OTTOMAN-VENETIAN DIPLOMATICS: THE *ʿAHD-NAME*S

The Historical Background and the Development of a Category of Political-Commercial Instruments together with an Annotated Edition of a Corpus of Relevant Documents

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Introduction

At the end of the eleventh century, during the First Crusade, the Italian merchant republics of Genoa, Pisa and Venice actively supported the Crusaders against the Muslims in Syria, Palestine and Egypt. In return for their support the Italians were rewarded with extensive commercial privileges in the Crusader states and a new period in Levant trade began. The Venetians not only traded with the Christian Crusaders but also with Muslims from the surrounding areas. The Venetians seem to have obtained the first commercial privileges from a Muslim state (the Ayyubids) at the end of the twelfth century. Thus, Venice had established diplomatic and commercial relations with both Christian rulers (Crusaders and Byzantines) and Muslim rulers in the Levant.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century, after the Latin conquest of Constantinople, Venice also established relations with the Turkish Seljukids of Rum, the successors of the Byzantines in large parts of Anatolia. In the Arab lands the Mamluks replaced the Ayyubids as rulers by the middle of the thirteenth century. However, both political and commercial relations with Venice continued. Even after the last remnants of the Crusader states in Palestine and Syria were conquered by the Mamluks at the end of the thirteenth century, the Venetians did not stop trading with the Muslims. By that time trade with the Muslim lands in the Levant had become a major source of income for Venetian merchants which contributed enormously to Venice's prosperity.

Venice had not only established relations with the Christian and Muslim states in the Levant but Venetian merchants had also established themselves in the Black Sea region and penetrated as far east as China. After the Seljukid Empire in Anatolia had collapsed and been replaced by many small Turcoman principalities, the Venetians also established close political and commercial relations with these small Muslim states, especially with the emirates of Aydın and Menteşe.

One of the small Turkish emirates in Asia Minor was that of the Ottomans which by the end of the thirteenth century had emerged in the region bordering the Byzantine Empire in north-west Anatolia. The emergence of the Ottomans as the new dominant political power in the Levant posed several problems for the Venetians. At first the Ottomans were not considered a threat, but in the second half of the fourteenth century, when the Ottoman emirate expanded into Europe at the cost of the Byzantines, Christian states in

Europe, including Venice, slowly started to realize what immense consequences the increasing Ottoman power could have for them. However, the continuous struggle between the main Christian powers in the region, i.e. the Byzantine Empire, Venice and Genoa (Venice's main competitor in Levant trade), prevented the emergence of a joint Christian policy aimed at containing the Ottoman expansion. Moreover, the Ottomans themselves successfully interfered in Christian politics and were thus able to obstruct joint Christian efforts to oppose them.

After the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the Ottomans established themselves as the main political and military power in south-east Europe and Anatolia. Consequently, Venetian trade became increasingly dependent on the Ottomans and a violent confrontation between the two major powers in the area could no longer be avoided. The second half of the fifteenth century was the period of the great wars between the Ottomans and the Venetians. Although there had been violent clashes between the two parties in the first half of that century as well, these confrontations (Gallipoli 1416 and Thessaloniki 1423-1430) were of relatively limited import for Venice's position in the region. However, the wars of 1463-1479 and 1499-1503 had catastrophic consequences for the Venetians. Indeed, Venice lost her main commercial colonies after these long and costly wars and in the end was always forced to acquiesce to Ottoman demands. Eventually, the wars brought about Venice's decline as a major political and commercial power in the Levant.

In the sixteenth century Venetian policy was aimed at maintaining friendly relations with the Ottoman Empire, instead of confrontation. Especially after 1517, when the Ottomans conquered the Mamluk Empire, Venetian trade was almost completely dependent on Ottoman goodwill and consequently Venice did her best to avoid behaving in any way which would antagonize the Ottomans. Nevertheless, two other wars (1537-1540 and 1570-1573) were fought and again the Venetians suffered defeat. Of her once impressive colonial empire only Crete and a small number of isolated islands and cities scattered along the Adriatic coast remained in Venice's hands. Likewise, new commercial competitors such as France, England and the Netherlands began to replace Venice as the most important trader in the Ottoman Empire. Thus, within a century after the beginning of her decline as a major political power, Venice also ceased to be a major commercial power in the Levant. The loss of Crete after the War of Candia (1645-1669) and Tinos (1718) confirmed the end of Venetian power, although by that time the

Ottoman Empire itself had also begun to decline. This last period (after 1641), however, is not dealt with in the present study since it constitutes a new phase in the Ottoman-Venetian relations. Moreover, the instruments which regulated their political and commercial relations during this later period are of a different nature.

Venice's relations with the Muslim states in the Levant are one of the main subjects of the present study. In four separate chapters the Venetian political and commercial relations with these states will be described. Chapter One deals with Venetian relations with the Ayyubids and the Mamluks (from the beginning of the twelfth century until 1517). Chapter Three describes Venetian relations with the Rum-Seljukid Empire in Anatolia in the first half of the thirteenth century, while Chapter Five deals with relations between Venice and the Turcoman emirates of Aydın and Menteşe in the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. The chapters describing Venice's relations with the Ayyubids, Mamluks, Seljukids and the emirates of Aydın and Menteşe are relatively short and general. The purpose of these three chapters is to survey both the political and commercial aspects of Venice's relations with the other Muslim states in the Levant prior to the emergence of the Ottomans as the dominant Muslim power in the region. These chapters are meant to provide background to Chapter Seven which gives an extensive and detailed account of the political and commercial relations between Venice and the Ottoman Empire from the emergence of the Ottomans as a political power in the beginning of the fourteenth century until 1641. In Chapter Seven emphasis is put on the history and development of Ottoman-Venetian diplomacy, i.e. the manner in which the contacts between the two states were regulated at the official (state) level. Since this chapter mainly focusses on the diplomatic aspects of Ottoman-Venetian relations, special attention has been given to the Ottoman documents which illustrate the character of these relations. A great number of these documents, especially those pertaining to the reigns of the sultans Mehmed II, Bayezid II and Süleyman I, have previously been published, whereas other documents, particularly those of the late sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century, have not yet been published and remain virtually unexamined in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia. However, until now these Ottoman documents, even the published ones, have only occasionally been used in Ottoman-Venetian historiography. Therefore, apart from secondary publications, the primary sources for Chapter Seven consist of both published and unpublished documents of Ottoman origin.

From the beginning Venice's political and commercial relations with Christian as well as Muslim states in the Levant were regulated by means of special diplomatic instruments. In 992 Venice concluded her first treaty with the Byzantines and until the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the Byzantine chrysobulls establishing the political and commercial relations between the Byzantine Empire and Venice were regularly renewed. Apart from periods of war and other temporary disruptions of friendly relations, Venice and the Byzantine Empire maintained their close political and commercial contacts throughout almost five centuries on the basis of these chrysobulls. Likewise, the relations with the Crusaders in Syria and Palestine were settled in treaties which stipulated the Venetian commercial privileges in the Crusader states.

Venetian political and commercial relations with the Muslim states of the Levant were also regulated by special instruments. These instruments have been the subject of many studies which, however, mainly concern the historical background and the contents of the instruments. The legal aspects of these instruments and their place within Islamic and international law, as well as the character of the privileges granted by the Muslim ruler, have been thoroughly studied, although the origin of the Islamic instruments has still not been satisfactorily explained. In their article 'Imtiyazat' in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* Wansbrough and particularly İnalcık who deal with the early Arab period (Ayyubids and Mamluks) and that of the Ottoman Empire respectively, present a complete survey of the research done in this field to date.[1] Although new works on several aspects of the capitulations have been published since the appearance of the above mentioned article, especially in the field of the Ottoman *ʿahd-name*s, none of these works deals exclusively with the diplomatic and paleographic aspects of these instruments.[2] In fact, both Wansbrough and İnalcık give but little information on the structure, form and the outer appearance of these instruments. This illustrates the fact that the diplomatic and paleographic aspects of these kinds of instrument have indeed long been neglected. Only recently have some studies been published which shed new light on the diplomatic aspects of a number of instruments.[3] However, the standard works in the field of diplomatics and

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1 J. Wansbrough and H. İnalcık, 'Imtiyazat', *EI*^{2}, 1178-1189 (İnalcık, *Imtiyazat)*.

2 For instance N. Kurdakul, *Osmanlı devletinde ticaret antlaşmaları ve kapitülasyonlar,* İstanbul 1981; M. Erol, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Amerika Birleşik Devletleriyle yaptığı ticaret antlaşmaları*, Konya s.a. (after 1982); A. Bağış, *Osmanlı ticaretinde gayri müslimler*, Ankara 1983; and G. Bozkurt, *Gayrimüslim Osmanlı vatandaşlarının hukuki durumu (1839-1914),* Ankara 1989.

3 For the Arab instruments see the studies of P. Holt and J. Wansbrough; for the Aydınian and Menteşian instruments the works of E. Zachariadou, and for the Ottoman *ʿahd-name*s the studies of V. Ménage

paleography only deal with the capitulations in very general terms. To fill the gap, at least partially, in our knowledge concerning the diplomatic and the paleographic aspects of the instruments in question, this study will be primarily concerned with the diplomatic structure and form, and, when possible and relevant, the outer appearance of these instruments.

In Chapter Two the legal apects of the instruments which were used to conclude treaties and to grant commercial privileges are examined from the point of view of Islamic legal theory. Since it was possible to grant commercial privileges in the form of an *aman* (safe-conduct) and as part of a (political) treaty (*hudna*), both categories of instruments will be discussed. By analysing the structure and form of a number of instruments, in particular those presented by the Ayyubids and Mamluks to Venice, the legal backgrounds and consequently the differences in structure and form of these instruments will be pointed out.

Chapter Four primarily focusses on the Seljukid-Venetian chrysobull of 1220. This is the oldest surviving type of instrument which was employed between a Turkish state and Venice, and for this reason deserves special attention. Moreover, the structure and form of this treaty seems to have important links with Byzantine treaties. Therefore, Byzantine chancery practice with regard to formulating treaties also receives attention in this chapter. Likewise, Turkish-Islamic chancery practice with regard to concluding treaties with other non-Muslim states is discussed and compared with Arab-Islamic practice.

Chapter Six has for its main focus the instruments concluded by the Turcoman emirates of Aydın and Menteşe with Venice (in the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century). These treaties, most of which have only recently been published by Zachariadou, constitute a link between Seljukid practice and the later Ottoman practice. They, therefore, provide important information about the structure and form of instruments from Turkish-Islamic chanceries and reveal the origin of the Ottoman *ʿahd-name* and the influence of both Byzantine-Christian and Mamluk-Islamic practice.

Chapter Eight is the most important chapter of the present study. It contains an analysis of all the texts of the *ʿahd-name*s in Ottoman-Turkish, as well as those preserved in Greek and Italian, which were issued to the Venetians from 1403 to 1641. The analysis of the structure and form of the Ottoman *ʿahd-name* which this chapter presents is partially based on

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and A. Schaendlinger. These works are all mentioned in the bibliography and are referred to frequently when dealing with these instruments.

previously published instruments. However, the main part of the analysis is based on an annotated edition of all the texts of the *ʿahd-name*s in Ottoman-Turkish. Some of these instruments have been published earlier but the diplomatic aspects of this complete series of instruments have never been studied before. To begin with, the structure of each instrument is discussed. Then all the instruments are compared with one another in a chronological order. Thus, the structural and formal evolution of this type of instrument is clearly established. By comparing the Venetian instruments with those presented by the Ottomans to other Christian states, the description of this evolution gains further importance and goes beyond that of the Venetian *ʿahd-name*s alone. The analysis of the series of Ottoman-Venetian treaties hopefully also sheds light on the structure and form of the instruments presented by the Ottomans to other Christian states and contributes to our better understanding of the Ottoman *ʿahd-name* in general. The decision to study the Venetian series of instruments concluded with different Muslim states from the twelfth to the middle of the seventeenth century is by no means an arbitrary one. This series of Venetian instruments offers the researcher a unique opportunity. Indeed, no other collection of instruments has been preserved which involves a Christian state and various Muslim states and extends over a period of five hundred years.

It should be noted that the Ottoman *ʿahd-name*s are generally known in Western literature under the name of capitulations. Dilger in his discussion of Matuz's work *Das Kanzleiwesen Sultan Süleymans des Prächtigen* (Wiesbaden 1974) criticizes the use of the word capitulation as a translation for *ʿahd-name* stating: 'Durchaus zweifelhaft erscheint auch, ob tatsächlich im 16. Jahrhundert von "Kapitulationen" gesprochen werden kann oder dieser Begriff nicht vielmehr gewissen völkerrechtlichen Verträgen mit den europäischen Mächten seit dem 19. Jahrhundert vorbehalten bleiben sollte. Es handelt sich dabei nämlich nicht einfach um "Staatsverträge" (*ʿahdname*) mit den islamischen Ländern, sondern um aufgezwungene Vereinbarungen der europäischen Mächte mit weitgehenden Privilegien zugunsten der eigenen Staatsangehörigen ohne entsprechende Gegenleistungen, wie sie in dieser Form in früheren Jahrhunderten noch nicht durchsetzbar waren'.[4] However, Dilger's criticism is not justified. Already by the sixteenth century the Ottoman-Turkish word *ʿahd-name* was translated as capitulation in several Western languages and meant nothing more than a treaty consisting of articles

4 K. Dilger, 'Das osmanische Urkundenwesen in der neueren Forschung', *Der Islam,* LVII, 1, 1980, 120-129, 128-129 (Dilger, *Urkundenwesen*).

('capitula'). Moreover, some of the Ottoman *ʿahd-name*s from the seventeenth century (for instance the Dutch capitulation of 1680) were still in force at the beginning of the twentieth century without any change, simply because they were tacitly renewed without a new treaty being drawn up. Thus, changes in the political relations eventually resulting in the European exploitation of the Ottoman Empire on the basis of the *ʿahd-name*s does not necessarily imply that the name of the instrument involved ought to be changed. As will be shown in this study, not only the character of the articles of the *ʿahd-name* and their practical application but also the structure and form of this instrument slowly evolved during the long history of the Ottoman Empire, without, however, resulting in a change of the Ottoman-Turkish name to indicate this type of instrument. Therefore, it is legitimate to employ the expressions *ʿahd-name*, capitulation and treaty (with or without commercial privileges) interchangeably throughout the period of the Ottoman Empire. However, one must always place the capitulation in its historical context, since there can be no doubt that in practice the Ottoman capitulation of the sixteenth century was a completely different instrument than the Ottoman capitulation of the nineteenth century.

Chapter Nine treats in detail the different diplomatic parts of the Ottoman *ʿahd-name*. The evolution of the structure and form of the *ʿahd-name* having been dealt with in the previous chapter, Chapter Nine describes the development of the different diplomatic parts of the instrument during the period under discussion.

Chapter Ten deals extensively with the Ottoman documents and manuscript materials which have been employed for the present study. To begin with, the materials in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in İstanbul are described. The materials preserved there originate from the former Ottoman chancery and its archives, and thus not only provide us with texts of *ʿahd-name*s but also make available valuable information about the Ottoman chanceryand its *defter*s, and the place of the *ʿahd-name* in this institution and in daily practice.

Then the relevant materials preserved in the Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (İstanbul), the British Library (London) and the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) are discussed. Finally, the main corpus of the document material preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia and edited and annotated in the present publication is studied. Since the Ottoman *ʿahd-name*s preserved in Venice are for the most part original documents, the Venetian material offers a unique opportunity to study the paleographic aspects of a series of documents of the same type from a period covering

almost two hundred years. Thus, the practices of the Ottoman chancery when issuing an *ᶜahd-name* can be at least partially revealed. Moreover, since there is a direct link between the diplomatic aspects of the Ottoman *ᶜahd-name* and its outer appearance, it is necessary to study the paleographical aspects of these documents in detail. Only then can the diplomatic aspects of the *ᶜahd-name* be fully understood.

The present study also includes an annotated edition of the texts of all Ottoman *ᶜahd-name*s in Ottoman-Turkish and Italian which were issued between 1482 and 1641, and an appendix containing all toponyms mentioned in these Ottoman instruments. The study ends with a bibliography of all the works mentioned in the footnotes.

This present Internet publication in some ways differs from the original, unpublished dissertation of 1991.[5] The 'Acknowledgement', the 'Summary in Dutch', and the 'Curriculum Vitae in Dutch' have been eliminated. The 'Title Page' has been adjusted and all other references to the 'Dissertation of 1991' have been removed as well. However, except for some (minor) corrections and additions, no fundamental changes have been made in the text. Thus, instead of revising some parts of the original dissertation for this present Internet publication, I have chosen to publish the original text and to present the new material I have been able to collect since 1991 in a series of articles to be published in near future.

August 1998 Hans Theunissen

5 H. Theunissen, *Ottoman-Venetian Diplomatics: The ᶜAhd-names. The Historical Background and the Development of a Category of Political-Commercial Instruments together with an Annotated Edition ofa Corpus of Relevant Documents*, (Unpublished) Dissertation Utrecht University, Utrecht 1991.

Note on the transliteration of Arabic and Ottoman-Turkish

In the first two chapters of the present study, i.e. those dealing with the Ayyubids and Mamluks, all Arabic words and phrases (mainly names) have been tranliterated in accordance with the system of transliteration used in the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* – with one important difference, however. Whereas the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* uses diacritical marks to distinguish certain letters of the Arabic alphabet (including the long vowels), due to technical reasons the transliteration in this study does not. Thus, 'dhimma', for instance, is given as 'dhimma'. In practice, however, this simplified transliteration does not give rise to misunderstandings.

In all other chapters besides Chapter One and Two, another transliteration system is used. Since there is still no uniform and generally accepted transliteration system for Turkish languages written in the Arabic script, I have chosen to make use of a greatly simplified system which is based on the modern Turkish alphabet with only a few adaptations and additions. As with the transliteration system which I use for Arabic, this system neither employs diacritical marks to indicate certain consonants (with only one exception, the *sagır nun* or *nef* is transliterated as ñ), nor macrons to indicate long vowels in words of non-Turkish origin. In addition to avoiding the technical difficulties of using a transliteration system with numerous diacritical marks, I felt it was not really necessary to do so in the present study. For the main subject of this study, a structural analysis of the *ʿahd-name*, the texts of the instruments are obviously of capital importantance. However, a study concerned with diplomatics does not require an exact transliteration which gives a scientifically accurate representation of the original orthography of the Ottoman-Turkish texts writen in Arabic script.

Although the modern Turkish alphabet is the basis of the transliteration system which I have adopted, this does not automatically mean that the Ottoman-Turkish words are transliterated as if they were modern Turkish. On the contrary, Ottoman-Turkish words are transliterated according to rules which do not, for instance, adjust the Ottoman-Turkish suffixes to the modern rules of vowel harmony, unless the orthography in the original text gives no indication whatsoever about the vowels used. In the latter case vowels are added in accordance with the rules of modern Turkish orthography. For instance the Turkish name for Pera is transliterated as Beg oglı and not as the modern Beyoğlu. Essentially, the system used in this study is a slightly adapted version of the one proposed by E. Birnbaum in his article

'The Transliteration of Ottoman Turkish for Library and General Purposes' published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (LXXXVII, 2, 1967, 122-156) in combination with that used by J. Redhouse in *A Turkish and English Lexicon* (Constantinople 1890). Only in the footnotes to the texts of the *ʿahd-name*s is a more precise transliteration of the names of persons and toponyms given. For instance 'G[a]l[a]ta' or 'Trabzon'. In these cases the use of brackets signifies that the vowel is not indicated in the Arabic script by either a vowel sign or an *elif*, *ve, he* or *ye.* Although this system occasionally results in a slightly hybrid transliteration, in view of the technical limitations the system employed provides an adequate transliteration which is in accordance with the requirements of the present study.

Chapter One: Venetian Political and Commercial Relations with Syria and Egypt (ca. 1100-1517)

Venetians, Crusaders and Ayyubids

Until the end of the eleventh century Venetian trade activities were concentrated around the coastal areas of the Adriatic Sea, as well as the lands bordering on the Aegean Sea and the approaches to Constantinople which were under Byzantine rule. The First Crusade (1097), however, brought important changes to this traditional Venetian pattern of trade. Venice joined Pisa and Genoa, two other Italian maritime republics which were among the first to support the Crusaders in their 'holy war' against the Muslims in Syria and Palestine. Genoa and Pisa, whose commercial activities were at first directed to the western Mediterranean, now expanded their activities in the Levant. The participation of these three maritime republics in the Crusade proved to be of paramount importance. Without their naval support the Crusaders would probably never have succeeded in conquering the Holy Land. In return for this active support, the Italians were rewarded with extensive privileges in the newly conquered territories. These privileges were usually stipulated in treaties concluded with the rulers of the Crusader states.[1]

A new chapter in the history of the Crusader states and the Venetian Levantine colonies began when Salah al-Din, the founder of the Ayyubid dynasty, emerged as the preeminent leader of the Muslims in their struggle against the Christians. In 1187 and 1188 the Crusaders suffered decisive defeats. Important cities such as Acre and Jerusalem were lost; only Tyre was able to resist Saladin (as Salah al-Din was commonly known in the West). An army was sent from Europe to reconquer the lost cities in 1189. During this campaign, known as the Second Crusade, the Italian republics again played an important role. After the reoccupation of Acre, Venice was rewarded with the same privileges she had obtained in the aftermath of the First Crusade. Now more than ever, Venetian commercial activities in the Levant concentrated on Acre.

From the time the Venetians established themselves in the Crusader states, they developed commercial contacts with the Muslim communities in

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1 W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-âge*, 2 vols., Amsterdam 1967 (ed. princ. Leipzig 1885-1886), I, 131-190 (Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*); and L. Buenger Robbert, 'Venice and the Crusades', K. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols., 1955-1989, V, Madison 1985, 379-451, 379-397. On Venetian trade with Egypt before the First Crusade see ibid., 394-397.

the surrounding areas, especially in Alexandria, Damascus and Aleppo. The Venetian trading colonies became important entrepots where merchandise was brought from Europe and products from the Orient were exported to the Occident. After the conquests of Salah al-Din, when much of Syria and Palestine were added to Ayyubid Egypt, Venice seems to have obtained commercial privileges from the Ayyubids for the first time. Evidently, the Venetians did not want to restrict their commercial activities to the remnants of the Crusader states. They also wanted to secure their interests in the long term. Thus, Venetian trade policy gained a new dimension.

In the first half of the thirteenth century, Venetian merchants began increasingly to penetrate into Muslim territories. This was possible on the basis of new privileges given by the successors of Salah al-Din, both in Egypt and in Syria, which permitted the Venetians to trade in Ayyubid territory. The first documentary evidence of this new phase in the political and commercial relations with Muslim rulers are the privileges of 1208, which were given by the Ayyubid Sultan al-ᶜAdil Sayf al-Din Abu Bakr. In the years directly after the Fifth Crusade (1217-1218), commercial relations seem to have broken off because of an official prohibition against trade with Egypt. However, when Jacopo Tiepolo was doge (1229-1249), regular trade was resumed. Tiepolo obtained new commercial privileges in 1238, which were renewed in 1244. Likewise, a number of privileges were conceded by local (Ayyubid) rulers in Syria, thereby securing Venetian commercial interests in that area as well. These privileges were granted in 1207/1208, 1225, 1229 and 1254.[2]

Venetians and Mamluks

When in 1250 the Bahrite Mamluks took power from the Ayyubids in Egypt, a new period for Venetian trade began. By 1254 the Venetians had obtained their first privileges from a Mamluk ruler, and trade with Egypt was

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2 Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, I, 310-359 and 372-426; Buenger Robbert, *art. cit.*, 401-402, 411-412, 436, 438-443; and M. Pozza, *I trattati con Aleppo 1207-1254* (a cura di Marco Pozza), Venezia 1990, 9-63. On Saladin and the Ayyubids see H. Gibb, 'The Rise of Saladin 1169-1189', K. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols., 1955-1989, I, Philadelphia 1955, 563-589; and idem, 'The Aiyubids', K. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols., 1955-1989, II, Philadelphia 1962, 693-714. On the situation of the Crusader states and their relations with (local) Muslim rulers in this period see also P. Jackson, 'The Crusades of 1239-41 and their Aftermath', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, L, 1987, 32-60. For a general survey of the relations between Venice and the Mamluks see F. Gabrieli, 'Venezia e i Mamelucchi', A. Pertusi (ed.), *Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Firenze 1966, 417-432.

able to continue. However, in the second half of the thirteenth century the situation in Palestine and Syria changed dramatically. The Mamluks slowly but persistently pressed the Crusader states in Syria and every new peace treaty they concluded with the Mamluks further weakened the Crusaders' position.[3] In 1275 the Genoese obtained favorable commercial privileges from the Mamluks. This consolidated their already strong position and allowed them to dominate European trade in the Mamluk territories. The Venetians also tried to secure their commercial interests in the area. In 1289, even before the Mamluk conquest of Syria was completed, the Venetians managed to obtain new commercial privileges from Sultan al-Mansur Kalawun. Commercial interests were paramount; this is most clearly illustrated by the readiness of the Italian republics to enter into political and commercial relations with what they generally called 'the enemy of Christianity'.

The fall of Acre to the Mamluks in 1291 signaled the end of the Crusades. It was also a serious blow for Venetian trade with the Levant, since Acre had been Venice's last permanent commercial settlement in the area. Acre had been the gateway to the Muslim Levant, through which Europe was provided with many precious and much sought after articles from Asia. The Muslim lands were also an important market for European industries. After the conquest of Acre the popes prohibited trade with the Mamluks. However, both the Venetians and the Genoese tried to oppose the implementation of this ban or only complied with it partially. Even though they had lost their main entrepot, they were unwilling to discontinue their commercial activities in the area. Trade was, however, seriously hindered and at times impossible because of the wars in the Mediterranean. But as soon it was possible, Venice attempted to restore its commercial relations with the Mamluks.

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3 Concerning these treaties see P. Holt, 'Treaties between the Mamluk Sultans and the Frankish Authorities', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Suppl. III, 1977, 474-476 (Holt, *Treaties*); idem, 'The Treaties of the Early Mamluk Sultans with the Frankish States', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XLIII, 1980, 67-76 (Holt, *Treaties of the Early Mamluk Sultans*); idem, 'Qalawun's Treaty with Acre in 1283', *English Historical Review*, XCI, 1976, 802-812 (Holt, *Qalawun's Treaty*); idem, 'Baybars's Treaty with the Lady of Beirut in 667/1269', P. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R.C. Smail*, Cardiff 1985, 242-250 (Holt, *Baybars's Treaty*); J. Richard, 'Un partage de seigneurie entre Francs et Mamelouks: Les "Casaux de Sur"', *Syria*, XXX, 1953, 72-82; U. Vermeulen, 'Le traité d'armistice entre le sultan Baybars et les Hospitaliers de Hisn al-Akrad et al-Marqab (665/1267)', *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, XIX, 1988, 189-195; and idem, 'Le traité d'armistice relatif à al-Marqab conclu entre Baybars et les Hospitaliers (1 ramadan 669/13 avril 1271)', *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, VIII, 1990, 123-131.

In 1302 the Republic sent her ambassador Guido de Canal to Egypt to negotiate new privileges with Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad. His mission resulted in renewing the privileges which al-Nasir's predecessor al-Mansur Kalawun had conceded to the Venetians in 1289. At the same time two Venetian envoys were sent to the local ruler of Syria to foster new commercial activities in that part of the Mamluk Empire. As a result of these diplomatic initiatives the Venetians were able to continue a rather lively trade in the Mamluk territories during the first decade of the fourteenth century, notwithstanding the fact that the official papal embargo on trade with the Mamluks was not lifted. Meanwhile, the pressure of the Holy See to stop trade was increasing and eventually became so strong that in 1323, Venice was forced to comply. The Venetian government prohibited all trade with the Mamluks. This embargo remained in force from 1323 until 1345. Although trade with the Mamluks decreased significantly as a result of this strict embargo, it never stopped completely. Venetian merchants now shifted their attentions to other places like Cyprus and Lesser Armenia. Consequently, merchandise from Syria and Egypt reached Venice by way of Cyprus and the Armenian port of Lajazzo. Though direct connections were for the most part broken off, Venetian trade with the Mamluks continued through these indirect channels. In addition to this, the Venetians intensified their trade with Persia and the Black Sea region.[4]

Trade with Persia was interrupted when the Ilkhanid Empire fell apart in 1335, and the Venetian government, three years later, issued a decree prohibiting trade with these lands. In 1343 a conflict between the Tatars and the Venetians of Tana also resulted in the discontinuation of commercial contacts with the Tatars of southern Russia. This was such a serious blow for

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4 Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 3-44, 64-140, 156-187 and 215-253; E. Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages*, Princeton 1983, 3-63 (Ashtor, *Levant Trade*); E. Ashtor, 'Observations on Venetian Trade in the Levant in the XIVth Century', *Journal of European Economic History*, V, 1976, 534-538 (Ashtor, *Observations*); and P. Racine. 'Note sur le trafic Veneto-Chypriote à la fin du Moyen Age', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, V, 1977, 307-29, 307-315. On the importance of Acre for Venice see also D. Jacoby, 'L'expansion occidentale dans le Levant: les Vénitiens à Acre dans la seconde moitié du treizième siècle', *The Journal of Medieval History*, III, 1977, 225-264. On the impact of the Mongols on the Levant see D. Morgan, 'The Mongols and the Eastern Mediterranean', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, IV, 1, 1989, 198-211; and C. Cahen, 'The Mongols and the Near East', K. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols., 1955-1989, II, Philadelphia 1962, 715-732. On the Mamluks see M. Ziada, 'The Mamluk Sultans to 1293', K. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols., 1955-1989, II, Philadelphia 1962, 735-758; and P. Holt, 'Mamluks', *EI*^{2}, VI, 321-331. On the Mongol-Mamluk rivalry and the consequences for Levant trade see B. Flemming, 'Landschaftsgeschichte von Pamphylien, Pisidien und Lykien in Spätmittelalter', *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXXV, 1, Wiesbaden 1964, 34-66.

Venetian trade that Venice asked the pope to lift the ban on trade with Egypt and Syria. In 1344 the pope permitted the Venetians to return to the Mamluk territories for a period of five years. Venice sent Nicolò Zeno as her ambassador to the Mamluk sultan to negotiate new commercial privileges. Zeno was successful and in 1345, for the first time since 1323, Venetians were able to return to Egypt for trading purposes.[5]

Commercial activities were resumed but not without problems: in consequence of the war between Venice and Genoa the Venetian galley service to Alexandria did not function in the years 1351 to 1354. After concluding peace with Genoa, Venice sent an embassy to Egypt to renew the commercial privileges granted in 1345. Ambassador Ermolao Venier obtained a confirmation, and Venetian trade with the Mamluks increased thereafter. However, in violation of the privileges Mamluk authorities began to exact higher export dues. Nicolò Contarini, the newly appointed ambassador, was sent to Egypt to discuss the matter. He obtained a confirmation of the privileges given in 1354, as well as some new concessions (1361). During this period Venice was able to consolidate her position in Egypt and Syria by means of the commercial privileges given to her by the Mamluk rulers. Consequently, throughout this period trade with the Mamluks flourished.[6]

In 1365, however, this favorable situation changed completely. Much to the displeasure of the Venetian merchants, King Peter I of Cyprus decided to revive the crusades. Despite the Venetian government's refusal to support his plans, the king was able to attack Alexandria with a large fleet. The city was pillaged (10 October 1365) and then abandoned by the Crusaders, who were unable to hold it longer than a few days. This raid not only caused great losses to the European merchants, but also marked the beginning of a crisis in the political and commercial relations between the Mamluks and the trading nations. The sultan took his revenge by imprisoning all foreign merchants and seizing their merchandise. However, both the sultan and the trading nations were eager to restore friendly relations as soon as possible. At the invitation of the Mamluk ruler, Venice sent two ambassadors, Francesco Bembo and Pietro Soranzo, to Egypt to negotiate the release of the imprisoned Venetians and the resumption of commercial relations. The sultan agreed to

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5 Heyd, *Histoire du commerce,* II, 44-46, 187-215 and 504-508; Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 64-69; idem, *Observations*, 538; and F. Lane, 'The Venetian Galleys to Alexandria, 1344', G. Kohl and R. Mueller (eds.), *Studies in Venetian Social and Economic History*, London 1987.

6 Heyd, *Histoire du commerce,* II, 46-51; Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 69-88; idem, *Observations*, 538-546; and Racine, *art. cit.*, 315-317.

the second request only. Commercial activities could be resumed; the prisoners, however, would not be freed. Venetian mediation between the Mamluks and Cyprus turned out to be fruitless. When the Venetians resumed their commercial activities, a series of incidents demonstrated that as long as there was not a satisfactory peace treaty between the hostile parties, trade would remain endangered.

The years 1367 and 1368 passed without effective diplomatic initiatives by the Italian republics. Cypriot raids followed by outbursts of Mamluk hostilities against all foreigners frequently occurred. Yet trade, however high the risks, was never completely discontinued. In 1369 the uncertainty of the situation became so unbearable that Venice and Genoa decided to act together: they concluded an alliance and stopped all trade in the hope that this would force the Mamluks to make peace. Notwithstanding the failure of this alliance, a peace treaty between the Mamluks and the Christian nations involved in the conflict was concluded in December 1370. The papal ban was lifted, and new permits to trade were issued.[7]

Thereafter, a new period of intense commercial activity within the Mamluk dominions began, bolstered by developments in international trade. Trade with Persia had come to a virtual standstill because of the continuous wars and the state of anarchy which engulfed the country. Venetian trade with Cyprus was hindered because of the Genoese having established a protectorate over that island since 1373. The route between Lesser Armenia and the Persian Gulf was cut off, and trade in the Black Sea region suffered a heavy blow when Timur destroyed the Italian colony of Tana in 1395. The same Mongol conqueror caused a brief crisis in trade with Syria. From 1388 onwards there was the risk that Timur might conquer Syria. In 1400 and 1401 he temporarily occupied Aleppo and Damascus. Venetian merchants fled to Cyprus and Crete. This crisis, however, was short lived. Timur's attention was soon diverted to the Ottomans in Anatolia, and trade in Syria went on as before. Venetian trade with the Mamluk lands boomed after the peace of 1370 and the Republic supplanted Genoa as the dominant trading nation in the area.[8]

In the beginning of the fifteenth century, soon after the Burdjite or Circassian Mamluks had come to power, the industrial production in the

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7 Heyd, *Histoire du commerce,* II, 51-64; Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 88-102; idem, *Observations*, 546-551; and K. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, 4 vols., Philadephia 1976-1984, I, 258-284.

8 Heyd, *Histoire du commerce,* II, 427-473; Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 103-199; idem, *Observations*, 551-574; Racine, *art. cit.*, 317-329; and M. Martin, 'Venetian Tana in the Later Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Century', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, XI, 1987, 375-379.

Orient declined sharply. As a result, the import of European industrial products into the area increased. The economic crisis in Egypt and Syria was aggravated by political unrest and periods of civil war. In spite of this unrest, Venetian trade developed positively. In 1414 the Mamluk ruler al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh confirmed the Republic's commercial privileges. However, violations of the privileges regularly occurred, at times causing considerable losses to the Venetians. In sharp contrast with the Venetians, who had good relations with the Mamluks, the Genoese adopted an aggressive policy towards the Mamluks. Likewise, there were hostilities between the Catalans and the Mamluks. The result was that Genoese and Catalan trade decreased, whereas Venetian trade during this period expanded.[9]

During the second decade of the fifteenth century, Mamluk trade-policy changed in an effort to solve the financial problems of the Mamluk state caused by the general economic decline. In order to maintain a firmer grip on financial resources for the treasury, the sultans themselves began to participate directly in trade (especially the pepper trade). This new policy was notably cultivated by Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbay who decided to break the power of the Karimis, the old Mamluk merchant class, and to monopolize trade in pepper, sugar and cotton. Barsbay's policy resulted in the decline of the Mamluk territories and economic and political dependency on other powers. This new policy also resulted in a general crisis in Levant trade.

Problems for the Venetians had already begun after the death of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, when an emir called Tatar seized power. Tatar decreed that European merchants could not stay in his dominions longer than four months. The Venetians decided to send an embassy to convince Sultan Tatar to revoke his decree. The ambassadors, Bernardo Loredan and Lorenzo Cappello, were charged with requesting the renewal of Venice's privileges and the free trade in pepper. When they arrived, Tatar was already dead and they had to negotiate with al-Ashraf Barsbay, who now intended to put into effect his own new trade policy. Barsbay was keenly aware of the advantages of trading with the Venetians and he agreed to renew the privileges granted by his predecessor in 1415. However, this promising start was soon followed by less favorable developments.

When Barsbay established his pepper monopoly, the Venetians were faced with higher prices and custom duties, and by 1427 a new trade crisis was

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9 Heyd, *Histoire du commerce,* II, 473-474; Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 200-269; and idem, *Observations*, 574-586. On economic prosperity under the Bahrite Mamluks and decline under the Circassian dynasty see also E. Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages*, London 1976, 288-331.

arising. Tensions between the Mamluks and the Venetians reached a peak in 1430. The future of Venetian trade appeared to be in considerable danger. A new war with Genoa aggravated the crisis for the Venetians and made them eager to solve their trade problems in the Mamluk lands by means of negotiations. In 1431 the Venetian consul was able to reach a new agreement. Problems, however, continued, especially concerning the sultan's pepper monopoly, which forced the Venetians to buy pepper at high prices. From time to time merchants were arrested and trade was suspended, but in the end the Venetians prevailed.

After Barsbay's death in 1438, the new sultan, al-Zahir Djakmak, released the imprisoned Venetians, but he maintained the monopoly policy of his predecessor. Djakmak seemed willing to negotiate over trade problems and Venice revoked her embargo on trade with the Mamluks. In 1439 difficulties started again when Djakmak decreed that Europeans could only reside in his dominions for six months. The Venetians reacted immediately: they prohibited trade with Egypt and Syria and suspended the galley service. These measures eventually met with some degree of success: in 1442 the sultan asked Venice to send an embassy to negotiate concerning trade. The negotiations conducted by the Venetian envoy Andrea Donato were successfully concluded with the acquisition of new privileges, and the sultan promised to abandon his policy of compulsory trading.

Soon thereafter, the Venetians were confronted with the same problems again: they were forced to buy pepper at a price much higher than the commercial price. In consequence trade contacts were once again suspended, though they were never broken off completely. In 1449 another ambassador, Lorenzo Tiepolo, went to Egypt to negotiate a new agreement. Despite the great losses they had suffered in the past, the Venetians were still eager to resume trade with the Mamluk territories and they finally succeeded in breaking the Mamluk monopoly policy. In the 1449 agreement the sultan renounced his pepper monopoly. By this time the Venetians had not only solved their commercial conflicts with the Mamluks, but they had also obtained unchallenged supremacy (and great profits) in Levant trade, leaving all other European trading nations far behind.[10]

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10 Heyd, *Histoire du commerce,* II, 474-486; and Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 270-366. On Venetian-Mamluk relations during the reign of Barsbay see also A. Darrag, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay 825-841/1422-1438*, Damascus 1961 (Diss. Paris 1961), 294-314. On the pepper monopoly see also E. Ashtor, 'Le monopole de Barsbay d'après des sources venitiennes', *Annuario de estudios medievales*, IX, 1974-79, 551-572. On the Karimis see E. Ashtor, 'The Karimi Merchants', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1956, 45-56.

After the middle of the fifteenth century, economic decline in the Muslim Levant increased, while Europe steadily recovered from the widespread crisis in the fourteenth century. Consequently, the Mamluks found that they increasingly had to import a wide range of products which in earlier times they had exported themselves. Not only did the population in the Mamluk dominions significantly decline, but the inhabitants experienced a general economic impoverishment which resulted in a lower level of living standards.

In terms of political power the Ottomans had far outstripped the Mamluks as 'the greatest enemy of Christianity'. The fall of Acre in 1291 had brought an end to the Crusades against the Mamluks in Syria and Palestine. Although following this event much crusading propaganda was still directed against the Mamluks, the sacking of Alexandria in 1365 by the Cypriot King Peter I turned out to be an isolated incident. Indeed, since the fourteenth century Venice had been concentrating almost all her military expeditions and crusading activities on the Turkish emirates of Anatolia, which increasingly presented a direct threat to Venetian trading colonies in Romania and the Aegean. The fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 was one of the many indications that these Turkish conquerors were a new power to be reckoned with. Instead of giving all possible aid to the Byzantines in their struggle against the Turks, Venetian support was clearly halfhearted. All along Venice's primary concern was to secure her own commercial interests in the former Byzantine (and now Ottoman) dominions by concluding treaties with the Ottomans. The emergence of the Ottomans also had important consequences for Venetian-Mamluk relations. Commercial relations intensified, although shipping had become increasingly dangerous because of the frequent attacks by Turkish corsairs. Venice rather desperately tried to find allies against the Ottomans. She concluded a treaty with the Karamanids (1454) and sought to secure help from the Ak Koyunlu state of Uzun Hasan. Political contacts between European powers and the Mamluks, who felt equally threatened by the Ottomans, also intensified. The Mamluks now started to send their own embassies to Europe.

Notwithstanding the fact that Venetian trade in the sultan's dominions expanded and reached a peak in the second half of the fifteenth century, the old problems in the commercial relations (violations of the privileges) remained. In 1460 Venice dispatched her ambassador Maffio Michiel to negotiate terms of trade and, as a consequence of his mission, Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Ahmad renewed the privileges in 1461. Trade relations were again disturbed in 1464

because of Rhodian aggression against Muslim merchants aboard a Venetian ship. Only in 1466 did contacts return to normal. In 1471 problems in Syria induced Venice to send an ambassador, Giovanni Emo, to Cairo (1472). After long negotiations he apparently succeeded in reestablishing friendly relations.[11] But this settlement was not to last for long.

The alliance between the Venetians and Uzun Hasan, an enemy of the Mamluks, seriously disturbed the Mamluks. They feared that such an alliance would eventually turn against them. By the middle of 1473 Mamluk relations with Venice had deteriorated into a full crisis and Venice sent another envoy, Zuan Dario, to Cairo. His mission was apparently successful, but in the meantime conditions for trading in Syria had become so difficult that Venetian merchants left the region. Another ambassador, Giovanni Dedo, was dispatched but, despite an encouraging response from the sultan, once again problems arose. Moreover, a new issue now troubled Venetian-Mamluk relations.

The island of Cyprus had become a Venetian protectorate in 1474, and in 1489 Cyprus came under direct Venetian rule. But Cyprus was also a tributary of the Mamluks, and the latter tried to prevent Cyprus from passing under complete Venetian rule. In 1489 Piero Diedo was sent as ambassador to Cairo to explain the new situation. He managed to come to an understanding with the sultan, but before actually signing an agreement, Diedo died. His secretary, Giovanni Borghi, signed the Cyprus-treaty in which the Venetians promised to pay tribute for the continued possession of Cyprus (February 1490). Commercial privileges were also renewed.[12]

At the beginning of the sixteenth century Venice was confronted with a new political situation. Mamluk power in Syria and Egypt rapidly declined, while Ottoman power, including naval power, rapidly increased. Further east, the rise and consolidation of the Safavid state under Shah Ismaᶜil together

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11 On this affair and a letter Sultan al-Ashraf Ka'it Bay sent to Venice in 1473 see J. Wansbrough, 'A Mamluk Letter of 877/1473', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXIV, 1961, 200-213 (Wansbrough, *Mamluk Letter*). According to Wansbrough, Emo was not successful at all.

12 Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 407-426 and 486-497; Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 433-512. On Venetian trade in general and spice trade in particulair see also E. Ashtor, 'Profits from Trade with the Levant in the Fifteenth Century', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXXVIII, 1975, 250-275; idem, 'The Venetian Supremacy in Levantine Trade: Monopoly or Pre-Colonialism', *Journal of Economic History*, III, 1974, 5-53; idem, 'Spice Prices in the Near East in the 15th Century, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1976, 26-41; idem, 'The Volume of Levantine Trade in the Later Middle Ages (1370-1498)', *Journal of European Economic History*, IV, 1975; and F. Lane, 'Pepper Prices before Da Gama', *Journal of Economic History*, XXVIII, 1968, 590-597.

with the Portuguese naval expansion in the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, which the declining Mamluks were unable to prevent, threatened to damage Venetian commercial interests. Since 1503 Venice was at peace with the Ottomans and a new relatively stable period in Venetian-Ottoman relations began. This peace ensured Venetian commercial activities in the Ottoman Empire, yet her trading in Syria and Egypt was seriously threatened by the Portuguese activities in the Indian Ocean.

In 1504 Venice sent Francesco Teldi on a secret mission to Cairo to discuss measures to stop the Portuguese naval and commercial expansion which was beginning to undermine both Venetian and Mamluk trade. Teldi was able to obtain new privileges, but Venice's hopes that the Mamluks would take diplomatic and military action aimed at containing the Portuguese turned out to be vain.

Safavid military successes in eastern Anatolia and Irak between 1508 and 1511 led to diplomatic contacts between the Safavids and Venetians. Venice hoped that amicable relations with Shah Ismaᶜil would provide her with a useful ally in the east against the Ottomans, such as Uzun Hasan had never proved to be. The Venetians, however, were also eager to maintain good relations with the Ottomans because Venice's success in Levant trade largely depended on them. A complicating factor in this period, which prevented the emergence of a Venetian-Safavid alliance, was that Venice was at war in Europe with the League of Cambrai. She did not want to jeopardize her precious peace with the Ottomans and therefore refrained from giving concrete support to the Safavids in their anti-Ottoman actions.

Venice's contacts with the Safavids caused serious damage, however, to her Mamluk relations, since the Mamluks feared a Christian-Shi'ite alliance against themselves. Only in 1512, when Venice sent a new ambassador, Domenico Trevisan, to Cairo, were friendly relations resumed. Trevisan had to obtain new privileges, since those agreed to in 1507 by a Mamluk ambassador in Venice had never been ratified by the sultan. Whereas Venetian embassies to the Ottomans after 1503 aimed at maintaining good, firm relations in order to ensure Venetian trade in the Ottoman Empire, Venetian embassies to the Mamluks were prompted by conditions of crisis in their mutual relations.

After Selim's defeat of the Safavids at Çaldıran in 1514 and the failure of the Mamluk naval actions against the Portuguese, Venice abandoned the option of an anti-Ottoman policy. In her eyes Ottoman rule alone was capable of providing the necessary stability in Syria and Egypt and the continuity of

trade through the Red Sea. In consequence of unstable political and economic conditions which resulted in numerous violations of her privileges, Venice's trade in the Mamluk dominions had virtually come to a standstill. In 1516 Tomaso Venier, the Venetian consul in Alexandria, visited the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Tumanbay in order to obtain a confirmation of the privileges. During the negotiations the consul threatened that Venice would abandon trading in the Mamluk lands completely and go to Syria which had recently been conquered by the Ottomans. In this way Tumanbay was forced to confirm the privileges.[13]

On 24 August 1516, at the battle of Merc-i Dabık, the Ottoman Sultan Selim I defeated the Mamluks and thereby opened the door for the Ottoman conquest of the Mamluk Empire. Selim I entered the Mamluk capital of Cairo on 28 January 1517. The Venetian consul in Alexandria, Nicolò Bragadin, immediately tried to obtain a confirmation of the Venetian commercial privileges in Syria and Egypt which from now on would form part of the Ottoman Empire. He apparently did so without the knowledge or approval of his government in Venice. Within three weeks after the conquest of Egypt he succeeded in obtaining an official confirmation of the privileges the Venetians had enjoyed in the former Mamluk Empire.

Venice, probably not knowing that her consul in Alexandria already had reached an agreement, dispatched an official embassy to Selim I in Cairo in order to obtain a renewal of her commercial privileges in the Ottoman Empire. The two ambassadors, Bartholomeo Contarini and Alvise Mocenigo, succeeded in obtaining a renewal of the privileges, which from now on also had effect in the former Mamluk dominions. After the separate confirmation of the commercial privileges in Syria and Egypt obtained by Nicolò Bragadin, the Venetian privileges in the former Mamluk dominions now formed an integral part of the Ottoman *ʿahd-name*s. Instead of dealing with two Muslim states, from now on Venice only had to deal with one state: the Ottoman Empire. Undoubtedly, this made relations less complicated and in times of peace gave the Venetians a stronger position in Syria and Egypt than was the case under the Mamluks. At the same time, Venetian trade became much more vulnerable, now being dependent on the whims of only one very powerful

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13 Heyd, *Histoire du commerce,* II, 508-552; Y. al-Thakafi, *The Diplomatic Relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the Mamluk Empire in the First Quarter of the Sixteenth Century*, Ann Arbor 1981, 54-149; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 1-50; and P. Brummett, 'The Transformation of Venetian Diplomatic Policy Prior to the Conquest of Cairo (1503-1517)', *Studies on Ottoman Diplomatic History*, I, 1987, 11-26.

neighbor. The time would come when the interests and ambitions of this neighbor no longer coincided with Venetian interests.[14]

14 Thakafi, *op. cit.*, 150-184 and 198-207; B. Moritz, 'Ein Firman des Sultans Selim I. für die Venezianer vom Jahre 1517', G. Weil (ed.), *Festschrift Eduard Sachau zum siebzigsten Geburtstage gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern*, Berlin 1915, 422-443; and M. Hartmann, 'Das Privileg Selims I für die Venezianer von 1517', *Orientalistische Studien Fritz Hommel zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 31. Juli 1914 gewidmet von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1918, II, 201-222. According to Hartmann, *art. cit.*, 202, note 1, it is not sure that Bragadin obtained the confirmation of the privileges in Cairo (the document itself does not contain a *locatio*!). It is also not sure that it was Bragadin who obtained the document. The document itself does not mention him and according to a note in Sanuto's *Diarii*, Bragadin was in Famagusta on 1 January 1517. Hartmann, therefore, suggests that it was impossible for him to arrive in Cairo before the middle of February and concludes that either Bragadin visisted Selim I somewhere else (in Syria) or another person obtained the confirmation. However, the document is dated 22 Muharrem 923 (16 February 1517) and Selim I had been in Egypt since January (he departed Syria in December 1516 and the Battle of Raydaniyya took place on 22 and 23 January 1517). If it was Bragadin who obtained the privileges, he must have met Selim I either on his way to Egypt or in Egypt. Apart from this it is not clear why, according to Hartmann, it would take Bragadin 'bei den damaligen Verkehrsverhältnissen' six weeks to reach Egypt from Cyprus when the journey from Venice to Constantinople took no more than approximately one month. It is, therefore, not unreasonable at all to suggest that Bragadin visited Selim I in Cairo (Egypt) and obtained the confirmation of the privileges there.

Chapter Two: Ayyubid and Mamluk Instruments Regulating Political and Commercial Relations with Non-Muslims

Legal aspects

According to Muslim doctrine, the world is divided into two parts: the *dar al-islam*, the Land of Islam, and the *dar al-harb*, the non-Muslim lands. The *dar al-islam* consists of all territories where the Holy Law of Islam, the *shari*ᶜ*a*, prevails. It is ruled by the *imam* or caliph, God's representative on earth and the Prophet Muhammad's legitimate successor.[1]

The non-Muslim lands, i.e. lands where Muslim law is not in force, are invited by the Muslims to embrace Islam. If they do not do so voluntarily, these lands may be conquered by way of the Holy War (*djihad*). That is why the lands of the non-Muslims are called the *dar al-harb*, or the Land of War, and their inhabitants *harbi*s.[2]

Within the *dar al-islam* the *ahl al-kitab* may conclude a treaty with the Muslim ruler. This so-called *ᶜakd al-dhimma*, or *dhimmi*-pact, in return for the payment of the *djizya* or the poll-tax and the *kharadj* or land-tax accords the non-Muslim the protected status of a *dhimmi*.[3]

A *harbi* has no status at all in the *dar al-islam* unless a Muslim grants him or her an *aman* or safe-conduct. The *aman* can be granted by any individual Muslim to a non-Muslim or a limited number of *harbi*s. Only the *imam* or head of the Muslim community, or his deputy (*na'ib*), has the right to give an *aman* to an unspecified number of people, for instance the whole population of another country. Once he has been given an *aman*, the *harbi* obtains the protected status of a *musta'min*. The *musta'min* can stay within the *dar al-islam* for a period (from 4 months) up to one year without paying *djizya*

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1 M. Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, Baltimore 1955, 51-54 and 147-161 (Khadduri, *Law of Islam*); A. Abel, 'Dar al-Islam', *EI*^{2}, II, 127-128; N. Biegman, *The Turco-Ragusan Relationship*, The Hague-Paris 1967, 29; E. Ashtor, 'The Social Isolation of Ahl adh-Dhimma', *Pal Hirschler Memorial Book*, Budapest 1949, 73-94; and M. P. Pedani, *La dimora della pace. Considerazioni sulle capitulazioni tra i paesi islamici e l'Europa* (= Quaderni di Studi Arabi. Studi e testi 2), Venezia 1996, 5-6 (Pedani, *Dimora*).

2 Khadduri, *Law of Islam*, 55-137; A. Abel, 'Dar al-Harb', *EI*^{2}, II, 126; Biegman, *op. cit.*, 29; and Pedani, *Dimora*, 6.

3 Khadduri, *Law of Islam*, 175-201; C. Cahen, 'Dhimma', *EI*^{2}, II, 227-231; G. Vajda, 'Ahl al-Kitab', *EI*^{2}, I, 264-266; Biegman, *op. cit.*, 29-30; and Pedani, *Dimora*, 6.

and *kharadj*. If he stays longer, he automatically becomes a *dhimmi* (that is a permanent resident) and has to pay *djizya* and *kharadj*.[4]

In daily life this rigid theoretical division of the world in *dar al-islam* and *dar al-harb* turned out to be impractical. Consequently, a third category emerged: the *dar al-ᶜahd* or *dar al-sulh*. The *dar al-ᶜahd* is a non-Muslim land, which by way of a peace treaty or more accurately an armed truce (*hudna*, *sulh*, *ᶜahd*) with the Muslims, has suspended, for a fixed and specific period of time, the permanent state of war which normally exists between both parties. The non-Muslim party undertakes to pay the *kharadj* (being the equivalent of the *djizya*). The *kharadj* is, however, not paid individually but as a tribute by the ruler; the amount of the *kharadj* and the exact political status of the non-Muslim party *vis-à-vis* the Muslim party is stipulated in the treaty.

Not all orthodox schools of Islam developed this concept of *dar al-ᶜahd*. The Shafiᶜite school adopted this concept, which was described by al-Mawardi in his *Kitab al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyya*. The Hanifite doctrine, although it acknowledged the possibility of a truce between Muslims and non-Muslims, considered the *dar al-ᶜahd* to be a part of the *dar al-islam* and not a separate group. According to al-Mawardi, the inhabitants of the *dar al-ᶜahd* did not become *dhimmi*s but *ahl al-ᶜahd*, and their lands remained outside the *dar al-islam*. When they visit the *dar al-islam*, they obtain the status of a *musta'min* not that of a *dhimmi*. According to Abu Hanifa, however, the *dar al-ᶜahd* is a part of the *dar al-islam* and therefore its inhabitants are *dhimmi*s.[5]

In this way the doctrine of a permanent state of war between Muslims and non-Muslims was modified by a more realistic concept, which allowed for the development of peaceful relations with non-Muslim individuals and states outside the *dar al-islam*.

The safe-conduct (*aman*, pl. *amanat*) and truce or peace treaty (*hudna*, pl. *hudan*, *ᶜahd* or *sulh*) were the instruments used to establish these peaceful political and commercial relations. These two instruments are closely related to each other. This is most clearly demonstrated by the Mamluk chancery secretary al-Kalkashandi (756/1355-821/1418), who deals with these two

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4 Khadduri, *Law of Islam*, 141-146 and 162-169; J. Schacht, 'Aman', *EI²*, I, 429-430; Biegman, *op. cit.*, 30; J. Wansbrough, 'The Safe-Conduct in Muslim Chancery Practice', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXXIV, 1971, 20-35 (Wansbrough, *Safe-Conduct*); Pedani, *Dimora*, 6.

5 Khadduri, *Law of Islam*, 141-146, 162-169 and 175-222; J. Schacht, 'ᶜAhd', *EI²*, I, 255; H. İnalcık, 'Dar al-ᶜAhd', *EI²*, II, 116; D. Macdonald (A. Abel), 'Dar al-Sulh', *EI²*, II, 131; Biegman, *op. cit.*, 30-35; M. Khadduri, 'Hudna', *EI²*, III, 546-547; and Pedani, *Dimora*, 6-7 and 13. On al-Mawardi see C. Brockelmann, 'Al-Mawardi', *EI²*, VI, 869.

instruments (and the *dhimmi*-pact) in the same section (the ninth *makala*) of his famous handbook *Subh al-Aʿsha fi Sinaʿat al-Insha* (completed in 814/1412).[6] In this section the arrangement of subject matter follows a strictly hierarchical sequence: first the safe-conduct, then the *dhimmi*-pact and last the truce or peace-treaty. The safe-conduct is the highest in hierarchy, since it is an expression of the power of a Muslim ruler who unilaterally concedes a privilege to a non-Muslim. The *dhimmi*-pact is a treaty with non-Muslims living within the *dar al-islam*, who in return for the payment of the *djizya* and *kharadj* obtain a protected status. The *dhimmi*-pact has a lower status because it is accorded in return for the payment of the *djizya* and *kharadj*, which is considered to be a compensation.[7] The truce or peace-treaty, however, is the lowest in this hierarchy. It is a treaty with non-Muslims, who in return for the payment of a compensation, the tribute (*kharadj*), are able to maintain their independence. Their lands are not incorporated in the *dar al-islam* and their inhabitants do not become *ahl al-dhimma* but *ahl al-ʿahd* (according to the Shafiʿite school, though not according to the Hanifite school). Therefore, in comparison with the safe-conduct and *dhimmi*-pact, the truce or peace-treaty can be considered to be an expression of the weakness rather than the strength of the Muslim ruler. Practice, however, could be different from this hierarchically structured theory. Peace-treaties were often concluded between strong Muslim rulers and weak Christian states. In such cases political and economic motives prevailed over Islamic legal doctrine.[8]

The aman or safe-conduct

In his treatise on the *aman* or safe-conduct al-Kalkashandi makes a distinction between the safe-conducts given to Muslims and to non-Muslims. His section on the safe-conducts for Muslims is more elaborate than the one on safe-conducts for non-Muslims. The information he gives concerning the first category, however, is also of great importance for the second one. Al-

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6 On al-Kalkashandi and his works see C. Bosworth, 'Al-Kalkashandi', *EI²*, IV, 509-511. Al-Kalkashandi's *Subh al-Aʿsha fi Sinaʿat al-Insha* was edited by Muhammad ʿAbd al-Rasul Ibrahim and published in fourteen volumes in Cairo between 1331-1338 (1913-1920).

7 The *dhimmi*-pact will not be discussed here since it deals with the status of non-Muslims living permanently within the *dar al-islam*. It is, however, easy to understand why al-Kalkashandi discusses the *dhimmi*-pact in the same *makala*. The *aman*, *dhimmi*-pact and *hudna* all deal with the status of non-Muslims in relation to the *dar al-islam*.

8 W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 170-174; Holt, *Treaties of the Early Mamluk Sultans*, 67-76; and Biegman, *op. cit.*, 30-35.

Kalkashandi differentiates between two types of *amanat*: firstly, the *aman hass* or special safe-conduct, which can be given by any Muslim to any individual *harbi*; and secondly, the *aman ᶜamm* or general safe-conduct, which can be given only by the *imam* or head of the Muslim community, or his deputy (*na'ib*), to any non-Muslim group living outside the *dar al-islam*.

It seems likely that the *aman ᶜamm* originally derived from the *aman hass*. The circumstances under which this development took place and the influences that played a decisive role during this process are not yet completely clear. However, in the second half of the twelfth century (or maybe even earlier), when both political and commercial contacts between Muslims and non-Muslims in the Near-East rapidly increased, the *aman ᶜamm* or general safe-conduct seems to have been developed as an instrument permitting the initiation of commercial relations between states. This general safe-conduct contained more than the usual pledge of security for a person and his property (as in the *aman hass*). In particular it contained articles concerning (sometimes extensive) commercial privileges. Already in the thirteenth century, the general safe-conduct was an established and fully developed instrument for the concession of commercial privileges by a Muslim ruler to a group of non-Muslims.[9]

The truce or peace-treaty (hudna, ᶜahd or sulh)

In his chapter on treaties al-Kalkashandi states that, according to Islamic principles, it was not possible to establish a permanent peace between Muslims and non-Muslims. It was, however, possible to conclude a truce (temporary peace) for a specific and limited period of time. The length of this period was dependent on the strength of the Muslims. If they were strong, the truce should not last for more than four months or, at the most, one year. If they were the weak party they might conclude a truce for ten years, and such treaties could be renewed for an additional ten years in situations of continued weakness of the Muslim party. According to the Shafiᶜite school, the duration of the treaty must be specified explicitly in order to be valid. The Malikite school does not prescribe any fixed limits, leaving the decision to the *imam*. Al-Kalkashandi distinguished between three categories of treaties:

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9 Björkman, *op. cit.*, 170-172; Wansbrough, *Safe-Conduct*, 20-35; Khadduri, *Law of Islam*, 162-169; W. Heffening, 'Die Entstehung der Kapitulationen in den islamischen Staaten', A. Spiethoff (ed.), *Schmollers Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reiche*, LI, 1927, 97-107; and Pedani, *Dimora*, 23-24.

1) 'Unilateral' instruments, by which a Muslim ruler concedes a truce to the Christian party which has to accept the clauses of the treaty as a grant.
2) 'Bilateral' undertakings, that is treaties concluded with the active participation of both parties.
3) Instruments exchanged between a non-Muslim and a Muslim ruler on the initiative of the former.[10]

Treaties of the first category are unilateral, that is to say that the Muslim ruler grants the non-Muslim a peace treaty as a privilege. Al-Kalkashandi, moreover, distinguishes between three sub-categories:
a) A treaty of a strong Muslim ruler, granted to a weak *harbi* ruler.
b) A treaty of a weak Muslim ruler, granted to a strong *harbi* ruler.
c) A treaty of a Muslim ruler, granted to an equally strong *harbi* ruler.

None of the treaties given by al-Kalkashandi as examples of this category, however, illustrate the actual treaties concluded between the Ayyubids or the Mamluks and European trading nations.[11]

Treaties of the second category contain bilateral undertakings. The most important examples of these treaties are the ones between the Mamluks and the Frankish Crusader states in Palestine and Syria from the second half of the thirteenth century. The initiative for negotiating these truces was invariably taken by the non-Muslim party. Christian ambassadors negotiated with the Mamluk sultans in Cairo or in the field. The texts of the treaties seem to have been drafted during these negotiations by both a Christian and a Mamluk clerk, clause by clause and in a common language. This direct Frankish interference with the text itself could be the reason, according to al-Kalkashandi, for the weak arrangement and the inelegant, sometimes even clumsy language of the treaties. After this draft was made, the Muslim clerk apparently could not improve either the arrangement or the language used in the draft since this was the text on which both parties had agreed. In this way the Crusaders had a direct influence on the arrangement and the language of the treaties. Once the text was ready, the treaty, which often included both political and commercial clauses, had to be ratified by the oaths of both parties. After the Mamluk sultan had taken the oath in the presence of the

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10 Björkman, *op. cit.*, 172-174; Khadduri, *Law of Islam*, 202-222; Biegman, *op. cit.*, 30-35; Wansbrough, *Safe-Conduct*, 31-32; Holt, *Treaties of the Early Mamluk Sultans*, 67-68; Holt, *Qalawun's Treaty*, 803-804; E. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade. Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300-1415)*, Venice 1983, 179-180 (Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*); and Pedani, *Dimora*, 24-25. Pedani gives relevant parts from Al-Kalkashandi's *Subh al-Aʿsha fi Sinaʿat al-Insha* in an Italian translation. See Pedani, *Dimora*, 57-72.

11 Björkman, *op. cit.*, 172-173.

Christian ambassadors, he sent an embassy to obtain the oath of the Christian party.

The form of the treaties was that of a bilateral agreement between two equal parties. This is clearly expressed in their opening phrase: *istikarrat al-hudna bayn fulan wa fulan* (a truce is established between so-and-so and so-and-so). This is rather surprising: given the actual political situation in which the Mamluks were without doubt the strong party and the Christians the weak party, one would have expected unilateral treaties which were conceded by the Mamluk sultan to the Crusaders as a grant or privilege (i.e. treaties of the first category). These treaties have another striking feature which could be related to this: the duration of the treaties is ten years (sometimes ten years, ten months, ten days and ten hours). According to Muslim legal doctrine as stated by al-Kalkashandi, this would imply that the Muslim party was the weaker one. However, since this was clearly not the case, this feature seems to point to a discrepancy between legal theory and practical politics. Both the form and the duration of the treaties would have been different, had the treaties been strictly based on legal doctrine, as described by al-Kalkashandi. This discrepancy may indicate a relatively strong Frankish influence during the negotiations and the conclusion of the treaty, despite their military weakness.[12]

Apart from these treaties with the Franks, al-Kalkashandi gives another example of a treaty belonging to this category: the treaty concluded between King Jaime II of Aragon and the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil in 1293. This treaty is in fact more or less a renewal of the Aragonese-Mamluk treaty of 1290 (between King Alphonso III of Aragon and al-Mansur Kalawun). Both are clearly not simple peace-treaties but more *traités d'alliance* with far-reaching political implications. Apart from political provisions, however, there are also some articles dealing with commercial activities. In the way they were negotiated and concluded and in their form (structure and language), these treaties show a great resemblance to the treaties of the Crusader states.[13]

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12 Björkman, *op. cit.*, 173; Holt, *Treaties of the Early Mamluk Sultans*, 67-76; and idem, *Qalawun's Treaty*, 802-812.

