

AN UNKNOWN DESCRIPTION OF OTTOMAN ALBANIA:
ANTONIO BRUNI'S TREATISE
ON THE *BEYLERBEYLİK* OF RUMELI (1596)

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This article presents the text of a treatise on the *beylerbeylik* of Rumeli, written by Antonio Bruni in 1596, and gives a summary account of Bruni's life. Bruni was an Albanian from the Venetian-ruled city of Ulcinj; members of his extended family worked in Venetian, papal and Ottoman service, and he himself, after a Jesuit schooling in Rome and a doctorate in Avignon, worked for one of his cousins in Moldavia. His treatise was written for Cardinal Cinzio, nephew of Pope Clement VIII, at a time when the Papacy had a strong interest in exploiting Ottoman military weakness and encouraging rebellion, particularly in the Albanian lands. Bruni's work shows a detailed knowledge of conditions both in Rumeli generally and in Albania. This treatise, which has remained unknown in modern times, has a double significance: it is the first general description of Albania by a named Albanian author, and it was also a major source of information for Lazaro Soranzo's *L'Ottomanno* (1598), one of the most influential early modern publications on the Ottoman Empire.

Keywords: Antonio Bruni; Rumeli; Albania; Lazaro Soranzo; Habsburg-Ottoman War.

Of the many treatises about the Ottoman Empire published in Western Europe during the sixteenth century, few are as wide-ranging and well-informed as the one published by Lazaro Soranzo in 1598 under the title *L'Ottomanno*. Soranzo had clearly spent time in Ottoman territory himself, but he had also read widely. Unfortunately he gives, as a rule, very little information about his sources. One important exception to that rule is a manuscript treatise by Antonio Bruni. Soranzo makes explicit reference to it twice in his book: on the first occasion he refers to 'Antonio Bruni ... nel suo Trattato del Bellerbegato di Grecia [sc. Rumeli]', agreeing with a point made by Bruni about the danger of stirring up forlorn attempts at rebellion among the Christian subjects of the Sultan, and on the second occasion he introduces a long passage about Albania with the words, 'De gli Albanesi Latini scriue lo stesso Bruni lor co[m]patriota nel Trattato allegato di sopra...'.¹ The text of Antonio Bruni's treatise was never published, and no subsequent author seems ever to have cited it directly.

This entirely forgotten work is, however, still extant; it survives in two scribal copies, in the Vatican Library and the library of the Museo Correr, Venice.²

¹ Lazaro Soranzo, *L'Ottomanno*, Ferrara, 1598, pp. 113, 117.

² Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, MS Barb. Lat. 5361, fos. 200r–207r; Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice, MS Wucovich Lazzari 25, busta 9. I am very grateful to both libraries for letting me

The significance of this text is not confined to the fact that it was (as we shall see) a major influence on Soranzo's book, informing many other passages in his writing. It is an unusually interesting work in its own right, quite different in kind from the usual 'relazioni' written about the Ottoman Empire by Western diplomats or travellers. For Antonio Bruni had something a little more like an insider's view of the empire: his work had taken him to such places as Vlorë, on the southern coast of Albania, and Constanța, on the Black Sea coast, and he had also resided for some time in Moldavia, a tributary state within the empire itself. Although he was living outside Ottoman territory when he wrote this treatise, he clearly retained good sources of information within the Ottoman Albanian lands. For Antonio Bruni was – as Soranzo pointed out – an Albanian, and this fact gives his writing a special significance: the description of the Albanian lands given in his treatise is the earliest surviving general account of Albania to have been written by an identifiable Albanian author.

Antonio Bruni was a member of a remarkable Venetian-Albanian family, from the city of Ulcinj (in present-day Montenegro), which was a Venetian possession at the time of his birth and later fell under Ottoman dominion. The Bruni family had previously been nobles of Shkodër, fleeing from that city when it was conquered by the Ottomans in 1479. Antonio's father, Gasparo, became a Knight of Malta in 1567; thereafter he acted as an intelligence agent for the Knights in Dubrovnik, was captain of the papal flagship in three naval campaigns against the Ottomans – 1570, 1571 (the Lepanto campaign) and 1572 – and served for thirteen years as an infantry officer in the papal territory of Avignon. Gasparo's brother Giovanni became Archbishop of Bar in 1551, played a prominent role in the final sessions of the Council of Trent, was captured by the Ottomans at the fall of Bar in 1571 and met a tragic end as a galley-slave in the aftermath of the Battle of Lepanto. Their sister Maria (Antonio Bruni's aunt) married Antonio Bruti, a member of a noble family of Durrës which had also found refuge, like the Brunis, in Ulcinj; he was a very active servant of Venice in the southern Adriatic region, as an intelligence-supplier, local diplomat and grain merchant, and was rewarded with the title of 'Cavaliere di San Marco' by the Doge in 1559. He too died in 1571, just after the conquest of Ulcinj. But among his many sons (the first cousins of Antonio Bruni), several also had distinctive careers; the most prominent of them was Bartolomeo Bruti, who became chief minister of Moldavia in the 1580s, before meeting his own tragic end in 1592.³

Antonio Bruni's precise year of birth is not known; from the date at which he began his secondary education it can be estimated as 1557 or 1558. Nor is there any information about his mother; all that can be said with reasonable certainty is

study these items; similarly, I wish to thank all the other libraries and archives mentioned in the notes below.

³ For details of all these individuals, and of other members of this extended family, see N. Malcolm, *Agents of Empire: Knights, Corsairs, Jesuits and Spies in the Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean World*, London, 2015, *passim*.

that, given that Gasparo Bruni later became a Knight of Malta (a position strictly barred to anyone who was or had been married), Antonio must have been an illegitimate son. The earliest documentary evidence of Antonio's existence consists of the record of his entry into the Seminario Romano, the élite Jesuit school and college in Rome, in May 1572.⁴ He spent five years at that institution, acquiring classical learning and rhetorical skills; thereafter he studied briefly at the University of Perugia, and possibly also at the University of Padua, before moving to Avignon, where his father, Gasparo, was stationed.⁵ Antonio enrolled at the University of Avignon and proceeded rapidly to the degree of Doctor of Law, which was awarded to him in October 1585.⁶

The next few years in Antonio Bruni's life are not well documented. He probably went from Avignon to Koper (Capodistria), the Venetian town on the northern side of Istria, where most of his Bruti cousins had settled after the fall of Ulcinj. He was there by 1587 at the latest, when he took part in a debate at the 'Accademia Palladia', Koper's literary club.⁷ But at some point in the next two or three years he moved to Moldavia, where his cousin Bartolomeo Bruti, the chief minister and right-hand man of the Voivod Petru Șchiopul, had evidently found work for him. The nature of that work is not known, though it may be significant that Lazaro Soranzo (who, as we shall see, got to know Antonio personally) wrote at one point in *L'Ottomanno* that 'Tale è l'informazione, ch'io hò hauuto da quelli, c'hanno veduti i libri [sc. governmental account books] della Moldauia, e della Valacchia.'⁸ By August 1591, however, Antonio Bruni was back in Koper: in that month he was elected one of the overseers of the municipal grain store there.⁹

Antonio's departure from Moldavia had thus preceded – but perhaps not by very long – the decision of Petru Șchiopul to abandon his throne and seek a new life in exile. Wearying of the ever-increasing financial burdens imposed on him by

⁴ Archivio del Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum, Rome, MS Hist. 145 (Girolamo Nappi, 'Annali del Seminario Romano'), fo. 39r. (Hence the deduced date of birth.) In the brief account of Antonio Bruni's life which follows here, I give references to original sources; but in most cases further information will be found in Malcolm, *Agents of Empire*.

⁵ Archivio del Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum, Rome, MS Hist. 145, fo. 39r (departure, August 1577); Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City, Segr. Stato, Legaz. Avignone, 12, fo. 47r (letter from Gasparo Bruni to Cardinal Como, January 1581, saying that Antonio had left Perugia and that Gasparo hoped he would transfer to Padua), and Segr. Stato, Legaz. Avignone, 15, fo. 191r (letter from Gasparo to Como, saying Antonio had arrived in Avignon).

⁶ Archives départementales de Vaucluse, Avignon, MS D 36 (University of Avignon, 'Livre concernant les noms ... des primiciers, docteurs ... et gradués'), fo. 105r. He was described there as 'Antonius Brunus dioces. Olciniensis' ('of the diocese of Ulcinj'), which seems to imply that that was his place of birth.

⁷ Girolamo Vida, *De' cento dubbi amorosi di Hieronimo Vida iustinopolitano*, ed. Agostino Vida, Padua, 1621, fos. 66v–68r (contribution to literary debate; on the dating, see Malcolm, *Agents of Empire*, p. 310).

⁸ Soranzo, *L'Ottomanno*, p. 42.

⁹ Archivio di Stato, Trieste, microfilm of Archivio municipale di Capodistria, MS 550, fo. 58v (reel 688, frame 149).

Istanbul, and fearing for the future of his young son Ștefan, the Voivod left Moldavia in mid-August 1591 and moved to Habsburg territory. Early in the following year, he seems to have contacted Antonio Bruni in Koper; for in April 1592 Antonio presented a letter from Petru to the recently elected Pope, Clement VIII, in Rome. The Pope's reply began: 'From your letter, and from a conversation with my beloved son Antonio Bruni, to whom you gave your letter for me and your instructions, I learned how eager you are to visit me...'.¹⁰ (From this it also seems very likely that Antonio Bruni was the person Petru referred to five months later in a letter to Archduke Ferdinand, when he wrote that 'I used to have good friendly relations with the Holy Pope; I had a certain man, called Bruti, whom I sent quite often from my court to the Pope.')¹¹ Petru did not travel to Rome, however; he eventually settled, with his retinue, in the small town of Bolzano, in the South Tyrol. But his exile was not an untroubled one. Shortly before his departure, he had received a large advance payment from a Ragusan merchant in Moldavia, Giovanni ('Dživa') de Marini Poli, for the right to collect the taxes on cattle and sheep for the coming year; Petru's successor, the Voivod Aron, did not honour the agreement, so de Marini Poli pursued Petru for the return of the money, launching a legal process against him in the Tyrol. In May 1593 Antonio Bruni travelled to Bolzano, where Petru signed a legal document empowering Antonio to speak and act on his behalf.¹² Antonio's duties also included acting as an interpreter for Petru, which shows that he had spent long enough in Moldavia to become fluent in Romanian. For seven months Antonio stayed in the Tyrol, overseeing the successful defence of the ex-Voivod in the law courts.¹³ Towards the end of 1593 he helped to transmit to Clement VIII another request by Petru for permission to visit him in Rome; this time, instead of taking the message himself, he made use of a contact in Rome, the Venetian Lazaro Soranzo, who served there as a 'cameriere d'onore' to the Pope. Soranzo would later write (in a passage contained in a manuscript version of *L'Ottomanno*, but omitted from the printed text) that he

¹⁰ A. Theiner, ed., *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia*, 4 vols., Rome, 1860–4, vol. iii, p. 209 ('Ex litteris tuis atque ex sermone dilecti filii Antonii [Bruni], cui eas litteras et mandata ad nos dederas, cognovimus, quam praestanti voluntate sis ... ad nos venire'; Theiner mistranscribes 'Bruni' here as 'Bruti'; E. de Hurmuzaki *et al.*, eds., *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor*, 19 vols., Bucharest, 1887–1938, vol. Iii (2), p. 387 does so as 'Shuni').

