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Giovan Antonio Menavino's account of his captivity in the Ottoman Empire: a reevaluation

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Abstract: The study deals with Giovan Antonio Menavino's account on his captivity in the Ottoman Empire (from 1504 through about 1514). A manuscript version ("Liber de rebus et moribus Turcarum"), dated 1519, is kept in the Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana in Rome (Fondo Nicola Rossi 35 E 18). Despite the Latin title, the text is in Italian. The work was printed for the first time in 1548 in Florence. In the same year a pirated edition with a lot of stylistic adjustments, prepared by Apollonio Campano, appeared in Venice. In contrast to what has often been assumed, Menavino was no longer alive when his work came to print. This fact is proved by the large number of mistakes contained in the printed versions and especially by the dedication of the edition Florence 1548. A detailed analysis makes it unambiguously clear that it has been written during the reign of Sultan Selim I (1512–1520), and thus long before 1548. As between 1519 and 1548 no historical information on Menavino can be found, it may be assumed that the author had died soon after having finished his account. Besides the vicissitudes of Menavino's biography and the peculiarities of the textual tradition, the "Liber de rebus et moribus Turcarum" is of great interest for historical linguistics and lexicography. This fact is illustrated by an exemplary analysis of the Turkish loanwords that appear in the text.

Keywords: Giovan Antonio Menavino, "Liber de rebus et moribus Turcarum", Sultan Selim I, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Torrentino, Apollonio Campano, Ottoman Empire, Turkish loanwords

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1 Biographical information

Among the historical records on the Ottoman Empire, Giovan Antonio Menavino's account is certainly one of the most interesting testimonies. Menavino had embarked with his father in 1504 on a commercial voyage from Genoa to Venice. Soon after departure, their ship was captured near Corsica by an Ottoman galley under the command of *Chiamalli*.¹ Giovan Antonio, who at that time was 12 years old, and his father were taken prisoner. After a stay at Methoni (Modone), where father and son were separated, the voyage continued towards Constantinople. There he was handed over to Sultan Bayezid II (1447–1512)² as a gift from Kemal Reis, together with two other boys of the same age and one who was only six years old. As the prisoners were still children, their reception in the Palace was free of any hostility. They even had dinner with the Sultan. After the meal, they were asked by an interpreter whether they were able to read and write. Menavino and one of the other boys said they could. Later on, after having been allowed to take a hot bath, they were nobly dressed and presented to the Sultan again. In this passage of the account, Menavino reports also about the fact that Bayezid had some knowledge of Italian.

Giovan Antonio's father had been sold to Anatolia after the attack and later been ransomed by Genoese compatriots. After his release he immediately set out for Constantinople to ascertain whether his son was still alive. He actually succeeded to find him, and even got the opportunity to meet him for a day in Pera. This should be the last meeting for the next ten years.

Menavino tells us that he remained for five years – that is to say until 1509 or 1510 – as a page of the Sultan in the Seraglio of Constantinople.³ He was allowed to devote much of his time to acquiring knowledge of the Turkish language and culture. As he tells us in his account, he learned the Turkish (i.e. Arabic) alphabet and some basics of the Turkish language together with four of the Sultan's grandchildren. Through further reading, he made himself familiar with the religious principles of the Turks and the administrative organisation of the Ottoman Empire. No information is given about the period after 1510. As in the case of other

1 I.e. *Kemal Ali* or *Kemal Reis* (c1451–1511), admiral of the Ottoman fleet. Kemal Reis is also mentioned in various passages of Sanudo's *Diarii* (ed. Rinaldo Fulin et al. 1879–1903): “Narava la cossa venuta per avanti di Camali” (vol. 1, 1032), “Dice, Camalli ha ditto che, come l'à risposta del Signor soldam dil presente, vol andar a la volta di Barbaria” (ibid., 1033), etc. (cf. Nallino 1965, 431).

2 The indication “1525–1534” for the reign of Bayezid II in Formica (2012, 55) is an error. The Sultan had already died in 1512.

3 Since Menavino was taken prisoner only in 1504, the information “Giovantonio Menavino (paggio al Serraglio dal 1501 al 1504)” given by Viallon (2008) cannot be correct.

enslaved Europeans (see fn. 18), his duties certainly did not remain limited exclusively to the service in the Palace, all the more as he had reached adulthood now. It is to be assumed that the time of learning and serving in the Palace came to an end, at the latest, in 1511, when the struggle for power of Bayezid's son Selim against his father and his two brothers Ahmed and Korkud began. After Selim had emerged victorious and assumed the regency of the Ottoman Empire (1512–1520), Menavino was to follow him in the battles against the Persians that had initiated in 1514. In the course of one of these battles, which ended with a heavy defeat of the Turks,⁴ he managed to escape. Together with some other captives, he made his way to Trabzon on the Black Sea. From there, via Edirne (Andrinopoli) he arrived at Thessaloniki (Salonicco), where he was taken on board of a Christian ship which brought him to Chios. From Chios he crossed over to Italy. It was probably towards the end of 1514 that he arrived in his hometown Voltri, where he was happily greeted by his father and his mother. All these informations can be derived only from the text itself. There are no other historical sources which provide information about Menavino.

2 The account of his time in the Ottoman Empire

2.1 The manuscript Rome 1519

It is to be assumed that already during his time in captivity Menavino had taken notes about his experiences. Most of them will have been lost during the battles and in the course of the subsequent adventurous escape. The detailed report, which he wrote after his return, is therefore likely to be based on his memory. The manuscript is now conserved in the “Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana” in Rome (Fondo Nicola Rossi 35 E 18). The codex, which bears the number 389, includes 216 sheets equaling 432 pages. The sheet numbering (a I – R_x VIII + an unnumbered index) is from the same hand as the text. The page numbering from 1 r^o to 216 r^o has been added later. The handwriting runs in a constant ductus all over the text and is easy to read. Only the pages a I r^o – b V v^o present some text losses (mainly b I r^o/v^o) and a slightly stronger ink corrosion. The dedication (a I r^o – a III r^o) is addressed to Pope Leo X.

⁴ That is why that battle was not – as suggested by Torretta (2013, 19) and Schwarz Lausten (2014, 512) – the battle of Çaldıran which took place on August 23rd, 1514, and ended with the decisive victory of the Ottomans over the Persians. The error is likely to go back ultimately to Yérasimos (1991, 126): “Il s'enfuit après la bataille de Çaldıran, en août 1514 et rentra chez lui”.

The manuscript is not an autograph. Menavino himself would not have written *mosti* (h VI r^o) instead of *mofti* (Tk. *mufti* / *müftü*) or *sulustar* (z V v^o) instead of *suluftar* (Tk. *silahdar*). Neither has the text been dictated. It has probably been written on the basis of the autograph by a paid scribe. Menavino's own handwriting obviously presented the long <l>, which can easily be confused with an <f>. Also the index, which apparently was compiled by the scribe and not by Menavino, presents numerous errors (see Appendix).

The manuscript is dated “M: D: XVIIIJ” in the explicit. This means that Menavino had completed his work at the latest five years after his return home at the age of 27. A particular feature of the date must be noted. It can clearly be seen that originally the sequence of the numbers was “M: D: XXXVIIIJ” (i.e. 1539) instead of “M: D: XVIIIJ” (i.e. 1519). The first two XX were expunged, but are still visible. They have not been overwritten; the gap was filled with the double point following the “D”. The reading “M: D: XXXVIIIJ” would make little sense in the given context, especially as the addressee of the dedication, Leo X, had already died in 1521. Considering all circumstances (see chapter 3.2 below), it can be assumed that “1519” refers the actual date of writing of the original text. Further reflections on whether the scribe has simply made a mistake or whether at first he intended to indicate the possibly divergent date of the copy remain speculative. At any rate, no motivation for whatever fraudulent intent is recognizable.

