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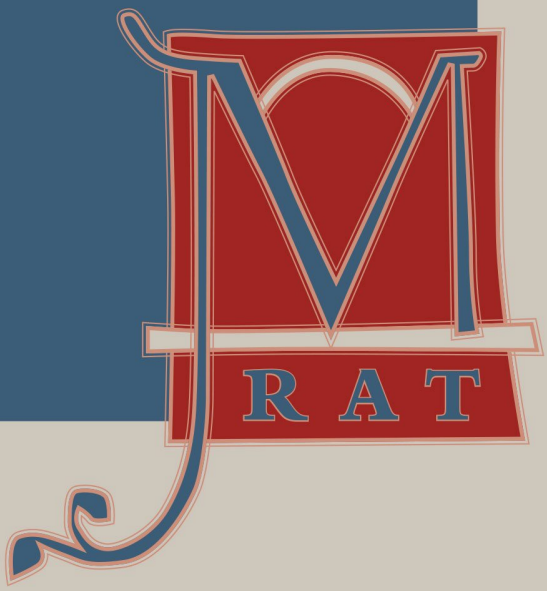
Història de Jacob Xalabín / History of Yakub Çelebi

A Critical Edition, with an Introduction and Notes

Juan Carlos Bayo

With an English Translation by

Barry Taylor



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Història de Jacob Xalabín / History of Yakub Çelebi

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Introduction

The *Història de Jacob Xalabín* (*History of Yakub Çelebi*) is an anonymous brief novel written in Catalan about 1400 inspired by the figure of an Ottoman prince, the son of Murad I called Yakub Çelebi, who was slain in 1389 in the aftermath of the battle of Kosovo by his half-brother Bayezid in order to seize the throne. The work mixes historical and fictional elements, as the following brief account of its plot shows.

The narrator begins by setting the action in the year 1387 AD at the court of Murad (in Catalan 'Morat', but usually referred to in the novel as 'l'Amorat' or 'l'Almorat'). The firstborn prince, Yakub Çelebi ('Jacob Xalabín'), is harassed by his young Greek stepmother Issa Çelebina ('Issa Xalabina'), who is hopelessly in love with him.[1] Misled by the perfidious Jewish court physician Kyr Moshe ('Quir Mossè'), she plans the murder of Yakub Çelebi, who has to flee with the aid of his ingenious and inseparable friend Ali Pasha ('Alí Baxà'). After many vicissitudes, the two come to another beylik, or principality, where they display their prowess at court and find worthy damsels. The prince and his friend return with them to the Ottoman court, to find that Issa Çelebina is no more and Kyr Moshe departed. Murad, who had believed his favourite son to be dead, receives him with great joy and celebration. Shortly after the weddings of Yakub Çelebi and Ali Pasha, the news arrives of a Christian invasion and Murad prepares for battle with his sons and noblemen. He is wounded in the fighting; his son Bayezid ('Beseyt Bey') finishes him off and then strangles Yakub Çelebi, clearing his way to the throne. The narrator notes in closing that Bayezid still reigns today and Ali Pasha is his chief minister.

The *Història de Jacob Xalabín* occupies a unique position in medieval Catalan literature, which has no other extant work of fiction revealing a comparable knowledge of the Turkish world. There is no doubt that the plot was invented according to contemporary taste, but it also attempts to satisfy a Catalan-speaking audience's curiosity regarding a power which was then clearly on

1 The form 'Jacob Xalabín' is not documented outside this novel, and today it sounds Hebrew or biblical rather than Turkish. Therefore, the Turkish form 'Yakub Çelebi' has been chosen, as it is the widest known and, being already in the Latin alphabet, does not create the problems of transcription and diacritics posed by the Arabic and Ottoman forms. Suffice it to say that ⟨ç⟩ in Turkish represents /ʧ/, i.e. the sound represented by ⟨tx⟩ in Catalan and by ⟨ch⟩ in English (as in *chin*). 'Issa Xalabina' is even more problematic, since it does not seem inspired directly by the name of a historical figure, and the second part was certainly made up by the author from the hero's name; because of this, the form 'Issa Çelebina' has been used here as a compromise.

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the rise. Its observations on Turkish customs and the geography of Asia Minor and its detailed description of the final battle (unnamed in the text, but easily identifiable with the battle of Kosovo in 1389) are of great interest and even cast some light on a key but poorly documented period in the history of the Ottoman Empire.

Despite its unique status, the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* is clearly a product of the Catalan culture of its time, as it shares features with various medieval Catalan works and what appear at first sight surprising elements can be explained if the circumstances of its composition are taken into account.

1 The Historical Context

The *Història de Jacob Xalabín* can only be understood in the light of the long experience of the Crown of Aragon in the Eastern Mediterranean. In 1303 the Great Catalan Company, under the command of Roger de Flor, set off for Constantinople, engaged by the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos to fight the Turks. This long adventure culminated in the establishment in continental Greece of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras, subject to the Crown of Aragon, and was treated in two works considered masterpieces of Hispanic historiography: a most celebrated narrative in Catalan, the *Llibre* or *Crònica* (*Book*, or *Chronicle*) of Ramon Muntaner, who took part in the campaign and wrote his own account between 1325 and 1328, and a minor classic in Spanish, la *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos* (*Expedition of the Catalans and Aragonese against the Turks and Greeks*) of Francisco de Moncada, marquis of Aytona, whose survey, printed in 1623, was based on Muntaner, supplemented with various Byzantine sources.[2]

2 A selection of Muntaner's passages related to the Turks is offered in the Appendix. For full editions of both works, see *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner* (*Les quatre grans cròniques*, III), ed. by Ferran Soldevila, rev. by Jordi Bruguera and Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2011) and Francisco de Moncada, *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, ed. by Samuel Gili Gaya (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1973). On the activities of the Great Catalan Company and the Crown of Aragon in the Eastern Mediterranean, see the still useful overviews of K.M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311–1388* (London: Variorum, 1975); 'The Catalans in Greece, 1311–1380' and 'The Catalans and Florentines in Greece 1380–1462', in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. by K.M. Setton, 6 vols (Madison and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969–1989), III, 167–224 and 225–277 (repr. in his *Athens in the Middle Ages* (London: Variorum, 1975)). On the final stage, close to the period of composition of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín*, Anthony Luttrell, 'La Corona de Aragón y

By around 1300 Turkish raids had reached the coast facing Constantinople. The Great Catalan Company moved into Asia Minor and won great successes against them in summer 1304. However, in the following year the Company broke with the Byzantines. Muntaner makes no attempt to hide his dislike of the Greeks, in particular those of Constantinople, and even labels them as heretics. In spring 1305 the Catalans, then at Gallipoli, recruited a *bölük* or company of Turkish mercenaries under the command of Halil, probably one of the groupings of Aydınoğuları. Later, after the battle of Apros, a lesser contingent of Turcoples or Christianized Turks until then in the service of the Byzantine Empire was added under the command of İshak Melik.[3]

The Turkish troops were accommodated in separate quarters and were subject to their own commanders, under Catalan superior orders. Muntaner portrays them sympathetically. These Turkish reinforcements consisted principally of light cavalry and archers, who were highly valued at the time. One

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la Grecia catalana: 1379–1394', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 6 (1969), 219–252, is still of interest. For relations with the Turks, the essential references are D. Jacoby, 'Catalans, Turcs et Vénitiens en Romanie (1305–1332): Un nouveau témoignage de Marino Sanudo Torsello', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series, 15 (1974), 217–261 (repr. in his *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XIIe au XIVe siècles. Peuples, sociétés, économies* (London: Variorum, 1979)), and E.A. Zachariadou, 'The Catalans of Athens and the Beginning of the Turkish Expansion in the Aegean Area', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series, 21 (1980), 821–838 (repr. in her *Romania and the Turks* (*c.1300–c.1500*) (London: Variorum, 1985)).

3 This is told in chapter 228 of Muntaner's *Chronicle* (included in full in the Appendix), which is the most relevant for the relationship between Catalans and Turks. The term *turcoples* or *tourkopoloi* (< gr. τουρκόπουλοι, lit. 'sons of Turks') can have several meanings. Firstly, it referred to Christianized mercenaries of Turkish origin in the service of the Byzantine Empire. They fought as light cavalry, with a significant number of mounted archers. This kind of regiment was adopted as an auxiliary force by the Frankish armies in the Crusades (even a new term, *turcopolier*, was coined to designate the commanders of such regiments, who were Latin Christians as a rule). In this way, the denomination acquired a purely military sense, losing any ethnic connotation. It became used by crusaders and military orders such as the Hospitallers and the Templars, and in places such as the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Rhodes. Indeed, it is found in this military sense even in Spain to specify the occupation of witnesses in charters related to the orders, e.g. in some signed by the Templars in Tortosa between 1211 and 1234, see Laureà Pagarolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les Terres de l'Ebre* (*Tortosa*). *De Jaume I fins a l'abolició de l'Orde* (*1213–1312*), 2 vols (Tarragona: Diputació de Tarragona, 1998), II, docs 35, 43, 216 (pp. 46, 54, 271, respectively). For a general discussion, see Alexios G.C. Savvides, 'Late Byzantine and Western Historiographers on Turkish Mercenaries in Greek and Latin Armies: The Turcoples/Tourkopouloi', in *The Making of Byzantine History: Studies Dedicated to Donald M. Nicol*, ed. by Roderick Beaton and Charlotte Roueché (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), pp. 122–136.

interesting stipulation of their agreement with the Company is that the Turks would retain four fifths of the booty captured by them, delivering one fifth to the Catalans. This corresponds to the Muslim *khums* (Ar. خمس), which is set out in sura 8.41 of the Qur'ān, but also had a long tradition in Christian Spain. Indeed, the *quinto real*, which reserved a fifth of the booty for the king, was later applied in the Americas by Cortés, Pizarro and the other conquistadores.

This change of alliances spelled disaster for the Byzantine Empire, which was not only deprived of the support of the Great Catalan Company but had to deploy its own troops to oppose the Turkish advance. Now the Turks consolidated their control over Asia Minor, against an impotent Constantinople harassed by Catalan raids.

The new situation soon affected the Latin states of the Eastern Mediterranean. On 15 March 1311 the Great Catalan Company, with the aid of Turkish mercenaries, defeated Gautier V de Brienne and conquered the duchy of Athens. The Turks rejected the lands offered to them by the Catalans and preferred to claim all the booty, rich in arms and horses, which they could take with them in order to return to Anatolia. A series of considerations must have underlain this decision. If the Turks had remained in the duchy of Athens they would have become permanent vassals of a Christian state. They surely also wished to return to their families and not abandon their semi-nomadic life. It was also possible that they entertained plans to act independently and make their own conquests.

The new Catalan state of Athens, however, had been born surrounded by enemy Latin states that were ill-disposed towards the new arrivals. Its only chance of survival and opportunity for expansion lay in finding allies, and the only allies available were the Turkish principalities or beyliks of the coast of Asia Minor. Thus began a new period in Catalan-Turkish relations, now on terms of equality. The beyliks with which the Catalan duchy of Athens entered into close collaboration were Aydın and Menteşe. Relations with Aydın went back to the time when the Great Catalan Company was in Asia Minor. They would leave their literary mark in a section of the long historical poem *Düstûrnâme* by Enverî, the so-called 'Destan of Umur Paşa', a leader allied with the Catalans. A new collaboration was also established with Menteşe, which had maintained good commercial relations with the Venetians since the late thirteenth century. These were now severed. Venice was beyond doubt the first power to be harmed by the new Catalan-Turkish alliance, which soon presented a serious problem for the other Latin states of the Levant. Hitherto the Turks had expanded through Asia Minor and presented a severe threat to the Byzantines. Now for the first time they were going to launch sea operations against the Latin states of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The year 1317, with the arrival in Athens of Alfons Frederic as vicar general, sees the period of greatest efforts at expansion by the Catalans and closest collaboration with the Turks. The Great Catalan Company contradicted the interests of Rome and was excommunicated by Pope John XXII in 1318 when it refused to restore conquered territory to the Franks. In this hostile atmosphere, Alfons Frederic supplied his allies with information about his enemies' possessions so that they could attack them. The Turks took the opportunity to extend their naval operations to places they had not previously reached. In 1318 and 1326 they mounted expeditions to the Aegean, the impact of which is well documented. Although under constant pressure from Venice the Catalans signed treaties by which they undertook to make no new agreements with the Turks, there are clear signs that secret pacts were made. In 1326 Turkish forces which had attacked Negroponte (Euboea) were pursued by the Venetians and sought refuge in the possessions of Alfons Frederic. In clear violation of his pact with Venice, he gave them refuge and aided their return to Asia Minor.

However, the situation turns in 1329–1330, when the Turkish-Catalan alliance is broken. This time the Catalans are obliged not only to make a peace treaty with the Venetians but to keep to it. The ever greater strength of the beyliks in Asia Minor breaks the balance of power and in 1329 the Turks make a raid on the duchy of Athens. In 1330 Alfons Frederic is dismissed as vicar general. His policy did not promise positive results: it had not secured greater Catalan expansion and had opened the gates to Turkish expansion in a region previously unfamiliar to them. The Catalans' relations with the Turks had scandalized the Christian world: although trading agreements were acceptable, military alliances were quite another thing. In 1330 Pope John XXII proclaimed a crusade against the Great Catalan Company, whose members he described as 'scismatici perditionis filii et iniquitatis alumpni omnis rationis expertes et detestabiles' ('schismatics, sons of perdition and disciples of iniquity, lacking in all reason, detestable').[4]

The beyliks of the coast of Asia Minor pursued their expeditions in the Aegean from 1353 to 1390, during which period they again came to collaborate with the Catalan duchy of Athens. In 1362 the new vicar general Roger de Llúria, a relative of the famous admiral of the same name, contracted Turkish troops to reinforce his army. This contingent participated in the Catalan siege of Thebes

4 *Diplomatari de l'Orient català (1301–1409). Col·lecció de documents per la història de l'expedició catalana a Orient i dels ducats d'Atenes i Neopàtria*, ed. by Antoni Rubió i Lluch, rev. by Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2001), doc. CL, p. 190. This classic collection is still essential for the study of this period and gathers documents relating to nearly all the episodes mentioned here in which the Crown of Aragon was involved.

the following year. Its presence there led in 1364 to serious tensions with Pope Urban V and the Venetians, which ended only with the departure of the Turkish mercenaries.

However, about this time the Ottomans began a period of expansion which would make their beylik the greatest power in the Eastern Mediterranean. By then the Catalans had no possessions in Asia Minor, though perhaps they faced each other in Biga. This was an important stronghold taken in 1364 after a long siege by Murad I (who served as the inspiration for one of the principal characters in the *Història de Jacob Xalabín*, as we have seen). Biga had belonged to the Ottomans already in time of his father Orhan. Indeed, we know more details than usual about the situation of this city at that period thanks to a first-hand account by the Archbishop of Thessalonike Grēgorios Palamas, who spent three months in captivity there in 1354, though enjoying the hospitality of a former Byzantine commander called Mavrozoumis. It is likely that between the death of Orhan and the establishment of Murad I in 1362, the Greek elite took advantage of the confusion inherent in the process of Ottoman succession to rebel, calling mercenaries from overseas. If such reinforcements included Catalan soldiers, this would be their last intervention of note in Asia Minor.[5]

In 1379 Pere the Ceremonious incorporated the duchies of Athens and Neopatras directly into the Crown of Aragon; two decades earlier, in 1359, he had asked them for a regiment of Turkish archers for his own army.[6] His involvement in affairs in the Levant was inevitable given Catalan interests in the region, both political and economic. The same year 1379 he had to protest at the seizure in Ragusa (Dubrovnik) of the goods which a Catalan merchant was transporting from Turkey to Barcelona. Letters of 1380 have been preserved by which he assigns four Turkish craftsmen to work in the Royal Shipyards of Barcelona, and asks for Turkish bows from his storehouse for a Christianized Turk. Indeed, the fame of the formidable Turkish bow had spread the length of Europe. It was mentioned as a preferred weapon of the Amazons in *The Trav-*

5 Nevertheless, the idea that the Catalans held Biga against Murad must be considered with caution, since, as far as I have been able to trace it, it only rests on an interpretation of a passage of Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî's *Künhü'l-aḫbâr* (*Essence of History*) by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, 10 vols (Pest: C.A. Hartleben, 1827–1833), I, 169. For Palamas's stay in Biga in 1354, see G.G. Arnakis, 'Gregory Palamas among the Turks and Documents of His Captivity as Historical Sources', *Speculum*, 26 (1951), 104–118, and Anna Philippidis-Braat, 'La Captivité de Palamas chez les Turcs: Dossier et commentaire', *Travaux et Mémoires—Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance*, 7 (1979), pp. 109–222.

6 His letter has been included in the Appendix (doc. 1).

els of Sir John Mandeville (c. 1356), translated into Aragonese at the behest of Prince Joan the Hunter on the basis of a manuscript which he had requested from the French monarch in 1380. The nickname by which this son of Pere the Ceremonious has become known was highly deserved, and two letters of 1282 in which he requests Turkish bows, and hawks and hounds from Turkey, have been preserved.[7] In 1383 the Byzantine emperor Iōannēs V Palaiologos successfully pressed Pere the Ceremonious to replace a Genoese whom the Catalan merchants of Constantinople had elected consul with a Greek, with the argument that many Greeks were fluent in the Catalan language.[8]

However, the Crown of Aragon was in no state to maintain imperial ambitions in the Levant at a time when Ottoman power had become overwhelming. In summer 1385 Pere the Ceremonious complained of the constant attacks by Greeks and Turks against the duchy of Athens.[9] Ottoman pressure in the region was increasing. In 1392 King Joan the Hunter abandoned his claims to the duchies of Athens and Neopatras. In 1393–1394 Bayezid I (the antagonist of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín*) carried out a military campaign in central Greece and annexed the county of Salona (Amfissa) and its dependencies, a possession still in the hands of a Catalan dynasty; it was governed by the dowager countess Helenē Kantakouzēnē, the widow of Lluís Frederic (grandson of Alfons Frederic). She and her daughter, Maria Frederic, entered Bayezid's harem, but by 1395 both were dead.[10] Only the island of Aegina and the stronghold of Piada (now Nea Epidavros) remained in Catalan hands until the mid-fifteenth century.

Furthermore, the Crown of Aragon was suffering a demographic crisis in the second half of the fourteenth century principally because of the Black Death. It has been calculated, for example, that in Barcelona the plague killed 15,000 inhabitants out of a total population of 42,000.[11] The resulting lack of labour made it necessary to import workers from various parts. The Catalan merchants acquired Greek and Slav slaves in the beyliks of Anatolia, while Turks captured in war or bought in places such as Constantinople, Genoa and Venice entered the Crown of Aragon through important centres for this trade such as Majorca and Barcelona. This happened above all in the period of expansion of the

7 See Appendix, docs 2–5.

8 See *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, doc. DLVII.

9 See *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, doc. DLXXV.

10 See *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, doc. DCXLIV.

11 In Majorca, a Turkish slave was charged with spreading the disease, but the accusation was dismissed by the royal authorities. See David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 235-237.

Ottomans in Europe during the reigns of Murad and Bayezid. There is a large body of documentation on the subject, as all such transactions had to be made before a notary in the Crown of Aragon.

In the late fourteenth century most of the slaves which appear in contracts signed in Barcelona come from the Eastern Mediterranean. Thus in this city alone from 1389 to 1400, the probable period of composition of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín*, 141 Turkish slaves are registered.[12] It is probable that their distance from home produced in them an increasing tendency towards baptism and integration, in contrast with the inclination of Muslims, especially from North Africa, to return to Islamic territories once freed. While in the first half of the fourteenth century the few registered Turkish slaves appear all as Muslims, 107 are recorded as baptized out of those 141 mentioned from the period 1389–1400 mentioned above. Notarial documents of Barcelona give us a picture of this reality: in 1390 a baptized Turkish slave is manumitted under the condition of working for his merchant master for six years and a half;[13] in 1391 another Turkish neophyte is set free after having raised the sum for his emancipation more than two years before the stipulated period thanks to a loan from the notary of the bishop of Barcelona, and acknowledges this debt additionally in a document signed together with his wife, likewise a Turkish freedwoman;[14] in 1394 four slaves, including two Turks called Pere and Yusuf, escape from their master, but they will be caught six years later;[15] in 1395 a cuirass-maker's widow agrees to set free her Turkish slave maid if she serves her well for two years more;[16] in 1396 a twenty-year-old Turkish slavewoman baptized Llúcia and her one-day-old son (the youngest slave on record) are sold to a lawyer based in Tàrrega, who presumably needed a wet nurse for his own offspring;[17] in 1397 a baptized Turkish freedman who had killed a Saracen slave is imprisoned and condemned to pay 100 Barcelona pounds;[18] in 1399 Bernat Amat, formerly

12 In recent times the bibliography on this topic has grown exponentially. See Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, 'Esclaus i lliberts orientals a Barcelona', in *De l'esclavitud a la llibertat. Esclaus i lliberts a l'edat mitjana* (Barcelona: CSIC, 2000), pp. 167–212, and Josep Hernando i Delgado, *Els esclaus islàmics a Barcelona: blancs, negres, llors i turcs. De l'esclavitud a la llibertat* (*s. XIV*) (Barcelona: Institució Milà i Fontanals—CSIC, 2003), from which the figures quoted in this paragraph have been taken.

13 See Josep Hernando i Delgado, *Els esclaus islàmics a Barcelona*, doc. 526.

14 See Josep Hernando i Delgado, *Els esclaus islàmics a Barcelona*, docs 552–553.

15 See Josep Hernando i Delgado, *Els esclaus islàmics a Barcelona*, doc. 985.

16 This notarial registry has been included in the Appendix, doc. 6.

17 See Appendix, doc. 7.

18 See Josep Hernando i Delgado, *Els esclaus islàmics a Barcelona*, doc. 791.

a ship's captain, manumits several children that his slavewomen had borne him, including a two-month-old son by the rather literary name of París whose mother was of Turkish origin.[19]

Barcelona was far from being the only place in the Crown of Aragon where slaves and freed people were significant demographic elements. Serious risk of depopulation was a chronic problem in Majorca, posing unpleasant dilemmas to the authorities. In 1362 the widows' practice of marrying slaves was forbidden by the bishop, while in 1401 King Martí the Humane banned the freedmen of Eastern Mediterranean origin (Greeks, Bulgarians, Turks, Tatars) and their dependants from leaving the island in order to prevent a drain on its human resources.[20]

As the Iberian Peninsula and Asia Minor alike belonged to the same Mediterranean world into which both Catalans and Ottomans expanded in the fourteenth century, an abundance of information about Turkey can be found in the late 1300s in the Crown of Aragon. To Muntaner's account may be added the familiarity with the Levant shown by the splendid *Catalan Mappamundi of 1375*, attributed to the Jewish cartographer Cresques Abraham of Majorca.[21] Other visual material, now lost, appears in inventories. A list made in 1395 on the death of Gilabert de Cruïlles describes a tapestry in the castle of Peratallada: 'Item unum pannum novum de ras cum *istòria del Soldan*', that is, 'a new silk tapestry with the history of the Sultan', probably Murad or Bayezid. The merchant Antoni Cases in 1448 owned a 'drap de pinzell poch, molt antich e de pocha valor, ab ystòria de batalles de turchs ab christians' ('a small painted hanging, very old and of little value, with the histories of battles of Turks and Christians').[22] At the Royal Entry of King Martí the Humane into Barcelona in March 1397 there were various floats displaying Turkish warriors: 'officium *dels cotonés* fecit multos equites cotonerios et turchos qui adinvincem preliabantur' ('the guild of cottoners made many hobby horses with knights and Turks who fought each other'), while other craftsmen 'fecerunt Amoratum cum multis turchis, sive *turchs*, et multos homines *salvatges*, et adinvincem preliabantur' ('made a Great Emir with many Turks and many wild men, and they fought with each other').[23] This element will reappear in festivities and processions over a

19 See Appendix, doc. 9.

20 See Appendix, doc. 10.

21 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds espagnol, 30; digitized online at gallica.bnf.fr, although some map legends are difficult to discern.

22 Maria Rosa Terés i Tomàs, 'Art profà i vida quotidiana entorn a 1400: els inventaris barcelonins', *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia*, 19 (1998), 295–317 (pp. 308–309).

23 See Appendix, doc. 9.

long period. It is therefore not surprising that in *Lo somni* (*The Dream*), finished in 1399, Bernat Metge should joke that women gossip at mass about 'quantes gents d'armes ha l'Almorat' ('how many soldiers the Great Emir has').[24]

2 The Genre of the Text and Its Place in Medieval Catalan Literature

At the time of composition of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín*, there was already a long narrative tradition in medieval Catalan literature. The polymath Ramon Llull (1232–1316) of Majorca is generally credited as the founder of Catalan

24 Bernat Metge, *Lo somni*, ed. by Stefano Cingolani, Els Nostres Clàssics, B27 (Barcelona: Barcino, 2006), p. 222 (III.viii.46). The term 'l'Almorat', the usual form in Western Europe to refer to the Ottoman sovereign during the reigns of Murad I (r. 1362–1389) and Bayezid I (r. 1389–1402), poses difficult problems of translation, and it has been decided to render it in this volume as 'the Great Emir'. The obvious candidates for translating 'l'Almorat' are Emir and Sultan, but neither is fully appropriate. Emir (originally meaning 'commander', though later used for other authorities) could also be applied to the sovereigns of the other contemporary Turkish states of Anatolia, far less important at this stage (it took some time until they were annexed by the Ottomans, but this was mainly because, given their condition as Islamic states, a conquering war was considered unlawful in principle). It is interesting to note that Palamas speaks of 'the Great Emir' (τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀμηρᾶ) when referring to Orhan. Sultan, an older and more prestigious title, would correspond more closely to the level of power achieved by Murad, but he was not universally recognized as such. In the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* only the word 'Soldà' (ch. IV) appears, without qualification, referring to the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt. The first Ottoman ruler to proclaim himself Sultan was Orhan (r. 1326–1362); this made clear that he did not recognize himself as a subject of the Emir of Konya (r. until 1328), a minor figure who was the last in the line of the Seljuk Sultans. However, there is no evidence that Orhan's claim to the sultanate was accepted by other rulers—e.g. the *Historia* of Iōannēs Kantakouzenos (d. 1383), which covers the period 1320–1356, reserves the title for the Emir of Konya and the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt. His successor Murad I also styled himself Sultan by 1383. In particular, he took the titles of *Ḫüdâvendigâr* (approximately 'divine sovereign') and *Sultan-ı Âzam* ('the most exalted sultan'); his use of a title formely used by the Seljuk sovereigns was a clear sign of his imperial ambition. Sultan applied to him appears in an inscription of 1388, and he is also so called by Ahmedî, the most important Turkish writer of the period. Despite this, the first Ottoman sovereign considered unanimously by historians as a Sultan is Bayezid I, since he was the first to seek and obtain approval to use it from a Caliph (the Abbasid Caliph in Cairo). This happened in 1394–1395. His title *Sulṭān al-Rūm* ('Sultan of Rum', i.e. the Byzantine lands) reflects the widespread perception that Bayezid was going to conquer Constantinople (an expectation only broken by the sudden arrival of Timur on to the stage). It is also noteworthy that contemporary Western chronicles refer to Bayezid as *imperator*, i.e. 'emperor'.

literary prose. Two of his works in particular can be seen as essentially narratives. The hero of the novel *Blaquerna*, or *Romanç d'Evast e Blaquerna* (*Romance of Evast and Blaquerna*), finished in Montpellier in 1283, is a virtuous youth who rejects the marriage arranged for him by his family and enters the religious life; he eventually becomes Pope, but finally renounces the papacy for the contemplative life of a hermit. *Fèlix* or *Llibre de meravelles* (*Felix or the Book of Wonders*), finished in Paris in 1289, contains a section called *Llibre de les bèsties* (*Book of the Beasts*), which is a didactic tale, derived in part from *Kalīla wa Dimna* (*Kalila and Dimna*) using animal characters to reflect on the human condition. Llull was fluent not only in Latin (a requirement of Western European intellectuals of the time) but also in Arabic. *Kalīla wa Dimna* was well known in al-Andalus, and in 1251 had already been translated into Spanish at the behest of the future King Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and Leon. To a certain extent, both this translation and the *Llibre de les bèsties* can be seen as one of the ramifications of a route opened up by a work composed in Latin, the *Disciplina clericalis*, the first collection of exemplary tales of Oriental origin addressed to a Western audience. Its author, born Moses Sephardi, is known as Petrus Alfonsi, the name he adopted at his baptism in 1106 in Huesca ten years after the King of Aragon had conquered this stronghold from the Muslims. Later this scholar travelled to England, where he was active as royal physician at the court of Henry I and transmitted his knowledge of Arabic astronomy to Walcher of Malvern and Adelard of Bath. Far more manuscripts of his works have been preserved in England than in the Iberian Peninsula; indeed, his scientific production has been transmitted only in English witnesses.

The other high point in the development of Catalan literary prose is the corpus known as *les quatre grans cròniques* ('the four great chronicles'): the *Llibre dels fets del rei En Jaume* (*Book of Deeds of King Jaume I*, finished c. 1275), the *Llibre del rei En Pere d'Aragó e dels seus antecessors passats* of Bernat Desclot (*Book of King Pere of Aragon and His Ancestors*, finished 1288), the abovementioned work by Muntaner, and the *Llibre del rei En Pere el Cerimoniós* (*Book of King Pere the Ceremonious*, finished 1382). This canon was established by modern scholarship and it does not account for all medieval Catalan historiography. Although these works are usually termed *cròniques* ('chronicles'), their authors called them merely *llibre* ('book'). Their common denominator is that they recount contemporary or slightly earlier events, with little distance, chronological or emotional, between narrator and subject: indeed, the chronicle of Pere the Ceremonious titles itself *Llibre en què·s contenen tots los grans fets qui són entrevenguts en nostra casa dins lo temps de la nostra vida, començant-los a nostra nativitat* ('Book containing all the great deeds which have occurred in our house in the course of our life, beginning with our birth'). It consciously identi-

fies itself with the tradition of the *Llibre dels fets* and both take the form of royal autobiographies, which is a rare feature in Western European historiography.

The Turks have an important role to play in Muntaner's eyewitness account, as has already been pointed out. But they reappear as enemies of the hero in the next great stage of Catalan prose: the fifteenth-century romance of chivalry, represented by the anonymous *Curial e Güelfa* (*Curial and Guelfa*), written c. 1450, and especially *Tirant lo Blanch* by Joanot Martorell (1410/11–1465), a work with a complex transmission history, first printed posthumously in 1490.[25] A few decades earlier, the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* shares some features with this genre. At one point in chapter IV, the hero is presented, along with his companion, as a *cavaller de ventura*, a figure related to the *knight errant* of the contemporary *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* ('kny3t erraunt', l. 810): 'nosaltres són hòmens qui vem per lo món sercant la nostra ventura'. However, the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* cannot be classified as a romance of chivalry. Later on in the same chapter the hero uses words which recall the tone of the courtly love romances when describing his relationship with his beloved: 'pobre servent e sclau que són seu'. Indeed, the variety of tone in different episodes shows that this text forms part of the renewal of fiction in the Romance languages which culminates in Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron*, composed c. 1349–1353 and translated into Catalan in 1429.

If one had to assign the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* a genre, one might place it in the company of anonymous works in prose which present themselves as factual accounts of events in foreign courts (hence the appearance of *història* in their titles and headings) but which are rich in folk motifs and in which the historical content is at best limited and often perfunctory. Although there are variations in plot, a typical story-line has the main character, offspring of a great lord, expelled from the court for defending virtue in the face of intrigue and obliged to undergo a series of adventures and vicissitudes until winning a worthy place again. Typical works are the *Història de la filla de l'Emperador Contastí* (*History of the Daughter of the Emperor Constantine*), copied in the

25 The English version *Curial and Guelfa: A Classic of the Crown of Aragon*, prol. by Antoni Ferrando and trans. by Max W. Wheeler (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2011), also provides a good introduction to this work. Our understanding of the personality of Joanot Martorell has been transformed by the research carried out by Jaume J. Chiner Gimeno and Jesús Villalmanzo. See especially: J.J. Chiner, *El viure novel·lesc. Biografia de Joanot Martorell amb un fragment d'un manuscrit del 'Tirant lo Blanch'* (Alcoy: Marfil, 1993); J. Villalmanzo and J.J. Chiner, *La pluma y la espada. Estudio documental sobre Joanot Martorell y su família (1373–1483)* (Valencia: Ajuntament de València, 1992); J. Villalmanzo, *Joanot Martorell, biografía ilustrada y diplomatario* (Valencia: Ajuntament de València, 1995).

same fragmentary manuscript as the *Història de Jacob Xalabín*, and the more common *Història de la filla del Rei d'Hongria* (*History of the Daughter of the King of Hungary*), preserved in three manuscripts. Both are constructed around the motif of the persecuted maiden, as formulated by Veselovskij, and the second work also partakes of the motif of the handless maiden, which would later inform one of the most popular tales among the Moriscos, the legend of Carcayona.[26] The *Història de Jacob Xalabín* also shares a number of motifs with *París i Viana*, a very popular short novel of the late European Middle Ages. París, of lesser birth than Viana, daughter of the dauphin of Vienne, earns her love by fighting in disguise in a series of tournaments; in spite of a frustrated elopement, they marry at the end overcoming her father's plan to marry her to a different suitor. There is no agreement among scholars about the language in which this novel was originally composed, but a small book 'en lenga catalana, apellat *París e Viana*' is already documented in the inventory of the library of King Alfons the Magnanimous in 1417, and the first extant text, composed in French by Pierre de la Cépède in 1432, refers in the prologue to a 'livre, escript en langaige cathalain' as the ultimate source of the story.[27]

These little novels, then, tend to be exemplary and to draw on plotlines which were very common throughout Western Europe. The author of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín*, however, departed from this general trend and used a different type of material. In consequence he produced a hybrid text which occupies a very special place in the Catalan literature of its time.

3 Structure and Material

The author of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* took pains to give artistic unity to his tale. Even so, an analysis of the narrative enables us to appreciate some junctures. The great divide appears between chapters XIV and XV, introducing

26 Alessandro Wesselofsky, 'La favola della fanciulla perseguitata', in his edition of *Novella della figlia del re di Dacia* (Pisa: Nestri, 1866; repr. in Veselovskij-Sade, *La fanciulla perseguitata*, ed. by D'Arco Silvio Avalle (Milan: Bompiani, 1977), pp. 35–101). Veronica Orazi has studied in detail the theme in Catalan literature, see for example her *'Die verfolgte Frau*: per l'analisi semiologica di un motivo folclorico e delle sue derivazioni medievali (con speciale attenzione all'ambito catalano)', *Estudis Romànics*, 22 (2000), 101–138. For the Morisco tale, see *La leyenda de la doncella Carcayona*, ed. by Pino Valero Cuadra (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2000).

27 See *'Història de París i Viana': Edició facsímil de la primera impressió catalana* (*Girona, 1495*), ed. by Pedro M. Cátedra and Modest Prats (Girona: Diputació de Girona, 1986), with the first extant Catalan version preceded by a study on the earlier history of the text.

the catastrophe, the battle of Kosovo, straight after what could have been a happy ending, the prince's return to Bursa and his marriage. Another divide, obviously lesser but also important, comes in chapter IV, when the hero and his companion leave the Ottoman court to undertake a series of adventures. Such seams are of the greatest interest. They point to the use of materials of different kinds and origins, allowing us to elaborate hypotheses to compensate, at least in part, for our lack of explicit information about the author and the precise circumstances under which he wrote.

3.1 *First Bloc: Intrigue at the Court of Murad*

The first bloc is formed of chapters I–IV, up to the hero's flight from court. Here Issa Çelebina, Murad's young wife, falls in love with her stepson Yakub Çelebi, and unsuccessfully attempts to seduce him. She succumbs to love sickness and nobody can ascertain the cause of her illness. Finally she is treated by the evil Jewish physician Kyr Moshe, who convinces the sovereign that she will only be cured if she eats the prince's liver. Murad orders Yakub's death, but the young man is warned by his faithful friend Ali Pasha and both escape.

In a pioneering study, Siegfried Bosch drew attention to the similarity between the opening situation of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* and two stories in *The Thousand and One Nights*.[28] He pointed to the following parallels with 'Baybars and the Sixteen Captains of Police', specifically with the story of the eleventh:

Història de Jacob Xalabín	**'The Eleventh Captain's Tale'**
Murad has a young wife, Issa Çelebina; Yakub Çelebi, born of a previous marriage, lives at court.	The hero's mother dies and his father the king remarries.
The Jewish physician Kyr Moshe, summoned to cure Issa Çelebina, becomes her confidant.	The king's new wife has a Jewish physician as her lover.
Kyr Moshe convinces Issa Çelebina that Yakub Çelebi must die.	The prince impedes the relations between the queen and the physician and they decide to poison him.

28 Siegfried Bosch, 'Les fonts orientals del *Tirant lo Blanch*', *Estudis Romànics*, 2 (1949–1950), 1–50 (pp. 45–50).

Història de Jacob Xalabín	**'The Eleventh Captain's Tale'**
Yakub Çelebi is warned by his faithful friend Ali Pasha that his death has been ordered.	The prince is warned by his horse, a talking animal, of the plan to kill him.
On the advice of Kyr Moshe, Murad consents to the prince's being sacrificed so that Issa Çelebina can eat his liver and be cured.	On the advice of the Jewish physician, the king consents to the horse's being sacrificed so that the queen, who feigns illness, can eat the animal's heart and be cured.
Yakub Çelebi flees the court with Ali Pasha, who will help him in subsequent adventures.	The prince flees the court riding on his horse, a magic animal which will help him in subsequent adventures.

Bosch also shows similarities, some of which correspond to the second section of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín*, with another much longer narrative in *The Thousand and One Nights*, 'Qamar al-Zamān and Budūr'. In fact this story presents a greater number of common motifs, but more dispersed and in a different order. Here Prince Qamar al-Zamān refuses to take a wife, while far away Princess Budūr also refuses to marry. The young people are locked up but two jinn wishing to compare their beauty bring her to his side and they fall in love. Shortly afterwards Budūr is taken back to her country, but her health is ruined by the absence of her beloved. Only with the arrival of Qamar al-Zamān is she cured of her illness. Her father consents to their marriage and they go to the other court. On the way, a bird steals Budūr's talisman and Qamar al-Zamān is lost trying to recover it. She uses his clothes to disguise herself, but on arriving at the Ebony Islands she cannot avoid marriage with Princess Ḥayāt al-Nufūs. However, Budūr manages to find her husband. Thus Qamar al-Zamān becomes king of the Ebony Islands, with Budūr and Ḥayāt al-Nufūs as his wives. They give him a son each, but later each wife falls in love with her stepson, who rejects her out of filial respect. Out of spite, the wives make the king order the death of the princes, accused of attempted rape. However, the official charged with taking them to the desert and killing them sets them free; when he returns to the palace, he passes off the blood of a lion as theirs. The youths go through a series of adventures until they gain thrones in accordance with their royal blood.

A brief fragment of the *Nights* from the ninth century has survived, and an allusion by a writer called al-Qurṭubī quoted in al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* makes it plausible that the collection was known in al-Andalus by the twelfth century. However, the substantial witnesses to the *Nights* are much later. The manuscript tradition divides into two branches, one Syrian and one Egyptian, and their earliest witnesses can be dated to the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively. The Syrian tradition does not include 'Baybars and the Sixteen Captains of Police' and preserves only the beginning of 'Qamar al-Zamān and Budūr'. There are indications, however, that some tales were widely circulated at a relatively early date and probably influenced the development of prose in Romance languages. Thus, 'Qamar al-Zamān and Budūr' displays numerous similarities with a later European romance, *Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne*, which was very popular in France in the mid-fifteenth century.[29]

A more detailed analysis would reveal important differences between these tales from *The Thousand and One Nights* and the *Història de Jacob Xalabín*. Furthermore, in a broader view these are similarities shared with other narratives and corresponding to very common folktale motifs. For example, knowledge in medieval Spain of *Sendebar* or *Sindibād* is shown by the *Libro de los engaños de las mujeres* (*Book of the Wiles of Women*), translated from Arabic to Spanish in 1253 at the command of the infante Don Fadrique, brother of Alfonso X the Learned, and a much later Catalan verse version whose filiation is much harder to ascertain. The narrative frame of *Sendebar* tells how a prince resists the attempts at seduction made by his stepmother; when she fails for good, she accuses him of attempted rape and tries to have the king execute him.

Of course, the best-known tale of a stepmother rejected by a virtuous young man is the biblical story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife (Genesis, 39.11). The version in the Qur'ān (12.21–34), where the characters are called Yūsuf and Zulaykha, became a favourite plot in the Islamic literatures. One should add that the story of Joseph was particularly popular among the Moriscos. Aljamiado manuscripts (i.e. using Arabic script to record the Romance vernacular) have preserved versions both in verse and prose, called in modern times the *Poema de Yūsuf* (*Poem of Yūsuf*) and the *Leyenda de Yūsuf* (*Legend of Yūsuf*) respectively. The biblical narrative was naturally well known among Christians in the Crown of Aragon, where the most successful literary treatment is the

29 Muhsin Mahdi, *The Thousand and One Nights* (*Alf Layla wa-Layla*) *from the Earliest Known Sources*, 3 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1984–1994). See also *The Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, ed. by Ulrich Marzolph and Richard van Leeuwen, 2 vols (Santa Barbara: ABC Clio, 2004), pp. 17–21, 141, 341–345 and 673–674 on these issues, with further bibliographical references.

Història de Josef, fill del gran patriarca Jacob (*History of Joseph, Son of the Great Patriarch Jacob*) by Joan Roís de Corella, written c. 1485 'en vulgar de valenciana prosa', the ornamental style practised by Valencian authors of this time.

Recently, Cingolani has proposed a classical source for the initial situation of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín*, the myth of Hippolytus and Phaedra.[30] Seneca's treatment had been translated into Catalan in the late Middle Ages with others of his tragedies. An extant version titled *Ypòlit*, based on a text with the commentaries of the Anglo-Norman Dominican scholar Nicholas Trevet, has been traditionally attributed to Antoni de Vilaragut i Visconti (1336–1400), a prominent nobleman at the courts of Pere the Ceremonious and Joan the Hunter, although arguments have been advanced in favour of transferring its authorship to his grandson and namesake Antoni de Vilaragut i Vilanova (d. 1446). There is also evidence of an earlier Catalan translation of Seneca's tragedies by Jaume Cecoma, protonotary of King Pere the Ceremonious.[31]

Again, it is hard to see *Hippolytus* as a direct source for the opening of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín*. The similarities with Seneca's tragedy are no greater than with the works mentioned previously, and the differences are important. Admittedly, a contemporary Catalan translation of *Hippolytus* is documented, while there is no evidence of the reception of the above-mentioned tales from *The Thousand and One Nights* in the territories of the Crown of Aragon. However, it is perfectly possible that the author of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* had access to sources beyond its borders and in this connection it is important to recall the itinerant storytellers who travelled around Turkey in the early Ottoman period. The Catalan writer drew his initial plot from a universal model, and only the analysis of individual motifs can establish whether his direct source was Eastern or Western.

In this respect it is particularly significant that the physician prescribes eating the prince's liver as a cure for the stepmother's ills. The liver is the seat of the amorous feelings in Arabic, Persian and Turkish culture, in accordance with a tradition which goes back to pre-Islamic times. An early example is found in

30 *Història de Jacob Xalabín*, ed. by Stefano Cingolani (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 2008), p. 36.

31 On the reception of Seneca in Spain, see the fundamental studies of Nicholas G. Round, 'Las traducciones medievales catalanas y castellanas de las tragedias de Séneca', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 9 (1974–1979), 187–227, and Karl A. Blüher, *Séneca en España. Investigaciones sobre la recepción de Séneca en España desde el siglo XIII hasta el siglo XVII* (Madrid: Gredos 1983). For the abovementioned translation, see L.A. Sèneca, *Tragèdies. Traducció catalana medieval amb comentaris del segle XIV de Nicolau Trevet*, ed. by Tomàs Martínez Romero, 2 vols, Els Nostres Clàssics, B14–15 (Barcelona: Barcino, 1995).

the 'Qaṣīda Tā'iyya' of Shanfarā al-Azdī.[32] In Western Europe this function is attributed to the heart. The most famous example of the eaten heart is the ninth novella of the fourth day of the *Decameron*, where Boccaccio refers explicitly to a Provençal tradition which is to be found in the collections of courly love poetry; the mid-twelfth-century lives of the troubadours include this legend applied to Guillem de Cabestany, a knight and poet of the county of Roussillon, then a Catalan territory.[33] The presence of the liver rather than the heart thus makes it probable that for his opening the author of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* adapted a tale from Eastern oral tradition, perhaps heard in Turkey, although it is likely that his general cultural background included the biblical story of Joseph and even the classical myth of Hippolytus.

3.2 *Second Bloc: Adventures in Turkey*

The second bloc, running from the middle of chapter IV to the end of chapter XIV, recounts the adventures of Yakub Çelebi and Ali Pasha once they have escaped from Murad's court. The two reach the beylik of Palatia (Balat), where they win fame as knights without revealing their identity. Nergis ('Nerguís'), daughter of the emir, falls in love with the prince. However, she is promised to the lord of Satalia (Antalya). When he comes to take her to his possessions, she arranges to meet Yakub in her mother's funerary tower, which is on the way. The lovers lose consciousness during their tryst, so Ali disguises himself in her clothes and joins a caravan on its way to Satalia. There he seduces the emir's sister and escapes with her. They go to the funerary tower, where they meet Yakub and Nergis. The two couples then go to the court of Murad, where they celebrate their weddings after being received with joy (Issa Çelebina has died and Kyr Moshe emigrated).

This second sequence of events is a logical continuation of the initial situation and conforms to a structure which is habitual in tales of this type. The narrative technique is somewhat different, as when the paths of Yakub Çelebi and Ali Pasha diverge the author makes use of interlacing, a device which in the future will be much used in the romance of chivalry. However, what above all stands out in this section is that, although the narrative follows the Western mentalities of chivalry and love, particular care is taken to construct the plot on Turkish customs which are unknown to the audience and are briefly explained.

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32 See *Early Arabic Poetry: Select Poems*, ed. and trans. by Alan Jones (Reading: Ithaca Press, 2011), p. 207 (l. 4). On this theme in general, see Maxime Rodinson, 'Kabid', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn, 12 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1960–2005), IV, 327–333.

33 For an overview of the eaten heart motif, see Mariella Di Maio, *Il cuore mangiato. Storia di un tema letterario dal Medioevo all'Ottocento* (Milan: Guerini e Associati, 1996).

Thus in chapter V the lord of Satalia comes to Palatia to celebrate his union with Nergis; the marriage, however, is not consummated as this can only be done once the groom has taken his bride to his possessions. This key element of the plot is foreign to the Christian West, where there would be no impediment to the union taking place outside the husband's lands or during the journey there. In chapter VI the author explains the Turkish custom of erecting funeral monuments by the roadside, an element which is essential because it will make possible the intimacy of Nergis and Yakub. The habit in the West was for kings and nobles to build family tombs in monasteries and convents. In fact, the description in the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* clearly corresponds to the type known as *kümbet*, several examples of which survive in Anatolia dedicated to womenfolk of royal houses. Further on, in chapter VII the custom among great lords for men and women to travel separately, unknown in Christian Europe, enables Nergis to reach the funerary tower. In chapter VIII it is explained that Turkish women cover their faces with the veil, one of the earliest testimonies on the subject. Thanks to this custom Ali Pasha will be able to pass without notice as Nergis with the help of her maid. In chapter XIV mention is made of the hegemony gained by the Ottomans over the other beyliks, which makes the lords of Palatia and Satalia come to the court of Murad when he requires and then accept that their daughter and sister marry Yakub Çelebi and Ali Pasha. This fear of the House of Osman felt by the other Turkish states of Anatolia certainly reflects the political situation of the time and accounts for both lords' attitude. The author also gives precise geographical details when recounting the journeys in these chapters, for example describing a spring on the road from Karahisar to Kütahya. This is particularly striking as the interior of Anatolia was less known in Western Europe than the Mediterranean coastal cities.

All these observations do not prevent the text from following the usual routes of narrative in Western Europe. Thus the account of the *kümbet* in chapter VI both shows a clear knowledge of Anatolia and at the same time corresponds to a very common motif, with differing meanings, in European literatures, the lovers' meeting at a tomb. One need only think of the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, told and retold since Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Chapters I–XIV form a coherent whole. The plot of a hero who must flee the court because of intrigue and overcome a series of adventures till he gains a worthy position is usual in the genre. There is a danger in overstating a division here, as some historical elements can be detected in the first part (especially at the beginning) and folk elements in the second. Yet there is a clear difference and it is not hard to say why. In order to give precise details of the court of Murad, the author of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* would have had to have access to the Ottoman harem, something unthinkable. This explains why he

should base his initial situation on a traditional tale, full of folk motifs, while in the second bloc he develops his plot along the typical lines of European narrative (which had assimilated Arabic storytelling), albeit using typical Turkish customs to which he is a reliable witness. While it is true that in the first bloc, for instance, he introduces historical figures—like the Almorat (Murad I), Jacob Xalabín (Yakub Çelebi) and Alí Baxà (Çandarlı Ali Paşa)—, beside others which are not—Issa Çelebina, Kyr Moshe—, those historical characters will reappear in the third bloc and their actions in the first bloc are clearly fictitious.

3.3 *Third Bloc: The Battle of Kosovo*

Chapter XIV, described above as belonging to the second bloc, closes with the double weddings of Yakub Çelebi to Nergis and of Ali Pasha to the sister of the lord of Satalia. Thus a happy ending, typical of the genre, is achieved. However, the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* continues with a third bloc, chapters XV–XVII, in which is described a combat which can be easily identified as the battle of Kosovo. This is doubtless due to a desire to write historical facts; indeed, it is probable that it was the news of the death of the Ottoman prince which initially inspired the author to write his account.

The importance of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* as one of the first sources for the battle of Kosovo has not been fully appreciated. This was a confrontation which left a profound mark on the history of the Balkans, but of which little is known for certain.[34] It is not even possible to state which side was victorious, if there was a victorious side. We may be sure that on 15 June 1389 the forces of Murad I fought at Kosovo Polje (the 'field of the blackbirds' in Serbian) the army of the Serbian prince Lazar, who was backed by reinforcements sent by King Tvrtko I of Bosnia. It is also clear that both sides suffered an enormous number of losses and that both sovereigns perished, both the Serb and the Ottoman, so that Bayezid made haste to return to Edirne to claim the throne.