¹¹ Tiroler Landesarchiv, Innsbruck, MS O.Ö. Geheimer Rat, Selekt Ferdinandea, Pos. 86, fo. 85r ('Cum Sancto Papa habemus familiaritatem Bonam ... Et D[ominu]m quenda[m] ex aula n[ost]ra habebam, nomine Brutus, sepius nam [*sic*: for 'eum?'] ad Papam mittebam'); 'Brutus' was probably used here because Antonio was known to Petru as a nephew of Bartolomeo Bruti. These travels 'quite often' between Moldavia and Rome would help to explain Antonio's familiarity (exhibited in his treatise) with places such as Constanța and Vlorë.

¹² G. Chivu *et al.*, eds., *Documente și însemnări românești din secolul al XVI-lea*, Bucharest, 1979, pp. 178, 183.

¹³ See Hurmuzaki *et al.*, eds., *Documente*, vol. xi, pp. 346–7, 358 (interpreter), 774 (seven months).

made arrangements for this visit ‘con sua S.^{ta} d’ordine suo [sc. at Petru’s request], et per opera di Antonio Bruni gentilhuomo Albanese’.¹⁴

The ex-Voivod Petru Șchiopul did not, in the end, travel to Rome. He died in the South Tyrol in June 1594. In the aftermath of his death, members of his family and household stripped his house of valuables and took them to Venice; Antonio Bruni (who was once more based in Koper, one or two days’ travel from Venice) found out and alerted the Tyrolean authorities. He also gave advice on how to obtain reliable translations of Petru’s will, and associated documents.¹⁵ Antonio appears to have felt a special concern for the future of Petru’s son, Ștefan; in 1596 he submitted a memorandum to the Austrian authorities suggesting some sort of anti-Ottoman geopolitical stratagem in which, ‘col nome suo solo [sc. Ștefan’s name] et con la segretezza necessaria in tali maneggi, Sua Maestà Cesarea potria riceverne singularissimo servitio, et in Moldavia, et altrove.’¹⁶ Perhaps with such aims in mind, he kept up a connection with the Austrian official who acted as one of Ștefan’s guardians; and it seems to have been during one of his trips between Koper and Bolzano that Antonio Bruni met own his death – perhaps from the plague – in Trieste in late July 1598.¹⁷

The reason why political stratagems involving ‘Moldavia and elsewhere’ had become so important was that since the late summer of 1593 the Holy Roman Empire had been at war with the Ottoman Empire. The strongest political support for the Imperial war effort came from Pope Clement VIII, who was, like several of his sixteenth-century predecessors, a passionate supporter of anti-Ottoman initiatives of various kinds, including warfare (in 1595 he sent a papal force of 12,000 troops to support the Imperial army in Hungary), diplomacy and the fomenting of rebellion in Ottoman territory. His nephew, Cardinal Cinzio, also took a keen interest in these projects, and encouraged intellectuals in his circle to promote such ideas. To give just one example: in 1595 the philosopher Francesco Patrizi, a protégé of the Cardinal, published the second part of his treatise on military affairs, *Paralleli militari*, in which he recommended an invasion of the Balkans by an Italian force of 30,000 men. He put forward three options, Dalmatia, Albania and Greece, saying that in each case the local people would immediately rebel against the Ottomans; ‘se noi smontassimo in Albania, ci si accosteriano tutti gli Albanesi, gente valorosa, e da Turchi già tanto temuta, e per l’antica memoria della gloria loro sotto Scanderbego, e per l’odio fierissimo presente.’¹⁸

¹⁴ Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, MS S 102 sup. (‘Relatione della potenza del Turco et in spetie delle cose d’Vngaria Di Lazaro Soranzo’), fo. 44v.

¹⁵ See the letters sent in 1594 to Archduke Ferdinand by his agent in Venice, Bernardino Rossi, in Tiroler Landesarchiv, Innsbruck, MS O. Ö. Geheimer Rat, Selekt Ferdinanda Pos. 86, fos. 356r (29 August), 358r–359r (2 September), 360r–361v (10 September), 437r (1 October) and 515r–518v (4 November), and the letter from Bruni to Rossi of 20 October (fos. 519r–520v).

¹⁶ Hurmuzaki *et al.*, eds., *Documente*, vol. xi, p. 533.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. xi, p. 477; Malcolm, *Agents of Empire*, p. 388.

¹⁸ F. Patrizi, *Paralleli militari*, 2 vols., Rome, 1594–5, vol. ii, p. 87.

Between 1592 and 1595 Cardinal Cinzio employed a young Venetian, Angelo Ingegneri, as his secretary and literary assistant. In late September or early October 1596 Ingegneri travelled to Venice; although he was no longer the Cardinal's employee, it seems that he was still carrying out some tasks on his behalf. Towards the end of his stay there he sent a message to Antonio Bruni, who was also in Venice. Antonio's reply, written on 17 October 1596, apologized for the fact that he had just missed him, and stated: 'Hor poiche V. S. mi scriue, che da Roma li uiene accennato, che così fatta informatione al' Ill.^{mo} suo Patrone non saria discara, uado entrando in openione [*sic*], che da lei sia stata rapresentata molto maggiore di q^{llo}, che è in effetti.' Nevertheless, Bruni concluded, 'io a la fine mi risoluo d'appigliarmi al suo prudentiss.^{mo} et amoreuoliss.^{mo} consiglio, acciò el S.^{or} Card.^{le} sappia, che da me le sarà mandata la scrittura col mezo di V. S. mio singulariss.^{mo} patrone.'¹⁹ It seems very likely that this letter reveals the precise origin of Antonio Bruni's treatise on the *beylerbeylik* of Rumeli (which, in any case, can be dated on internal evidence to some time after August 1596, as it refers to a revolt in Himarë of that month). Cardinal Cinzio and his circle were interested in the possibility of raising an anti-Ottoman revolt in the Balkans, and the Albanian lands were of special interest for that purpose; Angelo Ingegneri had no doubt heard that Bruni was particularly well-informed about conditions in the Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire, especially in the Albanian lands. And the text which Antonio Bruni duly wrote conforms in every way to what one might expect to arise from such a commission: it discusses the military weakness of the Ottomans and the willingness of various Balkan peoples to rebel (but with some cautious remarks about the danger of encouraging ineffective rebellion and starving it of outside help); it also adds some comments on the parlous state of the Roman Catholic Church in the Albanian lands; and it strikes, at the end, a note of due deference towards the Pope – who, if the text found favour, was likely to be one of its readers. '[S]i come il narrare quello, che s'há uisto, e sentito, á ciascuno é permesso', Bruni concluded, 'così il uoler persuader á Principi quello, che debbono, ó possono fare, non é lecito á tutti.'

Clearly, Antonio Bruni was someone well worth seeking out for his expertise on these matters. Another person who sought him out, at roughly the same time, was Lazaro Soranzo. (As we have seen, Soranzo and Bruni were already acquainted; the origin of their friendship is not known, but it could have been formed in the years 1585–6, when Lazaro may have visited Koper to see his uncle Giacomo, a distinguished Venetian diplomat who was undergoing a period of exile there.) According to the account he later gave, Lazaro Soranzo began to draft his book on the island of Ischia in 1596. He then moved to Venice, where he was able to make use of many sources of information about the Ottoman Empire. One possible scenario is that after some conversations with his friend Antonio Bruni, he

¹⁹ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City, Fondo Borghese, ser. IV, MS 229, fo. 49r. On the likely origins of Ingegneri's acquaintance with Bruni see Malcolm, *Agents of Empire*, p. 431.

asked Antonio to set down some of the things he had said, and that it was Soranzo who told Angelo Ingegneri (whom he probably knew from Rome) about Bruni's writings, whether actual or in prospect. The form which Antonio's text finally took, however, seems very much tailored to Cardinal Cinzio's requirements; and it was, in the end, that version of the text that was used by Soranzo when writing his book. The first draft of his *L'Ottomanno* was written in the final months of 1596. By the end of January 1597 a manuscript version of it was sent by Soranzo to Vincenzo Gonzaga, the Duke of Mantua, who was planning a military expedition in support of the Imperial forces in Hungary. One manuscript copy, in the Ambrosian Library in Milan, is dated June 1597. Finally, in May 1598, Soranzo decided to have the book printed; it was published two months later in the city of Ferrara, which had recently been incorporated in the Papal States.²⁰

As has already been mentioned, Soranzo referred explicitly to Antonio Bruni's treatise in two passages in his book. In the first of these he echoed Bruni's warnings about the danger of encouraging ineffective rebellion; in the second he reproduced a substantial section of his account of the Albanian lands.²¹ But these were not his only borrowings. Elsewhere in his text there were passages drawn directly from Bruni on a variety of topics: the poor state of Ottoman forces; the *devşirme*; Ottoman military auxiliaries; the reluctance of spahis to undergo the discomforts of war; the Tatars; Petru Şchiopul's advice to Ferdinand; the clans of the Albanian-Montenegrin highlands; and the revolt in the Himarë. (Details of these are given in the Appendix to this article.) And there are other items of information in Soranzo's book which, whilst they are not contained in the treatise written by Antonio Bruni, may well have been derived from conversation or correspondence with him. Soranzo's statement that he had spoken to people who had seen the governmental accounts of Moldavia and Wallachia has already been cited; he had also acquired information about the Moldavian taxes on cattle, the tribute paid by the Moldavian voivods to the Tatars, their relations with Poland, and the different geographical terms used for Moldavia and Wallachia.²² In addition, he noted many other details about Albania and the Albanians, some or all of which may have been derived from Bruni: about the timber of the Dukagjin highlands which was floated down the river Drin to Lezhë; the manufacture of ship's biscuit in Vlorë; the ports of the Albanian coast from Durrës to Sarandë; the presence of Albanians among the soldiers of the rebel Wallachian Voivod Mihai cel Viteaz; and the feasibility of seizing Ulcinj, Shkodër or Durrës. And it was surely from Antonio that he learned both about the precise origins of the Grand

²⁰ Soranzo, *L'Ottomanno*, sig. 3†1r (Ischia, Venice); Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, MS S 102 sup., fos. 410r–465r. Soranzo sent the work to Mantua via Lelio Arrigoni, the Duke's ambassador in Rome (*L'Ottomanno*, sig. 3†1r); Arrigoni left Rome in January 1597 (Archivio di Stato, Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, busta 968, fos. 669–77).

²¹ Soranzo, *L'Ottomanno*, pp. 113, 117–18.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 27 (tribute), 32 (taxes), 62, (Polish relations), 105 (geographical terms).

