IV, Wenceslaus I of Luxembourg, Rudolf II of Saxony, Rudolf IV of Austria, the Dukes of Bavaria, and the Doge Celsi. He asks Celsi to equip ships, arms, and troops for Peter, depicting that the Turks have always been a nuisance for Venice and they will invariably remain the same, and counsel him that it would be savvy to support the initiative. Another letter was sent to the King of Hungary, Louis I the Great (future King of Poland by 1370), to support the expedition as he held an impressive army that would be a necessary contribution to the triumph of the crusader army.³²²

4.2 Peter's Role: The Leader or A Leader?

At this point, it is necessary to pinpoint the role of Peter in the expedition and his representation in the pope's version of it. From the point of view in which Peter was elevated to be a noble, passionate young king serving for the perpetuity of Christendom -and considering that he was warmly welcomed and accepted by the rulers of Europe and the crowd as a promising hero- it would not be mistaken to depict that Peter sought to be appointed as the leader of the expedition. This notion would be true, deeming that it was Peter's private effort to orchestrate the *passagium generale*, which was his lifetime personal extravaganza. However, the reality was not so poetic as

³²² To Charles II on 16 April. See Arch. du Vatican, L. S., 245, fos 127-129; To Charles IV, the Emperor, on 25 May. See Arch. du Vatican, L. S., 245, fos 161-163; To the kings and lords of England and Bohemia, Luxembourg, Austria, Saxony and Bavaria, on 25 May. See Archive du Vatican, L. S., 245, fos 136, 163, 166, and 163 vo4. To the Doge, see Arch. du Vatican, L. S., 245 fos 164 vo-5. Rinaldi, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 1363 Vol.25, 88. To Louis I on 25 May, see Augustino Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia maximam partem nondum edita ex tabulariis Vaticanis deprompta collecta ac serie shronologica disposita*, Vol. 2 (Rome, 1860), 56. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 169-70.

Peter was aware of the entailments of being the leader of such an expensive initiative. His kingdom's economy, despite still handsome, was not in its prime, which made it impossible to generate the necessary funds for the expenses of the passage of a large army. On the other hand, the contribution of a major king in a crusading expedition had always been an annealer and increased the odds. In Peter's story at Avignon, in which everyone is overjoyed by the idea and gets carried away by the possibility of the recovery of the Holy Land, it is also possible that the contributors calculated the risks and the burdens.³²³ It is also conceivable that despite believing the expedition's future is ambiguous, papal protection provided security and relief for those who were politically at stake. The number of the army embarked in 1365 demonstrates that it was dramatically below expectations, which also reveals that some who overjoyed the idea of a *passagium* refrained from personally joining it. As for Urban, he probably measured the risks too and placed Peter accordingly, mentioning him as "the magnificent forerunner."³²⁴ This gave Peter sort of autonomy as if he was undertaking his personal initiative, and neither the Pope and John II nor Peter felt uncomfortable with this. In the end, upon John II's death, and with an absence of a major European ruler, Peter became the unofficial leader of the Crusade. Already

³²³ Florentine poet Fazio degli Uberti has been staying in Avignon by the time Peter visited the city. He expresses his doubts in his work *Dittamondo* regarding the *passagium* would bring any fortune, stating that the Mamluks should not be provoked, and believed that it would be unnecessary without being able to capture Jerusalem. -*Amis, fiz-jeu, monter porra gran mal, -Si paubremen se voga disvegliar, -Le chien qui dort dedans son paubre stal.*" See Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 245-46.

³²⁴ Arch. du Vatican, L. S., 245, fos 165.

hurt by his circuitous tour, his kingdom's economy took a further hit by Peter's effort to reinforce and sustain the army he was leading.³²⁵

On 11 April 1363, Peter was still in Avignon and remained there until the end of May.³²⁶ Eventually, on 31 May 1363, he left the city, leaving Phillippe de Mézieres and Peter Thomas in Avignon.³²⁷ Before leaving, he also solved a nuisance with the Montpellierines, which had been a subject recently.³²⁸ After leaving Avignon, he traveled through Pont-de-Sorgues, a town near Avignon, where the Camera paid 51 florins for Peter and his retinue's expenses.³²⁹ Peter then took a route through Alsace-Flanders-Brabant and Rhineland. Finally, in late June 1363, with many French knights, Peter reached Basel in early July and traveled to Strasbourg, reaching the city on 4 July 1363.³³⁰

³²⁵ For the economy, see the relevant section; For the numbers, see the relevant section. For Iorga's discussion see Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 170.

³²⁶ On 11 April, the Papal Treasury paid three florins to repair Peter's pieces of jewelry given by the pope. See Karl Heinrich Schäfer, ed, *Die Ausgaben Der Apostolischen Kammer Unter Den Päpsten Urban v. Und Gregor XI. 1362-1378*, (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1911), 12.

³²⁷ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 158-59. According to Froissart, John left Avignon after Peter on 9 May, as he was in Villeneuve-les-Avignon between 15 and 17 May. See Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 304; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 172.

³²⁸ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 172. Montpellier merchants had complained about Peter's officers abusing the inhabitants of Montpellier. The pope was also aware of this issue and requested Peter to solve the problem. On 21 April, Peter sent a letter to his brother, John, the regent, for cessation of abuses. Later, a charter was granted to the merchants on 14 June 1365. See, *Ibid.*, 172 and fn. 2.

³²⁹ Schäfer, *Die Ausgaben*, 13.

³³⁰ Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 303-4. Froissart records that after leaving Avignon, Peter visited Central Europe and met with the Emperor at Prague. However, he is mistaken. Peter took the trip Froissart mentioned after he returned from England. Iorga's comment on Froissart concludes that it should have been a rapid visit if Peter had traveled to Germany and met with the emperor. Caroldo reprises Froissart's version of the trip, but it is not surprising as he must have used Froissart's chronicle in his writings. See, Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 173-75 and 174 fn. 4; Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 442; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 332. Froissart depicts that John agreed to meet Peter in Marseilles in March 1364. See, Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 305.

When Peter was in Strasbourg, the clergy warmly welcomed him, and bells rang for his arrival. A tournament was arranged at the horse market in the Northern part of the city (Marché aux Chevaux), during which many noble ladies were among the audience of the jousts. Peter probably took part in the jousts. For Peter, three types of wine and sixteen pounds of fish were served; three types of wine were old, new, and red.³³¹ Peter stayed in Strasbourg for a couple of days and left the city, arriving in Mainz on 25 July 1363. It is not entirely clear if he visited any other towns during his travel from Strasbourg to Mainz, but it is possible that he stopped by Cologne. Iorga, quoting Koelhoff's chronicle, informs that Peter, with his entourage of sumptuous knights, was in Cologne and visited the Cologne Cathedral, where the Biblical Magi were situated.³³²

4.3 Oh Mon Dieu! Peter and John II Meet at Paris

It is not sure how long Peter stayed in Mainz, but from this city, he traveled to France, reaching Paris in August.³³³ He was well-received by King John II and his lords in the city. Several councils were held to debate the Crusade and the consequences of the endeavor. During the discussions, there were protests against the expedition as the current state of the French Kingdom was fragile. The kingdom had troubles with the aforementioned *free*

³³¹ Chroniken der Deutschen Städte, *Die Chroniken der oberrheinischen Städte, Straßburg*, Vol. 2 (Leipzig S. Hirzel, 1870), 858-59; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 174.

³³² Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 175; "Koelhoffsche Chronik" in *Coellen Repertorium Fontium III*, 15-31; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 332. Johan Koelhoff der Jüngere was a law student and a business holder in printing in Cologne in the late 15th century.

³³³ Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 305; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 175.

companies that harassed the countryside, and prevalent robbery ruined the kingdom's lands. Additionally, although peace with England had been restored, the kingdom was financially in trouble.³³⁴

It is appropriate to ask why John agreed to play a part in this Crusade if his kingdom was in trouble. The foremost rationale was that the French reputation had almost been destroyed since their conflict with England. Being a part of such an expedition eagerly supported by the pope, John pursued rejuvenating his monarchy's reputation. Moreover, a common idea, especially in the first half of the fourteenth century, was that a French-dominated crusade should be launched as they were the grandsons of St. Louis. So they should recover the Holy Land, and the ultimate target should be Jerusalem.³³⁵ King John may have attached to this idea and sought to restore the kingdom's position. On the other hand, John may have calculated that the gifts that *passagium generale* might bring would heal the financial state of his considerably impoverished kingdom. However, those who opposed the idea altogether must have objected to it as well since recovering the Holy Land and defending it against the Mamluks would not be as easy as one might think, and the lords were most probably aware of it. So, this initiative would bring loss rather than profit; even if it generated profit, it would not have been a revelation for the French economy.³³⁶ As for Peter, if

³³⁴ Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 305; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 175; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 162; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 332-333; Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 442.

³³⁵ Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 162-63.

³³⁶ Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 305; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 175-76; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 162-63.

capturing Jerusalem was achieved, he would desperately need military support to defend the possessions. Otherwise, he would barely defend them with his personal effort and resources.

Although the concerns of his lords and their proposition to wait until at least the kingdom was in a better state, John decided to keep supporting Peter and embark on the expedition in March 1364, one year earlier than the pope declared, with no delay. The primary concern, however, was the disputes between the Kingdom of France and the Kingdom of Navarre.³³⁷ Peter's overall stimulus behind his tour was not necessarily to recruit the adventurers who desired to be a part of the expedition but to persuade major European powers to join the cause. Otherwise, his already fragile expedition would have been lost without a significant European ruler.

Eventually, spending around ten days in Paris, Peter headed to Normandy. As Froissart narrates, he traveled through North-Western France and reached Rouen, where he met with "his cousin the lord John d'Alençon, the archbishop of Rouen."³³⁸ In Caen, Peter met with the Duke of Normandy, Charles (Dauphin, son of John II, future King Charles V "the Wise") upon the Duke's invitation. Charles gave a lavish reception in Peter's honor and

³³⁷ Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 305; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 175-76.

³³⁸ Froissart may have made a mistake as John d'Alençon was the son of Peter II, Count of Alençon (b.1340-d.1404). Moreover, neither John nor Peter were archbishops of Rouen. William IV of Flavacourt was the archbishop of Rouen between 1356-1369. See Diocèse de Rouen "Rouen Official," Accessed March 14, 2022, <https://catholique-rouen.ccf.fr>. For Froissart's narrative, see Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 305. However, he may have referred to the close lineage of the houses of Lusignan and Alençon by underlining they were "cousins," just as King Edward also called Peter "cousin" during his visit to London. See below.

presented him with a gold pitcher and a golden goblet in a shape of a rose.³³⁹ However, conceding the circumstances of his father's kingdom was in, Charles received Peter's plans quite coldly, although he was a pious man. For Charles, the kingdom was beleaguered with many troubles, and it was not the right moment for such a faraway expedition.³⁴⁰

Taking the route to Caen, Peter reached Cherbourg, where he met with Charles II, the Bad's brother, Louis, Duke of Durazzo. Louis was accompanied by a small retinue, but yet he received Peter honorably and feasted him when he arrived in September 1363. Charles had two brothers, Louis and Phillip, and the latter brother was very promising to join the expedition. However, Phillip, Duke of Longueville, had died a while ago. Despite Peter's efforts, disputes between Navarre and France remained, as Charles would want peace only if their inheritance were restored to his house.³⁴¹ After everything was said and done, probably due to unfavorable weather conditions, Peter shelled in Cherbourg for another fifteen days and

³³⁹ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol.2, 248 and fn. 1.

³⁴⁰ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 177.

³⁴¹ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 176-77; Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 305. There needs to be clarity regarding the presence of Charles' brothers. Froissart notes that he was not sure which brother was the one Peter met in Cherbourg. However, he presumes that it was Louis. The nucleus of this puzzlement is that Charles' brother Phillip had offered to support the Crusade, providing 1000 soldiers. Yet, Phillip died in Vernon in August 1363. So it is not possible that Charles' two brother's Phillip and Louis were present in Cherbourg all at once. The said prince should be Louis. See, Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 305 fn. (*); Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 177 fn. 2. For the negotiations between France and Navarre, see *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois (1327-1393)*, 129. On the other hand, before he visited Cherbourg, Peter intended to meet with King Charles II. In this regard, Froissart portrays Peter meeting with Charles and his brother Louis. However, according to Iorga, Charles stayed in his lands. Charles' presence during the negotiations is dubious. One explanation, however, might be that Charles arrived in Cherbourg afterward. See, Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 177-78; Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 305.

left Cherbourg empty-handed as Charles' ultimata were impossible to meet. Finally, Peter left Cherbourg for England in late September or early October.

4.4 Peter Visits Edward III

Through Caen, Peter followed a route to Pont-de-l'Arche (Evreux) to cross the Seine and entered Ponthieu. Eventually, traversing the Somme at Abbeville (Lower Picardy) via Rue (Picardy), Montreuil (Amiens), and Boulogne, he arrived at Calais on 20 October 1363.³⁴² Peter arrived at Calais with a large retinue of knights and nobles, and John II's brother Philip, Duke of Orleans, Louis, Duke of Bourbon, and John's son, John, Duke of Berry, hostages at the time, joyfully received Peter.³⁴³ At Calais, Peter wrote to Doge Lorenzo Celsi, informing him that his ranks already included many French and German knights and many others from around Europe. He also reminded Celsi of his oath to support the expedition. Celsi replied, stating

³⁴² He may have arrived on 17 October. See Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 178, fn. 2 and 3. However, Peter had to wait for suitable weather conditions to cross the channel, so he stayed in Calais some days between 12 to 16 days. See, Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 178; Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 306. Also, see below.

³⁴³ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 177-78; Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 305. Due to the terms of the Treaty Brétigny (later Treaty of Calais), Louis I, Duke of Anjou, and John Duke of Berry were designated as hostages of the English, and John II was released for 500,000 pounds. However, Louis escaped from captivity in Calais. So when Peter arrived in Calais, Louis was already fled. His escape led John II to travel to England to yield, to be able to fulfill the treaty. Articles XV, XVI, XVII, and XVIII of the treaty mention the names of the hostages in detail, including those who would be sent to Calais. For a list, see George Floyd Duckett, *Original Documents Relating to the Hostages of John, King of France, and the Treaty of Brétigny, in 1360*, (London: Kessinger Publishing), 7-8. Froissart claims that these three Dukes were present in Calais when Peter arrived in the city. Iorga states that Peter met with the three sons of John II. It is not entirely clear if Peter had traveled with John's three sons. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 178; Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 305-6. For the king's ransom, see Adam J. Kostó, *Hostages in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). 163-65.

that he would fulfill his vow as soon as the crisis at Crete was solved with Peter's help.³⁴⁴

In Calais, Peter stayed for more than twelve days. Then, according to Froissart, he waited for a change of weather to cross the channel as storms beclouded his trip. On the last day of his stay in Calais, Peter ordered the ships loaded and waited on board all night long to be able to set sail at once. Eventually, he arrived at Dover on 2 November, after an easy-day journey. At Dover, he recovered and waited for his ships to be unloaded. Peter had arrived with a large retinue, including many noblemen and, according to some sources, some French hostages.³⁴⁵ As chroniclers suggest, Peter arrived in England with two pagan lords, one of whom was the king of Lecco, a convert³⁴⁶ and the other was a Lord of Jerusalem, another convert,

³⁴⁴ Celsi's reply is dated 27 November. Peter had already sent a letter to Celsi when he arrived in Calais. See Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 3, 743; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 178.

³⁴⁵ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 178 and fn. 1; Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 306.

³⁴⁶ King of Lithuania. Perhaps Rex de Lecto. His presence is based on an expression in *Eulogium Historiarum* in which a battle between the Christians and the pagans is believed to be taken place in Anatolia. However, this needs to be clarified. According to the chronicle, some prisoners were kept at the castle of Chaundelour (Candelor-Alaia-Alanya), and many pagans related to the various pagan kings were also taken captured. Nevertheless, we do not know if any pagan princes were captured during Peter's Anatolian expedition. Moreover, in the chronicle, it is expressed that the battle occurred in the Anatolian plains. Said must have been another expedition that took place in the future, as Alanya was surrendered after the fall of Antalya, and the only king attending the conquest was Peter. This battle is also expressed in another chronicle, *Chronicle of Reading*, an earlier Chronicle of Westminster, but with no great detail. According to Iorga -based on account of a Teutonic chronicler Wigand of Marburg- this pagan king was probably Waydot, a son (or a magnate) of the king of Lithuania, King Keinstut. Waydot was taken captured by the Teutonic Knights in the Battle of Kauen in April 1362. He was baptized in Krolewiec and named Henryk. Later he fought against his father, joining the raids against him. Some brethren of the Teutonic Order may have given Wajdot to Peter, or the brother(s) himself may have joined Peter during his tour. Although this explanation is more convincing, this prisoner's identity is dubious. See *Eulogium Historiarum*, Vol.3, 233, 238; *Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis, 1346-1367*, 307-9 (notes); Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 178-179, fn. 7. For Waydot in Wigand of Marburg's chronicle, see "Die Chronik Wigands von Marburg" in *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der Preussischen Vorzeit bis zum untergange der ordensherrschaft*, Vol.

baptized and named Edward.³⁴⁷ Peter was greeted by Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Walter Manny, Lord Despencer, Lord Ralph de Ferrers, Richard Pembridge, Richard Stafford, and many others.³⁴⁸

Peter and his retinue arrived in London on 6 November.³⁴⁹ A crowd greeted Peter, and his arrival was celebrated. King Edward III and his wife, Queen Philippa, welcomed him with much joy and great honor. The king and the queen's guest had had a long journey to England, so they determined to undertake to cover all of Peter's recent and current expenses. In Peter's honor, many festivities and entertainments were made. King Edward and especially Queen Philippa presented gifts and jewels to Peter, and Peter presented them with his gifts brought to England.³⁵⁰ Additionally, it is believed that the king presented a large warship named "Catherine," worth

2, eds. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, Ernst Strehlke, and Walther Hubatsch (Leipzig, 1863), 536-37; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 326 fn. 2; Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, "The Feast of the Five Kings," *Archaeologia* Vol. 67 (Oxford: Frederick Hall for the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1916), 123-24.

³⁴⁷ *Eulogium Historiarum*, Vol. 3, 233; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 178, fn. 6 and 7. King Waldemar is also mentioned, but it is impossible. See below: "the feast of the five(?) kings"

³⁴⁸ Humphrey Bohun: the son of deceased William Bohun, the Earl of Northampton, and upon his uncle namesake Humphrey Bohun's death, he succeeded the title and possessions of Hereford in 1361. Later on, Humphrey was nominated to be assigned as an envoy to the Duke of Milan regarding his daughter's marriage with the Duke of Clarence. However, he died shortly after. Lord Despencer: Relative of King Edward II (according to Froissart, a grandson). Ralph Ferrers: Probably Rauf (Raoul) de Ferrers, a noble family member. Sir Richard Pembridge: The fifty third knight of the Garter. Sir Richard Stafford: A knight who served the king during his wars in Gascony. He was a relative of the Earl of Stafford, Ralph. Additionally, Walter Maundy, Allan Booksell (Buxhull), Richard Stury, and many other knights welcomed Peter in London. See Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 306; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 333.

³⁴⁹ Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 306; Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle*, 187; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 240, Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* Vol.1, 299; Haydon, *Eulogium Historiarum*, Vol. 3, 233.

³⁵⁰ According to Froissart, the queen especially presented magnificent gifts. See Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 306; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 179-180; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 326.

12.000 francs, to Peter, which is highly doubtful.³⁵¹ In London, some of Peter's knights were accommodated at the Black Prince's residence at Kennington.³⁵²

4.5 The Feast of the Five(?) Kings

Peter stayed in London for approximately one month. At least two grand feasts were made during his stay. Chroniclers recorded one of these festivities, namely "the Feast of the Five Kings."³⁵³ This event was even perpetuated by an artist, Albert Chevallier Tayer, who painted the event in

³⁵¹ According to Froissart, this ship was built for King Edward for his journey to Jerusalem and was anchored in the harbor of Sandwich. However, although Edward had called to help the Christians against the Muslims (predominantly against the Turks) many times, he had never seriously intended to travel to Jerusalem. The basis of information regarding "Catherine" is Froissart's account, in which he specifies that Edward presented the ship to Peter to use during his expedition. Nevertheless, he also mentions that he saw the ship in the harbor two years later. A ship named "Catherine" seems to exist, but it was used for commercial purposes. A record states that Scottish traders from Montrose made an appointment to receive some goods in a ship called "Catherine" at Kirkley in 1377. If we believe Froissart stating that the ship was in the harbors of Sandwich and never left England, we may propose that it was either converted to a trade ship or was always used for commercial purposes. Given that a ship specifically built for an English king would be so expensive to be converted to a trade ship, we may posit that it was never given to Peter or that the trade ship called "Catherine" was another ship. Another explanation would be that the king's expensive ship was used for the purpose of transporting goods that belonged to the royalty rather than for solely commercial purposes. On the other hand, another explanation, which Iorga concludes, is that "Catherine" was given to Peter, but it was costly for him to have it, as the launch of his expedition is far afield. Yet this does not explain under what conditions or circumstances "Catherine" was used to transport goods in 1377. For Froissart and Iorga, see Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 306; Froissart, *Chroniques de Jean Froissart (1360-1366)*, 90-92, 280-84, ed Luce; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 179-180. For the scholarly works acknowledging the ship was gifted to Peter, see Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 326; Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 442; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 333; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 246. For the archival evidence of "the Catherine" at Kirkley, see The National Archives of the UK (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO), E 210/8226. (hereafter "TNA")

³⁵² Michael Charles, ed., *Register of Edward, the Black Prince, Preserved in the Public Record Office: A.D. 1346-1348*, (1930), 428. According to the Chronicle of Reading, the Cypriot knights attended a tournament organized in 1362. However, the reality of this tournament is doubtful. If it is true, these knights who accommodated at Kennington may have been the ones in 1362, not 1363.

³⁵³ *Chronicle of Reading*, 158; Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 306; *Eulogium Historiarum*, Vol.3, 233; *Knighthon s Chronicle*, 189; *Historia Anglicana*, 299.

the nineteenth century.³⁵⁴ According to the popular version of this event, Henry Picard, former mayor and master of Vintner's wine company in London, organized a feast, by order of King Edward, in honor of the king's guests. According to this version of the story, apart from Edward were four kings; Peter I of Cyprus, David II Bruce of Scotland, John II of France, and Waldemar IV of Denmark.³⁵⁵ According to an earlier version of the feast, four kings, excluding Waldemar, were entertained by Henry Picard, in addition to many princes such as the Prince of Wales, during which Henry Picard and his wife Margaret played dice and hazard with their guests in their chambers. For example, Henry played dice with Peter. Winning the first round, Peter lost the next two games in a row, which outraged him. Realizing Peter was losing his temper, Henry conciliated with him, saying that he was interested in Peter's play, not his money.³⁵⁶ Moreover, this feast was glorified to the extent that such a grand meeting had never been held since the time of King Arthur.³⁵⁷ However, the exact story of this event is slightly different.

First of all, it is worth paying attention to the feast's host and the event's whereabouts. Henry Picard was the mayor of London between 1356 and

³⁵⁴ The Vintners company presented the painting to the Royal Exchange.

³⁵⁵ Joshua Barnes, *The History of the Most Victorious Monarch Edward III, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland (together with his son Edward Prince of Wales and of Aquitain, Surnamed the Black-Prince), Printed in Cambridge by John Hayes for Joshua Banes*, (Cambridge, 1688), 635. Barnes' work was published in 1688. See, Kingsford, "Feast of the Five Kings," 119.

³⁵⁶ "My Lord King be not aggrieved, I covet not your gold but your play" See, John Stow, *The Annales of England, Faithfully Collected out of the Most Autenticall Authors, Records ... Untill ... 1592*. (B.L., 1600), 415.

³⁵⁷ *Eulogium Historiarum*, 233. The account underpins that King Arthur had six kings at Carleoon, with him numbering seven, who were all his subordinates. By comparing the merit of the feast with king Arthur's meeting, this expression has been intended to glorify King Edward as well.

1357 and was the Sheriff of London between 1348-1349.³⁵⁸ He was also a member of the Vintners 'Company, alderman of the Bishopgate ward, and one of the Nine Worthies of Richard Johnson.³⁵⁹ Henry Picard was married to Margaret, granddaughter of many times former mayor John de Gisors who was also a wealthy merchant, bequeathed all his wealth to Henry Picard and Margaret in 1351.³⁶⁰ So we may assume that Peter's host was a wealthy vintner, even before Gisors.³⁶¹

The feast was organized at the Vintry's mansion, Gisors 'Hill, in the parish of St. Mildred, later known as Gerard's Hall.³⁶² Among the Gisors 'properties was his residence next to St. Martin's church which was later called the Vintry. Upon Henry Picard's death, all of Gisor's properties passed over to Henry's brother-in-law, Joe Stodie. It later evolved into the Vintners ' Company, a supervising body in the wine trade.³⁶³ Shortly before Peter's

³⁵⁸ Stow, *Survey of London*, 79. Thomas Pennant follows the same story about the feast, excluding Waldemar but mentioning Edward the Black Prince. See Thomas Pennant, *Some Account of London* (Palala Press, 2018), 466. We come across another Sheriff, Richard Picard in the mid-thirteenth century. Though quite probable, it is not sure if they were related. See John Stow, *A Survey of London*, (1842), 422.

³⁵⁹ Johnson's sixteenth-century work underlines Henry Picard as one of the Nine Worthies of London. See Richard Johnson, *The Nine Worthies of London: Explaining the Honourable Exercise of Armes, the Vertues of the Valiant, and the Memorable Attempts of Magnanimous Minds. Pleasant for Gentlemen, Not Unseemely for Magistrates, and Most Profitable for Prentises. Compiled by Richard Johnson*, (London, 1592).

³⁶⁰ Kingsford, "Feast of the Five Kings," 122.

³⁶¹ He was one of London's major financiers who lent Edward money during the war with France. Anne Crawford, *A History of the Vintners' Company* (Constable, 1977), 47.

³⁶² Crawford, *Vintners' Company*, 46. Froissart states that two grand feasts were made in Westminster. Even if there were other feasts, it is certain that the feast was not at Westminster. Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 307.

³⁶³ Kingsford, "Feast of the Five Kings," 122; Crawford, *Vintners Company*, 46; "A Short Guide to Vintners 'Hall" Leaflet, 3.

arrival, they received their first royal charter on 15 July 1363, obtaining permission to compete with Gascon wine traders.³⁶⁴

The main problem with the feast is the exact date of the event and the number of participants. The aforementioned earlier version of the popular account, John Stow's *Annales of England*, which was Joshua Barnes' source, dates the event in 1357, but in a later version, he corrects the date as 1363.³⁶⁵ Stow's first source probably was an account at the Westminster Abbey records in the *Liber Niger* as his account is a close translation from the abbey's cartulary.³⁶⁶ However, in his chronicle, the *Chronicle of Reading*, John of Reading, the monk of Westminster, does not put the event under

³⁶⁴ The company's charter of incorporation, however, is dated to 1437. Vintners' company was one of London's twelve great Livery companies in the early sixteenth century. The company's origin, however, is believed to be much earlier than the first royal charter in 1363, as it was a religious wine fraternity associated with St. Martin. See, Kingsford, *Feast*, p. 122; Crawford, *Vintners* p. 14; "A Short Guide to Vintners' Hall" pp. 3-4. For further information regarding the origins of the Vintner's Company, see *Ibid.*, Edward's charter of 1363 aimed to protect London merchants, thwart the money from leaving England, and regulate the wine trade. Despite the fact that Edward issued the charter in Westminster on 15 July 1363, it is erroneously believed that the document was issued in 1364. The basis of this confusion is a mistake made while copying the document. The original French text bears an endorsement in the back in Latin, referring to 1364. On 15 July 1964, unaware of the error, the company organized a dinner for the 600th anniversary of the charter, which was actually the 601st year. Vintners Company Archive, *Charter of 1363* (Photographed by Darren Woolway); Jerome Farrell, *Confusion Over the Years: the Correct Dating of the Vintners' first Charter*, (Unpublished Presentation, 2007); Jerome Farrell, *Charter of 1363*, (Unpublished Presentation, 2008). I would like to express my gratitude to Stephen Freeth, Vintners' Company Archivist and Charities Secretary, for sharing an image of the charter, taken by Darren Woolway (I was unable to inspect the original charter as it was in isolation), Dr. Guilhem Pépin's French transcription, and his predecessor Jerome Farrell's discussions about the charter with me. Today the company lies on Upper Thames Street, next to the administrative office building "Five Kings House". **See, picture.**

³⁶⁵ John Stow, *Annales of England*, 263-64; John Stow, *Survey of London*, 240.

³⁶⁶ Westminster Abbey Library, *Liber Niger* f.LXXVIII. I want to express my gratitude to the Westminster Library keepers of the Muniments for sharing the document with me.

1357.³⁶⁷ The kings of France and Scotland were in London in 1357, so this may have been the reason behind this puzzlement.

On the other hand, another question is on which day the feast was made. Peter was in London for the entire of November in 1363 and left England sometime in early December. Nevertheless, king David, who already had affairs to settle in England, arrived in London after Peter on 13 November, and maybe he had expedited his travel to meet Peter before he left.

According to Froissart, the two kings were overjoyed at their meeting.³⁶⁸

David needed to solve the issue regarding his successor, and Edward and David signed two documents in November 1363. One of these documents' date is partially known, as the other is dated 27 November 1363, issued at Westminster, which indicates that David was in London in late November.³⁶⁹

David stayed in London until late February or early March.³⁷⁰ So the date of the feast should be sometime between 13 and 27 November.

According to the Chronicle of Reading and *Historia Anglica*, four kings partook in the feast; Edward, John, Peter, and David.³⁷¹ David and Peter

³⁶⁷ The date of the feast may have been edited afterward. For the story of the chronicle and the editor James Tait's comments, See, Chronicle of Reading, "Introduction." Also see, Kingsford, "the Feast of the Five Kings," 120; Anne Crawford, *Vintners Company*, 264.

³⁶⁸ Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 306.

³⁶⁹ Treaty was signed on 27 November, TNA E 39/2/22; proposals regarding the treaty at a conference between the Privy Council of England and David, TNA E 39/2/2. This document is signed before the former. David had married Edward's sister and had been under English captivity due to his heavy loss at the Battle of Neville's Cross. He was released in return for a ransom, but his kingdom failed to pay the ransom of 1363. David made some offerings to be able to solve the issue.

³⁷⁰ Kingsford, "the Feast of the Five Kings," 125.

³⁷¹ *Chronicle of Reading*, 158; *Historia Anglica*, 299.

were definitely in London. However, king John II was evidently absent when the feast was held. Upon his son Louis I, the Duke of Anjou's escape from captivity, John intended to travel to England, for he felt that his honor was tarnished and he should fulfill his kingdom's obligations. When Peter was in Calais, the Duke of Anjou had already escaped, but king John had yet to depart as he discussed the issue with his nobles. Moreover, Peter and king John met again in Amiens in December 1363.³⁷² John arrived in Dover on 4 January 1364, and having spent some days in Eltham, arrived in London on 14 January, residing at the Savoy. John was received with honor, and was entertained with joy, but died on 8 April due to an illness.³⁷³

Suppose we return to the popular version, in which king Waldemar IV of Denmark was included in the feast. In that case, we can extrapolate that not only he was absent, but also he never visited England at all.³⁷⁴ The basis of this assumption is that Waldemar received letters of safe conduct dated 2 February 1364.³⁷⁵ However, we lack any further documentary evidence regarding a visit to England. Waldemar may have desired to visit England when Peter was in London, but it is apparent that he could not do so. It seems that Waldemar left his country in October 1363. However, his purpose

³⁷² Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 181. They must have met before Christmas. See relevant section.

³⁷³ Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 307.

³⁷⁴ An account of Stephen Romylowe, constable of Nottingham Castle, gives particulars about waiting for Waldemar at Dover for his arrival in 1364 when Peter had already left. However, this is the only record of a visit by the King of Denmark. Waldemar may have planned a visit, but for some reason, he may have changed his plans. TNA, E101/314/31.

³⁷⁵ In 1366 Waldemar received another safe conduct from Edward, but this time for his envoys. TNA, SC 1/38/29.

was to visit the emperor in Prague, which he undertook on 2 January 1364. Continuing his travel, he arrived in Strasbourg on 26 February.³⁷⁶ It is, therefore, clear that “the Feast of the Five Kings” was actually “the Feast of the Three Kings” during which Henry Picard entertained the kings of England, Scotland, and Cyprus. The aforementioned “the King of Lecco” or “the Lord of Jerusalem” may have been counted as the other two kings. Nevertheless, this needs further evidence.³⁷⁷

4.6 A Tournament at Smithfield³⁷⁸ and Peter’s Return

One momentous event in Peter’s timeline in London is a tournament organized at Smithfield after St. Martin’s day on 11 November 1363.³⁷⁹ Tournaments were particularly important events for the continuum of enlisting nobles, knights, and volunteers for a crusading expedition and a crucial opportunity for the leaders to be able to influence the audience. So, for Peter, who was a proven tournament aficionado, this event was a golden opportunity and having been aware of Peter’s bellicose taste and interest in effectuating a chivalric portrayal, Edward paid particular attention to this

³⁷⁶ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 181; “the Feast of the Five Kings,” 126. Peter and Waldemar may have eventually met at Cracow. See below.

³⁷⁷ In the history of Joshua Barnes, published in 1688, he mentions the Duke of Bavaria, Albert, who was made a knight of the Order of the Garter by Edward. However, he visited England in 1364, not in 1363. See, Kingsford, “the Feast of the Five Kings,” 119; Anne Crawford, *Vintners Company*, 265.

³⁷⁸ *Smithfield for a plain smooth ground, is called smeth or smothie. Market for horses and other cattell*” Stow, *Survey of London*, 80.