The manuscript has a Latin title, by which it has been inventoried in the catalogue of the Biblioteca Corsiniana: *Johannis Antonij Menavini de Vultri Genuensis, Liber de rebus et moribus Turcarum*. Until in recent times, this text has remained almost completely unknown. In 1967, Paul Oskar Kristeller mentioned it in the second volume of his *Iter Italicum*, pointing out also that it was written in Italian: “Corsin. 389 (35 E 18), cart. XVI, 216 fols. Jo. Ant. Menavinus de Vultri Genuensis, de rebus et moribus Turcarum (title on f. 4), volg., in 5 books, with a preface to Leo X, and a table of contents” (109). The “volg.,” however, was so hidden that it did not capture awareness. Only recently, Pia Schwarz Lausten (2014, 512), explicitly called attention to the fact that the *Liber de rebus et moribus Turcarum* is an Italian text.

The manuscript is divided into 5 books, which are subdivided into single thematic chapters (Book I: chapters 1–33, Book II: chapters 1–23, Book III: chapters 1–33, Book IV: chapters 1–42, Book V: chapters 1–36). The content is essentially about the religious, social, and political order of the Ottoman Empire; some sections regard Palace organization, daily life and current events (a detailed overview of the single chapters of the manuscript Rome 1519 is given below in the Appendix).

2.2 The printed editions

Only almost 30 years after its conclusion, Menavino's account of his time in the Ottoman Empire came to be printed. Two different editions were published in 1548: the *Trattato de costumi et vita de Turchi, composto per Giovan Antonio Menavino Genovese da Vultri*, Firenze, 1548 (without indication of the printer), and *I cinque libri della legge, religione, et vita de' Turchi, et della corte, & d'alcune guerre del Gran Turco di Giovanantonio Menavino genovese da Vultri [...]*, Vinegia, appresso Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1548.

2.2.1 The primary edition: Florence 1548

The edition Florence 1548 is primary, as will be explained in the following. Like the manuscript Rome 1519, the text is subdivided in 5 books. It includes 245 pages plus 9 unnumbered pages of the index. The division of the chapters, however, shows some differences with regard to the manuscript. In particular, the structure of the text has been tightened by combining single sub-sections (cf. 3.1). As a consequence, the total number of chapters is smaller than in the manuscript: Book I: chap. 1–23, Book II: chap. 1–23, Book III: chap. 1–26, Book IV: chap. 1–36, Book V: chap. 1–33. The edition is rather negligent and shows numerous mistakes. Here are some examples in comparison with the manuscript of 1519:

- agiander agasi* (165) vs. *agamiler agasi* (s V v^o) < Tk. *acemiler ağası* 'rank of eunuchs serving in the Sultan's harem' < *acemi* 'recruit, novice' + *ağa* 'lord, master' + the possessive suffix *-(s)ı* (Redhouse 7);
- argibascia* (131) vs. *ascibascia* (o VI v^o) < Tk. *aşçıbaşı / ahçıbaşı* 'head cook, chef' < *aşçı* 'cook' + *baş* 'head'⁵ + the possessive suffix *-ı* (Redhouse 25);
- barachi* (101: "et dicono che haveran[n]o di molti *barachi*, cio è splendori del Sole, sopra de quali potran[n]o cavalcare & cercar il Paradiso") vs. *burachi* (l VII v^o: "Et dicono che haranno di molti *burachi*, cio è splendori solari sopra de quali potranno cavalcare et cerchare el Paradiso") < Tk. *Burak* < Ar. (*al-*)*Burāq* 'the beast on which Muḥammad is said to have ridden, when he made his miraculous "night-journey"' < *baraqa* 'to shine, glitter, sparkle, flash' (Redhouse 201; Wehr 66; EI₂ 1,1310).
- bazanaa* (116) vs. *bozaana* (n I r^o) < Tk. *bozahane* 'tavern' < *boza* 'beverage made of fermented millet' + *hane* 'house' (Mantran 1962, 205);

⁵ The form *bascia* in *argibascia / ascibascia* is due to confusion between *baş* 'head' and the honorific title *başa / paşa* (see also below *ecchemehecci bascia*, *esnaderbascia*, *gebigibascia*, *imbroorbascia*, *mectorbascia*).

charipitigleragasi (152) vs. *charipigitleragasi* (r III v^o) < Tk. *garip yiğitler ağası* 'head of a cavalry unit' < *garip* 'stranger' (Ar. *ġārīb*) + *yiğit* 'young man; hero' + *ağa* 'lord, master' + the possessive suffix *-(s)ı* (Pakalin 1,645; Redhouse 385 and 1258; Wehr 784);
muhtar iasigili (132) vs. *mutpac jasigisi* (o VI v^o) < Tk. *mutfak yazıcısı* 'supervisor of the Sultan's kitchen' < *mutfak* / *matbah* 'kitchen' (< Ar. *maṭbaḥ*) + *yazıcı* 'scribe' + the possessive suffix *-(s)ı* (Redhouse 804, 1248; Wehr 644);
sangiarbegler (189) vs. *sangiac begler* (x IV r^o) < Tk. *sancak beyler*, plural of *sancak beyi* 'governor of a province' (Redhouse 983).

Also the following passage is noteworthy: “due angeli i quali si chiamano Nechir vem[m]ochir” (l IV r^o). Here the Turkish *ve* ‘and’ has been maintained. Menavino obviously had heard in some occasion the regular “Nekir ve Münker” (the manuscript shows a slightly corrupt spelling) and left it as such in the text (presumably because the formation was not transparent to him). In the edition Florence 1548 <v> is read as <r> and considered as a part of the name, while a new ‘and’ (&) is added: “duoi Angeli, i quali si chiamano Nechir, & Remonchir” (95).

2.2.2 The unauthorized reprint: Venice 1548

The second edition that appeared in 1548 under the title *I cinque libri della legge, religione, et vita de' Turchi*⁶ is nothing else than an unauthorized reprint of the Florentine edition. Such “pirated” editions, which were neither authorized by the author nor by the printer of the original edition, were absolutely normal in the 16th century. At that time, no regulations on intellectual property existed which would have had a binding effect on a supraregional level.⁷ The editorial preface, addressed to “M. Vincenzo Provinciale, Medico, & precettor suo” [3–6], is signed by Apollonio Campano, whose real name was Giovanni Antonio Clario from Eboli.⁸ Campano states that he encountered the work (that is, the edition Florence 1548) accidentally: “la Fortuna [...] m’ha fatto abbattere in questo libretto altrui,

⁶ Viallon (2008) does not mention neither the place of publication, nor the name of the printer, nor the year of publication: “*I libri della lege, religione et vita de Turchi et della corte et guerre del gran Turco di G. Ant. Menavino tradotte da M. Lod. Domenichi*, [s.l.], [s.n.], [s.d.]”. Formica (2012, 54) indicates the place and the year of publication, but not the printer: “Vinegia, s.t., 1548”. Both variants at least do not apply for all printed copies.

⁷ Cf. Höffner (2010, vol. 1, 28ff.), Nuovo/Coppens (2013, 200 ff.).

⁸ Clario worked as a corrector for Valgrisi at Venice in the forties of the 16th century and was responsible for a considerable number of editions, as for example *Le Rime del Petrarca, tanto più corrette, quanto più ultime di tutte stampate. Con alcune annotazioni intorno la correptione d'alcuni luoghi loro già corrotti* (Vinegia, nella bottega d'Erasmus di Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1549). Besides Antonio Campano, Clario also used the pseudonyms Gianluca Papera and Giovanni Antonio di

di varie cose Turchesche nuove, & non più vedute”. The fact that the edition Valgrisi is based on the edition Florence 1548 is not immediately recognizable. The title is different, and besides Menavino, the book contains still another work: [...] *Oltre ciò, una prophetia de’ Mahomettani, et la miseria de’ prigionj, et de’ Christiani, che vivono sotto ’l Gran Turco, & altre cose turchesche non più vedute, tradotte da M. Lodovico Domenichi*. This second work is not an original editorial achievement of Valgrisi either. Like Menavino’s text, it had first appeared, anonymously and as a separate volume, in 1548 in Florence, under the title *Propphetia de Maometani, et altre cose turchesche, tradotte per M. Lodovico Domenichi*.

