

THE  
AMERICAN HISTORICAL  
REVIEW

2-28-04  
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*MANAGING EDITOR*

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON

VOLUME XII

OCTOBER 1906 TO JULY 1907

2-28-04

New York  
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY  
LONDON: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.  
1907

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## DOCUMENTS

### *Directorium ad Faciendum Passagium Transmarinum.*

IN the present number of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW I have attempted to edit the first part of a work, hitherto only existing in manuscript,<sup>1</sup> which I venture to think is of great interest and value, and which has suffered from a remarkable neglect during the 450 years of printing. For an infinite deal of matter has issued from the press very inferior in all respects to this *Directorium ad faciendum passagium transmarinum* or *Directorium ad passagium*, as it is more briefly called by its author. What is here given amounts to nearly two-thirds of the entire work—which runs to about 24,000 words—is addressed to King Philip VI. of France (Philip of Valois), and was submitted to the council of the French king on July 26, 1330. In the royal registers of the French kingdom it is described as the proposal of a certain wise prelate, formerly a Dominican, and now an archbishop in the empire of Constantinople; but, as we see from the narrative itself, the writer had evidently been a missionary in Persia, and that perhaps for many years. His main object is evidently the same as that of his famous Venetian contemporary Marino Sanuto the elder, in the *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*; he aims at reviving the crusading energies of Western Europe, though primarily against the Byzantine Empire and the Eastern Church—the objects of his bitterest hate: the purpose of a legitimate crusade, against the Moslem, though undeniably present to his mind, is as undeniably in the background. On the other hand, the conquest of Russia, a land of Greek Christianity only less important than the Eastern Empire itself, and its subjugation to papal obedience, occupies a very prominent place in his thoughts; various routes to the Levant are lengthily discussed; an easy victory over the Turks is predicted; and something like a policy is sketched in outline for the administration of the Orient, thus conquered, by its new Catholic rulers.

Incidentally the "sage prelate" refers to his own wide and long experience of the Nearer and Middle East. He had seen armies of well-nigh all these countries go forth to war; he had been with

<sup>1</sup> Except for the extracts printed by Quéatif in the *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, I. 571-574; see below.

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Martin Zaccaria, the Genoese captain of Chios, in some of his victories over the Turks; still more, he had once made his way so far south as to lose sight of the northern pole, in a region where he found the Antarctic reach an "elevation" of 24 degrees—about the latitude of southern Madagascar. Again, after describing the races that followed the Greek rite—Slavs, Bulgars, Wallachs, Georgians, Goths and others—he tells us how in his southern wanderings he once arrived at a "fairly large" island in the Indian Sea (probably Socotra), wherein baptism and circumcision were both practised, and about which he declares, with tantalizing brevity, he could have furnished many a curious detail, if he had not regarded the whole as foreign to his subject. Once more, he relates how in Persia (where he seems to have journeyed and missionized as early as 1308) he noticed the slave markets glutted with Greek captives; on the other hand he was delighted to find that the bare rumor of an attack from Latin Christendom threw the Moslems of Iran into a state of acute alarm.

He appears to have been one of the prime agents in that more complete submission of Lesser Armenia to Rome which took place in 1318; he speaks of his residence in "Constantinople or Pera"; while from his detailed treatment of Russia and the character of his references to that country, its lack of stone or brick (save only in the Latin cities on the coast), the nature of its people, and other particulars, we may infer that he had seen for himself a large portion of the lands on the north of the Black Sea.

The authorship of the *Directorium* remains a mystery. It has been ascribed by some to that John de Cora who in 1330 was appointed by Pope John XXII. archbishop of Sultaniyah in North Persia, and who is probably the author of a certain *Livre de l'Estat du Grant Caan*, written by command of the aforesaid Pope John, which gives some valuable material for the history of the Catholic missions of the fourteenth century in Asia, and especially in China. But our present writer, though fully contemporary with John de Cora, though belonging to the same order, and though once, at any rate, associated with the same mission, cannot possibly be identified with the bishop of Sultaniyah; the former's episcopate "in the empire of Constantinople" cannot be made to correspond with any of the Persian sees; while the attitude adopted by the *Directorium* toward the Eastern Church is *totò caelo* removed from the diplomatic attitude of the *Livre du Grant Caan*, where something like an alliance is suggested between the Catholic missionaries in the Mongol realms and the native Nestorian Christians of the same countries. And if the identification with John de Cora is unsatis-

factory, no better case has yet been made out for any other definite authorship. Very early in the manuscript history of the book a tradition seems to have arisen ascribing it to Burchard or Brocard of Mount Sion, the author of a celebrated, important, and charming work of pilgrim-travel; but as to this it is enough to say, here, that no work of a Latin Christian in the later Middle Ages shows a more liberal spirit than this *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, while the furious bigotry of the *Directorium* alone gives it a distinct place in the literature of European expansion at this time.

Once only has the *Directorium* received real attention hitherto,—when in 1719 Quétif printed some extracts from the work, with remarks thereon, in the *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*;<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry Yule's reference to our treatise in *Cathay and the Way Thither*<sup>2</sup> is simply and entirely based upon the few short extracts of the *Scriptores*; while even Quétif, though, here as elsewhere, showing his genius for selection and illustration, never attempts to give a general idea of the whole treatise, much less to reproduce it textually. The latter task, indeed, was no part of his business; it must be the principal part of the present undertaking.

