

The So-Called *Chronicle* of Jacopo Tedaldi and the Echo of the Fall of Constantinople at the Burgundian Court

The text commonly known as the *Chronicle* of Jacopo Tedaldi is one of the main sources for the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Tedaldi was an eyewitness to the fifty-five-day Ottoman siege of the city, in which he took part as a defender. My two previous articles, however, have focused on demonstrating that Tedaldi did not actually write this text, although he provided most of the information upon which it is based¹. I have also suggested that it is not a »chronicle« in the strict sense of the word, but rather a private report addressed to the Cardinal of Avignon – Alain

de Coëtivy² – by someone who was present on Venetian territory in the summer of 1453³. Before proceeding any further, it is worth summarising here the key conclusions of these previous articles. I will then discuss the relationship between the Burgundian court and the Byzantine Empire, focusing mainly on the reasons for Duke Philip III the Good's interest in the fate of Constantinople. Finally, I will present the main textual interpolations to which Tedaldi's *Chronicle* (I will continue to use this name for the text, for the sake of clarity) was subjected in Burgundy.

Fig. 1 Siege of Constantinople 1453. – (After Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 6487, fol. 21').



1 Monticini, *La Chronique*.

2 On Alain de Coëtivy, see Cardella, *Memorie*; Berton/Migne, *Coetivi* 691.

3 Monticini, *L'Informativa*.

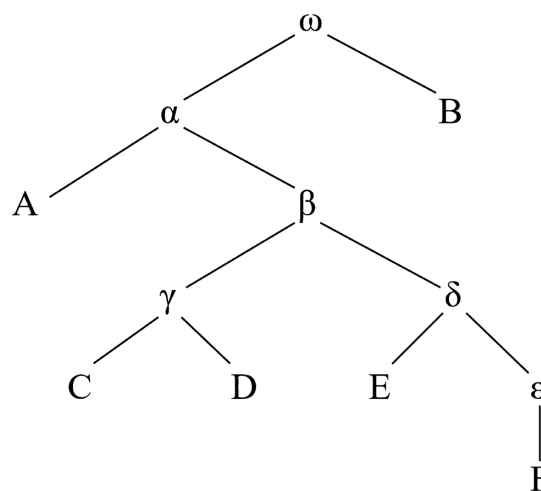
From the Aegean to the Duchy of Burgundy: The Circulation of Tedaldi's *Chronicle*

P. D. Pogodin was the first scholar to point out that Tedaldi's *Chronicle* has come down to us in both Middle French and Latin versions⁴. In the 1950s, M.-L. Concasty added that the former is transmitted in six manuscripts, while the latter exists only in a *codex unicus*⁵. All six Middle French manuscripts can be traced back to the Duchy of Burgundy⁶. Moreover, Par. fr. 6487 (henceforth A) contains a subscription, which allows us to date this version to 31 December 1453:

Datum ultima die mensis decembris anno Domini M^oCCCC^oLIII^o. Collompnatum est praesens transumptum per me Johannem Columbi et apportate fuerunt de Constantinopoli per manum Johannem Blanchin. Sic signatum J. Columbi⁷.

Below this subscription, we find a map of Constantinople (fig. 1) containing some details – especially in its keys – that are missing from the text of the *Chronicle* and therefore cannot have been taken from it. On the basis of these details, as well as of the chronological proximity of this manuscript witness to the fall of Constantinople, Concasty suggested that A transmits the archetype of the Middle French version of the *Chronicle*. Since she noticed many Italianisms in the text, she also suggested that it was the result of a translation from Italian into Middle French. In order to support her hypothesis, she suggested that the term »transumptum« – which appears in the subscription of A – should be taken to mean »translated«. According to Concasty's theory, Tedaldi sent his account of the siege of Constantinople to a person called »Johannes Blanchin«, probably in Negroponte, a few days after the fall of the city. »Blanchin« wrote down Tedaldi's report in Italian. At the end of 1453, in Burgundy, »Johannes Columbi« translated (»transumptum«) it into Middle French. Some months later, the *Chronicle* was altered and translated into Latin, in order to be transformed into a propaganda text inciting Westerners to crusade against the Ottomans⁸.

If we compare all the Middle French manuscripts, however, we obtain the following *stemma codicum*:



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|---|---|
| A | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 6487, 18 ^r -21 ^r ; |
| B | Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 19684, 253 ^r -256 ^r ; |
| C | Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1114, 28 ^r -30 ^r ; |
| D | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 5036, 293 ^r -299 ^v ; |
| E | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 15217, 67 ^v -72 ^v ; |
| F | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 2691, 264 ^r -271 ^r . |

As can easily be seen, this *stemma codicum* contradicts Concasty's theory on at least two points. Firstly, A cannot be regarded as the archetype of the Middle French manuscript tradition. Secondly, if all the Middle French texts are compared with the Latin version, it can be seen that the latter contains many errors that can only be found in F. It follows that the Latin version must derive from an antigraph of F (that is why the letter ε has been inserted in the *stemma*).

This reconstruction is therefore quite different from Concasty's. Since there are many Italianisms in all the Middle French versions, and not only in the text transmitted by A, it can be assumed that they were found in the archetype. However, I would argue that it is easier to explain their presence in the text by assuming that the author was not a native French speaker, than by assuming the existence of an original Italian version, for which we have no evidence.

On the basis of this survey of all the Middle French versions, it becomes clear that the preface to the *Chronicle* – which is only transmitted in C, D, E, and F – must be taken fully into account:

⁴ Pogodin, *Obzor*.

⁵ Concasty, *Les informations* 96-97. For the Middle French manuscripts see *infra*. The Latin *codex unicus* is Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, seria nova 12709, 53^r-58^v.

⁶ Monticini, *La Chronique*. All date to the second half of the fifteenth century.

⁷ A, 21^r, ll. 12-14.

⁸ Concasty, *Les informations* 103-105. 107-109.

⁹ C, 28^r, ll. 17-21.

