

FROM MID-OCTOBER TO THE END OF MARCH –  
VOYAGING IN THE MEDIEVAL MEDITERRANEAN  
EKİM’İN ORTASINDAN MART’IN SONUNA KADAR –  
ORTAÇAĞ AKDENİZİ’NDEKİ SEYRÜSEFERLER

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**Abstract:** This article contrasts the common and over the past five decades frequently recorded perception by both scholars and others of the absence of winter voyaging in the Medieval Mediterranean – largely based upon the surviving legal texts recording the prohibition of winter sailing issued by Pisa, Venice, Genoa, Ancona *etc.* – with the record of the actual practice of winter sailing in the Medieval Mediterranean. This, after providing evidence extending from 1936 to 2010 from the published record of the absence of winter sailing, through providing a brief chronology of recorded winter voyaging in the Mediterranean from the VII. to the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> c.. The gap between the legal prohibition and the recorded practice is so great that one can regard the legal prohibition placed upon winter sailing as a Medieval legal fiction, rather than there being in practice a closed Mediterranean during the months from mid-October to mid-March during the course of these seven centuries, with the probable exception of fishing boats and fishing fleets.

**Keywords:** Medieval Mediterranean • Winter Voyaging  
• Closed Mediterranean • Legal Fictions

**Öz:** Bu makale Ortaçağ Akdenizi’nde mevcut bir kış seyrüseferi uygulaması kaydına dayanarak, son elli yıldır bilim adamları ve diğer araştırmacılar tarafından sıklıkla bahsi edilen, Ortaçağ Akdenizi’nde kış seyrüseferinin olmayışı yönündeki genel kana antitez oluşturmaktadır. Bu kanı büyük oranda Pisa, Venedik, Ceneviz ve Ankona gibi kentlerin düzenlediği, kış seyrüseferi yaşağını aktaran, günümüze kadar ulaşmış yasa metinlerine dayanmaktadır. İlk olarak, 1936’dan 2010’a kadar uzanan, kış seyrüseferinin olmayışı yönündeki yayınlanmış kayıtlar belgelenecek ardından ise 7. yüzyıldan 14. yüzyılın sonuna Akdeniz’de kışın gerçekleştirilen deniz yolculuklarının kısa bir tarihçesi verilecektir. Bu kanuni yasaklama ile mevcut uygulama kaydı arasındaki uçurum öylesine büyüktür ki; bu söz konusu yedi yüzyıllık süreç zarfında, Ekim ortasından Mart ortasına kadarki aylar boyunca balıkçı tekneleri gibi olası istisnalar haricinde, uygulamada Akdeniz’in kapalı olduğu düşüncesinden ziyade; söz konusu yaşağın kış seyrüseferi üzerine bir Ortaçağ yasal kurgusu olarak yerleştirilmiş olması düşünülebilir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Ortaçağ Akdenizi • Kış Seyrüseferi • Kapalı Akdeniz • Yasa Kurmaları

L. Casson wrote that in antiquity, “*the sailing season was limited by and large to the period from May to October*”<sup>1</sup>, and the Alexandrian Augustus calendar of 25 B.C., today called the Coptic calendar,

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<sup>1</sup> Casson 1979, 150; as likewise in respect to the sailing season from early April to late October, Horden - Purcell 2000, 142; “*On this score the broad continuity between antiquity and the later medieval to early modern period is striking*”. Hence for example, Dalrymple 1998, 122, “*Its (Berytus) harbour would rarely have been empty, and during the sailing season – from April to October – would have been cluttered with galleys from Gaul and barques from as far afield as Alexandria, Athens and Carthage*”. As likewise in the AJA the Online Review: Book January

likewise indicates limits to the Eastern Mediterranean sailing season<sup>2</sup> extending from mid-October to the end of March, a calendar which is still followed by many fishermen in traditional vessels and by some yachtsmen in sailing the Mediterranean today. This was followed by the 380 A.D. decree of Emperor Gratian prohibiting the sailing of grain ships from Africa to Rome between the Ides (15<sup>th</sup>) of October and the kalends (1<sup>st</sup> of April)<sup>3</sup>.

This article enquires into if, as has until recently been understood to have been the case in antiquity<sup>4</sup>, during the winter season in the Medieval Mediterranean, the roughly five and a half

2010 (114.1) by Simonsen 2010, includes the reiteration of this sailing season, except for its extension into November, “*Roman dates on several of the initiate inscriptions (concerning the Samothracian mysteries) range from April to November, demonstrating that initiation as a mystes was probably available at any point in the sailing season and, therefore, not part of a festival*”. Source: <http://www.ajaonline.org/online-review-book/664>.

<sup>2</sup> See for example: Heikell 2001, 160, the Coptic Calendar lists strong winds for each year in the Eastern Mediterranean on the following dates: 27<sup>th</sup>-29<sup>th</sup>/09 from the west; 21<sup>st</sup>-23<sup>rd</sup>/10 from the west; 26<sup>th</sup>-29<sup>th</sup>/11 of strong gales from the west; 06<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup>/12 from the southwest; 20<sup>th</sup> of December from the southwest; 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup>/01 strong gales from the south; 19<sup>th</sup>-24<sup>th</sup>/01 from the west; 27<sup>th</sup>-28<sup>th</sup>/01 from the west; 18<sup>th</sup>-23<sup>rd</sup>/02 from the northwest; 10<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup>/03 from the southwest; 20<sup>th</sup>-22<sup>nd</sup>/03 gales from the east; 25<sup>th</sup> of March from the east; 29<sup>th</sup>-30<sup>th</sup>/04 from the east; and from the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> of July from the east.

<sup>3</sup> Theodosian Code, 13.9.3.3, also, Codex Iustinianus, 11. 6. 3, cited by Pryor 1992, 87.

<sup>4</sup> However, for the recent questioning of this supposed absence of winter sailing in the ancient Mediterranean, see: Davis 2009, where this is clearly refuted for merchant vessels in antiquity, viii, ‘*My research concludes that both coastal and open-sea sailing were matters of routine in the commercial sector, that commercial seafarers did indeed sail at night and employ the stars to deduce navigational information, that winter sailing was a widespread practice, and that crews employed navigational strategies to weather storms, usually successfully*’; as likewise, Beresford 2012; as earlier, P. Horden and N. Purcell had indicated, “*Potentially all-round connectivity was matched by potentially year-round enterprise*”, Horden - Purcell 2000, 143, qualifying their allegation of broad continuity of the previous page, cited, op. cit. fn. 2. In terms of galleys any perusal of Thuk. VIII. 30; “*The same winter the Athenians in Samos having been joined by thirty-five more vessels from home under Charminus, Strombichides, and Euctemon, called in their squadron at Chios and all the rest, intending to blockade Miletus with their navy, and to send a fleet and an army against Chios; drawing lots for the respective services. This intention they carried into effect; [2] Strombichides, Onamacles, and Euctemon sailing against Chios, which fell to their lot, with thirty ships and a part of the thousand heavy infantry, who had been to Miletus, in transports; while the rest remained masters of the sea with seventy-four ships at Samos, and advanced upon Miletus*”, 8.35, “*The same winter the Lacedaemonian Hippocrates sailed out from Peloponnesse with ten Thurian ships under the command of Dorieus, son of Diagoras, and two colleagues, one Laconian and one Syracusan vessel, and arrived at Cnidus, which had already revolted at the instigation of Tissaphernes. [2] When their arrival was known at Miletus, orders came to them to leave half their squadron to guard Cnidus, and with the rest to cruise round Triopium and seize all the merchantmen arriving from Egypt. Triopium is a promontory of Cnidus and sacred to Apollo. [3] This coming to the knowledge of the Athenians, they sailed from Samos and captured the six ships on the watch at Triopium, the crews escaping out of them. After this the Athenians sailed into Cnidus and made an assault upon the town, which was unfortified, and all but took it; [4] and the next day assaulted it again, but with less effect, as the inhabitants had improved their defences during the night, and had been reinforced by the crews escaped from the ships at Triopium. The Athenians now withdrew, and after plundering the Cnidian territory sailed back to Samos*”; 8.60 “*Having now possession of I Oropus the Eretrians came to Rhodes, and invited the Peloponnesians to Euboea. They were however more disposed to relieve the distress of Chios, and thither they sailed from Rhodes with their whole fleet. [3] Near Triopium they described the Athenian ships in the open sea sailing from Chalcè: neither fleet attacked the other, but both arrived safely, the one at Samos, and the other at Miletus. The Lacedaemonians now saw that they could no longer relieve Chios without a battle at sea. So the winter ended, and with it the twentieth*

month period extending from mid-October to the end of March, was largely devoid of shipping, including long distance voyaging, commercial or military; or if it was rather the case that there were numerous voyages, some of considerable distance, although unsurprisingly less than in the summer season, which were undertaken as a matter of course in the Mediterranean by Medieval mariners during the winter months from mid-late October to the start of April throughout the course of the 700 year period extending from the late VII<sup>th</sup> to the end of the XIV<sup>th</sup> century<sup>5</sup>.

Legislation and opinion concerning winter sailing in the Medieval Mediterranean has been published by scholars such as H. Pirenne (1862-1935), “*The perfecting of the rudder at the beginning of the thirteenth century improved the sailing qualities of all vessels. But they never risked a voyage in the winds of winter*”<sup>6</sup>. F. Braudel in 1972, who noted the 1160 *Constitutum Usus* of Pisa with its legislated suspension of maritime activity between St. Andrew’s Day (3<sup>rd</sup> of November) and the kalends (1<sup>st</sup>) of March<sup>7</sup>; as likewise the suspension of maritime activity for this same period, “*in the maritime statute of 1284 at Venice, in the maritime statute of Ancona of 1387. Legislators maintained for centuries the precautions and prohibitions dictated by experience. Until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century sailors of the Levant put to sea only between the feasts of St. George (5<sup>th</sup> May) and St. Dimitri (26<sup>th</sup> October)*”<sup>8</sup>; as also Braudel wrote in respect to the XVI<sup>th</sup> c., “*The time was past when a law of Rhodes forbade all maritime insurance during winter on the assumption that there were not, nor should there be any winter voyages*”<sup>9</sup>; and, “*But after 1450, shipping gradually began to triumph over the obstacles of winter weather*”<sup>10</sup>. Likewise T. C. van Cleve in his work entitled, *The Emperor Frederick II of*

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*year in the Peloponnesian War of which Thucydides wrote the history*” etc., clearly shows winter voyaging was likewise the case for naval fleets of vessels, both galleys and transports in Antiquity.

<sup>5</sup> In respect to the questioning of this matter of a closed Mediterranean, see for example: McCormick 2001, passim, in particular 462-465, in respect to the early XIII<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>6</sup> Pirenne 2005, 91.

<sup>7</sup> Braudel 1972, 248.

<sup>8</sup> Braudel 1972, 248, although legislation is one thing, actuality often quite another, see also *idem* 263 where he attributes this conquest of the winter weather to the arrival of the northern cog in the Mediterranean in the XV<sup>th</sup> c., although it seems today that the North Sea cog, high sided, clinker built, of overlapping wooden strakes, single masted, for cargo transport, with a straight sternpost rudder, sometimes with fore and aft castles, was introduced into the Mediterranean during the late XII<sup>th</sup>- early XIII<sup>th</sup> c., Pryor gives the Third Crusade, Pryor 1992, 39, with some employed in the XVI<sup>th</sup> of July 1203 assault on Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade, from which round-ships, including the *Paradise*, *Pilgrim*, *Violet* and *Eagle*, 200 m. long and 40 m. wide, able to transport 1,000 people, had flying bridges suspended from their masts allowed 3 soldiers abreast to assault the tops of the towers in the harbour walls (Queller - Madden 1997, 69, 124), rather than in the XV<sup>th</sup> c., and from which the sternpost rudder seems to have been transferred in the late XIII<sup>th</sup> c. to the new *galleasse*, constructed in Genoa and then, c. 1320 in Venice; while D. Nicolle suggests aspects of the northern European cog had also been adopted to Islamic Andalusian ships by the mid-XIII<sup>th</sup> c., Nicolle 2007a, 259.

<sup>9</sup> Braudel 1972, 263.

<sup>10</sup> Braudel 1972, 248-9. The idea of any real limit to commercial sailing in winter as late as 1560 is refuted by the table given *idem* 261, giving the marine insurance policies issued at Ragusa before sailing in that year, respectively: 01/1560 9, 02/ 6, 03/ 5, 04/ 14, 05/20, 06/ 2, 07/ 1, 08/ 5, 09/6, 10/4, 11/ 7, 12/ 6. Thirty-six insurance policies were issued in the winter months with the largest number in January, and forty-eight in summer with the largest number in issued in May, the lowest number of policies were issued in June and July; as likewise the winter and summer arrivals at Leghorn in 6 years in the late XVI<sup>th</sup> c. excluding galleys, 923 to 1058 respectively, *idem* table 262, indicate relatively little difference between the two seasons; while Phillips 2010, 293, suggests the date when shipping was able to some extent disregard the hazards posed by winter

*Hohenstaufen - Immutator Mundi*, relates that the six months he suggests it took for the Emperor to receive news of the death on the 11<sup>th</sup> of November 1227 of the Ayyūbid Sultan of Damascus Al-Mu'azzam 'Isa Sharaf ad-Dīn, news received, 'probably while celebrating Easter in Barletta, towards the end of March 1228'<sup>11</sup> was caused by the problem of winter sailing, "The long delay before the news of his death reached the West may be accounted for by the fact that the next passage of ships from Syria would normally take place in the spring"<sup>12</sup>. It seems most probable however, that the news had arrived much earlier, through the return of dispatches from Thomas of Aquino Count of Acerra, the Emperor's envoy and bailie of Jerusalem 1226-1228. That there was winter sailing from Sicily at this time is known, as late in 1227 Gerold of Lausanne, the newly appointed Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem and Sir Gauvain de Chenichy of Lusignan Cyprus left Emperor Frederick II's Sicily for Acre, arriving at Acre during the winter season<sup>13</sup>.