For this edition I have used two of the three existing manuscripts of the original Latin text, viz., the Paris MS. 5138 Lat. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Oxford MS. No. 43 in Magdalen College Library. The former, though a transcript of the seventeenth century, represents a rather better text than the latter, which is the work of a fifteenth-century scribe, apparently almost, if not quite, innocent of the Latin tongue, and producing his result simply by the copying of a work whose meaning he did not clearly understand. In many places I have preferred to give the Oxford scribe the benefit of the doubt; thus I assume that his manuscript reads *Ludonicus* although the writing is most plainly *Ludonicus*—here, as in hundreds of other cases, the difficulty arising, in all likelihood, from one or more accidental imperfections in the copyist's original. Yet in not a few cases M. (the Magdalen MS.) supplies better readings, and doubtless represents the original more truly, than P. (the Paris text); in the latter a revision was evidently intended, and a few corrections have been made in the margin, but this much-needed process of emendation has been very imperfectly performed.

As, on the whole, I believe the best method to be that of reproducing to the letter the most satisfactory MS. in hand, noticing in foot-page references all variations of inferior MSS. (often of course preferable to the readings of the "standard") I have tried

<sup>1</sup> l. 571-574.

<sup>2</sup> l. 191.

in the first place, to print the Paris MS. intact, and, in the second, have endeavored to mark every place where the Magdalen copy differs from the Paris. But I have not thought it necessary to mention every instance of certain regularly recurring forms naturally differing from those of P., such as *d* for *t* in *sicud, velud*, etc.; *c* for *t* in words like *pocius*; *i* for *y* in words like *tipus*; *y* for *i* in *Ytalia*, etc.; *n* for *m*, as in *inpugnant*; *mpn* for *mn*, as in *solempnis, dampnum*, etc.; *ff* for *F* or *f*, as in *ffrancia, Affrica*; *p* for *b*, as in *optinent*; *f* (more rarely) for *ph*, as in *faretra*; the invariable *e* for *ae* and *oe*, as in *emulatio*; the equally necessary medieval *i* for *j*, as in *iugum*; the single *r* for double *r*, as in *Saraceni*; the single *s* for double *s*, as in *Assasini*; the *t* for *ct*, as in *cuntus*; and the insertion or omission of the *h* as settled by usage before P.'s time, as in *habundans, hiis, Ierusalem*.

In the following (October) number of the REVIEW, I hope, while printing the remainder of the *Directorium*, to discuss the document, as a whole, and in each of its more interesting passages, in greater detail.

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY.

#### DIRECTORIUM

*In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.*

Incipit directorium ad faciendum passagium transmarinum,<sup>1</sup> editum per quendam<sup>2</sup> fratrem ordinis Praedicatorum, scribentem experta et visa potius quam audita, quod dirigitur serenissimo Principi et Domino Domino<sup>3</sup> Philippo Regi Francorum, compilatum anno Domini millesimo CCC. tricesimo.<sup>4</sup>

De celsitudinis vestrae sancto proposito, Domine mi Rex, in Romana curia fama celebri divulgato exultat et jubilat orbis totus quod scilicet tanquam alter prouisus de superis Machabaeus pro aemulatione legis,<sup>5</sup> pro zelo fidei, pro liberatione terrae Christi sanguine consecratae sumitis bellum Dei. Et quia pauper ego non possum obsequi vestrae regiae magestati<sup>6</sup> in curribus et in equis quod Deo teste libentius et uberius facerem si haberem, cum hoc opusculo ad passagium directorio in nomine Domini, qui in tabernaculum testimonii pelles arietum et pilos caprarum praecepit et docuit offerenda, et plus quam diuites larga munera exhibentes pauperulam commendauit duo tantum aera minuta in gazophylacium offerentem vestrae felicitatis pedibus humiliter me prosterno. In quo quidem directorio non tam aliorum relatione audita quam ea

<sup>1</sup> *Ad passagium faciendum, M.*

<sup>2</sup> *Quendam, M.*

<sup>3</sup> *Sic, P.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ad serenissimum principem et Dominum Philippum Francorum regem illustrem. Anno domini M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>C. xxxij<sup>o</sup> [1332].*

<sup>5</sup> *M. omits legis.*

<sup>6</sup> *Sic, P.*

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## DOCUMENT

### *Directorium ad Faciendum Passagium Transmarinum*,<sup>1</sup> II.

THE *Directorium* opens with a statement of authorship and date, and with a dedication—it is put forth, we are told, by a certain Friar Preacher who has written from his own experience rather than from hearsay; it was completed in the year 1330;<sup>2</sup> and it is addressed to Philip, king of the French, in other words to Philip VI. of Valois (1328–1350).

The author then proceeds to congratulate Philip on his reported intention to take up the Holy War once more: for his assistance, in lieu of military aid, which a poor friar could not furnish, he offers him this *Directory*, the fruit of more than twenty-four years of residence and of missionary labor in infidel lands. The work in question (according to the *two swords* whose sufficiency the Lord Himself attested, and according to the number of the Apostles) he has divided, he tells us, into two books and further subdivided into twelve parts. The first book, we may notice, occupies nearly four-fifths of the entire treatise and comprises eight of the twelve parts.

