Marino Sanudo Torsello, The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross

Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis

Translated by

Peter Lock

Crusade Texts in Translation 21

CRUSADE TEXTS IN TRANSLATION

Volume 21

About the volume

This is the first full translation of Marino Sanudo Torsello's *Secreta fidelium Crucis* to be made into English. The work itself is a piece of crusading propaganda following the fall of Acre in 1291, written between 1300 and 1321, but it includes much of historical relevance along with interesting observations on the early history of Jerusalem and the Crusader Kingdom. The translation is based upon the text edited by Jacques Bongars in 1611. There is an introduction that contextualises the book, its author, his sources and his audience. The notes provide essential information to clarify internal textual references and allusions, as well as the role of Biblical references in Sanudo's grand design. The index is designed to make this detailed text usable and accessible.

In this, his major work, Sanudo advocated the conquest of Egypt as the means to regain Jerusalem for the Latins and worked through his points with considerable detail alongside references to 13th-century Mediterranean history, especially involving Louis IX of France and Charles of Anjou, king of Naples. Books I and II give considerable detailed discussion of the concept, plan and costs of his proposed crusade. Book III provides an outline history of the crusades and the crusader states. It is derived from a wide-reading of other sources especially of William of Tyre, and, for events after 1184 on the *Eracles*, the letters of James of Vitry, and Sanudo's own experiences in the east. Throughout, the work contains a staggering amount of cartographical, ethnographical, geographical, and nautical information, as well as numerous unique insights into historical events and personalities of the late 13th century, not only in Outremer but in Western Europe.

About the translator

Peter Lock was Professor of Medieval History, now retired, at York St John University, UK.

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MARINO SANUDO TORSELLO, THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF THE FAITHFUL OF THE CROSS

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Translated by

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Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2011 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Sanudo, Marino, ca. 1260–1343.
The Book of Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross = Liber secretorum fidelium crucis. -- (Crusade Texts in Translation)
1. Crusades – Early works to 1800. I. Title II. Series III. Lock, Peter, 1949–
909'.07-dc22

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Library of Congress Control Number: 2010933495

ISBN 9780754630593 (hbk)
ISBN 9781315593913 (ebk)

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professor Bernard Hamilton and Professor Malcolm Barber for suggesting the *Secreta* as a work for translation suitable for inclusion in the Crusade Texts in Translation series. In particular, especial thanks go to Professor Bernard Hamilton for his careful reading of the manuscript and his many valuable and insightful suggestions. This work would not have been possible without the resources of the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds and especially its inter-library loan facility. I would also like to thank the staff of the Bibliothèque royale, Brussels, the Bibliothèque municipale de Valenciennes, the Bodleian Library, Oxford and the British Library, London, as well as colleagues at the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Leeds who have heard and commented on aspects of Sanudo, both in seminars and in papers at the International Medieval Congress. Thanks too to Jo and Chris Vicary for providing a quiet retreat in the Lot Valley in which some of this translation was done; to Mark Taylor, himself *un bon garçon*, for elucidating the derivation and pronunciation of Bongars; to my son Alexander for his careful proof reading, general encouragement and interest, and his thoughtful suggestions on phrasing; to my daughter Mrs Sophie Wilson who dealt with the vagaries of my computer and to Dr John Smedley of Ashgate for his patience and advice during the preparation of this translation. All have contributed to the improvement of this work but any mistakes are of course down to me alone. Finally, I owe particular thanks to my wife Joan for her support and indulgence in allowing Sanudo to share our lives together. This translation is for her.

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Introduction

The Family of Sanudo or Sanuto

The Sanudo or Sanuto was a patrician family that had risen to prominence in Venice in the twelfth century, when they were regarded as one of the noblest families in Venice. In the seventeenth century they were thought to be descended from Cassia the wife of the historian Titus Livius, who gave her name to the Cassiani or Candiani.[1] This story may be mythical but the Sanudi do seem to have had close links with the Candiani. In the mid-fourteenth century the doge and chronicler Andrea Dandolo (1306–54) noted: '*Candiani que hodie secundum plurimos Sanuti vocati sunt*.'[2] Whether Sanudi was an alternative name for Candiani is unclear but they were ranked among the 'casa vecchia' or old families of Venice, which are families supposed to be descended from the ancient tribunes that had first moved to the Rialto from Heraclea in the early fifth century. The Candiani were certainly one of the founding families of Venice and there is a chronological concurrence between their disappearance from the record and the first occurrence of the name Sanudo. J.K. Fotheringham suggests that the Sanudi belonged to a collateral branch of the family and that the belief that the Sanudi were descended from the Candiani was at least as old as the twelfth century. However, no explanation for this change of name was or is forthcoming.[3]

The Sanudi were wealthy and well-connected. This was demonstrated sometime around the mid-twelfth century when a Sanudo son, probably Pietro but possibly a Marco, married a sister of the future doge Enrico Dandolo (r.1192–1205) and thereby unknowingly laid the foundations of the duchy of the Archipelago for the son or grandson of that marriage. The Sanudi had extensive estates on the mainland and by the late twelfth century, and possibly a century earlier, had commercial interests in the trade with Constantinople. There were several branches of the

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[1] Giacomo Zabarella, *Historia della gente Livia Romana e Padovana* (Padua, 1669).

[2] Chronicon Venetum in L.A. Muratori, ed., *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XII (Milan, 1728), 156. 'Today the Candiani are called the Sanudi by many people.' This expression may imply some doubt or it may mean simply that it was the usual appellation.

[3] J.K. Fotheringham, *Marco Sanudo Conqueror of the Archipelago* (Oxford, 1915), 1–16, esp. 1–3, and 12, footnotes 3 and 4, on which this paragraph is based. The best modern accounts in English are to be found in two unpublished doctoral theses: Sherman Roddy, 'The Correspondence of Marino Sanudo Torsello', (Unpub. PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1971), 15–55 and Frank Frankfort, 'Marino Sanudo Torsello: A Social Biography', (Unpub. PhD thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1974), 3–51.

family living in San Severo, San Giacomo dell'Orio, San Polo, San Matteo in Rialto and Nasso. Marino Sanudo Torsello the elder was descended from the San Polo branch – a branch that died out in 1852 with Francisco Livio – and he tells us that he was born and lived in the parish of Sanseverino the Confessor in the Rialto.

From generation to generation members of the family were regularly recorded as members of the Senate and of the Great Council until its abolition in 1297. Marino's father Marco sat on the Great Council for the district of Castello in 1279–80 and again in 1283–4. As such they were certainly numbered amongst the most prominent people in Venice but failed to be included in the *Signoria* or government of the city proper.[1] Some of them were galley captains (*sopracomiti delle galie*), such as Bernardo during the Fourth Crusade, and ambassadors to Constantinople such as two Marcos, one in the late eleventh century and the other in the mid-twelfth. Carl Hopf has asserted that they were members of the Venetian colony there but this remains unproven.[2] Whereas the Candiani had provided five doges and two patriarchs of Grado by the tenth century, the Sanudi provided no holders of these prestigious offices, unless, as is common today and has been the case since the fourteenth century, all the Candiani doges are called by the alternative name of Sanudo. Apart from their social connectivity and their landed wealth they were also merchants of Venice, familiar with commodities and markets, arranging and making loans, ships and sea travel to the principal ports of the eastern Mediterranean. It was this knowledge and experience that Marino Sanudo was to draw on so effectively in his writings.

Four individual family members rose above the obscurity of official listings and are much better known; three of them for their literary works. They are: Marco I Sanudo (d.c.1230) the founder of the dukedom of the Archipelago in 1207, which remained in the hands of his descendants until 1343 when they were ousted by a coup of Francisco Crispo; the crusade propagandist and geographer Marino Sanudo Torsello il Vecchio[3] (c.1270–c.1343) whose main work is translated here; his namesake Marino Sanudo the Younger (1466–1536), the diarist and historian; and Livio Sanudo (1530–80) the geographer whose unfinished twelve-volume *Geography* was posthumously published in 1588. Most of the anecdotes and discussion of the Sanudo family come from or are in relation to these four individuals. There does seem to be a literary and bibliophile element to the Sanudo. As is evident throughout this text, Marino the Elder was remarkably well-read. In the Bodleian Library the arms of the Sanudo family may be seen at the beginning of a fifteenth-century Latin manuscript containing Cicero's *De amicitia*,

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1 F.C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore, 1973), 95–6.

2 For the forgoing and the reference to Hopf in Ersch and Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyklopädie, vol. 85: Griechenland* (1867), 222, see Fotheringham, *op.cit*., 13.

3 From the mid-nineteenth century he was often dubbed *il Vecchio* or the Elder to distinguish him from his later namesake.

De senectute, and *Paradoxa;* presumably from the library of an unknown member of the family of humanistic bent in the 1420s.[1]

Marino Sanudo the Elder was sufficiently confident in his heritage not to concern himself with the history and origins of his family. All he tells us about his family concerns Marco I Sanudo, the founder of the duchy of the Archipelago whom he described as '*Fiol de Miser Marco Sanudo de Constantinopolei*' at the beginning of his *Istoria del Regno di Romania* along with a rudimentary family tree of the dukes down to his own time.[2] The latter is chronologically serial but no dates are given whilst, as Fotheringham has pointed out, Marco I may have been the grandson of a Marco Sanudo, who gained his office in Venice not as a resident of Constantinople.[3]

Marino Sanudo called Torsello (c.1270–c.1334)[4]

All that is known about him comes from his two major works*, Secreta fidelium crucis* (1307–21)[5] and *Istoria del regno di Romania* (c.1326–33),[6] and from 42 surviving letters or fragments of letters to various prominent figures concerned with crusading from the years 1323 to 1337.[7]

He was one of five sons of Marco Sanudo (c.1241–c.1318–23), patrician of Venice. He always described himself as 'Marinus Sanuto dictus Torsellus' a

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[1] Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS canon. Class. Lat.209. The Sanudo family crest was 'a simple silver shield with a broad diagonal azure blue band' (Frankfort*, op.cit*., 16).

[2] C. Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes* (Berlin, 1873), 99 and 100 for the table and 480 for Hopf's genealogy of the Sanudo dukes of the Archipelago that should be used with caution.

[3] Fotherigham, *op.cit*., 13–15.

[4] The best modern accounts in English are the two doctoral theses cited in note 3, page 1 above, both of which have been used extensively throughout.

[5] J. Bongars, ed., *Gesta Dei per Francos, sive orientalium expeditionem et regni Francorum Hierosolymitani historia* (2 vols, Hannover, 1611), vol. 2, 1–281 reproduced photographically with an introduction by Joshua Prawer (Toronto, 1972).

[6] This history, originally written in Latin, survives only in an Italian translation dating from the eighteenth century. It is printed in C. Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes* (Berlin, 1873), 99–170 and most recently with a modern Greek translation in Eutukia Papadopolou, *Μαρίνος Σανουδος Τορσελλο, Ιστορια της Ρομανιας* (Athens, 2000).

