

Crusades – Subsidia

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8 Tīmūr and the 'Frankish' powers

Michele Bernardini

1395: the first encounter

The European powers and Tīmūr (Tamerlane, r. 1370–1405), negotiated several alliances during the last decade of the Central Asian conqueror's long military career.¹ According to the eastern sources these alliances were confined to Byzantium and the Latin powers, the *Ifrangs* or *Ifranjs* (Franks) as the western Christian powers were called in the Timurid chronicles.² Up to 1395 the same sources described all Christian powers as enemies, and various Christian peoples were systematically attacked by the conqueror in the period leading up to this date.³ In this preliminary phase the Timurid chronicles mention some Slavonic peoples, the Latin Christians and the Eastern Christians as a whole.⁴ They showed a confused perception of these regions, all of which were the object of a comprehensive jihad, albeit one that sometimes remained notional. The Armenians and Georgians alone were the target of an actual jihad. The Georgian king Bagrat V was captured and forced to convert to Islam in 788/1386 by Tīmūr;⁵ as for the Armenians, they fell victim to Timurid incursions in the Caucasus and eastern Anatolia.⁶

A change of attitude occurred from 1395, the year of Tīmūr's last campaign against Toqtamish Khān, lord of the Golden Horde. This episode was the final clash in a protracted war begun nine years earlier (787/1386) at the time of Toqtamish's invasion of Tabriz.⁷ The conflict of 1395 led to the destruction of all the main towns of the Toqtamish khanate. These included various Italian trading posts on the Volga and Don rivers, above all Saray, Astrakhan and Tana. Tīmūr apparently spared Caffa, despite the fact that its inhabitants were considered allies of Toqtamish from an earlier period. During the siege of Tana (Azov) Tīmūr met with European envoys, who were sent to save the European trading bases (*comptoirs*) in the town. The envoys failed to achieve their objective, but the occasion was probably the first encounter of significance between Tīmūr and Europeans, although isolated individuals may well have met him just before this date.⁸

This first approach is described by the *Cronaca di Treviso*, written by Andrea Redusio de Quiero,⁹ and completed in 1460. With a few exceptions, this source has been neglected by scholars.¹⁰ Redusio reports the description given by Pietro, one of three sons of Giovanni Miani from Treviso, who together with the Genoese Giovanni

Andrea was an eyewitness to Tīmūr's capture of Tana. During the approach of *Tamberlanus* to the town, after the destruction of *Turchia* (sc. the Golden Horde's domains), merchants from Venice, Genoa, Catalonia, Biscay and other countries who sought refuge in the town, held a meeting (*consilium*) and finally decided to send Tīmūr one envoy representing each group, carrying presents. The envoys eventually reached Tīmūr's encampment, which is described as a sort of town made up of tents; in its centre stood Tīmūr's own pavilion, richly decorated with gold and silk.¹¹ To reach it the envoys had to traverse three large enclosures (*claustra*), all of which were guarded by a large number of soldiers. In the third enclosure were the court mistresses, clothed in the Persian way, 'for the satisfaction of Tīmūr's sexual lust'. The author of the *Cronaca di Treviso* here introduces a description of a large golden tree with golden leaves jingling in the wind, producing a musical effect.¹² Redusio also describes the carpets hung up in the encampment, as well as various precious artefacts in the areas that led to the throne hall. After depositing their shoes, cloaks and hats, the envoys prostrated themselves three times in the presence of Tīmūr, exclaiming: *Ave Rex Regum et Dominus dominantium*, a formula designed to evoke the title of *Shāhinshāh* (King of kings), and probably an echo of Timurid protocol. They offered their gifts to Tīmūr, imploring the safety of the 'Franks' of the town of Tana and protection for their commercial activities.

According to the *Cronaca di Treviso*, Tīmūr was seated between two Franciscan friars.¹³ He showed his guests a very large basin, with a capacity of five *metretes* (around 190 litres), made of *carbunculum* (a sort of ruby) and full of wine. This he offered to the envoys to drink. Then he enquired of them whether any king or lord of the 'Franks' possessed a basin of such size and value. They answered that no western king could boast of such a basin. Tīmūr explained that his basin came from the Persian emperor (*Imperatore persarum*).¹⁴ Tīmūr gave the emissaries permission to return to Tana. With them he sent one of his nobles (*proceribus*), who feigned affability and showed particular interest in the galleys and other ships, and the goods on sale in the markets, some of which he bought. After this reconnaissance he returned to the court of Tīmūr, who just a few days later assaulted the town and pillaged all the merchandise. Some of the western merchants managed to escape to sea on their galleys, while others were captured and released on payment of a ransom to Tīmūr. The *Cronaca di Treviso* also reports the evidence of the Genoese Giovanni Andrea who described a curious episode, which he had probably misunderstood. This was the visit by an obscure ambassador of a 'great emperor' (*maximi imperatoris*), in front of whom Tīmūr allegedly knelt, using assistance to do so due to his lameness.¹⁵