Information envoiie par Favesco de Trasne à tres reverent per en Dieu monseigneur le cardinal d'Avignon par Blanchin et Jacques Teceldy marchants florentins, lesquelz estoient en la chité de Constantinoble quant elle fu prise par le Turcq le XXXI^e jour de may l'an mil IIII^c LIII⁹.

Information envoyee par Francisco de Franc à tres reverend pere en Dieu monseigneur le cardinal d'Avignon que par Jean blanchin et Jacques Edaldy marchant florentin de la prinse de Constantinoble par l'empereur turc le XXIX^e jour de may mil CCCC cinquante trois, allaquelle ledit Jaques estoit personnellement¹⁰.

L'informacion envoyee par Fransesco de Trasne à tres reverend pere en Dieu monseigneur le cardinal d'Avignon et par Jehan Blanchin et Jaques Tetardi, marchans florentins, de l'entreprinse de Constantinoble faite par l'empereur turc le XIX^e jour de mars l'an mil IIII^c LIII¹¹.

Information envoiie par Francisque à tres reverend pere en Dieu monseigneur le cardinal d'Avignon et eue par ycellui Blancet de Jacques Tetaldy marchant florentin, lequel estoit present à la prinse de Constantinoble. Comment Morbesan turcq, lieutenant du grant empereur Duoganes, assiega et prist la cité de Constantinoble¹².

Despite the presence of textual discrepancies, most of which can mostly be explained as the result of the copying process, the content of these lines is clear. A person called »Francesco de Trane« sent a private message about the fall of Constantinople to the Cardinal of Avignon. Francesco had received this information from »Jean Blanchin«, who had in his turn received it from an eyewitness of the siege, i. e. the Florentine merchant Jacopo Tedaldi. Although this *incipit* does not appear in either A or B, it is reasonable to assume that it must have been present in the archetype. Otherwise, it would be impossible to explain the references to Tedaldi and »Blanchin« that are nevertheless to be found in A and B¹³.

I have suggested identifying »Blanchin« with Giovanni Bianchini¹⁴, a merchant and diplomat of the Estensi family in Venice, and »Francesco de Trane« with Francesco di Franco¹⁵, nephew or illegitimate son of Tommaso Franco¹⁶. Given that the latter was the official physician of the king of France in 1453, there is no doubt that Francesco could potentially have been in contact with the Cardinal of Avignon¹⁷. While Bianchini was a representative of a Signoria with close ties

to Byzantium, di Franco – who also had, moreover, Peloponnesian origins – was a member of the Venetian pro-Byzantine party.

I therefore believe that Bianchini met Tedaldi on Venetian territory (in Negroponte or, more likely, in Venice) after the latter's flight from Constantinople and before his return to Florence¹⁸. Tedaldi gave Bianchini his account of the siege of the city. In the following weeks, Bianchini and/or Francesco di Franco – both based in Venetian territory – received further news of the politico-military situation in the East. If they had been stationed in Venice, as is very likely, they may have learned of this from some of the letters sent from the Venetian colonies in the Aegean¹⁹ to the West. In any case, between July and August 1453, Francesco di Franco finally sent the *Chronicle* – which contained all the information he had at hand – to the cardinal of Avignon. It was not an official document, but, as we have already said, a private message. This is probably why it was not written in Latin – the common language of diplomacy at the time²⁰ – but in French. Of course, Francesco di Franco's mother tongue was Italian; although he had many connections with France, he was not a native French speaker.

It is clear that the *Chronicle* was sent to its final addressee no later than the end of the summer 1453. D, E, and F, contain the following sentence (below the version from D: the others only differ in minimal details, clearly due to the copying process):

On extime que à cest esté le Turc ne fera nul autre grant fait d'armes, mais entendra à ses fais pour venir en Constantinoble. Ses gens retourner vouldront chacun en sa maison pour recueillir leurs biens et reposer, mais on peult bien tenir pour certain qu'il se apprestera merveil- leusement par mer et par terre pour se metre sus en temps nouvel²¹.

It is unlikely that it would have made any sense to insert such a sentence in the text after the end of the summer of 1453. Since it cannot be a later interpolation, thus, it must have been part of the original text addressed to the Cardinal of Avignon. We can therefore be sure that the *Chronicle* was sent by its actual author – Francesco di Franco – to Alain de Coëtivy before the issue of the papal bull of 30 September 1453 – *Etsi Ecclesia Christi* – which openly incited the Westerners to crusade against the Ottomans. The fact that this sentence is not found in A is further evidence that this

10 D, 293^r, ll. 3-8.

11 E, 67^v, ll. 2-6.

12 F, 264^r, col. 2, ll. 5-14.

13 A, 20^r, ll. 31, 44 (Tedaldi) 21^r, l. 14, and *supra* (Blanchin); B, 256^r, ll. 5, 21 (Tedaldi).

14 Boffito, *Le Tavole* 378-388. 446-460; Federici Vescovini, Bianchini 194-196.

15 Harris, *Greek* 199.

16 On Tommaso Franco, see Hamy, Thomas; Foffano, Tommaso.

17 Alain de Coëtivy wrote some letters of recommendation for Byzantine émigrés in the West, e. g. for John Ierarchis (Cardinal Domenico Capranica also wrote

a letter for him). Moreover, after a stay in London, Ierarchis was at the court of the duke of Burgundy in Lille in 1455 (Harris, *Greek* 67 n. 122; Harris, *Who Was Who* 160-161).

18 Taking into account the chronology of Tedaldi's escape, they could have met either in early June (in Negroponte) or on 4-5 July (in Venice). Cf. Monticini, *La Chronique*.

19 It is likely that some letters of Isidore of Kiev were included among their sources (Monticini, *La Chronique*).

20 Pogodin, *Obzor* 228.

21 D, 298^r, ll. 13-19.

manuscript cannot be the archetype of the Middle French manuscript tradition, as Concasty supposed. It is therefore more reasonable to understand the term »transumptum« as meaning »shortened«, rather than »translated«, as Concasty understood it²²; the Italian word »transunto« – »summary«, »abstract« – seems to confirm this hypothesis²³.

