

ATIYA (A.S.)

PH.D., 1933

HISTORY.

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS ON  
THE CRUSADE OF NICOPOLIS  
etc. etc.

submitted by

AZIZ BURYAL ATIYA

To the University of London

For the Degree of Ph.D.

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1933

The history of the Crusade of Nicopolis is the final chapter of a larger work on the Fourteenth Century Crusade. Neither of these subjects has been treated fully as a separate study. Owing, however, to limitations of time and space, it has been decided to write the history of the first and prepare the bibliography of the second.

An exhaustive inquiry into the sources, manuscript and printed, has resulted in a complete narrative of the Crusade of Nicopolis, with previous errors rectified and many problems of general interest settled. The crusading propaganda, the routes towards Nicopolis, the elements of the conflicting hosts, the character and the tactics of the leader, the use of the arrow and the horse, the Janissaries in the fourteenth century, the battle and its aftermath, the effect of the Christian defeat on the Western mind and on the Muhammadan world, the chronology of the Crusade, the origin of the title of Sultan in Turkey - all these and other problems have received careful consideration, and transcriptions and translations from Western and Eastern manuscripts have been provided to illustrate the various aspects of the Crusade. Moreover, much light has been thrown on this study by a visit to the battlefield and its approaches, and a special map of the Nicopolis district has been prepared for this purpose by the Royal Geographical Institute of Bulgaria at Sofia.

Finally, in addition to the printed sources, the Bibliography of the Fourteenth Century Crusade includes a list of several hundreds of manuscript volumes, Eastern and Western, actually examined in many archives and libraries in England, France, Italy, Spain and Catalunya, Austria, Turkey, Egypt and Algeria.

**T H E S I S  
I N T W O P A R T S**

**SUBMITTED BY  
AZIS SURYAL ATIYA**

**FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.**

**JUNE, 1933.**

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**PART I.**

**THE CRUSADE OF NICOPOLIS:**

**A STUDY BASED ON THE EASTERN AND WESTERN SOURCES  
AND ON AN EXAMINATION OF THE BATTLEFIELD  
AND ITS APPROACHES.**

.....

### Preface.

The present study was begun in the Autumn of 1930 as a dissertation for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in the University of Liverpool, and its first redaction resulted in the award of a First Class Degree with Honours and the election to the Charles Beard Fellowship of that University. The general opinion of the examiner at the time was that I should "proceed with the fuller study of a subject so auspiciously begun and produce the monograph on it which is necessary". This has been my chief concern during the last two academic sessions in the University of London. The completion of the work in its actual form has been made possible by the generous action, not only of the Egyptian Government, but also of the University of Liverpool where my second election to the honour of the University Fellowship and the grant of a subsidy usually appropriated to a third, enabled me to visit numerous Continental manuscript collections for the examination of the unique documents of the crusade.

In the original version of 1931, some survey of the printed sources, and references, naturally limited in number,

to manuscripts available in Great Britain were made, — the period assigned to this preliminary work having been only one session. The nucleus of many arguments was gradually forming, but remained in an incomplete state pending these Continental visits and a more exhaustive enquiry into the printed sources. When these were accomplished, the history of the crusade had to be rewritten in its entirety. Numerous additions and modifications have been introduced. The second and important chapter on the propaganda is new. The Eastern aspect of the crusade has been reconstructed on the basis of a much more complete examination of the sources. A thorough sifting of all available material on the crusade in the Oriental manuscripts has <sup>such</sup> added much weighty evidence to the solution of <sup>such</sup> problems as the chronology of the narrative of the crusade and the origins of the title of Sultan in Turkey.

On the Western side, serious enquiry into a considerable number of important manuscripts has helped to complete this history. Copious extracts from these are appended to the thesis or included in the footnotes. The whole of the British Museum manuscript of Philippe de Mézières' Epistle to Richard II and the rubrics of the Bodleian manuscript of his work on the 'Nova Religio Passionis'



(vide Appendix III) have been transcribed for this purpose. The Dijon 'Ordonnance' of Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, has been reproduced in Appendix VI. Large sections of the Paris manuscript of Bauyn's memoirs form the groundwork of the subject of Appendix V.

The first of these manuscripts — Mézières' Epistle — deserves special attention on account of its general interest and importance. This voluminous work has been transcribed as a whole for the present study. It has, however, been decided to withhold it from presentation at this stage, partly owing to its considerable size, but chiefly for further work of annotation from Biblical and patristic literatures as well as the early histories of Roman and mediæval civilisations, upon which Mézières drew freely to support his arguments on fourteenth century problems. It is hoped that the publication of a volume of this kind will be regarded as a contribution of some value, not only to the historian of the crusade, the writer on the relations of England, France and Burgundy, during the period of the Hundred Years' War, and the researcher on the history of the military orders, of the papacy and the schism of the Western church, but also to the student of late mediæval French literature and thought, the ecclesiastical historian and the preacher

who may find in it a word of inspiration, and may even serve for the enlightenment of those modern politicians who are unconsciously working out a scheme of modern internationalism that is far from being dissimilar to Mexieres' own ideal conception of the Christian world of his age.

Last, but not least, amongst the sources is the battlefield of Nicopolis itself. A visit to that area (made in the Spring of 1932) and the close examination of the battlefield and its approaches have amply justified the trouble and expense thereby incurred. This will be remarked in the sixth chapter on the battle; and a brief account of the visit has been given in Appendix VIII. Furthermore, the Bulgarian Government has courteously supplied a topographical chart drawn specially by the Royal Geographical Institute of Bulgaria on the occasion of this visit. This has been used in the production of an original plan of the battle of Nicopolis.

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1. Bibliographies.
2. Encyclopedias, Dictionaries and Gazetteers.
3. Numismatics and Chronology.

**II. Official and Literary Sources: Manuscript.**

1. Western: London, Oxford, Paris, Dijon, Brussels and Venice.
2. Eastern: London, Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester, Paris, Vienna and Cairo.

**III. Official Sources in Print.****IV. Literary Sources in Print.**

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2. English.
3. German and Swiss.
4. Italian.
5. Hungarian, Dalmatian and Croatian.
6. Polish.
7. Byzantine.
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9. Miscellaneous: Cypriote, Serbian, Armenian and Jewish.
10. Geography and Travel.

**V. Secondary Authorities.**

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Murad I and Bayezid I, in connection with Appendix XI.

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2. The whole of this hitherto unpublished epistle in 83 double-columned double-paged folios has been transcribed; but, for fear of overloading the present study, I have decided to postpone the presentation thereof. It is hoped to find means for its publication with an introduction and notes in a separate volume as an important document bearing on the history of the crusade, of the Levant, of the relations between England and France, as well as a specimen of fifteenth century style and thought.

3. Vide transcription of rubrics in Appendix III.

4. Vide extracts transcribed in Appendix IV.

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5. Vide transcription in Appendix VI.

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In addition to the above list, special maps of the area of  
the Crusade and the Battle of Nicepolis have been  
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**CHAPTER I.****Europe and the Crusade.**

**Turkish Advance in Europe; Balkan States; Hungary.**

**France and England; Empire and Germany; 'Spain' and Moors.**

**Bohemia; Poland; Italy and Papacy.**

**Maritime Powers: Genoa, Venice and Cyprus.**

**Orders of Chivalry.**

The Crusade of Nicopolis was the last serious attempt in which Western Europe co-operated with Eastern Christendom against their common enemy — the Turk. Throughout the fourteenth century the West had continued to cherish the vain hope of saving the Holy Land. It even took the aggressive on various occasions and attained a few ephemeral and insufficient successes. The crusades of King Peter I. of Cyprus, which led to the precarious seizure of Adalia in 1361 and the resultless storming of Alexandria in 1365; the campaign of Count Amadeus VI of Savoy (1366-67), which proved entirely unequal to the task of driving the Turks from Europe; the ineffective expedition of Duke Louis II of Bourbon into Barbary; — all these were noble and pious, but no more than futile enterprises undertaken in countries other than the Holy Land. In fact, while Europe was dreaming of the reconquest of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the enemy came within the precincts of the homeland of Catholic Christianity. The Ottomans had been carving slice after slice from the body politic of a divided Empire and an impotent group of semi-independent principalities in the Balkans; and the West gazed indifferently on the fall of the unworthy schismatics. But when Turkish ambitions extended beyond the Danube, the Western powers began to realise the sin of their forefathers — the promoters of the

Fourth Crusade — and to lament their own sloth and indifference to the fate of their fellow Christians. Their fears and anxieties were doubled when the news was circulated in the West that 'l'Amerath Bacquin' had pledged himself to ride to Rome and turn St. Peter's altar into a manger for his horse.<sup>1.</sup> Pilgrims had also informed the young and ardent Charles VI that the Sultan had told them of his intention to "come to France after he had finished with Austria."<sup>2.</sup> These high-handed menaces alarmed the West, more especially because the rate at which the Turks extended their sway was rapid and bewildering.

When the Latin Empire of Constantinople collapsed in 1261, the Palaeologi recovered a disjointed heritage with an alien 'system' of feudalism imposed upon it. Numerous Frankish, Italian and Slavonic lords retained their fiefs, and the Empire lost its cohesive powers forever. Overcome by faction in religion and politics, and torn asunder by civil war between rival emperors, it became an easy prey to the Ottoman Turks. Most of the Byzantine provinces in Asia Minor were seized during Orkhan's reign (1286-89).<sup>3.</sup>

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1. Froissart, XV, 217.

2. Religieux, I, 711-12.

3. Finlay, III, 341 et seq.; Diehl, (Hist.), 162-65; Lane-Poole (Turkey) 33-49; Brauner, 5-7; Gibbons, 100 et seq.

Brusa fell in 1326 and became his capital. Nicaea succumbed in 1329 and Nicomedia in 1337. In the following year, the Turks established themselves on the Bosphorus, and in 1345 they were invited by the usurper Cantacuzenos to cross the strait and assist in his civil war against the child-emperor John V Palaeologus and the Dowager-Empress his mother. The contestants vied with each other in courting Turkish help. Cantacuzenos gave his youthful daughter Theodora in marriage to the sexagenarian Orkhan despite difference in age and religion, and, what was perhaps more coveted, the fortress of Tzympe in the Thracian Chersonese (1352).<sup>4.</sup> The Empress signed a treaty authorising the Turks to carry into slavery the Christian Greeks who were subject to the rebel emperor. The Turks treated with both, yet ravaged the land.

5.

When, in 1354, John succeeded by a stratagem in entering Constantinople and dethroned his father-in-law, he found himself unable to regain his lost possessions from the Turks who now occupied Gallipoli and had embarked on a vast career of European conquest. Orkhan's forces occupied Demetia and Tzurulum in 1357, thus cutting off Constantinople from

4. It has been argued that Cantacuzenos did not willingly surrender the fortress, but only promised it to Soleiman, Orkhan's son, and when the Emperor failed to fulfil his promise, the Turks seized it by force. The fact remains that the Turks held the castle. Gibbons, 101; Lane-Poole, 34-35; V. Pariset, 213 et seq.

5. Hutton, 126-7.



Adrianople, and the peninsula lay open before them.

Murad I (1359-89) conquered the whole of Thrace and compelled John to recognise his possession of the province. In 1361, he captured Adrianople and Philippopolis, and transferred his capital to the first of these.

6.

The Christian princes, hitherto indifferent to the fate of a crumbling Empire, opened their eyes to the great danger which threatened their own lands. At the instigation of Pope Urban V, the first of a series of anti-Ottoman crusading coalitions was formed between Kral Urosh V of Serbia, the Angevin King Lewis the Great of Hungary and the princes of Bosnia and Wallachia. The resultant march of the Crusaders was undisturbed until they reached the Maritza (1363), where they were surprised one night by Haji Ilbeki and 10,000 soldiers. The Turkish victory was complete, and King Lewis had a narrow escape.

7.

The Christian defeat on the banks of the Maritza precipitated the fall of Bulgaria. This country was politically and religiously divided amongst three pretenders — Šišman, Stracimir and Dobretić — and three creeds, namely,

6. Kehler, 5-6; Delaville Le Roulx, I, 220-22.

7. One of Lala-Shahin's officers. As Murad was then in Asia Minor, Haji was poisoned by his superior who feared that he might share the Sultan's favour with him.

8. Bogomile, Orthodox and Catholic. It was also harassed from  
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8. Derived from either 'Bog Milui' i.e. 'God have mercy', or name of 10th century heretic bishop 'Bogamil' i.e. lit. 'beloved of God'. Known also as Paulikeni (Paulicians, from Paul of Samosata, not St. Paul), Technikeri, Terbesti, Tundaiti, Publicani, Patareni, Cathari; known in West as 'Bulgari' and their creed as 'Bulgarorum Heresis'. Similar to Manichean, Albigensian and Hussite heresies.

Believed in two powers representing two sons of God governing humanity - Christ and Satan good and evil, invisible and visible, celestial and earthly, Belbog and Chernbog. Admitted existence of heaven and hell, but no purgatory. Resurrection for soul not body, the second being a creation of the devil. Baptism spiritual, not by water. No Real Presence in Eucharist. Temples being Satan's abode, hence confessional and prayers in open meetings or private houses. Use of images, ikens, relics and Cross considered as idolatrous. No marriage for elect (perfecti); only for simple believers (credentes) without formal sacrament, hence separation at will. Work on Sunday. Vegetarians, fasting three periods of 40 days annually. Ordination by congregation. Church and State rejected as Satan's instruments; in their place, independent communities under local bishops on democratic, perhaps communistic, lines.

Bogomili repressed by Emperor Alexius I Comnenus, who burned their leader, Basil, in 1118. Doctrines condemned by Greek Synods of 1140, 1316 and 1325. Patriarch Germanus (1221-39) revived their persecution after a lull of imperial favour that had previously led to the deposition of Patriarch Cosmas as a result of the Bogomile Niphon's efforts. Vigorously repressed by Emperors and Princes, Patriarchs and Popes. Yet in 13th century reached more than 100,000 'credentes' and 4,000 'perfecti'. Sent missionaries to Russia as early as 11th century, i.e. almost immediately after conversion of Russians, but suppressed by Bishop Leonite of Kiev and others in Russian Church. Numbers of them passed into Serbia and were expelled to Bosnia. Persecuted by Orthodox and Catholic, they hailed Turk in 14th century as saviour. Bogomilism said to have persisted till 19th century, and Bogomile monuments still seen on Balkan mts. First Slav converts to Islam are believed to have been Bogomili.

Mishev, pp. 55-99; Melsheim, II, 464 et seq.; Neander, VI, 344 et seq., VIII, 273 et seq.; J.C. Robertson, V, 239-95; Jireček: Gesch. d. Bulg., 171 et seq., Staat und Gesellschaft, I, 59-60, - Civ. Serbs, 22-23; Edith Durham, 30 and 41; Relig. Encyc., I, 306; Cath. Encyc., II, 611-12; Encyc. Brit., (13th ed.) IV, 119-20. Bulletin Critique 1895, no.5. (Paulicians in Bys. Empire); BZ. VII, 40-49.

the north by Lewis who aspired to annex Widdin under the pretext of the defence of the Catholic faith. The atrocities of Hungarian soldiery on the one hand, and the forced conversion to Latin rites by Franciscan missionaries on the other, exasperated the Bulgarians and prepared their minds for the impending change. Submission to the Latins meant total forfeiture of their political and religious liberty. Capitulation to the Turks entailed only partial loss of political rights, but preserved in large measure their religious independence. It was therefore far more natural for the Orthodox races to offer their allegiance to Murad or Bayezid than to Lewis or Sigismund — a fact which the Western mind failed to grasp for many decades. Hence the Sultan met with little difficulty in subjecting the Balkans. Stracimir, Kral of Northern, and Šišman, Kral of Southern, Bulgaria, soon made separate overtures to Murad, and became tributaries of the Supreme Porte in 1366. Šišman gave his sister in marriage to his new suzerain as a pledge of his fealty.

The Serbians, amongst whom the recollection of the great tradition of Stephen Dušan still survived, struggled hard to

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9. Miller, (Balkans), 186-89; Steen de Jehay gives interesting account of status of non-Muslim races subject to Turks; Patriarch Genadios was invested with vast powers — civil and religious — by Muhammad II after the fall of Constantinople, and soon became the first 'Millet-bachi' (national chief) under Turkish rule; pp. 84 et seq.

repel the invader, but were routed at the battle of Cernomen (1371), and the Turks poured down into the valley of the Vardar from the paths of the Rhodope Mountains. Tzar Lazarus Gresljanović, nicknamed the 'Despot', withdrew himself to Upper Serbia, but seeing little hope in resistance to the Turks, and still less forthcoming succour from the unpopular Latins, came to beg for peace with the invincible invader on payment of an annual tribute of a thousand pounds of gold and a thousand horsemen.<sup>10.</sup> Emperor, Kral, and Tzar then became tributary subjects to the Sultan.

The acquiescence of the Christians did not last long, for the humiliation was complete. Šišman was the first to revolt (1388). Entrenched behind the walls of Nicopolis, he hoped against hope, for when the Turkish general Ali Pasha besieged the city, Šišman's resources failed him. He saved his life by crossing the Danube, but Bulgaria became a Turkish  
<sup>11.</sup>  
'pashalik'. When Lazarus threw off the Turkish yoke in the following year, there came to his assistance contingents from Bosnia, Wallachia, Hungary and Poland. The Battle of Kosseve

10. Lane-Poole, 40; Gibbons, 145-48.

11. Meaning division or province under the governorship of a 'Pasha'.

12. Pelye was fought on 15 June 1389; and although Murad and Lazarus fell on that day, the victory remained with the Turks. Bayezid, the new Sultan, treated with Stephen Bulcović, son of Lazarus, who was allowed to succeed to his father's privileges and obligations. But he had, moreover, to command the Serbian contingent in person and to marry his sister  
 14. Despina to Bayezid. 'Yilderiz' carried his father's conquests in the North as far as Widdin, extended his suzerainty over Wallachia, and began to entertain far-reaching ambitions of invading Hungary. In the South he played off one imperial claimant against another. He left Constantinople to John, but gave his adjacent districts to Andronicos, and kept Manuel  
 15. at his court.

16. The fall of Widdin (1390), on which the Hungarian monarch had a long standing claim, excited a great deal of anxiety at  
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12. Meaning 'field of Blackbirds'; called by Brauner (p.9) and Jirecek (Gesch. der Serb. p. 119 et seq.) 'Schlacht auf dem Amselfelde'; generally, but imperfectly, called Kossovo or Kossova, Eliot, 40.
13. Gibbons (p.174) adopts as his date June 20, i.e. he accepts the statement of the Hungarian chronicler George Pray who wrote in later period, and thus overlooks the contemporary and traditional date given by Serbian chroniclers and songsters. Miklosich (Mon.Serbica), Doc.CCI, p. 214, places death of Emp. Stephen Lazarus on 15 June, 1389; cf. d'Avril in the 'Rhapsodie serbe tirée des chants populaires' on Kossovo. p.5 et seq.
14. Turkish word meaning 'lightning' or 'thunderbolt'; Bayezid's nickname.
15. Ducas, 307-15; Von Hammer, I, 183-84; Eversley, 45.
16. Kupelweiser, 8-9.

† Sigismund's court. But the 'Westpolitik' of the Ottomans did not stop on the right side of the Danube. Regular raids were carried on to Hungarian soil. Moreover, a formidable army crossed the river at Silistra, seized Mircea, Veyvode of Wallachia, and sent him to Brusa, where he managed to regain his freedom on payment of a tribute of 3000 ducats, 30 horses and 20 falcons, in return for Bayezid's kindly offer to protect his country from Hungarian aggression,

their own rites in a way inconceivable to the pious Catholic. Whether the Turk did this for political reasons, at least at that early stage in his history, is immaterial. The fact remains that he did it, and that his policy appealed to the oppressed and persecuted races. Furthermore, the Turk appeared to be indifferent to the constitution or personnel of his vassal states, so long as they paid the Sultan's tribute of men and money with regularity. The Turkish armies, too, under these conditions, were retained south of the Danube. All these circumstances help to explain the seemingly strange behaviour of Mircea, who reluctantly joined Sigismund before the walls of Nicopolis and was the first to flee from the battlefield.

Sigismund's policy with his Eastern neighbours and his efforts to establish permanent alliances with the Balkan countries especially Wallachia, were anything but successful. Still more dire for his crusading projects, was the situation in Hungary itself. The Hungarian people had lived under the shadow of civil war since the Magyar nobility had forced the Golden Bull of 1222 out of the hands of Andrew II. This charter extended their powers against both king and peasant. They became virtually petty independent rulers of

18. Benfinius, 361 et seq.; Petrus de Rewa, (De S. Coron.) 449.

their states and fought their own battles with one another, or united to compel a new king to accede to their wishes and sanction their acquired privileges. Another excuse for creating further disorder offered itself to the unruly nobility in the problem of succession to the Hungarian throne during the reign of Sigismund. Lewis had no male issue, and to ensure the crown for his descendants, he wrung a decision from the Diet settling it on his daughter Maria in his own lifetime. But once he disappeared from the scene, the nobles rose up in arms against Maria and her husband, Sigismund, partly on account of their undying hatred for female rule, and partly to realise their own ambitious schemes for independence. A strong faction upheld the cause of Ladislaus, son of the assassinated Charles Durazzo of Naples, the nearest male heir to the crown. In face of stormy opposition at home, Sigismund, who was king only through his wife, found it most difficult to arrest Turkish encroachments and win all his lost territories. It was therefore natural that he should appeal to the Christian princes of the West for assistance, since the majority of his own men were unwilling to crown with victory the man whom they regarded as a usurper.

On one occasion, in 1393, Sigismund proved extremely fortunate in a minor encounter with a Turkish force on the



north side of the Danube, whereby he safeguarded Wallachia and recovered Nicopolis Minor. Mircea, who had been hesitating between the Turks and the Hungarians, had eventually fled to Sigismund's court, where he was well received and was granted the duchy of Fogaras and the county of Severin.<sup>19.</sup> Mircea's flight was not actuated by Christian love towards his co-religionist neighbour and hatred to an infidel sultan. Nor was Sigismund's bequest a Christian act of charity to a dethroned, but noble ally. The Wallachian prince meant simply to play off one deadly enemy against another, while the Hungarian monarch intended to seize a golden opportunity for the subjugation of a restless neighbour, whom he hoped to employ against the Turks. Whatever their secret aims may have been, their interests coincided for a time in presence of a common foe. Hence they marched together at the head of a handful of Hungarian supporters, including the Archbishop of Gran, Nicolas of Kanisay, and Nicolas and John Gara.<sup>20.</sup> They surprised an unsuspecting Turkish garrison at Nicopolis Minor, which the Turks occupied as a base wherefrom they raided the Wallachian countryside. The Turks were driven back to the other side of the Danube, so that

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19. Kupelweiser, 11. .

20. Other distinguished names amongst the nobles who followed Sigismund: Martin and George Thure, Oswald, Lorenz and John Reageny, Eustache Ilsua, John Kapolis, Peter Percyni and John Marethy. Le Roulx, LL, 78-86; Kupelweiser, 10-11

when Philip d'Artois, Count d'Eu, the new youthful and ambitious constable of France, arrived in Hungary with a few hundred knights about the beginning of 1394,<sup>21.</sup> Sigismund told them that their services were then not needed against the Muhammadans, and sent them to punish the Bohemian heretics. After a campaign of short duration, they hastened back to France. But after their return, the Turkish raids were renewed with greater vigour and Hungary was again in imminent danger. Sigismund could hardly rely upon his nobles alone to fight a decisive battle, more especially as his unpopularity increased with the death of queen Maria without issue.<sup>22.</sup> At first he resorted to means of diplomacy by sending an embassy to Bayezid to ask him by what right he had invaded Bulgaria which was subject to Hungary. The Sultan received the ambassadors in a hall ornamented with Bulgarian weapons,

21. According to the Austrian 'Chron. Melleic.' (514), the year should be 1395, but the French history of Juvenal des Ursins (II, 395) places the expedition in 1393. Kupelweiser (II) adopts the Austrian, Le Roux (I, 224-25) the French authority. But as the Religieux (II, 112-13) mentions that the King of Hungary appealed to the Christian princes for help at the time of the death of the King of Armenia in Paris, i.e. 29 November, 1393 (Dardel, p.13), it follows that if we add the time during which the preparations could have been made to the time taken in the march from Paris to Buda, the campaigners must have arrived in 1394. The date given by the Austrian chronicler must be rejected for it does not fit in properly with that of Sigismund's embassy to France in 1395.

22. Bonfinius, 365.

and pointing to these, he told them that so long as he could seize such arms, he had right, not only over Bulgaria, but also over Croatia, Dalmatia and Hungary itself. After this ill-omened meeting the ambassadors were sent to prison for a time before they were discourteously dismissed. Sigismund appealed again to the Western princes for support, and asked Boniface IX to preach a Crusade against the Turks.

In Western Europe, a condition of what was for later medieval times comparative tranquillity offered wide possibilities. Peace and goodwill reigned between England and France, after a period of continuous warfare. The relations between France and Germany were undisturbed as they generally were under the house of Luxemburg. The German princes lived harmoniously with their burghal neighbours in order that they might mutually lessen their dependence upon the Bohemian wearer of the imperial crown. The Kingdoms

23. a) "Dum", inquit, "ista quae cernitis a nobis geri possunt, ius quoque habemus non ad Bulgariam modo sed ad Croatiam, Dalmatiam, et ipsam Hungariam." -- Petrus de Rewa, (De Monarchia), 652.
- b) "Revertimini ad regem vestrum et dicite illi quoniam et ego terram ad hanc, ut videtis, ius habeo sufficienti-ens! Pariterque et illis in parietibus pendentia manu ostendit arma." Thwrees, (in Schwandtner, I), 362. Vambery, 132-33, quotes a similar statement.
- c) "Tum legatum allocutus: 'Haec', inquit, 'regi, domine tue, renuntia: ius moum, quod in Bulgaria exerceo, haec esse arma apparatusque, quos vidisti'." Phrantzes, Chron. Majus, in M.P.G., Vol. 156), p.684.

24. Brauner, 7-8.

of Aragon and Castile had considerably reduced the territories under Moorish sway. Contented for the nonce with their achievement, the Aragonese and Castilian monarchs had come to terms with the Muslim prince of Granada. On the whole, an atmosphere of relative tranquillity enveloped the majority of the Western kingdoms both internally and externally. But the knights of all countries thirsted for war, which was their chief vocation. On the confines of Eastern Christendom, the field was pregnant with possibilities of military honour and material booty, and the crusade against the Turks furnished a desirable outlet for the noble instincts of the Western chivalry.

The first part of the Hundred Year's War was actually at an end in 1395. The treaty concluded in Paris on 11 March 1395 and ratified at Windsor on 1 May 1396 gave Isabel, daughter of Charles VI, in marriage to Richard II, and established a twenty-eight years' truce between England and France.<sup>25</sup> In internal politics, too, the two countries enjoyed a spell of comparative peace. Richard's policy, at least during the seven or eight years that followed the Merciless Parliament (1388), was judicious and showed no

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25. Du Mont, T.II, Pt.I, pp. 24-25; Foedera, T.III, Pt.IV, pp. 106-25; Acta Regia, I, 387.

external signs of vindictiveness towards the Lords Appellant. In France, the rivalry that led later to a mortal feud between Burgundy and Orleans had not yet ripened. It is, however, doubtful whether peace was popular with the chivalry of either nation. They had fought in Prussia, but now a better field on the way to the Holy Land attracted their attention.

In Central Europe, most of the imperial troubles centred in Bohemia, where Wenzel established his seat of government. This enhanced the princely independence of the German aristocracy who lost no opportunity to extend and confirm their authority as against the occupant of the imperial throne. The German cities followed their example. Meanwhile, Sigismund encouraged this disruptive tendency among them in secret, although he professed amity to his brother in public. It was, therefore, only a little tribute to such a royal benefactor, that those princes should exercise their bellicose spirit in his service against the Turks. Moreover, a Holy War of this nature was a unique chance which they seized to assert themselves and to justify in foreign eyes their attitude towards the Emperor.

In the Iberian Peninsula, the Kingdom of Granada had become tributary to Castile, and a treaty of peace and alliance was concluded between King Muhammad Ibn Yusuf and

King Henry III (1394-96)<sup>26.</sup> This same treaty set the Aragonese knights free to follow up their activities in other fields.

The largest portion of the Western contingent which assisted in the crusade was thus drawn from France, England, Germany and 'Spain'. The chroniclers, indeed, refer to Bohemian, Polish and Italian knights in the Nicopolis campaign. But these were no more than individual scabbers or mercenaries, for the general situation in their respective countries was adverse to any wholesale participation. The Bohemians were engrossed in religious polemics and engaged in civil war; the Poles had only recently split off from Hungary, and their interests tended towards the Baltic region, instead of the Danube; and Italy was sunk into a state of perpetual warfare and public strife.

A storm of political and religious turmoil swept over Bohemia in this period. The character of Wenzel contributed to the aggravation of faction and civil war. Kind-hearted and repentant after committing a blunder, he was rash and irascible.<sup>27.</sup> He favoured men of the lower and middle classes, and thus furnished a motive to the hostility of the

26. Lane-Poole, (Moors in Spain), 218; Condé, III, 298-99. Also an atmosphere of friendship was growing between Charles VI and Henry III, and successful embassies were exchanged for the establishment of alliance between France and Castile; Daumet, (Alliance de la Fr. et de la Cast. au XIVE et au XVe s.), Pièces justifiées, dated Paris 18 February 1396, and Segovia, 20 September 1396, pp. 201-4.

27. Palacký, III, 66-69.

"Herrenbundes" (the league of the Lords). Established on December 18, 1393, this league was never actually dissolved until Wenzel was deposed at the opening of the fifteenth century. <sup>28.</sup> Meanwhile the Emperor treated the higher clergy with disrespect and thrust a powerful class into the ranks of his enemies. The Archbishop of Prague, for instance, was disgraced, and his lands devastated owing to a petty feudal squabble between him and a certain John Cuch of Zasada, one of the king's favourites. <sup>29.</sup> Even popular opinion, which was almost invariably on his side, was estranged from him by his appalling treatment of John Ponus, whom he threw into a <sup>30.</sup> dungeon, subjected to torture, and finally drowned in the Moldau (Vltava), as a penalty for frustrating the Emperor's scheme to create a new bishopric with the revenues of the convent of Kladrau and for reproving Wenzel for immoral and <sup>31.</sup> disorderly life. Wenzel's younger brother, Sigismund of Hungary, spared no effort to stir up hostilities against his senior in secret, notwithstanding his official protestations

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28. Ibid., 69-70.

29. Lütsew, (Bohemia), 86-9.

30. John Ponus, Nepomuc or Nepomucenc. Sometimes spelt wrongly "Ponuk" or "Nepomuk".

31. Lütsew. (Bohemia), 86-9; *ibid.* (Story of Prague), 26-9; Maurice, 162-67. The legend of St. John Nepomuc, mainly based on the Hajek Chronicle, is now discredited by the leading historians of Bohemia. Vide Lütsew's Lectures on the Historians of Bohemia. 58-61.

of friendship. On the purely religious side, we find amongst others three great reformers and Hussite precursors, — Milíč of Krensier, Thomas of Štítný and Mathew of Janov, — who preached in the vernacular and attacked openly the failures of the Church and the social order in Bohemia.<sup>32.</sup> This movement became identified with the budding Bohemian nationality. Even if we overlook Wenzel's natural disinclination to send any help to his brother, it is evident that the state of civil and religious unrest of Bohemia would be sufficient to render any serious participation in the crusade impossible.

Nor was there any considerable assistance available from Poland. The election of Jadwiga (1384-89), second daughter of Lewis the Great, to the throne of Poland was one step towards the separation of that country from Hungary. The next step was the marriage of Jadwiga and Jagiello (1386-1434), prince of Lithuania, — a marriage which had a twofold effect on relations between Poland and Hungary. In the first place, it brought Lithuania, Samogitia and a portion of Russia to the Polish crown, thus diverting the course of Polish interests from the South to the North. In

32. Maurice, 158-63; Lutzow, (Prague), 18-22; *ibid.*, (Bohemian Literature), 59-85.



the second place, it entailed, as another condition of the match, the conversion of Jagiello and the Lithuanians to Christianity. This voluntary conversion removed the only pretext for the aggressive movement of the Teutonic knights, who afterwards devoted themselves to a violent policy of intrigue to preserve their vast benefices on the Baltic. The jealousies between the Lithuanians and the Poles were not completely eradicated during the process of Christianisation in Lithuania. A struggle of short duration ensued, in which Witowt and Jagiello represented the Lithuanian and Polish peoples respectively. The Teutonic knights seized that chance and contracted a profitable, but unnatural, alliance with Lithuania against Poland. Nevertheless, they continued to treat their subjects with the utmost cruelty, and therefore brought the two countries into closer kinship than ever. In reality, their mischief was not actually stopped till 1410, when they were routed by the combined forces of Jagiello and Witowt at the battle of Grunwald, near Tannenberg in Prussia, where the Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen fell. Thus neither the interests, nor the internal condition of Poland, then allowed the Poles to send a contingent of any magnitude

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to fight for Sigismund's cause at Nicopolis.

The Italian republics were involved in a most heartless, selfish and unprecedented series of treasons, massacres and revolutions. Here, as the Italian historian says, "we enter into a chaos in which historians lose themselves and reason

34.

wanders." Gian Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti had bought the title of Duke of Milan from the impecunious Wenzel for the

35.

sum of 100,000 florins (11 May 1395), and began to entertain wide ambitions of incorporating the other signeries and establishing himself as king of all Italy. He first entered

into league with the Venetians and the Carraresi (Padua) who

36.

ceded Verona to Milan and Vicenza to Padua. Then he turned against Padua itself, and made himself master of the city.

33. Lelewel, 'Hist. de Lith. etc.' pp. 137 et seq., and 'Hist. de Pologne', pp. 78 et seq.; Historians' History, XXIV, 40-43; Merfill, 49 et seq.; Alison Philips, 29 et seq.; also David Mannay's article in Encyc. Brit., (13th. ed.) XXI, 904 et seq.

It is interesting to notice that Lithuania contained three elements representing three different religious sentiments:

- a. Those who were converted to Christianity at an early date by Orthodox missionaries;
- b. Those who embraced the Catholic faith after Poland and Lithuania were united under Jagiello;
- c. The Pagan element. Witowt represented this last element which remained predominant in Lithuania till modern times. He was thus supported by a great majority of the Lithuanian people.

34. "--- ed entriamo in un caos dove gli storici si perdono, la ragione si smarrisce." Ferrari, III, 438.

35. Du Mont, T. III, Pt. I, 236-37; Perrens, VI, 73, fixes the date wrongly as May 1.

36. Wiel, (Verona). 103-04.

The Great Schism of the West offered the Duke a chance to play off one pope against another, and he accordingly utilised the opportunity to seize the papal fiefs in the Romagna. His army crossed the mountains and poured into Umbria and Tuscany. This aggressive attitude excited the greatest alarm among the Florentines, whose city became the centre of a wide-spread compact against the Duke. An anti-<sup>37.</sup> Milanese League was formed amongst Genoa, Lucca and Florence. Peace indeed, was occasionally patched up, but a state of unstable equilibrium made it ineffectual, and both parties strove to obtain foreign help. Milan was the first to <sup>38.</sup> conclude a treaty of alliance with France (31 August 1395). But as the interests of the King and the Duke soon clashed in Genoa, the Florentine ambassador, Maso degli Albizzi, managed to secure a similar treaty which superseded that with Milan. In the year of the crusade (1396), Florence sent an embassy to Sigismund with instructions to court his <sup>39.</sup> assistance against the Visconti. The envoys were also

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37. Noyes, (Milan), 106-7; Feligno, (Padua), 131-34.

38. Coria, (Storia di Milano), II, 395 et seq.

39. Archive Storico Italiano, Ser. I, T. IV, Pt. I, 220-23. On p. 221, the instructions read "...che in ogni nostro bisogno noi possiamo avere a nostri servigi della sua gente dell'arme, e col suo segno di bandiera, per gli nostri danari e nostre spese, riputandoci questo in gratia singolare."

enjoined to visit the Duke of Austria on their return to induce him to lend the Commune either men-at-arms or any other men — "o di gente d'arme o d'altre." Little could therefore be expected from Florence for the cause of Christendom. As regards Milan the position was worse. The 'Great Serpent' was in secret correspondence with Bayezid, and it is even said that he informed the Turks of the forthcoming crusade, and thus put them on their guard.

The remaining republics were steeped in gloom and bloodshed. The intercession of Pope Boniface IX between the Rasponi nobles and the Perugian people never succeeded in the establishment of peace at Perugia. The murder of Anzo d'Este in 1396 by the adherents of Nicholas IV did not stop the civic turbulence of Anzo's supporters in Ferrara. Pisa was in a state of semi-perpetual revolt incited by the scheming Visconti who won over Giacomo d'Appiano, the leader of a strong faction against Pietro Gambacorti, the lord of -----

40. Ibid., 223.

41. The arms of the Duke of Milan bore the figure of a great serpent, hence his nickname.

42. *Chronicon Flandriae* (*Corp. Chron. Fl.*), I, 349.

43. Symonds and Gordon, (*Perugia*), 34-40.

44. Hoyce, (*Ferrara*) 64-5.

45. the city. In Lucca, the three Guinigi brothers plotted for the murder of one another and set the whole city ablaze.<sup>46.</sup> The civic authority in Rome was a matter of high-handed dispute between the republicans and the Pope. The liberties of the former had increased considerably during the Babylonish Captivity, and they refused to give way to the High Pontiff whose prestige was greatly marred by the Schism<sup>47.</sup> and the guerilla war with his Avignonese rival.

The Kingdom of Naples offered a much coveted field, in which the rivalry of the two popes could express itself. Queen Joanna, in fear of a breach with France, adhered to Clement VII and adopted Lewis of Anjou as her successor (20 June 1380). In response, Urban offered the same crown to Charles Durazzo, nephew of Lewis of Hungary. Fierce warfare ensued between the two claimant dynasties during the<sup>48.</sup> crusading decade.

Genoa and Venice differed from the rest of the Communes in two ways. Firstly, they possessed the largest and strongest fleets in fourteenth century Europe. Petrarch,

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45. Roes and Erichsen, (Pisa), 80-1.

46. Ibid., (Lucca), 62.

47. Young, (Rome); Gregorovius, (Rome), Vol. VI, Pt. II, 417 et seq.

48. Gregorovius, (Rome), VI, Pt. II, 518-20; Hallam, I, 485 et seq.

an eye-witness, speaks of "vessels....which are as long as my house, and have masts taller than its towers." They are like "mountains floating on the water." Secondly, they enjoyed a state of comparative peace. Genoa had, indeed, been a prey to civic strife between Guelf and Ghibeline from within, and her independence was endangered by Milan from without. But she escaped both dangers by putting herself under the protection of Charles VI, and hence utilised 'la faiblesse réelle et la force apparente' of the French King. Venice was sheltered from the dissensions and wars on the mainland behind the waters of the Adriatic — its natural barrier. But, with all their power, peace and prosperity, the two republics seem to have only unwillingly undertaken to provide the crusaders with part of the necessary fleet. They were much more anxious about their trading interests in the realm of the Ottoman than about the safety of the Christian East. When the treaty of 2 November 1382, was concluded between Byzantium and Genoa for mutual support in case of war, the Genoese insisted on excepting the Ottomans

49. Horatio F. Brown. (Venice), 238.

50. Jarry, (Documents etc.), 234 et seq.

51. Sismondi, (Rep.It.), V, 117-18.

52. Wiel, (Venice), 239-43; Okay, (Venice), 162-63; Brown, 233-43.

53.  
 from the list of their common enemies. On 8 June, 1387,  
 54.  
 they signed a treaty of alliance with Murad I. Nor were  
 the Venetians idle in courting Turkish friendship. The  
 55.  
 instructions given to Marino Malpiero on 22 July, 1384, i.e.,  
 shortly after the Turco-Genoese treaty, urged the ambassador  
 to persuade the Sultan to grant Venice the same privileges  
 as Genoa. A similar treaty was finally conceded to Venice  
 56.  
 by Bayezid I in 'March' 1390. Yet the indifference of the  
 two signories was not complete. When they realised that  
 the Eastern Empire was on the verge of total destruction,  
 they tried to manipulate the situation by diplomatic  
 intervention and thus evade the expense and the confiscation  
 of privileges incurred by war. It was at this moment that  
 the crusade was preached and the united princes of Europe  
 57.  
 forced a number of galleys out of their reluctant hands.

Of the remaining powers in Europe, the knights of the  
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53. Heyd, II, 258-59.

54. The Genoese ambassadors were Gentile Grimaldi and  
 Giannone del Bosco. Monfroni, 713.

55. Heyd, II, 259-60.

56. Ven. Arch., Commemorialium, VIII, f.147 vo. Mon.Spect.  
 hist.slav. merid., IV, 280; 'tria diplomata' ending  
 thus "...scripta del mese marzo etc." Heyd, 261-62,  
 mentions Francesco Querini as the ambassador of Venice  
 for this purpose.

57. Le Roulx, I, 224, asserts that the Genoese contribution  
 could not have been simply due to French influence, owing  
 to the recency of the submission of the signory to the  
 French King.

Order of St. John of Jerusalem, then in possession of Rhodes, were perhaps the first to respond to Sigismund's appeal. Their fleet was in the Archipelago ready to sail for the naval campaign. Their enthusiasm was partly due to their intimate relations with Sigismund, who later became a half-brother of the Order, and partly to their desire to gratify the wishes of Philip the Bold — the great benefactor of the organisation.<sup>58.</sup> But perhaps a more potent motive lay in the fact that their Island was sorely exposed to attacks from the East. Meanwhile Frederick Hohensollern, Grand Prior of Germany, and Philibert de Naillac, Grand Master of Rhodes, together with the elite of the knights Hospitallers<sup>59.</sup> were diligently preparing to join the crusade.

On the fringe of Latin Christendom, there lay the Kingdom of Cyprus where Jacques I reigned from 1382 to 1398. The Lusignans of Cyprus had been<sup>a</sup> power in European and Levantine politics. But the prosperity of the Island as a trading centre between the East and the West attracted the Genoese and Venetians who spared no effort to play off one Cypriote faction against another to suit their interests.

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58. Brauner, 11-12.

59. Brauner, 12; Le Roulx, I, 244-45.



60.

Jacques held, indeed, the three crowns of Jerusalem, Armenia and Cyprus. But the crown of Jerusalem meant little more than an empty title; that of Armenia brought with it few fortresses and many obligations on the Asiatic mainland; while that of Cyprus was tributary to the Genoese who had seized Famagusta, which, according to Sir John Mandeville, and Nicholas Martoni, was one of the finest seaports in the World. To add to his troubles, faction was strong in the remaining portion of his dominion of Cyprus and his reputation all over Europe was at a low ebb, as he was accused of the murder of his brother; and to make matters still worse, a challenger to his right of succession appeared in the person of Louis II of the House of Bourbon, a maternal uncle of Charles VI. Little could therefore, be expected from the Lusignans by Sigismund.

The real contribution of Cyprus, — and this applies in general to Venice and in particular to Genoa, — was after

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60. Stubbs, (Lectures), 227. Owing to the death of King Leo of Armenia in Paris about the end of November 1393, leaving no children.
61. Mandeville visited Cyprus about 1322, Martoni in 1394. 'The Book of Sir John Maundeville' (ed. Th. Wright), p.141; Excerpta Cypria (ed. C.D. Cobham), pp. 22 et seq.; Stubbs (Lectures), 228.
62. Mas-Latrie, in the 'Biblioth. de l'école des chartes,' T. II, 2e. série, 130-31.

the failure of the crusade. When that time came they played, as will be seen later, a most important part in the negotiations with the Turks for the ransom and deliverance of the captives.

This, in broad outline, was the political situation in the Europe at the time when Sigismund dispatched ambassadors to various countries in quest of help for his Crusade. There, the path had been smoothed for them by numerous propagandist leaders who, throughout the fourteenth century, clung, with undying zeal, to the idea of a Crusade for driving the Turks from Europe and the Egyptians from the Holy Land. The success of their efforts in the West was as great as the disillusionment that ensued from the short-lived expedition to the East.

**CHAPTER II.****PROPAGANDA.****Introduction and Classification.**

**Political:** Hayton; an Anonymous Bodleian Tract.

**Literary:** Chansons de Geste; Deschamps; Gower.

**Religious:** Mandeville; Buchan; Mézières.

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The situation in Eastern and Western Europe at the end of the fourteenth century was ripe for a movement of co-operation in the forthcoming crusade; and the path had long been prepared for both lay and clerical actors in the great tragedy of the West by innumerable preachers who clung with undying zeal to the great cause of recovering the Holy Land. Men of all kinds and classes had performed pilgrimages to the Holy Places in Egypt and Palestine. Then they had returned to tell their countrymen about the wonders of the East, to report, not without exaggeration, the miseries and

1.  
persecutions to which their co-religionists in the East were

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1. An example of such persecutions may be quoted here for illustration. In 1391, four foolhardy Franciscan friars suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Saracens in Jerusalem. These were:

- a.- Deodatus de Rouergue of Aquitaine;
- b.- Pierre de Narbonne of Provence;
- c.- Nicolaus of Slavonia;
- d.- Stephen de Cunis of Genoa.

They are said to have gone to the 'Cady's' (Muhammadan Judge's) house and asked for an audience. When this was granted, they began to preach the word of Christ, ending their sermon thus: "Dicit etiam quod apostoli fuerunt Saraceni, et multa alia mendacia", in the hope that the judge, also a Saracen, might follow the example of the apostles and embrace the Christian faith. The judge then asked them whether they were sent by the Pope or any other King for this purpose. Their answer was that they were emissaries of none but God and that they had come to save his soul. The death sentence was passed and carried out.

Durriau: Procès-verbal du martyre de quatre freres mineurs; Archives de l'Orient Latin, T. I, pp. 539-46.

subjected by the 'unbelieving Saracen', and finally to appeal with all the vehemence of piety for a crusade to recover the native land of Christ. Accommodation for such preachers was provided by erecting wooden pulpits in the church-yards of towns and villages, and people flocked from all parts to listen to them.<sup>2.</sup>

If preachers spoke to the illiterate masses, authors wrote for the select few, but influential, persons in Church and State. The fourteenth century is singularly rich in the propagandist literature for the crusade, so rich indeed that a complete survey thereof cannot be made in this short study on the Crusade of Nicopolis.<sup>3.</sup> Yet it is clear that some works, more than others, had a direct bearing on the last great medieval struggle between East and West. These may, for convenience of discussion, be classified in three categories of political, literary and religious writings, although no rigid division can be made between any one of these sections and the other two. Hayton and the anonymous author of a Bedeian tract may be regarded as representative of the first class of writers; the *trouvères*,

2. Owt: Preaching in Medieval England, pp. 56, 61 and 199.

3. It is hoped that a fuller study of the propagandist literature of the XIVth. century will be made in a work on the Crusade in the Later Middle Ages, on which the author is at present engaged.

along with Deschamps and Gower, of the second; and 'Mandeville', Ludolph von Suchem and Philippe de Mézières, of the third.

In or about 1307, Hayton, an Armenian prince and a Praemonstrant prior of a convent near Poitiers, wrote the famous 'Flos Historiarum Terre Orientis' -- a work of outstanding interest for the historian of the later crusades and of the Levant. The influence of Hayton's ideas in the fourteenth century may be gauged by the popularity of his work, manuscripts of which were preserved in the libraries

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4. Numerous editions of this work are extant. The French and Latin versions thereof appear in the *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens arméniens*, vol. II, pp. III et seq. and 255 et seq. respectively. See also M.H. Oment's edition of the Paris ms. n.a.f. 10050 in *Not. et extr. des mss. de la Bibl. Nat. et autres biblioth.*, T. 38, pp. 237-92; and Bergeron, *Voyages faits principalement en Asie*, 2 vols. (La Haye, 1735). Some of the relevant portions on the Crusade are to be found in the *Hist. littéraire*, vol. XXV, pp. 479-507. There is also an early edition of the Latin text by A. Muller Greiffenberg, the French translation of which by Nicolas Salcon, or more correctly Falcon, appears in the *Recueil des divers voyages curieux faits en Tartarie, en Perse et ailleurs*. This work has, in fact, been translated and re-translated, edited and re-edited, since the appearance of the first edition of it by Menrad Melther in 1529 at Haguenau (vide *Hist. litt.*, XXV, 505-7).

References in this chapter are made to Falcon's translation unless otherwise specified.

of popes, kings and nobles, both in Latin and in French. According to his own story, Hayton wrote by order of the Sovereign Pontiff, then Clement V. After a chronicle of Asiatic and Tartar history from the time of Christ to his day, Hayton concludes his work by exhorting all Christian princes to take up the Cross and save the Holy Land. In order to guide the crusaders' footsteps in their Eastern encounters and ensure the success of their expeditions, he submits to his readers an elaborate plan, the adoption of which, in his opinion, would ensure a successful crusade.

Hayton begins by accounting for the strength and weakness of the Sultan of Egypt, and by trying to explain the real causes of the fall of the city of 'Akka (Acre) — the last stronghold of the Latins in Syria, during the year 1291.

5. An illuminated French ms. of the 'Flos' presented by the Duke of Burgundy to Jean, Duke of Berry, at Paris on 22 March 1403, then deposited in the Royal Library, appears in the Bibl. Nat. under ms. française 12,201. Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, Pt. II, p. 264, art. 258; also *Hist. gén. de Paris*, Cabinet des mss., T. III, p. 191, art. 256. The authors of the *Hist. litt.* (XXV, 499 et seq.) were able to trace five Latin and four French mss. of Hayton's work in the Bibl. Impériale, apart from others at Oxford, Cambridge, Berne and Turin, a fact that illustrates its popularity.

6. *Hist. Orient.* (Falcon's edition), p. 73.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 73-75.

8. *Ibid.*, 76 et seq. and 80 et seq.

9. *Ibid.*, 78-80.

In this introduction, he gives many particulars about the Sultan's army, its size and elements, its character and tactics. It behoves the crusader, Hayton justly holds, to study the sources of prosperity and of adversity in the realm of the enemy of the faith, in order to attack him at his moment of weakness. Amongst the circumstances leading to a prosperous era in the empire of Egypt are: firstly, the strength of character which had enabled the reigning Sultan to suppress rebellion and establish peace and harmony in his dominions; secondly, a long truce with the Tartars; thirdly, an abundant crop in Egypt and Syria; fourthly, the general security of the trade routes by land and by sea; and fifthly, peace with the Nubians in the South of Egypt and the Bedouins of the Eastern desert as well as the Turcoman colonies in Syria and Egypt.<sup>10.</sup> Yet occasionally the Sultan's power is perturbed by troubles of the most serious kind. These include, firstly, civil war which the aspiring Mameluke Emir wage in quest of power, during the reign of a weak ruler; secondly, the failure of the periodic inundation of the River Nile, with resulting famine and consequently general demobilisation of the Sultan's troops to seek their own subsistence; thirdly, war with Nubian and Bedouin neighbours;

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10. Ibid., p. 35.



and fourthly, periodic sterility of the land of Syria arising  
 11.  
 either from natural causes or by the ravages of the Tartars.  
 A crusade, if carried out in such adverse conditions on the  
 other side of the Mediterranean, should end in the victory  
 of the Christians and the downfall of the Saracens.

Watching, thus, for the most suitable time for the  
 invasion of territories subject to Egypt, the leaders of the  
 Christian host should conduct their armies in this wise. In  
 the first place, a body of a thousand knights and three  
 12.  
 thousand infantry in ten galleys under the command of a  
 valiant 'ambassador' should embark on a preliminary expedition  
 which Hayton calls the 'premier voiage'. The most convenient  
 route for the fleet to follow is the open sea route to Cyprus  
 and ultimately to the kingdom of Lesser Armenia, whence  
 envoys may be despatched at once to negotiate an alliance  
 with the Tartars and invite them to suppress Saracen trade  
 within their territories and harass the south-eastern frontier  
 of Syria. In the meantime, the Christian fleet can blockade  
 the hostile seaports, while the united armies of Western  
 Europe, Cyprus and Armenia march in a southerly direction to  
 13.  
 seize Aleppo.

11. Ibid., pp. 85-86.

12. Ibid., p. 87; Hist. litt., XXV, 494.

13. Hist. Orient., pp. 87-88.

14.

The advantages of this primary expedition and of the alliance with the Tartars, Hayton tells us, are multiple. In the first place, the Tartar raids on the south-eastern Asiatic frontier of Egyptian provinces will distract the arms of the Sultan from the northern extremity of Syria and thus weaken the defence of Aleppo which will become an easy prey to the crusaders. In the second place, they may also seize Tripoli with the help of the Eastern Christians numbering 40,000 skilled archers capable of inflicting heavy damage on the Sultan's forces. In the third place, the conquests made by the Tartars will be willingly surrendered to the Christians without obligation or tribute. In the fourth place, the Christians, now established in various parts of Syria, can learn the manner of fighting and the tactics of the Egyptians, and extend their acquired knowledge to their fellow-crusaders when the time comes for the final 'passagium generale'. In addition to alliance with the Tartars and the Eastern Christians, Hayton draws attention to

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14. Ibid., 88-91.

15. In this connection Hayton says: "Car Moi, qui connois assez bien la maniere des Tartares, je crois fermement que les Tartares donneroient aux Chrétiens les Terres de leur conquête à garder sans aucune servitude, ni tribut; car à cause de l'extrême chaleur du país les Tartares n'y pouvoient pas demeurer"; Hist. Orient., p. 90.

the possibilities of two further alliances with the devout  
 16.  
 King of the Georgians in the vicinity of Armenia and the  
 17.  
 'King of the Nubians....in Ethiopia'. The one may assist  
 the united forces of Christendom from the north, while the  
 other invades Egypt itself from the south. The King of  
 Armenia, says Hayton, can approach the Abyssinian potentate  
 for this purpose as he has men at his court who knew the  
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16. The Georgians were a Roman Catholic people living  
 in the Caucasian uplands. During the XIVth. century  
 they were continually harassed by the Mongol dynasty  
 of Persia, whose emperor Arghun, probably in Hayton's  
 lifetime, seized the Georgian King Dimitri and  
 executed him at Tibriz. Allen (Hist. of Georgian  
 People), p. 120.

17. Hayton, 91. Perhaps the author means the Emperor  
 of Abyssinia who was (and still is) subject from the  
 religious point of view to the Coptic Patriarch of  
 the Orthodox Church of Egypt. Hayton seems, however,  
 not to be clear as between the Nubians who inhabited  
 the country between the Sudan and Upper Egypt and  
 the Ethiopians who were separated from Egypt by  
 Sudanese and Nubian territories. At all events, both  
 were hostile to the Sultan. See following note.