1395–1399: a change of approach in Tīmūr's imperial policy

Even if suspect in parts, the account given by Giovanni Andrea attests the presence of some westerners at the court of Tīmūr, men who were able to gain direct access to him. During the years that ensued, the evidence of a western presence at the court of Tīmūr becomes more difficult to demonstrate. It is possible that before the battle of Nicopolis (1396) he had an encounter somewhere with a

Frenchman called Jacques du Fay. This individual is mentioned by Jean Froissart in his *Chroniques*;¹⁶ he was probably an emissary of the French court and later fought at Nicopolis.¹⁷ Certainly other powers showed strong interest in the opportunities that might be offered by the new conqueror, for as early as 1394 the Venetian senate was discussing the opportunity of an approach.¹⁸

The battle of Nicopolis, fought between a western coalition and the Ottoman army on 25 September 1396,¹⁹ ushered in a change in the policy followed by Tīmūr. Failure to bring into being a coalition of the two main leaders of the *ghazā* against a generic 'infidel world', attested by the exchange of letters between Tīmūr and Bayezid, constituted a substantial diplomatic setback for Tīmūr.²⁰ Later, the Timurid chronicles would develop the theme, claiming that Murad I had proved unable to conquer the Anatolian *beyliks* and unify Turkey, and denouncing the alliance between his successor Bayezid I and Qarā Yūsuf, the leader of the Turkmen confederation Qarā Qoyūnlū. They accused Bayezid of supporting the Turkmen 'brigand' and, implicitly, of rejecting any serious chance of mounting a common jihad.²¹ This substantial shift of perspective in Tīmūr's plans corresponded also with a change of projects, in particular the Indian campaign launched in 1398 represented an ideological response to the western activities of the Ottomans. In fact in this phase (1396–99) a series of vehement accusations of impiety, addressed against Tīmūr, appear in various Ottoman and Persian sources from Anatolia.²²

The return of Tīmūr to Samarqand in May 1399 was followed by the rebuilding of the town with the erection of the Great Mosque, an architectural enterprise which gave a new impulse to the reconstruction of the whole town, in particular its markets (1403) and later a number of other buildings.²³ The presence of various Christian captives, but probably also Christian merchants who were interested in this new market for their wares, seems to reflect a change of attitude especially towards the Byzantine court and the Latin powers in the West.²⁴ In fact the re-activation of western relations started as early as 1398 when the Roman Pope Boniface IX transferred the Franciscan Friar Jean from Nakhchevān to the archbishopric of Sulṭāniyya. It was probably then that Fr. Jean initiated diplomatic activity with the French court. In a well-known work, Sylvestre de Sacy suggested that a meeting took place between Jean and Tīmūr, at which the friar informed Tīmūr of events at Nicopolis.²⁵ The question of an embassy to Europe then taking place, and comprising Fr. Jean and Fr. Francis Sandron as Tīmūr's ambassadors, was given consideration by various scholars.²⁶ The discussion included the important report about Tīmūr that was composed by the archbishop of Sulṭāniyya.²⁷ Persian sources refer to a good deal of intelligence work sponsored by Tīmūr in the hope of ascertaining the full extent of his enemies' military potential, above all in Anatolia.²⁸ It is possible that this intelligence also informed him about the westerners, in particular the Genoese, who were active in the area.

1400–1401: towards a new pragmatism in relations

France certainly played an important part in the revival of relations with this new 'Tatar' power in the East. The role of Marshal John II Le Meingre, known

as Boucicaut, who returned to France in 1397 following his capture at the battle of Nicopolis, proved to be pivotal.²⁹ Boucicaut was the commander of a 'micro-crusade' in 1399 to break the Ottoman blockade of Constantinople and to escort Manuel II to France. This period, in particular the months following the nomination of Boucicaut as governor of Genoa (23 March 1401),³⁰ was characterized by the intensification of relations between Genoa and the East. It is not clear how many envoys tried to meet Tīmūr before Boucicaut's Genoese appointment, which brought to a close a troubled seven-year French administration of the Italian town, culminating with the dictatorship of Battista Boccanegra (12 January 1400).