³⁷⁹ King pays his tailor for his gifts to Peter, and the documentary evidence suggests that the event was held after St. Martin’s day. TNA E101/394/16 m. 7; TNA E36/4 9d. The former document, which is a wardrobe account, is also provided by Mas Latrue, but he mistakenly comments that the tournament was held on St. Martin’s day, despite that it was held after that day. See, Mas Latrue, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 247.

event. Additionally, Edward exhorted Peter and his retinue with further gifts. He presented Peter with a pair of gauntlets and a steel aventail to use during the tournament. Among Peter's entourage was also his brother Philip, to whom Edward presented three cups of silver and gold³⁸⁰ and a war horse with bridle and saddle.³⁸¹ Peter presented Edward with a live leopard, a play on the Plantagenet badge.³⁸² Peter wore Edward's gifts and many other ornaments and did well during the tournament, as he excelled in jousting.³⁸³

Walsingham reports about a tournament at Smithfield organized in early May 1362, at which knights and noblemen from Cyprus, Cilicia, and Spain attended in the presence of the king, the queen, and many knights from England and France. According to the account, these people asked for Edward's help against the Muslims. Nevertheless, Walsingham may have mistakenly reported this tournament. The problem is that he never mentions any royalties from the East. The same tournament is also mentioned in the Chronicle of Reading, from which Walsingham may have borrowed this information. Both accounts mention only one tournament, which took place in 1362. Mas Latrie, giving credit to Walsingham's account, notes that there was a second tournament in 1362. In this case, there are two possibilities:

³⁸⁰ Worth £29 1s 6d. TNA E403/417 m. 19.

³⁸¹ Worth £17 7s 3d. TNA E403/417 m. 19.

³⁸² TNA E403/417 m. 13. Also see, Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 380-81 and fn. 6; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 326; Timothy Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), 40 and fn. 71.

³⁸³ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 180-81. According to Iorga, he did very well. The information regarding Peter's image in chivalry stems from his image in the chronicles. See relevant section.

either two tournaments were organized, or these accounts mistakenly dated the tournament. Given that we lack any further proof of a tournament arranged in 1362, separating this information from Peter's tournament would be reasonable, considering it was confusion or another single event.³⁸⁴

Peter had two motivations in England. His secondary objective was to mediate between the pope, Edward III, and John II. But yet, his main objective was to recruit more players in his expedition, despite the fact that he probably did not foresee Edward joining personally. Notwithstanding, in addition to various gifts, Edward had feasted him many times with great respect. However, he stated that he was interested in seeing the Holy Land but could not join Peter's expedition, propounding his advanced age. He instead stated that his elder sons would gladly join Peter despite the dearth of his elder sons, which also may have damaged the general momentum among the audience.³⁸⁵ Edward, however, assured that as many English knights as possible would accompany Peter.³⁸⁶ Although Edward declared

³⁸⁴ *Chronicle of Reading*, 152-53; *Historia Anglicana*, 296-97, 299; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 247, fn. 4.

³⁸⁵ Froissart describes the colloquy between Edward and Peter in a more dramatic way. [Edward] "*Certainly, my good cousin, I have every inclination to undertake this expedition; but I am growing too old, and shall leave it to my children. I make no doubt, that when it shall have been begun, you will not be alone, but will be followed most willingly by my knights and squires.*" [Peter] "*Sir, What you say satisfies me. I verily believe they will come, in order to serve God, and do good to themselves; but you must grant them permission so to do; for the knights of your country are eager in such expeditions*" [Edward] "*Yes, I will never oppose such work, unless some things should happen to me or to my kingdom which I do not at this moment foresee*" Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 306. Edward's addressing Peter as cousin must have been a gesture to underline the close lineage between the houses of Anjou and Lusignan.

³⁸⁶ Knighton's *Chronicle*, 187; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 181; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 326; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 354.

that he would not join the expedition and the king's elder sons' absence, Peter managed to connect with Edward's advisors and many knights.³⁸⁷

During Peter's stay, the question of a *passagium generale* was raised many times.³⁸⁸

However, Edward's refusal to personally join the expedition does not indicate that he entirely ignored the *passagium*. Peter had already emphasized that he was the legitimate ruler of the kingdoms of Cyprus and Jerusalem, and the Muslims usurped his rights. On the other hand, fighting against the infidels was a just and rightful objective. The downside of Peter's argument was that Edward responded that if Peter ever recovered the Kingdom of Jerusalem, he should bring Cyprus back under English rule since it was given to the Lusignans by Richard II the Lionheart.³⁸⁹ Another reason behind Edward's support was the English free companies that had become a severe problem in Italy, and Edward had to solve the problem. Some English companies and other mercenaries were thought to be transported by the Venetians for the expedition.³⁹⁰ Additionally, the papacy exhorted Edward to

³⁸⁷ According to many scholars, Peter's visit earned him little benefit, and he fetched nothing more than festivities and chivalric games. Froissart, too, narrates that Peter obtained nothing but Edward's hospitality. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 181; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 354; Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 306. However, it was more than that. See relevant section.

³⁸⁸ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 181; Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship, and Crusade*, 40.

³⁸⁹ Peter remains silent against Edward's claim. See *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois (1327-1393)*, 128; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 181; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 326; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 354. On the other hand, Richard first sold the island to the Templars, but unable to control it due to its rebellious population Templars passed it back to Richard, who eventually sold or granted the island to Guy of Lusignan, the recently deposed king of Jerusalem, who had obliged to resign.

³⁹⁰ Due to the revolt in Crete, the Venetians tried to hire these companies in November 1363. Venetians aimed to hire 300 mercenaries but eventually agreed with a company of 100 men,

solve his political disputes with his rivals and concentrate on the fight against the infidels many times during Edward's reign.³⁹¹ It is hardly possible to assert that Edward only entertained Peter and evaded his expedition. Moreover, even if Edward had such an agenda, Peter's initiative had a positive momentum throughout Europe and was very popular. Moreover, he had obtained the papacy's full support. Nevertheless, Edward held many private councils regarding a possible crusade, one of which Edward the Black Prince may have attended.³⁹²

On 24 November 1363, Peter was still in London and sent letters to Doge Lorenzo Celsi, Queen Eleanor, and Prince of Antioch concerning the revolt at Crete. He assured the Doge that he would gladly help to suppress the rebellion.³⁹³ Peter had received a letter from the Doge on 11 October, informing him of the outbreak of the revolt in Crete and urging Peter to forbid his subjects to cut their communications with Crete.³⁹⁴ On 28 November, while probably still in London, Peter received a letter from the pope, urging

led by English John, to serve at Crete and then to be transported to Rhodes or Cyprus. See, Anthony Luttrell, "English Levantine Crusaders," *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2, (1988), 146.

³⁹¹ For instance, during the naval league against the Turks in the 1340s, the pope dispatched some letters to Edward III. In a letter, he urges Edward to make peace with the French to assist the Christians against the Turks in the Aegean afterward. TNA SC 7/13/8; In another letter, he wants to attract Edward's attention against the Turks persecuting Christians, See, TNA SC 7/11/15; For a letter to congratulate Edward upon making peace with the French in 1360, see TNA SC 7/22/4.

³⁹² *Chronicle of Reading*, 154. Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship, and Crusade*, 42.

³⁹³ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 250-52 and fn. 1. Fearing the Crusade's success, the papacy threatened the insurgents with Peter and his army. See, Rinaldi, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 1364, Vol. 26, no. 8, 96.

³⁹⁴ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol.3, 742.

him to hasten his travel as the Turkish threat in the East was intensified.³⁹⁵ Additionally, Peter received another letter from the Doge, stating that he could not provide the ships he owed to Peter until next March, the promised date for the *passagium* because of the revolt.³⁹⁶ So, Peter left London for Dover in late November or early December. However, the highwaymen robbed his retinue on their journey to Dover. According to the Chronicle of Reading, Peter was robbed of many of his belongings. Robbers had recently been a trouble within the cities and the countryside, as they broke into churches and robbed houses. King Edward ordered his officials to capture the robbers and trial the ones who had already been captured.³⁹⁷

In early December, Peter reached Bologne and headed to Amiens, where John II, his two sons, and a part of John's council had been staying, to discuss the ransom to be paid and John's return to England. Giving a reception, they received Peter with joy and heard his stories and the outcomes of his recent travels. Peter remarked that he could do only a little and explained his intentions to meet with Edward the Black Prince and the barons of Poitou and Aquitaine before returning to Cyprus. John did not object to Peter's plans. Accompanied by Prince Charles, the appointed

³⁹⁵ Reg. Vat. 246. fols. 13-14.

³⁹⁶ Mas Latrie *Histoire*, Vol. 3, 743.

³⁹⁷ Edward also granted the people of London the power to judge the wrong-doers and release those imprisoned in the city to his officials. *Chronicle of Reading*, 158; *Historia Anglicana*, 299. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 181-82.

regent of the kingdom, he continued to travel through Beauvais and, passing the Seine at Pontoise, reached Paris before Christmas.³⁹⁸

He was received with great honor in Paris. Enormous expenditure was made to welcome Peter. His greeters elaborated on Peter's arrival, wearing clothes and garments decorated with precious jewels. For Peter, royal goldsmiths Jean Picquigny and Claux of Friborg made unique jewels and ornaments. In addition, three rooms, furnished with splendid luxury, were preserved for him and his entourage in the royal residence.³⁹⁹ A few days later, Peter witnessed the arrival of Louis of Anjou, who escaped from captivity. A council was held at the palace, and Louis said that he escaped because he was in pain and sorrow for the miseries of his country. He swore to drive the plunderers and intruders out of the country, the castles, and the fortresses. Louis asked Charles 'help, but the regent evaded him.⁴⁰⁰ Peter spent his days during the Christmas festivities and prolonged his stay until late February. He was in Paris during a trial regarding a quarrel between Bertrand Du Guesclin and Guillaume Felton and acted as a mediator during proceedings with Charles.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁸ Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 307; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 182-83. Froissart states that John arrived in Amiens in late November and stayed for twelve days, and left Amiens for Hesdin, reaching on 15 December. So Peter must have met with John at Amiens before 12 December. *Ibid.*, 308.

³⁹⁹ Peter was presented with gold goblets enameled with his arms, gold ewers, and belts adorned with precious stones and pearls. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 182-83; Froissart, *Chroniques de Jean Froissart (1360-1366)*, 286.

⁴⁰⁰ M. Paulin, ed. *Les Grandes Chroniques de France selon que elles sont conservées en l'Église de Saint-DenFranceFrance*, Vol. 6, (Paris, 1838), 228-29; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 183-84; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 333; Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 409.

4.7 Peter and the “Prince Noir” (The *Passagium* is Postponed)

At the turn of February and March, Peter left Paris and reached Aquitaine.

We have yet to determine the exact date Peter left Paris. However, he sent another letter addressed to Doge Lorenzo Celsi on 27 February, probably from Paris, in which Peter expressed his worry that the ships he was promised to be delivered could not be ready until the *passagium* because of the revolt at Crete. Also, he expressed his fear that the Count of Savoy, Amadeus VI, and many knights would no longer have time to prepare and join the crusade until the projected departure date.⁴⁰² Now he realized that the *passagium* should be postponed.

During his meeting with John II in Amiens, Peter expressed his discontentment regarding the preparation process, and it was evident that he had expected more auspicious developments. Cretan revolt had a

⁴⁰¹ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 184. Bertrand Du Guesclin, later Seneschal of France, fought against the free companies pillaging France and made an agreement with them to use their companies for his wars. For Guesclin, See Richard Vernier, *The Flower of Chivalry : Bertrand Du Guesclin and the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007). Guillaume (William) Felton was an English knight who was a plaintiff against Du Guesclin. See, H. G. Richardson, “Illustrations of English History in the Medieval Registers of the Parliament of Paris,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol.10, (1927), 59.

⁴⁰² He also expected the revolt to be suppressed so the fleet would be ready to sail until next August. See, Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 252-53, fn.1. Amedeus VI was preparing extensively for the expedition and proposed to capture Crete, although a Venetian force was ready to depart, waiting for March to set sail for Crete. Venetians proposed that if a crusader army was assembled in Venice until that date, they would carry them to Crete and then wherever they desired. See Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 3, 744-45 and fn. 1. There needs to be more clarity about Peter’s letter he sent when he was in Paris. According to the letter published by Mas Latrie, and as he has noted, Peter sent this letter to the Doge on 27 February from Paris. However, Hill, underpinning Atiya, comments that Peter sent the letter on 16 February. Atiya’s source is Libri Commem. (Ven. Arch.) VII, ff. 31 (27) vo. and 40 (36) ro. He also cites Mas Latrie’s letter mentioned above, despite Mas Latrie’s note. Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 252-53 and fn 1. On the other hand, Hill underpins Iorga, who states that the letter to the Doge was sent on 16 February. See, Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 240. According to Setton, on the other hand, the date is 17 February. See, Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 153, fn. 144.

tremendous effect on the fortune of the expedition, and if not the sole reason, one of the primary reasons behind the postponement of the *passagium*. Not only Peter but also the papacy strived to solve this problem as soon as possible. The Doge sent a letter to the Legate and the Chancellor requesting a thousand soldiers in Venice to be sent out to Crete to assist the Venetians.⁴⁰³ On 22 February, the Doge proposed to carry a thousand men free of charge for three months and another a thousand with Venetian ships, in addition to another four vessels furnished and allocated for Peter and his retinue. A few days later, Celsi sent a letter to the pope stating that his resources were under pressure because of the revolt, yet he would do everything to provide his vessels for the expeditionary force.⁴⁰⁴ So, it is apparent that Celsi made compromises with Peter as, if not desperate, he needed to solve the Cretan crisis.

Despite the fact that the Venetians required Peter's assistance, he was not ready to intervene in the Cretan revolt. On 26 April, Celsi wrote to Dominic Michiel, his Captain General of the Fleet, stating that there would not be an expedition against the Muslims in the near future due to Peter's continuing preparations and absence. Also asked him to inform the Venetian officials in the East, underlying that the commercial relations would continue as expected, and two ships with merchants and merchandise would journey to

⁴⁰³ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 3, 745, fn. 1; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 327-28, fn. 2; Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 443.

⁴⁰⁴ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 3, 746; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 327-28, fn. 2.

Alexandria in the future.⁴⁰⁵ Cretan revolt was suppressed without any crusader assistance at the beginning of summer, and the news reached the Doge on 4 June, and the pope congratulated the Venetians on 27 June.⁴⁰⁶ Apart from the revolt, Peter had his problems which caused the postponement. Unhappy with the progress, Peter needed to keep glorifying the expedition in Europe. On the Pope's side, he stopped enlisting the *free companies* and started providing indulgences to anyone willing to fight against them. Peter had sent Phillip Mézières and Peter Thomas, and John II had sent his representatives to solve the problem, but they had little success.⁴⁰⁷ Nevertheless, what was even worse was that Peter would lose his most reliable allies; Cardinal Talleyrand de Périgord (died on 17 January) and King John II (died in April).

Peter took a route through Pontoise, Beauvais, Poitiers, and Niort to reach Angouleme, where Edward the Black Prince was staying with his wife, Joan Kent, preparing a celebration for the birth of their son, Edward. Having learned of Peter and his entourage approaching, Edward sent John Chandelos and his knights to welcome him. Accompanied by John

⁴⁰⁵ Mas Latrie, *Nouvelle Preuves*, no. XI, 72-73. Although the Doge mentions Alexandria in the letter, it is highly doubtful that, at this stage, the Doge knows about the final destination of the *passagium*.

⁴⁰⁶ Lecacheux, *Lettres secretes* nos. 979 and 1045. On 4 June, Pope urged Genoese regarding the Cretan revolt and stated that Peter and his army would intervene. However, it seems that the pope was yet unaware of the news that the revolt was suppressed. See, Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 327-28. fn.2. For detailed archival evidence regarding Venetian Crete, see Setton, 249, fn. 124.

⁴⁰⁷ Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 165; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 246-247, fn. 111. Bernabo Visconti, the Lord of Milan, had proved to be a significant problem in Italy and the pope sought to conclude peace with him. According to Mézières, Peter Thomas succeeded in peace talks, bringing Bernabo Visconti to terms, and peace was made on 20 January 1364 and finalized on 13 March 1364. According to this, the papacy agreed to pay a sum for eight years in installments. See, Mézières, *St. Peter Thomas*, 107-10.

Chandelos, Peter arrived at Angouleme and was received by Edward and many knights with great joy.⁴⁰⁸ Edward had taken homage from the Gascon nobility and progressed through Aquitaine. Having assembled many nobles around him, he organized a tournament which was another opportunity for Peter to recruit new crusaders. Forty knights, forty squires, and probably Peter were present at the tournament, during which Peter showed his characteristic bravery. Among the nobility were some Gascon lords, Louis d'Harcourt, Guichart d'Angles, Guillaume de Parteney, Florimond de Lesparre, Thomas Felton, Nigel (Néel or Neil) Loring, Richard Punchardoun, Simon Burley, Baldwin Freville, and many others.⁴⁰⁹

These knights demonstrated their urge to join Peter's expedition. However, even though there were religious motives behind their enthusiasm, joining the expedition was also politically rational. Gascony was now under the Black Prince's influence, and the lords had to consolidate their position,

⁴⁰⁸ Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 307; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 184.

⁴⁰⁹ Louis d'Harcourt: The count of Harcourt was one of the leading figures of the Anglo-French nobility gathered around the Black Prince. He later became the Aquitaine Marshal; Guichart d'Angles: the Viscount of Tours. He was Black Prince's lieutenant in Saintonge in 1364; Guillaume de Parteney, the lord of Parteney and Pons; Florimond de Lesparre: the lord of Lesparre, one of the most enthusiastic participants of the Alexandrian Crusade. Thomas Felton: Lord mentioned above, who had disputes with Bertrand du Guesclin; Nigel Loring: Son of Roger Loring. A knight and diplomat, Black Prince's chamberlain, one of the founders of the Order of the Garter, and the twentieth knight of the Garter. (Arthur Conan Doyle's main characters in his *Sir Nigel* and *The White Company* are based on him); Simon Burley: A knight and courtier, son of Roger Burley, a landowner in Herefordshire; Richard Punchardoun, a knight from Punchardoun, whose name was mentioned in a roll in 1342 alongside his brother William; Baldwin Freville: son of Baldwin Freville, who held lands in Nottinghamshire. See, Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 184; Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 309; Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship, and Crusade*, 42; Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 268; Luttrell, *English Levantine Crusaders*, 146; Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (DNB); Charles Henry Pope, *Loring Genealogy*, 1917; Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward III Vol.5, (1900), 442. For a list of some lords, such as Florimond de Lesparre, who participated in the Alexandrian Crusade (and survived), see Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 517-519. Also see, Machairas, *Recital*, nos. 163 and 167.

strengthening their ties with their English counterparts. This tournament was a traditional chivalric festival and the knights involved in hand to hand jousting. On the other hand, some Gascon lords sought this expedition as a legitimate way to excuse themselves from the Black Prince's service. In the end, many Gascon lords joined Peter's expedition and traveled to Alexandria.⁴¹⁰ Apart from political reasons, other enthusiasts, such as Thomas Beauchamp, the twelfth earl of Warwick, the Black Prince's feared nobleman, took the cross. Probably hearing of the news about Peter's expedition from his brother John Beauchamp who was in London when Peter visited England, Thomas received permission from the Black Prince and traveled to Avignon to receive the pope's blessing for an army composed of the English knights in Gascony.⁴¹¹ In fact, Peter's investment in English royalty was somewhat beneficial. Gathered around Thomas Beauchamp, there were other lords and knights such as Thomas Ufford, William de la Pole, and Thomas Alberton, in addition to Baldwin Burford and William Flambard's a hundred men. Infantry was also gathered around Thomas Beauchamp, and in the end, he assembled an army of around a thousand crusaders. Peter's misfortune, however, was his prolonged arrival in Venice.⁴¹² His absence in the late summer of 1364 put pressure on the

⁴¹⁰ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 184; Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship, and Crusade*, 42-43; Luttrell, *English Levantine Crusaders*, 146.

⁴¹¹ TNA. C61/76 mm. 2, 3. Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship, and Crusade*, 43. Beauchamp, however, did not travel to Alexandria with Peter. See, Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588* 266. It was a family tradition for the Beauchamp family. See, Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588*, 180-81.

⁴¹² Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship, and Crusade*, 43-44. Thomas Ufford was the son of the earl of Suffolk, and William de la Pole and Thomas Alberton were financiers and merchants. See *Ibid.*, 43; Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (DNB)

crusaders, who had already assembled in Venice, and caused withdrawals, despite Urban's endeavors.⁴¹³

Peter stayed here for around a month, entertained with festivities and rejoicings by the Black Prince, and according to Froissart, he visited the town of Lusignan, and La Rochelle in late March, accompanied by John Chandelos, where he was very well received. Then, hoping to finalize the preparations and reach Venice until June 1364, -the reprojected date of departure for the *passagium*- Peter traveled to Paris.

4.8 John Dies and Plans Disrupt

In April 1364, on his way to Paris, near Reims, Peter learned of John II's death at the Savoy Palace on 8 April.⁴¹⁴ He knew that John journeyed to England but had hoped that he solved the annoyances with England and that peace was reached. Peter most probably had thought that John would be ready to depart for the expedition until June 1364. It also seems that he had hoped that the Cretan crisis would be over until next summer.⁴¹⁵ However,

⁴¹³ For the crusaders assembled in Venice, See the relevant section. Pope Urban sent several letters to speed the English and French nobles' passage to the East while trying to persuade English *free companies* in Italy to join the English nobles who took the cross. See Bliss, Twemlow, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 4 (London, 1893), nos. 8-11. Also See, Setton *The Papacy and the Levant*, 254.

⁴¹⁴ Hill, Runciman, and Atiya state that John died in May. Nevertheless, their assumption is wrong. See, Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 327; Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 442; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 334.

⁴¹⁵ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 185-86. Although John was a hostage, he was warmly welcomed by Edward in England and resided at Savoy with his siblings and some knights. They had a pleasant winter during which the king and queen frequently visited them. However,

the sequence of events proved to be very different than Peter had hoped.

After Cardinal Talleyrand de Périgord, he lost another remarkably enthusiastic supporter of his cause, and this time it was a tremendous loss to compensate.

His first loss was Doge Simone Boccanegra, and his relationship with Genoese has been poor ever since. In 1364 the disputes between the Genoese and the Cypriots escalated and almost turned into a full-scale war.⁴¹⁶ Venetians were having struggles with the Cretans, and the major contributor to the *passagium*, John II, was now dead.⁴¹⁷ These were watershed events for the future of the expedition. What is more, having heard of John's death, the kingdom of Navarre threatened the French, which rendered the new French king, Charles V, who had already proved to be

John fell ill in March and died on 8 April. He was given a very sumptuous funeral at St. Paul's, during which Edward bore the expense of many horses with the French coat of arms on their saddles. Knights were dressed in the same manner, and thousands of torches and wax candles were placed. John's body was taken to the coast and brought back to France by his knights. His body reached St. Antoine near Paris on 1 May 1364. See, Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 308-9; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 186.

⁴¹⁶ Two sailors were sentenced to have their ears cut off by Cypriot officials. Having claimed that they were Genoese so that Genoese officials should judge them, sailors objected to the sentence. Meanwhile, furious about the retribution of their compatriots, a Genoese ship's crew, who were sent to Antalya to transport provisions, mutinied, and Genoese Podesta, involved in this matter, having arranged the ships to return to Cyprus. However, on their way back, they were attacked by another ship belonging to Sicilian mercenaries, and many sailors died. Furthermore, the podesta and royal officers in Famagusta had a serious dispute, at the end of which, more blood was shed. After this incident, the podesta ordered all the Genoese on the island to leave. The papacy worried about the events and was involved in the issue. In the end, in April 1365, Genoa and Cyprus came to an agreement that Peter was obliged to accept all Genoese terms, which were humiliating. Although he objected initially, he even tolerated the royal officers involved in the disputes in Famagusta to be sent into exile. See, Machairas, *Recital*, 145-156, 173-174, 209; Urban V, *Lettres Secretes*, nos. 1027, 1034-1035, 1102, 1602, 1609, 1649, 1650, 1681, 1700, 1724; *Amadi*, 376 nos. 824, 825. Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 155; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 312-16.

⁴¹⁷ Machaut narrates the deaths of both contributors, stating that it was now destroyed everything Peter had achieved, and he needed to start all over again. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 33.

distant to the idea of a *passagium*, to concentrate on this issue before his coronation.⁴¹⁸

After John's death, Peter was now the leader of the expedition but still had hope of having Charles support the expedition. Additionally, he felt obliged to attend John's funeral and decided to wait for Charles' coronation to be able to comprehend his intentions. Accordingly, John's funeral took place near Paris at St. Denis; Peter, Charles V, his brothers, many lords, nobles, and most of the clergy attended on 7 May.⁴¹⁹ Immediately after the ceremonies, Charles received homage from his peers and barons. Many councils were held in Paris, and it was decided that an official coronation ceremony should be held in Reims as soon as possible. Charles informed his uncle Wenceslaus I of Luxemburg (and also the duke of Brabant) and his cousin Lewis II, the duke of Flanders, asking to attend his coronation.⁴²⁰

Accompanying Charles, Peter traveled to Reims on 9 May and lingered for his coronation, which took place on Trinity Day, 19 May 1364. The

⁴¹⁸ Having learned Charles II, the king of Navarre's discretions, Charles V summoned his lords, including Bertrand du Guesclin to be readied against the Kingdom of Navarre. See Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 309-10; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 185-186; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 334; Setton, *The History of the Crusades*, 354; Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 442. The pope dispatched a letter of condolence to Charles V but also stated that he lost his leader when he needed a Christian army. See, Lecacheux, Vol.1, no. 924, 141; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 248-49 and fn. 121.

⁴¹⁹ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 240 ; Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 314 ; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 186-87. John's body was brought to the abbey of St. Antoine and transported to Notre Dame on 5 May, when preparations were made for his funeral. Finally, on 7 May, his body was transported to St. Denis. John's sons and Peter followed the body on foot and then mounted their steeds to chaperone the cortege until they reached St. Denis. For a translation of "*Les Grandes Chroniques de St. Denis*" see Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 314, fn.

⁴²⁰ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 186-87; Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 314.

archbishop crowned Charles and his wife Joanna of Bourbon. After the coronation, many amusements and feasts were arranged for five days. Additionally, a grand tournament was organized. Peter partook in this tournament with Wenceslaus, John I, the duke of Lorraine, Robert, the Duke of Bar, Robert of Alançon, the count of Tancarville, and lords from Albret, Flanders, and Artois.⁴²¹

Peter left Reims with Charles, and through Saint-Denis, they reached Paris on 28 May. On the same day, Charles feasted all his guests, and all the prelates in the city also attended. The whole city was adorned as tournaments were arranged, which lasted two days, at which Peter, several dukes, barons, and counts were jousted. Peter stayed in Paris until 11 June 1364, but his efforts to persuade Charles to participate in the crusade failed. Even the pope Urban failed to persuade him.⁴²² Although a very pious man, perhaps more than his father, Charles was a rational king whose precedence was not a distant expedition but his own kingdom's affairs. His first imperious attraction was his kingdom, which was internally and externally in jeopardy. Financially donating to Peter's expedition, he declared himself a faithful

⁴²¹ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 36; Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 314, 322; *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois (1327-1393)*, 144-48; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 327; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 334; Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 442. For an illustration of Peter in Bernard de Montfaucon's (1655-1741) work during the coronation of Charles V, see Bernard de Montfaucon, *Les Monumens de La Monarchie Française, Qui Comprennent l'Histoire de France Avec Les Figures de Chaque Regne*, Vol. 3, (1729), 2. Also see Figure.

⁴²² For the pope's letter, see above.

devotee of the crusade and counseled Peter to visit the emperor, who was said to be very powerful.⁴²³

4.9 Peter Visits The Emperor

Now that the future of the expedition was imperiled as the king of France withdrew, although he paved the way for the lords and barons who would want to join the expedition. However, Peter desperately needed new contributors, and, first of all, he decided to split his delegation in two, sending Philip Mézieres to visit Northern Europe to preach. Mézieres and Thomas had traveled to Venice in February regarding the Cretan crisis, but now they were required to achieve more. Hence, Peter sent Mézieres to Westphalia, Friesland, Netherlands, Zealand, Brandenburg, Saxony, and Czech, in addition to many Scandinavian countries and the land of the Teutonic Order.⁴²⁴ Meanwhile, Peter Thomas was appointed as the Apostolic Legate of the expedition in the place of the deceased Périgord. Furthermore, he committed himself to recruiting new crusaders for the *passagium*.⁴²⁵ Peter Thomas organized the preachers to be sent to Austria, Hungary, Dalmatia,

⁴²³ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 35; *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, Vol.6, 230-34; Froissart, *Chroniques de Jean Froissart (1360-1366)*; *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois (1327-1393)*, 148-49; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 189-90.

⁴²⁴ His mission took ten months in total.

⁴²⁵ Froissart, *Chroniques de Jean Froissart (1360-1366)*, 97; Herquet, *Cyprische Königsgest*, p. 12; *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois (1327-1393)*, 148; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 334; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 184-85. Despite Périgord deceased six months earlier, he was appointed on 10 July, five days after he had been appointed as the patriarch of Constantinople, since the pope probably delayed it, waiting for the Cretan revolt to be suppressed. Urban praised Peter Thomas: "utique secundum cor nostrum" See, Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 258.

Sicily, Greece, Mediterranean islands, Catalan territories, Black Sea regions, and Constantinople.⁴²⁶

Peter had left Paris for Rouen in June before heading to Cologne. On the route, he visited Flanders. The Dutch of Flanders, Louis II Dampierre, received Peter at his court in Bruges, where he encountered with Waldemar IV of Denmark returning from his visit to Avignon, with whom Peter exchanged his sentiments regarding the *passagium*.⁴²⁷ From Flanders, he journeyed to the Duchy of Brabant, and William VI, the Dutch of Jülich, in early July, ultimately reaching Brussels, where he met with Wenceslaus I of Luxembourg and his wife, Princess Joan. Wenceslaus was the emperor Charles IV's brother, and this meeting was noteworthy for Peter's eventual goal: to meet with the emperor and attain his support. In Brussels, a great feast was held in Peter's honor, followed by a tournament.⁴²⁸ Again, Peter was received generously and warmly, and his hosts were very inquisitive in his visit, brilliantly honoring him with numerous gifts.⁴²⁹

In late July, Peter traveled to Franconia and visited Esslingen, where he was welcomed. However, he did not abide for so long in this town and headed to Thuringia, after which he reached Erfurt, where he propagated his crusading

⁴²⁶ Mézières, *St. Peter Thomas*, 117-119; Frederick J Boehlke, Pierre de Thomas (University of Pennsylvania Press Anniversary Collection, 1966), pp. 248-251; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 258

⁴²⁷ Machaut states that Peter expended much time and resources in Flanders. See Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 36; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 190.

⁴²⁸ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 36.

⁴²⁹ Froissart, *Chroniques de Jean Froissart (1360-1366)*, 85-86. For the gifts 85; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 190-91.

plans that the knights and the townspeople received well. Hearing Peter's ideals, many people took arms in Erfurt and the surrounding area and later participated in the expedition.⁴³⁰ From Erfurt, he journeyed to Meissen, but his couriers, carrying Peter's letters to the pope, got robbed on the way by the men of Louis, seigneur of Neuchatel.⁴³¹

At the end of July, he reached Meissen, where he was lavishly received by Frederick III, Landgrave of Thuringia, and Margrave of Messien.⁴³² Frederick had close relations with the emperor as his family had marriage ties with Charles IV. His brother Guillaume was married to the emperor's niece. So having Frederick as an ally would be beneficial for Peter to convince the emperor to support the *passagium*. Peter succeeded in allying with Frederick, but despite placing his sympathies in the expedition and presenting gifts to Peter, Frederick displayed that his pledge would depend on the emperor's response.⁴³³

⁴³⁰ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 36-37; "Beiträge zum Itinerar Karls IV und zu seinem Aufenthalt in Schlesien mit dem König von Cypern im Jahre 1364," in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Altertum Schlesiens* 14, (1878), 523; Iorga, 190-91; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 334.

⁴³¹ Lecacheux, *Lettres Secretes*, nos. 1216, 1218; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 327, fn. 1.

⁴³² Frederick III, the Strong, was the son of Frederick II, the Serious, Margrave of Messien. Frederick III was represented as a strong and tall prince with curly blonde hair, having a courteous character. See, Johann Burchard Mencke, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, Praecipue Saxonicarum*, Vol.2, 1728, 2180.

⁴³³ "Yes, my lord, I've heard that you propose this holy voyage. Praise, high praise I give you, and I'll answer you now as we stand here. Go to the emperor, the lord of Rome, and my lord. What he does I will do too, but in a smaller way"
See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 37; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 240; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 191-92; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 334.

In August, the *passagium* was evidently postponed again, and even Peter was still determining when would the crusading party be ready to depart. In the hope of receiving support, he traveled to Saxony. Duke of Saxo-Wittenberg, Rudolf II, was an elector and had a very intimate association with the emperor.⁴³⁴ For Peter, Rudolf would be another valuable ally to persuade the emperor. However, demonstrating his compassion, Rudolf, too, expressed that his contribution would depend on the emperor.⁴³⁵ Peter stayed here for nine days, during which Rudolf entertained Peter and presented valuable gifts; precious gold and silver jewels, an armor for jousts, and an all-prepared, saddled warhorse. According to Machaut, Peter participated in the tournaments during which noblemen and women were impressed by his might.⁴³⁶

In late August, Peter was only a day away from Prague, and Charles IV had traveled to meet Peter in person and accompany him to Prague. Peter's fame had reached the town before he showed up, and a grand celebration for his arrival was organized. When he entered the town, the residents of Prague greeted him with great joy, and canons were fired in his honor.