18.  
Amharic tongue.

19.  
In dealing with the second and decisive phase of his plan — the 'voiage general' — the author distinguishes three  
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18. The idea of alliance with Abyssinia was not entirely without substance, for the Abyssinians had always been anxious about the safety of their Coptic co-religionists in Egypt. Whenever news of religious persecutions in Egypt reached the Ethiopian Emperor, he resorted to one of the following retaliatory measures:-

- a.- Threats to deflect the course of the Nile and turn Egypt into a desert. This idea may be traced in Eastern and Western sources. Sakhāwī, pp. 67 et seq.; Mézières, *Songs du vieil pelerin*, Bibl. Nat. ms. français 22542, lb. I, f. 44 re. 2.
- b.- Reprisals against the Muslims of Abyssinia and a crusade for the invasion of Egypt, especially in the reign of Zārā Yākoob between 1430 and 1450. Sakhāwī, p. 309; Wallis Budge, I, 311; Rey, pp. 23 et seq.
- c.- Peaceful negotiations and exchange of presents. Such means was adopted in the period of the Crusade of Nicopolis by King David I (1382-1411), who, according to the Maqrīzī's history, fought many battles with the Arabs but ultimately sent twenty-two camel-loads of gifts to Sultan Barquq. Wallis Budge, I, 300-301.

It is interesting to note that in Hayton's lifetime an Abyssinian envoy of King Wedem Arad (1299-1314) appeared at the Avignonese court of Clement V, but the purport of his embassy is unknown. Wallis Budge suggests that such embassies became more frequent in XVth. century. (Ibid., I, 287-88 and 311). Their history as well as the history of the Abyssinian projects of crusades remains open for further research.

Still nearer Egypt, the Nubians remained a thorn in the side of the Sultan. Although conquered by the Arabs as early as 642 A.D., reduced to pay tribute (Bakt), and finally converted to Muhammadanism before the end of the XIIIth. century, they continued to stir trouble against Egypt on every possible occasion throughout XIVth. century. Shuqair, II, 42; Wallis Budge, I, 103 et seq.

19. Hist. Orient., pp. 91-93.

possible routes. The first is the Barbary route to Egypt and Syria, about which Hayton confesses that he knows very little and suggests consulting other experts. The second is the trans-continental route to the Hellespont, beyond which the roads of Asia Minor can be secured by the Tartars for the crusaders until their safe arrival in Armenia. The third is the sea route, well-known to all contemporaries. Hayton prefers the last of the three routes for the 'passagium generale' and advises the crusaders to halt for repose in Cyprus until Michaelmas and so avoid the intense heat of the Asiatic plains. Thence, they may sail to Tarsus in Armenia and to the noble city of Antioch on the Syrian coast. There, they can easily disembark, and as Antioch is not impregnable, it can be taken without difficulty and used as a military base for crusading raids through the interior of Syria.

The first of these routes recalls the abortive crusade  
 20.  
 of al-Mahdiya in North Africa, where the Good Duke Louis II of Bourbon and a motley assemblage of Western chivalry were cleverly employed by the Genoese merchants for their trading interests in the Mediterranean. The other two routes

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20. Ibn Khaldūn's Arabic History, vol. VI, pp. 399-400; Chron. du ben due Loys etc., pp. 218 et seq., where al-Mahdiya appears as the 'ville d'Auffrique'.

suggested anticipate the actual progress of the Crusade of Nisopolis both by land and by sea. It is interesting to notice that the majority of subsequent propagandists recommended similar routes, as will be seen later. 21.

In the concluding chapter of the 'Flos', Hayton again emphasises the importance of alliance with the Tartars and points out the possibility of employing 10,000 of them as a guard on the flanks of the army of the Cross. 22.

Furthermore, he advises the Christians to observe secrecy in matters of war with the Saracens. 23.

Another fourteenth century writer, this time anonymous

21. Vide infra, e.g., Philippe de Mézières.

22. The idea of alliance with the Tartars is not a new one in XIVth. century. The Armenians were fully aware of its importance at a much earlier date (vide, e.g., Sempad's Chronicle). St. Louis also realised this importance, for while he "sejournoit en Cypre vindrent les messages des tartarins a li et li firent entendre que il li aideroient a conquerre le royaume de Jérusalem sur les Sarrasins". (Joinville, ed. Michaud et Poujoulat, I, 270.) In his zeal for his faith, St. Louis returned the courtesy by despatching two monks with a miniature chapel to celebrate mass in presence of the Mongol Emperor Mengke and draw him to the Church; but the solemnity and mystery of mass did not appeal to the Tartar, and the offer was unavailing. Negotiations and missionary work, nevertheless, were continued in the XIIIth. century to win the Mongols to the Church until Islam finally had the upper hand over Christianity in the Far and Middle East. Cahun, pp. 391-92; See also Encyc. of Islam.

23. The chief reason is that "Les Sarrasins sont tres bien de cacher leurs desseins: cela leur est utile souvent". Hist. Orient., 95-96.

describes the most expeditious "Via ad terram sanctam"  
from France, England, Germany and other European countries.  
His tract begins by lamenting the disgrace of abandoning  
the Holy Land to its own fate under the yoke of the infidel  
Saracen, and by urging combined action for its liberation

as the first and foremost duty of all good Catholics.  
Then it gives an interesting geographical and nautical  
description of the Levant from the crusader's point of view.  
Alexandria, 'Akka (Acre), Tripoli, as well as the ports of  
Cyprus and Armenia are all suitable landing places for the

Christian force. From any of these points a crusade may  
be conducted by land to the Holy Places, and, for the  
guidance of the crusaders, the author describes in some  
detail the roads of Egypt and Syria.

On the literary side, the five famous 'chansons de geste'  
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24. Ashmol. MS. 342, ff. 1-6.

25. Ibid., f. 1.

26. Ibid., f. 2.

27. Hist. litt. XXII, 259 et seq. and XXV, 507-618, contain  
a detailed analysis and literary criticism of the five  
original 'chansons de geste' on 'Antioche', 'Jérusalem',  
'Le Chevalier au Cygne' and the 'Enfances Godefroi de  
Bouillon', as well as the new redactions thereof.  
In addition to these, there are also two fourteenth  
century 'chansons' on 'Baudouin de Sebourg' (or Bourg,  
i.e., Bourges) and 'Le Batard de Bouillon', whose author  
chooses the third reign of the kingdom of Jerusalem,  
instead of the first reign as in the case of previous  
'chansons', for the second period of his narratives.

commemorating the deeds of chivalry of the heroes of the First Crusade received new and popular redactions in the fourteenth century, and two more were composed on the reign of "Baudouin de Sebourg" the third king of Jerusalem by anonymous fourteenth century trouvères, who sang in praise of the good and the great of bygone days. <sup>28.</sup> Rustache Deschamps, the courtly poet and the 'journalist' of the epoch of the Crusade of Nicopolis exhorts the kings of all the countries of Europe, the Genoese and Venetian maritime powers, the military orders of religion and the papacy to join hands.

29.

"Pour conquérir de euer la Sainte Terre". Gower declares that "the line of descent by right of his mother proclaims Christ to be heir of that land in which he was born", and on this basis the author of the 'Vox Clanantis' argues in favour of the idea of a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land. If war must be waged, it would be best for the Christians to wage it for the cause of Christ and his inheritance rather than fight amongst

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28. Petit de Julleville, II, 349.

29. Oeuvre complètes etc., I, 138-39.  
Vide appendix I.



30.

themselves under the false name of a crusade.

The third and perhaps most popular section of propagandists comprised the pilgrims of all countries, who were urged by either piety or love of adventure to visit the Holy Places. These returned to their homes with some measure of acquired sanctity to tell their fellow villagers or townsfolk about the necessity and the possibility of regaining the Holy Land from the hands of its unbelieving usurpers. Pilgrimages became, indeed, so frequent in the Later Middle Ages that the Republic of Venice found it both necessary and profitable to establish an almost regular shipping service for pilgrims travelling in the Levant.

Numerous journals and books of travels written by fourteenth century pilgrims are still extant both in

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30. Vox Clamantis, Lb.III, Il. 651 et seq., in G.C. Macaulay's edition of Gower's Works, vol. IV, pp. 124-25, and note on p. 384.

"Linea natalis matris de iure fatetur  
 Heredem Cristum, qua fuit ortus, humi:  
 Si quid in hoc mundo nobis proprium magis esset  
 Pars feret hoc Cristi que titulatur ei:  
 Hanc tenet intrusor modo set paganus, ab illa  
 Thesauris nostris nulla tributa feret.  
 Nos neque personas neque res repetendo mouemus  
 Bella viris istis, lex ibi nostra silet:  
 Non ibi bulla monet, ibi nec sententia lata  
 Aggrauat, aut gladius prelia noster agit:  
 Que sua sunt Cristus ibi, si vult, vendicet ipse,  
 Proque sua bellum proprietate ferat." etc.

Although this is the view held by Gower in the 'Vox Clamantis', he gives a totally different argument in the 'Confessio Amantis' with which we shall deal in the Concluding Chapter.

31. Vide, e.g., Pièces relatives au passage à Venise de pèlerine de Terre Sainte, ed. by Riant, in Arch. de l'Orient Latin, T. II, pp. 237-49.

manuscript and in print. One of the most famous and, indeed, most popular of these works, is 'The Booke of Sir John Mandeville'<sup>32.</sup> (1322-56). The author himself says, "I have put this book out of Latin into French, and translated it again of French into English, that every man of any nation may understand it."<sup>33.</sup> From the very beginning of this work the reader can detect the author's chief purpose. "Wherefore every good Christian man", says 'Mandeville' in the Prologue, "that is of power, and hath whereof, should labour with all his strength to conquer our heritage, and drive out all the unbelieving men"<sup>34.</sup> For the guidance of such good people, Sir John describes the practical routes from England to the Holy Land: first to Constantinople, thence either by land through Turkey or by sea to Sūr (Tyre) and Jaffa in Syria, and to other ports on the coast of Egypt. Then he gives an -----

32. Identified as 'Jean de Bourgoigne' in some comparatively recent researches; vide articles on 'Mandeville' by G.F. Warner in the D.N.B., and E.B. Nicholson and H. Yale in the Encyc. Brit., as well as an article in the Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erkunde (Berlin, 1888), Bld. xxiii, p. 177; cf. Jussorand, English Wayfaring Life (8th ed.) pp. 392-93, note 2.

33. 'Mandeville's Book' is translated into most European languages, and no less than 300 MSS. of it have been traced in different tongues. Jussorand, p. 394.

34. Ed. Th. Wright, p. 129.

35.  
 account of the army of the Sultan of Egypt as well as of the  
 36.  
 harbours of Damietta and Alexandria which would furnish the  
 crusaders with suitable landing places.

Another famous fourteenth century pilgrim, Ludolph von  
 Suchem, wrote a "Description of the Holy Land and the Way  
 37.  
 Thither" (circa 1350), where he describes, not only the  
 routes to the Holy Land, but also the mainland of the Levant.  
 The land route usually followed, he says, is tedious to  
 Constantinople and hazardous through Asia Minor. For those  
 to whom this route is the most convenient, sailing for the  
 second stage of the journey from Byzantium is preferable  
 38.  
 to the risky passage through Asia Minor. Ludolph also  
 mentions the other land route through the kingdoms of  
 39.  
 Granada, Morocco, 'Barbary', 'Bugia' and Egypt; but he  
 dwells on the sea route at some length and provides the  
 traveller, the pilgrim and the crusader with valuable  
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35. Ibid., p. 150.

36. Ibid., p. 151.

37. Translated by Aubrey Stewart for the 'Palestine  
 Pilgrim Text Society' publications, London, 1895.

38. Ibid., pp. 4-7.

39. Ibid., 8-9.

information drawn from personal experience. The possible stages of the journey in the Mediterranean, the amount of provisions necessary for the individual traveller, the most suitable dates for sailing, and the perils of the sea — these are some of the topics which Ludolph treated in connection with the sea route.

The greatest of all the propagandists of the fourteenth century was, however, Philippe de Mézières — a pilgrim and a dreamer according to his own account of himself, an associate of kings, author of a new religious order and one of the most prolific writers of his age. The central idea around which Mézières' life activities revolved was the establishment of a new order of chivalry and the promotion of an effective crusade. From the age of nineteen (1345)

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40. Ibid., 19-20.

41. Ibid., 12; — 50 days' provisions for outward, and 100 for inward, journeys are necessary — the difference being due to favourable and perverse winds respectively.

42. Ibid., 12; September and October are best, November to January are worst, months.

43. Ibid., 13-17. These perils are five:-

- a.- The 'gulph', i.e., winds created by hollows in mountains.
- b.- The 'grup', when two winds meet.
- c.- The 'shoal', in shallow parts.
- d.- The 'fish', sometimes large enough to endanger the safety of ships.
- e.- The 'pirates', not infrequent in this period.

44. Jorga, pp. 19 et seq.; Le Roylx, I, 201-8; Brehier, 305-11.

till his death (1405), he was either an active crusader  
 or a preacher of the crusade.<sup>45.</sup> In 1346 he was with Humbert  
 the Dauphin of Vienne at the battle of Smyrna, and in 1347  
 he went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. On his return from  
 the East, he made the important acquaintance of Pierre de  
 Lusignan and soon became chancellor of the kingdom of  
 Cyprus after Pierre's accession to the throne of Cyprus, a  
 post which he retained until the death of the King in 1369.  
 He was in Pierre's train during his travels throughout  
 Europe from Norway to the banks of the Danube to raise  
 recruits for his crusading projects. He fought the battles  
 of Christendom with Lusignan at Alexandria, Tripoli and  
 elsewhere. Finally when his master was assassinated,  
 Mézières left Cyprus heart-stricken with grief to settle  
 in the West. His services were no longer required by the  
 new king. Nevertheless he was highly honoured at the  
 court of France by Charles V who shared with him his  
 hatred for European war and for the appalling license in  
 the manners of the age. Mézières became a member of the  
 King's Council, performed a number of diplomatic services  
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45. Mézières' diplomatic letters, Bibl. de l'Arsenal ms.  
 499D, ff. 134 ro. - 163 vo. contain ample illustrations  
 to support this statement.

for his new master, and was ultimately appointed tutor of the future Charles VI. After the death of Charles V (1380), he retired to the Convent of the Celestines in Paris. This date marks the beginning of his literary activities which ended only with his death on 29 May, 1405.

From the depth of his seclusion, Philippe de Mézières concentrated on preaching his ideas and ideals to the world, through the medium of a series of literary works. He drew freely from the store of learning and experience which he had accumulated in half a century of service in the East and in the West, with Popes, kings, princes and men of all classes of medieval society. His knowledge of the Levant was perhaps superior to that of any of his contemporaries. Although thoroughly medieval in his conception of life and in his crusading aspirations, Mézières was also a reformer in whose works and arguments old and modern thoughts overlapped one another.

Early in his career, that is, about the year 1347,<sup>46.</sup> according to his own authority in the 'Oratio Tragedica', Philippe's mind seems to have been grappling with the problem of the causes of the failures of the crusade and with the surest remedy for that failure. Separatism

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46. Bibl. Mazarine ms. 1651, ff. 129 et seq.;  
cf. Jorga, pp. 71-76.

(divisio) amongst the leaders of the host and disobedience  
 47.  
 (propria voluntas) in the ranks were the two most flagrant  
 mischiefs that disgraced the chivalry of the West in its  
 battles for the Cross. The only remedy was the  
 establishment of a new religious Order of Knighthood — the  
 'Militia Passionis Jhesu Christi'. The chief object of  
 48.  
 this order would be twofold: to save the Holy Land, and to  
 provide the whole of mankind with a perfect image of virtue  
 — the 'summa perfectio'. Of the older vows, obedience,  
 coupled with the strictest form of discipline, was strongly  
 recommended; poverty was to be observed by the use of  
 the revenues of all acquired temporalities for the recovery  
 of the Holy Places; and celibacy was to be modified into  
 49.  
 conjugal fidelity for practical purposes. A number of  
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47. Jorga, 74.

48. Nova Relig. Pass. (Bodl. ms. Ash. 813), ff. 4 re.  
 et seq. Vide transcription of rubrics in Appendix III.

Other purposes of the Order may be briefly  
 summarised; they include war against heretics,  
 termination of the Schism, preparation of the way for  
 the 'passagium generale' under the leadership of the  
 Kings of France and England, training the Christian  
 host in methods of Eastern warfare, care for the wounded  
 and burial of the martyrs, guard of the persons of the  
 two kings, scouting and reconnaissance, inspection of  
 the host and the engines of war, etc.

49. Molinier (Manuscripts etc.), p. 340. Mézières holds  
 that celibacy is hard to practise "et specialiter in  
 partibus Orientalibus calidis et carnem stimulantibus".

distinguished persons from the chivalry of many countries readily enlisted themselves as Knights of the Passion, while others pronounced themselves patrons and supporters of the new Order.  
50.

As tutor of prince Charles, Mézières wrote his famous work, 'Le songe du vieil pèlerin', to guide the young prince in the paths of righteousness. A whole chapter of the 'Songs' deals at length with the practical preparations for the 'saint passage d'outremer', where the writer sums up his views on this subject in thirty conclusions intended to benefit of his royal master when the time comes for him to take the Cross. After eulogising peace in the West as a preliminary measure for the crusade, Mézières advises the King to condemn all feasts, jousts, vain assemblies and sumptuous marriage ceremonies, as well as  
51. 52.  
53.

50. Ibid., 263-64. — Huizinga, 79-80, asserts that the first knight to join the Order was a Pole, who, during nine years, had eaten and drunk only while standing. No Poles appear, however, in the list which we have analysed in Appendix II; and Huizinga does not give his authority on this point.

51. Bibl. Nat. ms. fr. 22542, cap. IV in Lb.III, ff.336 ro. et seq. For the following references to the 'songe' we are indebted to Professor G.W. Coopland for the loan of his own transcription of the Paris ms. thereof.

52. Ibid., III, 336 vo.2 — 337 ro.1.

53. Ibid., III, 337 ro.2; "que toutes grans festes, joustes, et vaines assemblees et noces trop suptueuses du tout en tout soient condempnees".



54.  
 gambling and all the extravagant habits of the age.  
 Money saved by suppression of such unprofitable expenditure  
 will be useful in the equipment of a crusade. Schemes for  
 a general levy of men and money and the organisation of the  
 army are treated in full.<sup>55.</sup> The routes recommended for the  
 crusaders are similar to those already described by other  
 propagandists such as Hayten and Ludolph von Suchem.<sup>56.</sup> The  
 forces of Central and Eastern Europe may proceed to the  
 Levant by Bysantium and Turkey, where they can subdue the  
 Greek schismatics to the Church of Rome and win back the  
 territories occupied by the hostile Turk, on their way to  
 join the rest of the crusading host.<sup>57.</sup> The army of Aragen,  
 Spain, Portugal and Navarre may first undertake the  
 conquest of the Kingdom of Granada and, after crossing the  
 strait, the three Berber kingdoms of the Merinids of Fez,  
 of 'Abd-al-Quaditee of Flemsen and of the Hafsidee of Tunis,  
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54. Ibid., - "jeu de des dont tant maux viennent".

55. Ibid., 337 vo.1 - 338 ro.2.

56. Vide supra.

57. Songe du vieil pelerin, III, 338 ro.2; - "en  
 recouvrant a la foy catholique et obeissance de l'eglise  
 de Rome le royaume de Tracee, de Boulgayre, et l'empire  
 de Constantineble en reprenant les Turcs et les faire  
 passer le bras Saint Georges".

58.

founded on the ruins of Almohad empire. Meanwhile the largest detachment of the crusading army consisting of the English, Scotch, Irish, Flemish, French and Italian soldiers may sail in two fleets: the first destined for Egypt and Syria, and the second for Armenia and Turkey. It is therefore of paramount importance that the allied contingents should seek the co-operation of the Venetian and Genoese

59.

sea-powers.

Regarding the nature of the fleet, Philippe de Mézières

60.

recommends strongly the use of the 'taforeesse' instead of the usual armed galley for reasons of economy and efficiency. The 'taforeesse' can carry sixteen to twenty mounted men-at-arms with their horses and their equipment. It can sail in shallow waters without undergoing any danger until it anchors close against the shore whence the mounted knights

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58. Ibid., — "l'autre le roy d'Arragon d'Espaigne, de Portingal et de Navarre doient aler a la conqueste du royaume de Granade et passer oultre mer ou royaume de Belle Marie, de Trencsan, de Maroch, et de Thunes".

59. Ibid., 338 vo.1.

60. The following is the text of Mézières' definition: "Taforeesse est un vaisseau de mer qui va a vingt ou a trente advirens et porte de XVI a XX chevaulx. Et a le dit vaisseau une grant porte en la poupe et ne lui fault que deux ou treys paulmes d'eau". Ibid., 338 vo. 1 and 2.

It is possible that the origin of the French 'taforeesse' is the Arabic sea craft called 'taifūr'.

may galley out on horseback ready for immediate battle and may retire to the ships when hard-pressed. In the year 1365, Mézières himself had witnessed the success of these tactics when adopted by Pierre II Lusignan before the gates of Alexandria.<sup>61.</sup> Moreover, the construction of an armed galley costs 1400 or 1500 fterins and its upkeep the monthly sum of 500.<sup>62.</sup> In Mézières' opinion four 'taforesses' can be equipped for the cost of each galley + a measure of economy that can hardly be overlooked.<sup>63.</sup> In conclusion, says Philippe, it is also essential that the host of God should repudiate all 'villaine luxure', and that the observance of the canons of conjugal fidelity should be furthered by allowing the knights' wives to accompany them on the campaign.<sup>64.</sup>

A successful crusade and a permanent victory over the Muhammadans, however, were not possible without a permanent peace between England and France as well as a permanent settlement of the Great Schism within the Church of Rome. To this end, a favourable opportunity presented itself to -----

61. Ibid., 338 vo. 2.

62. Ibid., 339 re.1.

63. Ibid., - "Et quant a la despence desdictes taforesses pour la despence dune galee armee on aura quatre taforesses".

64. Ibid., 240 re.1.

Mézières in the year 1395. Negotiations were in progress for the marriage between Richard II and Isabel of France, and Mézières, ostensibly by order of Charles VI, wrote 'Une poure et simple epistre....adressant a....tres devost prince Richart....pour aucune confirmacion tele quele de la uraye paix et amour fraternele' between the two realms of England and France and their respective sovereigns. This epistle consists of a prologue and nine chapters or "ix maters a la sainte memoire des .ix. ordres des angels." It is written in the form of an allegorical interpretation of a dream in

65. Brit. Mus. ms. 20-B-VI, f. 8 vo.1.

66. Ibis., f.2 re., title of the epistle, briefly analysed on these pages. A similar but much shorter official letter sent to Richard II by Charles VI on 25 May, 1395 with Robert the Hermit, a Norman knight returning from the Holy Land, as French envoy, seems also to have been composed by Philippe de Mézières. The chief points in this letter are:-

- a.- Charles' congratulations to Richard on his recent Irish victories.
- b.- Conclusion of peace between England and France.
- c.- Termination of the 'maudit sisme' in the Church.
- d.- Proposal of a crusade, - "le senct passage d'oultremer pur secourre nos freres crestiens et delivrer la terre seinte etc."
- e.- Christianisation of the East.
- f.- Appeal to Richard to convey his intentions with regard to the subject of this epistle through the French envoy, Robert the Hermit.

Richard's reply was silent on the matter of the crusade, but laudatory on peace. Thus encouraged, Philippe de Mezières, by order of Charles VI, dictated the longer epistle addressed to Richard II, enlarging on the subject matter of the official letter. Kervyn, XV, 388-91; cf. Jorga, 479-82.

67. B.M. ms. 20-B-VI, f.3 vo.2.

accordance with the mode and convention of the time.

68.

In the prologue, Mézières appeals to Richard's benevolence and patience to listen to what the 'vieil solitaire' offers him for the good of all Christendom. The

69.

first chapter or 'matere' deals with the virtues of the 'baine solempnelle', that is, of concord and mutual amity which Mézières prescribes for the healing of the open wound -- the 'plaie mortele' caused by perpetual warfare between

70.

England and France. The second 'matere' deals with the termination of the schism in the papacy, and the third with the crusade beyond the sea as a natural consequence to the union of the forces of the two kings and to the establishment of peace within the Church. Then the Anglo-French match is

72.

discussed in the fourth chapter, and the condemnation of perverse princes who cause bloodshed amongst Christians in

73.

74.

75.

the fifth. The sixth as well as the remaining three chapters

68. Ibid., ff. 2 vo. - 5 re. contain the text of the prologue. The rubrics of the chapters are included on ff. 3 vo. - 4 vo.

69. Ibid., ff. 5 re. - 23 ro.

70. Ibid., ff. 23 re. - 28 ro.

71. Ibid., ff. 28 re. - 38 ro.

72. Ibid., ff. 38 vo. - 49 ro.

73. Ibid., ff. 49 vo. - 54 vo.

74. Ibid., ff. 54 vo. - 58 vo.

75. Ibid., 7th. cap., ff. 58 vo. - 62 re.; 8th. cap., ff. 62 ro. 73 ro.; 9th. cap., ff. 73 ro. - 83 vo.

revert to the subject of the conclusion of peace between England and France, and supply the reader with a miscellany of examples drawn from the Scriptures and the works of the Fathers of the Church, from ancient and medieval history to confirm the view of the expediency of a permanent peace throughout Christendom.

Mézières treats indeed several matters of moment other than the crusade in this epistle. The Hundred Years' War, the Great Schism of the Western Church and the Anglo-French match were problems that would hardly pass unnoticed by any important contemporary such as Philippe de Mézières. Nevertheless, the solution of these problems, a thing in itself worthy of the author's attention, is only a means towards the bigger end to which he had consecrated all his career in Cyprus, in France and elsewhere. Peace between the two royal 'brethren' and peace in the Church are two essential conditions without which no successful crusade

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76. Ibid., f. 27 re. Mézières appears to approve the 'voie de fait' in the matter of ending the Schism, — "remedier & de fait sans aucun regart ne acception de personne au grant mal.....pour le salut de vostre mere sainte eglise etc."

77.

can be promoted; and the union between the two crowns for this purpose may be sealed by the conclusion of the marriage alliance. To ensure victory for the united hosts of Christendom when the propitious moment comes for the crusade, Mézières prescribes what he regards as the only remedy for the great cause — the Chivalry of the Passion of Christ.

In the third and central 'matere' of this same epistle concerning the 'saint passage <sup>78.</sup> d'oultre mer', Philippe begins with the parable of the 'roy uigilant' and the 'roy malauise'. <sup>79.</sup> The first is the 'soldain de babiloine', the second the Christian titular King of Jerusalem, who represents a fictitious unity amongst all the Christian princes. The second of the two monarchs of the parable is defeated and exiled from his legitimate heritage, by -----

77. Ibid., f. 1 vo. The idea of unity of the two crowns is represented by a beautiful illumination on this folio. In an architectural frame, there is a design of the Crown of Thorns between the Crowns of France and England. A golden ray is shed by the Holy Crown on each of the other two. Above Christ's is written 'Pax vobis', above Charles's 'En bien', and above Richard's 'Sans departir'. Below the three crowns are the colours of France and England — the blue semé-de-lis, and the red semé with tigers. A large YHS covers both of them.

78. Ibid., f. 28 ro.

79. Ibid., f. 29 vo.2. This is the Sultan of Egypt who was at this time in possession of the Holy Land.

the first, for lack of good government, of justice, and of  
 80. military discipline. These are the three outstanding  
 defects specified by a 'vieil cheualier' who appears on the  
 scene of exile and who had never ceased to blow his trumpet  
 without avail for the awakening of the Christian kings  
 81. during the period of forty years, while the Holy Places  
 are molested and dishonoured every day by 'the false  
 82. generation of Mahomet.'

The 'vieil cheualier' is Philippe de Mézières himself,  
 who presents to the King of England the plan of a new order  
 of knighthood as the only possible remedy for the existing  
 failures and as a 'medecine preparatiue' for the recovery  
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80. Ibid., ff. 29 ro. 1 and 29 vo.2; "...par petit  
 gouuernement et par especial par defaulte de iustice...  
 Et par defaulte aussi de discipline cheualeresse..."
81. Ibid., ff. 29 ro. 1 and 32 vo.2; "le dit vieil  
 cheualier en poure habit venoit parmi la sale cernant  
 fert dun grant cor de chasse iusques a la table du  
 Roy malauso etc." The old knight also "cernant dun  
 grant cornet de chasse du quel il ne fina.xl. ans de  
 corner as empereurs et Roys et princes de la crestiente  
 veire pour assembler a la chasse de dieu les grans  
 leuriers et chiens courans pour enuair la riche proie  
 par la quele le nom de malauso soit mue etc."
82. Ibid., f. 33 ro.1. "Il vous souuiegne du mont de  
 caluaire du saint sepulore et des sains lieux arcuses  
 du precieux sanc de laignelet occis qui sont seulliez  
 chascun ieur par la faulce generacion de mahomet  
 deuant dieu repreucee."



83.

the long lost and much abused Holy Land, and for the  
 reform of the evils and passions that have permeated the  
 entire structure of Christendom. The new order should  
 incorporate in a single unity the most valiant knights and  
 men-at-arms of all Catholic countries. Its principal  
 duties, the author again explains to King Richard, will be  
 firstly, to bring together all ill-equipped volunteers for  
 the cause of their fellow-Christians; secondly, to  
 undertake the preliminary expedition to the East and pave  
 the way for the two kings; thirdly, to reconquer the Holy  
 Land; and fourthly, to spread Catholicism in the Eastern  
 countries. After expressing the hope that Robert the  
 Hermit has informed the king in greater detail about the

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83. Ibid., ff. 34 vo. and 36 ro. On the latter folio Mézières points out the disgracefulness of the desertion of the Catholic faith in the East and the calamities which have befallen it "au iour duy en iherusalem et en surie en egypte et en turquie etc."
84. Ibid., f. 36 ro.1. "Mais a reformacion et cure en dieu des grandes maladies et passions au iour duy courans par toute la crestiente."
85. Ibid., f. 36 ro.2 and vo.1; "...cheualiers et hommes d'armes de .vij. langages de toute la crestiente catholique".
86. Ibid., f. 36 vo.
87. Ibid. "Secoundement...pour estre fourriere de vos .ij. Royales maiestez. et aler deuant en la terre des ennemis de la foy prendre les ports et les places pour vous requesillir quant vous vendres au saint passage etc."
88. Ibid., f. 37 ro.1. "Vestre tres debonnaire et royale deuocion puet auoir este enfourmes plus plainement par uestre tres loyal seruiteur et orateur le dit robert lermite plainement enfourme de la diete cheualerie."

rule and the possibilities of the new order, Mézières  
 89.  
 refers him to the distinguished English knights who have  
 joined his Order or promised to support it, especially the  
 90. 91. 92.  
 earl of Huntingdon, the Duke of York and Sir John Harleston.

The remaining chapters of the epistle deal with other  
 matters complementary to the crusade; but whenever it is  
 possible, Mézières brings out in relief above all subjects  
 93.  
 his crusading plans. At the end of the ninth 'matters'  
 he expresses the opinion that once Turkey, Egypt and Syria  
 are conquered, the two kings will hold the realms of the  
 West as of small account, — so frost-bound are these  
 94.  
 kingdoms, so full of pride, avarice and luxury.

89. Ibid., f. 37 ro. 1 and 2; "vostre tresame frere le  
 conte de hontintone....vostre tresame oncle le due de  
 Wyork et par messire iehan de harlestone et autre tres  
 vaillans cheualiers vos loyaux subgies." Cf. Appendix II.

90. John Helland; vide cap. III.

91. Probably Edmund, Duke of York.

92. The Calendar of Patent Rolls, vol. V, p. 240, states  
 that, on February 27, 1393, John Harleston, knight, is  
 granted a pension of 100 marks owing to his gratuitous  
 services to Edward III, and his great losses whilst in  
 close imprisonment in Alemain.

93. Vide, e.g., ff. 48 vo.2, 52 vo.2, 53 ro.1, 58 ro.1,  
 70 vo.1 and 2, 81 vo.2, and 82 ro.1.

94. Ibid., ff. 81 vo. - 82 ro. "Et que plus est quant par  
 la grace de dieu vous aures conquiste turquis egypte et  
 surie. qui sont remplis de toutes manieres de  
 richesses & de delices par la bonte du douls ihee. &  
 par la uertu de la fey. vous fores pou de compte de  
 ues royaumes d'occident qui sont & frois et engeles &  
 a orgueil et a auarice et a luxure souuentefois enlins  
 et dedies."

It is interesting to remark that both preacher and crusader aimed in the end at Jerusalem, the queen of all <sup>95.</sup> kingdoms. The French chivalry and the foreign auxiliaries started the crusade of 1396 with the idea that they were going, not merely to defend Hungary and relieve Byzantium, but also to crush the Turks in their Asiatic lairs and save <sup>96.</sup> the Holy Land from the clutches of the Sultan of Egypt. Some of them went, indeed, beyond Nicopolis; but they went as captives and slaves, not as conquerors and saviours.

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95. Ashmol ms. 342, f.1. "Parce que le Reaume de Jerusalem est apeles le Reaume qui est Reis des Rois (sic)."

96. Froissart, IV, 220.

**CHAPTER III.****PREPARATIONS.**

**Preaching of the Crusade.**  
**Negotiations and Alliances.**  
**Finance: Taxes, Aids and Loans.**  
**The Franco-Burgundian Army.**  
**The German Contingent.**  
**England and Bolingbroke.**  
**Other Auxiliaries.**

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The untiring energy of the Turkish invader on the one side, and the absence of enthusiasm amongst the Hungarians for the reigning dynasty on the other, convinced Sigismund of the futility of any single-handed effort to overthrow the Ottomans. He therefore set his heart on the promotion of a general Crusade which should reunite the forces of the West for decisive action in the East. The Roman Pope preached the Holy War in the various countries under his obedience, and Sigismund's ambassadors succeeded in the establishment of alliance with Manuel

1. The Greeks must have been prepared for such an alliance in view of their hope for substantial help from the West. An ambassador of the Byzantine Emperor seems to have made his appearance at the French court in this period. This is proved by a document dated Lyons, 2 May, 1395, whereby Louis, Duke of Orleans, allows Godefroy le Fevre, his apothecary, to sign a receipt for 50 livres granted to a messenger of the Emperor of Constantinople, because of the difficulty of obtaining such a receipt from the said messenger who spoke only Greek. De Laborde (Ducs de Bourg.), vol. III, p. 102, doc. No. 5659. Greek ambassadors also seem to have been earlier than the Burgundian and Hungarian ambassadors at Venice in 1394. Secr. Cons. Reg. (Ven. Arch. di Stato), E, f. 102 re. It is, however, essential to bear in mind that the Greeks were very much undecided in matters of war with the Turks for fear of serious retaliation. Their embassies to the West seem to have been frequent before and after the Crusade of Nicopolis, and must therefore be regarded as last reminders of an impending calamity. They received hospitality and precious gifts, but were rarely heeded by Western princes. An example of the post-Nicopolis embassies may be found in Champollion-Figeac, III, 40, where a document of 29 February, 1397, states that an "Aiguierre d'argent doré, achetée 24 francs" was presented by order of the Duke of Orleans "à un chevalier blanc-vestu du pays de Grèce, venu ambassadeur ver le roi en compagnie de l'oncle de l'empereur de Constantinople." Vide infra.

<sup>2.</sup>  
and Mircea in the East, as well as the Venetians, the French, and the German princes in the West. Nor were his letters to the remaining powers in Europe for the same object without avail, particularly in England, Rhodes and Aragon.

Boniface IX (1389-1404), the shrewd and energetic Roman Pope, embraced the new cause with great zeal, both as a movement for the defence of a country under his obedience and as a convenient means to assert his shaken authority. On 3 June 1394, he issued a bull — "Cogimur <sup>3.</sup> ex debita charitate" — whereby he enjoined Archbishop John of Neopatrae to proclaim the crusade in Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia. But these countries could not supply the help they themselves needed, — their lands were ravaged, and their cities depopulated, by the Turks.

Thus Boniface issued another bull — "Ad apostolatus nostri" <sup>4.</sup> — 15 October 1394, extending his call for Crusaders over Treviso, Venice, the patriarchate of Grado, the See of Salzburg and its <sup>5.</sup> suffragan dioceses, as well as the Duchy .....

2. For the nature of the Romano-Hungarian alliance, vide supra. Cap. I.

3. Reymaldus, LXVI, 584-85.

4. Ibid., 585-86.

5. These were Passau, Ratisbon, Freising, Gurk, Brixen, Chiensee, Lavant and Seckau. Brauner, 9.

of Austria.<sup>6.</sup> Meanwhile, he appointed John of Gubbio as a<sup>7.</sup> special legate to carry into effect the purport of the bull and preach the Crusade in these districts.

Benedict XIII, the Avignonese Pope, was not so utterly averse to the movement in the countries under his obedience as he is depicted by Brauner;<sup>8.</sup> for he seems to have taken a keen interest in the crusade, notwithstanding the fact that it was preached by his rival and enemy - the High Pontiff at Rome. In 1395, Benedict issued a number of bulls which released Jean de Nevers from certain vows, authorised him to communicate with the infidels, allowed him and his companions in arms to choose their confessors, and lastly granted him and his friends plenary absolution in case of death on crusade. Moreover, he sent the young Count, on this occasion, various presents including several horses and mules which were brought to Nevers by Pierre Berthiot, a secretary of the Duke of Burgundy, before the<sup>9.</sup> departure of the crusaders.

6. L'Abbé Fleury, VI, 285, says that Boniface issued three bulls in 1395 for preaching the crusade in the countries under his obedience.

7. The diocese of 'Eugubinensis' lies in the province of Perugia in Umbria, Central Italy. The bull is addressed to John as "Jocanni Dominice de Eugubie ordinis Praedicatorum professori etc".

8. Page 9.

9. Valois, III, 98-9.

The preachers of the crusade were only the heralds of Sigismund's ambassadors to the powers of Europe. In the East, an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded with Mircea of Wallachia and Emperor Manuel. According to the Greek evidence of Phrantzes,<sup>10.</sup> it was Sigismund who sent envoys to negotiate with Manuel concerning the projected crusade.<sup>11.</sup> Ducas, indeed, states that Manuel wrote to the Pope, the King of France and the 'Cral' of Hungary at that time to request them to undertake the crusade and rescue the blockaded city of Constantinople; and the Turkish histories of Leunclavius and Saad-ed-Din make a similar statement.<sup>12.</sup> But all the other evidence proves the contrary.<sup>13.</sup> The general impression that can be gathered from the Hungarian chroniclers such as George de Pray, Petrus de Rova<sup>14.</sup> Bonfinius,<sup>15.</sup> and Thwrocz,<sup>16.</sup> is that Sigismund embarked on the -----<sup>17.</sup>

10. Chron. Majus., M.P.G., clvi., 684.

11. Hist. Byz., M.P.G., clvii, 815-16.

12. Hist. Musulman. Turc., 322.

13. Cronica dell'Origine, trans. Bratutti, 182-83.

14. Annales, 194.

15. De Sacr. Coron., 449; De Monarchia, 652.

16. Rer. Hung. Dec., 283 et seq.

17. Script. Rer. Hung., (in Schwantnerus), I, 361-62. Thwrocz is also quoted by Kervyn in his notes on Froissart, XV, 419-20.



crusading scheme to save his own kingdom and not in response to a Greek schismatic. The Turkish evidence is very doubtful, and can hardly be taken into consideration on the problem of a Western crusade, for Turkish knowledge on the West was hazy and unreliable. Besides the Turks ascribed indiscriminately all the troubles stirred up against them to him whom they considered their capital enemy — the Emperor of Constantinople. It is not improbable that Sigismund's envoys to the Sultan, on their return from Brusa with Bayezid's challenge, he stopped at the Byzantine court to negotiate a possibly useful alliance for an impending war. Manuel was undoubtedly a poor ally. But he still possessed the best strategic junction between the East and the West — a junction from which he could intercept the movements of the Turks, if he was assured by the Christians that their arms were strong enough to prevent any Turkish retaliation on his remaining dominions. One French document, indeed, refers to the presence of a messenger of the Byzantine Emperor in France in May, 1395, which may have been actuated by the Hungarian pact with the Emperor as well as the rumours of the strong possibility of obtaining succour from the West. The document is, however, silent

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18. Kupelweiser, 12.

on the purpose of the message, and even if the Imperial representative meant to urge the French princes to take up the Cross against the enemies of his master, which is a perfectly legitimate suggestion, it is very doubtful that the envoy's supplications carried any weight with them, since he spoke nothing but Greek, and according to the same document, there was no one at the time to interpret for  
 19. him. The argument of Ducas and the contention of Brauner  
 20. that the crusade was primarily promoted by Manuel must therefore be rejected. It was at the court of Sigismund that the idea had its first origin.

On the Eastern side, the birth of the idea of the crusade may thus be located at the court of Sigismund, and it now remains to fix the responsibility for its promotion in the West. This problem has been the subject of considerable divergence of opinion amongst historians. Leroux holds emphatically that neither the French king nor the Duke of Burgundy started a crusade against the Turks of his own initiative, but only when urged by an external  
 21. power: council, pope, emperor, or king. Barante,

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19. "....parce qu'il ne parloit que grec et qu'il n'y avoit aucun par dela qui entendit son langage." De Laborde, III, 102, doc. No. 5659.

20. Page 8.

21. Rel. pol., 340-43.

referring to a manuscript of the 'Bibliothèque de Dijon', says that the Duke was persuaded by Pierre de la Tremouille to send Guillaume de la Tremouille in order to advise the King of Hungary to ask the King of France for help against the Turks. <sup>22.</sup> Sismondi is at one with Barante in saying that the Duke has suggested the Crusade to Sigismund. <sup>23.</sup> Kervyn tells us that Philippe contemplated a crusading scheme which might furnish his dynasty with universal fame and carry him a step forward towards the glory of royalty. <sup>24.</sup> Brauner asserts that Duke Philippe sent a secret message to Sigismund to the effect that he should ask officially for French assistance, and thus evade the hostility of Orleans to the project if Philippe himself suggested it. <sup>25.</sup> Delaville Le Roulx admits the responsibility of Burgundy, but only partially for Burgundy, Orleans and Lancaster were acting conjointly in this respect. <sup>26.</sup> A document of <sup>27.</sup> 21 January 1394 supports this last statement, as it

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22. Hist. des ducs. de Bourg, II, 152.

23. Hist. des français, VII, 78.

24. Hist. de Flandre, III, 38 et seq.

25. Page 14.

26. Fr. en Or., I, 229-30.

27. Mon. spect. hist. slav. merid., IV, 338.

embodies, firstly the instructions to Guillaume de la Tremouille to leave for Buda and pave the way for the official negotiations, and secondly the form of reply to be addressed by the Hungarian King to each of the three Dukes.

That France and England played an important part in the promotion of the crusade is evident. That they were exclusively its promoters — as is implied by the majority of historians— is doubtful. Sigismund was far from being passive. It was he who gave the first, the dukes the second, impetus. When the Count d'Eu, Boucicaut, and Reynaud de Roze were passing through Hungary on their way to a pilgrimage to the Holy Places as early as 1388-89, Sigismund offered them hospitality for three months and <sup>28.</sup> loaded them with the highest honours. Similarly, Henry of Derby, who had set out to the Holy Land after his <sup>29.</sup> Prussian campaign of 1392-93, was invited to stay at Buda for a time and was treated with the greatest honour by the King of Hungary. It is quite imaginable that Sigismund, in these distressful years, intimated to such great nobles of France and England the expediency of a crusade against

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28. Livre des faits, I, 443-44; Le Roulx, I, 163-64, 232.

29. Lucy T. Smith. (Camden Soc., 1896), 147 et seq.

the ever increasing power of the Ottomans. Moreover, the  
 30.  
 Hungarian victory at Nicopolis Minor (1393), followed by  
 the advent into Hungary and return thence to France, of the  
 Count d'Eu and a few hundred French chevaliers, must have  
 indirectly stimulated the Western warlike disposition for  
 a share in the field of glory.

The official negotiations began actually when de la  
 31.  
 Tremouille, Renier Pot, and twelve esquires proceeded to  
 Venice early in 1395. The Republic of St. Mark was  
 politically and geographically the most suitable centre for  
 the meeting of the ambassadors from the East and the West.  
 Manuel's representatives were already there in December  
 32.  
 1394. Shortly after, the Marshal of Burgundy appeared in  
 presence of the Signory (4 February 1395), saying that he  
 had awaited the Hungarian ambassadors during twelve days,  
 and as they had not appeared, he required an answer for the  
 Dukes of Burgundy, Orleans and Lancaster concerning the  
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30. Juvenal des Ursins, 403; Religieux, II, 386-91,  
 (Bellaguet, in the French trans. of this Chronicle,  
 refers wrongly in a footnote on p.391 to this battle  
 as Kessovo); Chron. des Pays-Bas etc., (Corp. chren.  
 Fl.), III, 294, states that "le dit roi de Hongrie  
 desconfi plus de LX<sup>m</sup> Turcs. Pour la joie de laquelle  
 nouvelle venue en plusieurs lieux, le conte de Nevers  
 etc."; Istore et chron. de Fl. II, 415.

31. The Bauyn MS., f. 340; cf.

32. Cons. Reg. (Ven., Arch. di state), E, f. 102 ro.;  
 also Men. spect. hist. slav. merid., IV, 340.

matter of the appeal for Venetian assistance made by their embassy. The Venetian Senate declined a definite reply,<sup>33.</sup> as the principals in that matter were not present. After the French had left, the Hungarians, who were three in number,<sup>34.</sup> under the leadership of Nicholas of Kanyssa, archbishop of Gran and treasurer of Sigismund, arrived at Venice on March 5, by sea. On presenting their instructions to the Senate, they received an answer dated March 10, to the effect that whenever the king of Hungary together with the Dukes of Burgundy, Orleans and Lancaster should proceed against the Turks by Land, the Commune would be prepared to co-operate by sea.<sup>35.</sup> This vague reply did not satisfy the legates, and, after two days' negotiations, they managed to secure a decision of the Senate that the Republic would furnish the Crusade with a number of galleys equal to one

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33. See Sen. Deliber. (Arch. di State), E. f. 105 ro.; also Men. ...Slav. merid., IV, 338-39; and Ven. State Papers, I, 36.
34. Péjer, (Cod. dipl. Hung.), XI, 348; X<sub>2</sub>, 200; X<sub>6</sub>, 92 and 142. Kanyssa was the Primate of Hungary, and he held the See of Gran from 1387 to 1418. Vide Le Reulx, I, 230. The Bauyn MS., f. 340 vo., states that the embassy consisted of "le sieur Franisban" and three knights.
35. See Sen. Deliber. E, f. 108 ro.
36. See Con. Reg. E., f. 169 ro. Facts of this kind had previously been made between the two powers, but no real co-operation against the Turks ensued from them. See, Con. Reg., E, f. 81. ro. (April 1393) and f. 94. (September 1394).

quarter of the coalition fleet, provided that that number should not exceed twenty-five.

Afterwards, Kanyza and his companions traversed Lombardy, and, as they had no hope of assistance from either Florence or Milan, the next stage at which they halted on May 8 was Lyons, where Burgundy was waiting for them, probably on his way to Avignon. The Duke welcomed them and presented them with valuable vases and a precious table-cover decorated with pearls, sapphires and diamonds. Renier Pot the chamberlain of the Duke, was then ordered to conduct them to Paris. But owing to the absence of the King's uncles at the Avignonese papal court, the ambassadors employed their time usefully in a visit to the Duchess of Burgundy at Dijon (17-19 May), and another to the Duke of Lancaster who was at Bordeaux. They were

37. Brauner, 14; Delaville Le Roulx, I, 231.

38. Plancher, T. III, cap. 149, p. 147, the Bauyn ms., ff. 340 vo. specifies the presents as "un Formail d'Or a trois grosses perles, et un grand Diamant, au milieu, et à chacun des trois autres d'un Hanap avec le couuerele d'Or."

According to a document of 7 June, 1359, in Champellien-Pigeacq III, 40, similar presents costing the Duke of Orleans 1800 fr. were also given by him to the Hungarian ambassadors.

39. Bauyn's Mem., ff. 340 vo. - 341 re. They were accompanied on these visits by Renier Pot and by Louis Debûre, chief secretary of the Duke of Orleans.

reassured as to the good intentions of both. On their  
<sup>40.</sup> arrival in the capital, they found that the princes of the  
 regency had returned, and it was therefore possible for  
 the king to receive them solemnly in Council. Kanyssa  
<sup>41.</sup> placed Sigismund's letter in Charles' hands, then delivered  
 an eloquent speech in which he drew a vivid picture of the  
<sup>42.</sup> impending peril on the Eastern frontier of Christendom,  
 and appealed to the French King not to fail his relative  
 of Hungary. The French princes in general, and Burgundy,  
<sup>43.</sup> d'Eu and Boucicaut in particular, supported ardently the  
 envoy's appeal; and the King lent their wishes and  
 aspirations his full attention and promised to give his  
 final consent to the expedition as soon as the peace with  
<sup>44.</sup> England was concluded. Having thus succeeded in their  
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40. Bauyn ms., f. 341 ro., fixes the date of their return as August 6, but contradicts itself by stating that they were received by the King and the Dukes in July.

41. The Religieux, II, 424-27, gives the text of the letter which may be corrupt, but is, nevertheless, the nearest approach to the original.

42. The 'Hist. de Boucic.', I, 443-44, says that a Turkish herald informed Sigismund that Bayezid was collecting an army of 10,000 horsemen and 30,000 footmen to overrun Hungary. The statement is, however, doubtful.

43. Hist. de Boucic., VI, 444.

44. Bauyn, f. 342 vo.



45.

embassy, Kanyss and his three companions left the city within nine days of the meeting of the Council. They returned with valuable presents, favours and good promises.

It is hard to follow the route of the ambassadors from Paris to Buda, for the sources fail us here, and the modern historians tend to overlook this point.

Nevertheless, it is very probable that they returned overland through Germany to extend their appeal to the nobles and citizens of that country. It was a remarkable feature of the early part of the campaign that whenever the French contingent arrived at any of the main cities of Germany, they found large bands of nobles and burghers well-equipped with arms and waiting to join the crusade. This can be explained by the possible sojourn of the Hungarian embassy in Germany.

In reality, the crusade had occupied the mind of the Duke of Burgundy long before the official negotiations had

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45. Freissart, IV, 216, refers to three ambassadors; the Religieux, II, 424, refers to "quatuor clari milites hungari statura et apparatu magnifici"; Bauyn, f. 340 vo., referring to the Archives of Burgundy, also gives the number of four ambassadors. The difference is elucidated by the 'Hist. de Boucic.' VI, 443-44, which says that Sigismund sent a special messenger to the Constable of France to ask him to use his influence in support of his old companion-in-arms - Sigismund. This messenger must have joined the Hungarian embassy on its arrival in Paris, thus raising its number from three to four.

started. In 1394, he issued a minute to specify the various subsidies he required for the 'voiage d'Onguerie' as well as for the knighting of his eldest son. This important document includes ordinary and extraordinary taxes from the territories under his sway, aids and loans from the royal and ducal private demesnes, a loan from the clergy and another from John Galeazzo of Milan. If we accept the total figure marked at the end of the document and adopted by Delaville Le Roulx, the anticipated sum would be half a million francs, which must have been a considerable burden, if we bear in mind the money values of the time. But a closer study of the details of the account furnished by the document reveals that the duke must have anticipated the receipt of no less than 700,000 francs. Nor were the other nobles less vigorous in raising money for the same purpose. Guy VI de la Tremouille received more than 24,000 francs in the form of aides and loans for his 'veiaige d'Ongrie.'

46. Delaville Le Roulx, II, 18-20; Plancher, III, 147-48.

47. Vol. I, 239.

48. Vide analysis of document in Appendix IV-A.

49. Les la Tremouille pendant cinq siècles, I, 13-15.

50. Vide Appendix IV-B.

His accounts provide us with a clear specimen of what the French nobility, on the whole, did.

If the levies were exorbitant, the expenditure was lavish. The distinctive feature of the preparations for this 'voiage' was magnificence, not efficiency. Articles of the most sumptuous nature were either purchased or specially manufactured. Tents, pavilions, banners, standards, horse-covers, — all were made of rich green velvet, and all were thickly embroidered with the arms of Nevers in Cypriote gold-thread. Of the costly tents and pavilions alone, there were twenty-four cart loads. Saddles and horse equipment, decorated with gold, silver and ivory, and ornamented with precious stones, were not wanting in numbers. No less than three hundred pennons were decorated with silver. The great banners of the expedition were four. Each one was decorated with the image of Our Lady surrounded by the arms of France and of the Count, all worked in gold thread. Froissart says that "rien n'estoit espargnie de montures, d'armoiries, de

51. Bauyn ms., ff. 348 ro. — 349 ro. A transcription of Bauyn's interesting account of the preparations is given in Appendix V.

52. Blancher, III, 149.

chambres, d'abis, grans riches et puissans, de vaisselle  
 53.  
 d'or et d'argent."

While the Duke and the French nobility were busy on these preparations, the King's Council on the one hand, and the Council of the Duke of Burgundy on the other, were convened in Paris to decide the number and the various elements of the France-Burgundian host as well as the distribution of the high offices therein. Burgundy, who was at that time the most influential person at the court of France, procured without difficulty the supreme command for his eldest son, Jean, comte de Nevers, a young man of  
 54.  
 twenty-four years of age, whom he wished to be knighted  
 55.  
 on the field of honour while combating the 'miscreants.' The next important step taken by the Duke was the official proclamation of the crusade throughout the whole of the  
 56.  
 ducal territories and all the realm of France. It is  
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53. Froissart, XV, 224.

54. Ibid., 218, says that John was 22 years old; but, according to 'L'Art de vérifier les dates', III<sup>2</sup>, 82; Kervyn, XXII, 284; — the count was born on 28 May, 1371; hence his age was 24 at the time.

55. Gibbons, 212, makes two mistakes here:-

- a. - by accepting Froissart's authority that John was 22;
- b. - that John had just won his knighthood, a contention that has no basis, for John was knighted later by Sigismund on the right bank of the Danube as will be shown.

56. Froissart, XV, 220.

even said that the Duke's son, Nevers himself, was sent into Flanders "pour requerre ayde contre L'Amerath Baquin", and that that country rendered him "grand confort et aide, tant de finanche comme de gens d'armes." The movement was very popular, not only with the princes of the blood and the other barons, but also with men of various classes of society who hated a languid and listless life of peace, and yearned to spend their time and strength in profitable deeds of chivalry. So numerous were the enthusiasts who responded to Duke Philippe's summons to arms that only the elite amongst them were admitted to the honour of joining the enterprise. If the warrior classes sought employment in the crusading army, the rulers must have favoured the project to avoid the usual mischief of demobilised companies.

The choice fell upon a thousand knights — the flower of French chivalry — and at least an equal number of esquires. Every prince of the blood brought in his train a number of

57. Istores et chron. de Fl., II, 414.

58. Hist. de Boucic., VI, 455, says "...pour eux tirer hors d'oisivite, et employer leur temps et leurs forces en faict de chevalerie."