[7] J. Bongars*, op.cit*., II, 286–316; Friedrich Kunstmann, *Studien über Marino Sanudo den Aelteren* (Munich, 1855), 58 (754)–123 (819); Ch. De la Roncière and L.Dorez, 'Lettres inédites et mémoires de Marino Sanudo l'Ancien (1334–1337)' in *Bibliothèque de L'École des Chartes*, 56 (1893), 34–36, 38–39, 43-44; A. Cerlini, "Nuove lettere di Marino Sanudo il Vecchio," *in La Bibliofilia, Rivista di storia del libro e delle arti grafiche di bibliografia ed erudizione,* 42 (1940), 348–359. All the letters have been translated into English in Sherman Roddy, 'The Correspondence of Marino Sanudo Torsello', (Unpub. PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1971).

surname, which he tells us, he received from his father Marco.[1] The name seems not to have been confined to Marino's immediate family but to have been used by the Sanudi living in the wards of San Paolo and Castello. Its meaning has provoked much speculation but remains obscure.[2]

His year of birth, let alone the exact date, is not known having been variously given between 1260 and 1277.[3] Most modern writers like Evelyn Edson, Angeliki Laiou, Joshua Prawer and Christopher Tyerman follow the standard biographical study of Arturo Magnocavallo, *Marin Sanudo il Vecchio e il sue progetto di Crociata* (Bergamo, 1901) and accept c.1270 as his year of birth.[4] His year of death is generally taken to be c.1343. This is based upon the date of his will which was drawn up by the notary Pietro of Santa Maria Formmosa on 9 March 1343 and witnessed by two priests from his parish of Sanseverino.[5] Presumably he felt his end to be near. His last known surviving letter was written between October 1336 and March 1337, and was addressed to the lord William, Count of Hainault.[6]

It is not known when, where or how he received his education. The formal part of his education in Venice would have ended by 1281 when he made his first trip to his cousins on Naxos and certainly by 1285 when he made his first trip to Acre as part of his introduction to the commercial interests of his family. He may well have benefited from the distinctive approach to Latin teaching that Robert Black has noted emerging in the increasingly secularized and urbanized Italy of the thirteenth century designed to produce educated lay Latinists. Grammars in prose replaced the typical north European verse grammars as Latin ceased to be the preserve of the clerical elite, which it remained in northern Europe.[7] It may well have been that

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1 At the beginning of the *Istoria del Regno di Romania*, see Hopf, *op.cit*., 99.

2 See discussion in Frankfort*, op.cit*., 54–71.

3 F. Kunstmann*, op.cit.,* 2 (698), J. Delaville Le Roulx, *La France en orient au XIVe siècle*, I (Paris, 1886), 32 and A.S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938), 116, where he follows Magnacavallo and his *Crusade, Commerce and Culture* (Oxford, 1962), 98, where he adopts 1274. His biographical account in the 1938 volume has many errors and must be used with caution. Zabarella, *op. cit*., 73 gives 1277.

4 Magnacavallo, 22, where the various dates are discussed; A. Laiou, 'Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks: The Background to the Anti-Turkish League of 1332–1334', *Speculum*, 45 (1970), 374-392; J. Prawer, introduction to the reprint of *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* (Toronto, 1972), v–xvii; C. Tyerman, 'Marino Sanudo Torsello and the Lost Crusade: Lobbying in the Fourteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, 32 (1982), 57–73; Evelyn Edson, 'Reviving the Crusade: Sanudo's Schemes and Vesconti's Maps', in Rosamond Allen, ed., *Eastward Bound, Travel and Travellers 1050–1550* (Manchester, 2004), 131–155.

5 See Magnacavallo, 150–154 and Appendix B; it is further discussed by Frankfort, *op.cit*., 130–131.

6 Printed in Dorez and Roncière*, op.. cit*., 43–4 and translated in Roddy*, op.cit*., 307–9.

7 Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 2001), 82–90.

in some of the moral sayings in these grammar books that Sanudo first came across some of the anecdotes that formed a central part of the fifteenth Part of Book III of the *Secreta*.[1] He clearly felt comfortable using the Bible, Augustine, Cicero and Seneca. His Latin education had certainly been effective, since as the author of such a large and structured book he seemed completely at home reading and writing Latin, and possessed a wide, and sometimes very technical, vocabulary in that language. His grammar is excellent and his Latin style very effective and almost always very clear in its meaning. This is evident from a perusal of any page of the Latin text of the *Secreta*. He also knew French and in 1322–23 he spent much time in the courts and noble households of France where he conducted several complex discussions on crusading matters. He may well have known some Greek. However, as there were no real opportunities to learn Greek until Manuel Chrysoloras (1350–1415) came to Florence in 1397[2] it is likely that Sanudo's Greek was not classical Greek but was picked up during his extensive sojourn in Romania or, like that of his near contemporary Petrarch (1304–74), from Greek sailors in Venice. It is just not known. It is evident from his rudimentary comments on the orthography and the sounds of that language that his knowledge was not profound.[3] Although he mentions Aristotle, Plato and Plutarch by name in his text and was familiar with a few of the deeds, Themistocles, Pericles and Alexander, he does not give any Greek quotations. Indeed, all of these references could have come and probably did come from Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*, which he tells us he had consulted.

For a laymen his knowledge of the Bible borders on the profound, the numerous marginal notes inserted by Jacques Bongars in 1611 bear testimony to this.[4] His reading of secondary Latin literature was also extensive, far greater than is usually thought to have been available to a medieval layman. Sanudo is never thought of in terms of an important early humanist, such as his near contemporary Florentine writers Dante Alighieri (c.1268–1321), Francesco Petrarch (1304–74) and Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–75). He did not contribute to the development of the Italian language as they did nor did he break any new ground in the recovery of classical antiquity. But his approach to knowledge and his verbal presentation of information, in which he used illustrative tables to summarize his points,[5] and in particular, his sourcing and selection of the well-known set of maps that accompanied at least nine of the presentation copies of his text,[6] should earn him a place amongst the early humanists rather than being classed as just another crusade

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1 Paul Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy* (Baltimore, 1989), 111–124.

2 Grendler, *op.cit*., 124–5.

3 See text, 255, 275, 276.

4 Bongars' marginal references have been placed as footnotes to the text. Even he was not above mistakes in the numerous citations.

5 See text, 163, 165, 168, 171, 179, 238, 251.

6 Oswald and Margaret Dilke, 'Marin Sanudo – Was he a Great Cartographer?' *The Map Collector*, June 1987, 30–32, for a short summary of his travels and maps.

propagandist. It was these skills that made the *Secreta* at once the most practical of the crusade treatises of the fourteenth century and one that was anchored in some realistic appraisal of the contemporary situation and economic possibilities.

His reading for the compilation of the *Secreta* was diverse and is surprising for one who was not part of the clerical elite. It shows what could be accessed by a wealthy individual with time, motivation and interest. Apart from the *Vulgate Bible* he tells us in various places in the text, or occasionally by inference, that he consulted the following authors and/or books:

Author and/or book:	**Reference in text:**
Anonymous, *de Armis*	137
Augustine, *De civitate Dei*	160, 179, 182
Bede, *de locis sanctis*	278
Bede, On Matthew	183
Boethius, *de consolatione philosophiae*	204, 441
Burchard of Mount Sion, 1280	262
Cicero (Tullius), *Paradoxa Stoicorum*	439
Claudian	277, 435,438, 444
Clement, Book of,	160
Estoires d'Eracles (collective name for the various French continuations of William of Tyre)	82, 83, 127, 321
Eusebius, *Ecclesiastica historia*	196, 275
Frontinus, *Stratagems**	Book III, Part 15
Gregory the Great, *Moralia*	445
Hayton of Corycus, *La Flor des Estoires d'Orient*.*	Book III, Part 13 material on Armenia and Cyprus
Hugo Floriacensis (Hugh of Fleury)	193
Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae**	Book III, Parts 1 and 2
Jaques de Vitry, *Historia Hierosolimitana**	Book III, Parts 3-11
Josephus, *de bello Judaico*	163, 170, 181, 191, 402, 407
Pedotas (?)	423
Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogus contra Iudaeos*	201, 203, 206, 207
Seneca, *de clementia*	436, 442, 443, 444
William of Tyre, *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum*	82, 209, 213, 216, 217, 241, 258, 290
Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris*	103, 417, 418
Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*	89, 345

*These works were used extensively by Sanudo but were not specifically cited by him.

He also refers in passing to Aristotle, Seneca and Plutarch as tutors to Alexander, Nero and Trajan respectively and to Aristotle's *Politics* and *Ethics* 3, to Plato, to (Pseudo-)Plutarch's *Instituto Traiani* and to the law codes of the Byzantine

emperors Theodosius, Justinian and Leo.[1] References to all these authors and works are contained in Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*. However, in Book 3, Part 15, Sanudo gives many illustrative anecdotes of military stratagems taken from classical antiquity. Some of these tales might have come from Vincent of Beauvais (c.1190–c.1264) but by no means all of them. Others were included by John of Salisbury (c.1113–1180) in his *Policraticus,* that was much used by Italian jurists in the fourteenth century and would have been available to him.[2] However, Sanudo never referred to either John of Salisbury or his *Policraticus* in his text. He does name many of the works that were known to him and on which he drew but by no means all; thus Hayton of Corycus, Isidore of Seville and Jacques de Vitry, although used extensively in Book III are not mentioned by name. Might John of Salisbury have fallen into this category? In addition to some anecdotes that might have been copied from *Policraticus* Book V and the fact that *Policraticus* was the only source of quotations from Pseudo-Plutarch,[3] he may well have followed John's use of the human body as a metaphor to describe royal government, when he employed his own metaphors of the tree and the castle to describe the resources and defences of Egypt.[4] Equally, Sanudo's precepts for the virtuous and just king that should rule in Jerusalem[5] may also have come directly from John of Salisbury Book IV. Both John of Salisbury and Vincent of Beauvais took their military anecdotes from Vegetius and from Frontinus' *Stratagems*, a text that was more generally available in northern Europe than in Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. However, neither John of Salisbury nor Vincent of Beauvais include the tale of Amutius (Minucius) Rufus and the Dacians.[6] This Sanudo must have culled directly from the *Stratagems*. Without precluding his use of Vincent of Beauvais and his possible use of John of Salisbury, it seems certain that Sanudo consulted a manuscript of Frontinus (c.35–103) and extracted his anecdotes directly from this primary source. A manuscript had been copied at Montecassino by Peter the Deacon c.1132–3 and the text was becoming more commonly available in Italy in the fourteenth century.[7] Indeed, not all of Sanudo's anecdotes can be found in either Vincent of Beauvais or in John of Salisbury, but as soon as the possibility of the direct use of Frontinus' *Stratagems* is allowed then all the stories, except one, have

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1 See text, 441–2.

2 W. Ullman, 'The Influence of John of Salisbury on Medieval Italian Jurists', *English Historical Review*, 59 (1944), 384–392. A good modern English translation is Carl Nederman, *John of Salisbury Policraticus* (Cambridge, 1990).

3 Walter Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages* (Washington DC., 1988), 266.

4 See text, 77–86.

5 See text, 434–45

6 See text, 417, 425.

7 L.D. Reynolds, ed., *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford, 1983), 166–172. See C.E. Bennett, trans., *Frontinus Stratagems and Aqueducts* (Loeb Classics, 174, London, 1926).

a source. To compare the relevant pages of the *Secreta*[1] with Frontinus is to tick off one anecdote after another. The one exception is a story concerning Alexander and his advance towards India which has a citation to a certain Pedotas.[2] It would be convenient to identify Pedotas with Frontinus but the story does not come from the *Stratagems*, and Pedotas remains otherwise unknown. Just as he did not make any reference to John of Salisbury whom he almost certainly consulted, he does not cite Frontinus whom he definitely read. The only vague acknowledgement is to 'certain other writers' like Vegetius who should be studied in Sanudo's proposed military academies.[3] In his sections on sailing routes and harbours, he must have used portolans, but the details of these are unknown.[4]

Sanudo never once referred to his contemporary fellow Venetian, merchant and traveller, Marco Polo (c.1254–1324), in the text of the *Secreta* or in his surviving letters. Neither he nor Pietro Vesconte (see below) used any information from Polo's travels in their maps or in any other way. Although Polo is said to have given a copy of his travels to Thibaud de Chépoix Vicar General to the titular Latin Emperor Charles de Valois in Venice in 1307, and although the book enjoyed considerable contemporary fame,[5] there is no direct evidence that Sanudo ever read it. Sanudo's information on the Caucasus region came from the Dominican and Franciscan friars who had travelled through that area in the 1240s and 1250s, and whose reports were summarized at length by Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum historiale*.

