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# THE CRUSADE OF NICOPOLIS

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WITH THREE MAPS



METHUEN & CO. LTD.

36 Essex Street W.C.

LONDON

(1634)

*First Published in 1934*

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

DEDICATED  
WITH DEEP RESPECT  
TO  
HIS MAJESTY KING FUAD I  
FOUNDER OF THE EGYPTIAN UNIVERSITY  
AND  
BENEVOLENT PATRON OF EGYPTIAN  
SCHOLARSHIP





## PREFACE

THE present study is the final chapter of a projected history of the crusade in the later Middle Ages. It is hoped that its publication may serve to strengthen the conception, now increasingly held among scholars, that the medieval crusade survived St. Louis' death outside the walls of Tunis in 1270, and that attempts to save the Holy Land persisted after the fall of Acre in 1291. The crusading movement continued to be a force in European politics until the Crusade of Nicopolis in the last decade of the fourteenth century.

An attempt has here been made to collect and sift all available sources, Eastern and Western, printed and manuscript, with intent to set forth as complete a history of this momentous event as is possible. A survey of the Nicopolis of to-day and its approaches on the Bulgarian side of the Danube, may perhaps be legitimately included in the body of evidence examined.

Originally prepared for the degree of doctor of philosophy of the University of London, this study has been revised, amended and expanded, on the advice of noted scholars. Perhaps the most important modification is in the treatment here accorded to the much debated question as to the when and why of the dismounting on the part of the French and foreign contingents in the course of the battle. Here, I hold a different view from Sir Charles Oman, but nevertheless I wish to acknowledge my debt to his accepted authority for the recasting of my own argument and for valuable suggestions.

Professor H. A. R. Gibb's scrutiny has been indispensable

on the Oriental side. Professors Claude Jenkins (London), A. Hamilton Thompson (Leeds) and A. Bruce Boswell (Liverpool), and Mr. J. G. Edwards (Jesus College, Oxford) have read the work in its entirety. Dr. C. Previt -Orton has helped with regard to the activities of the English in the Crusade, and Professor G. S. Veitch has read portions of this essay. Among those who, in their capacities as librarians, archivists, keepers of museums and otherwise, have facilitated my task in their respective provinces, I must mention Dr. Henry Guppy (Manchester), M. E. Nolin (Dijon), Professors Roretz and M zic (Vienna), Dr. A. Welkow (Sofia), and Professors Ali Muzaffar and K opr l zade Fuat (Istambul). The authorities of the Bulgarian Government did much to make my visit to Nicopolis and its neighbourhood a success. To Miss Gertrude Winter I am indebted for intensive revision of text and notes, and to my friend Mr. L. Baldwin for revision of proofs and compilation of index.

It is also my privilege to acknowledge here my permanent debt to the Egyptian Government and its advisers in the department of education. Their Excellencies Hilmy Isa Pasha and Abdul-Fattah Sabry Pasha, the Minister and the Under-Secretary of State for Education in Cairo, and H.E. Dr. Hafiz Afifi Pasha, Egyptian Ambassador in London, and Mr. J. M. Furness, Director of the Egyptian Education Mission in England, have all taken the kindest interest in my work and have given me every possible encouragement. In this country, too, I am greatly indebted to the authorities at the University of Liverpool for my election to the Charles Beard and University Fellowships. I owe most of all to my friend and teacher Dr. G. W. Coopland, of the Department of Medieval History in the University of Liverpool and sometime Professor of Medieval History in the Egyptian University. To his guidance and inspiration at every stage I owe more than I can say in this preface.

In conclusion, I wish to draw the attention of my readers

to three points. First, the spelling of proper names in their native form has been preserved as faithfully as possible, except in cases where the English or Latin equivalents thereof have long been recognized. Second, the large number of names mentioned in this work has compelled brevity in compiling the Index. This includes only the outstanding references, and, to avoid unnecessary repetition, the sub-headings at the beginnings of chapters have been regarded as a sufficient substitute for a subject index. Third and last is the manner of using such words as 'infidel' and 'miscreant' to describe both Christian and Muslim without discrimination. These and similar words are of course faithful reproductions of the sources, both Oriental and Western. Avoidance of them would have involved distortion of my text and departure from that strict historical accuracy which has been my aim throughout this study.

A. S. A.

*January, 1934*



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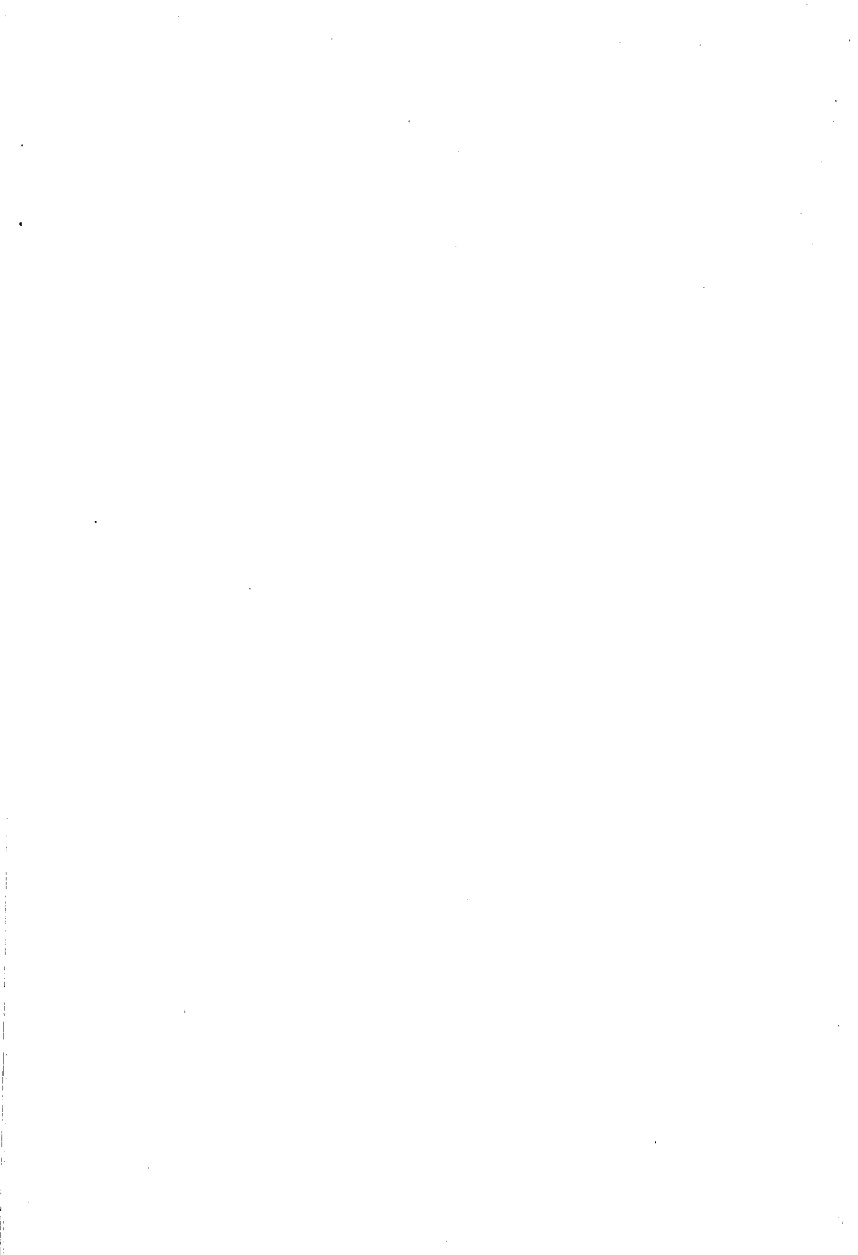
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# THE CRUSADE OF NICOPOLIS





## 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

**T**HE 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 fruitless storming of Alexandria in 1365; the campaign of Count Amadaeus VI of Savoy (1366-7), which proved entirely unequal to the task of driving the Turks from Europe; the Barbary crusade of the Good Duke Louis II of Bourbon (1390)—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 boundaries of the home land 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 realize 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'Amorath 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 threats 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 for ever. 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 (1326-59).<sup>3</sup> 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, despite difference in age and religion, gave his youthful daughter Theodora in marriage to the sexagenarian Orkhan, and, what was perhaps more coveted, the fortress of Tzympe in the Thracian Chersonese (1352).<sup>4</sup> The Empress signed a treaty authorizing 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.

When, in 1354, John succeeded by a stratagem<sup>5</sup> 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 Demotica and Tzurulum in 1357, thus cutting off Constantinople from Adrianople, and the peninsula lay open before them. Murad I (1359-89) conquered the whole of Thrace and compelled John to recognize his possession of the province. In 1361, he captured Adrianople and Philippopolis, and transferred his capital to the first of these.

The Christian princes,<sup>6</sup> 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 Uroš V of Serbia, the Angevin King Louis 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 Louis had a narrow escape.

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 Dobrotić—and three creeds, namely, Bogomil,<sup>7</sup> Orthodox and Catholic. It was also harassed from the north by Louis 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

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

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 Louis 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.<sup>8</sup>

The Serbians, amongst whom the recollection of the great tradition of Stephen Dušan still survived, struggled hard to repel the invader, but were routed at the battle of Cernomen (1371), and the Turks poured down into the valley of the Wardar from the paths of the Rhodope Mountains. Tzar Lazarus Gresljanović, nicknamed the 'Despot', withdrew to Upper Serbia, but seeing little hope of successful resistance to the Turks, and little chance of 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>9</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 'pashalik'.\* When Lazarus threw off the Turkish yoke in the following year, there came to his

\* Meaning division or province generally under the governorship of a 'Pasha'.

assistance contingents from Bosnia, Wallachia, Hungary and Poland. The battle of Kossovo Polye<sup>10</sup> was fought on 15 June 1389<sup>11</sup>; 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 Despina to Bayezid. 'Yilderim' \* 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 the adjacent districts to Andronicos, and kept Manuel at his court.<sup>12</sup>

The fall of Widdin<sup>13</sup> (1390), on which the Hungarian monarch had a long-standing claim, excited a great deal of anxiety at 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, Voyerode of Wallachia, and sent him to Brusa, where he managed to regain his freedom on payment of a tribute of 3,000 ducats, 30 horses and 20 falcons, in return for Bayezid's kindly offer to protect his country from Hungarian aggression (1392-3).<sup>14</sup> The Wallachians were now wedged between two hostile and equally hateful aggressors who claimed suzerainty over their land. Of the two neighbours, the Magyars were regarded as being probably the more dangerous, for no monarch of Hungary—Arpadian or Angevin—had ever lost his determination to reduce Wallachia to political servitude and to substitute the Catholic faith for the Orthodox creed in all their vassal Slav states. Fanatic as he was for his own religion, the Ottoman was obviously

\* Turkish word meaning 'lightning' or 'thunderbolt'; Bayezid's nickname.

more tolerant in the matter of variants of the Christian creed. He granted his Bogomil and Orthodox dependencies the liberty to practise 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 unfortunate for his crusading projects, was the situation in Hungary itself.<sup>15</sup> The Hungarian people had lived under the shadow of civil war since the Magyar nobility had forced the Golden Bull of 1222 from the hands of Andrea II. This charter extended their powers against both king and peasant. They became virtually petty independent rulers of 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. Louis had no male issue, and to ensure the crown for his descendants, had wrung a decision from the Diet settling it on his daughter Marie in his own lifetime. But once he disappeared from the scene, the nobles rose up in arms against Marie and her husband, Sigismund, partly on account of their undying hatred for

female rule, and partly to realize their own ambitious schemes for independence. A strong faction upheld the cause of Ladislaus, son of the assassinated Charles of 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>16</sup> Mircea's flight was not actuated by love towards his Christian 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 Kanizsay, and Nicolas and John Gara.<sup>17</sup> They surprised an unsuspecting Turkish garrison at Nicopolis Minor, which the Turks occupied as a base whence they raided the Wallachian countryside. The Turks were driven back to the other side of the Danube, so that when Philippe d'Artois, comte d'Eu, the new youthful and ambitious constable of France, arrived in Hungary with a few hun-



dred knights about the beginning of 1394,<sup>18</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 Marie without issue.<sup>19</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, 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.<sup>20</sup> After this ill-omened meeting the ambassadors were sent to prison for a time before they were discourteously dismissed.<sup>21</sup> 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 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 fertile in 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 Years' War was actually at an end in 1396. The treaty concluded in Paris on 11 March 1396 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>22</sup> In internal politics, also, 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 apparent 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 still further 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 slight 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 (1394-6).<sup>23</sup> This same treaty set the Spanish 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 zealots 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 severed themselves from Hungary, and their interests tended towards the Baltic region, instead of that 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>24</sup> He favoured men of the lower and middle classes, and thus furnished a motive to the hostility of the 'Herrenbund' (the league of the Lords). Established on 18 December 1393, this league was never actually dissolved until Wenzel was deposed at the opening of the fifteenth century.<sup>25</sup> Meanwhile the Emperor treated the higher clergy with disrespect and so 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,<sup>26</sup> an imperial favourite. Even popular opinion, which was almost invariably on his side, was estranged from him by his appalling treatment of John Pomuč.<sup>27</sup> Wenzel had thrown

him into a dungeon, subjected him to torture, and finally drowned him in the Moldau (Vltava), as a penalty for frustrating his scheme to create a new bishopric with the revenues of the convent of Kladrau and for reproving him for immoral and disorderly life.<sup>28</sup> Wenzel's younger brother, Sigismund of Hungary, spared no effort to stir up hostilities against his senior in secret, notwithstanding his official protestations of friendship.

Turning to the purely religious matters of the day, we find amongst others three great reformers and precursors of Hus,—Milíč of Kremsier, 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>29</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 by him in the crusade impossible.

Nor was there any considerable assistance available from Poland. The election of Jadwiga (1384-9), second daughter of Louis the Great, to the throne of Poland had been 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 orientation of Polish interests from the South to the North. In 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 Christianization 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 was killed. Thus neither the interests, nor the internal condition of Poland, then allowed the Poles at that time to send a contingent of any magnitude to fight for Sigismund's<sup>30</sup> cause at Nicopolis.

The Italian republics were involved in a series of treasons, massacres and revolutions. Here, as the Italian historian says, "we enter into a chaos in which historians lose themselves and reason wanders."<sup>31</sup> Gian Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti had bought the title of Duke of Milan from the impecunious Wenzel for the sum of 100,000 florins (11 May 1395),<sup>32</sup> and began to entertain wide ambitions of incorporating the other signories and establishing himself as king of all Italy. He first entered into league with the Venetians and the Carraresi (Padua) who ceded Verona to Milan and Vicenza to Padua.<sup>33</sup> Then he turned against Padua itself, and made himself master of the city. The Great Schism of the West offered the Duke a chance to play off one pope against another, and he accordingly utilized 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 widespread combination against the Duke. An anti-Milanese League was formed amongst Genoa, Lucca and Florence.<sup>34</sup> 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 conclude a treaty of alliance with France (31 August 1395).<sup>35</sup> 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 nullified that with Milan. In the year of the crusade (1396), Florence sent an embassy to Sigismund with instructions to ask his assistance against the Visconti.<sup>36</sup> The envoys were also enjoined to visit the Duke of Austria on their return journey to induce him to lend the Commune either men-at-arms or any other men—"o di gente d'arme o d'altro."<sup>37</sup> 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,<sup>38</sup> and thus put them on their guard.

The remaining republics offered little to relieve the gloom of the Italian situation. The intercession of Pope Boniface IX between the Rasponi nobles and the Perugian people never succeeded in the establishment of peace at Perugia.<sup>39</sup> The murder of Azzo d'Este in 1396 by the adherents of Nicholas IV did not end the civic turbulence of Azzo's supporters in Ferrara.<sup>40</sup> Pisa was in a state of almost continuous revolt incited by the scheming Visconti who won over Giacomo d'Appiano, the leader of a strong faction of the citizens against Pietro Gambacorti, their Lord.<sup>41</sup> In Lucca, the three Guinigi brothers plotted for the murder of one another and set the whole city ablaze.<sup>42</sup> The civic authority in Rome was a matter of bitter dispute between the republicans and the Pope. The liberties of the former had increased considerably during the Babylonish Captivity, and they refused to give

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

way to the High Pontiff whose prestige was greatly marred by the Schism and the guerrilla war with his Avignonese rival.<sup>43</sup>

The kingdom of Naples offered an obvious field, in which the rivalry of the two popes could express itself. Queen Joanna, through fear of a breach with France, adhered to Clement VII and adopted Louis of Anjou as her successor (20 June 1380). In response, Urban offered the same crown to Charles of Durazzo, nephew of Louis of Hungary. Fierce warfare ensued between the two claimant dynasties during the crusading decade.<sup>44</sup>

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, 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".<sup>45</sup> Secondly, they enjoyed a state of comparative peace. Genoa had, indeed, been a prey to civic strife between Guelf and Ghibelline 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,<sup>46</sup> and hence utilized 'la faiblesse réelle et la force apparente'<sup>47</sup> of the French King. Venice was sheltered from the dissensions and wars on the mainland by the waters of the Adriatic—its natural frontier.<sup>48</sup> But, with all their power, peace and prosperity, the two republics seem to have grudged the provision of part of the necessary fleet for the crusaders. 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 excluding the Ottomans from the list of their common enemies.<sup>49</sup> On 8 June 1387, they signed a treaty of alliance with Murad I.<sup>50</sup> Nor were the Venetians idle in courting

Turkish friendship. The instructions given to Marino Malpiero on 22 July 1384,<sup>51</sup> 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 by Bayezid I in 'March' 1390.<sup>52</sup> Yet the indifference of the two signories was not complete. When they realized that the Eastern Empire was on the verge of total destruction, they tried to manipulate the situation by diplomatic intervention, hoping thus to avoid the expense and the possible confiscation of privileges involved in war. It was at this moment that the crusade was preached and the united princes of Europe forced a number of galleys out of their reluctant hands.<sup>53</sup>

Of the remaining powers in Europe, the knights of the 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 organization.<sup>54</sup> But perhaps a more potent motive lay in the fact that their Island was sorely exposed to attacks from the East, for Rhodes was one of the remaining outposts of Christendom in the Levant. The Grand Master, Philibert de Naillac, together with the *élite* of the Knights Hospitallers were thus diligently preparing to join the Crusade.<sup>55</sup>

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 a 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. Jacques held, indeed, the three crowns of



Jerusalem, Armenia<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup> 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, an appellant against his right of succession appeared in the person of Louis II of the House of Bourbon, a maternal uncle of Charles VI.<sup>58</sup> Little help for a crusade could therefore be expected from the Lusignans by Sigismund.

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

If the general state of European politics at the close of the fourteenth century was ripe for a crusade against the Turks, the situation in Asia Minor and on the Eastern Ottoman frontier was equally favourable to Bayezid for meeting a thwarted invasion without fear of simultaneous attack from the East. It is not the purpose of this study to argue with Gibbons<sup>59</sup> his conclusions as to the instability of Turkish power throughout the fourteenth century, but it is essential to remark that during the period in which this crusade was undertaken Ottoman aggrandizement was constant and systematic, while the Christian kingdoms of the East were too weak and the Tartar danger too remote to cause any alarm on the borders of Asia Minor.

Bayezid's campaigns were not of the opportunist type. They seem to have been deliberately planned so as to occupy the Aegian coastlands first and then take an easterly

direction without leaving any autonomous amirs to threaten the Sultan within his acquisitions. The conquest of Aidin in 1390 and of Sarukhan and Mentеше in 1391 extended his power round the Asiatic coast of the Aegian except for the depleted Christian garrison of Smyrna. This, he did indeed attack in 1391, but wisely spared in order to avoid forcing the Knights of Rhodes into unnecessary hostilities for the defence of a derelict city bound to succumb to his arms in the course of time. In the same year, farther east, the battles of Aq Serai and Aq Tchai precipitated the fall of the province of Karaman. During the years 1393-5, Bayezid completed the conquest of Samsun, Sinope, Caesaria, Sivas and Qastamuni.<sup>60</sup>

The Sultan's Asiatic possessions now roughly bordered on the Christian kingdoms of Armenia and Georgia as well as the empire of Trebizond and the Muslim territories of the Mamelukes, Dhulqadr, the Jelayrs and the Mongols. The Armenians had been reduced to impotence by the Mamelukes of Egypt, and the Georgians by the Mongols of Persia. Trebizond was only the shadow of an old empire, now feeble, corrupt and unworthy. The Mamelukes in Syria, the dynasty of Dhulqadr in the region of the Upper Euphrates, and the Jelayrs at Baghdad were all friendly with Bayezid. The only menace to the Ottomans was from the side of the Tartars.<sup>61</sup> There was, however, a respite in this direction during the period of the Crusade of Nicopolis. Timur's movements were then deflected from Asia Minor. In 1392 he crossed the Oxus and embarked on his famous 'Five Years' Campaign' in the Middle East and in Southern Russia. In 1396, while this crusade was in progress, his armies were enjoined to proceed against Persia and Timur himself retired to Samarqand until his Indian invasion of 1398-9, his Syrian raids of 1401 and his war with Bayezid in 1402.<sup>62</sup>

This broad outline shows that if the state of the Ottomans was not yet permanently stabilized at the end of the century, they enjoyed sufficient power and peace to set

siege to Constantinople in 1395, a siege which lasted till the Tartar invasion of 1402 and was only temporarily interrupted when Bayezid was called to meet the crusaders at Nicopolis. The organized strength of his fighting forces was put beyond doubt by the issue, and his victory was as resounding as the disillusionment that ensued amongst the proud nobles and the zealous propagandists in the West.

## CHAPTER II

### PROPAGANDA

Introduction and Classification—Political : Hayton ; an Anonymous Bodleian Tract—Literary : Chansons de Geste ; Deschamps ; Gower—Religious : Mandeville ; Suchem ; Mézières

**T**HE 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 way had long been prepared for both lay and clerical actors in the great tragedy of the West by innumerable preachers who supported with undying zeal 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 persecutions<sup>1</sup> to which their Eastern co-religionists were 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 churchyards 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 propagandist literature for the crusade, so rich indeed that a complete survey \* thereof cannot be made in this short

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

study on the Crusade of Nicopolis. 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 tract of which a copy is preserved in the Bodleian library may be regarded as representative of the first class of writers; the *trouvères*, 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'<sup>3</sup>—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 of popes, kings and nobles,<sup>4</sup> both in Latin and in French. According to his own story, Hayton wrote by order of the Sovereign Pontiff, then Clement V.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> In order to guide the crusaders' footsteps in the East and ensure the success of their expeditions, he submits to his readers an elaborate plan, the adoption of which, in his opinion, would lead to the victory of the Christians.

Hayton begins by accounting for the strength and weakness of the Sultan of Egypt,<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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>9</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 amirs wage in quest of power, during the reign of a weak ruler ; secondly, the occasional failure of the periodic inundation of the River Nile, with resulting famine and consequent general demobilization of the Sultan's troops for the purpose of seeking their own subsistence ; thirdly, war with Nubian and Bedouin neighbours ; and fourthly, periodic sterility of the land of Syria arising either from natural causes or from the ravages of the Tartars.<sup>10</sup> A crusade, if carried out while such adverse conditions prevailed in the Levant, 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 thousand infantry in ten galleys<sup>11</sup> under the command of a valiant ' ambassador ' should embark on a preliminary expedition which Hayton calls the ' premier voyage '. 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 seize Aleppo.<sup>12</sup>

The advantages<sup>13</sup> of this primary expedition and of the alliance with the Tartars, Hayton tells us, are multiple. In the first place, the Tartar raids in the portions of the Egyptian empire bordering on their territory 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, the crusaders may also seize Tripoli with the help of Eastern Christians to the number of 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.<sup>14</sup> In the fourth place, the Christians, thus 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 the possibilities of two further alliances with the devout King of the Georgians<sup>15</sup> in the vicinity of Armenia and the 'King of the Nubians . . . in Ethiopia'.<sup>16</sup> 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 know the Amharic tongue.<sup>17</sup>

In dealing with the second<sup>18</sup> and decisive phase of his plan—the 'voiage général'—the author distinguishes three possible routes. The first is the Barbary route to Egypt and Syria, about which Hayton confesses that he knows very little and suggests that other experts should

be consulted. 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 of al-Mahdiya in North Africa,<sup>19</sup> where the Good Duke Louis II of Bourbon and a motley assemblage of Western chivalry were cleverly employed by the Genoese merchants for the furtherance of their trading interests in the Mediterranean. The other two routes suggested anticipate the actual progress of the Crusade of Nicopolis 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.\*

In the concluding chapter of the ' *Flos* ', Hayton again emphasizes 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,<sup>20</sup> and, furthermore, he advises the Christians to observe secrecy in matters of war with the Saracens.<sup>21</sup>

Another fourteenth-century writer, the anonymous author of the Bodleian tract to which reference has already been made, describes the most expeditious " *Via ad terram sanctam* " <sup>22</sup> from France, England, Germany and other European countries. His tract begins by lamenting the disgrace of abandoning the Holy Land to its fate under the yoke of the infidel Saracen, and by urging combined

\* Vide *infra*, e.g., Philippe de Mézières.



action for its liberation as the first and foremost duty of all good Catholics.<sup>23</sup> 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 forces.<sup>24</sup> 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,'<sup>25</sup> 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. Eustache Deschamps, the courtly poet and the 'journalist'<sup>26</sup> 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 :

"Pour conquérir de cuer la Sainte Terre."<sup>27</sup>

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 Clamantis* 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 themselves under cover of a crusade.<sup>28</sup>

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 pos-

sibility 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.<sup>29</sup>

Numerous journals and books of travel written by fourteenth-century pilgrims are still extant both in manuscript and in print. One of the most famous and, indeed, most popular of these works, is *The Book of Sir John Mandeville*<sup>30</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>31</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>32</sup> For the guidance of such good people, Sir John describes the possible 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 account of the army of the Sultan of Egypt<sup>33</sup> as well as of the harbours of Damietta and Alexandria<sup>34</sup> 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 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, the second stage of the journey from Byzantium

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

by sea is preferable to the risky passage through Asia Minor.<sup>35</sup> Ludolph also mentions the other land route through the kingdoms of Granada, Morocco, 'Barbary', 'Bugia' and Egypt<sup>36</sup>; but he dwells on the sea route at some length and provides the traveller, the pilgrim and the crusader with valuable information drawn from personal experience. The possible stages of the journey in the Mediterranean,<sup>37</sup> the amount of provisions necessary for the individual traveller,<sup>38</sup> the most suitable dates for sailing,<sup>39</sup> and the perils of the sea<sup>40</sup>—these are some of the topics which Ludolph treats in connexion with the sea route.

The greatest of all the propagandists of the fourteenth century was, however, Philippe de Mézières—a pilgrim and a dreamer<sup>41</sup> according to his own account of himself, an associate of kings, founder 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) till his death (1405), he was either an active crusader or a preacher of the crusade.<sup>42</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 that island, a post which he retained until the death of the King in 1369. He was in Pierre's train during the King's travels through 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 extreme licence in the manners of the age. Mézières became a member of the King's Council, performed a number of diplomatic services 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 all his energy 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, and in his intercourse 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, according to his own authority in the 'Oratio Tragedica',<sup>43</sup> Philippe's mind seems to have been grappling with the problem of the causes of the failure of crusades and with the surest remedy for that failure. Separatism (*divisio*) amongst the leaders of the host and insubordination (*propria voluntas*) in the ranks<sup>44</sup> 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 this order would be twofold<sup>45</sup>: 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 enjoined in its modified form of conjugal fidelity.<sup>46</sup> A number of 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.<sup>47</sup>

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 'Songe' 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 his royal master when the time comes for him to take the Cross.<sup>48</sup> After setting forth the advantages of peace<sup>49</sup> 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,<sup>50</sup> as well as gambling<sup>51</sup> 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 organization of the army are treated in full.<sup>52</sup> The routes recommended for the crusaders are similar to those already described by other propagandists such as Hayton and Ludolph von Suchem.<sup>53</sup> The forces of Central and Eastern Europe may proceed to the Levant by Byzantium and Turkey, where, on their way to join the rest of the crusading host,<sup>54</sup> they can effect the submission of the Greek schismatics to the Church of Rome and win back the territories occupied by the hostile Turk. The army of Aragon, 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-Ouadites of Tlemsen and of the Hafsides of Tunis, founded on the ruins of Almohad empire.<sup>55</sup> 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 sea-powers.<sup>56</sup>

As regards the nature of the fleet, Philippe de Mézières, for reasons of economy and efficiency, recommends strongly the use of the 'taforesse'<sup>57</sup> instead of the usual armed galley. The 'taforesse' 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 may gallop 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 I Lusignan before the gates of Alexandria.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, the construction of an armed galley costs 1,400 or 1,500 florins and its upkeep the monthly sum of 500.<sup>59</sup> In Mézières' opinion four 'taforesses' can be equipped for the cost of each galley<sup>60</sup>—a measure of economy that can hardly be overlooked. 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>61</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. For the accomplishment of this end, a favourable opportunity presented itself to 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,<sup>62</sup> wrote 'Une, poure et simple epistre . . . adressant a . . . tres devost

prince Richart . . . pour aucune confirmation tele quele de la uraye paix et amour fraternele ' <sup>63</sup> between the two realms of England and France and their respective sovereigns. This epistle consists of a prologue and nine chapters or "ix materes a la sainte memour des .ix. ordres des angels". <sup>64</sup> It is written in the form of an allegorical interpretation of a dream in accordance with the mode and convention of the time.

In the prologue, <sup>65</sup> Mézières appeals to Richard's benevolence and patience to listen to what the 'vieil solitaire' offers him for the good of all Christendom. The first chapter <sup>66</sup> or 'matere' deals with the virtues of the 'balme solempnelle', that is, of the concord and mutual amity which he prescribes for the healing of the open wound—the 'plaie mortele' caused by perpetual warfare between England and France. The second 'matere' <sup>67</sup> deals with the termination of the schism in the papacy, and the third <sup>68</sup> 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 discussed in the fourth chapter, <sup>69</sup> and the condemnation of perverse princes who cause bloodshed amongst Christians in the fifth. <sup>70</sup> The sixth <sup>71</sup> as well as the remaining three <sup>72</sup> chapters 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, and 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 <sup>73</sup> of the Western Church and the Anglo-French match were problems that would hardly pass unnoticed by any keen contemporary observer such as Philippe de Mézières. Nevertheless, the solution of these problems, a thing in itself worthy of the author's atten-

tion, 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 can be promoted; and the union<sup>74</sup> 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 effective instrument for the great undertaking—the Chivalry of the Passion of Christ.

