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## ROLE OF SMYRNIOTE CRUSADES ON THE LOSS OF DOMINANCE OF WESTERN ANATOLIAN PRINCIPALITIES IN AEGEAN SEA

BATI ANADOLU BEYLİKLERİNİN EGE DENİZİ'NDEKİ  
HAKİMİYET KAYBINDA İZMİR HAÇLI SEFERİ'NİN ROLÜ

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**Anahtar sözcükler**

İzmir Haçlı Seferi; Aydın Beyliği;  
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**Abstract**

Smyrniote crusades was the most effective one among the crusades after the fall of Acre in 1291. As a result of these crusades "Liman Kale" which was known as Lower Smyrna remained in the hands of Christians until 1402. Turkish maritime ghazis made many incursions in various places of the Aegean Sea during 14th century. These military campaigns were first led by the commanders of Beylik of Menteshe and were carried on by the ghazis of Aydinids in the second quarter of 14th century. Umur Bey distinguished himself as a prominent person and the strongest leader in this Beylik. Catholic powers including the Papal states started to create several leagues in the Mediterranean because of his activities in the Aegean Sea. Although the first stage of Smyrniote crusades was successful, the second stage end up with failure. Humbert II, new commander of Smyrniote crusades, arrived Smyrna in June and remained there until September. He couldn't defeat Aydinids' forces in Upper Smyrna even if he defended Liman Kale was known as Lower Smyrna against Umur Bey. He left there because of the destructive plague in the same year and went to the island of Rhodes. Umur Bey sieged Lower Smyrna for the last time. But he couldn't recapture it and become martyr with arrows thrown at him when he climbed to the fortress. Hizir of Aydin who was Umur Bey's brother, had to negotiate for ceasefire with crusaders because of this defeat. Peace treaty concluded on August 18, 1348 between Hizir Bey and Christian representatives. Knights Hospitaller and the Kingdom of Cyprus participated to Alexandrian Crusade (1365) after these stages. Despite the reactions of Crusades, Christian states faced the new Ottoman menace from the East in advancing years.

**Öz**

İzmir Haçlı Seferi, Haçlıların 1291'de Akka'yı kaybetmesinden sonra düzenlediği Haçlı harekâtları arasında en etkilisidir. Bu sefer sayesinde Aşağı İzmir adı verilen Liman Kale 1402'ye kadar Hristiyanların elinde kalmıştır. XIV. yüzyılda Türk denizci Ghazileri Ege Denizi'ndeki pek çok yerde akınlarda bulunmuştu. Önce Menteşe Beyliği'yle başlayan bu faaliyetler XIV. yüzyılın ikinci çeyreğinde Aydın Beyliği'yle devam etmiştir. Bu beylikte en kuvvetli lider olarak ön plana çıkan Aydınolu Umur Bey'in etkinlikleri Papalık dâhil Akdeniz'de bulunan Katolik güçlerinin tepkisi çekmiştir. Bu nedenle ona karşı harekete geçmekte gecikmediler. Avignon Papaları İzmir'de Haçlı egemenliği için özel bir çaba harcamışlardır. Kıbrıs Krallığı, Venedik ve Papalık donanmaları hep birlikte Umur Bey'e karşı mücadele ettiler. İki aşamalı olan İzmir Haçlı Seferi'nin birinci aşaması başarıyla sonuçlansa da ikinci aşaması sonuçsuz neticelenmiştir. Bu tarihten sonra Hospitalye şövalyeleri ile Kıbrıs Krallığı başarıyla sonuçlanan 1365 tarihli İskenderiye Haçlı Seferine katıldılar. Pek çok girişime rağmen ilerleyen yıllarda bütün Hristiyan âlemi doğuda yükselen yeni Osmanlı tehdidiyle baş başa kalacaktır.

## Introduction

Christian Europe lost all of its dominions in the Eastern Mediterranean. The last Crusader stronghold Acre was captured by the Mamluk sultan Al-Ashraf Salah al-din Khalil in 1291 (Setton 1976, I, p. 163). A new crusade was very unlikely due to the political crisis between pope Boniface VIII and the King of France Philippe IV. This crisis ended with the moving of the seat of Papacy to Avignon after pope Clement V decided to stay at Avignon. Clement V (1305-1314) who was the first pope in Avignon accused Greeks for the decline of the crusader kingdoms in the Middle East. According to him, Great Schism occurred because of the Greek Church and it caused the separation in Christendom (1054). Therefore he called for a new crusade under the command by Charles de Valois, the count of Valois, in order to recover Latin Empire (1204-1261) (Setton 1976, I, p. 164). Nevertheless, this initiative failed because of delayed expedition until in 1310 and the ceasefire for 12 year between Venetians and Byzantine emperor Andronikos II (Setton 1976, I, p. 168).

Western Anatolian Principalities, which were founded in the last quarter of 13th century, began many incursions intensively in the Aegean Sea and Eastern Mediterranean. Firstly Menteshes led these incursions under Sasa Bey's leadership. It was observed that frequency of incursion increased after the capture of Ephesus by Mehmed Bey of Aydin in 1304 (İnalçık 2009: 32). Venice and the Knights Hospitaller were in conflicts against Turks at the same period. But they were also enemies to each other. Especially the alliance between Hospitallers and Genoese, which was the biggest rival of Venetians, increased this hostility. Another reason of this enmity was the struggle for the Rhodes and Dodecanese islands. Venetians tried to capture Rhodes until 1234 but they never achieved success. However, Venetians were able to hold the island of Kos in 1302, Scarpanto via the family of Cornaro, Saria and Kasso islands in 1309. Venetians were anxious when Knights Hospitaller besieged Rhodes in 1306. Hospitaller forces under their grand master Foulques de Villaret succeeded in capturing Rhodes and other islands such as Kos, Scarpanto, Saria, Kasso in 1310. Main purpose of Knights Hospitaller was to combat against Turks and to prevent assaults from Muslims in Eastern Mediterranean with collaboration of the Kingdom of Cyprus (Luttrell 1958: 195-212).