We have no idea of what specific texts he used or if they have survived to this day. Probably his text of William of Tyre is no longer extant. Did he own copies of some of these books and take them with him in a chest on his travels? If not, as seems more likely, how did he consult the material that he needed when he was completing Book II in Glarenza? Did he use the resources of the Mendicant Orders in that town? All of this can only remain as questions but it is perhaps suggestive of the obligation that he felt to the Mendicant Orders that he bequeathed his papers and maps to the Dominicans of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice in his will of 1343.

Sanudo was well-educated and well-read. He was also well-travelled. He tells us, 'I shall have passed over the sea five times in Cyprus, in Alexandria, in Armenia and indeed in Rhodes… I have been many times in Alexandria and Acre… indeed in Romania I spent the greater part of my life wherefore the condition and state [of that region], especially the principality of Achaea I can claim to know well', and

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1 See text, 420–32.

2 See text, 423.

3 See text, 417.

4 See text, 142–9.

5 John Larmer, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World* (New Haven, 1999), 44. For the length of time that Polo's new material took to be accepted, see Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1210–1420* (London, 2005), 362.

again that he went from Venice to Bruges in an armed galley.[1] In 1281 he visited his relatives on Naxos and four years later he was in Acre and possibly visited it a second time before 1291. In 1289 he sailed to Negroponte (modern Chalkis in Euboea, Greece) with the newly appointed bailo or governor, Marco Michiel, and from 1293 to 1296 he was in Naxos, engaged with financial dealings with his cousins, the Sanudi of the Archipelago on behalf of his father. Here he successfully negotiated with Duke Marco II (c.1262–1303) that the outstanding debt of 1,800 hyperpera owed to his father should be repaid in eight equal annual instalments, but the debt seems never to have been repaid.[2] After 1300 he was in Palermo, possibly accredited to the court as a Venetian representative, and then in Rome, apparently in the household of Cardinal Riccardo Petroni of Siena (d.1313/14) whom he described as his patron. He may have participated in the war between Venice and Padua in 1304. On 15 March, 1311 he tells us that he was an eye-witness of the decisive battle of Halmyros at which the Catalan Company seized control of the Duchy of Athens and Thebes having slaughtered the duke Gautier I de Brienne and most of his knightly following. Indeed it was his description of the battle as being in the vicinity of Halmyros that led to its renaming from the battle of the Cephissus.[3] In 1312 he was in Glarenza in Elis in western Greece and between then and 1318 when his father's death brought him back to Venice he visited Cyprus, Rhodes, Alexandria and Armenia, but precise dates are not known. In 1318, or soon after, he made his voyage to Bruges from where he visited the Hanseatic ports between Hamburg and Stettin.[4] He tells us that he travelled by state galley from Venice to Bruges and then travelled overland to the papal court at Avignon where he presented two copies of the *Secreta*, one bound in red the other in yellow, to John XXII on 24 September 1321.[5] This was followed by a 20-month stay in Avignon and France more generally from September 1321 to May 1323. There may have been visits to the Catalans in Greece and to Naples in 1327, but these are uncertain. Apart from a visit to Constantinople in 1333, he seems to have spent most of his time after 1323 in Venice writing the letters that sought to reinforce his perceived position of crusade expert and adviser. In a letter

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1 Text, 23 and 124.

2 Frankfort*, ibid*., 49. Two *hyperpera* or *perperi* were equivalent to one Venetian gold ducat.

3 In a letter of 1327 to Ingramo archbishop of Capua he wrote: 'When the duke of Athens...waged war with the aforesaid [Catalan] company near Halmyros, I was there, a captain of seamen for Venice and for the bailie of Negroponte.' (Roddy*, op.cit*., 178). For its significance see David Jacoby, 'Catalans, Turcs et Vénitiens en Romanie (1305–1332): un noveau tèmoignage de Marino Sanudo Torsello'*, Studi medievali*, 15 (1974), 217–261, reprinted in D. Jacoby, *Recherches sur la Méditerranèe orientale du XIIe au XVe siècle* (London, 1979).

4 His travels are recounted in Prawer's introduction to the *Secreta* (1972), vi–vii; Tyerman, *art.cit*., 59; Dilke, *art.cit*., 30.

5 See text, 21 and 124.

of October 1334 he complains of poverty and the need for financial support if he is to make any more journeys. His enthusiasm for his crusade project seems to have used up his inheritance and his income.[1]

He was clearly a keen observer and questioner. What he saw, heard or learned in some other way he used, as, for example, his comments on the different types of galleys and ships, remedies for ships' worms, weapons and catapults. The whole *Secreta* is one great source of information on the history, ethnography, commerce and geography of his day. Some of it, like his information on the death of Ezzalino da Romano and the condition of the Latin Empire under Baldwin II, was a primary source in its own right, not to be found elsewhere.[2]

Despite his Venetian mercantile background the inspiration for the writing of the *Secreta* seems to have been solely religious. It is unclear why he started writing in 1306. Tyerman has suggested that it may have been at the suggestion of Cardinal Petroni, to who's household in Rome he was attached at the time. Petroni was at the centre of a group of men, both clerical and lay, with crusading interests and through him Sanudo may have had contact with some of his fellow propagandists.[3] The whole text may be read in English, in the translation offered below; whilst a summary of his arguments may be conveniently examined and their ordering and import quickly grasped in his own contents list.[4]

From his views in the *Secreta* it is clear that he was very pro-Venetian and very proud to be a citizen of Venice. For him the Venetians were essential participants in his proposed crusades, both from their history, their geographical location and their considerable naval ability.[5] He admired professionalism in both his fellow Venetians and in the use of professional soldiers or mercenaries in his crusading army. There would be room for the traditional crusader, but the bulk of the forces were to be professionals. He was a deeply religious man, a convinced and well-informed Latin Christian who seems to have placed unqualified trust and reliance in the desire and ability of the pope to summon, finance and direct the new crusade. Those who disobeyed the precepts of the pope for a trade embargo were to be classed as schismatics and expelled from the community of Christians by excommunication. He was genuinely offended by the views and practices of Greek Orthodox Christians and of other Christian minorities in the East. He is particularly hostile to Islam and its prophet Muhammad, whom he variously spells as Machumet, Machomet and Mahomet.[6] He was exceptionally diligent in his search for examples and on occasion might be accused of being unselective and of over-egging the cake. Indeed, he may have been something of an obsessive pedant, perhaps deliberately emphasising his learning and never happier than when

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1 Kunstmann, *op. cit*., 807–8; Roddy, *op. cit*., 292.

2 See text, 97 and 125.

3 Tyerman, *art.cit*., 59–60.

4 See text, 28–44.

5 See text, 70–71.

6 See text, 22, 56, 84, 202. These variants are retained in the text wherever they occur.

talking of his crusade project. He follows an argumentative and repetitive style when trying to convince his readers of a new, or as yet unpopular, approach. He presumably learned this method of argument during his schooling. As a merchant he knew the value of money and of reliable information. This may account for his scrupulous and thorough approach in his costing of the proposed crusade. The large sums that he arrived at may seem odd today for someone trying to sell an idea. He was, however, realistic and his mathematical workings in Roman numerals were always correct and show to anyone who may have doubts, that workings in Roman numerals were entirely possible for someone well-versed in accounts. He was alert and questioning on his travels, noting all manner of details in sailing and fighting on galleys. It was presumably just this quality that made him so acceptable to the Venetian government and its representatives in Negroponte as an observer and reporter of events. In the last two decades of his life, when he stayed almost permanently in Venice, he took care to establish and maintain a network of influential correspondents and took pains to be well-informed and to establish himself as something of an expert on the affairs of the Aegean. As such, over time and in the light of a developing Catalan and Turkish threat, he did modify some of his views from those expressed in the *Secreta*. This should come as no surprise since the *Secreta* itself was an evolving book reflecting the changing concerns and emphases of the 15-year period of its composition. Both Angeliki Laiou and Christopher Tyerman have amply shown this through his support for the union of the Latin and Greek churches and the need to contain the Ottoman threat in the Aegean.[1]

Of his personal family life little is known. Like other Venetian nobles he almost certainly lived both as a child, youth and married man under his father's roof in Sanseverino. It was there that he wrote his will in 1343. He was married twice and had four sons, two from each marriage. At least one daughter, Biriola, is known but there may well have been others. The name of his first wife is unknown. He married her sometime around 1303. His two sons by this marriage, Marco and Marinello seemingly died before he did since they were not mentioned in his will of 1343. In a letter to the bishop of Caffa, dated 1323, he reports that he was a widower and had been for some time but was looking to marry again. By 1328 he reports that he had done so and had new family commitments. His second wife, Andrea Cornaro, also gave him two sons, Giovanni and Bernardo; all three were mentioned in his will, as was a grandson, Marinello.[2]

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1 Laiou, *art.cit.*, passim and Tyerman, *art.cit*., passim.

2 Magnacavallo, 151; Roddy, *op.cit.*, 38, 50–1, 119, 207.

The Manuscripts of the *Secreta*[1]

Sanudo was one of a number of his contemporaries that were concerned with proposals for new crusades in the wake of the Council of Lyons and Gregory X's appeal for advice in 1274 and a similar appeal by Nicholas IV (r.1288–92) after the fall of Acre on 18 May 1291. Leopold has counted almost 30 recovery treatises and has shown the direct involvement of these two popes in the organization and direction of crusades as beginning this trend in recovery literature that was to persist into the fifteenth century.[2] Atiya has listed and discussed many of them from the years 1300 to 1360.[3] Some of the better known were: Humbert of Romans (c.1200–77), *Opus tripartitum*; Fidenzio of Padua, *Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae* (1291), Pierre Dubois (c.1260–1321), *De Recuperatione Terre Sancte* (1306–08), Ramon Lull (1232–1315), *Libellus de fine* (1305), *Liber de conquisitione Terrae sanctae* (1309) and Burcard, *Directorium ad Philippum regem* (1332). All in one way or another considered trade embargoes, alliances with the Mongols, routes by sea and land, resources, missionary work and the teaching of oriental languages in the west. It is clear that Sanudo was neither unique nor even original in his strategy and approach. His treatise is, however, one of, if not the, longest, the fullest, the most practically worked out, budgeted and discussed. In terms of the economic blockade it explores for the first time why and how this policy would be effective.

Sanudo revised his manuscript at least three times, during which he developed a sound system of internal referencing. He added fine maps to his presentation copies and remained on the scene as crusade expert, for which he promoted himself by his letters to prominent correspondents, his numerous presentation copies, and his up-to-date information on affairs in the Levant. Through his gifts of the *Secreta* he solicited not just the papacy but a wide range of interested rulers. In a letter to John, Duke of Lorraine and Limburg, written from Venice in 1326 he reports that I have presented that book [the *Secreta*] to our lord the supreme pontiff, to the lord kings of France, England and Sicily, to the lord cardinals and to many other prelates. I have presented it to the lord count of Hainault and to certain other counts of France…I am sending to you the prologue, the titles, and the chapters of

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[1] These are listed and discussed by Arturo Magnacavallo, '*I cociici del Liber secretorum fidelium crucis di Marin Sanudo il Vecchio*', Rendiconti *dell'istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere*, s.II, XXXI (1898), 1113–27. This is followed by all later writers such as Edson, *art. cit.*, 151–2, Prawer, *op.cit.*, xv–xvi, and Roddy, *op.cit*., 59–62. Both they and Magnacavallo are followed here.

[2] Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land* (Aldershot, 2000), 8–24, and 203–7.

