Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi XXXVII / 1, 2022, 129-153 DOI: 10.18513/egetid.1148721

CONVERSION AMONG THE DRAGOMANS AND THE LANGUAGE BOYS OF THE VENETIAN REPUBLIC IN ISTANBUL (1596-1709)*

Volkan DÖKMECi**

Öz

Venedik Cumhuriyeti'nin İstanbul'daki Dragomanları ve Dil Oğlanları Arasında Din Değiştirme (1596-1709)

Din değiştirme hem Müslüman Osmanlı İmparatorluğu hem de Hristiyan Venedik Cumhuriyeti için dini bir olgu olmanın dışında sosyal, siyasi ve ekonomik boyutu olan bir hadiseydi. Toplumsal açıdan bakıldığında mevcut toplumsal geleneklerden ve toplum ahlakını şekillendiren özgün kurallardan sapmak her iki devletin toplumu acısından kabul edilemez bir durumdu. Bununla beraber, toplumlar arasındaki hareketlilik ve yoğun etkileşim din değiştirme olgusunu olağan hale getirmişti. Siyasi açıdan bakıldığında, 16. yüzyılda Akdeniz kıyılarının nüfuz altına alınması konusunda yoğun rekabet yaşayan iki devlet, kendi tebaasının rakip devlete geçmesini siyasi nüfuz alanı bakımından sakıncalı ve tehlikeli bir durum olarak görmektevdi. Ekonomik acıdan bakıldığında birtakım şahsi menfaatler, Venedik tebaasının borçlarından kurtulma çabası, Osmanlı himayesinin cazibesi ve Osmanlı erkanı ve toplumuyla olan bağlar üzerine insa edilen kariyer planının, Venedik Cumhuriyeti dragomanlarının din değiştirmelerinde etkili olduğu görülmektedir. Din değiştirme hem Osmanlı hem de Venedik tarafında dinin ülküleri, ilkeleri ve kuralları çerçevesinde gerçekleşmiştir. Osmanlılar, Müslüman olmayan birini İslam'a davet etmeyi dini açıdan son derece hayırlı bir hadise olarak görmüşlerdir. Din değiştiren, onların tabiriyle ihtida eden kişi de yeni bir dine değil fitratında olan asıl dine dönmüs addedilmiştir. Allah'ın birliğini ve Hz. Muhammed'in peygamberliğini kabul etmek, kelime-i şahadet getirmek ihtida için yeterliydi ve herhangi bir tören düzenlenmiyordu. Venedik Cumhuriyeti'nin dahil olduğu Katolik inancına göre ise Katolik olmak Tanrı'nın ihsanı ve merhameti sayesinde mümkündü. Katolik inancında din değiştirmenin sebebi ölüm korkusu, iç çatışma ve kişinin kendi nefsiyle mücadelesi şeklinde izah edilmekteydi. Katolik inancına göre kişiyi Hristiyanlığa döndüren Tanrı'nın ihsanı ve Hz. İsa'nın ruhani yarlığıydı. Katolik olacak kişi aklın kılayuzluğunda hareket etmeli, inanma arzusu taşımalı

(Makale Gönderim Tarihi: 07.11.2021 - Makale Kabul Tarihi: 10.04.2022)

^{*} This article was inspired from a thesis. See: Dökmeci 2018, p. 122, p. 417-420 and p. 448-449.

^{**} Research Assistant Dr., Kırklareli University, The Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Department of History, Kırıkkale/TÜRKİYE. E-mail: volkanyeditepe@gmail.com ORCID: 0000-0001-6486-8755

ve kilisenin Tanrı kelamını öğrettiğine inandığını beyan etmeliydi. Bu üç şart tamamlandığında vaftiz töreni yapılıyordu. İncil'e el basarak Katolikliğe inandığını ve emirlere uyacağını ifade ediyordu. Bu makalede bütün bu sosyal, siyasi ve ekonomik gerekçeler ve bunların devletler nezdindeki sonuçları, meydana gelen hadiseler ve bunlara konu olan dragomanlar üzerinden izah edilecektir. Bu da dragomanların hem spiritüel hem de maddi dünyaları hakkında kısmen de olsa bilgi edinmemize yardımcı olacaktır. Tarikat bazlı din değiştirmeler de daha ziyade Osmanlı-Venedik toplumları ve yöneticileri üzerindeki etkisi ve bunlar arasındaki ilişkiye nasıl yön verdiği bakımından değerlendirilecektir. Bu değerlendirme yapılırken, en erken örnek hadise ile en son örnek hadisenin tarih aralığı olan 1596 ve 1709 seneleri esas alınacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Venedik Cumhuriyeti, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, dragoman, dil oğlanı, İstanbul, din değiştirme.

Abstract

Conversion was an event that had social, political and economic dimensions besides being a religious fact for both Muslim Ottoman Empire and Christian Venetian Republic. From a social point of view, the diversion from the existing traditions of society and the peculiar rules that shaped the social morality was an unacceptable situation for the societies of both states. However, the mobility and intense interactions between societies made the fact of conversion ordinary. From a political point of view, the two states that experienced an intense rivalry in putting the Mediterranean coasts under the influence considered the transfer of their own subjects to the side of the rival state as an unfavourable and risky situation for their spheres of influence. From an economic point of view, it can be seen that certain personal interests, the struggle of the Venetian subjects for releasing from their debts, the attraction of the Ottoman patronage, a plan of career which was founded on the basis of the bonds with the Ottoman ruling élite and society are effective over the conversion of the dragomans of the Venetian Republic. The conversion realized in the framework of religious ideas, principles, and rules on both the Ottoman and Venetian sides. The Ottomans saw the invitation of a non-Muslim person to Islam as a very propitious event from the aspect of religion. The convert person, the one who found the true path with their expression, was assumed to have returned not to a new religion but to the original one which was existent in his or her natality. The acception of the oneness of Almighty and the prophecy of the Prophet Mohammad and the reciting of the kalima shahadah were adequate for the conversion and no ceremony was held. As for Catholicisim which included the Venetian Republic, being Catholic was possible through the divinal benevolence and mercy. In Catholicism, the reasons of conversion were expressed as a fear of death, an inner conflict, and a struggle with the person's own will. According to Catholicism, the divinal benevolence of God and the spiritual entity of the Prophet Christ made human being come back to Christianity. The person who would convert to Catholicisim should have behaved under the guidance of his/her intellect. He/she should have carried the wish of faith inside him/her. He/she should have declared that he/she believed that the Catholic Church evangelised the word of God. When these three conditions were fulfilled, the ceremony of baptism woul be held. By swearing on the Bible he/she stated that he/she believed in Catholicism and would abide by the orders. In this article, all these social, political and economic reasons and their outcomes in the presence of the states will be explained through the events that happened and the dragomans who were mentioned. This will help us to have at least partial information about the spiritual and te material worlds of the dragomans. The sect-based conversions will be evaluated rather with their effects over the Ottoman and the Venetian rulers and societies and with the way that these conversions directed the relations between them. During this evaluation, the time period between 1596 and 1709 which are the dates of the earliest and the latest example cases, are taken as a basis.

Keywords: Republic of Venice, Ottoman Empire, dragoman, language boy, Istanbul, conversion.

Introduction

The Turkish Language School which was introduced in 1551 at the residence of the Bailo in Istanbul continued its activity until the Treaty of Campo Formio which abolished the Venetian Republic in 1797. The Venetian government assigned multitudinous interpreters and their apprentices between these two dates. These interpreters and their apprentices named as "dragomans" and "language boys" were always under the order and the supervision of the Bailo and the Extraordinary Envoys. This supervision was crucial primarily for their linguistic education and professional careers. Some of these interpreters and their apprentices were selected from the mostly Genoese origined families of the Catholic Community of Pera. The Venetian, Slavic and Greek origined families who habited in the Venetian-ruled Adriatic regions and the Aegean Islands made also progress in the profession of interpreting. The Jewish families were applied leastwise. The families in the city of Venice were incorporated into the interpreters in 1551 when the government deliberated to send two Venetian notaries from the Duchal Chancellery or non-notary citizens above the age of 20 to Istanbul for 5 years. The lovalty of all interpreters and their apprentices to the state's orders and interests and the Christian traditions was highly important for the Venetian government. Their interaction with the Ottoman Muslim society was always subject to the envoys' supervision. These envoys were responsible for taking precautions against the conversion of the interpreters from Christianity to Islam and informing the authorities about this. The Venetian State Archive hosted the documents about this topic. These documents present important historical, socio-economic, and cultural datas to the researchers.