The military activities between Menteshes and Aydinids did not affect the Venetians at first, as the two principalities fought against Byzantium and strengthened their positions. This struggle took place both on land and at sea in 1302 and 1303 when Turks built countless ships and attacked the Aegean Islands (Zachariadou 1983: 6). Mehmed Bey of Aydin started to construct a fleet in Ayaslug after he founded his Beylik. The construction of naval forces, which was the main interest of Western Anatolian Principalities, can be seen in Beylik of Aydin as well. The island of Chios was captured by Genoese in 1304 and Turks attacked to the island following year in 1305. It was reported that Menteshes forces made incursion to Rhodes, which

belonged to Hospitallers, in 1311 (Fleet 2009: 68). Following the attacks around the Dodecanese island, Genoese and Hospitallers declared war against each other and they entered the diplomatic relations and made trade agreement with Menteshes Bey in 1311 (Zachariadou 1983: 7-12).

Following these conflicts, several attacks took place against Venetian colonies and Venetian ships in 1318 (Laiou 1970: 374-392). Alliance between Genoese and Menteshes caused the reaction of Hospitallers. One Turkish fleet with 23 ships was constructed in 1312 and arrived near of Rhodes but this fleet was defeated by Foulques de Villaret, the grand master of Knights Hospitaller, in the battle of Amargo. These ships probably belonged to Menteshes, since Hospitallers attacked and captured some castles of Menteshes' regions in 1313 (Zachariadou 1983: 7-12; Enveri 1929: 24). After this defeat Mehmed Bey of Aydin sailed to sea again in 1319.

Albert de Schwarzburg, Preceptor of Rhodes, advanced from Rhodes to Chios with 24 ships in 1319 and after he merged with Genoese forces, he was able to recruit 2600 men and 58 ships for any battle. He defeated the Aydinid navy with these forces (Fevzi 1932: 40-41; Tezel 1973: 19-20; İnalçık 1993, IX, p. 313; Enveri 1929: 24). The commander of the Genoese forces Martino Zaccaria and 2 large ships belonged to the Hospitallers defeated 30 Turkish ships around Chios in 1319 (Zachariadou 1989: 212-225; İnalçık 2009: 34). Therefore Mehmed Bey of Aydin fell back to the coast in order to reconstruct a new fleet after he lost his first battle and many of his ships. Leader of Catalan Company Don Alfonso Fadrique made an alliance with Aydinids and Menteshes in order to defeat Venetians at the same period. Thus one strong Turkish fleet attacked to Negroponte and Morea in 1327, Umur Bey of Aydin (Ghazi Umur Bey) besieged Lower Smyrna called as "Liman İzmir" by considering the necessity to dominate the Gulf of Smyrna previous year in 1326 (Emecen 2012: 227). However, this siege with thousand men lasted two and a half years.

The reason of this long lasting siege was lack of siege weapons and units numerically. Genoese forces became feeble with lack of subsistence as siege lengthen out and they lost the tenacity for resistance. Under these circumstances Martino Zaccaria, Genoese tenant of Lower Smyrna, had to cede the citadel and fell back to Chios, which was Genoese post. Thanks to this victory in 1329, Umur Bey's authority increased in the region and Turkish domination was ensured in Gulf of İzmir with the full integrity of Smyrna in Aydinid territory. Although Genoese tried to take back Liman İzmir, it was unable to break the defense of Umur Bey and they had to retreat. This defeat of Christians also weakened the defense of the islands in the Aegean Sea.

After defeating the Genoese, Ghazi Umur Bey entered to the Aegean Sea with his navy and destroyed Tenedos, which belonged to the Byzantine Empire. The galley he used, was called 'Ghazi' and its flag was green (Günel 2015: 236). Exploring the region up to the Dardanelles,

the Aydinid Navy consisted of a galley and 6 smaller warships (Emecen 2012: 229; Fevzi 1932: 42). It is understood from these activities that the Aydinid Navy made up of light ships. The number of ships of the Christian fleets wasn't equal to that of the Western Anatolian Principalities in the Aegean Sea. Therefore, the joint operations of the Western Anatolian Principalities were more destructive. During this period, the ineffectiveness of the navy of the Byzantine Empire freed the Western Anatolian Principalities at sea.

Mehmed Bey of Aydin, made a military alliance with the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos III in 1329 (İnalçık 2009: 35; Ersan and Alican 2017: 142). According to the agreement, the Aydinid forces would provide military aid to the Byzantines. Ghazi Umur Bey started to help Byzantine Emperor Andronikos III's expedition to the island of Chios with demand of his father. He helped the Byzantine navy for blockade the island from the sea and Chios came under Byzantine rule. The Byzantines appointed a governor named "Presto" to Chios (Emecen 2012: 229).