A meeting at Sivas between Tīmūr and a delegation headed by a certain Giuliano Maciocco, or Maiocho, and dated 1400, appears quite obscure. Rather than being a diplomatic mission from Italy, this was likely to have been an independent initiative from Constantinople, one representing the interests of the Venetians and Genoese of that city, and probably including a message from the Byzantine Emperor.³¹ A Genoese ambassador from Pera may have reached the court of Tīmūr at the beginning of 1401.³² In fact he preceded the sending of two Timurid ambassadors to Constantinople, who arrived at Pera on 19 August 1401, alongside the above mentioned Fr. Francis. According to Giacomo de Orado, as reported by Adam Knobler, 'the purpose of the embassy was to dissuade the Greeks from making a treaty of friendship with Bāyezīd, stating that Tīmūr was planning to march against the Ottomans during the autumn'.³³

The background for new and intense diplomatic activities was in place, and in this context we should include not just the political aspirations of the European powers, but also the commercial advantages or disadvantages which might arise through links with this, still mysterious, lord of central Asia. Some merchants, such as Beltramo Mignanelli, were horrified by the Timurid invasion of Syria, as is clear from Mignanelli's long report entitled *De Ruina Damasci*.³⁴ But others were tantalized by this new market. It was for this reason that Boucicaut, immediately after his appointment as governor of Genoa, began paying a lot of attention to the Genoese agencies. If Pera acted to a large extent in an independent manner, in the cases of Chios and Phocaea, Famagusta, Tana and Caffa there was much more proactive involvement by the French governor. In Chios Boucicaut played an active role in forwarding the reconstruction of the town walls to prevent an Ottoman attack, thereby showing a clear understanding of the island's importance.³⁵ In relation to Tana and Caffa, it is noteworthy that after the dramatic devastation of this area by Tīmūr, the economy seems to have completely revived, probably through a *modus vivendi* reached with the former invader.³⁶ In the case of Famagusta there is no direct evidence for diplomatic intervention, but an embassy dated 17 October 1402 presented the 'Signoria di Creta' with a request for peace thanks to an officer (*luogotenente*) of Tīmūr, called Epso, a request which was received by the Venetians.³⁷ Ongoing competition between Venice and Genoa gave further stimulus to this diplomatic activity.

1402: the battle of Ankara

There is no direct evidence of any European contingents taking part in the battle of Ankara, with the exception of Johannes Schiltberger, and as far as we know the captured Bavarian exercised no influence on any political decision of Tīmūr.³⁸ Similarly, we lack any detailed information about the Castilian embassy of Payo Gómez de Sotomayor and Hernán Sánchez de Palazuelos, which reached Tīmūr after the battle of Ankara and returned to Spain with an envoy of Tīmūr, Hājī Muḥammad (Mohamad Alcaji), in 1402.³⁹ But substantial information did reach the West in the immediate aftermath of the battle. For an idea of the extensive reportage about the battle in the West, we can draw on various reports which were later transcribed by Marino Sanudo in his *Vitae Ducum Venetorum*.⁴⁰ Also well-known is the reaction of the Genoese of Pera, who apparently raised the standard of Tīmūr over their town.⁴¹

The presence of a Byzantine ambassador in Kutāhya during the autumn of 1402 is attested by the Timurid sources, and it demonstrates the immediate reaction of the Emperor and the Latin community of Constantinople to news of the battle. The *Ẓafarnāma*, or *Liber Victoriae*, by Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, completed two years after the battle, reports the more authentic Persian version of this embassy: the 'king of Istanbul' (*malik-i Istanbul*), informed of Tīmūr's success, sent messengers to him, asking him to accept the submission of the Byzantine Emperor and payment of a tribute.⁴² The later version of Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī (1427–28) enlarges the account with some interesting additions: he notes that the *ḥakīm* (governor) of Quṣṭantiniyya (Istanbul), known as *takvūr*,⁴³ gave various *flūrī* (florin), and was honoured by Tīmūr with a number of embroidered cloths.⁴⁴ Clavijo, who also mentions this embassy, notes that some Genoese irritated Tīmūr by helping the Ottomans to escape across the Dardanelles.⁴⁵ The Venetians for their part set in train an ambivalent policy, showing particular concern for Gallipoli and recognizing the position of Süleymān Çelebi in Europe.⁴⁶

1403: Chios and Phocaea

It is likely that Tīmūr was disappointed only with the Genoese of Pera and the Byzantine Emperor, in fact during his subsequent advance in Anatolia Tīmūr paid particular attention to the other Genoese settlements in Chios and Phocaea. This was probably a consequence of Boucicaut's policy, for he was more attentive to the Maona (company) of Chios, which was the object of an obscure correspondence in November 1402.⁴⁷ If the Timurid chronicles place particular emphasis on the capture of the fortress of Smyrna (Izmir), portraying it as a further *ghazā* against the infidel Franks (i.e. the Knights Hospitaller),⁴⁸ they employ a completely different tone towards the island of Sāqqiz (Chios) and the town of Fūcha (New Phocaea) on the mainland. During the early months of 1403, Tīmūr sent the prince Muḥammad Sulṭān, son of his deceased second-born son Jahāngīr and heir to the Timurid throne, to negotiate the ransom for Phocaea. Later the lord of Chios sent other envoys to the court of Tīmūr to negotiate about his own *maona*. These