In the third and central 'mater' of this same epistle concerning the 'saint passage doultre mer',<sup>75</sup> Philippe begins with the parable of the 'roy uigilant' and the 'roy malause'. The first is the 'soldain de babiloine',<sup>76</sup> 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 the first, for default of good government, of justice and of military discipline.<sup>77</sup> These are the three outstanding defects specified by a 'uieil cheualier' who appears on the scene of exile and who had never ceased, for a period of forty years,<sup>78</sup> to blow his trumpet for the awakening of the Christian kings, while the Holy Places are molested and dishonoured every day by 'the false generation of Mahomet'.<sup>79</sup>

The 'uieil 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 of the long lost and much mal-treated Holy Land,<sup>80</sup> and for the reform of the evils and passions that have permeated the entire structure of Christendom.<sup>81</sup> The new order should incorporate in a single unity the most valiant knights and men-at-arms of all Catholic countries.<sup>82</sup> Its



principal<sup>83</sup> duties, the author again explains to King Richard, will be firstly, to bring together all scattered volunteers for the cause of their fellow-Christians ; secondly, to undertake the preliminary expedition<sup>84</sup> 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<sup>85</sup> the Hermit has informed the King in greater detail about the rule and the possibilities of the new order, Mézières refers him to the distinguished English knights<sup>86</sup> who have joined his Order or promised to support it, especially the Earl of Huntingdon,<sup>87</sup> the Duke of York<sup>88</sup> and Sir John Harleston.<sup>89</sup>

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 his crusading plans.<sup>90</sup> At the end of the ninth 'matere' 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 kingdoms, so full of pride, avarice and luxury.<sup>91</sup>

It is interesting to remark that both preacher and crusader aimed in the end at Jerusalem, the queen of all kingdoms.<sup>92</sup> The French chivalry and the foreign auxiliaries embarked on 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 fastnesses and save the Holy Land from the clutches of the Sultan of Egypt.<sup>93</sup> Some of them went, indeed, beyond Nicopolis ; but they went as captives and slaves, not as conquerors and saviours.

### 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

**T**HE 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 alliances with Manuel<sup>1</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 by which to assert his shaken authority. On 3 June 1394 he issued a bull—"Cogimur ex debita<sup>2</sup> charitate"—wherefor he enjoined Archbishop John of Neopatras to proclaim the crusade in Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia. But these coun-

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

tries 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<sup>3</sup> nostri"—15 October 1394, extending his call for crusaders over Treviso, Venice, the patriarchate of Grado, the See of Salzburg and its suffragan dioceses,<sup>4</sup> as well as the Duchy of Austria.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile, he appointed John of Gubbio<sup>6</sup> as a special legate to carry into effect the purport of the bull and preach the crusade in those 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>7</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, authorized 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 departure of the crusaders.<sup>8</sup>

The preachers of the Crusade were only the forerunners of Sigismund's ambassadors to the powers of Europe. In the East, an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded with Mircea of Wallachia and the Emperor Manuel. According to the Greek evidence of Phrantzes,<sup>9</sup> it was Sigismund who sent envoys to negotiate with Manuel concerning the projected crusade. Ducas,<sup>10</sup> 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<sup>11</sup> and Saad-al-Din<sup>12</sup> make a similar statement. But all the other evidence proves the contrary. The general im-

pression, that can be gathered from the Hungarian chroniclers such as George de Pray,<sup>13</sup> Petrus de Rewa,<sup>14</sup> Bonfinius,<sup>15</sup> and Thwroc,<sup>16</sup> is that Sigismund embarked on the 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 of 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, had stopped at the<sup>17</sup> 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; this may have been due to 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 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 whether the envoy's supplications carried any weight, since he spoke nothing but Greek, and, according to the same document, there was no one at the time to interpret for him.<sup>18</sup> The argument of Ducas and the contention of Brauner<sup>19</sup> 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 origin of the idea of the crusade

may thus be traced to the court of Sigismund, and it now remains to fix the responsibility for the promotion of the movement 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 power: council, pope, emperor, or king.<sup>20</sup> Barante, 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>21</sup> Sismondi is at one with Barante in saying that the Duke had suggested the Crusade to Sigismund.<sup>22</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>23</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 avoid the hostility of Orleans to the project if Philippe himself suggested it.<sup>24</sup> Delaville Le Roulx admits the responsibility of Burgundy, but only partially, for Burgundy, Orleans and Lancaster were acting conjointly in this matter.<sup>25</sup> A document of 21 January 1394<sup>26</sup> supports this last view, as it 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 comte d'Eu, Boucicaut, and Reynaud de Roze were passing through Hungary on their way to

a pilgrimage to the Holy Places as early as 1388-9, Sigismund offered them hospitality for three months and loaded them with the highest honours.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, Henry of Derby, who had set out to the Holy Land after his Prussian campaign of 1392-3,<sup>28</sup> 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 the ever-increasing power of the Ottomans. Moreover, the Hungarian victory at Nicopolis Minor <sup>29</sup> (1393), followed by the advent into Hungary and return thence to France, of the comte d'Eu and a few hundred French chevaliers, must have indirectly stimulated the Western warlike disposition for a share in the harvest of glory.

The official negotiations began actually when de la Tremouille, Renier Pot,<sup>30</sup> 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 1394.<sup>31</sup> Shortly after, the Marshal of Burgundy appeared in presence of the Signory (4 February 1395) and said that he had awaited the Hungarian ambassadors for twelve days, and as they had not appeared, on behalf of the Dukes of Burgundy, Orleans and Lancaster he required an answer concerning the matter of the appeal for Venetian assistance made by their embassy. The Venetian Senate declined to give a definite reply, as the principals concerned were not present.<sup>32</sup> After the French had left, the Hungarians, three in number, under the leadership of Nicolas of Kanizsay,<sup>33</sup> Archbishop of Gran and treasurer of Sigismund, arrived at Venice on 5 March, by sea. After presenting their instructions to the Senate, they received an answer dated 10 March, 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>34</sup> This vague reply did not satisfy the legates, and, after two days' negotiations, they managed to secure a decision of the Senate<sup>35</sup> that the Republic would furnish the Crusade with a number of galleys equal to one quarter of the coalition fleet, provided that their total contribution should not exceed twenty-five.

Afterwards, Kanizsay 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 8 May was Lyons,<sup>36</sup> where the Duke of 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.<sup>37</sup> Renier Pot, the Duke's chamberlain, was then ordered to conduct them to Paris. But owing to the absence of the King's uncles at the papal court at Avignon, the ambassadors employed their time usefully in one visit to the Duchess of Burgundy at Dijon (17-19 May), and in another to the Duke of Lancaster who was at Bordeaux.<sup>38</sup> They were reassured as to the good intentions of both. On their arrival in the capital,<sup>39</sup> they found that the princes of the regency had returned, and it was therefore possible for the King to receive them solemnly in Council. Kanizsay placed Sigismund's letter<sup>40</sup> in Charles' hands, and then delivered an eloquent speech in which he drew a vivid picture of the impending peril<sup>41</sup> 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, Eu and Boucicaut<sup>42</sup> in particular, supported ardently the envoy's appeal; and the King gave to the expression of their wishes and aspirations his full attention and promised to give his final consent to the expedition as soon as the peace with England was concluded.<sup>43</sup> Having thus succeeded in their embassy, Kanizsay and his three<sup>44</sup> companions left the city within nine days of the

meeting of the Council. They returned with valuable presents, favours and gratifying promises of assistance.

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 in order 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 started. In 1394, he issued a minute to specify the various subsidies he required for the 'voiage d'Onguerie'<sup>46</sup> as well as for the knighting of his eldest son. This important document includes a list of 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 Gian Galeazzo of Milan. If we accept the total figure marked at the end of the document and adopted by Delaville Le Roulx,<sup>46</sup> 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 aids and loans for his 'voiaige d'Ongrie'.<sup>47</sup> 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.

\* Vide analysis of document in Appendix IV—A.

† Vide Appendix IV—B.



The distinctive feature of the preparations for this 'voyage' 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 heavily embroidered with the arms of Nevers in Cypriote gold-thread. Of costly tents and pavilions alone, there were twenty-four cartloads. Saddles and horse equipment, decorated with gold, silver and ivory, and ornamented with precious stones, were not wanting in large numbers.\* No less than 300 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.<sup>48</sup> Froissart says that "riens n'estoit espargnie de montures, d'armoiries, de chambres, d'abis, grans riches et puissans, de vaisselle d'or et d'argent".<sup>49</sup>

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 Franco-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 twenty-four years of age,<sup>50</sup> whom he wished to be knighted on the field of honour while combating the 'miscreants'.<sup>51</sup> The next important step taken by the Duke was the official proclamation of the Crusade throughout the whole of the ducal territories and all the realm of France.<sup>52</sup> It is even said that the Duke's son, Nevers himself, was sent into Flanders "pour requerre ayde contre l'Amorath Baquin", and that that country rendered him "grand confort et aide, tant de finanche comme de gens

\* Bavyn MS., ff. 348 ro.-349 ro. For transcription of Bavyn's account see Appendix V.

d'armes".<sup>53</sup> 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.<sup>54</sup> So numerous were the enthusiasts who responded to Philippe's summons to arms that only the *élite* amongst them were admitted to the honour of joining the enterprise.

The choice fell upon a thousand knights—the flower of French chivalry—and at least an equal number of esquires.<sup>55</sup> Every prince of the blood brought in his train a number of retainers whom he supported at his own expense. Boucicaut maintained seventy followers, of whom fifteen were knights.<sup>56</sup> 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 as to 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 from 6,000<sup>57</sup> to 10,000.<sup>58</sup> But as the last figure agrees with the only existing French estimate furnished by the Bavyn 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 in number. Their salary for one month, according to Bavyn, amounted to 36,190 livres.<sup>59</sup>

Brauner,<sup>60</sup> Köhler,<sup>61</sup> Aschbach,<sup>62</sup> Delaville Le Roulx<sup>63</sup> and Daru<sup>64</sup> adopt a similar view regarding 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 28 March 1396,\* which refers to about 200 knights, and also to 24 esquires, 10 archers and 20 arbales-

\* Arch. de la Côte d'Or, MS. B 11876. Vide Appendix VI.

ters, besides a number of petty officers of Nevers' household such as a steward, a cook, a butcher and a poultry-keeper. Apart from 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 24 esquires, 10 archers, and 20 arbalesters, the rest being a mixed mass of footmen and menial retainers. A very approximate estimate may therefore be drawn in this wise :

Knights . . . . .	1,000
Esquires . . . . .	1,000
Archers . . . . .	500
Arbalesters . . . . .	1,000
Other footmen . . . . .	6,500
	<hr/>
Total . . . . .	10,000
	<hr/>

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.<sup>65</sup> 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 Boucicaut. 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, forecast the disorderly progress of the campaign. A gentleman who caused tumult in the ranks was to lose his horse and harness ; a varlet who used a knife was to lose his fist ; and he who committed robbery was to lose an ear.

Finally the 'Ordonnance' fixed 20 April 1396 for the meeting of the diverse forces at Dijon, where an advance payment of four months' wages would be made at the rate

of 40 francs the knight, 20 the esquire, and 12 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 francs per month, judging by the total of the wages for that period given in the Bavyn manuscript, by the wages of the three classes mentioned in the ' Ordonnance ', and by our estimate of the numbers of the various classes of combatants.<sup>66</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, Steiermark,<sup>67</sup> and Luxemburg,<sup>68</sup> were actively preparing to join the Crusade. It is very hard to give any definite numbers 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 realized if we remember that the majority of 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>69</sup> Another was the Count of Katznellenbogen whose identity is difficult to discover, owing to the existence of three princes of that House who held similar titles in the period of the Crusade. Brauner believes that the one in question was John III.<sup>70</sup> Count Herman II of Cilly and Burgrave John III of Nuremberg were also among the crusaders.<sup>71</sup> Aschbach is wrong in assuming that Burgrave John was the Grand Prior of the German Order; and that he marched to Hungary<sup>72</sup> as such, for John's name does not appear on the lists of the knights of the Order, and the fact that he was married refutes this contention.<sup>73</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>74</sup> It was formerly believed that John's younger brother, Frederick, the first elector of

Brandenburg, had also taken part in the Crusade. This view is adopted by von Hammer,<sup>75</sup> the famous historian of the Turkish Empire. The only justification for this statement was one reference in Strömer which is now proved to be a later insertion in a different hand.<sup>76</sup> 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 Ostrevant, 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 warlike impulse, he directed their attention to the neighbouring country of Frisia, where they could win glory in the subjection of its unruly people.<sup>77</sup>

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 in this Island or on the Continent include several inaccuracies and errors.

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. Chaucer's <sup>78</sup> 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 foo ".

" This ilke worthy knight had been also  
 " Sometyne with the lord of Patalye,\*  
 " Ageyn another hethen in Turkye :  
 " And evermore he hadde a sovereyn prys." 79

John Gower, the worthy fourteenth-century contemporary of Chaucer, in his *Vox Clamantis*, also defends the cause of the Holy War for the redemption of the Holy Land, which belonged to Jesus by birthright.<sup>80</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*,<sup>81</sup> the *Relation de la Croisade de Nicopoli*<sup>82</sup> and the *Res Gestae*<sup>83</sup> amongst the chronicles of France and Burgundy ; Michael Ducas' *Historia Byzantina*<sup>84</sup> amongst those of Greece ; the *Chronica volgare di Antonio Fiorentino*<sup>85</sup> and the *Annales Mediolanenses*<sup>86</sup> in Italy ; Petrus de Rewa's *De Monarchia et S. Corona Hungariae*<sup>87</sup> in Hungary ; and Walsingham's<sup>88</sup> and Trokelow's<sup>89</sup> works as well as the chronicle of the Monk of Evesham<sup>90</sup>—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

\* 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.

contingent consisted of a thousand men-at-arms,<sup>91</sup> 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"<sup>92</sup> 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.<sup>93</sup> But, that a "son of Lancaster and a cousin of the King of England" took part in 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 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>94</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>95</sup> Vickers relates that "in 1396 he (Henry) had fought beside Sigismund of Hungary at Nicopolis, escaping with difficulty from the stricken field".<sup>96</sup> Coville denies the presence of Bolingbroke at Nicopolis, but avoids the responsibility of stating any substitute for the leadership of the English.<sup>97</sup> Kupelweiser states that the son of the Duke of Lancaster joined the crusaders with 10,000 Englishmen.<sup>98</sup> Delaville Le Roulx suggests that it was probably John Beaufort, another son of John of Gaunt, who assisted in the Crusade,<sup>99</sup>—a suggestion which found its way to an article by Professor Tout in an early volume of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. In the 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>100</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. That Bolingbroke took no part in the Crusade is proved by the fact that he was left with the Duke of York to guard England during King Richard's absence in France. On the other hand Beaufort seems to have been present at the famous interview of the English King with Charles VI of France between Calais and Ardres<sup>101</sup> in September 1396,—the month of the disastrous battle on the right bank of the Danube. If Bolingbroke, as Froissart<sup>102</sup> tells us, was forbidden by his father to join the expedition of Ostrevant 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 perilous adventure against the Turks.

Another very possible candidate for the leadership of the English at Nicopolis is John Holand, Earl of Huntingdon, Richard II's younger brother. On 18 January 1394, he received a royal command to proceed to the King of Hungary 'pro certis negotiis',<sup>103</sup> 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>104</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 the Passion; and Philippe de Mézières referred King Richard to him for information about the new crusading organization.\* On the other hand, Frois-

\* Brit. Mus. MS. Royal 20-B-VI, f. 37 ro. (vide Appendix III), also Molinier's MSS. 362-4 (Appendix II).



sart,<sup>105</sup> Trokelow<sup>106</sup> and Walsingham<sup>107</sup> mention the 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 now remain unsolved. The indecisiveness of this conclusion is further enhanced by the fact that neither the Treaty nor the Patent Rolls appear to add much to our stock of knowledge on the subject. Unless new discoveries are made to confirm or confute the argument for the one or the other, the balance of evidence will continue to sway as between Beaufort and Holand.

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'<sup>108</sup> and the anonymous 'Chronicon Flandriae'<sup>109</sup> refer to a mixed body of knights who, after having defeated and put to flight the Moors in Spain, joined the crusading army, 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<sup>110</sup> 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,<sup>111</sup> mentions the 'Hispani' twice amidst the cosmopolitan crowd 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<sup>112</sup> knights including 'Stiborius de Stiborzicze' \* and Swantoslaus of the House of Lyada, and their activities in the battle, with which we deal elsewhere.

\* This is the latinized form of the Polish 'Scibor', whose name also appears in Petrus de Rewa (*De Monarchia, &c.*), 652.

Finally, Ducas <sup>113</sup> contends that the Italian crusaders were not few—'et Italorum non pauci'. But neither the statements of the Italian chronicles, nor the course of events 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 from the Pope <sup>114</sup> alone. 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.

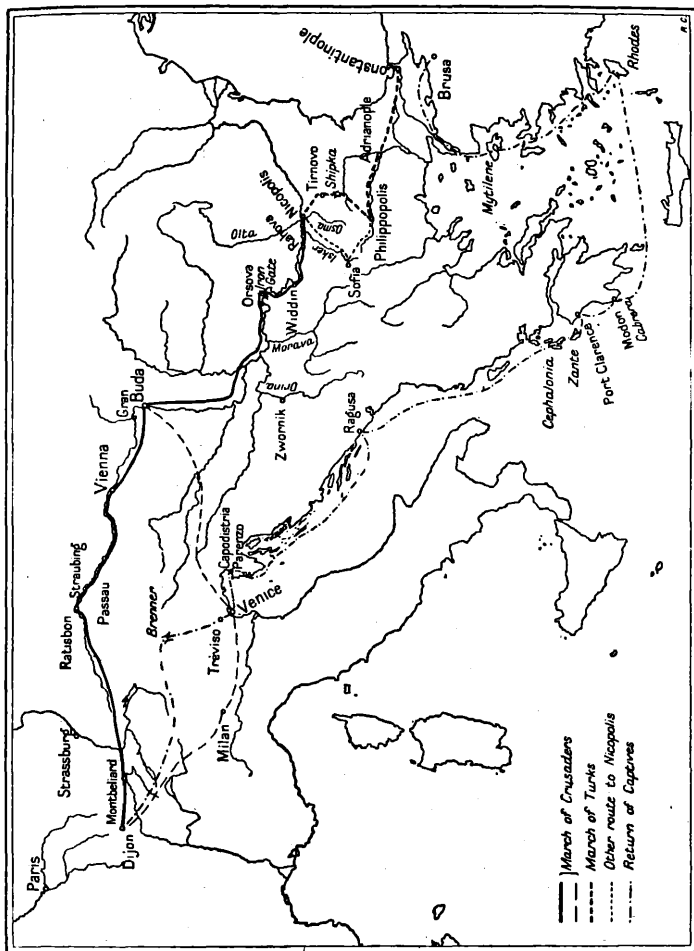
## CHAPTER IV

### MARCH OF THE CRUSADERS

Buda, the rendezvous—Buda to Nicopolis : 1. Widdin. 2. Rahova  
—The Siege—March of the Turks

THE nineteenth-century historians of the Crusade of Nicopolis have misinterpreted many aspects or left unsolved many problems presented by the march of the crusaders, and the only twentieth-century historian <sup>1</sup> who has dealt with the Crusade at any length, has treated the matter somewhat inadequately. 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 Marie and his brothers Anthoine and Philippe, waiting to bid him farewell.<sup>2</sup> In conformity with the Ordinance of 28 March 1396,<sup>3</sup> the French and the Burgundians were present at Dijon on 20 April, and there is no evidence contrary to the supposition that they set out about that date. However, the comte de Nevers himself left Dijon only on 30 April <sup>4</sup> to join the forces under his command at Montbeliard.



THE ROUTES

Meanwhile, a small portion of the French contingent under Henri de Bar and Enguerrand de Coucy <sup>5</sup> branched off from the main body to Lombardy with instructions from the King to dissuade the Duke of Milan from interfering with the Genoese surrender 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 rejoin their countrymen. Aschbach <sup>6</sup> states that they sailed from Venice to Dalmatia by sea and then travelled the rest of the way by land. Brauner,<sup>7</sup> whose argument is based mainly on the *Religieux*,<sup>8</sup> suggests that they crossed the Alps by the Brunner Pass and rejoined Nevers at Passau. Delaville Le Roulx <sup>9</sup> 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 granted 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 eyewitness—Ogier VIII d'Anglure <sup>10</sup>—who 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 probable

and straightforward route was neither by sea, as Aschbach and Le Roulx assert, nor by the Brunner 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 Franche Comté and the Upper Alsace, crossed the Rhine, south of Strasbourg, and soon gained the upper valley of the 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 fleet of transports for sailing down the Danube with the necessary provisions and the equipment of the Franco-Burgundian crusaders.<sup>13</sup> 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,<sup>14</sup> 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 arrival of the Count and the crusaders. The heralds were in Vienna on 21 May (Whitsuntide), and Nevers arrived about one month later on 24 June (St. John's Day).<sup>15</sup> 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 Ruppes,<sup>16</sup> a Flemish knight who knew the German tongue, to inform Sigismund of the approach of the crusaders and to prepare the necessary accommodation for them. Bavyn 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. It, however, remained unpaid and the envoys loitered in Vienna until the news of the final defeat of the Christians by the Turks reached that city.<sup>17</sup>

It is very difficult to fix a definite date for the arrival of the foreign auxiliaries at Buda, but since they had been on the march for three months,<sup>18</sup> they must have appeared in the vicinity of the Hungarian capital late in July 1396. Köhler fixes the date as being about the middle of June.<sup>19</sup> This is hardly possible, partly because it is incredible that such an unwieldy body as the Franco-Burgundian army should cover the distance between Montbeliard and Buda in only six weeks, and partly because an eye-witness in Vienna—the anonymous author of the *Annales Mellicenses*—reports Nevers' advent into that city on 24 June.

Buda was the general rendezvous 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.<sup>20</sup> 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. Brauner<sup>21</sup> asserts on the authority of Froissart<sup>22</sup> 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 have been hardly possible for the knights to have arrived at Buda before the departure of the army for the Turkish dominions.

The fleet is said to have consisted of forty-four galleys,<sup>23</sup> under the command of one of the ablest Venetians and the most experienced 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 avoid any encounters with the crusading fleet.<sup>24</sup>

Sigismund's delight at the arrival of the foreign contingents was naturally great. He gave them a magnificent reception,<sup>25</sup> and, as a signal honour, allowed their leaders to hang their arms on the walls of the cloisters of the convent of St. Nicholas, where ThwrocZ saw them.<sup>26</sup> Both ThwrocZ<sup>27</sup> and Bonifinius<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup>

When the Council of War was convened at Buda to discuss plans Sigismund<sup>30</sup> 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 and the Holy Land."<sup>31</sup> 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 May.<sup>32</sup> 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. Coucy, the spokesman of the foreign contingents, finally forced a decision on Sigismund 'a voyagier et faire armes'.<sup>33</sup> Thereafter, the Christian armies were afoot on their way to 'Turkey'.<sup>34</sup>

The course of the campaign from Buda appears to have been misunderstood by Dr. Gibbons, the historian of the Ottoman Empire in the fourteenth century.<sup>35</sup> 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,<sup>36</sup> 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 near the Danube.<sup>37</sup> Their vanguard consisted of a small body of Hungarians under Nicolas of Gara, whom Froissart calls 'le connestable de Honguerie', to lead the way, as he and his men knew the roads of that country. Afterwards, the French, and probably the other foreigners under Philippe d'Artois, 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 comte de 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 Froissart,<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 Froissart,<sup>40</sup> the number was 60,000, 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 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 pillage, robbery, lubricity, "et choses non honnestes."<sup>41</sup> The clergy advised the principal chiefs, if they wanted to avoid the wrath of Heaven, to suppress disorder, debauchery, orgy and blasphemy, and all the excesses of the time in the ranks.<sup>42</sup> But their remonstrances had no more effect than if they had been talking 'to a deaf ass'.<sup>43</sup> When the bearers of the Cross came into the Balkans, they carried their excesses to the utmost extreme and wrought havoc amidst the harmless Orthodox Serbians and Bulgarians, whose 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 brought the Crusade to an end. The campaign did not start with the seizure of Orsova, as the Hungarian chronicler Thwroc<sup>44</sup> says, or as the modern historians Kervyn,<sup>45</sup> Köhler,<sup>46</sup> Brauner<sup>47</sup> and Kiss<sup>48</sup> 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 of the Danube took place at Widdin.<sup>49</sup> This town was subject to the governorship of a Bulgarian prince—probably Stracimir<sup>50</sup>—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. Thereupon, Nevers and three hundred Christians were knighted.<sup>51</sup> This furnishes another proof that Widdin, not Orsova, was the first town to fall before Christian arms<sup>52</sup>; 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 Rahova or Rachowa<sup>53</sup> 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 were prepared for vigorous resistance.<sup>54</sup> Nevertheless, 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 themselves.<sup>55</sup> They arrived there at dawn on a day early in September 1396.<sup>56</sup> On the approach of the enemy, the inhabitants at once destroyed the bridge over the moat<sup>57</sup> 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, dragged on, 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 refused, for, according to the *Religieux*,<sup>58</sup> the Christians had already occupied some of the higher ramparts, and their forces were pouring into the town. In the panic which followed, the inhabitants were massacred without regard to 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.<sup>59</sup> A garrison of 200 men<sup>60</sup> was left in occupation of what was left of the town; and the march was resumed by the rest of the crusaders.

It is interesting to notice that Froissart<sup>61</sup> 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 attempts at explanation. Froissart states that the Christians seized the three towns of Comette, La Quaire and Brehappe, which have been identified as Ro-du-Timok<sup>62</sup> at the mouth of the Timok,<sup>63</sup> Kaara<sup>64</sup> on the route to Belgradtschi, and Belgradtschi<sup>65</sup> ten leagues south-west of Widdin. Although the town of Brehappe itself had fallen, the crusaders failed to take its adjacent castle, which was valiantly defended by its Turkish governor, Corbadas, and his three brothers—Maladius, Balachus 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 now no longer existing villages and forts, besides Widdin and Rahova, 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 Rahova on the route of the crusaders was Nicopolis.<sup>66</sup> Its strategic situation was peculiarly advantageous to its occupants. Being near the estuary of the Osma on the right bank of the Danube, and facing the valley of the Aluta 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 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 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 founders 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 realize 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, Dogan Bey,<sup>68</sup> was a Turkish veteran of wide experience. He was determined to resist the assailants at all costs and to die a martyr for his faith, rather than surrender to the 'Unfaithful'. Discipline was strictly enforced, and 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<sup>72</sup> 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 inside them.<sup>73</sup> 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'.<sup>74</sup> It is beyond question 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,<sup>75</sup> but makes no mention of them in his account of the rest of the campaign. Although the cannon must have been introduced in Western European warfare during the first half of the fourteenth<sup>76</sup> century, it remains very

doubtful whether its use was generalized 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. Moreover, the early cannon was too clumsy and too cumbersome to drag from one end of the Continent to the other. Moreover, 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 much alarmed 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 utilizing 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.<sup>77</sup> The clergy, as on previous occasions, 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',<sup>78</sup> 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.<sup>79</sup>

Bayezid was not, as Foissart states, at the court of the Egyptian sultan in Cairo<sup>80</sup>; nor did he dread facing the invaders. On the contrary, he was actively mustering his forces for the relief at Nicopolis. It is not inconceivable that he had received the news of the Crusade beforehand. Froissart,<sup>81</sup> the 'Serviteur de Gui de Blois',<sup>82</sup>

and the anonymous author of the *Chronicon Flandriae*,<sup>83</sup> 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,<sup>84</sup> the Sultan seems to have intercepted a 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 into Serbia and Bulgaria, some of the Turkish settlers in those regions hastened with the tidings to their supreme master.

Delaville Le Roulx<sup>85</sup> 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 probably follows Brauner's<sup>86</sup> 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. Saad-al-Din,<sup>87</sup> Leunclavius,<sup>88</sup> and the anonymous Turkish chronicler<sup>89</sup> in Buchon, as well as the Turkish historian Urūj, are in full agreement on the statement that Bayezid had been besieging Constantinople at the time. Froissart's allegation that Ruffin, who had escaped from the fort near Brehappe, met 'King Basaach' (Bayezid) at 'Kahaire' (Cairo) in 'Babilonne' (Egypt) and informed him of the advent of the crusaders into the Sultan's realm,<sup>90</sup> belongs to the world of fable. The Egyptian chroniclers, even the most learned and best informed amongst them, such as Maqrīzī,<sup>91</sup> Ibn Hajar<sup>92</sup> and Suyuti<sup>93</sup> 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 to his 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.<sup>94</sup> The Sultan and the Asiatic



contingent that had been assisting in the siege of Byzantium, marched at once to Adrianople. Therefrom, they proceeded by the valley of the Maritza to Philippopolis, where the Asiatic and the majority of the European auxiliaries were 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.\* Brauner<sup>95</sup> 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 Tirnovo and descended by the valley of the Osma to Nicopolis. Ducas,<sup>96</sup> indeed, suggests tentatively that the Turks crossed the marshy districts in the neighbourhood of Sofia. But Leunclavius,<sup>97</sup> on the other hand, states definitely, and not without reason, that Bayezid and his armies halted at Tirnovo. This last statement is supported by an official document—a letter from Sigismund to John Marothy in 1412, which refers to the siege of Nicopolis and a reconnoitring exploit carried out by Marothy in connexion with the approach of the “*praedicto Bayazith imperatore, eo tempore in Thorno*”<sup>98</sup> (Tirnovo). 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.

\* The Isker, the Osma and the Jantra are all tributaries of the Danube on its southern side.

