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GEORGE CASTRIOTI SCANDERBEG

(1405-1468)

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by

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To Thomas Townshend (later Lord Sydney):

. . . There is an abundance of military knowledge to be picked out of the lives of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII, King of Sweden, and of Ziska the Bohemian; and if a tolerable account could be got of the exploits of Scanderbeg, it would be inestimable; for he excells all the officers, ancient and modern, in the conduct of a small defensive army. I met with him in the Turkish History but nowhere else. . . .

General James Wolfe

Devizes, Sunday, July 18, 1756

(Willson, pp. 296-297)

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CHAPTER I

PROBLEMS

1. REVALUATION. Every hero in history had to pass through the three stages of glorification, pulverization and revaluation. That is to say, he was first raised to the skies by his admirers; then he was ruthlessly demolished by his critics; finally, he was taken out of the ash-can and patiently, painfully and pitifully restored by sober historians, who were blinded neither by the fanaticism of the hero's admirers nor by the fury of his critics. Scanderbeg was no exception to the general rule. And the question is: What remains of him after historical criticism has done its worst to kill him and its best to revive him? Or to go still further: Is the story of Scanderbeg a myth or a historical fact? This is the first problem to be solved in his case as in that of every other hero, who passed from prosaic history to poetic legend.

2. SOURCES. The story of Scanderbeg is as incredible as any legend can be. Yet it can be written in pure and dry-as-dust prose as well as any other story of his time. Two Albanian historians, Antivarino, or the Anonymous of Antivari, and Marinus Barletius of Scutari, wrote extensive and detailed biographies of the hero. To be sure, they are

panegyrists but their story can be checked and corrected by the writings of contemporary Italian, Byzantine and Turkish historians as well as by archival sources now made available. Here again the question is: Should literary sources be treated on a footing of equality with archival sources, after they have been both subjected to the same rigorous historical criticism? Some extremists think that literary sources belong to the wastebasket and that history should be reduced to a mere enumeration of disconnected and fragmentary facts, based on archival material. Obviously, history, as a mess and heap of files and catalogues is a gross exaggeration, but the problem of finding the right way out of the confusion of literary and archival sources will always plague every historian of every subject. Here approximation is the only possibility, and that approximation is not very hard in the case of Scanderbeg.

3. EXPEDITIONS. Critical historians generally contend that most of Scanderbeg's victories have been more or less exaggerated by his biographers, which is true to a certain extent, and then they jump to the conclusion that the whole story of Scanderbeg is an inflated balloon, which is all wrong. They seem to forget that the central point in the history of Scanderbeg is a historical fact about which there is no doubt whatever: In 1443 Scanderbeg

seized the fortress of Croya and defended it against Murad II (1421-1451) and Mehmed II[1] (1451-1480) successively, for a quarter of a century. Croya fell only in 1478, ten years after Scanderbeg's death. Consequently, the main problem in Scanderbeg's career is this: Did Murad II and Mehmed II in turn make any serious effort to capture Croya and were they each time forced by Scanderbeg to raise the siege and withdraw? If this question can be answered in the affirmative, and if these major expeditions, led by the two great Sultans in person, are established facts, all the rest is of secondary importance. The exaggerations of Scanderbeg's biographers deal only with minor details and these details do not weaken at all the central fact, namely that the Sultans failed to defeat Scanderbeg and capture his stronghold. This, in a nutshell, is the central problem of the Scanderbeg story. Still, the side problem of other Scanderbeg victories should not be overlooked, because if such victories can be clearly established, then the credibility of his biographers is vindicated.

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1 Unlike the Arabs, the Turks reserve the name of "Mohammed" exclusively for the Prophet of Islam and use "Mehmed" as a proper name for Moslems, but the spelling is the same and only the pronunciation is different.

4. FACTORS. If not properly told, the unequal struggle of Scanderbeg and his tiny mountain canton against two of the greatest war-lords of the rising Ottoman Empire will certainly sound like a mythical duel between a hill-billy David in rags and two Goliaths in iron panoplies. Therefore, care should be taken to point out that Scanderbeg was not alone in his epic struggle but that he was supported by such powerful factors as the Papacy, the Kingdom of Naples, the Venetian Republic, the City of Ragusa--in short the entire Roman Catholic world whose cause he championed in the Balkans. To these should be added the geographic, social and economic factors which militated in favor of Scanderbeg, and finally the Albanians themselves, who stood behind him to the bitter end. Each factor constitutes a problem in itself and deserves to be studied separately. The problem of discovering which one of them was the decisive factor will always remain unsolved, but all of them together will help to explain Scanderbeg's meteoric career. It goes without saying that the social and economic factors were then, as they always are, at the roots of all things.

5. EDUCATION. Scanderbeg's military tactics were those of mountain guerrilla warfare. And then the question arises: Where did he learn the job so well as to be able to stop two great Sultans with that primitive weapon? In his native

mountains or in the Sultan's palace, as the legend has it? This problem, one of the most important ones, and one of the very first ones to face the historian is either skipped or treated casually. Some historians accepted the legend about Scanderbeg's early years, others expressed some doubts because the legend is contradicted by arithmetic and chronology but nobody went deeper into it in order to find a way out of that mythical beginning. This problem will be discussed at length in its proper place. Here, suffice it to say that the legend is unacceptable for more than one reason. It should be either rejected entirely or radically amended. Anyhow, the problem should not, and cannot be, circumvented. Otherwise, the entire biography of Scanderbeg is bound to be built on quicksand.

6. SOURCE-BOOKS. The authors of the two monumental volumes of the Acta et Diplomata Albaniae[2] intended to publish three more volumes in order to cover the period of 1407-1471, which coincides with Scanderbeg's lifetime. The first World War put an end to their labors. When the war ended, one of the three scholars, the Czech, Constantin Jireček, was dead; soon after the Hungarian, Ludwig von Thallóczy, was killed in a train collision; and finally, the Croatian, Milan von Šufflay was assassinated by a Serbian fanatic. With the latter's death went to the grave, not only the three unpublished volumes of

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2 See Bibliography.

the Acta but also a History of Albania, which he had in preparation. Only one chapter of the latter was saved from the catastrophe, the one he had already published in the Illyrish-Albanische Forschungen. All this vast work has to be done all over again. Anyhow, the task of writing the history of Scanderbeg is now complicated by the fact that the sources are scattered to the seven seas and have to be rediscovered and re-fished. Some of the books are unavailable in the United States. Some of the available ones are not to be found in Boston or Cambridge. A journey to New York City is necessary for Saad-ed-Din's Crown of Histories in Turkish as well as for four other much more important works. Jorga's Short History of Albania, in French, is to be found only in Washington, D.C. Fortunately, the Library of Congress is merciful enough to lend the book to any other public library on application, for a short period. In spite of all these handicaps, sufficient material was available to justify a new book on Scanderbeg.

7. REFERENCES. The problem of getting hold of an available book for references is not always simple. Somebody else may be using it, or still worse, the book may have been mislaid by a green youngster, is never on the shelf, and elaborate excavations are necessary in order to dig it up again. The lesson from these bitter experiences was to copy everything connected with the subject before the book was returned to the

careless youngster and indefinitely withdrawn from circulation. It took months to do all this copying, but from this to an Appendix, which would make references easier for both author and reader, there was only one step to be taken. The ideal appendix would have been one containing every important document dealing with Scanderbeg. That could not be done. A separate volume would have been necessary. So the appendix had to be reduced to a very modest collection of material which has been neglected or which deserves more emphasis.

Other problems will be discussed in the course of the dissertation as the occasion arises.

CHAPTER II

SOURCES

A. _ ALBANIAN. The principal literary sources for the history of Scanderbeg are his two major Albanian biographers, Antivarino and Barletius. Their works are supplemented by two monor Albanian biographers, Demetrio Franco and Ghin Musachi.

1. Antivarino. Until the middle of the XVIII century it was believed that Barletius was the only major biographer of Scanderbeg. But Giammaria Biemmi, an Italian priest from Brescia, discovered an earlier and a more reliable biographer: He calls him Antivarino, namely the Anonymous Author from Antivari.[1] To avoid confusion, this name should be adopted, although I myself albanized it once upon a time, since the author was an Albanian[2] and Gegaj latinized it since the author wrote in Latin.[3] Biemmi was the first and last historian to use Antivarino's book, which seems to have been irretrievably lost. He preserved for us the Latin title, as he found it at the colophon: "Explicit Historia Scanderbegi, edita per quendam Albanensem, Venetiis, impressa industria atque impensa Erardi Radolt de Augusta anno Domini 1480, die 2 mensis Aprilis ducante Joanne Mocenygo inclyto Duce."[4]

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1 "Autore, il quale dalla sua patria d'Antivari nominarò per sua distinzione Antivarino." Biemmi, Preface, p.9.
2 "Tivàrasi", Noli, p.7.
3 "Antibarensis", Gegaj, p.vii.
4 Biemmi, Preface, p. 3. Petrovitch, pp. 1-3.

Biemmi goes on to tell us that the book was in a very bad shape, that several folios were missing at the beginning, at the end and in between. The story began with the tenth folio, in 1443, when Scanderbeg had already captured Croya, and ended with the ninety-second folio in 1466, when Croya was besieged by Balaban Pasha after the first expedition of Mehmed II[5]. In between there were two gaps, the first one in 1448 with one missiog folio, which probably dealt with the conclusion of peace between Scanderbeg and Venice, and the second one in 1449 with two missing folios, which probably described the capture of Sfetigrad by Murad II.[6] Antivarino wrote his story according to the reports of his brother, an eyewitness, who served as an officer in Scanderbeg's Guard Battalion. He describes ~~impatiently~~ impartially and critically every event, good or bad, and is always careful to name the places and the dates of the various battles, giving the day, the month and the year, which Barletius very rarely does. We do not know who Antivarino was. There are certain indications that he may have been none other than Paul Angelo, the Archbishop of Durazzo. The latter was from Antivari;[7] he had a brother, who served as an officer in Scanderbeg's army;[8] he was the

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5 Biemmi, Preface, pp.3-4, also Book VI, p. 456.
6 Biemmi, Book II, pp. 140, 144; Book III, p. 191.
7 "Discendea dalla casa Angeli che una volta godea la Signoria di Antivari: cosi riferisce l'Antivarino." Biemmi, Book II, p. 126, n.1.
8 "Pietro Angelo, fratello dell' Archivescovo di Durazzo: questi che avesse il governo della milizia--" Biemmi, Book VI, pp. 396-397; cfr. Barletius, Book XI, p. 331: "Ad hostemque quingentos equites praemisit. Quibus Pelcum Emanuelis et Petrum Angelum Drivastensem Andreae filium praefecerat--"

trusted adviser of Scanderbeg;[9] moreover, Luccari, the well-informed Ragusan Annalist, as both Fallmerayer and Hopf assure us, knew a History of Scanderbeg by the Archbishop of Durazzo and used it in his "Annali di Rausa".[10] On the other hand, Gegaj thinks that Antivarino and the Archbishop of Durazzo could not have been one and the same person because Antivarino's Historia was published in 1480, and the Archbishop had already died some eleven years before, in 1469.[11] Still, the Historia of the Archbishop may have been published posthumously by a younger brother or a nephew. Babinger suspects that Antivarino is just a fiction and that Biemmi is guilty of a literary forgery because Ohly, a specialist on Incunabula, could find no evidence that a book like that of Antivarino was ever printed by Radolt of Augsburg in Venice.[12] But such conclusions are overhasty for more than one reason. To begin with, Antivarino's book, as it can be easily ascertained from Biemmi's frequent

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9 "Omnium laborum, periculorum atque consiliorum socius atque particeps velut Aeneae alius Achates." Barletius, Book X, p. 228.

10 Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 9; Hopf, Griechenland, Vol.86, p. 122. Fallmerayer and Hopf are the only ones who refer to this unnoticed Luccari passage. None of them had known Biemmi.

11 Gegaj, p.viii.

12 Babinger, Elbassan, p. 94.

references and quotations, is unquestionably an independent source, bristling with information, which is confirmed by other sources. On the other hand, as it will be shown in the following chapter, it is rather hard to believe that a historian of Biemmi's type could commit a forgery. Very probably, Babinger read Biemmi's book only here and there, as overworked scholars have to do sometimes in the case of works which do not belong to their major field.

2. Marinus Barletius. Antivarino was a bad writer and his book perished.[13] Barletius was a good writer and his book survived. He was an Albanian and a Roman Catholic priest from Scutari.[14] He was a young man when Scanderbeg died; he knew personally many of the hero's comrades, from whom he obtained his information;[15] he used documents for his history, especially Venetian documents;[16] he witnessed[17] and described the siege of Scutari in a book published in Venice,[18] where he ended as a refugee. He was not a Southern Italian, as Jorga supposes,[19]

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13 "Ha scritto con uno stile rozzo e privo d'ogni eleganza, mescolato in oltre di non pochi barbarismi e solecismi." Biemmi, Preface, p. 8.

14 Ut de Scodra mea taceam." Barletius, Book II, p. 35.

15 "Novi et ipse multos cives meos, qui variis temporibus illius (Scanderbegi) auspiciis meruerunt, et vel eo solo nomine ingentia famae decora ad posteros tulere." Barletius, Book VI, p.158.

16 "Ego vero adjutum semper pecunia Scanderbegum ipsa voluntate Senatus comperio." Barletius, Book VI, p. 156.

17 "Vidi multa hujuscemodi ipse, quum infelici fato ad patriam (Scodram) defendendam infelicia arma tenerem, cujus nunc memoria sicut mirifice recreor, ita recensere sine lachrymis non possum." Barletius, Book VI, p. 167.

18 De Obsidione Scodrensi, Venice, Vitali, 1504, 72 ff.

19 "Der Süditaliener Barletti." Jorga, Osmanen, Vol. II, p.84.

nor a Uniat priest of the Greek rite, as Rodota asserts.[20] His book in Renaissance Latin "Historia de Vita et Gestis Scanderbegi" was published in Rome between 1506 and 1510. It had several editions and was translated in all the European languages.[21] It served as the basis of the innumerable works on Scanderbeg from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. Petrovitch, in his Bibliography, a work of love, has listed about two hundred of them, and he was preparing another volume for the works in Slavic languages, which he never published.[22] Like Thucydides, Barletius conceives history as a branch of rhetoric, consisting of battles and speeches. He rarely gives the day, the month and the year, as Antivarino does, and with a few exceptions, his dates are wrong. He extols the victories of the hero and skips his misfortunes. He multiplies the Turkish dead by thousands and reduces the Albanian losses to a few dozens, though he admits that such a thing can be done only in poetry, not in history.[23] In brief, he is so frankly a panegyrist that some

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20 Rodotà, Vol. III, chap. 2, p. 24, note a. Barletius in Book V, p. 141, makes it clear that he is a Roman Catholic, when he speaks of the Orthodox Bulgarians and their "Graecorum errores et ineptias".

21 See Bibliographies of Petrovitch and Legrand.

22 Petrovitch, pp. xii-xiii.

23 "Nam non desunt qui vix 60 hominum jactura abscessisse ab ea obsidione asserant, quod abest multum a ratione, ni magis penetrabilia hostium, quam nostrorum corpora dixerimus, ut delirant ~~poe~~ poetae, quum priori oppugnatione nuper tot Turcarum millia caesa omnes fateantur." Barletius, Book VI, p. 155.

critical historians, like Spondanus, Gibbon and Jorga jumped to the conclusion that his Vita is absolutely worthless.[24] Marinesco is no less severe than others but he read Barletius, compared notes, and then had to admit that his information is not always based on inventions and that "sometimes" what he says is confirmed by documentary sources.[25] "Sometimes" is too little. "Very often" would be better, as it will be shown later. To be sure, Barletius should be used very cautiously, but his testimony can be accepted if it is not contradicted by other sources. This is Makushev's attitude toward both biographers of Scanderbeg,[26] and the Russian scholar is not less critical than any of his colleagues.

3. Demetrio Franco. A short biography of Scanderbeg is attributed to his treasurer, Demetrio Franco, a Roman Catholic priest, who accompanied Scanderbeg on his last journey to Rome in 1446.[27] It was originally written in Latin,[28] but

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24 "Quae nemo credat, nisi qui fabulis delectatur." Spondanus, Vol. II, year 1461, p. 354, no. 20. "In the old and national history of Marinus Barletius. . . his (Scanderbeg's gaudy and cumbersome robes are stuck with many false jewels." Gibbon-Bury, Vol. VII, Chap. LXVII, p. 40. "Der Süditaliener Barletti, der ein Epos nach antikem Muster dichten wollte." Jorga, Osmanen, Vol. II, p. 84.

25 "Cependant l'information de Barletius ne repose pas toujours sur une invention. Parfois ce qu'il avance se trouve confirmé par les données des documents." Marinesco, p. 9.

26 Makushev, Rayskania, p. 111, note 5.

27 "Dimitrio Franco degli ottimati di Drivasto, cugino di Paulo arcivescovo Angelo e spenditore di Scanderbeg." Franco, Chap. XXXVII, p. 40 v.

28 Legrand, No. 44, pp. 18-19.

it came down to us only in Italian translations under various titles and with slight variations. The earliest edition is that mentioned by Fallmerayer: Commentario de le Cose de Turchi et del S. Georgio Scanderbeg, Principe d'Epyrro, Venice, 1539.[29] It was popularized by Sansovino, who included it in his Historia Universale.[30] It is obviously an abridgement of Barletius's Vita, but it differs in some details and contains some supplementary information. The author must have been an Albanian because he gives us the laconic opinion of Lec Ducagin in a war council of 1467 in two Albanian words.[31] Hopf thinks that Franco is more critical than Barletius.[32]

4. Ghin Musachi. The other minor biographer after Demetrio Franco is Ghin Musachi, a comrade-in-arms of Scanderbeg and the only Albanian prince, who enjoyed the Byzantine title of "Despot of Epirus", which was reserved for members of the imperial family, especially for younger brothers of the Byzantine emperor. Ghin Musachi was one of the last princes to leave Albania in 1479, a year after the fall of Scutari[33] and eleven years after Scanderbeg's death. In Naples, where he was living as a refugee, he wrote a History and Genealogy of the House of Musachis, in which he tells incidentally the story of Scanderbeg. The story is undoubtedly derived from

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29 Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 96, note 2.

30 See Legrand and Petrovitch.

31 Franco, Chap. XXXVII, p. 42

32 Hopf, Griechenland, Vol. 86, p. 122.

33 Hopf, Chroniques, p. 276.

Barletius and Demetrio Franco, but again, it differs in certain details and contains some supplementary information of the highest importance about Scanderbeg and the other Albanian princes, which will be discussed later on. Ghin Musachi is frankly hostile to Scanderbeg, whom he considers an upstart,[34] and a usurper, who was busy annexing territories belonging to neighboring principalities.[35] Therefore his testimony is much more valuable than that of the other biographers, who are more or less panegyric. The occasion for writing this Genealogy was given to Ghin Musachi by a crusade, which was being prepared against the Turks in 1510. High hopes were entertained by the Albanian princes in exile to recover their principalities and Ghin Musachi hastened to tell his three sons in writing what parts of Albania belonged to their ancient family and how they should divide these parts among themselves. The crusade did not materialize, but the Genealogy remained, buried in the Bibliotecca Brancacciana of Naples until 1863, when Hopf discovered the manuscript, and obtained a copy from the Librarian Volpicella.[36] Hopf announced his discovery in 1864 and pointed out its importance.[37] Four years

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34 Hopf, Chroniques, p. 301.

35 Hopf, Chroniques, pp. 299-300.

36 Hopf, Chroniques, p. xxxiv.

37 In Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1864, pp. 193-197. Hopf, Chroniques, p. xxxiv.

later Makushev published its most important parts.[38] In 1873 the entire Genealogia of Ghin Musachi was published by Hopf in his Chroniques Greco-Romanes.[39] Gegaj, erroneously, asserts that it was first published by Ricca.[40] The latter simply published a document in which the Genealogia is mentioned for the first time.[41] It appears from this document that Musachi's Genealogia was already known in 1606.[42] Hahn, who wrote a detailed commentary on it, calls it the "pearl" of Hopf's discoveries.[43]

B. ITALIAN. Only short references, dealing especially with Scanderbeg's Italian expedition, are to be found in the works of contemporary Italian historians and annalists. But some of them deserve to be mentioned because they are independent sources and contain valuable information.

1. Pontano. The humanist, poet, statesman and historian, Giovanni Gioviano Pontano (1426-1503) comes first as an eyewitness, who accompanied King Ferdinand of Naples in his

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38 Makushev, Musachi, 1868. See Bibliography.

39 Hopf, Chroniques, pp. 270-340.

40 Gegaj, p. x, note 1.

41 Hopf, Chroniques, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv. Also Cav. Erasmo Ricca, Istoria de' Feudi delle Due Sicilie di qua dal Faro, Vol.III, 1865, pp. 276-278, in 5 volumes, Naples, A. de Pascale, 1859-1879.

42 Hopf, Chroniques, p. xxxiii.

43 Hahn, Reise, Vol. XVI, p. 96.

expeditions as his chancellor, and who wrote a book on the Neapolitan War of Succession.[44] Pontano must have certainly met Scanderbeg, when the latter came to the assistance of King Ferdinand in 1461. In his opinion, Scanderbeg's intervention was of a decisive character: He saved Ferdinand from disaster.[45] As we shall see in a later chapter, Pontano was right. But this is not the only important information for which we are indebted to him. He describes Scanderbeg as he saw him and, in passing, tells us that he was a grown up young man,[46] when he was given as a hostage to Sultan Murad II, a fact of fundamental importance for every biographer of Scanderbeg. Again, Pontano is right. But, somehow or other, Pontano's testimony on this point passed unnoticed.

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44 Sismondi admires him: Vol. X, p. 93, note 1; Creighton tells us that "his chief claim to glory will not rest on his historical writings". Vol. II, Appendix, p.534; Capasso is fair to him, p. 5, note 2. According to Thompson, Vol. I, p. 506, note 89: "The best and almost the only account of Neapolitan historiography is by Bartolomeo Capasso, Le Fonti. . ."

45 Pontano, Vol. II, Book II, p. 279. See App., no. XXIII, p. li.

46 "Admodum adolescens." Vol. II, Book II, p. 279. See App., No. XXIII, p. lii.

2. Pius II. The famous humanist, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1405-1464), who later became Pope Pius II (1458-1464), refers to Scanderbeg, not only in his letters and bulls, but also in two of his writings, the Description of Asia and Europe, and the Commentarii. Consequently, he is both a literary and an archival source for Scanderbeg. In all but one of his writings, the Commentaries, Pius II speaks of Scanderbeg, like his two predecessors, Nocholas V (1447-1455) and Calixtus III (1455-1458), in highly laudatory terms.[47] But in his Commentaries, Pius II is frankly sarcastic about Scanderbeg's Italian expedition.[48] As we shall see in a later chapter, Pius II, or whoever wrote or edited that part of his Commentaries,[49] was wrong, but the fact remains that his testimony, or that of his editor, prevailed over that of Pontano, who was finally ignored and forgotten. As a matter of fact, Gegaj does not mention him at all. On the other hand, in Pius II's Description of Asia and Europe, there is a very important passage on Scanderbeg's father, which has remained unnoticed,[50] which is confirmed

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47 Cugnoni, No. LX, p. 132, App. No. XIII, p. xliii; No. XIV, p. xliv; No. XVI, p. xlv: ". . . nec tales esse nostras et Ecclesiae vires, ut tuae nobilitati auxilia praestare possimus, quae constantiae et operibus pro fide susceptis deberi cognoscimus.

48 Pius II, Commentarii, pp. 302-303, especially the Thucydidian pseudo-correspondence between Scanderbeg and the Prince of Taranto, pp. 303-5.

49 Campano, according to Pastor, Vol. III, pp. 40-44 and 415-18, No. 65. Also Thompson, Vol. I, pp. 485-87.

50 Pius II tells us that John Castriot, Scanderbeg's father, became a Moslem and assumed the name of "Camusa", a corruption of "Hamza". Pius II, Asia et Europa, Chap. XV, p. 337. App. No. XI, pp. xli-xlii.

by the Ragusan Luccari,[51] and which throws a different light on Scanderbeg's early years. The implications of this passage will be discussed in a later chapter.

3. Sabellico (1436-1506). Fallmerayer was the first to mention the humanist historian of Venice, Antonio Coccio Sabellico, in connection with Scanderbeg.[52] With the exception of a few lines, Fallmerayer quotes the entire passage of Sabellico piecemeal on different occasions. It is given in extenso in the appendix without any omission.[53] It deserves to be emphasized. Sabellico's father had met Scanderbeg during his Italian expedition and simply could not forget him. Time and again he boasted to his son Antonio that he had seen the Albanian hero,[54] who, in his own person, was worth an entire army.[55] As we shall see later, what Sabellico has to say on Scanderbeg contradicts Pius II, or the editor of his Commentaries, and vindicates both Pontano and Barletius.[56]

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51 Quoted by Makushev, Ragyskania, Chapl IV, p. 81, note 2; Annali di Ragusa, second ed., 1790, p. 159.

52 Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, pp.5, note 3; 74, note 1; 103, note 1.

53 App. No. XXIV, pp. lii-liv.

54 "Solebat Joannes Coccius, pater meus, qui Calabro bello sub Ruberto Ursino, viro fortissimo, aliquamdiu militavit, adolescenti mihi enarrare, vidisse se Epirotam hominem . . ." Sabelli, Third Decade, Book IX, p. 757. App., No. XXIV, p. liv.

55 "Totque interim ac tanta belli facinora edentem, ut merito plus unus, quam tota equitum hostibus formidabilis videretur."

56 "Sabellicus' Decades Rerum Venetarum was printed at Venice in 1487 and immediately attained fame." Thompson, Vol. I, pp. 482-3.

4. Filelfo (1398-1481). When Pius II was preparing his Crusade of 1464, which killed him at Ancona, every good humanist of the Renaissance thought it his duty to support the famous humanist Pope. One of these supporters was Francesco Filelfo, who wrote several propaganda letters to the leading men of the time for this purpose. Some of these letters came down to us. One of the arguments, used in them to assure the people that the Crusade would be successful, is this: We have Scanderbeg and we have the Albanians as our allies.[57] What Filelfo has to say on Scanderbeg and the Albanians is very important. He emphasizes the guerrilla tactics of Scanderbeg and asserts that the Albanians were the only ones in the Balkans, who stopped the Turks.[58]

5. Volaterrano (1434-1516). The oldest vindication of Barletius is to be found in the short biography of Scanderbeg, given to us by the humanist, historian and theologian, Raffaele Maffei Volaterrano (1434-1516) in his Comentarii, a kind of Encyclopedia, published in 1506 in Rome.[59] Since the uncertain

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57 Even Pius II uses that same argument: "Et quis non his copiis superatum iri Turcas arbitretur? His accedet Georgius Scanderbechius et Albanorum fortissima manus." Pius II, Commentarii, pp. 168-169, App. No. XV, p. xliv.

58 "Soli ex omnibus nationibus intra Istrum et Hadriam at Italiae fines et fortissime Turcos semper sustinuerunt." Rinaldi, Vol. X, year 1463.

59 It had a second edition in Paris in 1516.

date of Barletius' Vita is placed between 1506-1510, it may be safely inferred that Volaterrano's Encyclopedia was published, if not earlier, at least in the same year as the Vita. At any rate, Volaterrano is certainly independent of Barletius because he differs from him in some very important points, which will be discussed later. The Strassburg editor of Barletius' Vita saw the importance of Volaterrano's short biography and inserted it between his preface and the text.[60] In the preface, the editor points out that the Barletian Story is not a myth since it is confirmed by Volaterrano's Encyclopedia and PiusII's Description of Asia and Europe.[61]

Other Italian contemporary sources will be discussed later in the course of the dissertation. In general, it may be said that none of them is dependent on Barletius, who wrote much later. One can glean from their writings a short panegyric biography of Scanderbeg, if not better, at least as good as that of the Albanian panegyrist of Scutari.

C. RAGUSAN. The three Ragusan annalists, Gondola, Resti and Luccari are not contemporary writers but they derived their information from earlier sources and from the Ragusan archives, to which they had access as patricians, senators and high officials of the Republic.

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60 Argentorati, apud Cratonem Mylium mense Octobri, Anno M D X X X V I I. See Petrovitch, pp. 10-12; Legrand, No. 7, pp. 3-4.

61 Volaterrano's short biography is reproduced in extenso also by Mansi in Rinaldi, Vol. X, year 1460, No.41, pp. 242-43.

1. Resti and Gondola[62] are the authors of the Chronica Ragusina, published by the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences. Giovanni Gondola (d.1650) compiled the second part from 1451-1484, while a later annalist, Giulio Resti (1671-1735), edited the first part from the origin of the City to the year 1451.

2. Luccari. As it has been already pointed out, the Ragusan patrician Pietro Luccari (d.1615) knew and used for his Annali di Rausa a History of Scanderbeg by the contemporary Archbishop of Durazzo, Paul Angelo. If the Archbishop and the Antivarino were one and the same person, then we may find in Luccari some of the lost parts of Antivarino's Historia. If they were two different persons, then Luccari has preserved for us the only extant fragments of a lost work on Scanderbeg.[63] In either case, Luccari's book assumes the importance of a primary source. Unfortunately, his book was not available in any library within reach. References to Luccari are borrowed from the works of other scholars.[64]

D. BYZANTINE. The contemporary Byzantine historians are bitterly anti-Albanian and anti-Catholic; two of them, Laonicos and Critoboulos are also pro-Turkish; all of them

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62 See Preface by S. Nodilo, pp. i-xix, of Chronica Ragusina.

63 See Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 9, and Hopf, Griechenland, Vol. 86, p. 122.

64 Fallmerayer, Hopf, Makushev, Yastrebov, Kortsha and Gegaj.

were aristocrats and high officials of the dying Byzantine Empire.[65]

1. Michael Ducas (XV c.) , of imperial descent, has not a single word to say on Scanderbeg. He is glad to see the Albanians, the Serbians and the Bulgarians slaughtered by the Turks: They are punished by God for their revolts against the Holy Byzantine Emperors.[66] But he is not as rabidly anti-Catholic as the others and criticizes his fellow-Byzantines, who preferred the Turk to the Frank.[67]

2. George Phrantzes (1401-1478),of Constantinople, frankly hates and despises the Albanians, whom he calls: "The most wicked and the most worthless Albanian nation".[68] He is glad to announce in three laconic passages that Scanderbeg's father, John Castriot, was crushed by Sultan Murad II, that Scanderbeg was routed by Sultan Mehmed II and was dead and gone.[69] But, as Fallmerayer remarked,[70] he is the first historian who gave us the exact year of his death, namely 1468.

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65 On the Byzantine historians of the XV century, see Krumbacher, pp. 100-107, and Vasiliev, Vol. II, pp. 350-355 and 406-409.

66 Ducas, Chap. VI, p.25.

67 Krumbacher, p. 104; Ducas, p. 291.

68 Phrantzes, Book IV, Chap. XVI, p. 391.

69 Phrantzes, Book I, Chap. XXXII, p. 92; Book IV, Chap. XXII, pp. 425, 429-430.

70 Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 13.

3. Laonicos Chalcondylas (XV c.), of Athens, is the most rabidly anti-Catholic of the group. He wants his readers to believe that, once upon a time, a female Pope sat on Saint Peter's throne; that she bore a baby in front of the altar during a pontifical mass; that the cardinals took drastic measures to prevent the recurrence of such a scandal; and that since that time every newly elected Pope had to give tangible evidence of his male sex![71] He is frankly sorry that the Roman Catholic Scanderbeg escaped unharmed from the disaster of Berat in 1455.[72] Yet, he had to admit that neither Murad II nor Mehmed II succeeded in defeating Scanderbeg and that both of them failed to capture the desperately defended stronghold of Croya.[73] In view of his hostility, it is highly significant that he said that much. On the other hand, Laonicos has a soft spot for Scanderbeg's father-in-law, George Araniti Comneni. He describes his victory against Ali Evrenos at some length with obvious pleasure.[74] The reason is that George Araniti had imperial Byzantine blood in his veins from some distant female Comnena grandmother. As a rule, Laonicos gets mixed up with his dates, places and events.

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71 Laonicos, Book VI, p. 303.

72 Laonicos, Book VIII, p. 433.

73 Laonicos, Book VII, 335; Book VIII, pp. 432-3.

74 Laonicos, Book V, pp. 250-251.

4. Critoboulos of Imbros (XV c.), the panegyrist of Mehmed II,[75] is certainly the most decent of the group, at least in one respect: He admits that the Albanians and the other nations of Europe and Asia, who resisted the Turks, were fighting for liberty.[76] Moreover, he describes more extensively the last two expeditions of Mehmed II against Scanderbeg, giving the correct years, and he is the only Byzantine historian who describes a Scanderbeg victory against Balaban Pasha in 1467.[77] Critoboulos was completely ignored as a source for the history of Scanderbeg until very lately: In 1909 Jorga mentioned him in some footnotes,[78] and Roth quoted from his Life of Mehmed II without giving his source.[79]

E. TURKISH. We get only fragmentary and sometimes contradictory information about Scanderbeg from the Turkish annalists. They are, of course, glorifiers of their Sultans and do not admit any Scanderbeg victory. But they have to admit that he and his Albanians refused to pay tribute. All of them confirm the two expeditions of Sultan Mehmed II against Scanderbeg. Their scanty testimonies from a hostile source, like those of the Byzantine historians, are extremely valuable.[80]

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75 On Critoboulos see Thompson, Vol. I, p.447; Vasiliev, pp. 350, 352-3, 406, 409; Krumbacher, p. 107.
76 Critoboulos in Greek, Book I, Par. 63, p. 41.
77 Critoboulos in Greek, Book V, Par. 91, p. 339; App., No. XXVIII, Par. 91, p. lvii.
78 Roth, p. 99.
79 Jorga, Osmanen, Vol. II, pp. 93, 139.
80 For the Turkish annalists see Hammer, Vol.I, pp. 21-24;
(Continued on the next page)

1. Urudž Ben Adil (XV c.) admits in a loconic sentence that Murad II failed to capture Croya.[81]

2. The Anonymous (XV c.) of Giese naively tells us that Murad II raised the siege of Croya because he did not want to sacrifice a single soldier for fifty such fortresses.[82]

3. Ashik-Pasha-Zade (1400-1485) is the first Turkish annalist who tells us that Scanderbeg was educated in the palace of Sultan Murad II and that he was granted a military fief in Albania;[83] but Scanderbeg revolted and was duly punished by Sultan Murad II and Sultan Mehmed II.[84]

4. Saad-ed-Din Ibn Hasand Žar (1536-1599) writes more extensively but he simply repeats the story of Ashik-Pasha-Zade with a few variations. The only new information he adds is that Scanderbeg died as a destitute refugee abroad.[85] Saad-ed-Din is the best-known Turkish historian because his Crown of Histories was translated into Italian by the Ragusan Bratutti. But Hammer thinks that the Bratutti translation is very faulty.[86]

Church, pp. 286-87, note 1; Kramers, Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. III, pp. 466-67 and 722; Babinger, Geschichtschreiber, p. 15, 23-25, 35-37, 123-126, 234-35; Vasiliev, Vol. II, p. 352; Thompson, Vol. I, pp. 447-48; Yastrebov, pp. 246-47.

81 Frühosmanische, p. 123.

82 Altosmanische, German translation, p. 98; Turkish text, p. 73; App. No. XXVII, pp. lviii-lix.

83. Ashik-Pasha-Zade, Chap. 111, p. 112.

84 Ashik-Pasha-Zade, Chap. 123, p. 119 and Chap. 162, p.142.
85 Saad-ed-Din, Vol.I, p. 510.
86 Hammer, Vol. I, p.23.

5. Munadžim Bashi, Ahmed Ibn Lutfullah (1640-1702) was unavailable in libraries within reach, but again, as it appears from Yastrebov's quotations, he simply repeats the stories of Ashik-Pasha-Zade and Saad-ed-Din.[87]

F. ARCHIVAL SOURCES. According to Thallóczy, Jireček and Šufflay, at least three monumental volumes would be needed for the archival sources covering the period of Scanderbeg. The three scholars died before they could carry out their plan. Consequently, the documents remain scattered in various collections of related sources. The most important of these are those of Rinaldi, Theiner, Makushev, Ljubić, Jorga, Trinchera, Thallóczy and Cerone. On the other hand, Zurita, Hopf, Pastor and Marinesco used archival documents for their works.[88] A good deal remains buried in the archives or in neglected collections of sources.

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88 For the collections and works of the scholars mentioned, see Bibliography.

CHAPTER III

WORKS AND COLLECTIONS OF SOURCES

1548.[1] Jovius, Bishop of Nocera, gave a place to Scanderbeg in his Elogia.[2] His information does not seem to be derived exclusively from Barletius and Franco. Incidentally he refers to a portrait of Scanderbeg with a prominent nose, which he saw at the Museum of Florence.[3] He mentions Scanderbeg also in his Commentario.[4]

1562. Zurita, who wrote the Annals of Aragon from archival material,[5] is the first to mention the treaty, concluded between Scanderbeg and Alphonse V of Aragon and Naples in 1451. He adds that Alphonse V was rewarded by the "great assistance" Scanderbeg gave to his son Ferdinand in 1461.[6]

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1 The year preceding each item is that of the first edition of the respective work dealing with Scanderbeg. References in this dissertation are sometimes made to later editions, indicated in the Bibliography.

2 Jovius, Elogia, Book III, pp. 229-234.

3 "Naso prominente decenterque incurvo . . . uti ex collatione ejus imaginis quae in Musaeo spectatur, videre licuit." Ibid., p. 233.

4 Commentario delle Cose de' Turchi, Venice, 1531. Petrovitch, p. 6.

5 Thompson, Vol. I, pp. 581-582.

6 Zurita, Vol. III, p. 322.

1564. Sansovino, the historian of Venice, popularized Scanderbeg in Italy by including Franco's biography and Barletius' Siege of Scutari in his Universal History, which had several editions.[7]

1576. Lavardin, the French nobleman from Vendome, popularized Scanderbeg in France with his Histoire, which is a literal translation of Barletius' Vita, supplemented by occasional details from Franco.[8] He is the first to attribute the title of King to Scanderbeg.[9] An English translation of his work by Z.J. Gentleman was published in London in 1596.[10]

1601. Summonte, in his History of Naples, reproduced almost literally all the passages dealing with Scanderbeg from Pontano, Pius II, and Zurita.[11] Finally, he lectures Barletius severely for asserting that Scanderbeg took part in the final battle of the Neapolitan War of Succession at Troja in 1462.[12]

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7 Petrovitch, p. 172.

8 Lavardin, Book XII, chap. 2, p. 357.

9 Lavardin, Book II, chap. 2, p. 37.

10 Petrovitch, p. 56.

11 Summonte, Vol. IV, Book VI, pp. 138-139, 180, 184-185, ~~184-54~~ 205, 300, 400-407, 412.

12 Ibid., p. 407: "E percio gli scrittori devono essere molto avvertiti a non dire fallacie, perchè facilmente si discoprono, e rimangono col nome di buggiardi."

CHAPTER I

PROBLEMS

1603. Knolles, in his Historie of the Turks, tells us the story of Scanderbeg uncritically, according to Barletius,[13] with several extensive passages literally translated. Very probably General Wolfe of Quebec had read a later edition of this work,[14] since he writes that he "met with him (Scanderbeg) in the Turkish History but nowhere else."[15]

1605. Mariana, in his History of Spain, mentions the treaty of Scanderbeg with Alphonse of Naples,[16] according to Zurita, and then describes the last battle of the Neapolitan War of Succession at Troja, according to Barletius, with Scanderbeg participating in it.[17]

1644-1677. Rinaldi, a continuator of the famous Cardinal Baronius, in his Ecclesiastical Annals, tells us piecemeal the story of Scanderbeg uncritically, according to Barletius,[18] but incidentally he reproduces various

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13 "Marinus Barletius. . . whose authoritie. . . we follow." Knolles, p. 332. See also pp. 281-288, 292-303, 311- 332, 365-403.

14 A sixth edition appeared in London, 1687-1700, in 3 volumes. See p. 819 of Guide to Historical Literature by Dutcher, George Matthew, Allison, William Henry, and others. New York, Macmillan, 1937, 1222 pp.

15 Willson, pp. 296-297.

16 Mariana, Vol. II, Book XXII, chap. 10, p. 43-44.

17 Ibid., Book XXIII, chap. 8, pp. 60-61, 68.

18 Rinaldi, Vol. IX, years 1442-1444, 1448-1450, 1452; Vol. X, years 1457-1458, 1460, 1463-1466.

papal briefs and documents, which make his work a valuable collection of archival sources, though sometimes he gets mixed up with their dates. Besides the papal documents, he gives us one excerpt from Volaterrano[19] and two from Filelfo.[20]

1680. Spondano, a French Calvinist who ended as a Roman Catholic Bishop and a continuator of Cardinal Baronius, is the first debunker of Barletius, whom he handles very roughly in his Ecclesiastical Annals.[21] He saw the discrepancies of the Barletian story about Scanderbeg's early years[22] and his peace with Mehmed II in 1463;[23] he agreed with Pius II, or the editor of his Commentaries, in minimizing the importance of Scanderbeg's Italian expedition and denied the latter's participation in the last battle of the Neapolitan War of Succession at Troja, in spite of Mariana's preference for the Barletian version.[24]

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19 Rinaldi, Vol. X, year 1460, No. 41, pp. 242-243; Appendix, No. XXV, pp. lv-lvii.

20 Ibid., year 1463, No. 52, pp. 365-366 and year 1464, No. 13, p. 394; App. Nos. XX and XXI, pp. xlviii-l.

21 Spondanus, Vol. II, year 1461, No. 20, p. 354.

22 Ibid., year 1431, No. 31, pp. 165-166.

23 Ibid., year 1463, No. 9, p. 362.

24 ". . . tametsi maluerit Mariana (lib.23, cap. 2) Marino Barletio credere." Ibid., year 1461, No. 20, p.354.

He adds that, with all due respect for heroes, like Scanderbeg and Hunyadi, he is unable to believe the exaggerations of their panegyric biographers.[25] As a matter of fact, Spondanus is the first critical historian of Scanderbeg.

1709. Duponcet, the pious Jesuit father, defends Barletius against Spondanus;[26] he agrees with Mariana that Scanderbeg took part in the battle of Troja;[27] he believes that the Barletian story can stand on its feet with a few minor re-arrangements, if only the Thucydidian speeches were suppressed;[28] he rewrites the corrected story without the latter in his Histoire; but he loses heart when he reaches the end. There he feels that Barletius was in a hurry to finish the story.[29] He is right. As Fallmerayer proved a century and a half later, Barletius laid Scanderbeg to his grave two years too soon, in 1466 instead of 1468, and had to crowd the events of his last five years within the narrow limits of three years only. Duponcet was the first to see that something was wrong with it. He was also the first to call our attention to what Pope Calixtus III had to say about Scanderbeg in his briefs of June 15 and Sept. 11, 1457.[30]

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25 "Sed sic solent scriptores Vitarum Herorum multa oratorie in eorum laudem fingere, quae etiam fidem nonnullis veris detrahant". Spondanus, year 1461, No. 20, p.354.

26 Duponcet, Preface, pp. iii-ix.

27 Ibid., pp.xviii-xix.

28 Ibid., pp. vi-vii.

29 Ibid., p.iii.

30 Ibid., pp. x-xii.

1730-1733. Muratori, the great Italian scholat, compiled and edited the works of annalists, like Simonetta, Cribelli, Sanudo and Canensius, who refer to Scanderbeg incidentally. He is also the author of the Annals of Italy, in which he summarizes the results of his monumental editions and compilations covering a period of twelve hundred years, from the sixth to the eighteenth century.[31]

1742. Biemmi is the direct successor of Spondanus, from whom he inherited almost all the doubts and suspicions against Barletius. Therefore he searched the libraries within reach and discovered Antivarino's mutilated Historia, which he rightly considered a more reliable source than Barletius's Vita, and used it as a basis for his Istoria. Barletius was suffered to help only in filling the gaps of Antivarino's missing folios.[32] So far as the Italian expedition is concerned, Biemmi is certainly the severest critic of both Barletius and Scanderbeg and suppasses every other debunker from Spondamus to Voigt and from Voigt to

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30 Ibid., pp. x-xii.

31 See Bibliography.

32 "Dove è mancante, farò servire di supplimento il Barlezio." Biemmi, Preface, pp. ix-x

Jorga.[33] He disregards Antivarino's testimony whenever it is not confirmed by any other source,[34] and he has only contempt for the Thucydidian pseudo-correspondence between Scanderbeg and the Prince of Taranto, which Pius II, or his posthumous editor, gave us in the Commentarii.[35] Consequently, it is rather hard to agree with Babinger, who suspects that Biemmi may be guilty of a literary forgery and may have invented an Antivarino who never existed, except in his own imagination. A historian of Biemmi's type could not have done that cheap trick. But that is not the only guarantee that Antivarino is not a creation of Biemmi's imagination. Antivarino's Historia can be reconstructed from Biemmi's frequent quotations and can stand on its own feet as an independent source of information, very frequently confirmed by other sources. Biemmi did not neglect the other sources

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33 On Barletius: ". . . in questa spedizione. . . il Barlezio, per l'esaltazione del sua Eroe è stato un favoleggiatore fuori di misura." Biemmi, Book VI, p. 403. On Scanderbeg: ". . . riandò nell' Albania avendo arrecato più ajuto al Re Ferdinando colla sua comparsa ai lidi dell'Italia, che in tutto il tempo nel quale vi ristette alla sua difesa." Ibid., p. 405.

34 "Due fatti particolari, di cui non trovasi memoria veruna appresso gli altri scrittori, sono da esso racontati." Ibid., p. 404.

35 "Ma essendo il mio sentimento che le lettere deggiano esser trascritte secondo le precise parole degli originali. . . per questo ho tralasciato di farne la copia." Ibid., p. 403.

besides Antivarino and Barletius. He used Franco, Volaterrano, Pontano, Filelfo, Rinaldi, Sagredo, and even Phrantzes and Chalcondylas. No source known to any of his contemporaries escaped him. And so far as style is concerned, his Istoria is one of the best ever written on Scanderbeg. Yet his work, so important as a source, a history, and a piece of literature, was unknown to scholars like Hopf and Fallmerayer, and was contemptuously ignored by scholars like Jorga and Marinesco.

1754. Voltaire devoted a short chapter to Scanderbeg in his Essai sur les Moeurs des Nations, in which he emphasizes two important factors, which helped Scanderbeg in his campaigns: the Albanians themselves as a race of fighters and the mountainous character of the country.[36] Another important factor is pointed out in a short reference concerning Scanderbeg's guerrilla tactics.[37] His conclusion follows: "Si les empereurs grecs avaient ete des Scanderbegs, l'empire d'orient se serait conserve."[38]

1756. General Wolfe deserves a place here for a single reference, which is worth a volume. In his opinion, which is that of an expert in the craft, Scanderveg "excells all the officers, ancient and modern, in the conduct of a small defensive army."[39]

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36 Voltaire, Vol. IV, chap. XC, p. 247.
37 Ibid., Chap. XCI, p. 252.
38 Ibid., Chap. XCI, p. 247. I owe this reference to Tajani, pp. 126-127.
39 Willson, pp. 296-297. I owe this reference to Newman, p. 231.

1776-1778. Gibbon is a debunker of both Barletius and Scanderbeg.[40] He has doubts about Scanderbeg's victories in Albania and minimizes the importance of his Italian expedition as Pius II, Spondanus and Biemmi had done before him.[41] He ends by asserting that Scanderbeg died as a refugee in Alessio, as Saad-ed-Din does.[42] He goes still further: He has only contempt for a hero, who begins his career as an apostate, a traitor and a deserter, and who makes war against his benefactor, namely Sultan Murad II, in whose palace Scanderbeg was brought up, according to the Barletian legend.[43] That charge is reiterated by other historians again and again until Jireček came forward with a different story about Scanderbeg's early years and education.[44] Bury, in a footnote, reminds the reader that, besides Barletius, there was another biographer, Antivarino, who was unknown to Gibbon.[45]

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40 Gibbon-Bury, Vol. VII, chap. LXVIII, p. 40.

41 Ibid.,p. 153.

42 Ibid., p. 153; Saad-ed-Din, Vol. I, p. 510.

43 Ibid., p. 151.

44 Jireček, Bulgaren, p. 368.

45 Gibbon-Bury, Vol. VII, chap. LXVIII, p. 150, note 40.

1815. Sismondi, in his History of the Italian Republics, tells incidentally the story of Scanderbeg, based mainly on Barletius and Pontanus.[46] He admires the latter[47] and is fair to the former.[48] But he has doubts about the second siege of Croya by Mehmed II in 1467.[49] He was the first to discover that Paul II, surrounded by his Cardinals, bestowed on Scanderbeg a consecrated hat and a sword of honor, in a special ceremony.[50]

1817. Farlati, the great Jesuit scholar, collaborated for twenty years with Father Filippo Riceputi of Padua, who intended to write a complete ecclesiastical history of Illyria. The material they collected filled three hundred manuscript volumes. In the meantime Riceputi died and Farlati inherited the monumental collection. He managed to publish four volumes before he died, leaving the manuscripts to Father Coleti, who published four more volumes. The whole work fills eight well executed folio volumes. The seventh volume deals with the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Albania. Incidentally, Farlati tells us the story of Scanderbeg,[51] based on Barletius, Biemmi, and papal briefs reproduced from Rinaldi and other sources. Eclectic and mildly critical, Farlati is the

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46 Sismondi, Vol. X, pp. 191-257.

47 Ibid., p. 93, note 1.

48 Ibid., p. 250, note 1.

49 "Comme l'une de ces campagnes ne diffère point de l'autre, . . . je soupçonne Barletius d'avoir raconté deux fois de suite les mêmes exploits." Ibid., p. 250

50 Ibid., p. 248, note 1.

51 Farlati, Vol. VII, pp. 89-90, 93, 412-430.

first and the last to write the history of Scanderbeg from an ecclesiastical point of view. On the other hand, in his monumental seventh volume, he gave us the religious background of Roman Catholic Albania at the time of Scanderbeg.