two episodes are widely reported by the Persian, Greek and Latin chronicles,⁴⁹ and a careful reading of events reveals the revival of a previous agreement between Tīmūr and certain Genoese agents. The Timurid sources describe Muḥammad Sulṭān's encampment in front of Phocaea, together with the submission of the lord of the town who agreed to the payment of the *jizīya* (capitation tax). The lord of Phocaea is here generically described as a *navvāb-i nāmdār* ('renowned lord'). When Muḥammad Sulṭān was on his way back to Manisa, where Tīmūr was encamped, a French king (*yak az Mulūk-i Iḥranj*) whose name was S.T.H. (or Sata), from the island of Sāqgez (Chios) reached the encampment with a request for clemency for his island, and a declaration of submission to Tīmūr, accompanied by the payment of the *jizīya* and *kharaj* (tribute). The three Arabic letters used for the name of the lord of Chios presented a puzzling problem to the copyists and editors of the Persian sources, who transcribed them in various ways.⁵⁰ In fact they seem to correspond to a truncated transcription of the word (Batti)sta, which is the name of the governor of the *maona* until 1404: Battista Adorno.⁵¹ Yazdī notes in his description the fact that Chios was famous for the production of mastic, but this addition is clearly a later one, inserted by the author to flaunt his own encyclopaedic culture.⁵² Though some modern historians describe the submission of Chios as a capitulation provoked by the terror that Tīmūr produced,⁵³ contemporary Greek sources, in particular Dukas, describe the meeting between Muḥammad Sulṭān and the Genoese of Phocaea as particularly friendly.⁵⁴

1404: Clavijo and the end of European relations with Tīmūr

The departure of Tīmūr from Anatolia is attested by several European sources, which introduced a long series of more or less realistic episodes relating above all to the imprisonment of Bayezid in a cage, and his death on 8 March 1403.⁵⁵ Soon after the battle of Ankara the Genoese and Venetians regained their previous status as allies of the Ottomans,⁵⁶ and the disenchantment of the western powers in general was immediate; the author of the *Livre des faits* of Boucicaut would underline this, adopting a fatalistic approach to the figure of Tīmūr.⁵⁷

One significant exception was the embassy of Clavijo, which reached Samarqand in September 1404. The political outcomes of the embassy were minimal, but it occasioned one of the deeper and more substantial western accounts of Tīmūr's life and deeds. Clavijo was witness to the last great *quriltay* (general assembly) which Tīmūr held in Samarqand, on 8 September 1404, before his departure for China.⁵⁸ In the course of this assembly Tīmūr received the ambassadors representing the *bilād-i iḥranj* (the Frankish countries), which he considered solid allies.⁵⁹ The Persian account of this meeting by Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī is confirmed by Clavijo himself who describes the diplomatic ritual, including the delivery of presents, and followed by the same practices on the part of the ambassador from Mamluk Egypt. Here the westerners encountered the ambassador whom Tīmūr had earlier despatched to Spain; he was clothed in the Castilian manner, which amused the participants. Clavijo describes the enthusiastic reception of the western embassy, underlining the fact that they were explicitly

invited to take seats in a higher position than the Chinese ambassador, because the king of Castile was considered by Tīmūr as a son, whereas the Chinese Emperor was called *tangūs* (*tongūz*), 'pig' on the grounds that he refused to pay tribute to Tīmūr.⁶⁰ After the exchange of presents and a brief speech by Tīmūr, more detailed discussion was deferred to another time. Nevertheless, over the course of several weeks Tīmūr invited the Castilian envoys to participate in an impressive sequence of banquets and parties, and Clavijo describes the bouts of heavy drinking engaged in by the 'Chagataids' including Tīmūr himself. Finally, without any further private audience or official letters to the king of Castile, the ambassadors were forced to leave Samarqand for their home on 21 November 1404.

Clavijo's embassy may be taken as typical of the evanescent character of Tīmūr's interest in the Latin West. The sole exception might be the attention he directed towards the Byzantines, Genoese and Venetians, all of whom Tīmūr explicitly warned not to form a treaty of friendship with Bayezid. It is hard to detect in Tīmūr's strategies any clear continuity with the intensive Mongol (particularly Ilkhanid) interest in fostering relations with the West. That said, some echoes of these events, including a deliberate confusion between the two periods, can be seen in the late Timurid falsification of the so called *Letters* of Rashīd al-Dīn, as Andrew H. Morton has convincingly argued.⁶¹ In later eastern sources Tīmūr's western agreements were reduced to a generic mention of 'Frankish' involvement, above all during the Anatolian campaign.