We have proof that the *Chronicle* reached its final addressee. In both A and B – that is to say, in the manuscripts that are closer to the archetype – we read the following sentence:

La brasse est et contient environ pou plus trois paulmes et demie de la cane d'Avignon²⁴.

La brace contenans environ III paulmes et demy de la cane de Avignon²⁵.

Of course, it would not have made sense to insert this equation between two units of measurement in any town other than Avignon. Since it is found in two different places in the text transmitted by A and B, it is very likely that it was a marginal note in the archetype. It may have been added in the margin of a manuscript in Avignon; afterwards, it may then have become part of the main text, being inserted in different places in the two branches of the tradition (α and B); finally, it would no longer have been copied in the later manuscripts because, as we know, the tradition developed in Burgundy, at a considerable distance from Avignon.

In fact, it is very likely that the text that arrived in Burgundy from Avignon was the archetype of the surviving tradition. But when exactly did it arrive there? The subscription that is found in A gives us a *terminus ante quem* (31 December 1453). However, the *Chronicle* probably arrived in the Duchy of Burgundy in the autumn of 1453, i.e. between the end of September (when Nicholas V's bull was issued) and December, when Duke Philip the Good sent one of his counsellors – Antoine de Tournai – to the French court, in order to sound out King Charles VII's on his intentions to organise and take part in a crusade against the Ottomans with the aim of reconquering Constantinople²⁶.

Afterwards, probably in the context of the Feast of the Pheasant – given by Duke Philip the Good in Lille on 17 February 1454, in order to respond to Nicholas V's call for war – the *Chronicle* was altered and became a propaganda text inciting the Western lords to crusade against the infidels.

In order to perform this task more efficiently, it would later be translated into Latin²⁷.

The Duchy of Burgundy and the Byzantine Empire

The reason why the Duke of Burgundy was so interested in the Eastern Empire is easy to explain: since he was the direct heir of Baldwin II of Courtenay, he could claim the title of Latin Emperor of Constantinople. In fact, the Valois family had been concerned with events in the Byzantine Empire for centuries before Philip the Good became Duke of Burgundy. By his marriage with Catherine I of Courtenay – Latin Empress of Constantinople *de iure*, as granddaughter of Baldwin II – Charles of Valois acquired the imperial title in 1301. As Charles of Anjou – Catherine's maternal grandfather – had done some decades before²⁸, Charles of Valois planned to attack the Byzantine Empire and restore the Latin throne of Constantinople²⁹. His nephew – the King of France, Philip V the Tall – harboured similar ambitions. That their plans did not come to fruition was more due to the Western political situation than to Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos' diplomatic activity³⁰. It is not surprising, therefore, that interest in the Byzantine Empire at the court of Burgundy arose with the first Valois Duke, Philip II the Bold, who had inherited the ducal title in the form of a feudal concession from his father, the King of France, John II. Evidence of his concern for the Eastern Empire is the presence in his library of the oldest known manuscript containing the complete translation into Middle French of two treaties by Theodore I Palaiologos, Marquis of Montferrat³¹. But Philip the Bold's ducal library also contained many books about the East, including Geoffrey of Villehardouin's account of the conquest of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade³². If the Valois Dukes of Burgundy had succeeded in restoring the Latin throne of Constantinople, they would have taken advantage of their imperial title to assert their sovereignty and royal dignity, which the king of France did not acknowledge. For this reason, Philip the Bold played a leading role in the organisation and financing of the Crusade of Nicopolis against Sultan Bayezid I in 1396, in which Philip's son John personally took part (because of the bravery John demonstrated on this occasion, he gained the nickname »Fearless«). Therefore, Philip the Good – who was John's son – would also have avenged his father's defeat at

22 In fact, Concasty herself admitted that »copié« »c'est le sens du mot transumptum, qui n'implique pas l'idée de traduction« (Concasty, *Les informations* 101, n. 4).

23 Vocabolario Treccani.

24 A, 18', l. 40.

25 B, 253', ll. 43-44.

26 Concasty, *Les informations* 105.

27 For the Latin version of Tedaldi's *Chronicle*, see Martène / Durand, *Veterum* 785-800; Philippides, Mehmed 134-217.

28 As the Normans did before him, Charles aimed at occupying the Byzantine territories. To do so, he did not hesitate to conclude an agreement with Baldwin II, whom he intended to restore to his throne (Geanakoplos, *Emperor* 189-257; Laiou/Morrisson, *Le monde* 16).

29 Laiou/Morrisson, *Le monde* 17-19; Laiou, *Constantinople* 212-220.

30 Laiou/Morrisson, *Le monde* 18-19.

31 Di Branco/Izzo, *L'elogio*.

32 See Leopold, *Crusading* 221-222, also for a list of the main works on the East owned by Duke Philip the Bold.

Nicopolis, had he defeated the Ottomans and reconquered the city³³. He was probably planning a crusade as early as 1436, but it was only in 1438 that he began the construction of a fleet³⁴ that was sent to Rhodes in response to the Hospitallers' appeals for relief against the Mamluks³⁵.

Duke Philip the Good's preoccupation with Byzantium led to the production of several literary works dealing with the Eastern Empire and its territory. Yet we do not observe a strong interest in Constantinople in contemporary Burgundian fiction. Moreover, when the city is mentioned in these stories, its description is clearly based on traditional stereotypes, without any reference to historical reality³⁶. When it comes to travelogues, espionage reports, and military advice, the situation is quite different. Philip the Good expanded the ducal library's holdings on to the East by acquiring and ordering the translation of many works containing crusade plans³⁷. In particular, he encouraged and supported two missions to the East³⁸: that of Guillebert de Lannoy in 1421-1423 (Lithuania, Moldavia, the Crimea, Constantinople, Rhodes, Jerusalem, Cairo, Crete, Venice³⁹) and that of Bertrandon de la Broquière in 1432-1433 (Venice, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, Constantinople, the Balkans, Hungary, Vienna⁴⁰). Both missions resulted in written reports: Guillebert de Lannoy's *Rapports*⁴¹, and Bertrandon de la Broquière's *Le voyage d'outremer*⁴². It is worth noting, however, that the latter was put into writing no earlier than 1455⁴³. It is also worth noting that, in most of the extant manuscripts⁴⁴, it is followed by the advice that the Cretan-Venetian Giovanni Torcello – who spent twelve years at Murad II's court (probably 1426-1438) and was later in the service of the Emperor John VIII Palaiologos⁴⁵ – gave at the council of Florence on 16 January 1439. Torcello's advice was brought to the Duchy of Burgundy by the Florentine Andrea da Palazzago⁴⁶. In the manuscripts, we also read some of Bertrandon de la Broquière's comments on this text: in some cases, he contested the data provided by Torcello, in particular with regard to the number of Ottoman and Eastern Christian units, which he considered as being higher and lower respectively⁴⁷.