Part I. discusses the *motives* for “making the passage”, for undertaking this revival of Crusade. We begin with the personal incentive of the example of earlier French kings, Philip’s ancestors, so eminently associated with the suppression of heresy, the liberation of the Roman Church, the extermination of the Saracenic pest—as in Aquitaine, Provence, Spain, and Palestine. Next follows the desire of enlarging the bounds of Christendom, a desire which every Catholic prince must naturally feel. Under this the writer, much in

<sup>1</sup> The installment of this document presented in the July number of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XII. 813–857, was preceded by a preface dealing with textual questions. Historical comment was deferred to the present number, and is presented briefly in the following pages. Here I must acknowledge the great kindness of Mr. R. J. Whitwell, who has unsparingly given his time and skill to examining with me many of the difficult readings of M (the Magdalen College MS.), and to whose sound palaeography I am much indebted. The text of this document, and the critical notes on the same, have already made such inroads on the space of this REVIEW, that the present article must be compressed into the narrowest possible limits.

<sup>2</sup> Here the Magdalen Coll. MS. (M) reads 1332; see the July no. (1907) of this journal, p. 813.

the style of Marino Sanuto’s *Secreta*,<sup>3</sup> draws a vigorous picture of the shrinkage of Christian frontiers, since early times, through the growth of heresy, and the inroads of that foul swine, filthy dog, and minister of the devil, “Machomet”. Only the Roman Church now remained faithful, and it was confined within a little fraction of the inhabited earth, driven by its foes, as it were, to the world’s ends. Africa no longer contained any Christians; and although plenty of such might still be found in Asia, none were orthodox. Even in Europe, “our own part of the world”, many pagans<sup>4</sup> still remained, bordering on Germans and Poles; Saracens<sup>5</sup> yet held out in one part of Spain; and in various regions were Christians not of the Roman faith. Such were the Russians,<sup>6</sup> whose land, near to Bohemia and bordering on Poland, had an extent of more than forty days’ journey; the Bulgarians, whose realm stretched for more than twenty days’ march; and the numerous races of Slavonia, inhabiting *Rassia*,<sup>7</sup> Servia, Crovacia (the region of Cracow), and other kingdoms bordering on the Hungarians, Greeks, Dalmatians, Albanians, and Blaqui or Wallachians.

In other ways also it could be shown that Catholic Christendom was now reduced to a very small share of the world. For Asia was much greater than commonly supposed;<sup>8</sup> men of the writer’s day had found inhabited regions in the far north “beyond the latitude of the last Climate”; in other words, beyond the fiftieth parallel. In another direction the writer himself could support the same position. For when travelling as a missionary he not only reached the equatorial region, but once passed far beyond, into a southern latitude where he no longer saw the Arctic pole, but beheld the Antarctic at an elevation of 24°;<sup>9</sup> certain merchants even claimed to have

<sup>3</sup> On Sanuto’s *Secreta*, which furnishes many striking parallels to the *Directorium*, I beg to refer to my *Dawn of Modern Geography*, vol. III., pp. 309–319, and especially, on the subject here touched, p. 317; AMER. HIST. REV., July, 1907, XII. 810.

<sup>4</sup> As to these one need only refer to the heathen Prussians, the conquest of whose land by the crusading Order of Teutonic Knights occupied much of the thirteenth century, 1226–1283, and who still in 1330 comprised some pagan tribes; and the Lithuanians, whose official conversion dates only from the dynastic union of 1386 with Poland.

<sup>5</sup> These, of course, are the Granada Moslems, not conquered till 1492.

<sup>6</sup> *Ruteni* of M.

<sup>7</sup> This *Rassia* (or *Racia*) is the Servian Empire of the fourteenth century, occupying nearly all the northwest of the Balkan peninsula.

<sup>8</sup> Lit. “than appeared in the ordinary description of the Climates”.

<sup>9</sup> On Catholic knowledge of equatorial regions and glimpses of lands and seas still further south, in the later Middle Ages, especially in the later thirteenth and earlier fourteenth centuries, see *Dawn of Modern Geography*, III. 28–29, 133–136, 145–150, 264–267, 300–301, 416–417, 439–440, 523–524.

penetrated to a point where they found an elevation of 54° for this Antarctic pole.

From all this it clearly followed that not only Asia, but the inhabited world in general, was greater than had been usually laid down; that the assumption of Antipodes was neither false nor frivolous; and that true or Catholic Christendom, squeezed into a tiny angle of the earth, did not include one-twentieth of the same. None the less this Catholic Christendom, small as was its area, if compared to other regions in strength; in the use of arms and warlike probity; in virtue, religion, manners, morals, and the proper use of wealth; or in justice and good government—was as gold among the metals.

The third *motive* for the "passage" or crusade was a due compassion for the ruin of so many Christian peoples. For besides the avowed schismatics of the East, dragged down to hell at the tail of the Greek sect, there were various Christian peoples to south, north, and east, who—though frequently as darkened in their heresy as the Greeks, and though often following the errors of other sects—yet declared themselves to be Orthodox, and deserved the attention of true Crusaders. Such were the Goths,<sup>10</sup> of the same race as the famous devastators of the West; the Ziqui,<sup>11</sup> to the far Northeast, from whom sprang the Scythians; the Avogasi, source of the Vandals; the tribes from which the Huns descended; the Georgians or Iberians; and the Alans<sup>12</sup>—races whose territories had an extent of eighty days of march. In the Orient, moreover, were many Christians who lived under the dominion of the Emperor of Persia (the Mongol Ilkhan) such as those of the Empire of Trebizond "anciently Cappadocia"; the men of Greater Armenia, that "diffuse" country on whose mountains once rested the ark of Noah; and the Jacobite and Nestorian heretics.