[3] A.S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938), 47–154. Despite its many errors, it was a pioneering work.

the said book..I am prepared to send you the whole book complete with maps of the world if your eminent goodness desires to possess it.'[1]

Sanudo brought out three editions or revisions of the *Secreta*, the full title of which was *Liber secretorum fidelium Crucis qui est tam pro conservatione fidelium, quam pro conversione et consumptione infidelium: quamquam etiam propter acquierendum et tenendum Terram Sanctam et alias multas terras in bona statu pacific e et quieto.* He began to write what later became Book I of the expanded *Secreta* in 1306 in the household of cardinal Riccardo Petroni in Rome and seems to have finished it at the beginning of 1307, but 1309 is also possible. This first book was entitled *Conditiones Terre Sancte* and seems to have been originally intended as a work in its own right.

Two manuscripts of the *Conditiones* as a discrete work exist:

1. Codex Zanetti lat.547, Biblioteca Marciana, Venice (summary of events up to 1308–9)
2. Codex lat.14621 Staatsbibliothek, Munich (summary of events up to 1314, despite a date of 1307 given in the text)

The first edition of the complete *Secreta* contains the *Conditiones* as Book I. Book II was begun at Glarenza in December 1312 and was finished during 1313. The third book, which originally contained eight parts, was written between 1319 and 1321. This was the edition presented to John XXII in September 1321. It contained numerous marginal notes added by Sanudo in Avignon and at this stage there were no synoptic tables of Hebrew Kings, judges and high priests. This version exists in six manuscripts:

1. Codex D 203, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan
2. Codex V.F. 35, Bibliotheca Nazionale, Naples (one map)
3. Codex Vatican lat. 2972, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome (six maps)[2]
4. Codex Vatican lat. 2003, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome
5. Codex Vatican lat.7315, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome
6. Codex Zanetti, 410, Biblioteca Marciana, Venice

Sometime in or after 1323 Sanudo produced a second edition of the S*ecreta*. All the marginal notes of the first edition became incorporated in the text, but two new marginal notes were created.[3] In addition, six synoptic tables and a short

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[1] Roddy translation*, op.cit*., 154.

[2] According to Konrad Kretschmer*, Die italienischen Portolane des Mittalalters* (Berlin, 1910, reprinted Hildesheim, 1962), 113, this was the manuscript presented to John XXII by Sanudo in September 1321.

[3] See text, 62–3 and 126–7.

genealogical table were added to the text.[1] It was one of the texts from this group that was edited by Jacques Bongars in 1611 and the text that is translated below. It exists in four manuscripts:

1. Codex Vatican lat. 2971, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome
2. Codex Reginae Cristiae 548, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome (five maps)[2]
3. Codex Plut. XXI, 23, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence (four maps)*
4. Codex 237, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence (four unfinished maps)

Sanudo, at some unknown date, produced a third edition of the *Secreta* in which the two marginal notes of the second edition were incorporated in the body of the text. This version survives in seven manuscripts:

1. Codex 9347, Bibliothèque royale, Brussels (five maps)*
2. Codex 9404, Bibliothèque royale, Brussels (same five maps)*
3. Codex Magliabecchi, II-II.169, Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence
4. Codex Add. Ms. 27376. British Library, London (nine maps)
5. Codex Tanner Collection, 190, Bodleian Library, Oxford (five maps)
6. Codex Ottob., lat 906 Vatican, Rome (five maps)[3]
7. Codex D.4.10 (505), Valenciennes Public Library[4]

Note: Those codices marked * contain letters by Sanudo published by Bongars and Kunstmann.

In addition to these 19 surviving manuscripts that are complete texts, there are 4 fragments:

1. Codex Add.Ms. 19531, British Library, London, contains only Book III, Part 14
2. Codex lat.5949a, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, contains diverse fragments from Book III (five maps)[5]
3. Codex class XI-64. Vol.IV, Miscellanea di Apostolo Zeno, Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, Book III, Part 8, chapter 6[6]

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[1] See text, 163–79. There is also a family tree of the early Latin Kings of Jerusalem on 238, 250.

[2] This was the main text used and reproduced by Bongars.

[3] Edson does not follow Magnacavallo, who is followed here, and cites this manuscript as Ms lat. 1960. This manuscript was also used by Bongars to supplement his main text, making a few inserts in square brackets, as noted in the text.

[4] This manuscript is available online from the library's website.

[5] This map is cited as MS lat. 4939 by Edson, but not by Magnacavallo who is followed here.

[6] Cited by Edson as Ms lat. Z.399.

4. Codex 276, class VI italiano, Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, an Italian translation of Book I attributed to Marino Sanudo the younger

Of the 19 complete texts, all of which date from Sanudo's lifetime, 9 contain maps. Frankfort suggests that the number of extant manuscripts represents only a small fraction of the total number distributed by Sanudo.[1]

The Maps[2]

Coloured maps accompany 9 of the surviving 19 complete texts, presumably presentation copies. They were designed specifically with the subject matter of the *Secreta* in mind and so Sanudo, as the author, made some contribution in selecting the illustrative material to his treatise, even if he did not draw the maps himself. In the nineteenth century it was assumed that Sanudo made his own maps and was thus a very able and original cartographer.[3] However, the maps were of a very high standard of execution indeed and must have been produced by a master cartographer. Working from this observation, Konrad Kretschmer showed that the Genoese cartographer Pietro Vesconte (fl.1310–30), who was working in Venice by 1318, was the maker of Sanudo's maps.[4] These maps were selected from the atlas of 1320 produced and signed by Vesconte.[5] This stylistic similarity and the match between the atlas and the so-called *mappae Sanudae* has been convincing and has been accepted by most scholars. The nature of the Sanudo-Vesconte collaboration and their working relationship is, however, unknown. Above all none of the maps reproduced in the *Secreta* were signed by Vesconte and this has left some room for debate and disagreement. In particular the Dilkes have argued that the map of Palestine and the associated town-plans were in a different style to the other maps and that Sanudo adapted the map of Palestine from a Florentine original and produced the associated town plans of Jerusalem from Burchard of Mount Sion and the plan of Acre from his own memory of his visits there in the 1280s. This

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1 Frankfort, *op.cit*., 213; Tyerman, *art.cit*., 68.

2 In what follows I have relied upon Evelyn Edson, 'Reviving the Crusade: Sanudo's Schemes and Vesconte's Maps', in Rosamund Allen, ed., *Eastward Bound, Travel and Travellers 1050–1550* (Manchester, 2004), 131–155, esp. pages 137 and 151–2; Oswald and Margaret Dilke, 'Marin Sanudo – Was He a Great Cartographer?' *The Map Collector*, June, 1987, 30–32, and 'Mapping a Crusade', *History Today*, 39 (1989), 31–35; C.R. Conder, 'Note on the Maps', in Aubrey Stewart's translation of Part XIV of Book III (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, London, 1896), ix–xii. All produce some maps from Sanudo's *Secreta*. Prawer's photostat reproduction of the *Secreta* (Toronto, 1972) reproduces five maps in colour.

3 See A. Atiya, *The Crusades in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938), 149, note 5.

4 Kretschmer*, op.cit*., 113–116.

5 Codex Vatican Pal. Lat. 1362a, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*.

is in part conjecture and in part based upon the observations of Claude Conder who noted that the map of Palestine 'is a rude sketch, quite out of scale, and very inaccurate.' In the text and on the map of Palestine Sanudo has imposed a division into 83 by 28 squares (which he called 'spaces and squares'),[1] which are there for ease of reference only and have no connection with degrees and meridians. In his letter to John of Limburg in 1324 Sanudo suggested that he had maps to hand to send to him or could procure them in some way. The maps were produced within Sanudo's life-time and all are consistent from copy to copy. Whether he had copyists in his own house in Venice or could commission copies from Vesconte at will is not known. Nor is it known which maps appeared in the original. Sanudo says that there were four,[2] but the manuscript thought to have been presented by him to the Pope has six. Judging from his letter to the Duke of Limburg, it may have been up to the recipient how many maps he received. Some of the maps have individual dedications on them and this might support this suggestion.[3] The maps are beautiful artefacts and were clearly intended by Sanudo as an important and integral part of his text.

Jacques Bongars and his Edition of the *Secreta*

Only one printed Latin version of the *Secreta* has ever appeared in the bookshops and that is the edition edited by Jacques Bongars in 1611 in volume 2 of his *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanover). It has often been said, even before the late Joshua Prawer produced his photographic version of the text in 1972, that the Bongers edition is inadequate for modern scholarship. Most recently Norman Housley has reiterated this: '...the treatise that most scholars would regard as the finest, the [*Secreta* by Sanudo], has to be consulted in an edition that will soon be 400 years old.'[4] There is most definitely a need for a modern scholarly edition. However, this would be an enormous task, requiring a careful study and comparison of the 19 extant manuscripts, most of which were not known or not available to Bongars. The costs in time and money would be high. The various Research Assessment Exercises, commercially-driven publishing, threatened library budgets in the universities and a general withering of the Latinophone population at large has meant that readers must be content with the Prawer reprint and will have to do so for some time to come.

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1 See text, 392–8.

2 See text, 21.

3 See the world map in Edson, *art.cit*., 40–41, dedicated to Robert VII count of Boulogne and Auvergne (r.1313–1324).

4 Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Blackwell, Oxford, 2006), 123.

Jacques Bongars (1554–1612)[1] was born in Orléans into a Huguenot household. He was extensively educated at the universities of Marburg, Jena, Orlèans and Bourges. He then spent time in Rome studying Eusebius and the authors of the *Scriptores historiae Augusti*. In 1581 he published an edition of *Justinus, Trogi Pompeii Historiarum Philippicarum epitome de manuscriptis codicibus emendatior et prologis auctior* (Paris) and three years later visited the famous Dutch philologist and humanist, Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) in Leiden. In 1585 he entered the service of Henry of Navarre (b.1553), who became Henry IV of France in 1589. In the same year he travelled from Vienna to Constantinople through Hungary and Dacia, noting Roman inscriptions en route. In 1587 he went on a diplomatic mission to the courts of northern Europe, visiting the court of Elizabeth I. He spent a great deal of time from 1593, until his retirement, following Henry IV's assassination in May 1610, in the princely courts of central Germany. This explains the publication of his two major works, *Rerum Hungaricarum scriptores varii* (Frankfurt, 1600) and *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanover, 1611), by German printers. He was unmarried and had no direct heirs. On his death in Paris in 1612 he bequeathed his large library of 3,000 books and 500 manuscripts to Jacques Graviseth, the son of his close friend René Graviseth, a banker of Strasbourg. The Graviseth family moved to Berne in 1615 and as a token of gratitude for his citizenship Jacques donated the library to Berne, where it has remained since 1632 as the Codex Bongarsiana. Bongars was thus a practical man with scholarly literary tastes and some experience of working with and publishing old manuscripts.

As an editor, then, Bongars was not inexperienced. His collection and edition of crusade chronicles and other texts from unpublished sources has been described by Atiya as a pioneering work in the publishing of original sources and a work of high calibre for its age.[2] This is true and Bongars had a sound appreciation of the texts that would be of interest. Volume 1 of the *Gesta Dei per Franco*s contained most of the important chronicles of the First Crusade alongside Jacques de Vitry and William of Tyre, both excellent complements to Sanudo's Secreta that formed the bulk of volume 2. In that second volume he also published twenty-three letters written by Sanudo between 1325 and 1329[3] as well as Pierre Dubois, De recuperatione Terre Sancte, which he attributed to an anonymous author.

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[1] There is no biography of Bongars. What is here comes from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and *Das Historische Lexikon der Schweiz* (Berne, 1999) under 'Bongars, Jacques' by Barbara Braun-Bucher. Bongars' notes from his journey to Constantinople in 1585 were published in Hermann Hagen, *Jacobus Bongartius: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gelehrten Studien des 16 und 17 Jahrhunderts* (Berne, 1874). This book is the closest study there is to a biography but it is very difficult to find a copy and I have not been able to consult it.