More interesting is the narrative of the deeds of Tīmūr which appeared in European sources of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They represent a *mare magnum* of details, in which the progressive myth-creation of humanist culture put to imaginative use various stories of Tīmūrid encounters with the West.⁶² On the one hand, in the early-fifteenth century Poggio Bracciolini's extrapolation of Tīmūr from the account by Mignanelli gave rise to a substantial popularization of Tīmūr, who around 1430 was also portrayed in the lost Palazzo Orsini in Rome.⁶³ It was most likely this portrait of Tīmūr that later inspired Machiavelli in his work, *The Prince*.⁶⁴ On the other hand, the figure of a Genoese who was the personal counsellor of Tīmūr appeared early in the sixteenth century in Spain, Italy and France. In some French books of the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries this individual acquires the fantastic name of Axalla.⁶⁵ Far removed from any historical reality, these figures were the last evidence of an earlier attempt to establish a contrast to the Ottoman Empire. The synthesis of the titanic figure of the 'hyperborean' Central Asian king with an exaggerated European presence at his court, thus gave rise to a considerable theatrical and artistic tradition.

Notes

- 1 The nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century perspective on relations between Tīmūr and the West may be summarized by two studies: Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, *La France en Orient: expéditions du Maréchal Boucicaut*, 2 vols (Paris, 1886); Marie Mathilde Alexandrescu-Dersca, *La campagne de Timur en Anatolie* (Bucharest 1942, with some additions in the London reprint of 1977). This research has been substantially developed in recent times. See in particular Adam Knobler, 'The Rise of Timur and Western

- Diplomatic Response, 1390–1405', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 5 (1995), 341–9; Michele Bernardini, 'Tamerlano, i Genovesi e il favoloso Axalla', in *Europa e Islam tra i secoli XIV e XVI*, eds Michele Bernardini, Clara Borelli, Anna Cerbo and Encarnación Sánchez García, 2 vols (Naples, 2002), 1:391–426; Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West 1221–1410* (Harlow, 2005), esp. ch. 9, 235–55; Michele Bernardini, 'Chio, Focea e Tamerlano', in *Sûzişât-i mü'ellefe. Contaminazioni e spigolature turcologiche. Scritti in onore di Giampiero Bellingeri* (Treviso, 2010), 57–64.
- 2 For the use of *firang*/Franks during the Mongol period see Karl Jahn, *Die Frankengeschichte des Rašīd ad-Dīn* (Vienna, 1977).
 - 3 For hostility towards the Christians of Anatolia see Michele Bernardini, 'Motaharten entre Timur et Bayezid: une position inconfortable dans les remous de l'histoire anatolienne', in *Sincretismes et hérésies dans l'Orient seldjoukide et ottoman (XIV^e–XVIII^e siècle)*, ed. Gilles Veinstein, Collection Turcica 9 (Paris, 2005), 199–211, at 205–7; J.-M. Fiey, 'Sources syriaques sur Tamerlan', *Le Muséon* 101 (1988), 13–20.
 - 4 Rūs are mentioned in Timurid sources. A reference to Lithuanians (*Libqa*) is made by Mu'in al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab al-tavāriḫ-i Mu'īnī*, ed. Jean Aubin (Tehran 1336/1957), 97. The reference was to the extension of the Golden Horde's empire during the reign of Toqtamish, from the *sarhadd-i libqa* (in the extreme North) to the extreme South, which is represented by Kafa (Caffa). It would appear that the Russians, Poles and Lithuanians were considered as *Firangs*, as for example in a letter of c. 1395 published by Zeki Velidi Togan, 'Timurs Osteuropapolitik', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 108 (1958), 279–98. Note that in this instance the European communities in Caffa were also described as 'infidels', presumably Latin Christians (Genoese and Venetians).
 - 5 Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, *Zafarnāma*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abbāsī, 2 vols (Tehran, 1336/1958), 1:291–4; Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Zafarnāma par Niẓāmuddīn Shāmī, avec les additions empruntées au Zubdatu-t-tawārīḫ-i Baysungūri de Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū*, in *Texte persan du Zafarnāma* (Prague, 1937), 99–101.
 - 6 Félix Nève, 'Étude sur Thomas de Medzoph et sur son Histoire de l'Arménie au XV^e siècle, d'après deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale', *Journal Asiatique* 6 (1855), 221–81, esp. 267–8.
 - 7 'Azīz ibn Ardashīr Astarabādī, *Bazm-u-Razm*, ed. Kilisli Rifat and Mehmed Fu'ad Köprülü (Istanbul, 1928), 17. For this episode see Jean Aubin, 'Comment Tamerlan prenait les villes', *Studia Islamica* 19 (1963), 83–122, esp. 19.
 - 8 The presence of some religious at the Timurid court, in particular Franciscans, is mentioned by Andrea Redusio de Quero, see below. Their status is not clear and Golubovich omits any reference to them, but he mentions various Franciscans in the lands of the Golden Horde, as in Hajji Tarkhan (Astrakhan) until its conquest in 1395, Girolamo Golubovich, ed., *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, 5 vols (Quaracchi, Florence, 1906–1927), 5: 313.
 - 9 Andrea Redusio de Quero, 'Chronicum Tarvisinum ab anno MCCCCLXVIII usque ad Annum MCCCXCVII Auctore Andrea de Redusiis de Quero nunc primum in lucem erumpit ex Msto Codice Collatino', *RIS*, XIX, 757–866, here 801–4. See also Bernardini, 'Tamerlano, i Genovesi e il favoloso Axalla', 391–426.
 - 10 Wilhelm Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Âge*, 2 vols (Amsterdam, 1959), 2:374–6; Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, 240.
 - 11 This description was not taken into consideration by Donald Wilber, 'The Timurid Court: Life in Gardens and Tents', *Iran* 17 (1979), 127–33.
 - 12 A similar tree was observed by Clavijo in Samarqand, Ruy González de Clavijo, *Historia del Gran Tamorlan*, ed. Gonzalo Argote de Molina (Madrid, 1984), 208. The golden tree reminds us of the 'fountain-tree' made by the Parisian goldsmith Guillaume Boucher, and described by William of Rubruck at Qaraqorum: Guglielmo di Rubruck, *Viaggio in Mongolia*, ed. Paolo Chiesa (Borghero Torinese, Turin, 2011), 210–13.