According to Machaut, the extravaganzas were most lavish since St. Louis'

⁴³⁴ Peter met with Rudolf near Lübeck. See Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 38. For the Saxon electors, See Georg von Hirschfeld, *Geschichte Der Sächsisch-Askanischen Kurfürsten (1180-1422)*, (1884).

⁴³⁵“ *My lord, your excellent good will is very clear, so God Almighty help me! Great indeed is your high purpose. It's a valiant man who dares hope to accomplish such a task. God give you grace and help you! You must go and find the emperor, my overlord and uncle. Not alone, shall come too, and then what he suggests, that I will do*” Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 38.

⁴³⁶ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 38.

return from the crusade.⁴³⁷ In Prague, Peter stayed at Prague castle and met with the emperor's wife, Elizabeth of Pomerania.⁴³⁸ During his stay, a tournament was organized, and the festivities lasted for three weeks. Peter himself said that he had never heard such wonderful music in his life.⁴³⁹

In early September, Peter was still in Prague. Despite being enthusiastic about Peter's plans, Charles stated he could not support the *passagium* efficiently. However, he invited Peter to a long-planned congress in Cracow, where monarchs would assemble to solve disputes between Charles IV and Louis I of Hungary under Casimir III's conciliation.⁴⁴⁰ Peter and Charles left

⁴³⁷ He is probably wrong, as St. Louis (Louis IX) died while on the crusade. Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 40-41. Charles' father, John of Luxembourg, was Machaut's former superior. Also see, Froissart, *Chroniques de Jean Froissart (1360-1366)*, 85; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 193-94; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 334; Setton, *The History of the Crusades*, 352.

⁴³⁸ A painting on a wall of St. Mary's Chapel in Karlstejn Castle, 30 km away from Prague, illustrates rulers passing each other some relics, and it is discussed that one of the rulers in this scene might be Peter. However, it is debated that the painting may have been completed before Peter's appearance. Moreover, we do not have any documentary evidence regarding Peter carrying Christian relics to Prague. For a detailed discussion see, L. Sceny "relikwiowe (Ostatkové sceny) I cypryjski ślad w kaplicy Najświętszej Marii Panny w zamku Karlštejn" in *Kościół w Czechach i w Polsce w średniowieczu i wczesnej epoce nowożytnej*, eds. J. Smołucha, A. Iwańczak, A. Januszek-Sieradzka (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Ignatianum w Krakowie, 2020). Burkiewicz concludes that despite the ruler on the second relic scene being associated with Peter, from the present scholarly debates, he is not Peter. Ibid, 516-18. Also, see the figure.

⁴³⁹ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 41-42. For the instruments that Machaut detailedly accounted for, see, Ibid., 42, fn. 18. Machaut and Peter had probably met during Charles V's coronation at Reims. For Edbury's notes on this, see Machaut, p. 9. Also see William Calin, *A Poet at the Fountain: Essays on the Narrative Verse of Guillaume de Machaut* (University Press of Kentucky, 2021), 15. Peter was awarded the prize of the tournament. See Froissart, *Chroniques de Jean Froissart (1360-1366)*, 85; Iorga, 194.

⁴⁴⁰ During the Hungarian envoys' visit to his court, Charles insulted Louis' mother, Elizabeth (Elizabeth was Casimir's granddaughter). Prince Bolko II the Small (Duke of the Piast dynasty in Silesia) also mediated. Machaut depicts that the emperor organized the meeting in Cracow to discuss *passagium*, but it is dubious. Machaut puts particular emphasis on the meeting, placing Peter and his expedition in the center. For Peter at Prague, see Machaut, pp. 42-43; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 191-92. For Charles's invitation of Peter, see Malgorzata Dabrowska, "Peter of Cyprus and Casimir the Great in Cracow, in Originalveröffentlichung" in *Byzantiaka* 14, (1994), 258-60. Atiya also follows Machaut as he depicts that the congress was held to discuss the expedition. See Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 335. For the dispute over Elizabeth, "the war for woman's honor", see Roman Grodecki, *Kongres*

Prague for Cracow, reaching the Polish border in three days. On the way to Cracow, they crossed Bohemia and Silesia, visiting Swidnica, Legnica, Glogow Wroclaw, Opole, and Bytom. According to Machaut, they also visited Kozcian, Poznan, Kalisz, and Baranow. However, such a route seems impossible, as they arrived in Wroclaw on 11 September, stayed for three days, and continued to Opole, near Cracow, on 17 September. Eventually, through Bedzin and Olkusz, they reached Cracow on 20 September.⁴⁴¹

Royal envoys accompanied Peter and Charles near Cracow and escorted them to the city. They were greeted by Casimir and Louis I of Hungary and were warmly welcomed by the townspeople. There were also processions of the clergy and the guild members witnessing their arrival. The kings walked through the market square to the Wawel Castle, where the emperor and Peter were accommodated. There was a tournament, and a feast was arranged for the kings.⁴⁴² At the tournament were monarchs and princes, including the emperor, who participated personally, and all the monarchs and princes faced each other. Peter, too, participated in the tourneys and jousts

krakowski w roku 1364, (Universitas, 1995), 105-107. Mézieres, on the other hand, is not very optimistic about Charles since he did not support the expedition efficiently. See, Mézieres, *Le Songe du Veil Pelerin*.

⁴⁴¹ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 44; K. Herquet, *Beiträge zum Itinerar Karls IV*, 24 (1878), 524-26; *Regesta Imperii: Die Regesten Des Kaiserreichs Unter Kaiser Karl IV.*, 1346-1378, Aus Dem Nachlasse J. F. Böhmer's Hrsg. Und Erg. Von A. Huber, v. 8, (Innsbruck 1877), 332, no 4082; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 194-95; Grodecki, *Kongres krakowski w roku 1364*, 56; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 335.

⁴⁴² Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 45; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 195; Grodecki, *Kongres krakowski w roku 1364*, 61-65; Jerzy Wyrozumski, *Kazimierz Wielki*, (Warsaw, 1982), 98. Machaut mentions that a feast was organized, and Iorga depicts that a consul of Cracow, a burgher named Wierzynek, organized this feast. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 44-45; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 195 and fn. 5. For the arrival of the kings to Cracow, see Stanisław Kutrzeba, *Historia Rodziny Wierzyńków*, (1899), 6-16, 34-35. While the kings and the emperor stayed in the castle, their retinue stayed at the monasteries and wealthy burghers' houses. See, Grodecki, *Kongres krakowski*, 62.

and, according to Machaut, was the victor. Eventually, after the tournament, all monarchs received valuable gifts.⁴⁴³

4.10 An Unexpected Guest: Peter at the Congress of Cracow

Since he visited the court of the Black Prince in Aquitaine, where he had overjoyed the general enthusiasm and support for the expedition, Peter achieved less than he anticipated. Now he found himself in Cracow instead of journeying to Venice to finalize the preparations. The congress at Cracow began on 22 September 1364, at which Peter, Casimir III the Great,⁴⁴⁴ Emperor Charles IV of Luxemburg and Louis I the Great of Hungary were present. Additionally, Charles IV was accompanied by Bolko II. Also, the Prince of Opole, Wladyslaw, was at the congress. Casimir's vassal, Duke Siemowit III of Masovia, Duke of Pomerania, Bogislaw V, and his son Casimir IV also attended. Otto V, Duke of Bavaria, elector, and Margrave of Brandenburg may have attended as well. On the other hand, some chronicles mention that Waldemar IV of Denmark was present at the congress. Some others mention that he had sent his representatives to Cracow, missing the congress in person. Princes of Austria, Rudolf, Albert, and Leopold were also not attending. Peter met them when he traveled to Vienna after the congress. The basis of the confusion is the contradiction between the accounts, some of which are Polish records inherited information from an earlier source. This also holds true for the wedding

⁴⁴³ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 45; Setton, *The History of the Crusades*, 355. Presents in money would have been made. See, Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 196.

⁴⁴⁴ Casimir may have announced the opening of the University of Cracow. See Dabrowska, *Peter of Cyprus and Casimir the Great*, 266

ceremony that took place in 1363. According to some chronicles, Peter attended this ceremony. Another one takes a step further and combines this information with the feast organized when Peter was in Cracow, organized by Wierzynek. In fact, Peter had never attended the wedding ceremony of Charles IV and Elizabeth of Pomerania. Furthermore, the feast was organized before the Congress of Cracow at the city after Peter arrived. These sources also do not mention the *passagium*, and we receive this information mainly from Machaut.⁴⁴⁵ Machaut was not in Cracow in person, so his information is second-hand, despite that the information he provided regarding this visit is very detailed, owed to his familiarity with the royalties and his past experience in Central Europe.⁴⁴⁶ Machaut served John of Luxemburg and was with John during his expeditions to Silesia and Prussia in 1327 and 1329.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁵ For confused accounts regarding the wedding ceremony, see *Rocznik swietokrzyski*, Annals of Saint Cross, in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol 3, Warsaw 1961, p. 80; Janko of Czarnkow, *Kronika*, in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol 2, ed. A. Bielowski, Warsaw 1961, 630; Jan Dlugosz, *Joannis Dlugossi, Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae, liber IX*, Varsoviae 1978, pp. 318-321. These accounts does not mention Peter at all. For Machaut's version, See Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 45-46. For the Wierzynek family, see Stanisław Kutrzeba, *Historia rodziny Wierzynekow*, "Rocznik Krakowski", 2, (1899), pp. 58-61. For a discussion regarding the Polish sources, see Malgorzata Dabrowska, *Peter of Cyprus and Casimir the Great in Cracow*, pp. 261-263; Grodecki, *Kongres krakowski*, pp. 57-60, 63-66. Emperor's three years old son Wenceslaus was not in Cracow either, see Grodecki, *Kongres krakowski*, p.59. Waldemar IV sent his representatives, see Jan Dlugosz *Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae, liber IX*, (Varsoviae, 1978), 318-21. Dabrowska states that Waldemar participated in person, but this is highly dubious. See, Dabrowska, *Peter of Cyprus and Casimir the Great, in Cracow*, 266.

⁴⁴⁶ Mezieres was also still on a mission to propagate the crusade, so he was not in Cracow too.

⁴⁴⁷ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 9, 36 and fn. 11, 38 and fn 16.

As mentioned above, the congress had already been planned by the time Peter was in Prague.⁴⁴⁸ So when he entered Cracow, all the preparations were made for the guests of this meeting, not specifically for Peter. The latter was an unexpected guest, which means that the immediate purpose was not propagating the *passagium*. There were, of course, reasons behind this. On Peter's side, unable to gain the emperor's full support, he sought to meet with Casimir the Great and Louis of Hungary. It is obvious that Peter wanted to play his last cards, as there were no other monarchs in Europe to be able to (or would wish to) join the expedition. The pope had made the second plea, but the general response was puny. Moreover, Urban V had already contacted Polish rulers in 1363, receiving no satisfying response.⁴⁴⁹

On Charles' side, it was an excellent political maneuver to direct Peter's expectations out of his country to Hungary and Poland, pleading that he would provide any support he could. However, in reality, he wisely positioned himself in a safe position, picturing himself as a ruler who supports the war against the infidel, supporting Peter but actually doing nothing. Now that it was someone else's nuisance: the monarchs in Cracow.

⁴⁴⁸ Hill and Setton state that Charles was interested in Peter's plans and proposed a conference to be held, inviting the kings of Hungary and Poland and many European princes. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 327; Setton, *The History of the Crusades*, 355. However, I highly doubt that. This assumption is predominantly based on Machaut's expression, in the nucleus of which a glorified king, Peter of Cyprus, was placed, and events revolve around this protagonist. In fact, Machaut does not express the primary purpose of the gathering, and his tone is pro-Lusignan. When telling the story at Cracow, he portrays Charles IV as another central figure. See Machaut, 41-43. On the other hand, Polish sources do not advertise an expedition. See fn. x above. The emperor and the kings of Hungary and Poland had their own political issues, so, considering all, the primary rationale behind this gathering seems to have been related to solving political disputes in Central Europe, not to propagating the *passagium*.

⁴⁴⁹ Dabrowska, Peter of Cyprus, p. 265. This may have been due to that Urban being one of the Avignon popes. He went to Rome in 1367 but then returned to Avignon in 1370.

Yet it was still an opportunity for Peter to persuade a monarch for the expedition. Since the death of John II, even though he was the only participating leading figure, he was not officially appointed as the Captain General of the crusade, acting like an unofficial ad hoc leader. However, it seemed apparent that such a burden was too heavy for Peter to bear. Moreover, politically and economically, he was no match for a major European ruler. So he perhaps sought to convince one of the major rulers to join the expedition personally, hoping to loosen the pressure on him by sharing political and mainly financial responsibility.

The main agenda was not Peter's crusade. Nevertheless, he had a chance to propagate his plans, delivering an effective speech, probably in public.⁴⁵⁰ We have yet to learn Peter's speech in detail, but he emperced (or at least attracted) his audience. Machaut depicting that he is not able to provide explicit information about Peter's speech explains the outcome of the congress:⁴⁵¹ All the rulers took an oath to help Peter. Charles promised to turn to the electors and ask for their help. He also wrote to the pope. Casimir and Louis, too, promised help. Louis was the only one who promised to participate personally in the crusade with his army. Fulfilling the oaths is debatable, as Casimir's offer seems to have been an act of kindness as his political position was fragile. Louis had expeditions against the pagans in Lithuania and Serbia and was offered to be the Captain General of the

⁴⁵⁰ Grodecki, *Kongres krakowski w roku 1364*, 76; Dabrowska, "Peter of Cyprus and Casimir the Great," 265.

⁴⁵¹" *And now they talked at length but said so much, I can't report it and will leave it out. They did, at last, decide that they, all three, should help the king. I'll tell you what each said, and with no lies.*" Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 44.

church. Casimir, on the other hand, despite having quarrels with the bishop of Cracow, had a decent relationship with the pope. Nevertheless, the Teutonic and the Lithuanian threat in the borders made it an unrealistic fantasy to participate in a distant expedition. Individuals, however, were free to take part in the crusade.⁴⁵²

So the only serious offer of help came from Louis. He had been negotiating his participation with the pope for a year. However, his immediate concern was not *passagium* but taking action against the Turks, who evolved a severe threat in the Balkans. Louis offered his help under the condition that action should also be taken against the Turks. However, he had expeditions against the Wallachians and the Bulgarians, and only after settling down external issues in 1366 he expressed his readiness to participate in Amadeus of Savoy's crusade.⁴⁵³ Meanwhile, he sought to make arrangements with the Venetians and Ragusans to carry his crusaders to Constantinople. However, as it can be seen, his primary motivation had never been to recover Jerusalem.⁴⁵⁴

Although the monarchs in Cracow pledged to help him, Peter failed to persuade a major ruler to actively participate in the expedition, which meant that the expedition would be launched without a satisfying *Captain General*.

⁴⁵² Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 44-45; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 196-97; Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 442-43; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 335-36; Grodecki, *Kongres krakowski w roku 1364*, 70; Wyrozumski, *Kazimiers*, 135-36.

⁴⁵³ For a detailed account regarding Amadeus of Savoy's crusade, see Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 285.

⁴⁵⁴ Dabrowska, *Peter*, 264; Grodecki, *Kongres*, 69.

This point arouses a question of whether the main objective was to recover the Holy Land. On the papacy's flank, after the death of John II, it is evident that the Curia sought to designate a new leader, and this leader was not Peter. Papacy perhaps had hoped one of the monarchs in Central Europe would take up arms against the infidels. When Peter left Cracow, it was still a tenuous possibility. It is possible that they had hoped the emperor would actively support the expedition. According to Iorga, by 1365, the papal Curia considered a *passagium generale* impossible.⁴⁵⁵ However, it is doubtful, as, in 1365, the pope sent letters and indulgences to the clergy and the leaders, including Amadeus of Savoy, declaring that financial assistance would only be provided to use for the purposes of Peter's expedition and to recover the Holy Land.⁴⁵⁶

In the end, Peter left Cracow without a practical result.

4.11 Journey to Venice for Final Preparations

Peter left Cracow in early October 1364, probably around 3 or 4 October, towards Carinthia.⁴⁵⁷ On his way to Venice, he visited Vienna after a journey that took ten days, during which he was joyfully embraced, given presents, and made a good impression. In Vienna, Peter was kindly received by Prince

⁴⁵⁵ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 196, fn. 3.

⁴⁵⁶ Emanuele Federico Bollati di Saint Pierre, *Illustrazioni della spedizione in Oriente di Amedeo VI (Il Conte Verde)*, Torino 1900. docs. VIII-IX, XII-XIII, pp. 351, 365; Lecacheux, *Lettres secretes*, v1. no. 1053, 164. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 196; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 162; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 286.

⁴⁵⁷ We know that Charles IV reached Wroclaw on 7 October. Therefore, Peter must have left Cracow around the same time Charles departed. See Herquet, *Beitrag zum itinerar Karls IV*, pp. 526-527.

Rudolf IV, Duke of Austria, and the duchess.⁴⁵⁸ According to Machaut, Rudolf was exceptionally friendly to Peter as he feasted him unprecedentedly with much affection. Thereafter a private gathering was held, during which Peter elucidated his plans to Rudolf, and Rudolf was very inquisitive. However, he expressed that he would participate if only the king of Hungary participated as well.⁴⁵⁹ Pleased with Rudolf's hospitality, Peter prepared to leave for Venice. However, Rudolf, objecting to him, asked Peter to stay and, having heard of his fondness, arranged a tournament and other entertainments. Peter, again, participated in the tournament, which was, as Machaut depicts, "*outshone all others for a hundred years seen between Metz and Constantine's great town.*"⁴⁶⁰ Rudolf was among the viewers, watching how well-equipped and skillful Peter was during the tournaments and jousts. Peter triumphed over the prize again and left Vienna for Venice as soon as the celebrations were over.⁴⁶¹

On 26 October 1364, crossing Drava and Sava, and traveling through the Patriarchate of Aquileia, after a challenging journey, Peter reached near Venice, where he met with Peter Thomas. As he approached Venice, the

⁴⁵⁸ Rudolf the Founder (1339-1365). His wife was Catherine of Luxembourg, the daughter of Charles IV. According to Machaut, he was a compelling and mighty leader. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 47.

⁴⁵⁹ "*First, the duke spoke, as was usual and appropriate: He would copy Hungary, he said; would do as much as he did; let there be no doubt of that, for he most truly longed to make this holy pilgrimage*" Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 47.

⁴⁶⁰ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 48.

⁴⁶¹ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 48; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 199; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 165; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 327; Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 443; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 336.

Council gave permission for him to enter the city.⁴⁶² Peter took a route to Venice through Treviso, where he was greeted by three nobles appointed by the council: Marina Bono, Andrea Paradiso, and Benedict Gauro. Additionally, ten officials, accompanied by a retinue of two men, greeted him at Conegliano to escort him to Venice.⁴⁶³ Orders were sent to the officials in Conegliano, Treviso, and Mestri, to give Peter a reception, spending up to 300 pounds for this purpose.⁴⁶⁴ Doge's boats were sent to meet Peter at Marghera with two advisers, ahead of the council and twelve nobles, who accompanied him to Bucentaur, and the Doge met him at San Secondo. Then, through Rialto Canale, they reached the Doge's residence at Ca Corner, after which they headed to the palace.⁴⁶⁵

On 11 November, Peter was in Venice and was very well received in the city, as thousands of people came to greet him. According to Machaut, six thousand people came to meet him. Peter gave the Venetians two houses in

⁴⁶² Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 48-49; Méziers, *St. Peter Thomas*, 119. And then he perhaps crossed Torre and Judrio Rivers. See Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 48, and fn. 23. Set out for Venice, Peter Thomas had recently stopped at Milan to solve specific issues with Bernabo Visconti and with a leader of a company Anechinus of Baumgarten, whom Bernabo had been trying to persuade to join the expedition. Later, Peter Thomas visited Bologna, where he acquired his master's degree on Carmelite Bernardus of Bononia. He also conducted the foundation of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Bologna and reached Venice to wait for Peter's arrival. Shortly before his arrival, he left the city to meet with Peter. See, Méziers, *St. Peter Thomas*, 119, fn. 34. For the permission, G. B. Verri, *Storia della Marca Trevigiana e Veronese* (Venice, 1786-91), v.14, p. 20, Marin Sanudo, *Vite de duchi*, in *Rerum italicarum scriptores; raccolta degli storici italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento ordinata da L.A. Muratori*, v.22, col. 775.

⁴⁶³ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 49; Méziers, *St. Peter Thomas*, 120-21. Mas Latrie. *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 240-41.

⁴⁶⁴ Mas Latrie. *Nouvelles Preuves de l'histoire de Chypre*, pp. 73-74. Twelve other officials were chosen to dress up the Doge's boats. For a list of all the names of the greeters and appointed officers, see *Ibid.*, 74

⁴⁶⁵ Mas Latrie, *Nouvelles Preuves de l'histoire de Chypre*, 73-74; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 199-200.

Famagusta and Nicosia to show his gratitude.⁴⁶⁶ Because of his attitude during the Cretan revolt, Peter earned the appreciation of the Venetians, despite the fact that the practicality of his support was questionable.⁴⁶⁷ Nevertheless, Peter desperately needed the Venetian ships.

Peter was presented with numerous gifts and acquired permission to equip one of his ships. It was on 6 December that the Doge dined Peter. On the other hand, in Venice, Peter had another admirer who wished to meet with him personally and had waited for his arrival since 17 August, Niccolo II of Ferrara. Finally, on 9 December, on another very sumptuous feast, Niccolo Ferrara met with Peter. Many lords and Venetian officials attended this feast.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁶ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 49. Iorga, citing Cronaca di Donato Contarini Vol. 7, 64 states that two thousand welcomed him. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 200 fn. 9. This is also -most probably- the moment when Peter fell into the water and stated that he became a real Venetian. This incident is mentioned above. Peter's donation of two houses was officially approved on 1 September 1366. The bailiff of Cyprus, Peter Baseus (Baseio), reports that Peter gave these houses as a sign of benevolence and love. See, Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 362.

⁴⁶⁷ It is unclear whether Peter actively sent troops to help suppress the Cretan revolt. After exchanging correspondences with the pope, Peter, and several other rulers and promoters, it was obvious that the crusaders were not ready to depart. Peter was absent, and Amadeus of Savoy needed more time. However, we also know that some crusaders had already assembled at Venice, such as the Beauchamp -as mentioned earlier- and other English, French and German enthusiasts. We also know that the Venetians intended to hire some *free* or crusader companies. Eventually, in February 1364, Lucchino dal Verme made a contract and was assigned as the commander of the land forces. Under the leadership of Domenico Michiel of Santa Fosca, captain-general of the sea, the Venetian fleet set sail for Crete in April, carrying a thousand horses and two thousand foot soldiers recruited from Veneto, Tuscany, Dalmatia, and beyond. On 6 or 7 May, the troops landed on Crete and suppressed the revolt. However, the rebels escaped through the countryside and undertook guerrilla war. So even though they withdrew, and it was announced that the revolt was suppressed, it continued until 1366. In the end, it needs to be clarified to what extent Peter helped Venetians achieve this. Nevertheless, it is sure that Peter was hardly in control of the events as he had been busy propagating his expedition. For the letters, See above. Also see Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 254-256; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 327-28 and fn 2. For Peter and Crete, See, Nicholas Coureas, King Peter I of Cyprus and the rebellion of 1363 on Crete, 2001.

⁴⁶⁸ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 248; Sanudo, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Muratori, v.22, no. 845; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 201.

Peter stayed in Venice until the departure of the crusading army the next season, and during his stay, many festivities, rejoicings, and tournaments were held. One of these was held after a feast at San Luca by Andrea Dandolo to celebrate the suppression of the Cretan revolt. Peter was not present during these festivities in the summer. However, to honor the previous tournament, Peter demanded another tournament in the same place, Piazza di San Marco, during which he tilted with the son of Luchino dal Verme, who returned from Crete.⁴⁶⁹ During his stay in Venice, Peter stayed in the palace of Frederick Cornaro of Episkopi.⁴⁷⁰ Frederick also lent him 60.000 ducats, and in return, he was admitted to the Order of the Sword with the right to bear the arms of the House of Lusignan and the emblem and the device of the order.⁴⁷¹

Peter had finally reached Venice, but he still had severe problems. The first one was the dispute between the Genoese.⁴⁷² To solve the issue, he sent Peter Thomas and Guy de Regnoul de Reggio to Genoa for negotiations.⁴⁷³ Philippe de Mézieres accompanied Peter Thomas and said he worried about his life.⁴⁷⁴ Meanwhile, the pope sent several letters to avoid war between the

⁴⁶⁹ Sanudo Vite, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Muratori v.22, nos. 658-659.

⁴⁷⁰ He stayed here in 1362 and 1368 as well. In 1365, he stayed until 27 June.

⁴⁷¹ Mas Latrie. *Histoire*, Vol. 3, 815.

⁴⁷² See above.

⁴⁷³ Guy de Regnoul de Reggio was his physician. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 337 fn. 1. According to Hill, Guy de Bagnolo. See Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 314. According to Setton, Guido da Bagnolo di Reggio. See Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 260.

⁴⁷⁴ Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 122-23. The editor, Joachim Smet, notes that it is not clear if Mézieres accompanied Peter Thomas to Genoa. See *Ibid.*, 123, fn. 40.

Genoese and the Cypriots. Eventually, Peter's envoy, Peter Marosello, returned from Avignon, carrying a letter from the pope stating that the disputes with the Genoese were finally solved in April. Relieved by the news, Peter sent a letter to the Genoese Doge Gabriel Adorno, expressing his pleasure regarding the arrangement in May.⁴⁷⁵ Shortly before Peter's departure, Philippe de Mézieres was granted citizenship of Venice.⁴⁷⁶

4.12 The Outcome of the Tour: Did It Worth It?

Peter stayed in Venice until 27 June, endeavoring to finalize the preparations and solve the quarrels with the Genoese. The outcome of his lengthy tour, however, is questionable. Peter was very well treated during his tour, feasted, was entertained greatly, and received numerous gifts. His fame and impression were excellent. Nevertheless, in practice, he had achieved less than he sought. He did not promote the expedition from his kingdom by sending his envoys but personally pioneered it, visiting the most important polities in Europe. The outcome of this costly tour should have brought him much more than the reality. Despite the pope's efforts, his chancellor Philippe de Mézieres and Peter Thomas, Peter was at the edge of returning to his kingdom empty-handed.

⁴⁷⁵ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 254-66; Bullarium, v3. p.396, no. v-120; Urban V Lettres closes, nos. 1027, 1034-1035, 1102, 1602, 1609, 1619, 1649-1650, 1681, 1700 (The letter carried by Marosello)-1724; Bustron, *Chronique*, 262-63; Amadi, pp. 376-377, no. 826. For the articles of the arrangement, see Machairas, *Recital*, 84-85. For Peter's letter to Adorno, See Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 254-67. Venetian ambassadors were also dispatched to Genoa before Peter arrived in late 1364. See, Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 3, 747. Also see, Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 166; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 314.

⁴⁷⁶ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 272.

As mentioned above, a considerable number of knights and parties had arrived in Venice when Peter was still undertaking his tour, mostly due to his need for further assistance after the death of John II.⁴⁷⁷ These enthusiasts, including a considerable number of English and French knights, were no longer in Venice by the time Peter arrived. There were less number of knights than expected, ready to depart with Peter.⁴⁷⁸ Amadeus of Savoy, another prominent and expected contributor, was also absent as he had changed his crusading plans. This was very disheartening for both Peter and the pope, but mainly for Peter as he had spent excessive money on his tour.⁴⁷⁹ To finance his tour, he enfranchised Cypriot families to buy exemptions for the poll tax.⁴⁸⁰ Peter had already spent the money in the treasury during his expedition to Antalya, so after an almost three years-long tour, his resources were almost spent.⁴⁸¹ Nevertheless, Philippe de Mézières and Peter Thomas, still having hope for the future of the journey, proposed that Peter collect troops at his own expense.⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁷ Mézières mentions that satisfying numbers were prepared and waited in Venice for Peter. See Mézières, *St. Peter Thomas*, 119-20.

⁴⁷⁸ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 266.

⁴⁷⁹ Pope expressed that *passagium* is impossible in his letter sent to the Byzantine Emperor on 19 April 1365. See Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 266, fn. 5. Iorga cites Arch du Vatican 247 fos 79-80.

⁴⁸⁰ Many *secretani* (serfs) and burgesses were enfranchised, being a part of *perperiari* (enfranchised serfs). Those who wished to enfranchise their wife and children had to pay 2000 bezants. However, this amount came to 1700 bezants and then to 1000 bezants in time. Eventually, almost all *secretani* and burgesses were enfranchised. See *Amadi*, 377, no. 827 and fn. 2-3,

⁴⁸¹ Machairas, *Recital*, Vol.1, no. 157

⁴⁸² See below.

So to what extent Peter's situation was desperate? Obviously, the assembled army was not large enough to recover the Holy Land and lacked the contribution of major rulers and lords in Europe. However, contrary to popular belief, he was not hopeless. Some significant lords and knights, alongside the lesser ones, had been present, and some of them had traveled to Rhodes to wait for Peter to arrive.⁴⁸³ Among the participants were Aymé, Count of Geneva,⁴⁸⁴ William Roger III, Viscount of Turenne and also the Earl of Hereford,⁴⁸⁵ John of Reims,⁴⁸⁶ and John Lascaris Calopherus, a Byzantine noble and Peter's friend, and many lesser knights from France and England and distant lands, such as Scotland.⁴⁸⁷ Other notable participants, we do not know much about their stories during the expedition but have their names, were: Jean de la Rivière of Préaux,⁴⁸⁸ Jean of Fricamps, the lord of Puchay and seigneur of Taillanville,⁴⁸⁹ Guillaume VI Martel,⁴⁹⁰ Brémont de la

⁴⁸³ The documentary evidence of the participants of the Alexandrian Crusade is Machairas' detailed list. Additionally, Machaut specifically mentions some participants in his work.

⁴⁸⁴ Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 517, Appendix "Crusaders of Alexandria"

⁴⁸⁵ He was one of the most influential lords in Southern France.

⁴⁸⁶ John of Reims is the one who tells Machaut the details of the expedition. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 279.

⁴⁸⁷ Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 443; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 265 and fn. 31. Calopherus was a convert to Latin Christianity. See, David Jacoby, Jean Lascaris Calopheros, Chypre et la Morée," *Revue des études Byzantines*, XXVI (1968). There is an unnamed Scottish knight who was killed during the attack. According to Luttrell, he was Norman Leslie, who participated with his brother Walter alongside a group of Scottish participants. Luttrell, *English Levantine*, p. 149 and fn. 49. Machaut mentions him, stating that he tried to burn the gate, but a stone was thrown at him, causing his death. Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 73.

⁴⁸⁸ He was Charles V's chamberlain, and died in Famagusta in 1365. Machairas, *Recital*, 103.

⁴⁸⁹ Jean of Fricamps (Jean de Taillanville Yvetot) was also king Charles V's chamberlain. He had previously been in service of Charles II of Navarre. Machairas, *Recital*, 104.

⁴⁹⁰ Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 517, Appendix "Crusaders of Alexandria"

Voulte,⁴⁹¹ and Gantonnet d'Abzac.⁴⁹² Although Thomas Beaucamp left Venice before Peter's arrival, many English knights also participated. Henry Sturmy and a knight, Thomas, whose men were contracted to Venice to suppress the Cretan revolt, were among those who embarked for the East.⁴⁹³ Additionally, John de Grey of Codnor,⁴⁹⁴ Miles Stapleton,⁴⁹⁵ Stephen Scrope,⁴⁹⁶ John de Argentine of Suffolk,⁴⁹⁷ Nicholas Sabraham,⁴⁹⁸ Alexander Goldingham, Robert Hales.⁴⁹⁹

4.13 Numbers

Despite not being very promising and apparently insufficient to recover the Holy Land, Peter had some notable participants. Additionally, according to Mézières, Peter had hired 600 men-at-arms, 500 horses, and many servants and sailors at his own expense. These troops were among the ones who

⁴⁹¹ A knight from Flanders, son of Philippe de la Voulte. Later chamberlain of Peter. Machairas, *Recital*, 104; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 279; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 519 Appendix "Crusaders of Alexandria"

⁴⁹² Seigneur of La Douze and seneschal of Périgord. He became rich after the sack of Alexandria. Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 460-61.

⁴⁹³ Guard, *Chivalry*, 45.

⁴⁹⁴ John, Third Baron Grey of Codnor, son of the second Baron of Codnor, Richard Grey. See Dictionary of National Biography DNB; Luttrell, *English Levantine*, 148-49

⁴⁹⁵ See above.

⁴⁹⁶ Peter knighted him. See Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 292; Luttrell, *English Levantine*, 149.

⁴⁹⁷ Vivian Hunter Galbraith, *The Anonimale Chronicle.*, 1970, p. 51; Atiya, 517.

⁴⁹⁸ His origin is unknown. Nevertheless, he is probably a native of Northumberland. He was a veteran of Crecy and had joined many expeditions. After Alexandria, he also joined the crusade of Amadeus. See Dictionary of National Biography DNB. Also see Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 292; Luttrell, *English Levantine*, p.149; Guard, *Chivalry*, pp. 45-46.

⁴⁹⁹ The prior of England and an English Hospitaller. See, Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 292; Guard, *Chivalry*, p. 46. Machairas provides many other names besides the knights mentioned above. For Machairas 'list see, Machairas, *Recital*, 103-104.

sailed from Venice, and 100 Knights Hospitaller joined them in Rhodes.⁵⁰⁰ Despite being small in number, other contingents also departed from Otranto and Genoa to meet with the bulk of the army at Rhodes.⁵⁰¹ After reaching an agreement with Peter, Genoese also offered three ships to join Peter's expedition. Also, they declared that they would ask the pope to appoint Peter as the *captain-general* of the expedition, for which, in return, Peter graciously thanked the Genoese and replied that he would request the same from the pope. However, he added that he was about to depart and could not wait for the Genoese ships to arrive, which were then in the East.⁵⁰² In addition to the fleet setting sail from the West, Peter had also ordered his brother to ready the Cypriot troops, leaving a sufficient number of contingents on the island for its defense.⁵⁰³

Eventually, on 27 June 1365, Peter and a part of his army set sail from Venice to Rhodes and, having favorable winds, reached in a short time. Alongside Peter, he had Peter Thomas and Philippe de Mézieres as well, and the Grandmaster of the Hospitallers, Raymond Bérenger, warmly welcomed them.⁵⁰⁴ Peter and his troops remained in Rhodes, waiting for the army to assemble, and they were still at Rhodes in July. Finally, on 19 July,

⁵⁰⁰ Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 125, 127-28.