59. Froissart, XV, 230; Hist de Boucic. VI, 445. The Religieux II, 428-29, gives the total figure of 2,000 knights and esquires, Michaud, V, 279, gives an estimate of 1,400 knights and an equal number of esquires without mentioning his source.

retainers whom he supported at his own expense. Boucicaut  
 60.  
 maintained seventy followers, of whom fifteen were knights.  
 In addition to this considerable host of knights and  
 esquires, a large number of veteran mercenaries and footmen  
 were allowed to enlist for the campaign. Their number is  
 difficult to determine, as the French sources are generally  
 silent on this important section of the army. Fortunately,  
 the German chroniclers, who were probably impressed by the  
 magnitude of the Franco-Burgundian contingent, made a  
 special mention of its number. Their estimate varies  
 61. 62.  
 from 6,000 to 10,000. But as the last figure agrees with  
 the only existing French estimate in the Bauyn manuscript  
 it may be adopted here as the approximate number of the  
 whole of the French host, and the mercenaries would therefore  
 be about 8,000. Their salary for one month, according to  
 63.  
 Bauyn, amounted to 36,190 livres.

60. Hist. de Boucic., VI, 446.

61. Schiltberger, 3.

62. Königshofen, 814, in Brauner, 17.

63. Bauyn's Mem., f. 347 vo., states that Michel Baudricourt 'maitre de la Chambre aux Deniers du Conte de Nevers' was ordered to pay the knights, esquires, archers and arbalesters, whose salary for one month amounted to 36,190 l., excluding the members of the Count's household. 'cest a dire que tous ceux qui estoient a la solde Du Conte, tant chevaliers, Escuiers, qu'autres pouvoient monter a 10,000 hommes'.

64.            65.            66.                            67.                            68.  
 Brauner, Köhler, Aschbach, Delaville Le Roulx and Daru

arrive at a similar conclusion with regard to the total number but none of these scholars attempts to define the proportion of the constituent elements of the French host. The only document which may serve as a clue to an approximate estimate of this kind is the Burgundian 'Ordonnance' of 69. 29 March 1396, which refers to two hundred and three knights, twenty-four esquires, ten archers and twenty arbalesters, besides a number of petty officers of Nevers' household such as a steward, a cook, a butcher and a poultry-keeper. Leaving aside the number of the knights who were very probably mentioned on the strength of the nobility of their blood, and not on the basis of their numerical share in the army, the other component classes of French fighters may roughly be calculated in the proportion of twenty-four esquires, ten archers, and twenty arbalesters, the rest being a mixed mass of footmen and menial retainers. A very

64. Page 17.

65. Page 9.

66. Vol. I, 98.

67. Vol. I, 237.

68. Hist. de Ven., T. II, Liv. I, 104.

69. Arch. de la Côte d'Or, ms. B 11876.  
 Vide Appendix VI.

approximate estimate may therefore be drawn in this wise:-

Knights.....	1,000.
Esquires.....	1,000.
Archers.....	500.
Arbalesters.....	1,000.
Other footmen.....	6,500.
	Total..10,000.

The same document determines the nomination to the high offices in the host. Five chief councillors were appointed to guide the youthful Count. These were Philippe de Bar, the admiral Jean de Vienne, Guy and Guillaume de la Tremouille, and Odard de Chasseron. Moreover, two other groups of subsidiary councillors were selected for further consultation, "quant bon luy (Nevers) semblera." Amongst these were Coucy, the comte d'Eu, and Beaucicaut. The banner bearer of Jean de Nevers was Philippe de Mussy, and his pennon bearer was a certain Gruthuse.

The somewhat elementary disciplinary measures which the 'Ordonnance' enforced were an anticipation of the disorderly progress of the campaign. A gentleman who caused tumult in the ranks was to lose his horse and harness; a varlet who applied a knife was to lose the weapon; and he who committed robbery was to lose his ear.

Finally the 'Ordonnance' fixed the 20 April, 1396, for  
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70. Chamberlain and councillor of Philippe le Hardi.  
Delaville Le Roulx, I, 237.



the diverse forces to meet at Dijon, where an advance payment of four months' wages would be made at the rate of forty francs the knight, twenty the esquire, and twelve the archer. But no information is supplied with regard to the wages of the other classes of footmen. This, however, may roughly be calculated as 10 frs., judging by the total of the wages per month given in the Bauyn manuscript, by the wages of the three classes mentioned in the 'Ordonnance', and by our estimate of the numbers of the various classes of fighters.<sup>71.</sup>

While the Franco-Burgundian army was taking shape for the campaign, the German princes of Bavaria, Meissen, Thuringia, Saxony, Hesse, the Rhineland, Swabia, Alsace,<sup>72.</sup> Steiermark, and Luxemburg,<sup>73.</sup> were actively preparing to join the crusade. It is very hard to give any definite number in the case of the German auxiliaries, for the German chroniclers, who provide us with the number of the French, fail us where we expect adequate materials concerning their own countrymen. Yet the amplitude of the German contribution can easily be realised if we remember that the majority of

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71. Vide supra, note 63, and text of this chapter.

72. Brauner, 9, quoting the 'Klindenberger Chron.' and the 'Annal. Mellic'.

73. Petrus de Rewa, (De Monarchia), 652.

the German princes assisted in the Crusade. One of the first amongst them to take the Cross was the Count Palatine Ruprecht Pipan, the eldest son of Duke Robert III of Bavaria.<sup>74.</sup> Another was the Count of Katzenellenbogen whose identity is difficult to discover, owing to the existence of three princes of that House who hold similar titles in the period of the crusade. Brauner believes that the one in question was John III. Count Herman II of Cilly and Burgrave John III of Nuremberg were also among the crusaders.<sup>75.</sup> Aschbach is wrong in assuming that Burgrave John was the Grand Prier of the German Order, and that he marched to Hungary as such,<sup>76.</sup> for John's name does not appear on the lists of the Knights of the Order,<sup>77.</sup> and his married life refutes this contention.<sup>78.</sup> John's part in the crusade was prominent after the battle of Nicopolis for it is said that Sigismund owed him his life when all was lost and flight became the best policy.<sup>79.</sup> It was formerly believed that John's younger brother, Frederick, the first elector of Brandenburg, had also taken part in the

74. Stromer, 48.

75. Page 10.

76. Stromer, 48, says "...und seiner ('Ruprecht von Bayern') muter bruder graff Johans der purkgraff der graff von Zylig."

77. Vol. I, 99.

78. Brauner, 11.

79. Leunclavius, 14.

80.

crusade. This view is adopted by Von Hammer, the famous historian of the Turkish Empire. The only justification for this statement was one reference in Stromeer which is <sup>81.</sup> now proved to be a later insertion in a different hand. Besides, the leading sources — Western and Eastern — refer to but one Burgrave on the field of Nicopolis, namely, John. One of the very few German princes who deliberately shunned the whole project was Albert, Count of Hainault. When his son, William, Count of Ostervant, together with the chivalry of Hainault, came to request permission from their lord to take up the Cross, Albert explained to them the unwisdom of their proposal; and, to deflect their bellicose impulse, he directed their attention to the neighbouring country of Frisia, where they could win glory in the subjection of its <sup>82.</sup> unruly people.

The part played by the English in the Crusade of Nicopolis has been unduly neglected by medieval scholars on both sides of the Channel. The few meagre references made to it by eminent medievalists, either on this Island or on the Continent contain various inaccuracies and errors.

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80. Gesch. des Osman. Reich., I, 197.

81. Brauner, II.

82. Froissart, XV, 226-27.

The absorbing interest in crusading projects never abated amongst the Englishmen of the fourteenth century. They fought the battles of Christianity in conjunction with the Teutonic knights in pagan Prussia and Lithuania on many occasions. They distinguished themselves amongst the Western Europeans recruited by the Lusignans of Cyprus for their crusading struggles in the Levant. They accompanied Duke Louis of Bourbon in his renowned expedition to Barbary. Finally, a considerable number of them shared the valour and suffered the fate of the foreign auxiliaries before the walls of Nicopolis. <sup>83.</sup> Chaucer's knight had been at Alexandria when it was won. In Prussia, Lithuania and Russia he had gained great honours. In the Muslim kingdom of Granada and in Algiers, at Ayas in Armenia and Adalia in Asia Minor, he had performed worthy deeds of chivalry. He had been in fifteen mortal battles and he had fought thrice in the lists for the Christian faith, and "ay slayn his foe."

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83. Skeat, vol. IV, Canterbury Tales, the Prologue, lines 43-78, pp. 2-3. 'Alisaundre', 'Pruce', 'Lettow', 'Ruce', 'Grernade', 'Belnarye', 'Leys' and 'Saltalye' are the respective names given by Chaucer in the text.

"This ilke worthy knight had been also  
 "Sometyne with the lord of Patalye, 84.  
 "Ageyn another hethen in Turkye:  
 "And evermore he hadde a covereyn prys." 85.

John Gower, the worthy fourteenth century contemporary of Chaucer, in his 'Vox Clamantis', also defends the cause of the Holy War for regaining the Holy Land, which belonged to Jesus by birthright.<sup>86.</sup>

Although no accurate estimate of their contribution to the Crusade of Nicopolis can be deduced from the sources, the fact that their forces attracted the attention of many independent chroniclers in various parts of Europe, proves that the English must have constituted a distinctly great and noteworthy element in the foreign contingent. The

'Chronique du Pays-Bas, de France, d'Angleterre et de Tournai', the 'Relation de la Croisade de Nicopoli' and the 'Res Gestae' amongst the chronicles of France and

84. Patalia, situated on the coast of the province of Aidin in Anatolia, was one of the lordships held by the Christian knights for some time after the Turkish conquest of Asia Minor.

85. Skeat, vol. IV, p.3, lines 64-67.

86. Macaulay's ed. of Gower's works, vol. III, pp. 124-25. Vide cap. II.

87. Corp. chron. Fl. III, 294.

88. Kervyn, Freissart, XV, III, 224.

89. Chron. relatives a l'hist. de la Belg., III, 224.

Burgundy; Michael Ducas' <sup>90.</sup> 'Historia Byzantina' amongst  
 those of Greece; the <sup>91.</sup> 'Chronica Vulgare di Antonio Fiorentino  
 and the <sup>92.</sup> 'Annales Mediolenses' in Italy; Petrus de Reva's  
 'De Monarchia et B. Corona Hungariae' in Hungary; and  
<sup>94.</sup> Walsingham's and <sup>95.</sup> Trekelew's works as well as the chronicle  
<sup>96.</sup> of the Monk of Evesham — all refer to the co-operation of  
 the English in the crusade. Yet, none of them provides us  
 with any ample and reliable information either as to their  
 numbers or as to the names of the English nobles who  
 figured in the campaign and the English chroniclers as  
 compared with their contemporaries are the most confused  
 and the least reliable on this or any other aspect of the  
 crusade. The Italian Antonio Fiorentino is probably the  
 only chronicler who mentions that the English contingent

90. M.P.G. T. CLVII, 813-14.

91. Attributed to Piero di Giovanni Minerbetti in Tartini II, 364-65; re-edited more carefully in the new Archivio Muraturiano by Elena Bellandi, T. XXVII, Pt. II, p.208.

92. Muratori, XVI, 826.

93. Schwandtner, II, 652.

94. Hist. Angl. ii, 217.

95. Chron. et Annal. 155.

96. Hist. Vitas et Regni Ricardi II, p. 130, refers to the rout of the Christians and mentions the name of 'Radulphus Peſey' amongst the English at Nicopolis.

97.

consisted of a thousand men-at-arms, and as there is nothing elsewhere to confirm or confute his estimate, it has to be tolerated as approximately correct. Oman's statement that "even stray English knights joined the muster" is hardly fair to the English auxiliaries who were at least a force of considerable magnitude. The same Antonio adds that these were in the company of the son of the Duke of Lancaster. That John of Gaunt was one of the three mighty promoters of the crusade in the West, is decisively proved from the Venetian State Papers. But, that a "son of Lancaster and a cousin of the King of England" had been on the crusade, is very doubtful.

Antonio Fiorentino's statements have misled a number of eminent scholars in England, France and Germany, on the question of the identification of the leader of the English contingent. Wylie, in the first volume of his history of Henry IV, asserts that 'King Henry had been present in the .....

97. Arch. Murat., op. cit., p. 208; "...e ancora vi fu con lui (Sig.) il figliuolo del Duca di Lancastre Inghilese e zio del Re d'Inghilterra, con mille cavalli di buona gente d'arme".

98. Hist. of Art of War, II, 348.

99. Vide supra footnote nos. 30-32 of this chapter.

battle (Nicopolis) with 1,000 English lances, and had narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the conquerors by getting on board of one of the blockading squadron on the Danube after the flight of Sigismund, the Hungarian King'.<sup>100.</sup> In a later volume, Wylie modifies his view and adopts the hypothesis that it was John Beaufort, not Henry Bolingbroke who led the English to Nicopolis.<sup>101.</sup> Vickers relates that 'in 1396 he (Henry) had fought beside Sigismund of Hungary at Nicopolis, escaping with difficulty from the stricken field.'<sup>102.</sup> Coville denies the presence of Bolingbroke at Nicopolis, but evades the responsibility of stating any substitute for the leadership of the English.<sup>103.</sup> Kupelweiser states that the son of the Duke of Lancaster joined the crusaders with 10,000 Englishmen.<sup>104.</sup> Delaville Le Roulx suggests that it was probably John Beaufort, another son of Gaunt, who assisted in the crusade, — a suggestion which found its way to an article by Professor Tout in an early volume of the Dictionary of National Biography. In the

100. Henry IV, Vol. I, 6 and 158.

101. Ibid., III, pp. 261-62, note 14.

102. Eng. in the Later Mid. Ages, 303.

103. Laviisse (ed.), Hist. de Fr. IV., 311 and 320-21.

104. Die Kampfe etc., 15.

105. Vol. I, 242.



Supplement to the new edition of the same work, Professor Pollard did not improve on Tout's conclusion by asserting that both Beaufort and Bolingbroke were at Nicopolis.<sup>106.</sup>

From these statements it is clear that Wylie, Vickers, Kupelweiser, Delaville Le Roulx, Tout and Pollard -- all identify the leader of the English crusaders as a son of the Duke of Lancaster, sometimes Bolingbroke and sometimes Beaufort, thus following faithfully the ambiguous and uncertain authority of Antonio Fiorentino. It would seem, however, that neither Bolingbroke nor Beaufort went of the crusade. The first was left with the Duke of York to guard England during King Richard's absence in France, while the second appeared on the scene of the famous interview of the English King with Charles VI of France between Calais and Ardres in September, 1396, -- the month of the disastrous battle on the right bank of the Danube. If Bolingbroke,<sup>106.</sup> as Froissart tells us, was forbidden by his father to join the expedition of Ostervant against Friesland, it is probable, but only probable, that the Duke also forbade both his sons to embark on a much more serious, uncertain and

106. Vol. IX, 484 (Tout); XXII, 159 (Pollard), new edition of the D.N.B.

107. Froissart, XV, 598; Trekelew, 190; Ramsay, II, 308.

108. Froissart, XV, 269-70.

perilous adventures against the Turks.

The most likely person to have taken the leadership of the English at Nicopolis is John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, Richard II's younger brother. On 18 January, 1394, he received a royal command to proceed to the King of Hungary <sup>109.</sup> 'pro certis negotiis', the purport of which is unknown, as the letter indicates no specified mission. In June of the same year — the month of the first preaching of the crusade — he obtained a letter from Boniface IX, 'De plenaria remissione', <sup>110.</sup> absolving him and a number of persons going in his company against the Turks and other enemies. That he was a crusading zealot, is proved true by the fact that he was one of the first persons to join the Brotherhood of Passion; and Philippe de Mezieres referred King Richard to him for <sup>111.</sup> information about the new crusading organisation. On the other hand, <sup>112.</sup> Freissart, <sup>113.</sup> Trokelow and <sup>114.</sup> Walsingham mention the  
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109. Foedera, T. III, Pt. IV, p. 93.

110. Papal Registers, IV, 489.

111. Brit. Mus. Ms. Royal 20-B-VI, f. 37 re. (Vide Appendix III) also Melinier's MSS. 362-64 (Appendix II).

112. Vol. XV, 298.

113. Page 190.

114. Vol. II, p. 372.

Earl amongst the escort of King Richard in France. If we accept the authority of the three chroniclers, the problem of identifying the leader of the English crusaders must remain unsolved.

Of the part played in the crusade by the remaining powers of Western Europe, our knowledge is meagre, and the chroniclers are not helpful. Jean Brandon's 'Chronodrum' and the anonymous 'Chronicon Flandriae' refer to a mixed body of knights who, after having defeated and put to flight the Moors in Spain, joined the crusading muster, probably at Dijon, and these must have included in their ranks a considerable number of Aragonese Knights.

Chalcocondylas says that Sigismund, on the advice of Pope Boniface, had sent ambassadors to the princes of Spain. Unfortunately, the 'Spanish' chroniclers of the time devoted the whole of their histories to the Moorish encounters, and were little attracted by the affairs of foreign kingdoms which did not bear directly on their internal troubles. The famous Polish historian, Dlugosz, mentions the 'Hispani' twice amidst the cosmopolitan crowd

115. Chron. relatives a l'hist. de Belg., I, 33.

116. Corp. chron. Fl., I, 349.

117. M.P.G., Vol. clix, 82.

118. Historia Polonica, I, 146.

of crusaders. Besides the 'Galli, ... Almani, ... Burgundi, ... et nonnulli Hungari', he states that the army included a number of 'Poloni' and 'Bohemi'. The real value of Dlugosz's chronicle, however, lies in the particulars it affords us about a number of Polish knights including 'Stiborius de Stiborsiese' and Swantoslaus of the House of Lyada, and their activities in the battle, with which we deal elsewhere.

119.

120. Finally, Ducas contends that the Italian crusaders were not few -- 'et Italarum non pauci'. But neither the Italian chronicles, nor the political situation in Italy would justify this view. Chalcocondylas, who asserts that Sigismund sent ambassadors to Italy for men and money, states specifically that all the assistance drawn therefrom had been only from the Pope. Broadly speaking, some Poles, Bohemians and Italians took part in the crusade; but they were no more than individual adventurers or mercenary soldiers, and their number must have been comparatively small. It was the joint body of the French, the Germans and the English that made the foreign contingent a significant force in the history of the Crusade of Nicopolis.

121.

119. Ibid., 146.

120. This is the latinised form of the Polish 'Scibor', whose name also appears in Petrus de Rewa (De Monarchia etc.), 652.

121. M.P.G., clxii, 813-14.

122. Ibid., clix, 82.

## CHAPTER IV.

MARCH OF THE CRUSADERS.

Buda, the rendez-vous;

Buda to Nicopolis:

1. Widdin.

2. Rahova;

The Siege;

March of the Turks.

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## The Routes.



The nineteenth century historians of the Crusade of Nicopolis have misinterpreted or left unsolved many aspects of the march of the crusaders, and the only twentieth century <sup>1.</sup> historian who has dealt with the crusade at any length, has scarcely treated the matter adequately and without error. Yet, in spite of the confusion in the sources and the mistakes of modern writers, the course of the crusade can be traced on the map with considerable accuracy. The Franco-Burgundian army was divided into two forces; — the smaller division intended to traverse Lombardy, and the larger to go through Germany. Both forces met ultimately at Buda with the auxiliaries of other Western countries.

Jean de Nevers actually took leave of the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy in Paris on 6 April. After having said his prayers at Saint-Denis, where he asked Heaven to crown his efforts with success, the young count proceeded to Dijon. On 13 April, he arrived there and found the Duchess his mother together with his sister Maria and his brethren Anthoine and Philippe, waiting to bid him <sup>2.</sup> farewell. <sup>3.</sup> In conformity with the Ordinance of 29 March 1396

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1. H.A. Gibbons: Foundations of the Ottoman Emp., pp. 211 et seq.

2. Froissart, XV, 230.

3. Plancher, III, Preuves, clxx.

the French and the Burgundians were present at Dijon on 20 April, and there is no evidence contrary to the supposition that they started about that date. However,<sup>4.</sup> the comte de Nevers himself left Dijon only on 30 April to join the forces under his command at Montbéliard.

Meanwhile, a small portion of the French contingent<sup>5.</sup> under Henry de Bar and Enguerrand de Coucy branched off from the main body to Lombardy with instructions from the King to dissuade the Duke of Milan from interfering with the Genoese submission to Charles VI. Having fulfilled their mission, they continued their march to join the crusade. It is very difficult to trace the route which they followed in order to reunite with their countrymen.<sup>6.</sup> Aeschbach states that they sailed from Venice to Dalmatia by sea and then travelled the rest of the way by land.<sup>7.</sup> Brauner, whose argument is based mainly on the 'Religieux', suggests that

4. Ibid., 149. The 'Religieux', II, 428-29, fixes the march from Dijon about the end of March. Froissart, XV, 229-31 & 398, states that the French crusaders passed through Lorraine on May 20, and the notes on Froissart that Nevers left Paris on 6th., arrived at Dijon on 13th., and continued his outward voyage on 30th. August.

5. Religieux, II, 430-31.

6. Vol. I, 97.

7. Page 24.

8. Vol. II, 430-31; - "legacioneque peracta ad commilitones alios magnis itineribus contenderunt."



they crossed the Alps by the Brenner Pass and rejoined  
 Nevers at Passau. <sup>9.</sup> Delaville Le Roulx reverts to the older  
 theory on the ground that Coucy and Bar submitted a request  
 dated 17 May, 1396, to the Republic of St. Mark for a  
 galley to take them to the Adriatic port of Segna on the  
 Dalmatian coast, and that their request was gratified by the  
 Venetian Senate on 29 May. There is, however, nothing in  
 the sources to prove that the French made use of this  
 concession, and it is very improbable that they did. The  
 route indicated by Aschbach and confirmed by Delaville Le  
 Roulx was, in the first place, far longer and less direct  
 than that which connected the Venetian Republic and Hungary  
 overland; in the second place, it was less known to the  
 French; in the third, the land structure of the Dalmatian  
 country was very rugged and impassable; in the fourth,  
 it was very unsafe, as the Turkish raids were then sweeping  
 all over the Balkans. It is therefore hard to agree with  
 any of these views. That the French reached Venice is  
 proved, not only by the deliberations of the Venetian Senate,  
 but also by an eye-witness — Ogier VIII d'Anglure — who  
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9. Vol. I, 248; and Vol. II, 25.

10. *Le saint voyage de Jherusalem*, p. 98. Ogier arrived at Venice on 23 May, 1396, "Et y sejourna mes VI jours entiers ...; et pendant iceux VI jours vindrent audit Venise monseigneur messire Henri de Bar et monseigneur de Coucy, qui s'en alerent en Hongrie, pour aller eultre ensemble monseigneur le conte de Nevers, contre les Turcs". D. Le Roulx, II, 25, n.2, presents a similar quotation, but Ogier's account includes no reference to the sea route suggested by Aschbach and Le Roulx.

testified to this effect in a memoir written on his return from a pilgrimage to the Holy Places in Egypt and Syria. But neither the official sources nor Ogier's account make any definite reference wherefrom it can be deduced that the French actually sailed from Venice to Segna. The more conceivable and straightforward route was neither by sea, as Aschbach and Le Roulx assert, nor by the Branner to Passau, as Brauner contends, but by the paths of the Eastern Alps to Buda, where the names of Bar and Coucy appear continually as members of the council of war of Sigismund and Nevers.<sup>11.</sup>

The main body continued its march through the Free County and Upper Alsace, ~~Then they~~ crossed the Rhine, south of Strasburg, and soon gained the upper valley of Danube in Bavaria.<sup>12.</sup> On 11 May (Ascension Day) the Council of Ratisbon received a letter dated 9 May at Loffenberg from Nevers asking the government of the city to prepare a transport fleet for sailing down the Danube with the necessary provisions and the equipment of the

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11. Froissart, XV, 244 et seq.

12. Ibid., 431, arranges the order of the progress of the army through Lorraine, Bar, Montbeliard, 'Aussay', 'Fierst' or 'Furette' and Austria.

13.

**Franco-Burgundian Crusaders.** On their arrival at Ratisbon, they were joined by the German auxiliaries, with John of Nuremberg and Count Palatine Ruprecht in command. The united bodies advanced along the Danube and passed by the towns of Straubing and Passau. At Straubing, Nevers was given a warm reception by his brother-in-law, Albert of Bavaria, while Artois and Boucicaut, together with the vanguard of the army, went on ahead to announce the forthcoming advent of the Count and the crusaders. The heralds were in Vienna on 21 May (Pentecost), and Nevers arrived about one month later on 24 June (St. John's Day). Leopold IV, Duke of Austria, who had married a daughter of Philippe le Hardi, welcomed his brother-in-law and gave a number of magnificent festivities in his honour. The Duke also supplied the army with more ships loaded with provisions and wine. The length of Nevers' sojourn in Vienna is unknown. However, before his departure, he dispatched Walter de Ruyss, a Flemish knight who knew the German

13. Gamsiner, II, 512, quoted by Brauner, 23.

14. Aechbach, I, 97, is wrong in stating that the Crusaders arrived at Straubing on 25 November. His assertion that they had previously left Dijon at mid-March, i.e. more than eight months before, has no foundation in the sources.

15. Annal. Mellic., in Mon. Hist. Ger., Script., IX, 514.

16. Juvenal des Ursins, II, 408; Religieux, II, 284-85.

tongue, to inform Sigismund of the approach of the crusaders and to prepare the necessary accom<sup>m</sup>odation for them. Bauyn tells us that before leaving Vienna, the comte de Nevers borrowed the huge sum of 100,000 ducats from Duke Leopold. Burgundy shortly afterwards commissioned a certain Perrault with two clerks in the service of Pierre de Montbertaut, the Duke's treasurer, to leave for Vienna for the settlement of this new debt. The loan, however, remained unsettled and the envoys loitered in Vienna until the news of the final <sup>17.</sup> defeat of the Christians by the Turks reached that city.

It is very difficult to fix a definite date for the arrival of the foreign auxiliaries at Buda, but since they <sup>18.</sup> had been on the march for three months, they must have appeared in the vicinity of the Hungarian capital late in July 1396. Köhler fixes the date as being about the middle <sup>19.</sup> of June. This is hardly possible, partly because it is incredible that such an unwieldy body as the Franco-Burgundian army should traverse the distance between Montbelliard and Buda in only six weeks, and partly because an eye-witness in Vienna — the anonymous author of the

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17. Mem. de Voyage, f. 349 ro. & vo.

18. Juvenal des Ursins, II, 408; Religioux, p. cit., 482-83.

19. Schlachten etc. II.

'Annales Mellicenses' - reports Nevers' advent into that city on 24 June.

Buda was the general rendez-vous of the coalition forces. The French, the Burgundian and the German armies; the Bohemian and the Polish knights; and the Italian mercenaries - all grouped themselves round Sigismund at Buda, side by side with the Hungarian host. There is no indication in the sources as to the place where the English had joined the foreign contingents, but it is certain that they were at Buda at the same time as the representatives of the other countries. Philibert de Naillac and the French-speaking knights of St. John of Rhodes, who had espoused Sigismund's cause with great zeal from the beginning, sailed from their Island only in August, 1396. Probably they had been waiting to join the combined fleet of Genoa and Venice on its way to the Danube. It is hard to trace the knights' itinerary with precision, but they were indubitably at Nicopolis, where they played a prominent part in the battle.

20. Le Roulx, I, 249, referring to Besio's 'Dell' Inst. della S. Relig. de S. Gio. Giros.', II, 153, and the Arch. of Malta (LibBull.Mag., XIV, ff. 91. and 135 vo.) proves that Ph. de Naillac was still in Rhodes on 2 August 1396, and that on 31 of the same month, Pierre de Culant, Marshal of the Order, figures as its lieutenant. Hence Naillac and the knights must have left Rhodes between those two dates.

21.

Brauner asserts on the authority of Froissart that the Grand Master and his knights were amongst the earliest bodies to arrive at Buda. If the coalition fleet, in which the Hospitallers embarked, had left Rhodes in August, it would hardly be possible for the knights to have arrived at Buda before the departure of the army for the Turkish dominions.

22.

The fleet is said to have consisted of forty-four

23.

galleys, under the command of one of the ablest and most experienced of the Venetians in the art of seamanship. The galleys of the Christians sailed through the Archipelago, the Sea of Marmora and the Straits without difficulty. The Turks had been fully aware of their inferiority to the Venetians and the Genoese on the sea and they had wisely withdrawn all the Ottoman galleys into their harbours to evade any encounters with the crusading fleet.

24.

Sigismund's delight at the arrival of the foreign contingents was naturally great. He gave them a magnificent

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21. Page 25.

22. Froissart, XV, 243, says "...vindrent les seigneurs de Rhodes moult estoffement".

23. Brauner, 25.

24. Haji Khalifah, (Hist. of Marit. Wars of Turks), 12-13, quoting 'Taj al Tainārikh of Sa'd ad-Dīn' (Crown of Histories), proves that the naval power of the Turks did not begin until the reign of Muhammad II.

25. reception, and, in sign of honour, allowed their leaders to hang their arms on the walls of the cloisters of the convent of St. Nicholas, where Thwrees saw them. Both Thwrees and Bonifinius relate that, on seeing such masses of resplendent men-at-arms, the king boasted that, not only would he turn the Turks out of Europe, but, were the sky to fall, he would support it on the points of his spears. The story is unhistorical and improbable as the train of events which followed shows that Sigismund knew the real strength of his enemies and the real weakness of his allies. Moreover, George de Pray, one of the best and most reliable of the early historians of Hungary, denies the whole episode as untrue and unjust to his king. Pray says that he examined the official letters, and remarks that the keynote of Sigismund's actions was not vanity, but modesty.

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25. Froissart, XV, 231, says "le roy leur fist grant recueillette et bonne chiere"; Hist. de Boucic., I, 447, states that the king "tous recent a grant joye et honneur"
26. Thwrees, in Schwandtner, I, 362.
27. Ibid., 362, — "Que metuendus est nobis homo? Vastum si coelerum nos pendus rueret, ipsi illud nostris, quas gerimus hastis, ne laederemur sustentare possemus."
28. Rer.Hung.Dec., 386, "...non solum Turei nobis nequaquam formidandus est, sed ne coeli quidem, si forte ruerent, quorum ruinam stantibus hastis subire possemus."
29. Hist. de Boucic. I, 408, says that the King of Hungary advised them "ne trop hastes en ceste guerre etc."

When the Council of War was convened at Buda to discuss  
 30.  
 plans Sigismund advised the coalition leaders to remain on  
 the defensive and wait for the enemy in the Hungarian  
 strongholds, and thus save their energy from wasting and  
 their hosts from disbanding on the long march. This plan  
 appealed to no one in the foreign forces. They had come  
 in quest of adventure and honour, and their ultimate aim was,  
 according to Froissart, "to conquer the whole of Turkey and  
 to march into the Empire of Persia, ...the kingdoms of Syria  
 31.  
 and the Holy Land." Bayezid had declared war on Sigismund  
 in February and the Turkish heralds had announced to the  
 King that the Sultan would be in Hungary before the end of  
 32.  
 May. Since he had not appeared by the end of July, the  
 foreign crusaders pronounced him a coward, and decided that  
 it would be idle to wait for him. Cousy, the spokesman of  
 the foreign contingents, finally forced a decision on  
 33.  
 Sigismund "a voyagier et faire armes." Thereafter, the  
 34.  
 Christian armies were afoot on their way to 'Turkey'.

30. Annal. Reg. Hung. I, 197: "...litteras publicas satis  
 modeste de se sensisse loquuntur.

31. Froissart, XV, 242, "...pour conquerir toute la Turqui  
 et pour aler en l'empire de Perse..., le royaume de  
 Surie et la Sainte Terre."

32. Ibid., 242-44.

33. Ibid., 244.

34. No fixed date can be given for the beginning of the  
 march from Buda. Froissart's statement, XV, 244, that  
 the march began "aux octaves de la Saint-Jehan-Baptiste",  
 i.e. July 1 is definitely wrong.



The course of the campaign from Buda has been misunderstood by Dr. Gibbons, the historian of the Ottoman Empire in the fourteenth century. His contention that the French auxiliaries travelled to the Danube by way of Transylvania and Wallachia, and that the Hungarians followed the Danube and spread into Serbia, misrepresents the order of the progress of the expedition. The crusaders, indeed, must have been divided into two sections. The smaller, consisting chiefly, if not solely, of Hungarians, marched through the mountainous districts of Transylvania to Wallachia, with the intention of forcing the reluctant and unreliable Wallachians and prince Mircea to join their ranks. In this, they succeeded, and the two bodies proceeded across the Danube to unite with the main host, probably — but only probably — near Nicopolis. Meanwhile the remaining Hungarians, together with the foreign auxiliaries followed the shorter, easier and more natural way along the Danube. Their vanguard consisted of a small body of Hungarians under Nicholas of Gara, whom Froissart calls 'le connestable de Honguerie', to lead the way, as he and his men knew the roads

35. Foundations of the Ottoman Empire (1300-1403), p. 215.

36. Ulman Strömer, 48-49. "durch Walachy und kamen fur ein stat, ligt an der Tunaw und haist Siltach (Nicopolis) und lagen langer seit do fur."

37. Froissart, XV, 245.

of that country. Afterwards, the French, and probably the other foreigners under Philippe d'Artois, le comte d'Eu, le comte de la Marche, sire de Coucy and other barons, followed. The rear was composed chiefly of the rest of the Hungarians with King Sigismund and Count Nevers in command. Finally they crossed the Danube at the Iron Gate by the town of Orsova. So numerous were they that, according to the authority of Freissart,<sup>38.</sup> it took them eight days to cross the river. The anonymous biographer of Boucicaut tells us that the contingents included 100,000 horse,<sup>39.</sup> according to Freissart, 60,000,<sup>40.</sup> besides the retainers. Perhaps the actual reason for the length of time taken in the crossing was not so much the greatness in numbers, as the absence of discipline in the ranks.

The crusaders had been marching amidst friendly and Catholic peoples until they reached Orsova. Nevertheless they had displayed those symptoms of violence, immorality and indiscipline, which were aggravated as their triumphant march progressed into the Orthodox countries subject to the Ottomans. Juvenal des Ursins and the anonymous chronicler of St. Denis have left us a vivid picture of the

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38. Vol. XV, 245.

39. Hist. de Boucic., I, 448.

40. Vol. XV, 245.

disgraceful behaviour of the crusaders in Germany and Hungary, as well as their merciless atrocities in the Christian Balkans. Despite the generous and hospitable treatment which they received from their fellow Catholics, they did not miss any chance to pay their hosts back in a different coin by committing innumerable acts of pilkage, robbery, lubricity,<sup>41.</sup> "et choses non honnestes." The clergy advised the principal chiefs, if they wanted to avoid the wrath of Heaven, to suppress disorder, debauchery, orgy and blasphemy, and all<sup>42.</sup> the excesses of the time in the ranks. But their remonstrances had no more effect than if they had been talking<sup>43.</sup> 'to a deaf ass'. When the bearers of the Cross came into the Balkans, they carried their excesses to the utmost extreme and caused havoc amidst the harmless Orthodox Serbians and Bulgarians, whose serious sin was that they had succumbed to the Turkish onslaught.

The campaign, south of the Danube, is divisible into three stages — the fall of Widdin, the capture of Rahova, and the siege of Nicopolis, culminating in the dismal battle which

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41. Juvenal des Ursins, II, 408; — "et fissent maux innombrables de pilleries et roberies, lubricites, et choses non honnestes."  
 42. Ibid., 408; Religieux, II, 482-85.  
 43. Religieux, II, 484-85. "Sed id minime profuit, ac si asino surdo narrassent fabulam."

brought the crusade to an end. The campaign did not start with the seizure of Orsova, as the Hungarian chronicler  
 44. Thwrocz says, or as the modern historians Kervyn, Köhler,  
 47. 48. Brauner and Kiss contend. Orsova was situated on the northern bank of the Danube, on the borderland between Hungary and Wallachia, and it is very improbable that the Turks had any garrison there at all. The first encounter on the southern bank took place, not at Orsova, but at  
 49. Widdin. This town was subject to the governorship of a  
 50. Bulgarian prince — probably Stracimir — under Turkish suzerainty. On observing the overwhelming power of the invaders, he preferred to surrender the town without resistance, and the few Turks who formed part of the garrison were slaughtered without mercy. Thereafter, Nevers and

44. In Schwandtner, I, 363, Thwrocz begins the campaign with the town of 'Orisso'.

45. Notes on Froissart, XV, 400.

46. Page 11.

47. Page 27.

48. Page 279.

49. Thwrocz, I, 363, calls it "Bidinie"; Schiltberger, p.2. "Pudem"; the Latin chronicle of Bern in Kervyn, XV, 400, "civitas Viduanensis"; the Hist. de Boucic. I, 448. "Baudins."

50. The translator of Schiltberger into English asserts (107), on the authority of Bruun who edited the same work in Russian, that this was Sisman. But as Sisman (see above) had previously fallen out with the Turks and narrowly escaped from Nicopolis, the truth of the assertion becomes improbable. Brauner (p.27) and Delaville Le Roulx (I.252) taking Fejer (X, pt.2, p.420) for authority, state more rightly that it was Stracimir. The Hist. de Boucic., I, 408, refers to the governor of the town as a Greek Christian, but mentions no name.

51.  
 three hundred Christians were knighted. This furnishes  
 another proof that Widdin, not Orsova, was the first town  
 52.  
 to fall before Christian arms; for, in accordance with  
 the rules of chivalry, new knights were to be made on the  
 field of the first encounter with an enemy.

The second stage in the progress of the crusade was  
 more serious than the first. The town of Raheva or Racheva  
 53.  
 was surrounded by a moat and double walls, furnished with  
 many towers, and abundantly provisioned. It was occupied by  
 a Turkish garrison composed of active and robust men who  
 54.  
 were prepared for vigorous resistance. Nevertheless, d'Eu  
 the constable, and Boucicaut the marshal, together with a  
 body of Frenchmen decided to make a desperate effort to seize  
 the city by storm. Instead of waiting for the advice and  
 co-operation of Sigismund, they hastened alone towards the  
 fortified town in the hope of winning all the glory for

51. Froissart, XV, 248; Hist de Boucic., I, 448.

52. Le Roulx. I, 253.

53. Hist. de Boucic., I, 448, calls it "Raco"; Juvenal des Ursins, II, 408, "Richo"; the Religieux, II, 492-93 "Rache"; the Latin chron. of Bern in Kervyn, XV, 408, "civitatem Redescoennensem" (Sic); Fejer, I, 2, 420, "Orchow" or "Orchowe"; Thwrees, I, 363, refers to "orizzo et Bidinis".

54. Religieux, II, 492-95; Hist. de Boucic., I, 449-52.

<sup>55.</sup>  
 themselves. They arrived there at dawn on a day early in  
<sup>56.</sup>  
 September, 1396. On the approach of the enemy, the  
<sup>57.</sup>  
 inhabitants at once destroyed the bridge over the moat and  
 assumed the defensive with alacrity. The siege was handled  
 with intense vigour, but with little result. Whenever the  
 French archers and arbalesters embarked on an assault, they  
 were thrust back from the walls. The siege, therefore,  
 lingered, and the besiegers would have been constrained to  
 raise it, had not Sigismund supplied them with reinforcements.  
 The sudden increase in number of the Christians, and the  
 renewed assaults had so much disheartened the besieged that  
 they, at last, in despair, sent delegates from amongst the  
 'Greek' inhabitants of the town to offer surrender on  
 condition that lives should be spared. This request was  
<sup>58.</sup>  
 refused, for, according to the Religieux, the Christians had  
 already occupied some of the higher ramparts, and their  
 forces were pouring into the town. In the havoc which  
 followed, the inhabitants were massacred without regard to  
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55. Juvenal des Ursins, II, 408.

56. Religieux, II, 492-93.

57. Hist. de Boucic. I, 449.

58. Vol. II, 492-95.

age or sex. Only a thousand of the wealthiest townsmen were carried into captivity in prospect of heavy ransom. After a merciless pillage the town was given to the flames and partly destroyed thereby. A garrison of 200 men was left to guard possession of the remains of the town; and the march was resumed by the rest of the crusaders.

It is interesting to notice that Froissart gives an account of the progress to Nicopolis so completely different from those of the other chroniclers, that it has to be viewed with the utmost doubt, in spite of Kervyn's conjectures and explanatory attempts. Froissart states that the Christians seized the three towns of Comette, La Quaire and Brehappe, which have been identified as Ro-du-Timok at the mouth of the Timok, Kaara on the route to Belgradtshi, and Belgradtshi ten leagues south-west of Widdin. Although the town of Brehappe itself had fallen, the crusaders failed to take its

59. Gibbons puts curtly and erroneously (p.216) the fall of 'Orsova' after that of Widdin, and refers to Schiltberger, whose history makes no mention whatever of Orsova, although it refers to the capture of a town between 'Pudden' (Widdin) and 'Schiltaw' (Nicopolis).

60. Schiltberger, p.2.

61. Vol. XV, 246-57.

62. Kervyn de Lettenhove, in notes on Froissart, vol. XXIV, 397 and XXV, 233.

63. Ibid., XXV, 233.

64. Ibid., XXIV, 397.

65. Ibid., XXIV, 80.

adjacent castle, which was valiantly defended by its Turkish governor, Corbadas, and his three brothers — Maladius, Balachius and Ruffin. When the castle was at last relieved and the crusaders had set out for Nicopolis, Ruffin was sent, under cover of night, to break the news of the approach of the invading army to Bayezid. The real import of Froissart's account is however, twofold: firstly that a number of small and no longer existing villages and forts, besides Widdin and Raheva, were stormed by the crusaders in the course of their progress to Nicopolis; secondly that the news of the Crusade was communicated without delay to the Sultan by the Turkish colonists on the Danube.

The next important city after Raheva, on the route of  
 66.  
 the crusaders was Nicopolis. Its strategic situation was  
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66. The French sources (Froissart, Boucicaut, Juvenal, the Religieux, and the Serviteur de Gui de Blois etc.) call it with slight variation 'Nicopeli'; the German sources (Stromer, Konigshofen, Schiltberger, and the Annal. Mellie. etc.) call it Siltach, Schiltach, Schiltaw, Schiltarn and similar names; the Hungarian sources (Thwrees, Bonfinius, and Pray etc.) call it 'Nicopolis Major' to distinguish it from 'Nicopolis Minor' on the opposite bank of the Danube. The Turkish chronists call it Nighebeli (Saad-ed-Din and the Anonymous chren. in Buchon vol. 13. etc.).

Meroni, vol. 28, pp. 22-24, mentions five towns having the name of Nicopolis in Bulgaria, Moesia, Epirus, Palestine and Greater Armenia. There were probably others in existence, as it had been the custom of the Roman Emperors to found new towns under the name of Nicopolis in commemoration of their various victories (Nico-polis — city of victory (νικη πολις) and this custom also seems to have been kept by the Emperors of Constantinople. Nicopolis Major is, however a Byzantine and not a Roman, foundation, and is not to be confused with the Roman Nicopolis ad Haemum inside the Balkan peninsula. (Cont.)



peculiarly advantageous to its occupants. Being on the estuary of the Osma on the right bank of the Danube, and facing the valley of the Kluta on the left bank, this city commanded the two main arteries which extended to the heart of Bulgaria and of Wallachia. Sigismund was fully alive to the importance of the possession of Nicopolis, and he directed the coalition forces towards it. But the city was almost impregnable. It stood on the top of a small plateau which sloped precipitously to the plain on the southern side, and towered over the river on the northern side. On the East it commanded the gorge which connected the southern plain with the road along the Danube, and on the West the plateau narrowed down into a ridge stretching to the river Osma, and, bending in a south-westerly direction, merged into the hills that stood on the south at the far end of the said plain. The city was surrounded by double walls and strong towers. A modern eye-witness says, "The view of Nicopolis is striking, and the first object that

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66. (cont.) (Vide Appendix VIII on my visit to Bulgaria and the recent discoveries made on this subject by Bulgarian archaeologists.) It is situated at forty leagues from Belgradtschi and eighteen from Rahova. (Kervyn's ed. of Freissart, XIV. 128.)

Nicopolis was the see of a Greek Archbishop and a Roman Bishop. The Roman titular in the period of the crusade was 'Jeannes Cecchi de Offida' who held it from 10 January 1396 until some unknown date in 1400. (Vide Eubel: Hierarchia Catholica, I, 382.)

fixes the attention is the outer wall, which climbs the steep, almost perpendicularly, and shows the protecting arms of the city, with a boldness and hardihood which fully evince the importance attached to its possession, by its founder and their successors.<sup>67.</sup> There is no exaggeration whatever in this description as applied to the city viewed in the distance from the Danube. On approaching it by the land route, which the crusaders must have taken, the visitor may realise how the hand of nature, in carving such a noble stronghold of solid rock, had prepared the city for proud defiance to a proud invader.

In this almost unconquerable stronghold, the inhabitants, who were mostly Turkish, had plenty of provisions, and the garrison was well supplied with munitions of war. The governor of the city and commander of its garrison was one of Bayezid's most experienced and veteran generals,<sup>68.</sup> Dogan Bey, who was determined to resist the assailants at all costs and to die a martyr for his faith, rather than surrender to

67. W. Beattie, (The Danube etc.), 224. Apart from this account and a quotation from Froissart, the author gives a sketch of the city as it is approached from the Danube. The picture conveys the impressiveness of Nicopolis as a stronghold. On my visit to the city and the battle-field, I approached both by land along the Danube, following the same route as the crusaders. (See my account in Appendix VIII.)

68. Saad-ed-Din, 184.

the 'Unfaithful'. Discipline was strictly enforced, and the watch was kept, day and night. Men, if not on duty, spent their time in fasting and praying that the Almighty might send them relief.<sup>69.</sup>

The scene outside the walls stood in striking contrast to that inside. The Crusaders approached the city on 10 September.<sup>70.</sup> They, indeed, opened the siege operations immediately. The Venetian and Genoese ships cut off all communications between the besieged and the outer world by sea, and the army, despite the extent of the city, managed without difficulty to invest it on every side.<sup>71.</sup> Ladders were soon made by the French for a spirited attack, while the Hungarians dug out two large mines up to the walls. So spacious were these mines that three men-at-arms, standing on one and the same front, could carry on fighting

69. Lussan, III, 154-55.

70. Thurocz, (p. 363, says 'Circa festum videlicet sancti Michaelis Angeli', i.e. 29 September; Ducos, (Migne), clvii, 813-14, fixes the date at the "sidus caniculae", i.e. time of the dog-star, - midsummer, - about mid-July; the Religieux, II, 494-95, about mid-September. All these dates cannot be accepted; for, if the battle took place on 25 September (see later), and the siege lasted fifteen days, the Crusaders must have arrived on 10 September.

Muralt, 765, adopts the Greek authority (July), and Kiss, p. 280, the authority of the Religieux (September) Both therefore confuse the chronology of the crusade.

71. Religieux, II, 494-95.

72. Delaville Le Roulx, I, 256.

73. inside them. But neither the ladders of the French, nor the mines of the Hungarians, were of much avail against the mighty and massive walls, guarded by a vigilant Turkish garrison. The besiegers were short of 'Balistas, catapults and other siege machines.'

74. There is no doubt that firearms were not used in the siege or in the battle which ensued.

The Religieux indeed, makes one reference to the use of 'missiles' at the siege of Rahova, but makes no mention of them in his account of the rest of the campaign.

75. Although the cannon must have been introduced in Western European warfare during the first half of the fourteenth century, it remains very doubtful whether its use was generalised until a much later period. Even if we overlook this fact, it is certain that no firearms can be traced in the existing lists of the preparations for the crusade.

73. Hist. de Boucic., I, 454-55. "...et furent si larges, que trois hommes d'armes pouvoient combattre tout d'un front".

74. Religieux, II, 494-97.

75. Ibid., 492-93. "Tantis enim Christiani, emissis omnis generis missilibus, eos opprimebant angustiis, ut ubique periculum, ubique discrimen etc." Bellaquet, in his French translation, adopts inaccurately the word 'artillery' for 'missilibus'. These may have been arrows pure and simple. The contention of the 'Serviteur de Gui de Blois' (Kervyn, XV, 470) that Nicopolis was almost constrained to surrender by the use of 'engins à pouldre' is based on no reliable authority and rather contradicts the general trend of events.

76. Köhler, (Kriegswesen etc.), III, 225-26; Lacabane, (Poudre à Canon etc.), in the Biblioth. de l'Ecole des Chartes, I, 2<sup>e</sup> serie (1844), 28-57; Oman, II, 205-22.

Moreover the early cannon was too clumsy and too cumbersome to drag from one end of the Continent to the other. Besides, the Western knights who had taken up the Cross imagined their task to consist, not of serious sieges and battles, but of an easy extermination of a horde of heathens. Thus, if the crusaders had no need of gunpowder in pagan Lithuania, it was thought they would hardly want it in infidel 'Turkey'. The early victories of the French on the one hand, and the absence of news about Bayezid's movements and plans on the other confirmed the crusaders' belief that the Sultan must have been so scared at their advent that he would not dare to appear in the field before them. Pride and vanity filled the hearts of the French in particular. Thus, instead of utilising their time and chance in the preparation of battering-rams and wooden-towers to get into the city, they transformed the siege into a blockade and gave themselves up to gluttony, gambling, drinking and debauchery. The clergy tried hard to persuade the leaders to repress these excesses in the ranks, but the leaders themselves furnished their followers with an example of the worst type. For full fifteen days a series of festivities went on

uninterruptedly in the camp of the Christians. The whole  
 army lived in 'heedless security', and refused to believe  
 that Bayezid was coming — those who dared to spread any such  
 rumour in the companies had their ears cut off by order of  
 the Marshal Boucicaut.

Bayezid was not, as Froissart states, at the court of  
 the Egyptian sultan in Cairo; nor was he in dread of facing  
 the invaders. On the contrary, he was actively mustering  
 his forces for the relief of Nicopolis. It is not  
 inconceivable that he had had the news of the crusade  
 beforehand. Froissart, the 'Serviteur de Gui de Blois',  
 and the anonymous author of the 'Chronicon Flandriae', assert  
 that the Duke of Milan enraged against the French for their  
 interference with his plan to annex Genoa, informed Bayezid  
 of the project of the Christian princes. According to  
 another authority, the Sultan seems to have intercepted a

78. Le Roulx, I, 257.

79. Religieux, II, 500-01.

80. Ed. Kervyn, XV, 251-52.

81. Ibid., 252-54.

82. Ibid., 465.

83. Chron. Fland., (Corp. Chron. Fland.), I, 346.

84. Adrien de But's additions to the 'Chronodrum' of Jean  
 Brandon in the 'Chroniques relatives a l'histoire de  
 Belg. etc.' (ed. Kervyn) vol. I, pp. 35-40.

messenger of Manuel with confidential letters from the Byzantine Emperor to the Hungarian king, which disclosed the whole scheme to the Ottomans. In any case, as soon as the Christians penetrated Serbia and Bulgaria, some of the Turkish settlers in those regions hastened with the tidings to their supreme master.

85.

Delaville Le Roulx finds it hard to fix with precision the whereabouts of Bayezid when the news of the Christian invasion came to his hearing. He suggests, and here he

86.

probably follows Brauner's authority, that the Sultan was in Asia Minor. But the results of a closer examination

of the Turkish histories, which are fairly explicit on this subject, point in another direction. Sand-ed-Din,

87.

88.

89.

Leunclavius, and the anonymous Turkish chronicler in Buchon as well as the Turkish historian Urūj are in full agreement on the statement that Bayezid had been besieging

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85. Vol. I, 258.

86. Pages 30-33.

87. Ed. V. Bratutti, 182-83.

88. page 322.

89. In Buchon's ed. of Froissart, XIII, 453. There is a possibility that this anonymous chronicler is Urūj, whose history has been edited from certain Oxford and Cambridge Turkish mss. by Babinger since Buchon's time. Vide Quellenwerke des islamischen Schriftums, II, 27-28.

Constantinople at the time. Freissart's allegation that Ruffin, who had escaped from the fort near Brehappe, met 'King Basaach' (Bayezid) at 'Kahaire' (Cairo) in 'Babilenne' (Egypt) and informed him of the advent of the Crusaders into the Sultan's realm, belongs to the world of fable. The Egyptian chroniclers, even the most learned and best informed amongst them, such as Maqrīzī, Ibn Hajar and Seyouti make no reference, direct or indirect, to the presence of the Turkish monarch at the court of the Abbasid Caliph in Egypt.

On hearing of the Christian menace of the realm, Bayezid burnt the machines that he had prepared for the storming of Constantinople, and raised the siege of the city.

Meanwhile he summoned both his Asiatic and his European troops, including a body of 11,000 Sipahis who were at the siege of Constantinople. The Sultan and the Asiatic

90. Ed. Kervyn, XV, 251-52.

91. Mus. Brit. MSS. Or. 2902 and 9542; Bibl. Bodl., Marsh 260. (Kitab al-Sulūk = Book of Conduct). See also Quatremère; Hist. des Sultans Mamelouks de l'Égypte', écrite en Arabe par Maqrīzī.

92. Mus. Brit. Bibl. Rich. ms. 7321. (Anba al-Ghumr = Annals of People).

93. John Ryland Library, ms. Arab. 62. (Tarikh al-Kholafah = Hist. of Caliphs.).

94. Leunclavius, 322; Urūj, 28, (vide supra, note 89).



contingent that had been assisting in the siege of Byzantium, marched at once to Adrianople. Therefrom, they proceeded by the valley of the Maritsa to Philippopolis, where the Asiatic and the majority of the European auxiliaries assembled. From Philippopolis two routes led to Nicopolis: the one by Sofia and the valley of the Isker; the other by the Shipka Pass through the Balkan Mountains and the valleys of the Jantra and the Osma. <sup>95.</sup> <sup>96.</sup> Brauner believes that Bayezid took the first route. But neither the geography of the Balkans nor his historical sources for the campaign, justifies Brauner's belief. The first route was by far the longer of the two. It extended in a north-westerly direction to Sofia and then turned to the north-east along the Isker, while the second ran in an almost straight line through the Shipka Pass, touched the valley of the Jantra at Tirnove and descended by the valley of the Osma to <sup>97.</sup> Nicopolis. Ducas, indeed, suggests tentatively that the Turks crossed the marshy districts in the neighbourhood of <sup>98.</sup> Sophia. But Leunclavius, on the other hand, states

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95. The Isker, the Osma and the Jantra are all tributaries to the Danube on its southern side.

96. Page 34.

97. M.P.G. clvii, 814-16.

98. Page 322.

definitely, and not without reason, that the Turkish expedition halted at Tirnovo. This last statement is supported by an official document — a letter from Sigismund to John Marethy in 1412, which refers to the siege of Nicopolis and a reconnoitring exploit carried out by Marethy in connection with the approach of the "praedicta Bayazith imperatoris, eo tempore in Thorne" (Tirnovo).<sup>99</sup> Leunclavius' testimony in favour of the second and shorter route, confirmed by an official document bearing Sigismund's seal, leaves no room for doubt as to Ducas's inaccuracy and Brauner's error. It is only logical that Bayezid the 'Lightning' or 'Thunderbolt', as he is always nicknamed in the Oriental sources for his swiftness in action, should not reject a short and direct, for a long and indirect route.