1827. Hammer was the first European historian who could readily use Turkish, Persian and Arabic texts. At the beginning of each volume of his History of the Ottoman Empire he enumerates his oriental sources. Modern scholars have added very few names to his exhaustive lists of authorities. Yet in telling the story of Scanderbeg he somehow follows Barletius, uncritically and almost exclusively.[52] He mentions the Turkish annalists only once, when they inform us that Sultan Mehmed II founded the fortress of Elbassan in 1466,[53] thus vindicating the much maligned Barletius.

1840. Zinkeisen was more critical than Hammer and followed Barletius very cautiously in his story of Scanderbeg[54] but he did not know Biemmi and could not use any oriental sources. Saad-ed-Din was the only Turkish historian available to him in Bratutti's faulty translation. For instance, the description of a Scanderbeg victory by Saad-ed-Din, which Zinkeisen mentions in a footnote,[55] is not to be found in the

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52 Hammer, Vol. I, pp. 368-373, 458-461, 490-493.

53 Hammer, Vol. I, Book XIV, p. 492, note 9.

54 Zinkeisen, Vol. I, Book I, chap. IX, pp. 758-793; Vol. II, Book II, chap. II, pp. 118-140, and chap. VI, pp. 388-396.

55 Zinkeisen, Vol. I, Book I, chap. IX, p. 779, note 1.

Turkish text of that historian.[56]

1848. Grigorovich, a Russian Professor of Odessa University, discovered in the Codex of the Serbian Chilandar Monastery of Mount Athos, two entries, in which Scanderbeg is mentioned for the first time.[57] Documents confirming these entries were discovered by Kovachevich, and one of them was published by Novakovich.[58] This document confirms indirectly Jireček's contention that Scanderbeg was over twenty years of age when he was given as a hostage to Sultan Murad II.[59]

1850. Moore's Scanderbeg is a corrected version of the English translation of Lavardin's Histoire by Z.I. Gentleman.[60] And this is the only extensive history of Scanderbeg in English.

1853-1856. Romanin, in his History of Venice, written from archival sources, is fair to Scanderbeg in his occasional references and denounces the Macchiavellian duplicity of the

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56 Certainly not in the Constantinople edition of 1862, a copy of which is available in the Library of the City of New York.

57 Jireček, Bulgaren, p.22.

58 Novakovich, year 1426, No. 62, pp. 467-468.

59 Jireček, Bulgaren, p. 368; Forschungen, p.144, note 1; Jireček, Serben, Vol. II, p. 183, note 5.

60 "My business in this work has been to concentrate Lavardin's history by rendering the language more concise. . . the uncouth antiquated language of the English translator, it is hardly necessary to state, has been changed to a more modern style." Moore, Preface, p. 6.

Venetian Republic towards him.[61]

1855. Paganel tried to improve upon Duponcet just as Duponcet had tried to improve upon Lavardin previously, but the result was the same old story of Barletius with more emphasis on the Turkish side of the picture according to Chalcondylas and Hammer. Biemmi and Farlati were unknown to Paganel. Nevertheless, his uncritical Histoire, written in brilliant French, easily overshadowed all other books on Scanderbeg. It was translated into German in 1856[62] and into modern Greek in 1861.[63]

1858. Miklosich, in his Monumenta Serbica, published the famous Valona document of 1368, in which a Castriot is mentioned for the first time in history.[64]

1860-1862. Schafarik, in his Acta Veneta, among the documents concerning the Southern Slavs, gave us also a good many documents dealing with Scanderbeg and the Albanians. In this respect his collection of Venetian sources is one of the richest and has been surpassed only by the Listine of Ljubić. As a matter of fact, the latter skipped a very important document of 1464, which is to be found only in Schafarik.[65] It deals with Araniti's sons and leaves no doubt that Araniti, Scanderbeg's father-in-law, was already dead at

61 Romanin, Vol. IV, p. 243.

62 Petrovitch, pp. 115-116 and 169; Manek-Pekmezi, p.32.

63 Legrand, p.95, No.249; Petrovitch, p.169; Hopf, Griechenland, vol. 86, p. 122.

64 Miklosich, p. 178.

65 Schafarik, Vol. II, No. DIX, pp. 531-532.

that time.[66]

1856-1863. Voigt, the biographer of Pius II, is the worst of all debunkers of both Scanderbeg and Barletius. To Voigt, Barletius is the popular author of a Book of Lies[67] and Scanderbeg is only the famous chieftain of a band of horse-thieves,[68] as it was proved in his Italian expedition, according to the Commentaries of Pius II, or rather his posthumous editor.[69] King Ferdinand, according to Voigt, was only too glad to see Scanderbeg hurry away to Albania to stem a new Turkish invasion.[70] Of course, the entirely different story of Pontano the eye-witness is simply ignored. Marinesco is certainly right in accusing Voigt of exaggerating for the sake of originality.[71]

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66 Gegaj, on the basis of a Neapolitan inscription, thinks that Araniti died in 1470. Gegaj, p. 57, note 2.

67 "Bei Barletius Vita Scanderbegi, Lib. IX, einem viel gelesenen aber ziemlich wertlosen Lügenbuche. . ." Voigt, Vol. III, p. 159.

68 "Diese Albanesen . . . zeigten sich im fremden Lande wie eine Räuberhorde. . . und wussten mit besonderer Geschicklichkeit Vieh zusammenzurauben." Ibid.,p. 159.

69 Pius II, Commentarii, p. 302.

70 "Es war für Fernando kein Verlust als er [Scanderbeg] in seiner Heimath durch den Sultan bedroht, zurückging." Voigt, Vol. III, p. 159.

71 Exagération de Voigt par esprit d'originalité." Marinesco, p. 9.

1860-1863. Theiner, second only to Rinaldi, gave us a considerable number of papal briefs concerning Albania and Scanderbeg in his monumental collections. The famous Letter of Calixtus III to Scanderbeg, bearing the date of Sept. 11, 1457 and emphasized by Duponcet, is to be found in its full text only in Theiner's Monumenta.[72]

1866. Fallmerayer is both a debunker and a vindicator of Barletius: a debunker in so far as he perfectly agrees with Voigt that the value or the worthlessness of Barletius' testimony is best illustrated by his description of Scanderbeg's Italian expedition;[73] a vindicator in so far as he gave us the best story of Scanderbeg ever written and yet he derived his information principally from Barletius with only a few bits of supplementary details gleaned from other literary sources. Biemmi and Farlati were unknown to him, and he hardly used any archival material at all. But he read Barletius from beginning to end, without omitting a single Thuchdidian speech of his, and saw the important points through the maze of the endless descriptions and through the floods of the panegyric declamations. Other critical historians, before and after him, failed to see the forest for the trees. Fallmerayer with his eagle eyes surveyed the main trees and reached the heart of the forest.

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72 Theiner, Monumenta Sacra, Vol. II, No. CCCCLXXII, pp.303-304; App. No. III, pp. xxxii-xxxiv.

73 "Der wahre Wert oder vielmehr Unwert der biographischen Composition des Barletius tritt bei dieser Apulischen Expedition am deutlichsten hervor." Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 76.

He pours his bitter sarcasm on both Scanderbeg and his Albanian tribesmen at every step, and yet he is their greatest panegyrist as a whole. He gives that general impression not only as a forceful writer but also as a cool historian: He emphasized the major expeditions of the two great Sultans, which ended in utter failure and which constitute the gist of the story. He pointed out some of the principal factors of the Turkish defeat: first, a fanatically freedom-loving race of warriors;[74] second, a great master of blitz guerrilla tactics.[75] Another major Fallmerayer contribution is the discovery of the right year in which Scanderbeg really died, namely 1468, as given by the Byzantine Phrantzes, which put an end to the chronological chaos of the last years of Scanderbeg.[76] Other contributions will be enumerated in the course of this paper as the occasion arises. Unfortunately, Fallmerayer's brilliant work remains buried in two volumes of a review under a title, which hardly suggests that Scanderbeg constitutes its central part. As a matter of fact, Fallmerayer's original plan was to tell the story of the Albanians in Greece, as the title of his treatise suggests. The Albanians in Albania with Scnaderbeg were supposed to

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74 "Freiheitsfanatisches Volk". Fallmerayer, Vol. VIII, p. 666. "Die Illyro-Albaner waren von jeher und sind noch heute das aggressive Element, die Kriegerkaste, die Kshatrija des Illyrischen Kontinents." Ibid., p. 660

75 Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 51.

76 Ibid., p. 13.

serve only as a background to the story of the Albanians in Greece, which Fallmerayer left unfinished.

1866. Trinchera published in his Codice Aragonese some important letters of King Ferdinand of Naples to his envoys, to Scanderbeg and to the latter's widow, Donica.[77]

1867-1873. Hopf is the first scholarwho wrote an outline of the history of medieval Albania and of Scanderbeg on the basis of archival material which he himself discovered. One of his major discoveries is that of Ghin Musachi's Genealogy, a very important source for the history of Scanderbeg. From that document and from other sources he compiled the genealogies of the medieval princely families of Albania,[78] which should be used very cautiously. For instance, according to the Genealogical Table of the Castriotis House, by Hopf, the great grandfather of Scanderbeg was a Serbian, named Branilo Castriot, because these two names appear in a Valona document of 1368.[79] But Šufflay thinks that Hopf read into that document something that was not there.[80] Of course, the wrong interpretation made Hopf very popular among Serbians and Pan-slavists.

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77 Trinchera, Vol. I, pp. 33, 54-5, 88-94, 87-88, 191-192, 439-441.

78 Hopf, Chroniques, Genealogical Tables, pp. 533 [illegible].

79 Miklosich, p. 178; Novaković, No. LII, pp. 190-191; Acta, Vol. II, No. 249, p. 57.

80 Acta, p. 57, col. 2, note 1.

1867-1869. Hahn, a collaborator of Hopf, traveled extensively in Albania, visited the battlefields of Scanderbeg, wrote a detailed commentary of Ghin Musachi's Genealogy and compiled genealogical tables of the medieval princely families of Albania. His conclusions appeared in his treatise Reise durch die Gebiete des Drin und Wardar.

1868-1882. Makushev, the Russian Professor of the University of Warsaw, continued the work of Hopf, the more so because he inherited from Fallmerayer his pet theory that the Albanians and the Greeks were respectively albanized and hellenized Slavs. He tried to prove it with archival material in his book on the Slavs in Albania. He did not prove it exactly but he gave us a short history of medieval Albania and of Scanderbeg[81] based on archival material, which can be read with profit as a new book, because it remained buried in Russian under a misleading title. Moreover, it has at the end a valuable chapter on the economic conditions of medieval Albania under Venetian domination.[82] Along with the archival material, Makushev used very cautiously the literary sources also, namely Biemmi, Barletius,

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81 Makushev, Razyskania, chap. IV, pp. 80-115, on Scanderbeg.

82 Makushev, Razyskania, chap. V, pp. 116-153.

Musachi and Franco.[83] His collections of sources are as valuable as his book on the Slavs in Albania. In 1871 he published the most important parts of Musachi's Genealogy, and in 1882 appeared the second volume of his Monumenta, which is second only to Ljubić's Listine in importance as a source-book for the history of Scanderbeg. It contains, among other documents, the correspondence of Scanderbeg with the Prince of Taranto and with Ferdinand of Naples.[84] As Makushev himself tells us, he obtained copies of these letters from Cecchetti, the archivist of Venice.[85]

1875. Nagy and Nyary published in their Acta Estera a document in which Scanderbeg signs himself as Captain General of the King of Naples.[86]

1875 (?). Dethier published the Greek text and a French translation of the Byzantine panegyrist of Mehmed II, Critoboulos of Imbros, a hitherto neglected source for the history of Scanderbeg. We have discussed the book before and we shall return to it again in the course of this paper.

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83 Ibid., pp. 80-81.

84 Makushev, Monumenta, Vol. II, pp. 117-118.

85 Makushev, Razyskania, chap. IV, p. 103, note 2.

86 Nagy-Nyary, p. 117.

1876-1918. Jireček made valuable contributions as a historian, whose books on the Bulgarians and the Serbians have not yet been superseded. On the other hand, he collaborated with Thallóczy and Šufflay for the two volumes of the Acta and other collections of sources.[87] Moreoever, he was the first to contend that Scanderbeg was brought up in his native mountains and not in the palace of Sultan Murad II.[88]

1880-1899. Gelcich, in his history of the Balshas, gave us the background of Scanderbeg. On the other hand, in collaboration with Thallóczy, he compiled the Diplomatarium Ragusanum, which contains some important documents dealing with Scanderbeg.

1881. Petrovitch published a Bibliography of Scanderbeg, a work of love, beautifully printed in red and black, which is more than its title implies. It can be still used with profit because it gives details about the authors and the contents of the books listed, which are not usually found in common bibliographies.

1885. Kayser discovered that Pope Nicholas V called Scanderbeg a Champion of Christ[89] some ten years

87 See Bibliography.

88 Jireček, Bulgaren, p. 368.

89 Kayser, pp. 215, note 3; App. No. I, p. xxx.

before Calixtus III did so in his famous letter of September 11, 1457. Moreover, he informs us that Nicholas V refers to Scanderbeg repeatedly in his briefs. Unfortunately, the Bullaria containing those briefs are not available in any library within reach.

1886. Tajani, an Italo-Albanian scholar, is a pioneer of the type of Hopf and Makushev. He tried to write the story of Scanderbeg on the basis of Neapolitan archival material without neglecting the literary sources of Biemmi, Barletius, Pontano and Chalcondylas.[90] He is rather unknown to historians of Scanderbeg and he is mentioned only by Pisko in his bibliography.[91] He is the first to refer to Voltaire's chapter on Scanderbeg and to a Venetian document, which may prove the authenticity of Scanderbeg's armor now in the Vienna Museum.[92]

1886-1891. Pastor had the privilege of writing his History of the Popes from Vatican archival sources which were unavailable to his predecessors, Ranke, Creighton and Voigt.[93] In those sources Pastor discovered that some of the most brilliant victories of Scanderbeg were confirmed in black and white beyond any reasonable doubt.[94] Consequently, he restored

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90 Tajani, Vol. II, pp. 56-126, devoted to Scanderbeg.

91 Pisko, Bibliography, p. 5.

92 Tajani, Vol. II, p. 126, note 6.

93 Thompson, Vol. II, p. 547.

94 Pastor, Vol. II, p. 246.

the pulverized statue of the hero as best he could and put it back where it stood traditionally, before Voigt has knocked it down, near the statue of the Transylvanian Yanko Hunyadi.[95] Pastor made another great contribution: He established on the basis of an eyewitness testimony that Scanderbeg was by far over sixty years old when he visited Rome in 1466.[96] The implications of this discovery are far reaching. On the other hand, so far as the Italian expedition is concerned, Pastor agreed with Pius II, or his posthumous editor, and ignored Pontano's testimony to the exact contrary.[97]

1887-1918. Thallóczy collaborated with Gelcich for the Diplomatarium Ragusanum, with Jireček and Šufflay for the two volumes of the Acta, and again with Jirecek for the Zwei Urkunden, all of which contain important documents concerning Scanderbeg and his background. Moreover, he discovered the treaty of Scanderbeg with Alphonse V, which he obtained from the Catalan scholar Rubió y Lluch and which he gave away to Cerone for publication in 1903.[98]

1875-1891. Ljubić, in his ten volumes of Listine, along with the material concerning the Southern Slavs, gave us the richest collection of Venetian documents dealing with

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95 Ibid.

96 Pastor, Vol. IV, p. 88, note 2.

97 Pastor, Vol. III, p. 113, note 1.

98 Cerone, Vol. XXVII, p. 5, note 1.

Albania and Scanderbeg. The latter could easily fill a very big volume in themselves. Ljubić copied all these documents himself at their source but a good many of them were re-discoveries, because we find them also in earlier collections, especially in the Acta Veneta of Schafarik.

1891. Pisani, in his Légende de Scanderbeg, tried to solve the riddle of the early years of the hero. He reached the conclusion that the old Barletian legend, with a minor amendment dominates the field because it is supported by the testimonies of some Turkish annalists, who assert that Scanderbeg was brought up in the palace of Sultan Murad II.[99] Pisani's treatise is important in many respects: It emphasizes the necessity of solving this problem; it shows that it is not very easy to demolish Barletius in this and in other cases; but it also proves that this legend cannot be accepted without any amendment at all.

1892. Fermendžin definitely solved a problem which plagued the historians of Scanderbeg. The document he discovered in a Franciscan monastery makes it clear that the surname of Castrioti meant only that the family originated from a village called "Castrioti".[100]

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99 Ashik-Pasha Zade, chap. 111, p. 112; Saad-ed-Din, Vol. I, p. 361.

100 Fermendžin, pp. 560-561; App. No. XVI, p. lvii.

1894. Pisko is the first historian who wrote an extensive and detailed biography of Scanderbeg, based on both literary and archival sources. The latter were conveniently included in an Appendix.[101] He was the first to establish the date of the Berat disaster in 1455 but he clung to the wrong year of Scanderbeg's death, in 1467, in spite of Fallmerayer.[102] Marinesco is unfair in branding his Scanderbeg story as mediocre.[103] He is right in denouncing him for not indicating that some of the documents in his Appendix were borr owed from Makushev's Monumenta.[104] The reason may have been of a political character: Pisko, as an Austrian consul did not want to damit that he had anything to do with a Russian! This is the only explanation because Pisko gave the sources of all the other documents of his Appendix and stopped only at Makushev's name.[105] He does exactly the same thing in his bibliography, in which he mentions everybody else except the Russian scholar.[106]

1897-1910. Konitza, the Albanian scholar, published in his review "Albania" important articles in French, dealing with Scanderbeg.[107]

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101 Pisko, Appendices, pp. 115-162.

102 Pisko, p. 111.

103 Marinesco, p. 8, note 3.

104 Ibid.

105 Pisko, Appendices, pp. 115-162.

106 Pisko, Bibliography, pp. 4-5.

107 (a) Recherches sur les Armes de Scanderbeg. (b) Existe-t-il un portrait authentique de Scanderbeg? (c) La Topographie des Campagnes de Scanderbeg contre les Turcs. Manek-Pekmezi year 1901 p. 96.

1903. Cerone, the Italian scholar, was the first to publish the treaty of Scanderbeg with Alphonse of Naples in the Archivio Storico per le Provincie Napolitane.[108]

1904. Yastrebov, the Russian consul of Prizren and Salonica, gave us the most detailed topographical description of Northern Albania, as a background for the history of Scanderbeg, which he was planning to write. He was the best equipped for the task. He knew all the languages, including Albanian and Turkish. He had read all the sources and all the authorities available at his time. He could quote Saad-ed-Din and Munadžim Bashi in the original.[109] Babinger was the only one who could do it after him. Yastrebov never told the story he had so patiently prepared. But he gave us enough to regret what went down with him to the grave. His unfinished work, Old Serbia and Albania, with a strong pro-Serbian bias, appeared full of misprints in the Serbian review Spomenik.[110] There it lies neglected and ignored. But it is full of valuable information, to which we shall refer later on.

1904. Schirò, the Italo-Albanian scholar, in his book on The Albanians and the Balkan Question, discussed the relations of Scanderbeg with the Kings of Naples and reproduced some of the documents published by Trinchera, Makushev and Cerone ~~in the Codice Diplomatico~~.[111]

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108 Cerone, Vol. XXVIII, year 1903, pp. 172-173.
109 Yastrebov, Vol. XLI, p. 249.
110 See Bibliography.
111. Schirò, pp. 199-221 and 598-603.

1903

1905. Armstrong, in his Heroes of Defeat, emphasized the similarity of the Scanderbeg story with that of Vercingetorix of Gaul, Shamil of Caucasus, Abd-el-Kader of Algeria, Tecumseh of Ohio, and Kosciuszko of Poland, who fought a hopeless battle for freedom against overwhelming imperialism. His Scanderbeg story is based on Barletius, Lavardin and Moore.[112]

1905. Barbarich, an Italian officer, tells the story of Scanderbeg in a few pages according to Biemmi rather than Barletius.[113] He emphasizes the guerrilla tactics and the geographical factor as the secret of Scanderbeg's successes in Albania.[114] As an expert, he read between the lines of Biemmi and Pius II, or the editor of his Commentarii, how Scanderbeg, with his light cavalry and his blitz strategy, outmanoeuvered Piccinino and the French with their obsolete heavy cavalry in Italy. In this respect, Barbarich is perhaps the only modern historian who saw what really happened in that expedition, thus vindicating both Fontano and Barletius.[115]

1909. Hanek, Pekmezi,[116] and Stotz gave us a useful Albanian Bibliography, in which not only books but also articles on Scanderbeg are listed, especially those by Konitaz, published in his review Albania. A list of Albanian bibliographies on Albania between 1883 and 1908 appears at the

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112 Armstrong, pp. 187-272.
113 Barbarich, p. 178, note 1. Pages 177-193 deal with Scanderbeg.
114 Barbarich, pp. 190-192.
115 Ibid., p. 188, note 2.
116 An Albanian scholar and diplomat. His collaborators were Austrians.

beginning of the book after the preface.

1912. Legrand, the French scholar, gave us the latest Albanian Bibliography. He himself had listed 497 items. The work was completed and published posthumously by his pupil, Guys, who brought the number of items up to 724.[117]

1913. Kramers, a Dutch professor of the Leyden University, published in the Encyclopedia of Islam[118] an article on Scanderbeg, derived from Turkish as well as other sources. He used especially the Anonymous of Giese, Ashik-Pasha-Zade and Munadžim Bashi.[119] Saad-ed-Din is not mentioned and Urudž of Babinger was not available to him because he has been discovered and published much later.[120]

1916-1924. Šufflay, the Croatian professor whose scholarly labors were interrupted by an assassin's bullet, collaborated with Thallóczy and Jireček for the two volumes of the Acta and wrote their learned Latin annotations; he described the religious conditions of medieval Albania as a background to the Scanderbeg story;[121] and to this he added a short survey of the town life of Albania in his Burgen und Städte.[122]

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117 Legrand, Preface, p. vii.

118 Kramers, Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. III, pp. 466-467.

119 Ibid., p. 467.

120 Frühosmanische Jahrbücher des Urudsch was published for the first time by Babinger in 1925. See Bibliography.

121 Prof. Dr. Milan von Šufflay, Die Kirchenzustände im Vortürkischen Albanien, in Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen, pp. 188-287. In a footnote it is pointed out: "Dies ist das IX Kapitel einer Geschichte Albaniens voran der Verfasser arbeitet."

122 See Bibliography.

1899-1919. Jorga, the Rumanian scholar, is the latest debunker of Barletius and Scanderbeg. Very probably, he never read the Vita of Barletius, whom he calls a Southern Italian.[123] He ignores Biemmi, Musachi and other literary sources. He keeps Scanderbeg always fleeing for his life and allows him to come back only in order to suffer new reverses and catastrophes. He thinks he is giving the plain facts. But his facts, as they are given in his History of the Turks are a futuristic mess of disconnected shreds of information, from which one can get only a headache. Fortunately, that information comes mostly from sources, and those sources are usually indicated in the footnotes, which are treasure-houses. The references and cross-references constitute the most important part of Jorga's histories. The text is almost worthless and seems to be there only to spoil his footnotes! Jorga is in his element only as a compiler of archival sources. In his Notes and Excerpts he gave us some very important documents concerning Albania and Scanderbeg. I have already pointed out that he showed us the way, always in a footnote, to a neglected Byzantine source, namely Critoboulos of Imbros. Jorga gave his worst in the Short History of Albania. There are hardly any footnotes to relieve the chaos of the text.

1921. Noli wrote the first extensive history of Scanderbeg from the Albanian point of view. He used the

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[123] "Süditaliener Barletti". Jorga, Osmanen, Vol. II, p. 84.

literary sources of Biemmi, Barletius, Musachi and Franco but the archival sources at his disposal were only those provided by Thallóczy and Jireček in the Zwei Urkunden, by Pisko in his Appendix and by Hopf in his Greece and Chroniques. Some of the most important works and collections of sources were either unknown or unavailable to him. The work was written originally in Albanian and published in Boston in 1921. An Italian version by Francesco Argondizza was published in Rome two years later, in 1923.

1923. Kortsha, in a Doctoral Dissertation submitted to the University of Vienna, discussed Three Problems of the Scanderbeg story: (a) Was Scanderbeg tributary to any overlord?[124] (b) Did Scanderbeg offer to hand over Croya to Venice in 1450?[125] (c) Was Scanderbeg abandoned by his comrades in 1457?[126] In answering these questions Kortsha used all the works and collections of sources known at that time, and all the books he needed were available in the rich libraries of Vienna. Consequently his work is important in itself as a discussion of important problems as well as in its references to various works and sources. The dissertation was written originally in German. It is available in the United States only in the Albanian translation by the author himself, at the Public Library of New York City.

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124 Kortsha, pp. 3-65.
125 Ibid., pp. 66-92.
126 Ibid., pp. 93-107.

1923. Marinesco, a Rumanian scholar, gave us a monograph on the relations between Scanderbeg and King Alphonse of Naples based entirely on the Archivo de la Corona de Aragon of Barcelona. Unlike Jorga, Marinesco knows how to organize his material and did his job so well that no other period of Scanderbeg's career is now so clear as the one he described so masterfully. When the other periods of Scanderbeg are similarly illuminated, then the time will come to make a synthesis of the whole without fumbling in the dark here and there. Nevertheless, it is rather hard to agree with Marinesco on certain points. For instance, the period he has treated is certainly not the most brilliant one of Scanderbeg, as he asserts.[127] and as Gegaj fourteen years after admiringly reaffirms.[128] This period, covering approximately eight years, from 1451-1458, is plainly one of transition between two pairs of climactic major expeditions led by the two great Sultans, the first under Murad II in 1449-1450 and the second under MehmedII in 1466-1467. This is Marinesco's major sin of commission. There is also a major sin of omission: Biemmi's name is missing from Marinesco's bibliography[129] and is never mentioned in the course of his treatise.[130] These are undoubtedly

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127 "Traité avec Alphonse (1451), voué à déterminer d'une manière décisive l'activité de Georges Castriota pendant sa partie la plus brillante, c'est à dire jusqu'en 1458." Marinesco, p. 42.

128 "Pendant les années 1451-1458, les plus belles de l'histoire albanaise. . ." Gegaj, p. 87.

129 Marinesco, Bibliography, pp. 1-6.

130 Marinesco seems to think that Barletius is the "unique source" for the biography of Scanderbeg. Marinesco, p. 8. That means that he did not read Pisko's book, which he dismisses as "médiocre". Ibidem, p. 8, note 3.

unpardonable sins for a scholar of Marinesco's caliber. Lesser s sins will be mentioned in passing later on as the occasion arises.

1925-1929. Giese, a German scholar, discovered and published the Old Turkish Chronicles and Ashik-Pasha-Zade, both of which confirm the two pairs of major expeditions by Murad II and Mehmed II respectively, thus vindicating Barletius.[131]

1925-1931. Babinger, another German scholar, gave us a very important book on the Turkish Historians. He also discovered and published the Early Turkish Annals of Urudž and two inscriptions dealing with the founding of the fortress of Elbassan by Mehmed II in 1466, thus vindicating Barletius[132] and Antivarino.[133]

1937. Gegaj,[134] an Albanian scholar, submitted a doctoral dissertation in French on Albania and the Turkish Invasion in the Fifteenth Century to the University of Louvain, which published it in 1937. Of course the book deals mostly with Scanderbeg, whose story it tells on the basis of both literary and archival sources. It is the most

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131 Altosmanische, in German, pp. 94-95, 98, 150; Ashik-Pasha-Zade, pp. 112, 123, 162.

132 Babinger, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 95-96.

133 Ibid., p. 97, note 3.

134 Pronounced Ghegguy.

up-to-date story of the hero ever published in any language. It is bristling with information and the material is very well organized. But it must have been written in a hurry, as all dissertations are; because sometimes details of a secondary nature, which belong to the footnotes, appear in the text and vice-versa, important matter belonging to the text appears in the footnotes. Though a Roman Catholic clergyman, Gegaj did not overemphasize the part played by the papacy, and he may be even accused of not emphasizing it sufficiently. He made two major contributions which deserve to be mentioned: On the basis of archival material, he established the dates of Scanderbeg's Italian Expedition in 1461-1462[135] and of his victory over Balaban Pasha in 1467;[136] he compiled an extensive bibliography, which can serve as a basis for a complete one on the subject.[137] His major sin of omission is the absence of an index, which is unpardonable for a book of reference like his. There are a few other shortcomings: Pontano, Critoboulos and the Turkish Annalists, with the exception of the Latin Leunclavius and Bratutti's Italian translation of Saad-ed-Din, are missing in Gegaj's bibliography; Scanderbeg's guerrilla tactics are not duly emphasized; social and economic factors are neglected.

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135 Gegaj, pp. 125-129.

136 Gegaj, p. 145.

137 Gegaj, pp. xv-xx.

1945. Noli comes back with a revised version of the story he told twenty-four years before. He hesitated long to undertake the job after he had read Gegaj's book, which he first thought was almost the last word on the subject , but he is now well satisfied that there is a good deal to add to and to improve upon. Here are some of these additions and improvements: (a) For the first time the works written on the subject and the major contributions made by various scholars are enumerated and discussed in an extensive chapter. (b) An up-to-date bibliography, with some hitherto neglected items, is added. (c) Various neglected documents and sources, like Pontano, Critoboulos of Imbros and some Turkish Annalists, are used and duly emphasized. Some of these are given in an Appendix , which will be further expanded when this paper is published. (d) The legend of the early years of Scanderbeg is eliminated and this period is dealt with critically on the basis of neglected literary and archival sources. (e) The major expeditions of Murad II and Mehmed II are treated as the central point of the Scanderbeg story. (f) The light cavalry and the guerrilla tactics are considered as the secret of his military achievements. (g) The parts played by the Papacy, the Kingdom of Naples, and the Republic of Venice, as well as the social, economic and geographic factors which contributed to Scanderbeg's successes, are especially emphasized.

CHAPTER IV

BACKGROUND

A. Western Europe. Scanderbeg's Albania was predominantly Roman Catholic. Consequently, the entire Roman Catholic world, which at that time embraced all of Europe with the exception of Russia and the Balkan Peninsula, was deeply interested in Scanderbeg's struggle against the Turks. It goes without saying that the countries bordering on the Adriatic sea, like the Papal State, the Kingdom of Naples, the Venetian Republic, the City of Ragusa and and the Kingdom of Hungary, threatened by impending Turkish invasion, were more vitally concerned and did their best to help the Albanians stop the Turks at their gates. Their support proved to be inadequate. Nevertheless, it was substantial enough to make the Albanian resistance reach epic proportions.

1. Rome. Voigt and Fallmerayer tell us that the Popes helped Scanderbeg only with apostolic benedictions and panegyric exhortations.[1] This is both unfair and misleading. There is documentary evidence to prove that Pope Nicholas V (1447-1453), Calixtus III (1453-8), Pius II (1458-1464), and Paul II (1464-1473) helped Scanderbeg with hard cash amounting to thousands of golden ducats from the papal treasury.[2] Moreover, it is safe to assume that the sums of money they gave him were in each case higher than

1 Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 88; Voigt, Vol. III, p. 54.

2 Cugnoni, No. XXXIX, p. 100; App. , No. XII, p. xliii; Farlati, Vol. VII, p. 421; App. No. VIII, p. xxxix; Marinesco, p. 132; Canensius, p. 148, note 3; Appl, No. XXII, p. li; Pastor, Vol. IV, p. 86, 89-90; Gegaj, p. 144, note 5, p. 145, notes 1, 2; Bertolotti, Petrovitch, p. 117.

those of any other single state.[3] To these should be added the funds raised by the legates of the Popes for Scanderbeg's crusade, both in Albania and abroad, especially in Dalmatia.[4] The reasons for this unfailing support were obvious: Albania was the last Roman Catholic bridgehead in the Balkans and the Popes were doing everything in their power to keep it and enlarge it. Since the eleventh century the Popes were conducting an uninterrupted Crusade against the Arabs and the Turks. Scanderbeg was their staunchest ally, because for about twenty-five years he fought continually against the common enemy with only two short interruptions of about six months each.[5] Calixtus III admits in a letter that Scanderbeg did more for the faith than all the other Catholic Princes.[6] In another letter Calixtus advises his legate to hand a part of the crusade funds raised in Dalmatia to the King of Bosnia so that, encouraged by this financial support, he might become "another Scanderbeg"[7] the good old

3 In 1467 Scanderbeg received in cash 1,500 ducats from Ferdinand of Naples, 3,400 from Venice and 9,250 from Pope Paul II. See Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, p. 90; Ljubić, Vol. X, No. CCCCi, p. 387, Ibid., No. CCCCXVI, p. 399; Pastor, Vol. IV, pp. 86, 89-90; Gegaj, pp. 144-145.

4 Theiner, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. I, No. DCVI, pp. 427-428; Ibid., No. DCXIII, p. 432; App. , No. IV, pp. xxxv-xxxvi, also No. VI, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

5 About six months in 1461-2 and about seven months in 1463.

6 "Nam cum te semper pro tua excellenti strenuitate, proque memorabilibus gestis tuis ultra omnes catholicos principes de fide et religione christiana optime meritum sentiamus. . ." Theiner, Monumenta Sacra, Vol. II, p. 303; App., No. III, p. xxxii.

Scanderbeg".[7] The good old Spanish Pope knew perfectly well that hard cash, and not empty rhetoric, was needed to produce a crusader of Scanderbeg's type. In view of these facts, it is rather hard to understand why in Langer's World History the Popes are not even mentioned, though they certainly deserved the first place, as Scanderbeg's financial supporters.[8]

2. Naples. After Rome comes Naples as a close second, and very naturally so, because the eastern coast of the Neapolitan kingdom at some points between Brindisi and Vallona is only fifty miles. In self-protection the Kings of Naples helped Scanderbeg to protract his resistance and defend Albania, which was in a sense a Neapolitan bridgehead. Moreover, as Marinesco shows, it was not only self-protection which motivated the conduct of the Neapolitan Kings, but also their dream of creating a Mediterranean Catalan Empire, stretching from Barcelona to Constantinople.[9] Together with Naples and Sicily, Alphonse V, King of Aragon inherited the ambitions of his predecessors, Frederick II, Robert Guiscard and Charles d'Anjou. Documents published or used by scholars like Makushev,[10]

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7 ". . . ut earum subsidio alter ad expugnationem Turcorum virilius animetur, alter scilicet Scanderbegus. . ." Rinaldi, Vol. X, year 1457, No. 20, p. 107; App., No. VII, p. xxxviii.

8 Langer, William Leonard, An Encyclopedia of World History, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1940, pp. xxxii + 1155 + lxvi, p. 332.

9 "Croisade qui allait rendre le roi Alphonse V maître du bassin oriental de la Mediterranée, comme il était déjà de celui de l'Occident." Marinesco, p. 45; Jorga, Breve Histoire, p. 47.

10 Makushev, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. II, pp. 148-9.

Cerone,[11] Trinchera,[12] and finally Marinexco,[13] prove conclusively that Scanderbeg received from Naples very important assistance in money, ammunition, food and auxiliary troops. On the otherhand, it is a gross exaggeration to place the Kings of Naples as protectors of Scanderbeg before the popes and an absurdity to consider Scanderbeg as a mere Neapolitan or Venetian condottiere as Jorga[14] and Langer do.[15]

3. Venice. Makushev describes the policy of Venice in her Albanian possessions as a war of extermination against all Albanian social classes.[16] In the Albanian cities of Durazzo, Alessio, Scutari, Drivasto, Dulcigno and Antivari, which were annexed by Venice, the aristocracy was humiliated, the bourgeoisie was ruined and the free peasants were turned into serfs. As a rule, annexation of Albanian territory came only as the last stage of the procedure. The Albanian chieftains were subsidized and encouraged to fight the Turks until they bled white and were ready to surrender unconditionally to Venice rather than to Turkey as the lesser evil. After surrendering they were treated

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11 Cerone, Vol. XXVIII, p. 210.

12 Trincher, Codice Aragonese, p. 90.

13 Marinesco, p. 97, note 2; pp. 130-1.

14 ". . . Lorsque à un certain moment, les troupes du Sultan arrivèrent à le chasser, il ne ressentit aucune humiliation à aller continuer en Italie, comme simple chef de mercenaires, la cause de ce roi de Naples, qui avait été aussi un de ses constants protecteurs." Jorga, Breve Histoire, p. 45.

15 "Condottiere, educated at the Turkish court. . ." Langer, World History, p. 332.

16 Makushev, Razyskania, pp. 146-7.

as colonial slaves. If the chieftains happened to be too strong to be crushed by the Turks, Venice did not hesitate to stab them in the back by inciting civil war among them or even by declaring war against them. Venice did that against the Bashas and repeated the same procedure against Scanderbeg. At least three times Scanderbeg offered to hand over Croya to the Venetians in order to save it from the Turks,[17] but the Venetians refused because they believed that Scanderbeg with his highlanders was too strong to become their obedient servant. They preferred to have Croya captured by the Turks rather than possess it themselves before its inhabitants were down and out. As a matter of fact, they took over the defense of the city only after Scanderbeg's death in 1468, and they annexed the city only in 1474, when the people were exhausted and could be safely enslaved. In that fashion the Venetians allowed all the cities of Southern Albania to fall to the Turks, though they were again and again offered a chance to take them under their protection had they chosen to do so. Obviously, the Venetians thought that Albania could be wrested from the Turks much easier than from the Albanians themselves. Curiously enough, with a few short interruptions, they kept on subsidizing Scanderbeg though they hated him cordially: Sometimes, because they wanted to make war against

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17 In 1449, 1450 and 1466.

the Turks without appearing to do so, in order to defend their Albanian colonies;[18] sometimes, because they were forced bo buy peace from the "formidable" Scanderbeg,[19] as in 1448 and 1457; sometimes, because they were scared to death by Mehmed II, as in 1453 after the capture of Constantinople; sometimes, because they needed Scanderbeg badly as an ally against the Turks as in 1463-68. But even in this last period they allowed their proveditors in Albania to sabotage Scanderbeg at every step and stab him in the back. Finally, Scanderbeg refused to accept any Venetian auxiliary troops unless they were placed under his immediate command.[20] A few days before Scanderbeg died, special envoys were sent by the Venetian Senate to Albania in order to investigate and report on Scanderbeg's complaints against the treacherous proveditors, who were certainly acting under orders and who might have been guilty only of overreaching themselves.[21]

4. Ragusa. This rich city never forgot its Roman origin and kept on using Latin and Italian as its official language even after it was completely slavicized.[22] It was nominally under

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18 ". . .C'etait faire aux Turcs une guerre defensive sans en avoir l'air." Jorga, Breve Histoire, p. 46.

19 Romanin, Vol. IV, pp. 243-4.

20 Ljubic, Vol. X, p. 334.

21 Makushev, Razyskania, p. 111.

22 "In Ragusa wurden die Rathsprotokollen ohne Unterbrechung bis zum Fall der Republik (1808) stets lateinisch geführt. Noch im späteren Mittelalter hiessen die Ragusaner bei den Slawen Latini ebenso wie Italien von ihnen Latinska Zemlja und die Italienische sprache Latinski Jezik genannt wurde." Jireček, Handelsstrassen, p. 4.

Hungarian suzerainty but otherwise it enjoyed unrestricted self-government. Its army and navy were too weak for defense and it was helpless against aggression. Money and trade were the only weapons of the Ragusan patricians and they used both for subsidizing all those who opposed Turkey, the most dangerous aggressor of the time. Scanderbeg was their natural ally as well as their customer to whom they sold their wares. Moreover, they acted as his bankers.[23] The city had a large Albanian population and some of the Albanian citizens had managed to rise to the ranks of the upper classes.[24] Like all South Dalmatian cities, Ragusa was flooded by Albanian clergymen and monks who almost monopolized all church offices.[25] This explains the cordial relations between Ragusa and Scanderbeg as well as the splendid receptions he was given whenever he visited the city. It is almost certain that his troops were transported to Italy and back to Albania in 1461-2 on Ragusan ships.[26]

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23 "Miklosich, No. CCCLVI, p. 442; also No. CCCLXXXV, p. 481.

24 "Man trifft hier (in Ragusa) auch Mitglieder der Drivastiner Patrizierfamilien Summa, Palombo, Lepore und Span an." Šufflay, Kirchenzustände in Forschungen, p. 266; Gegaj, pp. 125-6.

25 Šufflay, Kirchenzustände, in Forschungen, Vol. I, pp. 265-267.

26 Villari, p. 247.

5. Hungary. Like every other European nation, the Hungarians dreamt of capturing Constantinople. They besieged it soon after they had made their first appearance in Europe. They failed then, but in the fifteenth century they thought they had a real chance. Their only competitor was the Turk. They had a great general to lead them, Yanko Hunyadi, and their King Ladislaus IV combined the crowns of both Hungary and Poland. They soon discovered that they were no match for the Turk and passed from the offensive to the defensive. Again, Scanderbeg was their natural ally. In 1457 Pope Calixtus III advised his legate in Ragusa to distribute the crusade money, raised in Dalmatia in three equal shares to the King of Hungary, the King of Bosnia and Scanderbeg.[27] Barletius, Biemmi, Laonicos, Critoboulos, Bonfinius and the Ragusan sources speak again and again of the alliance between Scanderbeg and the Hungarians.[28]

B. Eastern Europe. The old empires of the East were falling apart one after the other, and a new empire was rising over their ruins. The falling empires were those of the Byzantines, the Bulgarians and the Serbians; the rising one was that of the Osmanli Turks.

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27 Theiner, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. I, No. DCXIII, p. 432; App., Nol VI, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

28 Barletius, Book II, pp. 51-57; Biemmi, Book I, pp. 59-65; Laonicos, Book VII, p. 357; Critoboulos in French, Book V, Par. 91; App., No. XXVIII, p. lxxii; Bonfinius, Antonius, Rerum Ungaricarum Decades, Francfort, Andrea Wechel, 1581, pp. 943 28, year 1448, p. 471; Katona, Vol. XIII, pp. 300-307; Villari, pp. 229-230.

1. Byzantine Empire. Before 1082 it was an Empire of the One Thousand and One Cities. After 1082 it became an Empire of the One Thousand and One Fiefs. Then and there Constantinople fell and not in 1204 nor in 1453. The trade privileges, granted to the Venetians in 1082, ruined the cities and turned the prosperous bourgeoisie into a hungry and turbulent Lumpenproletariat.[29] On the other hand, the large estates gradually reduced the free peasants to serfdom. Then the Byzantine Empire broke into One Thousand and One Fragments. Diehl in his Byzance, Grandeur et Decadence,[30] describes this fatal rise of Feudalism, which pulverized the Byzantine Empire and prepared the way for the fall of Constantinople to the Venetians in 1204 and to the Turks in 1453. The hopelessness of the situation was clearly expressed in the slogan of the Byzantine defeatists: Better the Turk than the Frank! All they had to do was just to choose a master. They preferred the Turk and they got him.

2. The Balkan States. Bulgaria and Serbia in the fifteenth century were nothing but caricatures of the dying Byzantine Empire. Their population consisted of two classes only, the landowners and the serfs.[31] Their bourgeoisie was not strong

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29 Vasiliev, Vol. II, pp. 396-7, on commune of Thessalonica.

30 Diehl, Chap. III, Le Péril Féodal et la Lutte des Classes, pp. 165-179.

31 "Das Volk war grösstenteils leibeigen." Jireček, Bulgaren, p. 374. "Die Bauern waren in allen christlichen Balkanstaaten zuletzt sehr bedrückt. . ." Jireček, Serben, Vol. II, p. 100. "Serbien war nach 1371 kein einheitliches Reich mehr, nur ein Konglomerat von Adelsterritorien." Ibid., p. 104.

enough to play an important part. They fell into the lap of the Turk like ripe plums.

3. The Turkish Empire. The Turks came in Europe as the liberators of the serfs and of the oppressed classes. They promised them emancipation.[32] This explains to a certain extent how they succeeded in conquering such a vast Empire in such a short time. There were other reasons. They were the first to create a standing national army, the Janissaries, who fought for Turkey and not for a salary.[33] The historians do not agree on the methods by which the Janissaries were recruited. Langer thinks that the famous devshirme or child tribute was used only occasionally, and the usual method was that of selecting the recruits from young prisoners of war.[34] But the method does not matter - the result was the same. The Turks were also the first to use extensively heavy siege artillery for battering the walls of fortresses.[35] Moreover, they managed at least in the first three centuries of their history to have a stable government and a highly trained administration. Every office from the lowest to the highest was open to any

32 "Die Türken kamen als Befreier der Bauern und der Bogomilen." Jireček, Bulgaren, p. 374. "Gegen diejenigen Christen, welche keinen Widerstand leisteten, traten die Türken mild auf, suchten aber überall die Bauern gegen die Herren zu gewinnen, und versprachen ihnen volle Freiheit." Jireček, Serben, Vol. II, p. 102

33 Mitchell, Brig. Gen. William A., Outlines of the World's Military History, Harrisburg, Pa., Military Service Publishing Company, 1940, pp. 752, Par. 1006, p. 246.

34 Impressment and the levy of Christian children were only gradually and irregularly resorted to in Turkey in order to keep the ranks of the regiments filled." Langer-Blake, Osmanen, p. 503.

35 Mitchell, Military History, Par. 1027, p. 259.

open to any duly trained Christian, who embraced Islam. It was a democratic equality of opportunity, which attracted converts by the thousands from a feudal world, in which all higher offices were monopolized by the upper classes.[36]

C. Albanian Background. The plebeian Cato thought that wars are fought by peoples and not by their commanders. Accordingly, he wrote history of Rome in which no commander was named, and the only name occurring in his history was that of an elephant.[37] Cato exaggerates when he considers the commanders as mere figureheads but he is certainly right in reminding us who does the real job and who should get the first credit for fighting wars and winning victories. Anyhow, his contention is best illustrated by Scanderbeg's crusade. It was a peoples' war, and it was only natural that the Albanians performed miracles under a born commander, who personified the spirit of the people. A combination of various factors enabled the Albanians to fight one of the most heroic wars in history when everybody around them, Byzantine, Bulgarian, Serbian and Greek, fell flat before the triumphant Turk.[38]

1. Racial. The Albanians are the descendants of the old Illyrians, the original Indo-European settlers of the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea from Italian Venice in the North to Greek Acarnania in the South.[39] Their name is that

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36 "Die Reichs-und Hofämter waren ausschliessliches Eigentum der Boyaren, wie in Serbien nach Byzantinischen Mustern." Jireček, Bulgaren, p. 385.

37 Thompson, Vol. I, pp. 64-65.

38 Fallmerayer, Vol. VIII, p. 710.

39 Thalloczy, Forschungen, Vol. I, p. 8; Jireček, Forschungen, Vol. I, p. 64. "Das Illyrische (continued on next page

of the Illyrian clan of Albani, mentioned for the first time by Ptolemy in the II century A.D.[40] They inhabited what is Central Albania today and what was Albania proper down to the XV century. The name was extended later to include all neighboring Illyrian clans. Alexander the Great characterizes the Illyrians and the Thracians as the stoutest and the most warlike of all Europeans.[41] Consequently, the Albani must have been the toughest of the race since they succeeded in surviving Roman, Slavic and Byzantine Imperialism.

2. Religion. Christianity was preached in Albania by Roman missionaries as it is proved by almost all the ecclesiastical terms in Albanian which are derived from Latin.[42] As a part the Illyricum, Albania belonged to the Roman see until Leo I, the Isaurian, detached it from Rome in 734 and gave it to the patriarchate of Constantinople. In the meantime, the Bulgarians and the Serbians drove a wedge through Macedonia to Salonica and prevented the Greek Patriarchate from ever getting a firm hold on Albania. The Crusades undid almost entirely all the gains the Byzantine Patriarchs had made, which consisted of three Greek Orthodox wedges: one from Janina to

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ist eine Satem-Sprache. . ." Jokl, Illyrier, Vol. VI, p. 38. "Das Albanische ist eine Satemsprache. . . Aehnliche Verhältnisse finden wir im Illyrischen. . ." Jokl, Albaner, Vol. I, p. 89. "Das Albanische is sowohl mit dem Illyrischen als mit dem Thrakischen nahe verwandt." Ibid., p. 91

40 Jireček, Forschungen, Vol. I, p. 66.

41 Arrianus, Flavius, Anabasis Alexandri, Greek text with an English translation by E. Iliff Robson, Loeb Classical Library, New York, Putnam, 1929, in two volumes, Vol. I, Book II, chap. 7, p. 149.

42 Mesha from missam; shenti from sanctum; altari from

(continued on the next page)

Valona in the South; a second one from Ochrida to Croya; and a third one from Ipek to Scutari and Antivari.[43] But these wedges were rather weak and were slowly driven back or altogether suppressed. In the fifteenth century Albania was preponderantly Roman Catholic, with eighteen episcopal sees, some of which have an uninterrupted history from the dawn of Christendom down to our own days.[44] Every bishop was a collector of Crusade money for Scanderbeg; every monk was his propaganda agent.[45] Religion gave to the Albanians the unity they lacked as a State. Religion served also as a link, connecting them with the West.

3. Geographic. Albania is roughly divided into three unequal zones: the lowlands on the seacoast with a semi-tropical climate, studded by olive groves; the wild highlands in the background with a semi-arctic climate, teeming with bears and wolves; and in between the undulating hill country, green with pasture lands. It is an amphitheatre sloping towards the Adriatic Sea, with jagged mountains covering about three fourths of the area and barring access to the lowlands. Torrential and meandering rivers rush down from the highlands towards the sea, making the mountainous hinterland a labyrinth of which

altarem; kreshma from quadragesimam; kershendella from Christi Natalia; kruki from crucem; etc.

43 Šufflay, Kirchenzustände in Forschungen, p. 189.