It is probable that the chaos caused by the outcome of the battle in the Serbian and Ottoman states, both without a head, made it impossible to produce immediately in either state what could be termed an official version of the events at Kosovo. On the Serb side we have some ten early texts, written

34 On the battle of Kosovo, see Thomas A. Emmert, *Serbian Golgotha: Kosovo, 1389* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), and the volume *Kosovo: Legacy of a Medieval Battle*, ed. by Wayne S. Vucinich and Thomas Emmert (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991). On the question of fratricide in the Ottoman dynasty, see Halil İnalcik, 'The Ottoman Succession and lts Relation to the Turkish Concept of Sovereignty', in his *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies Department, 1993), pp. 37–69.

between 1390 and 1420, panegyrics which exalt the martyrdom of Prince Lazar. However, they barely contain any historical information about the battle itself, although they are essential for the understanding of its subsequent development as a national myth.[35] On the Ottoman side, the *fetihnâme* of Murad proclaiming victory and the *ferman* of Bayezid of July 1389 announcing the death of his father and his own rise to the throne, both included in the *Münşeâtü's-selâtîn* of Feridun Ahmed Bey, seem to have been produced in the sixteenth century.[36] It is also possible that documents were lost in later wars. Thus, the sack of Bursa after Bayezid's defeat in 1402 on the plain of Çubuk near Ankara by Timur (better known as Tamerlane, from the Persian *Tīmūr-i lang*, 'Timur the lame') certainly led to the destruction of archives. The earliest testimony, therefore, is literary: the brief section on the house of Osman which the poet Ahmedî added to his *İskendernâme* (*Book of Alexander*). This work was largely composed when its author was not yet an Ottoman subject, but he must have made this addition shortly before 1407, when he lived in Edirne, with the intention of offering it to Süleyman, a son of Bayezid. Thus it can be said in general that the surviving accounts of the battle of Kosovo on both the Serb and Turkish sides are relatively late and /or raise questions as to their reliability as historical sources.

The first documentary references to the battle of Kosovo are: an observation that news of it was known on 27 June 1389 in the *Itinerary* written by Ignatij of Smolensk about his journey to Constantinople in the entourage of Metropolitan Pimen; allusions in two letters written in summer 1389 by the Byzantine statesman and scholar Dēmētrios Kydōnēs; a letter informing of decisions of the Venetian senate sent to a Venetian emissary of 23 July 1389; the letter of King Tvrtko of Bosnia to the senate of the Dalmatian city of Trogir of 1 August 1389; a reply from the senate of Florence to King Tvrtko of 20 October 1389; passages on the battle in the *Songe du vieil pèlerin* (1389) and *Une epistre lamentable et consolatoire* (1397) of Philippe de Mézières; the description of the battle in the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* (presumably c. 1400); a brief reference in the *Embajada a Tamorlán* attributed to Ruy González de Clavijo (c. 1406); verses in the *İskendernâme* of Ahmedî (c. 1407); the description of the battle in the so-called *Cronica volgare di anonimo fiorentino dall' anno 1385 al 1409*; and a reference in the *Vita Tamerlani* or *Ruina Damasci* of Bertrando de Mignanelli (1416).[37] In

35 In addition to the bibliography cited in the previous note, see Jelka Ređep, 'The Legend of Kosovo', *Oral Tradition*, 6.2–3 (1991), 253–265.

36 See Nicholas C.J. Pappas and Lee Brigance Pappas, 'The Ottoman View of the Battle of Kosovo', in *Kosovo: Legacy of a Medieval Battle*, pp. 41–59 (p. 52 and p. 59, n. 74).

37 Ređep, 'The Legend of Kosovo', p. 254, gives a list which includes a presumably brief mention by a scribe called Bozidar, which is not cited in other studies and I have not

general, the most trustworthy information on the battle comes from near contemporary statements by diplomats from the European states most directly affected by the outcome of the conflict. They show a clear interest in gathering intelligence to inform advice on a change of policy faced with an apparent upheaval in the international scene.

All in all, this list of references shows the importance of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* as an early witness to the battle of Kosovo. Its account sometimes includes details which had appeared in earlier sources. Thus Ignatij of Smolensk, travelling through the Ottoman domains, is the first to report that Murad had launched a campaign against Lazar and that the two sovereigns had perished in the ensuing conflict, while a few weeks later the Venetian senate already knew that one of the sultan's sons had died and another had succeeded him. In other cases the earliest diplomatic reports provide information which is different or lacking in our text. Florentine correspondence with Tvrtko, for example, is the first testimony to the site (*campus turdorum*) and date (St Vitus's day) of the battle and that the death of the Ottoman ruler was due to the action of a knight. The *Història de Jacob Xalabín*, in contrast, is silent about the location, gives a clearly erroneous date and describes Murad's end somewhat differently. On the other hand, it is the first source to report that Yakub was executed by order of Bayezid after the battle. This element, the keystone of the work, is a precise piece of information which was obviously easier to come by on the Ottoman side. In addition, if this was the origin of the information handled by the author of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín*, this would explain its discrepancies with the West European sources. Thus, Ahmedî does not mention the place of the battle either, which is explicable if one bears in mind that Murad's incursion went into what at the time was not properly speaking Ottoman territory, and the error in dating could have been influenced by an incorrect conversion from the Islamic calendar.

The problem posed by the description of the battle of Kosovo between Murad and Lazar ('Làtzer' in Catalan) in the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* is that it is closest not to any of the sources mentioned so far, but to an account in a much later Ottoman chronicle, composed about a century later than the events. This is Neşrî's *Cihânnümâ* (*Universal Panorama*), the sixth and last book of which (the only one to survive) devotes its main section to a history of the Ottoman dynasty.[38] Its depiction of the battle of Kosovo is the most detailed of all

been able to locate, and Bayezid's *ferman*, considered a fabrication by other scholars, as is mentioned above.

38 This text has a complex transmission. Facsimiles of two manuscripts, including the oldest one, were published by Franz Taeschner, *Ğihānnümā. Die altosmanische Chronik des Mevlānā Meḥemmed Neschrī*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1951–1955). There is also a

Ottoman sources, and was greatly influential on subsequent historiography. A comparison of the common points between the two texts shows up a clear connection between them, however bold this hypothesis might seem at first sight:

Història de Jacob Xalabín	**Neşrî**
The *prohom* Ali Pasha dies.	Hayreddin Paşa dies.
Lazar sacks Murad's lands.	Lazar rises up and invades Murad's lands.
Murad gathers his troops and barons. He sends for his son Bayezid.	Murad gathers his troops and lords. He sends for his son Bayezid so that he can accompany him on *gaza*, a military expedition in the frontier of Islam.
Murad leaves Bursa, passes through Gallipoli and reaches the battlefield.	Murad leaves Bursa, passes through Gallipoli and reaches the battlefield.
Lazar sends a messenger to Murad saying he is ready and willing to fight.	Lazar sends a messenger to Murad saying he is ready and willing to fight.
Murad replies angrily to the messenger and threatens Lazar.	Murad replies angrily to the messenger and threatens Lazar.
Lazar is roused to action when the messenger reports Murad's words.	Lazar is roused to action when the messenger reports Murad's words.
A Hungarian knight requests Lazar successfully to be in the frontline, and swears to fight hand-to-hand against Murad.	A Serbian knight called Miloş Kopile (i.e. Miloš Kobilić or Obilić) tells Lazar that he is going to kill Murad.

critical edition based on a different manuscript, and with the text transliterated to the Latin alphabet: Mehmed Neşrî, *Kitâb-i Cihan-nümâ* (*Neşrî Tarihi*), ed. by Faik Reşit Unat and Mehmed A. Köymen, 2 vols (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1949–1957, repr. 1995). A more recent transcription is Mevlânâ Mehmed Neşrî, *Cihânnümâ* (*Osmanlı Tarihi, 1288–1485*), ed. by Necdet Öztürk (Istanbul: Çamlıca, 2008); this scholar has also published a volume with his version in modern Turkish: Mehmed Neşrî, *Aşiretten İmparatorluğa Osmanlı Tarihi* (*1288–1485*), ed. by Necdet Öztürk (Istanbul: Timaş, 2011).

Història de Jacob Xalabín	**Neşrî**
Lazar's army includes troops from various countries. The horsemen are in the vanguard. Lazar arranges his army in three sections, with himself in the centre, his son-in-law on one wing and the Hungarian knight on the other.	Lazar's army includes troops from various countries. The horsemen are in the vanguard. Lazar arranges his army in three sections, with himself in the centre, his son-in-law on the right and the King of Bosnia on the left.
Murad has spies who inform him of Lazar's battle line.	Murad sends Evrenoz Gazi to spy on Lazar's army.
Murad places himself in the centre, Yakub Çelebi on one wing and Bayezid on the other.	Murad places himself in the centre, Yakub Çelebi on the left and Bayezid on the right.
Murad puts camels in the vanguard (although it is also suggested that the archers are also in the van when Lazar places his knights in the front).	Murad proposes putting camels in the vanguard but when he is advised against it he places the archers in the front.
Murad climbs a hill with his troops to observe Lazar's army.	Murad climbs a hill with Bayezid to observe Lazar's army.
Murad is anxious before the battle and falls into despair.	Murad is anxious before the battle and prays to God.
Bayezid speaks more than the others.	Murad asks for Bayezid's advice.
The battle begins with the Christian knights attacking the camels.	The battle begins with the Turkish archers shooting at the knights.
The Christian knights breach the Ottoman lines and reach the tents of the victuallers.	The Christian knights breach the Ottoman lines and reach the tents of the camp-followers.
A Hungarian knight makes for Murad, who orders his troops to let him pass; they duel and the knight mortally wounds Murad.	Miloş Kopile makes for Murad, who orders his troops to let him pass; the knight pretends to be a deserter and then mortally stabs Murad.

Història de Jacob Xalabín	**Neşrî**
The Ottomans kill the knight and put Murad in a tent. Lazar dies.	The Ottomans kill the knight and erect a tent over Murad. They kill Lazar.
Bayezid, who was nearby, enters the tent and finishes off Murad. He calls Yakub.	Bayezid, who was nearby, enters the tent. Murad dies. They call Yakub.
Bayezid strangles his half-brother. All the lords swear obedience to him.	Yakub is strangled. All the lords name Bayezid the new sultan.
Lazar's son-in-law and Bayezid return to their lands to be their lords.	Bayezid assumes the throne on the battlefield and returns to his land.
There is great mourning.	There is great mourning and affliction in the army.
Bayezid rules with Ali Pasha.	Bayezid rules with Ali Paşa.

The only reasonable hypothesis, however bold it might seem at first sight, is that Neşrî and the Catalan author drew directly or indirectly on some source which is now lost. It has been noted that the style in these three last chapters of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* tends to become clumsier, which might be an indication that it is a translation from a markedly different language.[39] The genre of the original and, if they existed, intermediaries, is to be found in the so-called *gazavâtnâme* and *menâkıbnâme*, accounts telling of great events written for recitation.[40]

39 Cf. Anfòs Par, 'Acotacions linguistiques y d'estil a clàssichs menors catalans', *Anuari de l'Oficina Romànica*, 4 (1931), 171–187 (p. 179). The syntax becomes so confused that it has given rise to misinterpretations, such as that Lazar is also presented as a German knight. See *Jacob Shalabin. Roman turc*, trans. by Jean-Marie Barberà (Toulouse: Anacharsis, 2006), p. 101, and *La storia di Jacob Xalabín*, ed. and trans. by Anna Maria Compagna (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2010), p. 167.

40 See Halil İnalcik, 'Ahmedî's *Ghazânâme* on the Battle of Kosova', *Les Annales de l'Autre Islam*, 7 (2000), 21–26, for further discussion of the Ottoman sources on the battle.

4 The Characters

The analysis of these components of the text makes it possible to consider the characters in the work and their historicity, which otherwise might seem a strange and inextricable mixture of truth and fiction.

Many of the main characters are reflections of easily identifiable historical figures: 'Morat', usually called 'l'Amorat' or 'l'Almorat', is the Ottoman ruler Murad I; the hero, 'Jacob Xalabín', is his son Yakub Çelebi (this is not a surname but a title equivalent to prince); his antagonist, 'Beseyt Bey', is Bayezid, nicknamed in Ottoman historiography Yıldırım ('the Thunderbolt'), his father's successor; the hero's companion, 'Alí Baxà', is Çandarlı Ali Paşa, grand vizier of Bayezid I. However, to deduce a series of historical figures from the plot of the novel is no simple matter. To return to the last example, it is documented that Çandarlı Ali Paşa succeeded his father as grand vizier during the reign of Murad I and would occupy this post until 1406; thus his role as Yakub's travelling companion is logically unhistorical. As we have seen, the third bloc of the novel has a basis in the historical battle of Kosovo, while the rest of the work combines history and fiction for plot purposes; the attribution of invented actions to historical figures should not surprise us outside of the final section.

Among the characterizations possibly influenced by the lost historiographical sources is the one corresponding to Bayezid. His behaviour at the end of the battle raises particularly pertinent questions. There are various sources later than the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* which claim that Bayezid had Yakub strangled. Much rarer is the statement that he hastened the development of events by finishing off his mortally wounded father Murad. Even so, there appear to have been rumours to this effect, some of which are picked up in *Bazm o Razm* by ʿAzīz b. Ardašīr-i Astarābādī. In any case, one should remember that the new sovereign came to be a figure of hate in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. His defeat by Timur in 1402 led to his conduct being questioned even in Ottoman historiography and earlier his policy of expansion and centralization had made him unpopular not only in Christian countries, but also in Turkish and Muslim lands. In fact, the disaster of Ankara was facilitated by the defection, switching sides during the battle, of the lords of Aydın, Menteşe, Saruhan and other beyliks. The Crown of Aragon could only have viewed with apprehension that Bayezid had won the siege of Salona in 1394, as this was one of the last vestiges of Catalano-Aragonese expansion in the Levant. In addition, the siege and blockade of Constantinople which the Ottoman ruler went on to launch later that year made him a great menace in the eyes of Christendom. In 1399 the Byzantine emperor Manouēl II Palaiologos was to decide to seek aid personally in the courts of Europe. In December he set sail for Venice

and after passing through several Italian cities he made long stays in Paris and London, receiving great honours and exciting admiration for his bearing and erudition. Although he did not visit the Iberian Peninsula in person, he did send to the Crown of Aragon diplomatic missions who made great efforts to enlist help.[41] Thus ill-feeling towards Bayezid ran high at both ends of the Mediterranean.[42]

Furthermore, the author of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* sought to give verisimilitude to the characters that appear in the first part of the work, even though the plot is marked by folk motifs. The hero's stepmother Issa Çelebina is hard to identify in history, but the presence of Greek women in the Ottoman harem, an institution at an early stage of development at the time, is attested, and there are unequivocal signs that among them was Gülçiçek Hatun, concubine of Murad I and mother of Bayezid I.[43] Similarly, Kyr Moshe does not correspond to any figure with that name documented at the time, but there is evidence of the presence of Jewish physicians at the Ottoman court from the end of the fourteenth century (it would become particularly significant after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492).[44] In any case, the characterization of Kyr Moshe is redolent of the anti-Judaism of the Iberian Peninsula of the time: the composition of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* is slightly later than

41 See *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, docs DCLIX, DCLX, and DCLXIV.

42 Constantinople was never to receive troops or financial aid against the Ottoman siege. The numerous frauds perpetrated in the Crown of Aragon were no different from those committed in the countries which the Emperor visited in person. In 1404 proceedings were begun against one Antoni of Constantinople who had made himself a citizen of Cervera and had appropriated money given for defence against the Ottomans, while in 1426 investigations were still open at the English court to discover the whereabouts of funds collected in the churches for the cause. See, respectively, Daniel Duran Duelt, 'Diplomacia de cruzada. Las misiones de Manuel II Paleólogo a la Península Ibérica y la recaudación de subsidios', in *Cataluña y Navarra en la Baja Edad Media*, ed. by Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero and Roser Salicrú i Lluch (Pamplona: Universidad Pública de Navarra, 2010), pp. 53–110, and Donald M. Nicol, 'A Byzantine Emperor in England: Manuel II's Visit to London in 1400–1401', in his *Byzantium: Its Ecclesiastical History and Relations with the Western World* (London: Variorum, 1972), pp. 204–225.

43 On Gülçiçek Hatun, see Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 36.

44 See, for example, Abraham Galanté, *Médecins juifs au service de la Turquie* (Istanbul: Babok, 1938); G.A. Russell, 'Physicians at the Ottoman Court', *Medical History*, 34 (1990), 243–267; Nil Sari and Ali Haydar Bayat, 'The Medical Organization at the Ottoman Court', *History of Medicine & Science*, New Series, 16.1–2 (1999–2000), 31–51.

the massacres of 1391 in Valencia, Majorca, Barcelona, Girona and Tarragona, among other cities.[45]

5 Problems of Dating and Authorship

The *Història de Jacob Xalabín* is not dated explicitly. However, the great military campaigns of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries against Ottoman expansion provide a set of points of reference which allow us to date it with a fair degree of certainty.

The *terminus post quem*, that is, the date after which the work must have been written, is obviously the battle of Kosovo in 1389. Yet it must be added that in describing the battle our text commits certain significant errors which show that the author was better informed about the Ottoman side than about its opponents and that he was not writing in the immediate aftermath of the campaign. Thus he calls Lazar 'lo cristià Búrgar' (that is, 'the Christian Bulgar prince'), a confusion doubtless derived from the conflict between the Ottomans and Tsar Ivan Šišman of Bulgaria. Although this mistake seems influenced by the campaign of 1388, it could also be caused by that of 1393.[46] The author of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* also states that Lazar's army was composed of German and Hungarian soldiers. Although there is a remote possibility that Prince Lazar did have such troops, it is certain that the bulk of his forces was composed of Serbians and Bosnians. This suggests some confusion with the battle fought at Nikopolis (present-day Nikopol, in Bulgaria) on 25 September 1396 in which the Ottoman sultan defeated a European crusading army, including Hungarian and German troops, under the general command of Zsigmond (or Sigismund) of Luxembourg, former Prince-Elector of Brandenburg and at that time King of Hungary (later King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor as well). Thus the *terminus post quem* of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* can be extended to 1396.

The *terminus ante quem* is supplied by the narrator's comment, noted above, that at the time of writing Bayezid is still on the throne. Thus it can be inferred that the author did not know, most likely because it had not yet happened, of the battle of Ankara on 28 July 1402 in which the Ottoman sultan was defeated

45 See David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, which largely deals with anti-Judaism in the Crown of Aragon during the fourteenth century.

46 On the state of the Balkans on the eve of the Ottoman conquest, see John V.A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), pp. 406–452.

and taken prisoner by Timur.[47] I do not think this comment can be taken as a mere narrative device, as the author shows he is conscious that a good part of his work's attraction resides in its detailed explanation of recent events in a place that was distant, but interesting, for his intended audience. Western Europe was following closely the development of events in the Levant and news of the defeat of Bayezid was not long in reaching the Iberian Peninsula including the Crown of Aragon. King Enrique III of Castile had sent two envoys, Payo Gómez de Sotomayor and Hernán Sánchez de Palazuelos, to observe events in the Eastern Mediterranean and they witnessed at first hand the battle of Ankara. In 1403 the King sent to Timur a diplomatic mission headed by Ruy González de Clavijo which has left us a precious testimony, the *Embajada a Tamorlán* (*Embassy to Tamerlane*) a work remarkable in European travel literature for its detailed and accurate descriptions. In the Crown of Aragon, King Martí the Humane asked the Pope's authorization in March 1403 to prepare an army against Timur, but in June he sought confirmation of his defeat of Bayezid and on 1 April 1404 he replied from Valencia to a letter from Timur, congratulating him on his victories.[48]

Thus the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* may have been produced c. 1400, a dating consistent with the language of the work. It does not seem prudent to attempt to bring the date any earlier given the lack of references to the taking of Salona by Bayezid in 1394. It is not reliable to infer a date from mere silence and, although the *Història* pays attention to a great battle such as Kosovo, it does not take account of matters explicitly related to the Crown of Aragon.

The *Història de Jacob Xalabín*, as noted above, belongs to a genre of brief narrative in prose which is usually anonymous, and its authorship is the most difficult question it raises. Indeed, a range of hypotheses have been aired on the subject, generally very tentative and based on disputable evidence.[49] In

47 The dethroned Bayezid died in captivity on 9 March 1403. On Timur, see Beatrice Forbes Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), and on the battle of Ankara and its consequences, Dimitris J. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402–13* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 1–11.

48 See *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, docs DCLXXII, DCLXXVII, and DCLXXIX (pp. 700–701).

49 The suggestion by the first editor of the text, Foulché-Delbosc, that it could be the work of a Catalan author on the basis of a Greek text, has been taken up and developed by Jordi Redondo, 'Unha nota a propósito da *Història de Jacob Xalabín*', *Ολισβος, Os Amantes da Palavra*, 9 (1990), 33–37, and at greater length, 'El gènere i les fonts de la *Història de Jacob Xalabín*', *eHumanista*, 25 (2013), 276–314. Par, pp. 176–179, favoured a Romanian source. Josep M. Solà-Solé, 'La *Història de Jacob Xalabín* i el món àrab', in *Catalan Studies. Volume in Memory of Josephine de Boer* (Barcelona: Borràs, 1977), pp. 213–222, speaks of an Arabic

my opinion, the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* is the original work of a Catalan author who knew Turkey. The information he gives about the country is very solid: one needs only contrast it with *Tirant lo Blanch*, in which the Turks enjoy eating couscous (chapter 137) and the hero manages to raise the siege of Constantinople in a novel written decades after the city had been taken by the Ottomans. As we have seen, the author of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* accurately describes Turkish customs, his itineraries show a precise knowledge of the geography of Anatolia and many details suggest that his work, while conforming to the generic requirements of the European literature of his time, incorporates material from Turkish literary traditions, both historiographical (the description of the final battle must be based on some *gazavâtnâme* or more probably *menâkıbnâme* now lost) and probably fictional (as shown by the episode of the liver, a motif absent from the Western versions of the tale).

The simplest explanation for these features is that the author had spent a considerable time in Turkey, perhaps travelling as a merchant or diplomat. His lack of prejudices regarding Islam might indicate that he lived in the company of Muslims, but does not imply that he became a convert. In fact, Christian expressions occur from time to time in the *Història de Jacob Xalabín*. If the author lived in Turkey, it is very probable that even though he did not abandon his religion he did not keep contact with the Church, which would explain the freedom with which he cites the Gospels in chapter II. In any case, diatribes against Islam are foreign to the genre to which the work belongs. It is probable that on his return to the Crown of Aragon, the author joined some literary circle and decided to compose his account, which came to be copied in a collection in the company of at least one narrative of the same type, but with a far more traditional plot, the *Història de la filla de l'Emperador Contastí*.

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model translated by a Morisco of the Crown of Aragon and adapted by a Catalan. Vicent Escrivà, '*Jacob Xalabín*: complex de cultura i el narrador', in *Estudis en memòria del professor Manuel Sanchis Guarner*, 3 vols (Valencia: Universitat de València, 1984), I, 101–105, proposes a Catalan author with knowledge of al-Andalus, but no experience of Turkey. Martí de Riquer, in contrast, formulated the hypothesis that the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* was written by a Catalan renegade in the service of Prince Yakub and fallen from favour at his death; see Martí de Riquer, Antoni Comas and Joaquim Molas, *Història de la literatura catalana*, 11 vols (Barcelona: Ariel, 1984–1988), III, 243–248. Similarly Stephen W. Reinert thinks the author could have been a mercenary of the Ottomans: 'A Byzantine Source on the Battles of Bileća (?) and Kosovo Polje: Kydones' Letters 396 and 398 Reconsidered', *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, ed. by Colin Heywood and Colin Imber (Istanbul: Isis, 1994), pp. 249–272. Finally, a merchant man of letters who had been in Turkey is favoured by Stefano Maria Cingolani in his modernized edition *Història de Jacob Xalabín* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 2008), p. 37.

The work is basically written in the kind of literary koiné usual in Catalan texts c. 1400. It shows vacillations in the representation of unstressed vowels typical of so-called Eastern Catalan, that is, the group of dialects spoken in places such as Barcelona and Majorca. Moreover, it often offers *fóu* for *féu*, and also *boura* for *beure*. This is a form already well attested in Llull, and a phenomenon suggesting a Balearic origin for the text. Such features may possibly be due to the process of transmission, but it is most likely that they were present in the author's original. Another striking feature of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* is the overuse of the adverbial particle *sí* for emphasis. While it occurs in other texts of the period, in no other is it so frequent, the most similar being the *Història de la filla de l'Emperador Contastí* (without reaching such extremes). This is another element which makes one suspect that, although there is no proof that the two texts are by the same author, both were composed in the same literary circle. Furthermore, this lack of finish in the style of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* might suggest that it was composed to be read aloud to an audience.

6 The Manuscript

The *Història de Jacob Xalabín* has been preserved in a single, not de luxe, manuscript of the fifteenth century. It belonged to Hernando Colón, son of the discoverer of America and a distinguished geographer and humanist in his own right, who collected the greatest private library of his age. The manuscript was in the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville until it was stolen with many other documents (more than 400 books) in a number of scandalous thefts made public in 1885. In that year it was bought with other volumes by the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. The director of the library offered to return these acquisitions for the price he had paid, but his proposal was not accepted.[50] The manuscript is now in the successor institution, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, with the catalogue number 'Fonds espagnol nº 475'.

In its current state, the manuscript consists of 35 leaves, as indicated by Arabic numerals added in the late nineteenth century. It is on paper, except for one parchment leaf (fol. 15). It contains two works, both complete: the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* (fols 1–20) and the *Història de la filla de l'Emperador Contastí* (fols 22–35), separated by a blank leaf (fol. 21). The manuscript was heavily manipulated, presumably after being stolen, and there are obvious signs of tam-

50 On the Colombina and these thefts, see Juan Guillén, *Historia de las bibliotecas Capitular y Colombina* (Seville: Fundación José Manuel Lara, 2006), pp. 499–537.

pering. There is no doubt, however, that it had formed part of a larger codex, as indicated by the remains of a previous foliation in Roman numerals. Most of them were erased, but the present folio 7 is still numbered .lxvij., which indicates that in its previous condition, when it was in the Biblioteca Colombina, the volume had at least 80 folios (since the manuscript was rebound, the *Història de la filla de l'Emperador Contastí* could have preceded the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* in an earlier state). Unfortunately, there is no clue to the contents of the rest of the former codex.

The whole manuscript is copied in a single hand in an erect gothic *bastarda* script of the fifteenth century. It shows errors, such as repetitions, which indicate that it was copied from another one, not from dictation, and it is possible that this lost exemplar was a draft to which the author had not given the final touches. The copyist used red ink both for the preliminary heading and for the rubrics and the large capital letters at the beginning of each chapter (and also for strokes in other capitals). The principles followed for the layout of both works are the same, with the difference that the *Història de la filla de l'Emperador Contastí* has no chapter rubrics. Indeed, there is evidence that such epigraphs occurred as a second thought during the copying of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* in the extant manuscript. The copyist, for example, did not leave the required space and had to squeeze them in chapters II and IV, following the numeration used in this edition. This would also explain the displacing of rubrics between chapters XI and XIII. Most probably, these headings were composed on a separate sheet and then inserted in the corresponding place, but when the copyist omitted the rubric for chapter XI this produced a mismatch.[51]

It is difficult to date the manuscript with more precision beyond assigning it to the fifteenth century. The section containing the *Història de la filla de l'Emperador Contastí* is usually dated to the mid-fifteenth century, but without detailed argumentation. The most up-to-date database of Catalan manuscripts says it was copied in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, but this dating is problematic,[52] and one should also bear in mind a more solid clue: that the

51 This mismatch was first corrected in *Història de Jacob Xalabín*, ed. by Arseni Pacheco, Els Nostres Clàssics, A93 (Barcelona: Barcino, 1964), pp. 114–115, n. 1.

52 See Philobiblon-Biteca, http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/philobiblon/biteca_en.html, with a detailed description and bibliography. In dating the hand to 1475–1500 it refers to Miquel y Planas, but he says only that it is of the fifteenth century both in his original edition and the prologue to its reprint; see *Jacob Xalabin*, ed. by R. Miquel y Planas (Barcelona: Borràs y Mestres, 1909), p. 63, and *'La historia de Jacob Xalabin', seguida de la de 'La filla de l'Emperador Contastí'*, ed. by R. Miquel y Planas (Barcelona: Borràs y Mestres, 1910), p. v.

watermarks are similar to others dated c. 1390. It is possible that this Catalan version of the *Història de la filla de l'Emperador Contastí* is contemporary with the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* and that the date of the extant copy should be brought forward to the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Further work is required, and an examination of the manuscript using the latest technical advances could reveal valuable information about its history.

7 Editorial Criteria

The present edition has been made on the basis of a photographic reproduction and personal inspection of the unique manuscript 'Esp. 475' of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The text has been transcribed according to relatively conservative criteria. The manuscript has been scrupulously followed; only what appear to be obvious copying errors have been corrected; rejected readings are given in the critical apparatus. Explanatory notes mainly address problematic terms; however, these comments are conceived for students with a special interest in such questions and should not be allowed to interrupt the reading of the novel.

Original spelling has been preserved, with certain exceptions. Thus *i/j* and *u/v* have been regularized, according to their vocalic or consonantal values, respectively. Etymological *h* has not been standardized, but accent has been added to verbs (*é, à*). Scribal *ll* has been rendered *l·l* when its value is not palatal but geminate. Conversely, double letters such as *ff* (*edifficada*), *cc* (*peccat*) etc. have been preserved, even when in initial position, obviously without phonemic value (*ffill*).

Abbreviations have been silently resolved, according to the full forms used in the manuscript or commonly found in documents of the period. The tironian note has been transcribed *e*. Roman numerals have normally been written out as words, on the same principle; in the manuscript they are often used to convey the indefinite article. The only case in which roman numerals have been preserved is in dates, printed in small capitals and without points.

Punctuation has been modernized (introducing, for example, question and exclamation marks). Word-separation has been introduced on modern lines. This affects what appear in the manuscript as contractions *al* and *del*: what the copyist writes consistently as *al amorat*, *al altre, del argent*, are edited as *a l'Amorat*, *a l'altre, de l'argent*. Fusions which have no equivalent in modern Catalan are rendered using the raised point: *jo·t, que·s, sí·s*. In any case, the reader needs to be aware that apostrophes, raised points and dashes are editorial.

Modern accentuation, including diacritics, has also been introduced, in accordance with the rules of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, not according to Valencian use. This is a thorny question,[53] but this has seemed the best option because, as mentioned above, the vacillation found in the manuscript in the representation of unstressed vowels indicates a pronunciation typical of Eastern Catalan. The dieresis is also used according to modern usage, with certain exceptions. Thus it is used in *hoÿda* and *raÿms*, but not when the manuscript presents an intercalated *h*, as in *trahició* and *jahia*. In this respect, the reader must bear in mind that the use of accents and dieresis is an editorial decision.[54]

In addition, capitalization had been introduced on modern lines, including for nomina sacra and dignities and honorific titles. Thus it has not been necessary to draw a fine line between titles and personal names when the distinction is minimal, e.g. *Almorat* and *Xalabín*.

Brackets, [ ], are used to indicate editorial interventions, normally additions and reconstructions; suppressions are not marked, but the manuscript reading is given in the critical apparatus. In the apparatus, the closing bracket,], separates the edited text from the manuscript reading and the conjectures of editors. Explanations are given concisely with Latin sigla in the critical apparatus; these are described in a list of abbreviations. Brackets also enclose chapter numeration introduced by the editor. The divisions in the manuscript are preserved, but a few additional divisions have been made when necessary. Change of manuscript foliation is marked with a bar, |, and the indication of the number of the new folio, with recto (^{r}) or verso (^{v}), in the margin.

In sum, the criteria followed in this edition are very close to those used in the most prestigious collections of medieval Catalan texts, particularly *Els Nostres Clàssics*, although some conventions have been adopted from the *Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum*. In general, it may be said that the orthography of this edition differs from that of previous editions chiefly in a thorough use of capitals and accents.[55]

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53 See Josep Pujol, 'L'edició de textos catalans medievals', in *L'edició de textos: història i mètode*, ed. by Víctor Martínez-Gil (Barcelona: Universitat Oberta—Pòrtic, 2001), pp. 149–201 (pp. 196–197).

54 In contrast, for example, the *Nova Edició de les Obres de Ramon Llull* uses only the acute accent and never the dieresis.

55 For a much more conservative transcription, see the above-mentioned *Jacob Xalabin*, ed. by R. Miquel y Planas (repr. in *'La historia de Jacob Xalabin'*, pp. 1–60, accessible at the Open Archive, http://www.archive.org), whose interventions are limited to the resolution of abbreviations, punctuation and regularization of capitals.

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(see also section 2.4., *La storia di Jacob Xalabín*).

2 Translations and Versions

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2.2 *Spanish*

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2.3 *French*

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2.4 *Italian*

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Translator's Note

The aim of this translation is to give a text which is comprehensible in modern English and which preserves as many as possible of the features of the medieval text without mimicking Malory, Sir Walter Scott or Hollywood epic.

The decision has been taken to use modern, Turkish, forms for names of places and characters. Thus the hero, Jacob Xalabín, is always translated as 'Yakub Çelebi'; his stepmother Issa Xalabina is 'Issa Çelebina'; and L'Amorat or L'A(l)morat is 'the Great Emir'. Setalia and Palàcia are 'Satalia' and 'Palatia'. Further explanations are given in the notes.

The style of the *Història* is brief and long by turns. In this respect it recalls writing of an earlier generation: in comparison with the well-formed periodic style of its contemporary Bernat Metge (his *Lo somni* is of c. 1399) the sentence structure is loose and additive. In a few cases the author's sentences have no finite verb, and here I have been forced to improve his syntax. The opening sentence would have been translated literally as:

> You must know, and a famous thing it is too, that in the year of our lord 1387, in the regions of the Orient, that is, where great Troy was built, which is now called Turkey, the land which the Turkish Emir rules; and as the said Emir, by name Elbai Murat, being in the great prosperity of his lordship in a very great city of his land, called Borsa; and he, having two sons, one legitimate and the other a bastard; and as one of the two sons, namely the bastard, by name Beseyt Bei, the said Emir, his father, made the said Beseyt Bei stay continually on the frontier with the Great Caramany; and the said other son, by name Jacob Xalabin, who was legitimate, was continually with his father in the city of Borsa, being one who loved him much (and this he ought to do, as he was his firstborn), and being thus as befits a lord, taking pleasure in going hunting like one who found great pleasure in it, as a lord should do.

I finally opted for:

> You must know, and a famous thing it is too, that in the year of our lord 1387, in the regions of the Orient, that is, where great Troy was built, which is now called Turkey, the land which the Turkish Great Emir rules, the said Great Emir, by name Ilbey Murad, being in the great prosperity of his lordship in a mighty city of his land, called Bursa, had two sons, one legitimate and the other a bastard; and one of the two sons, namely the

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> bastard, was named Bayezid Bey. The said Great Emir, his father, made the said Bayezid Bey stay continually on the frontier with the Great Karaman; and the said other son, by name Yakub Çelebi, who was legitimate, was continually with his father in the city of Bursa, as he loved him greatly (and this he ought to do, as he was his firstborn), and being thus as befits a lord, taking pleasure in going hunting like one who found great pleasure in it, as a lord should.

Here we also see another distinctive phrase of the author, *com cell qui*, occasionally left as 'like one who' but chiefly rendered as 'because he' or a causative present participle.

Most sentences begin 'And', and I have seen no reason to remedy this as it is not a fault. In common with many medieval texts, the author is fond of synonymous pairs which must be preserved in translation, even where English does not have two words for the same thing. On one occasion archaism has saved the day: *glavi o lança* 'glaive or lance' (XVI).

The author uses *ad nauseam* fillers such as 'this' and 'the said' before the names of the characters: it would be unfaithful to the original to omit them, but on a few occasions I have felt impelled to cut them. His favourite emphasizer *del món* 'in the world' I have usually rendered literally but twice as 'earthly' (I). Many many actions are performed *decontinent*, which I have translated 'quickly', 'immediately' or (where it suggests quick-thinking, a quality much valued in the text) 'promptly' (XI).

One character, 'the sister of the lord of Setalia', is always so called, and the lady Nergis, 'daughter of the lord of Setalia', is often called by her title alone. This clumsy repetition recalls the formulaic epithets of epic poetry, phraseology often attributed to the exigencies of oral composition. They may also reflect a feudal concern with lineage.

Alongside these redundancies, the dialogue is majestic in its terseness, which comes to the fore in moments of high passion: *No digats res; si no, vós sou morta* 'Say nothing, or you are dead.' (XI) or *E on és la vostra sciència? E on és la vostra medecina? E què és açò, que guarió no·s puscha atrobar en aquesta mia dona?* 'Where is your science? Where is your medicine? What cure is it that cannot be found in my wife?' (I).

Brutal as it is, the text is also suffused with courtliness: the author uses the phrase *fina amor* (VIII) on one occasion, which I have rendered 'courtly love' as this is by far the most familiar translation for the English reader. The characters speak the elevated language of courtly love: *O senyora, sapiats que jamay no fo ne habità tanta gentilesa en cors de homa; e si goig era perdut ne alegria, sí seria atrobada en aquell beneventurat cavaller*, 'Oh my lady, know that

never did such gentility live and dwell in the body of a man; and if ever joy or happiness were to be lost, they would be found in that fortunate knight' (IV). I finally decided to render *donzella* consistently as 'damsel'; the author uses it constantly for Lady Nergis and the daughter of the lord of Setalia even when they are blatantly no longer virgins. Related to courtliness is the formal style of the work: this I think necessitates archaisms such as 'took their ease' rather than 'relaxed' for *refrescar* (XIII) and the avoidance throughout of contracted verb forms. However, although the text doubtless distinguishes familiar *tu* and formal *vosaltres*, I have used 'you' throughout and avoided 'thou'.

As for realia, I have given medieval objects their medieval English names: *draps* 'hangings' (X); *lo glavi o lança angoçat* 'lance a-tilt' (XVI). Although this phrase is not common, everybody can visualize how a knight in a joust or (in this case) in battle holds his lance when he goes to attack. One word which has a perfect old English counterpart is *grip*, 'gripe' (I), defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as 'A vessel used in the Levant', documented 1511–1548; here though I opted for the explanatory 'small ship'.

The author, like many medieval and early modern writers, overuses 'to see' where modern usage would demand some other verb of perception: *E ella vahent la tant graciosa resposta que lo dit seu fillastre li havia feta* 'And when she saw the gracious reply that her stepson gave her …' (I). Again, I did not see it as the translator's role to modernize or improve his original; besides, this is another way of leaving the taste of the medieval original in the translation without going so far as pastiche.

List of Abbreviations

ad fin.	towards the end
alii	others
AP	Arseni Pacheco
cap.	chapter
cf.	compare
et alii edd.	and other editors
error scriptoris	copyist's error
FD	Foulché-Delbosc
fol.	folio
fort.	perhaps; conceivably
MP	Miquel y Planas
om.	omits, omitted
p.c.	after correction
praem.	put before
pro	instead of, in place of
Prol.	prologue
SC	Stefano Maria Cingolani
suppl.	supplied, completed
Tit.	chapter title
trai.	transferred
vd.	see
vel	or
***	illegible cancelled letters

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Història de Jacob Xalabín /
History of Yakub Çelebi

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1r **Açí comenssa la *Istòria de Jacob Xalabín, ffill de l'Almorat, senyor de la Turquia*, on se conté quines aventures li vengueren en la sua vida, ne con ne en qual manera finà sos dies per mans de Beseyt Bey, son frare bastart, qui axí mateix aucís son pare, segons que hoÿrets.**

[I]

Devets saber —e cosa notòria que és— que en l'any de Nostro Senyor M CCC LXXXVII, en les partides de Orient, ço és, là on era la gran Troya edifficada, qui are és appellada la Turquia, la terra que senyorege l'Amorat turch; e com lo dit Amorat, per nom Elbay Morat, stant en gran prosperitat de la sua senyoria en una ciutat de la sua terra, molt gran, appellada Borsa; e aquest havent dos fills mascles, la hú ladesma e l'altre bastart; e com la hú dels dos fills, ço és lo bastard, per nom Beseyt Bey, lo dit Amorat, pare seu, lo dit Beseyt Bey fahés star continuadament en la frontera del Gran Caramany; e lo dit altre fill seu, per nom Jacob Xalabín, qui era ladesma, present continuadament stigués ab lo seu pare en la ciutat de Borsa, axí com cell qui l'amava molt —e fer que ho devia, com era son primogènit—; e stant axí com a senyor se pertany, delitant-se en anar a cassar axí com cell qui hi trobava gran pler, axí com senyor deu fer.

E lo dit Amorat sí havia muller, madrastre d'aquest Jacob Xalabín, la qual era fembra molt jova e de linatge de grechs, la qual havia nom Issa Xalabina; e com cella qui continuadament stava en grans balls e de ssolassos, axí com dona de gran stament se pertany. E aquesta tots jorns appellava e feya venir son fillastre Jacob Xalabín, axí com cell qui era hom molt bell e graciós, de edat de vint-e-dos annys, e cell qui en totes bontats era complit; e la dita Issa Xalabina, continuant ab aquest seu fillastre Jacob Xalabín tant e tan fort, que no podia estar un quart d'ora que aquest no li fos denant, que de present ella no·l fahés venir.

E un jorn stant ella en la sua cambra, e la dita dona, ella no vahent negú en la dita sua cambra sinó Jacob Xalabín, fillastre seu, ella, axí con aquella que amor la destrenyhia, no póch pus soferir, si sabés ésser morta; ans, axí com a desesperada e avorrint lo seu senyor e marit e no anant-li lo cor en ell, sí·s levà en peus, e ab los brassos estesos abrassà e besà molt stretament lo dit seu fillastre, dient:

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Here Begins the 'History of Yakub Çelebi', Son of the Great Emir, Lord of Turkey, in Which are Contained Which Adventures Befell Him in His Life, and When and How He Ended His Days at the Hands of Bayezid Bey, His Bastard Brother, Who also Killed His Father, as You Will Hear.

[I]

You must know, and a famous thing it is too, that in the year of our lord 1387, in the regions of the Orient, that is, where great Troy was built, which is now called Turkey, the land which the Turkish Great Emir rules, the said Great Emir, by name Ilbey Murad, being in the great prosperity of his lordship in a mighty city of his land, called Bursa, had two sons, one legitimate and the other a bastard; and one of the two sons, namely the bastard, was named Bayezid Bey. The said Great Emir, his father, made the said Bayezid Bey stay continually on the frontier with the Great Karaman; and the said other son, by name Yakub Çelebi, who was legitimate, was continually with his father in the city of Bursa, as he loved him dearly (and this he ought to do, as he was his firstborn), and being thus as befits a lord, taking pleasure in going hunting like one who found great pleasure in it, as a lord should.

And the said Great Emir had a wife, the stepmother of this Yakub Çelebi, who was a very young woman of Greek lineage, by name Issa Çelebina, and who was continually at great dances and entertainments, as befits a lady of great estate. And every day she summoned and sent for her stepson Yakub Çelebi, as he was a very handsome and gracious man, of the age of twenty-two years, and one who was perfect in all good things; and the said Issa Çelebina kept company with this her stepson so long and so much, that she could not be a quarter of an hour without having him before her but she immediately sent for him.

And one day, being in her chamber, the said lady, seeing nobody in her chamber but Yakub Çelebi, her stepson, as one overcome by love, could endure no more, although she would better have died; in despair and hatred of her lord and husband, and not devoting her heart to him, she rose to her feet and holding out her arms tightly embraced and kissed her stepson, saying:

—Oh amich, jo són morta, si no·m compleys a la mia voluntat.

E dementre que aquesta axí strenyent e besant desordonadament lo seu
1v fillastre Jacob Xalabín, e no mollant- | lo, ne membrant-li de la amor de son marit —lo qual ultra mesura la amava—, lo dit seu fillastre no sabé què·s digués ne què·s fahés. Per què, ab bella care e molt plasent e molt graciosa, ab dolces paraules a ella respòs e dix-li:

—Dolsa mare mia, jo són sclau e servent vostro, per què jo són prest e apparellat de servir e complir a tota vostra voluntat en tot ço e quant a la vostra senyoria plaurà. E no tant solament en açò, mas en molt major cosa que no és açò, pus que fos a delit de la vostra persona.

E ella vahent la tant graciosa resposta que lo dit seu fillastre li havia feta, de present totes les sues junctures e moviments de la sua persona li abandonaren en abundància desordonada en compliment de desig.

E lo dit Jacob Xalabín vahent la mala volentat desordonada de la sua madrastre, decontinent, axí com acell qui era molt discret e savi, sí·s desexí d'ella e sí s'isqué de la sua cambra e cridà un seu gran companyó qui havia nom Alí Baxà, lo qual ell molt amava, axí com se feya a ell l'altre. E aquest Alí Baxà sí era homa jova, de edat de vint-e-quatre annys, e era molt graciós e homa fort savi, lo qual era fill de un prohom qui havia nom Alí Baxà, axí com ell mateix, lo qual era governador e conseller major de l'Almorat. E aquest Jacob Xalabín havia pres en tanta d'amor aquest jove Alí Baxà que abdosos no·s podían partir en anar ne en menjar ne en bevent ne en dormint, ans tots temps continuadament estaven ensemps en casa del prohom Alí Baxà, pare del dit jove.

E lo dit Jacob Xalabín, haver cridat son compa[n]yó Alí Baxà, sí li dix que·l seguís. E isqueren-se del palau e faheren la via del dit Alí Baxà, là hon havien acostumat de menjar e de dormir. E de present sí prengueren lurs falcons e lurs cans, e sí isqueren de la ciutat de Borsa e anaren a lur cassa, axí com aquells qui eren molt usats, e stig[u]eren tant fins al vespre. E aprés, l'endemà gran matí, aquest [e] Jacob Xalabín sí·s levaren e anaren a la dita cassa. E açò feya Jacob Xalabín per tal que·s lunyàs de la dita madrastra, la qual veya molt folla e desvergonyada. Per què ell, volent guordar la honor de son pare, segons que·s pertanyhia de fill, lunyava's aytant com més podia, que no li fos denant.

E la dita Issa Xalabina, vahent que lo dit seu fillastre no venia en lo palau axí con solia, de present sí li tramès missatge que vingués; e lo missatge jamay no li podia atrobar aquest Jacob Xalabín, con, envides era levat, sí anava

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57 podían] põdia **60** compa[n]yó] compayo **64** stig[u]eren] stiĝen **65** aquest [e] Jacob] aq̃st Jacob

'Oh my dear, I am dead if you do not satisfy my will.'

And while she embraced and kissed her stepson Yakub Çelebi excessively, not letting him go or remembering the love of her lord and husband, who loved her beyond measure, the said stepson did not know what to say or do; and so, with a smiling and most pleasing and most gracious face he replied with sweet words, saying:

'My sweet mother, I am your slave and servant, and am ready and willing to serve and satisfy your entire will in everything that pleases your ladyship; and not only in this, but in much greater things than this, if only they are for the pleasure of your person.'

And when she saw the gracious reply that her stepson gave her, all her inhibitions and promptings of her body immediately abandoned her in excessive abundance, in the satisfaction of her desire.

And the said Yakub Çelebi, seeing his stepmother's excessive evil desires, immediately, like a very shrewd and wise man, promptly freed himself from her and went out of her chamber and called his great companion, named Ali Pasha, whom he greatly loved, as he too loved him. And this Ali Pasha was a young man, of the age of twenty-four years, and was very gracious and a very wise man, and was the son of a worthy named, like him, Ali Pasha, who was governor and chief counsellor of the Great Emir. And Yakub Çelebi had conceived such great love for this young Ali Pasha that they could not be separated when travelling or eating, nor when drinking or sleeping, but were continually together in the house of the worthy Ali Pasha, the young man's father.

And Yakub Çelebi, having called his companion Ali Pasha, told him to follow him. And they went out of the palace and made their way to Ali Pasha's home, where they were in the habit of eating and sleeping. And they quickly took their hawks and their dogs, and left the city of Bursa and went to their hunting ground, as was their custom; and they stayed there till nightfall. And then, early next morning, he and Yakub Çelebi got up and went hunting. And Yakub Çelebi did this to distance himself from his stepmother, whom he regarded as most mad and shameless. And thus, wishing to preserve his father's honour, as befitted a son, he went as far away as he could, so as not to appear before her.

And the said Issa Çelebina, seeing that her stepson did not come to the palace as he used to, quickly sent him a message to come; but the messenger could never find Yakub because he went out hunting as soon as he was up

a la dita cassa e venia gran nit. E la madrastre, qui víu açò, decontinent se penssà que aquest li diffugia, e sí dix en si matexa: «Ay d'aquest traydor deslayal que jo tant amava! E axí fuig de mi e ss'amagua?». Per què un poch no cuydava esclatar lo cor. E penssant-se que negun remey no podia donar a la sua voluntat, sí perdé lo menjar e lo dormir, tant que caygué en gran malaltia de desplaer e de ira.

E l'Amorat, son marit, vahent la dona que ell tant amava, cayguda en tant gran malaltia, sí n'ach lo major dol del món e sí li dix:

2r —Ay bella dona, muller mia! E què havets vós, ne què | és açò?

E la dona li respòs que verament era morta. E lo dit Amorat, no sabent què·s fahés de la sua muller, que ell tant amava, de present fóu venir metges de totes parts, dient-los:

—Mestres, gordats bé la mia dona, ma muller, ja quin mal ha, e aportats-la a guarió. E penssats de demanar de l'or e de l'argent, que jo us ne donaré aytant com ne quer[r]ets.

E fer que ho podia! E com los dits metges guordaren la dita dona e la sua orina, e palparen-la, no hac mal al món que li coneguessen, hans ne estaven molt marevellats, e sí digueren:

—Verament, senyor, nós no havem ne conexem quin mal ha aquesta dona.

L'Amorat, qui hoý dir tals paraules als metges, per un poch no isqué de son senny. E sí dix:

—Ho mestres, vosaltres qui sóts tant sients e tant solempnes, com se pot fer que vosaltres no podets conèxer lo mal de aquesta dona?

E ells tots li respongueren que ells verament no li conexien nagun mal. Per què l'Amorat, axí con aquell qui era molt torbat de la sua muller, sí tramès sos missatges en Contastinoble, ço és, a l'Amperador, e altre al batla dels venecians, dient e fahent a ssaber a l'Emperador que ell lo pregava que decontinent, vist los missatges, fahés fer crida per tota la sua terra que tots quants metges hi hagués deguessen anar a la ciutat de Bossa, ell prometent en aquells grans dons e grans havers, si donar podien guarió a la sua muller; no res menys, preguant lo batle dels venecians que de present degués tremetre missatge en Vanècia per aquella matexa raó: que si negun bon metge hi havia, que degués venir a ell.