Further south, again, was a fairly large island<sup>13</sup> in the Indian Sea, which the writer himself had visited, whose people practised both baptism and circumcision, and of whose manners, customs, laws, and ridiculous method of government, much of interest might

<sup>10</sup> On the Goths of the Crimea, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, II. 324, 390; III. 170, 241, 564.

<sup>11</sup> On the Ziqui or Zicci, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, II. 303.

<sup>12</sup> On the Alans in the same period (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, III. 183-185, 291, 294-295, 307; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II. 84-90.

<sup>13</sup> That it was probably Socotra has already been suggested; see *AMER. HIST. REV.*, July, 1907, p. 811; *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, I. 193, 207, 222, 400; 423, 463; II. 259; III. 17, 145-147, 211.

be said, if the matter were not foreign to the present argument. Nor was this all. Still further south were Ethiopian Christians, a great and powerful nation, one of whose kingdoms, called Nubia,<sup>14</sup> bordering on Egypt, had sometimes defeated the Egyptian sultan, and who cherished a proud hope based on "prophecy", that one day they would destroy Egyptians and Arabians together, sack Mecca, and burn the body of "Machomet".

\* The fourth *motive*, the natural Christian desire of recovering the land hallowed by the life and death of Christ is discussed with great eloquence, but contains nothing of historical interest, and with this ends the first part.

Part II. is occupied with five *preambles* which must be observed before the passage is undertaken. And here, beginning with prayer and amendment of life, the author incidentally remarks with perfect accuracy upon the original conquest of Jerusalem in 639 by the Caliph Omar, the Saracen occupation of the Holy City till the crusading victory of 1099, the Christian possession of the same for the next eighty-eight years, and the final loss of Zion to the Moslems in 1187. Of this final loss, it is clear to the writer, Christian wickedness had been the all-important cause. In language like that of James de Vitry, or Burchard of Mount Sion,<sup>15</sup> he depicts the avarice, pomp, vanity, and indolence of the Latin prelates of the East; the abounding iniquity of their clergy and people; the irreverence, indiscipline, and disobedience of monks and friars; the abandoned life of women; the injustice of rulers and judges. Again, the *Directory* does not forget to insist upon the essential *preamble* of military order and discipline, quoting examples, not only from Scripture, but also from Vegetius and Valerius Maximus in reference to ancient Roman military policy.

The third *preamble* is peace and concord among the Crusaders themselves—a topic especially suggested by the war then raging between the foremost of Christian maritime powers, Catalans and Genoese, who for probity, valor, energy, industry, experience, loyalty, steadfastness, and the power of furnishing and maintaining naval force, were without peers. An urgent appeal is addressed to the king of France to stop this suicidal struggle through his influence on the kings of Aragon and Sicily.

For the provisioning of the expedition with grain, wine, oil, meal, vegetables, cheese, and salt meats of all kinds, Apulia and Sicily are

<sup>14</sup> On the Nubians of the Middle Ages, and their Christianity, see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, I. 242; II. 260, 263; III. 152, 174-175, 314-315, 317, 498.

<sup>15</sup> See *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, II. 213; III. 388.

specially recommended; yet here again a war had to be ended. King Robert and King Frederic must lay aside their enmities at the appeal of Philip; both of them, it might be hoped, would ultimately follow the French king on his crusade, and would devote to the service of God's army their admirable ports, especially those of Sicily, and their rich supply of ship timber. From his own personal experience the writer was assured of King Frederic's devotion to the cause and of his high merits as a crusading leader.

The fourth *preamble* (like the fifth) is concerned with the discussion of ways and means. Before the main army had actually started, everything should be made ready for the maritime transport of all those crusaders who could bear a sea voyage, as well as of victuals, arms, and engines of war such as *balistae* and instruments for bombarding or undermining the walls of camps, cities, and forts. To guard these transports, to clear the sea from pirates, and to cooperate with the land force a powerful navy was indispensable; and as the route of the land-army must lie through the empire of Romania (of Constantinople), and as Venice and Genoa held important possessions in that empire, it was obvious that Venetians and Genoese must furnish the war-ships necessary. How powerfully they could aid in the expedition was clear from the fact that Crete, Negropont, and nearly all the islands of the Aegaeon belonged to Venice; and that Genoa from her town of *Capha*<sup>10</sup> in "Northern Tartary", could supply so many things needful for the passage, while in the fortress-city of Pera,<sup>11</sup> immediately adjoining Constantinople, she held a position of unique importance. Nor was this all. Venetians and Genoese were well acquainted with the seas, ports, islands, rocks, roads, passes, and provinces of the Byzantine Empire; and many of them even knew many of the local languages, having been born and brought up in those parts.

Coming to more specific details, the writer considers that by the spring following a navy of twelve galleys should be ready to police the seas of the Levant, and especially to cut off all naval aid from the Sultan of Egypt, who was absolutely dependent upon incoming trade for his supply of arms and iron, as well as of timber for ship-building, fortifying or constructing military engines. Like Marino

<sup>10</sup> On *Capha*, *Caffa*, or *Kaffa*, the classical and modern *Theodosia* ("Feodosia") on the southeast coast of the Crimea, the chief Black Sea base of Genoese trade and the greatest Catholic outpost and colony in *partibus infidelium* during the fourteenth and earlier fifteenth centuries, see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, II. 453-454; III. 237, 239, 249, 250, 291-292, 330, 341, 347, 371-372, 467, 477-478, 486, 536.

<sup>11</sup> On the Genoese in *Pera* and *Galata*, see Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, I. 432, 436-437, 445-446, 450, 454-461, 498, 502-508; II. 99; *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, III. 337, 475.