44 Farlati, Vol. VII, pp. ix-xiv; Jireček, Handelstrassen, p. 16.

45 Theiner, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. I, No. DCVI, pp. pp. 427-8; App., No. IV, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

towering peaks, insidious passes and infernal valleys. It is certainly one of the most difficult terrains of the European continent. The Turkish annalist Urudž, who must have seen those mountains, describes them as inaccessible even to the crows and accessible only to demons (Iblis), like the Albanians.[46] It was an ideal ground for Scanderbeg's guerrilla warfare.[47]

4. Social. There were three social classes in Scanderbeg's Albania: the free peasants of the highlands and the hill country; the merchants of the flourishing towns of the seacoast;[48] and the petty aristocrats, or rather the patriarchal chieftains of the highlanders. Some of the aristocrats wavered and sometimes ran over to the enemy but most of them made common cause with the two other classes. These were solidly and bitterly opposed to Turkish domination. They wanted to remain free. Serfdom and slavery were unthinkable

46 Urudž, Frühosmanische Jahrbücher, p. 137.

47 Barbarich, p. 192.

48 "Den Eintritt in das Land (Albanien) ermöglichten ausser den Häfen der Küstenstadte besonders die Mündungen der Flüsse, und zwar besuchten die mittelalterischen Kauffahrer nicht nur die heute noch schiffbare Bojana und den Drin, sondern auch den Mat, den Ism, den Vrego (Škumbi), den Devol (Semani), und die Vojussa. Das waren die Fluminaria, fiumare de l'Albano, an denen besonders am Vrego und Devol, ein bedeutender Getreidehandel blühte; das flache Albanische Küstenland, das jetzt ganz verödet ist, war damals mit üppigen Kornsaaten bedeckt. . . " Jireček, Handelsstrassen, p. 63.

to them. As Makushev puts it: An Albanian could not be a slave.[49] Nobody in the slave markets of Turkey would buy an Albanian or a Hungarian slave because they were impossible to handle and too dangerous for their masters.[50] Fallmerayer is right in calling them fanatically freedom-loving.[51] The Turcophile Critoboulos confirms it: Rather than surrender to the Turks, they hurled themselves from the rocks down to the ravines, preferring death to slavery.[52]

5. Economic. With the exception of Criboboulos, all the other historians unanimously assert that the Albanian highlanders refused to pay tribute to the Turk. The Turkish annalist, Urudz, puts it in a laconic form: They pay tribute to nobody![53] Critoboulos gives us the economic reason: Because they had no money.[54] And that was true about the overwhelming majority of the population, which was agricultural or pastoral and had not yet reached the stage of money economy. Sometimes,

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49 "Albanec ne mog byt rabom." Makushev, Razyskania, p. 122.

50 "Nulla enim gens, nullum captivorum genus difficilius emptorem invenit, quam Epirotae et Hungari, utpote quos minime servitio aptos, et imperiosos nimis dicant, neque unquam ex eis bonos Turcas fieri consuesse." Barletius, Vita, Book VIII, p. 239.

51 "Freiheitsfanatisches Volk." Fallmerayer, Vol. VIII, p.666.

52 "Quelques-uns d'entre les Illyriens, voyant les hoplites à leurs trousses, et ne trouvant aucun refuge se précipitèrent des rochers dans les ravins, et périrent." No. XXVIII, p. lxviii.

53 "Kimseye Kharatch vermezler." Urudž, Frühosmanische Jahrbucher, p. 137.

54 "Car ils n'avaient pas d'argent." Critoboulos in French, Book III, Par. 97, p. 240; App., No. XXVIII, p. lxiii.

when they were hard pressed by the Sultans, Critoboulos goes on to say, the Albanians would promise to pay tribute like the others, but they changed their mind very soon and reverted to their rebellious intransigence.[55] In other words, promissory or nominal tribute was all they could afford to pay, but real tribute in money or kind was out of the question.

E. Precursors. Scanderbeg was not an isolated phenomenon in Albania. Others before him succeeded in unifying the Albanian peasants against foreign domination, and all of them without exception turned primarily to the Popes for protection, and the Popes were always glad to help them. Curiously enough, all the leaders came from the Greek Orthodox Wedges, which the popes wanted to annex: The Balshas from the wedge of Ipek-Scutari-Antivari; the Castriotis and the Thopias from the wedge of Ochrida-Croya; the Musachis, the Shpatas and the Buas from the wedge of Janina-Valona.

1. Balsha. Balsha I and his three sons, Stasimir, George and Balsha Junior, rebelled soon after Car Dushan's death and succeeded in unifying Albania from Antivari to Argirocastro in the West, from Argirocastro to Castoria in the South, from Castoria to Ochrida and Prizren in the East and from Prizren to Scutari and Antivari in the North. They

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55 "Déja auparavant, le Sultan Morat, père du Sultan actuel, leur avait fait la guerre avec une grande armée et avec des forces imposantes. . . Cependant il n'avait pu prendre le pays et le soumettre complètement. Mais il avait seulement fait avec eux une convention, qu'ils lui paieraient un certain tribut annuel. . . Peu de temps ils se conformèrent aux conventions; mais bientôt ils s'en désistèrent, ne donnèrent pas le tribut, et en faisant des incursions, ils parcoururent les terres du Sultan et les endommagèrent." Critoboulos in French, Book III, Par. 93; Appl, No. XXVIII, pp. lx-lxi.

even extended their Northern frontier up to the Narenta valley below Ragusa, and they ruled over a territory twice as large as modern Albania. Their success is explained primarily by the fact that they broke away from the Greek Orthodox Church and joined the Roman Catholic Church in 1368, thus identifying themselves with Roman Catholic Albania.[56] Albanian unity under the Balshas lasted until 1479, when George I, the greatest of the dynasty, died. Then the Turks came and the Balshas were squeezed to death between the Venetian and the Turkish millstones. Venice supported the Balshas until they shook off the Serbian yoke and stabbed ~~her~~ them in the back when they became too dangerous for her Adriatic empire. At Scanderbeg's time, the Balshas were reduced to a small strip of territory between Alessio and Scutari, which was their original home.[57] Scanderbeg claimed to be their protector and their successor as well.[58]

2. Ghin Bua Shpata. The war of liberation from Serbian

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56 Theiner, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. I, pp. 261-263.

57 "Quidam ex Albaniae proceribus cognomento Balsa." Il cite Oribinus qui lui aussi affirme: ". . .ex indigenis nobilibus Albaniae." Du Cange, Illyricum Vetus et Novum, pp. 131-132, quoted by Gegaj, p. 16, note 4. "Als verwandter (der Balsa) erscheint ein Albanese, der Voivode Nokola Zacharia, Herr Von Budua." Jireček, Serben, I, p. 425. "Der Herr von Nord-albanien Georg II Balsa." Sufflay, Forschungen, Vol. I, p. 298. "Albanese cattolico-romano Giorgio II Stracimirov Balsa." Gelcich, Balscidi, p. 187; cfr. Gelcich, Cattaro, p. 135; Acta Albaniae, Vol. II, year 1396, No. 548, p. 146; Fallmerayer, Vol. VIII, p. 691:.."Balsch senior, der neue Gheghische (Nord-albanische) Eroberer. . ." Ibid., p. 692: "Wenn aber die alten Chroniken erzahlen, Georg Balsch sei mit 10,000 Mann im Banat eingebrochen und habe es mit Albanesischer Grausamkeit verheert, so ist hier nicht an das heute sogenannte Banat von Temesvar zu denken."

58 Magno Chronicle, in Jorga, (continued on next page)

yoke was fought in Southern Albania by Ghin Bua Shpata of Arta (d. 1400). He also extended the frontiers of his dominion to the South beyond Aetolia and Acarnania. And exactly at the time when George I Balsha crushed the Bosnians in the Banat in 1379, Ghin Bua Shpata won a brilliant bictory against the combined armies of the Serbians, the Greeks and the Neapolitans and compelled them to raise the siege of his capital, Arta. The tactics he had used were repeated by Scanderbeg at Croya again and again in 1450 and 1466-7.[59]

3. Bua and Ljosha. Ghin Bua and Peter Ljosha,[60] ~~Charles Thopia, one of the greatest names of the Thopia dynasty, heir of Charles Thopia, in 1358 [illegible] Arta.~~[60] with their light cavalry, defeated Nicephorus II, Despot of Epirus and Thessaly, at the battle of Acheloos in 1358, which was a real class war. Nicephorus II, with an army of Greeks and mercenary Seljuk Turks, wanted to re-establish the landlords dispossessed by the Albanian highlanders, who had emigrated into Greece since the beginning of the fourteenth century with the Cantacuzenes.[61] This class

Notes, Vol. III, p. 191, note 1: "In zorni tre conquisto degli altri luoghi in Albania et fesse potente, digando essere herede de Balsa et voler il paese fu de quello."

59 Fallmerayer, Vol. VIII, p. 704.
60 Ibidem, p. 676.
~~60 He calls himself "Despota Epeiro" in the inscription at the monastery of Saint John Vladimir in Elbasan, [illegible] when [illegible] princess [illegible] Balsa, Reise, Heft VIII, p. 107.~~

61 "Die Griechen waren überall für den Nachkommen der alten Landesfürsten die Albaner gegen ihn. Nikephoros wollte nämlich durch eine gewaltsame Restauration den grundbesitz auf
(continued on the next page)

war explains the bitter hatred of the Byzantine aristocrats against the Roman Catholic Albanian peasants, as it is exemplified by the writings of Phrantzes, Ducas, Chalcondylas and Critoboulos.

4. George Araniti. One of the ~~Among the~~ great names of the Thopia dynasty is that of George Araniti Thopia Comneni (d. 1461), father-in-law of Scanderbeg. He was the first to inflict a resounding defeat in 1433 on a Turkish army under Ali Beg Evrenoz, which he had succeeded in trapping and cutting to pieces in the insidious Aeroceraunian passes of Kurvelshi. He became a famous man overnight all over Europe. Pope Eugene IV, Alphonse V of Naples, and the Holt Roman Emperor Sigismund took him under their protection. Even the Byzantine Chalcondylas, whose heart was softened by Araniti's distant Comnena great-grandmother, had to admit that "ea in expeditione magnam gloriam invenit Arianites Comneni filius operisque memorabilibus gestis admodum celebratus est."[62]

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die Zustände vor 8 Jahren zurückzubringen. . . Aber bald folgte ein Aufstand der Albanesen. Der Despot Nikephoros wurde mit seinen griechischen Stratioten und türkischen Soldner am Acheloos (Aspropotamos) von den albanischen Edelleuten mit ihren leicht beweglichen Kriegsvolk vollständig geschlagen und fiel im Kampfe. (1358, Kantakuzenos IV, chap. 43.)" Jireček, Serben, Vol. I, p. 416; cfr. Fallmerayer, Vol. VIII, p. 674.

62 Laonicos, Book V, p. 251. Araniti won two more victories against the Turks. See Diplomatarium Ragusanum, 1434, Aug. 16, p. 386-7: ". . . acerrimum bellum ipsi Albanenses commiserunt, adeoque res successit, quod ex Turcis multi et multi ceciderunt; similiter (continued on next page)

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et Albanenses damnum receperunt ex suis, sed tamen in campo cum victoira remanserunt. . ." Also Ibid.,1435, Feb. 16, p. 389: "In festo Sancti Steffani post solemnitatem Nativitatis Domini nostri Jesu Christi Ysach voivoda Teucer, qui magno et potenti exercityu in Albano convenerat et ad cujus oppositum consistebat Arnith Spata principalis dominus et dux in Albano, cum valida manu Albanorum committentes prelium et acerrime invicem dimicantes, ab eodem Arnith conflictus est et conversus in fugam, quod cum paucissimis evasus est ipse ysach."

CHAPTER V

LEGENDARY BEGINNINGS (1405-1443)

A. ORIGIN. Fallmerayer pointed out the futility of wasting any time at all about the origin of families like those of the Albanian highlander chieftains.[1] With a few exceptions, their beginnings are rather humble and obscure, like those of the Balshas[2] and the Castriotis.[3]

1. The Fermendžin Document. As Jireček tells us, every Albanian had two names, a first name, which was seldom a national one, and a second name, which was that of his clan or his village.[4] For instance, the family names of Castrioti,[5] Balshi,[5] Musachi, Araniti and Shpata[6]

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1 "Den Ursprung eines Albanischen Stammhäuptlings zu ergründen ist eine eben so vergebliche als unnütze Mühe." Fallmerayer, Vol. VIII, p. 712.

2 "L'Orbini . . . scribe . . .che ai giorni di Dušan il Balša abbia posseduto nulla altro che un villaggio della Zedda." Gelcich, Zedda, p. 30. cfr. Jireček, Serben, Vol. I, p. 425.

3 "Sappiate com'l'avo del Signor Scanderbeg. . . non ebbe più de due casali. . ." Hopf, Chroniques, p. 301.

4 Jireček, Forschungen, Vol. I, p. 70.

5 There are two villages called Balshi, one in Northern Albania and another in Southern Albania. Both forms, Balshi and Balsha, are possible in Albanian. Jireček thinks that the root is Illyrian and the suffix Serbian or Rumanian. See Serben, Vol. I, p. 425. The suffix -sha is not unknown in Albanian, as is shown by family names like Ljosha and Zanebisha of the same period.

6 Balshi, Mužaki, Araniti and Shpata are used to this day as surnames in Albania.

are just names of villages, which still exist in Albania. The Fermendžin document proves conclusively that the Castriotis were so called because they originated from a village called Castrioti in the region of Has.[7] Luccari, quoted by Fallmerayer, confirms it though he misspells both the village and the region.[8] The latter, though misspelled was easily recognizable, but the misspelled Villa Castrati instead of Castrioti was a source of confusion because there is a Castrati clan in Northern Albania,[9] and there is also a Castrioti village in Northeastern Albania.[10] The Fermendžin document, hitherto ignored, makes it clear that what was meant is the Castrioti village and not the Castrati clan.

2. Hopf Genealogy. Branilo Castriota,d'origine serbe, is given as the great-grandfather of Scanderbeg in Hopf's genealogical table of the Castrioti family.[11]

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7 "Castrioich (sic) de Castrioti in provincia Az in Epiro." Fermendžin, p. 560; App., No. XXVI, p. lvii.

8 "Giovanni Castrioto, Signor di Crui laqual famiglia usci da Castrati villa nella giurisditione in As in Albania, poco discosto dal fiume Drilon. Luccari, pag. 86. In dieser Stelle muss statt As, weil der Italiener in Fremdwörtern das H nicht aussprechen kann, Has gelesen werden. Fallmerayer, Vol. VIII, p. 713, note 1.

9 Barbarich, p. 177

10 Yastrebov, pp. 123, 226-227.

11 Hopf, Chroniques, p. 533; cfr. Hahn, Reise, Vol. XVI, p. 115.

The story of this ancestor rests on the Valona Document of 1368[12] and on a phrase of Spandugino, the author of a Treatise on the House of Osman.[13] A document, containing the oath, taken by Alexander Comnen Asen, the Bulgarian Prince of Valona and Canina, as a honorary citizen of Ragusa, bears the signature of a Castriot, governor of Canina, along with those of other notables. The name of this Castriot is preceded by that of a certain Branilo, a Slavic name, which Hopf reads as the first name of this Castriot. But between them there is a Slavic conjunction i,[14] which seems to make them two different persons, as Šufflay asserts.[15]

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12 The document has been published in the Slavic original by Miklosich, No. CLIII, Sept. 2, 1368, pp. 178-179; and by Novakovich, No. LIII, pp. 190-191; in a Latin translation by Šufflay, in Acta, No. 259, p. 57, with annotations. It has been commented upon by Thalloczy and Jireček in Zwei Urkunden, p. 88, and in Forschungen, p. 137.

13 Hopf, Chroniques, pp. 315-335; Sansovino, pp. 189-215; cfr. Lybyer, Appendix, p. 310.

14 The signatures in Slavic are as follows: "Prodan Vojevoda i Mikleuš, kefalia vavlonski Branilo i kefalia kaninski Kastriot. . ." In Latin: "Prodan vojvoda et Mikleuš, castellanus Aulonae Branilo et castellanus Caninae Kastriot. . ." Acta, No. 249, p. 57.

15 Cum nomen hocce (Kastriot). . . sine nomine proprio appareat, Hopf, 2, 122, et Makushev, Ist Raz. 61, nomen Branilo ad id pertinere censebant, id quod et ordo verborum et ea quae in nota praecedente diximus ac etiam Musachi in sua historia stricte refutant. . ." Šufflay in Acta, No. 249, p.57, col. 2, note 1. Thalloczy and Jireček in Zwei Urkunden, in Archiv für Slavische Philologie, Vol. XXI, p. 88, assert: Nach dem Texte gehört Branilo kaum zum Namen Kastriot, wie es Hopf verstanden hat." But in Forschungen, p. 137 they change their mind: "Nach dem Texte gehört Branilo vielleicht zum Namen Kastriot, wie es Hopf verstanden hat." The italics are ours.

But even admitting that Branilo is the first name of this Castriot, that does not mean that he was a Serbian because, as Jireček tells us,[16] the first name of an Albanian was seldom Albanian but either Greek, Slavic or Latin. Finally, there is nothing in the document to indicate that this Branilo Castriot was the great-grandfather of Scanderbeg. Consequently, all we have to say to Hopf is: "Tant de choses en deux mots!" The story of Spandugino is not less controversial. He characterizes Scanderbeg as "per natura Serviano" according to Hopf's reading,[17] and "per natione Serviano" according to Sansovino's reading.[18] Spandugino's manuscript, published by Hopf, was written in 1535,[19] that is to say sixty-seven years after Scanderbeg's death, which means that it is far from being the testimony of a contemporary. No indication is given of the source from which Spandugino obtained this information. Everything else he has to say on the subject and especially the stories of Scanderbeg's sword and Sultan Murad II's death under the walls of Croya in 1450, are unquestionably derived from Barletius and Franco, which means that he is not an independent source. Thallóczy and Jireček characterize the

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16 Jireček, Forschungen, Vol. I, p. 70.

17 Hopf, Chroniques, p. 334.

18 Sansovino, Spandugino, p. 201.

19 Hopf, Chroniques, Introduction, p. xxxv.

story of Scanderbeg's Serbian descent as a legend.[20] Pisani rightly concludes: "Mais, de là à conclure que les Castriota étaient de souche slave, comme l'affirme Spandugino, il y a la différence entre le fait et l'hypothèse."[21] Finally, as Gegaj remarks, there is another witness to be heard, who may know something about it, namely Scanderbeg himself. In a letter to the Prince of Taranto, he proudly calls himself an Albanian.[22]

3. Angelo Genealogy. According to Andrea Angelo Flavio Comneno of Drivasto and Antivari,[23] a relative of Archbishop Paul Angelo of Durazzo, Scanderbeg's great-grandfather and grandfather were respectively called Constantine and George Castrioti. Now, according to Hammer, a prince of that name who may have been Scanderbeg's grandfather took part in the battle of Kossovo in 1389 and told the members of the Christian War Council how victory could be won.[24] Unfortunately

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20 "Bei Spandugino. . . sind Sagen von einem serbischen Ursprung derselben (der Kastriota) zu lesen, doch der Name ist ohne Zweifel griechisch Kastriotis von einem Ortsnamen Kastrion." Forschungen, Vol. I, p. 136.

21 Pisani, p. 190

22 "Noi ci chiamiamo Epiroti." Makušev, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. II, p. 123; Fisko, App. pp. 149-150. "Epiroti" was the generic name for all the Albanians in the fifteenth century, while Albanian was the particular name of the inhabitants of Central Albania.

23 See Castrioti Genealogical Table of Du Cange, p. 270.

24 "Im feindlichen Kriegsrath war der Vorschlag, den Feind waehrend der Nacht anzugreifen, von Georg Castriota aus dem uebermuthigen Grunde verworfen worden, dass die Nacht die Flucht der Feinde beguenstigend, sie ihrer gaenzlichen Niederlage entziehen koenne." Hammer, Osmanen, Vol. I, p. 177.

Flavio Comneno is very unreliable as a compiler of genealogies[25] and Hammer does not give us the source from which he obtained his information. The story may be an anachronism of some Turkish annalist.

4. Musachi Genealogy. Ghin Musachi gives Scanderbeg a different grandfather and emphasizes the point: "You must know that Scanderbeg's grandfather was called Paul Castrioti, and he had not more than two villages, called Signa and Lower Gardhi. Paul's son, John Castrioti, became Lord of Matia."[26] His son Scanderbeg, "after recovering the paternal state seized the city of Croya, which his father did not possess." Then he annexed "Dibra, Birina, namely Randisia, Tomonista and Misia and the region of Guonimi down to the seacoast."[27] In other words, the Castriotis were upstarts and usurpers. Barletius indirectly confirms Musachi because he has not much to say about Scanderbeg's genealogy and for the first time he becomes laconic, which is not his habit, and tells us only that his ancestors originated from Mati.[28]

5. Etymology and Descent. Castriotis in Greek means

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25 "Andrea Angelo Comneno, fameux auteur de généalogies fausses. . ." Hopf, Chroniques, Introduction, p. xxxv.

26 "Sappiate com' l'avo del Signor Scanderbeg se chiamò Signor Paulo Castrioto, e non ebbe piu de due casali nominati Signa e Gardi-ipostesi; e de questo Signor Paulo nacque il Signor Giovanni Castrioto, lo quale se fece Signor della Matia." Hopf, Chroniques, p. 301. "Il Signor Giovanni Castrioto, patre del Signor Scanderbeg fù signore del paese nomine la Matia." Ibid., p. 298.

27 ". . .Dopo che recuperò la Matia, stato paterno, s'insignorì della città de Croia, (continued on next page)

an inhabitant of Castrion,[29] and Critoboulos uses it in that sense.[30] This was sufficient for Dimitzas[31] to claim Scanderbeg as a Greek because there are several villages called Castrion in Greece. There are some in Albania also because this word meant originally "a little castle". Yastrebov is shocked by this Greek claim and handles Dimitzas very roughly.[32]

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ch'il patre non l'hebbe. . ." Ibid., p. 299. ". . .Fu signore non solum della Matia, ma si fe Signore de Croia, de Dibra, de Birina, cioè de Randisia, Tomonista e Misia lo paese de Guonimi sino alla marina." Ibid., pp. 298-299.

28 "Et quia neque latere penitus Scanderbegi genus aequum duco, neque omnem avorum ejus seriem prescribere in animo est, illum unum attigisse contentus ero, auctores gentis Castriotae ex Aemathia nobili ortu fluxisse, imperitasseque pa gloria fortunaque in Epiro." Barletius, Vita, Book I, p. 1.

29 "Castriotis von einem Ortsnamen Castrion. Thalloczy and Jirecek, Forschungen, Vol. I, p. 136. "Castriotis a loco Castrion." Sufflay, Acta, p. 57, col. 2, note 1.

30 Criboboulos in Greek, Book III, par. 82, p. 217.

31 Petrovitch, p. 117; Legrand, No. 356, p. 122.

32 Yastrebov, pp. 228, 253.

B. FAMILY. With John Castrioti, Scanderbeg's father, we are on firmer ground. We have no connected story of his life but we possess a considerable number of documents from which we may glean some fragmentary information about him. He married Voisava Tripalda of Polog,[33] who bore him four sons and five daughters. George, the youngest of his sons, became famous under the Turkish surname of Scanderbeg, but we know very little about the three others.[34] His daughters were married

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33 "E la madre de detto Signor Scanderbeg, moglie del detto Signor Giovanni, hebbe nome Signora Voisava Tripalda e venne da bona parte." Hopf, Chroniques, p. 301. On p. 308 Musachi tells us that Voisava was Albanian from the Musachi family. Barletius, Vita, Book I, p. 1, writes: "Uxori Voisavae nomen erat, non indignam eo viro, tum pater nobilissimus Tribalorum princeps. . ." Franco, chap. I, p. 2v: "Et la matre di esso Scanderbeg, chiamata Voisava, fu figliola del signore di Pollogo, che è una parte della Macedonia et Bulgaria." According to Jireček: "Polog, jetzt Tetovo, am oberen Wardar." Serben, Vol. II, p. 6.

34 Stanisha, Reposhi and Constantine. Reposhi was a holy man, became a monk and died in the Monastery of Signa, as Musachi tells us: "Reposio predetto fù huomo de santa vita e se n' ando al Monte Sinai e si fe frate e li morse." Hopf, Chroniques, p. 295. Constantine must have died in Turkey before 1438, because neither he nor Reposhi are mentioned after that year. Stanisha, the eldest son, must have been the one who was sent as a "hostage" with contingents to help the Turks in 1410, the Serbians in 1422 and again the Turks in 1428. He is not heard of after 1445, when both he and Scanderbeg became honorary citizens of Venice. Jorga, Notes, III, p. 194

to neighboring princes[35] so that John Castrioti became the father-in-law of the most important chieftains of Northern Albania.

1. Principality. John Castrioti inherited from his father Paul only two villages, Signa and Lower Gardhi,[36] but he added to them the region of Mati,[37] and extended his territory from Prizren to Shufadaya on the Adriatic Sea.[38] He was strong enough to offer to Venice in 1411 an auxiliary corps of 2,300 horsemen for a pension of 1000 ducats a year.[39] Was Croya included in his principality? Ghin Musachi says it was not.[40] Luccari says it was,[41] and there are two documents

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35 Mara with Stefan Cernojevich of Montenegro; Angelina with Vladan Araniti, brother of George Araniti; Yella with Ghin Musachi, not of the Genealogy; Vlayka with Stefan Stresi Balsha; Mamitza with Musachi Thopia, after her father's death in 1445.

36 Hopf, Chroniques, p. 301. Signa and Lower Gardhi are situated in Northeastern Albania near the Drin River. Yastrebov, pp. 224-4, 251; Hahn, Reise, Vol. XV, p. 23.

37 Hopf, Chroniques, pp. 298, 301.

38 Thalloczy and Jireček discovered and published a trade treaty between John Castrioti and Ragusa, from which it appears that his territory extended from the Serbian border to the sea. Forschungen, Vol. I, p. 146.

39 Ljubić, Vol. VI, pp. 175-6.

40 "Croia, ch'il patre (Giovanni Castrioti) non l'hebbe." Hopf, Chroniques, p. 299.

41 "Giovanni Castrioto, Signor di Crui. . ." Luccari, Annali di Rausa, p. 86, quoted by Fallmerayer, Vol. VIII, p. 713.

which seem to confirm it.[42]

2. Religion and Politics. In religion John Castrioti was typically Albanian. He was not a fanatical adherent of any one. Or rather, he had a different one in accordance with his shifting political orientations. He was a Roman Catholic as an ally of Venice in 1407; a Greek Orthodox as an ally of Stefan Lazarevich of Serbia, from 1419-1426;[43] a Moslem as an ally of Murad II from 1430-1438;[44] a Roman Catholic again in 1438 as an ally and honorary citizen of Venice and Ragusa;[45] he died a good

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42 In 1407 John Castrioti asked the Venetians to use their influence with the Pope to prevent the annexation of the diocese of Croya by the Bishop of Alessio, because that diocese had been in his terribory for centuries. "Cum episcopatus Albanie iam sunt octingenti anni fuerit in terris et contracta sua." Ljubić, Vol. V, p. 94. Cfr. Forschungen, Vol. I, p. 138. Again Ljubić, Vol. VIII, p. 133, 1422-3, contains this note: "Quid scriptum et responsum fuit domino Johanni Castriotti circa Raguseos transeuntes per viam Scutari et Croye."

43 In 1419 John Castrioti and Balsha III are accused of persecuting Roman Catholics. Safarik, Vol. I, No. XII, p. 383; Ljubić, Vol. VII, pp. 284-5; Jorga, Notes, Vol. I, 29 May, 1419, p. 100; Gelcich, Zedda, p. 320. In 1426 John Castrioti bequeaths two villages to the Serbian Greek Orthodox Monastery of Chilandar in Mount Athos. Novakovich, year 1426, No. 62, pp. 426-468. Forschungen, Vol. I, p.

44 "In hac terra (Albania) potens Camusa (Johannes Castriota) fuit, qui Christianis parentibus ortus, parum tenax Catholicae fidei, ad Mahumetis insaniam declinavit. . . Georgius Scanderbechius eius haereditatem accepit. . ." Pius II, Asia and Europe, Chap. XV, p. 337; App., No. XI, pp . xli-xlii. This conversion of John Castrioti and his adoption of the Mohammedan name of Hamza, latinized as Camusa, is confirmed by Luccari, Annali di Rausa, second edition, Ragusa, 1790, p. 159, as quoted by Makushev, Razyskania, p.81, note 2: " Morto Camusa (Giovanni Castriota) i barbari avevano occupato Emazia o Vumestia suo patrimonio."

45 Thallóczy and Jireček, Forschungen, Vol. I, p. 142; Ljubic, Vol. IX, p. 214; Makushev, Razyskania, p. 63, note 1.

Christian in 1443.[46]

3. Relations With Turkey. John Castrioti began to flirt with the Turks in 1410, when he notified Venice that he was compelled to give them his son as a hostage.[47] The Venetians had reasons to believe he was not telling them the exact truth. In 1422 John Castrioti came back with a similar story. This time he notified Venice that he was compelled to give his son as a hostage to the Despot of Serbia.[48] As a matter of fact, he had sent his son Stanisha with an auxiliary corps to help the Serbians against the Venetians at Scutari.[49] Curiously enough, in 1426 all his four sons were with him in Albania, as is proved by the Chilandar document discovered by the Russian Grigorovich,[50] and published by the Serbian Novakovich.[51] But in 1428 John Castrioti came for the third time with a new version of the same old story: This time he notified Venice that he should not be held responsible if his son, who had become a "Turk and a Moslem", should invade Venetian territory.[52] The Venetians never believed him and

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46 "Sed quam leviter Christum deseruit, tam facile Mahumetis sacra contempsit. Rediit enim ad paternam legem, et quamvis utramque religionem contempserit, neutri fidus, Christianus tamen mori quam Turca maluit." Pius II, Asia and Europe, Chap. XV, p. 337; App., No. XI, p. xlii.

47 "Ipsum esse astrictum a Turcis et habere proprium natum in obsidem apud eos, et quotidie infestari, ut ipsos Turcos permittat per passus et loca sua descendere ad territoria et loca nostre dominationi subjecta." Ljubić, Vol. VI, p. 51.

48 "Miserat filium suum ad dominum despotum."Ljubić,Vol. XIII, p. 211.

49 Makushev, Razyskania, p. 62.
50 Forschungen, Vol. I, p. 144, note 1.
51 Ibid; Novakovich, year 1426,No. 62, pp. 467-8.
52 Jorga, Notes, Vol. I, pp. 475-6: "Si son fils, el qual e fatto Turcho e Muselman, a des ordres du Sultan pour piller les possessions de la République, Kastriota demande qu'on ne l'en rende pas responsable lui-même."

replied politely that he could use his paternal influence on his son and dissuade him from carrying out his aggressive p plans.[53] Negotiations must have followed and somehow or other the Venetians succeeded in winning him away from the Turks. In 1430 when Venice was at war with the Turks, who had captured Venetian Salonica, John Castriot sided with the Venetians and paid the penalty. He was crushed by Isak Beg Evrenoz of Scopia and so he and his sons had to become "Turks and Moslems" in order to save what they could from the catastrophe. He had also to cede a part of his principality to the Sultan but he was allowed to keep the rest as a Turkish vassal.[54] In 1438 John Castrioti recovered from this reverse and prepared a new come-back.[55] He died before he could do it. His youngest son, George Castrioti, staged the come-back for him.

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53 Ibid., p. 476: "Le sénat est d'avis que le père pourrait néanmoins donner des ordres à son fils."

54 Thallóczy and Jireček, in Forschungen, Vol. I, pp. 140-141, describe this catastrophe on the basis of Ragusan archival documents. Barletius, Vita, Book II, pp. 31-32, mentions the cession of Dibra as one of the conditions of peace imposed on John Castrioti: "Haec loca (Dibras) olim Joanni patri subjecta furere, tamen (ut jam dictum est) ab Amurathe oppressus, pacem ab eo petitam tulisset, una cum filiis obsidibus Dibras quoque ~~ad~~ pacti conditionibus tradidit."

55 Forschungen, Vol. I, pl 142; Ljubić, Vol. IX, p. 214; Makushev, Razyskania, p. 63, note 1.

C. LEGEND. The early years and the early career of Scanderbeg are shrouded in mystery. We have only a legend and a few archival documents to guide us for a period covering at least thirty-eight years, from 1405 to 1443. Here is the legend as told by Barletius[56] and repeated with a few variations by Franco.[57] John Castrioti, defeated by Murad II, was compelled to give him his four sons as hostages when George, the youngest of them, was only nine years old.[58] The four boys were educated ~~at the School of Pages in the Sultan's palace~~ as Moslems at the School of Pages in the Sultan's palace. Three of them were treacherously eliminated by poison.[59] The youngest, surnamed Scanderbeg, as a favorite of the Sultan was spared and soon became a Sandžak-Beg, a famous cavalry general in the Turkish Army.[60] When Scanderbeg's father died, Murad II annexed his principality instead of giving it to the rightful heir, Scanderbeg. That was the straw that broke the camels back. Then and there Scanderbeg decided to regain his lost principality and avenge the murder of his brothers. His opportunity came in 1443. At the battle of Nish, he helped Hunyadi to win an easy victory by deserting the Turks at

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56 Barletius, Vita, Book I, pp. 2-16.

57 Franco, pp. 2v.-5v.

58 "Vix dum enim nonum attigerat annum." Barletius, Vita, Book I, p. 3.

59 "Amurathes satis conjectans molestissimum id ei et fratribus apud se degentibus visurum, utpote qui debitum sibi imperium non iniquis votis tacite expectarent, perfidiam suam secutus, fratres primum Scanderbegi (ut fama est) occulte structis insidiis veneno absumptos, sustulit de medio." Barletius, Vita, Book I, p. 9.

60 "Sanzachi insignibus primum decoravit." Barletius, Vita, p. 4.

the critical moment. During the rout he forced the Sultan's chancellor to give him a decree to surrender Croya to him as the new governor of Albania. Then Scanderbeg killed the chancellor, rushed to Albania, seized Croya and raised the standard of revolt.

1. Poetry. Very probably Barletius and Franco got that Wild West Story from Albanian folk songs. It is bad history but it makes good poetry, as was proved by Longfellow who set to verse its climactic end and gave it a place in his Tales of a Wayside Inn.[61] Varnhagen thinks that Longfellow got the legend from Barletius and improved upon it[62] but he is wrong. The poem is derived from Franco, whose variations are faithfully reproduced by the American poet.[63] Longfellow must have also read the Turkish Annals of Leunclavius because he calls Croya by its Turkish name: Ak Hissar, the White Castle. Here is the poem: (Continued on the next page)

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61 Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, Tales of a Wayside Inn, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1891, pp. iii + 274, The Spanish Jew's Second Tale, Scanderbeg, pp. 253-258.

62 Varnhagen, Hermann, Longfellow's Tales of a Wayside Inn und Ihre Quellen, Berlin, Weidmann, 1884, viii + 160, Scanderbeg, pp. 127-131.

63 Noli, Longfellow, pp. 24-30.

The Spanish Jew's Second Tale

SCANDERBEG

From Tales of a Wayside Inn

(pp. 253-259)

by

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW

The battle is fought and won
By King Ladislaus, the Hun,
In fire of hell and death's frost,
On the day of Pentecost.
And in rout before his path
From the field of battle red
Flee all that are not dead
Of the army of Amurath.

In the darnkess of the night
Iskander, the pride and boast
Of that mighty Othman host,
With his routed Turks, takes flight
From the battle fought and lost
On the day of Pentecost;
Leaving behind him dead
The army of Amurath,
The vanguard as it led,
The rearguard as it fled,
Mown down in the bloody swath
Of the battle's aftermath.

But he cared not for Hospodars,
Nor for Baron or Voivode,
As on through the night he rode
And gazed at the fateful stars
That were shining overhead;
But smote his steed with his staff,
And smiled to himself, and said:
"This is the time to laugh."

In the middle of the night,
In a halt of the hurrying flight,
There came a Scribe of the King
Wearing his signet ring,
And said in a voice severe:
"This is the first dark blot
On thy name, George Castriot!
Alas! why art thou here,
And the army of Amurath slain,
And left on the battle plain?"

And Iskander answered and said:
"They lie on the bloody sod
By the hoofs of horses trod:
But this was the decree
Of the watchers overhead;
For the war belonged to God,
And in the battle who are we,
Who are we, that shall withstand
The wind of His lifted hand?"

Then he bade them bind with chains
This man of books and brains;
And the Scribe said: "What misdeed
Have I done, that, without need,
Thou doest to me this thing?"
And Iskander answering
Said unto him: "Not one
Misdeed to me hast thou done;
But for fear that thou shouldst run
And hide thyself from me,
Have I done this unto thee.

"Now write me a writing, O Scribe,
And a blessing be on thy tribe!
A writing sealed with thy ring,
To King Amurath's Pasha
In the city of Croia,
The city moated and walled,
That he surrender the same
In the name of my master, the King;
For what is writ in his name
Can never be recalled."

And the Scribe bowed low in dread,
And unto Iskander said:
"Allah is great and just,
But we are as ashes and dust;
How shall I do this thing,
When I know that my guilty head
Will be forfeit to the King?"

Then swift as a shooting star
The curved and shining blade
Of Iskander's scimitar
From its sheath, with jewels bright,
Shot, as he thundered: "Write!"
And the trembling Scribe obeyed,
And wrote in the fitful glare
Of the bivouac fire apart,
With the chill of the midnight air
On his forehead white and bare,
And the chill of death in his heart.

Then again Iskander cried:
"Now follow whither I ride,
For here thou must not stay.
Thou shalt be as my dearest friend,
And honors without end
Shall surround thee on every side,
And attend thee night and day."
But the sullen Scribe replied:
"Our pathways here divide;
Mine leadeth not thy way."

And even as he spoke
Fell a sudden scimitar stroke,
When no one else was near;
And the Scribe sank to the ground,
As a stone, pushed from the brink
Of a black pool, might sink

With a sob and disappear;
And no one saw the deed;
And in the stillness around
No sound was heard but the sound
Of the hoofs of Iskander's steed,
As forward he sprang with a bound.

Then onward he rode and afar,
With scarce three hundred men,
Through river and forest and fen,
O'er the mountains of Argentar;
And his heart was merry within,
When he crossed the river Drin,
And saw in the gleam of the morn
The White Castle Ak-Hissar,
The city Croia called,
The city moated and walled,
The city where he was born,-
And above it the morning star.
Then his trumpeters in the van
On their silver bugles blew,
And in crowds about him ran
Albanian and Turkoman,
That the sound together drew.
And he feasted with his friends,
And when they were warm with wine,
He said: "O friends of mine,
Behold what fortune sends,

And the fates design!
King Amurath commands
That my father's wide domain,
This city and all its lands,
Shall be given to me again."

Then to the Castle White
He rode in regal state,
And entered in at the gate
In all his arms bedight,
And gave to the Pasha
Who ruled in Croia
The writing of the King,
Sealed with his signet ring.
And the Pasha bowed his head,
And after a silence said:
"Allah is just and great!
I yield to the will divine:
The city and lands are thine;
Who shall contend with fate?"

Anon from the castle walls
The crescent banner falls,
And the crowd beholds instead,
Like a portent in the sky,
Iskander's banner fly,
Whe Black Eagle with double head;
And a shout ascends on high,
For men's souls are tired of the Turks,

And their wicked ways and works,
That have made of Ak-Hissar
A city of the plague;
And the loud, exultant cry
That echoes wide and far
Is: "Long live Scanderbeg!"

It was thus Iskander came
Once more unto his own;
And the tidings, like the flame
Of a conflagration blown
By the winds of summer, ran,
Till the land was in a blaze,
And the cities far and near,
Sayeth Ben Joshua Ben Meir,
In his Book of the Words of the Days,
"Were taken as a man
Would take the tip of his ear."

INTERLUDE.

"Now that is after my own heart,"
The Poet cried; "one understands
Your swarthy here Scanderbeg,
Gauntlet on hand and boot on leg,
And skilled in every warlike art,
Riding through his Albanian lands,
And following the auspicious star
That shone for him o'er Ak-Hissar."

The Theologian added here
His word of praise not less sincere,
Although he ended with a jibe;
"The hero of romance and song
Was born," he said,"to right the wrong;
And I approve; but all the same
That bit of treason with the Scribe
Adds nothing to your hero's fame."

The Student praised the good old times,
And liked the canter of the rhymes,
That had a hoofbeat in their sound; . . .

2. Discrepancies of the Legend. The Barletian story of the first 38 years of Scanderbeg has all the earmarks of a melodrama. It begins with the kidnapping of a child and it ends with the murder of an innocent scribe. Even Pisani, who is ready to accept the legend as a whole, is shocked by certain details and suggests a minor amendment.[64] Others are more radical and reject the entire legend.[65] Here are some of the discrepancies which make it unacceptable.

a. Arithmetic. According to Barletius, Scanderbeg

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64 ". . . .Episode, que j'ai dû supprimer en transcrivant, du secrétaire obligé, le poignard sur la poitrine, de signer l'ordre de livrer Croia auufils de Jean Castriota." Pisani, p. 191.

65 Jireček, Bulgaren, p. 368; Makushev, Razyskania, pp. 82-85.

was given as a hostage to Murad II at the age of nine.[66] That event must have taken place in 1412, since Scanderbeg was born in 1403, according to Barletius.[67] But in 1412 it was Mehmed I who reigned in Turkey and Murad II who ascended the throne not nine years later in 1421.

b. Poison. The death of Scanderbeg's three brothers from poisoning during their captivity from 1412-1443 is contradicted by both archival and literary documents. Venetian documents tell us that Stanisha, the elder brother, was still alive in 1445, when he became an honorary citizen of Venice.[68] Another brother, Reposhi, ended his days peacefully in a monastery of Signa, in Northeastern Albania, according to Musachi, a contemporary of the Castriotis.[69] There are documents contradicting other details of the legend.

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66 Barletius, Vita, Cahp. I, p. 3.

67 This date is inferred from Barletius, Vita, chap. XIII, p. 372: "Anno Domini MCCCCLXVI , extremum diem suum obiit. Fertur igitur Scanderbegus 63 annos natus, 24 sui imperii anno e vita migrasse."

68 Forschungen, Vol. I, p. 142; Ljubić, Vol. IX, p. 142; Makushev, Razyskania, p . 83.

69 Hopf, Chroniques, p. 295.

c. Education. The inner contradictions of the legend are simply fantastic. A little boy is sent to a school of Pages and Courtiers in an imperial palace, takes the full course of about fifteen years,[70] and graduates as the wildest of all cowboys and hill-billies! Or still worse, the little boy is brought up as a pious Moslem from his teens to the forties, and then he becomes one of the most fanatical Christian crusaders of all times! These and other inner contradictions are in themselves formidable enough to rule out the legend even if there were no documents pointing in another direction. Fortunately, there are such documents, which show us the way out of these mythical beginnings and which give us a more plausible introduction to Scanderbeg's career and achievements.

D. HISTORICAL PROBABILITIES. They can be summarized as follows: As a master guerrillero, Scanderbeg was so typically Albanian, that he could have learned his job so well, not in the Sultan's palace, but in the greatest School of Guerrilla Warfare in Europe, in his native Albanian mountains among his fellow highlanders. Here are some details, based on the available archival and literary sources:

1. Date of Birth. There is no reason to doubt that Scanderbeg was approximately 63 years of age when he died, as Barletius tells us.[71] His testimony is confirmed by an eyewitness, who saw him in Rome in 1466, about a year and a month before his death.[72] Therefore we can place his birth approximately in the year of 1405.

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70 Lybyer, chap. on College of Pages, pp. 73-78.

71 Barletius, Vita, Book XIII, p. 372.

72 "E homo molto de tempo passa li 60 anni." Pastor, Vol. IV, p. 88, note 1.

2. Early Years. As Jireček tells us, there is evidence and there are documents to prove that Scanderbeg was brought up in Albania and not in the Sultan's palace. Here they are:

a. Since all contemporary historians agree that Scanderbeg was given as a hostage to Murad II (1421-1451),[73] it follows automatically that Scanderbeg was not a boy of eight years[74] or nine[75] but a grown up young man of more than sixteen when that event took place.

b. Pontano, an eyewitness, tells us explicitly that Scanderbeg was a grown up young man when he was given as a hostage to Murad II.[76]

c. Two documents, in which John Castrioti and his sons as co-regents respectively buy a castle from, and bequeath two villages to, the Chilandar Monastery of Mount Athos, prove conclusively that George Castrioti Scanderbeg, whose Christian name appears in both of them, was not in the Sultan's palace but in his father's home in Albania at least until 1426, that is to say until he was at least twenty-one years of age.[77]

d. There is a probability that Scanderbeg was serving in the army of the Sultan in 1428, but the wording of the document implying it makes it clear that he was receiving

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73 Barletius, Vita, Book I, p. 2; Franco, chap. I, p. 2 v; Hopf, Chroniques, p. 274; Laonicos, chap.VII, p. 350; Pontano, Vol. II, Book II, p. 279; App., No. XXIII, p. lii; Ashik-Pasha-Zade, chap.III, p. 112; Saad-ed-Din, Vol. I, p. 361.

74 "Fanciullo di otto anni." Franco, chap.I, p. 2 v.

75 Barletius, Vita, Book I, p. 3. Volaterranus, Book VIII, p. 188; App., No. XXV, p. lv: "Georgio puero novem annorum."

76 "Georgius admodum adolescens." Pontano, Vol. II, BookII, p. 279; App., No. XXIII, p. lii.

77 Forschungen, Vol. I, p. 144; Novakovich, No. 62, year 1426, pp. 467-8; Jireček, Bulgaren, p. 368.

orders from his father rather than from the Sultan.[78] That means that Scanderbeg was living at home in Albania, that he was sent by his father only occasionally to serve with Albanian contingents in the Turkish army and that his father could order him to disregard the Sultan's orders. Otherwise, disobedience of this kind would have cost him his head if Scanderbeg was serving in the regular army of the Turks, within easy reach of the Sultan.

e. Now it is not necessary to assume that Scanderbeg became a Mohammedan in the Sultan's palace under pressure. More probably he did it under the gentle persuasion of his father, who became a "Turk and a Moslem",[79] as PiusII tells us in his neglected passage,[80] possibly after the disaster of 1930.[81] The conditions under which John Castrioti obtained peace can be read between the lines of the Ragusan documents.[82] All his fortresses were razed to the ground; two of the fortresses, probably Croya and Sfetigrad, were placed under Turkish garrisons; a slice of John Castrioti's principality, probably the region of

78 "Le sénat est d'avis que le père pourrait néanmoins donner des ordres à son fils." Jorga, Notes, Vol. I, p. 476.

79 John Castrioti's own words. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 475.

80 Pius II, Asia and Europe, chap. XV, p. 337; App., No. XXIII, p. xli-xlii.

81 Forschungen, Vol. I, pp. 140-141.

82 "Di noue qua se dice, el Turco aver tolto tute le forteze a Iuan Castrioti e quelle aver ruinate, excetto due, le qual a posto in man e guardia di Turchi, e la contrata aver renduta a Iuan, saluo alcuna particella, data a Isach." Forschungen, Vol. I, p. 141.

Dibra, was ceded to the Sultan;[83] John Castrioti was allowed to keep the rest of his principality as a vassal, paying a yearly tribute and serving occasionally with his sons in the feudal army; they all embraced Islam in order to weather the storm and save whatever they could from the disastrous defeat. Before the catastrophe, Stanisha, the older son, may have been the only one who occasionally helped the Turks with Albanian contingents,[84] but after 1430, with the exception of Brother Reposhi, all the sons of John Castrioti had to take part in Turkish expeditions whenever they were invited to do so. Still, it is quite possible that at the end of each expedition they were allowed to return to Albania and spend their vacations at home. The Ragusan documents make it clear that this disaster took place after the capture of Salonica in 1430.[85] Pontano,

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83 Barletius, Vita, Book II, pp. 31-32: "Haec loca (Dibrae) olim Joanni patri subjecta fuere, tamen (ut jam dictum est ab Amurathe oppressus, pacem ab eo petitam tulisset una cum filiis obsidibus Dibras quoque ei pactis conditionibus tradidit."

84 He seems to have helped Stefan Lazarevich of Serbia at Scutari in 1421-2 because his name is missing in the first Chilandar document. See Forschungen, Vol. I, p. 144.

85 "De nouele abiamo questo. Come avanti fo scritto, lo Turco obtegni Salonicho et obetgnudo che l'ave, parte delle sue gente mando nella Morea e parte contra le tenute e paexe de Iuan Castrioto, lequal ad esso Iuan levorno quatro forteze, zoe castelle, che gitorno per terra, et segondo se diceua, esso Iuan cerchana sego achordo." Forschungen, Vol. I, p. 140. Ibid., p.141: "Et parte della contrada e data a Turchi e parte n'e lassata al dicto Iuan. Lo imperador (Murad II) se rit[illegible]rova sotto la Janina." Spondano was the first one to guess that John Castrioti was compelled to give his sons as hostages after 1430, and that Scanderbeg was then 26 years old: "Post captam Thessalonicam Amurathes continuo victoriae cursu omnem citra Peloponesum regionem usque ad sinum Corinthiacum incredibili celeritati perdomuit. A quo, ut Joannes Castriotus. . .pacem impetraret, qui bello sustinendo imparem se prospiciebat; Croja ditionis suae Metropoli, urbe munitissima cessit; obsidesque fidei dedit filios, inter quos Georgius minimus. . .Necesse est Georgium tunc saltem viginti sex annorum fuisse." Spondano, Vol. II, year 1431, No. 31, p. 165.

Barletius and Munadžim Bashi seem to confirm it.[86]

f. Kramers tells us that in 1436 Scanderbeg was granted a military fief in Dibra.[87] This is indirectly confirmed by Ashik-Pasha-Zade, Saad-ed-Din and Volaterranus, who inform us that Scanderbeg was appointed by the Sultan as his father's successor.[88] This appointment is indirectly confirmed by the enigmatic passages of Barletius.