Vizier Sinan Pasha (who was a cousin of the Bruti family), and about the summoning of Gasparo Bruni to papal service before the Lepanto campaign.²³

The manuscript of Bruni's text that was used by Soranzo does not apparently survive. Nor does the one sent to Angelo Ingegneri for Cardinal Cinzio. Of the two known manuscripts of Bruni's treatise, both are later scribal copies. The one in the Museo Correr is dated February 1598 (i.e. 1599 in the Venetian style of dating), and the other, which is undated, must have been copied in 1598 or later; both of them reproduce a scribal error describing the death of Petru Şchiopul as having happened in 1597 instead of 1594. There are other errors in both of them, from which it becomes clear that they were copied from differing versions, neither of which was the original. (Since neither has any clear textual superiority, and each can be used to correct the other on some particular points, the choice of copy-text is necessarily arbitrary; the transcription given below takes the Vatican manuscript as the copy-text, and records variants in the Museo Correr manuscript, promoting them to the text where necessary.) The scribal publication of such texts – including, most famously, the 'relazioni' of Venetian diplomats – was a flourishing business in Venice and elsewhere, so it is reasonable to expect that many copies were in fact generated, some of which may still survive, as yet unnoticed, in libraries and archives.²⁴ One example of the transmission of such a copy can be identified. In the late 1590s the soldier, traveller and political writer Filippo Pigafetta was living in Venetian territory and sending a steady stream of 'relazioni' to a friend at the Medici court who passed them on to the Grand Duke. Writing from Padua in mid-January 1599, he said that he was commissioning a copy of a 'discorso del Beglierbei della Grecia delle genti che ha sotto sé'; and at the end of the month he wrote: 'Mando ... una relazione dello stato d'Europa del Gran Turco, fatta da un valent'uomo che lungo tempo, essendo natio albanese, dimorò in quelle contrade.'²⁵

When Lazaro Soranzo referred in his book to Bruni's treatise, he may well have assumed that it would be possible for an interested reader to track down a copy of that text. Sadly, whatever interest he stimulated was not sufficient to lead to the publication of the treatise in print. Soranzo's own book, on the other hand, was a tremendous publishing success; despite – or even, perhaps, because of – an attempt by the Venetian authorities to suppress it, the work was quickly reprinted in both Ferrara and Milan in 1599, in Naples in 1600, and again in Ferrara in 1607.²⁶ In 1600 much of it appeared in French translation, incorporated in a history

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 38 (timber), 40 (biscuit), 56 (Sinan), 58–9 (ports), 120 (Ulcinj etc.), 122 (Gasparo). On Sinan's relation to the Bruti family see Malcolm, *Agents of Empire*, pp. 263–4.

²⁴ See F. de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics*, Oxford, 2007, pp. 57–63.

²⁵ M. Pozzi, *Filippo Pigafetta consigliere del principe*, 2 vols., Vicenza, 2004, vol. ii, pp. 203, 205.

²⁶ On the Venetian attempt see G. Sforza, 'Un libro sfortunato contro i Turchi (documenti inediti)', in C. Cipolla *et al.*, *Scritti storici in memoria di Giovanni Monticolo*, Venice, 1922, pp. 207–19; on the northern Italian editions see J. Balsamo, 'Il Turco vincibile. Un "corpus turc" à la fin du XVI^e siècle: La Noue, Naselli, Soranzo, Esprincharde', in Gruppo di studio sul Cinquecento francese, *Scritture dell'impegno*

of the Ottoman Empire by Jacques Esprinhard; this work was reprinted in 1609.²⁷ A German translation, by Christian Cresse, was printed in both Eisleben and Magdeburg in 1601.²⁸ In 1603 an English version of Soranzo's book appeared, translated by the secretary of the Archbishop of Canterbury.²⁹ And a Europe-wide readership of the work was assured by the publication of a Latin translation, by Jakob Geuder von Heroltzberg, in 1600; this was re-issued in 1601 and 1664, and a 48-page extract from it was included in the volume on the Ottoman Empire (of 1630, reprinted in 1634) in the best-selling series of politico-geographical books issued by the Elzevier publishing house in Leiden (the so-called 'Elzevier Republics').³⁰ Several generations of Italian, French, German, English and other European readers thus learned about the Ottoman Empire from Lazaro Soranzo's remarkably well-informed book. And, as they did so, they also learned – though without knowing it – from the treatise on the *beylerbeylik* of Rumeli by Antonio Bruni.

Del Bellerbegato della Romania d'Antonio Bruno da Dolcignoⁱ

Della grandezza, et governo dell' Imp.^o Ottomanoⁱⁱ molti hanno scritto, raccontando li progressi, et potenza di questa fam[igli]^a, chi per uista, chi per uita. Io breuemente trattaró della Relligione, lingua, et qualita, cosi de Christiani, come deⁱⁱⁱTurchi di quella sola parte di questo Regno, che é in Europa sottoposta al Bellerbegio della Romania, che noi chiamiamo di^{iv} Grecia, il quale superiore di dignita, et autorita ordinaria á gl' altri Governatori di Prouincie, essercita la sua giuridd.^{ne} particolar.^{te} in Bulgaria, Seruia, Albania, et non in tutta la Grecia, che alcuni de sangiacche maritimi, et gl'Isolani,^v de quali quello di Negroponte há non poco dominio in terra ferma, ubbidiscono al Bassa Capitano dell' Armata.³¹ La

dal rinascimento all'età barocca, Fasano, 1997, pp. 205–16, at p. 213; the Naples edition, correctly describing itself as the fourth edition, was printed by Costantino Vitale.

²⁷ Jacques Esprinhard, *Histoire des Ottomans, ou empereurs des Turcs, iusques à Mahomet III*, 2nd edn, Paris, 1609 (referring to a Geneva, 1600 edition, which I have been unable to locate).

²⁸ See the revised edition of this translation, *Ottomannus: von Zustand, Macht und Gewalt, auch anderen verborgenen heimlichen Sachen des Ottomanischen Türkischen Reiches*, ed. H. Hattenhauer and U. Bake, Frankfurt am Main, 2009, p. xxiv (n. 28).

²⁹ Lazaro Soranzo, *The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo*, tr. Abraham Hartwell, London, 1603.

³⁰ Lazaro Soranzo, *Ottomannus ... sive de rebus Turcicis liber unus*, tr. Jakob Geuder von Heroltzberg, Hanau, 1600; Lazaro Soranzo et al., *Turca nikētos, hoc est, de Imperio Ottomanico evertendo, et bello contra Turcas prospere gerendo consilia tria*, Frankfurt am Main, 1601; Turcici imperii status, Leiden, 1630, pp. 226–74 (2nd edn, Leiden, 1634, pp. 221–66); Hermann Conring, ed., *De bello contra Turcos prudenter gerendo*, Helmstadt, 1664.

³¹ The province governed by the *kapudan paşa* (admiral of the Ottoman navy), created in 1533–4, contained the *sancaks* of Gallipoli, Euboea ('Negroponte', which included, as Bruni says, a large part of the mainland, from Volos down to Cape Sounion but excluding Athens), Mystras (in the southern Peloponnese; some sources merge this with the *sancak* of Nafplio, while others treat the latter as a separate *sancak*, also in the *kapudan paşa*'s province) and Lepanto (in addition to islands such as Rhodes and Chios, and some

Bosna, et l'Vngaria hanno propri Bellerbegi, che con titolo piu honoreuole, et per maggior chiarezza sono nominati Bassa. Questa due, di Buda l'uno, l'altro di Temisuario, quella uno, che risiede in Bagna luca, Caffa ancora há il suo Bassa, che comanda la riuiera di quella Penisola, con la nauigatione per la Meotide al Tanai, et il lido del mare negro sin al fiume Niestro.^{vi32} tra il Niestro,^{vii} et il Danubio giace la Moldauiia, il Vaiuoda del qual Principato, si come il suo uicino di Valacchia ricognosceuan la maggioranza del Bellerbego. Hora sotto la carica di costui di qua dal Danubio, tra la bocca della Saua, il Golfo di Cataro, et il mare negro si come ci sono diuerse religioni, cosi ui si trouano ancora differenti lingue, che causano ne popoli una certa disunione, che fa maggiore la discordia, che ordinarium.^{te} regna, per la diuersita della fede. La Christiana di numero auanza la Maometana, et Giudea: ma per esser pouera, et soggetta, et diuisa tra greca, et latina, già per la gara di queste due Chiese, et hora per la commodità, che ritroua nella Maometana, ogni giorno ua declinando. Oltre^{viii} che per l'ignoranza, et rarità de Prelati, molti non hanno del Christiano altrocche il nome, et anco^{ix} pensano d'esser grati á Dio co'l farsi Turchi, come^x col restar Christiani, imaginandosi, che in qual si uoglia religione l'huomo da bene possa saluarsi. Tutti questi Christiani, che parlano la lingua greca, sono anco di rito greco, ecettuandone poche famiglie di Pera, et certe Isole d' Arcipelago non intiere latine. Li Bulgari, et li Seruiiani, che tutti parlano la lingua schiauona, chi piu polita chi piu grossa uiuono alla greca, se non che nella Seruia^{xi} alcuni villaggi appresso Scopia,³³ et alcune case per le terre di quella Prouincia sin al Danubio conseruano tuttauia la fede Romana, sotto la cura de gl' Arciuescoui di Antiuari, Primati di quel Regno.³⁴ Questa lingua, che prima era in uso nell' istessa Corte del Turco in alcuni luoghi si ua perdendo á fatto, et la Turca comincia ad esser la piu uniuersale, sforzandosi li Christiani d' impararla, poiche i piu uili rinegati sdegnano di parlar la natiua, ancorche molti non habbiano del Maometano altro che la circoncisione. La Bossina, come dissi nel principio, compreso il Ducato d' Erzocouina, la Croatia, Dalmatia et Vngheria c' há lingua particolare non s' includono nel gouernamento del Bellerbego. Nelle quali regioni

Anatolian coastal territories). Most sources also include in it the *sancak* of Karliteli (Angelokastro), which Bruni places within the *beylerbeylik* of Rumeli (see below, at n. 64). (See İ. Bostan, 'The Establishment of the Province of *Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid*', in E. Zachariadou, ed., *The Kapudan Pasha: His Office and His Domain*, Rethymnon, 2002, pp. 241–51; İ. M. Kunt, *Sancaktan eyalete: 1550–1650 arasında Osmanlı iimerası ve il idaresi*, Istanbul, 1978, pp. 152–3; A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden, 1976, pp. 57, 101–8.)

³² The territory of Feodosiya (Caffa, Kefe) had been a *sancak* of the *beylerbeylik* of Rumeli until 1586, when it was raised to the status of a province (Birken, *Die Provinzen*, p. 56). The 'Meotide' is the Sea of Azov; the 'Tanai' is the river Don.

³³ Bruni refers to Slav Catholic villages in the Skopska Crna Gora (Malet e Karadakut: see below, n. 84), of which the most prominent, Letnica, retained its Catholic population until the 1990s.

³⁴ The title 'Primate of Serbia' had belonged historically to the Archbishops of Split, but by the early sixteenth century it had been transferred (for reasons which remain unclear) to the Archbishops of Bar (Antivari): see S. Ritig, 'Primacijalni naslov splitske i barske metropolije', *Bogoslovska smotra*, 11 (1923), pp. 89–95, esp. pp. 93–4. Bruni's uncle Giovanni Bruni was Archbishop of Bar from 1551 to 1571.

fuori che in Erzocouina, ui si mantiene per il più il rito Catholico, et culto christiano, Mà in Ungaria quasi che anichilaro delle moderne heresie;³⁵ sicome trà le superstitioni de Greci non mancano alcuni residui dell'antica^{xiii} impietàde gl' Ariani, Donatisti, et Manichei, che si chiamano Pauligiani. et di questi sono alcune uille in Bulgaria³⁶ di Misia:³⁷ che questa nazione occupó non solo la Misia inferiore, ma etiandio buona parte di Tracia, et Macedonia; delle quali prouincie li nomi antichi sono del tutto estinti. Gli Albanesi habitatori di una portione dell' epiro, Dardania, et Macedonia, et d'un angolo dell' Illirico, quei, che sono uerso la Dalmatia fanno alla latina, gli altri da Durazzo in lá, tutti alla greca, la lingua di questa gente é molto differente dalla Schiauona, et greca, ó sia ella Alana, ó Gottica, portataui da Alarico, che assalendo l' Imp.^o Romano, lungo tempo dimoró nell' Epiro, come paese opportuno all' inuasioned' Italia, et Grecia, ó pur l'antica lingua de Macedoni, il che pare piú uerisimile, poiche non si confa con la Schiauona, che forse fu la propria de Gotti,³⁸ et é la nazione Albanese assai maggiore della sua prouincia, l' Albania cominciando á Ponente da Dolcigno, et dal lago di Scutari, finisce in leuante alla Bastia³⁹ incontra Corfu: ma gli Albanesi

³⁵ Bruni may refer here not only to Protestantism (predominantly of the Swiss Reformed type) but to Antitrinitarianism, which was also present in Ottoman-ruled Hungary (in Pécs and the surrounding districts of Baranya and Tolna) at this time (see S. K. Németh, 'Die Disputation von Fünfkirchen', in R. Dán and A. Pirnát, eds., *Antitrinitarianism in the Second Half of the 16th Century*, Budapest, 1982, pp. 147–55).