E de present que los missatges foren en Contastinoble, l'Amperador féu fer la dita crida, que tots quants hòmens hi hagués qui sabessen d'art de medecina, que deguessen anar, sots pena de cors e de haver, en la ciutat de

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73 e venia] e ve / nia e venia 85 gordats] gordats ~~uos~~ 87 quer[r]ets] q̃rets

and did not come back till late at night. And the stepmother, seeing this, quickly thought that he was fleeing her, and said to herself: 'Alas for this disloyal traitor whom I loved so! And why does he flee so from me?' and she felt her heart was near to bursting. And thinking that she could not give any remedy to her desire, she stopped eating and sleeping, so that she fell into a great illness from displeasure and anger.

And the Great Emir, her husband, seeing the wife that he so loved fallen into such a great illness, felt the greatest grief in the world and said to her:

'Alas, beautiful lady, my wife! What is wrong with you? What is the matter?'

And the lady answered that truly she was dying. And the said Great Emir, not knowing what to do with his wife, whom he so loved, immediately sent for doctors from all around, telling them:

'Masters, examine my lady my wife, find what ails her, and bring her to a cure. And feel free to ask for gold and silver, as I will give you as much as you wish.'

And this he could easily do! And when the said doctors examined the lady and her urine, and palpated her, there was no earthly illness that they recognized; rather, they were greatly surprised, and said:

'Truly, sir, we do not know and have not discovered what ails this lady.'

The Great Emir, when he heard these words from the doctors, nearly went out of his wits, and said:

'Oh masters, you who are so wise and dignified, how can it be that you cannot discover this lady's illness?'

And they all replied that truly they did not recognize any illness in her. So the Great Emir, being greatly distressed for his wife, sent his messengers to Constantinople, that is, to the Emperor, and another to the Bailo of the Venetians, telling and informing the Emperor that he asked him immediately on seeing the messages to make a proclamation throughout his land that all doctors should go to the city of Bursa, promising them great rewards and riches if they could find a cure for his wife; likewise he asked the Bailo of the Venetians to immediately send out a message in Venice for the same reason, that if there was any good doctor, he should come to him.

And as soon as the messengers reached Constantinople, the Emperor had this proclamation made, that all men who knew the art of medicine should go, on pain of death and forfeiture, to the city of Bursa. And likewise the Bailo

Borssa. E axí mateix, lo batle dels vanecians tramès en Vanècia un grip armat, e faheren semblant crida de part del Comú de Vanècia, preguant los metges que per honor de l'Almorat deguessen anar a Borssa, e que si podien retre guarió a la muller de l'Almorat, que n'aurien grans remuneracions ultre lur salari.

E con en totes aquestes parts fo feta la dita crida, molts metges e solempnes vingueren en la ciutat de Borssa. E vahent la dona fort passionada jaent en son lit, guardant e palpant aquella e la sua aygua, negun d'aquests no conexia ne sabia ja quin mal havia. E l'Almorat vahent açò, mogut de gran bascha e angoxa de son cor envers la sua muller, ja què n'era, e los metges digueren:

—Senyor, no ha remey al món que li puguam donar.

E la dona, axí com aquella qui no desijava sinó la mort, per ço com no podia complir a la sua voluntat, no menjava ni bevia, ans tots jorns se aprohismava a la mort.

E sdevench-sa que, entre los altres metges, sí y vénch un metge juheu, nadiu de Contastinoble, qui havia nom en greguesch Quir Mossè. Aquest Quir Mossè era fort home subtil e agut e entès en tots sos fets. E com sia cosa notòria que tota complida penssa de trahició e de falssia e de barataria sia en juheus —e aquest sí era hú d'aquells en qui gran barataria abundava—, e con aquest fos devant aquesta dona Issa Xalabina, mirant-la e guardant la
2v sua orina una, dues e tres vegades, | no podia conèxer lo mal de la dita dona, e sí·s penssà e dix en si mateix que no ha perssona en lo món qui mils sàpia lo seu mal con fa ella mateixa. E sí·s penssà de pendra-la en paraules, e sí la enterroguà dient-li tot en rient:

—Senyora, yo conech quin mal havets, e jo us ne guorré si guayre m'o grahits.

E la folla de ffembra, axí com aquella qui ha lo cor mogut, no metent sabor en sos moviments, de present, hoynt dir les paraules al dit metge juheu, sí·s dressà, e sient en son lit on jahia, sí reguardà lo juheu e sí li dix:

—O metge, ja t'agués jo donat tot ço que tu sabesses demanar, e que m'ajudasses en les grans angoxes mies!

E lo dit juheu, vahent la dita dona e havent conexença del seu moviment, sí li dix:

—Senyora, hajats bon cor, que de cert jo seré aquell qui us guariré he us ajudaré en vostres necessitats.

E la dona, hoynt dir aquelles paraules al metge juheu, penssant-se ella que ell ho sabés, près a gitar hu[n] gran sospir. E sí li dix:

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147 hu[n] gran] hu / gran

of the Venetians sent in Venice a small armed ship, and they made a similar proclamation on behalf of the Commune of Venice, asking the doctors for the Great Emir's honour to go to Bursa, and that if they could administer a cure to the Great Emir's wife they would have great remuneration, in addition to their salary.

And when the said proclamation was made in all these parts, many solemn doctors came to the city of Bursa. And, seeing the lady in torment lying on her bed, observing and palpating her and observing her water, none of them could know and discover what illness she had. And the Great Emir, seeing this, was moved by great distress and anguish in his heart towards his wife because she was his, and the doctors said:

'My lord, there is no remedy in the world that we can give her.'

And the lady, as one who desired nothing but death, because she could not satisfy her desire, did not eat or drink, but every day came closer to death.

And it happened that among the doctors there came a Jewish doctor, a native of Constantinople, who was called in Greek Kyr Moshe. This Kyr Moshe was a very clever and wise man learned in all matters. And as it is a thing well known that all complete thought of treachery and lies and trickery is in the Jews, and that he was one of those in whom great trickery abounded, and when he was before this lady Issa Çelebina, watching her and looking at her urine, once, twice, three times he could not discover the lady's illness and said to himself that there was nobody in the world who knew her illness better than she herself. And so he thought of engaging her with words, and thus he questioned her while laughing:

'My lady, I know what illness you have, and I will cure you of it, if you give me your gratitude.'

And the mad woman, her heart being disturbed, taking no care for her movements, immediately on hearing such words from the Jewish doctor, sat up, and sitting on the bed in which she lay, looked at the Jew, and said to him:

'Oh doctor, I would give you all that you can ask if you were to help me in these my great anxieties!'

And the Jew, seeing the lady and conscious of her turmoil, said to her:

'My lady, be of good heart, for certainly I will be the one to cure you and help you in your needs.'

And the lady, hearing these words from the Jew, thinking that he knew all, began to heave a great sigh. And she said to him:

—Mestre, sapiats que, si yo no he mon cor complit de mon fillastre Jacob Xalabín, jo sens naguna falla són morta.

E lo juheu, qui hoý dir semblants paraules a la dona, de present li dix:

—Senyora, de cert estats ab bon cor, car yo seré aquell qui en breu temps hauré donat acabament a vòstron desig.

E la folla de dona, de present que hoý perlar lo dit metge, tantost voluntat la adolcí, e comenssà de pendra tant fort speranssa en si mateixa, que mantinent manà donar de l'aur e de l'argent al dit juheu assats.

En tant que en la dita cort Quir Mossè anava e Quir Mossè venia devant tots los altres metges. Per què l'Amorat decontinent donà a tots los altres metges comiat, vahent que la sua dona un poch havia pres de mellorament devers que solia. E sí dix al dit metge juheu ja con li anava; e lo dit Quir Mossè li dix:

—Senyor, stats ab bon cor, com, ab Déu, jo la guorré.

E l'Amorat, axí con aquell qui molt la amava, fo molt alegra de les paraules que lo juheu li havia dites. E de present sí fóu manament a son tresorer e a tots sos hòmens e officials que tot ço que mestre Quir Mossè volgués, li fos de present donat. E lavors vahérets lo juheu gran senyor e tenir gran stat, per ço com havia tot so que queria.

E què féu aquest traydor? Axí com cell qui tot tractament de falssia era en aquell encorporada, sí s'esmaginà que prengués gran amistat ab Jacob Xalabín, en guisa que com fos en gran amistat ab ell, que ell tractàs e fahés en guisa que ell fahés ço que la madrastra volia. E a poch a poch, vuy donava un bell cavall a Jacob Xalabín, e demà una joya, e adés una cosa, adés una altre. Sí que ell entrà en tan gran amistat ab aquest Jacob Xalabín, que tots jorns staven ensemps; tant que, quant vénch que lo juheu víu que foren ben domèstichs, lo juheu sí li dix un jorn:

—O senyor, de una qüestió vos vull demanar.

—E quina, mestre? —dix Jacob Xalabín.

—Jo, senyor —dix Quir Mossè—, vos ho diré: un hom és qui per pocha cosa pot donar gran restaurament de vida, e no ho fa, ans lo jaqueix morir no volent ajudar a aquell; aquest aytal, pecca o no?

3r Respòs | lo fill de l'Amorat:

—Temies-te que pech? Och; encare que deuria morir si ell pot altre restaurar de mort, sens fer dan ne cosa no leguda a si mateix.

—Per ma fe, senyor —dix lo juheu—, vós havets dita gran veritat. E sapiats que vós sóts aquell qui la pus noble e la pus excel·lent criatura del món lexats morir e languir.

'Master, know that if my desire for my stepson Yakub Çelebi is not satisfied, I will die without any doubt.'

And the Jew, hearing these words from the lady, immediately said:

'My lady, certainly be of good heart, for I will be the one to give satisfaction to your desire in a trice.'

And as soon as she heard the doctor speak, the mad woman's will was calmed, and she began to take such hope for herself that she quickly ordered the Jew to be given abundant gold and silver.

And so Kyr Moshe came and Kyr Moshe went in this court before all the other doctors; because the Great Emir immediately dismissed all the other doctors, seeing that his wife had made an improvement compared with her previous state. And he asked the Jewish doctor how she was; and Kyr Moshe said to him:

'My lord, be of good heart, for, with God's help, I will cure her.'

And the Great Emir, because he loved her truly, felt very glad at the words the doctor had told him, and quickly ordered his treasurer and all his men and officials that whatever Kyr Moshe wanted, he should be given without delay. And then you will see the Jew made a great lord and enjoy great estate, as he had everything he desired.

And what did this traitor do? Because every false dealing was embodied in him, he contrived to establish great friendship with Yakub Çelebi, so that once he was in a great friendship with him, he would bring it about that he would do what his stepmother wanted. And, little by little, he gave Yakub Çelebi a fine horse, and the next day a jewel, and then one thing, and then another; and he entered into such great friendship with this Yakub Çelebi that they were together every day; so that when it came about that the Jew saw that they were intimate, the Jew said to him one day:

'Oh my lord, I would like to ask you about a matter'.

'And what is that, master?' said Yakub Çelebi.

'I will tell you, my lord,' said Kyr Moshe. 'There is a man who in exchange for a little can give another great restoration of life, and does not do so but rather lets him die because he does not wish to help him. This man, does he sin or not?'

The Great Emir's son replied:

'Do you doubt that he sins? Yes indeed, he should die if he can restore another from death without doing any harm or unlawful act to himself.'

'By my faith, my lord,' said the Jew, 'you have said a great truth. And know that you are he who is allowing the most noble and excellent creature in the world to languish and die.'

—Con, jo? —dix lo fill de l'Almorat—. E nagú mor per culpa mia?

—Och, cert, senyor —dix lo juheu—. La senyora Issa Xalabina mor, que res al món no la pot estòrcer sinó solament vós, senyor. De què féts gran peccat com no li ajudats, con no ha hom al món qui ho sabés sinó ella e vós.

Decontinent que Jacob Xalabín hoý aquestes paraules, de present li anà lo cor en sa madrastre, e respòs e dix:

—E con? Ca, fill de ca! Vé-te'n e perteix-te de mi e jamay no sies en loch on jo·t vege! Com sàpies que, si tu m'és jamay devant, jo·t faré menjar a cans. Com? Ca, fill de ca! E tu·m goses dir aytals peraules de la mia madrastre? E qual pare seria al món qui confiàs del fill? E qual fill seria al món qui fos ten desleal ni tant malvat qui fes semblant cosa ne le's mesés dins son cor, ne·s penssàs? De qui·s poran confiar les gents del món, e majorment los pares, que no puguen confiar dels fills? O traydor malvat, plen de tota malícia! Parteix-te denant mi e no·m sies devant!

E lo dit joheu, hoynt les paraules que aquest li hac dites, ple de confusió, sí·s partí devant ell. E de present se n'anà al palau hon la dona jahia, e sí se'n entrà en la cambra, axí com cell qui tothom li feya gran honor. E com fou dins la cambra, la dona, qui·l víu venir, sí fou molt alegre e n'ach molt gran plaer, axí com aquella qui stava en sperança de la sua folla voluntat. E de present la dona, dressant en son lit, li dix:

—Donchs, mestre, haurà acabament mon desig?

E lo dit juheu, ple de mal ayre e de mal talent, li respòs:

—Senyora, no ha remey al món que vós pugats haver, ne us cal alegrar de Jacob Xalabín.

—Com, mestre? —dix la dona—. E quina serà la consolació ne la sperança que vós ma darets ne jo sper de vós?

—Axí és del fet, ne altre remey al món donar-s'i pot.

E la desestruga de dona, axí com aquella qui era enclinada a la sua mala voluntat, vahent que de aquell no podia haver remey, sí cuydà exir de seny e sí jaquí anar lo seu cap sobre aquells delitables coxins que tenia en son lit, axí com a senyora semblant se pertanyhia. E començà a dir:

—Are és fet devuymés de mi, e no ha res al món qui·m puscha estòrcer de mort. Ay, mestre, e con lo primer jorn que jo·t coneguí no·m diguist aquestes paraules? Car, si u haguesses, are no fóra jo en aquesta dolor. O mort, e con no vinguist lo primer jorn? O mort, prech-te que no·m faces penar. Vine, car un dia m'és un any.

'I, how?' said the Great Emir's son. 'Is someone dying because of my fault?'

'Yes indeed, sir,' said the Jew. 'The lady Issa Çelebina is dying, and nothing in the world can save her but only you, my lord. Hence you are committing a great sin because you do not help her, as there is no man in the world who knows it but you and she.'

As soon as Yakub Çelebi heard these words, his thoughts immediately went to his stepmother, and he replied, saying:

'How so? Go, son of a dog, and leave me and never put yourself anywhere where I might see you; and know that if you are ever before me, I will throw you to the dogs. What? Dog, son of a dog, how do you dare say such words to me of my stepmother? What father could there be in the world who could trust in his son? And what son could there be in the world who could be so disloyal or so evil that he could do such a thing or conceive it in his heart or think it? Who will the peoples of the world be able to trust, and particularly fathers, if they cannot trust their sons? Oh evil traitor, full of all guile, leave my presence, and do not stand before me!'

And the Jew, hearing the words which he said to him, full of confusion, left him, and quickly went away to the palace where the lady lay, and went into her chamber, as one who was greatly honoured by all. And once he was in the chamber, the lady was very glad when she saw him approach and took great pleasure, because she was in hopes of her mad desires. And the lady, sitting up in her bed, quickly said:

'So, master, will my desire have an end?'

And the Jew, full of bad blood and evil intent, replied:

'My lady, there is no remedy in the world that you can have, and you must not take pleasure in Yakub Çelebi.'

'What, master?' said the lady. 'What will be the consolation and hope that you can give me and which I expect from you?'

'This is true and no other remedy in the world can be supplied.'

And the ill-starred lady, inclined as she was to her evil desire, seeing that she could have no remedy for it, thought she was losing her wits, and she buried her head in those delightful pillows which she had on her bed, as befitted such a lady. And she started to say:

'Henceforth my fate is set, and there is nothing in the world which can save me from death. Alas, master, why did you not say these words to me the first day that I knew you? For if you had done so I would not now be in this pain. Oh death, why did you not come that first day? Oh death, I beg you not to make me suffer; come, for one day is as a year to me.'

E fahent la molt noble dona aquest dol, sí entrà per la cambra l'Amorat, marit e senyor seu, axí con aquell qui era molt angoxat de la sua muller que tant amava. E con víu ella jaura axí e fer mal capteniment, un poch no cuydà exir de son senny. E sí dix a mestre Quir Mossè:

—E on és la vostra sciència? E on és la vostra medecina? E què és açò, que guarió no·s puscha atrobar en aquesta mia dona?

E açò deya ell per la gran amor que li aportava, no penssant ne albirant
3v en la volen- | tat folla que ella havia tan desordonada; mas, axí con cell qui coralment la amava —axí com se pertany de marit a muller—, havia gran compassió del seu mal.

O, con lo malvat de juheu, vahent axí l'Amorat destribanat e cuytat de la sua muller, vahent-la axí aprohismada a la sua mort, vejats cruel e malvada penssa que·s pensà! Lo malvat traydor de juheu, ell s'esmaginà e dix en si mateix: «Jo són en desgrat de Jacob Xalabín, que per paor d'ell jo no hic gosaré aturar. E jo are són gran senyor; é tot ço que vull. Cové que prengua qualque concell e manera ab què puscha star e perseverar en la prosperitat; axí mateix, que cerch que la dona hage gorió». E sí ss'esmaginà que concellàs a la dona que fahés matar Jacob Xalabín, en guisa hi en manera que, pus que lo fill de l'Amorat fos mort, que ell no hauria paor de nengú; e pus que la dona sabés que ell fos mort, sí li exiria la amor del cor. E axí com hac penssat en si mateix aquesta mala penssa, sí se acostà a la dona e sí li dix:

—Senyora, veus-ho del fet, és aquest: vós sóts morta; e si vós vos volets, vos podets restaurar.

—E com —dix la dona— me pots tu dir això? Que no ha res en lo món qui·m pugua restaurar de mort?

Dix lo juheu:

—Si vós vos volets, sí farets, e jo dir-vos-ho he. No ha res al món qui tant bastant sia de traure la amor del vostro cor com és la mort. Car sapiats de cert que, si Jacob Xalabín mor, vós de present haurets guarió. E axí, vejats si val molt més que ell muyra que si vós moríets, qui sóts tan notable dona: e cella en qui tota aquesta província penja, e cella que lo senyor Amorat ama més que si mateix. E, donchs, senyora, dats-vos confort e penssats-vos en aquesta cosa.

Hon, com la dona hoýs aytals paraules, molt altament pronunciadas e dites per lo dit Quir Mossè, ella, axí com cella qui havia lo cor molt frèvol, donant fe a les paraules que lo juheu li hac dites, sí respòs e dix que bo seria que son fillastre morís. Però dix la dona:

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230 demarit] ~~demullr~~ demarit **255** Hon] hom *s.c.* hon

And as the most noble lady made this lament, the Great Emir, her husband and lord, entered the chamber, in anguish for his wife whom he so loved. And when he saw her lying and raving, he thought he was nearly losing his wits, and he said to master Kyr Moshe:

'Where is your science? Where is your medicine? What cure is it that cannot be found in my wife?'

And he said this because of the great love he bore her, not thinking of or suspecting the mad desires which had unhinged her; but because he loved her with all his heart, as befits husband and wife, he had great compassion for her illness.

Oh, behold the cruel and evil thought that the evil Jew conceived, seeing the Great Emir distraught and worried about his wife, and seeing her so close to death! The evil traitor of a Jew thought and said to himself: 'I have displeased Yakub Çelebi, and for fear of him I dare not stay here; and I am now a great lord, and have everything I desire. I should find some plan and way of remaining in prosperity; thus I must find a cure for the lady.' And he thought that he should advise the lady to have Yakub Çelebi killed, so that once the Great Emir's son was dead he would fear no one; and once the lady knew he was dead, love would leave her heart. And when he had devised this evil plan in his heart, he approached the lady, and said to her:

'My lady, see how the matter stands. It is thus: you are dying, and if you so wish you can be restored.'

'But how,' said the lady, 'can you say this to me? For there is nothing in the world that can restore me from death.'

The Jew said:

'If you so wish, so will you do, and I will tell you how. There is nothing in the world that can take love from your heart but death. For know certainly that, if Yakub Çelebi dies, you will immediately have a cure; and so consider if it is better for him to die than for you to die; for you are such a notable lady and one on whom all this province depends, and one whom his lordship the Great Emir loves more than himself. And so, my lady, take comfort, and think on this matter.'

When the lady heard such words, eloquently uttered and spoken by this Kyr Moshe, as she had a very frail heart, giving credence to the words which the Jew had said to her, she replied saying that it would be good if her stepson were to die. But the lady said:

—En quina guisa se porà fer?

Lo dit juheu li respòs e dix:

—Senyora, lexats fer a mi.

E demantinent lo juheu sí anà a l'Amorat, qui no era molt luny de la cambra, e sí li dix, fahent molt trista cara:

—Senyor, jo vénch a pendre comiat de vós, e me'n vull anar.

On, com l'Amorat hoýs aytals paraules del mestre juheu, en qui ell tant confiava de donar guarió a la sua dona, sí dix de present:

—E com, mestre? E que és açò? E és aquest lo confort que vós ma darets de la mia dona, ma muller?

—Senyor —dix lo juheu—, no ha res en lo món qui puscha escapar la senyora de mort.

—O mestre —dix l'Amorat—, e tan fort manera és aquesta? Are conech jo que Nostro Senyor me vol mal e·m vol punir, car verament los meus dies són breus, si aquesta que jo tant àm mor. O mestre, prech que tu·m digues quin mal tant desaventurat és aquest, que no puscha haver remey.

—Senyor —dix lo juheu—, aquest mal que aquesta dona ha és fort estrany mal engenrat dins lo cors, lo qual mal, senyor, ha nom "xamxa", lo qual, senyor, vós li havets engenrat.

—Con, jo? —dix l'Amorat—. No·s pot [s]er.

4r —Senyor |—dix lo juheu—, ver dich. E si axí no és, vull que·m tolguats la lengua. Car la dona ajustant-sa ab vós, e vós ab ella, de sobres de amor que ella ha haüda a vós, ha concebuda dins son cors e ha engenrat lo mal que ha.

E l'Amorat, axí com aquell qui amava sa muller, hoynt les paraules que aquest li deya, sí cuydà exir de senny. E sí dix:

—Donchs, mestre, no·s pot donar negun remey en aquest mal?

—No, senyor —dix lo juheu—, sinó solament hú.

E dix tantost l'Amorat:

—Prech-te que m'o digues.

—Senyor —dix lo juheu—, jo bé us ho diria, mas he gran pahor de la vostra senyoria.

—E com? —dix l'Amorat—. Mestre, diguats so que us vullats.

—Senyor, mercè vos deman —dix lo juheu—, de açò que jo us diré. Verament, senyor, no ha res al món qui puscha restaurar aquesta dona sinó una cosa, ço és, lo fetge vostro o de vostro fill, que lo vostro e lo seu és tot hú. E per ço com jo he conegut aquest mal, ja que bé ha pessa que ho sabia, mas yo hi cuydava donar remey ab algunes medecines, e per ço no u havia volgut

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262 sí] sino **278** [s]er] fer *error scriptoris*, f *pro* ſ *ad fin. fol.* **293** tot] tot ~~vr̃~~

'How can this be done?'

The Jew replied, saying:

'My lady, leave it with me.'

And immediately the Jew went to the Great Emir, who was not far from the chamber, and making a very sad face, said to him:

'My lord, I come to take leave of you as I wish to go away.'

Hence, when the Great Emir heard these words from the Jew, in whom he trusted to give his wife a cure, he said immediately:

'But how is this, master? What is this? Is this the comfort you are giving me for my lady my wife?'

'My lord,' said the Jew, 'there is nothing in the world that can save the lady from death.'

'Oh master!' said the Great Emir, 'is this such a hard matter? Now I know that our Lord wishes me ill and wishes to punish me, for truly my days are brief if the woman whom I love dies. Oh master! I beg you to tell me what evil affliction is this, that has no remedy.'

'My lord,' said the Jew, 'this evil which this lady has is a mighty strange illness engendered in the heart, which illness, my lord, is called shamsha, and you, my lord, have engendered it in her.'

'What, I?' said the Great Emir. 'It cannot be.'

'My lord,' said the Jew, 'I tell the truth; and if it is not so, I wish you to cut out my tongue. For the lady, by her proximity to you and yours to her, from an excess of love which she has had for you, has conceived in her heart and engendered the illness which she has.'

And the Great Emir, because he loved his wife, hearing the words which he said to him, thought he would lose his wits, and said:

'So, master, can no remedy be given to this illness?'

'No sir,' said the Jew, 'except for one.'

And the Great Emir said immediately:

'I beg you, tell me.'

'My lord,' said the Jew, 'I would willingly tell you, but I am mighty afraid of your lordship.'

'Even so, master,' said the Great Emir, 'tell me what you want.'

'My lord, I ask your mercy,' said the Jew, 'for what I am going to tell you. Truly, my lord, there is nothing in the world that can restore this lady but one thing, which is, your liver or your son's, for yours and his are all one. And because I have discovered this illness, although I had known it for a long time, I thought I could give it a cure with some medicines, and for that

dir. De què, senyor, per ço jo vinch pendre comiat de vós, he us dich lo fet de la veritat. E si axí, senyor, no és com jo us dich, vull que·m tolgats lo cap. Per què, senyor, la vostra mercè!

L'Amorat, hoynt axí perlar lo juheu, sí se n'entrà dins en la cambra, e allí sí comenssà de fer lo major dol del món, smaginant-se en les paraules que lo traydor de juheu li havia dites. E esmaginant en la sua muller que ell tant amava, e penssant-se en lo seu fill tant graciós, primogènit seu, qui ell molt amava, ell sí deliberà en si mateix, per ço com no ha tant alta cosa al món con és l'amor de dos qui s'amen —e com sia certa cosa que diu en un loch de l'Evangeli que sant Matheu fóu: «que pare e mare e fill jaquiràs per ta companyhia». E aquest senyor de Amorat fo hú de aquells, que abans deliberà e·s meté en son cor que fahés matar son fill Jacob Xalabín, que [si no] la sua muller murís, per dar restauració a la sua muller. Per què ell de present, estant en la sua cambra, cridà un missatge e sí li dix:

—Susare fé'm venir Alí Baxà, lo nostro governador.

E de present lo missatge o anà dir a Alí Baxà, que lo senyor lo demanava. E de present Alí Baxà vénch devant lo Amorat. E con li fou denant, que negú no hac en la cambra, sí li dix:

—Prech-te que de present faces so que jo·t manaré.

E Alí Baxà, qui hoý axí perlar l'Amorat que·l pregava, sí fichà los genolls en terra e sí li dix:

—O senyor, e com se avé açò, que vós pregats a mi? E no sabets jo tots temps sí són stat obedient al vostro manament? Donchs, senyor, com s'i avé are que vós pregats a mi? Penssats de manar, senyor, tot so que a vós plàcia, car jo sclau e servent són vostro.

Però no sabia ell ne·s penssava qual manament li devia fer, segons que veurets.

307–308 [si no]] no si

reason I had not wished to tell it. Hence, my lord, I come to take my leave of you, and I am telling you the matter in truth. And if, my lord, it is not as I say, I wish you to cut off my head. Therefore, my lord, I ask your mercy!'

The Great Emir, hearing the Jew speak thus, went into the chamber, and there began to make the greatest lamentation in the world, brooding on the words that the treacherous Jew had said. And thinking of his wife whom he greatly loved, and thinking of his firstborn son, so gracious, whom he greatly loved, he considered within him that there is nothing in the world so important as the love of two who love each other, and how true was the passage in the Gospel of St Matthew which says 'Father and mother and son you will leave for your mate'. And this lord Great Emir was one of those who first thought and conceived in his heart that he would have Yakub Çelebi killed, as otherwise his wife would die, to give his wife restoration. And so, without leaving his chamber, he immediately called a messenger and said to him:

'Bring me our governor, Ali Pasha, immediately.'

And the messenger straightaway went to tell Ali Pasha that the lord was asking for him. And Ali Pasha came before the Great Emir immediately; and when he was before him and there was no one in the chamber, he said to him:

'I beg you to do what I shall command you immediately.'

And Ali Pasha, hearing the Great Emir speak thus, begging him, knelt on the ground and said:

'Oh my lord, how did this come about, that you should beg me? Do you not know that I have always been obedient to your command? So, my lord, how did this come about now, that you should beg me? Prepare to command me, my lord, everything you please, for I am your servant and your slave.'

But he did not know or suspect what command he was to give him, as you will see.

[II]

Com l'Amorat manà Alí Baxà que matàs son fill Jacob Xalabín

4v L'Amorat, qui en aquell punt se pudia reputar fora de son | enteniment, ab la cara falssant devant Alí Baxà, sí li dix:

—Vé-te'n, e de present mata mon fill Jacob Xalabín, e aprés obri'l e aporta'm lo fetge seu. E tost. E no m'i contrasts, si·t plau. E fé-u de present.

Per què are podem dir: homa sens negun enteniment e sens neguna discreció, ab quals entràmen[e]s se podia esmaginar aytals coses, ne ab quals labis podia pronunciar aytals paraules? E quals fills seran qui puguen confiar de homa del món, si de lur pare no confien? Que aquest pare qui havie aquest fill tant graciós, lo qual era lo seu primogènit, consentís que morís! O, tan cruel cosa era aquesta! Que tant solament per donar guarió a una dona, ell consentís a tan cruel cosa, que fahés matar a son fill! Però, per ço con amor, segons dit és, lo destrenyhia e·l forçà que ell manà açò en aquest seu governador Alí Baxà.

E ell, hoint tant cruel paraula con aquesta era, que lo seu senyor li havia manada, per poch no·s cuydà esmortir devant son senyor. Però ell, qui víu que axí lo soptava l'Amorat, levà's devant ell e axí's de la cambra, penssant-se que l'Amorat fos exit de son senny. Sí cavalcà e anà-sse'n a casa sua; e mès-se en la sua cambra, e tanchà's dintre. E aquí ell molt tenrament plorà tot aquell jorn, e de tot aquell jorn ell no volch menjar ne beura, esmaginant-se en la paraul[a] de l'Almorat, dient en si mateix: «No pot ésser que mon senyor no sia fora de son senny, com aquest tan dolç donzell, e tan amat de totes gents, e cell en qui totes bontats són complides, e cell en qui és tot acabament de gentilesa, man alciure. Què pot ésser açò, ne què vol dir?».

E enaprés, con entre si mateix [s]e era perpensat, gitava lo seu cap en terra, e ab habundància de moltes làgrames que dels hulls li exien. E en aquesta forma passà tot aquell jorn e la nit que vénch. Planyhia axí mateix, d'altre part, lo seu fill, qui era tan gran amich e companyó seu e en tan gran gràcia del dit Jacob Xalabín.

E al matí, axí tost con fou jorn, l'Amorat, axí com aquell qui era molt cuytat de la abominable voluntat, tramès missatge a Alí Baxà que de present li fos

8 entràmen[e]s] entraments **22** paraul[a]] paraulo **26** [s]e] ŝe

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[11]

How the Great Emir Ordered Ali Pasha to Kill His Son Yakub Çelebi

The Great Emir, who at that moment could be thought to be out of his wits, avoiding Ali Pasha's gaze said to him:

'Go, and without delay kill my son Yakub Çelebi, and then open him up and bring me his liver. And quickly: and do not deny me, I pray. And do it immediately.'

Hence we can now say: a man without understanding or discrimination, with what feeling could he imagine such things, and with what lips could he utter such words? And what children are there who could trust any man in the world if they do not trust their own father? That this father, who had this gracious son, his firstborn, should allow him to be killed: oh, such a cruel thing was this, that just to give a cure to a woman he should consent to such a cruel act as to have his son killed! But love, as has been said, coerced him and forced him to demand this of his governor Ali Pasha.

And Ali Pasha, hearing such cruel words as these which his lord had commanded him, nearly fainted in front of his lord. But he, seeing that the Great Emir was forcing him, got to his feet before him, and left the chamber, thinking that the Great Emir was out of his wits. He rode, went to his house, went to his chamber and locked himself in; and here he wept most tenderly all that day, and all that day he would not eat or drink, pondering the Great Emir's words, saying to himself: 'It must be that my lord is out of his wits, for this young man, so sweet and so greatly loved by all, and who possesses so many good qualities, and who has every perfection of gentility, he commands to be killed. What can this be, and what does it mean?'

And then, having pondered in his mind, he bowed his head to the ground, and an abundance of tears flowed from his eyes. And in this fashion he spent all that day and the following night. Likewise he wept for his son, who was such a great friend and companion and intimate to the said Yakub Çelebi.

And in the morning, as soon as it was day, the Great Emir, being enslaved to his abominable will, sent a message to Ali Pasha telling him to come before

denant. E lo missatge vénch denant a Alí Baxà, lo qual atrobà molt plorós, e sí li dix:

—Mon senyor me tremet a vós que tantost de present vingats a ell.

E Alí Baxà, axí com aquell qui no volia tardar al manament de son senyor, e penssant-se que les paraules del dia passat no fossen fermetives, sí anà de present devers l'Amorat. E l'Amorat, de present que·l víu, sí li dix:

—E donchs, Alí, has donat compliment en açò que yo t'avia manat?

E de present Alí Baxà tornà tan mort con una cenrra. E sí li dix:

—Senyor, no.

E l'Amorat li tornà de present a dir:

—Susare fé-u, si·t plau, e no m'i torns paraula.

E Alí Baxà, qui víu axí tant enfortidament manar e fer tan cruel cosa, sí se'n
5r tornà a la sua casa plorant molt tenrament. E con molt se fou comba- | tut,
esmaginà que una vegada li valia més que faés lo manament de son senyor que si venia en son desgrat; e sí·s penssà en qual manera lo alciuria.

him without delay. And the messenger came before Ali Pasha, whom he found in tears, and said to him:

'My lord sends me to you that you should come to him immediately.'

And Ali Pasha, not wishing to delay his lord's command, and thinking that his words of the day before were not binding, went quickly to the Great Emir. And the Great Emir, as soon as he saw him, said:

'So, Ali, have you performed what I commanded you?'

And Ali Pasha turned as grey as ash; and he said:

'My lord, no.'

And the Great Emir straightaway said to him again:

'Do it now, if you please; and do not answer me back.'

And Ali Pasha, when he saw such a cruel thing being commanded and done so insistently, went home weeping most tenderly. And when he had struggled greatly with himself, he decided that after all it was better to do his lord's command than to incur his displeasure. And he thought in what way he would kill him.

[III]

Com Alí Baxà penssà en quina manera mataria Jacob Xalabín

Devets saber que aquest Jacob Xalabín sí era jova tan graciós e tant ple de totes beutats e perfeccions, que era una gran maravella. E aquest sí era de edat de qualsque vint-e-sis annys, e lo seu viure sí era en cassar, e en cavalcar, e en dançar, e en saltar, e en fer moltes gentileses, segons se pertany a ffill de gran senyor. E per ço com és usança que un hom met sa amor en un altre, e specialment hom jove, per què aquest Jacob Xalabín sí havia sa amor mesa en Alí Baxà, fill del dit governador. Lo qual Alí Baxà era home jove, de edat de vint-e-cinch annys, no molt alt de persona, e era hom molt savi e molt discret en sos fets. E amaven-se axí abdosos de coral amor. E no era pas maravella, car tots temps se eren nodrits ensemps de poquesa ençà, en tant que la hú no menjava sens l'altre, axí com cells qui eren jóvens e trempats.

E aquell jorn hagueren saltat e fets de lurs trempaments e solaços, e açò fo aprés que hagueren menjat. E sí se n'entraren en la lur cambre, axí com cascun jorn acustumaven en la cesta, e en aquell delitable lit ells se reposaren; e despullades totes lurs vestadures, exceptades les lurs camises, e posaren-se damunt lo lit per reposar e per do[r]mir.

E lo pare de Alí Baxà, axí com aquell qui stava sperant e perpenssant en qual manera mataria lo fill de l'Amorat, e sabia bé que cascun jorn en la sesta que aquests dos dormien ensemps, e Alí Baxà sperant la ora que·s penssava que aquests dormirien, sí hac ja haüt un coltellàs bé esmolat e bé affinat, de tall molt prim; e ab los brassos bé aremengats e ab lo coltell en la mà, ell entrà dins la porta de la cambra, la qual atrobà uberta, axí com cella qui de jorn no era acustumada de tancar.

E entrant per la cambra tot esmortit, lo seu fill Alí Baxà stava lavores de sobines, que no dormia, e Jacob Xalabín dormia. E quant Alí Baxà víu axí entrar son pare arremangat e mudat de color e ab lo coltell en la mà, decontinent sí [s]urtí del lit e sí dix al seu pare:

—Què és açò que volets fer?

E Alí Baxà dix:

18 do[r]mir] domir **29** [s]urtí] turti

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[III]

How Ali Pasha Thought How He Would Kill Yakub Çelebi

You must know that this Yakub Çelebi was a young man so gracious and so full of all beauty and perfections that it was a great wonder. And he was of the age of some twenty-six years, and his life was spent in hunting and riding, and dancing and jumping, and doing many gracious acts, as befits the son of a great lord. And as it is the custom that a man should place his love in another, and especially a young man, therefore this Yakub Çelebi had placed his love in Ali Pasha, son of the said governor. Which Ali Pasha was a young man of the age of twenty-five years, not very tall in body, and was a very wise man, very shrewd in his acts. And so they loved each other, both with a sincere love; and it was no wonder, as they had always been brought up together from infancy onwards, so that one did not eat without the other; and they were young and fit.

And that day they had jumped and done exercises and entertainments, and this was after they had eaten. And then they went into their chamber, as was their custom every day, for an afternoon nap, and they rested on that delightful bed; and taking off all their clothes, except their shirts, they lay down on the bed to rest and sleep.

And Ali Pasha's father, waiting and thinking how he might kill the Great Emir's son, and knowing well that every day in the afternoon these two slept together, waiting for the time when he thought they would be asleep, took a knife, well sharpened and well honed, with a very thin blade; and rolling up his sleeves and the knife in his hand, he went through the door to the chamber, which he found open, as it was not usually closed during the day.

And when half fainting he entered the chamber, his son Ali Pasha was lying face up, awake, and Yakub Çelebi was sleeping. And when Ali Pasha saw his father come in, bare-armed, pale-faced and holding the knife, he immediately jumped out of bed and said to his father:

'What do you want?'

And Ali Pasha said:

—No digues res, fill, que sàpies que de manament he de mon senyor que susare que deguoll Jacob Xalabín e que decontinent li aport lo seu fetge.

O, tant amargosa e tant cruel e tant habominable paraula fou aquesta que
5v aquest tan fel e tant car companyó hoý de son senyor e | companyó! Per què
decontinent dix al pare:

—Car pare, no sia per res.

—E com? —dix lo pare—. E com ho faré donchs?

—Jo us ho diré —dix lo fill—. Lo senyor vos mana que li aportets lo fetge?

—Hoc —dix lo pare.

—Per ço, pare, anats devall en lo verger, e prenets una sérvia e matats-la, e trets-li lo fetge e digats que de Jacob Xalabín és, que no ha al món hom qui·n conegua res. E jo despertaré a Jacob Xalabín, e cavalcarem e irem-nos-en per lo món, que jamay serem coneguts ne serem en aquesta terra, ne hom no sabrà res de nosaltres, fins tant que Déus vulla que sia altre cosa d'aquest fet.

E lo prohom Alí Baxà, hoint lo consell que li donava son fill, dix que molt era bo. E sí devallà al verger seu, e près una grossa sérvia e trach-li lo fetge, e calt calt lo aportà al palau a l'Amorat, qui l'estava sperant. E de present fóu sa reverència a l'Amorat e dix-li:

—Senyor, la vostra mercè. Aveus ací lo fetge de Jacob Xalabín, vostro fill.

E l'Amorat, qui víu lo fetge, de les sues mans pròpies lo près, e sí·l mès en la cambra on sa muller jahia, on lo metge juheu estava continuadament sperant. E quant l'Amorat fou dins, sí dix:

—Mestre, aveus ací lo fetge que vós demanàs.

E lo juheu, qui víu lo fetge, sí li dix:

—Senyor, e és aquest lo fetge de Jacob Xalabín?

—Och —dix l'Amorat.

—Guardats-hi, senyor, que sia aquest del vostro fill propri; si no, seria gran perill.

E l'Amorat sí li respòs:

—Udà, mestre, e no·m creets vós a mi?

Lavors lo juheu, ple de tota malícia, demostrant e donant a·ntendre que, ab lo fetge fahent medecina, lo donàs a menjar a la dona, sí se n'intrà en la cambra on la dona jahia; e aprés que fou dins, sí·n fóu axir tothom, que no y lexà romandra nengú. E aprés sí s'acostà a la dona, qui jahia en lo lit. E sí li dix:

—Senyora, sapiats, sí devets star ab bon cor de cert, que aveus ací lo fetge de Jacob, lo qual ha fet matar vostro senyor l'Amorat.

E la dona, axí com aquella menys de tota discreció, donant fe a les paraules que lo juheu li hac dites, e vahent lo fetge, de present se ymaginà que

'Do not say anything, my son: know that I am commanded by my lord to cut Yakub Çelebi's throat straightaway, and immediately bring him his liver.'

Oh so bitter and cruel and abominable were these words that this faithful and dear companion heard from his lord and companion that he immediately said to his father:

'Dear father, let this not come to anything!'

'How?' said the father. 'What can I do?'

'I will tell you,' said the son. 'The lord commands you to bring him the liver?'

'Yes,' said the father.

'Therefore, father, go down into the garden, and take a deer and kill it, and take out its liver, and say it is Yakub Çelebi's. And let no man in the world know of it. And I will wake Yakub Çelebi, and we will ride, and we will go about the world, for we will never be known in this land, and no one will know anything of us, unless God wills that things happen otherwise.'

And the worthy Ali Pasha, hearing the advice that his son was giving him, said that this was good. And he went down to his garden, and took a fat deer and took out its liver, and took it steaming hot to the palace to the Great Emir, who was waiting for him. And he quickly made his obeisance to the Great Emir and said:

'Your grace, my lord. Here is the liver of Yakub Çelebi, your son.'

And the Great Emir, seeing the liver, took it with his own hands, and put it in the chamber where his wife was lying, and where the Jewish doctor was constantly waiting. And when the Great Emir came in, he said:

'Master, here is the liver for which you asked.'

And the Jew, seeing the liver, said:

'My lord, is this the liver of Yakub Çelebi?'

'Yes,' said the Great Emir.

'My lord, ensure this is your own son's; if not, it would be most dangerous.'

And the Great Emir replied:

'By God, master, do you not believe me?'

Then the Jew, full of all cunning, making show and giving to understand that, making medicine with the liver, he would give it to the lady to eat, went into the chamber when she lay, and, once he was inside, sent everybody away and did not let anyone stay. And then he went up to the lady, who was lying in her bed, and said to her:

'My lady, know that you should be of good cheer, indeed: for here is Yakub's liver, whom your lord the Great Emir has had killed.'

And the lady, as one lacking in all discernment, giving faith to the words that the Jew had said to her, and seeing the liver, immediately thought that

d'aquell tan gran desig, que ella havia tant mes dins son cor, no podia haver acabanssa. E esmaginant-se en la mort qui és tan principal cosa a desjunyir e partir dues amors, sí s'esmaginà que de aquell devuymés no li calia haver sp[er]anssa. E respòs al dit juheu:

—Mestre, pus que fet s'és, fet se sia.

E de present près confort en si mateixa. E lo juheu, penssant-la molt, féu-li fer de diverses viandes, segons que ell sabia divisar, per ço que la dona hagués apetit de menjar e que tornàs.

E de present la dona hac gorió; de la qual guorió lo Amorat, axí com aquell qui molt la amava, hac gran goig e gran consolació. E fóu gran mestre lo dit juheu Mossè.

75 sp[er]anssa] spanssa

she could not have satisfaction for that great desire which she had ever more in her heart, and thinking on death, which is the chief cause of dividing and parting two loves, she thought that henceforth she could no longer have hope of it. And she replied to the said Jew:

'Master, since it has been done, so let it be done.'

And she immediately felt consolation in her heart. And the Jew, pondering greatly on it, had various foods made for her, such as he knew how to concoct, so that the lady would have an appetite for eating and would recover.

And the lady was straightaway cured; which cure gave great happiness and great consolation to the Great Emir, as he loved her greatly. And the Jew Moshe was made a great master.

[IV]

Com Jacob Xalabín e Alí Baxà se'n fugiren de tota la cort de l'Amorat

E per ço com los hòmens qui són en aquest món posats en algunes perse-
6r qucions, o per tractaments que contre aquells són fets ne han, | no·s deven desesperar de la gràcia de Déu e de la gran misericòrdia sua, car Ell e no altre és bastant de dar còpia de bé als seus; e per ço com aquest Jacob Xalabín, segons que demunt havets hoÿt, lo malvat juheu havia tractat que morís, e no volent Nostro Senyor que aquest morís, ans matent al cor en aquest jova Alí Baxà al seu para que matàs una sérvia, aquella hora per aquella Alí Baxà despertà son senyor e compa[n]yó Jacob Xalabín, dient-li:

—Senyor, susare de present calvalquem e partiam de aquesta terra. Car sapiats que vostra madrastre cerca per què us puscha fer matar, e mon pare ha ja bé dos jorns que ha manament del senyor Amorat, pare vostro, que us matàs.

On, con Jacob Xalabín hoynt dir aquestes paraules a son companyó, sí dix:

—Donchs, pus que axí és, fugiam a furor.

O discreció d'om, e paciència d'aquest qui era primogènit de tot lo regna, tant graciós e tant amorós de totes gents! E sabent que, per no complir a la mala voluntat de la madrastre sua, ella tractava que morís, hi ell, no volent divulgar semblant cosa, ans tinent-ho secret, sí deliberà de jaquir tot lo regne e de anar-se'n per lo món, ribalt e soferint desayre, o en qualque part on aventura lo amenàs. O homa ple de tota perfeta caritat, com volguist e deliberist de jaquir ton regna e tan gran senyoria, e sostmetís-te no tan solament a hom per ton desanamich, qui·t tractava de ociure't! Lo ver Déus, qui sab e·t víu, de totes aquestes coses te'n reta lo guardó, e servarà.

E havent deliberat Jacob Xalabín ab son compa[n]yó Alí Baxà que, partint-se de la ciutat de Borça, sí prengueren dos bons pelafrens —axí com aquells qui havien assats de bons—, e sí prengueren de lurs joyes e de llurs tresaurs —axí com cells qui assats n'avien. E axí cavalcaren e s'hisqueren de la ciutat de Borça tots desfressats per tal que null hom no·ls conegués.

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10 compa[n]yó] compayo **27** compa[n]yó] compa / yo

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[IV]

How Yakub Çelebi and Ali Pasha Fled from the Great Emir's Entire Court

And because men who in this world are subject to certain persecutions, on account of scheming which has been made against them, must not despair of God's grace and his great mercy, for He and no other is capable of giving the fullness of good to his own; and because the evil Jew had schemed for this Yakub Çelebi to die, as you have heard above; and because God did not wish him to die, rather inspiring this young Ali Pasha to have his father kill a deer, at that same moment Ali Pasha woke his lord and companion Yakub Çelebi, saying to him:

'My lord, let us ride immediately, and leave this land; for know that your stepmother is seeking the means to have you killed, and my father two days ago received the command from your father the lord Great Emir to kill you.'

At which Yakub Çelebi, hearing these words from his companion, said:

'As this is so, let us flee furiously.'

Oh discretion of man, and patience of him who was the firstborn of the whole kingdom, so gracious and beloved of all! And knowing that, because he had not fulfilled his stepmother's evil desires, she was engineering his death, and, not wishing such a thing to be widely known, but keeping it secret, he decided to leave the whole kingdom, and go about the world in roguery and suffering rejection, or in any parts where adventure led him. Oh man full of all perfect charity! How you wished and decided to leave your kingdom and such great lordship, and you have submitted yourself to the enemy who was seeking to kill you! May the true God, who knows and sees you, give you reward for all these things. He will keep you!

And Yakub Çelebi and his companion Ali Pasha having decided that, leaving the city of Bursa, they would take two good palfreys, of which they had a number, took their jewels and their treasures, of which they had a number, and thus they rode and went out of the city of Bursa in disguise so that no man would know them.

E com hagueren cavalcat un tros fora los murs de la ciutat, sí acordaren que faessen la via de Palàcia, e per consegüent de Setalia, e que se n'anassen en la Soria, en la terra del Soldà, en guisa que jamés no fossen coneguts.

E no hagueren cavalcat pus de sis jornades, que foren en la terra de un senyor turch qui s'epellava Sercà, en un castell qui ha nom Policàssio, hon hagueren dormit la nit. E lo matí no hagueren cavalcat l'esme de quinze milles, que ells encontraren en un bosch qui era molt spes que·ls isqueren hòmens ladres e de mala vida, qui·ls prengueren e los robaren fins a lurs camises, e hagueren prou a fer que campassen la lur persona de mort.

E com Jacob Xalabín e son companyó se viren axí despullats de lurs coses, pensar-vos podets quina dolor podia ésser aquesta: que ells, qui eren hòmens delicats e viscuts en grans ayres, trobant-se descalsos e despullats, los covench de anar a peu; e los lurs peus eren tant delicats, que jamay no eren usats sinó de estar sobre estreps daurats, e no anar per terra sino
6v per gran delit; are los cové de anar sobre pedres tayllants | e agudes. O quina compassió d'aquest, qui era senyor e·s volch sotsmetre a sofferir aquest desayre!

E vahent-se axí desbaratats, aconortaren-se e s'o prengueren en paciència al mils que pogueren. E sí·s meseren en lur camí e penssaren de anar. E per lurs jornades anant, demanant, con eren en loch de població, per amor de Déu, e sí trobaren assats què menjar. E tant anaren, que foren en una ciutat qui ha no[m] la Palàcia.

On, con aquests dos fossen en la Palàcia, sí se n'anaren a casa de una profembra assats vella, a la qual pregaren que·ls acullís per amor de Déu. On, con la dona vahés aquests dos jóvens qui parien hòmens de camí, e nuus e despullats, dix-los que molt volentera e que penssassen de entrar. E de present que foren dins la casa, la dona penssà de fer bon foch, que bé·s pensave que més fret havían que calor, axí com cells qui no tenien sinó les camises. E haver fet lo foch la dona, aquests s'i posaren de prop; e la dona sí·ls donà pa e raÿms e let. E de açò que havia aquests menjaren, e la nit qui vénch dormiren. E aprés, l'endemà, axí con fou jorn, Alí Baxà sí dix a son companyó Jacob Xalabín:

—Companyó —e per ço lo appellà «companyó», que no hagués a dir «senyor», per ço que null hom no se n'adonàs; e sí li dix—, jo iré per la ciutat acaptant, ja si trobaré res, en guisa que hajam què menjar.