At Tirnovo, the nearest point to Serbia on the route to Nicopolis, Bayezid was probably joined by his Christian vassal, Stephen Lazarevité, and the Servian auxiliaries. Before the joint armies pursued their march, a great deal of reconnoitring was carried out on both the Ottoman and the crusading sides. Everenos Bey, one of Bayezid's generals,

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99. That document appears in Katona, (Hist. critica Reg. Hung. 1779-1857), IV, 427, quoted by Le Roulx, I, 200 note 1.

was sent out with a body of Turkish soldiery to hunt for a number of isolated crusaders near the camp of the enemy, from whom it was hoped to gather news as to the forces of the Christians.<sup>100.</sup> Although Everenes failed to fulfil his mission, he saw the camp of the crusaders and put the Sultan on his guard. Leunclavius, to whom we owe this piece of information, relates another story to the effect that Bayesid himself changed his Turkish garb for that of a Hungarian, and penetrated the camp of the Christians up to the walls of Nicopolis, where he conversed with Dogan Bey.<sup>101.</sup> This episode is perhaps inserted by the writer to heighten the romantic effect of his history, and has no intrinsic historical value.

On the part of the Christians, John Marothy, together with a detachment of 5,000 Hungarian horsemen marched into Bulgaria as far south as Tirnove, and returned with the intelligence of the approach of the Turkish army.<sup>102.</sup>

<sup>103.</sup> Schiltberger wrongly ascribed this exploit to "the Duke of -----"

100. Leunclavius, 322.

101. Ibid., 322-23.

102. Vide supra footnote No. 97; also Religieux, II, 502-03.

103. Pages 2 and 110-11.

Walachy, called Werterwaywod (Voyavode), who asked the king to allow him to look at the winds" (i.e. to reconnoitre).

Bayezid did not linger very long at Tirnovo. He took the route to Nicopolis and pitched his camp on 24 September, within a distance of about four miles of the Danube, ready to fight one of the decisive battles of all time.

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104. Chalececondylas. M.P.G. clix, 68, says that Bayezid pitched his camp within "stadiis quasi quadraginta" of the Danube. (A stade = 125 paces or 625 Roman feet = 606 ft. 9 in. English.)

## CHAPTER V.

THE HOSTILE ARMIES.

Numbers and Elements.

The 'Timar' System. The Janissaries.

The 'Morale' of the Armies.

The Leaders.

New Problems: the Horse; the Arrow.

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The breakdown of the crusade in the West before the walls of Nicopolis was not a matter of mere chance. It was the effect resulting from causes which are to be sought in a close examination of the state of the hostile forces. The superiority in numbers of the Turkish troops over the Christian army long held as one of the chief causes of the disaster, is doubtful; for, in point of fact, the contestant forces were almost equal. It was the nature of the component elements of the two hosts, combined with the tactics and character of the leaders on both sides, that won the victory for the East and brought disaster on the West. A sense of unity, a force of character, a genuine enthusiasm for their faith, a supreme - if fatalist - confidence in their arms, - all these were qualities that inspired the Ottoman invaders and warranted their triumph.

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1. One of the most famous historians of Turkey, Ven Hammer, I, 197, seems to uphold this view. He estimates the Christian army at 60,000 and the Turkish at 200,000. Another, de la Jonquiere, I, 77, gives exactly the same estimate as Ven Hammer. Brauner, 30, raises the number of the Christians to 100,000, but still stresses the importance of the numerical superiority of the Turks. (p. 33.).

A unity that existed in theory and was vanishing in practice, a love of pleasure that bordered on debauchery and orgy, a half-hearted zeal for a religious cause that the Great Schism contributed much to mar—these were some of the factors that entailed the defeat of the Christians.

It is idle to dogmatise, as Kise does,<sup>2.</sup> about the numerical estimate of the various elements that constituted the crusading army. The sources are conflicting, and, taken singly, would only convey a wrong impression on the problem of numbers. Unfortunately the majority of modern historians tend to choose from the diverse chronicles the figures that would support their fixed theories and theses. But no conclusive approach to the truth could be made without a comparative study of most of the estimates contained in the sources. The lowest number on record for the Christians<sup>3.</sup> — 16,000 — is given by Schiltberger, the highest — 200,000 —<sup>4.</sup> by the Klindenberg chronicler. Between these two

2. His estimate appears in Delaville Le Roulx, I, 265.

3. Page 3.

4. Brauner, 30, quotes the words of the chronicle — "ne denn zwierend hunderttausend pharit". Köhler, 23, states that the estimate varied between 30,000 and 200,000.

irreconcilable figures, the other estimates can be arranged.  
<sup>5.</sup> Ulmann Strömer records the total number as 30,000; Antonio  
<sup>6.</sup> <sup>7.</sup> Ferentino, as 35,000; the Magdeburg chronicler, as 60,000;  
<sup>8.</sup> and the brothers Gattari, as 84,000. The Turkish historians  
<sup>9.</sup> <sup>10.</sup> <sup>11.</sup> — Idris, Saad-ed-Din and Leunclavius — are in full agreement  
that the crusaders numbered 130,000. Apart from the  
contradictory evidence of these chroniclers, four  
contemporary Western writers have left almost identical  
<sup>12.</sup> figures. The anonymous biographer of Boucicaut states that  
<sup>13.</sup> the Christian army consisted of 100,000 horse; Freissart,  
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5. Chron. d. deutschen Städte, Nürnberg, I, 48.
6. Arch. Murat. (new ed.), vol. XXVII, pt. II, p. 208, specifies the numbers as follows: 10,000 Hungarians, 3,000 Germans, 6,000 Franco-Burgundians, 1,000 Englishmen and 15,000 Vlachs. In this connection, Le Boulx, I, 265, states that Sosemenus gives the same total number of 35,000 as 'Minerbetti', which appears to be incorrect, since, all that Sosemenus says in Muratori XVI, 1162, seems to be only that the Christians who fell on the field were 20,000.
7. Chron. d. deutsch. Städte, Magdeburger Scheppenchronik, VII, 291.
8. Arch. Murat. (new ed.), vol. XVII, pt. I, p. 451.
9. Figure quoted by Saad-ed-Din.
10. Ed. Bratutti, 184.
11. Page 322.
12. Vol. I, 448.
13. Ed. Kervyn, XV, 242.





French crusaders.....	10,000	17.
English " .....	1,000	18.
German " .....	6,000	19.
Hungarian " .....	60,000	20.
Vlachs.....	10,000	21.
Styrian, Bohemian, Polish and Italian crusaders and mercenaries.....	13,000	22.
<hr/>		
Total.....		100,000

23.

Brauner, indeed, selects the total figure of 100,000, but hardly attempts to make any approximate estimate of the various elements of the Christian army. <sup>24.</sup> Delaville Le Roulx gives the same total as Brauner, but he contradicts himself

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17. Vide cap. II.

18. Antonio Fiorentino in Arch. Murat. (new ed.), vol. XXVII, pt. II, p. 208.

19. Kiss, 266.

20. Froissart, XV, 245.

21. Kiss, 266.

22. Being the remainder of 100,000.

23. Page 31.

24. Vol. I, 266.

25.  
by adopting Kiss's table on the ground that it possesses the semblance of truth.

Still more difficult is any attempt to define the number of the Turks. On the one hand the Western chroniclers, with the exception of the 'Religieux', exaggerate the magnitude of the Ottoman army, in order, perhaps, to justify the defeat of the Christians. On the other hand, the Turkish estimate of 10,000, in the anonymous Turkish chronicle appended to Buchon's edition of Froissart, is incredibly small and must be repudiated. Urūj gives a similar estimate, but he adds that these were at the siege of Constantinople, thus implying that they formed only one part of the general army — probably the Sipahis. The

25. Kiss's estimate (p.266) is as follows:-

Army of the King of Hungary and the divisions-banderia.....	36,000
Hungarian mercenaries.....	26,000
Infantry from Transylvania.....	16,000
French.....	14,000
German crusaders.....	6,000
German and Bohemian mercenaries.....	12,000
Wallachian troops.....	10,000

Total.....120,000

It is to be noticed that there is no mention whatsoever of the English contingent in Kiss's estimate.

26. Vol. XIII, 453.

27. Urūj, ed. Babinger, 28.

Western estimates may conveniently be grouped in four  
 classes. In the first place, Freissart, Schiltberger,  
 Trimethius, Petrus de Bawa, Antonio Fiorentino and Ser  
 Guorriero da Gubbio provide us with the estimate of  
 200,000 men. In the second place, Sansovino and the  
 anonymous author of the 'Istorie et chroniques de Flandres'  
 give a still larger figure of 300,000. In the third  
 place, Delayts furnishes us with the highest estimate of  
 400,000. These three estimates are very doubtful, more  
 especially when compared with the fourth class of our  
 authorities, that of the Monk of St. Denis', who depends

28. Ed. Kervyn, XV, 311.

29. Page 2. Schiltberger mentions that the 'Duke of  
 Valachy', after having 'looked at the winds', returned  
 and told the king that he 'had seen twenty banners, and  
 that there were twenty thousand men under each banner.'

30. Chron., 339, quoted by Brauner, 33, and Le Roulx, I, 269.

31. In Schwandtner (De Monarchia etc.), 652.

32. Arch. Murat., op. cit., 208.

33. Ibid., XXI, pt. IV, 31.

34. Page 213.

35. Coll. de chron. Belges, ed. Kervyn II, 418.

36. Muratori, XVIII, 935.

37. Vol. II, 503-04.

in his estimate on the report of an unbiassed eye-witness. He offers his readers the following definite particulars on the Turkish divisions:-

A vanguard of footmen.....	34,000
Main battle consisting of horsemen....	30,000
The rear and bodyguard of the Sultan..	
	(cavalry).... 40,000
	<hr/>
Total.....	104,000

38.

Sexonenus' estimate of 100,000 also seems to confirm this account. But, as the 'Religieux' does not refer to the Serbian auxiliary contingent which appeared on the scene of battle only later in the day, or to the irregular troops that engaged in the first and preliminary fighting, a number of 5,000 to 6,000 may be added to the above estimate, which would render Bayesid's army about 110,000 men.

The essence of the whole argument is that if there was any numerical superiority on the Turkish side, it must have been too small to be taken seriously into consideration. To account for the victory of the Ottomans by their

38. Muratori, XVI, 1162.

39. The following are the estimates of four historians who deal with the Crusade:

a. Brauner, (p.34)	-	120 to 130,000.
b. Köhler, (p.22)	-	200,000.
c. Le Roulx, (I, 269)	-	110,000.
d. Kupelweiser, (p.23)	-	140,000.

superiority in number, is to beg the question. The victory was won by the party that possessed an unflinching unity of purpose, a strict and even ruthless discipline, prudent tactics and wise leadership.

On the Christian side, the note of jealousy and dissension had been struck in the very first meeting of the general council of war at Buda. The Hungarian defensive policy proposed by Sigismund was rejected by the French and the other foreigners, who resolved on the march into 'Turkey'.<sup>40.</sup> The siege of Rahova was another instance of the thirst of the French to win all the glory for themselves.<sup>41.</sup> When their single-handed attempt to seize the town was at the point of failure, and Sigismund sent Hungarian reinforcements to assist them in their hopeless plight, they resented his interference and accused him of trying to rob them of their glory.<sup>42.</sup> When the approach of the Turks was announced

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40. Froissart, XV, 242-44.

41. Vide cap. III.

42. Hist. de Boucic., I, 450. . On seeing that the Hungarians nearly crossed the moat, the marshal retorted in rage: "Certes dit-il, grand honte nous seroit si autres gens passoient ce pont devant nous, qui l'avens eu en garde. Or sus, mes tres-chers compaignons et amis, faisons tant en cests besongne que il soit renom de nous."

before the final battle, Sigismund sent at first his own  
 Marshal, whom Froissart calls 'messire Henry d'Esteuillenchale'<sup>43.</sup>  
 (sic), and afterwards went in person into the camp of the  
 French, to advise them to occupy the rear for the last and  
 decisive action, and allow the Hungarians the van, as they  
 knew the Turkish methods of war. The younger generation  
 of the French and the other foreigners distrusted the aims  
 of the King whom they charged with scheming 'to have the  
 flower of the day and of honour'<sup>44.</sup> to himself. These serious  
 dissensions reigned not only between the French and the  
 Hungarians as two entities in opposition to each other, but  
 also pervaded the ranks of the French themselves as a separate  
 entity. Arteis the Constable, and Eu the Marshal had  
 quarrelled with the older councillors such as Coucy and  
 Vienne. Jealousy was at the root of their enmity. At  
 Buda, Coucy was elected spokesman of the foreign auxiliaries  
 in the united council of war. At Nicopolis, Sigismund  
 asked Coucy and Vienne their opinion before he referred to  
 the Constable and the Marshal. When the older, wiser and  
 more experienced soldiers such as Coucy and the Admiral  
 approved of the King's proposal, the younger and self-seeking  
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43. Vol. XV, 313.

44. Froissart, XV, 314; — "vult avoir la fleur de la  
 journées et de l'honneur."

princes, including Artois and Ru, threw the weight of their influence on the other side and accused the elder generation of fear of the enemy and disloyalty to the cause of their own countrymen. Finally all the efforts of Sigismund were foiled by the sudden march of the French and numerous other foreigners to battle without informing the King of their intention.

If the French and the foreigners in general had openly defied Sigismund, the Hungarian and Wallachian hosts were far from being loyal to him. He was unpopular with many of his nobles and subjects, and these would not hesitate to flee at the critical moment of a battle, which, if won, would strengthen the hand of their hateful master. On the other hand, Mircea had followed Sigismund, simply because the menacing attitude of the Western crusaders left him no other alternative. He feigned allegiance and harboured hatred to the Hungarian Monarch. In 1395, the Veyavode's men had shot poisoned arrows at Sigismund on his triumphant return from the battle of Nicopolis Minor. In 1396, the Wallachian prince and his 10,000 warriors were the first to retire and leave Sigismund alone on the field of Nicopolis Major.

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45. Ibid., 313-14; Religieux, II, 502-03.

46. Vide cap. I.

47. Kupelweiser, 11,12.



The Christian army consisted of heterogeneous masses, which represented the various and conflicting aspirations of their countries and budding nationalities. The sense of unity and universality that had been the foundation of Empire and Papacy in the early Middle Ages, was passing away, and, in its place the separatism of independent kingdoms was arising. This new separatist tendency demonstrated itself amidst the crusading medley before Nicopolis. There was no unity of purpose, no unity of arms and companies, and no unity of tactics in the camp of the Christians.

The Turkish army was, on the other hand, a perfect example of the most stringent discipline, of a rigorous and even fanatic unity of purpose, of the concentration of supreme tactical power in the sole person of the Sultan. The clue to all the qualities that made the Ottoman army far superior to the Western forces, is to be found in the 'Timar 48. system' — frequently, but inadequately, called 'Turkish .....

48. Etymologically, three theories are extant for the explanation of the word 'timar':

- a.- Persian origin, supported by von Hammer, — 'timar' implying care for sick or wounded (hence its survival in the modern Arabic word 'timarji', i.e. orderly), tending a horse, looking after an estate or vineyard,
- b.- Greek origin, — Leunclavius (Pandect. hist. ture., 186) seems to be the first to connect it with the Greek *τίμαριον*, derived in turn from *τίμη* or 'theme'; and Deny asserts that 'timar' is only an echo of the Byzantine 'preneya' (prenia), the Latin equivalent of which is 'beneficium'. (Cont.)

feudalism' — as well as in the Turkish methods of raising armies.

The 'timar' is generally defined as 'a grant of land for military service (beneficium) or more exactly a kind of Turkish fief, the possession of which entailed upon the feudatory the obligation to go mounted to war (sefere esmek) and to supply soldiers or sailors in numbers proportionate to the revenue of the appanage'.<sup>49.</sup> The 'Timar System' itself may be traced to the time of 'Othman, the founder of the dynasty, who said, or is alleged to have said, the following words: "He to whom I have granted a fief shall not be deprived of it without good reason; if he dies, his son shall succeed him; if the latter is too young, his servants shall take his place in war until he is fit to bear arms".<sup>50.</sup>

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48. (Cont.) c.- Arabic origin proposed by Balise de Vegenero and Tréveux that 'timar' is connected with 'thimar' (pl. of thamar = fruit), a hypothesis without any historical foundation.

As an institution, Hammer, Worms, Belin and Tiechendorf connect the 'timar' with the 'Iqta'a System' of the Arabs; Kremer, with the Persian land system, Fuat, with the Seljuk system; and Deny, with the Byzantine 'Theme System'. The last two seem to be the only surviving schools of thought at present, but only extensive research can settle a problem so difficult and so controversial. It would appear, however, that the 'system' inaugurated by the Ottomans could not have escaped the Seljuk influences of their originators the Byzantine influences of their adopted homeland.

For Fuat's views, vide art. on 'Timar sistemi' in 'Osmanli Mueseselerine etc.', sect. X, pp. 59-80; for Deny's vide art. on 'Timar' in Encyc. of Islam, where an extensive bibliography is also given.

49. Vide Deny's art. in Encyc. of Islam.

50. Ibid.

Further developments occurred in the reigns of Orkhan (1326-59) and Murad I (1360-89), whose respective Viziers, 'Ala' al-Din and Timurtash, happened to be great legislators and administrative and military organisers. By the end of Murad I's reign, the 'Timar System' is believed to have reached its mature stage, and Suleiman the Magnificent, who has been credited with the new organisation, in all probability only codified already existing regulations.

According to the rules of this 'system', land was divided into two kinds of holdings. In the first place, there was the 'timar', which may be interpreted as consisting of 300 'yokes', or, in other words, an extent of land capable of returning an annual income of less than 20,000 aspers.

51. Ibid.; de la Jonquiere, I, 70-71; Köhler, 17-18.

52. A yoke included as much land as might be ploughed by a pair of oxen in one day.

53. Became identical with the Turkish 'aqsha' in 14th. century (vide art. on monetary system under 'Ala' al-Din Pasha in Encyc. of Islam). Probably Byzantine in origin, for  $\alpha\sigma\ \pi\rho\sigma\ \varsigma$  = white, hence silver coin. It is also possible that the modern 'piastre' in Egypt and Palestine is a descendant of the asper. The value of the asper in 14th. century is extremely difficult to define, although Sir Charles Oman (Hist. of Art of War, II, 349), estimates it at threeshillings piece.

54.

The timar-holder was called 'Timarli' in the East and 'Timariet' in the West. In the second place, there was the 'Ziamet', which included 500 'yokes', or land that returned 20,000 or more aspers every year. The holder was a 'Ziam' or more accurately transliterated, 'Za'im'. Both 'Timarli' and 'Ziam' stood under the governorship of 'Sanjaqbeys', i.e., governors of 'sanjaqs' or districts; and these again under the 'Beglerbeys', i.e. governors of provinces or 'Iyalats' comprising a number of provinces, and in most cases these rulers had the title of Pasha.

Every 'feoffee'— timarli or zaim — was required in time of war to furnish an armed horseman for every 3,000 aspers of income. The 'system' bears some resemblance to Western feudalism, as it is connected with the land on the one hand, and the military levies on the other. But it was entirely dissimilar to it in its constitutional fundamentals. In the first place, the Beglerbeys and Sanjaqbeys, unlike the Western feudal nobles, were nothing more than functionaries or officers of the Sultan in their provinces and districts. The Timarlis and Ziams owed allegiance to none but the Sultan.

54. Lybger, 101-2, adopts the word 'timarji' for 'timarli'.

55. 'Ziam' or 'Za'im' means leader, and 'Ziamet' or 'Za'amet' means leadership.

from whom they directly held their land. In the second place, there was no mischievous forty days' annual service. Apart from the horseman to be furnished for every 3,000 aspers of income, the Timarli and the Ziam were liable to be summoned for military service for any length of time at any moment. The sum-total of the present argument is that a large body of cavalry, depending entirely on the Sultan for its material welfare, was always ready to march under his banner. Their natural love of war was furthermore stimulated by the prospect that new conquests meant better and more extensive 'fiefs'. If we accept Köhler's authority, the number of horsemen raised by this means in the fourteenth century would be <sup>56.</sup> 75,000. When collected for military purposes, these were called 'Topraklis'. Besides the 'Toprakli' cavalry, it had been the custom since the days of the first Ottoman Grand Vizier — Aladin, son of Orkhan — in the 'twenties of the fourteenth century, to raise a levy of footmen called 'Piadé' or 'Yaya' who were recruited from the humbler Turkish landholders. These were intended to be employed in siege operations. But they were <sup>57.</sup> levied only on the occasions of sieges and were afterwards ~~dismantled~~.....

56. Page. 18.

57. Köhler, 18-19; D'Ochsen, VII, 308-10.

The military prudence of the Sultans, however, opened their eyes to the dangers of an exclusive dependence on the land-holding levies. Therefore, they established two other bodies of thoroughly-trained and well-paid horsemen, and footmen — the 'Sipahis' and the 'Janissaries' — as a counterpoise to the 'Topraklis' and the 'Piadés'. Unlike the latter the former were a permanent bodyguard of the Sultan — the first standing army in Medieval and Modern Europe. According to Köhler, the nucleus of the 'Sipahi' body goes as far back as the reign of Orkhan, but their definite organisation dates from 1376, in the reign of Murad I, and their number at Nicopolis was 10,000.<sup>58.</sup>

The importance of the Janissaries has been much exaggerated by the majority of historians. The Turkish tradition ascribes their institution to Orkhan in the 'thirties of the fourteenth century, when the Sultan is believed to have raised a levy of tribute-children from amongst the vanquished European Christians who refused to

58. Köhler, 19-20. Urāj's account, p. 28, confirms this estimate.

59. De la Jenquièrre, I, 60-61, says that the first precedent for a child levy of this kind appears in Byzantine history when Emperor Nicephorus Phocas, in the year 962, recruited 10,000 Saracen children, whom he caused to be baptised and brought up to fight his battles.

give up their faith. <sup>60.</sup> D'Ohsson, <sup>61.</sup> Köhler, and de la Jonquière <sup>62.</sup>  
 accept this view, and all stress the importance and number  
 of the Janissaries in the latter half of the century.  
 Köhler seems to be of the opinion that they were then  
 7,000 men strong. But as this estimate is drawn from a  
 letter of March 1, 1464, written by a Venetian called  
 Laurus Quirino to Pope Pius II, it can hardly bear witness  
 to the state of the Janissaries in the fourteenth century.  
 Another fifteenth century writer, Bertrand de la Brequière,  
 in some of his remarks submitted to the Duke of Burgundy on  
 a report of a certain Greek "Messire Jehan Terzela"  
 concerning the possibilities of an anti-Turkish crusade,  
 gives an estimate of "dix mil esclaves que les aucuns  
<sup>63.</sup> appellent Jehanicieres". This piece of evidence cannot,  
 however, be accepted for two reasons. In the first place,  
 Bertrand finishes his remark on the Janissaries by saying  
 that he did not see them, and he could therefore be hardly  
 considered as an eye-witness. In the second place, in  
 the whole of the account of his travels there is only one  
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60. Vol. VII, 310-62.

61. Pages 18-19.

62. Vol. I, p. 58.

63. Ed. Schefer, p. 268.

cursory and rather doubtful reference to what might have been the Janissary corps. Guarding the Supreme Porte, he says, there were "XX ou XXX esclaves a tout bastons".<sup>64.</sup>

Although this number is much too small to be correct, it leaves the reader with the impression that the Janissaries could have been but a small bodyguard and not a large army.

Following the authority of Col. Djevad Bey, the eminent Turkish military historian,<sup>65.</sup> Gibbons doubts the accuracy of attributing the foundation of this corps to Orkhan.

<sup>66.</sup> Hasluck treats the story that Orkhan and Haji Bektash were the civil and religious co-founders of the Janissaries as merely a legend. These views are not at all unsound, if we remember that one of the primary tenets of the levy system was that the Janissaries should be recruited from amongst the Christians of Europe, and further that the Turkish military activities in Europe in the reign of Orkhan were little more than organised raids across the

<sup>67.</sup> Hellespont. Von Hammer asserts that the Janissary troops

64. Ibid., p. 187, Schefer, in a footnote on the same page, admits that these were Janissaries on the authority of a Bibl. Nat. ms. (no. 5640, ff. 119-20) entitled "Petit traite de l'origine des princes des Turqs", where an analogous body to the above-mentioned is styled "janniceres".

65. Pages 117-18.

66. Christianity and Islam under the Sultans, II, 483-84.

67. Vol. I, 126.



were about 1,200 in the time of Muhammad the Conqueror, and  
 68.  
 Gibbons represents Murad I and Bayozid I as having only  
 1,000 Janissaries or even less. In any event, it would be  
 unsafe to exaggerate the importance of the Janissaries at  
 Nicopolis. Neither Ibn Battuta nor Schiltberger makes any  
 mention of them, and Ducas says they were levied only from  
 the Christian prisoners of war without reference to a child  
 69.  
 levy. In the order of battle at Nicopolis, they were placed  
 in the van, and, as it was one of the essentials of Turkish  
 tactics to keep the most important body in the rear to strike  
 the decisive blow, the Janissaries could not have been an  
 exceptionally important body. Meanwhile it will be noticed  
 that the French had no trouble in putting them to flight  
 70.  
 during the first assault. This proves that they were not  
 so invincible a body in the fourteenth century as the older  
 school of historians tend to depict them.

In addition to the above-mentioned regular forces,  
 there were two irregular bodies of fighters: the horse  
 71.  
 (akinjis), and the foot (Azeks). They received no pay,  
 but lived on pillage and booty. They were generally  
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68. Page 118.

69. Miklesich and Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca*, III,  
 287-88; also Belgrane, *Atti Soc. Lig.*, XIII, 228;  
 cf. Hasluck, II, 486-87.

70. Vide Cap. VI.

71. Köhler, p. 21.

dispatched two days ahead of the regular troops to plunder the enemies' land and harass their host. The motive underlying this policy was twofold: firstly, to exhaust the foe; secondly, to encourage him to follow the irregulars in their real or feigned flight and bring him into inevitable battle with the Turkish regulars.

If the tactics and army of the Ottomans were superior to the Western methods of war and the hosts of the West; still greater was the Turkish superiority in all that is covered by the term 'morale'.<sup>72.</sup> Köhler quotes the words of a certain Venetian called Trevisano, who wrote in 1554 that "the Turks have not got three things in their army: wine, women and gambling. Moreover, it was their custom never to abuse the name of God, or to miss their prayers at certain hours, and this they observed strictly." Foglietta, the sixteenth century historian of Genoa and a contemporary of the great days of the Ottomans, analyses with considerable fairness and acumen the causes of the greatness of the Turkish Empire in a very interesting discourse on this subject. Their  
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72. Ibid., 21.

73. 'De causis magnitudinis Turcarum imperii, 'in 'Opuscula nonnulla', pp. 48-65. An old English version appears in R. Carr's 'The Mahumetane or Turkish Historie...adjoynded a finall discourse concerning the causes of the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire', ff. 110-23.

power may be "worthely attributed to discipline". Foglietta says, "wherein betwixt us and the Turkes, the very much truth is, in my opinion, that there is admitted no comparison, whilst discipline is a thing with them of high estimation, but with us of little or no account....This about named discipline hath in it a triple use, whereof the first is the true knowledge of things apperteyning to the warres....Another comedotie of discipline is, that it prepares the bodye to the enduring of labour and wants, inables the minde to an inuincible resolution....The third is the profit of ebedience, the which (sic) there is no one greater vertue in the exercise of arms....." If these statements were true of the Ottoman soldier in the sixteenth century, they would indubitably be more true of him in the fourteenth. The Turkish warlike disposition was enflamed by the natural fanaticism of a new convert to a religion in which the 'Jihād', i.e. war against non-Muslims, se

74. Carr's version folios 117 re. - 118 re.

75. The Five Pillars of Islam are:-

a. The 'shahādah' or profession of faith in the famous phrase:

"There is no God but God, and Muhammad is His Prophet."

The mere utterance of this phrase by an 'infidel' was sufficient to bring him into the enclosure of the faithful.

b. The 'Salāt' or prayer.

c. The 'Zakāt' or alms-tithe.

d. The 'Siām' or fast of the month of Ramadan.

e. The 'Hajj' or pilgrimage to Mecca.

(Cont.)

frequently recommended in the Medinese Suras (chapters) of the Qurān was often regarded as a 'sixth pillar'. The Muhammadan tradition imposed the 'Jihād' or Holy War as an obligation, and a duty binding the community of the 'faithful' until the whole world had been conquered to Islam. Besides, there was prospect of booty for him who survived battle, of paradise for the martyr. Nor should we overlook the strong element of Eastern fatalism in the mind of the Turk. Men fought, thoughtless of their lives, because what was, had to be; and neither flight from the field, nor shrinking from strife, would save a life, if Allah had

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75. (cont.) A short account of the above appears in Lammens' 'Islam: Beliefs and Institutions', pp. 56-64; see also art. on the Djihad by D.B. Macdonald in the Encyc. of Islam.

The Qurān, Sūra VIII, 39-40. — "Say to the unbelievers, if they desist, that which is past shall be forgiven them; but if they return, there has already preceded them the doom of the ancients. Fight, then against them till there be no more strife and the religion be all of it God's."

The 'Jihād' is definitely regarded by the descendants of the Kharijites as a sixth 'rukn' or pillar; but generally speaking, it is regarded as 'fard' 'ala al-kifaya', i.e., a duty on the male, free, adult, sound Muslim of sufficient means to reach the army and serve the holy cause.

76. Some of the Turkish war cries were:-
- a. 'Ya ghāzī! Ya shahīd!' (Either victor or martyr.)
  - b. 'Allah-Hou!' (God is!)
  - c. 'Allah-Akbar!' (God is most great.)

D'Ohsson, VII, 392 et seq., gives a description of the ceremonial employed in the declaration of war in Turkey as a purely religious matter.

77.

destined that life to be taken away at a certain moment.

Coupled with the superiority in discipline, tactics and morals on the Turkish side, there was a superiority of leadership. The best, wisest and ablest men in the Christian army were thrust into the background by the least experienced, the most flighty and vain youths, while the Turkish command was concentrated in the person of Bayezid — a sound and sober man of wide military experience.

Without delving into the various controversial aspects of Sigismund's character, two main points contributed immensely to the failure of the crusade: his weakness and his immorality. He failed to persuade the leaders of the foreign auxiliaries to believe in the wisdom of his defensive plans both at Buda and at Nicopolis, and he was, from the beginning of the campaign, more of a follower than a leader. His royal license helped to demoralise an already demoralised

78.

army. Women of infamous character were collected on the way to Nicopolis wherever the Holy Warriors landed; and the

77. The word 'Maktūb', which has been adopted in many languages from Arabic, is very expressive of this. It means 'It is written!' i.e. every incident in a man's life is registered before his birth. A naive representation of this fact has often been given in the legend that there is an immense tree in heaven, containing a leaf for every man. On each leaf, God has caused the corresponding man's actions to be 'written', and, with the fall of the leaf, that man's soul passes away from the lower to the upper world.

78. Religieux, II, 482-85 and 495-98.

siege resembled rather a fair of immorality and gambling than an organised military enterprise.

But if Sigismund was weak, the leading Frenchmen were stubborn. D'Eu, Boucicaut and others wanted distinction in war and deeds of chivalry. Thus they embarked on a dangerous course, irrespective of consequences, and heedless of Sigismund's supplications. Nevers drifted to their side and gave way to their folly. The chroniclers and the official sources alike, convey the impression that the young <sup>79.</sup> count was simple in mind, deformed in body, and that one of the chief motives of the whole campaign was to give a chance <sup>80.</sup> to strengthen his body and to learn the art of war. He <sup>81.</sup> was considered very superstitious in an age of superstition. Instead of lending an ear to Coucy — a man of courage and <sup>82.</sup> imagination, or to the aged and valiant Jean de Vienne, who had both ~~been~~ the wisdom of Sigismund's suggestions, Nevers was carried away by the fiery and imprudent schemes of the -----

79. Kervyn, (Hist. de. Flandre), III, 39-40.

80. Freissart, XV, 392; — "pour luy habileter et aprendre le fait de la guere, car moult esteit simple."

81. Ibid., 293, Kervyn quotes a ms. of the Bibl. de Bourg. (No. 11216) on witchcraft and intercourse with the demons, dedicated to Jean-sans-Peur.

82. Ibid., 222; Freissart describes Coucy as "tres-sage et soubtil et un chevallier fort imaginatif."

2 seen

## Constable and the Marshall.

On the Turkish side, the leading character was a man of a different type altogether. Bayezid has not fared ill at the hands of the most reliable of chroniclers and the best of modern historians. The Monk of St. Denis describes him as a far-sighted and discreet prince, who feared God according to the superstitious beliefs of the Turks, and who often said that God reserved punishment for those who broke their own laws.<sup>83.</sup> His unshaken belief in his religion did not take the form of extreme fanaticism<sup>84.</sup> which was rampant in the Turkish rank and file. Gibbon, who has drawn a benevolent portrait of the great Sultan, says that, "he invaded with impartial ambition, the Christian and Mahometan princes of Europe and Asia." Yet, if we overlook the Western delineation of Bayezid's character as not being original, we find that the Turkish chroniclers miserably fail us. Fortunately a full contemporary account of the more intimate aspect of the Sultan's character and of his court is given by Ibn Hajar, one of the worthiest of the

83. The Religieux, II, 498. "Erat enim vir providus et discretus, et juxta traditiones Turcorum supersticiosae Deum timens, quem solitus erat dicere penes se hominum penas et supplicia servare, quocumque pretergredebantur leges suas."

84. Vol. VI, 33-34.

Egyptian chroniclers of the fourteenth century. Relying on the authority of the learned Maqrīzī, who had derived his information from the ambassador of the Sultan of Egypt to Bayezid, Ibn Hajar gives a graphic and impartial account of the merits and evils prevalent at the Ottoman court. "Abou-Yazid Ibn Othman", he says, "was one of the best kings in the world,....He was feared, and he loved/learned-men, and respected those who knew the Qurān. ....Anyone who had a grievance could submit it to him, and he would remove it at once. Security spread in his country to such an extent that a man with a load of goods could travel without being intercepted by anybody. He laid down two conditions for all those in his service: that they should neither be liars nor traitors. But he allowed them to indulge in sensuality as much as they liked." The author, then, gives a detailed

85. Ahmad Ibn Hajar el-'Asqālānī (ob.c. 1448 A.D.) was one of the most learned men of his time. He was a great traveller and his journeys in Yemen, Hijaz, Arabia and Syria gave him deep insight into the Muhammadan world. He filled many responsible posts in the government of Egypt and became ultimately "qādi-al-qodāt", i.e., supreme judge of the kingdom. He commanded the confidence of the Egyptian 'King-sultan' (as he was called) for a long period. When he retired from office in the year 840 A.H. (circa 1429 A.D.), he made it his chief business to write his famous chronicle which he called "Abnā'-al-Ghaur fi Abnā'-al-'Om̄r", i.e. The Annals of the Ignorant Man (meaning himself) concerning the People of the Age.

86. Mus. Brit., Bibl. Rich., ms. 7321, f. 139 vs.



account of the immoral side of Turkish life, including extreme license and unnatural vice. These vices, however, the Sultan never permitted in the camp.

There are two other subjects that have not attracted the attention of the historians of the crusade in their comparative study of the state of the hostile armies: the horse, and the arrow. These two elements did, nevertheless, play a prominent part in the battle of Nicopolis.

The Western horse furnished a contrast to the Turkish steed both in weight and in speed. The one was ponderous and rather slow, the other light and swift. The first was adapted to the shock-tactics of heavily-armed cavalry in the West. But it was of little avail against a combination of infantry and light cavalry, armed, not only with sword and scimitar, but also with the arrow, which would generally force the Western horse to fall back on its own lines and cause considerable confusion. The second, was, on the contrary, adapted to the Turkish tactics of quick action in hovering round the flanks and rear of the enemy, as well as in feigned flight. The Turkish horse was very similar to the Arab steed in size and weight. It was, indeed, so small and so light that the Castilian knight, <sup>87.</sup> Pero Tafur, who travelled in Turkey between 1435

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87. Travels and Adventures, p. 128.

and 1439, in spite of the fact that he must have been accustomed to the Moorish 'jennets' or light coursers, was amazed at its extraordinarily light build, that, "indeed, it seems at times as if they could scarcely carry their masters". Another fifteenth century traveller in the area of the Levant, the Burgundian Bertrand de la Broquiere, gives a similar testimony. The Turkish horse, he tells us, is lighter, costs much less to keep, gallops better and skirmished for a longer time without losing its wind, than the Western horse. <sup>88.</sup> The lighter the horse, the more manageable it is, after it has received the impetus for attack or flight. This was noticeable at Nicopolis, when the Turkish cavalry in the van had been put to flight at the first encounter with the French. They soon re-assembled their scattered lines behind the Ottoman infantry, ready for another encounter.

Combined with the possession of a horse, superior in the circumstances of the battle of Nicopolis, was a mere skilful use of the arrow. That there were archers amongst the crusaders of the West, is clear from most of the sources. But, that the longbow, which was the latest development in the art of Western archery, was used at

88. Ed. Schéfer, pp. 218 et seq.

Nicopolis, is doubtful. The thousand Englishmen who fought for the Holy cause were men-at-arms.<sup>89.</sup> The foreign auxiliaries who started the battles seem to have cared little for the arrow and counted solely on a hand-to-hand fight. They fell back on the older crusading manner of fighting and forget all the bitter lessons which their forefathers had learned in their early encounters with the Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor and Palestine, and even the more recent demonstrations of the successful combination of archers and dismounted men-at-arms in defensive array at Crécy and Poitiers. The Turks, on the contrary, upheld the use of the arrow as a divine gift with which<sup>90.</sup> God and His Prophet had furnished man. Moreover, being originally of the stock of Mongolian steppe-dwellers, the Turks kept up the tradition of reliance upon their skill in the manipulation of the arrow in the field of battle. Philippe de Mézières, whose knowledge of the East was probably the widest and most thorough in Western Europe

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89. Antonio Fiorentino, op. cit., pp. 208-9.

90. D'Ochsen, XII, 370-71; "suivant une ancienne tradition arabe, Adam s'étant plaint à l'Éternel de ce que les ciseaux dévoraient les fruits de la terre, vit apparaître l'Ange Gabriel, qui lui présenta un arc et une flèche, en lui disant: 'Servez-vous de cette arme; c'est la force de Dieu'."

at the time, represents this outstanding quality in an  
 interesting passage in his famous 'Songe du vieil pelerin.'<sup>91.</sup>  
 He says that the 'grant Caan de Tartarie' rides out with  
 thousands of his horsemen, and throws a huge, but light,  
 red ball into the air. Then the horsemen that happen to  
 be underneath the ball will shoot their arrows at it, and  
 thus keep it up in the atmosphere for four or five hours,  
 pending the good pleasure of their master. Finally when  
 the 'Grant Caan' blows a small horn, the shooting stops  
 at once, and the ball falls into the hands of one of the  
 horsemen who will bring it back to the Grand Khan. The  
 archer that has scored the greatest number of shots,  
 (the arrows must have been specially marked with various  
 signs to enable the Khan to distinguish their owners), is  
 highly honoured. Such military exercises, Philippe says,  
 are common amongst the Tartars and are intended to  
 encourage skill in archery.<sup>92.</sup> Foglietta, a later and more  
 direct observer of Turkish warfare, also gives another  
 striking instance to prove the skill of these sturdy  
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91. Bibl. Nat., ms. fr. 22542, III, f. 242 vo.

92. Ibid. "Cestui esbatement commun à tous et fait en  
 presence du grant Caan est ordonne pour une magnificence  
 du seigneur et pour moustrer qu'il a les meilleurs  
 archiers et en si grant quantite et qui trayont plus  
 droit que tous les autres du monde."

fighters in the manipulations of the bow and arrow. He asserts that "we have seen theyr (the Turks') strength approued, that an arrow shot from a Turkish bow, hath cleuen the shanke of a gallee care, where the wood hath beene nine inches thicke, so as the head of the same arrow, hath shewed itself on the other side." Whether these episodes are historic or unhistoric, does not alter the fact that the Western mind must have been profoundly impressed by the skill of the Turk in archery, and this sheds another ray of light on the course of a great struggle.

However, the battle was mainly won by the force of unity, discipline and tactical genius on the Turkish side. It was disunity, indiscipline and the absence of a general plan that disgraced the crusaders.

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93. Carr's version, f. 117 vo.

94. I have visited many Continental war museums where arms captured from the Turks at an early period are preserved. I could not see any important difference between the Turkish bow and the old Western bow as it was prior to the introduction of the longbow in Western warfare. What made the Turkish bow so famous must have been:-

- a. The skill of the archer himself as a result of continual exercise at the bow from boyhood;
- b. The strength of the individual archer.

Some of the best specimens of the bow may be seen at Venice and in Istanbul itself. — In the period of the Crusade the Turkish bow and arrow seem to have been objects of interest in the West; Douët D'Arèsq (*Cheix de pièces inédites relatives au règne de Charles VI*) mentions 'trois arcs de Turquie' (vol. II, p. 201, art. 225) and similarly 'cinq arcs de Turquie' (II, 406, art. 281) in an inventory of some of the belongings of the King of France.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE BATTLE OF NICOPOLIS.

Prelude: Coucy and his Raid.

Order of Battle.

Advance of French and Foreign Contingents. Early  
Successes.

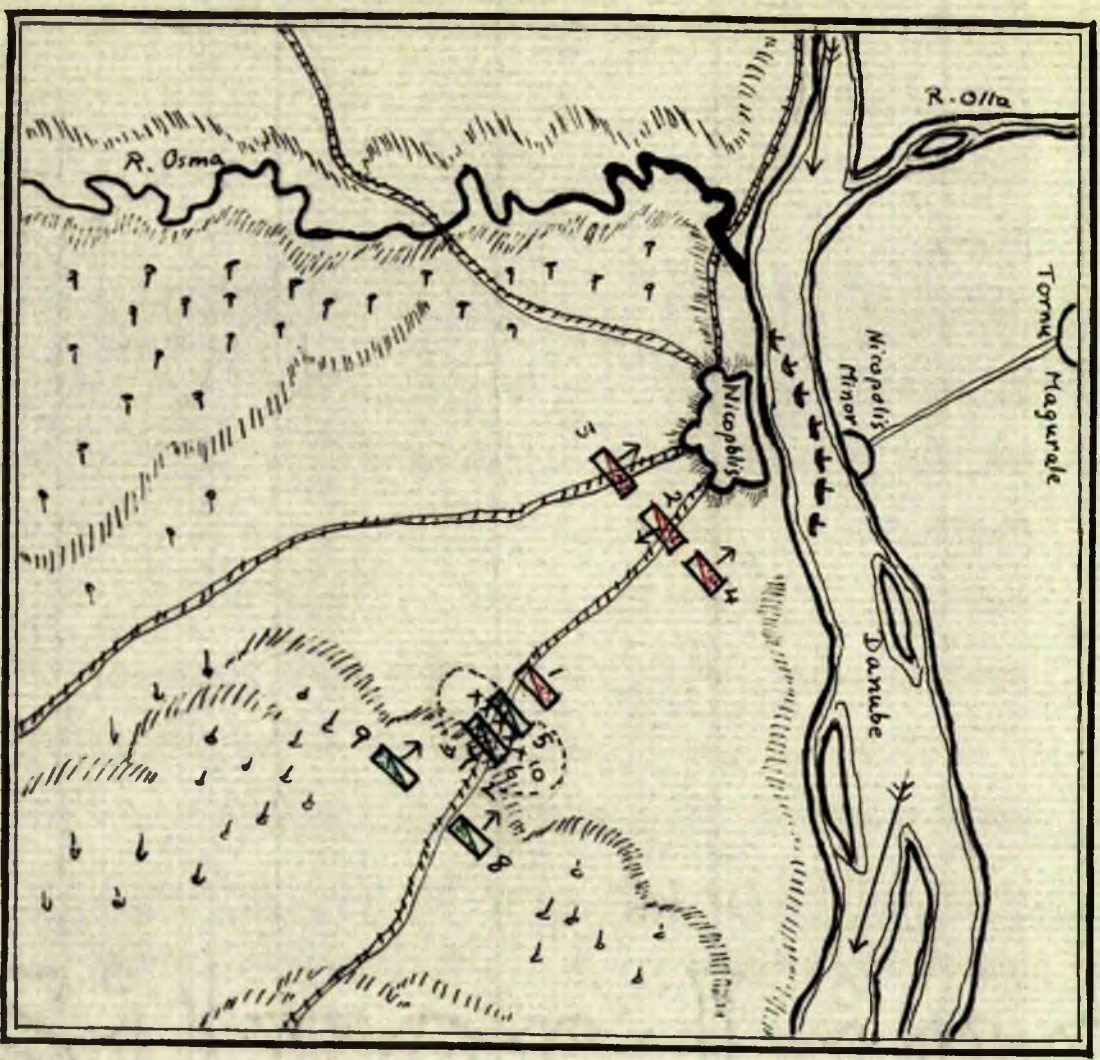
The Defeat.

Sigismund and his Army.

The Massacre.

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XXXXX Stakes  
 Flotilla  
 Roads  
 Forests  
 Ottomans  
 Crusaders



Plan of Battle

1. John of Burgundy and French and foreign army.
2. Sigismund and Hungarians, Poles, Bohemians, etc.
3. Laskovitch and Transylvanians.
4. Mircea and Wallachians.
5. Ottoman Irregular cavalry - first position.
6. Ottoman Irregular Infantry and Janissaries.
7. Ottoman Irregular cavalry - second position.
8. Bayezid and Sipahis.
9. Lazarovitch and Serbs.
10. Field of stakes.

The battle of Nicopolis was preceded by a skirmish in which two sections of the hostile powers were engaged in a day's conflict. The battle itself was fought in three main stages. In the first stage, the French won a number of successes over the Turkish vanguard and 'main battle'; in the second, they encountered the Turkish rear, which consisted of the flower of the Ottoman Sipahis, under the command of Bayesid himself, and the result was the complete rout of the Christians. The last phase of the battle was a mêlée in which Sigismund and a number of loyal Hungarians were involved in a desperate struggle with the Turks. Unfortunately, the King's last efforts were foiled by the appearance on the scene of Stephen Lazarovitch, a Christian vassal of Bayesid, and his Serbian contingent.

1.

Froissart is the only chronicler who provides us with an account of the prelude of the battle — evidently in recognition of his benefactor, the Sire de Ceucy, who was the chief actor therein. While the siege dragged on,  
2.  
Ceucy and others including Regnault de Roys, le sire de  
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1. Vol. XV, 265-68.

2. Kervyn, XXIII, 58-60; Le Roulx, I, 163. De Roys had been chamberlain and councillor to the King of France and to the king's brother, the Duke of Touraine. He fought in Spain, became guard to the insane King, and died on the field of Nicopolis.



3. Saint-Py, le châtelain de Beauvais and le sire de Montcavrel  
 4. became tired of waiting indolently for the advent of the  
 5. enemy, and decided to march south of Nicopolis with a  
 detachment of 500 lances and an equal number of mounted  
 crossbowmen, as well as some Hungarian guides and scouts  
 to lead the way. It was reported to sire de Coucy, who  
 was at the head of the expedition, that 20,000 Turks had  
 6. been lying in ambush to guard the only pass in this area  
 which led to the southern plains of the Balkan peninsula.  
 To draw the Turks out of their strongholds for battle in the  
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3. Generally confused, even in certain MSS. of Froissart, with Saint-Pol. It is, however, understood that Waleran de Saint Pol took part in the Frisian campaign of 1396 which would exclude his presence from the crusade. 'Jean de Sampy', a chamberlain of Duke Philip and a companion in arms of the Marshal Boucicaut, is certainly meant here. Le Roulx, I, 235.
4. Certain MSS. and editions of Froissart (e.g. Th. Johnes' trans. IV, 487) call him the 'châtelain de Beauvoir'. Probably the person meant here is John de Bordee, châtelain de Beauvais. See Kervyn, XXIII, 75; also Le Roulx, I, 257.
5. Certain MSS. and editions also add the name of 'le Borgne de Montquel' (see Johnes' trans., IV, 487), who was killed at Nicopolis. The Sire de Montcavrel was a different person from 'le Borgne'. He was an Artesian Knight, had taken part in the Gueldres expedition of 1388, had fought in the famous joust with the Sires of Glary and Courtenay in 1389, and finally went with his son on the Crusade of 1396. He escaped from the massacre. Kervyn, XXII, 220 and 232; Le Roulx, I, 257.
6. Perhaps the Shipka Pass is meant here.

open field, Coucy sent a hundred horsemen to the vicinity of the enemy with instructions to feign flight, while the rest of the Christians hid themselves in a neighbouring wood. The plan was successfully carried out, and the Turks pursued the fleeing handful of Christians. Once they had passed the wood, the rest of the Christians emerged from their ambush, attacked the Turks in the rear, butchered many, and put the rest to flight. Then they returned triumphantly to their camp at Nicopolis. When the news of the victory spread in the ranks many praised Coucy's valour. But Ra and Artois, out of jealousy, not only refrained from recognition of Coucy's successful efforts, but also reproached him for failure to inform Jehn of Burgundy in time for him to take command of the raid himself and win all the victory and all the renown that were his due. If the episode is accurately reported, its effects on the French must have been twofold: firstly, it must have aggravated the element of ill-feeling and dissension, which ultimately brought disaster to the whole of the crusading army; secondly, it emboldened the French, when the time came for the great battle, to resume the fight with the more organised Turkish

7. Froissart, XV, 268, refers to 'laquelle hayne..., dont grans meschiefs advindrent en celle saison sur les crestiens.'

soldiery rashly and without thought of the consequences of their rashness.

The news of the advent of the Turkish army was brought to the French by Sigismund himself on Monday, 25 September,<sup>8.</sup> 1396. Before daybreak,<sup>9.</sup> he went alone into the camp of the French, in order probably to inspire confidence in the minds of his Western allies. He then submitted his plan to their leaders. He tried hard to dissuade them from occupying the van, which, he wisely thought, should be left to the Hungarian army and the contingents from East and East-Central Europe. The King's motives were sound. The Hungarians, Wallachians and Transylvanians had had experience against the Turks in the field, and they knew their manner of fighting better than the knights of the West. In fear of treachery on the part of Mircea and<sup>10.</sup> Laenkevitch, and of flight on the part of his own men,<sup>11.</sup> Sigismund intended to put them in a position that would render their retreat impossible. Moreover, he had faith

8. For argument of dates, vide Appendix VII.

9. Religieux, II, 502-03.

10. Mircea and Laenkevitch, the voyevodes of Wallachia and Transylvania were not constant in their loyalty to Sigismund.

11. Justinger, 183-84.

in the courage of the French. He knew that the Turkish sultans always reserved their best men for decisive action when their enemies were in a state of exhaustion. It was therefore logical and expedient to keep the flower of Western chivalry to cope with the flower of the Ottoman army. The older members of the French contingent, including Coucy and Vienne, perceived the wisdom of Sigismund's tactical suggestions. But the Constable, the Marshal and the younger generals refused the King's plan and accused their older compatriots of fear and cowardice. It was the custom in France that the Constable and his company should be at the head of the army ready to begin the battle.<sup>12.</sup> Moreover, the Ordonnance of 28 March, 1396, had made it a condition that the French should claim the right to occupy the van.<sup>13.</sup> To deprive the Constable of this privilege, they thought, was to dishonour his person and distrust his valour. This principle was strengthened in their minds by the personal rivalries rampant in their camp. Thus, deploring their obstinacy, the King retired to arrange his own army in order of battle separately, but not without doubts as to the issue of the day.<sup>14.</sup>

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12. De Lussan, III, 161-2.

13. Vide Appendix VI.

14. Religieux, II, 502-03.

The news of the approach of the Turks was soon circulated in the camp of the French. The great excitement that ensued, resulted in the massacre of the prisoners collected at Raheva. Having accomplished this easy, but unwise, piece of work, they hastened to the field in a disorderly manner. Amidst the French in the van, were the English and the German crusaders. Brauner and Delaville Le Roulx assert that the Grand Master of Rhodes and the Knights Hospitallers forced themselves into the van with French. But this is doubtful, because the Knights of St. John were on such terms with Sigismund as to make it unlikely for them to drift from his lines. Moreover, Froissart, definitely mentions the Grand Master as side by side with Sigismund throughout the course of the battle.

Jean de Vienne, who was elected bearer of the standard of Our Lady, addressed the knights on the occasion of his

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15. Religieux, II, 500-01.

16. Froissart, XV, 312. "...se trairent chascun qui mieulx sur les champs."

17. Ibid., 316.

18. Page 40.

19. Vol. I, 270.

20. Vide cap. I.

21. Vol. XV, p. 316.

election as leader. It was not through fear, he said, that he was supporting King Sigismund's plan, but only to ensure the victory for the Christians. He then gave the sign for the march, and the foreign contingents advanced until they came within sight of the enemy.

On the Turkish side, Bayezid was well acquainted with this part of Bulgarian territory, since he had besieged Nicopolis twice before. His plan was therefore based on intimate knowledge. He divided his army into three 'battles'. The vanguard consisted of Akinjis or irregular cavalry. These veiled from the sight of the enemy a forest of pointed stakes, inclined towards the Christians, and high enough to reach the breast of a horse. These dense rows of stakes covered the space of a bowshot. Behind them, the 'main battle' was ranged. It was mainly composed of the Turkish foot-archery, who probably included the Azebs and the Janissaries -- the latter still a minor force in the Ottoman army. The first two battles were placed in a naturally fortified defensive position on the slope of a hill in the neighbourhood of Nicopolis. Beyond the skyline, on the other side of the hill, Bayezid himself with the Sipahi cavalry and the Serbian contingent under the command

22. Religieux, II, 504-05.

23. Ibid., 504-05; Hist. de Boucic. VI, 456-57.

of Stephen Lazarovitch, were concealed from the Christians; and there they waited patiently for the issue of the first encounter in order to march at the right moment for decisive  
24.  
action.

According to the Western custom, new knights were made  
25.  
on the field. Having finished their picturesque ceremonies in the face of the imminent danger, the foreign contingents rushed wildly on horseback against the Turks with the war  
26.  
cries of "Vive St. Denis!" and "Vive St. George!" The light cavalry of the Turks could not withstand the great shock of the heavy Western horse. It is uncertain whether the Akinjis intended to maintain their position in the Turkish van. Their ultimate aim was probably to bring the Christians into the field of stakes within reach of the arrows of the Turkish infantry. In this they succeeded. On their first contact with the Christians, they fled to the right and to the left, not without considerable loss, and finally drew up their lines again behind the Turkish feet, ready for another encounter. This reversed the order of  
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24. Schiltberger, 109-10; Köhler, 26; Kanitz who visited the battlefield at an early date in the 19th. century, is quoted by the English editor of Schiltberger and by Köhler. Vide Appendix VIII on my visit to Nicopolis and its battlefield.

25. De Lussan, III, 169; Brauner, 42. These included a 22 year old Raoul de Gauscour, son of the bailiff of Rouen.

26. Annal. Mediel., in Muratori XIV, 826. St. Denis was of course the patron saint of France, as St. George was of England. This is another instance to prove the strength of the English element in the Crusade.

battle as between the cavalry and the infantry of the Turkish irregulars within sight of the Christians — a fact that illustrates the great mobility of the Turkish lines and the importance of the light horse in their tactics. Entrenched behind the deep rows of stakes, the Turkish foot-archers shot volley after volley of their arrows at the bewildered Christians. So skilful were the Ottoman in firing their arrows, and so considerable was the loss inflicted upon the Christians, that Boucicaut shouted at his companions in arms to march into the lines of the enemy to avoid a coward's death from their arrows; and the Christians responded to the Marshal's call. But whether they penetrated the field of stakes on horseback or on foot is a dubious matter concerning which the chroniclers' reports are in conflict and the historians' views are at variance.

