

ORTHODOXY ABROAD: JOHN XXII AND GLOBAL CHRISTENDOM

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ABSTRACT

Joshua Paul Hevert: *Orthodoxy Abroad: John XXII and Global Christendom*
(Under the Direction of Brett Whalen)

This dissertation examines the way in which Latin Christians of the fourteenth century, but particularly the papacy, reconciled the incorporation of Asia and the Christian communities living throughout the continent with their vision of world order. More specifically, it argues that Pope John XXII clarified and adapted the role of the papacy on the global stage in response to the challenges, both in terms of Latin Christian doctrine and practice, that Latin Christians living in Asia presented. It explores and interrogates the struggle of John XXII's papacy to define, to police, and to discipline Latin Christianity, especially in Islamic and Mongol lands where the Latin Church attempted to create social, cultural, and religious communities that replicated orthodox religious communities in Western Europe. Moreover, the dissertation demonstrates that the efforts made by the popes and other Latin Christians were attempts to order a world that, from the Latin perspective, presented considerable spiritual danger to the Latin Christians living in it. Finally, it argues that Latin Christians rediscovered and redefined their religious identities in Asia. The study analyzes the reevaluation of Latin Christendom in following the fall of the city of Acre in 1291, the creation of new institutions and church hierarchies in Asia, John XXII's direction of the missionary project and clashes with members of the Franciscan order, and an attempt to halt trade between Christians and Muslims in Asia and on the Mediterranean. The project therefore contributes both to Church History and World History.

In memory of Kendall Inada, Latin professor and friend, without whom this dissertation would not be possible. Thank you for teaching me Latin and for showing me what it means to be a good teacher.

AND

In memory of Robert McGlone, history professor and adviser, who helped push me towards history, even when I resisted.

I miss you both. Mahalo nui loa.

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When I visited UNC on my prospective weekend, I took myself to the student store in search of my new adviser's book. Rather than reading the introduction first, I turned to the back and read the acknowledgements section in an attempt to get a sense of the personality that would direct me for the next five years. I was struck by his opening, which suggested that the writing of a book was both a hermitic and coenobitic monastic experience. In the spirit of this metaphor, I'd extend it and argue that the writing of a dissertation or book is the combination of the total western Christian monastic experience. It is at the same time, hermitic, coenobitic, and mendicant. It is, perhaps, at the latest of nights or the earliest of mornings, a mystical experience. It is isolating to be sure, but it also requires a community and an engagement with the world outside of the office and seminar room. In the monastic journey of this dissertation, I have incurred many debts of gratitude that I can only begin to address in these short paragraphs.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xi
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER ONE: REEVALUATING GLOBAL CHRISTENDOM.....	21
CHAPTER TWO: DEVELOPING LATIN INSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY IN ASIA.....	79
CHAPTER THREE: LATIN CHRISTIANS ON THE FRONTIER.....	123
CHAPTER FOUR: THE ECONOMICS OF ORTHODOXY AND THE CRUSADE.....	173
CONCLUSION:.....	212
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	225

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AFH* *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum.*
- BF* *Bullarium Franciscanum, Romanorum pontificum, constitutiones, epistolas ac diplomata continens tribus ordinis S.P.N. Francisci spectantia*, vol. 5, ed. C. Eubel (Rome, 1898).
- BP* *Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum* vol. 1, eds. T. Ripoll and A. Bremond (Rome, 1729).
- Chronica XXIV* *Annales Franciscorum* vol. 3: *Chronica XXIV Gerialium Ordinis Minorum*. Quaracchi, 1897
- Directorium* *Directorium ad passagium faciendum*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Documents arméniens, II*, ed. Charles Kohler (Paris, 1906).
- Fontes* John XXII. *Acta Ioannis XXII (1317-1334)*. Edited by A.L. Tautu. Pontificia Commissio ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis. *Fontes*, ser. 3, vol. 7, part 2. Vatican City: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis.
- Liber* Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis Super Terrae Sanctae Recuperatione et Conservatione*, in *Gesta Dei per Francos, sive orientalium expeditionem et regni Francorum Hierosolymitani historia* 2 vols, ed. J. Bongars (Hannover, 1611), reproduced photographically with an introduction by Joshua Prawer (Toronto, 1972).
- Mirabilia Descripta* Jordan of Catalonia. *Mirabilia Descripta*. In *Une image de l'Orient au XIVe siècle: Les Mirabilia Descripta de Jordan Catala de Sévérac, édition, traduction et commentaire*. Edited by Christine Gadrat. Paris: École des Chartes, 2005.
- Mollat* John XXII. *Lettres Communes Analysées d'après les Registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican*. Edited by G. Mollat. 16 vols. Paris: Ancienne Librairie Thorin et Fils, 1904-47.

- Relatio* Odoric of Pordenone. "Relatio." In *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 1: Itinera et Relationes Fratrum Minorum Saeculi XIII et XIV. Edited by P. Anastasius Van Den Wyngaert. Quaracchi-Firenze: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1929.
- Tractatus* William of Adam, *How to Defeat the Saracens*. Edited and translated by Giles Constable. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2012.
- RHC* *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Documents arméniens, II*, ed. Charles Kohler (Paris, 1906).
- ROL* *Revue L'Orient Latin*. 12 vols. 1893-1911.

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Latin Christendom's place in the world had changed. According to the fourteenth-century author of the crusade treatise "The Plan for a Making a Passage" (*Directorium ad passagium faciendum*), mostly likely a former Dominican missionary, the leaders of the Latin Church needed to reassess their position in lands outside of Europe. He claimed that no Christians remained in Africa.¹ Asia was home to a number of Christians, but none of them followed the Latin Rite.² Europe itself faced a crisis of heterodoxy according to the author, who wrote that pagans, Muslims, and non-Latin Christians existed in great numbers despite the efforts of the Church.³ Part and parcel of the diversity of religious practice in the wider world was the expansive landmasses that these people populated. The author counseled that Asia was much larger than had been previously

¹ *Directorium*, 382. Nunc autem ita est quod in tota Africa, in qua quondam gloriose flouruit cultus Christi, non est aliquis populous Christianus. The identity of the author is somewhat of a scholarly mystery. Charles Kohler posited that the author was, in fact, William of Adam, a Dominican missionary whose writings form one of the major sources for this project, though several other scholars have disagreed and no consensus has been reached. See Charles Kohler, "Quel est l'auteur du Directorium ad Passagium Facidendum?" *ROL* 12 (1911), 104-11. Others, such as Aziz Aitya, have named the author "Burcard" or Brocardus." Aziz Aitya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Kraus Reprint, CO), 97-8. The volume was first published in 1938. Still others have concluded that the author was Raymond Etienne, a Dominican missionary and archbishop of Ephesus. See Girolamo Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografia della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francescano* vol. 3 (Quarrachi: Collegio S. Bonaventurae, 1906-27) 405 and Dennis Sinor, "The Mongols and Western Europe" in *A History of the Crusades* vol. 3, ed. Harry W. Hazard (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), 543.

² *Directorium ad passagium faciendum*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: documents Arméniens* vol. 2. 382. "In Asia vero, etsi sint multi populi et innumeri Christiani, fidem tamen veram non habent, et doctrina evangelica no observatur."

³ *Ibid.*, 382. "In Europa autem, quae pars nostra est, sunt multi populi qui pagani existent et confine cum Theutonicis et Polonis. Sunt enim in aliqua parte Hispaniae Sarraceni. Sunt etiam in Europa multi et diversarum linguarum populi Christiani, qui nobiscum in fide non ambulant nec doctrina."

thought, and that the theories about the Antipodes had proved true.⁴ He wrote that he had seen both the Arctic and Antarctic poles, and that certain merchants had seen the same. Furthermore, the author estimated that Latin Christendom itself, confined to a tiny corner of the Earth, held perhaps between only five to ten percent of the entire world.⁵ With all this being the case, the author argued, the world was a much larger place than anyone in Europe had previously thought it to be.⁶

This dissertation examines the way in which Latin Christians of the earlier fourteenth century, but particularly the papacy, grappled with the changing understanding of the world and the place of Latin Christians within in it. More specifically, it argues that Pope John XXII clarified and adapted the role of the papacy on the global stage in response to the challenges, both in terms of Latin Christian doctrine and practice, that Latin Christians living in Asia presented. It explores and interrogates the struggle of John XXII's papacy to define, to police, and to discipline Latin Christianity, especially in Islamic and Mongol lands where the Latin Church attempted to create social, cultural, and religious communities that "replicated" orthodox religious communities in Western Europe. Moreover, the dissertation demonstrates that the efforts made by the popes and other Latin Christians formed attempts to order a world that, from the Latin perspective, presented considerable spiritual danger to the Latin Christians living in it. Seen in this way, John's papacy typifies a retinue of ecclesiastical polices best-termed "pastoral mission," or the ways in which the medieval

⁴ Ibid., 383. "Asia namque aequae medietatem mundi habitati describitur obtinere, longe plus tenet continentia no fuerit designata... quod non est frivolum neque falsum Antipodes assignare."

⁵ Ibid., 384. "Quae magis venit ad propositum nostrum, quod nos, qui veri sumus Christiani, non dicam decima, sed et vicesima pars non sumus."

⁶ Ibid., 384. "Quod plus sit extra cimata verus orientem atque meridiem habitatum quam sit totum spatium infra minorem et majorem latitudinem climatum assignatum."

popes and their curia, especially during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, sought not only to evangelize non-Christian populations but also, and perhaps more importantly, insure the orthodoxy of Christian populations living in non-Christian lands, policing not only Christians' doctrinal adherence, but also their relationships with Muslims, other non-Christians, and non-Latin Christians.

The subject of Europe's medieval expansion and its place in the world has captured the attention of many scholars. In its examination of John XXII's attempt to police and discipline Latin Christian communities in Asia, the project modifies Robert Bartlett's model of "internal colonization."⁷ Bartlett argues that Latin Christendom, unlike modern nations, did not create "colonies" based on a dependent relationship with the dominant core. Instead, Bartlett argues, the "colonists" of Latin Christendom sought to create cells of the units that they had formed in their own homelands.⁸ Bartlett contends that, in some ways, core-periphery dynamics describe the expansion of Latin Christendom. He suggests that outward movement of people and power from the "core" of Europe, particularly France, England, Italy, and Germany, was not balanced by equal movement from the peoples of the regions into which they expanded.⁹ However, Bartlett continues, "core-periphery" implies a "long-term functional subordination of the periphery to the core." The lack of this subordination, Bartlett argues, was due to Latin Christian colonialism being a process of replication of its

⁷ Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change 950-1350* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). See also *Internal Colonization in Medieval Europe* eds. Felipe Fernández-Armesto and James Muldoon (Burlington: Ashgate Variorum, 2008).

⁸ *Ibid.*, 306.

⁹ Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, 306-7.

communities at its frontiers rather than a process of differentiation.¹⁰ Bartlett attributes these dynamics to various consortia, particularly the knightly-clerical-mercantile consortium and the papacy, and not the central direction of monarchies. The varied interests of these consortia produced autonomous communities (or colonies) that did not adhere necessarily to the central directives of the rulers of the territories from which the colonists came. What gave these communities a cohesive tie to the Latin Christian “core,” Bartlett suggests, was “international forms or blueprints,” such as the chartered town, the university, and the international religious order, because of these forms’ adaptability in frontier situations.¹¹ These blueprints, then, formed politically autonomous societies that adhered to general cultural forms. These forms produced a Europe that had cultural commonalities and provided cultural cohesion. Europe, then, Bartlett concludes, was the product of colonization and cultural transformation, which, in turn, provided a further blueprint for the colonization of the New World beginning in the late fifteenth century.¹²

This dissertation builds upon Bartlett’s analysis first by extending these concepts to wider geographical space, namely one that incorporates the lands in Asia in which Latin missionaries worked. In the large distance between Europe and Asia, as the project demonstrates, the blueprints for which Bartlett argues break down.¹³ The missionaries and merchants who lived and worked in Asia often had differing conceptions of their

¹⁰ Ibid., 307.

¹¹ Ibid., 309-310.

¹² Ibid., 313-14.

¹³ Bartlett recognizes the limits of these blueprints to some extent. He notes that resistance from “more clearly recognizable colonial cultures” such as Islam and paganism complicated Latin Christendom’s efforts to expand. In the eastern European kingdoms, the rulers of those kingdoms converted to Christianity in order to maintain political autonomy, while Muslim leaders continued to keep their authority in separate but protected communities. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, 296-97.

relationship(s) to the expanded global order. While John XXII assigned missionaries to take positions in the newly formed Latin hierarchy in Asia, some of those same friars resigned their posts in order to return to the mendicant lifestyle they previously led. Merchants, whose livelihoods depended on the continuing trade with the peoples of Asia, attempted to negotiate around papal restrictions on trade and reconcile their economic dealings with their religious sensibilities. Finally, some missionaries, particularly the Franciscan friars, understood mission as an opportunity to confront non-Christians in such a way that it might lead to their martyrdom. Combined together, these differing Latin Christian visions for Asia demonstrate that several of these “blueprints” existed and therefore generated internal conflict. Furthermore, Latin Christians’ visions of world order differed from the rulers of the lands they sought to Christianize. This added further complications to the popes’ and missionaries’ pastoral missions and required considerable compromise.

Extending the geographic range of the argument, moreover, will allow for the suggestion that meanings embedded in conceptions of “Latin Christian” identity formed in a global context in the later Middle Ages. The papacy and the papal curia had to respond to problems and concerns far outside Christendom’s traditional borders. Read in this way, the concept of “mission” in the Late Middle Ages becomes less a process of external conversion and more a process of reflexive reevaluation. The Latin missions of the fourteenth century did not only form an encounter with the “other.” Instead, travelers and missionaries encountered the Latin Christian self. Latin Christian missionaries who operated in Asia often had to clarify their doctrinal positions to the non-Latin Christians and non-Christians they encountered abroad. Moreover, the process of organizing the world in terms of its relationship to Latin Christianity necessitated further definition of what it meant to be a

“good” or “faithful” Latin Christian. As the writers described the world of the fourteenth century, they continued to blame the failures of the both the crusade and missionary project on “false Christians” who undermined the process through their non-Christian actions. The story of the fourteenth century Asian mission, then, becomes less about the attempt to convert Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, and non-Latin Christians, and more about the clarification of Latin Christian doctrine and religious practice at its frontiers.

When he completed his treatise in 1330, the author of the *Directorium* wrote what many in Latin Christendom already knew. The horizons of the known world had been stretching long before this particular Dominican wrote his plan for a crusade. The Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century brought with them new, nearly instantaneous knowledge of the world beyond Europe. As a consequence of those invasions, Dominican and Franciscan missionaries began to travel to the courts of the Khans, most famously John of Plano Carpini in 1245 and William of Rubruck in 1253.¹⁴ In these places, the missionaries not only encountered non-Christians but also Christians of different rites, particularly Nestorian Christians. Following the friars’ first journeys to the Mongol courts, several attempts were made to found permanent ecclesiastical structures and hierarchies in Asia, perhaps most notably John of Monte Corvino’s establishment of an archdiocese in Khanbaliq in China in 1307. The papacy, from the pontificate of Innocent IV (r. 1243-1254) onward, attempted to create political and military alliances with the Mongol Khans; secular rulers of

¹⁴ The scholarly work done on John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck is vast. English translations of their reports back to Europe exist in several volumes. John of Plano Carpini, “History of the Mongols” trans. Christopher Dawson in Christopher Dawson, *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1955). William of Rubruck “Report to King Louis IX of France,” trans. Peter Jackson in Peter Jackson, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2009). For a general survey of the historiography of both Plano Carpini and Rubruck, see Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221-1410* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005) 8-31; 256-89.

Europe, including Edward I of England and Philip IV of France, did the same.¹⁵ In addition, merchants, particularly from the Italian city-states of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, discovered new trade routes and founded new trade colonies throughout Asia.¹⁶ These new trading relationships came under the scrutiny of the papacy as well, in large part due to the fact that Italian merchants engaged in trade with Muslims, particularly the Egyptian Mamluks and their allies, the Mongols in the Black Sea region. The Latin Church had prohibited such trade since the Third Lateran Council in 1179; with the advent of new trading partnerships, the Church had even more to police.

Jacques Duèse, a French cardinal and canon lawyer, inherited this world when the College of Cardinals elected him pope in 1316. Taking the name John XXII, the newly elected pontiff came to his throne with a wealth of ecclesiastical experience. Jacques, already seventy-two years old when he became pope, held a degree in civil and canon law from Montpellier; he later studied theology briefly at the University of Paris. Following his education, Jacques held a professorship of canon law at the University of Toulouse. Jacques entered the clerical life somewhat later in his life; at age fifty-six he became the bishop of Fréjus in 1300. Ten years later Pope Clement V, who had in 1309 moved the seat of the

¹⁵ For a collection of translated letters pertinent to the European-Mongol diplomatic relationships, see Christopher Dawson, *The Mongol Mission*. Scholars have been fascinated with these relationships. For good introductions to the topic, see A.C. Moule, *Christians in China before the Year 1550* (New York: The Macmillan Co, 1930) 166-215. See also Jean Richard, *La Papauté et Les Missions d'Orient Au Moyen Âge*, 2nd ed. (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1998) 169-225. Richard originally published this volume in 1977. In addition, see Igor Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971), 160-178; R. Loenertz, *La société des frères pèrègrinants: étude sur L'Orient Dominicain* (Rome: S. Sabinae, 1937), 139; and Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221-1410*, 165-95.

¹⁶ On “foreign” trade, See Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); Wilhelm Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Âge*, trans. Furcy Raynaud, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1885-86); Robert Lopez, “European Merchants in the Medieval Indies: The Evidence of Commerical Documents,” *The Journal of Economic History* 3:2 (Nov. 1943), 164-84; A.R. Lewis, “Les Marchands dans l’océan Indien,” *Revue d’Histoire Économique et Sociale* 56 (1976), 441-75, Luciano Petech, “Les Marchands Italiens dans l’empire Mongol” *Journal Asiatique* 250 (1962), 549-74; David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

papacy from Rome to the borders of the kingdom of France, called on Jacques to join him in Avignon as the city's bishop. While in this position, Jacques played a critical role at the Council of Vienne 1312, after having visited King Philip IV of France in order to broker a compromise with the monarch regarding the king's desire to crush the Templar order. In the same year, Clement V elevated Jacques to cardinal of San Vitale; a year later Jacques became cardinal-bishop of Porto, a position he held until his cardinal peers elected him pope in 1316. His unanimous election was hard won; the cardinals finally reach consensus despite initial objections from Italian cardinals who wished to return the papacy to Rome.¹⁷ The papacy had sat vacant for two years when Jacques became John XXII in 1316.

John XXII enjoyed a long and active papacy. John published the proceedings of the Council of Vienne along with his predecessor Clement V's decretals in a collection called the *Clementines* in 1317. John made significant additions to the body of canon law, contributing two books of *extravagantes* that set the precedent for ecclesiastical law. John was a fastidious administrator, even a micromanager. He centralized papal authority in Avignon, and attempted to maximize the efficiency of the papal curia. John revised papal benefices and taxes, making the papacy more financially stable and increasing its political reach.¹⁸ He also pursued crusading with vigor, though his efforts did not lead to a general crusade, in part due to the inability to come to terms with one of the European kings to lead the expedition.¹⁹

¹⁷ John E Weakland, "John XXII before his Pontificate, 1244-1316: Jacques Duèse and his Family" *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 10 (1972): 161-85. Weakland notes that the famous Italian poet Dante wrote a strongly worded letter to the college of cardinals, urging the men, particularly the Italian cardinals, to return the papacy to Rome.

¹⁸ John E. Weakland, "Administrative and Fiscal Centralization Under Pope John XXII, 1316-1334, Part 1" *Catholic Historical Review* 54 (1968) 39-54 and John E. Weakland, "Administrative and Fiscal Centralization Under Pope John XXII, 1316-1334, Part 2" *Catholic Historical Review* 54 (1968) 285-310.

¹⁹ Norman Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, 1305-1378* (Oxford: Calrendon Press, 1986) 17-28, 59, 78, 83, 108-10, 114, 128, 131, 137, 169-70, 178082, 185, 191, 233-4, 242, 295.

John's papacy was also one filled with controversy. John took an active role in reforming the Franciscan Order, particularly the so-called "Spiritual" faction. In the process of his fight with this faction of the Friars Minor, John, at a general chapter in 1322 prompted by the order's Minister General, Michael of Cesena, declared that Christ and his Apostles owned no personal property, renewing the controversy about the poverty of Christ that had been settled by John's predecessor Nicholas III.²⁰ The fight had lasting consequences for John. Michael of Cesena left the order and fled to the court of Louis IV of Bavaria along with William of Occam. Louis IV himself had already declared John to be a heretic, perhaps eager to do so because the German monarch and the pope already had an inimical relationship from previous political dealings. Later, Louis IV gave refuge to the Spiritual wing of the Franciscan order, and even had one of them, Pietro Rainalducci, elected and installed as Pope Nicholas V. Late in his papacy, John also stoked controversy when he declared, against prevailing orthodoxy, that the souls of saints would have to wait until the final judgment to see the full vision of God, in what is known as the Beatific Vision controversy.²¹ John's opponents, including William of Occam and Louis IV of Bavaria, seized on this opportunity

²⁰ John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order From Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968). See also David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century After Saint Francis* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); David Burr, "John XXII and the Spirituals: Is Angelo Clareno Telling the Truth?" *Franciscan Studies* 63:1 (2005): 271-287; and Patrick Nold, "Pope John XXII's Annotations on the Franciscan Rule: Content and Contexts," *Franciscan Studies* 65:1 (2007): 295-324.

²¹ John E. Weakland, "Pope John XXII and the Beatific Vision Controversy" *Annuaire Mediavale* 9 (1968) 76-84; Marc Dykmans, "Fragments du Traité de Jean XXII sur la vision béatifique" *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 37:2 (1970) 232-53. Marc Dykmans, "Nouveaux textes de Jean XXII sur la vision béatifique" *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 66:2 (1971) 401-17. Christian Trottmann, "Vision béatifique et intuition d'un objet absent: des sources franciscaines du nominalisme aux défenseurs scotistes de l'opinion de Jean XXII sur la vision différée" *Studi medievali* ser. 3, 34:2 (1994) 653-715. Christian Trottmann, "Apports à la réflexion sur les fins dernières lors de la controverse de la vision béatifique déclenché par Jean XXII" in *Ende und Vollendung: Eschatologische Perspektiven im Mittelalter* ed. Jan A. Aertsen and Martin Pickavé (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002) 687-704; Isabel Iribarren, "Theological Authority at the Papal Court in Avignon: The Beatific Vision Controversy" in *La vie culturelle, intellectuelle et scientifique à la cours des papes d'Avignon*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006) 277-301.

to condemn the pontiff once again. The University of Paris joined in this condemnation, as did a general council called by Cardinal Napoleone Orsini in 1333. John recanted this position on his deathbed.

While these achievements and controversies shaped John's papacy, this dissertation focuses on another aspect of John's reign, namely his interactions with Christians and non-Christians outside of Europe. It also argues that John's vision of how best to situate the Latin Church in the world of the fourteenth century conflicted with other Latin Christian visions for a solution to the same problem. In engaging with the world outside of Europe in these ways, John developed much of his foreign policy strategies on his predecessors' practices.²² As a trained canon lawyer well versed in the ways in which the papacy engaged with non-Christians and Christians of other rites, John had an extensive knowledge with which to work. Indeed, many actions that John took in regards to Asia have at the very least a strong echo of his predecessors' decisions, whether creating an archdiocese, sending missionaries to the courts of the Mongol Khans, or reinforcing the prohibitions on trade with Muslims. While John's actions in some ways mirrored the popes who came before him, he issued orders that appear to be innovative and adapted to the particular political context of his papacy and his flock. In this regard, John took an especially active role. The pontiff engaged in direct diplomacy with the Mongol Khans to secure safety for Latin Christians in their lands and to secure a military alliance with them in the hopes of recapturing Jerusalem. John commissioned missionaries to Asia, granting them extraordinary privileges in order to bring about more conversions to the Latin rite or to bring those Latin Christians who had gone astray back into his flock. He also imposed and reinforced restrictions on trade between Latin

²² James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979). See also James Muldoon, "The Avignon Papacy and the Frontiers of Christendom: The Evidence of Vatican Register 62" *Archivium Historiae Pontificiae* 17 (1979): 125-95.

Christians and Muslims. Finally, John created new ecclesiastical structures and promoted missionaries into the Latin hierarchy in order to enforce Latin Christian orthodoxy throughout Asia, even creating a new archdiocese in Persia and defining particular spaces of missionary authority across the continent.

John's voice, however, was not the only one contributing to the discourse surrounding mission, crusade, and diplomacy with the people of Asia. Latin Christians confronted Asia as a space that challenged their worldviews and required new and creative definitions of the boundaries between heresy and orthodoxy, believers and non-believers, between "proper" and "deviant" Christians. Travel writers wrote of their encounters with non-Christians and non-Latin Christians. Some of the same men, as well as other learned Christians, proposed crusading actions in elaborate treatises that explained the reasons for undertaking a crusade and how it might be done successfully.²³ For merchants, Asia presented new avenues for trade and profit, despite the demands of the papacy to refrain from trade with its enemies.²⁴ Some missionaries, particularly Franciscan friars, saw Asia as a place to reenact the drama of the ancient Church and to seek out martyrdom. Other missionaries whom the papacy had deputized to be its representatives of the Latin hierarchy in Asia felt uncomfortable in their new positions and left them to continue to pursue missionary work across the continent. Still

²³ Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 29-154. See also A.J. Forey, "The Military Orders in the Crusading Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries" *Traditio* 36 (1980) 317-45; Christopher Tyerman, "Marino Sanudo Torsello and the Lost Crusade: Lobbying in the Fourteenth Century," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 32 (1982), 57-73. See also Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274-1314* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) 140-239; Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000)

²⁴ Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 3-63; David Abulafia, "Asia, Africa and the Trade of Medieval Europe" in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe: From the Decline of the Roman Empire* vol. 2, 2nd ed., ed. M. M. Postan and E. Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 402-73; and Stefan Stantchev, *Spiritual Rationality: Papal Embargo as Cultural Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

others, particularly those who had run afoul of John XXII's rigid focus on orthodoxy, used particular locales in Asia, especially Armenia, as a refuge to practice their own version of Latin orthodoxy and to denounce the actions of the pope back in Avignon.

In reimagining the earlier fourteenth-century Christian world, the dissertation employs a wide range of sources that speak to the variety of ways that Latin Christians attempted to incorporate Asia into their worldview and to provide strict discipline for the Latin Christians living outside of Europe. Several genres of source material do this work. The letters of popes, particularly John XXII, to the missionaries operating abroad and their instructions to members of the Latin hierarchy and to other Christians living abroad demonstrate how the papacy thought that the world should be ordered. They also highlight the challenges that the world presented to them. The popes, however, did not perform this work on their own. Many of their ideas about Asia and the people, Latin Christians or otherwise, living in it came from the writings of missionaries who traveled outside of Europe and recorded their journeys upon their return. These writings themselves demonstrate an attempt to order the new parts of the world and to incorporate them into Latin Christendom. At times, as this dissertation demonstrates, the ways in which the travel writers conceived of the world and how best to engage with it clashed with the papacy's own conceptions. The same tension appears in the letters that missionaries wrote directly to the papacy. These letters not only reflect the concerns of pastors shepherding their newly established flocks abroad, they also suggest concern about how Latin Christians might best interact with their various "Others," whether non-Latin Christian or non-Christian. Finally, the dissertation engages with a collection of crusade proposals written in the early fourteenth century. These treatises are perhaps the most direct evidence of the ways in which Latin Christians

attempted to reconcile the newly expanded globe into their worldview. These treatises contain explanations and catalogues of the beliefs and practices of non-Christians and non-Latin Christians living outside of Europe; they demonstrate a sophisticated knowledge of the economic, diplomatic, and political situations of the world they sought to rationalize; and they have a clear idea of what their authors thought was the best way to enforce Latin Christian discipline on that world.

The study combines these sources together in order to build a more complete picture of the earlier fourteenth-century Latin Christian world. In doing so, the project attempts to avoid any positivistic interpretations of the sources that implicitly celebrates European expansion and anticipates the “discoveries” and colonization projects of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Instead, the project investigates and analyzes the ways in which Latin Christians constructed the known world and “orthodox spaces” within it. By “orthodox spaces,” the dissertation means communities of Latin Christians and Latin Christian converts who remained faithful to Latin Christian doctrine and practice that mirrored their equivalent communities in Europe. The dissertation reads these sources as a means to reconstruct the discourses of orthodoxy surrounding Christian spaces in non-Christian lands. As suggested above, while John XXII clearly had his own program for policing and enforcing Latin orthodoxy in these new spaces, his definition of orthodoxy competed with other visions for how Latin Christians might best practice their Christianity there. The tensions between these visions of Latin Christian life in Asia inform the argument in each of the dissertation’s chapters, whether discussing crusading, missionary work, or trade by providing a framework for how Latin Christians reformulated their identities as they reconciled their faith in a global context.

In the course of its investigation, the dissertation addresses several problematic established historiographical narratives. The first narrative casts “Latin Christendom” or “Western Christendom” as a monolithic structure during the central-to-late Middle Ages that survived intact until the time of Martin Luther and the Protestant Reformation.²⁵ European Christianity has never enjoyed even a small period of political or theological unity, and during the European Middle Ages religion constantly revisited and revised its identity in the face of internal and external challenges.²⁶ During the central-to-late Middle Ages, these “problems” persisted: New religious orders and movements formed and some, after mainstream Christianity denounced them, fell apart; the role of the papacy in the “secular world” changed; and the Roman Church began to shift its worldview in context with an expanded conception of the physical geography of the world itself, a world populated by non-Christians and non-Latin Christians alike. The encounter with Christianities that did not adhere to the Latin rite and non-Christians complicates the notion of any sort of unity within Western Christendom. Both dissenters within Roman Church appeared among these non-Latin peoples and arguments about how the pope and his curia ought best to evangelize them while protecting their own flock from heterodoxy arose.

Scholarly evaluations of missionaries have also considered the mission to Asia in a positivistic manner that creates more historiographical problems than it solves. Scholars have

²⁵ M. L’Abbé Huc, *Christianity in China, Tartary, and Thibet*, vol. 1, *From the Apostleship of St. Thomas to the Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1857). Christopher Dawson, *The Formation of Christendom* (New York: Ignatius Press, 2008); Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). J.R.S. Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998). Felicitas Schmeider, “*Cum hora undecima: The Incorporation of Asia into the orbis Christianus*,” in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, eds. Guyda Armstrong and Ian Wood (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).

²⁶ Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000*, 2nd ed. (Madlen: Blackwell Publishers, 2003). John Van Engen, “The Christian Middle Ages as a Historiographical Problem,” *The American Historical Review* 91:3 (June, 1993), 519-52.

tended to evaluate mission on the criteria of success and failure.²⁷ Such analysis assumes a relative coherence or connection in missionary activities without due attention to the temporal and physical space in which the friars operated. Both Franciscan and Dominican friars operated in these lands and both conceived of how to pursue their tasks and the meaning invested in their work differently. Therefore, evaluating their “results” along the lines of “success” and “failure,” especially in any comparative sense, neglects the specific missionary programs of the order in order to make overly generalized claims about the expansion of Latin Christendom. Such an evaluation of medieval mission also lends itself to a direct comparison between it and early modern colonialism, leaving the former always in a position to anticipate the latter. Placing medieval mission in this teleological progression distracts and detracts from the complex set of political and religious discourses inherent in the so-called missionizing project. It also leaves the Middle Ages in a constant primitive state populated by agents who just were not modern enough to achieve the sort of success Europeans found in colonizing in the early modern era. Some vestiges of medieval thought and practice permeated the “modern” barrier, but an effective evaluation of medieval mission can only proceed once modern expectations of success and failure become detached from the central narrative.

Examining Church-led foreign policy and global pastoral care in the fourteenth century consequently revises, to some degree, historiographical assumptions about not only the “medieval” century most associated with the word “crisis” and the place of the Church within that temporal space, but also about the nature of crusading, mission, and pastoral care

²⁷ Igor de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971); Dawson, *Mongol Mission*; and Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*.

in relation to the expanded world of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.²⁸ In the past, for example, some scholars have criticized the Church, especially the papacy, and its attempts to “manage” international affairs, particularly when it came to matters of trade and finance. They argued that the laity began siding more often with secular rulers than it did with its spiritual overseers.²⁹ Moreover, scholars have suggested that divided forces within the Church led to the calamitous collapse of Church power in the early fourteenth century under Pope Boniface VIII, a final victory for the secular state after centuries of continued discord between secular and ecclesiastical powers.³⁰

The dissertation’s argument unfolds over the course of four chapters, organized thematically in order to put several genres of sources into dialogue. Chapter one discusses how Latin Christians reevaluated their position in the world following the collapse of the city of Acre in 1291. The chapter explores the ways in which Latin Christian travel writers and the authors of crusade treatises organized the world based on its relationship to Latin Christianity. It discusses the writers’ opinions concerning the failure of Latin Christians to

²⁸ For a survey of the historiographical issue, see Guy Bois, “Discussion: On the Crisis of the Late Middle Ages,” *The Medieval History Journal* 1:2 (1998), 311-21. See also “The Crisis of the Late Middle Ages: The Case of France,” *French History* 9:4 (1995), 417-50. For the effects of the ‘crisis’ on merchants of the fourteenth century, see Benjamin Z Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis: Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth-Century Depression* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976). While that historiographical convention is more associated with economics, climate, biology, epidemiology, and demographics, the same concerns infiltrate discussions of the Church leadership and especially emphasize the Avignon Papacy and the later “Great Schism” that lead to the rise of the Conciliar movement.

²⁹ A.C. Krey “The International State of the Middle Ages: Some Reasons for its Failure,” *The American Historical Review* 28:1 (1922), 9. More recently, a pair of scholars has argued that the Medieval Latin Church functioned somewhat like the modern United Nations. Robert John Araugo and John A. Lucal “A Forerunner for International Organizations: The Holy See and the Community of Christendom: With Special Emphasis on the Medieval Papacy,” *Journal of Law and Religion* 20:2, (2004-2005), 305-50. The word “international” is troublesome for the medieval context, since the word presumes that there is contact and relations between nation-states, which did not exist in the Middle Ages. For the purposes of this essay, the word “international” refers to the varying religious creeds and secular allegiances of Europe and Asia.

³⁰ Krey, “The International State of the Middle Ages,” 11.

adhere to Latin orthodoxy that invited God's wrath. It also explores the authors' attempts to categorize groups of non-Latin Christians and non-Christians in Asia in order to fit them into the writers' own worldviews and understanding of global history. The chapter also sets out some of the attempts of John XXII's predecessors to react to this influx of new information and to reconcile it with their own pastoral agendas for the world outside of Europe.

Chapter two focuses more squarely on the papacy of John XXII and on the Dominican order in particular. John maintained a comfortable relationship with the Brothers Preacher in a way that he did not with the Franciscan order. John commissioned several Dominicans, including Francis of Perugia, William of Adam, and Jordan of Catalonia to be his representatives in the Latin hierarchy in Persia and India. In 1318, John raised the city of Sultāniyya in Persia to the region's first archiepiscopal see and named Francis as the first archbishop. The chapter explores the founding of this archdiocese and investigates how tensions arose between John's disciplinary programs for the new see and the Dominicans' desire to continue their missionary work in the region. It also explores the dynamics of how John tried to deputize and make administrators out of missionaries who, up until John named them to the hierarchy, had little to no experience in church administration. A separate section examines the ways in which John employed the Dominicans in Persia and West Asia in general to act as ambassadors to the Armenian Church, whom the pope had hoped would submit to the authority of Rome and join his flock. Finally, the chapter considers John's establishment of smaller episcopal sees in India and the Black Sea region and his attempt to maintain the archdiocese at Khanbaliq in China.

Chapter three turns away from Church institutions and examines Latin Christians who lived on the frontier in Asia. The chapter argues that Latin Christians living in Asia

challenged, revised, and undermined the papacy's plans for the creation of orthodox communities in non-Latin Christian spaces. It opens with a survey of the privileges that John XXII granted to missionaries. John meant these special ecclesiastical powers and symbols of authority to reunite wayward Latin Christians with Latin orthodoxy. Following the discussion of missionary powers, chapter three argues that conflicts between John and the Friars Minor produced fights over Latin orthodoxy that shaped the practice of Latin Christianity in Asia. Unlike his relationship with the Dominicans, John often came into conflict with the Franciscan order, which had its own missionary agenda or sought to undermine John's apostolic authority. Heterodox Latin Christians used Asia as a space in which they could criticize John directly, especially his assertions about the Poverty of Christ, an issue that shaped the general disagreement between John and the Franciscan Order. Finally, other Franciscans imagined Asia as a space in which they could realize their individual spiritual goals. This final section considers two stories of Franciscan martyrs in Asia and how each demonstrated the specific ways in which these Franciscans imagined and transformed non-Christian spaces into places that they could express their spirituality. The section also compares how these Franciscan martyrs' goals seemed to contradict John's own diplomatic mission to the Mongol khans, in whose lands the Franciscans operated.

The final chapter turns away from the mendicant orders and focuses on how crusade theorists attempted to regulate trade between Latin Christians and Muslims. This chapter focuses squarely on the crusade proposals of the early fourteenth century and John's attempt to put some of those ideas into action, arguing that the prohibition of trade became a primary focus of crusading efforts during this period as a way to reconcile the newly expanded world with Latin morality. In doing so, it looks particularly at the relationships that the crusade

treatises discuss, particularly between Italian merchants and the Egyptian Mamluks. Indeed, the papacy attempted to enforce “orthodox trade,” in that it attempted to regulate trading and commercial practices in a way that would both align with its religious morality and further its foreign policy strategies. Chapter four also considers the role that Christian slavery played in the formation of ideas about the prohibition of trade and the prevention of Latin Christians from becoming enemies through the slave trade. The chapter also makes the case that the prohibitions against trading with particular Muslims was a critical component of the papacy’s diplomatic outreach to the Persian Il-Khans, whom the Latin Church desperately desired as military allies. Finally, the chapter explores John’s own efforts to combat this illicit trade, including a fight with the city of Venice and his efforts to curb the advances of the Turks in Asia.

Overall, the study recasts the fourteenth-century Asian missions as a reflexive process that highlights internal struggles over Latin Christian orthodoxy at its farthest frontiers. It also suggests that the missionary project, at least from the view of John XXII, was the papacy’s attempt to reorder a world that had expanded in the previous century. This new order meant establishing new offices of the Latin Christian hierarchy abroad, policing the orthodoxy of Latin Christians whether in terms of their specific religious practices or their relationships to the non-Christian world, and disciplining Christians who lived outside of Europe. Therefore, the study argues that “mission” needs to be read beyond the individual friars who traveled to new lands and sought to evangelize the populations there. Instead, mission needs to be understood as a process that synthesized the individual efforts of missionaries with the actions of the papacy to reinforce that orthodoxy abroad. Finally, at its conclusion, the dissertation suggests paths to connect the missionary project with the

emerging scholarly discourse of medieval postcolonial studies, a theoretical framework that has captured the attention of many recent scholars of medieval history.

CHAPTER 1: REEVALUATING GLOBAL CHRISTENDOM

On 18 May 1291, the Mamluk sultan Khalil al-Ashraf captured Acre, the last major Christian-controlled city in west Asia, after a siege of forty-four days. According to the so-called “Templar of Tyre,” whose account comprises what historians believe to be the only chronicle to contain an eyewitness account of the fall of the city, the sultan’s forces flooded into the city after destroying the Acre’s defensive towers.³¹ Once the Mamluks had stormed the city, they put the Christians living within its walls to flight. According to the Templar, women fled through the streets with their children in their arms, only to find themselves detained by the Mamluk soldiers and separated from their children. In one instance, even, two soldiers killed a woman while arguing over her.³² Christians fortunate enough to evade the invaders ran to the various houses of the Military Orders, but particularly the Templar house, where they waited for boats to take them away from the violence to safety in Cyprus.³³

This chapter argues that the fall of Acre and the continued encounter with “others” in Asia, caused the Latin Church to reevaluate its position in the world and to assess the world outside of Christendom as a space in need of Latin Christian discipline, rescue, and renovation. The loss of the city turned the eyes of crusade theorists, historians, and

³¹ On the “eyewitness,” see Paul Crawford, *The Templar of Tyre: Part III of the ‘Deeds of the Cypriots’* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003) 1.

³² *Templar of Tyre*, p. 113.

³³ *Ibid.*, 115.

missionaries back towards Latin Christendom itself and enabled them to critique the spiritual failings of their coreligionists. Furthermore, the chapter posits that this reevaluation of the Latin Church's position on the global stage led to the creation of a systematic organization of the various sorts of Christian "others" living in Asia and to the development of specific plans to right the wrongs of Latin Christians living outside of Europe. Finally, the chapter explores the further development of papal foreign policy strategies that the papacy considered over the course of the thirteenth century and perhaps best expressed at the Second Council of Lyon in 1274. Such strategies included the proposals to block trade with the Egyptian Mamluks, attempts to secure an alliance with various Mongol Khans, but the Persian Il-Khans in particular, the granting of additional powers to missionaries who traveled outside of the normative boundaries of Christendom, and the founding of ecclesiastical structures in non-Latin lands. The analysis of these policies suggests that the papacy, while still concerned with crusading efforts, directed its attention to the pastoral care of Latin Christians living outside of Europe rather than just the recapture of the city of Jerusalem.

Modern historians have used the fall of Acre as an axis point of analysis for a wide range of arguments concerning the consequences that the collapse of the city and the Holy Land had for the crusading movement in general. Indeed, nineteenth-century historians such as J.F. Michaud declared that 1291 brought an effective end to the crusading movement altogether.³⁴ Aziz Atiya, whose *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* was once the standard work on the subject of the late medieval crusades, argued quite plainly that the Mamluk capture of Acre formed the appropriate terminus point for a chapter in the history of

³⁴ J.F. Michaud, *Histoire des croisades* iii (Paris, 1824-29). 341 ff. See Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) 2. See also Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades vol. 3: The Kingdom of Acre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954) 412-23.

crusading and the beginning of new forms of crusading that decentered Jerusalem as the immediate objective, even if the recapture of the holy city remained the ultimate goal.³⁵ Atiya characterized this new era of crusading by the proliferation of crusade treatises he terms propaganda written by a collection of crusade eccentrics, which, to his mind, stoked the fire for a new age of actual crusades beginning in the mid-to-late fourteenth century.³⁶ More recent historians have been more charitable towards the authors of the recovery treatises. Norman Housley's *The Later Crusades* likewise positions 1291 as a transition point, but instead argues that the theorists' proposals are less eccentric and more an embodiment of the "literature expressing, in refined and thoughtful terms, the firm aspirations of many contemporaries."³⁷ As an alternative to 1291, Housley argues that historians should consider 1274 and the Second Council of Lyon the proper point at which the crusading movement irrevocably changed. For Housley, Lyon II "constituted the last attempt by a thirteenth-century pope to launch a crusade which was recognizably cast in the mould of Innocent III's conception of crusading as an expression of papal supremacy in temporal matters."³⁸ Perhaps even more fundamentally, the crusade changed from being an operation solely directed towards a singled-minded, large-scale attempt to recapture Jerusalem to a series of smaller

³⁵ Aziz Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 29. See also A.J. Forey, "The Military Orders in the Crusading Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries" 317-45; Christopher Tyerman, "Marino Sanudo Torsello and the Lost Crusade: Lobbying in the Fourteenth Century," 57-73. Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, 140-239; Antony Leopold, *How to Recovery the Holy Land*.

³⁶ Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 281.

³⁷ Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 23.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

operations, *passagia particulares*, that would lead to the larger, more traditional conception of the crusade, the *passagium generale*.³⁹

Still other historians are quite skeptical of treating 1291 as the *terminus* of the “classical crusading” movement. Perhaps the most forceful proponent of this argument is Sylvia Schein, whose *Fidelis Crucis* dispenses with any notion of treating the fall of Acre as the point at which crusading policy underwent a massive change. Indeed, Schein argues that any dichotomy between the crusades of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and those of the later Middle Ages is “an imaginary and artificial construction created by historians who never looked back to the crusade planning of the late thirteenth century.”⁴⁰ A proof against the decrease in crusading enthusiasm, she continues, comes from gauging (at least as far as an historian can tell) public opinion about crusading in years prior to the fall of Acre and its immediate aftermath. From the study of public opinion through examining crusading treatises, chronicles, and the decrees of Church councils, particularly Lyon II in 1274 and Vienne in 1311, Schein concludes that the loss of the Holy Land was a “catalyst, a crystalizing of attitudes and policies which were already current.”⁴¹ Like Housley, however, Schein argues that the increase in enthusiasm for crusading did not produce any tangible results.⁴² Rather than the recapture of Jerusalem, crusading efforts focused on other projects, whether the papacy’s attempt to recapture its fief of Sicily from the kings of Aragon after the

³⁹ Ibid., 13.

⁴⁰ Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, 10.

⁴¹ Ibid., 10. See also Anthony Luttrell, “The Crusade in the Fourteenth Century,” in *Europe in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1965), 126-7 and Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy, 1244-1291: The Chief Instruments of Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land From the Final Loss of Jerusalem to the Fall of Acre* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 6.

⁴² Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, 267-8; Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 23-6.

Sicilian Vespers or smaller *passagium particuare* efforts that became the *modus operandi* of all crusading efforts post-1300.⁴³

While the fall of Acre did not, apparently, send a shockwave through Europe and was instead long expected, news of the demise of the crusader city generated several written reactions that captured the general feelings of Christian observers back in Europe.⁴⁴ These accounts range from eyewitness accounts of the siege of Acre itself, like the Templar of Tyre mentioned above, to explanations for why the city fell, to excoriating commentaries about Christians in the Holy Land, and to struggling with religious doubt in the face of what thirteenth and fourteenth century European Christians considered a tragedy. The fault lines and fissures contained within these sources provide an opportunity to assess and examine the various “foreign issues” that confronted the papacy in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries. Indeed, the various explanations for the fall of the city of Acre parallel steps taken by the popes, whether to advance ideas about how to conduct crusading, to provide support to missionaries who travelled outside of Europe, or to police the actions of Christians who had exchanges, commercial or otherwise, with non-Latin Christians and non-Christians alike.

The chapter begins with an analysis of three accounts of the fall of Acre and the ways in which the authors explain the loss of the city and lay blame at the feet of the Christians for their moral failures. The “Templar of Tyre,” Thadeo of Naples’ “The History of the Desolation and Conclusion of the City of Acre and the entire Holy Land” (*Hystoria de*

⁴³ For an account and analysis of the Sicilian Vespers, see Norman Housley, *The Italian Crusades: The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades against Christian Lay Powers, 1254-1343* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982) 20-23. See also Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

⁴⁴ Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 22. Housley suggests that the fall of Tripoli in 1289 sent a larger shockwave through Europe than did the fall of Acre. See *Ibid.*, 16.

desolation et conculcatione civitatis acconesis et tocivs terre sancte) and the anonymous “The Destruction of Acre” (*Excidium aconis*) all suggest that Christians had brought the destruction of the Holy Land on themselves, even if each author finds his own segment of Christendom to blame. The chapter also considers the letters of Dominican friar Riccoldo de Monte Croce, who composed five letters in the aftermath of the siege of Acre that express similar attitudes to the Templar, Thadeo, and the writer of the *Excidium* while also demonstrating Riccoldo’s wrestling with a crisis of faith. The chapter then turns to an examination of the various means by which the popes of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries addressed the concerns and take seriously the advice of the authors of crusade treatises in the immediate antecedent of John XXII’s papacy.⁴⁵

The Fault of Latin Christians in the Fall of Acre

If the written responses to the collapse of Acre are any indication, Christian commentators like the “Templar of Tyre,” Thadeo of Naples, and the author of the *Excidii Aconis* laid the blame for the catastrophe at the feet of their coreligionists. For each of them, the moral failings of Christians brought about the collapse of the Christian presence in the Holy Land, whether by direct or indirect action. All agreed that the Latin Christians’ breaking of a ten-year long truce, which allowed Muslims to enter the city and to sell goods, prompted the attack. According to the Templar of Tyre, Pope Nicholas IV sent twenty

⁴⁵ “*Excidii Aconis Gestorum Collectio*” in *The Fall of Acre 1291*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 202 (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2004); Thadeo of Naples “*Ystoria de desolatione et conculcatione civitatis acconesnsis et tocivs terre sancte*,” in *The Fall of Acre 1291*, ed. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 202 (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2004); Riccoldo of Montecroce, “Five Letters on the Fall of Acre (1291),” trans. Rita George-Tvrtkovic in Rita George-Tvrtkovic, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq: Riccoldo Da Montecroce’s Encounter with Islam* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).

galleys to Acre in the wake of the loss of the city of Tripoli in 1289. The galleys brought with them a collection of Europeans of all classes, it seems, including the son of the doge of Venice, a knight, a great landholder, and scores of common people. All had taken the cross.⁴⁶ When the new arrivals saw the state of the city and became offended by the Muslims doing business within the city walls, they reacted with violence. The crusaders rushed through the city, cutting down every Muslim they encountered and even put several Syrians to the sword, whom the crusaders mistook for Muslims because of their beards.⁴⁷ The author of the *Excidium* agreed on these points, though he omitted the details about the Greeks. Thadeo of Naples, on the other hand, did not seem to include a section on the breaking of the truce, opting to discuss the events of the siege in more detail.⁴⁸

The Templar of Tyre also criticized the inaction of Christian leaders who failed to take action in response of the massacre of the Muslim peasants. The sultan, after he received news that Acre's Christians had slaughtered his coreligionists and had received the bloodstained shirts of the victims, became infuriated. He sent messengers back to the city, demanding that the lords make amends and bring justice to those who had perpetrated the violence. The Christian rulers, however, did not come to a resolution after taking the sultan's demand into council, waffling over the decision to send those that had been arrested to the sultan in order to meet the sultan's demands. In the end, the lords of the city could not come to an agreement over who to send to the sultan and ultimately took no action, besides sending a reply to the sultan that informed him that those who had committed the crime had come

⁴⁶ Templar of Tyre, 101.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 102.