E dix Jacob Xalabín:

—Spera't, que jo vull anar ab tu.

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53 no[m]] non

And when they had ridden for a while outside the city walls, they agreed to make their way to Palatia, and then to Satalia, and that they would go into Syria, in the land of the Sultan, so that they would never be known.

And they had not ridden more than six days when they came to the land of a Turkish lord, called Saruhan, to a castle called Balıkesir, where they slept that night. And in the morning they had not ridden some fifteen miles when they found a forest which was very thick and evil-living thieves approached them, who captured them and stripped them of everything but their shirts, and they were hard-pressed to save their persons from death.

And when Yakub Çelebi and his companion saw themselves thus stripped of their things, you can imagine what grief was theirs; for they, who were delicate men who lived in high style, finding themselves shoeless and stripped, were obliged to go on foot; and their feet were so delicate that they had never been used to being on anything but gilded stirrups and only travelled the earth for great pleasure; now they had to walk on sharp and cutting stones. Oh what pity for him, who was a lord and wished to submit to suffering this ill-treatment!

And seeing themselves thus abandoned, they comforted themselves, and took everything with as much patience as they could. And they returned to their way and began to walk; and begging for alms in God's name as they went, when they were in a populated area, they found enough to eat. And they walked so far that they reached a city called Palatia.

So, when these two were in Palatia, they went to the house of an elderly gentlewoman, whom they asked to take them in in God's name. And when the lady saw these two young men who looked like wayfarers, naked and stripped, she said 'Most willingly' and that they should come in. And as soon as they were in the house, the lady began to make a good fire, as she thought they were more cold than warm, having nothing but their shirts. And when the lady had made the fire, they sat by it, and the lady gave them bread, and grapes, and milk, and what she had they ate, and they slept that night. And the next morning, as soon as it was light, Ali Pasha said to his companion Yakub Çelebi:

'Companion,'—and he called him 'companion' to avoid saying 'my lord', so that nobody would find out—he said, 'I will go through the city begging to see if I can find something so that we can have something to eat.'

And Yakub Çelebi said:

'Wait, I want to go with you.'

—Certes —dix Alí Baxà—, no farets pas; stats-vos ací.

—Certes —dix Jacob—, sí faré.

O bontat de hom qui no volia haver aventatge, ans volia ésser agual ab lo companyó en la misèria, anar demanar per amor de Déu! En tant que aquest Alí Baxà anà per la ciutat, no volent que Jacob Xalabín hi anàs. E —Déu, qui no fa sinó tot bé!— de present trobà molts diners, que li donaren per amor de Déu; e aprés anà-se'n a la plassa e comprà pa e let e fruyta. E fon a la casa e dix:

—Companyó, avet aquests diners que m'àn donats per amor de Déu, e vet què he comprat.

E sí comensaren de menjar. E aprés, l'endemà, e l'altre jorn aprés aquest, Alí Baxà anà tant per la ciutat fins que atrobà tot lo món de diners de aquella moneda. Sí que ells se compraren sengles vestadures de cothonina, ja que ells no eren vesats sinó de draps d'aur e de seda; però lavores hagueren goig que n'haguessen de cothonina. E con Jacob Xalabín, fill de l'Amorat, hac la vestadura, e Alí Baxà per semblant, sí·s meteren de anar per la ciutat.

E axí con cells qui·n venien de loch, sí·n feyen atret en lurs comportaments, sí que ells se n'anaven e·s deportaven al palau del senyor: e los seus cavallers qui feyen de llurs cavallaries e de lurs trempaments; e aquells, axí com aquells qui n'eren u[s]ats, no·s pogueren star de no pendre-s'i. Aquest
7r Jacob Xalabín, e son companyó axí mateix, | mès-s'i. E special Jacob era tant valent hom de sa persona e tan trempat, que no y ach cavaller negú, ne altre, que li pogués metre lo peu devant, volgués de torneig o de força de trempament o de què·s volgués. Aquests faheren tantes de cavallaries de lurs perssones, que tots cells de la cort ne stigueren maravellats, tant que vénch a hoÿda del senyor d'aquell loch, dient-li:

—Senyor, sapiats que ací ha dos jóvens strangers qui fan de les pus stranyes meravelles del món, ço és, totes cavallaries, e en special la hú d'ells.

E lo dit senyor de la Palàcia, qui hoý açò, volch-los veura. Per què li foren amenats devant; e sí los demanà e los interrogà ja d'on eren ni de qual terra. E Jacob Xalabín respòs axí con aquell qui era molt savi e discret, e dix:

—Senyor, nosaltres són hòmens qui vem per lo món sercant la nostra ventura.

E lo dit senyor, qui hoý axí aquest parlar ab aquelles paraules tan discretes e tant plenes de discreció e de perfecció, sí dix en si mateix: «No ha gentilesa en lo món que en aquest no sia». E de present li féu gran honor, e sí·ls preguà

88 u[s]ats] vats

'Indeed,' said Ali Pasha, 'you will not; stay here.'

'Indeed,' said Yakub Çelebi, 'so I will do.'

Oh goodness of a man that would not have advantage, but rather wanted to be equal with his companion in poverty, to go begging in God's name! So this Ali Pasha went about the city, not wishing Yakub Çelebi to go with him; and (God does nothing but all good) he quickly came by a lot of money, which he was given in God's name; and afterwards he went to the market square, and bought bread and milk and fruit. And he went home, and said:

'Companion, take this money which I have been given in God's name, and see what I have bought.'

And so they began to eat. And afterwards, the next day and the following, Ali Pasha went about the city until he found a world of money in cash, so that they bought themselves clothes of fustian, they who were used to nothing but clothes of gold and silk; but now they were pleased to have clothes of fustian. And when Yakub Çelebi, son of the Great Emir, had these clothes, and Ali Pasha likewise, they began to go about the city.

And being persons of rank, they displayed good behaviour, and walked around and went to exercise at the lord's palace. And his knights were doing riding and exercises; and Yakub Çelebi and Ali Pasha, being used to such things, could not keep from doing the same; this Yakub Çelebi, and his companion too, joined in. And Yakub in particular was such an excellent man in figure and skill that there was no knight, or any other, who could outdo him, whether in jousting or exercises or whatever he wanted. They did so many manoeuvres on horseback that all the courtiers were astonished, so that it came to the hearing of the lord of that place, and they told him:

'My lord, know that there are two young foreigners here who perform the strangest wonders in the world in feats of horsemanship; one of them in particular.'

And the said lord of Palatia, hearing this, wished to see them; so they were brought before him, and he questioned and asked them where they were from and from which land. And Yakub Çelebi replied wisely and shrewdly:

'My lord, we are men travelling the world seeking our fortune.'

And the lord, hearing this speech with those words so shrewd and full of discretion and perfection, said to himself, 'There is no gentility in the world that is not in this man.' And he immediately did them great honour, and he

que deguessen aturar en la sua cort e que ell los daria tot so que haguessen mester, e de açò los preguava. E Jacob Xalabín respòs:

—Senyor, la vostra mercè, nosaltros no y som per aturar. Hòmens som viandans; per què per res no hic aturaríem.

Lo senyor de la Palàcia, qui hoý que ells se'n volien anar, sí esmaginà que, per ço com ell esperava son genrre, qui tots jorns devia venir per pendra sa filla per muller, e s'esperava de fer-li bella festa, e que si aquests dos ell podia haver ab si, que li adobarien la festa e que tota la sua cort ne seria preada. Per què sí·ls dix:

—O bells amichs, jo us prech e us deman en gràcia special que vosaltres vullats aturar açí ab mi fins a tant que mon genre hic sia, a qui jo apparell bella festa per ço con se'n deu amenar la mia filla esposa sua. E jo haver vosaltres ací en la mia cort, serà'm molt gran honor e plaer. Per què us prech de aturar açí ab mi fins que hic sia, e jo dar-vos-he cosa de què vosaltres vos tendrets per pagats.

E Jacob Xalabín respòs:

—Per ma fe, senyor, pus que a vós plau ne ho volets, jo e mon companyó som prests de seguir vostro manament e volentat de star açí fins tant que a vós plàcia.

Ab tant lo senyor de la Palàcia hac gran goig e gran plaer. E de present los féu donar sengles bells dos rocins e diners assats, de què aquest Jacob Xalabín e Alí Baxà se meteren molt altament en cuns, axí com aquells qui n'eren usats. E tots jorns fahien lurs trempaments e lurs proeses, sí que feyen molt parlar de ells mateys e de lurs cavallaries.

E sí anà la anomenada tant gran per la terra, que tothom parlava d'aquests dos jóvens, sí que vénch a ssabuda de la ffilla del senyor de la Palàcia, qui
7v havia nom Nerguís, la qual era molt grassiosa e sabia molt. E vahent | ella aquest Jacob Xalabín moltes e diverses vegades, e vahent-li fer aquellas tan grans meravellas, sí se n'anamorà e enclinà son cor envers ell, tant que tots jorns no s'esmaginava ne trobava pler sinó que pogués veura aquest Jacob Xalabín. E mès tant sa amor en son cor en ell, que menjar ne beura ne dormir no podia la nit ne lo jorn, si ella no·l veya; ne no havia goig ne alegria, ans tot aquell jorn ella stava ab sa cara tota desconsolada, tant que lo cor no li u póch soferir, axí com aquella que amor la sobreprenia.

E un jorn sí dix a una sua cambrera qui tots temps la havia servida e·n qui ella molt sa fiava; e sí li dix:

105 ell] ells

asked them to stay at his court and said he would give them everything they needed, and this was his prayer. And Yakub Çelebi replied:

'My lord, your grace; we are not here to stay. We are wayfaring men; and so nothing could make us stay.'

The lord of Palatia, hearing that they wanted to leave, thought that, because he was expecting his son-in-law, who at any moment was due to come to take his daughter to wife, and he was expecting to offer him a fine celebration, if he could keep these two with him, they would ornament the celebration and his whole court would be esteemed for it. And so he said to them:

'Oh dear friends, I ask and beg you in special grace to stay here with me until my son-in-law is here, for whom I am preparing fine festivities because he is to take my daughter as his wife. And to have you here at my court will be a great honour and pleasure for me; I therefore ask you to stay here with me until he is here, and will give you something which you will find pleasing.'

And Yakub Çelebi replied:

'By my faith, my lord, as you wish and will it, I and my companion are ready to obey your command and desire to stay here as long as you please.'

At which the lord of Palatia took great joy and pleasure, and immediately had them each given fine horses and a good amount of money, with which Yakub Çelebi and Ali Pasha arrayed themselves in fine style, as they were accustomed. And every day they did their exercises and their feats, so that they made themselves and their acts of horsemanship much talked about.

And thus their renown spread around the land that everyone talked of these two young men, so that it came to the notice of the daughter of the lord of Palatia, named Nergis, who was most gracious and well-informed. And when she saw this Yakub Çelebi on many and different occasions, and seeing him perform those great marvels, she fell in love with him and inclined her heart towards him, so much so that every day she had no thought or pleasure but the sight of this Yakub Çelebi. And she placed her love and heart in him, so that she could neither drink nor sleep, by night or by day, if she could not see him; and she had neither joy nor happiness, rather, all that day she showed a wholly disconsolate face, so that her heart could not bear it, as love had entirely taken her over.

And one day she spoke to one of her maids who had always served her and in whom she greatly trusted, and said to her:

—Ara vet-o, jo no·m pusch star que no t'o digua. Sàpies de cert que no ha res en aquest món que jo tant àm ne tengua en mon cor con fas aquells dos cavallers companyons qui hic són, e sobratot lo major. Sàpies-te que jo faré totes coses ab què jo puscha parlar ab ell e haver la sua amistat e aprés la sua amor.

La cambrera, qui hoý axí parlar la sua dona, axí com aquella qui tot temps l'avia nudrida, e volent complaura al seu desig e volentat, sí respòs e dix:

—En veritat, jo no sé lo jove cavaller qui s'és ne con ha nom; mas ell és axí prous e ple de tota proesa, segons que demostra, que jo no·n són pas maravellada si havets mesa amor en ell, car no sé dona ne donzella al món qui no·l volgués amar.

E la senyora Nerguís, hoynt dir tals paraules a la sua cambrera, si dabans havia lo cor devers Jacob Xalabín, sí n'hac en aquella hora molt més. E no passà guayre que aquesta Nerguís cridà la sua cambrera, e sí li dix:

—Vé-te'n per la ciutat sacretament, e sàpies-me dir aquests en qual loch habiten ne dormen.

E la cambrera ab gran goig, de present volent suplir al manament de la sua senyora, sí anà per la terra. E no hac guayre anat, axí com aquella qui era discreta, que ella hac sabut aquests dos jóvens hon posaven; e trobà que posaven en casa de la profembra, segons que demunt havets hoït. E sí tornà a la sua dona e sí li dix:

—Senyora, jo he fet ço que vós m'avets manat, e sapiats que ells posen en aytal loch en casa de una profembra.

E la senyora Nerguís, hoynt ço que la sua cambrera li hac dit, sí n'hac gran plaer. E un jorn aquesta sí près un bell mandil obrat molt altament, lo qual ella de les sues mans pròpries havia fet, lo qual donà a la sua cambrera, dient-li:

—Vé-te'n allà hon aquests dos cavallers habiten, e con li sies denant, saluda'l-ma molt de la mia part e digues-li que jo l'àm molt leyalment dins mon cor. E que jo·l supplich que ell prengua aquest mandil que jo de mes mans he fet, e que l'aport per amor de mi. E que no guarde lo present, mas
8r sella qui·l li tramet, qui ha son | cor inclinat envers ell. E sàpies me dir ço que·t dirà.

La cambrera de present féu lo manament que la sua dona li féu. E sí se n'anà allà on lo fill de l'Amorat posava, e sí l'atrobà dins la sua casa, stant ab son companyó, e sí li dix:

'Now, listen: I cannot keep from telling you: know for certain that there is nothing in this world that I love and hold in my heart more than those two knightly companions who are here, especially the older. Know that I will do everything so that I may speak with him and have his friendship and later his love.'

The maid, hearing her lady speak thus, because she had always taken care of her, and wishing to please her wishes and desires, replied thus, saying:

'In truth, I do not know who this young knight is, or his name; but he is so fine and full of all abilities, as he shows, that I am not surprised that you should have conceived love for him, for I do not know of any lady or damsel in the world who would not wish to love him.'

And the lady Nergis, hearing such words from her maid, if before she had inclined her heart to Yakub Çelebi, now she was even more in love. And straightaway this Nergis called her maid, and said to her:

'Go out into the city secretly, and tell me where these two live and sleep.'

And the maid immediately with great joy, wishing to fulfil her lady's command, went out into the land; and she had barely gone a short distance, when because she was shrewd, she learned where these two young men were staying, and found that they were staying in the house of the gentlewoman, as you heard above. And she returned to her lady, and said to her:

'My lady, I have done what you commanded, and know that they are staying in such a place, in the house of a gentlewoman.'

And the lady Nergis, hearing what her maid had told her, rejoiced greatly. Another day she took a fine kerchief, worked most skilfully, which she had made with her own hands, and gave it to her maid, saying:

'Go where these two knights live, and when you are before them, greet him on my behalf, and tell him I love him loyally in my heart; and that I beg him to take this kerchief which I have made with my own hands, and to wear it for love of me. And he should regard not the gift, but the giver, who has her heart inclined to him. And tell me what he says.'

The maid immediately did her lady's command, and went to the house where the Great Emir's son was staying; and she found him in the house, with his companion, and said:

—Bell amich, Déus te sal. La senyora Nerguís me tramet ací a tu saludant-te tant com en ella és. E pregue't e·t demana en do special que tu prengues aquest mandil que·t tramet. E diu que no guarts lo present, mas la bona amor e la gran affecció que ha envers tu.

E Jacob Xalabín, qui víu aquesta dona qui venia devant ell de part [de la filla] del senyor de la Palàcia dient-li tals paraules, e esguardant lo mandil que li aportava, sí estech maravellat. Però, segons aquell qui en sa dignitat n'era ben digna, no era imposible cosa que aytal donzella s'enclinàs devers ell, que molt major n'era digne ésser ell conegut. E ell, axí con aquell qui n'era cert e savi, no·n [féu] res apparès, ans molt graciosament près la cambrera per la mà, e abrassant-la e dient-li:

—Ay, missatge ple de tot delit e de tot goig complit! Beneÿta sia la ora que ací venguist! E com són molt plasents e humils les tues paraules e plenes de molt gran alegria! E com és gran la humilitat e noblesa de la tua senyora, que a mi, qui són un sotil scuder vengut de ventura de longues terres, e no sabent jo qui són, la senyora hage tramès a mi dient semblants paraules, e més, trametre'm de les sues joyes e pregant-me que aquelles port... O senyora gentil, e quant sóts tota plena de gentilesa e abundada de tota gentilesa, que a un pobre hom, e no sabent jo qui·m són, tu te humilies e tramets present! E tamíats que jo refusàs semblant cosa ne joya de tant gentil dona? Ans jo hauria gran pahor que fos digna de descalssar la tua delicada sabata!

E con Jacob hac dites totes aquestes paraules, e hoynt de la dita cambrera, sí li dix molt graciosament e ab gran humilitat:

—Sor mia, sor mia, tu sies la benvenguda. E pre[n]ch ab humil cor e devot ço que tu m'aportes, axí com se pertany de semblant senyor. E prech-te que tu digues a la mia senyora Nerguís que no ha res en aquest món en què yo trop tan gran desplaer com fas en aquest spay que stich con no la veig, que a mi appar que passen mil annys de una ora que stigua que no la vege. Are almenys hauré repòs, com hauré aquest delitós mandil, lo qual per la sua humilitat li ha plagut trametre, lo qual jo reeb no pas que·n sia digna, mas axí com un pobre servent e sclau que són seu.

E la cambrera, hoynt axí parlar aquest tan altament, no víu dies ni ores que hagués portada aquesta nova a la sua dona. E sí près comiat de Jacob Xalabín, e sí se'n tornà al palau, e atrobà aquí la senyora ab gran desig que la
8v sperava. E quant ella fou denant la senyora, | sí li dix:

—E donchs, què t'à dit?

E la cambrera sí li respòs:

181–182 [de la filla]] *om.* **186** [féu]] *om.* | la cambrera] la ~~mandil~~ cambrera **200** pre[n]ch] p̄ch

'My friend, God keep you. The lady Nergis sends me here to you, greeting you to the best of her ability. And she asks and requests you as a special favour to take this kerchief which she sends you. And she says you should regard not the gift, but the true love and great affection she has for you.'

And Yakub Çelebi, who saw this lady who appeared before him on behalf of the daughter of the lord of Palatia directing such words to him, and examining the kerchief which she brought him, was surprised; but, as one who was dignified in his dignity, it was not impossible that such a damsel should be inclined towards him, as he would have been much more worthy if his identity had been known. And he, being as he was steady and wise, made no sign, but most graciously took the maid by the hand, and embracing her and saying:

'Oh messenger full of all delight and perfect in all joy! Blessed be the hour when you came here! And how your words are most pleasing and humble and full of much great happiness! And how great is the humility and nobility of your lady, who to me, a lowly squire come adventuring from distant lands, and without knowing who I am, has such words conveyed to me and has sent to me her jewels and asked me to wear them. O gracious lady! How full you are of gentility and abounding in all gentility, that to a poor man, without knowing who I am, you humble yourself and give me this gift! And did you fear that I would refuse such a thing or such a jewel from such a gracious lady? Rather, I would be greatly afraid that I was not worthy to take off your delicate shoe.'

And when Yakub had said all these words and having listened to the said maid's answer he said to her most graciously and with great humility:

'My sister, my sister, you are welcome, and I take with humble and devoted heart what you bring me, as befits such a lady; and I beg you to tell my lady Nergis that there is nothing in this world in which I find such displeasure as this place where I am where I cannot see her, for it seems to me that a thousand years pass in the hour when I go without seeing her. Now, at least, I shall have rest when I have this delightful kerchief which in her humility she has been pleased to give me, which I receive not because I am worthy, but as her poor servant and slave which I am.'

And the maid, hearing him speak in such exalted tones, could not wait to convey this news to her lady. And she took leave of Yakub Çelebi, and returned to the palace, and found the lady there with great joy, waiting for her. And when she was before the lady, she said to her:

'And so, what did he say to you?'

And the maid replied:

—O senyora, sapiats que jamay no fo ne habità tanta gentilesa en cors de homa; e si goig era perdut ne alegria, sí seria atrobada en aquell beneventurat cavaller. Sí beneÿt sia lo ventre qui l'aportà e les mamelles qui l'alletaren! Car sapiats, senyora, que envides me són poguda partir d'ell hoynt les paraules tan gracioses sues. E sapiats, senyora, que tan altes e tan gracioses són les sues leors, que no ha lengua al món qui n'ho pogués comptar ne dir.

E sí li comptà les paraules que ell li havia dites ne la resposta. E quant la senyora Nerguís hoý la relació que la cambrera li hac feta, si debans era scalfada devers aquell Jacob, lavors sí li doblà la sua amor. E sí deliberà en si mateixa, que si ella ne sabia venir en perill de morir, que ella una vegada volia haver un desig, a la sua volentat, de Jacob Xalabín. Ne nit ne jorn no s'esmaginava sinó en qual manera ella pendria loch que hagués laer de fer-ho.

E stant en aquesta smeginació, sí vénch nova que lo senyor de Satalia venia aquí, lo qual sí devia ésser marit seu, e per menar-la-se'n en la sua terra.

'Oh my lady, know that never did such gentility live and dwell in the body of a man; and if ever joy or happiness were to be lost, they would be found in that fortunate knight. Yes, blessed be the womb that bore him and the breasts that gave him suck! For know, my lady, I could only reluctantly leave off hearing his words, so gracious were they! And know, my lady, that so exalted and gracious were his praises that there is no tongue in the world that could recount or tell them.'

And she told her the words that he had said and the reply. And when the lady Nergis heard the account which the maid gave her, if before she was warm towards that Yakub, now her love was doubled, and she determined in her mind that even if she had to incur the danger of dying, she wanted to fulfil her desire just once with Yakub Çelebi; and day and night she thought of nothing but how she could find the opportunity to do so.

And while she was at these thoughts, news came that the lord of Satalia was coming there, who was to be her husband, to take her to his land.

[v]

Del matrimoni que lo senyor de la Palàcia havia fet ab lo senyor de Satalia, ne com los avench

Devets saber que, per ço com rahó ho dicta, sí perlaré del senyor de la Palàcia com havia fet matrimoni ab lo senyor de Satalia. E despuys vos tornaré a la senyora Nerguís e a Jacob Xalabín, fill de l'Amorat, e a son companyó, con mester serà.

Aquest senyor de la Palàcia sí havia nom Hocman Bey, lo qual sí havia una filla qui havia nom Nerguís, axí com demunt havets hoÿt, la qual era de edat de desset annys, fort graciosa. E bé havia sis mesos que havia fet matrimoni ab lo senyor de Setalia; no pas que lo senyor de Setalia hi fos vengut, mas ab missatges havien fets lurs contractes e covinences. E per ço con se acustumava que los hòmens van là hon les dones són, a la usança de la terra, e specialment filles de grans senyors, aquest senyor de Setalia sí·s mès a punt per anar en la terra de la Palàcia a son sogra, per pendra la muller e per menar-la-se'n a Setalia. E sí s'apparellà al mils que póch ab molta de cavallaria.

Aquest senyor de Satalia sí havia una germana donzella, qui era de edat de denou annys, a la qual son frare dix:

9r —Bella sor, jo me'n vaig a la terra de la Palàcia per menar-me'n | ma muller. Per què jo us jaquesch tota la terra, e prech-vos que per vós sia ben regida e ben guovernada.

E aprés sí dix a tots los altros seus hòmens, e barons e prohòmens:

—Aveus ací la mia sor, que us jaquesch en loch meu. Prech-vos que ella e la terra vos sia recomenada, com, si a Déu plau, jo en breu seré ací ab ma muller que amenaré.

E aprés haver dites aquestes paraules e ordonada la sua terra, sí près comiat de la sua germana e aprés de tot lo poble, e mès-se al camí per venir a la Palàcia.

E per tant Hocman Bey de la Palàcia, qui sabé que lo senyor de Setalia, gendre seu, venia, sí s'apparellà ell e tot lo seu palau per fer-li solempna festa, segons de gran senyor se pertanyhia. Aquesta Nerguís, filla sua, qui sabé que son marit venia per menar-la-se'n en la sua terra, a la qual, si a ella fos, no u volguera ne que jamay vingués, axí com cella qui havia pocha volentat ne amor a ell, ans tot lo seu desig e cor era inclinat en lo seu graciós Jacob Xalabín, segons demunt havets hoÿt.

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[v]

Of the Marriage Which the Lord of Palatia had Arranged with the Lord of Satalia, and What Befell Them

You must know that, as reason dictates, I shall speak of how the lord of Palatia had arranged marriage with the lord of Satalia; and afterwards I shall return you to the lady Nergis and Yakub Çelebi, the Great Emir's son, and his companion, as will be necessary.

This lord of Palatia had the name Osman Bey, and he had a daughter by name Nergis, as you have heard above, who was of the age of seventeen years and most gracious. And six months previously she had contracted marriage with the lord of Satalia; not that the lord of Satalia had come to her, but they had made their contracts and agreements with proxies. And as it was the custom that men go where the ladies are, in the tradition of the country, and especially the daughters of great lords, this lord of Satalia prepared to go to the land of Palatia to his father-in-law, to collect his wife and take her to Satalia; and he arrayed himself as well as he could, with a great body of knights.

This lord of Satalia had an unmarried sister, who was of the age of nineteen years, and her brother said to her:

'Dear sister, I am going to the land of Palatia to take my wife; therefore I leave you all the land, and I pray that it will be well ruled and governed by you.'

And next he said to all his men, barons and noblemen:

'Here is my sister, whom I leave in my place; I pray you that she and the land will be commended to you, as, if God pleases, I will shortly be here with my wife, whom I shall bring.'

And, after having said these words and ordered his land, he took leave of his sister and then of all his people, and set out on the way to Palatia.

And so, Osman Bey, lord of Palatia, when he knew that the lord of Satalia, his son-in-law, was coming, adorned himself and his entire palace to make a solemn celebration, as befitted a great lord. This Nergis, his daughter, knew that her husband was coming to take her to his land, where, if she had her way, she would never go, so little was the love and desire she bore him; rather, all her heart and desire was inclined to her gracious Yakub Çelebi, as you have heard above.

E per ses jornades lo senyor de Setalia fou aprés de la ciutat. E lo senyor de la Palàcia, qui sabé que son genre era prés de la ciutat, ab gran [cavallaria] sí li exí defora la ciutat per rebre'l, e ab gran goig e festa ells entraren en la ciutat e se'n vingueren al palau. E aprés que foren al palau, reposaren e stigueren en gran delit e en gran festa.

E tots jorns hi vérets fer de grans proheses a Jacob Xalabín e Alí Baxà! E tant faheren que no hac cavaller, d'aquells qui de la una part e de la altre qui eren venguts aquí, gosassen gordar les proheses que aquests fahien, en tant que era una gran maravella. Lo goig e lo plaer que la senyora Nerguís havia, pensar-vos-ho podets!

En tant que aquesta festa durà ben quinze dies. E per ço con en algunes terres se acustumava, specialment en la terra de la Turquia, en los grans senyors que, si un pren muller, jamay no s'acosta a ella fins que la se n'ha amenada en la sua terra, e llà ell fa gran festa ab les sues gents, e con aquest senyor de Satalia hagués stat quinze dies en la ciutat de la Palàcia ab son sogra en gran solàs e deports, sí dix que devuymés que ell se'n volia anar.

E la senyora Nerguís, qui tots jorns stava esmaginant e pensant en qual manera poria donar loch entre Jacob Xalabín e ella, e sí s'esmaginà que llà on lo cors de sa mare jahia, que allà poria soplir a la sua voluntat. E sí près tres muls carregats de vànoves e mathalaffs, e pa e carn, e ordi e paylla, e tota provisió que ha hòmens ne a cavalls són necessaris. E sí dix a la sua cambrera
9v que prengués aquells | tres muls, e que se n'anàs al seu car senyor que ella tant amava, e que anàs en aytal torra on lo cors de sa mare jahia, e que·ls metés dins, e puys que·ls tencàs demunt e que se'n tornàs la clau.

E de present la cambrera fóu lo manament de la sua senyora. E a hora de mige nit aquesta cambrera, ab los dits tres muls carregats de roba e de vitualla, sí se'n anà a casa de la profembra, on atrobà Jacob Xalabín, e sí li dix:

—Bell amich, la senyora me tramet ací a vós, e diu que·m seguiscats.

E com Jacob hoý açò, axí com aquell qui en res no ne havia tant gran sperança sinó en soplir a la volentat de la sua senyora Nerguís, sens negun lagui ne pesa, de present ell e son companyó pensen de cavalcar en lurs pelafrens, que havien bons e bells, e ensemps ab la cambrera isqueren de la ciutat. E tots tres ab los muls comenssen de fer la via là on la cambrera los amenava, ço és, la via de la torra. On, con foren a la torra, la cambrera trasch

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37 ab gran [cavallaria]] cavallaria *suppl.*; ab gran goig *MP*; ab gran cavalleria *SC*; *cf. cap. X* ab gran sò de trompetes e de anafils **42** d'aquells] de dq̃lls **46** ben] en ~~la t̄ra dela Tur~~ / ~~quia~~ *p.c. praem.* b

And on his journey the lord of Satalia was near to the city, and the lord of Palatia, when he knew his son-in-law was near to the city, with a great [body of knights] went out of the city to receive him, and with great joy and celebration they entered the city and came to the palace; and once they were in the palace, they rested and were in great delight and celebration.

And all this time you would see Yakub Çelebi and Ali Pasha perform great feats! And they did so much that there was no knight, of those who had come there from one quarter and another, who did not enjoy watching the feats that they performed, so that it was a great marvel. The joy and the pleasure which the lady Nergis had, you can imagine.

And so these festivities lasted a good fortnight; and because it was the custom, especially in the land of Turkey, with great lords that if one takes a wife he never approaches her until he has taken her to his land, and has offered her great festivities with his people, and as this lord of Satalia had been a fortnight in the city of Palatia with his father-in-law in great enjoyment and sports, he said that henceforth he wished to leave.

And the lady Nergis, who was constantly thinking and pondering how she could arrange a tryst between Yakub Çelebi and herself, thought that where the body of her mother lay, she could go to satisfy her desire. And she took three mules laden with counterpanes and mattresses, and bread and meat, and barley and straw, and all provisions that are necessary for men and horses; and she told her maid to take those three mules and go to her dear lord whom she so loved, and go to a certain tower where her mother's body lay, and put them inside and lock them in, and bring her back the key.

And the maid quickly obeyed her lady's command; and at the midnight hour this maid, with the said three mules laden with clothes and victuals, went to the gentlewoman's house, where she found Yakub Çelebi, and said to him:

'Dear friend, my lady sends me here to you, and says you are to follow me.'

And when Yakub heard this, because he had no great hope of anything but to satisfy the will of his lady Nergis, without any delay or hindrance, immediately he and his companion began to ride on their palfreys, which were good and fine, and together with the maid left the city, and all three with the mules began to make their way where the maid led them, that is, en route to the tower. And when they reached the tower the maid took out

la clau que tenia, e comenssà de obrir e de descarregar la roba, e mès-la dins la torra. E la cambrera sí los dix:

—Aveus ací prou vianda a vosaltros e a vostros cavalls; per què us plàcia de star ací e no us enugets, que ans que vingua guayre la senyora serà ací.

E sí près comiat d'ells. E ab los tres muls sí se'n tornà en la ciutat secretament e sí vénch devant la sua dona Nerguís, la qual la sperava ab gran desig. E con la víu, sí li dix si y eren, e la cambrera li dix:

—Senyora, là son, e aveus ací la clau.

E la senyora sí n'ach gran pler.

the key she was carrying, and began to open and unpack the clothes, and put them in the tower. And the maid said to them:

'Here is plenty of food, for you and your horses, so that you will enjoy being here and will not feel unhappy, as before long my lady will be here.'

And she took leave of them, and with the three mules she returned secretly to the city, and came to her lady Nergis, who was waiting for her with great desire; and when she saw her, she asked if they were there, and the maid said:

'My lady, they are there, and here is the key.'

And the lady was greatly pleased.

[VI]

Com lo senyor de Satalia vénch per menar-se'n sa muller de la Palàcia

Are diu la present istòria que en la terra de la Turquia de cert sí ha una custuma e usan[ç]a en los grans senyors e en les grans dones: que con un passa de aquesta vida —so és, que·s mor—, si és hom, si és fembra, sí·s fan fer a una jornada o a una e mige de la ciutat una torra qui stà no molt luny del camí reyal en un puget; e dins aquella torra ells se fan sebullir lo lur cors, perquè de luny sia mirada e les gents qui per lo camí passen, e van e vénen, que puguen dir: «Allà jau aytal senyor o aytal senyora». E trobarets que cada senyor o cada senyora, que com mor, se fa fer la sua sepultura per aquesta forma.

E no havia lonch de temps que la muller del senyor de la Palàcia, mare
10r de aquesta donzella Nerguís, era morta, | e lo seu cors havien sebullit a una jornada e mige de la ciutat de la Palàcia en una torra en un puig prop del camí. E aquesta donzella Nerguís, axí com aquella qui sabia molt, nit e dia stava studiant com pogués donar loch al seu desig. Sí·s perpensà, amenant-la-se'n son marit en Satalia, sí havien a passar per aquell loch on aquesta torra era edifficada, com lo camí era aquell, e, que com fos prop la torra, que ella que demanàs a son marit que ell la jaquís veura e anar al moniment de la sua mare, e que en aquell spay ella trobaria ab aquest Jacob Xalabín, que tant desigava, dins la torra; e llà poria fer a la sua voluntat. E per aquesta raó aquesta Nerguís havia fet anar aquests en la dita torra, axí com hoÿt havets.

4 usan[ç]a] vsanca **10** senyor] senyor~~a~~

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[VI]

How the Lord of Satalia Came to Take His Wife from Palatia

Now this history says that in the land of Turkey there is indeed a custom and tradition among great lords and great ladies that when one passes from this life (that is, when one dies), whether it is a man or a woman, they have built at one day's journey or a day and a half's from the city a tower which stands not far from the royal road, on a hillock, and inside that tower they have their body buried so that it can be seen from afar by the people who come and go on that road, and can say: 'There lies such a lord or such a lady.' And you will find that all lords or ladies, when they die, have their burials done in this way.

And it was not long since the wife of the lord of Palatia, mother of this damsel Nergis, had died, and they had buried her body a day and a half from the city of Palatia, in a tower on a hill near the road. And this damsel Nergis, as she was very resourceful, was studying night and day how she might give an opportunity to her desire; and, while her husband was taking her to Satalia and they had to pass through that place where the tower was built, as that was the way, and the tower was near, she thought she could ask her husband to let her go and see her mother's monument, and that in that place she would meet this Yakub Çelebi, whom she so desired, inside the tower; and there she could do as she willed. And for this reason this Nergis had made them go to the said tower, as you have heard.

[VII]

Com lo senyor de Satalia se'n manava la filla del senyor de la Palàcia per muller

E aprés que les grans festes foren passades dins la ciutat de la Palàcia, segons que demunt havets hoÿt, lo senyor de Satalia tardava la sua partida, e sí s'apparellà d'anar-se'n ab la sua donzella, muller sua, per selebrar les sues noces en la ciutat de Setalia; e sí dix a son sogre que ell se'n volia anar. Per què, hoynt lo senyor de [Palàcia] que son genrre se'n volia anar, sí apparellà aquesta sua filla Nerguís al mils que póch, segons que [a] filla de gran senyor se pertanyia.

E ab gran cavallaria de hòmens e de dones e de donzelles sí cavalcaren e s'isqueren defora la ciutat, e prengueren comiat los uns dels altres. E puys sí donà lo senyor de [Palàcia] a la sua filla la sua gràcia, segons que pare deu donar a la sua filla; e puys sí se'n pensà de tornar a la sua ciutat.

E lo senyor de Setalia ab la sua muller sí penssà de cavalcar e de tenir lur via. E com vénch lo sendemà envers ora de mig jorn, de gran tros luny ells veren la torra. E la donzella Nerguís, axí com aquella qui era molt cuytada de anar a la torra, sí cridà la sua cambrera, axí com aquella en qui ella molt se fiava. E la cambrera de present li fou aprés, axí com aquella qui poch ne molt no·s partia del seu costat, e dix-li:

—Vé-te'n a mon senyor e digues-li que, per tal com jo are prest d'aquesta
10v terra me'n vaig en altre terra, e no·m sé si | m'ich tornaré jamay, que jo·l prech per sa noblesa que ell se vulla acostar envers la torra on jau lo cors de la mia mare, e pendre'n comiat. E que de açò jo·l suplich.

E de present la cambrera suplí al manament de la sua dona, e dix-li-u. E com ell ho hoý, ço que la sua dona li demanava, sí li u atorgà. E de mantinent tota la cavallaria féu la via de la torra on era la sepultura. E quant ells foren al peu del puig on la torra era, en un bell prat, sí descavalcaren, e decontinent ells aquí meteren lurs tendes, axí com aquells qui acustumaven de aportar lurs tendes més que gent del món. E aprés que foren aquí, lo senyor de Setalia sí·s mès dejús la sua, e sí·s féu la donzella en la sua, per ço com és de costuma que los grans senyors van sparssos de les dones.

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7 [Palàcia]] Setalia **8** [a] filla] filla **12** [Palàcia]] Setalia **21** m'en] e mē **30** dejús] deinȷ' *vel* deig'; dins *FD, MP*; dejús *AP et alii edd.*; *fort.* dein[t]re

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[VII]

How the Lord of Satalia Took the Daughter of the Lord of Palatia for His Wife

And after the great festivities were over in the city of Palatia, as you have heard above, the lord of Satalia became impatient to depart, and prepared to leave with his damsel, his wife, to celebrate his wedding in the city of Satalia; and he said to his father-in-law that he wanted to go on his way. At this, the lord of Palatia, hearing that his son-in-law wanted to leave, arrayed his daughter Nergis as best he could, as befitted the daughter of a great lord.

And with a great number of mounted men, women and damsels they rode out of the city, and took leave of one another; and then the lord of Palatia gave his daughter his blessing, as a father must give to a daughter; and then he made to return to his city.

And the lord of Satalia with his wife started to ride and make their way. And when the next day had come, around midday, they saw the tower from afar. And the damsel Nergis, as she was very anxious to reach the tower, called her maid, because she trusted greatly in her; and the maid quickly came before her, as she never left her side, and she said to her:

'Go to my lord, and tell him that as I am now leaving this land, and going to another land, and I do not know if I will ever return here, I ask him by his nobility to deign to approach the tower where my mother's body lies, so that I may take my farewell of her. And that for this I beg him.'

And the maid immediately obeyed her lady's command, and spoke to him; and when he heard what his wife was asking of him, he granted her request. And immediately the whole company made its way to the tower where the tomb was; and when they were at the foot of the hill on which the tower stood, in a beautiful field, they dismounted and quickly pitched their tents, as people who were better skilled than any in the world in transporting their tents. And once they were here, the lord of Satalia sat under his tent, and his wife under hers, for it is their custom for great lords to stay apart from the ladies.

E aprés lo senyor sí·s féu donar a mengar a ell e a tota la sua cavallaria, e aytal mateix se féu la donzella Nerguís, sa muller, ab les dones e donzelles. E ella, axí com aquella qui era molt desijosa de anar a la torra, no li anava lo cor en mengar ne en beura. Per què ella sí près la cambrera sens plus, e sí fóu la via del puig on la torra era. E dementre que hi volien anar, dones e donzelles la volien seguir, e·lla no u volch, ans los dix que no·s moguessen de la tenda e que penssassen de mengar, que de present ella seria aquí. Per què ella sens plus ab la sua cambrera, mentre que tothom menjava, sí se'n pugà en la torra, e ab la clau, que tenia a prop si, obrí la porta, e sí se n'entraren dins. E quant foren dins, sí tencaren bé la porta.

And then the lord had himself served lunch, for himself and all his knights, and the damsel Nergis, his wife, did likewise with her ladies and damsels. And she, as she was greatly desirous to go to the tower, did not care for eating and drinking; so she took the maid alone, and made her way to the hill where the tower stood. And as they wanted to go there, the ladies and damsels wanted to follow them, but she would not, and told them not to move from the tents and to start eating, and she would be there presently. And thus she, with her maid alone, while all were eating, went up the tower, with the key, which she kept on her person, and they went inside. And when they were inside they shut the door.

[VIII]

Com la senyora Nerguís intrà dins la torra on era Jacob Xalabín e Alí Baxà

E Jacob Xalabín, fill de l'Almorat, qui havia aquí estat ben dos jorns ab son companyó dins la torra sperant la lur ventura, quant víu aquesta tant graciosa donzella, la qual ell tant amava —lo goig que hac, cascú s'o pot esmaginar, si en tal cars se veya, ja quin l'auria!—, e la donzella Nerguís, qui víu aquella res que ella més amava en aquest món, e lo seu joyell que ella perseguia ab tant gran desig e molt desigat, ells se acostaren la hú e l'altre, e s'abrassaren e·s besaren; e de molt gran goig e amor que la hú a l'altre s'avia no·s pogueren res dir ne parlar, ans axí abrassats caygueren en terra
11r estramordits de fina amor | que la hú se aportava a l'altre.

E Alí Baxà e la cambrera, qui cascú viren lur senyor e lur dona en tal manera ab tan gran amor abrassats, e vaheren que no parlaven, ans geyen en terra; Alí Baxà dix a Jacob Xalabín:

—Companyó, e què féts? Féts ço que a fer havets e espetxats, que no havem temps.

E quant Alí Baxà víu que Jacob Xalabín no li responia ne li deya res, Alí Baxà sí dix:

—Açò poria massa durar.

E sí près Jacob Xalabín per les axelles cridant:

—Companyó, sus!

E Jacob Xalabín, axí com aquell qui era stramordit e fora de senny, lo guardava ab los ulls uberts e li reya en la cara. E per semblantment feya la cambrera a la sua donzella. E quant Alí Baxà e la cambrera vaeren que aquests dos no podien tornar en lur senny ne tenir-se en peus, sí comensaren de fer lo major dol del món e sí digueren:

—O mesquins, en mal punt nos som levats, que tots serem morts! Que lo senyor ha ja menjat, e maravellar-s'à com stam tant ací.

Cascun se pot pensar, que fos en semblant pars ne perill, ja què faria! Per què Alí Baxà e la cambrera havían sobirana bascha e dolor, e no sens meravella. E tant no·ls donaven d'aygua ne de res, que·ls poguessen tornar.

Per què en aquest endemig tota la cavellaria hac mengat, e faeren gran remor e meteren a punt lurs cavalls. E lavors dix Alí Baxà a la cambrera:

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[VIII]

How the Lady Nergis Entered the Tower Where Yakub Çelebi and Ali Pasha Were

And Yakub Çelebi, the Great Emir's son, who had been here in the tower two whole days with his companion, awaiting their fate, when he saw this damsel, so beautiful, whom he so loved, anyone could imagine his joy, and imagine what his would be if he were to find himself in the same case! And the damsel Nergis seeing the thing which she loved most in this world, and her jewel which she had pursued with such great desire and great longing, they drew near and embraced and kissed; and with the very great love and desire that they had for each other, they could not speak or say anything, but, embracing thus, they fell to the ground transported with the courtly love which each had for the other.

And Ali Pasha and the maid, seeing their lord and lady embracing thus with such great love, and seeing that they were not speaking, but lay on the ground, Ali Pasha said to Yakub Çelebi:

'Companion, what are you doing? Do what you must, and hurry, as we have no time.'

And when Ali Pasha saw that Yakub Çelebi did not answer or speak to him, he said:

'This could go on too long.'

And he took Yakub Çelebi under the arms crying:

'Companion, get up!'

And Yakub Çelebi, being transported and out of his senses, looked at him with staring eyes and laughed in his face. And the maid too raised up her damsel. And when Ali Pasha and the maid saw that these two could not return to their senses or stand up, they began to make the greatest lamentation in the world, and said:

'Oh wretches, to what an evil pass we have come, for we shall all be killed! For the lord has finished eating, and he will be surprised that we are here.'

Let each one think what he would do if he were in such a bind and danger; for Ali Pasha and the maid were feeling the utmost pain and distress, and no wonder. In the meantime they did not give them water or anything that might revive them.

And thus at this juncture all the knights had eaten and were stirring and preparing their horses. And then Ali Pasha said to the maid:

—A la fe, no és a nós! Ací fa a pendre qualque remey o consell, que no siam descuberts ne morts.

E axí com aquell qui era molt cert e savi —e ha y aparagut bé en sos fets, com vuy en dia Alí Baxà regeix e té en poder tot lo regne de l'Amorat que vuy és, e no s'i fa sinó ço que ell vol ne mana—, e per la sua discreció e saber, sí dix a la cambrera:

—Avet-o, nosaltros som morts, per què havem a pendra qualque manera.

E Alí Baxà de present se despullà les sues vestadures, e aprés despullaren la donzella Nerguís, e sí·s vestí les sues vestadures, e aprés ligà[']s los ligars que la donzella ligava e enborrossà's la cara. Car sapiats que en aquella terra han tal usança: que totes les dones van ab les cares cubertes e null hom no les pot veura ne conèxer. E per semblantment près aquest Alí Baxà los ligars e les vestadures de la doncella Nerguís. E aprés sí dix a la cambrera:

—Anem defora e isquam hic. E no·t pertesques del meu costat, e si negú se acostava a mi per perlar-me, scusases-me. E anem, que porà ésser que en la nit o qualque hora nós no[s] pugam fugir, e tornarem ací en aquests e seran regoneguts. Per què stojats bé la clau.

E de present aveus Alí Baxà —qui ach preses les vestadures de la donzella e la forma— e la cambrera, ensemps se n'isqueren de la torra, e tancaren-la bé. E de present, com tota la cavallaria víu que aquestes venien, sí digueren:

—La senyora ve!

E aquest Alí Baxà ab la cambrera ensemps, qui·l guiava, anaren a la tenda
11v de la sen- | yora Nerguís. E aquí se assigueren. E aquí vírets de present les dones e donzelles venir devant Alí Baxà, faent-li reverència que havien acustumada de fer, penssant-se que fos lur senyora. E sí li dehien:

—Senyora, e havets vist lo cors de vostra mare?

E de present la cambrera parlava e deya:

—Per amor de Déu, no li digats res, que tant ha plorat sobre lo moniment de sa mare, que envides la n'é poguda levar.

E en aquesta manera la cambrera scusava que Alí Baxà no gosava perlar. E de present lo senyor féu tocar la trompeta; e muntaren a cavall, e tothom cavalcà —e Alí Baxà axí mateix, e la cambrera tots temps al seu costat. E materen-se en la via.

Penssats-vos que aquest Alí Baxà stava en gran pensament e pahor que no fos descubert, e moltes vegades, de jorn e de nit mentre que cavalcaven, ell se esmeginave si poguera fugir; mas axí com aquell qui era cert e savi e sabia molt, neguna vegada no hac avinentesa ne loch que pogués fogir. E la

42 ligà[']s] ligars **49** nós no[s]] nos no

'In faith, things are against us. We must think of some plan or counsel so that we are not discovered and killed.'

And as one who was most astute and wise (and this was shown in his deeds, as today Ali Pasha rules and has in his power the whole kingdom of the Great Emir that now is, and nothing is done unless he commands it), and thanks to his discrimination and resourcefulness, he said to the maid:

'Now, listen: we are dead, unless we find some solution.'

And Ali Pasha quickly took off his clothes, and next they undressed the damsel Nergis, and he put on her clothes, and he put on the jewels that she wore, and covered his face; for you should know that in that land it is the custom that all the women go with their faces covered and no man can see or know them. And likewise this Ali Pasha took the jewels and clothes of the damsel Nergis; and then he said to the maid:

'Let us go and leave here; do not leave my side, and if anyone should come up and speak to me, make my excuses. Let us go, for at any hour of the night we can flee; and let us return here with them when they have woken. And so guard the key securely.'

And here you have Ali Pasha, having put on the damsel's clothes and her shape; and he and the maid went out of the tower, and shut it up. And shortly, when all the company saw them approaching, they said:

'Here comes the lady.'

And this Ali Pasha, and the maid, who guided him, went to the lady Nergis's tent, and here they sat down. And here you would soon see the ladies and damsels come before Ali Pasha, bowing to him as was their custom, thinking he was their lady; and they said to him:

'My lady, have you seen your mother's body?'

And the maid quickly spoke, saying:

'In God's name, do not speak to her, as she has wept so much over her mother's monument that I could scarcely bring her away.'

And in this way the maid disguised that Ali Pasha dared not speak. And presently the lord had the trumpet sounded; and they mounted their horses; and they all rode, and Ali Pasha with them, and the maid at his side at all times; and they went on their way.

Think how this Ali Pasha was in great anxiety and fear that he would be discovered, and many a time, by day and by night, while they were riding, he thought how he might flee; but most astute and wise and resourceful though he was, there was never any opportunity or occasion for him to flee. And the

cosa que més lo'n feya star si u feya, per ço com ell no cavalcava cavall, ans cavalcava mula qui amblava, per ço com és leguda cosa que fembra cavalch semblant bèstia, per ço que vage pus posada. E per aquesta raó Alí Baxà no cavalcava cavall ne rocí, car si u fahés, qualque ora de la nit hagueren assegat de fugir. E per aquesta rahó ell no hac loch ne avinentesa de fugir, ans per lurs jornades cavalcaren tant entrò que vingueren prop de la ciutat de Satalia.

Are sí tornarem a Jacob Xalabín e la donzella Nerguís, qui eren romasos en la torra; e puys, con mester serà, nos tornarem a Alí Baxà e a la cambrera.

thing that prevented him if he tried was that he was not riding on a horse, but rode an ambling mule, because it is more bearable for a lady to ride such a mount, because it walks more gently. And for this reason Ali Pasha was not riding a horse or a hack; for if he had, any hour of the night they would have attempted to flee. And for this reason he did not have the opportunity or occasion to flee, but on their travels they rode until they drew close to the city of Satalia.