S. Labib subsequently wrote in 1978, "In the Mediterranean, travel by sea was confined to set times: for the early Middle Ages, as in Greek and Roman times, this sea was for nautical reasons not navigable in winter. In this season the sea was, in the Arabic idiom, 'closed'. The Venetians, Genoese and other Frankish peoples of the Mediterranean had to be content with a single voyage to the Islamic ports. After the invention of the compass-more precisely, the refinement of the already known, primitive compass-the Venetians and the Genoese could make two voyages a year. This development took place at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century and revolutionized the rhythm of sea travel in the later Middle Ages"<sup>14</sup>. This 'closed' period is also recorded in the post 972 Kitāb fi tafṣīl al-zamān wa-maṣāliḥ al-abdān-termed the Calendar of Cordova, probably written by 'Arīb b. Sa'īd, a Muslim physician and polymath and Rabī b. Zayd, a Christian Bishop, at the Umayyad court in Cordoba, and dedicated to the Umayyad Caliph al-Hakam II (961-76), which noted that ships could go to sea from the 13<sup>th</sup> of April onwards<sup>15</sup>, although this may have been noted in respect to fishing fleets and smaller vessels rather than referring to substantial maritime vessels and warships, given the Calendar's in part agricultural frame of reference.

A near closed season for commercial navigation, including passage to Outremer, was likewise stated 20 years after Braudel's work had appeared in English by J. H. Pryor in 1993, "In the twelfth century commercial shipping rarely ventured to sea from November through to mid March"<sup>16</sup>; and, "...the inadequacy of the technology of twelfth-century ships to allow them to sail the winter seas with confidence"<sup>17</sup>; "Because of the storms and dangerous squally conditions created in winter by localized meteorological phenomena, because of the strong northerly winds prevailing in that season, and because of the hazards caused by reduced visibility to coastal and celestial navigation as a result of overcast skies and fogs, commercial shipping generally avoided navigation in the winter whenever possible. Naval

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sailing should be placed towards the end of the XIV<sup>th</sup> c., as later, for example Cyriacus set out under no great urgency from Ancona in November 1435 and due to the storms and delays waiting for calmer weather had only reached Southern Albania, still in the Adriatic on the 26<sup>th</sup> of December, Belozerskaya 2009, 177-8; while the evidence outlined below would suggest this practice happened at a somewhat earlier date.

<sup>11</sup> van Cleve 1972, 205.

<sup>12</sup> van Cleve 1972, 205, and, fn. 3.

<sup>13</sup> Hill 1948, 92-3.

<sup>14</sup> Labib 1978, 70.

<sup>15</sup> Nicolle 2007a, 252.

<sup>16</sup> Pryor 1992, 3.

<sup>17</sup> Pryor 1992, 4.

warfare and piracy or privateering, the *guerre de course*, were also normally suspended. However, this suspension of maritime activity in winter was certainly never absolute. Neither did the degree to which seafaring was suspended remain uniform across the centuries. As a result of improvements in both ship design and in navigation techniques<sup>18</sup>, particularly in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, the sailing season extended gradually back into early spring and forward into late autumn<sup>19</sup>. A thesis generalised by 1999 by W. B. Bartlett to the understanding of late XI<sup>th</sup>-XII<sup>th</sup> c. Mediterranean Latin seafaring that, “The vagaries of the winter weather militated against sea crossings in the tiny ocean-going vessels of the day, which were unsuited to anything but the most clement of conditions”<sup>20</sup>. As likewise recorded by D. Nicolle in 2007, “However, the Mediterranean imposed certain basic parameters on all who used it. Almost all sailing was undertaken during those months from spring to autumn when the seas were ‘open’-in other words not during the winter when the weather permitted only the most urgent of voyages”<sup>21</sup> and, “Eastern Mediterranean naval campaigns of this period (Crusades) and earlier were similarly constrained by the fact that almost no ships ventured from harbour or at least from the immediate coasts when the seas were ‘closed’ from late autumn to early spring. Even when the seas were ‘open’ in summer, ships in the Mediterranean tended to follow the coastline and rarely headed into the open sea out of sight of land”<sup>22</sup>; as likewise J. Phillips in 2010, referring to XII<sup>th</sup> c. Mediterranean maritime events states, “Ships of the time were so primitive that the commercial fleets of Genoa, Pisa

<sup>18</sup> The diffusion of the mariners compass and the development of the cog and carrack, cited Pryor 1993, 88. It is noteworthy in respect to familiarity with the compass in the XIII<sup>th</sup> c., that Jelal ad-Din Rumi makes reference to this device in his *Dīwān-i Shams-i Tabrizī*. “The Picture derives its movements only from the Painter’s brush, the compass’ foot revolves around its point” *Dīwān-e Kabīr* l. 10955; Chittick 1983, 22. Rumi’s use of this word in this context would seem to indicate the compass was in some considerable use during the first half of the XIII<sup>th</sup> century and was a device that would certainly have been understood by the educated listener, not just mariners. The date these lines were written is unclear, while the *Dīwān* was completed only by Rumi’s death in 1273, Chittick 1983, 5. But over half a century earlier the compass is mentioned by Farid-ud-Din Attar in 1177:

“The old wine sidled through the old man’s veins  
And like a twisting compass turned his brains;”

Attar 1984, 66; while a form of the telescope, an optic glass, is mentioned by 1058 by Abu’l-‘Alā al-Ma’arrī, “With optic glass go question thou the stars that roll o’erhead,” Nicholson 1922, 110.

<sup>19</sup> Pryor 1992, 87.

<sup>20</sup> Bartlett 1999, 91.

<sup>21</sup> Nicolle 2007a, xiii. This period is reduced somewhat in, Viollet 2007, 287, “But for the most part navigation does not continue through the winter months between December and March, as had been the practice since Ancient times”.

<sup>22</sup> Nicolle 2007a, 264. The statement that: “ships in the Mediterranean tended to follow the coastline and rarely headed into the open sea out of sight of land”, seems likewise to be a continuation of some of the misunderstood sailing patterns of antiquity and is likewise open to considerable doubt, for example the maritime activities of the North African states Aghlabid, Fatimid etc., in respect to Sicily, Malta and Italy, including the North African fleets sent against Genoa in the XI<sup>th</sup> c., Nicolle 2007a, 261, required the sailing of the open sea out of sight of land, as was subsequently the case for the naval exploits of the Marinids in both the Mediterranean and Atlantic, as also the routes from Adalya and ‘Ala’iyya - Alaya due south to Alexandria in the XIII<sup>th</sup> c. as recorded by Jelalad-Din Rumi, Arberry, 1977, 60, as later in the XIV<sup>th</sup> c. with the practise of sailing the opens seas out of sight of land recorded by Marino Sanudo Torsello (c. 1260 – 1338), “There are a number of other reasons why we cannot satisfactorily patrol the sea with great ships containing armed crews. First the Mediterranean is too large an area to patrol, secondly the Muslim coastline is extensive; and thirdly those transgressors who, putting aside the fear of God, want to go down to the lands ruled by Muslims, *can, choosing the time that suits them, sail on the high seas far from land and put in at shore at any point*” Hallam 1989, 292.

and Venice only sailed the seas between March and October for fear of the treacherous winter storms of the Mediterranean”<sup>23</sup>.

Was it really the case for Medieval vessels in the Mediterranean in the late XI<sup>th</sup> -XII<sup>th</sup> centuries, as earlier, that, “*The vagaries of the winter weather militated against sea crossings in the tiny ocean-going vessels of the day, which were unsuited to anything but the most clement of conditions.*”<sup>24</sup>; given that, albeit exceptional and therefore noteworthy, there were in addition to tiny vessels, numbers of vessels of some substantial size afloat, such as: an Umayyad Andalusian ship captured by the Fatimids in 955 which measured 84 m. long and was 33.5 m. wide<sup>25</sup>; while a great ship, a *busta* transported 650 fighting men plus crew and was laden with war machines, provisions and weapons which was sent from Beirut to besieged Acre in 1191<sup>26</sup>, with some Muslim Mediterranean vessels with a siege machine and four castles each carrying 20 crossbowmen and others with a capacity of 1,000 tonnes and able to transport 1,500 men<sup>27</sup>; while for Latin examples there were the 1203 Crusader round-ships, some of which were 200 m. long and 40 m. wide<sup>28</sup>, able to transport 1,000 people. Further, winter sailing in the Medieval Mediterranean is recorded, L. V. Mott for example records winter anti-piracy patrols in the period of the War of the Sicilian Vespers, and so it seems reasonable to ask how common the practice of winter sailing in fact was<sup>29</sup>, and if it was really the case that winter saw a largely ship-free Mediterranean Sea in the Medieval period, and that, “*that there were not, nor should there be any winter voyages*” in the Medieval Mediterranean undertaken by East Roman and Latin vessels, as indicated by Rhodian VIII<sup>th</sup>-IX<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>30</sup>, by the X<sup>th</sup> c. Cordoban Calendar, as later by Pisan, Venetian and Anconan maritime legislation.

This view was qualified in respect to the Latin Medieval maritime codes by G. J. Mangone in 1997 who stated: “*...under the Medieval maritime codes ships were often prohibited from leaving harbours during the winter unless the cargo owners had consented to their sailing. If a ship failed to leave port before the winter began, the seamen were entitled to their wages while awaiting the spring release of the vessel*”<sup>31</sup>. A passage clearly indicating conversely that if consent was granted by the cargo owners commercial shipping could sail in winter and that there was a fiscal penalty for a laden vessel if it had to overwinter in port, the crew of the vessel had to be paid.

The following is therefore a brief listing from published works of some of the recorded dates of departures and of arrivals of vessels, flotillas and fleets, of voyaging and of the maritime blockades of

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<sup>23</sup> Phillips 2010, 64.

<sup>24</sup> Bartlett 1999, 91.

<sup>25</sup> Nicolle, 2007, 258.

<sup>26</sup> Hillenbrand 1999, 565-566.

<sup>27</sup> Nicolle, 2007, 259. There were of course also the large oared *schabbareh* on the Nile as recorded by ‘Abd al-Latif al-Baghdādi at the start of the XIII<sup>th</sup> c., al-Baghdādi 1965, 187-9; as earlier the 7 boats employed by the Fatimids to cross the Nile and take Fustat in 969 each of which were 150 cubits long and 70 wide (~ 65 m. by 30 m.), Naser-e Khosraw 1986, 44; while the 21 Fatimid royal boats recorded by Naser-e Khosraw in 1047 were each 50 m. long and 20 wide, embellished with gold, silver, jewels and brocade, Naser-e Khosraw 1986, 51.

<sup>28</sup> Queller - Madden 1997, 69, 124.

<sup>29</sup> Mott 2003, 247, My thanks to W. Ostasz, participant in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Turgut Reis ve Türk Denizcilik Tarihi Uluslararası Sempozyumu 2013 for this reference.

<sup>30</sup> Horden - Purcell 2000, 156; Wickham 2009, 355, favours an VIII<sup>th</sup> c. date for the *Rhodian Sea-Law*; Ashburner 1909.

<sup>31</sup> Mangone 1997, 12. The reference supplied for this section is given as: Haws 1976.

ports and of naval engagements from the late VII<sup>th</sup> c. to the end of the XIV<sup>th</sup> c. conducted in this period between mid-October and April, that is, during this so-called ‘closed’ winter season in the Medieval Mediterranean, when “*there were not, nor should there be any winter voyages*” it is said...

### Brief Chronology of Recorded Winter Sailing in the Mediterranean

During the siege of al-Kustantiniyah/Constantinople (674-8), in 674 the Omayyad fleets that had overwintered at Smyrna/İzmir, Rhodes/Lycia and Tarsus/Cilicia reached Thrace-Cyzicus in April, indicating the departure of these fleets from these winter quarters had certainly been in the winter season, during March, if not earlier in the case of the fleet from Tarsus<sup>32</sup>.

In the winter of 677-8 when the Umayyad fleet was returning to Syria following the lifting of the siege of al-Kustantiniyah/Constantinople, it was struck by a severe storm and was sunk off Sylleion/Sillyon, off the mouth of the river Cestrus/Aksu, in Attaleia/Antalya Province<sup>33</sup>.

By 700 Bishop Arculf stated that the Pharos of Alexandria then in Muslim hands was, “*a large tower, which is every night lighted up with torches, lest mariners might mistake their way in the dark*”<sup>34</sup>, presumably indicating by relating, “*which is every night lighted up with torches,*” that sailing was practiced night and day all year round in the VIII<sup>th</sup> c. in the Eastern Mediterranean, and thereby indicating that there was probably somewhat more maritime traffic, at least in the eastern Mediterranean, early in the VIII<sup>th</sup> c. than is usually credited<sup>35</sup>, for the expense of torches to be lit every night on the Alexandrian Pharos as a guide to mariners.

