

PHILIPPE DE MEZIERES
AND
THE NEW ORDER OF THE PASSION

By
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PART I.

Philippe de Mézières, the author of the treatise known as the *Nova Religio Passionis* or *La Chevalerie de la Passion Jhesu Crist* is perhaps one of the most cultured and prolific writers of the fourteenth century in the West.¹ His works reveal a wide knowledge of ancient and contemporary philosophy, theology and history. Throughout his career, he never lost sight of his aim, nor indeed, did he spare any effort to bring about the foundation of his Order of the Passion.

For the purpose of this article, we propose to sketch briefly those aspects of Philippe de Mézières's life which relate to his plan for the foundation of this new Order.²

Philippe was born in the village of Mézières in that part of Picardy called Santerre about the year 1327. His family was noble but declined in fortune. Philippe tells us that he was the youngest of twelve brothers and sisters.³ He was educated at the Canons' School at Amiens and was eager to read chronicles dealing with the Holy

1. For a complete list of his works, see N. Jorga, 'Philippe de Mézières', Paris, 1896, pp. VII-VIII. The ascription of the 'Somnium Viridarū' (1376) by Jorga to Philippe de Mézières is erroneous. For the literature on this point, see G.W. Cooplund, 'Nicole Oresme and the Astrologers'. Harvard University Press, 1952, preface.

2. For a detailed biography of our author, see N. Jorga, *op. cit.*, *passim*,

3. *Nova Religio Milicie Passionis Jhesu Christi pro acquisitione Sancte Civitatis Jherusalem et Terre Sancte*, Bibl. Mazarine MS. 1943, f. 45 r. 2. 'Ecce Philipinus vester duodecimus suorum fratrum et sororum'.

Land and to listen to the stories of pilgrims who had returned thence. He also heard stories about the East where many of his compatriots had become rich and powerful.

In 1345, at the age of nineteen or so, he left his village to begin a career of astonishing variety with a few months' service under Lucchino Visconti (+ 1349) in Lombardy. Later in the same year he was among the followers of King Andrew of Naples when that monarch was assassinated. Philippe's experience of war and of living among undisciplined and unruly 'gens d'armes' must have left an impression of horror on him. He speaks of 'fatigue, hunger, night watches, innumerable wounds, poverty, ambush, danger of losing one's life on sea or on land, and a thousand other ways of death which is the apanage of this vain military profession.'¹ He blames himself for not distinguishing between just and unjust war; the former is the kind of war to be fought in defence of one's country, one's faith, in defence of the Church, widows, orphans or in defence of justice and equity.²

It is certain that Philippe fought under the Dauphin, Humbert II, in the battle of Smyrna in 1346, and in one of the following battles against the Turks he was knighted.³ His experience on this expedition brought disillusionment, and with it the beginning of a resolution to devote himself to the cause of the crusade. After the campaign of Smyrna was over, Philippe accompanied Humbert II to Rhodes, and from there made his way to Jerusalem in 1347. It was in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre that the idea was born in him of founding a new Order of Chivalry to replace the older Orders.

1. *Oratio Tragedica*, Bibl. Mazarine MS. 1651, f. 155: 'Labores, jejunia, vigiliis, vulnera plurima, paupertates, insidia et mortis pericula in mari et in via, et mille mortes apparentes, tali vane milicie adherentes', cf. Jorga, *op. cit.*, p. 65 n. 9.

2. *ibid.* ff. 154 v.—155: 'prouz tu, veterane, aliquando fecisti, non ventillando prius utrum bellum justum indictum fuerit, videlicet pro republica, pro fide, pro ecclesia, pro viduis et orphanis, pro equitate et justicia'; cf. Jorga, *op. cit.*, p. 65 n. 3.

3. *Chevalerie de la Passion de Jesus Christ*, Bibl. Arsenal MS. 2251 f. 13 v.: 'le Dauphin de Vienne lors estant a La Sulaire (Smyrna) et assez tost apres en une autre chevauchie et envaio des Turs le jeune et povre Ardent Desir avoit la pris l'Ordre de chevalerie duquel il n'estoit pas digne.'