13 Björkman, *op. cit.*, 173. The Arabic text of the treaty of 1290 is published by M. Amari, *Bibliotheca Arabo-Sicula*, Lipsia (Leipzig) 1857, 339-352; an Italian translation of this text in M. Amari, *La guerra del Vespro Siciliano*, 2 vols., Palermo 1969, II, 1, 297-312 (Amari, *Guerra del Vespro*); see also Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 8-9 (note 18). The Italian and Arabic (al-Kalkashandi) texts of the treaty of 1293 are published by M. Amari, 'Trattato stipolato da Giacomo II di Aragona col Sultano d'Egitto il 29 gennaio 1293', *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, XI, 1883, 423-444 (the Italian translation is also

In order to get an impression of the structure of such treaties we will take a closer look at the treaty concluded between the Mamluk Sultan al-Mansur Kalawun and the authorities of Acre in 1283. This treaty consists of the following three parts:
1) A preamble, in which both parties are mentioned with their titles (first the Mamluk sultan then the Christian party). Then comes an indication of the duration and the date of inception of the treaty and a detailed list of all the dominions of the sultan and of the Christian party, followed by a statement that the safety and security of all inhabitants and their property is guaranteed.
2) The provisions of the treaty, of both a military and a civilian nature. In the section which deals with civilian matters, this treaty, like several of the above mentioned treaties, contains clauses concerning the safety of merchants and their goods in both the dominions of the sultan and the lands of the Crusaders. All these clauses are reciprocal and show a great similarity to those of the commercial privileges given to the European trading nations.
3) The concluding formulae and the remark of the clerk that the treaty was confirmed and ratified by the oaths of both parties. The oaths are not included in the text of the treaty. This could be an indication that, although the treaty was ratified by an attestation, the oath itself was not necessarily included in the text of the treaty. Both parties most likely already had their own copy of the agreed treaty (based on their own drafts). The ratification of the treaty by way of an oath was done verbally in the presence of the representatives of the other party. The texts of these attestations were written down, but not added to the text of the treaty. Maybe they were written down later and functioned as a kind of 'appendix of ratification' to the treaty itself. Both the Mamluk and the Christian oath of 1283 have survived, albeit separate from the treaty itself (in al-Kalkashandi's treatise on oaths).[14]

The treaty with Acre from 1283 clearly has political and commercial aspects; the commercial aspects are in fact included in the text of an originally political peace-treaty. Besides this treaty, several others among the above mentioned treaties (including the treaties with Aragon) contain commercial clauses. Although the political instruments often deal with the same kind of commercial provisions, they are, in legal status and in form, fundamentally different from the commercial privileges given by the Mamluk sultans to

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published in Amari, *Guerra del Vespro*, II, 1, 383-394; on 316-319 the Aragonese ambassador's instructions can be found); see also Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 20-21 (note 91).

14 On the contents of this treaty see Holt, *Qalawun's Treaty*, 802-812; Björkman, *op. cit.*, 170 and 173; and Holt, *Treaties of the Early Mamluk Sultans*, 67-76.

European trading nations like Venice and Genoa. These commercial privileges do not contain political clauses and are therefore not treaties, *hudan*, but unilaterally granted *amanat*.[15]

Another treaty, which at first sight seems to bear great resemblance to the above mentioned treaties, is one concluded by Sultan al-Mansur Kalawun with Genoa in 1290. This treaty restored friendly relations between Genoa and the Mamluks, which had been disrupted by a series of Genoese hostilities against the Mamluks. In fact, the treaty ended the actual state of war existing between Genoa and the Mamluk Empire. Although the Mamluk instrument, which has been preserved in a Latin translation, deals exclusively with the commercial privileges of Genoa in the Mamluk Empire, it is not merely a grant of commercial privileges. From a legal point of view the political aspect of the instrument makes it a *hudna* and not an *aman*. And indeed, not only legally but also formally, this instrument belongs to the category of the *hudan* and not that of the *amanat*.[16]

Yet, a closer look at this treaty and a comparison with the treaties concluded with the Crusaders and Aragon reveals some important differences. Apart from the Mamluk promise to respect the security and the safety of the dominions of the king of Aragon and its inhabitants, the treaties with Aragon mainly contain obligations (of a political, military and commercial nature) for the Aragonese and only a few real (mostly commercial) privileges. Some of

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15 Although Holt, *Qalawun's Treaty*, 804, correctly makes this essential distinction: 'In its form, the treaty of 1283 is unambiguously a bilateral instrument, in which the two parties are named. It is thus essentially different from the commercial treaties between the Mamluk sultans and the Italian republics, which were in form decrees of the sultans to their own officials, informing them of the privileges conceded to the foreign merchants', he keeps on using the term commercial treaties when he means commercial privileges (i. e. *amanat*), which is not correct. In *Treaties of the Early Mamluk Sultans*, 74, however, Holt states that: 'It is not possible, in fact, to draw a hard and fast line between political treaties, such as these truces ostensibly are, and commercial treaties, such as were concluded with Venice, Genoa and Aragon'. Again, he uses the confusing term commercial treaties (but now for both categories: *hudan* and *amanat*). In addition to this, he writes that it is not possible to make a distinction (in his earlier article it was!). As far as the contents are concerned, this is only partially correct. It is true that political treaties (*hudan*) also may contain commercial clauses, which indeed resemble very closely those contained in *amanat*. These *hudan*, however, also contain political clauses, which do not appear in *amanat*. As for the form, the political treaty including commercial privileges is a treaty, i.e. a *hudna* in the form of a *hudna*, and does not at all resemble the commercial privileges, i.e. an *aman* which is in the form of a decree.

16 The Arabic and the Latin text of this treaty with Genoa from 1290 (and a French translation) have been published by A. Sylvestre de Sacy, 'Pièces diplomatiques tirées des archives de la république de Gènes', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi et autres bibliothèques*, XI, Paris 1827, 33-52. On the treaty itself and some additional documents see P. Holt, 'Qalawun's Treaty with Genoa in 1290', *Der Islam*, LVII, 1980, 101-108 (Holt, *Qalawun's Treaty 1290*).

the articles (whether privilege or obligation) in these treaties are unilateral and some are reciprocal. The treaties with the Crusaders also begin with the list of territories belonging to the two parties and the general reciprocal guarantees of safety and security for the inhabitants and their property. The more specific stipulations of these treaties deal extensively with political-military and civilian matters (including some concerning trade) of a kind characteristic for neighboring states.

The Mamluk instrument accorded to Genoa in 1290, however, does not contain any such political articles, but is merely a unilateral grant of commercial privileges to Genoa, which normally would have been issued as an *aman*. Its contents remind us in particular of the commercial privileges conceded by the Ayyubid sultans to Venice in 1238 and 1254.[17]

The text of the Mamluk-Genoese treaty, as mentioned above, is preserved in a Latin translation from the Arabic original. In this translation the text of the Mamluk instrument, ending with the oath of the sultan's *na'ib* and other concluding formulae, is followed by the text of an instrument in which the Genoese promise to fulfil four obligations. It is in these four promises that the political aspect of the treaty becomes apparent. Friendly relations are now reestablished on the basis of a Genoese promise to abstain from hostilities, which had caused the disruption of peaceful relations with the Mamluks. This section in the Latin translation was most probably not part of the original text of the instrument which the Mamluks gave to the Genoese. The text of the Genoese promise, of which we also possess an extended version in Arabic (translated from Frankish), is the text of the sworn engagement which was given by the Genoese ambassador to the Mamluks after he had obtained the Mamluk instrument. The (complete) treaty therefore is an *instrumentum reciprocum* and consists of two instruments: 1) a unilateral grant from al-Mansur Kalawun, consisting mainly of commercial privileges, sworn by his *na'ib* in the presence of the Genoese ambassador (and including the text of the oath and the promise to uphold the treaty) and 2) the instrument, in which the Genoese ambassador (on behalf of his nation) made his promises. In the presence of representatives of the sultan the Genoese ambassador swore an oath (verbally) on the Gospels and the Cross to undertake this engagement. This Genoese engagement is clearly not the text of the treaty granted by the Mamluks, which, supplied with a Christian oath, was given back by the

17 Sylvestre de Sacy, *art. cit.*, 33; and Holt, *Qalawun's Treaty 1290*, 104.

Genoese to the Mamluks.[18] It does, however, resemble in form the texts of the sworn undertakings by the kings of Nubia and Lesser Armenia, whom the Mamluks regarded as their vassals. These texts, as well as the Genoese engagement, contain only obligations on the part of the non-Muslims and no concessions by the Mamluks. In this way the unilateral character of the treaty is stressed.[19]

Besides the fact that the Mamluk instrument of 1290 lacks political clauses as mentioned above, there are some other differences between this treaty and the treaties with the Crusaders and Aragon. Firstly, the Mamluk instrument of 1290 lacks the date of inception and the duration of the treaty (both normally stated at the beginning of the text) and contains no enumeration of dominions falling under the rule of each party and no reciprocal guarantees of safety and security for the inhabitants of such territories and their property. Secondly, the articles in the treaty with Genoa are strictly unilateral and list extensively the commercial privileges conceded by the Mamluk sultan to the Genoese. The commercial articles in the other treaties (often dealing with the same sort of privileges), are, however, mostly reciprocal, thus emphasizing the bilateral character of the treaty. Thirdly, in the Genoese treaty of 1290 the oath of the *na'ib* of the sultan is included in the text; in the treaty of 1283 with Acre the oath is not included in the text itself, but written separately. Fourthly, the complete Mamluk-Genoese treaty of 1290 consists of two instruments with different texts, each one with its own oath which was exchanged between the parties involved. The other treaties all had

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18 There was no exchange of texts as was the case with the treaty between the Byzantines and the Mamluks in 1281.

19 Holt, *Qalawun's Treaty 1290*, 101-108. Holt correctly compares the Mamluk-Genoese treaty with the commercial privileges granted by Sultan al-Muᶜizz Aybak to Venice in 1254. Indeed their contents are similar, but when he comes to the form of the treaty, Holt writes: 'There is, however, one important difference between the two instruments. Aybak's is a unilateral grant by the sultan: it is introduced with the words "Preceptum ex parte soldani", and it concludes with the sultan's command to his officials to act according to its terms. The Latin text of Qalawun's instrument, on the contrary, bears the marks of a bilateral treaty, negotiated between the two named parties, and ratified by the oath of the sultan's delegate. In form, therefore, it is much closer to the Mamluk political treaties with the Frankish states, or the treaty of Qalawun and Khalil with the king of Aragon in 1290'. Holt makes the mistake of comparing the form of a treaty (*hudna*) with the form of commercial privileges (*amanat*). As mentioned earlier, these represent two separate categories of instruments with significant differences in form. The essential difference therefore is not that of unilateral versus bilateral, as Holt states, but that of *aman* versus *hudna*. The commercial privileges from 1254, as well as the treaty of 1290, are unilateral grants but from two clearly different legal categories of instruments. For an example of a Nubian oath see P. Holt, 'The Coronation Oaths of the Nubian Kings', *Sudanic Africa. A Journal of Historical Sources*, I, 1990, 5-9 (Holt, *Nubian Kings*).

the same text (with copies for both parties), and the oaths of both parties were most likely not included in this text but written separately.

Although this treaty also involves two parties, the Mamluks and the Genoese, and can therefore be called a 'bilateral treaty', the form of the Mamluk instrument differs considerably from the bilateral instruments concluded with the Crusaders and Aragon. These clearly have a bilateral character, both in form and content, whereas the Mamluk instrument given to the Genoese in 1290 lacks this bilateral character. On the contrary, both in form and content it appears to be a completely unilateral instrument, in fact, a peace-treaty, consisting of commercial privileges conceded by the Mamluk sultan as a grant to Genoa. Written in exactly the same way, the articles of this treaty would have been perfectly appropriate in an *aman* and could have been granted in this form instead of a *hudna*, but for the necessity to establish peaceful political relations. The Genoese, for their part, were obliged to give a sworn engagement to the Mamluks, as if they were vassals, stating their obligations *vis-à-vis* the Mamluks. This treaty, therefore, seems to be a treaty of the first category, i.e. a unilateral treaty rather than one of the second category.[20]

Treaties of the third category distinguished by al-Kalkashandi were concluded on the initiative of the non-Muslim party. Consequently, such an instrument was written in the non-Muslim state and sent to the Muslim ruler who, having approved of the contents, returned a copy of the treaty to the non-Muslim ruler.

An example of such an instrument is the treaty of 1281 between the Byzantine Emperor Michael Paleologus and the Mamluk Sultan al-Mansur Kalawun in al-Kalkashandi's *Subh al-Aʿsha*. Al-Kalkashandi first gives the

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20 The resemblance of this treaty to other treaties is not surprising, since they all belong to the same legal category. According to Holt, this treaty is a bilateral treaty like the Frankish and Aragonese treaties. Holt himself, however, compares the sworn engagement of this treaty with those of other treaties with the Nubian (1276) and the Armenian (1285) kings, who were Mamluk vassals. It seems highly unlikely that the Mamluk sultans concluded bilateral treaties with vassal states. On the contrary, one would expect unilateral rather than bilateral treaties. The differences between this treaty and the Frankish and Aragonese treaties, and the similarities with the treaties with vassal states are simply too important to be ignored. Cf. Holt, *Nubian Kings*, 5-9. However, whereas the Mamluk-Genoese *instrumentum reciprocum* consisted of a unilateral Mamluk instrument and a Genoese engagement the Mamluk treaties with vassals most probably only consisted of a sworn undertaking which was composed by the Mamluks who forced the vassal to accept it. There was no exchange of instruments. These sworn undertakings most likely belong to al-Kalkashandi's category of instruments concluded between a strong Muslim ruler and a weak *harbi* ruler. The Mamluk-Genoese treaty, however, belongs to the category of treaties concluded between equally strong Muslim and *harbi* rulers. Cf. Holt, *Qalawun's Treaty 1290*, 104-105; and idem, *Nubian Kings*, 5-9.

Arabic translation of the Greek original of the treaty, as it was sent by the Byzantines and received by the Mamluks. Its contents may be summarized as follows:
1) A statement of intent by the sultan to enter into friendly relations, followed by the same statement by the emperor.
2) An introductory remark that solid friendship will be established by way of a solemn oath and a peace treaty.
3) The oath of the emperor sworn on the Gospels and the Cross that from [date of inception] he will maintain the friendship with Sultan al-Mansur Kalawun and his son and heir.
4) The articles of the treaty of a political (the Byzantine emperor will refrain from war, as long as the sultan does) and a commercial nature. Each commercial article explicitly specifies rights of the Byzantines in the dominions of the sultan and the (same) rights of the subjects of the sultan in the Byzantine Empire.
5) The final attestation of the treaty (*corroboratio*).

Al-Kalkashandi also gives the Arabic text of the document that the Mamluk chancery presented to the Byzantines. This text contains the following elements:
1) A statement of intent by the Byzantine emperor to establish friendly relations, followed by the statement that he has confirmed his intention by way of an oath sworn in the presence of the Mamluk ambassadors; the emperor also states that the text of the treaty is written down in a document which his ambassadors have brought to Egypt and adds that his ambassadors request a similar document on his behalf, and an oath in confirmation of the sultan's intention of friendship.
2) The oath of Sultan al-Mansur Kalawun sworn in the name of God, the Holy Koran and the Prophet Muhammad that from [date of inception] he will maintain friendship with the Byzantine Emperor Michael Paleologus and his son and heir.
3) The articles of the treaty of a political (the sultan will refrain from war, as long as the emperor does) and commercial nature. Each commercial article explicitly specifies rights of the Mamluk subjects in the Byzantine Empire and the (same) rights of the Byzantines in the Mamluk dominions.
4) The final attestation of the treaty.[21]

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21 A complete translation of the texts (in Arabic) of this treaty (from al-Kalkashandi) and a historical survey are published by M. Canard, 'Le traité de 1281 entre Michel Paléologue et le Sultan Qala'un', *Byzantion*, X, 1935, 669-680; see also Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 11, note 33.

From the contents and the structure of the two documents it becomes clear that this Byzantine-Mamluk treaty should be considered an sworn *instrumentum reciprocum*, i.e. an instrument consisting of two sworn documents which were exchanged between the concluding parties. The Byzantine emperor took an oath in the presence of the Mamluk ambassador and sent his version of the treaty (including the attestation) to Egypt. The Mamluk sultan for his part must have taken an oath in the presence of the Byzantine ambassadors, who then returned with the Mamluk version of the treaty to Constantinople. This procedure is a perfect example of standard Byzantine diplomatic practice at the time; and indeed, the fact that al-Kalkashandi only gives one example suggests that this third category of treaty was created exclusively for treaties with the Byzantines which were concluded according to Byzantine diplomatic practice and not according to Islamic practice.

The treaty is evidently not only a truce (peace-treaty) but also includes commercial articles which one would normally expect in an *aman*. According to its contents, it is a political treaty which includes commercial privileges, but judging from its form, it is without any doubt a *hudna* and not an *aman*.[22]

In examining al-Kalkashandi's treatise on the treaty, one gets the strong impression that his classification of treaties in three categories is not based on Islamic legal doctrine but springs from his own practical needs as a chancery clerk. In fact, al-Kalkashandi's three category classification is somewhat artificial and is probably due to his urge to systematize and categorize the treaties according to their formal differences. He may have been confused by the diversity in form of the treaties which were concluded in the second half of the thirteenth century between the Mamluks and the Christians. However, the differences in form of these treaties clearly illustrate how the Muslims were able to deal with varied political situations and were willing to conform to the diplomatic customs and forms of their Christian partners. These differences also show the influence of Christian (Frankish and Byzantine) practice on Muslim practice during this period. It is not surprising that all the examples in the second and third category in al-Kalkashandi's treatise date from that period. These latter two categories were most likely created by al-Kalkashandi in order to systematize the treaties for practical purposes. In fact, the first category, according to Muslim legal doctrine, would have been sufficient to

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22 On Byzantine practice see F. Dölger and J. Karayannopulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre*, München 1968, 94-105 (Dölger, *Urkundenlehre*); and F. Dölger, 'Der Vertrag des Sultans Qala'un von Ägypten mit dem Kaiser Michael VIII. Palaiologos (1281)', *Byzantinische Diplomatik*, Ettal 1956, 225-244 (Dölger, *Vertrag des Sultans Qala'un*).

conclude any kind of treaty with a non-Muslim. The basis of Muslim legal theory was the idea of the superiority of Islam; therefore, in form any treaty (*hudna*) with a non-Muslim was always a unilateral grant (like the *amanat*). Furthermore, political factors, notably the weakness or strength of the Muslim ruler concluding a treaty, created three sub-categories within the category of unilateral treaties. Thus, Muslim doctrine, theoretically speaking, provided an adequate basis for all treaties with non-Muslims. However, strictly speaking Al-Kalkashandi's second and third categories are 'pragmatic' departures from this Muslim legal doctrine. This 'deviation' is no doubt due to the rapid and unprecedented development of both political and commercial contacts between Muslims and Christians from the twelfth century onwards, which required a more flexible and practical approach to establishing peaceful relations. From a legal point of view treaties of the second and third category could have been problematic, but al-Kalkashandi simply did not concern himself with any such difficulties. His practical approach led him to formulate three distinct categories of treaties concluded between Muslims and Christians.

Venetian Commercial Privileges and the aman

The Ayyubid period

During the rule of the Ayyubid sultans the Venetians were granted commercial privileges both by the sultans in Egypt and the local Ayyubid rulers in Syria at least eight times. Seven texts concerning commercial privileges survive and have been published.[23] Four of these seven instruments were granted by local Ayyubid rulers in Syria (1207-1208, 1225, 1229 and 1254) and three by the Ayyubid sultans in Egypt (1208, 1238 and 1244).

The instrument of 1207-1208 (Syria) is in the form of a reply from the Ayyubid ruler in Aleppo to a letter of the Doge of Venice which was presented by a Venetian ambassador. After the introduction the Venetian privileges are specified as part of a text which may be described as an order from the sultan to his officials. The instrument ends as it begins, namely in the form of a letter. Thus, although this is clearly the text of a letter to the Doge of Venice,

23 Published in G. Tafel and G. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, 3 vols., Vienna 1856-1857 (*TT*).

the commercial privileges granted to the Venetians are stated as if it was a decree sent to the sultan's own officials.[24]

The instrument of 1208 (Egypt) consists of several (apparently) separate documents. The first of these is also an answer to a letter from the doge, but this time by the Ayyubid Sultan al-ᶜAdil Sayf al-Din Abu Bakr. This letter also urges the sultan's officials to act in accordance with his decree in their dealings with Venetians. The following parts of this text are all separate 'precepta' (decrees) of the sultan to his officials concerning the privileges of the Venetian merchants in his dominions.[25]

The instrument of 1225 (Syria) states the privileges granted to the Venetians, but neither in the form of a letter to the Venetians, nor in the form of a decree to the sultan's officials; it is a Venetian description of the privileges obtained by ambassador 'Thomaxino Foscarini'. Therefore, this text does not give any impression of the original Ayyubid form of the instrument.[26]

The instrument of 1229 is called a 'pactum' between the Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo and Venice. In the beginning of the text the ruler, in the first person singular, grants the Venetians safety and security in his dominions and then states the other privileges he concedes to them. The text ends with the Ayyubid ruler ordering his officials to act according to the instrument's contents. However, this instrument does not seem to be in the form of a decree of the ruler to his officials, nor is it absolutely certain that the instrument is indeed a 'pactum', i.e. a treaty (*hudna*), and not an *aman*. Nevertheless, we should not exclude this possibility.[27]

The instrument of 1238 (Egypt), however, is certainly an *aman*, in this case in the form of a 'preceptum', i.e. a decree from the sultan to his officials.[28]

The instrument of 1244 (Egypt), on the contrary, is reminiscent of the text of 1229. Both are called a 'pactum'; the former, however, is much shorter than the latter and only grants the Venetians safety and security in very general terms. Like the text of 1229, the text from 1244 ends with the sultan's assurance that his officials will honor the 'treaty'. Again, this instrument, like the one

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24 *TT*, II, 62-66. Cf. Pozza, *op. cit.*, 30-33.

25 *TT*, II, 184-193.

26 *TT*, II, 256-260. Cf. Pozza, *op. cit.*, 40-43.

27 *TT*, II, 274-276. Cf. Pozza, *op. cit.*, 49-54. It is important to note that both the 'pactum' of 1229 and that of 1244 were concluded with the Doge of Venice Jacopo Tiepolo (1229-1249) who in 1220, when he was podestà, also concluded a remarkable treaty (a sworn chrysobull) with the Seljukid sultan.

28 *TT*, II, 336-341.

from 1229, could well be construed as a unilateral treaty in which the sultan grants privileges to the Venetians.[29]

The instrument of 1254 (Syria) is clearly a decree in which the sultan orders his officials to act in accordance with the decree's contents.[30]

Although at first sight there seem to be considerable differences in form amongst the Ayyubid instruments from the first half of the thirteenth century, they also display some interesting similarities. The text of 1225 is composed by the Venetians and does not give any indication whatsoever about the form of Ayyubid instruments. The texts from 1207-1208 and 1208 are both (partly) in the form of a letter from the Ayyubid rulers to the Venetian authorities, stating the Venetian privileges. The texts from 1229 and 1244 may belong to the pactum-type and are perhaps unilaterally granted treaties (*hudan*). Those from 1238 and 1254 are decrees ('precepta'). However, all the texts, except for the Venetian one (1225), contain explicit references to orders by the ruler to his officials requiring them to act in accordance with the clauses of the instrument. This could be an indication that, as part of standard chancery practice, local officials in the Ayyubid Empire were always informed about the concession of commercial privileges in documents of the decree-type.

On the other hand, the document-type which was sent directly to the Venetians granting them commercial privileges seems to have been differentiated. The first two (1207-1208 and 1208) are letters,whereas later ones are either decrees or possibly treaties. If the commercial privileges granted as a 'pactum' or treaty really belong to the legal category of the *hudna*, then it is most likely that they were granted against a political background. Otherwise, there would be no reason for them to be they issued in this form. The documents issued as decrees most likely will have had no political implications. They were merely commercial privileges issued in the form of decrees and belong to the legal category of the *aman*.

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29 *TT*, II, 416-418.

30 *TT*, III, 60-61. Cf. Pozza, *op. cit.*, 60-63.

Table 1. List of Mamluk commercial privileges granted to the Venetians

Date	**Sultan**	**Text preserved in**
1254	al-Muᶜizz Aybak	TT II, 483-492
1289	al-Mansur Kalawun	-
1302	al-Nasir Muhammad	DVL I, no. 4
1345	al-Salih Ismaᶜil	DVL I, no 154
1355	al-Nasir Hasan	DVL II, no. 12
1361	idem	DVL II, no 47
1366	al-Ashraf Shaᶜban	-
1375	idem	-
1391	al-Zahir Barkuk	-
1415	al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh	DVL II, no. 168
1422	al-Ashraf Barsbay	DVL II, no. 174
1431	idem	-
1442	al-Zahir Djakmak	DVL II, no 189, Wansbrough
1449	idem	DVL II, no. 205
1461	al-Ashraf Inal / al-Mu'ayyad Ahmad	-
1473	al-Ashraf Ka'it Bay	-
1490	idem	Rossi
1504	al-Ashraf Kansawh al-Ghawri	-
1507	idem	Wansbrough
1512	idem	-
1516	al-Ashraf Tumanbay	-
1517	Selim I (Ottoman sultan)	Moritz, Hartmann

The Mamluk period

During the rule of the Mamluks, from the middle of the thirteenth century until 1517, the year in which the Ottomans conquered Syria and Egypt, the sultans granted Venice commercial privileges on some twenty separate occasions, the first time in 1254 and the last in 1516. During the more than 250 years of Mamluk rule, trade with Syria and Egypt contributed enormously to Venice's wealth and prosperity.

The Mamluk instrument of 1254 is called both a 'pactum' and a 'preceptum'. This text was written down by the Venetian envoy Gabriel Trevisani and therefore stipulates the commercial privileges from the Venetian point of view. Tafel and Thomas also give a text from 1258 in which the name of the same Venetian ambassador appears. This text purports to be a letter from the Mamluk Sultan al-Muᶜizz Aybak. This sultan, however, was murdered in 1257, and could not have sent this letter. Therefore, it is more logical to connect this letter with the commercial privileges which were granted by the same sultan in 1254. Tafel and Thomas give two documents (CCCXXVI and CCCXXVII), the first of which is a letter and the second a 'preceptum' (order, decree). The first text is very short and consists only of a (Venetian) introduction and the titles of the Mamluk sultan. The second document, the so-called 'preceptum', apparently is the second part of this letter and not a separate document. From this we may conclude that these two documents together form the text of the letter which probably accompanied the commercial privileges granted in 1254. After the text of the letter the following remark appears: 'Hoc est pactum Soldani babilonis, qui uocatur Melec Moys, quod fecit Gabriel Teruisanus de mandato domini Rainerij Geno, incliti Ducis Venecie nuncius ad ipsum Soldanum; quod fuit translatum de Sarraceno in Latinum, prout inferius scriptum est'.

This remark gives the impression that this letter originally also included the text of the commercial privileges. However, it is also possible that the commercial privileges and the letter were two separate documents. The date of the privileges is 13 November, that of the letter 5 December. Thus, it is possible that immediately following the negotiations the sultan issued a document containing the commercial privileges and only afterwards had a letter drafted for the Venetian ambassador to bring to Venice. The letter was to inform the Venetian government about the privileges conceded, and it would have been written just before the ambassador departed for Venice. Such

procedure would explain the period of approximately three weeks between the two documents.[31]

The actual text of the privileges of 1289 granted by al-Mansur Kalawun is lost, except for the part concerned with Venetian trade with Syria.[32] Ashtor writes that Heyd believed the text of the instrument of 1302 had been lost.[33] However, Heyd states that the text of the privileges of 1289 is lost, not the text of 1302. The latter text, as Heyd correctly notes, was published by Thomas.[34]

The instrument of 1302 is a decree from the Mamluk sultan to his officials informing them of the privileges granted to the Venetians and urging them to act accordingly. We also possess the text of a letter from the 'mir' ('amir', governor) of Alexandria stating that he will act in accordance with the decree of the sultan, as presented to the Venetians.[35] The sultan's decree which, while in the possession of the Venetians, was directed to the Mamluk officials, was confirmed in a testimonium given to the Venetian consul by the highest ranking Mamluk official in the main port of Alexandria.

The instruments of 1345[36], 1355[37], and 1361[38] are also without a doubt decrees of the sultan to his officials. They are invariably called 'precepta' and appear to be the texts of the complete document, starting with the *invocatio* and ending with the sultan's order to his officials to observe the stipulations of the decree. However, since the instruments of 1366, 1375 and 1391 have not survived, it is impossible to say anything about their form.

The instruments from 1415[39] and from 1422[40], are both called 'commandamento' and are directed to local Mamluk officials throughout the empire. Like those of 1345, 1355 and 1361 they are clearly decrees, which suggests the continuation of the decree-tradition in the period between 1361 and 1415. This is confirmed by the information which al-Kalkashandi, who

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31 *TT*, II, 483-492.

32 Heyd, *Histoire du commerce,* II, 38-40. Heyd gives 1288 as the date of this instrument .

33 Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 27, note 138.

34 Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 38-40. For the text see G. Thomas, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levatinum*, 2 vols., Venice 1880, I, no. 4, 5-9 (*DVL*).

35 *DVL*, I, no. 6, 11-12.

36 *DVL*, I, no. 153-155, 289-298, for the actual text of the precepta see no. 154, 292-296.

37 *DVL*, II, no. 12, 19-23.

38 *DVL*, II, no. 47, 80.

39 *DVL*, II, no. 168, 309-315.

40 *DVL*, II, no. 174, 320-327. This instrument is in fact a copy of the privilege of 1415, which was probably only used as a draft for the new treaty. See Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 285, note 99.

lived in this period, gives us in his *Subh al-Aʿsha*. Al-Kalkashandi's work makes it clear that in his time general *amanat* (as well as those including extensive commercial privileges) were drawn up the form of a so-called *marsum* (pl. *marasim*), a type of administrative order or decree of the kind originally issued to lesser officials in the Mamluk administration. Although it is clear which type of decree was used from this time onwards, i.e. a *marsum*, the use of a decree was by no means a new development. It is remarkable that already as early as 1238 and 1254 general safe-conducts/commercial privileges were issued in the form of a decree.[41] The Mamluk commercial privileges from 1254, 1302, 1345, 1355, 1361 are also decrees, though it is not clear whether these documents are also a *marsum*. Indeed, not every decree was necessarily a *marsum*. It is possible that the early Ayyubid and Mamluk safe-conducts were not issued as a *marsum* but as another kind of decree. Of course, this observation does not contradict the fact that in al-Kalkashandi's time the safe-conduct was issued in the form of a *marsum*. If these early Ayyubid and Mamluk commercial privileges were not issued in the form of a *marsum* but as another kind of decree, it would then seem that the form of the general safe-conduct (including commercial privileges) changed between the middle of the thirteenth century and the time of al-Kalkashandi, since by his time such an instrument was issued in the form of a *marsum*. This is clear from the passage in which he describes the practice current of his own day. The change in the form of the safe-conduct would explain why he remarks that earlier safe-conducts were introduced by the phrase 'hadha amanun' and later ones with 'rusima'; he considered this to be a departure from tradition.[42]

Commercial privileges from that time on till the end of Mamluk rule were apparently invariably issued in the form of a *marsum*. Those of 1431, 1461, 1473, 1504, 1512 and 1516 have either not survived or have not been published; of some it is even still not certain whether they were issued at all. The privileges of 1473 were issued but they are only known by their mention in a letter from the Mamluk sultan to the Doge of Venice: 'And our noble decrees have been issued in fulfillment of all his [the Venetian ambassador's] concerns and needs in accordance with what he has asked of our noble generosity. And we have ordered the writing of noble decrees to the Islamic provinces in favour

41 Holt, *Qalawun's Treaty 1290*, 104.

42 Wansbrough, *Safe-Conduct*, 24-25, 29.

of all the Venetian merchants and their condition so far as we are concerned shall be looked after.'[43]

Consequently, we only have the texts of the privileges of 1442, 1449 and 1490. All three documents turn out to be of the *marsum*-type. Moreover, there can scarcely be any doubt that the other ones were also of the same type. In the case of the privileges of 1442, a letter was sent to inform the doge that (separate) decrees had been issued: 'Cum el dito to ambaxador hauemo renouada la paxe e dadi nuoui comandamenti e capituli segondo l'exempio de i re antigi… Ancora per gratia et benignità nostra hauemo consentido de darli nostri comandamenti seperadi l'vn da l'altro per Baruto, Tripoli, la Liza e Aman…'[44]

The doge was also informed of the concession of the privileges in 1449. In a similar letter we read: 'Et auemo commandado chel sia fato una simel copia de tuti li commandamenti, che nui auemo dado a li tuo ambaxadori, i qual starà ne la nostra cancellaria fin a tanto chel uignerà le uostre naue de li mercadanti vostri nel nostro payse, et subito zonti li manderemo a li luogi nostri, recomendando li mercadanti e le mercadantie, e che li sia ben uezudi e ben tratadi'.[45]

Negotiations in 1489-90 concentrated on the Venetian possession of Cyprus, which the Mamluks considered to be their tributary. Apart from this political problem, there were the usual commercial issues to be resolved. The Cyprus-question was settled in a treaty. The Venetians gave their version of the text ('li presenti pacti') to the Mamluks on 28 February 1490, the Mamluks gave theirs to the Venetians ('i pacti et convention') on 9 March. The commercial conflicts were also settled, but not as a part of the Cyprus-treaty. As might be expected, the sultan issued (separate) decrees ('commandamenti') adressed to local officials in several parts of his dominions (Damascus, Alexandria and Aleppo). At the end of March the Venetian embassy left Cairo for Venice, bringing with them a letter from Sultan al-Ashraf Ka'it Bay, in which he wrote about the negotiations and the final agreement reached on the Cyprus-question and the commercial conflict: '… et sopra tal rechieste havemo mandato li nostri commandamenti nobeli, scripti in el nostro reame

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43 Wansbrough, *Mamluk Letter*, 211.

44 The text of these decrees and letters have been published in *DVL*, II, no.'s 189-197, 353-366; and J. Wansbrough, 'Venice and Florence in the Mamluk Commercial Privileges', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXVIII, 1965, 487-497 (Wansbrough, *Venice and Florence*).

45 *DVL*, II, no. 205, 373-378.

a Signori et logotenenti per el facto de Franchi, Venitiani, mercadanti et altri et etiam havemo facto acordo como hano dimandato'.[46]

Although the commercial privileges that were negotiated by a Mamluk ambassador in Venice in 1507 in fact were never officially conceded by the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Kansawh al-Ghawri, their history and text offer an excellent opportunity to test our hypothesis about the form in which commercial privileges were issued by the Mamluks.

The Mamluk dragoman Taghri Berdi was sent to Venice (April 1507) after the Venetian envoy Alvise Sagundino had died (in February) before having been able to finish negotiations about the renewal of the commercial privileges (given in 1504). Taghri Berdi stayed ten months in Venice, and during that period apparently agreed on new commercial privileges not only with the Venetians but with the Florentines as well. On 31 May 1507 after long negotiations, which were even interrupted for some time due to the need to consult the sultan in Egypt, the two parties agreed on a text. This text evidently was the result of long discussions during which the Venetians finally succeeded in virtually imposing their wishes and demands; the text clearly reflects this strong position of Venice. The text, in Italian with three formulae of attestation (of which two in Arabic and one in Italian), has been published by Wansbrough who also discusses the problem of the status of this document.[47] An important role in solving this problem is accorded to the three attestations that are added to the text. Wansbrough mentions two possibilities: either the Arabic formulae were required by Mamluk chancery practice, or they were required by the Venetians. Wansbrough states that although 'oaths as well as formulae of attestation were frequently, though not invariably, included in the earliest (thirteenth-century) treaties between the Mamluk sultans and European rulers, there are with one exception none in the treaties concluded after the beginning of the fourteenth century. And the exception is instructive: the Mamluk-Aragonese treaty of 833/1429, which contains an attestation accompanied by an oath, was negotiated in Rhodes. It would not then be unreasonable to infer that when the sultan could not himself authenticate a

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46 F. Rossi, *Ambasciata straordinaria al Sultano d'Egitto (1489-1490)*, Venezia 1988. For the Italian text of the Venetian version of the treaty see document no. 139, 226-227. For the Italian translation of the Mamluk version of the treaty (Arabic) see document no. 140, 227-229. For an Italian summary of the 'comandamenti' sent to Damascus, Alexandria and Aleppo (without date) see document no. 146, 234-236. For the Italian translation of the letter from the Mamluk sultan to the Doge of Venice see App. XX, 269-271. Quotation from 270.

47 J. Wansbrough, 'A Mamluk Ambassador to Venice in 913/1507', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXVI, 1963, 503-530 (Wansbrough, *Mamluk Ambassador*).

treaty, that is when it was concluded abroad, Mamluk chancery regulations may have required that it be attested by his representative'.[48]

However, Wansbrough's explanation does not seem correct. None of the Mamluk documents granting commercial privileges to Venice includes an oath. In fact, not one of all the purely commercial privileges which are known includes an oath. Oaths or formulae of attestation were simply not used by the Mamluk chancery in these kind of commercial privileges which belong to the legal category of *amanat*. *Amanat* were invariably issued (at least from al-Kalkashandi's time) in the form of a *marsum* (decree) and constituted grants from the sultan which did not require attestations. Only when the commercial privileges were given as a part of a (political) treaty, an instrument which belongs to the legal category of the *hudna*, *ʿahd* or *sulh*, could an oath/attestation be added either to the text of the document itself or separately from it. The treaties with which Wansbrough compares the text of 1507 are all, without exception, political treaties which often, but not always, included commercial privileges. Such treaties were invariably attested by oaths, which were not however always included in the text of the treaty. The fact that the Mamluk-Aragonese treaty of 1429 was concluded in Rhodes, i.e. outside the Mamluk Empire, is not the reason why an oath is included in the treaty. On the contrary, it is merely another confirmation of the rule that treaties were invariably accompanied by oaths/attestations (either included or apart). Since the text of 1507 clearly has no political aspect (and therefore was not a *hudna*), if it were to be issued it had to be issued in the form of a *marsum* and definitely without an attestation.[49]

Wansbrough also suggests that this copy of the text is a part of an *instrumentum reciprocum*: 'The other half, probably consisting of the protocol and 24 articles translated into Arabic and signed by representatives of the Signoria, could have been prepared in Venice, authenticated, and taken back to Cairo by Taghri Berdi.'[50] This, however, is also not likely. Venice would

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48 Wansbrough, *Mamluk Ambassador*, 520.

49 Although al-Kalkashandi states that the oath of the Muslim ruler, if necessary, can be included in a safe-conduct, none of the known safe-conducts contains such an oath. This linking of the oath to the *amanat* is probably because al-Kalkashandi connects the *amanat* and the *hudan* since both instruments were used to grant commercial privileges (though in different forms). Thus, Wansbrough's remark (when discussing al-Kalkashandi's treatise of the *amanat*): 'Finally, if an oath is necessary, such must be executed according to the circumstances obtaining between the parties to it', can only mean that an oath was needed when commercial privileges were given in a treaty (as a *hudna* and not as an *aman*). Quotation from Wansbrough, *Safe-Conduct*, 528.

50 Wansbrough, *Mamluk Ambassador,* 521.

probably never have relied on an instrument that was not confirmed, ratified and authenticated by the sultan in Cairo. The fact that the sultan in the end did not ratify the text (without the Venetians protesting that the 'treaty' had been broken) is sufficient enough to prove that the status of the text was apparently no more than that of a final draft on which the two parties had agreed, but which still had to be ratified by the sultan. Even if, in accordance with Byzantine practice, there had been an *instrumentum reciprocum*, an official document attested by the Venetian authorities would have been sent to Cairo, after which the Venetian ambassadors would then have requested an exact copy of the 'treaty' attested by the sultan.[51] However, the text in question could never have formed part of the supposed *instrumentum reciprocum* simply because it remained in Venice and lacked the attestation of the sultan. It is, therefore, nothing more than an attested copy of the final draft. The Venetians, for whom the arrival of a Mamluk ambassador was also an unusual experience, apparently wanted to have a document which was attested by the ambassador himself and two other representatives in order to prevent any problems about the contents and the status of the text as agreed upon by both parties. In this way the Venetians would always be able to prove that this was the agreed text, in case the Mamluk ambassador after his return to Egypt should deny or distance himself from the contents of the draft.[52] Therefore, the

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51 It is also clearly not the text of a sworn engagement (cf. Genoa 1290) given by the Venetians after they had obtained the text of a unilateral treaty granted by the sultan, since there was no treaty granted and such an engagement would have stated the obligations of the Venetians *vis-à-vis* the Mamluks, and not their privileges in the Mamluk dominions.

52 The fact that Taghri Berdi's attestation was in Italian and the attestations of the two other witnesses were in Arabic can now also be easily explained. The Venetians apparently wanted written proof of Taghri Berdi's knowledge of Italian, so that afterwards he would not be able to attribute any inconvenience to his poor comprehension of Italian. The two attestations in Arabic are (as Wansbrough correctly points out) exactly the minimum number of witnesses required by Muslim law. These attestations in Arabic in fact bear witness to Taghri Berdi's knowledge of Italian. The Italian text of the final draft was thus attested in Italian (by Taghri Berdi) which, in its turn, was attested in Arabic (by the two other witnesses).

Wansbrough's 'Italian' option to explain the attestations is similarly doubtful: '… should the Venetians later have found it necessary to display the document in one of the Mamluk ports in order to prove the existence of their new commercial privileges.' Mamluk officials were informed of the granting of commercial privileges to a foreign nation by way of official decrees written to them by the government in Cairo. It seems unlikely that any local official in a Mamluk port would have dared to act according to a text of commercial privileges which was not officially issued by his superiors in Cairo, but which was brought to him by Venetian merchants or government officials and bore the attestation of an ambassador he probably had not even heard of, but who, even if he had heard of him,

text of the commercial privileges of 1507 is neither a treaty with an oath, nor part of a 'Byzantine-type' *instrumentum reciprocum*; it is simply the text of the final ('official') draft of the commercial privileges which, had he agreed, would have been issued by the Mamluk sultan as a unilateral grant in the form of a *marsum* or decree.[53]

This is confirmed by the procedure followed during the negotiations between the Mamluks and Florence which ended with the concession of commercial privileges by the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Ka'it Bay in 1489. After the Florentine ambassador in Egypt had died before negotiations were finished, the Mamluks sent an ambassador named Ibn Mahfuz (Malfota) to Florence to resume negotiations (November 1487). Ibn Mahfuz brought with him a draft of the commercial privileges which the Mamluks agreed to grant. This proposal formed the basis for negotiations in Florence. After studying the draft, Florentine merchants proposed some emendations and additions. The Florentines now produced a new draft including these emendations and additions which was to be the basis for further negotiations in Egypt about the final version of the commercial privileges. Together with the Mamluk ambassador Ibn Mahfuz, a Florentine ambassador Luigi della Stufa returned to Egypt with this draft which was signed and sealed by the Florentine authorities and functioned as their authenticated proposal. The final privileges were issued as an extended general *aman* in the form of a *marsum*. The Florentines obtained two copies in Arabic: one for their archives in Florence and one for their consul in Alexandria (31 October 1489).[54]

Apart from this *marsum* given to Florence in 1489, there are two other texts of Florentine commercial privileges given by the Mamluks in 1497 and 1507. Both of them are clearly general safe-conducts which include commercial privileges issued in the form of *marasim*. There can, therefore, scarcely be any doubt that during the fifteenth and sixteenth century the Mamluk rulers used this type of document for the settling of commercial relations.[55]

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did not have the authority to grant such commercial privileges. Cf. Wansbrough, *Mamluk Ambassador*, 519-521; quotation from ibid., 520.

53 Wansbrough's wrong interpretation is explained by the fact that he regards commercial privileges to be 'commercial treaties', and not *amana*t; a point of view which is contradicted by all commercial privileges given to any state, unless they were included in political treaties (*hudan*).

54 J. Wansbrough, 'A Mamluk Commercial Treaty Concluded with the Republic of Florence 894/1489', S. Stern (ed.), *Documents of Islamic Chanceries*, I (First Series)(Oriental Studies III), Oxford 1965, 39-79 (Wansbrough, *Mamluk Commercial Treaty*); and Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 498.

55 The text of the instrument of 1497 has been published by Wansbrough, *Venice and Florence*, 483-523; that of 1507, idem, *Safe-Conduct*, 20-35.

After the Ottoman Sultan Selim I had conquered Egypt, he also issued a *marsum* concerning the Venetian merchants in Egypt (February 1517). This document forms a direct continuation of Mamluk diplomatic practice: the Ottoman sultan acted as if he were the new Mamluk ruler.[56] The Mamluk tradition, however, soon died out. Syria and Egypt became an integrated part of the Ottoman Empire and from that time on Venetian commercial activities in these newly conquered lands were included in the treaties that were concluded according to Ottoman traditions. In September 1517 a Venetian embassy that had come to secure Venetian commercial interests in Syria and Egypt obtained from Selim I in September 1517 a confirmation of Venetian privileges throughout the whole Ottoman Empire, now explicitly including Syria and Egypt. The document was an *ʿahd-name*: a peace-treaty between the Ottoman Empire and Venice which also dealt extensively with commercial privileges. The Mamluk *marsum* was replaced by the Ottoman *ʿahd-name*.[57]

From the twelfth century onwards commercial relations between European trading nations like Venice and Genoa and the Ayyubids and Mamluks were settled in one of two ways: either by means of general safe-conducts which included commercial privileges (i.e. *amanat*), or by political treaties which included commercial clauses (i.e. *hudan*).

Amanat were usually issued in the form of decrees. This was already common practice in the Ayyubid era; but from at least al-Kalkashandi's time these decrees were of the so-called *marsum*-type. Apart from these decrees there are letters in which the sultan informs the Doge of Venice of the concession of commercial privileges, and some of these letters also include the actual provisions of the privileges. From these letters it becomes clear that the central government informed its local officials concerning the privileges specified in decrees. Apart from the decrees that were sent directly to local Mamluk officials, Venetian representatives in the Mamluk Empire also possessed copies of these decrees, which they could use in their contacts with local authorities. Decrees, therefore, seem to have been the chancery document *par excellence* for granting commercial privileges to non-Muslims.

Hudan, i.e. treaties (as a legal category), always had political and military aspects and were issued in their own specific form, not as *marasim* but as *hudan*. Al-Kalkashandi gives three categories of *hudan*, each of which is

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56 The Arabic text of this instrument has been published by Moritz, *art. cit.*, 422-443; a translation exists in German by Hartmann, *art. cit.*, 201-222.

57 For the Ottoman-Turkish and Italian version of this *ʿahd-name* see the TEXTS.

different in form. Local officials were most probably also informed by way of decrees about the concession of commercial privileges as a part of treaties.

The terminology used by Holt and Wansbrough for commercial privileges is often very confusing. Both scholars use the term commercial treaty to indicate commercial privileges. In Islamic law, however, commercial treaties do not exist. Commercial privileges belong either to the legal category of the *amanat* or the *hudan*. For the sake of preventing further confusion about terminology, the term commercial treaty should, therefore, be avoided. It is better to use the neutral term commercial privileges. Such a term is best used in combination with the proper Islamic terminology (*amanat*, *hudan*) which should, of course, always be the point of departure.[58]

58 Cf. Wansbrough, *Mamluk Commercial Treaty*, 70: 'From the point of view of Mamluk chancery practice the commercial treaties were related in principle to safe-conducts (amanat) and armistices (hudan), but in form to an administrative order or decree (marsum, pl. merasim) of the kind originally employed for lesser officials in the Mamluk administration. While al-Kalkashandi does not mention the commercial treaty as a recognized class of chancery document he includes under armistices provision for a "commercial clause" by which merchants of either party to the contract were free to trade in the lands of the other (al-Kalkashandi, Subh al-Aᶜsha, XIV, 10), a provision also explicit in his observations on the safe-conduct (al-Kalkashandi, Subh al-Aᶜsha, XIII, 322)'.

Chapter Three: Venice and the Rum-Seljukid Empire

In 1071 the Seljukid army defeated the armed forces of the Byzantine Empire near Manzikert in eastern Anatolia. Thereafter, the Byzantine defense system at the eastern border collapsed and the Empire gradually disintegrated. As a result of this, various Turkish leaders and their troops were able to penetrate into Byzantine Asia Minor and established themselves there. In 1081 the Byzantine Emperor Alexios Komnenos made peace with the Seljukids. This peace was certainly acompromise forced upon him by necessity. The Seljukid border emirate, based at Nicaea (Iznik), was recognised by the Byzantines as an independent state. Following the death of the Great-Seljukid Sultan Malik-Şah in 1092, the huge Seljukid Empire started to disintegrate, breaking up into a number of emirates.[1]

The branch of the Seljukids which had established an emirate in western Anatolia became independent from the other parts of the former Great-Seljukid state. Another important emirate which emerged in the same period was that of the Danişmendids of Sivas. In 1097 the forces of the First Crusade moved across Anatolia on their way to the Holy Land. The Anatolian Seljukids were driven back from the coastal areas in western Asia Minor and forced to settle in Central Anatolia. During the first sixty years of the twelfth century the Seljukids of Konya had to fight for their survival against Byzantines, Crusaders and Danişmendids. Thereafter they regained strength and were able to conquer the Danişmendid emirate and inflict a crushing defeat upon the Byzantines (Myriokephalon 1176). Especially after these political and military successes, the Seljukids started to concentrate on the economic development of their state: new caravan routes were opened and caravanserais (*han*s) built.[2]

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1 C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey. A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History c. 1071-1330*, London 1968, 71-80 (Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*); O. Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye tarihi. Siyasi tarih Alp Arslan'dan Osman Gazi'ye (1071-1318)*, İstanbul 1984, 21-82 (Turan, *Türkiye tarihi*); E. Zachariadou, 'Holy War in the Aegean during the Fourteenth Century', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, IV, 1, 1989, 212-225, 212 (Zachariadou, *Holy War*); D. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: a Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations*, Cambridge 1988, 52-53 and 56; C. Cahen, 'The Turkish Invasion: The Selchükids', K. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols., 1955-1989, I, Philadelphia 1955, 135-176; A. Sevim and Y. Yücel, *Türkiye tarihi*, 2 vols., Ankara 1990, I, 1-81; and Sp. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Berkeley and Los Angelos 1971, 1-113 (Vryonis, *Decline*).

2 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 80-110; idem, 'The Turks in Iran and Anatolia', K. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols., 1955-1989, II, Philadelphia 1962, 661-692, 675-680 (Cahen, *The Turks*); O. Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları hakkında resmi vesikalar*, Ankara 1958, 121-123 (Turan, *Vesikalar*); idem, *Türkiye*

At the end of the twelfth century the Rum-Seljukid state went through a brief crisis caused by the crusade of the German emperor Frederick Barbarossa and the rivalry between the sons of Sultan Kılıç Arslan. By 1205 the Seljukid Empire had surmounted this crisis. During the period from then until the Mongol invasion of Anatolia in 1243, the Rum-Seljukid Empire reached its apogee.[3]

Although the Rum-Seljukid state in 1205 was more powerful and better organized than ever before, it still had no outlet either to the Mediterranean or the Black Sea. The important port of Samsun had already been seized (circa 1194), but its occupation turned out to be short-lived. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, therefore, the Seljukids focussed on the acquisition of seaports. After they had gained control of the important caravan routes from the east and the Anatolian commercial centers Sivas and Erzurum (conquered in 1202), they concentrated on the conquest of seaports. Economic considerations were undoubtedly an important motive for this policy of expansion. Foreign trade could provide a considerable resource for strengthening Seljukid (economic) power and the state's prosperity. According to the historian Ibn Bibi, the Seljukid Sultan Giyase 'd-Din Key Hüsrev I (1192-1196 and 1205-1211) decided to conquer Antalya in 1207 after complaints by merchants about bad treatment at the hands of the Franks who controlled that seaport. After the conquest of Antalya in 1216, the Seljukid Sultan ᶜİzze 'd-DinKey Kavus I (1211-1220) established political and commercial relations with Cyprus, in order to further develop trade in his dominions. Key Kavus not only acquired a seaport along the Mediterranean, but also one on the Black Sea coast. In 1215 he conquered the important harbor of Sinope. His successor ᶜAla'e 'd-Din Key Kubad I (1220-1237) also made important conquests. Between 1221 and 1225 he seized the

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tarihi, 83-236; Zachariadou, *Holy War*, 212; Flemming, *art. cit.*, 12-15; S. Runciman, 'The First Crusade: Constantinople to Antioch', K. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols., 1955-1989, I, Philadelphia 1955, 280-304; Sevim, *op. cit.,* I, 82-105; T. Atan, *Türk gümrük tarihi*, Ankara 1990, 97-105; Vryonis, *Decline*, 114-128 and 220-223; and Ş. Turan, *Türkiye-İtalya ilişkileri. I. Selçuklular'dan Bizans'ın sona erişine*, İstanbul 1990, 96-117 (Turan, *İlişkileri*).

3 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 110-118; Cahen, *The Turks*, 680-681; Turan, *Türkiye tarihi*, 237-267; Zachariadou, *Holy War*, 212; Sevim, *op. cit.,* I, 99-105; and Vryonis, *Decline*, 128-139. On the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa see E. Johnson, 'The Crusades of Frederick Barbarossa and Henry VI', K. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols., 1955-1989, II, Philadelphia 1962, 87-122. On the changes in Anatolia after the Turkish conquest see Vryonis, *Decline*, 143-244.

Mediterranean coastal area as far south as Silifke. One of the strongholds he conquered in 1221 was renamed after him: ᶜAla'iye (nowadays Alanya).[4]

Thus, the Seljukids reached the seas and acquired important outlets for their commercial activities. The Venetians were among the first to take advantage of the opportunities offered by this new situation. After the Fourth Crusade and the conquest of Constantinople by the Latin crusaders in 1204, the Venetians gained almost unchallenged power in the Latin Byzantine Empire. In the years following the treaty of partition of the Byzantine Empire, concluded between the victors of 1204, the Venetians successfully established their own commercial empire on the ruins of the Byzantine Empire. Thus, they tried to outstrip their most powerful competitors Genoa and Pisa. Until the Fourth Crusade, Venetian Levant trade was concentrated on the Adriatic coasts, Romania, and the Crusader states in Palestine, Syria and Egypt. In fact, before 1204 there was hardly any sign of a Venetian presence in Asia Minor, either under the Byzantines or the Turks, though many Venetian merchants passed through the area on their way to other destinations. In 1219 the Venetian Podestà in Constantinople Giacomo Tiepolo took the initiative to negotiate commercial privileges with the emperor of the Byzantine Empire of Nicaea, Theodore Laskaris. Laskaris issued a chrysobull giving the Venetians extensive privileges in his dominions in Asia Minor (August 1219).[5]

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4 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 119-138 and 163-168; idem, *The Turks*, 680-684; idem, 'Le commerce anatolien au début du XIII^{e} siècle', *Mélanges d'Histoire du Moyen Age dédiés à la Mémoire de Louis Halphen*, Paris 1951, 91-101, 91-96 (Cahen, *Commerce anatolien*); Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, I, 301-304 and 365-372; Atan, *op. cit.,* 97-105; Turan, *Türkiye tarihi*, 268-402; idem, *Vesikalar*, 123-124; Zachariadou, *Holy War*, 212-213; Sevim, *op. cit.,* I, 106-121; M. Delilbaşı, 'Ortaçağ'da Türk hükümdarları tarafından Batılılara ahidnamelerle verilen imtiyazlara genel bir bakış', *Belleten*, XLVII, 185, 1983, (1984), 95-103, 95-97; Flemming, *art. cit.*,, 1-8; and Turan, *İlişkileri,* 96-117. On the date of the final conquest of Antalya see Turan, V*esikalar*, 101-108. On the conquests of Antalya, Sinope and Alanya according to Ibn Bibi see H. Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi*, Kopenhagen 1959, 44-46, 61-68 and 104-109. Ibn Bibi also often mentions economic factors that played a role in the conquests of the Seljukid sultans, see ibid., 44-46, 64-68, 130-131, 136-139 and 142-143. A short survey on the Seljukid Empire is E. Werner, 'Wandel in Osten: Das Sultanat Konya im 13. Jahrhundert', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, IV, 1972, 220-230. On Cyprus and Cypriot-Seljukid relations see E. Chapin Furber, 'The Kingdom of Cyprus, 1191-1291', K. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols., 1955-1989, II, Philadelphia 1962, 599-629; Turan, *Vesikalar*, 109-119 and 139-143; and Turan, *İlişkileri,* 117-118. On Lesser Armenia see S. Der Nersessian, 'The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia', K. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols., 1955-1989, II, Philadelphia 1962, 630-659. For a useful map of the Seljukid Empire and a description see D. Pitcher, *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden 1972, 24-28 and map VI.

5 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 165-167; Buenger Robbert, *art. cit.*, 379-380 and 435-436; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, I, 304-306; and Nicol, *op. cit.*, 90-92 and 163-164. On (international) trade in the Byzantine Empire before the Turkish conquest see Vryonis, *Decline*, 6-24. For the text of the treaty with Laskaris see *TT*, II, no. CCLII, 205-207.

The next year the same Venetian Podestà also concluded a treaty with the Seljukid Sultan ᶜAla'e 'd-Din Key Kubad I (March 1220). The text of this treaty mentions that it was a renewal of two earlier treaties concluded between the Venetians and the Seljukid sultans. The initial treaty was concluded with Giyase 'd-Din Key Hüsrev between 1205 and 1211; the later one with ᶜİzze 'd-Din Key Kavus between 1211 and 1220. Since Antalya was the most important harbor and commercial center of the Seljukids, the first treaty will, probably, not have been concluded before the Seljukid conquest of this city in 1207; the second treaty, for the same reason, will have been concluded after the final conquest in 1216. In 1209 Venice acted as an intermediary between the Latin emperor of Constantinople and the Seljukids in negotiating a truce. It is possible that the Venetians used this situation to obtain commercial privileges in the Seljukid dominions; it is, however, also possible that their role as mediator in the negotiations was based on already existing friendly relations. In the first case the treaty may have been concluded in 1209; in the second case it will have been concluded between 1207 and 1209.

The treaty of 1220 was officially concluded for a period of two years only. However, as observed by Cahen: 'there is no reason to suppose that it was not more or less tacitly renewed for a long time'.[6] Thus, it might have been an established practice to renew treaties officially only when a new sultan had come to power. The three Venetian treaties concluded by three successive Seljukid sultans seem to confirm this practice. However, in 1228 Filippo Giuliano (Iuliano), an envoy sent by the Doge of Venice, was in Konya, probably for negotiations about the renewal of commercial privileges, since one year later a new treaty (the second) seems to have been concluded with ᶜAla'e 'd-Din Key Kubad I. It is possible that the Venetians requested a new treaty in order to ensure their privileges in other, newly conquered seaports (like Alanya). Venetian trade with the Seljukid dominions must have flourished during the first half of the thirteenth century; and even in 1255, nine years after the Mongol invasion of Anatolia, there were still Venetian ships navigating between Egyptian Alexandria and Antalya. From then until the final dissolution of the Seljukid Empire, not much is known about Venetian trade with Turkish Anatolia.[7]

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6 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 166.

7 Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 165-166; Cahen, *Commerce anatolien*, 96; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, I, 301-304; Turan, *Türkiye tarihi*, 285, 302-303 and 395-397; idem, *Vesikalar*, 124-125 and 135-137; Atan, *op. cit.*, 100-122; Flemming, *art. cit.*, 5-6 and 12-15; G. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire au XIII^e siècle*, Diss. Paris 1929, 162-166; Vryonis, *Decline*, 220-223 and 244-249; Sevim, *op. cit.*, I,

As discussed in the previous chapters, already by the second half of the twelfth century the Venetians had established official commercial relations with Muslim rulers in Egypt, Syria and Palestine. Soon after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, they also spent much energy on the development of political and commercial relations with the Christian and the Muslim rulers of Anatolia. The powerful and prosperous Seljukid Empire was both politically and commercially an attractive partner for Venice. Likewise, the Seljukid sultans tried to stimulate trade in their empire by granting commercial privileges to Christian states. Apart from Venice, other European trading nations like Pisa and Genoa obtained commercial privileges in the Seljukid Empire. As a result of this Seljukid policy, interregional trade (especially with Cyprus and Egypt) revived. Thus, during the apogee of the Seljukid Empire in the first half of the thirteenth century, Muslim Anatolia became one more possible destination for European merchants.[8]

106-121; Delilbaşı, *art. cit.,* 95-97; M. Martin, 'The Venetian-Seljuk Treaty of 1220', *The English Historical Review*, XCV, 374, 1980, 321-330, 321-326 (Martin, *Venetian-Seljuk Treaty*); and Turan, *İlişkileri,* 118-127. On the contents of the treaty see Martin, *Venetian-Seljuk Treaty*, 326-330; Atan, *op. cit.*, 111-112; Turan, *Vesikalar*, 125-133; and Turan, *İlişkileri,* 120-121. For the Latin text of the treaty itself see *TT*, II, no. CCLVIII, 221-225; for a Turkish translation see Turan, *Vesikalar*, 143-146.

8 Cahen, *Commerce anatolien*, 96-101; Flemming, *art. cit.*, 5; and Turan, *İlişkileri,* 118-127.

Chapter Four: The Seljukid-Venetian Chrysobull of 1220

Of the four treaties which are known to have been concluded between the Seljukids and the Venetians only one has come down to us. It is the text of the treaty of March 1220 that was concluded between the Seljukid Sultan ᶜAla'e 'd-Din Key Kubad I and the Venetian Podestà Jacopo Tiepolo. The text of this treaty is preserved in the *Liber Albus* and the *Liber Pactorum* and has been published by Tafel and Thomas. Between the four versions of the treaty there are only small differences which do not amount to significant changes in the treaty's structure and contents.[1]

The structure of the text of the treaty is remarkable. It starts with an introduction: 'We, the Venetian Podestà Jacopo Tiepolo, the representative of the Doge of Venice, have received a *chrysobull* from the ambassador of Sultan ᶜAla'e 'd-Din Key Kubad, Emir Sipehsalar Şemse 'd-Din Emirü 'l-Gazi. At the top of this *chrysobull* the signature of the sultan occurs in red ink[2] and at the bottom there is his golden seal. The contents of the treaty are as follows'. After this introduction the text gives the contents of the chrysobull that was issued by the Seljukid sultan on 8 March 1220. However, this is not the literal text of this document, but a recapitulation of the original articles adapted by the Venetian podestà and incorporated in his version of the treaty.[3] This becomes clear from several passages in the text: 'Id est, quod Soldanea sua potentia promisit, a nuper transacto mense Marci huius octaue indictionis usque ad duos annos habere pacem puram cum superpreclarissimo domino nostro Duce Venecie…'. The Seljukid sultan would never have used 'domino nostro Duce Venecie' to indicate the Doge of Venice. Apart from this, there are several other indications that the document is an adaptation of the original text. In the other articles the sultan is always mentioned in the third person singular,

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1 The text is preserved in the *Liber Albus* (fos. 52-54), *Liber Pactorum* I (fos. 243-244) and the *Liber Pactorum* II (fos. 258-260). The version of Tafel and Thomas (*TT,* II, no. CCLVIII, 221-225) is based on that in the *Liber Albus*. Between these two versions there is only one minor difference. See Martin, *Venetian-Seljuk Treaty*, 321, note 1.

2 It is not clear whether the phrase '*Id est chrusobolum eius superscriptum rubeis litteris*' means that only the signature at the top of the document is written with red ink or that the whole document was written with red ink, like the Venetian version of the treaty ('*cum qua in presenti chrusobolo sanguineis litteris scripsit mea dominatio*'). Martin gives no information on this matter; Bratianu writes 'le privilège d'Alaëddin Kaïkobad pour les Vénitiens, en mars 1220 était muni d'une bulle d'or et de la signature du sultan à l'encre rouge, tout comme un chrysobulle grec'. Bratianu, *op. cit.*, 163. The Turkish translation of Turan, however, has 'Ferman kırmızı harflerle yazılmış…'. Turan, *Vesikalar*, 143-144.

3 It should be stressed that the Venetian text only recapitulates the articles (*dispositio*) of the original Seljukid chrysobull (i.e. the peace and the privileges granted by the Seljukids).

and not in the first person singular or plural as one would expect. The words 'Super his quoque continet hoc chrusobolum, quod…' have also most likely been added by the Venetian composer of this text.

After the adapted text of the Seljukid privileges, the Venetian podestà, in the first person singular, states that he agrees with the aforementioned articles of the treaty given by the Seljukid sultan. The first of these is that there will be peace for a period of two years. After this the privileges which the Venetians granted to the Seljukids are listed. The texts ends with the promise of the podestà that the contents of this treaty will be operative for a period of two years starting on March 1220. Then the podestà (referred to in the third person singular as *meus dispotatus* and *mea dominatio*) states that he has written this text himself, that he has sworn on the Gospels to abide by the treaty, that the treaty is written in red ink and, finally, that it has a golden seal which is attached to the document by means of red sealing-wax.[4]

The structure of this text can be summarized as follows:
1) The introduction by the Venetian podestà about the way he obtained the treaty from the Seljukids and the treaty's outer appearance.
2) The articles of the privileges granted by the Seljukid sultan to the Venetians and the acceptance of these articles by the podestà.
3) The articles that were conceded in return by the Venetians to the Seljukids.
At the end a reference is made to the form in which this text was issued by the podestà, i.e. as a sworn chrysobull.

From this the status of the document becomes clear. It is the text of the document that was given by the Venetian podestà to the Seljukids in return for the chrysobull given by the Seljukid Sultan ᶜAla'e 'd-Din Key Kubad I. In other words, the Seljukids and the Venetians exchanged the text of the treaty. Both documents, however, are called chrysobulls in the Venetian instrument. Since this is also the name given to the treaties which were concluded between the Byzantine Empire and Venice, we shall take a closer look at these treaties and try to make a general comparison between the Seljukid-Venetian chrysobull and the Byzantine chrysobull.