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86 "Verum Amoratho Turcarum imperatore Graeciam vastante universam, Georgius admodum adolescens a patre, quo res suas in pace tueretur, missus est ad illum obses." Pontano, Vol. II, Book II, p. 279; App. No. XXIII, p. lii, "Nam quum imposito Graecis jugo Amurathes Macedoniam convertisset signa. . .Joannes diutino defessus bello. . .pacem ab eo petere coactus, ea lege impetravit, ut obsides omnes filios traderet. . ." Barletius, Vita, Book I, p. 2. Yastrebov, quoting from Munadžim Bashi, or from another Turkish annalist, pl 247, note 1, says: " V 835 g. (1431) Sultan Murad, zavoevav zemli Kastriota, vzjal u nego vseh synovej dlja togo, čtoby uničtožit nasledstvennoje pravo."

87 Kramers, Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. III, p. 466. No source is given.

88 Ashik-Pasha-Zade, chap. III, p. 112; Saad-ed-Din, Vol. I, p. 361; Volaterranus, Book VIII, p. 188; App., No.XXV, p. lv: "Extincto patre ac fratre Caragusio natu majore, qui erat obses apud Adrianopolim, Amurathes ei regnum paternum tradidit." Laonicos is wrongly quoted to this effect on account of a mistranslated sentence in Latin. See Laonicos in Greek, Book V, p. 249; cfr. Fallmerayer, Vol. VIII, p. 722, note 2.

confirmed by two enigmatic passages of Barletius.[89] Soon after, in 1438 and 1439, Scanderbeg and Stanisha, who were then in Albania, became honorary citizens of Venice and Ragusa, which means that they were trying to stage a comeback with their father.[90]

3. Revolt. The opportunity came in 1443 after the defeat of Kasim Beg by Hunyadi near Nish. Scanderbeg rushed to Albania and with forged documents[91] seized Croya and raised his red banner with the black double-headed eagle, on November 28, 1443.[92]

89(a) In 1449, Barletius, Vita, Book IV, p. 112, asserts that Scanderbeg's rule in Albania began in 1438: "Millesimus his quadringentesimus quadragesimus nonus a Christi Nativitate computabatum annus, undecimus autem a tempore, quo Scanderbegus obtinuerat imperium, pridie idus Majas." (b) In his last speech from his deathbed, Scanderbeg asserts that he had been in Albania for thirty years, since 1438. Ibid., Book XIII, p. 366: Jam trigesimus peractus est annus, commilitones mei, quod impias atque nefarias Amurathis Turcarum principis manus evasi, et in regnum avitum ac paternum confugi."

90 John Castrioti died before the capture of Croya by Scanderbeg.

91 The legend dramatized the prosaic forgery of the document which enabled Scanderbeg to get hold of Croya. Luccari, Annali di Rausa, second edition, 1790, p. 159, quoted by Kortsha; p. 19, note 6: "Con lettere false diede principio della recuperazione della sua patria; cfr. Gegaj, p. 46, note 2, quoting the same passage from Luccari, edition of 1605, p. 94. Barletius, Vita, Book I, p. 13: " Fallaces literas ad Crojae magistratum extorsit." Mariana, Vol II, Book XXII, chap. X, p. 43: "Literis nomine Imperatoris confictis Crojam urbem paternae ditionis. . . improvisus occupat."

92 "Auguratus est autem Scanderbegus prima auspicia imperii sui quarto Kalend. Decemb. anno ejusdem Domini MCCCCXLIII." Barletius, Vita, Book XIII, p. 372. By a strange coincidence, on the same 28th day of November, the independence of Albania was proclaimed in 1912.

CHAPTER VI

SCANDERBEG AGAINST TURKEY AND VENICE

(1443-1450)

A. LEAGUE OF ALESSIO. In Scanderbeg's time Albania was divided into several tiny principalities, or rather mountain cantons, which were completely independent of each other but whose inhabitants were united by a common language, a common religion and a common class feeling. They were free peasants in a world of Balkan serfs; they were Roman Catholics and Albanians in a world of Orthodox Greeks and Slavs or Moslem Turks; they were always ready to unite and resist enslavement by foreign feudal lords. They had done so under the Balshas in 1368 against the Serbians and now they rose against the Turks under Scanderbeg,[1] the more willingly as Pope Eugene IV (1432-1447) had invited them to take part in the crusade initiated by Hunyadi.[2]

1. Restoration. The unanimous support of the people enabled Scanderbeg to reoccupy his paternal state in a few

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1. "Armati fere omnes inventi ducem tantummodo et auctorem aliquem certis animis expectantes." Barletius, Vita, Book I, p. 17.

2. "Interea Eugenius IV audita fama hunc (Scanderbegum) per nuncios et literas ad nostros et fidem pristinam traducere conatur. Ille confestim obtemperat; ac rebellans tot pro religione res gessit quot antea contra, ac de improvisu Crojam, Sfetigradum, Stellusium, Modrisiam et Ternacium, oppida in ea regione occupat." Volaterranus, Book VIII, p. 188; App., No. XXV, pp. lv-lvi.

days.[3] As a matter of fact, his task consisted mainly in capturing a chain of fortresses from Croya to Sfetigrad, which were held by Turkish garrisons. As we have already seen, the countryside had been left under the control of his father, John Castrioti,[4] and very probably was inherited by Scanderbeg after his death with the consent of the Sultan.[5] After the fall of Croya the small garrisons of Petrella, Petralba, Stellusi, Modrici and Ternaci surrendered without any resistance. Only Sfetigrad on the Turkish frontier had to be captured after a short siege by Moses of Dibra, a nephew of George Araniti.

2. Conversion. Immediately after the capture of Croya Scanderbeg returned to the faith of his forefathers.[6] After all, as Fallmerayer remarks, he had never ceased to be a Christian and was only nominally a Mohammedan under the influence of his father after the disaster of 1430.[7] That his conversion was not a diplomatic one like those of his father,

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3 Magno describes this rapid conquest: "In zorni tre conquisto degli altri luoghi in Albania et fesse potente, digando essere herede de Balsa et voler il passe fu de quello." Jorga, Notes, Vol. III, p. 191, note 2. Cfr. Franco, chap. II, p. 5 v.: "Et fra quattro giorni ricupero tutto il stato paterno."

4 "Di nove qua se dice el Turco aver tolto le forteze a Iuan Castrioti e quelle aver ruinate, excetto due, le qual a posto in man e guardia di Turchi, e la contrata aver renduta a Iuan. . ." Forschungen, Vol. I, p. 141.

5 "Extincto patre ac fratre Caragusio natu majore, qui erat obses apud Adrianopolim, Amurathes ei (Scanderbego) regnum paternum tradidit." Volaterranus, Book VIII, p. 188; App., No. XXV, p. lv. Cfr. Ashik-Pasha-Zade, chap. 111, p. 112; Saad-ed-Din, Vol. I, p. 361.

(Footnotes 6 and 7 on next page)

was proved by the bloodbath which followed it. All the Moslem colonists and converts of Croya and the other fortresses were invited to choose between Christianity and death. Very few answered the invitation. Most of them refused Christianity and paid the penalty. They were ruthlessly massacred.[8] This was not a useless act of cruelty. In accordance with the fashion of the time, it was a declaration of a Holy War, written in blood, a war from which there was no retreat. Scanderbeg was burning his bridges behind him. After this cruel purge he returned to Croya and celebrated Christmas by christening his nephew Hamza,[9] a son of a Moslem lady whom his brother

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6 "E Scanderbegh si fè subito Christiano." Hopf, Chroniques, p. 274. Cfr. Diplomatarium Ragusanum, p. 484: "Essendo eciamdio convertito a la santa fede Scanderbeg, signor in Albania, suppeditata la porta di Machometto et abbandonati li Turchi. . ."

7 "Von Skanderbeg selbst wird vorausgesetzt, dass er im Herzen niemals aufgehört habe, ein Christ zu sein." Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 4. Cfr. Barletius, Vita, Book I, p. 8: "In cute enim tantummodo et exteriori habitu macumetanas ineptias, intus christiana praecepta tenacissime servabat."

8 "Et così fece amazzare tutti li Turchi che non si volsero battizzare." Franco, chap. II, p. 5 v. Cfr. Barletius, Vita, Book I, pp. 17-18.

9 Barletius, Vita, Book I, p. 27.

Stanisha had married in Turkey.[10] Some fourteen years after, this nephew returned to Islam, in which he had been brought up as a child.

3. Turkish Surname. But even after his conversion George Castrioti kept his Turkish name of Scander-Beg[10a] and became a famous champion of Christendom under it, while his family name of Castrioti was all but forgotten. He was so proud of that Turkish name that he always added it to his signature as a surname.[11] The reasons for this are not far to seek. The Turkish title of Beg implied the rank of a general, which Scanderbeg had as holder of a military fief in Dibra and as commander of an Albanian contingent in the feudal army of the Turks.[12] Certainly he considered the

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10 Barletius, Vita, Book I, p. 13, makes him the son of Reposhi, whom he considers as the elder brother: " Amasa nepos fuit egregiae indolis adolescens, quem Reposius, postea Caragusius dictus a Turcis ante ~~xxxx~~ insidias Ottomani uxore ducta susceperat." Cfr. Volaterranus, Vol. VIII, p. 188: ". . . fratre Caragusio natu majore. . ." But the Chilandar document of 1426, in Forschungen, Vol. I, p. 144, and Novakovich, No. 62, pp. 467-8, gives Stanisha as the elder brother, while Musachi, in Hopf's Chroniques, p. 295, tells us that Reposhi was a holy man and died as a monk in Signa.

10a Scander-Beg means "Lord Alexander".

11 Scanderbeg in his letters to King Ferdinand of Naples and to the Prince of Taranto respectively signs himself: "Giorgio Castrioto, decto Scanderbego" and "Georgius Castrioctus, alias Scanderbego." Makushev, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. II, pp. 118 and 124 respectively.

12 Barletius, Vita, Book I, p. 4; Franco, chap. I, p. 2. Pisko, p. 9, thinks that the title of Sandžak-Beg corresponds to that of brigadier general. Cfr. Lybyer, Chap. IV, Officers of the Feudal Spahis, p. 103.

title of Beg more important than his family name, which was nothing but the name of a poor village, and by far higher than the modest courtesy title of a highlander chieftain, latinized as dominus, which was given to any hill-billy of some distinction without any feudal connotation. The adoption of this surname goes far to prove the correctness of Musachi's contention that the family of the Castriotis was of humble origin.[13] This is very important because it brings Scanderbeg nearer to his people and shows him as he really was - a peasant leader. He remained a modest peasant leader even after he became the most famous general of his time. An eyewitness who saw him in Rome in 1466 tells us that he went there "with a few horses and as a poor man", in sharp contrast to the splendid garments of the cardinals who were sent by the Pope to receive him.[14]

4. Convention. Scanderbeg knew that he could not face the wrath of the Sultan alone, so he tried to form alliances with the neighboring chieftains and the Venetian Republic. A convention was held at Alessio, a Venetian possession on the Adriatic seacoast.

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13 "Sapiate com' l' avo del Signor Scanderbeg. . . non ebbe più de due casali. . ." Hopf, Chroniques, p. 301.

14 ". . . et incontra li forono mandate le famiglie de cardinali. E homo molto de tempo passa li 60 anni; cum puochi cavalli è venuto e da povero homo." Pastor, Vol. II, p . 361, note 4.

It was attended by the following chieftains: Paul and Nicholas Ducaghini of Ducaghin in Northeastern Albania;[15] Lek Zacaria Altisferi of Dagno near Scutari;[16] Peter Spani of Shala and Shoshi in Northern Albania;[17] Lek Dushmanni of Zadrima in Northwestern Albania;[18] George Stresi Balsha of Misia between Croya and Alessio;[19] Andrea Thopia of Scuria between Tirana and Durazzo with his nephew, Tanush Thopia;[20] George Araniti Thopia Comneni of Canina and Shpata;[21] Theodor Corona Musachi of Berat in Southern Albania;[22]

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15 On the family of Ducaghini, see Hopf, Chroniques, p. 533; Hahn, Reise, Vol. XVI, 121-123; Gegaj, pp. 12-16.

16 Hopf, Chroniques, p. 534; Gegaj, pp. 22-23.

17 Hopf, Chroniques, p. 535; Gegaj, p. 24.

18 Hopf, Chroniques, p. 535; Gegaj, pp. 24-25.

19 Hopf, Chroniques, p. 534; Hahn, Reise, Vol. XVI, pp. 126-131; Gegaj, pp. 16-22.

20 Hopf, Chroniques, p. 532; Hahn, Reise, Vol. XVI, pp. 106-109; Gegaj, pp. 8-12.

21 Hopf, Chroniques, p. 535; Hahn, Reise, Vol. XVI, pp. 109-115; Gegaj, pp. 48-58.

22 Hopf, Chroniques, pp. 270-340 and 532; Hahn, Reise, Vol. XVI, pp. 97-102; Gegaj, pp. 25-27.

Stephan Cernojevic of Zabiak in Montenigro, with his sons;[23] and other chieftains from Northern and Southern Albania.[24] The convention was held on March 2, 1444[25] in the Cathedral of Saint Nicholas at Alessio;[26] It was decided to form a League of Albanian Princes and Scanderbeg was unanimously elected commander-in-chief of the army of the League.[27] Each member of the League was left free to determine the amount of financial and military assistance, which he was to contribute.[28] The income of the League was estimated at about 200,000 golden ducats.[29]

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23 Hopf, Chroniques, pp. 534; Hahn, Reise, Vol. XVI, pp. 123-124. "Stephan Cernojevich hatte drei Sohne, Iwan, Božidar und Andreas mit dem Zunamen der Tapfere Arwanit (Albanian)." Fallmerayer, Vol. VIII, p. 701.

24 The regions represented in the convention of Alessio coincide roughly with modern Albania plus Montenegro in the North and minus a wedge from Argirocastro to Valona in the South, which was definitively lost to the Turks in 1433-5.

25 The date is given by Antivarino, in Biemmi, Book I, p. 30: ". . .ch' era pei due di Marzo. . ."

26 ". . .Radunati insieme dentro la chiesa principale della città. . ." Biemmi, Book I, p. 31. ". . .Omnes, qui ad consilium evocati, in templo majori in unum congregati sunt. .." Barletius, Vita, Book II, p. 35.

27 "Unum sibi imperatorem illum (Scanderbegum) atque ducem elegerunt." Barletius, Vita, Book II, p. 40. "Fù dunque con sommo universale consentimento stretta la proposta lega, creando e salutando Scander-begh per loro capitano Generale contra i Turchi." Biemmi, Book I, p. 38. Cfr. Franco, chap. III, p. 6 v., also Hopf, Chroniques, pp 274. Lavardin, Book II, chap. II, p. 37, adds on the margin: "Scanderbeg esleu-roy d'Albanie."

28 Barletius, Vita, Book II, p. 40; Biemmi, Book I, pp.38-39.

29 "Scanderbegi proventus in Epiro ducenta annua aureorum millia excessisse." Barletius, Vita, Book II, p. 40.

5. Venetian Observers. The attitude of Venice was typical. They sent observers to the convention to watch and report.[30] They took no obligation whatever. Still, by allowing Scanderbeg to hold his convention on Venetian Territory, they seemed to encourage the Albanians in their struggle against Turkish domination.

B. THE FIRST ROUND. Upon his return to Croya Scanderbeg began his preparations for the first encounter with the Turkish army, which he knew was coming.

1. The Army. His armed forces never exceeded the number of 10,000, mostly light cavalry.[31] Only one fourth of them, sometimes less, came from the allied princes, whom Scanderbeg did not trust very much.[32] It was a national army, recruited by conscription.[33] According to Melchior Michaelis[34] and Franco,[35] Scanderbeg had also a standing army of about two or three thousand picked cavalry men, whose names and deeds he knew by heart, and whose meals and sleeping quarters he shared as a common soldier. Barletius and Biemmi mention, without giving any details,

30 "La Republica di Venezia, che avea sotto il suo dominio molte città dell' Albania, non avea mancato di spedire i suoi Deputati, ma colla commissione di osservar solamente, che cosa si trattasse e si risolvesse dentro l'Assemblea, e non di prendervi alcun impegno." Biemmi, Book I, pp. 30-31. " Non defuere christianissimi et invictissimi Principes Veneti, quorum tunc imperio (ut de Scodra mea taceam) pleraque haud ignobilia oppida et non minima Epiri pars poterat gloriari." Barletius, Vita, Book II, p.35.

31 "Nec umquam majus militiae robur quam sena equitum ternaque peditum expeditorum milia hostibus opposuit." Melchior Michaelis, quoted by Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 8, note 2.

32 "Da Principi alleati non volle prendere se non poco ajuto; il quale servisse piuttosto per mostra e prøuova della confederazione." Biemmi, Book I, p. 40.

(see next page for footnotes 33, 34 and 35)

without giving any details, Scanderbeg's "praetoria cohors",[36] a kind of a personal guard battalion, composed entirely of the youth of Croya.[37] Unquestionably it was this small standing army of a few thousand veterans, which won all of Scanderbeg's victories.[38]

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33 "Quare tollenda est omnis mora, P.C., abjiciendae jam nostrae istae consultationes, quas bellorum necessitates expectare non possunt, peragenda est omnis provincia, edictum proponendum, percensenda capita, exercitus impigre scribendus, ne quum hostis in conspectu erit, et tubarum clangor ad milites evocandos auribus obstrepet, nos tum sera belli consilia quaeramus." Barletius, Vita, Book II, p. 39. "Nam quum universam provinciam ad recensenda capita obequitasset. . ." Ibid. Book XIII, p. 366.

34 "Habuit in comitatu, cum perpetuas aleret copias, lectissimorum hominum amplius duo millia. Horum nomina factaque memoriter tenere consueverat, summusque erat illi honor, cui ipse discumbrens de patera sua propinasset." Melchior Michaelis, quoted by Fallmerayer. Vol. IX, p. 8. Cfr. Jovius, Elogia, p. 232.

35 "Almeno tre mila e cinque cento boche di continuo mangiavano il pane suo. . . Sedendo in grado li suoi principali ordinatamente alla mensa sua, et dando qualche volta da bere a qualcuno di quelli col suo proprio calice. . ." Franco, chap. XXIV, p. 26 v.

36 Barletius, Vita, Book I, p. 49.

37 "E nel centro erasi posto Scander-begh con Aidino circondato da un battaglione di cavalleria ch' era tutto formato della gioventù di Croja, avendo voluto usare questa distinzione a quei cittadini di fargli servire per guardia alla sua persona in tanto cimento." Biemmi, Book I, p. 46. "Utrinque Crojensis nominis miles, utrinque Crojensis eum juventus circumdabat." Barletius, Vita, Book II, p. 48.

38 "Delectu enim veterani militis, non numero victorias parari praedicabat." Jovius, Elogia, p. 232.

2. The Commander. Fallmerayer's description of Scanderbeg[39] needs only a few amendments to become perfect. Scanderbeg was both a strategist and a soldier.[40] Tall and athletic,[41] he took a leading part in the actual fighting - now with his mace and now with his curved sword.[42] According to the testimony of an eyewitness, who served in the same army with him, he alone was more formidable to the enemy than his entire cavalry contingent.[43] Like Hannibal,

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39 Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, pp. 1-8.

40 Ibid., p. 3.

41 Ibid., p. 5. "Statura celsa, proceraque bracia in homine pulchriora non visa, collum robustum obstippumque, ut laudatur in Athletis, humerorum mira latitudo, color candidus, latenti velut purpura suffusus." Barletius, Vita, Book I, p. 6. "Vir militari disciplina, corporisque atque animi viribus aeque clarus. . ." Pontano, Vol. II, Book II, p. 280; App., No. XXIII, p. lii. "Hic igitur et indole et virtute crevit heroica et robore corporis incomparabile." Volaterrano, chap. VIII, p. 188; App., No. XXV, p. lv. "Erat autem usque adeo excelsa statura, torosque habitu et robustis artubus ac naso prominente decenterque incurvo ut magni proculdubio Herois effigiem repraesentaret." Jovius, Elogia, p. 233. "Era Scanderbeg di grande statura e formosa. . ." Franco, chap. VIII, p. 12.

42 "Exerto brachio nunc clava, nunc falcato ense pugnantem." Sabellico, Book IX, p. 757; App., No. XXIV, p. liv. Cfr. Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 5.

43 "Totque interim ac tanta belli facinora edentem, ut merito plus unus, quam tota equitum ala hostibus formidabilis videretur." Sabellico, Book IX, p. 757; App., No. XXIV, p. liv.

he was a cavalry general and his main weapon was his swift light cavalry, moving with lightning speed.[44] Those who saw him at the head of his picked cavalry battalion could never forget that magnificent array.[45] His energy was inexhaustible - he was equally unaffected by heat and cold - but he needed enormous amounts of food and wine to keep in shape.[46] Yet five hours of daily sleep on the hard floor were sufficient for him.[47] Simple and modest in dress, like Hannibal and Napoleon, he wanted his warriors to shine in gold and silk, richly fed and well paid.[48] He had no siege artillery and was helpless against fortresses,[49] which he could seize only by a ruse de guerre, as he did with Croya in 1443 and Trani in 1461.

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44 Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 7.

45 "Era un' egregio spettacolo a vederlo quando uscia armato alla testa delle sue truppe. . ." Biemmi, Book VI, pp. 484-5. "Solebat Hohannes Coccius, pater meus. . . adolescenti mihi enarrare vidisse se Epirotam hominem, qui cum sexcentis equitibus Ferdinandi nomine in Apuliam transiverat. . ." Sabellico, Book IX, p. 757; App., No. XXIV, p. liv.

46 "Cibi vinique capacissimus dicitur fuisse." Barletius, Vita, Book I, p. 22. Cfr. Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 7.

47 "Non si spogliava mai l'armi, anzi così vestito et armato dormiva in terra sopra un tapeto, et gli bastava dormire solamente cinque hore et non più." Franco, chap. VIII, p. 12 v. Cfr. Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 7.

48 Ibid., p. 7.

49 Ibid., p. 8.

On the other hand, like Ghin Bua Shpata of Arta, he was the terror of besieging armies, which he knew how to throw off their balance with his blitz raids.[50] As a rule his tactics were those of hit-and-run until he could lead the enemy forces into a trap. Then he jumped on them and cut them to pieces. Though he spent all his life in battles and was reputed to have killed thousands with his own hand, he received ~~of~~ a wound only once - on his shoulder- and was believed to be invulnerable.[51] His audacity in challenging and grappling with vastly superior forces is simply prodigious and sounds so unreal that no historian should be blamed for approaching his history with doubts and misgivings. The temptation to dismiss the story as a legend is very natural but it should be resisted until all the facts are carefully studied.

3. Battle of Torviolli. Ali Pasha, one of the ablest generals of Murad II, was entrusted with the task of punishing Scanderbeg. With an army of about 25,000, mostly cavalry, he invaded Albania in June, 1444. Scanderbeg, with his army of about 10,000, trapped him in the narrow valley of Torviolli in lower Dibra and won his first brilliant victory on June 29, 1444.[52] Some 7,000 Turks were killed and 500 prisoners were

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50 Fallmerayer, Vol. VIII, p. 704.

51 Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 10.

52 The date is given, as usual, not by Barletius but by Biemmi, Book I, p. 54, according to Antivarino: " E accade ai 29 di Giugno, la memoria poi del qual giorno fù nell' avvenire celebrata dagli Albanesi come sicuro principio della salute loro."

taken. The Albanian losses were about 2,000 dead and 2,000 wounded.[53] Barletius concludes: "Lions on that day were led by lions."[54] According to Biemmi, this victory was greeted with great rejoicings by Pope Eugene IV, by King Ladislaus IV of Hungary and by Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy.[55] A Hungarian envoy was sent to Croya to conclude an alliance with Scanderbeg.[56] The epilogue of this victory was typical. Two days after the rout of the Turkish army, Scanderbeg let his warriors loose to loot the neighboring Turkish regions and collect their salary - each man for himself; because, as some wisecrackers used to say, the enemies territory was Scanderbeg's treasury.[57] The soldiers returned laden with nondescript trophies of war and driving before them huge flocks of sheep, goats, cows and horses.[58] During the journey home the poets improvised songs of victory, while the satirists poured their sarcasm in verse on Ali Pasha, his Begs and his soldiers, who allowed themselves to be defeated by such a miserable bunch

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53 The figures are those given by Biemmi, Book I, p. 55, according to Antivarino. Barletius, Book II, pp. 49-50, as usual exaggerates the enemy losses and reduces those of the Albanians: "Caesa sunt eo praelio barbarorum ad 22 millia, virorum duo millia capta, signa militaria 24. Ex victoribus pauci cecidere, vix 120 feruntur, licet vulneratorum major longe fuerit numerus."

54 "Leonum eo die leones ductores fuisse." Barletius, Vita, Book II, p. 50.

55 Biemmi, Book I, p. 59

56 Ibid., pp. 59-60; Marinesco, p. 21.

57 "Ita laetus quisque sequebatur ad accipienda promerita diutinae militiae stipendia. Aliud enim nihil tum a duce poscebat militaris cupiditas nisi quod quisque sua manu cepisset. Hinc joculariter saepe vicini Principes aerarium Scanderbegi agrum hostilem appellabant." Barletius, Vita, Book IV, p. 97. Cfr. Biemmi, Book II, pp. 143-144.

58 Barletius, Vita, Book II, pp. 50-51; Biemmi, Book I, p. 58.

of horsethieves! With these songs and jokes the victors arrived at Croya, where they were received with thunderous shouts of jubilation by the celebrating crowds.[59]

This important victory is indirectly confirmed by Venetian archival sources.[60]

C. VENETIAN WAR. Immediately after the victory of Torviolli the attitude of the Venetian Republic changed radically. Evidently a strong Albanian League was not in the interest of the Venetians, who were afraid that they would lose their Albanian possessions. Therefore they did everything in their power to stop and, if possible, break up the League. Fearing that the League would expand to the South, they immediately opened negotiations with the Turks in order to get from them peacefully the cities of Vallona, Canina and Argirocastro before Scanderbeg could seize them.[61] In their opinion, Scanderbeg, and not the Sultan, was the most dangerous enemy of Venice in Albania. Obviously, the Torviolli

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59 "Deridebant duces ignaviam suorum, quod ex fortissimis bellatoribus abactores pecorum, et ex Albani nominis propugnatoribus, ovium custodes facti essent, accusabantque ultro nunc hos, nunc illos alternis cavillantes verbis. Quid si Alybassa cum fracti exerciti reliquiis vos tales nunc ex aliquo loco aspiceret, tam sordida trahentes impedimenta et avari praemia militis? Nonne puderet magis, magisque cum tam pudendi victoris, et crebro suorum ignaviam increparet, quod ab hujus modi superati fuerint, et bellicam laudem cesserint vobis? Ita jugi laetitia, festivus miles per multiplices jocos, cantusque vise labores levabat, donec castrorum suorum custodias pro vallo prodeuntes ingenti clamore salutarunt." Barletius, Vita, Book II, p. 51

60 "Im Juli 1444, Venedig aufforderte den Bailo von Korfu, im October den Golfcapitan, mit den Turken Befehlshabern in Vallona, Kanina und Argirocastro Unterhandlungen anzuknupfen, um friedlich diese wichtigen Punkte zu erlangen bevor sie eine Beute des Albanischen Bundes zu werden." Hopf, Griechenland, Vol. 86, p. 124.

61 Hopf, Griechenland, Vol. 86, p. 124.

victory had impressed the Venetians so profoundly that they lost all sense of proportion.

1. A Wedding and a Battle. The year of 1445 began with a wedding. Mamitza Castrioti, Scanderbeg's youngest sister, was married to Musachi Thopia.[62] The wedding took place in Musachiana, between Croya and Durazzo, on January 26.[63] All the chieftains of Albania were invited to attend. During the carousal that followed the ceremony, Lek Ducaghini and Lek Zacaria of Dagno started a quarrel, which developed into a real battle between their followers. It was a case of "Cherchez la femme!" And the lady in question was Irere Dushmani of Zadrima with whom both had fallen in love. She happened to be there, the two lovers lost their heads, and rushed at each other's throats. Count Vrana[64] and Vladan Yuritza,[65] who tried to separate them, were severely wounded, the former in his arm and the latter on his head. Then it was decided to let the two lovers fight it out. The battle

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62 Musachi Thopia had divorced his first wife, Zanfina Musachi, a sister of Ghin Musachi, the author of the Genealogy, who denounces Scanderbeg as responsible for this family intrigue. The divorced Zanfina was remarried to Moses of Dibra and got her revenge by driving him to desertion and rebellion. "Scanderbeg sparti questo matrimonio del predetto Signor Musachi e Signora Zanfina Musachi predetta, non mirando nè a Dio nè a cosa nulla nè alli figlioli che quelli aveano, e lo donò alla Signora Mamiza sua sorella." Hopf, Chroniques, p. 298.

63 The story of the Homeric Battle of Musachiana is told only by Biemmi, Book II, p. 84, according to Antivarino.

64 "Urana comes nobillissimi generis qui Simonis Altisveri quondam Albaniae domini nepos erat." Biemmi, Book III, p. 153, note 1, in a Latin quotation from Antivarino.

65 "Scanderbego sanguine conjunctus erat." Barletius, Book XI, p. 336. "Conte Giurizza suo nipote valorosissimo." Franco, chap. XXII, p. 24.

seemed to go in favor of the Ducaghini group, when Lek Zacaria rushed against his rival and, with a mighty stroke, stretched him flat on the ground. At this critical moment Count Vrana and Vladan Yuritza intervened and put an end to the battle. One hundred and five dead and about two hundred wounded covered the battlefield. This wedding must be borne in mind because it is closely connected with the Venetian War, the disaster of Berat and the defection of Moses of Dibra.

2. War on Two Fronts. Two years after the wedding of Mamitza, Lek Ducaghini got his revenge by murdering his rival, Lek Zacaria, in an ambuscade. Boža, Zacaria's mother,[66] sought the protection of the Venetians and handed over to them the city of Dagno. On the other hand, Scanderbeg claimed the city in the name of the League and war broke out between Venice and Scanderbeg in 1447. The Venetians were badly defeated in the Battle of Drin on July 23, 1448, where they lost 2,500 dead and 1000 prisoners.[67] After trying in vain, to find an assassin, who would murder Scanderbeg for an annual pension of 100 ducats,[68] they turned to the Turks for assistance.[69]

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66 According to Biemmi, Book II, p. 103, a sister, of Count Vrana.

67 Again Biemmi, Book II, p. 119, gives us the date according to Antivarino: "Questo fu il successo della giornata che cimentò Scander-begh contra i Veneziani avvenuta nel giorno 23 di Luglio, la quale diede tanto splendore alla sua spada come invitta contra qualsivoglia inimico, quanto tutte la altre battaglio che vinto avea contra i Turchi." This victory is confirmed by Volaterrano, chap. VIII, p. 188: "Venetorum exercitum ad Drinum fluvium accurentem fugavit."

68 Ljubić, Vol. IX, pp. 268-269.

69 "Volumus, quod ipsum comitem (continued on next page)

The Turks came and were crushed by Scanderbeg at the Battle of Oranik on August 14, 1448.[70] Durazzo, Scutari and Dagno were on the point of surrendering to Scanderbeg.[71] Then the Venetians sent Venieri to open negotiations with him.[72] Peace was concluded on October 4, 1448.[73] It was a compromise, because Scanderbeg could not fight a war on two fronts.

(Scutari) horteris et juves. . . ut dicte gentes Teucri cito conducantur in paisum Albanie ad ruinam illius Scanderbeghi perfidi et dari. . . illis gentibus Teucri omnes favores possibles, quibus mediantibus dictus Scanderbego non modo de Albania sed de mundo ejiciatur." Ljubic, Vol. IX, p. 270.

70 The date of October 14, given by Antivarino in Biemmi, Book II, p. 135, is certainly wrong because peace with Venice was concluded on Oct. 4, after the victory of Oranik and the retreat of the Turks, which must have occurred in August or September. See Ljubic, Vol. IX, p. 283, October 10, 1448: "Intelligatur preterea quod Turcus ob oppressione Scanderbegi se levavit, per quam occasionem faciliter ipse Scanderbegus se vertere posset contra loca nostra. . . " The victory of Oranik is confirmed by the papal archives, according to Kayser, p. 215. Cfr. Pastor, Vol. II, p. 246.

71 Romanin, Vol. IV, pp. 242-243; Jorga, Notes, Vol III, p. 227, note 1, according to Magno; Ljubic, Vol. IX, p. 270; Makushev, Razyskania, pp. 87-88.

72 See Ljubic, Vol. IX, pp. 283-285, for instructions given by the Venetian Senate. Romanin, Vol. IV, p. 243, remarks: "Tanto era duplice, perversa la politica di quei tempi, di cui, come ognun vede, Macchiavelli un secolo dopo non fu l'inventore, ma solo l'ebbe svelata agli occhi di tutti." Cecchetti, p. 3, replies: "L'osservazione e un po ingenua. . . non ha dubbio che la onesta e la schiettezza nella politica presso tutti gli stati fu, e sarà sempre, un desiderio."

73 The text of the treaty of peace is to be found in Ljubic, Vol. IX, pp. 282-283.

3. Treaty of Peace. The peace treaty, signed in Scanderbeg's camp,[74] stipulated that Dagno would remain Venetian, but as a compensation Scanderbeg would receive: (1) an annual pension of 1400 ducats; (2) a loan of 1500 ducats in order to join Hunyadi against the Turks; (3) an annual tax exemption for 200 horse-loads of salt from Durazzo; (4) some trade privileges for George Araniti; (5) a refuge in Venetian territory in case Scanderbeg and his allies were driven out of Albania by the Turks;[75] (6) two scarlet garments every year, in return for which Scanderbeg would give to Venice two hares and two altered falcons.[76] But this treaty did not establish real peace between Venice and Scanderbeg. A kind of an undeclared war went on, and on two occasions, in 1452 and 1457, threatened to become official but it was always Venice which yielded. The Venetians learned their lesson from the "formidabile",[77] as they called him, and never openly challenged him again. Peace with Venice really came fifteen years later in 1463, when Venice was at war with the Turks and needed Scanderbeg badly as an ally, but even then

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74 "In exercity magnifici Scanderbegi apud Alexium." Ljubić, Vol. IX, p. 282. The negotiators were Bishop Andrew of Croya and Abbot George Pellini of Saint Mary of Rotezo, for Scanderbeg; and Paolo Loredano, Count of Scutari, and Andrea Venieri, proveditor of Albania, for Venice.

75 This privilege was granted to Scanderbeg several times, in 1438, 1445, 1448, 1457, and 1463, after each quarrel and reconciliation. It must have had only a symbolic value, because even Zar Dušan of Serbia obtained it in 1340. See Jirecek, Serben, Vol. I, p. 379; Ljubic, Vol. II, pp. 75-79, Nos. 144, 145, 148.

76 As a token recognition of Venetian suzerainty.

77 Romanin, Vol. IV, p. 243.

the Venetian proveditors were allowed to sabotage him at every step until he died in 1468.[78] No peace nor truce was concluded with the Turks.[79] After their defeat at Oranik, they withdrew and made preparations for their next invasion, which came continually, year in and year out, since 1443. Anyhow, as Biemmi remarks, the year 1448 was doubly glorious for two brilliant victories, - one against the Venetians and the other against the Turks.[80]

D. SULTAN VERSUS SCANDERBEG. The annual Turkish incursions which Scanderbeg had to meet year after year were not as irregular and unimportant as one might suppose. They were a regular part of the tactics which the Turks used to apply in border provinces, which they had marked out for conquest. Those incursions served to soften up resistance and prepare the ground for a major expedition scheduled to come after those preliminary operations.[81] Munadžim Bashi gives us a list of such annual expeditions into Albania with the names of their commanders,[82] thus vindicating Scanderbeg's biographers, who hardly skip a year without a battle or two. These annual

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78 Makushev, Razyskania, p. 111.

79 "Nulla pace cum ipso Scanderbego vel tregua facta." Ljubić, Vol. IX, p. 284.

80 "Incomminciò il sequente 1448, il quale fu doppiamente glorioso a Scander-begh, avendo egli acquistato due illustri vittorie, una contra i Veneziani, l'altra contra i Turchi." Biemmi, Book II, pp. 106-107.

81 Lybyer, p. 29.

82 Yastrebov, p. 249.

incursions and their demoralizing effects are masterfully described by Ghin Musachi: Then began the continuous wars of the Turks in Albania, in which many chieftains and gentlemen died; and the forces of the Turks were always increasing while ours were decreasing; almost all the young men of Albania were killed; there were only a few old men left; and their forces were exhausted, and their states were dwindling; still we were defending ourselves as best we could.[83] Again, the army that came after this softening process was more tremendous than men had ever seen before. It was the greatest, the most efficient army of the time, and it was also the entire army of the Turks concentrated on one point, while all the other parts of the Empire were left almost undefended.[84] Success was made inevitable and almost axiomatic by that sort of military strategy, which combined superiority of numbers, machines and efficiency.

1. Hunyadi's Cossovo. Scanderbeg was Hungary's ally long before 1443, as Barletius implies.[85] It was only natural that he should continue to be so during his entire career.[86] He could always help Hunyadi by diverting Turkish forces and by raiding Turkish territory. On

83 "Per il che incominciaro le continue guerre de' Turchi in Albania, nelle quali ce morsero de' molti Signori e gentilhuomini; . . . ma la forza del Turco sempre cresceva, e le nostre diminuivano. . . Li Signori giovani d' Albania erano tutti morti; et erano rimasti questi Signori; . . . tutti questi erano vecchi, e li più de loro declinati de forze e de stato; . . . noi però ce defendeamo al meglio possibile. . ." Hopf, Chroniques, pp. 273-274.

84 Lybyer, chap. IV, Section on Indivisibility of the Army, pp. 111-113.

85 "Scanderbegus contemplatus tempus, quo initum jampridem consilium, desideriumque ex animi sententia exsolueret, summo studio cladem Turcis procurabat." Barletius, Vita, Book I, p. 12.

86 See p. 68, note 28, of (continued on next page)

raiding Turkish territory. On two occasions he tried unsuccessfully to join forces with Hunyadi, in Varna in 1444, according to his biographers,[87] and in Cossovo in 1448, according to Venetian, Ragusan and Hungarian sources.[88] Both battles were fought and lost without him. Bonfinius thinks that with him the battle of Kossovo might have been won for the Christians.[89] But the Despot of Sabia, father-in-law of Murad II, refused passage to Scanderbeg's forces and all the latter could do was to punish the Serbian Despot by raiding his territory.[90] In the eyes of the Sultan this was a new provocation over and above the old ones and he felt he could not allow them to go unpunished.

2. Capture of Sfetigrad. Murad II had many grievances against Scanderbeg. After their defeat in 1430, John Castrioti and his sons were converted to Islam and became Turkish vassals. They had lost all their fortresses and the region of Dibra but they were allowed to keep the rest of their territory as a military fief, pay an annual tribute and serve with the Albanian

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this Dissertation; also Munadžim Bashi as quoted by Yastrebov, p. 383.

87 Barletius, Book II, pp. 51-57; Biemmi, Book I, pp. 59-65.

88 Ljubić, Vol. IX, p. 283; Chronica Ragusina, pp. 291-298; Bonfinius, p. 471; Villari, pp. 229-230.

89 Bonfinius, p. 471: ". . .Turcis pariter occurrerent, ut a fronte tergoque vexati facile vincerentur. Quod haud ab re fuisset, si Sandarobechus (sic), quem illi barbare Alexandrum dominum vocant, praelio in tempore adfuisset."

90 Barletius, Vita, Book II, p. 58; Biemmi, Book I, p. 64.

contingents in the feudal army of the Sultan. For a short period, from 1430-1436, they complied but after 1436 they began to drift back towards the Pope and Venice, Ragusa and Hungary. After John Castrioti's death, Scanderbeg was allowed by the Sultan to inherit the entire principality as a fief, with the exception of the key fortresses. And what happened? Scanderbeg openly revolted after the defeat of Beglerbeg Kasim Pasha at Nish, seized Croya, Sfetigrad and the other fortresses, massacred the Moslems, raided the neighboring regions of the Sultan and his Serbian father-in-law, and joined the Crusade against Islam. That was too much even for a lenient Sultan like Murad II.[91] There was room for an understanding with the old, diplomatic John Castrioti, who switched so light-heartedly from one religion to the other, but there was no chance for a compromise with a fanatical one-track-minded Crusader like Scanderbeg.[92] The Sandžakbegs sent to punish him were not equal to the task, so Murad II had to go himself to give a terrible lesson to this naive hill-billy, who dared to challenge the mightiest of all rulers of his time, very probably without realizing what he was doing. So Murad II

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91 Laonicos, chap. VII, p. 375.

92 The contrast between father and son is masterfully described by Pius II, in Europe and Asia, chap. XV, pp.337-338; App. , No. XI, p. xli: "Sed (Camusa, Johannes Castriota) quam leviter Christum deseruit, tam facile Mahumetis sacra contempsit. . . Georgius Scanderbechius ejus haereditatem accepit. . . aetatem paene omnem in armis pro Christi nomine pugnando consumpsit. . . Solusque quodammodo regionem illam in Evangelio Christi continuit. . ."

at the head of his army, went to Sfetigrad,[93] besieged it, cut its water-supply[94] amd captured it after an arduous siege of about three months in July 1449.[95] There under the walls of Sfetigrad, and not in the Imperial Palace of Adrianople, Murad II and Scanderbeg got acquainted with each other. They had the surprise of their lives. There, for the first time, Scanderbeg saw the entire Turkish army arrayed before him. There Murad II besieged for the first time a fortress with an army of guerrilla demons on his back. Then each one of the two leaders realized what he was up against. But neither of them was the sort of man to back up. They promised to meet again. They did meet again under thewalls of Croya in 1450.

3. First Siege of Croya. Scanderbeg tried in vain to recapture Sfetigrad in September and October. He gave the job up as hopeless after a one month's siege. In 1450 another blow came from the South. Berat was lost to the Turks.[96] Each year brought a new disaster: Dagno in 1448, Sfetigrad in 1441, Berat in 1450. And now the Sultan was coming to get Croya. The people were terror-stricken.[97] Scanderbeg needed

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93 Sfetigrad, in Lower Dibra; in Albanian Kŭtet i Shente; in Turkish Kodžadžik.

94 The Barletian legend of the dead dog thrown into the only well of the fortress by a traitor and the refusal of the garrison to drink from that water is too naive to be accepted as the reason for the surrender of the fortress of Sfetigrad to the Turks. But the legend suggests the real reason, namely that the Turks succeeded in cutting the water-supply and compelled the garrison to surrender.

95 The capture of Sfetigrad by Murad II is confirmed by Laonicos, Book VII, p. 351; Anonymous of Giese, pp. 94-95, and App., No. XXVII, p. lviii; Urudž, p. 121; Jorga, Notes, p. 227.

96 Biemmi, Book III, pp. 224-225.

97 Ibid. pp. 227-231.

all his bishops to inspire courage and hope - even though it was hope against hope! Each one of them came to tell the army and the people, assembled in an open field, of the heavenly visions they saw with their own eyes, which went far to prove that Scanderbeg would be victorious and the Sultan would be smashed to pieces.[98] Scanderbeg himself had seen a similar vision: Saint George, the Patron Saint of Albania, appeared to him in shining armor and handed him a flaming sword with which to smite the enemies of Christendom.[99] Who could have any doubts about the outcome of the struggle after all these happy omens? When the people were reassured by these apocalyptic dreams, Scanderbeg went on with his preparations. Count Vrana, as commander of a garrison of 1500,[100] was entrusted with the defense of Croya. Of course he was assisted by all the able-bodied citizens, while all the others - old men, women and children - were evacuated and sent to the mountains or the seacoast. On May 14, 1450, Murad II, accompanied by his twenty-year old son, Mehmed, appeared before Croya with his entire army of Europe and Asia.[101] He had brought with him metal with which he built ten enormous guns, hurling huge 600 pound stone shells.[102] He immediately summoned Count Vrana to surrender the fortress.[103] The Count refused so the Sultan offered money. This was

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98 Ibid. pp. 229-230

99. Ibid., pp. 228-229.

100 "In eo preterea assunt viri 1500 ad defensionem aptissimi. Ex quo creditur dummodo inter se sunt viri, qui fidem servent, exercitus predictus contra civitatem illam (Crojam) frustra moliri." Diplomatarium Ragusanum, p. 473. Cfr. Ibid., p. 485: ". . .La città de Cruya, la qual esso Turcho non potè vincere per l'asperità de' monti e forteza del dicto luogo, et per la fidelità delle persone che erano in essa, che se portono virilmente, se deliberò el dicto Turcho levarse della dicta cittade de Cruya."

(Footnotes 101, 102, and 103 on next page)

contemptuously rejected so the siege began.[104] The walls were battered by the huge guns, a breach was made and a general assault was ordered. It was repelled. Count Vrana himself was severely wounded. Scanderbeg, with an army of 8,000, harassed the besieging army night and day, disrupted the communications, intercepted the convoys and cut to pieces detachments sent against hom.[105] As Laonicos remarks: The defenders fought

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101 "Amurathes convocans Asiae Europaeque exercitus universos. . ." Laonicos, Book V, p. 350, "Déjà auparavant, le Sultan Morat, père du Sultan actuel, leur avait fait la guerre avec une grande armée et avec des forces imposantes. . ." Critoboulos in French, Book III, Par. 93, and App., No. XXVIII, p. lx. "Teucrorum Imperator cum ejus filio in partibus Albanie validissimos tenet exercitus, et contra Crojam civitatem Scanderbechi castramentatus est; quam totis viribus et acerrimo bello oppugnare atque opprimere conatur." Diplomatarium Ragusanum, p. 473, Aug. 13, 1450.

102 "Conflari enim jussit, postquam castra posuit contra dictam civitatem, ex metallo, quod secum deferri fecerat, bombardas duas, quarum major, sicuti ver relatibus habiimus, proicit lapidem librarum quadringentarum." Diplomatarium Ragusanum, p. 473. "Longum id opus fuit, quindecim amplius dierum spacio, decem confectae dispari aliquantulum magnitudine, quatuor aequales, quae sexcentarum amplius librarum pondo saxa jaciebant, reliquae seducentorum, harum quatuor cum duabus majoribus locatae, quae moenia Tyrannam versus Orientem spectant." Barletius, Book VI, pp. 161-162. "Giammai i Turchi avean avuto per l' addietro in alcun attacco di Piazza tanta quantita di cannoni di batteria, e d' una tale grossezza." Biemmi, Book IV, p. 239.

103 Biemmi, Book IV, p. 238.

104 Ibid.,pp. 260-261; Barletius, Book VI, pp. 178-179.

105 "Castra quotidie infestabat, nec illum sinebat aliquo momento quiescere, sed ita assidue adoriebatur, invadebat, infestabat, et instar torrentis, qui ex magnis et inundantibus pluviis ex montibus descendens, omnia secum rapit, prosternit, atque evertit; sic Scanderbeg quoque in Turcica, et hostilia castra alio semper et alio irrumpens latere, cladem, damna et jacturas maximas inferebat." Barletius, Book XII, p. 354. Cfr. Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 51: "Mit 8,000 Veteranen im Waldgebirge Tumenishti gelagert gönnte er dem Feinde keine Ruhe, war bald nahe, bald fern, erschien im Rücke des Heeres wo und wann es die Türken am wenigsten vermutheten, nahm Zufuhren weg und überfiel einzelne Abtheilungen, griff jetzt bei Tag, jetzt bei Nacht, jetzt allein, jetzt zugleich mit den belagerten das feindliche Lager an, kam und verschwand wie der Blitz."

desperately and Scanderbeg was always present wherever his assistance was needed.[106] During the five months that this epic struggle was going on, the Venetians were making money selling food and ammunitions to the Turks.[107] The Albanians were furious. They killed some of the merchants and confiscated their merchandise. War with Venice was threatened. But the Venetians yielded. They ordered the Count of Durazzo to help the Albanians and not the Turks.[108] Early in October Scanderbeg made a desperate move: He offered Croya to the Venetians. They refused it.[109] On October 26, the Sultan raised the siege and returned to Adrianople. And so the visions of the Bishops really came true. The Sultan was defeated.[110] He withdrew, leaving several thousand dead under the walls of Croya. And Fallmerayer concludes: Thus ended the first act of the great Albanian tragedy.[111]

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106 "Nec tamen superare potuerunt oppidanos, qui praeter spem pugnabant." Laonicos, Book VII, p. 335. "Semperque presens erat, ubicumque ejus opera desiderabatur." Ibid., Book VIII, p. 433.

107 Biemmi, Book IV, p. 256; Ljubić, Vol. VI, p. 4: "Si ha lettere d'Albania, che il Turco si trova a campo sotto Croia, che Scanderbeg si difende valorosamente; e che se il conte di Scutari non somministrasse farine e pane fresco al Turco, questi avrebbe levato il campo." Also Magno, quoted by Jorga, Notes, Vol. III, pp. 260-261.

108 Biemmi, Book IV, pp. 257-260; Magno, quoted by Jorga, Notes, Vol. III, pp. 260-261.

109 Makushev, Razyskania, p. 90; Jorga, Notes, Vol. III, p. 260: "Le 23 novembre, le sénat repond aux lettres du 14 octobre d'Augustin de 'Renerio', proveditour de Dagno, qui annongait que Scanderbeg avait offert a la Republique 'per illum abbatem' Croia, qu'il cedera en cas de refus aux Turcs. Venise veut bien reconcilier Scanderbeg avec le Sultan; elle a appris avec satisfaction la fin du siège de Croia, mais elle prie Scanderbeg de garder Croia pour lui-même."

(Footnotes 110 and 111 on next page)

110 The failure of Sultan Murad II to capture Croya is confirmed by the Anonymous of Giese, p. 98; Urudz, p. 123; Laonicos, Book VII, p. 335; Critoboulos in French, Book V, Par. 75, and App., No. XXVIII, p. lxix: " Déjà auparavant le père du Sultan (Mehmed II) avait essayé de différentes manières, par assaut, par des canons lançant des pierres, et par un long siège de s'en rendre maître, mais en vain." Scanderbeg, in his letter to the Prince of Taranto, writes on the siege of Croya: ". . . Contra tanto podere la defesi et conservai, fin che con danno et vergogna li Turchi se levarono et con poca gente raquistai quello, che molti inimici in longo aviano guadagnato." Makushev, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. II, p. 122.