The dragomans and the language boys of Venice in Istanbul had a continuous interaction of domestic and foreign relations in a center of diplomacy which maintained its special feature along the centuries. They were subject to the spheres of influence of the Ottoman Muslim society, the Ottoman ruling élite, the European envoys, different missionary sects of Christianity, the Catholic and Orthodox communities of the Ottoman Empire. In this interwoven relation network, the load over the shoulders of the Bailo and the Extraordinary Envoys of Venice was heavy. They had to deal with a plenty of matters including the observation of the Ottoman social traditions, the Ottoman rulers' protocols and demands, the competition with other European envoys in obtaining some new privileges, and the missionary activities of other Christian sects towards the Venetian subjects. Although to a lesser extent than the envoys, the interpreters represented the interests of the Venetian Republic and they served a function in the state's political and diplomatic matters. Therefore, their daily and professional lives had to be supervised by the Venetian envoys. Because, the Venetian government could not take any risk in the protection of the state's interests during the negotiations with the Ottoman Empire. Any slight probability of the interpreters' inclination to the Ottoman society, its religion and its traditions could damage the state's political and diplomatic strategies and interests. The Venetian government never accepted to lose a talented interpreter to the Ottoman ruling élite. The interpreters of the Venetian Republic also knew the secrets of their state in terms of foreign policy. Besides, the Republic tried to keep their own citizens and subjects within the frame of the Christian traditions. Islam was a long-standing rival of

its religion. By the 17th century, the rivalry between different Christian sects made the Venetian government more sensitive and reactional towards its officials including the interpreters. The Venetian Republic, as the protector of the Franciscans¹, saw the Jesuits and the Capuchins as the main rival missionary sects in Istanbul and it assumed a severe attitude towards any possible inclination to these sects and forbade its officials including the interpreters to attend to their churches and punished them in a severe way. Hence, it put a great pressure over its envoys to take some harsh precautions against these kinds of actions and to inform it about them as soon as possible. Faroqhi, Simon, Dursteler, and Rothman draw a vivid picture of the conditions of conversion, the Venetian government's precautions, and their impacts over the dragomans.²

Several researchers have recently studied over the families, biographies, and diplomatic roles of the dragomans who served the Venetian Republic at the embassy in Istanbul and on the Adriatic borders. The book of Luigi Bossi about Dragoman Gian-Rinaldo Carli with the title "Elogio Storico del Conte Commendatore Gian-Rinaldo Carli"³, the article of Stefano Yerasimos with the title "Istrian Dragomans in Istanbul"⁴, the articles which were penned by Domenico Venturini under the titles of "Tommaso Tarsia: Dragomano Grande della Repubblica Veneta" and "La Famiglia Albanese dei conti Bruti"⁵ and the encyclopedical series of Pietro Stancovich with the title "Biografia degli Uomini Distinti dell'Istria" constitute a valuable literature on the prosopography of the dragomans under the Venetian rule. Three important and valuable articles of Cristian Luca under the titles of "Il Bailaggio Veneto di Costantinopoli nel Cinque-Seicento: I Dragomanni Provenienti dalle famiglie Brutti, Borisi e Grillo", "Some Families of Dragomans from the Italian-Levantine Community of Beyoğlu (Pera in Constantinople)", and "Notes on the Family Wealth and Career Progression of Cristoforo Tarsia and His Sons, Dragomans of the Venetian Embassy in Constantinople, 1618-1716" and the encylopedical series of Marino Berengo with the title "Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani" can be counted among the main resources related to the leading dragoman families of the Venetian Republic. The article of Giuseppe Paladino under the title of "Due Dragomanni Veneti a Costantinopoli: Tommaso Tarsia e Gian Rinaldo Carli⁹ should be added as another resource about the dragoman families. The article of Andrei Pippidi with the title "Tre Antiche Casate dell'Istria" is peculiar because it deals

¹ ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Registri, Costantinopoli, Reg. 36, 1701-1707, The Letters of the Collegio to the Bailo Ascanio Giustinian under the Dates of 26 March and 6 August 1707, p. 220 r-220 v, 232 v and 233 v.

² Simon 1985, p. 62; Faroghi 1986 s. 363; Dursteler 2001, p. 7.

³ Bossi 1797, p. 1-285.

⁴ Yerasimos 2005, p. 36-55.

⁵ Venturini 1905, p. 346-419; Venturini 1906, p. 43-136.

⁶ Stancovich 1829, vol. III, p. 140, p. 159-160, p. 170-171, and p. 261-262.

⁷ Luca 2008, p. 105-158; Luca 2012, p. 201-214; Luca 2013, p. 39-56.

⁸ Berengo 1960, p. 174.

⁹ Paladino 1917, p. 183-200.

¹⁰ Pippidi 2006, p. 61-76.

with both Italian and Rumenian resources about the dragoman families under the Venetian patronage. Various precious articles which were written by Francesca Lucchetta¹¹ include valuable information about the Turkish Language School in Istanbul, the educational process of the language boys of the Venetian Republic, the diplomatic roles of the dragomans, and their social and religious lives and contacts in the Ottoman society. Maria Pia Pedani, in her various studies¹² gives valuable information about the relations between the Ottoman envoys in Venice and the dragomans of the Venetian Republic who accompanied them, and the reports related to the dragomans that the Bailos presented to the Senate. The joint study of Carlo Coco and Flora Manzonetto with the title "Baili Veneziani alla Sublime Porta" , three volumes of the third "Relazioni" series¹⁴ of Eugenio Albèri touch upon the relations of the Bailos with the dragomans and their reports about these interpreters. Eric R. Dursteler with his studies under the titles of "Identity and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean 1573-1645" and "The Bailo in Constantinople: Crisis and Career in Venice's Early Modern Diplomatic Corps" emphasizes the social and diplomatic positions of the dragomans.

Natalie Ella Rothman is a peculiar and unique researcher because she wrote the large-scaled history of the dragomans. With her studies "Between Venice and Istanbul: Trans-Imperial Subjects an Cultural Meditation in the Early Modern Mediterranean" and "Interpreting Dragomans: Boundaries and Crossings in the Early Modern Mediterranean" he inspires the following researchers with her methodology in the analysis of the correct position of the dragomans in terms of politics, economics and diplomacy in both the Ottoman and the Venetian societies. Her study "The Dragoman Renaissance" opens a very broad gate to the researchers with inclusion of a very long period and multitudinous subjects. However, she prevents them from getting lost in the dark corridors of vagueness thanks to her harmonious order in handling various topics ranging from the dragoman dynasties to the contributions of the dragomans to Orientalism through their reports, observations and comments related to the Ottoman society. In this book, Natalie Rothman explains the matter of conversion in relation to slavery. When she talks about the living and working conditions of the enslaved Christians in the dragomans' households, she emphasizes that the patronage of the dragomans of Pera for those slaves was crucial in preventing any possible conversion to Islam with the influence of a Muslim

and p. 232-234

¹¹ Lucchetta 1983, p. 1-28; Lucchetta 1984, p. 21-61; Lucchetta, 1985, p. 1-43; Lucchetta 1987-1988, p. 479-498; Lucchetta 1989, p. 19-40.

¹² Pedani-Fabris 1996, p. 311; Pedani 2005, p. 1-31; Pedani 2010, p. 108, p. 116-117, p. 125, p. 127, p. 129-134, p. 139-140, p. 160-161, and p. 195; Pedani 2011, p. 172-176; Pedani 2015, p. 172-173.

¹³ Coco & Manzonetto 1985, p. 105-116.