Among the main works on the Byzantine Empire commissioned by the dukes of Burgundy we should also include

the speech delivered by Jean Germain, bishop of Nevers and Chalon-sur-Saône, in front of King Charles VII in 1452. At that time, Germain was Philip the Good's ambassador at the court of France. It was in this role that he delivered this speech, in which he supported a Christian military expedition to the East, aimed at the reconquest of the Holy Land⁴⁸.

Tedaldi's *Chronicle* in the Duchy of Burgundy

A highly significant interpolation in Tedaldi's *Chronicle* can be noted in the version conveyed by F. This is, in fact, the only manuscript to transmit to us a chapter not found in any of the other manuscripts, which deals with an alleged desecration of Saint Sophia. According to this text, the Ottomans are alleged to have raped many aristocratic women there, including the empress⁴⁹:

Item, ladite entree fut moult piteuse et douloureuse pour les crestiens, car après que lesdis Turcqz eurent pocession paisible de laditte cité se transporterent és eglises d'icelles et par especial en la maistresse appelée Sainte Sophie, qui est belle, large, grande et spacieuse. Et là trouverent pluseurs dames et damoiselles et femmes de grant auctorité, et pluseurs aultres filles pucelles, avecq lesquelles ilz comirent adultere, et aux autres eurent leur compaignie charnelle de force et outre leurs grez et voulentez au comptent de Dieu, nostre createur et de la foy catholique. Et mesmement ledit Turcq viola en ycelle eglise la femme de l'empereur et la tint pour sa concubine et l'emmena avec lui quant il partist de laditte cité. Pluseurs aussy de ses gens commirent aussy le pechié de luxure contre nature en pluseurs et diverses manieres⁵⁰.

It is evident that this chapter was inserted in the *Chronicle* to shock the Western readers and elicit a response⁵¹. This description of the profanation of Saint Sophia would recur – even amplified – in many later Burgundian works on the fall of Constantinople: in particular, in Olivier de La Marche's

33 Barsi, Constantinople 132.

34 It was constructed at Sluis, Brussels, and Antwerp. It is possible that the decision to create a Burgundian fleet was partly linked with the Council of Ferrara-Florence, where the Pope promised to provide some ships to help in the defence of Constantinople (Vaughan, Philip 270-271).

35 The Burgundian fleet was sent to Rhodes in 1441 and 1444 (Vaughan, Philip 270-271; Leopold, Crusading 222; Paviot, Burgundy 71).

36 Colombo Timelli, Cherchez.

37 For a list, see Leopold, Crusading 222; see also infra. Among these works, there was also the crusade proposal that the Cretan-Venetian merchant Emanuele Piloti addressed to Pope Eugenius IV in 1420; it is worth noting that Piloti predicted the fall of Constantinople (Leopold, Crusading 224).

38 Pippidi, Visions 14-15.

39 Vaughan, Philip 269; Arié, Un seigneur 284. 292-298.

40 Vaughan, Philip 270; Bárány, Burgundian 265. Bertrandon came back to the West dressed like a Turk, bringing a copy of the Koran. According to his report, at first the innkeepers of Vienna refused him lodging, believing him an infidel (Schwoebel, Coexistence 171; Vaughan, Philip 270).

41 Guillebert de Lannoy delivered this work to Duke Philip the Good at the end of his mission in 1423 (Arié, Un seigneur 292).

42 For the most recent critical edition of this work, see Cappellini, The Voyage.

43 Barsi, Constantinople 136.

44 That is to say, in three manuscripts out of four: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 5593, 254^v-257^r; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 5639, 76^v-78^r; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 4798, 259^v-261^r. See also Schefer, Le voyage 263-266.

45 Barsi, Constantinople 143-144.

46 Schefer, Le voyage 263.

47 Schefer, Le voyage 267-274; cf. Barsi, Constantinople 144.

48 Schefer, Le Discours; Barsi, Constantinople 145-148.

49 The legendary presence of a nameless empress in Constantinople at the time of the fall is firstly attested in Nestor-Iskander (Philippides/Hanak, The Tale 46-47. 88-89), but it would also recur later (Philippides/Hanak, The Siege 132-136. 202-204).

50 F, 268^v, coll. 1-2, ll. 16-23.

51 We also read something similar in Germain's speech, although in this text the infidels are said to have committed sacrilegious acts in Jerusalem (Barsi, Constantinople 147).

Mémoires and Georges Chastellain's *Chronique*, but also in Jacques Du Clercq's *Mémoires*, Jean de Wavrin's *Croniques et anciennes istories*, and Matthieu d'Escouchy's *Chronique*⁵². It is also possible that there exists a connection between this interpolation in F and the speech that the bishop of Tournai, Guillaume de Fillastre, delivered, as the ambassador of Philip the Good, before Pope Pius II in 1463⁵³.