111 Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 53: "Mit dem Abzuge der Türken von Croja war der Erste Akt im grossen Albanesen-Drama ausgespielt."

CHAPTER VII

SCANDERBEG AND ALPHONSE V AGAINST MEHMED II

(1451-1458)

A PERIOD OF CRISES. The Rumanian scholar, Constantin Marinesco, who wrote a scholarly monograph on this period, is certainly wrong in calling it the most brilliant part of Scanderbeg's career.[1] It is rather a period of crises between two climactic triumphs, that over the first pair of expeditions led by Sultan Murad II in 1449-1450 and that over the second pair of expeditions led by Sultan Mehmed II in 1466-1467. Scanderbeg had just weathered the first storm and was preparing feverishly to meet the second one. During this period of transition one crisis followed closely upon the heels of the another, some of them severe enough to engulf a lesser man than Scanderbeg. The first crisis came soon after Murad II raised the siege of Croya and returned to Adrianople, where he died at the end of January, 1451.[2] Scanderbeg returned triumphantly to Croya and became overnight the most famous general of his time.[3] With a handful of about 10,000 warriors, of whom only one third counted as a real army, he

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1 Marinesco, p. 42; cfr. p. 57, note 127, of this paper. Gegaj, p. 87, agrees with Marinesco; cfr. p. 57, note 128 of this paper.

2 Barletius, Vita, Book VI, p. 186, makes him die under the walls of Croya: "Post haec dicta obmutescens, dimidium fere ejus diei in angustia spiritus consumpsit, tum obortis ante oculos tenebris, petitam tot Christianorum odiis animam exhalavit." Very probably Barletius was misled by Volaterrano, Book VIII, p. 188, and App., No. XXV, p. lvi, who gives that impression: "Crojam quatuor jam menses obsidebat, tum moritur. . ." Spandugino, in Hopf, Chroniques, p. 334, copies Barletius. As a matter of fact, Murad II died in Adrianople after a wild carousal, like Alexander the Great, in 1451. (continued on next page)

had repelled a mighty host about ten times more numerous than his own,[4] led by a great war-lord with the best trained officers and the most modern artillery of that time.[5] Scander-beg's contemporaries were simply amazed by his extraordinary achievement and could hardly find words to express their admiration.[6] But the price he paid for it was rather high because, as Anatole France once remarked, glory is very expensive. Everything around him lay in ruins. The walls of Croya were battered by the huge guns beyond recognition; the countryside from Sfetigrad to Durazzo was devastated by the invaders as well as the defenders, who applied the tactics of scorched earth;[7] thousands upon thousands were killed and maimed by six years of continuous intensive warfare. Money was needed for reconstruction, for relief, for salaries, for reorganization and for defense. Who would provide that money? The League of Alessio, of course.

See Chalcondylas, Book VII, p. 198; Ducas, Chap. XXXIII, p. 128.

3 "Così terminò quest' anno 1450, in cui Scander-begh acquistossi la gloria e la riputazione del più eccellente Guerriero del suo secolo." Biemmi, Book IV, p. 285; Cfr. Jireček, Serben, Vol. II, p. 193: "Skender Beg wurde dadurch einer der berühmtesten Männer der Zeit."

4 "Omnibus satis comparatis, et copiis jam certo numero perfectis, 160 pugnatorum millia fuisse omnes convenint." Barletius, Vita, Book VI, p. 158. "Un Uffiziale Turco che fu fatto prigione sul fine dell' assedio dichiarò che da principio non passavano il numero di cento mila. Al che poi aggiungendo i guastatori, i vivandieri, i bagaglioni, e quella bassa gente, ch' è solita seguir l' armate non sono lontano dal credere che potessero in tutto arrivare al mentovato numero di cento e sessanta mila." Biemmi, Book IV, p. 234.

5 Lybyer's book, published in 1913, marks an epoch. Only after that year did historians begin to have an idea of the Turkish army in the XV and XVI centuries. (continued on next page)

But that League also had been smashed to pieces, like everything else. Some chieftains, like the Spanis, the Dushmanis and the Altisferis,[8] had left the League since the Venetian War and the rest, including George Araniti,[9] had deserted, one after the other, right and left, to the Turks or the Venetians, during the sieges of Sfetigrad and Croya in 1449-1450.[10] Very few, mostly close relatives of Scanderbeg, remained loyal to the bitter end, and even some of the latter were wavering. How many of them would be able to stand another shock? Was there at least a gleam of hope that the Turks would not come back? There was certainly none.

Cfr. p. 70, notes 32-35, of this paper.

6 "Cum his saepissime barbarorum copias suis longe majores, conserto proelio, fudit fugavitque." Sabellico, Book IX, p. 757, and App., No. XIV, p. liv. "Cum ille semper parva manu ingentes hostium catervas funderet, ac fugaret." Volaterrano, Book VIII, p. 188, and App., No. XXV, p. lvi. "Obstitistis enim cum parvis admodum copiis multis et innumeris Teucrorum gentibus, civitatem et oppida vestra illesa preservastis contra impetum et molem tanti apparatus, ex quo apud Deum premia eterna consequemini, apud reges, principes totumque orbem immortalem laudem et gloriam. . ." Ragusa to Scanderbeg, in Jorga, Notes, Vol. II, p. 460, and App., No. XIX, p. xlviii.

7 "Appigliossi secondo la consueta sua franchezza e confidenza al partito suggeritoli dal Conte Urana e Vladenio Giurizza, suoi intimi amici; e fu di disertare, e spogliare tutto il paese colla stessa forma che avea tenuto al tempo dell' invasioni d' Amurate, commandando ai villici di ritirarsi co' viveri, bestiami, e ogni lor effetto dentro le citta e fortezze, senza lasciar alla campagna cosa che potesse servir di nutrimento al nimico. . ." Biemmi, Book V, p. 356. "Et in breve tempo tutto fu ridotto ne' luoghi chiusi, e murati, tagliato, e distrutto cio che restando al di fuori potea giovare al nimico." Ibid. p. 357.

8 Biemmi, Book II, pp. 102-3, 105, 110

9 "Arrianite già destinato suo suocero aveagli intimato che non aspetasse più da esso sovvenimento di sorta alcuna, se non avesse prima adempito alla promessa di sposare sua figliuola, ricusando di accettar le raggioni ch' egli opponea a tali sue premure." Biemmi, Book III, p. 226. Cfr. Hahn, Reise, Vol. XVI, p. 113.

10 (footnote 10 on next page)

1. Mehmed II. Murad I[1] was succeeded by his son, Mehmed II at the age of twenty-one. The son shared the humiliation of his father under the walls of Croya, because he had to accompany him in all his expeditions.[11] Therefore it was an axiomatic certainty that he would return to Albania to wipe off the shame of 1450. There was another reason for it. He considered himself as the successor of the Roman emperors[12] and dreamed of capturing the capitals of the East and the West, Constantinople and Rome. Croya was in the way and had to be reduced. Mehmed II came very near realizing his imperial dream. Only death stopped him. He expired in 1481 just when his armies landed at Otranto on their way to Rome.

2. Alphonse V. It was very probably Count Vrana Altisferi who showed Scanderbeg the way to Naples. The famous defender of Croya had served in the army of Alphonse[13] and thus came to be called "Count",[14] which was nothing but an Italian translation of the courtesy title of chieftain, which he shared with every highlander of any distinction.

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10 Ibid., p. 227; cfr. Diplomatarium Ragusanum, p. 485: ". . . siando accordati col detto Turcho li detti colligati de Schandarbegh. . ."

11 Laonicos, Book VII, p. 351; Diplomatarium Ragusanum, p. 437; Barletius, Vita, Book V, p. 142; ibid., Book VI, p. 162; Biemmi, Book IV, p. 234; Ashik-Pasha-Zade, Chap. 119, p. 123.

12 See Oratio Sangundini, in Makushev, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. I, pp. 295-297.

13 "Conte Urana, il quale avea fatto piu campagne nell' armate d' Alfonso Re di Napoli. . ." Biemmi, Book I, p. 47. Cfr. Sagredo, p. 93.

14 Cfr. Cerone, Vol. XXVIII, year 1903, p. 174: "Arianite Comneno, Conte in Albania." Also Zurita, Vol. III, p. 322: "Aranito Connonevili, que era conde en Albania. . ."

The relations between Alphonse and Scanderbeg became more intimate in 1448 when both were fighting Venice on opposite sides of the Adriatic Sea.[15] Their alliace was only natural since Turkey and Venice were their common enemies. Scanderbeg had sought in vain the support of the Venetians in 1449[16] and 1450.[17] He offered to place Croya and himself under their protection. They refused in both cases. Consequently, there was nothing left to him but to turn to Alphonse. He consented to receive him under his protection on March 26, 1451, at Gaeta on the following conditions:[18] (1) Scanderbeg and his relatives surrendered their principalities and the City of Croya to a vice-roy of Alphonse;[19] (2) They promised to pay to Alphonse the tribute which they were expected to pay to the Sultan as soon as they would recover their territories from the Turks with the assistance of Alphonse;[20] (3) all territories

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15 Marinesco, pp. 24, note 1, 26-27.

16 Ljubić, Vol. IX, pp. 301-302, year 1449, April 21.

17 Makushev Razyskania, P. 90; Jorga, Notes, Vol. III, pp. 259-260.

18 A copy of the treaty was obtained from Rubio y Lluch by Thallczy, who gave it for publication to Cerone, Vol. XXVIII, year 1903, pp. 172-172. It was signed by Bishop Stephan and the Dominican Nicola de Berguzzi for Scanderbeg and by Arnaldo Fonolleda for King Alphonse. Bishop Stephan signed in Greek. He was probably a Uniat Bishop, not an Orthodox, as Marinesco, pp. 63-64, thinks. Cfr. Jorga, Notes, Vol. I, pp. 474-475, Aug. 14, 1428: "Haec sunt quae fuerunt translata de greco in latinum per dominum Admoratum et presbiterum Dimitri, ambaxiatores magnifici domini Yvani Castrioti."

19 Marinesco, pp. 77-78; Zurita, Vol. IV, p. 29.

20 The tribute mentioned here is (continued on next page)

won from the Turks would belong to Alphonse who would grant to Scanderbeg and his relatives whatever fiefs he might choose; (4) Scanderbeg promised to go personally and do hommage to Alphonse as soon as he had recovered his lost territories from the Turks;[21] (5) Scanderbeg and his relatives promised to buy salt only from Naples; (6)Alphonse confirmed the privileges of the City of Croya and the Albanian chieftains.[22] Later on Alphonse concluded similar treaties with George Araniti, Ghin Musachi, George Stresi Balsha, Peter Spani, Paul Ducaghini, Musachi Thopia, Peter of Himara, Simon Zanebisha and Carlo Tocco of Arta.[23] With this network of treaties the League of Alessio was reorganized under King Alphonse of Naples with Scanderbeg as Captain General of the Crown of Aragon.[24] With the financial and military assistance of King Alphonse, however inadequate, Scanderbeg succeeded in surviving the crises of this period. A token garrison of about 100 Catalan soldiers under the vice-roy Ramón d'Ortofá took nominal possession of the fortress of Croya and remained

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what Scanderbeg used to pay to the Turks as Sandžakbeg before 1443 and what some of his allies and relatives had agreed to pay when they surrendered during the first siege of Croya. See Diplomatarium Ragusanum, p. 485: ". . . et siando accordati col detto Turcho li detti colligati de Schandarbegh." Cfr. Criteboulos in French, Book III, Par. 93, and App., No. XXVIII, p. lxi. The tribute, paid by Scanderbeg as Sandžakbeg, was six thousand ducats a year, if Scanderbeg tells the truth to the Venetians, who did not seem to believe him. See Ljubić, Vol. IX, 1449, April 21, p. 302.

21 Marinesco, p. 43

22 The confirmation of these privileges appears in a document published by Thallóczy and Jireček, Forschungen, Vol. I, pp. 134-135, 147-151.

23 Marinesco, pp. 84,87,89,112; Zurita, Vol. IV, p. 29.

24 Nagy-Nyary, Acta Estera, No. 75, year 1461,pp.116-117. Cfr. Jorga, Osmanen, Vol. II, p. 137.

there until after 1468.[25] After each victory Scanderbeg sent to Alphonse, as a token tribute, trophies of war, flags, steeds and prisoners taken from the Turks. No trace of any tribute paid in money by Scanderbeg is to be found in the Neapolitan archives. On the contrary, he received from Alphonse an annual pension of 1500 ducats[25A] along with the Venetian pension of 1400, as he needed both of them very badly. So after all the treaty of Gaeta proved to be very advantageous to Scanderbeg in the long run and he always felt grateful to Alphonse for interpreting it so magnanimously. The treaty was supposed to prepare the ground for a crusade, which Alphonse was planning and which he never carried out. Consequently, the letter of the treaty was never insisted upon and its results were highly beneficial for Scanderbeg in this period of crises.

3. Wedding. According to Antivarino and Barletius, Scanderbeg long resisted all proposals of marriage.[26] He had his reasons. He was at least forty-six years old, had spent most of his time with his soldiers and had no time for domestic life. But in 1451 the situation was so critical that he had to win back George Araniti, who had deserted him in his hour of need and gone over to the Venetians in 1450.[27] He could win him only by marrying his daughter.[28] He consented, after first striking a hard bargain.[29] The dowery was so high that

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25 Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, Vol. I, p. 90.
25A Marinesco, p. 79.
26 Barletius, Vita, Book VI, pp. 145-6; Biemmi, Book III, pp. 203-204.
27 Hahn, Reise, Vol. XVI, p. 113.
28 Biemmi, Book III, p. 226.
29 Scanderbeg's delegate for the marriage contract was his

(continued on next page)

Araniti's three sons were furious and refused to attend the marriage ceremony,[30] which took place on April 26, 1451. We have no details about the exact amount of dowry, which made so much bad blood, but it may have involved money as well as territory. Araniti's sons were not the only ones absent from the wedding. The Ducaghinis were not there either. And Scanderbeg's nephew and heir apparent, Hamza Castrioti, who was there, did not look very pleased. It was certainly a marriage de raison! The happy bride's name was Andronica, according to Barletius and Musachi, Marina, according to Antivarino.[31] Perhaps she had both names.[32]

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brother-in-law, Musachi Thopia. See Barletius, Book VII, p. 195; Biemmi, Book IV, p. 284. Ghin Musachi's father was Araniti's delegate. See Hopf, Chroniques, p. 275.

30 "E anche i fratelli della sposa non vollero intervenir alle nozze, perche erano altamenti sdegnati contra l'eccessiva dote che lor malgrado avea voluto stipular il padre." Biemmi, Book IV, p. 285. "Dos ad arbitrium soceri relata, et eo statuente accepta, digna quam et ille daret, et hic acceperit." Barletius, Book VII, p. 196.

31 "Non indigna eo patre puella Donica, forma elegantissima." Barletius, Vita, Book VII, p. 195. "Della predetta Signora Maria e Signor Arainiti Comnino nacquero otto figlie femine; la prima fu nominata Signora Andronica. . . . . Questa Signora Andronica prima figlia hebbe per marito il Signor Scanderbego. . ." Hopf, Chroniques, p. 284; cfr. ibid. p. 275. "Marina, figliuola d'Arrianite." Biemmi, Book IV, p. 285. "Bellissima et virtuosissima figliola di Aranit Comnino, che si chiamava Doneca." Franco, chap. XIII, p. 17, Cfr. Gegaj, p. 81, note 4.

32 Biemmi, Book III, p. 203, note 1.

4. The Ducaghinis. Next to the Castriotis, the neighboring Ducaghinis were the most powerful chieftains of Northern Albania.[33] The Venetians knew it and always tried to drive a wedge between the two neighbors.[34] The feud had been going on since the wedding of Mamitza Castrioti, on account of Irene Dushmani. The Ducaghinis suspected that Scanderbeg took the side of Lek Zacaria and succeeded in winning Irene's heart for him.[35] To the old suspicions new ones were added - a plot to murder Scanderbeg was discovered, and everybody felt that the Ducaghinis had a hand in it.[36] The tension was so great that civil war was threatened. The Bishop of Drivasto was delegated by the Pope to bring about a reconciliation.[37] He was successful in his mission. The Ducaghinis proved to everybody's satisfaction that they had had nothing to do with the plot. Then the suspicions fell on Moses of Dibra, Hamza Castrioti, George Stresi Balsha, the sons of Araniti, and even on Venice, each one of whom was quite capable of such a crime. Finally it was whispered that Scanderbeg had found out who the guilty party was but could not disclose his name for various reasons.[38]

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33 Biemmi, Book I, p. 30; Barletius, Vita, Book I, pp.34-35.

34 "Sumus enim informati quod sine Duchainis ipse Scanderbegus nobis longe impotentior est." Ljubić, Vol. IX, p. 285.

35 ". . . Erano sdegnati contra Scander-begh per aver prestato uno special favore al matrimonio trattato da Zaccaria con Jerina." Biemmi, Book II, p. 110.

36 Biemmi, Book IV, p. 290.

37 Ibid., p. 298.

38 Ibid., p. 299.

5. The Berat Disaster. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 struck terror into the hearts of both Venetians and Neapolitans. They reached some kind of a temporary understanding. As a result of this, the proveditor of Alessio was ordered by Venice to accompany Scanderbeg to Rome and Naples.[39] During this visit, Alphonse and Scanderbeg reached an agreement on the campaign of Berat. A Neapolitan contingent of about 2000, with siege artillery, was sent to reinforce Scanderbeg's expeditionary force of about 12,000.[40] In July, 1455, Berat was blockaded, the walls were battered and a breach was made. The garrison offered to surrender after a truce of eleven days, if no assistance were forthcoming in the meantime. It was decided by the War Council to grant the truce and wait for the surrender. In the meantime, Scanderbeg left for an expedition against a neighboring fortress, while the soldiers were allowed to entertain themselves as best they could.[41] Losing all sense of discipline, they soon became an unruly mob of picnic revelers. They were surprised by a Turkish army of 40,000 cavalrymen, led by Issa Beg Evrenos[42]

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39 Marinesco, p. 67, note 2; Hopf, Griechenland, Vol. 86, p. 125; Makushev, Razyskania, p. 94; Chalcondylas, Book VIII, p. 432. Ljubić, Vol. X, No. XXV, Oct. 9, 1453, p. 18.

40 Marinesco, p. 99, admits that the information given by Barletius on the Berat disaster agrees with the archival sources. Cf. Makushev, Razyskania, pp. 95-96; Makushev, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. II, pp. 127, 148-149, 150-151; Pisko, pp. 138-139.

41 Biemmi, Book V, pp. 316-318; Barletius, Vita, Book VII, p. 223; Laonicos, Book VIII, p. 433.

42 Biemmi, Book V, p. 318; Barletius, Vita, Book VIII, p. 225; Laonicos, Book VIII, p. 432.

and were cut to pieces. About half of the besiegers, including the commander Musachi Thopia,[43] were literally massacred. The rest fled in disorder. The Italian contingent was completely annihilated.[44] The approaching night saved the situation. Fortunately, Issa Beg Evrenos did not exploit the the full the victory he had won. He returned to Constantinople satisfied with the results he had achieved around Berat. His soldiers were allowed to take as souvenirs heads of the massacred Albanians, which they sold to the Constantinople urchins to play football with in the streets.[45] This disaster was played up by the Venetians, who urged all the chieftains to desert Scanderbeg.[46] Moses of Dibra went over to the Turks and was naturally accused of having invited the enemy to save Berat for Turkey.[47] Fortunately, the people remained loyal to Scanderbeg and did not follow the disloyal chieftains.[48]

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43 Biemmi, Book V, p. 320; Barletius, Vita, Book VIII, p. 232.

44 Biemmi, Book V, p. 322; Barletius, Vita, Book VIII, p. 332; cfr. chap. VII, note 40, of this paper.

45 "Tum reliqua spolia, ac bellica ornamenta exposita, nec non capita occisorum, quae diximus, ubi vendita auro palea est, passim ad pedes vulgi projecta et jactata joculariter a pueris sunt." Barletius, Vita, Book VIII, p. 239.

46 Marinesco, p. 101: "Elle (Venise) incitait également les Albanais à se soulever contre lui et à se soumettre plutôt aux Turcs. Venise leur promettait même son aide." Cfr. Makushev, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. II, p. 151.

47 Biemmi, Book V, p. 314.

48 Barletius, Book V, p. 235.

6. Moses of Dibra. Close upon the heels of the Berat disaster came the desertion of Moses Araniti Thopia Comneni, nephew of George Araniti, better known as Moses of Dibra,[49] because he was entrusted with the command of the army guarding the Dibra frontier. The shock was more profound than that of the Berat catastrophe,[50] because Moses was considered the best general of Scanderbeg's army. It was he who captured Sfetigrad in 1444 after a protracted siege. The reasons for his defection were obvious. Nobody thought that Scanderbeg could survive the Berat defeat and everybody around was leaving the sinking ship. The only thing about which the deserters hesitated was whether they should go East to the Turks or West to the Venetians. Moses of Dibra, Hamza Castrioti, Nicholas and Paul Ducaghini[51] went over to the Turks; George Araniti[52] and Stefan Cernojevich[53] went over to the Venetians. The latter did not worry much about the direction the Albanian deserters were taking so long as it

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49 "Moses qui a Dibris dictus est." Barletius, Vita, Book VII, p. 208.

50 "Fattosi dunque palese e certo il tradimento di Moise, fu tale il rammarico e il turbamento negli Albanesi, che quasi superò quello della disgrazia di Belgrado." Biemmi, Book V, p. 326.

51 Hopf, Griechenland, Vol. 86, p. 133; Makushev, Razyskania, pp. 100-101.

52 Hopf, Griechenland, Vol. 86, p. 134; Marinesco, p. 112.

53 Jireček, Serben, Vol. II, p. 232; Ljubić, Vol. IX, Sept. 28, 1452, pp. 450-451.

was away from Scanderbeg. Very probably they preferred to see them run over to the Turks and return with Turkish armies against their former commander-in-chief. They actually encouraged them to do so.[54] They hoped to liquidate Scanderbeg through civil war and Turkish aggression. Undoubtedly Lady Zanfina, the wife of Moses, must have had a hand in this desertion. She had a grudge against Scanderbeg, who took away her first husband and married him to his sister, Mamitza Castrioti.[55] According to Ghin Musachi, all these desertions were due to the fact that Scanderbeg was annexing the principalities of all these semi-feudal, or rather patriarchal chieftains, and they had nothing left but to turn over to the Turks or the Venetians for protection.[56] Ghin Musachi's contention is confirmed by certain passages of Barletius, which Fallmerayer interpreted in that sense without reading

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54 ". . . E che nuovamente Veneziani havevano confortato a quelle terre del Re in Albania che se levassero della sua obedientia e se dassero al Turco perche loro li defenderiano." Makushev, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. II, p. 151; cfr. Makushev, Razyskania, p. 97; Marinesco, p. 101: "Elle (Venise) incitait également les Albanais à se soulever contre lui et à se soumettre plutôt aux Turcs. Venise leur promettait même son aide."

55 Hopf, Chroniques, p. 296.

56 "Tolse anco al Signor Moisè Comnino il stato suo, quale era in la Dibra." Hopf, Chroniques, p. 300.

Ghin Musachi's Genealogy, which was not available to him.[57] Musachi and Fallmerayer seem to be right. It was only natural for Scanderbeg to get rid of those centrifugal chieftains, annex their cantons, and unify the country against both Turkey and Venice under the protection and with the support of Alphonse of Naples. Anyhow, Moses came back with a Turkish army of about 15,000 cavalrymen and was defeated by Scanderbeg in Lower Dibra on May 19, 1456.[58] He returned to Croya, as a repentant sinner. Scanderbeg pardoned him and reinstated him.[59] Curiously enough, he served Scanderbeg loyally for the rest of his life and died a martyr's death some ten years after.

7. Hamza Castriotë. In 1456, George Stresi Balsha, son of Scanderbeg's sister, Yella, sold the frontier fortress of Modrichi to the Turks for 30,000 silver ducats.[60] He tried

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57 "Skanderbeg mochte vielleicht schon jetzt fühlen dass ohne compactere Einheit des vielgetheilten Albaniens der Kampf gegen die Turken mit Erfolg nicht fortzuführen sei, und erkannte in der Mediatisirung der souveränen Theil-fürsten das einzige Rettungsmittel für das bedrohte Land." Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 68.

58 "La mattina del seguente giorno (era il 19 di Maggio) amendue l'armate si posero in ordine di battaglia." Biemmi, Book V, p. 334. This victory is confirmed by archival sources: Hahn, Reise, Vol. XVI, p. 95, year 1456; Hopf, Griechenland, Vol. 86, p. 134; Makushev, Razyskania, p. 96, note 4.

59 "Neque multos post dies, quae ablata Mosi aut fisco adjudicata, aut divisa inter privatos fuerant reddi omnia curavit. Pristinomque dignitatem viro, secundo vulgi favore, in integrum restituit." Barletius, Vita, Book VIII, p. 250. "Il ripose ancora nel suo dominio e nei carichi ed impieghi, che tenea avanti." Biemmi, Book V, p. 346. Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 66 sarcastically remarks: "Verrath wird bei den Schkyptaren (Albanern) als eine der natürlichsten und am wenigsten gravirenden Sünden leicht und schnell verziehen."

60 Biemmi, Book V, p. 347.

to cover it up by giving it the appearance of a capture by surprise. The whole matter exploded and the traitor was sent to Naples for life imprisonment.[60A] According to Ghin Musachi, the accusation of treason was unfounded, and Scanderbeg used that pretext in order to annex the principalities of the Balshas and confiscate their property.[61] In 1457, another nephew, Hamza Castrioti, went over to the Turks. In a Thucydidian letter to the Sultan, Hamza Castrioti gives, according to Barletius, the following reasons for his desertion: (a) Hamza was cheated of his paternal principality and of his rightful succession by the birth of a son to Scanderbeg;[62] (b) he was granted a tiny estate at the frontier, from which he could hardly eke out a miserable existence.[63] According to the Turkish annalists, Hamza hoped to win the support of all the other chieftains who were ready to rise against Scanderbeg's tyrannical rule.[64] On July 31, 1457, Marco Diedo, Captain

60A Hopf, Griechenland, Vol. 86, p. 135.

61 "Da li a poco tempo tende designo d'insignorirse de tutto quello paese, fe prigione il Signor Giovanni e il Signor Coico Balsa (read Giorgho Balsa) fratelli e li mandò al Re Ferrante vecchio (read Alfonso) in Napoli, che li tenesse prigioni, e li tolse il ~~~~ stato loro, ch' era tra Croia et Alessio, dico il paese della Misia." Hopf, Chroniques, p. 299-300. Cfr. Barletius, Vita, Book IX, p. 253: "Nuper Georgio Stresio, sororis suae filio fecit, quem confictis criminationibus insimulatum omni ferme imperio nudavit."

62 "Expectavimus diu, si non aviti et paterni juris, portionem saltem ut mercedem aliquam sudoris et periculorum tantorum nobis daret. Ducta est non multo post uxor illi, quaesitus et susceptus novus haeres, imperii successor." Barletius, Vita, Book IX, p. 253.

63 "Nobis prae pudore quodam hominum, ne privati omnino degeremus, assignatus vilis quidam Epiri angulus ubi (illo caetera obtinente) infamem traheremus vitam." Ibid.,

64 Ashik-Pasha-Zade, chap. 119, p. 123; Saad-ed-Din, Vol.I, p. 391.

of Durazzo, triumphantly notified the Venetian Doge that all the chieftains had gone over to the Turks, who had overrun Albania with an army of 80,000. Scanderbeg gave the Turks the impression of having fled for his life and taken refuge in the mountains.[65] Hamza Castrioti was acclaimed as the new ruler of Albania under the protection of the Sultan.[66] Scanderbeg was written off as down and out by both Turks and Venetians. After a wild celebration ~~on Sept. 2, 1457~~ of victory on Sept. 2, 1457, while the Turks - officers and men - were taking a siesta in the sub-tropical climate at Albulena, near the seasoast, Scanderbeg jumped on them from all directions and scattered them to the four winds before they had any chance to offer serious resistance.[67] The number of the Turkish dead was reputed to run from 15,000 to 30,000, according to Antivarino.[68] Hamza himself was among the prisoners. He was sent

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65 "El magnifico Signor Scanderbego va per le montagne fuzendo la sua testa, el quale è stato abandonado da tuti li principali suoi, li quali son andati cum el Turcho. . . In questo esercito del Turcho è tuta la possanza del gran Turcho, secondo se dice, che sono tra da cavallo et da pè persone 80,000." Makushev, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. II, p. 114. Cfr. Biemmi, Book V, pp. 353-354.

66 "Bassa Deos precatus, ut se Epiroticae insolentiae domitorem facerent, atque Scanderbegi tot annorum triumphos et fasces victoriarum sibi donarent, accitum ad se Amesam agentem curam suorum laudatumque publico multo decore verborum salutari militari voce in Epiroticum regem fecit." Barletius, Vita, Book IX, pl 263.

67 Biemmi, Book V, pp. 364-368; Barletius, Book IX, pp. 266-270. Cfr. Zinkeisen, Vol. II, p. 133, note 2.

68 Biemmi, Book V, p. 372.

to Naples for imprisonment. He was pardoned after 1460 and fled to Turkey, where he died as a good Moslem in the faith he was brought up in as a child. Hopf and Jorga admit this victory,[69] but Marinesco suspends his judgment until he can find a serious confirmation.[70] As a matter of fact, there is no victory of Scanderbeg which is confirmed as triumphantly as this one. Pope Calixtus III was jubilant over it.[71] Pius II announced it more than once.[72] Even some of the Turkish annalists seem to confirm it indirectly, which is more than could be expected of them.[73] According to Hopf, following

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69 Hopf, Griechenland, Vol. 86, p. 135; Jorga, Osmanen, Vol. II, p. 84.

70 Marinesco, pp. 127-128. Biemmi is unknown to Marinesco, who thinks that Barletius is the only biographer of Scanderbeg. Ibid., p. 8.

71 "Et in Albania et ubique victoria adeo continue nobis datur." Calixtus III in Rinaldi, Vol. X, year 1457, no 31, p. 111 and App., No. V, p. xxxvi. Cfr. Hopf, Griechenland, p. 135.

72 "Neque enim fortissimus Christi athleta et indefessus religionis nostrae propugnator Scanderbechius eam stragem in Turcas edidisset (cujus te famam audisse credimus, nam supra triginta millia Turcarum ab eo seu caesa seu capta feruntur) nisi pecuniariis Calixti subsidiis fuisset adjutus." Pius II, Comentarii, year 1457, p. 668, and App., No. XIV, p. xliv. "In Albania quoque Scanderbechius Christi miles intrepidus, nostris adjutus opibus, parva militum manu ingentes Turcorum copias vicit, prostravit, delevit." Pius II in Cugnoni, Oct. 20, 1457, p. 132, and App., No. XIII, p. xliii. "Nepos, Scanderbegi ex fratre , cum Turcarum parte favens, insidias patrus moliretur, ab eo captus, et ad Alphonsum missus, in carcerem conjectus est." Pius II in Asia and Europe, p. 338, and App., No. XI, p. xliii. Cfr. Volaterranus, Book VIII, p. 188, and App., No. XXV, p. lvi.

73 Both Ashik-Pasha-Zade, chap. 119, p. 123, and Saad-ed-Din, Vol. I, p. 391, assert that the Imperial Council of Vizirs, Amirs and Pashas decided that not Hamza Castrioti, but the Sultan himself (Mehmed II) should lead the crusade against Scanderbeg and put an end to the rebellion of the Albanian fiends.

this victory, Scanderbeg was appointed on Dec. 23, 1457, Captain General of the Holy See by Calixtus III,[74]

8. Venice. During the period of 1448-1458, Scanderbeg threatened at least three times to declare war on Venice, and it was always the Venetians who yielded. They did so in 1450 during the siege of Croya, when the Albanians killed the Venetian merchants trading with the Turks;[75] in 1452 when Scanderbeg raided the Venetian region of Drivasto and Scutari;[76] and in 1457 when Scanderbeg told the Venetian Senate that if their proveditors in Albania wanted war with him, they could have it, though he did not want any war with Venice.[77] The Venetians answered in a conciliatory tone: they wanted peace with him; they assured him for the sixth or seventh time that he would always have the privilege of refuge in Venetian territory, whenever he was driven out of his state by the Turks; they always paid him his annual pension of 1400 ducats - in more or less irregular installments, since 1448.

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74 The reference, given by Hopf, Griechenland, Vol. 86, p. 135, is certainly wrong. It has been copied by Jorga, Pastor, Marinesco, Gegaj and others unchecked. Hopf may have derived his inofrmation from another source, not from the one he gives us, namely Theiner, Monumenta Slavorum, Nos. DCII and DCXIII, pp. 431-434.

75 Biemmi, Book IV, pp. 258-259.

76 Makushev, Razyskania, p. 93, note 4, quoting from Senato Mar, Vol. IV, ff. 104-105, 1451 m. v.=1452, 10 Januarii, Capitula Communitatis Crivasti, Paragraph 2: "Deinde sorvene la guerra, che messe Scanderbego e passò in sto territorio e in quel de Scutari, e brusa e ruina, quel che possa, el qual messe le sue zente in el districto de Drivasto, e per mui in persona fo robati con vergogna e dano." Cfr. Ljubić, Vol. I, No. XX, Aug. 7, 1453, p. 16.

(footnote 77 on next page)

1448.[78] Their relations with Scanderbeg were governed by a hostile policy of drift, short of war - with occasional improvements.

9. Deaths. In 1458 Scanderbeg's two best friends died - King Alphonse V and Count Vrana Altisferi:[79] Vrana served him layally for sixteen years and saved Croya for him in 1450; he defied the huge guns of Murad II for five months and rejected contemptuously the bribes offered him;[80] he always helped Scanderbeg with his advice and his long experience. King Alphonse helped Scanderbeg to overcome a series of dangerous crises. His support was so unexpectedly magnanimous that neither Scanderbeg nor his men could ever recall him without tears in their eyes.[81] The deaths of these two men in themselves constituted a crisis and a turning point in Scanderbeg's career.

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77 "Non faza Dio che mi comenzo algun fato, ma alguni de li vostri rectori vol far guerra comesso mi . . . or meglio faria mi la guerra che loro, e che mi fazo guerra, quanto lor non me vuol far el mio dover. . ." Ljubić, Vol. X, No. CXIV, July 8, 1457, p. 112. Marinesco, p. 130, who does not seem to have grasped the defiant tone of Scanderbeg's long letter (Ibid., pp. 109-112) and especially of the passage quoted, comments on it as follows: "Tout en étant naive, elle respire une grande énergie." Makushev, Razyskania, p. 99, gives the right interpretation. Scanderbeg threatened Venice with war: "On grozil ejo vojnoju."

78 Ibid., pp. 109-112.

79 Biemmi, Book V, pp. 383-384.

80 Barletius, VI, p. 161: "Ad haec bis centena Asprorum millia addita." According to Lybyer, p. 103, n. 5, the value of 200,000 aspra was about 4,000 ducats, which at that time was a considerable amount of money.

81 "Quello sancto et immortale Re de Aragona, del quale io ne mullo de li miei vassali ni potemo recordare senza lacrime." Scanderbeg to the Prince of Taranto in Makushev, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. II, p. 121.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ITALIAN EXPEDITION

(1460-1462)

WAR OF SUCCESSION. With Alphonse V went to the grave his dream of a Mediterranian Empire, his Crusade against the Turks and his Albanian League under Scanderbeg.[1] His illegitimate son, Ferdinand, (1458-1494), inherited the kingdom of Naples, which was claimed by the French Anjou family because they had owned it before Alphonse V ~~had~~ annexed it to his Kingdom of Aragon. Ferdinand's position was weak for several reasons: (a) His father was a usurper; (b) he was an illegitimate son of his father; (c) his feudal barons with a few exceptions sided with the Anjou pretender; (d) the King of France, Charles VII, also took the side of the Anjous, who were his relatives; (e) even the Pope, Calixtus III, was against Ferdinand. Fortunately, Calixtus III died shortly after Alphonse V and Pius II, who succeeded him, switched to Ferdinand, who offered the hand of his illegitimate daughter to a nephew of the Pope. Both Pius II and Ferdinand invited Scanderbeg to help them against the Neapolitan barons and the French pretender, René d'Anjou.[2] Scanderbeg was ready to do it but he could not leave Albania before patching up his differences with his neighbors , with whom he was at war.

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1 Marinesco, pp. 133-134.

2 Farlati, Vol. VII, pp. 422-423; App., No. XVI, pp. xliv-xlv.

1. Truce with Turkey. The Abbot of Saint Mary of Rotezo[3] was sent by Scanderbeg to patch up his differences with Venice. The Venetians were glad to put an end to the long undeclared war of ten years with Scanderbeg in 1458 and start peaceful trade relations with him.[4] They even rewarded Abbott George Pellini for his successful mediation.[5] After Venice came the Ducaghinis. They were now siding with the Turks and were against both Venice and Scanderbeg. Pope Pius II threatened them with excommunication.[6] Finally, the Archbishop of Durazzo, Paul Angelo, succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation and preventing civil war in 1459.[7] There remained Turkey. A truce was arranged in 1460.[8] According to Fallmerayer, with the conclusion of this truce the second act of the great Albanian tragedy came to an end.[9]

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3 A Benedictine monastery near Antivari. The abbot was, as a rule, a patrician of that city. See Jireček, Ragusa, p. 64. It was not a Serbian monastery, as Makushev calls it in Razyskania, p. 75. See Farlati, Vol. VII, p. 13; Šufflay, Forschungen, Vol. I, p. 234; Novaković, pp. 604-605.

4 Ljubić, Vol. X, No. CXXXVI, Aug. 18, 1457, pp. 133-135. Cfr. Makushev, Razyskania, p. 100-101. The reconciliation is so cordial that Scanderbeg gives the castle of Sati back to the Venetians, though he had won it from the Turks. See Ljubić, X, No. CXXXXVI, June 4, 1459, p. 144.

5 Makushev, Razyskania, p. 100.

6 Rinaldi, Vol. X, year 1460 (read 1459), Nos. 103-104, pp. 258-259.

7 Biemmi, Book VI, pp. 394-395; Makushev, Razyskania, pp. 100-101.

8 It was a truce of three years, according to Scanderbeg's letter to the Prince of Taranto, in Makushev, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. II p. 124: ". . . Havemo facto (continued on next page)

2. First Contingent. In 1460 Scanderbeg sent his first light cavalry contingent to Ferdinand under the command of his nephew John Stresi Balsha.[10] That these light cavalrymen did a splendid job is proved by a letter which the Prince of Taranto, leader of the Neapolitan Barons, sent to Scanderbeg.[11] In that letter Giovanni Antonio Orsini, Prince of Taranto, tries to dissuade Scanderbeg from sending any more troops to Calabria with the following arguments: (a) Those small contingents cannot change the situation; (b) all the Barons are in favor of the Anjous; (c) Ferdinand's cause is lost; (d) Scanderbeg would derive more benefits by joining the Anjous; (e) his troops could be used with more advantage against the Turks. In his reply, Scanderbeg predicts the result of his Italian Expedition: He is sure to achieve with his small army against the French Anjous and the Neapolitan Barons as much as he had done against the Turkish armies under the walls of Croya;[12] he expects to win victories in Italy as a true

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tregue per tre anni." According to Da Trezzo's letter of June 12, 1461, it was a truce of six months, in Nunziante Vol. XXI, p.517, note 2: "Ha facto tregua cum el Turco per sei mesi." According to Biemmi, Book VI, pl 393, Barletius, Vita, Book X, p. 285, and Franco, chap. XXI, p. 22 v., it was a truce of one year. According to Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 73, it was a peace of ten years.

9 "Mit der Unterzeichnung des zehnjährigen Friedens im Sommer des Jahres 1461 ist der zweite Act des grossen Albanischen Trauerspiels abgelaufen." Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 73.

Jorga, Osmanen, Vol. II, chap. 1, pp. 92-93, and Breve Histoire, pp. 47-48, claims that Scanderbeg went to Italy in 1461 after a defeat he had suffered at the hands of Mehmed II. His opinion is based on information derived from Critoboulos in French, Book III, paragraphs 95-98, also App., No. XXVIII, pp. lxi-lxiii, where he speaks of an Albanian Expedition by Mehmed II in 1460, which is certainly erroneous or anachronistic. A document published by Cugnoni, No. LXI, pp. 133-134, speaks of a Scanderbeg defeat in 1461 and (continued on next page)

descendant of King Pyrrhus of Epirus;[13] in fighting for Ferdinand, he is just continuing his crusade against the Turks.[14] From his letter it is clear that Scanderbeg was fully aware of the conditions prevailing in Italy, but he was not the man to be discouraged by any situation however desperate and he was going to fulfill his duty under any circumstances. As he himself writes to Ferdinand: "I am the friend of virtue and not of fortune."[15]

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of the occupation of all Albania by the Turks. But there must be a mistake about the date. Scanderbeg could not have undertaken a foreign expedition after such a disaster.

10 Makushev, Razyskania, p. 101.

11 Makushev, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. II, Oct. 10, 1460, pp. 118-120.

12 "Ma ricordatevi, che maiore era la possanza del gran Turco, che non è la vostra, nè ancho del Signore che substenite et essendomi restata sola la citta de Croya, . . . contra tanto podere la defesi et conservai, fin che con danno et vergogna li Turchi se levarono, et io in breve tempo et con poca gente racquistai quello, che molti inimici in longo haviano guadagnato. Sichè quanto più se deve dperare la restauratione de lo stato de Re Ferrando, che se non havesse se non Napoli habiate per certo, che ha ad essere vincitore." Scanderbeg to the Prince of Taranto, in Makushev, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. II, pp. 122-123.

13 "Se le nostre chronache non mentono, noi ci chiamiamo Epiroti et dovete havere noticia, che in diversi tempi deli nostri antecessori passassero nel paese che hoggi voi tenete et hebbero con Romani grande battaglie et trovamo, ut plurimum, che hebbero piutosto honore che vergogna." Ibid.,p. 123. In Barletius, Vita, Book X, p. 297, Scanderbeg says to Piccinino: "Memor praeterea illius egregii et praeclari facinoris, quo Pyrrhus ille meus Epirotarum Rex in Romanos usus. . ."

14 ". . . Ma li infedeli non extimano, nè temono, se non le gloriose bandere de la Casa de Aragon." Makushev, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. II, p. 122.

15 "Ma segua qual caso voglia, che io serò amico de la virtù et non de la fortuna." Scanderbeg to Ferdinand of Naples, ibid., p. 118.

16 (skip)

3. Visit to Ragusa. In 1461 Scanderbeg with his troops sailed for Ragusa, whose clergy was mostly Albanian and which contained a large and influential Albanian community.[17] On Aug. 24, 1461, he was solemnly received by the Senate of Ragusa,[18] which granted him a subsidy for the expedition from Crusade money at the instance of the Holy See.[19]

4. At Barletta. On Aug. 24, 1461, the first contingent of Scanderbeg's expeditionary force again under the command of his nephew, John Stresi Balsha,[20] landed on Italian soil.[21] On Aug. 25, Scanderbeg himself arrived at Barletta with the rest of his troops.[22] The entire expeditionary

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17 See p. 67, notes 23, 24, 25 of this paper.

18 Diplomatarium Ragusanum, p. 751, Luccari, p. 106, quoted by Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 75: "Giorgio Castrioto, conchiusa la gregua con li Turchi, domandato da Pio Secondo, s'indusse a dare ajuto a Ferrante Re di Napoli contra Renato Duca di Angiò, e fece scala in Rausa e mentre vi dimorò fu spesato dal publico secondo l'antico costume della città."

19 Diplomatarium Ragusanum, p. 751.

20 Scanderbeg had three Balsha nephews from his sister Yella. Of these only George Stresi Balsha betrayed him, the two others, John and Gioka served him loyally to the end.

21 Ferdinand to Queen Isabella, in a letter, Aug. 24, 1461, quoted by Nunziante, Vol. XXI, p. 517, note 2: "Aspectiamo de hora in hora la sua persona (Scanderbeg). Lo nepote, lo quale anno passato fo qua, e già venuto."

22 Letter of Da Trezzo, envoy of Milan, Aug. 25, 1461, qu quoted by Nunziante, ibid.; "L'arrivo di costui (Scanderbeg) e di cinque navi cariche di gente è annunziato in una lettera del 25 Agosto."

force consisted of about 3,000 picked cavalrymen and archers.[23] They arrived in the nick of time . Ferdinand was besieged at Barletta by Giacomo Piccinino, the ablest condottiere of that time, and by Jean d'Anjou, duke of Calabria and son of the French pretender, and his situation was desperate.[24] He had lost almost all of his Neapolitan kingdom with the exception of the city of Naples in the West and two fortresses in the East, namely Barletta and Trani.[25] His financial situation after the defeat of Sarno in 1460 was so bad that his wife, Queen Isabella, had to beg money from passers-by at the entrance of the Church of San Pietro Martire.[26]

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23 In June, 1461, an envoy of Scanderbeg announced to Ferdinand: ". . . Ha facto tregua cum el Turco per sei mesi, nel tempo della quale se offere venire personalmente ad li favori de essa Maesta cum mille cavalli e II milia fanti overo arceri pagati ad sue spese oltre quelle altre genti che sono in Puglia; e se Sua Maesta vole che con più gente vegna, cum piu vegnerà." Letter of Da Trezzo, June 12, 1461, quoted by Nunziante, ibid., p. 517, note 2. Cfr. Letter of Antonio Guidobono of Milan from Venice, Aug. 12, 1461, in Makushev, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. II, p. 156: "Qua se hano novelle . . . che Scanderbecho era in capolocho sopro la marina cum mille cavalli e fanti 2,000 et cum li navilii aparechiati per montare et andare in Puglia et haveva carichato stara 8,000 de formento a misura Venetiana per dare mangiare a sui; non aspettava altro che una gallea et una fusta, che li mandava el Re per montare suxo la persona sua, dela quale andata qua se fa uno bono et grande caxo per favore de la Maesta del Re." See also Pastor, Vol. III, p. 114: "G. Lolli in a letter, dated Tivoli, Sept. 9, 1461, gives the number of Albanians as 2000, State Archives, Siena." What Pontano, p. 279, Sabellico, p. 757, and Simonetta, p. 728, mean when they speak of a contingent of 700 , 600, and 800 cavalrymen, respectively, is certainly Scanderbeg's Guard Battalion, not the entire expeditionary force.

24 Pontano, Vol. II, p. 279, and App. No. XXIII, describes Ferdinand's situation as desperate: "Quo factum est, uti Picinus junctis simul copiis illum intra urbem pene inclusit. Sunt qui regem criminentur, desedisse illic ob amores tum veteres, tum novos, quibus delinitus (continued on next page)

The arrival of Scanderbeg changed the situation overnight. His army broke the siege of Barletta and compelled the enemy to withdraw.[26] After the retreat of Piccinino, Scanderbeg was entrusted with the defense of Barletta and the prosecution of the war against the Prince of Taranto, while Ferdinand left for San Bartolomeo to join the troops of his ally, Alexander Sforza of Milan.[27] From his base of Barletta Scanderbeg with his light cavalry raided the enemy territory and devasted it with fire and sword.[28] With his hit-and-run tactics he harassed the obsolete heavy cavalrymen of Piccinino continually, outmanoeuvered them, toppled them over, threw confusion and terror among them.[29] The swiftness of his blitz raids had amazed those who witnessed them.[30] Those who

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magis ipse curaverit, qua ratione amoribus indulgeret, quam quibus artibus hostem falleret. Quod ni ex Macedonia Georgius Castriotus cognomento Scander. . . cum classe repentine apparuisset, futurum erat ut Rex aut mari fugam turpiter inde arriperet, aut tentata pugna in postrema seque et res suas, pericula conjiceret." Simoneta, in Muratori, Vol. XXI, p. 728, describes thus Ferdinand's precarious situation: "Praeter duo haec oppida (Barletta and Trani), et quae a Francisco Bancio Adrianorum Duce possidebantur, ad id temporis nihil fere in omni Apulia Regi (Ferdinando) fuerat reliquum." San Severino and Da Trezzo in letter from Barletta, Aug. 24, 1461, quoted by Nunziante, Vol. XXI, p. 517, note 3, write about Ferdinand: "E sta come disperato."

25 Simoneta, in Muratori, Vol. XXI, p. 728.

26 "Allorche Ferdinando I fu sconfitto, addi 7 Giugno di quest' anno (1460) alla foce del Sarno, dal Duca Giovanni d'Angio e dal Principe de Taranto Giovanni Antonio Orsino, la Regina Isabella fece chiamare in San Pietro Martire i cittadini di Napoli, e supplicolli ad ajutare il Re; poi vestita in abito dimesso, stette a chiedere l'elemosina alla porta della chiesa; e il denaro racolto servi a Ferdinando per rifare l'esercito." Barone, Cedole di Tesoreria dell Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Vol. IX, year 1460, p. 15, note 2.

(Footnotes 27, 28, 29 and 30 on next page)

saw him fight with the mace and the curved sword could never forget him and would talk about him all their lives.[31] To use the words of Pontano: His name and his arrival not only confounded the enemies and their plans, but filled all Italy with his fame and reputation.[32]

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27 Letter of Da Trezzo, Sept. 7, 1461, quoted by Nunziante, Vol. XXI, p. 521, note 1: "Si parti il Re da Barletta il 5 Settembre verso San Bartolomeo in Galdo. A Barletta rimase lo Scanderbeg. . . per guardare et defendere quelle frontere et etiam molestare le terre del Principe da Taranto."

28 "Die Kriegsführung bestand meist in der Plünderung des Feindlichen Landes, der Verwüstung der Obstgärten und Weinberge und der Niederbrennung der Häuser." Jirecek, Serben, Vol. II, p. 35.