He had seen the strength of the Ottomans which they owed to their military organisation in contrast with the Christians' weakness which was due to their unruliness and insubordination. The Turkish Amirs of the coast of Asia Minor kept excellent and well disciplined troops permanently under their command. The Sultan of Egypt together with his Mamluk forces was capable of resisting the Christian armies. Tremendous efforts had hitherto been wasted by Christians to liberate the Holy Land from Muslim hands. But this task, in Philippe's view, was not a difficult one. If the chivalry of the West had failed to unite for this cause on account of their selfishness and worldly glory, if Armenia and Cyprus were incapable of undertaking this mission, and if the older Orders of chivalry had lost their former zeal, there was still a way to build up a Christian army in an unprecedented manner which should be worthy of its name. A new Order of chivalry, well organised, sufficient in number, and free from all worldly preoccupations and vices¹ should be founded to bring knights back into ways pleasing to God and lead a reorganised and regenerated Christendom to the delivery of the Holy Land.²

After his visit to the Holy Land, Philippe sailed to Cyprus where relations with the Lusignans were established. Hugues IV (1324-1359) showed some interest in the idea of a crusade considered as a defensive measure. But it was his second son, Pierre the Count of Tripoli, some two years younger than Mézières himself, who was to share to the full his fervour for action in the East. On the death of his elder brother, Guy, in 1346, Pierre was assured of succeeding his father to the throne of Cyprus. This fact prompted him to think of ways and means which would enable him later on to reconquer the Holy Land. He founded his Order of the Sword which included knights from France, Spain, Rome, Lombardy, Germany and Sardinia.³

1. *Nova Religio Passionis*, f. 16 r. 2: 'Manifesta sunt etenim tria peccata principalia in Christianis diu dominancia, videlicet superbia, avaricia et luxuria'.

2. *Ibid.*, ff. 8 v. 2 — 9 r. 2: members of this Order were to observe: 'votum obediencie sancte . . . , votum pauperitatis spiritus, . . . sacramentum castitatis. . . , nostra sancta religio aliud votum quodam est summe perfectionis habebit.'

3. The fourteenth century was marked by the foundation of many orders of chivalry in Europe; cf. Jorga, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-85.

Philippe may have left Cyprus for the West some time in 1349. We are uncertain as to his movements in the next few years. In 1354 he appeared at Pontorson in Normandy, serving under Arnoul d'Audrehem, marshal of France.

Pierre I was crowned King of Cyprus on his father's abdication in 1358, and in April 1360 was crowned King of Jerusalem. This marked an important stage in Philippe's life. At the age of thirty three he returned to Cyprus to resume his connection with Pierre and at the same time to meet one of the most extraordinary figures of the fourteenth century, the Carmelite Pierre Thomas. He was as zealous for the crusade as was Philippe himself, and in May 1359 was appointed by Innocent VI (1352-62) Legate to the East and commander of the forces which were then setting out to the help of Constantinople, and it was he who crowned Pierre as King of Jerusalem at Nicosia. Three men of character were met and the times were opportune. Philippe's position was made official by his appointment as Chancellor of Cyprus, an office which he held until Pierre I was assassinated in 1369.

Philippe was now placed in a region which was the link between East and West. His relations with traders, Saracens and Cypriot knights who fought against the Muslim under Hugues IV and his predecessors proved very useful. They provided him with ample and precise information about the conditions in Egypt, Syria, Turkey and about the Tatars.¹ Emissaries from the rulers of Egypt and other princes of Islam, as well as from the world of the West, came to the island on missions of peace or war. Ships laden with the produce of the East sailed into the ports of Cyprus; crusading expeditions used the island as their last base for attacks on Asia Minor and Syria. All this and much more furnished the store of recollection and experience on which Philippe was to draw in his later period of literary activity.

It must be admitted, however, that our Chancellor seems to have spent much of his time away from Cyprus. He visited most of

1. *Epître lamentable et consolatoire*. Ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, in Froissart, vol. XVI, Bruxelles, 1872, p. 508.

the courts of Europe,¹ usually with the object of gaining converts to the plan of a crusade of which his King should be the leader. In the years 1361-4, when Pierre I was touring Europe² to seek support for the crusade, Philippe and Pierre Thomas, after a stay in Avignon in which they won over Urban V to their cause, visited Milan, Bologna, Venice and other Italian cities, exhorting, preaching, settling local differences, and more often than ever they were disappointed at the lukewarm reception given to their main mission.³ In 1363 Philippe and Pierre Thomas were deputed to arbitrate in the old quarrel between Bernabo Visconti, the tyrant of Lombardy, and the Church.⁴ This was a delicate business and brought Philippe into the full stream of Italian politics, and what French envoys had failed to do was now achieved by Philippe and Pierre Thomas. An obstacle to the crusade had been removed and Philippe was free to preach the movement in the towns now restored by Bernabo to the Church.