The most important interpolation to which Tedaldi's text was subjected in Burgundy, however, consists of the long final chapter (henceforth *coda*) to be found only in D, E, and F (as well as in the Latin version of the *Chronicle*⁵⁴). The transcription of the three versions of the *coda* can be found at the end of the article as an appendix. Here we restrict ourselves to summarizing the most important elements that are to be found in it:

- a. All Christian princes should make peace with one another;
- b. All the main Italian ground forces (Venice, Milan, Florence) should assemble twenty-thousand knights and gather them in Albania;
- c. Venice, Genoa, and the king of Aragon should merge their fleets and take control of the Dardanelles, by conquering Gallipoli (in this way, the Ottoman units located in the Balkans could no longer be reinforced from Anatolia);
- d. The German emperor, the Hungarians, the Bohemians, and the Poles, under the command of John Hunyadi⁵⁵, should attack Adrianople and occupy Greece;
- e. The Sultan's army comprises two hundred thousand men; most of them are Christian people who would not hesitate to desert the Ottoman army and join the Catholic one, as soon as they learn that a crusade against the infidels is underway;
- f. The Turks are not used to barricading themselves in towns or in any sort of fortification, but they prefer to camp in the countryside; this feature might make them more vulnerable;
- g. All these Catholic military operations are parts of a single, well-coordinated plan; were it to succeed, other Christian peoples (e.g. the Russians, the Greeks), and even the Bey of Karaman, Ibrahim II⁵⁶, would wage war against the Ottomans;
- h. It is essential to act rapidly, so as not to give the Sultan enough time to prepare an attack against the West.

As noted above, we should contextualize this text to the framework of the Feast of the Pheasant, when the *coda* was probably added to Tedaldi's *Chronicle*. The project of a crusade against the Ottomans by land and by sea was partially revived by Philip the Good's military advisers in 1456⁵⁷, whereas it was abandoned by later Burgundian authors of tactical plans⁵⁸. But an interesting point to investigate here is the possible source of the *coda*. It is very probable that the author(s) of this interpolation relied on some military plans that were already available at the court of Burgundy in early 1454. Torcello's advice seems to be the most important model. It contains at least two key elements that are to be found in Tedaldi's *coda*. Firstly, the assertion that many Christian people who are presently subjects of the Sultan would rebel against him, if a Catholic army were to embark upon a crusade against the Ottomans (cf. point e):

Il y a après Albanye où sont deux seigneurs qui pourroyent mettre sus vingt mil hommes à cheval qui pareillement, tantost qu'ilz verroient puissance de chrestiens, prestement se tourneroyent contre le Turc. [...] Et oultre ces seigneurs cy, il y a plus de cinquante mil hommes chrestiens qui sont subjectz au Turc et incontinent qu'ilz verroyent la puissance des chrestiens se rebelleroyent contre le Turc et seroyent ceulx qui plus le destruiroyent. Et oultre tous ceulx cy, il y a une grande multitude de chrestiens subjectz au Turc par tribut qui tous se rebelleroyent contre luy⁵⁹.

Secondly, the specification that this military expedition should simultaneously be mounted by land and by sea; that is, a ground force should cross the Danube at Vidin, in order to occupy Adrianople, while the Venetians and Catalans should employ their fleets to take control of the Straits and prevent the passage of Ottoman units from Asia to Europe (cf. points c, d)⁶⁰:

De Vidinc jusques à Andrenopoly a quinze journées: de Andrenopoly jusques à Constantinoble a trois journées et de Andrenopoly jusques à Galipoly qui est port de mer et le passaige de Turquie a trois journées. Et si la puissance peult joindre à Andrenopoly, il n'est plus riens à dobter, car tout le pays se rebellera contre le Turc et ceulx du pays propre seront ceulx qui le destruyront⁶¹.

⁵² Barsi, Constantinople 169-175.

⁵³ Barsi, Constantinople 149-150.

⁵⁴ Philippides, Mehmed 214-216.

⁵⁵ He was regent of Hungary between 1446 and 1453 and captain general of that kingdom from 1453 to his death.

⁵⁶ He was the sovereign of a fairly small Turkoman beylik («principality») in southern Anatolia.

⁵⁷ *S'ensuit ce qui est advisé que se doit mettre à exécution pour le voyage de Monseigneur le Duc* (cf. Barsi, Constantinople 160-162).

⁵⁸ As in the plans devised by Geoffroy de Thoisy and Walleran de Wavrin, both conceived in 1464: the former advised a crusade by sea, while the latter advised a purely land-based crusade (Barsi, Constantinople 162-169).

⁵⁹ Schefer, *Le voyage* 264-265.

⁶⁰ Schefer, *Le voyage* 265-266.

⁶¹ Schefer, *Le voyage* 266.

It is worth noting that Guillebert de Lannoy also noted the strategic importance of the Dardanelles⁶². Like Tedaldi's *coda*, Germain's speech contained a reference to an expedition to be mounted by land and sea, with the aim of surrounding the Ottomans and making the Balkans (more specifically, the territory between the Danube and the Straits) a trap for them⁶³.

Conclusions

It is clear, in conclusion, that the people who altered Tedaldi's *Chronicle* aimed at creating a perfect propaganda text. Their main goals were to shock the readers and incite them to approve a crusade against the Ottomans. We may add that the person(s) who inserted the *coda* mostly based his/their politico-military tactics on plans that preceded the fall of Constantinople. Torcello's advice – which, we repeat, dates to almost fifteen years before 1453 – remained a very relevant

model, despite (or rather, because of) the intervening battle of Varna. On that occasion, in fact, the main reason for the Christian defeat was that the Venetian fleet was not able to prevent Murad II's army from crossing the Dardanelles⁶⁴. In the 1450s, one could still suppose that, if the Christians had taken control of the passage between Europe and Asia, the outcome of the crusade would have been different⁶⁵.

Thus, while di Franco's message was originally conceived as a private communication about a specific event – the fall of Constantinople – it was sent from Avignon to the Duchy of Burgundy only to be used as a source of current data to plan a military expedition in the East. In this sense, we may perhaps affirm that the addition of the *coda* to Tedaldi's *Chronicle* in the context of the Feast of the Pheasant was not conceived as being an actual interpolation into a text addressing the siege of the city, but rather as the creation of an updated version – containing reliable new data – of already-existing crusade plans.