At Tirnovo, the nearest point to Serbia on the route to Nicopolis, Bayezid was probably joined by his Christian vassal, Stephen Lazarović, and the Serbian auxiliaries. Before the joint armies pursued their march, a great deal of reconnoitring was carried out on both sides. Everenos Bey, one of Bayezid's generals, 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>99</sup> Although Everenos 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 Bayezid himself changed his Turkish garb for that of a Hungarian, and penetrated into the camp of the Christians up to the walls of Nicopolis, where he conversed with Dogan Bey.<sup>100</sup> This episode is perhaps inserted by the writer to heighten the romantic effect of his history, and has no 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 Tirnovo, and returned with the news of the approach of the Turkish army.<sup>101</sup> Schiltberger<sup>102</sup> wrongly ascribed this exploit to "the Duke of Walachy, called Werterwaywod (Voyevode), 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<sup>103</sup> of the Danube, ready to fight one of the decisive battles of all time.

## 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

**T**HE breakdown of the Crusade before the walls of Nicopolis was not a matter of mere chance. It was the result of 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<sup>1</sup> as one of the chief causes of the disaster, is doubtful; 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 fatalistic—confidence in their arms,—all these were qualities that inspired the Ottoman invaders and ensured their triumph. 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 had contributed much to weaken—these were some of the factors that entailed the defeat of the Christians.

It is idle to dogmatize, as Kiss<sup>2</sup> does, as to the exact numbers 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 support their fixed theories and theses. But no final verdict as to the truth can be given without a comparative study of most of the estimates contained in the sources. The lowest number on record for the Christians—16,000—is given by Schiltberger,<sup>3</sup> the highest—200,000—by the Klindenberg<sup>4</sup> chronicler. Between these two irreconcilable figures, the other estimates can be arranged. Ulmann Strömer<sup>5</sup> records the total number as 30,000; Antonio Fiorentino,<sup>6</sup> as 35,000; the Magdeburg chronicler,<sup>7</sup> as 60,000; and the brothers Gatari,<sup>8</sup> as 84,000. The Turkish historians—Idris,<sup>9</sup> Saad-al-Din<sup>10</sup> and Leunclavius<sup>11</sup>—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 figures. The anonymous biographer of Boucicaut<sup>12</sup> states that the Christian army consisted of 100,000 horse; Froissart,<sup>13</sup> Ser Guerriero da Gubbio,<sup>14</sup> Königshofen<sup>15</sup> and Conrad Justinger,<sup>16</sup> of 100,000 men. As the four chroniclers belonged to three different countries,—France, Germany and Switzerland,—and as they may have derived their information from relatively independent sources, their estimate has to be tolerated as an approximation to the reality.

An exact arithmetical statement of the various elements of the crusading auxiliaries is a matter of great difficulty, and these can be only roughly defined, since the official sources are not helpful in this matter. Relying almost entirely on the chroniclers, the following rough estimate may be provided:

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

Brauner,<sup>23</sup> indeed, selects the total figure of 100,000, but hardly attempts to make any approximate estimate of the various elements of the Christian army. Delaville Le Roulx<sup>24</sup> gives the same total as Brauner, but he contradicts himself by adopting Kiss's<sup>25</sup> table on the ground that it possesses the semblance of truth.

Still more difficult is the attempt to define the number of the Turks. On the one hand the Western chroniclers, with the exception of the *Religieux*, exaggerate the size of the Ottoman army, in order, perhaps, to excuse 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,<sup>26</sup> is incredibly small and must be repudiated. Urūj<sup>27</sup> 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 Western estimates may conveniently be grouped in four classes. In the first place, Froissart,<sup>28</sup> Schiltberger,<sup>29</sup> Trimethius,<sup>30</sup> Petrus de Rewa,<sup>31</sup> Antonio Fiorentino<sup>32</sup> and Ser Guerriero da Gubbio<sup>33</sup> provide us with the estimate of 200,000 men. In the second place, Sansovino<sup>34</sup> and the anonymous author of the *Istore et chroniques de Flandres*<sup>35</sup> give a still larger figure of 300,000. In the third place, Delayto<sup>36</sup> 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,<sup>37</sup> who depends in his estimate on the report of an unbiassed eye-witness. He offers his readers the following definite particulars on the Turkish divisions :

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

Sozomenus' <sup>38</sup> 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 till 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 Bayezid's army about 110,000 men. <sup>39</sup>

Medieval estimates of numbers in such cases are notoriously open to suspicion. The essence of the previous argument is, however, that the hostile armies were almost equal; and any attempt to account for the victory of the Ottomans by their superiority in number, is to avoid the real issue. 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 before the final battle, Sigismund sent at first his own Marshal, whom Froissart calls 'messire Henri d'Esteuilemchale' <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' for himself. <sup>44</sup> These serious dissensions reigned

not only between the French and the Hungarians as two units in opposition to each other, but also divided the ranks of the French themselves as a separate entity. The Constable Eu and the Marshal Boucicaut 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 princes, including Artois and Eu, threw the weight of their influence on the other side and accused the older generation of fear of the enemy and disloyalty to the cause of their own countrymen.<sup>45</sup> Finally all the efforts of Sigismund were foiled by the sudden march of the French and numerous other foreigners into 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 Voyevode's men had shot poisoned arrows at Sigismund on his triumphant return from the battle of Nicopolis Minor.<sup>46</sup> 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.

The Christian army consisted of heterogeneous masses, which represented the various and conflicting aspirations

\* Vide cap. I.

of their countries and nascent spirit of nationality therein. 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 common 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 System'<sup>47</sup>—frequently, but inadequately, called 'Turkish 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 eshmek) and to supply soldiers or sailors in numbers proportionate to the revenue of the appanage'.<sup>48</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>49</sup> Further developments occurred in the reigns of Orkhan (1326-59) and Murad I (1359-89), whose respective Viziers, 'Ala' al-Din and Timurtash, happened to be great legislators and administrative and military organizers. 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 organ-



ization, in all probability only codified already existing regulations.<sup>50</sup>

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, reckoning on another basis, an extent of land capable of returning an annual income of less than 20,000 aspers.<sup>51</sup> The timar-holder was called 'Timarli'<sup>52</sup> in the East, a word which became 'Timariot' 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 military levies on the other. But it was entirely dissimilar 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 from whom they directly held their land. In the second place, there was no limitation of forty days' annual service as there was in the West. 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

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

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

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. The natural love of war of these soldiers was further stimulated by the fact 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 reached 75,000.<sup>53</sup> When mustered for military purposes, these men 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 levied only on the occasions of sieges<sup>54</sup> and were afterwards demobilized.

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 dates from the time of the reign of Orkhan, but their definite organization dates from 1376, in the reign of Murad I, and their number at Nicopolis was 10,000.<sup>55</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<sup>56</sup> from amongst the vanquished European Christians who refused to give up their faith. D'Ohsson,<sup>57</sup> Köhler,<sup>58</sup> and de la Jonquière<sup>59</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 strong. But as this estimate is drawn from a letter of 1 March 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 Broquière, in some of his remarks submitted to the Duke of Burgundy on a report of a certain Greek "Messire Jehan Torzela" concerning the possibilities of an anti-Turkish crusade, gives an estimate of "dix mil esclaves que les aulcuns appellent Jehanicieres".<sup>60</sup> This piece of evidence cannot, however, be accepted for two reasons. In the first place, Bertrand ends his account of the Janissaries by saying that he did not see them, and he can hardly therefore be considered as an eye-witness. In the second place, in the whole account of his travels there is only one cursory and rather doubtful reference to what may or may not have been the Janissary corps. Guarding the Supreme Porte, he says, there were "XX ou XXX esclaves a tout bastons".<sup>61</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 Colonel Djevad Bey, the eminent Turkish military historian, Gibbons<sup>62</sup> doubts the accuracy of attributing the foundation of this corps to Orkhan. Hasluck<sup>63</sup> 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 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 organized raids across the Hellespont. Von Hammer<sup>64</sup> asserts that the Janissary troops were about 1,200 in the time of Muhammad the

Conqueror, and Gibbons <sup>65</sup> represents Murad I and Bayezid I as having only 1,000 Janissaries or even fewer. 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 and makes no mention of a child levy. <sup>66</sup> 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 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 combatants, namely, the cavalry (Akinjis) and the infantry (Azebs). <sup>67</sup> They received no pay, but lived on pillage and booty. They were generally despatched 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 so bring him into 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'. Köhler <sup>68</sup> quotes the words of a certain Venetian called Trevisano, who wrote in 1554 that "the Turks are free from three things in their army: wine, women and gambling. Moreover, it is 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 con-

\* Vide Cap. VI.

temporary of the great days of the Ottomans, in a very interesting discourse on this subject,<sup>69</sup> analyses with considerable fairness and acumen the causes of the greatness of the Turkish Empire. Their 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 above named discipline hath in it a triple use, whereof the first is the true knowledge of things apperteyning to the warres. . . . Another commodotie 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 obedience, the which (*sic*) there is no one greater vertue in the exercise of arms. . . ." <sup>70</sup> If these statements were true of the Ottoman soldier in the sixteenth century, they would almost certainly be more true of him in the fourteenth. The Turkish warlike disposition was inflamed by the natural fanaticism of a new convert to a religion in which the 'Jihād',<sup>71</sup> i.e., war against non-Muslims, so 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 subdued to Islam. Besides, there was prospect of booty for him who survived battle, of paradise for the martyr.<sup>72</sup> Nor should we overlook the strong element of Eastern fatalism in the mind of the Turk. Men fought, regardless 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 destined that life to be taken away at a certain moment.<sup>73</sup>

Coupled with the superiority in discipline, tactics and morale on the Turkish side, there was a superiority of leadership. The best, wisest and ablest men in the Chris-

tian army were thrust into the background by the least experienced, light-minded and vain youths of little experience, while the Turkish command was concentrated in the person of Bayezid—a well-balanced and sober-minded man of wide military experience.

Without delving into the various controversial aspects of Sigismund's character, we may conclude 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 licence helped to demoralize an already demoralized army. Women of infamous character<sup>74</sup> were gathered on the way to Nicopolis wherever the Holy Warriors halted; and the siege became remarkable for immorality and gambling rather than for organized military enterprise.

But if Sigismund was weak, the leading Frenchmen were stubborn. Eu, Boucicaut and others wanted to distinguish themselves in war and to prefer 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 Count<sup>75</sup> was simple in mind, deformed in body, and that one of the chief motives of the whole campaign was to give him opportunity to strengthen his body and to learn the art of war.<sup>76</sup> He was considered very superstitious in an age of superstition.<sup>77</sup> Instead of lending an ear to Coucy, a man of courage and imagination,<sup>78</sup> or to the aged and valiant Jean de Vienne, who had both seen the wisdom of Sigismund's suggestions, Nevers was carried away by the fiery and imprudent schemes of the Constable and the Marshal.

On the Turkish side, the leading character was a man of a different type. 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>79</sup> His unshaken belief in his religion did not take the form of the extreme fanaticism which was rampant in the Turkish rank and file. Gibbon,<sup>80</sup> 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 fails us miserably. 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 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<sup>81</sup> gives a graphic and impartial account of the merits and evils existing 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 learning and 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 be neither liars nor traitors. But he allowed them to indulge in sensuality as much as they liked."<sup>82</sup> The author then gives a detailed account of the immoral side of Turkish life, including extreme licence and unnatural vice. These vices, however, the Sultan never permitted in the camp.

There are two other matters that have not attracted the attention of the historians of the Crusade in their compara-

tive 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 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 could 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, Pero Tafur,<sup>83</sup> who travelled in Turkey between 1435 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, so light that, "indeed, it seems at times as if they could scarcely carry their masters." Another fifteenth-century traveller in the Levant, the Burgundian Bertrand de la Broquière, gives a similar testimony. The Turkish horse, he tells us, is lighter, costs much less to keep, gallops better and skirmishes for a longer time without losing its wind, than the Western horse.<sup>84</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 reassembled their scattered lines behind the Ottoman infantry, ready for another encounter.

While in possession of a horse, superior in the circumstances of the battle of Nicopolis, the Ottoman was also more skilled in the use of the bow. 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 Nicopolis, is doubtful. The thousand Englishmen who fought for the Holy cause were men-at-arms.<sup>85</sup> The foreign auxiliaries who started the battle seem to have cared little for the arrow and to have depended solely on a hand-to-hand fight. They fell back on the older crusading manner of fighting and forgot 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 demonstration 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 God and His Prophet had furnished man.<sup>86</sup> 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 on the field of battle. Philippe de Mézières, whose knowledge of the East was probably the widest and most thorough existing in Western Europe at the time, stresses this outstanding quality in an interesting passage of his famous 'Songe du vicil pelerin'.<sup>87</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 who happen to be underneath the ball will shoot their arrows at it, and thus keep it floating in the air for four or five hours, pending the good pleasure of their master. Finally, when the Grand Khan 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 who 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>88</sup> Foglietta, a later and more

direct observer of Turkish warfare, also gives another striking instance to prove the skill of those sturdy 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 clouen the shanke of a gallie oare, where the wood hath bene nine inches thicke, so as the head of the same arrow hath shewed itself on the other side".<sup>89</sup> Whether these episodes are historic or unhistoric, it remains true 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.<sup>90</sup>

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

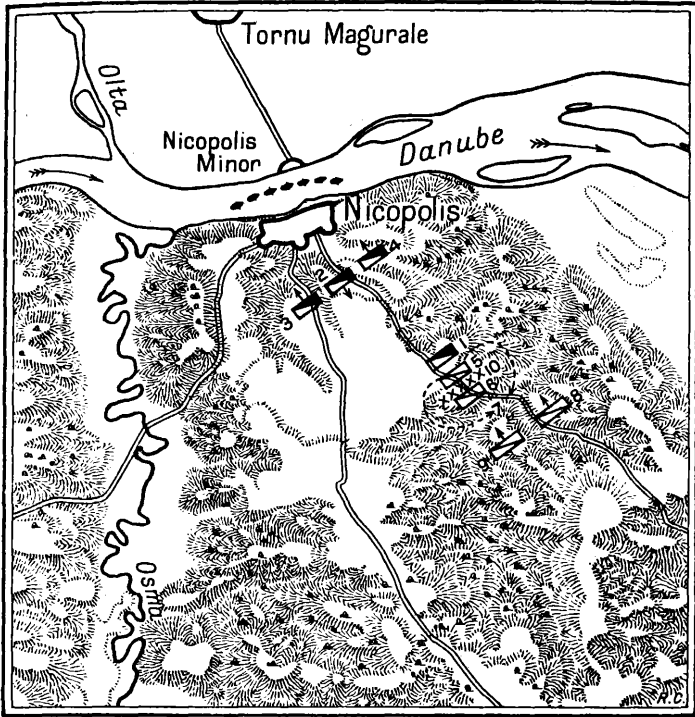
## CHAPTER VI







### 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

**T**HE battle of Nicopolis was preceded by an encounter 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 Bayezid 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 Lazarović, a Christian vassal of Bayezid, and his Serbian contingent.

Froissart<sup>1</sup> is the only chronicler who provides us with an account of the prelude to the battle—evidently in recognition of his benefactor, the sire de Coucy, who was the chief actor therein. While the siege was dragging on, Coucy and others, including Reynaud de Roye,<sup>2</sup> the sire de Saint-Py,<sup>3</sup> the châtelain de Beauvais<sup>4</sup> and the sire de Montcavrel,<sup>5</sup> became tired of waiting indolently for the advent of the 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



 *Ottomans*   
  *Crusaders*   
  *Stakes*   
  *Flotilla*   
  *Roads*   
  *Forests*

PLAN OF THE BATTLE

1. John of Burgundy and French and foreign army.
2. Sigismund and Hungarians, Poles, Bohemians, etc.
3. Laczković 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. Lazarović and Serbs.
10. Field of stakes.

and scouts to lead the way. It was reported to the sire de Coucy, who was at the head of the expedition, that 20,000 Turks had 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 open field, Coucy ordered a hundred horsemen to approach 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 the pursuit had passed the wood, the rest of the Christians emerged from their ambush, attacked the Turks in the rear, slew 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 Eu and Boucicaut, out of jealousy, not only refrained from recognition of Coucy's successful efforts, but also reproached him for failing to inform John of Burgundy in time for him to take command of the raid himself and gain all the success and renown that were his due. If the episode is accurately reported, its effects on the French must have been twofold: firstly, it aggravated the element of ill-feeling and dissension, which ultimately brought disaster to the whole of the crusading army<sup>6</sup>; secondly, it emboldened the French, when the time came for the great battle, to resume the fight with the more organized Turkish soldiery rashly, and without thought of the consequences of their rashness. The balance of opinion, however, appears to be against the acceptance of the story as detailed by Froissart.

The news of the advent of the Turkish army was brought to the French by Sigismund himself on Monday, † 25 September 1396. Before daybreak,<sup>7</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 sub-

\* Perhaps the Shipka Pass is meant here.

† For argument on dates, vide Appendix VII.

mitted his plans 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 reasons 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 Laczković,\* and of flight on the part of his own men,<sup>8</sup> Sigismund intended to put them in a position that would render their retreat impossible. Moreover, he had faith 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 plans 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>9</sup> Moreover, the Ordinance of 28 March 1396 had made it a condition that the French should have the right to occupy the van.† 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 existing in their camp. Deploring their obstinacy, the King retired to arrange his own army in order of battle separately, but with serious doubts as to the issue of the day.<sup>10</sup>

The news of the approach of the Turks soon spread through the French camp. The great excitement that

\* Mircea and Laczković, the voyevodes of Wallachia and Transylvania, were not constant in their loyalty to Sigismund.

† Vide Appendix VI.

ensued, resulted in the massacre of the prisoners previously captured at Rahova.<sup>11</sup> After this unwise action, they hastened to the field in a disorderly manner.<sup>12</sup> In company with the French in the van, were the English and the German<sup>13</sup> crusaders. Brauner<sup>14</sup> and Delaville Le Roulx<sup>15</sup> assert that the Grand Master of Rhodes and the Knights Hospitallers forced their way into the van with the French. But this is doubtful, because the Knights of St. John were on such terms with Sigismund as to make it unlikely that they would drift from his lines.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, Froissart<sup>17</sup> definitely mentions the Grand Master as side by side with Sigismund throughout the course of the battle.

Whatever the facts as to the preliminaries of the main action may have been, it is clear that Jean de Vienne was chosen bearer of the standard of Our Lady and leader of the foreign contingents. Addressing his companions in arms, he said that he supported King Sigismund's plans, not through fear, but only to ensure the victory for the Christians.<sup>18</sup> He then gave the sign for the march, and they 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,<sup>19</sup> inclined towards the Christians, and high enough to reach the breast of a horse. These stakes were densely planted in rows to the depth 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, as we have shown, 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 to the south of Nicopolis and at the end of the plain to which the Christian army was advancing. Beyond the skyline, on the

other slope of that hill, Bayezid himself together with the Sipahi cavalry and the Serbian contingent under the command of Stephen Lazarović, 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 action.<sup>20</sup>

According to the Western custom, new knights were made on the field.<sup>21</sup> 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 cries of "Vive St. Denis!" and "Vive St. Georges!"<sup>22</sup> 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 foot, ready for another encounter. This reversed the order of 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 Ottomans in shooting 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<sup>23</sup>; and the Christians responded to the Marshal's call. But whether they penetrated the field of stakes on horseback or on foot is a matter of doubt concerning which the chroniclers' reports are in conflict and the historians' views are at variance.



Brauner <sup>24</sup> is somewhat indefinite on this subject, but, without giving any reason, he seems to imply that only part of the French dismounted. Köhler <sup>25</sup> argues strongly that they had fought dismounted, according to the French tradition established at the battles of Cocherel and Auray in 1364 and Roosebeke in 1382, and continued at Agincourt in 1415. Delaville Le Roulx <sup>26</sup> says that they remained on horseback as they charged upon the stakes, although, in a footnote, <sup>27</sup> he admits the possibility of their having dismounted. Sir Charles Oman <sup>28</sup> adopts the view that they did not dismount at all.

The chroniclers furnish the historian with materials which may serve as bases for three different hypotheses. In the first place, Froissart <sup>29</sup> and Boucicaut's anonymous biographer <sup>30</sup> refer to the French as fighting on horseback throughout the fray. In the second place, Thwroc <sup>31</sup> and Bonfinius, <sup>32</sup> the early historians of Hungary, as well as the author of the *Annales Flandriae* state that there was complete and voluntary dismounting by the French before they proceeded to fight the main battle. Thwroc quotes from a letter by an eye-witness giving a graphic account of the stampede of the foreign horse and its disastrous consequences among the Hungarians, who regarded it as a sure sign of defeat and so took to flight 'leaving both their camp and their warlike spirit' behind them. Bonfinius tells us that the French rode into the field at full gallop, then dismounted to fight on foot; while the Flemish annalist testifies to a similar view on the authority of a certain Ritius, another eye-witness. In the third place, the *Religieux de St. Denis* remarks in an early passage of his account that the French and their companions cut off the fashionable long points of their shoes before leaving the camp so as not to be hampered by them when advancing on foot for battle. In a later passage, however, he refers to the same army as fighting on horseback. Perhaps the *Religieux* meant that they prepared for dismounting in case of emergency, yet remained either partly

or wholly mounted in the field. Schiltberger, writing early in the fifteenth century, of a battle in which he himself had taken part, seems to support this interpretation.<sup>33</sup>

To adopt any one of the three views enumerated and to overlook the remaining two, as most historians have hitherto tended to do without giving sufficient reason for their preference, is a risky manner of procedure which we do not propose to take. The evidence of the chroniclers must be in harmony with the general course of events before it can be accepted ; otherwise it should be repudiated as untrustworthy. It is therefore of the utmost importance at this juncture to attempt a critical examination of the portions of the battle relevant to this much debated problem. All the sources appear to agree on the course of fighting just before and immediately after the possible mounting or dismounting order. The foreign crusaders remained on horseback during their first encounter with the Ottoman light cavalry and until they were confronted by the stakes. Then we hear of a stampede of the foreign horse which caused confusion in the ranks of the Eastern European contingents at the far rear. Later in the day, as will be shown below, the foreigners who pursued the Ottomans in their flight uphill are said to have been so much exhausted that the sight of Bayezid's sipahis produced consternation amongst them and ensured their defeat. It is between these two stages that the problem lies, and in them we must seek a solution of our difficulty.

There are three possibilities in that middle stage to be examined : either that the foreigners remained mounted throughout the battle, or that there was voluntary dismounting after the preliminary dispersal of the Ottoman cavalry, or that there was a forced dismounting during the onrush into the field of stakes. The clue to a decisive conclusion lies chiefly in the stampede. If the crusaders succeeded in maintaining themselves on horseback from the beginning to the end of the battle, it is evident that no stampede could have happened. Again, if they deliber-

ately entertained ideas of fighting on foot, a stampede would have been improbable, for voluntary dismounting in medieval warfare meant that knights left their horses with the runners who controlled them at the rear. A stampede of riderless horses can only be explained by a forced dismounting, which, in the circumstances of the battle of Nicopolis, is not hard to prove. At Boucicaut's instigation, the French and their companions hastened to ride into the field of stakes. Wounded by the sharp points of these on the one hand and stung by Turkish arrows on the other, the horses of the Christians must have been so maddened as to throw their riders to the ground and race back uncontrolled across the plain. Schiltberger says that 'more than his (Nevers') horsemen were unhorsed'.<sup>34</sup> This important statement clearly confirms the present theory. Moreover, the complete exhaustion of men after climbing the hill points strongly towards a fairly general dismounting. The sum-total of the whole argument appears therefore to be in favour of forced dismounting of the greater portion of the Christian van consisting of foreign crusaders after the first stage in the battle.

Those who were thrown to the ground soon recovered to uproot the stakes and clear the way for direct contact with the Turks. On the side of the crusaders at this time, there was a combination of horse and foot, which, though accidental in the present case, was an excellent thing. Its tactical value had been proved by the English victories in France during the first Hundred Years' War, and it certainly helps to account for the victory which the bearers of the Cross now achieved when they came to hand-to-hand fighting with the Turkish foot-archery.<sup>35</sup> The Christians struck vigorously with axe and sword, and the Ottomans retaliated with sabre, scimitar and mace so valiantly, and packed their lines so closely, that the issue remained at first undecided. But as the Christians were mailed, and the Ottomans fought without armour, the bearers of the Cross, if we may believe the *Religieux*,<sup>36</sup>

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 success, 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, recognizing the impossibility of flight without destructive pursuit, and fearing that they might be surrounded if their forces should prove unequal to those of their enemy—the Christian leaders decided to break through the ranks of their foes in order to attack them in the rear. 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 *Religieux*,<sup>37</sup> 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 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 imprudent audacity had not uplifted his hope.<sup>38</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 to 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 pay for their temerity.<sup>39</sup>

When they arrived at the top of the hill, they were seized with dismay, and 'the lion in them turned into a timid hare'<sup>40</sup> at the sight of the Sultan's hitherto unseen 40,000 Sipahis.<sup>41</sup> 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<sup>42</sup> says, was 'Alla egbir'<sup>43</sup> (God is most great!). Panic-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.<sup>44</sup> Some struggled to reach the plains; 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 resistance, more especially as 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.<sup>45</sup> The aged and veteran knight, Jean de Vienne, 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.<sup>46</sup> Froissart<sup>47</sup> 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 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 knights followed the example of their leader and yielded to the enemy.<sup>48</sup>

The stampede of the foreign horse at first, and the view 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 had returned to his camp to arrange his army in order of battle for a desperate struggle.<sup>49</sup> The King seems to have divided his army into three 'battles'. The right wing consisted of Stephen Laczković, voyevode 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 greater part of the Knights Hospitallers. Mircea and Laczković 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 the King. This caused 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<sup>50</sup> do, that the Hungarians deserted the French and committed a felony and displayed a cowardice that would stain their memory for ever, 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 exterminated a Turkish body of 12,000 footmen, who 'were all trampled upon and destroyed'.<sup>51</sup> These were probably the Azebs and Janissaries who had 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 victory remained for a long time undecided. The irony of fate, however, had destined a Christian prince to be the instrument whereby the victory fell to the Sultan. Stephen Lazarović,<sup>52</sup> 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>53</sup> They aimed at the King's banner and overthrew it. There had been to this point a *mêlée* of the Turkish and Hungarian armies, and 'an unspeakable massacre' was suffered on both sides.<sup>54</sup> 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 Kanizsay, the Archbishop of Gran, amongst others, succeeded in persuading the King to quit the field in order to save his life.<sup>55</sup> 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 rescued 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>56</sup> Thwroc<sup>57</sup> 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 sky, but at the points of the Turkish swords. Bonfinius<sup>58</sup> compares this flight with that of Xerxes from Greece to Asia Minor.

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 flotilla,<sup>59</sup> some of which became overloaded and sank. Others flung themselves into the water in the suicidal hope of swimming 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 great width of the river, they were soon drowned.<sup>60</sup>

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 as to the numbers of those slaughtered in the ensuing massacre. Justinger <sup>61</sup> thinks that the total number of the Christians who fell on the field was 100,000. The Italian chronicler Delayto <sup>62</sup> gives an estimate of 40,000 on both sides, and the anonymous author of the *Chronik aus Kaiser Sigmund's Zeit*, <sup>63</sup> 24,000 Christians. Sozomenus <sup>64</sup> says that 20,000 were either killed or put to flight. Schiltberger <sup>65</sup> asserts that the Christian captives were 10,000; Ulman Strömer, <sup>66</sup> only 400. Posilge's estimate, quoted by Köhler, <sup>67</sup> is 12,000. Antonio Fiorentino <sup>68</sup> states that more than 10,000 fell on the field. The anonymous author of the *Res Gestae* <sup>69</sup> provides us with a figure of 8,000. The French sources also vary considerably in their estimate. Froissart <sup>70</sup> and Juvenal des Ursins <sup>71</sup> mention that 300 were massacred, while the Monk of St. Denis <sup>72</sup> gives 3,000. Neither the Hungarian nor the Oriental historians are helpful on this problem. George de Pray suggests no figure on the ground that none can be fixed. Many historians, including von Hammer <sup>73</sup> and Oman, <sup>74</sup> Eversley <sup>75</sup> and W. S. Davies, <sup>76</sup> 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 and unbiassed.

Those who had escaped death and captivity, underwent the tortures of the damned on their homeward journey.<sup>77</sup> Robbed of all that remained in their possession, even their clothes, they were left naked to the mercy of a wild wintry climate and of the wild beast in their passage over the Hungarian \* mountains. Many perished on the way, and

\* Vide Appendix I, Eustache Deschamps' ballad on Hungary.



those few who reached their homes were famished, ill and dying. Count Ruprecht Pipan came into Bavaria in beggar's clothes, only to die a few days later at Amberg under the weight of suffering and of illness.<sup>78</sup>

If the Turks had won the victory, they had also paid dearly for it with the blood of their best soldiers. Froisart<sup>79</sup> says that for the body of every Christian, thirty Muhammadan corpses or more were to be found on the battlefield. The anonymous biographer of Boucicaut<sup>80</sup> reduces the proportion to one for every twenty; Juvenal des Ursins,<sup>81</sup> to one for every ten; Antonio Fiorentino,<sup>82</sup> to one for every six; and Sozomenus,<sup>83</sup> to one against six. The Monk of St. Denis<sup>84</sup> estimates the fallen Ottomans at more than 30,000. When Bayezid realized 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>85</sup> Thus early next morning,<sup>86</sup> every Ottoman who had captives in his possession appeared with them before the Sultan, whose wrath had not yet abated.<sup>87</sup> The prisoners were stripped of their clothes and tied in groups with ropes. Jacques de Helly,<sup>88</sup> who had previously served the Sultan in his Eastern campaigns, was recognized 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 paid for their release. In this manner<sup>89</sup> Jean de Nevers, Philippe d'Artois (comte d'Eu), Jacques de Bourbon (comte de la Marche), Enguerrand de Coucy, Henri de Bar, Guy de la Tremouille and others were saved. All those who were under twenty years of age were, moreover, separated from the others and spared death.<sup>90</sup> 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 in sparing these youths was probably that young slaves were a

valuable piece of property with many years of servitude before them. The rest<sup>91</sup> were handed over to the executioners to be slain in cold blood, in presence of the Sultan and of Jean de Bourgogne, whom Bayezid wanted to witness his vengeance.<sup>92</sup> The fact that Nevers was standing near the Sultan was the means 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>93</sup> Schiltberger says that the massacre continued 'from morning till vespers'.<sup>94</sup>

Finally, according to one chronicler,<sup>95</sup> the hideous spectacle of mutilated corpses and spilt blood horrified Bayezid, and he ordered the executioners to stop; according to another,<sup>96</sup> this was only done at the entreaty of the Sultan's counsellors. The survivors of the massacre were sent to Adrianople where they were kept for fifteen days, then to Gallipoli where 300 of them were confined in a tower for two months,<sup>97</sup> and ultimately to Brusa.