^{Albèri 1840, p. 33, p. 103-105, p. 111, p. 179-189, p. 271, and p. 288; Albèri 1844/1, p. 1, p. 54-59, p. 103-129, p. 185-187, p. 321, and p. 413-419; Albèri 1844/2, p.51-58, p. 68, p. 113-117, p.209, p. 247-248., p. 251, and p. 318- 320.}

Dursteler 2000, p. 173-192; Dursteler 2001, p. 1-30; Dursteler 2012, p. 49-54, and p. 222-226.
 Rothman 2006/1, p. 229, p. 239, and p.460. Rothman 2009, p. 771-800; Rothman 2012, p. 225,

master.¹⁷ By using the records of the parish churches in Istanbul between 1662 and 1694, she found out that Christian slaveholding became a common practice among the Christian subjects in the Ottoman capital. Although the Catholic Church prohibited baptism of the enslaved persons in theory, the enslaved persons were baptised in the so-called churches and they even could be free to marry. Rothman also takes notice to the difficulty in fixing the correct number of the baptised enslaved people due to the selection bias which can be observed in the parish churches' records.¹⁸ Rothman's another contribution to the concept of conversion is visible in her explication of the Islamic symbols, especially clothes. She points out that the symbols are not absolute evidences of conversion as seen in the case of Dragoman Giovanni Battista Salvago who was given permission to don a turban like a Muslim and it was irrelevant to conversion.¹⁹

Rothman's article with the title of "Becoming Venetian: Conversion and Transformation in the Seventeenth-Century Mediterranean" focuses on the conversion to Catholicism and the relations between converts, local élites, the Venetian state, and the Pia Casa dei Catecumeni (Holy House of the Catechumens). Although she focuses on the topics that are a little bit different from the ones of this study, she brings a great inspiration to this article with her emphasis on the mobility and practices of people beyond the political and religious boundaries and her comments on the spiritual motivation of conversion, and her reference to the difference between the religious sincerity and the material needs. Rothman doesnot prefer to narrate an institutional history of the Venetian Catholic Church. Instead, she founds the basis of conversion on the social links.²⁰ The social link is the key point where this article intersects with the one of Rothman. This study tries to search for the social and economic causes of the conversion cases. But differently from Rothman it also deals with the institutional reactions and precautions and the impact of such events on the Ottoman-Venetian diplomatic relations.

The eye-opening book of Tommaso Bertelè with the title "Il Palazzo degli Ambasciatori di Venezia a Costantinopoli e Le Sue Antiche Memorie" presents a rich material over the dragomans of the Venetian Republic.²¹ Mahmud Şakiroğlu who translated this book from Italian to Turkish with the title "Venedik ve Konstantiniyye" added new resources and extra information to its appendices and endnotes and this increased the level of the quality and the quantity of the resources of the original book.²² Therefore, the researcher should use both the original and the translation versions together.

Aykut Gürçağlar with his article under the title of "Patterns of Patronage: An Istrian Family of Dragomans as Patrons of Art" epmphasizes the cultural intermediation of certain members of Tarsia, which was a dragoman family from Capodistria including

¹⁷ Rothman 2021, p. 59.

¹⁸ Rothman 2021, p. 59.

¹⁹ Rothman 2021, p. 72.

²⁰ Rothman 2006/2, p. 39-75.

²¹ Bertelè, 1932, p. 138-142.

²² Bertelè 2012, p. 429-520

some patrons of art, by informing about the historical process of the creation of the portraits of these members. Besides, he expresses the term "dragoman" and comments on the evolution process of interpretion in the 16th century's Ottoman Empire.²³

The researcher should evaluate all these resources together with the archival documents to which they refer. However, they guide the archive-based studies and researches because of their wealthy and consistent references. The primary and secondary resources of this study focus on the cases of conversion and its results on behalf or at the expense of the dragomans of the Venetian Republic, and the relations of the dragomans with the Bailos, the Venetian government, the Ottoman society and authorities during and after the conversion. Therefore, it is possible to say that this article should not just inform about the families of the dragomans. The main aim of this article can be expressed as the explication of the perception of conversion from both formal and informal aspects. The formal aspect means to be the reaction and precaution of the Republic of Venice against the conversion via the Senate, the Collegio and the Bailo, in addition, the responses of the Ottoman authorities to all these reactions and precautions. The informal aspect includes the individual approaches of the dragomans. At this point, the causes and the results of conversion can be questioned. The article tries to find the answers generally in the lives of the dragomans, particulary in their interactions with the Ottoman and Venetian societies, their own economic conditions and the spiritual ambiance of Istanbul. For this aim the primary resouces, namely the document series in the Venetian State Archive (Archivio di Stato di Venezia) from which this article benefits can be counted as ASVe, Senato, Secreta, Deliberazioni, Registri, Costantinopoli; ASVe, Senato, Secreta, Archivio Proprio Costantinopoli, Ambasciatore a Costantinopoli; ASVe, Senato, Terra Ferma; and ASVe, Bailo a Costantinopoli.

1. Conversions to Islam

Conversion was identified with a serious crime, the traitorship according to the Venetian laws and traditions. In the Ottoman land, especially in the capital city Istanbul, the dragomans of Venice generally converted to Islam. Their conversions included a long period that lapsed between 1551, the year when the Turkish Language School was introduced and 1797 when the Republic of Venice came to an end through the Treaty of Campo Formio (In this article, the datas belonged to the period between 1596 and 1709). Conversion to a different sect of Christianity also appeared as a different but rarer phenomenon. It became more common by the beginning of the 17th century when the missionaries of different sects of Christianity started to compete with each other to influence the Christians of Pera.

An early example occurred in 1596 when Battistina Alberti who was the mother of the Language Boy Girolamo Alberti consigned a petitition to the Bailo Marco Veniero (1593-1596) for the case in which his son was accused of committing the crimes of captive evasion and embezzlement of an amount of entrusted money. When the case

²³ Gürçağlar 2013, p. 287-301.

continued to be processed, she requested him to forgive her son.²⁴ Some letters were sent by the Venetian *Collegio*²⁵ and the Senate to the Bailo Marco Venier in the same year. These letters give a clue about that Alberti was not dismissed but he was sent to Venice as a precaution because of his mother's demand. It was claimed that Girolamo Alberti converted to Islam during his stay in the house of an Armenian patriarch. Although it was not proved, the *Collegio* did not wish to take any risk about this topic. The cause of the conversion was not explained in the documents. If it was true, his conversion may have stemmed from his wish to be freed from his aforesaid crimes and certain debts²⁶

The Venetian authorities took precautions in order to prevent the conversion and ordered the Bailo and the Extraordinary Envoys to do their best to convince the converted dragomans and language boys to reconvert to Christianity. Due to certain legal problems like a case of debt or embezzlement rather than a spiritual sensitivity, the Bailos and the Extraordinary Envoys conveyed various complaints to the Ottoman authorities about the conversion of the dragomans and the language boys in Istanbul and tried to dissuade these Venetian officials under their rule from their new religion. Briefly, the converted subjects generally caused various crises in mutual diplomatic relations. The conversion was sometimes punished severely, mostly with imprisonment, rarely with execution but maybe due to traitorship or espionage in addition to conversion. However, most of the converted subjects came under the Ottoman rule and protection and they even got rid of their former debts, responsibilities, and peccadillos. The language boy Antonio Torre (Anton Tori in the Turkish document) was one of them. A petition about him was registered in the Venetian State Archive between 1626 and 1629.²⁷ It was written in Turkish and it was included in the file with the number 371 which was categorized in the series Bailo a Costantinopoli. The document has no date on it. But a note which was

_

²⁴ ASVe, Senato, Secreta, Archivio Proprio Costantinopoli, Ambasciatore a Costantinopoli, Busta 4, Reg. 8, The Letter of the Bailo Marco Venier (1593-1596) under the Date of 6 March 1596, p. 282 r-283 r.

²⁵ Pien Collegio or Collegio was the decision making mechanism that consisted of 26 members that included the Dodge, six Councilors, three headmen of the Council of the Forty of Offense, six Council Seniors, five Seniors of Terra Ferma (The Outer Lands around Venice), and five Seniors of Order (Savii agli Ordini). When the Dodge was away from Venice, the eldest Senior of the Council governed this decision making body by taking on a black cap. This decision-making body determined the political and administrational matters that would be discussed in the Senate. It also made decision over other topics in which the Senate could be interested. This body summoned the envoys of foreign states, the ecclesiastic emissaries of the cities under the Venetian rule and the citys' rettores and consulted with them before bringing the matter to the table of the Senate. See: Boerio 1829, p. 139.