Now we will return to Yakub Çelebi and the damsel Nergis, who had remained in the tower; and then, as will be necessary, we will return to Ali Pasha and the maid.

[IX]

Con Jacob Xalabín e la senyora Nerguís se regonagueren e·s maravellaren con eren romasos tots sols

Com la amor, la qual és sobirana cosa de totes les altres, fos abundada en aquest Jacob Xalabín e a la senyora Nerguís, segons hoït havets, ells stigueren per spay de tres hores, hú abraçat ab l'altre, que no eren en lur senny ne en lur enteniment. E aprés cascú se regonech, e merevallaren-se molt com se viren sols. E regonegueren la torra, e trobaren la porta tencada de part de fora ab clau.

E aprés la senyora Nerguís qui·s víu despullada de les sues vestadures e
12r dels seus ligars tan richs que tenia, | acceptat la sua pura alcandora e un sotil façol que tenia desobre sos cabells purs e nets —en aquesta manera ella stava—, aprés viren aquí prop en terra les vestadures de Alí Baxà. E de present que Jacob Xalabín víu aquesta forma de la donzella despullada, e les vestadures de son companyó Alí Baxà, e víu la porta tencada, de present se esmaginà e pensà que allà era stat tractament de Alí Baxà qui molt sabia; e sí dix:

—No pot ésser que en breu mon companyó no vingua ací.

E de present que s'ach esmaginat açò, girà's envés aquella angelical figura que ell tant amava de amor coral, e ab les sues mans e brasos molt dolssament ell près aquell delitable cors cubert de la alcandora prima, e la besà molt graciosament, la hú a l'altre. E aquí vérets dos coratges conjunts en una voluntat de fer aquella cosa que adés no fa açí a pronunciar —però cascú e cascuna meta en sa penssa, si en semblant cas se veya, ja què faria.

E estant aquests dos en aquesta manera que damunt havets hoÿt, e stigueren en aquesta manera nou jorns dins la torra, e aprés dels nou jorns vénch Alí Baxà, segons que hoÿrets.

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[IX]

How Yakub Çelebi and the Lady Nergis Woke and were Surprised to Find Themselves Left Alone

As love, which is the sovereign thing among all others, abounded in this Yakub Çelebi and the lady Nergis, as you have heard, they were three hours in an embrace, for they were not in their wits or their understanding. And afterwards they both awoke, and were greatly surprised to find themselves alone; and they examined the tower, and found the door locked from the outside.

And then, the lady Nergis seeing herself stripped of her clothes and her jewels so rich, but for her pure smock and a thin headscarf which she wore on her pure bright hair (thus was she dressed), they saw Ali Pasha's clothes on the ground nearby. And as soon as Yakub Çelebi saw the form of the damsel undressed, and his companion Ali Pasha's clothes, and saw the door closed, he immediately imagined and thought that this had been a device of the wise Ali Pasha; and he said:

'My companion cannot fail to be here presently.'

And as soon as he had thought this, he turned to that angelic figure, whom he loved with a sincere love, and with his hands and arms very gently took that delightful body covered in the thin smock, and they kissed graciously. And here you will see two hearts joined in one desire to do that thing which should not be pronounced here and now; but let every man and every woman think in their minds what they would do if they found themselves in a similar case.

And these two being in the way that you have heard above, they were in this way for nine days in the tower, and after nine days Ali Pasha arrived, as you will hear.

[X]

Com la germana del senyor de Satalia isqué a rebre son frare, qui venia ab sa muller

Diu la present istòria que, així com demunt havets hoÿt, cavalcà lo senyor de Setalia ab la donzella que cuydava tenir —ço era, Alí Baxà. E aprés que foren partits de la torra hon eren romasos Jacob Xalabín e la donzella Nerguís, cavalcaren sis jorns fins que foren a la ciutat de Setalia. E així con foren prop de la ciutat de Setalia, sí saberen la nova aquells de la ciutat, en special la germana del senyor, com sentí que lo germà venia ab sa muller. Per què sí se apparellà ab los pus honrats barons e honrades gents de la terra per axir a rrebre son germà, ab la sua muller que amenava. E ab gran sò de trompetes e de anafils aquesta isqué de la ciutat, un tros fora de la ciutat, hon atrobà son frare Ocman Bey ab tota la sua cavallaria e ab Alí Baxà en forma de dona.

E aquesta germana sí se acostà a son germà, e sí li dix que ben fos vengut; e lo germà li dix que ben fos trobada. E aprés se acostà a Alí Baxà, e sí li près la
12v man dreta, | però Alí Baxà tenia un guant molt prim; e aprés sí la abrassà e la basà, però sobre lo vel, per ço com anava embossada que així era de costuma.

E aprés que la ach acompa[n]yada, sí li comenssà a parlar dient-li que bé fos venguda; e penssava de demanar alsgunes coses, segons que de dones se pertanny de demanar. E la cambrera, així com aquella qui havia gran pahor e no·s partia del seu costat, de present parlà e dix:

—A senyora! E no li digats res, que ma senyora no era vesada de cavalcar tan lonch camí, e sapiats que és règeu ugada e cascada.

E ab aquesta manera la cambrera cessava aytant com podia que Alí Baxà no hagués a parlar, per ço que no fos conegut.

E mà per mà anaren la germana del senyor de Satalia e Alí Baxà, penssant-se que fos se cunyada. E així se n'entraren dins la ciutat, e ab gran festa e alegria que tota la gent de la ciutat feya de lur senyor, qui venia ab la sua dona dient:

—Senyora nostra, plàcia a Nostro Senyor que en bon punt hic puxats entrar. E tu sies la benvenguda.

E així sí faeren la via del palau, qui era molt bé arreat e empaliat —pensar-vos-ho podets! E quant hagueren descavalcat, lo senyor de Satalia dix a la sua germana:

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17 acompa[n]yada] acompayada **25** E mà] E *** / ma

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[x]

How the Sister of the Lord of Satalia Went Out to Meet Her Brother, Who was Coming with His Wife

This history says that, as you have heard above, the lord of Satalia rode with the damsel that he thought was his, that is, Ali Pasha. And after they had left the tower where Yakub Çelebi and the damsel Nergis had stayed, they rode for six days until they came to the city of Satalia; and when they were near the city of Satalia the people of the city learned the news, especially the lord's sister, when she heard that her brother was coming with his wife. So she made herself ready with the most honourable barons and honourable people of the land to go out and receive her brother, with his wife whom he was bringing; and with a great sound of bugles and trumpets she came out of the city, a little way out of the city, and found her brother Osman Bey with all his knights and with Ali Pasha in the guise of a woman.

And this sister approached her brother, and said to him that he was welcome, and her brother said to her that she was well met. And then she approached Ali Pasha, and took his right hand, but Ali Pasha was wearing a very thin glove; and then he embraced and kissed her, but on the veil, because she was swathed, as was the custom.

And after she had accompanied her, she began to talk to her, saying that she was welcome; and went to ask certain things, as it is fitting to ask of ladies. And the maid, who in her great fear did not leave her side, quickly spoke and said:

'Ah my lady, do not say anything to my lady, as she was not used to making such a long journey, and know that she is most weary and out of sorts.'

And in this way the maid avoided, as well as she could, Ali Pasha's speaking, so that he would not be discovered.

And hand in hand the sister of the lord of Satalia walked with Ali Pasha, thinking it was her sister-in-law; and thus they entered the city, and amid great celebration and joy which all the people of the city were making for their lord, who rode with his lady, saying:

'Our lady, may it please Our Lord that you may enter here at a fortunate moment. And may you be welcome.'

And thus they made their way to the palace, which was very well arrayed and decorated; you can imagine it yourselves! And when they had dismounted, the lord of Satalia said to his sister:

—Germana, la donzella vos coman. Per què penssats-ne bé, car ella és molt ugada del cavalcar.

E la germana del senyor de Satalia près-la per la mà, e sí la mès en la sua cambra, qui era molt bella e resplandent e molt plasent, la qual era molt bé ornada de draps e de ço que mester li feya.

'Sister, I entrust you with this damsel; so take care of her, as she is very tired from her journey.'

And the sister of the lord of Satalia took her by the hand, and put her in her chamber, which was very beautiful and resplendent and most pleasing, and was very well adorned with hangings and whatever was needful.

[XI]

[Com Alí Baxà jagué ab la germana del senyor de Satalia, ne con ella se n'anà ab ell]

E de present que Alí Baxà fo dins, axí com aquell qui havia més pahor que vergonya, sí·s gità sobre lo lit, donant semblant que fos molt ugada, e la cambrera se assigué decosta lo lit. E la germana del senyor de Satalia li dix si volia beura ni menjar, e de present la cambrera li respòs e dix que no volia menjar ni boura, car fort era ugada. E a pocha hora, axí con lo vespra venia, lo sopar fo molt richament apparellat, e lo senyor de Sathalia, axí com aquell qui bé·s penssava que la donzella devia ésser ugada, sí dix a la sua germana que sopassen abdues dins la cambra e que·n penssàs bé. E con vénch a cap de pessa, la germana del senyor de Satalia dix:

—E donchs, la mia cunyada, soparem?

E decontinent la cambrera respòs e dix que la senyora no volia sopar, ans se volia metra al lit, per ço com era molt ugada. E la cunyada, qui víu que no volia sopar, sopà.

13r E aprés lo lit fou molt bé arreat. E Alí Baxà mès- | se dins lo lit ab sa camisa vestida e ab lo cap e cara enberuçat, e la cambrera qui stava aquí present al ba[n]cal del lit. E aprés que fou dins lo lit, sí dix a la cambrera que·s prengués bé esment del palau, e de la porta e de la stable, ne de qual part staven los bons cavalls, en guisa que com tothom dormís sí poguessen fugir. E la cambrera sí·s près guarda e esment.

E·n pocha d'ora que Alí Baxà se fou mes en lo lit, sí vénch la germana del senyor de Satalia per fer companyhia a la sua cunyada la nit e per parlar ab ella. E quant fou en la cambra, sí dix:

—Adonchs, cunyada, e dormits?

E decontinent la cambrera sí li dix:

—A senyora! Per amor de Déu no façats brogit, que la mia dona dorm, que bé ha cinch nits que no ha dormit.

E la germana del senyor de Sathalia sí donà fe a les paraules de la cambrera e no dix res, sinó que·s penssà de despular e gità's al costat de Alí Baxà. E quant fo al lit, Alí Baxà, axí com aquell qui poch dormia ne n'avia volentat,

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[XI]

How Ali Pasha Lay with the Sister of the Lord of Satalia, and How She Went with Him

And as soon as Ali Pasha was inside, feeling more fear than shame, he lay down on the bed, making show of being very tired, and the maid sat down beside the bed. And the sister of the lord of Satalia asked him if he wanted something to eat or drink, and the maid quickly replied, saying that she did not want to eat or drink, as she was very tired. And presently, as the evening came on, supper was most richly prepared, and the lord of Satalia, as he thought the damsel must be tired, said to his sister that they two should have their supper in the chamber and that she should care for her well; and after a while the sister of the lord of Satalia said:

'And so, my sister-in-law, shall we have supper?'

And the maid quickly replied, saying that her lady did not wish to eat, but rather wished to go to bed, because she was very weary. And her sister-in-law, seeing that she did not want to have supper, had her supper.

And then the bed was very well arrayed. And Ali Pasha got into the bed wearing his smock and with his head and face swathed, and the maid took the chest at the foot of the bed. And once he was in bed he told the maid to reconnoitre the palace, the gate and the stable, and where the good horses were, so that when everybody was asleep they could escape. And the maid accordingly made her survey and examination.

And shortly after Ali Pasha had got into bed, the sister of the lord of Satalia came to keep her sister-in-law company during the night and to talk with her, and when she was in the chamber she said:

'Now, sister-in-law, are you asleep?'

And the maid promptly said to her:

'Ah, my lady, in God's name do not disturb my lady as she is sleeping, for she has not slept in five nights.'

And the sister of the lord of Satalia gave credence to the maid's words and did not say anything, but made to undress and lay down beside Ali Pasha. And once she was in the bed, all Ali Pasha's blood boiled, and he slept little

tota la sanch li escalfà, per ço com lo foch stà molt perillós stant prop la palla, que cové que si s'acosta que per forssa s'à a pendra.

E aquest Alí Baxà, qui·s víu al costat de aquesta, no y póch tenir, si·n sabés morir, ans de present s'i acostà e la comensà de abrassar e de besar molt stretament. E la donzella qui víu aquest tan fort strènyer-la, maravellà-sse'n fort e tota estranyent en si mateixa.

E Alí Baxà, axí com aquell qui era molt jova e trempat, comensà de fer en ella tal cosa qui no és leguda de dir; e la donzella, qui víu açò, no u tench en joch, ans volch cridar. E decontinent Alí Baxà posà-li la mà en la bocha e dix:

—No digats res; si no, vós sou morta.

E la donzella, qui hoý perlar aquest e sentí que era homa, no gosà res dir. E Alí Baxà procehia fer sos plers d'ella, los quals [la germana de] lo senyor de Satalia hac a pendre en paciència.

E aprés que Alí Baxà ach fet sos fets, sí dix a la donzella:

—Aveus-ho, donzella, del fet aquest. Jo susare me'n vaig, e no hic pusch pus aturar. Per què vejats si us ne volets venir ab mi.

Al qual la donzella de present respòs sens negun acord que n'agués, e sí dix:

—Hay senyor! Hoc, jo anaré. No us vull per res jaquir, si·n sabia morir, ne si·m sabíets menar al cap del món. E de açò no duptets en res.

E certes no era maravella si li responia axí ne si·l volia seguir, com sa virginitat li havia liurada, e ella qui n'era molt contenta e pas no se'n penedia, exceptat que li dix:

—Lo meu senyor, jo us prech que·m diguats vós qui sóts.

A la qual demanda Alí Baxà respòs:

13v —Donzella, prech-vos no us desplàcia | com al present vós no u podets saber jo qui són. Mas que·ns spetxem.

E de present sa vestiren —e açò podia ésser en torn ora del prim son. E la donzella, axí com aquella qui havia moltes joyes e riques, sí les près ensemps ab Alí Baxà, e ab la cambrera sí·n faeren un plech. E tots tres, tot sacretament ab un brandonet, sí se n'entraren en lo stable, e sí prengueren quatre cavalls dels millors que hi trobaren, e ensellaren-los e los enfrenaren. E a la hú dels cavalls sí li posaren lo trocell de les joyes, e en los altres tres cavalls Alí Baxà e la donzella e la cambrera cavalcaren. E sí s'isqueren sacretament del palau, que nengú no ho sentí, que tothom dormia en aquella ora. E per consegüent isqueren de la ciutat.

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43 [la germana de]] *om.*

and had no desire for sleep, for fire is at its most dangerous when straw is near, and if it comes too close it is sure to catch.

And this Ali Pasha, seeing himself beside her, could not keep still, even on pain of death, but drew near to her and began to embrace her tightly and kiss her. And the damsel seeing him hold her so close was greatly surprised and felt most strange inside.

And Ali Pasha, being very young and lusty, began to do to her such a thing which it is not legitimate to say; and the damsel, seeing this, thought it no joke, but wanted to cry out, and quickly Ali Pasha put his hand on her mouth and said:

'Say nothing, or you are dead.'

And the damsel, who heard him speak and knew he was a man, dared not say anything; and Ali Pasha proceeded to take his pleasure with her. And the sister of the lord of Satalia was powerless to stop it.

And after Ali Pasha had done his deeds, he said to the damsel:

'See, dear damsel, how this has happened. I am going away now, and cannot stay here: consider whether you want to come with me.'

To which the damsel quickly replied without forethought, and said:

'Oh, my lord! Yes, I will go with you and will not leave you for anything in the world, on pain of death, even if you were to take me to the ends of the earth. And have no doubt of this.'

And certainly it was no wonder that she should reply so and wish to follow him, who had taken her virginity, and she was very happy and felt no regret, except that she said:

'My lord, I pray you tell me who you are.'

To which question Ali Pasha replied:

'Dear damsel, I pray you not to be displeased if at the moment you may not know who I am. But let us make haste.'

And they immediately dressed; and this could have been about the first part of the night. And the damsel, because she had many rich jewels, took them together with Ali Pasha, and with the maid they made a bundle. And all three, in all secrecy, with a candle went into the stable and took four horses of the best that were there, and saddled and bridled them; and on one of the horses they put the bag with the jewels, and on the other three horses Ali Pasha and the damsel and the maid rode. And they went secretly out of the palace, and no one heard them as everyone was sleeping at that hour; and so they were able to leave the city.

E aprés, con foren fora de la ciutat, podia ésser migenit, e faheren la via de la torra hon havien lexat Jacob Xalabín e la donzella Nerguís. E sí cavalcaren dos jorns e tres nits, que jamay no posaren fins que foren a la torra. 70

And afterwards, when they were outside the city, at around midnight, they made their way to the tower where they had left Yakub Çelebi and the damsel Nergis. And they rode two days and three nights, and they never stopped until they reached the tower.

[XII]

[Com Alí Baxà e la germana del senyor de Satalia fugiren]

Ara diu la istòria present que lo senyor Hocmany Bey, senyor de Satalia, aprés que fou arribat en la sua ciutat, segons havets hoÿt, con hac sopat sí cridà los seus officials, e sí los se féu venir devant si, e sí manà a cascú ço que havien a fer lo sendemà —ço és, que apparellasen viandes e les coses qui·s pertanyhien ne eren necessàries a la festa—, per ço com lo sendemà ell volia ésser novi. E aprés, com ell hac parlat ab sos officials e ordonat [ç]o que lo cendemà havien a ffer, sí donà part a la nit e gità's en son lit.

E axí com cell qui no vehia dies ni horas que fos jorn, e que la festa de les noces se fahés per amor de sa muller, e axí tost, com fou jorn, sí·s levà de son lit hon jayhia, e sí·s va arrear molt altament de ses vestadures. E per semblantment tots los seu[s] barons e cavallers o faheren e vingueren al palau, e aquí virets sons de anafils e d'atzemares e de moltes maneres d'esturments, segons que allà acustumaven. E tota la ciutat qui feya gran festa e grans jochs esperant la lur dona e senyora quant cavalcaria per la terra.

E lo senyor Hocmany, axí con aquell qui stava ab tots sos barons e cavallers
14r en lo palau, dins una gran cambra o sala, e bé·s penssava | e s'esmaginava en la sua germana que arreàs la donzella de tot ço que mester li feya en sos vestits e ligars. E stant lo senyor de Satalia ab sos barons e ab grans sons, fo passada ora de tèrcia.

—Devuymés —dix ell— la hora s'acosta de fer la solempnitat.

E sí tramès missatge a ssa germana, dient-li que s'espatxàs, car gran dia era. E lo missatge sí anà demantinent devers la cambra de les dues donzelles, là hon la nit se éran colgades. E quant fo a la porta, no gosà entrar dins, ans a dones e donzelles qui staven defora la porta ell demanà què feyen les se[n]yores. E una d'aquelles donzelles li dix que encare no eren levades ne havien hoÿt negun per la cambra. E lo missatge aquest no gosà tocar a la porta, ans se'n tornà a son senyor Hocman e dix-li:

—Senyor, jo són estat a la cambra, e encare les senyores no són levades.

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[XII]

How Ali Pasha and the Sister of the Lord of Satalia Fled

Now this history says that the lord Osman Bey, lord of Satalia, after he reached his city, as you have heard, when he had had supper called his officials, and had them appear before him, and ordered each of them what they were to do the next day, that is, that they should prepare food and other things suitable and necessary for the festivities, as the next day he wished to be a bridegroom. And then, when he had spoken to his officials and ordered what they were to do, he retired for the night and lay down on his bed.

And because it seemed to him days and hours till daybreak and the festivities were to be held, for love of his wife, as soon as it was light he got out of the bed in which he lay and had himself arrayed in his clothes in high style; and all his barons and knights did the same, and came to the palace, and here you would see the sounds of trumpets and double flutes and all sorts of instruments, as was the custom there. And the whole city held great celebrations and great games waiting for their lady when she rode through the city.

And the lord Osman, being with all his barons and knights in the palace, in a great chamber or hall, relied and depended on his sister to array the damsel with everything that was necessary for her in clothes and jewels. And the lord of Satalia was with his barons amid great carousing till after the hour of terce.

'Now,' he said, 'the hour is approaching to hold the ceremony.'

And he sent a message to his sister, telling her to make haste, as it was broad daylight; and the messenger went straight to the chamber of the two damsels, where they had lain that night. And when he was at the door, he dared not go in, but asked the ladies and damsels who were outside the door what the ladies were doing; and one of the damsels told him that they were still not up and that they had not heard any sound from the chamber. And this messenger dared not knock at the door, but returned to his lord Osman and said:

'My lord, I have been to the chamber, and the ladies are not yet up.'

E Hocmany ymaginà's que la sua donzella era molt hujada del cavalcar e de les nits que havia haüdas, e que per ço dormien tan gran dia.

Hon, con Hocman hac stat una bona stona, que ja la hora del migjorn sa acostava, ell sí dix a un missatge:

—Vé tost, e digues-los que s'espatxen e que vinguen de present.

Lo missatge se n'anà devers la cambra, e com fo a la porta, les dones e les donzelles li dig[u]eren que encare no eren levades. E lavores dix lo missatge:

—Despertem-les, que lo senyor o diu. No vahets que gran dia és?

E sí come[n]sà a tocar a la porta de la cambra e de empènyer-la, e la porta se obrí. E la donzella entrà dins la cambra; e con fo dins, no y atrobà res e meravellà-se'n molt. E sí s'isqué de la cambra, e dix-ho a totes les dones e donzelles qui aquí eren. E totes de present intraren dins e no atrobaren una ne altre, de la qual cosa stig[u]eren molt maravellades. E sí gordaren deçà e dellà, e jamay no n'atrobaren res. Tant que lo misatge que Ochman havia tramès no gosava tornar a son senyor.

E açò acostant, sí s'acostà la hora del migjorn, e lo senyor, qui víu que tan gran dia era e que lo missatge que havia tramès no venia, sí n'i tramès d'altros, dient-los que en bona hora o en altre que vinguesen. Con los missatges saberen la nova, negun no lo y gosava dir; tant que lo senyor, qui víu que açò durava massa, sí féu la via de la cambra, e sí dix a les dones e a les donzelles que y eren què feyen les senyores. E una de les donzelles sí parla e dix:

14v | —Ay senyor! E què farem ne quin consell pendrem? Que ne la senyora Nerguís ne vostra sor no atrobam, ne·ns sabem què·s són fetes!

Lavors dix lo dit Hocmany:

—E com això? E què poria ésser stat açò?

Lavors ell ab molt gran remor fóu cercar tot lo palau. E per la gran remor e crits que faheren en lo palau, tota la ciutat se avalotà e s'i mès molt gran remor. E sí cercaren deçà e dellà, e debades se cercaren que jamay no les trovaren, ne senya nenguna, sinó aytant com atrobaren quatre cavalls menys.

E lo dol e la ira que aquest Hocman hac, cascú s'o pot penssar! Ne en neguna manera del món aquests no podien penssar ne esmaginar açò com se era esdevengut, ne aquests com podien ésser fuyts, ne devers qual part ne ab qui, con no atrobaren negun cavaller ne hom menys, sinó elles abdues e la cambrera, qui eren tres.

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37 dig[u]eren] di͛gen **39** come[n]sà] comesa **43** stig[u]eren] sti͛gen

And Osman imagined that his damsel was very tired from riding and the sleepless nights she had had, and that was why she was sleeping in the daytime.

Hence, when Osman had waited a good time, and the midday hour was approaching, he said to a messenger:

'Go quickly, and tell them to make haste and come immediately.'

The messenger made his way to the chamber, and when he was at the door, the ladies and damsels told him that they were still not up. And then the messenger said:

'Let us wake them, for the lord says so. Do you not see it is daylight?'

And he started to knock at the door of the chamber and push at it, and the door opened. And the damsel entered the chamber, and when she was inside found nothing, and she was greatly surprised. And she came out of the chamber and reported to the ladies and damsels who were there. And they all immediately went inside and they found neither one nor the other, at which they were greatly surprised; and they looked here and there but never found anything. And the messenger whom Osman had sent dared not return to his lord.

And while this was going on, the midday hour approached, and the lord, seeing it was broad daylight and that the messenger he had sent was not coming, sent more messengers, saying that they should come, willingly or not. When the messengers learned the news, none dared tell him; accordingly the lord, seeing this was taking too long, set off for the chamber, and asked the ladies and damsels who were there what the ladies were doing. And one of the damsels spoke, saying:

'Alas, my lord! What shall we do or what counsel shall we take? For we find neither the lady Nergis nor your sister, and we do not know what has become of them!'

Then the said Osman said:

'How is this? What could have happened?'

Then he, in great alarm, had the whole palace searched, and at the great commotion and cries which they made in the palace the whole city was roused and there was a much greater commotion. And they searched here and there, and they searched in vain, for they never found them or any sign of them, except that they found four horses missing.

And the grief and anger which this Osman felt, anyone can imagine! In no earthly way could people think or imagine how this had happened, or how these ladies could have escaped, in which direction or with whom, as they found no knight or man missing, but only those two ladies and the maid, which made three.

Per què decontinent envià cavallers de totes parts. E Alí Baxà ab la donzella hagueran ja haüt spay de migenit fins a mig jorn, sí que havien gran avantatge; per què no·n pogueren haver noves ne ensenyes negunes.

Per què Hocman, qui ab tots sos cavallers e barons stava apparellat de fer la festa tant notable qui era apparellada, se n'hagueren a tornar casscuns molts dolents e descapdellats e ab gran confusió —pensar-vos-ho podeu, de que hagueren dinar sens neguna sabor!

E en aquesta manera romàs Hocman, senyor de Satalia, fort desconsolat, no sabent com ne en qual manera li era avengut açò, de la sua muller qui devia ésser e de sa germana, de què no póch entrar en nagunes senyes al present.

Mas despuys ho sabé, segons que demunt hoÿrets, de què hac gran alegria.

And so he immediately sent riders in all directions. And Ali Pasha and the damsel had already travelled from midnight to midday, and so had a great advantage; thus nobody could have news or trace of them.

Thus Osman, who with all his knights and barons was ready to hold the notable celebrations which had been readied, had to return, all most sad and disconcerted and in great confusion: you can imagine how they dined without appetite!

And Osman, lord of Satalia, remained thus, most disconsolate, not knowing how or in what way this had happened to him with her who was to be his wife, and his sister. He could not get any news of this at the time.

But afterwards he found out, as you will hear, at which he had great happiness.

[XIII]

[Com Alí Baxà e la germana del senyor de Satalia foren venguts a la torra hon era Jacob Xalabín e la senyora Nerguís, e ensemps isqueren de la terra del senyor de la Palàcia]

Aprés que Alí Baxà e la germana del senyor de Satalia foren fora la ciutat de Satalia, segons que havets hoÿt, sí cavalcaren tant per lurs jornades entrò fins
15r que foren venguts a la torra hon era Jacob Xalabín e la | senyora Nerguís.

E aprés que foren a la torra sí descalvalcaren e Alí Baxà, qui tenia la clau de la torra, la qual havia ben gordada, sí la obrí, e aquí atrobà Jacob Xalabín ab la donzella, los quals, con viren Alí Baxà, pugats dir si n'hagueren gran goig e gran plaer e alegria.

E Alí Baxà sí se genollà devant Jacob Xalabín, fahent-li gran reverència, e de gran goig sí·s besaren e s'abrassaren. E aprés Alí Baxà sí fóu reverència a la senyora Nerguís, e reté-li les sues vestadures e ligars que se n'havia aportades, les quals encare aportava vestides. E aprés la cambrera, qui víu la sua dona Nerguís, pensar-vos podets quin goig hac!

E aprés Jacob Xalabín sí demanà a Alí Baxà com li havia pres, ne quina donzella era aquella que havia amenada. E de present Alí Baxà li dix que aquella era germana del senyor de Satalia, de la qual havia haüda la pus gran ventura del món. E va-lo-y comptar tot mot a mot, axí com li era pres depuys que partí d'ell.

E aprés, les dues donzelles ab la cambrera, de present dix la cambrera a la senyora Nerguís:

—Aveus ací la vostra cu[n]yada qui devia ésser.

E con la germana del senyor de Setalia víu la sua cunyada qui devia ésser, abdues se comensaren de abrasar e de demanar de noves, sí que los ulls los vengueren en làgrames, dient:

—Ay laces, e quines aventures nos han aportades en aytal cars com som, en poder de aquests dos hòmens que no·n sabem qui·s són! Nosaltres éram en nostra gran prosperitat, e are anam ab hòmens que no sabem qui·s són, ne conexem, ne a hon nos mènan.

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[XIII]

How Ali Pasha and the Sister of the Lord of Satalia Came to the Tower Where Yakub Çelebi and the Lady Nergis Were, and Together Left the Land of the Lord of Palatia

After Ali Pasha and the sister of the lord of Satalia had gone out of the city of Satalia, as you have heard, they rode for days until they reached the tower where Yakub Çelebi and the lady Nergis were.

And after they reached the tower, they dismounted and Ali Pasha, who had the key to the tower, which he had kept safely, opened it, and here he found Yakub Çelebi with the damsel, who, when they saw Ali Pasha, you can tell if they felt great joy and great pleasure and happiness.

And Ali Pasha knelt before Yakub Çelebi, making a great bow, and with great joy they kissed and embraced. And then Ali Pasha made a bow to the lady Nergis, and returned to her the clothes and jewels which he had taken from her and which he was still wearing. And when the maid saw her lady Nergis, you can imagine what joy she felt!

And then Yakub Çelebi asked Ali Pasha how he was, and who was this damsel that he had brought; and Ali Pasha said immediately that this was the sister of the lord of Satalia, with whom he had had the greatest adventure in the world. And he told him everything, word by word, that had happened to him since he had been parted from him.

And then the two damsels being with the maid, the maid quickly said to the lady Nergis:

'This is she who was to be your sister-in-law.'

And when the sister of the lord of Satalia saw who was to be her sister-in-law, they began to embrace and ask for news, so that their eyes filled with tears, saying:

'Alas! What adventures have befallen us in this case, as we are in the power of these two men and we do not know who they are! We were in great prosperity, and now we are going with these men and we do not know who they are, or where they are taking us.'

En aquesta gran ància e pensament aquestes dues donzelles estaven; però tant se tania cascuna d'elles per pegada dels jóvens qui eren tant gracioses e temprats, que aquella penssa de present los passà.

E de present que Jacob Xalabín veya que la senyora Nerguís estava en negun penssament, anava devés ella prenent-la molt dolçament e graciosa ab los seus brassos molt agradables. E de present la senyora Nerguís era així aconsolada e confortada, que no havia res en aquest món en què li anàs lo cor, sinó en lo seu senyor solament que tenia devant. E per semblant feya Jacob Xalabín.

E si aquests estaven en aquesta amor tant gran, per semblant eren Alí Baxà
15v e la | sua donzella, germana del senyor de Satalia. E en aquesta manera ells passaren llur temps.

Aprés dix Jacob Xalabín a Alí Baxà:

—Companyó, què farem?

—A la fe —dix Alí Baxà—, que partiam d'ací de present que sia jorn, e que cavalquem e que iscam de aquesta terra, car no·ns és sà de aturar ací.

—Bé dius —dix Jacob Xalabín.

E de present que fo jorn sí encellaren llurs cavalls, e de fet sí cavalcaren e s'isqueren de la terra; e sí s'acordaren que féssan la via de la terra de l'Almorat —ço és, de la terra lur— per anar-se'n en la ciutat de Bossa, e que en res no rebugassen, car, com serien llà, haurien acort què deurien fer. E així u faheren, e per llurs jornades ells isqueren de la terra del senyor de la Palàcia.

E quant foren dins la terra, anaren la via de la ciutat de Borssa tots jorns, fahent lurs jornades delicades e poques per amor de les dones. E cada hora del jorn que ells atrobaven fontana, ells descavalcaven e donaven a mengar a lurs cavalls; e aprés ells estenien lurs tapits e seyen cascuns ab la sua dona, e aquí ells refrescaven e menjaven ab gran delit e solaç.

E un jorn entre los altres, aquests a hora de migjorn atrobaren una bella fontana qui s'és entre dos castells per nom Carasar e Cotey, assats a mige via, la qual font està en un bell prat. E aquí ells descavalcaren, e tragueren llurs frens a llurs cavalls e lexaren-los anar péxer al prat, qui era aquí mateix. E aprés ells esteneren llurs tapits e tragueren de aquella vianda que aportaven, e aquí tots cinch comensen a mengar e a refrescar. E aprés que hagueren menjat, la calor era molt gran per lo sol qui era molt calt: e Jacob Xalabín hac posat lo cap sobre la falda de la senyora Nerguís, qui l'esplugava, e Alí Baxà així mateix jeya prop la sua senyora. E staven així en aquest dellit e parlament, cascú ab la sua, en tant que a la germana del senyor de Satalia lo cor no li ho póch soferir; sí dressà la sua humil cara devers lo seu senyor Alí Baxà, e molt humilment sí li dix:

And these two damsels were in this great anxiety and worry, but each was so pleased with the young men who were so gracious and agile, that this worry quickly passed.

And as soon as Yakub Çelebi saw that the lady Nergis was thoughtful, he went to her taking her most gently and graciously in his most pleasant arms, and quickly the lady Nergis was so consoled and comforted that there was nothing in the world which her heart desired but her lord alone, who was before her; and Yakub Çelebi likewise.

And if they were in such love, Ali Pasha and his damsel, the sister of the lord of Satalia matched them. And in this manner they spent their time.

Then Yakub Çelebi said to Ali Pasha:

'Companion, what shall we do?'

'By my faith,' said Ali Pasha, 'let us leave here as soon as it is light, and let us ride and leave this land, as it is not safe for us to stay here.'

'Well said,' said Yakub Çelebi.

And as soon as it was light they saddled their horses, and indeed they rode and left the land, and they agreed to make their way to the land of the Great Emir, that is, their own land, to go to the city of Bursa; and that in no way should they desist, as once they were there, they would agree what they should do. And so they did, and riding for days they left the land of the lord of Palatia.

And when they were in that land, they made their way to the city of Bursa day after day, making each day's journey light and brief, for the ladies' sake. And every time of the day that they found a spring, they dismounted to feed their horses, and then they spread their rugs and each sat with his lady, and here they took their ease and ate with great pleasure and enjoyment.

And one of these days at the midday hour, they found a beautiful spring that stood between two castles, by name Karahisar and Kütahya, about half way, the which spring was in a beautiful meadow. And here they dismounted and took off their horses' bridles and let them graze in the meadow, which was there; and next they spread their rugs and took out some food which they had brought, and here all five began to eat and take their ease. And after they had eaten, the heat was great because of the sun which was very hot; and Yakub Çelebi rested his head in the skirts of the lady Nergis and she groomed him; and Ali Pasha likewise lay by his lady. And they were thus in this delight and conversation, each man with his mate, until the heart of the sister of the lord of Satalia could not stand it any longer, and she turned her face humbly towards her lord Ali Pasha and most humbly said to him:

—O graciós senyor meu e cell que jo hàm més que res que en aquest món sia, plàcia't que tu que·m dóns un do, lo qual és la primera cosa que yo t'aya demanada, del qual te prech que no me'n digues de no.

E Alí Baxà, qui víu axí graciosament perlar la donzella, qui·l supplicava tan graciosament, de present se esmaginà la donzella què volia. E sí li respòs:

—Donzella mia, no ha res en aquest món que yo no faça ne digue per
16r amor de | vós.

E la donzella de present li dix:

—Senyor meu molt amat, jo us diré yo què vull. Solament saber devets que yo volria de vós molt saber una cosa. Lo meu senyor, ja sabets vós jo qui són, ne com és stada nostra ventura, ne com nos som atrobats ensemps. No ha res en aquest món que yo no hage axoblidat per la vostra amor. Per què, senyor meu, vos supplich que yo sàpia lo vostro nom, ne d'on sóts, ne en qual part nos amenats.

E Alí Baxà, qui ach enteses les paraules que la donzella li ach dites, sí·n fóu un somrís e sí respòs a la donzella:

—Per ma fe, donzella, vós havets rahó de demanar-ho.

E axí Alí Baxà sí·s girà devers Jacob Xalabín e sí li dix:

—Senyor, bo serà devuymés que les senyores qui són ací sàpien nós qui som, car yo conech que elles stan totes entre si matexes; per què és bo que ho sàpien.

E Jacob Xalabín respòs que hora era devuymés que ho sabessen. E en açò, sí·s levà Alí Baxà de peus, e sí s'acostà a la senyora Nerguís, e sí s'agenollà denant ella e sí li dix:

—Senyora, aveus ací mon senyor Jacob Xalabín, fill del senyor Amorat.

D'on, con la senyora Nerguís entès que lo seu senyor era Jacob Xalabín, de present ficà los genolls en terra devant Jacob Xalabín e sí li dix:

—Adonchs, senyor, vós sóts Jacob Xalabín, fill de l'Amorat?

Lavores ella li volch besar los peus. E Jacob la près decontinent per los braços, e levà-lla de peus, e molt graciosament la abrassà e la dreçà.

E aprés Jacob Xalabín sí parla e dix a la germana del senyor de Satalia:

—Na donzella, aveus ací Alí Baxà, ffill de Alí Baxà.

E con la donzella hoý dir que aquell era Alí Baxà, fill de Alí Baxà, tan gran baró e cell qui regia lo Amorat, podets penssar ja quin goig hac, que pus altament ella no·s poguera maridar.

E decontinent vírets aquí les dues donzelles, que si dabans eren alegres de dos senyors aytals con elles havien conquistats, que lavores ho foren molt més con elles saberen qui eren. E elles mateixes deyhien que en bon punt

'Oh my gracious lord, whom I love more than anything that there is in the world, may it please you to give me a gift, which is the first thing I have asked of you; and I beg you not to tell me no.'

And Ali Pasha, seeing the damsel speak so graciously, who supplicated him so graciously, immediately understood what the damsel wanted, and replied:

'My damsel, there is nothing in this world that I would not do or say for love of you.'

And the damsel immediately said:

'My very dear lord, I will tell you now what I want. You need only know that I would greatly like to know one thing from you. My lord, you already know who I am, and what has been our adventure, and how we found ourselves together, there is nothing in this world that I have not forgotten for love of you; and so, my lord, I beg you that I might know your name, and where you are from, and where you are taking us.'

And Ali Pasha, when he heard these words that the damsel said to him, smiled at this, and replied to the damsel:

'By my faith, my damsel, you are right to ask this.'

And so Ali Pasha turned to Yakub Çelebi and said to him:

'My lord, it will be good if henceforth these ladies who are here should know who we are, for I recognize that they are quite in distress; hence it is good that they should know this.'

And Yakub Çelebi replied that it was time that thenceforth they should know. And at this Ali Pasha stood up and went to the lady Nergis, and knelt before her and said to her:

'My lady: this is my lord Yakub Çelebi, son of the lord Great Emir.'

At this the lady Nergis understood that her lord was Yakub Çelebi, and she quickly knelt before Yakub Çelebi and said to him:

'So, my lord, you are Yakub Çelebi, son of the Great Emir?'

Then she wished to kiss his feet; and Yakub quickly caught her in his arms, and raised her to her feet, and most graciously embraced her and held her up.

And then Yakub Çelebi spoke and said to the sister of the lord of Satalia:

'My damsel, this is Ali Pasha, son of Ali Pasha.'

And when the damsel heard that this was Ali Pasha, son of Ali Pasha, such a principal baron who governed for the Great Emir, you can imagine what was her joy, as she could not make a higher marriage than this.

And straightaway you would see here the two damsels who, if before they were happy with two lords such as these they had conquered, now were even more so, when they knew who they were; and they themselves said that they

eren nades, con semblants hòmens havien conquerits, e que beneÿta fo la ora que elles los viren, e pus beneÿta fo aquella font hon elles saberen lo lur nom, con elles havien complit lo lur.

16v | E com la festa fou passada, ells meteren los frens a lurs cavalls, e plegaren lurs tapits e pugaren en lurs cavalls. E per lurs jornades foren a la ciutat de Bossa. E faeren per guisa que entraren de nits, a hora de prim son. E sí se n'anaren a casa de Alí Baxà, que solament aquella ora era vengut de cort.

E aquests comenssaren d'entrar per la casa, e lo prom Alí Baxà, qui era muntat alt, sentí lo brogit dels cavalls e devallà devall. E de present conech son fill, e sí li dix:

—O fill meu, tu sies lo benvengut! E què és de mon senyor Jacob Xalabín?

—Pare —dix Alí Baxà—, ve'l-vos ací.

E decontinent lo prom acostà's a ell, e agenollà's als seus peus ab fort gran alegra. E con lo víu Jacob Xalabín, li dix que bé fos ell atrobat. Aprés lo prom demanà quines donzelles eren aquelles, e Alí Baxà li respòs:

—Pare, aveus ací la filla del senyor de Palàcia, e aveus ací la germana del senyor de Sathalia; qui per nostra ventura lo meu senyor Jacob Xalabín ha conquerida la senyora Nerguís, filla del senyor de Palàcia, e jo, mon senyor, per aventura la germana del senyor de Satalia.

E sí li ho comptà tot largament. Lo prom Alí Baxà, qui hac hoït açò, no víu dies ni ores que ho anàs dir a l'Amorat. Per què de present aquella hora ell se isqué de casa sua e fóu la via del palau.

had been born at a fortunate hour, as they had conquered such men, and that blessed was the hour that they saw them, and more blessed was that spring where they learned their names, when they had fulfilled their desire.

And when the rejoicing was finished, they put the bridles on their horses and folded their rugs and mounted their horses. After some days they came to the city of Bursa; and they contrived to arrive by night, in the first part of the night. And they went to the house of Ali Pasha, who at that hour had just come from court.

And they began to enter the house, and the worthy Ali Pasha, who had gone upstairs, heard the noise of the horses and came down; and he immediately recognized his son, and said to him:

'Oh my son, welcome! And what has become of my lord Yakub Çelebi?'

'Father,' said Ali Pasha, 'here he is.'

And immediately the worthy man approached him, and knelt at his feet with very great joy; and when Yakub Çelebi saw him, he told him he was well met. Then the worthy man asked what damsels were these, and Ali Pasha replied:

'Father, this is the daughter of the lord of Palatia, and this is the sister of the lord of Satalia, and, by our good fortune, my lord Yakub Çelebi has conquered the lady Nergis, daughter of the lord of Palatia, and I, my lord, by good fortune, the sister of the lord of Satalia.'

And he told him all at length. The worthy Ali Pasha, having heard this, could not wait to go and tell the Great Emir; and so he immediately, at that hour, left his house and made his way to the palace.

[XIV]

Com Jacob Xalabín tornà en la cort del seu pare ab Alí Baxà e ab les dues donzelles, ço és, la filla del senyor de la Palàcia e germana del senyor de Satalia

E per ço com Nostro Senyor fa venir les coses a perfecció, aquests dos per compte estigueren depuys que partiren de Borssa quatorze mesos e set jorns. E dins aquest temps la muller de l'Amorat, dona Issa Xalabina, fou passade de aquesta vida, e lo metge juheu sí se n'era anat en una illa del Xiu. Per què en aquest cars que aquests dos tornaren a Borssa, no y eren neguns d'aquests
17r dos, per ço com la hú | era mort e lo juheu qui no y era, segons havets hoït dessús.

Per què, com Alí Baxà, lo prom, fou al palau, sí se'n entrà en la cambra de l'Amorat, qui ja era colgat; e quant fo devant l'Amorat, qui jahia en lo seu lit, sí li dix:

—Senyor, per Déu, mercè vos deman.

—Hudà, Alí Baxà —dix l'Amorat—, fé e digues ço que·t vulles.

—Senyor —dix-li Alí—, aveus ací mon senyor Jacob Xalabín ab mon fill, qui són venguts.

—E com, Jacob Xalabín? Com se pot fer això? E no l'auciest tu?

—Senyor —dix Alí Baxà—, verament no, que lavores con vós m'o digués que·l matàs e que us portàs lo fetge, yo no u fiu, mas portí-us lo fetge de una sérvia; e en aquella ora Jacob e mon fill se'n fugiren. Per què, senyor, are són tornats, e ab ells ensemps han amenada la filla del senyor de la Palàcia e la germana del senyor de Satalia.

Per què de present lo prom Amorat, qui hoí dir açò a Alí Baxà, no u creya; sí·s levà de present de son lit hon jahia, e aquella ora per aquella ell mateix sí se n'anà a casa de Alí Baxà a peu. E fo cosa que jamés no havia feta, com jamés no era entrat en casa d'aquest; però no era maravella si hi anava per veura aytal fill, al qual se pensave que fos mort.

E quant l'Amorat fo a casa de Alí Baxà, sí víu Jacob Xalabín, son fill, e lo cor no li ho póch soferir, que los seus ulls no li habundassen en làgrames; e molt tenrament plorant, ell ab sos brassos estesos correch abrassar son fill Jacob Xalabín. E aquí poguérets veure paraules piadoses que lo pare deya al fill, les quals serien largues de recitar.

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[XIV]

How Yakub Çelebi Returned to the Court of His Father, with Ali Pasha and the Two Damsels, that is, the Daughter of the Lord of Palatia, and the Sister of the Lord of Satalia

And because Our Lord makes all things come to perfection, these two, according to calculations, were fourteen months and seven days since they left Bursa. And in this time the wife of the Great Emir, lady Issa Çelebina, had passed from this life, and the Jewish doctor had gone to the island of Chios. So that at the point when both young men returned to Bursa, neither of these two were there, because one was dead and the other had gone away, as you have heard.

Thus when Ali Pasha, the worthy man, went to the palace, he went into the chamber of the Great Emir, who was already lying down, and when he was before the Great Emir, who lay in his bed, he said to him:

'My lord, in God's name, I ask your mercy.'

'By God, Ali Pasha,' said the Great Emir. 'Come, say what you wish.'

'My lord,' said Ali, 'here is my lord Yakub Çelebi, with my son, who have arrived.'

'How can it be Yakub Çelebi? How can this be? Did you not kill him?'

'My lord,' said Ali Pasha, 'in truth I did not, as you asked me then, kill him and bring you his liver, but I brought you the liver of a deer; and at that hour Yakub and my son escaped. And so, my lord, they have returned, and with them they have brought the daughter of the lord of Palatia, and the sister of the lord of Satalia.'

At which the worthy Great Emir, hearing Ali Pasha say this, did not believe him; he immediately got out of his bed where he lay and at that hour he himself walked to the house of Ali Pasha. And it was something that he had never done before, as he had never entered his house, but it was no marvel as he was going to see such a son whom he had thought dead.

And when the Great Emir went to the house of Ali Pasha, he saw Yakub Çelebi, his son, and his heart could not prevent his eyes from flowing with tears and weeping most tenderly he ran with open arms to embrace his son Yakub Çelebi. And here you could see loving words which father said to son, which would be long to repeat.

E aprés, con hagueren axí stat una gran pessa, lo prom Alí Baxà dix a l'Amorat:

—Senyor, entrats ací en aquesta cambra.

E com l'Amorat fo dins la dita cambra, sí víu les dues donzelles molt delicades, qui sehien sobre coxins molt richs. E com l'Amorat víu aquestes donzelles, sí se'n meravellà molt e sí demanà qui eren, en especial la senyora Nerguís, qui stava primera o paria pus digna de honor que l'altre. E de present Jacob Xalabín dix:

17v —Pare e senyor, | aquesta és la filla del senyor de la Palàcia, la qual, senyor, yo per ma ventura, e per voler de Déu ella e yo nos som atrobats en aytal manera.

E sí lo y va tot recitar, axí com li era pres ab Alí Baxà.

E com lo Amorat hac vist lo seu fill ab Alí Baxà e les dues donzelles, lo goig e la consolació que hac, penssar-vos-ho podets. E ab alegria que hac, sí près comiat de tots e se'n tornà en son palau, on ab molta de alegria donà repòs a la nit.

E bon matí, anans del jorn, l'Amorat, axí com aquell qui no havia gran voler de dormir, ne havia pogut dormir la nit de goig que havia, sí havià correus e hòmens qui no trigassen guayre; e sí tramès al senyor de la Palàcia e al senyor de Satalia que decontinent, vista la present, deguessen venir en la ciutat de Borssa.

E los correus de present partiren, qui anaren la hú al senyor de la Palàcia e l'altre al senyor de Satalia, hi en breu de temps ells foren llà on anaven. Per què, con lo senyor de Satalia vahés lo comendament de l'Amorat, de present lo volch obehir, axí com aquell qui no volia fer neguna cosa qui tornàs a anuig a l'Amorat, e açò per pahor. E lo senyor de la Palàcia per semblantment obehí lo manament de l'Amorat. Per què a pochs de jorns tots foren arribats en la ciutat de Borssa.

Hon, con aquests dos no sabessen per què los demanava ne què volia l'Amorat, sí ach feta fer crida per tota la sua terra e per totes les ciutats festes a huyt jorns. E vahérets la ciutat en gran festa hi en gran solaç que tota la gent feya per Jacob Xalabín, fill de lur senyor.

Per què, com l'Amorat víu lo senyor de la Palàcia e lo senyor de Satalia, qui eren venguts, sí·ls acompanyà e los féu molt bell acolliment. E puys los dix:

—Si ja no us deya per què us he fets venir, no u sabríets.

E sí guardà lo senyor de la Palàcia, e sí li dix:

—Sapiats vós tot primerament que, axí com és voler de Déus, Nostre Senyor, vostra filla Nerguís és venguda ací ab mon fill Jacob Xalabín. Per què, pus lur ventura és, jo vull que·n façam matrimoni.

And afterwards, when they had been thus a good while, the worthy Ali Pasha said to the Great Emir:

'My lord, come here into this chamber.'

And when the Great Emir was in the said chamber, he saw the two most refined damsels, sitting on very rich cushions. And when the Great Emir saw these damsels, he marvelled greatly, and asked who they were, especially the lady Nergis, who was first, or seemed more worthy of honour than the other. And Yakub Çelebi promptly said:

'My lord father, this is the daughter of the lord of Palatia, and, my lord, she and I, by my good fortune and the will of God, met in such a manner.'

And he repeated everything to him, how things had occurred with Ali Pasha.

And when the Great Emir had seen his son with Ali Pasha and the two damsels, the joy and consolation which he felt, you can imagine; and with the happiness he felt, he took leave of everyone, and returned to his palace, where with great happiness he took his rest for the night.

And early next day, before light, the Great Emir, who, having no great desire to sleep, had not been able to sleep that night because of the joy he felt, sent messengers and men, telling them not to delay, and sent to the lord of Palatia and the lord of Satalia that immediately on seeing his letter, they should come to the city of Bursa.