[2] A.S. Atiya, *The Crusade: Historiography and Bibliography* (Oxford, 1962), 19, 60–1.

[3] Regrettably these letters were not printed by Prawer in 1972, who confined himself to the text of the *Secreta*. All Sanudo's extant letters, however, may be read in translation

Just why a Huguenot scholar should choose this theme when he did is not clear. At one level it would seem to cast Bongars in an ecumenical light so at odds with his times. At another level, was it just a blatant celebration of former French achievements overseas, almost 70 years before the ambitions of Louis XIV made such historical enterprises fashionable, or was there something more? Bongars had spent most of his diplomatic career in north German courts that feared the aggrandizement of the House of Habsburg. He had certainly been in the Rhine Palatinate. Should the *Gesta Dei per Francos* be seen as part of the Rosicrucian movement that flourished in the anti-Habsburg parts of Germany in the early seventeenth century?[1] What Frances Yates dubbed the Rosicrucian Enlightenment sprang to prominence in the scholarly world of Protestantism with the publication in Kassel in 1614 and 1615 of two anonymous allegorical tracts, *Fama Fraternitatis RC* and the *Confessio Fraternitatis*, collectively known as the 'Rosicrucian Manifestos'. Almost certainly the author was the Lutheran theologian Johannes Valentinus Andreae (1586–1654). The tracts proposed a universal moral and religious reform based upon ancient wisdom culled from alchemy, Neo-Platonic and Hermetic philosophy and Cabbalistic numerology.[2] It had strong Protestant antecedents, whilst the manifestos themselves were produced in the context of the proposed seizure of the Crown of Bohemia by Frederick V (1596–1632), the Elector of the Rhine Palatinate and son-in-law of James I of England. His failure following his military defeat by the Habsburgs at the battle of the White Mountain on 8 November 1620 led to his by-name, 'the Winter King', and the end of this so-called Rosicrucian Enlightenment. Bongars was certainly part of this thought-world. But before he is cast in the role of a seventeenth-century Protestant Sanudo, it must be emphasised that these are just thoughts with no hard evidence to make any sound conclusion as to why Bongars took on this project when he did.

His editing was good for its day, but as a pioneer he had to forge his own tools and lacked proper bibliographical facilities. He was aware of the need to compare manuscripts for variant readings, however, he used, or only had available to him, three manuscripts for this purpose.[3] This is the major reason why a new edition is so urgently required. Two of the manuscripts Bongars used have been noted in the list above. Both came from the fourteenth century, but his third text was a fragment. His transcription was generally thorough. He made a few minor amendments to his master text, enclosing the inserted material in square brackets

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in Roddy, *op.cit.*, 109–309.

[1] Frances Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London, 1972), passim, but especially 1–95. Bongars' alchemical interests within the Protestant milieu of the north German courts is touched upon by the late Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician: The Various Life of Sir Theodore de Mayerne* (New Haven, 2006), 88, 93–94.

[2] In this summary I have followed the wording of Peter Marshall, *The Theatre of the World* (London, 2006),111–2.

[3] Joshua Prawer, photostat version of the *Secreta* (1972), xv.

as appropriate.[1] Bongars' square brackets are marked by footnotes to distinguish them from my own bracketed insertions. For the convenience of his readers he inserted marginal notes that gave the years Sanudo had used in the body of his text in Roman numerals, highlighted in the margins in Arabic numerals together with the chapter numbers. He also provided full Biblical references, chapter and verse, for Sanudo's citations, both direct and oblique.[2] However, he did not extend this to the classical material cited by Sanudo. Not surprisingly in such a large text he was not beyond omissions and inconsistencies. He does make a number of slips in the verses and sometimes chapters in this process.[3] On three occasions he has left Sanudo's internal referencing incomplete, but this is as likely to be an omission by Sanudo as of Bongars.[4] He is inconsistent in his capitalisation of the name of God, Christ, the saints, and some major historical figures with periods when several pages omit such capitalisation altogether. As a Huguenot this would not have been to his taste but it does reflect the practice within his sources. His references to the Bible are taken from the Vulgate version. The Bongars text, then, is a sound piece of work for its age. Today, it is work in progress awaiting a modern edition with the appropriate critical apparatus, but it has served scholars well for four centuries and, I hope, will continue to do so in this English translation.

Information regarding the printers of the *Gesta* has not been forthcoming. On the title page they appear as 'Hanoviae/ Typis Wechelianis apud heredes Ioanis Aubrii/ Cum Privilegia S.Caes Romanorum Maiestatis, & Regiae Francorum'.

The whole work is a vast cornucopia of commodities, trade relations, trade-routes and transport, religious perspectives and biblical interpretations, crusading outlook and crusading history, as well as the history and polemics of the early fourteenth century more generally; the whole filtered through the concerns of the time and of its author. It is, therefore, an important text in its own right and not just for its crusade plan. It deserves a wider readership and I hope that this translation will make this possible. I hope, too, that the reader will enjoy it on many levels and as they read it not only reach some conclusion as to whether Sanudo's plan was well-conceived but also feel that they better understand fourteenth-century perceptions and attitudes, which still saw conquest of the Holy Land as both desirable and achievable.

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1 See text, 390–3, 425, and 447.

2 For these references Bongars used the Latin Vulgate. In this mass of references three stand out as referring to 1 or 2 Samuel instead of 1 or 2 Kings. See text, 164–6 **(103–5)**. Why this eccentric usage in this place is not at all clear.

3 These are indicated in the footnotes to the text.

4 See text, 431–2, 435.

Notes on the Translation

The text on which this translation is based is that edited by Jacques Bongars in 1611 and more specifically that text as reproduced photographically by Joshua Prawer in 1972.

To provide an accurate, clear translation adhering to Sanudo's words as closely as possible has been the aim. At times the translation has been freer where his Latin has led to tautology. In several places in the text the meaning of a word or a phrase has not been clear. Whenever this occurs I have rendered a translation with an explanatory footnote.[1] Occasional prepositions and conjunctions have been inserted in the translation in square brackets when they do not exist in the original, if it makes the reading easier. As noted above Bongars also introduced material into his text in square brackets. These are distinguished from the former by a note.

In the main the place names and personal names as used by Sanudo have been retained, with, wherever possible, an explanatory note on that individual. Where the name of the same individual has varied in spelling through the text this has also been retained and not standardized.

All Biblical references have been checked against *The Holy Bible Translated from the Latin Vulgate: Revised by Bishop Richard Chaloner AD 1749–1752* (Baronius Press, London, 2007), and quotations when translated have been taken from that edition. Both Sanudo and Bongars used the Vulgate and this seems appropriate.

Two systems of page numbering have been used. Each page in this volume has its own number and this is used in the index and in this introduction to guide the reader to the appropriate place. In the main document itself the page numbers of the Bongars' edition may be found thus **(p. 49),** should readers wish to give a reference to that edition or consult a page in Bongars with this translation in hand.

The *Secreta* is so wide-reaching in its scope and content, both chronologically and geographically, that a complete bibliography of works used would be too disparate to be of use. Instead, the footnotes are designed to serve as a bibliographic guide for the relevant sections.

The Latin dictionaries used are:

Du Cange, C., *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, 7 vols (Paris, 1840–50)
Glare, P.G.W., *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1982)
Latham, R.E., *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List* (Oxford, 1965)
Lewis, C.T. and Short, C., *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1969)
Maigne D'Arnis, W.H., *Lexicon manual e ad scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis* (Paris, 1866)
Niermeyer, J.F., *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden, 1984).

[1] See text,103, 114, 115, 121, 136, 141, 153, 190, 282, 289, 296, 314, 385 and 442.

Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross, that is both for the preservation of the faithful and for the conversion and destruction of the infidel: also for the recovery and retention of the Holy Land and many other lands in a sound, peaceful and quiet state (p. 1).

Author MARINUS SANUTO, called TORSELLO, of the town of RIVO ALTI, of the parish of Saint Severus the Confessor, Venice.

Prologue

In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, Amen

In the year of the Lord 1321, 24 September, I, Marino Sanuto, called Torxellus of Venice, by the grace of God, had an audience with our most Holy Father the Pope[1] to whom I presented two books on the recovery of the Holy Land and the conservation of the faithful there present: of whom one part was bound in red and the other in yellow. In the same books I have published four maps of the world: one of the Mediterranean Sea the second of the sea and the land, the third of the Holy Land the fourth of the land of Egypt, and what I had been ordered to say verbally I have given him all this in writing as is set out below. The Holy Father received the aforesaid writings well and gratefully and ordered the reading of the letter, a great part of the prologue and a part of the rubric in my presence: and not only that but by questioning he sought me out again to know many things and I responded to the questions. Finally he said 'I wish that these books should be examined'; to which I replied reverently that that would please me much provided the readers were faithful Christians. He replied 'Of this you should have no doubts' and he added, 'it is necessary to keep them quiet for as long as we shall lead you.' At this point I withdrew. Later that same day he himself sent diligently for the brothers listed below: Boentio de Ast, Dominican and Vicar of the province of Armenia, Iacobo de Cammerino, a Franciscan who had a beard and who had come to the

[1] John XXII (Jacques Dueze), Pope at Avignon, 1310–34.

Curia on behalf of the brothers of Persia **(p. 2)**, Matthew of Cyprus, and Paulinus the Venetian, [the Pope's] confessor, both of whom were Franciscans. He gave the yellow book to them and asked them to examine it diligently and to report to him personally. The aforementioned brothers retired to the house of brother Paulinus and there examined the book diligently and faithfully and in complete agreement they submitted their joint report. On the thirtieth day after the examination on a Sunday at Vespers he [the Pope] came up to me affably and before the aforesaid brothers and he asked many things of the brothers, 'You are all in agreement in fact'; and they with all reverence replied, 'Holy Father on this matter we write with complete agreement what we feel. 'Many questions followed with the brothers and me speaking. At last, the lord Pope said, 'The hour is late. You shall submit this report in writing; we will read it and afterwards we will send for you': and in this way they left the book and their report with it.

Dedicatory Material

In the Name of OurLord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, Amen

I, Marino Sanuto, called Torxellus from Venice, kneel before Your Holiness humbly and with devotion because my petition has come to the feet of Your Holiness, mainly for the common good of the whole of Christendom, present and yet to come. For I am not directed to you by any king, prince or commonwealth or by any other special person, but entirely at my own free will for considering for a long time that Your Holiness can achieve enormous good and benefit with little, indeed with no cost and expense in crushing and annihilating the principal enemies of the Catholic faith, first the Sultan of Babylon, and the Emperor of the Tartars who dwells in the north, called Husbecho,[1] he is reputed to wield power over many peoples: also the Turks, who persistently and continually oppress the islands of Romania and the principality of the Morea, both of which belong to the Latins. In singling out the Emperor of the Tartars, who rules in Torisio and Persia[2] and who is the chief enemy of the aforementioned Sultan and the Emperor of the North and who protects the kingdom of Armenia from Saracen treachery when his strength permits: considering that Your Holiness, in crushing and destroying that most evil sect that the wicked Mahumet has spread, can follow what is set out in these books and that, God willing, you can possess the Holy Land of Promise along with neighbouring lands, freely and peacefully: also the obedience and return to the bosom of the pious mother of the Greeks and other schismatics. Truly I can say that my soul has thirsted for the day at hand, in which I shall have the strength to present all the books, as promised, at the feet of Your Holiness; in

[1] Özbeg. Ninth Khan of the Golden Horde, 1313–41.