⁵⁰¹ These contingents also contained English companies. See Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 341 and fn. 2.

⁵⁰² The letter was sent on 16 May. For the letter, see Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 266-67. See also Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 266.

⁵⁰³ Peter sent a letter to his brother a few months before, asking him to start the preparations. Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 125-26.

⁵⁰⁴ Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 125.

the pope blessed Peter and his army, and in August, Peter's Cypriot army arrived at Rhodes, commanded by his brother and the regent, John, set sail from Cyprus, and was received with great joy by the inhabitants of Rhodes.⁵⁰⁵ During their stay in Rhodes, Peter Thomas spent considerable effort to raise morale. He cared for the sick, absolved sinners, solved disputes, and mediated confrontations within the king's council.⁵⁰⁶

So, what was the number of the crusaders and their ships assembled at Rhodes? The present evidence regarding the total number of participants of the expedition is limited and primarily based on Mézieres' given numbers. As for the size of the fleet, we have relatively more information. Mézieres depicts that Peter had many different types of ships, 100 of which were paid at his own expense. The total number of the army, according to Mézieres, was 10.000 armed men, 1000 armed nobles, and 1400 horses.⁵⁰⁷ Mézieres does not give a total number, but Bustron's estimation is 165 as well; 33 fuste, six ships, nine boats, and 11 horse transport totaling 92, and together with the Cypriot vessels, 165 short and large vessels.⁵⁰⁸ According to Makhairas, on the other hand, Peter arrived in Rhodes with a total of 31 ships, 15 of which came directly to Rhodes with Peter, and an additional 16 traveled to Genoa

⁵⁰⁵ Raynaldus, 1365, p. 120, n18. According to Machairas the fleet arrived on 25 August. Machairas, *Recital*, 90.

⁵⁰⁶ He became an utterly respected and blessed personality as the crusaders believed that kissing his hands would save them from evil that day. Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 125; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 264.

⁵⁰⁷ Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 127-28. Mézieres states that among these 10000 were Cypriot, English, French and German knights.

⁵⁰⁸ Bustron, *Chronique*, 262.

and then headed to Rhodes.⁵⁰⁹ He also notes that three other Genoese ships arrived as well. Additionally, the Cypriot fleet that arrived in August numbered 108, of which 33 were horse transport, 10 were merchant ships, 20 other vessels, and 4 Hospitaller ships totaling 165 pieces.⁵¹⁰ Amadi provides the same information regarding the size of the fleet. Strambaldi's estimation is the same as he gives a total of 165 vessels assembled at Rhodes.⁵¹¹ Western chronicles compromise upon these numbers, apart from Mézieres' assumption about the number of the men-at-arms, which seems quite exaggerated given that 10.000 is an auspicious number for a crusading army even if a major European ruler led it. Another estimation regarding the size of the fleet belongs to the eye-witness of the expedition Muḥammad ibn al-Ḳāsim al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī al-Mālikī, who highlights that the crusaders embarked on their ships, which were 70 in total. However, he does not highlight a specific number regarding the size of the army, and his estimation of the fleet is based on his description of the crusader retreat.⁵¹² Nevertheless, it is safe to estimate that Peter's fleet was as large as 165 vessels.

⁵⁰⁹ Machairs, pp. 89-90.

⁵¹⁰ Twenty additional ships were called "doves" See, Machairas, *Recital*, 89-90.

⁵¹¹ Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 67.

⁵¹² For al-Nuwayrī and the Mamluk sources in detail, see below. For the account, see *Kitāb al-Ilmām bi-l-'alam fi ma jarat bihi al-aḥkām wa al-amūr al-maqdiyya fi waq'at al-Iskandariya*, (Book of Gleanings Related to What Happened in the Events of the Fall of Alexandria). Hereafter, al-Nuwayrī, *Kitāb al-Ilmām*. Due to language restrictions, I made use of a translation of *Kitāb al-Ilmām* from Arabic to English provided by Stanford University Global Medieval Sourcebook: A Digital Repository of Medieval Texts. See "بالإسكندرية القبرسي ظفر كيفية ذكر" | Global Medieval Sourcebook: A Digital Repository of Medieval Texts. "An account of how the Cypriots gained victory over Alexandria" Accessed December 21, 2021. <https://sourcebook.stanford.edu/sites/all/modules/custom/vm/VersioningMachine/texts/Book of Knowledge.html>

4.15 Final Destination: Why Alexandria?

On 4 October 1365, the army set sail from Rhodes after a sermon preached by Peter Thomas on the royal galley.⁵¹³ However, the final destination of the army was yet to be obvious, even for the participants. Additionally, even one of the principal contributors to the expedition, the Venetians, was unaware of the expedition's target, which was disturbing for them. Genoese also had doubts about the destination of the expedition, and it was perhaps the preliminary motive behind their offer of help, sending three ships.

Some traditional studies regarding the rationales behind picking Alexandria were chosen as the target, suggesting that Peter sought to recover the Holy Land, his primary passion was to defeat the infidels, or it was primarily out of political interests. One of the main contributors to the history of Lusignan Cyprus, Hill, states that Peter was “dominated by one ruling passion, the prosecution of war against the infidel in obedience to what he genuinely believed to be a divine call.”⁵¹⁴ For Runciman, Peter was devoted to recovering the Holy Land.⁵¹⁵ Setton calls him “the Christian champion” and states that he yearned to regain his Jerusalemite heritage.⁵¹⁶ Classical historians such as H. E. Mayer and J. Prawer follow the same tone regarding

⁵¹³ Machairas, *Recital*, 92; Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 128-129. Venetian letters about the destination. Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 3, 751-53.

⁵¹⁴ Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 368.

⁵¹⁵ Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 448.

⁵¹⁶ Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 242, 282.

Peter's motivations.⁵¹⁷ The general tone in the main chronicles of Mézieres, and Machaut, from which this study has benefitted, follow the same interpretation. However, of course, these accounts also develop dramatic pro-Latin rhetoric. On the contrary, for al-Nuwayrī, the main motivation of Peter was to stop the persecution of the Christians in the East.⁵¹⁸

So, how realistic is it to posit that Peter sought to recover the Holy Land? According to Edbury, if Peter was motivated to restore the Kingdom of Jerusalem, his understanding of military realities was inadequate, and he was delusional. For Edbury, given that Cypriot commerce had declined in the latter half of the fourteenth century, especially after the outbreak of the Black Death, a severe blow to the treasure, Peter wanted to restore the economic heyday of the kingdom. For Edbury, due to this decline, Peter's Alexandrian expedition derived solely from commercial concerns. Common opinions in the works of Mézieres and Machaut are mostly blatant propaganda or an attempt to promote chivalry, as the audience was interested in hearing. In sum, Edbury suggests that Peter may have had two primary purposes; to capture Alexandria and create a commercial triangle by having Famagusta, Antalya, and Alexandria to derive profit or to raze the city to the ground and get rid of Famagusta's leading commercial rival.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁷ Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades* (Oxford England ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 238; J. Joshua Prawer, *The World of the Crusaders* (Quadrangle, The New York Times Book Company, 1973), 148.

⁵¹⁸ al-Nuwayrī, *Kitāb al-Ilmām*. Despite promoting Peter in his work, Machairas suggests that Peter answered the papal call and only briefly mentions that he hoped to recover Jerusalem.

⁵¹⁹ Edbury, *The Crusading Policy in Kingdoms*, XII, 91-105.

In light of all the narrative and documentary evidence, I should disagree with strict assumptions regarding Peter's motivation behind the attack on Alexandria. The first and foremost reason is that Peter's European Tour came up as a solution to his accession problem, and he most probably sought to settle the issue and rule the island as its legitimate ruler. Even if Peter had ideas precipitated by his enthusiastic chivalric nature, those must have been premature. We lack evidence regarding an attack on Alexandria but an intention -or perhaps a wish- to save the Holy Land from Muslim dominance. As mentioned earlier, we may see this in his letter to the Seneschal of Naples, Acciaioli.⁵²⁰ Suppose Peter desired to recover the Holy Land, in that case, this seems utterly understandable as he was also the titular king of Jerusalem. Moreover, we may see that he specifically indicated that the kingdom is his inheritance and that he was the legitimate ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem many times, such as he demonstrated during his speech with Edward III of England.⁵²¹

However, although it is evident that Peter was probably aware of the realities before his departure, suggesting that his motivations were almost entirely commercial would need further evidence. Underpinning the commercial intentions might well be based on some realities, as Peter's kingdom was economically in decline. The main economic port of the kingdom, Famagusta, was losing its share in the oriental trade. The lifting of the papal bans, changing trade routes, and the effects of the Black Death seriously

⁵²⁰ Mas Latrie. *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 239.

⁵²¹ *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois (1327-1393)*, 128; Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain*, 306.

blew the city's commercial status. However, even if so, for Peter, after an almost three years long costly tour as a result of which he spent his own financial and military sources to orchestrate the expedition, would not be as fruitful as one might think, especially considering the power imbalance between the Mamluks and his kingdom. Moreover, we do not have documentary evidence regarding the councils that were held at Rhodes. It may have been believed that holding on at Alexandria may pave the way for further conquests, which might eventually lead to the recovery of the Holy Land. Meanwhile, Peter may have thought that he could recover his sources, given that Alexandria was now out of competition. Nevertheless, it is hardly possible that Peter sought to capture Alexandria only to dominate commerce. The strategy to attack Egypt was not new as it was an elder idea traceable to the previous century.⁵²²

Two expeditions in the thirteenth century targeted Egypt. One was the crusade of 1217-1221 during which the crusaders captured Damietta in 1219. The Muslims proposed surrendering Jerusalem, and in exchange, they requested the crusaders to leave Egypt. However, the crusaders rejected this offer, believing they could use Damietta for further support from the West.⁵²³ The second expedition was St. Louis' Seventh Crusade, during which the crusaders embarked on Damietta and discussed attacking Alexandria or

⁵²² Edbury, "The Crusading Policy" in *Kingdoms*, XII pp. 94. Invasion of Syria via Armenia had also been another proposed strategy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries but was not widely accepted. See, Atiya *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 105-6.

⁵²³ Peter Lock, *The Routledge Companion to the Crusades* (Routledge, 2013), pp. 167-169; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades : A Short History* (London: Athlone, 2001), 143-149; Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 160-63. For more details about this crusade, See James M Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade 1213-1221* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).

Cairo, eventually deciding on to march to Cairo, hoping that they could use their conquests as a base to recover the Holy Land or exchange these lands with the Holy Land.⁵²⁴

When in Rhodes, waiting for the rest of the army to assemble, Peter and his council were probably aware of the capabilities of their army and discussed the possible strategies. Most probably, they also revisited the strategies of the previous crusaders. Although the 1217-1221 crusade was a failure, it was due to the poor estimations of the leaders who rejected the Muslim peace offer. Frederick II's Sixth Crusade was another example during which he recovered Jerusalem without an invasion.⁵²⁵ In 1311, Peter's ancestor King Henry II argued that a surprise attack on Egypt, using Cyprus as a base, would be strategically feasible, as, unaware of the main target, the Mamluks would need to defend all coasts of Egypt and Syria, and by the fear of a Mongol attack, would avoid withdrawing their troops from Syria.⁵²⁶ When the crusaders expressed their desire to leave Alexandria, Peter Thomas also advocated this idea to persuade them to stay and defend the city for further conquests, waiting for aid from the West and then recovering the Holy Land.

The last suggestion of this study regarding Alexandria was chosen as the primary target would be that when in Venice and then Rhodes, it was too late

⁵²⁴ Lock, *The Routledge Companion to the Crusades*, (2013) pp. 177-178; Riley Smith, *The Crusades, A short History*, pp. 157-161; Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 255-294; Jean Richard, *Saint Louis, Crusader King of France* (Éditions De La Maison Des Sciences De l'homme, Paris, 1992).

⁵²⁵ David Abulafia, *Frederick II : A Medieval Emperor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 164-201.

⁵²⁶ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 118-25; Edbury, *The Crusading Policy*, XII, 94.

for Peter to give up the expedition even if it was an option. Peter had benefitted from his chivalric nature, greeted by the European royalties, barons, lords, every possible ecclesiastics, and the townspeople. This enthusiasm fueled Peter's character, and his image was almost perfect. As a blessed warrior, champion, and devoted servant of the cross, he had advocated his cause for almost three years. When military realities struck, and he came back to earth -considering Peter's characteristics and expenditures- one can imagine giving up would not be an option for him. However, having a small army, he should have wisely chosen a target, and Alexandria would be a suitable target. First, the city would be the fulcrum of his army, and if they could defend it, it would be possible to have reinforcements from the West, as there were still leaders preparing for a crusade, such as Amadeus of Savoy.⁵²⁷ Alexandria was situated on a network of canals and had decent defensive constructions, which made the city easier to defend while waiting for Western support. Besides, the Muslims had destroyed many ports along the Palestinian and Syrian coasts, making it difficult to unload the ships and hold on to a strategic position. Second, by keeping Alexandria in hand, he could compensate for his enormous expenditures, and of course, the island's commercial fireball, Famagusta, would also benefit from this.

Nevertheless, the latter benefit, despite being quarreled by modern scholarship, is not guaranteed. Would Famagusta benefit from the capture of

⁵²⁷ On 23 May, Emperor Charles IV and Amadeus of Savoy visited the pope and discussed forming a new crusade. After Charles' departure, envoys from France and Normandy visited the pope to discuss the problem with the *free companies* and how to help the Christians in the East. See, Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 267.

Alexandria in the long run? Given the Mamluk war machine's potential and resources, how easy it would be to keep Alexandria as a commercial hub is a question. Likewise, the effects of destroyed commercial relations with the Italians should be considered as well. If the expedition leaders believed that they should capture Alexandria solely for commercial reasons, this would be another delusion and strategic mistake. Even if they recover the Holy Land, they must have been aware that keeping Alexandria would be very difficult and financially and militarily exhausting.

On the other hand, they must be aware of the possible reactions of the Italians, who had constantly been trading with the Mamluks. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, Cypriot relations with the Italian states were fragile. The results of the Alexandrian Crusade corroborate this hypothesis as the Italians constantly tried to restore peace with the Mamluks to protect their business. Therefore it is highly doubtful that having a hostile Mamluk Sultanate and Italian states on the doorsteps would be feasible. Therefore, the commercial business might not be as beneficial as it used to be. Additionally, possible hostilities with the Italians with whom the kingdom had disputes recently and faced off a possible full-scale war would not work in favor of Peter. Finally, the rivalry between the Genoese and the Venetians should also be considered. The kingdom's security has relied chiefly on these states, and the best example of this dependence is the fall of Famagusta after Peter's death.

On 4 October 1365, the detached crusading army sailed against an unknown target. Only the king and his chief consultants knew the destination, as Peter and his council feared any Italian apostasy.⁵²⁸ This was a possibility considering the recent commercial activities of the Italians. When Peter failed to reach Venice and prolonged his stay in Europe, Venetians believed that they were released of their obligations and the merchants rejoiced from this. Moreover, both the Venetians and Genoese spied on Peter's movements. On the one hand, the Genoese offered three ships to Peter, but on the other hand, they sent two envoys to Egypt, probably to announce the king's imminent departure.⁵²⁹ It also seems that the pope was not aware of the destination of the expedition as he granted trade permission with Egypt on 25 August for six Venetian trade vessels. In September, the senate voted for penalties for those who flouted the Mamluk customs rules. What is more, the Venetians asked the pope to allow them to send galleys to defend the trade ships to Egypt. Without a doubt, the papal permission complicated the issues. It was not only Urban who permitted trade with the Mamluks as his predecessor Clement VI also granted permission for Venetians to send ten trade ships and thirty galleys to Egypt, especially to Alexandria. When Peter left Venice, the Doge wrote letters to his captain and the officials in Crete stating that in case if Peter intends to attack any of their Turkish partners (the

⁵²⁸ Atiya, *Crusade, Commerce and Culture*, 103. According to Machaut, the idea to attack Alexandria was Percival of Colougne's, and Peter hesitated at first. Nevertheless, Machaut is the only source for this information, which needs further evidence. Percival was one of Peter's chamber knights. According to Edbury, Percival's absence from any other sources but prominence in Machaut's work may indicate that he was one of Machaut's informants. Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 57-58 and fn. 7.

⁵²⁹ The Doge wrote to a commander of a galley, Niccolo Polani, ordering him to follow Peter wherever he goes; Rhodes, Antalya or Cyprus. See, Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 3, 751-52; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 267; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 261-262, and fn. 12.

emirates in Anatolia) they should warn the Turks and inform them that any future attack would not be supported and approved by the Venetians. Eventually, when Peter was in Rhodes, the Turkish emirates sent envoys to Peter to pay him tribute.⁵³⁰ So, despite Italians being unaware of the destination, they were alerted and endeavored to keep their commercial relations safe.

Consequently, the reasons behind Peter choosing Alexandria as his target needs more explanation than suggesting that he sought to create a commercial kingdom, and to achieve this end, he spent almost three years in the West. Instead, his actions should be elaborated by the variables such as his royal position at the beginning of his tour, the image he had created during his travels, and the outcome of these travels, which eventually fell short of the marks. Now that Peter had a reputation to preserve, a kingdom that its resources were mostly spent, and an army, he assembled with difficulty. Naturally, Peter also sought to elevate his kingdom's declining financial state, and excluding this reality from the frame would be a mistake. Alexandria was indeed the wealthiest city and the financial center of the Mamluk state. Significant variety of goods and mines were traded at Alexandria, and it was an economic hub that many Western merchants benefited. However, the reasons behind Peter's decision are more than only financial considerations but a combination of different variables.

⁵³⁰ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 3, 752-53. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 262-63, 265.

CHAPTER V

THE END OF AN EPIC JOURNEY: THE ALEXANDRIAN CRUSADE

“Vivat, Vivat Petrus Jerusalem et Cypri Rex, Contra Saracenos
Infideles!”⁵³¹

5.1 The Expedition

On 4 October, when Peter’s army set sail for the expedition, only he and his advisors knew of the main target. Venetian spies had doubts, and Peter kept the secrecy believing that the Venetians might warn the Mamluks regarding the expedition. The navy followed a route through Anatolia to the island of Crambusa (Suluada) near Cape Gelidonya, where the target of the expedition was finally announced.⁵³² Despite challenging weather conditions, the fleet arrived in Alexandria on Thursday, 9 October, after a five days long journey. The date of the fleet’s arrival is contradictory, but it is possible to affirm the date due to the variety of primary evidence and eye-witness accounts. The Western sources of the expedition agreed on 9 October,

⁵³¹ When leaving Rhodes, the men cried these words, as Mézières depicted. Vita Petri, in Bolland, *Acta Sanctorum* III (29 January), p. 629; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 347 and fn. 3.

⁵³² Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 60; Machairas, *Recital*, 92; *Amadi*, 377-78, no. 830. Strambaldi calls Rauso, but explains that it was a port names Crambusa. See Strambaldi, “Chronicha,” Vol. 2, 67 and fn. 13. Peter’s son, the prince of Cyprus, fell ill and returned to the island shortly before. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 281.

except Strambaldi, who suggests that the fleet arrived on 5 October. Machaut, Machairas, and Amadi's information consistently suggest 9 October as the arrival date, and Arabic sources of the expedition, despite contradictions, support this date.⁵³³

Before the main events of the expedition, the Arabic sources regarding the history of the capture of Alexandria must be mentioned. The Main Arabic source highlighting the Alexandrian Crusade is previously mentioned al-Nuwayrī's *Kitāb al-Ilmām*. Al-Nuwayrī was in Alexandria when the Crusaders arrived and was among those who fled from the city before the beginning of the siege. He arrived in Alexandria in 1337 for pilgrimage, but he enjoyed the city's prosperity and settled down, working as a copyist. Shortly after the end of the expedition, he returned and witnessed the poor condition of the city and its inhabitants suffering from the pillaging. Other than these, we know only a little about his life. He started to write his work, which consists of six volumes, in 1366 and finished sometime before he died in 1372. al-Nuwayrī's work is perhaps the most authoritative Muslim source regarding the expedition.⁵³⁴ According to al-Nuwayrī, he created his work because of his love for the city and disguise against what the crusaders had done to it. He was an almost fanatically pious man, and it can clearly be seen that his

⁵³³ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 62; Machairas, *Recital*, 92; Amadi, 377-78, no. 830; Bustron, *Chronique*, 262; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 68.

⁵³⁴ al-Nuwayrī, *Kitāb al-Ilmām*; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 348. For the three original copies of his work, see *Ibid.*, fn. 1, and fn. 2. Also see Atiya, *A Fourteenth Century Encyclopedist*, 18. For an assessment of the Muslim sources, see Jo Van Steenberg, *The Alexandrian Crusade (1365) and the Mamluk Sources : reassessment of the Kitāb al-Ilmām of al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarani (d. 1372 AD)*, 123-34.

personality affected his story. Nevertheless, his work is significant for the story of Alexandria as it is the most detailed and dedicated Arabic source.⁵³⁵

Musa al-Ayni's, *lqd al-Gumān fī Ta'rikh Ahl az-Zamān*⁵³⁶ is another main Arabic source which concentrates on the history of Egypt and Syria from the creation to Al-Ayni's time. Al-Ayni was born in Gaziantep in 1361 and settled in Cairo in 1399, where he was appointed to several high-rank ministerial positions until he died in 1451. Al-Ayni's work mainly concentrates on the events in Cairo, and shows the Mamluks' reaction and their senior emir Yalbuga al-Khassaki. Although the main events in Alexandria in his works is brief, his chronicle is significant for the story of Alexandria in 1365.⁵³⁷

Abu l'Mahasin Ibn Tagribirdi may be considered as al-Ayni's successor as he concentrated on the events of Alexandria by almost identically copying al-Ayni's work in his *an-Nugum az-Zahira fi Muluk Misr wa l-Qahira*.⁵³⁸

Tabribirdi was born in Cairo as a son of an emir in 1409 and he received an academic and military education. Tagribirdi focused on the history of Egypt from the Arabic conquest until his own time, and he died in 1470. Although his account regarding the capture of Alexandria is identical to that of al-Ayni, he puts some details in his work different from al-Ayni.⁵³⁹

⁵³⁵ al-Nuwayrī, *Kitāb al-Ilmām*. Steenbergen, *The Alexandrian Crusade*, p. 125; Atiya, *A Fourteenth Century*, 18; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 348 fn. 2.

⁵³⁶ Badr ad-Din Abu Muhammed Maḥmūd ibn Ahmad ibn Mūsā al-Ayni. His work is translated as "A Pearl Necklace of the History of the People of the Time"

⁵³⁷ Steenbergen, 127; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 348.

⁵³⁸ "Resplendant Stars among the Kings of Misr and Cairo"

⁵³⁹ Steenbergen, 128.

The other two historiographers are al-Ayni's professional and personal rival Ali al-Maqrizi⁵⁴⁰ and Iyas al-Hanafi⁵⁴¹. Also born in Cairo in 1364, al-Maqrizi undertook administrative and educational missions in Cairo and Damascus and devoted himself to historiographical studies before he died in 1442. One of his works is our Arabic source about the events in Alexandria: *Kitab as-Suluk li Ma'rifat Duwal al-Muluk*.⁵⁴² Al-Maqrizi's echo, on the other hand, is clearly seen in the chronicle of al-Hanafi's *Bada'i az-Zuhür fi Waqa'i ad-Duhür*.⁵⁴³ Lived between 1448 and 1524, al-Hanafi concentrates on the fall of the Mamluk state in his account, also briefly mentioning the fall of Alexandria.⁵⁴⁴

Considering the details and dedication of the work of al-Nuwayri, both Atiya and Steenbergen agree that the most elaborate account is, by far *Kitab al-Ilmam*. This consensus is hardly questionable as al-Nuwayri was the eye-witness of the event and provided 44 pages long story of the capture of Alexandria in his account, giving pinpoint details especially about the fights, skirmishes and plunderings in Alexandria, by also listing many names including so called "heroes" of the muslim fighters in excessive details,

⁵⁴⁰ Taqi ad-Din Ahmed ibn Ali al-Maqrizi.

⁵⁴¹ Zayn ad-Din Abu I-Barakat Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Iyas al-Hanafi.

⁵⁴² "the Book of the Path of Knowledge of Dynasties and Kings"

⁵⁴³ "Marvellous Blossoms among Events of the Times"

⁵⁴⁴ Steenbergen, *the Alexandrian Crusade*, pp. 128-30.

compared to al-Ayni and al-Maqrizi's a few pages long relatively shallower accounts.⁵⁴⁵

Nevertheless, to build the history of the capture of Alexandria, it is of paramount importance to benefit from the Arabic sources as well, despite some contradictions between the Western and Eastern sources regarding the dates. So if we focus on the arrival of Peter's army, al-Nuwayri depicts that the army arrived on Wednesday, which corresponds to 8 October, with 70 Venetian trade ships. The fleet entered the harbor the next day, where the defenders repelled their attempt to disembark. So al-Nuwayri places the capture of the city on the next day. Al-Maqrizi also states that the army arrived on Wednesday, but the conquest started on Friday. Al-Ayni, follows al-Maqrizi as well, depicting that the city fell on Friday. However, even though these sources provide the information on which day the crusaders appeared near Alexandria, they also provide the date on mohammedan calendar, which differ from each other.⁵⁴⁶ Converting these dates to the Christian calendar, we can indicate that al-Nuwayri's given date corresponds to 7 October, and al-Maqrizi and al-Ayni's dates correspond to 8 October. Compared to the Western sources, it is clear that Arabic sources' given day is one day earlier. This confusion is understandable because al-Maqrizi and al-Ayni were subsequent historians, but al-Nuwayri's confusion is interesting, given that he was an eye-witness. However, this does not affect the

⁵⁴⁵ al-Nuwayrī, *Kitāb al-Ilmām*. Atiya, *A Fourteenth Century*, p. 18. Steenbergen, *the Alexandrian Crusade*, 130.

⁵⁴⁶ Al-Nuwayri: Wednesday 20 Muharram 767. Al-Maqrizi: Wednesday 21 Muharram 767. Al-Ayni: City fell on 23 Muharram 767.

credibility of his account altogether.⁵⁴⁷ This confusion arises because of the inconsistency between the given date on Mohammedan calendar and the day of the week. If we rely on the fact that the fleet arrived on Wednesday and the hostilities took place on Friday, Arabic estimations support the Western accounts. Moreover, Atiya's explanation regarding the date given by al-Nuwayri is credible. According to him, this difference may be explained by the existence of Egyptian scouting vessels and watchtowers.⁵⁴⁸ All in all, revisiting all the accounts, it is possible to fix the date of the fleet's arrival on 9 October.

According to Mézieres, Peter's soldiers had rejoiced to hear that the destination was Alexandria. However, Machaut indicates that some of Peter's soldiers had doubts about his decision as the city was too strong to capture. In addition, the Mamluks' resources were so immersive that they could gather 500.000 soldiers and outnumber the crusaders.⁵⁴⁹ Machaut then states that Peter encouraged his men, telling them that the infidels do not know God and his commands and eventually bring victory to the true believers.⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁷ Steenbergen, 132-33.

⁵⁴⁸ Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 348-349, fn. 2. The downside of Atiya's suggestion is that the accounts of the campaign almost anonymously portray the appearance of the fleet as a surprise.

⁵⁴⁹ Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*. Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 58-61.

⁵⁵⁰ "My lords,' he said...God will defeat them all, will keep you safe out of their hands. There are a lot of them, a few of us - God will deliver them into our grasp!" Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 61. This rhetoric, portraying the enemy as powerful and crowded but defeatable, is quite common in the historiography of the Crusades. According to Machaut, 9 October was also Peter's birthday. There is no further evidence regarding the exact date of his birth. Machaut may have deliberately chosen this date to consubstantiate Peter with the expedition. If this date is correct, it was his thirty-sixth birthday. Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, XI.

Alexandria had a strong fortress and walls, and the city was crowded with many people, Muslims, Jews, Christians, merchants from different nations, and travelers. For Percival of Cologne, the city was large enough to harbor thousands of people. However, the population is unwarlike and in case of an attack, would flee without serious resistance.⁵⁵¹ Nevertheless, the assaulters had some advantages. Firstly, the Mamluk state was in turmoil after the death of Nasir ad-Din Mohammed, who ruled the state with peace and prosperity. After his death, chaos prevailed in the state for years, and eventually, at eleven years old, Nasir ad-Din Shaban became the ruler of the Mamluks. However, in practice, the state was ruled by the most potent and influential emir, Yalbugha whose cruelty was well known. Without a strong ruler and with a factious class, the state was not at its prime. Second, the governor of the city, Salah al-Din ibn Arram was on pilgrimage at Mekka, and the city's fortifications were not reinforced as the Mamluks did not expect an attack on Alexandria which had long been a peaceful destination.⁵⁵² Third, it was a flood season of the Nile, making it difficult to travel from Cairo to Alexandria while the Delta was flooded.⁵⁵³ It is possible that the crusaders were aware of the current state of the Mamluks, estimating that they had spies in Egypt.

⁵⁵¹ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 58.

⁵⁵² al-Nuwayrī, *Kitāb al-Ilmām*; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 247; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 351; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 167.

⁵⁵³ Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 351.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that the governor of the city was away and the city was inadequately fortified, the walls were strong and struttled with numerous towers, which were high, and many gates were reinforced with steel. The city had two harbors; the New Harbor and the Old Harbor. The New Harbor's entrance was chained and proved to be more difficult to breach. Aware of this difficulty, Peter proceeded into the Old Harbor.⁵⁵⁴ The entrance of the gates, which were many, had been enclosed by a number of Hostelries and fundacos built by Western and Eastern merchants, travelers, and residents. These structures were under the responsibility of a consul. When they arrived on 9 October, Peter decided to wait for a day, sending an observation ship before landing.⁵⁵⁵ The defenders repelled this ship. Meanwhile, Peter ordered the ships to anchor and form a block in the middle of the Old Harbor. According to al-Maqrizi, after nightfall, he also sent a small group of soldiers and spies to secretly land near the city and hide in the graveyard for the next day's skirmishes.⁵⁵⁶ In the beginning, Alexandrians thought that the approached fleet was a Venetian merchant fleet.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁴ The New Harbor, also known as Portus Magnus was known as the "Chain Harbor" due to the colossal chain blocking the entrance during the night. This harbor was allocated for Christian ships. The Old Harbor, also known as "Eunostos of the Ptolemies" was allocated for the Muslim vessels. See, Atiya, *Crusade Commerce*, p. 181; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 352.

⁵⁵⁵ According to Machaut, he waited for the rest of the fleet to arrive. See Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 62.

⁵⁵⁶ al-Maqrizi, *Sulūk*, 105.

⁵⁵⁷ Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 130-31; Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 62; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 286-87; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 353; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 267. For Piri Reis' illustration of Alexandria's harbors, see Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 346. For another illustration, See Die Eroberung Von Alexandria (iskanderīje) Durch Peter I. Von Lusignan, König Von Cypern 1365: Mit Einer Karte Von Alexandrien... 1894, 51. According to al-Nuwayrī, the citizens doubted if such a small fleet would attack the city. See, al-Nuwayrī, *Kitāb al-Ilmām*.

When the night fell, Alexandrians lightened the city walls, being on alert and fortifying the city because of the alien fleet waiting off shore.⁵⁵⁸ Nevertheless, when morning came, the residents of Alexandria moved out of the city walls, wondering about the Christian fleet's intentions. On the beach and on Pharos Island, which separated the two principal harbors, buying and selling continued as usual due to the ignorance of the inhabitants, who did not have any war experience.⁵⁵⁹ Only a small garrison was installed in the city, and some small number of bedouins were aware of the danger. The acting governor of the city, Janghara's experience and skills were poor so he made a fatal mistake. Instead of forming a defensive position within the city walls with as many men as he could gather, he allowed for an irregular resistance outside the city. Those who had properties beyond the walls also stayed outside to show their effort to protect their belongings.⁵⁶⁰

Equipped with swords and javelins, without any armor, the Mamluks strived to prevent Peter's army from disembarking.⁵⁶¹ To achieve this end, a small group of Moroccans tried to set fire to the first ship to disembark but failed. Meanwhile, Mamluk archers released arrows toward Peter's men, but his

⁵⁵⁸ Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 131.

⁵⁵⁹ Al-Maqrizi states that a group of sellers and some youths left the city for amusement, unaware of the enemy. Al-Maqrizi, *Sulūk*, 105-6.

⁵⁶⁰ Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 131; al-Nuwayrī, *Kitāb al-Ilmām*; Machaut, p. 62; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 265; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 353-54. According to Machaut, the Mamluk's gathered on the beach with all their strength, which is twenty thousand, is an exaggeration. See Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 62. Machairas' suggestion, despite more reasonable, is still exaggerated which is ten thousand. Machairas, *Recital*, 92-93.

⁵⁶¹ al-Nuwayrī, *Kitāb al-Ilmām*

men could keep advancing and landed on the beach.⁵⁶² Standing on his ship and equipped with full armor and a cross in his hand, Peter Thomas blessed the landing crusaders.⁵⁶³ According to Machaut, the first crusader to land was the young count of Geneva, who was overpowered by the Mamluks but rescued by Simon de Nores (Thinoli)⁵⁶⁴ and John of Morphou.⁵⁶⁵ After this young count, the second who disembarked was Peter's nephew, with whom he had disputes over the throne, Hugh, the prince of Galilee, who slayed many of his enemies until sixty more crusaders arrived on the scene, and many others followed them including William Roger III.⁵⁶⁶ Shortly after, Peter, in full armor and a sword in his hand, thrust into the fight, followed by more knights.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶² al-Nuwayrī, *Kitāb al-Ilmām*. Mézieres does not mention the resistance of this group. However, Machaut, despite not underlying this group, states that the Mamluks sought to keep the crusaders away from the shore. Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 62.