Sanuto's *Secreta*, the *Directory* would absolutely interdict all maritime trade between Latin Christendom and Moslem countries. Both works agree in considering that Egypt, from its lack of the necessities aforesaid, would fall an easy victim to this commercial interdict.

Thus ends the second part. The third begins with the consideration of the routes to be followed by the Crusaders.

And first of all that recommended by Raymond Lull<sup>18</sup> along the north coast of Africa is discussed and rejected. For one thing, its length and weariness were insupportable. From Gibraltar Strait to Acre was a distance of 3,500 miles; even from Tunis to Acre it was 2,300 miles. Once more, it was a road full of danger, with difficult passes, a long stretch of absolute desert, and inaccessible or impregnable positions, forts or cities. Finally, at the conclusion of the march the Latin army, weakened by these terrible and endless labors, could only reach the Holy Land by the complete overthrow of the Soldan of Egypt himself, most formidable of Moslem powers. The only reason for St. Louis, on his last crusade, beginning his attack upon the infidel with the siege of Tunis was in all probability the nearness of Sicily, that invaluable base of operations.

The second route, by sea, starting from Aigues Mortes, Marseilles or Nice, and calling at Cyprus, is also condemned as unsuitable for all unaccustomed to maritime life. The miseries of life on shipboard, for men and horses alike, are vividly described in the style of the eighteenth-century sage ("in prison, with the additional chance of being drowned"); the dangers of contrary winds, of being becalmed far from land, of bad food and water, of storm and shipwreck, of violent change of climate, of an unhealthy or dangerous place of disembarkation, are dwelt upon with all the force of personal (and unhappy) experience.

Finally, the absence of any good harbor under Catholic control on the Syrian coast is insisted upon: if St. Louis suffered so much upon this passage while Acre was still in Christian hands, how much worse would be the plight of those who now adventured such an enterprise.

Thus having dismissed two of the chief possible lines of attack the *Directory* goes on to consider and approve various routes through Italy, Germany, and Hungary for the main body of the land forces. The Italian roads suggested are three. The first passed through Aquileia, rounding the head of the Adriatic, running down through Istria and Dalmatia, and so arriving at Thessalonica, a point at

<sup>18</sup> See *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, III. 412, 496, 512-513, and especially 310-311.

which all the crusading armies were to unite; the second led down to Brindisi, whence one must pass over 150 miles of sea to Durazzo, Albania, Blaquia or Wallachia, and so to Thessalonica; the third brought one to Otranto, Corfu, the Lordship of Arca, and thus through Blaquia to Thessalonica likewise.

All these ways traversed rich country. The first, in its passage of Istria and Dalmatia, lay within lands of true Catholic Christians, in great part governed from Venice. True, after Dalmatia one must pass through regions not obedient to Rome; but as their inhabitants were but women in strength and courage it would be as easy as it was just to cut a path through these with fire and sword. The Durazzo and Otranto passages, again, were made easier by the dominion of the Prince of Taranto in *Duracium* and in Corfu, as well as by the Catholicism of the Albanians.

But (and here we pass into Part iv.) it is the German and Hungarian road which is ultimately selected as the best for the French king himself, and perhaps for most of his followers. By this Charles the Great had gone to liberate the Holy Land from the infidel;<sup>19</sup> on this, until it quitted Hungary, the crusading host would be among friends, "as at home"; after Hungary, part of the army, with the French king in person, should march through Bulgaria; the rest of his own force must proceed through Sclavonia;<sup>20</sup> both divisions uniting, with all the other wings of the army, before Thessalonica.

At the same time, while choosing this line for his sovereign and apparently for the main "battle", our Dominican allows, and even urges, the use of other tracks above indicated, by sections of the expedition. None, indeed, should go by Africa, unless the entire venture were devoted to African conquest, which might be achieved by so great a force, but could not be attempted by less. The maritime peoples could make their passage by sea. By Italy might advance the Lombards, the people of the Marches and of Apulia, and others bordering upon this route. The ways by Brindisi and Otranto are specially recommended, not only for Tuscans, Romans, and Italians of the South, but also for Provençals. All, whatever their line of progression, were to unite at Thessalonica; and those who had to cross the Adriatic straits must be sure that their transport was ready, adequate, and swift.

In his next part (v.) the author discusses whether any treaty

<sup>19</sup> Behind this myth lies the truth of Charlemagne's pilgrim-hospice in Jerusalem, and diplomatic intercourse with the Eastern Caliphate, for the protection of Christian travellers to Syria; see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, I. 172.

<sup>20</sup> I. e., through the Serb empire of *Rassia* or *Racia*.

could be made with, or any trust reposed in, the Emperor of the Greeks, or the Sclavonian King of *Rassia*; and whether the crusaders might justly invade and conquer the dominions of these princes. Here again he is perfectly definite. The Greeks were full of malignant hatred for true Roman Christianity; when they took wives from Catholic races they compelled them to renounce their Latin creed; Greek churches which had been used for Latin worship were purified as if under pollution; Greek confessors treated theft or robbery from Latins as a matter free from blame. Out of the evil treasure of the Greek heart, again, came the deadly poison of all the heresies which had afflicted the Church; at its tail Greek error dragged down the Christian nations of the East into a pit of blindness and perdition.

With such heretics the French kings, ancient pillars of Roman orthodoxy, could not make pact or truce; a treaty of this kind would befool all the Catholic missionaries and diplomatists who had labored in the Levant; would condone the usurpations of the Palaeologi, usurpations which had especially affected the rights of the royal house of France; and would ignore the treachery of a people, which in old days had mixed live coals with the bread of their Latin guests, and scuttled their ships in the very harbor of Constantinople.