Appendix⁶⁶

D⁶⁷

Mais se les crestiens y pourvoyent, on dit fermement que on le chassera du païs et conquerra on le païs pour jamais et la maniere d'y pourveoir sont cestes. Premièrement, il fault faire paix entre les princes crestiens. Item, faudroit que les Veniciens, le duc de Millen, les Flourentins et autres seigneurs d'Itallies feissent une armee de vingt mil chevaulx et bien à point et autres bons capitaines, laquelle fust conduite par Albanue jusques aux conduis des crestiens, et là se poser en leur fort, en habundance de vivres, et que là ilz seroient seürs et incontinent aucmités balbanues, Sclavons et autres nations crestiennes qui volentiers vendroient pour deffendre la foy. Par mer, oultre l'armee faite, à icelle faudroit adjoindre une autre du roy d'Arragon, de Veniciens, de Jennevois, de corsaires et aultres qui sont à la marine, qui suffiroit à vaincre celle du Turc, se elle n'est plus grosse qu'elle n'est à present. Laquelle armee s'en allast au port de Nigropont pour prendre Sacombolin et ses aultres lieux du Turc, et obvier au passage de l'estroit que le Turc veult faire de Turquie en Grece et de Grece en Turquie. Item, faudroit que l'empereur, les Hongrés,

les Boesmes, les Pollons et autres nations dudit païs, avecques Jehan Uaniode, tres redoubté au Turc, feissent une autre armee et entrast en Grece par Andrinopole et autres lieux occupez du Turc, et faudroit tenir la maniere que toutes ces armees fussent ung temps ausdit lieux et eussent bonne intelligence l'un de l'autre, de ce qui s'ensuiroit en cest effet. Le Turc qui à ceste fois a fait tout son effort n'a que deux cens mil hommes que bons que meschans, entre lesqueulx y a grant quantité de crestiens et autres ses subgiez qui le suyvent mal volentiers, lesqueulx, se ilz sentoient l'armee des crestiens, l'abandonneroient et se adjoindroient aux crestiens. Item, le Turc par nature et usance ne tient point la guerre à cité ne à ville ne à chastel, mais tient continuellement aux champs luy et toute sa force, et pour ce se debilitera luy et les siens. En oultre les crestiens de Russie et des aultres païs s'en vendroient tous à l'armee des crestiens. En oultre le Caraman qui est grant seigneur et ennemy capital du Turc, si a advisé que se crestiens guerroyent le Turc et l'oppressent grandement, il leur fera guerre. En Grece n'aura marchant ne laboureur qui ne porte vivre aux crestiens. Les vivres fauldront au Turc en Grece, le païs de Turquie luy sera rompu par la mer. Les crestiens de Grece voudront à l'espee voudront recouvrir leurs terres et lieux occupez du Turc. Et aussi se les armees s'aprouchent pou à pou l'une de l'autre, il n'est nul

62 Potvin, *Œuvres* 66; cf. Vaughan, Philip 269; Barsi, Constantinople 135.

63 Schefer, *Le Discours* 337; cf. Barsi, Constantinople 148.

64 Accounts differ as to why, some suggesting difficult weather, others implicating Christian traitors (Ravegnani, Bisanzio 181).

65 Later, as has been noted, the Burgundian authors of crusade plans changed their mind and started advising that expeditions be mounted either by land or

by sea. The tactical reinforcement of the Ottomans in the Balkans and in the area around the straits probably caused this change.

66 For some commentaries on the transcription of these texts, see Monticini, *La Chronicle*.

67 298'-299', ll. 20-13.

doubte que en brief le Turc et son exercite ne soit du tout deffait et affamé et deffait. Se on n'y pourvoie diligemment et que on donne temps et loisir au Turc de se mettre à point

E⁶⁸

Mais se les chrestiens y pourvoient promptement, on tient fermement qu'on le chassera du pays et acquestera l'en tout le pays à tout jamais, et les manieres d'y pourveoir sont telles. Premierement, il faudroit faire paix entre les chrestiens. Item, faudroit que les Veniciens, le duc de Milan, les Florentins et autres seigneurs d'Italie feissent une armee de XX^m chevaux bien en point et bons capitaines, laquelle fust conduite devers prime par Albanie jusques aux courssans des chrestiens et là se posast, en lieu habondant de vivres, que là où ilz seront ou seroient seürs et augmentez d'Albanoys, Sallomponys et autres nacions chrestiennes qui volentiers venroient pour deffendre la foy chrestienne. Par mer, oultre l'armee ja faite, à icelle faudroit adjoindre une autre du roy d'Arragon, de Veniciens, de Genevoix, de Florentins, de corsaires et autres gens qui sont à la marine, qui souffiroit à vaincre celle du Turq, celle n'est plus grosse que celle de present. Laquelle armee s'en alast au port de Nigrepont pour prendre Sirvapolu et ces autres lieux, pour obvier au passage de l'estroit que le Turq veult faire de Turquie en Grece et en tout [...]. Item, faudroit que l'empereur, les Hongrés, les Boesmes, les Poullons, les Boasves et autres nacions d'icellui pays, avec Jehan Uawoda, en ceste partie tres redoubté, eulx feissent une autre armee, qui seroit en Grece par Andronopoli et autres lieux occupez du Turq. Et faudroit tenir maniere que toutes ces armees feussent toutes en ung temps esdiz lieux

F⁶⁹

Mais se crestiens y pourvoient prestement, on tient fermement qu'on les chassera hors du país et conquerra l'en sur eulx ce que par cy devant ont conquesté, et la maniere d'y pourveoir seroit telle. Premierement, faudroit faire paix entre les crestiens. Item, faudroit que les Veniciens, le duc de Millan, les Florentins et autres seigneurs d'Italie feissent une armee de vingt mille chevaux bien en point et bons capitaines, laquelle fut conduite devers Pere par Albanye jusques aux ce<n>sives des chrestiens et là se posast en lieu habondant de vivres, car là ilz sont et seroient sceurs et incontinent augmentez d'Albanoiz, Sclavons et autres nations crestiennes qui volentiers vendroient pour deffendre la loy catholicque. Item, par mer oultre l'armee ja faite en ycelle faudroit adjoindre une autre armee du roy d'Arragon, des Veniciens, des Genevois, des Florentins, corzaire<s> et autres gens qui sont en l'aomee, qui souffiroit à vaincre celle du Turcq s'elle n'estoit

en mer et en terre, il n'est nul doubte qu'il ne face grande esclandre en crestienté, dont Dieu nous gard.