The chrysobull was the type of document used by the Byzantine emperors to conclude peace-treaties and to confer (commercial) privileges

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4 'Omnia quoque capitula superius denotata, que sub me et michi pertinent, que sunt infra presens chrusobolum uerbum mee dominationis, debent esse firma a suprascripto mense Marci usque ad duos annos. Que propria manu et ore super sancta Dei euangelia iurauit meus dispotatus, cum qua in presenti chrusobolo sanguineis litteris scripsit mea dominatio, et forma sigilli nostri aurei inposita est, et sanguineo sirico sigillato'. Quotation from *TT*, II, no. CCLVIII, 224-225.

upon foreign states as a reward for services rendered to the Byzantine Empire, or as a gesture of goodwill. Since 992 the Byzantine-Venetian (commercial) relations were settled by means of such chrysobulls.[5] However, since according to Byzantine political ideology it was unthinkable that a Byzantine emperor, i.e. the one and only emperor on earth, could treat with foreign rulers on equal terms, a chrysobull (or golden bull) was not a bilateral treaty between two equal parties but 'a privilege granted from on high by God's vicegerent on earth to a lesser mortal who had solicited his favour'.[6] The chrysobull, therefore, was an expression of the Byzantine political ideology.[7]

This idea was reflected in both the impressive outer appearance of the chrysobull and its formal structure. The type of chrysobull used for settling Byzantine-Venetian relations was the so-called *chrysobullos logos*. The *chrysobullos logos* was, *par excellence,* the type of document used for the concession of privileges. It is called *chrysobullos logos* because it contains the oath, promise or pledge ('logos') of the Byzantine emperor that he himself is responsible for the enforcement of the contents of the chrysobull. Characteristic of this document are the golden seal of the emperor attached to the document by a purple-red silk thread and his subscription written in purple-red ink.[8]

From 992 till the middle of the thirteenth century all Byzantine-Venetian treaties were in the form of a *chrysobullos logos*. The only difference between the *chrysobulloi logoi* used for the granting of privileges to Byzantine

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5 The chrysobull of 992 was renewed and extended in 1081 or 1082. This chrysobull was very important, for it became the corner-stone of the Venetian commercial empire in the Levant. It was also the prototype of the later chrysobulls granted to Venice. This chrysobull was followed by (sometimes amended and/or extented) renewals and in 1126, 1147, 1187 and 1198. In 1231 the Venetian privileges were renewed by the Latin emperor of the Byzantine Empire. For a detailed study of the Byzantine-Venetian relations and the chrysobulls that were issued during this period see Nicol, *op. cit.*, 35-187; see also F. Dölger, 'Die Urkunden des byzantinischen Kaisers Andronikos II. für Aragon-Katalonien unter der Regierung König Jacobs II.', *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt*, Darmstadt 1964, 128-139, 130-131, note 3 (Dölger, *Urkunden*).

6 Nicol, *op. cit.*, 40.

7 Dölger, *Urkundenlehre*, 94-95; and idem, 'Die Kaiserurkunde der Byzantiner als Ausdruck ihrer politischen Anschauungen', *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt*, Darmstadt 1964, 9-33 (Dölger, *Kaiserurkunde*).

8 Dölger, *Kaiserurkunde*, 14-21; idem, *Urkundenlehre*, 28-31, 40-45 and 94-96; idem, 'Der Kodikellos des Christodulos in Palermo', *Byzantinische Diplomatik*, Ettal 1956, 1-74, 39-43 (Dölger, *Kodikellos*); and idem, 'Epikritisches zu den Facsimiles byzantinischer Kaiserurkunden', *Byzantinische Diplomatik*, Ettal 1956, 75-101, 87 (Dölger, *Epikritisches*). Apart from the subscription of the emperor the words *logos*, *sigillion* and sometimes *grafi* were written with this special red ink which was called *sacrum encaustum*. When these words occured in the text, which was normally written with black ink, an empty space was left open, in which these *Rotworte* were later added. See ibid., 35-36.

subjects and those used for the concession of privileges to foreigners, in this case the Venetiens, was that the *chrysobulloi logoi* of the second category were bilingual: in Greek and Latin, whereas those of the first category were in Greek only. The Latin translation of the Greek text of the *chrysobulloi logoi*, given to Venice, was written under the Greek text on the same sheet of paper or on a separate sheet which was attached to it later.[9]

The treaties fall into two categories depending on the negotiation procedure which was followed. The treaties that were negotiated in the Byzantine capital Constantinople belong to the first category; those which were negotiated in the capital of the foreign party belong to the second category. However, the treaty itself was always issued in Constantinople, since it was a concession by the Byzantine emperor. If the negotiations took place in Constantinople, the foreign ambassador had to swear that his government would accept the agreed text of the treaty. If the negotiations took place in the foreign capital, the foreign government had to swear an oath in the presence of the Byzantine ambassador. Thereupon, the *chrysobullos logos* was issued. It was signed by the emperor himself and the golden seal was attached to it. If negotiations took place in the foreign capital, the document was presented to the ambassador of the foreign state who had come to Constantinople for the final conclusion of the treaty. If negotiations, however, took place in Constantinople, the text of the foreign ambassador's oath was inserted into the chrysobull, together with a text stating that the chrysobull was only valid if the foreign authorities officially approved the final treaty which had been negotiated by their ambassador (by taking an oath in the presence of the Byzantine ambassador).[10]

The formal structure of the *chrysobullos logos* also varied depending on the procedure followed.[11] Since we do not have the original text of the chrysobull issued by the Seljukid sultan, we can not compare its formal structure with that of the chrysobulls of the Byzantine emperors. The text we do have is that of the Venetian chrysobull given to the Seljukid sultan. Although in theory the chrysobull was a unilateral grant and therefore the Byzantine chancery did not

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9 Dölger, *Urkundenlehre*, 27-28, 90-91, 99-100; idem, *Epikritisches*, 81-82; idem, *Vertrag des Sultans Qala'un*, 240-241, note 104; idem, *Kodikellos*, 38-39; and idem, *Urkunden*, 131-132, note 4.

10 Dölger, *Urkundenlehre*, 96-99; and C. Neumann, 'Über die urkundlichen Quellen zur Geschichte der byzantinisch-venetianischen Beziehungen vornehmlich in Zeitalter der Komnenen', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, I, 1892, 366-378, 373-377. Concerning negotiations see also Dölger, *Vertrag des Sultans Qala'un*, 237-244.

11 An outline of these different structures is given by Dölger, *Urkundenlehre*, 97, 99, 103 and 105.

demand a sworn *instrumentum reciprocum*, already by the beginning of the twelfth century a new practice had emerged. The Byzantine emperor no longer granted concessions unilaterally without demanding in return written, sworn guarantees defining the treaty partner's reciprocal obligations.[12] This indicates that although in theory Byzantine treaties were privileges bestowed by the emperor upon the foreign state, in practice this state had to write down its obligations *vis-à-vis* the Byzantine Empire in a separate document, i.e. a sworn undertaking, which was then inserted by the Byzantines in the text of the *chrysobullos logos*.[13] The Byzantine-Venetian treaties, therefore, were in reality more of a bilateral treaty than a unilateral grant.[14]

When we take a closer look at the text of the Venetian chrysobull of 1220, we notice that the obligations of the treaty partner, i.e. the Seljukid privileges for the Venetians, are also inserted in the text. These privileges are listed immediately after the introduction, but before the privileges which the Venetians were granting to the Seljukids. Since the Seljukids and the Venetians exchanged two chrysobulls, most likely with the same contents, this would

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12 Dölger, *Vertrag des Sultans Qala'un*, 237: 'Daß jedoch der Kaiser spätestens seit Beginn des 12. Jh. diese "Gnaden" nicht spendet, ohne von der Gegenseite auch schriftliche und beeidete Garantien für deren reziproke Verpflichtungen zu erhalten, hat schon Neumann, a. a. O., 371 ff., hervorgehoben. Da jedoch der Kontrahent in den seltensten Fällen (wie z. B. beim Vertrage mit Bohemund im Jahre 1108: Reg. n. 1243) persönlich zugegen sein konnte, um zu verhandeln und schließlich die eigene schriftliche Niederlegung seiner Verpflichtungen mit dem kaiserlichen Chrysobull auszutauschen, bedurfte es in der Regel eines langwierigen Verfahrens, um zu einem Vertragsabschluß zu gelangen. Wir sehen diese praxis um die Wende des 12./13. Jh. zu ihrer kompliziertesten Form entwickelt und können dann an der langen Reihe der Verträge mit Venedig erkennen, wie mit dem Verfall eine immer stärkere Vereinfachung einsetzt'.

13 Dölger, *Kaiserurkunde*, 21: 'Bemerkenswert is ferner in unserem Zusammenhang, daß der oströmische Kaiser bis in das 13. Jahrhundert hinein nicht, wie etwa der deutsche Kaiser mit dem Papste und anderen auswärtigen Souveränen, einen Vertrag schließt, sondern einseitig den auswärtigen Staaten wie Venedig, Genua, Pisa u. a., die eben nach der Anschauung der Byzantiner rechtlich zum kaiserlichen Reiche gehören, einen *Chrysobullos Logos*, also eine Gnadenurkunde, wie seinen Untertanen, gewährt. Der Schwierigkeit, daß die Urkunde die vorher in harten Kämpfen ausgehandelten Versprechungen des Vertragspartners möglichst genau enthalten muß, wird dadurch begegnet, daß man die entsprechenden Eidesurkunden des Vertragspartners in form von Inserten in den Verleihungstext hereinnimmt'.

14 The first Byzantine chrysobulls in which the Venetian obligations *vis-à-vis* the Byzantines are inserted in full length articles and not only mentioned in general, are those of 1187 and 1198. But, 'Wenn die Einzelaufzählung venetianischer Verpflichtungen erst gegen Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts im Text der Goldbullen sich befindet, so kann man daraus nicht schließen, daß sie nicht früher formuliert wurden; man kann nur sagen, daß es bis dahin nicht Kanzleiübung war, sie in den Bullen für Venedig zu wiederholen. Es ist demnach so, daß die Urkunden über venetianische Verpflichtungen für die ältere Zeit nur eben fehlen, daß das auf uns gekommene Urkundenmaterial unvollständig ist'. Quotation from Neumann, *art. cit.*, 370.

imply that the Seljukid chrysobull also first stated the Venetian obligations, i.e. the privileges given to the Seljukids, and then the privileges given by the Seljukids to the Venetians.[15]

Although we do not have any information about the way the treaty was negotiated, it seems likely that the Venetians sent an ambassador to Konya for the negotiations. In 1219 the enterprising Venetian Podestà Jacopo Tiepolo had also taken the initiative for the treaty with the Greek emperor of Nicaea. After negotiations were concluded, the Seljukid sultan issued a chrysobull, i.e. an instrument for the conclusion of peaceful relations and the concession of commercial privileges. A Seljukid ambassador then brought this chrysobull to Constantinople, where he received a Venetian chrysobull in return. In the presence of the Seljukid ambassador the Venetian podestà swore an oath by God and the Gospels to uphold the treaty concluded with the Seljukids. From this we can conclude that the texts of the Seljukid-Venetian treaty and the Byzantine-Venetian treaties are basically structured the same way. Apart from this point, there are also essential similarities in the way in which these treaties were concluded.[16]

Although there are many striking similarities, there is, however, also an important difference between the Seljukid-Venetian and the Byzantine-Venetian treaties. Whereas in the Byzantine-Venetian situation there was only one chrysobull (i.e. the Byzantine instrument), in the Seljukid-Venetian situation both the Seljukid and the Venetian instruments were called chrysobulls. The Byzantines did not exchange chrysobulls; the Seljukids and Venetians, however, exchanged two documents of the same type. Both parties granted the other privileges in the form of a chrysobull, thus stressing their equality and the bilateral character of the treaty. As a consequence of this, the word 'chrysobull' indicates nothing more than 'a document used to conclude peace and to grant (commercial) privileges' ('conuentionem pacis'). Only according

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15 However, it is also possible that the Seljukid chrysobull only contained the privileges that were granted to the Venetians. The form of the Seljukid document could then have been that of a unilateral instrument. If that were the case, the Venetian instrument in which the obigations *vis-à-vis* the Seljukids were stated could be considered a sworn undertaking notwithstanding, the fact that its form was that of a 'Byzantine' chrysobull and not that of a sworn undertaking according to Islamic principles. Cf. the Mamluk-Genoese treaty of 1290.

16 After he had become Doge of Venice, Jacopo Tiepolo (1229-1249) also concluded two 'treaties' ('pactum') with the Ayyubid rulers of Syria and Egypt. These two 'pacta' are remarkable because all other Ayyubid and Mamluk instruments given to Venice do not belong to the category of the *hudan* but to that of the *amanat*. It might well be that these two 'pacta' are indeed treaties and that the Venetians, during the rule of Jacopo Tiepolo, tried to conclude treaties with foreign powers on the basis of equality, thus stressing their 'imperial aspirations'.

to Byzantine political theory did 'chrysobull' still have another meaning; in Byzantine practice the original Byzantine *chrysobullos logos* no longer existed. The Venetian chrysobull of 1220, which undoubtedly reflects contemporary Byzantine practice, is another indicator of this.[17]

The text of the Venetian instrument also gives some interesting details about the outer appearance of both the Seljukid and the Venetian chrysobull. The sultan's signature ('eius superscriptum') was written at the top of the chrysobull in red ink ('rubeis litteris'). This signature was most probably his tugra: the word 'sultan' written in Arabic script.[18] At the bottom of the document was his golden seal ('et inferius sigillatum aurea forma sui sigilli'). The chrysobull issued by the Venetian podestà was completely written with red ink; his golden seal was attached to the document with red sealing-wax. When we compare this with Byzantine practice, we immediately recognise the source of inspiration: all Byzantine chrysobulls have a golden seal and the signature of the emperor written with purple-red ink. Both the Seljukid sultan and the Venetian podestà apparently adopted this Byzantine custom on purpose.[19]

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17 In the Turkish translation of Turan, 'chrusobolum' is translated as 'ferman' (order, decree, command) and 'conuentionem pacis' as 'muahedename'. However, *ferman* does not seem to be a correct translation of chrysobull: the chrysobull is not an order, decree or command, but a treaty between two (equal) parties. A better translation would be *ʿahd-name* or *muʿahede*(*-name*). In a Seljukid context *ferman* just means 'order' in a very general sense; it is not the name of a type of document. Chrysobull, however, is certainly the name of a type of document. See H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselğuqen und Horazmsahs (1038-1231). Eine Untersuchung nach Urkundenformularen der Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1964, 34.

18 Cf. the photograph of the Seljukid document in Greek with the *tugra* 'sultan' in Arabic. The document is a letter from 1216 sent by Sultan ʿİzze 'd-Din Key Kavus I (1211-1220) to the king of Cyprus concerning the conclusion of a peace treaty and the granting of commercial privileges to the Cypriots. For the photograph see Turan, *Vesikalar*, (not numbered) photograph between 144-145. On the Seljukid *tugra* see also İ. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilatına medhal*, Ankara 1984 (ed. princ. 1941), 69-70 (Uzunçarşılı, *Medhal*); idem, 'Tuğra ve pençeler ile ferman ve buyuruldulara dair', *Belleten*, V, 17-18, 1941, 101-157, 102-104 (Uzunçarsılı, *Tuğra ve pençeler*); Horst, *op. cit.*, 34-36; C. Cahen, 'La tugra seljukide', *Journal Asiatique*, CCXXXIV, 1943-1945, 167-172; F. Babinger, 'Die grossherrliche Tughra. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des osmanischen Urkundenwesens', *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, II, 2 (Beiträge zur Kunst des Islams, Festschrift Friedrich Sarre), Leipzig 1925 (Babinger, *Tughra*), 188-196, 192-193; P. Wittek, 'Notes sur la tughra ottomane', *Byzantion*, XX, 1950, 267-293, 286-289 and plate 7 (Wittek, *Tughra*); and S. Umur, *Osmanlı padişah tuğraları*, İstanbul 1980, 13-14.

19 On the adoption of this custom by other rulers besides the Byzantine emperors see Dölger, *Kaiserurkunde*, 29-33; and Martin, *Venetian-Seljuk Treaty*, 322-324. Martin's remark that 'The podestà evidently chose the most portentous diplomatic form available to him in order to impress upon the Seljuk sultan the power of the Venetians.' makes no sense since the Seljukid sultan did the same. Cf. Dölger, *Kaiserurkunde*, 31: 'Wo man aber nur immer die Besonderheiten der byzantinischen Kaiserurkunde nachzuahmen begann, da geschah es mit Vorbedacht und ist stets zunächst als Anzeichen eigener imperialistischer, gegen Byzanz gerichteter Ansprüche zu werten; erst mit dem

On the language of the Seljukid chrysobull no information has come down to us. It could have been Latin, but Greek is more likely. It is known that the Seljukid chancery had a special department with Greek scribes: the *notaran-i divan-i saltanat*.[20] Several Seljukid documents written in Greek have been preserved, but nothing is known about Seljukid documents in Latin.[21] Thus, it is possible that the Seljukid chrysobull was written in Greek (although we can not completely exclude Latin as a possibility). The preserved text of the Venetian chrysobull is in Latin.[22] However, it can not be ruled out completely that the Venetian chrysobull was also in Greek. Greek was at that time the most important international diplomatic language in the Eastern Mediterranean and it retained this status as *koine* till the beginning of the sixteenth century.[23] The preserved text would then be a translation of a Greek original. Most likely both documents were written in Greek, since they were exchanged and problems about the interpretation of the texts could only be avoided if they were written in the same language. The fact that in the preserved Venetian text nothing is said about the language of the two documents could be an indication of this. If the languages of the two documents had been different, a remark to this effect would probably have been made.[24]

Sinken der byzantinischen Macht begannen auch Herrscher von untergeordneter Bedeutung, wie die Könige von Armenien, die rote Tinte zur Unterfertigung ihrer Urkunden zu gebrauchen.'.

20 Vryonis, *Decline*, 233 and 470.

21 Vryonis, *Decline*, 2333. These Greek documents are published in a Turkish translation by Turan, *Vesikalar*, 139-143. I have not been able to find any information about Seljukid documents in Latin, so (for the time being) I assume that they do not exist.

22 The Venetians normally used Latin and not Greek. They evidently did not know Greek too well. To avoid problems of interpretation due to the language, from the tenth century onwards the Byzantines started to make their own Latin translations of Greek originals. Of course, the Latin emperors of the Byzantine Empire (1204-1261) used Latin and not Greek. See Dölger, *Kaiserurkunde*, 29-31.

23 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 185-186.

24 All the texts of the documents copied in the *Liber Albus* and the *Libri Pactorum* are in Latin. The *Liber Albus* and *Libri Pactorum* were official collections of state documents compiled in the thirteenth and fourteenth century at the order of the Doge of Venice. In these compilations original Greek documents are not written in Greek, but in Latin. They are all translations. For instance, the chrysobull of the Greek Emperor of Nicaea Theodore Laskaris, which undoubtedly was originally issued in Greek (with a Latin translation ?) and not in Latin (only), is preserved in the *Liber Albus* and the *Libri Pactorum* in a Latin translation. The published Latin text of this chrysobull (*TT*, II, no. CCLII, 205-207) is based on the translations in the *Liber Albus* and *Libri Pactorum*. The published text of the Venetian chrysobull of 1220 has the same background. It is, therefore, very doubtful that the original text of the Seljukid and Venetian chrysobulls was Latin. Logically speaking, both documents must have been written in Greek,

Apart from the treaties with Venice, the Seljukids also concluded treaties with their immediate neighbors: Cyprus and Lesser Armenia. In 1213-1214 the Seljukid Sultan ᶜİzze 'd-Din Key Kavus I (1211-1220) entered into contact with the Cypriot King Hugh (1210-1218). The Cypriot king responded with a letter from which it is clear that there had already existed peace between the Cypriots and the Seljukids for a period of six years (i.e. since the first conquest of Antalya by the Seljukids). This peace was officially concluded with a sworn chrysobull: *horkomotikon chrysobullon*, which was sent by the Seljukids to the Cypriots.[25]

In 1216, after the final conquest of Antalya, Hugh de Lusignan of Cyprus initiated contacts with the Seljukids in order to restore peaceful relations. He dispatched an ambassador and requested a new treaty. Some time later he officially confirmed the new three-year treaty by way of a letter to the Seljukid sultan. After the text of his oath (on the Gospels) and his promise to maintain peace with the Seljukids, the articles of the treaty are listed. The letter ends with a reference to the wax-seal by which the contents of the letter are guaranteed, and the date. In September 1216, after he had received the sworn letter of Hugh de Lusignan by way of a Cypriot ambassador, the Seljukid sultan sent his letter of confirmation. He confirms the receipt of Hugh's letter and also lists the terms of the treaty. However, this letter does not contain the text of his oath (like Hugh's letter), but only a reference to it. It is clear, nevertheless, that this Seljukid-Cypriot treaty was concluded by the parties involved by sending sworn letters to one another. As in the first Seljukid-Cypriot treaty which was called 'a sworn chrysobull', the oath also seems to have played an important role in the conclusion of this treaty.[26]

The treaties concluded with the rulers of Lesser Armenia, however, are of a completely different nature. In 1216 ᶜİzze 'd-Din Key Kavus I invaded Lesser Armenia and defeated the Armenians. In 1218 King Leo II (1196-1219) was forced to agree to a humiliating peace treaty. Armenia became a Seljukid vassal state. How this treaty was concluded can be read in Ibn Bibi's history of

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like the treaty of 1216 between the Seljukids and Cyprus. See Neumann, *art. cit.*, 367. On the treaty between the Seljukids and Cyprus see Turan, *Vesikalar*, 109-119 and 139-143.

25 Martin, *Venetian-Seljuk Treaty*, 322-323; Turan, *Vesikalar*, 109-111, 117 and 139; Turan, *Türkiye tarihi*, 285 and 302; Atan, *op. cit.*, 109-111; Delilbaşı, *art. cit.*, 97; and Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 122 and 165. The letter does not mention that the Cypriots also returned a chrysobull. This could indicate that the Seljukid treaty was a unilateral instrument.

26 Turan, *Vesikalar*, 111-115, 119, 140-143; idem, *Türkiye tarihi*, 307-312; Atan, *op. cit.*, 109-111; Delilbaşı, *art. cit.*, 97; and Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 122 and 165.

the Seljukids:[27] 'So wurde festgelegt, daß er [Leo II] alljährlich 20.000 Dinare als Tribut [harac] zusammen mit Geschenken und Gaben, die dem entsprechen sollten, in die großherrliche Schatzkammer senden, und er das, was dem Sultan vom Tribut des Vorjahres zukomme, auszahlen solle und er von diesen Tage an selbst die geringfügigste Einzelheit von den Obliegenheiten der Botmäßigkeit nicht verabsäume. Unter diesen Bedingungen sprach ihm der Sultan das Königreich von Sis [Lesser Armenia] wieder zu und legte diesbezüglich einen Eid ab. Er betraute den Dija'uddin Qara Arslan, der zu jener Zeit Emir der Kanzlei war, mit der Antwort an Lifon [Leo II] und mit dem Einheben des Restes an Tribut und mit der Überbringung der erneuten Bestallungsurkunde über den Herrschaftstitel an jenem Lande [manşur-i mucaddad be-malikiyat-i an mamlakat]. Als dem Lifon dessen Herankommen gemeldet wurde, kam er persönlich zum Empfang und ließ ihn im eigenen Schloß absteigen; an Ehrerweisung leistete er ihm gegenüber das Äußerste. Am nächsten Tage las man den Ferman des Sultans mit der Urkunde über die Bestätigung der Herrschaft in Gegenwart allerhöchster Zeugen vor. Lifon legte die Stirn auf den Boden, sprach Segenswünsche und ließ eine Geldausstreuung veranstalten. Am nächsten Tage verfaßte der Sahib Dija'uddin einen Schriftsatz, damit der Tekvur über dies alles einen Eid ablege. Hierauf wurde die Vertragsurkunde niedergeschrieben… Als Dija'uddin in Kayseri angelangt war… und die Eidesurkunde des Tekvur vorgelegt hatte, ließ der Sultan den Gesandten außerordentliche Huld zuteilwerden und entließ die Emire, die eingekerkert waren. Fermane ergingen in die Verschiedenen Gegenden des Reiches, des Inhalts: "Von heute an sind die durch die feindliche Auseinanderzetzung bewirkten Hindernisse aufgehoben. Öffnet die Wege für die Reisenden und Kaufleute der Länder und fügt keinem Menschen Belästigung zu." Und die Gesandten sandte er frohen Mutes zurück.'[28]

In this case the way the treaty was concluded was different. The Armenian king was appointed, as if he were a Seljukid official, by way of a 'Bestallungsurkunde' ('manşur'). The sultan had already taken his oath and Leo II had to do the same. His oath was written down in an 'Eidesurkunde'. The vassal had to swear his allegiance to his lord.[29]

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27 I have not been able to consult the original text in Persian and therefore present the relevant passages in Duda's easily accessible German translation.

28 Duda, *op. cit.,* 75-76.

29 On the *manşur* or *Bestallungsurkunde* see Turan, *Vesikalar*, XVI-XVIII and 1-62; and Horst, *op. cit.*, 31-36, 99-137 and 147-168. Cf. Holt, *Nubian Kings*, 5-9.

A similar *Eidesurkunde* was demanded by the Seljukids from the Greek Emperor of Trabzon Alexios I Komnenos, after the Seljukid conquest of Sinope in 1214: 'Am nächsten Tage ließ er [the sultan] vor dem Spazierritt den Tekvur [Alexios I] kommen und verlangte von ihm Vertrag und Gelöbnis. Der tekvur legte entsprechend dem Schiftsatz, den die Notare des Divans des Sultanats [the Greek scribes of the Seljukid chancellery, the text therefore must have been in Greek] verfaßt hatten, den Eid ab: "Sobald der Sultan mir, der ich Kir Aleks bin, für mein Leben Pardon gibt und den Besitz von Ganit, außer Sinop und Zugehör, mir und meinen Kindern zuspricht, will ich alljährlich 10.000 Dinare, 500 Pferde, 2000 Kühe, 10.000 Schafe und 50 Lasten verschiedener Geschenke an ihn gelangen lassen und zur Zeit, da Hilfeforderung an mich ergeht, werde ich im Rahmen des Möglichen die Heeresfolge nicht verweigern." Als Zeugen für diesen Vertragsabschluß galten sämtliche anwesenden Großwürdenträger der beiden vertragsschließenden Seiten. Als die Eidesurkunde [called *sevgend-name* or *ʿahd-name*] in das Staatsarchiv geschafft worden war, verlieh der Sultan dem Tekvur ein kostbares Ehrenkleid und befahl…'[30]

The oath (*sevgend* or *ʿahd)* seems to be the most important feature of these vassal treaties. In the treaties with Cyprus the oath also played a striking role. The oath of the Cypriot king was included in his letter, whereas that of the Seljukid sultan was not; but undoubtedly the latter took his oath verbally in the presence of the Cypriot ambassador. The oath of the Venetian podestà was also not included in the text of the Venetian chrysobull. The text only refers to his having sworn an oath on the Gospels. This oath will surely have been sworn in the presence of the Seljukid ambassador. The only oath that is really missing is the one of the Seljukid sultan. But since the oath forms an essential part of the chrysobull and swearing oaths was a common Seljukid practice, one does not need much imagination to picture the Seljukid sultan taking his oath in the presence of a Venetian ambassador.[31]

Seljukid peace treaties do not all belong to one and the same type and tradition. Vassals were forced to accept a document which was composed according to Seljukid chancery practice, without interference of the treaty partner. However, the treaties with Cyprus and Venice, which were sovereign

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30 Duda, *op. cit.,* 67. See also Turan, *Türkiye tarihi*, 302-307; and Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 122-123. Cf. the Mamluk treaties with vassals.

31 Apart from the already cited passages, there are several other places in Ibn Bibi's work where oaths are mentioned. See Duda, *op. cit.,* 39, 53-54, 84, 182, 200, 216, 222, 239, 268-269 and 323. Cf. Holt, *Nubian Kings*, 5-9.

states, were negotiated between two equal partners. In these cases the form of the treaty varied. The first Seljukid treaty with the Cypriots seems to have been a chrysobull sent to Cyprus (unilateral?), the second, however, consisted of letters which were exchanged. The treaty with Venice consisted of an exchange of chrysobulls. Both in their form and the way they were negotiated and concluded, these treaties clearly show that Seljukid practice varied according to the requirements of the situation. Evidently, the Seljukids were able to adapt themselves to foreign practice and to adopt a type of document that did not belong to their own Islamic traditions. The Seljukid-Venetian treaty is without doubt one of the most striking examples of this Seljukid pragmatism. An original Byzantine type of document, the chrysobull, was adopted by both the Seljukids and the Venetians to conclude a bilateral treaty. Both parties had concluded treaties with the Byzantines and therefore already had experience with the chrysobull as an instrument for the conclusion of peace and the concession of commercial privileges.[32] These Seljukid-Venetian chrysobulls were surely not typical Byzantine chrysobulls. However, they constitute an interesting synthesis of Greek-Byzantine, Islamic-Seljukid and Latin-Venetian chancery practice and traditions.

32 On the question 'How Byzantine was the Seljukid Empire?' see Vryonis, *Decline*, 229-233 and 444-497.

Chapter Five: Venice and the Turcoman *Beglik*s of Menteşe and Aydın

Following the Mongol invasion into Anatolia in 1243, the Rum-Seljukid Empire of Konya gradually disintegrated, breaking up into a number of autonomous Turcoman *beglik*s or emirates. Some of these principalities extended their territory westwards at the expense of the Byzantine Empire and developed into maritime states. Among these was the emirate of Menteşe, which already in 1269 controlled the whole coastal area of Caria. Although the wartorn and unstable situation in Anatolia after the Mongol invasion will not have stimulated Venetian trade in the area, on the other hand commercial activities will almost certainly not have been discontinued completely. Venetian merchants seem to have visited the Carian coast (called 'Turchia' by the Venetians of Crete) in the second half of the thirteenth century. There is, however, no evidence of Venetian commercial activity on a large scale, nor do sources suggest that this trade was regulated by treaties or other instruments between the Venetians and the Turcoman *beglik*s. Therefore, Venetian trade in this area must have been incidental and of a rather low volume.[1]

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1 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 3-5; H. İnalcık, 'The Rise of the Turcoman Maritime Principalities in Anatolia, Byzantium, and Crusades', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, IX, 1985, 179-217, 182-185 (İnalcık, *Maritime Principalities*); Heyd, *Histoire du commerce,* I, 534-535; Atan, *op. cit.*, 125-126; and Turan, *İlişkileri,* 141-188. On the Seljukid Empire, the emergence of the Turcoman *beglik*s and trade in the second half of the thirteenth century see Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, 269-370 and 320-323; Turan, *Türkiye tarihi*, 403-657; Vryonis, *Decline*, 133-139 and 244-258; H. Akın, *Aydın oğulları tarihi hakkında bir araştırma*, İstanbul 1946, 1-28; and Flemming, *art. cit.*, 16-66; on international trade in particular see ibid., 26-27, 34-35, and 62-64. Concerning Venetian trade with Makri/Fethiye in the emirate of Menteşe before 1291, Flemming, *art. cit.*, 63, writes: 'Die *Venezianer* - wie auch andere Lateiner - liefen schon vor der Sperre [the naval blockade of Muslim territories and the prohibition of trade with these lands after the fall of Acre in 1291] häufig den lykischen Hafen Makri an…'. See also Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, I, 546-547. On the emirate of Menteşe in the second half of the thirteenth century see Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche*, İstanbul 1934, 15-57 (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbuler Mitteilungen II)(Wittek, *Mentesche*); in Turkish: Wittek, P., *Menteşe Beyliği 13-15inci asırda garbi Küçük Asya tarihine ait tetkik*, Ankara 1986 (ed. princ. Ankara 1944). On the emirate of Aydın see P. Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident: Recherches sur "La Geste d'Umur Pacha"* (Bibliothèque Byzantine, Études, II), Paris 1957, 13-15. The city of Sivas in the eastern part of Anatolia, which was under direct Mongol rule, remained in the second half of the thirteenth century an important commercial center for European traders. Towards the end of the thirteenth century the Genoese even opened a permanent consulate in Sivas. See Bratianu, *op. cit.*, 166-168. For Venetian trade with the Ilhanids see Turan, *İlişkileri,* 128-139. On the Anatolian Turcoman emirates in general see İ. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu Devletleri*, Ankara 1937 (Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri*); and Sevim, *op. cit.*, I, 179-346. On the Anatolian Turcoman emirates at the beginning of the thirteenth century see C. Cahen, 'Les principautés turcomanes au début du XIV^{e} siècle d'après Pachymère et Grégoras', *Tarih Dergisi*, XXXII, 1979, 111-116. For two maps and a description of the Anatolian emirates see Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 28-34 and maps no. VII-VIII.

Venetian sources, especially those pertaining to or originating from Venetian Crete, suggest an increase of trade and the gradual solidification of commercial relations between Venice, the Venetian territories in the Levant and the Turks after 1300. This trade was carried on by private entrepreneurs and by the administration of Crete, which had been in Venetian hands since 1204. In 1318 the Duca di Candia wrote a letter to the Doge of Venice in which he mentioned that the Cretan administration had succeeded in concluding a treaty with the Turks, probably those of the emirate of Menteşe. Political and commercial relations with the Turkish *beglik*s were almost certainly delegated by Venice to the Venetian administration of Crete. Until 1318 relations between the Turks and the Venetians had been comparatively peaceful, since the main targets of Turkish military activity were the remnants of the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor and the non-Venetian islands in the Aegean. After the Genoese had conquered Chios (between 1304 and 1309) and the Hospitallers Rhodes (between 1306 and 1310), these two new regional powers successfully fought the Turks. However, Byzantine attempts to push back the Turks by employing Catalan mercenaries turned out to be disastrous and in the end only resulted in the Turks winning more victories and new conquests.[2]

The friendly character of Venetian-Turkish relations changed completely in 1318 when the Catalan Duchy of Athens (conquered by the Catalans in 1311) made an alliance with the Turks of Menteşe and Aydın. The Turks, probably at the instigation of Alfonso Fadrique, the vicargeneral (1317-1330) of Catalan Athens started to raid Venetian and Angevin (Neapolitan) territories in the Aegean and on the mainland of Greece. The Catalans were at war with both the Venetians and the Angevins and hoped to profit from their Turkish allies' successful military actions. Crete itself was threatened and Venetian trade seriously disrupted by the raids. After a preliminary treaty in 1319, a new treaty (1321) between Alfonso Fadrique and Venice temporarily stopped the hostilities. In 1321 the Turks, however, had found the way to

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2 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 6-12; idem, *Holy War*, 213-214; İnalcık, *Maritime Principalities*, 185-186; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, I, 535-537; D. Jacoby, 'Catalans, Turcs et Vénitiens en Romanie (1305-1332): un nouveau témoignage de Marino Sanudo Torsello', *Studi Medievali*, Serie Terza, Anno XV, 1, 1974, 217-261, 217-247 (Jacoby, *Catalans, Turcs et Vénitiens*); E. Zachariadou, 'The Catalans of Athens and the Beginning of the Turkish Expansion in the Aegean Area', *Studi Medievali*, 3a Serie, XXI, Spoleto 1980, 821-838, 821-823 (Zachariadou, *Catalans*); P. Schreiner, 'Zur Geschichte Philadelpheias im 14. Jahrhundert (1293-1390)', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, XXXV, 1969, 375-431, 375-388; and Turan, *İlişkileri,* 141-188. On the emirate of Menteşe in this period see Wittek, *Mentesche*, 46-48 and 58-65; on Aydın see Lemerle, *Aydin*, 15-18. On the Genoese conquest of Chios and the Genoese policy to defend their sea route to Constantinople and the Black Sea see M. Balard, 'The Genoese in the Aegean (1402-1566)', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, IV, 1, 1989, 158-174.

Romania and from that time on posed a serious threat to both the Venetian and the other Latin territories in the Aegean and Romania. Around 1325 the Turks renewed their cooperation with the Catalans and consequently Venetian-Turkish relations rapidly deteriorated. Soon thereafter, for the first time, the Venetians considered the option of an anti-Turkish league. The Turks were no longer a mere nuisance; they had become a serious menace to Venetian interests. However, in 1329 the situation changed: relations between the Turks and the Catalans broke down and Byzantine policy which aimed at collaboration with the Turks divided the Christian powers in the area. The result was that Venetian policy which had sought to create an anti-Turkish alliance ended in failure.[3]

Although commercial traffic between Crete and Menteşe had not been entirely disrupted after the Catalan-Turkish alliance of 1318, Venetian trade had suffered considerably. In April 1331 the Duca di Candia, Marino Morosini, managed to conclude a treaty with the Beg of Menteşe, Orhan. The treaty reiterated the main clauses of an earlier treaty, most probably the one in force in 1318, but also added some clauses and omitted others. An important

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3 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 12-17; idem, *Catalans*, 824-838; İnalcık, *Maritime Principalities*, 187-195; Jacoby, *Catalans, Turcs et Vénitiens*, 246-261; Setton, *op. cit.*, I, 177, 448-449; A. Laiou, 'Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks: The Background to the Anti-Turkish League of 1332-1334', *Speculum*, XLV, 1975, 374-392, 374-384; and Turan, *İlişkileri,* 141-188. On the emirate of Menteşe in this period see Wittek, *Mentesche*, 65-66; on Aydın see Lemerle, *Aydin*, 19-62 and Akın, *op. cit.,* 29-38. According to Marino Sanudo, in the beginning of the fourteenth century there were also quite intensive commercial relations between the emirate of Hamid (Antalya and Alanya) and the Mamluks. Flemming suggests that, apart from Muslims and Jews, Venetian and Genoese merchants also participated in this trade. During the reign of King Hugh IV (1324-1359), the kingdom of Cyprus gradually expanded its sphere of influence to the Turcoman *beylik*s along the southern shores of Anatolia and established commercial contacts with both the Turkish emirates and the Mamluks in Egypt. Cyprus became an important entrepot for Levant trade and was visited by many Venetian and Genoese merchants. Peter I (1359-1369), however, followed an extremely hostile policy towards the Turcoman emirates. After he had conquered Antalya in 1361 (in Cypriot hands till 1372), the Turks too adopted a hostile policy and started taking counter measures. The crisis particularly aggravated in 1365 when Peter I pillaged Alexandria. As a result of his 'crusading' policy, Levant trade in general suffered considerably and was seriously disrupted. In 1389-1390 the emirates of Hamid and Teke fell to the Ottomans. After 1402, when Timur restored the emirates of Teke and Karaman, the two important harbours Antalya and Alanya became the main focus of Venetian-Genoese rivalry. Antalya became Ottoman in the time of Mehmed I and Alanya was captured in 1471. Notwithstanding the fact that there were contacts between the emirates of Hamid and Teke and the Venetians, as far as is known, these relations were not formalized by way of treaties, as in the case of Menteşe and Aydın. See Flemming, *art. cit.*, 67-126, in particular 70-71, 82-89 and 114-115; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, I, 546-550, and II, 3-23, 354-356; Atan, *op. cit.,* 130-134; and Setton, *op. cit.*, I, 238-284.

addition was a list which specified all the island-dependencies of Venetian Crete. However, it did not yet include all Venetian subjects.[4]

Notwithstanding the treaty of 1331, Turkish raids continued and Venice reconsidered its plans for a crusade. While negotiations between Venice, the pope and the French king dragged on, the situation in Romania deteriorated. Continuous Turkish raids forced local rulers, including the Byzantine emperor, to begin paying tribute to Menteşe and Aydın. The Byzantines also had to pay tribute to a third, newly emerging, *beglik*: that of the Ottomans. In August 1333 the Byzantine emperor was forced to sign a treaty, undertaking to pay 12,000 hyperpyra a year. Thus, from the 1330's onwards many Christian rulers were forced to pay tribute to the Turks of Menteşe and Aydın and to the Ottomans.[5]

Venice moved into action and in September 1332 she concluded a five-year alliance with the Byzantines and the Hospitallers of Rhodes: the very first European alliance against the Turks. Despite this treaty no crusading action followed. Indeed, Venice was once again confronted with difficulties, not only from her hostile Muslim neighbors, but in her own territories as well. A revolt broke out on Crete as a result of efforts to raise funds for the crusade against the Turks. Venice now searched for other allies and found them among the Turks of Menteşe and Germiyan. Relations between the Turks of Anatolia were troubled by conflicts between Aydın and Menteşe and Venice tried to take advantage of this situation by seeking alliances with the Turks of Menteşe and Germiyan. However, it is not clear whether these Venetian plans ever resulted in concrete action.[6]

Although no military action was taken in 1332 and 1333, Venice still fostered plans for joint Christian action against the Turks (Sancta Unio). In 1334 the Sancta Unio was revived and this time the crusading plans were carried out. In October 1334 the allied Christian naval and military forces heavily defeated the Turks of Karasi both at sea (Gulf of Adramyttion/Edremit) and on land. It seems that the Turks of Menteşe helped the Christians in their struggle against the other Turkish emirates. As a

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4 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 18-20; and Turan, *İlişkileri,* 141-188.

5 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 21-24; idem, *Holy War*, 214; İnalcık, *Maritime Principalities*, 192-195; Laiou, *art. cit.*, 384-385; and Turan, *İlişkileri,* 141-188. On the emirate of Menteşe in this period see Wittek, *Mentesche*, 66-70; on Aydın see Lemerle, *Aydin*, 63-88.

6 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 24-29; İnalcık, *Maritime Principalities*, 192; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, I, 538-539; Setton, *op. cit.*, I, 179-181; Laiou, *art. cit.*, 385-387; and Turan, *İlişkileri,* 141-188. On Aydın see Lemerle, *Aydin*, 89-101.

result of this victory, Turkish raids and expansion in the Aegean were stopped, at least temporarily, and the payment of tribute was abolished. Soon after the victory the league fell apart and Venetian efforts to reinforce the alliance turned out to be ineffective. The Venetians now operated on their own. The weakened Turkish emirates, however, shunned further hostilities and chose to conclude peace with Venice. In 1337 the Duca di Candia concluded a peace treaty both with the ruler of Menteşe and the ruler of Aydın.[7]

The conclusion of these treaties of 1337 was followed by a short peaceful period. In 1339, however, Turkish raids started again; in 1340 the whole of Romania was devastated by the Turks. This alarmed the Venetians on Crete who took action and prepared for the defense of the island. The most powerful of all the Turkish emirates was Aydın, which under its ruler Umur, was able to subdue large parts of the Aegean and Romania and extract considerable tribute from these areas. Crusading plans revived and were directed towards the Turks of Aydın. The crusade, however, was doomed to fail. Although the crusaders conquered the important port of İzmir (Smyrna) in October 1344, they achieved little else and trade was broken off completely. The Venetians were facing a number of major problems around this time: disturbed relations with the Turks of Anatolia, war and economic crisis in Europe, as well as a general crisis in Levant trade caused by conflicts with the Mamluks and Tatars, and a conflict with the Genoese which eventually resulted in war in 1351. All these problems combined to place the Venetians in a difficult position and forced them to seek peace with the Turks of Menteşe. Commercial relations with Menteşe were resumed in 1346 but relations with Aydın remained tense.

Turkish raids started again in the spring of 1347, but came to a halt after the crusaders won a naval victory over Aydın and Saruhan. Then the Black Death, which had started its devastation in the Crimea, reached the area. The plague ravaged the Mediterranean, which had already suffered severely from continuous wars and from famine caused by the economic crisis. Thus, in 1348 both the Venetians and the Turks faced similar difficulties and were more or less forced to negotiate and make peace. Although in 1348 the members of the Sancta Unio and Aydın agreed to a truce, a final peace treaty was never formally concluded.

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7 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 29-40; idem, *Holy War*, 214; İnalcık, *Maritime Principalities*, 192; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, I, 538-539; Setton, *op. cit.*, I, 182; Laiou, *art. cit.*, 387-392; and Turan, *İlişkileri,* 141-188. On Aydın see Lemerle, *Aydin*, 89-115; and Akın, *Aydın*, 38-42.

Meanwhile relations with Menteşe deteriorated and by 1350 both the Turks of Aydın and Menteşe launched new raids. Negotiations to reinforce the Sancta Unio were undertaken, but the Sancta Unio was dissolved soon after the Venetian-Genoese conflict had reached the stage of open warfare (1351). Crete reopened negotiations with Aydın and Menteşe, and in 1352 a preliminary agreement with Aydın was reached. In 1353 this preliminary settlement was replaced by a new treaty. In the same year the Cretans also succeeded in reestablishing friendly relations with Menteşe by way of a new treaty. In 1355 the war with Genoa came to an end and the Venetians were now able to negotiate with the Turks from a much stronger position than before. The treaties of 1353 were apparently no longer in force and Turkish raids had started again. Diplomatic missions were dispatched but they did not achieve results. By 1357 contacts were cut off and Venice found herself in a war against the Turks. In 1358, while the Christian powers were still negotiating joint action against the Turks, the Venetian administration of Crete succeeded in concluding a new treaty with the emir of Aydın. Negotiating a new treaty with Menteşe turned out to be a bigger problem, since the emir did not really wish to establish peaceful relations. A new agreement was only reached in 1359 after long negotiations.[8]

For the next ten years Venice's relations with Aydın, as well as with Menteşe, are obscure. The Ottomans, the new emerging Turkish power in the region, started to attract the attention of the Christian powers, including Venice. It was during these years that the Venetians entered into more frequent and regular contacts with the Ottomans. In 1368 new problems arose between the Venetians and Aydın making this emirate once again the focus of Venetian attentions. The conflicts were resolved and a peace settlement agreed upon in September 1370. But soon after the conclusion of the treaty, relations were disrupted once again due to new conflicts.

The danger of war with Genoa, however, forced the Venetians to reestablish peaceful relations with both Aydın and Menteşe as soon as possible. Peace with Aydın was apparently restored, and in 1375 a new treaty

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8 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 41-62; idem, *Holy War*, 214-215; İnalcık, *Maritime Principalities*, 195-201; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, I, 539-546; F. Thiriet, 'Les relations entre la Crète et les émirates turcs d'Asie Mineure', *Actes du XII^e Congrès Internationale d'Études Byzantines*, 3 vols., Beograd 1964, II, 213-221 (Thiriet, *Relations*); Wittek, *Mentesche*, 70-71; Akın, *Aydın*, 38-55; and Turan, *İlişkileri,* 141-188. On the negotiations and preparations for the crusade of 1344, the conquest of Smyrna and the truce of 1348 see Setton, *op. cit.*, I, 182-223. On Aydın under Umur, its naval organization and (religiously inspired) expansion policy see İnalcık, *Maritime Principalities*, 204-217; Zachariadou, *Holy War*, 215-225; Lemerle, *Aydin*, 116-246; and Akın, *Aydın*, 38-50.

with Menteşe was concluded. From that time onwards relations between Venice and the emirates of Aydın and Menteşe remained friendly, despite occasional conflicts. In the winter of 1389-1390 the new Ottoman ruler Bayezid I, who wanted to unite Anatolia under his own rule, annexed Aydın and Menteşe. Thereupon, the Venetians, eager to protect their commercial interests in the former emirates, turned to the Ottomans for confirmation of the commercial privileges, which had been conceded by the independent rulers of Aydın and Menteşe. Venice sent an ambassador, Francesco Quirini, and in 1390 Bayezid I renewed the treaties. The Venetians were given permission to trade in all territories belonging to the Ottoman emirate. From this time on Venetian trade with the coastal area of western Anatolia depended largely on maintaining good relations with the Ottomans. Only for a relatively short period after the Ottoman defeat at Ankara (1402) did the Venetians have to negotiate for the renewal of commercial relations with the emirates of Aydın and Menteşe whose *beg*s Timur had restored to power.

In 1403 the Venetians reached an agreement with the Beg of Menteşe. The situation in Aydın, however, was very confusing at that time. The Aydın oglıs were expelled from their emirate by Cüneyd, the son of an Ottoman *subaşı* of İzmir. The Aydın oglıs assisted by the Turks of Menteşe (both were supported by Bayezid's son Mehmed Çelebi) succeeded in reconquering most of the emirate, while Cüneyd (supported by another son of Bayezid, Süleyman Çelebi) was able to retain control of İzmir. However, in the winter of 1405-1406 Cüneyd retook Aydın and declared himself independent. Süleyman Çelebi now attacked Cüneyd and, having defeated him, appointed a new Ottoman governor in Aydın. During this turmoil the Venetians tried to secure their interests in Menteşe. In June 1407 they concluded a new treaty, which was a renewal of that of 1403. On the other hand, they abstained from concluding treaties with either the Aydın oglıs or Cüneyd because they did not want to jeopardize their good relations with the Ottoman prince Süleyman Çelebi. But the turmoil was still not over: once again Cüneyd managed to establish himself as an independent ruler in Aydın, and the Venetians, to protect their interests in Menteşe, tried to obtain another reconfirmation of the treaty. An agreement was reached in the winter of 1409-1410. However, soon after this the emirs of Aydın and Menteşe once again began raiding Venetian territories.

In 1414, however, the emirs of Aydın and Menteşe recognized Ottoman suzerainty and consequently the Venetians sent an ambassador to the Ottoman *beg* to negotiate the renewal of their commercial privileges in Aydın and Menteşe. The negotiations resulted in a renewal of their commercial

privileges in these former independent begliks. From then on Venetian commercial privileges in the area were exclusively negotiated with the Ottoman sultans.[9]

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9 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 63-89; idem, *Holy War*, 215; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 351-354; Wittek, *Mentesche*, 71-102; S. Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, 10 vols. Venezia 1853-1861, IV, 70; Turan, *İlişkileri,* 141-188; and M. Manoussacas, 'Un poeta cretese ambasciatore di Venezia a Tunisi e presso i Turchi: Leonardo Dallaporta e i suoi componimenti poetici', A. Pertusi (ed.), *Venezia e l'Oriente fra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Firenze 1966, 283-307, 296-299. For a detailed account of Quirini's mission see M. Silberschmidt, *Das orientalische Problem zur Zeit der Entstehung des türkischen Reiches nach venezianischen Quellen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Beziehungen zu Sultan Bajezid I., zu Byzanz, Ungarn und Genua und zum Reiche von Kiptschak (1382-1400)*, Hildesheim 1972 (ed. princ. Leipzig-Berlin 1923), 55-64 and 83 (Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance. Herausgegebenvon Walter Goetz. Band 27); Akın, *Aydın*, 55-82; and A. Fabris, 'From Adrianople to Constantinople: Venetian-Ottoman Diplomatic Missions, 1360-1453', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, VII, 1992, no. 2,154-200, 162-163 (Fabris, *Adrianople*). On the province of Menteşe under Ottoman rule see Wittek, *Mentesche*, 103-110. On the province of Aydın under Ottoman rule see Akın, *Aydın*, 83-90.

Chapter Six: Venetian Treaties with the Emirates of Menteşe and Aydın

The Venetian administration of Crete concluded at least nine peace treaties with the rulers of Menteşe and at least seven treaties with those of Aydın; all within a period of less than a hundred years. These treaties are proof of the intensive political and commercial contacts between the Venetians and the Turkish emirates in Anatolia, but also of the rather turbulent character of their relations. Of the nine known treaties with the *beglik* of Menteşe seven have been preserved. Only the treaties of ca. 1318 and 1353 have not come down to us. In the case of the emirate of Aydın the situation is less favorable. Only three texts out of seven known treaties are preserved. Also preserved is the treaty of Aydın with the Hospitallers of Rhodes from 1346(?). These eleven treaties have recently been published by Zachariadou. Only four of these texts had been published earlier by other authors.[1] Zachariadou's edition of eight new texts is based on two manuscripts in which these treaties were copied. The original source must have been a now lost *Liber* of the Venetian Duca di Candia. This Candian *Liber* might have been a kind of *Liber Pactorum* in which the Venetian administration of Crete copied these treaties shortly after their conclusion.[2]

The treaties with Menteşe

The oldest instrument that survives is the treaty of 13 April 1331, concluded between the Duca di Candia Marino Morosini and Orhan, the Emir of Menteşe. The text of this treaty repeats a number of clauses from an

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1 Published before are the 1346 treaty of Aydın with the Hospitallers (?)(E. Zachariadou, 'Mia hellenoglosse syntheke tou Cheder Aidinoglou', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, LV, 1962, 254-265); the 1348 truce between Aydın and the Sancta Unio (*DVL*, I, no. 168, 313-317); the 1403 treaty of Menteşe (*DVL*, II, no. 160, 293-296) and the 1414 treaty with Menteşe (*DVL*, II, no. 166, 305-306). See also E. Zachariadou, 'Sept traités inédits entre Venise et les émirates d'Aydin et de Menteşe', *Studi Preottomani e Ottomani, Atti del Convegno di Napoli (24-26 Settembre 1974)*, Napoli 1976. On the commercial aspects of the treaties see Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 125-173; Delilbaşı, *art. cit.*, 97-101; and Atan, *op. cit.*, 126-139.

2 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 177-178, 180. These eight new texts comprise the treaties with Menteşe from 1331, 1337, 1358/1359, 1375, 1403 and 1407, and those of Aydın from 1337 and 1353. The two manuscripts used by Zachariadou are the *Codex Marston* 144 (fifteenth century) of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University and the *Codex Provenienze Diverse* 675 c/V (late sixteenth/early seventeenth century) of the Museo Civico Correr in Venice. The Correr manuscript is a copy of the Yale manuscript, which in turn was copied from the Candian *Liber*. Both the Yale and the Correr manuscripts originate from the Library of the noble Cretan family of the Kallergi.

older treaty, probably that of ca. 1318 between Crete and Menteşe and adds two or three new articles. But it also omits at least two clauses. The preserved text is not that of the instrument issued by the emir but that of the Cretan draft which may have been used during the negotiations and formed the basis of the later treaty. The text begins with a short introduction by the scribe who entered the text in the Candian *Liber*. He states that it is the text of the treaty concluded between the Duca di Candia and the ambassador of the emir of Menteşe. Hence the treaty's conclusion may have taken place on Crete. After the introduction the articles of the treaty are listed. These articles refer to the Venetians as 'mercatores nostri' and refer to the Emir of Menteşe in the third person singular as the 'dominus admiratus'. From this the non-official status of this text becomes clear. Although it must have been written in the Candian *Liber* after the treaty was concluded, the text itself is not that of the final treaty issued by the Beg of Menteşe, but probably that of the draft used during the negotiations. This text therefore gives no indication at all about the form and the structure of the treaties concluded between the Venetians and the Turcoman *beglik*s of Anatolia. And for this reason there is no indication in the text of the duration of the treaty.[3]

However, the text of the instrument which was concluded before April 1337 between Giovanni Sanudo (Candiano), the Venetian Duca di Candia, and İbrahim Çelebi, Beg of Menteşe, is that of the document which was issued by the ruler of Menteşe.[4] İbrahim Beg was the son of Orhan, the ruler of Menteşe with whom the Venetians had concluded the treaty of 1331. The text begins with a rubric by the scribe who entered it into the Candian *Liber*. After this rubric the text of the treaty itself opens with an introduction in which the two treaty partners are mentioned with their names and titles: 'Ybraibegi admiratum, filium quondam Orchani, admirati magnorum admiratorum and Ser Marino Quirini, ambasciatore magnifici Domini Ioannis Sanuto, Duche Cretae'. Since a Venetian ambassador is mentioned, this treaty will have been concluded in Menteşe and not in Crete like the one from 1331. The introduction also contains the statement that peace was concluded between both parties, and the date of inception and the duration of the treaty: one year from the first of April 1337 onwards. Thereafter the articles of the treaty ('capitula'), i.e. the privileges granted by Menteşe to the Venetians, are listed. After the articles, the oath of İbrahim Beg is recorded *in extenso*. The text then

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3 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 18-20, 180-182 and 187-189.

4 The text is the Latin translation of the original Menteşian document in Greek which is not preserved.

mentions some other lords of Menteşe ('nobiles et baroni') who also took oaths and promised to uphold the treaty. The treaty ends with an additional clause about certain issues which still had to be settled through further negotiations, and the remark of İbrahim Beg that he expected the Duca di Candia to confirm and attest the treaty by taking an oath.

According to Zachariadou 'the latter's oath is missing from the text as preserved, most probably because the copyist omitted it deliberately'.[5] However, this does not seem to be correct. This text is clearly that of the Latin translation of the original Menteşian document in Greek brought home by the Venetian ambassador when he returned to Candia. İbrahim's final remark indicates that the Turks expected the Venetians to uphold the peace and refrain from attacks against Menteşe, or as İbrahim Beg puts it: 'Item volemus et requirimus quod sicut fecimus sacramentum sic facere suprascriptus frater noster dominus Ducha Cretae quod terrae nostrae et portus nostri sint salvi et securi ab eo et a gente sua et a galeis eius et non debeant facere societatem cum aliquo inemico nostro nec dare aliquod auxilium alicui inimico nostro, qui veniret ad portus nostros ad damnificandum donec duraverit suprascripta pax inter ipsos et nos'. Although the text does not contain any indication that Menteşe expected to have commercial privileges in Venetian territories as well, it did state that the peace, concluded between Menteşe and Crete, was mutual. İbrahim's remark indicates that the Turks also expected the Venetians to confirm and attest the treaty. Therefore, it seems logical to suppose that in this case Menteşe required a sworn undertaking from the Venetians. Unfortunately, the text of this instrument has not been preserved, probably because it was sent to Menteşe without being copied in the Candian *Liber*. It is possible that an ambassador from Menteşe visited Candia in order to be present when the Duca di Candia officially took his oath. After this ceremony he would have returned to Menteşe with the sworn undertaking signed and sealed by the Duca di Candia.[6]

The instrument of 1358-1359 concluded between İbrahim's successor Musa and the Duca di Candia Pietro Badoer differs in many ways from the treaty of 1337. Its structure is not like that of the instrument of 1337. In fact the preserved text looks like a kind of Venetian compilation of parts of several,

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5 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 182. Zachariadou supposes that the text of the oath of the Duca di Candia was written on the same paper as the instrument given by İbrahim. Therefore the scribe should have copied both İbrahim's text and the oath of the Duca di Candia. Since he did not do so, Zachariadou suggests that he omitted it deliberately.

6 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 35-36, 182 and 195-200.

originally separate documents. The rubric mentions that this text ('hoc scriptum') was brought back home by the Venetian envoy Bentivegna Traversario who visited Menteşe in 1358. Before the latter was dispatched, an ambassador from Menteşe had already visited Crete for negotiations, but it was only after the Venetian envoy's visit to Menteşe that an initial agreement was reached.

After the rubric an introduction follows in which both parties are mentioned, as well as the date of the treaty's inception (13 October 1358, no duration mentioned). This introduction is unlike the introduction of the treaty of 1337. It does not mention the name and titles of the Beg of Menteşe first, nor is it written in the first person plural (We have concluded…). It seems to be an introduction written by a third person who mentions the two parties involved and their representatives. Whereas in the 1337 treaty the name and titles of the Emir of Menteşe were given *in extenso*, in this text Musa is only called 'Mussabegi Zalabi, filio Ibraipegi Mandachie, admirato'. By contrast the Venetian representatives are mentioned first and in full detail: "… cum nobilissimo et inclito milite domino Petro Baduario, honorabile Ducha Cretae, et eius consilio… Bentivegna Traversario, notario et ambaxatore…'. This could be an indication that the introduction was written by a Venetian; it may even have been written by Bentivegna Traversario, the Venetian envoy, himself.

After this apparently Venetian introduction, the clauses of the treaty are listed, but now in the words of Musa (We…). Peace is concluded and the treaty of 1337 officially renewed. Then some new articles are presented in addition to the renewal of the treaty of 1337. This part of the text ends with a reference by Musa to his own oath and that of the Duca di Candia. However, Musa's oath itself in not included in the text; he only refers to it. Yet, it is important to note that Musa himself connects his own oath with that of the Duca di Candia. Both parties apparently had to ratify and attest the treaty by way of an oath.

After the return of the Venetian envoy, the Cretan administration wanted some changes made in the agreed text. It took several months before these points were settled. In a Turkish letter dated 15 February 1359 (16 Rebi^{c}u 'l-evvel 760 AH), Musa finally agreed. This letter was brought to Candia by an ambassador from Menteşe called Salaha 'd-Din H^{v}aca. The text of the letter (or more likely only a part of it, that is to say the contents), together with a rubric composed by a Venetian, was copied into the Candian *Liber* as part of the text as we have it. Between this letter and the articles of Musa's treaty of 1358, there occurs a list of the Venetian territories in the Aegean and Romania.

It is not clear whether this list constituted a part of the original text of Musa's treaty.

When analysing our text it becomes clear that what we have is not the text of the treaty that was sent by Musa to Candia. Only a part of this treaty, i.e. the *dispositio* containing the renewal of peace and the treaty of 1337, and the new articles, was copied into our text. The other parts of this text were either written by the Venetians themselves (rubrics, introduction, list of Venetian territories?) or originally belonged to separate documents (part of Musa's letter of 15 February 1359). Although this text does not give many indications about the original form and structure of Musa's instrument, there are some interesting points worth mentioning. Firstly, the instrument was a renewal of an older treaty (1337). The text of this older treaty was not literally incorporated in the text of the renewal, but only mentioned. Secondly, the text contains an interesting reference to the oath of both the Emir of Menteşe and the Duca di Candia. Although Musa's oath itself is not included in our text, there is no reason to exclude the possibility of an oath *in extenso* in the treaty's original text. Moreover, it seems likely that both parties, as in 1337, confirmed and attested this treaty by taking an oath.[7]

The instrument of 1375 between Ahmed Beg of Menteşe and the Duca di Candia Giovanni Gradenigo is also a renewal of the treaty of 1337. The text opens with a Venetian introduction in which it is mentioned that a peace treaty has been concluded on 22 April 1375, between 'Joannem Gradonico, honorabilem Ducham Cretae, et eius consilium, et Achumati Cassibegi Zalapi, dominum Palatiae…' through the mediation of the Venetian ambassador 'Joanne Moro'. After this introduction the complete text of the treaty of 1337 is repeated with only one significant change: the island of Amorgos was added to the list of Venetian dependencies. Thereafter a Venetian rubric introduces a letter from Ahmed (originally in Greek, but translated into Latin) in which he states that he hereby renews the treaty between Menteşe and Venice.

Again this text seems to be a Venetian compilation. It is likely that Ahmed's only contribution to the renewal of the treaty was his letter. Zachariadou suggests that 'the addition of Amorgos to the list of islands protected by Venice shows that it was no mere copy.'[8] However, it is doubtful that this text was amended by the Turks and given to the Venetian

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7 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 60-62, 182 and 217-218.

8 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 73.

administration of Crete. Ahmed would never have sent an (almost) unchanged text of an outdated treaty. Rather he would have had the text completely amended and had his own name, titles and oath included. It is more likely that the Venetians themselves, after having received Ahmed's letter of renewal, copied the text of the treaty of 1337 in their *Liber* in order to have a new copy of the renewed treaty. Moreover, the insertion of Amorgos was by no means a major change or a new development, since this island was already mentioned in the renewal of 1358-1359. The Venetian status of Amorgos can never have been an important issue during negotiations. For both the Venetians and the Turks there could not have been any doubt that the island was a Venetian dependency. The insertion of Amorgos, therefore, can be considered a Venetian amendment which reflects the *status quo* at that time.

Why was the text of the treaty of 1337 renewed and not that of 1358-1359? The treaty of 1358-1359 itself was a renewal. However, the Venetian text of this renewal in the Candian *Liber* did not state the clauses of the treaty of 1337. In other words, the renewal of 1358-1359 only mentioned that it renewed an older treaty, but did not give the actual clauses of that treaty. Consequently, the Venetians probably felt it was safer to ask for a renewal of the original text which stated the articles *in extenso*, instead of a renewal of a renewal which did not give the full text of the articles.[9]

Of the treaty of 1403 between Menteşe and Marco Falier, the Duca di Candia, two versions exist. The first one is the version written down in the Candian *Liber*, whereas the second one is that from the Venetian *Liber Pactorum*.[10] The Candian version opens with an introduction in which the names of the two parties, first the Duca di Candia and then İlyas Beg, are mentioned. The Venetian envoy Leonardo Dellaporta and the date of inception of the treaty are also mentioned.[11] Thereafter, the articles ('capitula') of the treaty are listed. All but the two last articles of the treaty are written in the characteristic 'unilateral' style which would be expected from the person issuing the treaty, i.e. the Emir of Menteşe. The two last articles, however, are written in the name of the Duca di Candia (We…). The text ends with the oath of the Emir of Menteşe *in extenso*, a reference to his *tugra* or *nişan* (*corroboratio*):

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9 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 73, 182-183 and 219-224.

10 The version in the *Liber Pactorum* was published in *DVL*, II, no. 160, 293-296.

11 For Dellaporta see Manoussacas, *art. cit.*, 283-307.

'meum lisiani superius et inferius per confirmationem et roborationem', and the date of the treaty.[12]

The version in the *Liber Pactorum* opens with a short rubric in which it is mentioned that the document was translated from Greek into Latin. Next comes the date of the treaty and a short *expositio-narratio* in which İlyas Beg describes the arrival of the Venetian mission consisting of the envoy Leonardo Dellaporte and the notary Michaleto Schillo, who were sent by the Duca di Candia Marco Falier, and then the consequent conclusion of peace between the two parties. This *expositio-narratio* is followed by the *dispositio*: the *capitula* or articles granted by İlyas Beg to the Venetians. All articles, including the last two, are described in exactly the same way: İlyas Beg grants the privileges in the first person singular. After the *dispositio* comes İlyas' oath *in extenso* and a reference to his *tugra* or *nişan (corroboratio*). The text concludes with the date.[13]

According to Zachariadou: 'The explanation for the difference between the two versions is that the Cretan text was composed in Candia, mainly on the basis of earlier treaties but with the addition of § 25 and § 26; the ambassador presented it to the emir who ratified it and the emir's chancery composed another document in Greek, according to Islamic principles, that is they drew up an entirely unilateral instrument with the emir's name first and that of the Duca di Candia second. The Cretans then copied the draft into their *Liber* and finally the emir's document was translated from Greek into Latin and copied into the *Liber Pactorum* in Venice.'[14]

At first sight this seems to be a satisfactory explanation for the differences between the two texts. However, this hypothesis does not solve all our problems. Why would the Venetians compose a text which was partly in the words of the emir and partly in their own words? Why would they add the emir's oath *in extenso* and make references to his *tugra* 'superius et inferius' if they were only making an initial draft? Zachariadou's explanation does not provide a satisfactory answer to these questions. We must therefore postulate another scenario.