29 "Gli Albanesi montati su velocissimi cavalli, usi ai combattimenti di montagna, alle rapide incursioni, alla guerriglia pertinace e sanguinosa incalzarono i nemici asseragliati a Trani. . . e Taranto. La cavalleria italiana del tempo, impacciata dalle pesanti armature, non poteva schermirsi da questi audacissimi scorritori schipetari (Albanesi), che seminanano ovunque la strage e lo spavento. Nel mezzo del secolo XV, la comparsa in Italia degli Albanesi avezzi a guerre rudi, a guerriglie feroci deve aver sconcertato l'arte militare compassata del tempo." Barbarich, p. 188.

30 "Essi hanno i loro cavalli che sono tutti grandi correttori et tali che con quella facilita vanno ad correre longe longe de casa XXX et XL miglia che li soldati italiani andassero X o XII." Letter of Da Trezzo, Dec. 6, 1460, quoted by Nunziante, Vol. XX, p. 501, note 2.

31 "Solebat Johannes Coccius, pater meus, qui Calabro bello sub Ruberto Ursino, viro fortissimo, aliquamdiu militavit, adolescenti mini enarrare, vidisse se Epirotam hominem, qui cum sexcentis equitibus Ferdinandi nomine in Apuliam transiverat, exerto brachio, nunc clava, nunc falcato ense pugnantem, totque interim ac tanta belli facinora edentem, ut merito plus unus, quam tota equitum ala hostibus formidabilis videretur." Sabellico, Book IX, p. 757; App., No. XXIV, p. liv.

32 "Hujus igitur nomen atque adventus non hostem modo, ejusque turbavit consilia, verum Italiam omnem opinionis suae fama implevit." Pontano, Vol. II, Book II, p. 279; App., No. XXIII, p. lii.

4. Trani. Besides Barletta, Trani[33] was the only other fortress held by Ferdinand in the East when Scanderbeg arrived. But now even Trani was in danger of falling to the enemy on account of the disloyalty of its commander, Antonio Josciano Infusado.[34] Scanderbeg invited him to a conference, kidnapped him and compelled him to hand the fortress over to his nephew, John Stfesi Balsha,[35] who raised over it the flag of King Ferdinand.[36] The capture of Trani occurred on or before Dec. 5, 1461.[37]

5. Return. In January, 1462, Scanderbeg received from his wife, Donica, urgent appeals to return, as the Turks were approaching the frontier.[38] On February 6, he arrived at Ragusa, and on Feb. 11, he started his journey home from Budua to Rodoni.[39] Consequently, he could not have taken part in the battle of Troja, which took place on Aug. 18, 1462,

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33 "Huic proxima est Tranensium urbs in Apulis clara atque opulenta et Regi item fidelissima." Simoneta, in Muratori, Vol. XXI, Book XXVIII, p. 728.

34 Gegaj, p. 128, note 3.

35 "E fu per Scanderbech licentiato Infusado e per lo ditto Scanderbech li fo posto entro un suo nipote." Anonimo Veronese, quoted by Gegaj, p. 128, note 3.

36 "Esso Scanderberg l' ha pigliato senza scandalo alcuno, che immediate la città e lo castello (di Trani) hanno realzate le bandiere del Re." Alexander Sforza to the Duke of Milan, Dec. 5, 1461. Also Da Trezzo to the Duke on the same date, quoted by Nunziante, Vol. XXI, p. 527, note 5.

37 See preceding note.

38 Biemmi, Book VI, p. 405, bitterly concludes: "Quinci imbarcatosi di fretta colle sue truppe, colla stessa prospera navigazione della sua venuta riandò nell' Albania, avendo arrecato più ajuto al Re Ferdinando colla sola comparsa ai lidi dell' Italia, che in tutto il tempo nel quale vi ristette alla sua difesa."

39 Diplomatarium Ragusanum, (continued on next page)

as Barletius tells us.[40] The latter calls it the Battle of Ursara, and that perhaps explains why he made Scanderbeg take part in it because, according to Cuniberti, a battle did take place there previously.[41] Anyhow, Scanderbeg did not achieve his ends only by winning great pitched battles, as Barletius tells us, or simply by rounding up flocks of sheep and goats, as Pius II of the Commentarii wants us to believe,[42] but by fighting every day an endless series of cavalry blitz raids and surprise attacks, as the eyewitness Pontano rightly remarks.[43] Simoneta confirms Pontano's testimony.[44]

6. Results. The immediate results of Scanderbeg's Italian Expedition were the following: (a) The siege of Barletta was broken and King Ferdinand was liberated; (b) the

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pp. 753-754. Cfr. Gegaj pp. 129, note 5, and 130, notes 1 and 2.

40 Barletius, Vita, Book X, pp. 298-303. Mariana, Vol. II, Book XXIII, chap. ii, p. 60, copies Barletius. Cfr. Gegaj, p. 129, note 4.

41 Cuniberti, p. 86, note 1.

42 "Nulla tam procul armenta latuere, quae unius diei cursu non apprehenderit, aptissima furtis ac rapinis acies." Pius II, Commentarii, p. 302.

43 "Quo tempore cum Georgio Castrioto, qui Barolum tutabatur, saepius certatum est, diverso pugnae genere, cum Italici equites statarias magis pugnae sint assueti, propter armorum gravitatem, contra Macedones ex Turcarum disciplina vagi, procursantesque raro congrediantur stantes. Itaque plerisque in congressionibus Georgius hostem ludificatus est." Pontano, Vol. II, Book II, pp. 281 v. - 282; App., No. XXIII, p. liii.

44 "Pugnabatur (Scanderbechus) paene quotidie inter bina castra non multo milite pari fere certamine." Simoneta, in Muratori, Vol. XXI, p. 729.

fortress of Trani was captured by a ruse de guerre; (c) the enemy forces were outmanoeuvered and had to pass from the offensive to the defensive; (d) the enemy territory was devastated so fearfully that many Barons, one after the other, surrendered to Ferdinand and finally the Prince of Taranto himself opened peace negotiations with Scanderbeg;[45] (e) in the month of December, 1461, the situation of Ferdinand had so radically improved that he could now afford to leave the battlefield and go to Naples in order to attend the wedding ceremony of his daughter to Antonio Piccolomini, the nephew of Pope Pius II.[46] (f) With Scanderbeg's assistance, Ferdinand took the offensive and kept it to the end of the war of succession. True, the war dragged along for almost two years after Scanderbeg's departure from Italy, but his arrival at Barletta certainly marks the turning point of the war. Therefore we can safely accept the verdict of Pontano, an impartial eyewitness, that it was Scanderbeg who saved Ferdinand from disaster, and who turned the tide of the war in his favor.[47]

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45 After the capture of Trani, the Count of Avelline and Count Orsini surrendered, while the Prince of Taranto began negotiations through Scanderbeg. See Nunziante, Vol. XXI, p. 528.

46 "Tra el dì de la Epifania e heri è celebrata la festa delle sponsalicie de lo Illustrissimo Duca de Amalfia (Antonio Piccolomini) nepote de Nostro Signore (Pio II) e della figliola del Re (Ferdinando) . . . Il Signor Re, dìeta la messa de la Sposa, lo decorò della dignità militare." Da Trezzo to the Duke of Milan from Naples, Jan. 8, 1462, Ibid., p. 529, note 2.

47 "Cujus (Scanderbegi) adventu expositis in continentem circiter septingentis equitibus, lectissima virorum manu, cum aliquo peditum numero, Andria praeterita, hostes iter advertere." Pontano, Book II, chap. II, p. 279; App., No. XXIII, p. lii.

His testimony is confirmed by Biemmi,[48] Giovio,[49] Volaterrano,[50] Simoneta,[51] and Zurita.[52]

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48 "La comparsa della flotta Albanese commandata da un guerriero d' un si terribile grido gitto un tale spavento nell' armata degli assedianti, che questi subito ritiraronsi dalla Piazza, e perdute in un colpo tante loro speranze allontanaronsi alcune miglia." Biemmi, Book VI, p. 398. Cfr. Barletius, Book X, p. 291: "Verum Dux Johannes, una cum [quum] comite Jacobo, vidissent Scanderbegum tam ingenti, instructoque exercitu in Regis Ferdinandi auxilium venisse, obsidionem deseruerunt, et cum copiis suis ad 30 fere millia passuum procul inde secedentes castramentati sunt."

49 "Caeterum Georgius aliquando post, cum Mahomete inducias pepigit, quum ille Graeciae excidium moliretur, ipse vero Ferdinandum Neapolitanum regem Andegavensium arma aegre sustinentem Epiroticis armis se duce defendendum statueret. Itaque maturam opem imploranti regi prospere tulit; nam Georgii adventu, qui ex Epiro in Apuliam trajecerat, Gallorum copiae ita profligatae sunt ut rex praecipue Georgii virtute se conservatum fateretur." Jovius, Elogia, p. 231.

50 "Post haec cum Pii II Pontificis nunciis sollicitatus auxilio Ferdinandi regis in Italiam trajiceret, cum Baroli a Joanne Antonio principe Tarentino, Joanne quoque Renati regis filio Andegavie duce, ac Joanne Picinino obsessum evestigio liberavit." Volaterrano, Book VIII, p. 188; App., No. XXV, p. lvi.

51 "Cui (Ferdinando) repens et inopinatus paene adventus Georgii Castriotae viri fortissimi, et rei militaris usu Turcarum more insignis. . . non mediocri adjumento fuit. . . Saepe ab Alphonso Rege et milite et frumento adjutus, voluit, accepti beneficii memor, Ferdinando filio beneficiam coram tam necessario tempore reddere cumulatius. Pugnabatur paene quotidie inter bina castra. . ." Simoneta in Muratori, Vol. XXI, pp. 728-729.

52 "Y sucedió ocasión que el servicio deste Principe (Scanderbech) fué de gran socorso al Duque de Calabria (Ferdinando) después de la muerte del Rey." Zurita, Vol. III, year 1451, p. 322.

6. Commentarii of Pius II. Those who dismiss the Italian Expedition of Scanderbeg as a joke, base their opinion on the author of the Commentarii of Pius II. This work has been partly written by Pope Pius II, partly dictated by him to his secretary, and partly corrected and edited by Campano.[53] Consequently, it should not be treated as a work which comes in all its parts from the pen of the famous pope. Anyhow, the verdict of this author, whoever he may have been, on Scanderbeg's army is the following: "Lightly armed cavalry, swift horsemen, good for looting and plundering, but useless for warfare according to the Italian style, and helpless against our swords and our spears."[54] In other words, Scanderbeg's cavalry, which was more like modern cavalry, was not good against the Italian cavalry, which was as obsolete as medieval heavy cavalry could be! Or in other words, Scanderbeg's swift horsemen who were good enough against up-to-date Murad II were absolutely helpless against out-of-date Piccinino! Now this is really a joke but it was taken as gospel truth by historians like Spondano, Biemmi, Gibbon, Voigt, Pastor and Creighton. Fallmerayer was the only one who did not take the joke seriously.[55] But it was Barbarich who laughed it out as a

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53 Pastor, Vol. II, p. 323, note 2; Vol. III, pp. 42-44, 415-418.

54 "Equitatus ejus levis armaturae fuit, equi veloces, et assueti malo, in provincia plana et late patenti nihil tutum dimisere; nulla tam procul armenta latuere, quae unius diei cursu non apprehenderint; aptissima furtis ac rapinis acies, bello inutilis, quod more Italico geritur, (continued on next page)

real joke.[56] As a matter of fact, Albanian light cavalry became very popular in Italy after Scanderbeg's expedition, according to Gibbon,[57] and according to Miller, all over Europe.[58]

7. Looting and Plundering. Since the time of our great forefather Cain, war has been nothing but looting and plundering, and in the old days people were frank enough to consider looting and plundering as a legitimate part of warfare. Pius II was one of these frank men: He issued a solemn brief to the Albanian Abbot of Rotezo, George Pellini, absolving him of all the looting and plundering he committed during the Italian Expedition in which he had accompanied Scanderbeg.[59] So far so good. But how is it possible for

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adversus enses ac tela nostra inermis." Pius II, Commentarii, p. 302. Note the words tela nostra: Pius II, the ally of Ferdinand and Scanderbeg, identifies himself here with Piccinino!

55 "Sogar die Fähigkeit, einem schwergerüsteten italischen Heere gegenüber Stand zu halten, wird dem flüchtigen, leichtbewaffneten, mehr für Raub und Überfall als für regelmässigen Kampf geeigneten Reitern Skanderbegs im blinden Patriotismus abgesprochen." Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 75.

56 Barbarich, p. 188: " La cavalleria italiana del tempo, impacciata dalle pesanti armature, non poteva schiermirsi da questi audacissimi scorritori schipetari (Albanesi) che seminavano ovunque la strage e lo spavento." Cfr. Tajani, p. 97.

57 "The Albanian cavalry, under the name of Stradiots, soon became famous in the wars of Italy." Gibbon-Bury, Vol. VII, chap. 68, p. 153, note 48.

58 "The sixteenth century was the golden age of the Stradiots. One of them was even in the service of our Henry VIII, fighting in Scotland and governor of Boulogne, then an English fortress." Miller, p. 368.

59 Theiner, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. I, No. DCLIII, p. 462; App., No. XVII, pp. xlvi-xlvii.

that same Pius II to blame Scanderbeg's poor soldiers for looting and plundering? There is only one possible explanation: Pius II of the Commentarii and Pius II of the brief addressed to the Abbot of Rotezo, were not the same man. As a matter of fact, some passages of the Commentarii concerning Scanderbeg could have been written only by a man who sympathized with the Anjous, not by Pius II, who excommunicated them.[60]

8. Pius II Versus Pontano. The Italian expedition of Scanderbeg has been treated by some historians as a case between Pius II of the Commentarii and Barletius, as if there were no one else who had anything to say about it. Biemmi's Antivarino is very laconic: His brother, an officer in the Guard Battalion, did not accompany Scanderbeg in the Italian Expedition, and Antivarino apologizes for not being able to give reliable inf rmation as in other campaigns.[61] Therefore,

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60 The Prince of Taranto, in a Thucydidian letter, written by Pius II of the Commentarii, says to Scanderbeg: "Cum propriam tueri domum nequires, alienam invadere cogitasti." When Scanderbeg leaves for Albania, which was threatened by a Turkish invasion, Pius II of the Commentarii sends him off with this curious comment: "Eaque res Georgium ex Italia quam primum revocavit, ne dum aliena tueretur, perderet sua." Pope Pius II could not have written this comment, which means in a few words that Scanderbeg should mind his own business and let Italy alone, as the Prince of Taranto tells him, because Pius II himself had invited Scanderbeg to Italy and he himself had paid for the expedition with Crusade money, raised at Ragusa!

61 "Venia mihi detur si in hac transmarina Scanderbegi expeditione aliquid aut veri omiserim, aut falsi immiscuerim; cum frater meus qui in ipsis Domini stationariis ordines ducebat, cujus traditiones ego potissimum sequebar, eo tempore morbo implicitus domi manere coactus fuerit." Antivarino, quoted by Biemmi in his Preface, p. 7, note 1.

after eliminating Antivarino, who says very little and Barletius, who talks too much, it was only natural to reach the conclusion that Pius II of the Commentarii was the only one left to hear. But there are some other witnesses and one of them, Pontano, is an eyewitness who accompanied Ferdinand as his chancellor in all his campaigns and who wrote the story of this Neapolitan war of succession. So it is rather a case of Pius II of the Commentarii versus Pontano. And Pontano was an eyewitness while Pius II of the Commentarii was not. In other respects there is not much to choose between them. Their conception of history was the old Thucydidian one of battles and speeches.[62]

9. Ferdinand. Besides the historians, the annalists and the archival sources there is another important witness to be heard, namely Ferdinand himself. And he confirms not only Pontano but to a certain extent even Barletius: King Fe Ferdinand was grateful to Scanderbeg all his life for breaking

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62 The pseudo-correspondence between the Prince of Taranto and Scanderbeg in the Commentarii is a typical example of the Thycydidian art of writing history. The author had before his eyes the authentic texts of that correspondence, which was published by Makushev, in Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. II, pp. 118-124, because the meaning is the same and only the wording is different. And yet, he does not give the orignial texts. No, he corrects them. Here is a sample of the original and the improved text. In Makushev Scanderbeg writes: "Noi ci chiamiamo Epiroti et dovete havere noticia, che in diversi tempi deli nostri antecessori passassero nel paese che hogi voj tenete et hebbero con Romani grande battaglie, et trovamo, ut plurimum, che hebbero piutosto honore che vergogna." In the Commentarii Scanderbeg amplifies: "Majores nostri Epirotae fuerunt, ex quibus ille Pyrrhus prodiit, cujus vix ferre impetum Romani potuerunt, et qui Tarentum et alia multa Italiae loca armis occupavit. Non est quod Epirotis viris fortissimis Tarentinos objicias madidum genus hominum et ad legendos pisciculos natum."

the siege of Barletta,[63] called him "father",[64] granted him fiefs in Apulia,[65] paid him a pension,[66] helped him with soldiers, ammunition, money and supplies,[67] gave his widow and son a refuge and protection.[68] No better evidence is needed to prove how much he appreciated Scanderbeg's assistance.[69]

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63 On Aug. 24, 1461, Ferdinand wrote to his wife, Queen Isabella, that the enemy forces had withdrawn to Bari "spaventati dell' arrivo delle genti di Scanderbeg." Nunziante, in Muratori, Vol. XXI, p. 517, note 3.

64 On Feb. 24, 1468, Ferdinand wrote to Scanderbeg's widow: "Non senza grandissimo dispiacere havemo inteso ch' el Illustrissimo Scandarbech vostro marito carissimo, ad nui como ad patre, secundo è stato piacere ad nostro Signore Dio, è morto." Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, Vol. I, p. 439.

65 On Feb 24, 1468, Ferdinand instructed his envoy to give Scanderbeg's widow and her son the following assurances about their reception and their Neapolitan fiefs: "Pertanto da nostra parte li esponerite che loro venuta ad nui sera multo piacere, et da nui haveranno quelle carize et honori che figlio deve fare ad matre, et patre al figliolo, et non solamente li lassaremo quello che havemo donato, ma quando bisogno fosse li donaremo de li altri nostri boni." Ibid.,pp. 440-441. Cfr. Tajani, Vol. II, p. 98; Makushev, Razyskania, p. 112, note 1; Gegaj, pp. 160-161; Cuniberti, p. 12; Hopf, Griechenland, Vol. 86, p. 153, note 98.

66 Hopf, Griechenland, Vol. 86, p. 153: "Der König. . . wies ihm eine erbliche Rente von 1200 Dukaten."

67 Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, Vol. I, p. 90.

68 Ibid.,pp. 439-441.

69 "Il Re Ferrante, riconoscente all' atto generoso di lui e considerando che esso solo fù causa dell' ottenuta vittoria in segno di gratitudine volendo premiare la fede e la magnanimità dello illustre e magnanimo Giorgio Castriota detto Scanderbech Duca di Albania come patre carissimo et suo etiam Luogotenente Generale nelle parti di Puglia (Quinternioni III, Folio 196) lo rimunerò di parecchi feudi, che furono la terra di Monte San Angelo e quella di San Giovanni Rotondo. Questi vennero confirmati nel 1485 al figliuolo di lui, e nel privilegio di conferma sono espressi con eloquenti parole i servigi resi alla corona dall invitto Giorgio." Padiglione, p. 12.

CHAPTER IX

SCANDERBEG AND VENICE AGAINST MEHMED II

(1462-1468)

1. Towards Venice. After the death of Alphonse V, rapprochement with Venice became a necessity.[1] It came very slowly and painfully. Scanderbeg did his best to achieve it through the Abbot of Rotezo, George Pellini, in 1458.[2] In 1459 he returned the fortress of Sati to the Venetians though he had conquered it from the Turks.[3] In 1460 the reconciliation seemed so complete that Pius II advised Scanderbeg to entrust the protection of his state to the Venetians during his Italian expedition.[4] Nothing came out of it but the attitude of the Venetians was correctly, if not benevolently, neutral until January, 1462, when it became clear that Ferdinand was securely on the saddle and Scanderbeg had won in him a new protector and supporter. Then the Venetians became hostile overnight. The crisis lasted almost a year. It was another period of undeclared war and an interruption of all trade relations.[5] Mehmed II thought that this was his best opportunity to crush Scanderbeg and sent

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1. Cfr. Marinesco, p. 134.

2. Lubić, Vol. X, No. CXXXVI, Aug. 18, 1458, pp. 133-135; cfr. Makushev, Razyskania, pp. 100-101.

3 Ibid. CXXXVI, June 4, 1459, p. 144.

4 Farlati, Vol. VII, pp. 422-423; App., No. XVI, pp. 148-149.

5 Ljubić, Vol. X, No. CCV, April 6, 1462, p. 206; ibid., No. CCXXIV, Sept. 2, 1462, p. 225.

three different armies against him in a year, one under Sinan Pasha and Hussein Beg, a second one under Yussuf Beg and a third one under Caradža Beg. They were defeated one after the other in Mokrena of Dibra, Polog of Tetovo and Livad of Ochrida, in August, 1462.[6] Some ten years before, in 1452, Scanderbeg had had a double victory against two armies of Sultan Mehmed II in a single year and had succeeded in capturing the commander of one of them, Hamza Beg.[7] But in 1462, it was the first time he ever had a triple victory in a year - with a captured commander, Hussein Beg - and the Albanians felt that they could not stand any more victories in a war of two fronts. They felt that peace should be concluded with either Turkey or Venice.

2. Peace with Turkey. In the summer of 1463 Mehmed II appeared in Scopia with the army of Europe and Asia.[8] It was directed against Bosnia but the Albanians did not want to

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6 Barletius, Vita, Book XI, pp. 309-311, speaks of three victories; Biemmi, Book VI, pp. 408-410, mentions only two. Barletius seems to be right. He is confirmed by Cribelli, in Muratori, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 64-65: "Mahomet, qui ter una estate fusus, copiis caesis. . ." Cfr. Gegaj, p. 131.

7 Barletius, Vita, Book VII, pp. 202-204; Biemmi, Book IV, pp. 294-297; Franco, chap. XV, pp. 17 v. - 18. This double victory is confirmed by the Archivo de la Corona de Aragon reg. 2798, ff. 56-57. Cfr. Marinesco, p. 67; "Ramon d'Ortafa, qui apparaît à cette occasion pour la première fois avec la qualité de vice-roi en Albanie, avait averti son maître de cette victoire contre deux commandants turcs, l'un d'eux Hanza fait prisonnier près du château de Modrizza, que Georges Castriota avait fait bâtir depuis peu de temps en août ou septembre, 1452. Alphonse la communique à l'ambassadeur napolitain à Venise Luis Dez Puig, toujours un catalan."

8 Pius II, Commentarii, Book XII, p. 607. Biemmi, Book VI, pp. 419-420.

take any chances. In the Assembly of Chieftains, Tanush Thopia insisted on peace negotiations.[9] Scanderbeg did not want to hear of them at all but he was outvoted. Peace was concluded on April 27, 1463.[10] The conditions are unknown.[11] Tanush Thopia was sent to explain it away to the Pope in Tivoli. He told Pius II that Scanderbeg had had to sue for peace, because he was utterly unable to defend the country against the Sultan, but the conditions of peace did not affect the sovereignty of the Pope over Albania,[12] and Scanderbeg was ready to declare war against Turkey at any time the Pope should order.[13]

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9 Biemmi, Book VI, p. 416-419.

10 Ibid. pp. 412-419.

11 Barletius does not mention at all the peace of 1463. He knows only the truce of 1460 before the Italian Expedition. Biemmi mentions both but knows nothing about their clauses because Antivarino is silent on them, Book VI, p. 419: "Allora Scander-begh vedendo che il suo dire era stato vano accomodossi. . . alla volontà dei suoi, e senz' altro contrasto sottoscrisse il trattato di pace; di cui l'Antivarino non rapporta che articoli vi fossero posti." Roth, p. 99, deriving his information from Critoboulos, remarks: "Da Skanderbeg den angriffen des Sultans 1463 nicht mehr länger widerstehen konnte, schloss er einen zehnjährigen Waffenstillstand, wobei er den Sultan als Oberherrn anerkannte und einen jährlichen Tribut von Schafen und Knaben zu senden sich verpflichtete." But Critoboulos places that event in 1460 after an Albanian Expedition by Mehmed II, which never took place and which is obviously an anachronism. Jorga, Osmanen, Vol. II, pp. 92-93 and Brève Histoire, pp. 47-48, claims that this expedition of Mehmed II, as reported by Critoboulos, did take place in 1460, that Scanderbeg was driven out of Albania and fled to Italy, where he helped Ferdinand to regain his throne, which is both an anachronism an an absurdity, because Scanderbeg could not undertake a foreign expedition after such a disaster. Moreover, Critoboulos, Book III, Bar. 93-97, speaks of the Albanians as having agreed to pay tribute (continued on next page)

3. Treaty with Venice. The Venetians were alarmed by the Peace of Scopia and were now very anxious to patch up their differences with Scanderbeg. The latter was ready for negotiations. The Abbot of Rotezo, George Pellini, and Andrea Snatico were sent to Venice to reach an agreement. They concluded an alliance against Turkey on Aug. 20, 1463. Very probably that was what Scanderbeg was driving at when

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in 1450 and 1460, not of Scanderbeg, which is a different proposition. On the contrary, Critoboulos, Book III, Par. 92, writes on Scanderbeg: "Areianos et Alexandre defendent leurs pays vaillammant, ne voulant se soumettre au Sultan, ni payer tribut, ni en rien lui obeir." See Critoboulos in French, Book III, Par. 92; App., No. XXVIII, pp lx. The only mention of the conditions of the Peace of Scopia in the archival sources is that of a document published by Ljubić, Vol. X, No. CCLXXIII, Sept. 3, 1463, pp. 269-270, and Schafarik, pp. 521-523, in which Araniti's widow complains that one of her sons will be sent with an Albanian contingent to fight for the Sultan, according to that treaty. But the Venetians reassure Araniti's widow and Scanderbeg's mother-in-law that such a thing will not happen, and the whole matter sounds like a family intrigue of Araniti's sons, who were hostile to Scanderbeg and had refused to attend the wedding of their sister to him.

12 Pius, Commentarii, Book XII, p. 607: "Pontifex necessariam pacem non improbavit si, quod ajebat Georgius, imperium Apostolicae Sedis salvum esset."

13 Ibid., p. 607: "At cum voluerit Pontifex rursus in bellum ibitur."

he had concluded with the Turks a treaty of peace which he never intended to respect.[14] The clauses of this treaty were the following: (a) Scanderbeg was to resume war against the Turks provided that he received proper subsidies and reinforcements of Venetian contingents; (b) the amount of subsidies was to be determined directly by the Grand Council of the Venetian Republic and the Abbot of Rotezo, or his successor, and not by the Venetian proveditors in Albania; (c) several Venetian warships and auxiliary ships were to be sent to the Albanian waters to protect the country and the population; (d) in case Venice concluded peace with Turkey, Albania was to be included in the treaty; (e) Scanderbeg's son was to be admitted into the ranks of Venetian noblemen; (f) in case he should be driven out of Albania, Scanderbeg would be granted refuge and support in Venetian territory, which would enable him to recover his state; (g) his pension arrears were to be paid in Venice and not by the Venetian proveditors in Albania.[15] On Sept. 25, 1463, Scanderbeg's son, John Castrioti, was granted the privilege of hereditary Venetian citizenship and membership in the Grand Council of Venetian noblemen.[16] On Oct. 17, 1463, Gabriele Trevisano was sent to Albania with

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14 Six months later Scanderbeg declared war against Turkey. See later.

15 Nagy-Nyary, Acta Estera, Nos. 143-145, pp. 229-233. Ljubić, Vol. X, No. CCLXIX, Aug. 20, 1463, pp. 264-266, and Ibid., No. CCLXXXV, Oct. 17, 1463, pp. 279-281.

16 Ljubić, Vol. X, No. CCLXXXI, Sept. 25, 1463, p. 276.

a Venetian contingent of 1300 cavalrymen and infantrymen, 2000 ducats for the prosecution of war against Turkey, and all of Scanderbeg's pension arrears. He was empowered to reconcile Lek Ducaghini with Scanderbeg and win him, as well as all other Albanian chieftains, for the crusade against the Turks. In brief, the Venetians wanted to reorganize the League of Alessio, including Stefan Cernojevich, under the supreme command of Scanderbeg.[17]

4. Crusade of Pius II. In November, 1463, Pope Pius II declared a Crusade against the Turks[18] and invited all Christian nations to join him. The Venetians, immediately threatened by the Turks, answered his appeal. The Albanian chieftains hesitated. Trevisano tried to win them in vain.[19] But the Archbishop of Durazzo persuaded them to join the Crusade.[20] On Nov. 27, 1463, Scanderbeg declared war on Turkey.[21] He burned his bridges again by raiding the neighboring Turkish regions and by rounding up about 60,000 cows, 80,000 sheep and goats and 3,000 horses.[22] In 1464 Pius II went to Ancona to put himself at the head of the Crusade and sail for Ragusa to

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17 Ljubić, Vol. X, No. CCLXXXV, Oct. 17, 1463, pp. 270-281.

18 "Mense Novembri, 1463, Pius II in curia bellum decrevit in Turcos." Spondamus, Vol. II, year 1463, Lyon, 1678, quoted by Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 77, note 1.

19 Biemmi, Book VI, pp. 421-422. Barletius, Vita, Book XI, pp. 313-316.

20 Biemmi, Book VI, pp. 422-427. Barletius, Vita, Book XI, pp. 316-320.

21 "Così la pace fatta ai 27 d'Aprile fù ai 27 di Novembre del medesimo anno risoluto (continued on next page)

meet the King of Hungary and Scanderbeg.[23] He died on Aug. 14, 1464.[24] His Crusade followed him into the grave.

5. Scanderbeg Versus Balaban Pasha. On Aug. 14, 1464, Scanderbeg defeated Sheremet Beg near the Lake of Ochrida. Victory was celebrated with a fish dinner with the famous trouts of the lake, since it was Saint Mary's Lent, and Scanderbeg observed very strictly all religious regulations.[25] He had returned to Croya and was preparing to go to Ragusa to meet Pope Pius II when he received the news of his death at Ancona.[26] Now Scanderbeg was left alone to face the wrath of the Sultan with a doubtful ally like Venice behind him. The worst was yet to come. The General sent by the Sultan against Scanderbeg was Balaban Pasha, an Albanian renegade brought up in Turkey since his early youth, who knew the country well and was a master in guerrilla warfare.[27] It was a deadly duel

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di romperla." Biemmi, Book VI, p. 427.

22 "Nam 60 millia bovum, 80 millia pecorum, tria millia equorum cum pullis suis, quae de turma, ut ajunt, et ipsius Mahumetis Principis grege erant, inde abegerunt." Barletius, Vita, Book XI, p. 321. Cfr. Franco, chap. XXIX, p. 31: "Et fece preda di ottocenti mila pecore, et sessanta mila capi tra vache, bovi, et vitelli, et tre mila cavalle con li poledri, ch' erano della razza propria d'esso Gran Turco, et ancora prese molte altre robbe, et bruciò gran parte di quel paese."

23 Pastor, Vol. III, p. 348, note 4; Gondola, in Chronica Ragusina, p. 370.

24 Pastor, Vol. III, pp. 368-370. He was planning to partition Turkey and give Macedonia to Scanderbeg. Ibid., p. 324. The claim of Makushev in Razyskania, pp. 106-107, based on a letter of Girardo de Collis, that Pope Pius II never meant seriously to head the Crusade seems unfounded. See Pastor, Vol. III, chap. VIII, pp. 311-374.

25 Franco, chap. XXXI, p. 34 v.

(footnotes 26 and 27 on next page)

between two experts, which dragged along for four years with varying fortunes. The first rounds went in favor of Balaban Pasha. He almost caught his rival in a cleverly prepared ambuscade. Scanderbeg was saved by a prodigious bound of his fiery steed.[28] The second round proved fatal to some of Scanderbeg's best generals: Moses of Dibra, who was reputed to be second only to Scanderbeg, Vladan Yuritza, his most trusted adviser, and Musachi of Angelina, the most loyal of all his nephews, with four other officers were all caught prisoners and sent to Constantinople. Scanderbeg offered thousands of ducats to ransom them. The Sultan ordered them to be skinned alive.[29] The unfortunate men were mourned

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26 Biemmi, Book VI, p. 447; Barletius, Vita, Book XI, p. 332;

27 "Balaban war eben so unerschrocken, militarisch begabt, kaltberechnend und unerschöpflich an strategischer Hinterlist wie Skanderbeg." Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 80

28 "Skanderbeg ging in die Falle, verlor von seinen fünf begleitern vier und entran nur durch einen romanhaften Alvaradosprung dem Geschicke." Ibid.,p. 83; Franco, chap.XXXIII, p. 38; Biemmi, Book VI, p. 431.

29 "Omnes excoriari suo more jussit." Barletius, Vita, Book XI, p. 337. Cfr. Biemmi, Book VI, p. 433: "Con una crudelta delle più detestabili commandò che tutti si scortificassero vivi ed a liste affine de render più durabile il tormento; e non saziato della pena dei vivi, fece gittar i lor cadaveri divisi in pezzi ad esser divorati dai cani." Franco, chap. XXXII, pp. 36-36 v. : "Per singulare dispetto fece scorticar quelli a poco a poco per quindici giorni continui. Siche con simile afflittione et dolore passorno crudelta li fece scortic de questa vita." Hopf, Chroniques, p. 297: "Anzi per piu crudelta li fece scorticare vivi poco a poco, talche per quindici dì continui con simile afflittione e dolore passarno da questa vita."

by the entire nation. They were avenged in bloody battles, in which no prisoners were taken,[30] and in the bloodiest of them all, which took place in August, 1465, in Kashari and Valkalia, on the very spot, where the martyred men had been taken prisoners a year before.[31]

6. Second Siege of Croya. The greatest siege was yet to come. In 1466, Sultan Mehmed II with a huge army of about 150,000 marched against Scanderbeg whom neither his father nor his generals had been able to subdue.[32] In the middle of June he besieged Croya which was defended by a garrison of 4,400 under Tanush Thopia.[33] Neither his huge

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30 Biemmi, Book VI, p. 441: "Non si fece neppur un solo prigione; tutto fu sagrificato alla vendetta di quelli otto Signori che Maometto avea fatto morire si inumanamente."

31 Ibid.,p. 445; Barletius, Vita, Book XI, pp. 344,349.

32 Laonicos, Book VIII, p. 432: " Misit igitur partem exercitus contra Scenderem Iuanis filium, quem pater, quamvis saepius cum debellare occepisset, vincere nequivit." Cfr. Critoboulos in French, Book III, par. 93, App., No. XXVIII, pp. lx-lxi: "Déjà auparavant, le sultan Morat, père du Sultan actuel, leur avait fait la guerre avec une grande armée et avec des forces imposantes. . . Cependant il n'avait pu prendre le pays et le soumettre complètement."

33 "Pose di guarnigione quattro mile e quattrocento soldati, e ne diede il governo a Tanusio Topia ch' era il piu accreditato Uffiziale delle sue truppe, ed in cui maggiormente confidava." Biemmi, Book VI, p. 448. Barletius, Vita, Book XII, p. 353: "Scanderbegus omnia loca sua praemunuit, praesertim uubem Crojae, in qua firmissimum praesidium tum Albanorum et Epirotarum, tum Italorum posuerat, quibus Baldesarem Perducem, Italum virum aeque strenuum atque fidum praefecerat." Baldassar Perducci seems to have been the commander of the Venetian contingent rather than the commander of the garrison. Cfr. Pisko, p. 101; Gegaj, p. 142, note 5.

guns, nor his general assaults, nor his bribes could reduce the famous fortress. And Scanderbeg was continually harassing and decimating the besiegers. Finally, the Sultan entrusted the siege of Croya to an army of 80,000 under Balaban Pasha, for whom he built in a month the fortress of Elbassan, as a base of operations.[34] On his way back, the Sultan managed to capture the town of Chidna in the Drin valley and massacred the inhabitants.[35] Scanderbeg had neither money, ammunitions, supplies nor soldiers enough to continue the struggle and so he decided to go and get some from Pope Paul II (1464-1471) and Ferdinand of Naples. He arrived at Rome on December 12, 1466,

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34 Babinger, in Elbassan, pp. 94-103, published two inscriptions, dealing with the founding of the fortress of Elbassan as a zwingburg by Sultan Mehmed II in 1466. Cfr. Barletius, Vita, Book XIII, p. 364; Biemmi, Book VI, p. 455, places the construction of the fortress in the first expedition of Mehmed II, which is correct, while Barletius postpones it to the second: "Si può aggiungere davantaggio che il Barlezio mette in questa seconda spedizione del Turco la distruzione di Chiuril, e la costruzione della Fortezza Valmi, il che dall' Antivarino è stato riferto nella prima." See also Critoboulos in French, Book V, paragraphs 78-81, and App., No. XXVIII, pp. lxx-lxxii; Phrantzes, Book IV, chap. XXII, p. 425; Altosmanische, p. 150, and App., No. XXVII, p. lix; Ashik-Pasha-Zade, chap. 142, p. 162; Saad-ed-Din, Vol. I, p. 509.

35 Biemmi, Book VI, pp. 453-454; Barletius, Vita, Book XII, p. 354; Franco, chap.XXXVI, pp. 40-41 v.

dressed as a plain poor soldier and with only a few horsemen.[36] He was received by a huge crowd headed by cardinals and bishops.[37] Paul II bestowed on him a sword of honor and a consecrated hat in a brilliant ceremony performed in Saint Peter's Cathedral.[38] He obtained a subsidy of about

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36 "El Signor Scanderbeg gionse qui veneri (12 dicembre) et incontra li forono mandate le famiglie de cardinali. E homo molto de tempo passa li 60 anni; cum puochi cavalli è venuto e da povero homo." Arrivabene, quoted by Pastor, Vol. IV, p. 88, note 3. Cfr. Barletius, Vita, Book XII, p. 357; "Scanderbegus interim, dum haec geruntur, communicata re cum paucis sine mora, sagulo gregali et vilissimo admodum habitu indutus, ad urbem Romanam pro ope, et auxilio a summo Principe, patrumque collegio implorando profectus est."

37 "Urbem itaque ingressus, quam sui nominis suaeque virtutis celebritate repleverat, statim in Pontificis praesentiam venit; quod, ut a Romanis cognitum, incredibilis hominum motus concursusque ad eum conspiciendum suspiciendumque facti undique fuerunt; Paullus autem, cum Georgium vidisset, miratus est tanti viri adspectum et maximo honore excepit." Farlati, Vol. VII, quoted by Pisko, p. 103. Cfr. preceding note.

38 Canensius, in Muratori, Vol. III, Part XVI, pp. 148-149: "Alexandrum Epirotarum regem, quem Albanensium sermone Scanderbech appellamus, principem quidem magnanimum, armis belloque insignem, qui complurimas Turcorum strages quam frequenter egit, venientem ad se venerandum honorifice suscepit. . . Ad quem quidem honorificentius ornandum, pileum ensemque militarem, ut dignis principibus per ea tempora juxta sacras cerimonias a Pontificibus donari consuetur, magno cum totius curiae apparatu dari mandavit." App., No. XXII, pp. 1-li. Cfr. Sismondi, Vol. X, p. 248, note 1.

7,500 ducats, part of which was handed to him immediately and the rest forwarded subsequently to Albania.[39] From Rome, Scanderbeg went to Naples. Ferdinand handed him one thousand ducats and a considerable amount of supplies and ammunition.[40] Scanderbeg returned to Albania in the summer of 1467. In April he defeated a Turkish army under Yonuz, Balaban Pasha's brother, and took him prisoner together with his son, Haydar, while they were trying to reinforce the Turks besieging Croya.[41] Then, in a surprise attack, he seized the strategic hill of Cruino dominating the city and broke the ring of siege fortresses built around Croya. In the battle that followed, Balaban Pasha, caught in a trap between Scanderbeg's army and Tanush Thopia's garrison, was mortally wounded and died soon after.[42] The army,

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39 Pastor, Vol. IV, pp. 88-90; Canensius, pp. 148-149; Bertolotti in Petrovitch, p. 117; cfr. Gegaj, pp. 144-145.

40 Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, Vol. I, p. 90.

41 Makushev, Monumenta Slavorum, letter of Zaccaria Barbaro to the Bishop of Verona, May 10, 1467, Vol. II, p. 29: "Hoggi per lettere del 27 del passato (Aprile) dal rector nostro de Alexio se sente Scandarbego. . . aver preso il fratello de Balabano capitano del Turcho cum tuti i careagi erano contra Croja e menato in Alessio." Cfr. Makushev, Razyskania, pp. 109-110.

42 "Balabano veramente dubitando che venisse a socorer Croja delibero dargli la bataglia, et così fece; quelli dentro se portarno viriliter et ferirno dicto Balabano capitano del Turcho de primo schiopeto et de primo veretone et portato al lozamento morì subito; zonse Scanderbego et feze levare i Turchi da campo, socorse Croia e fornila de vituarie e rupe li inimici cum multa tagliata de Turchi, e tutavia seguitava la victoria." Zaccaria Barbaro (continued on next page)

left leaderless, was routed and cut to pieces. Soon the besiegers became the besieged and offered to surrender their arms and ammunition on condition that they be allowed to leave for Turkey unharmed.[43] Scanderbeg was ready to accept but none of the other chieftains was willing to allow any Turk to leave Albania alive. When Lek Ducaghini was asked his opinion, he carried the War Council with two Albanian words: Embe ta.[44] Then every man rushed furiously at the defeated enemy and the massacre began. But the Turks, with the courage of despair,[45] cut their way through the relatively small number of their foes and escaped to the Dibra frontier.

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to the Bishop of Verona from Venice, May 10, 1467, in Makushev Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. II, pp. 29-30. Critoboulos in French, Book V, par. 91, and App., No. XXVIII, p. lxxii, describes Scanderbeg's victory over Balaban Pasha as follows: "Quand on en était là, le sultan eut la nouvelle, que le Prince des Illyriens, Alexandre (Scanderbeg), avait demandé l'alliance chez les Peoniens, qu'elle avait été accordée qu'il avait dressé des embûches, et que sans que Palapan (Balaban Pasha), le satrape, que le Sultan avait laissé pour bloquer et assiéger la ville de Kroues (Croya), en sut rien du tout, et l'ayant déconcerté par cette attaque générale, mis en fuite et poursuivi, avait fait un grand carnage de ses gens et tué le satrape lui-même, qui avait lutté en brave." Thus the story of Barletius, Vita, Book XII, pp. 360-361 is confirmed by two different sources in all its details.

43 Barletius, Vita, Book XII, pp. 361-363.

44 "Dipoi parlò l'inclito Lech Ducagino, et disse con audatia: "Embetha, che in Albanesco vol dir adosso, perche non gli pareva doversi usare misericordia verso l'infedeli nimici, ma quelli in pezzi tagliare." Franco, chap. XXXVII, p. 42. Cfr. Lavardin, Book XII, chap. II, p. 357: " Lech Ducagin parla plus librement, selon qu'il était brusc, et prompt de la main et de la cervelle, et dit en un mot, Embeta, qui signifie en Albanais: A doz."

45 Scanderbeg had warned his fellow chieftains not to drive the enemy to despair, because (continued on next page)

7. Third Siege of Croya. When Mehmed II learned that Scanderbeg not only had broken the siege of Croya but was also besieging the Zwingburg of Elbassan,[46] he could hardly control his rage,[47] and immediately began preparations for another expedition against Albania. In the month of July, 1467, he was again under the walls of Croya.[48] After a vain attempt to storm the fortress, he let his vast army loose and devastated with fire and sword every corner of

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those who fear everything fear nothing: "Omnia timentes nihil timent." Barletius, Vita, Book XII, p. 32. But not even his panegyric biographer could agree with him and comments bitterly: "De acerrimo bellatore cunctator factus." Barletius, Vita, Book XII, pp. 363.

46 "On ajoutait qu'Alexandre (Scanderbeg) . . . s'en était retourné, maître de tout le pays, assiégeant la nouvelle ville (Elbassan) et enfermant la garnison." Critoboulos in French, Book V, par. 92; App., No. XXVIII, pp. lxxii-lxxiii. Also Saad-ed-Din, Vol. I, p. 509; Hadži Khalfa, Rumelia and Bosnia, p. 134, quoted by Hahn, Reise, p. 110, note 2.

47 Critoboulos in French, Book V, par. 93: "Après avoir reçu cette nouvelle, le Sultan ne se possédait plus de fureur. . ." Also Barletius, Vita, Book XIII, p. 364: "Ad Mahumetem Principem me convertam, qui recenti Balabani praefecti sui interitu et foeda suorum fuga et strage vehementer indoluit, afflictansque et macerans supra modum, quod obsidio urbis Crojae dissoluta esset, et suo modo ipse de tanta ignominia adversus Scanderbegum se ulcisci posset, assidue cogitabat, animosque dies ac noctes volvebat." Barletius, Vita, Book XIII, p. 364.

48 Augustinus de Rubeis from Rome, July 16, 1467, in Makushev, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. II, p. 201: "Da Brinzi sono qua copie de lettere. . . como el Gran Turcho ha facta grandissima preda et strage in Albania et presa quasi la mazore parte de quelli Albanesi. . . Postea dice che s'è transferito dicto Turcho verso Durazo. . ." Also Ibid., from Rome, Aug. 3, 1467, p. 202: "De le cose del Turcho se ha adviso ch' el è molto grosso in Albania et fa contra Croya et anche Durazzo grandissima et crudelissima guerra."

Albania he could reach.[49] But he soon discovered that the price in detachments, trapped and annihilated by Scanderbeg, was too high,[50] and after fifteen days[51] of devastation, plunder and massacre, he returned to Constantinople in humiliation and defeat.[52] His only military achievement during this expedition was the destruction of Chivril, an unfinished fortress which Scanderbeg was building on the Adriatic seacoast near Cape Rodoni.[53]

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49 "Rien n'échappa et ne leur resta caché de tout ce qu'il y a d'inaccessible, d'éloigné, de sauvage et de recelé dans la terre." Critoboulos in French, Book V, par. 96; App., No. XXVIII, p. lxxiv.

50 "Quant au Sultan, ayant pendant peu de jours assiégé Kroues(Croya), comme il reconnut qu'il lui serait impossible de la prendre avec les armes par un assaut, . . . il resolut d'y laisser une armée suffisante avec un général qui continuerait le blocus, et de retourner lui-même à Byzance, pour ne pas s'exposer en vain, lui-même et toute son armée, aux fatigues et aux pertes." Ibid., Book V, par. 106; App., No. XXVIII, p. lxxv.

51 "Mais tout le reste fut parcouru et soumis, fait esclave, et ravagé dans quinze jours en tout." Ibid., Book V, par. 96; App., No. XXVIII, p. lxxiv.

52 "Tandem cum satis evastata esset regio, exercitum abduxit, cum nihil sane memorabile designasset." Laonicos, Book VIII, p. 433. The two Albanian expeditions of Mehmed II are confirmed by the Altosmanische, p. 150, App., No. XXVII, p. lix; Urudz, pp. 123, 126; Saad-ed-Din, Vol. I, pp. 391, 509-510.

53 "Fortezza che nominavasi Chiuril. . . ma non era ridotta a perfezione, ne abitata, e spiantolla da fondamenti." Biemmi, Book VI, p. 453; Barletius, Vita, Book XIII, p. 365: "Locum quendam ad litus Adriatici maris non longe a Dyrachio positum petiit, qui nunc ab incolis Caput Redoni dicitur, ubi Princeps Scanderbegus nuperrime urbem, quem Chiurilum appellavit, ponere coeperat. Quam cum Ottomanus nondum habitatam nec perfectam reperisset, funditus evertit." Cfr. Franco, chap. XXXVIII, p. 43: "Chiuril che non era ancora compita, nè abitata." Scanderbeg tried in vain to persuade the Venetians to help him build this fortress. See Ljubić, Vol. X, No. CCCCXVI, Oct. 26, 1467, p. 399.

8. Scanderbeg's Last Days. The Venetians were alarmed by the construction of the Zwingsburg of Elbassan, or Valmi,[54] as it is called by Scanderbeg's biographers, because it was situated on the navigable river Shkumbi over which the Turks could reach the Adriatic Sea with their ships.[55] Thus Turkey had now acquired an inland port in addition to the open port of Valona she already possessed on the seacoast since 1435.[56] These two ports could be turned into naval bases and bottle up Venice in the upper Adriatic. The Venetians offered 3000 ducats and as many soldiers as would be necessary to Scanderbeg to capture the fortress of Elbassan.[57] According to Critoboulos and Saad-ed-Din, Scanderbeg raided the city of Elbassan but was powerless against the citadel,[58] because

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54 The description of the city by Barletius, in Vita, Book XIII, p. 364, the Venetian document in Ljubic, X, No. CCCLXXXII, Aug. 16, 1466, p. 373, and the two inscriptions in Babinger, Elbasan, Vol. XXIV, pp. 94-103, leave no doubt that the ancient Valmi or Valmora is the modern Elbassan. Both Jorga and Ljubic misspell it as Valona, which is in Southern Albania on the seacoast, while Valmi or Elbassan is in the interior of Central Albania. The Turkish name means, according to Babinger, Land-Conquering, in German Zwingburg.

55 "Omnes, qui scribunt ex Albania, existimant rem periculosam et nocivam statui nostro Albanie instaurationem quam fecit Turcus illius civitatis nominate Valone (Valmi), tum propter vicinitatem suam locis nostris, tum propter copiam materie ad fabricandum fustas et alia navigia et commoditatem per illud flumen descendendi et illabendi ad mare." Ljubić, Vol. X, No. CCCLXXXII, Aug. 16, 1466, pp. 372-374.

56 Valona was conquered by the Turks in 1417 for the first time. See Jorga, Notes, Vol. II, Aug. 26, 1417. It was regained by the Albanians and lost again after the rebellion of Araniti in ~~1435~~ 1433-1435. (continued on next page)

he lacked siege artillery as well as manpower.[59] Consequently a convention of the League was called at Alessio to provide ways and means to that end.[60] In the meantime, Scanderbeg fell sick and died of fever on Jan. 17, 1468.[61] On his

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See Pius II, Europe and Asia, chap. XV, p. 338, and App., No. XI, p. xlii: "Valona in Albania non magna civitas est, in portu maris sita, qua brevissimus est in Italia trajectus. Hanc Pazaites primus ex Turcis occupavit. Rebellantem Amurates recuperavit."