³⁶ The Paulicians were an early Christian sect, originally from Armenia but transplanted by Byzantine emperors to the Balkans, with what may have been a dualistic theology (hence the common association with Manichaeism). They were strongly targeted by Roman Catholic missionaries from the 1590s onwards. See D. P. Hupchick, *The Bulgarians in the Seventeenth Century: Slavic Orthodox Society and Culture under Ottoman Rule*, Jefferson, NC, 1993, pp. 77–82. Giovanni Botero wrote that there were 15,000 Paulicians living in 12 villages on the Bulgarian side of the Danube: 'Parlano Bulgaro, e seguono in parte l'heresia de' Manichei, con molti altri errori' (*Relationi universale*, 2 vols., Vicenza, 1595, vol. ii, fo. 49v). The charge of Arianism arose over their Christology, which may have been adoptionist; the reason for the charge of Donatism is less clear.

³⁷ The Roman province of Moesia covered much of modern Serbia and northern Macedonia ('Moesia Superior'), and northern Bulgaria with part of the Romanian Black Sea coast ('Moesia Inferior').

³⁸ Alaric, leader of the Visigoths (d. 410), spent some time in Epirus in 397. The Goths spoke a Germanic language, unlike the Alans (with whom they were not closely associated), who spoke an Iranian one. The idea that the Goths were the ancestors of the Slavs was (thanks partly to the influence of the medieval 'Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea') commonly held in this period: see e.g. Mauro Orbini, *Il regno de gli Slavi hoggi corrottamente detti Schiavoni*, Pesaro, 1601, p. 97. Bruni's suggested identifications of the ancestors of the Albanians with Goths or Macedonians were untypical, given that the standard Renaissance view was that the Albanians were descended from a population which either was driven out of Asia by Scythians, or was itself Scythian and was driven out of Asia by Tatars (though the Alans were sometimes regarded as Scythians). (See e.g. Giovanni Zuallardo [Jan Zuallart], *Il devotissimo viaggio di Gierusalemme*, Rome, 1587, p. 80; Botero, *Relationi universali*, ii, fo. 50r; Giovanni Antonio Magini, *Geografia, cioè descrizione universale della terra*, tr. Leonardo Cernoti, Venice, 1598, fo. 121v.)

³⁹ Bastia was a small port just to the north of Igoumenitsa. A report of 1566 described it as 'un loco dissabitato' with an Ottoman customs official, situated below the village of Sagiada which, with 30 households, was 'habitato puro de albanesi' (J. M. Floristán Imízcoz, 'Los contactos de la Chimarra con el reino de Nápoles durante el siglo XVI y comienzos del XVII', *Erytheia: revista de estudios bizantinos y neogriegos*, 11–12 (1990–1), 105–39; 13 (1992), 53–87; at 13, p. 76).

peró habitano piu in lá in diuersi luoghi della Morea, et Grecia,⁴⁰ et ricoueratisi per le guerre, o trasportati da gl'Imperatori Constantinopolitani, che cosi rimediorno alle solleuazioni di questa gente, della quale piu diffusamente si parlerá, dopo^{xiii} che si dimostreranno le qualita dei Turchi, Li Valacchi, che ancor essi fanno alla greca, pastorj più che agricoltori, habitano molti de monti di Seruia, et Bulgheria, e quasi tutto il Pindo sin á Larissa, et sono ágiuditio^{xiv} mio, reliquie di quei, che da Aureliano Imperatore cacciati^{xv} dalle colonie di Dacia,⁴¹ furno posti di qua dal Danubio, tra la Misia, Macedonia, et Dardania, et poi quasi del tutto esterminati da Greci. Hor questi parlano la med.^a lingua de Moldaui, et Valacchi, si come fanno li Giggi,⁴² che sono sparsi per la Croatia, et Istria; li Greci sono li piu commodi de gl' altri Christiani, che la maggior parte habitano le Cittá, et attendono á traffichi: ma in alcuni luoghi per le continue grauezze, et calunie de Turchi sono sforzati anzi abbandonare li terreni, che uenderli.^{xvi} Li Contadini in altro non possono essercitarsi, che nella terra, ó per bisogno loro, ó per uiolenza de padroni, et cosi si sono inuiliti, li potenti con i guadagni mecanici, et sordidi, et il uolgo co'l no potersi mai satiare, ne riposare.^{xvii} Conseruano li Greci la uanita de Maggiori, et l'odio uerso i cattolici. mostrano uolonta di solleuarsi, et fariano. sono però li contadini del piano quasi del tutto disarmati, et li terrieri braui in apparenza per li uestimenti, senza seguito, timidi per natura, et per il pericolo della facolta, et famiglia. Questi della Morea, et Tessaglia, tra quali si possono annouerare li Valacchi sono i migliori, et per ualore, et per armi; ma questi non cosi commodi ad esser fomentati, et soccorsi: quelli, et piu pronti, se si appresenterá l'occasione, et piu uicini á gl' aiuti rispetto al^{xviii} mare. In queste due Prouincie ci sono infiniti Albanesi, mà nella Morea assai più,^{xix} i maggiori di quali con le solleuazioni, et moti loro perturborno tutta la Grecia. Li Bulgari di Tracia, et Misia di la dal monte Emo (che da Schiauoni staraplanina, da Turchi per il piu Zalicanac é nominato)⁴³ sin al Danubio non sono mal armati, gente militare per dispositione di corpo, et per l'ardire de latrocinij. li Seruiani da

⁴⁰ On the extensive settlements of Albanians in Greece, and especially in the Peloponnese, see P. Topping, 'Albanian Settlements in Medieval Greece: Some Venetian Testimonies', in A. E. Laiou-Thomadakis, ed., *Charanis Studies: Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, New Brunswick, NJ, 1980, pp. 261–71; V. Panagiōtopoulos, *Plēthysmos kai oikismoi tēs Peloponnēsou, 13os–18os aiōnas*, Athens, 1985, pp. 59–100; Sh. Raça, *Shtegtimet dhe ngulimet e shqiptarëve në Greqi shek. XIII–XVI*, Prishtina, 2004.

⁴¹ Aurelian (r. 270–5) decreed the abandonment of the Roman province of Dacia, resettling people from it on the southern side of the Danube.

⁴² 'Čiči' was a name for Vlachs used in Istria and the region of Trieste (see e.g. Ireneo della Croce, *Historia antica, e moderna, sacra, e profana, della città di Trieste*, Venice, 1698, pp. 334–5). Some writers claim that they migrated there only in the sixteenth century (e.g. G. Vassilich, 'Sull'origine dei Cici: contributo all'etnografia dell'Istria', *Archeografo triestino*, ser. 3, 1 (1905), pp. 53–80; 2 (1906), pp. 209–47; D. Darovec, *Breve storia dell'Istria*, tr. M. Rebeschini, Udine, 2010, p. 111); but the name also appears in records from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (see S. Pușcariu, *Studii istroromâne*, 3 vols., Bucharest, 1906–29, vol. ii, pp. 23–30).

⁴³ 'Zalicanac' is perhaps based on a scribal misreading of some term derived from 'Balkan' (the normal Turkish name) – possibly 'Balkan dađi', meaning the Balkan mountain range ('monte Emo', sc. Mount Haemus).

scopia uerso il Danubio piu simili a' Bulgari di Macedonia, che di Misia hanno ancor essi il med.^o desiderio di liberarsi dalla tirannide Turchesca, che chi é schiauo há questa uoglia. Da scopia in quá quei che habitano l'altra parte di Dardania, et li monti uicini all' Albania, non bene ancora domati da Turchi, et per il sito, et per la ferocita loro, debbono esser stimati molto. Questi sono li Piperi, Cucci,^{xx} clementi, Bellopauligi, et altri nel paese della Plaua, parte Albanesi, parte Schiauoni.⁴⁴ De quali li Schiauoni, che fanno alla greca, piu scismatici de gl' altri della nation loro, abhoriscono il nome latino, perseguitato ordinariamente dall' Arciuescouo di Pegio, che ua opprimendo li Prelati cattolici, per la recognitione, che pretende da loro. Questi da non molto in qua hauendo ottenuto amplissima giurisdittione si há usurpato il titolo di Patriarca per opradel Bassa Mehemeto Socoleuigio,^{xxi} che aministró l'Imperio sotto Solimano, Selimo, et Amurate.⁴⁵ E Peg é una terra nel sangiacato di Ducagini appresso al fiume del bianco Drino, seben habitata per il piu dalli spahi del sangiacato di Scutari.⁴⁶ Ma li Turchi sono tutti d' una religione, et d'una lingua, ancorache le Iurucchi,^{xxii} maestri di finiss.^o feltre, gia pastori uagabondi, hora stabili,⁴⁷ progenie di quei Asiatici, che seguirono la fattione, et setta di Zecchelle Persiano,^{xxiii} ó chi che fusse, egli, potria essere, che nell' intrinseco

⁴⁴ Of the four clans or tribes named here, the Kelmendi (on the Albanian side of the modern border) were Albanian-speaking Catholics; of the others (on the Montenegrin side), the Kuči were also Albanian-speaking and Catholic at this time, but later became mostly Slav-speaking and Orthodox (see M.E. Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*, London, 1928, pp. 51–2; F. Baxhaku and K. Kaser, eds., *Die Stammesgesellschaften Nordalbanien: Berichte und Forschungen österreichischer Konsuln und Gelehrter (1861–1917)*, Vienna, 1996, p. 270), and the Piperi and Bjelopavlići were Slav-speaking and Orthodox. These four were closely associated. In 1565 the Kelmendi, Kuči and Piperi jointly rebelled against the Ottomans (S. Pulaha, ed., *Qendresa e popullit shqiptar kundër sundimit osman nga shek. XVI deri në fillim të shek. XVIII: dokumente osmane*, Tirana, 1978, pp. 69–70); in 1614 a document appealing for Western help for an anti-Ottoman rising, written at a meeting of Balkan chiefs in Kuči territory, declared that the Kelmendi, Kuči, Piperi and Bjelopavlići 'già sono trenta anni che vivono in liberta e non pagano tributo al Gran Signore' (F. Lenormant, *Turcs et monténégrins*, Paris, 1866, p. 331).

⁴⁵ The title of Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church had fallen into abeyance in 1463. Mehmed Sokolović (Sokollu), who was *beylerbeyi* of Rumeli (1551–5), then a vizier (1555–65), then Grand Vizier (1565–79), revived it in 1557 and appointed his own close relative, Makarije, Patriarch.