28.

Brauner is somewhat indefinite on this subject, but he seems to imply that only part of the French dismounted, without giving any reasons. Kähler argues strongly that they had fought dismounted, according to the French tradition established at the battles of Cocherel and Auray in 1364

27. Religieux, II, 504-07; Hist. de Boucic., I, 455, — "Nous laisserons nous, s'écrie-t-il, tuer ici lâchement; courons à l'ennemi pour éviter ses flèches."

28. Page 42.

29. Pages 25-26.



and Rossebeke in 1382, and continued at Agincourt in 1415.

<sup>30.</sup>  
Delaville Le Roulx says that they remained on horseback as

they charged upon the stakes, although, in a footnote, he <sup>31.</sup>  
admits the possibility of their having dismounted. <sup>32.</sup> Oman

adopts the view that they did not dismount at all.

<sup>33.</sup>  
Although Froissart and the anonymous biographer of  
<sup>34.</sup>  
Boucicaut, in their account of the battle, refer continually  
to the French as being on horseback, the possibility that  
they dismounted seems great nevertheless. In the first  
place, before marching into the field, the French and their  
other companions cut off the fashionable long points of their  
shoes so as not to be hampered by them when proceeding on

<sup>35.</sup>  
foot. This remarkable breach of the contemporary code of  
fashion by the most fashionable knights of Western Europe  
can only be interpreted by the fact that they must have  
contemplated fighting on foot - an action that is not  
without precedent in their wars in the West as remarked by  
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30. Vol. I, 274.

31. Ibid., 275, footnote 3.

32. Vol. II, 351. Dalbrück seems to be at one with Sir Charles on this point.

33. Vol. XV, 315 et seq.

34. Vol. VI, 455 et seq.

35. Religieux, II, 502; - "restra lingua et superflua calceorum amputarunt".

Köhler. In the second place, it is hardly imaginable that the foreign contingents should attempt the very dangerous plan of rushing on horseback into a vast field, thickly planted with long sharpened stakes, so arranged as to point towards them. If we take into account the tradition of dismounting in such conditions and also the fact that they had sacrificed the points of their shoes for the sake of fighting on foot, there remains hardly any doubt that the argument for dismounting is sound. But that was not all, for a third proof may be found in the course of the battle itself. The flight of the wings of Sigismund's army which occurred before they came into contact with the Turks, was a direct result of the stampede of riderless horses early in the day. This is a clear indication that the best part of the foreigners must have fought on foot. Furthermore, the most reliable sources stand against the non-dismounting contention. Besides the Religieux, Thwrees, the early historian of Hungary, taking for his authority a letter written by an eye-witness, gives a graphic account of the stampede of the foreign horse and of its disastrous consequences. Ignorant of the French custom of leaving their horses in the rear, he says, the Hungarians took the stampede as a sure sign of defeat. Thus they broke up in confusion and began to flee, 'leaving both their camp and

36. In Schwandtner, I, 363-64; also Korvyn, IV, 420-21.

their warlike spirit' behind them. <sup>37.</sup> Benfinius, another early historian of Hungary, says that the French proceeded into the field at full gallop, then dismounted to fight on foot. <sup>38.</sup> The author of the 'Annales Flandriae' gives a similar account to Thwross's on the authority of another eye-witness - a certain Ritius. <sup>39.</sup> Schiltberger's statement that "more than half his (Nevers') horsemen were unhorsed", shows that the majority of the foreigners were on foot, although the author missed the main point by substituting for voluntary dismounting a picture of compulsory unhorsing that existed only in his own fancy.

Having thus dismounted, the foreigners uprooted the stakes as quickly as they could, and came to hand-to-hand <sup>40.</sup> fighting with the Turkish foot-archery. Then the battle raged with great fury. The Christians struck vigorously with axe and sword, and the Turks retaliated with sabre, scimitar and mace so valiantly, and packed their lines so closely, that the victory remained at first undecided. But as the Christians were mailed, and as the Turks fought without

37. Rer. Hung. Dec., 386.

38. Page 248, (ed. Muller, Frankf., 1580), quoted by Köhler, pp. 25-26.

39. Page 3.

40. Religieux, I, 506-07.

armour, the bearers of the Cross, if we may believe the  
<sup>41.</sup> Religieux, butchered 10,000 of the infantry of the defenders  
of the Crescent, who began to waver and finally took to  
their heels.

After achieving their first victory, the Christians  
rallied their lines to attack the Turkish cavalry, which  
stood at the distance of a bowshot. They halted for a  
while to deliberate over the manner of attack, as they  
believed that Bayezid himself was in command of the second  
line of battle. Considering their numerical inferiority  
to the Turks, recognising the impossibility of flight  
without destructive pursuit, and fearing that they might  
be surrounded if their forces should prove unequal to their  
enemies' -- the Christian leaders decided to break through  
the ranks of their foes in order to attack them in the rear.  
Sword in hand, they hurled themselves on the Turkish horse,  
effected a gap in their lines, and, striking hard, right  
and left, came finally to the rear. According to the  
<sup>42.</sup> Religieux, 5,000 fell in this encounter, and, moreover,  
the Christians now used their daggers with effect against  
the rear. Startled at this unusual way of fighting, the  
Turks sought safety in flight and raced back to Bayezid

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41. Ibid., 506-09.

42. Ibid., 506-09.

beyond the summit of the hill.

Those who knew the details of that day, the monk of St. Denis tells us, asserted that Bayezid was so discouraged by the defeat of the first and second battles that he would not have waited for the Christians, if their impudent audacity had not uplifted his hope. <sup>43.</sup> It was the custom to remount for pursuit. But now the horses had gone, and the victors were much too excited to think of them. Nor did they listen to the wise advice of those leaders who shouted for them to halt for recuperation. Notwithstanding their exhaustion, the weight of their armour, and the excessive heat of an Eastern summer day, they followed the fugitives uphill in order to complete the victory. But this was the beginning of their downfall. They trusted their strength and thought they had mastered inconstant fortune and that they had no cause to fear her vicissitudes. But all of a sudden, she led them towards the abyss and cruelly made them

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43. Ibid., 508. — "Qui revera, ut refferunt qui secreta facti norunt, animo christianorum destitisset, nisi per sequentem modum eorum insolentiam percipisset."

44.

pay for their blind tenuity.

When they arrived at the top of the hill, they were seized with dismay, and 'the lion in them turned into a timid hare', at the sight of the Sultan's hitherto unseen 45. 40,000 Sipahis. Bayezid, who had been undecided, on seeing the foolhardy Christians near at hand, gave the order for the attack, and the Sipahis set out to meet the enemy. Their war cry, Leunclavius says, was 'Alla egbir' (God is most great!). Horror-stricken, the Western knights began to flee, and, according to the Religieux, 300 of them tumbled down the steep ascent and lost their lives in their attempt to save themselves. Some struggled to reach the plains;

47. 48.

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44. Religieux, II, 508; — "nam de suis viribus presumentes, sic indomitum fortune caput subcubuisse credebant, quod nil adversi incidere posse estimabant, donec mare suo cito ad yma rotam volvens temeritatis sue menses exitus perceperunt."

Hist. de Boucic. VI, 454. — "Ha! Fortune, Fortune! trop fol est cil qui ne redoubte la mutabilite de tes doubles viciaiges, et qui tousjours te cuide tenu en egale beaute: car en peu d'heure souventesfois se change la prosperite en quey tu sceis les hommes hault exaucer."

It is hardly necessary to say that this was a commonplace of medieval reflection. See for example the wheel of fortune as represented in Honore Bonet's "Arbre de batailles."

45. Religieux, II, 510. — "Qui quasi leones hucusque accesserant, leperibus timidiores effecti etc."

46. Ibid., 503-04; Ducas (M.P.G.), clvii, 815-16 says these numbered 10,000.

47. Hist. Musulmana Turc., 322.

48. Vide footnote No. 68, cap. IV.

49. Religieux, II, 512-13.

and others, the river, whose banks were steep, whose current strong, and whose course about two miles in width at Nicopolis. The Christians were surrounded, and flight, even if possible, was not less dangerous than fighting, more especially because the Turks had received strict orders to kill mercilessly anyone who did not surrender. Nevertheless, a large number of those who remained on the field fought valiantly to the last. The aged and veteran knight, Jean de Vienne the admiral of France, defended the banner of the Virgin Mary with unflinching valour. Six times the banner fell, and six times he raised it again. It fell for ever only when the great admiral himself succumbed under the weight of Turkish blows. Freissart says that Vienne's body was found later in the day with his hand still clutching the sacred banner which he had defended with his own life. When the Ottomans approached the youthful count Jean de Nevers, a number of the men-at-arms who clustered around him, prostrated themselves before the enemy in an attitude of complete submission and begged for his life. When this was granted, the remaining

50. Hist. de Bourg. VI, 463.

51. Religieux, II, 514-15.

52. Vol. XV, 318.

knights followed the example of their leader and yielded  
 53.  
 to the enemy.

The stampede of the foreign horse at first, and the scene of the flight of the Western Christians at last, had unmasked the real sentiments of numerous elements in the Hungarian army. After the failure of the royal interview with the French leaders early in the morning, Sigismund returned to his camp to arrange his army in order of battle for a desperate struggle.  
 54. The King seems to have divided his army into three 'battles'. The right wing consisted of Stephen Laskevitch, voyavode of Transylvania and a tributary to Sigismund, with his Transylvanian contingent; the left, of Mircea and his Wallachians; and the centre included the Hungarian mercenaries and 'banderia' or squadrons, the Bohemian, Polish and Styrian crusaders, as well as the best part of the Knights Hospitallers. Mircea and Laskevitch were prepared to fight for Sigismund so long as the pendulum of victory swung in his favour. But at the apparent signs of the defeat of the French, both retired from the scene without lifting one finger in aid of

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53. Ibid., 514-15.

54. Froissart, XV, 316, states that the King said to the Grand Master of Rhodes: "Nous perdrons huy la journee par le grant orgueil et beubant de ces Francoisis; et, se ils m'eussent creu, nous avions gens a plente pour combatre nos ennemis."



the King. This effected a great confusion in the ranks of the loyal Hungarians, some of whom hesitated to stay on the field. Yet to say indiscriminately, as some of the French chroniclers do, that the Hungarians deserted the French and committed a felony and displayed a cowardice that would stain their memory forever, is unjust and unhistorical. After the retreat of the Wallachians and Transylvanians, Sigismund ordered the rest of his army to proceed to the rescue of the distressed crusading vanguard, and he and his men fought so valiantly that they wiped out a Turkish body of 12,000 footmen, who 'were all trampled upon and destroyed'. These were probably the Azabs and Janissaries that survived the French and foreign sword in the early stages of the battle. After having exterminated the Turkish foot, Sigismund turned to their cavalry and fought his opponents with such valour that the

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55. E.g. Hist. de Boucic., I, 458, accuses the Hungarians of "grande mauvaistie, felonnie et laschte..., dont le reproche sera a sulx a tousjours."

Also the 'Istere et chron. de Flandre', II, 418, says that "le roy de Honguerie, par quel conseil on ne avoit voulu faire, et ses gens se partirent de la bataille, tous entiers, sans combatre."

56. Schiltberger, p.3, who was present in this engagement; recounts an interesting episode about his lord, Lienhart Richartinger, whose runner he was. On seeing that a Turkish shot had killed his master's horse, he rode up to him and assisted him to mount his (Schiltberger's) own horse. Schiltberger, then mounted another that belonged to the Turks and returned to the runners.

victory remained for a long time undecided. The irony of fate, however, had destined a Christian prince to be the instrument whereby the victory was decided for the Sultan.

<sup>57.</sup> Stephen Lazarovitch, the despot of Serbia and a tributary to the Porte, soon came to the succour of his suzerain with an army of 5,000 horse. <sup>58.</sup> They aimed at the King's banner and overturned it. There had been to this point a melee of the Turkish and Hungarian armies, and 'an <sup>59.</sup> unspeakable massacre' was inflicted on both sides. But now, seeing that their banner had fallen, John, Burgrave of Nuremberg, Hermann, Count of Cilly, Philibert de Naillac, the Grand Master of Rhodes, John Gara and Nicholas Kanysa, the Archbishop of Gran, amongst others, succeeded in persuading the King to quit the field in order to save his

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57. Schiltberger, pp. 3 and 111, calls him 'the Duke of Irisch', meaning perhaps 'Serbia'. The word 'Irish' is probably a corrupt form of 'Rascia', which was still a common substitute for 'Serbia' in the historical literature of the time and even survived till a much later date in Engel and Ashbach. Other medieval names for Serbia are: Rascia, Raxia, Rassic, Rascie, Rascenses, Sclavonia and Selavenia. Vide Jireček: Staat und Gesellschaft etc., vol. II, pp. 1-2.

58. The figure of 15,000 appears in Schiltberger (p.3). This is either an exaggeration to justify the defeat or a miswriting of 1,500. The Turkish sources, however disprove both; vide Köhler, 30.

59. De Pray, I, 197; Schiltberger (p.4) mentions amongst those who had fallen on the field his own master, Lienhart Richartinger, as well as 'Wernher Pentenawer, Ulrich Kuchler, and little Stainer, all bannerets."

60. own life. They conducted him to a small barge on the river, and hastily sailed downstream, followed by Turkish arrows. As Ottoman detachments were now raiding the Danube region, and in fear of treacherous action on the part of Mircea and the Wallachians, Sigismund and his companions decided not to land on Wallachian soil, but to continue the journey to the mouth of the Danube, where they were collected by a Venetian galley and taken to Constantinople. The King, however, allowed John Gara, one of the most loyal members of the Hungarian nobility, to land and take charge of the affairs of the kingdom of Hungary until the return of his suzerain. <sup>61.</sup> <sup>62.</sup> Thwreos closes his account of Sigismund's flight with the biting remark that if the King had not found his salvation on a ship, he would have perished, not under the weight of the falling <sup>63.</sup> sky, but at the points of the Turkish swords. Bonfinius compares this flight with that of Xerxes from Ancient Greece to Asia Minor.

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60. Schiltberger, 3-4; de Pray, I, 197.

61. Ibid., 197.

62. In Schwandtner, I, 264 et seq.

63. Rer. Hung. Dec., 387; — "...Xerxes prefecte fatum nactus qui contento maris imperio, parve navigio in Asian relatus est."

The rest of the history of the battle is little more than the recital of a series of miserable attempts at flight and of horrible massacres. Some tried to escape by the plains and were cut down mercilessly by Turkish sabres. Others boarded the ships of the coalition  
64. flotilla, some of which became overloaded and sank in the river. Others flung themselves into the water in the suicidal hope to swim the Danube. But, under the weight of their armour, in a state of exhaustion after a hard fight, and in face of the strong current and wide  
65. course of the river, they were soon drowned. Lastly, a great many fell into captivity. The number of these is hard to fix with precision, for the Western sources are conflicting and the Oriental sources are silent on the  
66. numerical aspect of the massacre that ensued. Justinger

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64. Stromer, I, 49; Res Gestae, XV, 409, p.10.

65. Dlugoss, I, 146, gives an account of a certain Polish knight called Swanteclaus, from the land of 'Siradiensi' which belonged to the house of 'Lyada'. He swam to, and tried to embark on, the ship in which Sigismund was sailing, but for fear that it might be overloaded, the crew cut his hands off. Dlugoss then asserts that in such a state and despite the torrential flow of the river and the weight of his armour, Swanteclaus swam across the Danube and saved his life.

De Reua (De Monarchia), 653, gives a similar story of another Polish knight called 'Stiborius'. Stories of this kind may only discriminately and with reservation be accepted or rejected. At all events, 'Stiborius' or 'Scibor Stiboriese' as well as Thomas Kulski, Demetrius Rebek and John Passtoh were amongst the Poles who escaped death at Nicopolis. See also Fejer, X, pt. I, 561, and pt. III, 133.

66. Page 184.

thinks that the total number of the Christians who had fallen on the field was 100,000. The Italian chronicler <sup>67.</sup> Delayte gives an estimate of 40,000 on both sides, and the <sup>68.</sup> anonymous author of the 'Chronik aus Kaiser Sigmund's Zeit', 24,000 Christians. <sup>69</sup> Sozomenus says that 20,000 were either <sup>70.</sup> killed or put to flight. Schiltberger asserts that the <sup>71.</sup> Christians captives were 10,000; Ulman Stremer, only 400. <sup>72.</sup> Pesilge's estimate, quoted by Köhler, is 12,000. <sup>73.</sup> Antonio Fiorentino states that more than 10,000 fell on the <sup>74.</sup> field. The anonymous author of the 'Res Gestae' provides us with a figure of 8,000. The French sources also vary <sup>75.</sup> considerably in their estimate. Freissart and Juvenal <sup>76.</sup> des Ursins mention that 300, and the Monk of St. Denis, <sup>77.</sup> 3,000

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67. Annal. Est., in Muratori, XVIII, 936.

68. Chron. der deutsch. Städte, Nürnberg, I, 359.

69. Specimen Historia, Murat., XVI, 1162.

70. Page 5.

71. Chron. d. deutsch. St., Nürnberg, I, 49.

72. Page 32.

73. Arch. Murat., vol. XXVII, pt. II, 209.

74. Ed. Kervyn, XV, 410.

75. Ibid., 327.

76. Ed. Michaud et Poujoulat, II, 409. Rabbi Joseph gives the same estimate - I, 252.

77. Vol. II, 518-19.

were massacred. The Hungarian as well as the Oriental historians are not helpful on this problem. George de Pray suggests no figure on the ground that none can be fixed. Many historians, including the great von Hammer and Oman, Eversley and W.S. Davies, adopt Schiltberger's estimate of 10,000. But in the midst of conflicting evidence, the estimate of the anonymous chronicler of St. Denis, i.e., 3,000, seems to be the most reasonable one. His historical judgment in relation to the crusade is comparatively sound, and his authority, - an eye-witness - appears to have been a person of considerable acumen, observant eye and unbiassed mind.

Those who had escaped death and captivity, underwent the tortures of the damned on their homeward journey. Robbed of all that remained in their possession, even their clothes, they were left naked at the mercy of a wild wintry climate and the wild beast in their passage over the

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78. Vol. I, 199-201.

79. Hist. of Art of War, II, 353.

80. Turkish Emp, 50.

81. Hist. of Near East, 198.

82. Religieux, II, 512-13; Froissart, XV, 320-22.

83. Hungarian mountains. Many perished on the way, and few reached their homes, famished, ill and dying. Count Ruprecht Pipan came into Bavaria in a beggar's clothes, only to die a few days later at Amberg under the weight of suffering and of illness.<sup>84.</sup>

If the Turks had won the victory, they had also paid dearly for it with the blood of their best fighters.

85. Freissart says that for the body of every Christian, thirty Muhammadan corpses or more were to be found on the battlefield.<sup>86.</sup> The anonymous biographer of Boucicaut reduces the proportion to one for every twenty; Juvenal des Ursins,<sup>87.</sup> to one for every ten; Antonio Fiorentino,<sup>88.</sup> to one for every six; and Sosenenus,<sup>89.</sup> to one against six.

90. The Monk of St. Denis, estimates the fallen Ottomans at  
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83. Vide Appendix I, Eustache Deschamps' ballad on Hungary.

84. Onsergius, in Rer. Boic. Script., I, 375; Trimechius, Chron. Duc. Bav., I, 117; of Brauner, 48.

85. Vol. XV, 323.

86. Vol. VI, 463.

87. Arch. Murat., vol. XXVII, pt. II, 209, gives the number of the fallen Turks as 60,000.

88. Spec. Hist. (op.cit.), 1162, gives the same number as Antonio Fiorentino, i.e. 60,000.

89. Vol. II, 409.

90. Vol. II, 518-19.

more than 30,000. When Bayezid realised his huge loss, 'he was torn by grief, and swore he would not leave their blood unavenged, and ordered his people to bring every prisoner before him the next day, by fair means or foul.'<sup>91.</sup> Thus early next morning, every Ottoman that had captives in his possession appeared with them before the Sultan,<sup>92.</sup> whose wrath had not yet abated. The prisoners were stripped of their clothes and tied in groups with ropes.<sup>93.</sup> Jacques de Helly, who had previously served the Sultan in his Eastern campaigns was recognised by Bayezid's courtiers amidst the procession of prisoners. As he knew the Turkish tongue, he was called upon by the Sultan to point out the princely leaders of the expedition, whose lives were to be spared in the hope that a heavy price might be -----

91. Schiltberger, 4.

92. Tuesday, 26 September, 1396.

93. Schiltberger, 4.

94. Froissart, XV, 324; and XXI, 537-38. Jacques de Créquy, seigneur de Helly and du Pas, son of Jacques de Helly and Alix de Coucy, had married Ade de Raineval. He had taken part in the sieges of Aquigny (1364) and Ardres (1377), had fought in Prussia with the knights of the Teutonic Order, and had served Sultan Murad I, before he took the Cross in the Nicopolis campaign. Cf. Le Roulx, I, 229 & 264.



95.

paid for their release. In this manner the Jean de Nevers, Philippe d'Artois (comte d'Eu), Jacques de Bourbon (comte de la Marche), Enguerrand de Coucy, Henry de Bar, Guy de la Tremouille and others were saved. All those who were under twenty years of age were, moreover, severed from the

96.

others and spared death. Schiltberger, according to his own account, was noticed by the Sultan's son, who asked for his life, as he was scarcely sixteen. The chief motive of the Turks was probably that young slaves were a valuable piece of property with many years of servitude

97.

before them. The rest were handed over to the executioners  
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95. Juvenal des Ursins (in Michand et Poujoulat, II, 409) says that Nevers was saved from the massacre, thanks to "un Sarrasin, nommé Nigromansien, devin, ou sercier, qui dist qu'en le souvast, et qu'il estoit taillé de faire mourir plus de chrestiens que la Baas, ny tous ceux de leur ley ne scauroient faire". Although the veracity of the source for this statement is doubtful, the later events in French history justify its purport.

96. Schiltberger, 5.

97. Ibid., 5 and 112. Schiltberger makes special mention amongst the massacred of 'Stephen Synuher', 'Hanses Bodem' and 'Hanses Grieff'. The first may perhaps be indentified with Stephen Simontornya, nephew of Stephen Laskevitch with whom he probably tried to flee, but failed to reach the river and thus fell into captivity; the second was John Stracimir the Bulgarian lord of Widdin, who had joined the crusaders after the capitulation of his city to them; and the third was a noble of Bavaria who, before kneeling for decapitation, addressed his fellows thus: "Stand firm when our blood this day is spilt for the Christian faith and we by God's help shall become the children of Heaven."

to be slain in cold blood, in presence of the Sultan and of Jean de Bourgegne, whom Bayezid wanted to witness his vengeance. The fact that Nevers was standing near the Sultan was the cause of saving Boucicaut's life. The marshal was in the midst of the doomed. On noticing his presence in the crowd, the Count knelt before the Sultan and was able to convey the meaning that Boucicaut was like a brother to him by pressing his two thumbs together. Boucicaut's life was thus spared.<sup>98.</sup>

Schiltberger says that the massacre continued 'from morning till vespers.'<sup>100.</sup>

101.

Finally, according to one chronicler, the hideous spectacle of mutilated corpses and spilt blood horrified Bayezid, and he ordered the executioners to stop; according to another,<sup>102.</sup> this was only done at the entreaty of the Sultan's counsellors. The survivors of the -----

98. Hist. de Boucic., VI, 465, compares the massacre at Nicopolis with the massacre of the Innocents, and Bayezid with Herod.

99. Ibid., VI, 466-67; Froissart, XX, 327-28, says that Nevers conveyed the same meaning "en comptant d'une main en l'autre"; Rabbi Joseph, I, 253.

100. Page 5.

101. Religieux, II, 518-19.

102. Schiltberger, 5.

massacre were sent to Adrianople where they were kept for fifteen days, then to Gallipoli where 300 of them were  
103.  
confined in a tower for two months, and ultimately to Brusa.

Thereafter, Bayesid and his men ravaged the Danube region and the Styrian and Syrmian territories. But the Sultan went no further, although Hungary lay open before him, without king and without army. The reason was perhaps that Bayesid wisely preferred to complete his Greek and Asiatic conquests, and to consolidate his rising empire. His heavy loss of men at Nicopolis might have also deterred him from embarking on so uncertain a scheme as this. But  
104.  
the Greek chronicler, Chalecondylas, tells us that the real cause that prevented Bayesid from advancing into Hungary and towards the city of Buda, was that the Sultan had a sudden attack of gutt. If this story is true, the historian may note how often the infirmity of one man has saved a whole nation from servitude and misery.

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103. Ibid., p. 6; Hist. de Boucio., VI, 467.

104. M.P.G., clix, 83.

## CHAPTER VII.

THE AFTERMATH.

Return of Sigismund.

The News in France.

Negotiations and Ransom.

Release and Itinerary of the Captives.

Finance and Debts.

Rôle of Venice.

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The remainder of the history of the crusade consists of the narrative of the safe return of King Sigismund to face his discontented subjects and his turbulent nobility, and of the negotiations of the Christian powers with the Sultan for the release of the captives. After an enormous ransom, made up mainly of loans raised from the Latin lords of the East, had been exacted from them, Nevers and some of his companions in arms reached their native lands in safety; some died either in 'Turkey' or during the long voyage by sea and through plague-stricken countries. Their journey was strongly marked by splendour and extravagance; and their return to France seems to have wiped out the memory of the defeat from the French court, where they were received, not as released prisoners, but as triumphant conquerors.

The King of Hungary was escorted by the Venetian fleet to Constantinople where he stayed for a short time to greet the Greek Emperor.<sup>1</sup> Then he continued his voyage to Rhodes where Philibert de Maillac, the Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, landed. On the passage of the

1. Chalosse. (M.P.G.), clix, 83; Chron. Ragusina, Mon-spect. hist. merid., vol. XXV, Script. II, p. 182.

King through the Dardanelles, the Turks at Gallipoli exposed the prisoners on the shore, and, mocking the powerless king, 'called to him to come out of the boat and deliver his people'<sup>2</sup>. The hostile parties skirmished with each other on the sea for a while; but the Venetian<sup>3</sup> seamen were easily superior to the nascent naval power of the Ottomans. The galleys of the Christians had a safe passage to Rhodes, wherefrom Sigismund set sail towards the Adriatic, passing by the Venetian maritime colony of Modon in South Greece. According to the "Chronica Ragusina", two Venetian galleys on which Sigismund and two Hungarian nobles — John and Stephen Kanisay — had been sailing, arrived at the island of "Calanotta" on 19 December 1396. The citizens of Ragusa soon sent messengers to invite the Hungarian monarch and his companions to land on Ragusian soil. The invitation was accepted and they entered the city on the 21st. of the same month.<sup>4</sup> Their

2. Schiltberger, p.6.

3. Hajji Khalifa (Marit. Hist. of Turke), 12 et seq.

4. Chron. Rag. (op.cit.), p. 182; "Ed secondo li 19 dicembre con due galere veneziane arrivato sotto l'isola di Calanotta, fu della repubblica per messe di tre nobili complementate ed invitate degnarsi venire veder la citta di Ragusa. Accettate l'invito, entro alli 21 delle stesso mese," Lucius, in Schwandtner, III, 417; "fuga Constantinopolim delatus, in Dalmatian Ragusan venit." Delaville Le Roulx, I, 289, states that Sigismund was at Modon on 6 December and that the news of his return was known in Venice on 16 December. It is, however, safer to trust the Ragusian chronicle, which seems to have been unknown to Le Roulx, on occurrences in Ragusan waters.

safe return to friendly territories became known to the Republic of Venice, which communicated the news to the Hungarian authorities at Buda, to the Roman Emperor, and to the Duke of Austria.<sup>6.</sup> The whole journey from Nicopolis to Ragusa must have lasted about three months.<sup>6.</sup> Instead, however, of an immediate return to his capital, Sigismund lingered in Dalmatia for the winter season in order to reconcile his reluctant Dalmatian subjects, who were always ready to support his rival to the Hungarian crown — Ladislaus of Naples.<sup>7.</sup> Sigismund probably returned to Buda in the spring of 1397. His defeat at Nicopolis had greatly increased his unpopularity. It also gave his opponents a most favourable chance to stir up trouble against him.<sup>8.</sup> The whole country was on the verge of civil war.

In the meantime a number of the Western crusaders, who had escaped death at Nicopolis and had arrived at their

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5. Delaville Le Roulx, I, 289.

6. Strömer, I, 49, says that it had taken the King three months to return to Hungary. Probably he means the Dalmatian coast, for Dalmatia was subject to Sigismund.

7. Lucius, in Schwandtner, II, 417, says that on 1 June the King granted certain concessions to the 'Tinini' and the 'Strigoni.'

8. De Pray, I, 197-98; Bonfinius, 387.

homes safely about the beginning of December, spread the  
 news of the disaster in the West. Rumours about the  
 great misfortune of Christendom came to the hearing of  
 the French King and his nobles. But it was unimaginable  
 to the French that the flower of Western chivalry and  
 the valiant and veteran host of France should thus perish  
 before a horde of 'miscreants'. They refused to believe  
 the news, seized those who circulated it, and thrust  
 them into the prison of the Châtelet, until their  
 insolence should be proved, and then they could be  
 punished by drowning as a penalty for telling incredible  
 untruths. But the anxiety at the French court was  
 doubled when two 'valets' of the Constable arrived later  
 and confirmed the previous rumours. The authorities  
 could not wait any longer for official communications.  
 Messengers were hastily despatched to the Italian  
 signories and to the East to gather more reliable

9. Ser Guerriero da Gubbio, Arch. Murat., T.XXI,  
 pt. IV, p. 31, says that the news of the disaster was  
 published in Italy in November, and must therefore  
 have reached France a few days later, i.e. early in  
 December.

10. Froissart, XV, 331-32.

11. Bauyn's Mem., f. 349 vo.



information on the subject. Jean de Neville and Pieterken Vande Walle were sent on behalf of the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy 'to Italy and other lands' to verify the news (7 December 1396).<sup>12.</sup> Meanwhile, Guillaume de l'Aigle, a chamberlain of Burgundy, was provided with letters from the King (7 December)<sup>13.</sup> and Duke Philippe (8 December)<sup>14.</sup> to the Doge of Venice asking him to lend their messenger and his companions any assistance they might need on their passage through the Republic of St. Mark on their way to Constantinople. Jean Piquet and Pierre de Rheims received similar letters on 10 December.<sup>15.</sup> On the same day, Louis, Duke of Orleans, commissioned one of his esquires, Bethis Prunelle, to proceed to Venice for further information.<sup>16.</sup> Again, on 13 December, King Charles sent a certain Geoffrey de Saint-Marc,<sup>17.</sup> and the Duke of Orleans, Jenffrey Clorit,<sup>18.</sup>

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12. Mas-Latrie (Comm. et exped.), in Coll. de docs. etc. III, 160, - "ad partes ytalicas et alias"; Kervyn, XV, 425.

13. Mas-Latrie, 159.

14. Ibid. p 161-62.

15. Ibid., 162-63.

16. Ibid., 163-65.

17. Ibid., 165-66.

18. Ibid., 166-67.

19.

and a certain hermit called Pierre to the East for the same purpose. A letter dated 23 December from Robert, Duke of Bar, inquiring about the captivity of his elder son Henry and the fate of his younger son Philippe, can also be traced in the Venetian Archives.<sup>20.</sup> The continual influx of messengers into Venice from the West illustrates the great anxiety in France as to the fate of the expedition.

On the prisoners' side, Jean de Nevers had implored Bayezid to set Jacques de Helly at liberty, in order that he might be sent to the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy with the news of the defeat and to ask them to take prompt measures in the matter of the ransom. Meanwhile, Helly was enjoined by the Sultan to proceed through Lombardy to greet Gian Galeazzo Visconti on his behalf and to announce the victory of the Turks.<sup>21.</sup> Helly arrived in Paris on Christmas eve. The King was then at his palace of Saint Paul with his brother the Duke of Orleans, and his uncles the Dukes of Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon, as well as other nobles of France. Jacques

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19. Champollion-Figeac, III, 39-40.

20. Mas-Latrie, 167-69. Philippe was killed in the battle, and Henry died of the plague.

21. Freissart, IV, 228-29.

was admitted to their presence at once, and, kneeling before the King, he recounted the details of the disaster. Then he handed Nevers' letters to King Charles and Duke Philippe. When he had finished, men and women clustered around him to inquire about the fate of their relatives. It was a scene of mixed sorrow and rejoicing. Those who had lost their relatives mourned, others who ascertained their safety rejoiced. The King ordered the prisoners of the Châtelet to be set free. The confirmation of the news agitated the French people throughout the kingdom. Masses at Notre-Dame and at all the churches and chapels in France were celebrated for the souls that had passed away at Nicopolis. <sup>22.</sup> <sup>23.</sup> <sup>24.</sup> <sup>25.</sup> Eustache Deschamps, the eye-witness, says:

"Je ne vey que tristesse et plour

24.

"Et obseques soir et matin."

25.

It happened that the embassy, which was leaving for Italy to settle the question of Genoese submission to France, had to start on 30 December. Thus an important

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22. Ibid., 232-36; Religieux, II, 520-23.

23. Hist. de Beauvois. VI, 468-69.

24. Vide Appendix I, Ballad No. 1427.

25. Mas-Latrie, 168-69.

item concerning the captives was inserted in the instructions given to them. The ambassadors were enjoined to urge the merchants of that city to spare no effort for the deliverance of the prisoners as one condition of the France-Genoese alliance.<sup>26.</sup> Moreover, on December 31, Isabel of Lorraine, wife of Enguerrand VII de Coucy, sent a letter to the Doge of Venice asking him to do his best to ransom her husband. On 1 January 1397, Louis of Orleans sent a pathetic letter to beg the Doge to offer every possible help towards the payment for the release of the captives.<sup>27.</sup> Meanwhile the envoys from France, who had departed before Helly's arrival, reached Venice and were advised by the Venetians to interview King Sigismund, then in Dalmatia, before proceeding to Constantinople. Thanks to the support of the authorities in Venice and Milan, Guillaume de l'Aigle reached the famous island of Mytilene (Lesbos) and finally Mikalidach,<sup>28.</sup> where the prisoners were kept. He was

26. The embassy consisted of Pierre Fresnel, Bishop of Maux le comte de St. Pol, Francis de Sassenage, Pierre Beuble, Siffroy Tholen and Arneul Boucher-Jarry (Origines de la dem. fr. à Gènes). 224-25.

27. The two letters appear in Mas-Latrie, 168-70.

28. At the distance of two days' journey from Brusa to the west of lake Ulabad (Leopardium), cf. Le Roux, I, 301.

accompanied by Visconti's chamberlain, a certain 'de la Croix', who had letters from the Duke to Bayezid recommending Nevers to his care and mercy. De l'Aigle brought with him a set of presents from the Duke of Burgundy to the victor, consisting of a number of suits of armour and saddles of magnificent workmanship, decorated with gold and precious stones. Bayezid received the envoys, expressed his willingness to accept a ransom which would have to be fixed later by a more solemn embassy, and he allowed them to interview Nevers and the other prisoners. Afterwards, the Burgundian ambassador left for Paris by way of Mytilene, Chios, Rhodes, Modon and Venice. He reached the French capital in April, 1397.

The solemn embassy was soon appointed. Men of great gifts and experience in the art of diplomacy were carefully selected for this delicate and dangerous mission.

Joan de Châteaumerand, a chamberlain and counsellor of

29. Bauyn ms., f. 350 vo. Vide Appendix V-B.

30. Delaville Le Roulx, I, 300-02.

31. Bauyn's Mem., ff. 351-52; of Le Roulx, I, 302.

32. He had fought in the Barbary expedition of 1390 and is in fact the author of the 'Chron. du Bon Duc Leys de Bourbon.'

the King, Jean de Vergy, <sup>33.</sup> governor of the Free County,  
 and Gilbert de Leuwerghem, <sup>34.</sup> governor of Flanders, were the  
 most important members of the embassy. <sup>35.</sup> Jean Blondel,  
 first esquire, and Robert d'Anguel, secretary, of the  
 Duke of Burgundy, were nominated to assist the three  
 ambassadors, since they had had some diplomatic experience  
 in Italy during the previous year (1396) on a mission at  
 the court of Duke Galeazzo. <sup>36.</sup> With these, was a certain  
 Jean Wilay, a special emissary of the Duke of Orleans  
 'for the deliverance of his very beloved cousins, Henri  
 de Bar and le seigneur de Coucy. <sup>37.</sup> Their train consisted  
 of twenty-four valets to take charge of the horses and  
 the dogs, as well as ten falconers to care for the falcons.  
 The ambassadors carried with them loads of precious  
 presents to the Sultan. <sup>38.</sup> These included some of the  
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33. Seigneur de Youvans (Fouvent-le-Haut, Haute-Saône).

34. Chamberlain to the Duke since 1396, in addition to his governership of Flanders.

35. Froissart, XV, 338-39; Le Roulx, II, 26.

36. Le Roulx, I, 202-3.

37. Champollion-Figeac, III, 40; Chron. de la traison et mort de Richart etc., pp. 165-66, note 1; document dated 13 January, 1396.

38. Le Roulx, II, 26-32, reproduces a long extract from the 'Comptes de Pierre de Montberant' which specifies some of the various presents valued at 8769 fr. 7ns.t. Compare with Bauyn in Appendix V-A and B.

noblest horses in the West, a number of dogs, falcons,  
 39.  
 and a magnificent equipment for hunting, as Bayezid's love  
 of the chase had been reported to the Western princes.  
 Cloth and tapestry of the highest value and the best  
 workmanship from Rheims and Arras were also sent to please  
 the Sultan, who had a taste for such articles which were  
 rare in the East; and, to flatter him, the designs on one  
 of the sets of tapestry represented the life-history of  
 Alexander the Great, of whom Bayezid professed himself to  
 40.  
 be the rightful heir. In addition to these, various items  
 of jewellery completed the list. Nauyn suggests, perhaps  
 rightly, that the precious presents sent by Duke Philip  
 seem to have produced the wrong effect on Bayezid's  
 behaviour in the settlement of the ransom. The Sultan  
 thought that a prince who was able to dispose of such  
 valuable articles, should be rich enough to pay an  
 extortionate sum for his son's life, and this became  
 41.  
 Bayezid's leading principle in the forthcoming negotiations.

42.  
 On 20 January 1397, the embassy proceeded overland  
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39. Kervyn, XV, 427, — "solles à arçons d'ivoire couvertes  
 d'étoffes précieuses fixées par clous d'or ou l'en  
 voyait aux quatre coins de grosses roses d'or pendantes?  
 Nauyn's Mem. ff. 353 ro. — 354 ro.; vide Appendix V-B.
40. Arch. de la Côte d'Or, B. 1511, f. 140; — cf. Le Roux.  
 I, 303.
41. Mem., f. 351 vo.
42. Freissart, X, 337 et seq. The chronicler says (p.337)  
 that Helly remained in Paris about twelve days before  
 his return to the East.

towards the East. A few days before, Jacques de Helly had been charged to hasten to the Sultan and procure safe-conduct for the French envoys. On his arrival at Brusa, he found that Bayezid had left for Bely, taking the prisoners in his train, with the exception of the aged Coucy, whose health had begun to decline as a result of bad food and long imprisonment, and whose temporary liberty on the ground of illness was obtained by the lord of Mytilene (Lesbos). Helly followed the Sultan to Bely, obtained the necessary safe-conduct for the ambassadors, and, furthermore, his own complete liberty as he had hitherto been free only on parole.

The ambassadors split themselves into two sections. While Jean de Vergy with the presents, took the direct route to Buda through Germany and Austria, the rest hurried by the southern route to Milan on their way to the Hungarian capital in order to persuade Galeazzo to throw the weight of his influence at the Turkish court

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43. Froissart, XV, 345, refers to it as 'Pebly' or 'Polly'. The distance between Brusa and Bely is over fifty miles.
44. Ibid., 345, says that the lord of Mytilene was a cousin of Coucy. Miller (Latin Orient.) 320, tries to prove this relationship by a genealogical table in which he traces both to one ancestor in common - 'Amedee V of Savoy'.



on their side and thus facilitate their task.<sup>45.</sup> When  
 they had fulfilled this mission, the ambassadors re-  
 assembled at Buda.<sup>46.</sup> There, according to Froissart, they  
 were detained by Sigismund who did not approve of the  
 tacit recognition of the permanence of Bayezid's victory  
 implied in sending him presents. The whole story of  
 Froissart is doubtful, for it cannot be reconciled with  
 the general trend of events in that period. Sigismund  
 was still in Dalmatia and not at Buda. Philibert de  
 Naillac, whose rôle as mediator in the reconciliation of  
 Sigismund to the despatch of the presents stands out in  
 Froissart's account, had previously landed at Rhodes and  
 had thus discontinued the voyage to Dalmatia and Hungary  
 with the King.<sup>47.</sup> Moreover, Sigismund was anxious to  
 secure the freedom of the captives, of whom some were  
 Hungarian nobles, at any cost. He even promised to pay  
 half the ransom.<sup>48.</sup> Perhaps Froissart's misconception  
 sprang up from the difficulties that had arisen between  
 the Duke of Burgundy and the Hungarian government, not  
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45. Le Roulx, I, 304, according to a Bibl. Nat. ms. of the Coll. de Bourg., vol. 104.

46. Vol. XV, 348-52 and 358.

47. Vide supra.

48. Vide infra.

on the question of the presents, but on the fact that some of Nevers' coffers, with which Sigismund's treasurer was entrusted, had been opened during the absence of  
49.  
the Count.

On the Eastern side of Europe, efforts were not spared for the freedom of the prisoners. Nevers and his companions did not wait for the Franco-Burgundian plenipotentiaries to arrange everything for them. They obtained from Bayezid the liberty of Boucicaut and Guy de la Tremouille en parole, with the hope that they might raise some of the necessary funds for the ransom by means of loans from the merchant-princes of the East.  
50.  
These two then sailed to Rhodes, probably in March 1397. Their aim was to ask the government of that island to take serious steps towards the persuasion of the Italian merchants of the Archipelago to finance the prisoners. This was a good policy, since the Knights Hospitallers' power in the Levant had increased with the decline of the Byzantine Empire and of the Kingdom of Cyprus. The two envoys reached Rhodes in April 1397, but,  
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49. Le Roulx, II, 38-40; Pièces justificatives, No. XII.

50. Hist. de Boucis., VI, 471-72; Le Roulx, I, 306.

unfortunately, de la Tremouille fell ill and died there  
 51. shortly after Easter. Nevertheless, Boucicaut did not  
 delay, and, armed with the influence of Philibert de  
 Naillac, he sailed at once to Mytilene (Lesbos) where  
 he was kindly received by Francesco Gattilusio, the lord  
 of that island, and one of the most powerful merchant  
 princes in the Levant. He lent the Marshal 30,000 francs  
 and assured him that he was as eager to help the captives  
 52. as the Grand Master himself. Nicholas of Aenos also  
 53. lent the prisoners another sum of 2,000 ducats, and sent  
 them a gift of fish, bread and sugar, while his wife  
 added to these provisions some linen. With money, food,  
 clothing and good promises, Boucicaut returned to cheer  
 54. his companions in captivity.

Meanwhile, Jacques I, King of Cyprus, who wanted to  
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51. Froissart, XVI, 52, erroneously fixes the time of the death of Guy de la Tremouille during the return of the captives after their release. Kervyn, XVI, 264, corrects this error in his notes on Froissart. The death occurred on the octave of Easter.
52. Miller (Latin Orient.), 320; Le Roulx, I, 303.
53. The ducat according to the Dict. of Pol. Econ., Vol. I, p. 664, equals 11.85 francs.
54. Hist. de Boucic., VI, 472; Miller, 320. The chronicler of Boucicaut says that Bayezid released the Marshal after his return from Rhodes, but he preferred to stay in prison with his companions.

regain his prestige amongst the princes of the West and to please the Genoese in the East — since Genoa was mistress in Cyprus and herself subject, at least nominally, to France, — exerted every possible effort to pave the way for the deliverance of the prisoners. He sent Bayesid a present of a model ship made of fine gold, the value of which was 20,000 ducats. On a later occasion he also lent the prisoners the sum of 15,000 florins of gold (24 June, 1397).

When the solemn embassy arrived at the court of Bayesid, the ransom was soon fixed at 200,000 florins of gold as the total amount for all the prisoners. If we accept Delaville Le Roulx's estimate of twelve francs for the florin, the Sultan must have extorted more than two million francs from the Christians. Of the fixed sum,

55. Vide supra, cap. I.

56. Froissart, XVI, 31-35 and 352-55. The Chron. Fland. I, 350, mentions this item amongst the presents made by the French.

57. Le Roulx, I, 311.

58. Froissart, XVI, 40; Juvenal des Ursins, II, 410. The Hist. de Boucic., VI, 473-74, to raise the value of the achievements of the Marshal, asserts that he persuaded Bayesid to reduce his first demand of a ransom of a million francs to 150,000 fr.

59. Vol. I, 312. For exact estimate see footnote 50 of this chapter. The ducat and the 'florin d'or' were of equal value.

28,000 florins were paid at once. This sum had been borrowed by Hevers from Jean de Lusignan, lord of Beyrouth and a cousin of the King of Cyprus, and Brancalèon Grille and Nicholas Matharas, two wealthy citizens of Pera.<sup>60.</sup> The payment of the rest of the ransom was promised within a month. Francesco Gattilusio held himself responsible before Bayesid for 110,000 florins; Nicholas of Aenas, for 40,000; and Gaspard de Pagani, a Genoese of Pera, and Nicholas Paterio, podesta of Feglio Nuova,<sup>61.</sup> each for 11,000. Jean de Hevers, Henry de Bar and Jacques de Bourbon comte de la Marche promised, in a document of 24 June, to stay at Venice as hostages till the debt was wholly paid, and with the stipulation that payment should not be unduly delayed. The same document was ratified by Boucicaut,<sup>62.</sup> Vergy, Leuwerghem, Châteaumorand and Colard des Armoises, in order to assure the creditors of the good intentions of the debtors. Thus after about nine months of captivity, the prisoners

60. Bauyn's Mem., f. 356 vo.; cf. Le Roulx, I, 311.

61. The document is preserved in the 'Arch. de Lille' and is edited by Kervyn, XVI, 261-62.

62. Ibid., 262.

were free to return to their lands. Their pledge to  
 the Latin merchants in the East was, however never fulfilled<sup>63.</sup>

On 24 June, Bayezid summoned the prisoners to his presence and, according to Froissart, addressed their leader, Jehn of Gurgundy, in this wise:

"Jehn, I am well informed that in thy country thou art a great lord, and son to a powerful prince. Thou art going, and canst look forward to many years; and, as thou mayest be blamed for the ill success of thy first attempt in arms, thou mayest perchance, to wipe out this blot, and regain thine honour, collect a powerful army to lead against me, and offer battle. If I feared thee, I would make thee swear, and likewise thy companions, on thy faith and honour, that neither thou nor they would ever bear arms against me. But no: I will not demand such an oath; on the contrary, I shall be glad if when thou art returned to thy country, it please thee to assemble an army, and lead it hither. Thou wilt alway find me prepared, and ready to meet thee in the field of battle. What I now say, do thou repeat to whomever thou please; for I am

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63. There is no record of any Franco-Turkish treaty after Nicopolis in either Noradounghian, de Testa, or du Mont.

ready for, and desirous of, deeds of arms, and of  
 64.  
 extending my conquests."

None amongst the prisoners accepted Bayesid's challenge except Boucicaut, who took up arms in defence of Manuel and his crumbling Empire against the violent attacks of the Sultan in 1399. The high-handed address of the Sultan to a powerless group of prisoners was not the only poignant insult with which Bayesid humiliated his vanquished enemies. In returning his thanks to the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy for their presents, he sent them a series of valueless objects consisting of a mass of iron, of Turkish coats of mail made of linen and woven with human intestines, and of a Turkish drum. 65.  
 These were probably meant to signify the military excellence of the Ottomans.

When the ambassadors had thus successfully fulfilled their embassy, they set sail at once from Brusa to spread the happy news in the West. But owing to the smallness of their ship on the one hand and the fury of the

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64. Kervyn., XVI, 47; Proissart says that the speech was addressed to them through a Latin interpreter. Th. Johnes' translation of this passage (Hafod edition, vol. IV, pp. 568-69) is reproduced here with some slight modification in wording.

65. De Barante, II, 210.

tempestuous seas on the other, Louwerghem, whose constitution was feeble and whose health bad, died<sup>66.</sup> before reaching the island of Mytilene. Nevertheless, the rest of the ambassadors continued their voyage to Rhodes and Venice where they landed probably at the end<sup>67.</sup> of July, and shortly afterwards entered France.

Meanwhile, after a few days' rest, the released knights started their long voyage to the West. They first<sup>68.</sup> landed at Mytilene, where they stayed for more than a month and were generously treated by Cattilusio. Then, the Grand Master of Rhodes sent an envoy, a certain Peter de Bauffremont, with a number of galleys, to invite<sup>69.</sup> them to Rhodes. There they sojourned for a time to enjoy the healthy air of that island and the hospitality of the Knights, and also to borrow money for their pompous advance. On their way from Rhodes to Venice, they seem to have followed the main historic route by

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66. Froissart, XVI, 41-42.

67. Le Roulx, I, 315.

68. Ibid., 316, fixes the dates as being from 5 July to 15 August 1397.

69. Froissart, XVI, 48-52.





Their number had been reduced by four, owing to the death  
 74. of Coucy at Brusa, Guy de la Tremouille at Rhodes,  
 75. Philippe d'Artois at Mikalidsch, and Henry de Bar at  
 76. Venice.  
 77.

The Count and his surviving companions seen left  
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74. Died at Brusa on 18 February, 1397, long before the release of the captives. His heart was brought to France by James Wilay, châtelain de Saint-Gobain, and was buried in the monastery of the Celestines of Villeneuve near Nogent. Le Roulx (Les Legs d'Eng. etc.), 1-8; also (La Fr.en Or.), I, 313; Lacaille (Vente de Baronnie de Coucy), in Bibl. de l'Ec. des Chartes, LX (1894), 873-97; Kervyn, XXI, 38-43; Art de verifier les dates, III<sub>2</sub>, 257-59. Deschamps laments his death in a ballad which throws light on Coucy's character - Appendix I.
75. Vide Supra. His remains were brought to France by Pierre Valee 'garde de la monnoye de Troyes', who was authorised by a royal ordinance of 22 June, 1398, to leave his offices to the care of a certain John Muteau, 'essayar deladiete monnoye', during his absence on this mission; Ordonnance des Rois etc., VIII, 215-16. Pierre Valee and others received 300 fr. from M<sup>re</sup>. de la Tremouille on 23 June, 1398, to bring back the body of her husband from Rhodes; Les la Tremouille pendant cinq siècles, p. 86; Kervyn, XXIII, 210-12.
76. The Constable died on 15 June, 1397, shortly before the release of the captives. His remains were buried at the convent of St. Francis at Galata, but were later conveyed to Eu, where they were buried in the church of St. Leonard. The monument erected for him in that church consists of a status without helmet and without gloves enclosed within iron railings. The idea of such a monument was probably to represent his death, defenceless and in captivity. Art de verifier les dates, III<sub>2</sub>, 334; Kervyn XXI, 172.
77. Died of the plague in November, 1397. Ibid., I, 318; Hist. de Boucic., VI, 475-76.

Treviso on their homeward journey, "suivant le style de France.....à petites journées, se reposant de tems à autres," as Bauyn shrewdly describes their progress.<sup>78.</sup>

On 22 February, 1398, they reached Dijon where a procession of notables of the city council presented the Count with a silver plate on his entrance through their gates.<sup>79.</sup> Nevers left the city on 26 February. The news of his arrival soon spread all over the country. At the village of the Fougères (6 March)<sup>80.</sup> on his way to Ghent to rejoin his father, he received orders from the Duke to proceed to Paris to greet the King. He arrived at the French capital on Sunday, 10 March, 1398, and the King presented him with 20,000 livres. Everywhere celebrations and festivities of the most extravagant kind were begun, arranged by those who wished to express their joy for the safe return of Jean de Bourgegne. Four days after his arrival in Paris, he continued his journey to Arras (16 March, 1398) where the Duchess of Burgundy was waiting

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78. Mem. f. 361 ro. The same author asserts that the whole journey from Turkey to France lasted 385 days, which is evidently an exaggeration. The main point is, however, that the progress of the released prisoners was very slow.

79. Ibid., f. 361 vo.; Oudot Douay's accounts, Bibl. Nat. Coll. de Bourg., vol. 100, f. 3 (cf. La Roulx, II, 88-90).

80. Situated between Bar-sur-Seine and Troyes.

for him. After a few hours with his mother, he rode to Lille, where he was given a magnificent reception. Minstrels sang, and musicians played before him as he entered the city. Moreover, the burgesses of Lille presented him with silver, fish and wine. On 23 March, he was at Ghent with his father, and on the 29th., at Antwerp, whence he journeyed to Bruges, where he was loaded with valuable gifts. Afterwards, he was received at Ypres and Termonde. On 25 April, a procession of priests met him outside the city of Tournay. At Gramment, William of Ostrevant, his brother-in-law, came to greet him. The peer remainder of an abortive crusade in the East led a triumphant march of its return to the West.

If the released prisoners had reached their lands safely after a magnificent voyage and many majestic receptions, they still owed the price of their liberty to the Italian merchants of the East. The Duke of Burgundy had taken the responsibility for the ransom of all the prisoners into his own hands. But he soon found that it was not merely a question of the 200,000 ducats imposed by the Sultan. The presents to Bayesid, the expenses of the

81. Froissart, XVI, 273-74 and 372-74; Le Roulx, I, 319-20.

voyages of the ambassadors to the East and the extravagant journey of the Count de Mevers and his companions — all these and other unforeseen items doubled the Duke's debts,<sup>82.</sup> which may be calculated as approximately 400,000 ducats or more than four million francs.

Hayesid had already received 75,000 ducats before he released his captives. The larger portion of this sum, amounting to about 30,000 ducats, was furnished by the Knights of Rhodes, who, for this purpose, pawned their own private plate as well as the communal plate of the Order.<sup>83.</sup> The King of Cyprus, in spite of his poverty at that time,<sup>84.</sup> paid 15,000 ducats, and the remaining<sup>85.</sup> 30,000 ducats were lent by the Genoese merchants at Pera. To raise the rest of the ransom still due to the Sultan,<sup>86.</sup> the French borrowed 15,000 ducats from the Venetians,  
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82. This figure is adopted by Le Roulx, I, 323, and is perhaps the nearest approach to the truth.

83. Le Roulx, II, 43-45; Pièces justificatives, No. XIV. The document bears the date of 10 August, 1397, at Mytilene. (Arch. départ. de la Côte d'or, chambre des comptes de Dijon, B.11876.).