⁴⁸ *Excidii*, 48-50.

from overseas and were thus not subject to judgment at their hands.⁴⁹ The lack of action taken by the Christian leaders of Acre incensed the sultan, and he gathered his forces together to attack the city, though the sultan died before the siege could take place. Though the “Templar” does not offer any explicit criticism for the Christians of Acre, he clearly places the blame on the failings of Christian leadership, implying that the internal struggles that beset the city played at least an equal role in its destruction alongside the Mamluk invaders waiting just outside its gates.

Criticism of Christian leadership also permeates the *Excidium*, whose author levels direct and acerbic complaints not only against the lords of Acre in particular, but against the rulers of Christendom in general. Indeed, the closing chapter of the *Excidium* blamed the leaders of Christendom, including the pope, for having abandoned the city, leaving it open and defenseless against a Muslim attack. The author complains that the heads of Christendom had become too involved in their own glories and vanities, taking money meant for Church projects, particularly aid for the poor, and using it instead to construct large towers and enormous palaces. Adding insult to injury, the author also accused Christian leaders of abandoning their responsibilities as heads of the Church for more leisurely activities. The author claimed to have seen nothing more than vice build upon vice, and greed overriding the broad concerns of the Church, since, at least in the author’s mind, such leaders pretended to have the cause of God in their hearts, but pursued that cause, if they did at all, by demanding gold and silver from poor churches and violently suppressing neighboring kingdoms and principalities.⁵⁰ Schein suggests that the author’s opinions identify him as “a commoner,

⁴⁹ Templar of Tyre, 102.

⁵⁰ *Excidii*, 94-6. Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, 115-16.

perhaps a minor cleric,” which might explain why the author blamed the aristocratic elite. However, his opinions do not seem necessarily out of step with his contemporaries who may have belonged to a higher economic class.⁵¹

Finding internal fault within Christendom for the collapse of Acre and the Holy Land permeates the writings of both the Templar of Tyre and Thadeo of Naples, though these two authors shift the specific thrust of the blame away from the upper crust of Christian society and take a more general approach instead. For Thadeo, the majority of blame fell on the citizens of Acre themselves, whom he saw as committing grave sins and inviting the wrath of God down onto the crusader city.⁵² Perhaps the greatest sin in Thadeo’s mind was the complete abandonment of the Holy Land, because it left the holiest places in Christendom open for desecration and fellow Christians open to persecution and suffering at the hands of their new captors.⁵³ Indeed, Thadeo registers a number of complaints and levels criticisms against several individuals, not only for their conduct during the siege but also before the fall of the city. Thadeo most vehemently condemned those who left the city in the middle of the fighting, in particular the king of Cyprus, who fled with the refugees rather than standing against the invaders, and John of Grailly, a representative of the king of France whom Thadeo accused of deserting Tripoli before doing the same in Acre.⁵⁴ He levels the same criticism against the Pisans and Venetian merchants, who, “concerned with worldly wealth more than heavenly knowledge,” fled the city and abandoned their defensive roles just as

⁵¹ Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, 115.

⁵² Thadeo of Naples “*Ystoria de desolation*, 147-8.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 132-3.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 121-22.

soon as the Mamluks launched their assault.⁵⁵ In both instances, as Schein rightly points out, Thadeo laments the lack of crusader zeal and commitment, which he saw as being instrumental in the fall of the city.⁵⁶

Thadeo also had unkind words for the merchants living in the port city, a popular target for those who promoted the crusades, and a sentiment shared by the Templar of Tyre. Specifically, Thadeo denounced the Italian merchants who exchanged goods such as timber, iron, and shipmaking materials with Muslims, a practice that the Church had long forbidden.⁵⁷ In fact, Thadeo thought that the merchants' participation in these transactions seemed quite odd even to their Muslim counterparts, since, at least in the Muslims' estimation, the merchants must have known the consequences of those transactions. Indeed, Thadeo, based on what he had heard from Italian traders he knew, reports that Muslim merchants often said that Christian traders would return to them with their other eye once Muslim traders had removed one.⁵⁸ The Templar of Tyre also portrayed Italian merchants in an unkind light, highlighting their political infighting as a major feature of their daily lives in the port city. In the years before the Mamluk overthrow of the city, conflict between the Genoese and the Pisan merchants reached a fever pitch over the perceived misdoings of the other. In 1286, Genoa armed scores of ships, Pisa answered in kind, and war ensued in the harbor of Acre. Eventually, a Genoese captain, Orlando Ascheri, blockaded the harbor,

⁵⁵ Ibid., 122-3.

⁵⁶ Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, 122.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 133.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 134. See also Stefan Stantchev, "Embargo: Origins of an Idea and the Implications of a Policy in Europe and the Mediterranean, ca. 1100- ca. 1500" (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 2009), 176. On Gregory X's use of this phrase, see Stantchev, "Embargo," 181.

keeping the Pisans and Venetians from leaving the port. The move angered the lords of the city, who became concerned that the Egyptian sultan might mimic Ascheri's actions.⁵⁹ The fighting also extended to Tripoli in the following years, just before that city fell into Muslim hands.⁶⁰ Though the Templar does not draw any direct or explicit cause and effect linkages between the violent quarrels between the Italian merchants and the eventual siege of the crusader city, he strongly implies it. Indeed, for the Templar, the overrunning of Tripoli caused the pope to send galleys to Acre, bringing with them the men who slaughtered the Muslim peasants, and in turn bringing the sultan to the gates of the port city.⁶¹

In a much different vein from the Templar of Tyre, Thadeo of Naples, and the author of the *Excidium*, though no less valuable, Riccoldo of Monte Croce, a Dominican missionary in the Holy Land, offered his views on the collapse of the port city. Riccoldo wrote a series of five letters lamenting the capture of the city of Acre and what it meant for the Christians who lived within its walls. Indeed, it was the conditions of those Christians that caused him to write in the first place. From his vantage point in Baghdad, Riccoldo lamented the condition of Christians he saw living there. He claimed that the lush gardens of Baghdad contradicted the horrible conditions in Acre.⁶² Christians, Riccoldo commented, had become subject to slaughter and to sale as slaves to Muslim masters in the wake of Acre's capture. The scene caused the Dominican missionary to wonder why such a terrible state had come to

⁵⁹ Templar of Tyre, 87-94.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 98-101.

⁶¹ Ibid., 101.

⁶² Riccoldo of Montecroce, "Five Letters on the Fall of Acre (1291)" trans. Rita George-Tvrtkovic in Rita George-Tvrtkovic, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq: Riccoldo Da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 137.

typify the Christian life in these lands. The situation spurred him to write the five letters, each one addressed to a member of the celestial hierarchy. In the letters, Riccoldo wrestles violently with his faith, wondering how it was possible that God had sided with Muslims, whom he decries as blasphemous, and had abandoned Christians. Indeed, Riccoldo, in his first letter, which he addressed to God himself, wonders whether God desired him to venerate Muhammad rather than Christ.⁶³

Ultimately, Riccoldo finds comfort in Gregory the Great's *Moralia on Job*, which he had recently purchased in Mosul at a sale of pilfered church goods, concluding that Job's suffering resonated with his incredulity at the loss of Acre. He then recommitted himself to his missionary life.⁶⁴ Though Riccoldo's focus starkly contrasts with his contemporary commentators on the final collapse of the Holy Land, he shares a similar concern about the status of Christians. Indeed, Riccoldo closes his collection of letters to the celestial court by thanking Gregory for his intervention, but writing "I am also more greatly afraid than before, lest perhaps you [God] have been afflicting the Eastern Christians in these times as enemies, or as friends who must be afflicted still further."⁶⁵ As Schein points out, Riccoldo was very resistant to the idea that the sins of Christians brought about the end of a Christian-controlled Holy Land.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, Riccoldo's writings demonstrate a deep anxiety over the status of Christians living in non-Christian lands and he begged for relief.

⁶³ Ibid., 145.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 171-173. See also Iris Shagrir, "The Fall of Acre as a Spiritual Crisis: The Letters of Riccoldo of Monte Croce," *Theological Studies* 73:3 (2012) 641-662.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 173.

⁶⁶ Schien, *Fideles Crucis*, 127.

While the writers' commentaries about the fall of Acre, the causes of that collapse, and the result of losing the Holy Land demonstrate, or at the very least represent, the concerns, anxieties, and resentment of policy-minded Christians in western Europe, they do not comprise a check list of papal action. However, the concerns and the place and people with whom the commentators found blame resonate well with the foreign policy agendas of the popes who reigned in the aftermath of Acre. It was Pope Nicholas IV's reactions that demonstrated the sorts of actions that the Church would take in response to the calamity. News of Acre's collapse reached Nicholas in Rome towards the beginning of August 1291.⁶⁷

The news clearly moved Nicholas as it did many other Christians back in Europe. On 13 August 1291, Nicholas issued the encyclical *Dirum amaritudinis calicem*, which acknowledged the final loss of the Holy Land. The encyclical somberly took responsibility for the collapse of the city, though it stuck largely to a military explanation and praised the valor of the city's defenders, unlike the commentators discussed above, who were more concerned with the behavior or condition of Christians living in the Holy Land.⁶⁸ A few days later, on 18 August 1291, Nicholas issued a second encyclical, *Dura numis*, to several churchmen, including a collection of archbishops, the kings of England and France, and the masters of the Temple and Hospital. The encyclical called on provincial councils to come together in order to produce proposals aimed at the recapture of the Holy Land but also encouraged the merging of the Military Orders. According to Schein, the merger of the Military Orders aligned with both the concern of the Church to protect the Holy Land as well

⁶⁷ Ibid, 74. See also Runciman, *A History of the Crusades vol. 3*, 428-29; Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 16, 24-25, 37; Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, 16-24.

⁶⁸ Nicholas IV, *Registres de Nicholas IV*, ed. E. Langlois (Paris, 1886-91), no. 7625. See also Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, 74 and Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1969), ii. 11-13.

as the opinions of churchmen.⁶⁹ He requested similar plans from the kings of England and France, though the pope emphasized that any crusading effort, no matter the size or scope, needed to be Church-led. Nicholas asked for a response within about six months time.⁷⁰

Nicholas got responses. Though he wrote his treatise in 1289, two years before the fall of Acre, Fidenzio of Padua, a Franciscan friar, delivered his *Book of the Recovery of the Holy Land (Liber recuperationis Terrae Sanctae)* to Nicholas IV.⁷¹ Originally, as Fidenzio himself explains, he became inspired by Gregory X's call for proposals in 1274, though Fidenzio does not give an account of what took him fifteen-plus years to turn in the final project. Ramon Lull and Charles II of Anjou also delivered proposals in response to Nicholas' call. Lull, a consummate missionary, mystic, and philosopher from the island of Majorca, wrote two pieces in response to Nicholas IV's call for proposals in 1292, a short letter and his "Treatise on how to convert the infidels" (*Tractatus de modo convertendi infideles*). Anthony Leopold argues that Lull's proposals were propagandist in nature, unlike Fidenzio's treatise, which was more practical in nature.⁷² Key to Lull's proposals was his commitment to using peaceful conversion alongside the violence of the crusade. As a key component of his missionary method, moreover, Lull advocated that missionaries learn the languages of the people among whom they evangelized and the creation of schools to fulfill

⁶⁹ Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, 76. Schein notes that the demand to merge the Military Orders surfaced during the reign of St. Louis and during Lyon II.

⁷⁰ Nicholas IV, *Registres*, nos. 6793-9. See Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, 75-76. Schein notes that Nicholas was not particularly innovative in this regard, since Popes Innocent III and Gregory X made similar requests at their major Church councils, Lateran IV and Lyon II. On those requests, see P.A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Amsterdam, 1940), 7-18, 200-1.

⁷¹ The full text of Fidenzio's proposal is in *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, ed. Golubovich vol 2, 1-60. See also Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, 16-18.

⁷² Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, 20.

that purpose.⁷³ A final respondent, Charles II of Anjou, sent a proposal to Nicholas IV. Charles had a personal interest in Jerusalem that derived from a claim to the kingdom through his father, who had purchased the rights to the crown from Maria of Antioch in 1277.⁷⁴ Charles' proposal seems to have aligned well with Nicholas' own ideas, particularly about the union of the Military Orders, though he apparently still concerned himself with the recapture of the kingdom of Sicily.⁷⁵ Despite the influx of proposals, the Church did not launch any general crusading efforts, largely due to Nicholas IV's death in 1292.

This section has shown that the fall of the city of Acre in 1291 caused Latin Christian thinkers to reevaluate the position of Christendom and Christians in the world. For most of them, blame for the fall of the city rested squarely on the shoulders of Christians whose interests ran counter to the crusading programs of the popes. They also had deep anxieties about the Latin Christians living in non-Christian spaces, writing often of their torture and persecution. Christian leadership, in these writers' estimations, had failed, and new plans for how to organize the world needed development. Finally, they understood the world outside of Christendom as one that needed discipline for the Latin Christians living in non-Christian areas and one that needed renewal and rescue from non-Christians and non-Latin Christians who wished to do Latin Christian harm. While those plans for organizing, disciplining, and renovating the world developed over the next decades, Christian missionaries recorded information from their journeys in Asia that provided a geography that Church leaders might use for such a purpose.

⁷³ Ibid, 21. See also Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, 102-3.

⁷⁴ Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, 21. Runciman, "The Crusader States, 1243-1291," pp. 585-6.

⁷⁵ Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, 21-2. See also Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, 108.

Latin Christianity and Asia: The Theology and Strategy of Geography

While the commentators on the Fall of Acre directed criticism at the apparent failings of Latin Christian leadership and morals, other Latin Christians wrote elaborate treatises that described their travels in Asia, presented a plan for rectifying the misdeeds of certain Latin Christians and for creating a stable world favorable, in terms of its advance and safe practice, for Latin Christianity in general, or both. Quite apart from the commentaries on the collapse of Acre, these treatises are concerned with the organization of geographical knowledge of Asia into a systematized whole that provided theological and strategic, in terms of crusading actions, explanations for the relationship of Latin Christianity to Asia. These sources can be divided into two separate, but inextricably related, genres of writing: travel literature and crusade proposals written by missionary friars who had spent several years traveling and preaching throughout the various regions of the continent. While both genres summarize the particulars of the various regions and cities of Asia, the crusade proposals contain more direct suggestions for crusading strategy, even if some of the travel writing does contain some call for crusade in its narrative.

Both travel writing and the crusade proposals are significant for the understanding of early fourteenth-century geography for three principal reasons. First, when read closely, the authors of the treatises display an acknowledgment of a multi-polar world inhabited by a variety of peoples, whether Latin Christian, non-Latin Christian, or non-Christian. Second, both genres work in some capacity to reconcile the lands about which they write with their Christianity. In several instances, as Marianne O'Doherty has argued, both travel writers and

crusade theorists reconceptualized spaces in terms of Christianity, converting previously unknown space into a geography defined by its relationship to the Christian Bible.⁷⁶ Finally, the writers of either genre demonstrate a facility for organizing the known information about Asia into a systematic and strategic plan for future crusading action, the conversion of non-Christians, and the reunion of non-Latin Christians with the Latin Church.

Previous scholarship on travel writing has focused on the “encounters” between Latin Christians and their various others.⁷⁷ On the whole, this scholarship has made significant contributions to medieval history and provided a way through which scholars of the medieval world might engage with the historiography of colonialism and postcolonial theory in general. However, the majority of this scholarship has focused on the thirteenth century, when the encounter with the “Other” was a relatively novel meeting between Latin Christians and the peoples of Asia. By the fourteenth century, Latin Christians had not only made several expeditions to Asia and had gained knowledge that dispelled many of the so-called

⁷⁶ Marianne O’Doherty, *The Indies and the Medieval West: Thought, Report, Imagination* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 76-77. O’Doherty traces the adoption of ancient forms of Greek and Roman cosmology and chorography in the medieval conceptions of India. She traces these developments through Pliny the Elder, Solinus, Martianus Capella, and Paulus Orosius. In part, she traces the imagining of India as a single *oikoumene* in the ancient world evolving into a “fractured” India, with each of three parts having its own label: “lower,” “upper,” and “middle.” In her analysis of the medieval conception of India, she primarily focuses on the letters of Prester John, the mythical Christian king ruling over a Christian utopia in eastern Asia. See O’Doherty, *The Indies and the Medieval West*, 13-51.

⁷⁷ Jean Richard, “The Mongols and the Franks,” *Journal of Asia History*, 3 (1969), 45-57; Igor Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1971); Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221-1410* (London: Person Longman, 2005); Benjamin Liu, “The Mongol in the Text” in *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile*, eds. Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 291-325; David Morgan, *The Mongols* 2nd ed (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing 2007); Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009); Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245-1510* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014). This is not to discount or to fundamentally criticize this scholarship. However, given that such scholarship emphasizes the construction of racial/cultural binaries in the Western perceptions of the East, the temptation to essentialize crusading as a simple “us vs. them” exercise betrays the complexity of crusading plans, especially in the fourteenth century, because of their multi-polar outlook. A notable exception is Jerry Bentley, *Old World Encounters: Cross Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

marvels of the East, but many Latin Christians lived in the same spaces among these various “others.” As such, the travel writing of the fourteenth century does not contain many descriptions of men with the heads of dogs, with their faces in their stomachs, or other such physiologically impossible conditions. Indeed, such instances are rare in Odoric of Pordenone and Jordan of Catalonia’s travel writing, and completely absent from the crusade treatises of William of Adam, the author of the *Directorium*, and Marino Sanudo Torsello.⁷⁸

Central to both the travel writers and the crusade theorists was their anthropological understandings of the various religious groups, both Christian and non-Christian, that populated Asia. While the descriptions of their various religious others might appear confused to the modern reader, they demonstrate an attempt on the part of the writers to intellectualize religious difference in such a way that Asia could, on one hand, become comprehensible to other Latin Christians and, on the other, demonstrate the need for the missionary intervention of Latin Christianity. Asia, in the writers’ estimation, was a land in need of Christianization in order to bring its peoples into communion with the Latin Church. Their rhetorical descriptions of the beliefs, rituals, and hierarchies of non-Christian religions, therefore, are often demonstrations of the writers’ attempts to reconcile these foreign and relatively unknown religious traditions with Latin Christianity. Doing so, in some ways, is a missionary act in and of itself, in that it Christianizes these outside traditions through

⁷⁸ Odoric briefly describes pygmies late in his travel account, relating that they only stood “three spans” in height, they did great work with cotton, and, like other people, that they had “rational souls.” Odoric of Pordenone, *Relatio*, in *Sinica Franciscana* ed. Anastass van den Wyngert (Quaracchi-Firenze: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1929) 467-69. He also makes brief mention of men and women who have “faces like dogs” on an island called Nicoveran, which Yule identifies as the Nicobar Islands. See Odoric, *Relatio*, 452-53 and “The Travels of Friar Odoric” in *Cathay and the Way Thither* vol. 1, ed. Henry Yule (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1866), 97, n. 1. Jordan of Catalonia makes an even briefer description of men with dog heads in his account of islands that existed between “upper India” and “India Tertia,” only registering their presence in these islands. See Jordan of Catalonia, *Mirabilia Descripta*, ed. Christine Gadrat, in *Une image de l’Orient au XIVe siècle: Les Mirabilia Descripta de Jordan Catala de Sévérac* (Paris: École des Chartes, 2005), 260. Both friars seem to be more interested in describing the fauna of Asia as marvels.

description, making them comprehensible to a Latin Christian audience. At the very least, moreover, such descriptions attempted to convince the readers to take action or to agitate for others to do the same.

The travel writers and crusade theorists differ in terms of the groups on which their writings focus. While the crusade theorists do not describe non-Christian traditions, with the exception of Islam, the travel writers relate some basic information about Buddhists and Hindus, even if the travel writers do not explicitly identify beliefs or rituals that would allow a modern reader to discern the particular religious taxonomy of what the writers describe. In quite vague terms, both Odoric of Pordenone and Jordan of Catalonia refer to both Hindus and Buddhists as “idolaters,” a description loaded with ideological meaning. Such a description should be read as somewhat infantilizing, with the writers hoping to portray the adherents of these traditions as peoples who, in their estimation, badly needed the rational religion of Christ.

Odoric of Pordenone’s description of an argument he had with a Chinese monk about reincarnation best illustrates the travel writers’ “infantalization” of non-Christian religions. While Odoric traveled in China, for example, he arrived in what he called Cansay (modern Hangzhou), a place he called the greatest city on earth.⁷⁹ Odoric found four of his fellow Franciscans in the city, one of which asked him if he wanted to see the monastery near the city and to visit their monks. During his time at the monastery, Odoric engaged with one of the monks concerning the special care that the monks gave to the animals in the monastery’s care.⁸⁰ Amused by what he had seen, Odoric queried the monk about the practice, though he

⁷⁹ Odoric of Pordenone, *Relatio*, 469.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 469-70. Odoric claimed that the monastery had three thousand animals, among which included monkeys and apes.

does so through laughter. After the monk explained that the animals in the monastery's care had souls the same as men, Odoric rebuked him, offering in reply that the animals had no souls whatsoever.⁸¹ In response, the monk argued that Odoric had it wrong, and that the souls of men entered into the bodies of animals as befitting the lives that they had led as humans. To this, Odoric had no reply at all, simply remarking to his readers that the monk was steadfast in his position and would not believe otherwise.⁸² For those readers, Odoric's message is quite clear: These Chinese monks had little knowledge of what true, rational religion was and how to practice it.

Though neither Odoric nor Jordan explained non-Christian rituals or their meaning beyond their basic descriptions, both authors clearly meant their readers to react viscerally to what they had recounted, perhaps in the interest of convincing fellow friars in Europe to take action in Asia. The travel writers highlighted the religious practices of non-Christians that they found to be the most barbaric. Both Jordan of Catalonia and Odoric of Pordenone described the practice of *Sati*, when an Indian woman would throw herself onto the funeral pyre of her husband. Odoric was clearly disturbed by the practice, though he felt compelled to share it even though it fell under a range of practices he found abominable and detestable.⁸³ Jordan, on the other hand, only exclaimed that he found the practice remarkable, after describing the religious value that those women who burned with their husbands found in the practice.⁸⁴ Both friars also described self-mutilating sacrifices made by non-Christians

⁸¹ Ibid., 469-70.

⁸² Ibid., 470-71

⁸³ Ibid., 441-42.

⁸⁴ Jordan of Catalonia, *Mirabilia Descripta*, 250.

in India. Jordan of Catalonia witnessed men who cut themselves into pieces before ultimately decapitating themselves in front of idols.⁸⁵ Odoric apparently saw a similar ritual, adding to his retelling of the practice that the men would place five knives into their necks before decapitating themselves.⁸⁶ In addition, Odoric claims to have seen men throw themselves under chariots that had been made for the express purpose of carrying an idol through a procession. The friar wrote that such celebrations happened for each of the idols in India and occurred annually. Odoric estimated that at least five hundred men died in this fashion each year.⁸⁷ Odoric also recalled another decapitation ritual during his travels through what he called Tibet, where he encountered a man he called “the pope of the idolaters.” Odoric claimed to have seen sons eat the heads of their deceased fathers after their funerals, at which the fathers’ body was mutilated and fed to animals. Odoric also recalled that the family of the man would keep his skull and make it into a goblet from which to drink to the memory of the deceased.⁸⁸

Though both Odoric and Jordan are relatively silent about Islam, Riccoldo of Montecroce devoted considerable space in his *Liber peregrinationis* to a discussion of the religion.⁸⁹ Riccoldo wrote about Islam in order to explain the errors of their laws and beliefs

⁸⁵ Ibid., 256.

⁸⁶ Odoric of Pordenone, *Relatio*, 442-43

⁸⁷ Ibid., 443.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 484-86. There was some debate over whether or not Odoric actually traveled to Tibet in early twentieth century scholarship, though A.C. Moule seems to have definitely decided that Odoric misidentified this region. Moule suggests that Odoric may have indeed encountered some Tibetans in China, but this was probably the extent to which Odoric had any experience with Tibet whatsoever. See A. C. Moule, “Was Odoric of Pordenone Ever in Tibet?” *T’oung Pao* 15:3 (1933): 405-18.

⁸⁹ Riccoldo of Montecroce’s construction of Islam is best discussed in George-Tvrtković, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq*, 43-72. George-Tvrtković argues that Riccoldo has no real contemporary in terms of his

from his perspective as a Dominican friar, but also to praise their studiousness, devotion, charity, and friendliness to outsiders as a way to shame Christians, which he identifies as his primary purpose for writing about Islam.⁹⁰ The love in the Muslim community for each other particularly impressed Riccoldo. He wrote that they refused to kill or rob fellow Muslims despite their violent and irrational law. He contrasts this with Christians, who he claimed killed each other despite having a law of life and commandments of peace and goodwill.⁹¹ Riccoldo also detailed what he understood as the various errors of Islam with a particular focus on their law, which he argued was lax, confused, obscure, violent, and irrational.⁹² Put in dialogue with Odoric and Jordan, Riccoldo's rhetorical strategy appears somewhat discordant, since neither Odoric nor Jordan used their accounts of non-Christians as a means through which to criticize Latin Christians. Riccoldo's travel writing, however, must be read in conjunction with his letters concerning the fall of Acre and as an extension of the critique of Christians that he offered within them.

Both the travel writers and the crusade theorists had an acute knowledge of the various sects of non-Latin Christians who populated Asia as well. The authors described the errors of these sects, with two general critiques. Primarily, the crusade theorists worried about how non-Latin Christians engaged with Islam, particularly if the group participated in trading relationships that disadvantaged Latin Christians. The writers also provided short details on what they understood as the various theological errors of these groups. Of the

description of Islam, in that he both described Muslim customs rarely mentioned by Christian writers and that his portrayal of Islam was generally positive, even if it was problematic.

⁹⁰ Riccoldo of Montecroce, *Liber peregrinationis*, 211.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 215.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 216-26.

theorists, William of Adam provides perhaps the least amount of detail. William has many things to say about the Greek Christians and their various theological and political errors, not the least of which was a partnering between the Byzantine emperor and the Egyptian sultan, and concludes that any military efforts should begin with the seizing of Greek lands and cities, but the Dominican friar stops short of providing even a basic description of their theological and doctrinal errors.⁹³

On the other hand, however, Marino Sanudo and the author of the *Directorium* have much to offer their readers in terms of a detailed description of non-Latin Christians living abroad, especially the former author. The third book of Sanudo's proposal contains a complete history of the Holy Land that Sanudo hoped would be used to avoid the mistakes and shortcomings of the former kings of Jerusalem and other leaders after the Latins had retaken the Holy Land.⁹⁴ As part of his explanation of why the Holy Land declined and was eventually lost during the time of Saladin, Sanudo lists the theological errors of several branches of Christianity, including Arian Christianity (which he lumps in with descriptions of the Greek and Syrian Christianity), the Pulani, the Maronites, Armenian Christianity, Georgian Christianity, the Jacobites, Nestorian Christianity, and the Mosarabs.⁹⁵ For each group, Sanudo gives a short description of their theological errors, their general histories, and, in some cases, how the group contributed to the general downfall of Roman Christianity in these lands. The Pulani, for example, rejoiced in the making of peace with the enemies of

⁹³ William of Adam, *Tractatus quomodo Sarraceni sunt expugnandi* ed. Giles Constable in *William of Adam: How to Defeat the Saracens*, (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2012), 62-96.

⁹⁴ Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis Super Terrae Sanctae Recuperatione et Conservatione*, in *Gesta Dei per Francos, sive orientalium expeditionem et regni Francorum Hierosolymitani historia* 2 vols, ed. J. Bongars (Hannover, 1611), reproduced photographically with an introduction by Joshua Praver (Toronto, 1972), 4; 97-281.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 179-86.

Christendom and asked for help against such Christians, all while using the monies that had been sent to them meant for the honor of God and safety of the Holy Land and the souls that resided in it, all to the loss of the Holy Land and the detriment of the faithful and the souls who lived there.⁹⁶

Riccoldo of Montecroce also provides a systematic discussion of the various branches of Christianity that populated west Asia, particularly the Jacobites and the Nestorians. Riccoldo detailed the specific theological and doctrinal errors that each group held. He criticized both groups' position on the nature of Christ, finding both groups to be monophysites, though the Jacobites emphasized Christ's divine nature while the Nestorians emphasized his human nature. Riccoldo also critiqued each groups' sacramental traditions. The Jacobites, Riccoldo recounted, used leavened bread in their celebration of mass, confessed to God alone, and anointed with oil their dead instead of their sick.⁹⁷ Riccoldo's complaints about the doctrinal errors of the Nestorians differed slightly in substance from his polemic against the Jacobites. While the Nestorians also confessed to God alone and, in Riccoldo's estimation, performed an incorrect version of last rites. They also deconsecrated holy water, the blessed bread, and even the altars themselves under certain conditions. Riccoldo also mentioned that the Nestorians contracted problematic marriages in that they were within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, and that divorce and remarriage was

⁹⁶ Ibid., 182. "Cooperunt etiam ab inuicem, pro re facili, diffidere; inter felites et iurgia, et bella civilian commouere; treguas cum Saracenis inire; inimicorum Christi pace gaudere, et plurimq; ab eis contra Christianos auxilium postulare. Vires et expsas, qaus ad Dei honorem et Sanctae Terrae tuitionem, et animatu falutem effundere debuissent, ad fidelium detrimentum, Terrae Sanctae exterminium, et animarum damnationem consumer no pudebat."

⁹⁷ Riccoldo of Montecroce, *Liber peregrinationis*, 201.

granted with permission. Finally, Riccoldo lamented that the Nestorians celebrated three masses that did not include the Eucharist whatsoever.⁹⁸

In somewhat of a contrast to Sanudo, but still richer in detail than William of Adam's treatise, the author of the *Directorium* provides brief descriptions of the varieties of other Christians living in places outside of Europe. In the course of discussing whether or not a treaty should be signed between the king of France and the Byzantine emperor and the "Sclavonian King of Rassia," the author lists a series of "schismatic" Christianities, including Arian Christianity and Nestorian Christianity, which he claims were born from or fostered by Greek Christianity.⁹⁹ The author also launches an invective against the emperor Michael Palaeologus, who, according to the author, first embraced Latin Christianity before returning the Greek Church to its schism in Rome, and the rulers of Rassia, whose misdeeds greatly scandalized the author.¹⁰⁰ Given the heretical nature of Greek Christianity and the various schismatic sects that it created, and the lack of morality of its leaders, at least according to this Dominican author, there should not have been any doubts about the justification and the ability of the Latins to conquer these foes, given their offenses against God.¹⁰¹

While the Greeks and other schismatic Christians presented reasons for justifying action in the Holy Land and elsewhere, other Christians, in our authors' estimations, might join and help the cause of Christendom. The author of the *Directorium*, for example, informs his audience that Christians in Ethiopia and Nubia were ready to join the cause,

⁹⁸ Ibid., 208-09.

⁹⁹ *Directorium*, 424-25. "Ipsi Palim Samosatenum, Arrium, Sabellium, Macedonium, Nestorium, Dioscorum, et fere omnes haeresum inventores de thesauro pessimo cordis sui Graeca venena, utique mortifera, diffuderunt."

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 430-40.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 440.

among several other allies. The Nubians, whom the author calls “a great and powerful people,” had already achieved several victories against the Egyptian sultan, and desired to achieve a final victory against him so that they could continue their lives in peace. Furthermore, the author explained, the Nubians had a prophecy that predicted a final victory of the combined forces of Ethiopia and Nubia against the Egyptians and the Arabs, the destruction of Mecca, and the burning of the body of the prophet Muhammad.¹⁰² The other authors are relatively silent about Ethiopia and Nubia, though William of Adam claimed that he could tell marvelous things about both Ethiopia and certain islands, though he argued that such information did not belong in his treatise.¹⁰³

The author of the *Directorium*'s mention of Christians living in Ethiopia and Nubia ready to fight for the common cause of Latin Christendom immediately calls to mind the legend of Prester John, the fabled Christian king of Asia who would bring Latin Christianity salvation from its enemies.¹⁰⁴ This legend began in the twelfth century, evolved in the thirteenth century, and had completely changed by the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁵ Mentions of the

¹⁰² *Directorium*, 388. “Adhuc magis ulterius meridem sunt Aethopes Christiani, gens maxima atque potens, quae quoniam magna valde obtinet ac diffusa. Hi tanti tam validi, et tamen fortes quod unum regnum de istis, quod quidem vocantur Nubia, confinans cum Aegypto, aliquando de Soldano Babyloniae victorium obtinuit et triumphum. Habent isti populi prophetiam quod aliquando exhibunt et transilient montes illos quibus versus Aegyptum non resident circumclusi et praedictis Nubianis, qui extra praefatos montes obtinent loca sua, Aegyptos et Arabes destruent et vastabunt, Mecam capient et destruent, sepulchrum comminuent et corpus incendent prohani ac perfidi Machometi.”

¹⁰³ William of Adam, *Tractatus*, 114. “De qua Ethiopia, et de quibusdam insulis possem stupenda narrare nisi quod material libelli huiusmodi id rennuit et quam intend in hoc opusculo brevitatis non requirit.”

¹⁰⁴ The literature on Prester John is considerable. For a comprehensive collection of essays on Prester John see *Prester John, The Mongols, and the Ten Lost Tribes*, eds. Charles F Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton (Aldershot: Variorum 1996). See also *Prester John: The Legend and its Sources*, trans. Keagan Brewer (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2015).

¹⁰⁵ By the fourteenth century, Latin Christian writers were somewhat unsure of Prester John's location. Some, like the travel writers insisted that the Christian king still occupied a kingdom in Asia, while others had begun to suggest that Prester John was instead in Africa. See *Prester John: The Legend and its Sources*, 141-212.

legendary Christian king are absent from the crusade treatises. Neither William of Adam nor the author of the *Directorium* made even a passing mention of Prester John, even if both discuss the lands, particularly Ethiopia, that John was thought to inhabit. Sanudo does consider Prester John in a general history of the Mongols, though he seems to have copied the story from Simon of St. Quentin's *Historia Tartarorum* from the mid thirteenth century.¹⁰⁶ Riccoldo of Montecroce, Odoric of Pordenone, and Jordan of Catalonia, on the other hand, all mention Prester John to varying degrees. Riccoldo repeats a legend about the Mongols having killed the Christian king during their advance into eastern Europe.¹⁰⁷ Odoric of Pordenone, in somewhat of a contrast, claimed that he had entered the kings' land, but discovered that "not one hundredth part is true of what is told of him as if it were undeniable."¹⁰⁸ Jordan of Catalonia made an brief gesture towards Prester John, noting that the people of "India Tertia" (southeastern Africa) after they had slain a dragon, carried its head to Prester John who was the emperor of the Ethiopians.¹⁰⁹ The virtual absence of Prester John from these important treatises describing Asia and Africa or attempting to coordinate a crusading effort against Islam suggests, therefore, that the legend played somewhat less importance in these authors' constructions of Christian space in Asia.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 157-59; 281.

¹⁰⁷ Riccoldo, *Liber peregrationis*, 196.

¹⁰⁸ Odoric of Pordenone, *Relatio*, 483. "De isto Catayo recedens et ceniens versus ponentem seu occidentem dicitis transeundo per multas civitates et terras veni versus Presticane de quo non est centesima pars eius quod quasi pro certo dicitur de ipso."

¹⁰⁹ Jordan of Catalonia, *Mirabilia Descripta*, 259. "Omnes autem regiones semper observant tempus drachonum et cum vident quod aliquis cecidit expectant per dies septuaginta et tunc descendunt et inveniunt ossa drachonis carnibus denudate. Et accipiunt carbunculum qui est in osse capitis radicatam et portant eum ad imperatorem Ethiopum quem vos vocatis Prestre Johan." Brewer posits that Jordan was one of the first to place Prester John in Africa rather than in Asia. *Prester John: The Legend and its Sources*, 282. On Prester John's "progress" from Asia to Ethiopia, see Bernard Hamilton, "Continental Drift: Prester John's Progress through the Indies," in *Prester John, The Mongols, and the Ten Lost Tribes* eds. Charles F Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton (Aldershot: Variorum 1996) 237-57.

The travel writers also briefly discussed Christians in Asia, though their descriptions of their beliefs and practices were not as fully developed as the crusade theorists' treatises. Jordan of Catalonia, for example, wrote about a scattered people who called themselves Christians in India. They made Jordan uneasy. For one, the Christians did not accept baptism nor, according to Jordan, did they know anything about the faith. Moreover, Jordan claimed that these so-called Christians believed St. Thomas to be Christ himself.¹¹⁰ Odoric was also uncharitable in his description of Indian Christians' relationship to St. Thomas. Odoric claimed to have visited St. Thomas' church in the kingdom of Mobar (southwest India), where the body of the saint rested. Odoric recoiled at the presence of idols in St. Thomas' church and the fifteen houses of Nestorian Christians that adjoined it. Odoric called them vile and pestilent heretics. The friar was clearly exercised by the presence of the Nestorians so near to the body of a saint.¹¹¹

In addition to the writers' descriptions of the various groups of Christians that populated Asia, the authors also seem to have made an attempt at identifying Christian landmarks in Asia and creating new ones in order to reconcile them with their previous knowledge of the world. Marianne O'Doherty has put forward a similar argument. In *The Indies and the Medieval West*, O'Doherty suggests that travel writers reconceptualized the Indies as a Christian space.¹¹² More specifically, she argues that the writers "mapped out a

¹¹⁰ Jordan of Catalonia, *Mirabilia descripta*, 251. "Ibi in ista Yndia est disperses populous unus hinc alius inde qui dicit se christianum esse cum non sit nec habeat baptismum ne sciat aliquid de fide ymu credit sanctum Thomam majorem esse Christo."

¹¹¹ Odoric of Pordenone, *Relatio*, 442. "Ab hoc regno sunt X dicte usque ad unum aliud regnum nomine Mobar quod est multum magnum regnum habens sub se multas civitates et terras. In hoc autem regno positum est corpus B. Thome Apostoli ecclesia cuius est plena ydolis multis penes quam sun forte etiam xv domus nestorinorum christianorum qui nequissimi sunt heretici."

¹¹² O'Doherty, *The Indies and the Medieval West*, 13-52.

geography of Christian activities past, present, and future, while there emerged a reconfigured religious topography that featured paradisiacal and accursed *loci* and new sacred centers: transcendent places ‘where heaven and earth meet.’¹¹³ She reads Jordan of Catalonia and Odoric of Pordenone with this conception in mind. For Jordan, O’Doherty argues that the Dominican friar created a geography based on a division between sacred and profane in order to delineate between spaces that had been converted and others that still needed Latin Christian intervention.¹¹⁴ O’Doherty also claims that Odoric of Pordenone effectively rewrote the Indies as a place where a pagan past had ended and a Christian present and future had recently begun. Odoric did this, O’Doherty contends, through his retelling of the story of four Franciscan friars who became martyrs in the city of Thana (just outside modern Mumbai). Odoric’s carrying of the friars’ bones to their final resting place in Zaiton, O’Doherty claims, transfigures the central religious space in India away from the body of St. Thomas where those “vile and pestilent heretics” performed an incorrect version of Christianity and to the new site where Odoric had buried Franciscans who embodied the best virtues of Latin Christianity.¹¹⁵

Outside of India and closer to Europe in Persia, the travel writers highlighted the biblical and early Christian landmarks that populated the region. Odoric, for example, found the body of Athanasius interred over one of the gates of the city of Trebizond (on the southeastern coast of the Black Sea). He misidentified the location of Noah’s ark near the

¹¹³ Ibid., 77.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 80-84.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 85-86.

city of Tabriz, also in the Black Sea region, on top of a hill he called “Sarbisacalo.”¹¹⁶ Jordan of Catalonia also identified the location of Noah’s ark, though he claims to have found a mountain of “excessive height and immense extent” in Armenia.¹¹⁷ Curiously, both writers noted that the mountain was impossible to climb. Odoric boasted that he would have made an attempt if he had had the time to do so, though the locals had warned him that nobody could ever ascend the mountain.¹¹⁸ Jordan’s account was much more foreboding. The Dominican friar claimed that the mountain was always covered in snow and clouds. Moreover, neither man nor animal could travel much farther beyond the very edge of the snow of the mountain. Indeed, Jordan claims that hunted animals would turn and face their killers and submit to death rather than climb the mountain.¹¹⁹ Offering a bit more detail about the mountain, Jordan also wrote that the mountain had a circumference around the base that would take a man on horseback at least three days to ride around it. Large serpents also covered the mountain, which could both swallow hares whole and repel the arrows of hunters who wished to subdue them. Jordan had also heard from a Latin archbishop that Noah had made a dwelling here after he had descended from where the ark landed. Here Noah got drunk from the wine made from the original vine that he had planted after the waters of the flood had receded.¹²⁰ The writers also position other figures from the Bible around West Asia. Jordan located Armenia as the site of the martyrdoms of Bartholomew, Simon, and

¹¹⁶ Odoric of Pordenone, *Relatio*, 416. Yule suggests that Odoric might have interpolated this from Balducci Pegolotti’s account of the road to Tabriz, but cannot explain the substitution for Ararat otherwise. See *Cathay and the Way Thither*, ed. Yule, 47 n. 1.

¹¹⁷ Jordan of Catalonia, *Mirabilia descripta*, 243.

¹¹⁸ Odoric of Pordenone, *Relatio*, 416.

¹¹⁹ Jordan of Catalonia, *Mirabilia descripta*, 244.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 244.

Judas and the prison in which two of the men were held.¹²¹ The Dominican also mentioned the location of the city of Abraham's birth Ur of the Chaldees, as being two days away from the city of Tabriz.¹²² Odoric located the home of the three Magi that witnessed Christ's birth in India, and passed by the Tower of Babel when he traveled through Baghdad.¹²³ The writers' message was quite clear: Asia contained significant connections to the biblical past and the days of the early Christian Church, and therefore needed the intervention of Latin Christians to properly convert the non-Latin Christian populations in order to restore the orthodoxy of those holy places.

Though the travel writers and, to a lesser degree, the crusade theorists described Asia through the lens of the various religions that populated the continent, they also detailed the important port cities of various regions and the goods for which those ports were known. Marianne O'Doherty, using William of Adam as an example, argues that the Dominican friar recast the Indies as a maritime world rather than a landlocked geographic space. He did this, O'Doherty suggests, in order to "[present] the Indian Ocean as a central causative element in an interconnected economic system that brings great wealth to Egypt."¹²⁴ O'Doherty's argument is primarily interested in the evolution of the conceptualization of geography; this section of the chapter extends that argument further. Not only did both the travel writers and crusade theorists reimagine the landscape of Asia, they organized it into a systematic and strategic conception that would translate to future crusading products. For the theorists in

¹²¹ Ibid., 244.

¹²² Ibid., 245.

¹²³ Odoric of Pordenone, *Relatio*, 418-20.

¹²⁴ O'Doherty, *The Indies and the Medieval West*, 71-72.

particular, the connection to the crusade is obvious. For the travel writers on the other hand, the connection is more dubious. However, Jordan of Catalonia made statements in their travel writing suggestive of a crusade, if even such statements appear as passing comments.¹²⁵

In his recovery treatise “How to Defeat the Saracens,” William of Adam constructs his plan for securing a final victory in a world that he sees as having several powers and forces working against Latin Christendom. The Egyptian Mamluks stand as William’s primary concern, especially given the Mamluks’ successes in the Holy Land, most notably the siege and capture of the port city Acre in 1291, and their overthrow and final defeat was the primary goal of his project. Indeed, the Dominican friar connects many of the other major poles that comprise the world of William’s treatise, and the plans that William has for handling the sort of challenge that each of these “poles” presents he sees as having consequences for the Egyptian sultan. According to William, for example, the Byzantine Emperor had a very close relationship with the Egyptian sultan. The two called each other brothers and often made plans for alliances and peace, and sent each other gifts.¹²⁶ In fact, claimed the Dominican theorist, when the Mamluks captured the city of Acre, they had been on the brink of complete and utter collapse, due to the Nile having not flooded for three years and bringing famine to the sultan’s lands. Not wishing to see his friend suffer, the Byzantine emperor, whom the friar called “the persecutor and ancient enemy of the Church,” built one

¹²⁵ For example, At the end of a section about the distances between places in Asia, he remarks that the King of France might conquer the entire world and bring them to Latin Christianity. Jordan of Catalonia, *Mirabilia descripta*, 266.

¹²⁶ William of Adam, 40.

of the largest ships in the world, loaded it with grain, and sent it to the sultan in order to relieve Egypt of its food shortage.¹²⁷

William of Adam also had a sophisticated understanding of the various groups of Mongols that comprised West and East Asia and the relationships between those groups. In order to show how the alliance with the emperor of the northern Tartars, also known as the Golden Horde, profited the Egyptian sultan, William briefly charts the territory that each of the group holds. William identifies four groups: The eastern Tartars of Cathay (China), the northern Tartars of Khazaria (Golden Horde), the southern Tartars of Persia (Ilkhanids), and the Duwa (Du'a) or Qaidu (Qaydu), who occupied the space between the southern and eastern empires.¹²⁸ While William has little to say about the eastern Tartars and the Qaidu, he has much to offer about the northern Tartars and their alliance with the Mamluks, especially their military cooperative against the Il-Khans of Persia, who lived in the geographic space between the two groups and whom they wished to destroy.¹²⁹ William also offered information on the sort of exchanges between the two leaders, including gifts, envoys, and human trafficking exchanges involving boys and girls for sexual pleasure. The emperor of the northern Tartars, according to William, also provided protection and passage for Muslim monks (fakirs), stole, destroyed, and forbade the possession of bells from Christian churches in his lands at the request of the Egyptian sultan, and had, indeed, become

¹²⁷ Ibid., 40-42. See Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, 73-6 on the ability of the emperor to have done this.

¹²⁸ William of Adam, 46. "Primum et maius est orientale, quod Catay dicitur. Secundum est quionare, quod Gazaria noinatur. Tertium est merionale, quod Peridis appellatur." Quartum est medium inter istud merionale et illud primum, quod Doa vel Caydo nuncupatur." On the Mongol dynasties, see Clifford E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996).

¹²⁹ William of Adam, 46.

“the worst Saracen” and the enemy and persecutor of Christians.¹³⁰ Later in the treatise, the Dominican friar suggests that the emperor of Persia would be willing to help in the crusading effort, especially motivated by his hatred for the emperor of the northern Tartars, and had made promises of men and horses accordingly, some of whom, William claimed, the Ilkhanid emperor could raise from Georgia.¹³¹

The travel writers of the early fourteenth century, then, were clearly concerned with the organization of the world and reevaluating how Latin Christianity fit into it. While the travel writers sought to populate Asia with Christian landmarks, both they and the crusade theorists presented Asia as a wild land in need of Latin Christian discipline and renovation. Beyond the non-Christians living throughout the continent, the writers and theorists constructed Asia as a place in need of Latin Christian renewal and reform due to the presence of so many “heretical” Christian groups living throughout the continent. Moreover, the crusade theorists in particular organized Asia into a strategic map prepared for further crusading action. They had done the research, now, in their eyes, the papacy and other European leaders had to take action.

¹³⁰ William of Adam, 46-48. William, unfortunately, does not expand on the meaning of bells to Christians in these lands, only offering that such an action caused great scandal and grievance among them. On the meaning of bells to medieval Christianity in general, see John H. Arnold and Caroline Goodson, “Resounding Community: The History and Meaning of Medieval Church Bells” *Viator* 43 (2012): 99-130.

¹³¹ William of Adam, 56-58. The promise of an alliance between the Perisan Ilkhans and various leaders of Europe, including both the Church and secular rulers, had, at this point existed for quite some time, and never reached fruition. See below.

Organizing the Expanded World of the Fourteenth Century

The chapter now turns to a brief overview of the actions that John XXII's predecessors took as a mean to organize the information that they had come to know about Asia and how best to provide pastoral care and support for Latin Christians while at the same time promoting Latin Christianity in a land in which it was not the dominant form of religious practice. The section is divided thematically into the categories of trade, diplomacy, and the commissioning of missionaries. Each of these sections provides a specific approach to how the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century popes developed policies to address the needs of Latin Christians who lived outside of Europe. At the most basic level, moreover, these varying approaches are all evidence of the ways in which Latin Christians, particularly the popes, attempted to organize information and to discipline, to police, and to strengthen Latin Christians who lived in non-Christian spaces.