As a consequence of the reprint of both works in one volume by Valgrisi in Venice, some authors erroneously supposed that also Menavino’s *Trattato / Cinque libri* had been translated by Domenichi: “Con una lettera datata Firenze 29 febr. 1548, Lodovico Domenichi gli dedicò la sua traduzione della *Propphetia de’ Maometani et altre cose turchesche*, inclusa nei *Cinque libri della legge religione et vita de’ Turchi di Giovanantonio Menavino*, tradotti appunto dal Domenichi (Venezia 1548)” (Petrucci 1985), “Ed è proprio la filologia editoriale che chiarisce come *I cinque libri* fossero immessi in circuiti al limite del lecito: la loro ‘traduzione’ da parte di Lodovico Domenichi, dotto curatore e correttore di testi [...]” (Formica 2012, 54), “Il mio lavoro inizia pertanto con un approfondimento degli argomenti suddetti, seguito dalla trascrizione del libro, la cui versione originale sembra sia stata scritta in latino dallo stesso Menavino e poi tradotta in italiano da Lodovico Domenichi” (Torretta 2013, 7).⁹

The editor of the *Cinque libri*, Apollonio Campano, introduced numerous changes in the text, according to his own sense of style:

“Ma egli [scil. il libretto] era sì lacero, & sì mal co[n]cio (be[n]ché bello & leggiadro in apparenza) che [...] appena se ne poteva cavar se[n]so. Onde io et da compassione mosso, & perché dalla nostre sta[m]pe (se possibile fia, perciocché il guadagno fa posporre talhora l’honore) più no[n] esca fuori perinanzi cosa indegna di loro, gli ho (per qua[n]to di te[m]po m’è stato co[n]ceduto dalla fretta, che seco porta lo sta[m]pare), saldate gra[n] parte delle sue piaghe, & riduttolo in modo, che si può hora leggere, et inte[n]dere; sì come si può chiarame[n]te conoscere, se co[n] quello dell’altrui sta[m]pe si raguagliarà. Del che so che troppo ardito, anzi presuntuoso mi terran[o] coloro, che no[n] per altro, che per fuggire la

Padova. Cf. Trovato (1991, 219, 237fn), Wilhelm (1995, 54f.), Richardson (2004, 114), Nuovo/Coppens (2005, 102).

⁹ By the publication of his booklet on Menavino, Umberto Torretta has shown a particular commitment to the study of local history. In principle, such initiatives are useful and welcome. Unfortunately, Torretta’s self-published study (“Youcanprint self-publishing”) contains numerous errors and incorrect assertions. For scientific research, a publication of this kind constitutes more a hindrance than a help.

fatica, no[n] han[n]o voluto ciò fare; del dire de' quali no[n] mi curo pu[n]to, poscia che à V. Ec.tia è noto, quanto riserbato, & ritenuto io vada (come è il dovere) dove bisogna, in così fatte cose. Oltre che credo, che l'auttore (se più, che ingrato no[n] è) non pur si recarà ciò ad ingiuria, ma (ovu[n]q[ue] si trovi) spero che gratie me ne re[n]derà. Percioché conosce[n]dosi egli no[n] haver data molta opera allo stile, scusandosi dice, che dove quello fusse per ma[n]care, era per supplire con la verità; onde hora no[n] ma[n]candogli quella, di questo (à rispetto di quello, che era) molto gliene soprava[n]za" (4f.).¹⁰

As a result, the edition Venice 1548 cannot be considered an authentic product of Menavino, and it does not seem reasonable to use it as a basis for scientific studies.¹¹

2.2.3 The reprint by Torrentino: Florence 1551

A third edition appeared in 1551, now again in Florence: *I costumi, et la vita de Turchi, di Gio. Antonio Menavino genovese da Vultri. Con una prophetia, & altre cose turchesche, tradotte per m. Lodovico Domenichi*. In this edition the printer is mentioned explicitly: "Firenze, appresso Lorenzo Torrentino, 1551". On the whole, the text corresponds to that of the edition Florence 1548, but there are a lot of modifications in detail.¹² To illustrate this fact, we quote just a small passage from the beginning of the text:

"Già il Solare pianeta nella calda stagione lassato il fabricante segno, che e mortali corpi offender suole, al grembo dell'amata vergine trapassava, quando io nella florida età de miei giovenili anni, ch'el numero duodecimo con equal pensamenti compievano, da i paterni hospitii, insieme col mio charamente diletto padre mi diparti" (ed. Florence 1548, 7).

"Già il Solare pianeta nella calda stagione lasciato il leone, che i mortali corpi offender suole, al grembo dell'amata vergine trapassava, quando io nella fiorita età de miei giovenili

¹⁰ Schwarz Lausten does not understand well the Italian text. When Campano says: "Ma egli [scil. il libretto] era sì lacero, & sì mal concio (benché bello & leggiadro in apparenza) che [...] appena se ne poteva cavar senso", he refers in a figurative sense to the author's style (as is clearly confirmed by the insertion of "benché bello & leggiadro in apparenza" as well as by the subsequent passages: "saldate gran parte delle sue piaghe, & riduttolo in modo, che si può hora leggere, et intendere"). Schwarz Lausten, however, thinks that Campano refers to the physical condition of the book: "A. Campano claims that he has found an old, lacerated almost unreadable book that he has corrected and made more presentable" (2014, 516); as a consequence, she is wondering how it might "have been reduced to such a worn condition in only a few months" (ibid.).

¹¹ As does for example Dalzell (2007).

¹² Formica is wrong when she assumes that no changes have been made at all: "non vi sono varianti [scil. nell'edizione del 1551] rispetto a quella precedente" (2012, 54).

anni, ch'il numero duodecimo con eguali pensieri compievano, da paterni hospitii, insieme col mio caramente diletto padre mi diparti" (ed. Florence 1551, 5).

2.2.4 The printer of the edition Florence 1548

After having described the single editions, we can now address the problem of who was the printer of the edition Florence 1548. As mentioned above, not only the *Trattato*, but also the *Cose turchesche*, translated by Lodovico Domenichi, have first been published anonymously in Florence. The typographical similarities between the title pages of these two editions are so evident that there is no doubt that both were printed by the same printer. A first hint is given by the fact that Domenichi had already come to Florence in 1546. From 1548 he closely collaborated with Lorenzo Torrentino, the official printer of Cosimo de' Medici.¹³ Furthermore, as has just been stated, the edition Florence 1548 has been reprinted not only by Valgrisi in Venice, but three years later, in 1551, also by Torrentino, whose edition is much closer to the edition Florence 1548 than is the Venetian reprint. As a result, it seems very likely that it was Torrentino who had printed the two anonymous Florentine editions of 1548 (the *Trattato* and the *Cose turchesche*). This assumption may be corroborated by another detail: whereas on the title page of the anonymous 1548 Florence edition of the *Cose turchesche* we read "Firenze", the text shows "Fiorenza" at the end of Domenichi's dedication to Agosto d'Adda (A III v^o), which is exactly the variant used by Torrentino on the title page of the 1551 reprint.¹⁴

3 The relationship between the edition Florence 1548 and the manuscript of 1519

3.1 Structural and linguistic differences

At first, it must be noted that, in comparison to the manuscript of 1519, all printed editions do not show only minor changes, but a considerable number of significant differences. With regard to the edition Florence 1548, Schwarz Lausten states

¹³ Cf. Piscini (1991).