⁴⁶ The *nahiye* (sub-district) of Pejë (Peć) was in fact in the *sancak* of Shkodër; the north-eastern tip of the *sancak* of Dukagjin extended as far as Gjakovë, roughly 25 km to the south of Pejë (S. Pulaha, 'Krahinat e Sanxhakut të Dukagjinit gjatë shekullit XVI', *Studime historike*, 27 (1973), no. 3, pp. 3–51, at pp. 4–5). In this period Pejë was a small town with an overwhelmingly Muslim population: an Ottoman tax register of 1582 lists 158 households, of which only 15 were Christian (S. Pulaha, *Popullsia shqiptare e Kosovës gjatë shekujve XV–XVI (studime dhe dokumente)*, Tirana, 1983, pp. 476–7).

⁴⁷ The Yürüks were a semi-nomadic pastoral people of mixed Asiatic origin in Anatolia, many of whom were settled by the Ottomans in the Balkans (see Ć. Truhelka, 'Über die Balkan-Yürüken', *Revue internationale des études balkaniques*, 1–2 (1934–5), pp. 89–99; M.T. Gökbilgin, *Rumuli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân*, Istanbul, 1957). On their production of felt see H. İnalcık, *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, Bloomington, IN, 1993, pp. 25, 116.

credessero piu ad Hali, che á Maometo:⁴⁸ et questi sotto capo part[icola]^{re} habitano piu in Dobrutia, che nel resto di Bulgaria.⁴⁹ Attendeuano un tempo li Turchi all' arme solamente, et quei pochi, che faceano mercantie, le faceuano col mezzo de Christiani; ma doppo, che non hebbero piu occasioni di far prede, et incendij, essendosi ripopolato il paese, conquistato da loro, si sono dati all' agricoltura, et á traffichi in maniera, che ad altro non pensano. et la professione del negotio é la piú stimata tra l'utile, et per il riposo: che la mercantia de grandi consiste nell' usura: et questo é uitio anco di quei Christiani. Nelle Terre di Grecia li Turchi per il piú non sono superiori á Christiani, coi quali cohabitano: anzi che molte sono tutte de Greci. In quelle di Bulgaria, Seruia, et Albania sono quasi tutti Turchi per il piu forastieri di diuerse nationi, et razza de schiaui (in Albania però paesani) ó mercanti, ó artigiani, che paudentano d' ogni moto, armati all' antica, d' arco, e scimitara, ma li maritimi hanno anco qualche arcobugio. li contadini, che sono in manco numero de Christiani, hanno pochissime armi. quelli, che non sono mescolati con christiani,^{xxiv} sono del tutto Turchi, et questi sono solamente in Bulgaria di Tracia, et Macedonia, piu che di Misia; ma quei, che stanno^{xxv} in compagnia de Christiani, et che hanno rinegato, ó per paura di qualche castigo, ó per euitatione delle grauezze straordinarie, oltra il tributo, hora, che s' accorgono d' esser peggio trattati, mostrano per forza, d' esser Turchi; perche li ministri ottomani non uogliono, che tutti li christiani abbandonino la religione per non perder la commodita di predargli, e fargli schiaui, et l' utile, che cauano dalle x.^{me} per la militia.⁵⁰ De soldati poi, che si chiamano spahi de timaro, et seruono á cauallo sotto propri sangiacchi, realmente hoggidi é maggiore il grido, che'l ualore, et il numero. sono disarmati á gl' arcobugi impatienti

⁴⁸ 'Zechelle' here was Shahkulu, the charismatic leader of an anti-Ottoman revolt in the Teke region of southern Anatolia in 1511. (He was therefore known as 'Tekeli', given as 'Techellis' in some Western writings, e.g. Paolo Giovio, *Historiarum sui temporis tomus primus*, Venice, 1566, fo. 95r–v.) Shahkulu was not himself from Persia, but the rebel movement was pro-Persian, as Shahkulu's followers were *kızılbaş* (Shiites: hence Bruni's reference to the veneration of Ali). (See Ç. Uluçay, 'Yavuz Sultan Selim nasıl padişah oldu?', *Tarih dergisi*, 6 (1954), no. 9, pp. 53–90, at pp. 61–74; H. Sohrweide, 'Der Sieg der Safaviden in Persien und seine Rückwirkungen auf die Schiiten Anatoliens im 16. Jahrhundert', *Der Islam: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients*, 41 (1965), pp. 95–223, at pp. 145–56.)

⁴⁹ After the defeat of Shahkulu many of his followers were deported to the Balkans. Those who came to eastern Bulgaria and the Dobrudža supervened there on groups of previously deported Shiites or quasi-Shiites (F.F. de Jong, 'The Kızılbaş Sects in Bulgaria: Remnants of Safavi Islam?', *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, 9, no. 1 (March 1985), 30–2; L. Mikov, *Izkustvoto na heterodoksnite miusiulmani v Bŭlgariia (XVI–XX vek): Bektaşi i Kŭzŭlbaşi/Alevii*, Sofia, 2005, pp. 22–3). In the early sixteenth century roughly 200 groups of Yürüks were settled in Dobrudža (R. Kovačev ['Kowačev'], 'Register aus dem osmanischen Archiv in Konstantinopel für die Stadt Varna und ihre Umgebung (zweite Hälfte des 16. Jh.)', *Bulgarian Historical Review*, 31 (2003), 29–68, at p. 61), many of whom were apparently followers of Shahkulu. A mid-sixteenth-century register of the district of Varna shows Yürüks named 'Shahkulu' (Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler*, pp. 214–16; on Yürüks in Dobrudža, and devotion to Shahkulu there, see also A. Kayapınar, 'Dobruca yöresinde XVI. yüzyılda gayr-i Sünni İslam'ın izleri', *Alevilik-Bektaşılık araştırmaları dergisi*, 1 (2009), 85–102, at pp. 88, 93, 99).

⁵⁰ This reference to tithes ('x.^{me}', sc. 'decime') is ambiguous, but seems most likely to mean the *devşirme*, the collection of Christian boys for janissary (and other) service.

de disagi, ó per habito, ó per concorrenza perche con tutto, che la maggior parte siano leuati di fresco, ó dalla zappa, et pastura, ó dalla seruitu, uogliono nondimeno condurre in campo tutte le commodita di letto, et cucina, et di qui auiene, che ne gl' esserciti loro é tanta quantita di caualli, et perche li piu hanno comprato questi timari, che di rado si danno alla uirtu; però non uogliono arrischiare la uita nelle guerre; anzi che molti ó gli riuendono, ó mandano li seruitori in uece loro con intentione di renontia. donde poi procede tanta confusione nella disciplina militare, che é senza ubidienza, et ordine nella cauallaria,⁵¹ quelli, che fanno professione di braui uanno auanti, et in questi consiste la speranza delle battaglie.^{xxvi} marciano malamente, et alloggiano largo, si come in questo proposito Pietro Vaiuoda di Moldaui, quello, che hauendo abbandonato il Principato, intrattenuto poi in Alemagna con lite, mori in Bolzano l'anno 1594^{xxvii} tra l'altre cose rispose all'Arciduca Ferdinando, che da pochi Christiani erano superati molti Turchi prima per l' aiuto di Dio, secondariam.^{le} per l'auantaggio dell' arme, e della disciplina.⁵² Fantaria^{xxviii} nei mediteranei é pochiss.^a perche poche sono le fortezze. Alle marine in diuersi luoghi sono descritti molti, ma per il piu inutili ó per l'età ó per l'essercitio, che fanno lontaniss.^o dal militare. Anzi nella scelta de Giannizzeri di quest' anno non s' é guardato altro, che la dispositione del corpo, et l'eta matura, per mandargli di longo alla guerra, e fargli riputare ueterani, ancorche pochissimi sapeuano cingersi^{xxix} la spada, ne maneggiar^{xxx} l'archobugio. erano gia quasi tutti li soldati ricchi, hora pochissimi hanno danari per hauergli consumati in questa guerra d' Vngheria, doue non hanno potuto predare, et le uettouaglie sono state carissime et perche molti per comprare li timari hanno preso il danaro ad interesse, et molti datolo ad usura ad altri soldati falliti, oltra che gli Asiatici, et i Cauallieri della porta che si chiamano tutti spahoglani, seben diuisi in quattro ordini, e sei schiere di sei differenciatì stendardi,⁵³ che hanno suernato questi anni nella Seruia, e Bulgaria,⁵⁴ hanno in maniera rouinato le uille loro, che li contadini in molti luoghi non hanno hauuto, che seminare: anzi, che per fare maggiori questi nel

⁵¹ The general validity of Bruni's account here can be judged in the light of Ferhad Pasha's attempt to assemble an army in northern Bulgaria for the Wallachian campaign of 1595: of the 40–50,000 men summoned, only 4–5,000 appeared (R. Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare, 1500–1700*, London, 1999, p. 140).

⁵² On the exiled Voivod Petru Şchiopul, and Bruni's involvement in his law-suit, see above, p. 000. This conversation with Archduke Ferdinand, at which Bruni acted as interpreter, took place at the castle of Ambras, near Innsbruck, on 3 August 1593 (Hurmuzaki *et al.*, eds., *Documente*, vol. xi, p. 358).

⁵³ The Sultan's standing force of cavalry (the 'spahis of the Porte') was divided into four regiments: the *sipahiođlanlar* ('sons of spahis'); the *silahdarân* ('sword-bearers'); the *ulufeciyân* ('paid troops'); and the *gureba* ('foreigners'). The last two were divided into two separate troops, giving a total of six. (See A.H. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge, MA, 1913, pp. 98–9; and the entries in G. Bayerle, *Pashas, Beks and Effendis: A Historical Dictionary of Titles and Terms in the Ottoman Empire*, Istanbul, 1997.) The term *sipahiođlanlar* was commonly applied to all of them; as Lazaro Soranzo explained, 'perche il numero de' Spahoglani é maggiore di tutti gli altri, indifferentemente sono chiamati tutti Spahoglani' (*L'Ottomanno*, p. 13).

⁵⁴ The use of Belgrade (and Buda) for the wintering of Ottoman forces between campaigns was a significant feature of this war (see C.B. Finkel, 'The Provisioning of the Ottoman Army during the Campaigns of 1593–1606', in A. Tietze, ed., *Habsburgisch-osmanische Beziehungen*, Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. xiii, Vienna, 1985, 107–23, at pp. 117–19).

marciare molti si sono uestiti alla Tartara, non hauendo fatto distintione da Turchi á Christiani. ma tornando alla fantaria, che sta nei presidij, e ua sotto nome di Asappi, e Besli,⁵⁵ per l' ordinario non há piú di quattro, ó cinque aspri al giorno, che sono due tallari al mese,⁵⁶ malam.^{te}pagati, si come anco delle paghe sono stati stentati li spahoglani. Li sangiaccati sotto'l Bellerbei sono questi. In Bulgaria alla riuá del Danubio Silistria, Nicopoli, Vidino. in fra terra cherclisse,⁵⁷ sofia, residenza del Bellerbei, viza⁵⁸ in Tracia, chirmano⁵⁹ in Macedonia: che hó uoluto disegnarli co'l nome antico di quelle Prouincie, accio si sappia doue sono. In Seruia al Danubio Samandria⁶⁰ ouero Belgrado, che queste due cittá sono un sangiaccato, nei mediterranei Vrciterno,⁶¹ Alazachissaro, che i Seruiani chiamano Crusceuato,⁶² Giustendile,^{xxxi} Scopia, Preteremo,⁶³ che possede molti luochi dell'Albania. In Grecia Iannina, Angelo Castro,⁶⁴ Salonicchi, e Triccala, sangiaccato peculiare della Famiglia dei turahanli.^{xxxii}⁶⁵ Nella Morea uno solo, che li

⁵⁵ *Azab* was a general term for an auxiliary soldier employed in a garrison; *beşlü* had a similar meaning (from *beş*, 'five', referring to a system of recruitment in which every five households had to supply one man).