Trade

As Thadeo of Naples and the author of the *Exicdii* made clear, trade with Muslims, but particularly the Egyptian Mamluks, presented a major source of anxiety for Christians concerned about the Holy Land. Popes and crusade theorists were primarily concerned with the trade of wartime goods, particularly wood, iron, naval pitch, woolen materials, and men, all of which, argued the theorists, was not found in great supply, if at all, in Egypt, and the transportation of such goods was responsible for maintaining the strength of the Egyptian

sultan.¹³² The prohibition of trading such materials had long been the policy of the Church, as early as the Third Lateran Council in 1179, though Leopold notes that regional restrictions on such economic activities had been issued prior to the council in 1165.¹³³ That council restricted trade of arms and wood for helmets, bemoaning that Christians who had been “seized by cruel avarice” had not only engaged in such trade with Muslims but also had served on their ships as captains or pilots and even participated in the robbing and plundering of fellow Christians.¹³⁴ The punishment for such infractions was immediate excommunication, and, if any person was found participating in such treacherous activities, the transgressors would have all of their property seized and would become the slaves of their captors.¹³⁵ Similar restrictions and punishments were set forth in the succeeding ecumenical councils, with small innovations. Lateran IV, for example, anathematized any Christian communicating with any Muslim, but especially when engaged in business dealings, and even prohibited travel to Muslim lands for a period for four years.¹³⁶ Lyon II in 1274 extended that prohibition to six years.¹³⁷ In short, the councils took every step it deemed necessary to thwart any sort of trade that would undermine their projects abroad.

Nicholas IV, while not particularly innovative in his approach to trading bans, did seek to strengthen and enforce the prohibition against trading contraband goods with Latin

¹³² William of Adam, *Tractatus*, 27-29; Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber Secretorum* 4; *Directorium*, 408

¹³³ Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land*, 119.

¹³⁴ *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 223.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 269-70..

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 309.

Christendom's enemies. Until recently, scholars, Sylvia Schein among them, insisted that the fall of Acre brought about Nicholas' interest in reasserting the papacy's position on illegal trade, but Stefan Stantchev has recently shown otherwise.¹³⁸ Indeed, on 28 December 1289, almost eighteen months before the Mamluk takeover of the port city, Nicholas issued a decree that banned the trade of any goods that might relate to the Mamluks' war efforts, including arms, horses, timber, food, and any other merchandise. Those who transgressed Nicholas' order became subject to excommunication and, if caught by fellow Christians on the sea, subject to being sold into slavery. These punishments aligned with those set out by the Church councils that preceded Nicholas.¹³⁹ Nicholas relaxed the restrictions in the wake of receiving news that Christians and Muslims had come to a truce agreement. While the papacy still prohibited the trade of wartime goods such as arms, timber, and iron, Christians merchants could trade non-war goods for as long as the truce lasted.¹⁴⁰ However, after the fall of Acre, Nicholas did reissue his bans on trade on 23 August 1291, reestablishing the strict prohibitions against all trade with Egypt and extending that ban for ten years.¹⁴¹ As Stantchev points out, moreover, Nicholas added a novel clause to these restrictions, namely that transgressors would be proclaimed infamous and their names would be read out on

¹³⁸ Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, 77. Stantchev, "Embargo," 182, n. 27. Stantchev lists a number of scholars who have argued that the collapse of Acre renewed interest in trading restrictions with Muslims. See Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages*, 17; Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades*, 201; Ortalli, "Venice and the Papal Bans on Trade with the Levant: The Role of the Jurist," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 10:1-2 (1995), 242-3.

¹³⁹ Stantchev, *Spiritual Rationality*, 121. Stantchev cites Reg. Vat. 46, f176r and notes that the list of prohibited goods appears in the margin. See also *Registres de Nicholas IV*, no. 6789. See also

¹⁴⁰ Stantchev, "Embargo," 183. *Registres de Nicholas IV*, no. 4402.

¹⁴¹ Stantchev, *Spiritual Rationality*, 121. Stantchev surveys some scholarly confusion over this bull. Some scholars, José Trenchs Odena, Norman Housley, Sophie Menache, and Jean Richard all confuse the language of the bull, either interpolating words from another bull or misunderstanding the language of Nicholas' bull. See Stantchev, *Spiritual Rationality*, 121-2, n. 19.

important feast days and Sundays. Such a designation, usually reserved for heretics and infidels, prohibited the perpetrators from holding office and required that all of their goods be seized.¹⁴²

While the trading bans operated on a more theoretical level, Nicholas also seems to have taken action in order to prevent the exchange of goods between Christians and Muslims. After the Christians who fled Acre landed on Cyprus, this Mediterranean island became the base of operations for the general defense of Christians living in the region, particularly Armenia. In order to provide some semblance of defense for the region, Nicholas commissioned ten galleys each from Ancona and Genoa, using funds appropriated from both the Templars and Hospitallers.¹⁴³ The ships left for Cyprus in 1292 and joined an additional fleet of fifteen ships once it reached the island, in the hopes that it could significantly damage the Egyptian sultan's forces. This combined fleet, much to the disappointment of its captains and the papacy itself, did not succeed in this aspect of its mission. However, the fleet did have an added task: to harass Muslim ships and any others that engaged with trade with Muslims. The attempt to commission a papal fleet to patrol the seas for illicit trade formed one of the central ways in which the Nicholas' successors, including John XXII, attempted to discipline Latin Christians both inside and outside of Europe.

Nicholas' successor, following the brief papacy of Celestine V, Boniface VIII, followed Nicholas in many respects, leading Stefan Stantchev to label both as "activist popes" in regards to the papal use of trade embargoes.¹⁴⁴ Boniface began to renew trading

¹⁴² Ibid., 122. See also Stantchev's note 22 at the end of the chapter.

¹⁴³ Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, 77-8. *Registres Nicholas IV*, nos. 6432, 6778, 6854-6

¹⁴⁴ Stantchev, "Embargo," 188. Here Stantchev disagrees with Ortali on when Boniface became truly interested in the use of embargo. Ortali surmises that Boniface's interest in prohibiting trade with Egypt coincided with

bans with Muslims in May of 1295, shortly after his election to the papacy in December of 1294. Following his predecessor's lead, Boniface banned the trade of the usual goods, including timber, arms, and iron.¹⁴⁵ Boniface published this bull every six months for a short period between 1295 and 1296, though with particular emphasis on Holy Thursday.¹⁴⁶ Boniface's issuing of a similar bull in 1299 brought with it a major change for the way in which the trading bans functioned. While the bull repeated the usual banned goods and the list of those who had transgressed the prohibition, Boniface extended Nicholas IV's original ten-year ban for another ten-year period, and, more interestingly, authorized inquisitors to investigate claims of trading impropriety and of the failure of leaders to impose punishments for the same. Moreover, the inquisitors were also authorized to impose both spiritual and temporal punishments, the latter with the assistance of secular authorities.¹⁴⁷ The use of inquisitors, as Stantchev argues, was a logical conclusion after the Latin Church equated trading with Muslims and heresy.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, the continued association of prohibited trade and heresy highlights the concerns of the papacy about the Christian discipline of its subjects beyond its traditional borders, using excommunication and the spiritual and temporal

the papal Jubilee that he proclaimed in 1300. See Ortali, "Venice and the Papal Bans on Trade," 244. Stantchev points out the 1295 bull, which clearly demonstrates Boniface's interest in prohibiting trade a full five years before Boniface proclaimed the Jubilee.

¹⁴⁵ Stantchev, "Embargo," 129. Stantchev cites Reg. Vat. 47, f. 86v. See also *Les Registres de Boniface VIII* no. 778.

¹⁴⁶ Stantchev, *Spiritual Rationality*, 122-3 and Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, 151. See also *Le Registres de Boniface VIII*, no. 1654. In addition, Sophia Menache notes that popes in the thirteenth century onwards published the bull *coena domini*, which named heretics and other miscreants (twenty total categories). Among these "evildoers," the bulls included "pirates" and other merchants performing illicit trade. This complicates Stantchev's view that Boniface was particularly innovative with the promulgation of these bulls every six months. See Sophia Menache, "Papal Attempts at a Commercial Boycott of the Muslims in the Crusader Period," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63 (2012): 241.

¹⁴⁷ *Le Registres de Boniface VIII*, no. 3354. See also Stantchev, "Embargo," 191.

¹⁴⁸ Stantchev, *Spiritual Rationality*, 123.

consequences that came with it as a tool that could enforce standards of orthodoxy in the most far-flung of places.

While Boniface's successor, Benedict XI (r. 1303-1304), oscillated between a total ban on trade and a somewhat permissive stance on trade when it served political purposes, Clement V (r. 1305-1314) returned to the strict embargo of both Nicholas IV and Boniface VIII.¹⁴⁹ In 1308, Clement reissued the ban on trade with Muslims with, as Stantchev points out, some revision to the ideas of Clement's predecessors.¹⁵⁰ In the bull, Clement V made it plain that the trade between Christian and Muslim merchants directly harmed Christians living in Muslim lands, and that so-called Christians who perpetrated these crimes stood well outside communion with the Church. As did his the popes before him, Clement promised excommunication for any merchant caught trading the prohibited goods, and stipulated that, while merchants could receive absolution for this sin, such a remedy could only come from the pope himself. In the same bull, he asked Philip IV of France to enforce the blockade that protected the southern part of France, and sent similar letters to Venice, Ancona, Pisa, Genoa, Naples, and Brisindi in the hopes on enlisting those Italian cities' help in enforcing the trading restrictions.¹⁵¹ The Italian cities, especially, did not provide much, if any, help in the wake of Clement's request. In fact, in 1302, six years before Clement reissued the ban on trade, Venice had signed a trade agreement with Egypt, which granted Venice tax

¹⁴⁹ Stantchev notes that Benedict's trade policy served as a total embargo in theory, but not in practice. In 1304, Benedict permitted Pisa and Genoa to resume trade with Muslims, provided that the Italian merchants not trade with Egypt, still ever the main enemy of Christendom. Benedict did remind the merchants and the rest of Christendom, moreover that no such trade could occur without his permission. See Stantchev, *Spiritual Rationality*, 124.

¹⁵⁰ Stantchev, "Embargo," 195.

¹⁵¹ Menache, *Clement V* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 107. *Regestum Clementis Papae V*, nos. 2986, 2994-5, 3088.

exemptions on imports and exports as well as a permanent consul in Alexandria.¹⁵² Even after Clement reissued his ban and requests for help in this respect, the Italian cities, particularly Venice, regularly violated the trading bans, wooed by the lucrative profits such trade brought.¹⁵³

Clement also commissioned the Hospitaller order to undertake a *passagium particulare* in order to defend Cyprus and Armenia and to limit any exchange between Christians and Muslims, much like Nicholas IV had done a decade or so earlier.¹⁵⁴ While the order consented to the plan in general, the master of the Hospital, Fulk of Villaret, did not agree with the specific strategy, and instead saw the opportunity to conquer the island of Rhodes. This would, in turn, provide the order a place from which to attack their ultimate target, Byzantium and its emperor Andronicus II, whom the pope had excommunicated in 1307.¹⁵⁵ Though the Hospitallers succeeded in their conquest of Rhodes, they continued to encounter Christian merchants who engaged with trade with Muslims, many of which became hostile to the Hospitallers in general.¹⁵⁶ Indeed, in 1311, the Hospitallers seized a Genoese ship that had set sail from Alexandria with a cargo of spices bound for Europe, and held the ship until they received papal authorization to release it. This greatly displeased the Genoese ambassador, who immediately began negotiations with Muslims. The ambassador

¹⁵² M. L. de Mas Latrie, "Traité des Venitiens avec l'émir d'Acre", *Histoire de l'île Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan* (Paris, 1852-61) 406-8; cited by Sophie Menache, *Clement V*, 107.

¹⁵³ Menache, *Clement V*, 110-112.

¹⁵⁴ Menache, *Clement V*, 105. *Regestum Clementis Papae V*, nos. 2888-90.

¹⁵⁵ Menache, *Clement V*, 109.

¹⁵⁶ For a narrative of the Hospitallers' activities at Rhodes, see Anthony Luttrell, "The Hospitallers at Rhodes, 1306-1421," in Kenneth Setton, *A History of the Crusades III* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975), 278-313.

came to an agreement with a Muslim prince who promised to imprison Rhodian merchants and any Hospitallers that the prince found in his territory, and, even more, the Genoese ambassador promised 50,000 florins to these Muslims upon their removing the Hospitallers from Rhodes completely.¹⁵⁷ Venice also proved difficult in terms of obedience to papal decrees, as did the Catalans in Athens.¹⁵⁸ Yet, despite the apparent failure of Clement's plans to produce tangible results, the attempt clearly demonstrates the concern that the pope had with prohibiting the exchange of goods that could benefit Muslim war efforts on one hand, and the desire to direct men away from the lure of material wealth on the other.

Diplomacy

Direct diplomacy with non-Christian leaders also comprised a major component of the papacy's engagement with the wider world. In fact, contact with leaders in lands far flung from the traditional boundaries of Christendom, in the papacy's mind, had a three-fold purpose: securing the protection of Christians who lived in these "non-Christian" lands, especially missionaries, attempting to persuade the leaders to convert or conform to Latin Christianity, and securing alliances in the hopes for a new crusade project. While crusading may seem somewhat separate from the missionary project, crusade and mission, as mentioned above, have in previous scholarship been cast as two sides of the same coin. In his *Crusade and Mission*, Benjamin Kedar argues that the relationship between crusades and Church mission was somewhat fraught with difficulty. Indeed, Kedar points to critics of

¹⁵⁷ Menache, *Clement V*, 111. Naturally, Clement did not take great pleasure in hearing this news. See *Regestum Clementis Papae V*, 7631.

¹⁵⁸ Menache, *Clement V*, 111-2.

crusading who used mission as a more peaceful and therefore more morally acceptable alternative to the crusade in the twelfth century such as Peter of Cluny.¹⁵⁹ Eventually, Kedar argues, crusading and mission converged in the thirteenth century when churchmen like Jacques de Vitry rejected criticism leveled against crusading, like Peter of Cluny's, and began to see crusading and mission working in concert.¹⁶⁰ For crusade supporters and theorists, like Jacques de Vitry, Humbert of Romans, and Ramon Lull, the crusade became a way to prepare Muslim controlled lands for Latin missionaries. In their minds, the crusade would eliminate those Muslims who prevented the preaching of Christianity in their lands.¹⁶¹

The proposal for a crusading alliance with the Il-Khans, however, seems to complicate this linkage between crusade and mission. While the proposed alliance certainly involved a crusade, these diplomatic overtures did not threaten violence against Muslims in the Il-Khan's territories, but rather promised to combine military efforts against a common enemy, specifically the Mamluks of Egypt, who, at the time, controlled the city of Jerusalem. For missionaries, this might mean, then, that new avenues for evangelization would open in previously hostile areas. However, the proposed alliance meant something more for missionary work itself. Rather than opening up opportunities for Latin mission work, an alliance would guarantee that the missionaries who had already been working in Persia for a few decades could continue that work without the threat of violence from non-Christian leaders. Seen from this perspective, the proposed partnership between the Latin Church and the Persian Il-Khans had at least as many pastoral consequences as it did military effects.

¹⁵⁹ Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, 99-104.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 159.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 183-203.

This attempt at an alliance began to take shape after the year 1260, at a time during which the unity among the Mongols had fractured and the Persian Il-Khans found themselves caught between the Mamluks in Egypt and the Golden Horde to their north and east.¹⁶² For the West, beyond the possibility for Mongol conversion, this fracture represented an opportunity for Christendom to send a crusading army to the East in hopes of a recapture of Jerusalem with the assistance of an army sent by the Persian emperor.¹⁶³ These negotiations between the Persian Khans and the rulers of the West seem to have begun in 1262, when the Il-Khan Hülegü sent a letter to King Louis IX of France, in which the Khan promised that he would make war on Egypt in a joint operation. The Khan also promised Louis IX that if his armies reached Jerusalem and managed to take the city, the Khan would turn the city over to French hands.¹⁶⁴ This letter and the apparent negotiations that it began would set the stage for the continuing relationship between the Persian Khans and the kings of France, at least until the Il-Khans and the Mamluks signed a peace agreement in 1322.

While the first overtures of this proposed alliance with the Persian Il-Khans whetted the appetite of the various rulers of the West, their correspondence with the Il-Khan Arghun and his sons Ghazan and Ölejitü set the stage for the creation of the archdiocese of

¹⁶² David Morgan, *The Mongols*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 159.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 159-160. See also J.A. Boyle, "The Il-Khans of Persia and the Princes of Europe," *Central Asiatic Journal*, 20:1/2 (1976): 25-40, Denis Sinor, "The Mongols and Western Europe" in *A History of the Crusades* vol. 3, ed. Kenneth M. Setton (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975), 513-544, and Jean Richard, "The Mongols and the Franks," *Journal of Asian History*, 3 (1969): 45-57.

¹⁶⁴ Paul Meyvaert, "An Unknown Letter of Hulagu, Il-Khan of Persia, to King Louis IX of France," *Viator* 11 (1980): 245-259. Meyvaert discovered this letter attached to a twelfth-century manuscript in a Vienna library while on the hunt for saints' lives.

Sultāniyya in 1318.¹⁶⁵ Arghun, who reigned between 1281 and 1291, seemed especially willing to establish a political and military relationship with the Latin West and was quite tolerant towards Christianity in general, to such an extent that he had his son, Öljeitü, baptized and given the baptismal name Nicholas, in honor of the current pope, Nicholas IV.¹⁶⁶ Arghun commissioned a Nestorian monk, Rabban Sauma, whom Arghun sent to Europe as an ambassador to Pope Nicholas, King Philip the Fair of France, and King Edward I of England.¹⁶⁷ Rabban Sauma apparently had great success in gathering support for relations between the West and Arghun's court, carrying back to the Khan several letters from Italians and Frenchmen, and was instrumental in the establishment of a Latin Christian "colony" at Tabriz, made up largely of Genoese and Venetian merchants.¹⁶⁸ Arghun made a later overture towards an alliance with King Philip the Fair in 1289, urging the king to send his armies to assist his own in a campaign against the Mamluks that was to begin the next year. In return, Arghun offered the king a number of horses, twenty or thirty thousand, at relatively no cost.¹⁶⁹ The agreement was not to be. Arghun died from illness on 10 March

¹⁶⁵ For a detailed history of the political lives of these Persian Khans, see J.A. Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans" in *The Cambridge History of Iran* vol. 5, ed. J.A. Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 303-421.

¹⁶⁶ See M. L'Abbé Huc, *Christianity in China, Tartary, and Thibet* vol. 1 *From the Apostleship of St. Thomas to the Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1857) 313-14. Nicholas IV wrote to the young Öljeitü, congratulating him on his baptism, and urged him to spread the Christian faith among his people. For the transcription of the letter, see *Annales Ecclesiastici* vol. 23, ed. O. Raynaldi (Barri-Ducis: L. Guerin, 1864), 100.

¹⁶⁷ Sinor, "The Mongols and Western Europe," 532-533. See also L. Lockhart "The Relations Between Edward I and Edward II of England and the Mongol Il-Khans of Persia" *Iran* 6 (1968): 23-31.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 533. For the role of the merchants in Tabriz, see Luciano Petech, "Les marchands Italiens dans l'Empire Mongol," *Journal Asiatique* 250 (1962): 549-74.

¹⁶⁹ The letter between the two men is preserved in the French national archives. For an edition of the letter in French, see Antoine Mostaert and Francis Woodman Cleaves, *Les lettres de 1289 et 1305 des Ilkhan Argun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel*, Scripta Mongolica Monograph Series I (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 17-18.

1291, and the city of Acre fell into Muslim hands. For the time being, the alliance between the Il-Khans and the Latin West had been put on hold.

After a brief, four-year interlude, during which Arghun's brother, Gaikhatu, and his cousin Baidu ruled the Il-Khans, Arghun's son Ghazan became the ruler of Persia following Baidu's execution at the hands of Ghazan's followers.¹⁷⁰ Where Arghun failed, Ghazan found success, at least in the case of battling back the Mamluk threat, which saw him rout the Mamluk forces in Syria and capture Damascus.¹⁷¹ While Sinor notes that Ghazan's victories over the Mamluks stoked a great deal of enthusiasm in the West, it does not seem like much action came out of the new slew of proposals that went back and forth between the Il-Khans and the western rulers, particularly in Italy.¹⁷² Ghazan's victories also gained the attention of Pope Boniface VIII, who, in 1302, sent a golden crown in order to praise Ghazan for his help in returning Christian worship to the Holy Land.¹⁷³ Ghazan wrote back to the West also in 1302 asking for assistance to continue his attacks against the Mamluks, and while the architecture was in place for assistance from the west, no help came for Ghazan.¹⁷⁴ Edward I of England, for example, was unable to send aid due to the civil unrest in northern England due to the rise of Robert the Bruce in Scotland.¹⁷⁵ Ghazan died shortly thereafter, leaving the relations between the Il-Khans and western Europe in flux yet again.

¹⁷⁰ Gaikhatu reported received ambassadors from the west, though the details of these meetings are scant. See Lockhart, "Relations," 28-29.

¹⁷¹ Sinor, "The Mongols and Western Europe," 535.

¹⁷² Ibid., 535. See also Jean Richard, "Isol le Pisan: Un aventurier franc gouverneur d'une province Mongole?" *Central Asiatic Journal*, XIV (1970): 186-94.

¹⁷³ Sinor, "The Mongols and Western Europe," 536.

¹⁷⁴ Lockhart, "Relations," 29.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 29.

Following Ghazan's death, his half-brother Öljeitü was elected as the sultan of the Il-Khans, and he too pursued the same relationships with the west as his predecessors. Quite unlike his predecessors, however, Öljeitü moved his capital, at least in the summer months, to Sultāniyya, a city which his father, Arghun, had begun during his own reign, and which Öljeitü finished between 1305 and 1307.¹⁷⁶ The Il-Khan also built several mosques and a grand mausoleum for himself within the city, signaling his recent conversion to Islam from Buddhism after he became sultan. Despite his conversion to Islam, Öljeitü still maintained diplomatic relations with the West, though it does not seem that he ever told any western leader about his conversion. In the year 1305, the Il-Khan sent messengers with letters addressed to several leaders: King Philip of France, King Edward I of England, and Pope Clement V. Of these letters, only the letter from Öljeitü to Philip in France has survived. The letter presented the Khan's hopes for an alliance and promised a stronger friendship between his people and the European powers.¹⁷⁷ The Khan also informed the western powers that he had recently reunified with the eastern Mongol clans, though, from the tone of his letter, it appears that this union was tenuous. The Khan had also not made peace with the Egyptian Mamluks.¹⁷⁸ Öljeitü closed his letter with the introduction of the two ambassadors that he had sent with the letter, Touman and Mamalac, and wished the king, whom he called the "sultan of France," continued peace, offering that "peace is certainly a good thing."¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans" 399-400. Boyle is not clear on the exact date of the city's completion.

¹⁷⁷ Mostaert and Cleaves, "Les Lettres," 56.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 56. See also Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans," 399-400.

¹⁷⁹ Mostaert and Cleaves, "Les Lettres," 57.

While no reply from Philip the Fair has survived, the Khan did receive replies from both Edward II of England and Pope Clement V. Two letters from the English king to Öljeitü have survived, both of which show Edward's desire for an alliance with the Il-Khans.¹⁸⁰ Though the first letter contains only greetings and an agreeable overture towards Öljeitü's offer of friendship, the second letter expressed directly Edward's desire for a partnership with the Khan. Edward wrote and explained his keen interest in "extirpating" Muslims, though he explains that he could not provide action to go along with his expressed desires because of their distance from England and "difficulties" that kept him from leaving.¹⁸¹ The king also urged the Khan to keep up his own fight against the Muslims, and informed Öljeitü that he would be sending clerics from the Dominican order, whom Edward hoped could convince the khan to convert to Catholicism, and whom Edward hoped the Khan would receive well.¹⁸²

Pope Clement V's letter to the Persian Khan also promised friendship and accord. Unlike Edward II's reply, however, Clement's response to Öljeitü offered concrete terms for an alliance.¹⁸³ According to the pope's letter, Öljeitü had offered the western powers (it is unclear whether the Khan intended this plan for the king or the pope specifically) 200,000 horses and 200,000 loads of grain to be delivered to Armenia at the precise time when the

¹⁸⁰ *Foedera, conventiones, literæ et cujuscunque generis acta publica, inter reges Angliæ, et alios quovis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes, vel communitates, ab Ienuente Sæculo DuoDecimo, viz. ab Anno 1101, ad nostra usque Tempora, Habita aut Tractata; ex Autographis, infra Secretiores Archivorum Regiorum Thefaurariars per multa Sæcula reconditis, fideliter Exscripta*, ed. Thomas Rymer, 20 vols. (London: George Holmes, 1726), 3:15 and *ibid.*, 3:34.

¹⁸¹ *Foedera*, ed. Rymer, 3:34.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 3:34.

¹⁸³ *Annales Ecclesiastici*, ed. Raynaldi, vol. 23, 421-422.

Christian army was to be there.¹⁸⁴ Öljeitü had also promised to send 100,000 horsemen to the Christian armies in order to assist them in their attempt to take back the Holy Land from its Muslim occupiers. Clement added that he was absolutely sure that the Khan's messenger had been sent to him through the divine providence of God and repeatedly thanked Öljeitü for his offer and wished him great success in his military endeavors.¹⁸⁵ Clement, however, seemed hesitant to commit to any arrangement, informing the Khan that he would take the Khan's offer to his advisers and would give him notice when the season was favorable for the Christian armies to cross the sea.¹⁸⁶ Clement's hesitation proved prophetic: The pope never commissioned any army to send to the Khan's aid.¹⁸⁷

Despite the inaction of the pope, at least one cleric incorporated the possibility of an alliance between the West and the Il-Khans into his travel writings and crusade proposal. "The Flower of the Histories of the East," written in 1307 in Poitiers by an Armenian cleric named Hetoum, chronicled in some detail the complete histories of the Mongols and a chronicle of events related to the Mamluks in Egypt, including their invasion of Armenia.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 3:421.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 3:422.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 3:422.

¹⁸⁷ See Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West 1221-1410* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2005), 179-180. Jackson offers several reasons for why neither Clement nor any of his predecessors followed through on an alliance with the Il-Khans, including a general mistrust on the part of the western leaders towards the Persian khans.

¹⁸⁸ For the standard edition of Hetoum's text in both Latin and French, see *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Documents arméniens, II*, ed. Charles Kohler (Paris, 1906), 113-363. This edition does not include book four, which contains Hetoum's crusade proposal. For an edition of Richard Pynson's 1520 English translation which does contain book four, see *A Lytell Chronicle: Richard Pynson's Translation (c 1520) of La Fleur des histoires de la terre d'Orient (c 1307)*, ed. Glenn Burger (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988). The historiography on Hetoum has been relatively sparse, with only a few articles devoted to the study of his chronicle. See David D. Bundy, "Het'um's la Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient: A Study in Medieval Armenian Historiography and Propaganda," *Revue des Etudes Armeniennes* 20 (1986): 223-35. See also Glenn Burger, "Cilician Armenian métissage and Hetoum's *La Fleur des histoires de la Terre d'Orient*" in *The*

At the end of his long history, Hetoum proposed a general crusade that would eventually see the recapture of Jerusalem.¹⁸⁹ As a part of that crusade, Hetoum included the suggestion that the Christians make use of Öljeitü's offer of a military alliance and should leave for the Holy Land without delay.¹⁹⁰ Hetoum urged Clement V, whom he addresses directly, to move with this urgency because Hetoum worried that Öljeitü, who Hetoum considered friendly to Christianity, might fail in his own military exploits and die, resulting in the rise of another Khan who would ally with Islam and damage the Christian's chances at recapturing the Holy Land.¹⁹¹ Hetoum, moreover, suggested that a legate should be sent to the Armenians in Cyprus, who could then dispatch their own ambassadors to Öljeitü and ask that the Khan do two things: first that the Khan should make war in the countries of Meletur and that he should lay waste to the Aleppo area.¹⁹² After Öljeitü had done so, Hetoum suggested that the Christian armies move in, overthrow the sultan of Egypt, making him subject to the Christians and the Il-Khans, before moving on to their ultimate prize, the city of Jerusalem.¹⁹³ Like the direct proposals of alliance between the Il-Khans and the western leaders before, however, the papacy did not take action based on Hetoum's proposal.

Postcolonial Middle Ages, ed. Jeffrey J. Cohen (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000) 67-84, and Angus Stewart Donal, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks: War and Diplomacy During the Reigns of Het'um II (1289-1307)* (Lieden: Brill, 2001), esp. 21-22.

¹⁸⁹ Hetoum, *La Fleur des Histoires*, in *A Lytell Chronicle*, 81-85. See also Sinor, "The Mongols and Western Europe," 538-39.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 75.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 75.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 78.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 78-85.

Commissioning Missionaries

In addition to the attempts to curb illicit trade with their Muslim enemies and diplomatic mission to Mongol rulers, the papacy commissioned missionaries to head eastward. Scholars, in part, have debated the effectiveness of this strategy. James Ryan, for example, argues that the papacy did little more than grant special privileges to certain missionaries and, further, that the papacy used mission in a reactive rather than proactive manner.¹⁹⁴ While Ryan is correct in his assertion about the reactive nature of the papacy's use of mission, he presents a far too reductionist argument on the ways in which the Roman pontiffs employed missionaries to further their foreign policy goals in Asia. Rather, the popes of Rome and Avignon employed two primary methods of mobilizing missionaries: the granting of special privileges to missionaries in general to bring Christians back into the Latin fold and the commissioning of specific missionaries in high-profile stations, usually at the court of a Mongol Khan, non-Latin Christian patriarch, or a somewhat lower-ranking ruler in the East, to act as the papacy's diplomatic representative. The hope, of course, was that these missionaries could bring about the conversions of peoples through the acceptance of Latin Christianity on the part of their ruler, but, as discussed above, the diplomat-missionaries had more tangible, perhaps more practical, goals, such as securing an alliance for the purpose of crusading. Regardless, the use of missionaries on the part of the papacy, rather than demonstrating a passive engagement with the outside world, suggests quite

¹⁹⁴ James Ryan, "To Baptize Khans or Convert Peoples? Missionary Aims in Central Asia in the Fourteenth Century" in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, eds. Guyda Armstrong and Ian N. Wood (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2000), 247-57.

forcefully that the papacy took a rather active interest how the missionary project of the Dominican and Franciscan orders could further the papacy's own foreign policy goals.

Latin Christian missions to Asia have a long and rich history prior to 1291. In fact, long-distance missionary activity, particularly to the Mongols, began shortly after Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243-1254) received news from Hungary that the Mongols had begun to make incursions into the West.¹⁹⁵ In response to the news, Innocent IV sent several groups of both Dominican and Franciscan missionaries to the court of the Khan in order to establish diplomatic ties and in the hopes of bringing about the Khan's conversion. This trend continued over the next several decades. Notable missionary John of Plano Carpini journeyed to the courts of Mongol rulers as a diplomatic representative of the papacy. William of Rubruck, another friar, left a crusading army and became a missionary, though he did not represent any ruler of Europe in an official capacity. Both recorded their travels and experiences.¹⁹⁶ Innocent IV also seems to have begun the trend of issuing the apocalyptically charged bull *Cum hora undecima* that not only provided a list of peoples that the papacy hoped would join the Latin fold, but also granted specific faculties to missionaries, the power to absolve schismatic Christians among them.¹⁹⁷ The missionaries found limited success in

¹⁹⁵ Marshal Baldwin, "Missions to the East in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries" in *A History of the Crusades V*, ed. Kenneth Setton (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 471.

¹⁹⁶ The scholarly work done on John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck is vast. English translations of their reports back to Europe exist in several volumes. John of Plano Carpini, "'History of the Mongols'" trans. Christopher Dawson in Christopher Dawson, *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1955). William of Rubruck "Report to King Louis IX of France," trans. Peter Jackson in Peter Jackson, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2009). For a general survey of the historiography of both Plano Carpini and Rubruck, see Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, 87-95 and 256-79. See also Mary R. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing 400-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), esp. 47-121.

¹⁹⁷ Baldwin "Missions to the East," 473. For a discussion of the bull *cum hora undecima* see Felicitas Schmieder, "*Cum hora undecima*: The Incorporation of Asia into the *orbis Christianus*," in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, ed. Guyda Armstrong and Ian Wood (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 259-265

terms of converting the Khans and their peoples. Even William of Rubruck himself wondered about the effectiveness of sending friars to the courts of imperial rulers. William suggested at the end of his report that the papacy should send bishops instead.¹⁹⁸ However, to evaluate those missionaries along those lines would miss the point. Rather, these initial attempts set the stage for how the papacy would proceed for the next century in terms of its foreign policy strategy and navigating an ever-expanding, multi-polar world.

Following 1291, missionary activity seems to have intensified, not as a reaction to the collapse of the Latin East necessarily, but because of the momentum created by the missionaries in the mid-twelfth century combined with a renewed interest in creating an alliance with both eastern Christians and the Persian Il-Khans, though it took several years to develop. Nicholas IV's papacy marked two major attempts to employ missionaries in the service of diplomacy, notably the Nestorian monk Rabban Sauma and the often-discussed John of Montecorvino, a Franciscan friar who would long be a player in the Latin Church's missionary project in the East. Rabban Sauma came to Nicholas IV bearing correspondence not only from the Nestorian patriarch Mar Yabhalaha III and the Persian Il-Khan Arghun after visiting the kings of England and France.¹⁹⁹ After his visit, Nicholas IV sent Rabban Sauma with several letters, one each for the Nestorian patriarch, Arghun Khan, a certain Dionysus of Tauris, and a general letter to others that praised the work of Italian merchants

and Brett Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 159-175. See also Muldoon, "The Avignon Papacy and the Frontiers of Christendom," 143-150.

¹⁹⁸ William of Rubruck "Report to King Louis IX of France," 278.

¹⁹⁹ Baldwin, "Missions," 483. For an account of Rabban Sauma's visit to Nicholas IV in French, see Golubovich, *Bio-Bibliografica* 2, 434-7.

who operated also as translators at the courts.²⁰⁰ Each letter commended Rabban Sauma for his visit and each of the recipients for their amicable attitudes towards Latin Christianity. Particularly for the Nestorian patriarch and Arghun, Nicholas emphasized that the leaders should embrace Latin Christianity wholeheartedly and provided them with a confession of faith through which to make their conversion complete.²⁰¹ For Mar Yabhalaha, Baldwin notes that the letter Nicholas IV sent with Rabban Sauma for the Nestorian patriarch matched verbatim the letter Clement IV (r. 1265-1268) sent to Michael Palaeologus in 1267.²⁰² Finally, Rabban Sauma carried a letter to the Franciscan brothers working among all of the Mongols (Tartars), granting them permission and license from the apostolic seat to perform their duties as missionaries and granting them special privileges for reconciling schismatic Christians with the Latin Church.²⁰³

John of Montecorvino also received several letters from Nicholas IV stemming from similar circumstances to those of Rabban Sauma. After traveling in Persia for a time, John returned to Nicholas IV with letters from Arghun and Hetoum II of Armenia.²⁰⁴ Nicholas sent John back eastward after his visit with letters for a host of important people, including Arghun and Hetuom II. These letters, much like the letters sent back with Rabban Sauma, contained commendations of individuals who operated or who would come to operate at the courts of the respective leaders, and similar calls for the non-Latin Christian and non-

²⁰⁰ Golubovich, 2, 438-9. Baldwin, "Missions," 484.

²⁰¹ Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica* vol. 2, 438.

²⁰² Baldwin, "Missions," 484.

²⁰³ Golubovich *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica* vol. 2, 440.

²⁰⁴ Baldwin, "Missions," 485.

Christian leaders to embrace the faith of the Latin Church. John also carried a letter addressed to the patriarch of the Jacobite Christians and their priests, the patriarchs of the Nestorians, Georgians, and Armenians, as well as to the archbishop of Ethiopia. Finally, John was to deliver a letter to Kubilai Khan at his court in Khanbaliq (modern-day Beijing).²⁰⁵ John did travel east, and his exploits resulted in a flourishing of Franciscan activity in eastern China.

The fall of Acre combined with the death of Nicholas IV complicated the papacy's missionary outreach. Upon receiving the news, Nicholas IV wrote to many eastern rulers, including Arghun, to encourage them in their faith and offering support. Much like previous attempts to reach the Khan, Nicholas sent a pair of Franciscan missionaries to deliver his letter, Guglielmo da Chieri and Matteo da Chieti. As before, Nicholas also extended the friars' missionary privileges and reinforced the friars' position as his representatives in the region. In his letter to Arghun, Nicholas commended the khan for having his son baptized and given the Christian name Nicholas, in the pope's honor.²⁰⁶ Both Nicholas and Arghun died before any theoretical plans could be put into action. Their deaths seem to have brought about a temporary pause in the papacy's involvement with the missionary project, though it did not halt it completely. In 1299, Boniface VIII commissioned a group of missionaries including Dominicans Francis of Perugia and William Bernard, who would later found the important Dominican missionary "society" the *Fratres Peregrinantes*, and extended them the

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 441.

²⁰⁶ Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, vol. 2, 473.

usual privileges.²⁰⁷ Boniface VIII's successor Benedict XI reissued the bull *Cum hora undecima* in 1304, with its "wish list" of Asian converts and instructions for missionaries, though this seems to have been a regular practice rather than something particular to the individual popes.²⁰⁸ Both Boniface VIII and Benedict XI both actively pursued other means of diplomatic missions or crusading ideas, so they were not necessarily inactive, but their more direct involvement in missionary activities may have formed a lower priority in favor of more domestic affairs, particularly for Boniface VIII.

If Boniface VIII and Benedict XI seemed to decrease the papacy's role in the missionary project, Clement V (r. 1304-1314) certainly revived it. By the time that Clement became pope, the Franciscans had already established a number of houses and convents in the east in major trading centers such as Trebizond, Tauris, and Constantinople, but also in farther flung places in eastern China, such as Khanbaliq. By 1307, Zaitun, another important trading city in eastern China, also came under Franciscan care.²⁰⁹ In 1305, John of Montecorvino, the important Franciscan missionary during Nicholas IV's time, wrote back to Europe about his exploits in China and wrote again in 1306.²¹⁰ Clement, apparently impressed by John's successes in the region, appointed him the archbishop of the new archdiocese at Khanbaliq in 1307, a move then unprecedented in terms of the papal involvement with mission. While the bull establishing the archdiocese was not registered, a

²⁰⁷ Boniface VIII, "Cum hora undecima" in *Acta Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio V ad Benedictum*, ed A.L. Tautu. Pontificia Commissio ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, *Fontes*, ser. 3, vol. 5 (Vatican City: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1955), no. 127.

²⁰⁸ *Le Registre de Benoît XI*, ed. C.A. Grandjean (Paris, 1884), no. 860.

²⁰⁹ Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica* vol. 2, 265-6. See also Baldwin, "Missions," 491.

²¹⁰ Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica* vol. 3, 86-93. See also *Cathay and the Way Thither* ed. Yule, 197-209.

separate bull from 1307 provides the names of the six suffragan bishops that Clement sent John for the support of his diocese, selected by the Minister General of the Franciscan order.²¹¹ John needed the support. The archdioceses' borders extended all the way from the Holy Land to eastern China and included all of India. John was to select the locations for each of these suffragans, though Clement made it clear that John himself needed to stay at Khanbaliq in order to continue his work.²¹² Clement later sent three other bishops to Khanbaliq to replace the few who did not survive the journey to China, though not much is known about their activities in their new positions.

Conclusion

The fall of Acre did not cease papal interest in either the Holy Land, or, more importantly for the scope of this dissertation, Asia in general. The events of 1291, however, seem to have brought on a shift in priorities. As Housley and others have noted, this certainly appears in terms of crusade strategy, though he and Schein both note that this change occurred before 1291. For mission, the strategies on the whole seem to have remained the same, though the papacy intensified its concentration on particular aspects of the missionary project depending on what happened around it. Regardless of how intense papal interest was when it came to mission, the papacy remained invested in the Christian discipline of those who lived outside of the traditionally drawn borders of Latin Christendom, as evidenced by its policies and strategies, particularly trading bans, diplomatic outreach, and the

²¹¹ Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica* vol. 3, 93-5.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 94. See also Baldwin, "Missions," 494.

commissioning of missionaries. Rather than being passive observers, then, the popes of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries directed their foreign policy both to maintain relationships with foreign rulers and to discipline the orthodoxy of those living under non-Christian or non-Latin Christian rule. For them, the goal was clear: the so-called “frontiers” of Christendom needed to be transformed into places for the safe practice of Latin Christianity at the least, and, at the most, into lands under the guidance of the Latin pontiff, who saw it as his mission to save as many souls as possible.

This was the context into which John XXII entered when he ascended to the papacy in 1316. John himself did not, it seems, specifically use the collapse of the last crusader city as a talking point in his calls for crusade, but his contemporaries, including those who presented him crusade proposals, did. Nevertheless, the anxieties surrounding the collapse of the Christian Holy Land did generate specific actions meant to remedy particular problems. As the subsequent chapters demonstrate, John took a number of cues from his predecessors, following the general guidelines for papal foreign policy that they had established. John was also an innovator, magnifying parts of his international strategy that his predecessors did not, particularly in his hands-on approach, while minimizing others. The following chapters discuss the attempts of John XXII and other Latin Christians, particularly missionaries, to put into practice their ideas about the place of Latin Christians in the global world and to discipline and police their Latin orthodoxy.

CHAPTER 2: DEVELOPING LATIN INSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY IN ASIA

On the 1 April 1318, Pope John XXII issued the bull *Redemptor noster* that established the archdiocese of Sultāniyya, the newly-built capital city of the Il-Khan in Persia.²¹³ In order to establish a new seat of the Latin hierarchy in the West Asia, thereby increasing the institutional authority of the Latin Church in the region, John elevated Francis of Perugia, a Dominican missionary who had already lived for several years and preached in the city, to the rank of archbishop, and sent him six suffragan bishops to support him. The extent of territory for which the archbishop and his suffragans held responsibility was huge: the archdiocese was to cover not only the city of Sultāniyya itself, but also the lands ranging from Smyrna in western Armenia to the southern peninsula of the Indian subcontinent. The creation of the archdiocese also held great political significance in terms of papal diplomacy with the Mongols, an alliance long chased but never realized despite the efforts of both the Latin Church and many secular leaders of Europe.

Despite their size, location, and political import, scholars have generally discussed the Latin institutions in Asia in two ultimately reductive ways. Perhaps most fundamentally, scholars, Jean Richard chief among them, have only evaluated the archdiocese and dioceses in terms of their functions. For Richard, Sultāniyya functioned primarily to further the Latin Church's mission to reunite with the Armenian Church. He focuses his argument primarily

²¹³ "Redemptor noster" in *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica* vol. 3, 200–04. See also Conrad Eubel, "Die Während des 14. Jahrhunderts im Missionsgebiet der Dominikaner und Franziskaner errichteten Bistümer, in *Festschrift zum Elfhundertjährigen Jubiläum des Deutschen Campo Santo in Rom*, ed. Stephen Ehses (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1897), 170-95.

on the archdiocese several years after its founding.²¹⁴ Tied to this appraisal of the Latin institutions are arguments that evaluate how successful the archbishops and their suffragans were in their missionary work, whether the missionaries attempted to reunite the Latin Church with the Armenian Church or to convert non-Christians to the Latin rite. Such approaches have generally determined that the archdiocese and dioceses were ultimately unsuccessful due to a variety of obstacles that appeared in the fourteenth century, including the arrival of the Black Death, political instability within the Church itself, the Il-Khan's conversion to Islam, and the arrival of Tamerlane in Persia.²¹⁵ The vast majority of this scholarship, moreover, contextualizes the fourteenth-century missionary activity as the slow but inevitable collapse of the thirteenth-century "Mission to Asia" and the encounter with the Mongols or other non-Christian peoples or the expansion of Christendom into new territories, rather than asking specific questions about the founding of these new ecclesiastical structures on their own.²¹⁶

This chapter aims to move beyond such evaluations of the founding of the archdiocese of Sultāniyya and the other sees that John XXII created during his reign. Certainly, the attempts at reunion with the Armenian Church, the conversion of Muslims, non-Latin Christians, and non-Christians, and the pastoral care of those who adhered to or converted to the Latin rite matter significantly but they are only the beginning of the story.

²¹⁴ The most recent and complete treatment of the city and archdiocese itself is Jean Richard, *La papauté et les missions d'Orient au moyen âge*, 2nd ed. (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1998), 169-225. Richard originally published this volume in 1977, and his treatment of Sultāniyya does not differ significantly in the second edition.

²¹⁵ Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West 1221-1410*, 259-60.

²¹⁶ See particularly Marshall W. Baldwin, "Missions to the East in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *A History of the Crusades* vol. 5: *The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East*, eds Norman P. Zacour and Harry W. Hazard (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 452-518.

While establishing some sense of the institutions' purpose(s) is indeed necessary, the chapter uses them as a point of departure. Rather, it explores the ways in which John XXII invested in these dioceses at its founding as a symbol of orthodoxy and Christian legitimacy in West Asia and an expression of the papacy's attempt to discipline and police the religious beliefs and practices of Latin Christians living outside of Europe. Rather than limiting the archdiocese to a base set of functions, John XXII intended the seats of ecclesiastical power not only to transform the region into a space hospitable for Latin Christianity's safe practice, but to ensure that the practice of that Christianity aligned with Roman orthodoxy. The papacy also wished to guarantee that the faith's promoters, namely the missionaries-turned-bishops working in Persia and other extra-European regions, derived their authority from the pope himself. As a result of this drive for orthodoxy and orthopraxy, the dioceses became a two-fold embassy, one that sought to reunite the "wayward" Christian Churches and recruit new believers, but one that also sought to ensure the proper pastoral care of Latin Christians living outside the geographical boundaries of Christendom, uniting the missionary and bishop into a single office.

In developing its argument, the chapter first glances at John XXII's attempts to bring Christians living in Persia and the Black Sea region, both Latin and non-Latin alike, into greater communion with Latin orthodoxy. In this respect John not only policed the marriages of Latin Christians, but also established a new bishop in the important city of Kaffa as a symbol of his plans to enforce that orthodoxy. The chapter then turns towards the foundation of the archdiocese of Sultāniyya, and it finds that John XXII gave it clear instructions as to how to execute its mission properly, complete with instructions for how to consecrate the archbishop and plans for the celebration of specific feast day and the election of a new

archbishop when the need for one arose. In the process of creating the archdiocese, moreover, John XXII deputized at least one member of a relatively new society within the Dominican Order, the *Fratres Peregrinantes*, to carry out his orders and named one of the founders of the society, Francis of Perugia, as the first archbishop. In addition, the pages below examine John XXII's and Latin missionaries' attempts to police the orthodoxy of Latin Christians in Armenia and Georgia, after two Armenians bishops converted to Latin Christianity. Finally, the chapter considers the creation of several sees, including the sees at Columbum, India, and Tiflis, Georgia, and John XXII's attempt to maintain the archdiocese of Khanbaliq in Far East China.

The Diocese of Kaffa, Marriage, and Missionary Privileges

While the foundation of the archdiocese of Sultāniyya was perhaps John XXII's clearest expression for what he expected from Latin missionaries and a symbol for papal expectations for Latin mission in general, the pontiff asserted himself in foreign affairs quite early on in his papacy. In fact, he began writing policy letters to the east shortly after he became pope in 1316. John's communications and directives to bishops and other prominent churchmen operating outside of Europe exhibit a general concern on his part for the Christians who lived under Muslim rule, especially that those Christians continued to follow Latin orthodoxy. These instructions followed the pattern set forth by his papal predecessors who first attempted to solve the problem of not only care for the Christians living in hostile lands, but also how to establish diplomatic relations with the Mongol rulers who controlled the political landscapes of the West and East Asia. This pattern, beginning with Pope

Innocent III and codified by Innocent IV, has been explored and analyzed well in previous scholarship.²¹⁷ At the center of this papal pastoral mission, one finds that the popes of the thirteenth century, particularly Innocent IV, concerned themselves with the care of the souls of all men, including non-Christians. This policy evolved due to a reading of canon law that made no distinction between Christian and non-Christian, which, James Muldoon argues, borrowed heavily from the so-called Gregorian reform movement and found its ultimate expression, somewhat ironically, in Pope Boniface VIII's 1302 bull *Unam sanctam*. While Boniface VIII himself was discredited to some extent by his successor Clement V, Muldoon suggests that the language of unity in *Unam sanctam* worked its way into how the Avignon popes explained Latin primacy to non-Latin Christians.²¹⁸ Further developments in canon law, namely that the pope held responsibility for the spiritual welfare of all men, also authorized the pope to send missionaries to non-Christian lands and to demand that the rulers of those lands admit the missionaries to do their work.²¹⁹ Towards the end of the thirteenth century, the Church grew frustrated at the apparent lack of cooperation from non-Christian rulers and began to see crusading as a means by which to set up missionaries for success.²²⁰

John XXII's letters that established the Latin institutions in Asia center on the general themes of reunion, reconciliation, and a general concern for the pastoral care of Latin Christians. In February of 1318, John wrote to Jerome of Catalonia, a Franciscan missionary

²¹⁷ James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979).