- 13 Could these be the Franciscans of Astrakhan or Tana mentioned by Golubovich? See below, and Thomas Tanase, 'Jusqu'aux limites du monde'. *La papauté et la mission franciscaine, de l'Asie de Marco Polo à l'Amérique de Christophe Colomb* (Rome, 2013), 661.
- 14 The allusion could be to Sulṭān Aḥmad Jalāyir, the lord of Tabriz and Baghdad, or to one of the Muẓaffarid lords of Fārs, all of whom were defeated by Tīmūr on various occasions during the years 1381–93.
- 15 Andrea Redusio, 'Chronicum Tarvisinum', cols 802–4. For the conquest of Tana by Timur see Elena Skrzinskaja, 'Storia della Tana', *Studi Veneziani* 10 (1968), 3–45.
- 16 Jean Froissart, *Chroniques. Livres III et IV*, ed. Peter Ainsworth and Alberto Varvaro (Paris, 2004), 616. For this man see Michele Bernardini, 'Jacques du Fay, un Français à la cour de Tamerlan', in *De Samarcande à Istanbul: étapes orientales. Hommages à Pierre Chuvin, II*, ed. Véronique Schiltz (Paris, 2015), 205–10.
- 17 The activity of other French in the East in this period, in particular at the Ottoman court, is well described by Philippe Gardette in his 'Jacques de Helly, figure de l'entre-deux culturel au lendemain de la défaite de Nicopolis', *Erytheia Revista de Estudios Bizantinos y Neogriegos* 24 (2003), 111–24.
- 18 Freddy Thiriet, ed., *Registres des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, 3 vols (The Hague, 1958–61), nos 860, 898, 927, 981.
- 19 For the battle and its aftermath see Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades. From Lyons to Alcazar 1274–1580* (Oxford, 1992), 75–83 and Jacques Paviot, *Les ducs de Bourgogne, la croisade et l'Orient (fin XIV^e siècle–XV^e siècle)* (Paris 2003), 33–52.
- 20 Togan, 'Timurs Osteuropapolitik', 279–98.
- 21 Yazdī, *Zafarnāma*, 2:186–91.
- 22 Michele Bernardini, *Mémoire et propagande à l'époque timouride* (Paris, 2008), 79–91.
- 23 Lisa Golombek and Donald Wilber, *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 2 vols (Princeton, 1989), 1:21–2, 254–63.
- 24 Clavijo, *Historia del Gran Tamorlan*, 220, describes 150,000 Christian deportees in Samarqand in 1403.
- 25 Silvestre de Sacy, 'Mémoire sur une correspondance inédite de Tamerlan avec Charles VI', *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 6 (1822), 470–520, esp. 515–16.
- 26 See the very useful references in Thomas Tanase, *Jusqu'aux limites du monde*, 665. See also Knobler, 'The Rise of Timur', 342. The observations concerning the letter written by Tīmūr to Charles VI, by Abolala Soudavar, 'The Concept of "al-aqamo aṣaḥḥi" and "yaqīn-e sābeq"', and the Problem of Semi-fakes', *Studia Iranica* 28 (1999), 255–73, are unhelpful for the understanding of the range of activity of these two French friars. Soudavar's observations are confined to the character of the letter and the protocol used, and we have no other examples of letters sent to Christian courts. Alexandrescu-Dersca, *La campagne de Timur*, 39, mentions the use of Fr. François in 1394 by Manuel II as envoy to the court of Tīmūr, but there is no evidence on this point.
- 27 Henri Moranvillé, 'Mémoire sur Tamerlan et sa cour par un dominicain, en 1403', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 55 (1894), 441–53.
- 28 As in the case of the sultanate of Burhān al-Dīn of Sivas, and the lords of the Beyliks who escaped from Bayezid's imprisonment: Astarabādī, *Bazm-u-Razm*, 449; Aşik Paşazade, *Osmanoğulları'nın Tarihi*, ed. Kemal Yavuz, M.A. Yekta Saraç (Istanbul, 2003), 139.
- 29 Denis Lalande, *Jean II Le Meingre dit Boucicaut (1366–1421). Étude d'une biographie héroïque* (Geneva, 1988), 71.
- 30 Ibid., *Jean II Le Meingre*, 96–105.
- 31 Nicolae Iorga, 'Notices et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XV^e siècle', *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 4 (1896), 238; Alexandrescu-Dersca, *La campagne de Timur*,