Ghazi Umur Bey sailed to the Aegean Sea in 1332 with a new fleet of 250 ships. It would be wrong to think that this entire fleet was made up of galley-class warships. Because it was not economically probable to form such a large and all-galley navy in the 14th century Mediterranean world. Ghazi Umur Bey took control of the islands of Ipsara, Iskiros and Iskopelos (Emecen 2012: 230). Umur Bey took 150 battleships under his command and gave the remaining 100 battleships under the command of Ahad Sübaşı and launched a surprising attack against the garrisons in the region. These attacks were very fast and there was no opportunity for an enough defense. A very high amount of booty, especially gold, was seized. Thereafter, Umur Bey attacked Bodonitsa, Thessaly, north of Euboea Island which belonged to Venice and southern coast of Peloponnese in 1332 (Setton 1976, I, p. 181; İnalçık 2009: 33 – 35). As a result of these attacks on Italian trade points, Venetians lost three hundred thousand zecchini (Italian coins) at the expense of commodities. For this reason, spice prices increased all over Italy (Fanucci 1821, III, p. 276).

Venice administrator Niccolo Ziani sent letters of complaint to Doge Giovanni Soranzo because of Umur Bey's attacks (Setton 1976, I, p. 177). Immediately after the attack to Smyrna, a small league was established between Hospitallers-Genoa and Venice (Luttrell 1958: 195-212). After these attacks and the creation of small league, Negotiations began between King of France Philip VI and the Venetian signoria for a new Crusade alliance from the beginning of 1331. The archbishop of Rouen, Pierre Roger, the pope in the future "Clement VI", preached on behalf of this crusade in 1334 (Setton 1976, I, p. 179). As a result, an official alliance was established between Byzantine, Hospitallers and Venetian forces during the negotiations held in Rhodes on September 6, 1332 (Housey 1981: 548-556; Bayar & Çiftçi 2020: 244-250). King of Naples, Robert the Wise (Roberto il Saggio) was eager for the league as well. Robert the Wise

considered positively the Byzantine emperor Andronikos III's participation in the league despite the former hostility between Anjou-Valois and Byzantium (Setton 1976, I, p. 181). Robert ordered the preparation of 16 ships for the League on January 1334. However, the ongoing Guelf-Ghibellin Wars in Italy and the struggles with the Kingdom of Sicily prevented him from accumulating the necessary funds for his help (Housey 1981: 548-556). Although Pope Iohannes XXII (1316 - 1334) asked to the doge of Venice for participation, the rebellion against the Venetian regime on the island of Crete in 1333 prevented the Venetians from making any move (Luttrell 1958: 195-212). After the end of the uprising on March 1334, Venice was ready for a great league with Knights Hospitaller, Pope Iohannes XXII, King of France Philippe VI and the King of Cyprus Hugh IV (Housey 1981: 548-556; Bayar & Çiftçi 2020: 244-250). Navy was prepared for this anti-Turkish league, which was organized actively by Venice admiral Pietro Zeno. Yahsi Bey of Karesi, who was one of Turkish maritime ghazi, was defeated by this navy at Adramyttion (Edremit) on 17 September 1334 (Bayar & Çiftçi 2020: 244-250). Although this victory stopped the Turkish invasions in the Aegean Sea for a while, it did not discourage Ghazi Umur Bey of Aydin. Following to battle in 1334, Ghazi Umur Bey started a incursion with the assistance of Saruhanoglu Süleyman Bey.

### 1. Previous situation before the Smyrniote Crusade

The new pope Benedict XII (1334 - 1342), unlike his predecessors, was not very enthusiastic for a crusade against Turkish pirates. However, Venetians desired to control the route across their trading points without any prevention of Turks. The Order of the St. John (Knights Hospitaller) also proposed a united navy. Although this navy was formed, there was not any attempt and necessary support was not received from the western powers (Luttrell 1958: 195-212). Umur Bey not only engaged in ghaza activities, he was also present in other places and actions. Ghazi Umur Bey managed to attract the Emperor Andronikos III's attention after the Siege of Chios. Emperor Andronikos searched for an alliance with Umur Bey against the Genoese who tried to avenge the defeat in Chios. Thereafter, Emperor's Grandmestikos Ioannes Kantakuzenos made a military alliance with Ghazi Umur Bey, in Klozomenae (Urla) in 1335 (Koca 2015: 146-147; Kyriakidis 2011: 32). After these treaties, Emperor Andronikos III sent armies to Lesbos Island and defeated the Genoese forces who were came from Phocaea to the island (Norwich 2013: 251, Nicol 2000: 244, Ayönü 2013: 88).

The Emperor Andronikos III didn't consider the recovery of Lesbos enough and attacked to New Phocaea. He was able to besiege this region with the help of Sarukhanid and Aydinid forces. the Byzantines re-established the rule in New Phocaea in 1336 with their support. Phocaea was an important economic center for Genoese. Alum was used as color stabilizer and it was one of the important raw materials of textile industry in the region. It was also

very important for the Genoese merchants (Goff 2018: 33).

Ghazi Umur Bey started the second Peloponnese expedition with Andronikos III's request. According to Düsturname, Ghazi Umur Bey passed from the Corinth to the Adriatic Sea and he ordered to transport his ships over land (Emecen 2012: 236, Daş 2013: 73-81). However, considering that all military necessities cause innovations, it would be a waste of time for Ghazi Umur Bey to take such an initiative, since he did not face any military threats. The provision of timber and oil for the transportation ships over land was also very difficult to implement in a logistically unplanned situation (Bayar 2019: 63). After the death of Emperor Andronikos III, Ioannes Kantakuzenos was appointed as regent of the throne. While he was in Dimetoka his headquarters, he was told that Empress dismissed him and took of all his duties (Stathakopoulos 2018: 197). Ghazi Umur Bey had to return to Smyrna because of climatic changes when he helped to the Byzantines. However, Ioannes Kantakuzenos summoned to help him against his rivals, while Kantakuzenos gained the support of the Thracian nobles (Ostrogorsky 2015: 471).