²¹⁸ Ibid., 10. See also James Muldoon, "The Avignon Papacy and the Frontiers of Christendom" *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 17 (1979): 133-42.

²¹⁹ Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels*, 11.

²²⁰ Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, 159-203. See also Brett Whalen, "Corresponding with Infidels: Rome, The Almohads, and the Christians of Thirteenth-Century Morocco," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 41 (2011): 487-513.

among the Mongols in Asia, in order to elevate him to the position of bishop of the city of Kaffa, and important port city that hosted a large contingent of Armenian Christians, and to grant him special ecclesiastical powers to ensure the orthodoxy of his new flock.²²¹ Jerome was, perhaps, a somewhat controversial choice on John XXII's part, due to his alleged association with the Spiritual Franciscans. In particular, Jerome drew the ire of Angelo Clareno, one of the leaders of the heterodox group, after Jerome had apparently betrayed the Spirituels. In 1318, Clareno wrote a letter detailing Jerome's alleged illicit behavior. He wrote that in 1301, Jerome had arrived in the province of Greece with several women, one of whom Jerome claimed to be his mother and another whom he said was his sister. Moreover, Jerome carried with him several books, supposedly written by Peter John Olivi, a Franciscan whose works the Church had come to see as heretical. A few days after Jerome's arrival, Clareno continued, a certain priest named Henricus came to Clareno and his associates to warn them that Jerome had lied about the women with whom he traveled and that he had stolen the books that he carried with him. Clareno alleged that once Henricus had divulged this information and Jerome had heard that it had been done, Jerome abandoned Angelo's group entirely, joined the Franciscan order, and began to accuse his former associates of all of the errors that he himself had committed.²²² Following these accusations, Clareno

²²¹ John XXII, "Ad universalis Ecclesiae" in *Fontes*, 12-14. Reg. Aven. 15, fol. 348; Reg. Vat. 73 ep. 498. Mollat, n. 15132. For Jerome's travel writings, see Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica* vol. 3, 40-58. For Kaffa, see Marshall Baldwin "Missions," 480.

²²² "Girolamo e ifanatici Clarenitani: 1318" in *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica* vol. 3, ed. Golubovich, 42. "Torquato simili, nomine frater Hieronymo quem fratres illius Provinciae suum contra nos fecerunt ducem. Hic de provincia Catholoniae oriundus recesserat a Fratibus et venit in illas regions in habitu clericali cum pluribus mulieribus, quarum unam dicebat matrem et aliam filiam matris suae portans secum libros quos ut postea audivi furatus fuerat vel rapuerat et nobis missos a sanctae memoriae Petro Joanne mendaciter dicebat. Post aliquot vero dies sacerdos parochianus qui erat in confessione audienda dominus Henricus nomine venit ad nos cum multa amaritudine dicens: Fratres cavete vobis ab homine isto quia nec illa est mater nec alia filia matris homine iste mendax est et baratator est qui ut vidit se deprehensum, reprehensionem et verecundiam sustinere non ferens nobis relictis intravit Ordinem et omnem erroris sui sectam nobis imponere deliberavit ut Fratrum nos odientium gratiam inveniret."

recounted that the brothers had sent Jerome into the lands of the Tartars after they had discovered Jerome's lies and false witness. However, Clarenò was convinced that Jerome had returned to the Roman curia and had testified against his group in front of an inquisitor, a deposition that helped him obtain his appointment as a bishop.²²³ If Clarenò's allegations were true, John XXII did not take them into account, perhaps because the pontiff had no reason to believe Clarenò due to his association with the Spirituals, a faction with which John clashed considerably.

In addition to the Armenian Christians in the port city, Caffa was home to a seemingly sizable convent of Dominican friars who used the city as a departure point for missions in farther-flung places in Asia. The order had founded the convent in the later thirteenth century, in which Francis of Perugia, the first archbishop of Sultāniyya, may have played a significant role.²²⁴ In the service of the newly formed diocese, John elevated the church in Caffa, St. Agnes, to a cathedral for Jerome.²²⁵ John also put the new diocese of Caffa under the authority of the recently-formed archdiocese of Khanbaliq (modern Beijing), which John of Montecorvino founded in 1307 under the direction of John XXII's predecessor, Clement V.²²⁶ John drew the borders from the archdiocese of Khanbaliq to the

²²³ Ibid., 43. "Fratres vero postquam cum ipso iniquitatis vase et mendacii teste a domino Patriarcha suum habueunt intentum de processibus factis in absentes expulsos et incitatos ipsum Hieronimum et matrem eius sustinere non valentes ad Tartharorum partes miserunt eum sua mala opera astute celantes ejecta matre cum filia de omnibus confinibus illis ut tanti obprobrii memoria de illis regionibus tolleretur. Hic est testis iustus contra nos et ibi mala ordinans et hic peiora perficiens quia sicut ibi per falsum testimonium illius provinciae principatum subripuit ita hic in Romana curia propter depositionem quam fecit in manu Inquisitoris contra nos innocens pro obstinata et impia depositione mortis suae accepit Episcopatum."

²²⁴ Raymond Joseph Loenertz, *La société des frères pèlerinants; étude sur l'Orient dominicain* (Rome: Institutum Historicum FF Praedicatorum Romae Ad S. Sabinae, 1937) 92-3.

²²⁵ John XXII, "Ad universalis Ecclesiae," in *Fontes*, 13. See also Richard, *La papauté*, 158.

²²⁶ For John of Montecorvino, Clement V, and Khanbaliq, see Baldwin, "Missions," 494-495; Richard, *La Papauté*, 144-56.

area surrounding Varia, a city in Bulgaria, Saray, the capital of the Kiptciak Khanate, which was located in the vicinity of the Volga river, as well as the lands near the Black Sea that belonged to the Ruthenians.²²⁷

In addition to drawing the borders of the new diocese, John XXII expressed his complete confidence in Jerome to quickly bring Latin Christian discipline to those who lived under his jurisdiction.²²⁸ While John did not specify who exactly he desired to be brought this discipline, it seems relatively safe to assume that John was referring to the non-Latin Christians, particularly the Armenian Christians, who lived under Jerome's episcopal authority. Jean Richard has argued that John desired a reunion with the Armenian Church, a church with which he had established a firm line of communication.²²⁹ The Armenian Church itself did not answer John's call for reunion, though it does seem clear that many people who once belonged to that church converted to Latin Christianity, due to the establishment of the diocese at Kaffa. Thus, John had a clear understanding that even if the Armenian Church as a whole did not convert to Latin Christianity, certainly some people did, and that he had a responsibility for those souls in particular, which necessitated a present and active Latin ecclesiastical structure in their vicinity. To that extent, John's elevation of Kaffa to a episcopal see granted the church an air of Latin authority, bestowing the missionaries and other clerics who worked there the full authority of the Latin Church, and transforming the territory under the diocese's jurisdiction into a semi-Latinized region. John, as discussed

²²⁷ John XXII "Ad universalis Ecclesiae, in *Fontes*, 13.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.

²²⁹ Richard, *La papauté*, 158. While John XXII wrote to several people in many different places, he always wrote with the same two themes, that the Roman Church was the only true path to salvation, and that the Armenian Church should embrace that faith.

below, would make further attempts to reunite the Latin Church and Armenian Christians, but the diocese of Kaffa was a first step in establishing a means by which to police the orthodoxy of Latin Christians living in the region.

To the extent that John XXII was concerned with the Latin orthodoxy of those living in a population that was non-Christian in the majority, the pope issued a number of papal directives that policed and regulated the practices of the Christians living in these places. John seemed especially concerned with marriages between faithful Catholics and the “heretical” Armenians, prohibiting these sorts of marriages altogether.²³⁰ John had especially harsh words for the orthodox women partners of these marriages, suggesting that these women seduced their Catholic partners into the practice of the orthodox faith through the cunning of Satan.²³¹ John also provided the bishops the power to correct and to punish these women, though he does not specify what sort of punishments the bishop had at his disposal to prescribe to these women.²³² Going beyond the boundaries of the diocese of Kaffa, John, in another bull, extended this directive to all of the Christians who lived in lands under the rule of the Mongols.²³³ In addition to the prescriptions John gave to Kaffa, he also sent a letter to the rectors of the Genoese, Venetians, and Pisans at Constantinople. In this letter the

²³⁰ John XXII, “Significavit nobis” in *Fontes*, 14-15. Reg. Aven. Fol. 429v; Reg. Vat. 67 fol. 311v, ep. 35 de Curia. Mollat, no. 8166. Here, John XXII follows the prescriptions of canon law. For the development of laws concerned marriage at this time see James Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), especially pp 417-485. See also Muldoon, “The Avignon Papacy and the Frontiers of Christendom,” 146. Muldoon credits Innocent III with the beginning of the development of marriage law concerning Christians and non-Christians. Brundage examines the development of this doctrine at greater length, exploring the ways in which other canon law scholars, Gratian, for example, dealt with such questions. Furthermore, chapter three discusses more generally the privileges granted to missionaries and the role that the policing of these marriages played in John XXII’s pastoral mission.

²³¹ John XXII, “Significavit nobis,” in *Fontes*, 14-15.

²³² *Ibid.*, 14-15

²³³ John XXII, “Ad aures nostras” in *Fontes*, 15-16. Reg. Aven. 10, fol. 430, ep. 36 de Curia; Reg. Vat. Fol 312 ep. 35 de Curia. Mollat, n. 8167.

pope claimed that these marriages severely limited the ability of the Latin Church to spread through these lands, calling these marriages scandalous.²³⁴

While John XXII sought to eliminate marriages between Latin and non-Latin Christians, he was apparently aware that many Latin Christians living in these foreign territories had already entered into marriages with Armenian Christians, and he laid out a number of his expectations for these situations. Three days after writing his letter to Jerome, bishop of Kaffa, concerning the prohibition of marriages between Latin Christians and their Armenian counterparts, John wrote a set of instructions for Jerome covering what to do with those who had already entered into such a marriage. He likened the marriage between Catholics and schismatics to marriages between those within a certain degree of consanguinity, which, of course, put their souls in danger.²³⁵ John therefore granted Jerome the power to dissolve marriages within the fourth degree of consanguinity and to grant those who had violated the regulation against marriages with schismatic Christians a dispensation for those marriages that fell into that degree in order to legitimize their marriage.²³⁶ Implied in all of this regulation was John XXII's and the bishops' desire to see the non-Latin Christian spouses convert to Catholicism and embrace the authority of the Church, marriages which were most certainly celebrated. In any event, such policy is necessarily indicative of John's desire not only for unification with these eastern churches, provided that those same churches join Latin Christianity, but it also signals John's ambition to institute discipline for

²³⁴ Ibid., 16. "Salutem ipsarum respiciant sed lapsum impediunt aliarum ne in casum ruinae consimilis relabantur, magnam etiam materiam auferat scandalorum etc per totum in proxima superiori."

²³⁵ John XXII, "Desideriis tuis" in *Fontes*, 18-19. Reg. Aven. 10 fol. 431 ep. 37 de Curia; Reg. Vat. Fol. 312v. ep. 37 de Curia. Mollat, n. 8169.

²³⁶ Ibid., 18.

his flock. This is not to say that John was not concerned with the orthodoxy of those who fell into the jurisdiction of the episcopal see of Kaffa; he most certainly did care about the non-Latin Christians in the bishop's jurisdiction. However, at least as far as these marriage regulations are concerned, John seemed more concerned with protecting those who already fell under his direct care first, and made sure that policy was in place that protected their souls and allowed them to remain in communion with Church, provided, of course, that these Latin Christians obeyed his and the bishop's directives.

The elevation of missionaries to the position of bishop and the granting of privileges is of course, connected. Jean Richard has argued persuasively that the end of the thirteenth century brought with it a refining of papal policy when it came to the granting of missionary privileges. These privileges, whether the ability to absolve excommunicates, to allow dispensations for marriages, or to confer holy orders, were traditionally power held exclusively by bishops. Pope Nicholas III (r. 1277-1280), Richard argues, was the first pope to unite missionary and bishop together when he elevated a Franciscan missionary to bishop in the Kipchak region in 1278 so that he could better promote the faith in his new diocese.²³⁷ This move by the papacy provided a means by which the missionaries could ensure that Latin Christians, whether newly converted or not, would practice their religion in the correct manner. Perhaps even more crucial, the promoting of missionaries to bishops provided those new bishops with the apostolic authority necessary to grow the Church and exert their ecclesiastical authority, transforming their regions into new diasporic microchristendoms despite their non-Christian or non-Latin Christian rulers. The ultimate expression of this move to deputize missionaries into the Church hierarchy would come a few decades after

²³⁷ Richard, *La Papauté*, 141.

Nicholas III, however, when Clement V announced the formation of the new archdiocese in China at Khanbaliq and when John XXII raised the city of Sultāniyya in Persia to a metropolitan see.

The Archdiocese of Sultāniyya and the *Fratres Peregrinantes*

Shortly after raising Kaffa to an episcopal see and installing Jerome of Catalonia as its bishop, John XXII sent William of Adam, a Dominican missionary who had been operating in Persia, to Sultāniyya, the recently-built capital city of the Il-Khans, with instructions to establish a new archdiocese there. At the center of these instructions was John XXII's 1 April 1318 bull *Redemptor noster*, which named Francis of Perugia, a prominent Dominican missionary, as its first archbishop.²³⁸ While nothing written by Francis himself has survived, several details about his life exist in other sources: papal letters, John's in particular, but also in a obituary of Francis written by his Dominican brothers a century later preserved in the Biblioteca Comunale Perugia.²³⁹ The necrology provides a general description of the entirety of Francis' life, including his involvement in the foundation of the Dominican convent at Kaffa mentioned above.²⁴⁰ The necrology also claims that Boniface VIII selected Francis to be a papal legate and a "special messenger with many privileges and

²³⁸ John XXII, "Redemptor noster" in *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, ed. Golubovich vol. 3, 200-04. Reg. Vat. 77 fol. 318, ep. 61 de Curia an. 2.

²³⁹ Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale. 1441, fol. 55. The necrology was printed and edited by Raymond Loenertz, which is the version used here. See Raymond Joseph Loenertz, "Les missions dominicaines en Orient au XIV^e siècle et la Société des Frères Pérégrinants pour le Christ," in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* II (1932), 66-68.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 67.

great authority.”²⁴¹ The obituary was perhaps exaggerated. In fact, one scholar argues that the author of the obituary conflated Francis with his fellow monastic, Jacques Hugolin.²⁴² However, Boniface VIII did include Francis in a general granting of missionary privileges that he issued on 10 April 1299, including the ability to absolve excommunicates, particularly clerics, to initiate acolytes, to build new churches, and to reconcile schismatics.²⁴³ Francis also was able to preach in the language of the Mongols, though the necrology does not specify the languages in which Francis had proficiency, and he was able to teach theology in that language as well.²⁴⁴

Francis of Perugia was also one of the founding members of a new missionary society within the Dominican Order, the *Societas fratrum peregrinantium propter Christum*, or the *Fratres Peregrinantes inter gentes*, which Francis formed with his fellow Dominican missionary William Bernard.²⁴⁵ Raymond Loenertz, who has written the only monograph-length study on the *Fratres Peregrinantes*, suggests that the *societas* formed in response to the growing number of Italian, but especially Genoese, merchants who traveled along the trade routes of the Black Sea region, particularly in Kaffa, Tabriz, Pera, Trebizond, and Constantinople. Loenertz’s study finds its particular focus in the development of monastic houses along these routes, though he does not offer much beyond the base set of circumstances and events surrounding the founding of new church structures. Marshall

²⁴¹ Ibid, 67

²⁴² Ibid, 16.

²⁴³ Fontes, V, 2, no. 127.

²⁴⁴ Loenertz, “Les missions dominicanes,” 67

²⁴⁵ Loenertz, *La société*, 1-2. See also Loenertz, “Les missions dominicanes,” 1-3.

Baldwin, however, has argued that the formation of the *societas* was for the purpose of regularizing the position of missionaries who left the monastic houses in order to travel more broadly, given that the Dominican order appointed a vicar, Francis of Perugia, over these friars between 1300 and 1304.²⁴⁶ Though the *societas* would become more fundamental for the Dominican missions later in the fourteenth century, its founding provided John XXII not only with a set of regulated and trusted missionaries from which to draw potential members of the Church hierarchy, it specifically provided the pope with a man who not only had the respect of his fellow Dominicans, but, apparently, the members of the population(s) those Dominicans aimed to serve.

Francis of Perugia pursued his missionary work zealously in Armenia, Persia, and the Far East, though principally in Persia, bringing about a number of conversions in those areas.²⁴⁷ Though the specific details of his missionary works are few and far between beyond what the obituary and John XXII's letters provide, Francis apparently sent William of Adam, who was working with him in Persia prior to the foundation of the archbishopric, back to Europe to both report on the mission and to request that the Latin Church send more missionaries to Persia. Francis had developed a diplomatic relationship with the khan of the Golden Horde, Uzbek, who appeared to be, at the very least, hospitable to Latin Christians, though he apparently did not enjoy the ringing of church bells.²⁴⁸ It was his Persian exploits

²⁴⁶ Baldwin, "Missions," 481.

²⁴⁷ *Histoire des Hommes Illustres de L'Ordre de Saint Dominique, est-à-dire, des Papes, Des Cardinaux, des Prélats éminens en Science and Sainteté, des célèbres Docteurs, and des autres grands Personages, qui ont le plus Illustré cet Ordre, depuis la mort du S. Fondateur, jusqu'au Pontificat de Benoît XIII*, ed. Antoine Tournon, vol. 1 (Paris: Chez Babuty, 1743), 775-784.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 777-778. John XXII wrote to Usbek shortly after William of Adam's return to Avignon, in gratitude that the Christians in his territory were allowed to practice their religion unencumbered and urged the Khan to embrace Christianity. See John XXII "Laetanter audivimus" in *Annales Ecclesiastici*, ed. Raynaldi, vol. 24, 72-73. See also, Baldwin, "Missions," 491.

that won favor with John XXII, who praised Francis for his good works in a letter dated 1 May 1318, and ultimately landed him the archbishop's seat in the new ecclesiastical province. In the letter, John praised Francis not only for his devotion to the preaching of the Gospel, but his adeptness with letters and languages, as well as his great virtues.²⁴⁹ John had clearly found his man.

John had great plans for the new metropolitan city, plans that spoke to the dual interest of his pastoral mission: disciplining the orthodoxy of Latin Christians in the province, as well as reuniting non-Latin Churches with the Latin Church. More fundamentally, however, John saw Sultāniyya as transformative for the entire region, creating an orthodox space for Latin Christians to live and practice their Christianity freely and correctly as well as providing an example of proper Christianity to those Christians who followed a non-Latin rite. After naming Francis of Perugia as the city's archbishop, John presented details for planning the ecclesiastical structure of the new province. The archbishopric was to be run by Dominican missionaries for the purpose of continuing their mission throughout the entire landholdings of the Persian emperor, including Ethiopia and India.²⁵⁰ In addition to Francis, John mandated that there be six bishops, all Dominicans, in the new province, whom the pope named in two other letters, one to Francis himself, and the other to Bartholomé Aballiati, who John named one of the six suffragan bishops under Francis.²⁵¹ The six bishops had seats across the entire expanse of the province, including the

²⁴⁹ John XXII, "Pridem gratis" in *Annales Ecclesiastici*, ed. Raynaldi, vol. 24, 73-74.

²⁵⁰ John XXII, "Redempter noster" in *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, ed. Golubovich, vol. 3, 201-202.

²⁵¹ For the Letter to Bartholomé, see "Documents relatifs à Guillaume Adam archêveque de Sultāniyya, puis d'Antivari, et son entourage (1318-1346), in *Revue de L'Orient Latin* vol. 10, ed. Charles Kohler (Paris, 1903-1904), 18-21.

cities of Tiflis in Georgian Persia, Naxivan, Tabriz, Dihkargan, Maraga, and Samarkand.²⁵² Each bishop was charged with the care of all of the souls in his jurisdiction and to assist the archbishop in any administrative affairs.²⁵³ Finally, the bull also authorized the archbishop to install bishops in new areas that he saw fit and provide these new bishops with the administrative support that they required.²⁵⁴

John XXII's bull *Redemptor noster* demonstrated his expectations for the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Sultāniyya in terms of the operation of the archdiocese. In the event of the death of the archbishop, John XXII mandated that the Dominican brothers of the province come together within six months to elect a new archbishop, and in the interim, the prior of the Dominican order in the province was to serve in his stead.²⁵⁵ If, for whatever reason, the six bishops of the province were unable to make the convocation, moreover, the pope commanded that the brothers attached to the main church, which the text terms a cathedral, take their place in order to elect the new archbishop.²⁵⁶ Despite these administrative mandates and proposed elections, John XXII named Francis' first two successors in a later letter addressed to Francis in August of 1318, in which John XXII told Francis who would bestow the pallium on him. Francis' successors were to be William of Adam and John of Florence, the latter of whom would later become the bishop of Tiflis in

²⁵² John XXII, "Redemptor noster," in *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, ed. Golubovich, vol. 3, 206.

²⁵³ John XXII, "Pridem gratis" in *Annales Ecclesiastici*, ed. Raynaldi, vol. 24, 74.

²⁵⁴ John XXII, "Redemptor noster," in *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, ed. Golubovich, vol. 3, 204.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 202.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 202-203.

Georgia.²⁵⁷ Indeed, John was very specific about his concern over the succession of bishops, particularly noting that the road from Europe to Persia was fraught with danger and death.²⁵⁸ Such a problem certainly plagued the archdiocese of Khanbaliq after the death of its founder John of Montecorvino later in the century, when a successor did not arrive at the archdiocese until nearly a decade after Montecorvino's death.²⁵⁹ Furthermore, if the bishops were unable to come to a decision or if there were not enough of them available or alive to hold such a election, John commanded that the archdiocese be put under the authority and jurisdiction of a vicar of the Dominican order, presumably someone connected to a member of the *Fratres Peregrinantes*.²⁶⁰ John XXII, despite his directive for the election of bishops, did install Francis' successor, William of Adam, as the archbishop of Sultāniyya in 1322, after Francis had willingly vacated his position to pursue more missionary work in the region.²⁶¹ Despite John's mandates for the election process, the institutional framework of the archbishop is nevertheless crucial in the formation of the archdiocese, precisely because of the administrative place of the Dominican order in it. John XXII meant for the archdiocese to continue on its missionary path, and allowing the Dominican brothers control would, at least to John XXII's mind, provide the autonomy necessary for the friars to carry out their mission while at the same time ensuring that they performed that mission in such a way that it aligned with Latin orthodoxy. At the very least, John's prescriptions for Sultāniyya demonstrate a

²⁵⁷ John XXII, "Dudum diligencius" in "Documents relatifs à Guillaume Adam," *ROL* ed. Kohler., vol. 10 26-27. Reg. Aven. 10, fol. 91v-92.

²⁵⁸ John XXII, "Redempter noster," in *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, ed. Golubovich, vol. 3, 202.

²⁵⁹ See Baldwin, "Missions," 499.

²⁶⁰ John XXII, "Redempter noster" in *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, ed. Golubovich, vol. 3, 202.

²⁶¹ John XXII, "Romani Pontificis" in "Documents relatifs à Guillaume Adam," *ROL*, ed. Kohler, vol. 10 29-32.

clear concern for proper and consistent leadership being present in the archdiocese, particularly a leadership that drew its authority from the apostolic seat.

When Francis of Perugia resigned his position as archbishop, it left John XXII with a somewhat problematic situation, namely that a former member of the church hierarchy would be returning to a position outside formal leadership and to his missionary work. After all, many archbishops left their seat only to assume leadership at another episcopal see, continue upward in the church hierarchy, or retire to a private, contemplative life. Such was the case when William of Adam left the archdiocese after becoming the archbishop following Francis' resignation. Rather than allowing him to return to his missionary work, John XXII transferred William of Adam on 26 October 1324 to replace the recently resigned archbishop there. In Francis' case, however, John XXII wrote to him on 1 June 1323 with a solution to the apparent problem of having a former archbishop return to missionary work in the archdiocese of which he was the archbishop. John's solution was simple: John allowed Francis to wear the symbols of his former station, namely the papal insignias that identified him as an archbishop, with the exception of the pallium.²⁶² Furthermore, John permitted Francis to celebrate the divine office and, in the absence of a papal legate, the archbishop, or the bishop, to give the benediction to the people under his care.²⁶³ Francis, therefore, could continue his mission, but, at the same time, conspicuously display his papal authority for those he came across during his travels. While these vestments and the papal insignia may

²⁶² John XXII, "Cum nuper" in "Documents relatifs à Guillaume Adam," *ROL* ed. Kohler, vol. 10, 41. Reg. Aven. 18 fol. 573v; Reg. Vat. 74 fol. 299. In quorum partibus pro salute difeleum et ampliacione ctholice fidei conversaris, pontificalibus insigniis in divinis officiis et locis competntibus, absque tamen usu pallei.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 41-42. Sicut uti consueveras ante hujusmodi cessionem, necnon benedictionem populo in eisdem locis more pontificum largiendi, dummodo legatus Sedis apostolicae aut aliquis archiepiscopus vel episcopus prensens in benediction hujusmodi non existat plenam et liberam autoritate presencium concedius facultatem.

have not meant much, if anything, to many lay non-Latin and Latin Christians living in Persia or non-Christians outside of the Ilkhanid court, they most certainly invested Francis with a considerable amount of authority to the Latin clergy operating in the region. Such clearly delineated symbols carried the message that Francis spoke with apostolic authority and, therefore, that his preaching clearly aligned with the orthodoxy of the Latin Church. More subtly, Francis carrying the symbols of papal authority with him on his missions served as a reminder to non-Latin Christian clerics, particularly the Armenian and the Greek Churches, that the authority of the pope had come to Persia and that, in the pope's mind, that it was time for those Churches to accept the authority of the papacy and return to union with the Latin Church. At the very least then, even if Francis did not lead the archdiocese, his mission could continue the transformation of Persia into a region that aligned with Latin orthodoxy.

In addition to John XXII's institutional framework for the new archdiocese in *Redemptor noster*, the pope also sent letters to Francis of Perugia and William of Adam that suggest a concern on the part of the pope with how the bishops and archbishops performed their specific episcopal duties. John was principally concerned with the consecration of the archbishop and the feast days that the archbishop and his auxiliaries would celebrate. For the latter, John XXII sent a letter to Francis of Perugia on 1 August 1318 that listed each church Holy Days over which the bishop was to preside. On this comprehensive list, John included the Christmas cycle, the Easter cycle, Pentecost, the birth of John the Baptist and of all the apostles, and the feast days of Lawrence the martyr at Rome, Saint Gregory, Saint Augustine, and, naturally, Saint Dominic.²⁶⁴ In a letter written to suffragan bishops of the archdiocese a

²⁶⁴ John XXII, "Cum pallem," in "Documents relatifs à Guillaume Adam," *ROL* ed. Kohler, vol. 10, 33-34. Reg. Aven. 18 fol. 214v-242; Reg. Vat. 74, fol. 156v.

month later, John XXII gave these church leaders explicit instructions on how to consecrate their new archbishop, including the specific formulas that the bishops were to say at these ceremonies.²⁶⁵ These instructions represent John XXII's attempt to police the new archdiocese, certainly, though such an interpretation does not account for the inexperience of the men whom the pope had named as the archdiocese's leadership. At least in terms of William of Adam and Francis of Perugia, the two men served exclusively as missionaries for most of their careers, and therefore might not have had any inclination as to how to properly administer a diocese. For assistance in this regard, John XXII made the archbishop answer to a *magister* of the Dominican order, who represented the pope and who could correct the bishops and archbishops if they erred in any respect.²⁶⁶

The bull *Redemptor noster* also included John XXII's commentary on the formation of the archdiocese as a means to serve the Christian population(s) in Asia, all of which had, until the creation of Sultāniyya, been served by the Franciscan-run archdiocese in Khanbaliq, China. John's commentary, while short in this bull, drew the border lines of the two provinces, while leaving the administration of Khanbaliq solely in the hands of the Franciscan brothers, particularly John of Montecorvino, who had founded the archdiocese at the behest of Clement V in 1307.²⁶⁷ It also seems that John XXII had to settle a dispute over

²⁶⁵ John XXII, "Dudum diligentius" "Documents relatifs à Guillaume Adam," *ROL* ed. Kohler, vol. 10, 27-29. Reg. Aven. 9, fol. 512v-513; Reg. Vat. 68, fol. 248v-249.

²⁶⁶ John XXII, "Redemptor noster," in *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, ed. Golubovich, vol 3, 203.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 203. For some analysis of this archdiocese, see Richard, *La papauté*, 144-152, who both describes the missionary activities of John of Montecorvino and the creation of the archdiocese itself. See also A.C. Moule, *Christians in China before the Year 1550* (New York: The Macmillan Co, 1930), 166-215, Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, 258-260, and James Ryan, "To Baptize Khans or to Convert Peoples? Missionary Aims in Central Asia in the Fourteenth Century," in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, ed. G. Armstrong and I. Wood (Leed: Brepols Press, 2000), 252. Finally, see Rachewiltz, *Papal Enovys to the Great Khans*, 160-178.

territory between the Franciscans and the Dominicans, due to the Franciscans claiming jurisdiction over lands that the bull set aside for the Dominicans.²⁶⁸ Furthermore, the Franciscans living in the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Sultāniyya were required to obey the archbishop in all ecclesiastical matters.²⁶⁹ Such a dramatic division of space speaks well to John XXII's desire to keep a close watch on a region with close proximity to other non-Latin Christian Churches, particularly the Greek and Armenian Church, the latter of which saw many prominent Spiritual Franciscans, including Angelo Clareno, at the court of the Armenian king.

Latin Christianity in Armenia and Georgia

While the foundation of the diocese of Kaffa and Sultāniyya form one aspect of John XXII's pastoral mission, his engagement with the kingdom of Armenia also demonstrates how John tried to intervene in specific, often political, situations in order to ensure orthodox conformity and to discipline Armenians who had converted to Christianity.²⁷⁰ John, however,

²⁶⁸ John XXII, "Redempter noster," in *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, ed. Golubovich, vol. 3, 203. Cf. R. Loenertz, *La société des frères pérégrinants*, 139.

²⁶⁹ John XXII, "Redempter noster," in *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, ed. Golubovich, vol. 3, 203-204. Also see *ibid.*, 218-219.

²⁷⁰ There is considerable scholarship on the relations between the Armenian Church and the papacy, most of which covers the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. See Sirarpoe Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia," in *A History of the Crusades* ed. K. Setton, vol. 2 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 630-59; Bernard Hamilton, "The Armenian Church and the Papacy at the Time of Crusades," *Eastern Churches Review* 10 (1978): 61-87; R.W. Thomson, "The Crusaders through Armenian Eyes," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. A. Laiou and R.P. Mottahedeh (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001), 71-82; James Ryan, "Toleration Denied: Armenia Between East and West in the Era of the Crusades" in *Tolerance and Intolerance: Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusades* eds. Michael Gervers and James M. Powell (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 55-64; Zaroui Pogossian, "The Armenian Reaction to the Concept of the Primacy of the Roman Church in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries" in *Frontiers in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the Third European Congress of Medieval Studies (Jyväskylä, 10-14 June 2003)* (Louvain-La-Neuve, 2006), 259-90.

encountered resistance from converts to Latin Christianity who continued following the rites of their former orthodoxy while recognizing the primacy of Rome. In many cases, as will be discussed below, John sent specific instructions on how to perform the sacraments correctly and he even granted privileges to those working in the courts of the kings and queens of Armenia to ensure their fidelity to Latin Christianity. John followed a similar strategy with the king of Georgia, and while Georgia did not receive nearly as much attention from John as did Armenia, the ways in which John tried to engage with the kingdom are nevertheless demonstrative of John's pastoral mission. Furthermore, rather than relying only on archbishops and bishops in these areas, John commissioned the help of the Vicars of the mendicant orders, either to carry letters to the kings, to provide instruction to those serving in their courts, or to oversee the administration of specific sacraments, particularly if John had heard that they were being performed incorrectly. Therefore, while John's instructions provide the narrative of the discussion, fissures in the Christian identities of Latin converts become apparent through their continued practice of the Armenian rites.

John attempted to bring the Armenian Church into communion with the Latin Church by either granting its clerics special privileges or instructing them on how to perform the sacraments properly. By doing so, John increased, at least to some extent, the visibility of papal authority. Very early in his papacy, John sent a letter to Jacob, the bishop at Gaban in northeastern Armenia, to grant him two sets of privileges. From the tone of John's letter, it seems that the bishop had written to John about wanting to absolve several of his flock who had converted to the Latin rite and was worried about whether or not he actually had the power to do so. First, John granted the bishop the power to absolve sins that usually required the pope to absolve himself. John ordered that the greatest of the sinners come to his court

and be absolved by his *maior poententiarius*, a cardinal specifically in charge of absolving excommunicates and imposing canonical punishments, but he promised the bishops that they would welcome any travelers to Avignon warmly.²⁷¹ Second, John allowed the bishop to celebrate and preach the word of God and to provide indulgences of one hundred and forty days to anyone who visited his church who were truly penitent and who confessed their sins.²⁷²

Six months later, John wrote to the confessor of the royal family of Armenia in order to grant him ecclesiastical privileges for the continued pastoral care for the king and queen.²⁷³ The pope had heard of the confessor and, apparently, trusted him enough to perform the duties normally suited for churchmen closer to the papal court. The confessor had a number of duties: he was to hear the prayers and the petitions of the entire royal family, the king, the queen, and all of their children. The confessor also had the right to impose punishments and grant absolution as particular cases required. While some of these privileges do not necessarily seem out of the ordinary, the amount of trust John placed in this confessor confirms that the pope desired guidance and the enforcement of Latin discipline for the king and queen. It is also unclear whether or not the confessor in question was dispatched by the pope or if the confessor had once belonged to the Armenian rite. Whatever the confessor's

²⁷¹ John XXII, "Personam tuam" in *Fontes*, 9-10. Reg. Aven. 115 fol. 195; Reg. Lat. 67 fol. 71 ep. 256. Mollat, n. 5640. "Hinc est quod nos tuis supplicationibus inclinati fraternitati tuae absolvendi hac vice in Armenia viginti personas, de quibus tibi videbitur a peccatis suis etiam si talia fuerint, de quibus alias esset Sedes Apostolica consulenda, dummodo talia sint, de quibus Maior Poententiarius noster personas si ad Sedem venirent eandem posset absolvere, tenore praesentium indulgemus."

²⁷² John XXII, "Personam tuam favoris" in *Fontes* 10. Reg. Aven. 115 fol. 195v; Reg. Vat. 67 fol. 71v, ep. 258. Mollat, n. 5642.

²⁷³ Oshin was the present king of Armenia and apparently desired a union with the Latin Church. One of his predecessors and his brother, King Hetuom II (r. 1266-1307) enjoyed a friendly relationship with the Latin Pontiff. See T.S.R. Boase, *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978).

original orthodoxy, he had certainly impressed the pope, who had heard or read about his devotion to the Latin Church from Oshin and congratulated him for his steadfastness.²⁷⁴ More significantly, perhaps, the confessor provides yet another example of how John delegated his apostolic authority to people living far beyond his reach. Rather than the pope reacting passively to the men who went on missions outside of Europe, John clearly had an idea of whom to place in specific situations in order to ensure fidelity to the Latin rite.

In addition to commissioning delegates to serve in his stead, John engaged directly with Oshin, the king of Armenia, in order to bring him into the fold. On 8 June 1318, John sent a letter directly to the monarch. John informed the king that he would be sending Brother Raymond Stephani, a Dominican friar, in order to start a program for learning the Latin language at the king's court.²⁷⁵ John offered several reasons for why he desired this, chief among them the argument that since Christ could speak in many tongues, it was worth while to learn as many languages as one could.²⁷⁶ While John desired every cleric in the area to learn Latin, so that they might participate fully in Church rites, he understood that this was not necessarily a realistic outcome. In order to solve the problem of differing languages, John suggested that interpreters be trained so that all could enjoy and full understand what the Latin clerics were doing.²⁷⁷ At the end of the letter, John even suggested a place for the new

²⁷⁴ John XXII, "Praelarae devotionis," in *Fontes*, 19. Reg. Aven. 10 fol. 328, ep. 710; Reg. Vat. 67 fol. 215, ep. 710; Mollat, n. 6953.

²⁷⁵ John XXII, "Quamvis innumera" in *Fontes*, 26-27. Reg. Aven. 10, fol. 452, ep. 67 de Curia; Reg. Vat. 67, ep. 67 de Curia; Mollat, n. 8022. The selection of Raymond Stephani is interesting, if only because the Dominican potentially is one of the authors of the crusade treatise, *Directorium ad passagium faciendum*. See Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, vol. 3, 405. See also Loenertz, *La société des frères pèrègrinants*, 188.

²⁷⁶ John XXII, "Quamvis innumera" in *Fontes*, 26.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 27.

school to be built: in Lajazzo, a port city on the Black Sea. John thought the site ideal because of the confluence of Armenian and Latin speakers. Perhaps it was his intention to recruit from the missionaries and other religious in the area, though John does not make this clear. For whatever reason, however, the point was moot: Raymond Stephani did not appear to make it to Armenia, at least not right away, and no such school ever appeared.²⁷⁸

Language instruction was not the only concern John wished to pursue with the Armenian king. Nearly a year later on 29 April 1319, John accepted a profession of faith from the king and his people, delivered to him by the bishop of Gaban, to whom John had granted special privileges nearly a year before. The profession is rather standard, containing the majority of what one might expect from someone who had just converted to the faith. The king articulated at some length a version of the Nicene Creed and an explanation about Purgatory.²⁷⁹ The profession of faith also included remarks about the necessity of the seven sacraments. Chief among the sacraments explained were confirmation and extreme unction (last rites), which occupies two spaces in the text. From the text and tone of the profession, it seems that the king and the bishop who advised him worried that the newly converted bishops would perform the sacraments incorrectly, specifically confirmation and extreme unction. At issue, it seemed, was that the bishop needed to bless the oil in order for it to be effective.²⁸⁰ In addition, the king professed that he understood the proper distribution of the Eucharist, namely that the wine needed to be mixed, in part, with water, something John had stressed in a previous letter to Armenian churchmen nearly a year before John heard this

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 27. Also see Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, vol. 3, 405.

²⁷⁹ Oshin of Armenia, “Salvator noster,” in *Fontes*, 36-7. Reg. Vat. 109, fol. 210, ep. 781.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 39.

profession of faith from the king.²⁸¹ Finally, the king professed complete obedience to the Roman pontiff, reaffirming the primacy of Peter and accepting that the privileges of the Armenian patriarchs would now come from the apostolic seat.²⁸² The Armenian Catholicus, on the other hand, seems to have resisted the conversion to the Latin rite, even after the king invited him to embrace Latin Christianity.²⁸³

This profession of faith is interesting for at least two reasons. First, it provides a sense of exactly what John expected from the kingdoms that returned back into the Latin fold. With the help of the Latin bishop, the king and the members of the Armenian clergy had clearly been instructed as to what constituted proper belief. And, of course, it seems that they had a number of questions, particularly on the ways in which certain sacraments should and could be performed. Second, rather than being a set of prescriptions from John himself, as so many of the other letters are, the profession comes from the hand of the king himself. Thus, in this instance, we see a model for how the conversion of a king under John XXII would proceed from the king's perspective. Certainly, as the chapter discusses below, fissures between the ways in which the Armenians practiced their faith and the expectations that the Latin Church had for that practice existed. John, however, quickly provided correctives to ensure that the Armenians quickly returned to Latin orthodoxy.

While John did impose a certain amount of discipline on the king and expected him to follow his religious guidelines, the pope does seem to have provided the king with some religious flexibility. On 1 May 1320, John wrote to Oshin again, after receiving word from

²⁸¹ John XXII, "Exultavit cor nostrum" in *Fontes*, 16-17. Reg. Aven. 10, fol. 430v, ep. 36 de Curia; Reg. Vat. Fol. 312, ep. 36 de Curia; Mollat, 8168.

²⁸² Oshin of Armenia, "Salvator noster," in *Fontes*, 39.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 40.

one of his nuncios, a knight named Gerardi of Lagiaco, that the Armenian king was not faring well. Apparently, Oshin had implemented a program of Christian fasting and abstinence in the midst of a campaign against several enemies who had launched an invasion of his kingdom. John reminded the king that he should refrain from abstinence and fasting while undertaking such an overwhelming responsibility. John, for his part, assured the Armenian king that no ecclesiastical punishment would come his way if he did not observe his fasting and abstinence. And, just to drive the point home, John granted the king a dispensation to ease his mind. In addition, John reminded the king that he could work with his confessor if the pope's words had burdened his conscience.²⁸⁴ While a benevolent move on the surface, John perhaps understood its strategic value. Invading Mongols would have serious consequences for the progress that the pope and his agents had made in Armenia, and while a Mongol invasion would not necessarily spell the end of the Latin presence in the region, it certainly would set John's plans for a unified church back to a significant extent.

The king's acceptance of Latin Christianity prompted John not only to enforce a regime of Christian discipline and guidance in the king's lands, but to invest specific places within Armenia with Latin Christian value in order to promote the spread of Latin Christianity and to provide discipline for those who transgressed its orthodoxy. In order to mark Latin space and to encourage more Latin Christians or, perhaps, potential converts to Latin Christianity, John continued to grant indulgences to those who visited specific places in the Armenian kingdom, much like he had for the Latin bishop in northeastern Armenia. On 22 July 1319, John granted an indulgence of one hundred and forty days to any person, so long as they were contrite and sincere in their confession, who visited the church of Saint Sarkis. Given that Sarkis was a saint of the Armenian Church and does not appear to belong

²⁸⁴ John XXII, "Eximiae tuae" in *Fontes*, 64-65.

to the Catholic canon, this is quite remarkable. In this instance, then, John employed the status of an Armenian saint in order to promote his own apostolic authority through the granting of indulgences. While parishioners might come to pray to their patron saint, they would also be reminded that the Latin pontiff had the ability to grant them further ecclesiastical benefits. In addition to the church of Saint Sarkis, John provided indulgences for anyone who visited the Poor Brothers of Armenia of the order of Saint Basil in the city of Bononia.²⁸⁵ Visitors to the brothers at Bononia did not enjoy an equivalent relaxation of purgatorial punishment as did those who visited the church of Saint Sarkis. Indeed, the indulgence depended largely on the day on which a pilgrim entered the church. Visitors received an indulgence of one hundred days on Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, but those who came during Lent, for the *Festivus Octavas*, or who brought large donations to the Brothers would receive an indulgence of forty days.²⁸⁶ Finally, and perhaps the most striking example of John creating Latin structures in Armenia, the pope ordered that a cathedral church be built in the city of Churchi, the seat of an Armenian governor, at the request of King Oshin. John, moreover, ordered that the city be raised to the status of an episcopal see.²⁸⁷ The details of how this new see fit into the overall organization of the Church in the region are elusive, but, nevertheless, it provides a stark example of just how John attempted

²⁸⁵ John XXII, “Licet Is” in *Fontes*, 88. Reg. Aven. 16, fol. 89, ep. 40. Reg. Vat. 73, fol. 39v, ep. 40; Mollat, n. 14533. “Cupientes igitur, ut ecclesia delictorum filiorum Fratrum Pauperum Armenorum, Ordinis Sancti Basilii, in honorem Sancti Spiritus in civitate Bonoiensi constructa, a christifidelibus congruis honoribus frequenter et subveniatur paupertati praedictorum, universitatem vestram rogamus et hortamur in Domino in remissionem vobis peccaminum iniungentes, quatenus ad ecclesiam ipsam, vestrorum impetraturi veniam peccatorum, in humilitate spiritus accedatis et dictis Fratribus de bonis vobis a Deo collatis pias eleemosynas erogatis, ut per haec et alia bona, quae Domino inspirante feceritis ad aeterna possitis felicitates gaudia pervenire.”

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 88. “Eis vero qui per earundem festivatum Octavas et in diebus dominicis Quadragesimae devote visitaverint, annuatim Fratribus ipsis caritatis subsidia largientes, quadraginta dies de iniunctis eis poenitentiis misericorditer relaxamus.”

²⁸⁷ John XXII, “Significavit nobis,” in *Fontes*, 117. Reg. Vat. 111, fol. 87, ep. 336.

to invest Armenia with the symbols of Latin authority in a newly converted region and to provide incentives for non-Latin Christians to submit to the Christian discipline of the Latin Church.

John, while certainly concerned with the fidelity of the king and with maximizing the exposure of Latin Christianity in Armenia, also attempted to regulate the clergy in the kingdom now that Armenia had come into the Latin fold. On 15 October 1321, John wrote to Zacharius, the archbishop of Saint Thaddeus the Apostle of Maku, who had recently converted to the Latin rite, and to the Vicar of the Dominicans as well as the *Custos* of the Franciscans living in this part of the Golden Horde's empire.²⁸⁸ While this letter does not impose a sort of discipline, it nevertheless increased the standing of the archbishop. John, wishing to bring as many back to the Church as he could, granted the archbishop the powers to ordain the hierarchy in this part of the world. The archbishop, moreover, had the ability to reordain those who had taken their ordination from a non-authorized, that is to say non-Latin, source. John does not make clear why he addressed the leaders of the missionary orders living in this area. However, one might assume that, even with all of the powers that John granted to missionaries, particularly those who were not a part of the hierarchy themselves, he still preferred to have someone who could legitimately pass on apostolic succession. At the very least, John now had a significant presence in Armenia through which to transfer his ecclesiastical power and continue to grow the faith in this region in order to transform it into a space that conformed to Latin orthodoxy.

²⁸⁸ John XXII, " Pio matris Ecclesiae" in *Fontes*, 93-94. Reg. Aven. 17, fol. 378, ep. 25 de Curia; Reg. Vat. 73, fol. 5, ep. 25 de Curia; Mollat, n. 16094. See the postscript following the text of the letter for a brief summary of the life of Archbishop Zacharias.

John's attempt to homogenize the religious practices of the Armenian Church with that of the Latin rite was not always an easy road. Indeed, many Armenian Christians, despite their conversion to Latin Christianity, still followed the liturgical and sacramental theology of the Armenian rite. On 22 November 1321, John wrote again to Zacharias at Saint Thaddeus to remind the archbishop that he needed to follow the proper sacraments mandated by the Roman Church.²⁸⁹ At issue, it seems, was that Zacharias did not provide the sacraments of confirmation and extreme unction himself and, instead, allowed priests to perform the ritual. This was contrary to Latin doctrine. John, true to his message, reminded the archbishop that the Church stood as the physical body of Christ on Earth, and that, as its head, the Latin pontiff had final say over how the religion was to be performed. While still acknowledging his faith and thanking him for all of the work that he had done in the region, John guided the archbishop through the reasons why he himself needed to perform those sacraments. More importantly, John commanded that Zacharias use the proper formulae for the performance of these rituals, lest they be done poorly and would be rendered invalid. He instructed Zacharias that he have his suffragan bishops follow this lead as well.²⁹⁰ John, true to his message, closed the letter with a reminder that the pope had primacy over all Church decisions and even provided Zacharias with an account of how the pope had come to enjoy those privileges.²⁹¹

Zacharius proved to be the least of John's concerns. On 11 March 1322, John ordered an investigation against the armenian Archbishop of Sivas, a town to the south of the Black

²⁸⁹ John XII, "Salvator noster" in *Fontes*, 105-6. Reg. Aven. 17, fol. 452v, ep. 56; Reg. Vat. 73, fol. 20, ep. 56; Reg. Vat. 76, fol. 9, ep. 22 de Curia; Mollat, n. 16118.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 106.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 107.

Sea, after hearing that the archbishop had not been either baptized nor ordained. The archbishop had apparently been performing his standard duties: ordaining clerics, consecrating churches, and even blessing children, which, according to the laws of the Latin Church were all invalid due to the archbishop's sacramental status.²⁹² To make the situation more complicated, Sivas had recently become one of the suffragan sees of the archbishop of Sultāniyya in 1318 after John had elevated the city to a metropolitan see. Furthermore, John had to direct another Armenian archbishop to not mix water with wine when performing the Mass.²⁹³ Perhaps, then, the Armenian archbishops performed these rites as a sort of protest, which naturally would have frustrated John XXII back in Avignon. After all, John expected complete obedience to the Latin rite and would not have wanted any rogue cleric to undermine his program for making the east a space for Latin orthodoxy and enforcing Latin Christian discipline. While the results of the inquest have not survived and the Armenian archbishop's fate remains unknown, this letter provides yet another example of the way in which John attempted to police the orthodoxy of Christians living outside of Europe. While the archbishop himself may have been quite the concern to John, the consequences of the bishop's actions might have worried John even more, since it was possible that several people had received these rites incorrectly and would not seek them out again, since they thought they had been done right the first time.