In the course of this philippic, the *Directory* gives us not only a list of heresies (Arian, Nestorian, etc.) due to the perversity of Greek intellect, but also glances bitterly at the life and "treasons" of Michael Palaeologus, at the expulsion of Latin dominion from Constantinople, at the massacre of Latins in the Imperial City on this occasion (still attested by the mound of bones in a crypt near *Bucca Leonis*), at Michael's pretence of submission to the Roman See, at his intrigues against Charles of Sicily, and at his successor's blasphemous reversion to the schism of the Greeks. As to the rulers of *Rassia*, their character is sufficiently proved by a chronicle of their recent actions—their conspiracies, usurpations, blindings, murders, the deeds of wretches so monstrous that in this family a father might be found to kill his guiltless son with his own hands.

Could there be any doubt that the army of God might justly invade and conquer both the Byzantine Empire and *Rassia*, and thus repeat the glorious deeds (here dealt with at some length) of those who, on the Fourth Crusade, had once already planted a Latin Empire in Constantinople?

In his Sixth Part our Dominican attempts to show how easily this conquest of the Greek Empire and of *Rassia* might be effected. For one thing, the cowardice of the Greeks equalled their deceit,



trickery, and delight in successful fraud. The author had himself witnessed a disgraceful overthrow of the late emperor outside Constantinople by a handful of Turks; he tells us also of a yet more ignominious defeat inflicted on the same sovereign near Adrianople by the Catalan *Society*,<sup>21</sup> now established in the Duchy of Athens.

Thus the pusillanimous Greek, whose only resource was flight, was encircled and oppressed by a ring of foes, the Tartar, the Turk, the Slav, the Bulgar, and many another; thus the empire of the Palaeologi had fallen into a desolation, depopulation, and enslavement, truly lamentable. The author himself, when in Persia, saw multitudes of Greek slaves, of either sex, and of every age and rank, sold like cattle in the public markets; families and lovers ruthlessly parted; all alike compelled to embrace the faith of their purchaser, be he Moslem, idolater, or Jew. Within the Persian Empire (the Mongol Ilkhanate) there were now, it was said, more than 400,000 of these wretched captives of the Eastern Church. Who could number the Greek slaves that had been sold in other empires of the Tartars or in Egypt; who could reckon the multitudes of Greeks destroyed by hunger, fire, and sword? Never had the writer visited a foreign land where he had not seen Greek slaves.

The conquest of the Greek Empire was rendered still more easy by the effeminacy, licentiousness, folly, ignorance, and timidity of its head, a vain fool, useless in war, faithless even for a Greek, the obedient tributary of Tartars, Turks, and Catalans; who yet, worthless as he was, appointed, removed, and punished the priests of his Church, even the highest, as he would. Our friar had seen four deposed patriarchs living at one time in ignominy and seclusion; such was the "Universal Bishop" of the Greeks, their vaunted "successor of Peter", their "Vicar of Christ".

In the Seventh Part, continuing his discussion of the same subject (how the Greek empire might be conquered) the *Directorium* plans out in full detail a scheme of siege operations against Constantinople. And first the city is carefully and well described. Its shape was triangular; each side of the triangle six miles long; one side only facing the land, the others bordering the sea. It was entirely encircled with walls, not very high or formidable, but quite uninjured, and in one part double. The population was small for so great a compass of walled town; scarce one-third of the city-space was inhabited; the rest was all gardens, vineyards, fields, or waste. The people were utterly unwarlike, mostly consisting of merchants,

<sup>21</sup> On this Catalan Grand Company, see Finlay, *History of Greece*, edition of 1877, III. 388-408; IV. 129, 147-156, 2:4, 300; VI. 160.

mariners, artificers, fisher folk, and husbandmen; the nobles, few in number, were weak as women, timid as Jews. The attack upon the city should be both by sea and land; the latter should be mainly directed upon the neighborhood of the Golden Gate. Here the assailants, being near the sea, could easily be aided by their naval forces; the walls and trenches were not formidable; and with rams, ladders, fire, and cages for hoisting the storming parties upon the walls, success was almost certain at this point. For the naval onslaught (rendered so much more practicable by the deep sea, without rocks or shoals, which came right up to the walls) great vessels should be prepared, with lofty castles, fitted with a complete apparatus of military engines. Especially to be recommended for this work was a kind of "edifice" by which 500 men (or more) could be discharged upon the walls at one time, and which the writer had seen when he accompanied Martino Zaccaria<sup>22</sup> of Genoa in his wars against the Turks. This naval hero, now by treachery become a prisoner of the Greek emperor, had done more than any living man in fighting Turks at sea: several of his victories had been won in the author's presence.

The *Directorium* concludes these counsels in the art of war with the suggestion of covered vessels called *barbotae*, and of siege-machines called *uxeria*. In the former, crew and warriors, invisible under their penthouse lids, could securely run up under the face of the enemy, rake the foe with their missiles, and undermine the defences at their foundation. In the latter, iron-shod beams with sharp points could be swung on ropes for smashing gates and ramparts; fireballs and sacks filled with stones could be shot into the air to fall with burning or crushing effect upon the defenders and their houses.