The treaty of 1403 was the first to be concluded between Menteşe and Crete, after the Ottoman defeat at Ankara and the restoration of the autonomous *beglik*s in Anatolia. In October 1402 Venice advised her Cretan administrators to start negotiations about the renewal of the treaties. In the

12 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 180-181 and 225-233.

13 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 180-181 and 225-233.

14 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 181.

beginning of 1403, the Venetian envoy Andrea Pantaleo reached an agreement with Mehemmed Beg of Menteşe. Mehemmed issued a document, but must have died soon afterwards.[15] The Venetians now faced a problem. They had just concluded a new treaty but the ruler who had granted the privileges was dead. The treaty had to be confirmed by his successor. However, the Venetians took advantage of this situation and decided to undertake new negotiations with Mehemmed's son and successor İlyas in order to obtain further privileges. On the basis of the document given to them by Mehemmed, they composed a draft for use during the new negotiations. The text as we have it is the draft used during the negotiations between the new Venetian envoy Leonardo Dellaporta and İlyas Beg of Menteşe. The final treaty was concluded on 24 July 1403.[16]

Therefore the Candian text is not a Venetian draft 'composed in Candia, on the basis of earlier treaties'[17], but an adapted version of the treaty which the Venetians had obtained from Mehemmed. The Venetians changed the text of the original treaty and used this version as a draft during the negotiations with İlyas. If this text had really been a Venetian draft, it would have contained the articles of the treaty (completely in their own words), but not the oath and the reference to the *tugra* of the emir, which are characteristics of issued documents and not of drafts. After the conclusion of the new treaty, the Venetians copied their draft into the Candian *Liber*. The original introduction (date and *expositio-narratio*) of Mehemmed's treaty was replaced by a new introduction composed by a Cretan scribe. Because the contents of the amended draft version of Mehemmed's treaty and the new treaty were the same, it was possible to copy the draft version into the *Liber*. Thus, all the articles in the Candian version except for the last two, which were added by the Venetians themselves, originally come from Mehemmed's treaty. This explains their typical 'unilateral' style. Since Mehemmed was not mentioned with his name in the oath, this part and the reference to his *tugra* (*corroboratio*) were also maintained. At the end a new date was written.

The status of the Candian text now becomes clear. It was originally the text of Mehemmed's treaty concluded with the Venetians. The Venetians added to the text of this treaty two new articles in their own words and used it as their

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15 Cf. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 82: 'An initial agreement between the Duca di Candia and the Emir of Palatia, possibly still Mehemmed, was reached some time before February 1403 through the intervention of the ambassador Andrea Pantaleo'.

16 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 83.

17 Zachariadou,*Trade and Crusade*, 181.

draft for a new treaty. After the conclusion of the new treaty, a Cretan scribe replaced the passages directly referring to Mehemmed and added a new introduction and a new date (at the end). Thus the differences in expression between the two Latin versions of the treaties can also be easily explained. Mehemmed's original treaty was in Greek. This text was translated into Latin and later copied into the Candian *Liber*. İlyas' new treaty was also in Greek. This text was also translated into Latin, but copied into the Venetian *Liber Pactorum*. Zachariadou's conclusion that 'a comparison of the two texts shows that the one does not derive from the other' is correct, albeit only with respect to the two Latin translations. The treaty of İlyas was directly based on the text of Mehemmed's treaty. Evidently, the Venetians concluded treaties with two successive rulers of Menteşe, instead of only one treaty with one ruler.[18]

The instrument of 1407, concluded between the Emir of Menteşe İlyas and the Duca di Candia Leonardo Bembo, is in many ways reminiscent of İlyas' treaty of 1403. The Candian text opens with a rubric stating that the text of this treaty was translated from Greek into Latin. At the beginning of the actual text of the treaty, there is an *invocatio*, followed by an *expositio-narratio* in which İlyas Beg states that he concluded peace on 2 June 1407 with the Duca di Candia Leonardo Bembo, who had sent two envoys to Menteşe, the orator Giannino Pizamano and his notary Michaleto Schillo (the same as in 1403). Next comes the *dispositio* in which İlyas lists his unilaterally granted privileges. The text ends with his oath *in extenso* and a reference to his *tugra* or *nişan* (*corroboratio*); the date is not mentioned.[19]

The last treaty concluded between the Venetians and İlyas of Menteşe dates from 1414. At that time Menteşe had once again become an Ottoman vassal. After successful negotiations with the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed I, the Venetians were able to get their privileges in Menteşe confirmed. Mehmed's vassal, İlyas, concluded a new treaty with the Captain of the Gulf Pietro Civrano on 17 October 1414.

The structure of this instrument differs considerably from the earlier treaties with Menteşe. It opens with a kind of combined *intitulatio*-oath formula: İlyas Beg, in the first person singular, swears to maintain the peace

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18 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 81-83. One minor problem remains to be solved. In the Candian version Nauplion is mentioned in § 24. In the final treaty, however, it is omitted. There are two possible explanations for this: either it was forgotten by chance (Nauplion appears in the treaty of 1407) or it was omitted on purpose. In the last case it is possible that the Venetians themselves added Nauplion to their draft (Nauplion is not mentioned in any earlier treaty!). However, no agreement on this addition was reached between the two parties and consequently the Turks omitted it from the text.

19 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 86-87, 183 and 234-237; and Romanin, *op. cit.,* IV, 70.

with Venice. Then follows an *expositio-narratio* in which İlyas states that he concluded peace with Pietro Civrano (who acted in the name of Venice). The *dispositio*, however, is not in İlyas' words. İlyas is referred to in the second person plural and the Venetians in the third person, but from the last sentence of the second article in the *dispositio* onwards we read '*nostri Venicianj*'. The third article even opens with '*Anchora prometo mi Piero Ciuran, capetanio del Golfo, se li uostri Turchi e subditi uostri…*'. The Captain of the Gulf Pietro Civrano makes a promise to İlyas Beg. The *dispositio* of this document is clearly formulated from a Venetian point of view and not in İlyas' words. Thus, it is likely that the translation of the *dispositio* was based on the draft which the Venetians had made themselves. When the treaty was issued in accordance with their wishes, they translated only those parts which they did not yet have, i.e. all parts except for the *dispositio* containing the reciprocal articles of the treaty. The document ends with the *datatio* and *locatio*.[20]

In 1390 a similar situation had occurred. Bayezid I conquered the emirates of Aydın and Menteşe in the winter of 1389-1390. The Venetians, afraid of loosing their privileges in these former independent emirates, almost immediately dispatched an embassy to Bayezid I in order to secure their position. On 6 March 1390 the Venetian government decided to send Francesco Quirini to Bayezid I. The two met in May 1390, most probably in Karahisar. As a result of the negotiations, during which Quirini submitted the texts of treaties concluded with Aydın and Menteşe, Bayezid I confirmed the Venetian privileges.[21] He informed the Doge of Venice about his decision in two letters. In the first letter, dated May 6898 AM, Bayezid I refers to the treaties the Venetians had concluded with Aydın and Menteşe and he confirms their contents. The second letter, dated 21 May 6898 AM, also confirms the Venetian privileges in the Ottoman dominions: 'et perzò de questo contenta la mia segnoria de li diti pacti et conuencion ch'io fati cum lo uostro ambaxiador el nobel homo miser Francesco Querin sio fermi et rati in l'anema mia e per teste de mie fioli'. In this passage Bayezid I refers to a treaty that he has concluded with the Venetian ambassador. Apparently there was also a separate treaty in existence. That instrument will probably have accompanied this letter, but has not been preserved. Another remarkable feature of this passage is that it ends with a kind of oath. Bayezid I swears by his soul and on the heads of his sons. The same kind of phrasing also appears

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20 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 238-239.

21 For Querini's mission see Fabris, *Adrianople*, 162-163.

in later Ottoman oaths. In addition to these two letters to the doge, Bayezid I also wrote a letter (dated 21 May 6898 AM) to his son Süleyman, who was in charge of the administration of Aydın and Menteşe, informing him that he has decided to renew the Venetian privileges.[22]

The treaties with Aydın

The instrument of 1337 was apparently the first treaty between the Duca di Candia and Aydın. The text opens with a rubric in which the date of the conclusion of the treaty (9 March 1337) and the two concluding partners, the Duca di Candia and Hızır and Umur of Aydın, are mentioned. The name of an ambassador or envoy is not mentioned. Then come the articles of the treaty. The text of the articles, like the Menteşian treaty of 1331, refers to the Beg of Aydın Hızır Çelebi and his brother Umur Paşa in the third person singular and to the Duca di Candia Giovanni Sanudo in the first person plural. The text was evidently composed in Crete by the Venetians themselves and should be considered a draft of the final treaty which has not come down to us. For this reason the text is not an indication of the form and structure of the treaties concluded between Crete and Aydın.[23]

The instrument of 18 August 1348, concluded between the Sancta Unio and Aydın, was a temporary truce. It involved the pope, Venice, the Hospitallers of Rhodes, Cyprus and Aydın. The provisions of this truce were to be in force until the return of the ambassador of Aydın who was to go to the papal court at Avignon in order to negotiate a permanent treaty. In Avignon the parties apparently agreed on the text of a permanent treaty, but this treaty was never ratified.[24]

The instrument opens with an introduction in which Hızır Beg states that he concluded peace with the delegates of members of the Sancta Unio. Hızır also promises and swears to uphold the clauses of the treaty until his ambassador returns from the papal court. Then comes his oath *in extenso* and the *dispositio* which contains the provisions of the truce. Almost all articles open in the same way with 'Primo iuramus atque promittimus', 'Item promittimus et juramus' or 'Item promittimus atque iuramus'. The text ends with a passage written by Georgios Kalokyris, the notary who was present at

22 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 76-78. For the text of the three letters see *DVL*, II, no. 134, 1-3, 222-223.

23 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 35-36, 181-182 and 190-194.

24 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 54-56; and Setton, *op. cit.*, I, 213-223.

the conclusion of the truce. It is here that Hızır Beg, on 18 August 1348, swears to maintain the temporary peace between the parties.[25] The notary also made a reference to Hızır's 'signum' written at the bottom of the document. However, earlier in this text Hızır speaks of his name written 'supra et infra presentis pagine', whereas the notary only speaks about Hızır's 'signum infrascriptum'. Since the notary's note also mentions that the truce was written 'in latino et greco' it is likely that there was an original Greek version and a Latin translation of the truce. Thus, it could well be that the original document was composed in Greek with Hızır's name (*tugra*) at the top. The notary translated this instrument from Greek into Latin and added his note to this translation. In the presence of the notary ('in presentia mei notarij Georgij Calloquiri') Hızır wrote his signature once again, but this time under the Greek text ('signum infrascriptum manu sua propria').[26]

In return the Sancta Unio presented Hızır with a similar document. The text of the articles (*dispositio*) of this instrument has also been preserved in the Venetian *Libri Commemoriali*. The instrument states the obligations of the members of the Sancta Unio towards Aydın and the privileges of Hızır's subjects in the territories of the Sancta Unio. Although this text does not include any reference to a Christian oath (it lists only the articles, *dispositio*), it is likely that it did originally contain an oath formula since it was given to Hızır in return for his sworn instrument.[27]

Yet, the Venetian rubric in the *Libri Commemoriali* refers to the confirmation of Hızır's truce by the pope during the visit of the ambassador of Aydın: 'Hoc est exemplum treuguarum confirmatarum per dominum summum pontificem cum nuntijs et ambaxatoribus Zalabi Turchi domini

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25 According to Setton, *op. cit.*, I, 216, 'Khidr swore upon the Koran to observe the draft of the treaty as it stood until his envoys would return from the Curia Romana, and also to accept in advance whatever modifications the pope might choose to make in the text!'.

26 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 184, 205-210. If this reference formed part of the original document in Greek, the phrase must have been changed in the Latin translation from '*supra presentis pagine*' into '*supra et infra presentis pagine*', since Hızır wrote his name under the document in the presence of the notary. Unless Hızır's name was written three times on the original Greek document. However, it is doubtful whether even Hızır's 'own reference' appeared in the original Greek text. Its place between the oath and the *dispositio* is unusual. Most likely, this whole phrase was added to the Latin translation of the treaty by the notary who wanted Hızır himself to refer to his name. Since his subscription on the document in Greek was written in the presence of the notary and his *tugra*? at the top of the document was most likely already drawn on the document before the ceremony, this can only mean that this double reference to his name was added to the Latin translation and originally did not appear in the Greek document.

27 *DVL*, I, no. 169, 318.

Theologi'. This seems to contradict the existence of the instrument that was given to Hızır. Since it is unlikely that the instrument was not given to Hızır on 18 August 1348 (but by the pope to Hızır's ambassador in Avignon), the rubric in the *Libri Commemoriali* must be wrong. The rubric apparently refers to the permanent treaty which was agreed to but was never ratified, and not to the text of the truce. And this seems to be the case even though the text in the *Libri Commemoriali* is that of the truce and not that of the final treaty.[28]

On 7 April 1353 Venetian Crete and Aydın concluded a new treaty. Although the Venetians had already visited Aydın during the winter of 1351-1352, it took more time to conclude an official peace treaty. In August 1352 Hızır of Aydın asked the Duca di Candia to send an ambassador for negotiations and around October a preliminary agreement between the two parties was reached. However, it was not until 7 April 1353 that the Venetian envoy Francesco da Fermo obtained a final settlement and a treaty was issued.[29]

The text starts with a rubric written by a Cretan scribe when he copied the treaty in the Candian *Liber*. The scribe names the parties to the treaty and states that the text was translated from Greek into Latin. After the rubric come the *invocatio* ('Magnus Deus') and the date of the treaty (7 April 1353). Next is the introduction in which Hızır states that he has concluded peace with the Duca di Candia Marino Morosini through the Venetian envoy Francesco da Fermo. Then the *dispositio* lists the articles of the treaty, the first of which is the clause that there will be peace for a period of one year. All articles are written in the 'unilateral style' which is characteristic of treaties issued by the Turkish emirs of Aydın and Menteşe. The treaty ends with Hızır Beg's oath *in extenso*.[30]

However, the text does not end here. There follows the text of the sworn undertaking that was given by the Duca di Candia to Hızır's ambassador on 20 June 6961 AM. The instrument opens with this date. Then the Duca di Candia, in the first person plural ('cum nostro consilio'), promises and swears to uphold the treaty concluded between the twoparties. Whereas the instrument given by the Sancta Unio to Hızır in 1348 lists all the privileges in articles, this sworn undertaking refers to the concluded peace in general terms. Nor are Aydınian privileges in Venetian territories mentioned. It is the

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28 Cf. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 184: 'The present text, which seems to be the Latin translation of a Greek original, was, as the rubric stated, confirmed by the pope and was most probably sent by him to Venice'.

29 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 58-59.

30 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 182 and 211-215.

instrument issued by the Duca di Candia as an official attestation of the treaty concluded with Hızır. This sworn undertaking of the Duca di Candia was certainly not included in the text of Hızır's treaty, as Zachariadou suggests, but was a separate instrument that was returned to Aydın.[31]

Apart from the treaties with Venice, Aydın also concluded a treaty with the Hospitallers of Rhodes in 1346 (?).[32] The document is in Greek and although the Hospitallers are not mentioned by name in the text, there can be little doubt that they were the treaty partners.[33]

The text has a short rubric: 'Orkos ton Mousoulmanon pros Christianous' (Oath of the Muslims with regard to the Christians). The instrument itself opens with an elaborate *invocatio* in Arabic but transliterated in the Greek alphabet. Following the *invocatio*, Hızır introduces himself ('Ego…'); his titles are in Arabic and Turkish, but they appear in Greek transliteration. In this short introduction Hızır also makes promises and swears by God to his treaty partner (not mentioned by name). This part can be considered a kind of combined *intitulatio*-oath. Then come the actual oath *in extenso* and the pledge to maintain peace. The oath contains many Arabic words in Greek transliteration. The date of inception and the duration of the treaty (one year) are also included in the oath. There then follows the *dispositio* with the clauses of the treaty composed in a 'unilateral' style. However, the first article of the treaty is reciprocal. The *dispositio* is followed by an elaborate *sanctio*. Hızır explicitly states that he will observe the treaty as long as the other party does the same. He also stresses the importance of his oath by stating the harmful consequences of breaking it (*comminatio*). This *sanctio* also contains a second short oath with an Arabic phrase transliterated into Greek and two Turkish phrases ('bir tanrı' and 'evvel u ahır oldurur'), both transliterated and translated in Greek. At the end Hızır states the date of

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31 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 215-216. Cf. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 182: 'It is clear that, after being ratified by Khızır, the document was sent to Crete to be ratified by the oath of the Duca di Candia'. With respect to the procedure which was followed, Zachariadou's remark is right. However, she suggests that the oath of the Duca di Candia was written into Hızır's instrument as an addition, because when describing the general structure of a treaty issued by an emir, she mentions under: 'E) The oath of the emir and the oath of the Duca di Candia' (Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 184). The oath of the Duca di Candia, however, was a separate instrument, a sworn undertaking presented by the Venetians to Hızır in return for his document. The Cretan scribe copied both instruments, one after the other, in the Candian *Liber*.

32 Delilbaşı, *art. cit.*, 100, note 18, states that it is more likely that this treaty was concluded with the Genoese of Chios (Sakız). Delilbaşı refers to her unpublished thesis entitled 'Türk hükümdarlarına ait Yunanca ahidnameler ve nameler' which I have not been able to use for this study.

33 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 53.

inception and the duration of the treaty once again and mentions that he has put his subscription on the document.[34]

The structure of the treaties

On the basis of the above mentioned instruments it is possible to define the structure of the treaties which Venetian Crete concluded with Menteşe and Aydın. The texts of the Menteşian instruments of 1331, 1358-1359 and 1375, and the Aydınian instrument of 1337 can not be used for this purpose. The form in which these instruments have been preserved does not indicate the structure of treaty instruments assuch. They are either Venetian drafts (Menteşe 1331, Aydın 1337) or Venetian compilation texts (Menteşe 1358-1359 and 1375) based on several documents including letters (Menteşe 1358-1359 and 1375) and an abridged treaty (Menteşe 1358-1359). The analysis of the structure of the treaties will therefore be based on the Menteşian instruments of 1337, 1403-I, 1403-II, 1407 and 1414, and the Aydınian instruments of 1346, 1348 and 1353.

Type I

The Menteşian instruments of 1337, 1403-I, 1403-II and 1407, and the Aydınian instrument of 1353 all belong to the same type of treaty. The structure of this type of treaty (Type I) can be summarized as follows:
1) The *invocatio*. A brief formula in which God is mentioned. In the Aydınian instrument of 1353 the brief formula is 'Magnus deus'; in the Menteşian instrument of 1407 'Unus Deus'. In the other texts (Menteşe 1337, 1403-I, 1403-II) the *invocatio*-formula is not preserved.
2) The introduction of the instrument, in which the names and titles of the concluding parties are stated. First come those of the Turks (the emir, his relatives, etc.), and then those of the Venetians (Duca di Candia, his council, the Venetian ambassador or envoy)(Menteşe 1337, 1403-II and 1407, Aydın 1353). The introduction also often includes the date of the conclusion of the treaty (Aydın 1353: 7 April 1353; Menteşe 1403-II: 24 July 1403; Menteşe 1407: 2 June 1407) or the date of inception of the treaty (Menteşe 1337: 1 April 1337; the other instruments do not have a specific date of inception. This probably means that the date of inception and the date of conclusion were the same).

34 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 184 and 201-204.

Sometimes the duration of the treaty was also mentioned separately in the text (Menteşe 1337: one year). However, in the Aydınian instrument of 1353 the duration of the treaty (one year) is not mentioned in the introduction but in the first article of the *dispositio*. In the Menteşian text of 1358-1359, the duration (as long as Musa lives) is also mentioned in the first article of the *dispositio*. All other instruments do not give the duration of the treaty. This probably means that they were to be renewed whenever a new ruler came to power (Cf. Menteşe 1403-I and Menteşe 1403-II).

Only in the Menteşian instruments of 1403-II and 1407 has the introduction evolved into what may be described as a simple *expositio-narratio* which mentions the arrival of the Venetian ambassador or envoy. All other instruments, i.e. those from the fourteenth century, did not yet contain such an *expositio-narratio*. As a result, there was no strict division between the introduction and the *dispositio*, whereas in the instruments of 1403-II and 1407 the *expositio-narratio* forms an entity on its own which may be separated from the *dispositio*. This *expositio-narratio* mentions the date of the treaty (*datatio*), the arrival of the Venetian ambassador or envoy, the name and titles of the emir, those of the Duca di Candia, and the place where the treaty was concluded (*locatio*). The manner in which the name and titles of the emir are stated already looks like a simple *intitulatio*: 'Ego armiralius Aliasbey, filius magni armiralj Machmet bey' (1403-II) and 'Ego admiratus Heliaspegi, filius magni admirati Mandache' (1407). The *intitulatio*, however, is still a part of the *expositio-narratio* and can not yet be separated from it.[35]

3) The *dispositio* or *capitula* (clauses) of the treaty. The clauses are always formulated in the 'unilateral' style. The emir unilaterally bestows the *capitula* upon the Venetians as grants. The *dispositio* does not contain Venetian obligations *vis-à-vis* the emirates. (Menteşe 1337, 1403-I, 1403-II, 1407, Aydın 1353; and also in the texts of Menteşe 1358-1359, and Aydın 1348).

4) The oath of the emir *in extenso*. The oath seems to have played an important role in the treaty as a type of document. All five treaties belonging to this category have an elaborate oath. The oath of the Menteşian treaty of 1337 and the Aydınian one of 1353 are almost completely identical. Both start with a

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35 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 195, 201, 205 and 211. In the Menteşian instrument of 1337 this simple *intitulatio* can also already be recognized: 'nos Ybraibegi admiratum, filium quondam Orchani, admirati magnorum admiratorum'. Idem in the Aydınian instrument of 1346: 'Ego amiras Tzialalatin Cheter peges o Tzalapis, o uios tou paneutuchestatou megalou amira Boumperizaatin Mouchamat peg tou Aitin ekeinou'; the instrument of 1348: 'nos supradictus Zelappi Hiturbegui, filius magnifici Amirati Mahabut Mahamutbeth Aitini'; and the instrument of 1353: 'nos Chiterbechi zalappi et dominum Theologi'.

kind of *intitulatio* (Menteşe 1337: 'Nos Ybray pegi, magnus admiratus magnorum admiratorum et dominus Turchiae…' and Aydın 1353: "Nos Zalappi Chitirbechi, dominus Theologi et filius quondam felicis Maghmat pechi, magni admirati magnorum admiratorum, Aythini etc.…'). Then the oath itself is introduced by the phrase 'promittimus et juramus' (Menteşe 1337) or 'promittimus et juravimus' (Aydın 1353)(We promise and swear… by… to…). İbrahim swears in his own name, that of his nobles and his subjects; Hızır swears in his own name, that of his brother and nephew and that of all his subjects. After this the same Arabic phrase (a religious formula used in oaths) is apparently inserted in both texts. This phrase is transliterated into Greek, and from Greek into Latin. Because of this the original formula can no longer be reconstructed. Both İbrahim and Hızır swear by: 1) God, the Creator of heaven, earth, the seas, all creatures and the whole world; God, who decides on human life and death; God, who gave them 'potentiam/virtutem' (power/courage) and 'fortitudinem' (courage); God who has sent the 124 (should be 124.000) prophets of which Adam was the first and Muhammed the last; 2) Mecca; 3) the Koran (the seven *mushaf*); 4) the prophets and the angels and 5) 'per fele febet' or 'per nimphe chosebech' (both indecipherable), to uphold and observe the articles of the treaty (for all their subjects). The text of the Aydınian treaty ends with this oath; the Menteşian treaty, however, continues with the names of the 'nobiles et baroni' who also took the oath.

The oaths of the treaties of 1403-I, 1403-II and 1407 are also almost identical and show a great resemblance to those of 1337 (Menteşe) and 1353 (Aydın). All three oaths open with a phrase in which the emir states that he takes his oath to attest the treaty with the Duca di Candia and his successors. Thereafter, the emir takes his oath in his own name and that of his nobles by 1) the Prophet; then comes the same Arabic formula as in the two earlier mentioned oaths 2) God, the Creator of heaven, earth, the seas, mankind and the whole world; God who has sent the 124.000 prophets of which Adam was the first and Muhammed the last; 3) Mecca; 4) the Koran (the seven *mushaf*); and 5) the prophets and the angels. He swears to uphold and observe the articles of the treaty.

The oaths of the instruments of 1403-I, 1403-II and 1407 end with a reference to the *nişan* or *tugra* of the emir: 'meum lisiani superius et inferius per confirmationem et roborationem' (Menteşe 1403-I); 'meum sinaculum pro confirmatione et roboratione' (Menteşe 1403-II) and 'nisam meum superius et inferius pro certitudine et firmitate'. This formula does not appear in this

place in any of the earlier instruments. The reference to the name or *tugra* of the emir can be considered:
5) The *corroboratio*. This *corroboratio* apparently was a relatively late addition to the structure of this type of document, since it only appears in the instruments of 1403 and 1407.
6) The *legitimatio*, that is the *nişan* or *tugra* of the emir. In the instruments of 1348, 1403-I, 1403-II and 1407 there are references to the name, *nişan* or *tugra* of the emir written at the top of the document and at the end of the document. It is not clear whether there were actually two *tugra*s written on the document. It is possible that there was only one *tugra*, at the top of the document immediately after the *invocatio*. The emir's name at the end was then written in a normal way, not as a *tugra*, but as a subscription.[36]

This detailed description of the structure clearly shows that this type of instrument gradually evolved. Notwithstanding the fact that the basic structure of Type I remained the same, the instruments of 1403 and 1407 are evidently more developped than those of 1337 and 1353. The former have an *expositio-narratio*, a *corroboratio* and a simple *intitulatio* formula at the beginning of the instrument as part of the *expositio-narratio*.[37]

Type II

The Aydınian instrument of 1348 on its own forms Type II. The structure of this instrument is as follows:
1) The introduction in which Hızır states that he has concluded peace with the members of the Sancta Unio. The presence of the Christian embassy is also mentioned. In the second part of this introduction Hızır promises and swears to maintain the truce until the return of his ambasador from the papal court. This introduction already has some vague characteristics of an *expositio-narratio*, as in the instruments of 1403 and 1407.
2) The oath *in extenso*. This oath shares many similarities with the ones in the instruments belonging to Type I, but is even more elaborate. In the text of the oath it is also mentioned that Hızır swore with his hand on the Koran.
3) The *dispositio* (clauses) of the instrument written in the characteristic 'unilateral' style.

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36 On the *tugra* of the Turkish emirs in Anatolia (except the Ottomans) see Babinger, *Tughra*, 192 and plates 7-11; Uzunçarşılı, *Tuğra ve pençeler*, 104-106 and plates 1-5; Wittek, *Tughra*, 282-286 and plates 4-5; and Umur, *op. cit.*, 15-16.

37 Cf. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 183-185.

4) The instrument of 1348 ends with a note by the Christian notary which did not form part of the original Greek text. In this note a reference is made to the date of the truce, and Hızır's oath and '*signum infrascriptum*'. The notary most likely also inserted the remark in which Hızır refers to his name written under and above the text.[38]

The most striking difference between the instruments of Type 1 and the one from Type II is the position of the oath-formula. In the instruments of Type I the oath is placed at the end of the text, after the *dispositio*, whereas in the instruments of Type II the oath is situated before the *dispositio*.

Since the position of the oath seems to be an essential difference between Type I and II, we should try to find an explanation for such a difference. The instrument belonging to Type II is Aydınian and not concluded with the Venetians of Crete (although the Venetians are included in the truce of 1348). Of the five instruments belonging to Type I four are Menteşian, whereas only one of them originates from Aydın. The text of the Aydınian instrument of 1353, however, seems to have been based on a Menteşian example, most probably the treaty from 1337. There are not only many similarities in contents, but also in structure and expression: the oath, one of the most characteristic parts of the instrument, is almost identical. Yet, between the oath of Type II and that of the Aydınian instrument of 1353, there are some striking differences. Thus, it is possible that during the negotiations with Aydın to conclude the treaty of 1353, the Venetians used the text of the Menteşian instrument of 1337 as a model. This instrument was taken as the basis of the Aydınian-Venetian treaty and some parts of it were copied almost *verbatim*. The chancery of Aydın seems to have adopted a Menteşian model for this specific case.[39]

Type III

The Menteşian treaty of 1414 and the Aydınian treaty of 1346 together form the instruments belonging to Type III. The structure of these instruments is as follows:

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38 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 184, considers this remark to be a description of the *corroboratio*. However, unlike some of the treaties of the early fifteenth century none of the fourteenth century treaties seem to have had a *corroboratio*. Treaties were corroborated by the oath which was included in the text not by a reference to it, as in Byzantine treaties.

39 Cf. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 184-185 and 201-210.

1) The *invocatio*. The instrument of 1346 has a very elaborate *invocatio*. In the instrument of 1414 the *invocatio* is not preserved (if it had one).
2) The combined *intitulatio*-oath-pledge formula. In the instrument of 1414 the emir's *intitulatio* is: 'Io Aliesbei, fio de Machemetbei, signor di luogi de Mandachia'. Then he swears by God, the Prophet Muhammed and the Koran to maintain peace with Venice. In the instrument 1346 this part is very elaborate and can be divided into two main parts:
a) The *intitulatio* and the introduction to the oath. Hızır, in the first person singular, states that he swears and promises before God to his treaty partner who is not mentioned by name.
b) The oath itself and the pledge to maintain peace (on behalf of himself and his subjects).
3) The *expositio-narratio* in which the Venetian embassy and the concluding parties are mentioned. This part only appears in the instrument of 1414 and seems to be, as in the Menteşian instruments of 1403 and 1407, a development from the beginning of the fifteenth century. Consequently, this part is not present in the instrument of 1346.
4) The *dispositio*. In the instrument of 1414 the Venetian privileges in Menteşe are stated first followed by the Menteşian privileges in the Venetian territories. The privileges are reciprocal. The text of this *dispositio* is most likely that of an original Venetian text (draft) which in the translation that has been preserved replaces the *dispositio* of the original instrument which must have been formulated in the 'unilateral' style. In the instrument of 1346 the articles are stipulated in the unilateral style. However, this does not preclude that the articles are reciprocal. The first and most important article of this instrument is explicitly reciprocal.
5) The *sanctio*. The *sanctio* has only been preserved in the instrument of 1346. It is very elaborate. Hızır explicitly states that he will maintain the treaty, as long as the Hospitallers (?) do the same. It is possible that the *sanctio* in the instrument of 1414 is missing because of the changing of the *dispositio*. The translator may have deleted the *sanctio*.
6) The date. The instrument of 1414 has a *datatio-locatio* formula in one sentence. The instrument of 1346 ends with the date of inception and the duration of the treaty (one year). Hızır also states in this part that he has signed the treaty (below, *tugra*?). This instrument has no real *datatio* and *locatio.* Furthermore, the treaty partner is not specifically mentioned, nor are some of the placenames. Therefore, this version of the treaty may only be a draft.

Rather surprisingly, there is no *corroboratio* in the instrument of 1414, as in the Menteşian instruments of 1403 and 1407. Since Menteşe was no longer an independent state, it is possible that the Ottomans did not allow the Emir of Menteşe to use his own *tugra*. Consequently, in this text the *corroboratio* is lacking. For the same reason there is no indication of a *tugra* (the *legitimatio*). In the Aydınian instrument Hızır refers to his subscription. However, this reference is not a *corroboratio* in the true sense.

At first these two instruments seem to differ significantly. However, most of their differences may be attibuted to the long period of time which elapsed between the drawing up of the instruments and the state in which the instrument of 1414 has come down to us. The instrument of 1414 lacks the *invocatio* and the *sanctio,* but has an *expositio-narratio* which is not to be found in the Aydınian instrument of 1346. However, there are also some important similarities, such as the combined *intitulatio*-oath-pledge at the beginning of the instrument. Basically, these two instruments belong to the same category. And this justifies the postulation of a third category.[40]

Types of instruments and their origins

All treaties belong to the same category of instruments: unilateral instruments used for the conclusion of peace and the concession of (commercial) privileges. The unilateral character of these instruments is not only revealed by the language they use but also by their structure and the way these treaties were concluded. According to Zachariadou, who bases her explanation on an article by Ménage: 'the model for all the treaties described above could well have been a Christian one gradually adapted to Islamic principles. The unilateral instrument seems to have evolved from a bilateral Byzantine model'.[41]

At first sight it might seem plausible that these unilateral instruments developed from bilateral Byzantine instruments. The Seljukids, the direct predecessors of the emirates, even adopted the Byzantine chrysobull when they concluded a treaty with the Venetians. The Seljukids also had a Greek department within their chancery. Byzantine practice, it would seem, must have had influence on Seljukid practice. However, one should not exaggerate

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40 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 238-239.

41 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 185; see also V. L. Ménage, 'The English Capitulation of 1580: A Review Article', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, XII, 1980, 373-383 (Ménage, *English Capitulation*), on which Zachariadou bases her explanation.

this influence. The Seljukid Empire was an Islamic state and Islamic chancery practice must have played a more important role than Byzantine practice. The fact that the Seljukids concluded treaties with Christian states according to Byzantine practice (the treaty of 1220 with Venice) does not exclude the possibility that they also concluded treaties according to Islamic practice.[42] In fact, their treaties with vassal states (from the first half of the thirteenth century) were composed according to Islamic practice and may be compared with those of the Mamluks (from the second half of the thirteenth century). Both the Seljukid and Mamluk treaties with vassals were unilateral instruments in the form of a sworn undertaking which was composed by the stronger Islamic ruler who forced the weaker Christian ruler to accept the clauses of the treaty.These kinds of treaties were also concluded between Turkish emirs. In July 1444 the Ottoman Sultan Murad II imposed just such a rather humiliating treaty (called 'name-i sevgend', i.e *Eidesurkunde*) upon İbrahim Beg of Karaman. The existence of this instrument proves that Islamic practice remained alive in the Turkish emirates of Anatolia and was not completely replaced by Byzantine practice.[43]

Moreover, Islam seems to have played an important role in the society of Anatolian emirates like Aydın and Menteşe. The Turks considered themselves ghazis who were fighting a Holy War against the Christian 'infidels'.[44] From this viewpoint it seems quite unnatural to assume that the unilateral instruments of Menteşe and Aydın evolved from Byzantine instruments which had only developped from unilateral into bilateral instruments in the thirteenth century. Why would Islamic states such as Menteşe and Aydın base their practice entirely on Christian Byzantine practice (bilateral) which they then had to adapt to Islamic principles (unilateral), when unilateral instruments existed within Islamic practice. Although Byzantine influence on this type of instrument certainly can not be ignored, an Islamic origin for the unilateral peace treaty seems more logical than a

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42 Since we do not have the text of the Seljukid chrysobull, there is always the possibility that the form of the Seljukid instrument was that of a unilateral instrument issued according to Islamic practice but with the outer appearance of a Byzantine chrysobull.

43 For a transliteration of this *name-i sevgend* see İ. Uzunçarşılı, 'Karamanoğulları devri vesikalarından İbrahim Beyin Karaman imareti vakfiyesi', *Belleten*, I, 1937, 56-127, 119-122 (Uzunçarşılı, *Vakfiye*). A facsimile of the text can be found in Ş. Tekin, (ed.), *Menahicü 'l-Insa. The Earliest Ottoman Chancery Manual by Yahya bin Mehmed el-Katib from the 15th Century* (Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 2, Turkic Sources II), Cambridge (Mass.), 1971, 23-24 and 134-136. For a Mamluk vassal treaty see Holt, *Nubian Kings*, 5-9.

44 On this religious aspect see İnalcık, *Maritime Principalities*; and Zachariadou, *Holy War*.

development out of bilateral Byzantine instruments. We, therefore, have to compare the Menteşian and Aydınian instruments with other unilateral Islamic instruments.

Although in general the Mamluks did not grant commercial privileges in the form of treaties, there is one exception: the Mamluk-Genoese treaty from 1290. When we compare the Mamluk instrument with the Menteşian and Aydınian instruments of Type I, we notice striking similarities in form. The Mamluk instrument opens with an *invocatio*, followed by the date of the treaty. Next is an introduction in which the concluding parties are mentioned with their names and titles, first the Mamluk sultan and then the Genoese. After this introduction in which it is stated that peace has been concluded, comes the *dispositio*, containing the articles. All privileges are unilaterally granted by the Mamluk sultan to the Genoese. The *dispositio* is followed by an extended oath of the sultan's *na'ib* (in the absence of the sultan himself). The duration of the treaty, the date of its conclusion and the remark that the *na'ib* took his oath in the presence of the Genoese ambassador are mentioned in the concluding formulae.[45]

However, there are many similarities not only in the structure of these unilateral instruments but also in the way the treaties were concluded. After the Mamluks had presented their unilateral instrument and sworn to observe the clauses, they demanded a sworn undertaking from the Genoese. The Genoese gave this sworn undertaking and their ambassador took his oath on the Gospels and the Cross in the presence of representatives of the sultan . Again if one compares the way this treaty was concluded and the way the treaties belonging to Type I were concluded, it is immediately obvious that they both followed the same practice. When negotiations had taken place in Menteşe or Aydın and peace was concluded, the begs of Aydın and Menteşe took their oaths on the Koran in the presence of the Venetian representatives. But they also demanded a sworn undertaking. One of these sworn undertakings has been preserved (Aydın 1353). Furthermore, the Menteşian instruments of 1337 and 1358 contain indications that the emir expected the Duca di Candia to take an oath and corroborate the treaty. And although the Aydınian instrument of 1358 has not come down to us, it is known that 'Le 21 septembre 1358, le duc de Crète Piero Badoer jura solennellement le concordium pacis'.[46]

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45 See the chapter on the Mamluk treaties; and Sylvestre de Sacy, *art. cit.*, 34-41.

46 Thiriet, *Relations*, 219. On the treaty and the oaths of the Byzantine emperor and Umur of Aydın see İnalcık, *Maritime Principalities*, 193; and Zachariadou, *Holy War*, 220-221. On the treaties and oaths of

As for the oath Zachariadou remarks: 'A Christian origin may also be postulated for the oath of the Muslim party, the form of which is quite unlike that established according to Islamic principles'.[47] However, when we compare the oath of the Mamluk *na'ib* of 1290 with those included in the Menteşian and Aydınian instruments of Type I, it appears that there are many similarities: 'juro per dominum Melech elmansor, per deum, per deum, per deum magnum altissimum, qui cœlum et terram creavit, et per legem quam deus dedit Sarracenis, et per domum meridiei, domum Mechæ, et per cotanum [= Coranum] Sarracenorum, quod omnia capitula et conventiones de quibus insimul accordavimus cum domino soldano Melech el mansor, tenentur firma et stabilia, et non mutet, nec officiales domini soldani Melech el mansor non rumpent, nec officiales domini Melech Laserat, nec per aliquos Sarracenos qui sunt in dominio domini soldani'.[48] Like the oaths in the Menteşian and Aydınian instruments of Type I (and also Type II and III), this oath is also an extended one. Either this oath also has a Christian origin or there are indeed similarities between this Mamluk instrument from 1290 and the instruments of Type I from the fourteenth century, similarities which point to common Islamic practice.

There are striking similarities between the Mamluk unilateral instrument of 1290 and the instruments of Type I from the fourteenth century with regard to structure, expression and the way they were concluded.[49] It seems clear that both the Mamluk and the Turkish instruments belong to al-

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the emir of Hamid in 1367 and 1372 see Flemming, *art. cit.*, 88-89. On the Ottoman-Genoese treaty and the oaths of both parties in 1387 see Ménage, *English Capitulation*, 376; and Sylvestre de Sacy, *art. cit.*, 58-61. Swearing an oath seems to have been a common Turkish-Islamic practice both in thirteenth (Seljukids) and fourteenth (emirates) century Anatolia.

47 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 185; and Ménage, *English Capitulation*, 376.

48 Sylvestre de Sacy, *art. cit*., 40.

49 Especially after 1290 (commercial) contacts between the Mamluks in Egypt and the Turkish emirates in Anatolia, in particular those along the western and southern coasts, intensified. It could well be that Turkish chancery practice in Anatolia was influenced by (Turkish) Mamluk practice in Egypt. See İnalcık, *Maritime Principalities*, 180.

As for the duration of treaties, it is worth mentioning that the Mamluk-Genoese treaty was concluded for the lifetime of the persons involved. Other Mamluk treaties were concluded for periods of up to ten years, ten months, ten days and ten hours, and could be prolonged without difficulty. The duration of the Venetian commercial privileges in the Mamluk Empire was not specified. In practice, however, the Venetians tried to renew them whenever a new ruler came to power. The duration of the Seljukid treaty was two years but could easily be prolonged and was probably valid for the lifetime of the Seljukid ruler. All Menteşian and Aydınian treaties, except for those of 1337, 1346, 1348 and 1353, also do not specify the duration of the treaty. Although in Islamic theory the duration of a treaty was an important issue, in practice treaties were concluded according to the requirements of the situation.

Kalkashandi's category of unilateral treaties granted by a Muslim ruler to an equally strong *Harbi* ruler. These treaties consisted of two instruments: a sworn unilateral peace treaty including commercial privileges granted by the Muslim ruler and a sworn undertaking which was returned by the Christian partner. In the Mamluk instrument the oath of the sultan's representative comes after the *dispositio*, as in the Menteşian and Aydınian instruments of Type I. The sworn undertakings returned by the Christians, however, open with a combined *intitulatio*-oath formula and resemble the sworn undertakings of the Mamluk and Seljukid vassal treaties and the Ottoman-Karamanid treaty of 1444. It seems that the emirs of Menteşe, throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries remained faithful to Turkish-Islamic principles when they concluded treaties with the Venetians. However, Byzantine influence in the end also reached Menteşe. The Menteşian treaties from the beginning of the fifteenth century (1403-I, 1403-II and 1407) are evidently more developed than those from the fourteenth century. Their structure most likely evolved under influence of Byzantine practice (an *expositio-narratio* which mentions the coming of the foreign ambassador and a *corroboratio* at the end were common parts in Byzantine treaties).[50]

So far we have seen that there are striking similarities between the Mamluk instrument of 1290 and the Turkish instruments belonging to Type I. The structure and form of the instrument of Type II, however, have not yet been explained. Neither have we been able to explain the *capitula* of the instrument that was given by the Sancta Unio to Hızır in 1348.

Once again the answer to these questions comes from Egypt. Al-Kalkashandi's *Subh al-Aʿsha* contains the text of the treaty of 1281 between the Byzantines and the Mamluks. The text in the *Subh al-Aʿsha* consists of two instruments: the text of the treaty presented by the Byzantines to the Mamluks and the text given by the Mamluks to the Byzantines. The structure of both instruments is identical and the form is that of a Byzantine peace treaty which was also used for the granting of (commercial) privileges.[51]

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50 It should be noted that in the Byzantine-Venetian treaties of 1265, 1277, 1324 and 1332 the oath precedes the *dispositio*. However, in the Byzantine-Venetian instruments of 1342, 1349, 1357, 1390 and 1406 the oath follows the *dispositio*, as in the Mamluk instrument of 1290 and the Menteşian and Aydınian instruments of Type I. Could Byzantine practice have been influenced by Muslim practice? See V. Ménage, 'On the Constituent Elements of Certain Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XLVIII, 1985, 283-304, 287 (Ménage, *Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents*).

51 See the chapter on the Mamluk treaties; Dölger, *Vertrag des Sultans Qala'un*, 225-244; and Canard, *art. cit.*, 669-680.

This type of instrument was originally called *chrysobullos logos*. All Byzantine-Venetian treaties up to 1261, as well as the Seljukid-Venetian treaty of 1220, belong to this type of document. However, with the treaty of Nymphaion between the Byzantine Empire and Genoa in 1261 a new episode in the formal history of Byzantine treaties begins. As has been mentioned earlier, already in the twelfth century the form of Byzantine treaties of the *chrysobullos logos*-type no longer reflected reality. The Byzantine emperor was not an almighty ruler who could grant peace treaties unilaterally and bestow commercial privileges on foreigners. Instead, he had to negotiate treaties with foreign powers which were not his inferiors but his equals. Byzantine political theory had become outmoded. As a result, the form of the treaties changed after 1261. The emperor no longer issued a unilaterally granted *chrysobullos logos*. The new type of document was a bilateral treaty which was not called *chrysobullos logos* but *privilegium sacramentum*, *tractata* or *orkomotikon*. The new chrysobull did not have the inserted words written in red ink ('Rotworte') and lacked also some other characteristics of the old chrysobull. However, the subscription of the emperor in red ink and the golden seal remained. Another important change concerned the translation. Before 1261 the Latin translation was written under the Greek text or on separate paper which was often later attached to the Greek text. In the new chrysobull, however, the Latin translation was interlinear, i.e. written between the Greek lines. Greek and Latin were on the same level. Thus reflecting political reality.[52]

There were also changes in the procedure which was followed during the negotiations and upon conclusion of the treaty. The text of the treaty was exchanged and attested by both parties with an oath. In 1281 the Byzantine emperor took his oath in the presence of the Mamluk ambassadors. Then two Byzantine ambassadors brought the treaty from Constantinople to Egypt where they requested a similar copy of the text from the Mamluk sultan. The Mamluk sultan took his oath in the presence of the Byzantine ambassadors who returned to Constantinople with an attested copy of the treaty.[53]

Although we have analysed the Byzantine-Mamluk treaty of 1281 before, we will summarize its structure once again:
1) The introduction in which the concluding parties are mentioned together with a statement of the intention to conclude peace.

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52 Dölger, *Urkundelehre*, 99-105; and idem, *Vertrag des Sultans Qala'un*, 236-244.

53 Dölger, *Vertrag des Sultans Qala'un*, 236-244; and Canard, *art. cit.*, 677-678.

2) The emperor's oath sworn on the Gospels and the Cross, and the date of inception of the treaty.
3) The *dispositio* or articles of the treaty (most of them are reciprocal).
4) The *corroboratio* or final attestation of the treaty (reference to the oath).[54]

If one compares the structure of this document with that of the Aydınian instrument of Type II, it is immediately clear that both documents are structured in the same way. After the introduction comes the oath which precedes the *dispositio*, and at the end the reference to the oath and the signature of the emir occur. This and another reference to Hızır's signatures elsewhere in the text were added by the Greek notary and may be considered a kind of *corroboratio* which was perhaps not present in the original document. In fact, it is not unlikely that the Greek notary added these references on purpose, because according to the Byzantine Greek tradition it was usual to end a treaty with a *corroboratio* in which the oath was referred to. The Aydınian instrument of Type II is evidently strongly influenced by Byzantine instruments. The reason for this may be that the Sancta Unio used a Greek notary who no doubt modelled the treaty after his own tradition. Moreover, Byzantine practice can not have been completely alien to the Turks of Aydın. Aydın, geographically close to the Byzantine Empire, had intensive (political) contacts with the Byzantines and thus must have been acquainted with Byzantine practice. In 1335 Aydın even concluded a treaty with the Byzantines.[55] Therefore, in 1348 when Aydın concluded peace with the Sancta Unio, the Byzantine-like form of the instrument can not have been a major problem for the Emir of Aydın.[56]

However, the treaty is not completely a Byzantine instrument. Whereas in the Byzantine-Mamluk treaty the articles of the *dispositio* are reciprocal (bilateral), the *capitula* of the Aydınian treaties are unilaterally granted. Thus, the treaty of Type II should be considered an originally unilateral Islamic treaty (like Type I) which in its form, however, is strongly influenced by Byzantine treaties (unlike Type I). As a result of this, there are some

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54 Canard, *art. cit.*, 671-677.

55 Concerning this treaty and Byzantine-Aydınian relations see Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 16-17, 21-24 and 37-40; and Nicol, *op. cit.*, 246-263.

56 As mentioned earlier, the oath in the Byzantine-Venetian instruments of 1265, 1277, 1324 and 1332 precedes the *dispositio*. However, in the Byzantine-Venetian instruments of 1342, 1349, 1357, 1390 and 1406 the oath follows the *dispositio*, as in the Mamluk instrument of 1290 and the Menteşian and Aydınian instruments of Type I. This change in Byzantine practice apparently did not influence the form of the Aydınian treaty of 1348 which still has the oath before the *dispositio*, as in the older Byzantine-Venetian treaties. Ménage, *Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents*, 287.

differences in structure between the treaties of type I and II. The oath, for instance, in the treaties of type II precedes the *dispositio*. Basically, however, the instruments of Type I and II belong to the same category of unilaterally granted peace treaties.

Apart from the structure and form of the instrument, the Turks also adopted part of the procedure. In 1348, in return for his unilateral instrument, Hızır of Aydın obtained a similar instrument from the Sancta Unio in which he was granted a number of privileges. In this case a more or less similar text of the treaty was exchanged, as in Byzantine practice.

Thus, it is evident that the instruments of Type I are fully composed according to Islamic principles, whereas the instruments of Type II are originally Islamic instruments with clear Byzantine influence. The reasons for this 'double' system are not clear. It may have depended on the treaty partner. Whereas the Venetians were more interested in the contents of their treaties than in their form, the Sancta Unio also paid attention to the form. We should bear in mind that the treaty of 1348 was drawn up by a Greek notary from Crete who may have given shape tothe treaty according to his (own) Byzantine tradition. It is possible that Aydın was more or less 'forced' by its treaty partners to accept a Byzantine-like instrument.

Since we have only three Aydınian treaties and all three instruments belong to three different categories, the question arises as to which treaty truly reflects the Turkish-Islamic traditions of the chancery of Aydın. The Aydınian instrument of 1348 is evidently strongly influenced by Byzantine tradition, but did the Turks of Aydın always use this adapted 'Byzantine' type of instrument? The answer must be no, since the Aydınian treaty of 1353 has a different form. But this treaty was most probably modelled on the Menteşian instrument of 1337. Once again the Aydınian chancery adopted a different practice, this time not Byzantine but Menteşian. Does this imply that the Aydınian chancery had its own tradition and practice? The answer to this question must be yes. The Aydınian instrument of 1346 appears to be indisputably authentic, and is clearly based on Turkish-Islamic practice. The treaty contains several parts in Arabic and Turkish which were transliterated and translated in Greek. This may indicate that the draft of the instrument was in Turkish and Arabic. Moreover, the form of this treaty, as we will see, shares many similarities with the Ottoman instruments from the beginning of the fifteenth century. The form of the instruments belonging to Type III will, therefore, be discussed further in the context of the Ottoman-Venetian treaties.

Chapter Seven: Venice and the Ottoman Empire: Political and Commercial Relations until 1641

In the beginning of the fourteenth century the emirate of Osman (1299?-1324?) was one of the many Turkish principalities in Anatolia. Its origins are obscure and surrounded by legends of later ages. However, it is certain that at that time it was not yet among the most prominent emirates in Anatolia which had emerged in the second half of the thirteenth century on the remnants of the Seljukid Empire. The emirates of Karaman, Germiyan, Menteşe and Aydın were much more powerful. The small Ottoman emirate, however, with its excellent geographical position bordering the Byzantine lands in Asia Minor, turned out to have the best prospects for conquest. Following the Paleolog restoration in 1261, the defense of the Byzantine territories in Asia Minor had been almost completely neglected and these lands now became an easy prey for the Turks.[1]

In 1302 Osman gained his first important military victory. He defeated a Byzantine army and soon afterwards conquered the city of Belokoma (Bilecik). However, none of the important Byzantine cities in the area had yet fallen into the hands of the Ottomans. In 1326 Osman's son, Orhan (1324?-1362?), conquered the important provincial centre of Prusa (Bursa). The growing threat posed by the Turks, especially those of Menteşe and Aydın, stimulated the Venetians to examine for the first time the possibility of a regional anti-Turkish alliance, and Byzantium, which was also menaced by the Ottomans, would also be asked to join it. In fact, Venice's traditional anti-Byzantine policy was changed into an anti-Turkish policy in which Byzantium became a possible ally. The Ottomans, however, were not yet a major threat to Venetian interests in Greece and the Aegean. In 1328 a Byzantine army under the command of Emperor Andronikos III, who had come to relieve the besieged city of Nicaea, clashed with Orhan's forces. The Turks defeated the

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1 C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300-1481*, İstanbul 1990, 15-18 (Imber, *Ottoman Empire*); J. von Hammer(-Purgstall), *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, 10 vols., Graz 1963 (reprint of Pest 1827), I, 41-52 (Hammer, *Geschichte*); D. Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk. A Pattern of Alliances 1350-1700*, Liverpool 1954, 6-10; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 1-4; and İ. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, 4 vols., Ankara 1982-1983 (ed. princ. Ankara 1943-59), I, 93-109 (Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*); D. Geanakoplos, 'Byzantium and the Crusades', K. Setton, (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols., 1955-1989, III, Madison 1975, 27-68, 45 (Geanakoplos, *Crusades,* I); and E. Werner, *Die Geburt einer Grossmacht - Die Osmanen (1300-1481)*, Wien 1972, 80-115 (ed. princ. Berlin 1966) (Werner, *Grossmacht*). On the origins of the Ottoman Empire and its early history see also P. Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1938; F. Köprülü, *Osmanlı devleti'nin kuruluşu*, Ankara 1984 (ed. princ. Ankara 1959); and R. Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*, Bloomington 1983.

Byzantines. Following this defeat the Byzantine defense system rapidly collapsed. In 1331 Nicaea, which for a time had been the capital of the Byzantine Empire, fell into Ottoman hands. Orhan now turned his attentions to Nicomedia and laid siege to it. The Byzantine emperor, in an attempt to save the city, concluded a humiliating treaty with the Ottomans and promised to pay a tribute of twelve thousand hyperpyra a year (August 1333). However, by 1337 all important Byzantine cities, including Nicomedia, had been conquered by the Ottomans. They annexed the neighboring Turkish emirate of Karesi between 1336 and 1350 and captured Ankara around 1354.[2]

Meanwhile, the Ottomans also interfered in Byzantine politics. In 1341 a civil war had broken out between John Cantacuzene, who had declared himself emperor, and a faction which supported Empress Anne of Savoy. Both parties tried to gain the support of Orhan. Cantacuzene concluded a treaty with Orhan and gave his daughter Theodora as wife to the Ottoman ruler. Even after Cantacuzene had gained control over Constantinople in 1347, he maintained his alliance with Orhan. In 1352 the Ottomans once again helped him to defeat his enemies, this time in Thrace. During this campaign the Turks occupied a fortress which they returned to the Byzantines only after the latter had paid them a large sum as compensation. However, when an earthquake destroyed the fortifications of Gallipoli in 1354, the Turks captured the city and made it their first permanent stronghold in Europe. From here the Ottomans started their successful conquest of the Balkans. By conquering Gallipoli the Ottomans, for the first time, also stirred up serious concern on the part of Venice and the other Latin powers. Until then, the Ottomans were still viewed as a relatively minor problem in comparison with the emirates of Menteşe and Aydın.[3]

Their interference in Byzantine affairs also led to the Ottoman's first contacts with Genoa and Venice, which powers had been at war with one another since August 1350 (until 1355). While the Byzantines and Aragonese supported the Venetians, the Genoese turned to Orhan for support, and signed a treaty with him in 1352. This Ottoman-Genoese alliance was to last for

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2 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 18-21; Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 23; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 246-257; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 52-119; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 10-12; Laiou, *art. cit.*, 374-392; Werner, *Grossmacht*, 116-119; Schreiner, *art. cit.*, 384 and 392; İnalcık, *Maritime Principalities*, 188-189; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 4-10; and Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 109-124.

3 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 21-26; Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 63; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 257-282; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 120-149; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 12-18 and 30-31; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 10-15 and 21-23; Geanakoplos, *Crusades*, I, 63-64; Werner, *Grossmacht*, 119-150; and Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 133-137 and 155-158.

almost a century and would bring both the Ottomans and the Genoese great advantages in their struggle against the Byzantines and Venetians. According to Cantacuzene, Orhan concluded the alliance because he had grievances against the Venetians who did not pay attention to him but simply ignored him.[4]

In 1362 Murad I (1362?-1389) succeeded Orhan as emir (*beg*) of the Ottoman principality. He continued the raids into Byzantine Thrace which had started in 1354 and had forced the Byzantine emperor to seek support in Europe. However, since no support had been forthcoming, the Ottomans were free to continue their activities in Byzantine territories. In 1359 the Ottomans had reached Constantinople itself and established a temporary blockade. Thereafter (in 1362), Venice tried to construct an anti-Ottoman coalition but disagreements between Venice, Genoa and Byzantium hindered the realization of this plan.[5] When her plan proved to be a failure, Venice chose to follow a more conciliatory policy towards the Ottomans, especially since she mistrusted Amadeo of Savoy's plans for a crusade against the Ottomans which were supported by the Genoese. Murad lost Gallipoli in 1366 to Amadeo of Savoy who ceded the city to the Byzantines, but at some time between 1359 and 1369 the Ottomans conquered the important Byzantine city of Adrianople which controlled the approach to the west and the north

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4 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 24; Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 64 and 257-282; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 257-282; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 30-31; J. Gill, 'Venice, Genoa and Byzantium', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, X, 1985, 57-73, 68-69; Geanakoplos, *Crusades*, I, 67-68; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 225-233; Turan, *İlişkileri*, 195-205; and H. İnalcık, 'An Outline of Ottoman-Venetian Relations', H. Beck, M. Manoussacas, A. Pertusi (eds.), *Venezia centro di mediazione tra oriente e occidente (secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti e problemi*, 2 vols., Firenze 1977, I, 83-90, 85 (İnalcık, *Relations*). İnalcık in his general survey of Ottoman-Venetian relations points out that Ottoman anti-Venetian policy was aimed at breaking the Venetian economic and political domination in the Levant by supporting the policy and the trade of Venice's competitors. Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 140-141 explains Orhan's anti-Venetian policy as follows: 'Durch genuesisches Gold gewonnen, war Urchan auch schon seit langem den Venezianern gram, weil sie mit Flotten in der Nähe seines Gebieths gelandet, nicht nur seine Freundschaft und Bundgenossenschaft verschmäht, sondern nicht einmahl von seiner Herrschaft Kenntniss zu nehmen sich gewürdiget hatten'. Cf. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 258: 'Au cours des hostilités, qui se prolongèrent pendant les années 1351 et 1352, l'amiral vénitien, obligé par les circonstances de faire un long séjour sur les cotes des provinces gouvernées par le grand-émir Orkhan, ne jugea pas à propos d'aller lui rendre vistite et, par cette attitude méprisante, il le blessa profondément dans son orgueil; l'amiral génois au contraire, se montra plein d'égards et conclut avec lui un traité d'alliance'.

5 On this proposed league see F. Thiriet, 'Una proposta di lega antiturca tra Venezia, Genova e Bisanzio nel 1362', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, CXIII, Firenze 1955, 321-334.

(Macedonia and Bulgaria).[6] Murad's father Orhan had favored a strict pro-Genoese policy but during Murad's reign, especially since 1365, Ottoman-Venetian relations improved considerably because of Venice's more conciliatory policy, and in April 1368 the Venetians even hoped to obtain Üsküdar from the Ottomans.[7]

In the Balkans a Serbian army tried to stop the Ottomans but was routed in 1371 in a battle near Adrianople. The Ottoman advance into the Balkans, facilitated by the civil war in Byzantium, could no longer be stopped. In 1372 Thessaloniki was attacked for the first time, and by Murad's death in 1389 the whole of Thrace, including Thessaloniki (1387) and Macedonia, had been subdued and raids had been launched against Serbia and Bosnia. Byzantium, left without help, was forced to conclude a treaty and became an Ottoman vassal in 1372. Four years later the Byzantines ceded Gallipoli to the Turks.

During the Venetian-Genoese war of 1377-1381, Venice's relations with the Ottomans remained good. In 1377 the Venetians sent an ambassador to the Ottomans to discuss an alliance against the Genoese, and both parties also supported Emperor John V during the Byzantine civil war. In 1381 Pantaleone Barbo, the Venetian ambassador to Constantinople, was instructed to send a message and presents to Murad, who was even called a 'friend of the Commune', and to ask him to prevent Ottoman attacks on Venetian

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6 On the much discussed conquest of Adrianople by the Ottomans see E. Zachariadou, 'The Conquest of Adrianople by the Turks', *Studi Veneziani*, XII, 1970, 211-217; I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, 'La conquete d'Adrianople par les Turcs', *Travaux et Mémoires*, I, 1965, 439-461; H. İnalcık, 'The Conquest of Edirne (1361)', *Archivum Ottomanicum*, III, 1971, 185-210; and Fabris, *Adrianople,* 157: '… between 1 and 30 March 1360, two Venetian ambassadors were sent to Murad to congratulate him on the transfer of the royal seat to Adrianople'.

7 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 26-27; Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 70; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 296-308; F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Age*, Paris 1959, 175-176 (Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*); Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 159-169; Setton, *op. cit.*, II, 285-315; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 18-21; M. Spremic, 'I tributi veneziani nel Levante nel XV secolo', *Studi Veneziani*, XIII, 1971, 221-251, 221; İnalcık, *Maritime Principalities*, 201-203; Gill, *art. cit.*, 69-70; İnalcık, *Relations*, 89; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 258-260; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 26-29; D. Geanakoplos, 'Byzantium and the Crusades, 1354-1453', K. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades,* 6 vols., 1955-1989, III, Madison 1975, 69-103, 73-77 (Geanakoplos, *Crusades*, II); Werner, *Grossmacht*, 151-159; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 158-171; Turan, *İlişkileri*, 203-206; and Fabris, *Adrianople,* 158.On the factors influencing Venetian policy towards the Ottomans see E. Schilbach, 'Venedigs widersprüchliche Haltung zur türkisch-osmanischen Expansion', H. Beck, M. Manoussacas and A. Pertusi (eds.), *Venezia centro di mediazione tra oriente e occidente (secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti e problemi*, 2 vols., Firenze 1977, I, 77-81. On the Venetian policy towards the Byzantine Empire from ca. 1381 to 1453 see D. Zakynthinos, 'L'attitude de Venise face au déclin et à la chute de Constantinople', H. Beck, M. Manoussacas and A. Pertusi (eds.), *Venezia centro di mediazione tra oriente e occidente (secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti e problemi*, 2 vols., Firenze 1977, I, 61-75.

possessions. Another Venetian ambassador Marino Malipiero visited Murad in 1384 to negotiate over commercial privileges in his dominions.[8] It became clear that not only the Byzantines and Genoese depended on the Ottomans, but that even the Venetians were starting to acquiesce to Ottoman wishes. It seems that in 1385 an envoy from Venetian Crete, Leonardo Dellaporta, concluded a treaty with the Ottomans.[9]

However, in September 1387 the Ottomans also launched raids into Greece and attacked Venetian colonies like Negroponte. Shortly thereafter, the Venetian senate sent an ambassador to Murad to obtain the release of the Venetian prisoners who had been captured during the raids. The Venetians also demanded that the Ottomans refrain from attacks on Venetian colonies in Greece. However, no satisfactory agreement was reached. Despite these events relations with Murad I remained friendly, and this might have been the reason why the Venetians did not participate in the anti-Turkish league of 1388 and 1389.

Ottoman relations with Genoa, on the other hand, were relatively unstable during this period. In 1384 the Venetians refused to support Murad militarily against the Genoese. However, in 1387 Murad concluded a treaty with two Genoese ambassadors and peace between the two parties was restored.[10] By 1388 parts of Bulgaria were conquered and what was not militarily subdued became a vassal state. In Anatolia Murad annexed parts of Germiyan, Hamid, Karaman and Teke. The Ottoman emirate had reached the Mediterranean (Antalya) and slowly but persistently closed in on the remaining Turkish *beglik*s. In 1389 Murad invaded Serbia where he confronted the Serbs and the Bosnians. The first battle of Kosovo ended with the death of Murad and that of the Serbian king (15 June 1389).[11]

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8 For Malipiero's instruction see *DVL*, II, no. 116, 193-196.

9 Manoussacas, *art. cit.*, 289.

10 For the text of this treaty concluded between Murad and Gentilis de Grimaldis and Janonus de Bosco see Silvestre de Sacy, *art. cit.*, 58-61. See also Delilbaşı, *art. cit.*, 101-102.

11 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 28-36; Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 73-75; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 308-328; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 169-215; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 21-23 and 32-33; Gill, *art. cit.*, 70-72; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 260-261; Geanakoplos, *Crusades*, II, 80-81; Werner, *Grossmacht*, 151-159; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 29-41; Setton, *op. cit.*, II, 315-326; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, I, 171-177, 187-260; N. Iorga, *Venetia in Marea Neagra*, 3 vols., Bucureşti 1914, II, 1-8; Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, 355-356; P. Charanis, 'Strife among the Palaeologi and the Ottoman Turks, 1370-1402', *Byzantion*, XVI, 1, 1942-1943 (1944), 286-314, 286-304; Turan, *İlişkileri*, 206-209; and Fabris, *Adrianople*, 158-162. Thiriet, Iorga and Fabris also mention Venetian envoys and ambassadors in 1385 (Antonio D'Arduino, envoy), 1387 (Daniele Corner, ambassador) and 1388 (Alvise Dandolo, ambassador) which were sent to maintain friendly relations and obtain commercial privileges.

Bayezid I (1389-1402), Murad's successor, assumed rule during the period of confusion following the death of his father on the battle field of Kosovo. Several other Anatolian emirs took advantage of the situation and recaptured some of the places which had been conquered by Murad. However, by the end of 1389 Bayezid was firmly in control. On 26 october 1389 he concluded a treaty with Genoa and thus abandoned his father's pro-Venetian policy for Genoese-Ottoman cooperation. The Ottomans and Genoese also supported the same faction in the feud among the Byzantine imperial family. The Venetians, however, took no side in this conflict and although they considered sending an ambassador to Bayezid in July 1389, no diplomatic action was undertaken until March 1390. In the meantime Bayezid had started his campaign to regain complete control of Ottoman Anatolia. He annexed Saruhan, Aydın and Menteşe, as well as Philadelphia, the last Byzantine city in the region. Venice, anxious to retain her privileges in Aydın and Menteşe, now sent an embassy to negotiate a renewal of the Venetian privileges in these two emirates. Although ambassador Francesco Quirini at first had difficulties in finding Bayezid who was on campaign, he finally met with him in May 1390. On that occasion Bayezid confirmed the Venetian privileges in the two newly conquered emirates and also included his own dominions in the agreement.[12] However, one month later Bayezid restricted Venetian commercial activities by prohibiting the export of corn.[13]

In 1391 Bayezid turned to the east and conquered Kastamonu. The Byzantine Emperor Manuel II served in Bayezid's army as a vassal. To begin with, Bayezid was defeated by Burhane 'd-Din of Sivas and was thus forced to continue with his campaign, but he finally succeeded in subjecting large parts of Anatolia.[14] In 1397 Bayezid led a campaign against the Karamanids and conquered Konya. One year later he captured Amasya and Sivas. The Ottomans controlled most of western and central Anatolia and for the first

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12 For the texts of the letters concerning this renewal see *DVL*, II, no. 134, 222-223.