et eussent toute intelligence l'une et l'autre, si s'ensueroit cest effect. Le Turq, qui à ceste fois a fait tout son effort, n'a que deux C mil hommes tant bons que meschans, entre lesquelz y a grande quantité de chrestiens et autres ses subgetz qui le suivent mal volentiers, lesquels, sentans l'armee des chrestiens, habandonneroient le Turq et s'ajoundroient aux chrestiens. Item, le Turq par nature et d'usage n'atent point la guerre ne en cité n'en chastiau, mais se tient continuellement aux champs lui et toute sa force: parquoy se debilitera lui et les siens. En oultre les chrestiens de Rucie et des autres pays d'environ venroient tous à l'armee des chrestiens. En oultre le Haramen, qui est grant seigneur en Turquie, ennemy capital du Turq, s'il est advisé que chrestiens guerroyent le Turq, opprressera grandement le Turq en Turquie et lui fera guerre. En Grece n'y aura paysant ne laboureur qui n'apporte vivres aux chrestiens. Les vivres faudront aux Turqs en Grece, le pays de Turquie leur sera rompu par la mer. Les chrestiens de Grece voudront recouvrer à l'esppee leurs terres et lieux du Turq. Ainsi, mais que les armees s'approchent po à po l'une de l'autre, il n'est nulle doubte que bref le Turq et son exercite ne soit affamé et deffait, mais se on n'y pourvoye diligenment et que on donne temps et loisir au Turq de soy mettre à point par mer et par terre, il n'est nulle doubte qu'il ne face grande esclandre en crestienté, dont Dieu nous gart par sa bonté. Amen.

plus grosse qu'elle n'est de present, laquelle allast au port de Nygrepont pour prendre Sagripoli et pour prendre autres lieux du Turcq et obvier au passage de l'estroit que le Turcq veult faire de Turquie en Grece et en contee. Il faudroit que l'empereur, les Hongrés, les Boesmes, les Poulains, les Vaisves et autres nations d'icellui, avecques Jehan Ubayubada, en ceste partie tres redoubté des Turcqz, feissent une autre armee qui entrast en Grece pour prendre Andripoli et autres lieux occupez des Turqs. Et faudroit tenir maniere que toutes ces choses fuissent en ung temps esdis lieux et eussent bonne intelligence l'une de l'autre de ce faire sieuvant cest effect. Item, le Turcq qui a fait tout son effort et toute sa puissance n'a que deux cens mille hommes tant en bons qu'en meschans, entre lesquelz y a grant quantité de crestiens et autres ses subgetz qui le sieuvent mal volentiers, lesquelz sentans l'armee des crestiens habandonneroient le Turcq et se conjoindroient aux

68 71^v-72^v, ll. 21-24.

69 270^r-271^r, col. 1-col. 1, ll. 2-13.

aultres crestiens. Item, le Turcq par nature et usage n'aterit point la guerre en cité n'en chasteau, mais se tient continuellement aux champs lui et toute sa puissance: pourquoy se deminuera lui et les siens. Item, les crestiens de Ressine et de ces autres païs vendroient tout à l'armee des crestiens. Item, en oultre se Taramam, qui est grant seigneur en Turquie, est ennemy mortel au Turcq; pourquoy, s'il estoit ainsy que crestiens guerroiassent le Turcq, il l'oppresseroit grandement en Turquie et lui feroit guerre et à pou de chose se tourneroit avec les crestiens. Item, en Grece n'y aura sy puissant ou laboureurs

qui ne porte armes aux crestiens. Les vivres lui fauldroient en Grece, le païs de Turquie lui sera empesché par mer. Les crestiens de Grece voudront recouvrer à l'espee leurs terres et lieux que le Turcq tient et occupe. Ainsy, mais que les armées s'approchent pou à pou l'une de l'autre, il n'est nulle doute que brief le Turcq et son exercite ne soit affamee et deffaitte, mais se on n'y pourvoie dilligamment et que on donne temps et loisir au Turcq de soy mettre en point par mer et par terre, il n'est nulle doute qu'il ne fache grande esclande aux crestiens, dont Dieu nous gard.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung / Résumé

Jacopo Tedaldi's *Chronicle* and the Echo of the Fall of Byzantium at the Court of Burgundy

This paper deals with the *Chronicle* by the Florentine merchant Jacopo Tedaldi. As he was an eyewitness of the Turkish siege of Constantinople in 1453, his text is one of the main sources of the last days of the Byzantine Empire. By analysing the manuscript tradition of the *Chronicle* one can observe that it widely spread across the Duchy of Burgundy immediately after the Turkish conquest of the Polis. Thus, studying the textual tradition of Tedaldi's *Chronicle* largely means investigating the echo of the fall of Byzantium at the court of Duke Philip the Good.

We can read Tedaldi's *Chronicle* in a Middle-French version and in a Latin one. A thorough critical analysis of these texts allows us to establish not only that the latter derives from the former, but also that the archetype of the Middle French version originated its own textual tradition in Burgundy. On the basis of some assertions that are to be found in the *Chronicle*, we can reconstruct that the original text was sent from the Venetian territory to Avignon before the end of summer 1453. Since the most ancient manuscript conveying the Middle-French version of the *Chronicle* (Par. fr. 6487) contains a subscription dating from December 31, 1453, we may conjecture that our archetype – probably a direct copy of the original – reached the Duchy of Burgundy in mid-autumn. Thus, it is very likely that Duke Philip had already read Tedaldi's *Chronicle* – which contained much information on the military aspects of the fifty-five-day siege of the Polis – when he sent his counselor Antoine de Tornay to inform the King of France Charles VII about his intention of reconquering Constantinople (December 1453). Following the Feast of the Pheasant (February 1454), the *Chronicle* was altered and translated into Latin, becoming a propaganda message against the Turks to be spread across Europe.