²⁶ ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Registri, Costantinopoli, Reg. 9, 1595-1602, The Letters of the Collegio and the Senate to the Bailo Marco Venier under the Dates of 5 April 1595 and 21 March 1596, p. 26 r, p. 27 r, p. 55 r, and p. 56 r.

²⁷ ASVe, Bailo a Costantinopoli, Busta 371, The Turkish Original Text and the Italian Translation Text of the Petition Presented by the Bailo Sebastiano Venier to the Bostancibashi. See: Appendices 1-4, p. 19-21.

attached to the aforesaid petition helps the researcher to estimate its time period. On the note there is an expression like "Another document mostly about the merchants will be carried in the pocket of Venier". With this expression the Bailo Sebastiano Venier was meant. His tenure was in between 1626 and 1629. Therefore, the document may have been registered in these years. Furthermore, Venier ordered the dragomans to prepare this Turkish petition. The document was addressed to an Ottoman agha and the Bailo requested this agha to consign it to the Bostancibashi. With the order of the Bailo, the dragomans elaborated an Italian copy of this document. But, it was not as detailed as the original Turkish one.

The focus of the petition about Anton Torre was the crime of this language boy before his conversion to Islam and his career as a page in the Ottoman palace. In the document it was alleged that he swindled numerous people. The aforesaid note's expression "Another document mostly about the merchants will be carried in the pocket of Venier" gives a clue that he swindled multitudinous Venetian merchants. In the petition the language boy's personality was described by the Bailo in detail. The Bailo wrote that he came from a very poor Venetian family and thanks to the mercy of the Venetian rulers he was sent to Istanbul in order to learn Turkish and to become a dragoman. According to the description of the Bailo, the language boy had intemperate manners and he was so froward that he followed nothing out of his own wishes and desires. As the Bailo emphasized, according to the allegations of an official in the Bailo's residence, he disappeared for a while to escape from his creditors. When he reappeared, he deceived them by claiming that he had a share in every single box of the book in which the fabrics and the clothes of the Bailo and his entourage were registered. He also stole 300 piasters from the subvention of this book and secretly gave it to some of his creditors. The Bailo also stated that he may not have been guilty by justifying that a converted secretary had been slandered in the similar way recently through various allegations of credits. In his petition the Bailo requested the Ottoman agha to investigate the family of the language boy through the Muslim merchants who were travelling to Venice and he advised him to interrogate the Janissaries near the language boy about the allegations. The Bailo demanded him to provide justice as soon as possible and warned him that he would apply to the Sultan, the leading protector of justice of the Empire if the agha had not solved the case in a fair way.

In the original Turkish text, it was written that the accurate debts of the language boy were equal to 269,5 piasters (guruş). In addition, the names of the creditors and the amount of their credits were listed one by one. But, the Bailo emphasized that the amount of his debts was indeed much more, but they could fix that one by then. According to the Bailo, besides the fixed debt, he borrowed high amounts of money from Muslim, Greek and Jewish communities of Galata. In the document, the properties of the language boy were listed as a pair of red sateen jupe, a pair of cotton jupe, a worn-out Albanian shalwar (çintiyân), a pair of London baggy trousers, a face towel (macramé), a pair of kneel shalwar, a pair of gaiters, 2 linen-lined cap (arakcin), a mattress, an azure cloth quilt, an

old sheet, and a yellow dip pen line tool. All this information did not exist in the Italian copy in which only the event was narrated.²⁸

In between 1629 and 1630, the Bailo Giovanni Capello (1629-1632) was charged to investigate the reasons behind the conversion of the language boy Antonio Torre. He found out that the language boy was convinced by a priest near whom he lodged. ²⁹ The Senate sent a letter to the Bailo Pietro Foscarini, the successor of Capello and notified its sadness about the conversion and claimed that the language boy followed some wrong advices through forlorn hopes. It also appreciated the devoted efforts and supports of Foscarini about the success and the progress of the dragomans and the language boys in

Oğlân-ı mezkûr Venediklü dâyinlerinin esâmisidir ki zikr olunur:

Hekîme: 44,5 gurus (piastres) Pavlu Haseki'ye: 2 gurus Alfired Perup'a: 6 gurus Minhaz Cibutu'ya: 7 guruş

Françeşku Sal bâzergâna: 112,5guruş

Piru Venir'e: 2 guruș Pavlu Veki'ye: 7 guruş Sanatur'a: 7 guruş

Nikos Aleksandıri'ye: 6 gurus

Pacentu'va: 9.5 gurus Salvagu'ya: 51 gurus Bazara gidene: 2 gurus Çamâşıra: 7 guruş Papuçciya: 6 guruş Yekûn: 269,5guruş

Ve bunlardan mâ'ada Galata'da Müslimân ve Rum ve Yahûdi tā'ifesinden sâîr dâyinleri vârdır:

Defter olur ki:

Sâbıkan Anton Tori ki el-ân serâyda içoğlânı olmâğla espâbını (esvâbını) zikr ider:

Kırmızı âtlâs kumâş zıbûn a'ded 1 Diğer zıbûn panbûklı a'ded 1 Yılbık köhne çintiyân a'ded 1 Londra Frank şalvârı a'ded 1

Yüz makremesi a'ded 1

Tûrıncı diz çâkşırı cift 1

Tozlık cift 1 'Arakçîn a'ded 2

Dösek a'ded 1

Semâî biz yorgân a'ded 1

Köhne çârşab a'ded 1

Sarûdan devât sâtırlıg a'ded 1

See: Appendix 3, p. 20.

²⁸ The debts and the properties of Antonio Torre (Anton Tori) were listed in the Turkish text in the following words:

²⁹ ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Registri, Costantinopoli, Reg. 19, 1629-1630, The Letter of the Senate to the Bailo Sebastiano Venier (1626-1629) and his successor Giovanni Cappello (1629-1632) under the Date of 24 January 1629, p. 125 v.

their profession. It also declared its belief about the fact that Foscarini did his best to solve the matter of the conversion of Torre. ³⁰ Despite of the efforts of the Bailo and the government for the solution of the problem of debts of the former language boy, the reason behind the conversion was not questioned by them. Therefore, it was not explained in the documents and it was left to the estimation of the researcher. Although the material needs outweighed as a reason of conversion, his plan of having a career in the Ottoman Palace was another possibility. The social contacts of the language boy with Muslim rulers, officials or tradesmen may have not been handled in the documents.

Occasionally, a converted former Venetian subject could challenge the Venetian hegemony by supporting the Ottoman warriors. Salvador Costanzi from the Adriatic region was an example from the year 1630. After his conversion and taking the name of Ahmed, he wrote a letter to his brother which the *Proveditor General* of Zante obtained by coincidence. In this letter, Salvador, namely Ahmed used some statements at the expense of the Venetian Republic when he mentioned his desire of being an Ottoman warden under the rule of the Kapudan Pasha, and declaring a battle against Zante under the Venetian rule.³¹ The *Collegio* wrote a letter to the Bailo Giovanni Capello and informed him about the letter which the *Proveditor General* notified to the Venetian government. The Bailo was ordered to complain this person to the Kapudan Pasha. The *Collegio* expected the Kapudan Pasha to prevent any possible harmful action of Salvador in favour of the long-term peace and fellowship between the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire. ³²

On the month of July, in 1709, it was fixed that the Language Boy Giulio Battisti converted to Islam secretly and as a result, the *Collegio* ordered the Bailo Ascanio Giustinian to investigate this matter. The Bailo found out that it was real. As a precaution he dismissed the language boy with the accusation of misconduct in office and sent him back to Venice. Primarily, the language boy was checked up and kept in quarantine in Spilit (Spalato) for a while. When he arrived to Venice, he was consigned to the prison under the administration of the Venetian *Avagadori* and he was jailed pending trial.³³

Occasionally but very rarely, the conversion could occur in an opposite way, in other words from Islam to Christianity. Abramo Albanese from the late 17th and the early 18th centuries, constituted a typical example of this case. When he was a Muslim Albanese Ottoman subject with the name İbrahim Ahmed Efendi, he converted secretly to Catholicism and escaped to Venice in the following tense years of the 1683 Siege of Vienna. During his escape he was the tutor of Turkish in the Turkish Language School at

³¹ ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Registri, Costantinopoli, Reg. 19, 1629-1630, The Letter of the *Collegio* to the Bailo Giovanni Cappello (16 April 1630), p. 175 r and p. 177 r.