And the messengers quickly set out, and one went to the lord of Palatia, and the other to the lord of Satalia, and in a brief time they reached their destination. And so, when the lord of Satalia saw the Great Emir's command, he wished to obey it immediately, as he did not wish to do anything that might arouse the Great Emir's displeasure, and this out of fear; and the lord of Palatia likewise obeyed the Great Emir's command. So that a few days later they arrived in the city of Bursa.

Now, as these two did not know why he had asked for them or what he wanted, the Great Emir proclaimed throughout his land and all his cities festivities for eight days. And you might see the city in great festivities and great celebrations which all the people were making for Yakub Çelebi, son of their lord.

And so, when the Great Emir saw the lord of Palatia and the lord of Satalia who had arrived, he accompanied them and gave them a very fine welcome; and then he said:

'If I were not to tell you why I have sent for you, you would not know.'

And he looked at the lord of Palatia, and said to him:

'Know, first of all, that, as is the will of God Our Lord, your daughter Nergis has come here with my son Yakub Çelebi; and accordingly, as it is their fortune, I wish us to make their marriage.'

E axí mateix ho dix al senyor de Satalia, com sa germana era aquí e que volia que fos muller de Alí Baxà. E aprés haver dites l'Amorat aquestes paraules, sí·ls près per les mans e sí los mès en una cambra, hon eren les
18r donzelles molt ricament arreades. E con aquests viren, la | hú la sua filla e l'altre sa germana, hagueren fort ase[n]yalat plaer. E de present lo senyor de la Palàcia anà devers la sua filla a·brassar-la e a besar, e per semblant se féu lo senyor de Satalia la sua sor.

Aprés aquests, qui vaheren aquí les donzelles e les paraules de l'Amorat que·ls havia dites de fer lo matrimoni, de goig que cascú ach no veyen dies ne hores que la festa fos feta, com cascun de aquests se tenia per gran senyor e per molt beneventurats, que semblants hòmens com eren Jacob Xalabín e Alí Baxà haguessen per mullers aquelles donzelles. E lo senyor de Satalia no fo en res de sa muller qui devia ésser —ço és, la senyora Nerguís—, per ço com feya tan bon matrimoni de sa germana, qui en tant noble loch entrava, con Alí Baxà era qui era son marit. E per semblant lo senyor de la Palàcia se tenia molt per gloriejat com lo fill de l'Amorat se era tant abaxat a pendra la sua filla per muller. Per la qual rahó vírets aquí gran goig hi alegria de aquests dos.

E con aquests hagueren vistes les donzelles, sí s'agenollaren devant lo Amorat dient-li:

—Senyor, nós te fem gràcies com tan gran senyor que tu ést te vols acostar a nós. E tamies-te, senyor, que tu vulles que nostres filles e germanes se mesclen ab tu? Oc nós e tot ço del nostro som esclaus e servents teus.

Per la qual cosa l'Amorat fóu fer fort solempna festa e noces de son fill e de Alí Baxà ab les dues donzelles, en gran solàs e en gran festa.

Aquests dos senyors stigueren en la ciutat de Borssa quaranta-e-cinch jorns; e en aquest temps foren novis los dits Jacob Xalabín e Alí Baxà ab les dites donzelles. Aprés lo senyor de la Palàcia e lo senyor de Satalia prengueren comiat de l'Amorat e de Jacob Xalabín e de Alí Baxà e de les donzelles, e cascú se'n tornà en la sua terra.

E Jacob Xalabín ab la senyora Nerguís stigueren segons marit deu estar ab sa muller, e ab goig e ab consolació; e per semblantment, Alí Baxà ab la germana del senyor de Satalia.

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79 ase[n]yalat] aseya- / lat 97 tu? Oc] tu oc ~~tu~~

And he said the same to the lord of Satalia, how his sister was here and that she wished to be the wife of Ali Pasha. And the Great Emir, after saying these words, took them by the hands and put them in a chamber, where the damsels were most richly arrayed. And when one saw his daughter and the other his sister, they took the most signal pleasure; and immediately the lord of Palatia went to his daughter and embraced and kissed her, and the lord of Satalia did the same with his sister.

Then they, seeing the damsels here, and the command to make the marriages, which the Great Emir had said to them, could not wait to see the celebrations made, so great was the joy that each had, as each of them was regarded as a great lord and very fortunate that such men as Yakub Çelebi and Ali Pasha should have these damsels for their wives. And the lord of Satalia did not claim the wife who was to be his, that is, the lady Nergis, because he was making such a good marriage for his sister, who was entering such a noble place because Ali Pasha was to be her husband. And likewise the lord of Palatia felt most honoured that the son of the Great Emir had so condescended to take his daughter to wife. For which reason you would see here these two's great joy and happiness.

And when they had seen the damsels, they kneeled before the Great Emir, saying:

'Lord, we thank you that such a great lord as you should join us. Did you fear, lord, to grant our daughter and sister should be mixed with you? Indeed, we and all ours are your slaves and servants.'

For this reason the Great Emir commanded most solemn festivities and weddings for his son and Ali Pasha with the two damsels, amid great pleasure and celebration.

These two great lords stayed in the city of Bursa forty-five days, and in this time the said Yakub Çelebi and Ali Pasha were married to the said damsels. Then the lord of Palatia and the lord of Satalia took their leave of the Great Emir and Yakub Çelebi, and Ali Pasha and the damsels, and each returned to his land.

And Yakub Çelebi and the lady Nergis were as a husband should be with his wife, and with joy and consolation; and likewise Ali Pasha and the daughter of the lord of Satalia.

[xv]

De la nova qui vénch a l'Amorat con lo cristià Búrguar entrava en la sua terra

E estant Jacob Xalabín en la ciutat de Borssa ab la sua muller, e Alí Baxà per semblant, no anà molt de temps que lo pare de Alí Baxà morí. E l'Amorat, 18v qui víu que lo prom Alí Baxà | era mort, e per ço com lo fill era tant discret e tan maravellós, volch de present que tingués en poder tot lo seu regna e tot ço que som pare tenia.

E un jorn, stant tots aquests en la ciutat de Borssa —e lurs solaços e lurs delits e deports, segons que d'ells sa pertanyhia—, sí vingueren noves de la part de la Grècia que lo cristià Búrgar era intrat ab gran gent dins la sua terra e que li comensava a barrajar tota la sua terra. Hon con lo Amorat hoynt aquestes noves, de present féu cridar les sues osts, e tramès per tots los seus barons de la sua terra. E tramès per son fill Beseyt Bey, lo bastart, que de present que vingués a ell. E de present aquest seu fill vénch, e per semblantment tots los barons ab lurs gents e ab lurs armes, en la ciutat de Borssa.

E com tothom fou en Borssa, l'Amorat sí tench consell ab sos fills abdosos e ab Alí Baxà, e Anabech Subey e Seýn Bey —e aquests dos eren grans comtes e barons qui són en la terra de la Turquia. E sí los dix com Làtzer era entrat en la sua terra, per què volia que li aconsellassen ja què faria. E tots a una veu consellaren que una veguada que y anassen per combatre's ab Làtzer. E axí com ho aguéran acordat, axí ho faheren de fet.

Per què de present l'Amorat partí de la ciutat de Borssa ab tot son poder, e per ses jornades vénch en un loch qui és en lo canal, qui ha nom Lapsao e és en lo passatge de la Turquia en la Grècia. E ab tota la sua gent passà dellà Gal·lípoll, qui és un fort castell. E aprés que fou passat ab tota la sua gent en Grècia, sí cavalcaren tant per lurs jornades fins que foren a una jornada dellà hon era Làtzer.

E con Làtzer sabé que lo Amorat era allí ab tot son poder, sí li tramès missatge fahent-li a ssaber que s'apparellàs de la batalla, que ell una vegada se volia combatre ab ell. E com l'Amorat víu lo missatger dix-li:

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18 grans] grãs ~~eop~~ **27** cavalcaren] ~~calu~~ caualcarẽ

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[xv]

Of the News which Came to the Great Emir How the Christian Bulgar was Invading His Land

And Yakub Çelebi being in the city of Bursa with his wife and Ali Pasha with his, it was not long before the father of Ali Pasha died; and the Great Emir, seeing that the worthy Ali Pasha was dead, because the son was so discerning and such a marvel, immediately wished him to have his entire kingdom in his power and everything which his father had.

And one day, while all these were in the city of Bursa at their pleasure and delights and games, as befitted them, news came from the direction of Greece that the Christian Bulgar had invaded the land with a great army and was setting about sacking the whole land. Now, the Great Emir, hearing this news, immediately summoned all his troops, and sent for all barons of his land; and he sent for his son, the bastard Bayezid Bey, to come to him immediately. And immediately his son came, and likewise all the barons with their troops and arms, to the city of Bursa.

And when everyone was in Bursa, the Great Emir held a council with both his sons, and with Ali Pasha, and Eyne Bey and Şahin Bey; and these two were great counts and barons in the land of Turkey. And he told them how Lazar had invaded their land, and that he wanted them to advise him what to do now; and all in one voice advised that they should go promptly and fight Lazar. And as they had agreed, so they did in deed.

And so the Great Emir immediately left the city of Bursa with all his forces and after travelling he came to a place in the channel named Lapseki which is on the crossing from Turkey to Greece. And with all his soldiers he crossed to Gallipoli, which is a stronghold; and after crossing with all his soldiers into Greece, they rode so hard that they reached Lazar within a day.

And when Lazar learned that the Great Emir was there with all his forces, he sent him a message telling him to prepare for battle, as he wanted to fight with him promptly. And when the Great Emir saw the messenger he said to him:

—Vé-te'n, e digues a ton senyor que de present que s'espaig e que s'isque de la terra; si no, que jo faré tal cosa d'ell que tots temps ne serà parlat.

Lo missatge se'n tornà a Làtzer, dient-li les paraules que lo Amorat li havia dites. Hon, con Làtzer hac hoïdes les paraules que lo Amorat li havia trameses a dir, sí fou molt pus coratgós de acostar-sa ab ell.

E l'Amorat attendà's en una bella plana, e ab tota sa ost stigué aquí, e esguardà e havisà tota sa gent, e atrobà, que per compte entre de peu e de cavall, cent dotze mília hòmens combatents.

E Làtzer, qui sabé que l'Amorat era en aquella plana, comenssà de cavalcar, e un dimecres, a hora de tèrcia, que havíem desset de satembra l'anny M CCC
19r LXXX | VII, Làtzer ab tota la sua gent sa acostà devers la plana on l'Amorat era.

Aquest Làtzer havia molta de bona gent, e ab si havia molts tudeschs e molts ongresos e alamanys e molta de bona gent d'armes, e podia ésser ab qualsque trenta mília combatents entre hòmens de peu e de cavall, entre los quals havia bons quatre mília cavallers armats, ells e lurs cavalls. E aquests se havien mes al cor de ferir primers, per ço com eren tant bé armats e per ço com tots los turchs porten fletxes.

Hon, com Làtzer hagués ordonades totes lurs batalles e hòmens, e dada la davantera en aquests qui eren ben armats, sí li vénch un cavaller, gran hom ongrès, qui era ensemps ab aquests quatre mília, capità de dos-centes lances, pregant-lo que li donàs la devantera. E Làtzer la li atorgà.

E aprés Làtzer sí fóu tres parts de ses gents: e de la una part féu regidor e capità aquest ongrès, e da l'altre féu capdellador un seu gendra que y era, e ab l'altre part Làtzer stech son cors.

E haver ordonades Làtzer totes ses gents segons que·s pertanyhia en batalla, e axí com en totes parts ha spies, l'Amorat ho sabé de present com Làtzer havia fetes tres parts de totes ses gents, e com aquells quatre mília hòmens armats, ells e lurs cavalls, devien ferir primer. E de present l'Amorat féu cap e regidor son fill Jacob Xalabín, e en altre part son fill Beseyt Bey, e en la terça part Alí Baxà, e en la quarta Enabech Subey e en la quinta Seýn Bey.

E en la quarta stech l'Amorat son cors ab molta gent de peu e de cavall. E aprés, sí ach sis mília camells, e tots aquells camells ell fóu arrengar a tres tires, hú devant altre, encadenat ab grosses cadenas. E aprés, sí·ls féu tots umplir de squelles e de sembes, sí que feyen la pus gran remor del món. E sí·ls féu estar en la devantera, en guisa que, com la gent volgués ferir, que los cavalls se espaordissen de la remor dels camells e que·s desviassen.

'Go and tell your lord to make haste immediately to leave the land; if not, I will do such a thing to him that will be spoken of forever.'

The messenger returned to Lazar, telling him the words that the Great Emir had told him. At which, when he had heard the words which the Great Emir had sent to tell him, Lazar was much more keen to join battle with him.

And the Great Emir pitched his tents on a fine plain, and camped here with all his troops, and rallied and counselled all his soldiers, and concluded, by calculation, that between foot and cavalry they were a hundred and twelve thousand fighting men.

And Lazar, who knew that the Great Emir was on that plain, began to ride, and one Wednesday, at the hour of terce, on what for us was the seventeenth of September of the year 1387, Lazar with all his troops approached the plain occupied by the Great Emir.

This Lazar had many good troops and had with him many Germans, and many Hungarians and Teutons and many good men at arms; and there could be some thirty thousand combatants, between men on foot and horseback, among whom there were a good four thousand armed knights, men and horses. And these had the ambition in their hearts to strike the first blow, because they were so well armoured and because the Turks carry arrows.

Now, when Lazar had arranged all his men and battle lines, and given the front line to those who were well armed, a knight came to him, a Hungarian magnate, who was with these four thousand, the captain of two hundred lances, asking him to give him the vanguard; and Lazar granted it to him.

And Lazar made three parts of his troops and he made this Hungarian leader and captain of one part, and he made a son-in-law of his who was there head of another; and the other part Lazar commanded himself.

And Lazar having ordered all his troops as was necessary in battle, and, as there are spies everywhere, the Great Emir knew it immediately, how Lazar had made three parts of his whole troops and how those four thousand armed men, both the men and their horses, were to strike first. And the Great Emir quickly made his son Yakub Çelebi head and captain, and on the other side his son Bayezid Bey, and on the third side Ali Pasha, and on the fourth Eyne Bey and on the fifth Şahin Bey.

And on the fourth side the Great Emir was in command with many foot and horse. And then he took six thousand camels, and all those camels he drew up in three ranks, one in front of the other, joined with great chains; and then he had them loaded with bells and cymbals, so that they made the greatest noise in the world; and he made them stand in the vanguard, so that when the troops went to attack, the horses would be frightened at the noise of the camels and would be turned.

E aprés, com l'Amorat ach fet açò, sí stava en fort gran ància de la batalla, e sí li feya molt gran pahor, tant que lo cor no li ho póch soferir. E sí cridà sos dos fills e Alí Baxà e Saý[n] Bey e·Mabech Subey; e quant tots cinch li foren denant, aquest sí los dix:

—Aveus-ho, jo una vegada vull veure aquesta gent de Làtzer.

E tots sis sí se'n pugaren en [un] puget que y havia de prés; e quant foren dalt, sí miraren a la lur guisa totes les osts de Làtzer. E quant l'Amorat ho hac
19v vist, sí gità un gran | sospir. E aquests sí li digueren:

—Hudà, senyor! E què és açò? E per què sospirats?

E l'Amorat respòs:

—Cert, aveus-ho: totes coses faria que aquesta batalla no·s fes, hoc encare com m'i cabés una pocha de desonor.

E de present aquests resposeren:

—O senyor! E que vol dir açò de vós? E are serets coart? E no sabets vós, senyor, la vostra espasa sí és tots temps anada avant?

E Beseyt Bey, lo bastart, sí parlà més que negun, dient:

—Hudà, senyor! E aquest serà lo conort que vós darets a vós mateix e a nós? E no sabets vós, pare, quanta terra havets conquistada, ne aytal cosa ne aytal que havets feta?

E l'Amorat sí respòs:

—Tota quanta terra jo he conquistada, may no n'é haüdes sinó les spatles, e may jo no he encontrat qui·m sia vengut a l'encontre ne en camp. E per ço n'é jo gran ància, e faria, si fer se podia en neguna guisa, que aquesta batalla no·s fahés.

E com aquests hagueren axí hoït parlar l'Amorat, de present tots a una veu dig[u]eren:

—Com, senyor? Lexats fer a nós, que ab Déu nós vencerem e n'exirem bé!

E lavores devallaren del puig, e cascú se n'anà llà hon ordonat era. E faheren refrescar totes les lurs gents e lurs cavalls; e staven apparellats que si Làtzer o ses gents ferissen, que d'ells se poguessen deffenssar.

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71 lo cor no li ho póch] lo cor no li ho poch lo cor **72** Saý[n]] Say **75** en [un] puget] en puget *fort*. .j. *om*. **95** dig[u]eren] diĝen

And then, when the Great Emir had done this, he felt great anxiety at the battle, and it filled him with such fear that his heart could not bear it; and he called his two sons and Ali Pasha and Şahin Bey and Eyne Bey and, when all five were before him, he said to them:

'Now listen: I wish to see Lazar's army immediately.'

And all six went up on a hillock that was nearby and once they were at the top they surveyed all Lazar's troops as they wished. And when the Great Emir had seen this, he heaved a great sigh and they said to him:

'By God, my lord! What is this? Why do you sigh?'

And the Great Emir replied:

'Indeed, hear me: I would do anything not to fight this battle, even if this meant a little dishonour for me.'

And they immediately replied:

'Oh, my lord, what does this mean? Will you be a coward now? And do you not know, my lord, your sword has always been to the fore?'

And the bastard Bayezid Bey spoke more than the others, saying:

'By God, my lord! Will this be the encouragement that you will give yourself and us? And do you not know, my father, how much land you have conquered, and that you have achieved such and such a thing?'

And the Great Emir replied:

'In all the lands which I have conquered, I have only seen my enemies' backs and I have never encountered anyone determined to oppose me at arms or on the field. And thus I feel great anxiety and would do anything if I could not to fight this battle.'

And when they heard the Great Emir speak thus, all immediately in one voice said:

'Why, my lord! Leave this to us, for with God's help we will conquer and win victory.'

And then they came down from the hill and each went where he was appointed. And they had all their troops and their horses refreshed; and they were ready to defend themselves if Lazar or his troops attacked.

[XVI]

Com se féu la bataylla dels turchs e dels cristians, e con morí l'Amorat

E Làtzer, qui molt era desijós que la sua gent ferís en contra de aquella de l'Amorat, envers ora de vespres lo cavaller tudesch comenssà a brocar ab tota la sua gent e de fferir en tots los camells qui primers staven. E pas los cavalls no rebugaren, ans ferían fortment, sí que los camells romperen e faheren loch.

Aquests tots temps ferint de sperons los cavalls, sí que entraren per mig de la ost de l'Amorat, tant que anaren fins a les tendes dels alachas —so és, d'aquells qui venien les viandes. E quant aquests foren fins a les tendes, giraren llurs cavalls e penssaren-se de tornar vers aquella part d'on eren venguts; e tota la ost dels turchs faheren loch en aquesta flota de gent que viren que axí eren entrats. E axí, con l'altre gent de Làtzer deguera entrar per
20r socórrer a les spatles, penssaren-sa, con viren que aquells tor- | naven, que fugissen e no gosaren entrar.

E en aquelles sahons, aquell cavaller ongrès qui havia jurat de combatre's ab l'Almorat cors per cos, no ach cura de la sua gent, ans, tot avançat dels altres, brocà son cavall devers aquella part on penssava que l'Amorat era, qui stava ab un panonet ab una gran flota de gent; e aquest fóu la via d'aquell, ab lo glavi o lança angoçat. E l'Amorat, qui víu venir aquest cavaller axí sols ab son glavi angossat, sí ho tench en escarn e dix a la gent que entorn hi staven que tothom li fahés loch, pe[r] veura lo cavaller què faria.

E lo cavaller féu la via de l'Amorat; e l'Amorat, qui víu que la sua via feya, tirà-li una fletxa e aprés una altra. E lo cavaller prehava-li-ho poch; féu la sua via ab la lança angossada e donà-li tal colp ab lo poder del cavall, que la dargua e unes cuyraces que l'Amorat tenia tot ho passà, e li mès lo ferro de la lança per lo costat bons quatre dits e gità'l molt malament nafrat en terra, com a mort. Però encare no morí de tot.

E la gent qui aquí eren, qui viren lur senyor que jahia mort, de present ach aquí gran brogit e en un colp afletxaren lo cavaller. Per la qual rahó per tota la ost ach gran remor e les osts totes qui·s mesclaren.

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21 a la gent] ala gẽt ala gẽt **22** pe[r]] peu

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[XVI]

How the Battle was Fought between the Turks and the Christians, and How the Great Emir Died

And Lazar was most desirous for his troops to attack the Great Emir's; and towards the hour of vespers the German knight began to spur on with all his troops and struck all the camels which were in the van. And the horses did not retreat but rather attacked hard, so that the camels broke rank and gave way.

All this time they were spurring their horses on; so that they got in among the Great Emir's troops and went as far as the tents of the victuallers, that is, those who sold food. And when they reached the tents, they turned their horses and went to turn back whence they had come. And the whole Turkish army made room for this flux of troops whom they had seen entering. And thus when Lazar's other troops were about to enter to protect their backs, when they saw them returning, they thought they were fleeing and dared not enter.

And at this point, that Hungarian knight who had sworn to fight with the Great Emir at close quarters had no thought for his troops, but, overtaking the others, spurred his horse towards where he thought the Great Emir was, who held a pennant among a great flux of men; and he headed towards him, with his glaive or lance a-tilt. And the Great Emir, seeing this knight approach him alone, despised him and said to his troops who surrounded him to make way for him, to see what the knight would do.

And the knight went up to the Great Emir, and the Great Emir, seeing that he was coming up to him, shot an arrow at him, and then another; and the knight ignored this; he rode ahead with his lance a-tilt and dealt him such a blow with the momentum of his horse that he penetrated the Great Emir's shield and cuirasses, and he put the steel of his lance a good four fingers into his side and threw him very badly wounded to the ground, as if he were dead; but still he did not die.

And the troops who were here, seeing their lord lying dead, immediately made a great noise and, as one, shot the knight with their arrows. For which reason there was a great uproar and both armies came to close quarters.

E per semblant, los primers colps que faeren Làtzer morí, qui s'era mesclat en una part de la batalla contra Enabech Subey. E quant lo genre de Làtzer sabé que son sogre era mort, no hac cura de ferir ne de procehir en la batalla, ans manà que null hom no·s mogués, e de present féu se punya de tornarse'n en sa terra per ésser senyor.

And likewise, the first blows which they dealt against Lazar killed him, who was ensconced in the part of the field fighting Eyne Bey. And when Lazar's son-in-law learned that his father-in-law was dead, he had no concern to fight or proceed with the battle, but ordered that no man should move, and promptly thought only of returning to his land, to be its lord.

[XVII]

Com Beseyt Bey, bastart, acabà de matar son pare e offeguà son frare

E quant Beseyt Bey, fill de l'Amorat, bestart, qui lavors era pus prop d'[on] son pare era stat axí malament nafrat a mort, de present vénch devers aquella part. E les sues gents hagueren-lo mes dins la sua tenda; e fou fama que encare no era bé mort e aquest Beseyt Bey l'espatxà de morir.

Aprés açò, fo lo sol post. E aquest tramès missatge a Jacob Xalabín e Anabech Subey e Alí Baxà e Saÿm Bey; e tots ving[u]eren veura l'Amorat, qui
20v era ja mort. E lavores, en aquella hora, aquest traydor de Be- | seyt Bey aucís Jacob Xalabín, per ço que ell fos senyor; e ab un mandill ell lo va scanyar aquella nit mateixa, de present. E los altres barons no·s gosaren res dir ne moure's, ans de present lo obahiren per senyor.

E en açò la nit ne vénch. E neguna de les parts no hac cura de levar lo camp, sinó cascú de tornar-se'n en lur terra e per ésser senyor.

E en aquesta manera, segons hoït havets, morí l'Amorat e Jacob Xalabín, son fill ladesma, del qual fo gran tala en aquella part. E per ço vuy en dia reig tota la terra aquest Beseyt Bey, axí com a senyor, qui és lo bastart. E lo major hom que ell hage ne sia en la Turquia, qui vuy reig per aquest, sí és aquest Alí Baxà; e encare és viva la sua muller, germana del senyor de Satalia.

Espleguada és la dita istòria. A Déus gràcias.

3 d'[on] son] đ son 8 ving[u]eren] vinĝen

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[XVII]

How the Bastard Bayezid Bey Dispatched His Father and Strangled His Brother

And when Bayezid Bey, the Great Emir's bastard son, who then was nearest to where his father had been mortally wounded, quickly headed in that direction. And his troops had placed him in his tent; and the rumour was that he was still not dead and that this Bayezid Bey dispatched him.

After this the sun set, and he sent a message to Yakub Çelebi and Eyne Bey and Ali Pasha and Şahin Bey and they all came to see the Great Emir, who was now dead. And then, at that hour, this traitor Bayezid Bey killed Yakub Çelebi, so that he would be lord; and with a kerchief he quickly strangled him that very night. And the other barons dared not say a word or make a move, rather they immediately obeyed him as their lord.

And at this the night came, and neither of the parties took interest in striking camp, but each one desired to return to his land and become its lord.

And in this manner, as you have heard, died the Great Emir and Yakub Çelebi, his legitimate son, at which there was great lamentation in that land. And thus nowadays the whole land is ruled as its lord by this Bayezid Bey, who is the bastard. And the greatest man that he has, or there is in Turkey, who today governs for him, is this Ali Pasha; and his wife is still alive, sister of the lord of Satalia.

The said history is ended. Thanks be to God.

Notes

6 hoÿrets] As the rubric states, the protagonist of the tale is Yakub, one of the sons of Murad I (r. 1362–1389), and his antagonist is Bayezid, the future sovereign (r. 1389–1402). Yakub appears in Catalan as Jacob Xalabín, that is, he is given the title Çelebi, 'son of the sovereign' (Turkish titles follow the name). In contrast, as frequently occurs in the Ottoman chronicles, Bayezid is called Bey, meaning 'lord' or 'governor'. The accusation of illegitimacy against the latter is foreign to the attitude of the Ottomans, whose dynasty was perpetuated at this period by concubinage. Like various later historical sources, the novel states that Bayezid had Yakub executed at the end of the battle of Kosovo.

[I]

9 Troya] This reference shows at least some knowledge of classical Antiquity. One of the chief transmitters of the matter of Troy in Western Europe during the Middle Ages was the *Historia de destructione Troiae* (1287), written by Guido delle Colonne at the behest of Mateo della Porta, bishop of Salerno. This Latin prose account proved very popular and was much translated. The Catalan version, known as *Històries Troianes*, was written by Jaume Conesa in 1367 at the command of King Pere the Ceremonious and in 1374 Prince Joan the Hunter asked for it to be sent to him in Valencia. Around 1400 it is commonly to be found in the libraries of prosperous Barcelonese households.

10 Turquia] This passage shows that Western Europe was already aware of the existence of a country called Turkey. This concept had arisen with the expansion of the Seljuk Turks following their victory in the battle of Manzikert in 1071. The Catalan form *Turquia* derives from medieval Latin *Turchia* or *Turquia* and is documented in Ramon Llull's *Blaquerna*, or *Romanç d'Evast e Blaquerna* (book V, ch. 88), finished in Montpellier in 1283. Although the author of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* does not make explicit the connection, at the time it was common to identify the Turks with the ancient Trojans, owing to geographical proximity and the similarity between *turci* and *teucri*. It appears, for example, in some of the early witnesses to the Battle of Kosovo of 1389, such as the correspondence of the senate of Florence with King Tvrtko I of Bosnia and the *Songe du vieil pèlerin* of Philippe de Mézières.

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10 l'Amorat turch] 'L'Amorat', or 'l'Almorat', corresponds to the common way of referring in Western Europe to the Ottoman sovereign during the reigns of Murad I and Bayezid I (although in the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* it usually refers to Murad, it is also applied to Bayezid in ch. VIII). The article shows that it was perceived as an honorific title rather than a proper name and appears in other works, e.g. 'l'Amorat' in the *Chroniques* of Jean Froissart and 'l'Almorat' in *Lo somni* of Bernat Metge. This usage may derive from the fact that in Romance languages titles are placed before the name. The *Embajada a Tamorlán* makes the following comment in a passage regarding the battle of Kosovo: 'Esto vos escrivo por que se entienda a quien llamaron Morato, porque a todos los señores de la Turquía, no le savemos otro nombre, salvo Morato, e cada un señor ha avido su nombre apartado' ('I have written this, that it may be understood whom they called Morato, because all the lords of Turkey are known by the name of Morato, though in point of fact each lord has besides his own personal name'), Ruy González de Clavijo, *Embajada a Tamorlán*, ed. by Francisco López Estrada, Clásicos Castalia, 242 (Madrid: Castalia, 1999), p. 186.

11 Elbay Morat] The title İlbey or Elbeyi, a variant on Bey, no longer corresponds to the dignity of Murad at this date, although it was applicable at the beginning of his reign. It was used by one of his chief lieutenants, Hacı İlbey, who in 1364 defeated a numerically very superior Christian force on the outskirts of Edirne, while the Ottoman sovereign was at the head of the main part of the army besieging Biga, which was in the hands of a hostile garrison. Like other Turkish titles, İlbey follows the name.

12 Borsa] As is reflected in the work, Bursa was the royal residence at this period, although Edirne, since its capture in the 1360s, had been gaining importance as a base for Ottoman expansion in Europe.

15–16 Gran Caramany] At this period the beylik of Karaman was one of the most powerful in Anatolia and its relations with the Ottomans were very uneasy. Bayezid I would take it by force in 1397, but it was restored by Timur after his victory in Ankara in 1402. In Catalan literature, 'lo Gran Caramany' also appears in *Tirant lo Blanch*.

18 primogènit] The only other two sources that state that Yakub Çelebi was the elder brother are the *Cronica volgare di anonimo fiorentino dall' anno 1385 al 1409* and the *Vita Tamerlani* of Bertrando de Mignanelli, a Sienese merchant who was long based in Damascus.

22 Issa Xalabina] It is known that at least one of the wives of Murad was of Greek origin, i.e. Gülçiçek Hatun, mother of Bayezid. The author has derived 'Xalabina' from the title he uses to name the protagonist (the wives of the Ottoman sovereign usually received the title Hatun). In addition, 'Issa' is problematic, since it exists as a female name neither in Ottoman Turkish nor Greek. The hypothesis has been advanced that the author took the name of one of the sons of Bayezid, İsa Çelebi, because he mistook it as a variant of a woman's name (in fact, it is the Turkish form of Jesus). Another possibility is that it is a variant by aphaeresis of the Arab name ʿĀ'isha (عائشة), current in modern Turkish as Ayşe. In any case, the use of such a name highlights that the author had no access to direct information about the Ottoman harem, which is hardly surprising.

52 Alí Baxà] With this character the author refers to a historical figure, Çandarlı Ali Paşa, of the influential family of the Çandarlı, second in power to the House of Osman. Son of Çandarlı Kara Halil Hayreddin Paşa, who became the first Grand Vizier under Murad I, Çandarlı Ali Paşa succeeded his father in the post on his death in 1387 and would hold it until his own death in 1406, a period embracing the reigns of Murad I and Bayezid I and the so-called Ottoman interregnum.

99–100 batla dels venecians] The *bailo* (Greek μπαΐουλος, Ottoman Turkish بایلوس) was a wide-ranging office which included the functions of Venetian ambassador at the Imperial court and governor of the mighty Venetian colony at Constantinople, as well as consul responsible for protecting the rights of Venetian commercial interests throughout the Byzantine Empire, above all other representatives, as his official title records: *Baiulus Venetorum in Constantinopoli et in toto imperio Romanie*. This was a key post, as at this time Venice dominated trade with the Levant and on it its riches depended. The bailo of Constantinople, then, was second in the capital only to the Emperor. The post dates back to 1082, when the Byzantines conceded privileges to the Venetians for their aid against the Normans, but the title and its attributes were established in the treaty of 1268, following the Byzantine reconquest of Constantinople under the Palaiologoi, and continued to grow in importance in successive treaties (it was to be an even more sensitive post after 1453, given the progressive weakening of Venice and the rise of the Ottomans). The bailo was elected by the Grand Council of Venice for a short period of normally two years or less and his functions are compiled by the bailo Nicolò Falier in the *Capitularium* of 1361. Although the story told here by the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* is fiction, it reflects well the balance of power at the time: Iōannēs V Palaiologos (r. 1341–1391) had been forced to declare himself a vassal of Murad I, to whom he

was obliged to pay tribute and lend aid in his conquests, and the Venetians had to bend to the demands of the Ottoman ruler conveyed to them by the bailo resident in Constantinople.

110 grip] A light and rapid boat, much used for transport and trade by the Venetians and in the Mediterranean in general in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A Spanish account written c. 1540 of the Ottoman attack on Corfu in 1537, when relating that the Venetians managed to save forty *gripos* during the Ottoman attack on Corfu in 1537, explains: 'son navíos pequeños de vela' ('they are small sailing ships'), Pedro Girón, *Crónica del emperador Carlos V*, ed. by Juan Sánchez Montes, prol. by Peter Rassow (Madrid: CSIC, 1964), p. 224. The word is a Byzantinism transmitted by the Venetians (< Greek γρῖπος; Italian and Spanish *gripo*, Catalan and French *grip*, English *gripe*, German *Gripp*).

126 Quir Mossè] The character of this Jewish physician is fictitious. As the author says, *Quir* is a Greek form of address, κύρ 'lord'. The Ottomans used it in correspondence with the Byzantine authorities.

276 'xamxa'] No satisfactory etymology for this hapax has been proposed and it has even been thought to be an invention of the author. It may be an Arabism, related to *shahwa* (شهوة), 'lust', and perhaps deformed in transmission. An alternative explanation would relate it to *shams* (شمس), 'sun' in Arabic, used as a metaphor for the ardour of love; as it is the diagnosis of the Jewish physician, it could refer to the Hebrew form of the word, *shemesh* (שמש) or, in Judeoaramaic, *shamsha* (שמשא).

306 ta companyhia] An approximate reference to Matthew 19,5: 'Propter hoc dimittet homo patrem et matrem et adherebit uxori suae et erunt duo in carne una' ('For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh'). Note that the Biblical source does not mention the son.

[III]

62 Udà] This Ottoman expression does not occur elsewhere in medieval Catalan literature. However, Aşık Paşazade, in his history of the dynasty (c. 1476), puts it in the mouth of Murad. Derived from the Persian خدا, 'God', it survives in modern Turkish as *Hüda*. It recurs three times as an exclamation in the *Història de Jacob Xalabín*, spelled with initial *h-*.

[IV]

33 Palàcia] A place name derived from the Latin PALĀTIUM, 'palace', via Greek Παλάτιον, which gave in Turkish the form Balat. The city, near the ancient Miletus, had a prosperous and strategically important seaport at the mouth of the Menderes. The Venetians signed commercial treaties with its rulers and, despite various political changes, maintained a consulate there from 1345 to 1405. In the time of Murad I Balat was not yet Ottoman territory, but was one of the main cities belonging to the Menteşeoğulları. It oscillated between being an important administrative centre of the beylik of Menteşe and an independent capital. On the death of İbrahim Bey c. 1358, the territory of Menteşe was divided among his three sons. Musa Bey inherited Balat with other cities. On his death in 1375 it was governed by his brother Mehmed Bey, but the third brother, Ahmed Bey, also appears as its sovereign. However, in 1389, the period of the action described in the *Història de Jacob Xalabín*, it was ruled by Gıyâseddin Mahmud Bey, a son of Mehmed Bey and perhaps a rebel against him. The fame of the beylik extended all over Western Europe and in the 1390s Chaucer refers in *The Canterbury Tales* to its ruler, 'the lord of Palatye', *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), p. 24 (General prologue, l. 65). Bayezid I would seize the area in 1390, but it would regain its independence after the Ottoman defeat by Timur at Ankara in 1402. Its next ruler was İlyas Bey, last lord of Menteşe, who made Balat his capital and built the famous mosque which bears his name. In 1414, however, he was forced to cede sovereignty to the Ottomans, who would take power permanently in 1424, in the reign of Murad II.

33 Setalia] The medieval name of the ancient Adalia (Greek Αττάλεια) and present Antalya. In the Middle Ages it was, with interruptions, the capital of the beylik of Teke (1321–1423). Like Balat, it had important commercial links with Italian cities. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited it around 1333 and was impressed by its beauty. In 1361 it was taken by the Lusignan, lords of Cyprus, who held it until 1373. It then returned to the hands of the Tekeoğulları, passing first to the power of Mehmed, and then c. 1378 to his son Osman Bey (this is the sovereign at the time in which the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* is set). Around 1392 it would be occupied by Bayezid I, but his disputes with the beylik of Karaman and his later defeat by Timur in 1402 meant that the city would not pass permanently into Ottoman hands until 1423.

34 Soria] Soria (also Suria), 'Syria', is a form derived from the Arabic Sūriya (سورية) or Sūriyā (سوريا). It also appears in other Western European languages

in the Middle Ages, but the Greek form Συρία via Latin SYRIA was to become dominant. In the Middle Ages it designated a much larger region than the present-day state, referring to the modern Near East in general.

36 Sercà] This word corresponds to Saruhan. It alludes to a famous Turkish war-leader, Saruhan Bey bin Alpağı, founder of the beylik (c. 1304–1410) which bore his name. Its appearance, however, represents a slight distortion in chronology (he died c. 1348) and geography (the beylik of Saruhan had Manisa as its capital and did not include Balıkesir).

36 Policàssio] Place name corresponding to the Turkish Balıkesir, influenced by its Greek name (Παλαιοκάστρον, 'the old castle'). It was the capital of the beylik of Karesi until it was annexed in the mid-fourteenth century by the Ottomans.

81 cothonina] This was a rough cotton fabric, generally woven by braiding, used for bedspreads, tents and sails.

131 Nerguís] No historical equivalent has been found for this character. The name, still current in Turkey (*Nergis* or *Nergiz*), derives from the Persian *nargis*, نرگس, 'narcissus'. The word is stressed on the last syllable. The custom of giving flower names to women is universal, but in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries such names, especially those of Persian origin, were particularly in fashion for the concubines of the Ottoman harem (another example is Gülçiçek, 'rose' in Turkish).

165 mandil] This word is well documented, already appearing in Aragonese inventories c. 1331, but its exact meaning in the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* is problematic. In the Ibero-Romance languages *mandil* is the product of a convergent development of Latin MANTĪLE, 'towel', and Arabic منديل, 'kerchief (used to cover the head or clothes)'. In the case of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* there may also be an influence of the Turkish *mendil* or Greek μανδήλη. Meanings in Catalan and other languages such as 'apron' o 'jacket' may be disregarded in the light of the end of the novel, where Bayezid strangles Yakub with a *mandil*. Catalan inventories of the fifteenth century refer to objects called *mandil* or *mandilet*, made of fine linen cloth, with silk lace and embroidery in gold and other precious threads. Nergis's gift is meaningful in both Eastern and Western traditions. The *mendil*, 'kerchief', appears in Ottoman divan poetry as a favour offered to the lover, while in the West a richly embroidered sash was one of the prizes presented by ladies to the victors in a joust. Furthermore, *mandil* is documented later in Western languages as a strip of cloth used to

make a turban, as explained in the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux*—see *Dictionnaire universel françois et latin, vulgairement appellé Dictionnaire de Trévoux*, 8 vols (Paris: Compagnie des Libraires Associés, 1771), v, 788 (s.v. *mandil*). Thus one should think of the *mandil* in the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* in the generic sense of a long kerchief of fine linen, with embroidery in gold and other precious threads, and long enough to dry one's hands, to serve as a sash, or to make a turban.

191 scuder] At this time, by 'squire' was understood a young man of noble and distinguished family, who had not yet been dubbed a knight (literally, the word means that his function is to carry the shield and other arms of a knight).

[V]

7 Hocman Bey] This name appears twelve times in the novel, in four spellings (the others being *Ocman*, *Hocmany* and *Ochman*), twice for the lord of Palatia and ten for the lord of Satalia. It reflects the Turkish Osman, although the inconsistency in spelling suggests the influence of the Arabic form, ʿUṯmān (عثمان), to which is added the copyist's confusion of *t* and *c*. As has been said above, an Osman Bey is well documented as lord of Antalya (Satalia) between c. 1378 and c. 1392, that is, the period in which the action of the *Història de Jacob Xalabín* is set; in contrast, no contemporary Osman lord of Balat (Palatia) has been identified.

58 torra] This is a *kümbet*, a type of mausoleum developed by the Seljuks in Anatolia, related to other forms of Islamic funerary architecture like the Arab *qubba*, the Persian *gonbad* and the Ottoman *türbe*. Various examples have survived, dedicated to womenfolk of royal houses. They generally had a hexagonal, octagonal or circular base and were richly carved on the outside with vegetable or zoomorphic motifs. Usually they had two floors: the crypt underground containing the tomb, and an upper floor as a place of devotion, accessible via exterior stairs. They were often built on a hill outside the city, near crossroads, as the author explains at the beginning of chapter VI.

[VIII]

11 fina amor] *Fina amor*, or courtly love, is a concept of love which was born in the Middle Ages with the lyrics of the Provençal troubadours and exercised a powerful influence on all genres of Western literature, including the romance of chivalry. It is based on the idea that pure and true love, as distinct from mere sexual instinct, is an elevating force that can only be experienced by a noble heart. The characterization of the relationship of Yakub and Nergis incorporates many elements of courtly love. Both are of aristocratic estate and she is, apparently, of superior status. Nobility, however, does not reside only in lineage and riches but also in character and actions, and with his feats Yakub makes Nergis notice him. However, she is in principle unattainable, as she is promised to the lord of Satalia. The secret tryst is also typical of courtliness and derives from the prescriptions of Andreas Capellanus in book I of *De amore* (c. 1185, translated into Catalan in the fourteenth century), where it is explained that the lovers can go as far as kissing and embracing, but not sexual consummation. Emotional ecstasy, described here, does not depend on consummation but sincere reciprocity between the lovers. This is a central episode in the plot of the novel, as it may be argued that Yakub attains the chivalresque ideal here.

45 ne conèxer] This is a significant reference regarding the chronology of the use of the veil in Turkey. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, travelling in Anatolia in the 1330s, had observed that Turkish women did not cover their faces. In the mid-sixteenth century a number of western travellers (Nicolas de Nicolay, Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq and others) confirm the use of the veil.

72 mula qui amblava] *Amblar* refers to the gait of quadrupeds which move both legs on one side together. Such mounts give a smooth and comfortable ride, barely moving up and down, in contrast with others which are faster but rougher. Thus in the Middle Ages ambling horses and mules were valued, especially for the use of ladies, both in Europe and Asia, as witnessed in the *Embajada a Tamorlán*, p. 216.

[IX]

11 alcandora] A type of chemise or short tunic with sleeves, of a thin cloth such as linen and generally undyed, i.e. of white colour, often used as women's underwear (from Andalusi Arabic قندور). The glossary attributed to the Dominican

friar Ramon Martí (c. 1220–1286) defines it as 'camisia brevis' (*Vocabulista in arabico*, ed. by C. Schiaparelli (Florence: Successori Le Monnier, 1871), p. 277). This word is very well documented in the fourteenth century both in Catalan (Francesc Eiximenis, St Vicent Ferrer, Jaume Roig, et al.) and in Castilian (Arcipreste de Hita, Leomarte, Arcipreste de Talavera, et al.).

12 façol] This is the only testimony to this word in Catalan. In Italian it is documented from the late fourteenth century as *fazzolo* (and *fazzuolo*), from which derives modern *fazzoletto*. It meant a long scarf which covered the neck and head and was particularly used in public as a veil by Venetian women in the sixteenth century. Although a Latin origin has been proposed, the etymology seems rather to be Greek φακιόλον or φακιόλιον, 'headscarf', used to refer to the turban in the famous sentence attributed to Loukas Notaras to express his preference of the Ottoman sultan as a sovereign rather than subjection to the Pope; see Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, ed. by Immanuel Bekker, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, 20 (Bonn: Weber, 1834), p. 264.

[X]

11 anafils] The *nafil* or *anafil*, in Turkish *nefir*, was a wind instrument with a long (~80 cm) straight body, made of metal, also well known in the Middle Ages in the Iberian Peninsula, where it had been introduced by the Muslim armies (< Arabic نفير, with article النفير; cf. Portuguese *anafil*, Spanish *añafil*). Its use in Christian states is recorded, but its origins were never forgotten.

[XI]

18 ba[n]cal] The ms. reads *balcal*, which other editors maintain, even though the form is unknown in Catalan and related languages. The context, however, suggests the correct reading should be *bancal*, deformed by a copying error by anticipation. The *bancal de llit*, well documented in Catalan inventories of the fifteenth century, was a piece of wooden furniture like a trunk which was placed beside or under a bed; the inside was used for storing bed linen and the lid served as a seat.

[XII]

14 atzemares] This word is not documented elsewhere in Catalan, but it can be found in the *Vocabulista in arabico* attributed to Ramon Martí. It is a very common double-barrelled wind reed instrument with various names found from the Maghreb to the Middle East (< Arabic زَمَّارَة).

21 ora de tèrcia] Medieval Europe continued to use the Roman system of measuring time, dividing the period of daylight into twelve equal hours; thus the length of an hour depended on latitude and the season. Here, therefore, *ora de tèrcia* means 'three hours after sunrise', approximately 'nine o'clock in the morning'.

[XIII]

60 Carasar] This is a deformation of Kara Hisar ('black castle'), the name since the Seljuk period of the modern Afyonkarahisar. At the time when the narrative is set, the fortress, built on a volcanic rock 200 m above the town, was of great strategic importance because it controlled the southern frontier of the beylik of Germiyan. Around 1392 it was taken by Bayezid I, but his defeat at Ankara by Timur in 1402 meant that it was not annexed permanently by the Ottoman Empire until 1428–1429.

60 Cotey] This is Kütahya. It had been the capital of the beylik of Germiyan since c. 1302, but c. 1380 its sovereign Süleyman Şah ceded it to the Ottoman prince Bayezid as part of the dowry of his daughter Devlet Hatun. In 1389 Yakub II, son and successor of Süleyman Şah, would attempt to regain the city, but in 1390 he was defeated by Bayezid. In 1402, following the battle of Ankara, Timur would restore Yakub II, but in 1428–1429 all his territories were given to the Ottomans in his will.

66 l'esplugava] The custom of picking parasites such as fleas and lice, practised in Christian Europe in the Middle Ages and even later, spoke for a high degree of trust and often appears in the literature of the period to show intimacy between both sexes. Although reference has been made to examples from the Balkans, there are plenty of examples in Hispanic fiction: tale 42 about 'the false beguine' in *El conde Lucanor* by don Juan Manuel, the ballad 'Amores trata Rodrigo' on the seduction of La Cava by the last Visigothic king, the fable of the husband and the two wives in the *Llibre del savi e claríssim fabulador Isop*, etc.

[XIV]

8 illa del Xiu] The medieval Catalan name of the island of Chios. In 1346 it had fallen to the Republic of Genoa and at this date was in the hands of the Giustiniani. Trade made it a very prosperous colony and it paid tribute to the beylik of Aydın and later the Ottomans.

60 per pahor] The fear which the other Turkish beyliks of Anatolia had of Ottoman power doubtless reflects the contemporary political situation and accounts for the attitudes of the lords of Palatia and Satalia.

[XV]

18 Anabech Subey e Seýn Bey] Generals of these names appear in the account of the campaign in Neşrî's *Cihânnümâ*. The first corresponds to the historical figure of Eyne Bey Subaşı, an important statesman in the time of Murad I and Bayezid I (the title Subaşı means 'commander'; Subay, 'horseman' in Chagatai, was borrowed in modern Turkish for 'officer'). The second corresponds to Şahin Bey or Paşa; of the men of this name, it is highly improbable that this is Lala Şahin Paşa, tutor of Murad; perhaps it is Kula Şahin Paşa, identified by some as the Ottoman commander who had fought unsuccessfully against the Serbs in Pločnik (1386) and the Bosnians in Bileća (1388).

19 Làtzer] A historical figure, the Serb prince Lazar, who led an army against the troops of the Ottoman ruler Murad I in the battle of Kosovo on 15 June 1389.

24 canal] The Dardanelles, which joins the Aegean and the Sea of Marmara. At this time it was under Ottoman control. It is known by various names, from the classical Greek Hellespont (Ἑλλήσποντος) to modern Turkish Çanakkale Boğazı; it appears in Ramon Muntaner's *Crònica* as Boca d'Aver.

24 Lapsao] The name derives, like modern Turkish Lapseki, from the Greek Λάμψακος (Latin LAMPSACUS). A city with a good port, it stands at the entrance of the Dardanelles on the Asian side, opposite Gallipoli; an Ottoman possession from 1356, when it was taken from the Byzantines by Süleyman Paşa, a son of Orhan I.

26 Gal·lípoll] The medieval Catalan name of modern Gelibolu (< Greek Καλλί-πολις, 'beautiful city'). The author correctly notes its importance as a stronghold

from which Ottoman expeditions left for the Balkans. It was a key naval base in the Byzantine period and between 1304 and 1307 it was the centre of operations of the Great Catalan Company, whose campaigns are recounted by Ramon Muntaner in his *Crònica*. In 1354 an earthquake destroyed its walls and the Byzantines had to surrender it to Süleyman Paşa, who was succeeded as governor in 1357 by the future Murad I. It was rapidly rebuilt and its defences and military importance increased during the reign of Bayezid I (1389–1402). The *Embajada a Tamorlán* reports the importance both of its shipyards and the army and navy stationed there.

41–42 M CCC LXXXVII] The manuscript reading is clearly an error, as the beginning of the story is set in 1387 (ch. I) and the hero and his companion had been away from Bursa fourteen months and seven days (ch. XIV). The year should be 1389, compatible with these facts and the date of the historical battle of Kosovo, most securely dated 15 June 1389. The day of the week is also incompatible (17 September 1387 was a Tuesday—as was 15 June 1389—, while 17 September 1389 was a Friday). However, one of the sources on the battle, the *Kronika turecká* (*Turkish Chronicle*) or *Pamiętniki Janczara* (*Memoirs of a Janissary*) by Konstantin Mihailović of Ostrovica, probably written between 1497 and 1501, also states that the battle began on Wednesday (adding that it lasted three days, a narrative motif which it also applies to other battles). For the time of day, see ch. XII, n. to line 21.