¹⁴ Already in 1811, Domenico Moreni had suggested in his *Annali della tipografia fiorentina di Lorenzo Torrentino* (16 f.) – without giving reasons for his hypothesis – that Torrentino has been the printer of the anonymous 1548 edition.

that “The manuscript consists of five books, and the contents are almost identical with Menavino’s *I cinque libri delle legge, religion, et vita de’ Turchi* published in [Venice] 1548” (2014, 512), and that, “except for minor linguistic corrections, [the manuscript of 1519] presents the same contents as the editions printed in 1548 and 1551” (ibid., 520). These assumptions are far away from reality, as can be shown by a comparison between the manuscript and the edition Florence 1548, on which the other printed editions depend:

- Throughout the entire text, the number of chapters has been reduced. Thus, for example, the three brief and thematically closely related chapters on the Pashas (IV,1 *Del Primo Bascia del gran Turco*, IV,2 *Del Secondo Bascia del gran Turco*, IV,3 *Del Terzo Bascia del gran Turco*) become a single chapter in the printed version (IV,1 *Delli tre primi Bascia del gran Turco*); chapter IV,8 *Deli Cavalieri quali vanno da la banda dextra del gran Turco* and chapter IV,9 *De la guardia che cavalca a la banda sinistra del gran Turco* are united into one: IV,6 *Delli Cavalieri quali vanno dalla banda destra & di quelli che vanno dalla banda sinistra avanti del Re* (147), etc.
- Single chapters are missing in the printed version: I,22 *Come l’Avaro Barseza fu tentato dal Demonio et come gli insegnò guarire i pazi*, I,23 *Come Barseza sanava i pazi*, I,24 *Della mala fine di Barseza*, I,25 *Exempla quanto sia a Dio grata l’honesta liberalità* (e VII r^o–f VI v^o), I,31 *Delle Bugie*, I,32 *Come la vecchia andò a mettere la discordia in una casa*, I,33 *Come la vecchia Andò a la stupha per sequitare l’ordinata discordia* (g IV v^o–h I v^o), III,9 *Come una donna fece menare uno suo marito alla Timarahane per matto* (n II v^o–n VI r^o), III,20 *De li homini che lavono i panni del Rè et per tutta la brigata*, III,21 *De li acquaroli del serraglio*, III,22 *De li bagni del serraglio chiamati stuphe*, III,23 *De li Medici del serraglio et de li Barbieri*, III,24 *De li Eunuchi che servono nel serraglio*, III,25 *De li gioveni che possono escire fore del serraglio*, III,26 *De la guardia de la porta grande del serraglio*, III,27 *De li sacerdoti quali vengono a fare oratione in el serraglio* (o VII r^o–p VII v^o).
- Numerous passages and whole chapters have been reformulated: “De li Dervisi et loro Religione” (I VII r^o) vs. “Della Religione de i Dervisi” (76), “mangiano carne assai et d’ogni sorte” (m IV r^o) vs. “mangiano carne d’ogni sorte” (108), “In minestre usano spesse volte mangiare del riso” (m IV r^o) vs. “In minestre usano mangiare riso” (108), “piattelletti porcellana no[n] di poco pregio pieni di sapori facti di rose, di me[n]ta, di viole, et di molte sorte d’herbe” (t VII r^o) vs. “molti piattelletti di porcellana et altri sapori, fatti di menta, di viole, & altre herbe” (176), etc.
- In many cases, single words have been replaced: *invidiosa* (a IV r^o) instead of *odiosa* (7), *apropinquandosi* (t VII r^o) instead of *appressandosi* (175), etc.

- The printed version has been modernized and/or tuscanized graphically and morphologically: *gremio* (a IV r^o) vs. *grembo* (7), *excepto* (m IV r^o) vs. *eccetto* (108), etc.

It is unlikely that all these changes, which often seem well thought through, have been adopted by the printer of the careless and incorrect edition Florence 1548. As a consequence, the possibility must be taken into consideration that the latter is not based on the manuscript of 1519, but on a different copy of the text. In fact, this hypothesis can be confirmed by the following analysis of the dedication to the French king.

3.2 The dedication to the French king

In his dedication, Menavino thanks the French king for being allowed to offer him his services (“degnandosi ella di tenermi senza alcu[n] merito mio a suoi servigi”) and for his “impresa contra il nostro commune inimico Turcho”. So far, researchers have assumed that Menavino has written this dedication around the year 1548 for the printed edition:

“While Menavino dedicated the first manuscript version of his account to Pope Leo X in 1519, he dedicated the printed edition of 1548 to the ‘most Christian King of France’, expressing his gratitude for the king’s goodness and for being in his service. Menavino claims that the occasion is the king’s decision ‘that can never be praised enough’, to declare war against ‘our common enemy, the Turk’. Since Henry II was king of France from 1547 to 1559, it would appear that he was the addressee of Menavino’s work. However, the dedication is undated, and it cannot be known whether Menavino had Francis I or Henry II in mind” (Schwarz Lausten 2014, 514).

Both options taken into consideration by Schwarz Lausten would be highly surprising, as in that period neither François I nor Henry II had committed themselves to fighting against the Turks. On the contrary, by the middle of the 16th century, the French and the Ottomans had developed joint initiatives directed against their common enemy, the Habsburg and namely Charles V.

Schwarz Lausten is well aware of the inconsistencies of her interpretation:

“The dedication is unusual, since most writings on the Turks in this period were dedicated to the Emperor Charles V, who was far more involved than the French in battles against the Turks. Furthermore, Genoa, Menavino’s home town, had established an alliance with Spain in 1528. Since the beginning of the 16th century France had made alliances with the Ottomans, and neither Francis I nor his son Henry II fought against the Turks” (ibid.).

The problem of the obvious contradictions can be resolved by a more detailed analysis of the dedication, where can be read:

“Sire, la obligatione, ch'io ho di far cosa, che piaccia alla M.V. è molta per lo infinito bene, ch'io ho da lei ricevuto, & tuttavia ricevo; degnandosi ella di tenermi senza alcu[n] merito mio a suoi serviggi, & per co[n]seguente la volontà, & il desiderio mio è grandissimo & prontissimo, ma le forze sono sì picciole, che quando io finalmente penso dovervi riuscir disutil servo, sento dolore inestimabile. Et se non fusse, che chi vive sotto l'ombra di così virtuoso, & felice Principe, non può per adversità di sorte alcuna esser misero, io mi reputarei per quel che ho detto esser miserrimo. Hor qual io mi sia, con una picciola occasione, poi che delle grandi il luogo è riserbato a più fortunati di me, nuovamente mi è caduto nell'animo di poter soddisfare in parte al mio disio. Et questo è, ch'essendo a me noto quello istesso, che hoggimai è palese a tutto il mondo, cioè la vostra non mai a pieno lodata deliberatione, di far la impresa contra **il nostro commune inimico Turco**, come impresa riserbata à voi, che siete veramente il primogenito della santa Chiesa; & essendo io stato schiavo **di suo Padre, & suo** molti anni, & da fanciullo allevato nelle più intime, & più segrete parti (dirò così) della sua casa; dove mi è venuto fatto veder, udir, & imparar diverse cose, ho voluto delle più notabili in un volume descrivere, & toccar brevemente per capi la somma, & l'ordine, sì della religione, come del viver, del governo, della forza, & infine del dominio della corte, et del Tiranno” (ed. Florence 1548, a II r^o-v^o).

With regard to the “commune inimico Turco”, Menavino says that he had been his and his father's slave (“essendo io stato schiavo di suo Padre, & suo molti anni”). As is known from the biographical information which Menavino provides in his account, “suo Padre” refers to Bayezid II, while “[schiavo] suo” refers to the “commune inimico Turco”, that is to say to the Sultan who was in power at the time when the dedication was written, and this was Selim I who ruled from 1512 to 1520. As a consequence, it becomes clear that the terminus ante quem for the composition of the dedication is 1520, the year of Selim's death. In these circumstances, all the above mentioned inconsistencies are resolved. If Menavino has written the text immediately after his return to Italy in 1514, this was in the final phase of the reign of Louis XII (who died in 1515) or at the beginning of the reign of François I (who came to power in 1515). In that period, there is no doubt about the antagonism between the French and the Ottomans. The French anti-Ottoman attitude developed only in the thirties of the 16th century. To sum up the reasoning, the dedication must have been written between 1515 and 1520, in a time, by the way, when not only Menavino relied on the French in the struggle against the Ottomans: “En sus, il faut signaler de nombreuses oeuvres de poètes italiens adressées à Louis XII qui soulèvent la question de la croisade” (Hochner 2006, 154). During the first two decades of the 16th century, the city of Genoa has been occupied several times by the French in the course of the Italian wars. Only in 1522, in the “Battaglia della Bicocca”, the Habsburg won the upper hand over the French. Thus, it is not surprising in any way that Menavino was at the services of

the French king between about 1515 and 1520, and there is no reason to assume that Menavino lived in France in the middle of the 16th century.¹⁵

3.3 Consequence: two copies

It is therefore evident that at least two copies of the text must have existed. The first copy, the manuscript of the Biblioteca Corsiniana, dated 1519, was destined to the Pope. The second copy was dedicated to the French king. It is likely that this second copy was a revised version of Menavino's original text; in accordance to what has been said in 3.1 and 3.2, it is to be assumed that it has not been written earlier than 1519 and not later than 1520.