In 726 Willibald completed his pilgrimage and after waiting many days for a ship bound for Constantinople, he left the Muslim port of Şūr-Sour-Tyre on the 30<sup>th</sup> of November and was at sea all winter before reaching his destination a week before the Julian calendar’s Easter<sup>36</sup>, arriving in Constantinople about the 6<sup>th</sup> of April 727.

During the IX<sup>th</sup> c. the South Italian port city of Taranto-Tarantūh was taken by maritime Arab Muslim forces arriving before the spring<sup>37</sup>.

The Muslim Aghlabid blockade by both land and sea of Syracuse that lasted nine month,

<sup>32</sup> Ostrogorsky 1991, 124. Al-Mas‘ūdī in the X<sup>th</sup> c., records under Mu’awiya in the VII<sup>th</sup> c. in ideal conditions the journey from Constantinople to Şūr-Tyre took 7 days and from Tyre to Constantinople 11 days, Masudi 1989, 323-4.

<sup>33</sup> Kennedy 2007, 330; Ostrogorsky 1991, 124.

<sup>34</sup> Wright 2003, 10.

<sup>35</sup> Eg. “*...there was far less movement (of shipping) in the eighth century than in the ninth, and this does not seem to be simply the result of the disappearance of written sources from the eighth century, since the evidence of shipwrecks is also less rich during that time*” Abulafia 2012, 256. For further on this, see Duggan – Akçay 2014, 405, fn.167, with the watchtowers erected on the Syrian coastline in the 8<sup>th</sup> c. certainly indicating a degree of E. Mediterranean maritime activity in addition to the ransoming of hostages - together with the extensive slave trade from west to east throughout this century, the Rādhāniyya, as also documented trade in papyrus and spices brought from the depot at Fos for the Abbey of Corbie authorised by a diploma of Chilperic II dated 29<sup>th</sup> April, 716, that is into the second decade of the 8<sup>th</sup> c.; Duggan 2015, 181.

<sup>36</sup> Wilkinson 2002, 248. Doubtless a relatively rare event but nevertheless raising doubt concerning Pryor’s remark that, “*the inadequacy of the technology of twelfth-century ships to allow them to sail the winter seas with confidence*”. If mariners were departing from Şūr-Tyre in the VIII<sup>th</sup> c. at the end of November as Willibald related.

<sup>37</sup> Amari 1933, 496.

beginning in October 877 resulted in the fall in May 878<sup>38</sup>.

In 912 an East Roman fleet of 112 *dromon* and 75 *pamphyloi* under the *logothetes tou dromou* Himeros returning from the attempted conquest of Muslim Crete was comprehensively defeated by the Attaleia (Antalya) born Leo of Tripoli-ghulam al-zurafa and Damianos the Emir of Tarsus off Chios in October<sup>39</sup>. The return of the Muslim fleets from Chios to Tarsus and Tripoli would have been in the winter season probably in November.

In February 920, a fleet of the Fatimid al-Mahdi (909-34) was destroyed off Rosetta (Rashid) Egypt by the Abbasid fleet of Tarsus in the course of the attempted Fatimid conquest of Egypt from 919/307 h<sup>40</sup>.

Late in 964 an East Roman fleet arrived at Reggio (Sicily) and its troops marched on Rametta where they were defeated by the Muslims and Manuel Phocas was killed<sup>41</sup>.

In the winter of 968-9 Liudprand of Cremona left Constantinople by ship on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of October and on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of November reached Naupactus. He reached Leucate on December the 6<sup>th</sup>, left it on the 14<sup>th</sup> and reached Corfu on the 18<sup>th</sup> of December, reaching Cremona in early spring 969<sup>42</sup>.

The 'closed' period is recorded in the post 972 Kitāb fi tafṣīl al-zamān wa-maṣāliḥ al-abdān-termed the Calendar of Cordova, probably written by 'Arīb b. Sa'īd, a Muslim physician and polymath and Rabi b. Zayd, the Christian Bishop of Elvira, at the Umayyad court in Cordoba, and dedicated to the Umayyad Caliph al-Hakam II (961-76), which noted that ships could go to sea from the 13<sup>th</sup> of April onwards<sup>43</sup>, although this may have been noted in respect to fishing fleets and smaller vessels, rather than in reference to substantial maritime vessels and warships, given the Calendar's in part agricultural frame of reference.

It is related ibn Farrukh left Omayyad Granada and landed on Grando-Grand Canary in February 999<sup>44</sup>.

In the winter of 1052 a large Zirid fleet sank off Pantelleria as it was sailing to address the troubles on Sicily<sup>45</sup>.

From 1068 to 1071 the Langobardian (Apulian) port of Bari was blockaded by land and sea, summer and winter, by Robert Guiscard's forces employing the Calabrian fleet<sup>46</sup>.

From 1071-2 there was the five month siege and naval blockade of the Muslim capital and port of Palermo, leading to its surrender on the 10<sup>th</sup> of January 1072 to the Norman Roger de Hauteville<sup>47</sup>.

Anna Comnena related of Robert Guiscard's invasion force blockaded by the weather in the winter of 1081-2, "*Because of the winter he was unable to launch his ships; the (East) Roman and*

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<sup>38</sup> Metcalfe 2009, 27.

<sup>39</sup> Balard 2003, 172.

<sup>40</sup> Lev 1987, 339.

<sup>41</sup> Brett 2001, 240-2.

<sup>42</sup> Liutprand 2007, 30.

<sup>43</sup> Nicolle 2007a, 252.

<sup>44</sup> For Atlantic ventures see Nicolle 2007b, 65.

<sup>45</sup> Metcalfe 2009, 93.

<sup>46</sup> Metcalfe 2009, 93, 128.

<sup>47</sup> Metcalfe 2009, 99; Hallam 1989, 51, quoting Geoffrey of Malaterra.



*Venetian fleets, tirelessly patrolling the straits, prevented reinforcements crossing from Lombardy and the delivery of necessary supplies to him from that area were impeded*<sup>48</sup>; clearly recording both the winter patrols of the Adriatic undertaken at this time by the East Roman and Venetian naval forces and the aim of Robert Guiscard's invasion fleet to sail the Adriatic in winter.

In November 1084 Robert Guiscard's fleet, of *dromons*, *monoremes* and *biremes*, fought 3 sea battles off Corfu against a combined East Roman-Venetian fleet with, in the final of these three encounters, 7 of Venice's great galleys sunk and 2 captured by the Normans<sup>49</sup>.

By late in the autumn of 1090, following the victory by Koyun Ada (Oinusses) on the 19<sup>th</sup> of May over the East Romans, the fleet of Çaka Bey, Çavuldur Chaka *protonobilissimus*, consisting of 17 galleys and 33 sailing vessels constructed at Ephesus, had captured the islands of Lesbos, Chios, Samos and Rhodes<sup>50</sup>.

In the First Crusade Bohemond I (Bohemond of Otranto-Bohémond De Tarente), Prince of Otranto (1089–1111) led his troops across the Adriatic Sea in October 1096, as did Count Raymond IV of Toulouse (St. Gilles) and the Papal Legate Adhemar, Bishop of Le Puy, crossing to Ragusa and then Dyrrhachium in November 1096 and Count Robert of Flanders crossed from Bari in mid-winter of 1096-7<sup>51</sup>.

Supplies to the Crusaders besieging Antioch, a siege which began on the 21<sup>st</sup> of October 1097 arrived at the port of Soudi (Saint-Symeon/Simon), where the Genovese fleet arrived in November<sup>52</sup>, and then ships with supplies were sent from the exiled Patriarch Symeon of Jerusalem from Cyprus in January 1098 to Saint-Simon to aid the starving besiegers<sup>53</sup>, together with that which arrived, ordered sent by Emperor Alexius Comnenus's representative Tatikios on the 4<sup>th</sup> of March<sup>54</sup> from East Roman Laodicea/ Lattakieh/Ladhiqiya/Latakia. Tatikios had left by ship from the port of Saint-Simon for Cyprus early in February to arrange better provisioning for the Crusaders besieging Antioch<sup>55</sup>.

In the early winter of 1099 the Pisan fleet besieged East Roman held Laodicea/Ladhiqiya /Lattakieh by sea, while it was being besieged from the land by Bohemund of Antioch, but the city remained in East Roman hands, and then the Pisan fleet sailed to Rhodes where it was defeated by the Venetian fleet at the end of 1099<sup>56</sup>.

Late in the summer of 1099 a Venetian fleet sailed to the First Crusade, overwintered at Rhodes and defeated the Pisan fleet, capturing 20 Pisan ships and taking 4,000 prisoners in the winter of 1099 off Rhodes, followed by the removal of the presumed bodies of St. Theodore and of the uncle of St. Nicholas and of St. Nicholas from Myra in the spring, and in mid-June of 1100 the fleet of 200 vessels reached Jaffa. The Venetian fleet departed on the 15<sup>th</sup> of August having aided in the conquest

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<sup>48</sup> Comnena 1969, 139.

<sup>49</sup> Norwich 1982, 71-3; Comnena 1969, 189-190. The Emperor returned overland to reach the capital on the 1<sup>st</sup> of December 1084.

<sup>50</sup> Norwich 1995, 26; Hatipoğlu 2005, 89.

<sup>51</sup> Eg. Foss 1997, 75-76.

<sup>52</sup> Runciman 1980, 131.

<sup>53</sup> Runciman 1980, 133-134.

<sup>54</sup> Frankopan 2012, 159.

<sup>55</sup> Runciman 1980, 135.

<sup>56</sup> Norwich 1982, 75.

of Jaffa and they returned to Venice in the winter season, arriving deliberately on the Feast of Saint Nicholas, the 6<sup>th</sup> of December, 1100<sup>57</sup>.

The pilgrim Saewulf on the 12<sup>th</sup> of October 1102, after a passage of 13 weeks at sea from the Apulian port of Monopoli, by the start of the winter season arrived in Jaffa-Joppa, and on the night of the 12<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> of October a storm destroyed 23 of the 30 very large ships at anchor in Jaffa, including *dromon*, *gulfres* and *cats* and which drowned about 1000 people aboard these vessels<sup>58</sup>. The vessel he had initially embarked in was wrecked by the heavy seas only 3 hours after leaving the Apulian port of Monopoli in the middle of the summer sailing season on the 13<sup>th</sup> of July, 1102<sup>59</sup>.

In March 1104 Frankish ships with crusaders, merchants and pilgrims arrived at the port of Ladhīqiya/Lattakieh and they surrounded by land and sea the nearby port of Tripoli which then surrendered<sup>60</sup>.

Acre fell in May 1104 to Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem after being besieged from both land and sea by 90 vessels<sup>61</sup>, many Genovese, through the winter season.

In the winter of 1105 Emperor Alexis sent Saint-Gilles (Raymond of Provence Count of Toulouse) and Tzitas by ship from Constantinople to Jerusalem<sup>62</sup>.

Bertram, son Raymond of Provence Count of Toulouse, with 60 vessels of Frankish and Genovese Crusaders who had sailed through the winter season reached Tarabulus (Tripoli-Syria) in March 1109<sup>63</sup>.

The siege of Tripoli was maintained by land and sea with the aid of a fleet of 60 ships that arrived at Tripoli on the 6<sup>th</sup> of March and maintained the siege until the 10<sup>th</sup> of July 1109<sup>64</sup>.

A Venetian fleet of 100 vessels led by Doge Ordelafo Falier left Venice in the summer of 1110, wintering at Rhodes and arrived in Palestine the following October, which through their naval blockade, which was maintained for the next two months, together with a fleet of 60 ships of Sigurd, the Norwegian Crusader<sup>65</sup>, led to the surrender of the port-city of Saida-Sidon to the Crusader army on the 4<sup>th</sup> of December 1111<sup>66</sup>.

From 29<sup>th</sup> of November 1111 to the 10<sup>th</sup> of April 1112, while King Baldwin led the siege through the winter months, Latin fleets, consisting at times of more than 200 crusader vessels blockaded the port-city of Şūr-Sour-Tyre, and supplied the besiegers when they in turn were besieged by Atabeg Tughtakin, but the siege failed<sup>67</sup>.

Doge Domenico Michiel, having aided in the defence of Jaffa during its siege by the Fatimids in

<sup>57</sup> Seal 2006, 153.

<sup>58</sup> Wright 2003, 34-36. It is noteworthy that *catti*, *golafri* and *dromundi* were the names recorded by Geoffrey Malaterra of the types of Sicilian Muslim ships that attempted to prevent the crossing of the Straits of Messina by the Norman Robert Guiscard's fleet in 1061, for the record of these, see: Wolf 2005, 90.

<sup>59</sup> Wright 2003, 31-2.

<sup>60</sup> Hallam 1989, 100.

<sup>61</sup> Hallam 1989, 101.

<sup>62</sup> Comnena 1969, 357.

<sup>63</sup> al-Qalānisi 2002, 88.

<sup>64</sup> Hallam 1989, 102.

<sup>65</sup> Wright 2003, 58.

<sup>66</sup> Hallam 1989, 102 giving a Norwegian fleet of 55 vessels; Norwich 1982, 83.

<sup>67</sup> Ibn al-Athir 2006, 157-9.