57 Ljubic, Vol. X, no. CCCLXXXII, Aug. 16, 1466, p. 373: "Et ex nunc captum sit, quod illa tria millia ducatorum, que mittenda sunt in Albania, illico mitti debeant ad manus provisoris nostri Albanie, ut si dominus Scanderbegus voluerit suscipere hanc expeditionem, illos dispensare debeat inter copias nostras italicas et aliter, sicuti melius sibi videbitur. E precipi debeat omnibus gentibus nostris predictis, ut sint ad obedientiam prefati domini Scanderbegi et provisoris nostri Albanie, qui ire debeant in societatem cum prefato Scanderbego."

58 Babinger, Elbassan, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 94-103; Saad-ed-Din, Vol. I, pp. 509-510.

59 The Venetians did not send the reinforcements they had promised. See Ljubic, X, no. CCCCXVI, Oct. 26, 1467, pp. 399-400.

60 Barletius, Vita, Book XIII, p. 366: "Interea vero Scanderbegus jussit undique delectum fieri, ut maximo coactu exercitu, ad urbem Valnorum expugnandam, quam nuper Mahumetes fundaverat profisceretur. Morbo tamen gravi implicitum pro dura fati potentia ab ea expeditione cum fortuna subtraxit." Franco, chap. XL, p. 43 v.: "Scanderbeg venne in Alessio per certi bisogni del stato suo et di quello della Signoria Inclita di Venetia et massimamente per ordine di expugnare e rovinare certa citta nuova, chiamata Valma, che gia era instaurata dal Turco."

61 Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, p. 95, was the first one to establish this date as correct according to Phrantzes, Book IV, chap. XXII, p. 425: "Mense Ianuario ejusdem anni 6976 (1468) Albanitarum Princeps Scantares morbo obiit." The date is confirmed by Trinchera, Codice Aragonese, Vol. I, pp. 439-441; Ljubic, Vol. X, no. CCCCXXIII, Feb. 13, 1468, p. 404: "Sicut per litteras vicerectoris nostri (continued on next page)

deathbed he won his last victory in absentia. A Turkish army which had invaded the region of Scutari in midwinter was routed by Scanderbeg's army without Scanderbeg, who could not manage to get on his feet and jump on his horse.[62] But the Turks thought he was there and the terror of his name hastened their defeat.[63] The obituary announcement was shouted by Lek Ducaghini to the four winds in stentorian and heart-rending lamentations, so that all Albania might hear the terrible news.[64] It was answered by the mournful neighing of Scanderbeg's steed, who refused to eat after his master's death and followed him to the grave.[65] Scanderbeg

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Dyrachii intelligitur, mortuus est magnificus quondam Scanderbegus." Also Monumenta Historiae Hungarica, Nagy-Nyary, Vol. II, 1466-1490, Budapest, 1877, no. 59, p. 93, Girardo de Collis from Venice, Feb. 12, 1468: "Scanderbeg e passato da questa vita; haveva la febre, et essendo corsi certi Turchi nel paese, volsi montar a cavallo, e morì in tre giorni." The wrong year of 1466, given by Barletius, Vita, Book XIII, p. 372, has been copied by Ghin Musachi, in Hopf, Chroniques, p. 299. The equally wrong year of 1467, given by Franco, chap. XLI, p. 45 and by Biemmi, Book VI, p. 479, has been copied by Lavardin, Rinaldi, Spondano, Sagredo, Duponcet, Rodota, Farlati, Sismondi, Hammer, Zinkeisen, Paganel, Moore, Tajani, Pisko, Galanti, Cuniberti, Barbarich, Baldacci, Villari, Chekrezi, Stavron, Swire, Guiliani and others. Volaterrano, Book VIII, p. 188, and App. no. XXV, p. lvi, tells us that Scanderbeg died from poisoning, while Sagredo, p. 53, reports that his death was due to the inexperience of the physician.

62 Nagy-Nyary, Acta Extera, Vol. II, 1466-1490, Budapest, 1877, no. 59, p. 93, in Monumenta Historiae Hungarica, IV, Girardo de Collis from Venice, Feb. 12, 1468: "Havea la febre et essendo corsi certi Turchi nel paese, volsi montar a cavallo, e morì in tre giorni."

63 Barletius, Vita, Book XIII, pp. 371-372; Franco, chap. XL, pp. 44-45.

64 Barletius, Vita, Book XIII, p. 372.

65 Franco, chap. XLI, p. 45 v.

was buried in the Cathedral of Saint Nicholas of Alessio, which he had rebuilt a few years before his death.[66] Ten years after, when the Turks took Alessio, they opened his grave in order to get fragments of his bones for amulets, which would make them invulnerable, as Scanderbeg himself was reputed to be.[67] Like Ajax of Sophocles, Scanderbeg withdrew from the scene before the end of the great Albanian tragedy.[68]

9. Fourth Siege of Croya. The news of Scanderbeg's death reached Venice on Feb. 12, 1468.[69] Immediately the Senate dispatched the Archbishop of Durazzo and the provisor Francesco Capello to obtain from Scanderbeg's widow and son the right to defend Croya and the other fortresses with Venetian garrisons.[70] The right was granted

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66 Theiner, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. I, no. DCI, p. 425.

67 Barletius, Vita, Book XIII, p. 373.

68 Fallmerayer, IX, p. 94.

69 Nagy-Nyary, Acta Externa, Vol. II, 1466-1490, Girardo de Collis from Venice, Feb. 12, 1468, no. 59, p. 93, in Monumenta Historiae Hungarica IV; Ljubic, Vol. X, no. CCCCXIII, Feb. 13, 1468, p. 404; Romanin, Vol. IV, p. 333.

70 "Inter cetera vero committatur eidem provisori, ut habita collatione cum suprascripto domino archiepiscopo, si intellexerint, loca eadem et subditos sub devotione filii suprascripti domini (Scanderbegi) conservari non posse, et periculum imminere, ut in manus Turchorum deveniant, et sub nostro nomine et dominio posse tueri, et si qui jam deviassent, facilius reduci sint cum uxore et filio ejusdem condam domini, et illes certificent, (continued on next page)

and the city continued to hold out against the Turks until 1477. "Choirs of Albanian maidens", Sabellicus informs us, "though surrounded with the din of battle and the clang of barbarian arms assembled regularly every eighth day in the public squares of the cities of the principality to sing hymns of their departed hero."[71] The spirit of Scanderbeg still survived among his people although he himself had passed away. The city was starved into surrender on June 16, 1478.[72] In spite of the solemn pledge to spare the lives of the brave defenders, Mehmed II ordered them to be massacred in cold blood while their women and children were dragged away into slavery.[73] A year after Scutari fell after a protracted siege by Mehmed II in person. The story of the heroic defense is told by Barletius, who

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quod pacatis rebus dominatio nostra illis omnia eorum loca restituet, sed pro presenti, ut eorum rebus melius consulatur, contenti esse velint, ut nomine nostri dominii loca ipsa teneantur et gubernentur." Ljubić, Vol. X, no. CCCCXIII, Feb. 13, 1468, pp. 404-405. Cfr. Romanin, Vol. IV, pp. 333-334.

71 ". . .Medio ardore belli et tum quum Barbarorum armis omnia strepebant puellarum coetus in his urbibus quibus ille imperavit, octavo quoque die mediis triviis coire solitos ac defuncti Principis, ut veteres magnorum herorum in conviviis solebant, laudes decantare." Sabellicus, Book IX, 757; App., no. XXIV, p. liv.

72 Romanin, Vol. IV, p. 379; Makushev, Razyskania, p. 115.

73 Romanin, Vol. IV, p. 379; Makushev, Razyskania, pp. 114-115; Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, pp. 106-108.

witnessed it and counted the huge stone shells crashing into the city every day in ever increasing numbers and sizes.[74] After the peace of 1479 Venice lost all her Albanian possessions with the exception of Durazzo, Dulcigno and Antivari.[75] The Albanians themselves helped them out.[76] As a class of free peasants, they hated equally feudalism under the Turkish Sultan and capitalism under the Venetian merchant princes.[77]

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74 "E chi volesse contar con diligenza tutti i colpi tratti fino a questo di, troverà che furono 2,539 di bombarda, cento e nove di mortaro, dieci de palla da fuoco." Barletius, De Obsidione Scodrensi, in Sansovino's Italian version, p. 336 v.

75 Durazzo was lost to the Turks in 1501, Antivari and Dulcigno in 1571. See Jireček, Albanien in der Vergangenheit, in Forschungen, Vol. I, p. 83.

76 Sabellico, Book X, year 1477, p. 792, tells the story very eloquently: "Sed pene plures Epirotarum perfidia perdidit, quorum ad octo millia quasi pugnae spectatores toto die immota acie steterant. Inde ubi rem Venetam inclinare viderunt, non minus quam hostes in sylvis et circa flumina in nostros grassati sunt; mille et amplius ea pugna desiderati, et in his Franciscus Contarenus legatus ac centurionum plerique." Cfr. Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, pp. 105-106.

77 The free peasant had no place in the Venetian possessions in Albania. Only the nobility and the bourgeoisie enjoyed the right of owning land. See Makushev, Razyskania, p. 133.

10. Epilogue. Under the treaty of 1479 between Venice and Turkey, Albania was ceded to Turkey. As Fallmerayer remarks, it was a cession on paper.[78] The Turks took possession only of a few fortresses but the countryside defied their rule down to the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, when Turkey lost almost all her European provinces. Scanderbeg died but the Albanian free peasants remained. They recognized the Sultan as their nominal overlord, some of them even adopted Islam nominally, but they refused to pay taxes. Whenever the Turkish authorities insisted on collecting them there was a rebellion under leaders, most of whom are anonymous. In such a rebellion in 1832[78a] the ancient fortress of Croya was razed to the ground. Nothing remains now of Scanderbeg's citadel except the hill on which it was built. Thus one after the other all the towns were destroyed and turned into miserable villages. The flourishing towns of the seacoast disappeared and utter desolation took their place.[79]

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78 Fallmerayer, Vol. IX, pp. 109-110.

78a Jireček, Forschungen, p. 83.

79 "Die Albaner selbst standen im Mittelalter den Griechen und Dalmatinischen Romanen viel naher, als den neubekehrten Slawen. Sie waren ein altchristliches Volk von mehr städtischer Kultur." Jireček, Albanien in der Vergangenheit, in Forschungen, Vol. I, pp. 70, 83. Cfr. Šufflay, ibid., p. 293,: "Albanien, dessen heutiges wesen durch die Turkenherrschaft tief unter das Niveau eines hochentwickelten mittelalterischen Lebens gesunken ist. . ." Also Šufflay, Städte und Burgen Albaniens: "Seit dem 15 bis zum 16 Jahrhundert sehen wir, wie sich auf den Trümmern der einstigen Städte, Dörfen festsetzen wie im Balez, Svac, Drivasto, oder offene Vororte vie Exobazari von Durazzo, Bazar von Alessio, Tabaki von Shkodra."

But the ruins of the ancient castles and the beautiful Romanesque churches[80] are still there to tell their tragic story - in Victor Hugo's language: "Les Turcs sont passes la, tout est ruine et deuil." With the destruction of towns the country became purely agricultural. The farmers and the shepherds, some of them half-nomadic, were the only social class, which had any chance of surviving in the wild and inaccessible mountains, where the Turk could not reach them. There they remained, ragged and free, in a mountainous belt stretching from Montenegro to Peloponnesus along the Adriatic and Ionian Seas.[81] Other Balkan nations rose in the nineteenth century to regain their lost liberties. The Albanian highlanders rose in the twentieth century in order to preserve

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80 See Ippen, Alte Kirchen und Kirchenruinen in Albanien, in Manek-Pekmezi, p. 94; also Jireček's articles on Medieval Albania and medieval cities of Scutari, Durazzo, Valona; Šufflay, Kirchenzustände im Vortürkischen Albanien, in Forschungen, pp. 63-188. Over each ruin one might exclaim, like Barletius, Book XIII, p. 364: "Quae demum qualis quantaque fuerit, ipsa ruina docet."

81 "Appellantur enim vulgo Albanenses, qui quondam Albani nominati a jugis Caucasi montis intra sinum Adriaticum descendentes ab Illyricis ad Peloponnenses subjugarunt, homines fieri et bellicosi adeo ut soli ex omnibus nationibus intra Istrum et Hadriam at Italiae fines et fortissime Turcos semper sustinuerunt, et ultro adorti maximis detrimentis afficerint quotiesque afficerint." Philelphus in Rinaldi, Vol. X, year 1463, no. 52, p. 365; App., no. XX, p. xlix.

preserve the liberties they had enjoyed through the centuries, liberties which were now in danger at the hands of the Young Turks. The rebellion of 1910-1912 showed that the Albanian guerrilleros were the same as those led by Scanderbeg in the old days. Singlehanded they defeated the Turks, marched into Salonica and compelled the Turkish Government to grant them autonomy. A few months later, it took all the Balkan nations combined to defeat those same Turks. In 1920 there was a repetition of the same old story. Albania was threatened with partition. Italy had occupied Valona and its hinterland down to Argirocastro. The other neighbors asked for their share, according to the secret treaty of 1917. There was only one voice raised in protest, that of President Wilson. But that was enough to arouse the nation. The Albanian highlanders of the Southern seacoast were the first to rise. They were followed by the others. In a few months, the Italians were thrown into the sea and compelled to evacuate Valona and its hinterland. Some twenty years later, in 1940, the Greeks, about seven times more numerous than the Albanians, could not repeat the trick, though they were assisted by the British fleet and the British air force, which prevented the Italians from bringing reinforcements. These stories are not out of the way - they tend to prove the main point of this paper, namely that the Scanderbeg story is not a myth because the peasants whom he led are still there, and in our own time they have achieved similar victories, although without a twentieth century leader to compare with Scanderbeg.

11. Scanderbeg's Place in History. This question can be discussed under three different headings, since Scanderbeg was great in three different respects - as peasant leader, strategist and crusader.

(a) The Peasant Leader. The social class to which Scanderbeg belonged was that of the petty or rather patriarchal aristocracy, which is nearer to the peasants than to any other class. The characteristic of the petty aristocracy is that they have no economic basis and therefore do not form a class by themselves. Consequently they waver between the peasantry, the bourgeoisie, the aristocracy and the proletariat. As half-peasants, they tend towards the peasantry, to which they have usually given the best leaders. Scanderbeg was of the latter type. He identified himself with the Albanian free peasant class and became their greatest and most typical national leader.[82] The deadly enemies of this class in the fifteenth century were the Turkish feudal lords of the East and the Venetian merchant princes of the West, who wanted to enslave them and exploit them. This explains the continual war on two fronts against both Venice andTurkey, which Scanderbeg had to fight throughout his career. This also

82 It was Scanderbeg's flag that was raised at Valona when Albania was declared independent on Nov. 28, 1912. Barletius, Book II, p. 31, describes it as follows: "Rubea vexilla nigris et bicipitibus distincta aquilis gerebat Scanderbegus." Lavardin, Book II, chap. I, p. 32 v., translates: "Dans ses estendards, qui estoient tous rouges, il portoit une aigle noire a deux testes." Cfr. Franco, chap. II, p. 5 v.: "Venute (continued on next page)

explains his alliance with the Kings of Naples: The Venetians and the Turks were their common enemies and the price paid for the Neapolitan support was only nominal suzerainty, which did not bother the Albanian peasants at all. The price required for the papal support was continual war against the Turks and adherence to the Church of Rome, which suited the Albanian peasants perfectly. That explains why Scanderbeg and his highlanders were primarily obeying the Popes during this period and fighting their crusades so fanatically. Even in dress Scanderbeg identified himself with his peasants. He dressed like one of them and shared their meals as well as their sleeping quarters. It was not affectation that made him go to Rome like a poor man with a few horsemen and get a royal reception by the princes of the church and the Roman crowds. He just wanted to remain a peasant even on his greatest occasions. That made him popular not only among his own people, but also among the peasants of Serbia and Greece, who considered him as the common leader of their class against their exploiters of the East and of the West.

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di poi Scanderbeg nella città di Croia, fece levar via la bandiera del Turco, et vi fece mettere la sua con l'aquila nera con duoi capi in compo rosso." Longfellow knew it and mentioned it in his poem:

> "Anon from the castle walls
> The crescent banner falls
> And the crowd beholds instead,
> Like a portent in the sky,
> Iskander's banner fly,
> The Black Eagle with double head. . ."

(b) The Strategist. Scanderbeg adopted the traditional weapon of his peasant class - guerrilla warfare, but he perfected it to such a degree that with this primitive weapon he defeated two of the greatest Sultans of Turkey leading the most modern armies of their time. Consequently he deserved General Wolfe's eulogy, which coincides with the verdict of his contemporaries: "He excels all the officers, ancient and modern, in the conduct of a small defensive army."[83] But defensive guerrilla warfare, or war of exhaustion - Ermattungs-Strategie - was not his exclusive weapon. Sometimes he resorted to audacious offensive strokes - Vernichtungs-Strategie - as in the battle of Albulena in 1457 and the battle of Croya against Balaban Pasha in 1467, in which he annihilated huge armies with a small offensive army. Consequently, along with General Wolfe's eulogy, he well deserved that of Fallmerayer: "George Castrioti, as everyone knows, passes for one of the most accomplished, one of the most successful and one of the greatest masters of all times in the art of war.[84]

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83 Willson, pp. 296-297.

84 "Georg Castrioto gilt, wie jedermann weiss für einen der vollendetsten, glücklichsten und grössten Kriegmeistern aller Zeiten." Fallmerayer, Vol. VIII, p. 732.

(c) The Crusader. The title of Champion of Christendom, given to Scanderbeg by Pope Nicholas V,[85] and confirmed by his successors, Calixtus III,[86] Pius II,[87] and Paul II,[88] can be left to him ungrudgingly, as he deserved it with his struggles and his achievements. From 1443, when he was called by Eugene IV,[89] until 1469, that is to say for about 25 years, he fought continually, except for two short interruptions,[90] mainly under the direct orders of the Popes and only incidentally under the orders of other powers in so far as he was authorized by the Popes themselves.[91] As the authentic

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85 "Orthodoxae fidei fortissimus athleta et intrepidus pugil." Kayser, Goerres Jahrbuch, 1885, p. 215, note e; App., no. I, p. xxx.

86 "Nemo enim est tam ignarus rerum, qui non summis laudibus ad coelum te extollat, et de tua nobilitate tamquam de vero athlete et propugnatore nominis christiani non loquatur." Theiner, Monumenta Sacra, Vol. II, CCCCLXXII, p. 303; App., no. III, p. xxxiii.

87 "In Albania quoque Scanderbechius Christi miles intrepidus. . ." Cugnoni, no. LX, p. 132; App., no. XIII, p. xliii.

88 "Scanderbegus fortis Christi athleta, qui magna parti Albaniae imperitans annos supra viginti pro fide nostra pugnavit. ." Pisko, p. 104, note 232.

89 "Interea Eugenius IV audita fama hunc (Scanderbegum) per nuncios ad literas ad nostros et fidem pristinam traducere conatur. Ille confestim obtemperat." Volaterranus, Book VIII, p. 188; App., no. XXV, p. lvi.

90 Of about six months each, in 1461-1462 and 1463.

91 He went to Italy to help Ferdinand at the invitation of the Pope and with Crusade money raised at Ragusa: (a) "Propositum autem transeundi ad defensionem antedicti regis (Ferdinandi), quem de te bene meritum memoras, plurimum commendamus non dubitantes adventum tuum magna illi utilitati ad omnia bene gerenda futurum, teque ex eo plurimum verae laudis esse consecuturum." (continued on next page)

Pius II[92] tells us: He spent almost all his life fighting for the Christian cause.[93] In this respect, it is hard to find another crusader who can compare with him.[94]

As to the results of his campaigns, Calixtus III summarized them well: Like an unshakable dam, he stopped the fury of the Turkish tide and prevented it from overrunning Christian Europe.[95] To put it more prosaically: Scanderbeg fought a long delaying action of a quarter of a century and stopped Murad II and Mehmed II long enough

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Farlati, Vol. VII, p. 422-423; App., no. XVI, p. xlv. (b) "De consenciendo et dando reverendissimo archiepiscopo nostro id, quod fuit positum in camera in contantis et in argenteriis per Ser Franciscum de Benessa, qui fuit officialis super denariis Cruciate, per ipsum dominum archiepiscopum dandos illustri domino Schenderbeghi, seu ejus nuncio, juxta continenciam brevis apoltolici directi dicto domino archiepiscopo; qui denarii debeant servari usque adventum Schenderbeghi Ragusium, et tunc dari ipso Schanderbego per dominium nostrum et archiepiscopum insimul." Diplomatarium Ragusanum, Aug. 19, 1461, p. 751.

92 The authenticity of the Commentarii will always remain in doubt until a critical edition throws light on the mutilations, distortions, corrections and interpolations in the original text by Campano and Company.

93 "Georgius Scanderbechius ejus haereditatem accepit, nobili loco natus, qui aetatem paene omnem in armis pro Christi nomine consumpsit, multas et magnas Turcarum turmas bello vicit atque delevit. Solusque quodammodo regionem illam in Evangelio Christi continuit, quamvis hodie toties hostili ferro petita, magna ex parte deserta feratur." Pius II, Europe and Asia, chap. XV, p. 338; App., no. XI, p. xiii.

94 "Nam cum te semper pro tua excellenti strenuitate, proque memorabilibus gestis tuis ultra omnes Catholicos Principes de fide et religione Christiana optime meritum sentiamus. . ." Theiner, Monumenta Sacra, Vol. II, no. CCCCLXXII, p. 303; App., no. lll, p. xxxii.

95 "Videmus enim eum prope solum furori saevissimorum Turcorum quasi murum quendam firmissimum esse oppositum, qui ipsorum aditum praecludit, ne in Christianitate irrumpant." Farlati, Vol. VII, p. 422; App., no. IX, p. xl.

to make them miss the boat for Rome. As a matter of fact, Mehmed II had started his Italian campaign at Otranto in 1480, one year before he died. He was succeeded by Bayazit II, who did not bother much about conquests, and after him came Selim I, who turned his attention towards the East, thus permanently changing the center of gravity, the orientation and the spirit of the Ottoman Empire. So Scanderbeg's delaying action, coming at a critical period, saved Rome and Europe from the greatest catastrophe that could have befallen them - Turkish conquest, which would have spelled ruin for the economic life and the civilization of Europe. Scanderbeg's share in this highly important service can hardly be overestimated.

ABSTRACT OF PH.D. DISSERTATION

on

GEORGE CASTRIOTI SCANDERBEG

(1405-1468)

by

F.S. NOLI

Critical historians generally contend that Scanderbeg's victories have been exaggerated by his biographers and then they jump to the conclusion that the whole story of the Albanian hero is an inflated balloon. They seem to forget that no reasonable doubt can be entertained about the central fact of the story, which is the following: In 1443, Scanderbeg seized the fortress of Croya and defended it against Murad II and Mehmed II successively for a quarter of a century, and Croya fell to the Turks ten years after Scanderbeg's death, in 1478. Consequently the exaggerations of his biographers deal only with minor details, which do not weaken the central fact at all, namely that the two great Sultans failed to defeat Scanderbeg and capture his stronghold. The problem then is only to explain the factors which enabled Scanderbeg to put up such a long and heroic resistance.

Two Albanian historians, Antivarino, or the Anonymous of Antivari, and Marinus Barletius of Scutari, wrote extensive beographies of Scanderbeg. Both of them are panegyrists but their story can be checked, corrected and supplemented by archival sources now made available as well as by the writings of contemporary Albanian, Italian, Ragusan, Byzantine and Turkish

historians. All these sources are enumerated and critically analyzed.

The work done by sixty-two other investigators in the field is reviewed for the first time in Scanderbeg's historiography. Other important features of this dissertation are the following: Various neglected documents and literary sources, especially Pontano, Cribotoulos of Imbros and some Turkish annalists are used extensively; the legends of the early career of Scanderbeg (1405-1443) are eliminated, and this period is reconstructed on the basis of hitherto ignored literary and archival sources; the social and economic factors are duly emphasized.

The Albanian crusade against the Turks was financed in the first place by the Popes of Rome, because Albania was predominantly Roman Catholic. The Kingdom of Naples, the Venetian Republic, the City of Ragusa and the Kingdom of Hungary did their share also in backing the Albanians for reasons of self-preservation. Their support proved to be inadequate. Nevertheless, it was substantial enough to make the Albanian resistance reach epic proportions. The principal reason why the Albanians were still fighting when everybody around them had fallen flat before the Turks is that they were the only free peasants left in the Balkans. They were defending their liberties while their Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek neighbors were serfs, who had no interest whatever in defending their feudal lords. The Albanian crusade was a

people's war. Moreover, the mountainous terrain was an ideal ground for guerrilla warfare, in which the Albanians were past masters.

Scanderbeg spent his youth, not in the Sultan's palace, as the legend has it, but in the Albanian mountains, which explains why he became the greatest guerrilla leader of all times. This contention, which was first advanced by the Czech scholar, Jireček, is confirmed by both literary and archival sources. On this basis the early career of Scanderbeg can be summarized as follows : Born in 1405, he became nominally a Moslem under the influence of his father in 1430, served occasionally with Albanian contingents in the feudal army of Murad II, and obtained a military fief in the region of Dibra in 1463 as a reward for his services. In 1443, after the death of his father, he was allowed to inherit the paternal state as the Sultan's vassal with the exception of the key fortresses which were held by Turkish garrisons since 1430. At the invitation of Pope Eugene IV and immediately after Hunyadi's victory at Nish in 1443, Scanderbeg revolted, seized the fortress of Croya with forged documents, abjured Islam, and initiated his crusade which made him the most famous general of his time in Europe.

In 1444, he was elected commander-in-chief by the League of Albanian Chieftains at Alessio and defeated a Turkish army in Torviolli. He soon came into conflict with the Venetians, who were afraid of losing their coastal possessions in Albania. In

1448 he defeated both the Venetians and the Turks in a war of two fronts. The Venetians had to sue for peace and promised to pay him an annual pension to carry on his crusade. Murad II, alarmed by this alliance, led an expedition personally in 1449 but succeeded only in capturing the frontier fortress of Sfetigrad. He returned in 1450 and besieged Croya for five months but was compelled by Scanderbeg to raise the siege and withdraw from Albania.

In 1451, Scanderbeg placed himself under the protection of Alphonse V of Naples and reorganized the League of Albanian Chieftains, who had deserted him under Turkish pressure and Venetian instigation during the siege of Croya. With Neapolitan assistance Scanderbeg took the offensive. In 1455 he besieged Berat in an effort to eliminate the Turkish salient of Valona on the Adriatic Sea. His army was annihilated by Issa Beg Evrenos. The Venetians incited Scanderbeg's allies to revolt and crush him after this disaster. The rebels, Moses Araniti and Hamza Castrioti, Scanderbeg 's own nephew, invaded Albania with Turkish armies but were defeated one after the other in 1456 and 1457. After the loss of his two best friends, Alphonse V and Pope Calixtus III, who died in 1458, Scanderbeg patched up his differences with the Venetians, with whom he had been in a state of undeclared war ever since 1450.

In 1460 Scanderbeg concluded an armistice with Mehmed II and in 1461 he went to Italy to help King Ferdinand of Naples

against the French pretender René d'Anjou. His expedition was financed by Pope Pius II with crusade money raised in Ragusa and in Dalmatia. According to Pontano, whose testimony is confirmed by other literary and archival sources, Scanderbeg saved Ferdinand from disaster. He broke the siege of Barleta, where Ferdinand was encircled by Piccinino, Jean d'Anjou and the rebellious Neapolitan barons; he captured the fortress of Trani by a ruse de guerre; he outmanoeuvered the enemy with his blitz cavalry raids; and enabled Ferdinand to take the offensive which led him to final victory. Ferdinand rewarded Scanderbeg with fiefs in Apulia, granted him a hereditary annual pension, helped him with soldiers, ammunition, money and supplies; gave his widow and son a refuge and protection after his death. Albanian light cavalry became famous in Italy and in Europe as a result of this expedition.

In 1462 Scanderbeg returned to Albania and defeated three Turkish armies one after the other, in the same year. Threatened by the Venetians in the rear, he had to conclude peace with the Turks but six months later, at the invitation of Pope Pius II, he joined the Venetians and the Hungarians and declared war against Turkey in 1463. After the successive defeats of Balaban Pasha in 1464-1465, Mehmed II led in person two expeditions and besieged Croya twide in 1466 and 1467. Each time the siege was broken by Scanderbeg with the assistance of Pope Paul II and the Venetians. Scanderbeg died on Jan. 17, 1468, at Alessio,

where he had gone to organize an expedition against the fortress of Elbassan. The contention of Saad-ed-Din, Gibbon and Jorga that Scanderbeg died there as a refugee is contradicted by archival sources published by Ljubić. In 1479, eleven years after Scanderbeg 's death, Albania was ceded by the Venetians to the Turks. It was a cession on paper. Turkish rule remained nominal until Albania regained her independence in 1912.

Scanderbeg was great in three different respects and won a place in history as peasant leader, strategist and crusader: The social class to which he belonged was that of the petty, or rather patriarchal aristocracy, but he identified himself with the Albanian free peasant class, and became their greatest and most typical national leader in their long war on two fronts against the Turkish feudal lords and the Venetian merchant princes. According to General Wolfe of Quebec, "he excels all the officers, ancient and modern, in the conduct of a small defensive army", and according to Fallmerayer, he is "one of the greatest masters of all times in the art of war." The title of Champion of Christendom, given to him by Pope Nicholas V and confirmed by three succeeding Popes, can be left to him safely, as he deserved it, according to Calixtus III, "more than any other Christian Prince with his memorable achievements." He stopped Murad II and Mehmed II long enough to make them miss the boat for Rome. His long delaying action, coming at a critical period, did much to save Italy and Europe from the greatest calamity that could have befallen them, Turkish conquest. His share in this highly important service can hardly be overestimated.

A bibliography of 169 items and an appendix containing 28 archival and literary excerpts, mostly neglected, has been added at the end of the dissertation as supporting evidence.

BIOGRAPHY

Fan Stylian Noli was born on January 6, 1882 in Ibrik-Tepe, an Albanian settlement near Adrianople, European Turkey. He graduated from the Adrianople Gymnasium in 1900, and taught in Thrace and Egypt until 1906 when he emigrated to the United States. In 1908 he was ordained priest by the Russian Archbishop of New York, Platon, translated the Greek Prayer Book into Albanian, and founded the Albanian Orthodox Church in Boston, of which he served as pastor until 1920. After his ordination he studied at Harvard where he obtained his A.B. degree (cum laude) in 1912. In 1920 he returned to Albania and served as a member of parliament until 1924. He represented Albania as a senior delegate to the League of Nations at Geneva on several occasions during that period. In 1923 he was consecrated and appointed Bishop Metropolitan of Durazzo, Albania. In 1924 he was Premier and Acting Regent of Albania. He returned to America in 1930 where he has been Bishop of the Albanian Orthodox Church of America ever since. During this period he studied music and received the degree of Bachelor of Music in Composition at the New England Conservatory of Music in 1938, and the degree of Master of Arts in Musical Research at Boston University in 1939. In 1921 he published the History of Scanderbeg in Albanian, which was also published in Italian in Rome in 1924. The present dissertation is a revised version of this history. He has translated into Albanian and published several ecclesiastical and literary works, among which are Shakespeare's Othello, Hamlet, Macbeth and Julius Caesar; Ibsen's Enemy of the People and Lady Ingerd; the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam and Cervantes' Don Quichote.

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FAN STYLIAN NOLI

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PH.D. DISSERTATION

on

S C A N D E R B E G

by

F.S. NOLI

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Zwei Urkunden aus Nordalbanien, see Thalloczy and Jirecek.

APPENDIX

(Most of the following archival and literary sources have been either neglected or not sufficiently emphasized by the historians of Scanderbeg. This is especially the case with Pontano and Critoboulos of Imbros. Other neglected documents are discussed in the course of the dissertation.)

I

Nicholas V, (1447-1455), Antonio de Oliveto, fratri ordinis Minorum, nuntio Apostolico. (Bullarium Franciscanum, Vol. I, No. 1071, p. 540.)

1447. - Cum te ad partes Albaniae et Sclavoniae pro carsis fidei Nostrum et Sedis Apostolicae nuntium ad praesens mittamus, cupientes illas tibi facere concessiones in vim quarum christifidelibus earum partium te possis gratiorem reddere ac utiliorem ..... Ceterum, quia cupimus dilecto filio nobili viro Georgio Castriothi, domino in Albania, a fidelibus christianis favores et praesidia adversus Teucros praestari, eidem devotioni tuae convocandi et requirendi fideles illarum partium, ut praedicto Georgio

favoribus assistant, et omnes, qui id facere enitentur, ab omnibus casibus, etiam Sedi Apostolicae reservatis semel tantum absolvendi et eisdem, si forte tunc obierint, in mortis articulo plenariam absolutionem concedendi potestatem auctoritate praedicta tribuimus per praesentes.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, anno ... 1447, XII kal. iulii, ...anno I. (1). - Nicholas V mentions Scanderbeg repeatedly in his bulls and calls him: "Orthodoxae fidei fortissimus athleta et intrepidus pugil." See Kayser, Goerres Jahrbuch, 1885, p. 215, n. 3. On April 13, 1451, Nicholas issued another bull, according to Kayser, ibidem, p. 215, n. 4: "In einer Bulle von 13 April, 1451 erheilt er (Nicholas V) für Albanien einen volkommenen Ablass allen, die den Scanderbeg bei seinen Rüstungen und Kämpfen gegen die Türken unterstützen, und zwar sollen diejenigen, welche nicht mitziehen könnten, den dritten Theil der Ausgaben, die im Jubeljahre 1450 die Pilgerreise nach Rom, der Aufenthalt daselbst und das Ablassopfer gekostet haben würden, dem Scanderbeg zur Verfügung stellen."

II

Calixtus III, (1455-1458), Clarissimo in Christo filio Friderico Romanorum Imperatori semper Augusto. (Rinaldi, Vol.X, year 1457, No. 40-41, p. 113.)

1457. - Audivimus rumorem esse tamquam nos aurum ex natione tua supra quam deceat extorqueamus. Injuriantur profecto

nobis et a vero longe recedunt qui talia dicunt: Nihil unquam nostro nomine ab his extortum est, quibus beneficia contulimus, ut illi garriunt, nihil exactum, nihil petitum praeter annatam vetusto jure debitam. At si quae contra Turcos pecuniaria nobis subsidia obtulerunt, non recusavimus, nec recusare quidem debemus pro tanta Christianae religionis necessitate: Pecunias autem huiusmodi et alias undecumque venientes non usurpamus nobis, non recondimus in arca, non exponimus in jocalibus, non consumimus in delitiis, sed in defensionem fidei convertimus, et in oppressione perfidae Turcorum gentis ad nostrum exterminium semper intentae. Innumerabiles sunt et intollerabiles nobis quas in dies subimus expensae, nunc in Orientem legato classis nostrae, nunc in Albaniam Scanderbechi fortissimo Christi athletae indefessoque bellatori, nunc legatis et oratoribus in diversas mundi partes emissis, nunc istis nunc illis per Graeciam et Asiam laborantibus, ne destituti periclitarentur, pecunias mittimus. Nec fuerunt inanes hujuscemodi sumptus.....Nec Albania ingruentes barbarorum impetus proximis diebus inclinare potuisset, nisi nostrarum intervenissent pecuniarum auxilia, quae Scanderbechio missimus. In his nos rebus pecunias consumimus: In his profundimus quidquid undecumque corradere possimus auri vel argenti: Honorem Dei non nostrum quaerimus, pro salute populi nobis commissi laboramus, non pro privata utilitate nostra curamus, ne nostro tempore Christianorum nomen spurcissimi Turcorum

pedes conculcare possint.....

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum, pridie Calendi. Septembris, anno MCDLVII.

III

Calixtus III Georgio Castriotti Scanderbech Albanie Domino. (Theiner, Monumenta ------/------ Sacra, Vol. II, No. CCCCLXXII, pp. 303-304)

1457. - Maximum certe et inenarrabilem dolorem nobis attulit dilectus filius Georgius Petri Abbas, qui a tua nobilitate ad nos missus de irruptione Turcorum in terras tuas, de vastitate illius provincie et clade tuorum, et denique de obsidione, qua ab exercitu barbarorum circumseptus esse diceris, nobis nunciavit, fuit id profecto nobis molestissimum audisse. Nam cum te semper pro tua excellenti strenuitate, proque memorabilibus gestis tuis ultra omnes catholicos principes de fide et religione christiana optime meritum sentiamus, non possumus non gravissime dolere nobilitatem tuam in tantum discrimen aductum esse intelligere, vellemusque, ut hec nobis essent facultates, ut tibi quemadmodum optamus de subito subsidio possemus subvenire, quod non minus necessario quam libenter magnoque animo faceremus. Non tamen tibi deesse intendimus, quin etiam ultra vires nostras saluti et defensioni tue consulamus. Nam quo facilius vim et tempestatem istam et sustinere et repellere possis, en mandavimus, ut devotioni tue ex nonnullis pecuniis propter

sanctam cruciatam Ragusii et per Dalmatiam collectis, certa pars tibi consignetur, licet Carissimi in Christo filii nostri Hungarie et Bosne Reges Illustres ad eas pecunias animum adhibuissent, et multifariam summisque precibus apud nos egerint, ut subventionem illiusmodi pecuniarum ipsis faceremus, cum ipsi pro fide catholica quasi continue cum Turchis manum conserere, et propter vicinitatem eos, ne laxato impetu in christianitatem ferantur, reprimere et quasi ab aditu propulsare cogantur. Tu vero forti animo et constanti sis, tuorumque felicium gestorum et laudum rationem habeas, que cum iam plena et consumata gloria ubique insigni preconio apud catholicos predicentur, accedet eis cumulus maximus, si senserint fideles nobilitatem tuam in tanto furore et impetu immanissimorum hostium non labefactam, sed suam strenuitatem et virilitatem presenti animo conservasse: nemo enim est tam ignarus rerum, qui non summis laudibus ad celum te extollat, et de tua nobilitate tanquam de vero athleta et propugnatore nominis christiani non loquatur. De nostra vero in te caritate non multa hic dicere decrevimus; nam quanta ea sit, re et affectu cupimus tibi ostendere. Scripsimus enim legato classis nostre, qui in oriente est, ut cum classe nostra vel illius parte tibi, si necesse fuerit, oportuno sit subsidio. Quod si impetus (p. 304) ipse eminentis procelle paulisper sustinebitur, nec statim tempestati huic succubueris, insequens serenitas mala omnia levabit. Etenim hac hyeme tot fiunt apparatus a Christifidelibus, quos universo orbe assidue munitiones, preces et lacrime nostre excitarunt, tantusque concursus christianorum potentatuum erit ad excindendam pessimam nationem Turchorum, ut divino oraculo et numine quodam presagiente, rati sumus canem illum rabidum et serpentem hunc Turchum, qui nunc delitescit, nunc per damna christianorum emergit, et grassatur in populum dei domitum et

fractum, dimissis, que male occupavit, in perditionem et ruinam missum iri. Vere primo videbit tua devotio mirabilia, et spurcissimos istos Turchos cum gaudio et letitia repressos et fugatos cernes, qui nunc per summum scelus capiti tuo tuorumque subditorum insultant, nec te moveat iactura aut strages, qua tui forsan affecti sunt: maiora enim succedent, que duplici fenore amissa instaurabunt, et tibi tuisque perpetuam requiem et felicitatem afferent. Hec enim non vane loquimur, sed facta fidem facient verbis nostris, ut in aliis sepe visum est. Anno superiore cum perfidus Turchus Hungarie imineret, quis non tremebat, cum tantum furorem, tantamque audaciam potentissimi hostis cerneret christianitati impendere? Sed immortalis deus nostris et aliorum Christifidelium precibus inclinatus succurrit populo suo, et innumerabilis illa multitudo tanquam nebula ad solem dilapsa et dissipata est, monstrumque illud nefandissimum consilii egens, et diffidens rebus suis ad latebras interiores regnorum suorum fugam arripuit. Magna hec fuerunt, sed maiora restant, que deus faciet pro tutela populi sui: potentie undique concitate sunt, ut terra marique confluant ad eam pestem exterminandam. Superest, ut tua devotio solita constantia et fortitudine tamquam miles et athleta Christi invictus viriliter sustineat impetum istum, qui, divino subveniente brachio, cito ad nihilum redigetur. Pro colligendis autem et consignandis tibi pecuniis prefatis mittimus in Dalmatiam dilectum filium Iohannem Navarram scutiferum nostrum, ut etiam ad tuam nobilitatem se conferat, et quantum placuerit, ibidem stet. Datum Rome apud S. Petrum sub anulo piscatoris die XI. Septembris M C C C C L V I I.
Pontificatus nostri Anno Tertio.

IV

Calixtus III dilecto filio nobili Georgio Castriotti Scanderbech, Albanie Domino. (Theiner, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. I, No. D C V I, pp. 427-428)

1457. - Scribimus tue nobilitati per litteras nostras sub bulla plumbea respondendo his, que tuo nomine nobis exposuit dilectus filius Abbas etc. quem ad nos misisti. Postea vero intelleximus Venerabilem fratrem nostrum Archiepiscopum Craiensem ab hac luce migrasse, qui, quoniam nuncius et collector noster erat, et ut intelleximus, nonnullas pecunias ratione collectorie et cruciate collectas habebat, mandavimus dilecto filio Iohanni Navarr exhibitori presentium, quem ad tuam nobilitatem mittimus, ut omnes pecunias, que per dictum collectorem nostrum de prefatis etiam dimisse reperientur, et quascumque alias ratione cruciate in Albania per quoscumque nostros collectores, succollectores seu nuntios collectas et in futurum colligendas, et penes quoscumque existentes tue nobilitati consignari nostro nomine faciet. Itaque, dilecte fili, ut fecis, persevera in tua sincera devotione tuende et defendende fidei catholice: nam deus, cuius res agitur, non deseret causam suam, sed tibi et aliis Christianis de perditissimis Turchis et aliis infidelibus victoriam cum summa gloria et triumpho pro certo dabit. Nosque etiam ultra vires nostras in his promptos habebis, ut latius intelligere poteris ab eodem Iohanne Commissario nostro, quem tibi

specialiter commendamus. Datum (Rome) etc. XVII Septembris, 1457. (Pontificatus nostri Anno Tertio.)

V

Calixtus III haec ad Pontium Fenollet, pontificium in Aragonia quaestorem scripsit XXIV Septembris die hujus anni: (Rinaldi, Vol. X, year 1457, No. 31, p. 111.)

.....Classis nostra orientalis cum legato nostro sulcat maria orientalia triumphanda (Lucovicus Aquilejensis circa Rhodum), et his diebus proximis non solum terras, sed etiam fustas ultra viginti quinque Turcorum armatas captivavit: Et in Albania et ubique victoria adeo continue nobis datur contra perfidos Mahumeticos; et ne verbis insistamus temporibus nostris secta Mahumetica redigetur ad nihilum....

VI

Calistus III Mariano de Senis, ordinis Minorum Nuntio et Collectori Apostolico. (Theiner, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol.I, No. DCXIII, p. 432).

Admirati fuimus et sumus de tarditate et negligentia istic habita circa ea, que jam pridem iteratis litteris tam Ragusinis, quam tibi scripsimus super pecuniis, istic collectis et depositis pro sancta Cruciata, ut videlicet illas consignares et consignari faceres Martino Clarini mercatori Florentino commoranti Ragusii, recipientique nomine dilecti filii Petri et Iacobi de Pazis sociorum de Romana curia, qui in magnis negotiorum Cruciate necessitatibus de magnis pecuniarum

summis nobis subvenerunt. Quare, ut ex predictis pecuniis satisfiat eisdem mercatoribus usque ad summam decemmilium ducatorum, et residuum distribuatur inter Carissimos in Christo filios Hungarie et Bosne Reges illustres, dilectum filium nobilem virum Scandarbech Albanie dominum, mittimus ad partes illas dilectum filium Io. Navarr scutiferum nostrum et presentium exhibitorem, ut plenius videbis in bulla commissionis per nos sibi facte. Itaque devotionem tuam hortamur, eidem in virtute sancte obedientie et excommunicationis sententie late mandamus, ut omni studio, cura, industria et diligentia des operam, ut de pecuniis per te collectis dictis mercatoribus usque ad summam XM. ducatorum consignetur, et de reliquo collecto et colligendo voluntas nostra omnino exequatur, quemadmodum prefato Io. commissimus: in quo taliter te habeas, ut a nobis, prout facimus, non immerito commenderis, teque gratiis et beneficiis proudqui valeamus, et caveas de contrario, ne te, si contrarium attemptaveritis, aliis gravissimis penis affligere cogimur: et etiam contra Ragusinos et quosvis alios detentores ex Cruciata provenientium, si quoquomodo tam iustis mandatis nostris non paruerint, vel quoquomodo distulerint, excommunicationis et interdicti ac aliis censuris et penis ita insurgemus contra eos, quod contrarie mandatis huiusmodi apostolicis penitebit. Dat. Rome etc. XVIII. Decembris M.CCCC.LVII. Pontificatus nostri Anno Tercio.

VII

Calixtus III. Ceterum Dalmatiae decumae postea inter Bosnae et Hungariae Reges ac Macedoniae principem (Scanderbeg) aequis portionibus dividi jussae, addita haec decreti Pontificis causa: (Rinaldi, Vol. X, year 1457, No. 20, p. 107.)

...Ut earum subsidio alter ad expugnationem Turcorum virilius animetur, alter scilicet Scanderbegus, intra cujus fines exercitus saevissimi hostis grassatur, facilius impetum ejus sustentare posset....

VIII

Calixtus III Georgio Castriotti Scanderbech, Albaniae Domino. (Farlati, Vol. VII, p. 421.)

1458. - Fuerunt apud nos, dilecte fili, oratores tui, quos ad nos misisti, quibus accurate ac prudenter, quae a nobilitate tua in mandatis habent, referentibus, intelleximus clades, quae a saevissimis Turcis, et tuis terris et partibus istis illatae fuerunt, et admirandam animi tui magnitudinem, quam contra eos, ut decet principem catholicum, ad compescendum eorum furorem adhibes, et labores continuos, quos propterea sustines. Agimus Deo gratias, quod partibus istis, per quas quasi per portam ad irrumpendum in Christianitatem hosti perfido et saevissimo aditus patere posset, te quasi obicem et murum firmissimum ad resistendum opposuerit, et hostem eumdem, cum quo tibi conserta manu saepe

pugnare opportet, per te crebris cladibus cum tua maxima laude et gloria afficiat. Utinam tui animi ex caeteris principibus Christianis multos haberemus! Non quidem pro fidei tutela tam anxii et soliciti essemus. Persevera, fili carissime, in devotione, et in sancto et salubri proposito tuo: Nam cum pro fide Christi certes, sperare debes, eum, cui nihil est impossibile, et fortia quaeque parvis confundit, quod te non deseret, sed victoriam gloriosam de suis hostibus tibi dabit.

Nos vero, etsi pro sustinenda classe in partibus orientalibus et alibi, illaque roboranda et augenda vix facultates nostrae sufficiant, et aliis incredibilibus gravemur impendiis, tamen, ut pro laboribus et periculis sustinendis, quae te cum tuis paene continue subire opportet, plus facultatis habere possis, facimus tibi subventionem opportunam, et quam possumus, quinque millium florenorum de camera, facturi majorem in dies, ut speramus, ut ex tuis oratoribus praefatis, quibus super praemissis fidem habebis, plenius intelliges. Convocationem, quam fecimus, oratorum Imperatoris, regum et principum Christianorum super prosequenda imprisia contra Turcum, jam tuae nobilitati per alias litteras significavimus. Venerunt jam aliqui ex eisdem. Speramus, Domino adjuvante, rem taliter successuram, quod parabitur opportunum auxilium ad prosecutionem hujus felicissimae imprisiae per omnes partes. Sis igitur, ut es, animo forti et magno, nec te ulli metus terreant: Nam Dominus erit protector tuus,

qui vires tibi subministrabit, et cum summa tua laude et gloria victoriam de hostibus consequaris.

Datum die sexta Februarii, M C C C C L V I I I .

IX

Calixtus III Alphonso Regi Aragonum et utriusque Siciliae (Farlati, Vol. VII, p. 422.)

1458. - Intelleximus, quanta affectione dilectum filium nobilem virum Scanderbech, Albaniae dominum nobis commendaveris; quod nobis fuit jucundissimum; tametsi nostra propria voluntate illum pro suis virtutibus et ingentibus factis, quibus non solum de nobis, sed de universa Christianitate optime meretur, auctiori, quam dici possit, charitate complectamur: Videmus enim eum prope solum furori saevissimorum Turcorum quasi murum quendam firmissimum esse oppositum, qui ipsorum aditum praecludit, ne in Christianitate irrumpant: Nec nos latet quot cladibus ipse cum suis subditis affectus fuerit. (Paucisque interjectis de missa illi auri vi subsidiaria, addidit:) Hortamur Serenitatem tuam ut eidem Scanderbech, uti etiam consuevisti, opportunis subsidiis subvenire, eumque tot angustiis circumseptrum adjuvare velis.

Datum VIII Febuarii, Anno M C D L V I I.

X

Calixtus III Mathiae Regi Hungariae. (Rinaldi, Vol. X,

year 1458, March 24, No. 8, p. 142.)

....Debellandi autem Turchi, et Constantinopolis non solum sed terrae sanctae recuperandae, et sectae Mahumeticae exterminandae nunquam tanta occasio aut opportunitas oblata est, cum post inclytam illam victoriam ductu patris tui Christianis concessam, aliasque tam per classem, quam in Oriente cum legato continue tenuimus et tenemus, quam per dilectum filium nobilem virum Scanderbechum in Albania contra eundem Turcum habitas maxime attenuatae sint eorundem hostium vires, in quos si Serenitas tua vires regni istius concitabit, proculdubio victoria in manibus est....