The year 1364 was a full one for Mézières. We know of his presence in Venice, without whose aid in ships no crusade was possible, and in Milan, where he addresses a letter to Amadeus of Savoy, imploring him not to postpone the crusade.⁵ It was in this year

1. *Chevalerie de la Passion*, f. 17 v. : 'le povre Ardant Desir pour celle mesme cause, . . . avec le dit roy et sans sa presence, especial messagier de sa magnanimité royale, par XV ans ou environ continuellement ne fist autre chose que d'aler d'orient en occident, de midi en septentrion, a pape Urbain et a pape Grigoire, aux roys dessus diz et a plusieurs autre, aux grans princes et communes de la crestiente Catholique . . .'

2. *ibid.* ff. 16 v.—17. r. : 'Encores le vaillant roy, en pourchassant le saint passage et la sainte Chevalerie, en propre personne visita Charles, roy de Behaigne et Empereur de Romme, le vaillant roy de Hongrie, le roy de Pollane, les roys de France, Jehan et Charles, le roy Edouart d'Angleterre, et aussi comme toutes les régions d'Occident, en demandant partout aide. Et principalement il fut a la présence du benoit pape Urbain quint . . .'

3. *Ibid.*, f. 17 v. : ' . . . Ardant Desir, a grant travail et periz sans nombre et du corps et de l'ame, une foiz triste, l'autre foiz en joye, une foiz conforte, et cent foiz desconforte, l'une foiz honnours et plusieurs foiz degabe . . .'

4. On the whole episode of the war between the Church and the tyrant of Lombardy, vide Jorga, *op. cit.*, pp. 206 - 229.

5. Jorga, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

too that he journeyed north, though whether in company with his royal master or not is doubtful. Probably it was also in this year that Philippe made a visit to the Scandinavian countries.

On his return to Venice at the end of 1364, he found disappointment again. The rebellion in Crete had occupied the Venetians, and crusaders assembled in Venice had made the long delays an excuse to return to their homes. Further complications arose from the quarrel between the Genoese and the Prince Regent of Cyprus, and Philippe may have accompanied Pierre Thomas to Genoa early in 1365.

However, the main outcome of the tremendous efforts of the three personalities — Pierre I, our author and Pierre Thomas — culminated in the crusade against Alexandria in 1365. The city was captured and sacked to the amazement of the Western world. Pierre de Lusignan in the presence of his barons, knights and the Pope's legate, offered Philippe one third of the revenues of the city for the foundation of the new Order of Chivalry of the Passion.¹ But the singleness of purpose of the King, of Pierre Thomas and of Philippe de Mézières found no reflection in their followers. The campaign ended in the withdrawal of the Christian host after days of senseless slaughter and pillage. The whole episode must have added to Philippe's store of experience. It was clear to him that the crusaders who took part in the attack on Alexandria were motivated by greed rather than devotion to the cause; knights and warriors of the new Order, therefore, were to take no heed of the booty acquired from the enemy, because it would be distributed among them, each according to his merit, by wise and honest members of a council according to the holy Rule of the Order.²

1. *Chevalerie de la Passion*, f. 17 r.: '... le vaillast roy Pierre de Lusignan ledit vendredi au vespre, a grant repos et a grant joye estant en son hostel en Alixandre, appelle la douane, en presence du benoit legat du pape de Rome et de ses barons et chevaliers, plainement donna, pour le commencement de la Chevalerie nostre sus, la tierce partie de toute la cite d'Alixandre...'

2. *ibid.* f. 89 r. '... nos chevaliers et combatans au pillage et aus despouilles des anemis comment qu'il soit arester ne porront en laissant leurs baniers sur paine de tres grief coulpe, mais cheux qui par les preadents seront ordenes et non autres requelleront les despouilles apres la victoire sans regret et avarice. Et tout sera requelli a l'utilite de la chose publique de nostre sainte Chevalerie, laquelle despouille et proie des anemis en l'ost et a repos sera divisee et departie, et aucune fois non, par certains esleus du conseil, sages et prodhommes et sans avarice, as combatans du crucifix, selonc le merite de chascun, tenant la sainte regle ...'