- 52; Roberto S. Lopez, *Storia delle colonie genovesi nel Mediterraneo*, 2nd edn (Genoa, 1996), 305.
- 32 Michel Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XIIe-début du XVe siècle)*, 2 vols (Rome, 1978), 1:101 n. 351.
- 33 Knobler, 'The Rise of Timur', 343; the document, reproduced by Knobler, is in George T. Dennis, 'Three Reports from Crete on the Situation in Romania, 1401–1402', *Studi Veneziani* 12 (1970), 243–65, at 245. See also Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, 1:101 n. 351.
- 34 The new edition of this text, with a long introduction and other works by Beltramo Mignanelli, constitutes a key source for the understanding of the economic context: see Nelly Mahmoud Helmy, *Tra Siena, l'Oriente e la Curia. Beltramo di Leonardo Mignanelli e le sue opere* (Rome, 2013). See also Walter J. Fischel, 'A New Latin Source on Tamerlane's Conquest of Damascus (1400/1401): B. de Mignanelli's *Vita Tamerlani* (1416), Translated into English with an Introduction and a Commentary', *Oriens* 9 (1956), 201–32; Angelo Michele Piemontese, 'Beltramo Mignanelli senese biografo di Tamerlano', *Oriente Moderno* 15 (1996), 213–26. The arrival at Valencia in 1401 of news of the Syrian invasion was perhaps derived from the reports of Mignanelli: Knobler, 'The Rise of Timur', 345.
- 35 Bernardini, 'Chio, Focea, Tamerlano', 58–9.
- 36 Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, 2:687.
- 37 Mario Abrate, 'Creta, colonia veneziana nei secoli XIII–XV', *Economia e storia* 4 (1957), 251–77.
- 38 Johannes Schiltberger, *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger*, ed. J. Buchan Telfer (London, 1879), 20–21. Timurid sources depicted the clash with Serbs serving in the army of Bayezid as an act of *ghazā* between the 'lord of Iran and Turan' and the *Qayṣar-i Rūm* (Bayezid) and his *Ifran*j corps (the Serbs): Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, 2: 307–14. Jackson mentions another knight who was involved in the battle, the Hungarian Nicolaus Gerecz: *The Mongols and the West*, 245.
- 39 Clavijo, *Historia del Gran Tamorlan*, 17–18.
- 40 Marino Sanudo, in *RIS*, XXIII (1733), 794–8.
- 41 Giorgio Stella, *Annales Genuenses*, in *RIS*, 17/2 (reprint 1975), 260; Knobler, 'The Rise of Timur', 343; Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, 239.
- 42 Shāmī, *Ẓafarnāma*, 1:264–5.
- 43 This term is certainly an Armenian loanword absorbed by the Ottoman literature: see Michele Bernardini, 'Un'ambasceria del *Takvur* di Costantinopoli alla corte di Tamerlano. Riflessioni sul "Cesare di Rūm" nelle fonti timuridi', in *Bisanzio e l'Occidente: arte, archeologia, storia. Studi in onore di Fernanda de' Maffei* (Rome, 1996), 297–304; Alexios G.C. Savvides, 'Tamerlane, Byzantium and Spain (with notes on Clavijo's visit to Trebizond in A.D. 1404)', *Ἀρχαίον Πόντου* (1992–93), 46–58.
- 44 Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, 2:330–31.
- 45 Ruy González de Clavijo, *Embajada a Tamorlan*, ed. Francisco López Estrada (Madrid, 1943), 111–12.
- 46 George T. Dennis, 'The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 33 (1967), 72–88, esp. 72–3.
- 47 Philip P. Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their Administration of the Island 1346–1556*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1958), 1:154–5. The content of this letter of Boucicaut has not survived, but it is possible to suppose that Boucicaut tried to play down the conflicts between Chios and New Phocaea in view of an agreement with Tīmūr.
- 48 Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, 2:336–42.
- 49 See Bernardini, 'Chio, Focea e Tamerlano', 59. For the Persian sources, see Shāmī, *Ẓafarnāma*, 2:268–9; Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, 2:343–4; 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn va majma' al-baḥrayn*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Navā'i (Tehran, 2004), I/2, 947–50. Among the Greek sources, see Ducas, *Historia-Turcobyzantina*