⁵⁶ Bruni's account is corroborated by Ottoman payroll documents, which show that in most Hungarian garrisons in 1596–7 janissaries (who were better paid than *azabs*) received between 5½ and 7 *akçes* per day (C. Finkel, *The Administration of Warfare: The Ottoman Military Campaigns in Hungary, 1593–1606*, Vienna, 1988, p. 76.) Until the debasement of the silver content of the *akçe* in the mid-1580s, there had been 40 *akçes* to a thaler; Bruni's statement here implies a rate of between 60 and 75.

⁵⁷ Kırkkilise.

⁵⁸ Vize.

⁵⁹ Ćirmen (Ćernomen).

⁶⁰ Semendire (Smederevo).

⁶¹ Vučitrn (Vushtri).

⁶² Alacahisar, Kruševac.

⁶³ Prizren. 'Preteremo' is probably a scribal error for the form 'Preserenio' (which occurs later in the text; and cf. the variant in *C* at that point, 'Preterenio').

⁶⁴ This *sancak* was more commonly known as Karheli. Its seat of administration was Angelokastro, but its most important towns were Preveza and Arta. (See Birken, *Die Provinzen*, p. 55, where it is described as belonging to the province of the *kapudan paşa*.)

⁶⁵ Turahan Bey, who died in c.1456, inherited large land-holdings in Thessaly from his father, Yiğit Bey, a prominent Yürük commander; Turahan's son and grandson endowed many charitable foundations in Thessaly, and their descendants retained a strong connection with the town of Larissa until the nineteenth century (see F. Başar, 'Osmanlı devletinin kuruluş döneminde hizmeti görülen akıncı aileleri: III: Turahanoğulları', *Türk dünyası tarih dergisi*, no. 65 (May 1992), pp. 47–50; M. Kiel, 'Das türkische Thessalien: Etabliertes Geschichtsbild versus Osmanische Quellen. Ein Beitrag zur Entmythologisierung der Geschichte Griechenlands', in R. Lauer and P. Schreiner, eds., *Die Kultur Griechenlands in Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Bericht über das Kolloquium der Südosteuropa-Kommission 28.–31. Oktober 1992*, Göttingen, 1996, pp. 109–96, at pp. 145–52). Yürüks and others from Anatolia were settled in Thessaly, and the family's political power in the sixteenth century may have derived from the fact that they continued to supply *akıncı* forces (irregular cavalry) to the Ottoman army, drawn from that population (see e.g. the order of March 1565 to the 'Turhanlu'ya tabi' in İ. Binark, ed., *6 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri*, 3 vols., Ankara, 1995, vol. iii, p. 6). That this *sancak* belonged to the family is, however, not recorded in other sources.

greci dicono di Gastuni,⁶⁶ che quello di Misitra^{xxxiii} et altri sono sottoposti al Gen[er]ale di mare. In Albania Scutari, Ducagini, Elbasano, Vallona, Deluino, che tutti arriano alle marine, Ocrida,^{xxxiv} nel cui sangiaccato é Croia famosa per Scanderbech, há grande mescolanza de Greci, Bulgari, et Albanesi. Sono ancora due minuti sangiaccati sotto'l Bellerbego oltra il Danubio, che prima erano un solo, Bendero, et Achermano,⁶⁷ che ambedue non hanno cento spahi. Il sangiaccato di Giustindilha .1300., de gl' altri niuno passa .800. gli ordinari sono di 200. in .300. rari di .600. alcuni non arriano ad .80. come Scopia Preteremo, Ducagini, Scutari há poco piú, chirmono .50. in .60.,⁶⁸ non computando mai nel numero de Spahi le famiglie de sangiacchi. Da questi ueriss.ⁱ conti manifestam.^{te} si uede, che la moltitudine de Turchi é minore della fama: di che accortisi^{xxxv} ancor essi, hanno introdotto una noua militia di terrazzani, et contadini, allettati con diuersi priuilegi; ma piu con l'habilita á gl' honori, et col nome de fr[at]elli de schiaui, che questo é il piú honorato appresso di loro, e chiamansi Culcardasi.⁶⁹ oltra li spahi sono li Acanzi⁷⁰ la piu parte contadini, caualieri di militia, ne del tutto uolontaria, ne del tutto pagata per certa essentione, et per la licenza c'hanno di saccomettere^{xxxvi} ogni cosa á guisa di Tartari, á quali in molte arti si rassomigliano: et erano già in piu numero, e stima auanti chel Turco si seruisse de Tartari. da alcuni sono nominati uenturieri malamente, che questi da Turchi sono dette Gionli.⁷¹ et li Acanzi habitano per il piú in Dobruccia,^{xxxvii} prouincia di Bulgheria uerso il Danubio, sotto

⁶⁶ Gastuni (on the north-western corner of the Peloponnese) does not feature in other listings of *sancaks* for this period; Birken notes it as a *sancak* only in the eighteenth century (*Die Provinzen*, p. 63).

⁶⁷ The territory of Bender (Tighina) was part of the *sancak* of Akkerman (Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy, Cetatea Albă) until 1570, when it became a separate *sancak*; both, however, were transferred from the *beylerbeylik* of Rumeli to the newly formed *beylerbeylik* of Özü (Ochakiv) in 1593 (Birken, *Die Provinzen*, pp. 52–3).

⁶⁸ Bruni's figures may be compared with those given by an Ottoman register of spahis of 1605–6 (the last year of the Habsburg-Ottoman war), and by the writer Ayn-i Ali (who combined both contemporary and historical data) in 1609. For Kiustendil the figures were, respectively, 866 and 1,065; only one other *sancak*, Sofia, had more than 800 (1,423 and 2,045); the former document listed 4 *sancaks* as between 369 and 517, the latter 5 as between 312 and 517; Skopje and Prizren were not listed, but Dukagjin was given as 49 and 62; Shkodër as 108 and 254; Çirmen as 55 and 150. (See V. P. Mutafčieva and S. A. Dimitrov, *Sur l'état du système des timars des XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles*, Sofia, 1968, pp. 13–14.)

⁶⁹ Bruni correctly translates *kul kardaşı* ('brother of a slave'); the word *kul*, meaning a male slave, was generally applied to janissaries and spahis of the Porte, but the use of this phrase for a type of militia is not recorded in other histories of this war.

⁷⁰ The *akıncı* ('raider') troops were irregular cavalry forces. On their conditions of life and service (including exemption from taxes) see M. Alkan, 'The End of the *Akıncı* Corps in the Ottoman Empire', in *IBAC 2012: 2nd International Balkan Annual Conference: The Balkans at a Crossroads*, ed. B. Çınar, 2 vols., Istanbul, 2013, vol. ii, pp. 492–501, at p. 496; cf. also Finkel, *Administration of Warfare*, p. 47.

⁷¹ The *gönüllü* ('volunteer') soldiers served without salary, for plunder or the possibility of a reward (e.g. a timar estate). However, some did receive salaries to perform garrison duties, and from the end of the sixteenth century some *gönüllü* units were recruited as salaried auxiliaries to the janissaries (see the entry in Bayerle, *Pashas, Beks*).

un particolar cap.^o della famiglia dei Mihalogli.^{xxxviii}⁷² Nella detta Dobruccia^{xxxix} tra il Danubio, et le ruine di quella lunga muraglia, che fu tirata da gl' Imp.^{ri} greci da Carasui appresso Silistria sino a Constanza su la riu del mar maggiore,⁷³ stantiano li Tartari Ciebelli,⁷⁴ ó uogliamo dire huomini d'arme, che possono essere da due milla; li armi sono scimitare, frecce, giacchi, e celate. Del nome di questi si uagliano spesso li Turchi, per dar ad intendere d' essersi ingrossati con la uenuta dei Tartari del Crimo. conosciuto da Herodoto insieme con la fossa per la quale da Polacchi, et Russi sono chiamati Precopiti.⁷⁵ et per farlo credere piú facilmente, fanno passar di qua dal Danubio quei Tartari, che ordinariamente stanno in quell'angolo della Moldauia, che tra li fiumi Niestro,^{xl} et Danubio sino al mare maggiore costituisce li sangiacati di Bendero, et Achermano. Bendero é quello che li Moldaui et Polacchi chiamano Tegina, et Achermano questi Bialogrod,^{xli} quelli lo chiamano Cittat Alba.⁷⁶ Hor di questi Tartari parte habitano con le famigle intorno chilian^{xliii} Terra mercantile,⁷⁷ parte sono ladri, che uengono dal Crimo per correr quelle campagne, e tutti insieme non sono manco di sei, ne piú d' ottomila. et in uero al Turco costano care le leuate de Tartari, che quella ingorda nation per il piu non parte da Casa se non é prima prouista di uettouaglia per la famiglia, che lascia, et per se d'armi, et uestimenti sino à stiuiali; et conoscendo il bisogno, che s' há dell' opera sua, ó il pericolo nel quale é mandata, fa nascer garbugli, per far crescer il pagamento, ó pur per ogni minimo intoppo se ne torna á dietro. Ne uoglio

⁷² The Mihaloğulları were descendants of Köse Mihal (d. 1340), a Greek convert to Islam who became a famous Ottoman military commander; members of this family were influential in Bulgaria and the Dobrudža region, where they commanded *akıncı* forces, some of whom were Yürüks. See F. Başar, 'Osmanlı devletinin kuruluş döneminde hizmeti görülen akıncı aileleri: I: Mihaloğulları', *Türk dünyası tarih dergisi*, no. 63 (March 1992), pp. 20–6; M. Kiprovska, 'The Mihaloğlu Family: Gazi Warriors and Patrons of Dervish Hospices', *Osmanlı araştırmaları*, 32 (2008), pp. 193–222; Kayapınar, 'Dobruca yöresinde', p. 92.

⁷³ Bruni refers to the 'Valu lui Traian' ('Trajan's rampart'), a combination of three fortification systems, a stone wall and two earthen walls, running eastwards from near Cernavodă to Constanța, which was traditionally attributed to the emperor Trajan. Romanian archaeologists have dated it to the tenth or eleventh century, but recent work suggests that it may indeed have a Roman origin (see W. S. Hanson and I. A. Oltean, 'The "Valu lui Traian": A Roman Frontier Rehabilitated', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 25 (2012), pp. 297–318, esp. pp. 298–9, 306–16). Karasu was a village, on the site of which (to the south-east of Cernavodă) the modern town of Medgidia was founded in the 1850s (see K.H. Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History: Selected Articles and Essays*, Leiden, 2002, pp. 202–5).

⁷⁴ The term *cebelü* or *cebeli* ('armed man') normally referred to an armed retainer who was equipped and maintained on a military campaign by his spahi.

⁷⁵ Bruni refers to Herodotus, *Histories*, IV.3.2, which mentions a trench dug between the mountains of Tauris and the Sea of Azov. 'Precopiti' here means people of Perekop, the town on the isthmus of that name which joins the Crimean peninsula to the mainland. The name comes from a Slavic word meaning 'to excavate across'; a defensive trench was dug across the isthmus in 1540 (S.R. Grinevetsky *et al.*, eds., *The Black Sea Encyclopedia*, Heidelberg, 2015, p. 605).