In sum, we may state, on the one hand, that Tedaldi's text provided the court of Burgundy with many data on the defensive structures of Constantinople; and, on the other hand,

that Duke Philip's policy conditioned the textual history of the *Chronicle*. By comparing all existing versions of this work between them, it is definitely possible to understand – at least in part – how the politicians of the most pro-Byzantine court in the West perceived the end of the *Basileia ton Romaion*.

Jacopo Tedaldi's Chronik und das Echo des Falls von Byzanz am Hof von Burgund

Dieser Artikel befasst sich mit der Chronik des florentinischen Kaufmanns Jacopo Tedaldi. Da er Augenzeuge der türkischen Belagerung von Konstantinopel im Jahr 1453 war, ist sein Text eine der Hauptquellen für die letzten Tage des Byzantinischen Reiches. Bei der Analyse der überlieferten Manuskripte der Chronik kann man feststellen, dass sie sich unmittelbar nach der türkischen Eroberung von Polis im Herzogtum Burgund weit verbreitet hat. Die Untersuchung der Textüberlieferung von Tedaldi's Chronik bedeutet daher im Wesentlichen, das Echo des Falls von Byzanz am Hof von Herzog Philipp dem Guten zu erforschen.

Wir können Tedaldi's Chronik in einer mittelfranzösischen und einer lateinischen Version lesen. Eine gründliche kritische Analyse dieser Texte ermöglicht es uns nicht nur festzustellen, dass die letztere von der ersteren abstammt, sondern auch, dass der Archetyp der mittelfranzösischen Version seine eigene Texttradition in Burgund hervorgebracht hat. Anhand einiger Aussagen in der Chronik können wir rekonstruieren, dass der Originaltext vor Ende des Sommers 1453 aus dem venezianischen Gebiet nach Avignon geschickt wurde. Da die älteste Handschrift, die die mittelfranzösische Version der Chronik (Par. fr. 6487) enthält, eine Subskription vom 31. Dezember 1453 aufweist, können wir davon ausgehen, dass unser Urtext – wahrscheinlich eine direkte Kopie des Originals – Mitte Herbst im Herzogtum Burgund eintraf. Es ist also sehr wahrscheinlich, dass Herzog Philipp die Chronik Tedaldi's bereits gelesen hatte – die viele Informationen über die militärischen Aspekte der 55-tägigen Belagerung der Stadt enthielt –, als er seinen Berater Antoine de Tornay

entsandte, um König Karl VII. von Frankreich über seine Absicht zu informieren, Konstantinopel zurückzuerobern (Dezember 1453). Nach dem Fasanenfest (Februar 1454) wurde die Chronik geändert und ins Lateinische übersetzt, um als Propagandabotschaft gegen die Türken in ganz Europa verbreitet zu werden.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass Tedaldi's Text dem burgundischen Hof einerseits viele Informationen über die Verteidigungsanlagen von Konstantinopel lieferte und dass andererseits die Politik von Herzog Philipp die Textgeschichte der Chronik beeinflusste. Durch den Vergleich aller vorhandenen Versionen dieses Werks ist es definitiv möglich, zumindest teilweise zu verstehen, wie die Politiker des byzantinischen Hofes im Westen das Ende der *Basileia ton Romaion* wahrnahmen.

La Chronique de Jacopo Tedaldi et l'écho de la chute de Byzance à la cour de Bourgogne

Cet article étudie la Chronique du marchand florentin Jacopo Tedaldi. Témoin oculaire du siège de Constantinople par les Turcs en 1453, son texte est l'une des principales sources sur les derniers jours de l'Empire byzantin. En analysant la tradition manuscrite de la Chronique on peut observer qu'elle s'est largement répandue dans le duché de Bourgogne immédiatement après la conquête turque de la Polis. Ainsi, étudier la tradition textuelle de la Chronique de Tedaldi revient en grande partie à enquêter sur l'écho de la chute de Byzance à la cour du duc Philippe le Bon.

On peut lire la Chronique de Tedaldi dans une version en moyen français et dans une version en latin. Une ana-

lyse critique approfondie de ces textes permet d'établir non seulement que le second dérive du premier, mais aussi que l'archétype de la version moyen-française a donné naissance à sa propre tradition textuelle en Bourgogne. Sur la base de certaines affirmations que l'on trouve dans la Chronique, on peut reconstruire que le texte original a été envoyé du territoire vénitien à Avignon avant la fin de l'été 1453. Comme le plus ancien manuscrit transmettant la version moyen-française de la Chronique (Par. fr. 6487) contient une souscription datée du 31 décembre 1453, on peut supposer que notre archétype – probablement une copie directe de l'original – est parvenu au duché de Bourgogne à la mi-automne. Il est donc très probable que le duc Philippe ait déjà lu la Chronique de Tedaldi – qui contenait de nombreuses informations sur les aspects militaires du siège de Constantinople, qui dura cinquante-cinq jours – lorsqu'il envoya son conseiller Antoine de Tornay informer le roi de France Charles VII de son intention de reconquérir Constantinople (décembre 1453). Après le Banquet du faisan (février 1454), la Chronique fut modifiée et traduite en latin, devenant un message de propagande contre les Turcs à diffuser à travers l'Europe.

En résumé, nous pouvons constater, d'une part, que le texte de Tedaldi a fourni à la cour de Bourgogne de nombreuses données sur les structures défensives de Constantinople; et, d'autre part, que la politique du duc Philippe a conditionné l'histoire textuelle de la Chronique. En comparant entre elles toutes les versions existantes de cet ouvrage, il est tout à fait possible de comprendre, du moins en partie, comment les hommes politiques de la cour la plus pro-byzantine d'Occident percevaient la fin de la *Basileia ton Romaion*.