1123 sailed north with the Venetian fleet up the coast to begin the siege of Tyre from the 15<sup>th</sup> of February onwards, where all but one galley were beached, that one maintaining the patrol, the siege concluded with Tyre's fall to the Crusaders on the 7<sup>th</sup> of July 1124<sup>68</sup>.

From February onwards in 1131 Amalfi was blockaded by sea by Amir al-Bahr/Admiral George of Antioch's Sicilian fleet<sup>69</sup>.

During the winter of 1135-6 Naples was blockaded by the Sicilian fleet<sup>70</sup>.

On the 5<sup>th</sup> of November the 1139 the Norman King of Sicily Roger de Hautville crossed the straits to Sicily<sup>71</sup>, as two years earlier in the same month in 1137 two Cardinals had crossed with the King to Sicily<sup>72</sup> as likewise, if over a far shorter distance, the ferry service operated in winter over the Bosphorus.

In November 1145 the Latin rulers in Outremer send envoys, including Hugh Bishop of Jabala, by sea given the emergency of the situation, to King Louis VII and the Pope<sup>73</sup>.

Besieged by land and blockaded by sea by English, Flemish, Norman and German Crusaders from the 28<sup>th</sup> of June 1147, the city of Lisbon fell on the 24<sup>th</sup> of October<sup>74</sup>.

In the late autumn of 1147 Almeria fell to King Alfonso VII having been blockaded by land and by sea by Genovese and Pisan ships<sup>75</sup>.

In the autumn of 1147 King Roger II of Sicily dispatched his Amir al-Bahr/Admiral George of Antioch with a Sicilian fleet of 70 galleys including *birememes* and *triremes* that leaving from Otranto took East Roman Corfu, leaving a garrison of 1,000 men, entered the Aegean and then raided along the coastline to Euboea, landing his raiding parties who reached Thebes (December 1147-January 1148), Athens and Corinth where the relics of St. Theodore were removed. Loaded down with the enslaved including silk workers and booty the Admiral returned to Palermo, Sicily, the entire venture conducted during the winter season<sup>76</sup>.

Emperor Manuel Comnenus sent his wife Empress Irene, Bertha of Sulzbach, with a large fleet including 3 royal vessels from Constantinople to Ephesus after Christmas 1147, and these early in 1148 brought his sick brother-in-law Conrad III and the remnant of his Crusaders from Ephesus to Constantinople<sup>77</sup>. From Constantinople in March 1148 Conrad King of the Romans left by ship for Palestine<sup>78</sup>.

In 1148 during the 2<sup>nd</sup> Crusade King Louis and Eleanor of Aquitaine left Attaleia/Antalya by sea in February and arrived in Antioch-Antakya in March<sup>79</sup>.

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<sup>68</sup> Hallam 1989, 111; Norwich 1982, 89.

<sup>69</sup> Norwich 1976, 11.

<sup>70</sup> Norwich 1976, 41.

<sup>71</sup> Norwich 1976, 71.

<sup>72</sup> Norwich 1976, 63.

<sup>73</sup> Lock 2013, 46.

<sup>74</sup> Rogers 2010, 510; O'Callaghan 1983, 353; Hallam 1989, 129-31. One of the contributory reasons for the unsuccessful Second Crusade.

<sup>75</sup> O'Callaghan 1983, 353.

<sup>76</sup> Norwich 1976, 130-1.

<sup>77</sup> Hallam 1989, 138.

<sup>78</sup> Norwich 1995, 98.

<sup>79</sup> Phillips 2010, 94.

The Christian blockade of the Andalusian port city of Tortosa by a Genovese fleet of 63 galleys and 163 other ships led to the surrender of the city on the 30<sup>th</sup> of December 1148<sup>80</sup>. It had previously been blockaded by Genovese and Pisan fleets during the siege of 1092<sup>81</sup>.

In 1149 two East Roman attempts on Norman Apulia were thwarted by heavy winter storms<sup>82</sup>.

1149 Everard des Barres Master of the Order of the Temple and King Louis VII returned to France from Outremer in the autumn<sup>83</sup>.

In 1153 William of Tyre relates that the siege of Fatimid Ascalon began during the winter season two months before Easter, with the lord Gerard of Sidon, one of the leading barons of the kingdom, commanding the fleet of fifteen beaked ships which were ready to sail, so that they could blockade the city by sea and both prevent those who wished to enter from getting in and also stop those who wished to leave from getting out.

In 1159 the Almohad fleet constructed in Morocco moved eastwards and blockaded Norman occupied Mahdiyya which, after a siege of 7 months, was surrendered in January 1160<sup>84</sup>.

Benjamin of Tudela visited Alexandria in 1168, and he remarks, "*The lighthouse is still a mark to all seafaring men. It is observed at a distance of 100 miles by day and at night bears a light which serves as a guide to all mariners*"<sup>85</sup>. As Benjamin would have known of mariners sailing in the winter season, he, like Arculf before 700 (cited above), indicates the Pharos of Alexandria was lit at night all year round, serving as a navigational marker for nocturnal navigation in both summer and winter.

From the 25<sup>th</sup> of October to the 19<sup>th</sup> of December 1169 there was the unsuccessful siege of Dimyat-Damietta<sup>86</sup> by a combined fleet, Emperor Manuel Comnenus's East Roman ships led by the Megas Doux Andronikos Kontostephanos Komnenos, which William of Tyre reports consisted of 150 galleys, sixty horse-carriers and twelve dromon transports with siege equipment, and a Frankish fleet including 200 Latin vessels. The combined fleet took losses not only from Ayyūbid fire-ships, but in the course of severe storms returning from the siege, reaching Ascalon in late December with half the East-Roman fleet lost in the return to their home ports by late spring 1170<sup>87</sup>.

On the 13<sup>th</sup> of October 1179 the Egyptian fleet made a night attack upon 'Akka<sup>88</sup>.

In February 1183 the Lord of Oultrejordain, Renaud de Châtillon launched his Latin Crusader fleet of five galleys, which had been transported in sections overland from Kerak - Krak des Moabiles, to be assembled and launched at Aylah on the Red Sea<sup>89</sup>.

After crossing the Straits of Gibraltar in February, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of February 1183 Ibn Jubayr set out

<sup>80</sup> Phillips 2010, 102; Lock 2013, 50.

<sup>81</sup> Fletcher 1989, 83.

<sup>82</sup> Setton 1969, 15.

<sup>83</sup> Barber 2010, 70.

<sup>84</sup> Abun-Nasr 1971, 110.

<sup>85</sup> Wright 2003, 122; it would seem that when Benjamin of Tudela wrote it was "*observed at a distance of 100 miles by day*", he was employing a figure of speech, not any estimate of physical distance, employed to suggest to the reader that it was so tall that in daylight it could be seen from a very great distance.

<sup>86</sup> Phillips 2010, 109, who gives 1168 rather than 1169.

<sup>87</sup> Lock 2013, 59, gives the 21<sup>st</sup> of December 1169 for the ending of the siege, rather than the 19<sup>th</sup> of December with either date of course meaning the fleet sailed in December.

<sup>88</sup> Stevenson 2012, 222, fn. 1.

<sup>89</sup> Lock 2013, 68.

from Sabta (Ceuta) in a Genoese ship bound for Alexandria, reaching Alexandria on the 29<sup>th</sup> of March 1183<sup>90</sup>.

On the 18<sup>th</sup> of October 1184 Ibn Jubayr left Acre after a 12 day wait for a favourable wind to leave the port on a Genoese ship bound for Messina, sailing into the winter season in a voyage lasting 51 days, and sailing with five other ships met in the Ionian Isles at the end of November arriving in Messina on the 8<sup>th</sup> of December<sup>91</sup>. He left Palermo on the 14<sup>th</sup> of March 1185<sup>92</sup>.

Amir al-Bahr/Admiral Tancred of Lecce with the Sicilian fleet were in the Marmora Sea in the autumn of 1186 for 17 days before the fleet's return to Sicily during the winter season<sup>93</sup>.

The Muslim naval blockade of Tyre from November 1187 was broken in a sea battle in December by the arrival of the fleet of the German Crusader Conrad of Montferrat aided by Hospitaller and Templar manned ships, with the capture of 11 Muslim galleys, leading to Salah al-Din burning his remaining ships and the lifting of the siege of Tyre on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January, 1188<sup>94</sup>; or, as C. Hillenbrand relates from 'Imad al-Din, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of December 1187, five of Sultan Saladin's blockading ships were seized by Crusader raiding parties and the other five were then ordered by Saladin to lift the blockade and retire to Beirut, but they were pursued by Crusader vessels and the Muslim crews abandoned their ships and swam ashore<sup>95</sup>.

During October 1189 French, Italians and Sicilian Crusader forces arrive at the siege of Acre undertaken by both land and sea<sup>96</sup>.

In March 1190 a naval battle was fought between Ayyūbid and Crusaders fleets<sup>97</sup>.

King Phillip Augustus and his Crusaders left Sicily in March and arrive in Outremer on the 20<sup>th</sup> of April 1191<sup>98</sup>.

Richard Coeur-de-Lion left Sicily in March 1191 and due to a storm arrived via Crete and Rhodes, reaching Cyprus in May and reaching Acre on the 8<sup>th</sup> of June<sup>99</sup>.

Richard Coeur-de-Lion left Outremer with most of his Crusaders by sea for Europe on the 9<sup>th</sup> of October 1192, sailing into the start of the winter season<sup>100</sup> and after a stormy passage reached Corfu on the 11<sup>th</sup> of November<sup>101</sup>.

In November 1191 Leopold of Austria left from the port of Acre at the end of his Crusade<sup>102</sup>.

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<sup>90</sup> Abulafia 2012, 308. It is perhaps noteworthy in respect to Ibn Jubayr's voyages of 1183 and 1184 when both voyages were undertaken in Genoese commercial ships in the winter season, that Udovitch, 1978, 532, records of the previous century, "*I have not found a single example of a commercial voyage between Alexandria and North Africa in the eleventh century outside the normal months of the sailing season*".

<sup>91</sup> Pryor 1992, 1; Hillenbrand 1999, 370.

<sup>92</sup> Abulafia 2012, 313.

<sup>93</sup> Norwich 1976, 344.

<sup>94</sup> Barber 2010, 116.

<sup>95</sup> Hillenbrand 1999, 569.

<sup>96</sup> Phillips 2010, 141.

<sup>97</sup> Caspi – Reisfeld 2002, 99.

<sup>98</sup> Edbury 2000, 16.

<sup>99</sup> Hallam 1989, 182.

<sup>100</sup> Phillips 2010, 163.

<sup>101</sup> Hallam 1989, 195.

<sup>102</sup> Lock 2013, 77.

In the last weeks of 1192 the ships transporting the Queen of England Berengaria (of Navarre), wife of Richard Coeur-de-Lion, and Joanna Plantagenet arrived in Sicily from Outremer, at the port-city of Palermo and, in the first weeks of January 1193 they left Palermo<sup>103</sup> for Marseilles, the entire journey undertaken during the winter season.

The Fourth Crusade of 480 ships left Venice on the 8<sup>th</sup> of November<sup>104</sup>, crossed the Adriatic arrived at Zara on the 11<sup>th</sup><sup>105</sup> and besieged the port-city of Zara from November the 13<sup>th</sup> 1202<sup>106</sup>, Zara fell on November 24<sup>th</sup> and the Crusaders left Zara at the end of April 1203.

Simon de Montfort and his knights and other members of the Fourth Crusade who rejected the direction of the 4<sup>th</sup> Crusade against other Christians and towards Constantinople, left Zara early in 1203 sailing for Outremer during the winter season<sup>107</sup>.

The Latin Catholic leaders of the Crusader army besieging Constantinople had explicitly promised the army that by March 1204 they would provide ships destined for Syria for all who wanted to go to Syria, in order to fulfil their crusade vow<sup>108</sup>. That of course meant the assembling and departure for Latin Crusader Palestine of a fleet during the winter season.

In the spring of 1206, 200 Latin troops came from Cyprus to the defence of Antalya<sup>109</sup>.

In midwinter of 1206-1207 a largely Cypriot force of 200 Latin knights, came from Cyprus to the defence of the city of Antalya, as in spring 1206, requested by its ruler the Florentine Aldobrandini before the Rum Seljuk siege began<sup>110</sup>. The city fell on the 5<sup>th</sup> of March.

Antalya was retaken on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January 1216 after a month long siege beginning in December 1215 by both land and sea forces by Sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kā'ūs<sup>111</sup>. The maritime blockading element of the siege, preventing any reinforcement of the besieged city from Lusignan Cyprus, came from the Lycian Seljuk ports of Meğri-Makri-Fethiye, Patera-Patara, Myra-Taşdibi<sup>112</sup> and Kemer in December 1215. This Jihad<sup>113</sup> with the naval blockade of the port during the entire month of Ramadan of 612, 1215-16, was in midwinter, with the request for assistance sent by boat from Antalya to Cyprus in December before the Seljuk siege began on the 24<sup>th</sup> of December<sup>114</sup>.

The Crusader King Andrew II of Hungary left Outremer on the 18<sup>th</sup> of January 1218<sup>115</sup>.

<sup>103</sup> Norwich 1976, 380.

<sup>104</sup> Norwich 1982, 130.

<sup>105</sup> Lock 2013, 84.

<sup>106</sup> Norwich 1982, 130.

<sup>107</sup> Norwich 1982, 131; Phillips 2010, 182.