Pierre Thomas died at Famagousta on 16 January, 1366, and it was for Philippe that Thomas called on his deathbed. His *Life* of his friend and spiritual father, written in 1366, remains to this day the chief record of the career of Pierre Thomas.

The complexity of Near Eastern politics is shown in the months that followed. About the end of June, Mézières again travelled to Europe, carrying messages to Christian princes announcing his master's intention of launching another crusade and asking for aid. But to the Venetians, occupied with projects for renewed trade in the Levant, and to Pope Urban V, beginning to consider the possibilities of a return from Avignon to Rome, such letters were an acute embarrassment, and their bearer unwelcome.

Philippe, however, was undismayed by the Pope's decline to sponsor another crusade. He made his plans for a second tour of the courts. He also thought of gaining adherents for his Order of the Passion. If it was difficult to find volunteers to join the service of his King, at least the Order, if founded, would champion his master's projects. So in 1367-8 he drew his first plan for the foundation of the Order which, he was careful to point out long afterwards, had not been hastily thought of in some London or Paris tavern.¹ Meanwhile Pierre I de Lusignan carried out successful attacks on the coast of Syria, and inflicted serious damages on the Sultan of Egypt, Al-Ashraf Sha'ban (1363-76).

On his second tour of the courts, Philippe visited Castile and Aragon, and perhaps Portugal, carrying out hazardous journeys,² which for extent and danger may be compared with those of the Apostle Paul whom he was so fond of quoting. To this period also belong, apart from his correspondence, two works of importance. One, now lost, was a *Lamentatio super Jherusalem de Negligentia Christianorum*,³

1. Chevalerie de la Passion, f. 13 v.: 'Et ce soit dit a la doubtaunce de Dieu et grant reverence, amour et aucune enformation des vaillans chevaliers du temps present, qui ont devocion a la sainte Chevalerie du benoit Filz de Dieu et ne sont pas du temps cy-dessus recite, afin qu'ilz aient clere congnissance que ladicta Chevalerie n'a pas este trouvec de nouvel ne songie en la taverne a Paris ou a Londres.'

2. Jorga, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

3. Philippe made reference to this lost work in his *Nova Religio Passionis*, f. 20 r. 2: '... quia meminimus me in Libello Lamentacionis Jherusalem de negligencia Christianorum latius scripsisse, and in *La Chevalerie de la Passion*, f. 53 v. '... car il me souvient que en un petit volume intitule la lamentation de Jherusalem de la negligence des crestiens j'en ay escript assez largement.'

in which the Christian princes were reproached for their indifference to the fate of the Holy Land, and the second his *Vita S. Petri Thomasi* referred to above.¹

Finally after further negotiations or attempted negotiations with the Venetians, the end of all hopes came with the assassination of Pierre I de Lusignan on January 17, 1369, and the murder or imprisonment of his friends. This tragedy marked a turning point in Philippe's life. He ceased to be an active crusader and henceforward he was to deal with the Christian world through his writings. He lived in close seclusion for a while in Venice, and for the next two or three years almost disappears from our view.

At the beginning of 1372 Philippe left Venice for Avignon, where he pronounced a discourse on the occasion of the election of Pope Gregory XI. He remained in Avignon in close touch with the new Pope probably until early in 1373, when he was summoned to the court of France. As he rode to Paris he carried with him the knowledge derived from nearly thirty years' experience of men and cities. At the age of forty-six he was to transfer his affection and allegiance to the King of France. He had abandoned nothing of his hopes and plans, but they were to centre now in the House of Valois.