On May 7, 1342, Pierre Roger (1342 - 1352) was elected as pope "Clement VI". After the result of this election, the Turkish threat began to alarm in the Eastern Mediterranean. Especially Venetians were concerned about the security for their colonies in Crete. Clement VI wrote to the Venetian doge Bartolomeo Gradenigo and encouraged him for the new Crusade on November 2. The Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, Henry of Asti and the King of Cyprus Hugh IV arranged a league against the Turks. The grand master of Knights Hospitaller Helion de Villeneuve participated in this league. Clement also asked to Venetians if they can participate in this league (Setton 1976, I, pp. 182 - 183). Hospitallers were reluctant to participate, since they were not interested in the attacks that Venetians suffered. But they had to participate the alliance after Pope Clement's threats on them (Luttrell 1958: 195-212).

According to Venetians the new fleet should be formed not less than 25 galleys. Andrea Dandolo, who was elected as a new doge, received a letter sent by Pope Clement in 1343. In this letter, Clement asked for more galleys from Venetians except for the Crusader Navy prepared in Euboea. Venetians replied that they could participate in only a quarter of the current navy (Setton 1976, I, pp. 184 - 185). It became definite that King of Cyprus Hugh IV send four galleys to Armada which were to be gathered on November 1 at the island of Negroponte. Pope Clement requested 6 galleys from the Hospitallers. Venetian ships were to be commanded by Admiral Pietro Zeno and the four Papal galleys were to be commanded by Martino Zaccaria of Genoa and Henry of Asti, the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople. The Vatican archives show that Clement had spent 200,000 florins for this eastern expedition. Most of the popes of Avignon spent a great amount of money on the wars and military campaigns of

their time and some of this money was paid from their own fortunes (Setton 1976, I, pp. 185 - 187).

Catherine of Valois-Courtenay, Titular Latin Empress of Constantinople, wrote a letter to Pope Clement VI and she promised to send two galleys. Pope's deputy, Philip of Thebes, also carried the papal letter to Sancia, the widow of Robert the Wise, the King of Naples. It is unknown whether support was provided, since the Kingdom of Naples had internal turmoil in the same period. Pope Clement asked for a galley from Giovanni Sanudo, the duke of Naxos, Giorgio Ghisi II, the lord of Tenos and Mykonos and Triarchy of Negroponte. He also asked to Italian powers such as Verona Scaligeri, Bologna Pepoli and Milan Visconti for military units. Nevertheless, only some of them sent financial support (Setton 1976, I, p. 188). Pisans responded to Clement's call that they did not have any work to do at sea because they gave their properties in Sardinia to the Aragonese. The Genoese answered that they are only interested the trade points in Corsica and the Black Sea (Fanucci 1821, III, p. 278).

The Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, Henry of Asti was mediator for the peace between Catalans and Gualtieri di Brienne, who was expelled from Florence and the Duchy of Athens by Catalans in the Battle of Halmyros (1311) on October 21, 1343. Diplomatic negotiations were continued between Byzantium and the Papacy. Barlaam, a Calabrian monk, was the ambassador of these meetings (Setton 1976, I, p. 189). Clement officially announced the Crusade with the bulla called "*Insurgentibus contra fidem*" dated September 30, 1343 (Setton 1976, I, p. 190). According to Padovian chronicler Guglielmo Cortusi and grandmaster Kantakuzenos, on the 13th of May 1344 the 24 galleys of the Crusader fleet burned 60 Turkish ships in the entrance of Longus in Pallene, some of them fled to their country. After these successes, Pope Clement celebrated the Hospitallers grand master Helion de Villeneuve and Venetian doge Andrea Dandolo for the successes in Pallene (Setton 1976, I, pp. 190 - 1). Clement also worried about Martino Zaccaria and he warned the patriarch Henry of Asti that Zaccaria should not reign over Chios, this situation might have pulled Byzantines to side of the Turks (Carr 2014: 237-251).

## 2. Smyrniote Crusades First Period 1343 - 45 / Second Period 1345 - 51

The success at the beginning of the Smyrniote Crusades was a surprise. Umur Bey of Aydin was unprepared and unprotected when Crusaders attack to Aydinids. According to the Byzantine chronicler Nikeforos Gregoras, the Latins came with 27 navy squads on the Turks. This navy consisted of Cypriots, Hospitallers, Venetians and the Papal forces (Setton 1976, I, p. 191). When the Crusader fleet aimed to take Liman İzmir (Lower Smyrna), Aydinids' forces did not have enough power. Aydinid navy consisted of the same type of soldiers and this military force was able to fight both at sea and on land. For this reason, the Aydinid forces had to retreat from Liman İzmir without any defense and the Crusaders succeeded in taking the Lower Castle and its surrounding

areas (28 October 1344). Chronicler Gregoras stated that the main purpose of the Latins in this attack was to remove the Turks from the Anatolian coastline and Smyrna was conquered for this reason. In the narration of Kantakuzenos, it is mentioned that there was a navy consisted of 24 galleys and Umur Bey defended himself but he could not prevail to his Latin enemies (Setton 1976, I, p. 191). The news of Christian victory was immediately conveyed to the Republic of Venice. Pope Clement congratulated Venetian doge Andrea Dandolo in his letter on 23 December 1344 (*Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, 1880, I, p. 286). When the Doge of Venice Andrea Dandolo heard this victory, he expressed his appreciation to Pope Clement. Clement VI sent good news to the king of France and the Duke of Normandy as well. Two days later, Pope informed to Dauphin of Viennois Humbert II about this victory and tried to provide financial support for Henry of Asti and his garrison in the new Crusader fortification in Smyrna. As a matter of fact, Christians conquered the Lower Castle but Umur Bey's forces still existed in the Upper Castle (Kadifekale) (Setton 1976, I, p. 192). Umur Bey was obliged to find an exit from the sea, since he was mostly involved in piracy activities in the Aegean Sea. In addition to his soldier, Ghazi Umur Bey made his first attack to Liman İzmir with the armies of Western Anatolian principalities. Two catapult masters from the Eretnids also supported him in the siege (Çavuşdere 2017: 136).