Shortly afterwards, Bayezid and his men ravaged the Danube region and the Styrian and Syrmian territories. But the Sultan went no farther, although Hungary lay open before him, without king and without army. The reason was perhaps that Bayezid wisely preferred to complete his Greek and Asiatic conquests, and to consolidate his rising empire. His heavy loss of men at Nicopolis might also have deterred him from embarking on so uncertain an enterprise as this. But the Greek chronicler, Chalcocondylas,<sup>98</sup> tells us that the real cause that prevented Bayezid from advancing into Hungary and towards the city of Buda, was that the Sultan had a sudden attack of gout. 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.

## 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

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 restive 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 Naillac, the Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, landed. On the passage of the 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

seamen were easily superior to the nascent naval power<sup>3</sup> of the Ottomans. The galleys of the Christians had a safe passage to Rhodes, whence 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 Kanizsay—had been sailing, arrived at the island of "Calmotta" on 19 December 1396. The citizens of Ragusa soon sent messengers to invite the Hungarian monarch and his companions to land on Ragusan soil. The invitation was accepted and they entered the city on the 21st of the same month.<sup>4</sup> Their 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>5</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<sup>7</sup> of Naples. 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 homes safely about the beginning of December,<sup>9</sup> 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 have perished at the hands of 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 falseness should have been demonstrated, and then they could be punished by drowning as a penalty for telling incredible stories.<sup>10</sup> But the anxiety at the French court was doubled when two valets of the Constable arrived later and confirmed the previous rumours.<sup>11</sup> The authorities could not wait any longer for official communications. Messengers were hastily dispatched to the Italian signories and to the East to gather more reliable 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, Bethiz Prunelle, to proceed to Venice for further information.<sup>16</sup> Again, on 13 December, King Charles sent a certain Jouffroy de Saint-Marc,<sup>17</sup> and the Duke of Orleans, Jouffroy Clorit,<sup>18</sup> and a certain hermit called Pierre<sup>19</sup> to the East for the same purpose. Also a letter dated 23 December from Robert, Duke of Bar, inquiring about the captivity of his elder son Henri and the fate of his younger son Philippe, is to be found in the Venetian Archives.<sup>20</sup> The continual influx of messengers into Venice from the West illustrates the great anxiety felt 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 news of the defeat and with the request that prompt measures might be taken 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-Pol 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 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.<sup>22</sup> The King ordered the prisoners of the Châtelet to be set free. The confirmation of the news caused agitation throughout the realm of France. 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>23</sup> Eustache Deschamps, the eye-witness, says :

“ Je ne voy que tristesse et plour  
“ Et obseques soir et matin.” \*

It happened that the ambassadors <sup>24</sup> who were leaving for Italy to settle the question of Genoese submission to France, had to start on 30 December, and the opportunity was taken to insert an item concerning the captives in the instructions given to them. The ambassadors were enjoined, as one condition of the Franco-Genoese <sup>25</sup> alliance, to urge the merchants of that city to spare no effort for the deliverance of the prisoners. Moreover, on 31 December, 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

\* Vide Appendix I, Ballad No. 1427.

every possible help towards the payment for the release of the captives.<sup>26</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 Mikalidsch,<sup>27</sup> the place of imprisonment of the captured knights. He was 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 allowed them to interview Nevers and the other prisoners.<sup>28</sup> Afterwards, the Burgundian ambassador left for Paris by way of Mytilene, Chios, Rhodes, Modon and Venice. He reached the French capital in April 1397.<sup>29</sup>

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. Jean de Châteaumorand, † a chamberlain and counsellor of the King, Jean de Vergy,<sup>30</sup> governor of Franche Comté, and Gilbert de Leuwerghem, ‡ governor of Flanders, were the most important members of the embassy.<sup>31</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

\* Bavyn MS., f. 350 vo. Vide Appendix V—B.

† He had fought in the Barbary expedition of 1390 and is in fact the author of the *Chron. du Bon Duc Loys de Bourbon*.

‡ Chamberlain to the Duke since 1388, in addition to being governor of Flanders.

during the previous year (1396) on a mission to the court of Duke Galeazzo.<sup>32</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>33</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 to the Sultan with them loads of precious gifts.<sup>34</sup> These included some of the noblest horses in the West, a number of dogs, falcons, and a magnificent equipment<sup>35</sup> 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 be the rightful heir.<sup>36</sup> In addition to these, various items of jewellery completed the list. Bavyn suggests, perhaps rightly, that the precious gifts sent by Duke Philippe 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 Bayezid's leading principle in the forthcoming negotiations.<sup>37</sup>

On 20 January 1397,<sup>38</sup> the embassy proceeded overland 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 Boly,\* 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

\* Froissart, XV, 345, refers to it as 'Pebly' or 'Polly'. The distance between Brusa and Boly is over fifty miles.



liberty on the ground of illness was obtained by the lord of Mytilene<sup>39</sup> (Lesbos). Helly followed the Sultan to Boly, 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 divided themselves into two groups. 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 on their side and thus facilitate their task.<sup>40</sup> When they had fulfilled this mission, the ambassadors reassembled at Buda. There, according to Froissart,<sup>41</sup> 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 as given by 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 dispatch of the presents stands out in Froissart's account, had previously landed at Rhodes and was at this stage no longer in the King's company on his voyage to Dalmatia and Hungary.<sup>42</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>43</sup> Perhaps Froissart's misconception sprang from the difficulties that had arisen between the Duke of Burgundy and the Hungarian government, not 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 the Count.<sup>44</sup>

On the Eastern side of Europe, efforts were not spared to obtain 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 on 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. These two then sailed to Rhodes, probably in March 1397.<sup>45</sup> Their intention was to ask the government of that island to take serious steps towards persuading the Italian merchants of the Archipelago to assist in raising the ransom. 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, unfortunately, de la Tremouille fell ill and died there shortly after Easter.<sup>46</sup> 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 36,000 francs and assured him that he was as eager to help the captives as the Grand Master himself.<sup>47</sup> Nicholas of Aenos also lent the prisoners another sum of 2,000 ducats,<sup>48</sup> 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 his companions in captivity.<sup>49</sup>

Meanwhile, Jacques I, King of Cyprus, who wanted to 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 Bayezid a present of a model ship made of fine gold, the value of which was 20,000 ducats.<sup>50</sup> On a later occasion he also lent the prisoners the sum of 15,000 florins of gold (24 June 1397).<sup>51</sup>

\* Vide *supra*, cap. I.

When the solemn embassy arrived at the court of Bayezid, the ransom was soon fixed at 200,000 <sup>52</sup> florins of gold as the total amount for all the prisoners. If we accept Delaville Le Roulx's <sup>53</sup> estimate of 12 francs for the florin, the Sultan must have extorted more than 2,000,000 francs from the Christians. Of the sum fixed, 28,000 florins were paid at once. This sum had been borrowed by Nevers from Jean de Lusignan, lord of Beyrouth and a cousin of the King of Cyprus, and Brancalion Grille and Nicholas Matharas, two wealthy citizens of Pera.<sup>54</sup> The payment of the rest of the ransom was promised within a month. Francesco Gattilusio held himself responsible to Bayezid for 110,000 florins; Nicholas of Aenos, for 40,000; and Gaspard de Pagani, a Genoese of Pera, and Nicholas Paterio, podesta of Foglio Nuova, each for 11,000.<sup>55</sup> Jean de Nevers, Henri 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, Vergy, Leuwerghem, Châteaumorand and Colard des Armoises,<sup>56</sup> in order to assure the creditors of the good intentions of the debtors. Thus after about nine months of captivity, the prisoners were free to return to their homes. Their pledge to the Latin merchants in the East was, however, never fulfilled.<sup>57</sup>

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

“ John, I am well informed that in thy country thou art a great lord, and son to a powerful prince. Thou art departing, 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 pleasest ; for I am ready for, and desirous of, deeds of arms, and of extending my conquests." 58

None amongst the prisoners accepted Bayezid'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 provocative address of the Sultan to a powerless group of prisoners was not the only insult with which Bayezid 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.<sup>59</sup> 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 tempestuous seas on the other, Leuwerghem, whose constitution was feeble and whose health bad, died before reaching the island of Mytilene.<sup>60</sup> The rest of the ambassadors continued their voyage to Rhodes and Venice where they landed probably at the end of July,<sup>61</sup> and shortly afterwards entered France. Meanwhile, after a few days' rest, the released knights started their long voyage to the West. They first landed at Mytilene, where they stayed for more <sup>62</sup> than a month and were generously treated by Gattilusio. Then the Grand Master of Rhodes sent an envoy, a certain Pierre de Bauffremont, with a

number of galleys, to invite them to Rhodes.<sup>63</sup> 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 extravagant advance. On their way from Rhodes to Venice they seem to have followed the main historic route by Modon, Cabrera,\* Zanta, Clarence,† Cephalonia, Ragusa and Parenzo.<sup>64</sup> Delaville Le Roulx<sup>65</sup> suggests that in addition to the itinerary given by Froissart, the knights must have stopped at Capo d'Istria (Justinopolis), where Jacques de Bourbon is known to have borrowed the sum of 15,000 ducats from Doge Antonio Venier on 8 October 1397. At Venice they halted in fulfilment of their pledges to the Latin merchants of the East, but as the city was stricken by a plague at the time, they had to take refuge in Treviso on the mainland. They, however, soon obtained the permission of the Republic to depart to their own lands, thanks to the intervention of Dino Rapondi, a rich Lombard merchant in Paris, whose signature was accepted by the Venetians as a safe guarantee for the payment of the debts. Travelling directly through the Tyrol and Switzerland they came into Burgundy. Their number had been reduced by four, owing to the death of Coucy<sup>66</sup> at Brusa, Guy de la Tremouille at Rhodes,<sup>67</sup> Philippe d'Artois<sup>68</sup> at Mikalidsch, and Henri de Bar<sup>69</sup> at Venice.

The Count and his surviving companions soon left Treviso on their homeward journey, "suivant le style de France . . . à petites journées, se reposant de tems à autres," as Bavyn shrewdly describes their progress.<sup>70</sup> On 22 February 1398, they reached Dijon where a procession of notables of the city council presented the Count with a silver plate as he entered through their gates. Nevers left the city on 26 February.<sup>71</sup> The news of his arrival soon spread all over the country. At the village of

\* Near the island of Sapienza.

† Also called 'Clarousse' by Froissart (XVI, 54). A Greek port on the coast of the Morea, at the entrance of the gulf of Patras.

Fougères \* (6 March) 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 Bourgogne. Four days after his arrival in Paris, he continued his journey to Arras (16 March 1398), where the Duchess of Burgundy was waiting 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 Grammont, William of Ostrevant, his brother-in-law, came to greet him.<sup>72</sup> The poor remainder of an abortive crusade in the East led a triumphant march on 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 Bayezid, the expenses of the voyages of the ambassadors to the East and the extravagant journey of the comte de Nevers and his companions—all these and other unforeseen items doubled the Duke's debts, which may be calculated as approximately 400,000 ducats<sup>73</sup> or more than 4,000,000 francs.

\* Situated between Bar-sur-Seine and Troyes.

Bayezid 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>74</sup> The King of Cyprus, in spite of his poverty at that time, paid 15,000 ducats,<sup>75</sup> and the remaining 30,000 ducats were lent by the Genoese merchants at Pera.<sup>76</sup> To raise the rest of the ransom still due to the Sultan, the French borrowed 15,000 ducats from the Venetians,\* and an equal sum from a German Dominican friar.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, Dino Rapondi, 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.<sup>78</sup>

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 as late as 1403, when the Count paid the small sum of 9,000 livres.<sup>79</sup> The Duke had therefore to resort to other means. From his domains he raised a sum of more than 400,000 francs, of which even the clergy were forced to pay a share.† The King contributed 58,000 francs, which included the proceeds of a 'taille' and also a present to Nevers.‡ Numerous pensions were reduced, and the sum that was collected by this economy amounted to

\* This loan was made at Capo d'Istria on 8 October, 1397. Vide *supra*.

† Vide Appendix IX.

‡ *Ibid.* See also above.

7,000 francs.\* 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 francs. Together with the money raised in the name of the King of Hungary and the various debts † contracted by the Duke, the total sum that was raised could not have been less than 2,000,000 francs. Although this sum covered only about half the ducal debts, it would not have been unreasonable if he had 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 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 dispatched an envoy, a certain Ansaldo Spinola, to the ducal court to remind Duke Philippe of the money he owed the Eastern prince.<sup>80</sup> The envoy was well-treated and honoured, but the documents furnish the historian with no evidence that any immediate payment was made.

If the Duke's behaviour in matters of finance to the merchant princes 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 rescuing some of the surviving 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

\* By Ordinance of 18 May 1399. Vide Appendix IX.

† E.g., 20,000 francs from Castaigne de Fiesque or Flisco to whom the Duke on February 18 1897 pawned certain golden vases. Vide Appendix IX.



15,000 ducats at Capo d'Istria. This, they generously, or rather ungenerously, reduced by 5,000<sup>81</sup> 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 Rapondi as a substitute for the 100,000 ducats which he had promised towards the ransom.<sup>82</sup> Although by this they seemed to admit the principle of the sale of the annuity, they contradicted themselves later by their refusal to pay their debt to Rapondi, 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 disputes 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. She also promised to pay the annuity due to the King of Hungary.<sup>83</sup> Had she realized that by such selfish dealings she was indirectly weakening in the mind of the West the ideal 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 unworthy 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

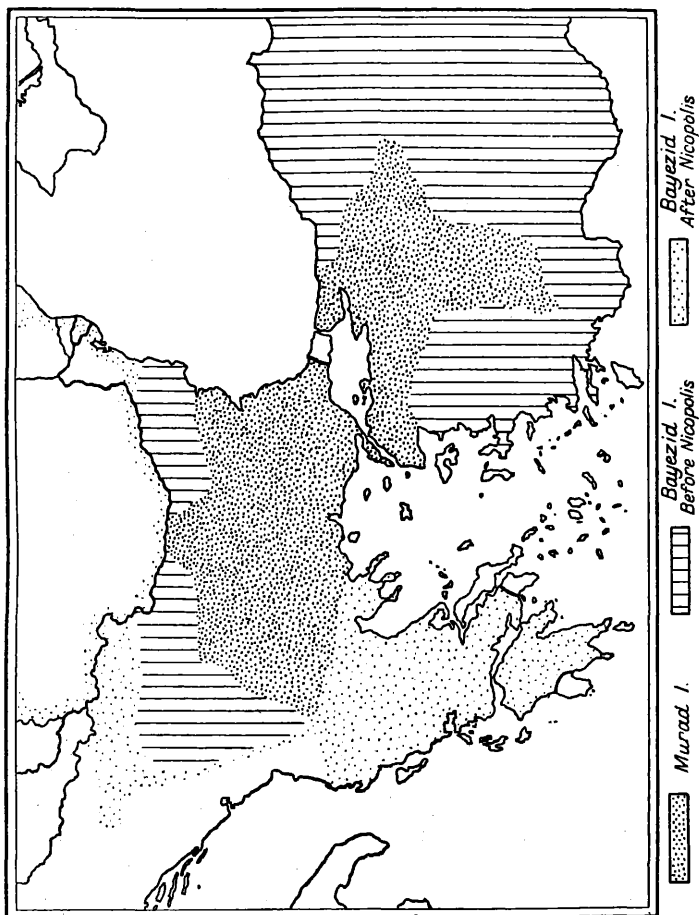
Causes of defeat—Effects on West, East, and Turks—New Tendency in European Politics and Literature : Gower, Langland, Bonet and Wyclif—Philippe de Mézières : ' Epistre lamentable et consolatoire.'

**T**HE 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, individual, and, broadly speaking, fruitless attempts to regain lost territory. Boucicaut, the famous Constable of France<sup>1</sup> 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 City of Constantine,<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 the disaster to the Christian army at Nicopolis, despite its numbers and the vast amount of war materials at its disposal. The whole history of the Crusade is a demonstration thereof. Yet the critic can hardly overlook the fact that some of these causes were the natural symptoms of the close of the Middle Ages, but 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 char-

MAP III



TURKISH CONQUESTS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

acterized the earlier 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 showed themselves clearly 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.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, it is hard to excuse the crusaders their lack of union 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 Eu 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 in quarrelling with one another, sat down to work out with the King a common plan for the conduct of the battle, 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 immorality which marked the progress of the campaign. If the French leaders deserve reproach for their dissension with the Hungarians, the whole body of Christian generals are to be blamed for their vicious behaviour which further demoralized an already demoralized 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 taken hardly 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 that army, there was a forest, which they could have utilized to cover their right wing. They failed to do so, 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 stream. On the left flank, hostile territories extended to the Black Sea, and the fugitives had no hope in this direction. Farther 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 Osma 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 greatest 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 demands for money 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 outburst of discontent which ended in his temporary deposition—a deposition whose antecedents, indeed, must be traced to the early years of his reign, but which was actually 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. Bayezid, 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 Serbia was sealed, and their annexation became complete and undisputed. Further, the Turks crossed the Morava and the Drina to the West, and penetrated Bosnia as far as Zvornik. In the south, the Greek bishop of Phocis, whom von Hammer <sup>4</sup> 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 of re-establishing his temporal authority in his own diocese by the use of Bayezid as an instrument with which to overthrow his Latin and Greek rivals. Bayezid responded to the invitation, and by the simple fact of his presence at the head of a Turkish army, the ancient districts of Doris, Locris and Phocis went, not to the Bishop, but to the Sultan. Bayezid 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—Everenos and Yakoub. With the exception of Athens<sup>5</sup> 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. From among 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<sup>6</sup> says that Bayezid "sent a lord named Hoden of Ungern 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,<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> But it would be easy 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 Bayezid's Eastern renown and even his title of Sultan as a result of his victory over the West. If Bayezid's nascent power was recognized 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. Bayezid's title seems to have been inherited before, and not acquired after, Nicopolis, contrary to the view held by Gibbon \* and other historians. Yet a victory over the combined armies of the Christian 'infidels', followed by the despatch of gifts of Christian slaves captured on the field to other Muhammadan rulers, could not have been minimized 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 Egyptians, 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 <sup>9</sup> (1426). Three times also did the same fleets assail Rhodes (1440, 1443 and 1445), and although <sup>10</sup> their efforts were frustrated by the tenacity 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 army was completing the conquest of Greece and another besieging Constantinople, Manuel left 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,

\* Gibbon, VI, 34-5; W. S. Davis, 199. For argument on 'Title of Sultan', derived from Arabic sources and Turkish correspondence and coinage, vide Appendix X.



bishop of Chalcedon, and Ilario Doria, 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 explained in part 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>11</sup> 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<sup>12</sup> to proceed to Paris, probably with instructions to invite Manuel to visit England and to inform him that Reginald Grille, merchant of Genoa,<sup>13</sup> was authorized 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 3 February 1401. After a number of postponements of the imperial visit to England owing to the tragic end of Richard's reign and the unsettled beginning of that of his successor, 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 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 to be found within the West for the East. 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. Monstrelet, 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 at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth. 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 a mortal contest for power. In the Empire there was a universal tumult ending in the deposition of Emperor 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 demoralized 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 theo-

logical 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 views 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 scholde, as the bok seith,  
 Converten unto Cristes feith.  
 Bot hierof have I gret mervaile,  
 Hou thei wol bidde me travaile :  
 A Sarazin if I sle schal,  
 I sle the Soule forth withal,  
 And that was nevere Cristes lore." <sup>14</sup>

Again, Langland supports a similar doctrine. He does not curse the Saracens, but speaks of them with some sympathy and draws a parallel between their faith and the Christian religion.

" For Sarasenes han somewhat semynge to owre bileue,  
 For thei loue and bileue in o persone almighty ;  
 And we, lered and lewede in on god bileueth." <sup>15</sup>

They may be saved. It was Muhammad who, on his failure to be elected pope,<sup>16</sup> apostatized 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 Nynyue, of Neptalim, and Damaske ", but these prelates neither visit their flock nor care for the " Sauacioun of Sarasenes, and other ".<sup>17</sup>

Honoré Bonet, in his popular work entitled *L'Arbre des Batailles*,<sup>18</sup> indeed, had earlier (1387) admitted in a 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.

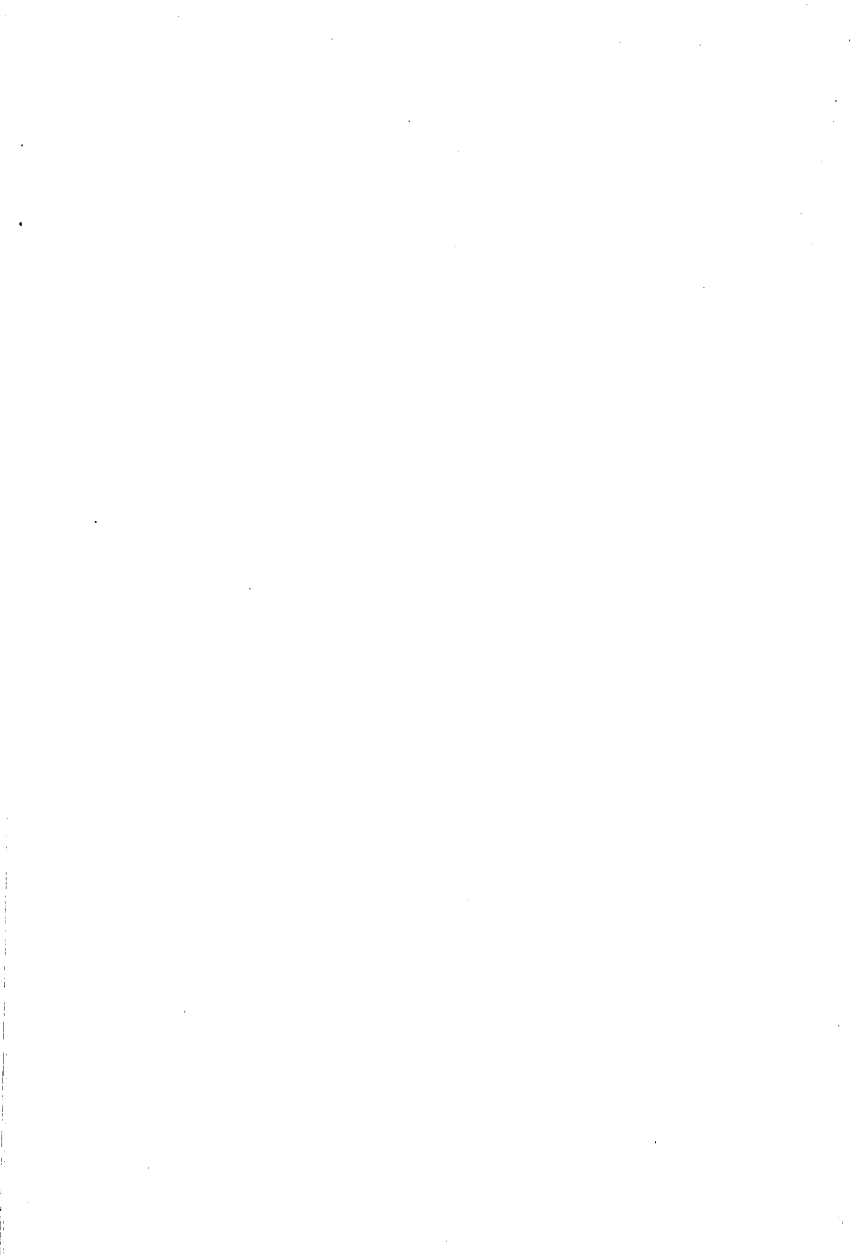
The extreme exponent of the anti-crusading propaganda of this age was, however, John Wyclif. In reality, Wyclif seems to protest against the principle of war in general, and he treats the so-called right of conquest as a mere act of robbery on a large scale. The knight who, in his pride, kills his own fellowmen is worse than a hangman.<sup>19</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 spoilen hem of their goodis, but this is lore of Antichrist. . . ." <sup>20</sup> 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 ypocrisie reversis Jesus Crist in his fals 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 belated attempts to maintain the Hildebrandine System, by the Great Schism of the West, and by the vehement attacks of writers and 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.<sup>22</sup>

Notwithstanding such ecclesiastical, political and literary conditions in Europe, adverse to any crusading design, one forlorn figure of the past still lamented the desertion of Jerusalem<sup>23</sup> 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 epistles—the ' *Epistre lamentable et consolatoire* '.<sup>24</sup> The portions therein included that are most relevant to the present study are, firstly, the analysis of the causes that led to the defeat ; secondly, the discussion of 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, Convoitise et Luxure* '—reigned amongst its leaders and their followers. Further, Mézières expounds the necessity of establishing and supporting his order of Passion as the only remedy. The new Organization 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 Bur-

gundy, 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 downfall of Western chivalry at Nicopolis had tolled the knell of the age of new Orders and the age of the great Crusades.



## APPENDIX I

### EXHORTATION A LA CROISADE

(1395 ?)

Tous les princes de la crestienté,  
Roys, contes, ducs, chevaliers et barons,  
Qui tant avez l'un contre l'autre esté,  
Ars et destruit et tué, nous sçavons  
Que tout se pert et tous nous destruisons,  
Se pitié n'est qui soustiengne la foy ;  
Freres sommes, un peuple et une loy  
Que Jhesu Crist vout par son sang acquerre ;  
Soions d'acort, mettons nous en arroy,  
Pour conquerir de cuer la Sainte Terre.

Que nous avons par nostre iniquité,  
Par convoitier, comme fiers et felons,  
Aux ennemis de Dieu, dont c'est pitié,  
Laissez long temps. Las ! nous nous affolons ;  
Po sommes gens, et si nous deffoulons  
Tant que chascun n'ara tantost de quoy  
Vivre ; pensons au bon duc Godefroy ;  
Jherusalem conquist par bonne guerre :  
Au propre sien passa mer, com je croy,  
Pour conquerir de cuer la Sainte Terre.

Celle conquist ; soyons donc exité  
De faire autel : longues treves prenons,  
Se paix n'avons a nostre volenté.  
Le Roy des Frans, d'Espagne requerons,  
Cil d'Arragon, d'Angleterre ; querons  
Le prestre Jehan, des Genevois l'octroy,  
Veniciens, Chypre, Roddes, le Roy  
De Portugal ; Navarre alons requerre ;  
Pappe, empereur, mettez vous en courroy  
Pour conquerir de cuer la Sainte Terre.



*L'Envoy*

Princes mondain, je vous requier et proy  
 Que vous m'aidiez les Sarrasins conquerre ;  
 Je suis la loy, soiez avecques moy  
 Pour conquerir de cuer la Sainte Terre.

*Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, ed. by Le Marquis de Saint-Hilaire, &c. Vol. I, Balade XLIX, 138-9; also Tarbé, T.I, 115.

## CONTRE LA HONGRIE ET LA LOMBARDIE

De paradis ne sçaroie parler,  
 Ne je n'y fu onques jour de ma vie,  
 Mais en enfer vous feray bien aler,  
 Se vous voulez passer en Lombardie  
 Ou cheminer le pais de Hongrie,  
 Entre les mons ; la sont glaces te nois,  
 Grans froidures par tous les .XII. moys,  
 Et habismes jusqu'en terre profonde,  
 Et ne croist fors que sapins et rapois :  
 Le pais est en enfer en ce monde.

Charrettes ou chars n'y pourroient passer,  
 Et le souleil qui est hault n'y luist mie,  
 Ny n'est oisel qui y puist demourer :  
 Pour la froideur volent autre partie.  
 Mais le chemin n'a pas piet et demie :  
 Qui mespasse, s'il chiet, mors est tout frois,  
 Et se chevaux s'encontent a la foys,  
 La convient il que l'un l'autre confonde  
 Pour les griefs pas et les chemins estrois :  
 Le pais est un enfer en ce monde.

Verdeur n'y a, cerf, biche, ne cengler,  
 Vignes ne blez, 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 o 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 sanz pouoir retourner :  
 Le pais est un enfer en ce monde.

Vol. VII, Balade MCCCIX, 66-7; also Tarbé, T.I, 119.

## POUR LES FRANÇAIS MORTS À NICOPOLIS

(1396)

Las! se Judich ploura 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 devos 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, adjoint encor .XVI. ans,  
 Ot maint baron et le roy de Hongrie,  
 Francois, Anglois, Bourgongnons, Alemans,  
 Les pluseurs mors, autres prins des tirans,  
 Pluseurs fuitis. Plourons ceste meschance,  
 Vengons leur mort, aions en Dieu fiance,  
 Prions pour eulx, donnons d'or mainte drame  
 Aux povres gens, faisons leur secourance ;  
 De chascun d'eulx ait Dieu mercy de l'ame!

Nychopoly, cité de payennie,  
 A ce temps la ou li sieges fut grans,  
 Fut delaissiez 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 soubz 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 fiez mie  
 En traiteurs dont no gent est perie  
 De chascun d'eulx ait Dieu mercy de l'ame !

Vol. VII, Balade MCCCXVI, 77-8 ; also Tarbé, I, 164.

FAISANT MENCION 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 hardiz, un temps en Lombardie  
 Arreste prinist, la cité de renon,  
 Et par avant le craint Milan, Pavie ;  
 Prions a Dieu qu'il lui face pardon !

*Lines 44-50 (year of death and burial place).*

L'an mil .CCC. IIII<sup>xx</sup>. pour certain,  
 Dis et set ans adjouste ; a ce mehain  
 Mourut li bers de male maladie  
 Tout prinsonnier. Ses os en l'abbaye  
 De Nogent sont en tombel riche et bon  
 Dessoubz Coucy o son anceserie :  
 Prions a Dieu au'il lui face pardon !

Vol. VII, Balade MCCCLXVI, 206-8 ; also Tarbé, I, 174.

Rondeau DCCLVI in vol. IV, 26 (Saint-Hilaire) and II, 7 (Tarbé) is also dedicated to another crusader, 'Elyon de Nillac', whose action at Nicopolis does not seem to have been outstanding. However, his name is mentioned in the Ordonnance as a member of Nevers' Council of War ; see Appendix VI.