13 Imber, *Ottoman Empire,* 37-38; Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 77-78; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 328-330; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 216-222; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 23-24, 33-34; Romanin, *op. cit.*, III, 330-331; Schreiner, *art. cit.*, 404-411; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 261-262; Iorga, *op. cit.*, II, 8-10; Charanis, *art. cit.*, 304-309; Delilbaşı, *art. cit.*, 101; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 260-264; Turan, *İlişkileri*, 210-213; and Fabris, *Adrianople*, 162-163. For a detailed account of Quirini's mission see Silberschmidt, *op. cit.*, 55-64 and 83; and Fabris, *Adrianople*, 162-163. Silberschmidt, *op. cit.*, 65-73, deals with Bayezid's interference in Byzantine politics.

14 On this campaign against Kastamonu and Burhane 'd-Din see E. Zachariadou, 'Manuel II Palaeologos on the Strife between Bayezid I and Kadi Burhan al-Din Ahmad', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XVIII, London 1980, 471-481.

time directly confronted the Mamluks. Malatya, a Mamluk stronghold, was conquered after a two month siege.[15] Within approximately one decade Bayezid had annexed most of Turkish Anatolia. Ottoman rule, however, was not stable. It was based on the personal loyalty of local Turkish lords and not on a centralized political system completely under the firm control of the Ottomans.[16]

In Europe Sigismund, the King of Hungary, tried to take advantage of the confusion in Serbia following Lazar of Serbia's death on the battle field of Kosovo in 1389. However, by 1392 Bayezid had secured his suzerainty over Serbia and and in 1392 he annexed Bulgaria. When he had eliminated the possibility of a Hungarian attack, he turned to Constantinople. The emperor had refused to come to Bayezid when he was summoned and the Ottoman emir wanted to punish him for his disobedience. Bayezid's siege of the capital of the Byzantine Empire started in May 1394 and the blockade lasted until 1402. The Venetians sent galleys to protect their interests in Constantinople and advised Emperor Manuel II to seek help in the West.

Meanwhile Turkish-Hungarian competition over the lands of the lower Danube reached its climax and a violent confrontation was imminent. In 1396, Sigismund sent an ambassador to Venice to secure assistance for his campaign against the Ottomans. At first the Venetians did not want to jeopardize the peace with Bayezid and their privileges in the Ottoman dominions. They were therefore unwilling to get involved in this conflict. However, when they heard about the Byzantine-Hungarian alliance against the Ottomans, they changed their mind. An embassy which was about to be sent to Bayezid to renew Venetian privileges in Menteşe and Aydın was cancelled, and Venice provided a number of armed galleys for the crusade. Other European states also contributed to this expedition. The crusaders advanced along the Danube and met Bayezid's army near Nicopolis (25 September 1396). There they were completely routed. In the aftermath of this victory Bayezid also captured Vidin. As a result of her support for the crusade, Venice now found herself in a difficult position. The senate decided to send armed ships to the Aegean to protect Venetian possessions against Ottoman reprisals, but at the same time

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15 On Ottoman-Mamluk relations prior to the conquest of Syria and Egypt in 1516-1517 see Thakafi, *op. cit.*, 54-96.

16 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 38-42; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 330-332; Silberschmidt, *op. cit.*, 73-83; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 222-236; Charanis, *art. cit.*, 309-313; Gill, *art. cit.*, 72-73; Werner, *Grossmacht*, 160-163; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 44-45, 48-50 and 57-58; and Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 265-268, 275-278 and 295-301.

instructed Benedetto Soranzo, the Captain of the Gulf, to visit Bayezid and to negotiate the renewal of the privileges of 1390. Soranzo's mission failed and Venetian trade in both Menteşe and Aydın started to decrease (1397).[17]

Bayezid's anti-Venetian policy was even clearer in Greece and Albania. The Ottomans not only advanced in the northern Balkans but they moved into the southern area as well. Whereas the Hungarians were their great opponent in the north, the Venetians were the chief opponent in the south. During Bayezid's reign Ottoman forces made incursions into Albania, Epirus and the Peloponnesus. The Ottomans also raided Venetian possessions in Greece. On 12 March 1392 the senate decided to send an envoy, Guglielmo Querini, to Bayezid to prevent attacks on Negroponte. However, from 1392 onwards, by way of intensifying their activities, the Ottomans put naval forces into operation in addition to their raids on land.

The Venetian annexation of cities and fortresses in Greece may have provoked the Ottomans to increase their raids on Venetian territories. Venetian policy, after all was very clear: 'elle n'occupe de nouvelles escales qu'en vue de fortifier la digue anti-ottomane'.[18] This anti-Ottoman policy, however, had not yet escalated into open warfare. The Venetians preferred to form an anti-Turkish league with other Latin powers in the region in response to the Ottoman raids but their attempts in this regard were unsuccessful. In 1398 the Ottomans attacked Venetian Negroponte. Until the end of Bayezid's reign in 1402 these hostilities continuously intensified, with further damage being inflicted on Venetian colonies every year, and forcing the Venetians to be in a permanent state of alertness. Venice viewed the development of Ottoman naval power (with its base at Gallipoli) as a serious threat to her possessions and her commercial activities. The activities of the Ottoman fleet not only threatened the Venetian colonies in southern Greece but also seriously disrupted Venetian trade. Constantinople, under siege since 1394, could only

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17 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 42-47; Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 78-80; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 332-337; Silberschmidt, *op. cit.*, 85-88, 97-120 and 144-189; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 236-249; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 34-40; Charanis, *art. cit.*, 312-314; Romanin, *op. cit.*, III, 331-334; Setton, *op. cit.*, II, 341-369; Gill, *art. cit.*, 72-73; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 262-265; Werner, *Grossmacht*, 164-170; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 45-48 and 50-55; Geanakoplos, *Crusades*, II, 81-85; Iorga, *op. cit.*, II, 10-21; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 268-274 and 279-293; A. Atiya, 'The Crusade in the Fourteenth Century', K. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols., 1955-1989, III, Madison 1975, 3-26, 21-26; Turan, *İlişkileri*, 214-228; and Fabris, *Adrianople*, 164-165.

18 Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, 361.

be reached safely in convoys protected by ships of the Captain of the Gulf who patrolled the Aegean Sea and the straits.[19]

Bayezid's advance in eastern Anatolia had brought him into contact with Timur, the great Turkish-Mongolian conqueror of the late fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, who from 1370 onwards had conquered an immense imperium from Samarkand to Sivas. A series of disputes between Timur and Bayezid concerning vassals led to the decisive confrontion between the two conquerors. In 1400 Timur invaded the Ottoman lands and captured Sivas. Many *beg*s of the Turkish emirates which Bayezid had annexed fled to Timur and incited him to invade Ottoman territory and to restore the *status quo ante*. In 1402 Timur started his campaign and on 28 July 1402 the two armies clashed near Ankara. Timur defeated Bayezid and, having taken him prisoner, went on to ravage Anatolia. Bayezid's vassals regained their emirates and the sons of Bayezid became embroiled in a power struggle among themselves.[20]

The Christian powers tried to take advantage of the unstable situation caused by the defeat of the Ottomans at Ankara. Venice planned either to buy or capture the Ottoman naval base at Gallipoli, which during the previous decade had proved to be such a serious threat to Venetian interests in the region. One of Bayezid's sons, Süleyman, who had fled to Rumelia was well aware of the dangerous situation. The prospect of war with his brothers and the threat of Christian powers seizing Ottoman territory forced him to negotiate with the Christians in order to secure his position in Rumelia. Süleyman sent an envoy to Venice and declared himself willing to become a Byzantine vassal. The peace treaty between Süleyman, the Byzantines, Genoese, Venetians, the Duchy of Naxos and the Hospitallers of Rhodes was concluded in Gallipoli in January or February 1403.[21] Venice obtained privileges to trade

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19 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 48-52; Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 80-81; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 335-342; Silberschmidt, *op. cit.*, 89-96 and 190-198; Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, 355-366; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 249-255; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 39-40; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 56-57; P. Topping, 'The Morea, 1364-1460', K. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols., 1955-1989, III, Madison 1975, 141-166, 157-158; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 293-295; Turan, *İlişkileri*, 214-228; and Fabris, *Adrianople*, 164-165.

20 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 52-56; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 343; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 293-338; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 41-42; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 265-267; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 59-68; Werner, *Grossmacht*, 170-179; and Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 301-323.

21 For the text of this treaty see *DVL*, III, no. 159, 290-293; and G. Dennis, 'The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, XXXIII, 1967, 72-88, 77-82. Also Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 607-610. Hammer states that this is the text of a treaty concluded between the Ottomans and Venetians around 1408.

within Süleyman's dominions and a five-mile deep strip of territory on the Greek mainland facing the Venetian island Negroponte. In addition the Duchy of Chios, a Venetian protectorate, would no longer pay tribute to the Ottomans. Venetian commerce also profitted from the treaty. If the continuous raids stopped, regular trade with Constantinople, the Black Sea region and other places could be reestablished, and a new treaty with Menteşe facilitated Cretan trade with the Anatolian coastal area. However, the Byzantines, of all the Christian powers, acquired the most profitable concessions from Süleyman, both territorial and political.[22]

Süleyman was Ottoman ruler in Rumelia at that time, but in the meantime his brother ᶜİsa had gained control over the Anatolian parts of the Ottoman emirate. The Venetians apparently not only concluded a treaty with Süleyman but with ᶜİsa as well. On 24 March 1403 Venice sent Giacomo Surian as ambassador to confirm the peace treaty with Süleyman. He was also instructed to visit Süleyman's brother ᶜİsa and confirm the treaty which had been concluded with him. However, by the time Surian reached ᶜİsa's territory, ᶜİsa was probably no longer in control of Ottoman Anatolia and therefore the treaty was now devoid of value for the Venetians. The Venetians fully exploited the treaty with Süleyman by annexing the city of Patras, as well as territories in Albania (Scutari) and mainland Greece (Lepanto). Although Süleyman was furious, there was nothing he could effectively do, especially since he needed all his available troops for his struggle against his brothers. The shrewd Venetians sent ambassadors (in 1406, 1407, 1408 and 1409) to Süleyman to justify their annexations and to confirm or renew the treaty.[23] They finally offered to pay Süleyman tribute for Patras, Lepanto and their Albanian acquisitions, provided that the peace treaty remained in force.[24]

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22 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 56-62; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 343-346; Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, 366-367; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 338–360; Werner, *Grossmacht*, 213-216; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 267-272; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 69-71; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 325-329; Setton, *op. cit.*, II, 375-382; Dennis, *art. cit.*, 72-88; Delilbaşı, *art. cit.*, 102; M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, 'Les relations de Süleyman Çelebi avec Venise (1400-1410)', *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, Ankara 1981, II, 995-1006, 995-999; E. Zachariadou, 'Süleyman Çelebi in Rumili and the Ottoman Chronicles', *Der Islam*, LX, 1983, 268-296 (Zachariadou, *Süleyman Çelebi*); Turan, *İlişkileri*, 230-243; and Fabris, *Adrianople*, 165-166.

23 For Francisco Giustinian's instructions as ambassador to Süleyman in 1406 see *DVL*, II, no. 162, 297-301.

24 Imber,*Ottoman Empire*, 56-62; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 343-346; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 338-360; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 69; Alexandrescu, *art. cit.*, 999-1004; Zachariadou, *Süleyman Çelebi*, 283-291; Spremic, *art. cit.*, 222-227; Setton, *op. cit.*, II, 380-381, and III, 1-7; Werner, *Grossmacht*, 216-217; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 272-274; M. Belin, 'Relations diplomatiques de la République de Venise avec la Turquie

In Anatolia the situation after the Ottoman defeat at Ankara was more complicated. The emirates annexed by Bayezid regained their independence and ᶜİsa, one of Bayezid's sons settled in Bursa. Another son, Mehmed, returned to the province of Rum (Amasya, Tokat and Sivas). Musa was apparently captured by Timur together with his father Bayezid and about the fate of Mustafa at that moment nothing is known. ᶜİsa, who tried to establish himself in western Anatolia, was attacked and defeated by Timur. He fled to Constantinople and then returned to the east again only to be defeated by his brother Süleyman who had crossed over to Anatolia from Rumelia. From Bursa Süleyman extended his rule as far as Ankara, thus forcing Mehmed to retreat to Amasya (1404). The next year Mehmed launched a counter-attack but he failed to defeat his brother. From 1406 to 1409 there was a pause in the civil war. Süleyman was the most powerful Ottoman prince in both Rumelia and Anatolia at that moment.

However, in 1410 Musa, one of the other Ottoman princes, launched an attack on Süleyman's territories in Rumelia and thus forced his brother to retreat from Anatolia. Mehmed took advantage of this situation. He occupied all Ottoman territory in Anatolia, and annexed the emirates of Saruhan, Aydın, Menteşe and Germiyan. Musa in the meanwhile had captured Rumelia and waited for his brother Süleyman in Gallipoli. The Byzantine Emperor Manuel II at this point intervened in the war. He tried to capture Gallipoli but when this turned out to be impossible, he transported Süleyman and his army from Anatolia to Rumelia where Süleyman defeated his brother Musa. Thereafter, the situation in Rumelia became very confusing, but finally in 1411 Musa succeeded in eliminating his brother. He annulled the treaties his brother Süleyman had concluded with the Venetians in 1403 and 1409 and thus created a completely new situation. Some months after Musa's victory (February 1411), the Venetians sent Giacomo (Jacopo) Trevisan as envoy to Süleyman's successor in Rumelia to negotiate a new peace treaty (4 June, 1411) which was concluded some time later.[25] Musa's rule in Rumelia caused much discontent among the Turkish nobles who incited his brother Mehmed to cross to Rumelia and attack Musa. Although Musa defeated Mehmed, his

(fragment)', *Journal Asiatique*, VII[e] série, VIII, 1876, 381-424, 384; Turan, *İlişkileri*, 243-253; and Fabris, *Adrianople*, 166-168.

25 For the text of this treaty see *DVL*, II, no. 164, 302-304 (with two letters, dated 12 August and 3 September 1411).

position soon weakened. By 1413, with Byzantine and Serbian support, Mehmed finally succeeded in eliminating his brother.[26]

As soon as the Ottoman dominions were reunited, Mehmed I (1413-1421) concluded a series of treaties with Christian rulers in the Balkans, including the Byzantine emperor. Constantinople was rewarded substantially because of the help she had given to Mehmed and regained all the territories and privileges that Süleyman had granted her in 1403. The peace between the Ottomans and Byzantines would last until Mehmed's death in 1421. The Venetians, too, wanted a peace treaty with the new Ottoman ruler. In July 1414 Francesco Foscarini, the Venetian bailo in Constantinople, was instructed to renew the treaty Venice had concluded with Musa some years earlier, but this time without agreeing to pay for Patras, Lepanto and the Venetian possessions in Albania. The Venetians also wanted assurances from Mehmed that his vassals, in particular Menteşe and Aydın, would not attack Venetian ships. Apparently, as a result of these negotiations, Venetian privileges in Menteşe were confirmed in a short treaty. However, the overall result of these negotiations must have seemed unsatisfactory to the Venetians, since Turkish raids on Negroponte started again in the summer of 1414 and the situation rapidy worsened.[27]

The years 1415 and 1416 saw new Ottoman conquests in Anatolia and renewed raids in Europe. The Ottoman raids in Europe led to new plans to form an anti-Turkish alliance. The Venetians hesitated because they still hoped to conclude a separate treaty with Mehmed, but later they did participate in the negotiations which, however, ended without concrete results.

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26 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 62-73; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 351-352; Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, 368; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 338-360; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 7; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 69-70; Alexandrescu, *art. cit.*, 1003-1006; Zachariadou, *Süleyman Çelebi*, 283-291; Spremic, *art. cit.*, 227-230; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 276- 277; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 325-345; Werner, *Grossmacht*, 180-189 and 216-217; and Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 71-76; Turan, *İlişkileri*, 243-253; and Fabris, *Adrianople*, 168-172. Zachariadou, *Süleyman Çelebi*, 294, note 125, correctly states that Musa's treaty of 1411 was a renewal of Süleyman's treaty of 1409 and not of 1406 as is mentioned in the introduction to the text in *DVL*, no. 164, 302. Francesco Giustiniani was Venetian ambassador in both 1406 and 1409 and conluded a treaty with Süleyman in 1409.

27 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 75-76; Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 88; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 352-353; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 361-363; Spremic, *art. cit.*, 230-232; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce,* II, 277; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 77-78; Setton, *op. cit.,* III, 6-7; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 347-349; Belin, *art. cit.*, 384; Turan, *İlişkileri*, 267-269; and Fabris, *Adrianople*, 172. Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 76, states that 'Foscarini did not fulfil his mission to the Sultan. Almost a year later, in July, 1415 the Senate noted with anger that he had still not appeared before Mehmed…'. Nicol, *op. cit.*, 353, states the same: 'Foscarini was not very efficient. A year later his government reprimanded him when the Sultan Mehmed complained that no ambassador from Venice had yet called on him'.

In the meantime Turkish raids intensified and Venetian colonies suffered great damage. The Venetians once again opted to negotiate peace with Mehmed and on 23 April 1416 they instructed their envoy Dolfino Venierto travel to the Ottoman emir. At the same time, however, the Venetian senate instructed Pietro Loredan, the Captain of the Gulf, to proceed to Gallipoli and attack all armed Ottoman ships. From there he was to continue to Constantinople to obtain information about the Ottomans' intentions. The diplomatic initiative apparently ended without achieving anything. Meanwhile, Pietro Loredan, attacked and destroyed an Ottoman fleet near Gallipoli on 29 May 1416. The first serious clash between the Venetians and Ottomans had taken place.[28]

At this very moment Mehmed was confronted with serious problems in Rumelia and Anatolia: namely the popular revolts of Şeyh Bedre 'd-Din and Börklüce Mustafa, and an attack by the Karamanids. After suppressing these revolts, Mehmed attacked the Karamanids and the İsfendiyarids (1417). The Venetian fleet stayed in the Aegean to patrol the area between Gallipoli and Negroponte and to ensure a safe passage for Venetian merchants travelling between Constantinople and the Black Sea. After their victory in Gallipoli the Venetians were no longer in any hurry to negotiate peace with Mehmed. In February 1417 the Ottomans dispatched an ambassador (Hamza) to Venice who returned without an agreement. In May the Venetians sent their bailo in Constantinople, Giovanni Diedo, to negotiate with Mehmed, again without concrete results; a peace treaty was not formally concluded until 6 November 1419 (by the Venetian bailo Bertucci Diedo).[29] The destruction of the Ottoman fleet at Gallipoli made Venetian trade to Constantinople and the Black Sea less vulnerable to naval attacks, and the situation in the Aegean appeared to have calmed down.[30]

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28 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 77-82; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 353-355; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 368-371; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 44-45; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 7-8; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 70-74; Spremic, *art. cit.*, 232; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce,* II, 277; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 78-81; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 349-359; F. Babinger, 'Le vicende veneziane nella lotta contro i turchi durante il secolo XV', *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, I, München 1962, 240-253, 240-242 (Babinger, *Lotta*); S. Antoniadis, 'Le récit du combat naval de Gallipoli chez Zancaruolo en comparaison avec le texte d'Antoine Morosini et les historiens grecs du XV^{e} siècle', A. Pertusi (ed.), *Venezia e l'oriente fra tardo medioevo e rinascimento*, Firenze 1966, 267-281; Turan, *İlişkileri*, 267-283; and Fabris, *Adrianople*, 173-175.

29 For the text of the treaty see *DVL*, III, no. 172, 318-319; for a letter from Mehmed I with the same date see *DVL*, III, no. 173, 319.

30 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 80-90; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 355-357; Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, 368; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 363-388; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 7-8; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 44-45; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 74-75; Spremic, *art. cit.*, 232-237; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 277-278; Werner, *Grossmacht*, 198-213; Sevim,

In 1421 Mehmed died and was succeeded by his son Murad II (1421-1451), who like his father had to wage war with his relatives to gain control of the Ottoman emirate. Mehmed's brother, Mustafa, who was held by the Byzantines was released and with his followers gained control of Rumelia after defeating an army sent against him by Murad. Then he crossed to Anatolia but, when part of his troops deserted, he fled back to Rumelia. Murad pursued him and, after capturing him, had him hanged in Edirne (January 1422). As part of his revenge on the Byzantines who had released Mustafa, Murad laid siege to Constantinople in 1422, but he was forced to abandon his campaign because his younger brother, also named Mustafa, tried to seize power in Anatolia. This Mustafa was also defeated and from 1423 onwards Murad ruled as the undisputed Ottoman emir. The release of Mustafa by the Byzantines had nullified the peace between Byzantium and the Ottomans, the two parties again being enemies like before 1413.[31]

In the aftermath of the dynastic strife Murad forced the İsfendiyarids of Sinop and the voyvoda of Wallachia to submit and accept Ottoman vassalage. And the Ottomans again began their raids into Greece, ravaging the Venetian colony of Lepanto in 1423. In the same year Venice acquired the Byzantine city of Thessaloniki, which had been under an Ottoman blockade since 1422 and could no longer resist the Ottomans on its own. The Venetians took over Thessaloniki from the Byzantines on 14 September 1423. The Ottomans were not at all pleased that Venice had taken possession of Thessaloniki. Meanwhile, the siege of the city continued and although the Venetians were better able to undertake the city's defense, the Venetians too were desperately pressed to find a solution, either militarily or diplomatically. In February 1424 they sent Nicolò Zorzi to Murad for negotiations. In March Zorzi was arrested by the Ottomans and imprisoned. When news of Zorzi's imprisonment reached Venice, the senate decided to send more ships to the area. Admiral Pietro Loredan was commissioned to sail to the northern Aegean and make a display of Venetian naval power to the Ottomans and if necessary to attack Turkish ships. However, the Venetians also tried to find a

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op. cit., II, 81-89; Babinger, *Lotta*, 242-243; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 360-375; Turan, *İlişkileri*, 267-283; and Fabris, *Adrianople*, 175-177.

31 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 91-95; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 356-359; Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, 371; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 400-417; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 8-17; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 46; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 98-99; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 278-280; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 91-98; Geanakoplos, *Crusades*, II, 89; and Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 375-393.

diplomatic solution. The Venetian governor of Thessaloniki, Santo Venier, was authorised to negotiate with Murad.[32]

In 1425 Venice and Hungary intended to mount a joint military action against Murad who had just annexed Aydın and Menteşe. However, as the Hungarians were preparing for the attack, the Ottomans invaded Wallachia and Serbia and thus foiled the Venetian-Hungarian plans. In the meantime the siege of Thessaloniki continued and Venice, having no effective military means at her disposal, tried to resolve the crisis with new diplomatic initiatives. In 1425, after several vain attempts, Fantino Michiel, the Venetian Captain-General of the Sea, through the mediation of a notary called Giovanni di Bonisio, succeeded in negotiating a draft treaty with a certain 'Calley' (Halil Beg), the Ottoman *subaşı* of Gallipoli. But the draft was never ratified. At the end of 1426 Andrea Mocenigo, the newly appointed Captain-General of the Sea, agreed with the Ottoman governor of Gallipoli on a new draft treaty. Once again the notary Giovanni di Bonisio (Giovanni Borussio/Bonizio) was sent to Edirne to ratify the treaty but Murad would not agree and demanded that the Venetians dispatch an official embassy to settle the matter.

On 24 July 1427 the Venetian senate instructed Benedetto Emo to travel to Murad and ratify the draft. Thereafter, nothing happened. By September there was still no news from Emo, and Venice decided to send more ships to the Aegean to protect Venetian merchant-galleys and seek news of the ambassador. However, by the beginning of 1428 it was clear that Murad had no intention of concluding peace but was determined to continue the war. When Murad dispatched a fleet into the Aegean, the Venetians were again forced to send more ships. However, at this point the Venetians realized that a settlement could only be brought about by negotiations and instructed Giacomo (Jacopo) Dandolo, the Captain of Thessaloniki, to go to Murad and ratify the treaty (September 1428).[33]

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32 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 95-98; Nicol, *op. cit*., 359-363; Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, 371-372; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 417-440; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 17-24; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 98-106; Topping, *art. cit.*, 164-165; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 47; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 99 and 233; Werner, *Grossmacht*, 224-226; Geanakoplos, *Crusades*, II, 89-90; Babinger, *Lotta*, 243; C. Manfroni, *La marina veneziana alla difesa di Salonicco (1423-1430)*, Venezia 1910, 5-26; Spremic,*art. cit.*, 237; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 280; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 393-399 and 408-11; Turan, *İlişkileri*, 282-296; and Fabris, *Adrianople*, 177-178.

33 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 98-104; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 364-370; Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, 371-372; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 430-440; Setton, *op. cit.,* III, 24-28; Manfroni, *op. cit.*, 26-46; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 99-100 and 233; Spremic, *art. cit.*, 237-239; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 280-281; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 101-102 and 105-107; Babinger, *Lotta*, 243; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 407-411; Turan, *İlişkileri*,

Murad, however, was engaged in military activities in Serbia and Anatolia where he annexed Canik and Germiyan. In the meantime the war between Venice and the Ottomans dragged on. Thessaloniki was still under siege and the number of attacks on other Venetian possessions in Albania and the Peloponnesus increased. In the beginning of 1429 the Venetian senate apparently no longer expected that an agreement could be reached by negotiation and ordered reinforcements to the Aegean. In March 1429 the Venetian ambassador Dandolo was put under arrest by Murad; he eventually died in prison. The final Ottoman attack on the city now seemed imminent. The blockade, however, continued and Venice desperately tried to find allies against the Ottomans. The Venetians concluded a truce with the Hungarians who would attack the Ottomans in the Balkans, while they themselves would blockade the Dardanelles. Another possible ally was the Emir of Karaman, İbrahim, who seemed to be planning a campaign against the Ottomans.

In the beginning of 1430 there was still no sign that Murad was ready to make peace and the Venetians dispatched more ships to the Aegean. In March 1430 Murad prepared for his final assault and on the 29th of the same month Thessaloniki fell to the Ottomans. News of the conquest reached Venice on 16 April 1430, and already on 29 April 1430, only one month after the city's fall, Venice instructed her Captain-General of the Sea, Silvestro Morosini, to conclude peace with Murad. The Venetians hoped that the treaty would be signed by August and ordered Morosini to inflict as much damage on the Turks as he could in order to force Murad to the conference table. On 4 September 1430 a treaty was concluded between Morosini and Murad.[34] Venice renounced her claims to Thessaloniki and promised to pay an annual tribute of 236 ducats for Lepanto and her possessions in Albania. The first major military confrontation between Venice and the Ottomans had ended with a Venetian defeat.[35]

282-296; and Fabris, *Adrianople*, 177-178. The text of the draft treaty of 1426 can be found in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato Secreta, reg. 9, 109; Mocenigo's treaty can be found in C. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Age*, 2 vols., Paris 1880-1881, I, no. 117, 183-184.

34 For the text of the treaty see *DVL*, II, no. 182, 343-345.

35 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 104-110; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 370-373; Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, 371-372; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 430-440; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 28-38; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 47-49; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 233-236; Manfroni, *op. cit.*, 46-68; Spremic, *art. cit.*, 238-241; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 280-281; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 403-411; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 105-106; Babinger, *Lotta*, 243-244; Belin, *art. cit.*, 384-385; F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit. Weltenstürmer einer Zeitenwende*, München 1953, 6-7 (Babinger, *Mehmed*); Turan, *İlişkileri*, 282-299; and Fabris, *Adrianople*, 178-180. Imber states that Venice had to pay a tribute of 236.000 (!) ducats. Spremic, Romanin and Manfroni, however, give the more realistic amount of 236 ducats (as in the treaty).

Immediately after the conquest of Thessaloniki, the Ottoman army captured Ioannina and Arta which had been in the possession of the Tocchi of Cephalonia. This event caused particular anxiety in Venice as an indication of a further Ottoman advance in the direction of the Venetian colonies on the Adriatic coast. The Venetians, however, had learned their lesson and, to the best of their abilities, avoided confrontation with the Ottomans because they did not want to endanger their lucrative trade with Romania, Constantinople and the Black Sea region. Between 1430 and 1433 Albania came under direct Ottoman influence and Murad now planned to move against Serbia. His plans, however, were delayed by difficulties in Anatolia but once a new treaty had been concluded with Karaman (1437), he was free to begin his advance against Hungary which had become engulfed by internal strife following the death of King Sigismund in 1437. In 1438 Murad entered Transylvania with his army and pillaged the area. The same year he marched into Serbia, the greater part of which was annexed by the Ottomans, and in 1440 he laid siege to the important Hungarian stronghold of Belgrade which controlled the gateway to Hungary. This campaign proved to be unsuccessful and, even though raids were launched into Hungary, no Hungarian dominions were permanently occupied by the Ottomans.[36]

The following years brought even better prospects for the realization of Murad's plans. A civil war broke out in Hungary and the Ottomans, moving through Wallachia, invaded Transylvania where they were routed by John Hunyadi, the voyvoda of Transylvania. And Hunyadi defeated the Ottomans a second time in 1442. These relatively small victories raised great hopes among the Christian states. In the meantime Ottoman attacks on Constantinople and the Byzantine island of Lemnos were equally unsuccessful (1442). At first Venice had planned to act as mediator in peace negotiations between the Byzantines and the Ottomans, since a war on sea endangered Venetian commercial activities. However, when news arrived of the unsuccessful Ottoman attacks and the victories of Hunyadi, Venice changed

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36 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 111-119; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 440-450; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 236-237; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 411-419; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 39-66; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 107-110; Babinger, *Mehmed*, 7-19; idem, *Lotta*, 244-246; A. Atiya, 'The Aftermath of the Crusades', K. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols., 1955-1989, III, Madison 1975, 647-666, 654-655 (Atiya, *Aftermath*); H. İnalcık, 'Byzantium and the origins of the crisis of 1444 under the light of Turkish sources', *Actes du XII^e congrès international d'études byzantines*, 3 vols., Beograd 1964, II, 159-163, 159-162 (İnalcık, *Byzantium*). An important primary source concerning the events of the years 1443-1444 has been published by H. İnalcık and M. Oğuz, *Gazavat-ı Sultan Murad b. Mehemmed Han. İzladi ve Varna Savaşları (1443-1444) üzerinde Anonim Gazavatname*, Ankara 1978 (İnalcık, *Gazavatname*).

her policy. She now wished to coordinate a joint military action involving the Pope, Hungary, Serbia, Transylvania and the Byzantines, the latter having accepted the union of the Latin and Greek churches in 1439.[37]

While preparations for a crusade against the Ottomans were progressing, in 1443 Murad once again directed his army against İbrahim, the Emir of Karaman, who acting as a Byzantine ally, had attacked the Ottoman dominions. The same year a new treaty between the Ottomans and Karamanids was concluded. In October 1443 the allies launched their attack against the Ottomans. Murad ordered a general mobilisation of the Ottoman army and by applying a scorched earth policy sought to deprive the enemy of food and shelter. Although both sides won several victories, the war ended indecisively with both parties sustaining serious losses. As a result, the parties were forced to negotiate and a ten-year truce was concluded between the Ottomans and the allies (12 June 1444).

Murad, with part of his army, returned to Anatolia where the Karamanid Emir İbrahim, probably at the instigation of the Christian alliance, had once again attacked the Ottomans. In the end war was avoided; both parties concluded a new peace treaty according to which the Karamanids became Ottoman vassals.[38] Thereafter, having secured the eastern and western flank of his dominions, Murad retired in favor of his young son Mehmed. At the same time, however, the crusader fleet had reached the Aegean and, though the Hungarian king and the Transylvanian voyvoda had sworn to uphold the peace treaty with Murad, they broke their word and joined the attack against the Ottomans (August-September 1444). The twelve year old Mehmed was faced with a serious crisis. The crusaders advanced along the Danube pillaging and ravaging the Ottoman dominions until they reached Varna on the Black Sea coast. In Edirne panic had broken out and Murad decided to leave Manisa and return to Europe. In spite of the Venetian naval blockade of the Dardanelles and the Bophorus, with the help of the Genoese Murad succeeded in crossing to the European side and reached Edirne. From there he marched with his troops to Varna where, on 10 November 1444, the Ottomans defeated the Hungarians and their allies. Murad then returned to Edirne and from

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37 On the union of the Latin and Greek churches see Nicol, *op. cit.*, 373-380.

38 For the text of this treaty see Uzunçarşılı, *Vakfiye*, 120-121. A fascimile of the same text can be found in Tekin, *op. cit.*, 23-24 and 134-136. See also İnalcık, *Gazavatname*, 104.

there went back to Manisa. This last Christian attempt to drive the Ottomans out of Europe had ended in utter failure.[39]

However, Christian dreams of a crusade did not cease with the defeat at Varna. In 1445 a crusading fleet and an army tried to capture Ottoman strongholds along the Danube but after some small successes the campaign was abandoned and the Christian forces retreated. Although the threat from the West was no longer pressing, Mehmed's reign was troubled by various other crises. Finally, when the Janissaries revolted in Edirne, Murad decided to come out of retirement. Having returned as Ottoman ruler (August 1446), Murad marched on Greece, where he pillaged the Peloponnesus, and Albania, where Scanderbeg not only threatened Ottoman but also Venetian interests. Venice had sent her representative Andrea Venier to Albania to confer with the Venetian governors concerning the situation and to undertake contact with the Ottomans in order to incite them to invade Albania and eliminate Scanderbeg.

Meanwhile John Hunyadi launched another attack on the Ottomans. He marched through Serbia to Kosovo, but was defeated by Murad (1448). During the last years of Murad's reign, Ottoman raids on Venetian possessions in Greece and the Aegean revived in spite of the peace treaty which was concluded on 23 February 1446. On 11 May 1445 Venice had instructed her bailo in Constantinople, Andrea Foscolo, to start negotiations for a renewal of the treaty of 1430 concluded with Murad II. Towards the end of 1445 Foscolo sent his agent Aldovrandino de' Giusti (Zusti) to Edirne for the negotiations. The Venetians asked that the treaty be agreed to by the young sultan in Europe (Mehmed) as well as the old sultan in Asia (Murad), to avoid problems about its validity. Consequently, after the treaty was concluded with Mehmed in February 1446, Murad also confirmed the treaty on his return to Edirne in August-September 1446.[40] By 9 March 1446 Mehmed had already

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39 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 119-134; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 381-385; Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, 372-379; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 450-465; H. İnalcık, *Fatih devri üzerinde tetkikler ve vesikalar I*, Ankara 1987, 1-53, 55-67 (ed. princ. Ankara 1954)(İnalcık, *Fatih devri*); Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 56-59; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 237-240; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 66-92; İnalcık, *Byzantium*, 162-163; Werner, *Grossmacht*, 232-237; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 110-119; Babinger, *Lotta*, 246-248; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 419-439; Geanakoplos, *Crusades*, II, 96-98; Atiya, *Aftermath*, 655-656; Babinger, *Mehmed*, 19-43; S. Tansel, *Osmanlı kaynaklarına göre Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in siyasi ve askeri faaliyeti*, Ankara 1985 (ed. princ. 1953), 33-35; Turan, *İlişkileri*, 299-308; and Fabris, *Adrianople*, 181-182.

40 For the text of the original Ottoman document in Greek (dated 23 February) see ASV, Miscellanea atti diplomatici e privati, busta 38, no. 1110. This document was published by F. Babinger and F. Dölger, 'Mehmed's II. frühester Staatsvertrag (1446)', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, XV, 1949, 225-258, 234-

ordered the envoy, Yunus Karaca, together with his Greek secretary, Dimitri (Demetrios Apokaulos Kyritzes), to take the treaty to the Venetian Bailo in Constantinople for confirmation. However, on 25 October of the same year Murad sent his own envoy Yahşi Beg and the Greek secretary Dimitri to Constantinople with a confirmation of the treaty of 23 February 1446.[41] Venice had succeeded in securing her commercial privileges, trade now being more important to her than anything else. In spite of the frequent and devastating raids on Venetian territories even after 1446, Venice would persist in a policy of strict neutrality in the years to come in order to protect her commercial interests. The Genoese, on the other hand, saw their longstanding cooperation with the Ottomans come to an end when the latter attacked the Genoese held island of Lesbos in 1450.[42]

Mehmed II (1451-1481) succeeded his father as Ottoman sultan in February 1451. That same year he concluded a three-year peace with John Hunyadi and renewed the peace treaty with his vassal Serbia. Having thus safeguarded his western borders, he also concluded a new treaty with İbrahim of Karaman who had attacked the Ottomans earlier in 1451. The Venetians sent Lorenzo Moro as their ambassador to renew the treaty they had concluded with the Ottomans in 1446. Mehmed confirmed the treaty on 10 September 1451.[43] By concluding treaties with his potential enemies, Mehmed had succeeded in isolating the Byzantines politically. He then began his preparations for the actual conquest of the last Byzantine stronghold: Constantinople.

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258 (Babinger, *Staatsvertrag*). For the Italian text (dated 25 February) see *DVL*, II, no. 198, 366-368. For Murad's confirmation of the treaty (dated September) see *DVL*, no. 201, 370.

41 M. P. Pedani, *In Nome del Gran Signore. Inviati Ottomani a Venezia dalla Caduta di Costantinopoli alla Guerra di Candia* (= Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezie. Miscellanea di Studi e Memorie XXX), Venezia 1994, 47 and 100 (Pedani, *Inviati*).

For Mehmed's accompanying letter (dated 9 March) see *DVL*, II, no. 199, 369; for Murad's accompanying letters (dated 25 October) see *DVL*, II, no. 202-203, 370-372.

42 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 134-143; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 385-391; Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, 379-380; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 465-490; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 92-107; İnalcık, *Fatih devri*, 69-120; Werner, *Grossmacht*, 240-245; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 59-63; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 240-244; Geanakoplos, *Crusades,* II, 98-99; Atiya, *Aftermath*, 656-657; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 119-121; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 439-452; Babinger, *Lotta*, 248; idem, *Mehmed*, 43-66; idem, *Staatsvertrag*, 225-233; Spremic, *art. cit.*, 242; F. Babinger, 'Von Amurath zu Amurath', *Oriens*, III, 2, 1950, 229-265; Turan, *İlişkileri*, 299-313; and Fabris, *Adrianople*, 182. See also A. Bombaci, 'Due clausole del trattato in greco fra Maometto II e Venezia, del 1446', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXXII, 1943-1949, 267-271 (Bombaci, *Trattato del 1446*).

43 For the text of the treaty see *DVL*, II, no. 209, 382-384.

In 1452 he built the fortress of Rumeli Hisarı opposite Anadolu Hisarı to cut off Constantinople from reinforcements from the Black Sea and thus started his blockade of the city. The Byzantine emperor sent ambassadors to seek help from other Christian states, including Venice. Meanwhile, Mehmed prepared for the actual siege of the city on both land and sea. He had new ships built in Gallipoli and ordered a general mobilization of his troops. In November 1452 a Venetian ship coming from the Black Sea was sunk by the cannons of Rumeli Hisarı and the crew were executed. This incident amounted to a *de facto* state of war between Venice and the Ottomans. Of the Christian states only Venice and Genoa sent ships and soldiers to reinforce the Byzantines. The initial Venetian contribution was small in comparison with that of the Genoese, and the ships and soldiers which the Venetians later dispatched only arrived in Negroponte after Constantinople had fallen.

The siege began in the spring of 1453. On 29 May Mehmed ordered a general assault and that same day the city fell to the Ottoman forces. Constantinople was pillaged for three days and nights. Thousands of people were killed or sold into slavery, among them many Venetians. The Venetian bailo Girolamo Minotto was executed. The Genoese colony of Pera surrendered the same day as well but obtained an *ᶜahd-name* which though making Pera an Ottoman town, secured Genoese commercial interests.[44]

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44 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 145-158; Nicol, *op. cit.*, 391-408; Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, 380-383; Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 500-563; İnalcık, *Fatih devri*, 120-136; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 108-137; S. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople 1453*, Cambridge 1965, 60-159 and 162-164 (Runciman, *Constantinople*); Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 63-64; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 245-259; Geanakoplos, *Crusades*, II, 99-103; Atiya, *Aftermath*, 657-680; Spremic, *art. cit.*, 242-243; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 303-313; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 123-141; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, I, 452-493 and II, 1-11; Belin, *art. cit.*, 385-386; Tansel, *op. cit.*, 35-111; Babinger, *Lotta*, 248-250; idem, *Mehmed*, 67-107; C. Coco and F. Manzonetto, *Baili veneziani alla Sublima Porta*, Venezia 1985, 23-24; Turan, *İlişkileri*, 316-319; and Fabris, *Adrianople*,182-183.

For contemporary accounts of the fall of Constantinople and reactions see A. Pertusi, *La caduta di Costantinopoli. Le testimonianze dei contemporanei* (= Volume I), Verona 1976; and idem, *La caduta di Costantinopoli. L'eco nel mondo* (= Volume II), Verona 1976.

For the Greek text of the *ᶜahd-name* given to Galata see F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols., Vindobonae (Vienna) 1860-1890, III, Vindobonae 1865, 287-288 (*MM*, III). The Greek text and a German tranlation is also to be found in Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 675-678; also E. Dalleggio d'Alessio, 'Le texte grec du traité conclu par les génois de Galata avec Mehmet II, le 1er juin, 1453', *Ellenika*, 11, 1939, 115-124. On the Greek, Italian and French versions of this treaty see E. Dalleggio d'Alessio, 'Traité entre les génois de Galata et Mehmet II (1er Juin 1453). Versions et commentaires', *Échos d'Orient*, XXXIX, 197-198, 1940, 161-175; and idem, 'Trattato tra i genovesi di Galata e Maometto II, *Il Veltro*, XXIII, 2-4, 1979, 103-118. See also T. Skeat, 'Two Byzantine Documents', *The British Museum Quarterly*, XVIII, 1953, 71-73. The Turkish text of this *ᶜahd-name* can be found in a small article written by Y. Hocı included in the varia published in *Tarih-i ᶜOsmani Encümeni Mecmuᶜası*, V, 25-30, 1330, 49-53 with the title 'Galatanıñ ᶜOsmanlılara teslimi'.

Immediately after the conquest, Mehmed ordered the reconstruction and repopulation of the city, which became the new capital of the Ottoman Empire.[45] Venice was eager to regain her commercial privileges as soon as possible and on 17 July 1453 she instructed Bartolomeo Marcello to negotiate peace with Mehmed on the basis of treaties concluded earlier with the Ottomans and the Byzantines. Marcello brought with him presents of greater value than usual. The treaty the Venetians were seeking was crucial for their commercial activities which were becoming increasingly dependent on the Ottoman Empire. In the meantime the Venetians had occupied the islands of the Northern Sporades to be better able to defend their important colony Negroponte against attack.

On 18 April 1454 Bartolomeo Marcello reached an agreement with Mehmed II and a treaty was concluded which secured Venetian commercial interests in the Ottoman Empire and permitted Venice to maintain her merchant colony in Constantinople and a permanent representative in the sultan's capital.[46] This bailo was the first permanent Venetian ambassador in the Ottoman capital and a direct successor of the bailos whom the Venetians had maintained in Constantinople in Byzantine times. After peace had been concluded in Constantinople, Mehmed II dispatched at least two ambassadors to Venice to be present at the confirmation of peace by the Venetians. Not long after 6 July 1454, in the presence of the Ottoman ambassadors, *ᶜUlufecibaşı* Ahmed and secretary Demetrio Crisovergi, the doge will have sworn to maintain the peace treaty.[47]

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45 On the reconstruction of Constantinople see H. İnalcık, 'The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings in the City', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 23/24, 1969-1970, 229-249.

46 For the text of the treaty of 1454 see Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 528-535. ASV, Senato Secreta, reg. no. 20, f. 3v.-f.4v, contains a draft of this treaty with amendments proposed by the Venetians (dated 15 January 1453 = 1454; Venetian new year started at 15 March). A letter (dated 22 February 1453 = 1454) to Bartolomeo Marcello can be found on f. 9r-f.9v. For the text of Bartolomeo Marcello's appointment as first Venetian bailo in Ottoman Constantinople see f. 29v.-f.30r. Cf. Coco, *op. cit.*, 24, 'In una cronologia ricostruita dal Bertelè si trova menzionato il nome di Bartolomeo Marcello per l'anno 1454 ma non esistono documenti d'archivio a conferma della nomina'! In 1453 the Venetians also obtained commercial privileges in Karaman. For the text of this treaty (dated 12 February 1453) see Romanin, *op. cit.*, 523-523; and *DVL*, II, no. 210, 385-387 (dated 12 February 1454 !). See Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 356-357; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 205-206; Ş. Tekindağ, 'Son Osmanlı-Karaman münasebetleri hakkında araştırmalar', *Tarih Dergisi*, XIII, 17-18, 1962-1963 (1963), 43-76, 43-49; and Turan, *İlişkileri*, 319-324.

47 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 158-162; Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, 383-384; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 1-12; Runciman, *Constantinople*, 160-162; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 138-160; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 69; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 260-264; Spremic, *art. cit.*, 243-244; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 315-318; Babinger, *Lotta*, 250;

After the conquest of Constantinople Mehmed directed his attention to Serbia. He led his army into Serbia and captured some fortresses which were, however, lost again after Hungarian intervention. In 1455 Mehmed led a second campaign into Serbia. And thefollowing year his ambitions focussed on the Genoese possesions in the region. Old and New Phokaia (Foça) and Aenos (Enez) were captured and, in 1456, having expelled the Florentine Acciajuoli family, Mehmed annexed Athens as well. That same year also witnessed a new expedition against Hungary. Mehmed tried to capture the important strategic Hungarian stronghold of Belgrade but was defeated when John Hunyadi arrived to relieve the city from its Ottoman besiegers.[48]

In 1457 Mehmed's expedition into Albania met with defeat by Scanderbeg. The same year the Ottomans also suffered set-backs in the Aegean. A fleet, made up of papal, Aragonese and Neapolitan forces, recaptured some of the Aegean islands the Ottomans had been holding. Mehmed reacted by sending a fleet to attack Lesbos which he suspected had helped the Latins. The Ottoman naval expedition ended with Mehmed concluding new treaties with Genoese Lesbos and Chios and the Venetian Duchy of Naxos. At this point it became clear that the Ottoman fleet had indeed become larger than that which any other state in the region could assemble. Maintaining a large naval force was now a part of Ottoman policy and would in the end result in the downfall of the Venetian and Genoese colonial empire in the Levant.

In the spring of 1458 Mehmed launched an attack against the Peloponnesus in order to prevent the area from falling into the hands of the Latins. By 1460 the annexation of the Morea (the Peloponnesus) was completed and Mehmed had also regained control of the Aegean islands that he had lost in 1457. Only a few Venetian and papal fortresses in the Peloponnesus remained outside Ottoman control, but the advance of the Ottomans was so threatening that it eventually led to the Venetian-Ottoman war of 1463-1479. In fact, already by 1460 the Venetian senate considered that

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idem, *Mehmed*, 107-115; Tansel, *op. cit.*, 195; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 140-141 and 194-196; Belin, *art. cit.*, 285-286; T. Bertelè, *Il palazzo degli ambasciatori di Venezia a Costantinopoli e le sue antiche memorie*, Bologna 1932, 35-78; Coco, *op. cit.*, 24-26; and Fabris, *Adrianople*, 183. An entry (dated 6 July 1454) in Senato Secreta, reg. no. 20, f. 57v., mentions the mission of the Ottoman ambassadors to Venice. For the ambassadors see Pedani, *Inviati*, 100 and 203.

48 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 162-169; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 13-27; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 72; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 307-308; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 318-322; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 161-192; Tansel, *op. cit.*, 113-132; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 13-21; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 141-144; and E. Zachariadou, 'The First Serbian Campaigns of Mehemmed II (1454, 1455)', *Annali dell' Instituto Orientale di Napoli*, N. S., XIV, 1964, 837-840 (Scritti in onore di Laura Veccia Vaglieri).

war was inevitable. Meanwhile, Mehmed had brought about the end of an independant Serbia.[49]

Likewise, Mehmed completed the conquest of the Black Sea coast and Wallachia between 1459 and 1463. One after the other, Amasra (Genoese), Sinop, and the Byzantine-Greek 'Empire' of Trabzon were annexed and Wallachia became an Ottoman vassal state. And by 1463 Mehmed had also added Lesbos and Bosnia-Herzegovina to his array of conquests.[50]

On 28 July 1463 the Venetian senate decided to declare war on the Ottoman Empire. The tension between the two powers, which had mounted continuously during the years following the Ottoman conquest of the Peloponnesus, at last reached a state of open warfare. During the years 1458-1460, the Venetians had reinforced their colony Negroponte as well as their strongholds on the Peloponnesus which were immediately threatened by Ottoman expansion. Ottoman raids against Venetian territories and the seizing of Venetian ships had further increased tension after 1460. The Ottoman capture of Argos in 1463 and the refusal to return it to the Venetians brought about a change in Venetian policy which until that moment had been based on diplomacy rather than the use of military force. It was clear that all attempts at diplomacy had failed. Venice now declared war on the Ottomans.

While Mehmed was in Bosnia with his army, the Venetians launched an attack on Argos and recaptured it. They then attacked Corinth but during the siege Turkish relief forces arrived which drove off the Venetians. Nonetheless, the Venetians succeeded in bringing almost the whole of the Peloponnesus under their control. While Venice pursued her operations in the Peloponnesus, the Hungarians attacked the Ottomans in Bosnia. The Venetians also negotiated a treaty of alliance with the Karamanids (December 1463) which they hoped would incite Emir İbrahim to attack the Ottomans on a third front. In the Morea, however, Venetian operations were proving to be less

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49 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 169-176; Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, 385-389; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 26-27 and 29-50; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 73-76; Topping, *art. cit.*, 165-166; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 308-311; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 192-230; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 321-424; Babinger, *Lotta*, 250-251; idem, *Mehmed*, 115-201; Tansel, *op. cit.*, 131-135, 147-175 and 249-270; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 145-147 and 159-165; and Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 21-26 and 34-37.

50 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 176-183; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 50-72 and 76-79; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 76-78; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 311-312; Babinger, *Mehmed*, 201-241; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 150-152 and 155-170; and Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 34-37 and 47-85. For Venice and the Byzantine-Greek 'Empire' of Trabzon see S. P. Karpov, *L'Impero di Trebisonda, Venezia, Genova e Roma 1204-1461. Rapporti politici, diplomatici e commerciali*, Roma 1986.

successful than had been anticipated. The Venetians lost control of the Isthmus and could no longer prevent Ottoman military intervention.

On the diplomatic front the situation was also rapidly deteriorating. İbrahim of Karaman died (1464) and neither Uzun Hasan, the Ak Koyunlu ruler who was Mehmed's adversary in eastern Anatolia, nor any of the other Christian states in Europe (except for Hungary) actively supported Venice. The much sought after alliance had almost completely collapsed. In 1464 the Venetians tried to capture Lesbos but were defeated. An Ottoman ambassador who had come to negotiate peace was rejected and the war continued. In the meantime Mehmed went on campaign against the Hungarians but by the end of the year he had returned to Edirne having achieved little success.[51]

Following the death of the emir of Karaman, a dispute broke out among his heirs over the throne. The Ottomans supported one faction and Uzun Hasan the other. Uzun Hasan intervened in Karaman and established his candidate as ruler. The Ak Koyunlu ruler also sent an embassy to Venice to discuss joint action against the Ottomans. The result of these negotiations was an alliance between the Ak Koyunlu, Karaman and Venice (end of 1464). At the beginning of 1465 Mehmed prepared an expedition but his troops refused to set out. The alliance did not take advantage of this situation. On the contrary, when Mehmed sent an army into Karaman and removed Uzun Hasan's candidate, neither Venice nor the Ak Koyunlu reacted. In order to be free to fight Uzun Hasan, the Ottomans were eager to break up the alliance and tried to conclude a separate peace with Venice through the mediation of the Albanian leader Scanderbeg. However, the latter's efforts to mediate were not successful and Mehmed's subsequent invasion of Albania (in the years 1466-1467) led to the destruction of Scanderbeg's power.

In the meantime the Venetians continued their operations in the Peloponnesus, but when their losses began to mount, they tried to negotiate peace with the Ottomans. They sent their ambassador Giovanni Cappello to Constantinople but negotiations broke down. Mehmed's position was evidently stronger than before his invasion of Albania. Venice became even

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51 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 185-191; Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, 389; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 79-85; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 79-83 and 206; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 313-323; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 324-325; Babinger, *Lotta*, 251; idem, *Mehmed*, 241-258; Setton, *op. cit.,* III, 231-270; Belin, *art. cit.*, 386-387; Tansel, *op. cit.*, 196-201 and 299-300; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 179-180; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 87-88 and 111-114; Ş. Turan, 'Fatih Mehmet-Uzun Hasan mücadelesi ve Venedik', *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi,* III, 4-5, 1965, 63-138, 63-74 (Turan, *Mücadele*); and B. Baykal, 'Uzun Hasan'ın Osmanlılara karşı kati mücadeleye hazırlıkları ve Osmanlı-Akkoyunlu harbinin başlaması', *Belleten*, XXI, 82, 1957, 261-296, 261-264 (Baykal, *Uzun Hasan*).

more alarmed by the news that the Ottomans were preparing a large fleet, as rumour had it, to conquer Negroponte. Mehmed's naval expedition, however, had to be postponed while he mounted his second and final campaign against Scanderbeg in Albania. As a result of this expedition, the whole of Albania, except for a few Venetian enclaves, was annexed by the Ottomans.[52]

The Ottoman advance in Albania and the threat of a naval attack on Negroponte convinced Venice that it was better to seek peace than to continue a war which would only bring even greater losses.[53] However, the negotiations between the Ottomans, Hungarians and Venetians at the end of 1467, were nothing more than an Ottoman ploy to prevent allied attacks in 1468, when Mehmed planned to go to war against the Mamluks. But instead of attacking the Mamluks, the Ottomans annexed most of Karaman because its ruler Pir Ahmed had refused to give the assistance they required. In August 1469 the Venetians sacked Enez. Mehmed's vengeance came next year when he attacked Negroponte. Although the Venetians had reinforced their troops and fleet and put up a fierce resistence, Ottoman victory was inevitable. In addition to Negroponte, Ottoman forces also captured some Venetian positions in the Peloponnesus.[54]

The loss of Negroponte and the failure of the alliance with Hungary made the Venetians willing to consider a peace settlement. After two envoys from Mehmed's stepmother Mara (Maria Brankovic) and her sister Catherine of Cilly had arrived in October 1470, Venice decided to dispatch two

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52 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 192-198; Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, 389-390; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 85-96; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 79-83 and 206; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 319-325 and 333-336; Spremic, *art. cit.*, 244; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 271-291; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 324-325; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 171-172 and 181; Babinger, *Lotta*, 251-252; idem, *Mehmed*, 258-285; Tansel, *op. cit.*, 201, 284-287 and 299-307; Turan, *Mücadele*, 74-85; Baykal, *Uzun Hasan*, 264-271; Tekindağ, *art. cit.*, 49-63; M. Keçik, *Briefe und Urkunden aus der Kanzlei Uzun Hasans. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Ost-Anatoliens im 15. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg 1976, 94-96 (= Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, 29); and Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 88-89 and 114.

53 On 25 October 1466 the Venetian senate instructed Capitano del Golfo Giacomo Venier to visit Mehmed II. On 30 October 1467 another Venetian ambassador, Leonardo Boldù, was instructed. See ASV, Senato Secreta, reg. no. 23, f.11r.-f.13v., and [D. Malipiero], Annali Veneti dall'anno 1457 al 1500 del Senatore Domenico Malipiero […], a cura di F. Longo, *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Tomo VIII/1, Firenze 1843, 3-586, 59 (Malipiero, *Annali*): 'e mandò a tal effeto Lunardo Boldu ambassador al Turco'.

54 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 198-204; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 98-101; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 79-83 and 206; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 336-350; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 325-326; Babinger, *Lotta*, 252; idem, *Mehmed*, 285-309; Tekindağ, *art. cit.*, 53-63; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 290-307; Tansel, *op. cit.*, 136-141 and 201-207; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 172-173 and 182-183; Baykal, *Uzun Hasan*, 264-271; Turan, *Mücadele*, 85-87; and Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 89-90 and 114-117.

ambassadors to Constantinople.[55] On 12 March 1471 the Venetian ambassadors Nicolò Cocco and Francesco Cappello arrived in Constantinople and began negotiations with the Ottomans. However, the terms of the peace offered by the Ottomans were rejected by the Venetian senate.[56] Meanwhile, diplomatic activity had once again raised Venetian hopes for an alliance with the Ak Koyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan. A Venetian embassy to Uzun Hasan in 1469 was followed by an Ak Koyunlu mission to Italy in 1470-1471. Thereupon the Venetians sent Catarino Zeno (or Zen) to Uzun Hasan to conclude a treaty of alliance. While Zeno was on his way to Tebriz, the Ottomans dispatched an army into Karaman, where Pir Ahmed tried to regain control of the lands he had lost in 1468. Ottoman campaigns in 1470-1472 secured the complete annexation of Karaman.[57]

In 1472 Uzun Hasan became more aggressive. His intention was to attack the Ottoman Empire and restore the Karamanid emirate by force. He sent an envoy to Venice and expounded his plans. He also sent an envoy to Mehmed demanding the cession of Trabzon and the restoration of the emirates of Karaman and Sinop.[58] In late summer 1472, Uzun Hasan ordered his army to attack the Ottomans. The Ottoman troops under the command of Prince Mustafa at first retreated but in a later phase they were able to inflict some losses upon the Ak Koyunlu army which had ravaged Ottoman dominions in central Anatolia. Meanwhile, the Venetian fleet reinforced by ships from the pope, Naples and Rhodes had attacked and pillaged Antalya, İzmir and the Ottoman held islands in the Aegean. These Venetian naval successes increased confidence in the joint operation against the Ottomans and both parties seemed ready to proceed. The Venetians dispatched an envoy called Giosafat Barbaro to Uzun Hasan with artillery and gunners and tried

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55 Pedani, *Inviati*, 104.

56 The terms set by Mehmed are presented in an Ottoman document in Italian (the oldest Ottoman document in Italian preserved) which has been published in V. Ménage, 'Seven Ottoman Documents from the Reign of Mehemmed II', S. Stern (ed.), *Documents from Islamic Chanceries*, Oxford 1965, 81-118, no. 1, 82-83 (Ménage, *Seven Ottoman Documents*).

57 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 204-208; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 104-105; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 79-83 and 206; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 350-351; Spremic, *art. cit.*, 244-245; Ménage, *Seven Ottoman Documents*, 101-106; Babinger, *Lotta*, 252; idem, *Mehmed*, 309-324; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 307-316; Tekindağ, *art. cit.*, 64-76; Tansel, *op. cit.*, 207-208, 287-295 and 306-308; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 174-179 and 183-184; Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 90-94 and 116-119; Turan, *Mücadele*, 85-101; Baykal, *Uzun Hasan*, 264-271; and Iorga, *op. cit.*, III, 2-6.

58 On Trabzon and Ottoman-Ak Koyunlu relations see B. Baykal, 'Fatih Sultan Mehmet-Uzun Hasan rekabetinde Trabzon meselesi', *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, III, 2-3, 1964, 67-81.

to sabotage the Ottoman arsenal at Gallipoli. Although the mission was only partially successful, considerable damage was done.

Uzun Hasan, however, did not keep his promises to the Venetians. The next year he did not resume operations against the Ottomans. Instead, he attacked the Mamluks in Anatolia and Syria, and was defeated. This created new opportunities for Ottoman diplomatic activity. Mehmed sent an envoy to the Mamluks in Egypt proposing an anti-Ak Koyunlu alliance and tried to contact Venice to seduce her to conclude peace. These Ottoman efforts, however, did not meet with success and, in view of Venice's negative response, Mehmed ordered raids against Venetian territories not only in Greece, Albania and Dalmatia but even in Italy itself. In 1473 the Venetian fleet captured some Ottoman strongholds along the southern coast of Asia Minor which they ceded to the Karamanids. The artillery and gunners meant for Uzun Hasan, however, could not be delivered since nothing had been heard or seen of the Ak Koyunlu ruler.

At the same time Uzun Hasan and Mehmed had both mobilized their troops and approached each other. Mehmed entered Ak Koyunlu territory and the two armies clashed near Erzincan. Although Uzun Hasan's forces won an initial victory, both armies retreated before eventually joining battle again. Then in the battle of Otluk Beli, Mehmed inflicted a decisive defeat on Uzun Hasan. Now that the Ak Koyunlu were no longer a threat to the Ottomans, Mehmed concentrated on the Venetians. In 1474 he ordered his troops to attack the important Venetian fortress of Scutari in Albania, but after a long and difficult siege the Ottomans were forced to abandon the operation.[59]

At the end of 1474 Venice once again considered concluding peace with the Ottomans through diplomatic mediation. An Ottoman envoy had contacted the Venetian authorities on Corfu and the senate decided to dispatch Girolamo Zorzi and secretary Giovanni Dario in response, while, however, persisting in their efforts to build up an anti-Ottoman alliance. In fact, when the safe-conduct for the Venetian ambassador arrived, prospects for such an alliance were better than ever. Poland, Hungary, the Ak Koyunlu Empire and other states had expressed their intention to join the alliance. And Moldavia had rebelled against the Ottomans and defeated an Ottoman force in the

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59 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 208-221; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 105-136; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 79-83 and 206; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 353-356 and 364-371; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 314-321; Babinger, *Lotta*, 252; idem, *Mehmed*, 325-368; Keçik, *op. cit.*, 99-106; Tansel, *op. cit.*, 208-209, 296-298 and 307-328; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 174-177 and 182-183; Baykal, *Uzun Hasan*, 271-273; Turan, *Mücadele*, 88-126; Iorga, *op. cit.*, III, 6-17; and Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 94-110 and 117-120.

beginning of January 1475. Although Zorzi's mission in Constantinople failed, there were no Ottoman military operations against the Venetians that year because the Ottomans were concentrating on eliminating the last Genoese colonies in the Black Sea area (Caffa, Tana etc.) and reducing the Krim Khanate to vassalage. While the Ottoman fleet under the command of Gedik Ahmed Paşa operated in the Crimea, Mehmed ordered raids against the Hungarians, and in the spring of 1476 led a campaign himself to Moldavia and Serbia. However, both expeditions only met with limited success.

In 1477 the Ottomans recommenced operations against the Venetians. Istria and Friuli in the vicinity of Venice, as well as the Venetian colonies in Greece and Albania, suffered raids.[60] Lepanto was besieged but not captured. In the meantime new peace initiatives were under way. Mehmed had dispatched an ambassador but this envoy died before he reached Venice.[61] The Venetians, however, heard of the Ottoman initiative and in the beginning of 1478 decided to appoint Tomaso Malipiero as their ambassador to Mehmed. After having obtained his safe-conduct, dated 25 February 1478, Malipiero and his secretary Alvise Manenti set out. They arrived in Constantinople in early April.[62] When Malipiero found out that Ottoman demands exceeded the concessions he was authorized to make, he asked for a truce of two months and returned to Venice on 3 May 1478 for consultation.[63] Within two days the Venetian senate agreed to make peace on Mehmed's terms and on 5 May Malipiero again set out from Venice.[64]

However, on his way back to Constantinople he found out that Mehmed had broken the two month truce and had started his campaign against the Venetian colonies in Albania. Now Mehmed was also demanding the cession of some Venetian strongholds in Albania. Negotiations broke

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60 On the raids in the Venetian 'terraferma' see F. Salimbeni, 'I Turchi in terraferma', *Venezia e i turchi. Scontri e confronti di due civiltà*, Milano 1985, 232-243.

61 Among the papers of this envoy was a safe-conduct for a Venetian ambassador. For this document see Ménage, *Seven Ottoman Documents*, no. 2, 83-84 and 107.

62 For Malipiero's safe-conduct in Italian see Ménage, *Seven Ottoman Documents*, no. 3, 84-87, and 107-109. For a decree of the same period urging Malipiero to come to Constantinople without delay see Ménage, *Seven Ottoman Documents*, no. 4, 87-88.

63 ASV, Senato Secreta, reg. no. 28, f.90r.-f.90v. (3 May 1478).

64 Malipiero took with him a new safe-conduct, this time in Ottoman-Turkish. For the text of this document see Ménage, *Seven Ottoman Documents*, no. 5, 88-89 and 109.

down and Malipiero returned to Venice for further consultation.[65] He arrived back in Venice in June after a difficult journey.[66] In July, together with his secretary Manenti, he returned to Mehmed once again to continue negotiations which, however, failed. On 27 July Manenti reported in Venice on the failure of the mission.

During the Albanian expedition the Venetian fortress of Kroya, which had been under attack since 1477, was conquered and Scutari, another Venetian stronghold, was besieged. At the beginning of 1479 Venice found herself in great difficulties. Uzun Hasan had died in 1478 and, although his contributions to the alliance never had the effect Venice had hoped, this was one less potential ally. In this situation the senate decided to send a new envoy, Giovanni Dario, to Constantinople to negotiate peace.[67] The Venetians gave up Scutari, the Aegean island of Lemnos and Mani (Brazo di Maina) in the Peloponnesus. In addition they had to pay a single sum of 100.000 ducats followed by 10.000 ducats a year for commercial rights in the Ottoman Empire.[68] Peace was finally concluded on 25 January 1479 in Constantinople

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65 On his return to Venice Malipiero took with him a new safe-conduct for the Venetian envoy who would return to Mehmed. For the text of this document see Ménage, *Seven Ottoman Documents*, no. 6, 90-91 and 110.