The Crusaders succeeded in repelling these attacks of Umur Bey. After this early victory, they started to advance towards Muslim Smyrna (Upper Smyrna). During this attack, Patriarch Henry of Asti wanted to hold a ritual in the church, that the Turks turned into a stable, because of the conquest of Lower Castle by Christians and the successful defense against the attack. Crusaders were afraid of Henry's decision. Because the church was to be held for the rite, located between the Upper and Lower Castle. However, this decision was fulfilled because Henry was the leader of this expedition. It was as expected, Umur Bey's forces went to the church on January 17, 1345 and started to attack on the Crusaders. The Crusaders were unable to withstand the attack due to the rough terrain and inefficient use of the navy. The Crusaders were forced to fight off their horses due to the roughness of the land and they lost their influence. On the other hand, Turkish archers took advantage of the roughness of the terrain and they defeated the Crusader army and caused great losses, Venetian admiral Pietro Zeno, Patriarch Henry of Asti and Martino Zaccaria died in the attack (Setton 1976, I, p. 192; Çavuşdere 2017: 137-138). Ghazi Umur Bey's brother İbrahim Bahadır Bey also died in this conflict (Çavuşdere 2017: 142). As a result of the attack of the Turkish archers and Aydinid beys, the Crusader army had to fall back to Liman İzmir with the great losses and started to wait for the Turkish attack. Ghazi Umur Bey took the harbor of Smyrna under the siege.

Ghazi Umur Bey, who made the Crusader army unable to move and lost his brother, moved back to Thrace because of Ioannes Kantakuzenos' call for help. Meanwhile, Ghazi Umur Bey was humble enough to solve his border problems with Sarukhanids in favor of Sarukhan Bey, he did not want any problems with the Turkish Principalities other than the Crusaders whom he saw as enemies. Karasid Süleyman Bey also joined the Sarukhanid-Ayidinid alliance (Uzunçarşılı 2011: 108). This Turkish alliance could not achieve the expected success. The riot preparation of Kantakuzenos supporters in Istanbul was suppressed by Empress Anna of Savoy. Süleyman Bey, son of Sarukhan, died near Küçükçekmece while an allied Turkish Army, marched on Istanbul in 1345 and moved towards Rumelia (Emecen 2012: 243). Immediately after this incident; Ghazi Umur Bey took Süleyman Bey's corpse and he went to the Anatolian side and gave Süleyman Bey's corpse to Sarukhan Bey. Shortly after the return of Ghazi Umur Bey to Anatolia, Kantakuzenos came to the throne with the name Ioannes VI. Actually he became successful with help of his luck and the fall of Istanbul administration in a prison revolt (Gregory 2011: 294).

When Pope Clement VI heard the news of attack, he informed the grand master of Hospitallers, Helion de Villeneuve and told him that he had commissioned the Courthezon lord, Bertrand des Baux, who would be the captain of the four papal galleys and the Thenouanne bishop Raymond Saquet as the new "legate". Thus, the grand master of the Hospitallers, Helion de Villeneuve, would command the Smyrniote Crusaders (Setton 1976, I, p. 193). Pope Clement contacted with Dauphin of Viennois Humbert II, on January 15, 1345 because of the loss of the three great commanders. He offered him the leadership of Crusaders. After Humbert accepted this offer, Clement made him the general commander on May 26, 1345. Pope Clement sent a letter to doge Andrea Dandolo and he praised him in order to convince other Catholic Powers about this decision (*Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum* 1880, I, p. 298).

On this occasion, Humbert decided to set off before August 2 and he entered diplomatic affairs with the Papal Curia until July. Humbert temporarily left Viennois, where he was Dauphin (a title corresponding to the county in the French kingdom), to Jean II who was the Duke of Normandy (the son of Philippe VI of the King of France). He considered the possibility of his sudden death in the Crusader campaign (Setton 1976, I, pp. 194 – 195). On 18 July 1345, Pope Clement appointed Cretan Archbishop Francesco Michiel as vice-legate (legate assistant). The new Crusade attack scheduled for July 23 but it was postponed to September 2 due to Humbert's meetings in Negroponte. The Papal Curia considered to recruit 10 galleys more against the Turks. Humbert came from Marseille to Genoa and he was welcomed there on September 14 by Jacopo da San Vittoria, who was the archbishop of the city and Giovanni Murta, the new doge of Genoa. Venice, on the other hand, was occupied with Anti-Venetian revolt in Zara which backed by the

Hungarian king, Louis d'Anjou "the Great". Venetians also wanted to continue their trade in Alessandria, which was blocked by trade ban against Muslims (Setton 1976, I, pp. 197-198). Humbert attended the meeting with the Venetians on October 24 and later he went to participate the Crusaders in Negroponte during Christmas week of 1345. Humbert's main purpose was to use Chios, which was captured by Genova Simone Vignoso in 1346, as a military base. He hoped to capture it with help of the Catalan Union in Greece, but Pope Clement VI had to abolish the excommunication over the Catalans for any alliance between the two sides (Muldoon 1979: 170). Pope Clement stated that he would suspend the excommunication decision on the Catalan Company for three years provided that they supplied the infantry and cavalry to Humbert. However, no results were obtained from the negotiation and the excommunication decision was repeated (Carr 2014: 237-251).