The administration of the sacraments worried John to such an extent that he sent a letter to the Dominican brothers performing missionary duties in the east concerning the subject, specifically about baptism and ordination. John was anxious that Christians in the

²⁹² John XXII, "Ad audientiam" in *Fontes*, 114-15. Reg. Vat. 128, fol. 2, ep. 6 de Curia. See also Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, vol. 3, 206 and Loenertz, *La société*, 172.

²⁹³ John XXII "Doctor genitum" in *Fontes*, 99-100. Reg. Vat. 111, fol. 86, ep. 331.

east had not received baptism at all. So, John ordered the Dominican brothers to investigate, to some extent, who had received the sacrament and who had not. John gave them the order that even if there had been some doubt concerned whether a person had received baptism or had not, the brothers were to perform the baptism as quickly as possible.²⁹⁴ Similarly, John wanted the brothers to make sure that anyone celebrating the divine office or the Mass had been properly ordained. Considering the number of different Christian clerics, Latin or otherwise, John wanted to invest the proper authority in his own representatives in the East in order to legitimate the sacraments that these priests performed and to insure that the proper practice of Christianity continued in these lands. John even provided a formula for both scenarios clearly hedging his bets. When the brother performed the baptism or the ordination, he was to say that, if the person he was effectively baptizing or ordaining had been baptized or ordained, he was not baptizing or ordaining him. Following this clause, the brother performing the rite would need to say that if the person had not been baptized or ordained, the brother now performed the rites properly and blessed the recipient accordingly.²⁹⁵

While Armenia certainly stands out as a place on which John XXII placed a great deal of his focus, John also conducted a limited correspondence with the king of Georgia. On 15 October 1321, John sent a lengthy letter to the king explaining a variety of ecclesiastical and theological positions.²⁹⁶ First and foremost, John stressed that he, more than anything else, desired the unity of all Christians through the Latin Church. Following the expression of

²⁹⁴ John XXII, “Fidelium novella plantatio” in *Fontes*, 259. Reg. Aven. 46, fol. 136v; Reg. Vat. 106, fol. 1, ep. 2 de Curia; Mollat, n. 63877.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 259-60.

²⁹⁶ John XXII, “Cum simus super”, in *Fontes*, 89-93. Reg. Aven. 17, fol. 403v; Reg. Vat. 73, fol. 3v, ep. 23 de Curia; Mollat, n. 16093.

his desire for unity, John provided the king with a thorough explanation of Petrine Primacy and the position of the pope at the head of the Church with all of the privileges and faculties granted to him as the successor of Peter. The pope also explained the importance of the ecumenical councils, suggesting to the king that they were absolutely necessary and that the king should not listen to anyone who told him otherwise. John closed the letter with the promise of sending a contingent of Franciscans to the king, and the pope asked that the king receive them kindly, perhaps suggesting that they had not been received so kindly in the past. Furthermore, John asked that all Latin missionaries be given safe passage and return through the kingdom, so that they could continue their mission to the Golden Horde and other non-Christians beyond the king's borders.²⁹⁷ While it is rather unclear what prompted the letter to the Georgian king or how well the letter was received, it does reveal John's desire to send Latin Christians into non-Latin Christian spaces to confront Christian heterodoxy and to attempt to enforce Latin Christian discipline.

Columbum, Tifilis, and the Maintenance of Khanbaliq

Following the creation of the archdiocese of Sulantieh, John sought to maintain the new archiepiscopal sees and created new bishoprics in south Asia in order to reinforce the Latin presence in Asia. Compared to the creation of Sultāniyya and Kaffa, however, fewer details are known to modern historians. In some cases, particularly the new episcopal see of Columbum in India, letters from John XXII have survived, as have letters from missionaries requesting assistance. On the other hand, many of the ecclesiastical seats in Asia only appear

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 92.

in a passing mention in a list of places or in the papal bulls instructing the new bishop of a major see to take on a new suffragan in his jurisdiction. This section will discuss the creation of these smaller episcopal sees. It will argue that like the archdiocese of Sultāniyya, these ecclesiastical structures and the hierarchies they housed provided a visible means by which the Latin Church could police the orthodoxy of Latin Christians living abroad and to provide Christian discipline for those Christians as well. Of course, the Latin Church and its missionaries hoped to convert non-Latin Christians and non-Christians, though this seems to have been a secondary goal.

John XXII established the episcopal see of Columbum on 8 April 1330 and named Jordan of Catalonia its bishop. It is unclear what precisely prompted John to take this action, though it might be supposed that news from Asia about Jordan's mission in India had reached him and spurred him to act. Jordan of Catalonia, as seen in chapter one, wrote extensively on his travels through Asia. In addition to his *Mirabilia descripta*, two of Jordan's letters to his fellow mendicant friars in Asia, specifically those friars stationed in Tabriz, Dehkhargan, and Maragha, have survived. Jordan's letters contain a sense of optimism about the missionary work that he had been performing in Asia, though he begins each letter with a reminder of the four Franciscan martyrs of Thana, with whom he traveled and whose relics he buried.²⁹⁸ In his first letter, dated 12 October 1321, Jordan encouraged his mendicant compatriots, promising them that he expected a great number of people in India to convert to Latin Christianity.²⁹⁹ Jordan wrote that he had already baptized a fair number of converts. He claimed to have baptized ninety people in Parocco (modern Bharuch)

²⁹⁸ Jordan of Catalonia, *Epistola fratris Jordani*, in *Biblioteca biobibliografica*, ed. Golubovich, vol. 2, 69.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 70. "De fructu breviter scribe, quod magnus fieret si qui essent qui curarent."

and twenty plus thirty-five others between Thana and Supera (modern Surat).³⁰⁰ Jordan requested that his fellow friars to send more of their order to three specific places in India: Supera, where he asked for two friars; Parocco, where he thought two or three friars were necessary; and Columbum, though Jordan did not specify how many friars he thought were needed in this city. The friar also said there were many other places that he did not know about specifically, but perhaps implied that more of a Latin presence was necessary.³⁰¹ Finally, Jordan claimed to have heard from Latin merchants that the way to Ethiopia (though it is unclear where specifically Jordan located Ethiopia) was open to any friar who wished to preach there. Jordan himself very much wished to travel to Ethiopia and perform his missionary work in the region, and prayed that he would not die before he had the opportunity to do so.³⁰²

While Jordan's first letter contained hope and optimism about the prospects of converting more people to Latin Christianity, Jordan's second letter gave descriptions of the suffering and hardships he experienced in India. Jordan claimed to have been captured by pirates, thrown into prison by Muslims, and made to walk through the city with a simple shirt and not his Dominican habit. He also lamented that he had been cursed by poverty, by persecution from false Christians, and by the severity of the climate. In addition, Jordan complained about a number of physical ailments that had plagued him, including headaches,

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 69. "Ab eodem loco per X dietas, in quondam contrata que que dicitur Parocto, 90 personas baptizavi, et adhuc baptizabo plus quam XX Domino concedente."

³⁰¹ Ibid., 70. "Unus est Supera, ubi duo fratres poterunt stare, alius est in Parotco, ubi starent duo vel tres, et alius est in Colubij, exceptis multis aliis que ignore."

³⁰² Ibid., 70. "Veterum a nostris meractoribus latinis intellexi, quod via Ethyopie est aperta qui vellet ire. Nondum mori me permittat Dominus donec in illis paribus fidelis esse valeam peregrinus." Golubovich argues that Jordan located Ethiopia in India rather than Africa.

chest pain, stomach aches, and pain throughout his limbs.³⁰³ Despite the pain and suffering, however, Jordan encouraged his fellow mendicants to join him in India, though he cautioned that he felt a great schism between him and the people there, if only because of others who misled his potential converts. On the other hand, Jordan claimed to have baptized more than one hundred and thirty people. Using this as evidence, the Dominican friar argued that if more friars would come, there would be a “glorious harvest” of souls, though Jordan cautioned anyone who felt compelled to come and aid him to be ready to face their work with patience and be prepared for martyrdom.³⁰⁴

Jordan also repeated his call for friars to embark on a mission to Ethiopia, where he promised any willing friar would find a population that held Latin Christians in high regard and that was receptive to their message. Indeed, Jordan claimed that the reputation of Latin Christians in India was greater than the esteem in which they were held back in Europe itself. Curiously, Jordan related that the Ethiopians had a prophecy in their books that predicted the arrival of the Latin Church, and that they had continually prayed for the Latins’ arrival. Jordan concluded the letter with a petition for the pope to send at least two galleys to India in order to bring destruction to the sultan of Alexandria, perhaps suggesting, like William of Adam did in his crusade treatise, that the trade between India and Egypt was a great source of the sultan’s power, and, perhaps, a major obstacle to the success of his missionary work there.³⁰⁵

³⁰³ Jordan of Catalonia, “A Second Letter from Friar Jordanus” in *Cathay and the Way Thither* vol. 3, ed. Henry Yule (The Hakulyt Society, 1914), 78.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 79.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 80.

Jordan of Catalonia traveled back to Avignon some time before 1330. While he was at the papal court, John XXII named him the new bishop of a new diocese in Columbum (modern Kollam in southwest India) on 5 April 1330. John sent a letter to the “Nazarenes” of Columbum, praising them for their dedication to the faith and reminding them that salvation only existed through the Latin Church and its sacraments and that the faith must be united under one pastor.³⁰⁶ John committed Jordan to this congregation of Latin Christians in Columbum and asked that they accept the Dominican friar on account of his Christian piety. John also directed any Dominican or Franciscan friar who arrived in Jordan’s see to take heed of the great distances across the land and the sea, and the great labors and dangers that awaited them there.³⁰⁷ John closed his letter with an exhortation to those who wished to travel to join Jordan to be vigilant in their oversight of Latin orthodoxy, reminding them that schisms and theological errors littered the lands into which they would travel. Finally, John concluded his letter with a strong declaration of the missionaries’ purpose: That it was of the utmost importance that the universal flock of Christians to rejoice in the name of Christ, one God, one faith, one baptism, and that one harmonious world give prayers of thanksgiving together.³⁰⁸

In a letter dated 14 February 1330, John XXII also commissioned Jordan of Catalonia along with Thomas, the bishop of Samarkand, to carry the pallium to the recently elected

³⁰⁶ John XXII, “Votis zelamus,” in *Annales Ecclesiastici*, ed. Raynaldi, 460. “Sed una sancta Catholica et universalis Ecclesia Romana, nulla schismatum scissura divisa, un unitate didei orthodoxae sub uno pastore.”

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 460. “Necnon dilectos dilios fratres Praedicatorum et Minorum Ordinum in dicitis partibus commorantes, vel illuc venientes ob reverentiam nostram et Sedis Apostolicae habere velitis propensius commendatos: attendentes quod per tam longas maris terraeque distantias praefatus episcopus et fratres, non absque magnis laboribus et periculis.”

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 460. “Quoniam id est summae et immensae univerali gregi fidelium profuturum, si ubique locorum in cunctis fidelibus, qui gaudent nomine Christiano, unus Deus, una fides, unum baptisma, una totius mundi confessione votis concordibus teneatur.”

bishop of Sultāniyya, John of Cora.³⁰⁹ John of Cora had been elected to the archiepiscopal see shortly after John XXII had transferred William of Adam to Antivari.³¹⁰ Unlike the instructions carried by William of Adam to Sultāniyya for Francis of Perugia's consecration, Jordan and Thomas received no such direction, perhaps indicating that the hierarchy in Sultāniyya had become more familiar with the proper formulae. While the historical record has not preserved much about the life of John of Cora, the Dominican archbishop is thought to have written an account of what he witnessed during his travels throughout Asia around 1330, after John XXII had instructed him to do so.³¹¹ The *Livre de l'Etat de Grant Caan*, much like Jordan of Catalonia's *Mirabilia Descripta*, provides descriptions of much of what the Dominican friar experienced during his time among the Mongols in China, with an emphasis on their cultural and religious traditions. For example, John of Cora describes at length the paper money that the Khan made for currency. He noted that the currency had "a red token right in the middle, and round about there be letters in black. And this money is of greater or of less value according to the token that is thereon..."³¹² He also spent some of his

³⁰⁹ "Te de fratrum" in *Annales Ecclesiastic*, ed. Raynaldi, vol. 24, 462.

³¹⁰ John XXII, "Ad universalis ecclesie" in "Documents relatifs à Guillaume Adam," ed. Kohler, *ROL*, 47. Reg. Aven. 34, fol. 271-271v; Reg. Vat. 92, fol. 131v-132.

³¹¹ "Livre de l'Etat du Grant Caan," ed. Jaquet *Journal Asiatique* 6 (1830), 57-71. The *Livre* only survives in old French, in a manuscript dated from 1351. A single scribe, Long John of Ypres, copied the *Livre* from its original Latin at the monastery of St. Bertin at St. Omer. That manuscript is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 2810, beginning at fol. 136. An English translation of *Livre* can be found in *Cathay and the Way Thither* vol. 3, ed. Yule (The Hakluyt Society, 1914), 89-103. See also C. Raymond Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography* vol. 3 (New York: Peter Smith, 1949), 207.

³¹² "The Book of the Estate of the Great Khan," trans. Henry Yule, in *Cathay and the Way Thither* vol. 3 ed. Henry Yule (The Hakluyt Society, 1914), 97-98.

narrative describing the ways in which the Mongols buried their dead, and the rich lifestyle that the majority of the Khan's people lived.³¹³

More germane to the discussion of the Latin hierarchy in Asia, John of Cora devoted one section of the *Livre* to a discussion of the activities of the Franciscan friars who lived among the Khan's people. John of Cora recalled the story of John of Montecorvino and the missionary work that the Franciscan friar had done, noting that Montecorvino had been sent by Pope Clement V as a legate and later made archbishop, that he had established three Franciscan houses, and made two other houses in the city of Zaitun (Quanzhou), where Andrew of Perugia and Peter of Florence served as his suffragan bishops.³¹⁴ According to John of Cora, Montecorvino had converted a great many people to Latin Christianity, was a man of high standing, not only in morality, but also with the Khan himself, and saw to the needs of Christian and non-Christian alike. John of Cora also positioned the Nestorian Church as Montecorvino's great adversary. The Dominican friar wrote that the Nestorians had prevented Montecorvino from converting the entire kingdom, and, when Montecorvino confronted the Nestorians and demanded their obedience to the Latin Church, the Nestorians only began to hate him more. Indeed, John of Cora claimed that the Nestorian Christians within the Khan's kingdom had meant to do violence to Montecorvino, his friars, and the faithful Latin Christians, but refrained from doing so only because the Khan favored Montecorvino, and therefore did not want to bring upon themselves the wrath of the Khan.³¹⁵

³¹³ Ibid., 98-99.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 100

³¹⁵ Ibid., 100-02.

John of Cora also noted that Montecorvino had recently passed away. The Franciscan friar was apparently so well respected in the kingdom that not only Christians, but also non-Christians attended his funeral. Non-Christians tore their mourning clothes, and both Christians and non-Christians “devoutly laid hold of the clothes of the archbishop, and carried them off as [relics] with great reverence.”³¹⁶ Finally, John of Cora wrote that Montecorvino had been buried in the Christian fashion, and that Christians often visited his grave with great reverence and devotion.³¹⁷ Montecorvino’s death left the archbishopric of Khanbaliq open, and John XXII did not provide a replacement until 1333, when he sent Nicholas of Botras, a professor of theology at Paris, to take Montecorvino’s place along with twenty other priests and clerics, and six lay brothers of his own order.³¹⁸ It is unclear whether or not Nicholas arrived in Khanbaliq. John’s successor, Benedict XII, wrote a letter to the Khan on 13 June 1338, mentioning Nicholas, and Nicholas’ name appears in several other letters, including a letter from the king of Armenia to Usbek Khan.³¹⁹ However, in 1336, the Khan Toghan Temür sent an embassy to Benedict XII at Avignon, requesting more friars at their court and recounting the memories of John of Montecorvino. They told the pope that they had not had a pastor for time, suggesting that Nicholas had not arrived in Khanbaliq at all.³²⁰ Regardless of the result of Nicholas’ journey, however, John XXII sought to appoint

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 101.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 101.

³¹⁸ *Militani*, in *BF* vol. V, ed. Eubel, 555.

³¹⁹ For Benedict XII’s letter, see *BF* VI, ed. Eubel, n.90. See also Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica*, vol. 3, 420-24.

³²⁰ Baldwin, “Missions,” 499.

whom he thought to be a worthy successor to Montecorvino so that the mission to bring Christians and non-Christians into the care of the Latin Church could continue.

John XXII established a handful of other bishoprics during his reign, but documentation of these sees is relatively scant. In 1329, John XXII appointed John of Florence, a Dominican friar, to become the bishop of Tiflis (modern Tbilisi).³²¹ Baldwin argues that John XXII's decision indicated a renewed interest in Georgia, though it is difficult to discern any information that would prove that argument from the founding bull itself. In addition, quite unlike the bulls that founded Sultāniyya, and, to some extent, the instructions given to Jordan of Catalonia when he became the bishop of Columbum, John XXII provided no instruction for John of Florence whatsoever, but instead praised him for his commitment to the Latin Church and offering him encouragement as he took on his new position.³²² John XXII also raised the city of Vosporo (modern Kerch) in Crimea to a metropolitan see in 1333.³²³ Though these sees do not appear as important to John XXII's overall plan for carrying out his pastoral mission in the East, they do provide further evidence for the ways in which John and his successors continued to establish institutional hierarchies in non-Latin Christians spaces both to police and enforce the orthodoxy of Latin Christians living there and in the hopes of converting more non-Latin Christians and non-Christians to Latin Christianity in order to unite the Christian churches of the world.

³²¹ "Nuper ad dilatationem" in *BP*, 186. Loenertz has identified a *Nécrologe* in Florence that gives some details of John of Florence's life. See Loenertz, "Les missions dominicanes en orient," 70.

³²² Baldwin, "Missions," 505. See also Loenertz, *Frères pègrinants*, 172-75.

³²³ Loenertz, *Frères pègrinants*, 89-134.

Conclusion

The creation of the archdiocese at Sultāniyya, the directions provided to Armenian converts, and the creation and maintenance of existing sees were a clear expression of John XXII's pastoral mission to create ecclesiastical structures in missionary zones in order to serve the Catholic Christian populations and possible converts living under its jurisdiction. Without these crucial forces working in Persia, Armenia and throughout Asia, the creation of these structures of Latin authority would not have been an attractive proposition for John XXII or other church officials. Though the foundation of the archdiocese at Sultāniyya came relatively near the end of the long-standing attempt at a military relationship with the Persian Khans, it was that relationship, however superficial it may have been, that allowed the missionaries to do their work with relatively little interference from the Khans, who, during the reign of Ghazan, converted to Islam. Francis of Perugia and his fellow missionaries had built up a base of believers in the area that caused John XXII to be open to the creation of the archdiocese, one that could serve the large population in the city and the surrounding lands full of Nestorian Christians, Muslims, and other Latin Christians which the Church sought to convert or to support.

The institutions were also a symbol of Latin orthodoxy in West Asia, one that could police and enforce Latin doctrine and theology in a region that had previously aligned more with other Christianities. John's program for policing this region was quite clear. John guided missionaries-turned-bishops as to how to perform their newly found positions, giving them the formulae for the celebration of the Mass, the consecration of new bishops, and how to properly select an archbishop when the need arose. John's insistence on the celebration of

particular feast days and his emphasis on policing the relationships between Latin Christians and their various others, Christians, Muslims, or other non-Christians, clearly demonstrate a concern on the part of the pope for the proper practice of Christianity, and, perhaps, a sense of the best way for the new missionary bishops to promote Latin Christianity with their every action. Seen from this perspective, John XXII, rather than limiting the purpose of the archdiocese to the reunion with the Armenian Church or to convert Mongol rulers to Christianity, meant for the archdiocese of Sultāniyya to be a transformational structure that would not only reach out to non-Latin Christians and non-Christians, but one that would be able to provide pastoral care to Latin Christians that would ensure that their practice of Christianity and the actions that they took while living outside of “Latin Christendom” aligned with Latin orthodoxy. Even further, these dynamics complicate views of the papacy’s involvement in extra-European missionary work as somewhat passive, asserting that the papacy only intervened to grant special missionary privileges or to erect new episcopal sees.³²⁴ On the contrary, at least in the case of John XXII, the papacy took an active role in the missionary project, attempting to ensure a strict devotion to Latin orthodoxy. While the popes remained in Rome or, in John XXII’s case, in Avignon, providing Latin missionaries with special privileges and deputizing them as bishops and archbishops provided an avenue for the papacy to assert its authority in places far from its apostolic home.

However, John’s pastoral mission encountered internal resistance, either from the members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy who left their positions as archbishop or bishop or from the Armenian converts who continued to practice their traditional rite of Christianity

³²⁴ Ryan, *To Baptize Khans or to Convert Peoples*.

even after submitting to the authority of the Latin pontiff. The actions of these missionaries and the Armenian converts to Latin Christianity demonstrate their own religious agency, which often came into conflict with John's pastoral mission. Rather than only contextualizing their actions in relationship to John, however, the choices made by archbishops, bishops, and converted Armenian Christians need to be understood as expressions of their own Christian identities. Seen from this perspective, their decisions become less about disobeying the orders of the pope or undermining his pastoral mission, and more about the complex web of Christian concerns that weighed on the lives of the missionaries and members of the hierarchy in Asia. As the next chapter demonstrates, these expressions of agency took on many different forms, including the denunciation of John himself and the seeking out of martyrdom at the hands of Muslims living in Asia.

CHAPTER 3: LATIN CHRISTIANS ON THE FRONTIER

When John XXII established the archdiocese of Sultāniyya and raised suffragan sees in support of that new ecclesiastical center, he drew an imaginary boundary through the middle of Asia. This line divided the continent into two distinct missionary jurisdictions: The Franciscan order remained in charge of everything east of this imaginary line, maintaining control of its archdiocese in Khanbaliq and the supporting bishoprics directly underneath it. The Dominican order, on the other hand, now had the care of several episcopal locations, not all necessarily new, though certainly these brought a new set of responsibilities for the brothers preachers. In one sense John's division of Asia represented a pragmatic move: John understood the need to centralize ecclesiastical power in West Asia in order to provide a centers of pastoral care and discipline for Latin Christians living within its jurisdiction, and the new archdiocese, new dioceses, and converts in the Armenian hierarchy, as the previous chapter recounts, served that purpose. In another sense the division of Asia into these two distinct missionary zones created centers of accountability for the numbers of Dominican and Franciscan missionaries wandering the continent and for the Latin Christians under their care.

This chapter argues that the Latin Christian frontier in Asia challenged the papacy's attempt to enforce the orthodoxy of Latin Christians living outside of Christendom. Moreover, Asia became a space for certain Latin Christians to express either their discontent with the papacy or their own missionary spirituality. The chapter explores these arguments

through three central episodes. First, it examines the various missionary privileges that John XXII granted to the friars who operated in these communities. It finds that Dominican and Franciscan missionaries served as conduits for papal absolution in order to bring wayward Latin Christians back into communion with the Latin Church. Read critically, the granting of these privileges provide a means by which to understand the religious concerns of the papacy about the Christians under their care at the frontier. Next, it explores how an extra-European context exacerbated the controversy between John XXII and the Franciscans over the poverty of Christ. It demonstrates that Asia provided a space for dissenting Latin Christians to voice their rejection of papal authority while examining how John XXII attempted to reinforce his spiritual power at the same time. The final section explores tensions between John XXII's attempts to provide spaces for the practice of Latin Christians that were safe from persecution by non-Christians and Franciscan missionaries who saw Asia as place in express their individual spirituality by becoming martyrs for their faith. Overall, the competing Latin Christian identities of Asia bring into focus the ways in which the missionary project of the fourteenth century highlighted competing visions of Latin Christian orthodoxy.

Evidence for the exact numbers of Dominican and Franciscan missionaries operating in Asia is unfortunately scant. However, what records that do survive make clear that a large number of members of both orders operated in Asia. Perhaps the most important of these, "On the Places of the Brothers Minor and Preachers in Tartaria (*De locis fratrum minorum et predicatorum in Tartaria*), from approximately 1318 (if not before), lists several stations for each order, organized into three regions.³²⁵ The first region, *Tartaria Aquilonaris*, or the

³²⁵ "*De locis fratrum minorum et praedicatorum in Tartaria*" in *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, ed. Golubovich, vol. 2, 72. The *De locis* comes from a manuscript written by an anonymous Franciscan. The record is preserved in the British Library, Cotton MS Nero A IX, fol. 100v. There is some disagreement over when the Franciscan author wrote this. Golubovich dates the document to about 1320-30. Alternatively, Raymond Loenertz dates the

Black Sea region, held eighteen Franciscan houses and a number of churches, including 70 churches in the city of Cersona alone.³²⁶ The Franciscans also held a number of places in *Cathay*, East Asia, and a number of monasteries in *Tartaria Orientalis* (Persia), including one at Sultāniyya. The Dominican order, on the other hand, did not have nearly as many locations as did the Franciscan order, though that would change as the order solidified itself in the region, in large part thanks to John XXII granting them control over the episcopal sees and the archiepiscopal seat at Sultāniyya in 1318. In *Cathay* and *Tartaria Aquilonari*, the Dominicans held only two places, a house at Kaffa and another at Thana.³²⁷ In Persia, the Dominicans had a slightly larger presence, perhaps thanks to the work of Francis of Perugia and the fledgling *Fratres peregrinantes*. In this region, the brothers preachers held three stations: one each at Tabriz, Maragha, and Dehkharegan.³²⁸ The *De locis*, unfortunately, does not give many details about the ways in which these places worked together, nor their specific ties to the larger ecclesiastical framework of the Latin Church. However, the list of brothers spread across Asia implies that a great many Latin Christians lived in these regions, all of which, from the pope's perspective, needed Latin Christian discipline in order to ensure their orthodoxy and orthopraxy.

This chapter takes the division of Asia and the number of missionaries living throughout the continent as a point of departure. Rather than isolating the division of Asia as a single symptom or even a primary indicator of potential rivalries between the orders, the

source to 1318 at the latest. See Loenertz, *La Société des Frères Pègrinants Dominicain*, 3 and “Les Missions Dominicains” *AFP* II, 72-74.

³²⁶ *De locis*, in *Biblioteca biobibliografica*, ed. Golubovich, vol. 2, 72.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 72

³²⁸ *Ibid.* 72.

chapter links it to John's desire to reinforce Latin orthodoxy and discipline in these regions. John granted several special religious powers to missionaries in order to bring heterodox Christians back into communion with the Latin rite. However, for many Christians, Asia became a place in which they could exercise their individual spiritualities without the direct oversight of members of the Church hierarchy policing their actions. Thus, Asia represented a frontier space for Latin Christians, one that offered opportunities for individual expression on one hand, and the attempt of the pope to homogenize religious beliefs and practices on the other. Overall, the chapter demonstrates the dynamics of Latin Christian identity in Asia became fluid depending on the individual actors in these spaces and on their particular religious priorities.

This chapter also works to complicate established historiographical arguments about the nature of the thirteenth-century and fourteenth-century mission to Asia. Scholars captivated by the activities of Dominicans and Franciscans have principally focused their arguments on the conversion of non-Christians and non-Latin Christians. James Ryan, for example, argues that the missionary project became frustrated by the need of the mendicant friars to confront and challenge other cultures, particularly Islam.³²⁹ Benjamin Kedar, on the other hand, has suggested that disillusionment with a lack of Muslim conversions caused some mendicant friars to favor crusading action to produce Christian converts over mission.³³⁰ These arguments tend to favor the evaluation of mission along the lines of success and failure, a narrative that this dissertation has worked to revise. Rather than

³²⁹ James Ryan, "Conversion or the Crown of Martyrdom: Conflicting Goals for Fourteenth-Century Missionaries in Central Asia?" in *Medieval Cultures in Contact*, ed. Richard F. Gyug (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003), 19-38.

³³⁰ Benjamin Z Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches Towards the Muslims* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 154-58.

evaluating mission in this way, this chapter posits that the mission was instead concerned with the reunion of Christians with the Latin Church and a means by which Latin Christians could explore their own Christian orthodoxies and identities.

Discerning between those who remained true to John's vision and those who had their own missionary agendas remained a difficult task for the pontiff and his advisers, as evidenced by a handful of incidents with so-called heretics outside of Europe, particularly in the Black Sea region, and by John's demanding that those who went on mission had papal permission to do so. Seen from this perspective, the powers granted to missionaries become less passive, and more active agents of the enforcement of papal authority. Put another way, the granting of special powers to missionaries, archbishops, bishops, or otherwise, provided the papacy with a way to be "on the ground" and to police the orthodoxy of Latin Christians living in Asia. Moreover, read into the prescriptions of papal privileges are the ways in which Christians challenged that authority, whether by practicing sacraments incorrectly, by entering into prohibited marriages, by trading prohibited goods, or by committing violence against clerics. As the chapter demonstrates, Asia became a place for the exercise of Christian agency, while, at the same time, John tried to enforce strict Latin discipline on the Latin Christians living throughout the continent.

Gratias Agimus and *Cum Hora Undecima*: Papal Guidance for Missionaries

John himself issued bulls granting powers to missionaries only a handful of times. In fact, John only issued two bulls, *Gratias agimus* in 1318 and *Cum hora undecima* in 1321, though he reissued the first of these two bulls twice further.³³¹ The first of the two came on the heels of the raising of Sultāniyya to an archiepiscopal see, and, at least to some extent, the bull can be read as a part of that process. Indeed, it would be difficult to imagine that John did not include the bull in the group of letters that he sent with William of Adam to install Francis of Perugia as the see's first archbishop. Less clear are John's reasons for issuing *Cum hora undecima*, though it came shortly after John granted special privileges to an archbishop in Armenia so that the bishop could ordain new members of the Church hierarchy.³³² The privileges also followed a lengthy explanation of papal primacy and its role in the unity of the Church to the king of Georgia and his barons. John emphasized to the Georgian king that Christ stood as the head of the Church triumphant, and Christ himself had made Peter his vicar on Earth. The pope added that because all ecclesiastical authority ran through Peter, the king was to submit any queries or concerns about the practice of Christianity directly to the pope. In this letter, moreover, John asked that the Franciscans who worked in the region be given safe passage and whatever else they needed so that they could continue their mission to the non-Latin Christians and non-Christians in the region.³³³ However infrequent, these bulls

³³¹ John reissued the privileges given in *Gratias agimus* once on October 1, 1325 and again on September 6, 1333. John XXII "Gratias agimus" in *Fontes*, 25. For 1325, see Reg. Vat. 94, fol. 55 ep. 140 and Reg. Aven. 270 fol. 283 ep. 1139. For 1333, see Reg. Vat. 106 ep. 1 and Reg. Aven. 43, fol. 601. See also Mollat, n. 61.338.

³³² John XXII, "Pio matris Ecclesie" in *Fontes*, 93-94.

³³³ John XXII, "Cum simus super" in *Fontes*, 89-92

indicate the sort of program John wished the missionaries to perform. In short, the main thrust of the missionaries' jobs was to return people who practiced Christianity outside of the orthodoxy of the Latin Church to the correct practices. Both bulls, moreover, positioned the missionaries as pastoral diplomats who had the full backing and authority of the apostolic seat to exercise the pope's authority and to bring other Christians under his stewardship and discipline.

The first of these bulls, *Gratias agimus*, concerned the powers of archbishops and bishops more than it did missionaries in general, though John does not leave those missionaries out of his discussion. For the archbishops, John enumerated several types of powers. On the whole, John granted both archbishops and bishops the ability to grant dispensations for a number of situations. First and foremost, John granted both bishops and archbishops the ability to bring "schismatic" Christians back into the Latin fold, provided that they sincerely desired such a reunion. John did this in several ways. Primarily, John allowed the members of the Latin hierarchy to absolve any schismatic clerics who had recently converted to Latin Christianity. Interestingly, John also permitted any former schismatic to return to his clerical duties, so long as he declared his obedience to the apostolic see in public.³³⁴

Both bulls addressed violence against clerics, though *Gratias agimus* had more detailed instructions than did *Cum hora undecima*. In the latter, John inserted his concern in a passage that also dealt with how missionaries should receive marriages between peoples of

³³⁴ John XXII "Gratias agimus," in *Fontes*, 22. "Liceat etiam eisdem archiepiscopo et episcopis dispensare, ut redeuntes ex schismaticis ad Catholicae Ecclesiae unitatem, inter suos, si voluerint, valeat habitare eis que communicare sine contumelia Creatoris et quod clerici nationum ipsarum publice ad Apostolicae Sedis obedientiam redeuntes, gaudeant privilegio clericali."

various creeds.³³⁵ In this case, John simply granted the power to absolve those who did violence against clerics. This stands in contrast to *Gratias agimus*, which contained much more specific instructions. In addition to granting the power to absolve those who had killed clerics, the pope gave his permission to grant absolution for those who did anything violent against the church in word or deed, provided that they made sincere contrition and did not deceive the archbishops or bishops in the process.³³⁶ Interestingly, John added a clause to the end of his list of offenses that the archbishop or bishop could absolve those who carried arms or mercenaries for the Muslims of Alexandria. The pope himself could only forgive perpetrators of this type of violence against the Church. John and many others were quite concerned about illicit trade with the Alexandrians, so much so that the halting of this type of trade became a major component of the proposed crusades of the early fourteenth century. John also reserved the right to grant absolution to those who did violence against their superiors, particularly bishops, since this, too, was a way in which rogue Christians provided aid to Muslims.³³⁷

John put these words into practice. On 22 November 1321, John issued two letters in response to a report he received about a Franciscan bishop, Father Stephen, suffering at the

³³⁵ John XXII, “Cum hora undecima,” in *Fontes*, 96. Reg. Aven. 17, fol. 377; Reg. Vat. 73, fol. 4v, ep. 24 de Curia; Mollat, n. 16102. “Ad haec sit vobis absolvendi facultas occisores clericorum et Religiosorum praedictorum in praedictis partibus constituos; fundandi de novo ecclesias et reconciliandi illas que sunt casu aliquo profanatae ac de novo fundatis de Rectoribus idoneis providendi et qui de gentibus schismaticis noviter sunt conversi dandi licentiam ut uxores suas cum quibus in gradibus a lege divina non prohibitis contraxerunt valeant retinere.”

³³⁶ John XXII, “Gratias agimus,” in *Fontes*, 22. “Possint quoque clericorum occisores et religiosarum personarum et quoscunque alios clericos et laicos praesentes et futuros in illis saeculares vel viros religiosos vel incendio seu sacrilegio vel alias inciderint in canonem sententiae promulgatae iuxta Ecclesiae formam absolvere dummodo iniuriam et damna passis satisfaciant competenter nec se ad partes illas pro absolution huiusmodi obtinenda fraudulenter duxerint conferendos.”

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

hands of schismatics in Sarai, northeast of the Black Sea and under the control of the Golden Horde. John's letter details the basic account of what happened to Stephen: He suffered at the hands of a rival bishop of the Armenian rite named Bogos who was apparently unhappy with Stephen's presence. This comes as no surprise: Stephen was the first Latin bishop of Sarai, and Bogos, who belonged to the Armenian rite, did not appreciate the competition.³³⁸ John offered kind and comforting words to the beleaguered bishop, instructing him to remain steadfast in his faith and to remember that he had the support of the apostolic seat. John also promised to send letters in his support.³³⁹ John, true to his word, did send a letter of support addressed to the entire Armenian population living in Sarai with his reply to Stephen's request for aid. This letter berated those responsible for Stephen's exile. John promised that they would receive divine retribution for their actions and called on anyone who had been involved in the plot to repent for what they had done. John also took the opportunity to remind the Armenians that the Roman Church was the mother and master of all things related to the Christian faith.³⁴⁰ For Stephen's part, he seems to have strayed from the path, so to speak. Several years later, John wrote to him once again, congratulating him on his conversion back to Latin Christianity, thanks in large part to the Dominican friars who operated in his diocese.³⁴¹ Given the somewhat tense relationship between the Latin Church and Armenia, this also does not come as much of a surprise. However, the episode demonstrates John's dual concern: to ensure the Latin Christian discipline of his bishop, on

³³⁸ John XXII, "Nuper non sine" in *Biblioteca biobibliografica* ed. Golubovich, vol.3, 223.

³³⁹ John XXII, "Doctor Genitum" in *Fontes*, 100. Reg. Vat. 111, fol. 86, ep. 322.

³⁴⁰ John XXII, "Quia iuxta," in *Fontes* 101. Reg. Aven. 17, fol. 445v, ep. 35 de Curia; Reg. Vat. 73, fol. 13, ep. 35 de Curia; Mollat, n. 16112.

³⁴¹ John XXII, "Ingentem" in *Fontes*, 210. Reg. Vat. 94, fol. 28, ep. 68.

one hand, and the extension of his authority and the legitimacy of the Latin Church on the other. Furthermore, it also suggests that those who converted to the Latin rite may have turned back to their former faith when trouble arose, a key component of the dynamics of this Latin Christian frontier.

These bulls also reveal more of John's concerns about marriages between Latin Christians and non-Latin Christians or non-Christians. In some ways the bull reversed course on permitted marriages between Latins and non-Latins. Rather than requiring a dispensation, like he had instructed Jerome of Catalonia shortly after John translated him to the bishopric of Kaffa, John permitted marital unions so long as they were no closer than the third and fourth grade of consanguinity and affinity.³⁴² This move was more in line with John's predecessors, particularly Innocent III's decretal *Gaudemus*, which viewed these relationships as troublesome to a small extent, but ultimately decided that such marriages brought more people into the fold because of the role of marriage in bringing about conversions.³⁴³ Moreover, as James Muldoon suggests, further developments in canon law saw a more pressing concern for the marriages between two "infidels," particularly if one or both members of the marriage converted to Latin Christianity. The majority of the anxiety about marriages between two non-Christians developed out of the marriage practices of the Mongols that the first missionaries encountered. The Mongols, according to the reports written by Latin Christians who traveled eastward, like John of Plano Carpini, practiced

³⁴² For Jerome of Catalonia's transfer to Kaffa, see above, chapter 2.

³⁴³ James Muldoon, "The Avignon Papacy and the Frontiers of Christendom," 46. Muldoon has written extensively on canon law, but also on the missionaries' confrontations with non-Latin marriages specifically. See James Muldoon, "Missionaries and the Marriages of Infidels: The Case of the Mongol Mission," *The Jurist* 35 (1975), 125-41. See also John T. Noonan Jr., *Power to Dissolve* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 247-359.

polygamy and had generally loose constraints on whom a man could marry. The only restriction was that a man could not marry his own mother, daughter, or sister from the same father.³⁴⁴

When John reissued *Cum hora undecima* in 1321, he issued many of the same instructions as he did in *Gratias agimus* three years earlier, though he added an additional clause and thereby an additional privilege for the missionaries. They were to recognize the marriages, of course, but the missionaries were also able to compel perisioners who came to them about their marriages to explain the reasons for why the man and woman had entered into marriage in the first place. The missionary could threaten ecclesiastical censure if they did not comply.³⁴⁵ This additional measure, not present in any other of the bulls on marriage that John issued, certainly merits consideration. While John based his argument on those of his predecessors, it nevertheless stands out for a pope so concerned with the policing the orthodoxy of his flock. It is also suggestive of the confusion on the part of the Christians living in the region, whose decision to marry might not have considered the mandates of canon law, unless a missionary or priest had told them otherwise. On the surface, it seems that John wanted the missionaries, at the very least, to police those marriages that had him and other canon lawyers so nervous. At a deeper level, however, this seems to have been an effective measure to police one of the sacraments of the Church. After all, John wanted conformity in the East, if only to consistently display the message that the Latin Church provided the only means through which one could achieve salvation through the proper performance of sacraments.

³⁴⁴ John of Plano Carpini, "History of the Mongols" in *The Mongol Mission*, ed. Christopher Dawson (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955), 7.

³⁴⁵ John XXII, "Cum hora undecima," in *Fontes*, 96-97.

On 4 October 1333, John issued the bull *Super gregem* concerning the marriages between Latin Christians and the various others, noting that the problem with marriages between these two types of people stemmed largely from the fact that the majority of these marriages happened in lands in which the majority of the population did not belong to the Latin Church.³⁴⁶ In the same bull, John cited Innocent III's *Gaudemus* directly, arguing that the prohibition of marriages between Latin Christians and various others was better for the health of the Church. John made it clear, though, that the party to the marriage who had not yet been a Latin Christian or who converted needed to be steadfast in their obedience to the Latin Church.³⁴⁷ Likewise, John instructed the missionaries that Innocent III's *Gaudemus* was to be followed to the letter in order that as many marriages as possible be recognized as valid in order to increase the number of people brought under the discipline of the Latin Church.³⁴⁸ Here again, John repeats his concerns about the ability of the archbishops and bishops to protect Latin Christians under their care. As the minorities in these lands, Latin Christians would more likely be subject to the laws of the rulers, Mongol, Muslim, or otherwise. It was the responsibility of the archbishops and bishops, then, to identify potentially problematic marriages and provide the appropriate discipline for those who may have crossed over the prescribed boundaries of canon law.

³⁴⁶ John XXII, "Super gregem" in *Fontes*, 260-2. Reg. Aven. fol. 136; Reg. Vat. 106, fol. 1, ep. 1 de Curia; Mollat, n. 63878.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 261. "Cum schismaticis autem qui ad unitatem catholicae fidei et plenam oboedientiam Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae redierunt vel redibunt effectualiter in futurum quique com personis in quarto gradu consanguinitatis vel affinitatis ipsi attinentibus matrimonial contraxerunt quod impedimento non obstante praefato, possinet post effectualem reditum ut praemittitur eorundem in huiusmodi matrimoniis remaner auctoritate praedicta similiter dispensamus."

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 260-2

The bulls also supplied privileges for missionaries specifically, particularly those friars who were also ordained priests. Each of these powers, to greater and lesser extents, fashioned the missionaries into direct emissaries for the pontiff himself. In other words, these powers again demonstrate the ways in which John stressed fidelity to Latin Christianity in the lands beyond the geographical borders of Latin Christendom. In *Gratias agimus*, John focused on the rights of priests in various sacramental situations. Among the privileges that John granted, priests had permission, so long as an archbishop or bishop found them worthy, to bless priestly vestments and altar cloths and to reconcile cemeteries. Priests were also given papal license to perform the Divine Office and the Mass in the places to which they traveled, to hear the confessions of those seeking penance and to impose the requisite punishments on those who transgressed.³⁴⁹ *Cum hora undecima* provided the friars with even more papal privileges, including those that John had granted specifically to archbishops in *Gratias agimus*. Missionaries could communicate with excommunicates, receive converts, confer sacraments, and even advance the ordination of acolytes.³⁵⁰ John also emphasized the same set of powers in *Cum hora undecima* that he did in *Gratias agimus*, including the sacramental privileges and the abilities to absolve and provide dispensations for specific circumstances.

³⁴⁹ John XXII, “Gratias agimus”, in *Fontes*, 23-24. “Concedimus insuper eisdem archiepiscopo et episcopis quod illis dumtaxat exceptis quae more officii pontificalis existent possint per specialem commissionem eorum videlicet singuli in singulis suis conventibus et dioecesi quoties expedire cognoverint per Fratres presbyteros providos et idoneos Praedicatorum et Minorum Ordinum explicare et illis etiam committere ut vestes sacerdotales altaris pallas et corporalia benedicere ecclesias et cimiteria reconciliare valent si ipsas forte contingate effusion sanguinis vel seminis violari. Vobis autem filii Fratres in locis in quibus vos hospitari contigerit vel in locis partium earundem in quibus residentiam facietis missam et cetera divina officia celebrandi in eisdem partibus libera sit facultas. Sit etiam vobis licitum omnium fidelium in terriis praedictis confessions audire ac ipsis iniungere poenitentias salutare.”

³⁵⁰ John XXII, “Cum hora undecima” in *Fontes*, 95-6.

In addition to the powers that John granted to the missionaries and the church hierarchy in Asia, he also made clear that visiting the brothers in these far away lands carried religious benefits with it. In both bulls, he promised visitors the same indulgence, one of one hundred days, the same that pilgrims received for traveling to the Holy Land, a feature that had not been included in previous editions of the bull.³⁵¹ Moreover, in *Gratias agimus*, John provided the Dominican churchmen the ability to confer a range of indulgences, each according to their rank. Archbishops could grant indulgences for a full year, bishops could grant the same for one hundred days, and priests were able to confer a small indulgence, forty days in length. Whatever the length and the reasons for granting them, these indulgences stand out. While the numbers of parishioners who took advantage of the indulgences that these churchmen could provide are unavailable, the incentive to visit these places is somewhat telling. Through these indulgences, it seems, John provided a means by which to entice Christians looking to act on their piety to come to these lands. Not only that, given that the plans for crusading often did not materialize and that the Holy Land was currently in the hands of the hostile Mamluks, those who wanted to go on a pilgrimage now had an outlet for pilgrimage if they needed it. This kept Christians out of danger on one hand, and, on the other, provided models for how to best practice Christianity on the frontier.

Two other clauses in the bulls seem somewhat out of place, but make sense in context with John's policing of the mendicant orders and his desire for concord between them. In *Gratias agimus*, John restricted these exchanges to some extent, noting that certain things prohibited by the ancient canons required the intervention of the bishop. Moreover, they

³⁵¹ John XXII, "Gratias agimus," in *Fontes*, 24; John XXII, "Cum hora undecima," in *Fontes*, 97. See also Muldoon, "The Avignon Papacy and the Frontiers of Christendom," 145.

required special permission from the pope himself.³⁵² In *Cum hora undecima*, John added a clause that permitted the friars to hold property and to exchange and receive it freely. This was a reversal of a decision made by his predecessor Boniface VIII, a decision that John declared void and even foolish.³⁵³ James Muldoon points out that John was an innovator in this respect, as no previous version of *Cum hora undecima* contained anything related to the property that the Franciscans or Dominicans could hold and what rights they had to that property.³⁵⁴ In addition to his granting both Dominicans and Franciscans the right to have and exchange property, John commanded in *Gratias agimus* that no Dominican build a house or found a new *locus* within 30 *cannae* (approx. 60m) of any equivalent Franciscan space.³⁵⁵ These additional clauses stand out for two reasons. First, John declaring that the Franciscans should and could hold property looks forward to the struggle between John and the Friars Minor over whether or not Christ and his Apostles held any property in common. Indeed, as the chapter examines in the following section, this became an explosive issue both inside and outside of Europe. The second clause has less dire consequences, though it certainly makes clear that the Dominicans and Franciscan did not necessarily agree with how to perform mission successfully. John, then, wanted to sow seeds of good faith and concord, if only so the friars would spend more time out in the field and less time fighting among each other.

Helping to facilitate the exchanges between the papacy and the Latin Christians living in their regions were the vicars and *custodes* of the Dominican and Franciscan orders. These

³⁵² John XXII, “Gratias agimus,” in *Fontes*, 24-5.

³⁵³ John XXII, “Cum hora undecima” in *Fontes*, 97-98.

³⁵⁴ Muldoon, “The Avignon Papacy and the Frontiers of Christendom,” 145.

³⁵⁵ John XXII, “Gratias agimus,” in *Fontes*, 25.

men served specific areas and provided support for their fellow brothers on their missionary journeys. Their offices had existed for sometime prior to the pontificate of John XXII. Indeed, Golubovich provides data for the location of these officials and the relative dates for when their offices appeared, including 18 vicars of the Franciscan Order in the Black Sea region, including Armenia and Georgia, and approximately 16 split between Persia and China. Each vicar also had a number of *custodes* to serve under him to aid in his work. In Persia there were ten *custodes* underneath the various vicars by 1320. By 1334, that number had increased to thirteen, though some locations seem to have replaced others that collapsed. In somewhat contrast, the Black Sea region was home to 15 *custodes* by 1320, a number that remained the same until 1334.³⁵⁶ Unfortunately, it does not appear that any writings from any of them men stationed at these vicariates have survived, and what we do know about them come from the letters of John XXII himself. However, two somewhat prominent examples stand out from John's letters, Peter of Turri and Jacob of Camerino. Both men, moreover, contributed more than just their missionary work in Asia. Peter of Turri, it is thought, wrote the account of the Martyrs of Thana that appears towards the end of the Franciscan *Chronicle of the Twenty Four Ministers General*.³⁵⁷ Jacob of Camerino, on the other hand, had a beard that was worth noting, and upon his return to the court at Avignon befriended the famous Marino Sanudo Torosello, whose *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* proposed a number of measures to combat trade between Latin Christians and Muslims.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁶ Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, vol. 2, 265-6.

³⁵⁷ *Chronica XXIV*, 597-611.

³⁵⁸ Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, vol. 3, 214-5.