FAICTE, POUR CEULS DE FRANCE QUANT ILZ 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 souloie,  
 Les dames que dancier veoie  
 Dès la nuit jusques au cler jour?  
 Las! ou est d'orgueil le sejour?  
 Dieux l'a mis en partie a fin;  
 Je ne voy que tristesse et plour  
 Et obseques soir et matin.

Ou sont les enchainemens,  
 Que l'en portoit comme courroye,  
 D'argent et d'or, leurs sonnemens,  
 Pour mieulx prandre ces saulx en voie?  
 L'essil de corps, de la monnaie,  
 Gast de viandes et d'atour  
 Perte d'esprit, grant luour  
 De torches, gastement de vin,  
 Je ne voy que tristesse et plour  
 Et obseques soir et matin.

Et en mains lieux noirs vestemens  
 Porter, dueil et courroux pour joye,  
 Sonner pour les trespassemens  
 De plusieurs que Pitez convoye  
 Au moustier; Vengeance mestroye,  
 Pechié en quelconque seigneur,  
 En grant, en moien, en mineur;  
 Soyon tuit a bien faire enclin:  
 Je ne voy que tristesse et plour  
 Et obseques soir et matin.

*L'Envoy*

Prince, abisme est li jugemens  
 De Dieu et ses pugnissemens;  
 Il l'a bien moustré a ce tour:  
 En Turquie est ses vengemens,  
 De loing, par divers mandemens,  
 Pour nos pechiez pleins de venin:  
 Je ne voy que tristesse et plour  
 Et obseques soir et matin.

Vol. VIII, Balade MCCCCXXVII, 85-6. Also Champollion-Figeac, Louis et Charles, ducs d'Orleans, 209; Tarbé, I, 163; & Delaville Le Roulx, I, 339.

Another long German poem of 236 lines on the Crusade appears under the title 'Schlacht bei Schiltarn' in Liliencorn, vol. I, no. 39, 155-60. It is not reproduced here partly owing to its length and partly because Liliencorn's edition is enriched with a useful introduction and footnotes without which it may be difficult to read. Nevertheless this poem deserves further attention and separate study which we cannot undertake within the limitations of this work.

## APPENDIX II

### LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE ORDER OF PASSION

(IIIrd. Redaction)

*Remark.*—The names are not modernized, but quoted as they appear in the original. Vide *Arch. de l'Orient Latin*. T. I, 362-4.

*The first who accepted the message of the New Order :*

1. 'Robert l'Ermite du clos de Constantin en Normandie.'
2. 'Monseigneur Jehan de Blezi, seigneur de Mauvilly, de Bourgoingne, chambellan du Roy et chevetaine de Paris.'
3. 'Monseigneur Loys de Gyach, de Limosin, chambellan et grant eschancon du Roy.'
4. 'Monseigneur Othe de Granson, de la terre de Savoye, Chevalier d'onneur du roy d'Engleterre et du duc de Lencastre.'

Country.	Those who promised to become Knights of Passion.	Those who promised to support the Order.
France	Monseigneur le duc de Bourbon.	Mons. le duc de Berry, qui a offert pour la chevalerie C hommes d'armes paieez pour un an, comme il appert par ses lectres patentés.
	Mons. le mareschal de France, Bouciquaut.	Mons. le duc d'Orliens, frère du roy de France, grandement a offert son aide.
	Mons. Jehan de Vienne, admiral de France.	Mons. le conte d'Estampes, XII hommes d'armes, paieez pour un an.
	Mons. Jehan de Chaalon, seigneur de Larlay, et Mons. Henry son frère.	Mons. Phelipe d'Artoiz, connestable de France.
	Mons. Jaque d'Arbon.	Mons. Pierre de Navarre.
	Mons. Guillaume de Forrimentes.	Mons. Henry de Bar.
	Mons. Jehan de Sainte-Croix.	Mons. de Coucy.
	Mons. de l'Espinace.	Mons. le conte de Saint Pol.
	Mons. Gille de Poissy.	Mons. Pierre de Craon, qui a offri II <sup>e</sup> livres de rente pour la dicte chevalerie.
	Mons. Gaucher d'Yrois.	Mons. Guillaume Martel.
	Mons. Henry de Rye.	Mons. Jehan de Hangest.
	Maistre Jehan Andrieu, des seigneurs de parlement.	Mons. Aubert de Hangest.
	Maistre Lion de Noseray, doyen de Valence.	
	Jehan d'Uissier, escuier.	
	Bartholomé Leuet de Clervaux, escuier.	
	Nicaise Boistel, escuier.	

Country.	Those who promised to become Knights of Passion.	Those who promised to support the Order.
France	<p>Maistre Jehan Hue, arche- diacre d'Arbonne, secre- taire du Roy et chan- oine de Paris.</p> <p>Mons. Guy de Nelle, seig- neur d'Aiffremont.</p> <p>Mons. Jaque Ponsart de la Rochelle, lui V<sup>e</sup>.</p> <p>Maistre Thomas Laurent, procureur du roy en Saintonge.</p> <p>Mons. Guillaume aux Es- paules de Normandie.</p> <p>Mons. Pierre de Bigars, de Normandie.</p> <p>Maistre Jehan le Vistre, docteur en loys à Lion sur le Rosne.</p>	<p>le seigneur de la Freté, mareschal de Normen- die.</p> <p>le seigneur de Viespont.</p> <p>le Baudrain de la Heuse.</p> <p>Mons. Guillaume de Merlo. gouverneur du Dauphiné.</p> <p>le Chast. de Flandre.</p>
Spain	<p>Mons. Pierre Louppes, grant baron.</p> <p>Mons. Robert Braque- mont.</p>	
Aragon	<p>Mons. le visconte de Rode.</p> <p>Mons. Ponce son frère.</p>	
Gascony	<p>le viconte d'Arte.</p> <p>le seigneur de Castillon.</p> <p>le seigneur de Lesparre.</p>	
Navarre	<p>Arnault d'Aigremont.</p> <p>Jehan de l'Eglise.</p> <p>Raoul Pain-me-fault.</p> <p>Mons. Charles Alferis.</p> <p>Guillaume de Seris.</p>	
Germany	<p>Mons. Hue de Hanost, chancelier du roy de Suese.</p>	
England	<p>Le duc d'Youlc, oncle du roy d'Engleterre.</p> <p>le conte de Rutheland, filz du dit duc.</p> <p>le conte Mareschal.</p> <p>le conte de Nortomberlande.</p>	<p>Le duc de Glocéstre, oncle du roy.</p> <p>Le duc de Lencastre.</p> <p>Le conte de Nornthone, frère du roy d'Engle- terre.</p>

Country.	Those who promised to become Knights of Passion.	Those who promised to support the Order.
England	<p>Mons. l'evesque de Saint David.</p> <p>Mons. le Despensier.</p> <p>Mons. Hue le Despensier.</p> <p>Mons. Loys Cliffort.</p> <p>Mons. Thomas West.</p> <p>Mons. Guillaume Hele- mann.</p> <p>Mons. Jehan Harlestone.</p> <p>Mons. Guillaume Feniston.</p> <p>Mons. Raoul de Persy.</p> <p>Mons. Hervy filz Hue.</p> <p>Mons. Symon Felbrig.</p> <p>Mons. Richart Albery.</p> <p>Mons. Hervy Guine.</p> <p>Mons. Thomas Herpignen.</p> <p>Mons. de Rochefort.</p> <p>Mons. Robert Morley.</p> <p>Piteux, escuier.</p> <p>Richart Chelmesinch es- cuier du Roy.</p>	<p>Le conte de Vertus, duc de Milan, qui a offert pour la dicte chevalerie XXX<sup>m</sup> florins, comme il appert par ses lettres, et tres grant aide de bouche.</p>
Scotland	<p>Mons. David et Mons. Alixandre de Lindesay, freres.</p>	
Lombardy		<p>Le conte de Vertus, duc de Milan, qui a offert pour la dicte chevalerie XXX<sup>m</sup> florins, comme il appert par ses lettres, et tres grant aide de bouche.</p>
The Church		<p>Le pape Benedic, qui de son propre mouvement a voulu avoir le livre de la chevalerie.</p> <p>l'arcevesque de Reins.</p> <p>L'arcevesque de Vienne.</p> <p>L'evesque de Senliz.</p> <p>L'evesque du Puy.</p>



## APPENDIX III

### PHILIPPE DE MEZIÈRES' *NOVA RELIGIO PASSIONIS*

BODLEIAN MS. No. ASH. 813

LES Rebriches des causes pour les quelles ceste cheualerie de la passion Jhesu Crist est neccessaire voire le tamps du jour duy mauuais & perilleus considere & le monde qui fort va a declin.

La premiere cause que ceste cheualerie fort neccessaire cest assauoir que par lexample dune si nouvelle & si solempnele deuocion les crestiens & par especial les hommes d'armes soient esmeu de laissier leurs pechies & de leur vie amender.

2° ....par lexample de ceste sainte cheualerie (f. 4 ro.) entre les crestiens par vne nouvelle compassion soit rafreschie & renouvellee la passion de nostre seigneur Jhesu Crist.

3° ....que par luy (the Order of Passion) soit mande le secours prumptement as crestiens dorient qui en ont grant mestier.

4° ....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° ....de la necessite & du bien qui porra auenir de ceste sainte chiualerie cest assavoir afin que par elle la sainte foy catholique par toutes regions dorient soit multipliee.

6° ....pour resister sil sera besoing a ceulx qui partourbent la foy catholique & leglise de Romme si comme as hereges tirans & scismatiques dessa la mer demourans.

7° ....que nostre sainte cheualerie en son chemin passant par ytalie par auenture pourra estre neccessaire sur le fait de la diuision et scisme de leglise. En querant & trouant aucun bon tractie sans effusion de sanc a ce que leglise de dieu espouse de Jhesu Crist diuisee & tourblee (*sic*) par la misericorde de dieu soit ramenee a vn seul & vray pastour des ames voire le Roy de france & dengleterre ce procurant & ceste legation a la dicte cheualerie commetant.

8° ....que se la pais ferme vne fois soit mandee du ciel la quelle dieu veulle octroier entre les Roys de france & dengleterre ceste cheualerie sera neccessaire pour aler deuant les Rois 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° ....quant par la bonte 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 & tuicion des personnes des Roys & de tout lost des crestiens aura tous jours lauantage et certains vaillans cheualiers esleus dicelle cheualerie seront ordenes au frain des dessusdis Roys & outre ce la dite cheualerie aura tous jours l'arriere garde afin que les roy en lost du crucifix ne prengne signourie. (f. 4 vo.)

10° ....que as gens darmes & de pie sans nombre qui vendront en lost des roys a leurs propres despens & sans maistres ou seigneurs & sans regle les quelz aucune fois vandront es batailles solement par eulz emprises faire leur volente errans parmy lost comme ouelles sans pastour par cest sainte cheualerie soient regulee & adrecie a ce quil auront a faire et non destourber lost de dieu par telle maniere de gens desregulee.

11° ....quant aucunes foys es grans batailles des Roys et des princes encontre les anemis de la foy par la permission diuine les victoires ne vendront pas tousjours a souhait ceste sainte cheualerie a la lettre regulee & experte en fait darmes & en tous perilz aura souueinement & deliguement la cure possible des mors & des naures afin quil ne doivent pas demourer en la main des anemis en confusion de la sainte foy catholique.

12° ....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° ....quant par les Roys vaillaument combatans aucunes cites perilleuses ou forteresses seront prises & acquises & dangereuses a garder par la sainte cheualerie apparellie a tous perilz pour la garde dicelles a ce sans arest soit pourueu.

14° ....que par la vigilant 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° ....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 cheualeriers de la cheualerie sans fatigation ou repos en ce se doie trauellier par toutes manieres que faire se pourra voire la maieste royale tousiours commandant & ordenant.

16° ....quant les Roys seront dans lost 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 humblement (f. 5 ro.) visiter le gait de lost des Roys & le gait des engiens certaines heures de la nuit en eulz doucement reconfortant le diligamment vellier & en gardant aucunement lost des espies des anemis & faulx crestiens qui volentiers vont de nuit.

17° ....en lost des Roys catholiques lanemi de lumaine nature procurant aucuns rumours debas ou dissentions 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 lestat & dignite des personnes es quelles sera le debat se trauellera a son plain pooir distaindre les dis debas en ramenant les persones contrarians a bonne amour & charite voire la passion du doulx Jhesu moiene.

18° ....que les cristiens des parties doccident qui sueront voue ou entendent a vouer ou leurs peres & parens daler oultre mer en saint passage dez quelz parens il aueront la succession temporele ou esprituele ou par aenture seront obligie en aucune maniere au saint passage doultre mer. Telz gens deuotement & saintement en la compaignie de ceste sainte cheualerie pourront bien accomplir leurs veus debtes & promesses voire leglise dispensant.

19° ....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 & sil se porteront bien il aquesteront noble heritage.

20° ....que se par la permission diuine les Roys seront destourbes que ja nauiegne de tost faire le saint passage que pour satisfaire a dieu dez veus & obligations de leurs grans peres touchans au saint passage il doivent mander oultre mer sans arest ceste sainte cheualerie & tout ce qui est dit es chapitres dessus que la dite cheualerie deuoit faire touchant les personnes dez Roys elle le fera a la personne du prince de la cheualerie & dez presidents en labsense des Roys (f. 5 vo.).

## APPENDIX IV—A

### FRANCO-BURGUNDIAN LEVIES FOR CRUSADING PREPARATIONS

	Contemplated Sums, nobles.	Actual * Payments, francs.
I. THE County of Flanders . . . . .	65,000	134,015
The Clergy of Flanders . . . . .	5,155	12,000 <sup>1</sup>
The towns of Malines and Antwerp . . . . .	5,000	10,340
	francs.	
Lille, Douay and Orchies . . . . .	10,000	10,000
The County of Artois . . . . .	30,000	5,000 <sup>2</sup>
The Duchy of Burgundy . . . . .	40,000	20,000 <sup>3</sup>
The County of Burgundy, together with Auxonne, Cussey, Sagy and Salins <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	10,000	10,000 <sup>5</sup>
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	4,000 <sup>6</sup>
		221,355
II. Aide from the King . . . . .	80,000	80,000 <sup>7</sup>
The Duke's monthly pension of 4,000 fr. from the royal treasury for nine months . . . . .	36,000	36,000
		116,000 <sup>8</sup>
III. Other Miscellaneous ordinary aids and loans from the royal and ducal private demesnes, &c. . . . .		183,000
Total . . . . .		520,355
IV. Other sums raised :		
1. 828 livres from the town of Oudenbourg, near Ostend. <sup>9</sup>		
2. 40 livres from the Lombards of Douay, 30 from those of Lille. <sup>10</sup>		
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. <sup>11</sup>		
5. A gift of 50,000 fr. from the King to Monseigneur de Nevers.		

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\* The transformation is made approximately into francs according to contemporary values, for any effort to present these in modern money is misleading.

## APPENDIX IV—B

SPECIMEN of 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'Ongrie':

	francs.
I. From Dino Rapondi, 'par la main de Adenin Geolier', at Dijon . . . . .	7,775
II. From a certain Garnier . . . . .	3,433
III. From Jocerant Frepier, 'receveur general de Bourgogne sur la pension de mondit sgr. V <sup>m</sup> fr. par an, pour IIII mois feniz le darnier d'avril 1396' . . . . .	1,666 13s. 4d.t.
IV. From a certain Loys Charpentier . . . . .	500
V. From the Treasurer of Burgundy . . . . .	1,075
VI. From the same 'en mil nobles' . . . . .	2,125
VII. 'Des aides generaulx, presentment, III <sup>m</sup> fr. et dedans la Saint-Jehan 1396 II <sup>m</sup> fr. . . . .	5,000
VIII. From the Viconte de Falaise et de Pontautou . . . . .	2,000
IX. From the Vicontes de Beaumont-le Rogier and de Couches . . . . .	600
Total . . . . .	24,174 13s. 4d.t.

## APPENDIX V

### EXTRACTS FROM THE BAVYN MS.

Bavyn : Mémoires du voiage fait en Hongrie par Jean, dit Sans-Peur, Comte de Neuers. Bibl. Nat., Collection de Bourgogne, MS. 20, Rois et Ducs.

Extract A : "Etat Général de toute la Maison, et des Equipages du Comte de Neuers." (Ff. 348 ro.-349 ro.)

Extract B : Lists of the first (f. 350 vo.) and the second (ff. 353 ro.-354 ro.) sets 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. (F. 262.)

#### A

Apart from the numbers constituting the Count's household by the ordinance of 28 March 1396, there were :

"100 hommes de liurées qui menoient en main chacun un cheual de service : y aiant douze scelles d'or, garnies de pierreries : d'autres, d'argent massif aians des couvertures à foud d'or-battu aux armes du Comte ; les champsfrains et housses des cheuaux estoient de toile d'argent, armoriés de fin or battu sur sandal, aux armes du Comte ; les autres scelles estoient d'yuoir d'os et de wneau vert, en broderie d'or de Chipre aussi aux armes du Comte."

"Ses tentes et paillions estoient de satin verd, chargés de ses armes en broderie d'or de Chipre, qui estoient chargés sur vingt quatre chariots."

"Il auoit pour le service de sa personne et de ses offices 133 valets de liurées qui estoient de verd gay, et dont les habitz étoient couuertz d'orfeurerie."

"Il fit porter quatre grandes bannières d'une aulne et demie de long ; dans lesquelles l'image de Notre Dame battue en or, étoit représentée et armoriées aux armes de France, aians chacunes huit ecussons en broderie à ses armes."

"Plus six grands étandartz d'argent battu, ou étoit écrit en lettres d'or, le nom du Comte, semés et drapés de sa devise."

"Et trois cent petits panons battus d'argent, ou étoit aussi écrit son nom ; auec vingt cinq gros autres panons de même façon."

Tous les quelz étandarts, bannières, et panons étoient posés au deuant et au dessus des tentes."

"Au deuant de celle ou il logeoit, il y auoit douze trompettes, reuetues des cottes d'armes, battues d'or, aiant chacune une bannière battue d'argent à ses armoires."

## B

*Premiers Presens Envoyés a l'Empereur Bajazet par Philippe le Hardi Duc de Bourgogne.*

"Deux harnois de cheuaux, d'yuoir à images cloués à menus clous d'or, et semés par dessus de pierreries ; rubannés de ruban d'or, et frangés de franges d'or autour ; garnies aux quatre coings et par les boutz pendans au bas, de ronds d'or de Lombardie.

"Trois autre scelles d'or à images de taille à demi-ronds par les carrefours et par les bouts pendants, garnis de roses d'or.

"Quatre scelles de parementz d'or fin et rubanné, avec des roses d'or ; et les mords de brides de meme, avec ouarants (*sic*) mordans, quarante boules, seize laretz le tout de fin 'or.

"Plus deux arcons de scelles tous (*sic*) garnis d'argent, et de rose de meme avec les brides d'argent."

*Deuxième Presents Envoyés à Bajazet pour la seconde fois par le Duc Philippe le Hardi pour traiter de la Ranson, &c.*

"1° En deux pieces d'eclarlatte vermeilles entières, façon de Bruxelles : deux autres pieces d'eclartatte (*sic*) rosées ; deux pièces de drap gris ; et deux pièces de drap verd gay.

"2° En douze cheuaux de Main, autrement grands cheuaux, avec dix harnois de grand prix, couuerts de velours noir, chargés des armes du Duc, de fin or, et argent battu, à ses chiffres d'or, et d'argent de même ; il y auoit en outre deux scelles avec leurs harnois de wlneau brodées d'or battu, chargés de lettres Sarrazi-noises semées de plusieurs fleurs d'outre mer. Ces cheuaux étoient conduits par douze hommes de la liurée du Duc.

"3° En douze chiens, entre les quelz il y auoit deux limiers, aians chacun un gros colier d'argent doré, et dix leuriers, aians de coliers et chaisnes d'argent doré que douze autre hommes de liurée, tenoient en main.

"4° En douze gerfaux, ou faucons blans, portés par douze fauconniers ; et en trente six douzaine de sonnettes d'argent doré de Lombardie, pour les oiseaux de Bajazet.

"5° En deux grosses bouteilles d'argent doré, pesant treize mars chacune.

"6° En quatre grands hanaps, et quatre aiguieres d'argent pesant trentesix mars.

“ 7° En douze douzaines de paires de Gands ; scavoïr six de chamois brodées d'or de Chipres ; deux douzaines d'ecarlatte (*sic*) ; deux douzaines de martre ; et deux douzaines de gris.

“ 8° En douze pièces de toile fine de Rheims et en douze douzaines de seruiettes fines.

“ 9° En un grand hanap d'or, avec son couuerte pesant six mars, tout chargé 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 presenz furent chargés sur douze sommiers couverts de tapis à fond d'or aux armes du Duc et broderie sur les quelz etoient des toilles cirées.”

## C

*Presents du Duc aux Princes et autres faitz Prisonniers avec son filz . . . suiuant leurs qualités.*

	livres.
Count de la Marche . . . . .	26,000
Boucicault . . . . .	6,000
(' avec une aiguierre et un hanap d'or, &c.')	
Sgr. de Hangest . . . . .	2,000
(' avec un fermail d'or &c.')	
Jean Blondel son premier ecuier . . . . .	1,000
Guillaume de Mello, cheualier . . . . .	1,000
Oudart Delespinasse, cheualier . . . . .	500
Antoine de Rozeray . . . . .	500
Odart Dorai . . . . .	400
Jean Dufoulon . . . . .	300
Jean Demanety . . . . .	200
Peteot Dany . . . . .	200
Guillaume de la Bruere, Maitre d'Hotel de Guil- laume Mello . . . . .	100
Clerroy Desaint Seine . . . . .	100
Jean Moreau, clerk . . . . .	100
Jean Desaint Aubin . . . . .	500
Digne Raponde . . . . .	12,000
' et en autre 400 Ecus d'or à la Couronne à Diuerses fois '	
Plusieurs escuiers . . . . .	3,500
Petits officiers de la maison du Comte de Neuers qui l'auoient assiste pendant sa prison . . . . .	2,500



## APPENDIX VI

### THE 'ORDONNANCE' OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY

THIS important ordinance was transcribed once by Dom Urban Plancher as a 'preuve justificative' in his famous *Histoire Générale de Bourgogne* (vol. III, preuve CLXX, clxxiii-clxxv) in the 'thirties of the eighteenth century. Since then, most historians, if not all, including Kervyn de Lettenhove (*Oeuvres de Froissart*, vol. XV, 394-8), have relied entirely on Plancher's transcription. Portions of this ordinance also appear in the Bavyn 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 Cote d'Or at Dijon (MS. B. 11876), I found that it was far from free from error, inaccuracy, omission and confusion, and that, all things considered, it would be advisable to offer scholars working on the history of the Crusade, of France and of Burgundy, a new edition which here follows :

Cy apres sensuient les noms de ceulz que monseigneur a ordonne aler au voiage de honguerie en la compaignie de monseigneur de Neuers.

#### *Premierement*

Messire Phelipe de Bar, lui iij<sup>e</sup> de chevaliers vj escuiers.

Monsieur l'admiral de france lui iiij<sup>e</sup> de chevaliers & vj escuiers.

Mr. de la Tremoille lui viij<sup>e</sup>.

Mr. le Mareschal de Bourgogne lui iiij<sup>e</sup>.

Mr. Oudart de Chaseron lui iij<sup>e</sup>.

Mr. Jehan de Ste.-Croix lui iij<sup>e</sup>.

Mr. Guillaume de Merlo lui iij<sup>e</sup>.

Mr. Geoffroy de Charny lui iij<sup>e</sup>.

Mr. Elyon de Neilhac lui iij<sup>e</sup>.

Mr. Jehan de Blaisy lui et un escuier.

Mr. Henry de Monbeliart lui ij<sup>e</sup> de chevaliers et ij escuiers.

Mr. de Chatel-Belin lui ij<sup>e</sup> de chevaliers et ij escuiers.

Mr. Guillaume de Vienne lui ij<sup>e</sup> de chevaliers ij escuiers.

Mr. Jaques de Vienne lui ij<sup>e</sup> de chevaliers et ij escuiers.

Mr. Jacques de Vergy lui iiij<sup>e</sup>.

Mr. Thibault de Nuefchastel lui iiij<sup>e</sup>.

Mr. Guillaume de Vergy & son frere chascun lui ij<sup>e</sup>.

Mr. Henri de Salins.  
 Mr. Henri de Chalon lui ij<sup>e</sup> de chevaliers et ij escuiers.  
 Mr. le Haze de Flandres lui iij<sup>e</sup>.  
 Le Sire de Ray.  
 Le frere de la femme messire Henri de montbeliard.

Cy-aprez sensuiet autres de lostel de mondit Seigneur.

Monsieur Berthaut de Chartres.	Le filz du Seigneur de Chastillon
Mr. Loys Dugay (premier	lui ij <sup>e</sup> .
escuier).	Mr. Raoul de Rayneual lui ij <sup>e</sup> .
Mr. Jehan de Boues.	Le Sire de l'Espinace.
Mr. Tort des Essars.	Le Sire de Montigny.
Mr. Girart de Rigny.	Mr. Loys de Giac .j. escuier.
Mr. Raoul de Flandres.	Mr. Gauuanet de Bailleur lui ij <sup>e</sup> .
Mr. Jacques de Pontallier.	Le Normandeu Maistre dostel
Mr. Jehan de Pontallier.	et ceulz quil plaiera amondit
Mr. Jean de Savoisy.	seigneur.
Mr. Phelipe de la Trimouille.	Damas de Buxeul.
Mr. Loys le Mareschal.	Briffault.
Mr. Louis de Wenenghem.	Robert de Ardentun.
Mr. Philibert de Villiers.	Guillaume Breteau.
Le Sire de Grauille lui iij <sup>e</sup> .	Le Jeunce Monnoier.
Le Sire de Plancy lui ij <sup>e</sup> .	Montaubert.
Mr. Jaques de Cortiamble.	Jehan de Sercus.
Mr. Jehan de Crux.	Roche-Choart.
Mr. Hugues de Monnetoy.	Dinceau de Villiers.
Mr. Phelipe de Mussy.	Guillaume de Vautrauers.
Mr. Jehan de Rigny.	Jean de Capeaux.
Mr. de Manmes.	Simon Breteau.
Mr. Fouque Paymiel.	Gauingnon.
Mr. le Galoiz de Renty.	Guillaume de la Tremolle.
Mr. Athoine de Balore lui iij <sup>e</sup> .	Goscalc.
Mr. Anceau de Ponmart.	Loys Doue.
Mr. Henry de Rye.	Estienne de Monsaion.
Mr. Jehan de Saint Aubin.	Victor Bastart de Flandres.
Mr. Jehan de Montaubert.	• Estienne de Quemingny escuier
Mr. Jehan Prunele.	descurie.
Mr. Jehan de Tanquers.	Jehan de Gransom.
Mr. Charles d'Estouteuille.	Le Porcelot de Besanson.
Mr. Jehan de Granson.	Thomas de Caronuel.
Mr. de Ve, lui ij <sup>e</sup> .	• Mathe Lalement.
Mr. Jehan le Sarrazin.	Enguerremmet.
Mr. Jehan de Saint Germain.	Claux de la Bahaignon.
Le Petit Braqueton,	Guillaume de Lugny.
Boelin Villers.	Jehan de Ternant.

Bertran de Saint Chatier.	Jehan Huron.
George de Rigny.	Phelipe de Nanton.
Pierre de la Haye.	Bonneu.
Jehan de Pontallier.	Guillaume Dannoy.
Tierry de Saint Soigne.	Chiffnal.
Jehan de Quemigny.	Jehan de Blaisy.
Guillaume de Craon lui ij <sup>e</sup> .	Rasse de Taugues.
Regnaut de Flandres.	Nicle de Cordebourch.
Batetau.	Robert Gaudin.
Guillaume de Nanton.	Octeuille.
Maubuisson.	Jaquot de Sunx.
Le Filz au Sire de Garanciere.	Le Beque de Rasse.
Rasse de Ranti.	Item x archers Premierement.
Le filz de Madame de Malicorne.	Laurent Cogniquehaut.
Huguenin de Lugny.	Donatien du Cops.
Mathery.	Ofier Bloet.
Pierre de la Tremerie.	Jehan Carnes.
Gruthuse.	Jean Robichon.
Jaques de Buxeul.	Andre le Petit Archer.
Toulongon.	Gadifer.
Muart.	Brocart.
Jean Bugnot.	Berthelot de Renel.
Cajaut.	Adam Pasquot.
Rolin de la Cressonniere.	Item xx arbalestiers cest ass-
Copin Paillart.	auoir. . . .

Les Gens qui sont aduises pour aler deuant en Hongerie pour faire les prouisions de Monseigneur de Neuers.

Simon Breteau maistre dostel.  
 Guillaume Breteau Pancher.  
 Jehan le Ternant eschancon.  
 Robert de la Cressonniere.  
 Copin Paillart ecuyer de cuisine.  
 Un boucher et ung poullailler.

Cy aprez sensuient les choses necessaires appartenantes au fait que Monseigneur de Neuers doit faire presentement en Hongerie.

Premierement il est ordonne que tous ceulx qui uont en sa campagne soient au xx<sup>e</sup> Jour dauril a Diion et illec on sera prest pour iiij mois cest assauoir Cheualier xl frans Et chascun escuir xx. frans et chascun archier xij. frans et par chascun mois.

Ordonne par monseigneur presens monsieur le Conte de Neuers monsieur ladmiral monsieur de la Tremoille messire Guillaume de la Tremoille messire Odart de Chaseron messire Elion de Neilhac & Pierre de la Tremoille le xxvii<sup>e</sup> jour de Mars auant pasques lan mil CCC iiij<sup>xx</sup> & xv.<sup>1</sup>

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 Comte de Nevers for the organization of his army and the martial law to be applied during the campaign. The following is the text thereof :

Monsieur le Conte de Neuers sera le xx<sup>e</sup> jour dauril a Dijon et la seront paiee toutes ses gens et sera a la fin dauril a Montbeliart pour suiure son chemin.<sup>a</sup>

*Ceux par qui monsieur le Conte se conseiliera.*

Premierement messire Phelipe de Bar,

Monsieur Iadmiral.

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 Couxi.

Mr. le Connestable.

Mr. le Mareschal Bouciquant.

Et aussi quant bon semblera.