⁵⁶³ Vita, S. Petri; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 355.

⁵⁶⁴ Titular marshal of Jerusalem who accompanied Peter during his first and second tours to Europe. See Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 63 fn 14.

⁵⁶⁵ Based on Machaut, Atiya provides that Amedeo III was the first one who landed on the shore. However, Machaut refers to a "young count of Geneva", who was most likely not Amedeo III, but one of his sons because Amedeo, at the time of Alexandrian campaign, was 54 years old. According to Edbury, this Count might be Amedeo's eldest son Aimon, who succeeded to the title in 1367. See, Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 355; Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 63 and fn. 13. John of Morphou was Peter's commander and the marshal of Cyprus, who received the title count of Edessa after the fall of Alexandria. He was later accused of involving adultery with Queen Eleanor of Aragon. See relevant section.

⁵⁶⁶ He was the count of Beaufort and viscount of Turenne. He was one of the most critical figures in Peter's army as he was also related to the popes Clement VI and Gregory XI. Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 64 and fn. 16.

⁵⁶⁷ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 63-64; Machairas, *Recital*, 93-94. Machaut exaggerates Peter's arrival: "Now the king leaves his galley. Nothing withstands his blows; thirty fall dead in moments; space appears around him, in terror all back off. To put it briefly, he excels them all." Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 64. According to Machaut, Percival of Coulougne and Brémond de la Voulte joined the fight after Peter. Brémond received grants in Cyprus, but these were confiscated after Peter's death. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 64-66. and fn. 17.

During the skirmishes, Machaut and al-Nuwayrī state that there was bloodshed on the shore, and so many Muslims died before they retreated within the city.⁵⁶⁸ What is more, despite volleys of arrows, a group of Hospitaller knights, including the admiral of Rhodes Ferlino d'Airasca landed on the New Harbor very quickly and attacked the defensive line from the rear. The defenders were not well organized apart from a group of bedouins, so the Ksopitaller attack completely crippled the Mamluk defense causing immense panic.⁵⁶⁹ According to Machaut's wildly exaggerated estimation, the Mamluk defense outside the walls was twenty thousand men who fled into the city. He also provided that eight thousand crusaders landed on the shore, which also seems unlikely.⁵⁷⁰ Mézieres' story here is somewhat different from that of Machaut and al-Nuwayrī. Mézieres depicts that after retreating into the city, Peter's army continued their assaults and the Mamluks could barely resist for an hour, and the city fell.⁵⁷¹

⁵⁶⁸ al-Nuwayrī *Kitāb al-Ilmām*; Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 65

⁵⁶⁹ al-Nuwayrī *Kitāb al-Ilmām*; Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 67-68. Al-Ayni mentions an ambush in result of which caused four thousand muslim casualties. See, Al-Ayni, *Iqd al-Gumān fī Ta'rikh Ahl az-Zamān XXIV/1*, MS Cairo, National Library, 1584 Tārih, p.138. Ibn Tagribirdi, on the contrary, does not mention an ambush at all. See, an-Nugum az-Zahira fi Muluk Misr wa l-Qahira, pp. 29-30. Al-Maqrizi's account, on the other hand, depicts that the Mamluks completely retreated to the city and sent out a contingent to prevent the crusaders from landing, but Peter's army did not react. However, he also adds that the aforementioned small group of crusader soldiers hiding in the graveyard ambushed the Mamluks the next day. For Al-Maqrizi, this ambush paved the way for the attackers to capture the beach, and meanwhile, during the panic, many Muslims died trying to reach the city. Al-Maqrizi, *Kitāb as-Suluk li Ma'rifat Duwal al-Muluk*, III/1, pp. 104-107. According to Mézieres, thanks to Peter Thomas' efforts, in addition to the Knights Hospitaller, were Teutonic Knights in Peter's army as well. These knights were amongst the most disciplined and robust troops in the army. See, Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 126; Iorga, pp. 279-280. The documentary evidence shows that the Knights Hospitaller and the Teutonic Knights supported Peter's expedition. However, it is yet nebulous how many knights joined the expedition and how many of them were recruited in Rhodes, Cyprus and perhaps in the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia.

⁵⁷⁰ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 66, 68. Al-Ayni's estimation is even higher, as he states that Peter's army was thirty thousand strong. Al-Ayni, *Iqd al-Gumān fī Ta'rikh Ahl az-Zamān XXIV/1*, MS Cairo, National Library, 1584 Tārih, 138.

⁵⁷¹ Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 131-32.

After the Mamluks retreated into the city, Peter halted the pursuit to regroup his troops and plan his next step by calling a council.⁵⁷² However, some of his men objected to continuing the offensive as they raised that the city was invincible and impossible to capture thanks to its strong walls. Peter persisted, asking the lords to counsel him about how to capture the city. According to Machaut, everyone was silent except an admiral who proposed to retreat, and many others followed.⁵⁷³ This admiral pinpointed the fact that the walls are too strong to breach and the towers were large, also the archers were effective. He added that there was no shelter across the way from Alexandria to Jerusalem that the army could shelter in case of a defeat. Moreover, even if the army retreats and marches to Jerusalem, it would be impossible to do so successfully. Hearing his words carefully, Peter answered, pointing out how hard it was to assemble this army, and now retreating would be cowardice, and all the efforts would go to waste. Peter convinced the crowd, and the council decided to attack the city.⁵⁷⁴ According to Machaut, Peter called Percival of Coulonges, who knew the city well.⁵⁷⁵ According to Percival, a gate was not well defended and was not as strong as the many other gates of the town. So, in the end, Peter ordered his

⁵⁷² Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 68-69.

⁵⁷³ According to Iorga, this admiral was an admiral of Hospitaller, and the admirals of Cyprus and Rhodes agreed on him. However, Atiya asserts that Machaut may have been mentioned a baron rather than an admiral. See, Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 294 and fn. 1; Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 70-71; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 357 fn. 3.

⁵⁷⁴ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 70-72.

⁵⁷⁵ For the role of Percival in Machaut's work. See above.

brother John, prince of Antioch, to attack this gate, Bab ad-Diwan.⁵⁷⁶

Additionally, he decided to reward the first three men who could mount the walls; a thousand florins to the first, five hundred to the second, and three hundred to the third.⁵⁷⁷

The Mamluk defense focused on another gate, Bab al-Bahr, and mainly on the western part of the city. Moreover, the commander in chief Janghara sent the city treasure to Cairo, along with fifty Frankish prisoners, and a message was probably sent regarding the city's current state.⁵⁷⁸ Under these circumstances, Peter's army assembled near the northern wall and attempted to burn down Bab al-Bahr but was repelled by Muslim arrows. So they continued marching up further north, near the end of the northern walls, near Bab ad-Diwan, where they could find a soft spot, an area undefended. This spot was the customs house, and it was locked from the inside, making it very difficult for the defenders to reach adjacent walls and defend the gate. According to al-Nuwayri, secretary of Alexandrian Diwan, Shams al-Din ibn Ghurab, and another officer Shams al-Din Odhaiba were in Peter's pay and

⁵⁷⁶ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 72-73. The gate Machaut mentioned was "The Customs Gate - Bab ad-Diwan", situated on the walls near the eastern harbor. Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 72. Al-Nuwayrī also mentions this gate. As al-Nuwayri reports, there were seven gates; Bab ad-Diwan, Bab-al Bahr, al-Bab al-Akhdar, Bab al-Kokha, Bab Rashid, Bab al-Sidra, Bab al-Zuhri and three other gates called abwab al-Barr. See al-Nuwayrī *Kitāb al-Ilmām*. For a discussion, also see Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 352, fn. 3.

⁵⁷⁷ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 72.

⁵⁷⁸ al-Nuwayri indicates that an arrow wounded Janghara, so he left the city walls with his men but then re-entered on the western gate, dispatching the treasure beforehand. However, according to al-Maqrizi, he left the city with his followers to Damanhur, which devastated the city's defense. See, al-Nuwayrī *Kitāb al-Ilmām*; Al-Maqrizi, *Kitāb as-Suluk*, p. 44. These prisoners were Western merchants and prisoners; some resisted arrest, and one was executed. al-Nuwayrī *Kitāb al-Ilmām*; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 358; Steenbergen, "The Capture of Alexandria," 130.

they locked the door.⁵⁷⁹ Regardless of al-Nuwayri's prediction, it seems that Peter had an intel and targeted this spot to attack the city.

According to Machaut, however, Peter's army attacked Bab al-Bahr, but the Mamluks drove them off, after which they discovered the weakness in the defense and targeted this soft spot near Bab al-Diwan.⁵⁸⁰ They rushed to the area and climbed on the walls that the Mamluk soldiers could not reach because of a tower dividing the passage. Crusader attacks on the walls were fast and decisive, and they breached the walls soon after, before the defenders arrived, who, realizing it was too late, retreated to save their lives.⁵⁸¹ Then, chaos prevailed among the city's residents, and al-Nuwayri was among the inhabitants on the flight. He describes that the people of Alexandria crowded the gates hoping to save their lives by escaping to nearby towns, and the guards on the walls jumped down on the ground, injured or died.⁵⁸²

⁵⁷⁹ al-Nuwayrī *Kitāb al-Ilmām*. His suggestion that Peter visited the city before the attack, dressed like a merchant, and was shown around, is undoubtedly a fabrication and dramatization. Ghurab was executed after the Mamluks recaptured the city. See al-Nuwayrī *Kitāb al-Ilmām*. The gates of the customs house were probably locked due to the fear that foreign residents might rob the goods. See, Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 351, 359.

⁵⁸⁰ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 73. After the first attack, which was a failure, according to Machaut, Peter himself mounted his horse and commanded the next attack himself. Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 74.

⁵⁸¹ al-Nuwayrī *Kitāb al-Ilmām*. As Machaut states, the first crusader who attacked the wall was a Scottish knight who lost his life because a colossal stone fell during this attempt. Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 73-74. For the identity of the knight, see above.

⁵⁸² al-Nuwayrī *Kitāb al-Ilmām*. He also mentions that Arab bandits attacked people on the road to nearby towns.

From this point onwards, the story relies on what Machaut tells us. While the inhabitants of Alexandria were on a flight, fighting continued in the inner city during the day. As the city was fallen, the crusaders started to sack the city savagely, killing the residents from all nations. For Machaut, they killed as many as twenty thousand people in Alexandria.⁵⁸³ Meanwhile, Peter, accompanied by some of his knights, left the city to destroy a nearby village, which was a strategic point, would prevent the Mamluk army to come to save the city, thus providing time to set up a proper defense, because the crusaders had burnt down two main gates during the fight and had no time to reconstruct those gates.⁵⁸⁴ However, unlike what Peter had thought, the road to the bridge was covered with Mamluk soldiers who ambushed them and endangered Peter's life.⁵⁸⁵ For the rest of the day, Peter supervised the city defense, fortifying the gates and the towers, after which he retreated to one of the largest towers to rest. Nevertheless, during the night, the Mamluks pursued an attack that was hardly repelled by Peter's army.⁵⁸⁶

From Friday afternoon to 11 October, plundering and fighting continued, and Peter eventually assembled a council on Pharos Island to discuss what to do next. Within the council there was strong resistance to Peter, who wanted to stay and defend the city. The majority of his men, voiced by William Roger III,

⁵⁸³ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 75.

⁵⁸⁴ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 76.

⁵⁸⁵ As Machaut indicates, Peter's men failed to see his banners while leaving the city, so he had only forty knights with him versus thousands of Mamluks approaching the city gates. Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 76-77.

⁵⁸⁶ Machaut says ten thousand Mamluks attacked the city and burnt down a gate. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 77-78.

put forward that the Mamluk army would be too large to stand against as they could recruit thousands of soldiers, and the city walls were too large to defend. Moreover, he put forward that they lacked supplies and manpower against the fresh Mamluk army.⁵⁸⁷ On the contrary, Peter, Peter Thomas, and Philippe de Mézieres tried to persuade the crowd. The king delivered a long speech in vain, trying to explain that they would have an advantage against a larger army when fighting a defensive war, and added that attacking the city was a thousand times harder than defending it.⁵⁸⁸ Peter then continued saying that they had necessary weapons and supplies within the city left by the Mamluks, the walls and gates were well fortified, and they could hold on for months with all the supplies they had and all the supplies that would be brought from Cyprus. Additionally, even though it is dubious if he believed his own statement, he said that Emperor John V Palaeologos would come for aid. Finally, he expressed his further thrust in Europeans who would also come for help; from Venice, Genoa, Germany, France, Scotland, Spain, Bohemia, and Hungary.⁵⁸⁹ After the king, Peter Thomas and Mézieres added their plea to convince the crowd to stay in the city, but all their effort went to waste.⁵⁹⁰ Most of the non-French crusaders supported William Roger's statement and expressed their wish to leave.

⁵⁸⁷ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 82. William added that Peter's artillery was finished, food supplies were spent, so even horses would starve to death. See, *Ibid*.

⁵⁸⁸ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 83. Peter also said that only lazy, cowardly, idle, and slow men would leave the city. See *Ibid*.

⁵⁸⁹ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 84.

⁵⁹⁰ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 84-85; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 271; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 364. Mézieres even offered to defend the most vulnerable tower with his men. Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 85.

The majority of the opposition was English knights, who did not want to stay even a night at Alexandria and sought to protect the harbor and the ships fully loaded with their loot rather than protecting the city. For Mézïeres, they sabotaged Peter's council and convinced the rest of the army, including the French, the Hospitallers, and even Peter's brothers.⁵⁹¹ English attitude even reached Germany, despite the fact that English were proud of their part in the expedition.⁵⁹² Nevertheless, Anglo-Gascon opposition had a point. The major setback to Peter's plans was the destruction of significant gates, of which compensation would be impossible in a short time.⁵⁹³ Moreover, according to an account, a Mamluk scout who claimed that he had previously been a member of the Hospitallers of Rhodes but was taken captive by the Mamluks, stated that a large Mamluk army, which was large enough to kill all the Christians at Alexandria, was dispatched.⁵⁹⁴ At this point, despite Machaut's dramatization, we do not know about Peter's intentions. He granted one-third of Alexandria to Philippe de Mézïeres, where he wished to establish a new order, Order of the Passion.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹¹ Mézïeres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 133-34, 138; Timothy, *Chivalry*, 46. According to Iorga, the most numerous within the army (apart from Cypriot troops) were the English. See, Iorga, *Philippe de Mézïeres*, 279.

⁵⁹² For the view that the English fled with their loot, See, *Chronicon Moguntinum*, in *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis in 16. Jahrhundert*, XVIII: Mainz, II (Leipzig, 1882), 170. For English view, see Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon*, ed. J. Lumley, VIII (London 1882), 365; Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, 302; *Chronicon Angliae*, ed. E. Thompson (London, 1874), 56-57.

⁵⁹³ For al-Nuwayri, if the crusaders had not destroyed these gates, they could have been the new masters of Alexandria. See, al-Nuwayrī *Kitāb al-Ilmām*.

⁵⁹⁴ The accuracy of this account is questionable. See, Anonimale Chronicle, pp. 51-53; Luttrell, *English Levantine*, 149; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 364-65, fn. 6.

⁵⁹⁵ He also knighted his brother James and made him seneschal; John of Morphou was made the titular count of Edessa, and his nephew Hugh was made titular prince of Galilee. See, Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 331, fn.1; Mézïeres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 138; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézïeres*, 299; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 364; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*,

5.2 The Outcome

Eventually, despite putting all his effort and passion into persuading his men, Peter failed and could do nothing but accept evacuation. The crusaders barely occupied Alexandria for a week, and their best -and maybe only- achievement was to fill their ships with overflowing loot.⁵⁹⁶ Once they returned to the city al-Nuwayri witnessed the stage of disaster at Alexandria.⁵⁹⁷ The city was severely plundered; every community building, warehouse, mosque, customs house, school, palace, shop, public market, tomb, and many more were looted or set on fire and demolished.⁵⁹⁸ Goods of merchants were seized regardless of their race and religion. All gold, silver, precious jewels, spices, rich fabrics, candles, carpets, pots and pans, copper wares, and even beds were plundered.⁵⁹⁹ The booty was so great that they

272. As Machaut depicts, Peter mounted his horse, expecting that many would follow him, and rode to the city. However, only sixty men-at-arms followed the king. See Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 84-85; Tyerman, 292.

⁵⁹⁶ According to the letter sent by Peter Thomas to the pope, he states that the occupation took six days. See, Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 135-40; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 272 fn. 59; al-Nuwayri, on the other hand, indicates that the crusaders left after eight days after their arrival. al-Nuwayrī *Kitāb al-Ilmām*. The difference is probably because Peter Thomas counted the occupation only, not the appearance. Al Maqrizi also provides the same date. See, Al-Maqrizi. As Machaut points out, the crusaders remained on their ships for two days after the council was held. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 87. For Amadi, they stayed in Alexandria for four days after they captured it on 10 October and then left. See, *Amadi*, 378, no. 831. The loot was so great that five Genoese ships secured a loot worth 800.000 florins. See, Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 388. However, this information may have been Mézieres' fabrication due to his hatred against the Genoese. See, Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 298.

⁵⁹⁷ Interestingly, although Mézieres was a closer eye-witness than al-Nuwayri, who had fled by the time plundering began, does barely mention the terror and sacking of the city. See, Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 130-34.

⁵⁹⁸ According to al-Nuwayri, there were seventy mosques in Alexandria all were sacked. The crusaders also looted funduqs belonging to the Italian merchants, including Marseillais, Genoese, and Catalans but failed to locate the Muslim armory. See, al-Nuwayrī *Kitāb al-Ilmām*.

⁵⁹⁹ Three main commodities exchanged at Alexandria were slaves, natural products and manufactured goods. See, Atiya, *Crusade, Commerce*, 182.

left lesser goods on the beach because their vessels could carry no more. The streets, mosques and markets were strewn with dead bodies left behind; even horses and donkeys used for carrying the loot to the harbor were stabbed to death once they unloaded the booty.⁶⁰⁰ Alexandria had suffered so great that for Machaut “since Solomon was king, so great a massacre has not been known.”⁶⁰¹

Nevertheless, Peter had hoped to defend the city but was let down by his lords, perhaps thinking more realistic or satisfied with their booty. From all his effort, it seems that Peter tried to hold the city, for a further expedition to the Holy Land. Nevertheless, so many crusaders had returned to their ships that Peter had no choice but followed them, as the Mamluks had also approached the city.⁶⁰² The governor of the city had also returned and sent envoys to Peter to exchange the Christian prisoners sent to Damanhur with Peter’s prisoners. However, Peter stalled for time, requesting letters from Christian prisoners, a request that was impossible to meet.⁶⁰³ Eventually, on Thursday,

⁶⁰⁰ al-Nuwayrī *Kitāb al-Ilmām*. For a detailed description given to al-Nuwayri, of the crusaders’ way of setting fire to the buildings by a Muslim who had hidden in a secret place and watched, see *Ibid*. For how the crusaders killed the residents regardless of their age and sex, see *Ibid*.

⁶⁰¹ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 76.

⁶⁰² Retreating would also be against his values and chivalric nature. When he realized that no one would follow him, he shouted, “*Honour, the king exclaimed, ‘ladies and love! What are you going to say when you see these crowding to run away? They’ll never win glory and honour, all are marked with shame!’*” Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 86. An emir, Kutluboga al-Mansuri, led the approaching Mamluk army. See, al-Maqrizi and Tagribirdi. According to Al-Maqrizi, fearing a possible plot, Yalbogha hesitated to send a relief force to Alexandria. Additionally, the Nile flood refrained the army from reaching Alexandria on time. *Ibid*.

⁶⁰³ The governor had sent a Jew for negotiations who crossed forty ships to reach Peter’s ship, where he was probably with Peter Thomas and Philip, and was dressed in robes covered with gold ornaments and with a precious crown on his hand. See, Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 369.

16 October 1365, carrying off countless plunder and five thousand prisoners, Peter's army left Alexandria.⁶⁰⁴

The outcome of this expedition was different from what Peter had hoped. If the sack of Alexandria was derived out from commercial purposes, which was not denied but also not put at the center of Peter's motivation in this study, he could achieve only a little. Likewise, Peter's hope to recover the Holy Land came to nothing, which was a more significant failure for Peter. He must have been disheartened that there was little chance of achieving his lifetime goal, but his future actions proved that he still had hope. The pope received the news with great joy, such as the enthusiastic crusaders of the West.⁶⁰⁵ Amadeus of Savoy had completed his preparations, and Charles V of France, whose father had the vow to participate in this expedition, sent an envoy to Peter expressing his intentions to dispatch an army for the salvation of the Holy Land. Du Guesclin also swore to fight against the infidels in the East or the West.⁶⁰⁶ This would have supported Peter considerably if he had managed to hold Alexandria and defend it against the Mamluks. The odds of achieving this end are questionable due to the fact that the Mamluk sources would predominate Peter's. However, from the documentary evidence and his actions after the Alexandrian expedition, it is safe to assert that he believed and struggled to recover the Holy Land.

⁶⁰⁴ Slavery was the main commodity in the Mamluk state and the western merchant cities, especially the Genoese, were active in the slave trade. See, Atiya, *Crusade Commerce*, 183.

⁶⁰⁵ Machairas, *Recital*, 94-95.

⁶⁰⁶ Jean Chevalier, *Chronique du de Guesclin*, v1, Bureau de la Bibliothèque choisie, 1830, p. 65; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 370.

The Mamluks immediately began rebuilding the city but the damage was so severe that the city's revival took decades to achieve. Moreover, non-Muslims in Egypt, especially the Christians, Jews, and Copts, suffered from this catastrophe as well, having imposed new taxes to collect the ransom to free some of the Muslim prisoners. Additionally, many Christians lost their lands due to confiscation. Many others were imprisoned, and the foreigners turned out to be an annoyance for the Mamluks.⁶⁰⁷ Peter's blow undoubtedly shook the Mamluks, but an even more tremendous blow was dealt to the future of the Kingdom of Cyprus. Even after Peter's death, animosity between the Mamluks and the Cypriots continued until the Mamluks took their vengeance in the fifteenth century. In 1425 and 1426, they attacked Cyprus, almost conquered it, and captured king Janus, who remained in captivity for eight months in Egypt.⁶⁰⁸

Another blow was dealt to the Italian merchants, who received the news badly as their commercial relations with the Mamluks were ruined. Immediately after the expedition, they sent envoys to the Mamluks, eagerly proposing to establish peace and continue the commercial relationship. However, the Mamluks refused their offer, expressing that to make peace with Christians, they should first make peace with the Cypriots.⁶⁰⁹ Nevertheless, the Italian merchants, especially the Venetians, wrestled with

⁶⁰⁷ Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 272.

⁶⁰⁸ Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 272. For the reign of Janus, see Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 467-93.

⁶⁰⁹ Machairas, *Recital*, 96

making peace with the Mamluks, and they played tricks to create obstacles for Peter's future plans. Deteriorated relationship with the Italians proved to be a fatal mistake after Peter's death.

CHAPTER VI

DECLINE

The Alexandrian Crusade marked the end of the apogee of Peter's reign, which could be discussed in a very different tone before and after the expedition. The expedition's outcome was mainly negative, and Peter could achieve only a little, especially considering how hard it had been to orchestrate the crusade. Moreover, now that his kingdom was at war with the Mamluks, the Italian city-states were aggrieved by Peter's expedition.

On 16 October, the English had already left, and the Germans and most French followed them. Peter and his Cypriot troops were the last ones who left Alexandria. They had planned a route to Limassol, in Southern Cyprus, to land the troops and then carry the goods to Famagusta through Cape Greco.⁶¹⁰ On their way, however, a storm broke out, and, according to Mézieres and Machaut, it was so terrifying that the crusaders regretted leaving Alexandria and not finishing the god's work.⁶¹¹ After reaching the island, the western crusaders unloaded some of the cargo and immediately departed for Europe carrying booty far too numerous.⁶¹² Peter and

⁶¹⁰ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 87; Machairas, *Recital*, 94; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 334; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 272. According to Amadi, John of Tyre, the admiral did not land as he was sent to the pope to announce the capture of Alexandria. See, *Amadi*, 378, no. 830.

⁶¹¹ Nevertheless, for Machaut, the god protected Peter. See, Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 134-35; Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 87.

Peter Thomas traveled to Nicosia, where a grand procession was held to aggrandize Peter's triumph against the infidels. During the celebrations, Peter Thomas preached to the Cypriots, highlighting that another crusader force would be dispatched from the West against the Mamluks.⁶¹³

6.1 Peter's Politics (Round Two)

In recent years, Peter had suffered from losing his allies and enthusiasts of his ideas. However, one of the significant losses was yet to come. After the celebrations, Peter asked the papal legate Peter Thomas to travel to Avignon to give detailed information regarding the Alexandrian expedition and ask for further help. Due to the results of the legate's mission, Peter was going to plan another trip to Europe. To depart for Avignon, Peter Thomas traveled to Famagusta in December 1365. However, while waiting for his transport, he actively participated in Christmastide celebrations and rituals in the cold winter and was weakened by fasts and vigils. Furthermore, he participated in solemnities where he walked barefoot in the mud. Eventually, he fell ill, so Mézieres came to Famagusta with a physician. Mézieres stayed with Peter Thomas until 3 January 1366, when the legate asked him to return to Nicosia to conclude their preparations for their journey to Avignon. On 6 January, however, Peter Thomas died and was hailed as a saint during his funeral.⁶¹⁴ By the legate's death, Peter lost another ally, and this time, it was a loss that was impossible to compensate for.

⁶¹² As Machaut indicates, Peter found them very troublesome. See Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 87. Nevertheless, Peter stayed in his residence in Limassol and paid the remaining lords and the local men lavishly before leaving for Nicosia. See, *Ibid.*

⁶¹³ Machairas, *Recital*, 94; Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 87-88; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 68-69; Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 140-41.

⁶¹⁴ Mézieres, *St. Peter Thomas*, 142-58. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 311-15. Mézieres had returned to Nicosia but then hearing the legate's worsened condition, traveled to Famagusta

Before his death, Peter Thomas received a proposal from a merchant expressing that he could intermediate between the Cypriots and the Mamluks to make peace. However, Peter Thomas was not interested in this offer and threatened the merchant with excommunication.⁶¹⁵ The legate's attitude is understandable as he had sent letters to the pope and the emperor, remarking that Alexandria was the Eastern equivalent of Venice and could have been the Eastern stronghold of Christendom had not the crusaders abandoned the city.⁶¹⁶

Nevertheless, the Italian effort to make peace continued. As mentioned above, the sultan refused to maintain trade with the Italians while at war with Cyprus. Thus, Italians sent envoys to Peter to persuade him to start peace talks. Both Peter's and the sultan's intentions were dubious, but starting the peace negotiations proved to be a setback for Peter's plans. After Peter agreed on exchanging envoys, without waiting for any practical result, Venetians said to Europeans that peace was concluded.⁶¹⁷ This announcement dramatically affected the preparations as some enthusiasts changed their minds, such as Amadeo of Savoy, who had previously taken the cross to join Peter but postponed his departure. However, hearing the news, he changed his destination and decided to fight for the Byzantines against the Bulgarians who had captured the emperor, who was Amadeo's cousin.⁶¹⁸ Charles V

shortly before his death. See, *Ibid.* John of Tyre had been waiting for Peter Thomas in Rhodes to accompany him to Venice. Apparently, he was in Famagusta but then went to Rhodes to wait for the legate. See, Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 314. Machairas and Strambaldi imply that Peter Thomas died in Rhodes, but they are wrong. Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 69; Machairas, *Recital*, 95. John of Tyre set sail for Avignon after the legate's death in March. First, he visited Genoa, then traveled to Avignon in August and presented the pope with a banner from Alexandria. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 305.

⁶¹⁵ Mézières, *St. Peter Thomas*, 140-41.

⁶¹⁶ Mézières, *St. Peter Thomas*, 135-40. Machairas, *Recital*, 94-95. We need documentary evidence if he received any answers.

⁶¹⁷ Machairas, *Recital*, 94-96.

⁶¹⁸ Machairas, *Recital*, 95-96; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 371.

of France's support was also lost, and du Guesclin diverted his effort to fight in Spain. At this point, Peter probably felt that he required some more time to strike another blow to the Mamluks, as he dispatched three envoys, equipped with many presents, to the sultan.⁶¹⁹ Moreover, he immediately accepted the sultan's first request, which was to release the prisoners taken at Alexandria, and in good faith, Peter ordered bringing them together in a ship to send to the sultan.⁶²⁰

However, there were several problems. The pope had restricted trading with the Mamluks, and the immediate joy in the West turned out to be a downswing as they started to feel a shortage of specific products. While the Eastern Christians were under Mamluk pressure, in the West, especially the shortage of spice and increasing prices became challenging.⁶²¹ Worse, despite the fact that they began negotiating peace, the Mamluks started to build a navy as large as a hundred vessels, and it seems they played for time.⁶²² On Peter's side, on the other hand, it was not different as he sought to have assistance from the West for another expedition while exchanging emissaries with the Mamluks. He obviously needed time as Western support for his cause was diminished. Moreover, Peter had to halt any possible Mamluk offensive as his kingdom's security laboriously relied on it.

It is evident that the Mamluks were aware of the difficulties the Westerners were having. Therefore, in early 1366 he sent envoys to Venice and Genoa to examine

⁶¹⁹ These envoys were John of Alfonso, George Settica and Paul of Belonia. See, Machairas, *Recital*, 99. It is not clear how many prisoners were kept in Cyprus.

⁶²⁰ Machairas, *Recital*, 100

⁶²¹ Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 274. Raymond Bérenger, the master of the Hospitaller of Rhodes, alerted the brothers in France, stating that the Eastern Christians were under Mamluk pressure. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 89.

⁶²² Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 307. According to al-Nuwayri, the fleet was as large as 150 vessels. See, al-Nuwayrī *Kitāb al-Ilmām*.

their moods. At this point, Italian motivation and their change of policies, that is to say, their eagerness to make peace with the Mamluks, needs further explanation. At the beginning of the expedition, Venetians and the Genoese were unaware of the final destination of the crusade. Yet, they were on alert, extrapolating that the expedition would target the Aegean, Syria or Egypt. What is more, they were most probably aware of the impossibility of landing on Syrian coasts as main ports and the strongholds had either been destroyed or adequately defended. Moral certainty, in any case, was the Aegean or the Eastern Mediterranean, where the Italians had commercial welfare.⁶²³ Despite their share was greater at Alexandria, yet their commercial interests would be damaged even if the expedition targeted the Aegean. There is no doubt that Venetians calculated the possible outcomes of this expedition, yet they provided their ships and shared a huge sum of loot from the plundering. However, all these were of Doge Celsi's policies who, in one way or another, supported -or obliged to support- the expedition. Nevertheless, Mark Cornaro succeeded him in July 1365, when the fleet had already departed for Alexandria. The new doge, Cornaro, sought to maintain peace and recommence business with the Mamluks as soon as possible.⁶²⁴ In this respect, they constantly dispatched emissaries to the Mamluks, which was observed by the papacy and was not welcomed.

On 25 January 1366, Urban V sent a letter to the doge, protesting him because of his contact with the Mamluk envoys. The pope urged him by noting that the Mamluks desired to divide the Christians and implied that he knew that they were preparing for another expedition. Hence, he forbade the Italians to negotiate with the

⁶²³ For the immediate objective and discourse, see above.

⁶²⁴ Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 336-37.

Muslims without papal permission.⁶²⁵ However, the Venetians had already sent envoys to undertake individual negotiations with the Mamluks, realizing that the pope would soon ban trading with the Mamluks. Thus the doge sent letters to Venetian envoys in Cairo, Francisco Bembo, and Peter Soranzo, and sent two ambassadors to the papal curia Marino Venier, and Giovanni Foscarini.⁶²⁶ Venetian efforts were in vain because, although the Mamluks received the Venetian envoys very well, they did not make peace, remarking that they should first punish Peter.⁶²⁷ Venetian envoys traveled to Cyprus without any practical result to persuade Peter to make peace with the Mamluks.

In April 1366, Venetians reached Cyprus but failed to convince Peter.⁶²⁸ The envoys reported their journey to the king and informed him that Mamluks arrested many Christians and confiscated their lands. Peter lost his temper and nearly ordered his ships to raid to Syrian coasts. However, his advisers barely stopped Peter by begging that the Mamluks would kill the prisoners in Egypt and Syria.⁶²⁹ This was undoubtedly a failure for the Venetians. So the doge fabricated a story, sending a letter to his envoys in Avignon, asking them to inform the pope that a draft agreement was made and Peter intended to end the war.⁶³⁰ Fake information was also publicized to break down the crusading enthusiasm, which worked to a certain

⁶²⁵ Raynaldus, *Annales Ecc.* 1366, Vol. 7, no. 12, 134-35.

⁶²⁶ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 92-93; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 3, 753.

⁶²⁷ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 92-93. The sultan allowed Venetian merchants to come and go Egypt. See Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 754-55.

⁶²⁸ Machaut does not provide a date but reveals that they traveled to Limassol. Additionally, he depicts that the envoys found Peter at his palace in Limassol. However, it is not certain if Peter was in Limassol or Nicosia at the time. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 93. On the other hand, Machairas depicts that they traveled to Famagusta reaching on 25 April. See, Machairas, *Recital*, 96.

⁶²⁹ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 93-94.