While the specific activities of these men are somewhat elusive, their names do appear in a number of letters, many of which appear above, that suggest that they were quite active in promoting John's message of reunion and conformity. Both men were apparently sent to the court of the Georgian king along with letters that Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243-1254) had sent to the king of the Bulgarians in 1245.³⁵⁹ The two friars also had contact with Zacharias, the archbishop at St. Thaddeus at Maku, to whom John granted the power to ordain clergy in his diocese. Peter and Jacob, it seems enjoyed the same power.³⁶⁰ John also sent Peter and Jacob to the Armenian Church after John had heard that the sacraments, particularly rite and extreme unction, were not being performed correctly.³⁶¹ Both friars also delivered messages to the courts of the Khans, sending one to Abū Sa'īd in Persia and another to Vartan, who presumably belonged to the Golden Horde.³⁶² From these examples, then, it seems clear what John expected from the men he deputized to do his business abroad. They were to ensure fidelity to the correct practice and performance of Latin rites and sacraments, and, at the same time, they acted as pastoral diplomats, petitioning Latin Christians or non-Latin Christians to embrace the primacy of Rome. This stands in somewhat of a contrast to the archbishops and bishops discussed in the previous chapter, since these vicars and *custodes* seem to have been more mobile. Indeed, since they did not have the same responsibilities of a bishop or archbishop, they could be more mobile, extending the reach of

³⁵⁹ John XXII, "Cum simus super," in *Fontes*, 89-93

³⁶⁰ John XXII, "Cum hora undecima" in *Fontes*, 93-94.

³⁶¹ Raynaldi, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 24, 145-46.

³⁶² Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, vol. 3, 217.

John's plans for the east further, and insuring a greater adherence to John's interpretation of Latin orthodoxy.

John XXII, The Spiritual Franciscans, and the Poverty of Christ Controversy in the East

While John tried to direct the ways in which Latin Christianity expanded in Asia, opposition arose from Latin Christians themselves, particularly brothers of the so-called "Spiritual" wing of the Franciscan order.³⁶³ John had a long-standing animus against these men, and only a brief summary of those events needs to be recounted here. When John became pope, he inherited a number of problems caused by the order, left over from the collapse of the Clementine Settlement between his predecessor Clement V and the various factions of Spirituals who had caused trouble for the papacy, particularly in the March of Ancona, at the Council of Vienne.³⁶⁴ In Europe itself, John made a habit of summoning suspected Spirituals to his court at Avignon, presumably to intimidate them and to set them back on what John considered the correct path. Among those whom John called to his court was the famous Angelo Clareno, a fierce opponent of Jerome of Catalonia, the bishop of Kaffa, who came to John's court in 1317 to explain himself and to answer to the charges and

³⁶³ Perhaps the best scholarly treatment of this group is David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century After Saint Francis* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001). Burr provides a complete history of the formation of the Spirituals, the major figures involved in the events surrounding their protests, and the persecution the men endured. Burr notably takes issue with the name "Spiritual" since the group did not seem to use it themselves. He argues, however, that once their opponents applied the name to the brothers, the name became a useful identifier.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 159-77.

evidence brought against him.³⁶⁵ John released Angelo after a brief period of incarceration, after which Angelo wrote to John his *Epistola excusatoria*, a letter still full of defiance. In the letter, the friar defended his interpretation of the Franciscan rule, and claimed that none of his brothers owned property, and that he did not believe that the authority of the papacy had ceased.³⁶⁶ John, of course, had his own ideas about the Franciscan Rule, even annotating a copy of the rule himself, a manuscript that still survives today.³⁶⁷ Angelo's letter also told John that he had enjoyed a six-month long visit from the Vicar of the East, Jacobus de Monte, who had done his own investigation, determined that the brother had done nothing wrong and had, in fact, remained faithful to Latin orthodoxy. In fact, the Vicar absolved the friars using the very same missionaries privileges he had been granted by the pope before his departure to Asia, demonstrating the individual agency of Latin Christians living abroad.³⁶⁸ Such news must have made John quite unhappy, given his desire to control the message and the men delivering it out on the frontier.

Other Spiritual friars were not as fortunate as Angelo. As more and more brothers arrived at Avignon to offer a defense of their beliefs and of their order in general, John grew more and more impatient with them, and indeed presided over many of the assemblies at which the men suspected of being a Spiritual or at least sympathetic to the Spirituals

³⁶⁵ See, for example, John XXII, "Dudum ad nostri" in *BF*, vol. 5, 118-20.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 182-83. The letter can be found in a collection of Angelo's works. See Angelo of Clareno, *Opera: I. Epistole* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1980), 236-53.

³⁶⁷ Patrick Nold, "Pope John XXII's Annotations on the Franciscan Rule: Content and Contexts," *Franciscan Studies* 65:1 (2007): 295-324. See also Patrick Nold, "Pope John XXII, the Franciscan Order and its Rule" in *The Cambridge Companion to Francis of Assisi*, ed. Michael J.P. Robson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 258-72.

³⁶⁸ Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 187-88. See also Golubovich, *Biblioteca biobibliografica*, vol. 3, 59.

testified.³⁶⁹ John also began ordering inquisitors into the March of Ancona, which he did several times throughout his papacy.³⁷⁰ Eventually, John handed those who did not assent to his position on clothing, wheat, and wine that he published in his 1317 bull *Quorumdam exigit*, which valued obedience over poverty and chastity, to the inquisitor Michel le Moine. In all, twenty-five brothers went to the inquisitor.³⁷¹ At their trial, Michel le Moine quickly and decisively pointed out their theological errors, particularly about whether or not Christ and his apostles carried any property in common. The inquisitor also denounced the writings of Peter John Olivi, an apocalyptic thinker who had considerable influence on the Spirituals.³⁷² Unfortunately for the friars, their punishments came swiftly: They were removed from their orders, handed over to the secular authorities, and burned at the stake on 7 May 1318.³⁷³

Knowledge of John's displeasure with the Spiritual Franciscans extended well beyond his court at Avignon and the *loci* of Spiritual activities such the March of Ancona. In 1317, James II of Aragon became a mediator for the Minister General of the Franciscan Order, who, it seems, clearly sided with the papacy, and Frederick III of Sicily over the presence of

³⁶⁹ Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 195.

³⁷⁰ See *BF*, ed. Eubel, vol. 5, nos. 293, 468, 582, 622, 627, 739, and 960.

³⁷¹ Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 196-97; 204. See the bull in *Extravagantes Iohannis XXII*, ed. Jacqueline Tarrant (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1983), 163-98.

³⁷² Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 206. For Olivi, see *Ibid.*, 207-212. John himself would pen a lengthy bull against Olivi. See *Bullarium Franciscanum*, ed. Eubel, vol. 5, no. 601. On Olivi, see David Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty: The Origins of the Usus Pauper Controversy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989) and David Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom: A Reading of the Apocalypse Commentary* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

³⁷³ Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 206.

forty Spirituals who had recently arrived on his island.³⁷⁴ Processes against these forty men began in Tuscany over the course of the years 1312-1314 for their role in the forceful takeover of the Franciscan houses at Arezzo, Asciano, and Carmignano.³⁷⁵ Having a sense of what might befall them, these Franciscan rebels fled Tuscany to Sicily, where they hoped to enjoy asylum in Frederick's kingdom. The brothers did, in fact, find what they were looking for, much to the dismay of the Minister General, Alexander of Alexandria.³⁷⁶ Seeming to have no other option, Alexander wrote to James II of Aragon to beg his brother Frederick III of Sicily not to give these forty spirituals his protection.³⁷⁷ John had also written to Frederick, ordering the king to hand the rogue friars over to their superiors for investigation.³⁷⁸ James II's argument, particularly that the presence of the spirituals would greatly displease the pope, convinced Frederick, and the two moved to generate a solution to the problem. The two concluded that it would be best to move the friars away from Sicily. On 18 May 1317, a member of Frederick's court wrote to James II of Aragon at the city of Messina and told him that Frederick had decided to send the rogue Franciscans to the island of Gerba, off the coast of Tunisia.³⁷⁹ The choice of Gerba is interesting, if only because the island was currently in control of Muslims, with whom Frederick had to make an agreement in order to ship the

³⁷⁴ Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, vol. 3, 190-92.

³⁷⁵ Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 162.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 163.

³⁷⁷ Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica* vol. 3, 190. See Alexander's letter in *Acta Aragonensia: Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französischen, spanischen, zur Kirchen und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II (1291-1327)* ed. Heinrich Finke, vol. 1, 666-68.

³⁷⁸ John XXI, "Habet fide" in *BF*, vol. 5, no. 256.

³⁷⁹ Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, vol. 3, 191.

rebel Franciscans to the island.³⁸⁰ The Muslim leaders agreed, with the provision that the brothers could not preach or perform missionary duties while on the island. At least in the king's eyes, the matter had been solved; the fate of the exiled brothers, however, is unknown.

While it is unknown what John thought of Frederick's compromise, the pope did make a later attempt to control the movements of the Spiritual Franciscans eastward. In a bull, *Ad nostrum nuper*, dated 10 May, 1325, John prohibited anyone from traveling abroad without the express permission of his superiors.³⁸¹ John had become increasingly worried about the number of false doctrines being spread around by missionaries, and the pope wanted to control what messages were being sent eastward, so, at the very least, those receiving missionaries would have a great deal of consistency in terms of their religious doctrine and disciplinary expectations. Moreover, and perhaps aimed directly at those with whom John took theological issue, the pope reserved the right to be the only source of absolution from excommunication for any person suspected of preaching false doctrines. John also demanded that anyone travelling across the sea could not rely on the recommendation of a prelate, but instead had to obtain direct permission from one of the Superiors of the order, perhaps even the Minister General himself. Finally, John informed all parties that he took any infraction of this rule very seriously. He promised a summary procedure against anyone accused of the crime and an additional promise to punish the guilty swiftly.³⁸² While John did not name the Spirituals in this bull directly, the implication is clear that this group was on John's mind when he composed this legislation. John had other groups

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 191.

³⁸¹ John XXII, "Ad nostrum nuper," in *Fontes*, 158-59. Reg. Aven. 22, fol. 49, ep. 3 de Curia; Reg. Vat. 78, fol. 1, ep. 3 de Curia; Mollat, n. 23125.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, 158-59.

deemed heretical to deal with in Europe itself, but none of those seem to have wanted to travel or caused a direct problem for John's missionary goals. However, the pope only wanted those traveling to the East who would pursue his goals to Latinize as much of the East as was possible. Given what John must have thought was at stake, limiting the movement of the Spirituals and the challenge to his authority that they presented was a move the pope thought he had to make.

A few years before John ordered that no member of the Spirituals could travel without the express permission of a superior of the order, he renewed another controversy that would be felt even as far away as Persia. The events leading up to this episode only need a quick introduction; indeed many scholars have covered them in depth.³⁸³ Stemming from the inquisitions John had ordered against the Spirituals and their supporters in Europe, the question of whether or not Christ and his apostles owned property sprang up yet again. John contended with a number of rivals, particularly Ubertino da Casale and Michael of Cesena, over the issue, and it did not take long for the pontiff to make a decision concerning the controversy.³⁸⁴ In 1322, John issued the bull *Quia nonnunquam*, which allowed the Franciscan order to share their opinions on all matter theological, which Burr notes scared the order considerably, because it reopened a matter that the order thought had been settled.³⁸⁵ After hearing and reading the Franciscans' responses, John acted quickly. In December of 1322, he published the bull *Ad conditorem*, which established that the papacy

³⁸³ John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order From Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968). See also Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 159-77.; David Burr, "John XXII and the Spirituals: Is Angelo Clareno Telling the Truth?" *Franciscan Studies* 63:1 (2005): 271-287; and Patrick Nold, "Pope John XXII's Annotations on the Franciscan Rule: Content and Contexts," *Franciscan Studies* 65:1 (2007): 295-324.

³⁸⁴ Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 261-75.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 275. John XXII, "Quia nonnunquam", in *Extrauagantes Iohannes XXII*, ed. Tarrant 217-21.

had neither responsibility nor claim to any property that came into the possession of the Franciscans, effectively deciding that the Franciscans themselves owned property.³⁸⁶ John issued his final decision about the poverty of Christ in 1323 with his bull *Cum inter nonnullos*, in which he declared that claiming that Christ and his apostles did not own property was not, in fact, heresy.³⁸⁷

Fallout from John's decision came quickly. The Franciscans quickly received the support of Louis of Bavaria, the emperor, who had quarreled with John in the past.³⁸⁸ The emperor had significant support, including William of Ockham and Marsilius of Padua. Marsilius in particular found the situation to be quite opportune; he linked the Franciscan questions that John had raised to the struggle between the pope and secular rulers still raging at this time.³⁸⁹ Louis of Bavaria, meanwhile, wasted little time asserting himself in the controversy. The emperor answered with both words and action. In 1324, Louis published the Sachsenhausen Declaration, a document that supported the Franciscan claims about the poverty of Christ and, at the same time, declared John XXII to be a heretic.³⁹⁰ In an especially bold move, the emperor invaded Rome and installed his own pope, Nicholas V, in Rome in 1328. The antipope did enjoy some significant support, including William of Ockham and Michael of Cesena, the latter of whom still held the position of Minister General

³⁸⁶ Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 276. John XXII, "Ad conditorum," in *Extravagantes Iohannes XXII*, ed. Tarrant, 229-54.

³⁸⁷ John XXII, "Cum inter nonnullos," in *Extravagantes Iohannes XXII*, ed. Tarrant, 255-57.

³⁸⁸ Need to see what this is about, really.

³⁸⁹ See Gabrielle Gonzalez, "'The King of the Locusts who Destroyed the Poverty of Christ: Pope John XXII, Marsilius of Padua, and the Franciscan Question'" in *The World of Marsilius of Padua*, ed. Gerson Moreno-Riaño (Turnhout; Brepols, 2006), 67.

³⁹⁰ Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 276-77.

of the Franciscan order. The Minister General suffered a less advantageous fate. John summoned Michael to his court in 1327 and the Minister General remained there until 1328. After what was apparently a very tense consistory, Michael was ordered into incarceration at Avignon. He and another of other sympathizers did escape, including William of Ockham, but they ended up in exile after being escorted to Italy by imperial troops.³⁹¹ Indeed, even the Chronicle of the Twenty Four Ministers General is somewhat quiet on what exactly happened to Michael, offering only that Michael be absolved from his office, but that the now former Minister General tried to hold on to it for as long as he could.³⁹²

Whatever control or stability John had achieved at home did not, apparently, extend to the East, where the controversy continued. In 1332, a Franciscan friar named William of Saurati traveled eastward with a small contingent of his compatriots to take up residence at the seat of the Armenian archbishop at St. Thaddeus at Maku. According to the Chronicle of the Twenty Four Ministers General, William was well suited for the job. The man was well educated and could preach because he had perfect command of the Armenian language. He apparently found great success on his mission, baptizing many and translating important books from Latin into Armenian in order to generate interfaith dialogue.³⁹³ William, however, had a keen interest in the writings of Peter John Olivi and used Olivi's writings in the instructions he gave to the Armenian monks at St. Thaddeus.³⁹⁴ In fact, William wrote to Rainerio di Firenze, the vicar of the vice-*custos* of Tabriz, asking Rainerio to send him

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 277.

³⁹² *Chronicle XXIV*, 487.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, 507.

³⁹⁴ Golubovich, *Biblioteca Biobibliografica*, vol. 3, 447 and 449.

Olivi's commentary on the Apocalypse.³⁹⁵ William apparently drew himself a great deal of attention from those who John had declared to be heretics. In William's letters to the archbishop of St. Thaddeus, Zacharius, William also addressed George of Adria, a Spiritual friar living in the city of Tabriz. From the text of the letter, it seems that George worried greatly about whether or not William supported Michael of Cesena. George himself seemed somewhat conflicted, because he believed that John XXII was a heretic.³⁹⁶ This was a point on which William deferred. Indeed, William told George that George would know better about the former Minister General's status.³⁹⁷ George of Adria also wished to inquire about the coming of Antichrist, given William's knowledge of Olivi's writings, perhaps wanting to connect John to the Beast of Revelation.³⁹⁸ Unfortunately, if William replied to George, no copy of it has survived.

George of Adria and his companions in Tabriz quickly came to the pope's attention. In fact, a group of Spirituals were brought before an inquisition led by the bishop of Tabriz, William of Cigiis, a Dominican installed after John XXII had established the archdiocese of Sultāniyya in 1318.³⁹⁹ Prompting the inquest was George of Adria and his associates refusing to recognize the bishop whatsoever. The brothers even celebrated a second Mass on Holy Thursday.⁴⁰⁰ During the proceedings themselves, the presiding Dominicans introduced a

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 409.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 447.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., 447.

³⁹⁸ Ibid., 450.

³⁹⁹ William received his appointment in 1329.

⁴⁰⁰ Baldwin "Missions," 508. See Also Loenertz, *Frères pègrinants*, 154-55.

number of documents into evidence. Among these were the letters that George of Adria and William Saurati exchanged, though it appeared as if none of what William said stoked the ire of the Dominicans leading the procedure; he was not charged. To compound the situation, Decima Douie argues, the majority of the opposition between George's group and the newly appointed Dominican archbishop stemmed from the Franciscans feeling that the Dominicans had usurped from them a town of some importance.⁴⁰¹ Indeed, Tabriz was a major port for the Black Sea trade and thus had many Italian merchants in residence.⁴⁰²

When William of Cigiis began the inquest, the evidence against George of Adria and his associates was quite damning. One day, George was delivering a sermon in a prominent Franciscan church about the coming of Antichrist. He made a veiled reference to John XXII and the beast, saying to the parishioners that they would very well know of whom he spoke if they listened carefully enough.⁴⁰³ The merchants in the crowd clearly knew what George meant and told him that he had better move on to another subject. Others spoke up and told George that he should choose his words a bit more carefully. Not listening to these warnings, George continued. He said that he preached the word of God that the merchants had come to the church to hear. This apparently did not sit well with the many of the merchants in attendance, as many of them refused to return to the church ever again. Indeed, many of the merchants accepted John XXII's decrees on the poverty of Christ, at least according to the

⁴⁰¹ Decima Douie, *The Nature and the Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli* (New York: AMS Press, 1932), 186-87.

⁴⁰² On the Black Sea trade, see Virgil Ciocitan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

⁴⁰³ *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, ed. Golubovich, vol. 3, 443. The record of the inquest survives at the end of one of Pope Benedict XII's registers. See Reg. Aven. 54 Benedict XII, t. VII, ff. 530-43.

register in which the inquest was recorded.⁴⁰⁴ Moreover, one of George's associates, Bonifacius de Pulliano, abandoned the friar all together, admitting to the inquest that they had held opinions against the pope, but "because he was a good man," they had retracted those statements and changed his course entirely.

Other Franciscans at Tabriz did not look for reconciliation. Brother Hugolinus de Egusbio admitted freely that he thought that John XXII was a heretic and was, in fact, evil because of his wars and his bad deeds. Hugolinus told the inquisitors that he believed that John was a heretic specifically because of the decisions the pontiff had made about the poverty of Christ. When pressed by Raynerius Vercellis, the Dominican in charge of the investigation, to answer whether or not Hugolinus thought that any person who believed that John was the rightful pope was damned and that he, Hugolinus, was the only one who was saved, the Franciscan responded that the cardinals and other prelates knew that John was a heretic, but, out of fear, they refused to move against him.⁴⁰⁵ The same man even claimed that Thomas Aquinas had not been deserving of canonization because Aquinas had held a similar opinion on the poverty matter to John XXII's.⁴⁰⁶ A Venetian merchant reported that George of Adria had made similar statements. George had apparently heard about John's Beautiful Vision controversy back in Europe, and used this as further evidence in his effort to convince the merchants that John was a heretic.⁴⁰⁷ The merchants refused to believe him and reserved judgment, but George continued, saying that this new error was even more of a

⁴⁰⁴ *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, ed. Golubovich, vol. 3, 443.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 444.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 444.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 444.

mistake than John's pronouncements about the poverty of Christ and was the ultimate proof of John's heresy. In fact, George claimed that John had effectively undone all of the teachings of his predecessors from St. Clement to the present and was no longer worthy in any way whatsoever of retaining his position. George also apparently preached that Thomas Aquinas could not have become a saint, largely because it was impossible for a heretic to perform the proper canonization.⁴⁰⁸ Many merchants testified to these events, recalling the words of the friars in strikingly similar detail.⁴⁰⁹

Frustratingly, what happened to the Franciscan friars at Tabriz is lost. However, as Douie as pointed out, the *Chronicle of the Twenty Four Ministers General* follows its description of William Saurati with a story about twelve Franciscans who were expelled from the region because of their strict adherence to the Franciscan Rule.⁴¹⁰ Douie remains doubtful that this is a direct reference to George of Adria and his associates and rightfully so. The text does not mention names that correspond with the brothers that William of Cigiis and his assistants interviewed, nor is the *Chronicle* specific about the place(s) from which these brothers were expelled. However, one might imagine that these men did not receive kind treatment at the hands of the Dominican bishop in charge of the investigation, and it seems quite probable that William of Cigiis would have wanted to rid himself of the troublemakers.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 445.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 445-46.

⁴¹⁰ *Chronicle XXIV*, 507. See also Douie, *The Nature and the Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli*, 190.

Papal Negotiations and Franciscan Martyrs: A Conflict of Interests?

In addition to the animus between John XXII and the Spiritual Franciscans in the Black Sea region, a further conflict existed between John XXII's attempt to negotiate the safety of Christians in Asia and the Franciscan desire for martyrdom. This section explores these tensions and finds that Franciscans in Muslim lands found the martyrdom that they sought despite the pleas of the pope for their safety. Rather than using these tensions as a means by which to evaluate the success or failure of the Latin Church to expand in Asia, this section instead argues that the Franciscans who lost their lives for their faith understood Asia as a place to reenact the drama of the early Christian Church and a space where they could prove their ultimate devotion to their Christian spirituality, perhaps as a means to win converts to Latin Christianity.⁴¹¹ Furthermore, the Franciscans used Asia as a narrative space in which to demonstrate how the confrontation with the other could provide redemption for those who had strayed from orthodox practice. E. Randolph Daniel, in his *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages*, explains martyrdom as a fundamental part of Franciscan spirituality and a method for "apocalyptic conversion."⁴¹² Daniel argues that Bonaventure, a key figure in the early history of the Franciscan order, understood martyrdom as "a step in the mystical ascent toward union with God." Indeed, for Bonaventure, the desire for giving one's life for the name of Christ was the goal of any friar who desired to give the

⁴¹¹ James Ryan argues that the tension between papal missionary goals and the Franciscan desire for martyrdom was the primary cause for the failure of the Latin mission in the Chaghatai Khanate. He explains that missionary work in Asia was based in large part on confrontation, which was what led to so many missionaries meeting their deaths at the hands of Muslims in Asia. See James Ryan, "Conversion or the Crown of Martyrdom: Conflicting Goals for Fourteenth-Century Missionaries in Central Asia" in *Medieval Cultures in Contact*, ed. Richard F. Gyug (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003), 20.

⁴¹² E. Randolph Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1975), 76-98.

fullest expression of his spirituality.⁴¹³ In a similar vein, Daniel argues, the Franciscan order believed that the example of a holy and spiritual life could do more to win converts to Latin Christianity than words.⁴¹⁴ Ultimately, while the pleas of the pope and the Franciscan martyrs seem to be in conflict, they instead worked towards the same goal, even if their means differed considerably.

John XXII wrote to various Mongol leaders during his reign, including Usbek the Khan of the Golden Horde, Abuscan of the Kipciak Khanate, and Eljigidei of the Golden Horde. The majority of the letters centered on two major themes, either a petition for the emperor of the particular group of Mongols to embrace Latin Christianity or a plea for the protection of the Latin Christians living in the particular khan's kingdom. John XXII began his diplomatic mission early in his reign. On 28 March 1318, John sent a letter to Usbek of the Golden Horde, apparently to be delivered by Jerome of Catalonia, the bishop of Kaffa.⁴¹⁵ John's letter invited the Khan to embrace Christianity and gave the Khan arguments for why he should do so. John emphasized his spiritual authority, writing that it was his mission to provide salvation to all men, and that he had been given the authority to lead this mission by virtue of his connection to Peter, to whom Christ had given the keys of heaven.⁴¹⁶ He also asked that the Khan provide his protection to the Christian missionaries that John had sent

⁴¹³ Ibid., 50-51.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., xiii.

⁴¹⁵ Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica*, vol. 3, 178.

⁴¹⁶ "Laetanter audivimus" in *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica*, ed. Golubovich vol. 3. 178. "Quique vult omnes homines salvos fieri, et ad agnitionem pertingere veritatis. Nos igitur qui principis Apostolorum Petri, quem Christus coelom ascendens in terras suum vicarium dereliquit, regni coelestis traditis sibi clavibus per quas ipse successors potestatem apreiendi omnibus et claudendi eiusdem regni ianuam obtineret..."

into Usbek's lands.⁴¹⁷ John XXII would send this letter to Usbek again on 27 September 1323, though with an additional paragraph begging the Khan to intervene on behalf of the Christians living in Soldia (modern Sudak, Crimea), whom John had heard had been suffering persecution at the hands of Muslims.⁴¹⁸

On 22 November 1321, John wrote to Abuscan, the grandson of Toktai-kan, the leader of the Kipciak Khanate, also in the Black Sea region. Much like his letter to Usbek, John asked Absucan to consider all of his subjects who had joined with the Latin Church and practiced Christianity in the Khanate. At the end of the letter, John petitioned Absucan to provide protection for all of the Christians living in his kingdom and to grant missionaries the freedom to perform their work without persecution.⁴¹⁹ A few months later, on 28 February 1322, John sent Abuscan a second letter asking for protections for Christians.⁴²⁰ John celebrated receiving news from Jerome of Catalonia and his allies that Abuscan had been receptive to Christianity and had not prevented the friars from doing their missionary work in his lands. John may have even believed that Abuscan had converted to Christianity himself.⁴²¹

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., "Celsitudinem tuam in Domino deprecatur, quatenus ad Christianae fidei professors, qui dominationis tuae terram inhabitant, et maxime qui praedicant inibi verbum Dei, sic tuae benignitatis affect contineres, ipsos operosis favoribus prosequendo quod tuae praesertim defensionis cluqueo, cuiusdam offensionis molimina non formident, quin potius assidue securitatis dulcedine valeant gloriari."

⁴¹⁸ John XXII "Laetanter audivimus" in *Fontes*, 146. Reg. Aven. 20, fol. 55v, ep. 34; Reg. Vat. 76, fol. 23v, ep. 34; Mollat, n. 18309. "Demum quia in christianorum angustiis, tribulationibus et pressuris non possumus anie no torqueri donter audivimus, Christianos in civitate Soldaye noviter degentes, esse noviter de civitate ipsa per Saracenos eictos et campanis de ecclesiis eorum depositis, ecclesias ipsas factas esse mesquitas."

⁴¹⁹ John XXII, "Considera" in *Fontes*, 103-04. Reg. Aven. 17, fol. 446v; Reg. Vat. 73, fol. 13v, ep. 40 de Curia; Reg. Vat. 111, fol. 87v, ep. 340; Mollat, n. 16117. "Benigne pertractans eos favoribus munias oportunis tuaeque protectionis auxiliis a molestiis tuearis et in libertate plenae securitatis manuteneas et conserves."

⁴²⁰ John XXII, "Ingentem" in *Fontes*, 113-14.

⁴²¹ Ibid., 113-114. "Ingentem nev mirum materiam gaudiorum suscepimus quod summus ille lapis angularis...te, sicut venerabilis fratris nostri Hieronymi episcopi Caphensis et socii eius relatione iocunde perceperimus verae fidei luce perfusum et sacri baptismatis fonte renatum ac imbutum doctrina apostolicae et evangelicae veritatis unitati sanctae Romanae apostolicae et catholicae Ecclesiae aggregavit."

John, clearly motivated by the receptive attitude of the Khan, thought to encourage more Latin Christians to come to his kingdom, promising any person who attended a Mass or visited a church in Abuscan's kingdom an indulgence of twenty days.⁴²²

On 4 July 1322, John XXII wrote to another Mongol leader, Abū Sa'īd of the Persian Il-khans. Unlike his letters to Abuscan and Usbek, John petitioned Abū Sa'īd to embrace Latin Christianity directly, in the name of the unity, purity, and the expansion of the Latin Church.⁴²³ John asked the Khan through the name of Christ, who rose from the dead and descended into hell and returned, to consider carefully and to embrace Latin Christianity for the sake of his soul.⁴²⁴ Finally, John invited the Khan to send emissaries, not only to him in Avignon, but also to king Philip V of France. John argued that Abū Sa'īd's predecessor Öljeitü had done so, and John wished to continue that diplomatic dialogue and renew the hopes for a political alliance.⁴²⁵ It is unclear whether or not Abū Sa'īd sent a reply to John

⁴²² Ibid., 114. "Ut autem, fili, tuae devotionis integritas eo promptius piis operibus intender studeat quo maiorem indulgentiam per Apostolicae Sedis gratiam fuerit consecuta, devotioni tuae, dummode vere fueris poenitens et confessus, qualibet die in quaa ob reverentiam eiusdem Domini nostri Iesu Christi et beatissimae Matris eius, Missam audieris vel ad ecclesiam causa orandi te devote contuleris, vigniti dies de iniunctis tibi poenitentis miserconcorditer relaxamus."

⁴²³ John XXII, "Inter sollicitudines" in *Fontes*, 115-16. Reg. Aven. 17, fol. 432v; Reg. Vat. 73, fol. 24v, ep. 81; Reg. Vat. 111, fol. 89v, ep. 348; Mollat, 16145.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 116. "Ideoque magnitudinem tuam rogamus et hortamur attentius et per illius qui mortificiat et vivificate deducit ad inferos et reducit misericordiam obsecramus quatenus eiusdem fidei saluberrimam unitatem quam primo sancti Apostoli de fidei Christi pectore susceperunt et quam sacrosancta Romana servat, praedicat et docet Ecclesia, sine qua nemo unquam Deum videre poterit, reverenter amplectans et devote coconsiderans quod omnis homo eo ipso quod rationalis est conditus debet ex ratione colligere illum qui eum condidit esse Deum in ipsius lumen et regimen, monis vetustate peccati et caecitatis errore depositis, per Baptismatis transeas Sacramentum, fidem huiusmodi constanter et firmiter observando ut per illam gratia Domini slavatus cum Dei electis assqui valeas haereditatem incorruptibilem, incontaminantam et inmarcescibilem conservatam in coelis."

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 116. "Ad ipsos interdum propter hoc mittebant nuntios speciales et nihilominus cum Francorum regibus qui tunc errant amicitiam contrahentes illos per eosdem nuncios et litteras visitabant, quos praedecesores ac reges ipsi recipients honorificentia qua decebat..."

XXII or to Philip V of France.⁴²⁶ To focus on the lack of reply, however, would be to overlook the stated goals of John's writing: to convince the Persian Khan that Christianity should be welcome in his land and that those who practiced it should be kept safe.

John made several other appeals to the various leaders of the Mongol world, though they often were simply letters introducing Latin Christians John had sent to the courts of the various Khans. On 22 November 1321, John wrote to Zopan Begilay Begi, a general under Abū Sa'īd, in order to introduce Jacob and Peter of the Franciscan order as his representatives and to ask that they be able to perform their missionary duties in Abū Sa'īd's kingdom.⁴²⁷ John did the same on 2 November 1329, when he wrote to Elchigadan, asking that the Khan accept both Dominican and Franciscan friars whom he had recommended, though John did not provide their names.⁴²⁸ A few weeks later, on 1 December 1329, John made the same request of the "emperor of Trapesunda," and recommended Bernard of Gardiola, bishop of Diagorganen, as well as asking for his protection.⁴²⁹ Finally, John wrote both to Usbek and to Elchigadan, commending Thomas of Manscola, the bishop of Samarkand, and the Dominicans under his direction, asking that they be accepted and provided protection in the Khans' kingdoms.⁴³⁰ It seems evident, then, that John had a vested interest in sending the men he could trust to the courts of the Khans, in order to establish a

⁴²⁶ Sinor, "The Mongols and Western Europe," in *A History of the Crusades* vol. 3 ed. Setton, 543.

⁴²⁷ John XXII, "Larga Dei" in *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica* ed. Golubovich, vol. 3, 217-18.

⁴²⁸ "Pastoralis officii" in *BP*, ed. Ripoll, 187.

⁴²⁹ John XXII, "Licet votis" in *BP*, ed. Ripoll, 188.

⁴³⁰ John XXII, "Gratias agimus" in *BP*, ed. Ripoll, 189.

diplomatic relationship with them and to attempt to ensure the safety of the Christians who lived in their lands as well as those Christians' fidelity to the Latin rite.

At the same time that John wrote to the Khans in an attempt to secure the safety of the Latin Christians living in their territories, several Franciscans who were performing missions in Persia and China became martyrs for their faith. Though their martyrdoms seem contradictory to the pleas that John XXII sent to the Mongol Khans, it is important to remember that these Franciscan friars sought not to frustrate the aims of the papacy, but instead attempted to achieve the ultimate expression of their spirituality through their death for Christ. In this way, they demonstrated their own Christian agency in imagining Asia as a place for spiritual advancement. The narratives of these martyr friars, however, must be read cautiously. While certainly some of the details provided in the accounts of their deaths stand up to the scrutiny of history, there are many other hagiographical elements of their narratives that do not. However, despite the miraculous stories that appear in these narratives, they are nevertheless useful, precisely because they inform a vision of Asia that corresponded with their own Franciscan spirituality and demonstrate the ways in which Christians used the frontier in ways that did not necessarily align with the papacy's own pastoral aims.

Perhaps the most famous of these martyrdoms was a group of four friars in India, who met their deaths near the city of Thana (north of modern Mumbai). Their story survives in a number of records, including the travel writing of Jordan of Catalonia, who traveled with the friars, Odoric of Pordenone, and the Chronicle of the of the Twenty Four Ministers General, a general history of the Franciscan order.⁴³¹ On the whole, these three sources generally agree

⁴³¹ For Jordan's account see, Jordan of Catalonia, "Noverit omnium" in *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, ed. Golubovich, vol. 2, 69-70. And "A Second Letter from Friar Jordanus" in *Cathay and the Way Thither*, ed. Yule, vol. 1 228-30. For Ordoric's account see Odoric of Pordenone, *Relatio*, in *Sinica Franciscana*, 424-39.

about the events that took place at Thana, though Jordan and Odoric add additional accounts of what happened to the martyrs' relics after their deaths. The four friars who were martyred at Thana were Thomas of Tolentino, James of Padua, Peter of Siena, and a brother Demetrius. While not much is known about James, Peter, or Demetrius, Thomas of Tolentino had a very active career prior to his missionary work in Asia. Thomas was an associate of Angelo Clareno, one of the leaders of the Spiritual Franciscans, while Clareno worked at the court of the Armenian King Haiton II in 1290.⁴³² After serving at the Armenian court, Thomas returned to Rome with a delegation from king Haiton's court and appeared in front of Pope Nicholas IV.⁴³³ Thomas, along with Clareno and his brothers, abandoned Armenia in 1293, and Thomas, it seems, returned to Europe to act as an ambassador to England and France at the request of Nicholas IV.⁴³⁴ Thomas would later return to Armenia before leaving for Persia, where he spent several years before returning to Avignon and providing a report for Pope Clement V.⁴³⁵ Thomas must have made an impression on Clement V, because the pontiff appointed him to carry instructions to John of Montecorvino to establish the archdiocese of Khanbaliq and to become one of Montecorvino's suffragan bishops.⁴³⁶ It is unclear whether or not Thomas ever served in this capacity, but he returned to the city of Tabriz in 1320 before setting out eastward again with his three compatriots.⁴³⁷

⁴³² See Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica*, vol. 1 327, 330-31. All are in general agreement in terms of the basic account of the events.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, 331, 343.

⁴³⁴ Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica*, vol. 3. 219.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, 220.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, 220.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, 220-21.

The story of the martyrs at Thana portrays Asia as a space in which they could confront Islam directly and express their own spirituality in the most dramatic of terms. The four friars along with Jordan of Catalonia and a few merchants departed from Tabriz, beginning a long journey they intended to end in China. Their travels took them to Hormuz, where they made an agreement with a ship crew to take them to Columbum in India. Eventually, their journey brought them to Thana, where there were fifteen Christian houses, but these houses belonged to Nestorian Christians. The friars took shelter in these homes.⁴³⁸ Jordan of Catalonia left their company at this time in order to baptize a group of people in the nearby town of Paroth who called themselves Christians. After Jordan departed, the Nestorian hosts of the four remaining friars, a husband and wife, had an argument during which the man beat his wife. The wife ran to the Qadi, whom the friars described as a bishop, and, made her case to the official. The Qadi asked what proof she had of her claims, to which she responded that four Franks who were priests had seen what her husband had done. The Qadi then called for the four friars and provided them with a translator, a man named Yussuf, so that they could communicate with each other.⁴³⁹

Yussuf, knowing that these men were well-versed in the Latin scriptures, went to a man named Lomelic, identified as the mayor of the city, and Yussuf convinced Lomelic that he should bring the friars to his court for a religious debate.⁴⁴⁰ The friars, though fearful,

⁴³⁸ “Passio sanctorum fratrum Minorum Thomae de Tolentino, Iacobi de Padua, Petri de Senis, Demetrii” in *Chronica XXIV*, 598. “In qua Tana sunt XV domus Christianorum, sed Nestorianorum, qui sint schismatici et haeretici et cum uno eorum fuerunt hospitati.”

⁴³⁹ Ibid., 598. “Sacerdotes tui, scilicet christiani fratres praedicti veniant, et ad me tuam causam deductis. At illa: Linguam nostram non bene noverunt, et ideo inter me et virum meum iudicare nescirent. Verbum autem recipiens Saracenus quidam Alexandri, nomine Osep.”

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., “Et exiens ad Mellicum, hoc est ad potestatem, praetor vel praesidem civitatis, accessit et persuasit de fratribus praedictis. Quod Mellicus audiens eos ad se acceriri fecit.”

agreed, and traveled to Lomelic's court. After showing him their bible, Lomelic began to ask the friars about the Koran and their faith. The friars replied that they did not approve of the Koran, but believed that they had a good faith. After what seemed like a threat, the friars begged Lomelic to let them go. Lomelic agreed, but asked that they leave their bible behind, a request that the friars refused. They explained that they could not part with their book. Thinking they had found their way out of danger, Yussuf returned, and informed the friars that the Qadi himself had requested their presence, and that they were to travel to his court immediately.

The court of the Qadi provided the Franciscans with the means to confront Islam directly. The Chronicle records that the Muslims at the court argued that Christ was indeed not God, but only a man. Thomas of Tolentino refuted these claims with arguments of their own, and explained other points of Latin Christian theology, including the doctrine of the Trinity, to which the Muslims who listened recoiled "as if they were listening to a horrendous blasphemy."⁴⁴¹ Eventually, the Cadi turned to the topic of the prophet Muhammad, asking the four friars what they thought about him. At first, the friars attempted to gracefully parry around the Qadi's question, replying that the message of Muhammad contradicted their law and their arguments had more than proved their case. The crowd and the Qadi were not satisfied with this answer, and the Cadi pushed the friars to tell them exactly what they thought about the prophet. Thomas of Tolentino answered the Qadi. Thomas said that he could not be silent about Muhammad any longer and called him "the son of perdition" and said "that he is in hell with the devil, who is his father, and that he is not there alone, but together with all of those who observe his law, which is a pestiferous, irrational, and wicked

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., 600. "Sic quod Saraceni amplius resistere nescirent, remanebant illi infideles nihilominus indurati."

law that goes against God and the salvation of the soul.”⁴⁴² At these words, the Qadi and the other Muslims in the crowd became angry. The Qadi drew a sword, swung it over the friars’ heads as a threat meant to induce them to recant all that Thomas had said about Muhammad. The friars did not waiver from their position, which greatly incensed the Qadi and the crowd.

Invoking the imagery of previous saints who had survived the tortures of persecutors, the chronicler shifts to a discussion of the various punishments to which the Qadi subjected the friars. The Qadi sentenced the friars to die, and they were sent outside, tied to poles, and left to die in the sun for several hours. When they had discovered the friars had survived, the Qadi had them brought to the town square, where a fire had been prepared. After having been given the opportunity to once again recant their statements about Muhammad and had refused, the Qadi ordered them into the fire. James of Padua was the first to enter the flames, and, according to the Chronicle, was not only unharmed, but also danced on top of the red-hot coals and sang prayers to God.⁴⁴³ The Qadi pulled James out of the fire, stripped him naked, covered him with oil and butter, and sent him back into the flames. Once again, James remained unharmed.⁴⁴⁴

The friars’ endurance of these tortures, the Chronicle suggests, caused a great number of the crowd to change their minds about the holy status of the men. At the site of James’ survival, the people of the city cried out, exclaiming that the men were saints and that no

⁴⁴² Ibid., 600. “Quod Machometus est filius perditionis et cum diabolo, patre suo, est positus in inferno, et non ipse solus, sed omnes, qui eius legem observant, cum sit pestifera, irrationabilis et iniqua totaque contra Deum et animarum salutem.”

⁴⁴³ Ibid., 602.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., 602.

harm should come to them.⁴⁴⁵ Lomelic, hearing these cries, allowed the three friars to return to their lodging, but advised them to leave quickly, since the Qadi had determined that they should die. Later that evening, the Qadi and Yussuf, the friars' appointed translator, went to Lomelic and convinced him that the friars should die because to let them live would cause their people to lose faith in Muhammad.⁴⁴⁶ Lomelic returned to the village and arrested all of the Christians living there, though, at first, he could not find the friars. Eventually, three of the friars, Thomas of Tolentino, James of Padua, and Demetrius, came out of their lodging to say Matins, and Lomelic's armed men found them, and Lomelic told them that, though he did so against his will, he would carry out the Qadi's instructions to have them killed. The friars were stripped naked, forced to their knees, and decapitated by the swords of the soldiers. Peter of Siena, who had apparently stayed indoors, was arrested and brought before the Cadi, where the administrator promised him great riches if Peter would only deny his faith. Peter did not relent to the Cadi's demands, and was thrown back into prison. In the morning, Peter was beaten and hanged, and after he had survived his hanging for two days, he was cut down from the scaffold and immediately beheaded.⁴⁴⁷

Following their deaths, the friars continued to have an effect, both on Christians and non-Christians alike. The Chronicle of the Twenty Four Ministers General contains an account of Hugolino whose letter to the friars at Tabriz includes a story about a woman at Sultāniyya who had seen the martyred friars in a vision.⁴⁴⁸ Those involved with the killing of

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., 602. "Hoc videns populus unanimiter exclamabat dicens, peccatum est, peccatum est offendere eos quoniam sancti sun et deo cari."

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., 603.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., 605.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., 606.

the friars also became subject to divine punishment. The closest adviser to Lomelic, who had helped convince him to kill Thomas, James, and Demetrius, fell off of his horse and broke every bone in his body, dying miserably.⁴⁴⁹ Lomelic himself had a vision of the four friars swinging a sword at his head and throwing fire at him. As a result, Lomelic went to the prison where he had been keeping the other Christians, freed them, and asked for their friendship after apologizing what he had done. He then organized a feast and wrote an edict announcing the safety of any Christian who wished to come to his town.⁴⁵⁰ The Qadi, seeing the spread of Christianity in his land, ordered that anyone who received Christian baptism would suffer capital punishment. The Qadi's order apparently did not stop Lomelic, who, according to the Chronicle, built four mosques in honor of the martyrs. Eventually, news of the friars' demise reached the sultan, who summoned Lomelic, interrogated him about what happened, and sentenced him and his family to die for the crimes that they had committed against the four friars. When the Qadi heard of what happened to Lomelic, he fled the region.⁴⁵¹ Finally, Odoric of Pordenone, who carried the relics of the martyrs to their final resting place in Zaiton, recorded several miracles that the friars performed after their deaths, including the lack of decay of their bodies, allowing Odoric himself to escape a burning house, and the summoning of wind when the boat carrying Odoric and the relics had become stuck.⁴⁵² Odoric also claimed that, in the place that the martyrs had been killed, Christians

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., 607.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 608.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 608.

⁴⁵² Odoric of Pordenone, *Relatio*, in *Sinica Franciscana*, 436-39.

and non-Christians alike would travel to the site to have their wounds and illness cured by the water and earth of that place.⁴⁵³

The Thana martyrs seem to have caught the attention of at least two medieval chroniclers. The first, Paul of Venice, wrote about them in his *Chronologia magna*, written during either the late 1320s or early 1330s.⁴⁵⁴ The chronicler repeated a very brief general narrative of the story, noting the presence of both Yussuf and Lomelic, and the fact that Peter of Sienna had died in a separate execution from Thomas, James, and Demetrius.⁴⁵⁵ The story of the four Thana martyrs also appears in the 1335 *Liber historiarum* of Joannis Elemosina. Joannis gives a more thorough narrative than does Paul of Venice, but his account still lacks the detail of the Chronicle of the Twenty Four Ministers General or Ordoric's *Relatio*. Short retellings of the story aside, the presence of the martyrs' stories in general histories of the world suggests that this event held a great deal of significance for Latin Christians who wished to know about the rest of the world. The provenance of these chronicles, however, is unknown, so it is difficult to determine how well known the story of the four Thana martyrs was to the majority of Latin Christians in Europe.

For the Franciscans, Asia could also be a place where a wayward friar could find Christian redemption. The Chronicle of the Twenty Four Ministers General also recounts the martyrdom of Stephen of Hungary in 1334. The friar gave his life for his faith at the city of Sarai, which was the capital of the Golden Horde. Stephen came to the order, it seems, later

⁴⁵³ Ibid., 74.

⁴⁵⁴ Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, vol. 2, 74-76.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., 98. Golubovich notes that the story appears in MS cod. Veneto di S. Marco lat. 399, fol. 88. A list of martyrs who died in Asia also appears in MS Lat. Vat. 1960, and is cited by Eubel, *Bullarium Franciscanum*, no. 324. See Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, vol. 2. 102.

in life, and struggled mightily with his faith. The author of the Chronicle of the Twenty Four Ministers General wrote that Stephen was imprisoned in a Franciscan convent in order that he might atone for his sins. There, according to the Chronicle, devils tempted Stephen, and the friar attempted to escape. After being caught by his Franciscan brothers, he was taken to the city of Kaffa, where they thought he could be watched more closely. Instead, Stephen escaped again and returned to Sarai. Once he returned, he made a plan to become a Muslim at any cost, and met a Muslim sympathetic to his cause who would aid him in doing so.⁴⁵⁶ Excited by his conversion, the Cadi at Sarai held a feast in Stephen's honor on Friday, where he removed his Franciscan tunic and spat upon it before donning golden and purple vestments. The Muslims of Sarai, the chronicler wrote, were so excited by Stephen's conversion, that they put him on horseback and led him through the city in a parade accompanied by music. This greatly upset the Christians, who were filled with sorrow, particularly the Franciscans who had cared for Stephen.⁴⁵⁷

The sadness of these Christians provided the catalyst for Stephen's transformation. According to the chronicler, Stephen noticed the lamentation of the Christians of the city, and suddenly felt a great jolt of fear of God. Stephen began to change his religious standing once again. The Muslims, the chronicler details, demanded that Stephen hold one finger in the air as a sign of his denial of the Trinity. Instead, Stephen held up three fingers. Later on his route, an Armenian woman, whom the chronicler wrote was devoted to Latin Christianity, told Stephen that she would rather see him dragged to death behind the horse on which he

⁴⁵⁶ "Passio Stephani de Hungaria in civitate Saray Tartarorum" in *Chronica XXIV*, 516.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 517.

rode than to see him honor this terrible insult to Christ.⁴⁵⁸ Following this encounter, Stephen received a secret letter from his former Franciscan brothers at a banquet the Sarai Muslims held in his honor. The letter asked Stephen to reconsider his decision to become a Muslim and to return to his Christian faith. Stephen snuck away from the banquet and wrote a reply. He informed the friars that he had indeed changed his mind and was prepared to spend the rest of his life imprisoned in a monastic cell or, if that was not possible, to give his life in the name of Christ. Through a further exchange of messages, recounted the chronicler, Stephen and his Franciscan brothers arranged to meet in secret at the house of a Christian in Sarai. When Stephen arrived, he fell at the feet of his coreligionists and begged their forgiveness. The guardian of the Franciscans, a Henry of Bohemia, was present at the house, took Stephen's confession, and informed Stephen that the only way he could receive absolution for his actions was to publically denounce Islam in the same way he had done to Christianity previously.⁴⁵⁹ Henry counseled Stephen to wear his Franciscan habit underneath the ornate clothing that the Muslims had given him when he presented himself, so that he could be sure that he would have a chance to deliver the message that God had called him to speak.

The next day, Stephen, having put on his tunic underneath his fine clothes, went to the city's mosque, which, according to the chronicler, held nearly ten thousand Muslims inside. When Stephen entered, the Muslims in the mosque applauded and cheered. He then approached the pulpit and began to speak. Silent with anticipation, the Muslims in the mosque listened carefully to what Stephen had to say. When the friar spoke, he said that he

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., 517. "Tunc quaedam domina devote Armena amica maxima fratrum et Ecclesiae Romane fidelis dissimulato habitu appropinquans sibi sic equitani dixit: "Frater Stephane, utinam breviter te videam per totam civitatem ad caudam equi trahi ad mortem pro Christi honore, sicut hodie in nostrae fidei et Christi tantum vituperium honararis."