It seems quite likely that both copies have been written by the same scribe. That appears from the fact that the handwriting of the manuscript of 1519 shows a number of features that may easily lead to confusion. This regards especially the relation between <r> and <c>, initial <j> and <l> / <t>, and <z> and <t>. Reading errors of this kind are also present in the Florentine edition of 1548, which is based on the second copy: *modecis* (63) instead of *moderis* (h VI r^o) < Tk. *müderis* 'doctor, legal scholar' (Redhouse 811), *lengioda* (126) instead of *jengioda* (o III r^o) < Tk. *yeni oda* 'Palace school', lit. 'new room' (Redhouse 897, 1252), *Tacutaga* (122) instead of *Jacutaga* (n VIII v^o) < Tk. *Yakut* < Ar. *Yāqūt* (personal name, lit. 'hyacinth; ruby') + *ağa* (Wehr 1294; Redhouse 1237), and *terdizler* (181) instead of *zerdizler* (u III v^o) < Tk. *zerdişler*, plural of *zerdiş*, variant of *zerdüz* 'embroiderer' (Redhouse 1280). As a consequence, it can be assumed that the second copy was characterized by the same specific features as the Corsiniana manuscript.

It cannot be established with certainty, however, to what extent the structural and linguistic modifications of the edition Florence 1548 were already contained in the second copy. Many of the changes can be plausibly explained as measures to guarantee a better readability. Only the tuscanizations can be attributed with some certainty to the Florentine printer.

3.4 Menavino's fate

Why the text was printed only in 1548 remains obscure. In view of the numerous mistakes contained in the printed edition, it is likely that Menavino has not seen it

¹⁵ As does Torretta (2013, 25): "[...] che alla data della pubblicazione del libro (1548) egli era già in Francia e continuava ad usufruire dei servigi del re".

any more. Therefore, it may be assumed that by this time he was no longer alive. It even seems quite probable that he had died not long after the conclusion of his account and his visit to Rome in 1519 where he was granted an audience by the Pope:

“Onde io, tolto dalla Maumethanea infidelità, et per favore del cielo, non solo a li Italici liti (el che non è mediocre gratia et beneficio) ma a la Romana città, et per più mia felicità, a sacratissimi piedi di vostra Beat[itudi]ne da benigna fortuna transferito et presentato, et per clementia di quella a la creatione, tutela et nutrimento del Reveren[dissimo] Aquilano suo secreto cubiculario non senza causa cononato” (the passage is found in the Corsiniana manuscript at page a 1 r).

Otherwise he hardly would have waited almost 30 years before publishing his account. The hypothesis of his early death is also supported by the fact that neither in the archives of Voltri¹⁶ nor elsewhere any notices on Menavino can be found. The complete silence of all historical sources is very unusual in the case of a person of such an historical interest. Thus, it seems likely that his death occurred so early that, until the publication of the *Trattato*, all personal information remained confined to his family.

The manuscript dedicated to the French king, which is at the base of the edition Florence 1548, could have reached Torrentino with some delay as a part of Menavino's inheritance. What happened to it afterwards is not clear. Also the copy dated 1519, dedicated to the Pope, could have been sold to Torrentino. After Torrentino's death in 1563 and the subsequent liquidation of the printing house, it might have passed into the possession of the Florentine family Corsini.¹⁷ When in 1883 Tommaso Corsini donated his family's library to the Accademia dei Lincei, the manuscript could have arrived at its present place.

4 Significance and reception

Menavino spent the first years of his captivity in the Seraglio under relatively favorable circumstances. Since he was obviously eager for knowledge, he took the opportunity to learn Turkish and get acquainted with the realities of the Ottoman Empire. His account presents an unusually high degree of authenticity and offers a lot of information which was unknown at that time in Europe. Menavino's *Trattato* is one of the earliest sources at all which furnishes compre-

¹⁶ Cf. Torretta (2013, 10 f.).

¹⁷ Cf. Brundin (2009, 66), Nuovo (2013, 232).

hensive information about the Turks. Among the known Italian-language sources – apart from some minor texts – the *Trattato* is preceded only by the *Recollecta* (about 1487) of Jacopo De Promontorio (ed. Babinger 1957) and by the *Commentari dell'origine de' principi Turchi* (about 1514) of Teodoro Spandugino (ed. Sathas 1890).¹⁸

After the publication of the printed editions, Menavino's account met with great interest among his contemporaries. In view of the virulent Turkish threat, information about the Ottoman Empire was eagerly sought. As early as 1550, the *Trattato* was mentioned in the *Historiarum libri XXXV* of Paulus Iovius (Paolo Giovio): "Aliqui tamen senio & longa valetudine & ad extremum pregravantibus curis attenuatum interiisse contendunt. Sed Antonius Utrius Ligor à cubiculo Baiazetis qui de his rebus commentaria ad Leonem pontificem conscripsit referēbat nobis se in expirantis corpore nondubio veneni indicia deprehendisse" (vol. 1, 210). The further distribution of the text was supported by the fact that it was included in Francesco Sansovino's *Historia universale dell'origine et imperio de' Turchi* of 1560 (17r–65r), a sort of "Reader's Digest" of various texts on the Ottoman Empire, which served as a quarry to quite a lot of contemporary authors.¹⁹

Many authors all over Europe reproduced single passages or even whole chapters of Menavino's account. To be mentioned in particular Rocca (1556) and the *Viaje de Turquía* (ed. Ortolá 2000) for Spanish, Nicolay (1568) for French²⁰, Lubenau (ed. Sahn 1914/1915) and Pfalz (1672) for German, and Fletcher (1597) and Purchas (1613) for English.

In the course of the 16th century, translations into German and Latin were published. The German translation was prepared by Heinrich Müller; it appeared in 1563 in the second volume of the *Türkische Historien* (2r–103r) under the title *Von dem Machometischen Glauben, Gesetz und Religion, Leben, Handthierungen, Wandel und Wesen. Von deß Türkischen Keyzers Hofgesind, Hofläger, Kriegsgewalt, Amptsverwaltern. Endtlich von Verfolgung und etlichen Schlachten, zwischen dem Keyser Baiazeth und seinen Sönen*. The Latin version by Philipp Lonicer followed in 1578; it is contained in the first volume of the *Chronicorum Turcicorum, in quibus Turcorum origo, principes, imperatores, bella, praelia, caedes, victoriae, preque militaris ratio, & caetera huc pertinentia, continuo ordine, & perspicua*

18 Cf. Schweickard (2011, 9f.). – There are also some other Europeans who wrote about their experiences in Ottoman captivity, e.g. Hans Schiltberger (*Reisebuch*, about 1477), George of Hungary (*Tractatus de moribus, condicionibus et nequicia Turcorum*, 1481) and Bartolomej Georgievits (*De Turcarum ritu et caeremoniis*, 1544).

19 For more information about the structure and the publishing history of the *Historia universale* see Yérasimos (1988), Zilli (2001) and Valeri (2014).

20 At least once (96) Nicolay mentions Menavino explicitly.

brevitate exponuntur [...] (43r–103v). A modern Turkish translation by Harun Mutluay appeared in 2011.