³⁰ ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Registri, Costantinopoli, Reg. 21, 1632, The Letter of the Senate to the Bailo Pietro Foscarini under the Date of 30 December 1632, p. 145 r-145 v.

³² ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Registri, Costantinopoli, Reg. 19, 1629-1630, The Letter of the Collegio to the Bailo Giovanni Cappello (16 April 1630), p. 175 r, 177 r, and p. 178 v.

³³ ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Registri, Costantinopoli, Reg. 37, 1708-1715, The letters of the Collegio to the Bailo Ascanio Giustinian (6 and 31 July 1709) and to his successor the Bailo Alvise Mocenigo (6 February 1709), p. 65 v, p. 66 v, p. 78 r, p. 79 r, and p. 91 v.

the residence of the Bailo in Istanbul. 20 years before his escape, he was sent to a place close to the Castle of Belgrade as the Sultan's tax collector. Then a priest under the rule of the Holy Roman Emperor, baptised him secretly. He wandered the lands of Europe, Asia and Egypt in Africa as a secretary and with some duties of the financial office. When he visited Rome, the Pope offered his patronage. But he preferred to stay under the protection of the Venetian Dodge. After the 1683 Siege of Vienna, the Turkish Language School of Istanbul had difficulty to function and it started to disintegrate. Because, the Ottomans began to toughen their attitude towards the Venetians and the mutual relations became tense with the effect of the siege. Following a couple of years, the Bailo Giovanni Battista Donado proposed to open a preparatory school in Venice and the Venetian government decided to assign Abramo Albanese as its tutor.³⁴ The Extraordinary Envoy Lorenzo Soranzo, in his letter that he sent from Istanbul under the date of 20 April 1702. wrote that he looked forward to seeing the introduction of a Turkish language school in Venice. The school did not open but before its opening, Abramo Albenese taught Turkish to a considerable number of language boys in Venice and made a great contribution to their education. But, after his death they could not find a tutor as good as he was.³⁵

2. Conversions to Other Christian Sects

The relations of the dragomans of Venice in Istanbul with the Catholic missionaries stemmed from political and religious reasons. Both the Venetian and Ottoman authorities followed closely these relations and interfered with them severely. When the officials of Venice served the rival sects of Venice, they were warned by the Venetian government and bailos. If they served the missionary activities of the Ottoman enemies like Habsburgs, they were punished severely by the Ottoman rulers and the Venetians had to be silent about it. The event of Bartolomeo Brutti I³⁶ (1557-1592) was an example of this sort of punishment. He was the first interpreter member of the Albanian origined Capo D'Istrian family from Ulcinj (Dulcigno)³⁷ which had some members among the converted Muslim Ottoman rulers like the Grand Vizier Sinan Pasha. Brutti³⁸ had a great talent of diplomatic relations. He was sent as a language boy to Poland with

-

³⁴ ASVe, Senato, Terra Ferma, Filza 1149, Reg. 224, No. 69, The Letters of the Venetian Senate and the Collegio to the Bailo Giovanni Battista Donado under the Dates of 15 and 18 April 1692, p. 271 v-272 r; Lucchetta 1987-1988, p. 479-498; Lucchetta 1989, p. 36-37.

³⁵ Cecchetti 1868, p. 1126-1128.

³⁶ Bartolomeo Brutti I and his brother Cristoforo Brutti I were the first dragomans of the Brutti family in Istanbul. Their careers started as a language boy in 1575. Cristoforo I was died of the plague in 1594. Bartolomeo Brutti took an important role in the exchange of captives among the Ottoman Sultan, the Venetian Dodge and the Pope. An example event happened in 1575 when he was the bearer of an imperial letter to bring the Ottoman captives from Rome. *ASVe*, *Senato*, *Deliberazioni*, *Registri*, *Costantinopoli*, *Reg.* 8, 1591-1594, The Letter of the Collegio to the Bailo Marco Venier under the Date of 21 August 1594, p. 180 v; Venturini 2015, p. 206-223 and p. 273-274.

³⁷ Pedani 2013, p. 63.

³⁸ For other members of the Brutti family see: Luca 2008, p.105-158.

his brother Cristoforo Brutti I and they managed to establish their own dynasty in Boghdan in 1580 and their dynasty had a great influence over the rulers of Boghdan. Bartolomeo Brutti I tried to patronage 15.000 Catholic people in the border of Poland and Boghdan. In cooperation with the Venetian and the Spanish authorities, he protected the rights of the local Catholic community³⁹ and helped the extension of Catholicism in the region with an attempt of breaking the influence of the local Ortodox Christian clergy. He also demanded the support of the local Jesuit and Franciscan priests. He was exposed to a severe reaction and anger of the Ottoman rulers because he acted in favour of Spain rather than Venice. The Ottomans supported the Queen Elizabeth of England and the successor of the Portuguese throne against Spain's extension policy. Therefore, they were highly disturbed by Brutti's service and support for Spain. Bartolomeo Brutti I was caught by the Ottoman officials when he attempted to escape from Boghdan and he was imprisoned in a dungeon. Later, they punished him with execution.

The Venetian authorities which protected the Franciscans were also worried about the missionary activities of other Christian, namely the rival Catholic sects, especially the Jesuits and the Capuchins in Istanbul. In 1623⁴¹, the Venetian government sent various orders to the Bailo in order to prevent the intensive Jesuit missionary activities in Istanbul and to keep its subjects away from their religious and political influence and impact. The Bailo was ordered to dissuade the Venetian merchants and dragomans of Pera from attending to the Jesuit churches and to draw them back to their old faith. The Bailo was also charged with listing the names of the Venetian merchants and dragomans who were in league with the Jesuits and warning them about this. The Venetian Collegio and the Senate warned the Bailo about the cause of the missionary activities to a possible official misconduct among the dragomans. They emphasized that the situation would become worse and they would have to face the reality of losing all the Catholic churches in Istanbul to these missionaries. According to them, the reason behind this misfortune was the prejudice of the Pope's delegate in the patriarchate of Istanbul. Therefore, the Bailo should have informed the Venetian consul in Rome about the matter. The Collegio and the Senate claimed the Venetian hegemony over the Catholic churches in Istanbul by justifying that the Church of Saint Mary was donated to Venice by the Byzantine Emperor

-

³⁹ In 1587 and 1588, Bartolomeo Brutti I wrote two important letters to the Seigneur Anibal di Capua who was the Archbishop of Naples and the Papal Nuncio in the Kingdom of Poland. In these two letters, it was visible that he supported the Catholic influence and interference in Boghdan and he struggled for the protection of the rights of the Catholic minorities there. In these two letters he carried the title of the Grand Chamberlain (Magno Camarea/Gran Camerier) of Moldovia/Boghdan and the Captain of Lăpușna. See: Monumenta 1863, p. 6 and p. 13; Variale December 2016, p. 484-485.

 ⁴⁰ Pippidi 2016, p. 93-128; Gürkan, 2018, p. 275; Monticolo 1922, p. 308; Variale 2016, p. 93-128.
 ⁴¹ In the 17th century, the Repuclic of Venice tried to protect the Catholic subjects under its rule and patronage from the missionaty activities of other Christian sects. See: Simon 1985, p. 62; Faroqhi 1986, p. 363; Dursteler 2001, p. 7.