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., 518.

had been a Christian for twenty-five years and had never found an error in the teaching of Christ. He continued his confession of faith by declaring that Christ was the son of God, that Mary was the mother of God, and that the Christian religion was true. He ended his sermon exclaiming that Muhammad was a pseudo prophet and a deceiver, and that he detested Islam with all of his heart and declared it false and wicked. He then tore off the purple and gold tunic that the Muslims had given him, revealing the Franciscan habit he wore beneath.⁴⁶⁰

Stephen found his redemption through suffering. Like the Thana martyrs, Stephen was brought before the Cadi and asked to explain what he had done. When Stephen refused to recant any of what he had said at the mosque, the Cadi ordered him beaten and then had him hanged from his extremities, where he was left overnight. Having survived, Stephen was put through a battery of tortures, all of which he survived, including suffocation by smoke inhalation and burning at the stake. After Stephen had survived the smoke-filled room and the fire beneath the stake, the Cadi, according to the chronicler, began to have a change of heart, but feared the anger of the people of his city. The Cadi therefore traveled to the lord of the city and asked for direction. The lord, wrote the chronicler, said that he did not wish to have anything to do with the man whatsoever, and wished to avoid the curse of the Franks, which he claimed had killed his brother.⁴⁶¹ Not knowing what precisely to do with Stephen, the Cadi held the friar in a prison for those held for capital punishment.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., 519. “Ego Christianus existens fui inter ipsos XXV annis et Christi legem vidi et nihil mali vel falsi in ipsa esse cognovi; inter Saracenos tantum fui tres dies et Omnia mala, quae possunt dici fere inter vos vidi et legem vestram falsam et iniquam et Machometum pseudoprophetam et deceptorem fuisse comprobavi. Et ideo Confiteor, Christum Dei Filium et beatam Mariam Virginem Dei Matrem et veram esse legem Christianorum, vestram falsam et iniquam tota animi intentione detestor; et sic fractis vestibus saracenis et proiectis, in habitu fratris Minoris remansit.”

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 521. “Nolo me de ipso intermittere; facias quod videbitur tibi. Nolo enim, quod malediction istorum Francorum veniat super me, sicut super fratrem meum, cui maledixerunt, et subito decessit.”

The Chronicle continues to narrate Stephen's martyrdom through imagery that invoked the Passion of Christ. Enraged Muslims, wrote the chronicler, stormed the prison later the next night, demanding that Stephen recant all that he had said about Islam and Muhammad. When he would not, one man in the crowd struck Stephen on the neck with an axe, while another one sliced open Stephen belly and exposed his entrails. The Cadi then came to Stephen and promised him medical attention for his wounds and the hand of his daughter in marriage. Stephen refused, and the Cadi sentenced Stephen to die by burning at the stake. The next day, Stephen was paraded to the stake through town, during which the Muslims of Sarai beat him with sticks until he bled profusely. Another man cut off Stephen's ear and threw it into a fire. According to the chronicler, the ear sprang from the fire and flew in the direction of some Christians, who then brought the ear to the Franciscans of the city. When Stephen finally arrived at the stake, where the fire had already been lit, the fire went out. Once the fire was relit and Stephen placed in it, the flames had no effect on the friar whatsoever. Stephen then taunted the crowd, shouting that the flames would have no power over him. Angered once again, the crowd charged Stephen, stabbing him with swords and pummeling him with stones until he finally died.⁴⁶² The chronicler also attributed several miracles to Stephen after his death, particularly the healing of the sick and the blinding of a Muslim woman who ridiculed the actions that Stephen had taken.⁴⁶³

While the Thana martyrs and Stephen of Hungary stand out as examples of Franciscan martyrs in the fourteenth century, the historical record has preserved scant details of other friars who gave their lives for their faith during the reign of John XXII. In a letter

⁴⁶² Ibid., 522-23.

⁴⁶³ Ibid., 523-24.

written by an anonymous Franciscan on 15 May 1323 at the city Kaffa, are the details of several martyrs who died in Asia. The author details the deaths of three brothers at Trebizond: Anthony of Milan, Monald of Ancona, and Ferdiand of Petriolo. This trio of Franciscans, like the martyrs of Thana, discredited Muhammad and Islam in front of a Cadi, and met their death by beheading sometime during the year 1319. The Franciscan writer promised more details in a letter to John XXII, but it seems that this letter has not survived.⁴⁶⁴ The letter also included an account of the Thana martyrs, following the narratives of Ordoric of Pordenone and the Chronicle of the Twenty Four Ministers General. The letter concludes with a long list of martyrs who met their end in Asia, though the letter does not provide any other details besides their location.⁴⁶⁵

While the narrative accounts of these martyrs are fascinating enough on their own, they warrant further comment. Particularly in the accounts of the Thana martyrs and Stephen of Hungary, the friars seem to be replaying the drama of the ancient church, an opportunity not afforded to them in Europe. Indeed, Marianne O’Doherty has argued similarly, suggesting that the stories of the martyrs, particularly those at Thana, “and their post-mortem miracles proved similarly important elements in their reconceptualization of the Indies as a space marked out by Roman Catholic Christian acts and history.”⁴⁶⁶ Quite like the martyrs of

⁴⁶⁴ “Textus duarum epistolarum fr. minorum tartariae aquilonaris an. 1323” ed. P. Michael Bihl, O.F.M. in *AFH* XVI (Quaracchi, 1923) 104-105.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 106. “Item trucidati sunt proxime nuper in Tanasio frater Franciscus de Burgo, gardinus de Capha, ubi fratres duo loca habent. Item frater Petrus cognomina paruus. Item frater Bertarmnus de Malacho, frater Aaron nominates, et frater Poncius. Item in Mauro Castro frater Angelus de Spoleto, tunc custos fratratus interemptus est per Bulgaros, quorum martirium et miracula plurima in oriente tum catholici quam infideles multi publice contestantur. Plures autem quam centum principes, barrones et milienarii ac eroum familia et liberorum innumerum vulgum sunt infra paucos annos per fratres ad fidem nostram renati, quorum nomina sunt in aliis literis missis et nova loca recepta que singula scriber nimis esset prolixum.”

⁴⁶⁶ O’Doherty, *The Indies and the Medieval West*, 84. O’Doherty cites Robert Markus, who argues that the cult of martyrs in the ancient world provided a means by which the space of the Roman Empire could be

the early church, moreover, it is clear that the chroniclers of their martyrdom intended to use their violent deaths as a means to demonstrate how Muslims and other non-Christians might be converted to Latin Christianity. One is immediately drawn back to the passions of Perpetua and Felicity, when the former, refusing to recant her faith, was ripped apart by soldier and beast alike before guiding the unsteady sword hand of a nervous soldier to her own throat. In these narratives, instead of Romans finding Christianity through the blood of martyrs, Muslims find their way to Latin Christianity through their violent deaths.

At first blush, moreover, it seems like the actions of the martyrs in Asia directly contradict the diplomatic gestures that John XXII made towards the Mongol Khans. While they stand in somewhat opposition, to focus on that apparent incompatibility would miss the point of both the pope's and the martyrs' actions. Instead of evaluating whether or not John XXII's diplomatic mission or the martyrs' attempts to win converts for Christianity what successes they enjoyed, it is instead important to focus squarely on the intention of either action. For John XXII, engaging in direct diplomacy with the Mongol Khans was an expression of his apostolic authority. He sought to protect the Christians in his lands and insure their safe practice. The Franciscan martyrs, on the other hand, intended to give their lives for their faith as the ultimate expression of their spirituality; whether or not they won converts mattered little in view of their individual spiritual accomplishments. Naturally, such converts were celebrated, as evidenced in the chronicles of their martyrdoms. Seen from this perspective, it is reasonable to conclude that John XXII's diplomatic goals and Franciscan martyrdom did not stand in opposition. Instead, the two need to be read together and evaluated in terms of how they were a clear expression of Latin Christian spirituality in the

transformed into a specifically Christian space. Robert Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 139-55.

fourteenth century. Seen in this way, the Asian frontier again appears a place for the exercise of individual Christian agency while the pope in Avignon attempted to police and discipline Latin Christian orthodoxy and practice.

Conclusion

The privileges granted to missionaries, the conflict between the Spiritual Franciscans in Persia and John, and the Franciscan martyrs all demonstrate the dynamics of the Christian frontier in Asia. All of these examples illustrate and highlight the interplay between heresy and orthodoxy in these spaces by exposing the fissures between what the papacy desired on one hand and the individual spirituality of Latin Christians on the other. Furthermore, each shows a colorful cast of characters that undermined the traditional categories of “missionary” and “convert.” In addition, these examples suggest the ways in which John XXII attempted to police and discipline the orthodoxy of Latin Christians living in Asia. By centralizing ecclesiastical structures and endowing the men who stationed them with special faculties, John could rest assured, at least to some extent, that his flock was in capable hands. In each and every instance discussed in this chapter, John’s hand seems clearly involved. By granting missionaries powers, he provided the men with ability to absolve and reform those who strayed from the Church as well as to bring in new converts into the fold. While some of these issues, particularly marriage between so-called infidels, required more complicated solutions than others, it seems evident that John had a clear plan for how mission was to proceed in the lands beyond Christendom. Indeed, this makes John’s involvement in the east much more active than it makes it passive, even if his surrogates, in the form of the pastoral

diplomat missionaries, did the actual work themselves. Furthermore, John's attempt to limit the movement of heterodox Christians from Europe to Asia indicates that he desired to carefully monitor those who went on missions in order to ensure the unity of his pastoral message. Clearly, as the example of the Spirituals in Tana suggest, such Christians traveled to Asia in spite of the pope's commands and complicated Christianity in these regions. Finally, John attempted to ensure the safety of Latin Christians who practiced in territories controlled by the non-Christian Khans. Though John's attempt to provide security conflicted with Franciscans whose desire for confrontation and martyrdom took priority over papal directives, it nevertheless demonstrates the pontiff's concern for the safety of his flock abroad. However, as the next chapter demonstrates, many Latin Christians did not prioritize the safety of their fellow Christians over the pursuit of profit through trade.

CHAPTER 4: THE ECONOMICS OF ORTHODOXY AND THE CRUSADE

At the beginning of his crusade treatise *Tractatus quomodo sarraceni sunt expugnandi* or “How to Defeat the Saracens,” Dominican friar and missionary William of Adam bemoaned the state of the Christian people of the world. Christians both inside and outside of the boundaries of “Christendom,” William claimed, lamented frequently, loudly, and bitterly at the extent of their servitude to enemies hostile to their faith, who “shattered, mocked, and afflicted” the lives of the faithful.⁴⁶⁷ The cause of such suffering, William offered, stemmed from the oppression born from Christians having to live under laws foreign to their traditions and often being forced to forget their God, whom such normally faithful Christians, out of necessity, had to blaspheme and deny.⁴⁶⁸ To add insult to injury, William complained, such wounded Christians’ grief was made greater by their observation of those who called themselves Christians aiding and abetting those who oppressed them by supplying the enemies of Christendom with the materials necessary to further the aims of their enemy and the destruction of Christians. On this point, William exclaimed, he could not hold his tongue any longer, and, even if he did, it would have been a sin do to so.⁴⁶⁹

This chapter discusses the regulations on trade proposed by writers of crusade proposals and restrictions enforced by John XXII himself. It contends that prohibitions on

⁴⁶⁷ William of Adam, *Tractatus*, 22.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 22-24.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 24.

trade in particular stemmed from the Latin Church's concern with what it perceived as contradictions between orthodox Christian practice and the attempt on the part of merchants to make commercial profit. In addition, trading relationships between Christians and Muslims, in the eyes of crusade theorists and the papacy itself, had the potential to undermine diplomatic relationships between the Latin Church and the Mongols of Asia, alliances that the theorists and the papacy imagined as the cornerstone of later crusade projects. The sections that follow argue that while the Church was primarily concerned with creating an orthodox Mediterranean and Indian Ocean trade, the connection to the crusade played at least an equal role in their motivations. In laying out its argument, the first section discusses the general problems with illicit trade and the Latin Church's argument that such trade endangered the soul. It then turns to an examination of the Mediterranean slave trade and suggests that the sale of Latin Christian slaves to Muslims was, from the Latin Church's perspective, the ultimate expression of commercial evil. The next section focuses on the ways in which the crusade theorists proposed to end illicit trade. Finally, the chapter discusses the connection between the trade and general crusading through the lens of the continued attempt to contract a military alliance with the Mongols of Asia.

The strong opening words of William of Adam's treatise typify the content of the crusade treatises of the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries. William's contemporary crusade theorists both churchmen and secular, motivated in part by the failures of the Crusading effort to recapture the Holy Land and, indeed, the loss of its last fortified city and port Acre in 1291, began publishing such treatises, often at the request of the Papacy

itself, in response to such a calamitous situation for Christians living abroad.⁴⁷⁰ In nearly every treatise, the theorists complained about the strained and compromised morality of so-called Christians, both at home and abroad, indicting the actions and relationships of such men as being motivated by avarice, lust (whether sexual or for temporal power), or some other sort of general evil and sin. Often, such laments were sung in a louder tone than even cries against the activities of Muslims themselves. As Stefan Stanchev argues, much like the reformers of the eleventh century, then, the theorists of the thirteenth and fourteenth century sought to change the fate of Christendom by making critical reforms within Christendom itself, though such a program focused more on the hearts of men and less on the ecclesiastical structures that governed their souls.⁴⁷¹

The most common theme contained across the treatises was the suggestion of controlling trading relationships and of policing the trafficking of certain goods. The amount of trade conducted between Europeans and peoples outside of that continent increased during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁴⁷² Many of the theorists, including William of Adam, Marino Sanudo Torsello, and the author of the *Directorium*, for example, held the position that such illicit trade and the impious behavior of Western Christians were directly

⁴⁷⁰ On the resurgence of the genre post-1291, see Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land* 1-4, 9-16. Silvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, 264-65. See also, Norman Housely, "The Crusade Movement 1274-1700," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. J. Riley-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) 261-3.

⁴⁷¹ Stanchev, *Spiritual Rationality*, 41-116.

⁴⁷² On trade, See Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); Wilhelm Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Âge*, trans. Furcy Raynaud, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1885-86); Robert Lopez, "European Merchants in the Medieval Indies: The Evidence of Commerical Documents," *The Journal of Economic History* 3:2 (Nov. 1943), 164-84; A.R. Lewis, "Les Marchands dans l'océan Indien," *Revue d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* 56 (1976), 441-75, Luciano Petech, "Les Marchands Italiens dans l'empire Mongol" *Journal Asiatique* 250 (1962), 549-74; David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

responsible for the catastrophic loss of the port city of Acre in 1291.⁴⁷³ Indeed, a clear connection between trade and the success of crusading efforts existed as early as 1179 at the Third Lateran Council, and subsequent councils repeated that argument or expanded that argument's scope and any subsequent enforcement's reach.⁴⁷⁴ The papacy itself issued repeated bans on trade with Muslims in the Mediterranean. Scholars have disagreed on the purposes of these bans. Eliyahu Ashtor has argued that the trading prohibitions of the central and late Middle Ages were concerned with the halting of goods in order to frustrate the military efforts of the Egyptian Mamluks.⁴⁷⁵ In contrast to Ashtor, Stefan Stantchev has suggested that the trading embargoes of the Middle Ages need to be read instead as a legal and moral discourse meant to intervene in the lives of the laity and to draw distinctions between licit Christian trade and illicit trade that the Church had come to understand as heresy.⁴⁷⁶

Using Stantchev's argument as a point of departure, this chapter instead suggests that the trading embargoes and the proposed crusades of which they were a part need to be read in an even wider scope. In addition to disciplining Latin Christians and, to some extent, non-Latin Christians through trading prohibitions, these proposals must be understood as Latin Christianity's attempt to rationalize the wide commercial world of the fourteenth century with its religious orthodoxy and to discipline those Latin Christians who violated the

⁴⁷³ William of Adam, *Tractatus*, 40; Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis Super Terrae Sanctae Recuperatione et Conservazione*, in *Gesta Dei per Francos, sive orientalium expeditionem et regni Francorum Hierosolymitani historia* 2 vols, ed. J. Bongars (Hannover, 1611), reproduced photographically with an introduction by Joshua Prawer (Toronto, 1972), 22-23, 186-188, 230. See also Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages*, 3-17. See above, chapter one.

⁴⁷⁴ Stantchev, *Spiritual Rationality*, 44-5.

⁴⁷⁵ Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages*, 17-44.

⁴⁷⁶ Stefan Stantchev, *Spiritual Rationality*, 1.

prohibitions. Prior to the fourteenth century, the Latin Church had already struggled with questions of economic orthodoxy, including concerns about credit, investment, and usury.⁴⁷⁷ By the fourteenth century, the world, from the Latin perspective, had grown larger and more opportunities existed for merchants to engage with improper trading relationships. The proposed trading bans and crusading actions of the fourteenth century, then, represented the means by which the Latin Church could order the world in a fashion that resonated with its orthodoxy.

Some scholars, particularly Norman Housley, have been skeptical of the papacy's attempt to ban trading relationships between Latin Christian merchants and Muslims. Housley argues that the Latin Church undermined its own programs in three principle ways. First, he argues that the embargoes were unenforceable because of the papacy's capitulation out of financial need to petitions of Latin Christian merchants who desired to trade non-prohibited goods with Muslims. Secondly, the papacy granted absolution to those whom the Church had excommunicated while also allowing those same merchants to keep some of their profits. Finally, Housley argues that the papacy's issuing of trading licenses for non-prohibited goods entirely subverted the trading embargoes. Though he notes that the license system developed after the reign of John XXII, the system nevertheless "illustrate[s] some of the most striking flaws of the Avignon papacy: its excessive susceptibility to purely financial considerations, its hypocrisy, and its favouritism on political or personal grounds."⁴⁷⁸ While

⁴⁷⁷ For a discussion of the debates over lending, investment, and usury, see John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 261-314. Baldwin argues that by the twelfth century, lawyers, both canon and Roman, had developed a legal framework for scholars to debate over commercial techniques. By the twelfth century, moreover, legal scholars understood that the merchant's primary goal was to transport goods from areas of abundance to areas of scarcity. As merchants continued to make profit during the so-called "commercial revolution," the Latin Church began to see profit connected to the sin of avarice and attempted to legislate against it.

⁴⁷⁸ Norman Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades*, 206-8.

Housley is right to be skeptical about the results of the trading prohibitions, such an argument dismisses the importance of the conceptual framework in general. Instead of evaluating the embargoes on the lines of success and failure, they must instead be understood as an attempt to order the world properly, even if the papacy made adjustments to their policies out of political or practical need.

Similar arguments have been leveled about crusading and the efforts put forward by the Church in the fourteenth century that focus on the results of the armed pilgrimages or lack thereof, and their failure to recapture the Holy Land, especially the city of Jerusalem. Housley, for example, has argued that crusades launched by the Popes at Avignon failed largely because of its ineffective sanctions and its weakness as a military power, and because the papal curia's "own financial and political needs were too often in competition with those of the crusade in the East."⁴⁷⁹ Scholars before Housley, whom he criticizes sharply, had tended to evaluate the success of the crusading movement in terms of levels of enthusiasm, concluding that the crusades of the later Middle Ages failed largely because of a lack of popular support and a general disinterest in making the armed pilgrimage.⁴⁸⁰ Housley, among several other scholars, rightly dismantles such a short-sighted view, arguing that dynamics within the Church had a much more profound effect on crusading outcomes.⁴⁸¹ In an even broader context, some scholars have theorized the crusade as *the* instrument of papal foreign policy and indeed of the entirety of Europe, changing only when "national" interests

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., 239

⁴⁸⁰ See especially P.A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Amsterdam, 1940), esp. 206-13. See also M. Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy: The Chief Instruments of Papal Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land from the Final loss of Jerusalem to the Fall of Acre 1244-1291* (Leiden: Brill, 1975).

⁴⁸¹ Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades*, 229. See also Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, esp. 258-62, where she turns the attention away from enthusiasm and popular support to a change in crusading strategy.

overrode former, more religious concerns.⁴⁸² Such analyses detract from and lose sight of the larger picture that the crusade treatises bring together in terms of constructing a viable foreign policy for the papal curia to pursue. Rather than evaluating the proposals and tangible actions of the crusaders in terms of acceptance, popularity, success, and failure, then, this chapter proposes a deconstruction of the concerns, assumptions, and preoccupations that animated the theorists and their pursuit of ordering the world in concert with their religious traditions and sensibilities, while maintaining consistency with the pastoral concerns of their client, the pope and his curia.

The Problem of Trade

In the eyes of the crusade theorists, European merchants who dealt in various goods that profited the Egyptians and other Muslim areas, whether directly or indirectly, presented the greatest threat to Christendom in general and the crusading project in particular. Of concern to all three of the authors were Latin Christians who, despite the clearly problematic nature of their business dealings, engaged in trade with Muslims and who allied with them. William of Adam, for example, laid blame at the feet of Catalan, Pisan, Venetian, and, worst of all, Genoese merchants who supplied the Egyptians with necessary goods.⁴⁸³ William had no kind word to write about such men, labeling them “ministers of hell” and “false Christians,” deniers of their faith through their deeds, who to the detriment of the Church and to “the disgrace of human nature” strengthened the enemies of the Church through their

⁴⁸² Aziz Aitya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* 2nd Edition (New York: Kraus Reprint Co, 1970), 1.

⁴⁸³ William of Adam, *Tractatus*, 26.

actions.⁴⁸⁴ Not to be outdone, both Marino Sanudo and the author of the *Directorium* also levy similar charges against European merchants, though Sanudo does not launch the fiery invective against such merchants as William of Adam does, and the Dominican who authored the *Directorium* does not go far beyond calling such transgressors “false Christians.”⁴⁸⁵

The theorists’ complaints matched those of the ecumenical councils, though they also added new concerns about commerce in the Mediterranean basin and goods from India that the councils had not considered.⁴⁸⁶ William of Adam argued that trade between India and Egypt greatly increased the sultan’s profits.⁴⁸⁷ William was quite animated by the Indian Ocean basin, and had a fairly complex conception of the different peoples who inhabited that large body of water, describing the ocean as having “innumerable provinces and cities on its shores and clasps within its breasts and contains an infinite number of islands, small and great, marvelous and miserable” and rightly estimated that the ocean was larger than the Mediterranean.⁴⁸⁸ The friar carefully explained that the gulf near the southern part of Arabia was home to a city, Aden, which had been said to have been built by the Cain of Genesis, which had the Indian Ocean on one side and the Red Sea on the other. William explained further that the tide rose enough twice per day near this city as to allow the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea to be one continuous body of water. It was this geographic dynamic that

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., 25, 28.

⁴⁸⁵ Sanudo, *Liber*, 24-5. *Directorium*, 408. Nostri etiam falsi Christiani et Graeci ac Suriani et etiam Sarraceni de Africa inducti atque seducti auraritia et spe Iueri edem Soldano sicut alias de praedictis omnibus copiam exhibebunt.

⁴⁸⁶ See above, chapter one.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid, 96. On Indian Ocean trade in general, see Chaudhuri and Pearson (2004).

⁴⁸⁸ William of Adam, *Tractatus*, 96-99. Quod innumerabiles provincias et civitate in suis littoribus habet et infra sunym suum ambit et continent parvas et pagnas, mirables et miserabiles insulas infinitas...quod maius esse quam istud nostrum Miditerraneum comprobatur.

allowed such frequent trade to be done between the cities of “India” and Egypt, the “source of all the evils” of trade including “pepper, ginger, and other spices; gold and precious stones; silk and those precious materials dyed with the colors of India and all other precious things.”⁴⁸⁹ William also identified locations rich in timber for the construction of ships, far away from Aden, and the merchants based there that did business with Egypt: Hormuz, a group of islands called Diu, and “the mainland of the furthest India,” which was home to the towns of Thana, Cambay, and Kulam.⁴⁹⁰

Both Marino Sanudo Torsello and the author of the *Directorium* also display a vast knowledge of geography that demonstrated their understanding and awareness of a multi-polar world, though their descriptions of that geography differ from that of William of Adam’s accounts. Like the aforementioned Dominican friar, Sanudo worried greatly about goods from India being transported and traded in Egypt, all to the profit of the sultan. In contrast to William of Adam and his identification of three places away from Aden and the supporters of trade with the Egyptian Sultan, however, Sanudo named two ports: Mahabar and Cambeth, which he claims are the source of most of the goods flowing from India.⁴⁹¹ Extending the description, Sanudo also located four main points of entry for the goods into the world of the Mediterranean, some of which also appear in William of Adam’s treatise and

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., 98-100. Omnia enim que Egypto venduntur, ut piper, zinziber, et alie species, aurum et lapides pretiosi, sericum et panni illi pretiosi, tincti Indie coloribus, et monia alia pretiosa. For a listing of scholarly work done on these particular spices, see Giles Constable, *William of Adam: How to Defeat the Saracens*, 101, note 103.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., 106-108. Eligendus est ergo locus ad quem mercatores predicti accedere non audeant, et in quo lingorum copia decenter valeat inveniri. Tria sun ergo loca huiusmodi. Primus locus est Hormutz, insula quedam Indie prime, que dominii imperatoris Persidis est. Secundus locus est insule alie quedam que Diue nominantur, distantes a predicta fere per tria milia miliaria. Terius locus est terra firma ultime Indie, cuius civitates Tana, et Cambaeyt, et Colom vocantur. For further references on these locations, see Constable, *William of Adam*, 106, notes 109-113.

⁴⁹¹ Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber*, 22.

contradict the Dominican friar's assertions: Hormus, an island called Kis, and a third on a waterway close to Baghdad, and Ahaden.⁴⁹² In addition to India, moreover, commercial activities in Armenia caused Sanudo great anxiety. Specifically, Sanudo worried about goods coming up the Saleph River along the coast of Turkey including wood, pitch, slaves, mercenaries, silk, sugar, spices, flax, and many other things.⁴⁹³ Connected to the concern about these goods coming through Armenia, Sanudo names the Agarenes, a Turkish group allied with the sultan, which, according to Sanudo, held lands in Spain and had come close to Constantinople while conquering lands held by the Byzantine Greeks.⁴⁹⁴ Furthermore, the treatise contains descriptions of several other cities in the lands Sanudo considers, including a complete history of the Mongols and their successes and failures against the advance of Islam, the details of which are far too numerous for an essay of this length.⁴⁹⁵ At least in the estimation of one scholar, Sanudo's descriptions of geography were perhaps "his most original contribution to the project."⁴⁹⁶ In addition, the manuscripts that contain Sanudo's

⁴⁹² Ibid., 22. Lock explains that the port near Baghdad is Bosra and that Ahaden is Aden. Peter Lock, "Introduction," in *The Book of Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, vol. 21 of *Crusade Texts in Translation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), 49-50.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., 29.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., 28-29.

⁴⁹⁵ Sanudo, *Liber*, 233-42.

⁴⁹⁶ See especially British Library, MS Additional 27376 and MS Additional MS27376*. The former contains the full text of Sanudo's treatise, while the latter holds the maps originally bound with the text. For the scholarship on these maps, see Evelyn Edson, "Reviving the Crusade: Sanudo's Schemes and Vesconte's Maps" in *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050-1550*, ed. Rosamund Allen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 151. See also Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 36-7 and Bernard Hamilton, "The Impact of the Crusades on Western Geographical Knowledge" in *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050-1550*, ed. Rosamund Allen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 29-30.

treatise and letters often are also repositories for large global-scale maps and maps of the East and Holy Land, a topic which at least one other scholar has examined extensively.⁴⁹⁷

While Marino Sanudo surpassed most in terms of his display of geographical knowledge and the flow of goods within that geography, the author of the *Directorium* also displayed a sophisticated understanding of the world and the various centers and peripheries that comprised the known globe. The author included serviceable descriptions of the loyalties and affiliations of several peoples in west and central Asia, including the Armenians, Syrian Christians, Turks, former Muslims who had converted to Christianity, and the Assassins, whom the author claims to not know much about, but still advises caution.⁴⁹⁸ Finally, the author recommended trading centers for capture and repurposing. To this effect, the Dominican offered several examples, including Thrace, Macedonia, Negropont (Euboea), Athens, and the shorelands of Asia Minor, giving the details of the goods found in these locations and how those goods might benefit the crusading effort particularly as resupply centers.⁴⁹⁹ Like his contemporaries, the author also mentions the Indian Ocean basin, but passes over it, arguing that, while the ocean was home to an island full of interesting people of varying customs, laws, and a ridiculous form of government, nevertheless the sea was unimportant to the argument that author leveled in his treatise.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁷ Edson, “Reviving the Crusade” in *Eastward Bound*, 151.

⁴⁹⁸ *Directorium*, 487-97.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 506-09.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 387. “Ultra versus meridiem procedendo est quaedam insula in mari Indico stas magna, ubi populus circumcisionem obtinet parietr et baptismum. De qua quidem insula dicere quomodo aut qualiter illuc pervenerim, et de conditione gentis illius, et de moribus ac mod vivendi, et de consuetudinibus et legibus et modo mosario et extraneo dominandi, so ad nostrum propositum conveniret, esset audientibus curiosum.”

The travel writers, on the other hand, did not provide nearly the same level of strategic detail as their crusade theorist counterparts. Indeed, the purpose of their works was not to suggest how Latin Christendom might best pursue crusading action. However, Odoric of Pordenone had a clear grasp of the varieties of trade in which the peoples of Asia, whether Latin Christian or otherwise, participated. Odoric is especially detailed in his descriptions of the sorts of spices and goods that flow out of major ports. For example, in Trebizond, he noted that the city was famous for its mining of copper and crystal.⁵⁰¹ Tabriz, Odoric noted, was famous for being a place that had any good imaginable and a store dedicated to the sale of that good.⁵⁰² Jordan was less concerned with specific goods and wares, though he provides an estimation for the population in Persia.⁵⁰³ While neither writer provides much in terms of strategic information on the surface, the categorizing and labeling of goods and peoples would certainly be valuable for any Latin Christian who desired to propose crusading action.

While on the surface the extent of the theorists' geographical knowledge may not have a direct connection to policies concerning trade, such knowledge was fundamentally vital to their proposals. Without knowing the various ports from where goods originated or to where those goods travelled, the theorists would not have been able to suggest concrete action for future crusading efforts. Furthermore, it is this multi-polar understanding of the world that so dramatically transformed the ways in which the Latin Church conceived of crusading. While these three specific theorists were the product of knowledge discovered well before their time, that knowledge, combined with the ways in which the Church changed

⁵⁰¹ Odoric of Pordenone, *Relatio*, 414

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, 418.

⁵⁰³ For example, Jordan provides numbers for the houses Tabriz. He noted that the city held 200,000 houses, though that number is quite possibly an exaggeration. Jordan of Catalonia, *Mirabilia descripta*, 245.

the program of crusading, provided the means which crusading was transformed from a series of armed pilgrimages, whether small or large in scale, to multi-faceted foreign policy projects that included the former method of armed combat, but also instituted a further concern for pastoral care and diplomacy that was perhaps absent from previous crusading efforts.⁵⁰⁴

Marino Sanudo's treatise provides significant detail of the variety of goods and the profits derived from those goods that could greatly assist the cause of the Egyptian sultan. Sanudo, for example, contended that dates, flax, wild cinnamon, and products related to those goods benefited the sultan substantially.⁵⁰⁵ The theorist also listed several metals and their prices on the market, including the tolls that the sultan exacted from their sale, including 4.5 percent on silver, 6.66 percent on gold, 4 percent on tin, and 5 percent from lead, mercury, coral and amber.⁵⁰⁶ Finally, Sanudo contends that the Egyptians would be cut off from other necessary food that would sustain them, such as oil, honey, oats, almonds, saffron, and mastic, and other goods such as silk, cloth, wool, and silk textiles, if the proper economic sanctions were to be put in place.⁵⁰⁷

Though he did not provide a definitive list of goods that needed to be restricted which matched the list that Sanudo discussed in his treatise, William of Adam also sought to end activities that had the potential to increase the sultan's profits. Perhaps the most striking example, William posits that all pilgrimages to the Holy Land had to be suspended

⁵⁰⁴ Bernard Hamilton, "The Impact of the Crusades on Western Geographical Knowledge" in *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers, 1050*, ed. Rosamond Allen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 15-34.

⁵⁰⁵ Sanudo, *Liber*, 24.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 24-25.

immediately.⁵⁰⁸ Such pilgrims, argued William, did not know of the effect they had or the harm that they did to Christendom as a whole. The pilgrims, he added, did not fear excommunication, and that their piety concealed the great evil that such men and women perpetrated, and their zeal produced injustice. To that effect, William explains that the Sultan exacted “thirty-five pennies of Tours” from each pilgrim coming to the lands that he controlled.⁵⁰⁹ In order to stop this activity, William provided a four-fold plan that included levying excommunication that could only be absolved by the pope himself on the pilgrims, the seizure of the pilgrims’ possessions, and the same sentence of excommunication would be levied on anyone who either transported or housed the pilgrims in their hospices.⁵¹⁰

In addition to restricting the movement of Christian pilgrims, William cautioned the pope about Latin Christians assisting in the building of sea vessels and teaching the Egyptians and other Muslims how to construct the ships themselves, which, William claims, had previously been beyond the knowledge of the Egyptians.⁵¹¹ Along the same lines, William posited that the Christians from Europe who had brought the Egyptians wood and iron fashioned lances and spears for them, which would not have been in Egypt at all if it were not for these men bringing those weapons there in the first place.⁵¹² In these instances, William seems to be equating the transmission of military knowledge and technology to heresy, especially because his suggestion for punishing such activity was not only

⁵⁰⁸ William of Adam, *Tractatus*, 38.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 38. Soldanus enim circa triginta quinque turonensium grossos exigit et recipit a quolibet peregrine.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*, 26-28. See also David Jacoby, “The Supply of War Materials to Egypt in the Crusader Period,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001), 102-32.

⁵¹² William of Adam, *Tractatus*, 28.

excommunication with no possible dispensation, but complete and total exile and the seizure of property, which would be sold in the service of raising money for the Holy Land.⁵¹³ In the face of a changing world order, however, and in light of the doctrinal discussions of the ecumenical councils, the connection between this knowledge and heresy is clear, given that men who undertook such business endeavors effectively turned their backs on the Church in favor of profit and continued success in acquiring temporal goods.⁵¹⁴ Trade between Christians and heretics had also been banned, lest any orthodox believers supported the advancement of heretical sects.⁵¹⁵ Furthermore, as Norman Housley notes, charges of heresy and military action in response to such charges had become more frequent in crusade actions taken against secular powers in the thirteenth century, most notably in response to the Sicilian Vespers in 1282. Given that crusading actions against fellow Christians had begun much earlier, with heresy being the main catalyst and worry that led to such actions like the Albigensian Crusade in 1209, the association of crusade and heresy seems even less strange, even if it remains somewhat problematic to modern eyes.⁵¹⁶

William of Adam's proposed solutions also included sanctions against pilgrims to the Holy Land and a strong invective against the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople. In the

⁵¹³ Ibid., 34.

⁵¹⁴ Tensions between the rise of a profit economy and the emerging apostolic poverty movements of the thirteenth and fourteenth century have been well examined by Lester Little. See Lester Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978). While his arguments do not have a direct connection to the activities of the merchants traversing the Mediterranean Sea and Indian Ocean, they demonstrate the ways in which Christianity responded to those developments and other religious reactions to the same.

⁵¹⁵ Stanchev, "Embargo," 139-40.

⁵¹⁶ For a general account of the the Albigensian Crusade that touches on an argument about the connection between crusading, heresy, and the drive to properly order Christendom, see Mark Pegg, *A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

case of the former, William posited that these pilgrims unknowingly put a large amount of money into the coffers of the Muslim enemy, and do not pay enough “attention to the mandate of the church,” nor the harm they did to Christendom as a whole.⁵¹⁷ William offered a four-pronged solution to this perceived problem, which included the extreme measure of banning all pilgrimage to the Holy Land under threat of excommunication. In addition those who transported the pilgrims to their destinations and those who took the pilgrims into their hospices during their travels would also receive that ecclesiastical punishment.⁵¹⁸ Moreover, William accused the emperor of Constantinople of being sympathetic to the Muslim cause against Christianity, supplying the Egyptians with grain during times of famine, even distributing grain to Egypt during a time of great famine following the Muslim takeover of Acre in 1291.⁵¹⁹ In this respect, it seems that William did not echo the desire for union and reunion with other Christians in the East as did John XXII, but these proposals do show the length to which William was willing to go in order to recapture the lands he deemed most important to his cause.

Though he did not follow the plans of the crusade theorists directly, John XXII did attempt to uphold and enforce the trading bans that both he and his predecessors had instituted.⁵²⁰ John himself instituted a total embargo of trade with Egypt, instituting what Eliyahu Ashtor has called the era of “strict embargo,” which ran between the years 1323 and

⁵¹⁷ William of Adam, *Tractatus*, 38.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 38-40.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 41-40.

⁵²⁰ Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades*, 201-6. Housley notes that John reissued Nicholas IV’s decree declaring such trade illicit.

1344.⁵²¹ John XXII, according to Ashtor, had, to some extent, allies in the enforcement of this trading ban. In 1323, the Italian city of Venice banned all trade and even travel between Egypt and Syria, and instituted a fine equal to half of the value of the cargo that any transgressor carried. In the same year, the island of Crete issued an identical ban and extended the prohibition to Jewish merchants in addition to Latin Christians. The bans were so serious, Ashtor demonstrates, that Venetians who claimed that they had merchandise in Egypt and in Syria were allowed to travel back to claim their merchandise, so long as they did not use Venetian ships. In addition, the merchants had to register their goods with the port and swear an oath that the property was theirs before the prohibition on trade began.⁵²² John also sought to dispense with an argument that posited that trade in licit goods with Muslims was not a sin. In 1326, John XXII had strong words for Bertrand du Poujet, a professor of law at Padua University, who had argued such a position, explaining to the man that any person who maintained that trade of any goods with Muslims was lawful was himself a heretic and would be excommunicated.⁵²³

John XXII also had a contentious fight with the Republic of Venice, which Stefan Stanchev has investigated thoroughly using documents held in the Venetian State Archives.⁵²⁴ Stanchev argues that John's enforcement of the papal embargo, much like this

⁵²¹ Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Late Middle Ages*, 44-63.

⁵²² *Ibid.*, 44-45.

⁵²³ John XXII, "Rizardus Malumbre" in *Annales Ecclesiastici* ed. Raynaldi, vol. 24, 306-7. "Quod deferre vel mittere Saracenis in Alexndriam aut in alia loca Saracenorum Terrae Aegypti victu, alia et alia quaecumque mercimonia, praeter praedicta in eisdem Concilis prohibita, non erat peccatum, praesumpserat damnabiliter ac etiam praesumebat: quodque idem Rizardus huiusmodi pravis suis ac iniquis actibus non contentus sed se Dei et Ecclesiae ac fidei Catholicae rebellem et hostem exhibens manifeste, Raynaldo et Opizono marchionibus Estensibus, ac Galeatio de Vicecomitibus, eiusque hereticis, et de crimine haeresis a suis competentibus iudicibus sententialiter et publice condemnatis."

⁵²⁴ Stanchev, *Spiritual Rationality*, 133-45.

chapter has suggested, was his attempt to use the trading restrictions as a tool of foreign policy.⁵²⁵ Furthermore, Stanchev argues, John's enforcement of these prohibitions was less concerned with limiting the power of Muslim armies and more invested in maintaining the proper order of Christian society.⁵²⁶ Stanchev's case study examines the request of the Republic of Venice in 1317 for a trading license in order to do commerce with Egypt, a privilege that they claimed John's predecessors had granted them in previous years.⁵²⁷ As a show of good faith, the Venetians proclaimed in the city that certain goods, namely iron, horses, arms, timber, or any other material related to war would be seized by Venetian authorities or that the offender would have to pay a substantial fine. Merchants could not, in addition, transport any Mamluks to Egypt. Even public officials, if they transgressed the restrictions, would not only be removed from office, but also banned from holding office ever again, and people outside the nobility would not be able to serve on the Venetian Grand Council.⁵²⁸

Whatever the Republic's good intentions, Venetian-controlled cities continued to violate the trading restrictions. John XXII instituted a total ban for the city, denying them their trading license. In 1322, John and his chancery sent out several letters that informed clerics and laypersons alike that his legates had his authority "to collect all *deposita* made on account of the church in gold, silver, or otherwise, by anyone, be that for the purpose of

⁵²⁵ Stanchev, *Spiritual Rationality*, 133.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, 135. The Venetians argued that their city should receive an exception because they did not have any other way to support their city.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, 136.

supporting the Holy Land or otherwise.”⁵²⁹ John also gave legates the power to absolve any person who had violated the prohibitions. Stantchev also points out that John XXII, following this action, began to police the behavior of the Venetian merchants, giving his legates the power to investigate individuals. The Republic resisted John’s orders and began to send lawyers to argue against John’s decrees. According to Stantchev, complaints about the pope’s legates had begun to arrive at the papal curia. In response, John authorized the bishop of Ravenna to investigate the conflict between the legate and the cities. The city complained that the legates had overstepped their authority in the number of excommunications that they had issued and the amount of money that they had demanded in payment for the defense of the Holy Land. Even after an attempt at mediation, John sent instructions to inquisitors in Venice to investigate infractions against the ban and to punish those who were found guilty of violating it or argued that the prohibited trade was, in fact, licit.⁵³⁰

John, however, offered absolution to those who violated the papal trading prohibitions. In the 1 May 1318 bull *Gratias agimus*, which granted special powers to missionaries, John allowed the missionaries to absolve any person who had committed violence against clerics or the church in general. However, John reserved the ability to absolve those who carried arms, money, or prohibited goods, or who provided aid to the Alexandrians in any way.⁵³¹ Curiously, John omitted this clause from the other bull of missionary privileges, *Cum hora undecima*, though the pontiff’s actions taken against the city

⁵²⁹ Ibid., 137-38.

⁵³⁰ Ibid., 142.

⁵³¹ John XXII, “Gratias agimus,” in *Fontes*, 22. “Illis exceptis qui Alexandriam Saracenis merces portaverint et arma seu alia prohibita vel eisdem impenderint auxilium quodlibet et favorem in christianorum dispendium et specialiter Terrae Sanctae vel in episcopos eorumque Superiores dummodo catholici fuerint et communionem Apostolicae Sedis habuerint ausu sacrelego manus iniecerint violentas quorum absolutionem Sedi Apostolicae specialiter reservamus.”

of Venice dispel any notion that John had relaxed his stance on these trading relationships. Norman Housley has demonstrated that the papacy issued absolutions for these crimes quite often, so long as the offenders willingly surrendered a portion of their profits. Using the records of the papal camera, Housley finds that “there was a steady flow of such absolutions, either issued by the penitentiary or granted by a papal agent in the field, and sometimes linked to the financial needs of the Holy See.”⁵³² Sometimes, Housley notes, the papacy granted absolution free of charge, provided that the offender could demonstrate extenuating circumstances, such as being shipwrecked, being raided by pirates, or losing money as a result of their investments.⁵³³ Furthermore, the papacy began to issue licenses for non-prohibited goods, often to those Italian families whom the papacy favored. John himself granted trading licenses to the Zaccaria family of Chios so that the family could fund the expensive defense of the island of Cyprus, a key crusader outpost; the pontiff granted a second license to Genoa in 1326, perhaps to support the struggling Guelf regime in the city.⁵³⁴ While these actions seem to undermine the papal prohibitions against trade, they must be read as a part of larger picture, one that understands that the papacy sought to control and police the sorts of trading relationships in which its flock participated. In addition, rather than casting the granting of absolution and the granting of trade licenses as a means by which the papacy could line their coffers in the name of their greed, they should be understood as the Holy See adapting its policies to the developments in the Mediterranean Sea and Indian

⁵³² Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades*, 207.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, 208. For a summary of John’s letters, see Mollat, nos. 2234-6 and 44620.

⁵³⁴ Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades*, 208-9. See also Stantchev, *Spiritual Rationality*, 145-47. For John’s letters, see Mollat, nos. 15644 and 21494.

Ocean. After all, the papacy depended on these funds to finance its crusading efforts on the seas; the granting of licenses and absolutions helped them in this regard.

The Crusade Theorists and the Mediterranean Slave Trade

While the continued trade between Latin Christians and Muslims in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean greatly troubled the crusade theorists, trafficking of slaves, particularly to the Egyptian Mamluks presented the greatest threat to Christianity in the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean worlds to their minds.⁵³⁵ Slavery formed one of the central components of the Egyptian Mamluks' military and economy. The Mamluks used slaves for a variety of purposes, as Georg Christ has shown, including general domestic labor as well as "wet nurses, teachers, specialized artisans, and even musicians and poets." Slaves girls often served as concubines.⁵³⁶ In addition, the Mamluk military depended on male slaves for their numbers. The Egyptians would educate these slaves, in terms of both military

⁵³⁵ The scholarly literature on medieval slavery is quite vast, but has tended to focus regionally. A monograph about the Latin Church's relationship to slavery would be a substantial contribution to medieval scholarship. See Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce* vol. 2, 555-63; Michel Balard, *La Romanie Génoise (XIIIe-début du XVe Siècle)*, 2 vols. (Genoa and Rome: Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1978), vol. 1, 289-310; Steven Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958-1528* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996) 179; Olivia Remie Constable, "Muslim Spain and Mediterranean Slavery: The Medieval Slave Trade as an Aspect of Muslim-Christian Relations," in *Christendom and its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000-1500*, eds. Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 273-74; Steven Epstein, *Purity Lost: Transgressing Boundaries in the Eastern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007) William D. Phillips, Jr., *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

⁵³⁶ Georg Christ, *Trading Conflicts: Venetian Merchants and Mamluk Officials in Late Medieval Alexandria* (Leiden: Brill, 2012) 121.

and religious knowledge.⁵³⁷ Due to restrictions on whom the Mamluks could enslave, the majority of their slaves arrived in Egypt on the ships of Italian merchants.⁵³⁸

The slave trade animated William of Adam considerably. The Dominican theorist asserted that the sale of Christians to Muslims was an even greater crime than the exchange of material goods.⁵³⁹ While he did not write with the same anger as his counterpart, the author of the *Directorium* claimed that he had not seen a region in the Mediterranean where he did not see a vast amount of Greek slaves being sold in the public markets. Within Persia, the theorists claimed that there were more than 400,000 Greeks in bondage, whom immoral leaders back in Constantinople had abandoned. Such bondage, argued the theorists, separated mothers from sons, fathers from sons, friends from friends, and even lovers from one another, completely destroying families and the prosperity of family members.⁵⁴⁰ This is not to say, however, that the Church disapproved of slavery as a general concept. In fact, quite the opposite was true, given that among the many punishments for participating in the

⁵³⁷ Ibid., 121.

⁵³⁸ Ibid., 122. Christ points out that as Islam spread through Sub-Saharan Africa, traditional “hunting grounds” for slaves began to disappear, since Islamic law prohibited the ownership of other Muslims. Indeed, Christ suggests, the Mamluks used slavery as a mark of non-Muslims, arguing that “faith and slavery could not be yoked.” This led to the necessity of importing slaves.

⁵³⁹ William of Adam, *Tractatus*, 29. Sed adhuc predicta peccata sequentis superat sceleris magnitudo, quod quidem predicti falso Christiani in irreverenciam Dei et offensam ecclesie et dedeus humane nature perpetrunt, dum Sarracenis vendendo homines Christi redemptos sanguine vel regeneratos baptismate et balilonicum imperium forte reddunt et exhibent multis et in auditis criminibus detrimentum.

⁵⁴⁰ *Directorium*, 449-50. Ego cum in partibus Persidis commorater vidi spius Grecorum multitudinem captivorum utriusque sexus elatis et gradus qui cum genitibus et suspiriis ducebantur et quasi jumenta in fore publicae vendebantur. Separabantur ab invicem mater a filia filius a patre aumius ab amico et carus ab caro dum unus istum comparat alter illum dispegebantur sic tristes et miserabiles in diversa se mutuo amplois non visuri. De sic traductis venditis et seductis plus quam cccc m esse in solo imperio Persidis asseruntur. Quis ergo poterit numerare quot de ipsis in alia imperia Tartarorum et in Egiptum et ad alia mundi climate sunt venditi et disperse preter innumerabiles qui fame igni et gladio sunt consumpti.

sale of goods to Muslims prescribed by the Church councils was for transgressors to become the slaves of those who had caught and captured them on the sea.

Even if the institutional Church did not have any moral qualms with slavery in general, at least in official, conciliar policy, the theorists worried greatly about the effect that slavery had on the souls of the captives. On this point, William of Adam provided the most detail about his concerns. In the first place, William was anxious that Christians from all over the world were being brought to bondage in Egypt. The Italian Merchants, William accused, snatched and sold both boys and girls from Greece, Bulgaria, Ruthenia, the Alans, and Hungary, all of whom celebrated the Christian rite, and also captured Tartars, Cumans, and other “pagans” whom had been offered for sale.⁵⁴¹ William even identifies whom he considered to be the worst of these perpetrators, a certain Seguranus Salvago, a Genoese merchant, who, according to William served alongside Satan himself in his consistent activity in the market of human trafficking.⁵⁴² Segeranus, according to William, had befriended the sultan, whom he called his brother, and had even converted to Islam.⁵⁴³ Seguranus, in William’s estimation, had done more harm to Christians in Muslim lands than any who was not a Muslim himself, claiming that the Genoese merchant had carried 10,000

⁵⁴¹ William of Adam, *Tractatus*, 28. “Circueunt enim mare, ilistrant provincias et de deiversis mundo partibus emunt pueros et puellas, Grecos, videlicet, Bulgaros, Rutenos, Alanos, Ungaros Minoris Ungarie, qui omnes gaudent sub nomine christiano, vel Tartaros et Comanos vel quoscumque alios paganos quos venales exposuit pterna impietas, ut predictorum paganorum moris est, vel quos clades tartarica vel turicia vel aliqua alia hostilis impietas subiugavit.”