⁶³⁰ *Amadi*; *Chronica del Regno di Cypro*, Vol.2, 69; *Chronique de l'île de Chypre*, 263; Machairas, *Recital*, 97-98.

extent. However, the pope was still on Peter's side, whose letter had just arrived in Avignon, complaining about Venetians.⁶³¹

Another Venetian *arrière-pensée* was to obtain trading concessions from the pope, if not immediately, in the near future. Their first attempt was inconclusive, but they kept trying to persuade the pope, and eventually managed to have trade permission on 23 June 1366, authorizing to send twelve vessels allowed to carry Venetian goods excluding armaments, and materials that could be used to build weapons or ships.⁶³² In return, the Venetians assured the pope they would not conclude any arrangements without papal consent. Finally, in January 1367, they were able to have permission to send two additional galleys to Egypt, initially for the purpose of bringing some Venetian captives into Egypt, but these galleys also transported goods.⁶³³

Under their new doge, Cornaro's rule, the Venetians took a step further, asking Peter for compensation for the losses of Italian merchants who had warehouses in Alexandria, which the king refused.⁶³⁴ In August 1366, the Venetians issued a ban on transporting weapons and horses to Cyprus and a restriction on Venetian sailors working for Peter's fleet. Moreover, they sent numerous gifts to emir Yalbugha, known for his passion for hunting and love of falcons. These efforts had two points: first, they implicitly declared to the Muslims that they would not support Peter's wars,

⁶³¹ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 3, 755-56.

⁶³² Venetians were allowed to send eight ships and four galleys. See, Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 276.

⁶³³ Two more galleys were sent in June 1368 as well. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 276.

⁶³⁴ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 93-94; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 309; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 337.

and second, they took precautions to prevent Peter from exploiting their business.⁶³⁵ Although the pope protested Venetians in October 1366, the Venetian attitude did not change and it proved to be more difficult to launch any successful attacks on Egypt, Syria, and Palestine without adequate Western support.⁶³⁶ Nevertheless, despite all their effort, the Venetian trade with the Mamluks did not cease. In June 1367, the senate decided to import some essential products from Egypt that were vital for the city. In 1367 and 1368, they received a license from the pope to trade with the Mamluks. As a response to the Venetian policy, outraged by the Venetian edict of October 1366, Peter penned a letter to the doge, protesting the bans, indicating that the Venetians should soon revoke the edict and return to the path of Christ. He also stated that he assembled a fleet for his holy cause but delayed his departure as the Venetian ships were still in Egypt, and he waited for their return.⁶³⁷ On the other hand, he sent Philippe de Mézieres to Venice to chasten the doge.⁶³⁸

Disrupted trade and political relations, did not work well for Peter and his kingdom as well. The aftermath of the Alexandrian expedition and Peter's politics strongly relied on his relationship with the West. The Venetians were actively involved in politics as voluntary mediators, despite the resistance of the pope and Peter. However, Peter was in a politically weak position, and contrary to the general belief,

⁶³⁵ According to Hill, it is not entirely true to assert that Venetians deliberately intended to mislead the West regarding the negotiations. Instead, he claims that Venetian interference harmed the negotiations and provoked the failure as well. It is, however, highly doubtful as Peter and also the sultan played for time, which could be the primary reason behind the failure of negotiations. Moreover, it is not realistic to assert that the Venetians misunderstood the intentions between the negotiators, because of the fact that they were at the center of the negotiations. For Hill's assertion, see Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 341.

⁶³⁶ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 285-89; Machairas, *Recital*, 98-99. The Venetians sent gifts to the Mamluks worth 600 ducats. However, many essential products were banned from transporting, such as timber, food, fodder, horses, and arms. See, Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 327; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 277.

⁶³⁷ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 286-88. 23 November 1366.

⁶³⁸ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 324.

disrupted trade did not flourish Famagusta's role in the Mediterranean trade. What is more, political turmoil created a financial burden for Peter. If he had gained anything at Alexandria, he was obliged to spend it on further expeditions as the Western support was now lost. On 23 October 1366, Peter's envoys were in the papal curia, and Pope Urban V delivered them a letter in which he noted that he was unable to dispatch any support to Peter because he was transferring his seat from Avignon to Rome and, acknowledging Peter's intentions to fight against the infidels, he suggested him to make an honorable peace with the Mamluks. It was also told to Peter's envoys that the *free companies* were still a terrible problem in Europe and that the resources of Christendom were drained because of prevalent fights. The pope also added that he called the West to support Peter militarily and would grant indulgences to those who would want to join another crusade. However, this effort had no practicality.⁶³⁹

Meanwhile, as mentioned above, Peter had already started negotiating with the Mamluks, but this effort seems to a play for time. Peter's fleet was almost ready and had already started raids, if not directly, toward Egypt.⁶⁴⁰ He had sent envoys to Egypt in March 1366 asking for the release of Christian prisoners. Later, he told the Venetians that if the Muslims wanted peace, they should send their ambassadors to Cyprus. Eventually, the Mamluk envoys reached Famagusta on 31 May 1366, carried by a Venetian ship. Two days later, they were in Nicosia at Peter's court and

⁶³⁹ Raynaldus, *Annales Ecc.* 1366, v7 no. 13, 135; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 277-78.

⁶⁴⁰ Peter had intended to attack Beirut but directed the attack to the Anatolian coasts because of the Venetians. The fleet raided the coasts between Alanya and Manavgat and retreated to Antalya, before arriving at Famagusta, directed by John of Mousty admiral of Cyprus. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 91-92. John of Mousty's troops captured a fortress and a harbor in Alanya and Brémond of La Voulte had been ordered to raid in the spring but failed to undertake the mission due to a storm. The target was Asia Minor. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 89-90.

resided at the house of the Lord of Tyre.⁶⁴¹ Peter and the Haute Cour listened to the Mamluks' terms, and Peter offered his terms, which were not acceptable, and so heavy that the Mamluk envoys asked Peter to send his envoys to Egypt. Peter had asked for the return of the Kingdom of Jerusalem as it was his inheritance, for all prisoners to be released, the merchants should be freed from customs duties, and the Mamluks should not harbor the enemies of the Kingdom of Cyprus.⁶⁴²

Before leaving Nicosia, Peter organized festivities for the Mamluk envoys, during which Peter's knights performed jousting, and the Mamluks were amazed.⁶⁴³ As the Mamluks returned, Peter sent his delegation to Cairo. However, Peter still did not have a real intention to make peace as, in addition to his previous demands, he offered a combat between the best soldiers of two states; a combat between ten, a hundred or a thousand men, or if the emir Yalbugha accepts, a duel between him and Peter. Nevertheless, his demands were rejected.⁶⁴⁴ Meanwhile, the Italian merchants continued suffering from the Mamluk pressure. Venetian and Catalan merchant vessels were seized at Alexandria and Tripoli.⁶⁴⁵

6.2 The King Wants More: Negotiations and Raids

While continuing negotiations with the Mamluks, Peter built a fleet for his expeditions. In October 1366, Peter answered the call from the sultan, who stated

⁶⁴¹ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 321, fn. 3; Strambaldi, "Chronica," Vol. 2, 71. Machairas says they arrived on 27 May. See Machairas, *Recital*, 98. The Mamluk ambassadors were Tokbugha, an admiral, and Nasr-ed-Din, a Genoese convert. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 321, 23.

⁶⁴² Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 97-98; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 321-22.

⁶⁴³ According to Machaut, the Mamluks do not understand these "sports". See Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 98.

⁶⁴⁴ Iorga, 321-22; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 340. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 278.

⁶⁴⁵ Machairas, *Recital*, 102-103; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 340, fn. 1 and 2.

that he would continue negotiations only after the Muslim captives were released. Peter answered this call, collected the prisoners in Cyprus, and sent them to Egypt with his envoys, William of Ras and Paul of Belonia. Unfortunately, William of Ras could not complete his mission as he fell sick and left the ship at Paphos, so the latter continued alone. However, when the ship arrived, Paul of Belonia was arrested because the sultan was angered as he did not expect an envoy with such a low rank. Sensing the danger, the captain of the ship escaped and informed Peter of the incident.⁶⁴⁶ Unhappy with his envoy's imprisonment and the almost capture of his ship, he finalized his preparations for his new raids. By the end of November, as Machairas depicts, he had assembled a fleet of 116 vessels, 56 of them were galleys and four of these galleys were Hospitaller ships.⁶⁴⁷ Peter's fleet sailed on 17 January 1367, and according to Machaut, after five days and five nights at sea struck by a terrible storm, Peter, very sick, came back to Cyprus, spending the rest of the month in his chamber. However, fourteen galleys were separated during this storm and continued their journey under the commandship of Florimont of Lesparre in November 1366.⁶⁴⁸ Florimont and the others attacked Tripoli and captured the commander of the castle, plundered the city, and waited for the rest of the fleet. However, Peter's fleet had been driven to Karpas, and he had retired to the island,

⁶⁴⁶ Machairas, *Recital*, 101-102; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 73; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 353. Hill, citing an account of Ibn Qadi Shuhbah in Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen* v4. p. 514 provides an alternative story, in which Peter sent fifty prisoners to Egypt and promised to send the rest after the negotiations were finalized. However, he was yet to send the rest of the prisoners after a month, which angered emir Yalbugha. The enraged emir sent his men to execute the envoys and capture the ship. Nevertheless, the ship escaped to the protection of Catalan and Genoese ships. Yalbugha's three ships were involved in fighting with the Christian ships and lost fifty men, after which the Christian ships sailed away. See, Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 343 and fn. 1.

⁶⁴⁷ Machairas, *Recital*, 103. According to Machaut, the fleet was sailed in November, but Machairas and Strambaldi depict that it was assembled in November and set sail on 17 January 1367. See, Macaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 102; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 76. On the other hand, Amadi points out that Peter set sail on 6 June in command of a fleet of 116, of which four galleys and twelve foists belonged to the Hospitallers of Rhodes. See, *Amadi*, no. 833, 378.

⁶⁴⁸ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 102; Machaut does not mention the attack on Tripoli.

so after twelve days, Florimont retreated from Tripoli to Famagusta where he found the rest of the fleet.⁶⁴⁹

Although this expedition was a minor success, Peter's war effort drove the Mamluks to negotiate peace. As a result, Emir Yalbugha released Paul of Belonia and sent him to Cyprus with his two ambassadors and their retinue of forty people.⁶⁵⁰ Peter was in Famagusta when the Mamluk envoys arrived, and the Haute Cour had advised him to continue negotiations. Negotiations proved to be successful and agreed upon by Peter. According to the terms, it seems that Peter dropped his claim on the Kingdom of Jerusalem but asked for permission for the pilgrims. Also, he requested that the customs duties be reduced to half, and pilgrims related to Peter or his royalty should be freed of taxes. Furthermore, Peter requested mutual effort against the corsairs near Cyprus and Alexandria. Additionally, many terms regarding trade relations were agreed upon.⁶⁵¹ Peter sent his envoys with the draft treaty, and James of Nores was responsible for this mission. Accordingly, two galleys set sail from Famagusta, one of which belonged to the King of Aragon. They reached Cairo on 25 March.⁶⁵² However, emir Yalbugha was murdered, and a new administration was established.⁶⁵³ The envoys reached Cairo on 25 March 1367 and were

⁶⁴⁹ *Amadi*, 379 no. 833. It is not entirely clear if this expedition was delayed because Peter was already sick or got sick during the storm, returned to Cyprus, and retired in his chamber. This confusion is due to the different dates given by the chroniclers mentioned above.

⁶⁵⁰ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 292; *Amadi*, 379 no 833. According to Amadi, the negotiations were made public on 10 February 1367. See, *Ibid*.

⁶⁵¹ For draft treaty, See, Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 291-302. Also see Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 77-79, 85; Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 102-4, 126-28.

⁶⁵² Within these ships were Muslim prisoners in Cyprus and some knights who wished to visit the Holy Land. According to Machaut, a thousand prisoners were sent on these ships, which seems exaggerated. He also states that Peter refused some knights to leave, fearing they might not return. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 129-30.

⁶⁵³ Machaut depicts that Yalbugha plotted against the Cypriot delegation when they arrived in Cairo but died before achieving anything. However, he had already died when the negotiations started in Famagusta. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 134-36. For the delegation sent to Egypt, See Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 77; *Amadi*, 379; Machairas, *Recital*, 106.

honorably received. Nevertheless, the Mamluks changed their minds partly due to the absence of Yalbugha or for an unknown reason. Another reason, however, might be that James of Nores offended the sultan during a feast by commenting on the Muslim way of fasting, which outraged the young sultan Shaban. Eventually, the Mamluks let the Cypriot delegation wait for an answer for 20 days and sent their envoys with new draft arrangement terms.⁶⁵⁴ When Mamluk envoys reached Cyprus in June 1367, Peter had already left the island for Rhodes.

6.3 Attack on Corycos and Revolt at Antalya

While negotiating with the Mamluks, in February 1367, Peter heard from Corycos that Karamanids were preparing to attack the city. As he was undertaking peace negotiations, he sent his brother, John of Lusignan, to Corycos with a relief force of ten galleys, which transported many knights, six hundred men-at-arms, and three hundred archers. This fleet left Famagusta on 26 February.⁶⁵⁵ When the fleet arrived, the Karamanids had already besieged the city, using war machines, and captured a tower outside the city. The relief force engaged with the enemy but could not succeed, so they retired to the castle. Meanwhile, John sent James of Nores to Cyprus for more reinforcements. Cypriots held the city for a week but then engaged in fighting, surpassed the Karamanid army, and forced them to retreat. When another relief force arrived Corycos, the battle had already ended. Expecting a counterattack, John waited at Corycos until 14 March but then returned to Cyprus.

⁶⁵⁴ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 142-44; Machairas, *Recital*, 106-7; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 80-82; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 364; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 347; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 278.

⁶⁵⁵ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 105-6; *Amadi*, 379 no. 834. According to Machaut, the fleet reached Corycos on the same day, but Amadi asserts that they reached the town on the last day of February. See, *Ibid.* Machaut also indicates that the Karamanid army was as strong as 45.000 men, which is an exaggeration. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 105.

During the siege, some Christian leaders died, and some were wounded, including Florimond of Lesparre.⁶⁵⁶

Until May, Peter was in Cyprus, waiting for a response from the Mamluks. While waiting, he ordered his fleet to station in Famagusta, and among those ships were some which had to set sail to Antalya to deliver the payment and supplies of the garrison in the city. However, because of this delay, the garrison mutinied against the commander-in-chief, Leon d'Antiaume. Peter Canel led the revolted garrison⁶⁵⁷, and he threatened Leon with delivering the keys to the city to the Karamanids. However, Leon prevented him from handing the city over to the Karamanids and immediately sent an urgent letter to Peter, which triggered him and let him leave Cyprus with his fleet of at least 32 vessels on 26 May 1367, probably arriving on the same day.⁶⁵⁸ The payments were made upon Peter's arrival, and Peter Canel was executed. He left Thomas Montolif in charge of the city and, taking Leon with him, traveled to Rhodes, where he expected to meet with the Grandmaster of the Hospitaller of Rhodes.⁶⁵⁹ At the time, the Grandmaster, Raymond Bérenger, was not

⁶⁵⁶ This is Machaut's version of the story which seems more reliable who delivers a very detailed story, compared to Machairas, whose story is slightly different and brief. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 105-126. According to Machairas, the relief force did not engage in any fighting but was directly stationed in the castle, resisting for three days but then making a sortie which caused the enemy to retreat. As he depicts, John waited for twelve days and returned to Cyprus. See, Machairas, *Recital*, 106-108. Machaut provides the names of Cypriot belligerents in detail. Within the Cypriot forces were: John of Morphou, Count of Edessa; Simon Thinouli; John of Ibelin, seneschal of Jerusalem, who had accompanied Peter during his first tour to Europe and served to Edward III for a while, eventually returning to Cyprus in 1366; a Cypriot knight, John Petit; Robert Le Rous, an English knight; John Pastés, a known and respected knight; Guy La Bevaux; John Monstry and many other foreign and French knights. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 107. For other knights and a list of the dead during the battle see, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 108-10.

⁶⁵⁷ Amadi calls "Master Peter Cavello", but Machairas calls "Peter Canel". See, *Amadi*, 378, no. 835; Machairas, *Recital*, 111, 114.

⁶⁵⁸ Twenty-eight of the ships were Cypriot, four were Hospitaller, and had some other vessels. See, *Amadi*, p. 379, no. 835; Machairas, *Recital*, 111; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 79; Bustron, *Chronique*, 264. According to Amadi the other vessels were small *leins*. See, *Amadi*, 379, no. 835.

⁶⁵⁹ *Amadi*, 379, no. 835; Machairas, *Recital*, 111, 114; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 79; Bustron, *Chronique*, 264.

in Rhodes, and Peter's intention is unclear. The documentary evidence regarding his travel to Antalya is scarce, as Machaut does not mention this event, and Machairas, Amadi, Strambaldi, and Bustron only provide very brief details. The disruption in Machaut's work is not entirely clear, but he provides detailed information regarding Peter's stay in Rhodes.⁶⁶⁰ Nevertheless, Peter may have wished to discuss his plans regarding the Mamluk problem.

6.4 War Machine: Peter Attacks on Tripoli

When in Rhodes, James of Nores returned from Cairo with the Mamluk envoys and met with Peter at Rhodes. However, hearing that previous terms were rejected and renewed in favor of the Mamluks, he broke off the negotiations and imprisoned the Mamluk envoys. Grandmaster Raymond Béregner, also delivered news from the West, stating that admiral John of Sur was ready to depart for Cyprus for a new expedition. Moreover, the Anatolian emirs had recently did homage to him, including the emir of Tekke, so that Peter secured his kingdom's protection for a new expedition.⁶⁶¹

Under these circumstances, in early August, he traveled to Cyprus, and landed on Kiti, a town in Southern Cyprus near Larnaca.⁶⁶² However, Peter fell ill and traveled to Nicosia to his palace, leaving his brother in charge, who also fell ill.⁶⁶³ On 22 September, a galley of John of Grimade⁶⁶⁴ arrived, carrying John of Sur and the

⁶⁶⁰ For the details, see below.

⁶⁶¹ Machairas, *Recital*, 114.

⁶⁶² Machairas, *Recital*, 114-15. The arrangements with the emirs were publicly announced. See, *Ibid.* also see, Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 83; Amadi, p. 380 no. 837.

⁶⁶³ Machairas, *Recital*, 115.

⁶⁶⁴ Amadi calls Grimade, but Edbury and Hill adopt Grimante. See, Amadi, p. 380 no. 837, and fn. 1; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 352.

bishop of Famagusta, Arnaud. The next day Peter joined them and set sail for Tripoli with at least 140 ships.⁶⁶⁵ Off the coast of Tripoli, a war council was assembled and decided to attack the city. Peter may have thought of attacking Alexandria again, but his spies informed him that Alexandria was on alert.⁶⁶⁶ Within Peter's army were Cypriot, French, and British knights, and it was as large as 7000 soldiers.⁶⁶⁷ The fleet reached Tripoli on the same day at night, but the city was well fortified, although the commander of the city was absent at the time.⁶⁶⁸ Peter ordered his troops to attack the city, but they achieved only a little despite frequent attacks. The Muslims were driven back only after the involvement of the guards on the ships, who rushed toward the enemy yelling out loud, and the walls were reached. Peter's soldiers immediately started plundering the city but retreated Muslim soldiers who had assembled in the suburbs and hid in the gardens and sugar cane plantations. Before evening fell, the Muslims ambushed Peter's soldiers, who were then disorderly plundering the city. This surprise attack terrorized the attackers, who retreated and formed a defensive line. However, they had suffered

⁶⁶⁵ Machaut gives different numbers: 14 and 160. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 146. Al-Nuwayri estimates 150 vessels. See, al-Nuwayrī *Kitāb al-Ilmām*. The date of the departure is provided differently. Machairas and Strambaldi provide 27 September, and Amadi says 23 September. The date of the attack differs as well. Amadi points out that the fleet arrived the next day and attacked on 25 September. Machairas gives 28 September and Strambaldi 29 September as the date of the attack. See, Machairas, *Recital*, 115; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 84; *Amadi*, 380 no. 838. For a discussion, see Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 352, fn. 6.

⁶⁶⁶ According to Machaut, they read it on the stars, see Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 146; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 352.

⁶⁶⁷ *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois (1327-1393)*, 185. This estimation seems exaggerated that Peter's capacity to recruit 7000 men during the Tripoli expedition is highly dubious and needs further documentary evidence. According to the same chronicle and also Machaut, the city was protected by 20.000 soldiers, which, again, seems hardly possible. See, *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois (1327-1393)*, 185; Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 147. Venetians ordered a captain of a ship, Micaletto Rosso to follow the fleet and report back. See, Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 364, fn. 9. According to al-Nuwayri, Peter's army was 16000 strong and contained 1000 knights. Additionally, he depicts that within the army were Cypriot, French, Genoese, Venetian, Cretan, Rhodian, and Hungarian soldiers. See, al-Nuwayrī *Kitāb al-Ilmām*.

⁶⁶⁸ As Machaut depicts, the city was 20.000 men strong, and 6000 of them were Syrian archers. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 149; *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois (1327-1393)*, 186.

some losses, and under the pressure of Muslim salvos, they barely reached their ships, and lost at least three hundred soldiers, abandoning most of the plunder. Finally, however, they managed to carry off the city gate.⁶⁶⁹

Peter's fleet set sail two days later to Tortosa, sometime in late September 1367.⁶⁷⁰ The city was thoroughly captured and plundered. War materials, wood, iron, pitch, and alike, intended to be used for the sultan's fleet, were destroyed; a cathedral was burnt, and the city gate was carried off as a trophy.⁶⁷¹ After the sack of Tortosa, the fleet traveled to Valania (Banias) and destroyed the town, after which they intended to land Laodicea but failed because of a storm.⁶⁷² After two days, the fleet sailed again to Laiazzo, a city on the Gulf of Alexandria. The city was prepared for an attack and fortified very well. The army managed to capture a tower and the town, but the citadel was so strong so that Peter retreated.⁶⁷³ According to Machaut, Peter attacked and destroyed Tortosa, Laodicea, and Valania, but Laodicea might be a confusion with Laiazzo.⁶⁷⁴ The same mistake was made in *Valois* in which it is suggested that Peter attacked on Tyre, but after an unsuccessful attempt during which the Prince of Antioch was wounded, the fleet went back to Cyprus. This version of the story is not provided by the main chronicles, and it must have been confused with the attack on Laiazzo.⁶⁷⁵

⁶⁶⁹ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 367 and fn. 2; al-Nuwayrī *Kitāb al-Ilmām*. According to al-Nuwayrī, Peter's army lost 800 men, and the Muslims 21. This estimation seems to be a fabrication. See, *Ibid*.

⁶⁷⁰ The exact date is unknown because of the sources' distinctive dates. See fn. above.

⁶⁷¹ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 151-152; Machairas, *Recital*, 211; Amadi, 380, no. 839; Bustron, *Chronique*, 266.

⁶⁷² Machairas, *Recital*, 212; al-Nuwayrī *Kitāb al-Ilmām*

⁶⁷³ Machairas, *Recital*, 213; Machaut, 152-153; Amadi, 380, no. 839.

⁶⁷⁴ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 151.

⁶⁷⁵ *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois (1327-1393)*, 189.

After his final raid to Laiazzo, Peter traveled to Corycos, waiting for the king of Cilician Armenia, Constantine V, who had asked for help and promised to meet Peter. However, the ports were blocked by the Muslims so that the two kings could not communicate, and thus Peter returned to Cyprus, eventually reaching Famagusta on 5 September.⁶⁷⁶ Peter was determined to travel to Italy to meet with the pope. However, he allowed privateering and encouraged those who wanted to raid Syrian and Egyptian coasts. Throughout 1368, Christian adventurers raided the Mediterranean. Among those were Peter and John of Grimante who raided Sidon and succeeded to capture three merchant ships. In response, the Mamluks dispatched some Muslim raiders to Cyprus, but these raids were unsuccessful.⁶⁷⁷

6.5 Peter Misses Europe: The Second Tour

Worried about the recent developments in the East and to solve his problems with Rochefort and Lesparre, Peter was convinced that he needed another large enough expedition to change the game in the Eastern Mediterranean. So he planned another trip to Europe in late 1367. However, the register of his second visit is not as well documented as his first visit. The main sources documenting Peter are There are some reasons behind this. Despite the fact that we may profit from the works of the main historiographers of Peter's reign, the absence of his prominent supporters, such as Peter Thomas and John of France, negatively affected the variety of documentary evidence. Now that his chancellor Mézieres was also out of the picture as in the nucleus of his chronicle was Peter Thomas. Although he

⁶⁷⁶ Machairas, *Recital*, 213; Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 153-154; *Amadi*, 380, no. 839; Bustron, *Chronique*, 266.

⁶⁷⁷ Machairas, *Recital*, 219-222; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 85. Also see, Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 354.

accompanied Peter, he does not provide any written evidence after Peter Thomas' death. Moreover, he had been in Europe since 1366 and recently returned to Cyprus.⁶⁷⁸ Peter was received honorably, and yet he was a legend in the West. However, the atmosphere in Europe had changed since his last visit due to the fact that the general enthusiasm had faded due to political and economic challenges. Even the pope had his own problems since he decided to transfer the curia to Rome.

Peter traveled to Europe with a large retinue, in which he had his son Peter, nephew Hugh, James of Nores, John of Moutry, Theobald Belfarage, and Philippe de Mézières.⁶⁷⁹ After his latest expeditions, and the commercial problems he had been facing lately, for Peter, it became even more problematic to raise the necessary funds for his trip to Europe.⁶⁸⁰ Leaving the island from Paphos, Peter arrived Rhodes and after a short stay, headed to the court of Queen Joanna I in Naples, where he stayed for some days due to his son's illness.⁶⁸¹ When in Naples, Peter received a Venetian official informing him that the pope approved undertaking negotiations with the Mamluks, and Venetian envoys would be sent to Egypt. The Venetians had convinced the pope, and he believed that hostilities affect Christendom in a lousy manner, as the Mamluks still had Christians imprisoned, and another crusade seemed not possible.⁶⁸² In late February or early March, he

⁶⁷⁸ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 347.

⁶⁷⁹ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 346-47.

⁶⁸⁰ According to Amadi, Peter enfranchised the serfs in Cyprus for 200 Bezants per person. This was particularly a low value compared to his earlier efforts. Peter had raised money the same way during his first tour. However, richer serfs had already bought their exemption. See, Amadi, p. 380-381, no. 840. Also see above.

⁶⁸¹ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 370.

⁶⁸² Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 376-77.

reached Rome, where he finally settled his problem with his former knight, Florimont of Lesparre.⁶⁸³

The main question was, without a doubt, Peter's intention to wage war against the Mamluks. He had relied on the pope's support for another expedition, but Urban had recently been under pressure from merchant communities, who desperately needed to come to an agreement with the Mamluks. Urban advised Peter to negotiate but also forbade negotiations with the Mamluks without his permission. The pope also called the envoys of Venice, Genoa, and Aragon to arrive at Rome to agree with Peter before contacting the Mamluks. Peter was in Florence in late April but traveled to Rome to meet with the Italian envoys. Italians tried to persuade Peter but failed, and he yielded only after the pope's intervention. Eventually, on 19 May, Peter declared that he would accept the terms of the 1367 agreement. In a few days, he added new terms in the arrangement, mostly polished versions of earlier agreements, focusing mainly on trading privileges.⁶⁸⁴ To prevent any Mamluk request of indemnity because of Peter's former expeditions, the envoys were advised to declare that Peter raided their coasts as the sultan changed his mind and violated the previous draft agreement. On the other hand, the Italian envoys were obliged to cooperate with each other. Peter also informed his brother, John, who was in charge during his absence, regarding the recent strides and advised him to cooperate with Italian envoys when they reach Cyprus.⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸³ Queen Joanna also arrived in Rome on 17 March 1368. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 376, fn. 5. Despite Florimont's grace and the pope's mediation efforts, Peter resisted coming to terms with Florimont but finally agreed. See, *Ibid.* Peter requested an official bull pointing out his innocence. However, Roche fort did not show up and was thus proclaimed a coward. See, Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 356.

⁶⁸⁴ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 302-8. For Peter in Florence, see *Ibid.*, 291-302.

⁶⁸⁵ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 377; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 279.

In early June, Peter left Rome and headed to Siena, then reached Pisa, where he stayed for three days, was honorably received, entertained, and feasted for three days.⁶⁸⁶ After leaving Pisa, he took a road through Pistoia and Prato, eventually reaching Florence in late June, after which he headed to Bologna.⁶⁸⁷ In Bologna, he met with Jean Froissart and the brother of pope Anglic of Grimoard, cardinal bishop of Albano, to consult regarding his crusading plans and current situation. In Bologna, jousts were organized in his honor.⁶⁸⁸ On 10 July 1368 Peter headed to Ferrara to meet with the emperor Charles IV, who was not in Ferrara but in Mantua. Peter traveled to Mantua, accompanied the emperor back to Ferrara, and then journeyed to Modena on 4 August.⁶⁸⁹ Meanwhile, the Venetians and the Genoese had been pressing for peace, and realizing that it was impossible to organize a new expedition, the pope complied. Now that Peter was alone and had no choice but to give up. Venetians and the Genoese had equipped two galleys each, and together with Peter's instructions to his brother, regent of the kingdom, Peter sent them to Rhodes. The Venetian envoys left on June 1368 and, having joined by the Genoese in Rhodes, headed to Alexandria at the end of this month.⁶⁹⁰ Peter urged his brother to release the Mamluk envoys he had taken prisoner before leaving for Europe and explained that the peace was to be concluded. However, the sultan requested his envoys to be sent to Egypt, and in return, he said he would consider releasing

⁶⁸⁶ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 371-72. It is not sure when exactly he left Rome, but we know that he was still in Rome on 20 May. See, Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 241, 302-8.

⁶⁸⁷ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 313.

⁶⁸⁸ Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 279. According to Machairas, Peter also visited Milan and mediated between Bernabo Visconti and the pope. See, Machairas, *Recital*, 120; Bustron, *Chronique*, 267; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 87. Amadi, 381 no. 842.

⁶⁸⁹ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 379.

⁶⁹⁰ Amadi, 381-382, no. 844; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 87; Bustron, *Chronique*, 267; Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 172. Machaut's account mainly concentrates on the quarrel between Peter and Florimond of Lesparre.

Christian captives. Accordingly, two Italian galleys traveled to Famagusta on 24 August to transport the Mamluk envoys to Egypt.⁶⁹¹

Peter left Italy on 23 September, with eight ships equipped by the Venetians for a retinue of three hundred. However, he left Italy with five hundred people, and before reaching Cyprus, he traveled to Morea where he was pleasantly received by his cousin Margaret of Lusignan.⁶⁹² After discussing her requests, he left for Cyprus, and on the way back, he learned that the Mamluks rejected his peace offer.⁶⁹³ When Italian envoys reached Egypt, they refused to deliver the prisoners before the sultan accepted the terms. However, the emirs greeted the envoys, refused, and ill-treated them, after which they left Egypt for Cyprus. Peter later sent a letter condemning the sultan and requesting the Christian prisoners to be released.⁶⁹⁴

Before leaving Europe for Cyprus, Peter received news from the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia, which was in serious turmoil and distress. The barons of the kingdom were offering the crown to Peter, who, in 1362, upon Constantine III's death, had thought Bohemund of Lusignan for the Cilician crown. But now he was being offered the crown, and it seems that he accepted and took the title "the King of all Armenians"⁶⁹⁵ However, he never had an opportunity to visit the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia.

⁶⁹¹ *Amadi*, 381-382, no. 844.

⁶⁹² Margaret asked him to send his cousin Leo to Morea to arrange a meeting. Additionally, Peter granted Margaret an estate with a revenue of 120,000 bezants. After Peter's death, however, Leo was not allowed to leave the island. See, Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 359.

⁶⁹³ *Amadi*, 382, no. 845; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 90-91; Bustron, *Chronique*, 266-267.

⁶⁹⁴ Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 359.

⁶⁹⁵ For a silver coin of Peter on horseback, See Victor Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Arménie Au Moyen Âge*, Pl. VI, 9, (1855), 96-7, cited by Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 359, fn 1.

CHAPTER VII

FINAL MONTHS

7.1 Amare Vita' of Peter: A Cruel Queen and a Humble Mistress

As a fearless champion, still, in his late thirties, Peter was an attractive king, and he had a loving wife, Eleanor of Aragon.⁶⁹⁶ According to Machairas and Strambaldi, during his journeys, Peter developed a habit: sensually attached to her, Peter had been carrying the shifts of Eleanor and could only fall asleep wearing her underwear.⁶⁹⁷ However, like most medieval kings, and despite Eleanor's alleged jealousy, Peter had taken mistresses as well; one of these mistresses was Joanna l'Aleman, with whom Peter's relationship was publicly known, and the latter was Eschiva of Scandelion.⁶⁹⁸ Peter had parted from Eleanor and was having a relationship with Joanna l'Aleman, which was also reported to the pope, who eventually dispatched a letter to Peter and asked the Archbishop of Nicosia to interfere and persuade Peter to

⁶⁹⁶ Peter's marriage with Eleanor of Aragon is explained in detail. See above.

⁶⁹⁷ Machairas, *Recital*, 130, 216; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 92-94.

⁶⁹⁸ Joanna l'Aleman was the lady of Khoulou and the widow of John of Montolif. See, Małgorzata Dąbrowska, A Cypriot Story about Love and Hatred, *Text Matters*, Volume 4, Number 4, (2014), 201; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 361. According to Hill, his adultery may have been the reason behind why Peter had not received the golden Rose. See, *Ibid.* Machairas asks a question and answers himself: "and if anyone say, Seeing that he had such love for her, how was it he had two mistresses? This he did because of his great sensuality, because he was a young man." See, Machairas, *Recital*, 242; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 360 and fn. 5.

stop having an open affair and take back Eleanor.⁶⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the king ignored the exhortations and left the island for his second trip to Europe in late 1367.