66 Ménage, *Seven Ottoman Documents*, no. 7, 91 and 110-112. This document in Greek deals with the events which occurred in Albania during Malipiero's return to Venice. It seems that he was robbed. When he complained, an Ottoman official sent him this letter promising to return his stolen possessions.

67 For Giovanni Dario see F. Babinger, *Johannes Darius (1414-1494), Sachwalter Venedigs im Morgenland, und sein griechischer Umkreis*, München 1961 (= Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, Jahrgang 1961, Heft 5); and Giovanni Dario, *22 Dispacci da Costantinopoli al Doge Giovanni Mocenigo* (Traduzione e Commento di Giuseppe Calò, Introduzione di Alvise Zorzi), Venezia 1992.

68 The 10.000 ducats for the commercial rights of 1479 were paid in November 1479 by Battista Gritti, the Venetian bailo in Constantinople. The payment was confirmed by Mehmed in a letter to the Doge of Venice dated 17 November 1479. For the text of this letter see A. Bombaci, 'Nuovi firmani greci di Maometto II', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXXVII, 1954, 298-319, no. III, 307 (Bombaci, *Firmani*). See also A. Bombaci, 'Il "Liber Graecus", un cartolario veneziano comprendente inediti documenti ottomani in greco (1481-1504)', F. Meier (ed.), *Westöstliche Abhandlungen. Rudolf Tschudi zum siebzigsten Geburtstag überreicht von Freunden und Schülern*, Wiesbaden 1954, 288-303, no. 6, 300 (Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*). For the original Ottoman document of this letter in Greek see ASV, Documenti Turchi 9b. Another letter of Mehmed confirms the payment of 10.000 ducats for the year 1481. For the text of this letter, dated 23 March 1481, see Bombaci, *Firmani*, no. XI, 315-316 (= Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no. 23, 302). The first half of the 100.000 ducats was received by Mehmed in March 1481. For the text of this letter, dated 23 March 1481, confirming the payment see Bombaci, *Firmani*, no. X, 314-315 (= Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no. 22, 302). See also Spremic, *art. cit.*, 245-246. For these and other Ottoman documents in Greek from the time of Mehmed II see Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, 300-302.

and confirmed by the Venetians on 25 April 1479 (St. Mark's Day) in the presence of the Ottoman ambassador Lutfi Beg who had arrived on 16 April.[69] On 4 May 1479 the Venetian senate sent a letter to Mehmed stating that they had ratified the treaty and that the doge had sworn an oath to uphold the treaty.[70] The longest Venetian-Ottoman war so far had ended.[71]

However, the redefining of the Ottoman-Venetian borders in Greece and Albania required more time. After the conclusion of peace the Venetian ambassador Benedetto Trevisan was sent to Constantinople to define the borders.[72] An agreement (*sınur-name*) was reached, but it later became clear that not all the pertinent problems had been resolved.[73] When in 1480-1481 another Venetian envoy Nicolò Cocco visited Mehmed, the borders were discussed once again but there were problems concerning Police in Albania and Vatika in Greece.[74] In a letter written only a few days before his death (3 May 1481), Mehmed claimed both these places and demanded that Venice return them.[75]

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69 For the original Ottoman document in Greek (ASV, Documenti Turchi 2, dated 25 January 6987 AM) see *MM*, III, 295-298. A copy can also be found in Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no. 1, 300. No Turkish text of this treaty has so far been found. For the text of Mehmed's letter (dated 29 January) on the conclusion of the peace and introducing Lutfi Beg see ASV, Documenti Turchi 3; also *MM*, III, 298; and Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no. 2, 300.

70 ASV, Senato Secreta, reg. no. 29, f.14v-f.15r.

71 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 223-241; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 136-171; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 79-83 and 206-207; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 375-383; Spremic, *art. cit.*, 245-246; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 320-340; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 326-329, 357-360 and 365-407; Ménage, *Seven Ottoman Documents*, 107-112; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 183-186; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 120-132; Tansel, *op. cit.*, 142-146, 209-216 and 271-279; Belin, *art. cit.*, 387-389; Babinger, *Lotta*, 252; idem, *Mehmed*, 368-411; A. Gallotta, 'Il trattato turco-veneto del 12 gennaio 1482', *Studia Turcologica Memoriae Alexii Bombaci Dicata*, Napoli 1982, 219-235, 219-220 (Gallotta, *Trattato*); Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78; Turan, *Mücadele*, 126-138; Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, 294; Iorga, *op. cit.*, III, 17-27; Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, 390-391. During the war of 1463-1479 Venice had often tried to kill Mehmed II by sending murderers (without results). There were similar attempts to kill Ottoman sultans and high government officials during every later war with the Ottomans. On this subject see V. Lamansky, *Secrets d'état de Venise*, 2 vols., New York 1968 (reprint of ed. princ. Saint-Pétersbourg 1884), II, 818-823; and F. Babinger, 'Mehmed II., der Eroberer, und Italien', *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, I, München 1962, 172-200, 186-187.

72 For Benedetto Trevisan's 'commissio' see ASV, Senato Secreta, reg. no. 29, f.18v.-f.22r. (12 June 1479).

73 For a letter containing this settlement (dated 23 September 1479) see Bombaci, *Firmani*, no. I, 300-305 (= Bombaci, *Liber Greacus*, no. 3, 300). For the original Greek document of this letter see ASV, Documenti Turchi 4. For another letter (dated 7 October 1479) about Trevisan's mission see Bombaci, *Liber Greacus*, no. 4, 300; also *MM*, III, 298-299.

74 For Nicolò Cocco's 'commissio' see ASV, Senato Secreta, reg. no. 29, f.90r.-f.92v. (17 April 1480).

75 This letter is dated 30 April 1481 and was most likely brought to Venice by Nicolò Cocco or the Ottoman messenger that accompanied him. Cocco's credentials ('recredenziali') have the same date.

The problems concerning Police and Vatika were finally resolved in the treaty concluded between Bayezid II and Venice on 12 January 1482.[76]

During the last years of Mehmed's reign, the Ottomans annexed the remnants of the dominions of the Tocchi on mainland Greece (Vonitsa) and in the Ionian Sea (Santa Maura, Zante and Cephalonia)(1479). The conquest of Zante almost nullified the treaty concluded with Venice because half the population was Venetian. In the end, by means of diplomacy an agreement was reached which saved the new peace. The sultan allowed the Venetians to depart from the island, whereafter the conquest of Zante was recognized as completed. In the same year Ottoman conquests in Georgia and Circassia secured tighter Ottoman control over the Black Sea region. Mehmed also ordered raids into Hungary and Austria. In 1480 the Ottomans launched two major attacks, one against Rhodes and one against Otranto in Italy. The expedition against Rhodes failed but Otranto was captured and remained in Ottoman hands for almost one year. Otranto was then retaken by the Neapolitan and papal forces on 10 September 1481, little more than four months after the death of Sultan Mehmed II (3 May 1481), at a time when civil war had broken out between his two sons, Bayezid and Cem.[77]

Following the death of Mehmed II, Grand Vizier Karamani Mehmed Paşa sent messengers to Cem to inform him of his father's death. However, these messengers were intercepted by Bayezid's supporters and the prince was immediately notified. Bayezid then hurried from Konya to İstanbul to seize power before his brother Cem could do so. On 20 May 1481 Bayezid became sultan (1481-1512). Although he was in control of the city and the treasury and

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Both documents were written just before Mehmed left Constantinople for another campaign, possibly against the Mamluks. For the text of the letter see Bombaci, *Firmani*, no. XII, 316-318 (= *MM*, III, 306-309, = Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no. 26, 302); for Cocco's credentials ('recredenziali') see Bombaci, *Firmani*, no. XIII, 318-319 (= Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no. 24, 302). Other letters (dated 7 January 1480 and 30 April 1481) concerning territorial problems can be found in Bombaci, *Firmani*, no. V, 308-309 (= Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no. 10, 301) and Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no. 25, 302). For the settlement reached by Cocco see Gallotta, *Trattato*, 224.

76 For the final settlement see the text of the treaty of 1482.

77 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 242-253; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 172-182 and 197-208; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 83; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 329; Setton, *op. cit.*, 340-380; Babinger, *Lotta*, 252-253; idem, *Mehmed*, 411-445; Tansel, *op. cit.*, 217-222 and 239-247; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 187-191; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 133-144; and E. Rossi, 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes, 1421-1523', K. Setton (ed.), A History of the Crusades, 6 vols., 1955-1989, III, Madison 1975, 314-339, 314-325 (Rossi, *Rhodes*).

recognized by both the court and the troops as sultan, he still had to eliminate his brother Cem who was a serious rival for the Ottoman throne.[78]

After Bayezid's accession, Cem assembled his troops and marched on Bursa. After a brief period the city capitulated and recognized Cem as sultan. Thereupon, Bayezid crossed to Anatolia with his army. A deputation was sent from Bursa to propose a peaceful settlement between Bayezid and Cem. The proposal was to divide the Ottoman Empire into two parts: a European Ottoman Empire ruled by Bayezid and an Asian Ottoman Empire ruled by Cem. Bayezid refused to negotiate and continued with his preparations for battle. On 20 June 1481 the armies of the two brothers clashed and Cem was defeated. Cem fled to Konya and from there to Egypt, where he was received by the Mamluks. In 1482 he returned to Anatolia with Mamluk support and laid siege to Konya, which he failed to capture. Once again Bayezid's troops defeated Cem causing him to flee to Rhodes. Although he never in fact returned to the Ottoman Empire, until his death in 1495 Cem would pose a threat to Bayezid and strongly influence Ottoman foreign policy.[79]

By way of preventing Cem's return to the Ottoman Empire, Bayezid concluded two treaties with the Hospitallers of Rhodes: a peace treaty which provided the Rhodians with favorable commercial privileges and a secret treaty in which Bayezid promised to pay the Hospitallers 45.000 ducats a year to cover Cem's daily expenses[80]

Bayezid's policy of cautiousness and conciliation also resulted in a new treaty with Venice. Following Mehmed's death, Ottoman ghazis had started attacks on Venetian territories in Dalmatia, asserting that the treaty which Mehmed II had concluded with Venice in 1479 was no longer valid. However, both Venice and Bayezid desired to maintain peace. Immediately after his

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78 S. Fisher, *The Foreign Relations of Turkey 1481-1512*, Urbana 1948, 14-20 (= Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, XXX, 1); Hammer,*Geschichte*, II, 251-253; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 197-198; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 161-163; and Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 381.

79 Fisher, *op. cit.,* 21-27; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 253-265; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 163-170; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 85-86; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 198-201; Thakafi, *op. cit.*, 77-79; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 381-507.

80 Fisher, *op. cit.*, 28-29; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 265-279; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 171-177; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 86-89; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 381-383; Sevim, *op. cit.,* II, 201-203. On Cem see also L. Thuasne, *Djem-sultan fils de Mohammed II, frère de Bayezid II (1459-1495) d'après les documents originaux en grande partie inédits*, Paris 1892; İ. Ertaylan, *Sultan Cem*, İstanbul 1951; A. Gallotta and G. Bova, 'Documenti dell' Archivio di Stato di Venezia concernenti il principe ottomano Ğem', *Studi Magrebini*, XII, 1980, 175-199 (Gallotta, *Ğem*); Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no.'s 9-12 and 14, 295; Rossi, *Rhodes*, 325-329; *MM*, III, 317-332; and J. Lefort, *Documents grecs dans les Archives de Topkapı Sarayı. Contribution à l'histoire de Cem Sultan* (Topkapı Sarayı Arşivlerinin yunanca belgeleri. Cem Sultan'ın tarihine katkı), Ankara 1981.

accession, Bayezid had sent a letter to Venice confirming the peace and expressing his willingness to conclude a new treaty.[81] In July after a report from Gritti, the Venetian bailo in Constantinople, confirming Bayezid's favorable disposition, the Venetian senate intructed ambassador Antonio Vitturi to go to Constantinople to negotiate a new treaty.[82] The negotiations were long and difficult. In a letter dated 16 September 1481 Bayezid stated some of his conditions which the Venetians would have to accept in the new treaty.[83] Even though Gedik Ahmed Paşa opposed the final agreement, Bayezid concluded a treaty which was very favorable to the Venetians. The sum of 10.000 ducats a year to be paid for commercial rights was abolished and some territorial issues were also decided in favor of Venice. The treaty was concluded in Edirne on 12 January 1482.[84]

Later in 1482 Bayezid sent an ambassador to Venice for the ratification of the treaty by the doge.[85] The Ottoman ambassador was also instructed to

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81 For the text of this letter (dated 30 May 1481) see *MM*, III, 309-310. An Italian translation of this letter appears in ASV, Documenti Turchi 25.

82 For Antonio Vitturi's instructions see ASV, Senato Secreta, reg. no. 30, f.24v.-f.26r. (dated 27 July 1481).

83 For the text of this letter see *MM*, III, 310-312; and Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no. 2, 294.

84 Fisher, *op. cit.*, 29-30; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 282-284; Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 383-384; Gallotta, *Trattato*, 219-225; Spremic, *art. cit.*, 245-246; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, 329; E, Albèri (ed.), *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato*, Serie IIIa, 3 vols., Firenze 1840-1855, III, 1855, 3; Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78. For the original Ottoman document in Turkish (ASV, Documenti Turchi 26, dated the third decade of the month Zi 'l-ka^{c}de 886 AH = 11-20 January 1482) see the TEXTS. A Greek version of the same treaty can be found in the Venetian *Libri Commemoriali*, and together with an Italian translation, in Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no. 3, 294. The text in the *Libri Commemoriali* has been published in *MM*, III, 313-317 (all dated 12 January 1482). Fisher and Hammer state that the treaty was concluded on 16 January 1482 in İstanbul (!). For a comparison of the treaties of 1479 and 1482 and of the Greek and Turkish version of the treaty of 1482 see Gallotta, *Trattato*, 219-231. For a letter (dated 12 January 1482) concerning the redefining of the Ottoman-Venetian frontiers see Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no. 4, 294; also ASV, Documenti Turchi 27; and *MM*, III, 312-313.

85 For the letter (dated 25 April 1482) see Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no. 8, 295. An entry in the ASV, Senato Secreta, reg. no. 30, f.94v., dated 17 June 1482, confirms that an ambassador had come to Venice, although he is not mentioned by name. It surely was not Lutfi Beg, since he is mentioned in the same text as the 'Magnifico Lufitbei oratori Illustrissimi domini turci defuncti qui ad nos venit pro confirmatione prime pacis' (1479). In ASV, Documenti Turchi 30, which is an Italian translation of Bayezid's letter dated 25-4-1482, the unknown envoy is called 'Chassabegi'. This could be Hasan Beg. See Pedani, *Inviati*, 204. Fisher, *op. cit.*, 39, states that Bayezid's envoy was İskender Beg. However, Lefort, *op. cit.*, 33 and 48-49, points out that 'L'ambassadeur que Bayezid II envoya à Venise pour confirmer le traité n'est pas connu' and 'Iskender bey aurait été, selon Angiolello, envoyé à Venise pour confirmer le traité conclu en 1482 entre Venise et Bayezid II, confirmation qui, d'après notre document no. 1, est antérieure à septembre 1482; mais l'indication fournie par Angiolello est peut-etre erronée, car nous savons que, si Iskender bey vint à Venise, ce fut en février 1483…'.

negotiate with the Venetians about Cem. However, Venice was not interested in Cem and did not accept Bayezid's proposal. Early in 1483, Venice sent two ambassadors to Bayezid to confirm the agreement once again. Apparently, the Venetians were very anxious about the treaty and did not want to endanger their privileges. Indeed, in July they even refused to take custody of Cem who was in the hands of the Duke of Savoy. In December 1483 Venice sent Giovanni Dario to complain about Ottoman infringements of the treaty such as the frequent raids against Venetian and neighboring territories. A new agreement was concluded which was ratified by Benedetto Trevisan in 1485. Meanwhile, Venice had conquered Zante (1482) and Cephalonia (1483). In 1485 the Venetians agreed to return Cephalonia to the Ottomans and to pay a tribute of 500 ducats for the continued possession of Zante.[86]

Although Venice and the Ottoman Empire were officially on friendly terms, in practice it turned out to be very difficult to maintain peace. Raids and territorial disputes, especially in Dalmatia where both states had considerable interests, as well as acts of piracy at sea, troubled Ottoman-Venetian relations throughout the period leading up to the war of 1499-1503.[87] In 1486 the Hospitallers handed Cem over to the pope who planned to organize a crusade against Bayezid under Cem's command. Venice immediately sent her envoy Giovanni Dario to Bayezid to deny any Venetian involvement in the crusading plans (1487). Cem came to Rome in 1489, and in 1490 a congress was held to discuss a crusade against the Ottomans. However, these plans were never carried out because of the death of the Hungarian King, Matthias Corvinus in 1490. In the same year, Venice succeeded in reaching an agreement with the Ottomans concerning territorial frontiers.[88]

After Mehmed's death Ottoman raids against Hungary had also recommenced. Hostilities continued until 1483 when both parties (Matthias

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86 On this tribute see Spremic, *art. cit.*, 246. For a letter concerning Zante (dated 22 April 1483!) see Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no. 15, 295; and *MM*, III, 332-333 (dated April 1485). The Italian translation appears in ASV, Documenti Turchi 32. For the payment of this tribute in 1493 and 1495 see Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no. 32, 296 and no. 39, 297.

87 For documents on pirates and their activities see H. Hunger, 'Piraterie in der Ägäis Anno 1504. Brief Bajezids II. an Leonardo Loredan', *Byzantion*, XL, 1970, 361-376, 371-372; Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no.'s 5, 7, 17, 18, 20, 25, 26 and 28-30, 294-296; and I. Mélikoff, 'Bayezid II et Venise. Cinq lettres impériales (name-i hümayun) provenant de l' Archivio di Stato di Venezia', *Turcica*, I, 1969, 123-149, no. I (= ASV, Documenti Turchi 33), 128-132.

88 Fisher, *op. cit.*, 29-35 and 42-45; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 265-279, 310-313; Pitcher, *op. cit.*, 90-93; Romanin, *op. cit.*, V, 133; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 382-425; Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, III, 3; Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78; and Iorga, *op. cit.*, III, 27-28.

Corvinus of Hungary and Bayezid) concluded a five-year truce and peace was restored. In 1488 this truce was renewed for an additional two years and remained in force until Corvinus' death in 1490. Having concluded peace treaties with Venice and Hungary, Bayezid was then free to engage his forces against the Ottoman tributaries Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia in the years 1484-1493. After the death of Matthias Corvinus in 1490, the Ottomans attacked Hungary with the aim of conquering Belgrade. Bayezid's troops captured several fortresses but were finally defeated and forced to retreat. Thereupon, Bayezid turned his attentions to Albania, and set about ravaging that country. In the meantime Ottoman raiders devestated Dalmatia, Croatia and parts of Hungary and Austria. In 1494 Emperor Maximilian attacked the Ottomans and pursued them into Serbia. The following year, peace was concluded between Hungary and the Ottoman Empire.[89]

Since 1492 Bayezid had also started a new program to reinforce his naval forces. Girolamo Marcello, the Venetian bailo in Constantinople, sent home reports about these activities and when the Ottomans found this out, they ordered him back to Venice. Nor were the Venetians allowed to send another 'official spy' to Constantinople.[90] Meanwhile, Ottomans raids continued and Venice tried to improve her relations with Bayezid by sending Domenico Trevisan to Constantinople to negotiate the reinstatement of a Venetian bailo, but Bayezid refused.[91]

In 1493 all the Italian states were alarmed because of the French king's intentions to invade Italy. Venice refused to help the French and opposed their crusading plans. Naples even sought Ottoman military support, while the pope requested money from the Ottomans to oppose France's plans. The mission of the papal ambassador to Bayezid was very successful and as a

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89 Fisher, *op. cit.*, 31-34 and 45-46; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 282-283, 287-290, 302-309; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 181-186, 207-213; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 204-207; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 91-92; G. Hazai, 'Urkunde des Friedensvertrages zwischen König Matthias Corvinus und dem türkischen Sultan 1488', *Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Volkskunde und Literaturforschung. Wolfgang Steinitz zum 60. Geburtstag am 28. Februar 1965 dargebracht*, Berlin 1965, 141-145 (Hazai, *Urkunde 1488*); idem, 'Eine türkische Urkunde zur Geschichte der ungarisch-türkischen Beziehungen im XV. Jh.', *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, XXXVI, 3-4, 1965, 336-339 (Hazai, *Beziehungen*); idem, 'Eine Urkunde der ungarisch-türkischen Friedensverhandlungen in der Zeit von Matthias Corvinus und Bayezid II', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, XXXVIII, 1976, 155-160 (Hazai, *Friedensverhandlungen*); and T. Gökbilgin, 'Korvin Mathias (Matyas)ın Bayezid II.e mektubları tercümeleri ve 1503 (909) Osmanlı-Macar muahedesinin Türkçe metni', *Belleten*, XXII, 87, 1958, 369-390 (in Turkish and French), 369-375 and 377-381 (Gökbilgin, *Muahede*).

90 For Venetian espionage in the Ottoman Empire (in general) see P. Preto, *I Servizi Segreti di Venezia*, Milano 1994, 247-260 (Preto, *Servizi*).

91 For letters on Venetian missions to preserve peace in 1493 see Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no.'s 33-34, 296.

result cooperation between the Ottomans and the pope against the French was established. However, when Charles VIII, the King of France, invaded Italy and took custody of Cem intending to make use of him during his crusade against the Ottomans, Bayezid immediately began preparing for war. However, Cem fell ill soon afterwards and died on 25 February 1495.[92] The French crusade never materialized and Bayezid was freed from the threat of a Christian crusade with Cem or civil war in the Ottoman Empire. The fact that Cem was in the hands of Christian Europe had strongly influenced Bayezid's foreign policy from 1481 onwards. He had been forced to be very cautious and conciliatory towards several Christian states, including Venice. Now, instead of adopting a defensive policy the Ottomans could take the offensive and Venice was to be one of the first victims of this new situation.[93]

Because there had not been a major military campaign for some years, the Ottoman troops were restless and in 1496 a riot broke out among the Janissaries and the *sipahi*s. Already before this riot, the Venetians must have sensed at least some change in Ottoman policy, for in May 1496 they sent Alvise Sagundino to Constantinople to confirm the existing peace and to negotiate the return of a Venetian bailo to Constantinople. However, Bayezid would not agree to the latter request because the bailo was considered a professional Venetian spy. The Ottoman program of naval expansion had caused considerable anxiety in Venice, nor did the Ottomans' official explanation that the new ships were for use against pirates diminish the feeling of disquietude. Although at first Sagundino's mission seemed successful,

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92 The Venetian Consiglio dei Dieci sent Alvise Sagundino to inform Bayezid II about Cem's death. See Malipiero, *Annali,* Tomo VIII/1, 146: 'A' 4 de Marzo, se hebbe aviso della morte de Gen Sultan per via de Catharo; e a' 6 ditto [March], per Consegio di X, è stà spazzà a Constantinopoli Alvise Sagondino, a significar la ditta morte a Baisito so fradelo'.

93 Fisher, *op. cit.,* 45-50; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 202-206; Vaughan, *op. cit.,* 93-97; Sevim, *op. cit.,* II, 211-214; Setton, *op. cit.,* III, 425-507; Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 35-78; and H. Pfeffermann, *Die Zusammenarbeit der Renaissancepäpste mit den Türken*, Winterthur 1946, 82-116. For a letter (dated 21 January 1495) concerning the Ottoman envoy bringing money to the pope see Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no. 37, 297. On Venetian intelligence activities see H. Kissling, 'Venezia come centro di informazioni sui turchi', H. Beck, M. Manoussacas, A. Pertusi (eds.), *Venezia centro di mediazione tra oriente e occidente (secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti e problemi*, 2 vols., Firenze 1977, I, 97-109; Robert Mantran, 'Venise, centre d'informations sur les Turcs', H. Beck, M. Manoussacas, A. Pertusi (eds.), *Venezia centro di mediazione tra oriente e occidente (secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti e problemi*, 2 vols., Firenze 1977, I, 111-116; P. Preto, 'La guerra segreta: spionaggio, sabotaggi, attentati', *Venezia e la difesa del Levante. Da Lepanto a Candia 1570-1670*, Venezia 1986, 79-85; and idem, *Servizi*, 247-260.

subsequent events proved that tension between the Ottoman Empire and Venice was indeed growing.[94]

Later in 1496, problems arose over the region east of Cattaro, the Venetian held city in northern Albania (Montenegro). Ottoman troops drove out the local lord George Cernovitch (Crnojevic) and seized his lands. The latter fled to Venice. The Venetians sent Alvise Sagundino to Albania to deal with the problem. Sagundino later went on to Constantinople (May 1496) because he could not settle the matter satisfactorily with the Ottoman officials in Albania. However, in Constantinople he was unable to achieve anything, and the affair remained unresolved. And there were other problems which led to further tension between Ottomans and Venetians. The rapid increase of piracy in the Aegean, especially after 1495, was another disturbing factor. However, the Ottomans kept on assuring Venice that they were not planning an attack and consequently Venice abstained from undertaking any sizeable reinforcements of her fortresses and navy. Venice's sense of security was further increased by the fact that war had broken out between the Ottoman Empire and Poland in 1496. At first it seemed that the Hungarians were joining Poland in the war but they soon decided to renew the peace with the Ottomans. Although both parties had gained victories, neither of them clearly had the upper hand. In 1498 when Hungarian ambassadors concluded a three-year peace treaty with Bayezid II, the Ottomans were free to concentrate their war efforts against the Poles who still occupied Moldavia. The Poles were defeated by the Ottomans and in July 1499 peace was concluded between the parties involved in the conflict. Bayezid, whose chief objective all along had been to wage war effectively against Venice, clearly did not want to be embroiled in conflicts with other Christian states at the same time.[95]

Since 1492 Venice did not have a bailo in Constantinople who could inform her about developments in the Ottoman Empire. However, Andrea

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94 Fisher, *op. cit.*, 51-53; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 309-310; Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 35-78. Concerning Ottoman naval organization see İ. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilatı*, Ankara 1984 (ed. princ. Ankara 1948), 389-546 (Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez ve bahriye teşkilatı*).

95 Fisher, *op. cit.*, 53-57; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 310-313 Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 181-186; Romanin, *op. cit.*, V, 133-134; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 508-515; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 214-217; Vaughan, *op. cit.,* 91-92; Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 3; Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78; V. Corovic, 'Der Friedensvertrag zwischen dem Sultan Bayezid II. und dem König Ladislaus II.', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XC, 1936 (= Neue Folge Band XV), 52-59; and F. Babinger, 'Zwei diplomatische Zwischenspiele im deutsch-osmanischen Staatsverkehr unter Bajezid II. (1497 und 1504)', *Westöstliche Abhandlungen. Rudolf Tschudi zum siebzigsten Geburtstag überreicht von Freunden und Schülern*, Wiesbaden 1954, 315-330 (Babinger, *Staatsverkehr*).

Gritti, one of the wealthiest and most powerful Venetian merchants in Constantinople with good contacts with the Ottomans, kept the Venetians informed. In January 1498 Gritti wrote that the Ottomans were preparing for war against Venice. Nonetheless, even though Ottoman preparations continued throughout 1498, the Venetians did not yet begin sending further supplies to bolster their forces on a large scale. Bayezid sent an envoy to Venice to discuss problems and to obtain information about the alliance which had been concluded between France and Venice. In November 1498 Venice sent her ambassador Andrea Zancani to Constantinople. His task was to deliver the tribute for Zante, to reach a settlement concerning all the problems between the two states, and to renew the peace treaty. He arrived in February 1499 and was received by Bayezid II on 4 March. Each of the two parties stressed its willingness to enter into a peace agreement. As a result of the negotiations, a treaty in Latin was signed, even though Gritti had informed Zancani that the Ottomans would not consider a treaty in Latin to be valid. Zancani apparently had not been able to procure a treaty in Turkish. He arrived back in Venice in May but by that time war had become almost inevitable.[96]

Territorial disputes in Greece, Albania and Dalmatia, piracy and, last but not least, the Venetian-French alliance were all causes which contributed to the Ottoman-Venetian war that would last from 1499 to 1503. Ottoman troops attacked the Morea and conquered most of the peninsula, except for the Venetian strongholds Napoli di Romania, Coron, Modon and Navarino. In the meantime the Ottoman fleet, which had started operations on 30 June 1499, had reached Modon and Coron, and on 12 August 1499 the Venetian and Ottoman fleets engaged in a naval battle which the Ottomans won. The Venetians then sailed north to Zante to join the French fleet which had come to give them support. The Ottomans also sailed north along the west coast of the Morea to Lepanto and the Gulf of Corinth. On 28 August 1499 Lepanto surrendered to Bayezid's troops. Immediately thereafter, the Ottomans started building two fortresses, one on each side of the entrance to the Gulf of

96 Fisher, *op. cit.*, 58-64; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 315-317; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 213-214; Belin, *art. cit.*, 389; Setton, *op. cit.*, 508-517; G. Cogo, *La guerra di Venezia contro i turchi (1499-1501)*, Venezia 1899, 16-19; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 329-330; Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, III, 3-4; Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78. Although it is not clear whether a new treaty was signed, a letter (dated 15 March 1499) of Bayezid confirming the existing peace has been preserved. See ASV, Documenti Turchi 44; Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no. 38, 297; also *MM*, III, 337-338.

Corinth. In addition to their large scale offensive in Greece, the Ottomans also launched raids against Venetian territories in Dalmatia and Italy.[97]

After the loss of Lepanto Venice decided to seek peace with the Ottomans and sent Alvise Manenti to Adrianople (27 October 1499). At the same time, however, as in the past the Venetians tried to find allies against the Ottomans. On 22 February 1500 Manenti entered into negotiations but Venetian and Ottoman demands proved to be too far apart for an agreement to be reached. Therefore, Bayezid decided to send his *Çavuş* Alessio to Venice for further consultation.[98] The Venetian senate, however, rejected the Ottoman demands and decided not to dispatch another ambassador. Thus, the war continued while Venice desperately sought new allies among the Christian states of Europe without, however, achieving any significant results.[99]

In July the enlarged Ottoman fleet sailed to Modon and put into effect a naval blockade. The city was also attacked on land by Bayezid's army. On 10 August 1500 Modon, Venice's most precious possession in Greece, fell to the Ottomans. On 15 August Coron, the other precious 'eye' of Venice, capitulated. Thereafter, Navarino did the same. The Ottoman army then moved against Napoli di Romania but the siege proved unsuccessful. Napoli di Romania and Monemvasia, which lay along the east coast of the Morea, were the only Venetian strongholds able to resist the Ottomans. Meanwhile, Ottoman raids against Venetian possessions in Albania and Dalmatia continued to cause considerable damage.[100]

However, in August 1500 the Hungarians went to war against the Ottomans and defeated a Turkish army near Semendra. Bayezid now had to reckon with the military forces of both Hungary and Venice. Meanwhile, late in the campaigning season, when the Ottoman fleet had returned to Gallipoli,

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97 Fisher, *op. cit.*, 65-71; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 316-323; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 214-218; Romanin, *op. cit.*, V, 134-144; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 517-520; Belin, *art. cit.*, 389; Cogo, *op. cit.*, 19-55; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 330; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 90-91; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 217-219; Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 4; and E. Esin, 'İkinci Bayezid'in H. 904-906/1498-1500 yıllarında Adalar Denizi'ne seferi (İnebahtı/Aynabahtı, Moton, Koron, Avarina'nın fethi), *Erdem*, I, 3, 789-799 (in Turkish and English).

98 Pedani, *Inviati*, 27, 29, 116 and 205.

99 Fisher, *op. cit.*, 71-75; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 218; Romanin, *op. cit.*, V, 144-149; Cogo, *op. cit.*, 56-88; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 519-522; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 91; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 219; Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, III, 4; and Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78.

100 Fisher, *op. cit.*, 75-76; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 323-326; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 218-220; Romanin, *op. cit.*, V, 150; Setton, *op. cit.,* III, 519-542; Cogo, *op. cit.*, 88-150; Sevim, *op. cit.,* II, 219-221; and Vaughan, *op. cit.,* 92.

the Venetians decided to strike back. With the aid of the Spanish fleet Venice attacked the island of Cephalonia, which was conquered on 24 December 1500.[101]

The following year, in order to meet the Hungarian threat more effectively Bayezid offered to make peace with Venice. But, when no reply to his proposals was forthcoming, he proceeded with preparations for his naval campaign of 1501. Venice in the meantime had concluded an alliance with Hungary and Poland against the Ottomans and had started to reinforce her navy. However, when the campaigning season opened, the Ottoman fleet remained in Gallipoli. War on land against both the Hungarians and the Venetians was mainly restricted to raids, although the Ottomans succeeded in conquering the Venetian fortress of Durazzo in Albania. Likewise, during 1501 the Venetian naval raids against Ottoman territories were of marginal significance. In fact, the war between Venice and the Ottoman Empire was virtually over. Bayezid wanted peace in order to be able to restore order in Anatolia, which had been disturbed by the activities of the Safavid Shah İsmaᶜil of Persia. The first step toward peace was the release of all Venetian merchants imprisoned in the Ottoman Empire (January 1502). The important Venetian merchant Andrea Gritti was instructed by the Ottomans to urge his government to conclude peace. Although negotiations with the Hungarians had already started, it took Venice the whole of the spring and summer of 1502 to decide to send an envoy to Constantinople to conclude peace.[102] In the meantime the Venetians had conquered the island of Santa Maura on 30 August 1502.[103]

On 13 September 1502 the senate finally decided to send secretary Zaccaria di Freschi to Constantinople.[104] Amongst his instructions the text of the treaty of 1482 was inserted. From Venice's point of view this text was to

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101 Fisher, *op. cit.*, 76-78; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 326-328; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 220-223; Romanin, *op. cit.*, V, 150-151; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 330-331; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 92; Esin, *art. cit.,* 793-794; and Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 4.

102 ASV, Documenti Turchi 53-59; and *MM*, III, 340-343 deal with the preparations for the negotiations between the Ottomans and the Venetians (letters with dates from January-July 1502). See also Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, III, 4.

103 Fisher, *op. cit.*, 78-81; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 326-330; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 220-223; Romanin, *op. cit.*, V, 149-152; Setton, *op. cit.,* III, 519-542; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 331; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 221; Vaughan, *op. cit.,* 92; and Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78.

104 For Zaccaria di Freschi see M. Neff, 'A Citizen in the Service of the Patrician State: the Career of Zaccaria de' Freschi', *Studi Veneziani* (Nuova Serie), V, 1981 , 33-62.

form the basis for negotiations.[105] The day before Di Freschi left for Constantinople (17 September), news reached Venice that Bayezid was furious about the Venetian conquest of Santa Maura and had ordered his fleet to be armed. During his journey Zaccaria di Freschi received letters from Venice with new instructions and new information and himself sent back letters to Venice.[106] He arrived in Constantinople on 7 December 1502 and had his first talks with the viziers three days later (10 December). On 17 December 1502 he had an audience with Bayezid II. To begin with Di Freschi had proposed a delay in the negotiations because the Hungarian ambassador had not yet arrived and according to his instructions, a new treaty could only be concluded if Hungary was included. However, the Ottomans had already agreed on a preliminary truce with Hungary and Poland in November and wanted to conclude a separate treaty with Venice. During the negotiations Zaccaria di Freschi was told that Venice must return both Cephalonia and Santa Maura. Since these islands were not mentioned in his instructions, negotiations were suspended while messengers were sent to Venice with letters in which Di Freschi informed his government about the proceedings and asked for further instructions (dated 19 December).[107]

On 23 and 27 January 1503 the Venetian senate discussed the letters from Di Freschi and decided to accept the Ottoman proposals.[108] By the beginning of March the letters from Venice must have reached Constantinople and Di Freschi could proceed with the negotiations. On 20 March 1503 peace

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105 Two entries in ASV, Senato Secreta, reg. no. 39, f.29r. (28 Augustus 1502) and f.32r (6 September 1502) deal with the appointment of an envoy to Constantinople. On 13 September secretary Zacharia di Freschi was appointed and given his instructions. For his instructions ('commissio') see f. 32v.-f.36v. with additions on f. 38r.-f.38v., f.40r. and f.47v. For another copy of his instructions see ASV, Documenti Turchi 60.

106 For letters from this period see ASV, Documenti Turchi 61-66; and Senato Secreta, reg. no. 39, f.48v., f.49v.-f.50r., f.52v., f.53r. and f.55v-f.56r. Most of the letters sent to Di Freschi will have reached him in Constantinople.

107 Fisher, *op. cit.,* 81-83; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 223; Romanin, *op. cit.*, V, 152; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 331; Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, III, 4-5; Setton, *op. cit.,* III, 519-542; and Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78. For a letter from Bayezid II concerning Cephalonia and Santa Maura see *MM*, III, 351-352 (dated 21 December 1502!). Concerning the audiences granted to foreign ambassadors see K. Dilger, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des osmanischen Hofzeremoniells im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, München 1967; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez ve bahriye teşkilatı*, 268-317.

108 ASV, Senato Secreta, reg. no. 39, f.63r.-f.65r.

was concluded and Bayezid with his hand placed on the Koran swore to uphold the treaty.[109]

However, the document that was given to Di Freschi on that occasion was dated 14 December (Christian calender) and 25 December 1502 (Muslim calender). Not only the date, but the form of the document as well, is confusing. Although it must have been the final treaty, in form it is clearly a draft which lacks a number of important diplomatic parts. Two Ottoman versions of the document exist: one in Greek and one in Ottoman-Turkish.[110] The date of the document is problematic: 14 December 1502 according to the Christian calender and 25 December 1502 according to the Muslim calender (= 24 Cümada 'l-ahıra 908). These two dates appear in the same text and, since they do not correspond with each other, a mistake must have been made by the Ottoman scribes with regard to the Christian date. The correct date of the draft is most likely 25 December 1502 and not 14 December. On 10 December Zaccaria di Freschi met for the first time with the viziers and it its highly unlikely that a text could have been drafted in Greek and Turkish within four days, even before his audience with Bayezid II on 17 December. Negotiations must have continued after his audience with the sultan and as a result of these a draft was made in accordance with Ottoman demands. Possibly the Greek version was finished on 14 December and the Turkish version on 25 December. When the negotiations were finished and peace concluded, the Ottoman chancery neither composed a new up-dated version of the treaty nor made a new copy but only added the *tugra* of the sultan to the draft form which thus became the final treaty.[111]

The documents in Greek and Turkish were brought to Venice by Zaccaria di Freschi and *Subaşı* ᶜAli Beg who left Constantinople after 24 March and arrived in Venice on 26 April.[112] On 2, 4, 5 and 13 May 1503, the Venetian

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109 Fisher, *op. cit.,* 84-85; and Albèri, o*p. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 5. Fisher states that peace was concluded on 24 March; Albèri, however, states that Bayezid took his oath on 20 March. Since Di Freschi departed on 24 March, 20 March is more likely as the date for the official conclusion of the treaty.

110 ASV, Documenti Turchi 69 (Ottoman-Turkish) and 73 (Greek). For the Greek version see also *MM*, III, 344-350; for the Turkish version see the TEXTS; also M. Şakiroğlu, '1503 tarihli Türk-Venedik andlaşması', *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi. Kongreye sunulan bildiriler*, Ankara 1983, III, 1559-1569 (Şakiroğlu, *1503 tarihli andlaşma*).

111 Fisher, *op. cit.,* 83-84; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce,* II, 331; Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 5.

112 Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 5. For a letter from ᶜAli Beg to Zaccaria di Freschi dated 23 March 1503 see ASV, Documenti Turchi 91. For a letter from Ahmed Paşa to Andrea Gritti about the peace see Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no. 1, 293; also *MM*, III, 340.

senate discussed the peace and finally decided to ratify the treaty.[113] On 16 May Andrea Gritti (elected on 5 May) was instructed to undertake further negotiations in Constantinople and ᶜAli Beg was rewarded with a sum of money.[114] On 20 May 1503 the Doge of Venice officially ratified the peace with the Ottoman Empire by swearing an oath on the four Gospels and promising to uphold the treaty. An Italian translation of the Ottoman-Turkish text of the treaty was made and sealed with the doge's golden seal. This document was the sworn undertaking which Bayezid II had demanded from the Venetians.[115] On 23 May ᶜAli Beg returned to Constantinople together with Andrea Gritti who had been instructed to negotiate the modification of some points in the treaty. They arrived in Constantinople on 9 July 1503 and brought with them the Venetian sworn undertaking sealed by the doge which was to presented to Bayezid II. On 16 July Gritti had an audience with Bayezid, and the Venetian version of the treaty was presented to the sultan. Thereupon, the negotiations began and went on for some weeks. The final version of the treaty was concluded on 30 July 1503 and Gritti obtained the new capitulations.[116]

On 10 August, in the presence of Gritti, Bayezid swore to uphold the treaty. Gritti remained in Constantinople for another two months because not all points in the treaty could be settled before that. In October 1503 Gritti set out for Venice and delivered his report to the senate on 2 December. In a letter

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113 ASV, Senato Secreta, reg. no. 39, f.81v.-f.84r; Romanin, *op. cit.,* V, 152; and Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, III, 5.

114 ASV, Senato Secreta, reg. no. 39, f.82r. and f.84v.-f.87r; and Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 5.

115 Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 330-331; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 224; Romanin, *op. cit.*, V, 152-153; and Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, III, 5. Fisher, *op. cit.*, 85, states that the doge ratified the treaty on 21 May. For the Italian version of the treaty see the TEXTS (= ASV, Senato Secreta, reg. no. 39, f.89r.-f.91r.). For other copies see ASV Documenti Turchi 97; and Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no. 1, 300. For other (revised) copies of this Italian version see ASV, Senato Secreta, reg. no. 40, f.3r.-f.5r.; and Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no. 2, 300 (2 April 1504). The Venetian government also sent a letter to Bayezid II stating that ᶜAli Beg had completed his mission and returned to Constantinople with Andrea Gritti and the Italian version of the treaty. For this letter see ASV, Documenti Turchi 98. For ᶜAli Beg's credentials ('recredenziali') and Gritti's credentials see the TEXTS. The treaty brought by ᶜAli and Gritti is also mentioned in a letter from Bayezid II (dated 22 December 1503). For this letter see *MM*, III, 356; also ASV, Documenti Turchi 129; and Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no. 48, 297-298. Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 614, describes ᶜAli's audience in Venice: 'Entrava nel consejo de X, stato di circa una ora e mezza senza alcun Turgeman, perchè el sa la lengua, e ritorno colla sola pergamena in mano, che era li capitoli della pace juradi per la Signoria nostra'.

116 Fisher, *op. cit.,* 85-86; Romanin, *op. cit.,* V, 153; Belin, *art. cit.,* 389; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 331; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 221-222; Setton, *op. cit.,* III, 519-542; Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, III, 5-43; Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78; and Coco, *op. cit.,* 26-27. The document which was presented to Gritti should be considered the final treaty. Unfortunately, this document has not yet been found; it is likely that it no longer exists.

dated the second decade of Safer 909 (5-14 August 1503) Bayezid reiterates the main events since the arrival of Zaccaria di Freschi (7-12-1502). He points out that a treaty was drawn up and brought to Venice by Zaccaria di Freschi and ᶜAli Beg (24-3-1503). The doge ratified this treaty by swearing an oath in the presence of ᶜAli Beg (20-5-1503), whereupon ᶜAli Beg and the new Venetian ambassador Andrea Gritti returned to Constantinople and Bayezid was informed of Venice's acceptance of the treaty. The letter ends with Bayezid's confirmation of the treaty and the remark that Andrea Gritti is staying on to resolve some remaining difficulties.[117]

On 6 October 1503, Bayezid also ratified the final modifications in the treaty. In a letter dated evayil-i Rebiᶜu 'l-ahır 909 (3-12 October 1503), Bayezid stated that Gritti's mission is completed. He also confirmed the change of the clause concerning the Venetian bailo in Constantinople who from that time on was allowed to stay in the Ottoman capital three years instead of one.[118]

Apart from the two versions of the treaty, there are two letters from Bayezid II that bear the same dates as the draft (14 and 25 december 1502). In the first of the letters Bayezid states that the Venetian ambassador has arrived and a treaty (*ᶜahd-name)* has been drawn up. He also writes that he has sworn in the presence of the Venetian ambassador to uphold the treaty and that he expects the Doge of Venice to do the same on the four Gospels in the presence of his 'slave' ᶜAli who is to return within sixty days. And the Venetians must send back an exact copy of the treaty. The second letter deals with Ottoman money lost during the Venetian conquest of Santa Maura. Both letters are dated December 1502. However, it is not sure that they were actually written at that time. The treaty documents were certainly not sent to Venice in December 1502, not even in the form of a preliminary draft. The two treaties and the two

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117 Fisher, *op. cit.,* 86; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 331; Romanin, *op. cit.,* V, 153-154; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 331; Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, III, 5-43; Setton, *op. cit.,* III, 519-542; and Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 35-78. For this letter see Mélikoff, *art. cit.*, no. IV, 140-145 (= ASV, Documenti Turchi 101; for an Italian translation of this letter see ASV, Documenti Turchi 102; for a Greek original see ASV, Documenti Turchi 103; for the Italian translation of this Greek letter see ASV, Documenti Turchi 104). For the text of this letter in Greek see *MM*, III, 353-354; and Bombaci, *Liber Graecus,* no. 43, 297 (dated 8 August 1503).

118 Fisher, *op. cit.,* 86-88; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 331; Romanin, *op. cit.,* V, 153-154; Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 5-43; Setton, *op. cit.,* III, 519-542; Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 35-78. For this letter see Mélikoff, *art. cit.*, no. V, 145-149 (= ASV, Documenti Turchi 109). For the Greek original see ASV, Documenti Turchi 110; also *MM*, III, 355-356 (dated 6-10-1503); and Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no. 44, 297. For an Italian translation see L. Bonelli, 'Il trattato turco-veneto del 1540', *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, 2 vols., Palermo 1910, II, 332-363, 363. According to Mélikoff the *inscriptio* of the Doge of Venice in the Turkish and Greek version of this letter differs.

letters were brought to Venice by Di Freschi and ᶜAli Beg after 24 March 1503.[119] The contents of both letters were still valid at that time. During the negotiations Di Freschi had to agree that Venice would pay a large sum of money. However, this financial issue had not yet been completely settled and consequently the matter was not dealt with in the text of the treaty. In fact, after Gritti had returned to Constantinople in July difficulties about this matter remained unresolved. There are two possible explanations concerning the problem of the date. The letters may have been written in December, together with the draft of the treaty, but not dispatched at that time, or, and this is more likely, they may have been written in March 1503 but because they were sent along with the treaty which bore another date, the scribes added the same earlier date to the two letters.[120]

After peace had been concluded, Ottoman-Venetian relations returned to normal and trade with the Ottoman dominions could start again. However, the settlement of some territorial questions was not completed until 1506 when the Venetians also ceded Alessio to the Ottomans. Another thorny issue in Venetian-Ottoman relations was piracy. In spite of the peace treaty, acts of piracy still occurred and envoys were frequently sent between Venice and Constantinople to resolve the disputes.[121]

After the conclusion of peace between Venice and the Ottoman Empire on 20 March 1503, the Hungarian ambassador arrived in Constantinople. Although the Venetians initially wanted a peace treaty with all parties included, the Ottomans had succeeded in forcing the parties to conclude

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119 Many entries in Senato Secreta, reg. no. 39 (May 1503) confirm this. In ᶜAli Beg's credentials ('recredenziali', see the TEXTS) it is said that he brought with him the treaties and the letters.

120 For the first letter see Mélikoff, *art. cit.*, no. II, 132-136 (= ASV, Documenti Turchi 75); the second letter, no. III, 137-140 (= ASV, Documenti Turchi 78). For Italian translations of both documents see Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, no.'s 41-42, 297. For an Italian translation of the first letter see also Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 363. Mélikoff states that these letters together with the treaties were brought to Venice after the conclusion of peace on 14 December 1502. She mentions neither the problem of the date nor the later negotiations and the conclusion of peace on 20 March 1503. For the same reason H. Ahrweiler, 'Une lettre en grec du sultan Bayezid II (1481-1512)', *Turcica*, I, 1969, 150-160, makes a mistake by attributing a Greek letter of Bayezid II concerning an act of piracy to the year 1503, instead of the correct 1504. The same letter was also published by H. Hunger, 'Piraterie in der Ägäis Anno 1504. Brief Bajezids II. an Leonardo Loredan', *Byzantion*, XL, 1971, 361-376. Although Hunger also attributes the treaty to December 1502, he states that the letter dates from 1504.

121 On the settlement of the territorial problems following the conclusion of the treaty and piracy see Fisher, *op. cit.*, 85-89 and 100; Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 5-43; Hunger, *art. cit.;* and Ahrweiler, *art. cit.* For documents concerning this subject see ASV, Documenti Turchi 100, 106 (the cession of Santa Maura, dated 2 August 1503), 108, 124; ASV, Senato Secreta, reg. no. 39, f. 96v.-f.97v., f.107v.-108v., f.128v.-f.129r.; Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, var. no.'s, 293-303; and *MM*, III, 344.

separate treaties. Peace between Hungary and the Ottomans was finally concluded on 20 August 1503,when the Hungarian king swore on the Bible and Hersek oglı Ahmed Paşa swore on the Koran to uphold the seven-year treaty. This peace was extended in 1510 for one year and in 1511 for another five years. [122]

After peace was concluded, Venice was confronted with a new political, military and commercial reality. The war had been a complete disaster. No matter how bitter, 'la conclusione d'una pace era […] per la Repubblica il migliore rimedio a tanti mali'.[123] Ottoman power, in particular naval power, had rapidly increased. Venetian naval supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean was broken and, though the Venetians still had an impressive fleet, the Ottomans now clearly had the upper hand. The Venetians had lost their most strategic colonies, including the Republic's 'eyes', Modon and Coron, and the remaining possessions of her once extensive colonial empire were scattered around the Adriatic, Ionian, Aegean and Mediterrenean seas without much cohesion. These remnants consisted of a number of isolated cities along the Adriatic coast, the island of Zante (for which the Venetians had to pay a tribute of 500 ducats a year), a number of Aegean islands, Cyprus (for which from 1517 onwards 8000 ducats a year had to be paid to the Ottomans) and finally, most important of all, Crete. The state of affairs outside the Ottoman Empire was also not very promising for Venice. Mamluk power in Syria and Egypt was rapidly declining and the Portuguese naval expansion in the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, which the Mamluks were uncapable of resisting, threatened to damage Venice's trade, the Republic's main source of income. While the peace of 1503 ensured Venice's commercial activities in the Ottoman Empire, her commercial interests were seriously threatened by the Portuguese who were successful in taking over the profitable trade in spices. The Republic of San Marco entered a new phase of her existence. From

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122 Fisher, *op. cit.,* 88-89, Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 331-332; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 224; Babinger, *Staatsverkehr*, 328-330; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 222; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 93. On the Hungarian treaty of 1503 see Gökbilgin, *Muahede*, 375-377 (with photographs of the original Ottoman document. The text of this treaty, however, was not published by Gökbilgin). For the Latin text of the treaty with Hungary see Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 616-620. Before he left Di Freschi wrote a letter to the Hungarian ambassador in which he made his excuses for the separate conclusion of a treaty. For this letter see ASV, Documenti Turchi 92.

123 Cogo, *op. cit.*, 149.

1503 onwards she had to learn to make concessions in an international situation which was no longer determined by her decisions alone.[124]

Venetian hopes that the Mamluks would take diplomatic and military action to contain the Portuguese turned out to be in vain. However, Safavid military successes in eastern Anatolia and Irak against the allied Ottomans and Mamluks between 1504 and 1511 prompted diplomatic contacts between the Safavids and Venetians. Venice hoped that amicable relations with Shah İsmaᶜil would bring her the much needed ally in the east against the Ottomans, which Uzun Hasan had never proved to be. At the same time, however, the Venetians were eager to maintain good relations with the Ottomans because Venice's success in Levant trade now largely depended on them. A complicating factor in this period which prevented the emergence of a Venetian-Safavid alliance was that Venice was at war in Europe with the League of Cambrai. Therefore, she did not want to jeopardize her precious peace with the Ottomans and refrained from giving concrete support to the Safavids in their anti-Ottoman actions. When in 1509 Venetian forces were routed by the League of Cambrai, Venice sent secret embassies to the Ottomans to secure aid, either from the government in Constantinople or from local officials in Bosnia. On 17 December 1510 the Venetian senate instructed Alvise Arimondo to go to Bayezid II to conclude a treaty of alliance. He arrived in Constantinople in March 1511, but when he left in May, loaded down with presents, he had not been able to secure an alliance because the Ottomans themselves were confronted with grave poblems in Anatolia where a Shi'ite rebellion inspired by the Safavids had occurred. Before the Ottomans were able to crush the rebellion, the rebels had inflicted heavy defeats upon them.[125]

In the meantime the turmoil in the Ottoman Empire led to further problems for Bayezid II. Among his sons tension was growing because each of them wanted to secure the Ottoman throne for himself. However, by 1511 of the original eight princes only three were left. Natural deaths, as well as strife

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124 Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 332 and 508-552; Vaughan, *op. cit.,* 98-100; F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II,* 2 vols., London 1986 (fifth impression of the second revised edition), I, 543-545; Thakafi, *op. cit.*, 97-142; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 1-50; and Brummett, *art. cit.,* 11-26.

125 Fisher, *op. cit.,* 90-102; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 345-346; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 225-231; Romanin, *op. cit.,* V, 170-346 (on the war in Italy; on Arimondo's mission see 253-254); Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 98-100 and 208; Thakafi, *op. cit.*, 97-142; Brummett, *art. cit.*, 11-26; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 222-226; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 508-552; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 1-101; Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78; and F. Babinger, 'Kaiser Maximilians I. "geheime Praktiken" mit den Osmanen (1510/11)', *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, I, München 1962, 270-296.

among the princes and conflicts with their father, had taken a heavy toll. That same year the struggle entered its last phase with open warfare breaking out between the princes and their father, but in April 1512 Bayezid abdicated in favor of Selim who became the new Ottoman sultan. Bayezid II died soon afterwards during his journey to Dimetoka.[126]

After his accesion Selim I (1512-1520) sought to conciliate his two brothers Korkut and Ahmed by offering them governerships. But Ahmed wanted more and, when he revolted, Selim was forced to cross over from Europe to Anatolia with his army. Selim defeated the rebel prince twice in the summer of 1512 and at Yeñi Şehir on 15 April 1513. And he then had Ahmed executed. Likewise, Selim had all his other male relatives (except for his own son Süleyman) put to death before returning to Edirne to prepare for war against the Safavids. After Selim had secured his power within the Ottoman Empire, he also wanted to protect his western frontiers against Venetian and Hungarian attacks. He, therefore, chose to renew the existing treaties with both states.[127]

Although the Venetian vice-bailo Nicolò Giustinian informed his government of Bayezid's abdication and Selim's ascending the throne in April-May 1512, Venice did not decide to dispatch an ambassador to the new sultan immediately. Only when Selim I had secured his power, did Venice act, and on 23 April 1513 the government elected an ambassador to go to Edirne for negotiations. On 30 May ambassador Antonio Giustinian was given his instructions and set out for the Ottoman Empire. During the negotiations the Ottoman viziers insisted on a clause which would permit an Ottoman fleet to make use of Venetian ports in Cyprus. In 1488 during the Ottoman-Mamluk war of 1481-1491, the Venetians had refused a similarrequest on the pretext that they were at peace with Egypt. At the time this refusal had caused a further increase of tension between the Ottomans and Venetians. Giustinian's negotiations resulted in the renewal of peace on 18 October 1513. He returned to Venice in 1514 where, on 7 February, he reported on his successful mission.

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126 Fisher, *op. cit.,* 103-112; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 346-366; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 233-248; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 226-232; and Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 101-141.

127 S. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2 vols., Cambridge 1985 (ed. princ. Cambridge 1976), I, 79-80; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 233-236; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 376-389; and Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 249-252.

An Ottoman ambassador brought the new treaty to Venice and was rewarded with large sums of money.[128]

Having concluded new treaties with Hungary and Venice and an alliance with the Mamluks, Selim I was free to proceed with his plans against the Safavids. In the spring of 1514 he started his campaign and on 23 August 1514 Selim I defeated the Safavids and captured Tebriz. However, the problem of provisioning so great an army and low morale among his troops forced him to retreat and postpone his plans. The following year, he completed the conquest of eastern Anatolia. After Selim's defeat of the Safavids at Çaldıran in 1514 and the failure of the Mamluk naval actions against the Portuguese, Venice completely abandoned the option of an anti-Ottoman policy. In her eyes only Ottoman rule could provide the necessary stability in Syria and Egypt and the continuity of trade through the Red Sea. In this respect Selim's campaign of 1516-1517 was welcomed by the Venetians.[129]

In 1516 Selim decided to attack the Mamluks who controlled the vital eastern Mediterranean ports in Syria and Egypt. On 24 August 1516 Selim I defeated the Mamluks in the battle of Merc-i Dabık near Aleppo. This victory opened the door for the Ottoman conquest of the whole of the Mamluk Empire. On 28 January 1517 Selim I entered the Mamluk capital of Cairo. The Venetian consul in Alexandria, Niccolò Bragadin, immediately tried to obtain a confirmation of the commercial privileges Venice had possessed in Mamluk Syria and Egypt. He apparently did so without the knowledge or approval of his government in Venice. Within three weeks after the conquest of Egypt, on 16 February 1517, he succeeded in obtaining an official confirmation of the privileges the Venetians had held in the former Mamluk Empire.[130]

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128 Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 46-50; Fisher, o*p. cit.,* 39; Brummett, *art. cit.*, 23; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce*, II, 332-333; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 295-296 and 389-390; Romanin, *op. cit.*, V, 365-366; Belin, *art. cit.*, 389-390; and Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78. See also *MM*, III, 360-361 (a letter about the peace, dated 25 October 1513). For the text of the original Ottoman document (ASV, Documenti Turchi 161, dated 17 Şaᶜban 919/17 October 1513 in the document itself) see the TEXTS. This text was published before by T. Gökbilgin, 'Venedik Devlet Arşivindeki Türkçe belgeler koleksiyonu ve bizimle ilgili diğer belgeler', *Belgeler. Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi,* V-VIII, 9-12, 1964, 1-151, no. 129, 47-50 (Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII).

129 Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 80-83; Brummett, *art. cit.*, 23-25; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 236-244; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 390-391 and 401-461; Vaughan, *op. cit.,* 100-101; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 142-171; and Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 253-278.

130 Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 83-85; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce,* II, 508-552; Sevim, *op. cit.,* II, 244-253; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 462-508; Vaughan, *op. cit.,* 101; Thakafi, *op. cit.*, 150-178; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 279-292; Moritz, *art. cit.,* 422-443; Hartmann, *art. cit.*, 201-222; and Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 60. See also the relevant section in the chapter on the Mamluks.

Venice, probably not knowing that her consul in Alexandria had already reached an agreement, in December 1516 decided to dispatch an official embassy, consiting of two ambassadors, to congratulate Selim I on his conquests in Syria. The Venetians had obtained news of the victory at Merc-i Dabık through a letter (*feth-name*) which was brought to Venice by ᶜAli Beg. On 26 May 1517 Bartolomeo Contarini and Alvise Mocenigo were instructed togo to Selim I in Cairo to negotiate the tribute of Cyprus, which until that time (from 1489 onwards) had been paid to the Mamluks, and to obtain a renewal of her commercial privileges in the Ottoman Empire, including Egypt and Syria. The two ambassadors left Venice on 3 June 1517 together with their secretary Daniele de' Ludovici and 'turciman' (dragoman) Teodoro Paleologo. The ambassadors had an audience with Selim I in Cairo and negotiations started. The Venetians wanted a renewal of the capitulation of 1513 and offered to pay the tribute of Cyprus in the same way ('in robe') as in Mamluk times. The Ottomans, however, refused this offer demanding that the tribute (value 8000 ducats) be paid in cash. The Ottomans also insisted that the Venetians pay tribute for the previous five years (918-923 AH), a sum amounting to 40.000 ducats, and that the tribute be paid within three months. The Venetian ambassadors replied that it was impossible to pay within three months and asked for a period of two years. In the end a settlement was reached. The Venetians paid 10.000 ducats immediately (21 Şaᶜban 923/8 September 1517) and the other 30.000 was to be paid within three months.

The day after the 10.000 ducats were paid the treaty was concluded (22 Şaᶜban 923/9 September 1517, the text, however has 'otto settembrio'). The text of the *ᶜahd-name* was almost identical with the treaty of 1513, however, with one important addition: the obligation to pay the tribute of Cyprus (8000 ducats) once a year in Constantinople. After the conclusion of the treaty it was decided that Bartolomeo Contarini would go to Cyprus to collect the remaining 30.000 ducats which were to to be paid within three months, and that Alvise Mocenigo and Daniele de' Ludovici would return to Constantinople with the Ottoman fleet 'perchè Curtogoli, capitano di quella, stato corsaro, avea fatto danno a' nostri; per più securtà il Signor Turco voleva lo accompagnassero fin a Costantinopoli…'[131]. In a letter Selim I informed the Doge of Venice about the renewal of peace and the departure of Alvise Mocenigo 'cum parte de la

131 Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 60.

armata nostra fino à Constantinopoli'. Directly thereafter, Selim returned to Constantinople.[132]

The payment of the tribute for Cyprus turned out to be an almost inexhaustible source of problems. In 1519 Selim ordered his *Çavuş* Mustafa to go to Venice to complain that the tribute for the years 1518 and 1519 had not yet been paid. The Venetians replied that the money had already been sent by way of Cyprus. In the end the money was (partially) delivered, but many similar delays and misunderstandings were to occur. The money Venice owed the Ottomans as tribute which went back to Mamluk times turned out to be problematic too. According to accounts from 1543 and 1545 (!), this money and a part of the tribute of 1518-1519 had still not been paid in full. The Venetians were evidently eager to retain their privileges in the Ottoman Empire, but when it came to fulfilling their financial obligations, they were somewhat less enthusiastic. Despite such financial disputes, Ottoman-Venetian relations remained friendly during the last years of Selim's reign. After his conquests Selim concentrated on internal reforms. He reorganized and expanded the army and built a new and larger Ottoman fleet. Although Selim himself made no use of this fleet against the Venetians, his successor Süleyman I would do so and during Süleyman's reign it eventually became clear that Ottoman ambitions did not coincide with Venice's interests.[133]

After his death on 21 September 1520, Selim I was succeeded by Süleyman I (1520-1566). Since Süleyman I was Selim's only son, he did not have to fight to ascend the throne like many of his predecessors. During his long reign from 1520 to 1566, Süleyman led his armies on thirteen major campaigns and numerous minor ones. Most of his military activities were directed against Hungary and the Habsburg Empire. Only one of Süleyman's campaigns was directed against Venice (Corfu 1537), and otherwise, except for

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132 Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 46-68; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce,* II, 545-546; Sevim, *op. cit.,* II, 250; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 508-527; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 292-293; Romanin, *op. cit.,* V, 373; Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78; Thakafi, *op. cit.*, 205. For the capitulations in Turkish (ASV, Documenti Turchi 167) and Italian (ASV, Documenti Turchi 169), the receipt for the tribute of Cyprus and Selim's letter (dated 24 Şa^{c}ban/11 September, the text however, has 10 September) see the TEXTS. The Turkish version of the treaty was published previously in Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 130, 50-54. Alvise Mocenigo returned to Venice in 1518 and delivered his report on 4 June; Bartolomeo Mocenigo returned in 1519 and presented his report on 10 March.

133 Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 85-86; Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 529-535; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 293-306; Gökbilgin, 'Venedik Devlet Arşivindeki vesikalar külliyatında Kanuni Sultan Süleyman devri belgeleri', *Belgeler. Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi,* I, 2, 119-220, no. 5, 134-135; no. 73, 198; and no. 78, 202 (Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I,); idem, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 170, 96-97. On the Christian plans for a crusade against Selim I see Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 172-197.

the period 1537-1540, during Süleyman's whole reign there was peace between the two states. This clearly indicates that Venice was no longer the arch-enemy of the Ottomans. In fact, since the peace of 1503 the Venetians played a minor role in Mediterranean politics, although from a commercial point of view their supremacy in Levant trade was not challenged until the end of the sixteenth century. Now more than ever before, the Venetians concentrated on trading with the Ottomans rather than opposing them in costly wars.

Shortly after Süleyman's accession, Süleyman's *Müteferrika* Ahmed reached Venice with the official announcement of the sultan's accession.[134] On 7 November 1520 the Republic decided to send an ambassador to congratulate the sultan and to renew the existing treaty with the Ottoman Empire from 1517. On 14 May 1521 the Venetian ambassador Marco Minio was given his instructions. Minio left for Constantinople on 21 May at the beginning of a crisis. The Hungarians had killed the Ottoman envoy Behram *Çavuş* and refused to pay tribute to the Ottomans. This gave Süleyman the excuse he was looking for to attack Hungary. During his first campaign (May-October 1521), Süleyman conquered the key Hungarian fortress of Belgrade (August). Following the fall of the fortress, he sent his envoy Halil *Çavuş* to Venice to report this victory. Minio in the meantime asked his government for new instructions. Afraid that Venice might get involved in the conflict, the senate ordered Minio to delay his journey as long as possible (Venice had also refused to help the Hungarians). Should he arrive in Constantinople before the campaign was over, he was to feign illness and avoid contact with Ottoman officials as long as possible. He was also instructed not to visit the sultan in his camp, unless it was absolutely necessary. Minio arrived in Constantinople on 27 September.[135]

After Süleyman's return to Constantinople negotiations started and although Süleyman was irritated by Minio's late arrival, the latter's excuses were accepted. During negotiations with the viziers and dragoman ᶜAli Beg, many smaller problems were at first discussed (Ottoman incursions in Albania and Dalmatia, acts of piracy, the release of prisoners, etc.), but once these issues were settled, the treaty itself was discussed. The Ottomans wanted to add two articles to the treaty and since these were only minor changes and in fact appeared to be improvements, Minio accepted these clauses: 'onde non

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134 Pedani, *Inviati*, 128, 169, 197 and 206.