With such preparations, plans, and instruments, the besieging host might hope to storm Constantinople in one day; the Imperial City once taken, the two remaining strongholds of the Greeks, Thessalonica and Adrianople, were as good as won. The author concludes this part of his work with a well thought-out summary of the obvious advantages which the possession of the Byzantine realm would confer upon the crusaders. Needless to say, he takes no account of the racial antipathy which would so heavily subtract from the strategic side of the account.

Part VIII., concluding the First Book, outlines the policy to be

<sup>22</sup> On this famous partizan leader (the nephew, as the *Directorium* adds, of Lord Benedict Zacharia "whose fame in naval deeds still lives"), see Finlay, *Greece* (1877), III. 429; *Daunt of Mod. Geog.*, III. 222, 233.

pursued in the conquered lands of the Greek Empire, and deals, in a sort of appendix, with the ways and means of subjugating *Rassia*, and with the ease and advantages of such a conquest.

First of all, when Catholic rule had been restored in Byzantine lands, all Latins who had deserted their creed and race, unless they recanted, were to be punished with death or banishment.

Banishment was likewise to be the fate of the Greek monks, called *Calogeri*; whose influence, grounded on hypocrisy<sup>23</sup> and intrigue, must be crushed if the Latin dominion was ever to be made secure. In every family where two or more sons could be found, one was to be educated in "Latin letters". Heretical Greek books were to be diligently sought out and burnt, the Western Inquisition being set going against all kinds of heresy, living and dead. After the conquest, the clergy and people of Constantinople were to be gathered in St. Sophia to make a public profession of the Roman faith, and a public submission to Latin domination; the Frank Emperor meantime remitting certain taxes. Monks were no longer to have the monopoly of the episcopate and the confessional; and the Byzantine conventicles, private chapels, and oratories, nests of conspiracy and sedition,<sup>24</sup> were to be rigorously suppressed.

As to the conquest of *Rassia*, it was not a matter of any difficulty. The country possessed scarcely any strongholds, and no walled fortresses; on the other hand it contained settlements of men of Latin civilization bitterly hostile to Servian rule. A list of these settlements, comprising Antivari, Dulcigno, Scutari, and three others, is here appended; and it is pointed out that besides the Latin settlers of the shore-land the Albanians equally professed the Catholic religion, equally detested the unbearable slavery of the Slav dominion, and equally longed to wash their hands in the blood of these abominable masters. A Frank army of a thousand knights and five or six thousand foot-soldiers would easily subdue the whole of *Rassia*, thereby performing a deed more truly acceptable to God than the subjugation of an even greater Saracen territory. For the land was indeed delightful. It abounded in corn, wine, oil, flocks, and herds; it was diversified with pleasant springs and rivers, groves and meadows, hills and valleys, rich plains and great woodlands; finally its gold and silver mines were not to be forgotten—five of such were already worked.

<sup>23</sup> By eating certain seeds, our author declares, they "appeared unto men to fast", thereby gaining the necessary emaciation, etc.

<sup>24</sup> The *Directory's* account of these shows intimate knowledge and is among the most curious passages in the work.

Thus ends the First Book; the First Part of the Second Book (which is also the Ninth Part of the treatise as a whole) discusses various Eastern races with whom the crusaders and their royal leader must needs have much to do, but of whose trickeries they must beware. First came the Armenians, the worst and most faithless heretics of the Oriental world—save only for those of Little Armenia or Cilicia,<sup>25</sup> who had made a kind of union with the Roman Church. In this union the author had been a prime agent, being one of the two Dominicans whom Pope John XXII.<sup>26</sup> had specially designated for this work. It was, therefore, from intimate knowledge that our friar declares this union to be one of fear and necessity rather than love, and accuses the Armenian Uniats of defrauding the Latins in well-nigh every particular. Next in order were the *Gasinuli*,<sup>27</sup> the mixed offspring of Greek and Latin parents; the Syrian Christians; the *Murtati*, descendants of Greek alliances with Turks, the worse offspring of two bad bloods; and the *baptized Neophytes*, converts from Moslem races—among whom there was scarcely even a choice of evils. Deceit, cowardice, greed, turbulence, cruelty, drunkenness, gluttony, treachery—such were the qualities of these wretches, and especially of the mongrel races and shant proselytes here noticed.

The French king, however, must be ready (while ever on his guard against such ruffians) to win them to the service of the Holy War by all the bounty, kindness, and indulgence that might be needed. For as spies and scouts they were priceless; and in journeying through difficult country, in avoiding hostile snares, in securing and storing booty, and in winning the inmost secrets of the enemy, the wise leader would make use of them to the full.

On the other hand, in regard to the execrable people called *Assassins*<sup>28</sup> (of whom the writer had heard somewhat, though he had never seen any) there was no advice to be given save that of strict unvarying caution in admitting no one to the royal presence without full knowledge of his errand and antecedents.

<sup>25</sup> See Stubbs, "Mediaeval Kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia", in *Seventeen Centuries*, pp. 179-237; *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, II. 238, 456-457; III. 52, 313, 325, 46, 473, 483.

<sup>26</sup> 1316-1334, the most vigorous patron and organizer of Asiatic and African missions among the later medieval popes; this closer union of Lesser Armenia with Rome was in 1318; see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, III. 181, 206-207, 211-213, 221, 23-240, 311-312, 497-498.

<sup>27</sup> These are the *Guasmul* of Marco Polo (in a slightly different sense); see the 1903 edition of Yule and Cordier, I. 289-292, and especially 292; the term (*Guasmul*, *Basmul*, etc.) occurs frequently in Byzantine historians, e. g., George Schymeres, Nicephorus Gregoras, and Nicetas Choniates.