49 fletxes] The context implies clearly that *eren ... armats* means that 'they wore armour', a meaning also documented elsewhere. Until the time of Murad II the vanguard of the Ottoman army was formed of archers. According to the account in Neşrî's *Cihânnümâ*—the version closest to the *Història de Jacob Xalabín*—, Murad placed his archers in the front line and battle commenced when they began to shoot arrows and the enemy cavalry attacked. The Turkish bow was a formidable weapon and its importance would not wane until the naval battle of Lepanto (1571), which was so protracted that towards the end the Christian harquebusiers displayed much greater activity than the exhausted Ottoman archers. Subsequently, the Turkish bow was used chiefly for sport: a shot of 900 *gez* (594 m) was considered acceptable to qualify as an archer, and shots of over 800 metres are reliably recorded. In battle the Turkish bow was obviously used for shorter distances and was capable of piercing armour.

67 sembes] This was a loud percussion instrument, presumably a type of cymbals (< Latin CYMBALUM, from Greek κύμβαλον, via the plural CYMBALA; cf. medieval French *cymble*, plural *cymbles* and the alternative medieval Catalan

form *cembres*). In medieval Catalan literature, it is habitually played by the Muslims in wars and celebrations. Ramon Muntaner's *Crònica* also records its use when recounting the Royal Entry of Queen Costanza into Palermo.

[XVI]

4 vespres] It is difficult to narrow this timing further. In Roman practice, vespers corresponded to evening twilight. In the Middle Ages it still referred to a time between about six in the evening or around sunset, before supper, but in the canonical hours it also came to mean the time of bell-ringing and the following part of the divine office which began to be prayed approximately between two and three in the afternoon. The Ottoman chronicles also place the beginning of the battle at dusk.

9 alachas] This term, which the author explains as 'victuallers', is not documented elsewhere (Neşrî's description is very close to this passage, but he uses an unrelated expression to refer to the staff of the military market).

21 glavi … angoçat] This passage is proof—rare, but unequivocal thanks to the context—that *glavi* could mean, among other things, 'lance' in medieval Catalan, as in medieval French and English *glaive*. The verb *angoçar* or *angossar* probably means to insert the *gocet de llança* (Spanish *gocete de lanza*, English *palette*), a roundel of leather placed between the handle and the end to secure it when charging (cf. Spanish *engocetar*). This is an innovation in military technology which belongs to the late fourteenth century.

[XVII]

12 senyor] This passage is the earliest surviving testimony that Yakub was executed by Bayezid at the end of the battle of Kosovo and therefore of great interest for the study of fratricide as a mechanism of succession in the Ottoman dynasty.

Appendix

∵

Introduction

Here we present a small anthology of texts reflecting Catalan-Turkish relations in the Middle Ages to which reference has been made in the introduction. The editorial criteria are basically the same applied to the *Història de Jacob Xalabín*.

This appendix comprises two sections. The first is devoted to those passages in Ramon Muntaner's *Chronicle* referring to Turks and Turcopoles. This work is firmly established in the canon of Catalan literature, and the account it gives of the actions of the Great Catalan Company in the Eastern Mediterranean cannot be neglected by anyone interested in the history of this part of the world. Its reliability, nevertheless, has been doubted. As a veteran of that expedition, Muntaner can certainly remember with advantages, and omit incidents that make some developments appear under a different light. He prides himself on having fought in thirty-two battles on land and at sea, and his book is not the work of an intellectual, but of a man for whom war with all its brutality was a business and a way of life. His is a partisan view, but because of this it allows us a glimpse into the mentality of those who took part in such campaigns.

A critical edition of Ramon Muntaner's *Chronicle* taking into account all extant witnesses has not yet been produced and is badly needed, but a project of such a scale goes far beyond the limits set for this book.[1] After some consideration, we have decided to present the text of the *princeps*, printed in 1558 in Valencia at the expense of the city council.[2] This is a handsome edition, for

1 The closest to a critical edition is Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. by Josep M. de Casacuberta, 9 vols (Barcelona: Barcino, 1927–1952). All editions since derive their texts from it, often not directly but through the one annotated by Ferran Soldevila, the latest incarnation of which has been referred to on p. 2, n. 2. However, Casacuberta did not have access to all manuscripts, and modernized the orthography as he prepared the text for a popular series. The chapters related to the intervention of the Great Catalan Company in the Eastern Mediterranean were printed separately in Ramon Muntaner, *L'expedició dels catalans a Orient*, ed. Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer (Barcelona: Atenes, 1926). They have acquired a life of their own, and there is a recent version in English: *The Catalan Expedition to the East: From the 'Chronicle' of Ramon Muntaner*, prol. by J.N. Hillgarth, trans. by Robert D. Hughes (Barcelona / Woodbridge: Barcino / Tamesis, 2006).

2 Here is its full title: *Chrònica o descripció dels fets e hazanyes de l'Ínclyt Rey don Jaume Primer, rey d'Aragó, de Mallorques, e de València, Compte de Barcelona e de Muntpesller, e de molts de sos descendents. Feta per lo magnífich en Ramon Muntaner, lo qual serví axí al dit Ínclyt Rey don Jaume com a sos fills e descendents, e·s trobà present a les coses contengudes en la present història* (Valencia: Viuda de Joan Mey Flandro, 1558). The chapter numbers given here are taken from this edition just as a reference, since usually only extracts have been taken. A

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which obviously great care was taken, and moreover it offers considerable historical interest. It was the basis for the rendering into Spanish by the Erasmian Miguel Monterde, who was prosecuted by the Inquisition in 1558 and must have made his translation in the 1560s, probably during his period of reclusion in the Real Convento de San Francisco, the Franciscan Friary of Zaragoza (he died in 1571).[3] His was the first modern translation of Muntaner's *Chronicle*, though it has remained unpublished[4] (there had been a medieval Sicilian version of parts related to the island before).[5] The Valencia *princeps* was also presumably the text used by Francisco de Moncada for his already mentioned *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos*, printed in 1623. The reception of Muntaner's *Chronicle* in the early modern period shows that an occupation with it was perceived in the Crown of Aragon as a sign of loyalty to the Spanish Monarchy.

Although the text of the *princeps* was carefully prepared, it is by no means perfect. It presents problems in some passages, and at least a few emendations have been deemed indispensable. The corrections introduced here are never conjectural, but based on the two oldest extant manuscripts, against which the text of the *princeps* has been checked: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 1803, a copy finished in 1342 (*C*); and Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 4, a fragmentary codex, the copy of which was finished in 1353 (*D*). The interventions have been indicated, and the faulty readings have been recorded, so that the reader can easily appreciate the changes, though the text presented here has no pretension of being a critical edition. As has been already pointed out, this is much needed but falls outside the scope of the present volume. The

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facsimile of this *princeps* has been included as a part of Stefano Maria Cingolani, *La memòria dels reis: les quatre grans cròniques i la historiografia catalana, des del segle x fins al xiv*, 5 vols (Barcelona: Base, 2006).

3 On Miguel Monterde, see A. Gordon Kinder, 'A Hitherto Unknown Group of Protestants in Sixteenth-Century Aragon', *Cuadernos de Historia Jerónimo Zurita*, 51–52 (1985), 131–160, and Michel Boeglin, 'Aspectos de la Reforma en Aragón a finales del reinado del Emperador. El proceso del rector Miguel Monterde', *Manuscrits. Revista d'Història Moderna*, 30 (2012), 139–159.

4 A manuscript of Monterde's translation which belonged to the Count-Duke of Olivares has been preserved (San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio del Escorial, MS J-III-25).

5 This Sicilian translation was printed in *Cronache siciliane dei secoli xiii. xiv. xv.*, ed. by Vincenzo Di Giovanni, Collezione di opere inedite o rare dei primi tre secoli della lingua, 10 (Bologna: Gaetano Romagnoli, 1865). See also Salvatore Tramontana, *Gli anni del Vespro. L'immaginario, la cronaca, la storia* (Bari: Dedalo, 1989), p. 233.

text that has become standard is based on the manuscript of 1342, which is superior as a rule, but sometimes both present faults, e.g. the omission of *dins tres dies* in chapter 236, which on the contrary appears in the *princeps* and is supported by other witnesses such as *D*.

The second section of this appendix is composed of ten documents preserved in Barcelona. Several of them have been digitalized and made available on the websites of their respective institutions, and probably the rest of them will be in the near future as well. They are presented here in chronological order without notes or critical apparatus. Basically, they fall into three categories. There are some royal documents from the Archive of the Crown of Aragon, and some notarial texts from so-called *manualia*, i.e. notebooks where the essential information about a transaction was written down abbreviating the clauses. In addition we have included an extract from a work variously called *Dietari de Mascaró* or *Cronicó de Mascaró* (or *Chronicon Barcinonense IV*), written by Guillem Mascaró, a prebendary of Barcelona cathedral who died c. 1405. It provides us with an unusually detailed account of the Royal Entry of King Martí the Humane in Barcelona on 27 May 1397, which suggests that this clergyman was both present at the event and had access to documents regarding its preparation.[6]

6 See *Diplomatari de l'Orient català* for more royal documents, and the appendix to Josep Hernando i Delgado, *Els esclaus islàmics a Barcelona*, for more notarial ones (full bibliographical references have been provided in p. 5, n. 4, and p. 8, n. 12). For an analysis of Guillem Mascaró's account of the Royal Entry of King Martí the Humane in Barcelona, see Miguel Raufast Chico, '¿Un mismo ceremonial para dos dinastías? Las entradas reales de Martín el Humano (1397) y Fernando I (1412) en Barcelona', *En la España medieval*, 30 (2007), 91–129. These three works also print the documents presented in this appendix. The transcriptions provided here are based on the originals, but the editions have been taken into account.

APPENDIX 1

De la *Crònica* de Ramon Muntaner

[202]

167v E l'endemà féu-los donar a tuyt altra paga, e que tots s'apparellassen de passar Boca d'A[v]er, e anar sobre los turchs, qui en aquell punt havien tolt a l'Emperador més de trenta jornades de terra de bones ciutats e viles e castells que ells havien subjugades, que·s trahutaven a ells. E encara, que era major dolor: que si un turch volgués per muller la filla del millor hom de aquella ciutat e vila o castell qui a ells eren subjugats, que la li havien a donar per muller lo pare o la mare o els amichs. E si infants nexien, si eren mascles, feyen-los turchs, els feyen retallar, axí que eren sarrahins; e si fos fembra, podia tenir qual leig se volia. Veus en quina dolor e en quin subjugament estaven, a gran desonor de tota la Chrestiandat! Per què podets conèxer si hi era mester que aquesta companya hi passàs. E majorment que en veritat tant havien los turchs conquest, que host feyta venien davant Constantinoble —que no hi havia mas un bras de mar el mig, qui no ha d'ample mas dues milles— e treyen les espases e menasaven a l'Emperador; e l'Emperador tot
168r ho | podia veure. Veus ab quina dolor podia viure: que si haguessen ab què passassen aquell bras de mar, Constantinoble hagren haüt.

2 Aver] *CD*; Aner

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APPENDIX 1

From the *Chronicle* of Ramon Muntaner

[202]

(*The Emperor receives the Catalan Company at Constantinople, and awards its leader Roger de Flor the title of Megadoux, or grand admiral of the Byzantine fleet. Roger de Flor is also married to the Emperor's niece, but the celebrations are darkened by a dispute leading to a massacre of the Genoese by the Catalans which the Emperor orders to stop.*)

And the next day he had them given more payment, and ordered them all to prepare to cross the strait of Abydos, and attack the Turks, who on that spot had taken from the Emperor land of more than thirty days' journeys with good cities and towns and castles which he had subjugated and which paid tribute to them. And something which was an even greater outrage: if a Turk were to wish for his wife the daughter of the best man in that city or town or castle under their control, the father or mother or relatives had to give her up. And if children were born, if they were male they made them Turks, and had them circumcised so that they were Saracens; if it was female, she could take the religion she preferred. See what grief and subjugation oppressed them, to the great dishonour of all Christendom! By which you can judge whether there was a need for the Company to cross the strait. And particularly because in truth the Turks had conquered so much that their battle lines reached as far as Constantinople—for there was only an arm of sea between them, which is no wider than two miles—and they drew their swords and threatened the Emperor; and the Emperor could see it all. See what grief he was suffering: if they had the means of crossing that arm of sea, Constantinople would be theirs.

[203]

168r E com tot açò fo ordonat, presseren comiat de l'Emperador e reculliren-se'n e anaren-se'n al cap de l'Artaqui, per ço com los turchs de tot en tot volien haver aquell cap, qui és molt graciós lloch. E tot aquell cap se guarda ab un mur que ha en lo cap de l'Artaqui envers la terra ferma, que no ha de llonch de batalla mig miller de la una mar a l'altra; e puix d'aquell estret avant és lo cap molt gran, en què ha més de vint mília entre alqueries e masos e casals. E los turchs moltes vegades eren venguts per esvahir aquell mur, que si·l poguessen esvahir, tot lo cap barrejaren.

168v E axí lo Magaduch ab tota sa gent près terra | aquí, que hanch los turchs no·n saberen res. E com hagren presa terra, hagren sabut que·ls turchs hi havien combatut aquell jorn; sí que·l Magaduch demanà si eren lluny d'aquí, e ells digueren que n'eren lluny entrò a dues llegües e que estaven el mig de dos flomayres. E tantost lo Magaduch féu cridar, que tothom fos aparellat l'endemà matí per seguir la senyera [...].

Sí que lo matí ab gran volentad e ab gran alegre llevaren-se'n tant gran matí que a l'alba foren a la flomayre hon los turchs eren atendats ab llurs mullers e ab llurs infants; e pensaren de ferir en tal manera en ells, que·ls turchs estegren maravellats d'estes gents que ab los darts feyen tant grans colps que res no hi havia durada. Què us diré? La batalla fo fort com los turchs se foren presos a les armes. Mas què valia? Que·l Magaduch ab sa companya de cavall e de peu se metien en tal guisa sobr·ells, que los turchs no·n pogren pus durar; e aquí mateix no volien fugir per les mullers e per los infants que hi havien, de què los dolia lo cor, ans volien abans murir. Sí que jamés no foren hòmens qui tant grans tornes faessen; mas emperò a la fi tots n'anaren, [e] llurs mullers e llurs infants foren tots catius. E dels turchs muriren aquell dia més de tres mília hòmens a cavall e més de deu mília de peu. E axí lo Magaduch e les sues gents llevaren lo camp, e no tengren a vida nul hom de deu anys amunt; e tornaren-se'n a l'Artaqui ab gran goig.

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2 de l'Artaqui] *CD*; de l'Artaqui envers la terra ferma **25** e llurs mullers e llurs infants] *CD*; ab les llurs mullers e ab llurs infants

[203]

(*The Catalan Company makes preparations to cross into Anatolia*)

And when this had all been arranged, they took their leave of the Emperor and gathered themselves and went to the cape of Artaki, because the Turks heartily desired to take it, as it is a most pleasant place. And the entire cape is protected with a wall facing terra firma, which is a battle front no longer than half a mile from sea to sea; and from the strait onwards the cape is very large with over twenty thousand hamlets and manors and farms. And the Turks had often come to invest that wall, as if they could attack it they would scour the whole cape.

And so the Megadoux, will all his troops, landed here without the Turks' knowledge. And when they had made land, they had known that the Turks had fought there earlier that day; and thus the Megadoux asked if they were far off, and they told him that they were up to two leagues away, between two rivers. And the Megadoux immediately proclaimed that all should be ready the next morning to follow his banners [...].

And in the morning, with great enthusiasm and gladness they rose so early that at dawn they went to the river where the Turks were camped with their wives and children. And they went to attack them in such a way that the Turks were taken by surprise by these troops whose darts caused so much damage that nothing was left standing. What shall I tell you? The battle turned very hard when the Turks took their arms. But what good did it do them? For the Megadoux with his company of horse and foot so bore down on them that the Turks could not hold out. And here they would not flee, because of the women and children that were there, which so tore their hearts that they would rather have died. Never were men defeated who made such resistance; but in the end all were lost, and their wives and children taken captive. And that day of the Turks more than three thousand horse and more than ten thousand foot perished. And thus the Megadoux and his forces carried the field, and spared the lives of no man above ten years old; and they returned to Artaki with great rejoicing and gladness.

[205]

170v Ab tant lo primer dia de abril ab la gràcia de Déus la senyera exí, e tothom pensà de seguir la senyera, e ab la bona hora entraren-se'n per lo regne del Natulí. E los turchs foren-se'n apparellats per contrastar ab ells, ço és a saber, la gabella de Cesa e de Ti[n], qui eren parents d'aquells que la Companya havia morts a l'Artaqui. Sí que com la Companya fo llà prop d'una ciutat qui ha nom Filadèlfia, que és noble ciutat e de les grans del món, que bé vogí dehuyt milles dretament —aytant vogí com Roma o Constantinoble. E prop d'aquella ciutat, a una jornada, les dites dues gabelles dels turchs foren, qui eren bé tota hora huyt mília hòmens a cavall e bé dotze mília d'a peu. E ells arrengaren batalla, e lo Magaduch e sa companya hach-ne gran plaer. Sí que tantost abans no ferissen les fleches dels archs dels turchs, van brocar en ells los de cavall ab los de cavall, e los almugàvers ab aquells d'a peu. Què us diré? La batalla fo molt fort, e durà del sol exit estrò sus a hora de nona; sí que·ls turchs foren tots morts e presos, que no n'escaparen de cavall mil, ne d'a peu cinch-cents. E lo Magaduch ab sa companya ab gran alegre llevaren lo camp, que no hagren perdut mas estrò a huytanta hòmens de cavall e cent d'a peu, e hagren guanyat sens fi.

171r E com lo camp hagren llevat, | que hi jurcaren bé huyt jorns, que estegren atendats en aquell lloch, qui era molt bo e delitós, e ells se'n vengren a la dita ciutat de Filadèlfia, hon foren reebuts ab gran goig e ab gran alegre. E axí anà la novella per tota la terra del Natulí, que la gabella de Cesa e de Ti[n] eren estats desbaratades per los franchs; e hagren goig, e no fo maravella, que tots foren estats catius si los franchs no fossen estats. E axí lo Magaduch e sa companya estegren a la ciutat de Filadèlfia quinze jorns; e puix partiren d'aquí e anaren-se'n a la ciutat del Nif, e puix a Macnèxia, e puix faeren la via de la ciutat de la Tira.

4 Tin] *CD*; Tiu **21** Tin] *CD*; Tiu

[205]

(*The Catalans send the Emperor and his family jewels and slaves, mostly women. The Company cannot pursue its operations against the Turks because of the winter. They are stationed at Artaki, while their commander Roger de Flor travels to Constantinople and returns with four months' pay. Spring comes, and operations are resumed.*)

Meanwhile, on the first of April, by God's grace, the banner went forth, and everybody went to follow the banner and with good fortune they entered the kingdom of Anatolia. And the Turks went ready to battle with them, that is, the band of Sasa Bey and Mehmed Bey, who were kinsmen of those whom the Company had killed at Artaki. Thus when the Company arrived near a city named Philadelphia, which is a noble city and one of the greatest in the world, which spreads eighteen miles around, as much as Rome or Constantinople. And near that city, a day's march away, the said two bands of the Turks assembled, and they were easily eight thousand horse and twelve thousand foot. And they formed a line of battle, and the Megadoux and his company were greatly pleased at this. Thus before the Turkish archers' arrows could touch them the horsemen engaged with their horsemen, and the almugavars with their foot soldiers. What shall I say? The fighting was most heavy, and lasted from sunrise to the hour of nones: thus all the Turks were killed or captured, as not a thousand horse escaped, or five hundred foot. And the Megadoux with his Company with great rejoicing pillaged the field, and did not lose more than eighty horse and a hundred foot, and won an infinity of booty.

And once they scoured the field, which took them a good eight days, they camped in that place which was very good and pleasant and they came to the said city of Philadelphia, where they were received with great joy and rejoicing; and thus the news spread throughout the land of Anatolia, that the band of Sasa Bey and Mehmed Bey had been routed by the Franks, and they rejoiced; and it was no wonder because they would have all been captured, if the Franks had not been not there. And so the Megadoux and his Company stayed in the city of Philadelphia for fifteen days; and then they left for the city of Nif, and then went to Magnesia, and then they travelled to the city of Tire.

[206]

171r E com foren a la ciutat de la Tira, aquells turchs qui eren escapats de la batalla, ab d'altres qui·s foren aplegats a ells, qui eren de la gabella de M[a]ndexia, corregren a la Tira entrò la sgleya hon jau lo cors de mosényer senct Jordi, qui és una de les belles esgleyes que yo hanch vaés, e és prop de la Tira entrò a dues milles. E a l'alba del jorn los turchs vengren a la Tira, e no sabien que·ls franchs hi fossen. E axí com ells comensaren a córrer, lo via-fora se moch per l'encontrada. E lo Magaduch guardà e vaé los turchs —que tots los podien veure, que tots eren en lo pla, e la ciutat de la Tira està alt. E·n manà a·N Corberan d'Alet, qui era [Manescalc] de la host, que hi anàs ab aquella companya que seguir-lo volgués. E la companya près-se a les armes e pensà's de cuytar. E En Corberan entrò ab dos-cents hòmens a cavall e mil de peu va ferir entr·ells. Sí que tantost los mès en vençó, e·n matà de set-cents en sus de cavall e molts d'a peu. E hagra'ls tots morts, mas la muntanya era prés, e pensaren lexar los cavalls, e a peu pensaren de fugir per la muntanya. E En Corberan d'Alet era molt bo cavaller, e per masa volentat pensà axí mateix de davallar del cavall, e pensà de muntar per la muntanya.
171v E los turchs, qui vaeren que ells muntaven derrera, pensaren | de trer ab les sagetes; e per desastre una sageta ferí lo dit En Corberan, que s'ach desarmat lo capell per la calor, [per lo polç]. E aquí ell murí, de què fo gran tala; sí que·ls chrestians aturaren-se ab ell, e los turchs anaren-se'n.

3 Mandexia] *C*; Mondexia **9** Manescalc] *C*; Senescal **19** per lo polç] *C*; e per la pols

[206]

(*A new fight with the Turks ensues.*)

And when they reached the city of Tire, those Turks who had escaped from the battle, with others who had joined them, who were of the beylik of Menteşe, laid waste Tire as far as the church where the body of our lord St George lies, which is one of the most beautiful churches I have seen, and is two miles from Tire. And at dawn the Turks came to Tire, and did not know that the Franks were there. And as soon as they started to arrive, the alarm was raised. And the Megadoux looked, and saw the Turks—as all could see them, as they were all on the plain, and the city of Tire is on high ground—. And he ordered Sir Corberan de Alet, who was marshal of the army, to go there with that company, as he wished to follow them. And the Company took up their arms, and made ready to attack. And Sir Corberan with up to two hundred horse and a thousand foot advanced to strike them. So that no sooner had he placed them than he killed seven hundred horse and many foot and there were many dead, but the mountain was taken, and they were going to leave their horses and went to flee on foot into the mountain. And Sir Corberan de Alet was a very good knight, and through overconfidence decided himself to dismount, and went to climb the mountain. And the Turks who saw that they were climbing up behind them went to fire their arrows, and unfortunately an arrow hit Sir Corberan, who had taken off his helmet because of the heat, in the temple. And here he died, at which there was great mourning; so that the Christians stayed with him, and the Turks escaped.

[207]

172v E un jorn lo via-fora se moch que·ls turchs qui eren de la gabella de Atia corregren a la Horta d'Ània. E la host exí en tal manera que aconseguiren los turchs e van ferir en ells, sí que aquell jorn mataren bé mil hòmens a cavall de turchs e bé dos mil de peu. E los altres fugiren, que·l vespre nos los tolch; si no, tots foren estats morts o presos. E així tornà-se'n la Companya a la ciutat d'Ània ab gran goig e alegre, e ab gran guany que hagren feyt.

E així estech lo Magaduch ab la host en la ciutat de Ània bé quinze jorns, e puix féu exir la senyera e volch conplir a vesitar tot lo regne del Natulí. Sí que la host anà entrò a la Porta del Ferre, qui és una muntanya en què ha un pas que s'apella la Porta del Ferre, qui és al departiment del Natulí e del regne d'Armènia. Sí que com fo a la Porta del Ferre, los turchs d'aquella gabella qui eren estats desconfits a la [H]orta d'Ània, e tots los altres turchs qui eren romasos de les altres gabelles, foren tots aplegats en una muntanya, e foren tota hora bé deu mília hòmens de cavall e bé vint mília de peu. E batalla arrengada, a alba del dia que fo lo jorn de madona sancta Maria d'Agost, ells vengren contra lo Magaduch. E tantost los franchs foren aparellats ab gran goig e ab gran alegre, que paria que Déus los tengués com se feya en aquella sahó; e los almugàvers cridaven: "Desperta, ferres!". E tantost lo Magaduch ab la cavalleria van ferir els hòmens a cavall, e En Rochafort e l'almugaveria els hòmens a peu. E aquí vaérets feyts d'armes que jamés tal cosa no vaé nul hom. Què us diré? La batalla fo molt fort cruel, mas a la fi tots los franchs llevaren un crit e cridaren: "Aragó! Aragó!". E llavors prengueren tant gran victòria, que·ls turchs se venceren; e així matant e encalsant, durà l'encals entrò a la nuyt, e la nuyt hach-los a tolre l'encals. Emperò tota hora hi romangueren, dels turchs de cavall, morts més de sis mília, e d'aquells d'a peu més de dotze mília. E així aquella nuyt la Companya hagren bona nuyt,
173r que·ls turchs perderen totes les vian- | des e els bestiars. E l'endemà llevaren lo camp los franchs, així que tota hora estech la host en aquell lloch huyt jorns per llevar lo camp, e lo guany fo sens fi que hi faeren.

11 gabella] *D*; gabella d'Atia **12** Horta] *CD*; porta

[207]

(*Bernat de Rocafort joins Roger de Flor at Ephesus, and is made marshal.*)

And one day the alarm was raised, that the Turks who belonged to the band of Aydın were raiding the fertile plains surrounding Anaia. And the troops went out in such a way that they caught up with the Turks, and attacked them; so that on that day they killed a thousand Turkish horsemen and a good two thousand foot soldiers. And the others fled and, if nightfall had not overtaken them, they would all have been killed or taken prisoner. And thus the Company returned to the city of Anaia with great joy and rejoicing, and with the great booty they had taken.

And thus the Megadoux with his troops stayed in the city of Anaia a good fortnight and then he sent out the banner and wished to complete his visit to the whole kingdom of Anatolia and so the army passed through the Iron Gate, which is a mountain with a pass known as the Iron Gates, which is the frontier between Anatolia and the kingdom of Armenia. And as soon as he was at the Iron Gates, the Turks of that band who had been defeated at the gate of Anaia, and all the other Turks who were left from the other bands, were gathered on the mountain, and were easily ten thousand horse and a good twenty thousand foot. And battle lines drawn, on the day of St Mary in August at sunrise, they attacked the Megadoux and immediately the Franks were ready with great joy and rejoicing that it seemed that God kept them. And the almugavars cried, 'Awake, iron!' And as soon as the Megadoux and his cavalry went to strike the horsemen, and My Lord Rocafort and the troop of almugavars attacked the foot soldiers: and here you would see feats such as no man ever saw. What shall I say to you? The battle was most cruel, but at the end all the Franks raised the cry: 'Aragon, Aragon!' And then they won such a great victory that the Turks were vanquished, and thus killing and overtaking them, the pursuit lasted until nightfall, and night forced them to withdraw the pursuit. However, at the end there remained more than six thousand dead among the Turkish knights, and more than twelve thousand foot soldiers. And thus that night the company had a good night, as the Turks lost all their victuals, and their cattle, and the next day the Franks pillaged the field; so that at the end the army was there for eight days pillaging the field, and the booty they took was without end.

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187v Sí que com tot açò fo feyt, los turchs que nós havíem gitats del Natulí saberen la mort del Cèsar e la presó d'En Berenguer d'Entença, e saberen les victòries que Déus nos hach donades e que érem tant pocha gent, tornaren per lo Natulí, e sotsmeteren-se totes les ciutats e viles e castells de grechs, e estrengueren-los més que no havien, com nós hi anam. Veus quin bé vénch per les males obres de l'Emperador e per la traÿció que·ns faeren: que tot lo Natulí se'n perdé, qui era restaurat, que hagren turchs, e nós qui consumam tota la Romania, que salvant la ciutat de Constantinoble e d'Andrinopla e de Christòfol e de Salònich no hi hach vila ne ciutat que no fos affegada e cremada per nós, ne llohoc negú si donchs castells de muntanya no eren.

Sí que dels turchs vénch a Galípol un cap per nom Ximelich, e demanà parlament e dix que si·ns plaÿa volia passar a Galípol a parlar a nós. E yo tramís-li un leny armat, e axi ell vénch ab deu cavallers qui eren sos parents. E aqui ell p[o]sà davant En Rochafort e En Ferran Eximenis e mi, que ell era aparellat ab sa companya e ab sa muller e ab sos infants de passar a nós, e que·ns faria sagrament e homenatge que seria ab nós com a frare, e ell e tota sa companya, e que·ns valria contra totes les gents del món, e que metrien en poder nostre llurs mullers e llurs infants, e que volien estar en tot e per tot al nostre comandament, axí com los pus sotils de la Companya, e que·ns darien la quinta de tot ço que guanyarien. E d'açò haguem nostre acord e consell ab tota la Companya, e tuyt tengren per bé que·ls reebéssem.

Ab tant reebem aquell Ximelich qui passà ab nós ab huyt-cents hòmens a cavall, [e puys vénch-hi un seu frare ab quatre-cents hòmens de cavayl e ab dos-cents de peu, e així mateix lo reebem]. E si hanc negunes gents foren obedients a senyor, ells ho foren a nós; e si hanch nuls hòmens foren lleyals e vertaders, ells ho foren a nós tostemps. E foren molt bons hòmens d'armes,

14 posà] *CD*; passà **23–24** e puys … reebem] *C*; e ab dos mília d'a peu

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(*After this victory, Roger de Flor is recalled to Constantinople, where he is made Caesar; however, the Emperor's eldest son plots his death. This assassination is carried out by Alan mercenaries, and Turcopoles take part in the massacre of his retinue. Berenguer d'Entença, now Commander of the Company, sacks Herakleia, but he is captured by the Genoese. Nevertheless, the Company defeats two Byzantine armies sent against them. Then they crush the Alans who had killed Roger de Flor, while Ramon Muntaner, who has stayed behind to guard Gallipoli, repels a Genoese attack, which is cause of great celebrations.*)

And when all this was done, the Turks, whom we had thrown out of Anatolia, learned of the death of Caesar and the imprisonment of Berenguer d'Entença, and learned of the victories which God had given us and that we were so few, returned to Anatolia, and overcame all the cities and towns and castles of the Greeks, and oppressed them more than before, when we were in control. See what good came from the Emperor's evil deeds and the betrayal they did us: that all Anatolia was lost, which had been restored, and the Turks had it and we who plundered all Romania: for except for the city of Constantinople, and Adrianople and Christoupolis and Thessalonike, there was no town or city that was not pillaged and burnt by us, and no stronghold apart from castles in the mountains.

And so the Turks arrived before Gallipoli: and a captain, by name İshak Melik, came and asked to parley, and said that if we wished, he was willing to cross over to Gallipoli to speak with us. And I sent him an armed boat, and he came with ten knights, who were all his kin. And here he proposed to Lord Rocafort and Sir Ferran Eximenis and me that he was ready with his company and their wives and children to come over to our side, and that he would swear homage that they would be as brothers to us, he and all his company, and that they would support us against all the troops in the world, and that they would put their wives and children in our power, and that they wished to be entirely under our command, like the least of the Company, and that they would give us the fifth of everything they would win. And we held our counsel about this with all the company, all agreed that we should receive them.

And so we received this İshak Melik, who came over to us with up to eight hundred men on horseback; and then one of his brothers came with four hundred horse and two hundred foot, and these too were received. And if ever any troops were obedient to a lord, they were obedient to us; and if ever any men were loyal and true, they were to us at all times. And they were very

e de tot feyt. E axí estegren ab nós com a frares, e tota hora ells estaven, host feyta per ells mateixos, prop de nós.

187r E axí com aquests foren venguts a nós, | a l'Emperador eren romasos tant solament mil hòmens a cavall [turclopes] qui eren soldaus seus, qui bé solien ésser quatre mília hòmens de cavall, mas a la primera batalla ne matam nós bé tres mília; e axí romangueren-li aquests mil, qui axí mateix se meteren en nostre poder ab llurs mullers e ab llurs infants com havien feyt los turchs, e axí mateix foren bons e lleyals tostemps a nós, e obedients. E axí nós nos fom crescuts de mil-huytcents hòmens de cavall de turchs, e haguem morts e llevats a l'Emperador tots quants soldaus havia.

E axí senyorejam tota la terra e cavalcàvem l'Imperi a nostra guisa; que com los turchs e els turcoples anaven en cavalcades, anaven-hi dels nostres aquells qui anar-hi volien; e feyen-los molta d'onor, e feyen en guisa que tota hora venien ab dos tant de guany que ells no feyen. E axí jamés no·s póch trobar que entre nós e ells hagués negú contrast.

30 turclopes] *C*; turchs **33** los] *C*; los altres

good men of arms and able; and thus they were with us like brothers, and constantly they were at our side as an army organized by themselves.

And thus, when they had crossed over to us, the Emperor retained up to a thousand mounted Turcopoles, who were his own soldiers, and were a good four thousand horse, but in the first battle we killed a good three thousand of them; and thus they were left with those thousand, who likewise went over to our service, with their wives and children, as the Turks had done, and likewise were good and loyal to us and obedient. And thus we were increased by one thousand eight hundred horse, and had killed and taken from the Emperor all the soldiers he had.

And thus we ruled and despoiled the Empire as we wished, as when the Turks and Turcopoles went on raids, those of our men who wished went with them, and were paid by them much honour, and they ensured that those of ours always came away with twice as much booty as themselves. And thus it was never found that there was conflict between them and us.

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191r E com saberen l'Infant e tota la Companya que yo haguí cremats e derrocats tots los llochs e els castells, e que fui exit de Boca d'A[v]er salvament, ordonaren la llur partença. E là ordonació féu lo senyor Infant aytal: que·N Rochafort e aquells qui ab ell eren, e els turchs e els turcoples, que se n'anàs primer de un jorn, ço és a saber, que llà hon ells jaurien la una nuyt, que l'endemà lo senyor Infant ab en Berenguer d'Entença e en Ferran Eximenis e totes les llurs companyes hi jaquessen, així que tota hora anassen una jornada los uns lluny dels altres. E així anaren molt bé ordonats a poques jornades.

E com foren a dues jornades prop de Christòpol, lo Diable que no fa sinó mal, ordonà que la host d'En Berenguer d'Entença se llevàs masa gran matí
191v per la gran | calor que feya. E aquells d'En Rochafort foren-se'n llevats gran dia, per ço com havien jagut en un pla qui era tot jardins e que havia de tots bons fruyts qui en aquell temps se convenien, e bones aygües e molt vi que hi trobaren per les cases. E així per la bona posada tardaren-se'n de partir; e los altres havien haüt tot lo contrari, per què·s llevaren matí. E així la davantera de la host del senyor Infant aconseguí la rerasaga de la host d'En Rochafort.

E com aquells d'En Rochafort los vaeren, una veu del Diable vénch entr·ells, qui cridà: "Armes, armes! Que veus la companya d'En Berenguer d'Entença e d'En Ferran Eximenis, qui·ns vénen matar". E així la veu anà de mà en mà entrò a la davantera, e en Rochafort féu armar los cavalls, e tots aparellaren-se'n, e turchs e turcoples. Què us diré? Lo brogit vénch al senyor Infant e a·N Berenguer d'Entença e a·N Ferran Eximenis; e tost En Berenguer d'Entença muntà en son cavall en una cota vestit, tot desguarnit, ab la espasa cinta e una escona muntera en la mà, e pensà de capdellar e barafustar los seus e de fer tornar anrera.

E anant capdellant així com podia —que no sabia quina remor s'era, e capdellava així com aquell qui era molt savi rich-hom e bon cavaller—, vénch en son cavall, armat de tots punts, En Gisbert de Rochafort, germà

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2 Aver] *CD*; Aner

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(*Thanks to pressure from the King of Aragon, Berenguer d'Entença is released from prison and returns to Gallipoli, but there he quarrels with Bernat de Rocafort, who has the support of Turks and Turcopoles. The Lord Infant Ferran de Mallorca comes to Gallipoli and takes the command of the Company, which transfers to the region of Christoupolis. Ramon Muntaner is ordered to destroy Gallipoli and join them.*)

And when the Infant, and all the Company, learned that I had burned and pulled down all the strongholds and castles; and that I had come out of the strait of Abydos in safety, they ordered their departure. And the order was given by the Lord Infant that My Lord Rocafort, and those who were with him, and the Turks and Turcopoles, should leave one day earlier; that is, that where they lay one night, the Lord Infant, and Sir Berenguer d'Entença and Ferran Eiximenis and all their company would lie the next; thus they should put one day's riding between them. And thus they rode in good order for a few days.

And when they were two days from Christoupolis, the Devil, who never does anything but evil, arranged that the troops of Sir Berenguer d'Entença got up too early in the morning, on account of the great heat. And those of Lord Rocafort had got up late, as they had lain on a plain which was all gardens, where there were many good fruits suitable to that season, and good water, and much wine which they found in the houses. And thus because their lodging was so good they were slow in leaving, and the others' case was the opposite because they had got up early. And thus the van of the Infant's troop caught up with the rear of Lord Rocafort's.

And when Lord Rocafort's men saw them, a voice of the Devil came among them, crying 'To arms, to arms! See: the company of Sir Berenguer d'Entença and Sir Ferran Eiximenis are coming to kill us.' And thus the word went from mouth to mouth from the rear to the van, and Lord Rocafort armed his horses, and they all armed themselves, both Turks and Turcopoles. What shall I say to you? The uproar reached the Lord Infant, and Sir Berenguer d'Entença and Sir Ferran Eiximenis, and immediately Sir Berenguer d'Entença mounted his horse wearing his hauberk, without armour, wearing his sword and with a spear in his hand, and went to lead and stop his men, and make them turn back.

And advancing as he could—because he did not know what the noise could be, and he was leading like a very wise and noble man, and good knight—, there came Sir Gisbert de Rocafort, younger brother of Sir Beren-

menor d'En Berenguer de Rochafort, e axí mateix En Dalmau Sant Martí, llur avoncle, en son cavall bé armat. E a junta van venir envers En Berenguer d'Entença qui capdellava, e cuydaren-se'n que ell que anegàs la conpanya; e abdós a junta van-li venir, e en Berenguer d'Entença cridà e dix què s'era. E amdosos lo van ferir, e trobaren-lo desarmat, e passaren-li les llances de l'altra part. Així que aquí mateix lo mataren, de què fo gran dany e gran tala, que ell faent bé, lo mataren.

E com l'agren mort, van cercar los altres, e assenyaladament a·N Ferran Eximenis. E En Ferran Eximenis, així com a bon cavaller e savi, així mateix exí al brugit tot desguarnit e pujà el cavall e anà capdellant. E com vaé que aquells d'En Rochafort hagren mort En Berenguer d'Entença, e anaven ab ell los turchs e els turcoples, que hi feyen aytant com ells los manaven, e vaé que tothom muria, entrò ab trenta hòmens a cavall anà-se'n en un castell qui era de l'Emperador. Veus en quin perill se hach a metre, que en poder de sos enamichs se meté per força. E aquells reculliren-lo volenters, que veyen la brega.

Què us diré? Que així matant e firent vengren, entrò llà hon era la senyera del senyor Infant e sa companya, així que·l senyor Infant vénch armat sobre
192r son cavall ab la maça en la mà e anava capdellant | així com podia. E tantost com En Rochafort e sa companya lo vaeren, meteren-se entorn d'ell que nul hom no li pogués fer damnatge, ne els turchs ne els turcoples. Què us diré? Que tantost com lo senyor Infant fo ab ells, romàs lo ferir; mas emperò no romàs tant que tota hora aquell jorn no matassen dels nostres mateixos, ço és a saber de la companya d'En Berenguer d'Entença e d'En Ferran Eximenis, més de cent e cinquanta hòmens a cavayll e bé cinch-cents de peu. Vejats si fo bé obra del Diable, que si la terra fos poblada de gent qui a bataylla los exissen, ells haurien morts aquells e a ells mateixos.

guer de Rocafort, fully armed on his horse, as well as Sir Dalmau Sant Martí their uncle, well armed on his horse. And together they attacked Sir Berenguer d'Entença who was in the lead and they thought that he was encouraging his troops, and both together came upon him, and Sir Berenguer d'Entença cried, 'What can this be?' And they both attacked him, and they found him without armour, and pierced him through with their lances. And so they killed him on the spot, which was great harm and pity that they should kill him while he was doing good.

And when they had killed him they went looking for the others, particularly Sir Ferran Eiximenis. And Sir Ferran Eiximenis like a good and wise knight immediately went out into the melee without any armour, and mounted his horse and rode ahead. And when he saw that Lord Rocafort's men had killed Sir Berenguer d'Entença, and that the Turks and Turcopoles were going with them, and did as they commanded, and saw that everybody was dying, with up to thirty horsemen he went to a castle which belonged to the Emperor. See what peril he had to face, for he put himself under duress in the power of his enemies. And they took him in willingly, as they saw the fight.

What shall I say to you? So killing and striking they came to where the banner of the Lord Infant was, and his company; so that the Lord Infant came in armour on his horse with his mace in his hand, and went at the head so far as he could. And as soon as Lord Rocafort and his company saw him, they surrounded him, so that no man could do him harm, neither Turks nor Turcopoles. What shall I tell you? As soon as the Lord Infant was with them, the fighting ceased, but not so completely that they did not kill some of our men that day; that is to say, out of the company of Sir Berenguer d'Entença, and Sir Ferran Eiximenis, more than a hundred and fifty horse and a good five hundred foot. See if this was the work of the Devil, for if the land had been inhabited by people who might have come out and attacked them they would have killed them and themselves.

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193r E com haguí donat recapte a tot açò, que haguí feyta aturar la host dos jorns, fiu aplegar conseyll general, e repté'ls tuyt de ço qui·ls era esdevengut, e fiu-los remembrant a quant eren tenguts a aquell rich-hom que mort havien, e així mateix a·N Ferran Eximenis, que per honor d'ells havi[a] lexat lo Duch de Tenes, qui li feya molta d'onor. E en presència de tuyt yo·ls retí lo sagell de la communitat que yo tenia e tots los libres, e·ls lexé los escrivans e près comiat de tuyt. E pregaren-me, que no·m partís d'ells, e sobre tots los turchs e els turcoples, qui vengren a mi plorant, pregant-me que no·ls desemparàs, qu·ells feyen compte de mi així com de pare. E per veritat que ells no m'appellaven mas lo 'Cata', que vol aytant dir en turquesch com 'pare'; sí qu·en veritat a mi·m près major enyorament d'ells que de nenguns, per ço com en mon poder eren entrats, e tota hora havien haüda major fe en mi qu·en hom de la host dels chrestians. E yo dix-los que per res no podia romandre, que yo no podia fallir al senyor Infant, qui era mon senyor. Sí que finalment yo près comiat de tuyt, e ab un leny armat que yo havia qui era meu, de setanta rems, e dos barques armades, yo·m partí d'ells e vinguí-me'n al Taix, hon trobé lo senyor Infant que m'esperava.

4 havia] *CD*; havien

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(*The Lord Infant leaves the Company, and Ramon Muntaner decides to go with him.*)

And when I had dealt with all this, and had made the army halt for two days, I summoned a council general, and told them everything that had happened, and reminded them how much they were obliged to that nobleman that they had killed, and also to Sir Ferran Eiximenis, who for their honour had left the Duke of Athens, who had done him great honour. And in the presence of all I presented them with the seal of the Company which I had and all the records, and left them the scribes, and took leave of all. And they begged me not to leave them, and particularly the Turks and Turcopoles, who came to me in tears, begging me not to abandon them, saying that they regarded me as their father. And in truth they never called me anything but 'Ata', which in Turkish language means 'father'; and in truth I missed them more than any others, because they had come into my power and had always had greater trust in me than in any man in the Christian army. And I told them that it was impossible for me to stay, and that I could not fail the Lord Infant, who was my lord. And thus finally I took leave of all and in an armed ship of seventy oars which I owned and two armed boats, I left and came to Thasos, where I found the Lord Infant waiting for me.

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195v E com açò hagren feyt, tragueren-m'i en terra. E com aquells de la Companya me vaeren, En Rochafort e los altres van-me tots besar e abraçar, e començaren tuyt a plorar de ço que yo havia perdut. E els turchs e els turcoples avallaren tuyt e volien-me besar la mà, e començaren a plorar de goig, pensant que yo volgués romandre ab ells. E tantost, ab En Rochafort e tuyt ensemps qui m'acompanyaren, menaren-me al pus bell alberch que hi era, que·m faeren tantost deliurar. E com fuy en l'alberch, aquí trameteren-me los turchs vint cavalls e mil perpres d'or, e els turcoples atretal. E en Rochafort tramès-me un bon cavall e una mula, e cent cafisos de civada e cent quintars de farina, e carnsalada e bestiar de una manera e d'altra. E axí mateix no hi hach adalil negú, ne almugatèn, ne nul hom que res valgués, que no·n trametés present, axí que tota hora sma hom que valia ço que·m trameteren dins tres dies quatre mília perpres d'or. Sí que En Tibaut de Sipoys e els vanecians se tengren fort per deçebuts com m'i hagren tornat.

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(*After some pillaging, the Lord Infant and Ramon Muntaner are captured by the Venetians. Sir Thibaut de Chepoy, a French agent, convinces them to deliver Muntaner, without his goods, and another prisoner to Bernat de Rocafort, in the expectation that both will be immediately executed. Indeed, Muntaner's companion is decapitated as soon as he has landed.*)

And when they had done this, they brought me to land there. And when those of the Company saw me, Lord Rocafort and the others went to kiss and embrace me, and all began to weep over what I had lost. And the Turks and Turcopoles all dismounted and wanted to kiss my hand, and began to weep with joy, thinking that I wished to stay with them. And immediately, with Lord Rocafort and all those who accompanied me, they took me to the finest lodgings there were, and immediately made me stay there. And when I was in the inn, the Turks brought me twenty horses and a thousand golden hyperpyra, and the Turcopoles the same. And Lord Rocafort brought me a good horse and a mule, and a hundred cafís of oats and a hundred quintals of flour, and salt meat and cattle of various sorts. And thus there was no captain, or commander or any man of rank who did not bring me a present, so that it was estimated that what they brought me in three days was worth four thousand golden hyperpyra. So that Sir Thibaut de Chepoy and the Venetians greatly regretted that they had returned me.

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199r En aquest temps s'esdevench que·l Duch de Tenes morí de malautia, e no hach fill ne filla, e lexà lo ducat al Compte de Brenda, qui era son cosí germà. E el Compte de Brenda nodrí's en Sicília llonch de temps al castell d['A]gosta com era fadrí, que son pare lo hi mès en recena —que hi fo pres e exiu ab rescat—, e per això feya's amar a cathalans e parlava en cathalanesch. E com fo al ducat, lo Dispotat de l'Arta desafià-lo, e l'Anglo senyor de la Blaquia atretal, e l'Emperador; així que de cascuna part li donaven assats què fer. E tramès sos missatges a la Companya, e·ls promès de pagar lo sou de sis mesos si li venien ayudar, e encara puys de mantenir-los en aquell sou, ço és a saber quatre unçes lo mes per home a cavayll armat, e dos per cavayll alforrat, e una unça per hom de peu. Sí que d'açò faeren llurs convinences ab cartes jurades de cascuna part.

E sobre açò la Companya partí's de [C]aseràndria e vénch a la Morea, ab gran afany que sofferiren a passar la Blaquia, qui és la pus fort terra del món. E com foren [a]l ducat de Tenes, lo Compte de Brenda acullí'ls bé; e·ls donà encontinent paga de dos mesos, e començaren a venir contra los enamichs del Compte. Sí qu·en poch de temps hagren consumada tota la frontera dels enamichs del Compte. Què us diré? Que cascuns hagren goig que poguessen fer pau ab lo Compte; sí que·l Compte cobrà més de trenta castells que li havien llevats, e ab gran honor posà's ab l'Emperador e ab l'Anglo e ab lo Dispotat. E açò hach feyt dins sis mesos, e no hach feyta paga mas de dos mesos.

E com ell vaé que hach pau ab tots sos vehins, pensà una gran malaventura, ço és a saber, que pogués destroÿr la Companya. E trià estrò dos-cents hòmens de la host de cavall, dels millors que hi eren, e estrò a tres-cents de peu. E aquells ell féu de casa, e·ls quità, e·ls donà terres, possessions; e com bé los hach assegurat, ell manà als altres que li exissen de son ducat. E aquells

3 d'Agosta] *D*; de Gosta **13** Caseràndria] *C*; Saserandria **15** al] *CD*; el

[240]

(*Bernat de Rocafort makes the Company acknowledge Thibaut de Chepoy as their commander on behalf of Charles de Valois. Muntaner departs with the Venetian galleys to recover his goods, and to visit the Lord Infant, who will be finally freed. The Company arrests Bernat de Rocafort and delivers him to Thibaut de Chepoy; the prisoner is secretly handed over to King Roberto of Naples, in whose prisons he dies of starvation.*)

At this time it happened that the duke of Athens fell sick and died, and having no son or daughter left the duchy to the count of Brienne, who was his first cousin. And this count of Brienne had been nurtured a long time in Sicily in the castle of Augusta when he was a boy, as his father used him for a pledge, when he was captured, and he was ransomed and released and he left his son in his place; and for this reason he made himself likeable to Catalans, and spoke the Catalan language. And when he attained the dukedom, the despot of Arta defied him, and Lord Angelos, sovereign of Thessaly, likewise, and the Emperor too, so that they gave him plenty to do on all sides. And he sent his messengers to the Company, and promised them that he would pay six months' salary if they came to help him, and, indeed, that he would keep them on that salary, that is, four gold ounces a month for an armed knight, two for a lighter knight, and one for a foot soldier. Of this they swore an oath and agreed conditions of peace.

And at this the Company left Kassandreia, and came to the Morea with great hopes that they would be allowed to pass Thessaly, which is the hardest terrain in the world. And when they reached the duchy of Athens, the count of Brienne greeted them well, and straightaway gave them two months' pay; and they began to attack the count's enemies, so that in a short time they had taken all the frontier of the enemies of the count. What shall I tell you? Everyone was glad that they could make peace with the count; so that the count took back more than thirty castles which they had seized from him, and with great honour he settled with the Empire and with Angelos and with the despot. And he had done this in six months, and had not paid more than two months.