Monsieur Henry de Mombeliart.

Mr. Guillaume de Vienne.

Mr. Henry de Chalon.

Mr. de Chatel-Belin.

Mr. de Longvy.

Mr. Guillaume de Merlo.

Mr. Geoffroy de Charny.

Mr. Jehan de Blaisy.

Mr. Elyon de Neilhac.

Mr. Jehan de Tyre.

Pour le frain de monsieur le Conte de Neuers.

Monsieur Guillaume de Merlo.

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 Buxeul.

Le panon de monsieur le Conte Gruthuse le portera.

Nanton et Huguenin de Lugny pour l'accompagner.

Ordonnance faite par monsieur le Conte.<sup>8</sup>

Que Gentil homme faisant rumour pert cheual et harnois.

Et varlet qui fiert du coutel pert le poing.

Et sil robe il pert loreille.

Item que monsieur le Conte et sa compaignie a a requerir  
lavantgarde.

## 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,<sup>1</sup>—"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,<sup>2</sup>—"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 noef heures, ainsi que le roy de Hongrie et les seigneurs et leurs gens, qui au siege devant Nicopoly estoient, seount au disner, nouvelles vindrent en l'ost que les Turs chevauchioient a puissance non pas moult loing de la." This again would give September 25 as the date of the battle.

3. 'Istore<sup>3</sup> et chroniques de Flandre.'—"Et fu celle bataille en 1396, le jour de St. Michel." 29 September.

4. The *Res Gestae*—"Hoc bellum accidit mense septembri, die sancti Firmini episcopi et martiris."—25 September.

#### GERMAN SOURCES

1. Ulman Strömer<sup>5</sup>: ". . . der streit gesach anno domini 1396 am donnerstag der sant Michahelstag", i.e., Thursday before Michaelmas, 28 September.

2. Königshofen ; and, 3. the Continuator <sup>6</sup> of the Hagen chronicle. —Monday, 25 September.

#### AUSTRIAN SOURCE

The 'Annales Mellicenses', <sup>7</sup>—"Sed hew! in crastino sancti Ruperti, 8 Kal. Octobris, miserabiliter pene omnes interfecti sunt et capti a Thurcis."—24 September.

#### HUNGARIAN SOURCE

George de Pray, <sup>8</sup>—"Orto a.d. quarto Calendas octobris sole, &c."—28 September.

#### ARABIC SOURCE

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 Muhammad <sup>9</sup> 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 'Yankaboli' (Nicopolis).

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 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, 25 September, is probably the correct date for the following reasons :

1. Its exponents belong to various countries—France, Germany, and Turkey. The *Religieux*, Froissart, Königshofen, the

\* The following are examples illustrating 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, A.D. 1301 (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 this, according to Wüstenfeld-Mahler, would be Friday, 21 Jumada II, 1351 A.H.

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-Jazarī certainly did.

2. The nearness of the date provided by the 'Annal. Mellic.' to 25th, rather than to 28th September, suggests that the first, not the second, date is the more correct one.

3. Ulmann Strömer'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 Strömer, is not a contemporary of the battle, and his evidence cannot be found that of the contemporaries in many lands.

5. The Arabic authority of Ibn al-Jazarī, 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): CITY AND BATTLEFIELD <sup>1</sup>

#### (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, Dol, 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 practically invisible and impassable on account of a snow-clad countryside.\*

#### (2) PROBLEMS OF ORIGIN <sup>2</sup>

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 Mount Haemus, not far from the village of Niküp on the bank of the Rossitza. 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 to commemorate his victory over the Dacians.<sup>3</sup>

This theory is now disproved, partly by recent and accurate inquiries in the sources, but chiefly by the archaeological excavations <sup>4</sup> 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 Rossitza, 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

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\* 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.

site the walls, castellum, forum and other purely Roman constructions, Roman statues and Roman coins.<sup>5</sup> 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 style.<sup>6</sup> This medieval Nicopolis was founded by the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius in A.D. 629, probably after the disappearance of 'Nicopolis ad Istrum'.<sup>7</sup>

'Nicopolis Major' became famous in medieval history after the battle of 1396, and in modern history by the Turco-Russian War of 1876-7, 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', near 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 port of Nicopolis on the Danube, while the southern widens out to an extent which is sufficient to justify the possibility of large numbers of combatants having been engaged thereon. 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,<sup>8</sup> 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 1876-7. 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

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\* 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.

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 5,000 souls. On the authority of the Director of the Nicopolis 'Pro-Gymnase', which was confirmed by inquiries 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.\* It is, however, safe to say that about three-fifths of the population are Turks, 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 and religious habits which a forced Westernization of Turkey has seemingly eliminated in their older homeland.† 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, subsidized 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 Triganes taken together.<sup>10</sup>

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\* The *Jewish Encyc.* 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 rejected. The tradition amongst the Jews of Nicopolis is that their ancestors came to the city about 600 years ago.

† An instance is the survival in numerous cases of the Turkish head-dress amongst men and the veil amongst women, now abolished in Turkey by an enforced Westernization of the people.

## 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, 36-7, 47-8, 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 quoted here in full.

3. The figures given in the Bavyn MS., ff. 354 vo.-355 ro.

The figures produced by Barante, II, 206-7, 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 Donzy . . . . .	10,000 fr.	10,000
County of Charolais . . . . .	5,000 fr.	5,000
Besançon . . . . .	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
III. 'Ordonnance' of 18 May 1399.		
" Sur Mons. de Saint Pol, de 8,000 frans qu'il a de mondit 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 paye de cette presente année . . . . .	excused	
Carried forward . . . . .		421,000

	francs.
Brought forward . . . . .	421,000
" Sur Mons. Edouard de Bar, de 3,000 f. à luy ordonnes 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 Lonvoy, de 500 f., 200 f. . . . .	200
" Sur Mess. Jehan de Chastel-Morant de 500 f., 200 f. . . . .	200
(" Somme de ce qui sera prins sur les dessusdits—7,000 fr.")	
IV. Charles VI—Taille and present to Nevers . . . . .	58,000
V. King of Hungary . . . . . 100,000d.	1,200,000
Nobles of Hungary for ransom of Eustache de Ilsva and Hungarian prisoners . . . . . 50,000d.	600,000
VI. Loan from Castaigne de Flisco on 14 March 1397 . . . . .	20,000
Total . . . . .	<u>2,302,000</u>

Owing to the insufficiency of the above and to the 'avarice' of Bayezid, the Bavyn MS. adds (f. 355 ro.), "Le Duc allienna des Rentes sur les reuenus d'Arthois jusqu'a la somme de 50,000 liures, emprunta de Diuers Particuliers la somme de 60,000 liures, et outre cela engagea une bonne partie de sa vaisselle d'or et d'argent: meme celle du Comte de Neuers 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,\* the Sultan (of Egypt) returned to Cairo. Ambassadors from Aba-Yezid '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 ro.)

*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.

2. Ibn Hajar (ob. c. 1448) asserts that "Abou Yazid 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 amir-nashan and khond-khan-nashan".†

(Mus. Brit., Bibl. Rich., MS. 7321, f. 139 vo.)

*Remark.*—Ibn Hajar, who was 'qāḍī-al-qoḍāt' 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 Bayezid in their works do not style him as Sultan.

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\* According to the Wüstenfeld-Mahler tables, this Hijra year includes parts of 1394 and 1395 A.D.

† These are all princely titles distinct from the title of Sultan.

Amongst these are the following :

- (a) Maqrīzī (ob. c. 1442) : Kitāb 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) : Tārīkh al-Dowal wal-Muluk, vol. VIII ; Nationalbibliothek (Vienna) MS., A.F. 125, f. 223 ro. & vo.
- (c) Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (ob. c. 1447) : Tārīkh, vol. II, Bibl. Nat., fonds arabe 1599, f. 120 vo.
- (d) Ibn al-Jazarī (ob. c. 1429) : Dhāt al-Shifa, B.M. MS., Or. 2433, ff. 277 vo.-283 ro.
- (e) Ibn Dāūd al-Khaṭīb al-Jowharī (ob. in or after 1446) : Nuzhat al-Nufūs, &c., Cairo MS., Hist. 116 M, ff. 70 vo.-71 ro.
- (f) Ibn Faḍlallah al-'Omarī (ob. c. 1348) : Masālik al-Absār, Photographs of the Aja-Sofia MS. preserved in Cairo under Encyc. 559, Section 2, vol. 2, plate 350.
- (g) al-Qalqashandī (ob. c. 1418) : Ṣubḥ al-A'ashā. (Cairo—1913, &c.) Vol. V, 367 et seq., and vol. VIII, 15.

3. Ibn Abd-al-Malik Al-Osāmī (ob. c. 1699) states definitely that the Seljuk Sultan, Aladdin, had raised Bayezid'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-Maḥdisī (ob. c. 1623) makes a similar statement to that of al-Osāmī.

(Cairo MS., Hist. 2076, ff. 62 vo.-63 ro.)

Furthermore ibn Baḥḥūṭa (ob. c. 1377), the famous fourteenth-century traveller, styles both Orkhan and 'Othman as Sultans.

(Défrémery & Sanguinetti, vol. II, 321-2, and Gibb., 136.)

Ibn Khaldūn (ob. c. 1406), the famous historian, makes one cursory reference to 'Sultan Murād Bey', but styles Murad I's predecessors as 'Othman and Orkhan Jāq. (Cairo ed., vol. V, 561-3.)

*Remark.*—Perhaps these writers are responsible for the conclusion of Kantemir (14-15) who adopts this view. The evidence of the first two cannot be taken into serious 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 Baḥḥūṭa'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 Farīdūn Bey (*Majmu'a-i-Munsha'atu's-Salāṭīn*) reveals the following :

1.—One letter, sine anno, of the reign of 'Othman beginning with the words "bi-Djenab Sultanat showkat, &c.", and contains a prayer that God may firmly establish the "foundations of the edifice of his Sultanate". (Vol. I, 66.)

2.—Letter, dated 740 A.H. = A.D. 1339-40, in the reign of Orkhan, praying that the Almighty may "double his welfare, his value, his dignity and his Sultanate, &c." (vol. I, 75); and another issued at a later date, styles Orkhan definitely as "Sultan of Islam and Muslims . . . Sultan Orkhan, &c." (Vol. I, 80.)

3.—During the reign of Murad I, the use of the title becomes more frequent,—vide, e.g., vol. I, 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, 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 connexion 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 travellers of this period to the present subject compel the greatest caution in dealing with their evidence.

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 amirate or kingdom—a use so pronounced in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa'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 Turkology during our meeting at the Istambul Darulfununu in April 1932, on the ground of the results of work done by Turkish scholars who had approached the subject from a different direction by handling the local materials at their disposal in Turkey.

## NOTES

### CHAPTER I

1. Froissart, XV, 217.

2. *Religieux*, I, 711-12.

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

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, 34-5; V. Parisot, 213 et seq.

5. Hutton, 126-7.

6. Köhler, 5-6; Delaville Le Roulx, I, 220-2.

7. Derived from either 'Bog Milui', i.e. 'God have mercy', or name of tenth century heretic bishop 'Bogomil', i.e. lit. 'beloved of God'. Known also as Panlikeni (Paulicians, from Paul of Samosata, not St. Paul), Technikeri, Torbesti, Tundaiti, Publiciani, Patareni, Cathari; known in West as 'Bulgari' and their creed as 'Bulgarorum Heresis'. Similar in some respects to Manichaean, 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, ikons, 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 forty 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.

Bogomil 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 Bogomil Niphon's efforts. Vigorously repressed by Emperors and Princes, Patriarchs and Popes. Yet in thirteenth century reached more than 100,000 'credentes' and 4,000 'perfecti'. Sent missionaries to Russia as early as eleventh 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 fourteenth century as saviour. Bogomilism said to have persisted till nineteenth century, and Bogomil monuments still seen on Balkan mts. First Slav converts to Islam are believed to have been Bogomili.

Mishew, 55-99; Molsheim, II, 464 et seq.; Neander, VI, 344 et seq., VIII, 278 et seq.; J. C. Robertson, V, 289-95; Jireček: *Gesch. d. Bulg.*, 171 et seq., *Staat und Gesellschaft*, I, 59-60,—*Civ. Serbe*, 22-3; 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 Byz. Empire*), Bz. VII, 40-9.

8. Miller (*Balkans*), 186-9; 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-bashi' (national chief) under Turkish rule; 84 et seq.

9. Lane-Poole, 40; Gibbons, 145-8.

10. Meaning 'field of Blackbirds'; called by Brauner (9) and Jireček (*Gesch. der Serb.*, 119 et seq.) 'Schlacht auf dem Amsel-felde'; generally, but imperfectly, called Kossovo or Kossova, Eliot, 40.

11. Gibbons (174) adopts as his date 20 June, 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, 214, places death of the emperor Lazarus on 15 June 1389; cf. d'Avril in the *Rhapsodie serbe tirée des chants populaires* on Kossovo, 5 et seq.

12. Ducas, 807-15; Von Hammer, I, 183-4; Eversley, 45.

13. Kupelweiser, 8-9.

14. Noradounghian (*Recueil d'actes internat. &c.*), I, 6, No. 15. Views differ as to the date. D'Ohsson (VII, 42) mentions 1390; Kupelweiser (10) asserts that Wallachia appears as tributary on the registers of the Porte in 1395; de Testa (V, 284), 1392; von

Hammer (I, 185), 1391; but the treaty quoted by Noradounghian from the *Arch. diplom.* pt. II, 293, bears the date 795 A.H., i.e. A.D. 1392-3, which is adopted here.

15. Bonfinius, 381 et seq.; Petrus de Rewa (*De S. Coron.*), 449.

16. Kupelweiser, 11.

17. Other distinguished names amongst the nobles who followed Sigismund: Martin and George Thuro, Oswald, Lorenz and John Rozgony, Eustache Ilsua, John Kapolia, Peter Pereyni and John Marothy. Le Roulx, LL, 78-86; Kupelweiser, 10-11.

18. According to the Austrian *Chron. Mellic* (514), the year should be 1395, but the French history of Juvenal des Ursins (II, 395) places the expedition in 1393. Kupelweiser (11) adopts the Austrian, Le Roulx (I, 224-5) 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, 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.

19. Bonfinius, 385.

20. (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) "Revertamini ad regem vestrum et dicite illi quoniam et ego terram ad hanc, ut videtis, jus habeo sufficiens! Pariterque et illis in parietibus pendentia manu ostendit arma."—Thwroc (in Schwandtner, I), 362. Vambery, 182-3, quotes a similar statement.

(c) "Tum legatum allocutus: 'Haec', inquit, 'regi, domino tuo, renuntia: jus meum, quod in Bulgaria exerceo, haec esse arma apparatusque, quos vidisti.'"—Phrantzes (*Chron. Majus*, in M.P.G., vol. 156), 684.

21. Brauner, 7-8.

22. Du Mont, T. II, pt. I, 24-5; Foedera, T. III, pt. IV, 108-25.

23. Lane-Poole (*Moors in Spain*), 218; Condé, III, 298-9. 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 XIV<sup>e</sup> et au XV<sup>e</sup> s.*), Pièces justif. dated Paris, 15 February 1396, and Segovia, 20 September 1396, 201-4.

24. Palačky, III, 66-9.

25. *Ibid.*, 69-70.

26. Lützow (*Bohemia*), 86-9.

27. John Pomuč, Nepomuč or Nepomucene. Sometimes spelt wrongly 'Pomuk' or 'Nepomuk'.

28. Lützwow (*Bohemia*), 86-9; *ibid.* (*Story of Prague*), 26-9; Maurice, 162-7.

The legend of St. John Nepomuč, mainly based on the Hajek Chronicle, is now discredited by the leading historians of Bohemia. Vide Lützwow's *Lectures on the Historians of Bohemia*, 58-61.

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

30. Lelewel, *Hist. de Lith., &c.*, 137 et seq., and *Hist. de Pologne*, 78 et seq.; *Historians' History*, XXIV, 40-3; Morfill, 49 et seq.; Alison Philips, 29 et seq.; also David Hannay'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) To those who were still pagan, Witowt was representative; and as these still formed the largest section of the Lithuanian people, Witowt's supporters remained a majority in Lithuania.

31. ". . . ed entriamo in un caos dove gli storici si perdono, la ragione si smarrisce."—Ferrari, III, 138.

32. Du Mont, T. III, pt. I, 236-7; Perrens, VI, 73, fixes the date wrongly as May 1.

33. Wiel (*Verona*), 103-4.

34. Noyes (*Milan*), 106-7; Foligno (*Padua*), 131-4.

35. Coria (*Storia di Miliano*), II, 395 et seq.

36. *Archivo Storico Italiano*, Ser. I, T. IV, pt. I, 220-3. On p. 221, the instructions read ". . . che in ogni nostro bisogno noi possiamo avere a mostri servigi della sua gente dell'arme, e col suo segno di bandiera, per gli nostri danari e nostre spese, riputandoci questo in gratia singolare."

37. *Ibid.*, 223.

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

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

40. Noyes (*Ferrara*), 64-5.

41. Ross and Erichsen (*Pisa*), 80-1.

42. *Ibid.* (*Lucca*), 62.

43. Young (*Rome*); Gregorovius (*Rome*), vol. VI, pt. II, 417 et seq.

44. Gregorovius (*Rome*), VI, pt. II, 518-20; Hallam, I, 485 et seq.

45. Horatio F. Brown (*Venice*), 238.

46. Jarry (*Documents, &c.*), 234 et seq.
47. Sismondi (Rep. It.), V, 117-18.
48. Wiel (*Venice*), 239-43; Okey (*Venice*), 162-3; Brown, 233-43.
49. Heyd, II, 258-9.
50. The Genoese ambassadors were Gentile Grimaldi and Gianone del Bosco. Monfroni, 718.
51. Heyd, II, 259-60.
52. Ven. Arch., Commemorialium, VIII, f. 147 vo. Mon. Spect. hist. slav. merid., IV, 280; 'tria diplomata' ending thus "... scripta del mese mazo, &c." Heyd, 261-2, mentions Francesco Querini as the ambassador of Venice for this purpose.
53. Le Roulx, I, 224, on the ground that the submission of the Signory to the French King had been very recent, asserts that the Genoese contribution could not have been due to French influence alone.
54. Brauner, 11-12.
55. Brauner, 12; Le Roulx, I, 244-5.
56. Stubbs (*Lectures*), 227. Owing to the death of King Leo of Armenia in Paris about the end of November 1393, leaving no children.
57. Mandeville visited Cyprus about 1322, Martoni in 1394. *The Book of Sir John Maundeville* (ed. Th. Wright), 141; *Excerpta Cypria* (ed. C. D. Cobham), 22 et seq.; Stubbs (*Lectures*), 225.
58. Mas Latrie, in the *Biblioth. de l'école des chartes*, T. II, 2<sup>e</sup> série, 130-1.
59. Gibbons' conclusions are given in an enlightening and learned appendix in his *Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, 277-302.
60. *Ibid.*, 184 et seq.
61. Muir's *Mamelukes*, 118-20. Timur's aggressive policy towards the Egyptian Mamelukes and the Ottomans seems to have brought these two powers into closer contact for some decades, although no successful union of their forces ensued for repelling the Tartars.
62. Browne, *Hist. of Persian Lit.*, III, 190 et seq.; P. Sykes, *Hist. of Persia*, II, 126 et seq.

## CHAPTER II

1. An example of such persecutions may be quoted here by way of illustration. In 1391, four 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 frères mineurs; Archives de l'Orient Latin*, T. I, 539-46.

2. Owst: *Preaching in Medieval England*, 56, 61 and 199.

3. 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. Omont's edition of the Paris MS. n.a.f. 10050 in *Not. et extr. des mss. de la Bibl. Nat. et autres bibl.*, 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, 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 Molther in 1529 at Hagenau (vide *Hist. Litt.*, XXV, 505-7).

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

4. 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. français 12,201. Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, pt. II, 264, art. 258; also *Hist. gén. de Paris, Cabinet des MSS.*, T. III, 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 which illustrates its popularity.

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

6. *Ibid.*, 73-5.

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

8. *Ibid.*, 78-80.

9. *Ibid.*, 85.

10. *Ibid.*, 85-6.  
 11. *Ibid.*, 87; *Hist. Litt.*, XXV, 494.  
 12. *Hist. Orient.*, 87-8.  
 13. *Ibid.*, 88-91.

14. In this connexion Hayton says: "Car Moi, qui connois assés bien la maniere des Tartares, je crois fermement que les Tartares donneront aux Chrétienens 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.*, 90.

15. The Georgians were a Roman Catholic people living in the Caucasian uplands. During the fourteenth 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*), 120.

16. 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, however, makes no clear distinction 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.

17. 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, *Songe du vieil pelerin*, *Bibl. Nat. MS. français 22542*. *ib.* I, f. 44 ro. 2.
- (b) Reprisals against the Muslims of Abyssinia and a crusade for the invasion of Egypt, especially in the reign of Zarā Yākoub 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 were adopted in the period of the Crusade of Nicopolis by King David I (1382-1411), who, according to Maqrīzī's history, fought many battles with the Arabs but ultimately sent twenty-two camel-loads of gifts to Sultan Barqūq. Wallis Budge, I, 300-1.

It is interesting to note that in Hayton's lifetime an Abyssinian



envoy of King Weden Aràd (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 the fifteenth century (*Ibid.*, I, 287-8, and 311). Their history as well as the history of the Abyssinian crusading projects remains open for further research.

At still closer quarters in Egypt, the Nubians remained a thorn in the side of the Sultan. Although conquered by the Arabs as early as A.D. 642, reduced to pay tribute (Baḳṭ), and finally converted to Muhammadanism before the end of the thirteenth century, they continued to stir up trouble against Egypt on every possible occasion throughout the fourteenth century. Shuḳair, II, 42; Wallis Budge, I, 103 et seq.

18. *Hist. Orient.*, 91-3.

19. Ibn Khaldūn's *Arabic History*, vol. VI, 399-400; *Chron. du bon duc Loys*, &c., 218 et seq., where al-Mahdiya appears as the 'ville d'Auffrique'.

20. The idea of alliance with the Tartars was not a new one in the fourteenth century. The Armenians were fully aware of its importance at a much earlier date (vide, e.g., Sempad's Chronicle). St. Louis also realized this importance, for while he "sejournoit en Cypre vindrent les messages des tartarins à li et li firent entendant qui il li aideroient à conquerre le royaume de Jérusalem sur les Sarrazins". (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 so draw him to the Church; but the solemnity and mystery of mass did not appeal to the Tartar, and the effort was unavailing. Negotiations and missionary work, nevertheless, were continued in the thirteenth century to win the Mongols to the Church. But Islam finally had the upper hand over Christianity in the Far and Middle East. Cahun, 391-2; see also *Encyc. of Islam*.

21. The chief reason is that "Les Sarrazins font tres bien de cacher leurs dessins: cela leur est utile souvent". *Hist. Orient.*, 95-6.

22. Ashmole MS., 342, ff. 1-6.

23. *Ibid.*, f. 1.

24. *Ibid.*, f. 2.

25. *Hist. Litt.*, XXII, 259 et seq. and XXV, 507-618, contains a detailed analysis and literary criticism of the five original 'chansons de geste',—'Antioche', 'Jerusalem', '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',—'Baudouin de Sebourg' (or 'Bourg', i.e.

Bourges) and 'Le Batard de Bouillon', whose author chooses the reign of the third king of Jerusalem, instead of the first reign as in the case of previous 'chansons', for the second period of his narratives.

26. *Petit de Julleville*, II, 349.

27. *Oeuvres complètes*, &c., I, 138-9. Vide Appendix I.

28. *Vox Clamantis*, Lib. III, Il. 651 et seq., in G. C. Macaulay's edition of Gower's Works, vol. IV, 124-5, 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 foret hoc Cristi que titulatur ei :

Hanc tenet intrusor modo set paganus, ab illa

Thesairis 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," &c.

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.

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

30. Identified as 'Jean de Bourgogne' 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, 177; cf. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life* (8th ed.), 392-3, note 2.

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

32. Ed. Th. Wright, 129.

33. *Ibid.*, 150.

34. *Ibid.*, 151.

35. *Ibid.*, 4-7.

36. *Ibid.*, 8-9.

37. *Ibid.*, 19-20.

38. *Ibid.*, 12;—50 days' provisions for outward, and 100 for homeward, journeys are necessary—the difference being due to favourable and contrary winds respectively.

39. *Ibid.*, 12; September and October are the best, November to January are the worst, months.

40. *Ibid.*, 13-17. These perils are five :

(a) The 'gulph', i.e. squalls caused by irregularities in the height of the coast.

(b) The 'grup', when two winds meet.

(c) The 'shoal'.

(d) The 'fish', sometimes large enough to endanger the safety of ships.

(e) The 'pirates', not infrequent in this period.

41. Jorga, 19 et seq.; Le Roulx, I, 201-8; Brehier, 305-11.

42. Mézières' diplomatic letters, *Bibl. de l' Arsenal MS.*, 499 D, ff. 134 ro.-163 vo. contain ample illustration to support this statement.

43. *Bibl. Mazarine MS.* 1651, ff. 129 et seq.; cf. Jorga, 71-6.

44. Jorga, 74.

45. *Nova Relig. Pass.* (*Bodl. MS. Ash.* 813), ff. 4 ro. et seq. Vide transcription of rubrics in Appendix III.

Other purposes of the Order may be briefly summarized; 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, &c.

46. Molinier (*Manuscripts, &c.*), 340. Mézières holds that celibacy is hard to practise "et specialiter in partibus Orientalibus calides et carnem stimulantibus".

47. *Ibid.*, 263-4.—Huizinga, 79-80, asserts that the first knight to join the Order was a Pole, who, for 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.

48. *Bibl. Nat. MS. fr.* 22542, cap. XV in Lb. III, ff. 336 ro. et seq. For the following references to the 'songe' I am indebted to Professor G. W. Cooplund for the loan of his transcription of the Paris MS. thereof.

49. *Ibid.*, III, 336 vo. 2-337 ro. 1.

50. *Ibid.*, III, 337 ro. 2; "que toutes grans festes, joustes, et vaines assemblées et noces trop sumptueuses du tout en tout soient condempnées".

51. *Ibid.*,—"jeu de déz dont tant maux viennent".

52. *Ibid.*, 337 vo. 1-338 ro. 2.

53. Vide *supra*.

54. *Songe du vieil pélerin*, III, 338 ro. 2;—"en recouvrant a la foy catholique et obeissance de l'eglise de Romme le royaume de Trasse, de Boulgayre, et l'empire de Constantinoble en reprenant les Turcqs et les faire passer le braz Saint Georges".

55. *Ibid.*, —“ l'autre le roy d'Arragon d'Espagne, de Portingal et de Navarre doivent aler a la conqueste du royaume de Granade et passer oultre mer ou royaume de Belle Marie, de Tremesan, de Maroch, et de Thunes ”.

56. *Ibid.*, 338 vo. 1.

57. The following is the text of Mézières' definition : “ Taforesse est un vaisseau de mer qui va a vingt ou a trente advirons 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 troys paulmes d'eaue.” *Ibid.*, 338 vo. 1 and 2.

It is possible that the origin of the French 'taforesse' is the Arab seacraft called 'ṭaifūr'.

58. *Ibid.*, 338 vo. 2.

59. *Ibid.*, 339 ro. 1.

60. *Ibid.*, —“ Et quant a la despence desdictes taforesses pour la despence dune galée armée on aura quatre taforesses.”

61. *Ibid.*, 240 ro. 1.

62. *Brit. Mus. MS. 20-B-VI, f. 8 vo. 1.*

63. *Ibid.*, f. 2 ro., 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, &c.”
- (e) Christianization of the East.
- (f) Appeal to Richard to send his answer 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 Mézières, 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.

64. *B. M. MS. 20-B-VI, f. 3 vo. 2.*

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

66. *Ibid.*, ff. 5 ro.-23 ro.

67. *Ibid.*, ff. 23 ro.-28 ro.

68. *Ibid.*, ff. 28 ro.-38 ro.

69. *Ibid.*, ff. 38 vo.-49 ro.

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

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

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

73. Ibid., f. 27 ro. Mézières appears to approve the 'voie de fait' in the matter of ending the Schism,—“remedier & de fait sans aucun regart ne acceptacion de personne au grant mal . . . pour le salut de vostre mere sainte eglise, &c.”

74. Ibid., f. 1 vo. The idea of union 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 arms of France and England—the blue semé-de-lis, and the red field with the leopards in pale. A large YHS covers both of them.

75. Ibid., f. 28 ro.

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

77. 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 cheualereuse . . .”

78. Ibid., ff. 29 ro. 1 and 32 vo. 2 ; “le dit vieil cheualier en poure habit venoit parmi la sale cornant fort dun grant cor de chasse iusques a la table du Roy malauise, &c.” The old knight also “cornant dun grant cornet de chasse du quel il ne fina .xl. ans de corner as empereurs et Roys et princes de la crestiente voire pour assembler a la chasse de dieu les grans leuriers et chiens courans pour enuair la riche proie par la quele le nom de malauise soit mue, &c.”

79. Ibid., f. 33 ro. 1. “Il vous souuiengne du mont de caluaire du saint sepulcre et des sains lieux arousez de precieux sanc de laignelet occis qui sont souilliez chascun iour par la faulce generacion de mahommet deuant dieu reprouee.”

80. Ibid., ff. 34 vo. and 36 ro. On the latter folio Mézières points out the disgraceful 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, &c.”

81. Ibid., f. 36 ro. 1. “Mais a refourmacion et cure en dieu des grandes maladies et passions au iour duy courans par toute la crestiente.”

82. Ibid., f. 36 ro. 2 and vo. 1 ; “. . . cheualiers et hommes darmes de .vij. langages de toute la crestiente catholique”.

83. Ibid., f. 36 vo.

84. Ibid. "Secondement . . . pour estre fourriere de vos .ij. Royales maiestez. et aler deuant en la terre des ennemis de la foy prendre les pors et les places pour vous requueillir quant vous vendres au saint passage, &c."

85. Ibid., f. 37 ro. 1. "Vostre tres debonnaire et royale deuocion puet auoir este enfourmes plus plainement par uostre tres loyal seruiteur et orateur le dit robert lermite plainement enfourme de la dicte cheualerie."