When Peter left, Joanna l'Aleman was eight months pregnant, and aware of Peter's affairs, Eleanor could not tolerate a child being born by one of his mistresses. So, Eleanor ordered Joanna to be brought to her and, expecting to make Joanna miscarry the baby, atrociously tortured her. First, Joanna was put on the ground, and a mortar was put in her abdomen, but it failed to force her to miscarry. The next day, a hand mill, four measures of wheat, was used instead, but again the attempts failed, after which Eleanor's servants tried drugs on Joanna to force an abortion. However, all of their efforts failed, and eventually, Eleanor released Joanna to let her give birth to the child.⁷⁰⁰ Joanna gave birth to the child, but her child was taken away from her, and although the infant's fate is unknown, the child was probably killed. On the other hand, the mother was locked in a prison in Kyrenia and treated calamitously. A week later, the regent changed the dungeon keeper, and the new appointee was a relative of Joanna, Luke d'Antiaume, who ameliorated Joanna's conditions in prison. Eventually, the king heard about the story and, threatening the queen, sent a letter to Eleanor, asking her to release Joanna. The queen ignored the king's letter but shortly afterward, Luke persuaded her in return for the disappearance of Joanna, which she did by retiring at an

⁶⁹⁹ The letter is dated 2 December 1367. See, Bullarium, p. 410, no. v-182. The reasons behind Peter and Eleanor's partaken is not entirely clear.

⁷⁰⁰ *Amadi*, 382, no. 845; Machairas, *Recital*, 215-16; Bustron, *Chronique*, 268; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 93; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 361; Dabrowska, *A Cypriot Story About Love*, 201-2.

abbey, St. Clare.⁷⁰¹ The subsequent part of the story of Joanna, from this point onwards, is unknown. Returning from his travel from Europe during a storm that had almost wrecked his ship, Peter vowed to present gifts to all monasteries on the island, and his safe return was celebrated for eight days, after which he visited the monasteries to fulfill his vow. During his visit to St Clare, he found Joanna and sent her back to his palace.⁷⁰²

Our sources of the story of Joanna and Eleanor are Machairas, Strambaldi, Amadi, and Bustron.⁷⁰³ However, Machairas provides the most detailed version of it. The story got into Cypriot folklore as well, and two stories regarding the confrontation between Joanna and Eleanor are added to the nineteenth-century translations of Machairas.⁷⁰⁴ In Greek folklore, Joanna is a lady named Arodaphnousa living in the vicinity of the royal palace and has two sisters. The king is in love with her and aware of the king's love for Arodaphnousa, the queen locks her into his chamber and cuts her head off while the king tries to enter the chamber. Then, blaming himself for her death, the king arranges a funeral for the lady.⁷⁰⁵ The second version of the story is slightly different. Hearing Arodaphnousa's cries, the king summons at

⁷⁰¹ Machairas, *Recital*, 215-16; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 93. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 361-62.

⁷⁰² Ibid. According to Amadi, Joanna stayed at St. Clare for about a year and a half. See, Amadi, p. 382, no. 845.

⁷⁰³ Amadi, p. 382, no. 845; Machairas, *Recital*, 215-16, 234-237; Bustron, *Chronique*, 268; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 93.

⁷⁰⁴ Machairas, *Recital*, 234 fn. 1. Dawkins points out Müller and Satha's French translation. See, "Chanson sur Arodaphnousa." Appendix. *Chronique de Chypre*. Léonce Machairas. Trans. Emmanuel Miller and Constantin Sathas. Paris: Leroux, 1882. 400-05; "Chanson de la Reine et d'Arodaphnousa." Appendix. *Chronique de Chypre*. Léonce Machairas. Trans. Emmanuel Miller and Constantin Sathas. Paris: Leroux, 1882. 405-08.

⁷⁰⁵ "Chanson sur Arodaphnousa." 400-5.

the door of the queen's chamber but finds it locked from the inside. So he shouts that the Turks are following him. The queen opens the door, and the king sees Arodaphnousa in the oven, after which he casts the queen into the oven as well.⁷⁰⁶ The story of Arodaphnousa has changed over the centuries and has become a folk song known today. In different versions of the story, she is pictured differently, eventually evolving into an innocent country girl.

7.2 The Revenge of the Queen and the Murder of the King

By the time Peter was in Europe, he had left John Visconte in charge of his household. Before setting sail for Cyprus, he received a letter from John on 13 September 1368⁷⁰⁷:

“My most beloved lord - then the greeting - may your excellency know that your most pious consort, the queen, and your brothers who are most dear to me are well. Regarding the news of whom - cursed be the day that I found out and the hour that I thought of notifying you of this, and cursed be the day that you appointed me as a keeper- my heart breaks on announcing this news. I would have hidden it from you, but fearing lest your highness might learn of it from others and that I would then be rebuked, I am informing you of this, commending myself to the grace of God and to your kindness. Word has spread throughout Nicosia that the count of Edessa is the lover of our lady the queen, but it seems to me that they are telling lies, and I absolve myself of this, conducting myself towards them with the required humility. I entreat your lordship that I be commended to you, praying to God for your highness's long life.”⁷⁰⁸

According to the report of John Visconte, there was an affair between the queen and John of Morphou, and upon Peter's borthers' suggestion, John

⁷⁰⁶“ Chanson de la Reine et d'Arodaphnousa.” 405-408; Dabrowska, *A Cypriot Story About Love*, pp. 198-199.

⁷⁰⁷ Bustron also gives the date as 13 October. Mézieres and Machairas, on the other hand, date it 13 December. However, the date should be earlier to reach Peter, given that he left Venice in September. Machairas, *Recital*, 251-58; *Amadi*, 382-83, no. 846; Strambaldi, “Chronicha,” Vol. 2, 94-101; Bustron, *Chronique*, 268-271. Machaut refuses such an affair. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 175-77. For an astrological comment on the date, the letter should have been sent, see Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 362 fn. 3.

⁷⁰⁸ *Amadi*, pp. 382-383, no. 846.

had sent a report to Peter. The king's business in the West seemed to be settled, and he was expecting to make peace with the Mamluks. So he immediately set sail for Cyprus and, after an arduous journey, reached the island. However, before coming to any conclusion, Peter assembled the Haute Cour to make a decision regarding the issue.⁷⁰⁹ The Haute Cour, assembled to discuss how to react to the rumors, but it was hard for the lords to decide against the queen, most probably and understandably not to ruin the relations with the Aragonese royalty. As a result, they decided to put John in prison in Kyrenia. Soon afterward, Peter transferred him to Buffavento, where John died later, probably by starving to death.⁷¹⁰ It is, however, challenging to come to an accurate conclusion as the only documentary evidence to suggest that such an adulterous relationship occurred is the chronicles. On the other hand, this story may have been nothing but common gossip. Whatever the truth is, Peter is dedicated to finding it, but no one apart from John, even Peter's brothers confirmed the allegations were false.

After the allegations of adultery and the meeting of the Haute Cour, Peter's relationship with his household and the knights entered into a tremulous phase. Suspicion and fear prevailed around Peter. The final straw was his dispute with one of his lords, Henry of Gibelet.⁷¹¹ The king's twelve years old

⁷⁰⁹ Machairas also says that John of Morphou bribed the king's mistresses to spread rumors about John Visconte fabricated the story. However, this seems unlikely. See, Machairas, *Recital*, 260.

⁷¹⁰ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 176-177, and fn. 10. A relative of John begged Peter to release him, but Peter rejected. See, Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 363.

⁷¹¹ Henry of Gibelet, viscount of Nicosia. There were two knightly families of Gibelet in Cyprus. It is not entirely clear to which family Henry belonged to. See Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 179, fn. 15.

son and namesake, Peter aspired to have two greyhounds belonging to the son of Henry, James of Gibelet. However, James refused to give his greyhounds to Peter, and when the king heard of this incident, he dismissed Henry from his office and put him in prison with his son. What is more, he forced Henry's daughter to marry an artisan, and when the daughter refused, tortured her.⁷¹² Having heard of the terror, the members of Cypriot nobility were shocked and worried that if they did not interfere, this would encourage the king to impose his cruelty on another member of the nobility. But, according to the assizes, on the other hand, Peter had violated the law, without imprisoning a lord without a common judgement of his peers.⁷¹³

The nobles visited Peter's brothers, John and James, and convinced them to talk to Peter, which turned out to be an effort in vain as when they approached the king, he got his temper and insulted his brothers. The nobles and Peter's brothers assembled the same night and discussed to remind Peter of the vows he had sworn by the time of his accession. However, many of the lords did not believe in this would solve the problems as they feared that Peter would avenge them. Their solution, nevertheless, was to kill the king. Early in the following day the lords released the Gibelets, and marched to the royal household, eventually having access to the royal chamber. Three

⁷¹² Maria of Gibelet, widow of a knight named Guy of Verny. She took refuge into St Clare but was taken captured. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 183 fn. 21. Machairas, *Recital*, 268.

⁷¹³ Edbury, *The Murder of the Kings*, p. 222; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 364; Setton, *The History of the Crusades*, 359-60. According to a tale, Peter had planned to put all of his lords into a tower he named "the Margarita Tower" See, Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 265 and fn. 3; Machairas, *Recital*, 260; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 364. This tower was under construction, but the purpose of building it is not known. Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 181.

leading figures of this party, Philip of Ibelin⁷¹⁴, Henry of Jubail, and John of Gaurelle⁷¹⁵ stabbed the king to death. John Gorap, the former keeper of the household, who had recently been put into prison by Peter, kicked the lifeless body of the king, and the remaining lords in the party stabbed the dead king many times. James of Nores, who was not a member of the plotting party but was obviously concerned about his life after Peter's death, drew his dagger and cut Peter's penis off, saying, "*It was this which cost you your life.*"⁷¹⁶

All of the main chroniclers record the death of the king, but they provide slightly different details. The first question to answer is the date of the murder. According to Machairas the date before the murder was 16 January 1369, and Strambaldi and Amadi confirm this date, by providing that the event occurred on 17 January. Machaut, however, pinpoints that the murder took place on 16 January, and Bustron gives 18 January. The exact date of the plot holds little significance, but from the majority of existing evidence, it is safe to set the date as 16 January.⁷¹⁷ Furthermore, the Haute Cour seems to have made decisions regarding the regency of the crown on 16 January,

⁷¹⁴ Titular lord of Arsur.

⁷¹⁵ Member of an old but little-known knightly family of Cyprus. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 178 fn. 14.

⁷¹⁶ Machairas, *Recital*, 281; Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 187-189; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 322; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 110; Bustron, *Chronique*, 273-276; Amadi, 386-88 nos. 853, 854, 855; Edbury, "Murder of King Peter I," 221-22; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 364-65; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 390. James of Nores probably thought to be on the winning side. According to Machaut, based on his informant, a knight from Champagne, Walter of Conflans, Peter was stabbed forty or fifty times to death. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 174. According to Machaut, Peter was sleeping on his bed next to the queen, not his mistress, and twenty men blew in, among whom there was one knight, John of Vicomte, who had planned this plot when Peter was in Europe. See, *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁷ Machairas, *Recital*, 279; Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 187-189; Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 107; Bustron, *Chronique*, 273; Amadi, 387-88 no. 855.

which makes it safer to assume the date of Peter's death.⁷¹⁸ Another difference, which is not as minor as the former, is the contribution of Peter's brothers to the plot against him. Western chroniclers, Mézieres and Machaut, openly outlaw Peter's brothers and identify them as murderers involved in the conspiracy and also strike the final blow to the king.⁷¹⁹ On the contrary, Machairas is more careful to associate Peter's brothers into the scene, underlining that the king's brothers tried to mediate between the lords and Peter, and puts forward that his brothers were not on the scene of the death, waiting outside the chamber.⁷²⁰

We do not have further evidence to associate John and James with the murder for some reason. After the king's death, his son Peter II took the throne under the regency of his mother, former Queen Eleanor of Aragon, and no one on the scene was punished for the murder of the king. On the other hand, we also lack documentary evidence regarding a former animosity between Peter and his brothers. Furthermore, the evidence suggests that his brothers had served him well and remained loyal to the king. John, for instance, was a capable military commander who traveled with Peter during his tours to Europe and participated in his expeditions as one of Peter's most trusted allies. Despite his young age in 1360's, James was also present at Alexandria and was given the title the Seneschal of Cyprus. So, there is no

⁷¹⁸ This information is based on John of Ibelin's legal treatise. See, *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin. Recueil des historiens des croisades, Lois Col. 1, 3-6.*

⁷¹⁹ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 189-190.

⁷²⁰ Machairas, *Recital*, 283. Edbury, "Murder of King Peter I," 224.

clear indication to believe that Peter's brothers were involved in a plot against him. The only documentary evidence that might be associated with this is Machairas' story, in which he asserts that Peter also wished to put his brothers in the Margarita Tower. The source of this claim, as is mentioned, is the Western historiographers, who were not on the island when Peter was murdered.⁷²¹ However, it is yet not sure if they were aware that the lords would want to murder Peter or if they knew why they did not prevent this being happen.⁷²²

So what killed Peter? It is evident that there was a prevalent dissatisfaction among Peter's nobles, and Peter's attitude in the last months prior to his death must have precipitated this. However, was that enough to lead up to his murder? First of all, within the story, apart from Peter's brothers, six names come to the forefront: afore-mentioned Philip of Ibelin, Henry of Jubail, John of Gaurelle, James of Nores, John Gorap and additionally, Raymond Babin.⁷²³ Philip of Ibelin came from a once very famous family of Ibelin, but for an unknown reason, had been sent into exile by Peter. However, by the pope's reconciliation, he was pardoned and served for Peter during his second tour to Europe.⁷²⁴ Henry of Jubail's imprisonment started

⁷²¹ Machairas, *Recital*, 260; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 390; Cuvelier, *Chron. du Guesclin*, v1, 270. Also see Edbury, *Murder of King Peter I*, p. 225; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 367. Machaut suggests that his informant Walter of Conflans was a witness, but it is highly doubtful. Machaut's whereabouts -despite that he may have met with Peter back in 1364-is not known either. See Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 9.

⁷²² Walter of Conflans, accuses Peter's mother Alice of Ibelin, but his information is not corroborated elsewhere. See, Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 178 and fn. 13.

⁷²³ It is suggested that the plotters be assembled in Raymond Babin's house.

⁷²⁴ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 340, fn. 4. He had also married twice to King Henry IV niece and granddaughter. See, Edbury, *Murder of King Peter I*, p. 226 and fn. 8.

the dispute in the beginning, but formerly, Henry did not have any problems with Peter as he was assigned as the viscount of Nicosia. John Gaurelle, on the other hand, was not a well-known knight but had followed Peter during his first tour to Europe. As Edbury suggests, he was a descendant of a Poitevin follower of Guy of Lusignan the founder of the Lusignan rule on the island.⁷²⁵ James of Nores and Raymond Babin were experienced knights who served both Peter and his father, and proved their military excellence during Peter's wars. Additionally, Raymond had served as the captain of the navy, and while James had been sent to Egypt as a Cypriot envoy to discuss the peace, Raymond served as an ambassador to Pope Innocent VI.⁷²⁶ Finally John Gorap, was not an established lord, and his past can be traced back to 1350's only.

Investigating the murderers' past with Peter, it seems that they had well-established relations with the king and that it is difficult to reveal any further grievance between them and Peter prior to the recent incidents before the latter's death. However, from the developments after his death, we may assume that the grievance Peter caused after he returned from Europe could be able to more than one might think. Immediately after his death, the Haute Cour made some decisions and issued an ordonnance. The initial and most significant decision was to make provisions regarding the regency of the kingdom. However, the Haute Cour also approved certain decisions during this meeting. These decisions were composed of thirteen clauses, and it is

⁷²⁵ Edbury, "Murder of King Peter I," 226.

⁷²⁶ Ibid. Machairas, *Recital*, 102. Also see above.

apparent that many of these clauses simply referred to Peter's former decisions, and sought to prevent recurrence in the future, probably also to protect themselves from any possible avengers.⁷²⁷ According to the ordonnance, the king should not act against his feuds and lords without a legal decision, nor arrange any marriages without considering the status of the social standing of the target. The ordonnance also reminded the responsibilities and rights of the king towards the noble women and the vassals. The king should swear to protect the rights of his feuds, and the Haute Cour should assemble at least once a month. One clause was explicitly designed, evidently because of Peter's financial policies. To afford his travels and wars, Peter abused the financial system on the island, bypassing the Haute Cour, and imposing financial decisions without consultations. So the ordonnance aimed to install a new system in which the king's power was limited.⁷²⁸

Considering Peter's costly expeditions and diplomatic contacts throughout his reign, it is not difficult to assert that Cypriot nobility may have been irritated by the current situation. Peter had sacrificed everything in the name of a holy war, and pursued his fantasies, which were not to come true. Before his father's reign, the island reached the peak of its prosperity, and by the

⁷²⁷ Jean Richard, *La révolution de 1369 dans le royaume de Chypre*. Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes vol.110, pp.110-111; "Bans et ordonnances des rois de Chypre." *Recueil des historiens des croisades*. Lois v2, 378-379. Also see, Edbury, "Murder of King Peter I," 228-229; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 369.

⁷²⁸ Jean Richard, *La révolution de 1369 dans le royaume de Chypre*. Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes vol.110,110-13.

time of Peter's accession, some amount of wealth, if not much, was accumulated in the royal treasury.⁷²⁹

Peter spent the last wealth his father had collected in the beginning of his reign during his wars against the Turkish emirates. In the following years, to compensate for his travels and wars, as mentioned earlier, he allowed the *perperiaraii* to purchase certain rights and immunity from the poll tax.

According to Machairas, the king's counselors warned him in 1366 regarding the economic difficulties and showed their concern about the enormous cost of his military expeditions.⁷³⁰ Eventually, when he died, Peter was in debt, and had to spend the assets of the crown, also imposing new burdens on the Cypriots. As a matter of fact, it is not surprising to have a poor relationship with the localities for Peter by the end of his reign.⁷³¹ In this respect, from the decisions made after Peter's death, it is clearly visible that the lords sought to reduce the costs of war by limiting the king's power over politics and finance and at the same time, sought to reduce the expenditure on other aspects of the warfare, such as costs on mercenaries or the navy. Aware of the situation of the royal treasure, the lords of Cyprus, limited the ability of the mercenaries from discharging themselves from the royal service, due to the fact that the state was not capable of make payments to the mercenaries.⁷³² However, these precautions were also putting the kingdom at risk as peace

⁷²⁹ Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 170 ; Idem., *The Murder of King Peter*, 228; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 368-69. Atiya, *Crusade, Commerce*, 223

⁷³⁰ Machairas, *Recital*, 93; Edbury, "The Murder of King Peter I," 228.

⁷³¹ Edbury, "The Murder of King Peter I," 228.

⁷³² Ibid. 228-29; Jean Richard, *La révolution de 1369*, 115-16.

with the Mamluks had not yet been achieved, and perhaps the best way to achieve this end would be to force the Muslims to accept a peace agreement.

Another prediction regarding the reasons behind the murder of the king of Cyprus is that the Cypriot nobility fell into jealousy because of the Western knights Peter had accepted into his service. Mézieres and al-Nuwayri's assume that Peter's local lords felt that they were not treated equally as his foreign servants, and their consultancy was ignored.⁷³³ This claim, taking the fate of Peter's favorites after his death into account, makes sense. Brémond la Voulte, who served Peter during his campaigns, became one of his favorites and was rewarded with estates on the island -including Polemidhia and Ayios Reginos- was deprived of his estates after Peter's death, and Béremond probably escaped from the cruelty of the murderers because he was not on the island by the time of the murder.⁷³⁴ Another favorite of Peter, a Byzantine Greek from Constantinople, John Lascaris' estates were also confiscated, and he was put into prison without a trial.⁷³⁵ Aforementioned John Moustry, one of Machaut's informants was also stripped out of his possessions and sent into exile by Philip of Ibelin, who apparently had a problem with John.⁷³⁶ Peter's mistress, Eschiva of Scandelion, who had been given estates by the king, also lost her possessions.⁷³⁷ On the contrary,

⁷³³ Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 386 and fn. 5.

⁷³⁴ Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, 64 and fn. 17; Machairas, *Recital*, 187.

⁷³⁵ Edbury, "The Murder of King Peter I," 228.

⁷³⁶ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 302.

⁷³⁷ Machairas, *Recital*, 283.

however, Peter's murderers and brothers enjoyed the island's riches and their political positions during the reign of Peter II.⁷³⁸ In light of the evidence, it is safe to assert that the old nobility dethroned the alien nobility on the island.

Yet it must be answered that what pushed the Cypriot lords too far was to kill their kings instead of to accoy him. Peter's murder was a singular event in the history of Lusignan Cyprus as never before a king had been murdered on the island. Moreover, the crown and the nobility usually maintained a good relationship throughout the history of the kingdom. So what pushed them to go into extremes? For instance, king Henry II, had been forced to retirement in the beginning of the fourteenth century because of his incapability of ruling the island. The lords could have forced the king to retire or compelled him to renew his oaths. However, herein a problem emerges. Peter had established his own circle of favorites composed of foreign knights, and he still had a reputation and influence in the West as well. Considering his strong nature precipitated by his fighter self, it would not be wrong to assert that he would take revenge on the local lords. Likewise, considering the power circle the king had produced, it would also have ben impossible to isolate him from the governmental elements.⁷³⁹

⁷³⁸ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, Vol. 2, 106; *Amadi*, 387, nos. 856, 857; Edbury, *The Murder of King Peter*, 229.

⁷³⁹ Edbury, *The Murder of King Peter*, 229.

Recent events, without a doubt, had affected Peter; his final effort to renew an expedition to the East had failed, so the chance to recover the Holy Land was now more complex than ever, negotiations with the Mamluks had spoiled, he had consumed all of his financial resources, and had allegedly been cheated by his wife. Moreover, given that he imprisoned some of his knights without a decent reason, we may suggest that Peter was shittier than he had ever been and perhaps in some occasions lost his temper without a real cause. However, there is still no reason to suggest that he was murdered because he was mentally unstable. Above all, there was a prevailing distrust within the kingdom, and the war with the Mamluks, financial struggles, and Peter's affinity with the Western knights seem to have brought his end.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The Kingdom of Cyprus, as the easternmost stronghold of Christendom, became an essential outpost for Western polities. Due to its geographical proximity to important trade centers, it also became a crossroads for the merchants. Indeed, the Cypriots and the Italian merchants enjoyed this position on the island in the first half of the fourteenth century. Nevertheless, the island partly owed this position to the fall of the Latin settlements in the Levant at the end of the thirteenth century, and the papal restrictions on trade. By the 1340's, however, papal restrictions were loosened and the island's share in the trade decreased. King Hugh IV of Lusignan's constant contribution to the naval league drained the kingdom's treasure. On the one hand, Hugh fought against the pirates and the Turkish raids on the sea, but on the other hand, he left a fragile economy to his son, Peter I of Lusignan.

When Peter I of Lusignan was crowned as the king, he pursued policies aimed at fighting against the same threats in the Mediterranean, but at the same time, his legitimacy was challenged by his nephew, Hugh. Immediately taking action, he sought to expand his sphere of influence through the Anatolian costs and also sought to find a way to solve his accession case.

Additionally, he had long been dreaming of achieving his lifetime goal, which was to restore his inheritance, the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and liberate the Holy Land. He believed that he had a mission to undertake, and he believed so since his youth when Peter established an order dedicated to Christ, escaped from the island to assemble an army to save the Holy Land, and constantly demonstrated his allegiance to the pope. In the end, his policy to defend his homeland transformed into an epic effort to save the whole of Christendom.

His kingdom was situated on the edge of the Muslim dominions, yet he executed an unparagoned mission that can be distinguished from all other crusades. His achievements in his short life also distinguished him from his predecessors and marked him as the most extraordinary Lusignan ruler of all. Peter's mission could perhaps only be matched to that of St. Louis, undertaken a hundred years ago. He did not just become a prominent figure in his homeland but became a legend throughout Europe. He met with every prominent figure of the fourteenth century, feasted, jostled, and entertained with them, and above all, influenced them. Edward III, The Black Prince, Emperor Charles IV, John II of France, St. Peter Thomas, and even the most important scholars and poets of his time, met him.

Peter undertook a journey to Europe to legitimize his rule, but at the same time to gain European support, which he achieved shortly afterward. The European polities recognized him, and this recognition led him to believe he could achieve more. Thus his journeys to the courts of the European

monarchs and princes began, and it took almost three years to set sail for the East. However, the results were less fruitful than he would want to achieve. Nevertheless, in 1365 he launched an attack against the Mamluks, at the end of which he managed to capture one of the most important Muslim settlements in Egypt, Alexandria. Despite all his efforts to hold the city, upon request of his knight, he abandoned the town after six days, and his expedition ended without a practical result. However, Peter did not give up on waging holy war and launched a series of raids against the Muslims, although the Italians pushed hard to restore peace with the Mamluks concerning their profit from the Levant trade.

Peter pushed the Mamluks hard to reach a favorable agreement by continuing his raids. Nevertheless, the never-ending war crippled the kingdom's economy. Even so, Peter did not give up on trying, and planned another tour to Europe, which was, unfortunately, for him, a failure. When he returned, Peter's relationship with his veteran lords deteriorated as result of which one of the most prominent medieval figures, King Peter I of Lusignan, was murdered by his lords.

This study sought to build a story of Peter I and revisited and analyzed the former and present studies about his reign. This study, however, is more than a survey of Peter's history but also provides an assessment of Peter's policies, motivations, and story. To achieve this, various aspects of the topic were discussed, and arguments were re-evaluated. The most widely accepted of the modern arguments is the presumption that Peter's ten-year

reign and all of his achievements as well as failures were precipitated by his secret agenda, which was to create a commercial bull in the Eastern Mediterranean. This study, however, put forward that although the present scholarship have a standpoint, Peter's motivation was fueled by a greater goal. In this sense, this study aimed to demonstrate that Peter should not be solely assessed as a politician but instead as a medieval character, whose personality traits and agenda affected his policies. That is, however, not to say that present arguments are completely mistaken, but it would not be an accurate interpretation to explain Peter's journeys simply with his financial thirst.

Although his pure intentions were not apparent at the beginning of his tour, this study would suggest that one of his main motives was to legitimize his rule in the Kingdom of Cyprus by solving disputes on the throne. Rather than destroying the Mamluk trade and creating his commercial dominion in the Eastern Mediterranean, his idea of a crusade may have been derived from gaining the papal and French support for his accession, as it is clear that these political entities had been supporting his nephew Hugh.⁷⁴⁰ This is not to say that Peter started his journey only to meet the pope's call as Machairas suggested, because his procurators could have solved the accession case for Peter without him leaving the kingdom for such a costly journey. However, his victory against the infidels in Anatolia, the Turkish

⁷⁴⁰ See relevant section above.

emirates, must have encouraged Peter's premature ideas. He may have undertaken a journey to Europe combined with his accession case.⁷⁴¹

Even if the main purpose was to legitimize his rule on the Cypriot throne, however, this does not solely explain such an effort. Peter's chivalric nature had been widely known not only for the Cypriots but also for the pope. He had been one of the last representatives of traditional chivalry, longing for a war against the infidels. This personality trait can be observable in Peter's entire lifetime: his youth, his reign, his attitudes, his diplomacy, and even his death.⁷⁴² As a consequence of his personality traits, and given that he was very well received by the European polities when he came up with the idea of crusading, he may well have developed an idea and believed that he could actually recover the Holy Land. If we consider the political realities, this seems possible. After solving the succession case, Peter was supported by one of the major monarchs in Europe, John II, who was to be appointed as the leader of the crusade. John's dispute with England had entered a new phase, and despite the peace was fragile, with papal interference, maintaining the peace seemed possible. Moreover, English participation was considered suitable, and it would be fruitful for Peter and a relief for the French associating with their recent competitors.

⁷⁴¹ Arch. Segr. Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 245, fols. 16-17; Machairas, *Recital*, 92-96, 112-14; Bullarium, Vol.3: v-10. Machairas states that the pope summoned Peter. However, we lack any documentary evidence.

⁷⁴² For Peter's personality and influence, see the relevant section.

This relatively positive environment, however, changed when Peter returned from London without Edward's personal participation. Yet he had relied on John II's participation, but sadly for Peter, John's son Louis escaped from captivity, and the French king died in London. If Peter still had hoped to recover the Holy Land, French and English absence must have disheartened him, forcing him to seek support from other European monarchs. In the end, without any support from European monarchs, when he finally reached Venice, he must have realized that it was impossible to recover the Holy Land. Herein I agree with Edbury's argument. If Peter believed his army could recover the Holy Land, he must have been delusional or lack of military realities.⁷⁴³

To be able to achieve an end, this study reassessed and extracted a large amount of data from surviving documentary evidence. Chronicles, papal registers, and official documents were used to construct the biography of Peter. Moreover, an itinerary of Peter I was created using documentary evidence. In this respect, this thesis has added to the studies of the Kingdom of Cyprus and featured Peter as a character rather than a king. Additionally, this dissertation aimed to build a complete story of Peter rather than an episodic thematic work.

Indeed, the archival evidence presented in this work offers a more detailed understanding of Peter's reign. As this research progressed, it is experienced that Peter could be explored further, and some of the nebulous parts

⁷⁴³ Edbury, "The Crusading Policy" in *Kingdoms*, XII, 93.

regarding his life were neglected for almost a hundred years. One of the best examples of this is his journey to England, which was considered by recent scholarship as if it had never happened. However, the details of the visit reflected much more than a singular event that should be overlooked.

On the reverse side, however, as this research progressed, it was revealed that there is still room for improvement. Due to the complex political background of the island, some of the archival evidence disappeared, which caused some parts of Peter's reign to remain nebulous. As mentioned at the beginning of this dissertation, certain periods of Peter's reign are yet to be discovered.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The Itinerary of Peter I of Lusignan

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
9 October 1329	Nicosia?	Born		-Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i> , 5 para.127-136.
June 1342	Nicosia?	Peter married with Echive of Montfort.		-Lettres closes, ed. Vidal, nos. 1967,2500 -Bzovius, Ann. Eccl. 1342, §23; Wadding, Ann. Minor. (Quaracchi), vii, 301.
1343		Guy, the Prince of Galilee, Peter's elder brother died. Later when Peter was crowned, Guy's son Hugh, the Prince of Galilee, claimed the throne.		

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
1347 (?)	Cyprus	Before his accession, Peter found the Order of the Sword.		<p>-Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i>, 11-16. lines 259-380</p> <p>-Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i>, 24-29.</p> <p>-André Favyn, <i>Le Théâtre d'honneur et la Chevalerie. . .</i> (Paris, 1620), book IX, 1569-70.</p>

1349	From Famagusta to Europe and then to Kyrenia	Peter and his brother John secretly left Cyprus to visit Europe. Their father Hugh spent considerable money and effort to bring them back.		<p>-Makhairas, 79-85</p> <p>-Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i>, 16-18.</p> <p>-Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i>, 28-29.</p> <p>-Lettres closes, patents et curiales interessant les pays autres que la France, ed. E. Deprez and G. Mollat (Paris, 1960-1), nos. 2278, 2494.</p> <p>-Makhairas, chron. de cypre, leonce macheras, 49.</p> <p>-Bullarium, t448, 266-267.</p> <p>-ML v2, 206.</p>
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Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
1353	Nicosia?	Peter's wife Echive died in 1350 at the age of 26, and Peter married to Eleanor of Aragon, the daughter of Peter of Aragon, <i>infante</i> of the crown of Aragon, fourth son of James II.		-Mas Latrie,, Gen. 25, fn 9.
1353		Pope Innocent VI absolves him from vows to visiting the tomb of St. James of Compostela		-Rüdt de Collenberg, 1975-77: 211-12.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
24 November 1358	Nicosia?	Before his death, King Hugh IV had Peter crowned the king. Ceremony was performed by Guy of Ibelin the Bishop of Lemesos, brother of the Lord Arsuf.		-Makhairas, 86, 90. -Amadi, 372. -Machaut, Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i> , 30, fn. 5.
15 January 1359	Corycos			-Amadi, 374.
5 April 1360	Famagusta	King Hugh IV died on 10 October 1359. Peter was crowned as the king of Jerusalem by Peter Thomas on Easter Day in Famagusta cathedral.		-Mézieres, <i>St. Peter Thomas</i> , 89-92. -Amadi, 372. -Makhairas, 104

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
10 April 1360	Famagusta	Peter sends John of Morphou, Count of Edessa and marshall of Cyprus, and Thomas of Montolif, the auditor to		-Amadi, 373.
23 August 1361	Antalya	Peter's fleet, commanded by himself landed near Antalya.		-Makhairas, nos. 121-123. -Amadi, 411. -Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i> , 641.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
15 June 1362	Nicosia	Peter asked for aid to recover Jerusalem Also set 1 March 1364 for the crusaders to assemble	Florentine Government Naples	-Giuseppe Müller, ed. Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'oriente cristiano e coi Turchi, Florence, 1879, pt. I doc. 82. 119-474. -Mas Latrie, Histoire, vol. II, 236f.
15 September 1362	Nicosia	Peter thanks Niccolo Acciaioli. Niccolo offers ships to lend.	Niccolo Acciaioli (Seneschal of the Kingdom of Naples)	-M. L., II, 239. -L. Makhairas, Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled 'Chronicle', ed. and trans. by R. M. Dawkins, vol. I, Oxford 1932, 109.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
24 October 1362	Paphos	Peter set sail for Europe. With a retinue of knights. Also with Peter Thomas, Philippe de Mézieres, and future Peter II.		-Mézieres, <i>St. Peter Thomas</i> , 94. -F. Bustron, Mas Latrie, ed., <i>Chronique de l'île de Chypre</i> ; <i>Melanges historique</i> , vol 5 1886, 259.
Early November 1362	Rhodes	Peter met with the Grandmaster of the Hospitaller Roger de Pins. Stayed a few days in Rhodes.		-Chronique d'Amadi, vol II, 51 -Makhairas, vol I, 71-72

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
29 November 1362	Venice (Palazzo Zane, Rialto)	Pope Urban V On Hugh of Galilee's claims on the throne. Offers his mediation and requests a solution.	Peter I	-Arch. Segr. Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 245, fols. 16-17. -Makhairas, v.I, 92-96, 112-14. -Bullarium, vol3: v-10. -Amadi, 375, fn. 4.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
5 December 1362	Venice Palazzo Corner- Piscopia (Municipio)	Peter was greeted by the residents. Met with Doge Lorenzo Celsi. 1328 grants were renewed. Celci pledged to help. Promised to keep the expedition secret. Offered support in his negotiations with other rulers.		-Sanudo, <i>Vite</i> , col. 655 -Mas Latrie, 228-32, 239-41. (L.Mas Latrie's Itinerary) -Makhairas, Vol. I pars. 129-31. -Amadi, p. 412 -Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 50 -Bustron, <i>Chronique</i> , 260-61. -Mézieres, <i>St. Peter Thomas</i> , 102-104.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
December 1362	Venice	The senate voted to arm 12 galleys, 6 in Venice and 6 in Crete. Assurance of the ships and supplies. Sending ambassadors to Avignon.		-Misti, Reg. 30, fol. 119, 124. (fol 119: dated 30 November fol. 124: dated 31 December) -Mézières, <i>St. Peter Thomas</i> , 103 -Chronica del regno di cipro V. 2, 50.
December 1362	Venice	Invitation from Nicholas II of Ferrara. Peter denied, but received gifts. Padua ruler Francis I sent a message, invited Peter to Padua, pledged to support him in return.	Peter I	

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
1-2 January 1363	Venice	Peter left Venice, accompanied by the doge and podesta of Treviso Andrea Zane to some point beyond Mestre and Marghera.		-Mas Latrie, <i>Histoire</i> , de l'île de Chypre, v. 2, doc. III, 239-40, 247.
21 January 1363	Through Mestre, Padua, Vicenza, and Verona reached Milan	He headed around 200 knights and numerous retinue. Stayed a while with Bernabo Visconti, who pledged him help. He wants to reach Avignon at once.		-Mas Latrie, <i>Histoire</i> , de l'île de Chypre, v. 2, 239-40, fn. 1.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
Late January 1363	Pavia	Greeted by Galeazzo II of Visconti.		-Mas Latrie, <i>Histoire</i> , de l'île de Chypre, v. 2, 239-40, fn. 1.
1 February 1363 (Already in Voghera at this date)	Voghera (the Duchy of Montferrat)	At the court of John II Montferrat (Grandson of Byzantine emperor Andronicus II Palaiologos).		-Mas Latrie, <i>Histoire</i> , de l'île de Chypre, v. 2, 239-40, fn. 1.
2 February 1363	Tortana	Spent the night and headed to Genoa at dawn with his entourage.		-Mas Latrie, <i>Histoire</i> , de l'île de Chypre, v. 2, 239-40, fn. 1.
4-5 February 1363	Genoa	Greeted by the Doge Simone Boccanegra.		