84. Ibid., I, 323; at Mikalidseh on 24 June 1397, (B.N., Coll. de Bourg., vol. 98, ff. 720-21).

85. Ibid., II, 87 et seq., Pièces justificatives, XXIII.

86. This loan was made at Cape d'Istria on 8 October, 1397. Vide supra.

87.

and an equal sum from a German Dominican friar. Moreover, Dino Raponi, in the name of the King of Hungary, advanced 100,000 ducats, i.e., half the ransom which had been promised by Sigismund. Added together, these sums provided the French with a surplus of 5,000 ducats to begin their homeward voyage. Notwithstanding the free hospitality which they enjoyed on their way to France, the sum of 5,000 ducats did not cover one-tenth of the expenses of their journey. They therefore borrowed 53,000 ducats from the Italian bankers.

88.

The deadweight of the ransom and of the accumulated expenses fell, not on the various individual prisoners, but mainly on the shoulders of the Duke of Burgundy. None amongst the ransomed, except de la Marche, contributed towards the payment of the ducal debts; and this was only as late as 1403, when the Count paid the small sum of 9,000 livres. The Duke had therefore to resort to other means. He raised a sum of more than 400,000 fr. from his domains, of which even the clergy

87. Le Roulx, I, 323-24. (Arch. of Malta, and Besic's Dell'isteria etc., II, passim).

88. Ibid., II, 46 and 87-95, Pièces justificatives, XV and XXII.

89. This took place on 28 April, 1403. Ibid., I, 324-25. (Arch. de la Côte d'Or. B. 11876, liasse 31, cote 132).

were forced to pay a share.<sup>90.</sup> The King contributed 58,000 fr. which included the proceeds of a 'taille' and also a present to Nevers.<sup>91.</sup> Numerous pensions were reduced, and the sum that was collected by this negative measure amounted to 7,000 fr.<sup>92.</sup> Furthermore, a new appeal was made to the Duchy of Burgundy and the County of Charolais, which brought to the ducal coffers the sum of 14,000 fr. Together with the money raised in the name of the King of Hungary and the various debts contracted by the Duke,<sup>93.</sup> the total sum that was raised could not have been less than two million francs. Although this sum covered only about half the ducal debts, it would not appear unreasonable that he should have paid at least an instalment to his Eastern creditors out of these accumulated levies. Yet it remains doubtful whether he made any serious attempt to pay back the merchant princes of the Levant as early as he should have done, in recognition of the pains taken and financial sacrifices made by them for the deliverance of -----

90. Vide Appendix IX.

91. Ibid, See also above.

92. By Ordinance of 18 May, 1399. Vide Appendix IX.

93. E.g., 20,000 fr. from Castaigne de Fiesque or Flisco to whom the Duke of February 18, 1397 pawned certain golden vases. Vide Appendix IX.

Nevers and his companions. Three years after the release of the captives, the French still owed Gattilusio of Mytilene the huge sum of 108,000 ducats. Finally, Gattilusio became tired of waiting for them to fulfil their promises and pay their debts. In 1400, he despatched an envoy, a certain Ansaldo Spinola, to the ducal court to remind Duke Philippe of the money he owed the Eastern prince.<sup>94.</sup> The envoy was well-treated and honoured, but the documents furnish the historian with no evidence to the effect that any immediate payment was made.

If the Duke's behaviour in matters of finance to the prince merchants of the Latin Orient was unworthy, the behaviour of the Venetians with regard to the whole question had been disgraceful. The task of their fleet in the crusade had been limited to collecting some of the remnants of the crusaders at the mouth of the Danube. Their financial policy concerning the ransom was anything but noble. With all their wealth and prosperity, the only contribution made by them for the release of the captives was a loan of 15,000 ducats at Cape d'Istria. This, they generously, or rather ungenerously, reduced

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94. Pièces justificatives, X, in Le Roulx, II, 34-35.



95.  
 by 5,000 ducats, and informed the Duke that that reduction should be reckoned as part of the annuity of 7,000 ducats, which they owed Sigismund, and which the Hungarian King had sold to Dino Raponi as a substitute for the 100,000 ducats which he had promised towards the ransom. 96. Although by this they seemed to admit the principle of the sale of the annuity, they contradicted themselves later on by their refusal to pay their debt to Raponi, and the Duke remained responsible for the 100,000 ducats to his Lombard creditor. The negotiations between Burgundy and Venice on this matter dragged on for many years. Political and commercial crises ensued between the two states throughout the reigns of Philippe le Hardi, Jean Sans Peur and Philippe le Bon. It was not until July, 1424, that the Republic of St. Mark, for fear of endangering her commerce in Flanders, renounced her rights to the 10,000 ducats, the remainder of Nevers' debt incurred at Capo d'Istria. The Venetian authorities also promised to pay the annuity due to the King of Hungary. 97. Had Venice realised that,

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95. Pièces justificatives, XIII, in Le Roulx, II, 41-42.

96. Plancher, III, Preuves, clxxxiii, clxxxiv and clxxxix; also Pièces justificatives, XI, in Le Roulx, II, 36-37.

97. Le Roulx, I, 327-34.

by such selfish dealings, she was indirectly sapping in the mind of the West the idea of the defence of the Christian East, and that she was thus accelerating the rate of the decline of her mercantile supremacy which was ultimately doomed to fall at the hands of the Turks. She might have acted less unscrupulously. The loss of men and money, indeed, had fostered the spirit of indifference to the Crusade in the West. But the disreputable behaviour of Venice set the seal upon the failure of one of the most momentous movements of all time — the crusading movement.

**CHAPTER VIII.****CONCLUSION.**

**Causes of defeat.**

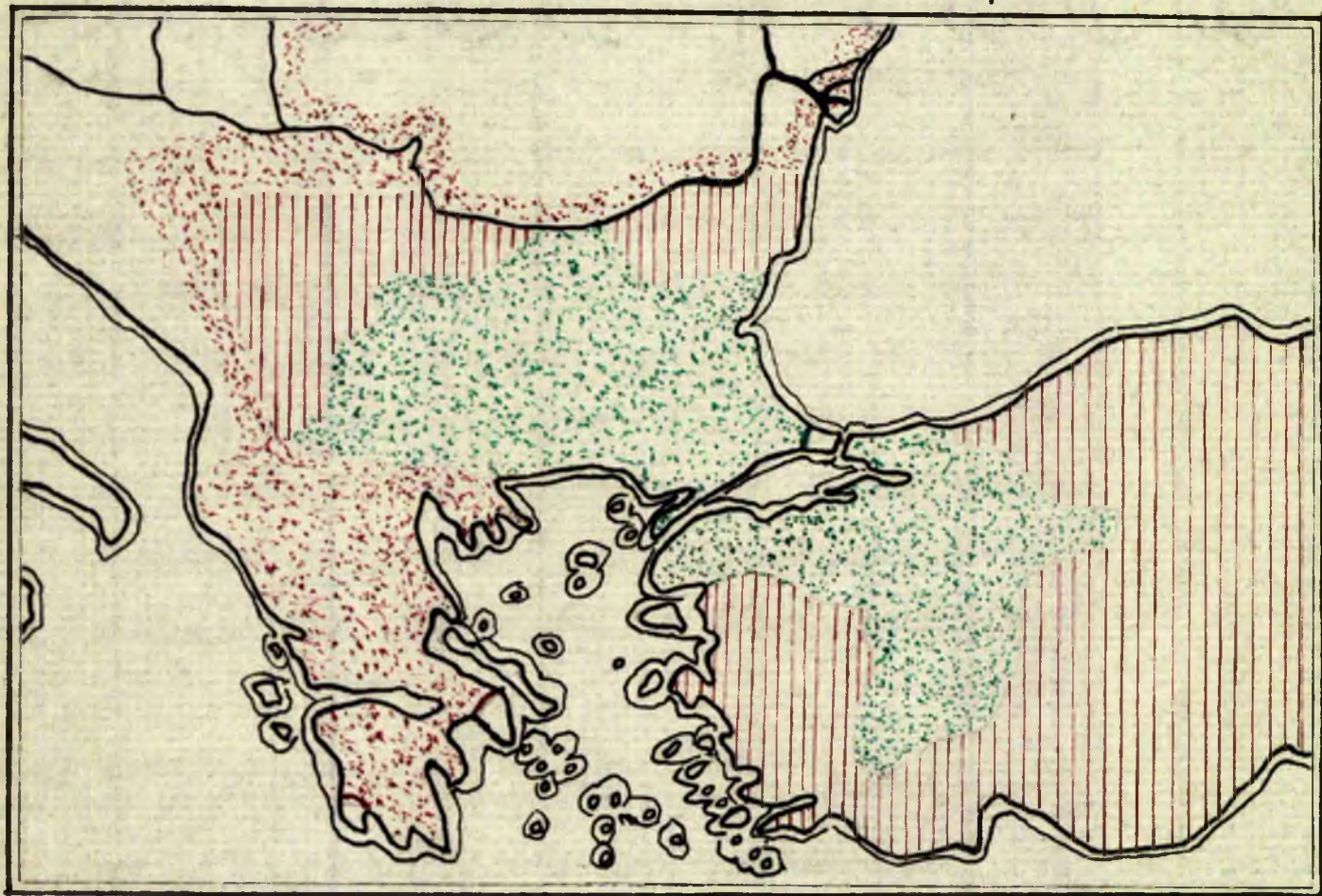
**Effects on West, East, and Turks.**

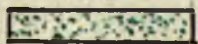
**New Tendency in European Politics and Literature:  
Gower, Langland, Boccaccio and Wyclif.**

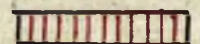
**Philippe de Mézières: 'Epistre lamentable et  
consolatoire.'**


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Turkish Conquests in 14th Century.



  
Murad I.

  
Bayezid I.  
Before Nicopolis.

  
Bayezid I.  
After Nicopolis.

The Crusade of Nicopolis may deservedly be called the last of the great Crusades. There was, indeed, a number of subsequent expeditions that bore the title of Crusades; but they were little more than petty, single-handed, and, broadly speaking, fruitless attempts to regain lost territory. Boucicaut, the famous Constable<sup>1.</sup> of France and Governor of Genoa, whose restless activity had not been daunted by the defeat of 1396, reappeared on the scene at the close of the century as the commander of a handful of French men-at-arms, who took part in the defence of the 'Great City',<sup>2.</sup> raided the shores of the Morea and of Palestine, stormed Alexandria, and returned to their native land with many stories for their countrymen, but with no permanent achievement on Eastern soil.

It is idle to dwell on the causes that had entailed

1. Boucicaut was raised to the rank of Constable after the death of Philippe d'Artois. It is interesting to remark that Boucicaut's single-handed efforts meant much more for Byzantium than the elaborate, but abortive Crusade of Nicopolis. Delaville Le Roulx, I, 327-24.
2. i.e. 'Istanbul', derived from the Greek *ἑς τὴν Πόλιν* adopted later by the Turks. Clavijo, 89 and 349 (note 11); cf. Wylie (Henry IV), I, 156 (notes 1 and 2). It is interesting to notice that the name, although of purely Greek origin, was latterly corrupted as 'Istanbul' in numerous Turkish and Arabic documents, in order to connect Constantinople with Islam as the metropolis of the Muhammadan world.

the disaster of the Christian army, despite its numerical magnitude and the vast amount of war materials at its disposal. The history of the whole crusade is a demonstration thereof. Yet the critic can hardly overlook the fact that some of these causes were the inevitable phenomena of the close of the Middle Ages, and that others could have been avoided, had the Christians acted with unanimity and discretion.

On the one hand, the late fourteenth century world had outgrown that 'international' enterprise, which characterised the early Middle Ages. Although men seemingly cherished the crusading tradition and the idea of universal action, they were in fact, and perhaps unconsciously, acting on vague 'national' principles which displayed themselves manifestly on the field of Nicopolis. Is it, therefore, just to blame the Christians for the appearance of elements of dissension when the moment came for decisive action? The aspirations of the individual contingents were, indeed, the corollary of the state of a world of budding nationalities. On the other hand, it

3. It would be irrelevant to attempt a full survey of what may be termed 'nationalism' or perhaps more accurately speaking 'royalism' in the literature of the fourteenth century, but it is interesting to note that this doctrine can be detected even in some of Mézières' own writings. In defiance of peace between England and France, for example, Mézières says in his Epistle to Richard II: "Car comme il est dit en proverbe lombardie demourra as lombars, espaigne aus espaignaux, france aus francois et engleterre aus angleis." Brit.Mus.ms. 20-B-VI, f. 15 vo.2.

is hard to excuse the crusaders their separatism in face of common and overwhelming danger. Before the bar of history, the French are to be held responsible for the aggravation of this tendency in the ranks. They did not only act independently of the Hungarians, but were also divided amongst themselves into two factions and hostile parties. The younger generation, with Lu and Boucicaut at their head, acting under the pretext of patriotism and courage, imposed their rash schemes on Vienne, Coucy and the older and more experienced generals, and thus led the whole army to complete disaster. Had the French trusted Sigismund and, instead of wasting time on quarrelling with one another, sat down to work out a plan of common tactics with the King, the issue of the day might have been different and the Eastern Question might have been postponed.

A second weakness may be found in the immoral character which marked the progress of the campaign. If the French leaders deserve reproach for dissenting from the Hungarians, the whole body of Christian generals are to be blamed for their vicious behaviour which further demoralised an already demoralised army. Instead of mustering their forces and drilling their troops for the forthcoming battle, the leaders of the

Cross were satisfied with the blockade of the city of Nicopolis, and allowed themselves and their men to waste their energy in drinking, dice and debauchery.

A third point of weakness had also been displayed by the crusaders on the purely military side. They had hardly taken any of the most elementary precautions of medieval warfare in their battle with the Turks. They had no defensive points to cover their flanks, nor had they any plan for retreat. The first defeat made it possible for the Ottomans to surround the French, the second, to exterminate the Hungarians. These disastrous results may be explained by the fact that the flanks of the Christian army were exposed to the harassing of the Turkish horse in the open plain. On the right hand of the army, there was a forest, which they could have utilised to cover their right wing. They did not, but Bayezid used it for his left wing. Behind them, there was a strong garrison, beyond which flowed the bridgeless Danube with its deep water, strong current and wide course. On the left flank, hostile territories extended to the Black Sea, and the fugitives had no hope in this direction. Further to the right, the Osma debarred them from falling back on the towns and fortresses which they had already



captured. In a word, the Christians did not safeguard themselves against defeat, and their disunion ensured their rout.

Perhaps the best plan would have been to cross the Orontes as soon as the Turkish approach was announced; and there they could have ranged their ranks in order of battle, leaving to the Turks the task of crossing the river exposed to the attacks of a united Christian army. Even if the Turks had survived this precarious crossing and succeeded in defeating their enemy, the crusaders would have been able to save the remnant of their forces by means of a hurried and uninterrupted retreat in a westerly direction.

The news of the disaster brought the extreme of dismay to Western Europe. The massacre of a considerable number of distinguished members of the noblest houses of the West had alarmed the noble classes of all countries to such an extent that it became impossible to rouse them again for common action in defence of the East. This, too, helps to explain the feeble response to later appeals for crusade. Meanwhile the financial extortions from bourgeois and clergy, firstly, for the crusading preparations, and secondly for the ransom of the prisoners,

engendered the spirit of indifference amongst the various classes of Medieval society towards what they might justly describe as expensive and futile schemes.

The Eastern European countries were thus left alone to stem the rising tide of Turkish invasion, and Hungary was forced into the position of acting as the bulwark of Catholic Christendom until it succumbed to the storm. Moreover, on his return to Buda, Sigismund was met with a violent storm of discontent which ended in his temporary deposition — a deposition whose antecedents, indeed, must be traced in the early years of his reign, but whose culmination was brought about by his abortive crusade. Although the defeat entailed serious consequences as far as Sigismund's crown was concerned, it is hard to say that its immediate effects on the kingdom of Hungary itself were as serious as might have been expected. The victor of Nicopolis could have marched straight to the Hungarian capital without facing considerable opposition, for the army of Hungary was partly disbanded and partly massacred, and the people and nobility of that country were discontented with their king and factious amongst themselves. Bayesid, however, limited his task, north of the Danube, to a number of irruptions into Styria and

Syrmia and to the recovery of his suzerainty over Wallachia.

South of the Danube, the Sultan exploited his triumph with more vigour. The fate of Bulgaria and Servia was sealed, and their annexation became complete and undisputed. Moreover, the Turks crossed the Morava and the Drina to the West, and penetrated Bosnia as far as Zvornik. Further south, the Greek bishop of Phocis,<sup>4.</sup> whom von Hammer calls 'a traitor to his country and his God', knowing the conqueror's love of the chase, invited him to Thessaly and Epirus, which he depicted as the hunter's paradise. The prelate's real motive was a vain hope to re-establish his secular authority in his own diocese by the use of Bayesid as an instrument to overthrow his Latin and Greek rivals. Bayesid responded to the invitation, and by the simple fact of his presence at the head of a Turkish army, the ancient districts of Deris, Lecrie and Phocis went, not to the Bishop, but to the Sultan. Bayesid now returned to set siege to Constantinople, leaving the easy task of overrunning Livadia and the Morea to the care of two of his generals —

4. Vol. I, 204 et seq.

5.

Everenos and Yakoub. With the exception of Athens and Modon, which continued for a while to belong to the Latins, both districts passed into the hands of the Ottomans in 1397, and thousands of Greeks were carried into slavery to Asia. Turkish settlements were planted everywhere to make up for the depopulation of the land.

After Nicopolis, the fame of Bayezid extended, not only to the West, but also to the Near and Far East. Of the young Western crusaders whose lives he had spared from the massacre of 26 September, 1396, he sent as presents and as tokens of his victory numerous groups of slaves to the Muhammadan princes of the East. Schiltberger says that Bayezid "sent a lord named Heden of Ungorn with sixty boys, as a mark of honour to the king-Sultan (of Egypt); and he would have sent me (Schiltberger) to the king-Sultan,

6.

7.

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5. Gregorovius (*Gesch. der Stadt Athen etc.*), 1, 241 et seq. and 11, 219 et seq.; also art. on 'Morea' in *Encyc. of Islam*.

6. Pages 7 and 113.

7. Probably 'Dhahir Barquq', styled by the contemporaries as 'al-Sultan al-Malik', i.e. the Sultan King etc., which is probably Schiltberger's source. It is essential however, to note that the title of 'Sultan' belonged to the sovereign ruler of the whole empire of Egypt, while that of King pertained generally to numerous vassal rulers of Egyptian provinces. Turco-Egyptian relations at the time seem to have been very friendly. Exchange of valuable gifts and of compliments between the two Sultans is proved, not only by the chronicles (see following footnote No.8), but also by the official correspondence in Faridun's collection, vol. 1, pp. 137-39

but I was severely wounded". The Muhammadan potentates and even the formidable Sultan of Egypt himself, began to entertain vague suspicions and fears of the ever rising power of the Ottoman monarch. Yet, it would be hardly just to exaggerate the effects of the recent triumph at Nicopolis on the remote regions of the Orient. Some historians tend unduly to consider the establishment of Bayesid's Eastern renown and even his title of Sultan as a result of his victory over the West. If Bayesid's nascent power was recognised in the East, this recognition must have taken place before the time of the crusade. The Sultan of Egypt had thought it worth while to send an ambassador to represent him at the court of Brusa in the early 'nineties of the century. Bayesid's title seems to have been inherited before and not acquired after, Nicopolis, contrary to the view held by Gibben and other historians. Yet, a victory over the combined armies of the Christian 'infidels', followed by sending gifts of

8. References to the battle of Nicopolis in the Arabic sources, although of little historical value, may be found in the following:- Ibn al-Furat, Vienna ms. A.F.125, f. 223; Maqrīsi, Bodleian ms. Marsh, 260, year 799 A.H. (non-foliated); al-Jazari, B.M. ms. Or. 2433, ff. 277 *et seq.*; Ibn Qadi Shubba, B.E. ms. fonds arabe 1599, fo. 120 *vs.*; al-Jawahiri, Cairo ms. Hist. 116 M, fo. 51 *vs.* General references to Turkish conquests on European soil may be found in Ibn Khaldun, vol. V, pp. 561-63; and al-Walqashandi, vol. V, pp. 367 *et seq.*, and vol. VIII, p. 1

9. Gibben, VI, 34-35; W.S. Davis, 199. For argument on 'Title of Sultan', derived from Arabic chronicles and Turkish coinage, vide Appendix X.

Christian slaves captured on the field to other Muhammadan rulers, could not have been minimised in the Muhammadan world. The prestige of Bayezid, having been established before Nicopolis, increased, but only increased, after his success against the combined forces of Christendom.

If the Turks on the one hand carried their conquests far and wide in Eastern Europe, the Egyptian, on the other, harassed the Kingdom of Cyprus and the Island of Rhodes during the first half of the fifteenth century. Three times (1424, 1425 and 1426) had their fleets attacked Cyprus before King Janus was carried into captivity to Cairo, where he was released only on payment of a heavy ransom and after declaring his kingdom tributary to Egypt (1426).<sup>10.</sup> Three times also had the same fleets assailed Rhodes (1440, 1443 and 1445), and<sup>11.</sup> although their efforts were frustrated by the tenacity

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10. al-'Aini, B.M. fonds arabe, ms. 1544, ff. 168 vs. et seq.; Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi (ed. Mac-Latrie), 1ère partie, pp. 499 et seq., and 2ème partie, pp. 269 et seq.

11. Maqrīzī's Kitāb al-Sulūk, B.M. ms. Or. 2902, ff. 215 vo. et seq.; Ibn Hajar, B.M. ms. Add. 7321, ff. 361 vo. et seq.; Sakhāwī, pp. 87 et seq.

of the knights of the Order of St. John, a dangerous precedent was bequeathed by the Mamluk Sultans to their Ottoman successors to whom the island was sooner or later bound to become an easy prey.

While Bayezid's fame was thus increasing in the East and his power dreaded in the West, and while one part of his armies was completing the conquest of Greece and another besieging Constantinople, Manuel quitted his capital and his last stronghold on a long tour through Western Europe, hoping against hope to rouse his co-religionists to undertake another crusade in defence of the remaining Christian outpost on the Hellespont. Boniface IX, the Roman Pope, responded to the Emperor's call and, in 1399, sent Paul, bishop of Chalcedon, and Hilary de Auria, knight of Genoa, 'to England and other parts' to preach the crusade against the Turks. Money was indeed, collected for this purpose. But the failure of the project may be illustrated by the fact that that money was 'not being converted to its due uses' and that the papal nuncios were 'ceasing to carry on their mission'.<sup>12.</sup>

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 12. Papal Letters, IV, 308.

At the court of France, the Emperor was generously treated (1399-1400), but no serious attention was paid to his entreaties for help against the Ottomans. King Richard II, in the last and tragic year of his reign, commissioned a certain Henry of Godard to proceed to Paris, probably with instructions to invite Manuel to visit England and to inform him that Reginald Grille, merchant of Genoa, was authorised to pay him 3,000 marks on behalf of the English king. This money was, however, not paid in Richard's lifetime, but by Henry IV in London on February 3, 1401. After a number of postponements of the imperial visit to England owing to the stormy end of Richard's, and the unsettled beginning of Henry's reign, Manuel arrived in England during the month of December 1400. The King met him on Blackheath, accompanied him to the city of London, and then spent the Christmas festivities with him at Eltham. The august representative of an ancient, but moribund, dynasty was royally entertained, while Byzantium was being pressed to famine without any hope of real succour from the West, except for a handful of knights under the command

13. Pub. Rec. Office. MS. E. 101, Bundle 330 No. 17.

14. Letters of Henry IV, 56-57.



of Boucicaut and Châteaumorand. Finally, Manuel returned to the East early in 1401, and after a circuitous journey through the continent arrived to find that his imperial city was saved, not by the prayers of the Greeks or the arms of the Latins, but by Timour the Tartar, who inflicted a crushing defeat on the Ottomans at Angora on July 28, 1402, and carried Bayezid into captivity for the rest of his days.

There was thus little hope for the East in the West. People's minds were deflected from the crusade by the recent overwhelming disaster before the walls of Nicopolis and by 'national' and 'international' strife and warfare. It is amazing how soon the new early fifteenth century generation of chroniclers had forgotten the unhappy expedition. Menstrelet, for example, says little of the event. But still more striking is the fact that even some of those who had participated either in the crusade or in the aftermath of the crusade, and who wrote in later years about their own activities and the activities of their masters, made hardly any mention of the Nicopolis campaign. Jean de Châteaumorand who, in the late 'twenties of the fifteenth century, dictated to Cabaret the life-history of the Good Duke Louis II de Bourbon, and who made special mention of many outstanding events of

general interest as well as a number of his own achievements, might have touched upon such a capital event of the late fourteenth century as the Crusade of Nicopolis, since he himself had been one of the three pillars of the famous embassy that negotiated the ransom with Bayezid. Strangely, the name of Nicopolis is not mentioned in his chronicle. The causes of this attitude may be sought in the situation of European politics during the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The Western countries were becoming more and more engrossed in a state of internal strife not far from civil war. In England, Richard had resumed the vindictive and dangerous policy that led to his deposition and murder. In France, the rivalry between Burgundy and Orleans was developing into the shape of a mortal feud for power. In the Empire, there was a universal tumult ending in the deposition of Vaclav (Wenzel). Furthermore, France and England were on the verge of renewing the Hundred Years' War. On the purely ecclesiastical side, the whole of Catholic Christendom was demoralised by the Schism; and the cry for the Councils took the place of the cry for the crusade.

The general tendency in European thought and politics found expression in some of the literary and even theological works of the period. Writers such as Gower, Langland,

Bonet and Wyclif seem to have reverted to Raymond Lull's older view of peacefully winning the Muhammadans to the Church by means of missionary activities instead of widening the gap between them and the Christians by the use of the sword. It would, however, be erroneous to link the two movements historically, for the late fourteenth century movement may be regarded as spontaneous, phenomenal and symptomatic of new ideas and nascent doctrines.

Gower, in his 'Confessio Amantis' regards the crusade as objectionable on the ground that with the slaughter of a Saracen, his soul will perish with his body; and this was never Christ's teaching.

"To slen and feihten thei ous bidde  
 Hem whom thei schelde, as the bok seith,  
 Converte[n]t unto Cristes feith.  
 Bot hierof have I gret mervaille,  
 Hou thei wol bidde me travaille;  
 A Sarazin if I sle schal,  
 I sle the Soule forth withal,  
 And that was nevere Cristes lore." 15.

Again, Langland supports a similar doctrine. He does not curse the Saracens, but holds a rather sympathetic view towards them and draws a parallel between their faith and

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15. . Confessio Amantis, Lib. IV, ll.1674-81, p. 346.  
 (Macaulay's edition of Gower's works, vol. II).

the Christian religion.

"For Sarasenes han somewhat semyng to owre bilfue,  
For thei loue and bileue in e persone almighty;  
And we, lered and lewede in on god bileueth." 16.

They may be saved. It was Muhammad who, on his failure  
17.  
to be elected pope, apostatised and established a new sect  
in opposition to the papacy. It is true that the Pope  
appoints a number of Christian bishops to the dioceses  
under Muhammadan sway such as those "of Nazareth, of Hynyus,  
of Neptalin, and Danaske", but these prelates neither visit  
their flock nor care for the "Sauucioun of Sarasenes, and  
18.  
other".

Honore' Bonet, in his popular work entitled 'L'Arbre  
19.  
des Batailles', indeed, had earlier (1387) admitted in a  
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16. Piers Plowman (Skcat's edition), Text B, Passus XV,  
lines 386-88.

17. Ibid. lines 389 et seq. Langland here gives the story  
of Muhammad and the Dove, popular in the Middle Ages.  
Having trained a dove to pick some corn from his ears  
whilst he was preaching, Muhammad declared that he had  
a message from God and thus lured people into misbelief.  
This story may also be found in Vincent of Beauvais:  
Speculum Historiale, Lib. XXIII, c. 40.

18. Ibid., lines 484 et seq.

19. An English version of "The Tree of Battles" is now  
being prepared for publication by Professor G.W. Coopland  
whose kindness I wish to acknowledge for allowing me  
to use and quote from his own manuscript translation  
of that interesting fourteenth century work.  
Vide also article by Professor Coopland on The Tree of  
Battles in Rev. d'Hist. du Droit, T. V, fasc.2, pp.  
173 et seq.

chapter on the war against the Saracens that the Pope had the power to issue bulls for the declaration of the crusade and that the titular king of Jerusalem had the right to fight for his heritage. But it is interesting to note that Bonet's argument shows a turning-point in the history of the crusading propaganda. He begins by wishing "first to show that war shall not be made against the unbelievers" for two main reasons. The first is that "God has created all the good things on the earth for human creatures, for the evil as well as for the good.....And so since God has given so many blessings, why should Christians take these from them?" The second reason is that the Scriptures ordain that "we cannot, and ought not to constrain or force unbelievers to receive either Holy Baptism or the Holy Faith, but must leave them in their free will that God has given them". Furthermore, according to the Decrees, the Christian subjects of unbelieving rulers should obey the rule of their masters irrespective of their religion; and the pope has no right to issue indulgence for war against the Saracens in lands other than the Holy Land. Such were the views of a man who was eminent in the world of his time and a learned doctor in canon laws.

The extreme exponent of the anti-crusading propaganda of this age was, however, John Wyclif. In reality, Wyclif

seems to protest against the principle of war in general, and he treats the so-called right of conquest as a mere act of robbery on a large scale. The knight who, in his pride, kills his own fellowmen is worse than a hangman.<sup>20.</sup> This principle applies to the popish crusades, for Christ did not teach "his heerde to reise up a croyserie and kille his sheep, with his lambern, and speilen hem of their goodis, but this is lore of Antichrist...." A papal bull granting indulgences for crusading purposes neither makes martyrs of the victims of war nor justifies the cause for which it is issued. The reason is that the Pope himself is "Antichrist, that by ypoecrisie reversis Jesus Crist in his fale lyvyng".<sup>21.</sup>

Lollardy was, indeed, a dying cause in the period following the Crusade of Nicopolis. But the prestige of the papacy had been shaken by anachronistic attempts to maintain the Hildebrandine System, by the Great Schism of the West, and by the vehement attacks of writers and

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20. Tracts and Treatises of John de Wycliffe, edited by R. Vaughan, pp. 70 (On the Seven Deadly Sins) and 74 (De Ecclesiae Dominio).

21. Select English Works of John Wyclif, edited by T. Arnold, vol. 1, p. 367, Sermon CVII.

22. Ibid., vol. III, pp. 140-41.

arch-heretics such as Wyclif. With the decline of the papal prestige, there was a general tendency to disregard the preaching of the crusade from Rome.

Notwithstanding all these circumstances in European

23. An example of the futile efforts of the papery to promote the crusade may be derived from the MSS. preserved in Brussels where Pius II exhorts all Catholics to take the Cross in defence of the Orthodox faith:-

- a.- Bull "Vocavit nos pius et misericors Deus" (Rome, 1465) where he enumerates the insults of the Muhammadans to the faith and calls upon the Christians "universis et singulis" - to join against the aggressors. Brussels, Bibl. de Bourg. ms. 2371. ff. 112 re-119 re.
- b.- Discourse against the Turks in 1462. Brussels, Bibl. Roy. ms. 715, ff. 190 vo. et seq.
- c.- "Epistola Pii, papae, ad Turcorum Imperatorem", in 1464. Ibid. ms. 710, ff. lxxvi vo. et seq.
- d.- XV century "Oratio Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi habita in conventu Mantuano ad suadendum bellum contra Turcos" making special mention of the possibilities of union between the Germans and the French. A significant effort is also made to reassert papal power - "Verba nostra verba dei sunt" says the Pope on fo. 1 vo. Brussels, Bibl. van Hulthem ms. 15564, ff. 1 re. et seq.
- e.- "Responsum Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi datum in Consilio Mantuano oratoribus Caroli Regis Franciae" The Pragmatic Sanction and the Crusade are the chief subjects treated in this document. Ibid. ms. 15565, ff. 19 re. - 43 vo.
- f.- "Responsum Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi Datum Romae Oratoribus Ludouici Regis Franciae" on the possibility of the expulsion of the infidels from the Holy Land. Ibid., ms. 15566, ff. 44 re.-53 vo.

The projects for a crusade of Philip the Good which never matured, have recently been studied by J.D.Hintzen in a monograph in Dutch entitled *De Kruistochtspannen van Philips den Goede*; Rotterdam, 1918.

politics and European literature, adverse to any crusading design, one forlorn figure of the past still lamented<sup>24.</sup> the desertion of Jerusalem and insisted on exerting a last effort for the old cause. Philippe de Mézières, the greatest of the propagandists of the crusading ideas in the century, seized the chance of the defeat of the Christians at Nicopolis to address himself to the Duke of Burgundy and to the princes of Western Europe in the last of his famous<sup>25.</sup> epistles — the 'Epistre lamentable et consolatoire'. The subjects most relevant to the present study in this large work are, firstly, the analysis of the causes that led to the defeat; secondly, the means whereby they could be remedied. The campaign failed, he argues, because it was wanting in the four virtues of good government — 'Regle, Discipline de chevalerie, Obedience et Justice'. In their stead, the three daughters of Lucifer — 'Orgueil, Conveitise et Luxure' — reigned amongst its leaders and their followers. Then, Mézières again expounds the necessity of establishing and supporting his order of Passion as the

24. "Lamentacio super Jerusalem de neglegencia christianorum" composed by Philippe de Mézières. Librairie du Louvre mss. A 899, B902, D547, E579, F534; cf. Delisle: Hist. Gen. de Paris, T.III, p. 162, Art. 1042.

25. Kervyn has edited the largest and most important parts of this work in vol. XVI, 444-525, of his 'Oeuvres de Freissart'. See also Bibl. Bodl., Ashmol ms. 342.



only remedy. The new Organisation should consist of three classes or 'estates' of combatants: the kings, the nobility and the bourgeoisie, and the common people — the leaders, the horse, and the foot, — all of whom should be stringently subjected to the new Rule that he had devised and elaborated on every possible occasion throughout his lifetime. He exhorts the Duke of Burgundy, the kings of England and France, and all good Catholics to avenge the shame and humiliation that had befallen the Christian faith; and he reminds the King of France in particular of the prowess of his noble ancestors from Charlemagne to St. Louis. But Philippe de Mézières was a forlorn voice in a world of change. Universal action had become impossible, and the disaster of Western chivalry at Nicopolis had tolled the knell of the age of new Orders and the age of the great crusades.

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APPENDIX I.

## Exhortation a la croisade.

(1395 ?)

Tous les priness de la crestiente,  
 Roys, contes, ducs, chevaliers et barons,  
 Qui tant avec l'un contre l'autre este,  
 Are et destruit et tue, nous scavens  
 Que tout se pert et tous nous destruisons,  
 Se pitie n'est qui soustiengne la foy;  
 Freres sommes, un peuple et une loy  
 Que Jhesu Crist vout par son sang acquerre;  
 Seions d'acort, mettons nous en arroy,  
 Pour conquerir de cuer la Saincte Terre,

Que nous avons par nostre iniquite,  
 Par convoitier, comme fiers et felons,  
 Aux ennemis de Dieu, dont c'est pitie,  
 Laisse long temps. Las! nous nous affolons;  
 Pe sommes gens, et si nous deffeulons  
 Tant que chascun n'ara tantost de quoy  
 Vivre; pensons au bon due Godefroy;  
 Jherusalem conquist par bonne guerre:  
 Au propre sien passa mer, com je croy,  
 Pour conquerir de cuer la Saincte Terre.

Celle conquist; soyons donc exite  
 De faire autel: lengues treves prenons,  
 Se paix n'avons a nostre volente.  
 Le Roy des Frans, d'Espaigne requerons,  
 Cil d'Arragon, d'Angleterre; querons  
 Le prestre Jehan, des Genevois l'octroy,  
 Veniciens, Chypre, Roddes, le Roy  
 De Portugal; Navarre alons requerre;  
 Pape, empereur, mettes vous en courroy  
 Pour conquerir de cuer la Saincte Terre.

## L'ENVOY.

Princes mondain, je vous requier et proy  
 Que vous m'aidies les Sarrasins conquerre;  
 Je suis la ley, soies avecques moy  
 Pour conquerir de cuer la Saincte Terre.

Oeuvres completes de Eustache Deschamps ed. by Le Marquis  
 de Saint-Hilaire etc. Vol. I, Balade XLIX, pp. 138-9;  
 also Tarbé, T. I, p. 115.

**Sur Elyon de Millac.**

Tredouce fleur, Elyon de Millac,  
 Me tien a vous et non pas a la fueille,  
 Car po est gent qui avoir ne la veille.

On met souvent les fueilles en un sac,  
 Ains que le fruit ne que la fleur se queille.  
 Tredouce fleur, Elyon de Millac,  
 Me tien a vous et non pas a la fueille.

Mais vous estes le precieux eschae  
 Qui ne souffres que nuls pour vous se deuille.  
 A vous me rent, ve pits me recueille:  
 Tredouce fleur, Elyon de Millac,  
 Me tien a vous et non pas a la fueille,  
 Car po est gent qui avoir ne la vucille.

Vol. IV, Rondeau DCCLXVI, p. 261; also Tarbé, Vol. II, p.7.  
 (See the 'Ordonnance', Appendix VI, Nevers' Council of War.)

Centre la Hongrie et la Lombardie.

De paradis ne searoie parler,  
 Ne je n'y fu enques jour de ma vie,  
 Mais en enfer vous ferdy bien aler,  
 Se vous voules passer en Lombardie  
 Ou cheminer le pais de Hongrie,  
 Entre les mons; la sont glasse et nois,  
 Grans froidures par tous les.XII.moye,  
 Et habismes jusqu'en terre profonde,  
 Et ne croist fors que sapins et rapeis:  
 Le pais est en enfer en ce monde.

Charrettes ou chars n'y pourroient passer,  
 Et le souleil qui est hault n'y luiset mie,  
 Ny n'est oisel qui y puist demeurer:  
 Pour la froideur volent autre partie.  
 Mais le chemin n'a pas piet et demie;  
 Qui mespasse, e'il chist, mors est tout frois,  
 Et se chevaulx s'encontrent a la foys,  
 La convient il que l'un l'autre confonde  
 Pour les griefs pas et les chemins estreis:  
 Le pais est un enfer en ce monde.

Verdeur n'y a, cerf, biche, ne cengler,  
 Vignes ne bles, ne nulle melodie,  
 Ours et chameulx voit on les mons ramper,  
 Mais leurs vivres que nul d'eulx ne mendie  
 Quierent ailleurs; du main jusqu'a compie  
 Sont tenebres, vens et horribles vois;  
 Et Lucifer qui est des diables roys  
 Ou hault des mons e ses freres habonde,  
 Qui en tous lieux depart gelée en frois;  
 Le pais est un enfer en ce monde.

L'ENVOY.

Prince, qui veult corps et ame dampner  
 D'un grant pecheur, face loy condempner  
 Entre ces mons, et a lui mettre bonde  
 Du remanoir sans pouoir retourner:  
 Le pais est un enfer en ce monde.

Pour les Français morts à Nicopolis.  
(1396).

Las! se Judich pleura pour Bethulie,  
Rachel aussi pour la mort ses enfans,  
Jherusalem dont fist plour Jheremie  
Sur son exil qu'il fut prophetisans  
Pour ses pechiez, doivent plourer les frans,  
Nevers, Bar, Eu, connestable de France,  
Marche, Coucy, l'Admiral qui s'avance:  
La banniere porta de Nostre Dame  
Contre les Turs; mains devez muert par lance:  
De chascun d'eulx ait Dieu mercy de l'ame!

L'an mil .CCC. IIII<sup>XX</sup>., en Turquie,  
Sur le septembre, adjeint encor .XVI. ans,  
Ot maint baron et le roy de Hongrie,  
Franceis, Anglois, Bourgongnons, Alemans,  
Les pluseurs mors, autres prins des tirans,  
Pluseurs fuitis. Pleurons cests meschance,  
Vengons leur mort, aions en Dieu fiance,  
Priens pour eulx, donnons d'or mainte drans  
Aux povres gens, faisons leur secourance;  
De chascun d'eulx ait Dieu mercy de l'ame!

Nyhopely, cité de payennie,  
A ce temps la eu li sieges fut grans,  
Fut delaissies par orgueil et folie;  
Car les Hongres, qui furent sur les champs  
Avec leur roy fuitis et recreans,  
Leur roy meisme en mainent par puissance  
San assembler. Ayons tuit souvenance  
Des prisonniers que tient Basach sous lame,  
Des mors aussi, pour garder no creance:  
De chascun d'eulx ait Dieu mercy de l'ame!

L'ENVOY.

Prince, pour Dieu humblement vous supplie  
D'avoir tousjours loial chevalerie  
Et d'estre humble, qu'orgueil ne vous diffame,  
Car Dieu le het, et ne vous fies mie  
En traiteurs dont no gent est perie  
De chascun d'eulx ait Dieu mercy de l'ame!

## Faisant Mention de la mort de Monseigneur de Coucy.

(1397).

Lines 11 - 20.

Car a son temps fut appert et joli,  
 Saige, puissant, de grant largesse plain,  
 Beau chevalier, bien travaillant aussi;  
 San nul repos hostel tint large et sain  
 De chevaliers qu'il avoit soir et main  
 Avecques lui de s'ordre et compaignie;  
 Preux et hardis, un temps en Lombardie  
 Arreste prinst, la cite de renon,  
 Et par avant le eraint Milan, Pavia;  
 Prions a Dieu qu'il lui face pardon!

Lines 44 - 50 (yr. of death and burial place).

L'an mil .CCC. IIII<sup>XX</sup>, pour certain,  
 Dis et set ans adjeuste; a ce mehain  
 Mourut li bers de male maladie  
 Tout prinsennier. Ses os en l'abbaye  
 De Nogent sont en tombel riche et bon  
 Dessoubs Coucy e son anceserie;  
 Prions a Dieu au'il lui face pardon!

Vol. VII, Balade MCCCLXVI, pp. 206-08; also Tarbé, I, 174.

Faictes pour ceuls de France quant ils furent en Hongrie.

(1396).

Las! ou sont les haulx instrumens,  
 Les draps d'or, les robes de soye,  
 Les grans destriers, les parremens,  
 Les jousteurs que veoir seuloie,  
 Les dames que danser veie  
 Dès la nuit jusques au cler jour?  
 Las! ou est d'orgueil le sejour?  
 Dieux l'a mie en partie a fin;  
 Je ne voy que tristesse et pleur  
 Et obseques soir et matin.

Ou sont les enchainemens,  
 Que l'en portoit comme courroye,  
 D'argent et d'or, leurs sonnemens,  
 Pour mieulx prendre ces saulx en voie?  
 L'oesil de corps, de la monnaie,  
 Gast de viandes et d'ateur  
 Perte d'esprit, grant luour  
 De terches, gastement de vin,  
 Je ne voy que tristesse et pleur  
 Et obseques soir et matin.

Et en mains lieux noirs vestemens  
 Porter, dueil et courroux pour joye,  
 Sonner pour les trespassemens  
 De plusieurs que Pites conveys  
 Au moustier; Vengeance nestroye,  
 Pechié en quelconque seigneur,  
 En grant, en moien, en mineur;  
 Soyen tuit a bien faire enelin:  
 Je ne voy que tristesse et pleur  
 Et obseques soir et matin.

L'ENVOY.

Prince, abisme est li jugemens  
 De Dieu et ses pugnissemens;  
 Il l'a bien moustre a ce tour:  
 En Turquie est ses vengemens,  
 De loing, par divers mandemens,  
 Pour nos pechies pleins de venin:  
 Je ne voy que tristesse et pleur  
 Et obseques soir et matin.

APPENDIX II.List of Members of the Order of Passion.

(IIIrd. Redaction).

Remark:

The names are not modernised, but quoted as they appear in the original. Vide Arch. de l'Orient Latin. T. I. pp. 362-64.

The first who accepted the message of the New Order:

1. 'Robert l'Ermitte du clos de Constantim en Normandie.'
2. 'Monseigneur Jehan de Blesi, seigneur de Mauvilly, de Bourgoingne, chambellan du Roy et chevetaine de Paris.'
3. 'Monseigneur Loys de Gyach, de Limesin, chambellan et grant eschanson du Roy.'
4. 'Monseigneur Othe de Granson, de la terre de Saveye, Chevalier d'onneur du roy d'Engleterre et du duc de Lencastre.'

<u>Country</u>	<u>Those who promised to become Knights of Passion.</u>	<u>Those who promised to support the Order.</u>
<u>France</u>	Monseigneur le duc de Bourbon. Mons. le mareschal de France, Bouciquant. Mons. Jehan de Vienne, admiral de France. Mons. Jehan de Chaalon, seigneur de Larlay, et Mons. Henry son frere. Mons. Jaque d'Arbon. Mons. Guillaume de Forrimentes. Mons. Jehan de Sainte-Croix. Mons. de l'Espinace. Mons. Gille de Peissy. Mons. Gaucher d'Yrois. Mons. Henry de Rye.	Mons. le duc de Berry, qui a offert pour la chevalerie C hommes d'armes paies pour un an, comme il appert par ses lestres patentes. Mons. le duc d'Orliens, frere du roy de France, grandement a offert son aide. Mons. le conte d'Estampes, XII hommes d'armes, paiss pour un an. Mons. Phelipe d'Artois, connestable de France. Mons. Pierre de Navarre. Mons. Henry de Bar. Mons. de Coucy. Mons. le conte de Saint Pol.



Maistre Jehan Andrieu,  
des seigneurs de  
parlement.

Maistre Lion de Moseray,  
doyen de Valence.

Jehan d'Uissier, escuier.

Bartholomé Leust de  
Clervaux, escuier.

Nicaise Boistel, escuier.

Maistre Jehan Hue,  
archidiaire d'Arbonne,  
secrotaire du Roy et  
chaneine de Paris.

Mons. Guy de Nelle,  
seigneur d'Aiffre-  
mont.

Mons. Jaque Pensart de la  
Rechelle, lui V<sup>e</sup>.

Maistre Thomas Laurent,  
procureur du roy en  
Saintonge.

Mons. Guillaume aux Espaules  
de Normandie.

Mons. Pierre de Bigars, de  
Normandie.

Maistre Jehan le Vistre,  
docteur en loys à  
Lien sur le Roene.

Mons. Pierre de Craon,  
qui a effri II<sup>e</sup> livres  
de rente pour la diete  
chevalerie.

Mons. Guillaume Martel.

Mons. Jehan de Hangeest.

Mons. Aubert de Hangeest,  
le seigneur de la Freté,  
mareschal de Normandie.

le seigneur de Viespont.  
le Baudrain de la Housse.

Mons. Guillaume de Merle,  
gouverneur du Dauphine.  
le Chast. de Flandre.

Spain

Mons. Pierre Louppee,  
grant baron.

Mons. Robert Braquemont.

Aragon

Mons. le vicente de Rode.

Mons. Ponce son frere.

Gascony

le vicente d'Arte.

le seigneur de Castillon.

le seigneur de Lesparre.

Navarre

Arnault d'Aigremont.

Jehan de l'Eglise.

Raoul Pain-me-fault

Mons. Charles Alferis.

Guillaume de Seris.

Germany Mons. Hue de Hamost,  
chancelier du roy de  
Suesse.

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England Le duc d'Youlc, oncle du  
roy d'Engleterre.  
le conte de Rutheland,  
fils du dit duc.  
le conte Mareschal.  
le conte de Nortomber-  
lande.  
Mons. l'evesque de  
Saint David.  
Mons. le Despensier.  
Mons. Hue le Despensier.  
Mons. Loys Clifford.  
Mons. Thomas West.  
Mons. Guillaume Helemann.  
Mons. Jehan Harlestone.  
Mons. Guillaume Feniston.  
Mons. Raoul de Percy.  
Mons. Hervy fils Hue.  
Mons. Symon Felbrig.  
Mons. Richart Albery.  
Mons. Hervy Guine.  
Mons. Thomas Herpignen.  
Mons. de Rochefort.  
Mons. Robert Morley.  
Piteux, escuier.  
Richart Chelmesinch  
escuier du Roy.

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Le duc de Glocestre,  
oncle du roy.  
Le duc de Lencastre.  
Le conte de Hornthene,  
frère du roy  
d'Engleterre.

Scotland Mons. David et Mons.  
Alixandre de Lindesay,  
freres.

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Lombardy

Le conte de Vertus, duc  
de Milan, qui a offert  
pour la dicte chevaleri  
XXX<sup>m</sup> florins, comme il  
appert par ses lettres,  
et tres grant aide de  
bouche.

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**The Church**

Le pape Benedic, qui de  
son propre mouvement  
a voulu avoir le livre  
de la chevalerie.

L'arcevesque de Reims.  
L'arcevesque de Vienne.  
L'evosque de Senlis.  
L'evosque du Puy.

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APPENDIX III.

PHILIPPE DE MEZIERES'

NOVA RELIGIO PASSIONIS.

Bodleian MS. No. Ash. 813.

Les Rebriches des causes pour les quelles ceste  
cheualerie de la passion Jhesu Crist est  
necessaire voire le tamps du jour duy mauuais  
& perillous considere & le monde qui fort va a  
declin.

La premiere cause que ceste cheualerie fort necessaire  
cest assavoir que par l'exemple d'une si nouvelle & si  
solempnele deuotion les crestiens & par especial les  
hommes d'armes soient esmeu de laisser leurs pechiez &  
de leur vie amender.

2<sup>o</sup> ....par l'exemple de ceste sainte cheualerie (f.4ro.)  
entre les crestiens par vne nouvelle compassion soit  
rafreschie & renouvellee la passion de nostre seigneur  
Jhesu Crist.

3<sup>o</sup> ....que par luy (the Order of Passion) soit mande le  
secours prumptement as crestiens d'orient qui en ont grant  
mestier.

4<sup>o</sup> ....que par la dicte cheualerie la terre sainte soit  
acquise & deliuree de la main des anemis de la foy &  
acquise en la foy fermement retenue.

5<sup>o</sup> ....de la necessite & du bien qui perra avenir de ceste  
sainte cheualerie cest assavoir afin que par elle la  
sainte foy catholique par toutes regions d'orient soit  
multipliee.

- 6<sup>o</sup> ....pour resister sil sera besoing a ceulx qui partour-  
bent la foy catholique & leglise de Rome si comme as  
hereges tirans & scismatiques dessa la mer demourans.
- 7<sup>o</sup> ....que nostre sainte cheualerie en son chemin passant  
par ytalie par auenture pourra estre necessaire sur le  
fait de la diuision et scisme de leglise. En querant &  
trouant aucun bon tractie sans effusion de sans a ce que  
leglise de dieu espouse de Jhesu Crist diuisee & teurbles  
(sic) par la misericorde de dieu soit ramenee a vn seul &  
vray pasteur des ames veire le Roy de france & dengleterre  
ce procurant & ceste legation a la diete cheualerie  
commetant.
- 8<sup>o</sup> ....que se la pais ferme vne fois soit mandee du  
ciel la quelle dieu vuelle oestreier entre les Roys de  
france & dengleterre ceste cheualerie sera necessaire  
pour aler deuant les Reis comme noble & poissant fourriere  
en la terre doultre mer et la fichier son pie & prendre  
terre vaillamment en attendant les Roys qui vendront  
au saint passage.
- 9<sup>o</sup> ....quant par la bente de dieu les Roys a tout leur  
grant host seront descendu en la terre des anemis de la  
foy & cheuaueront (sic) ceste sainte cheualerie pour la  
garde & tuicien des personnes des Roys & de tout loest des  
crestiens aura tous<sup>ou</sup> lauantgarde et certains vaillans  
cheualiers esleus dicelle cheualerie seront ordenes au  
frain des deesusdis Roys & entre ce la dite cheualerie  
aura tous jours larriere garde afin que les roy en loest  
du crucifix ne prengne signourie. (F. 4 vo.)
- 10<sup>o</sup> ....que as gens darmes & de pie sans nombre qui vendront  
en loest des roys a leurs propres despens & sans maistres  
ou seigneurs & sans regle les quelz aucune fois vandront  
ce batailles solement par euls emprises faire leur volente  
errano parmy loest comme ouelles sans pasteur par cest sainte  
cheualerie soient regule & adrecis a ce quil auront a faire  
et non destourber loest de dieu par telle maniere de gens  
desregulees.

- 11<sup>o</sup> ....quant aucunes foys es grans batailles des Roys et des princes encontre les anemis de la foy par la permiscion diuins les victoires ne vendrent pas tousjours a souhait ceste sainte cheualerie a la lettre regulee & experte en fait darmes & en tous perils aura souueinement & deliguement la cure possible des mors & des naures afin quil ne deient pas demourer en la main des anemis en confusion de la sainte foy catholique.
- 12<sup>o</sup> ....quant les nobles & vaillans Roys en la terre des anemis de la foy seront en leur host hors de forteresse leur personnes soient gardees & de jour & de nuit par les plus vaillans cheualiers esleus de nostre sainte cheualerie.
- 13<sup>o</sup> ....quant par les Roys vaillaument combatans aucunes cites perilleuses ou forteresses seront prises & acquises & dangereuses a garder par la sainte cheualerie appareillie a tous perils pour la garde dicelles a ce sans arest soit pourueu.
- 14<sup>o</sup> ....que par la vigilance diligence & caute & subtile discipline de guerre de nostre cheualerie ses espies veillans & non dormans les Roys a toutes heures de lestat & secretes des anemis de la foy comme il sera possible soient garnis & enfourmes.
- 15<sup>o</sup> ....par la bonte de dieu il se pourra trouuer aucun bon & honnorable traictie a lonneur de la foy entre les Roys & les anemis de la foy le prince de cheualerie en personne ou par ses sages & esleus cheualiers de la cheualerie sans fatigation ou repos en ce se doit traouiller par toutes manieres que faire se pourra voire la maieste royale tousiours commandant & ordenant.
- 16<sup>o</sup> ....quant les Roys seront dans lest du crucifix en my les champs encontre les anemis a aucun siege nostre sainte cheualerie par lordenance Royale par certains vaillans cheualiers en quantite raisonnable de la cheualerie sera humblament (s. 5 ro) visiter le gait de lest des Roys & le gait des engiens certaines heures della nuit en eulz doucement reconfortant le diligamment veillier & en gardant aucunement lest des espies des anemis & faulx crestiens qui volentiers vont de nuit.

- 17<sup>o</sup> ....en lest des Roys catholiques lanemi de l'umaine nature procurant aucuns rumors debas ou dissensions sourderont ou seront tallie de sourdre comme il est bien a coustume es grans host qui aucune fois ne sont pas bien regule tel cas auenant le prince de la cheualerie du crucifix en personne ou par ses grans officiaux selonc l'estat & dignite des personnes es quelles sera le debat ce traueillera a son plain pooir distaindre les die debas en ramenant les personnes contrarians a bonne amour & charite voire la passion du doulx Jhesu moiens.
- 18<sup>o</sup> ....que les cristiens des parties deccident qui sueront voue ou entendent a vouer ou leurs peres & parens daler oultre mer en saint passage des quels parens il aueront la succession temporele ou espirituele ou par auenture seront obligie en aucune maniere au saint passage doultre mer. Tels gens deuotement & saintement en la compaignie de ceste sainte cheualerie pourront bien accomplir leurs veus debtes & promesses voire leglise dispensant.
- 19<sup>o</sup> ....que les mainsnes filz des freres des nobles hommes de france dengleterre & dailleurs qui ont petite ou aucune foys nulle portion des heritages de leur pere pourront seruir a la dicte cheualerie & eil en porteront bien il aqvesteront noble heritage.
- 20<sup>o</sup> ....que se par la permission diuine les Roys seront destourbez que ja nauiegne de tost faire le saint passage que pour satisfaire a dieu des voue & obligations de leurs grans peres touchans au saint passage il doivent mander oultre mer sans arret ceste sainte cheualerie & tout ce qui est dit es chapitres dessus que la dite cheualerie deuoit faire touchant les personnes des Roys elle le fera a la personne du prince de la cheualerie & des presidents en labsence des Roys. (P. 5 vo).