Humbert aimed to get Chios from Byzantine empress Anna di Savoia with Pope Clement's mediation. Pope Clement sent letters to the empress Anna for these purposes (Carr 2014: 237-251). Centurione Zaccaria, son of Martino Zaccaria and Raymond Marquesan were appointed as the new commander of the Papacy forces in the Crusade. Pope Clement informed the new grand master of Hospitallers, Dieudonne de Gozon, that these two commanders were to be sent to the Aegean Sea for the Papal fleet with 2 galleys (Setton 1976, I, pp. 200 – 202). Humbert prepared in Negroponte and he was still in contact with Pope Clement VI through a messenger named Bartolomeo de 'Tomari'. When Clement planned to reduce the number of Papal galleys to two, Humbert argued that the number of galleys was better as four. Clement told King of Cyprus Hugh IV that he should keep his existing galleys against the Turks (Setton 1976, I, pp. 204 – 205). On July 8, 1346, Genoese admiral Simone Vignoso appeared near Negroponte with 29 galleys. This navy was sent by Giovanni Murta, the doge of Genoa and it was planned in a way to rebuild the network of the ports on the main route going over Istanbul and the Black Sea and to defend the Genoese Port of Feodosia, which called as Caffa by Genoese, against the Tatars (Balard 1989: 158-174; Carr 2014: 237-251). A fleet of the Anti-Turkish League had 26 galleys and 400 horses under the command of Humbert in Negroponte. Vignoso was told that Humbert aimed to conquest Chios. When Humbert realized that his plans for Chios were known by the Genoese, he offered to Vignoso ten thousand gold coins. The Genoese did not accept this offer and attacked Humbert's navy and seized many valuable items (Setton 1976, I, pp. 206 – 207; Carr 2014: 237-251). The Genoese, who came to Chios before the Crusaders, captured Chios with forces under the command of Simone Vignoso on September 12, 1346 and the second Genoese Domination started on the island (1346 - 1566) (Balard 1989: 158-174). Four days later, on September 16, 1346, Old and New Phocaea came under Genoa rule for the second time (1346 - 1566) (Balard 1989: 158-174).

These regions were to be dominions under Genoese Giustiniani family with the name of Maona of Chios and Phocaea between the dates stated in parentheses. Despite this acquisition, Vignoso's crew wasn't able to advance further without enough energy and supplies. This situation prevented Vignoso's fleet to conquest the island of Lesbos which came later under the sovereignty of the Genoese Gattilusio family. Francesco Gattilusio, another Genoese, took this island as a dowry, after his marriage with the sister of the Byzantine emperor Ioannes V and Genoese domination continued there until 1462 (Balard 1989: 158-174.). After the capture of Chios by Vignoso, Humbert arrived at Smyrna in late June and remained there until September (Carr 2014: 237-251). There was no definite result in the wars against Umur Bey. Humbert, who was criticized by his Western contemporaries for being stuck in the Lower Castle and not going further, lost five knights from his entourage. On the other hand, it was stated that he strengthened the fortifications in the Lower Castle, he strengthened the walls and towers and he captivated some of Turks as prisoner in the attacks (Carr 2014: 237-251). During the wars between the Crusaders and Aydinid forces, Humbert went to Rhodes because of the illness and famine that occurred at Smyrna in the summer and remained in Rhodes until April 1347. Although his act is considered by some authors as an discouragement and defeat, it is obvious that Humbert's withdrawal was a tactical maneuver (Carr 2014: 237-251). After Humbert went to Rhodes, a Knight Hospitaller was elected as captain of the League and the defense of Lower Smyrna passed gradually to the Hospitallers (Luttrell 1958: 195-212).

The biggest reason for the famine was the Tatars' embargo on the port in Tana. They banned the export of grain, by closing the Black Sea trade. Another reason was the problem about trading corn with Umur Bey in the past. The closing of the Black Sea trade came to an end of trade in the Aegean Sea (Carr 2014: 237-251). Anonymous Roman Chronicle states that before Humbert arrived in Smyrna, Venetians negotiated with Umur Bey for a cease-fire and they had to give all of Smyrna to him. At the same period, the alliance of the Hospitallers with Genoa restarted and the arrival of the Venetian ships was prevented by the forces of the Hospitallers to the Lower Castle in the summer of 1346. This is the period when a special customs tax was imposed on Venetian merchants in Rhodes and Conversely, Venetians, Venetians imposed an embargo on the Hospitallers (Luttrell 1958: 195-212). During the residence of Humbert in Rhodes, it was observed that Hospitallers tried to make a ceasefire with Hızır Bey (Umur Bey's brother) and Humbert started to consider a ceasefire as well. Under these circumstances, Humbert and Clement VI discussed on lack of supply and money for the Smyrniote Crusades. Pope Clement permitted Humbert to have a ceasefire with Aydinids, provided that it was not more than ten years (Carr 2014: 237-251). After the three years of his oath of duty to Pope finished in March, Humbert abandoned his office on January 1347 and returned to Europe (Carr 2014: 237-251).