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
5 March 1363	Genoa	Peter renewed rights and privileges granted by Henry I in 1232. Among the witnesses there is Philippe Mezieres, chancellor of Cyprus.	Grant	-RRH, no 1037, 271. -Mas Latrie, Hist, 248-49. -Mézieres, <i>St. Peter Thomas</i> , 103-104.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
February-March 1363	Genoa	Boccanegra supported Peter's expedition. At his request, Peter made his son, Baptist Boccanegra, a knight. Doge was poisoned during the feast, died a couple of days later in March. It is announced to the public on March 13-14.		

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
March 1363	Genoa	New doge Gabriele Adorno did not support Peter's plans. Threatened him with war, requested further privileges. In return promised to provide 3 ships. Immediately afterwards, and as soon as he received a letter from Peter Thomas, Peter I left Genoa.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Makhairas, v. 1, 112-16 (83-86). -Mas Latrie, 248-49. -Mézieres, <i>St. Peter Thomas</i>, 104. -Mas Latrie, <i>Neuv. preuv.</i> 68.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
29 March 1363	Avignon	Peter reached Avignon. "he was piously and lovingly received by the pope, the king of France (John II), and the cardinals"		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Mézieres, <i>St. Peter Thomas</i>, 105. -Amadi, n. 822, 375. -Baluze and Mollat, <i>Vitae Papparum Avenionensium</i>, vol 1, 352-53, 396, 400 and vol 2, 499.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
31 March 1363	Avignon	Urban V bestowed the cross to John II, Peter I, Cardinal Talleyrand of Perigod and various barons and nobles. John II was designated the rector and the captain-general. Letters were sent to the important rulers across Christendom.		-Mézieres, <i>St. Peter Thomas</i> , 105. -Baluze and Mollat, <i>Vitae Papparum Avenionensium</i> , vol 1, 352-53, 384-85, 396, 400 and vol 2, 499.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
11 April 1363	Avignon	Camera Apostolica paid 3 florins for the repair of jewelries given to Peter by the pope.		-K. H. Schafer, ed., Die Ausgaben der Apostolischen Kammer unter den Papsten Urban V and Gregor XI (1362-1378), Paderborn, 1937, 12.
31 May 1363	Left Avignon	Before leaving he solved the problem regarding Hugh's claims on the throne. The pope recognized Peter's rule and Peter paid compensation to Hugh. Mézieres and Peter Thomas remained in Avignon.		-Baluze, Mollat, Vitae, vol1, 384-85, 396, 400. -Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 51. -Amadi, 375. .Makhairas, 72.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
10 June 1363	Pont-de-Sorgues (near Avignon)	the Camera paid 51 florins for the expenses of Peter and his retinue.		-Schafer, Die Ausgaben, 13
Late June 1363	Alsace-Rhineland	On the road many French knights joined his party. In the end of June headed to Rhine.		
Early July 1363	Basel			

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
4 July 1363	Strasbourg	Arrived in Strasbourg. During his stay A tournament was organized in his name in the northwestern part of the city, Marche aux Chevaux (the horse market). Many noble ladies watched the tournament and three types of wine were served.		
25 July 1363	Mainz (Maybe stopped by Cologne)	He arrived in Mainz.		-Koelhoffsche Chronik, III, 15-31.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
August 1363	Paris	Peter reached Paris and met with John II. They discussed the crusade and the free companies harassing the country.		
13 August - 11 September	Normandy (Rouen and Caen)	Upon Prince Charles '(future Charles V of France aka Dauphin) invitation, Peter visited him. Duke of Normandy gave him a great reception. Charles was reluctant to join Peter's cause.		-M. L. vol 2, 248.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
September 1363	Cherbourg	Mediation between Charles II of Navarre with Louis II. Charles 'brother Louis was there. Another brother Phillip (Count of Longueville had promised to attend and provide 1000 men in the crusade.) But he died in August 1363		

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
Late September- October 1363	Pont de l'Arche, Picardy, Abbeville, Rue, Montreuil, Boulogne-sur- Mer	Traveling with a large retinue. He crossed the Seine at Pont de l'arche. Headed for Ponthieu in Picardy, crossing the Somme at Abbeville. Via Rue, Montreuil, Boulogne to Calais.		

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
20 October 1363	Calais	Wrote a letter informing that his ranks are already included many French, German and other nobles and knights from across Europe. He also recalled the promise the doge had given. Doge replied stating that he is going to keep his promise as soon as he brings order to Crete.	Doge Lorenzo Celsi of Venice	-M. L. vol. 3, 743. (Lorenzo Celsi's reply)

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
2 November 1363	Calais and Dover	Set sail for Britain. Reached Dover the same day with a very crowded retinue. Among them there was a Lithuanian noble (dubious) Earl of Hereford, Humphrey Bohun greeted Peter at Dover and escorted him to London		-Froissart, <i>Chronicles of England, France, and Spain</i> , 306.

<p>6 November 1363</p>	<p>London</p>	<p>Arrived at London. Greeted by king Edward III and his wife Philippa. They undertook to cover all the expenses of Peter. Apart from his crusade plans, he acted as a mediator between the pope, John II and Edward III.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -M. L. vol 2, 240, 247, 252-53. -Froissart, <i>Chroniques de Jean Froissart (1360-1366)</i>, 381-82, XLV, 90-91, 283. - P. Lecacheux, G. Mollat . eds., <i>Lettres closes, secrètes et curiales du pape Urbain V</i>, nos 476, 477. 233. -Henry Knighton, <i>Knighton's Chronicle, 1337-1396</i>, (ed., 1995) 187. - Bullarium v3, 377, v-40. - Eulogium Historiarum, v3, 233.
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Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
6-13 November 1363	London	During his visit Peter enjoyed feasts at Westminster. Mayor of London, Henry Picard, master of Vintners wine company organized a banquet (Banquet of the five(?) kings) during which Peter lost money gambling with Picard, but he returned Peter's money back to him.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Eulogium Historiarum, rolls series 3, 233. -Mas Latrie,, vol 2, 247. -Chronicle of Reading, 158. -Knighton, v1, 189. -Historia Anglicana, v1, 299.

11 November 1363	London	A tournament was organized at Smithfield. For the tournament Edward and Peter exchanged gifts.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -NA E36/4 9d (Wardrobe Account) -NA, E403/417 m. 13. -NA, E403/417 m. 19 -NA E101/394/16, m. 17. -Knighton's Chronicle, 187. -Mas Latrie, vol2, 247 -Public Record Office, Exchequer Accounts (K.R.) Wardrobe and Household, 37, 38 Edward III. -37-38 Edward m, Exchequer L.T.R. 4, m. 9. -Register of the Black Prince, vol 4, 428.
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Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
November 1363	London	Edward assured that as many English knights as possible will accompany Peter. He expressed his interest on seeing the Holy Land but he emphasized his advanced age. It is claimed that the King presented peter a warship called "Catherine" worth of 12.000 florins, but it is dubious.		-Froissart, <i>Chroniques de Jean Froissart (1360-1366)</i> , 380-81 (90-92, 280-84) -Chronique des quatre premiers Valois, 128. -Froissart, <i>Chroniques de Jean Froissart (1360-1366)</i> , 381, 385-86.
24 November 1363	London	Peter sends a letter regarding the revolt in Crete.	Doge Lorenzo Celsi	-Mas Latrie, vol. 2, 250.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
28 November 1363	London (?)	the Pope urges him to go back to Cyprus as Turkish threat is intensified.	Peter I	-Reg. Vat. 246. fols. 13-14.
Early December 1363 (Stayed in England around a month)	London-Dover	Peter's retinue was robbed on the way back to Dover. Upon hearing about it Edward III ordered to punish the highwaymen.		-Froissart, <i>Chroniques de Jean Froissart (1360-1366)</i> , 385-86.
December 1363	Boulogne-Amiens	Peter headed to Amiens after reaching Bolougne. At Amiens the King John II and his two sons had been staying.		-Froissart, <i>Chroniques de Jean Froissart (1360-1366)</i> , 386.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
December 1363	Beauvais-Pontoise	Peter and his retinue continued their journey to Paris accompanied by Prince Charles.		-Froissart, <i>Chroniques de Jean Froissart (1360-1366)</i> , 387.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
December 1363 (Before Christmas)	Paris	Peter reached Paris, where preparations were made. There he witnessed the arrival of Prince Louis who escaped from captivity in England. Royal goldsmiths Jean Picquigny and Claux of Fribog presented gifts to Peter. Three rooms in the royal residence were arranged for him. He also became mediator between two lords. (du Guescelin and Wilhelm Felton)		-Les Grandes Chroniques de France selon que elles sont conservées en l'Église de Saint-Denis en France publiées par M. Paulin, vol. 6, Paris 1838, 228-29 -Froissart, <i>Chronicles of England, France, and Spain</i> , 387-89

<p>February-March 1364 (27 February?)</p>	<p>Left Paris for Angouleme (in Aquitaine) through, Pontoise, Beauvais, Poitiers and Niort. (La Rochelle afterwards)</p>	<p>At the turn of February and March Peter I reached Angouleme, where Edward the Black Prince and his wife Joan Kent was preparing a celebration for the birth of their son. Edward's knight John Candelos greeted Peter. A tournament was organized for Peter's arrival. Edward and most of these knights promised to join the crusade. Tournaments and festivities continued as Peter stayed here one month. One of his strongest supporters, Cardinal Helie Talleyrand de Perigord (Apostolic Legate of the crusade), died.</p>	<p>-Froissart, <i>Chroniques de Jean Froissart (1360-1366)</i>, XLVI, 93, XLVIII, 93, 97-99, 285, 289, 290. -ML. vol.3, 746., ML v2, 252 n.1)</p>
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Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
Late March 1364	Town (Castle) of Lusignan?	Accompanied by John Chandelos, he visited the town of Lusignan. (dubious)		-Froissart, <i>Chroniques de Jean Froissart</i> (1360-1366), 97. - Herquet, <i>Cypr. Königsgest</i> , 12.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
8 April-19 May 1364	Paris-Reims	On his way to Paris, near Reims, he learned of the death of John II (April 8, at the Savoy Palace in England). Peter decided to take part in the funeral. John's body arrived Saint Antoine, near Paris on May 1. Peter also waited for Charles V's coronation in Reims. Coronation ceremonies ended with a tournament.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Mas Latrie. v2, 240. -Machaut, the capture of Alexandria, 35 -Herquet, Beiträge zum Itinerar Karls IV und zu seinem Aufenthalt in Schlesien mit dem König von Cypern im Jahre 1364, 1878, XXIV, 523. -Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois, 144-48. -Froissart, <i>Chroniques de Jean Froissart (1360-1366)</i>, 133-34, 312.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
28 May 1364	Paris	Peter I arrived Paris with Charles V. Charles organized a feast and a tournament. However Charles V did not support Peter's crusade telling him to visit the emperor in Prague.		

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
11 June 1364	Left Paris for Rouen	Decided to split his delegation into two. Ordered Philip Mézières to visit Northern Europe (Westphalia, Friesland, the Netherlands, Zealand, Brandenburg, Saxony and the Czech. Also visited Scandinavian countries and the land of the Teutonic Order. This mission took 10 months in total)		- <i>Chronique des quatre premiers Valois (1327-1393)</i> , 148 -Mézières, <i>Le Songe du Vieil Pelèrin</i> , ed. G. W. Coopland, 1969.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
Between Late June (<i>17th day of the coronation of Charles?</i>) and Early July 1364	Headed for Cologne , on the way visiting the Duchy of Flanders , Bruges	Visited the Dutch of Flanders Louis II Dampierre. He received him at his court in Bruges. In the end of July he arrived Bruges and met Valdemar IV of Denmark who was returning from Avignon and with whom Peter shared his crusading plans.		-Machaut, the capture of Alexandria, 27, 37

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
July 1364	Brussels-Duchy of Jülich-Cologne	He visited the Duchy of Brabant. In Brussels visited Princess Joan and her husband, Wenceslaus I of Luxembourg, brother of Emperor Charles IV. In Brussels, a great feast was organized in honor of Peter, combined with a tournament, and he received numerous gifts. Also visited William VI of the Duchy of Jülich.		-Froissart, <i>Chroniques de Jean Froissart (1360-1366)</i> , 85-86. (Gifts presented to Peter, 85).

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
July 1364(?)	Travelled to Franconia, and visited Esslingen . Afterwards Thuringia, Erfurt	Peter was warmly welcomed in Esslingen. After a short stay he headed to Thuringia. He reached Erfurt and propagated his crusading plans, which were well received by the knights and people in Erfurt. In Peter's crusading army, there were many volunteers from this town.		-Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i> , 36-37 -Herquet, Beiträge zum Itinerar Karls IV, 523

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
July 1364	Before reaching Prague	Peter's messengers carrying his letter to the pope were robbed by the men of Louis, Seigneur of Neuchatel.		-Lecacheux, Lettres Secretes, nos 1216, 1218.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
Late July 1364	Meissen	At the end of July Peter reached Meissen where he was lavishly received by Frederick III, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen. Frederick and his house had close relationship with the emperor Charles IV, and Frederick promised to support Peter's crusade depending on Charles 'response.		-Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i> , 37 - ML, v2, 240.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
August 1364	Saxony-Dresden	Peter met with Rudolf II, Duke of Saxe-Wittenberg. Rudolf was an elector and had very close relationship with the emperor. Peter believed Rudolf's support would be favorable to persuade the emperor. Peter stayed 9 days here.		-Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i> , 30-31; La prise, 939-49 (30). - ML, v2, 240.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
Late August 1364	Prague	Peter reached near Prague. Charles IV met with Peter and accompanied him to Prague. He stayed in Prague Castle. He also met with the emperor's wife, Elizabeth of Pomerania. A tournament was organized in his honor and the feast lasted three weeks. Peter himself told that he has never heard such a wonderful music in his life.		-Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i> , 41-42 -Froissart, <i>Chroniques de Jean Froissart (1360-1366)</i> , 85.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
1364	Prague	A painting on a wall of St. Mary's Chapel in Karlstejn Castle (possibly) shows Peter presenting relics to Charles IV. (Dubious)		http://www.kornbluthphoto.com/images/KarlstejnMaryChapel_38.jpg
Early September 1364	Prague	Charles, despite enthusiastic about Peter's plans, stated that he was not able to support the crusade efficiently. However, he invited Peter to the long planned Congress in Krakow where monarchs will assemble.		-Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i> , 41-42.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
Early September	Left Prague	Peter left Prague with the emperor for Cracow. They reached the Polish border in 3 days.		-Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i> , 44.
Early September	On the way for Cracow: Swidnica, Legnica, Glogow, Koscian (dubious), Poznan (dubious), Kalisz (dubious), Wroclaw, Baranow (dubious), Opole, Bytom	Machaut lists some towns claiming that the party visited. However, some of the towns he's listed may have not been visited at all, as such a route seems unlikely.		-Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i> , 44 -K. Herquet, <i>Beiträge zum Itinerar Karls IV</i> , 1878, XXIV, 524-25.
11-14 September 1364	Wroclaw	The party stayed in Wroclaw for three days.		-Herquet, 525-26

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
17 September 1364	Opole	They reached the city of Opole near Cracow.		-Herquet, 525-26 -Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Kaiser Karl IV (1346-1378), A. Huber, Regesta imperii VIII, J.F. Böhmer, v. 8, Innsbruck 1877, 332, no 4082.

<p>19-20 September 1364</p>	<p>Through Bytom, Bedzin and Olkusz: Cracow</p>	<p>Peter and Charles IV met with the royal envoys, and accompanied by them reached Cracow. They were greeted by Casimir and Louis I of Hungary. The kings walked through the market square to the Wawel Castle. The emperor and the kings accommodated in the castle.</p> <p>A tournament was organized in the Wawel Castle. All monarchs and princes in Cracow participated in the tournament, including the emperor. Peter himself also participated, and he was the winner.</p> <p>All participants, including Peter received gifts from Casimir.</p>	<p>- Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i>, 44.</p>
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22 September 1364	Cracow	<p>The Congress of Cracow began. Peter I, Casimir the Great, Emperor Charles IV of Luxemburg, and Louis I of Hungary attended.</p> <p>It was held in the cathedral or in the town hall.</p> <p>Charles 'wife Elizabeth was not in Cracow, Casimir was in search for a new wife, and the host queen was not there. So women did not take part in the gathering.</p>	<p>-Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i>, 38-41.</p> <p>-Janko of Czarnkow, Kronika, in <i>Monumenta Poloniae Historica</i>, vol 2, ed. A. Bielowski, Warsaw 1961, 630</p> <p>-Rocznik swietokrzyski, Annals of Saint Cross, in MPH, vol 3, Warsaw 1961, 80.</p> <p>-Jan Dlugosz <i>Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae, liber IX</i>, Varsoviae 1978, 318-321.</p>
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Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
22 September 1364	Cracow	<p>All the rulers took an oath to help Peter. Charles promised to turn to the electors and ask for their help. He also wrote to the pope. Casimir and Louis also promised help. Louis was the only one who promised to take part in the crusade personally with his army.</p> <p>Casimir may have announced the opening of the University of Cracow</p>		-Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i> , 40-45.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
Early October 1364	Vienna	<p>Peter left Cracow for Vienna, to the court of Prince Rudolf IV, Duke of Austria. The journey took about 10 days. Throughout this journey he was received presents, took part in tournaments and made a good impression.</p> <p>Rudolf had offered help but only on the condition that the king of Hungary took part as well. A tournament was organized here.</p>		<p>-Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i>, 47-48. -Herquet, <i>Beitrage zum itinerar Karls IV</i>, 526-27.</p>

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
26 October 1364	Near Venice	Peter crossed Drava and Sava, and traveling through the Patriarchate of Aquileia, reached near Venice. He also met with Peter Thomas.		-Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i> , 47-49 -Mézieres, <i>St. Peter Thomas</i> , 119

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
11 November 1364	Venice	<p>Peter reached Venice through Treviso, greeted by the nobles, Marina Bono, Andrea Paradiso, and Benedict Gauro.</p> <p>Niccolo II of Ferrara had been waiting for Peter in Venice to personally meet him since 17 August. On 9 December they were able to meet during a feast.</p>		<p>-Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i>, 49-50 -Mézieres, <i>St. Peter Thomas</i>, 120-21 -ML v2, 240.</p>

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
January 1365	Venice	Philippe de Mézieres 'returned to Venice to meet with Peter. He shared the outcome of his mission.		-Mézieres, <i>St. Peter Thomas</i> , 119.
Until 27 June 1365	Venice	Peter stayed in Venice for the final preparations for his crusade. He had a dispute with the Genoese. Several letters were sent regarding the problem.		-ML, <i>Histoire</i> , v2, 254-66 -Urban V <i>Lettres closes</i> , nos. 1027, 1034-1035, 1102, 1602, 1609, 1619, 1649-1650, 1681, 1700-1724. -Makhairas, 145-49, 153-56, 173-74, 209. -Bullarium

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
Until 27 June 1365	Venice	Peter stayed in the palace of Frederick Cornaro of Episkopi. (He stayed here in 1362 and 1368 as well) Frederick lent him 60.000 ducats. In return he was admitted to the Order of the Sword with the right to bear the arms of the House of Lusignan.		-ML, v3, 815.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
April 1365	Venice	Peter's envoy Peter Marosello came back from Avignon with a letter from the pope dated 17 April 1365. The letter shows that the dispute with Genoese is finally solved.	Peter from the Pope Urban	-Urban V lettres, no. 1700.
May 1365	Venice	Peter sent a letter to the Genoese Doge Gabriel Adorno expressing his pleasure about the agreement.	Gabriel Adorno, Doge of Genoa	-ML, v2, 266-67.
June 1365	Venice	Philippe de Mézieres was granted citizenship of Venice.		-ML, v2, 272.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
27 June 1365	Left Venice	Peter sailed from Venice for Rhodes		-ML, v3, 752 -Mézieres, <i>St. Peter Thomas</i> , 125, 127-28.
19 July		Pope's blessing		-Raynaldus, 1365, 120, n18.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
August 1365	Rhodes	<p>Rhodes was fixed as the meeting point. Some of those set sail from Venice reached Rhodes via Genoa. Peter directly sailed to Rhodes.</p> <p>A fleet from Famagusta arrived at Rhodes on 25 August. Commanded by John of Lusignan the Prince of Antioch.</p>		<p>-Makhairas, 148-50 -Amadi, 414. -Cronica del Regno di Cypro, v2, 65-67 -Chronique de l'île de Chypre, 262 -Mézieres, <i>St. Peter Thomas</i>, 127-28.</p>

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
4 October 1365 (Saturday)	Left Rhodes	The crusader army embarked from Rhodes. The primary target had not been publicly known until this point. Peter Thomas preached a sermon from the royal galley.		-Makhairas, 150 (166) -Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i> , 127-36 -Mézieres, <i>St. Peter Thomas</i> , 128-29. -ML., v3, 751-53.
9 October 1365	Alexandria	Peter and his army reached Alexandria. Landing began on 10 October .		-Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i> , -Makhairas, 150 -Mézieres, <i>St. Peter Thomas</i> , 130-31.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
10-11 October 1365	Alexandria	Crusaders captured the city and plundered it. (Including Genoese, Catalan Marseillais properties)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Mézieres, <i>St. Peter Thomas</i>, 132 -Makhairas, 150-52 -Amadi, 411-15. -Cronicha del Regno di Cypro, v2 69 -Chronique de l'île de Chypre, 262-63 -ML v2, 388
16 October 1365	Left Alexandria for Limassol and then Famagusta	Crusader troops left Alexandria. Peter and his Cypriot troops were among the last ones left the city.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i>, -Makhairas, 54 -Mézieres, <i>St. Peter Thomas</i>, 142-54

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
October 1365	Nicosia	<p>Peter and Peter Thomas went to Nicosia where a procession of thanksgiving was held. Afterwards Peter Thomas went to Famagusta to wait for a vessel to go to Avignon. There he sent letters to the pope and Charles IV</p> <p>Ban imposed on all trade with the Mamluks.</p> <p>While in Famagusta, Peter Thomas fell ill.</p>		-Mézieres, <i>St. Peter Thomas</i> , 134-35, 140-41

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
6 January 1366	Nicosia	Peter remained in Nicosia. Peter Thomas died. Negotiations with the Mamluks continued. Venetians sought to make peace. Pope forbade all negotiations without his consent.		-Cronicha del Regno di Cypro, v2, 69. -Makhairas, 174

31 May-2 June 1366	Nicosia	<p>Being mediators, Venetians brought Mamluk envoys to Cyprus. Venetian ship landed the envoys on Famagusta on 31 May</p> <p>On 2 June the envoys reached at Nicosia, and were lodged in the house of the Lord of Tyre.</p> <p>The Haute Cour was assembled to hear the envoys. Peter's terms, were not modest.</p> <p>Peter offered a duel with the Mamluk Emir Yalbugha al-Umari. Before Mamluk envoys leave, a great jousting was given by the Cypriot knights.</p>	<p>-Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i>, 128-34</p> <p>-Makhairas, 180-82</p> <p>-Amadi, 415</p> <p>-Bustron, <i>Chronique</i>, 263</p>
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Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
June-July 1366	Nicosia	<p>Peter sent Philippe de Mézieres to Venice to preach. In letter of 22 June, which Mézieres carried, peter announced his intention of sailing against the muslims in August. Venetians did not support. Urban V informed Peter that he granted trade dispensation to Venice in a letter of 1 July. (he revoked it on 17 August thanks to Mezieres 'effort)</p>		-Libri Comm. reg v3, 47, 48, 49, nos 267. 273, 274.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
22 August 1366	Unknown	Venetian Senate forbade the export of horses and arms to Cyprus. They also gave permission to spend 600 ducats on falcons to send to Yalbugha as a gift. Pope and Peter protested. Pope sent a letter on 15 October.		-ML, v2, 285-86., 288-89.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
23 October 1366	Nicosia (?)	Still in Cyprus, Peter sent envoys to the pope for further support. In Avignon, his envoys received news from the pope that he could not support Peter for his new expedition. Meanwhile Peter was gathering a fleet.		-ML, v2, 286-88. -Raynaldus, 1366, 135,136 nos. 13, 15.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
October 1366	Cyprus (Nicosia?)	Peter's envoys returned from Cairo. Sultan promised peace only after the captives brought away from Alexandria were released.		<p>-Makhairas, 185. -Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 73.</p> <p>-Venetian and Arabic versions of this story is different: -Libri Comm. reg v3, 52 n. 302 -Ibn Kadi Shuhbah in Gustav Weil, Geschichte der Chalifen, 1846, v4, 514.</p>
23 November 1366	Famagusta	Peter sent a letter protesting Venetian relations with the Mamluks.	Doge Marco Cornaro	-ML, v2, 286-88.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
Late November 1366	Nicosia	Peter's fleet was ready for operation. 116 units including 56 galleys and 60 other vessels. 4 of them belonged to the master of the knights from Rhodes. Peter fell seriously ill.		-Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i> , 130-32 -Makhairas 190-91

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
17 January 1367	Famagusta	Completely recovered Peter set sail from Famagusta. But the fleet was dispersed because of a storm. 15 ships including the one commanded by Florimond of Lesparre sacked the port of Tripoli.		-Makhairas 172,174,176-78,190-91 -Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i> , 130-32

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
10 February 1367	Nicosia	<p>the Haute Cour was assembled to hear the Mamluk envoys. Recommended the king to continue negotiations.</p> <p>Sultan released Sir Paul de Belonia and he was brought to Cyprus by the envoys.</p>		<p>-Mas Latrie, Histoire, v2. 292. -Amadi, 379 no 833</p>

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
February-March 1367	Cyprus (Famagusta)	Turkish attacks on Corycos. Peter ordered his brother, the Prince of Antioch to sail to the city with 10 galleys. They left Famagusta on 26 February. On 7 March, Turkish troops retreated. The prince returned to Famagusta on 14 March.		-Makhairas, 194-95, 200-1 -Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i> , 135-72 -Amadi, 416. -Bustron, <i>Chronique</i> , 264.

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
14 March 1367	Cyprus (most probably Famagusta)	<p>James of Nores, the Turcopolier of Cyprus was sent to Cairo with a draft peace treaty. 2 galleys set sail from Famagusta one of which belonged to the King of Aragon.</p> <p>The terms were not acceptable.</p>		<p>-Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 77-79., 85. -Annales ecclesiastici, 1366, 13 -Makhairas 189, 192-93, 197-98, 202-205 -ML v2, 291-302 (draft treaty) -Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i>, 132-35, 172-79.</p>

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
May 1367 (26 May)	Satalia	His own garrison in Satalia mutinied. Peter suppressed it. He had set sail from Famagusta on 26 May.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Makhairas, 194-95, 200-1 -Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 79 -Amadi, 416 -Bustron, <i>Chronique</i>, 264.

<p>June 1367 (28 June?)</p>	<p>Rhodes</p>	<p>Peter sailed to Rhodes after Satalia. James of Nores came back from Cairo with Mamluk envoys to negotiate a new and less favorable treaty. Peter refused to negotiate and imprisoned the envoys.</p> <p>He started preparations for another raid.</p> <p>In Rhodes he waited for the Grandmaster Raymond Berenger.</p> <p>While in Rhodes, he had disputes with his knights; Sire of Rochefort and Florimond of Lesparre. Peter challenged Sire and Florimond to a duel.</p>	<p>-Makhairas, 202-205 (dispute 206) -Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i>, 179 -Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 82. -Amadi 417 -Bustron, <i>Chronique</i>, 265. -Raynaldus, 1367, 155, n. 13</p>
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Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
Before 4 August	Left Rhodes for Cyprus			-

September 1367	Famagusta and Tripoli	<p>Another naval expedition was launched. Tripoli was sacked. The fleet sailed to Tortosa and destroyed warehouses and docks.</p> <p>They also set fire the supplies prepared for the Mamluk sultan's ships. Then they razed Baniyas (Valania) and tried to land on Latakia.</p> <p>Peter decreed that any captain who would engage in privateering against the Mamluks could use Famagusta as a base.</p>		<p>-Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i>, 130-32.</p> <p>-Makhairas, 190-94, (privateering: 213, 219-22)</p> <p>-Chronique de l'île de Chypre, 265-66.</p> <p>-Cronica del Regno di Cypro, v2, 84-85</p> <p>-H.P. Herzsohn, <i>Der Überfall Alexandrien's durch Peter I., König von Jerusalem und Cypem</i>, 1886, 43-44.</p> <p>-Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois, 188-91.</p>
September 1367	Corycos			

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
5 September 1367	Famagusta	The fleet returned to Famagusta		-Makhairas, 194 -Chronique de l'île de Chypre, 266.
Late 1367 December (?) 1367	Paphos and Rhodes	Believing that another major expedition is needed to change the situation in the Levant, Peter began his second tour to Europe. He had difficulties to fund this trip. He set sail from Paphos and stayed in Rhodes for a short time.		-ML, v2, 241 -Chronique de l'île de Chypre, 266-67. -Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i> , -Makhairas, 188 -Amadi, v1, 417-18 -Cronica del Regno di Cypro, v2, 85-87

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
February 1368	Naples	Peter reached Naples, to the court of Queen Joan I. Stayed here for a few days and continued his journey.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -ML, v2, 241 -Chronique de l'île de Chypre, 266-67. -Machaut, <i>The Capture of Alexandria</i>, -Makhairas, 188 -Amadi, v1,417-18 -Cronica del Regno di Cypro, v2 85-87
Late February- Early March 1368	Rome	Peter reached Rome to settle his dispute with Florimont of Lesparre		-Mas Latrie, Histoire, v2. 291-302.
Late April 1368	Florence			

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
19 May 1368	Rome	Peter declared that he would accept peace terms with the Mamluks		-Mas Latrie, Histoire, v2. 302-304.
Early June 1368	Siena	Peter headed to Siena, he was honorably received.		--Mas Latrie, Histoire, v2. 304-308.
Early June 1368	Pisa	He stayed for three days, greatly entertained and feasted.		--Mas Latrie, Histoire, v2. 304-308.
Late June 1368	Florence through Pistoia and Prato			

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
Late June 1368	Bologna	He met with Jean Froissart and Anglic Grimoard, brother of the pope. Jousts were organized.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> --Mas Latrie, <i>Histoire</i>, v2. 313. -Machairas, <i>Recital</i>, 120 -Bustron, <i>Chronique</i>, 267 -Strambaldi, "Chronicha," Vol. 2, 87.
Late July 1368	Ferrara and Mantua	Peter met with Emperor Charles IV at Mantua and traveled to Ferrara		
4 August 1368	Modena			
23 September 1368	Venice	Peter left Venice for Cyprus.		

Date	Place	Matter	To Whom	Document/Source
Late September 1368	Morea	He met with his cousin Margaret of Lusignan		
Late September- Early November	Famagusta	Peter returned to Cyprus for the last time		
16 January 1369	Nicosia	Peter was murdered by his barons in his chamber at the palace		