[2] Abu Sa'id (1316–35), the ninth and last Ilkhan of Persia of the family of Hülegü (d.1265). Torisio is Tabriz.

order to produce them, I shall have passed over the sea five times, in Cyprus, in Alexandria, in Armenia and indeed in Rhodes **(p. 3)**. Nonetheless, before I began to write on the said matters I have been many times in Alexandria and Acre:[1] but not against the restraint of ecclesiastical sanction; indeed in Romania I spent the greater part of my time, wherefore the condition and state [of that region], especially the principality of Achaea, I can claim to know well. Now, however, in order that I may bring the said books safely to the eminence of Your Holiness, sailing from Venice as far as Bruge and thence by land I came to your court. And so Your Holiness will see them or cause them to be seen as it shall please him. And I trust in the highest Creator, in the well-known knowledge and goodness of Your Holiness, talked about everywhere, you will do those things that are good and useful in this matter. Holy Father, I have prayed and I pray to the Author of all things that Your Holiness may be long thought worthy to serve in His Holy Church and especially I thank you for pursuing those things that are to the praise, glory and increase of the Christian faith. I am always ready to follow your commands as befits a faithful Christian.

Summary

Concerning the First Book of the Work of the Holy Land

Holy Father, diligently perusing the work, it seems to us that from the contents of the first book there should be general support for a crusade: and that the revenues of the Sultan should be reduced and that his strength and power should be weakened: and that the profits and goods that we have from the lands subjected to the Sultan we can have from elsewhere. And it seems to us that through these things that were done before are being carried on in similar fashion today. For goods are being carried from Taurisio[2] and Baldach[3] through the great sea[4] and by land as far as Lesser Armenia, only doubt remains regarding cinnamon[5] which we do not know to exist elsewhere than Egypt. For the prosecution of these things three conditions are essential. First, that the restraints of the Church should be stronger than usual, so that [these things] seem much more serious, but efficacious. When, however, it says Part 4, Chapter 2 that transgressors should be punished as if they were heretics and Chapter 7 that their aiders and abettors should undergo punishment as

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1 Throughout, with few exceptions, Sanudo uses Acon for Acre.

2 Tabriz (Tauris).

3 Baghdad.

4 The Black Sea.

5 *Cassia fistula*. Here Sanudo seems to confuse *cassia*, the bark from the *Cinnamonum aromaticum* from Arabia and Ethiopia, with true cinnamon (*Cinnmonum zeylanicum*) from Ceylon (Sri Lanka). The latter was meant. It had been imported into Egypt since about 2,000BC. Its true source was kept a secret.

if they were aiders of heretics: to complete this business inquisitors and inflictors of punishment should be given [powers] against such:

- Item: when it says in Chapter 5 that the same punishment should apply to anyone who should buy goods which they might presume or that they know to have come from lands subject to the Sultan. It seems to us that this should be cleared away that which often harms and afflicts the conscience of many, especially after it has happened.
- Item: it says in the short summary that a ruler, a lord or a commune should be held under pain of greater excommunication[1] to follow the violators of ecclesiastical ruling. It seems to us that a commune should be cleared [of this charge] because the whole commune is not guilty and it is not usual to excommunicate a commune.
- Item: it says in the same place that all informants who know of transgressors should be under pain of excommunication to make accusations. It seems to us very harsh that no person of status or condition should be excepted.

The second point is that ten galleys should be assigned to the keeping of the sea, on patrol for eight months of the year (Part 4, Chapter 7). Later this number could be reduced to seven. It seems to us that ten are both necessary and sufficient. But it is right that during the whole year they should watch the sea **(p. 4)** because today voyages take place in winter more than usual.

The third point is that a captain should be appointed, a man just, prudent and courageous. It seems to us that because of the many difficulties that will confront this man almost every day that noble advisers should be given to him, men good and expert in the business of the sea and accustomed to trade and with whose advice he can act. Otherwise if the captain [acts] from pride, avarice or from any other unjust motive he will harm honest merchants unduly and can easily destroy commerce. And this matter is touched upon in Book 2, Chapter 1. Each galley should have an experienced man as its captain.

Concerning Book 2

Book 2 is the sum and extenuation of Part 1, because the captain of the second army consisting of 15,000 men and 300 horse shall establish a beach head on the shores of Egypt to receive a crusade.[2] Concerning this we say that we have not seen that shore, however, we have heard it to be of such a condition as we have described it in the book. And then the whole Part 1 pleased us except when it is said in Chapter

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[1] Excommunication is of two kinds: Lesser excommunication excludes the excommunicate from the sacraments. Greater excommunication, which is imposed by a church court, excludes not only from the sacraments but also from the company of all Christians.

[2] *Passagium generale*.

3 that the crusade should be proclaimed in the second or third year; it seemed to us that it must be said that necessary preparations should be done immediately. The sum and conclusion of Part 2 is that the army of the lord should not be led by land or by any other route but directly to the said shores of Egypt. Here to that which was said there it seems to us additionally that Saint Louis,[1] who in his first crusade crossed via Cyprus, in his second, being now experienced, wished to go directly to Egypt. On the way he landed in Tunis where he passed from the earth to heaven and the cause of his failure was first and foremost the difficulty of supplying victuals. Also the Lord Edward, who was King of England,[2] after he had had experience of the places and conditions of Outremer is said to have thought as follows: first to invade Egypt, second to recover the Holy Land and third to gain the empire and crown of Constantinople. The sum and conclusion of Part 3 is this: because Christian warriors can be landed and supplied there, they can establish themselves safely. This seems true to us taking into account what has been said above, especially about the coast of Egypt. Part 4 contains the means and weapons for waging war and certain ships about which we admit ignorance; we are not fit to judge these things but it seems to us to have been well and clearly said.

Concerning Book 3

Book 3 is historical and records past events as a warning for future generations. In the penultimate part it records the disposition of the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt and especially of the Holy Land. At the end it provides clear examples about the army and the dangers of war and finally examines the rule of the kings of Jerusalem. These [tales] teach us to preserve the lands that we have conquered and which are widely spread out. In consequence we do not examine all things in order. However, it seems to us skilfully and well set out.

In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, Amen **(p. 5)** [3]

Remembrance to his royal majesty made humbly by Marin Sanud, called Torxel of Venice who presents to you the books and the *mappamundis* to conquer and to hold the Holy Land and the lands roundabout it. This will be a very joyful thing for your Majesty to have the lordship of the world and to win Paradise, which was not granted to Alexander who was master of the world, by following the recommendations and methods that follow.

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[1] Louis IX of France (1214–70), King from 1226; canonized by Boniface VIII in 1299.

[2] Edward I (1272–1307).

[3] The remainder of this petition to King Philip V (1316–22) is in French. Independently, Philip subscribed to much that Sanudo was proposing and planned a crusade to help the Armenians and in 1319 tried to impose a blockade on Mamluk ports, but all to no avail. See *New Cambridge Medieval History*, VI (2000), 868.

First, let Your Highness undertakes a journey to Outremer in the manner that is set out or in a manner that shall please your Majesty. If there are not the men for such a grand undertaking at the moment then provide 10 galleys, well-armed with 250 men for each galley, to guard the sea, and 300 knights and 1,000 foot soldiers of good birth to guard the land of Armenia for great harm and shame would come to Christendom if this land were lost.

Secondly, that you seek the support of Our Holy Father the Pope who will send his letters together with yours throughout Christendom that as the Holy Land should lie in Christian hands each of them should be asked: that according to what each sends he will have a share of the land there and that all the money that should have been collected, should be kept safe and sound so that it may only be spent on the Crusade.

Thirdly, that it please your Majesty to have peace and understanding with the doge and commune of Venice.

Fourthly, that you appoint for your captain of the east whoever seems to be best and that he follows the recommendations of the books that I have sent to you.

And if Your Highness makes this choice, I have no doubt, with the assistance of God, that King Robert,[1] King Frederick of Sicily[2] and the Emperor of Constantinople,[3] will agree with you in all that seems reasonable. And by this means you could conquer the Holy Land and the other lands around it and the remainder of the world could not defend itself against Your Highness according to what you can see in the books and *mappamundis* mentioned above.

To the first article Marin Sanud replies that if any shall say the armament is too small say that with the aid of God, it will be sufficient for this action. For there is to be found in Cyprus, in Rhodes and in the other isles of Romania, up to ten galleys well armed, that will take part with yours. And again the islands aforementioned can provide aid beyond the ten galleys for a short period **(p. 6)**. Again many times at sea there are a great number of merchant ships that could reinforce the ten galleys. Specifically order well the merchants: if with the aid of God the sea shall be well guarded. The islands of Cyprus and Rhodes could well succour Armenia continuously with 350 knights and many other Christians who will be aiders and abettors of this thing. For which reason, the land of Armenia, of Cyprus and of Rhodes should be well defended and guarded. The Sultan's power of access will be much weakened and he will suffer much damage by it. And all the people of Christian France, who despair of anything that they do not do themselves, should comfort themselves and give as much as they can for the relief and aid of the Holy Land. And if something is not done urgently the Christian peoples will despair and all Christendom will be in great peril. And especially the Christians in that part if Your Highness and benignity does not send help and assistance urgently.

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1 Robert the Wise, King of Naples (1309–43).

2 Frederick II or III as he dubbed himself, King of Sicily (1295–1337).

3 Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328).

In the name of Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, Amen **(p. 7)**

Three things that are essential and current for the common good of Christendom

First, that the province of Armenia should be secured. Second, that there should be procedures on land and likewise inquisitors of which one acts alone and the other comes behind to secure things. Third, that galleys should be armed for keeping the sea. And in these issues one should proceed as set out in the order of this book:

What if anyone should ask how many armed men are needed to safeguard the province of Armenia? I reply reverently, I Marino Sanudo, called Torsellus, from Venice, that with 300 horse and 1,000 foot soldiers and 10 galleys, well-equipped, and they should be manned by stipendaries by the Roman Church. And not only by it but also by the kingdom of Cyprus and the islands of Romania. For the guarding of the sea may be kept by the aforesaid galleys and by others that are in those parts. The kingdom of Cyprus can send continuous help to the said Armenia with 200 knights. The Hospital with a diminution of the guards of the island of Rhodes as well as from the revenues they receive in Cyprus and Armenia can easily aid the kingdom of Armenia with 150 armed horsemen. And several other Catholics there will hurry to help the Church when they hear of it. And the Armenians themselves both from the tribute that they pay to the Sultan as well as by their own ability should try to maintain an armed people. And perhaps there should be hope and not mistrust placed in the favour and the help of the Tartars, who rule in Persia and Chaldea, although for the most part they are mixed with the pestilential Saracen sect. Although it must be believed that they would prefer to follow their own rather than foreign ways. For all of which proceedings the Church would lay out 150,000 florins and it would damage the Sultan by more than 1,000,000 florins in a year: apart from other inconveniences which he and the people subject to him exact, so long as the Church carries on the processes of the inquisitors with the foresaid.

Item: If it is asked why the Sultan of Babylon raids the whole province of Armenia when an imposed tribute is paid to him by the Armenians; and the returns from the tribute is greater to the Sultan and his subjects than from his whole kingdom, in respect of the burden and the expenses it incurs. I reply because of three things. The first is that he might bring, by seizing it, a great flow of merchandise from Armenia to his own lands. The second is that Armenia lies in the middle between Turkey, which is called Asia Minor, and the land subject to the Sultan. It reaches out to the power of the Sultan and of the Turks and of other Saracens living in those parts and they feel protected in turn. And then they believe that they can resist the Tartars, who rule in Persia and in Chaldea; on account of which many Saracens, wisely, are keen to bring about a union and some Tartars and Armenians too. The third is that in the parts beyond the sea the power of the Christians is almost extinguished. If there is no opposition, as is suggested, the said Armenia will not long be able to continue under Christian rule. And not only that, but the kingdom of Cyprus, Rhodes and the rump of Romania will come under great danger. And if the Sultan and the said Turks, as is suggested, join

together they might then have the help of the Tartars who are in Gaza and other southern parts so that he will have the union of their will and it is to be feared that after this they will pour themselves to areas beyond. And so your holy providence may choose a remedy to these things as it will please you.