135 Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 10-15 and 53-54; Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 91; Sevim, *op. cit.,* II, 260-262; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 310-312; Vaughan, *op. cit.,* 104-109; Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, III, 69-70; Romanin, *op. cit.*, V, 373-374; Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 35-78; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 198-2000; and Lamansky, *op. cit.*, II, 772.

mi parse differir la sigillazion della pace per causa dei detti capitoli'.[136] Minio also requested some additions in the text which were accepted by the Ottomans. He obtained three copies of the treaty. One was sent to Venice (brought together with his report by his secretary Constantino Cavazza), the second was for the Venetian bailo in Constantinople, and the third for the Venetian consul in Alexandria. Minio also obtained a decree which confirmed all the previous decrees issued by Selim I in Syria, as well as a decree concerning the release of Venetian slaves which he presented to the Venetian bailo in Constantinople (the Ottomans had refused to include this point in the treaty itself). Likewise, a decree prohibiting the search of Venetian ships at Gallipoli (one of the additions requested by Minio) was sent to the Venetian vice-bailo in Gallipoli. Territorial problems were also discussed. While negotiations with the government officials were under way, Minio also had an audience with Süleyman (29 October). On 11 December 1521 the new treaty was concluded. Minio left Constantinople for Crete on 13 January 1522 (he had been appointed Duca di Candia on 2 December 1520). There he composed a detailed report of his mission which was delivered by his secretary and read by the senate on 8 April 1522.[137]

Before Minio left Constantinople, he had the occasion to witness the preparations for Süleyman's campaign against the Hospitallers of Rhodes (June 1522-January 1523). Venice immediately instructed her Capitano Generale del Mare, Domenico Trevisan, to deploy naval forces in order to safeguard Venetian territories, especially Cyprus, but, if possible, to avoid any contact with the Ottoman fleet. As soon as it was clear that Rhodes and not Cyprus was the Ottoman objective, the Venetian ships returned to base. On 20 December 1522 Rhodes surrendered; one of the last Christian bastions against the Ottomans had fallen. Following his victory, Süleyman sent a *feth-name* to Venice. In order to congratulate the sultan on his success and to protect her

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136 Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 86.

137 Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 16; Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 69-91; Belin, *art. cit.*, 390-392; Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 35-78; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 199-200; and M. Şakiroğlu, '1521 tarihli Osmanlı-Venedik andlaşmasının asli metni', *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, XII, 1981-1982, 387-404 (Prof. Tayyib Gökbilgin Hatıra Sayısı) (Şakiroğlu, *1521 tarihli andlaşma*). For the original Ottoman document (ASV, Documenti Turchi 188) see the TEXTS. This text was published previously by Şakiroğlu who in the same article also gives the text of a *ferman* addressed to the *kazi* of Gelibolı (but kept by the Venetian vice-bailo in the same city) which repeats the main clauses of the treaty. Another copy of the same decree was published by Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 175, 103-104. For other copies of the same *ʿahd-name* see the TEXTS. Minio's report is in many ways remarkable and gives interesting details on the negotiations and the changes in the text of the *ʿahd-name* which are particularly interesting when the contents are studied.

interests, Venice dispatched an ambassador to Süleyman (elected 4 March). On 27 April 1523 Pietro Zeno (also Zen) was instructed to negotiate a settlement concerning Venetian losses caused by Turkish corsairs and some other matters which disturbed Ottoman-Venetian relations. Zeno left Venice at the beginning of May and arrived in Constantinople on 24 June 1523. He stayed longer in Constantinople because he had to fill the vacant position of bailo in the Ottoman capital until the arrival of a new incumbent. He returned to Venice on 22 October 1524 and delivered his report to the senate on 4 November. Zeno's successor as bailo in Constantinople was Pietro Bragadin who arrived in Constantinople on 25 April 1524. However, two years later Zeno returned to Constantinople to replace Bragadin as bailo (March 1526).[138]

When Zeno returned to Constantinople, Süleyman was preparing for his campaign against Hungary. The sultan left Constantinople with his army on 23 April 1526 and marched to Hungary. The Hungarian and Ottoman armies clashed in Mohacs on 29 August 1526. The Hungarians were completely routed and King Louis himself was killed. Ten days later the Ottomans conquered Buda and Pest. Except for the western and northern regions, the whole of Hungary had been subdued. However, Süleyman did not annex Hungary but he made it a vassal state which would pay tribute. News of the victory at Mohacs and the conquest of Hungary was reported in a letter which was brought to Venice by Süleyman's envoy ᶜAli.[139] By way of shunning any conflict with the Ottomans, Venice once again decided to send an ambassador to Süleyman to congratulate him on his victory. On 1 October 1526 Marco Minio was elected ambassador. He received his instructions on 18 December. Apart from congratulating Süleyman, he had to discuss some Ottoman violations of the peace treaty. Minio returned to Venice in 1527 and presented his report to the Venetian government on 8 October.[140]

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138 Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 18-31; Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 88-89; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 313-316; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 262-263; Vaughan, *op. cit.,* 109-110; Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 93-112; Romanin, *op. cit.,* V, 374-378; Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 35-78; Coco, *op. cit.*, 31-34; Rossi, *Rhodes*, 329-339; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 200-218; and Lamansky, *op. cit.*, II, 774-777. On the Rhodes expedition see also Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 209, 140-141.

139 Pedani, *Inviati*, 206.

140 Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 54-65; Shaw, *op. cit.,* I, 91-92; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 323-328; Sevim, *op. cit.,* II, 266-269; Vaughan, *op. cit.,* 112-115; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 229-254; Lamansky, *op. cit.*, II, 777-782; Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 114-118 (with a translation of Minio's 'recredenziali' on 118); Romanin, *op. cit.*, V, 458-461; Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78. For the original Ottoman text of Minio's 'recredenziali' see J. Matuz, *Das Kanzleiwesen Sultan Süleymans des Prächtigen*, Wiesbaden, 1974, no. 1, 121-123 (Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*).

Following the Habsburg annexation of large parts of Hungary in 1527-1528, Süleyman was forced to undertake in a new Hungarian campaign (10 May 1528-16 December 1529) which resulted in the reconquest of Hungary and the first siege of Vienna. The Ottoman advance into Habsburg territories unleashed panic all across the European continent. Venice was particularly concerned realizing that she could hardly defend herself against such a powerful force. Consequently, the Venetians, in near desperation, concentrated on maintaining friendly relations with the Ottomans: 'Tanta potenza del Turco spaventava Venezia e nell' impossibilità di tenerle fronte colle armi, ricorreva al partito di conservarsela amica colle umiliazioni: tanto erano cambiati i tempi!'.[141] Moreover, Venice's Levant trade, her main source of income, also depended almost exclusively on friendly relations with the Ottomans. Venetian policy therefore aimed at appeasing the Ottomans at all costs and thus Venice refrained from involvement in any possible Christian alliances against the Ottomans.

To encourage good relations Venice frequently dispatched ambassadors to Süleyman. In December 1527 Tommaso Contarini was elected envoy to thank Süleyman for granting permission to export cereals which were needed in Venice. Permission had been obtained by the Venetian bailo Pietro Zeno who had good contacts with the Grand Vizier İbrahim Paşa.[142] After Süleyman's victories in Hungary in 1529 the senate instructed the new Venetian bailo Francesco Bernardo to congratulate the sultan on Venice's behalf (December 1529).[143] In the same period another Venetian envoy Tommaso Mocenigo visited Süleyman on the occasion of the circumcision of three of his sons (Mustafa, Mehmed and Selim). Mocenigo was elected on 30 December 1529 and left Venice together with Bernardo on 13 April 1530. They arrived on 9 June. Mocenigo brought a letter from the Doge of Venice confirming the friendship between Venice and the Ottoman Empire, and Süleyman responded by sending a letter to Venice in return.[144]

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141 Romanin, *op. cit.,* V, 459.

142 For the 'recredenziali' of Pietro Zen see ASV, Documenti Turchi 278 (2-11 November 1531) and 312 (10-19 October 1533)(= Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 14, 144).

143 For the *feth-name* sent by Süleyman on the occasion of his victories in Austria and Hungary in 1529 see ASV, Documenti Turchi 250. This *feth-name* is the last Ottoman document in Greek preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia. The text has been published in *MM*, III, 361-364.

144 Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 71-101; Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 92-93; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 328-331; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 269-270; Vaughan, *op. cit.,* 115-116; Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78; Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 119-122; Romanin, *op. cit.,* V, 461-463, and VI, 5-6; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 312-345; and Lamansky, *op. cit.*, II, 772-773 and 782-791. For the text of Süleyman's letter about the completion of Mocenigo's mission

In the spring of 1532 Süleyman started his third Hungarian campaign (25 April-21 November 1532) directed against the Habsburgs, but with no immediate significant results. On 22 June 1533 peace was concluded between the Habsburgs and the Ottoman Empire. Hungary remained an Ottoman vassal and would form a buffer against future Habsburg attacks. From Belgrade Süleyman dispatched his envoy Yunus to Venice to report on his successes in Austria and Hungary, and after Süleyman's return to Constantinople the Venetians sent an ambassador (Tommaso Contarini) to confirm their friendly relations with the Ottomans.[145]

In October 1533 within three months after peace with Austria had been concluded and Süleyman had thus secured his western frontiers, the Ottoman armies were directed to the east. The campaign against the Safavids had begun (11 June 1534-8 January 1536). During this campaign Kurdistan and Iraq were annexed by the Ottomans. The Safavids, however, avoided joining battle and were not actually defeated. Süleyman reported his new conquests in letters which were sent to Venice and, after his return to Constantinople, the Venetians dispatched an ambassador (Tommaso Mocenigo, elected 14 March 1536) to congratulate the Ottoman sultan on his victories in Iraq.[146]

Since the end of the 1520's the activities of pirates in the Mediterranean had rapidly increased. From 1500 onwards Spanish attacks on and conquests in Muslim North Africa had resulted in counter-attacks by Muslim pirates. Many of these pirates were originally from the eastern Mediterranean and had shifted their sphere of activity to the western Mediterranean in search of new booty. In response the Habsburgs built a new fleet. Under the command of the Genoese admiral Andrea Doria the fleet attacked Ottoman Greece and captured Coron and some other harbors (September 1532). Since the Ottoman fleet had not been reinforced for many years, it was in no condition to oppose the Habsburg naval forces. Consequently, Süleyman called Hayre 'd-Din Barbarossa, the famous Barbary pirate captain and ruler of Algiers.

(dated evayil-i Muharrem 937/25 August-3 September 1530) see Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 96, 217-218 (= ASV, Documenti Turchi 255).

145 Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 101-121 and 124-140; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 331-335 and 336; Shaw, *op. cit*., I, 93-94; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 270-273; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 117-119; Romanin, *op. cit.,* VI, 8, 10-12; Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 124; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 346-393; and Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 35-78.

146 Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 141-159; Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 95-96; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 348-352; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 276-280; and Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 35-78. For the text of Süleyman's *feth-name* sent to Venice after his victories in Iraq see Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 136, 62-64; See also M. Şakiroğlu, 'Venedik Arşivi ve Kitaplıklarından Türk tarih ve kültürüne ait kayıtlar', *Erdem*, III, 7, 1987, 111-134, no. IV, 130-133 (Şakiroğlu, *Kayıtlar*).

Barbarossa was appointed Grand Admiral (*Kapudan Paşa*) of the Ottoman fleet and started to build up a huge new Ottoman fleet which could be used against the Habsburgs. In the meantime Venetian commercial activities began to suffer from the substantial increase of piracy in the Mediterranean. Both Ottoman and Habsburg naval activities hindered Venetian trade. In response the Venetians decided to look after their interests on their own. The Venetian fleet was ordered to protect Venetian merchant ships in the Mediterranean. On one occasion the Venetians attacked a squadron of Ottoman ships, capturing and destroying several of them. The Venetians thought that they had come upon pirates from the Barbary coast but, as it turned out, these were ships belonging to Süleyman's fleet. In order to prevent disastrous consequences, Venice immediately dispatched an ambassador to Süleyman to apologize for the incident and to offer to return the captured ships. On 13 December 1533 Daniele de' Ludovici, the Venetian secretary of the mission of 1517, was instructed to make every effort to preserve the peace because 'la pace col Turco era […] per Venezia una questione di esistenza'.[147]

The following year naval actions by both the Habsburgs and the Ottomans increased. Within one year Hayre 'd-Din had managed to build a new fleet and the Ottomans had recaptured Lepanto, Coron and Tunis (1534). However, in 1535 Charles V reconquered Tunis. The Habsburgs' aggression against the Ottomans on sea and their anti-French policy in Europe led to a French-Ottoman coalition in 1536 which would play an important role in Mediterranean politics during the years to come. After returning from Iraq early in 1536, Süleyman dispatched Yunus Beg to Venice to propose that the Venetians enter the Ottoman-French alliance against Charles V. Cautious as ever, the Venetians responded in friendly terms but did not join the alliance. Instead they sent their ambassador Tommaso Contarini to congratulate the sultan on his conquest of Iraq. In 1536 the French and Ottomans started their anti-Habsburg offensive by launching a joint attack on Italy; the French on land and the Ottomans by sea. However, with a major Ottoman land

147 Quotation from Romanin, *op. cit.*, VI, 8. Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 122-124, 163-170, 180-181; Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 96-98; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 335, 363-372; Sevim, *op. cit.,* II, 281-285; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 116-120; Romanin, *op. cit.*, VI, 8-10; Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, I, 2-32; and III, 124. On the early activities of (Turkish) Muslim pirates in the western Mediterranean see S. Soucek, 'The Rise of the Barbarossas in North Africa', *Archivum Ottomanicum,* III, 1971, 238-250.

offensive against Italy planned for the year 1537, the pope succeeded in ending the conflict between Charles V and Francis I.[148]

With his plans frustrated by the French, Süleyman turned his attention to the Venetian possessions along the Albanian and Dalmatian coast. Tension between Venice and the Ottomans had been increasing for quite some time. Though the Venetians tried to avoid direct collision with the Ottomans so as not to jeopardize their commercial interests in the Ottoman Empire, since 1533 the number of problems arising between the two powers had begun to increase significantly. Incursions into Venetian territories in Dalmatia and Albania, Ottoman pirates capturing Venetian ships in the Adriatic and Mediterranean, maltreatment of Venetian merchants in the Ottoman Empire and other violations of the *ʿahd-name* were gradually poisoning Ottoman-Venetian relations. Relations further deteriorated after the execution of the Grand Vizier İbrahim Paşa (on 15 March 1536) who had been a friend to Venice and a protector of Venetian interests throughout his career. Moreover, the Venetians themselves had begun attacks on Ottoman ships, possibly out of resentment of the French-Ottoman treaty which gave the French very favorable commercial privileges in the Ottoman Empire. Both Ottomans and Venetians violated the peace, and war was unavoidable.[149]

In 1537 Ottoman-Venetian collisions resulted in open warfare. While Ottoman forces attacked Venetian fortresses in Dalmatia, Süleyman marched to Albania with his main army. This was his seventh military campaign (17 May-22 November 1537). The Ottoman fleet under the command of

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148 Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 180-182; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 372-374; Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 98-99; Vaughan, *op. cit.,* 120-123; Romanin, *op. cit.,* VI, 11-23; Sevim, *op. cit.,* II, 285-286; Pfeffermann, *op. cit.*, 136-144; Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, III, 124; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 394-424; and Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78. On the important French-Ottoman coalition see Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 104-131; and De Lamar Jensen, 'The Ottoman Turks in Sixteenth Century French Diplomacy', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, XVI, 4, 1985, 451-470.

149 Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 181-184; Shaw, *op. cit.,* 98-99; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 374; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 123; Romanin, *op. cit.,* VI, 23; Sevim, *op. cit.,* II, 286; Pfeffermann, *op. cit.*, 143-144; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 422-427. For documents illustrating the growing tension in Ottoman-Venetian relations after 1533 see Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I and V-VIII; idem, 'Kanuni Sultan Süleyman devrine ait Bosna ve Hersek ile ilgili Venedik Arşivi'ndeki Türkçe belgeler hakkında', *Tarih Dergisi*, XXXII, 1979, 319-330 (Gökbilgin, *Bosna ve Hersek*); Şakiroğlu, *Kayıtlar*, no. I, 124-126; and Chr. Villain-Gandossi, 'Contribution à l'étude des relations diplomatiques et commerciales entre Venise et la Porte ottomane au XVIe siècle (1)', *Südost-Forschungen*, XXVI, München 1967, 22-45; idem, 'Contribution à l'étude des relations diplomatiques et commerciales entre Venise et la Porte ottomane au XVIe siècle (2)', *Südost-Forschungen*, XXVIII, München 1969, 13-47; idem, 'Contribution à l'étude des relations diplomatiques et commerciales entre Venise et la Porte ottomane au XVIe siècle (Annexe)', *Südost-Forschungen*, XXIX, München 1970, 290-298 (Villain-Gandossi, *Relations*, I, II, and III).

Barbarossa sailed into the Adriatic. The Ottomans then began their siege of the Venetian island of Corfu (August-September 1537). However, after a few weeks had gone by without any success, Süleyman was forced to abandon the siege and return to Constantinople. Ottoman attacks on the last Venetian strongholds in the Morea were also unsuccessful. The Ottoman fleet, however, met with greater success. During the journey back to his winter base in İstanbul, Barbarossa ravaged the Venetian islands in the Aegean (October-November 1537). Moreover, the following summer (1538) Barbarossa returned with his fleet and pillaged Crete. The remaining Aegean islands submitted either to force or in some cases voluntarily as the Venetians wished to avoid having their islands ravaged. As a result of this naval expedition, all Venetian islands in the Aegean, except for Tinos, became Ottoman tributaries or were annexed and came under direct Ottoman rule.[150]

In response to the Ottoman attack the pope organized a Holy League which sent a fleet under the command of Andrea Doria to ravage Ottoman territories. The combined Spanish, Venetian and papal fleet bombarded the Ottoman port of Preveze, but was not able to capture it. Although the Ottoman fleet had already returned to winter base in Constantinople, Barbarossa managed to assemble part of his fleet and sailed against the Holy League. The Christian fleet was defeated in the naval battle of Preveze on 28 September 1538 and fled the area. Although on its way back the Christian fleet was able to capture the Adriatic port of Castelnuovo, Ottoman naval supremacy was once again demonstrated.[151]

Following the battle of Preveze, the Venetians decided to undertake negotiations with the Ottomans. In the winter of 1539-1540 the Venetians sent Lorenzo Gritti to Constantinople to inform the Ottoman authorities of Venice's intention of sending an ambassador to negotiate peace, and to obtain a safe-conduct for the ambassador. Gritti apparently also succeeded in concluding a truce to stop hostilities between both parties in order to facilitate negotiations. In a letter to the Venetian Signoria, Süleyman answered that he had no objections: 'her kim gelmek isterse kimesneniñ gelmesine ve gitmesine

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150 Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 182-188, 192-199 and 204-206; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 374-375; Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 98-99; Vaughan, *op. cit.,* 123-124; Romanin, *op. cit.,* VI, 23-35; Sevim, *op. cit.,* II, 286; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 423-433; B. Slot, *Archipelagus Turbatus. Les Cyclades entre colonisation latine et occupation ottomane c. 1500-1718*, 2 vols., Leiden 1982, I, 73-80.

151 Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 206-207 and 213-216; Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 99; Romanin, *op. cit.,* VI, 27-40; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 287-289; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 124; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 375-379; and Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 428-446.

asla redd ve menᶜ yokdur'.[152] On 11 April 1539 Pietro Zeno was appointed as ambassador. Zeno was given his instructions on 24 April but during the journey to Constantinople he fell ill and died. A new Venetian ambassador, Tommaso Contarini was elected on 14 June.[153] Meanwhile, even though there was a truce, Barbarossa ravaged Venetian territories in Dalmatia, recaptured Castelnuovo and tried unsuccessfully to conquer Cattaro in northern Albania. The Venetians also engaged in hostilities against the Ottomans and consequently the negotiations broke down. In a letter sent to Venice Süleyman wrote with irritation that he was sending the Venetian ambassador back and declared that 'kimseniñ düşmenliginden ihtiyatım olmayub ve kimseniñ dostluguna ihtiyacım yokdur'.[154]

By that time Süleyman's conditions had also been made known. He demanded the cession of Napoli di Romania and Monemvasia along with a large sum of tribute. On 15 October the senate instructed Contarini in Constantinople to offer 150.000 ducats, but if the Ottomans asked for more, he was authorized to promise a maximum of 300.000. If Süleyman insisted on the cession of Napoli di Romania and Monemvasia (Malvasia), he was to offer a tribute between 3000 and 4000 ducats a year for each city respectively. He was also authorized to offer tribute for the Aegean islands and Nadin and Vrana in Dalmatia, but if Süleyman insisted on his conditions, Contarini could acquiesce to his wishes. Contarini did not succeed in his mission and after his return to Venice a new ambassador was appointed.[155]

Alvise Badoer, the next ambassador, received his instructions on 20 December 1539. He was to attempt to reach an agreement as favorable as

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152 ASV, Documenti Turchi 419 (= Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 15, 144-145, dated evahır-i Şevval 946/28 February-8 March 1539); and ASV, Documenti Turchi 415 (= Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 25, 153, dated evayil-i Remezan 946/10-19 January 1539). The first letter was sent in January, the second almost two months later. For the safe-conduct for the Venetian ambassador (a decree for all the *kazi*s along the Mediterranean coast) see ASV, Documenti Turchi 417 (= Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 54, 182).

153 For the letter of the *sancak begi* of Bosna informing the Venetians about the illness of Pietro Zen see Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 38, 167.

154 Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 216-219; Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 346-347; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 379; Romanin, *op. cit.*, VI, 51-52; Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, III, 124; Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 446-449. For Süleyman's letter (dated evayil-i Cemazi 'l-evvel 946/14-23 September 1539) see ASV, Documenti Turchi 407 (= Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 16, 145). For a summarized translation see Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 346-347. For two other letters, one from Grand Vizier Lutfi Paşa and one from dragoman Yunus Beg with similar contents see ASV, Documenti Turchi 410 (= Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 31, 158-159) and ASV, Documenti Turchi, 412 (= Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 39, 168-169).

155 Romanin, *op. cit.,* VI, 52-56; Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 219-219; Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 124; and Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 448-449.

possible for the Venetians. According to his instructions, he was allowed to offer a higher yearly tribute for Napoli and Monemvasia (4000-8000 ducats) and a single sum of tribute between 100.000 and 300.000 ducats with the longest possible term of payment. Additional instructions (7 January 1540) concerned the inclusion of Naxos in the treaty, the cession of Tinos, free trade in cereals, and the restitution of Paros, Namphio, Stampalia, Amorgos and Scarpanto to its former Venetian rulers. On 15 January the Venetians also decided that, ifit was absolutely necessary, Badoer could acquiesce to the cession of Napoli and Monemvasia.[156]

Badoer arrived in Constantinople on 15 April 1540. On 25 April he had an audience with Süleyman. During the negotiations the Ottomans refused to make any concessions and maintained their conditions which were very unfavorable for Venice. The cession of Napoli and Monemvasia seemed unavoidable. In May Badoer informed his government about the difficulties in the negotiations. On 11 June 1540 the senate replied to the letters of the Venetian ambassador in Constantinople stating that he could accept the Ottoman conditions: 'poichè non si ha potuto far meglio restiamo contenti della conclusione di essa'.[157] Consequently, a preliminary treaty was concluded on 28 July 1540.[158] Two days later, Badoer sent the draft to Venice. The document arrived in Venice in August together with a copy of the old capitulation of 1521 which had been used as a model during the negotiations. After the document arrived in Venice, it was probably also used for comparing the old with the new treaty.[159] Although the basic text was approved, the Venetians wanted some additions and amendments. On 30 August the proposed additions and amendments were sent to Constantinople and negotiations continued.[160] On 2 October 1540 peace was concluded in full

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156 Romanin, *op. cit.,* VI, 56-58; Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 219; Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 124; Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78; and Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 448-449.

157 Romanin, *op. cit.,* VI, 59.

158 For the text of his document see the TEXTS (ASV, Documenti, Turchi 425). The text of this document was partially published in Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 334-345.

159 At the reverse side of this copy of the treaty of 1521 a note in Italian informs us about the status of this text: 'Copia in lingua turca de li capitoli vechi, mandata da missier Alvise Badoer, orator à Costantinopoli per Zenesin truciman in lettere de 30 iulio 1540, la traduzion de la quel è in mano del circospetto Ludovico Spinelli secretario'. This copy was sent by Alvise Badoer, the Venetian ambassador in Constantinople, by way of the Venetian dragoman Zenesin together with a letter dated 30 July 1540, i.e. two days after the date of the draft.

160 For the text of these proposed amendments and additions see Bonelli, *art. cit.*, Appendix II, 361-362.

accordance with Ottoman demands.[161] On 8 October an Italian translation of the document was sent from Constantinople to Venice. On 12 November 1540 the Ottoman document was brought to Venice by the Venetian dragoman named Giannettino Salvago and on 20 November the senate wrote a letter to Badoer approving the treaty which had been made in close conformity ('veramente conformi') to his instructions.[162] The Italian translation was the basis for the official document on which the Doge of Venice took his oath. In April 1542, in the presence of the Ottoman ambassador Yunus Beg, the doge swore to uphold the treaty.[163] In October 1542 Süleyman, in a letter to the doge, refers to the ceremony which had taken place: 'mezkur tercüman ᶜatebe-i ᶜalem-penahıma gelüb saña bu defᶜa ᶜinayet olunan ᶜahd-i şerifim üzere olduguñı ve ᶜahd-name-i hümayunumda olanlara muhalif eylemeyelim deyü otuz mıkdarı beglerle incile yemin eyledügüñüzi… iᶜlam edüb'.[164] After this ceremony the Venetian document, sealed with the golden bull of the Republic, was sent to Süleyman in Constantinople.

As in 1503, the cession of Venetian territories and the payment of the tribute as agreed in the treaty took considerable time. Napoli di Romania was

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161 Romanin, *op. cit.,* VI, 58-66. For the text of the treaty see the TEXTS (ASV, Documenti, Turchi 426); also Gökbilgin, *Belgeler,* I, no. 1, 121-128. Another slightly different version of the final treaty was published by W. Lehmann, *Der Friedensvertrag zwischen Venedig und der Türkei vom 2. Oktober 1540*, Bonn 1936. On these different versions see A. Bombaci, 'Ancora sul trattato turco-veneto del 2 ottobre 1540', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, XX, 1942-1943, 373-381 (Bombaci, *Trattato del 1540*).

162 Romanin, *op. cit.,* VI, 51-66; Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 219-220; Shaw, *op. cit.,* I, 99; Sevim, *op. cit.*, II, 289; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 124; Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 124; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 379; Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 332-333; Lehmann, *op. cit.,* 1-12; Bombaci, *Trattato del 1540*, 373-381; Belin, *art. cit.*, 392-393; Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 448-449; and Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 35-78. For a letter sent by Grand Vizier Lutfi Paşa urging the Venetians to act in conformity with the newly concluded treaty see Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 32, 160. Giannettino was also called Zanetto Pomaro, Janezin, Giannettino Salvago or Tenesin Salvego. In Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, I, 181, his function becomes clear: posso dire che vostra serenità abbia in Costantinopoli un solo dragomanno nelli servizj d'importanza, il che non mi par che sia a proposito; perchè occorendo ad esso Tenesin Salvego alcun sinistro accidente per causa di morbo ovvero d'altra infermità, il bailo non sapria quello che avesse a fare…' (1554). See also Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, I, 288; Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 121-123; Coco, *op. cit.*, 107-108; and B. Simon, 'L'attraction de l'Empire Ottoman et les sujets de la République de Venise, d'après les dépèches du baule Marin Cavalli (1558-1560): permanence d'un phénomène social au milieu du xvie siècle', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, XI, 1987, 417-431, 428-429 (Simon, *Cavalli*).

163 Pedani, *Inviati*, 151-152 and 206.

164 ASV, Documenti Turchi 482 (= Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 3 132-133). The structure of (a part of) this document was studied by J. Buri-Gütermann, *Der Satzbau in der Sprache der osmanischen Urkunden aus der Zeit von Mehmed Fatih bis Süleyman-i Qanuni*, Wien 1972, 88-93. However, when she discusses the *dispositio*, Buri-Gütermann does not realize that the phrase 'ma-dam ki… şöyle bilesiz' is the *sanctio* of the document and not the last part of the *dispositio* as she assumes.

ceded by the Venetians on 21 October 1540[165] and Monemvasia on 23 October 1540.[166] The settlement of the frontiers in Dalmatia took longer. During the war the Ottomans had conquered a number of Venetian fortresses in Dalmatia, the most important of which were Nadin and Urana. These two fortresses remained in Ottoman hands after peace was concluded. Another place, Degirmenler, was returned to the Venetians. However, four other fortresses Buçac, Rastine, Sene and Velin were disputed. The Ottomans and the Venetians both claimed these places and stated that they were still in their hands. In order to reach a settlement a mixed Ottoman-Venetian commission was installed to investigate the matter (1544). Buçac, Sene and Rastine were ruined and empty, but belonged to the Ottomans. Velin, however, had been reoccupied by the Venetians after its conquest by the Ottomans. In 1546 Süleyman demanded that the Venetians return Velin to the *sancak begi* of Klis. In spite of the treaty, the situation in the area remained tense and both Ottomans and Venetians engaged in attacks upon each other's territories.[167]

The payment of the tribute was another matter that dragged on for years. According to the treaty, the tribute of 300.000 ducats had to be paid within three years.[168] The sum of 100.000 ducats had been paid shortly after the conclusion of the treaty.[169] However, in 1542 200.000 ducats had still not been paid and Süleyman sent a letter urging the Venetians to do so.[170] A sum of 50.000 ducats was paid shortly thereafter in accordance with the clause in the treaty.[171] However, when it was time to deliver the first 75.000 ducats (of 150.000 ducats to be paid in two years), the Ottomans had to remind the

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165 For the official statements concerning the transfer of Napoli di Romania from Venetian to Ottoman suzerainty see ASV, Documenti Turchi 436 (Turkish) and 438 (Greek). For the Turkish text see also Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 80, 203-204; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, note 23, 353.

166 For the official declarations stating the transfer of Monemvasia from Venetian to Ottoman suzerainty see ASV, Documenti Turchi 440 (Turkish) and 442 (Greek). For the Turkish text see also Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 81, 204; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, note 23, 354.

167 Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 213-215; Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 101, 14; no. 103, 16-17; no. 104, 17; no. 107, 20-21; no. 135, 61-62; Gökbilgin, *Bosna ve Hersek*, 319-330; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 351-357.

168 The clause on the tribute in the treaty of 1540: 've hızane-i ᶜamirem canibine dahı üçyüz biñ sikke efrenci altun vermek üzere ki yüz biñ filorisin şimdi verüb ve yine bu yıl içinde elli biñ filorisin dahı verüb ve baki yüz elli biñ filorisin bu yıldan sonra iki yıl içinde eda etmek üzere ki her bir yılda yetmiş beşer biñ filori olur'.

169 ASV, Documenti Turchi 452 (18 Şevval 947/ 15 February 1541). Concerning the receipts of the tribute see M. Pedani, 'Le prime "sottoscrizioni a coda" dei tesorieri nell'impero ottomano', *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, VIII, 1990, 215-228.

170 ASV, Documenti Turchi 469 (= Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 18, 147-148).

171 ASV, Documenti Turchi 472 (17 Zi 'l-hicce 948 / 3 April 1542).

Venetians of their obligation.[172] The 75.000 ducats in question were eventually paid on 15 May 1544.[173] But later in 1544 (September-October) Süleyman demanded that the Venetians pay the remaining 75.000 ducats.[174] Another 25.000 ducats were paid in 1545.[175]

The peace of 1540 was another disaster for the Venetians. Apart from Corfu and Zante only Tinos, Cyprus and Crete were left in Venetian hands. Likewise, a number of isolated fortresses along the Albanian and Dalmatian coast were still Venetian. Within forty years the Venetian colonial empire had almost completely collapsed. From 1540 onwards Venice's prosperity depended more than ever on her trade with the Ottoman Empire and, as in 1503, Venetian policy in the years to come was strongly influenced by this humiliating defeat. Although peace would be established between Venice and the Ottoman Empire for almost thirty years, and Venice would soon recover from her financial difficulties, her grandeur and prestige would never again be the same.[176]

During the rest of the reign of Süleyman I, Ottoman-Venetian relations were stable and friendly. While the Ottomans were engaged in wars with the Habsburgs and Persia, the Venetians observed strict neutrality and concentrated on trade. By dispatching extraordinary embassies to the Ottoman Empire and through her permanent representatives (bailos) in Constantinople, Venice was able to maintain her good relations with the Ottomans. In 1543 the Ottomans tried to incite Venice to attack the Habsburgs, but the Republic remained neutral and, when the Hungarian campaign was over, Venice sent her ambassador Stefano Tiepolo to visit Süleyman I and to congratulate him on his victories in Hungary (tenth campaign 23 April-16 November 1543).[177] In 1550 Caterino Zeno was sent to

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172 ASV, Documenti Turchi 495 (dated evahır-i Şevval 949/28 January-5 February 1543)(= Şakiroğlu, *Kayıtlar*, no. III, 127-130): 'haliya yetmiş beş biñ altunuñ vakti temam olmuşdur te'hir eylemeyüb ol altını müᶜahede-i hümayunum üzere tedarük edüb dahı yarar ademleriñle gönderüb hazine-i ᶜamireme teslim eyleyesiz'.

173 ASV, Documenti Turchi 515 (= Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 47, 176).

174 Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 134, 60-61.

175 ASV, Documenti Turchi 593 (= Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 68, 194). It is not clear whether the remaining 50.000 ducats were paid before or after this 25.000 ducats.

176 Romanin, *op. cit.,* VI, 65-66; Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 219-220; Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 99; Sevim, *op. cit.,* II, 289; Vaughan, *op. cit.,* 124; and Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 379.

177 Hammer, Geschichte, III, 242 and 259-260; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 381; Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, III, 124; and Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78 and 99-100. For Süleyman's *feth-name* sent to Venice at the end of his Hungarian campaign see ASV, Documenti Turchi 509 (= Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 137, 64-

visit Süleyman after the sultan had returned from his campaign against Persia (eleventh campaign 29 March 1548-21 December 1549). Zeno set out from Venice together with the newly appointed bailo Bernardo Navagiero.[178] In 1555 another Venetian ambassador Alvise Renier visited Süleyman after the latter's return from another major campaign against Persia (twelfth campaign 28 August 1553-31 July 1555). These extraordinary Venetian ambassadors were almost always sent after the Venetian government had received a *feth-name* announcing Ottoman victories. Apparently, it was diplomatic custom to dispatch an ambassador to congratulate the sultan each time such an official announcement reached Venice.[179]

The 'Relazioni' of such Venetian bailos, vice-bailos and secretaries as Domenico Trevisan (1555)[180], Antonio Erizzo (1557)[181], Antonio Barbarigo (1558)[182], Marino Cavalli (1560)[183], Andrea Dandolo (1562)[184], Marcantonio Donini (1562)[185], Daniele Barbarigo (1565)[186] and Luigi Bonrizzo (1565)[187] give a vivid and informative picture of the Ottoman Empire and Ottoman-

66). For another letter sent during this campaign see ASV, Documenti Turchi 507 (= Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 6, 135-136).

178 Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, I, 33-110; Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 35-78; and Setton, *op. cit.*, III, 450-564, IV, 565-922. In a letter (dated evahır-i Remezan 957/3-12 October 1550) Süleyman speaks about Zeno's mission. At the end of the letter he urges the Venetians to send him regular news about developments in western Europe: 'min baᶜd dahı astane-i seᶜadet-penahımıza olan dostluguñuz muktezasınca haberiñiz eksik etmeyüb ol caniblerden maᶜlumuñuz olan ahbar-i sahiheyi iᶜlam etmekden hali olmayasız…'. For this letter see ASV, Documenti Turchi 655 (= Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 9, 139). Gökbilgin misread the name of the ambassador as Alvise Renier, instead of the correct Caterino Zeno. For a document concerning festivities in Constantinople celebrating the success of the Persian campaign see ASV, Documenti Turchi 642 (= Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 44, 173).

179 On the period 1540-1566 see Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 221-495; Shaw, *op. cit.*, 99-167; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 124-155; Sevim, *op. cit.,* II, 289-305; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, II, 380-693; and Romanin, *op. cit.,* VI, 201-265.

180 Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, I, 111-192; and Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 35-78.

181 Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 124-144; and Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 35-78.

182 Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 145-160; and Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 35-78.

183 Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, I, 272-298; Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 35-78 and 108; and Simon, *Cavalli*, 417-431. For Marino Cavalli's 'recredenziali' (dated evahır-i Zi 'l-hicce 967/10-20 September 1560) see Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 118, 31-32.

184 Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 161-172; and Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 35-78.

185 Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 173-208; and Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 35-78.

186 Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, II, 1-59; and Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 35-78.

187 Albèri, o*p. cit.,* Serie IIIa, II, 61-76; and Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 35-78.

Venetian relations during the period they cover.[188] In his report from 1560 the Venetian bailo Marino Cavalli gives the following analysis of Ottoman-Venetian relations and their importance: 'Però frattanto esorto vostra serenità a star in pace con loro al meglio che si possa, non dando loro occasione ragionevole di guerra importante; perchè essi da sè, non mutandosi il mondo, non romperanno mai la pace che hanno, e anco perchè lo stato della serenità vostra è ridotto in ottima difesa… Un altro rispetto, e di molta importanza, che muoverà il Grand-Signore a non far guerra senza causa a vostra serenità, è il danno grande ch'egli sente nelli suoi dazj quando li nostri mercanti non possono trafficare con li suoi, massime che nè i Francesi nè altre nazioni sono bastanti a far quelli traffichi che fanno li nostri, nè per quella somma'.[189]

Even though the Ottomans and the Venetians were at peace from 1540 to 1570 there were, nonetheless, matters which occasionally troubled their relations. Both the Venetians and Ottomans frequently complained about violations of the peace treaty. However, most of these complaints were to do with minor affairs which did not seriously threaten or disrupt relations. These complaints can be divided into two broad categories. The first category has to do with the Ottoman-Venetian border area in Dalmatia and Albania. Throughout the period 1540-1570 both the Venetians and the Ottomans complained about attacks on one another's territories, acts of piracy and maltreatment of persons (both Ottomans and Venetians). Moreover, the activities of pirates called the Uskoks ('Uscocchi'), who operated with Habsburg sanction, began to damage Venetian and Ottoman interests in the Adriatic. The second category of complaints pertains to trade. Most complaints in this category are on the part of Venice and have to do with the (physical and financial) maltreatment of her subjects: merchants were taken prisoner and sold as slaves, Venetians slaves were not released, Venetian merchants had to pay too much tax, Ottoman officials hindered Venetian commercial activities, etc. The Venetian bailo in Constantinople raised these general problems with the Ottoman authorities because 'il carico principale d'un bailo di Costantinopoli è la difensione delle mercanzie della nazione'.[190]

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188 For a study concerning the idea of 'oriental despotism' based on the 'Relazioni' see L. Valensi, *Venezia e la Sublima Porta. La nascita del despota*. Bologna 1989.

189 Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, I, 282-284. On Cavalli see Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78; and Simon, *Cavalli*, 417-431.

190 Quotation from Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, I, 101. Romanin, *op. cit.,* VI, 233-265; Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78. Examples of both categories of violations of the treaty can be found in Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I; idem, *Belgeler*, V-VIII (concerning both Dalmatia/Albania and trade); Villain-Gandossi, *Relations*, I, II, and III; Şakiroğlu, *Kayıtlar*, no. V, 133-134; Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, no. 12, 141-142, and no. 15, 149-150; and Gökbilgin, *Bosna ve Hersek*, 319-330. On the Venetian bailos see Bertelè, *op. cit.;* Coco, *op. cit.*; Albèri,

When Süleyman I died in 1566, he was succeeded by his son Selim II (1566-1574). Venice was informed about Selim's accession in a letter brought by the *Çavuş* Mehmed bin İskender.[191] On 21 October 1566 Marino Cavalli was elected Venetian ambassador to congratulate Selim II on his accession and to renew the existing peace treaty between Venice and the Ottoman Empire. Cavalli was successful and obtained a new capitulation dated 25 June 1567 which was 'con solennissimo giuramento confirmata' by Selim II.[192] In Selim's 'recredenziali' concerning Cavalli's mission the sultan summarizes what has happened since the death of his father. He mentions his accession to the throne, the arrival of the Venetian ambassador Marino Cavalli, the renewal of the treaty whichwas granted to the ambassador ('sabıka verilen ᶜahd-name-i hümayun tecdid olunub müşar ileyhe teslim olub…'), the return of the ambassador to Venice, and finally ends by urging the Venetians to uphold the treaty.[193]

However, the first cracks in Ottoman-Venetian relations had already appeared. In 1558 an Ottoman *paşa* had said to the Venetian bailo Antonio Barbarigo: 'Non sai tu bene che quando il Signore vorrà far l'imprese di Cipro, li suoi signori non lo potranno difendere, perchè ad un tratto manderà dalla Caramania vicina a quel regno tante genti come le stelle in cielo, che ad un tratto lo deprederanno tutto e se li suoi signori lo volessero difendere con un' armata di cento, cencinquanta ovvero dugento galee e noi anderemo con la medesima armata et piglieremo Cataro, Zara e anderemo fino a Venezia'.[194] The Venetian island of Cyprus was indeed an easy prey for the Ottomans. The

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op. cit., Serie IIIa, III, XIII-XXIII; B. Simon, 'I rappresentanti diplomatici veneziani a Costantinopoli', *Venezia e i Turchi. Scontri e confronti di due civiltà*, Milano 1985, 56-69; Chr. Villain-Gandossi, 'Les attributions du baile de Constantinople dans le fonctionnement des échelles du Levant au XVIe siècle', *La Méditerranée aux XIIe-XVIe siècles. Relations maritimes, diplomatiques et commerciales*, London 1983, no. VII; and idem, 'Les dépêches chiffrées de Vettore Bragadin baile de Constantinople (12 juillet 1564 - 15 juin 1566)', *Turcica*, IX/2-X, 1978, 52-106; and H. Brown, *Studies in the History of Venice*, 2 vols., London 1907, II, 1-38.

191 Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 201, 130-131; and Pedani, *Inviati*, 16-17, 128 and 207.

192 Romanin, *op. cit.,* VI, 276; Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 210; R. Mantran, 'L'impero ottomano, Venezia e la guerra (1570-1670)', *Venezia e la difesa del Levante. Da Lepanto a Candia 1570-1670*, Venezia 1986, 227-232, 227 (Mantran, *Venezia e la guerra*). For the text of the treaty of 1567 see the TEXTS (ASV, Documenti Turchi 793). The text of this document (dated 17 Zi 'l-hicce 974) has been published before by M. Şakiroğlu, 'II. Selim'in Venedik Cumhuriyeti'ne verdiği 1567 ve 1573 tarihli ahidnameler', *Erdem,* II, 5, 1986, 527-553. (Şakiroğlu, *Ahidnameler*).

193 ASV, Documenti Turchi 795. Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 496-529; Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 35-78 and 108; and Setton, *op. cit.*, IV, 923-925.

194 Romanin, *op. cit.,* VI, 246.

first indications of a coming Ottoman attack on Cyprus were noticed in 1567. In the spring of that year, even before the existing treaty was renewed, the Venetians planned to reinforce their fleet and to strengthen the fortifications on Cyprus after rumours of a possible Turkish attack. In order to mislead Venice, Selim II renewed the existing Ottoman-Venetian treaty on time and without any problem. The threat seemed to have subsided.[195]

However, it was not difficult for the powerful Don Joseph Nassi, Duke of Naxos, to incite Selim II to declare war on Venice and to conquer Cyprus. The same Joseph Nassi was also believed to be responsible for the great fire which destroyed the Venetian arsenal on 13 September 1569.[196] On 28 March 1570 Selim II sent his *Çavuş* Kubad to present an ultimatum and demand the cession of Cyprus.[197]The Venetian senate refused and started preparations for war. The Ottoman fleet left Constantinople in three squadrons between March and May 1570. The Ottomans first tried to capture the Venetian island of Tinos but were unsuccessful. Thereafter, the fleet sailed to Cyprus. Ottoman troops landed in the summer of 1570 and started the siege of Nicosia which fell in September. The siege of Cyprus' main harbor, Famagusta, began after the fall of Nicosia. With the capitulation of this city almost one year later on the first of August 1571 the conquest of Cyprus was completed. Venetian attempts to prevent the conquest had failed completely.

There were also hostilities between Venitians and Ottomans in Dalmatia and Albania. Following the start of hostilities, the Venetian admiral Venier had captured the Albanian fortress of Sopoto. The Ottoman fleet, however, ravaged the Venetian islands along the west coast of Greece and captured several Venetian cities in Albania.[198]

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195 Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 563-568; Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 177-178; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, III, 9-11; Vaughan, *op. cit.,* 156-157; Romanin, *op. cit.,* VI, 265-267; Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, III, 210; Setton, *op. cit.*, IV, 923-925; and Mantran, *Venezia e la guerra*, 227.

196 Preto, *Servizi*, 99-101. For Ottoman espionage in Venice see *ibid.*, 95-109.

197 Pedani, *Inviati*, 9-10, 72, 161-162 and 207.

198 Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 575-590; Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 178; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, III, 11-15; Vaughan, *op. cit.,* 156-158; Romanin, *op. cit.,* VI, 267-309; Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, III, 210; Setton, *op. cit.*, IV, 925-1044; Mantran, *Venezia e la guerra*, 227-228; and B. Arbel, 'Venezia, gli ebrei e l'attività di Salomone Ashkenasi nella guerra di Cipro', G. Cozzi (ed.), *Gli ebrei a Venezia secoli XIV-XVIII*, Venezia 1987, 163-190, 163-175 (Arbel, *Cipro*). For Ottoman documents concerning the period 1570-1571 see İ. Uzunçarşılı, 'Kıbrıs fethi ile Lepant (İnebahtı) muharebesi arasında Türk Devletile Venedik ve müttefiklerinin faaliyetine dair bazı hazinei evrak kayıtları', *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, III, 1926-1933 (1935), 257-292.

In the winter of 1570-1571 the first attempts for negotiating peace between Ottomans and Venetians began. The Venetian bailo Marcantonio Barbaro in Constantinople, who had been imprisoned in his own residence since the beginning of hostilities in the spring of 1570, was allowed to request the dispatch of a Venetian ambassador. On 4 March 1571 Venice appointed Jacopo (Giacomo) Ragazzoni as envoy to Constantinople. His official task was to negotiate the release of Venetian merchants held by the Ottomans and Ottoman merchants held by Venice. Unofficially, however, he was instructed to initiate peace negotiations. Ragazzoni left Venice on 11 March and arrived in Constantinople on 26 April 1571. He was able to give the Venetian bailo Barbaro secret instructions for negotiations. While Barbaro had an audience with Sokollu Mehmed Paşa and discussed the possibilities for peace, Venice was also negotiating to establish a Holy League with the pope. In view of the new attacks on Famagusta, Crete and Venetian territories in Dalmatia and Albania, Venice decided to form an anti-Ottoman league with the pope and Spain (25 May 1571). In the meantime negotiations with the Ottomans in Constantinople broke down and Ragazzoni returned to Venice.[199]

The allied fleet assembled in Messina and from there sailed to Lepanto where the Ottoman fleet was waiting. The naval battle of Lepanto on 7 October 1571 ended with a Christian victory. For the first time the Christians had been successful in breaking Ottoman naval supremacy. However, the routed Ottoman fleet was rebuilt during the winter of 1571-1572 and sailed out next summer. Both fleets were engaged in naval skirmishing but no decisive battle took place. Although the Ottomans were defeated at Lepanto, their naval supremacy was not yet extinguished. In 1574 Tunis was recaptured from the Spaniards.[200]

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199 Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 590-592; Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 178; Romanin, *op. cit.*, VI, 301-309; Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, I, 299-346, II, 77-102, III, 210-211; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, III, 15-16; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 158-159; Setton, *op. cit.*, IV, 974-1044; Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78 and 108-110; Coco, *op. cit.*, 45-49; Mantran, *Venezia e la guerra*, 227-228; Arbel, *Cipro*, 176; M. Lesure, 'Notes et documents sur les relations vénéto-ottomanes, 1570-1573 I', *Turcica*, IV, 1972, 134-164; and idem, 'Notes et documents sur les relations vénéto-ottomanes, 1570-1573 II', *Turcica*, VIII/1, 1976, 117-156. See also, M. Lesure, *Lépante. La crise de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1972. On the origins of the Holy League against the Ottomans see Braudel, *op. cit.*, II, 1027-1087.

200 Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 592-605; Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 178-179; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, III, 16-30; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 159-164; Romanin, *op. cit.*, VI, 310-318; Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, III, 210-211; Setton, *op. cit.*, IV, 1045-1104; Mantran, *Venezia e la guerra*, 228; and Braudel, *op. cit.*, II, 1088-1142. On the battle of Lepanto see M. Morin, 'La battaglia di Lepanto', *Venezia e i turchi. Scontri e confronti di due civiltà*, Milano 1985, 210-231.

The Holy League soon desintegrated and the participants went their own way. Venice decided to start peace negotiations. On 8 march 1573 he Venetian bailo Marcantonio Barbaro concluded peace with the Ottomans.[201] A new Venetian ambassador Andrea Badoer, who was elected on 6 April 1573, came to Constantinople 'per confirmatione dei capitoli', i.e. to finish the negotiations. He arrived in Constantinople on 28 August 1573.[202] Badoer paid the first 100.000 ducats of the tribute of 300.000 on 13 February 1574 in Constantinople.[203] Another 75.000 ducats were paid at approximately the same time in Cattaro (Albania) at the Ottoman-Venetian frontier. The last payments (125.000 ducats) were made in 1575 and 1577. Although the tribute originally had to be paid within three years, the Venetians paid in four years; faster than ever before.[204]

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201 For the text of this treaty (dated 3 Zi 'l-ka^{c}de 980, ASV, Documenti Turchi 818.) and another version of the treaty from a *mühimme defteri* see the TEXTS. The treaty has also been published by Şakiroğlu, *Ahidnameler*, 546-550.

202 Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 601-602; Braudel, *op. cit.*, II, 1125-1127; Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 178-179; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, III, 24-26; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 162-163; Romanin, *op. cit.*, VI, 325-340; Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, I, 347-436, III, 210-211; Mantran, *Venezia e la guerra*, 228-229; Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78 and 108-110; Belin, *art. cit.*, 394; Arbel, *Cipro*, 175-182; Coco, *op. cit.*, 45-49; and M. Mocenigo, *Storia della marina veneziana da Lepanto alla caduta della Republica*, Roma 1935, 85-86. On the Venetian defense system after 1570 see Braudel, *op. cit.*, II, 845-847; E. Concina, '"Sostener in vigore le cose del mare": arsenali, vascelli, cannoni', *Venezia e la difesa del Levante. Da Lepanto a Candia 1570-1670*, Venezia 1986, 47-55; E. Marchionni, 'L'arsenale di Venezia. Gli uomini, il lavoro, le galere: documenti', *Venezia e la difesa del Levante. Da Lepanto a Candia 1570-1670*, Venezia 1986, 55-58; R. Zago, 'L'arsenale di Venezia. Le fabbriche: cronologia', *Venezia e la difesa del Levante. Da Lepanto a Candia 1570-1670*, Venezia 1986, 59; L. Pezzolo, 'Aspetti della struttura militara veneziana in Levante fra cinque e seicento', *Venezia e la difesa del Levante. Da Lepanto a Candia 1570-1670*, Venezia 1986, 86-89; D. Calabi, 'Il regno di Candia e le "fatiche" del governo civile: le "cento città", le populazioni, le fabbriche pubbliche', *Venezia e la difesa del Levante. Da Lepanto a Candia 1570-1670*, Venezia 1986, 97-106; A. Zitelli, 'Candia soccorsa nella penuria estrema di biade', *Venezia e la difesa del Levante. Da Lepanto a Candia 1570-1670*, Venezia 1986, 127-132; P. Morachiello, 'Candia. I baluardi del regno', *Venezia e la difesa del Levante. Da Lepanto a Candia 1570-1670*, Venezia 1986, 133-143; E. Concina, 'Città e fortezze nelle "tre isole nostre del Levante"', *Venezia e la difesa del Levante. Da Lepanto a Candia 1570-1670*, Venezia 1986, 184-194; and C. Ciano, *L'armata dimare e la difesa dell'impero coloniale veneziano*, Pisa 1989. On the Venetian arsenal see also U. Pizzarello and V. Fontana, *Pietre e legni dell' arsenale di Venezia*, Venezia 1983; E. Concina, *L'arsenale della Repubblica di Venezia. Tecniche e istituzioni dal medioevo all'età moderna*, Milano 1988; and G. Zanelli, *L'arsenale di Venezia*, Venezia 1991.

203 ASV, Documenti Turchi 820.

204 For these payments see Şakiroğlu, *Ahidnameler*, 550-552; and Pedani, *art. cit.*, 222. According to Şakiroğlu the date of the receipt of the first payment is 26 Şevval 981 (14 February 1574?); Pedani has 21 Şevval 981 (13 February 1574). The receipt for the 75.000 ducats is dated evahır-i Şevval 981 (13-21 February 1574).

The treaty of 1573 was another disaster for Venice. Although she had won the battle of Lepanto, the treaty was an Ottoman victory, as if the Ottomans had virtually won at Lepanto. Cyprus and Sopoto were lost and Venice had to pay a tribute of 300.000 ducats. Although Venice retained her commercial privileges in the Ottoman Empire, Venetian commerce would never recover. Generally speaking the Ottoman-Venetian wars were disastrous for the Venetian economy. High costs and lower profits from trade in the end always forced Venice to seek peace with the Ottomans. During periods of war Ragusa (an Ottoman tributary) and other competitors took over Venetian trade and functioned as intermediaries for Venetian merchants. However, in the periods between the wars the Venetian economy had always recovered from financial exhaustion. After 1540, however, Venice had only managed to retain her supremacy by allowing Jewish merchants (from the Ottoman Empire) to settle in thecity. Then after 1560 commercial competition became even fiercer because France, as well as Venice and Ragusa, became an important trading partner with the Ottoman Empire. And the English and the Dutch were soon to follow suit. In this respect the war of 1570-1573 can be considered a watershed. Before 1570 the Venetians had always been able to regain their supremacy in Levant trade and recover from the damages caused by the wars. After 1573, however, such factors as the Dutch opening a sea route to the East Indies (spice trade), the technical superiority of the Atlantic ships and Venice's inability to compete with English and Dutch fabrics, all led to the marked decline of Venice. Consequently, the new merchant nations, France, England and the Netherlands took over Venice's position as primary Levantine trader. This tendency became increasingly evident in the first decades of the seventeenth century when Venetian commercial activities dwindled to a mere fraction of their former volume.[205]

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205 H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300-1600*, London 1973, 133-139; S. Faroqhi, 'The Venetian Presence in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-30', H. İslamoğlu-İnan (ed.), *The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy*, Cambridge 1987, 311-344 (Faroqhi, *Venetian Presence*); idem, Die osmanische Handelspolitik des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts zwischen Dubrovnik und Venedig', G. Heiss and G. Klingenstein (eds.), *Das osmanische Reich und Europa 1683-1789: Konflikt, Entspannung und Austausch*, Wien 1983, 207-222 (Faroqhi, *Handelspolitik*); B. McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*, Cambridge 1981, 15-27; B. Arbel, 'Venice and the Jewish Merchants of Istanbul in the Sixteenth Century', A. Toaff and S. Schwarzfuchs (eds.), *The Mediterranean and the Jews*, Ramat Gan 1989, 39-56; B. Simon, 'Le blé et les rapports vénéto-ottomans au XVI^{e} siècle', J. Bacqué-Grammont and P. Dumont (eds.), *Contributions à l'histoire économique et sociale de l'Empire ottoman*, Leuven 1983, 267-286; Braudel, *op. cit.*, I, 545-642 (on Mediterranean trade in general); Villain-Gandossi, *Relations*, I-III; N. Steensgaard, 'Consuls and Nations in the Levant from 1570 to 1630', *The Scandinavian Economic History Review*, XV, 1-2, 1967, 13-55; and D. Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650*, Seattle and London, 1990

In October 1574 Selim II died and Murad III (1574-1595) succeeded his father. In a letter which was brought to Venice by the *Çavuş* Mustafa, Murad III informed the Venetians of his accession to the Ottoman throne on 8 Remezan (22 December) and confirmed the existing peace between the two states.[206] On 25 January 1575 Jacopo (Giacomo) Soranzo was elected ambassador to congratulate Murad III on his accession. He was also instructed to obtain a renewal of the treaty which had been concluded with the sultan's father, Selim II, in 1573 and to settle the border conflicts in Dalmatia. He left Venice at the beginning of May and arrived in Constantinople on 20 June 1575. On 16 July 1575 Soranzo delivered a sum of 50.000 ducats to the Ottoman officials. This sum was part of the 300.000 ducats which the Venetians had agreed to pay according to the treaty of 1573. Shortly afterwards, Soranzo was able to obtain the renewal of the treaty (August 1575).[207]

After peace was confirmed Soranzo left Constantinople for Dalmatia to settle the territorial aspects of the treaty. The settlement was undertaken by a joint Ottoman-Venetian commission in which the Venetian ambassador Giacomo Soranzo and the Ottoman representative Ferhad, the *sancak begi* of Bosna, participated. During the war of 1570-1573 and its aftermath, Ottoman troops had occupied Venetian possessions in Dalmatia and the mixed Ottoman-Venetian commission had to decide which villages and castles were Ottoman and which were Venetian. The agreement on the Ottoman-Venetian frontier was written down in a separate document. This document determined Venetian and Ottoman territories in Dalmatia and would be included in all subsequent Ottoman-Venetian treaties until the beginning of the Candian War. In the treaty of 1595 (and those of 1604, 1619, 1625 and 1641) a clause referring to this separate agreement can be found: 've Arnavudlukda ve Bosna vilayetlerinde olan yerleriñ baᶜzı bu canibiñ tesarrüfüne girüb ve baᶜzı Venedik begleriniñ ellerindedir iki canibiñ ellerinde olan hisarlarıñ kadimi sınurı ve karyeleri vere bozulmadın ne vechile zabt oluna gelmiş ise min baᶜd olvechile zabt oluna deyü bu babda tarafeynden mezbur vilayetleriñ hakimlerine müceddeda emirler gönderilüb tenbih olunub ve sabıka Bosna begi olan Ferhad bege emirler varid olub Yacomo Soranso nam Venedik elçisi

(in particular Chapter 5 on the Venetians in Izmir, 1604-1624, 93-118). The articles of Faroqhi, Gandossi and Steensgaard contain information about violations of the Venetian *ᶜahd-name*s in relation to Venetian trade in the period 1570-1640.

206 For the text of this letter see ASV, Documenti Turchi 822 (dated evasıt-i Remezan 982 (25 December 1574-3 January 1575).

207 For the text of this his treaty (dated evayil-i Cümada 'l-ula 983/8-17 August 1575, ASV, Documenti Turchi 827) see the TEXTS.

müvacehesinde sınur katᶜ olunub ne vechile taᶜyin ve tebyin oldıysa vükuᶜı üzere ᶜamel oluna'.[208]

After the border conflict had been settled, Soranzo returned to Constantinople where he managed to get a new confirmation of the treaty (August-September 1576).[209] This treaty also 'ratified' the settlement of the border conflicts.[210]

Until the beginning of the Candian War in 1645 Ottoman-Venetian relations remained stable, despite the many (small) violations of the treaties by both the Ottomans and the Venetians. On 10 march 1582 Jacopo Soranzo was once again elected ambassador to attend the festivities organized on the occasion of the circumcision of Mehmed, the son of Murad III. The Ottoman envoy *Çeşnigir* Hasan Aga had brought the invitation to Venice.[211] The Venetian embassy left on 27 March 1582 and arrived in May in Constantinople. Soranzo had an audience with the grand vizier and on 27 May also with the sultan. The festivities began on 21 June and lasted one month. In August Soranzo returned to Venice. In Soranzo's credentials ('recredenziali') Murad III mentions the existing peace and urges the Venetians to observe the treaty: 'da'ima şerayıt-i ᶜahd ve emanı merᶜi tutub…'.[212]

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208 See the text of the treaty of 1595.

209 For the text of this treaty (dated evayil-i Cümada 'l-ahıra 984/26 August-4 September 1576, ASV, Documenti Turchi 861) see the TEXTS.

210 Hammer, *Geschichte*, III, 608, IV, 1-41; and Şakiroğlu, *Ahidnameler*, 553; Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, II, 193-253; and Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78 and 110-118. Hammer and Şakiroğlu state that Soranzo and Ferhad Beg determined the Ottoman-Venetian frontiers in 1573. However, I have not been able to find any information about such a mission of Soranzo during that period. In 1575-1576 Soranzo stayed more than a year in the Ottoman Empire in order to renew the existing peace and to settle the border conflicts in Dalmatia. All documents concerning this settlement in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia (Documenti Turchi, Busta 7) date from the years 1575 and 1576 and not from 1573. Moreover, the settlement is not mentioned in the renewals of 1575 and 1576 which would undoubtedly have been the case if an agreement had been reached in 1573 or shortly afterwards. I think that a separate agreement on the frontiers was reached during the period between the renewals of the treaty in 1575 and 1576. Therefore, the treaty of 1576 should also be considered a confirmation of this agreement which was written down in a separate document. In the treaty of 1595, the first treaty after that of 1576, a reference to this separate agreement was inserted as a clause of the text.

211 Pedani, *Inviati*, 143 and 207.

212 Hammer, *Geschichte*, IV, 114, 118-134; Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 179; Albèri, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, II, 209-253, III, 211-212; Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 35-78; Mantran, *Venezia e la guerra*, 228-229; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, III, 121-122; and Belin, *art. cit.*, 393-394. For Soranzo's 'recredenziali' (dated evahır-i Receb 990/11-20 August 1582) see ASV, Documenti Turchi 908. For other Ottoman diplomatic missions to Venice during Murad's reign see Hammer, *Geschichte*, IV, 647-648.

In October 1584 a serious incident took place which disrupted Ottoman-Venetian relations. The Venetian Captain Gabriele Emo attacked the ship of the widow and the son of the *beglerbegi* of Algiers, Ramazan Paşa, who were returning to Constantinople with all their possessions. Those aboard the Ottoman ship were brutally killed and their possessions stolen. When news of the incident reached Constantinople in December Murad III was outraged. The sultan sent a *çavuş* to Venice with a letter protesting against the cruel violation of the treaty and demanded compensation. With money and other presents the Venetian bailo in Constantinople succeeded in appeasing high Ottoman officials. In March 1585 the Venetians convicted and executed Emo. They also compensated the Ottomans by paying a high indemnity and returning all the stolen property, including the ship. Peace had been preserved but at an enormous cost.

From time to time the operations of the Uskoks in Dalmatia also put the Ottoman-Venetian relations under considerable pressure. The Uskoks were supported by the Habsburgs and mainly attacked Ottoman ships, although they occasionally captured Venetian ships as well. The sultan complained to the Habsburgs and the Venetians about the activities of the Uskoks, but without much result. Since Venice considered the Adriatic as her own 'golfo' and this was acknowleged by the Ottomans, the latter had reason enough to blame Venice for the damages. Moreover, the Ottomans sometimes suspected the Venetians of collaboration, because they appeared to tolerate the activities of the Uskoks. Close contacts with high Ottoman officials in the government and the palace, money, presents, and last but not least, the influence of some pro-Venetian women in the harem secured Venetian interests in the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, the Habsburgs were blamed for the activities of the Uskoks. Nevertheless, in order to prevent war with the Ottomans and exclude Ottoman naval action from the northern Adriatic, the Venetians were sometimes forced to pay compensation to the Ottomans for damage inflicted by the Uskoks.[213]

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213 Hammer, *Geschichte*, IV, 157-159 and 211-213; Vaughan, *op. cit.,* 170-173; Romanin, *op. cit.,* VI, 416-417; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, III, 121-122; Mocenigo, *op. cit.*, 90-94; Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 35-78; Mantran, *Venezia e la guerra*, 228-229; and A. Fabris, 'Un caso di pirateria veneziana: la cattura della galea del bey di Gerba (21 ottobre 1584)', *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, VIII, 1990, 91-112. For an Italian translation of a letter sent by Murad III (dated 9 April 1585) confirming the settlement of the incident of 1584 see ASV, Documenti Turchi 943. For other (piratical) incidents troubling Ottoman-Venetian relations after 1570 see Villain-Gandossi, *Relations*, I-III. On the Ottoman Empire between 1576 and 1594 see also the 'Relazioni' of Antonio Tiepolo (1576), Paolo Contarini (1583), Gianfrancesco Morosini (1585), Maffio Venier (1586), Giovanni Micheli (1587), Giovanni Moro (1590), Lorenzo Bernardo

On 27 January 1595 Mehmed III (1595-1603) succeeded his father Murad III. In a letter brought by his *Çeşnigir* Hüseyin Aga[214], Mehmed III informs Venice of his accession to the throne and invites the Venetians to send an ambassador to renew the existing peace: '… vilayetiñiz ehalisine dahı iᶜlam ve iᶜlan edüb min bad dahı aba-i kiram ve ecdad-i ᶜızamımız enare 'llahü berahinehüm zeman-i şeriflerinde nevechile müᶜamele ede gelmiş iseñüz girü ol üslub üzere sadakat ve muhabbetde sabit-kadem ve rasih-dem olub ᶜadet-i kadime üzere yarar elçileriñüz gönderüb tecdid-i ᶜahd ve misak eyleyesiz…'.[215] However, even before this letter arrived the Venetians elected Leonardo Donà as their ambassador to Mehmed III (10 March 1595). The new treaty between Venice and the Ottoman Empire was concluded later that year, in December 1595, and good relations were maintained.[216] In 1596, during the long Ottoman-Austrian war of 1593-1606, Mehmed III conquered the Hungarian fortress of Erlau (Egri). He sent a *feth-name* to Venice and the Republic responded by ordering Cappello, her bailo in Constantinople, to present gifts to the sultan.[217]

On 21 December 1603, Ahmed I (1603-1617) succeeded his father Mehmed III. Venice was informed about his accession in several letters written by high government officials. The official letter from Ahmed I himself was brought to Venice by the *Hazinedar* Mustafa Aga.[218] In the beginning of 1604 the Venetians dispatched Giovanni Mocenigo as ambassador to renew the

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(1592) and Matteo Zane (1594) in Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, I, 209-444, II, 129-191, 255-470; and III, 437-468. On (Uskok) piracy see Braudel, *op. cit.*, II, 865-891; A. Tenenti, 'La Pirateria', *Venezia e la difesa del Levante. Da Lepanto a Candia*, Venezia 1986, 242-246; idem, *Venezia e i corsari*, Bari 1961; idem, *Naufrages, corsaires et assurance maritime à Venise, 1592-1609*, Paris 1959; idem, *Piracy and the Decline of Venice 1580-1615*, Berkeley 1967; G. Rothenberg, 'Venice and the Uskoks of Senj: 1537-1618, *The Journal of Modern History*, XXXIII, 1961, 148-156; A. Bin, *La Repubblica di Venezia e la Questione Adriatica 1600-1620*, Roma 1986; and S. Bono, *Corsari nel Mediterranea. Cristiani e musulmani fra guerra, schiavitù e commercio*, Milano 1993.