5 The linguistic interest

The *Trattato* is also of great interest from the point of view of historical lexicology and lexicography. There are numerous borrowings from Turkish whose etymological identification is frequently obscured by corrupt spelling.²¹ Studies on the Turkish elements in the *Trattato* are still missing entirely. We give some examples from the manuscript of 1519:

- aeccia* (s III v°: “Li aspri in Turchia si chiamano *aeccia*”) < Tk. *ağça* ‘small silver coin’ (Redhouse 33).
- antippi* (h VI r°: “li Antippi che van[n]o co[n] la spada ignuda sopra la scala per leggere i Capituli de la Mahumethanea fede”) < Tk. *hatib* / *hatip* ‘preacher’ < Ar. *ḥaṭīb* (Redhouse 462; Wehr 286).
- arafettagi* (k VI r°: “una montagna che si chiama arafettagi”) < Tk. *Arafat dağ* ‘a mountain near Mecca’ < *Arafat* + *dağ* ‘mountain’ + the possessive suffix -ı (Redhouse 68).²²
- assareli* (u V r: “alla guardia ci stanno continui Cinquece[n]to homini chiamati assareli”) < Tk. *hisarlı* ‘castle warden’ < *hisar* ‘castle, fort’ + *-lı* ‘belonging to’ (Redhouse 486; Deny 1920, §§529 ff.).
- asserar* (i VIII r°: “Et quivi epsi sopra certi bacili portano una herba spolverizata, che chi ne gusta diventa in modo allegro, che pare che egli sia imbrocato, et è chiamata Asserar”) < Tk. *esrar* ‘psychoactive drug’ (Redhouse 349; Tietze 1,743).
- canare* (d I r°: “si chiama Canare cioè, loco sacrificabile, in el q[u]ale sono molti macellari”) < Tk. *kanara* ‘slaughterhouse’ (Redhouse 349).
- Caragius* (x VI r°: “un beglerbegi suo schiavo chiamato Caragius bascia”) < Tk. *Karagöz* ‘personal name’²³ < *kara* ‘black’ + *göz* ‘eye’ (Redhouse 602).

²¹ The modern Turkish translation by Harun Mutluay (2011) offers a good guidance. In some cases, however, it is misleading: It. *assabascia* (ed. Florence 1548, 70) has nothing to do with Tk. *hassa* ‘bodyguard’ (Mutluay 2011, 48), but corresponds to Tk. *ases başı* ‘chief policeman, captain of the guard’ (Redhouse 80); It. *barachi* (ed. Florence 1548, 101) does not derive from *baraka(lar)* ‘barracks’ (Mutluay 2011, 66), but is a misspelling for *burachi*, which in turn is the Italian plural of *Burak* (see above 2.2.1.); It. *Tacutaga* (ed. Florence 1548, 122) does not correspond to *kapıcı ağa* (Mutluay 2011, 78), but is a misspelling of the personal name *Yakut ağa*.

²² “*Arafa*, or *Arafāt*, plain about 21 km (13 miles) east of Mecca, on the road to Ṭā’if, bounded on the north by a mountain-ridge of the same name. The plain is the site of the central ceremonies of the annual Pilgrimage to Mecca; these are focussed on a conical granite hill in its N.E. corner, under 200 feet in height, and detached from the main ridge; this hill also is called *Arafa*, but more commonly *Ḍjabal al Raḥma* (Hill of Mercy)” (EI₂ 1,604).

²³ *Karagöz* is the traditional name of the main character of the traditional Turkish shadow play (EI₂ 4,601).

- chena* (d VI v°: “certa polvere chiamata Chena”) < Tk. *kna* / *hnna* ‘henna’ < Ar. *ḥinnā* (Redhouse 652; Wehr 244).
- chiamascir* (o VII r°: “Hanno anchora nel serraglio XX. homini i quali chiamano Chiamascir”) < Tk. *çamaşır* ‘laundryman’ (Meninski 1561; Tietze 1,471).
- ciadir mecteri* (s I r°: “dugento schiavi del gran Turco decti Ciadir mecteri”) < Italian plural of Tk. *çadır mehter* ‘tent pitchers (special troop in charge of the Sultan’s tent during military expeditions)’²⁴ (Redhouse 748).
- ciarchagiler* (z III v°: “dugento Ciarchagiler”) < Tk. *çarhaçılar*, plural of *çarhacı* ‘skirmisher’ < *çarha* ‘circling of light troops in front of the main body of a force’ + the agent-noun suffix *-ci* (Redhouse 241).
- ciumgiler* (s III r°: “settanta homini ordinariamente chiamati Ciumgiler cio è orefici”) < Tk. *kuyumcular*, plural of *kuyumcu* ‘goldsmith’ < *kuyum* ‘jewelry’ + the agent-noun suffix *-cu* (Redhouse 693).
- cucecler* (i VIII r°: “certi fanciulli i quali servono al generale chiamati cucecler”) < Tk. *cüceler* ‘dwarfs’, plural of *cüce* (Redhouse 233).
- ecchemehecci bascia* (o V v°: “un superiore chiamato Ecchemehecci bascia, cio è, soprastante del forno”) < Tk. *ekmekçi başı* ‘head of the court bakers’ < *ekmek* ‘bread; food’ + the agent-noun suffix *-çi* + *baş* (Redhouse 331).
- esnaderbascia* (o II r°: “Esnaderbascia che vol dire Thesauriero”) < Tk. *hazinedar başı* ‘chief treasurer’ < *hazinedar* ‘treasurer’ (< Pers. *ḥāzindār*)²⁵ + *baş* (Redhouse 470; Steingass 438; Schweickard 2015, 229).
- filgiler* (s VII v°: “filgiler, cio è governatori di Elephanti”) < Tk. *filciler*, plural of *filci* ‘keeper of an elephant’ < *fil* ‘elephant’ (< Ar. *fil*) + the agent-noun suffix *-ci* (Redhouse 374; Wehr 862).
- gebibascia* (r VII v° “El Gebigi bascia è uno Capitano schiavo del gran Turco”) < Tk. *cebecibaşı* ‘commander of the cebeciler’ < *cebeci* ‘armorer attached to a special military corps’ + *baş* (Barbier de Meynard 1,524).
- gellet* (t IV r°–v°: “el Re fa domandare certi giovani chiamati gellet che sono ministri et boia dela giustitia”) < Tk. *cellat* ‘executioner’ < Ar. *ğallād* (Redhouse 220; Wehr 154);
- giomailer* (h VI r°: “hanno anchora un’altra sorte di sacerdoti chiamati Gemailer”), *giomailer* (i IV r: “La religione de’ giomailer è poco lungi dali mondani”) < Tk. *cemaliler* ‘members of an order of dervishes’ < *cemali* ‘pertaining to beauty, grace and godness’ + the plural suffix *-ler* (Barbier de Meynard 1,535; Redhouse 220; Stein 1987, 228).
- geracler* (p I v°: “deci homini chiamati Echim, cio è, Medici, et deci altri chiamati geracle[r], cio è, barbieri”) < Tk. *cerrahlar*, plural of *cerrah* ‘surgeon, barber’ < Ar. *ğarrāḥ* (Redhouse 223; Wehr 141).
- imbralem* (q V r°: “Del Capitano Imbralem”) < Tk. *emiralem* ‘pasha of a lower grade’ < Ar. ‘*āmīr*’ chief, commander’ + ‘*alām*’ flag, banner’ (Redhouse 338; Wehr 744).
- imbroorbascia* (q VIII r°: “uno schiavo chiamato Imbroorbascia”) < Tk. *imrahor* / *mirahor* / *emirahur* ‘master of the horse; great officer of the court’ < Ar. ‘*āmīr*’ chief, commander’ + *āḥūr* ‘stable’ + Tk. *baş* (Redhouse 779; EI₂ 1,442).
- mectorbascia* (s I r°: “uno schiavo del Re chiamato Mectorbascia”) < Tk. *mehter başı* ‘chief of the tent pitchers’ < *mehter* ‘tent pitcher’ (originally ‘musician’) + *baş* (Redhouse 748).