Mikhail Palaiologos (Paleologos) in 1263. They also ordered the Bailo to protect this church from the missionaries' influence and activities.⁴²

The punishment of the crime of conversion to another Christian sect was provided in 1634 when the Venetian Senate was highly disturbed by the activities of the Capuchin and the Jesuit missionaries in Istanbul. The Senate ordered the Bailo Pietro Foscarini to take the proper precautions to protect the faith of the Venetian subjects and to punish the ones who adopted the two aforesaid sects with dismissal. The matter became worse when a dragoman of the French consul was killed during the conflicts which were caused by those missionaries. Cristoforo Tarsia I, the Dragoman of the Republic whose tenure was in between 1612 and 1676⁴³ and who became a *Grand Dragoman* in 1673⁴⁴, experienced various dangers during these conflicts. But, with the order of the Senate, he was donated with 200 reales as a reward of his distress and suffering. The Senate also ordered the Bailo to forbid Dragoman Giovanni Battista Salvago to have any contact or relation with those missionaries. Because the Senate was worried that such a successful dragoman could be a bad example to other dragomans and their apprentices. However, the Senate advised the Bailo to approach any possible extremism with resoluteness and prudence and warned him that he and the French consul would not interfere with the events excessively.⁴⁵

Occasionally the dragomans helped the Christian missionaries to convey their problems to the Venetian Bailos, envoys, rulers and officials. For example, in 1707, the Grand Dragoman Tommaso Tarsia mediated, for the Capuchin priests who were sent to Persia, in donation of a travel allowance at the amount of 10 *reales* and a pair of clothes which were made of baize. He also helped them as an interpreter when they visited Istanbul. Thanks to the Venetian support, the Franciscan missionary priests in Macedonia, Albania and Anatolia presented a petition to the Bailo through the Grand Dragoman Tarsia to solve their certain problems.⁴⁶

_

⁴² ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Registri, Costantinopoli, Reg. 14, 1622-1623, The Letter of the Senate and the Collegio to the Bailo Giorgio Giustinian under the Date of 15 July 1623, p. 211 v-212 v.

⁴³ The Rumenian academician Cristian Luca is irresolute between two dates, 1636 and 1641 about the year when Cristoforo Tarsia I was assigned to the post of dragomanship. However, according to the common sense of different academicians, it occurred in 1641. Dragoman Tarsia also became the *Prior* of the Magnifica Comunità of Pera (the Catholic Community). See: Luca 2013, p. 41 and p. 44; Rothman 2006/1, p. 239.

⁴⁴ Luca 2013, p. 41

⁴⁵ ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Registri, Costantinopoli, Reg. 22, 1633-1634, The Letter of the Collegio to the Bailo Pietro Foscarini (8 and 18 March, 7 and 21 April 1634), p. 177 v, p. 178 v-179 r, p. 182 r, p. 183 v, p. 191 v, p. 192 v-193 r, p. 195 v, and p. 197 r-197 v.

⁴⁶ ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Registri, Costantinopoli, Reg. 36, 1701-1707, The Letter of the Collegio to the Bailo Ascanio Giustinian (26 March and 6 August 1707), p. 220 r-220 v, p. 232 v, and p. 233 v.

Conclusion

The causes of conversion can be also questioned in this article. It is concluded that in the Venetian documents the most emphasized cause was economic need. It is visible in the cases of the Language Boys Girolamo Alberti and Antonio Torre. Both the two language boys were deep in debt when they converted. Antonio Torre may have had another reason like a career as a page in the Ottoman Palace in addition to his wish of escaping with his debts. But the documents do not prove that it is completely true. Unfortunately, the documents do not tell anything about the spiritual reason that affected the choice of conversion. Maybe the prejudice of the Venetian rulers against Islam prevented them from talking about the spiritual world of the dragomans. They mostly saw the conversion as a diversion from the Christian traditions and a kind of misconduct of office rather than a spiritual thing. Even in the case of conversion to another sect, the Venetian rulers preferred to explain the cause as the political rivalry and the misconduct of office of the Pope's delegate in Istanbul. Again, they hesitated from talking about the spiritual concepts in explaining the causes. But, as Rothman does, it is possible to emphasize the influence of the social link on conversion. In addition to economic causes, social interactions may have affected it. The dragomans' intense interactions with Muslim rulers, officials, and tradesmen may have paved the way for conversion by removing the boundaries of politics and religion.

The reactions and executions against any conversion and the change of the sect of a Venetian dragoman can be evaluated on the basis of the crime of infidelity. These kinds of actions were also seen both by the Venetian government and the Bailos as a kind of traitorship. But they were much more complex than the crime of infidelity. If the conversion occurred in a way from Christianity to Islam, it was a serious crime for the Venetian government and rulers. But most of the dragomans and the language boys who converted to Islam could escape from the punishment and obtained a certain immunity thanks to the protection of the Ottoman ruling élite. But Giulio Battisti was an exception. His conversion to Islam was found out when he was sent to Venice in 1709 and later, he was jailed as a traitor. He was not as much lucky as Antonio Torre who obtained an Ottoman protection and even succeeded to be accepted as a page in the Ottoman Palace in between 1626 and 1629. Girolamo Alberti, the Language Boy who was accused of conversion was sent by the Venetian government to Venice in 1595 and he was treated with much more mercy compared to Giulio Battisti. Because, it was not proved. However, it is possible to say that by the 17th century, the Venetian rulers became more defensive in their reactions to the case of conversion and became more severe about the punishment of such actions. The competition with the missionaries of different Christian sects may have increased the level of severity. The conversion could be dangerous occasionally as it was seen in a case of the year 1630 when the former Venetian subject Salvador Costanzi became a threat and was complained to the Kapudan Pasha because of his letter in which he wrote to his brother about his plans of conquering Zante.

The conversion also affected the Ottoman-Venetian diplomatic relations. The tension that was caused by the conversion could endanger the Ottoman-Venetian peace. The Bailos and extraordiary envoys of the Venetian Republic had to behave with prudence and they had to prevent any possible diplomatic crisis. If no legal problem

appeared after the conversion, they preferred to solve the problem with their converted interpreters personally without interference of the Ottoman rulers as seen in the case of Giulio Battisti. As a precaution they tried to send them to Venice as quick as possible. In the case when the dragoman or the language boy had debts, the conversion became a legal event and much more complicated diplomatic issue. Because the convert became an Ottoman Muslim subject, the Ottoman interference was inevitable as seen in the case of Antonio Torre. The Ottoman rulers and officials tried to protect the legal rights of their new subjects. In the case of a legal question a petittion was conveyed by the Bailo to the Ottoman officials after the interrogation process and the properties of the convert were fixed and documented by the Ottoman officials with the orders of the Ottoman rulers. For example, the debt case of Antonio Torre was handled by the Ottoman Bostancibashi. The dragomans helped the Bailos in translation of the related Ottoman documents.

The Venetian authorities considered the missionary activities as a danger of diversion from the Venetian Christian traditions. They tried to protect their own subjects from the influence of other Christian sects. With the orders of the Venetian governments the Bailos preferred to punish their own subjects through dismissal in the case of any kind of inclination or sympathy to the missionary sect. They were very careful and prudent by keeping away from any sort of diplomatic crisis with the Ottoman rulers and officials because of the problems that were caused by the missionaries in Istanbul. However, these problems endangered the lives of the dragomans as seen during the conflict that was caused by the missionaries in 1673, consequently the death of the dragoman of the French consul, and the suffering of Cristoforo Tarsia I who was the Grand Dragoman of the Venetian Republic.

When the conversion was from Islam to Christianity, it was welcomed by the Venetian government. This rare case was mostly open to the Ottoman intervention. But the case of the Albanian origined Muslim Ibrahim Ahmed Efendi from the early 18th century constituted an exception. However, it is unknown whether he was Christian by birth and he converted to Islam later or whether he was Muslim by birth. During his career as a tutor of the Language Boys of Venice in Istanbul, he decided to escape and succeeded. He took an assylum to Venice in the following years of the 1683 Siege of Vienna and made a considerable contribution to the education of the Venetian language boys there. Also, the reason of conversion of Ibrahim Ahmed Efendi was vague. The document donot tell anything about it. It may have been caused by economic motives or the spiritual ones. Maybe the social link and intensive relations with Christian rulerss, officials and tradesmen affected it too.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. ARCHIVE RESOURCES

Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASVe)

ASVe, Bailo a Costantinopoli, Busta 371, The Turkish Original Text and the Italian Translation Text of the Petition Presented by the Bailo Sebastiano Venier to the Bostancibashi.

ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Registri, Costantinopoli, Reg. 8, 1591-1594.

ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Registri, Costantinopoli, Reg. 9, 1595-1602.

ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Registri, Costantinopoli, Reg. 14, 1622-1623.

ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Registri, Costantinopoli, Reg. 19, 1629-1630.

ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Registri, Costantinopoli, Reg. 21, 1632.

ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Registri, Costantinopoli, Reg. 22, 1633-1634.

ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Registri, Costantinopoli, Reg. 36, 1701-1707.

ASVe, Senato, Deliberazioni, Registri, Costantinopoli, Reg. 37, 1708-1715.