Humbert left Rhodes on April 1347 and went to Venice because of the illness of his wife Marie des Beux (It is possible that she suffered from the epidemic at Smyrna in the summer of 1346). and he stayed in the Dominican Monastery named SS Giovanni e Paolo. Humbert spent the last years of his life by retiring another monastery in Lyon in 1349 (Setton 1976, I, pp. 210 – 211). Umur Bey made an attack on Liman İzmir as a last attempt. But he was seriously wounded by an arrow thrown at him when he tried to climb the walls (Doukas 2008: 22). Ghazi Umur Bey, the Great Turkish Admiral and Commander, died on March 1348 and buried to his tomb in Birgi. Ghazi Umur Bey's brother Hizir Bey had to negotiate with the Crusaders, since the Hospitallers-Crusaders forces defeated the Turks at the battle of Imbros in 1347 and Umur Bey's failure in the Lower Smyrna. A prerequisite ceasefire agreement was signed between the Crusaders and Hizir Bey on August 18, 1348 (İnalçık 2009: 39). (for the original text of treaty: *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum* 313 – 317). Treaty articles are as follows;

1. "Half of the customs revenues of the Beylik of Aydin were to be given to allies and the amount of the customs wouldn't decrease and increase over time.
2. The weapons of navy were to be taken and the forces were to be landed and the navy was to be kept ready or to be burned if it was desired.
3. Piracy activities were to be terminated so that Christian ships can freely enter these state ports, the ships that involved in accident were to be saved; but no claims were to be made on them.
4. No diplomatic relations were to be established with the enemies of the Allies, while the Allied states would try to prevent the Christian states' movements against Hizir Bey; If they could not find the opportunity, they would report the situation.
5. The Christian population of the regions ruled by the Beylik was to be treated well and Christian powers wouldn't harm to the Turkish population.
6. Allied states would have right to hold consuls in the regions of the Beylik. They would try to settle disputes between allied Christian tebaa and the Turks in consultation with the local neighborhood." (Akin 1966: 53).

This agreement was a capitulation treaty and it damaged the economic life of Beylik of Aydin. When Hızır Bey disarmed his navy as a requirement of this treaty, the beylik lost his military power to a great extent. This treaty, which brought the Crusaders to a very advantageous position, was approved by the Pope. The treaty included essentially of 20 articles. The most important ones and the other articles were mostly diplomatic. Thus, the rich resources of Menderes valley started to flow to Europe. Beylik of Aydin was vulnerable with this treaty (İnalçık 2014: 14).

After Humbert's unsuccessful expedition, the Venetians tried to create a new league. Venetian galleys retreated from Liman Kale on July 1348 because of military expenditures and disputes with other allies. Venetians reported to the Pope again about Turkish attacks on Greece when the Pope called envoys for the ceasefire negotiations on October 1349. Therefore, a league was re-established at Avignon in 1350 (Luttrell 1958: 195-212). Cyprus with two galleys, Venice and Rhodes with three galleys decided to control the Anatolian shores for ten years with the decision of the league in 1350 (Edbury 1991: 141-79).

### 3. After the Smyrniote Crusades

In 1351, Hospitallers wanted to participate in activities against the Turks. However, Venetians started trading at Ephesus and Miletus trading points belonged to Turks. the new pope, Innocent VI (1352 - 1362), was elected in 1352. Pope Innocent called the Knights Hospitaller, the Kingdom of Cyprus and Venice to create a new league against the Turks. On November 1353, Pope Innocent asked the Cypriot, Hospitallers and Venetian forces to pay three thousand florins annually for the defense of Smyrna (Edbury 1991: 141-79). Venetians, who were disturbed by the Turkish attack on Crete again, informed Pope Innocent that they would support the call for a league again (Luttrell 1958: 195-212). In the new negotiations, the Venetians demanded that Crete Archbishop Orso Delfini would be the Naval League commander. In the same year, Pope Innocent asked the Kingdom of Cyprus, Venice and Hospitaller forces to send a galley to Smyrna until 1 July. On August 1356, three galleys belonged to Venice had seized various Turkish ships. Hospitallers and Cypriot forces were ready for the league on September 13. Venetians stated that their own navy would be ready on Christmas week but the war between Venice and the Kingdom of Hungary postponed this answer (Luttrell 1958: 195-212). The Crusade League was renewed for five years on March 1357. Pope Innocent asked the Kingdom of Cyprus, Hospitallers and Venice to send two galleys for the control of the seas and to pay the three thousand annual florins that he previously stated for the defense of Smyrna (Edbury 1991: 141-79). However, Venetians were against the participation of Genoese in the league. This disagreement had weakened the possibility of full success. Instead of Venetian Orso Delfini, Gascon Pierre Thomas became the new Crusader commander "legate" in 1359. The Crusader fleet, consisted of the galleys of Venice and Rhodes against the Turks, destroyed the Lampsakos Castle in the Dardanelles (Luttrell 1958: 195-212; Edbury 2006, VI, pp. 875 – 876). However, Pierre Thomas later came to Crete in 1360 to discharge his own forces and leave the League. Pierre Thomas and Philippe de Meziers traveled from there to the Kingdom of Cyprus (Luttrell 1958: 195-212). Pierre Thomas crowned the new king of Cyprus Pierre de Lusignan in 1360. Philippe de Meziers was the diplomat of new King Pierre (Edbury 1991: 141-79).