APPENDIX IV - A.Franco-Burgundian Levies for Crusading Preparations.

	Contemplated Sums.	Actual (1) Payments, francs.
1. The County of Flanders..	65,000 nobles..	134,015
The Clergy of Flanders..	5,155 " ..	12,000 (2)
The towns of Malines and Antwerp.....	5,000 " ..	10,340
Lille, Douay and Orchies	10,000 francs..	10,000
The County of Artois....	30,000 " ..	5,000 (3)
The Duchy of Burgundy...	40,000 " ..	20,000 (4)
The County of Burgundy, together with Auxonne, Cussey, Sagy and Salins (5)	10,000 " ..	10,000 (6)
The County of Rethel....	6,000 " ..	6,000
The County of Nevers....	10,000 " ..	10,000
The County of Charolais. together with the territories of Champagne.	4,000 " ..	<u>4,000</u> (7)
		221,355
11. Aide from the king.....	30,000 " ..	30,000 (8)
The Duke's monthly pension of 4,000 fr. from the royal treasury for nine months;.....	36,000 " ..	<u>36,000</u> (9)
		116,000
111. Other Miscellaneous ordinary aides and loans from the royal and ducal private demesnes etc..		<u>183,000</u>
		Total. <u>520,355</u>

See the footnotes on the following page.



- IV. Other sums raised: (10)
1. 828 livres from the town of Oudenbourg, near Ostend.
  2. 40 livres from the Lombardes of Douay, 30 from those of Lille. (11)
  3. Economies on the ducal expenses the sum of 91,400 fr. for the expedition.
  4. A loan of 50,000 fr. from Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan. (12)
  5. A gift of 50,000 fr. from the King to Monseigneur de Nevers.

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Footnotes.

1. The transformation is approximately made into francs according to contemporary values, for any such effort to produce these in modern money is misleading.
2. According to the document (1395) given by Le Roulx (II, 18), the sum that was to be raised from the clergy should be 5,155 nobles (10,620 fr.). But Plancher in 'preuve No. clxxx' (III, p. clxxxiii) gives letters addressed to Jean de Vergy, Thebaud de Rye and Brève Félice (2 July 1396) to demand from the 'gens d'Eglise' a contribution of 12,000 fr. in gold towards the expenses of the Crusade. The second figure is adopted here.
3. Artois gave actually 20,000 fr., of which the huge sum of 15,000 was deducted by the Treasurer for his expenses. (Le Roulx, II, 18.) According to the Bauyn MS., f. 343 re., the contribution of Artois was 35,000 l.
4. Plancher reproduces the total sum, i.e., 40,000 fr. (III, p. 147). But as the Duke ordered a debt of 20,000 in the said duchy to be paid out of this levy, the actual revenue for the Crusade is therefore reduced by half. Le Roulx, II, 18.
5. Plancher, III, 148, says that Senlis had to pay 12,000 fr.
6. Ibid., 148, mentions the sum of 14,239 livres; and the Bauyn MS., f. 343 re., mentions 30,000 l. from the County of Burgundy alone.
7. Le Roulx, II, 19, gives the approximate total of 220,000 fr.

Footnotes - contd.

8. The Bauyn MS., f. 343 vo., estimates the royal aide at 100,000 l.
9. Le Roulx, II, 19.
10. Arch. du Nord, chambre du Compte de Lille, B. 1860 No. 42 (t.IV). cf. Le Roulx, II, 21.
11. Le Roulx, II, 21-22.
12. Ibid., Preuve No. 5, p. 20. (Arch. Départem. du Nord. B. 1241.)

APPENDIX IV - B.

Specimen of the individual seignorial expenses taken from the accounts of Guy VI de la Tremouille in the first vol. (pp. 13-15) of "Les la Tremouille pendant cinq siècles" — a work unknown to Brauner and Delaville Le Roulx.

The following sums were received by "monseigneur de la Tremouille pour son voiaige d'Ongric":-

I.	From Dine Rapondi, 'par la main de Adenin Geolier', at Dijon.....	7,775 fr.
II.	From a certain Garnier.....	3,433 fr.
III.	From Joocerant Frepier, 'receveur general de Bourgegne sur la pension de mondit agr. V <sup>m</sup> fr. par an, pour IIII mois fenis le darnier d'avril 1396'.....	1,666 fr. 13s. 4 d
IV.	From a certain Loys Charpentier.....	500 fr.
V.	From the Treasurer of Burgundy.....	1,075 fr.
VI.	From the same 'en mil nobles' .....	2,125 fr.
VII.	'Des aides generaulx, presentment, III <sup>m</sup> fr. et dedans la Saint-Jehan 1396 II <sup>m</sup> fr.....	5,000 fr.
VIII.	From the Viconte de Falaise et de Pantautou.....	2,000 fr.
IX.	From the Vicontés de Beaumont-le Rogier and de Couches.....	<u>600</u> fr.
	Total.....	24,174 fr. 13s. 4d

APPENDIX V.Extracts from the Bauyn MS.

- Bauyn:** Mémoires du voyage fait en Hongrie par Iean, dit, Sand-Pour, Comte de Neuers. Bibl. Nat., Collection de Bourgoigne, ms. 20, Reis et Dues.
- Extract A:** "Etat General De toute la Maison, et des Equipages Du Comte de Neuers." Folios 348re. - 349 re.
- Extract B:** Lists of the first (fol 350 ve.) and the second (folios 353 re. - 354 re.) of presents sent to Bayezid by the Duke of Burgundy.
- Extract C:** List of presents given by the Duke of Burgundy to the released captives on their return. Fo. 262.

## A.

Apart from the numbers constituting the Count's household by the ordinance of 28 March, 1396, there were:-

"100 hommes de liurees qui menaient en main chacun un cheual de service: y aiant Douze sceelles d'or, garnies de Pierreries: D'autres, d'argent massif sans des ceuvertures a fond d'Or-Battu aux armes du Comte; les Champsfrains et Housses des Cheuaux estoient de Toille d'Argent, armories de fin Or Battu sur sandal, aux armes Du Comte; Les autres sceelles estoient d'yuoir d'es et de Wineau vert, en Broderie d'Or de Chipre aussi aux armes du Comte."

"Ses Tentés et Panillons estoient de Satin verd, charges de ses armes en Broderie d'Or de Chipre, qui estoient charges sur vingt quatre chariots."

"Il auoit pour le service de sa Personne et de ses offices 133 valets de Liurees qui estoient de verd gay, et dont les habits estoient couverts d'erfeurerie."

"Il fit porter quatre grandes Bannieres d'une aulne et demie de long; dans lesquelles L'Image de notre Dame Battue en or, estoit representee et armericee aux armes de France, aians chacunes huit escussions en Brederie à ses armes."

"Plus six Grands Estandartz d'Argent Battu, ou estoit escrit en lettres d'or, le nom du Comte, Semés et Drapés de sa devise."

"Et Trois cent Petits Panons Battus D'argent, ou estoit aussi escrit son nom; avec vingt cinq gros autres Panons de même façon. Tous les quels Estandarte, Bannieres, et Panons estoient posés au deuant et au dessus des Tentés."

"Au Deuant de celle ou il logeoit, il y auoit Douze Trompettes, reuetues des cottes d'armes, Battues d'Or, aiant chacune une Banniere Battue d'Argent à ses armoires."

B.

Premiers Prezans Enuoyés à l'Empereur Bajaset par  
Philippe le Hardi Duc de Bourgogne.

"Deux harnois de cheuaux, d'yueir à images eloués à menus elous d'or, et semés par dessus de Pierreries; Rubannés de Ruban d'or, et franges de franges d'or autour; garnies aux quatre ecings et par les Bouts pendans au bas, de Ronds d'or de Lombardie.

"Trois autre scelles d'or à images de Taille à demi-ronds par les carrefeurs et par les Bouts pendans, garnis de Roses d'or.

"Quatre scelles de Paraments d'or fin et Rubanne, avec des Roses d'or; et les mors de Brides de même, avec courants (sic) mordans, quarante Boules, seize larets le tout de fin Or.

"Plus Deux Arsons de scelles tous (sic) garnis d'argent, et de rose de même avec les Brides d'argent."

Deuxieme Presents Envoyés a Bajazet pour la seconde  
fois par le Duc Philippe le Hardi pour traiter  
de la Ranson etc.

- "1<sup>o</sup> En Deux Pieces d'Escarlattte vermeilles entieres, facon de Bruxelles; Deux autres Pieces d'Escarlattte Rosées; Deux Pieces de Drap Gris; et Deux Pieces de Drap verd Gay.
- "2<sup>o</sup> En Douze cheuaux de Main, autrement Grands Cheuaux, avec dix harnois de Grand Prix, couverts de velours noir, chargés des armes du Duc, de fin or, et argent battu, a ses chiffres d'or, et d'argent de memo; il y auoit en outre Deux scelles avec leurs harnois de Vineaun Brodées d'or Battu, charges de lettres Sarrasinoises semées de plusieurs fleurs d'outre mer. Ces Cheuaux estoient conduits par douze hommes de la Liurée du Duc.
- "3<sup>o</sup> En Douze Chiens, entre les quels il y auoit deux Limiers, aians chacun un gros colier d'argent doré, et dix leuriers, aians de Coliers et chaines d'argent doré que douze autre hommes de Liurée, tenoient en main.
- "4<sup>o</sup> En Douze Gerfaux, ou faucons Blancs, portés par Douze fauconniers; et en Trente six Douzaine de Sennettes d'argent doré de Lombardie, pour les oiseaux de Bajazet.
- "5<sup>o</sup> En Deux Grossees Bouteilles d'argent doré, pesant Treize mars chacune.
- "6<sup>o</sup> En quatre grands Hanaps, et quatre aiguieres d'argent pesant trentecix mars.
- "7<sup>o</sup> En Douze Douzaines de Paires de Gands; scauoir six de charois Brodées d'or de Chipres; Deux Douzaines d'Escarlattte (sic); Deux Douzaines de Martre; et Deux Douzaines de Gris.

"8° En Douze Pièces de Toille fine de Rheims et en Douze Douzaines de seruiettes fines.

"9° En Un grand Hanap d'or, avec son couuerte pesant six mars, tout charge de Pierreries."

Messire Jacques seigneur de Helly se chargea de rendre au Comte de Neuers, vingt mille ducats, avec grande quantité de linges et d'habitz, dont les Prisonniers avoient un pressant besoin.

"Les Presens furent charges sur Douze sommiers couuerte de Tapis à fond d'or aux armes du Duc et Broderie sur les quels estoient des toilles circes."

## C.

Presens du Duc aux Princes et autres faitz

Prisonniers avec son filz...suivant leurs qualitez..

Count de la Marche.....	26, 000 livres
Boucionault.....	6,000 l.
( 'avec une aiguierre et un hanap d'or etc.' )	
Sgr. de Hangest.....	2,000 l.
( 'avec un fermail d'or etc.' )	
Jean Blondel son premier ecuyer.	1,000 l.
Guillaume de Helle, cheualier...	1,000 l.
Judart Delespinasse, cheualier..	500 l.
Antoine de Roxeray.....	500 l.
Odart Dorai.....	400 l.
Jean Dufoulon.....	300 l.
Jean Demanety.....	200 l.
Peteot Dany.....	200 l.
Guillaume De La Bruere, Maitre d'Hotel de Guillaume Helle.....	100 l.
Clerrey Desaint Seine.....	100 l.
Jean Mereau, clerk.....	100 l.
Jean Desaint Aubin.....	500 l.
Digne Raponde.....	12,000 l.
'et en outre 400 Eous d'or a la Ceuronne a Diverses fois'..	
Plusieurs escuiers.....	3,500 l.
Petite officiers de la maison du Comte de Neuers qui l'avoient assiste pendant sa prison.....	2,500 l.

APPENDIX VI.The 'Ordonnance' of the Duke of Burgundy.

This important ordinance was transcribed once by Den Urban Plancher as a 'preuve justificative' in his famous 'Histoire Générale de Bourgogne' (vol. III, preuve CLXX, pp. cixxiii-clxxv) in the 'thirties' of the eighteenth century. Since then, most historians, if not all, including Kervyn de Lettenhove (Oeuvres de Froissart, vol. XV, pp. 394-98), have relied entirely on Plancher's transcription. Portions of this ordinance also appear in the Bauyn ms. (Bibl. Nat., Coll. de Bourg., ms. 20, ff. 243 ro. - 247 ro.). On comparing Plancher's version with the original text preserved in the Archives de la Côte d'Or at Dijon (ms. B. 11876), I found that it was far from free from error, inaccuracy, omission and disorder, and that, all things considered, it would be advisable to offer scholars working on the history of the Crusade, of France and Burgundy, a new edition which here follows:—

Cy apres sensuient les noms de ceuls que monseigneur a ordonne aler au voiage de honguerie en la compaignie de monseigneur de Neuers.

## Premierement.

Messire Phelipe de Bar, lui iij<sup>o</sup> de chevaliers vj escuiers.  
Monsieur l'admiral de france lui iij<sup>o</sup> de chevaliers &  
vj escuiers.

Mr. de la Tremoille lui viij<sup>o</sup>.

Mr. le Mareschal de Bourgogne lui iij<sup>o</sup>.

Mr. Oudart de Chaseren lui iij<sup>o</sup>.

Mr. Jehan de Ste.-Croix lui iij<sup>o</sup>.

Mr. Guillaume de Merle lui iij<sup>o</sup>.

Mr. Geoffrey de Charny lui iij<sup>o</sup>.

Mr. Elyon de Neilhas lui iij<sup>o</sup>.

Mr. Jehan de Blaisy lui et un escuier.

Mr. Henry de Monbeliart lui ij<sup>o</sup> de chevaliers et ij  
escuers.



Mr. de Chatel-Belin lui ij<sup>o</sup> de chevaliers et  
 ij escuiers.  
 Mr. Guillaume de Vienne lui ij<sup>o</sup> de chevaliers  
 ij escuiers.  
 Mr. Jaques de Vienne lui ij<sup>o</sup> de chevaliers et  
 ij escuiers.  
 Mr. Jacques de Vergy lui iij<sup>o</sup>.  
 Mr. Thibault de Nuefchastel lui iij<sup>o</sup>.  
 Mr. Guillaume de Vergy & son frere chascun lui ij<sup>o</sup>.  
 Mr. Henri de Salins.  
 Mr. Henri de Chalon lui ij<sup>o</sup> de chevaliers et  
 ij escuiers.  
 Mr. le Haze de Flandres lui iij<sup>o</sup>.  
 Le Sire de Ray.  
 Le frere de la femme messire Henri.  
 de montbeliart.

Cy-apres sensuient autres de lostel de nondit Seigneur.

Monsieur Berthaut de Chartres.  
 Mr. Loye Dugay (premier escuier).  
 Mr. Jehan de Boues.  
 Mr. Tert des Essars.  
 Mr. Girart de Rigny.  
 Mr. Raoul de Flandres.  
 Mr. Jacques de Pontallier.  
 Mr. Jehan de Pontallier.  
 Mr. Jean de Saveisy.  
 Mr. Phelipe de la Trénouille.  
 Mr. Loys le Marechal.  
 Mr. Louis de Wenenghem.  
 Mr. Philibert de Villiers.  
 Le Sire de Grauille lui iij<sup>o</sup>.  
 Le Sire de Plancy lui ij<sup>o</sup>.  
 Mr. Jaques de Cortiamble.  
 Mr. Jehan de Crux.  
 Mr. Hugues de Monnetoy.  
 Mr. Phelipe de Mussy.  
 Mr. Jehan de Rigny.  
 Mr. de Manmes.  
 Mr. Fouque Paymiel.  
 Mr. le Galois de Renty.  
 Mr. Athoine de Balore lui iij<sup>o</sup>.  
 Mr. Anceau de Pennart.  
 Mr. Henry de Rye.  
 Mr. Jehan de Saint Aubin.

Mr. Jehan de Montaubert.  
 Mr. Jehan Prunelle.  
 Mr. Jehan de Tanquers.  
 Mr. Charles d'Estouteville.  
 Mr. Jehan de Granson.  
 Mr. de Ve, lui ij<sup>e</sup>.  
 Mr. Jehan le Sarrasin.  
 Mr. Jehan de Saint Germain.  
 Le Petit Braqueton.  
 Boelin Villers.  
 Le fils du Seigneur de Chastillon lui ij<sup>e</sup>.  
 Mr. Raoul de Rayneval lui ij<sup>e</sup>.  
 Le Sire de l'Espince.  
 Le Sire de Montigny.  
 Mr. Loys de Giac .j. escuier.  
 Mr. Gauvanet de Bailleur lui ij<sup>e</sup>.  
 Le Normandeau Maistre destel et ceulz qu'il  
 plaira amondit seigneur.  
 Damas de Buxeuil.  
 Briffault.  
 Robert de Ardentun.  
 Guillaume Breteau.  
 Le Jeunes Monnoier.  
 Montaubert.  
 Jehan de Sercus.  
 Roche-Cheart.  
 Dinceau de Villiers.  
 Guillaume de Vautrauers.  
 Jean de Capeaux.  
 Simon Breteau.  
 Gauingnon.  
 Guillaume de la Trencille.  
 Goscalc.  
 Loys Deus.  
 Estienne de Monsaion.  
 Victor Bastart de Flandres.  
 Estienne de Queningny escuier descuirie.  
 Jehan de Granson.  
 Le Porcelot de Besanson.  
 Thomas de Caronuel.  
 Mathe Lallement.  
 Enguerrenmet.  
 Claux de la Bahaignon.  
 Guillaume de Lugny.  
 Jehan de Ternant.  
 Bertran de Saint Chatier.  
 George de Rigny.  
 Pierre de la Haye.  
 Jehan de Pontallier.

Thierry de Saint Soigne.  
 Jehan de Quemigny.  
 Guillaume de Craon lui ij<sup>e</sup>.  
 Regnaut de Flandres.  
 Batetau.  
 Guillaume de Nanton.  
 Maubuisson.  
 Le Fils au Sire de Garanciere.  
 Rasse de Ranti.  
 Le fils de Madane de Malicorne.  
 Huguenin de Lugny.  
 Mathery.  
 Pierre de la Tremerie.  
 Gruthuse.  
 Jaques de Buxeuil.  
 Toulongen.  
 Muart.  
 Jean Bugnot.  
 Cajaut.  
 Relin de la Cressenniere.  
 Copin Faillart.  
 Jehan Huron.  
 Phelipe de Nanton.  
 Bonneu.  
 Guillaume Dannoy.  
 Chiffrenal.  
 Jehan de Blaisy.  
 Rasse de Taugues.  
 Nicole de Cordebourch.  
 Robert Gaudin.  
 Octeuille.  
 Jaquot de Sunx.  
 Le Beque de Rasse.  
 Item x archers Premierement.  
 Laurent Cogniquehaut.  
 Donatien du Ceps.  
 Ofier Bloet.  
 Jehan Carnes.  
 Jean Kobichen.  
 Andre le Petit Archer.  
 Gadifer.  
 Brocart.  
 Berthelet de Renel.  
 Adam Pasquot.  
 Item xx arbalestiers cest assaueir....

Les Gene qui sont aduises pour aler deuant en Hongerie  
pour faire les prouisions de Monseigneur de Neuers.

Simon Breteau maistre doctel.  
Guillaume Breteau Pancher.  
Jehan le Ternant sechancon.  
Robert de la Gressonniere.  
Copin Paillart esuyer de cuisine.  
Un boucher et ung poullailler.

Cy apres sensuient les choses necessaires appartenantes  
au fait que Monseigneur de Neuers doit faire presentement  
en Hongerie.

Premierement il est ordonne que tous ceulx qui uent en  
sa compaignie soient au xx<sup>e</sup> Jour dauril a Dion et illec  
on sera prest pour iij mois cest assauoir Cheualier  
xl frane Et chascun escuir xx. frane et chascun archier  
xij. frans et par chascun mois.

Ordonne par monseigneur presens monsieur le Conte  
de Neuers monsieur l'admiral monsieur de la Tremoille  
messire Guillaume de la Tremoille messire Odart de  
Chaseron messire ~~Ellon~~ de Neilhas & Pierre de la  
Tremoille le xxvij<sup>e</sup> jour de Mars auant pasques lan mil  
CCC iij<sup>xx</sup> & xv. (1)

Together with the manuscript already transcribed,  
but on a separate sheet, there is a number of lists and  
injunctions which may be regarded either as an appendix  
to the Ordonnance of Duke Philippe, or as a subsidiary  
Ordonnance independently issued by the Conte de Neuers  
for the organisation of his army and the martial law to  
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1. In a running commentary on the margin of fo. 347 ro.  
of the 'Mem. du voiage', Bauyn says that at the time  
of the ordinance "les annees ne commencent a se  
compter en france, qu'apres Pasques." Hence according  
to the modern calendar, the year should be 1396.

Delaville Le Roulx, I, 235, adopts Plancher's  
reading of the date as 29 March, but the Bauyn ms.,  
folios 343 re. and 347 ro., reads as 28 March in  
conformity with the original document.

be applied during the campaign. The following is the text thereof:—

Monsieur le Conte de Neuers sera le xx<sup>e</sup> jour d'auril a Dijon et la seront paie toutes ses gens et sera a la fin d'auril a Montbeliard pour suivre son chemin. (2)

Ceux par qui monsieur le Conte se conseilera

Premierement messire Phelipe de Bar,  
Monsieur l'admiral.

Mr. de la Trimouille.

Mr. Guillaume de la Trimouille.

Mr. Oudart de Chaseron.

Et quant bon semblera.

Monsieur de Bourbon.

Mr. Henry de Bar.

Mr. de Ceuxi.

Mr. le Connestable.

Mr. le Mareschal Bousiquant.

Et aussi quant bon semblera.

Monsieur Henry de Membeliart.

Mr. Guillaume de Vienne.

Mr. Henry de Chalon.

Mr. de Chatel-Belin.

Mr. de Longvy.

Mr. Guillaume de Merle.

Mr. Geoffroy de Charny.

Mr. Jehan de Blaisy.

Mr. Elyon de Neilhac.

Mr. Jehan de Tyc.

Pour le frain de monsieur le Conte de Neuers.

Monsieur Guillaume de Merle.

Mr. Jehan de Blaisy.

Mr. Jehan de Sainte Croix.

Mr. Elyon de Neilhac.

Mr. Guillaume de Vienne.

Mr. Geoffroy de Charny.

La Banniere de monsieur le Conte de Neuers.

Messire Phelipe de Mussy la portera.

Pour l'accompagner.

Courtiamble.  
Jehan de Blaisy.  
De Buxoul.

Le panon de monsieur le Conte Gruthuse le portera.

Nanton et Huguenin de Lugny pour l'accompagner.

(3)

Ordonnance faite par monsieur le Conte.

Que Gentil homme faisant rumour pert cheual et harneis.  
Et varlet qui fiert du coutel pert le poing.  
Et sil robe jl pert loreille.

Item que monsieur le Conte et sa compaignie  
a a requerir lavantgarde.

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3. Bauyn ms. f. 245 vo.

APPENDIX VII.Date of the Battle.

The date adopted for the battle of Nicopolis by historians, varies considerably, and it will be idle to dwell on the details of that variance amongst medievalists. There are, however, two main tendencies in secondary literature:-

1. A tendency amongst German medievalists to accept the authority of Strömer and place the battle on Thursday, 28 September.
2. A tendency amongst French scholars, on the authority of the Religieux and Froissart, to adopt Monday, 25 September.

It may help to an understanding of the position if we tabulate the dates given by the chroniclers of various countries.

French sources.

1. The Religieux de St. Denis, - "Dies erat dominica ultima mensis septembris, cum rumor adventus hostium innotuit." (24 September.)  
The statement which refers to the eve of the battle would imply that the battle was fought on Monday, 25 September.
2. Froissart, - "Advint en ce temps que on compta l'an mil CCC. IIII<sup>xx</sup> et XVI le lundi devant le jour Saint-Michiel ou mois de septembre, sur le point de noeuif heures, ainsi que le roy de Honguerie et les seigneurs et leurs gens, qui au siege devant Nicopoly estoient, secunt au disner, nouvelles vindrent en l'est que les Turcs chevauchent a puissance non pas moult loing de la." This again would give September 25, as the date of the battle.

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1. Vol. II, p. 500.

2. Vol. XV, p. 312.

3.  
3. 'Istere et chroniques de Flandre.' — "Et fu celle bataille en 1396, le jour de St. Michel."  
29 September.

German Sources.

4.  
1. Ulman Strömer; --- "...der streit gesach anno domini 1396 an donnerstag der sant Michaelstag", i.e. Thursday before Michaelmas, 28 September.  
5.  
2. Königshofen; and, 3. the Continuator of the Hagen chronicle. — Monday, 25 September.

Austrian sources.

6.  
1. The "Annales Mellicenses," — "Sed huius in crastino sancti Ruperti, 8 Kal. Octobris, miserabiliter pene omnes interfecti sunt et capti a Thureis."  
— 24 September.

Swiss sources.

7.  
1. The 'Res Gestae', — "Hoc bellum accidit mense septembri, die sancti Firmini episcopi et martiris."  
— 25 September.

Hungarian sources.

8.  
1. George de Pray, — "orte ad quarto Calendis edebis sole etc." 23 September.  
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3. In 'Coll. de chron. Belges inédites', ed. Kervyn, II, 419.  
4. Hegel (ed.) Chron...Städte. Nürnberg, I, 50.  
5. Le Roulx, I, 270.  
6. Mon. Ger. Hist. Script., IX, 514.  
7. Ed. Kervyn, in Freissart XV, 410. Le Roulx, I, 270, confuses this with "Die Berner Chronik" of Justinger which mentions only the year of the battle.  
8. In Schwandtner, I, 196.



Arabic sources.

1. Ibn al-Jazari, the Damascene writer who was in the train of Bayezid at Nicopolis, states at the end of a history (in verse) of the Prophet Muhammed (9) and the Caliphs that he finished the composition of his poem on "25 Dhulhijja, 798" A.H., the "third day" after the battle between the Turks and the Christians at "Yankabeli" (Nicopolis).
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9. B.M. ms., Or. 2433, f. 278 ro. An interesting, but historically thin account of the battle and the victory of Bayezid is made on ff. 277 vo. - 283 ro. According to Ibn al-Jazari's biography given in 'al-Shaqā'iq al-Mo'māniya' (Camb. ms. Dd. 11.11, ff. 13 ro. - 14 ro.), he was born at Damascus on 25 Ramadān, 751 A.H. (= 15 November 1351 A.D.), learned the Qurān in 764 A.H. (circa 1363 A.D.) performed the pilgrimage to Mecca in 768 A.H. (c.1367 A.D.), went to Egypt in 769 A.H. (c.1368 A.D.) where he collected the ten, twelve and thirteen readings of the Qurān, returned to Damascus and left for Bayezid's court at Brusa in 798 A.H. (c.1396 A.D.) where he was honoured, then was captured by Timur in 805 A.H. (c.1402 A.D.) and carried by him into the heart of Asia, entered the trans-Euphratean territories of Khurasan and Persia after Timur's death in 807 A.H. (c.1404 A.D.) visited Mecca and Medina, and died after his return to Shiraz in Persia on Friday, 1 Rabi' al-Awal 833 A.H. (Friday 8 December, 1429 A.D.) He wrote numerous works in poetry and prose, on grammar and syntax, on fiqh (Muslim theology) and Hadīth (the Prophet's sayings), on tradition and Qurān readings, and on the early history of Islam. He also taught many scholars in most of the places he visited.

All the Arabic chroniclers seem to agree that during the period of his refuge from Egyptian oppression at Bayezid's court, Ibn al-Jazari was highly honoured and generously treated by the Turk who granted him, apart from a host of horses, women and slaves, a daily allowance of '150 dirhams'. - Vide Maqrizi, vol. III, of Kitāb al-Sulūk (762-810 A.H.), Bedl. ms., Marsh 260, under year 799 A.H.; Ibn Qādi Shubba, vol. II, Bibl. Nat., fonds arabe 1599, f. 129 vo; Ibn al-Furāt, vol. VIII, Nationalbibl. (Vienna), A.F. 125, f. 223 ro. & vo.

According to Wüstenfeld-Mahler's 'Tabellen' this date corresponds to Friday, 29 September, 1396 of the Christian Era, and the battle would accordingly fall on Wednesday, 27 September. But as the Wüstenfeld-Mahler calculations are often subject to a day's error, it (10) follows that the battle must have ended on Tuesday, 26 September — the day of the massacre — and the encounter itself must have occurred on Monday, 25 September, 1396.

### Conclusion.

Monday, September 25, is probably the correct date for the following reasons:—

1. Its exponents belong to various countries — France Germany, Switzerland and Turkey. The Religieux, Froissart, Königshofen, the continuator of the Hagen chronicle and the anonymous author of the 'Res Gestae', in all probability wrote independently of one another and relied upon variant sources, — Ibn al-Jazari certainly did.
  2. The nearness of the date provided by the 'Annal. Mellis.' to 25th., rather than to 28th. September, suggests that the first, not the second, date is the more correct one.
  3. Ulmann Strüemer's authority in fixing the battle on 28th. is contradicted by his own countrymen — Königshofen and the continuator of the Hagen chronicle
  4. George de Pray, who gives the same date as Ulmann Strüemer, is not a contemporary of the battle, and his evidence cannot confound that of the contemporaries in many lands.
- 
10. The following are examples to illustrate this variance in dates:
    - a.- Maqrizi: Kitāb al-Sulūk. (Camb. ms. Qq. 276, f. 186 vo.) Thursday, 20 Rajab, 700 A.H. (Maqrizi) = Friday, 31 March, 1301 A.D. (Wüstenfeld-Mahler).
    - b.- Taking a modern date, e.g., Thursday, 20 October 1932, A.D., i.e., 20 Jumada II, 1351 A.H., the equivalent of which, according to Wüstenfeld-Mahler, would be Friday, 21 Jumada II, 1351 A.H.

5. The Arabic authority of Ibn al-Jazari, who was an eye-witness of the battle and who recorded his date almost immediately after it, leaves no room for argument against the theory that Nicopolis was fought on Monday, 25 September 1396.

APPENDIX VIII.Nicopolis to-day (1932): <sup>1.</sup> City and Battlefield.(1) The Routes:

The traveller may take the Varna Express from Sofia to Pleven, whence two routes lead to the Danube area near Nicopolis. In the first place, there is a slow and somewhat circuitous railway service to Jasen, Del, Mitropolia, Gaureni and Somovit along the Vit, a small tributary of the Danube. A project of continuing the railway line to Nicopolis is in view; and although this uncompleted section appears as complete on the guide maps, it has no existence in fact beyond Somovit, and the traveller cannot approach Nicopolis from Somovit except on foot or in cart — the only available vehicle in the district — for the distance of fifteen miles in the marshy woodlands along the Danube. In the second place, there is an ancient Roman road from Pleven direct to Nicopolis. In Roman times, this road linked the trans-Danubian territory of Dacia to 'Moesia Inferior' and the Empire. In the cold season, this road is

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 1. In the present Appendix I embody the results of my visit to the city and battlefield of Nicopolis, of my conference with the Bulgarian archaeologists and historians, and of my inquiries into the recent researches made in Eastern Europe on the antiquity and origin of the cities bearing the name of Nicopolis in Bulgaria.

I consider it my duty to put on record here an expression of gratitude to the Bulgarian authorities who did all they could to facilitate my task in the Danube region.

practically invisible and impassable on account of a  
<sup>2.</sup>  
 snow-clad countryside.

<sup>3.</sup>  
 (2) Problems of Origin:

The occurrence in Roman literature of Nicopolis as 'ad Istrum' and 'ad Haemum' seems to have caused confusion in medieval sources whose authority has been accepted in many modern works of reference. 'Nicopolis ad Istrum' was taken literally and identified as Nicopolis on the Danube near the mouth of the Osma, and 'Nicopolis ad Haemum' as another town now in ruin by Mt. Haemus, not far from the village of Nikup on the bank of the Roesitz. Hence 'Nicopolis Major' and 'Nicopolis ad Istrum' were regarded as one and the same foundation, owing its existence to Emperor Trajan who had established the city  
<sup>4.</sup>  
 to commemorate his victory over the Dacians.

This theory is now disproved, partly by recent and  
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2. When I visited that district in the Spring of 1932, the weather was extremely cold and the snow thick on plain and mountain, — a contrast to the excessive heat of the summer, characteristic in those regions.
3. Vide cap. IV, note 66.
4. The following are some of the works of reference in which this erroneous theory had been accepted: Larousse du xxe siècle, V, 76; Haydn's Diet. of Dates, 982; Cath. Encyc., XI, 70; Jewish Encyc., IX, 300; Imp. Gazetteer, II, 490; also d'Anville's Atlas places 'Nicopolis ad Istrum' on the Danube at the mouth of the Osma, see map 1.

accurate inquiries in the sources, but chiefly by the  
<sup>5.</sup>  
 archaeological excavations carried out in these districts.  
 'Nicopolis ad Istrum' and 'ad Haemum' are only two  
 different names of the ruined Nicopolis of Trajan in the  
 interior of Bulgaria. It was called 'ad Istrum' on  
 account of its proximity to the Rossitsa, a secondary  
 tributary of the Danube, and 'ad Haemum' owing to the  
 existence of Mount Haemus in its vicinity. Excavations  
 have now revealed on this site the walls, castellum,  
 forum and other purely Roman constructions, Roman  
 statues and Roman <sup>6.</sup> coins. On the other hand, 'Nicopolis  
 Major' contains no Roman relics, although some of its  
 Byzantine monuments are still standing, of which probably  
 the most notable is a small thirteenth century Church in  
 a purely Byzantine <sup>7.</sup> style. This medieval Nicopolis was  
 founded by the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius in 629 A.D.,  
<sup>8.</sup>  
 probably after the disappearance of 'Nicopolis ad Istrum'.  
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5. Pick, *Antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien*, I, 328  
 et seq; Welkow, *Roman City in Bulgaria* (in Bulgarian),  
 1-28.
6. Welkow, pp. 4, 7 and 9, and plates 1-4; Pilow, *Art  
 antique en Bulgarie*, pp. 51, 54, 59 and 72; *Bulgarie*,  
 133. The last work states that 381 Roman coins have  
 been discovered in the ruins of 'Nicopolis ad Istrum'.
7. *Bulgarie*, 191. The plan of this church appears in  
 Pretitch: *L'architecture religieuse bulgare*, 32.
8. Pick and Welkow (vide supra, note 5); *Bulgarie*, 191.

'Nicopolis Major' became famous in medieval history after the battle of 1396, and in modern history by the Turco-Russian War of 1876-77, commemorated by a monument on the Eastern heights overlooking the river. Opposite to this city, on the Roumanian side of the Danube there was another 'city of victory' distinguished from the others as 'Nicopolis Minor',<sup>188</sup> the site of which stands a modern town called Tornu Magurale.

(3) 'Nicopolis Major' and the Medieval Battlefield:

The older city is constructed on a very high plateau, precipitously overlooking the Danube on the Northern side, with a steep slope on the Eastern and Southern sides. On the Western side a ridge, sloping slightly downwards, connects the plateau with the opposite hills. Towards the East and the South lies a valley which separates the plateau from the high hills beyond. The Eastern part of the valley narrows down towards the part of Nicopolis on the Danube, while the Southern widens out to an extent which is sufficient to explain how 200,000 fought there on the disastrous day of the 25th of September, 1396. The considerable height of the hills on the Southern side of the valley throws a great deal of light on two points: first, the security of the shelter provided for Bayezid and his regulars, which left the Christians entirely

unsuspecting; second, the complete exhaustion of the foreign contingents after plodding their way uphill in pursuit of the Turkish irregulars, a pursuit which must have left them in no condition for further fighting with the flower of Bayezid's regular army.

Of the Medieval city, there remain yet a thirteenth century church, a double portal and some fragments of the upper walls and fortress, which are believed to have been complete till the Turco-Russian War of 1876-77. On the site of the old fortifications, however, there is still installed a modern Bulgarian garrison, for Nicopolis is yet an important military outpost.

Nicopolis is regarded in Bulgaria as a port; and, indeed, the width and depth of the Danube there justifies this view, although Somovit is now growing at the expense of the decline of Nicopolis for the simple reason that the first is the railway terminus.

The population of Nicopolis is about 5000 souls. On the authority of the Director of the Nicopolis 'Pre-

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9. Vide supra, section 2 and note 8 of this appendix.

10. The width of the Danube at Nicopolis is about two miles. In some places between Somovit and Nicopolis, it reaches the width of several miles, and its marshy course is broken by many islands.



Gynase', which was confirmed by enquiries in other quarters, more than 3,000 of the population are Turks, less than 2,000 are Bulgarians, in addition to 36 Jews, whose history may be traced back to no less than 600 years ago in this locality.<sup>11.</sup> It is, however, safe to say that about three-fifths of the population are Turks,<sup>12.</sup> and it appears that the Turks remain in majority along the Bulgarian side of the Danube which was once the bulwark of their Empire after the loss of Roumania. At present the Turks constitute the poorer classes in the city and still retain, or are forced by poverty to retain, their residence in the upper quarters of the city. These were once the more favoured and better protected quarters behind the double walls that are no more (except for the ruined fragment and the double portal leading to the new barracks). The Bulgarians live on the Eastern side at the foot of the old plateau.

It is interesting to note that the Turks in Bulgaria enjoy comparative freedom in the retention of those social

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11. The Jewish Ency. states that the Jews must have appeared at Nicopolis in Trajan's reign; but as Nicopolis Major did not exist until a much later date, this statement must be repudiated. The tradition amongst the Jews of Nicopolis is that their ancestors came to this city about 600 years ago.
12. Kercheff, *Minorités étrangères* etc., pp. 1-2, states that the Turks in Bulgaria in 1924 were 10.74% of the whole population, and that these lived in the extreme north and extreme south of that country.

and religious habits which a forced Westernisation of Turkey has seemingly eliminated in their older homeland.<sup>13.</sup> The Turks and the Bulgarians live harmoniously side by side, and cases of intermarriage between members of the two communities are neither infrequent nor horrifying to the native mind. The issue of such marriages generally follows the religion of the father, while the mother can retain her own beliefs. The Muslims retain their own private schools, subsidised in part by the Bulgarian government. They still have a number of mosques, one of which remains in Sofia itself. As a community, they also have their religious leader — the Grand Mufti.

According to the latest statistics compiled by the Bulgarian government, the Orthodox Christians are in majority, but the Muhammadans are still the strongest minority in the country. In fact, the Muhammadans are numerically about six times as many as all the other minorities, including Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Greeks, Armenians and Tsiganes taken together.<sup>14.</sup>

.....

13. An instance may be given by the survival in numerous cases of the Turkish head-dress amongst men and the veil amongst women, now abolished in Turkey by a forced Westernisation of the people.
14. Minorités en Bulgarie, Assoc. bulg. pour la paix et la soc. des nations, pp. 3 et seq., contains statistics to that effect.

APPENDIX IX.The ransom.Money raised by the Duke of Burgundy.

The following figures are drawn mainly from:—

1. The 'pièces justificatives' edited by Delaville Le Roulx in vol. II, pp. 36-37, 47-48, 49-58, 68-75 and 87-95.
2. An 'ordonnance' dated 18 May, 1399, edited by Plancher: preuve CLXXXII, p. clxxxiii. The central point in the 'ordonnance' is the reduction of pensions, and as it has not been reprinted since Plancher's time, it is given here in full.
3. The figures given in the Bauyn ms., ff. 354 vo. - 355 ro.

The figures produced by Barante, II, 206-07, amounting to a total of 373,800 fr., are, on the whole, erroneous, and should be disregarded.

		francs.
I. The Duchy of Burgundy....	50,000 fr.	50,000
The County of Burgundy...	30,000 l.	30,400
The Flemish towns.....	100,000 n.	200,000
The Clergy.....	7,193 n.	14,400
Lille and Beauport en Champagne.....	10,000 l.	10,100
Douai and Orchies.....	3,532 l.	3,550
County of Rethel.....	5,000 fl.d'or.	60,000
County of Nevers and barony of Denzy.....	10,000 fr.	10,000
County of Charolais.....	5,000 fr.	5,000
Besancon.....	3,000 l.	3,050
Artois.....	16,352 l.	16,500
II. Duchy of Burgundy - new subsidy.....		12,000
County of Charolais - supplementary impost.		2,000
		-----
	Carried Forward	417,000

Brought Forward. 417,000

III. 'Ordennance' of 18 May, 1399.

- "Sur Mons. de Saint Pol, de 8,000 francs qu'il a de mendié Seigneur par an, seront prins pour cette presente année, commencée en Janvier 1399, 4,000 f..... 4,000
- "A Mons. de la Marche, ne sera riens baillie, pour ce qu'il est ja payé de cette presente année..... excused.
- "Sur Mons. Edouard de Bar, de 3,000 f. a luy ordonnee avoir par an, seront prins pour ladite année, 1,000 f..... 1,000
- "Sur Mons. de la Rochefoucault pareillement. 1,000 f..... 1,000
- "Sur le Sire de Croy, de 500 d., 200 f..... 200
- "Sur Mons. la Vidame d'Amiens, de 500 f., 200 f. 200
- "Sur le Sire de Rambures, de 500 f., 200 f. 200
- "A Mess. Guillaume de Neillac, ne sera riens payé, pour ce qu'il ne sert point..... excused.
- "Sur le Sire de Louvey, de 500 f., 200 f. 200
- "Sur Mess. Jehan de Chaastel-Morant de 500 f., 200 f..... 200

("Somme de ce qui sera prins sur les dessusdits - 7000 fr.")

IV. Charles VI - Taille and present to Nevers.... 58,000

V. King of Hungary.....100,000 d. 1,200,000  
 Nobles of Hungary for ransom of Rustache de Jisua and Hungarian prisoners..50,000d. 600,000

VI. Loan from Castaigne de Flisco on 14 March, 1397..... 20,000

Total.. 2,302,000

Owing to the insufficiency of the above and to the 'avarice' of Bayezid, the Bauyn ms. adds (f. 358 re.), "Le Duc alienna des Rentes sur les revenus d'Arthois jusqu'a la somme de 50,000 livres, emprunta de Divers Particuliers la somme de 60,000 livres, et outre cela engagea une bonne partie de sa vaisselle d'or et d'argent: memo celle du Comte de Nevers son fils:"

APPENDIX X.Title of Sultan.The Chronicles.

The Turkish chroniclers are silent on this subject and the Arabic chroniclers are conflicting. The following examples, derived from the MSS., represent the three schools of thought extant:

1. Ibn Al-Shihna (ob. c. 1485), says that "in the year 797 (1), the Sultan (of Egypt) returned to Cairo. Ambassadors from Aba-Yesid 'Othman came to him with presents and gifts together with the request that the Caliph should raise him to the honour of being Sultan of the Roum. The Sultan granted their request."

(John Ryland, Arab. MS.67, f. 167 recto.)

Remark.

It is interesting to note that one glossator accuses Ibn Al-Shihna on the same folio of being a 'liar'. A second glossator seems to contradict the first, but as the edges of the folio were cut off, probably in the process of binding, parts of the glosses were destroyed so that it has become hard to give a literal account of the two glosses. Ibn Al-Shihna, however, seems to be responsible for misleading many historians including Gibbon.

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1. According to the Wüstenfeld-Mahler tables, this Hijra year includes parts of 1394 and 1395 A.D.

2. Ibn Hajar (ob. c. 1448) asserts that "Abou Yaxid ibn 'Othman...never bore a title, nor had he received any from his predecessors or successors (sic), nor was he called sultan nor king, but was called emir-nashan and khend-khan-nashan." (2)

(Mus. Brit., Bibl. Rich., MS. 7321, f. 139 vo.).

Remark.

Ibn Hajar, who was 'qādī-al-qodāt' or supreme judge of Egypt, had a legal mind and dwelt on the legal aspect of the title.

The only normal and legal way to acquire the title was through the Caliph, the successor of the Prophet Muhammad. Since, to Ibn Hajar's knowledge, it was not granted by the Caliph, the author seems to have taken the liberty to record the above view with regard to this much argued dignity. The other contemporary chroniclers who refer to the battle of Nicopolis and Bayesid in their works do not style him as Sultan.

Amongst these are the following:—

- a. Maqrīzī (ob. c. 1442); *Kitab al-Sulūk* Vol. II, Camb. ms. Qq. 41, under year 831 A.H. (non-foliated), and Vol. III, Bodl. ms., Marsh. 260, under the year 799 A.H. (non-foliated).
- b. Ibn al-Furāt (ob. c. 1404); *Tarīkh al-Deval wal-Mulūk*, vol. VIII; Nationalbibliothek (Vienna) ms., A.F. 126, f. 223 re & vo.
- c. Ibn Qādī Shuhba (ob. c. 1447); *Tarīkh*, vol. II, Bibl. Nat., fonds arabe 1599, ff 120 vo.
- d. Ibn al-Jazarī (ob. c. 1429); *Mat al-Shifa*, B.M. ms., Or. 2433, ff. 277 vo.—283 re.
- e. Ibn Daud al-Khatīb al-Jowharī (ob. ~~an~~ or after 1446); *Nusbat al-Nufus* etc., Cairo ms., Hist. 116M, ff. 70 vo. — 71 re

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2. These are all princely titles distinct from the title of Sultan.

f. Ibn Faḍlallah al-'Omārī (ob.c.1348); *Masālik al-Absār*, Photographs of the Aja-Sofia ms. preserved in Cairo under Kncyc. 559, Section 2, vol. 2, plate 350.

g. al-Qalqashandī (ob.c.1418); *Subh al-A'ashā*. (Cairo- 1913 etc.) Vol. V, pp. 367 et seq., and vol. VIII, p. 15.

3. Ibn Abd-al-Malik Al-Osamī (ob.c.1699) states definitely that the Seljuk Sultan, 'Aladdin, had raised Bayesid's great grandfather, 'Othman, to the rank of Sultan as a reward for his valour.

(John Ryland, Arab. ms. 118. f. 112).

Another later chronicler, Mari'i....ibn Ahmad al-Maqdisī (ob.c.1623) makes a similar statement to that of al-Osamī.

(Cairo ms., Hist. 2076, ff. 62 vo. - 63 ro.)

Furthermore ibn Battūta (ob.c.1377), the famous fourteenth century traveller, styles both Orkhan and 'Othman as Sultans.

(Défrénoy & Sanguinetti, vol. II, pp. 321-22 and Gibb., p. 136.)

Ibn Khaldūn (ob.c.1406), the famous historian, makes one cursory reference to 'Sultan Murad Bey', but styles Murad I's predecessors as 'Othman and Orkhan Jāq. (Cairo ed., vol. V, pp. 561-63).

#### Remark.

Perhaps these writers are responsible for the conclusion of Kantemir (pp. 14-15) who adopts this view. The evidence of the first two cannot be seriously taken into consideration, partly because they wrote under the influence of subsequent Ottoman successes, and partly because they were not contemporaries of that early age of Ottoman expansion. Ibn Battūta's testimony cannot



carry weight with it on this point, for, throughout his work he refers to the rulers of all the countries he visited as Sultans. The title occurs so much in his work that it would be idle to make a complete inventory of such occurrences. But interesting examples may be found in Défrémery and Sanguinetti where the Byzantine Emperor is styled as Sultan of Constantinople (II.437) and the rulers of India (III.98 et seq.), of Bengal (IV.212) and of China (IV.296) are also described as Sultans.

### The Official Sources.

A close examination of the correspondence of the Ottoman Sultans as presented by Faridun Bey (Majmu'a-i-Munsha'atu's-Salatin) reveals the following :-

- 1.- One letter, sine anno, of the reign of 'Othman beginning with the words "bi-Djenab Sultanat showkat etc." and contains a prayer that God may firmly establish the "foundations of the edifice of his Sultanate". (Vol. I, p. 66).
- 2.- Letter, dated 740 A.H. = 1339-40 A.D., in the reign of Orkhan, praying that the Almighty may "double his welfare, his value, his dignity and his Sultanate etc." (Vol. I, p. 75); and another issued at a later date, styles Orkhan definitely as "Sultan of Islam and Muslims.....Sultan Orkhan etc." (Vol. I, p. 80).
- 3.- During the reign of Murad I, the use of the title becomes more frequent, - vide, e.g., Vol. I, pp. 87, 88, 89, 94 and 96.
- 4.- The occurrence of the title of Sultan becomes the regular form in addressing Bayezid I, vide, e.g., Vol. I, pp. 114, 116, 118, 120 et seq.

The Numismatic Evidence.

The following is the result of the examination of the earliest Turkish coins preserved in the British Museum in connection with the present study :—

Orkhan.

1. Silver coin No. 69, is marked with this phrase:  
"The very great Sultan Orkhan 'Abdallah-may Allah perpetuate his kingdom — ibn 'Othman."
2. Silver coin No. 71. — Ditto.
3. Silver coin No. 76. — "The very great Sultan Orkhan 'Othman, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom."
4. Silver coins Nos. 77-81. — "The very great Sultan Orkhan 'Othman, may Allah perpetuate."

Murad.

1. Copper coin No. 86. — On the one side — "Murad ibn Orkhan, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom."  
and on the other :—  
"The just Sultan, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom."

Bayezid.

1. Copper coin No. 92. — "Sultan Bayezid".

### Conclusion.

Contrary to Gibbon's and Kantemir's statements, it seems from the existing official sources — both correspondence and coins — that Bayezid was not the first Ottoman ruler to bear the title of Sultan. The conflicting references of the chroniclers and the travellers of this period to the present subject enhance the expediency of rejecting their authority.

The appearance of the title of Sultan in Turkey must have been an evolutionary process. The single reference to some form of 'Sultanate' under 'Othman is rather indefinite and may be regarded only as an indecisive precedent, partly owing to the fact that the Turkish ruler is not styled as 'Sultan' and chiefly because of the predominant use of the word 'Sultanate' for emirate or kingdom — a use so pronounced in Ibn Battūta's work (vide supra). During Orkhan's reign the definite occurrence of the title of 'Sultan' in the correspondence is confirmed by the inscriptions on the early Turkish coins. Its use becomes more frequent

under Murad I, while Bayezid I and his successors are regularly addressed as 'Sultans' in the Faridūn collection.

The sum-total of the whole argument is that the title of 'Sultan' may be held historically to have appeared in the reign of Orkhan.

The view here offered coincided with that of Professor Fuat of the Institute of Turkeology during our meeting at the Istanbul Darulfununu in April 1932. He upheld my conclusion on the ground of work done in Istanbul by Turkish scholars who approached the subject from a different angle by handling the local materials at their disposal in Turkey.

F I N I S.

ATIYA (A.S.)

PH.D., 1933

HISTORY

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Vol. 2



**T H E S I S**  
**I N T W O P A R T S**

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**PART II.**

**A CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY**  
**OF THE MANUSCRIPT AND PRINTED SOURCES**  
**FOR THE HISTORY OF THE CRUSADE IN THE XIVth CENTURY.**

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### Introduction.

The present bibliography is the first instalment of a plan to write the history of the Crusade in the Fourteenth Century. Systematic enquiry into the sources for this purpose was begun in the Autumn of 1931, simultaneously with the revision of the monograph on the Crusade of Nicopolis. By the summer of 1932, it became evident that the writing of the history of so extensive and so crowded a period in conformity with the canons of modern research and within the limitation of time at my disposal was an impossibility. It was therefore decided to finish the Nicopolis study and set the larger work on foot by preparing a bibliography of the fourteenth century crusade.

A parade of authorities is nowadays regarded by the majority of scholars as both undesirable and unnecessary. The best historians, indeed, provide the reader and the student with a select list of the most relevant of the sources, while elaborate bibliographies are held to betray the immaturity and lack of discrimination in the beginner.

This, however, is hardly the case in dealing with the history of the crusades, where bibliographical length becomes a necessary evil. A study of the crusade is incomplete and imperfect without an exhaustive enquiry into the vast masses of the most varied material covering the period and sources of every particular country that participated in that movement as well as the neutral powers that suffered the march of the crusaders in their territories. In these, the fourteenth century crusade abounds, and the serious researcher finds himself forced to delve into the best-known as well as the least known of the sources for both East and West in a crowded century.

An attempt has been made to remedy the evils of length in the following pages by a methodical classification of the authorities in comparatively small groups of primary and secondary, manuscript and printed, official and literary, sources -- these again being broken up into smaller groups, each relating to a specific country, area or subject, as may be observed from the table of contents.

It is, however, essential to remark that in spite of its ostensibly comprehensive nature, this bibliography is far from being complete or invulnerable. Although many of the larger collections of the periodical publications and of the sources quoted here have been



examined, a considerable number still await further investigation. The list of manuscripts includes only those I have been enabled to handle in the repositories of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Spain and Catalunya, Austria, Turkey, Egypt and Algeria. This temporarily excludes the great collections preserved in Holland, Germany and the Near East; hence a lacuna is created which it is hoped to fill in future. At this stage the manuscripts are presented in the primary shape of a mere list. On the Arabic side, the full names of authors and titles of works are transliterated into Latin characters. The date of the death of each author, if available, is inserted to indicate the period for which he may be regarded as an authority. Most references to duplicate manuscripts, and to fragmentary or complete editions, translations and continuations have been compiled. But as these are sometimes derived from secondary authorities, they will have to be carefully scrutinised at a future date. In order to increase the permanent value of this bibliography, not only for the student of the history of the crusades, but also for the researcher in the realm of the relations between the East and the West, it is intended to introduce a number of additions and explanatory notices. In the first place,

the titles of Arabic manuscripts will be translated into Latin and English for the benefit of scholars who are not Orientalists. In the second place a biographical notice drawn from the original sources and famous Arabic biographical dictionaries will be given for the authors of Oriental sources quoted on these pages. In the third place, a critical and analytical study of the contents of each of these sources will be made and copious extracts will be provided or translated as may be dictated by the importance of the subject and the rarity of the manuscript.

Michaud made a serious essay at a study of this kind in his famous 'Bibliothèque des croisades', and von Sybel's work is another attempt on a much smaller scale on the purely Western side. Notwithstanding the inaccuracy of the first and the extreme lack of completeness of the second, both works have stood the test of time and proved their usefulness to the present day. The chief point is, however, that the two authors belonged to the older school that upheld the view that the crusading movement was born in 1096 at Clermont, and after a tempestuous and precarious life of approximately two centuries, expired with St. Louis outside the walls of Tunis in 1270. The fall of 'Akka (Acre) and the extrusion of the Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem from Syria

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in 1291 mark the limits of their studies. The modern definition calls for detailed consideration of the crusade in the fourteenth century. To such consideration this bibliography is the essential preliminary.