<sup>108</sup> Villehardouin 1961, 197-199.

<sup>109</sup> Redford – Leiser 2008, 90.

<sup>110</sup> Redford – Leiser 2008, 90.

<sup>111</sup> Redford – Leiser 2008, 95.

<sup>112</sup> For the medieval port of Myra see Duggan - Aygün 2010, 161-168.

<sup>113</sup> It seems reasonable to capitalise the word Jihad in the same manner as the word Crusade is capitalised. In respect to the understanding of such actions as Jihad, ibn Battutah for example describes Omar Bak (Ömer Beğ), the son of Sultan Muhammed b. Aydin of Izmir, as, “*continually engaged in jihad against the Christians. He had war galleys with which he used to make raids on the environs of Constantinople the Great and to seize prisoners and booty, then after spending it all in gifts and largesse he would go out again to the jihad*”. Ibn Battutah 2002, 112.

<sup>114</sup> Redford – Leiser 2008, 95.

<sup>115</sup> Barber 2010, 127.

April 1218 saw the arrival of a Crusader fleet from Frisia at Acre<sup>116</sup>.

In 1218 the crusaders sailed from Acre on the 24<sup>th</sup> of May arriving to besiege the port of Damietta on the 30<sup>th</sup> of May. Blockaded by land and by water by the Templar fleet<sup>117</sup>, the city fell on the 4<sup>th</sup> of November 1219 to forces led by John of Brienne King of Jerusalem.

In the autumn of 1227 the Ayyūbid Sultan Malek al-Kāmil of Egypt (d. 1238) sent his envoy Amir Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-Shaykh for the second time to the Kingdom of Sicily<sup>118</sup>.

Late in 1227 Gerold of Lausanne, the newly appointed Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Cypriot Latin Sir Gauvain de Chenichy left Emperor Frederick II's Sicily for Acre, arriving during the winter season<sup>119</sup>.

1228 James I of Aragon in November begins the conquest of the Balearic Islands<sup>120</sup>.

1229 in January news of John of Brienne's campaign in Southern Italy in Imperial territory reaches the Crusader Emperor Frederick II in Palestine<sup>121</sup>.

1240 at the end of September, the Crusader Theobald (Tibald) Count of Champagne and King of Navarre left to return home, sailing into the winter season<sup>122</sup>.

1240 On the 11<sup>th</sup> of October the crusader Richard Earl of Cornwall sailed into Acre<sup>123</sup>.

Following the Khwarazmian victory at La Forbie – Harbiyah by Gaza on the 17<sup>th</sup> of October, 1244, and the crisis caused by the vast losses in Latin forces, the Patriarch Robert of Jerusalem dispatched envoys in midwinter with the calamitous news of the defeat and with the call for assistance from Europe<sup>124</sup>.

In July 1247 Seville was besieged by land by Ferdinando III and blockaded by Ramon Bonifaz of Burgos with 13 galleys and a number of smaller vessels brought from the Bay of Biscay, the land and maritime blockade leading to the surrender of the city on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of November 1248<sup>125</sup>.

1264 in November the Venetian fleet defeated the Genovese fleet in battle off Trapani<sup>126</sup>.

In January 1266 the ships of the Crusaders Erhard of Valery and Erhard of Nanteuil arrive at Acre with some reinforcements<sup>127</sup>.

1268 The Venetian harvest was so poor famine ensued and in consequence during the winter season ships were dispatched to gather supplies from distant Sicily and from Russia, due to an embargo on corn supplies to Venice imposed by Padua and Treviso<sup>128</sup>.

1270 The Crusaders Prince Edward and Henry of Cornwall arrived at Tunis in early November

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<sup>116</sup> Barber 2010, 127.

<sup>117</sup> Barber 2010, 127-8.

<sup>118</sup> van Cleve 1972, 203, fn. 2.

<sup>119</sup> Hill 1948, 92-3.

<sup>120</sup> Lock 2013, 98.

<sup>121</sup> Lock 2013, 98.

<sup>122</sup> Phillips 2010, 241.

<sup>123</sup> Barber 2010, 141.

<sup>124</sup> Phillips 2010, 245.

<sup>125</sup> O'Callaghan 1983, 353.

<sup>126</sup> Lock 2013, 113.

<sup>127</sup> Lock 2013, 114.

<sup>128</sup> Norwich 1982, 168.

1270, to find King Louis IX had died on the 25<sup>th</sup> of August. Prince Edward then sailed on in the winter season to the Holy Land with his troops and a party of Crusaders from the Low Countries including the Italian cleric Tebaldo-Tedaldo Visconti di Piacenza (Archbishop of Liège, who as Papal legate in Syria met with Nicolo and Maffeo Polo in Acre in 1269<sup>129</sup>, the future Pope Gregory X) resulting, with the arrival of these 1,000 crusaders on the 9<sup>th</sup> of May 1271 in the relief of the port of Tripoli which was being besieged by Sultan Baybars' forces.

In November 1270 Henry of Cornwall went with the French Crusaders back to Italy and sailing north from Tunis part of Charles of Anjou's fleet, 18 ships including galleys, were sunk, while others were damaged in this storm off the west coast of Sicily<sup>130</sup>; and some of the Genovese ships hired to transport Louis IX's crusaders were also sunk and many more were disabled by this storm<sup>131</sup>. The galleys of Charles of Anjou in 1275, oars and three masts included, weighed 80 metric tons, were 39 m. long and 3.6 m. wide and had about 1 m. of freeboard<sup>132</sup>.

On the first of September 1271 the Italian cleric Tebaldo Visconti di Piacenza, Papal legate in Syria, was elected Pope Gregory X and he left Syria on the 18<sup>th</sup> of November and landed at Brindisi near Otranto, in January, 1272<sup>133</sup>.

In 1271 King Leon III (1270-1289) of the Cilician Kingdom of Lesser Armenia sent a galley carrying two envoys to the Great Khan from Laiassus-Ayas back to Acre after receiving notice of Tebaldo Visconti di Piacenza's elevation, and meetings then took place between the new Pope and the ambassadors and the envoys then returned to Laiassus from Acre during the winter season of 1271<sup>134</sup>.

1276 King of Cyprus (1267-84) and titular ruler of Jerusalem, Hugh III left Outremer for Cyprus in October<sup>135</sup>/November<sup>136</sup>.

Early in 1279 the Castilian fleet of Alfonso X blockaded the Straits of Gibraltar against the Merinids with the appearance of the fleet off Malaga on the 31<sup>st</sup> of January resulting in the Merinid Emir surrendering the port<sup>137</sup>.

1282 the Neapolitan and Provençal squadrons of King Charles of Anjou's invasion fleet had been assembled in the harbour of Messina by mid-March, with the fleet collected during the winter season<sup>138</sup>.

In November 1282 Emperor Michael VIII took a boat from Selymbria through a fearful storm to Raidestos on the sea of Marmora<sup>139</sup>.

In January 1283 documented trade resumed between Sicily and Malta following the anti-Angevin pro-Aragonese uprising in Malta, with the export from the port of Linata, Sicily, to Malta

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<sup>129</sup> Polo 1908, 17.

<sup>130</sup> Runciman 1960, 161-2.

<sup>131</sup> Runciman 1960, 169.

<sup>132</sup> Pryor 1992, 66, Table 3.

<sup>133</sup> Polo 1908, 18 fn. 2.

<sup>134</sup> Polo 1908, 18-19.

<sup>135</sup> Barber 2010, 172.

<sup>136</sup> Runciman 1960, 199.

<sup>137</sup> O'Callaghan 2011, 76.

<sup>138</sup> Runciman 1960, 234.

<sup>139</sup> Nicol 1999, 87.



of 300 salme of wheat, in 3 vessels with a dead-weight of 100 salma<sup>140</sup>.

Early in 1287 there was a battle between Pisan and Genovese fleets off Acre<sup>141</sup>.

In the winter of 1291-2 the Catholic missionary Ramon Lull (Ramón Llull) disembarked at Tunis having embarked on a vessel sailing from Genoa<sup>142</sup>. The same vessel departed from Tunis during the winter season for Genoa<sup>143</sup>.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of October 1294 a Venetian fleet of 68 galleys left the lagoon and before the end of the year in the Gulf of Alexandretta fought and lost a naval battle against a Genovese fleet of galleys lashed together, presumably in part because of the weather, as well as creating a relatively flat fighting platform, a version of Anna Comnena's 'sea harbour'<sup>144</sup>. The Venetians lost 25 galleys from 68 with the Venetian Admiral Basegio also killed<sup>145</sup>. It was fought in the Gulf of Alexandretta because of the importance at that time for merchants of the Christian controlled port of Ayaş<sup>146</sup> (Yumurtalik) recorded as Ayasi, Ajacium, Ajazzo, Aiiax, Lajacium, Lajazzo, Lajasso, Laiassus, Laiazzino, Layas, Laizo, Laiatium and Layays, the port visited by Marco Polo in c. 1272 who described: "*Its port is frequented by merchants from Venice, Genoa and many other places, who trade in spiceries and drugs of different stuffs, manufactures of silks and of wool and other rich commodities. The persons who travel into the interior of the Levant usually proceed in the first instance to this port of Laiassus*"<sup>147</sup>. The prominence of the port of Ayaş was due to the fall of Acre in 1291 and the Genovese control over the Black Sea and its trade routes that had replaced those passing through Acre.

In December 1295 a fleet of 165 galleys with 35,000 men under Oberto Doria had returned to Genoa, having sailed to Sicily and which had failed in its attempt to find and defeat the Venetian fleet<sup>148</sup>.

In November 1300 Amaury of Lusignan, the Masters of the Temple and of the Hospitallers and about 600 knights, half from the military orders, set sail from Famagusta for Ruad/Arwad/Arados, the island near Tortosa/Tartus, launching raids on the adjacent Mamlūke coast, but the Mongols failed to arrive at the designated meeting place after their victory over the Mamlūkes at Homs in December 1299 until February 1300, and so, unable to effect any joint operations, the Crusader force retired from Ruad during the winter season, returning to Lusignan Cyprus<sup>149</sup>.

In March 1302 pirates from Rhodes seized Guy of Ibelin Count of Jaffa and his family from their castle near Limassol and their release came when the Grand Master of the Temple, James Molay, paid a ransom of 45,000 silver pieces<sup>150</sup>.

The December 1308 shipwreck of the embassy from Amaury of Cyprus to Pope Clement V

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<sup>140</sup> Dalli 2006, 142.

<sup>141</sup> Barber 2010, 174-5.

<sup>142</sup> Zwemer 1902, 86.

<sup>143</sup> Zwemer 1902, 93.

<sup>144</sup> Comnena 1969, 190.

<sup>145</sup> Norwich 1982, 176.

<sup>146</sup> For its importance in the late XIII<sup>th</sup> c. slave trade and for its Templar wharf see, Barber 2010, 240.

<sup>147</sup> Polo 1908, 31-32.

<sup>148</sup> Epstein 1996, 182.

<sup>149</sup> Barber 2010 293-294.

<sup>150</sup> Barber 2010, 294.

(1305-14) on Lango-Stancio-İstanköy-Cos<sup>151</sup>, resulted in another embassy departed from Cyprus in the middle of the winter season, and these envoys arrived in Avignon by January and yet another arrived by February 1308, concerned with the succession dispute between Hugh and Amaury<sup>152</sup>.

Early in 1310 the *passagium particulare* set sail and arrived to aid in the Hospitaller conquest of Rhodes<sup>153</sup>.

In March 1310 two knights sailed to Rhodes from Cyprus, due to their royalist sympathies<sup>154</sup> and the Papal envoy Raymond of Piis arrived from Avignon, leaving from Marseilles and arriving in Rhodes on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of January and reaching Cyprus on the 7<sup>th</sup> of March<sup>155</sup>.

Aragonese ships were sent from Sicily in support of the Hafsīd Zakariyyā I, al-Lihiani, which aided in the fall of Tunis and the overthrowal of the Hafsīd Khālīd I, Abul Baqa in October 1311<sup>156</sup>.

In December of 1319 Sophonias voyaging from Alexandria to Crete had goods worth 150 hyperpers taken from him by the Venetian Nicola Carandove<sup>157</sup> and, in the same month of December, “*Nascimbene and Marino Sfatto Venetians of Crete, behaving as pirates, plundered an island named Tadius (of) six boats with merchandise and forty men. The value of all the goods lost is 3,000 hyperpers, and the aforesaid men thus captured were ransomed for 500 hyperpers*”<sup>158</sup>.

Ibn Battuta arrived after a ten day voyage “*with a favouring wind*”<sup>159</sup> in Al-Alaya (Alanya) in December 1332<sup>160</sup> on a large Genovese vessel from the Syrian port of Ladhīqiya (Lattakieh).

On the 28<sup>th</sup> of October 1344 Smyrna/Izmir was taken by a combined fleet of 4 Papal, 6 Hospitaller Knights of St. John, 4 Lusignan Cypriot, 1 Naxian and 5 Venetian vessels and the harbour was occupied<sup>161</sup>.

The 1347 *passaggio* from Rhodes reached Cilicia in March<sup>162</sup>.