24 The Turkish plural is *çadır mehterleri*.

25 In turn from Ar. *ḥizāna* ‘treasure’ + the Persian agent-noun suffix *-dār*.

- meimargiler* (s V r^o: “sono chiamati meimargiler, che vol dire picchia pietre”) < Tk. *mimarci-lar*, plural of *mimarci*, rare variant of *mimar* ‘architect’ < Ar. *mi‘mār* ‘builder, architect’ (Redhouse 777; Wehr 754); the term is formed by analogy with the usual pattern of the Turkish agent-nouns in *-ci*.²⁶
- meizim* (c II r^o: “certi sacerdoti nominati per Turchesco nome Meizim”) < Tk. *müezzin* ‘muezzin, announcer of the hour of prayer’ < Ar. *mu‘aḏḏin* (Redhouse 813; Wehr 14).
- pelviander* (s VIII r^o: “Deli Pelviander del gran Turco”) < Tk. *pehlivanlar*, plural of *pehlivan* ‘wrestler’ < Pers. *pahlavān* (Redhouse 923; Steingass 261).
- sacaler* (o VII v^o: “Sonovi ordinati anchora (si come è di bisogno) li acquaroli, i quali sono deci chiamati sacaler, cioè portatori d’acque”) < Tk. *sakalar*, plural of *saka* ‘water carrier’ < Ar. *saqqā* (Redhouse 976; Wehr 485).
- sagdic* (d VIII v^o: “el Sagdic, che è parente più prox[i]mo del marito”) < Tk. *sağdıç* ‘intimate friend of the bride or bridegroom’ (Redhouse 972).
- saraciler* (q VIII r: “si chiamano Saraciler”) < Tk. *saraçlar*, plural of *saraç* ‘saddler’ < Ar. *sarrāğ* (Redhouse 985; Wehr 472).²⁷
- seisler* (r I r^o: “seisler, cioè mulattieri”) < Tk. *seyisler*, plural of *seyis* ‘groom, horse keeper’ < Ar. *sā’is* (Redhouse 1008; Wehr 515).
- sulthanie* (s III v^o: “i ducati che si battono in la sua Zeccha sono decti sulthanie”) < Tk. *sultani* ‘gold coin’ (Redhouse 1035; Hinz 1991, 52).
- uri* (l VIII r^o: “haveran[n] donne à loro modo chiamate uri”) < Tk. *huri* ‘hour’²⁸ < Ar. *ḥūrīya* (Redhouse 494; Wehr 247).

6 Desiderata

The few existing studies on Menavino are based on the printed versions, which are to a large extent defective and show significant divergences in comparison with the original text. In particular the edition Venice 1548, that underwent an intensive “toilette de texte” can hardly be considered as an authentic work of Menavino. Henceforth, historical, philological and linguistic studies should be conducted on the basis of the manuscript of 1519 that now has been precisely located and described by Schwarz Lausten (2014). Even if it is not an autograph, it is undoubtedly very close to the original version. A scholarly edition of this manuscript according to modern methodological standards would be highly welcome.

²⁶ The type *maimarci* occurs also in Marsili (1732, vol. 1, 58) where, however, it is misspelt: “Maimarti, o Ingegneri”.

²⁷ The *-i* of *saraciler* is probably due to the influence of the Turkish agent-noun suffix *-ci*.

²⁸ Cf. EI₂ (3,581).

7 Bibliography

7.1 Menavino

7.1.1 Manuscript

Johannis Antonij Menavini de Vultri Genuensis Liber “De rebus et moribus Turcarum”, anno Domini MDXVIII (ms. Biblioteca dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Roma, Fondo Niccolò Rossi 35 E 18, Cod. 389).

7.1.2 Early printed editions

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I cinque libri della legge, religione, et vita de’ Turchi et della corte, & d’alcune guerre del Gran Turco di Giovanantonio Menavino genovese da Vultri. Oltre ciò, una prophetia de’ Mahomettani, et la miseria de’ prigionii, et de’ Christiani, che vivono sotto ’l Gran Turco, & altre cose turchesche non più vedute, tradotte da M. Lodovico Domenichi. Tutte raccontie, & non poco migliorate, Vinegia, appresso Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1548.

I costumi, et la vita de Turchi, di Gio. Antonio Menavino genovese da Vultri. Con una prophetia, & altre cose turchesche, tradotte per m. Lodovico Domenichi, Fiorenza, appresso Lorenzo Torrentino, 1551.

7.1.3 Translations

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Appendix

The chapters of the manuscript Rome 1519 (according to the index)³³

Book I, chap. 1: *Della leggie Mahomethanea*, chap. 2: *Delli comandamenti della loro lege*, chap. 3: *Expositione del Primo comandamento della legge de Turchi*, chap. 4: *Expositione del secondo comandamento*, chap. 5: *Exemplo del secondo comandamento*, chap. 6: *Expositione del terzo comandamento*, chap. 7: *Expositione del quarto comandamento*, chap. 8: *Del Modo che li Turchi fan[n]o la oratione*, chap. 9: *Di quelli che non è lecito che vadino all'Omeschit*, chap. 10: *Espositione del quinto comandamento*, chap. 11: *Ingeniosa punitione di molti homini che no[n] andavano alla Omeschit*, chap. 12: *Expositione del sesto comandamento*, chap. 13: *Expositione della Elemosina*, chap. 14: *Experientia della Elemosina*, chap. 15: *Expositione del septimo comandamento*, chap. 16: *Del Matrimonio che usano al presente in Turchia*, chap. 17: *De i giochi che fanno quando la sposa esce della stupha*, chap. 18: *Come va la sposa a casa del marito*, chap. 19: *Expositione dell'ottavo et ultimo comandamento de la legge de Turchi*, chap. 20: *Del peccato della superbia*, chap. 21: *Del peccato della Avarizia*, chap. 22: *Come lo Avaro Barseza fu tentato dal Demonio et come gli insegnò guarire i pazi*, chap. 23: *Come Barseza sanava i pazi*, chap. 24: *Della Mala fine di Barseza*, chap. 25: *Exempio quanto sia a Dio grata la honesta liberalità*, chap. 26: *Del peccato della Luxuria*, chap. 27: *Della Ira*, chap. 28: *Della gola*, chap. 29: *Della Invidia*, chap. 30: *Della Accidia*, chap. 31: *Delle Bogie*, chap. 32: *Come la vecchia Andò a mettere la discordia in una casa*, chap. 33: *Come la vecchia andò alla stupha per seguitare l'ordinata discordia*. – Book II, chap. 1: *Delle chiese della Turchia nominate Omeschit*, chap. 2: *Delli Hospitali della Turchia nominati Imaret*, chap. 3: *De l'ordine delli sacerdoti de la turchia*, chap. 4: *Delli tre primi sacerdoti i quali ministrano la justitia*, chap. 5: *Del Modo che el Cadelescher ministra la justitia*, chap. 6: *Della pena delli Testimonij falsi*, chap. 7: *Della potestà del Cadi in la justitia*, chap. 8: *Della potestà del subasti, cio è, governatore*, chap. 9: *Come el*

³³ The spelling differs in part from the spelling in the text.