⁷⁶ On these two *sancaks* see above, n. 67. The Polish names are Tehinia and Białogród.

⁷⁷ Kiliya (Chilia), a former Moldavian port which was now located in directly-ruled Ottoman territory (on a branch of the Danube close to the Black Sea), was an important trading centre during this period.

tralasciare quest' altro stratageme de Turchi, che li sangiacchi per mantener l'opinione del numero nel comparire in campo, bene spesso si prestano le genti l'un l'altro, ouero s'incontrano tanto lontano, che da compagni non possono esser uisti, e poi auendosi tutti insieme al resto dell' essercitio, fanno mostra di moltitudine infinita. et così ancora ingannano se stessi nel riceuer gl' aiuti de Tartari. Per le quai ragioni, et per la forma del marciare, et alloggiar l'essercitio, pare innumerabile etiandio á loro medesimi.

Restami á soggiungere dell' Albania. In questa Prouincia come s'è detto, dalla Bastia sino á Durazzo si uiue alla Greca, sotto li sangiaccati di Deluino,^{xliii} Vallona, et Elbasano. Nel sangiaccato di Deluino quasi tutti sano la lingua greca: in quello della Vallona la maggior parte. Sonouì ancora molte ville di Bulgari, che cauano la pece.⁷⁸ et la Vallona sola fra tutte le terre d'Albania é habitata da Turchi forastieri d'origine Asiatica, di quei, che seguitauano Zechelle^{xliiiv79} Appresso la Vallona poco piú d'una giornata sono li Cimarioti montanari, feroci certo, ma poco stabili, armati per il piu di zagaglie, e frombole sono adesso solleuati á persuasione d' alcuni, ma piú per opera di Atanasio Arciuesc.^o d' Ocrida, che sotto spetie di uisita (che Ocrida é lontana dalla Cimerra intorno á quattro giornate) há fatto loro creder d'hauer intell.^a con l'Im.^{re}; et che tantosto sariano uenute genti del Ré di spagna, con le quali haueriano potuto passare sino etc. per unirse etc.^{xliiiv80} li uillaggi

⁷⁸ Pitch (bitumen) was a major export from Vlorë, sent mostly to Ottoman territory or Dubrovnik (see V. Vinaver, 'Dubrovačko-albanski ekonomski odnosi krajem XVI veka', *Anali Historijskog Instituta u Dubrovniku*, 1 (1952), 207–31, at pp. 208, 211; V. Miović, *Dubrovačka republika u spisima Osmanskih sultana*, Dubrovnik, 2005, p. 56). That it was mined by Slavs in the Vlorë region is a detail not supplied by any other source.

⁷⁹ That the original Muslim population of Vlorë consisted of deported *kızılbaş* (Shiites) is not recorded in any other source. Yet it helps to explain an otherwise puzzling comment in the travelogue of Evliya Çelebi, who visited the city in 1670 and observed that the young men of Vlorë habitually invoked Ali, and were 'devoted to the Prophet's family' – a code-phrase for strong Shiite tendencies (see *Evliya Çelebi in Albania and Adjacent Regions (Kosovo, Montenegro, Ohrid)*, ed. and tr. R. Dankoff and R. Elsie, Leiden, 2000, p. 145; on devotion to the family of the Prophet see M. Moosa, *Extremist Shiites: The Ghulat Sects*, Syracuse, NY, 1988, pp. 78–87). Although the population register of 1583 records no Muslims in Vlorë other than the members of the garrison, other evidence testifies to a Muslim community engaged in a range of civilian activities: see J. Luetić ['Luetiq'], 'Lundruesitetarë, marina tregtaredheveprimtaria e portevetë Vlorës, Durrësit e Lezhësdhelidhjetnautike-komercialetëshqiptarëve me dubrovnikasitnëvitet 1566–1584', *Gjurmimealbanologjike*, ser. shk. hist., 14, for 1984 (1985), 111–36, and G. Veinstein, 'Une source ottomane de l'histoirealbanaise: le registre des *kadid*'Avlonya (Vlorë), 1567–1568', in Ch. Gasparës, ed., *Oi Alvanoistomesaiōna*, Athens, 1998, pp. 371–84.

⁸⁰ The two instances of 'etc.' in the text are puzzling; possibly the scribe of an earlier version had found two passages, containing names, hard to read. Athanasios Riseas, Archbishop of Ohrid, led a revolt in Himarë which began in late July 1596; on 10 August his men overran a recently built Ottoman fort, raising the Spanish flag there, before the Ottomans swiftly re-took it. Athanasios had previously made contact with the Spanish authorities in Naples, where he had received some general encouragement but very little practical help. See P. Bartl, *Der Westbalkan zwischen spanischer Monarchie und Osmanischem Reich: zur Türkenkriegsproblematik an der Wende vom 16. zum 17. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, 1974, pp. 124–7; J.M. Floristán Imízcoz, ed., *Fuentes para la política oriental de los Austrias: la documentación griega del Archivo de Simancas (1571–1621)*, 2 vols., Leon, 1988, vol. ii, pp. 430–2; I. Zamputi, ed., *Dokumente të shekujve XVI–XVII për historinë e Shqipërisë*, vol. ii, Tirana, 1990, pp. 114–15, 132–3, 142–3, 152–6;

di questi ribellati sono da .18. il maggiore puo fare 500 huomini da fattione, de gl'altri alcuni non so se passeranno 200.^{xlviii} ma questo moto loro puo durar poco se non é mantenuto da aiuti forastieri, che saranno sforzati, si come hanno fatto altre uolte di riconciliarsi con Turchi con conditione di molto disauantaggio, il che (per^{xlvii} tacer d'altri) é intrauenuto á giorni nostri alli Ducati loro uicini, i quali dopo esser mal trattati da Pirri Bassá all' hora sangiacco di Deluino, et ridotti á poco piu di .200. case sono stati trasportati á Herico che anticam.^{lc} si chiamó Orico.⁸² Li latini Albanesi, si come sono li meglio armati, cosi anco sono li piú fedeli Christiani dell' Im.^o Turchesco tenuti li piú ualenti, e temuti per le continue solleuat.ⁿⁱ, tumultuando essi per ogni minima cagione, non meno quei del piano, che li montanari: ma poi mal grado loro s'humiliano, non potendo soli resistere non tanto á Turchi, quanto ai uicini Christiani da quali sono molte uolte piu traugiati per le loro rapine, che per simulazione di fedelta uerso il Turco. et bene spesso li sangiacchi danno loro causa di rebellion, ó per depredargli, ó per uendicarsene, ó per hauer scusa^{xlviii} di non andar á guerra lontana et per tale effetto quello di Ducagini non parte mai, si come anco il sangiaccho di Angelo Castro, che sotto pretesto di difender il paese dall' armate Christiane, sempre sta á casa. Li Ducagini habitano il monte scardo⁸³ á confini di Preserenio,^{xlix} et quei, che sono lontani dalla strada, non pagano tributo, difesi dall' asprezza del sito. il monte si chiama Negro,

A. Pippidi, *Byzantins, Ottomans, Roumains: le Sud-Est européen entre l'héritage impérial et les influences occidentales*, Paris, 2006, pp. 126–31.

⁸¹ In a letter to Rome in 1581 the leaders of Himarë listed 38 villages (including many outside the Himarë district in the strict sense) and said that from these and the neighbouring areas they could immediately raise 10,000 men (N. Borgia, *I monaci basiliani d'Italia in Albania*, 2 vols., Rome, 1935–42, vol. i, pp. 18, 21). For Himarë in the strict sense, the Ottoman tax register of 1583 listed 13 villages; the largest, Himarë itself, had 130 households, Vuno had 100, and most others had between 40 and 80 (F. Duka, 'Aspekte social-ekonomike dhe demografike të Himarës gjatë sundimit osman (shek. XV–XVI)', in L. Nasi *et al.*, eds., *Himara në shekuj*, Tirana, 2004, pp. 62–95, at pp. 75–86).

⁸² The village of Dukat, lying outside Himarë (to the north–west), had cooperated with the Himariots in earlier anti-Ottoman initiatives; a document of 1566 described it as having 1,800 households (but only 200 potential anti-Ottoman fighters, perhaps because many had converted to Islam). (See Floristán Imízcoz, 'Los contactos de la Chimarra', pp. 133, 137–8.) It took part in the revolt of 1571 (İ. Binark *et al.*, eds., *12 Numaralı mühimme defteri*, 3 vols., Ankara, 1996, vol. i, pp. 263–4), and joined Himarë in planning a rising in 1581 (Borgia, *I monaci basiliani*, vol. i, p. 21). The identity of Piri Pasha is unclear; he may perhaps have been the Piri who served before 1589 as *kethüda* (chamberlain) to Doğanç Mehmed Pasha, the *beylerbeyi* of Rumeli, and became *sancakbeyi* of Silistra by 1593 (de Hurmuzaki *et al.*, eds., *Documente*, vol. xi, p. 770), or the Piri who was *sancakbeyi* of Salonica in 1594–5 (Selaniki Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selaniki*, ed. M. İpşirli, 2 vols., Istanbul, 1989, vol. ii, pp. 423, 452). Orikum, on the south-western side of the Bay of Dukat (below the Bay of Vlërë), is close to the site of the Illyrian and Roman port of Oricum.

⁸³ Mount Scardus is normally identified with the Sharr Mountains (whose name is derived from it), which straddle the border of Kosovo and Macedonia, to the south of Prizren. Bruni expands the term to cover the entire northern Albanian mountain range; this was shared between the *sancak* of Dukagjin, which extended south-westwards from Gjakovë to Lezhë, and the *sancak* of Shkodër, which covered the arc of mountain country to the north of it, from Pejë to Shkodër. The name 'Dukagjin', which is now limited to one area (to the north-east of Shkodër), was commonly used as a general term for the northern Albanian highlands.

et di tal nome si contano molti monti in Turchia.⁸⁴ L'Albania al mare Adriatico é circondata da altiss.ⁱ monti, piana, et irrigata da spessi, e grossi fiumi, che á pedoni prohibiscono la congiuntione tra di loro. et li Christiani non hanno cauallaria, ne modo di far ponti.ⁱ li luochi serrati sono in poter de Turchi, ancorche ne presidati, ne custoditi tutti. Li principali almeno sicuri, che da Christiani occultam.^{te} non possono esser rubati. Il che hó uoluto accennare per l'opinione, che s'há di questi popoli, che da se possano far cosa buona senza gente forastiera, et che la fame sola de gl' aiuti d' Italia, e spagna, col mostrar loro qualche bandiera, basti á solleuargli: Volesselo Iddio, pur che non pericolino gl'infelici, et che con questi trattati tanto palesi non si perda affatto l'opportunita di far bene per l'auenire. Io so che i Principi quando uogliono non possono esser ingannati, ancorche taluolta mostrino di credere á proposte, che hanno per auentura del uano, ó dell' impossibile: che se riescono,^{lii} ne riportano gloria, et anco non riuscendo laude, per la fede, che fanno al mondo della grandezza dell' animo loro, et del desiderio del beneficio publico. Ma senza dubbio non saria male di cercare di mantener questi popoli nella religione sin á tanto che sua Diuina^{liii} Maesta con uie migliori fauorisca questi santi pensieri. E forse che é uicina la rouina dell' Imperio Ottomano. Tuttauia si deue procurare la salute di tante anime, che per l'ignoranza, e rarita de Prelati possono perire, parlo de latini d'Albania e Seruia. Sono in Albania al presente due soli Vescoui d' un' istesso nome di Nicoló il Zapatense,^{liv85} et il Stefanense:⁸⁶ che quello d'Alessio, gia Zoccolante, che per l' indispositione dimora in Ragusi sua patria,⁸⁷ et per l' assenza, et perche non há la lingua poco frutto puo fare. Il Stefanense, che anche egli è stato^{lv} Zoccolante, per esser entrato in uoglia di sorprendere Croia co'l mezzo d'un Nidar Manasi stradaruolo Turco (che puó e non puó succedere) si ua ascondendo, che li Turchi hanno di gia scoperto il trattato, et credo se ne burlano:⁸⁸

⁸⁴ In addition to the term 'Monte Negro' (Crna Gora, Karadağ, Mal i Zi) which has become the name of the modern country, Bruni probably also has in mind the Skopska Crna Gora (Malet e Karadakut), the hill-country to the north and north-east of Skopje.