1347-8 Yersinia Pestis, the Black Death, plague arrived in the spring of 1347 in Constantinople<sup>163</sup>, reaching the port of Alexandria also in the spring and Messina and Marseilles, probably in the second week of September 1347, Genoa, probably in the second week of November 1347<sup>164</sup> and at Venice, probably at the end of November 1347<sup>165</sup> about the same time the infection reached Pisa<sup>166</sup>. It is said to have been brought by the trade fleets returning from Caffa in the Crimea to Venice, but more probably, given bubonic plagues’ 7 week period of incubation, as distinct from

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<sup>151</sup> Edbury 2000, 15.

<sup>152</sup> Edbury 2000, 119.

<sup>153</sup> Edbury 2000, 121.

<sup>154</sup> Edbury 2000, 124.

<sup>155</sup> Edbury 2000, 15, 124.

<sup>156</sup> Abun-Nasr 1971, 146.

<sup>157</sup> Lopez – Raymond 1990, 315.

<sup>158</sup> Lopez – Raymond 1990, 315-316.

<sup>159</sup> Ibn Battutah 2002, 102.

<sup>160</sup> Yerasimos 1991, 97.

<sup>161</sup> Makhairas 1932, II. 98; Edbury 2000, 159.

<sup>162</sup> Luttrell 1978, 129.

<sup>163</sup> Benedictow 2004, 61.

<sup>164</sup> Benedictow 2004, 71.

<sup>165</sup> Benedictow 2004, 72.

<sup>166</sup> Benedictow 2004, 71-72.

the immediate effect of pneumonic plague, it was brought from Ragusa, which was visited by a fleet returning from the Crimea in late 1347<sup>167</sup>, or from the already plague infected Sicily or from Tunisia, or in the case of Pisa from infected Sardinia and Corsica. It reached the Balearic island of Mallorca in December 1347 and then Perpignan by January 1348<sup>168</sup>. The maritime spread of plague in the months of October to January serves as clear marker of the practice of winter sailing in the Eastern, as likewise in the Western Mediterranean in 1347.

Two Genoese galleys that arrived in January 1348 were said to have brought the plague to Pisa<sup>169</sup>, although the infection seems to have arrived about 7 weeks earlier, during the winter season.

On the 6<sup>th</sup> of March 1349 the Emperor John VI's new fleet of 9 medium sized and 100 smaller ships was caught in a storm off Seraglio point Constantinople or were abandoned by their crews in the face of the Genoese fleet, some were destroyed while others towed away by the Genoese<sup>170</sup>.

At the end of the winter season in 1349 two of the sons of King Hugh of Cyprus took passage from Cyprus and the King sent a galley to look for his sons to Chios from where it returned to the harbour of Famagusta<sup>171</sup>.

In December 1349 following the unsuccessful siege of Tunis by the Marinid Abul-Hassan, he and his fleet left for northern Morocco. Most of his ships were wrecked near Bougie but Abul-Hassan reached the port of Algiers<sup>172</sup>.

1352 on the 13<sup>th</sup> of February the fleets of Genoa and Venice with the 18 allied galleys of Peter of Aragon, together with Emperor John VI's flotilla of 12 galleys fought in the Bosphorus beneath the walls of Galata, with most of the Venetian and Genoese galleys engaged destroyed in this midwinter maritime engagement<sup>173</sup>.

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of March 1352 a second naval battle was fought between Admiral Paganino Doria's Genoese fleet with its allied Ottoman flotilla, and the Venetian fleet<sup>174</sup>.

1354 in January Genoese light galleys raided the Venetian Adriatic islands of Lesina (Hvar) and Curzola (Korcula)<sup>175</sup>.

1354 immediately after the 2<sup>nd</sup> of March earthquake Süleyman Pasha marched with his troops and crossed over the straits in March and took the fortress of Galibolu-Gelibolu<sup>176</sup>.

On the 4<sup>th</sup> of November 1354 the Genoese fleet sailed into the harbour of Portolongo in the Peloponnese and captured the Venetian fleet at winter quarters, consisting of 56 ships including 33 galleys<sup>177</sup>.

*“On Monday the eight of December 1359 there appeared in the harbour of Kerynia-Kyrenia a galley*

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<sup>167</sup> Kelly 2006, 95.

<sup>168</sup> Benedictow 2004, 77.

<sup>169</sup> Kelly 2006, 95.

<sup>170</sup> Norwich 1995, 312-313.

<sup>171</sup> Makhairas 1932, 75.

<sup>172</sup> Abun-Nasr 1971, 130.

<sup>173</sup> Norwich 1982, 219; Epstein 1996, 220.

<sup>174</sup> Hatipoğlu 2005, 111.

<sup>175</sup> Norwich 1982, 221.

<sup>176</sup> Hatipoğlu 2005, 113.

<sup>177</sup> Norwich 1982, 223.



Fig. 1. Detail of Miniature Depicting a Fleet at Sea. British Library, Royal 20 D I, f. 66v Naples, Made for a Member of the Anjou Family in the Second Quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> Century

fully fitted out, and in her came a legate from the pope (Pope Innocent VII), whose name was Brother Peter de Thomas of the order of Carmel: and he came to Lefkosia”<sup>178</sup>.

The envoys Michael Psararis and Costas Philistis arrived in Cyprus on the 8<sup>th</sup> of January 1361 from Gorhigos (Korykos-Corycos) to surrender the castle to King Peter I<sup>179</sup>.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> of January King Peter dispatched the Smyrna galleys with Sir Robert de Lusignan to take possession of the castle of Gorhigos (Korykos-Corycos) in his name<sup>180</sup>.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of October 1362 King Peter I<sup>st</sup> left Cyprus for Rhodes and Europe arriving in Venice in early December<sup>181</sup>.

In January 1363 Turkish *guzât fi'l-bahr* under the command of Muhamed Reis with 12 galleys carried off into slavery many people from the

coastline of Lusignan Cyprus<sup>182</sup>.

Still early in 1363 (probably before the bad weather began on the 10<sup>th</sup> of January) following Muhamed Reis's successful return from his raid a further 6 galleys were fitted out in Turkey and they came to Cyprus to Karpasi, “and ravaged there, and took many villages and men, and they very nearly captured the Lady of Karpasi, the wife of Sir Alfonso de la Roche”. And then the fleet returned to Turkey<sup>183</sup>.

Two galleys and Messire Badin de Brie were ordered from Cyprus on the 10<sup>th</sup> of January 1363 to relieve the Captain of Lusignan occupied Adalia-Antalya, Sir Ralph de Carmain, but only left Paphos after 43 days of bad weather on the 13<sup>th</sup> of February for Antalya<sup>184</sup>.

In November 1364 a battle was fought off the Cypriot coast between three Turkish raiders and three Lusignan galleys under the command of Sir Roger de La Colie and the raiders were captured and hung and the Cypriot Christian captives freed, with the Lusignan galleys being disarmed in the Famagusta arsenal on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of November<sup>185</sup>.

On the 4<sup>th</sup> of October 1365 the Crusader fleet of the Lusignan King Peter I<sup>st</sup>, consisting of 16 galleys, 33 horse transports, 10 merchantmen, 20 ‘doves’, a total of 108 sail<sup>186</sup>, and in addition

<sup>178</sup> Makhairas 1932, 89-91.

<sup>179</sup> Makhairas 1932, 101. Formerly in the hands of Constantine V 1344-62, then in Cypriot hands from 1361 to 1448.

<sup>180</sup> Makhairas 1932, 101.

<sup>181</sup> Makhairas 1932, 115; Edbury 2000, 164.

<sup>182</sup> Makhairas 1932, 121.

<sup>183</sup> Makhairas 1932, 121.

<sup>184</sup> Makhairas 1932, 121.

<sup>185</sup> Makhairas 1932, 133-135.

<sup>186</sup> Makhairas 1932, 147, 149.

Venetian ships and galleys and a contingent under the command of the Italian Admiral of 100 brothers, horses and 4 galleys of the Hospitaller Order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, left Rhodes for Mamlūke Alexandria, sacked and fired the city on the 10<sup>th</sup> of October and re-embarked on the 16<sup>th</sup> of October<sup>187</sup>, to return to Rhodes, Cyprus and Venice during the winter season (For a graphic example see Fig. 1)<sup>188</sup>.

1366 A crusader fleet raised by King Peter I<sup>st</sup> consisting of 56 galleys, including a Hospitaller contingent from Rhodes, and 60 other vessel left Cyprus on the 17<sup>th</sup> of January, but a winter storm broke up the fleet (For a graphic example see Fig. 2)<sup>189</sup>.

Late in 1366 a Lusignan galley containing nobles and Catalan merchants returned from an unsuccessful peace mission to Mamlūke Cairo, the galley arriving back in Famagusta on the 26<sup>th</sup> of November 1366<sup>190</sup>.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> of November 1366, 4 galleys, 12 light ships and other Hospitaller ships from Rhodes arrived in Famagusta, joining the Crusader fleet of King Peter I<sup>st</sup>, consisting of 116 sail, 56 galleys, 60 great sailing ships and other craft, which departed on the 7<sup>th</sup> of January 1367. It was scattered by a storm, but 15 galleys under Sieur de Lesparre attacked Mamlūke Tripoli, took the keel and captured the captain Mouqaddim Daoud in January, remaining in Tripoli for 15 days and then returning to Famagusta during the winter season<sup>191</sup>.

In February 1366 the Mamlūke peace envoys arrived in Famagusta from Egypt with peace concluded on the 10<sup>th</sup> of February, after which a galley and a light ship (a courier vessel), and two great



Fig. 2. *Detail of Miniature Depicting a Storm at Sea. British Library, Royal 20 D I, f. 176v Naples, Made for a Member of the Anjou Family in the Second Quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> Century*

<sup>187</sup> Edbury 2000, 167.

<sup>188</sup> Edbury 2000, 167.

<sup>189</sup> Makhairas 1932, II. 120; Edbury 2000, 169.

<sup>190</sup> Makhairas 1932, 169.

<sup>191</sup> Makhairas 1932, 169-171.

ships were fitted out to transport the peace envoys and freed Muslim captives, which left Famagusta on the 14<sup>th</sup> of March 1367, together with a galley of the King of Aragon and a Genovese galley, for Alexandria<sup>192</sup>.

1367 A Mamlūke envoy and Sir James de Belonia arrive from Egypt in Lusignan Cyprus in February, and an embassy was sent from Lusignan Cyprus to Cairo in March<sup>193</sup>.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> of February 1367 a relief force of 10 galleys left Cyprus for besieged Gorhigos-Korykos, lifted the Karamanid siege and returned to Famagusta on the 14<sup>th</sup> of March both voyages conducted during the winter season<sup>194</sup>.

After the 5<sup>th</sup> of October 1367 two Genovese galleys left Rhodes as Lusignan privateers, captained by Peter de Grimante and his brother John, for Sidon where they captured three loaded Muslim merchant ships at Sidon and another on their way to Cyprus and these four captured ships they brought to Famagusta<sup>195</sup>.

The two privateer galleys captained by Peter de Grimante and his brother John went from Famagusta and captured at Alexandria a great Muslim merchant ship from Hafsīd Tripoli and brought the ship and valuable cargo to Cyprus, reaching Famagusta on the 1<sup>st</sup> of April 1368<sup>196</sup>.

Following the murder of King Peter I<sup>st</sup> on the 17<sup>th</sup> of January 1369, Sir John Monstri, the Admiral was imprisoned in the Kerynia-Kyrenia tower on Cyprus, from where he escaped in January and entering a *caïque* by the tower and, although pursued by a small Lusignan galley, reached the Gulf of Antalya, landed and subsequently died of exhaustion, was found and buried in the church of Santa Marina (probably at Magydos) near Adalia-Antalya. Meanwhile a second galley with Sir Badin Rasour and Sir John Pasel was dispatched in January from Cyprus to also hunt for him<sup>197</sup>.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> of December 1369 the peace envoys on the two Lusignan galleys captained by Sir Peter de Cassi and Sir John Gorap returned to Paphos, Cyprus, together with the Genovese and Venetian galleys and their envoys from Cairo, and then they went on to Rhodes, with the two Lusignan galleys returning to Famagusta from Hospitaller Rhodes in the winter<sup>198</sup> and then, to conclude peace with the Mamlūkes, the fleet of eight galleys, two from Cyprus, Venetian, Genovese and Rhodes left from Rhodes for Alexandria in the winter season<sup>199</sup>.

In the winter of 1369 the Genovese captain Pellegrino Maraboto sailed with merchants on a diplomatic mission to Alexandria covering, “3,700 nautical miles in 81 days, and about a third of his nights were spent at sea”<sup>200</sup>, during the round trip to Genoa returning in 1370<sup>201</sup>, sailing through the winter months including December and January.

On the 10<sup>th</sup> of February 1370 a galley left Cyprus bringing an account of the Mamlūke Sultan al-

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<sup>192</sup> Makhairas 1932, 173-179.

<sup>193</sup> Makhairas 1932, 173-5; Edbury 2000, 169.

<sup>194</sup> Makhairas 1932, 175-177.

<sup>195</sup> Makhairas 1932, 195.

<sup>196</sup> Makhairas 1932, 201.

<sup>197</sup> Makhairas 1932, 271-3.

<sup>198</sup> Makhairas 1932, 279-283.

<sup>199</sup> Makhairas 1932, 279.

<sup>200</sup> Horden – Purcell 2000, 140.

<sup>201</sup> Cowan 2000, 131.

Malik al-Ashraf Sha'bān II's attitude towards peace and the resumption of trade, to Venice and Genoa<sup>202</sup>.