<sup>28</sup> On the Assassins, see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, II. 239-240, 255, 589-590; III. 63, 287; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 133-136.

Part x. (Book II., Part II.) is devoted to a further exposition of the military and other advantages resulting from the choice of this line of advance—by Constantinople and the Bosphorus<sup>29</sup>—and from the policy of attacking the Turks of Asia Minor, in the first place, rather than the Egyptian sultan. In particular, the suggestion of beginning the campaign against Islam by way of Little Armenia is examined and refuted: this country, the *Directorium* strangely declares, had no harbor except the poor and confined Portus Palorum;<sup>30</sup> its provisions were inadequate for a great army; its frontier passes were held by the Sultan of Egypt. The last-named potentate could not come to the aid of the Turks, for he would lay himself open to the onslaught of his mortal foe, the Tartar Emperor of Persia. In this connection the writer recalls Ghazan Khan's invasion of Syria<sup>31</sup> in the hope of being supported by Catholic armies from the West.

Part XI. (Book II., Part III.) describes the chief supply-centres of the East from which the crusading army must re-victual and refit. In Thrace, on the west or back of Asia Minor,<sup>32</sup> there was the grain emporium of Rodosto, the wine market of Gannos, and others. In Macedonia, likewise to the west of the *Asia* that was now *Turkey*, Thessalonica and three other places furnished abundant corn, barley, and vegetables. To the right or south of *Turquia* Negropont, the Duchy of Athens, and other regions yielded wine, oil, and cheese; while to the left or north, along the shore-lands of the Euxine or Pontic Sea and the Sea of Tana (Azov) were so many excellent and celebrated bases for provisioning in cereals, flesh, fish, honey, wax, and other necessaries that it was needless to enumerate them. No less bountiful were the resources of Asia Minor itself, a land so rich in all the goods of earth that one might fairly call it another Egypt or another Paradise.

Finally, in Part XII. (Book II., Part IV.) the author sets forth the reasons why there was every hope of a speedy and complete victory over the Turks. Their cup of wickedness was full; they were hopelessly divided among themselves; their strength had suffered

<sup>29</sup> Which the *Directorium* calls, indifferently, *Bosphorus*, *Hellaspont*, and *Arm of St. George*; see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, III. 395.

<sup>30</sup> Yet the much greater and more celebrated haven of Lajazzo was still flourishing; see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, II. 456-457; III. 24, 45-49, 52, 192, 313, 325, 330, 468, 473, 483.

<sup>31</sup> A. D. 1299. The *Directory* wrongly makes *Casan* take *Danascus*.

<sup>32</sup> This land, remarks the *Directory*, though now called *Turquia*, was the ancient and Scriptural *Asia*, where the Seven Churches lay, called by the Greeks "Anatolia". It was tongue-shaped, having the sea on three sides, the Ægean to the right or south, the Pontic (Euxine) sea to the left or north, the Hellespont towards the back or west.

wonderful diminution; they now depended on slaves and hirelings (largely Christians in origin, ready to desert at the first opportunity) to fight their battles; their equipment for, and knowledge of, war seemed only fit for children's sport. True, they had many horses, but small and weak, and neither steeds nor riders carried defensive armor. Even the offensive weapons of the Turks were absurdly inadequate. Conscious of their weakness, they fought only by simulated flight, by ambushes, and such-like devices. Finally they lived in terror of the fulfilment of a prophecy that in the last days their seat would be destroyed by a lord of the Franks. The Moslem dread of a new crusade was widespread; when the author was in Persia, and the news came abroad that Pope Clement<sup>33</sup> had proclaimed the Holy War afresh, the panic of the populace was such that the Frankish sword might have been already at their throats. Our friar, who "had seen almost every nation of the East go out to war", knew for a certainty that the single power of France, without allies, could overwhelm Turks, Egyptians, Arabs, Persians, Tartars, and Indians.<sup>34</sup>

Thus ends a work in every way remarkable, whether we regard it as an outcome of the Catholic mission-movement which so largely contributed to the Asiatic expansion of Latin Christendom in the Mongol Age (1245-1370); or as an example of the militant spirit, which, after the failure of the Syrian Crusades, strove to revive crusading ardor; or as a scheme of policy whose ruthless and reckless intolerance contrast forcibly with the comparative caution and liberality of most of the leaders and writers of the great age of mediæval overland intercourse.

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY.

[M. 14 r; P. 45] *Explicit quinta pars. <sup>1</sup>Sexta pars per quatuor facilitates ostendit ad imperium capiendum.*<sup>1</sup>

Si, igitur, Domine mi Rex, propter praedicta vestrae circumspectionis <sup>2</sup>providentiae videatur<sup>2</sup> de vestro itinere sancto spetti<sup>3</sup> hostes tollendi tam antiquum malum delendum, tam inveterati proditores in

<sup>1</sup> I. e., Clement V. (1305-1314); this reference is probably to 1308.

<sup>2</sup> The Indian missionary, Jordanus the Dominican, bishop of Kulam in Transjordan, writing at this very time, expresses the same confidence; see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, III. 234-235. There are many interesting points of contact between the *Directorium* and the *Mirabilia* and *Letters* of Jordanus.

<sup>3</sup> *Sextam ostendit per quatuor facilitates, M.*, which omits *ad imperium capiendum*.

<sup>2</sup> *Prudentie videat, M.*

<sup>3</sup> *Sperti, M.*; P. has a mark of correction here, but nothing in the margin to refer to it.