the Hospitallers tried to conquer Adalia (Antalya) with the assistance of Cyprus and the Papal forces on August 1361. This expedition was King Pierre's first military operation. The expedition of Adalia was successfully completed and a Christian garrison was installed there (Edbury 1991: 141-79). Although the Turks tried to take it back from 1361 to 1370, they failed to recapture it. The sudden invasion of Genoese to Cyprus in 1373 caused Adalia to fall into the hands of Muslims again (Edbury 1991: 141-79). One anti-Venetian riot broke out on the island of Crete under the leadership of Tito Gradenigo in 1364. A year later, the forces of Kingdom of Cyprus and the Hospitallers launched the Alexandrian Crusade (1365). Even if the Venetians joined this expedition, their trade was damaged in the Eastern Mediterranean and their actions did not serve to the Crusade activities. The Alexandrian Crusade ended on peace with the Egyptian sultan in 1370 (Luttrell 1958: 195-212). At the same period, the Ottomans took Gallipoli in 1352 - 55, Edirne in 1359 and Dimetoka in 1361. After the end of the Alexandrian Crusade, the Hospitallers turned their directions back to the Aegean Sea. Pope Gregorius XI also encouraged the Hospitallers not only to defend Lower Smyrna, but also to attack the Turks in the Dardanelles and the Aegean Sea in 1374. Turkish advance in the Balkans was easier due to the tension between Hospitallers and Venice (Luttrell 1958: 195-212). As a result, advances of Ottoman forces in Balkans distracted the activities of Crusaders who focused their attention on Smyrna or other parts of Western Anatolia.

### Conclusion

The main problem of Western Anatolian Principalities was the inadequacy of their naval organization and ship. The shipyard structure, which could be supplied directly, didn't exist and naval forces were seen as a part of the land forces. This situation became the main deficiency in the fight against the sailors. For this reason, the Crusaders, led by Venice, managed to defeat Turkish ships. In addition, unlike the influential naval forces of the period, conception of the Turkish Navy could not become a part of the Mediterranean-style war concept, which emphasizes the speed and the combat power. Turkish forces, who tried to dominate the Aegean Sea, strengthened their existence on the Anatolian coast and tried to establish domination in the Aegean Islands such as Mytilene, Chios and Rhodes in order to protect these coasts but they could only have their influence in Chios. Anatolian Peninsula had a problem of defense, since its territories are very close to the islands in the Aegean Sea. Western Anatolian Principalities perceived this situation but they did not have sufficient opportunities and equipment so they could not achieve success. Another problematic of the Turkish Maritime Principalities was the population. The possibilities of recruiting new units to replace the forces and improving the battle experience on the sea were rather limited. Despite all these problems, they carried out the Akın (Incursion)-Ghaza policies on the lands of the Aegean Sea and they were effective in the formation of the Turkish Maritime Culture. This maritime

culture merged with foundations of Ottoman Maritime traditions and formed the consolidation of the Ottoman domination in Western Anatolia.

Turkish maritime principalities were founded at the end of the 13th century and they intensified incursions since the 1310s and 1320s. These incursions made Venice, the Papacy and other European powers to form a Crusade. Umur Bey of Aydin was the most prominent ghazi bey among the warriors in Western Anatolian Principalities, he conquered Lower Smyrna in 1329 and commanded many incursions in and around the Aegean Sea from 1330 onwards. The first alliance of the Crusaders against Turkish ghazis succeeded in defeating Yahsi Bey of Karesi, in the Battle of Adramyttion (Edremit Deniz Savaşı) in 1334. The second alliance formed against Umur of Aydin in the Smyrniote Crusades in 1343. The first stage of the Smyrniote Crusades (1343-45) was successfully concluded for the Crusaders, Lower Smyrna remained in the hands of Christians until 1402, when Tamerlane took it back. In the second stage (1345-51), Humbert II, Dauphin of Viennois, who was appointed as the new Papal commander for Smyrniote Crusades, strengthened fortifications by choosing to stay in Lower Castle. But he fell back to Rhodes when the outbreak occurred in Smyrna and the defense of Lower Castle passed to the Hospitallers.

Umur Bey's unsuccessful attack on the Lower Castle as the last attempt and a year ago the defeat of Turkish navy at Lesbos in 1347 pushed Umur Bey's brother Hizir Bey (he came to the throne in 1348-60) to the peace negotiations with the Crusaders. Aydinids lost their navy because of the peace treaty signed with the Crusaders. Turkish naval powers were active in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean Sea in the first half of the 14th century but they began to decline with this treaty in the second half of the same century. Therefore, Turkish warriors continued their attacks with the land forces rather than the naval forces. After Umur Bey's martyrdom, ghazis entered Orhan Bey (1326-62; the second sultan of the Ottoman State) and his entourage. The foundation of future ghaza (holy war) activities in the Balkans became easier with the participation of the Karesi ghazis to the Ottomans. Although the trade colonies of Venice and Genoa in the Aegean Sea were cleared of the attacks of Turks, new conflicts across the Mediterranean (1350-55 War started because of the island of Sardinia and 1378-81 Chioggia War started because of Tenedos) started between the two maritime republics.

Despite the disappearance of threat of Umur Bey of Aydin, the whole attention in the region passed to the Ottomans and their conquests in Gallipoli (1352-55), in Edirne (1359) and in Dimetoka (1361). The European states and the Papacy began to seek remedies against this new threat that started to conquer the territories of Balkans in the following years. As a result, the new alliance, which was established in 1357, attempted to stop the Ottomans by attacking to Lapseki in 1359 and Count of Savoy, Amedeo VI, organized the Savoyard

Crusade in 1366-67 and took Gallipoli from the Ottomans. Similar attacks of Crusaders were carried out in other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean. In the same period, the Kingdom of Cyprus and the Hospitaller forces organized the Crusade of Alexandria in 1365, The king of Cyprus Pierre de Lusignan, Hospitallers and the Papal united forces attacked Adalia (Antalya) and captured it in 1361 on behalf of the Kingdom of Cyprus.

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