ASVe, Senato, Secreta, Archivio Proprio Costantinopoli, Ambasciatore a Costantinopoli, Busta 4, Reg. 8.

ASVe, Senato, Terra Ferma, Filza 1149, Reg. 224, No. 69.

2. PRINTED RESOURCES A. BOOKS

Albèri,1840	Eugenio Albèri, Le Relazioni Degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato Durante Il Secolo Decimosesto, Serie III, vol. 1, Insegna di Clio, Firenze.
Albèri,1844/1	Eugenio Albèri, Le Relazioni Degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato Durante Il Secolo Decimosesto, Serie III, vol. 2, Insegna di Clio, Firenze.
Albèri,1844/2	Eugenio Albèri, <i>Le Relazioni Degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato Durante Il Secolo Decimosesto</i> , Serie III, vol. 3, Insegna di Clio, Firenze.
Berengo 1960	Marino Berengo, <i>Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani</i> , vol. II, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma.
Bertelè 1932	Tommaso Bertelè, <i>Il Palazzo degli Ambasciatori di Venezia a Costantinopoli e Le Sue Antiche Memorie</i> , Apollo, Bologna.
Bertelè 2012	Tommaso Bertelè, <i>Venedik ve Konstantiniyye: Tarihte Osmanlı-Venedik İlişkileri</i> , Trans. Mahmut H. Şakiroğlu. Kitap Yayınevi, Istanbul.
Boerio 1829	Giuseppe Boerio, <i>Dizionario Del Dialetto Veneziano</i> , Coi Tipi di Andrea Santini e Figlio, Venezia.
Bossi 1797	Luigi Bossi, Elogio <i>Storico del Conte Commendatore Gian-Rinaldo Carli</i> , Lo Stampatore: Carlo Palese, Venezia.

Coco &Manzonetto 198	35 Carlo Coco & Flora Manzonetto, Baili Veneziani alla Sublime
	<i>Porta</i> , Comune di Venezia ed Università degli Studi di Venezia, Venezia.
Dursteler 2012	Eric R. Dursteler, İstanbuldaki Venedikliler: Yeniçağ Başlarında Akdeniz'de Millet, Kimlik ve Bir Arada Varoluş, Trans. Taciser Ulaş Belge, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, Istanbul, 2012
Gürkan 2018	Emrah Safa Gürkan, <i>Sultanın Casusları: 16. Yüzyıl'da İstihbarat, Sabotaj ve Rüşvet Ağları</i> , Kronik Kitap, Istanbul.
Malcolm 2015	Noel Malcom, Agents of Empire: Knights, Corsairs, Jesuits and Spies in the Sixteenth Century Mediterranean World, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
Monticolo 1922	Giovanni Monticolo, Scritti Storici in Memoria di Giovanni Monticolo, Published by Carlo Cipolla, C. Ferrari, Padova.
Monumenta 1863	Monumenta Historica Poloniae: Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae Gentiumque Finitimaerum Historiam Illustrantia Maximam Partem Nondum Edita Ex Tabulariis Vaticanis Deprompta Collecta Ac Serie Chronologica Disposita ab Augustino Theiner, Tomus Tertius A Sixto Pp. V. Usque Ad Innocentium PP. XIL 1585-1696, Typis Vaticanis, Romae.
Pedani, 2010	Maria Pia Pedani, Inventory of the Lettere Scritture Turchesche in the Venetian State Archives Based on the Materials Compiled by Alessio Bombaci, Islamic Manuscript and Books, vol. 1, ed. Arnoud Vrolijk, Leiden University, Brill, Leiden-Boston.
Pedani 2011	Maria Pia Pedani, Osmanlı Padişahının Adına: İstanbul'un Fethinden Girit Savaşı'na Venedik'e Gönderilen Osmanlılar, Trans. Elis Yıdırım, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara.
Pedani 2013	Maria Pia Pedani, <i>Il Palazzo di Venezia a Istanbul e i suoi antichi abitanti-İstanbul'daki Venedik Sarayı ve Eski Yaşayanları</i> , Hilal: Studi Turchi e Ottomani, Edizioni Ca' Foscari, Stampa digitale di Vigorovea, Venezia.
Pedani 2015	Maria Pia Pedani, <i>Doğu'nun Kapısı Venedik</i> , Trans. Gökçen Karaca Şahin, Küre Yayınları, İstanbul.
Pedani-Fabris 1996	Maria Pia Pedani-Fabris, <i>Relazioni di Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato: Costantinopoli Relazioni Inedite, 1512-1789</i> , vol. XIV, Bottega D'Erasmo-Aldo Ausilio Editore, Padova.
Rothman 2012	Ella-Natalie Rothman, İmparatorluk Simsarları: Venedik- İstanbul Arasında Mekik Dokuyanlar, Trans. Ebru Kılıç. Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul.
Rothman 2021	Ella-Natalie Rothman, The Dragoman Renaissance: Diplomatic Interpreters and the Route of Orientalism, Cornell University Press, Ithaca & London.

Stancovich 1829 Pietro Stancovich, *Biografia degli Uomini Distinti dell'Istria*, vol. III, Presse Gio. Marenigh Tipografia, Trieste.

B. ARTICLES

Cecchetti 1868 Giovanni Cecchetti, "L'Insegnamento Del Turco e Dell'Arabo

in Venezia", *Documenti Storici, Rivista Orientale*, Year I, Number (fascicolo) 11, Professore Angelo de Gubernatis-Gli Orientalisti Italiani-Rivista Politica delle Cose di Oriente,

Firenze, p. 1126-1131.

Dursteler 2001 Eric. R. Dursteler, "The Bailo in Constantinople: Crisis and

Career in Venice's Early Modern Diplomatic Corps", *Mediterranean Historical Review*, vol. 16, number 2, Frank

Cass, London, p. 1-30.

Faroqhi 1986 Sorayya Faroqhi, "The Venetian Presence in the Ottoman

Empire (1600–1630)", Journal of European Economic History,

15, Banco di Roma, Roma, p. 345-384.

Gürçağlar 2013 Aykut Gürçağlar, "Patterns of Patronage: an Istrian Family of

Dragomans as Patrons of Arts", Across Languages and Cultures,

14 (2), Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, pp. 287–301.

Luca 2008 Cristian Luca, "Il Bailaggio Veneto di Costantinopoli nel

Cinque-Seicento: I Dragomanni Provenienti dalle famiglie Brutti, Borisi e Grillo", *Dacoromano-Italica: Studi e Ricerche* sui Rapporti Italo-Romeni nei Secoli XVI-XVIII, Accademia

Romena: Centro di Studi Transilvani, Cluj-Napoca, p.105-158.

Luca 2012 Cristian Luca, "Some Families of Dragomans from the Italian-

Levantine Community of Beyoğlu (Pera in Constantinople), Employees of the Venetian Embassy at the Porte during the 16th and 17th Centuries", *Italy and Europe's Eastern Border, 1204-1669: Eastern and Central European Studies I*, vol. I, Ed. Christian Gastgeber & Alexandru Simon, Frankfurt am Main,

Peter Lang, p. 201-214.

Luca 2013 Cristian Luca, "Notes on the Family Wealth and Career

Progression of Cristoforo Tarsia and His Sons, Dragomans of the Venetian Embassy in Constantinople, 1618-1716", *Acta Histriae*, vol. 21. no. 1-2, Zgodovinsko društvo za Južno

Primorsko, Ljubljana, p. 39-56.