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, 32. See Epstein, *Purity Lost*, 162-66.

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.* “Ipse Seguranus frater soldani appellatur, Sarracenus esse creditor, et ut hostis, fidei Machomistarum fautor et promotor dicitur et defensor.”

boys to Egypt himself.⁵⁴⁴ This, in William's estimation, was the height of the depravity of European merchants in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, and he demanded that action be taken to stop such heinous crimes from being perpetrated.

Sale into slavery exposed the victims of human trafficking to a veritable pit of potential mortal sins. The danger to the souls of those sold into slavery to Muslims, particularly in Egypt, was three-fold. First, and perhaps most terrible to the theorists, Christian slaves often converted to the faith of their masters. This dynamic greatly concerned the author of the *Directorium*, who claimed that the slaves whom he had seen in Perisa were compelled to adopt the faith of his or her purchaser, whether the buyer be Muslim, Jewish, or another type of "idolater."⁵⁴⁵ Second, the Egyptian sultan relied on boys to fill the ranks of his army. Christian slaves purchased from the merchants of the Mediterranean often became soldiers in his armies and were sent specifically to do battle with their former co-religionists, much to the consternation of the crusade theorists.⁵⁴⁶ William of Adam estimated that the Sultan had acquired nearly 40,000 such slaves and had trained them in armed combat.⁵⁴⁷ For William of Adam, this had an added danger; if a slave succeeded in his military career, he could then become a lord, admiral, prince, or rector of Egypt, making his transformation and betrayal absolutely complete.⁵⁴⁸ Indeed, argued the

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., 34. Promotorem etiam exhibuit eorumdem sic quod numquam aliquis fuit ante eum non sarracenus existens...Et cum solus predictus Seguranus decem milia pueros Sarracenis portasse dicatur, nec multitudine nec numerus sciri potest quos alii portaverunt.

⁵⁴⁵ *Directorium*, 450. Et quod pejus omnibus erat, illam quam suus emptor sectam seu perfidiam obtinebat, sive Sarracenus esset aut idolatra vel Judaeus, illam oportebat emptitium profiteri abnegato cultu, fide, ac nomine Christiano.

⁵⁴⁶ William of Adam, *Tractatus*, 30. Marino Sanudo, *Liber*, 27.

⁵⁴⁷ William of Adam, *Tractatus*, 30.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid. See Giles Constable, *William of Adam*, 31, n. 18.

theorists, the Egyptians relied heavily on such trade, and, by their calculations, Egypt would have already folded if not for the constant flow of slaves.⁵⁴⁹ Lastly, children could be sold for the purposes of sexual servitude. William of Adam accused Muslims of committing and praising every sexual act known to man, which he said was an even greater stain on the glory of Christianity.⁵⁵⁰ Egyptian Muslims, William claimed, dressed such boys in silken and golden clothes, washed their bodies, and fed them rich foods to fatten them up in order to increase the lust of potential clients.⁵⁵¹ Any crusading effort, therefore, had to consider the position of such men and women, and, in order to meet the expectations of the institutional Church, had to provide relief in order that the Church be able to properly provide adequate pastoral care.

John XXII also took notice of the sale of Christians into slavery. In a 1322 letter addressed to the patriarch of Constantinople and the archbishop of Patracensus (perhaps modern Patras, Greece), the pontiff wrote that he had become disturbed and hurt by news that more Christians had come under the sword of Muslims. John informed the two Greek clerics that he had heard that a certain captain Alfonsus, the son of King Frederick of Sicily, as well as other merchants had attacked and looted the ships of other Christians on the sea.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁹ William of Adam, *Tractatus*, 30. Marino Sanudo, *Liber*, 27.

⁵⁵⁰ William of Adam, *Tractatus*, 30. For a survey of medieval attitudes towards sex and the morality of sexual activity, see Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing Unto Others*, (New York: Routledge, 2012).

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁵⁵² John XXII “*Multa mentis*” in *Fontes*, 121. Reg. Vat. 111, fol. 260, ep. 1085. “Ad nostrum siquidem infestae relationis assertion pervenit auditum, quod Alfonsus capitaneus aliique rectores ac nonnullae singulars personae magnae societatis tamquam in tenebris et umbra mortis ambulantes, damnabiliter sibi thesaurizantes iram in die irae et ultionis iusti iudicii Dei, nonnullos fideles christicolos in principatu Aethiopiae ac vicinis et circumpositis regionibus commemorantes, per se et per piratas crudeles et curarios suos hostiliter presequuntur...”

Furthermore, John accused Alfonsus and the other pirates of taking their fellow Christians captive and selling them as slaves to the Turks for a “damnable price.”⁵⁵³ John then commanded that the men issue warnings against any such trafficking. More specifically, the pope demanded that the men make clear that any pirate or corsair was to be shunned entirely, and, if necessary, be given strict ecclesiastical punishment, including excommunication. Furthermore, the pontiff argued that any who participated in this practice that was “a shame to the Catholic faith and to the glory of the name Christian” did so at the peril of their own souls.⁵⁵⁴

In more stark terms than the exchange of war goods, then, Latin Christian participation in the slave trade presented a significant problem for the papacy and the crusade theorists. On one hand, the sale of Christians meant a potential increase in the army of the enemy, perhaps preventing Christendom from achieving its planned crusading goals. On the other hand, and more importantly, the slave trade represented a two-fold danger to the souls of not only those who sold the slaves, but the slaves themselves. Since the slave trade had such drastic spiritual consequences, it seems natural that the papacy wanted to stop the trade of Latin Christians as slaves entirely. However, this should not be read as a particularly progressive or anti-slavery position on the part of the Latin Church. It must be recalled that the ecumenical councils, particularly Lateran III, prescribed as punishment for those caught participating in trade of Christian slaves to Muslims the sale of the perpetrator into slavery himself. Instead, the concern with slavery needs to be understood in its pastoral context, in

⁵⁵³ Ibid., 121-22. “Affligunt immaniter et captivant interdum et quod est dolendum amarius avaritiae caecitate seducti christicolae ipsos venales Turcis infidelibus exponentes, praetio vendunt damnabili et tradunt eos infidelium ipsorum dirae servitutis imperio miserabiliter captivandos.”

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., 122.

that the crusade theorists and the pope himself wanted to prevent the loss of Christian souls and to prevent Latin Christians from winning profit on the backs of Christian misery.

Proposals and Enforcement of the Trading Embargos

As has been demonstrated above, the theorists aimed to prevent transactions between Christians and Muslims through measures that included trade blockades, ecclesiastical penalties, and the seizure of property. Their plans also included engaging in direct diplomacy with various leaders in order to build alliances or to reunite schismatic groups of Christians with the Roman Church. These plans, moreover, also demonstrate a strong connection to conceptions of orthodoxy, and the theorists' plans to station men loyal to Latin Christian mission in these regions. This, to their minds, would transform the seas from a place rife with sin into a zone of men filled with zeal for the Church and her efforts to discipline the Latin Christians living within it. In order to transform the seas, the crusade theorists suggested forming fleets of crusader galleys crewed by men who pledged themselves to the policing of the seas as a means to uphold the mission of the Latin Church. The proposal of a papal-sponsored fleet that would patrol the seas dated back at least to the Council of Vienne (1311-12). At the council, King Henry II of Cyprus promised Pope Clement V that he and his kingdom would provide a fleet to enforce the trading prohibitions and to thwart the activities of Genoese, Venetian, and Pisan merchants who continued to trade with the Alexandrians. The idea of a fleet commissioned to stop piracy also appeared in

earlier crusade treatises such as Fidenzo of Padua's, which recommended that thirty galleys patrol the sea.⁵⁵⁵

William of Adam, Marino Sanudo, and the author of the *Directorium* all proposed that a blockade of trade in these regions be enforced by a group of galleys filled with men dedicated to the cause of the crusade. Both Marino Sanudo and the author of the *Directorium* provided a specific number for the galleys that should police the seas. For Sanudo, ten galleys were sufficient, a number that could be reduced to seven once the ten had made initial inroads and achieved a modicum of success.⁵⁵⁶ For the author of the *Directorium*, on the other hand, twelve galleys were necessary for successfully cutting off trade from reaching the shores of Egypt, though the author does not provide any justification for why he thought that such a number was necessary.⁵⁵⁷ In contrast to the other two theorists, William of Adam did not offer a precise number for the galleys necessary to effectively police the seas, but he did provide specific locations for where they should patrol. William desired galleys on the Mediterranean, one general fleet and another that would be stationed at an island midway between Egypt and "Tartary" so that they could capture and sell into slavery those who betrayed Christendom and conducted trade with Egypt, and, in addition, William suggested

⁵⁵⁵ Sophia Menache, "Papal Attempts at a Commercial Boycott of the Muslims in the Crusader Period," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63 (2012), 251-55. Menache also cites the proposals of King Charles II of Anjou, Galvano of Levanto, James of Molay, and Fulk of Villaret. She also notes that Pierre Dubois did not refer directly to a commercial boycott supported by galleys, but made mention of the problem of Christian greed in the Mediterranean. See also Stantchev, "Embargo," 179; Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1992); Peter Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); and Sophia Menache, *Clement V* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), esp. 101-119; and Mike Carr, "The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Alliances Against the Turks, 1306-1348," in *Islands and Military Orders, c. 1291-c. 1798* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 167-76.

⁵⁵⁶ Marino Sanudo, *Liber*, 30.

⁵⁵⁷ *Directorium*, 408.

that another fleet of three or four galleys be placed in the Gulf of Aden in order to prevent goods from India from reaching Egypt.⁵⁵⁸

In addition to supplying the seas with crusader galleys for patrolling the activities of the traitorous merchants, William suggested that a general set of conditions needed to be favorable in order for the galleys to succeed. In the past, argued William, the Church had been defrauded in its attempts to establish a fleet of galleys in a five-fold manner. First, the Church had earmarked funds for six galleys, but had only received four; the boats were terribly armed and too afraid to attack anyone; the men who were to man the fleet were paid for a year, but only served for six months; the fleet patrolled the area of concern only during the six months that the merchants did not traffic their goods; and, finally, the man in charge of the fleet did not make an account of any of the goods that he managed to capture from transgressors, nor gave the Church any of the spoils that he took.⁵⁵⁹ To combat such disastrous results, William suggested that the right men be put in charge of the fleet, in order to avoid such immoral behavior. The Dominican theorist also desired that a particular office of the Genoese change its policies in order to benefit the fleets. The *Officium Robarie* according to William, provided the means by which any merchant or other seafarer who had been defrauded of his cargo or assaulted by pirates on the sea could either have his goods returned to him or be paid compensation for the cargo he had lost. The office served not only Christian Europeans, but anyone who did business with the Genoese, including Jews and Muslims.⁵⁶⁰ William requested that the pope require that office exempt the fleet contracted

⁵⁵⁸ William of Adam, *Tractatus*: Mediterranean: 36, 50; Indian Ocean: 102.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 36-38. See also Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958-1528* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 199, and Stantchev, "Embargo," 219-220; 236, n. 196.

by the Church in order to alleviate fears that their efforts would be for naught due to the office's interference. If this were done, moreover, fewer galleys would be required for the mission to be successful.⁵⁶¹

The theorists also desired to staff these galleys with crews of men with upstanding virtue. On this point, Marino Sanudo was especially clear, giving a clear standard for the sort of man necessary to complete the task. Most importantly, the captain was to be a man that would cause no impediment to the obedience of any Christian by any means, meaning that he had to exhibit all of the traits, above all honesty and loyalty, fitting of a Christian commander.⁵⁶² In parallel to the captain of the fleet, Sanudo also recommended that the same sort of standards be applied to the captain of the army that would eventually march on Egypt, describing the man as “God fearing, of good repute, wise and discerning, generous, brave and resolute, hard working and just, [and someone] who [would] be conducive to the common good of Christendom and [who had] more regard for that than for himself.”⁵⁶³ William of Adam expressed a similar sentiment, arguing that it would be easiest to outfit the fleet with men who desired absolution above all else. To this extent, the Dominican theorist suggested that the pope extend an indulgence to any man who enlisted his services for the fleet.⁵⁶⁴ William also suggested that one man be put in charge of selecting the 1200 men necessary to outfit the four galleys that were to police the trade coming from the Indian

⁵⁶¹ William of Adam, *Tractatus*, 38. On the *Officium Roberie*, see Benjamin Kedar, “L’Officium Robarie d’Genova. Un tentativo di coesistere con la violenza” *Archivio storico italiano* 143 (1985): 331-72. See also Stephen Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, 180-81.

⁵⁶² Marino Sanudo, *Liber*, 30.

⁵⁶³ Marino Sanudo, *Liber*, 35.

⁵⁶⁴ William of Adam, *Tractatus*, 50, 102.

Ocean. Furthermore, William suggested that if not enough men could be found for this purpose, that the captain of the fleet should extend absolution to one hundred men who had conducted trade with Alexandria, whether those men serve in the fleet themselves or provide the funds for its missions.⁵⁶⁵

For William of Adam and, to some degree Marino Sanudo, a prototype for the men they felt were needed existed on the island of Chios in the Aegean Sea. William keyed in on the Zaccaria family, who apparently had ties to Michael Paleologus VII, and who had vigorously pursued action against those who had transgressed against the trading prohibitions set by the Church.⁵⁶⁶ According to the intrepid Dominican theorist, these men had about 1000 foot soldiers and nearly 100 horsemen, and, most importantly, had two galleys that had been furnished properly for the pursuit of pirates near their island, all without any support of the Church.⁵⁶⁷ William supported giving the Zaccaria crusade indulgences for their efforts and also explained that their island sat in strategic position between the northern Tartars and Egypt. The Zaccaria had enjoyed considerable success against the Turks in the past, including their freeing of many Christians captives from the imprisonment of the Turks. Their success had been so great, claimed William, that the Turks feared the sight of their banners and immediately put to flight as soon as the Zaccaria ships came into their view. Thus, the Zaccaria had become the shield for all Christians who lived in their vicinity.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid., 102.

⁵⁶⁶ William Miller, "The Zaccaria of Phocaea and Chios (1275-1329)," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 31 (1911): 42-55; Balard, *La Romanie Génoise*, and Carr, "Motivation and Responses," 76-103. See also, Richard, *La Papauté*, 179.

⁵⁶⁷ William of Adam, 48-50.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid., 52.

Sanudo also mentioned the Zaccaria, but added the names of a few other men, including Lord Guglielmo Sanudo of Venice and others from the house of Ghisi (also Venetians) and a collection of men of the patriarch of Constantinople and his lords and vassals from the island of Negroponte.⁵⁶⁹ Implied between the lines of their proposals, it seems absolutely clear that the theorists wished to create a Mediterranean world full of men of equal conviction, transforming the sea from a place full of sin to a region full of zeal for Latin Christianity and moral fortitude. Extended further, particularly for William of Adam, such an action would transform the Indian Ocean world as well, which, no doubt he considered, would assist in the missionary efforts that he and his fellow Dominican and Franciscan friars were pursuing in Asia. John XXII never took action on the theorists' suggestions in this regard, but he did plan naval crusading actions to halt the advance of the Turkish armies in west Asia, which the chapter will discuss in the next section.

Papal Diplomacy and the Crusades

While galleys and blockades formed the bulk of the crusade strategy contained in the recovery treatises, diplomacy remained an option for William of Adam, especially negotiations that would bring the Greek Church back into communion with the Latin Church. In his discussion of the emperor of Constantinople, William suggests that, in addition to the economic sanctions and the ecclesiastical punishments that mirrored those imposed on the men of Alexandria, the pope should write secret letters to the emperor in order to bring him

⁵⁶⁹ Sanudo, 31. See Laiou, "Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks" *Speculum*, 45 (197): 374-92.

back into the Latin fold.⁵⁷⁰ William suggested that the letters be done in secret largely due to his concern that Greek monks and other clergy sabotaged the emperor into keeping the schism between the Churches intact. To this effect, William argued that the Greek monks completely block any negotiations by their opposition and deceive the Greek people, leading them to perdition, and despise any unity with the Roman Church.⁵⁷¹ The Dominican theorist also suggests that had letters been sent to Constantinople in the past and had been done so regularly, the Greek Church would never have split from Rome in the first place.⁵⁷² Sending such letters, according to William, had two distinct advantages: It would allow the pope to meet the standards of pastoral care required by his position, placing the blame on the Greek emperor for refusing the pleas of the pontiff, and such action would allow the pope to celebrate a grand reunion if the emperor accepted the proposed reconciliation.⁵⁷³ William may have been the only one of the three theorists who had such hopes for the emperor of the Greeks, especially considering that the author of the *Directorium* devoted significant space in his treatises defaming the emperor and planning a crusade that would overthrow him and deprive him of his holdings.⁵⁷⁴ This sentiment, however, seems consistent with the reasoning

⁵⁷⁰ William of Adam, *Tractatus*, 42.

⁵⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 42-44.

⁵⁷² *Ibid.*, 44. “Et simpliciter credo quod si per alios summos pontifices fuissent ad Grecos amicabiles legationes et dulces littere destinate, non fuissent sic implacabili odio a sua nutrice et matre et domino romana ecclesia elongati.”

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*, 44. “Unum quod, si monitis summi pontificis noluerit assentire et venire noluerit ad unitatis gremium romane ecclesie matris sue sed elegerit in erroris et scismatis solitudine peruagari, remanebit sollicitudo et cura pastoralis regiminis excusata. Aliud bonum sequi poterit, quia si assentiat piis monitis patris sui et post longam dissimilitudinem voluerit anulum et stolam suspicere a misericorde patre digno studio preparatam, folio revertenti gaudebitis. Gaudebit et summus pontifex quod ad caulas matris ecclesie ovis perdita sit reducta, et paterna suscipiente clementia filius, et talis filius qui mortuus fuerat revivixerit, et qui perierit sit inuentus.”

⁵⁷⁴ *Directorium*, 422-454. The author of the *Directorium* clearly had animus for Greek Christians. He lists a variety of their heterodox positions as well as bemoaning the fact that Greek Christian men took Latin Christian women as their wives, converting them away from Latin Christianity. Perhaps his boldest suggestion was, after

in all three treatises concerning diplomacy, given that negotiations with willing forces, like the Persian Il-Khans, appeared in each of the proposals and existed in the minds of most Church leaders.

William of Adam very clearly desired an alliance with the Persian Il-Khans, much like Hetoum and the popes since the mid-thirteenth century. William introduced the Persian Khan in the midst of his explanation of the four lands of the Tartars, labeled by the cardinal directions north, south, east, and west. William also explained that the northern Mongols had an alliance with the Mamluks, and that this caused great strife for the Persian Khan, because his holdings were couched between these other two, who were hostile towards the Il-Khans.⁵⁷⁵ William went on to explain that the emperor of the northern Mongols had become the worst enemy of Christianity because of his persecution of Christians in his lands as well as his continuing alliances with Muslims with whom the Church had a great quarrel.⁵⁷⁶ Out of concern for the safety of the Christians living under these hostile emperors, William posited that the time had come for a general crusade that would liberate these Christians from their captors.⁵⁷⁷

In the service of this proposed crusade, William urged that an alliance be made with the Persian emperor, whom William claimed was ready to provide assistance and willing to

the Latin Christian army had taken Constantinople, Greek Christianity was to be erased. The author suggested sending inquisitors, burning Greek books, and exiling Greek monks. The new Latin hierarchy in Constantinople would also demand that all citizens of the city enter the Hagia Sophia and swear allegiance and submission to the Latin Church. See *Directorium*, 454-68.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., 44-46.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., 48.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., 54.

do so.⁵⁷⁸ Though William explained that the Persian Khan had much to gain from the alliance and that he had no other option for alliance than the Roman church and the western Europeans, William laid out the benefits such an alliance would have for Christendom. To this extent, William described the terms of the alliance, which repeated a similar offer to the one that Öljeitü had made Clement V in 1307, though this time the Khan offered 50,000 horsemen and more than 200,000 footmen, instead of the 200,000 horses.⁵⁷⁹ By the time William wrote his treatise, however, Öljeitü had died and his successor and son, Abū Saʿīd, had taken the Persian throne. It is unclear whether William was offering his understanding of the proposal made by Öljeitü in 1307 or if Abū Saʿīd had suggested his own terms, especially since no letter from Abū Saʿīd to the west has been found. Whatever the source of the treaty, William made it quite apparent that he felt that the crusade could not be successful any other way than with the help of the Il-Khans. He recommended that the alliance was the only way in which the Mamluk emperor would fall and not rise again.⁵⁸⁰ Finally, William also included the Il-Khan and his land holdings in a plan to create a blockade in the Gulf of Aden to prevent trade between India and Egypt. The involvement of the Il-Khan in this instance, however, was quite small. William only suggested seeking his approval to use the island of Hormuz as a location to build the galleys that would be used in the blockade.⁵⁸¹ This crusade proposal summed up the hopes for an alliance with the Persian Il-Khans quite well, and it

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., 56.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., 58.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., 60.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid., 106.

was this hope that played a key role in the creation of an archbishopric in the Il-Khan's territory, at their capitol city of Sultāniyya.

In contrast to William of Adam, Marino Sanudo mentioned the strategic importance of an alliance with the Mongols, but did not provide the same amount of detail or emphasis as his fellow crusade theorist. Sanudo, at the opening of his second part of the *Liber Secretorum*, discussed the need for preparing a number of ships in order to prosecute the crusade. He suggested that the building of these ships should take two to three years, after which the crusading army would use those boats to sail across the Mediterranean and capture Egypt with the help of both black Christians from Nubia, and the Tartars (Mongols). In order to curry favor with the Mongols, Sanudo recommended plying them with gifts, sweet words, and mutual greetings.⁵⁸² Later in the treatise, Sanudo offered further justification for the alliance with the Tartars. He argued that the Tartars would have no interest in holding the Holy Land, if for no other reason than that the Tartars would not stay there on account of the heat and the shortage of pasture for the care of their animals.⁵⁸³ Furthermore, Sanudo claimed that the Tartars, whenever they entered occupied desert lands, would only become a burden to those who held them by eating all of their food. This being the case, Sanudo recommended that the pope order that food supplies in the provinces be destroyed in order to discourage the Tartars from overstaying their welcome. Finally, Sanudo posited that, despite his arguments, no non-Christian occupier could hope to keep Christians from retaking the Holy Land, and thus that the Tartars could not hope retain control of it.⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁸² Sanudo, 36.

⁵⁸³ Sanudo, 93.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 94.

John XXII, as demonstrated in chapter three, attempted to negotiate with the Mongol Khans, but none of the diplomatic letters he sent to the Khans proposed a military alliance. However, John XXII was involved in the planning of an anti-Turkish league, which had its beginnings in the Republic of Venice in the 1320s.⁵⁸⁵ Mike Carr has demonstrated that, despite an initial reluctance, John XXII committed to a Venetian-led league in 1333.⁵⁸⁶ During that year, John XXII sent appeals to several European leaders, including Philip VI and Hugh of Cyprus, to join the alliance against the Turks. Eventually, an embassy from the papal curia arrived in Venice for further planning for their alliance, and the two sides reached an agreement to form the league.⁵⁸⁷ On 7 March 1334, the papal *camera* contracted four fully equipped galleys for the league. Two men were to perform the work: Peter Medici of Toulon and Roger of Les Fosses. The papacy assigned each man responsibility for two galleys, for which they were to pay the entire cost. Each ship was to have between 174 and 180 oars and oarsmen, who would be overseen by a supervisor whose command came from the pope himself. The ships would also be outfitted with retinues, scribes, and other “suitable officials” and enough provisions and equipment for the entire crew. For their service, the papacy promised to pay 600 gold florins per galley for each of the five months they served. The commander of the vessel, since he was under the command of the pope, would receive his payment directly from the papacy. Finally, the contract stipulated that any profit from the passage money or the merchandise that the galleys carried would be split between the crew

⁵⁸⁵ Carr, “Motivation and Response,” 125-26.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid., 134-38. Carr suggests that the reason for the delay was John XXII’s preoccupation with the Guelph and Ghibelline conflict in Italy. John sided with the Guelph party, and, after the Guelphs failed, John turned his attention back to the East. See also Housley, *The Italian Crusades*, 87-90. In addition, Carr argues that John XXII’s attempts to re-establish Angevin control of Greece and his disagreement with Venice over Byzantium played a significant role in the delay of the two sides coming to an agreement.

⁵⁸⁷ Carr, “Motivation and Response,” 146-49.

of the galley and the pope, though the crew could not take on any merchandise whatsoever, unless they had license from the persons representing the pope or their lieutenants.⁵⁸⁸

John XXII, while he actively pursued crusading plans in Europe and the Mediterranean, however, does not seem to have focused his attention on Asia, at least beyond his involvement in the anti-Turkish league.⁵⁸⁹ While his lack of action concerning Asia might appear as a large lacuna suggestive of his disinterest in the crusading project, to evaluate it as such would be a mistake. Instead, John's involvement with the policing of trade and crusading actions needs to be read alongside his commissioning of missionaries and policing of orthodoxy in Latin Christian communities in Asia. Seen as a part of a great foreign policy colored whole, the crusade and the prohibitions against trade are suggestive of the ways in which John XXII and the crusade theorists attempted to incorporate Asia into Latin Christendom.

Conclusion

None of the proposals discussed and analyzed above ever came to fruition. While some members of the Church hierarchy, notably pope John XXII and his naval league, did adopt some of the methods and policies contained within the recovery treatises, the majority of the plans went unheeded or put aside in favor of more pressing concerns. Other popes broke ecclesiastical convention and granted trading licenses to petitioning Italian merchants

⁵⁸⁸ "The papal camera contracts four fully equipped galleys for service in the first naval league against the Turks, 7 March 1334" in *Documents on the Later Crusades*, ed. Norman Housley (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996) 71-74.

⁵⁸⁹ For a survey of John XXII's crusading actions as well as those of the other Avignon popes, see Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades*, 9-81.

frustrated by the Church's policies concerning commerce with Egypt and other Muslims.⁵⁹⁰ Regardless of their lack of adoption or even, if they had been adopted, their effectiveness, the treatises nevertheless indicate a broad understanding of the world in which the theorists lived, both in terms of the scope of the world and of the people who populated it, and a strong desire to order that world in a way commensurate with their Christianity.

The ways in which the crusade theorists and John XXII thought about profit and commerce occasion a connection to modern capitalism. This is not to suggest that the sort of trade in which Latin Europeans engaged anticipated modern international commerce and fell short because of medieval peoples' lack of sophisticated, modern economic knowledge. Instead, it demonstrates awareness on the part of Latin Christians of an economic system that, in many ways, had changed the ways in which Latin Christians conducted business. As the economic world changed, so did the reaction of Latin Christians to it. The attempts to Christianize commerce and trade, then, are suggestive of the ways in which the Latin Church positioned itself in reaction to these global changes and assert its own position as the spiritual hegemon of the world. Put another way, it shows another attempt on the part of the papacy to establish orthodox spaces in the world outside of Latin Christendom in order to ensure the Latin Christian discipline of the Latin Christians who lived abroad and engaged with the wider world around them.

⁵⁹⁰ Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades*, 206-08.

CONCLUSION

Late in the year 1334, John XXII fell ill and died on 4 December. Unlike the nearly two years between Clement V and John, the interregnum between John XXII and his successor was short. On 20 December 1334, the College of Cardinals elected Jacques Fournier, a Cistercian inquisitor from Toulouse and the bishop of Pamiers.⁵⁹¹ Jacques seems to have been a natural choice. John had commended him at least twice during his ecclesiastical career for his dedication to eliminating heresy from his diocese and had promoted him to cardinal in 1327. Jacques also served as a theological adviser to John himself, though he wrote against contemporary theological errors. Jacques took the name Benedict XII upon his accession. Benedict, in many ways, continued John's policies regarding the dioceses in Asia and the missionaries who either became a part of the Latin hierarchy abroad or operated in the dioceses' jurisdictions. In 1338, a group of envoys from the great Khan Togan Timur arrived at Avignon to request a replacement for John of Montecorvino at Khanbaliq. Benedict sent letters to Usbek, the Khan of the Golden Horde, in an effort to soothe relations between Latin Christians and the Mongols on the frontier between Poland and Hungary.⁵⁹² John's and Benedict's successors attempted to maintain diplomatic relationships with the Mongol Khans and encouraged missionary activity in their

⁵⁹¹ Jacques Fournier is perhaps best known through Emmanuel Leroy-Ladurie's *Montaillou*, which uses Fournier's inquisition records from his investigation into Catharism in the village of Montaillou in southern France.

⁵⁹² Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels*, 78-85.

lands, each in their own way attempting to establish their vision for how the papacy was to interact with the world outside of Christendom.⁵⁹³ Clement VI (r. 1342-1352) followed the policies that John pursued, particularly the formation of a naval league against the Turks that Clement pursued aggressively between 1342 and 44.⁵⁹⁴

Far more than continuity, John's successors brought significant changes to the ways in which the papacy defined, policed, and disciplined Latin Christianity outside of Europe and their opportunities for doing so contracted. Crusading efforts continued, but the genre of large-scale crusade proposals like William of Adam's *Tractatus*, Marino Sanudo's *Liber Secretorum*, and the *Directorium* dramatically decreased in new publications, even if the aforementioned proposals continued to circulate and be recopied.⁵⁹⁵ Following the death of the Persian Il-Khan Abū Sa'īd, diplomatic ties with the Il-Khans ceased due in large part to Persia falling to the Ottoman Turks; after the embassy arrived from Khanbaliq in 1338, negotiations with Far East Asia ceased as well.⁵⁹⁶ Clement VI brought perhaps the largest-scale change: Reinstating and expanding the granting of papal trading licenses to Italian merchants working in the Mediterranean.⁵⁹⁷ Clement's successor, Urban V, issued licenses for no fewer than 141 ships to carry goods to Mamluk Egypt.⁵⁹⁸ John's successors also seem

⁵⁹³ Ibid., 91-7. See also Jules Gay, *Le pape Clément VI et les affaires d'Orient (1342-1352)* (Paris: Société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition, 1904). See also, Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 49-54; Carr, "Motivations and Responses," 187-91.

⁵⁹⁴ Gay, *Le pape Clément VI*, 31-43.

⁵⁹⁵ Leopold, *How to Cover the Holy Land*, 189-202

⁵⁹⁶ Sinor, "The Mongols and Western Europe" in *A History of the Crusades III*, ed. Setton, 543-44. Morgan, *The Mongols and the West*, 260.

⁵⁹⁷ Stantchev, "Embargo" 243-44.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid., 245.

to have limited the number of ecclesiastical appointments made in both Persia and China. Khanbaliq sat vacant for a number of years; its last known appointed archbishop, Guillaume du Pré, received his commission in 1370. It is likely that du Pré was martyred during his journey eastward. Interestingly, the archbishop of Sultāniyya, John, mentions a successor, Charles of France, in 1404, though the archbishop reported that Charles had been long dead. Following this report, Khanbaliq fell back under the control of the archdiocese of Sultāniyya.⁵⁹⁹ The Persian archdiocese itself underwent changes, most notably a shift in power from the *fratres peregrinantes* who were instrumental in the archdiocese's founding to a newly founded group, the *fratres unitores*, an Armenian branch of the Dominican order.⁶⁰⁰ The Latin Church's presence in Persia would not last long into the fifteenth century; the papacy appointed new archbishops to the archdiocese in 1349, 1368, 1375, and 1398.⁶⁰¹ Despite the presence of the Latin hierarchy, the archiepiscopal see was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Dominican province of Greece in 1363.⁶⁰² By 1431, the archdiocese and the province that it governed had collapsed completely; no further records seem to have survived.⁶⁰³

Changes outside of the institutional framework of the Latin Church also significantly reduced the opportunities for Latin Christians to engage with the peoples of Asia, whether through evangelization, commerce, or as Latin Christian subjects. Perhaps most dramatically,

⁵⁹⁹ Morgan, *The Mongols and the West*, 259. See also Richard, *La papauté*, 154-5.

⁶⁰⁰ On the *fratres unitores*, see Loenertz, *Frères pèlerins*, 135-75, 188-98.

⁶⁰¹ Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe*, 94.

⁶⁰² Baldwin, "Missions to the East," in *A History of the Crusades III*, ed. Setton, 510.

⁶⁰³ Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe*, 94.

the Black Death greatly reduced the number of missionaries in Asia. Scholars are somewhat divided on what brought the so-called “Mongol Mission” to a close. In 1349, an English Dominican, John of Leominster, wrote to Clement VI and told him that only fifteen monastic residences and three friars remained in the entire province.⁶⁰⁴ This did not entirely halt travel across Asia, as James Muldoon has argued, as European travelers continued to the courts of Asian rulers, including Tamerlane’s in the fifteenth century.⁶⁰⁵ In addition to the Black Death, the majority of Mongol Khans with whom the Latin Church had sought to make an alliance had adopted Islam as their religion by the mid-fourteenth century.⁶⁰⁶ Latin Christians, particularly the Franciscan friars discussed in chapter three, found martyrdom more often than new converts in these lands. Furthermore, the rise of new political dynasties in Asia created considerable instability, leading to the collapse and abandonment of religious houses across the continent, though some survived despite the upheaval.⁶⁰⁷ The conquests of Tamerlane, particularly in Persia during the years 1380-1405, spelled destruction for many Dominican and Franciscan houses in the region.⁶⁰⁸ In Far East Asia, moreover, the Ming dynasty rose to power in 1368 and expelled the Mongols from China, limiting the opportunities that Latin Christians had to proselytize in that region. Certainly, by the time the Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci reached China in the seventeenth century, the majority of

⁶⁰⁴ Richard, *La papauté*, 181.

⁶⁰⁵ Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels*, 95. See also Morgan, *The Mongols and the West*, 247-48.

⁶⁰⁶ Morgan, *The Mongols and the West*, 260.

⁶⁰⁷ Muldoon, *Popes Lawyers, and Infidels*, 95, 187, n. 22. Citing Wadding, Muldoon notes that that a Franciscan list of provinces included a record of a house in Khanbaliq at the court of the Great Khan. See Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum* 9, 299.

⁶⁰⁸ Morgan, *The Mongols and the West*, 260.

cultural knowledge about Latin Christianity had disappeared among the Chinese. Ricci himself had no institutional knowledge of his mendicant predecessors.⁶⁰⁹

The “collapse” of the Latin world in Asia, as suggested at the beginning of this dissertation, has led scholars to evaluate the “Mission to Asia” along the lines of success and failure. Jean Richard’s *La papauté et les missions d’orient au moyen age* closes with a chapter that poses the very question of whether or not the “eastern missions” should be considered in this analytical framework. Richard provides a somewhat deferential conclusion. He lists several “failures,” including the Mongols not converting to Christianity, the unrealized reunion between the Latin Church and the eastern churches, and the unsuccessful establishment of communities that followed the Latin rite.⁶¹⁰ Ultimately, however, Richard decides that success and failure do not necessarily encapsulate the work of the missionaries abroad. Rather, he argues, the work of the “great figures” of the “Mission to Asia” was so full of adventure, dedication, and heroism that evaluating them along the stark lines of success and failure would not do the missionaries nor their work requisite justice.⁶¹¹ Other scholars have been far less generous, choosing to focus their arguments on the lack of long-term converts or continual action in Asia.⁶¹²

This dissertation has demonstrated that evaluating the “Mission to Asia” along the lines of success and failure does not lead to satisfying conclusions and goes beyond

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., 260. Morgan argues that the xenophobia of the Ming Dynasty is somewhat overstated in agreement with Richard. See Richard, *La papauté*, 154-55. Muldoon, however, notes that the Ming associated Christianity with their dynastic predecessors and persecuted those Christians who remained. Furthermore, Muldoon suggests, the Ming and Tamerlane were the primary reasons why the Latin Church ceased its eastward missions. See Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels*, 96.

⁶¹⁰ Richard, *La papauté*, 282-83.

⁶¹¹ Ibid., 294-95.

⁶¹² See above, note 15.

Richard's call to celebrate the great men of the era. Instead, the project suggests that the pastoral mission of the papacy was concerned with the proper order of the world on one hand and the role of the papacy in shaping that world on the other. The papacy, particularly John XXII, had clear goals and aspirations for the Latin Christian project in Asia. John, like his predecessors, sought to discipline the Latin Christians living abroad through the rigid enforcement of Latin orthodoxy. After all, many Latin Christians thought that the loss of the Holy Land and the general unsatisfactory position of Christianity, at least in their estimation, in the wider world was the fault of evil and false Christians who did not submit to Latin orthodoxy. In pursuit of these goals, John banned specific trade with Muslims and took steps to enforce the trading restrictions he imposed. John created new seats of the Latin ecclesiastical hierarchy in order to support the Latin Christian communities living in non-Latin spaces and to police their beliefs and practices, though many of the men whom he appointed left their positions to return to a missionary life. The papacy also negotiated with Mongol Khans not only in order to secure a crusading alliance with which the Latin Church and its allies could recapture Jerusalem, but also to insure the safe passage of Christian travellers and the safe practice of their religion. Furthermore, John XXII, like his predecessors, sought to reunify Christianity, whether through diplomacy with other Christian kingdoms or through the policing of Latin orthodoxy in converted kingdoms.

The dissertation also proposes that the activities of Latin Christians in regions outside of Europe not be read as a single cohesive unit, one directed by the papacy at the top and executed by the mendicant friars in Asia itself. On the contrary, the ways in which Latin Christian missionaries, merchants, and ecclesiastical leaders operated across Asia depended entirely on their religious, economic, and cultural agendas. These different conceptions of

how one should or ought to behave or to engage with non-Latin Christians or non-Christians became the center of conflict between the papacy and those whom it saw as being under their pastoral care. For merchants, commercial trade with non-Christians, particularly Muslims whom the Latin Church had identified as a primary enemy, formed a higher priority than obedience to the Latin Church. For Franciscans opposed to the theological orthodoxy of John XXII on the poverty of Christ, Asia became a place of refuge, where they found other Christians receptive to their own orthodoxies. For other Franciscans, Asia, particularly Muslim-controlled regions, became a place where they could exercise their desire to express their spirituality and individual Christian identities through martyrdom. Dominican friars also found their own ecclesiastical niche in Asia, whether as members of the Latin hierarchy, as missionaries, or, in the case of Francis of Perugia, both. Seen from this perspective, the so-called “Mission to Asia” becomes less about winning converts and the failure of papal strategy and direction and missionary action to produce long-term Latin Christian communities. Instead, it highlights the faultlines and fissures in the negotiation of Latin orthodoxy at the borderlands between the Latin hierarchy, Latin Christians, non-Latin Christians, and non-Christian communities of Asia.

Many of the project’s arguments connect with or allude to postcolonial theory, a theoretical framework somewhat new to the study of Medieval History, though one that Bruce Holsinger argues needs historical scrutiny.⁶¹³ In this theoretical vein, Jeffrey Jerome

⁶¹³ Bruce Holsinger, “Medieval Studies, Postcolonial Studies, and the Genealogies of Critique,” *Speculum* 77:4 (October, 2002) 1199-1200. Holsinger argues that medievalists who use postcolonial theory “will forever run the risk of appropriation, instrumentalization, and colonization – of the past, of theory, of other disciplines, or one another. Holsinger demonstrates that postcolonial theory had medievalist origins. Indeed, postcolonial theory, which emerged from the subaltern studies group, found at least some of its motivations from a critical study of a body of French, English, and German scholarship on economic history, European peasants, and precapitalist social formation. These “medievalist origins,” Holsinger argues, should provide some historical grounds for present medievalists who want to ask postcolonial questions about the Middle Ages.

Cohen, in his introduction to *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, offers a detailed list of how postcolonial theory might “encourage an opening up of what the medieval signifies, and how might that unbounded ‘middle space’ then suggest possible futures for postcolonial theory.”⁶¹⁴ Cohen lists five central imperatives that animate the studies undertaken in the edited volume, two of which animate the dynamics of the fluid Christian identities of Latins in Asia and the *locus* for the discovery of those identities. For one, Cohen suggests that the domination of Christianity needs to be displaced in histories of the Middle Ages. This, for Cohen, does not mean simply writing out Christianity from history, an absolutely impossible task. Rather, Cohen suggests revising theses that promote the “triumph of Christianity” as if the spread of Christianity to all corners of the world was inevitable or inherently desirable.⁶¹⁵ This means writing histories of Christianity that emphasize heterogeneity and the struggle between Christian groups over orthodoxies, a central premise of this project. Furthermore, Cohen suggests decentering Europe. He sees a postcolonial Middle Ages as one that “has no frontiers, only heterogeneous borderlands with multiple centers.”⁶¹⁶ While this project has focused primarily on the Latin Church and its operatives as the central historical actors, it has at the same time suggested the papacy and the Latin hierarchy in Avignon formed only one center in the broad landscape of Europe and Asia. The dissertation has also, perhaps more pointedly, argued that the papacy and Latin Christians in general were not only aware of a multi-polar world but also sought to rationalize their place within it. The dynamics of this

⁶¹⁴ Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, “Introduction: Midcolonial” in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 6.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

dissertation, then, at least to some degree open up further possibilities for the use of postcolonial theory as means by which to analyze the so-called “Mission to Asia.”

For one, this dissertation raises implicit questions about the connection between the medieval and the modern. Indeed, historians and theorists both have been quite exercised about the meaning of “modernity” and how it relates to the medieval past.⁶¹⁷ Perhaps the most striking example of the difference between the medieval and modern in terms of the scope of this dissertation, historians, both specialists of medieval history and modern history, have treated crusading and missionizing as the medieval forerunners of more modern colonialism and imperialism, always destined to “fail” and always anticipating the modern shortly off in the (temporal) distance. Rather than placing the missionaries, missionizing, and crusading into a large teleological narrative of historical “progress” that continually expects the modern, this study has suggested some ways in which the various factions within the traditional boundaries of “Latin Christendom” set their own goals, assigned their own values to their work, and incorporated those goals and values into their own notions of identity. It has done so while maintaining recognition of smaller teleological narratives embedded within the discourses of Christian identity inherent in the missionizing and crusading projects, but only those narratives engendered by medieval Christians themselves. Positioning the focus of the argument in this way has also prevented the project from centering an abstraction like “identity” as the main historical actor. Instead, the dissertation

⁶¹⁷ Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); *Modernity and its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa*, eds. Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); James Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meaning of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Lisa Rofel, *Other Modernities: Gendered Yearnings in China After Socialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); *Critically Modern: Alternatives, Alterities, Anthropologies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003); Fredrick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); and Bruce Holsinger, *The Premodern Condition: Medievalism and the Making of Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

has emphasized the ways in which ecclesiastical structures and individuals within those structures conceived of their missionary, crusading, and pastoral projects alongside the challenges to and the reevaluation of their identities and how those identities related to their Christian orthodoxies. Rather than exploring the concept of “mission” as a unique whole that developed over time, this dissertation has analyzed “mission” through the challenges to the Latin Church from outside and within in order to understand the ways in which John XXII, Latin Christian travelers, and Dominican and Franciscan missionaries worked to rationalize these challenges and define their position(s) in the world both in terms of those challenges and against them.

The study has also gestured towards a historiography of mission that disrupts teleological narratives about the subject. Dipesh Chakrabarty, for one, critiques the “politics of historicism,” a process of identifying phenomena that are unique wholes that develop over time.⁶¹⁸ While Chakrabarty finds nothing intrinsically teleological about this process, he argues that these unique wholes become detached from any concrete sense of temporality, which, in turn, leads to problematic historical teleologies, leaving the nonmodern always anticipating its development into the modern.⁶¹⁹ For the papacy and its engagement with the world outside of Europe, then, this means moving beyond “success” and “failure” in order to avoid reading the colonial projects of the early modern and modern eras back onto the Middle Ages. Following the model of Kathleen Davis, whose *Periodization and Sovereignty*,

⁶¹⁸ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 23. He also “explore[s] the capacities and limitations of certain European social and political categories in conceptualizing political modernity in the context of non-European life worlds.” For Chakrabarty, this means taking note of analytical categories established by the European Social Sciences in the “modern” world that have come to comprise the dominant mode for making scholarly evaluations that colonize the histories of non-European peoples.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

argues that constructs like “feudalism” and “secularization” are parts of a medieval/modern divide in periodization that both “generates and protects cultural and political categories,” this project understands the medieval missions not as a failed antecedent of early modern colonialism, but a unique process invested in the identities and conceptions of those who imagined Asia in terms of their Christianity or traveled to the continent to act on those ideas.⁶²⁰ Like Davis to some extent, Janet Abu-Lughod is therefore critical of the historiography that differentiates between a proto-capitalist medieval world and a “modern” capitalist age.⁶²¹ Abu-Lughod, unlike Davis’ more historiographical approach, centers her analysis on world trade in order to make conclusions about the interconnectedness of commercial networks of production and exchange.⁶²² Similar questions might be asked of the Latin Christian missionary project in terms of how it connects to creating the late-medieval world-system of cultural exchange. Scholars, most notably Jerry Bentley, have focused on large-scale analyses of cross-cultural exchange, looking for patterns that explain long-term historical change.⁶²³ This project, as wide in scope as it is, cannot account for large-scale

⁶²⁰ Kathleen Davis, *Periodization and Sovereignty: How Ideas of Feudalism and Secularization Govern the Politics of Time* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008). Davis argues, that “feudalism” always anticipates “capitalism.” Furthermore, Davis posits, these political periodizations of feudalism and secularization have had consequences for the “modern” in that they provide the basis for a continuing construction of modern identity and constant devaluing of those people and places deemed “nonmodern,” at least until they advance into modernity. These consequences, Davis argues, shaped the way in which early modern Europeans structured their colonial enterprises.

⁶²¹ Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World-System A.D. 1250-1350* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). Abu-Lughod argues, among other important points, that the century between 1250 and 1350 represented a critical turning point in world history, and that the Middle East, which connected the eastern Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean world, “constituted a geographic fulcrum on which West and East were then roughly balanced.” Furthermore, Abu-Lughod contends there was not any “*inherent historical necessity* that shifted the system to favor the West rather than the East, nor was there any inherent historical necessity that would have prevented cultures in the eastern region from becoming the progenitors of a modern world system.”

⁶²² *Ibid.*, 13.

⁶²³ Jerry Bentley, *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). Bentley centers his analysis on the ways in which cultural exchange

change. It can and has, however, suggested ways in which cross-cultural interaction and exchange produced reevaluations of Latin Christian culture and identity, both in the “core” and at on the “peripheries” of Latin Christendom.

At the close of this project, there remains a temptation to look forward to 1492 and Columbus’ journey across the Atlantic to “discover” the New World. With the benefit of hindsight, historians have done just exactly that in an attempt to link the medieval and the modern worlds. James Muldoon, for example, argues that Columbus’ contemporaries analyzed his voyages through the prism of medieval canon law regarding the rights of infidels.⁶²⁴ Muldoon also suggests that the papacy followed the advance of the European kingdoms into the New World, establishing missionary sees and installing archbishops and bishops in their wake.⁶²⁵ Indeed, combing sources from the early sixteenth century, including the work of Bartolomé de las Casas, Muldoon concludes that the three hundred years between Innocent IV (r. 1243-1254) and de las Casas “formed a coherent period in the development of European attitudes towards non-Europeans.”⁶²⁶ On one hand, this connection is quite useful. The common legal modes of thinking and the practices of the Latin Church in the New World signal a complication in the periodization that marks Columbus’ journey to America as the “close” of the Middle Ages. In this instance, the Middle Ages becomes less removed from modernity and instead seems to inform how to understand the ways in which the medieval informed the modern.

facilitated global historical change. He argues for “social conversion,” that “signif[ies] a process by which pre-modern peoples adopted or adapted foreign cultural traditions.”

⁶²⁴ Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels*, 136.

⁶²⁵ *Ibid.*, 133.

⁶²⁶ *Ibid.*, 153.

On the other hand, however, historiographical danger lurks around the corner. Any comparison between the medieval pastoral mission in Asia and modern colonialism engenders questions that perhaps lead to answers that return the historical narrative to one that leaves the medieval always anticipating the modern. From the historian's view of the past, the policies of fourteenth-century popes, missionaries, and crusade theorists appear as failures that do not amount to the "successes" of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Seen from this perspective, the medieval "mission to Asia" remains in a continual primitive state, static and unremarkable. This dissertation has argued for the opposite. The fourteenth century saw a Europe active and engaged in the world and the Latin Church attempting to reason its way to how it best fit into the world that, from its perspective, had expanded in the previous century. Rather than being an age of contraction, crisis, and collapse, in light of the policies of John XXII, the activities of Latin missionaries, the new ecclesiastical institutions that formed as a result of their work, and the renegotiation over the role of commerce and trade in Latin Christian life, the fourteenth century is perhaps best seen as a time of reorganization, inquiry, and shifting priorities. Indeed, the world had changed, and Latin Christianity, the papacy especially, grappled with how these changes revised its positions in the world and the ways in which its religion helped it make sense of it.

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