The first mention of Mézières in Paris occurs in documents of May 1373 which speak of him as King's Councillor, in which he is granted a pension of twelve hundred livres a year and the gift of two houses adjoining the Palace of St. Paul. The act of donation mentions the services that Philippe had rendered to the King in 'many and various ways'.² No clue appears to exist as to what these services were, or when they were rendered, but it seems permissible to deduce that May 1373 was not the time of the first meeting between King and Councillor. It is clear that Mézières continued to serve Charles V (1364-1380), as in October 1374 his name appears in the list of those chosen by King to advise the Queen and the King's brothers in the event of a regency at the King's death.³ He attended council meetings

1. This work was printed by Henschen in *Acta Sanctorum*, under 29 January.

2. Archives Nationales JJ 106, No. 102, cf. Jorga, *op. cit.* p. 421 n. 6: 'En consideration des bons et très agréables services que nostre bien-aimé... Philippe de Maisières... nous a faiz... en plusieurs et diverses manières et fait encores chascunjour.'

3. Jorga, *op. cit.*, p. 423 n. 4.

regularly, distributed the King's alms,¹ and accompanied him to Beauté-sur-Marne. In the autumn of the following year, he travelled with the Duke of Anjou to Avignon, and probably carried out Charles V's orders in attempting a reconciliation between the young Pierre II of Cyprus and the Genoese. After his return to Paris to report the failure of his mission, another of the numerous gaps in the record of his life occurs, and on the evidence so far available, no statement can be ventured as to his movements to the end of 1376. He was back in Paris in January, 1377, and spent the following twelve months in the city. It was perhaps at this time that he was made tutor to the Dauphin, the future Charles VI.²

When Pope Gregory XI died in 1378, the cardinals met in Rome on 9 April and elected Urban VI as the new pope. In September of the same year they declared the election invalid as having been made under duress and proceeded to elect Cardinal Robert of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII and promptly returned to Avignon. Along with the rest of the world, including the King of France and the University of Paris, Mézières accepted the election of Urban VI; but on the 16th November of that year Mézières was almost certainly present at the great assembly at which Charles V gave his support and that of France to Clement VII. Philippe de Mézières stated in the *Songe du Vieil Pelerin* the reasons and the various arguments which had influenced him in this transfer of allegiance.³

From the opening of the Schism to the death of Charles V in 1380, Philippe was not far from the King. He was almost certainly present at his deathbed. The King's death meant a change in Philippe's position as well as in that of many of his influential friends. He himself henceforward, as he tells us,⁴ withdrew to the Celestine Convent in Paris. His large literary output in the last twenty five years of his life is a reflection of the events, the hopes, the fears and the failures of those years. He wrote, with almost incredible

1. Jorga, *op. cit.*, p. 423 n. 5.

2. *Songe du Vieil Pelerin*, I, f. 2 v. 1: '... marchander a ung Faulcon Pelerin Blank au bec et piez dorz, qu'il a norry et apprivoise et duquel il a ceste premier faulconner.'

3. *ibid.*, f. 113 v.; cf. Jorga, *op. cit.*, p. 437.

4. *Nova Religio Passionis*, f. 46 v. 1: '... feci quemdam saltum, videlicet de curia regum, de vallis illorum ad montem celestinorum.'

industry, on matters domestic and foreign and addressed himself directly to those two princes on whom at times the hopes of so many were fixed—Charles VI of France and Richard II of England.

But the main theme to which Philippe de Mézières consecrated almost the last four decades of his life and around which most of his literary activity was centred, was the foundation of the new Order of Chivalry of the Passion. Already in 1384 Philippe added to his first plan of 1367-8 the so-called second redaction. Again, the establishment of peace between England and France twelve years later seemed opportune to Philippe to renew his appeal for the foundation of the Order. Thus in 1396, a few months before the battle of Nicopolis, Philippe wrote what is known as the third redaction of his treatise on the Chivalry of the Passion.¹ News of the defeat of the Christian army at Nicopolis reached Paris on Christmas eve the same year². The following year Mézières wrote his last work *L'Épître lamentable et consolatoire*.

Nothing is known of the last eight years of Philippe's life. He died in his retreat at the Convent of the Celestines in May 1405. By his last will of April 1405 he left all his possessions to that House, and was buried in the Chapel which he had built there years before. The Church of St. Denis still possesses the gilded copper plaque which was at one time fixed above his tomb. It contains the words, 'O beati patres Celestini, divini sacerdotes Dei altissimi, mementote, obsecro, mei, zelatoris vestri, Philippi, quondam cancellarii Cipri nominati'.³