In February 1370 the Bishop of Foulie and Messire William de Charni returned to Cyprus from the Papal court at Avignon<sup>203</sup>.

In October 1372 four Venetian galleys arrived on Cyprus and they left with the envoys Sir Renier Le Petit and Sir William de Charni, to Pope Gregory XI (1370-78) in Avignon during the winter season<sup>204</sup>.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> of November 1372 a galley with envoys arrived in Famagusta from the Emperor John V Palaiologos in Constantinople<sup>205</sup>.

1373 King Peter II of Cyprus and the Prince of Tarsus sent the Archbishop of Cyprus to Venice in February<sup>206</sup>; and in March the Genovese dispatched seven galleys to Lusignan Cyprus<sup>207</sup>.

The knight Renier Le Petit set out at the beginning of October 1373 to return from the Papal Court in Avignon to Cyprus<sup>208</sup>.

In January 1374 the Grand Master of the Order of the Hospitallers of St. John, Raimondo de Beranger, arrived in a big galley in Cyprus from Rhodes to mediate between the Lusignans and the Genovese. He died in February, and following his funeral the Order's big galley returned to Rhodes during the winter season<sup>209</sup>.

In February 1374 a Genovese warship with a mighty mangonel on board, the type of vessel sometimes described as a 'Cat', was sailed along the Cypriot coastline from Famagusta to the siege of Kerynia-Kyrenia<sup>210</sup>, and on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March a flotilla of Genovese galleys reached Kerynia-Kyrenia to attack the harbour and castle from the sea<sup>211</sup>.

On the 5<sup>th</sup> of December 1374 eight Genovese galleys loaded down with loot from Cyprus set out for Genoa, but six of them were wrecked the same day with the loss of all on board off Cape Santa Napa<sup>212</sup>.

During the winter of 1374-5 Sir Thibald and his mercenary company of 800 troops, Lombards, Germans, Hungarians, Savoyards, Franks and Cretans, left Venice in a Great Ship and arrived at Paphos in March<sup>213</sup>, having captured two Genovese galleys sent from Cyprus to intercept his great ship.

Pope Gregory XI left Avignon and returned the papacy to Rome, leaving Marseilles and arriving

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<sup>202</sup> Makhairas 1932, 285.

<sup>203</sup> Makhairas 1932, 297.

<sup>204</sup> Makhairas 1932, 325.

<sup>205</sup> Makhairas 1932, 327.

<sup>206</sup> Edbury 2000, 202.

<sup>207</sup> Edbury 2000, 202.

<sup>208</sup> Edbury 2000, 203.

<sup>209</sup> Makhairas 1932, 449.

<sup>210</sup> Makhairas 1932, 63.

<sup>211</sup> Makhairas 1932, 483.

<sup>212</sup> Makhairas 1932, 574.

<sup>213</sup> Makhairas 1932, 555-7.

in Rome on the 17<sup>th</sup> of January 1377<sup>214</sup>.

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1380 a Venetian fleet of 18 vessels returned to Venice from the Eastern Mediterranean<sup>215</sup>.

King Leon VI, who had been captured at Sis-Kozan in April 1375, and who had been released by the Mamlūkes, reached Rhodes from Cairo on the 21<sup>st</sup> of October in 1382, and he departed for the West from Rhodes on the 21<sup>st</sup> of November during the winter season<sup>216</sup>.

In the winter of 1382-3 the Lusignan prisoners who had been released from captivity in Genoa reached Cyprus<sup>217</sup>.

In December 1382 Francesco di Marco Datini sent his household goods by sea from Avignon, via Arles to Pisa<sup>218</sup>, while he travelled overland.

At the end of 1384 or the beginning of 1385 the Venetian *Castellani*-the governor of Modon and Coron informed Venice of the Genovese efforts to take over the port of Navarino<sup>219</sup>.

On the 10<sup>th</sup> of November 1385 the pilgrims Peter Sparnau and Ulrich von Tannstaedt departed from Rhodes for Didyma which they reached after one days sailing in the course of their return journey from Palestine<sup>220</sup>.

The Genovese, Sicilian, French and Aragonese siege of Mahdiyya was maintained for a full six months into the winter season of 1390<sup>221</sup>.

A ship was chartered to sail from London to Genoa by the firm of Mannini brothers, leaving for the Mediterranean from the port of Southampton on the 8<sup>th</sup> of November 1392<sup>222</sup>.

The banished Henry Bolingbroke, who became King Henry IV of England in 1399, sailed from Venice on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of December 1392 for Zara arriving on Christmas day, then sailing on to Corfu, Rhodes, Jaffa and Jerusalem during the winter season<sup>223</sup>.

## Conclusions

Rather like a history of art written upon the basis of the numerous Muslim religious rulings forbidding the depictions of human and other figures in Islamic art, rather than a history of art written on the basis of the recorded production of depictions of the human and other figures in Islamic art and from the numerous surviving examples, both pictorial and sculptural - a history of Medieval Mediterranean maritime activity based upon the legislation of maritime states forbidding sailing during the winter months, together with references to ancient sailing calendars; instead of employing the evidence, the record of the date of the departure and of the arrival of actual vessels and of fleets in the Medieval Mediterranean during the winter months, presents us with a most misleading, if simple and easily understood, relatively well documented as legislated, picture of the

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<sup>214</sup> Farrow 1945, 195.

<sup>215</sup> Norwich 1982, 254.

<sup>216</sup> Luttrell 1978, 132.

<sup>217</sup> Makhairas 1932, 597.

<sup>218</sup> Origo 1992, 53.

<sup>219</sup> Gertwagen 2002, 354.

<sup>220</sup> Yerasimos 1991, 99.

<sup>221</sup> Abun-Nasr 1971, 148.

<sup>222</sup> Origo 1992, 74.

<sup>223</sup> Phillips 2010, 293.



Medieval Mediterranean during the winter months, from which one understands that this winter season was a season largely, if not entirely, without ships voyaging over the Mediterranean.

However, this picture of the Mediterranean painted from legal documents and calendars is profoundly and evidently misleading, because the effectiveness, the actual implementation of the legislation that was enacted, is quite simply refuted by the recorded evidence of departures, voyaging and arrivals, with, for example the *Constitutum Usus* of Pisa of 1160 with its legislated suspension of maritime activity between the 3<sup>rd</sup> of November and the 1<sup>st</sup> of March<sup>224</sup>, yet the Pisan fleet sailed in the autumn of 1199 and in early winter besieged East Roman held Laodicea/Latakia and then in midwinter sailed west along the coast to Rhodes where they were encountered and defeated by a Venetian fleet. As likewise the Venetian maritime statute of 1284 also legislated for the suspension of maritime activity between St. Andrew's Day and the kalends of March<sup>225</sup>, yet only a decade later, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of October 1294 the Venetian fleet left the lagoon with the aim of reaching the Gulf of Alexandretta and of fighting the Genovese fleet. There was a somewhat remote possibility of the fleet reaching the Gulf of Alexandretta in less than a month and finding and fighting the Genovese fleet, and so, it was the case of necessity, to ignore this legal prohibition on voyaging and of fighting at sea within this prohibited winter period. While a century later Henry Bolingbroke sailed from Venice on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of December 1392 for Zara, crossing the Adriatic and arriving on Christmas day, and he then went on to Corfu and Rhodes within this period supposedly prohibited for voyages by the Venetian maritime statute of 1284. Consequently the sailing calendars and Latin maritime laws prohibiting sailing in the winter season seem to present us in the calendars with a guide, and in the laws with some legislated ideal, a traditionally employed definition of a "closed" Mediterranean, quite simply a legal fiction<sup>226</sup>, and these legal points of reference were it seems obeyed more often in their breach under the pressure of everyday reality, than in their actual observance by the captains of larger military and commercial vessels which were more able to sail in winter conditions, although it was also the case that some voyages in the winter season were also undertaken in smaller vessels, as for example in 1206 from Antalya to Cyprus, or under the pressure of circumstances, as in January 1369 in a *caique* from Cyprus to the Gulf of Antalya.

Further, it is the case that storms in the Mediterranean also occur in the period from April to mid-October, during the summer season, the vessel transporting Saewulf was wrecked by the waves from a gale just three hours after leaving port on the 13<sup>th</sup> of July 1102<sup>227</sup>, and, in respect to the Coptic Calendar and the Eastern Mediterranean, although the winter sailing season has unsurprisingly the largest number of days of gales/strong winds listed, with 45 noted in five and a half months (166 days), with peaks in January of 11 days and 12 days in March, an average of one day in four; the summer season does list 8 days of gales/strong winds in the summer sailing season of six and a half months (199 days), spread over the months of April, July and September, an average of one day in three weeks (Fig 3). Voyaging in the Medieval Mediterranean at any time of the year carried risks.

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<sup>224</sup> Braudel 1972, 248.

<sup>225</sup> Braudel 1972, 248.

<sup>226</sup> It is noteworthy that in the legal deal struck between Genoa and its subject city of Albenga at the end of the XII<sup>th</sup> c., the "sailing season" is described as extended for the 6 months from the 1<sup>st</sup> of April to the 1<sup>st</sup> of October, rather than to mid-October, "Ships from Albegna would not sail beyond Sardinia or Barcelona from April 1 to 1 October without putting in at Genoa first", perhaps suggesting that the period between October and April of not sailing was more a standard of legal fiction, rather than being a functioning actualité, Epstein 1996, 90.

<sup>227</sup> Wright 2003, 31-32.



Fig. 3. Detail of the Miniature Depicting a Storm and Ships Sinking, British Library, Royal 20 D I, f. 177 Naples, Made for a Member of the Anjou Family in the Second Quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> Century

However, winter sailing during the months of October through to March in the Medieval Mediterranean was undertaken much more frequently than one would expect from the recorded legislation and from the published works mentioning this matter cited at the start of this article. Individual vessels, flotillas and fleets sailed in the Medieval period in the Mediterranean during the winter season, largely but not entirely under the pressure of the military requirements of Jihad and Crusade, of commercial/territorial interests, coastal raiding, rivalry, corsairing-piracy and of imperialist adventures, as was for example the case for King Roger of Sicily and King Charles of Anjou's maritime campaigns.

F. Braudel's statement that, "Until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century sailors of the Levant<sup>228</sup> put to sea only between the feasts of St. George (5<sup>th</sup> May) and St. Dimitri (26<sup>th</sup> October)"<sup>229</sup>, has too numerous and too varied recorded

exceptions to stand, both in the period surveyed in this article in respect to the Levantine East Roman, Umayyad and Abbasid, Fatimid, Aghlabid, Ayyūbid, Mamlūke and Turkish Emirate fleets and in the subsequent post-XIV<sup>th</sup> c. period, and should therefore be disregarded, except probably in the case of the putting out to sea of local fishing boats and fishing fleets during these winter months.

Concerning Henry Bolingbroke's departure from Venice on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of December 1392, J. Phillips remarks that, "By this time, shipping could endure the Mediterranean in winter..."<sup>230</sup> while J. J. Norwich stated that in the case of both Genoa and Venice, all weather ships were produced a century earlier, by the last quarter of the XIII<sup>th</sup> c., "these (ships) were capable of putting to sea in winter and summer alike, sailing became for the first time an all year round profession and seamanship underwent a spectacular improvement"<sup>231</sup>; and M. Balard in respect to the XIII<sup>th</sup> c. sailing of Venetian and Genovese fleets writes, "A winter pause in the East, often limited to only a few weeks, broke the rhythm of navigation"<sup>232</sup>. However, it seems evident from the above chronology that the practice of winter sailing can be said to have begun considerably earlier, with sailing in the Medieval Mediterranean being an all year round profession in some cases from before 726, when the pilgrim Willibald waited at the Muslim port of Sur/Tyre and finally took ship for Constantinople on the 30<sup>th</sup> of November, sailing through the winter season to reach his destination the week before Easter.

Galleys traversed the seas during the winter season<sup>233</sup>, there were varying numbers of galleys

<sup>228</sup> In this context the word Levant meaning only the Eastern part of the Mediterranean, its coastline and its islands.

<sup>229</sup> Braudel 1972, 248, legislation is one thing, actuality is of course often quite another, see also *idem* 263 where, this practice of winter sailing is attributed to the arrival of the northern cog in the Mediterranean in the XV<sup>th</sup> c. today understood to have arrived in the Mediterranean during the Third Crusade, Pryor 1992, 39-41.

<sup>230</sup> Phillips 2010, 293.

<sup>231</sup> Norwich 1982, 202.

<sup>232</sup> Balard 2003, 196.