This is the Title Given to the Sultan of Babylon by His Subjects **(p. 8)**

To the most serene, most powerful and most excellent Lord Sultan Nasit,[1] Lord of the World, just Judge, and courageous revealer of hidden affairs, Lord of the Saracens and the Mussulmen, chooser of justice for the world, Judge of those forgotten by the impious and heir of kingdoms, Sultan of the Arabs, the Azimor and the Turks, opener of provinces, expeller of the army of the Tartars, the present-day Alexander, lord of good things, King of the two seas, showing honour to the honourable and generous, despot of Kings and Sultans, Belphet, Mahumet son of Sultans, acknowledged King of Mazut, sword of the King of Chalaon.

Contents

In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, Amen

Here begin the Secrets for the Protection of the Faithful as well as for the conversion or consumption of the infidels, also for acquiring and keeping the Holy Land and many other lands, With God's grace in good, peaceful and quiet condition.

To the most Holy Father and Lord, Lord J.,[2] high priest of the sacrosanct and universal Roman Church, Marino Sanudo, called Torsello, from the town of Rivoalto, from the parish of San Severus in Venice with humble reverence and kisses of the blessed feet. To the honour, glory and exaltation of the all-powerful God and of our Lord Jesus Christ and also of his faith and of the name of Christian. I took on this work of hard labour and sleeplessness for the recovery and more sure retention of the Holy Land of Promise where, it is written, the creation and redemption of the human race occurred and where the judgement of the worthy is expected to take place at the end of time. For in Ebron, Adam, the first father of the world of the earth was formed. In Jerusalem the Lord God was crucified for the redemption of the slave; innocent of sin; for a sacrifice. Nearby, Joel testified that the Lord will bring together all peoples and lead them to the valley of Josaphat and will judge them.[3] Then for love, searching for and visiting the elect and that Holy Land, so that the heart might be moved to faith, love of father and of country, blessing and reverence of the Divine Majesty; fear and trembling of judgement and

[1] An-Nasir Nasir-ad-Din Muhammad, first reign 1294–5, second reign 1299–1309, third reign 1309–40.

[2] John XXII, Pope at Avignon, 1310–34.

[3] Joel 3:12.

of the last judgement. Indeed, love of the first prince attracts; just as the new-born lamb immediately seeks its mother and her teat; and the rivers go down thence to the sea and are immediately turned back; just as a magnet attracts iron, because the strength of its original attraction is found more nobly in a magnet. Therefore, the faithful hears with a deaf ear what Jacob said in Genesis 31. 'Return to the land of your fathers and to your generation'.[1] The crooked generation and the perverse generation will return there, which had not directed its heart nor entrusted its spirit to God and like a viper made deaf up to the present Christian generation **(p. 9)**. Deservedly let the blessing of grace and the reverence of the redeemer move; that while there he ascended the Cross like a ship. He showed the necessity of buying the redemption with his blood and of mounting the Cross when he said (Luke 14) 'And whosoever doth not carry his cross and come after me, cannot be my disciple.'[2] And so, beautiful in form, going up in a ship, his disciples followed him (Matthew 8). Thus Jesus ascended the ship in the following chapter and came to his city, to which we could not cross without the ship of his cross. Then fear and trembling at a strict examination should move us, where [there is] a severe Judge to whom all things are laid bare and open even as 'Jerusalem (Sophonias 1) was searched with lamps.'[3] What do you think will be safe in Babylon when in Jerusalem; lest anything be concealed a spot is searched with light? The voice of an archangel will summon to the valley of Josaphat, 'Arise O dead and come to judgement'. We will hurry to cross thither either in our own body or with the benefit of help because it is better to come before than to be overtaken: we are keen to have a part of that land, either by right of war or purchase, so that we are found there on the day of judgement, not as guests or newcomers, but as a citizen of the saints and of the household God. 'For who (Zacharias 15) shall not go up of the families of the land to Jerusalem, to adore the King, the lord of hosts, there shall be no rain upon them';[4] that is of Divine benediction. Therefore, moved by just consideration of these things I have taken care to shape the present work of the Holy Land of Promise: appropriately divided into books and parts and chapters and to present them to the pinnacle of the Most Holy Apostolic See so that any defect, if any appears, may be corrected and useful things promoted for the honour of God and of his holy Church. The whole work is divided into three books in honour of the Holy Trinity. For so we take care with the greatest diligence to provide three remedies to the infirm body. First, syrup for a favourable disposition, because there are no actions of the active unless in an open frame of mind. Second, an agreeable medicine which expels the disease and induces health. Third a life-style that ought to ensure health. We guard against harm also some delights; we adopt healthy things even bitter things. In line with this the Book 1 contains an approach like syrup for liberating and, so to speak, cleansing the Holy Land of

1 Genesis 31:3.

2 Luke 14:27.

3 Sophonias 1:12

4 In fact, it is Zacharias 14:17.

Promise, which for a long time has been as if paralyzed and infirm, lying under the rule of a perfidious race. Book 2 induces health and perfect freedom. Book 3 teaches how to conserve it perfectly lest it be subjected to the rule of the infidels again. The books are divided into general parts so that the ideas can be understood briefly and summarily. The parts are split into chapters so that each one reveals deliberately and clearly what it is about. So that in each [section] of the whole first ought to come the part of doctors. The rubrics of the aforesaid books, parts, and chapters are followed in this manner

Book 1: The Disposition and Preparation for the Recovery of the Holy Land

Here begins Book 1 of the work of the Holy Land, containing the disposition and preparation for the recovery of the Holy land, having 5 parts **(p. 10)**.

Part 1 contains the manner of diminishing the power of the Sultan by showing how faithful Christians can carry on the trade necessary to them without having access to the lands subject to the Sultan**;** by revealing the huge injuries and evils that those infidels subject to the Sultan will suffer if [goods] are not carried to them through our sea: having 6 chapters:

- Chapter 1: The causes and advantages coming to the Sultan and his people from the trade from India; the names of the ports from which it comes and the means by which it can be diverted from the hands of the Sultan.
- Chapter 2: How those things that are necessary for us and that come from the Sultan's dominions can be had from Christian lands.
- Chapter 3: Concerning the dates, flax, wild cinnamon and associated products that should not be carried in the Mediterranean from which the Sultan and his subjects derive much benefit.
- Chapter 4: Concerning the damage consequent on the Sultan and his subjects if gold, silver, iron and other metals were not carried to them.
- Chapter 5: The hurt that would come to the Saracens if provisions were not brought to them from the lands of the Christians.
- Chapter 6: The damage that would come to the Egyptians if wood and other material for shipbuilding were not exported to them with a description of the land of Egypt.

Part 2 contains certain experience how there is already some weakness in the land subject to the Sultan, having 2 chapters:

- Chapter 1: How the lands of the Sultan beyond the desert towards Armenia and in the countryside of Syria are reduced in riches.
- Chapter 2: How in the aforesaid lands of the Sultan there has been a reduction in inhabitants and a great reduction in armed men.

Part 3 contains certain essentials very pertinent to acquiring these lands from the Saracens and from others, having 2 chapters:

- Chapter 1: The cause of prohibiting those things like wood and other naval supplies that ought not to be carried to the land of the Saracens or to Egypt.
- Chapter 2: How the Saracens of the land of Egypt procure and transport boys and girls from other parts for the defence of the region.

Part 4 shows how it is essential that a new means of [commercial] boycott be found and considered thoroughly and by showing just how this can be drawn tight so that scarcely anything is carried over the Mediterranean Sea land subject to the Sultan and that certain galleys should be prepared for the protection of the faithful overseas at the expense of the Saracens, having 7 chapters:

- Chapter 1: How all trade and all access to the Saracens subject to the Sultan should be prohibited.
- Chapter 2: How transgressors of the divine mandate should be prosecuted on land and sea by all faithful Christians.
- Chapter 3: The necessity of removing the course of trade which is accustomed to be carried from the lands subject to the Sultan, and from the whole of Africa and of Spain where the Agarenes dwell.
- Chapter 4: The reasons why the same prohibition should be in place towards the southern lands that is from the river Saleph to Anneias.
- Chapter 5: The cause of the prohibition, why no Christian should purchase any goods whatsoever brought from the lands of the Sultan.
- Chapter 6: Concerning the punishment of the lords and governors of lands and those communities that receive banned goods into their ports and territories.
- Chapter 7: Concerning the custody of the sea and the initial preparation for arming a Christian army and the expense.

Part 5 contains reasons why the Church should be concerned with the foresaid, having 3 chapters **(p. 11)**:

- Chapter 1: An enticement for performing the aforesaid by reason of unfinished business.
- Chapter 2: A pious appeal for help for the lands and kingdoms of the Christians overseas.
- Chapter 3: A summary of the foregoing and the whole of Book 1 with a conclusion.

Book 2: The Ways and Means by Which the Holy Land can be Recovered

Here begins Book 2 of the same work containing the ways and means by which the Holy Land can be duly and practically recovered, having 4 parts.

Part 1 contains the shape and organization of the second Christian army, having 4 chapters:

- Chapter 1: In what manner a captain should be appointed and what brief he should have, how many colleagues he should have and when he should set to work.
- Chapter 2: How it will be more appropriate for a maritime state to carry out this business.
- Chapter 3: The preparation of the ships and other essentials for prosecuting the universal crusade and also the preparation of supplies and gaining the friendship of the Tartars.
- Chapter 4: The costs of maintaining the aforesaid army of 15,000 foot and 300 horse, and its reasonable advance.

Part 2 contains both the rejection which seems to be made by some means of the fleet of the Church and a clear reason why the sea route from Egypt should be chosen, having 10 chapters:

- Chapter 1: Explains that the expedition of the Church must not be led by land.
- Chapter 2: Against the advice of some saying that the aforesaid expedition should descend upon the land of Armenia, of Syria or of Jerusalem of the Holy Land.
- Chapter 3: The inappropriateness of arguing that the said crusade should be based in Cyprus.
- Chapter 4: Concerning a certain allegory adapted to a certain fortification.
- Chapter 5: Another metaphor applied to a certain tree.
- Chapter 6: Clarification of the aforesaid fortification and other things relevant.
- Chapter 7: An explanation of the tree and what relates to it.
- Chapter 8: An illustration from those things that were done between the Venetians and the Lord Patriarch of Aquileia for the taking of Istria, [and] of what the first battle in Egypt against the Saracens might be like.
- Chapter 9: Evidence demonstrating the proposition, based upon the achievements in Egypt of Saint Louis, King of the French and of two kings of Jerusalem.
- Chapter 10: The issues that must be addressed so that what is related above may emerge with the help of Jesus Christ.

Part 3 contains the safe state of building in coastal Egypt and the special quality of fighting against the Saracens with clear examples, having 4 chapters:

- Chapter 1: How the Christians can be safe by staying in fortifications on the coast of Egypt; by comparison with the Venetian coast, which were a surety under the tempestuous storms of Gauls, Africans, Cypriots, Atila and of the Lombards and of others, and has remained unharmed.
- Chapter 2: How the Christians should go openly to the coast of Egypt and how they can protect themselves from the neighbouring Saracens by example of the Venetian people.
- Chapter 3: How the crusaders can harm the Egyptians by example of how the Venetians waged war against the towns and places on their lakes and rivers.
- Chapter 4: Convincing answers to doubts that may arise.