1. The sources of Philippe's new Order of the Passion are the subject of Part II of this article to be published later.

2. Atiya (A.S.), 'The Crusade of Nicopolis', London, 1934, p. 101.

3. Jorga, *op. cit.*, p. 512 n. 2.

عرض بطرس على فيليب أن يخصص له ثلث إيرادات ومكوس المدينة لإنشاء هيئة الفرسان هذه ظناً منه أن المدينة ستظل بأيديهم إلى ما شاء الله . ولكن حدث أن قرر قواد الحملة الآخرون الانسحاب من المدينة بعد أسبوع واحد من الاستيلاء عليها ، وقد جاء هذا القرار تحيياً لآمال فيليب وفي نفس الوقت زاده اقتناعاً بضرورة تكوين هيئة ، إذ رأى أن المشتركين في الحملة لم يكن يهمهم من الأمر سوى الأرباح التي غنموها من نهب المدينة . على أية حال ، وضع فيليب مشروعه الأول للهيئة حوالي سنة ١٣٦٨ ثم أضاف إليه في سنة ١٣٨٤ مشروعاً ثانياً يتضمن شرحاً لأهدافه والمزايا التي تعود على المسيحية من انشاء تلك الهيئة ، ثم اختتمه بمجموعة من القوانين والنظم التي يجب أن يتلى بها الفرسان في حياتهم . وتحتوي المخطوطة اللاتينية المحفوظة بمكتبة مازارين بباريس على هذين المشروعين .

على أن فكرة تكوين هذه الهيئة لم تغب لحظة عن بال فيليب ، وقد حدث أن أعلنت الهدنة بين فرنسا وإنجلترا ، فاعتقد فيليب أن الفرصة قد سحبت لكي يحدد دعوته ، فوضع مشروعه الأخير - بالفرنسية هذه المرة - في سنة ١٣٩٦ قبل موقعة نيكوبوليس بشهور قليلة . وهذا المشروع الأخير هو موضوع المخطوطة الموجودة بمكتبة الأرسنال بباريس . وهناك مخطوطة ثالثة موجودة ضمن مجموعة أشول بمكتبة البودليان بأوكسفورد ، غير معروفة التاريخ ، ضمها فيليب موجزاً للأسباب التي تدعو لضرورة انشاء هيئة فرسان آلام المسيح والقواعد والنظم الخاصة بها . والمخطوطات الثلاث لم تنشر بعد والكلام عنها وتحليلها وعلاقة كل منها بالأخرى هو موضوع القسم الثاني من هذا المقال .

فيليب دى ميزير وهيئة فرسان آلام المسيح للكنور عبد الحميد حمري محمود

القسم الأول

يعتبر فيليب دى ميزير من أشهر دعاة الحروب الصليبية في القرن الرابع عشر الميلادي . ولد حوالي سنة ١٣٢٧ في قرية ميزير من أعمال بيكاردي في شمال فرنسا ، وكان شغوفاً بقراءة التاريخ وخاصة تاريخ الحملات الصليبية الأولى ، بالإضافة إلى قراءاته المتعددة الأخرى في الفلسفة والدين . بدأ فيليب حياته بالعمل كجندي في جيوش بعض الأمراء الايطاليين ، واشترك في حملة ضد الأتراك في سنة ١٣٤٦ . وبعد انتهاء الحملة توجه في السنة التالية إلى جزيرة رودس ، ومن هناك إلى بيت المقدس ، حيث تولدت لديه فكرة انشاء هيئة تضم فرساناً من جميع أنحاء أوروبا ، يطلق عليها اسم «فرسان آلام المسيح» ، على أن تقيم تلك الهيئة بصفة دائمة في الأراضي المقدسة وتكون أهدافها إحياء ذكرى الآلام التي عاناها المسيح من أجل انقاذ البشرية ، واصلاح المجتمع المسيحي الغربي وانتشاله من الشرور والآثام التي اسنشرت في كيانه ، ثم انزاع بيت المقدس والأراضي المقدسة من أيدي المسلمين ، وأخيراً نشر العقيدة الكاثوليكية في الأراضي الإسلامية .

لم يدخر فيليب جهداً لعرض فكرته هذه على ملوك وحكام أوروبا ، وكان أول من استجاب لفكرته بطرس الأول دي لوزنيان ملك قبرص فقاما معاً بجهود تمخضت عن تكوين حملة استولت على الاسكندرية في سنة ١٣٦٥ .