<sup>233</sup> For the winter use of Hospitaller galleys with high sides in the Mediterranean, see, Nicolle 2008, 172.

employed in the blockading of ports during the winter, including in: 668-9, 674-80, 716-717 in the Umayyad sieges of Constantinople and in 1124, 1147, 1148, 1171-2, 1187, 1215-16, 1270, 1279 and 1365, 1368, and opposing galley fleets engaged in battle in the Mediterranean during the winter, including in: 912, 1084, 1099, 1287, 1294 and 1352. Consequently there are both significant and numerous exceptions found in this period to the idea that galleys were as a matter of course laid up during the winter months in the Medieval Mediterranean, with crews dismissed and free oarsmen finding other employment and galley slaves put to other work or re-imprisoned on land because these oared vessels would be swamped in the stormy winter seas of the Mediterranean. It is evident that some galleys and at times fleets of galleys traversed the routes of the Medieval Mediterranean during the winter months, even though galleys and fleets of galleys were at times swamped in heavy seas, in storms and gales and sank, as in the winter of 677-8, or in 1270 off Sicily. But then, during the summer season, in the late summer of 717 following the lifting of the Umayyad siege of al-Kustantiniyah/Constantinople, from a reported fleet of 1800 vessels, including many galleys, due to a storm, only 5 Umayyad vessels returned to Syria<sup>234</sup>; and one of the two galleys transporting the Emperor Michael's envoys from Constantinople to the Council of Lyons held in May 1275 was wrecked in a storm rounding Cape Malea, with the loss of all on board except for one sailor, during the summer sailing season<sup>235</sup>, as likewise during the Venetian blockade of Ancona in 1277 when a summer storm dashed most of the galleys onto the rocks<sup>236</sup>. Voyaging on the inner sea was a risky, sometimes dangerous undertaking at any time of year, but it seems that these risks were undertaken during both the summer and the winter sailing season throughout this period.

Measures were taken by shipbuilders in the Medieval Mediterranean to improve the seaworthiness of vessels encountering inclement weather, with the *dromone* with rectangular, or lateen sails, employed initially by the Caliphs' navy in the VII<sup>th</sup> c. but, with sailing in all seasons, unlike the East Romans at that time, including winter sailing and raiding carried out by Muslim fleets, there came a much greater use of lateen sails than of oars, and vessels were constructed with higher sides to prevent swamping, with these higher sides to prevent swamping later employed by the East Romans, and then in the construction of the Genovese and Venetian late XIII<sup>th</sup> c. *galleasse/galeazza-galeass* (as later by the Hospitaller Order of St. John of Jerusalem for their galleys in the late XV<sup>th</sup> c. for patrols, raids and *passaggio* in winter<sup>237</sup>). Venetian and Genovese fleets of oared merchant *galleasse*, primarily a sailing vessel, which were constructed following the reopening of the Straits of Gibraltar by the Genovese Benedetto Zaccaria in 1291, when the Merinid (Moroccan) fleet that had largely controlled the Straits and Mediterranean access to the Atlantic, was destroyed<sup>238</sup>, were constructed frame first and were up to 50 meters long and 3 meters deep, 9 meters wide with 3 masts and lateen sails, with 200 *voluntarie* paid oarsmen and a cargo of 250 tons<sup>239</sup>, which, from the first quarter of the XIV<sup>th</sup> c. onwards, regularly ventured through the Straits

<sup>234</sup> Hitti 1991, 203, citing Theophanis.

<sup>235</sup> Runciman 1960, 183.

<sup>236</sup> Norwich 1982, 170.

<sup>237</sup> A XIV<sup>th</sup> c. Hospitaller Grand Master planned to maintain a fleet of 60 galleys at Rhodes which were to take to sea for 8 months of the year, indicating the projected use of galleys in pretty much all weather conditions, see, Nicolle 2008, 169, and in the late XV<sup>th</sup> c. the Hospitaller war galleys, larger and with taller sides were able to keep at sea in rough weather, "*sometimes through the winter*" *idem* 172.

<sup>238</sup> Norwich 1982, 202.

<sup>239</sup> Norwich 1982, 203; Balard 2003, 201.

out into the Atlantic and crossed the stormy Bay of Biscay to trade in London, Bruges/Sluys and the Low Countries<sup>240</sup> arriving generally in July with some reaching into the Baltic, and which seems to have been combined with the adoption by some Latin Mediterranean mariners of the compass; as likewise earlier Muslim vessels had passed through the Straits into the Atlantic to reached up to Ireland and down the coastline of West Africa and to the Canary Islands, and by the late X<sup>th</sup> c. the *tarida* could transport 40 horses<sup>241</sup>, clearly indicating in this Medieval period the seaworthiness and strength of some Mediterranean ship construction and of seamanship in Atlantic ocean storms and rolling breakers<sup>242</sup>.

Although the inclement winter weather, storms, are frequently cited as the reason for the great reduction in commercial voyages during the winter, it seems to be the case, at least for the long distance maritime transport in bulk of harvested grain in the Mediterranean, that it would have occurred in any case primarily in the summer and in the early autumn, after the harvest, even if there were no storms in winter. But under the pressure of a severe food shortage voyages were certainly undertaken in winter over short and longer distances in the Medieval period to supply grain to hungry populations, both from dire necessity and for profit, as recorded for example in 1268 and 1283. Likewise the limitations on land transport due to the winter weather, the cold, snowfalls, blizzards, ice and mud, blocked mountain passes, flooded rivers etc. would inevitably to some considerable extent have reduced overland trade and movements along the roads servicing the ports in Anatolia<sup>243</sup> and of East Roman, Latin and Muslim Europe, leading to a reduction in bulk goods arriving at the quayside from inland; combined with the cost to merchants of the storage of goods in warehouses near the quayside until roads became open in the spring, which would inevitably have also placed limitations upon the need for commercial shipping to undertake voyages during the winter season.

The departure of large commercial vessels from Venice, Genoa and Pisa was influenced not only by the season and its influence on available cargoes and profits, but primarily due to the prevalence of hostilities, both religious and commercial and with the ever present threat of piracy, leading to the development of the convoy system of caravans, *carovana* with their protective screen of galleys, paid for by the Venetian state from 1303<sup>244</sup>, which did usually depart in the summer season and returned usually before the start of the winter season or overwintered, returning the following summer season<sup>245</sup>. However, other fleet activities by these same Latin maritime powers, as by others, were undertaken during the winter season, naval battles were fought in December and January in the Eastern Mediterranean, while it is recorded that maritime raids in strength, the blockading of Mediterranean ports was undertaken and invasions were all launched during the course of the winter season, in October in the Eastern Mediterranean, in November in the Adriatic, in December

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<sup>240</sup> Origo 1992, 73; 85; Balard 2003, 203.

<sup>241</sup> Nicolle 2007a, 260.

<sup>242</sup> Nicolle 2007a, 258, notes the earlier Mediterranean adoption of three-masted and of multi-decked vessels, and of the stern-post rudder by Islamic states bordering the Mediterranean, as also the adoption of some aspects of the northern European cog by the mid-XIII<sup>th</sup> c. *idem* 259.

<sup>243</sup> Such as the caravan of 500 merchants from Iran destroyed in a blizzard in Anatolia in 1135, Cahen 2001, 92.

<sup>244</sup> Howard 2007, 65.

<sup>245</sup> For exceptions see the entries for 1099-1100 when the fleet returned to Venice on the 6<sup>th</sup> of December and in 1380 when the fleet, but this was a war fleet, fortunately returned to Venice on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January, breaking the blockade of the lagoon.

in both the Western and Eastern Mediterranean and in February in the Eastern Mediterranean. It is noteworthy, as D. Abulafia has pointed out from the tax returns on ships incoming to Majorca in the early XIV<sup>th</sup> c, that, “*almost any month could rate as a busy month*”<sup>246</sup>, including these winter months of the supposedly closed sailing season, and one can reasonably expect that such had also been the case prior to the XIV<sup>th</sup> c.

Consequently, from the recorded evidence presented through the brief chronology given above, it would seem, given the apparent widespread and reasonable fear of gales and storms, of the winter weather, as also indicated in the Coptic Calendar and with the numerous Latin maritime states legal prohibitions against winter sailing in the Medieval Mediterranean, that quite surprisingly perhaps, in many cases these fears and prohibitions proved to be no actual hindrance to the departure from Latin, as also from Muslim and East Roman Christian Mediterranean ports of individual vessels, small groups of vessels including galleys<sup>247</sup>, as in December 1359, and, at times, the departure of substantial fleets during the winter months from mid-October to April upon a variety of military or military/commercial ventures throughout this historical period. Some voyages were even undertaken in the middle of winter in December-January, in 724; in midwinter Emperor Manuel Comnenus sent his wife Empress Irene, Bertha of Sulzbach, from Constantinople to Ephesus after Christmas 1147, who early in 1148 brought her sick brother Conrad III by sea to Constantinople. A year later King Louis and Eleanor of Aquitaine left Attaleia/Antalya by sea in February for Antioch and in 1192-3 the Queen of England Berengaria (of Navarre), wife of Richard Coeur-de-Lion, with Joanna Plantagenet sailed from Outremer to Sicily and then in January sailed on to Marseilles; or as when the newly elected Pope Gregory X left Syria in mid-November 1271 and landed at Brindisi in January 1272. Consequently it can evidently be stated that voyages of some considerable duration were undertaken by important figures during the depths of winter on the Mediterranean during the XII<sup>th</sup> - XIV<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Further, it can be understood that the vessels employed in the Medieval Mediterranean were, given the chronology outlined above, not in fact entirely “*unsuited to anything but the most clement of conditions*”<sup>248</sup>, notwithstanding the fact that numerous vessels and occasionally entire fleets were lost as a consequence of storms at sea during these winter months. Precautions were taken against both the strength and the size of waves in winter, addressed through the building of heavier and therefore slower but stronger vessels, with taller sides increasing freeboard and with the greater use of lateen (*mizzen-mizzen-latine-latini*) sails rather than oars, by the Muslims in the late VIII<sup>th</sup> - IX<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>249</sup>, by the East Romans in the X<sup>th</sup> c. and then by the Latin Mediterranean shipbuilders. The use of

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<sup>246</sup> Abulafia 1994, 132-3.

<sup>247</sup> Such as the Hospitaller and Templar galleys that with the Crusader fleet broke the Ayyūbid fleet blockading Tyre in December 1187. In the late XV<sup>th</sup> c. Hospitaller war galleys, larger and with taller sides were able to keep at sea in rough weather, “*sometimes through the winter*” Nicolle 2008, 172.

<sup>248</sup> Bartlett 1999, 91.

<sup>249</sup> Concerning Muslim shipbuilding for heavy seas, the vessel that transported the envoy sent from Andalus in 845 to Denmark or Ireland via the Bay of Biscay would seem to indicate a certain degree of excellence: “*There is strong, though not conclusive, evidence that in 845 AD Abd al-Rahman II also sent a high ranking embassy to what was believed to be the country of ‘The King of the Majus’ This might have travelled to king Horik in Denmark, but seems more likely to have gone to the important Viking city of Dublin in Ireland which was dominated by a man called Turgeis. The head of the Andalusian deputation is said to have been the fifty year old poet and experienced diplomat Yahya ibn Hakam al-Bakri al-Ghazal who had led a similar embassy to the Byzantine*

the lateen sail in bad weather is a distinct advantage, enabling the sail to be released rapidly. Although overwintering was often practiced, as for example in 674, 1099, 1110 and 1354, and clearly, given the seasonal changes in wind directions, at times vessels had to remain in port over the winter to catch the right wind in the spring sailing season, as in sailing west from Qayruwān to carry a cargo to al-Andalus<sup>250</sup>, and with a roughly doubling of the time taken to sail from east to west in the summer season over the time taken to sail from west to east given the prevailing winds; it still remains the case that numerous voyages over both short and much longer distances in a variety of vessels for a large variety of reasons were undertaken during the winter season in the Medieval Mediterranean.

It seems evident from the above relatively brief chronology that military requirements and the opportunity of military success, loot, profit, religious/spiritual and/or material advantage, pilgrimage, the sight of the holy land, the prospect of conquest or profit, diplomatic activity, the need/desire to return home, that is the spiritual and the worldly practicalities, quite frequently outweighed for the participants, admirals, captains, crews, pilgrims, envoys, troops, merchants and travellers, both the observance of any legislated prohibition, law or legal guideline; as also the very real risk posed by voyages that were undertaken during the winter season from mid-October to April during this entire period from 700 to 1400 and the frequency of recorded winter sailing when the voyager could expect to experience the “*vagaries of the winter weather*” appears to have rapidly increased from the end of the X<sup>th</sup> c. onwards, or this may simply be a reflection of increased surviving source material. There seems to have been some reduction in commercial voyaging during the winter season, but the legal fiction of a Mediterranean closed to shipping in the winter season, insofar as it can be related to recorded events, rather than to the variety of legal fictions, seems to relate only to some commercial voyaging and seems to have applied, perhaps primarily, to fishing vessels and fishing fleets. The distance between the letter of proscriptive law, scrutinised by clerics, lawyers, scribes and historians, and the contrasting actual practice in the Medieval Mediterranean world, seems to have been as wide in the X<sup>th</sup> and the XII<sup>th</sup> centuries as it remains in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

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*Emperor in 840 AD. Their trip took nine perilous months and may have been as much to encourage peaceful trade as to learn more about these fearsome northerners*”. Nicolle 2001, 28. While Emperor Leo the Wise VI (886-912) described in his *De Navali praelio* (*Tactica*) Naumachia Trans. Dain 1943, 32, chap. 78, these Muslim ships as being large, heavy and slow in comparison with contemporary East Roman vessels, but they were designed for sailing in all weathers and seasons, unlike the lighter and faster but more weather restricted East Roman vessels at that time. It is uncertain if there was Viking-Norseman influence of Omayyad shipbuilding, although long-ships came into Omayyad hands after the battle on the 11<sup>th</sup> of November 844 A.D., on or around an island in the Guadalquivir where 30 long-ships were taken and then burnt.

<sup>250</sup> Recorded in a letter by Ibrahim b. Baruk early in the XI<sup>th</sup> c. preserved in the Geniza archive.

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