Lucchetta 1983 Francesca Lucchetta, "Un Progetto Per Una Scuola di Lingue

Orientali a Venezia nel Settecento", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, vol.1, Istituto per L'Oriente Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Roma, p. 1-

28

Lucchetta 1984 Francesca Lucchetta, "Una Scuola di Lingue Orientali a Venezia

nel Settecento: Il Secondo Tentativo", Quaderni di Studi Arabi,

	vol. 2, Istituto per L'Oriente Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Roma, p. 21-61.
Lucchetta 1985	Francesca Lucchetta, "L'Ultimo Progetto di Una Scuola Orientalistica a Venezia nel Settecento", <i>Quaderni di Studi Arabi</i> , vol. 3, Istituto per L'Oriente Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Roma, p. 1-43;
Lucchetta 1987-1988	Francesca Lucchetta, "Lo Studio Delle Lingue Orientali Nella Scuola Per Dragomanni di Venezia alla Fine del XVII Secolo", <i>Quaderni di Studi Arabi</i> , vol. 5-6, Istituto per L'Oriente Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Roma, p. 479-498.
Lucchetta 1989	Francesca Lucchetta, "La Scuola Dei Giovanni di Lingua Veneti nei Secoli XVI e XVII", <i>Quaderni di Studi Arabi</i> , vol. 7, Istituto per L'Oriente Carlo Alfonso Nallino, Roma, p. 19-40.
Paladino 1917	Giuseppe Paladino, "Due Dragomanni Veneti a Costantinopoli: Tommaso Tarsia e Gian Rinaldo Carli", <i>Nuovo Archivio Veneto</i> , Nuovo Serie, Anno: XVII, vol. XXXIII, Parte: I, Officine Grafiche Carlo Ferrari, Venezia, p. 183-200.
Pedani 2005	Maria Pia Pedani, "Venezia Tra Mori, Turchi e Persiani", <i>Venezia e Le Culture Mediorientali: Bisanzio, Ebrei, Islam</i> , Ufficio Interventi Educativi, Vicenza, p. 1-31.
Pippidi 2006	Andrei Pippidi, "Tre Antiche Casate dell'Istria, Esempi Per Lo Sviluppo di un Gruppo Professionale: I Dragomanni di Venezia Presso La Porta", <i>Quaderni della Casa Romena di Venezia</i> , 4, Casa Romena di Venezia, Venezia, p. 61-76.
Rothman 2006/2	Ella-Natalie Rothman, "Becoming Venetian: Conversion and Transformation in the Seventeenth Century Mediterranean" <i>Mediterranean Historical Review</i> , vol. 21, no. 1, Tel Aviv University, Routledge, Taylor&Francis, Tel Aviv, pp. 39–75.
Rothman 2009	Ella-Natalie Rothman, "Interpreting Dragomans: Boundaries and Crossings in the Early Modern Mediterranean", <i>Comparative Studies in Society and History</i> , 51(4), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p. 771–800
Simon 1985	Bruno Simon, "I Rappresentanti Diplomatici Veneziani", <i>Venezia e i Turchi: Scontri e Confronti di Due Civiltà</i> , Ed. Carlo Privano, Electa Editrice, Milano-Venezia, p. 59-65.
Variale December 2016	Gennaro Variale, "Lo Spionaggio sulla Frontiera Mediterranea nel XVI Secolo: La Sicilia Contro Il Sultano", <i>Mediterranea-</i> <i>Ricerche Storiche</i> , Anno XIII, Numero 38, Associazione No
Variale 2016	Profit "Mediterranea", Palermo, p. 477-516. Gennaro Variale, "La Lealtà Fragile: Bartolomeo Brutti e Lo Spionaggio di Felipe II", <i>Gli Antichi Stati Italiani e L'Europa</i> <i>Centro-Orientale tra Il Tardo Medioevo e L'Età Moderna</i> ,

Published by Cristian Luca & Gianluca Masi, Istros Editrice-Gaspari Editore, Brăila-Udine, p. 93-128.

Domenico Venturini, "La Famiglia Albanese dei conti Brutti,

Atti e Memorie della Societa Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria", vol. XX, Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria,

Tipografia Gaetano Coana, Parenzo, p. 346-419.

Venturini 1906 Domenico Venturini, "Tommaso Tarsia: Dragomano Grande

della Repubblica Veneta, al Secondo Assedio di Vienna Per Opera dei Turchi da Una Relazione Inedita", *Atti e Memorie* della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria, vol. XXII, Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria, Tipografia

Gaetano Coana, Parenzo, p. 43-136.

Yerasimos 2005 Stefano Yerasimos, "Istrian Dragomans in Istanbul", *Image of*

the Turks in the 17th Century Europe, Istanbul, Sakıp Sabancı

Müzesi Yayınları, p. 36-55.

C. THESES:

Venturini 1905

Dökmeci 2018 Volkan Dökmeci, İstanbul'daki Venedik Dragomanları ve Dil

Oğlanları (1551-1797) (Doctorate Dissertattion of Modern Age

History), Istanbul University, Faculty of Letters, Istanbul.

Dursteler 2000 Eric. R. Dursteler, Identity and Coexistence in the Early Modern

Mediterranean: The Venetian Nation in Constantinople, 1573-1645 (Phd. Thesis), Brown University, Providence-Rhode

Island.

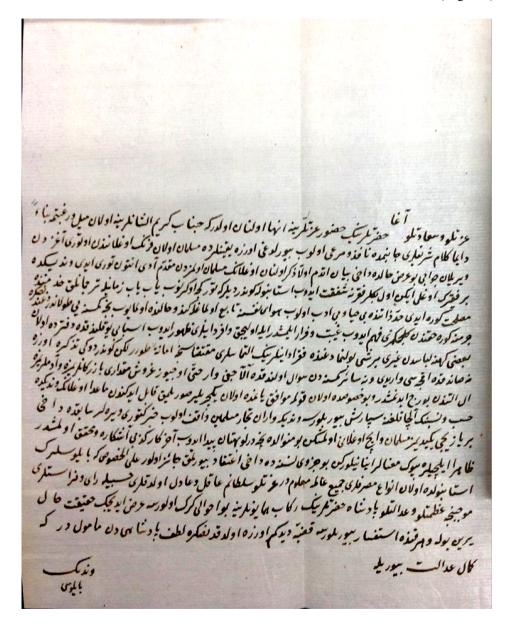
Rothman 2006/1 Ella-Natalie Rothman, Between Venice and Istanbul: Trans-

Imperial Subjects an Cultural Meditation in the Early Modern Mediterranean (Doctorate Dissertation of History and

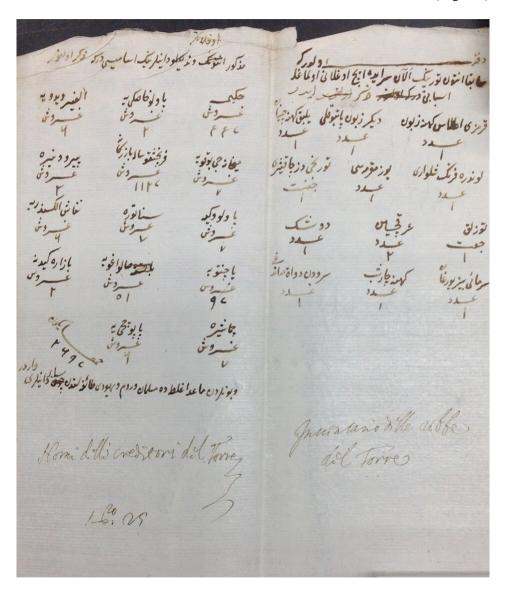
Anthropology), Michigan University, Michigan.

APPENDICES:

Appendix 1: The Turkish Original Text of the Petition about the Language Boy Antonio Torre that the Bailo Sebastiano Venier Presented to the Bostancibashi (Page 1/2)



Appendix 2: The Turkish Original Text of the Petition about the Language Boy Antonio Torre that the Bailo Sebastiano Venier Presented to the Bostancibashi (Page 2/2)



Appendix 3: The Italian Translation Text of the Petition about the Language Boy Antonio Torre that the Bailo Sebastiano Venier Presented to the Bostancibashi (Page 1/2)

Anto i da conto qualme in conformità alla mossa Hanno in Apotho: non noto secondo la prote house da useuno onti che sow meno ha fato un d'his circa recessio reali Mi mici mescano es nuomiti e

Appendix 4: The Italian Translation Text of the Petition about the Language Boy Antonio Torre that the Bailo Sebastiano Venier Presented to the Bostancibashi (Page 2/2)

rosrano informare fattoh Cherco un no grouan whomo perono constant per muchoson wane & Sou hi to the creditation a ghi himbasuate d' grand importanta mesne ance as cophe seusa la in cota d' poes momento masseme che sulo il mondo sa Queste che hi Sain fano in fortantinopoli duota e grutta, esta moter sua precedho : macha o 1807 aloro La vienta contegura il his Lugo informatione one più piace, Mindo