- (1341–1462), ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), 105–09; in Italian, Agostino Giustiniani, *Annali della Repubblica di Genova*, (Bologna, 1981), p. clxviii. See also Knobler, 'The Rise of Timur', 341–9.
- 50 Yazdī, II, 344; S.Ī.H. ه ي س or S.B.H., ه ب س, Hāfiz-i Abrū, *Ẓafarnāma par Nizāmuddīn Šāmī, avec les additions empruntées au Zubdatu-t-tawārīḥ-i Baysung'ūrī de Hāfiz-i Abrū II, Introduction, commentaire, index*, ed. Felix Tauer (Prague, 1956), 180, and index, S.T.H. / S.Ī.H. ه ي س or ه ي س, Samarqandī, *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn*, 948, S.T.H. ه ي س.
- 51 Probably ه ي س (ي ت ا ب), who was a descendant of Antonio Adorno, *maonese* in Chios between the 1370s and 1390s: see Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, 2:380; Bernardini, 'Chios, Focea e Tamerlano', 61–2. For a different hypothesis see Knobler, 'The Rise of Timur', 348 n. 47.
- 52 This commerce was well known at the end of the fourteenth century: Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, 2:742–9; Kate Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State* (Cambridge, 1999), 26.
- 53 See e.g. Lopez, *Storia delle colonie genovesi*, 306–07.
- 54 Ducas, *Historia-Turcobyzantina*, 107, 109.
- 55 See Michele Bernardini, 'Tamerlano e Bāyazīd in gabbia'. Fortuna di un tema storico orientale nell'arte e nel teatro del Settecento', in *La conoscenza dell'Asia e dell'Africa in Italia nei secoli XVIII e XIX*, ed. Aldo Gallotta and Ugo Marazzi, 3 vols (Naples, 1989), 3/2:729–60.
- 56 Dennis, 'The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403'.
- 57 *Le livre des fais du Bon Messire Jehan Le Maingre dit Boucicaut*, ed. Denis Lalande (Geneva, 1985), 157–59.
- 58 For Clavijo see the comprehensive article of Beatrice Forbes Manz and Margaret L. Dunaway 'Clavijo, Ruy González De', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, V/7:692–3.
- 59 Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, 2: 443.
- 60 Clavijo, *Embajada a Tamorlan*, 172–5. See Ralph Kauz, *Politik und Handel zwischen Ming und Timuriden* (Wiesbaden, 2005), 72–6.
- 61 Andrew H. Morton, 'The Letters of Rashīd al-Dīn: Ilkhānid Fact or Timurid Fiction?', in *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy*, ed. Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (Leiden, 1999), 154–99, esp. 193.
- 62 See Michele Bernardini, 'Tamerlano protagonista orientale', in *Mappe della letteratura europea e mediterranea. II. Dal Barocco all'Ottocento*, ed. Gian Mario Anselmi (Milan, 2000), 227–48.
- 63 Helmy, *Tra Siena, l'Oriente e la Curia*, 296–303; for the paintings in Palazzo Orsini, see Annelis Amberger, *Giordano Orsini's Uomini famosi in Rom: Helden der Weltgeschichte im Frühhumanismus* (Munich and Berlin, 2003); Angelo Michele Piemontese, *Persia istoriata in Roma* (Rome: Vatican City, 2014), 142. For another portrait of Tīmūr in western painting of this period see Cristelle Baskins, 'The Bride of Trebizond. Turks and Turkmens on a Wedding Chest, ca. 1460', *Muqarnas* 29 (2012), 83–100.
- 64 Eric Voegelin, 'Machiavelli's Prince: Background and Formation', *Review of Politics* 13 (1951), 142–68.
- 65 Bernardini, 'Tamerlano, i Genovesi e Axalla', 407–20.

Errata Corrige p. 119

Errata

50. Yazdī, II, 344; S.Ī.H. ه ي س or ه ب س S.B.H., Hāfiz-i index, S.T.H. / S.Ī.H. ه ي س or ه ي س, Samarqandī, S.T.H. ه ي س.
51. Probably ه ي س (ي ت ا ب), who was a descendant of

Corrige

50. Yazdī, II, 344; S.Ī.H. سیه or سیه S.B.H., Hāfiz-i index, S.T.H. / S.Ī.H. سیه or سیه, Samarqandī, S.T.H. سیه.
51. Probably سیه (ي ت ا ب), who was a descendant of