⁸⁵ Nikollë Bardhi (Nicolò Bianchi), who came from a famous Albanian Catholic family (he was the uncle of the author and bishop Frang Bardhi) became Bishop of Sapë in 1594 (C. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, vol. iii, Munich, 1910, p. 310). The diocese of Sapë (Sappa), on the south-eastern side of Lake Shkodër, was united with that of Sardë (Sarda), which included the town of Danj (Dagno).

⁸⁶ Nikollë Mekajshi (Nicolò Mechaisci) became Bishop of Benda in 1592; this diocese, which was located on the southern side of the Mat district, to the east and north-east of Tirana, was often described as united with (or perhaps equivalent to) the diocese of Stefani (Shtjefni), the precise location of which is unclear (see P. Bartl, ed., *Albania sacra: geistliche Visitationsberichte aus Albanien*, vol. ii, Wiesbaden, 2011, pp. 18–19).

⁸⁷ Innocentius Stoicinus (Stojičić? Stojković?) became Bishop of Lezhë in August 1596 (Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. iii, p. 116). He was apparently a friend of Bruni's: according to a denunciation of Stoicinus by Mekajshi in 1603, Bruni had once intervened in Rome to save Stoicinus from punishment for immoral behaviour (see Malcolm, *Agents of Empire*, pp. 310–11). Bruni describes him here as a former Franciscan ('Zoccolante'); the ecclesiastical historian Daniel Farlati (*Illyrici sacri*, 8 vols., Venice, 1751–1819, vol. vii, p. 391) wrote that he was a Benedictine.

⁸⁸ Further details about this episode are not known, but Mekajshi continued to take an active part in anti-Ottoman initiatives in subsequent years. In 1601 he sent a detailed plan for an anti-Ottoman rising to Rome, and in 1602 he took part in a meeting of Albanian leaders in Mirditë which sent Nikollë Bardhi to Venice with a proposal for a pro-Venetian revolt (Bartl, *Der Westbalkan*, pp. 92–3).

peró non essendo seculo, malamente puo attendere all' uff.^opastorale. Il Zapatense non puó esser per tutto, hauendo anco uisitato questo inuerno li catt.^{li} di Seruia, come piupropinquo alla uacante Sede d' Antiuari: la quale città Schiauona da uinticinque anni in qua che é soggetta á gl' Ottomani, há cominciato intender la lingua Albanese, per esser gouernata da Turchi di questa, et non della sua^{li} natione. Et certo che é necessario, che i Vescoui siano del paese, et che habbiano dipendenze, et da uiuere, che se saranno forastieri saranno continuamente calunniati, et per auentura alcuno uolontieri si ualera di questo attacco per godersi il titolo episcopale, et qualche pensioncella, senza stare á residentia. Et non hauendo dependentie, saranno non solo suillaneggiati da Turchi, ma anco da Christiani malriuerenti ne potranno andare per la Diocese, che soli non sono securi, et essendo poueri non possono tener seruitu. Così la dignita episcopale é inuilita, et le chiese ruinano non tanto per la tirannia de Turchi, quanto per la miseria di curati. Delli siti, et passi per entrar nelle prouincie di questo Bellerbegato, et del modo di occupare, et mantenere li luochi piú opportuni, perche á me é piu difficile il trattare non gli hauendo ueduti tutti, che ad altri il discorrere per la lettura dell' historie, doue ui si mostrano tutte le strade, per le quali gli esserciti Romani, et d'altre nationi hanno penetrato sin al Danubio, ó dal Danubio arriuato al mare:⁸⁹ lasceró questa parte á chi piú tocca, contentandomi di hauer semplice, e realmente rappresentata la conditione presente de Turchi, e christiani: che si come il narrare quello, che s'há uisto, e sentito, á ciascuno^{li} é permesso, così il uoler persuader á Principi quello, che debbono, ó possono fare, non é lecito á tutti.^{li}

Appendix: Soranzo's borrowings from Bruni's treatise

The following details in Soranzo's *L'Ottomanno* (listed here by page-number of the first edition) consist of material borrowed from Bruni's treatise on the *beylerbeylik* of Rumeli.

14: *akıncı* are mostly peasants; not simply voluntary, in view of tax exemption; rob country like Tatars; live mostly in Dobrudža; *gönüllü* ('Gionli') are soldiers of fortune

19: recent recruitment of janissaries took notice only of physical condition and advanced age, so they could be sent to war as if they were veterans

20: garrison infantry are *azabs* ('Asappi') and *beşlüs* ('Besli'); new militia recently introduced of agricultural labourers and peasants, with honorific name *kul kardaşı* ('Culcardasi')

21: spahis have bought timar estates on money borrowed at interest, or have lent at interest to others who have gone bankrupt; have become soft, taking bedding and cooking facilities on campaign, hence also many horses

⁸⁹ Bruni may have had in mind the text by Feliks Petančić (Felix Petantius), *De itineribus in Turciam libellus*, Vienna, 1522 (later known as *Quibus itineribus Turci sunt aggrediendi*, and re-published in 1543, 1550 and 1561), which was in fact copied from a manuscript work by Martino Segono, Bishop of Ulcinj (see A. Pertusi, *Martino Segono di Novo Brdo, Vescovo di Dulcigno: un umanista serbo-dalmata del tardo Quattrocento*, Rome, 1981, pp. 60–6).

23: many spahis send servants in their place

25: Crimean Tatars called ‘people of Perekop’ (‘Precopiti’) by Poles and Russians because of trench, which is mentioned in Herodotus

28: Akkerman called ‘Bialogrod’ by Poles, ‘Cittat Alba’ by Moldavians; Bender called ‘Tegina’ by both; *cebelü* (‘Giebeli’, explained as ‘armed men’) Tatars are up to 2,000, armed with scimitars, arrows, doublets and helmets, in Dobrudža between Danube and ruins of wall from ‘Corasui’ to Constanța; Ottomans use them to make people think Crimean Tatars have come

98: conversation between Archduke Ferdinand and Petru Șchiopul, who died in Bolzano, 1594

112: Greeks willing to rebel in Peloponnese and Thessaly, especially those near coast who can receive foreign help; Serbians also willing, especially in Dardania: Piperi, Kuči, Kelmendi, Bjelopavlići and others in Plav region, with many Albanians among them

113: as Bruni says, we should not encourage revolt unless we can give enough help for it to succeed; Athanasios raised revolt among Himariots, claiming promised Spanish help; they were forced to make peace on disadvantageous terms

114: same happened to Dukat, badly treated by Piri (‘Pirri’) Pasha, reduced to 200 households, transported to Orikum

117: Albanians both Catholic and Orthodox; Albania from Ulcinj to Bastia; Albanians also in Greece, whether fled there or transported by Emperors of the East; as Bruni says, Catholic Albanians are the best armed and most faithful Christians, constantly rebelling, but harassed by neighbouring Christians

118: *sancakbeyis* provoke them, for pillage, or revenge, or excuse not to go to distant war (e.g. *sancakbeyis* of Dukagjin, Angelokastro); those on Mount Scardus, far from road, do not pay tax; range called ‘black mountain’, like others in Ottoman territory; Albania ringed by mountains, with rivers, preventing those on foot from gathering; Christians there have no cavalry and cannot make bridges; strongholds held by Ottomans, cannot be taken surreptitiously; we should not think they can achieve all by themselves with mere rumour of help from Italy or Spain, and raising of a flag.

Textual note: the apparatus here records material variants, using the sigla ‘V’ = Vatican Library MS; ‘C’ = Museo Correr MS. The transcription given above, of V, reproduces the original orthography and accentuation. A few potentially problematic contractions are expanded in square brackets; no other editorial interventions are made, other than the two corrections listed in the apparatus.

ⁱ d’Antonio Bruno da Dolcigno] di Antonio Bruti [sic] Anno 1598 C

ⁱⁱ Ottomano] Romano C

ⁱⁱⁱ come de C] come V

^{iv} di] di la C

^v gl’Isolani] di Isolani C

^{vi} Niestro C] Hiestro V

^{vii} Niestro C] Hiestro V

- viii declinando. Oltre C] declinando oltra V
 ix anco] tanto C
 x come] quanto C
 xi Seruia C] Soria V
 xii il rito Catholico ... dell'antica] il culto cath.^{co}: ma nell' antica V
 xiii dopo] dipoi C
 xiv giuditio C] giudice V
 xv cacciati C] cauati V
 xvi uenderli C] uendergli V
 xvii riposare C] ripossare V
 xviii al C] del V
 xix mà nella Morea assai piùC] ma piu nella Morea V
 xx Cucci] Cruci C
 xxi Bassa Mehemeto Socoleuigio] Bassà di Mehemetto Socologuio C
 xxii Iurucchi] Iunuchi C
 xxiii et setta di Zecchelle Persiano] et sesse di Lechelle C
 xxiv mescolati con christiani] mescolati C
 xxv stanno C] stantiano V
 xxvi delle battaglie] della battaglia C
 xxvii 1594 *this edn*] 1597 V, C
 xxviii Fantaria] La fanteria C
 xxix sapeuano cingersi C] sapessero congersi V
 xxx ne maneggiarC] non che maneggiare V
 xxxi Crusceuato, Giustendile] Cruscheuazo, Gustendile C
 xxxii Angelo Castro ... turahanli] Angelo, Castro ... Turanhanti C
 xxxiii Gastuni ... Misitra] Sastuni ... Misistra C
 xxxiv Ocirida] Ouida C
 xxxv accertisi] accertissi C
 xxxvi saccomettere] sottomettere C
 xxxvii Dobruccia] Dobraua C
 xxxviii Mihalogli *this edn*] Mihalolgi V; Mialogli C
 xxxix Dobruccia] Dobraua C
 xl Niestro C] Hiestro V
 xli Bialogrod] Bielogrod C
 xlii chilian] Chilian C
 xliii Deluino] Dulcigno C
 xliiv seguitauano Zechelle C] seguitarono Zecholle V
 xlv sino etc. per unirse etc.C] sino a 21 per unirsi 21 V
 xlvi 500 ... 200 C] .100.100. V
 xlvii il che (per C] (il che per V
 xlviii per hauer scusa] per iscusa C
 xlix Preserenio] Preterenio C
 l ponti] fronte C
 li Christiani occultam.^{te}] Christiani C
 lii che se riescono] che riuschendo C
 liii sua Diuina] sua C
 liiv Zapatense] Rapatense C
 lv è stato C] estato V
 lvi della sua] della C
 lvii uisto, e sentito, á ciascuno] ueduto, et udito C
 lviii C *adds at end*: 1598. A ii. di febraro Di G. Thiepolo