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

87. John Holland; vide cap. III.

88. Probably Edmund, Duke of York.

89. The Calendar of Patent Rolls, vol. V, 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.

90. 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.

91. Ibid., ff. 81 vo.-82 ro. "Et que plus est quant par la grace de dieu vous aures conqueste turquie egypte et surie. qui sont remplis de toutes manieres de richesses & de delices par la bonte du doulz ihesu. & par la uertu de la foy. uous feres pou de compte de uos royaumes doccident qui sont & frois et engelez & a orgueil et a auarice et a luxure souuentefois enclins et dedies."

92. Ashmole MS. 342, f. 1. "Parce que le Reaume de Jerusalem est apelles le Reaume qui est Rois des Rois (*sic*)."

93. Froissart, XV, 220.

### CHAPTER III

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 Fèvre, 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, 102, doc. No. 5659.

Greek ambassadors also seem to have been present earlier than the Burgundian and Hungarian ambassadors at Venice in 1394. Secr. Cons. Rog. (Ven. Arch. di Stato), E, f. 102 ro.

It is, however, essential to bear in mind that the Greeks showed much indecision with regard to the Turkish war 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 a reminder of 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 Champolleon-Figeac, III, 40, where a document of 29 February 1397, states that an "Aiguière d'argent doré, achetée 24 frans" 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*.

2. *Reynaldus*, XXVI, 584-5.
3. *Ibid.*, 585-6.
4. These were Passau, Ratisbon, Freising, Gurk, Brixen, Chiemsee, Lavant and Seckau. Brauner, 9.
5. L'Abbé Fleury, VI, 285, says that Boniface issued three bulls in 1395 for preaching the crusade in the countries under his obedience.
6. The diocese of 'Eugubinensis' lies in the province of Perugia in Umbria, Central Italy. The bull is addressed to John as "Joanni Dominico de Eugubio ordinis Praedicatorum professori, &c."
7. Page 9.
8. Valois, III, 98-9.
9. *Chron. Majus.*, M.P.G., clvi, 684.
10. *Hist. Byz.*, M.P.G., clvii, 815-16.
11. *Hist. Musulman. Turc.*, 322.
12. *Cronica dell'Origine*, trans. Bratutti, 182-3.
13. *Annales*, 194.
14. *De Sacr. Coron.*, 449; *De Monarchia*, 652.
15. *Rev. Hung. Dec.*, 283 et seq.
16. *Script. Rev. Hung.* (in Schwantnerus), I, 361-2. Thwroc is also quoted by Kervyn in his notes on Froissart, XV, 419-20.
17. Kupelweiser, 12.
18. ". . . parce qu'il ne parloit que grec et qu'il n'y avoit aucun par delà qui entendit son langage." *De Laborde*, III, 102, doc. No. 5659.
19. Page 8.
20. *Rel. pol.*, 340-3.
21. *Hist. des ducs de Bourg.*, II, 152.
22. *Hist. des français*, VII, 78.
23. *Hist. de Flandre*, III, 38 et seq.
24. Page 14.
25. *Fr. en Or.*, I, 229-30.
26. *Mon. spect. hist. slav. merid.*, IV, 338.

27. *Livre des jaicts*, I, 443-4; Le Roulx, I, 163-4, 232.
28. Lucy T. Smith. (Camden Soc., 1896), 147 et seq.
29. 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 Kossovo); *Chron. des Pays-Bas*, &c. (*Corp. chron. Fl.*), III, 294, states that "le fit 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, &c."; *Istore et chron. de Fl.*, II, 415.
30. The Bavyn MS., f. 340.
31. Cons. Rog. (Ven. Arch. di Stato), E, f. 102 ro.; also *Mon. spect. hist. slav. merid.*, IV, 340.
32. Sec. Sen. Deliber. (Ven. Arch. di Stato), E, f. 105 ro.; also *Mon. . . Slav. merid.*, IV, 338-9; and Ven. State Papers, I, 35.
33. Féjer (*Cod. Dipl. Hung.*), X<sub>1</sub>, 348; X<sub>2</sub>, 200; X<sub>6</sub>, 92 and 142. Kanizsay was the Primate of Hungary, and he held the See of Gran from 1387 to 1418. Vide Le Roulx, I, 230. The Bavyn MS., f. 340 vo., states that the embassy consisted of "le sieur Franlzbán" and three knights.
34. Sec. Sen. Deliber. E, f. 108 ro.
35. Sec. Con. Rog. E., f. 109 ro. Pacts of this kind had previously been made between the two powers, but no real co-operation against the Turks ensued from them. See, Con. Rog., E., f. 81 ro. (April 1393) and f. 94 (September 1394).
36. Brauner, 14; Delaville Le Roulx, I, 231.
37. Plancher, T. III, cap. 149, 147, the Bavyn MS., f. 340 vo. specifies the presents as "un fermail d'or à trois grosses perles, et un grand diamant, au milieu, et à chacun des trois autres d'un hanap avec le couvercle d'or".
- According to a document of 7 June 1359, in Champollion-Figeac, III, 40, similar presents costing the Duke of Orleans 1,800 fr. were also given by him to the Hungarian ambassadors.
38. Bavyn's Mem., ff. 340 vo.-341 ro. They were accompanied on these visits by Renier Pot and by Louis Debûre, chief secretary of the Duke of Orleans.
39. Bavyn 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.
40. The *Religieux*, II, 424-7, gives the text of the letter which may be corrupt, but is, nevertheless, the nearest approach to the original.
41. The *Hist. de Boucic.*, I, 443-4, 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.



42. *Hist. de Boucic.*, VI, 444.

43. Bavyn, f. 342 vo.

44. Froissart, XV, 216, refers to three ambassadors; the *Religieux*, II, 424, refers to "quatuor clari milites hungari statura et apparatu magnifico"; Bavyn, 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, 443-4, 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.

45. Delaville Le Roulx, II, 18-20; Plancher, III, 147-8.

46. Vol. I, 239.

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

48. Plancher, III, 149.

49. Froissart, XV, 224.

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

51. Gibbons, 212, appears to fall into two errors 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.

52. Froissart, XV, 220.

53. *Istore et chron. de Fl.*, II, 414.

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

55. Froissart, XV, 230: *Hist. de Boucic.*, VI, 445. The *Religieux*, II, 428-9, 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.

56. *Hist. de Boucic.*, VI, 446.

57. Schiltberger, 3.

58. Königshofen, 814, in Brauner, 17.

59. Bavyn's Mem., f. 347 vo., states that Michel Baudricourt 'maitre de la Chambre aux Deniers du Conte de Neuers' 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 pouoient monter a 10,000 hommes.'

60. Page 17.

61. Page 9.  
 62. Vol. I, 98.  
 63. Vol. I, 237.  
 64. *Hist. de Ven.*, T. II, Liv. I, 104.  
 65. Chamberlain and councillor of Philippe le Hardi. Delaville Le Roulx, I, 237.  
 66. Vide *supra*, note 63, and text of this chapter.  
 67. Brauner, 9, quoting the *Klindenberger Chron.* and the *Annal. Mellic.*  
 68. Petrus de Rewa (*De Monarchia*), 652.  
 69. Strömer, 48.  
 70. Page 10.  
 71. Strömer, 48, says ". . . und seiner (' Ruprecht von Bayern ') muter bruder graff Johans der purkgraff der graff von Zylig."  
 72. Vol. I, 99.  
 73. Brauner, 11.  
 74. Leunclavius, 14.  
 75. *Gesch. des Osman. Reich.*, I, 197.  
 76. Brauner, 11.  
 77. Froissart, XV, 226-7.  
 78. Skeat, vol. IV, *Canterbury Tales*, the Prologue, lines 43-78, pp. 2-3. 'Alisaundre', 'Pruce', 'Lettow', 'Ruce', 'Gernade', 'Belmarye', 'Leys' and 'Satalye' are the respective names given by Chaucer in the text.  
 79. Skeat, vol. IV, 3, lines 64-7.  
 80. Macaulay's ed. of Gower's works, vol. III, 124-5. Vide cap. II.  
 81. *Corp. chron. Fl.*, III, 294.  
 82. Kervyn, Froissart, XV, 111, 224.  
 83. *Chron. relatives a l'hist. de la Belg.*, III, 224.  
 84. M.P.G., T. CLVII, 813-14.  
 85. Attributed to Piero di Giovanni Minerbetti in Tartini II, 364-5; re-edited more carefully in the new *Archivio Muraturiano*, by Elina Bellondi, T. XXVII, pt. II, 208.  
 86. Muratori, XVI, 826.  
 87. Schwandtner, II, 652.  
 88. *Hist. Angl.*, ii, 217.  
 89. *Chron. et Annal.*, 185.  
 90. *Hist. Vitae et Regni Ricardi II*, 130, refers to the rout of the Christians and mentions the name of 'Radulphus Percy' amongst the English at Nicopolis.  
 91. *Arch. Murat.*, op. cit., 208; ". . . e ancora vi fu con lui (Sig.) il figliuolo del Duca di Lancastro Inghilese e zio del Re d'Inghilterra, con mille cavalli di buona gente d'arme".  
 92. *Hist. of Art of War*, II, 348.

93. Vide *supra* footnote no. 31 of this chapter.
94. *Henry IV*, vol. I, 6 and 158.
95. *Ibid.*, III, 261-2, note 14.
96. *Eng. in the Later Mid. Ages*, 303.
97. Lavissee (ed.), *Hist. de Fr.*, IV, 311 and 320-1.
98. *Die Kämpfe, &c.*, 15.
99. Vol. I, 242.
100. Vol. IX, 484 (Tout); XXII, 159 (Pollard), new edition of the *D.N.B.*
101. Froissart, XV, 598; Trokelow, 190.
102. Froissart, XV, 269-70.
103. Foedera, T. III, pt. IV, 93.
104. Papal Registers, IV, 489.
105. Vol. XV, 298.
106. Page 190.
107. Vol. II, 372.
108. *Chron. relatives a l'hist. de Belg.*, I, 33.
109. *Corp. chron. Fl.*, I, 349.
110. M.P.G., vol. clix, 82.
111. *Historia Polonica*, I, 146.
112. *Ibid.*, 146.
113. M.P.G., clxii, 813-14.
114. *Ibid.*, clix, 82.

## CHAPTER IV

1. H. A. Gibbons: *Foundations of the Ottoman Emp.*, 211 et seq.
2. Froissart, XV, 230.
3. Plancher, III, *Preuves*, clxx.
4. *Ibid.*, 149. The *Religieux*, II, 428-9, fixes the march from Dijon about the end of March. Froissart, XV, 229-31 and 398, states that the French crusaders passed through Lorraine on May 20, and the notes on Froissart that Nevers left Paris on the 6th, arrived at Dijon on the 13th, and continued his outward voyage on the 30th August.
5. *Religieux*, II, 430-1.
6. Vol. I, 97.
7. Page 24.
8. Vol. II, 430-1; —“legacioneque peracta ad commilitones alios magnis itineribus contenderunt.”
9. Vol. I, 248; and vol. II, 25.
10. *Le saint voyage de Jherusalem*, 98. Ogier arrived at Venice on 23 May 1396, “Et y sejournasmes 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 oultre 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.

11. Froissart, XV, 244 et seq.

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

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

14. Aschbach, I, 97, is mistaken 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, finds no support in the sources.

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

16. Juvenal des Ursins, II, 408; *Religieux*, II, 484-5.

17. *Mem. de Voiage*, f. 349 ro. & vo.

18. Juvenal des Ursins, II, 408; *Religieux*, II, 482-3.

19. Schlächten, &c., II.

20. Le Roulx, I, 249, referring to Bosio's *Dell' Inst. della S. Relig. de S. Gio. Giros*, II, 153, and the *Arch. of Malta (Lib. Bull. 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. 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 Taisārikh 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. Froissart, XV, 231, says "le roy leur fist grant recueillotte et bonne chiere"; *Hist. de Boucic.*, I, 447, states that the king "tous recent a grant joye et honneur".

26. Thwroc, in Schwandtner, I, 362.

27. *Ibid.*, 362, — "Quo metuendus est nobis homo? Vastum, si coelorum nos pondus rueret, ipsi illud nostris, quas gerimus hastis, ne laederemur sustentare possemus."

28. *Rer. Hung. Dec.*, 386, "... non solum Turci 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 hastez en ceste querre, &c."

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.*, 242-4.

33. *Ibid.*, 244.

34. No precise 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. 1 July, is clearly wrong.

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

36. Ulman Strömer, 48-9; "durch Walachy und kamen fur ein stat, ligt an der Tunaw und haist Siltach (Nicopolis) und lagen langer zeit do fur."

37. Froissart, XV, 245.

38. Vol. XV, 245.

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

40. Vol. XV, 245.

41. Juvenal des Ursins, II, 408: "et fissent maux innumerables de pilleries et roberies, lubricites, et choses non honnestes."

42. *Ibid.*, 408; *Religieux*, II, 482-5.

43. *Religieux*, II, 484-5. "Sed id minime profuit, ac si asino surdo narrassent fabulam."

44. In Schwandtner, I, 363, ThwrocZ begins the campaign with the town of 'Oriszo'.

45. *Notes on Froissart*, XV, 400.

46. Page 11.

47. Page 27.

48. Page 279.

49. ThwrocZ, I, 363, calls it "Bidinio"; 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 Šišman. But as Šišman (see above) had previously fallen out with the Turks and narrowly escaped from Nicopolis, the truth of the assertion becomes improbable. Brauner (27) and Delaville Le Roulx (I, 252) taking Féjer (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. 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, 492-3, "Racho"; the *Latin chron. of Bern in Kervyn*, XV, 408, "civitatem Redesconnensem" (*sic*); Féjer, X, 2, 420, "Orchow" or "Orechovo"; Thwroc, I, 363, refers to "Oriszo et Bidinis".

54. *Religieux*, II, 492-5; *Hist. de Boucic.*, I, 449-52.

55. Juvenal des Ursins, II, 408.

56. *Religieux*, II, 492-3.

57. *Hist. de Boucic.*, I, 449.

58. Vol. II, 492-5.

59. Gibbons (215) erroneously places the fall of 'Orsova' after that of Widdin, and refers to Schiltberger, whose history makes no mention of Orsova, although it refers to the capture of a town between 'Pudden' (Widdin) and 'Schiltaw' (Nicopolis).

60. Schiltberger, 2.

61. Vol. XV, 246-57.

62. Kervyn de Lettenhove, in *Notes on Froissart*, vol. XXIV, 387, and XXV, 233.

63. *Ibid.*, XXV, 233.

64. *Ibid.*, XXIV, 387.

65. *Ibid.*, XXIV, 80.

66. The French sources (Froissart, Boucicaut, Juvenal, the *Religieux*, and the *Serviteur de Gui de Blois*, etc.) call it with slight variation 'Nicopoli'; the German sources (Stromer, Konigshofen, Schiltberger, and the *Annal. Mellic.*) call it Siltach, Schiltach, Schiltaw, Schiltarn and similar names; the Hungarian sources (Thwroc, Bonfinius, and Pray, &c.) call it 'Nicopolis Major' to distinguish it from 'Nicopolis Minor' on the opposite bank of the Danube. The Turkish chroniclers call it Nigheboli (Saad-al-Din and the *Anonymous Chron. in Buchon*, vol. 13, &c.).

Moroni, vol. 28, pp. 22-4, 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 (*νικηπολις*)) 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. (Vide Appendix VIII.) It is situated at forty leagues from Belgradtschi and eighteen from Rahova. (Kervyn's ed. of *Froissart*, XXV, 128.)

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

67. W. Beattie (*The Danube, &c.*), 224. Apart from this account and a quotation from Froissart, the author gives an engraving of the city as it is approached from the Danube, which conveys the impressiveness of Nicopolis as a stronghold. My own approach of the city and the battlefield was made by land along the Danube, following the same route as the crusaders. (See my account in Appendix VIII.)

68. Saad-al-Din, 184.

69. Lussan, III, 154-5.

70. Thwroc (363) says 'Circa festum videlicet sancti Michaelis Angeli', i.e. 29 September; Ducas (Migne), clvii, 813-14, fixes the date at the "sidus caniculæ", i.e. time of the dog-star—midsummer—about mid-July; the *Religieux* (II, 494-5), about mid-September. No one of these dates can 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 (280) the authority of the *Religieux* (September). Both therefore confuse the chronology of the Crusade.

71. *Religieux*, II, 494-5.

72. Delaville Le Roulx, I, 256.

73. *Hist. de Boucic.*, I, 454-5. ". . . et feurent si larges, que trois hommes d'armes pouvoient combattre tout d'un front".

74. *Religieux*, II, 494-7.

75. *Ibid.*, 492-3. "Tantis enim Christiani, emissis omnis generis missilibus, eos opprimebant angustiis, ut ubique periculum, ubique discrimen, &c." Bellaguet, in his French translation, adopts inaccurately the word 'artillery' for 'missilibus'. These may have been arrows. 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, &c.*), III, 225-6; Lacabane (*Poudre à Canon, &c.*), in the *Biblioth. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, I, 2<sup>e</sup> serie (1844), 28-57; Oman, II, 205-22.

77. *Religieux*, II, 496-8.

78. Le Roulx, I, 257.

79. *Religieux*, II, 500-1.

80. Ed. Kervyn, XV, 251-2.

81. *Ibid.*, 252-4.

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., &c.* (ed. Kervyn), vol. I, 35-40.

85. Vol. I, 258.
86. Pages 30-3.
87. Ed. V. Bratutti, 182-3.
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 Schrifttums*, II, 27-8.
90. Ed. Kervyn, XV, 251-2
91. Mus. Brit. MSS. Or. 2902 and 9542; Bibl. Bodl., Marsh 260 (*Kitab al-Sulūk* = Book of Conduct). See also Quatremère: *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Égypte*, écrite en Arabe par Maqrizi.
92. Mus. Brit. Bibl. Rich. MS. 7321 (*Anba al-Ghumr* = Annals of People).
93. John Ryland Library, MS. Arab. 62 (*Tarikh al-Kholafa* = Hist. of Caliphs).
94. Leunclavius, 322; Urūj 28 (vide *supra*, note 89).
95. Page 34.
96. M.P.G. clvii, 814-16.
97. Page 322.
98. That document appears in Katona (*Hist. critica Reg. Hung.*, 1779-1857), IV, 427, quoted by Le Roulx, I, 200, note 1.
99. Leunclavius, 322.
100. *Ibid.*, 322-3.
101. Vide *supra* footnote no. 97; also *Religieux*, II, 502-3.
102. Pages 2 and 110-11.
103. Chalococondylas, M.P.G., clix, 88, says that Bayezid pitched camp within "stadiis quasi quadraginta" of the Danube. (A stade = 125 paces or 625 Roman feet = 606 ft. 9 in. English.)

## CHAPTER V

1. One of the most famous historians of Turkey, von 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 Jonquière, I, 77, gives exactly the same estimate as von Hammer. Brauner, 30, raises the number of the Christians to 100,000, but still stresses the importance of the numerical superiority of the Turks.

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

3. Page 3.

4. Brauner (30) quotes the words of the chronicle—"me denn zwierend hunderttausand phärit". Köhler (23) states that the estimate varied between 30,000 and 200,000.



5. *Chron. d. deutschen Städte, Nürnberg, I, 48.*

6. *Arch. Murat.* (new ed.), vol. XXVII, pt. II, 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 connexion, Le Roulx, I, 265, states that Sozomenus gives the same total number of 35,000 as 'Minerbetti', which appears to be incorrect, since, all that Sozomenus 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 Schoppenchronik, VII, 291.*

8. *Arch. Murat.* (new ed.), vol. XVII, pt. I, 451.

9. Figure quoted by Saad-al-Din.

10. Ed. Bratutti, 184.

11. Page 322.

12. Vol. I, 448.

13. Ed. Kervyn, XV, 242.

14. Cronaca (1350-1472) in *Arch. Murat.* (new ed.), T. XXI, pt. IV, 31.

15. *Chron. d. deutsch. Städte, Strassburg, II, 854.*

16. Page 183.

17. Vide cap. II.

18. Antonio Fiorontino in *Arch. Murat.* (new ed.), vol. XXVII, pt. II, 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. Kiss's estimate (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
	<hr/>
Total . . . . .	<u>120,000</u>

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

26. Vol. XIII, 453.

27. Urūj, ed. Babinger, 28.
28. Ed. Kervyn, XV, 311.
29. Page 2. Schiltberger mentions that the 'Duke of Walachy', 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, &c.*), 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, 503-4.
38. Muratori, XVI, 1162.
39. The following are the estimates of four historians who deal with the crusade:
- |                       |           |                |
|-----------------------|-----------|----------------|
| (a) Brauner (34)      | . . . . . | 120 to 130,000 |
| (b) Köhler (22)       | . . . . . | 200,000        |
| (c) Le Roulx (I, 269) | . . . . . | 110,000        |
| (d) Kupelweiser (23)  | . . . . . | 140,000        |
40. Froissart, XV, 242-44.
41. Vide cap. III.
42. *Hist. de Boucic.*, I, 450. On seeing that the Hungarians had nearly crossed the moat, the marshal retorted in rage: "Certes, . . . grand honte nous seroit si autres gens passoient ce pont devant nous, qui l'avons eu en garde. Or sus, mes tres-chers compaignons et amis, faisons tant en ceste besongne que il soit renom de nous."
43. Vol. XV, 313.
44. Froissart, XV, 314: "veult avoir la fleur de la journee et de l'onneur."
45. *Ibid.*, 313-14; *Religieux*, II, 502-3.
46. Kupelweiser, II, 12.
47. Etymologists have put forward three theories as to the origin 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. turc.*, 186) seems to be the first to connect it with the Greek *τίμαριον*, derived in turn from *τιμη* or 'theme'; and Deny asserts that 'timar' is only an echo of the Byzantine 'proneya' (pronia), the Latin equivalent of which is 'beneficium'.
  - (c) Arabic origin proposed by Balise de Vegener and Trévoux

that 'timar' is connected with 'thimar' (pl. of thamar = fruit), a hypothesis without any historical foundation.

As an institution, Hammer, Worms, Belin and Tischendorf connect the 'timar' with the 'Iqta' 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 origin on the Byzantine influences of their adopted homeland.

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

48. Vide Deny's art. in *Encyc. of Islam*.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.; de la Jonquière, I, 70-71; Köhler, 17-18.

51. Became identical with the Turkish 'aqsha' in fourteenth century (vide art. on monetary system under 'Ala' al-Din Pasha in *Encyc. of Islam*). Probably Byzantine in origin, for *ασπρος* = white, hence silver coin. It is also possible that the modern 'piastre' in Egypt and Palastine is a descendant of the asper. The value of the asper in the fourteenth century is extremely difficult to define, although Sir Charles Oman (*Hist. of Art of War*, II, 340) estimates it at three-halfpence.

52. Lybyer, 101-2, adopts the word 'timarji' for 'timarli'.

53. Page 18.

54. Köhler, 18-19; D'Ohsson, VII, 308-10.

55. Köhler, 19-20. Urūj's account, p. 28, confirms this estimate.

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

57. Vol. VII, 310-62.

58. Pages 18-19.

59. Vol. I, 58.

60. Ed. Schéfer, 268.

61. Ibid., 187, Schéfer, in a footnote admits, on the authority of a Bibl. Nat. MS. (no. 5640, ff. 119-20) entitled "Petit traicte de l'origine des princes des Turqz", that these were Janissaries where an analogous body to the above-mentioned is styled "janniceres".

62. Pages 117-18.

63. *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, II, 483-4.

64. Vol. I, 126.

65. Page 118.

66. Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca*, III, 287-8; also Belgrano, *Atti Soc. Lig.*, XIII, 228; cf. Hasluck, II, 486-7.

67. Köhler, 21.

68. *Ibid.*, 21.

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

70. Carr's version, folios 117 ro.-118 ro.

71. 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 Ramaḍān.
- (e) The 'Hajj' or pilgrimage to Mecca.

A short account of the above appears in Lammens' *Islam: Beliefs and Institutions*, pp. 56-64; see also art. on the Djihād 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 considered by the descendants of the Kharijites as a sixth 'rukṅ' or pillar; but generally speaking, it is regarded as 'fard' 'ala alkifaya', i.e., a duty on the male, free, adult, sound Muslim of sufficient means to reach the army and serve the holy cause.

72. 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 purely religious form of ceremonial employed by the Turks in the declaration of war.

73. The word 'Maktub', which has been adopted in many languages from Arabic, expresses this. It means 'It is written!' i.e. every incident in a man's life is registered before his birth. A naïve representation of this fact appears in the legend that there

is an immense tree in heaven, bearing a leaf for every man. On each leaf, God has caused the man's actions to be 'written', and, with the fall of the leaf, that man's soul passes from the lower to the upper world.

74. *Religieux*, II, 482-5, and 495-8.

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

76. Froissart, XV, 392; "pour luy habileter et aprendre le fait de la guere, car moult estoit simple."

77. *Ibid.*, 293, Kervyn quotes a MS. of the Bibl. de Bourg. (no. 11216) on witchcraft and intercourse with demons, dedicated to Jean-sans-Peur.

78. *Ibid.*, 222; Froissart describes Coucy as "tres-sage et subtil et un chevallier fort imaginatif."

79. The *Religieux*, II, 498. "Erat enim vir providus et discretus, et juxta tradiciones Turcorum supersticiosas Deum timens, quem solitus erat dicere penes se hominum penas et supplicia servare, quociens pretergredebantur leges suas."

80. Vol. VI, 33-4.

81. Ahmad Ibn Hajar el-'Asqalānī (ob. c. A.D. 1448) 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 enjoyed the confidence of the Egyptian 'King-sultan' for a long period. When he retired from office in the year 840 A.H. (circa A.D. 1429), he made it his chief business to write his famous chronicle which he called *Abnā'-al-Ghomr fi Abnā'-al-'Omr*, i.e. The Annals of the Ignorant Man (meaning himself) concerning the People of the Age.

82. Mus. Brit., Bibl. Rich., MS. 7321, f. 139 vo.

83. *Travels and Adventures*, 128.

84. Ed. Schéfer, 218 et seq.

85. Antonio Fiorentino, op. cit., 208-9.

86. D'Ohsson, XII, 370-1: "suivant une ancienne tradition arabe. Adam s'étant plaint à l'Éternel de ce que les oiseaux dérobaient 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.'"

87. Bibl. Nat., MS. fr. 22542, III, f. 242 vo.

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

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

90. The collections preserved in various Continental war museums

does not appear to illustrate 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 practice from boyhood ;

(b) The strength of the individual archer. (Cf. Foglietta, l.c.)

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'Arcq (*Choix de pièces inédites relatives au règne de Charles VI*) mentions 'trois arcs de Turquie' (vol. II, 201, art. 225) and similarly 'cinq arcs de Turquie' (II, 406, art. 281) in an inventory of the possessions of the King of France.

## CHAPTER VI

1. Vol. XV, 265-8.

2. Kervyn, XXIII, 58-60 ; Le Roulx, I, 163. De Roye 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. 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 Philippe 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 Jean de Bordes, 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 Clary 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. Froissart, XV, 268, refers to "laquelle hayne . . . , dont grans meschiefs advindrent en celle saison sur les crestiens".

7. *Religieux*, II, 502-3.

8. Justinger, 183-4.

9. De Lussan, III, 161-2.

10. *Religieux*, II, 502-3.  
 11. *Religieux*, II, 500-1.  
 12. Froissart, XV, 312. ". . . se trairent chascun qui mieulx sur les champs."  
 13. *Ibid.*, 316.  
 14. Page 40.  
 15. Vol. I, 270.  
 16. Vide cap. I.  
 17. Vol. XV, 316.  
 18. *Religieux*, II, 504-5.  
 19. *Ibid.*, l.c.; *Hist. de Boucic.*, VI, 456-7.  
 20. Schiltberger, 109-10; Köhler, 26; Kanitz who visited the battlefield and city of Nicopolis at an early date, is quoted by the English editor of Schiltberger and by Köhler. Vide Appendix VIII.  
 21. De Lussan, III, 169; Brauner, 42. These included Raoul de Gaucour, aged 22, son of the bailiff of Rouen.  
 22. *Annal. Mediol.*, in Muratori, XIV, 826. The reference to St. George illustrates the strength of the English element in the Crusade.  
 23. *Religieux*, II, 504-7; *Hist. de Boucic.*, I, 485,—“Nous laisserons nous, s'écrie-t-il, tuer ici lâchement; courons à l'ennemi pour éviter ses flèches.”  
 24. Page 42.  
 25. Pages 25-6.  
 26. Vol. I, 274.  
 27. *Ibid.*, 275, footnote 3.  
 28. Vol. II, 351, Sir Charles and Delbrück seem to agree on this.  
 29. Vol. XV, 315 et seq.  
 30. Vol. VI, 415 et seq.  
 31. In Schwandtner, I, 363-4; also Kervyn, XV, 420-1.  
 32. *Rev. Hung. Dec.*, 386.  
 33. The two passages from the *Religieux* are:  
 (a) “. . . dum circa horam diei tertium et armigeri arma capeserunt, et ut levius pedestres possent incedere, rostra longa et superflua amputarunt, &c.” (II, 502-4).  
 (b) “Nam clamore terribili pro signo congressionis emisso et imisso grandine sagittarum, cum cominus nostri post accedente et demissis lanceis in hostes insurrexissent, a pallis fixis plurimi impediuntur, a quibus transfixi equi sessores suos Turcorum exposuerunt gladiis. At ubi, ipsis violenter abscisis et avulsis, ad solitum genus pugne perventum est, bellum instauratur, nostrique se mutuo ad audacium adhortantes, &c.” (II, 506-7.)  
 For reference to Schiltberger, see following footnote.  
 34. Page 3.

35. *Religieux*, II, 506-7.

36. *Ibid.*, 506-9.

37. *Ibid.*, 506-9.

38. *Ibid.*, 508: "Qui revera, ut refferunt qui secreta facti norunt, animo christianorum destitisset, nisi per sequentem modum eorum insolentiam percepisset."

39. *Religieux*, II, 508: "nam de suis viribus presumentes, sic indomitum fortune caput subcubuisse credebant, quod nil adversi incidere posse estimabant, donec more suo cito ad yma rotam volvens temeritatis sue mestos exitus perceperunt".

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

This was of course a commonplace of medieval reflection. See for example the wheel of fortune as represented in Honoré Bonet's *Arbre de batailles*.