As regards the printed sources treated in the third section of this essay a serious attempt has been made to offer a complete inventory of the relevant materials. Yet it would be rash to pretend completeness at this stage. Much may still be discovered to extend these lists. This policy, however, had to be reversed in connection with the fourth section, so as to avoid overloading the bibliography with names of authors less than secondary. Discrimination has been exercised in the selection of books on the historical background of the crusade, on cultural history, on the Italian republics and the Papacy, on Turkey and Cyprus, on travel and Islam in general. This treatment is justified, it is hoped, by reference to the excellent bibliographies on these subjects which are neither meagre nor rare. Moreover, the knowledge of popular historical collections such as the Story of the Nations and the Medieval Towns series, together with the famous, but rather antiquated histories, including those by Hume, Green, Lingard, Guizot, Martin, Simondi and others, has been

assumed. An exception has been made, however, in the case of the antiquated type of histories where many sources are appended in the form of 'Preuves' or 'Pièces Justificatives'. Plancher, Daru, Katona, Vertot and Helyot are but few notable examples. On many occasions, the researcher is apt to find in these works documents of paramount importance, but fails to trace their existence in any of the known manuscript collections. Their loss may be attributed chiefly to the action of revolutionary vandalism on the Continent, where the documents of the ancien régime were included in the destruction of all things feudal.

Of the remaining chapters of the fourth section, especially the works that bear directly upon the history of the crusade, of missionary and pilgrimage, of commerce, and of Egypt and the Holy Land, completeness has been the intention.

In the course of compiling the contents of the following pages and the bulk of the relevant notes, a number of possibilities in the sphere of manuscripts has arisen. Some of these may be mentioned tentatively, at this stage. In the first place, Mézières' Epistle to Richard II together with his 'Nova Religio Passionis' may legitimately form the basis of a useful volume, to which

allusion is made in the preface to the Nicopolis monograph. In the second place, the publication of the Berlin and Cairo manuscripts of the contemporary Arabic poem, hitherto unknown, on the sack of Alexandria in 1365, can be regarded as a necessary complement to the French poem of Guillaume de Machaut entitled 'La prise d'Alexandrie' and edited by Mas Latrie. In the third place, the need is felt for an 'Archivium', 'Corpus' or 'Monumenta Arabica' in which the scattered official Arabic documents may be brought together in a way similar to that of the Western collections of the corresponding type. The existing collections are both scanty and incomprehensive. Nowhere have I felt the need for this work more than in Barcelona at the 'Arhive de la Corona de Aragón', where I was fortunate enough to discover some of the most important letters in existence exchanged between the Sultans of Egypt and the Kings of Aragon. But as the task is arduous and the scheme vast, collective action, much time and considerable outlay will be required for the accomplishment.



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SECTION I.

GENERAL WORKS OF REFERENCE.

CHAPTER I.BIBLIOGRAPHIES.i. General.

1. Coulter, Edith M.      Guide to Historical Bibliographies.  
A Critical and Systematic Bibliography for Advanced  
Students.      Berkeley, 1927.
2. Paetow, L.J.      A Guide to the Study of Medieval History.  
Revised ed.      London, 1931.
3. Valles, L.      Bibliographie des bibliographies.  
2 vols. and a supplement.      Paris, 1883-87.

ii. Western.

4. Ballester y Castell, R. Bibliografia de la historia de  
España; catalogo metodico y cronologico de las  
fuentes y obras principales relativas a la historia  
de España desde los origenes hasta nuestros dias.  
Gerona, 1921.
5. Bibliographie der deutschen Zeitschriftenlitteratur.  
Leipzig, 1896 etc.
6. Bibliographie der fremdsprachigen Zeitschriftenlitteratur.  
Gautschi, 1911 etc.
7. Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae  
aetatis, 3 vols.      Brussels, 1898-1911.
8. Bratke, E.      Wegweiser zur Quellen - und Literaturkunde  
der Kirchengeschichte: eine Anleitung zur  
planmassigen Auffindung der literarischen und  
monumentalen Quellen der Kirchengeschichte und  
ihrer Bearbeitungen.      Gotha, 1890.
9. Calvi, E.      Biblioteca de bibliografia storica italiana.  
Rome, 1903.      Supplement, 1907.

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(1) Owing to the existence of large numbers of Western bibliographies, a select and representative list is given here.

10. Caron, P., and H. Stein (ed.). Répertoire bibliographique de l'histoire de France. Biennial issues. Paris, 1920, etc.
11. Chevalier, U. Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge: bio-bibliographie. 2 vols. Paris, 1877-86. Supplement, 1888. 2nd. ed., 1906-7
12. Ibid. Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge: topo-bibliographie. 2 vols. Paris, 1894-1903.
13. Cipolla, C. Pubblicazioni sulla storia medioevale italiana. Venice, 1914.
14. Dahlmann - Waits. Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte. 5th. ed. by P. Herre, etc. Leipzig, 1912. 1st. ed. by F.C. Dahlmann, in 1830.
15. Franklin, A. Les sources de l'histoire de France: notices bibliographiques et analytiques des inventaires et des recueils de documents relatifs à l'histoire de France. Paris, 1877.
16. Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke. Leipzig, 1925, etc.
17. Gross, C. The Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Times to about 1485. 2nd. ed., revised and enlarged. London, 1915.
18. Hardy, F.D. Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland (to 1327). Rolls Series. 3 vols. in 4 pts. London, 1862-71.
19. Langlois, C.V. Manuel de bibliographie historique. 2 vols., in one. Paris, 1901-4.
20. Langlois, C.V., and H. Stein. Les archives de l'histoire de France. 3 pts. Paris, 1891-93.
21. Lanteyrie, R. de, A. Vidier, etc. Bibliographie générale des travaux historiques et archéologiques publiés par les sociétés savantes de la France. Paris, 1888, etc.  
A supplement for the works published after 1900 appears under the title "Bibliographie annuelle des travaux historiques et archéologiques par les sociétés savantes de la France."  
Paris, 1906, etc.

22. Lees, Beatrice A. *Bibliography of Mediaeval History, 400-1500 A.D.* London, 1917. Leaflets of the Historical Association, No.40.
23. Lelong, J. *Bibliothèque historique de la France, contenant le catalogue des ouvrages, imprimés et manuscrits, qui traitent de l'histoire de ce royaume ou qui y ont rapport.* New ed. by Fevret de Fontette. 5 vols. Paris, 1768-78.
24. Mira, G.M. *Bibliographia siciliana.* 2 vols. Palermo, 1875-84.
25. Molinier, A. *Les sources de l'histoire de France.* Vols. I-VI. Paris, 1901-6.
26. Monod, G. *Bibliographie de l'histoire de France: catalogue méthodique et chronologique des sources et des ouvrages relatifs à l'histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'en 1789.* Paris, 1888.
27. Oesterley, H. *Wegweiser durch die Literatur der Urkundensammlungen.* 2 vols. Berlin, 1885-86.
28. Pastorella, E. *Indici per nome d'autore e per materie delle pubblicazioni sulla storia medioevale italiana (1899-1910) raccolte e recensite da Carlo Cipolla.* Venice, 1916.
29. Pools's *Index to Periodical Literature.* 1802, etc.
30. Pehler, J. *Bibliotheca historico-militaris: systematischer Übersicht der Erscheinungen aller Sprachen auf dem Gebiete der Geschichte der Kriege und Kriegswissenschaft seit Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst bis 1880.* 4 vols. Cassel, 1899.
31. Petthast, A. *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi: Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des europäischen Mittelalters bis 1500.* Berlin, 1862. Supplement, 1868. 2nd. ed., enlarged and improved. 2 vols., Berlin, 1896.
32. Sanchez, A.B. *Fuertes de la historia española.* Madrid, 1919.
33. Stein, H. *Bibliographie générale des cartulaires français ou relatifs à l'histoire de France.* Paris, 1907.

34. Thompson, J.W. Reference Studies in Medieval History.  
Revised and enlarged ed. 3 vols. Chicago, 1923-4  
(2)
- iii. Eastern.
35. Aubeyneau, G., and A. Févret. Essai de bibliographie pour  
servir à l'histoire de l'empire ottoman:  
livres turcs, livres imprimés à Constantinople,  
et livres étrangers à la Turquie, mais pouvant  
servir à son histoire. Paris, 1911.
36. Basset, R. Bulletin des périodiques de l'Islam.  
Revue de l'histoire des religions, 1908, etc.
37. Belin, F.A. Bibliographie ottomane, ou notice des  
livres turcs imprimés à Constantinople durant  
les années 1261 - 93 de l'hégire (1863-77 A.D.).  
Journal Asiatique, 6, XI, 1868, 465-91;  
XIV, 1869, 65-95; XVIII, 1871, 125-57;  
7. I, 1873, 522-63; IX, 1877, 122-46.
38. Bianchi, F.X. Catalogue des livres turcs, arabes et  
persans, imprimés à Constantinople, depuis  
l'introduction de l'imprimerie, en 1726-27,  
jusqu'en 1820. Paris, 1821.
39. Ibid. Catalogue général des livres arabes,  
persans et turcs imprimés à Boulac, en Egypte,  
depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie dans ce  
pays (1822). Journal Asiatique, 4, II, 1843,  
pp. 24-63.
40. Ibid. Bibliographie ottomane ou Notice des  
ouvrages publiés dans les imprimeries turques  
de Constantinople, et en partie dans celles  
de Boulac, en Egypte, depuis 1822 jusqu'à 1863  
(1238-90 A.H.). Journal Asiatique, 4, II,  
1845, 24-61; IX, 1852, 244-50; 5, XIII, 1859,  
519-55; XIV, 1859, 287-96; XVI, 1860, 323-46;  
6, II, 1863, 217-71.
41. Reigues, F. Pons. Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los  
historiadores y geógrafos árabe-espáñoles.  
Madrid, 1898.

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(2) Though comprehensive, the present list is incomplete.  
It is intended in future to compile under this title  
a full bibliography of Eastern bibliographies.

42. Catalogue des livres arabes, turcs et persans édités à l'imprimerie arabe d'El-Djeweib, à Constantinople, Jan. - Sept., 1884.
43. Charakterisieren und kritisieren alle für Geschichte und Kultur der islamischen Länder wichtigen Neuerscheinungen. Der Islam, Vol. IV, 1913.
44. Chauvin, V. Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885. 11 tomes. Liège, 1892-1909.
45. Cheneb, Muhammad ibn. Revue des ouvrages arabes édités ou publiés par les musulmans. Revue Africaine, Vol. I, 1906, 261-96.
46. Dorn, B. Catalogue des ouvrages arabes, persans et turcs, publiés à Constantinople, en Egypte et en Perse, qui se trouvent au Musée asiatique de l'Académie. Mem. Ac. Sc. Peters., 1866, pp.168-213.
47. Ibid. Catalogue chronologique des ouvrages imprimés en langues arabe, turque, tatare, et persane, à Kasan, de 1801 à 1866. Mem. Ac. Sc. Peters., XI, 1867, pp. 305-85.
48. Niebhorn, J. G. Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Litteratur. Leipzig, 1777-86.
49. Friederici, K. Bibliotheca orientalis ed. vollst. List der 1876-80 in Deutschland, Frankreich, England u. d. Colonien erschienen Bücher, Bruchh., Zeitisch. usw. v. d. Sprachen, Litteraturen, Geschichte usw. d. Ostens. Leipzig, 1876, etc.
50. Gabriele, G. Manuale di Bibliografia Musulmana. Parte Prima Bibliografia Generale. Rome, 1916.  
(The second part of this useful work has not yet appeared and unfortunately there is no sign that it is forthcoming.)
51. Gay, J. Bibliographie des ouvrages relatifs à l'Afrique et à l'Arabie. Catalogue méthodique de tous les ouvrages français et des principaux en langues étrangères traitant de la géographie, de l'histoire, du commerce, des lettres et des arts de l'Afrique et de l'Arabie. Paris, 1875.

52. Hammer-Purgstall, J. von Liste des ouvrages imprimés à Constantinople en 1841-44 A.D. (1251-60 A.H.). Journal Asiatique, I, 1843, pp.247-66; III, 1844, pp.211-24; 4, VIII, 1846, pp.253-82.
53. Ibid. Über die seit J. 1843 A.D. (1265 A.H.) zu Konstantinopel gedruckten und lithographirten Werke. Sitz. Akad. Wien, VI, 1851, pp.215-35.
54. Hermann, C. H. Bibliotheca orientalis et linguistica. Verzeichniss der von J. 1850 bis incl. 1868 in Deutschlânderschienenen Bucher, Schriften und Abhandlungen orientalischer und sprachvergleichen-der Literatur. Halle, 1870.
55. Hilmy, Prince Ibrahim. The Literature of Egypt and the Sudan from the earliest times to the year 1865. A Bibliography, comprising printed books, periodical writings, and papers of learned societies, maps and charts, ancient papyri, manuscripts, drawings, etc. 2 vols. London, 1866-68.
56. Hottinger, I.H. Promptuarium sive Bibliotheca orientalis, etc. Heidelberg, 1658, etc.
57. Hart, C. Bibliographie ottomane. Notices des livres turcs, arabes et persans, imprimés à Constantinople durant les années 1294-1307 (1877-90 A.D.). Journal Asiatique, 7, XVI, 1880, pp. 411-39; XII, 1882, 164-207; 8, V, 1885, 229 ff., 415 ff; IX, 1887, 350-414; XIII, 1890, 428-89.
58. Jolowicz, H. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca. Repertorium über die bis zum J. 1857 in Bezug auf Aegypten, seine Geographie ..... Geschichte, Kunst, Wissenschaft.....erschienenen Schriften, usw. Leipzig, 1858. Supplement I, 1861.
59. Khalifah, Hajja (Kâtib Shalabi, ob. 1658). Kashf al-Dhuhûm 'an Assmi al Kutub wa-l-Funûn. (The Clearing of Doubts concerning the Titles of Books and Arts). 2 vols. Cairo, 1858. Best ed. G. Flügel: Lexicon Bibliographicum Encyclopaedicum; 7 vols., Leipzig and London, 1855-58.
60. Masson, P. Elements d'une bibliographie française de la Syrie. Paris, 1919. (Congrès français de Syrie, III).



61. Mohl, J. Vingt-sept ans d'histoire des études orientales. Rapports faits à la Société Asiatique de Paris de 1840 à 1867. 2 vols. Paris, 1879-80.
62. Mallino, G.A., and M. Guidi. Bollettino bibliografico, annesso alla Rivista di Studi Orientali di Roma. Vols. I, pp.322-410, (1906-7); II, 373-504, (1907-8); III, 435-510, (1909-10); IV, 443-551, (1910-11); VI, 776-919, (1911-13).
63. Paulitschke, Ph. Die Africo-Literatur in der Zeit von 1500 bis 1750. Ein Beitrag zur geographischen Quellenkunde. Wien, 1882.
64. Pinele, A. de Leon. Epitome de la Bibliotheca orientalis y occidental etc. 3 vols. Madrid, 1737.
65. Playfair, R.L. Bibliography of the Barbary States. Royal Geographical Society Supplementary Papers, II, pp.557-614. London, 1889.
66. Ibid. Bibliography of Algeria, 1541-1887, with supplement from earliest times. 2 vols. London, 1887-98. Vide Roy. Geog. Soc. Suppl. Papers, II, 1889, pp.127-430.
67. Playfair, L., and R. Brown. A Bibliography of Morocco from the earliest times to the end of 1891. Roy. Geog. Soc. Suppl. Papers, III, 1893, 279 ff.
68. Reinand, J.T. Des ouvrages arabes, persans et turcs imprimés en Egypte. Journal Asiatique, 2, VIII, 1831, pp. 533-53.
69. Rink, Fr. Th., and I.S. Vater. Literatur der in Arabischer Sprache gedruckten Schriften. Leipzig, 1802.
70. Rouard de Card, E. Livres français des XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles concernant les états barbaresques: Régences d'Alger, de Tunis et de Tripoli, et empire du Maroc. 1911.
71. Scherman, L. Orientalische Bibliographie (begründet von Aug. Miller). Berlin, 1885.
72. Schlechts-Wesschrd, O. Ausführlicher Bericht über die in Konstantinopel vom October 1851 bis October 1852 erschienenen orientalischen Werke. Sitz. Akad. Wien, XIII, 1854, pp. 7-38.

73. Schmurrer, C.F. de      *Biblioteca Arabica.*      Halle, 1799, etc.
74. Schwab, M.      *Bibliographie de la Perse.*      Paris, 1876.
75. Terneux-Compans, H.      *Bibliothèque Asiatique et Africaine  
des ouvrages qui ont été publiés sur ceux deux  
continents jusqu'à ce jour.*      Paris, 1751.
76. Thomson, P.      *Die Palastina Literatur.*      2 vols.  
Leipzig, 1911.
77. *Wissenschaft Jahresbericht über die Morgenl. Studien;  
Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen  
Gesellschaft; 1877-85. Supplement in vols.  
XXXII - XXXIV.*
78. Zenker, Th.      *Bibliotheca Orientalis; Manuel de  
bibliographie orientale.*      2 vols.      2nd. ed. 1846  
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- (3)
- iv. Crusades.
79. *Bibliographie de l'Orient Latin.*      *Archives de l'Orient Latin*  
2 vols.
80. Désert, Desdevines du.      *Bibliographie du centenaire des  
croisades.*      Clermont, 1895.
81. German, L. de, and L. Polain.      *Catalogue de la bibliothèque  
de feu M. Le Comte Riant. 2nd. pt., 2 vols.  
Paris, 1899. (Vide especially Nos. 2958-3433).*
82. Michand, M.      *Bibliothèque des croisades.*      4 vols.  
Paris, 1829.
83. Riant, Comte.      *Inventaire du recueil dit de don Berthereau  
In Archives de l'Orient Latin, II, pp.105 et seq*

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(3) This short list must be supplemented by inquiry into the Western and Oriental bibliographies.

CHAPTER II.CATALOGUES.1. Western.

84. Berliere, U. Aux Archives Vaticanes. Bruges, 1903.
85. Bibliotheque Nationale. Catalogue des livres imprimés de la B. N. Paris, 1897, etc. In progress. Supplemented by the Bulletin mensuel des publications étrangères, 1874, etc., and the Bull. mens. des récentes publ. françaises, 1882, etc.
86. Ibid. Cat. alphabétique des livres imprimés mis à la disposition des lecteurs dans la salle de travail suivi de la liste des catalogues usuels du département des manuscrits. Paris, 1895.
87. Bourgin, G. Les Archives nationales depuis la guerre. Revue des bibliothèques, 1926, pp.381 - 400.
88. British Museum. Catalogue of Printed Books in the Library of the British Museum. London, 1851-1900. Supplement, 1900-5.
89. Ibid. List of Books forming the Reference Library in the Reading Room of the British Museum. 4th. ed. 2 vols. London, 1910.
90. Bron, G. Guide aux archives du Vatican. 2nd. ed. Rome, 1911.
91. Catalogue des cartulaires des archives départementales. Paris, 1847.
92. Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de la France. Paris, 1865, etc.
93. Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements. 7 vols. Paris, 1849-55.
94. Delisle, L. Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale. Paris, 1868. (Vide Mollat: Etude critique sur les Vitae Pap. Aven. d'E. Baluze: Paris, 1917).

95. Fortescue, G.K. Subject-Index of the Modern Works added to the Library of the British Museum in the Years 1881-1900. 3 vols. London, 1902-3. (Other volumes bring the printed lists up to the year 1925. Vide R.H. Streetfield, W.A. Marsden and L. Taylor. London, 1918, 1922 and 1927.)
96. Franklin, A. Guide des savants, des litterateurs, et des artistes dans les bibliothèques de Paris, Paris, 1908.
97. Graessel, A. Handbuch der Bibliothekskunde. 2nd. ed. Leipzig, 1902.
98. Guérard, L. Petite introduction aux inventaires des Archives du Vatican. Paris, 1901.
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102. Langlois, G.V. Etat des inventaires des Archives nationales au 1er janvier, 1914. Paris, 1914.
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110. Rye, R.A. Students' Guide to the Libraries of London. 3rd. ed. London, 1927.

ii. Eastern.

111. For fear of unnecessarily overloading an already overloaded bibliography, reference may be made at present to the fullest list of catalogues of Oriental MSS. and books in Gabriele: *Manuale di bibliografia Musulmana* (vide Oriental bibliographies). Gabriele has classified his list by country and town. It is intended in future to search for what Gabriele may have overlooked and, after completing the present list, supplement his treatment by a new one, alphabetically arranged, for general use.

CHAPTER III.PERIODICALS.1. Western.

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115. Archiv für Kulturgeschichte. Berlin, 1902, etc.
116. Archivio storico italiano. 5 series. Florence, 1842, etc.
117. Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes: revue d'érudition  
consacrée spécialement à l'étude du moyen âge.  
Paris, 1839, etc.
118. Bulletin critique de Littérature, d'histoire et de  
philologie. 1880, etc.
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etc.
120. Bulletino dell' Instituto storico italiano. Rome, 1886, etc.
121. Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. Manchester, 1903.
122. Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbucher: internationales  
wissenschaftliches Organ. Berlin, 1920, etc.
123. Byzantinische Zeitschrift. Leipzig, 1892, etc.
124. Byzantion: revue internationale des études byzantines.  
Paris, 1924, etc.
125. Catholic Historical Review. Washington, 1915, etc.
126. Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und  
Geistesgeschichte. Halle, 1923, etc.
127. English Historical Review. London, 1886, etc.
128. Historisches Jahrbuch. Munich, 1880, etc.

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133. Mitteilungen des österreichischen Institute für Geschichtsforschung. Innsbruck, etc., 1880, etc.
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135. Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde. Hanover, 1876, etc.
136. Nuovi studi medievali. Bologna, 1923.
137. Oriens christianus. Rome, 1911, etc.
138. Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos. Madrid, 1871, etc.
139. Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire. Brussels, 1922, etc.
140. Revue critique d'histoire et de Littérature. Paris, 1866, etc.
141. Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique. Louvain, 1900, etc.
142. Revue d'histoire de l'église de France. Paris, 1910, etc.
143. Revue de l'histoire littéraire de la France. Paris, 1894, etc.
144. Revue de l'histoire des religions. Paris, 1880, etc.
145. Revue historique. Paris, 1876, etc.
146. Revue hispanique. Paris, 1894, etc.
147. Revue de questions historiques. Paris, 1866, etc.
148. Revue de synthèse historique. Paris, 1900, etc.
149. Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kulturgeschichte. Rome, 1887 etc.

150. Slavonic Review: A Survey of Slavonic Peoples, their History, Economics, Philology and Literature. London, 1922 etc.
151. Speculum: A Journal of Mediaeval Studies. Cambridge (Mass.), 1926 etc.
152. Studi medievali. Turin, 1904 etc.
153. Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte. Gotha, 1877 etc.
154. Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte. Berlin, 1911 etc.
11. Eastern.
155. L'Algerie: Revue synoptique des trois provinces. Paris.
156. American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature. Chicago, 1885 etc.
157. Annales de l'Institut d'Afrique. Paris, 1841 etc.
158. Annals of Oriental Literature.
159. Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études. Paris, 1874 etc.
160. Anuari del Institut d'estudis catalans. Barcelona, 1907 etc.
161. Annuario della Società italiana per gli studi orientali. Rome, etc., 1872, etc.
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163. Bulletin de l'Association historique de l'Afrique du Nord. Paris, 1899 etc.
164. Bulletin de l'Athènes Orientale. Paris, 1868 etc.
165. Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien. Cairo, 1859 etc.
166. Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. Paris, 1926 etc.
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175. Journal asiatique. Paris, 1822, etc.
176. Journal asiatique de Constantinople. Istanbul, 1852 etc.
177. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. London, 1834, etc.
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179. Melanges de la Faculte orientale de l'Universite de St. Joseph. Beirut, 1906-14.
180. Memoires de l'Institut egyptien. Cairo, 1887 etc.
181. Memoires publies par les membres de l'Institut franais d'archeologie orientale au Cairo. Cairo, 1902 et
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184. Osterreichische Monatschrift fur den Orient. Vienna, 1874 e
185. Orient und Occident. Gottingen, 1860-66.
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188. Revista del Centro de estudios historicos de Granada y su reino. Granada, 1911, etc.
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193. Revue du monde musulman. Paris, 1906 etc.
194. Revue de l'Orient, de l'Algérie et des Colonies.  
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197. Revue de religions. Paris, 1889, etc.
198. Revue Tunisiennne. Tunis, 1894, etc.
199. Vienna Oriental Journal. Vienna, 1886, etc.
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CHAPTER IV.GENERAL COLLECTIONS.i. Sources: Western.

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206. Bielowski, A., et al., (ed.). Monumenta Poloniae historica. 6 vols. Lemberg and Crakow, 1864-93.
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208. Bollandus, J., etc. (ed.). Acta sanctorum. Antwerp, 1643 etc.
209. Bongars, J. Gesta Dei per Francos sive orientalium expeditionum et regni Francorum hierosolimitani historia. 2 vols. Hanau, 1611.
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213. **Bushon, J.A. (ed.)** Choix de chroniques et mémoires sur l'histoire de France. 17 vols. Paris, 1836-38. (Vide Potthast, I, pp. xlv - xlvi.)
214. **Codex diplomaticus maioris Poloniae.** 8 vols. (to 1444). Posen, 1877-1908.
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219. **Collection de chroniques belges inédites.** 111 vols. Brussels, 1836, etc. (Vide analysis of 1st 44 vols. in Franklin, pp.184-206; and 1st. 66 vols. in Potthast, I, p.1111.)
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222. **Collección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España.** 112 vols. Madrid, 1842-95. Index to vols. I-CII; Madrid, 1891. Nueva colección de documentos inéditos y de sus Indias; vols. I-VI; Madrid, 1892-98.
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224. **Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire.** 1er. série. Des origines au XVIII siècle. Paris, 1886, etc.
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228. Denifle, H., and F. Ehrle, (ed.). Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters. 8 vols. Berlin, 1885 - 1900.
229. Documenti di storia italiana. Pubblicati a cura delle R. Deputazioni di Toscana, dell'Umbria e delle Marche. 9 vols. Florence, 1867-89. Vide Potthast, I, p.lxiii, for contents. )
230. Fabricius, J.A. Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis. 6 vols. Hamburg, 1734-46; and Florence, 1856. (Of. Mansi's ed., Padua, 1754).
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233. Fontes rerum Austriacarum: österreichische Geschichtsquellen, Scriptores, 9 vols.; and Diplomataria et acta, 62 vols. Vienna, 1849, etc. (For contents of issues up to 1896, vide Potthast I, p.lxix.)
234. Fonti per la storia d'Italia. Istituto storico Italiano. Rome, 1887, etc. Supplemented by later issues of the Bulletin of the same Institute. Rome, 1885, etc.
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236. Les grandes chroniques de France. Paris, 1910, etc. (New ed. by the Soc. de l'hist. de Fr. in progress)
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249. Michaud, J., and P. Poujoulat (ed.). Nouvelle collection des mémoires sur l'histoire de France depuis le 13<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'à la fin du 18<sup>e</sup> siècle. 32 vols. Paris, 1836-39. (Vide Franklin, pp. 203-15, for analysis.)

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289. *Bibliothèque orientales,* publiée sous la direction d'un Comité scientifique international. Chefs d'œuvres littéraires de l'Inde, de la Perse, de l'Égypte, de l'Assyrie et de la Chine. 5 vols. Paris, 1872-81.
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**Section II, Historiens occidentaux, 5 vols.**  
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  - (ii) Egypte, par J.J. Mareel, etc. Paris, 1848.
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Vide Pastow: Guide to the Study of Med. Hist., pp. 117 et seq.

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CHAPTER V.

(1)

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SECTION II.

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484. **Epistola Pii papae ad Turcarum Imperatorem. No. Roy. 710.**
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491. Avis de l'évêque de Langres. Fonds Lat. 7470.
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F. Lat. 18330.
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497. Sainte-Marthe. — Histoire des Lusignans.  
F. fr. 24211.
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(Vide ff. 85-126. Crusade memoir analysed by  
Delaville Le Roulx, Fr. en Or., I, 19 et seq.).
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534. Cronica di Rampeni. Nos. 112-13.

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535. Bolle e brevi.

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536. Copy of Letter from the Muslims of Spain to Bayesid II (886-918 A.H.) describing their sad lot after the Christian conquest of the Kingdom of Granada. Algiers MS. no. 1620. Fagnan, p. 450. 'Inan (Misr al-Islamiya), pp. 134 et seq., refers to petitions of this nature submitted to the Sultan of Egypt.
537. Documentos Arabes del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón:
- 1ª Sección. — Documentos pertenecientes al reyno de Granada. Caja 1, nos. 1-76.
- 2ª Sección. — Cartas marroquies. Caja 2, nos. 77-114.
- 3ª Sección. — Documentos de la Ifriquia e sea de Bugia, Tunex y Tripoli. Caja 3, nos. 115-144.
- 4ª Sección. — Cartas Orientales. Caja 4, 5, y 4 rollos; nos. 145-155.
- 5ª Sección. — Cartas Valencianes. Caja 3, nos. 156-60.

538. Series of documents transcribed by Don Manuel de Bofarull and preserved in the same Archives.

539. Carta arabe on Papel. Nos. (7) worn out. Consist of four large rolls of parchment, bearing four letters from the Sultan of Egypt to the Kings of Aragon, dated in the years 699, 703, 705 and 714 A.H.

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6. - Otter, Relation sommaire de la conquête de l'Afrique etc.; in Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscript., XXI, lll etc.
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543. **Abulfida** Ismā'īl b. 'Alī b. Mahmūd b. 'Omar  
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2.— Quatremère, Hist. Sult. Mam., 2 pts.  
Paris, 1837-44.

3.— Continuation by al-Sakhāwī (al-Tibr al-  
Maebūk fi Dhail al-Sulūk) in A. Zaki Pasha's  
Library (al-Khisāna al-Zakiya). Vide  
Rev. d'Egypte, II and III, Cairo, 1896-97.

580. Ibid. — al-Durar al-Mudī'a fi Tarīkh al-Dowl  
al-Islāmiya. Camb. MS., Qq. 2.

Vide Browne, Hand-List, 71.

581. Ibn Mu'ayyad Amāsī, 'Abd-al Raḥmān b....; (ob. 922

A.H. = 1516 A.D.) — al-Shaqa'iq al-

Mu'maniya fi 'Olama' al-Bowla al-'Othmāniya.

Camb. MS., Dd. 11. 11.

Other MSS. — Camb., Qq. 190, Add. 3092, and Suppl.  
Or., 187 (8); Algiers, 1516.

References. — Browne, Hand-List, 12; Fagnan, 477;  
Wust., 441-46.

Printed on the margin of Ibn al-Athīr (vide Sect.  
III, Printed Sources).



582. Mughlatai, 'Alā'-al-Dīn Abu 'Abdallah....b. Qillij  
 b. 'Abdallah al-Bakrī al-Hanafī; (ob. 24  
 Sha'bān, 762 = 30 June, 1361); — al-Ishāra ila  
 Sirat al-Mustafa wa-Tārīkh man ba'dahu min  
 al-Khulafa.

B.M.MS., Or. 3016.

Other MSS. — Berlin, 9582; Munich, 448; Cairo, V, 9.

References. — Orient, II, 409; Suyūti, I, 168;  
 Wüst., 420; Brock., II, 48.

583. al-Nimrī, Abu 'Omar Yūsuf b. 'Abdallah b. 'Abd-al Bir; —  
 Seventh book of al-Istidhkar li-madhahib 'Olama'  
 al-Amsar. Junta MS. VII.

Vide Ribera and Asin, no. VII.

584. Ibn Qādi Shuhba, Abul-Fadl M. b. Abu-Bakr b. A.  
 Badr-al-Dīn....al-Asadī al-Dimashqī al-Shafi'i;  
 (ob. 847 A.H. = 1469 A.D.); — Tārīkh.

Paris, B.M. MS., fonds ar. 1598 and  
 1600 (under the false title of  
 al-Sakhāwī); and 1599.

Other MSS. — St. Pet., A.M., R. 175; B.M. Suppl.,  
 487 VII.

References. — Hajji, 4856; Wüst., 491; Brock., II,  
 30.

585. Ibn Qadī Shuhba, Abu Bakr b. A. b. M. b. 'Omar Taqi-al-Dīn.....al-Asadi al-Dimashqi al-Shafi'i; (ob. 11 Dhulqā'da, 861 A.H. = 19 Jan., 1448 A.D.);— a) al-I'lām bi-Tārikh al-Islām; and Mukhtasar al-'Ibar, (continuation and abridgement of al-Dhahabi, vide supra).  
Paris MSS. 1598-1600; B.M. Suppl., 470; and Bodl. I, 721.  
b) Muntakhab Durrat al-Aslak of Ibn Habib (vide supra). Paris MS., 1721.
- References. — Hajji, 951 and 2098; Wüst., 486; Breck., II, 51.
586. al-Qaswini, Zakariya b. M. b. Mahmūd; (ob. 682 A.H. = 1283 or 84 A.D.); — Athār al-Bilād wa-Akhbār al-'Ibād. B.M. MS., Or. 2623.
- References. — Rieu, no. 697, p. 473; Zaidān, III, 222-23.
- Editions. — 1.- Göttingen, 1850.  
2.- On margin of Tārikh al-Khulafa; Cairo, 1305 (1888).
587. al-Safadi, Abu'Ali al-Hasan b. Abi M. Abdallah al-'Abbāsi al-Hashimi known as.....; (ob. after 711 A.H. = 1311 A.D.); — Nushat al-Mālik wal-Mamlūk fī Mukhtasar Sirat man waliya Mīr min al-Mulūk.  
Paris, B.N. MS., fonds ar. 1706.

Other MSS. — B.M., Or. 6267.

References. — De Sane, p. 317; Brock., II, 35.

Remark. — This author is probably to be distinguished from the greater and much more prolific Ṣalāh-al-Dīn al-Ṣafādī, who died in 764, and about whose works further inquiry will be made in the near future. Vide Wüst., 423; Brock., II, 31-33; Zaidān, III, 161 et seq.

588. al-Ṣalāmī, Shihāb-al-Dīn A. ;— Kitāb Mukhtasar al-Tarikh.  
Cairo MS., Hist. 1435.

Vide Cairo Cat., V, 231-32.

589. Ibn Saṣṣara, M. b. M. b. M. b. Zajm al-'Iz A.....:—  
al-Durra al-Hudī'a fi al-Dowla al-Zahiriya.  
Oxford MS., Laud. 112.

References. — Wüst., 449; Brock., II, 28.

- 590-91. Ibn Shākir, M.....b. A. b. 'Abd-al-Rahmān Ṣalāh-al-Dīn al-Halabī al-Darātī al-Dimashqī al-Kutubī; (ob. Ramadān, 764 A.H. = June-July, 1363 A.D.):  
Fawāt al-Wafiyāt (Berlin, 9868-69); and  
'Uyun al-Tawārikh (Gotha, 1567; Paris, 1886-88; B.M. Suppl., 472; Lee, 72; Vatican, Bibl. It., XLVI, 32). Vide Hajji, 9202; Wüst., 420; Brock., II, 48.

Remark. — Further inquiry has yet to be made into these important MSS. They are provisionally quoted on these pages as a number of secondary references have been made to them in the notes already compiled for the history of the fourteenth century crusade.

592. Ibn al-Shihna, Abul-Walid M. b. M. b. Mahmud  
 .....Zain-al-Din al-Halabi; (ob. 815 A.H. =  
 1412 A.D.); Rowd al-Manādhir fī 'Ilm al-Awā'il  
 wal-Awākhir.

John Ryland MS., Ar. 67.

Other MSS. — Berlin, 9456-57; Gotha, 1573; B.M.  
 Suppl., 478.

References. — Hajji, 6601 and 11616; Wüst., 460;  
 Brock., II, 141-42.

Editions, translations, etc. —

1.- Ed. on margin of Ibn-al-Athir, vols. VII -  
 IX, Cairo, 1290 (1875).

2.- J. Gottwaldt, Not. d'un ms. ar. renfermant  
 une continuation de l'hist. d'Aboulfeda.  
 J.A., Série IV, T. 8, p. 510.

3.- Hunter, Universal Hist. 2 vols. London, 1729.

4.- Unpublished Lat. trans. by Diego de  
 Velasquez; vide Wüst., p. 201.

593. al-Suyūṭī, Abul-Fadl etc. Jalāl-al-Dīn.....al-  
 Khudairy al-Shafi'i; (ob. 18 Jun. I, 911 A.H. =  
 17 Octo, 1505); — Tārīkh al-Khulafa'.

John Ryland MS., Ar. 62.

Other MSS. — Berlin, 9714-15; Gotha, 1584-86;  
 Paris, 1609-11; Jeni, 828-29; Algiers, 1576;  
 Cairo, V, 22.

References. — Wüst., 506; Brock., II, 143-58.

Editions, translations, etc. —

Calcutta, 1857, and 1881 (vide H.S. Hartlett,  
 in Bibl. Indica); Lahore, 1887; Delhi, 1306  
 (1888-89); Cairo, 1305 (1887-88).

Remark. — Although this work is translated and printed, the John Ryland MS. is given here as a number of references have been made to it in the notes already compiled at an early stage of the work on the fourteenth century.

594. Ibn Taghribardi, Abul-Mahāsin Yūsuf.....al-Atābiki;  
(ob. 874 A.H. = 1469 A.D.);— Mawrid al-Latāfa  
fi Dhikr man waliya al-Sultana wal-Khilafa.

John Ryland MS., Ar. 41.

Other MSS. — Paris, 1606; Göttingen, 1624-25; Bodl.,  
I, 691 and 778; Camb. 207 and 280.

References. — Hajji, 13410; Wüst., 490; Brock.,  
II, 41-42; Bull. de corr. afr. (Tunis),  
1884, p. 25.

Ed. J.E. Carlyle; Cambridge, 1792.

595. Ibid. — al-Manhal al-Sāfi wal-Mustawfi ba'd al-Wafi.

Paris, B.N. MSS., fonds ar. 2068-72.

Other MSS. — Vienna, 1174; Cairo, V, 162.

References. — Hajji, 13302; Wüst. and Brock.,  
vide supra no 594.

596. al-Uṣamī, Abd-al-Malik etc.; (ob. c. 1699);—  
al-Nujūm al-'Awāli fi Anba' al-Awa'il wal-  
Tawāli.

John Ryland MS., Ar. 118.

597. Ibn al-Wardī, Abu-Hafs 'Omar b. al-Muṣaffar b.  
'Omar al-Qurashī al-Ma'arri Zain-al-Dīn.....  
al-Shafi'i; (ob. 27 Dhulqa'da, 749 A.H. =  
19 March, 1349 A.D.); — Tatimmat al-Mukhtasar  
fi Tarīkh al-Bashar.

Vienna MS., 811.

Other MS. — Jeni, 834.

References. — Orient., II, 390; Wüst., 412,  
Brook., II, 140-41.

Editions.—

1.— 2 vols. Cairo, 1285 (1868).

2.— 4 vols. Istanbul, 1286 (1869).

598. al-Yafi'i, Abu M. 'Abdallah b. As'ad b. 'Ali known  
as.....:— Mir'at al-Janān wa-'Ibrat al-Yaqṣān  
fi Ma'arifat Hawādith al-Zamān wa-Taḡallub  
Ahwāl al-Insān.

B.M. MS., On. 1511.

Vide Ricu, no. 473. pp. 283-84.

599. Yahya, Ṣalih b. — A History of Beirūt under the  
Dynasty of Behter; (Arabic title missing).

Paris MS., B.N., fonds. 1670.

Vide De Slane, p. 312.

iv) Geography and Travel.

600. al-'Abadi:— al-Rihla.

Esorial MS., 1738.

601. Abulfida, etc. (vide supra no. 543): — Taqwīm  
al-Buldān.

Leyden MS., 1650.

Cf. B.M.MS. 379; Munich, 460; also the Pocock. MS. at Oxford.

Editions, translations, etc. —

1.- Abulfid. Cherasm. Mawaralnuhr. descript. ed. J. Gravius. London, 1650.

2.- Abulfid. Tabul. Syr. et excerpt. geogr. ex Ibn al Wardi geogr. et hist. natur. ar. et lat. ed. notis explan. J.B. Kochler. Leipzig, 1766.

3.- Abulfid. descript. Aegypt. arab. et lat. ed. et ill. F.D. Michaelis. Gottingen, 1776.

4.- Abulfid. Tabul. geogr. et al. spec. ed. F. Th. Rinck. Leipzig. 1791.

5.- Abulfid. Afric. ed. Richhorn. Gottingen, 1791.

6.- Abulfid lab. quaedam geogr. ed. lat. vert. notis illustr. F. Wüstenfeld. Gottingen, 1835.

7.- Description des pays du Magreb, texte ar. avec trad. et notes par Teinaud et McG. de Slane. Paris, 1840.

602. al-Anasi, Abul-Hasan b. Musa b. M. b. 'Abd-al-Malik..  
...al-Andalusi;— 'Ajā'id al-Aqālim al-Sab'a  
al-Ma'mura.

B.M.MS., Or. 1524.

Vide Rien, no. 696, pp. 471-72.

603. Large volume chiefly on the topography and partly  
on the history of Egypt. Defective at  
beginning and end.

Camb. MS., Or. 928 (11).

Vide Browne, Hand-List, 242-43.

604. al-Dimashqī, Shams-al-Dīn Abu 'Abdallāh M. b. Abi  
 Fa'lib al-Anṣārī al-Ṣūfī.....; (ob. 727 A.H. =  
 1327 A.D. ):- *Hukubat al-Dahr fī 'Aja'ib al-  
 Bar wal-Bahr.*  
 B.M.MS., Or. 384.

Other MSS. — Berlin, 6042; Havn., 96.

Reference. — Brock., II, 130.

Editions, translations etc. —

1.- *Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren. St.-Petersburg,  
 1866.

2.- Trans., Copenhagen, 1874. Cf. Reinaud,  
*Aboulfid. etc.*, I, p. cl.

3.- E. Deherin, *Quid Shamseddin al Demaschqui  
 geographus de Africa cognitum habuerit.*  
 Paris, 1898.

605. Ibn al-Ji'ān, Sharaf-al-Dīn Yahyā.....; (wrote in  
 777 A.H. = 1375 A.D.):- *al-Tuhfa al-Saniya fī  
 Asma' al-Bilād al-Misriya.*

Vide Bodl., I, 697 and II, 124. Also de Sacy,  
 387 et seq.; ed. Moritz, Cairo, 1898; —  
 Brock., II, 131.

606. al-Maqrizī, (vide supra nos 579-80):- *al-Mawā'iz  
 wal-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khutat wal-'Athār.*

John Ryland MSS., Ar. 34-35.

Other MSS. — Leyden, 926-28; Gotha, 1675-82;  
 Berlin, 6108-9; Paris, 1729-34; Cairo, V,  
 162; Jeni, 902-4; Algiers, 1601.

References. — Hajji, 2312, 4755 and 13346; Wüst.,  
 482; Brock., II, 38-41.



## Editions, translations, etc. —

- 1.- 2 vols. Bulaq ed. Cairo, 1270 (1853).
  - 2.- Langleis, Not. et extr., VI, 320.
  - 3.- De Sacy, Chrest. ar., I, 93-369 and II, 88-190.
  - 4.- H.J. Wetzer, Restit. ver. chronol. una cum spec. hist. Copt. a Makris. ar. script. Frankfurt, 1827.
  - 5.- Hist. Copt. ed. Wetzer. Solisbaci, 1828.
  - 6.- F. Wüstenfeld, Maerie. Gesch. Copt. Göttingen, 1845.
  - 7.- H.A. Hamaker, Takyoddin. Ahmed. al-Makris. Narrat. de expedit. adversa. Dimyath. Amsterdam, 1824.
  - 8.- Tieszenhausen, Goldene Herde, I, 417.
  - 9.- Ali Mubarak Pasha (ob. 1893), al-Khīṭat al-Tawfiqiya. Bulaq ed.; Cairo, 1906.
  - 10.- C. Vellere, Note sur un ms. ar. abbrevié de Maq.; Bull. Soc. Khéd. géogr., 3<sup>e</sup> série, no. 2, pp. 131-39.
607. al-Qazwīnī, (vide supra no. 586);— 'Aja'ib al-Buldān.  
John Ryland MS., Ar. 668.
608. Yāqūt, Abu 'Abdallah.....b. 'Abdallah al-Mamawī al-Baḡdādī; (ob. 626 A.H. = 1228-29 A.D.); al-Muhtarik Wadān wal-Muhtariq Siq'an.  
B.H.MS., Or. 1503.  
Ed. Wüstenfeld; Göttingen, 1846.

609. Ibid. — *Marāsid al-Ittilā' 'ala Asma' al-Ankina wal-Biqā'*.  
B.M.MS., Or. 1504.  
Ed. in 4 vols., Leyden, 1850.
610. Ibid. — *Mu'jam al-Buldān*  
John Ryland MS., Ar. 713.  
Ed. Wüstenfeld in 4 vols., Leipzig, 1866-70;  
and Cairo, 1909.

v) Art of War.

611. al-Ahdab:— Description of the technique of 72  
lance manoeuvres according to the military  
system of Najm-al-Dīn Hasan al-Rammāh al-  
Ahdab. (Without title page).  
Paris MS., B.N., fonds ar. 2827, ff.  
1 vo. — 13 vo.  
Vide de Slane, p. 509.
612. Anonymous: — *Kitāb al-Furūsiya wal-Jihād*.  
Oxford MS., Hunt. 76 I.  
Vide Uri, I, 101.
613. Anonymous: — *Kitāb al-Furūsiya*.  
Paris MS., B.N., fonds ar. 2829.  
Vide de Slane, pp. 509-10.

614. Anonymous: -- Treatise on military pyrotechnics including prescriptions for the manufacture of inflammable materials for use as missiles. (Without title page).  
Paris MS., B.N., fonds ar. 2827, ff. 26 ro. -- 51 vo.  
Vide de Slane. p. 509.
615. Baktūt, Badr-al-Dīn.....al-Rammah al-Malaki al-Zahirī; -- Nihāyat al-Su'l wal-Ummiya fi Ta'lim al-Furūsiya. B.N.MS., Or. 3631 I.  
Vide Rieu, no. 820, pp. 555-56.
616. Ibid. : -- Manual of the equestrian art, the manipulation of weapons on horseback, and the veterinary treatment of horses.  
B.N.MS., Or. 3631 II.  
Vide Rieu, no. 820, pp. 555-56; also Brock., II, 135.
617. al-Khawārizmī, Rukn-al-Dīn Jamshar.....:--  
Treatise on archery. (Without title page).  
B.N.MS., Or. 3631 III.  
Vide Rieu, no. 820, pp. 555-56.

618. Ibn Minkalī, al-Qazz M. ....:— *Uns al-Malā*  
*bi-Wahsh al-Falā*  
 Paris MS., B.N., fonds ar. 2832.  
 Vide de Slane, p. 773; also Brock., II, 136.
619. Ibid.: → *al-Tadbirāt al-Sultāniya fī Siāsat al-*  
*Sina'a al-Harbiya.*  
 B.M.MS., Or. 3734.  
 Vide Rieu, no. 822, pp. 557-58.
620. al-Tarabulsī M. b. Lajin al-Husāmī, known as.....;  
 (circa 780 A.H. = 1379 A.D.?): *Tuhfat al-*  
*Mujāhidīn fī al-'Amal bil-Mayādīn.*  
 Oxford MS., Hunt. 76 II.  
 Vide Uri, I, 101; also Brock., II, 136.
621. Ibid.: — *Ghāyat al-Maqsūd fī al-'Amal wal-'Ilm*  
*bil-Bunūd*  
 Paris MS., B.N., fonds ar. 2827,  
 ff. 1499. — 26ro.  
 Vide de Slane, 509; Brock., II, 135.
622. al-Yūnānī, *Taibugha al-Ashrafī al-Baqlanishī*....:—  
*Ghunyat al-Tullāb fī Ma'rifat al-Ramy*  
*(wal-Hishab).*  
 Camb. MSS. Qq. 178 and Qq. 240.  
 Other MSS. — Vide Rieu, no. 821; Gotha, 1341-42;  
 Leyden, III, 296; Paris, 2833; Cairo, VI, 178.  
 References. — Browne, Hand-List, 127-28;  
 Brock., II, 135-36.

vi) Miscellaneous: Pilgrimage, Propaganda, etc.

623. Anonymous: — *Owraq Junī'at fīha fada'il Misr.*  
Camb. MS., Qq. 91<sup>1</sup>  
Vide Browns, Hand-List, p. 135.
624. Anonymous: — *Kitāb Fadā'il Bait al-Maqdis wa'fih*  
*Kitāb Fadā'il al-Shām.*  
Camb. MS., Qq. 91<sup>2</sup>  
Signed 1 Rajab, 765 A.H.; vide f. 139 vo.
625. al-Badri, Abul-Tuqā (or Baqā) Abu-Bakr b. 'Abdallah  
b. M.....al-Dimashqī al-Shafi'i; (circa 887 A.H.  
= 1482 A.D.): — *Mushat al-Anon fī Mahācin*  
*al-Shām.* John Ryland MS., Ar. 107.  
Cf. B.M.MS., Or. 1559; and Cairo, V, 165.  
References. — Brock., II, 132; de Sacy, *Abdellatif*,  
p. 574; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Man.*, II,  
277; Sauvaire, J.A., série 9, t. 3 and 4.
626. Ibn Duqmāq (vide supra nos. 562 and 563):—  
*al-Durra al-Mudīa fī Fadl Misr wal-Iskandariya.*  
Cairo MS. — ed. C. Vellera, Cairo, 1893.
627. al-Fazari, Ibn al-Firkah (?):— *Fadā'il al-Shām.*  
Camb. MS., 3236.  
References. — Browne, 134; Wüst., 394; Brock.,  
II, 130.

628. al-Harawī, Abul-Hasan 'Alī b. Abi-Bakr.....:—  
Kitāb al-Ishārat fi Ma'rifat al-Ziārat.  
John Ryland MS., Ar. 69.
629. Ibn Abi-Hijla, Shihāb-al-Dīn A. b. Yahyā b. Abi-  
Bakr 'Abd-al-Wāhid al-Talmasānī, known as.....:—  
Sukardān al-Sultān.  
John Ryland MSS., Ar. 93-96.
630. Ibn Kathīr, (vide supra no. 576): — al-Ijtihād fi  
Talab al-Jihād.  
Cairo MS., Hist. 408.

Other MS. — Kopr., 234.

References. — Vide supra no. 576.

Ed. — Cairo, 1347 (1928-29)?

631. Ibn al-Khatīb, Abu 'Abdallah M.....; (circa  
776 A.H. = 1374 A.D. Vide supra no. 578) :—  
al-Maqalah al-Muyammah bi-Manfa'at al-Sa'il  
'an al-Marad al-Ha'il.  
Escorial MS., 1788, ff. 39-48.
- References. — Casiri, II, 71; Gayanages, II,  
363; Wust., 439; Brock., II, 260-61.
632. al-Khasarjī, Mawaffaq-al-Dīn Abu M. 'Abd-al-  
Rahmān.....al-Ansārī: — Murshid al-Zuwwār  
'ila Qubūr al-Abrār fi Ziārāt al-Muqattam.  
B.M.MS., Or. 4635.

Other MSS. — Gotha, 1091; Cairo, V, 146.

References. — Rieu, no. 663, p. 449; Brock., II,  
34.

633. **Ibid.**:- al-Dur al-Munazzam fī Ziārat al-Muqattam.  
 B.M.MS., Or. 3048.  
 Vide Rieu, no. 668, pp. 448-49.
634. **al-Maqdisī, Shihāb-al-Dīn Abu Mahmūd b. M. b. Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl b. Tamīm b. Surūr al-Shafi'ī**:-  
**Muthīr al-Gharām fī Ziārat al-quds wal-Shām.**  
 Paris MS., B.N., fonds ar. 1667,  
 ff. 3 re. - 119 vo.  
 Other MSS. - Berlin, 6095-96; Gotha, 1715;  
 Cairo, V, 125.  
 References. - Hajji, 11372; de Slane, p. 311;  
 Wüst., 425; Brock., II, 130-31.
635. **al-Tadmurī, Abulfida Is-hāq b. Ibrāhīm b. A. b. M. b. Kāmil.....al-Shafi'ī**:-  
**Muthīr al-Gharām li-Ziārat al-Khalīf etc.**  
 Paris MS., B.N., fonds ar. 1667,  
 ff. 120 re. - 128 vo.  
 Other MSS. - Berlin, 6098; B.M. Suppl., 500.  
 References. - De Slane, p. 311; Brock., II, 131.
636. **Ibn al-Zayyāt, Naṣr-al-Dīn M. b. Jalāl-al-Dīn 'Abdallah b. Abi-Hafṣ Sirāj-al-Dīn 'Omar al-Anṣarī al-'Abbāsī al-Su'ūdī.....**; (circa  
 804 A.H. = 1401-2 A.D.):- **al-Kawākib al-Sayyāra fī Tartīb al-Ziāra fī al-ḡarāfāt al-Kubrā wal-Suḡhrā.**  
 Cairo MS., V, 119; vide Brock., II, 131.

SECTION III

PRINTED SOURCES



CHAPTER IOFFICIAL SOURCES.(1) Western.

637. Aeneas, Sylvius, (Pope Pius II) - Opera quae extant omnia. Bâle, various editions and dates.
638. Alberi, E. Relazioni degli Ambasciatori veneti al senato nel secolo XVI. 15 vols. Florence, 1839-63.
639. Amari, M. Trattato stipulato Giacomo II d'Aragona col Sultano d'Egitte il 29 gen. 1293. In - Atti accademici dei Lincei, 3rd series, vol XI, Memorie; 1882-83.
640. Annale, Duc B'. - Notes et documents relatifs à Jean, roi de France, et à sa captivité en Angleterre. London, 1856.
641. Baluze and Mansi, (ed.). - Miscellanea. (Coll. of miscellaneous documents). 4 vols. Inca, 1761-64.
642. Belgrano, L.T. - Documenti riguardanti la colonia di Pera. In - Atti della Società ligure di Storia Patria, vol. XIII. Genoa, 1877 etc.
643. Bizarrus, P. - Senatus populiqne Gemensis Annales. Antwerp, 1579.
644. Bliss, W.H., and J.A. Twanlow, (ed.). - Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters. Vol. IV (1362-96). London, 1902.
645. Bofarull i Mascare, (ed.). - Coleccion de documentos ineditos del Archivo general de la Corona de Aragon. T.I. Barcelona, 1847.
646. Bonaparte, Prince Roland, (ed.). - Documents de l'époque mongole des XIIIe et XIVE siècles. Paris, 1896.
647. Boutaric, E. Notices, et extraits des documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de France sous Philippe de Bel. In - Notices et extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Impériale et autres bibliothèques; T. XX, pp. 83-237. Paris, 1862.

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SECTION IV.

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CHAPTER IV.

(1)

MISSIONARY AND PILGRIMAGE.

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(1) Histories of the Tartars are included to illustrate the missionary work in the Far East in addition to the work done in the Muslim world.



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CHAPTER IX.

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