subasti fa justitia delli pesi che non son iusti, chap. 10: *Delle quattro religioni della Turchia*, cio è, *Giomailer, Chalender, Dervisi et Torlacchi*, chap. 11: *Della religione delli Calender*, chap. 12: *Delli Dervisi et loro religione*, chap. 13: *Della religione delli Torlacchi*, chap. 14: *Come le genti della Turchia vanno in peregrinaggio alla mecha et al sepulcro de [Cris]to in yerusalem*, chap. 15: *Delle Cerimonie che usano i peregrini in la medina*, chap. 16: *Della partita de li peregrini da la mecha et dal sepulcro di Cristo*, chap. 17: *Come fu edificata la mecha*, chap. 18: *Della sepultura di Mahometh*, chap. 19: *Del modo di sepellire morti in Turchia*, chap. 20: *Del giorno del iuditio secondo i Turchi*, chap. 21: *Della ressuretione di tutti li morti*, chap. 22: *Dell'anime che anderan[n]o in paradiso*, chap. 23: *Dell'anime condannate all'inferno*. – Book III, chap. 1: *Della circuncisione delli Turchi et loro puerile consuetudine*, chap. 2: *Del mangiare delli Turchi*, chap. 3: *Del bere delli Turchi*, chap. 4: *Del vestire et calzare delli homini della Turchia*, chap. 5: *Del vestire et calzare delle Donne*, chap. 6: *Del cavalcare de Turchi*, chap. 7: *Del sollazo delli gioveni della Turchia nominati leventi*, chap. 8: *De uno loco chiamato Timaharane dove castigano i matti*, chap. 9: *Come una donna fece menare uno suo marito alla Timarahane per matto*, chap. 10: *Del Serraglio del gran Turco*, chap. 11: *Delli servitori continui del palazzo*, chap. 12: *Delli Camerieri*, chap. 13: *Della guardaroba del gran Turco*, chap. 14: *Della casa del Thesoro*, chap. 15: *Della dispensa secreta del Turco*, chap. 16: *Della scola*, chap. 17: *Delli gioveni che servono el giardino del Rè nel palazzo*, chap. 18: *Delli fornari del serraglio*, chap. 19: *Della Cocina del serraglio secreta et pub[lica]*, chap. 20: *Delli homini che lavono i panni del Rè et per tutta la brigata*, chap. 21: *Delli acquarolij del serraglio*, chap. 22: *Delli bagni del serraglio chiamate stuphe*, chap. 23: *Delli Medici et barbieri del serraglio*, chap. 24: *Delli Eunuchi che s[er]vono nel serraglio*, chap. 25: *Delli gioveni che possono uscire fore del serraglio*, chap. 26: *Della guardia della porta grande del serraglio*, chap. 27: *Delli sacerdoti quali vengono a fare oratione nel serraglio*. – Book IV, chap. 1: *Del Primo Bascia del gran Turco*, chap. 2: *Del secondo bascia compagno al sop[r]a-detto*, chap. 3: *Del terzo bascia*, chap. 4: *Del Cap[ita]no chiamato Jeniceragasi*, chap. 5: *Del Capitano Imbralem*, chap. 6: *Del Cesignir Bascia*, chap. 7: *Delli gentilhomini del gran Turco*, chap. 8: *Delli Cavallieri quali vanno della banda dextra del gran Turco*, chap. 9: *Della guardia che cavalca alla banda sinistra del gran Turco*, chap. 10: *Del principale maestro di stalla del Turco*, chap. 11: *Dell'altro maestro di stalla del Turco*, chap. 12: *Delli vornichler*, chap. 13: *Dello squadrone delli ulufegi che cavalcano alla banda sinistra dietro el Rè*, chap. 14: *Dello squadrone delli ulufegi che cavalcano à banda dextra dietro al gran Turco*, chap. 15: *Dell'ultimo squadrone del gra[n] Turco*, chap. 16: *Delli mazieri del gran Turco*, chap. 17: *Delli staffieri del gran Turco*, chap. 18: *Delle staffette del gran Turco*, chap. 19: *Di quelli che portano l'armature delli cortigiani in campo*, chap. 20: *Delli Bombardieri del gran Turco*, chap. 21: *Delli Tenditori delli paviglioni*, chap. 22: *Delli Trombettieri et*

sonatori d'altri instrumenti del gran Turco, chap. 23: Delli Sartori del gran Turco, chap. 24: Delli Argenterii et Orefici del gra[n] Turco, chap. 25: Di quelli che battono le monete del gran Turco, chap. 26: Delli Manescalchi et ferrari, chap. 27: Delli scarpellini del gran Turco, chap. 28: Delli novitij Giannizzeri Agiami schiavi del gran Turco, chap. 29: Delli strozieri del gran Turco, chap. 30: Delli Cacciatori et Canac-tieri del Turco, chap. 31: Di quelli che governano gli Elephanti et li leoni, li leopardi et li altri animali salvatichi del gran Turco, chap. 32: Delli Pelviander del gran Turco, chap. 33: Delli custodi delle Galere del gra[n] Turco, chap. 34: Delli Thesau-rieri che pagano tutta la gente soprascritta, chap. 35: Della Congregatione della Corte del gran Turco quando fa consiglio, chap. 36: Come il gran Turco fa justitia doppo el consiglio di quelli che han[n]jo com[m]isso alcuno errore, chap. 37: Delli Ambasciatori de [Crist]iani et Mori chiamati Elci et Tartari, chap. 38: Del mangiare del gran Turco, chap. 39: Del modo del dormire del gran Turco, chap. 40: Del Serraglio delle don[n]e chiamato Eschizarai, chap. 41: Del terzo Serraglio del gran Turco, chap. 42: Del Cahanare. – Book V, chap. 1: Della Grecia sottoposta al gra [n] Turco, chap. 2: Dello Exercito della Grecia che sta al servitio del gran Turco, chap. 3: Del signore di Modone chiamato Mora begi, chap. 4: Del signore di Bosna, città della Grecia, chap. 5: Del sig[no]re di Salonachi, città de la Grecia, chap. 6: Di due altri signorotti della Grecia, chap. 7: Del Exercito della Natalia che sta al servitio del gran Turco, chap. 8: Delli Azappi, chap. 9: Delli figlioli di sultham paiaxit q[u]ale haveva sopra la Natalia, chap. 10: Della Morte di Sultham Alemscia figlo lo secondo di sultha[m] paiaxit, chap. 11: Come Sultham Ahamut andò strave-stito a vedere el fratello in Amacia, chap. 12: Come Sultham Mahamut andò in Constantinopoli p[er] vedere il suo padre, chap. 13: Come Sultham paiaxit fece avelenare Sultham Mahamut suo figlolo, chap. 14: Della morte di Sultham Scienscia figlolo di Sultham paiaxit, chap. 15: De uno terremoto quale fu in Constantinopoli, chap. 16: Come Sultham paiaxit fece avelenare el secondo suo bascia, chap. 17: Della bactaglia et morte del primo bascia Sultham paiaxit, chap. 18: Del movimento di Sultham Selim contra Sultham paiaxit suo padre, chap. 19: Della bactaglia di Sultham Selim contra suo padre paiaxit, chap. 20: Del movimento di Sultham Ahamat dell'Amacia, chap. 21: Come Sultham Ahamat co[n] due suoi figlioli si voleva fare signore della Natalia, chap. 22: Come Sultham paiaxit mandò doma[n]-dare Sultham Selim che venisse in Constantinopoli, chap. 23: Come Sultham Corcut venne segretamente in Constantinopoli, chap. 24: Come Sultham Selim arrivò in Constantinopoli et come fu fatto Rè, chap. 25: Della partita di Sultham paiaxit di Constantinopoli per andare in demetocca et della sua morte, chap. 26: Del Exercito di Selim contra Ahamat, chap. 27: Come Sultham Selim fece morire cinque suo nepoti chiamati Celebiler, chap. 28: Della morte di Sultham Corcut fratello di Sultham Selim, chap. 29: Della Morte di mustafa Bascia principale bascia di Sul-tham Selim, chap. 30: Della bactaglia et orte di Sultham Ahamat fratello di Sultham

Selim, chap. 31: Come i due figlioli Sultham Ahamat si fuggirno sentendo che il padre era morto, chap. 32: Della partita di Sultham Selim dal loco ove hebbe la victoria, chap. 33: Del movimento del Sophy contra Sultham Selim, chap. 34: Come Sultham Selim fece un gra[n]de exercito et passò sop[r]a la Natalia co[n] intentione di ruinare el Sophy, chap. 35: Della bactaglia et rocta di Sultham Selim co[n] lo Sophy et suo nepote Sultham Morat, chap. 36: Come l'Auctore doppo questa rotta se ne venne in Italia.