XI

Pius II, 1458-1464, de Albania, in Asiae Europaeque Descriptio, Chapter XV, pp. 337-338.

Quae nunc Albania dicitur, olim Macedoniae portio fuit, ad occidentem versa inter Durrachium & Apolloniam fuisse prodidimus non incelebres prisco seculo ciuitates. Sermo gentis ne Graecis, ne Illyricis notus. Credim hoc genus hominum ex Albania quondam venisse, quae vicina Colchidi in Asiatica Scythia memoratur: ut saepe barbarorum inundatio nationum Graeciae atque Italiae prouincias occupauit. In hac terra potens Camusa fuit, qui Christianis parentibus ortus, parum tenax Catholicae fidei, ad Mahumetis insaniam de-

clinauit. Sed quam leuiter Christum deseruit, tam facile Mahumetis sacra contempsit. Rediit enim ad paternam legem, & quamuis utramque religionem contempserit, neutri fidus, Christianus tamen mori quam Turca maluit, Paulo post Constantinopo-
(p.338) litanam cladem morbo extinctus. Georgius Scanderbechius eius haereditatem accepit, nobili loco natus, qui aetatem paene omnem in armis pro Christi nomine pugnando consumpsit, multas & magnas Turcarum turmas bello vicit atque deleuit. Solusque quodammodo regionem illam in euangelio Christi continuit, quamuis hodie toties hostili ferro petita, magna ex parte deserta feratur. Rex Alphonsus saepe milites in Albaniam misit, & Croiam urbem in potestatem receptam a Turcis defendit. Nepos Scanderbechii ex fratre, cum Turcarum parti fauens, insidias patruo moliretur, ab eo captus, & ad Alphonsum missus, in carcerem coniectus est. Calixtus quoque Romanus Pontifex auxilia pecuniaria Scanderbechio non pauca misit. Valona in Albania non magna ciuitas est, in portu maris sita, qua breuissimus est in Italia traiectus. Hanc Pazaites primus ex Turcis occupauit. Rebellantem Amuratos recuperauit. Nescio quod malum minatur Italiae.

XII

Ep. Piccolomini (later Pius II) Domino Joanni Carvagial, Card. S. Angeli. (Cugnoni, No. XXXIX, p. 100.)

1854. . . . .Nunquam fuisse Pontificem dices, qui tam de communi bono cogitaverit quantum Pontifex noster Nicolaus. Magna est nostri Presulis in commune bonum cura. Scanderbeo quinque milia aureorum dono dedit, et auxilia promisit quibus se contra Turcos tueretur. . . .

Ex Nova Civitate Austriae, Kal. Jan. M C C C C L I I I I.

XIII

Card. Piccolomini (later Pius II) Ladislao, Regi Hungariae. (Cugnoni, No. LX, p. 132.)

1457. - . . . . In Albania quoque Scanderbechius Christi miles intrepidus, nostris adjutus opibus, parva militum manu ingentes Turcorum copias vicit, prostravit, delevit. . . .

Rome, die XX Octobris, M C C C C L V I I .

XIV

Card. Piccolomini (later Pius II) prestabili viro Domino Martino Mayer, in answer to a letter dated ex Hascaffenburga, prid. calend. Septembris, M C C C C L V I I. (Pius II, Commentarii, pp. 668.)

1457. . . . Praeterimus captas hostium naves, et caedes in eis saepe numero factas, omittimus quae data sunt Albanis

auxilia. Neque enim fortissimus Christi athleta, et indefessus religionis nostrae propugnator Scanderbechius, eam stragem in Turcas edidisset (cujus te famam audisse credimus, nam supra triginta millia Turcarum ab eo seu caesa seu capta feruntur), nisi pecuniariis Calixti subsidiis fuisset adjutus. . . . .

Rome, September or October, 1457.

XV

Pius II in Mantua. (Pius II, Commentarii, pp. 168-9.)

1459. . . . . Et quis non his copiis superatum iri Turcas arbitretur ? His accedet Georgius Scanderbechius et Albanorum fortissima manus. . . . .

XVI

Pius II dilecto filio Georgio Castriotti Scanderbech, Albaniae domino. (Farlati, Vol. VII, pp. 422-423.)

1460. - Veniens ad nos dilectus filius Martinus Missiachius, miles et tuus orator, retulit nobis, quemadmodum in his molestiis, quae charissimo in Christo filio Ferdinando Siciliae Regi illustri a suis hostibus inferuntur, statueras fidelis subditi officium adimplere et in regnum Neapolitanum adveniens illi pro virili tuam opem afferre. Addidit quoque quod, cum sine manifesto periculo amissionis locorum, quae in Albania tenes, discessus tuus esse non possit, permittere tibi vellemus, ut cum Turco posses pacisci, vel si hoc non probaremus, legatum nostrum isthuc mitteremus, qui possessionem

defensionemque dominii tui susciperet. At haec, dilecte fili, respondemus, Romano Pontifici non convenire licentiam cuique dare, ut cum infidelibus paciscatur, quorum nulla conventio Dei offensione est vacua: Mittere autem legatum, qui loco tui partes illas tutetur, diximus, nec utile ad id, quod queritur, esse, nec nobis propter impotentiam facile; verum cum Veneti paratam jam classem habeant, et potentes admodum sint, intercessuros cum eis, ut dominii antedicti protectionem capiant, nec diffidere nos id esse facturos. Hoc idem autem tuae nobilitati per litteras respondemus dolentes ad modum inventam non esse in principibus Christianis eam devotionem ad opus fidei, quam sperabamus, nec tales esse nostras et Ecclesiae vires, ut tuae nobilitati auxilia praestare possimus, quae constantiae et operibus pro fide susceptis deberi cognoscimus. Propositum autem transeundi ad defensionem antedicti regis, quem de te bene meritum memoras plurimum commen - (p.149) - damus non dubitantes adventum tuum magna illi utilitati ad omnia bene gerenda futurum, teque ex eo plurimum verae laudis esse consecuturum. Confidimus quoque regiam serenitatem suam hanc fidei praestantiam attendentem praemia retributurum, quae in tali necessitati sint debita; nosque ad eum efficaces litteras dedimus et vehementer sumus hortati, ut mentem hanc tuam grate suscipiat, dignamque habeat ejus fidei et constantiae rationem, quam in paucis invenit. Non dubitamus suam serenitatem nostras exhortationes et facta tua intuentem honorifica

gratitudine esse usurum.

Datum Rome XXIX Junii, M C C C C L X.

XVII

Pius II Magistro Georgio Pellini, commendatario monasterii S. Mariae de Rotetio Antibarensis dioecesis.
(Theiner, Monumenta Slavorum, Vol. I, No. DCLIII, p. 462.)

1461. - Grata devotionis obsequia, que nobis et apostolice sedi hactenus impendisti, et adhuc solicitis studiis fideliter impendere non desistis, merito nos inducunt, ut tibi et statui tuo, in his presertim, que tue salutem anime respiciunt, quantum cum deo possumus, salubriter consulamus. Hinc est, quod nos volentes te, qui labores et expensas non modicas in Apulia una cum dilecto filio nobili viro Georgio Castriot alias Scanderbeg, ad quem per nos (p.463) deputatus fuisti, tum etiam contra Turchos in Albania et alibi substulisti et fecisti, horum intuitu favore prosequi gratioso, tuis in hac parte supplicationibus inclinati ablata per te, seu tuo nomine tam a Turchis predictis et Sclavis scismaticis, a quibus res et bona aliquot forte scis abstulisse et eos defraudasse, seu id fieri procurasse, quam ab aliis catholicis, quos forte defraudasti, et defraudata atque male ablata catholicorum huiusmodi incerta habes, et quorum fuerint ignoras, vel ipsi forsan non extant, tibi auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium remittimus et donamus, teque ab illis absolvimus et liberamus, et ad restitutionem de eis alicui de cetero faciendam decernimus non teneri. Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis, ceterisque contrariis

quibuscumque. Nulli ergo etc. nostrorum remissionis, donationis, absolutionis, liberationis et decreti infringere etc. Siquis autem etc. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum Anno Incarnationis dominice Millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimoprimo, XIX. Ka. Februarii, Pontificatus nostri Anno Quarto.

XVIII

Georgii Scanderbechii ad Pium expurgatio quod foedus cum Turcis fecerit. (Pius II, Commentarii, p. 607)

1463. - Auditus est et Tybure legatus Georgii Albaniae domini, quem vocant Scanderbechium. Verba ejus hunc habuere sensum. Venisse Mahumethem Scopiam innumerabiles ducentem copias, improvisumque Georgium opprimere voluisse; nullum patuisse Georgio ad muniendam provinciam tempus; unicum ei salutis remedium fuisse, pacem ab hoste petere; id factum esse conservandae provinciae causa; at cum voluerit Pontifex, rursus in bellum ibitur; optare Georgium in terris Ecclesiae refugium, si regno pellatur a Turcis. Pontifex necessariam pacem non improbavit si, quod ajebat Georgius, imperium Apostolicae sedis salvum esset; refugium pulso in agris Ecclesiae non defuturum, si pro religione pugnans ab hoste fidei ejiciatur.

XIX

Ragusa to Scanderbeg. (Jorga, Notes, Vol. II, pp. 460-461.)

1452 - Raguse ecrit a un prince inconnu, probablement Scanderbeg, qu'elle nomme "magnifice et potens, tanquam frater

et amice noster carissime". La lettre mentionne avec eloges l'"incredibilem animi vestri magnitudinem clarissimeque virtutis probitatem quam prestitistis pro tutanda et conservanda sacrosancta fide catholica contra sevissimos Teucros, christiani nominis inimicos. . . Obstitistis enim cum parvis admodum copiis multis et innumeris Teucrorum gentibus, civitatem et oppida vestra illesa preservastis contra impetum et molem tanti apparatus, ex quo apud Deum premia eterna consequemini, apud reges, principes totumque orbem immortalem laudem et gloriam." Qu'il continue la lutte; "speculum et exemplum sitis cunctis christianorum principibus universisque nationibus, et nomen vestrum eterna fama consecrabitur."(p.461) Raguse mentionne aussi l'"antiqua et inveterata amicicia et benivolentia, qua nobilissimos predecessores vestros et vos semper amplexati fuimus".

XX

Franciscus Philelphus, (1398-1481), ad Lucovicum Fuscum. (Rinaldi, Vol. X, year 1463, No. 52, pp. 365-366.)

1463 - Scripsit tunc Franciscus Philelphus orationem hortatoriam ad Venetos Cad Lud. Fusc. equit. aur.), ex qua haec repetenda visa sunt: "Multo certe plures nostri milites, quam Turci omnes futuri sint, quot enim urbes vestro parent imperio in Epiro ipsa et Illyrico et Aetolia. Alexander praeterea, qui Turcorum lingua Scander dictus est, et in Albania, quae tres eas provincias et nomine suo et viribus

est complexa, plurimum potest, quid aliud magis cupit atque exoptat, quam opportunitatem offerri sibi ulciscendi suas in Turcos et majorum suorum injurias ? Est autem is Alexander tum animo ingenti, tum a puero usque versatus in Turcis, utpote qui a patre iis olim deditus obses fuerat, et ob eam rem universo Turcorum generi ob susceptas contumelias infestus unus omnium maxime. Hunc autem sequetur firmissimus ac plurimus Albanensium equitatus peditatusque. Appellantur enim vulgo Albanenses, qui quondam Albani nominati a jugis Caucasi montis intra sinum Adriaticum descendentes ab Illyricis ad Peloponenses omnia subjugarunt, homines fieri et bellicosi adeo ut soli ex omnibus nationibus intra Istrum et Hadriam at Italiae fines et fortissime Turcos semper sustinuerunt, et ultro adorti maximis detrimentis afficerint, quotiesque efficiant. . . .(p.366) Praeterea equitatu peditatuque militum Albanensium pleraque Peloponensium montiun juga referta sunt, qui in Turcorum potestatem nec venerunt, nec quidquam sibi ab illis aut fidum aut tutum arbitrantur. Hos eos Turci cum sciant esse in sese irato animo, et malevolo propter eam caedem, qua initio captae Peloponesi in magnum Albanensium numerum usi sunt, qui se atque sua omnia infideliam fidei credidissent, non vehementer timere non debent."

XXI

Fransiscus Philelphus ad Christophorum Maurum Ducem Venetorum. (Rinaldi, Vol. X, year 1464, No. 13, p. 394.)

1464. . . . .Praeterea Scandrum cum viribus suis facturum

eodem tempore ex Albania impetum adversus eosdem hostes. . . Scander vero bellicosissimus est, et inter Turcos diu multumque versatus, utpote qui a patre iis puer deditus obses fuerit, habetque sub ditione sua populos continuis bellis assuetos. . . . Is autem Scander communi huic Christianorum causae haud parum prodesse poterit ad distrahendas Turcorum vires potius, quam reprimendas, non enim tantum habet exercitum, qui collatis signis ex composito sit cum Turco pugnatus; sed per insidias, et tempestivas excursiones, irruptionesque non mediocre illi detrimentum vastationemque illaturus; erit autem eo ad rem alacrior, quod sibi, vestra et communi Christianorum causa, mei hujus inclyti principis Francisci Sfortiae vires brevi accessuras auxilio sperat; praesens enim coramque aspexit anno superiore in Apulia quantum sit spei, quantum roboris constitutum in equitatu peditatuque Sfortiano. . . .

XXII

Michael Canensius, (d. 1482), De Vita et Pontificatu Pauli Secundi, in Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, Vol. III, Part XVI, Citta di Castello, S. Lapi, 1904, pp. 148-149:

1466. - Alexandrum Epirotarum regem, quem Albanensium sermone Scanderbech appellamus, principem quidam magnanimum, armis belloque insignem, qui complurimas Turcorum strages quam frequenter egit, venientem ad se venerandum honorifice suscepit et in ipsius adventus primordio tricentos eidem aureos dono dedit, tum diversa rerum esculentarum munera jugera

ecclesiae tempore et Alberic Ingerius advenae ecclesiae locatus. . .

Sanctuarium vero Philadelphiae est, ut inter Turcos sic sui-

ciumque vocantur, ubique qui a Christo ita inter idolatras ob-

sui fuerit, benedictus sit ditione sua quamvis sanctimoniae bellis

adscribens. . . . In ultimis Sanctuarii cancelli locis Christianorum

ovinae haud parum prodeunt potenti ad diversorum Turcorum

vivae petitus, quae vipiparentes, non sola tantum habet exer-

citus, qui solitaria elegia et adversaria sit sed turba quamvis;

sed non instantia, et temperativa exercitione. Invisibilesque

non wadiaere illi Christianum vestigiumque illaturus: sit

ovium ex ad tres elementos, quod sibi, ubiere et caeremoni Christi-

elementum contra, nos Deum Inclyti principia Tranquilos Christie

vivae breve cooperatum sanitis operati; pressaque cum corporum

aspexit ante superiore in sanitis quantum sit apud, quantum

robortis consistitur in sanitis per pietatique Sterntano. . . .

XIII

Michael Duranius, (c. 1480), de vita et sanctitatem Sancti

Joanni, in Bureaut, Rerum Italicarum Scriptorum, Vol. III,

Part XVI. Civita di Castello, 1. Ital. 1904, pp. 146-147:

1. - Alexandrum Kolmatkum Regem, quem alternantum

Turcorum Scandarbech appellabant, principem quidem magnanimum,

urnis bellorum laudatum, qui nonquidem Turcorum strages

quae frequenter edit, vastantes ad ac veneranda humanitas

auxerit et in ipsius Sovanius pulcrorio triumphus aldus

aurum cum fecit, tum diversos novos sacularterius mutare tempus

. . . . . .

ei subministravit (3). Ad quem quidem honorificentius ornandum , pileum ensemque (p. 149) militarem dignis principibus per ea tempora iuxta sacras cerimonias a pontificibus donari consuetur, magno cum totius curiae apparatu dari mandavit.

Note 3 . . . . .Altre più conspicue somme ebbe lo Scanderbeg dal papa Barbo prima e dopo del suo saggiorno in Roma (vedi A. Bertolotti in Archivio Storico di Roma, III, p. 38). Di una largizione di 1000 ducati fatta dal predecessore di Paolo II in favore di questo insigne campione della fede attestano i registri camerari. . . ..

XXIII

Johannes Jovianus Pontanus, (1434-1516), De Bello Neapolitano, Vol. II, Book II, pp. 279-281 v:

1461. - Quo factum est, uti Picinus junctis simul copiis illum intra urbem pene inlusit. Sunt qui regem criminentur, desedisse illic ob amores tum veteres, tum novos, quibus delinitus magis ipse curaverit, qua ratione amoribus indulgeret, quam quibus artibus hostem falleret. Quod, ni ex Macedonia Georgius Castriotus cognomento Scander, vir fortis, et multis rebus adversus Turcus strenue gestis clarus, cum classe repentine apparuisset, futurum erat ut Rex aut mari fugam turpiter inde arriperet, aut tentata pugna, in postrema seque et res suas pericula conjiceret. Cujus adventu expositis in continentem circiter septingentis

equitibus, lectissima virorum manu, cum aliquo peditum numero, Andria praeterita, hostes iter avertere. De hoc igitur viro pauca dicam et propter eximiam ac raram ejus animi virtutem, et propter insignem etiam gratitudinem. Georgii majores in Macedonia late magnum imperium tenere. Verum Anoratho Turcarum imperatore Graeciam vastante universam, Georgius admodum adolescens a patre, quo res suas in pace tueretur, missus est ad illum obses, in cujus expeditionibus ea viri fuit virtus, uti propter liberalitatem, ac fortitudinem agnominatus sit Scander, quo nomine a Turcis Alexander dicitur, unde hodie, qua nostra lingua Alexandria ea Turcica est (p.280) Scanderia. Post ubi paterno successit imperio, atque ab Mahometo Amorathi filio summis oppugnatur viribus. Alphonsus Ferdinandi pater, pecuniis, militaribusque praesidiis amicissime eum juvit, diutiusque ipse seque resque suas pluribus proeliis fortiter administratis, Alphonsi opera, auxilioque tutatus est. Igitur eo mortuo, ubi sensit Ferdinandum in Apulia graviter ab hoste premi, conductis mercede aliquod navibus, decrevit et animi gratitudinem, et fortitudinem simul testari suam, impositaque in navibus milite ad regem in Apuliam transiit. Hujus igitur nomen, atque adventus non hostem modo, ejusque turbavit consilia, verum Italiam omnem opinionis suae fama implevit. Vir militari disciplina, corporisque atque animi viribus aeque clarus, ac rebus gestis apud amicum, atque hostem maxime inclytus in ore omnium versabatur. . . .Qui rebus Apuliae Georgio commendatis, cum Alexander Sfortia ex pel-

ignis marrucinisque, ubi Sulmonem, aliaque oppida permulta recuperaverat. . . .(p.281 v.) Quo tempore cum Georgio Castrioto, qui Barolum tutabatur, saepius certatum est, diverso pugnae genere, cum Italici equites statariae magis pugnae sint assueti, propter armorum gravitatem, contra Macedones ex Turcarum disciplina vagi, procursantesque raro congrediantur stantes. Itaque plerisque in (p. 282) congressionibus Georgius hostem ludificatus est. Caeterum Tranenses obsidio diuturnior fuit, quia urbs erat egregia munita, nobilitasque Tarentini ferre imperium nolebat, muris tandem, qua parte infirmiores erant, solo aequatis, cum a Rege nullum etiam speraretur subsidium, famesque urgeret, Tarentino se cives longiore post obsidione dedidere. Arx incolumis Regi mansit. Nam Georgius cum intelligeret Forcianum arcis praefectum cum Tarentino consensisse, sub specie colloquii extra arcem accitum, cepit illum. Captus igitur arcem Georgio tradi jussit pactione libertatis.

XXIV

Antonius Sabellicus, (1436-1506), Rerum Venetarum Libri XXXIII, Third Decade, Book IX, pp. 756-757:

In Epiro ab initio suscepti belli quasi statis diebus bis quotannis circa Scodram, Lyssum, Crojam, et alia oppida, quae in ea ora Veneti tenebant, sub messium et vindemiarum dies barbarorum (p.757) equitum alae erumpebant. Quamquam ante bellum a Venetis cum Mahometho Ottomano susceptum, longe prius Turcorum arma Amurathi, qui Mahomethi pater fuit, auspiciis in Epirum

penetrarunt, vel tum maxime, quum Scanderbechus ab illo oppugnatus est. Ferunt hunc ferocissimum in armis fuisse, et qualem post Pyrrhum, qui cum Romanis in terra Italia bellavit, Epiroticum nomen non habuit. Solebat Joannes Coccius, pater meus, qui Calabro bello sub Ruberto Ursino, viro fortissimo, aliquandiu militavit, adolescenti mihi enarrare, vidisse se Epirotam hominem, qui cum sexcentis equitibus Ferdinandi nomine in Apuliam transiverat, exerto brachio, nunc clava, nunc falcato ense pugnantem, totque interim ac tanta belli facinora edentem, ut merito plus unus, quam tota equitum ala hostibus formidabilis videretur. Is principatum sua industria in Epirum recuperatum, quoad vixit, adversus Turcos cum paucissimis fortiter defendit. Sexcentos lectissimos equites habuit semper, majore fere equitatu non utebatur. Cum his saepissime barbarorum copias suis longe majores, conserto proelio, fudit, fugavitque. Quo factum esse ajunt, ut post ejus mortem eximia viri admiratione populi imbuti, quasi in illo aliquid vidissent quod humanum excederet fastigium, grati principis memoriam solemnibus consecrabant carminibus. Retulerunt mihi fide digni viri, vel medio ardore belli, et tum quum barbarorum armis omnia strepebant, puellarum coetus in his urbibus, quibus ille imperavit, octavo quoque die mediis triviis coire solitos ac defuncti principis, ut veteres magnorum herorum in comitiis solebant, laudes decantare.

XXV

Raphael Volaterranus, (1455-1522), Commentarii, in Geographia, Book VIII on Macedonia, p. 188:

Tres praecipue familiae haec omnia loca simul cum Epiro, de quo postea dicam possidebant, quas omnis Romae vidimus a Turcis expulsas. Comneni ex nobili Constantinopolitanorum genere loca littoralia tenebant, Dirrachium, Aulonam, aliaque complura. Arianites ex ea familia re incolumi ac in pace decessit; filii pulsi, ex quibus Constantinus heroica vir specie ac fortitudine post longam in urbem moram ad administrandam Montisferrati in Subalpina Italia ditionem est accersitus. Altera familia Castriotarum est, ex quibus Ioannes Dibras sive Doberiensis Trojam nonnullaque alia loca interius obtinebat. Quumque ab Amurathe Turca bello peteretur, tributi conditione liberatur obside filio Georgio puero novem annorum dato. Hic igitur et indole, et virtute crevit heroica, et robore corporis incomparabili: quapropter Amurathes eum in suam sectam ascivit, vocavitque Schenderbech, quod lingua Turcarum Alexandrum dominum sive magnum significat. Hic plures ei provincias acquisivit, inter quas et Moesiam adsecutus, Georgio Vncheruch Despoto ac && Nouomonte ejus regionis Metropoli expugnato, ubi auri argentique fodinae dicuntur esse. Extincto patre ac fratre Caragusio natu majore, qui erat obses apud Adrianopolim, Amurathes ei regnum paternum tradidit. Interea Eugenius IV audita fama hunc per nuncios

et literas ad nostros, et fidem pristinam traducere conatur. Ille confestim obtemperat: ac rebellans tot pro religione res gessit quot antea contra, ac de improviso Crojam, Sfetigradum, Stelusium, Modrisiam, et Ternacium, oppida in ea regione occupat. Amurathes contra eum Asambech, fratris ejus filium primo, deinde Vranum duces cum copiis mittit. Croiam quatuor jam menses obsidebant, cum moritur, ac filius Maumethes missis titidem ducibus, quos Bassas vocant, frustra vires instaurat, cum ille semper parva manu ingentes hostium catervas funderet, ac fugaret. Sed et uno tempore Venetos quoque bello lacessebat. Causa fuit, quod illi pactam pecuniam majoribus suis ob ablata Albanie oppida pendere negabant. Itaque Dyrrachiensem, deinde Daniensem, Scodrensem, et Driastensem agros late populatus est. Venetorum exercitum ad Drinum fluvium accurentem fugavit: tandem inter eos conventum sequestra pace per Antonium Venerium Albanie provisorem, ut illi Scodra et agro quem ceperat cedenti mille quingentos aureos quotannis tribuerent. Post haec cum Pii II Pontificis nunciis sollicitatus auxilio Ferdinandi regis in Italiam trajiceret, eum Baroli a Ioanne Antonio principe Tarentino, Ioanne quoque Renati regis filio Andegavie duce, ac Ioanne Picinino obsessum evestigio liberavit. Romam deinde cum venisset, mox domum remeavit ubi parvo post tempore veneno absumptus dicitur. Vir Pyrrhi quidem successione aut Alexandri cognomento sine controversia dignus, in tot periculis aut

praeliis mirum nullum in corpore vulnus repertum, praeterquam humerum effractum. Uxorem filiam Arianitis, quem supra commemoravimus, duxit, que adhuc Neapoli vivit, ex qua filium suscepit, qui post mortem patris pulsus et ipse ab Maumethe peregrinatur.

XXVI

Nomina Nobilium Regni Bosnae Familiarum. (Fermendžin, pp. 560-561.)

Ordine Alphabeti Desumpta ex Ms. Aglinich de Aglinich oppido seu Bobovacz. . . . .Costanich de Primordia in Dervenich apud Zaostrog. Castricich (sic) de Castrioti in provincia Az in Epiro. Crischich de Vigugni apud Posusie. . . . . .Dugaginovich (sic) de superiori Zenta in Epyro . . . (p.56) Rubcich de loco Ruchich apud silvam Czarnivarh in Erczegovina. . . . Rexich de loco Rexich apud Bobovacz. . . . Seltokrilevich de Parasta in Buna Epiri. . . .Zharnoevich (sic) de Xabiak supra amnem Moracsevo principes de Zenta et Montenegrinis. . . .

Sciendum est, quod omnes familiae regni Bosniae non sint scriptae, sed solum illae, quarum stemmata reperta sunt, et a Turcico Furore occultata, ac in conventu Sancti Spiritus Foinicae conservata. Turca enim, quando regnum Bosniae obtinuit, omnes memorias combussit et stemmata delevit ac 10,000 nobilium apud Jaicze trucidavit.

Huc usque ad apicem M.S.

Cod. msc. adversar. libr. VIII num. 21. Bibliothecae Fratrum Minorum Provinciae Capistranae Budae. Idem index impressus est in Appendice ad Chronicon Militaris Ordinis Equitum Templariorum, scriptum a Gabriele Kolinovics Senquicziensi, edito a Martino Georgio Kovachich Senquinczíensi Pestini, Trattnerianis typis, sine notato anno, pag. 132-138. - Et apud Fratr. Gregor Cerapovic in Catalogo . . . .Provinciae Sancti Joannis a Capistrano olim Bosnae Argentinae. Budae. 1823, pag. 266-269.

XXVII

Die Altosmanische Anonyme Chroniken, (XV c.), translated into German by Friedrich Giese, pp. 88, 94-95, 98, 150.

1428. - Wiederum unternahm Sultan Murad einen Kriegszug indem er ausrufen liess: "Ein grosser Glaubenskrieg!" und eroberte Salonik, denn eroberte er das Land und die Städte Albaniens. Die Glaubenskämpfer kehrten mit viel Gut und Beute heim.

1448. - Im Jahre 851 zog Sultan Murad gegen Albanien und die Arnauten (Albaner), eroberte die Burg Kodschadshyk (Sfetigrad), und nahm noch zwei Festungen, plünderte Albanien und jagte den Arnautenfürsten Iskender in die Flucht, nahm dieses Land ein, zerstörte die Kirchen und machte Moscheen daraus.

1450. - Im Jahre 853 machte Sultan Murad wieder einen Zug gegen Albanien, umgab Aktsche Hissar (Croya) mit Kanonen

und machte ein Gräberfeld daraus. Er hoffte dass sie die Stadt übergeben würden. Das taten sie aber nicht, und der Winter nahte: Da sagten die Bege: "Wollen einen Angriff machen." Da sagte Sultan Murad: "Wenn ich einen Angriff mache, gehen viele Mann dabei zugrunde. Ich gebe auch nicht für fünfzig derartige Festungen einen meiner hin." Er verliess die Festung und zog ab.

1466-1467. - Im Jahre 870 unternahm er (MehmedII) wieder einen Feldzug gegen die Arnauten (Albaner), nahm das Land des Johannes (Kastriot) ein. Es war ein grosser Glaubenskrieg, und sie machten unbeschreiblich viel Beute. Dann erbaute er in Albanien neben Puzurschek eine Burg und nannte sie Ilbassan. Im Jahre 871 eroberte er Albanien vollständig.

XXVIII

Critoboulos of Imbros, (XV c.), Vie de Mahomet II, translated into French by A.P. Dethier, pp. 236-240, 348-363, 367-368:

<u>Livre III, pp. 236-240</u>. Expédition du Sultan contre les Illyriens qui habitent sur le golfe Ionien. Voir la forte position des terrains. (1460)

§ 91. — Le Sultan, aussitôt le printemps arrivé, fit une expedition contre les Illyriens qui habitent pres du golfe Ionien, à droite de l'entrée de ce golfe, autour de l'antique Epidamnos. Ceux-ci, de race barbare, eurent dans l'antiquité

d'abord le nom de Taulantiens; ils étaient pour la plupart nomades et sans rois. Ils demeurent dans les grandes et très hautes montagnes difficiles a approcher; et au milieu d'eux ils possèdent un grand nombre de châteaux très forts et de petites villes fortifiées sur la plage du golfe Ionien. Et tout le terrain est difficile a passer; il est très inégal avec de vastes forêts, des endroits inaccessibles et à pic.

§ 92. - S'étant choisi comme chef, il y a quelque temps de cela, d'entre leurs compatriotes, deux princes: Areianos et Alexandre, ils défendent leur pays vaillamment, ne voulant se soumettre au Sultan, ni payer tribut, ni en rien lui obéir. Ils ne se contentent pas même de cela, mais souvent ils sont sortis de leur pays, ont fait des incursions imprévues, et causé ainsi de grands dommages aux provinces limitrophes du Sultan.

§ 93. - Déjà auparavant, le Sultan Morat, père du Sultan actuel, leur avait fait la guerre avec une grande armée et avec des forces imposantes; il était entré en combat avec eux, les avait vaincus; et, s'étant empare des parties du pays, il l'avait parcouru et saccagé; il avait pris quelques-uns des châteaux-forts et enlevé un très grand butin. Cependant il n'avait pu prendre le pays et le soumettre complètement. Mais il avait seulement

fait avec eux une convention, qu'ils lui paieraient un certain tribut annuel. Après avoir donc fait là un très grand butin, il l'avait distribué aux soldats et s'en était retourné.

§ 94. - Peu de temps ils se conformèrent aux conventions; mais bientôt ils s'en désistèrent, ne donnèrent pas le tribut, et, en faisant des incursions, ils parcoururent les terres du Sultan et les endommagèrent.

C'est donc contre ceux-là que le Sultan conduisit son armée. Partant d'Andrinople avec toute son armée, cavalerie et infanterie, il s'avança par ses propres terres, et il arriva aux frontières, en tout en trente-trois jours; là il dressa un camp.

Combat de Machoumout avec les Illyriens. Victoire et prise des défilés, et entrée du Sultan dans le pays des Illyriens et saccage.

§ 95. - Sur le champ il ordonna a Machoumout de choisir trois bataillons de hoplites, d'archers, et de hypaspistes, et les plus braves d'entre sa propre garde, puis de s'avancer, pendant la nuit, jusqu'aux portes du pays, et de les occuper, avant que les Illyriens n'eussent appris son arrivée. Celui-ci, quand il arriva, les trouva déjà occupées par l'ennemi. Car ils avaient déjà eu d'avance notice de l'expedition du Sultan. Alors Machoumout

se jeta sur eux, remporta une brillante victoire et se rendit de force maître des defiles.

§ 96. - Alors le Sultan, s'étant avancé avec toute l'armée, se jeta dans leur pays, quand le blé fleurissait déjà; et parcourant la plus grande partie, il détruisit les semences, et remporta un très-grand butin en hommes et en troupeaux de tout genre. Puis il s'empara des châteaux-forts, des uns de force et d'assaut, d'autres par un siège et il les rasa complètement. Bref, toute la terre plane, qu'il trouva en son chemin, fut devastée, pillée, butinée, saccagée de belle manière.

Convention du Sultan avec les Illyriens, ôtages donnés, et tribut fixe pour le Sultan.

§ 97. - Les Illyriens qui s'étaient déjà sauvés dans les montagnes, car ils n'avaient pas osé descendre dans les plaines, voyant comme leurs biens étaient pillés, emportés et ravagés horriblement, étant même non sans crainte pour eux-mêmes, se rendirent à la force des choses, et recoururent à des propositions de paix. Ils envoyèrent un héraut pour prier le Sultan de faire avec eux une convention, qu'ils lui donneraient des ôtages et qu'ils la jureraient; cette convention serait, que, comme tribut annuel au Sultan, il serait donné un nombre fixe de garçons et de troupeaux

d'animaux, car ils n'avaient pas d'argent; et des soldats dans ses expeditions de guerre, et qu'ils seraient ses amis et ses alliés sincères.

§98. - Le Sultan accepta ces conventions, et les accorda. Ayant reçu les ôtages, et emmenant avec lui un très grand butin pour lui-même et celui, qu'il donna à l'armée, il retourna a Andrinople, quand l'été finissait déjà. Ayant séjourné là tout l'automne, il se rendit au commencement de l'hiver à Byzance pour l'y passer. Et l'année six mille neuf cent soixante-sixième, en tout, la neuvième du règne du Sultan finit ainsi.

Livre V, pp. 348-363. Raisons qui entraînerent le Sultan à une campagne en Illyrie. (1466)

§61. - Pendant toute l'année écoulée, le Sultan et son armée s'étaient bien reposés, il se prepara pour une nouvelle campagne pendant l'hiver, pour pouvoir attaquer le pays des Illyriens au commencement du printemps. Car les Illyriens, comme nous l'avons déjà dit auparavant, habitant depuis l'antiquité, des côtes de la mer Ionienne, sur des montagnes immensement hautes, et possédant des châtaux bien forts et difficiles à prendre, dans l'intérieur et sur la côte et des endroits presque infranchissables pleins de ra-

vins, et raffermis de toutes parts, pleins de confiance dans cette position, voulaient être autonomes et libres tout-à-fait, et ne voulaient pas payer de tribut annuel, comme les autres peuples limitrophes, ni livrer des soldats dans les campagnes du Sultan, ni au père du Sultan, ni au Sultan lui-meme, ni enfin lui obéir.

§ 62. - Ce n'est pas tout; mais souvent ils sortaient avec leur prince effrontément et s'abattaient sur les pays limitrophes du Sultan et les pillaient.

§ 63. - Déjà, il est vrai, le Sultan avait fait auparavant une campagne contre eux, et son pere avant lui; et ils avaient parcouru tout leur pays, en saccageant et en pillant; ils y avaient fait beaucoup de devastations, conquis des forteresses, et emporté un très-grand butin en troupeaux et en esclaves; mais alors, ayant vu ainsi par ces incursions leurs terres saccagees et devastees, ils avaient cédé et fait une convention passagère; mais après quelque temps, ils furent de nouveau assez éhontés pour piller et dévaster les terres du Sultan; et ils faisaient cela parce qu'ils avaient les montagnes et le terrain coupé comme receptacle, repaire et refuge.

§ 64. - Car, comme il n'y avait qu'un ou deux

défilés par les montagnes qui conduisent dans leur pays, ils les occupaient avec des bonnes gardes, et leur terre en devenait tout-à-fait inaccessible aux ennemis, et n'avaient a souffrir aucun dégât, à moins qu'une grande armée quelconque ne survint, et ne se rendit maîtresse des montagnes et des défilés par la force, et n'ouvrit complètement l'entrée du pays; et c'est là, ce que le Sultan avait résolu de faire, et ce qu'il fit a perfection.

Départ du Sultan contre les Illyriens.

§ 65. - S'étant donc bien armé dans l'hiver, comme nous l'avons dit, il partit contre eux au commencement du printemps, avec une grande et forte armee, cavalerie et infanterie, portant avec lui des canons, des armes, des matériaux pour constructions, des maçons, des architectes et des ouvriers, beaucoup de fer et d'airain, et toute autre chose nécessaire pour la batisse et la construction d'une forteresse.

Attaque du Sultan auprès des défilés, combat, victoire et occupation des défilés.

§ 66. - Partant donc d'Adrinople avec toute son armée, cavalerie et infanterie, il s'avança promptement par ses propres terres, et arriva devant les montagnes des Illyriens. Là il dressa son

camp (la veille). Le lendemain il fit avancer les troupes légères, les archers, les frondeurs, les lanciers et les hommes à boucliers légers, et il les fit marcher contre les défilés, qui étaient fortement gardés par les Illyriens; il y eut une mêlée acharnée, un choc, une lutte et des efforts inouis, car les Illyriens firent tout leur possible en défendant chaque pas très cher; mais ils lâchèrent pied, et le Sultan força les défilés, et en poursuivant les ennemis, il fit un grand carnage d'eux.

§ 67. - Après quoi, le Sultan établit dans les défilés une forte garde, afin que ceux qui entreraient et sortiraient, le pussent faire sans danger vis-à-vis des Illyriens pillards. Ensuite il ordonna aux coupeurs de bois, et a une partie de son infanterie, d'y entrer, de couper les bois et d'abattre les terrains boisés, remplis d'arbustes et difficiles à passer sur le chemin, de niveler et d'égaliser les endroits pleins de rochers et de ravins, et de les élargir pour la marche de la cavalerie, de l'infanterie, des bêtes de somme, des voitures et de tout le reste des bagages et du train de l'armée.

Invasion de toute la terre des Illyriens et complète destruction.

§ 68. - Lui-même, s'avança ainsi avec toute

l'armée, d'abord dans les terres inférieures, dans les plaines, ou la cavalerie pouvait se déployer, et là il fit tout parcourir et piller. Après quoi il dressa des camps par stations, et saccagea la terre, en brûlant, détruisant et anéantissant les fruits et les terres cultivées.

§ 69. - Les Illyriens, ayant sauvé leurs enfants, leurs femmes, leur bétail et toutes leurs autres richesses transportables sur les hauteurs des montagnes d'un accès difficile, eux-mêmes bien armés, avaient occupé les terrains coupés et fortifiés, et les défilés, pour s'y défendre contre les agresseurs.

L'armée attaque et chasse les Illyriens, et escalade les montagnes.

§ 70. - Le Sultan, ayant donc pillé et dévasté toutes les terres basses des Illyriens, fit une disposition particulière de toutes les troupes de l'armée, et assaillit ainsi les montagnes, les terrains difficiles et les collines fortifiées, ou il y avait des Illyriens, leurs enfants, femmes et autres biens. Il plaça à la tête les archers, les fusiliers et les frondeurs, pour tirer et lancer des projectiles contre les Illyriens, pour les forcer à se retirer plus en arrière, et les refouler en tirant en haut sur eux.

Voir le massacre des Illyriens.

§ 71. - Il les fit suivre immédiatement par l'infanterie légère, par les lanciers et par les hommes aux boucliers legers, et derrière ceux-ci vinrent tous les hoplites, et montèrent, à leur aise et en marche militaire, jusqu'à une certaine hauteur, ou ils forcèrent bientôt les Illyriens à lâcher le pied. Ensuite, en poussant leurs cris de guerre, l'infanterie légère, les hoplites et les lanciers se precipitèrent au pas de charge sur les ennemis, les mirent bientôt en fuite, et les poursuivirent en vainqueurs; ils massacrèrent ceux qu'ils pouvaient atteindre, ou les faisaient prisonniers. Quelques-uns d'entre les Illyriens, voyant les hoplites à leurs trousses, et ne trouvant aucun refuge, se precipitèrent des rochers dans les ravins, et périrent.

§ 72. - Toute l'infanterie légère et autre, se dispersant sur les montagnes, dans les endroits escarpés et dans les ravins, s'empara des enfants et des femmes des Illyriens qui s'y étaient refugiés, et fit butin de tout ce qu'ils avaient avec eux, de même des troupeaux de bétail, qu'on fit marcher devant soi. En parcourant et scrutant toutes les montagnes, on y ramassa un riche butin en esclaves, bestiaux et autres, et l'on fit descendre dans le camp.

§ 73. - Il périt là un grand nombre d'Illyriens, soit dans le combat, soit faits prisonniers; le Sultan l'ayant ordonné ainsi. Le nombre d'enfans, de femmes et d'hommes, faits esclaves, montait a près de vingt mille.

§ 74. - Le reste des Illyriens se trouvait en partie dans les châteaux-forts, en partie refugiés dans d'autres montagnes avec leur prince Alexandre.

§ 75. - Il y avait aussi là une forteresse des Illyriens, pour ainsi dire, entièrement imprenable et des mieux fortifiées, nommée Kroues (Croja) qui était comme une espèce d'acropole et de garde de tout le pays. Déjà auparavant le père du Sultan avait essayé de différentes manières, par assaut, par des canons lançant des pierres, et par un long siège de s'en rendre maitre, mais en vain; tant elle est difficile à prendre.

Arrivée du Sultan auprès de Kroues.

§ 76. - Le Sultan, s'en étant approché, et ayant vu combien cette position était forte et difficile à prendre, résolut de ne pas l'assaillir de force, pour n'y point perdre ses peines, ne pas s'y faire fatiguer et ne point détruire son armée en y stationnant et l'assiégeant dans un siège traîné en longueur, et pour ne pas y perdre les hommes et des frais inutilement; mais il trouva une autre

manière de se rendre maître de la ville et du pays sans ces peines et sans ces périls.

§ 77. - Il voulut pour cela fonder une forteresse et construire pour celle-ci des murs bien forts, le tout au milieu du pays; et y laisser des troupes suffisantes, qui feraient continuellement des incursions et des pillages, et qui ne permettraient nulle part aux Illyriens de sortir de la ville, ou de descendre des montagnes pour labourer leurs terres dans l'hiver, ou pour faire paître leurs troupeaux ou pour autre chose quelconque, mais qui les tiendraient enfermés et souffrant tous les maux, jusqu'a ce que les Illyriens se sentiraient forcés de se soumettre au Sultan.

Construction de la nouvelle forteresse en Illyrie par le Sultan.

§ 78. - Ayant donc parcouru le pays en cherchant une position convenable pour y bâtir une telle forteresse, il trouva les ruines d'une antique ville et ses restes, a une place convenable, dans un terrain qui paraissait autrefois un des plus beaux. Il choisit cette place pour sa forteresse. Et, ayant commencé aux premiers jours de l'été avec beaucoup de monde, avec zèle et à grandes dépenses, stimulant les travailleurs par son inspection personnelle, (car lui-même était partout présent

à l'execution, dirigeant tout et encourageant tous les ouvriers, les uns par ses discours, les autres par des présents, et les rendant plus zélés dans l'exécution,) il finit toute la forteresse, avant que l'été ne fût passé. C'était une oeuvre digne d'admiration. Puis il la peupla bien; il y assemble un grand nombre des habitans des villes, villages et endroits, situés alentour.

§ 79. - Il y fit aussi réunir en abondance les choses necessaires, en provisions de bouche et autres, et toutes les autres choses utiles, qu'il y fit arriver. Aussi n'oublia-t-il pas les armes, les canons, lancant des pierres, les bombardes, et tous les autres objects qui servent pour la guerre.

§ 80. - Tout cela fut fait par lui si bien, que l'on pourrait dire qu'il rétablit la ville, comme elle pouvait avoir été dans les temps antérieurs, de la manière la plus splendide et la plus riche. Il y établit aussi une garnison suffisante, dont le noyau était formé par quatre cents hommes, choisis de sa propre garde, les plus forts et les plus rompus à la guerre.

§ 81. - En outre il laissa dans le pays un général pour satrape avec une armée suffisante. Ce général était un homme des plus braves de sa suite, exercé à la guerre, qui eut ordre de parcourir

avec les soldats tout le pays des Illy-
riens, continuellement et sans relache, et de bloquer
la ville de Kroues.

§82. - Le Sultan ayant fait cela, et ayant ra-
massé un très grand butin en esclaves et en bes-
tiaux, pour lui-même et pour être distribué aux
soldats, il retourna dans l'automne a Byzance, et
l'année six mille neuf cent soixante quatorzième
en tout finit, qui était la seizième du règne du
Sultan.

§91. - Quand on en était là, le Sultan eut la
nouvelle, que le prince des Illyriens, Alexandre,
avait demandé l'alliance chez les Péoniens, qu'elle
avait été accordée, qu'il avait rassemblé ses com-
patriotes, qu'il avait dressé des embûches,
et que sans que Palapan, le satrape, que le Sultan
avait laisse pour bloquer et assiéger la ville de
Kroues, en sut rien du tout, et l'ayant déconcerté
par cette attaque générale, mis en fuite et pour-
suivi, avait fait un grand carnage de ses gens, et
tué le satrape lui-même, qui avait lutté en brave.

§92. - On ajoutait, qu'Alexandre avait ensuite
pourvu la ville d'amples provisions de vivres,
d'armes et de toutes les autres choses nécessaires,
qu'il avait mis une garnison meilleure encore,
comme il en fallait pour un long siège, qu'il s'en
était retourné, maître de tout le pays, assiégeant

la nouvelle ville et enfermant la garnison.

Seconde expédition du Sultan
contre les Illyriens.

§ 93. - Après avoir reçu cette nouvelle, le Sultan ne se possédait plus de fureur, et, sans attendre, il assembla une très grande armée en cavalerie et infanterie, la munit bien de tout, et - déjà l'hiver était passé - avec l'approche du printemps il partit pour lui faire la guerre. Arrivé dans le pays des Illyriens, il le devasta entièrement, s'empara des parties qui s 'étaient révolté contre lui, et fit un grand carnage de ceux-ci. Tout ce qui lui tomba sous les mains fut pris et renversé. Il pilla, incendia, saccagea, ruina et anéantit tout.

§ 94. - Il poursuivit aussi leur prince Alexandre, qui se refugia de nouveau dans les parties fortifiées et inaccessibles des montagnes, et dans ses habituels repaires et ravins des collines, ne pouvant même résister à la vue de l'armée, qui faisait sur lui l'effet d'une tête de Méduse.

§ 95. - Le Sultan ordonnant et permettant aux soldats de piller et de butiner tous les prisonniers, fit monter dans les montagnes la plus grande partie des guerriers les plus robustes, sous le commandement de Machoumout. Lui-même, avec le reste de l'armée, continua a parcourir

tout autour dans le reste du pays, saccageant tout dans sa marche et dressant par stations son camp.

Indique, comment les soldats sondèrent tous les recoins des montagnes et en emmenèrent un immense butin.

§96. - Or les soldats, je veux dire les hoplites, les archers, les frondeurs et les lanciers, apres avoir reçu l'ordre du Sultan, partirent et escaladerent les plus hautes montagnes, les rochers et les parties presque inaccessibles, comme des oiseaux de proie, avec leurs armes; ils parcoururent tout, comme la cavalerie le ferait dans une plaine. Ne rencontrant nulle résistance, ils scruterent tout scrupuleusement, et plus que Datis, comme l'on dit, ne l'a fait dans le pays des Erétriens, les montagnes, les ravins, les crevasses, les repaires, les cavernes, les fentes, les puits puants, enfin tous les recoins de la terre, furent foules. Rien n'échappa et ne leur resta caché de tout ce qu'il y a d'inaccessible, d'éloigné, de sauvage et de recelé dans la terre. Non-seulement ils prirent les châteaux-forts et tout ce qui y avait cherché refuge; mais tout le reste fut parcouru et soumis, fait esclave, et ravagé dans quinze jours en tout.

§97. - Et l'on fit le plus grand butin en es-

claves, hommes, femmes et enfans, en bestiaux de tous genres, enfin en toute sorte de mobilier, et tout cela fut descendu dans le camp.

§ 98. - Le prince des Illyriens Alexandre, quand il vit que l'armée dominait aussi dans les montagnes, prit en hâte la fuite, je n'ai pas su où. Le Sultan, après avoir saccagé et ravagé tout le pays, marcha de nouveau contre Kroues; et, arrivé devant la forteresse, il y dressa son camp, y creusa un fosse et l'enferma tout autour par son armee. Puis il dressa les mortiers et l'assiégea.

Livre V, pp. 367-368. Indique la nature de la maladie.

§ 106. - Voilà la nature de la maladie, telle que pour la plupart elle s'est présentée à moi. Quant au Sultan, ayant pendant peu de jours assiege Kroues, comme il reconnut, qu'il lui serait impossible de la prendre avec les armes par un assaut - car la ville est tres-forte et tout-a-fait imprenable - ni non plus de se la faire rendre par persuasion, il résolut d'y laisser une armée suffisante avec un général qui continuerait le blocus, et de retourner lui-même à Byzance; pour ne pas s'exposer en vain, lui-même et toute son armée, aux fatigues et aux pertes; puisqu'il y avait la possibilité de s'en rendre maître par la famine et par un blocus continué.

§ 107. - Ayant donc, conformément à cette resolution, laissé là un général et une armée de soldats choisis de sa garde, suffisante pour pouvoir aussi bien assiéger la ville, que dominer tout le pays; lui-même, après avoir distribué le butin et les esclaves dans toute l'armée, la congédia et partit avec sa propre garde pour Byzance.

§ 109. - Arrivé dans les environs de Nicopolis et de Widin, qui étaient des contrées saines et qui avaient un air pur, il y passa tout l'automne. Puis, apprenant, apres quelque temps, que la maladie diminuait, et qu'elle disparaissait dans la capitale - car il avait souvent, presque tous les jours, des couriers, qui voyageaient en se relayant, et qui lui annonçaient ce qui y arrivait - il s'y rendit, quand l'hiver avait deja commencé. Ainsi finit la six mille neuf cent soixante-quinzième année en tout, qui fut la dix-septieme du règne du Sultan.

Date Due