And when he saw that he had peace with all his neighbours, he conceived a great evil; namely that he could destroy the Company. And for this purpose he chose about two hundred horsemen from his army, of the best that were there, and about three hundred foot soldiers. And these he made of his household, and enfranchised them, and gave them lands and possessions; and when he had settled them well, he ordered the others to leave his land

digueren que·ls pagàs ço que li havien servit; e ell dix-los que·ls daria la forca. E entretant ell hach feyts venir, qui de la terra del Rey Robert, qui del principat de la Morea, qui de tot aquell paýs, bé set-cents cavallers francesos. E com los hach ajustats, ajustà bé vint-e-quatre mília persones de peu, grechs del ducat; e llavors, host feyta, ell vénch sobre la Companya.

E aquells de la Companya, qui u saberen, ab llurs mullers e ab llurs infants
199v exiren-los en un bell pla prop Esti- | [v]es. E en aquel lloch havia un pantan, e d'aquell pantan la Companya se féu escut.

Mas com los dos-cents hòmens de cavayll dels cathalans e els tres-cents de peu vaeren que a de veres se feya, anaren-se'n tots ensemps al Compte e digueren-li: "Senyor, nostres germans són ací, que nós vaem que vós volets destroÿr a gran tort e a gran pecat; per què nós vos deÿm que ab ells volem anar a murir. E axí desafiam-vos, e·ns espedim de vós". E lo Compte dix que anassen a la mala ventura, que bo era que murissen ab los altres.

E axí tots plegats anaren-se'n mesclar ab la Companya, e pensaren tuyt de arrengar batalla. E els turchs e els turcoples anaren-se'n ajustar tots en un lloch, que no·s volgren mesclar ab la companya, pensant que no·s faés ab acordada pensa dels uns e dels altres per destroÿr ells; e axí volgren estar tots plegats a la vista. Què us diré? Lo Compte, bataylla arengada, ab [set]-cents cavallers francesos, tots ab esperons d'or, e molts d'altres del paýs ab les gents de peu vénch vers la Companya. E ell mès-se a la devantera ab la sua senyera, e pensà de brocar; e va ferir a la Companya, e aquells de la Companya anaren ferir en ell. Què us diré? Que·ls cavalls del Compte, al brugit que·ls almugàvers faeran, giraren envers lo pantan; e aquí lo Compte caygué, e la sua senyera e tots aquells qui a la devantera vengren. E els turchs e els turcoples, que vaeren que a de vers se feya, pensaren de brochar e de ferir en ells. E la bataylla fo molt fort; mas Déus, qui tots temps ajuda a la dreta, ajudà a la Companya en tal manera que de tots set-cents cavallers no n'escaparen mas solament dos; que tots muriren: e lo Compte e tots los altres barons del principat de la Morea, que tots eren venguts per destroÿr la Companya. E d'aquests dos fo la hú Micer Bonifaci de Verona, senyor de la terça part de Negrepont, qui era molt prom e bo e tostemps havia amada la Companya, sí que tantost lo salvaren que·l conegren, e l'altre Micer Roger Deslaur, un cavaller de Roseylló, lo qual moltes vegades era estat per missatge a la Companya. E axí mateix muriren tots quants hòmens havia a cavayll del paýs, e de peu ne moriren més de vint mília persones. E axí la Companya llevà lo camp, e hagren guanyada la bataylla e tot lo ducat de Tenes.

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30 set-cents] *CD*; dos-cents **34** Estives] *C*; Estines

and his entire duchy. And they said that he should pay them for their service, and he replied that he would have them hanged. And in the meantime he had sent for a good seven hundred French knights, some from the lands of King Roberto, some from the principality of the Morea, some from that entire country. And when he had assembled them, he gathered a good twenty-four thousand Greek foot soldiers, from the duchy, and then, in ranks, he attacked the Company.

And those of the Company who knew of this went out with their wives and children to a fine plain near Thebes; and there was a marsh there, and of the marsh the Company made a shield.

And when the two hundred horsemen and three hundred foot soldiers saw that the count was acting in earnest, they all went to him together and said: 'My lord, our brothers are here before us, and we can see that you wish to destroy them unjustly and sinfully. We therefore tell you that we wish to go and die with them. And so we defy you and take leave of you.' And the count told them to go to hell, as it was good that they should die with them. And thus all together they went off to join the Company.

And they all went to prepare for battle. And the Turks and Turcopoles gathered in one place, not wishing to join the Company, thinking that this was done by mutual agreement of both sides in order to destroy them; and so they wished to be gathered waiting in plain sight. What shall I tell you? The count, battle lines drawn, with seven hundred French knights, all with gold spurs, and many others from the country, and with the foot soldiers, advanced towards the Company. And he placed himself in the van with his banner, and he spurred on and struck at the Company. And the men of the Company struck at him. What shall I tell you? The count's horses, at the noise the almugavars made, turned towards the marsh, and here the count fell, with his banner and all who were in the van. And the Turks and Turcopoles, seeing that this was really happening, spurred on and attacked them. And the battle was most hard, but God, who always aids the just, aided the Company, so that of the seven hundred knights no more than two escaped, for they all died, the count and all the barons of the principality of the Morea, who had all come to destroy the Company. And of these two one was Misser Bonifacio da Verona, lord of the third part of Negroponte, who was an excellent and good man and had always loved the Company; therefore as soon as they saved him they recognized him. And Misser Roger Deslaur, a knight of Roussillon, was the other, who had often carried messages for the Company. And so there died all the good horsemen there were in the country, and of the foot soldiers more than twenty thousand persons. And so the Company took the field, and won the battle and the whole duchy of Athens.

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200r E los turchs e els turcoples, qui vaeren que d'aquí avant la Companya no s'entenia a partir del ducat de Tenes e hagren tot lo món guanyat, digueren que se'n volien anar. E els cathalans digueren-los que·ls darien tres o quatre llochs o més del ducat llà hon se volguessen, e que·ls pregaven que romanguessen. E ells digueren que per res no·n volien romandre, que puys los havia Déus feyt bé, que tuyt eren richs, que se'n volien tornar al reyalme del Natulí a llurs amichs. E axí partiren-se ab gran amor e ab gran concòrdia los uns dels altres, e·s proferiren los uns als altres ajuda si ops l'avien.

E axí tornaren-se'n salvament estrò a Galípol a poques jornades, affegant e cremant tot ço que davant los venia, que no havien recat que nul hom los estigués davant; en tal manera havien lexat l'Imperi los cathalans. E com foren en Boca d'Aver, vengren a ells deu galees de genovesos per tractament de l'Emperador. E digueren que·ls passarien lo bras de Boca d'Aver, que no ha d'anple pus de quatre milles en aquell lloch. E axí avengren-se ab ells e juraren-los sobre los Sancts Evangelis, que salvament e segura los passarían. Axí que passaren un viatge de la pus menuda gent que hi era. E com aquells honrrats vaeren que bé havien passada aquella gent, meteren-se en les galees. E com foren a les galees, a l'entrant llevaren-los totes las armes —que axí era en convinença, que·ls turchs lliurassen totes les armes als genovesos— e los genovesos metien-les totes en una galea. E puys com los
200v turchs foren recullits en les galees, qui e- | ren menys d'armes, los mariners lexaren-se córrer sobr·ells e mataren-ne bé la meytat, e los altres meteren-se desota. E axí hagren-ne la major part d'aquells qui bons eren, e menaren-los-se'n a Gènova, e·ls anaven venent per Pola e per Calàbria e en Nàpols e en tot lloch. E d'aquells qui eren romasos en la part de Galípol no n'escapà negú, que l'Emperador hi hach molta gent feyta venir de Constantinoble, que tots los mataren.

E axí los turchs veus ab qual falsia e ab qual desleyaltat foren consumats per genovesos, que no n'escaparen mas aquells qui en la primera vegada passaren. E d'açò foren molt despagats aquells de la Companya com ho saberen. E axí veus los turchs quina fi han feyta, ne com mala a llur ops se partiren de la Companya.

15–16 passarían] *C*; passarían lo bras de Boca d'Aver, que no ha d'ample pus de quatre milles en aquell lloch

[241]

(*The Company settles in the Duchy of Athens, the Catalan soldiers marrying the widowed noblewomen.*)

And the Turks and Turcopoles, who saw that from now on the Company did not intend to leave the Duchy of Athens and had conquered the whole world, said that they wished to depart. And the Catalans told them that they would give them three or four places or more in the duchy wherever they wanted, and begged them to remain. And they said that they would not remain by any means, because God had done them much good, as they were all rich and wished to return to their friends in the kingdom of Anatolia. And thus they left with great love and concord between them, and offered each other help if they needed it.

And thus they returned in safety as far as Gallipoli in a few days, pillaging and burning everything that appeared before them, and they had no fear that anyone would resist them, as in such a state the Catalans had left the Empire. And when they reached the straits of Abydos, ten galleys of Genoese came to them on the Emperor's business. And they said they would cross the strait of Abydos, which was no more than four miles wide at that point. And so they agreed and made them swear on the Holy Gospels that they would take them safe and sound over the strait of Abydos. And thus they took over the more humble people in one journey. And when those worthies saw that they had taken over those people, they got into the galleys. And when they were at the galleys, on boarding they took off all their arms—for such was the convention that the Turks handed all their arms to the Genoese—and the Genoese put them all in one galley. And once the Turks were gathered in the galleys, which were unarmed, the sailors overran them and killed a good half of them, and confined the others below decks. And thus they had the majority of the good men, and took them away to Genoa, and they went selling them at Pola and Calabria and Naples and all places. And of those who had remained in the area of Gallipoli not one escaped, for the Emperor had sent for many troops from Constantinople, and they killed them all.

And thus see the deceit and disloyalty with which the Turks were consumed by the Genoese, for only those who made the first crossing escaped. And the men of the Company were much displeased at this when they learned of it. And see what an end befell the Turks, and how they suffered from being separated from the Company.

Notes

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2 Aver/Abydos] The Dardanelles, or more exactly a point of them, called in medieval Catalan 'Boca d'Aver', this being a deformation of Abydos, the fortified city on the Asian side controlling the passage (cf. the contemporary Latin 'Bucca Avidi', French 'Boque d'Avie').

16 bras de mar / arm of sea] The Bosporos or Bosphorus, known in the Middle Ages as the 'arm of Saint George' (Latin 'Bracchium Sancti Georgii', French 'Bras de Saint George'), because of the famous monastery of Saint George at Mangana which could be seen there when sailing to and from Constantinople.

[203]

2 Artaqui / Artaki] Now Kapıdağ Peninsula. The old name is continued in Erdek, a town to the west of the peninsula with a base of the Turkish Navy.

[205]

1 lo primer dia de abril / on the first of April] 1 April 1304.

4 la gabella de Cesa e de Tin / the band of Sasa Bey and Mehmed Bey] Muntaner uses the term *gabella* (< Ar. قبيلة, *qabīla*) to refer to Turkish clans which were establishing beyliks in Anatolia. 'Cesa' and 'Din' correspond to Sasa Bey and Mübârizü'd-Din Mehmed Bey, who began their careers as military commanders (*subaşı*) of the Menteşe and Germiyan sovereigns, respectively. Each had ambitions of establishing himself as an independent ruler, and both were close allies at the time, but later they quarrelled. In 1308 Mehmed Bey killed Sasa Bey, and strengthened his own beylik. Pachymerēs and Enverî's *Düstûrnâme* provide relevant information to complement Muntaner's account.

6 Filadèlfia/Philadelphia] Philadelphia, now Alaşehir, was a prosperous trade centre, and had great strategic importance as the easternmost city

of the Empire. It was a target for several surrounding beyliks, but it would remain the last Byzantine city of Asia Minor until its fall to Bayezid in 1390.

12 almugàvers / almugavars] The *almugàvers* (< Ar. المغاور, *al-mughāwir*, 'the one who makes an incursion') were warriors from the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula that made a living from raids in the frontier with al-Andalus (the word also exists in Aragonese, Castilian, and Portuguese). They evolved into mercenary soldiers, being at this time a much feared light infantry, used as shock troops.

13 nona / nones] One of the canonical hours, corresponding to around three in the afternoon (in spite of differences of rite, such time divisions were largely common to Western Europe and the Byzantine Empire). Pachymerēs identifies Aulax as the place of the battle.

22 franchs / Franks] Western Europeans were called Franks, or Frankoi, in the Byzantine Empire, and the term came to be adopted by the Catalan Company (probably this was made easier because the patrimonial Catalan lands were originally a Spanish March created by Charlemagne, so that Catalans were referred to as Franks in the Iberian Peninsula sometimes too). Muntaner explains in chapter 225 the creation of the Company's seal depicting St George with the legend 'Segell de la host dels francs que regnen lo regne de Macedònia'; indeed, a Company seal has been preserved with the legend 'Sigillum felicis Francorum exercitus in Romaniae partibus comorantis', and an image of the saint slaying the dragon.

25 Nif] Nif, in its original full form Nymphaion, gained great importance during the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261) as a residence of the Laskarid emperors of Nicaea, and now it was a bulwark against Turkish expansion. Muntaner's short form is preserved here as evidence that this was the popular name even before the fall of the city to the beylik of Saruhan in 1315 (the city was also called Nif during the whole Ottoman period, but now it has been renamed Kemalpaşa).

25 Macnèxia / Magnesia] Magnesia, the modern Manisa, would also be taken by the beylik of Saruhan in 1315, and become its capital.

26 Tira / Tire] Tire, which appears in Byzantine authors as Thyrea or Thyraia, would be taken by the beylik of Aydın.

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3 Mandexia / Menteşe] The beylik of Menteşe, with its capital in Milas, was ruled at this time by Mesud Bey, father-in-law of Sasa Bey.

[207]

1 Atia / Aydın] 'Atia' seems a deformation of Aydın. Nevertheless, Moncada refers here to Saruhan, who had a son called Atmaz (it is difficult to determine if he relied on a better manuscript or on a different source).

2 Ània / Anaia] Anaia stood in the place now called Kadıkalesi, approximately 8 km to the south of Kuşadası. Its castle dominated the fertile plains of the river Menderes (the Catalan text reads 'la Horta d'Ània', with *horta* meaning 'region of low-lying fertile land near the mouth of a river', followed by its most important city in the area, as in 'l'Horta de València'). At some point the place became known as Anya and then its population resettled to the southwest, to the village now called Soğucak. The form Anaia has been preferred in the English translation to avoid confusion, since Muntaner refers to the earlier location.

9 Porta del Ferre / Iron Gates] Such was the usual name for the Cilician Gates (now called Gülek Boğazı), a gorge about 1100 m high which offers the best crossing of the Taurus mountains between the central Anatolian plateau and the low plains of Cilicia. It is likely that there is some confusion here and that in fact the Catalan Company reached a different defile (the Cilician Gates are located too far), perhaps the Karabel Pass, about 450 m high.

15 Sancta Maria d'Agost / St Mary in August] This is to say, the battle was fought on 15 August 1304.

18 Desperta, ferres! / Awake, iron!] This was the famous battle cry of the almugavars. Muntaner has already provided an astounding depiction of this ritual preceding the fight (chapter 199): when shouting this, the almugavars strike their iron weapons against stones, causing sparks to fly up and frightening their enemies. Bernat Desclot, who provides the first detailed description, and the most important after Muntaner's, of these soldiers of the Crown of Aragon in his *Llibre del rei En Pere d'Aragó i els seus antecessors passats*, notes that their little equipment included 'un foguer en la cintura' (chap-

ter 79), i.e. 'a piece of flint in the belt', which presumably was used to this effect.

[228]

8–9 e d'Andrinopla e de Christòfol e de Salònich / and Adrianople and Christoupolis and Thessalonike] Thessalonike was considered the second largest and wealthiest city of the Byzantine Empire after Constantinople, while Christoupolis (now Kavala), a seaport, was on the mainland route between both, and therefore was very prosperous too. Adrianople was very important because of its strategic location and as a trade centre (it would acquire preeminence after it was taken in 1361 by the Ottomans, who made it their capital and changed its name to Edirne).

11 Ximelic / İshak Melik] İshak Melik seems to have been a grandson on his mother's side of İzzeddin Keykavus II, a deposed Seljuk Sultan of Konya. According to Pachymerēs, he was highly ambitious and his double-dealing with Byzantines and Catalans caused the latter to put him to death.

13 leny] The *leny* or *lleny* was a type of ship used in the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages. It was smaller than the galley, having typically at least twenty benches for oarsmen on each side and a single mast, though examples with more oars and two masts are documented. Although sometimes used for trade, it was mainly designed as a warship (*leny armat*).

30 turcoples / Turcopoles] Muntaner uses the term clearly to refer to Turks converted to Christianity who had served the Byzantine Empire as light cavalry (see p. 3, footnote 3).

[233]

10 Cata / Ata] Muntaner's explanation of the term is substantially correct. It is difficult to know whether his initial *c-* is an attempt to represent an initial aspiration or glottal stop. Among the modern Turkic languages, *ata* remains the word for 'father' in Azerbaijani, Kyrgyz and Tatar, while *kaka* is the one usual in Turkmen.

16 barques armades / armed boats] Muntaner's *leny armat* is certainly large, the biggest of such ships having eighty oars, and can be considered a sign of wealth. The *barca armada* was smaller than the *leny*, having typically at least twelve oars and only a single mast.

17 Teix / Thasos] *Teix* was the Catalan medieval name of Thasos, an island in the northern Aegean Sea not far from Christoupolis.

[236]

8 perpres / hyperpyra] The hyperpyron (< Gr. ὑπέρπυρον, 'highly refined') was the Byzantine coin of highest denomination in this period. It had been introduced by Alexios I Komnēnos in 1092 to replace the highly debased previous currency, the solidus or nomina, with the same weight of 4.5 g. Nevertheless, the standard of gold content was set lower for the hyperpyron than originally for the solidus (20.5 carats instead of 24), and it fell to 12 carats during the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328). In Catalan, as in the rest of Western Europe, its name was shortened (cf. Latin *perperum*, It. *perpero*), and was also called *besant* (*d'or*).

9 cafisos / cafís] The *cafís* (< Ar. قفيز, *qafīz*) was a traditional Arabic unit of dry measure, used for grain and some other products in the Iberian Peninsula and other parts of the Mediterranean (Sicily, Calabria, Malta, etc.). It took different values depending on the region; in Valencia, where Muntaner is writing, it measured 201 l. The *quintar* (< Ar. قنطار, *qinṭār*) was a unit of weight equal to 41.5 kg.

11 adalil … almugatèn / captain … commander] These were the two traditional kinds of officers commanding almugavar troops: *adalil* (< Ar. الدليل, 'guide') was the highest officer, and was a commander on horse; *almugatèn* (< Ar. المقدم, 'captain') was a lower rank, a sort of infantry captain, sometimes mounted. Although their information must be considered with caution, given that it refers to an earlier time and a different kingdom, Alfonso X the Learned's *Siete Partidas* (II.xxii.1–7) can be regarded as the most important source for details about the traditional ranks among almugavars and their functions.

[240]

1–2 Duch de Tenes … Compte de Brenda / Duke of Athens … count of Brienne] The Duke of Athens Guy II de la Roche died from illness on 5 October 1308 at the age of twenty-eight without issue, and count Gautier V de Brienne was the claimant elected as his successor. By this time Muntaner had already left the Company, and his account becomes less accurate, as he is not a witness but retelling information provided by others.

3 Agosta / Augusta] Augusta, on the eastern coast of Sicily, had an important castle built by order of the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II of Hohenstaufen c. 1232. The island had belonged to the Crown of Aragon since 1282, and the population of Augusta comprised a large number of Catalan-speaking immigrants.

6–7 Dispotat de l'Arta … l'Anglo … l'Emperador / Despot of Arta … Lord Angelos … the Emperor] These are the sovereigns to whom Muntaner alludes: Thōmas I Komnēnos Doukas (r. 1296/97–1318), ruler of the Despotate of Epirus, with capital at Arta; Iōannēs II Angelos Doukas (r. 1303–1318), ruler of Thessaly, usually called Blaquia (i.e. Vlachia) in medieval Catalan; Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282–1328), the already mentioned Byzantine emperor.

10 unçes … per cavayll alforrat / gold ounces … for light horse] The *onça* or *unça* was literally a gold coin weighting an ounce, a reminder to the modern reader that in the Middle Ages money could rarely be taken at face value. A *cavayll alforrat* refers to a horse and rider protected with leather defences, that is to say, to light cavalry as opposed to the *cavayll armat* or heavy cavalry. To sum up, these are the same rates that the Company soldiers had received from the Byzantine emperor (chapter 199), which in turn had been twice those paid to other mercenaries at the service of Constantinople.

29 Robert / Roberto] The Kingdom of Naples, ruled by Roberto of Anjou from 1309 to his death in 1343.

34 prop Estives / near Thebes] The geographical details relative to this battle fought on 15 March 1311 provided by Muntaner, at this time governor of Djerba and the Kerkennah Islands, are not without problems. In addition to him, there are other three main sources about it: Marino Sanudo Torsello, Nikēphoros Grēgoras, and the *Chronicle of Morea*, of which an important

Aragonese version, the *Libro de los fechos et conquistas del principado de la Morea*, was produced between 1377 and 1393 by commission of Juan Fernández de Heredia, the Grand Master of the Knights of Saint John of the Hospital. The place of the battle was Thebes (*Estives* in medieval Catalan) according to Muntaner and Grēgoras, and Halmyros according to Marino Sanudo's correspondence and *Istoria di Romania*, and the *Chronicle of Morea*. The two toponyms are ambiguous: Thebes refers to the famous city in Boeotia as a rule, but it could also allude to Phthiotic Thebes in Thessaly (the modern Nea Anchialos); Halmyros, etymologically 'the salt place', usually refers to the port city of southern Thessaly, in favour of which Phthiotic Thebes lost its prominence as early as the 9th century. Modern historians, following Muntaner's and Grēgoras's depiction of the battle, had placed the fight in Boeotia near the mouth of the river Kephissos into the lake Kopais, not far from the ancient Orchomenos; however, David Jacoby demonstrated that it must have happened in Thessaly (see his article mentioned in page 3, footnote 2). More controversially, he explains the accounts by Muntaner and Grēgoras by the influence of early French propaganda modelling this fight after the battle of Courtrai or Kortrijk, also known as the battle of the Golden Spurs, of 1302.

47 esperons d'or / gold spurs] In the ceremony of the accolade the new knight was endowed with golden spurs on as a mark of chivalry, while previously as a squire he could only wear silver ones.

APPENDIX 2

Deu documents d'arxius de Barcelona

1

(Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria Reial, reg. 1071, fol. 30^{r})

Rex Aragonum.

Quoniam valde gratum nostris occurret affectibus si viginti vel viginti quinque arquerios turcos promte habere possimus, propterea devocionem vestram et affeccionem quam ad Nos et Regiam Domum nostram novimus vos habere affectuose rogamus, quatenus honori nostri procuretis et mittatis nobis quam citius poteritis dictos viginti vel viginti quinque arquerios, sclavos si habere poteritis seu captivos; ubi autem tales nequeatis habere, ipsos arquerios liberos sive franchos, nobis si placuerit destinetis. Nam inde nobis plurimum servietis, et regraciabimur admodum illud vobis.

Datum Barchinone sub nostro sigillo comuni XII die iunii anno a nativitate Domini M° CCC LIX.

Dirigitur dilectis et devotis nostris sindicis et consilio proborum hominum universitatum Ducatuum Athenarum et Neopatrie.

Mandato Domini Regis, ego Bernardus de Bonastre.

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APPENDIX 2

Ten Documents from Archives in Barcelona

1

(*12 June 1359: King Pere the Ceremonious asks the councils of the Duchies of Athens and Neopatras to send him 20–25 Turkish archers*)

From the King of Aragon.

As it would give us great pleasure if we could have promptly twenty or twenty-five Turkish archers because of the devotion and affection which we know you have for us and our royal house, we affectionately ask you, as you seek our honour, to send us as soon as you can these twenty or twenty-five archers, slaves or captives if you can get them; if however you cannot get them, send us freemen if you please, as thus you will serve us greatly and we will be most grateful to you.

Given in Barcelona under our common seal on 12 June 1359.

Addressed to our dear and devoted syndics and council of dignataries of the Duchies of Athens and Neopatras.

By order of the lord King, I Bernard de Bonastre.

2

(Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria Reial, reg. 1268, fol. 117ʳ)

Lo Rey.

Tresorer: Sapiats que Nós vos tramatem aquí per Domingo Lorenç, porter nostre, quatre turchs qui·ns són estats presentats, per tal que sien aquí al servey de la nostra deraçana. Per què us dehim e manam que aquells, és a ssaber cascú en son offici o art, façats obrar o lavorar en la dita daraçana, e féts-los provehir en ço que mester hauran en lurs necessitats.

Dada en Leyda sots nostre segell secret a V dies de setembre de l'any M CCC LXXX.

Rex Petrus

2

(*5 September 1380: King Pere the Ceremonious sends four Turks to the Royal Shipyards of Barcelona.*)

From the King.

Treasurer: Know that we are sending here by our porter Domingo Lorenç four Turks who have been given to us, so that they may serve us here in our shipyards. Therefore we tell and command you to make them work in the shipyards, each according to his trade or skill, and have them supplied with what they might need in their requirements.

Given in Lleida under our secret seal on 5 September 1380.

King Pere.

3

(Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria Reial, reg. 1268, fol. 124^{r})

Lo Rey.

Manam-vos que·ns trametats per En Francesch Pereta, de la nostra Cambra, o per altra persona certa, dos archs turquesos dels pus forts qui sien en lo nostre archiu e dos estoygs plens de flexes, les quals coses havem mester per obs d'un turch lo qual s'és batejat e és en poder nostre.

Dada en Leyda sots nostre segell secret a XI dies de setembre de l'any M CCC LXXX.

Rex Petrus.

Dirigitur Petro Palau.

3

(*11 September 1380: King Pere the Ceremonious requests two Turkish bows from his storehouse for a Christianized Turk*)

From the King.

We command you to send us by Sir Francesc Pereta, of our chamber, or by some other person, two Turkish bows of the strongest which are in our storehouse and two quivers full of arrows, which we need for the use of a Turk who has had himself baptized and is in our power.

Given in Lleida under our secret seal on 11 September 1380.

King Pere.

Addressed to Pere Palau.

4

(Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria Reial, reg. 1755, fol. 76^{r})

Lo Primogènit d'Aragó.

Vescomte: Molt voldríem saber ardit vostre que féts aquí, ne con sóts stat reebut per les gents de la terra, ne en que stan vuy vostres fets. Per què volem e us dihim e manam que de tot largament nos certifiquets per vostra letra. E axí mateix vos pregam, dehim e manam que·ns trametats falcons sacres palegrins e munterins, niechs e lebrers de Turquia ab los quals Nós puxam cassar, com bé sabets vós que Nós trobam fort gran plaer en la cassa; sabent que de totes les coses dessús dites haurem Nós fort gran plaer e·ns en farets servey lo qual molt vos grahirem.

Dada en València sots nostre segell secret a XIII dies de maig de l'any M CCC LXXXII.

Primogenitus.

Al noble e amat Conseller e Camarlech nostre lo Vescomte de Rocabertí.

4

(*13 May 1382: Prince Joan the Hunter writes to Viscount Rocabertí asking for news of his time in Greece, and asking him for hawks and hounds from Turkey.*)

From the Firstborn of Aragon.

Viscount: we would much like to know your news about what are you doing there, and how you were received by the people of the land, and how your affairs stand today. We wish and tell and command you to inform us at length in your letter. We also ask, tell and command you to send us saker falcons, peregrine falcons and goshawks, gazehounds and sighthounds from Turkey with which we might hunt, as you know that we take great pleasure in hunting, and knowing that we will take mighty great pleasure in all these things and you will do us a service for which we will be most grateful.

Given in Valencia under our secret seal on 13 May 1382.

The Firstborn.

To our noble and dear counsellor and chamberlain the Viscount Rocabertí.

5

(Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria Reial, reg. 1666, fol. 103^{v})

Cara cosina: Vostra letra havem reebuda; e entesa per aquella la mort de nostre cosí don Luís Frederich, marit vostre, que Déus haja, nos ha molt desplagut, axí com de car cosí e notable sotsmès que·l senyor Rey nostre pare e Nós ne havíem. E entès axí mateix ço que vostres missatgers nos han esplicat de part vostre, vos responem, cosina cara, que a Nós plau molt que·l matrimoni tractat e acordat ja en vida del dit don Luís entre nostra cara cosina la Infanta dona Maria, filla sua e vostra, e son fill del noble e amat Conseller e Camarlench nostre Veçcomte de Rocabertí se complescha. E regraciam-vos molt la tramesa de l'arch e de son graciós e bell carquaix que feta'ns havets, pregants-vos que·ns trametats, quan avinent ho hajats, ostors e archs turquescs e lebrés de Turquia. E si a vós, cara cosina, plau res que Nós façam, escrivets-nos-en e fer-ho-em fort volanters.

Dada en València sots nostre segell secret a XXIII dies d'octubre de l'any M CCC LXXX dos.

Primogenitus.

Dirigitur Elene Frederich Comitisse de la Sola.

5

(*23 October 1382: Prince Joan the Hunter thanks the Countess of Salona for the gift of a bow and quiver, and asks her for Turkish bows, and hawks and hounds from Turkey.*)

Dear Cousin: We have received your letter and learned from it of the death of your husband our cousin lord Lluís Frederic, whom God keep; we are most saddened, for he was a dear cousin and a notable subject of the king our father and ourselves. And understanding what your messengers have told us on your behalf, we answer you, dear cousin, that we are most pleased that the marriage negotiated and agreed in the lifetime of lord Lluís between our dear cousin, his and your daughter Princess Maria, and the son of our noble and well-beloved counsellor and chamberlain Viscount Rocabertí should be performed. And we thank you very much for sending the bow and its fine and beautiful quiver, and ask you to send us as soon as think convenient goshawks, Turkish bows and sighthounds from Turkey. And if we may please you in anything we do, dear cousin, write and we will do it most willingly.

Given in Valencia under our secret seal on 23 October 1382.

The Firstborn.

Addressed to Helenē Frederic, countess of Salona.

6

(Arxiu Històric de Protocols de Barcelona, Pere Folgueres (menor), Manual 1394-XII-9/1395-IV-25, fol. 29^{rv})

Die veneris, XXVI^{a} die febroarii, anno predicto.

Ego, Eulalia, uxor Bernardi Bruguera, quondam cuyracerii, civis Barchinone, ex certa scientia, attendens te Elenam, servam et captivam meam, que fuisti de genere turcorum, per longum tempus servivisse michi bene et legaliter, et mandatis et preceptis meis semper obedivisse et numquam deviasse; ob quod digna es gratiam a me consequi et habere, idcirco ex causis premissis
29^{v} et ob Dei reverentiam | et alias, gratis et ex certa scientia, manumitto et liberam, francham et alforram facio et voco te dictam Elenam, servam meam, et omnem progeniem a te processuram. Et eximio et libero te et progeniem tuam ab omni iugo, dominio et servitute mei et meorum, et ab omni gravamine et conditione in operis etc. Necnon remitto tibi totum pecculium tuum et totum ius patronatus etc. Et restituo te natalibus antiquis etc. Sub tali tamen pacto, forma et conditione: quod tu servias michi, aut cui voluero, bene et fideliter, prout boni interest servitoris, per duos annos primo et continue venturos. Et lapsis ipsis duobus annis, sis et remaneas francha et alforre et tui iuris. Et si contrafeceris, quod sis et remaneas serva et captiva mea, prout nunc es. Hanc autem manumissionem, libertatem etc., sicut melius etc. Ita quod amodo, completo per te dicto servicio ipsorum duorum annorum, possis ire, redire, stare et esse ubique locorum; et eligere et proclamare quemcumque dominum volueri: necnon emere et vendere ac negotiari, contrahere, pacisci, testari et codicillare; et omnia alia facere que persona Iibera et sui iuris efecta et nemini tenta facere potest. Promittens tibi et notario etc., quod predictam manumissionem etc.

Ad hec ego Elena, predicta, acceptans a dicta domina Eulalia, domina mea, predictam libertatem et alforriam, cum multiplici gratiarum actione, promitto vobis quod per totum dictum tempus duorum annorum, serviam vobis aut cui volueris, bene, fideliter et legaliter, prout boni interest servitoris, et quod a vestro servicio non recedam absque speciali licentia et faticha vestri. Quod si fecero, volo et consentio quod sim et remaneam serva et captiva vestra, prout nunc sum. Et pro hiis obligo etc. Iuro etc.

Testes: Franciscus d'Altello, mercator, civis, et Petrus Golella, parator pannorum lane, cives Barchinone.

6

(*26 February 1395: A widow of Barcelona grants freedom to her Turkish slave-woman on condition that she serves her well for two years.*)

Friday, 26 February, same year.

I, Eulàlia, wife of Bernat de Bruguera, late cuirass-maker and citizen of Barcelona, in full knowledge of the law attest that you, Elena, my captive slave, who were of the Turkish nation, have long served me well and legally and have always obeyed my commands and have never deviated; on account of which you are worthy to have and obtain from me, for the said reasons and the reverence due to God and the other things, and as a show of goodwill and in full knowledge and with good grace, I manumit you and make and call you free, Elena, my maid, and all your progeny. And I exempt you and all your progeny from all servitude to me and mine, with all conditions etc. And I give you your whole private property and rights etc. And I return you to your birth status etc. According to this agreement: that you will serve me, or my appointee, well and faithfully, as befits a good servant, for two years henceforward. And after these two years, may you be free and remain so. And if you break these terms, may you be my captive slave, and remain so, as you now are etc. So that when you have completed these two years' servitude you may come and go and stay anywhere; and may choose and claim any master you wish; and may sell and buy and do business, make contracts and agreements, and testify and endorse; and may do all the other things which a free person can do etc.

I, the said Elena, accepting from lady Eulàlia, my mistress, this freedom and manumission, with manifold thanks, promise you that I will serve you, or whoever you direct, for this full course of two years well, faithfully and legally, as befits a good servant, and that I will not leave your service without your special permission and will. If I do so, I wish and agree that I should be and remain your captive slave, as I am now. And I undertake etc. And I swear etc.

Witnesses: Francesc d'Altello, merchant, citizen, and Pere Golella, wool-maker, citizens of Barcelona.

7

(Arxiu Històric de Protocols de Barcelona, Bernat Nadal, *Decimum septimum manuale* 1395-III-13/1395-IV-12, fol. 79^{v})

Vincencius Paschalis, mercator, civis Barchinone, gratis etc., vendo vobis venerabili et discreto Berengario Solsona, iurisperito, de villa Tarrage, licet absenti, et vestris etc., quandam servam et captivam meam, lactantem, neoffitam, vocatam Luciam, que fuit de nacione turcorum, etatis viginti annorum vel circa. Item, vendo vobis et vestris etc. quendam eius natum sive filium, servum et captivum meum, nondum babtitzatum nec nominatum, etatis unius diei vel circa, quos etc. Cedens iura etc. Quibus etc. Constituens etc. Pretium est octuaginta libre Barchinone de terno. Renuntio etc. Dando etc. Promittens facere habere etc., teneri de evictione etc., et de vitiis etc. Obligo bona etc. Hec igitur etc.

Testes: Iohannes ça Vall, mercator, et Iacobus Pelegrini, marinerius, Iacobus Pinyana et Iacobus Iuglar, scriptores, cives Barchinone.

7

(*15 March 1396: A Barcelona merchant sells a Turkish slavewoman and her one-day-old son to a jurist of Tàrrega.*)

Vicenç Pasqual, merchant and citizen of Barcelona, with good grace etc. sell to you, venerable and Berenguer Solsona, jurist of the town of Tàrrega, although absent, and to your etc., my captive slave, a nursing mother, a new convert called Llúcia, who was of the Turkish nation, aged twenty years or thereabouts. Also, I sell to you and your etc. her son, my captive slave, still unbaptized and unnamed, one day old or thereabouts, etc. I transfer the rights etc. The price is eighty Barcelona pounds. I relinquish etc. Giving etc. Promising to do etc., agreeing to make up for unseen defects etc., and vices etc. I promise to have made etc. I undertake in good etc. Therefore etc.

Witnesses: Joan Savall, merchant, and Jaume Pelegrí, sailor, Jaume Pinyana and Jaume Joglar, scribes, citizens of Barcelona.

8

(Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 485, fols 271ᵛ-272ᵛ)

De dicti Domini Regis adventu

Et dictus Dominus Rex Martinus, recedendo de dicta civitate Avinionensi, per suas dietas pervenit ad locum de Cadaques, cum decem galeis armatis XXIª die mensis madii, anno Domini Mº CCCº nonagessimo septimo.

Et in die XXII dicti mensis et anni, venit ad locum de Bitulona circa horam terciarum, et in dicta villa seu parrochia fuit et estetit usque ad diem sabbati. Et in die domenica, que fuit XXVII dies dicti mensis et anni, circa horam nonam diei, fuit in plagia Barchinone, et arripuit terram per pontem positum et factum de postibus et cohopertum de pannis de lana.

Et in capite dicti pontis fecerunt sibi unum altum sedile quinque gradonum. Et ibi dictus Dominus Rex sediit per unam horam et plus, aspiciendo et mirando festum quod sibi fiebat, ut sequitur.

Nam maior pars officiorum tripudiabat, alii incedebant armati, alia pars fecit *los jochs següens*: primo, barcharii et homines maris fecerunt unam
272ʳ navim sarracenorum et duas galeas christianorum, | que navis et galee navigabant per terram, et preliabantur adinvincem christiani et sarraceni cum tarongis. Item, officium blanqueriorum tripudiaverunt et fecerunt unum orridum leonem. Item, officium magistrorum domorum fecerunt unum castellum in quo ducebantur alique domicelle. Item, officium *dels payés* fecit unum castrum in quo ducebatur *lo Rey d'Amós* cum sagitis, quas hinc inde prohiciebat; et in dicto castro erat una domicella in quolibet angulo, que domicelle ministrabant sagitas ipsi Deo Amoris. Item, officium *dels cotonés* fecit multos equites cotonerios et turchos qui adinvincem preliabantur. Item, officium fustariorum fecit unum parvum castrum, non multum a terra sed largum, in quo erat posita rota Fortune, cum quatuor puellis positis in dicta rota que vocabantur Regnum; et dicta rota semper erat in motu, et Regnum non movebantur cum essent bene afixe ipsi rote cum titulis: "Regnabo"—"Regno"—"Regnavi"—"Sum sine regno". Item, officium frenariorum fecit unam vibram multum altam et magnam, que prohiciebat ignem et spiras ignis per os suum; et fecerunt Amoratum cum multis turchis, sive *turchs*, et multos homines *salvatges*, et adinvincem preliabantur; et novem angelos qui tripudiabant, scilicet tres *vermells*, tres *blaus*, tres *negres*. Item, officium argentariorum fecit unum castrum magnum, in sumitate cuius erat Magestas Divina, et subtus Magestatem erant celi et ordines

8

(*27 May 1397: Royal Entry of King Martí the Humane into Barcelona.*)

On the Accession of the said lord King

And the said lord King Martí, moving from the said city of Avignon, came on his journey to Cadaqués with ten armed galleys on 21 May 1397.

And on the 22nd of the said month and year he came to Badalona around the hour of terce, and in this town or parish he remained until Saturday. And on Sunday the 27th of the said month and year around nine in the morning he went to the shore of Barcelona, and gained land via a bridge raised on posts and covered in woollen cloth.

And at the head of this bridge they made a high throne of five steps. And there he sat for an hour and more, watching the festivities which he held, as follows.

For the majority of the guilds danced, others paraded dressed in armour, others performed the following games. First, boatmen and seamen made a Saracen ship and two Christian galleys, all of them sailing on the land, and Christians and Saracens fought with each other with oranges. Also, the guild of tanners danced and made a frightening lion. Also the guild of masons made a castle in which some maidens were carried. Also the guild of furriers made a fortress in which the King of Love was carried with arrows which he shot hither and thither; and in this fortress was a maiden in one corner, and this maiden supplied the King of Love with arrows. Also, the guild of cottoners made many hobby horses with knights and Turks who fought each other. Also, the guild of carpenters made a little castle not high but broad, in which was placed a wheel of Fortune with four girls placed in it which was called a kingdom; and this wheel was in constant motion, and the kingdom did not move because to it were fixed labels saying: 'I will reign'—'I reign'—'I have reigned'—'I am without a kingdom'. Also, the guild of bridlemakers made a very big and tall snake which shot fire and fireworks out of its mouth; and they made a Great Emir with many Turks and many wild men, and they fought with each other; and nine angels who danced, namely three red, three blue, three black. Also, the guild of silversmiths made a large castle, at the top of which was the Divine Majesty, and below this Majesty were the heavens

angelorum; et Magestas Divina volvebat per se circumquaque, et portabat coronam auream in manibus, et angeli unusquisque certum quid arnessiorum Domini Regis cum eius signo.

Peractis omnibus istis et vissis per dictum Dominum Regem, venerunt viginti *bornadós*, et statim dictus Dominus Rex ascendit equum suum, et precedentibus eum, accessit per *lo carer Ample*, *he per los Cambis Veys, he davant Sancta Maria de la Mar, he per lo carer de Moncada, he isqué a la Capela d'En Marchús, he puys a la Bòria, a la plaça del Blat, a la Franeria*. Et novissime venit ad sedem Barchinone, que erat *tota empaliada he enramada*, intrus et extra et in claustro, sicut et omnes vie per quas transsivit. Et adoravit crucem Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi ante foras dicte sedis, in loco ubi consuevit esse capella Sancti Blasii. Et demum intravit dictam sedem et accessit ad altare[m] Sancte Crucis, et ibi iterato adoravit Crucem. Quo facto fecit
272v fieri unam absolucionem | pro anima recolende memorie Domini Regis Petri patris suie, et aliam pro anima bone memorie Domini Regis Iohannis fratris sui. Quibus absolutionibus finitis, fuit incepta antiphona "Hostia solempnis" per cantores, et descenderunt ad capellam Beate Eulalie. Et postmodum inceperunt cantare responsum "Egressus", et accesserunt ad capellam Sepulcri. Et ibi erat paratum altare cum Spina Domini, et adoravit eam. Demum inceperunt antiphonam "Regina Celi", et cum illa accessit Dominus Rex cum processione pedestra ad Palacium Regale[m], quod est iuxta dictam sedem, et fecit orationem in capellam Sancte Marie dicti palacii. Et reversus ad sedem predictam cum processione, statim militavit et accesit ad Palacium Regine. Et in dicta die domenica et sequenti, civitas Barchinone tenuit tabulam *de juyir*. Et dictum festum officiorum duravit per quatuor dies, eo quia dictus Dominus Rex fuerat multum desideratus per omnes gentes.

Item, IIIª die mensis madii dicti anni, dictus Dominus Rex fecit fieri festum duplex maius de Spina Domini, et in missa ipse et Domina Maria eius consors interfuerunt, et fuit factum maximum festum.

Item, IIIIª die dicti mensis et anni, fuit factum per dictum Dominum Regem *lo Cap d'Ayn* dicti Domini Regis Iohannis sollempniter, ut est moris fieri, cum multis cereis et magna offerta.

and the orders of angels; and the Divine Majesty turned around on himself, and carried a golden crown in his hands, and each angel bore a harness of the lord King with his sign.

When all these things had been done and seen by the said lord King, there came twenty jousters, and immediately the King mounted his horse and following them proceeded along the Carrer Ample, and the Canvis Vells, and before Santa Maria del Mar, and along Carrer de Montcada, and came out at the chapel of Sir Marcús, and then to the Bòria, the Plaça del Blat, to the Freneria. And finally he came to the cathedral of Barcelona, which was all adorned with tapestries and foliage, inside and out and in the cloister, as were all the streets down which he passed. And he worshipped the cross of our lord Jesus Christ before the cathedral precinct, where used to be the chapel of Sant Blai. And then he entered the cathedral and approached the altar of the Holy Cross, and there he worshipped the cross again. And having done this, he had made an absolution for the soul of his father lord King Pere of blessed memory, and another for the soul of his brother King Joan of blessed memory. These absolutions made, the choristers began the antiphon 'Hostia Solemnis', and they went down into the chapel of Santa Eulàlia. And then they began to sing the response 'Egressus', and they went to the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre. And there was set up the altar with the relic of the Holy Thorn, and he worshipped it. Then they began the antiphon 'Regina Celi', and at this the lord King went on foot to the royal palace, which is next to the cathedral, and prayed in the chapel of Santa Maria of the said palace. And having returned to the cathedral with the procession, he immediately marched up and entered the queen's palace. And on that Sunday and the following day, the city of Barcelona held a joust. And this festivity of the guilds lasted four days, because the lord King had been much desired by all the people.

Also, on the 3rd May of that year, the said lord King had made a double feast of the Holy Thorn, and he and his spouse, the queen consort Maria, attended the mass, and a great feast was made.

Also, on the 4th of the said month and year, the said lord King ordered the commemoration of the anniversary of King Joan's decease, solemnly as is customary, with many candles and great offering.

9

(Arxiu Històric de Protocols de Barcelona, Joan Nadal, Manual 1399-I-18/ 1399-VI-13, fol. 31^{r})

Bernardus Amati, civis Barchinone, olim patronus navis, gratis etc., manumitto et francos, liberos et alforres facio et voco te Periconum, filium meum et Marie, serve mee, oriunde partium Sclavonie, qui iam fuisti per Dominum Regem legittimatum, quique nunc es in quinto anno tue etatis constitutus; et Guillemonum, filium meum et Christiane, de progenie tartarorum, serve mee, qui nunc es etatis sex mensium vel circa; et Constanciam, filiam meam et dicte Marie, que nunc es proxime dicte etatis; et Paris, filium meum et Margarite, serve mee, que fuit de proienie turcorum, quique nunc es in secundo mense tue etatis. Dans et concedens vobis et cuilibet vestrum puram et perfectissimam libertatem.

Testes: Guillelmus Pulinyani, fustanierius, Guillelmus Rocha, amerius, et Poncius Rocha, basterius, cives Barchinone.

9

(*28 February 1399: A former ship's captain grants freedom to four children borne to him by three slavewomen, including a Turkish one.*)

I, Bernat Amat, citizen of Barcelona, former ship's captain, with good grace etc., manumit and make free you, Pericó, my son by Maria, my slave, native of the parts of Slavonia, who have already been legitimized by the king and who are now in the fifth year of your life; and Guillemó, my son by Cristiana, of the Tatar race, my slave, who are now six months old or thereabouts; and Constança, my daughter by the said Maria from Slavonia, who are now about the same age; and París, my son by Margarida, my slave, of the Turkish race, and who are now in the second month of life. Giving and conceding to you and any one of yours pure and most perfect freedom.

Witnesses: Guillem Polinyà, weaver; Guillem Roca, fisherman, and Ponç Roca, saddler, citizens of Barcelona.

10

(Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria Reial, Cartes Reials, Martí I, n.º 379)

Martinus, Dei gratia Rex Aragonum, Valencie, Maiorice, Sardinie et Corsice, Comesque Barchinone, Rossilionis et Ceritanie, dilecto et fidelibus nostris locumtenenti gubernatoris, vicario et baiulis, ceterisque universis et singulis officialibus nostris Civitatis vel Regni Maiorice vel eorum locatenentibus, presentibus et futuris, salutem et dileccionem. Audito certiora relacione multorum, quod nonnulli conversi greci, *búrgars*, turci et tartari, et alii diversarum nacionum qui sectis eorum relictis, ad fidem ortodoxam sunt conversi, iugumque servitutis et captivitatis exuti, libertate plenissima nunc utuntur, a Civitate et Regno predictis exeunt incessanter cum uxoribus et famulis eorumdem, regiones et partes exteras exculturi, ex quibus ipsis Civitati et Regno, que nimis frequentacione gentium sunt exausta, dampna non modica veniunt et posset sequi propterea populi diminucio ruinosa. Cum itaque gestiamus huic morbo nocivo medelam imponere, providemus et volumus, vobisque et singulis vestrum dicimus et mandamus de certa sciencia et expresse, sub pena mille florenorum auri nostro applicandorum, erario et privacionis officiorum vestrorum, quatenus inhibeatis expresse, sicuti nos presentis serie inhibemus, cum maximis penis vestro arbitrio imponendis, quibuscumque superius declaratis, ne amodo presumant vel audeant, cum vel sine uxoribus vel famulis eorumdem, causa regiones alias excolendi, Civitatem et Regnum predicta exire, quinimo in Civitate ac Regno predictis perpetuo faciant mansionem; iniungentes cum hac eadem vobis et singulis vestrum sub pena predicta nec predictorum oppositum specificatis superius vel alicui eorumdem, exeundi Civitatem et Regnum predicta, licenciam aliquam prebeatis. Nos enim faciendi oppositum vobis et cuilibet vestrum cum hac eadem auferimus omne posse.

Datum Barchinone sub nostro sigillo secreto XVI die marcii. Anno a nativitate Domini millesimo CCCC° primo.

Rex Martinus.

10

(*16 March 1401: King Martí the Humane forbids Greek, Bulgar, Turk and Tatar convert ex-slaves living in Majorca and their dependants from ever leaving the island because of the risk of depopulation.*)

Martí, by the grace of God King of Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, Sicily and Corsica, count of Barcelona, Roussillon and Cerdagne, to our dear and faithful lieutenant governor, vicar and mayor, and each and every one of our officers of the city and kingdom of Majorca or their lieutenants, present and future, greetings and love. Having heard from the certain accounts of many that a number of Greek, Bulgar, Turk and Tatar converts and of other diverse nations who, having abandoned their sects, have been converted to the Christian faith and, freed from the yolk of servitude and captivity, now enjoy the fullest freedom, and incessantly go from this city and kingdom with their wives and servants, to inhabit foreign parts; from which this city and kingdom, which are exhausted by too great traffic of peoples, suffer no little harm and a ruinous diminution in the population may follow. As therefore we propose to put a remedy to this harmful disease, we command and desire, and say to you and each of yours and command in full knowledge and expressly, on pain of a fine of a thousand gold florins and forfeit of your offices, so that you inhibit expressly as we inhibit by the present order, with the greatest penalties to be imposed according to your discretion, to anyone mentioned above, that from now on they do not presume or dare, with or without their wives and servants, in order to inhabit other regions, leave this city and kingdom; but they must make their dwelling in this city and kingdom in perpetuity; by this same letter enjoining you and each and every one of yours under the said penalty that you must not give any permission to leave the said city and kingdom either to those specified above or to any of the same. For by this same letter we remove from you and each and every one of yours any ability to make opposition.

Given in Barcelona under our secret seal on the 16th day of March 1401.

King Martí.

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