40. *Religieux*, II, 510: "Qui quasi leones hucusque accesserant, leporibus timidiores effecti, &c."

41. *Ibid.*, 503-4; Ducas (M.P.G.), clvii, 815-16, says these numbered 10,000.

42. *Hist. Musulmana Turc.*, 322.

43. Vide footnote no. 68, cap. IV.

44. *Religieux*, II, 512-13.

45. *Hist. de Boucic.*, VI, 463.

46. *Religieux*, II, 514-15.

47. Vol. XV, 318.

48. *Ibid.*, 514-15.

49. 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 François; et, se ils m'eussent creu, nous avions gens a plenté pour combatre nos ennemis."

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

Also the *Istove 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".

51. Schiltberger, 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.

52. Schiltberger, 3 and 111, calls him 'the Duke of Iriseh',



meaning perhaps 'Serbia'. The word 'Iriseh' 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: Rassia, Raxia, Rassie, Rascie, Rascenses, Sclavonia and Sclavenia. Vide Jireček: *Staat und Gesellschaft*, &c., vol. II, 1-2.

53. The figure of 15,000 appears in Schiltberger, 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.

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

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

56. *Ibid.*, 197.

57. In Schwandtner, I, 264 et seq.

58. *Rev. Hung. Dec.*, 387: ". . . Xerxes profecto fatum nactus qui contemto maris imperio, parvo navigio in Asiam relatus est."

59. Strömer, I, 49; *Res Gestae*, XV, 409, 10.

60. Dlugosz, I, 146, gives an account of a certain Polish knight called Swantoslaus, 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. Dlugosz then asserts that in such a state and despite the torrential flow of the river and the weight of his armour, Swantoslaus swam across the Danube and saved his life.

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

61. Page 184.

62. *Annal. Est.*, in Muratori, XVIII, 936.

63. *Chron. der deutsch. Stadte*, Nurnberg, I, 359.

64. *Specimen Historia*, Murat, XVI, 1162.

65. Page 5.

66. *Chron. d. deutsch. St.*, Nurnberg, I, 49.

67. Page 32.

68. *Arch. Murat.*, vol. XXVII, pt. II, 209.

69. Ed. Kervyn, XV, 410.

70. *Ibid.*, 327.

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

72. Vol. II, 518-19.  
 73. Vol. I, 199-201.  
 74. *Hist. of Art of War*, II, 353.  
 75. *Turkish Emp.*, 50.  
 76. *Hist. of Near East*, 198.  
 77. *Religieux*, II, 512-13; Froissart, XV, 320-2.  
 78. Onsgorius, in *Rev. Boic. Script.*, I, 375; Trimethius, *Chron. Duc. Bav.*, I, 117; of Brauner, 48.  
 79. Vol. XV, 323.  
 80. Vol. VI, 463.  
 81. *Arch. Murat.*, vol. XXVII, pt. II, 209, gives the number of the fallen Turks as 60,000.  
 82. *Spec. Hist.* (op. cit.), 1162, gives the same number as Antonio Fiorentino, i.e. 60,000.  
 83. Vol. II, 409.  
 84. Vol. II, 518-19.  
 85. Schiltberger, 4.  
 86. Tuesday, 26 September 1396.  
 87. Schiltberger, 4.  
 88. Froissart, XV, 324; and XXI, 537-8. 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 and 284.  
 89. Juvenal des Ursins (in Michand et Poujoulat, II, 409) says that Nevers was saved from the massacre, thanks to "un Sarrasin, nommé Nigromancien, devin, ou sorcier, qui dist qu'on le souvast, et qu'il estoit taillé de faire mourir plus de chrestiens que la Basac, ny tous ceux de leur loy ne scauroient faire". Although the veracity of the source for this statement is doubtful, the later events in French history justify its purport.  
 90. Schiltberger, 5.  
 91. *Ibid.*, 5 and 112. Schiltberger makes special mention amongst the massacred of 'Stephen Synuher', 'Hanssem Bodem' and 'Hanssem Grieff'. The first may perhaps be identified with Stephen Simontornya, nephew of Stephen Laczković 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."

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

93. *Ibid.*, VI, 466-7; Froissart, XX, 327-8, says that Nevers conveyed the same meaning "en comptant d'une main en l'autre"; Rabbi Joseph, I, 253.

94. Page 5.

95. *Religieux*, II, 518-19.

96. Schiltberger, 5.

97. *Ibid.*, 6; *Hist. de Boucic.*, VI, 467.

98. M.P.G., clix, 83.

## CHAPTER VII

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

2. Schiltberger, 6.

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

4. *Chron. Rag.* (op. cit.), 182, "Ed essendo li 19 decembre con due galere veneziane arrivato sotto l'isola di Calamotta, fu della repubblica per mezzo di tre nobili complementato ed invitato degnarsi venire veder la citta di Ragusa. Accettato l'invito, entro alli 21 dello stesso mese." Lucius, in Schwandtner, III, 417, "fuga Constantinopolim delatus, in Dalmatiam Ragusam 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 Ragusan chronicle, which seems to have been unknown to Le Roulx, concerning occurrences in Ragusan waters.

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 'Tininii' and the 'Strigonii'.

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

9. Ser Guerriero da Gubbio, *Arch. Murat.*, T. XXI, pt. IV, 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, 331-2.

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

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

13. Mas Latrie, 159.

14. *Ibid.*, 161-2.

15. *Ibid.*, 162-3.
16. *Ibid.*, 163-5.
17. *Ibid.*, 165-6.
18. *Ibid.*, 166-7.
19. Champollion-Figéac, III, 39-40.
20. Mas Latrie, 167-9. Philippe was killed in the battle, and Henri died of the plague.
21. Froissart, XV, 228-9.
22. *Ibid.*, 232-6; *Religieux*, II, 520-3.
23. *Hist. de Boucic.*, VI, 468-9.
24. Mas Latrie, 168-9.
25. The embassy consisted of Pierre Fresnel, Bishop of Maux, le comte de St. Pol, Francis de Sassenage, Pierre Beauble, Siffroy Tholon and Arnoul Boucher-Jarry (*Origines de la dom. fr. à Gênes*, 224-5).
26. The two letters appear in Mas Latrie, 168-70.
27. Two days' journey from Brusa to the west of lake Ulabad (Leopardium), cf. Le Roulx, I, 301.
28. Delaville Le Roulx, I, 300-2.
29. Bavyn's Mem., ff. 351-2; of Le Roulx, I, 302.
30. Seigneur de Fouvans (Fouvent-le-Haut, Haute-Saone).
31. Froissart, XV, 338-9; Le Roulx, II, 26.
32. Le Roulx, I, 202-3.
33. Champollion-Figéac, III, 40; *Chron. de la traison et mort de Richart*, &c., 165-6, note 1; document dated 13 January 1396.
34. Le Roulx, II, 26-32, reproduces a long extract from the *Comptes de Pierre de Montbertaut* which specifies some of the various presents valued at 8769 fr. 7 s. t. Compare with Bavyn in Appendix V—A and B.
35. Kervyn, XV, 427: "selles à arçons d'ivoire couvertes d'étoffes precieuses fixées par clous d'or ou l'on voyait aux quatre coins de grosses roses d'or pendantes". Bavyn's Mem. ff. 353 ro.-354 ro.; vide Appendix V—B.
36. Arch. de la Côte d'Or, E. 1511, f. 140;—cf. Le Roulx, I, 303.
37. Mém., f. 351 vo.
38. Froissart, X, 337 et seq. The chronicler says, 337, that Helly remained in Paris about twelve days before his return to the East.
39. *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—'Amedeo V of Savoy'.
40. Le Roulx, I, 304, according to a Bibl. Nat. MS. of the Coll. de Bourg., vol. 104.

41. Vol. XV, 348-52 and 358.
42. Vide *supra*.
43. Vide *infra*.
44. Le Roulx, II, 38-40; *Pièces justificatives*, no. XII.
45. *Hist. de Boucic.*, VI, 471-2; Le Roulx, I, 306.
46. Froissart, XVI, 52, erroneously states that the death of Guy de la Tremouille took place during the return journey of the captives after their release. Kervyn, XVI, 264, corrects this error in his notes on Froissart. Guy's death occurred on the octave of Easter.
47. Miller (*Latin Orient*), 320; Le Roulx, I, 308.
48. The ducat according to the *Dict. of Pol. Econ.*, vol. I, 664, equals 11.85 francs.
49. *Hist. de Boucic.*, VI, 472; Miller, 320. The chronicler of Boucicaud says that Bayezid released the Marshal after his return from Rhodes, but he preferred to stay in prison with his companions.
50. Froissart, XVI, 31-5 and 352-5. The *Chron. Fland.*, I, 350, mentions this item amongst the presents made by the French.
51. Le Roulx, I, 311.
52. Froissart, XVI, 40; Juvenal des Ursins, II, 410. *The Hist. de Boucic.*, VI, 473-4, to raise the value of the achievements of the Marshal, asserts that he persuaded Bayezid to reduce his first demand of a ransom of a million francs to 150,000 fr.
53. Vol. I, 312. For exact estimate, see footnote 50 of this chapter. The ducat and the 'florin d'or' were of equal value.
54. Bavyn's Mem., f. 356 vo.; cf. Le Roulx, I, 311.
55. The document is preserved in the 'Arch. de Lille' and is edited by Kervyn, XVI, 261-2.
56. *Ibid.*, 262.
57. There is no record of any Franco-Turkish treaty after Nicopolis in either Noradounghian, de Testa, or du Mont.
58. Kervyn, XVI, 47; Froissart says that the speech was addressed to them through a Latin interpreter. Th. Johnes' translation of this passage (Hafod edition, vol. IV, 568-9) is reproduced here with some slight modification in wording.
59. De Barante, II, 210.
60. Froissart, XVI, 41-2.
61. Le Roulx, I, 315.
62. *Ibid.*, 316, gives the time of their stay as from 5 July to 15 August 1397.
63. Froissart, XVI, 48-52.
64. Froissart, XVI, 52-6. As he changes the normal geographical order, his account has to be subjected to modification.
65. Vol. I, 317.
66. Died at Brusa on 18 February 1397, long before the release of the captives. His heart was brought to France by Jacques Wilay,

châtelain de Saint-Gobain, and was buried in the monastery of the Celestines of Villeneuve near Nogent. Le Roulx (*Les Legs d'Eng.*, &c.), 1-8; also (*La Fr. en Or.*), I, 313; Lacaille (Vente de Baronnie de Coucy), in *Bibl. de l'Ec. des Charles*, LX (1894), 573-97; Kervyn, XXI, 38-43; *Art de vérifier les dates*, III<sub>2</sub>, 257-9. Deschamps laments his death in a ballad which throws light on Coucy's character—Appendix I.

67. Vide *supra*. His remains were brought to France by Pierre Valée 'garde de la monnoye de Troyes', who was authorized by a royal ordinance of 22 June 1398, to leave his offices to the care of a certain John Muteau, 'essayer deladicte monnoye', during his absence on this mission; *Ordonnances des Rois*, &c., VIII, 215-16. Pierre Valée and others received 300 fr. from M<sup>me</sup>. de la Tremouille on 23 June 1398, to bring back the body of her husband from Rhodes; *Les la Tremouille pendant cinq siècles*, 86; Kervyn, XXIII, 210-12.

68. 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 statue 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 vérifier les dates*, III<sub>2</sub>, 334; Kervyn XXI, 172.

69. Died of the plague in November 1397. *Ibid.*, I, 318; *Hist. de Boucic.*, VI, 475-6.

70. *Mém. 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.

71. *Ibid.*, f. 361 vo.; Oudot Douay's accounts, *Bibl. Nat. Coll. de Bourg.*, vol. 100, f. 3 (cf. Le Roulx, II, 88-90).

72. Froissart, XVI, 273-4 and 372-4; Le Roulx, I, 319-20.

73. This figure is adopted by Le Roulx, I, 323, and is perhaps the nearest approximation to the truth.

74. Le Roulx, II, 43-5; *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.)

75. *Ibid.*, I, 323; at Mikalidsch on 24 June 1397 (*B.N.*, Coll. de Bourg., vol. 92, ff. 720-1).

76. *Ibid.*, II, 87 et seq., *Pièces justificatives*, XXIII.

77. Le Roulx, I, 323-4 (*Arch. of Malta*, and Bosio's *Dell'istoria*, &c., II, *passim*).

78. *Ibid.*, II, 46 and 87-95, *Pièces justificatives*, XV and XXII.

79. This took place on 28 April 1403. *Ibid.*, I, 324-5 (*Arch. de la Côte d'or*. B. 11876, liasse 31, cote 132).

80. *Pièces justificatives*, X, in Le Roulx, II, 34-5.

81. *Pièces justificatives*, XIII, in Le Roulx, II, 41-2.

82. Plancher, III, *Preuves*, clxxxiii, clxxxiv and clxxxix; also *Pièces justificatives*, XI, in Le Roulx, II, 36-7.

83. Le Roulx, I, 327-34.

## CHAPTER VIII

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, 327-84.

2. Constantinople appears as Istambul, Istambol or Estambol in the works of Shehabeddin (f. 72 ro.), Petite de la Croix's transcription of Sherefeddin (IV, 37), Vattier's translation of Ibn Arabshah (124), Telfer's Schiltberger (119), Clavijo (89 and 349, note 11), and Wylie (Henry IV, I, 156, notes 1 and 2). This is often interpreted as being a derivation from *ἐς την πόλιν*, i.e. into the City—implying great city; but Dr. Gibbons (199, note 2) shows that Istambul is only the natural contraction of Constantinople by the Greeks with the 'I' prefixed to it by the Turks who cannot pronounce the initial 'St' without placing the vowel before it. I have noticed further that some Muslim writers convert Istambul into Islambul, and thus the City of Constantine becomes the City of Islam in some of their works. See, e.g., al-Idfawi (al-Badr al-Safir, Vienna MS. 733), vol. II, f. 309 vo.

3. It would be irrelevant to attempt a full survey of the treatment of what may be termed 'nationalism' or perhaps more accurately '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 defence 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 aux anglois." *Brit. Mus. MS. 20-B-VI, f. 15 vo. 2.*

4. Vol. I, 204 et seq.

5. Gregorovius (*Gesch. der Stadt Athen, &c.*), I, 241 et seq., and II, 219 et seq.; also art. on 'Morea' in *Encyc. of Islam*.

6. Pages 7 and 113.

7. Probably 'Dhahir Barqūq', styled by contemporaries 'al-Sultan al-Malik', i.e. the Sultan king. 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 Farīdūn's collection, vol. 1, 137-9.

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 ; Maqrizī, Bodleian MS. Marsh, 260, year 799 A.H. (non-foliated) ; al-Jazarī, B.M. MS. Or. 2433, ff. 277 vo. et seq. ; Ibn Qāḍī Shubba, B.N. MS. fonds arabe 1599, fo. 120 vo. ; al-Jowhari, Cairo MS. Hist. 116 M. fo. 51 vo. General references to Turkish conquests on European soil may be found in Ibn Khaldūn, vol. V, 561-3 ; and Qal-alqashandī, vol. V, 367 et seq., and vol. VIII, 15.

9. al-'Aini, B.N. fonds arabe, MS. 1544, ff. 168 vo. et seq. ; *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi* (ed. Mas Latrie), 1ère partie, 499 et seq., and 2<sup>ème</sup> partie, 269 et seq.

10. Maqrizī'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, 87 et seq.

11. *Papal Letters*, IV, 308.

12. Pub. Rec. Office. MS. E. 101, Bundle 330, No. 17.

13. *Letters of Henry IV*, 56-7.

14. *Confessio Amantis*, Lib. IV, 11.1674-81, 346. (Macaulay's edition of Gower's works, vol. II).

15. *Piers Plowman* (Skeat's edition), Text B, Passus XV, lines 386-8.

16. *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 corn from his ears whilst he was preaching, Muhammad asserted that the dove was bringing him messages from God. This story may also be found in Vincent of Beauvais : *Speculum Historiale*, Lib. XXIII, c. 40.

17. *Ibid.*, lines 484 et seq.

18. An English version of 'The Tree of Battles' is now being prepared for publication by Professor G. W. Coopland, to whom I am indebted for its use. Vide also article by Professor Coopland on 'The Tree of Battles' in *Rev. d'Hist. du Droit*, T. V, fasc. 2, 173 et seq.

19. *Tracts and Treatises of John de Wycliffe*, edited by R. Vaughan, 70 (On the Seven Deadly Sins) and 74 (De Ecclesiae Dominio).

20. *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, edited by T. Arnold, vol. 1, 367, Sermon CVII.



21. *Ibid.*, vol. III, 140-1.

22. An example of the futile efforts of the papacy 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, 1485), 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 ro.-119 ro.

(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) Fifteenth-century "Oratio Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi habita in conuentu Mantuano ad suadendum bellum contra Turchos" making special mention of the possibilities of union between the Germans and the French.

Brussels, Bibl. van Hulthem MS. 15564, ff. 1 ro. et seq.

(e) "Responsum Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi datum in Consilio Mantuano oratoribus Caroli Regis Franciaë." The Pragmatic Sanction and the Crusade are the chief subjects treated in this document. *Ibid.* MS. 15565, ff. 19 ro.-43 vo.

(f) "Responsum Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi Datum Romae Oratoribus Ludouici Regis Franciaë" on the possibility of the expulsion of the infidels from the Holy Land. *Ibid.*, MS. 15566, ff. 44 ro.-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 Kruistochtpannen van Philips den Goede*; Rotterdam, 1918.

23. "Lamentacio super Jerusalem de negligencia christianorum", composed by Philippe de Mézières. Librairie du Louvre MSS. A899, B902, D547, E579, F534; cf. Delisle: *Hist. Gén. de Paris*, T. III, 162, Art. 1042.

24. Kervyn has edited the largest and most important parts of this work in vol. XVI, 444-525, of his *Oeuvres de Froissart*. See also Bibl. Bodl., Ashmole MS. 342.

## APPENDIX IV

1. 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, cxlxxxiii) gives letters addressed to Jean de Vergy, Thebaud de Rye and Drève Félice (2 July 1396) which 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.

2. 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 Bavyn MS., f. 343 ro., the contribution of Artois was 35,000 l.

3. Plancher reproduces the total sum, i.e. 40,000 fr. (III, 147). But as the Duke ordered a debt of 20,000 fr. due 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.

4. Plancher, III, 148, says that Senlis had to pay 12,000 fr.

5. Ibid., 148, mentions the sum of 14,239 livres; and the Bavyn MS., f. 343 ro., mentions 30,000 l. from the County of Burgundy alone.

6. Le Roulx, II, 19, gives the approximate total of 220,000 fr.

7. The Bavyn MS., f. 343 vo., estimates the royal aid at 100,000 l.

8. Le Roulx, II, 19.

9. Arch. du Nord, chambre du Compte de Lille, B. 1860 no. 42 (t. IV). Cf. Le Roulx, II, 21.

10. Le Roulx, II, 21-2.

11. Ibid., Preuve no. 5, p. 20. (Arch. Départ. du Nord. B. 1241.)

## APPENDIX VI

1. In a running commentary on the margin of f. 347 ro. of the 'Mem. du voyage', Bavyn says that at the time of the ordinance "les années ne commençoient à se compter en France, qu'après 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 Bavyn MS., ff. 343 ro. and 347 ro., reads 28 March in conformity with the original document.

2. Bavyn MS., ff. 246 vo.-247 ro.

3. Bavyn MS., f. 245 vo.

## APPENDIX VII

1. Vol. II, 500.
2. Vol. XV, 312.
3. In *Coll. de chron. Belges inédites*, ed. Kervyn, II, 419.
4. Ed. Kervyn, in Froissart XV, 410. Le Roulx, I, 270, confuses this with *Die Berner of Chronik* Justinger which mentions only the year of the battle. Kervyn regards it as a Swiss source, but Moravillé's *Chronographia* proves its French origin.
5. Hegel (ed.), *Chron. . . Städte*. Nürnberg, I, 50.
6. Le Roulx, I, 270.
7. *Mon. Ger. Hist. Script.*, IX, 514.
8. In Schwandtner, I, 196.
9. B.M. MS., Or. 2433, f. 278 ro. An interesting, but historically meagre account of the battle and the victory of Bayezid is made in ff. 277 vo.-283 ro. According to Ibn al-Jazari's biography given in 'al-Shaqâiq al-No'māniya' (Camb. MS. Dd. ii.ii, ff. 13 ro.-14 ro.), he was born at Damascus on 25 Ramaḍān, 751 A.H. (= 15 November 1351 A.D.), learned the Qur'ān in 764 A.H. (circa A.D. 1363), performed the pilgrimage to Mecca in 768 A.H. (c. A.D. 1367), went to Egypt in 769 A.H. (c. A.D. 1368) where he collected the ten, twelve and thirteen readings of the Qur'ān, returned to Damascus and left for Bayezid's court at Brusa in 798 A.H. (c. A.D. 1396) where he received honours. He was captured by Timur in 805 A.H. (c. A.D. 1402) 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. A.D. 1404) visited Mecca and Medina, and died after his return to Shiraz in Persia on Friday, 1 Rabi' al-Awal 833 A.H. (Friday 2 December, A.D. 1429.) He wrote numerous works in poetry and prose, on grammar and syntax, on fiqh (Muslim theology) and Ḥadīth (the Prophet's sayings), on tradition and Qur'ān 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, along with a number of horses, women and slaves, a daily allowance of '150 dirhams'.—Vide Maqrīzī, vol. III of *Kitāb al-Sulūk* (762-810 A.H.), Bodl. MS., Marsh 260, under year 799 A.H.; Ibn Qāḍī Shubba, vol. II, *Bibl. Nat.*, fonds arabe 1599, f. 129 vo; Ibn al-Furāt, vol. VIII, *Nationalbibl.* (Vienna), A.F. 125, f. 223 ro. and vo.

## APPENDIX VIII

1. In the present Appendix are embodied the results of a visit to the city and battlefield of Nicopolis, of my consultation with the Bulgarian archaeologists and historians, and 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.

2. Vide cap. IV, note 66.

3. The following are some of the works of reference in which this erroneous theory has been accepted: Larousse du xx<sup>e</sup> siècle, V, 76; Haydn's *Dict. 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.

4. Pick, *Antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien*, I, 328 et seq.; Welkow, *Roman City in Bulgaria* (in Bulgarian), 1-28.

5. Welkow, 4, 7 and 9, and plates 1-4; Filow, *L'art antique en Bulgarie*, 51, 54, 59 and 72; *Bulgarie*, 133. The last work includes the statement that 381 Roman coins have been discovered in the ruins of 'Nicopolis ad Istrum'.

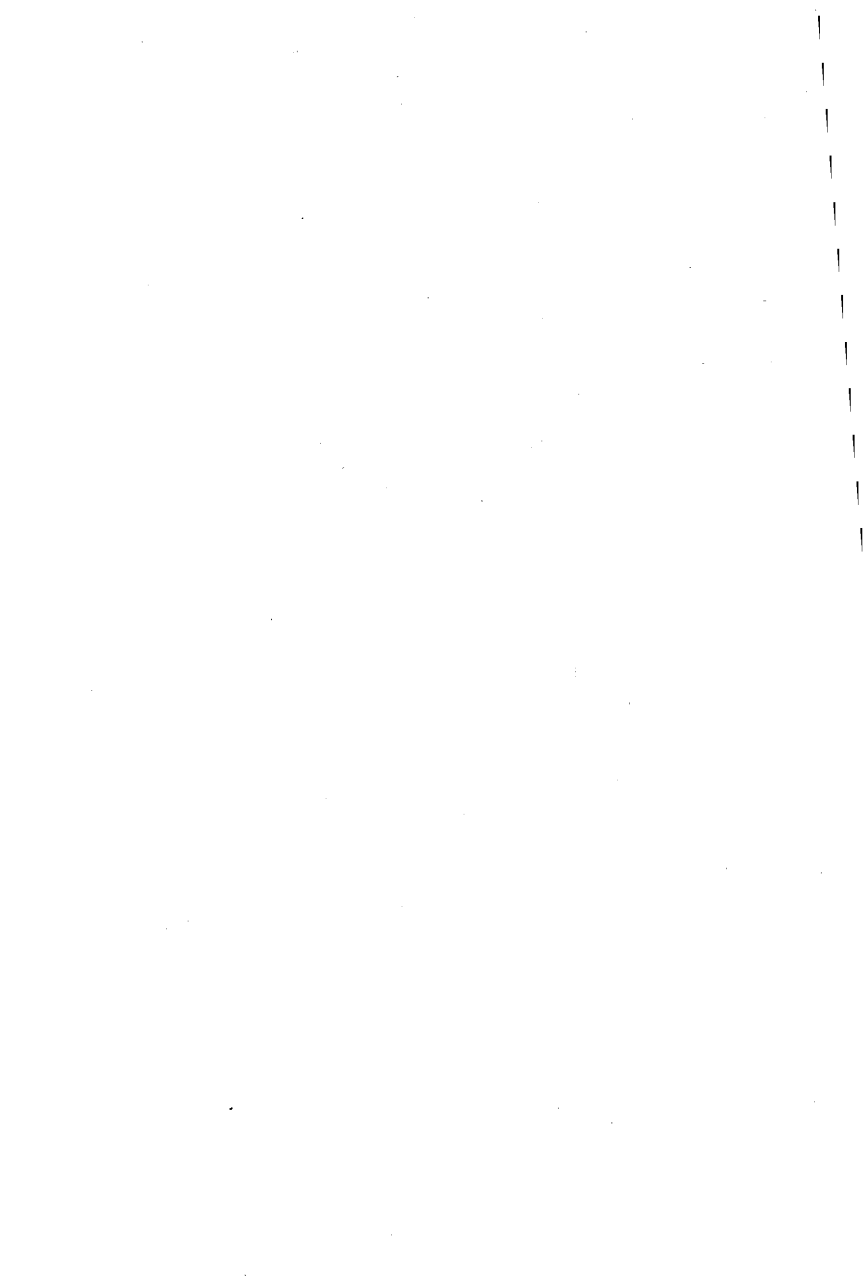
6. *Bulgarie*, 191. The plan of this church appears in Protitch: *L'architecture religieuse bulgare*, 32.

7. Pick and Welkow (vide *supra*, note 4); *Bulgarie*, 191.

8. Vide *supra*, section 2 and note 8 of this appendix.

9. Kerchoff, *Minorités étrangères, &c.*, 1-2, states that the Turks in Bulgaria in 1924 were 10.74 per cent. of the whole population, and that these lived in the extreme north and extreme south of that country.

10. *Minorités en Bulgarie*, Assoc. bulg. pour la paix et la soc. des nations, 3 et seq., gives statistics to that effect.



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## I GENERAL WORKS OF REFERENCE.

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

## II OFFICIAL AND LITERARY SOURCES : MANUSCRIPT.

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## III OFFICIAL SOURCES IN PRINT.

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3. German and Swiss.
4. Italian.
5. Hungarian, Dalmatian and Croatian.
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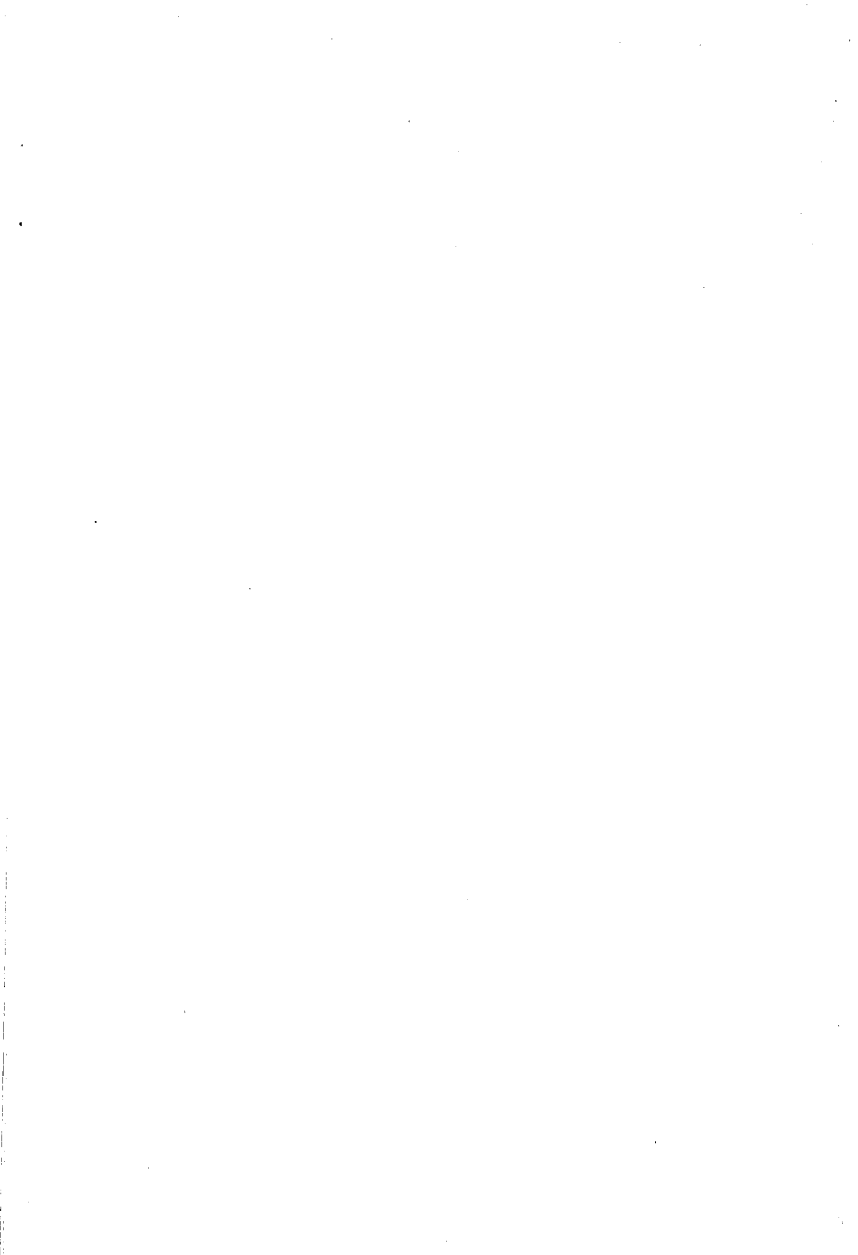
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