Part 4 contains the form, method and order as well as commendable arguments on warlike events and other things touching on carrying out the said business of the land successfully and how the Agarenes and the schismatics are not able to defend the land against the power of the Church, having 29 chapters **(p. 12)**:

- Chapter 1: Arguments that may be advanced against the power of the Christian army, lest it should come to an unprofitable end and the solutions of the same.
- Chapter 2: In which certain other arguments are advanced that the Sultan can be engaged on the Nile and an explanation of the same.
- Chapter 3: Certain examples of Cyrus, King of the Persians, and concerning certain lessons for the Christian army.
- Chapter 4: A certain question that asks whether the Saracens, on account of the large number of ships that they have on the river Nile, can hold up the army of the Christians and the answer to the same.
- Chapter 5: The provision, safety and setting out of the ships of the Christian army.
- Chapter 6: What shape ships ought to be which can be useful for crossing the sea as well as commendable in the business of the land of Egypt.
- Chapter 7: Ships that are suitable for conveying foodstuffs and other supplies to the army both by sea and by river, and of the forms of ships for fresh water useful for pursuing the business in hand.
- Chapter 8: The different types of weapons that the Christians will need, both for defending themselves and attacking the enemy.
- Chapter 9: The sort of people that the captain ought to choose and what sort of food ought to be distributed to them so that good discipline and right order should be maintained.
- Chapter 10: The amount of food and what means the Venetians use to distribute food to their galley crews and of the number of men, the times,

weights and measures, and how they can be accurately valued.

- Chapter 11: The number of ships and their shape in which the Christian army will go to the coast of Egypt to capture the land and how they should be ordered by the captain.
- Chapter 12: The time, order and effort of cutting wood for shipbuilding; of keeping the same and that this may be more speedily and greatly done for the oars of the common ships.
- Chapter 13: Other ships that the army will need for carrying supplies and other things necessary for the crusading venture: concerning the names of places and the quality of victuals that can be had and brought away from them; by showing reasonably that the fleet which belongs to the Holy Church of God may be proved neither opportune nor useful.
- Chapter 14: In which it will be shown in what way the clarity and goodness of the air will be known in crossing to the coast of Egypt; and how the goodness of the air is established by taking up the established example of filberts and concerning the goodness of the waters.
- Chapter 15: What sort of condition of people for admittance to the stipend of the Holy Roman Church for the purpose of finishing this business.
- Chapter 16: The mode and manner of replenishing the people of the army, the hospital of the same and the provisioning of all: and also of women joined in marriage, the widowhood of the same and their heirs and of provision to be made for others.
- Chapter 17: Places and areas from which good sailors may be had for steering ships through fresh and salt waters.
- Chapter 18: The sailors living in the extremities of Germany who ought to be good and useful for advising and assisting the aforesaid [enterprise].
- Chapter 19: The taking of the Cross and the different sorts of armed men that the army needs for the conquering the land of Egypt.
- Chapter 20: The number of men that each galley needs so that it is suitably protected; and the officers of the same, the craftsmen and pay day; and concerning the supplies and pay for 300 cavalry.
- Chapter 21: Certain declarations, memoranda, and ordinances and precautions for the fleet.
- Chapter 22: The production of weapons and the most powerful catapults and crossbows; and the manufacture and precautions for the perfection of all things that are considered to have a bearing on the same.
- Chapter 23: In what ways the stipendaries of Holy Mother Church, after they have seized the coast of Egypt and before the arrival of the crusaders, should attack schismatics and infidels with their galleys and timber and inflict as much injury as possible **(p. 13)**.
- Chapter 24: Certain provisions, orders and precautions that are relevant to a naval force.
- Chapter 25: A description of the coastline subject to the Sultan and the sailors' names of these lands, ports and islands and the distances and miles

that separate them one from another, together with the same for those parts belonging to the King of Tunisia that border on them.
- Chapter 26: The coast controlled by the King of Armenia from the borders with the Sultan to the lands of the Turks in the north.
- Chapter 27: The paid crusaders of the Holy Roman Church that will join the Christian army concerning Egypt, how the river Nile ought to be controlled; in which it is shown how the island of Raxetus can be occupied; and concerning the numbers of the aforesaid and how many can stand together; by showing how the infidels can be forced to hand over the land of Egypt to the faithful of Christ.
- Chapter 28: In which certain questions and arguments against the power of the Christians are advanced; namely once the land of Egypt is conquered the Christians can take possession of the land of Jerusalem and Syria against the power of the Sultan and of the Tartars and other infidels; and concerning the cost of gaining Jerusalem and Syria and the justification of the friendship of the Tartars.
- Chapter 29: Certain observations for the lords who will oversee these deeds of war wisely and prudently, and to certain notables too.

Book 3: Keeping, Holding and Possessing the Holy Land of Promise

Here begins Book 3 of the same work containing infallible and true teaching for keeping, holding and possessing the Holy Land of Promise against the attacks of any infidels, after it has been conquered from the hands of the Saracens, having 15 Parts.
Part 1 tells how the Promised Land has been ruled by various peoples, having 14 chapters:

- Chapter 1: Explains why the Promised Land is attractive to every nation and why the inhabitants are so often oppressed or thrown from the land.
- Chapter 2: How the sons of Ham first inhabited the Promised Land and why they were expelled.
- Chapter 3: How the people of Israel descended from Sem through Abraham, having expelled the sons of Cham or reduced them to slavery, dwelt in the Promised Land.
- Chapter 4: How the said sons of Sem conducted themselves under 14 judges.
- Chapter 5: When the people began to have kings; and when the kingdom was divided into two, Juda and the ten tribes; and the end of the second kingdom.
- Chapter 6: The course and end of the Kingdom of Juda and Jerusalem.
- Chapter 7: The death of Jeremias and Ezechiel; and the captivity of the rump of Juda in Egypt and how Cyrus gained Babylon.
- Chapter 8: The relaxation of the captivity under Jesus the chief priest; the

rebuilding of the ruined temple.
- Chapter 9: The deeds of Judith, Esdra, Nehemia and Esther under the priests Ioachim, Eliasib and Iuda.
- Chapter 10: The evil against Johannes the priest and his successor Iuda; the death of Oxia at the time of Alexander and Ptolemy's persecution of the Jews; the translation of the Divine law by 70 interpreters at the time of Eleazar the priest.
- Chapter 11: The division of the Jews under Onia against those warring against them in Syria and Egypt; and the persecution of the Kings of Syria, Seleuchus and Antiochus, against the Jews; and the deposition and death of the other Onia; also the wonderful deeds of Machabeus.
- Chapter 12: How kings began to rule again in the Promised land.
- Chapter 13: The cruel and impious persecution against Christ and the Apostles.
- Chapter 14: The destruction of Jerusalem; the expulsion of the Jews from the area by the sons of Japhet, namely the Romans.

Part 2 contains the beginning of the Eastern Church, having 4 chapters:

- Chapter 1: The glorious progress of the eastern Church.
- Chapter 2: The cooling of the former fervour of the Church and its consequent affliction by Cosroe.
- Chapter 3: The victory of Heraclius against Cosroe **(p. 14)**.
- Chapter 4: The return of Heraclius and the restoration of the Holy Cross to Jerusalem.

Part 3 contains the Muslim persecution of the Eastern Church and its anxious condition up to the first crusade of Godfrey and Peter the Hermit, having 8 chapters:

- Chapter 1: The lapse of Heraclius into heresy and the devastation of the Holy Land by Humar and Mahumet.
- Chapter 2: The vile beginnings of the seducer Mahumet.
- Chapter 3: The brigandage and carnal sins of Mahumet.
- Chapter 4: Other abuses of the law of Mahumet.
- Chapter 5: How he was a false prophet; his death and how his rule was shared among many.
- Chapter 6: How Charlemagne set out to help the Promised Land.
- Chapter 7: The return of Charles and the bringing back of relics.
- Chapter 8: The deteriorating condition of the Promised Land, largely due to the devastation of the empire of Constantinople.

Part 4 contains the wondrous movement of the western peoples to free the Holy Land at the time of Peter the Hermit, having 14 chapters:

- Chapter 1: The pious request for help and the beginning of a possible salvation.
- Chapter 2: The swift gathering of the crusade.
- Chapter 3: The journey of Walter and his band to Constantinople.
- Chapter 4: The journey of Peter the Hermit with a huge host of people to Constantinople.
- Chapter 5: The deeds of the said pilgrims beyond the Hellespont that is called the Arm of Saint George.
- Chapter 6: The inordinate destruction of a host of Germans making the pilgrimage under the priest Condescauco.
- Chapter 7: The confusion of popular multitudes of pilgrims with no particular leader.
- Chapter 8: The pilgrimage and captivity of Hugh the Great, and the manner in which Bohemond decided to go on pilgrimage.
- Chapter 9: The pilgrimage of Godfrey and the freeing of Hugh the Great.
- Chapter 10: The disputes and agreement of the Pilgrims with the Emperor.
- Chapter 11: The journey of Bohemond to Constantinople and his reception by the Emperor.
- Chapter 12: The journey of the count of Toulouse and his men and how the Emperor dealt with them.
- Chapter 13: The capture of Nicaea and the arrival of the last barons.
- Chapter 14: The division of the Pilgrims by turns and the Turkish attack on them.

Part 5 contains the victories of the pilgrims in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and their discussions up to the times of the kings, having 8 chapters:

- Chapter 1: The victories of Tancred and Baldwin while they were ahead of all the others, their discord and agreement.
- Chapter 2: The favourable achievements of Baldwin in the north.
- Chapter 3: The march of the great army to Antioch.
- Chapter 4: A description of the city of Antioch and its siege.
- Chapter 5: The various trials and tribulations of the besiegers and the besieged.
- Chapter 6: The capture of Antioch, the finding of the Lance of Salvator, and the defeat of Corbagat.
- Chapter 7: The march of the pilgrims against Jerusalem.
- Chapter 8: The siege of Jerusalem and how it was captured.

Part 6 contains the full liberation of the Holy Land and the setting up of the Kingdom of Jerusalem under the Latin kings, having 24 chapters:

- Chapter 1: How Godfrey was chosen King of Jerusalem and his piety concerning the worship of God.
- Chapter 2: A victory given to the pilgrims by God against a vast number of Persians.
- Chapter 3: The return of the pilgrims; the wonderful courage of the remaining few in seizing Joppa, Ramula and Porphyra, and how the Patriarch gained jurisdiction over a quarter of the holy city.
- Chapter 4: The coronation of Baldwin I, the capture of Arsuf and Caesarea, and the double victory over the Egyptians.
- Chapter 5: Events in the county of Edessa and the principalities of Antioch and Galilee.
- Chapter 6: The capture of Bibylos and Tripoli; Baldwin's story, and the death of Tancred and Beltrand.
- Chapter 7: The fortune of Joscellin and the victory of Roger against the Turks **(p. 15)**.
- Chapter 8: The building and provisioning of Mount Royal that is called Scandelium; and the death of the King.
- Chapter 9: The election of King Baldwin II.
- Chapter 10: The victory of the King over the Turks and the capture of him and count Joscellin.
- Chapter 11: A victory over the Turks and the treaty of [the Latins in]Syria with the doge of Venice.
- Chapter 12: The conditions, situation and capture of Tyre.
- Chapter 13: The liberation of the King and great victories over the Turks.
- Chapter 14: The death of Bohemond and of the King, and the elevation of Fulk as third King of Jerusalem.
- Chapter 15: The honourable death of Joscellin, a great victory for the King and the building of two castles.
- Chapter 16: The death of the Count of Tripoli and the expedition of the Emperor of Constantinople against Antioch.
- Chapter 17: The journey of the Emperor and his death; and the recovery of the city of Bellina.
- Chapter 18:Praise of the kings and victories, the ordering of the whole coastal region and the death of King Fulk.
- Chapter 19: The deeds of Baldwin the fourth King of Jerusalem and the crusade of the Emperor Conrad and Louis, King of France, and the labour in vain.
- Chapter 20: The death of the Princes of Antioch and of Tripoli and of King Baldwin, and of many attacks by the Turks.
- Chapter 21: The victory of Almeric against the Babylonians; then the alliance with them against Saladin of Damascus; certain events in Antioch