214 Pedani, *Inviati*, 35, 128 and 208.

215 ASV, Documenti Turchi 1079 (dated evahır-i Cümada 'l-ahıra 1003/3-11 March 1595).

216 For the text of the treaty (dated evayil-i Rebiᶜu 'l-ahır 1004/4-13 December 1595) see the TEXTS (ASV, Documenti Turchi 1086 and Documenti Turchi 1087). The first document originally comes from the archive of the Venetian bailo in Constantinople. For another copy see Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esat Efendi 3345, f. 2r (= f. 164r.) - f. 6r. (= f. 168r.); and Belin, *art. cit.* The document used by Belin was the copy of the Venetian consul in Egypt.

217 Hammer, *Geschichte*, IV, 242-243, 259 and 276; Romanin, *op. cit.*, VI, 417; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, III, 74-75; Belin, *art. cit.*, 394; Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, III, 383; Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 185; and Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 95.

218 Pedani, *Inviati*, 208.

existing treaty. The new treaty was concluded in November 1604.[219] In addition to this renewal, another *nişan* protecting Venetian trade in the Ottoman Empire was issued. In the same year the Ottomans mediated between Venice and Ragusa in a conflict about a Dalmatian island. Later in Ahmed's reign, the Venetian bailo Nani succeeded in obtaining a new *nişan* which further specified the status of the Venetians in the Ottoman Empire (1615). This was very important for Venetian trade since the French, English and Dutch capitulations were more detailed and thus offered better protection and more privileges. Moreover, the French had acquiesced in paying a large sum of money when their capitulation was renewed and Nani wanted to prevent such demands from arising whenever the Venetian *ᶜahd-name* had to be renewed. He also managed to settle the usual matters that troubled Venetian-Ottoman relations: maltreatment of merchants, piracy, incursions in Dalmatia and last but not least, the Uskok piracy.[220]

In 1616 there were difficulties concerning the payment of *harac*. The *kazi* of Galata forced all foreigners including the ambassadors of Venice, France, Holland and England as well as their employees, to pay *harac*, even though they were exempted from this kind of tax according to the *ᶜahd-name*s. Joint action by the four ambassadors led to the presentation of an *ᶜarz-i hal,* whereupon the grand vezir demanded to see the capitulations of all four states. In the end the problem was resolved in accordance with the *ᶜahd-name*s. A *nişan* was issued in which it was stipulated that the foreigners did not have to pay *harac*: '… ve ᶜahd-name-i hümayuna muhalif vazᶜ eyledikleri ecilden hala astane-i seᶜadetimde olan França ve İngiltere ve Venedik ve Nederlanda elçileri ve baylosları ᶜatebe-i ᶜulyama ᶜarz-i hal sunub ᶜahd-name-i hümayuna muhalif bazirganlarından ve reᶜayalarından ve hizmetlerinde olan tercümanlarından harac teklif olunmayub üslub-i sabık üzere himayet ve sıyanet olunmaları babında istidᶜa-i ᶜinayet eyledileri paye-i serir-i aᶜlama

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219 For the text of this treaty (dated evahır-i Cümada 'l-ahıra 1013/ 14-22 November 1604) see the TEXTS (ASV, Documenti Turchi 1145). For a register copy from an *ecnebi defteri* see Başbakanlık Arşivi, İstanbul, *Ecnebi Defteri* 13/1 (Venedik Ahkam), no. 27, 7-11.

220 Hammer, *Geschichte*, IV, 350-363 and 481-482; Vaughan, *op. cit.,* 238-240; Romanin, *op. cit.,* VII, 22–23, 82-85; Mocenigo, *op. cit.,* 94-123; Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 169-176; Belin, *art. cit.*, 394; Mantran, *Venezia e la guerra*, 229. For letters about Ahmed's accession see ASV, Documenti Turchi 1130-1132, 1134, 1137 and 1141. According to Romanin, *op. cit.*, VII, 22, the *çavuş* who brought Ahmed's letter (dated 5 January 1605!) was ᶜOsman. Hammer, *Geschichte*, IV, 658, gives a summary of the *nişan* of 1604. Hammer also mentions Mocenigo's 'recredenziali' dated 9 March 1605. The *nişan* of 1615 is summarized in Hammer, *Geschichte*, IV, 687-688.

ᶜarz olundukda min baᶜd ᶜahd-name-i hümayuna muhalif vazᶜ etdirilmeyüb…'.[221]

On 22 November 1617 (23 Zi 'l-kaᶜde 1013) Mustafa I (1617-1618) succeeded his brother Ahmed I, though not for long. Mustafa's first reign lasted only three months. As on similar occasions in the past, the new sultan sent his *çavuş* (Mustafa) with a letter to Venice informing the Venetian government about his accession. As if he (or his officials) knew he would only reign for three months, Mustafa confirmed the existing treaty immediately without even asking for a Venetian ambassador to be sent: '…ma damki sizüñ tarafıñızdan ᶜahd ve eman ve sulh ve peymana mugayir vazᶜa irtikab… olunmaya canib-i hümayunumuzdan dahı ma beynde olan esas-i müᶜahede ve müsaleha tetarruk-i afat-i halelden mesun ve ᶜuruz ve ᶜilelden me'mun olmak mukarrer bilesiz…'.[222]

Mustafa was deposed and was succeeded by ᶜOsman II (1618-1622) the son of Mustafa's brother Ahmed, on 26 February 1618. Like his predecessors, ᶜOsman sent a letter to Venice informing the Venetian government of his uncle's abdication and his own accession. The letter was brought by 'Mehemet chiaus' (Mehmed *Çavuş*). The reason given in this letter for Mustafa's 'abdication' is the following: '… acquistato la gratia della divina contemplatione ha di sua spontanea volonta abbandonato i pensieri del gran governo imperiale et eletto di novo il luoco della solitaria quiete…'. At the end of the letter ᶜOsman asks for a Venetian ambassador to be sent to renew the treaty.[223] After receiving this letter, the Venetian government dispatched Francesco Contarini to Constantinople. Contarini concluded a new treaty with ᶜOsman II in December 1618.[224]

When Contarini had departed, the Venetian bailo Nani obtained the renewal of the *nişan* which had been granted by Ahmed I in 1615. ᶜOsman II also ruled for a rather short time. After the failure of the Polish campaign and a reign of four years and three months, he was deposed and was succeeded by his predecessor Mustafa I. Mustafa's second reign (1622-1623) was just over a

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221 Hammer, *Geschichte*, IV, 481; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 238. For the *nişan* (dated evasıt-i Rebiᶜu 'l-evvel 1026/19-28 March 1617) issued on behalf of the four nations see Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Ecnebi Defteri* 13/1, no. 710, 149.

222 ASV, Documenti Turchi 1212. Hammer, *Geschichte*, IV, 495-498 and 503; and Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 187.

223 ASV, Documenti Turchi 1230. (dated evayil-i Rebiᶜu 'l-ahır 1027/28 March-6 April 1618). The original letter in Ottoman-Turkish has not survived. Only the Italian translation is preserved.

224 For the text of the treaty (dated evahır-i Muharrem 1028/ 8-17 January 1619) see the TEXTS (ASV, Documenti Turchi 1236).

year longer than his first: one year and four months. During his first period as sultan he had informed the Venetians about his accession in a letter, but had not asked them to send out an ambassador. After his second accession a similar letter was written. This letter was also brought to Venice by the *Çavuş* Mustafa. It included a confirmation of the existing treaty, though somewhat disguised by the excessive rhetoric: '… sadakat ve istikametiñize mukabil dayire-i emn ve emanımıza dahil olmañız mukarrerdir…'.[225]

On 10 September 1623 Murad IV (1623-1640) succeeded his uncle Mustafa, who was deposed for the second time and shortly afterwards strangled. In his letter about his accession which was brought to Venice by the *Çavuş* Mustafa, Murad IV confirms the existing treaty without asking for a Venetian ambassador: '… ma beynde desturü 'l-ᶜamel olan ᶜahd-namelerde mestur olan vech üzere ma damki tarafıñızdan şerayit ve levazim-i müᶜahede ve müsaleha riᶜayet oluna taraf-i bahirü 'ş-şeref-i husrevanemizden merᶜi tutulmak mukarrer-i mülahaza oluna…'.[226] In 1624 Venice dispatched an ambassador to secure the renewal of the treaty. Simone Contarini obtained a new treaty in April 1625.[227] In Contarini's credentials ('recredenziali') Murad IV summarizes the mission of the Venetian ambassador: Simone Contarini has come to Constantinople and expressed Venice's wish to prolong the existing peace. The sultan agreed and a new *ᶜahd-name* was issued. The mission of the Venetian ambassador is now successfully completed and he has been sent home. Murad IV ends his letter with the statement that, as long as the Venetians respect the treaty, he and his subjects will do the same.[228]

In 1638, the Ottomans launched a campaign against the Persians to reconquer Baghdad which they had lost in 1624. Baghdad was recaptured in December 1638. During this campaign a series of territorial disputes in

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225 ASV, Documenti Turchi 1282. Hammer, *Geschichte*, IV, 497-498, 503-504, 566 and 580-581; Vaughan, *op. cit.,* 187-188 and 194; Romanin, *op. cit.*, VII, 343-344; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, III, 127-139; Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 191-194; and Belin, *art. cit.*, 394-395. For Contarini's 'recredenziali' see Hammer, *Geschichte*, IV, 504.

226 ASV, Documenti Turchi 1290.

227 For the text of the treaty (dated evasıt-i Receb 1034/19-28 April 1625) see the TEXTS (ASV, Documenti Turchi 1318).

228 Hammer, *Geschichte*, IV, 594, V, 1-4 and 22-24; Vaughan, *op. cit.,* 188 and 242; Romanin, *op. cit.,* VII, 344; Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 194; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, III, 148-149; and Mantran, *Venezia e la guerra*, 229. For the 'recredenziali' (dated evahır-i Şaᶜban 1034/29 May-6 June 1625) see ASV, Documenti Turchi 1320. The original *kulak* of this document (ASV, Documenti Turchi 1321) is also preserved: 'iftiharü ümera'i ['l-]milleti 'l-mesihiye Venedik dojı hutimet ᶜavakıbühü bi-'l-hayra name-i hümayun-i ᶜizzet-makrun'.

Dalmatia troubled Ottoman-Venetian relations. Serious problems, however, were caused by an action undertaken by corsairs from the Barbary coast against which the Venetians retaliated. In 1637 pirates from Algiers and Tunis attacked a Venetian ship in the Adriatic. The following year a Venetian fleet under the command of Marin Capello pursued the pirates, who sought refuge in the Ottoman port Avlona. The Venetians bombarded the pirate ships and the city and, after a siege of one month, succeeded in capturing the ships and consequently destroyed them. This incident outraged Murad IV who ordered the Venetian bailo Alvise (Luigi) Contarini to be arrested. At first Murad IV wanted to declare war, but he soon changed his mind, not wanting to upset the relations with Venice completely. He eventually resorted to settling the incident by negotiations. After 10 months of imprisonment the Venetian bailo was released (September 1638) and negotiations started. In order to resolve the problem fully Contarini had to bribe high Ottoman government officials with cash. Additionally, the Venetians had to pay a large compensation for damages in Avlona. The negotiations resulted in a separate *nişan* concerning the corsairs which forbade their activities. Having reached an agreement, Contarini returned to Venice in July 1639.[229]

On 10 February 1640 (17 Şevval 1049), Murad IV was succeeded by his brother İbrahim I (1640-1648). Grand Vizier Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa informed the Venetian government in a letter about the death of Murad IV and the accession of İbrahim I. The letter was brought to Venice by Mehmed Aga. At the end of his letter the grand vizier urges the Venetians to send an ambassador to renew the treaty between the two states: '… elçi ile name

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229 Hammer, *Geschichte*, V, 271-273 and 279-283; Vaughan, *op. cit.*, 244-245; Romanin, *op. cit.*, VII, 344-345; Shaw, *op. cit.*, I, 194-195, 199-200; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, III, 153-160, 199-206 and 216; Mocenigo, *op. cit.*, 123-125; Bertelè, *op. cit.*, 164-165 and 176-180; and Mantran, *Venezia e la guerra*, 229. In his *feth-name* written on the occasion of the conquest of Baghdad (sent from Amid/Diyarbekir and dated evasıt-i Şevval 1048/15-24 February 1639) Murad once again stresses that the Venetians have to uphold the treaty. For this letter see ASV, Documenti Turchi 1459. For Contarini's 'recredenziali' see ASV, Documenti Turchi 1446. Murad's *nişan* concerning the corsairs was renewed by İbrahim together with the treaty. In the treaty the following reference to this *nişan* can be found: 've baᶜdehü cennet-mekan merhum ve magfur lehü karındaşım sultan Murad han tabe serahü zemanında korsan tayifesi hususuyçün verilen nişan-i hümayunbenim zeman-i seᶜadet-makrunumda dahı tecdid olunub Venediklüler ol nişan-i hümayunuñ meşrutun icra etdikleri ecilden bu tarafdan dahı ke-ma kane merᶜi ve muhterem tutılub mucebiyle ᶜamel oluna ve min baᶜd hılafına cevaz gösterilmeye'. For the Italian translation of Mehmed IV's renewal of this *nişan* concerning the pirates see ASV, Documenti Turchi 1540 (dated evahır-i Rebiᶜu 'l-ahır 1081/6-15 September 1670). For the original Ottoman text of this renewal see Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Ecnebi Defteri* 16/4, pp. 1-2 ('merhum ve magfur lehü sultan Mehemmed han zemanında korsan ta'ifesi hususuyçün verilen nişan-i hümayundur').

gönderüb dostluguñuzı bildiresiz…'[230] Following the arrival of this letter Pietro Foscarini was elected ambassador to İbrahim I (1640). In January-February 1641 he succeeded in obtaining the renewal of the treaty.[231] In Foscarini's credentials ('recredenziali') İbrahim summarizes the Venetian ambassador's mission and ends with the usual phrase urging the Venetians to uphold the treaty: ma dam ki ol tarafdan sulh ve ᶜahda mugayir vazᶜ sudur eylemeye canib-i hümayunumuzdan dahı bir veçhile ᶜahd ve peymana muhalif vazᶜ olmaga rizası verilmek ihtimalı olmadugı muhakkak-i mülahaza oluna…'. The renewal of 1641 was the last before the outbreak of the Candian War which started in 1645 and lasted until 1669. [232]

230 Two documents deal with this subject: ASV, Documenti Turchi 1462 and 1465.

231 For the text of this treaty (dated evasıt-i Şevval 1050/ 24 January-2 February 1641) see the TEXTS (ASV, Documenti Turchi 1470).

232 Hammer, *Geschichte*, V, 300-302; Romanin, *op. cit.,* VII, 345-346; Shaw, *op. cit.,* I, 200-201; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, III, 206-208; Bertelè, *op. cit.,* 147-149; Mantran, *Venezia e la guerra*, 229; and Belin, *art. cit.*, 395. For Foscarini's 'recredenziali' see ASV, Documenti Turchi 1474 (dated evasıt-i Zi 'l-kaᶜde 1050/22 February-4 March 1641). For Foscarini's 'recredenziali' from a few years earlier, when he was bailo in Constantinople, see ASV, Documenti Turchi 1472.

Chapter Eight: The *ᶜAhd-name* and Ottoman Diplomatics

Although much has been written on the *ᶜahd-name*, we still lack a detailed study on the Ottoman capitulation which takes account of the development of this type of document and its significance in Ottoman diplomatics. Several other types of Ottoman documents have been dealt with in more or less detailed studies. The *ferman* has been studied by Heyd[1], the *buyuruldı* by Uzunçarşılı[2], the *telhis* by Faroqhi[3], the early *nişan* by Wittek[4] and the *hüccet* by Boskov[5]. The *ᶜahd-name*, however, has never been the object of similar scholarly inquiry. Although this monograph does not claim to be a definitive study of the *ᶜahd-name*, it does aim at filling a gap in our knowledge concerning the form and structure of this type of document, as well as its use in Ottoman diplomatics.[6]

Fekete, the first scholar to establish a fundamental classification of the different kinds of Ottoman documents assigns the *ᶜahd-name* to the category of 'weltliche Urkunden'. But Fekete only deals with the *ᶜahd-name* in general terms, when discussing the *erkan* (the pillars, i.e. the diplomatic parts) of the documents of the *name*- and *hükm*-type. From his treatise it appears that Fekete considers the *ᶜahd-name* to be a document which belongs to the category of the *name*s, i.e. 'Urkunden, die mit Intitulatio, den Titeln des Sultans [...] beginnen'.[7]

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1 U. Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1552-1615. A Study of the Firman according to the Mühimme Defteri*, Oxford 1960 (Heyd, *Documents*).

2 İ. Uzunçarşılı, 'Buyuruldı', *Belleten*, V, 1941, 298-318.

3 S. Faroqhi, *Die Vorlagen (telhise) des Grosswezirs Sinan paşa an Sultan Murad III.*, Diss. Hamburg 1967; and idem, 'Das Grosswesir-telhis: eine aktenkundliche Studie', *Der Islam*, XXXXV, 1969, 96-116.

4 P. Wittek, 'Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden', I-VII, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, LIII, 3-4, 1957, 300-313; LIV, 1958, 240-256; LV, 1959, 122-141; LVI, 1960, 267-284; LVII, 1961, 109-117; LVIII, 1962, 165-197; and LIX-LX, 1963-1964, 201-223 (Wittek, *Urkunden*, I-VII).

5 V. Boskov, 'Die Hüccet-Urkunde - Diplomatische Analyse', *Studia turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dicata*, Napoli 1982, 81-87.

6 Concerning the study of Ottoman diplomatics in general see G. Jacob, 'Zur türkischen Diplomatik', *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XXXI, 12, 1057-1064; J. Matuz, 'Zur osmanischen Diplomatik', *Orientalistische Lieraturzeitung*, LXX, 2, 1975, 117-130; Dilger, *Urkundenwesen*, 120-129; J. Reychman and A. Zajaczkowski, 'Diplomatic', *EI*^{2}, II, 313-316 (Reychman, *Diplomatic*); and V. Stojanow, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der osmanisch-türkischen Paläographie und Diplomatik*, Berlin 1983 (= Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, 76).

7 L. Fekete, *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatik der türkischen Botmässigkeit in Ungarn*, Budapest 1926, XXIX-XLVI (Fekete, *Einführung*). Quotations from XXIX and XXXI.

Nor do Reychman and Zajaczkowski in their *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomatics* classify Ottoman documents according to specific types. They only deal with the *erkan* of documents. Without atempting a general classification, they implicitly include the *ᶜahd-name* in the category of the *name*s. Furthermore, they make an important observation on the terminology used in Ottoman diplomatics: 'It must be stressed, however, that the custom of applying the term ferman to all Ottoman-Turkish documents as practised in European literature is quite erroneous. In no case should the term ferman, "order", be applied to the correspondence of the sultans with foreign sovereigns'.[8]

Unfortunately, Biegman does not maintain this distinction. In his book entitled *The Turco-Ragusan Relationship* he states: 'The Charter [i.e. the *ᶜahd-name*], like other firmans of lasting value, had to be renewed by every Sultan upon his accession to the Throne' and 'Of the Ragusan ᶜAhd-name granted by Murad III we possess four texts, each in the form of an original firman'. However, one of these four texts is the original Ottoman *ᶜahd-name*-document, whereas the other three texts are *hükm*s addressed to local Ottoman *kazi*s in Rumelia and contain the main part of the text of the *ᶜahd-name* (*dispositio*). Despite these important differences, Biegman refers to both the original Ottoman *ᶜahd-name* and the *hükm*s indiscriminitely as 'firmans'.[9]

Nedkov, however, makes use of a system of classification which recognizes four categories of documents issued by the *divan-i hümayun kalemi*, i.e. documents issued in the name of the sultan. One of these categories includes the *feth-name*, the *sulh-name* and the *ᶜahd-name*. Nedkov thus distinguishes the *ᶜahd-name* from the other categories which contain the *name* (*mektub*, *name-i hümayun*, *hatt-i hümayun*, *hatt-i şerif*), the decrees (*ferman*, *hükm-i şerif*, *emr-i şerif*, *irade*) and the *berat* (or *nişan*).[10]

Another scholar who has dealt with the *ᶜahd-name* is Matuz. When discussing the Venetian capitulation of 1540 and its introductory formula ('nişan-i… oldur ki'), Matuz states the following: 'Diese Formel ist, wie wir noch sehen werden, der Urkundenart berat, auch als nişan bezeichnet, eigen. Diese Tatsache wundert uns kaum, denn eine Kapitulation war für die Pforte im rechtlichen Sinne ein einseitig erteiltes Privileg, das in dieser Beziehung

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8 J. Reychman and A. Zajaczkowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomatics*, The Hague-Paris 1968, 135-137 (Reychman, *Handbook*). Quotation from 137.

9 Biegman, *op. cit.*, 46-59. Quotations from 46 and 54.

10 B. Nedkov, *Osmanoturska diplomatika i paleograija*, Sofia 1966. Stojanow, *op. cit.*, 104-105 deals with Nedkov's classification.

einer jeden beliebigen Privilegienurkunde gleichkam. Die hier aufgeführten Beispiele zeigen uns, dass als name auch Urkunden bezeichnet werden konnten, die nach ihrem Formular eher den Kategorien *hükm* bzw. *nişan* als der des name nahe standen'. Thus, according to Matuz the *ᶜahd-name* belongs to the category of the *name*s while having many features in common with the *nişan*.[11]

A somewhat similar observation was made by Skilliter who, when commenting on the English *ᶜahd-name* of 1580, states: 'An ᶜahd-name or treaty-letter was drawn up in the form of a berat (also known as a nishan from its opening word). A berat or diploma is a command (hukum) that confers privileges upon its holder or authorizes him to act in the name of the Sultan'. When attempting to explain the form of the French capitulation of 1569 Skilliter remarks: ' [the French capitulation of 1569] is not in the usual form of an ᶜahd-name, that is a unilateral treaty granted by the Sultan to the ruler of another state, which has to be renewed at the accession of each sovereign, and in which the privileges previously granted are recapitulated in every succeeding renewal. However, it is a berat, or deed of grant, and in it all the privileges granted to France are referred to briefly, confirmed, but not recapitulated…'. Although she does not specify what the 'usual' form of the *ᶜahd-name* should be, Skilliter considers the French capitulations of 1569 and the English capitulations of 1580 both to be *berat*s.[12]

The *ᶜahd-name* was mentioned as a separate type of document within the category of the *name* by Schaendlinger. Like others before him, Schaendlinger notes the inconsistency of the terminoloy used by the Ottomans themselves and the problems that this inconsistency causes for the classification of Ottoman documents. The Ottomans, it seems, did not have a consistent system according to which each type of document had its own technical name, but often used contradictory names for one and the same type of document. A *name* or *nişan*, for instance is sometimes called a *hükm* or *emr*, even within the text of the same document.[13]

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11 Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, 93-101. Quotation from 100.

12 S. Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey 1578-1582. A Documentary Study of the First Anglo-Ottoman Relations*, London 1977, 86-104 (Skilliter, *William Harborne*). Quotations from 2-3 and 92.

13 A. Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymans des Prächtigen an Karl V., Ferdinand I. und Maximilian II. aus dem Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien*, 2 vols., Wien 1983, XI-XIII (Osmanisch-türkische Dokumente aus dem Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv zu Wien, Teil 1)(Schaendlinger, *Schreiben*, I); and idem, *Die Schreiben Süleymans des Prächtigen an Vasallen, Militäbeambte, Beamte und Richter*, 2 vols., Wien 1986

This confusion in terminology can also be observed in the Venetian *ᶜahd-name*s. The most common term used to indicate this type of document is without a doubt *ᶜahd-name-i hümayun* or *ᶜahd-name-i şerif*, but other names such as *nişan-i şerif*, *nişan-i hümayun*, *müᶜahede-i hümayun*, *ᶜahd-i hümayun*, *hatt-i hümayun* or *ferman-i ᶜali-şan* also frequently appear. Moreover, these names are used indiscriminately within the same text. Therefore, it is not surprising that we do not have a consistent typology of the *ᶜahd-name* and that scholars in the field of Ottoman history and diplomatics do not agree on this subject.

To find a proper answer to the question of what type of Ottoman document the Venetian *ᶜahd-name*s belong to, we must analyse the structure of these documents. In general every Ottoman document consists of a number of parts called the *erkan* (sing. *rükn*) or pillars of the composition (internal structure). However, not every type of document necessarily contains the same *erkan*. In any document two main sections should be distinguished: protocol and text.[14] Usually the text is placed between two parts of the protocol. These two parts therefore are also called introductory protocol and final protocol or eschatocol. The protocol as well as the text and the eschatocol consist of a number of *rükn*. The introductory protocol consists of the following *erkan*:
1) The *invocatio* or invocation (in Ottoman-Turkish *daᶜvet*, *temhid* or *temcid*). The invocation is a *formula devotionis* in which the name of God occurs.
2) The *intitulatio* or intitulation (in Ottoman-Turkish *ᶜunvan*). The intitulation consists of the name or rank of the person in whose name the document is issued, as well as his titles (in Ottoman-Turkish *elkab*). Sometimes the *intitulatio* also contains a *formula devotionis*.
3) The *inscriptio* or inscription (in Ottoman-Turkish *elkab*). The *inscriptio* consists of the name of the addressee and his titles, the so-called *elkab*.
4) The *salutatio* or salutation (in Ottoman-Turkish *duᶜa*). The *salutatio* is the greeting or formula of salutation which follows the *inscriptio*.
The text of a document consists of the following *erkan*:

(Osmanisch-türkische Dokumente aus dem Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv zu Wien, Teil 2)(Schaendlinger, *Schreiben*, II).

14 The text of a document (i.e. the *expositio-narratio*, the *dispositio*, the *sanctio* and the *corroboratio*) is called by Reychman and Zajaczkowski the 'context'. F. Kraelitz(-Greifenhorst). 'Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur osmanischen Diplomatik', *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Philosophische-historische Klasse, 197. Band, 3. Abhandlung, Wien 1921, 3-111, calls the text: 'Eigentlicher Urkundentext' (Kraelitz, *Urkunden*). H. Busse, 'Persische Diplomatik im Überblick. Ergebnisse und Probleme', *Der Islam*, XXXVII, 1961, 202-245, uses both the words 'Text' and 'Kontext'. L. Fekete, *Einführung in die persische Paläographie,* Budapest 1977, 60, also uses 'Contextus' for the text but does not include the *sanctio* and the *corroboratio* (Fekete, *Persische Paläographie*).

5) The *expositio-narratio* or the narration (in Ottoman-Turkish *nakl*, *iblag* or *tasrih*). The *expositio-narratio* is the part of the document in which the events that preceded the issuing of the document are described (*expositio*) and an explanation for issuing the document is given (*narratio*).
6) The *dispositio* or disposition (in Ottoman-Turkish *hükm* or *emr*). The *dispositio* contains the actual decision which has been taken. For instance, this may be an order from the sultan to one of his officials (in a *hükm*), or the privileges granted by the sultan to a foreign nation.
7) The *sanctio* or sanction (in Ottoman-Turkish *te'kid*). The *sanctio* is the strengthening of the *dispositio* which often takes the form of a kind of warning. The *sanctio* sometimes contains a so-called *comminatio* or *laᶜnet* (cursing formula) or oath-formula (*yemin*).
8) The *corroboratio* or corroboration. The *corroboratio* or formula of credentials emphasizes or confirms (corroborates) the authenticity and validity of the document. In this formula reference is made to the *tugra* or *legitimatio* which gives the document its validity.
The final protocol or eschatocol consists of the following *erkan*:
9) The *datatio* or date (in Ottoman-Turkish *tarih*). The *datatio* is the formula in which the date of issuance of the document is given.
10) The *locatio* or place of writing. The *locatio* is the formula in which the place of issuance is stated.
11) The *legitimatio* which consists of the *tugra* (imperial cipher) or seal (*mühr*). The *legitimatio* is the proof of the authenticity of the document and makes the document valid. In documents issued in the name of the sultan the *legitimatio* was the *tugra* of the sultan. In other documents the *legitimatio* could be the *pençe* of a vizier or the *mühr* (seal). Since the *legitimatio* was the last *rükn* to be added when the document was issued it is part of the eschatocol, even though the *tugra* is placed at the top of the document, i.e. under the *invocatio* but above the text.[15]
As mentioned above, not all documents contain all of these *erkan*. For instance, a *hükm* does nor have a *intitulatio* and a *name* does not always have a *dispositio*. However, in general every document issued by the Ottoman chancery

15 Kraelitz, *Urkunden*, 9-42; Fekete, *Einführung*, XXIX-XLVII; Gökbilgin, *Osmanlı paleografya ve diplomatik ilmi*, İstanbul 1979, 53-83 (Gökbilgin, *Diplomatik ilmi*); Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, 92-119; Schaendlinger, *Schreiben*, I, XIII-XXIX; idem, *Schreiben*, II, XII-XXIII; Reychman, *Diplomatic*, 313-316; idem, *Handbook*, 139-149; Heyd, *Documents*, 7-12; M. Guboglu, *Paleografia şi diplomatica turco-osmana. Studiu şi album*, Bucureşti 1958, 56-70. On the grammatical aspects of the texts of Ottoman documents see Buri-Gütermann, *op. cit.*

was composed on the basis of the above mentioned *erkan*. Together these *erkan* constitute the internal structure of a document and on the basis of this structure we are able to determine the document's form and classify it according to its type. Consequently, to determine what category the Venetian *ʿahd-name*s belong to, we must attempt to analyse the structure of these instruments.

List of Venetian ᶜahd-names

Date	**Ottoman ruler**	**Original Document**[16]	**Language**
1403	Süleyman Çelebi	-	Italian (Turkish)
1411	Musa Çelebi	-	Italian
1419	Mehmed I	-	Italian
1430	Murad II	-	Italian (Greek)
1446	Mehmed II	*	Greek
1451	Mehmed II	-	Italian
1454	Mehmed II	-	Italian
1479	Mehmed II	*	Greek
1482	Bayezid II	*	Turkish (and Greek)
1503	Bayezid II	**	Turkish and Greek
1513	Selim I	*	Turkish
1517	Selim I	**	Turkish and Italian
1521	Süleyman I	*	Turkish
1540	Süleyman I	*	Turkish
1567	Selim II	*	Turkish
1573	Selim II	*	Turkish
1575	Murad III	*	Turkish
1576	Murad III	*	Turkish
1595	Mehmed III	*	Turkish
1604	Ahmed I	*	Turkish
1619	ᶜOsman II	*	Turkish
1625	Murad IV	*	Turkish
1641	İbrahim I	*	Turkish

16 An asterisk (*) is used to indicate that the original Ottoman document is preserved.

A structural analysis of the Venetian ᶜahd-names

The instrument of 1403

The oldest preserved treaty between the Ottomans and a group of Christian powers in Romania including Venice is that of 1403. This treaty was concluded in the aftermath of the battle of Ankara (1402) by one of Bayezid's sons, Süleyman Çelebi, in an attempt to consolidate his position in Rumeli. His treaty partners were Venice, Byzantium, Genoa, the Hospitallers of Rhodes and some other minor Latin rulers in Romania. The treaty was signed in January-February 1403 in Gallipoli and its original text was in Turkish ('in ydiomate turcho'). According to the rubric of the rough Italian translation which has been preserved, the original document was signed by Süleyman and his 'barons' ('signate suo et suorum baronum'). The text of the treaty consists of the following parts (*erkan*):[17]

1) The *invocatio*-formula: 'In nomine di Dio verasio'.

2) The introduction in which the concluding parties are mentioned. Süleyman in the first person singular states that he has concluded a sworn peace with the Byzantine emperor ('mio pare'), Rhodes, Venice, Genoa, Chios and Naxos. Süleyman introduces himself at the beginning of this introduction with an *intitulatio*-formula: 'Mi che sum Musulman Zalabi, soldan, fio del gran soldan Baysit imperador'.

3) Süleyman's oath and the formal pledge of peace: 'io zuro per quelo che ha fatto lo cieol e la terra et per lo mio Macometo Mustafa e per le mie vij mustafi e per lo mio altissimo grande profeta che nuy credemo e per anema de mio avo e per la testa de mio pare soldan e par l'anema mia, cum tuti questi ho fato paxie, cum li mie baroni e cum tuti li mie suditi et homenj io ho fato questa paxe, e ancora cum tuto lo paise che Dio me dara si'lvegnisse altri signori mie suzeti, cum mio pare lo imperador e cum lo imperio di Griesi e cum la compagnia de li comuni, li castelli e terre de lo imperador e de le convicine et cum li luogi e isole e casali che sum a lo Mar de Basso e a lo Mar Mazor et infra terra, havemo fato la paxe fin a che seremo vivi e li fiuoli de nostri fiuoli sia cum lor in bona paxe'.[18]

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17 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text in *DVL*, III, no. 159, 290-293; Dennis, *art. cit.*, 77-82; and Zachariadou, *Süleyman Çelebi*, 274-283.

18 Zachariadou, *Süleyman Çelebi,* 275-276 (and note 30), remarks that in the version of the treaty in *DVL*, II, no. 159, 290, 'per lo mio altissimo grande profeta' is 'per lo mio altro grande profeta'. According to Zachariadou this 'other' or 'great' prophet must be Jesus Christ.

4) The *dispositio* containing the articles of the treaty. Apart from political clauses (including territorial concessions), the *dispositio* also comprises commercial clauses. First the articles concerning Byzantium are stated, then come those concerning Serbia and the Latin powers: Genoa, Venice, the marquis of Bodonitsa and Rhodes. All articles except for the ones dealing with the return of escaped slaves and the release of prisoners are unilateral.

The structure of this instrument is simple and some *erkan* seem to be missing. The text lacks concluding formulae and neither the place (*locatio*) nor the date of conclusion (*datatio*) are mentioned. The original Ottoman document seems to have had a *tugra* as may be inferred from the reference made to Süleyman's signature in the rubric of the translation.

The instrument of 1411

The treaty of 1411 between Musa Çelebi and the Venetians is a renewal of the agreement concluded by Süleyman Çelebi and Venice in 1403 (see above) and 1406 (lost). Musa's treaty was concluded in August-September 1411 in 'Fanari de Costantinopoli' and 'Salumbria' and consists of the following parts (*erkan*):[19]

1) The *invocatio*-formula: 'In nome del gran Dio nostro'.

2) The *intitulatio*-oath-pledge which consists of three main parts but was written in one sentence:

a) The *intitulatio*: 'Mi el grando amira Mussi bei Zalabi, el fio del gran signor et gran amira condam Basaithbei…'.

b) The oath: '… zuro in Dio che fesse el cielo et la terra et el mar, et in lo Dio che manda li centouintiquattromillia profecti, zoè el primo Adam et l'ultimo Machomet, che confirma la fede di Mulsumani e le sete scripture, et in l'anema de mio auo et de mio pare, e in l'anema mia…'.

c) The formal pledge of peace: '… che io averò com lo jllustrissimo Doxe de Veniciani et cum lo honoreuel comum de quelli neta paxe, dreta et lial et veriteuele, secondo la paxe e confirmacion, la qual fese in prima la benedeta anema de mio frar Musulumambei in Gallipoli, e segondariamente al Zangodirburgar cum lo ambaxador de quelli Francesco Zustignam'. In this last part Musa not only states that he himself concluded peace with Venice, but also points out that his treaty replaces the peace treaties concluded with Süleyman in 1403 and 1406.

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19 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text in *DVL*, II, no. 164, 302-304.

3) The *dispositio* containing the articles agreed upon of both a political and a commercial nature. All articles are strictly unilateral except for the one concerning the return of escaped slaves and tributaries.
4) The conclusion in which the Venetian ambassador Giacomo Trevisano is mentioned and the date (*datatio*, 12 Augustus 6919 AM = 1411 AD) and place of issuance (*locatio*, Fanari de Costantinopoli) are given.
5) A later addition to the text from, which it appears that the treaty was not concluded on 12 August but on 3 September of the same year. This delay was caused by some minor problems during the final stage of the negotiations ('che nui auessemo pizola differencia tra nui'). After his departure Trevisano sent Francesco and Zuane de Bonixo to finish the negotiations with Musa. The treaty was finally confirmed by Musa in the presence of the Venetian Captain-General 'Piero Loredam'.
6) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* (?).[20]

The instrument of 1419

The agreement of 1419 was reached after the Venetian attack on Gallipoli in 1416. It was concluded between the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed I and the Venetian bailo in Constantinople Bertucci Diedo on 5 December 1419 in Edirne. The instrument consists of the following parts (*erkan*):[21]
1) The *invocatio*: 'Al nome del Gran Dio, amen'.
2) The introduction, which consists of three main parts but was written in one sentence:
a) The *intitulatio*: 'Mi, el gran signor e grande amirà sultan Mahametbei, fio del gran signor et grande amirà Condochicij de Basaithbei che fo…'.
b) The oath: '… zuro in Dio, fator del cielo e de la terra, et in el nostro propheta Mahometh, et in le sette Musaffi che ui credemo e confessemo, et in li CXXIIIJ.m propheti, el primo Adam et l'ultimo Maometh, che conferma la fe di Mussulmani, et in l'anema de mio auo e de mio padre…'.
c) The formal pledge of peace: '… che nui haueremo con lo illustrissimo Doxe de Venexia e cum l'excelso so comun paxe dreta, lial e veriteuele'.
3) The *expositio-narratio*, in which the hostilities between Venice and the Ottomans are mentioned, as well as the arrival of the Venetian ambassador

20 Although the preserved text of this treaty contains no indications of a *tugra*, it seems unlikely that the original document did not have the *tugra*, since all Ottoman documents from that time which were issued in the name of the ruler (or his sons) had a *tugra*.

21 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text in *DVL*, II, no. 172, 318-319.

and the conclusion of peace: 'E perchè son seguidi scandali tra li Veniciani e la mia signoria, e per questa caxon vene l'egregio baiulo de Constantinopoli, misser Bertuzi Diedo, ambassador in la mia signoria, et nui fessemo le conuention prexente'.
4) The *dispositio* containing the clauses of the treaty (both political and commercial) which, except for those dealing with prisoners and refugees, are all unilateral grants.
5) The *sanctio*, in which Mehmed I promises and swears to maintain peace, as long as the Venetians do the same.
6) The combined *datatio-locatio* (6 November 6917 AM, Edirne / Adrianople).
7) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* (?).

The instrument of 1430

The treaty of 1430 between Murad II and Venice was concluded after the Ottoman conquest of Thessaloniki. From the rubric it is clear that the original document was in Greek and that Murad swore to uphold it on 4 September 1430 in Edirne (Adrianople). The treaty consists of the following parts (*erkan*):[22]
1) The *invocatio*-formula: 'In nome del gran Dio nostro, amen'.
2) The combined *intitulatio*-oath formula: 'Mi gran signor e grande amirà, soldan Amorato, fio fo del gran signor e grande amira soldan Meemetbey zuro in lo Dio, creator del zielo e de la terra et alo gran nostro profeta Moamet, et ali sette Mussafi che auemo e confessemo nuy Musulmany, et ali CXXIIIJ.m profeti de Dio, che fo primo Adam e l'ultimo Maomet, che confermò la fede di Turchi, et in la fede che credo e confesso, et in anema de mio auo e de mio padre, et in anema mia, et in la mia testa, e per la spada che me zengo'.
3) The *expositio-narratio*, in which the war of 1423-1430 is mentioned as well as the arrival of the Venetian ambassadors and the formal conclusion of peace. The *expositio-narratio* ends with the introduction of the pledge: 'Per chaxon che era seguido la guerra tra la mia signoria e lo illustrissimo chomun de la dogal e grande Signoria de Veniexia: imperziò per lo excellentissimo et illustrissimo chomun è sta mandalo lo nobel et honorado zentilomo, capetanio zeneral de mar, el sapeintissimo Siluestro Morexinj, e da luj vene ambaxador, per concluder la paxe, lo nobel et honorado zentilomo e seruidor de la grande

22 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text in *DVL*, II, no. 182, 343-345.

Signoria de Veniexia, misser Nicolò Belauista, e con el piaxer de lo vero Dio nostro, intro de nuj do signori semo romaxi d'acordo et prometo mi gran signor Amorato, e zuro in li soraditi sagramenti'.
4) The formal pledge to respect the peace (including the date of inception): 'Che dal di d'anchuo, che xe IIIJ de Setembrio, di de luni, indictione VIIIJ, prometo e digo de auer con lo mio fradello el Doxe e con lo honorado et illustrissimo chomun de la dogal grand Signoria de Veniezia, e con i so zentilomeni grandi e pizoli, bona, dreta, fedel, ferma e veraxia paxe, per mar e per terra, et in le terre, zitade, castelli, ixole, e tuti li luogi che chomanda la serenissima Signoria de Veniexia, e con li so zentilomeni, zitadini e subditi, sotoposti a quella Signoria de Veniexia, in quanti castelli, terre e ziatde, ixole e luogi, i qual lieua la insegna de San Marco, e quanti leuerà da mo in auanti, et in le cosse la qual tieno al prexente, e quelle che averà per l'auegnir lo gloriosissimo chomun de Veniexia'.
5) The *dispositio*, which contains the articles of the treaty (both political and commercial). Some of the clauses are unilateral grants but now there are more reciprocal clauses than in the previous treaties. When compared with these previous instruments, the most important change is that Ottoman merchants have the same rights in Venetian territories as the Venetians in the Ottoman dominions.
6) The extensive *sanctio,* in which Murad II promises and swears to maintain peace on condition that the Venetians do the same.
7) The combined *datatio-locatio* (4 September 6938 AM/1430 AD, Edirne / Adrianople).
8) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* (?).

The instrument of 1446

The treaty of 1446 is the oldest treaty which is preserved as an original Ottoman document in Greek. It was concluded between Mehmed II and Venice during the former's first period as Ottoman ruler and was a renewal of the treaty concluded by his father Murad II in 1430. The treaty consists of the following parts (*erkan*):[23]

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23 The text of this treaty has been preserved as an original Ottoman document in Greek and in a contemporary Italian translation. The analysis is based on the published texts of both versions. The original Ottoman document in Greek has been published by Babinger, *Staatsvertrag*, 234-258; the Latin text (dated 25 February) in *DVL*, II, no. 198, 366-368.

1) The *invocatio*-formula, which is not written at the top of the document above the *tugra* but at the beginning of the text itself: 'Al nome del gran Dio, amen'.
2) The combined *intitulatio*-oath formula: 'Io gran signor et gran admirà soltan Maometh bey fio del gran signor et gran admirà soldan Maometh bey [sic, should be Murad beg], zuro in el Creator del cielo et de la terra et in el nostro gran propheta Maometh, et in nostri septe musaphi, che hauemo et confessemo nui musulumani, et in li centouintiquattro millia propheti de Dio, di quali el primo fo Adam et l'ultimo Maometh, che hano confermado la fede di musulumani, et in la fede che credo et confesso, et in la vita et in la testa de mio padre, et in la vita mia, et in la testa mia et in la spada che io me zenzo'.
3) The *expositio-narratio*, in which Ottoman-Venetian hostilities are mentioned, as well as the arrival of the Venetian ambassador and the conclusion of the peace: 'Per caxon… affermadi'.
4) The formal pledge to respect the peace: 'et prometto… la gran Signoria de Veniexia'.
5) The *dispositio*, consisting of the clauses of the treaty (both political and commercial). Like in the treaty of 1430 most articles are reciprocal.
6) The extensive *sanctio*, in which Mehmed II promises and swears to maintain peace as long as the Venetians do the same.
7) The combined *datatio-locatio* (23 February 6954 AM/1446 AD, Edirne / Adrianople).
8) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* of Sultan Mehmed II.

The instrument of 1451

The instrument of 1451 was a renewal of the treaty of 1446 between Mehmed II and Venice. Although there had not been a state of war between the two parties, the (second) accession of Mehmed II after his father Murad II died, necessitated the confirmation of peace. The instrument consists of the following parts (*erkan*):[24]
1) The *invocatio* (?).[25]
2) The combined *intitulatio*-oath formula: 'Mi gran Signor et grande amirà, soldan Machmetbegi, fio del gran signor e grande amirà soldan Mortbeg: zuro in Dio, creator del cielo et de la terra, et in li sete musaffi che tenimo et

24 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text in *DVL*, II, no. 209, 382-384.

25 The *invocatio* of this instrument has most likely not been preserved in the translation. It is, however, also possible that the orginal document did not have an *invocatio*.

confessemo nui Mussulmani, et in li XXIIIJ grandi profeti de Dio, o più o men, et in la fede che mi credo et confesso, et in l'anima de mio auo e de mio padre, et in l'anima mia, et in la vita mia, e in la testa mia, et in la spada che io mi zenço'.
3) The *expositio-narratio*, in which the existing peace is mentioned, as well as the arrival of the Venetian ambassador and the formal conclusion of the peace (i.e. the renewal of the existing peace): 'Cumzossia… sagramento et patto'.
4) The formal pledge to respect the peace: 'et io gran signor… comun de Veniexia'.
5) The *dispositio*, consisting of the clauses of the treaty (both political and commercial). As in the treaty of 1446 almost all articles are reciprocal: 'niuno de li subditi… ala mia signoria'.
6) The extensive *sanctio*, in which Mehmed II promises and swears to maintain peace, as long as the Venetians do the same: 'Adonche… scrisse e zurì'.
7) The combined *datatio-locatio* (10 September 1451, Edirne / Adrianople): 'E per fermeza… MCCCCLJ'.
8) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* (?).

The instrument of 1454

The instrument of 1454 was concluded after the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans. During the siege of the city a *de facto* state of war had existed between the Ottomans and the Venetians. In the treaty, however, Mehmed does not mention the hostilities but refers to the existing peace. The instrument consists of the following parts (*erkan*):[26]
1) The *invocatio* (?).
2) The combined *intitulatio*-oath formula: 'Mi gram Signor et grande Amira Soldam Mahamet Bey fio fo del gram Segnor et gram Amira Morat bey Juro in Dio creator del Cielo et dela terra et in el gram propheta Mahamet et in li VII Musaphy che tegnimo et confessemo nuj Musulmani et in li XXIV^{m} propheti de dio o più o meno et in la fede che mi credo et confesso et in l'anima de mio padre, et in l'anima mia et in la spada che me zenzo'.
3) The *expositio-narratio*, in which the existing peace is mentioned, as well as the arrival of the Venetian ambassador to renew the treaty and the conclusion of peace: 'Conciosia che… deta Signoria'.

26 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text in Romanin, *op. cit.*, IV, 528-535.

4) The formal pledge to respect the peace: 'Perho io gram Segnor… deta Signoria de Venexia'.
5) The *dispositio*, consisting of the clauses of the treaty (both political and commercial). The *dispositio* first repeats the clauses of the treaty of 1451 which is renewed: 'Primo: niuno deli subditi… Simelmente i Venetiani alla mia Signoria'. In this part of the *dispositio*, Mehmed II in the first person (singular and plural) states the articles of the treaty (as in earlier instruments). However, the second part of the *dispositio*, which contains the clauses added in 1454 to the treaty of 1451, is different. This part is introduced by a Venetian rubric in which it is stated that the following (new) articles are those of the renewal of 1453: 'Capitoli… Et prima'. Then come the new articles, but this time it is not Mehmed II who grants the clauses: 'Che…del dito luogo'. Both the Ottomans and the Venetians are mentioned in the third person (singular and plural) and the articles are stated in a neutral way. Only in the last article do we read : 'Item che cussi como quelli de Contantinopoli non deno ne voiasse i sieno astreti che per el simel i nostri de simel condition non siano constreti sì che non si possi adimandar l'un al altro de debiti creadi fin al caxo del dito luogo'. This second part of the *dispositio* containing the new articles of 1454 seems to have been 'changed' by the Venetian translator. It is also possible that the original section was replaced by the translator with an existing Venetian text, possibly a Venetian draft version of the same articles. The contents of the Venetian draft and the final treaty were apparently the same and consequently the Venetians inserted their version of the *dispositio* of 1454 in this translation instead of making a new translation of the final Ottoman version. A similar 'change' can also be seen in the *dispositio* of the treaty of 1414 with Menteşe. As in earlier treaties, most articles of the dispositio of 1454 are reciprocal.
6) The extensive *sanctio*, in which Mehmed II promises and swears to maintain peace, as long as the Venetians do the same: 'Le qual tute cosse… Segnoria de Venexia'.
7) The combined *datatio-locatio* (18 April 6962 AM, Constantinople): 'E per fermeza… Constantinopoli'.
8) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* (?).

The instrument of 1479

The treaty of 1479 was concluded between Mehmed II and Venice after the long war of 1463-1479. The instrument has been preserved as an original Ottoman document in Greek. It consists of the following parts (*erkan*):[27]
1) The combined *intitulatio*-oath formula.
2) The *expositio-narratio*, in which the intention to conclude a new treaty is mentioned, as well as the arrival of the Venetian ambassador and the conclusion of peace.
3) The formal pledge to maintain peace.
4) The *dispositio*, containing the articles of the treaty, most of which are reciprocal.
5) The combined *datatio-locatio* (25 January 6987 AM, Constantinople).
6) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* of Sultan Mehmed II.

The instrument of 1482

The treaty of 1482 was concluded between Bayezid II and Venice following the death of Bayezid's father Mehmed II. It is a renewal of the peace of 1479 and is preserved in both a Greek and an Ottoman-Turkish version. The version in Turkish is an original Ottoman document. The Greek and the Turkish versions are different as to their structure and according to Ménage: 'the occasionally stilted language and unnatural word-order [of the Turkish version] betray that it is a translation of the Greek text'.[28] The instruments consist of the following parts (*erkan*):[29]
1) The *invocatio*: 'hüve… 'l-muᶜin'. The Greek version does not have an *invocatio*.
1) The introductory formula : 'nişan-i… oldur ki'. The Greek version does not have this introductory formula.

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27 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text published in *MM*, III, 295-298, which has been compared with that of the original Ottoman document in Greek (ASV, Documenti Turchi 2).

28 Ménage, *Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents*, 288.

29 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text of the original Ottoman document in Turkish (ASV, Documenti Turchi 26) which can be found among the TEXTS and has been published earlier by Gökbilgin and Gallotta. The Greek version of the treaty can be found in *MM*, III, 313-317. For a detailed comparison of the Greek and Turkish version of the treaty of 1482 see Gallotta, *Trattato*, 219-231.

2) The *intitulatio*: 'ben ki… hanın'. The Greek version begins with the *intitulatio*.
3) The *expositio-narratio* (present in both versions). In the *expositio-narratio* two parts may be distinguished:
a) The general part, in which Bayezid states his intention to conclude peace with all foreign rulers: 'bi-avni 'llah… olmaz'.
b) The part in which Bayezid states his willingness to conclude peace with Venice. The arrival of the Venetian ambassador and the decision to renew the existing peace are also mentioned. The *expositio-narratio* ends with the introduction to the oath: 'imdi… yemin ederim ki'.
4) The oath-formula and the formal pledge to respect the treaty, as long as the Venetians do the same: 'kuşandugum… hakkıyçün ki ma dam ki… barışıklık ola' (present in both versions). In the Turkish version this part has the character of a oath-*sanctio*-pledge. The pledge contains the explicit warning that the Venetians must maintain the peace as well. The *sanctio* here can explain why the Turkish version has no *sanctio* at the end of the document.
5) The *dispositio*, containing the articles of the treaty (both political and commercial) which are granted on the basis of the newly concluded peace: 'min baᶜd… geldirem'. Although most articles are unilateral, there are still a number of articles in both the Greek and the Turkish version which explicitly mention that the Ottomans have the same rights in Venetian territories ('mezkur begler dahı bu üslub üzere edeler').
6) The *corroboratio*, in which reference is made to the *tugra* of the sultan: 'bu bablarda… kılalar'. This *corroboratio* only appears in the Turkish version. The Greek version, however, as in earlier documents has an extensive *sanctio* instead of the *corroboratio*. In this *sanctio* Bayezid promises and swears to maintain peace, as long as the Venetians do the same. The *sanctio* of the Turkish version is part of the oath-pledge.
7) The *datatio*: 'tahriren… seman-mi'e'. Whereas the Turkish version has a separate *datatio* and *locatio*, the Greek version has a combined *datatio-locatio* as in earlier instruments.
8) The *locatio*: 'be-mekam-i Edirne 'l-mahmiye'. The Greek version has a combined *datatio-locatio*.
9) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* of Sultan Bayezid II. Since only the Turkish version has been preserved as an original Ottoman document, no information is available concerning the *tugra* of the Greek version.

The instrument of 1503

The treaty of 1503 was concluded between Bayezid II and Venice after the war of 1499-1502. As mentioned in Chapter Seven the instrument of 1503 is nothing more than an upgraded version of the draft of 1502. In fact, the document itself is identical with that of the draft to which the *tugra* was added to make it valid. The structure of the document reveals this provisional status. The instrument is preserved in both an original Greek and an original Turkish version which allows us to compare the structure of two authentic Ottoman documents in two different languages. The instruments consist of the following parts (*erkan*):[30]

1) The introductory formula: 'nişan-i… oldur ki'. The Greek version does not have this introductory formula, but opens instead as a normal letter with an *intitulatio* ('Sultan Bayezid Han by the grace of God, great king and emperor of both continents, Asia and Europe, etc.…') and an *inscriptio* ('… to the illustrious lordship of the lofty and the illustrious and the honored doges of the Venetians, greetings').

2) The *expositio-narratio*, in which the arrival of the Venetian ambassador (not named, nor is the Doge of Venice named) and the decision to conclude peace are mentioned: 'el-haletü hazihi… kabul etdim ki'. There then follows the *expositio-narratio* which gives the conditions under which Bayezid is prepared to conclude peace, and states the sultan's (conditional) decision to conclude peace: 'Aya Mavra… yemin eylerim ki'. This *expositio-narratio* is present in both the Greek and the Turkish version.

3) The oath-formula: 'bendahı… hakkıyçün', and the formal pledge to uphold the peace: 'Venedik dozı… barışıklık ola'. The oath and the pledge are present in both the Greek and the Turkish version.

4) The *dispositio*, containing the articles of the treaty (of both political and commercial nature): 'benüm memalik-i mahrusemde… serᶜile görüle'. A number of articles are reciprocal ('hemçünan bendahı eyle edem'). The *dispositio* is present in both the Greek and the Turkish version.

5) The extensive *sanctio*, constisting of the following parts (present in both the Greek and the Turkish version):

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30 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text of the original documents preserved in the ASV, Documenti Turchi 69 (Ottoman-Turkish) and 73 (Greek). For the Turkish and Italian version of this *instrumentum reciprocum* see the TEXTS. The Greek version has been published in *MM*, III, 344-350; the Turkish version was published earlier in Şakiroğlu, *1503 tarihli andlaşma*, 1559-1569.

a) The decision to conclude peace, provided that the Venetians accept the conditions. This part ends by introducing the oath-formula: 'bu zikr olunan şerayıt kabul olunursa bendahı anlarıñ müsalehaların kabul edüb eyman-i mugallaza ile yemin eylerim ki'. In this part the provisional status of the instrument becomes clear. Only if the Venetians accept the instrument's provisions ('kabul olunursa'), will the agreement become valid (at once).
b) The short oath-formula: 'yeri ve gögi yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün'.
c) An assurance that the Ottomans intend to respect the treaty: 'Venedik dozı… yetişdirmeyeler'.
7) The combined *datatio-locatio*, which ends with the introduction of the concluding formula: 'işbu ᶜahd-name… yazıldı ki'. Both the Greek and the Turkish versions have a combined *datatio-locatio* (in AD and AH).
8) The concluding formula of well-wishing: 'hemişe… 'l-mutlak'. This formula is not present in the Greek version which is left incomplete at the end.
9) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* of Sultan Bayezid II (present in both the Greek and the Turkish version).

The instrument of 1513

The treaty of 1513 was concluded between Selim I and Venice after the abdication and death of Bayezid II. The instrument consists of the following parts (*erkan*):[31]
1) The *invocatio*: 'hüve… 'l-muᶜin'.
2) The introductory formula: 'nişan-i… oldur ki'.
3) The *intitulatio*: 'şimdikihalde… Selim-şahım'.
4) The *expositio-narratio*, in which the arrival of the Venetian ambassador is mentioned and the sultan's decision to make peace is stated. The *expositio* ends with the introduction of the oath-formula: 'haliya… yemin ederim ki'.
5) The short oath-formula: 'yeri ve gögi yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün', and the formal pledge to respect the peace: 'mezkur… barışıklık ola'.
6) The *dispositio*, which contains the articles of the treaty (of both political and commercial nature): 'benüm memalik-i mahrusemde… tehallüf olunmaya'. A number of articles are reciprocal.
7) The elaborate *sanctio*, consisting of:

31 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text of the original Ottoman document (ASV, Documenti Turchi 161) which can be found among the TEXTS. This text has been published previously by Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 129, 47-50.

a) The combined admonition-oath-formula, in which the sultan swears that he will maintain peace, as long as the Venetians do the same: 'bu zikr olunan… olmaya'.
b) The phrase 'şöyle bileler'.
8) The combined *datatio-locatio*, which ends with the introduction of the concluding wishing formula: 'işbu ᶜahd-name… yazıldı ki'.
9) The concluding formula of well-wishing: 'devam-i devletim… müstehkem ola'.
10) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* of Sultan Selim I.

The instrument of 1517.

The treaty of 1517 was concluded between Selim I and Venice after the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt which necessitated the renewal of the existing treaty of 1513. The Venetians wanted to insert Syria and Egypt in the treaty and in return offered to pay tribute for Cyprus, which before that time they had paid to the Mamluks. The instrument is preserved in the form of two original Ottoman documents, one of which is in Ottoman-Turkish and the other in Latin and Italian. The instruments consist of the following parts (*erkan*):[32]
1) The *invocatio*: 'hüve… 'l-muᶜin'. The Italian version does not have an *invocatio*.
2) The introductory formula: 'nişan-i… oldur ki'. The Italian version does not have this introductory formula.
3) The *intitulatio*: 'ben ki… hanın'. The Italian version begins with the *intitulatio* in Latin: 'Sultan Selim… et cætera', which is also more elaborate than the *intitulatio* in Ottoman-Turkish.
4) The *expositio-narratio*, in which the existing peace is mentioned, as well as the arrival of the Venetian ambassadors and the decision to renew the treaty. The *expositio-narratio* ends with the introduction of the oath-formula. This part is present in both the Ottoman and the Italian version: 'bundan evvel… yemin ederim ki'/'Per avanti… et zuro'.
5) The short oath-formula: 'yeri ve gögi yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün'/'per quel Dio che ha creato il cielo et la terra', and the formal pledge to respect the peace: 'mezkur… barışıklık ola'/'che cum… sempre sera'.

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32 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the texts of the original Ottoman documents in Turkish and Italian (ASV, Documenti Turchi 167 and 169) which can be found among the TEXTS. The Turkish text was published before in Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 130, 50-54.

6) The *dispositio*, which contains the articles of the treaty (of both political and commercial nature). A number of articles are reciprocal. This part is present in both versions: 'benüm memalik-i mahrusemde… teslim edeler'/ 'et niuno… al mio casna'.
7) The elaborate *sanctio*, consisting of:
a) The combined admonition-oath-formula in which the sultan swears that he will respect the treaty, as long as the Venetian do the same: 'bu zikr olan… olmaya'/'Et cusi… obseruar'.
b) The phrase 'şöyle bileler'/'come, è, ditto di sopra'.
8) The combined *datatio-locatio*. This formula is incomplete in the Ottoman-Turkish version but appears in full in the Italian version: 'işbu ᶜahd-name… ayınıñ…'/'data nel Cayra à di .xxij. de la luna di siaban del anno nuovecento vintitre. Del anno de christiani .M.D.Xvij. à di otto settembrio./.'.
9) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* of Sultan Selim I. Both versions have a *tugra*.

The instrument of 1521

The treaty of 1521 was concluded between Süleyman I and Venice after the death of Selim I. The instrument consists of the following parts (*erkan*):[33]
1) The *invocatio*: 'hüve… 'l-muᶜin'.
2) The introductory formula: 'nişan-i… oldur ki'.
3) The *intitulatio*: 'şimdikihalde… Selim-şahım'.
4) The *expositio-narratio*, in which the arrival of the Venetian ambassador and the decision to make peace are stated. The *expositio-narratio* ends with the introduction of the oath-formula: 'haliya… yemin ederim ki'.
5) The short oath-formula: 'yeri ve gögi yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün', and the formal pledge to respect the peace: 'mezkur… barışıklık ola'.
6) The *dispositio*, which contains the articles of the treaty (of both political and commercial nature): 'benüm memalik-i mahrusemde… tehallüf olunmaya'. A number of articles are reciprocal.
7) The elaborate *sanctio*, consisting of:
a) The combined admonition-oath-formula, in which the sultan swears that he will respect the treaty, as long as the Venetian do the same: 'bu zikr olunan… olmaya'.

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33 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text of the original Ottoman document (ASV, Documenti Turchi 188) which can be found among the TEXTS. The text of this version of the treaty has been published previously by Şakiroğlu, *1521 tarihli andlaşma*, 387-404. For other copies of the same *ᶜahd-name* see the TEXTS.

b) The phrase 'şöyle bileler'.
8) The combined *datatio-locatio*, which ends with the introduction of the concluding formula of well-wishing: 'işbu ᶜahd-name… yazıldı ki'.
9) The concluding formula of well-wishing: 'devam-i devletim… et-tecahürin'.
10) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* of Sultan Süleyman I.

The draft version of the instrument of 1540

The instrument of 1540 has been preserved in two versions: a draft and a final version. The treaty was concluded between Sultan Süleyman I and Venice at the end of the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1537-1540. The draft consists of the following parts (*erkan*):[34]
1) The *invocatio*: 'hüve… 'l-muᶜin'.
2) The introductory formula: 'nişan-i… oldur ki'.
3) The *intitulatio*: 'şimdikihalde… hanın'.
4) The *expositio-narratio*, in which the arrival of the Venetian ambassador, the conditions of the peace (cession of Napoli and Monemvasia and the payment of 300.000 ducats as tribute) and the decision to conclude peace (on the above stipulated conditions) are mentioned. The *expositio-narratio* ends with the introduction of the oath-formula: 'Venedik dojı…yemin dahı ederim ki'.
5) The oath-formula: 'yeri… hakkıyçün', and the formal pledge to uphold the treaty, provided that the Venetians respect the treaty as well: 'ma dam ki… barışıklık ola'. The date of inception is also mentioned.
6) The *dispositio*, which contains the articles of the treaty (of both political and commercial nature): 've memalik-i mahrusemde… incitmeye'. Most articles are unilateral.
7) The *sanctio*, consisting of a combined admonition-oath-formula in which the sultan swears that he will respect the treaty, as long as the Venetian do the same: 'işbu zikr olunan… olmaya' (the phrase 'şöyle bileler' is lacking).
8) An additional article on the status of five disputed fortresses in Dalmatia. Süleyman states that whatever solution to the dispute he adopts, the Venetians will have to respect his 'emr-i şerif' which will be issued once the matter has been investigated: 'bu ᶜahd-name-i… ᶜamel oluna'.
9) The combined *datatio-locatio*, which ends with the introduction of the concluding formula of well-wishing: 'işbu ᶜahd-name-i yazıldı ki'.

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34 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text of the original Ottoman document (ASV, Documenti Turchi 425) which can be found among the TEXTS. The text of this version of the treaty has been partially published by Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 334-345.

10) The concluding formula of well-wishing: 'devam-i… ola'.
11) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* of Sultan Süleyman I.

The final version of the instrument of 1540.

The final version consists of the following parts (*erkan*):[35]
1) The *invocatio*: 'hüve… 'l-mucin'.
2) The introductory formula: 'nişan-i… oldur ki'.
3) The *intitulatio*: 'şimdikihalde… hanın'.
4) The *expositio-narratio*, in which the arrival of the Venetian ambassador, the conditions of the peace (cession of Napoli and Monemvasia and the payment of 300.000 ducats as tribute) and the decision to conclude peace (under the above stipulated conditions) are mentioned. The *expositio-narratio* ends with the introduction of the oath-formula: 'Venedik dojı…yemin dahı ederim ki'.
5) The oath-formula: 'yeri… hakkıyçün', and the formal pledge to uphold the treaty, on condition that the Venetians respect the treaty as well: 'ma dam ki… barışıklık ola'. The date of inception is also mentioned.
6) The *dispositio,* which contains the articles of the treaty (of both a political and a commercial nature). Only a few clauses are still explicitly reciprocal: 've Yanya… incitmeyeler'.
7) The extensive *sanctio*, consisting of:
a) The combined admonition-oath-formula, in which the sultan swears that he will respect the treaty, as long as the Venetian do the same: 'işbu zikr olunan… olmaya'.
b) The phrase 'şöyle bileler'.
8) An additional article on the status of five disputed fortresses in Dalmatia. The fortresses of Degirmenler are to be returned to the Venetians. Concerning the remaining four disputed fortresses, Süleyman states that whatever solution to the dispute he adopts, the Venetians will have to respect his *emr-i şerif* which will be issued once the matter has been investigated: 'bu cahd-name-i hümayun… camel oluna'.
9) A remark about the draft version which was sent to Venice but is no longer valid now that this final version has been issued: 've bu cahd-name-i şerifimden… camel oluna'.

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35 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text of the original Ottoman document (ASV, Documenti, Turchi 426) which can be found among the TEXTS and has been published previously in Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 1, 121-128. Another slightly different version of the final treaty has been published by Lehmann, *op. cit*, 1-9.

10) The combined *datatio-locatio* : 've bu ᶜahd-name-i hümayun… yazıldı'.
11) The *corroboratio*: 'ᶜalamet-i şerife iᶜtimad ve iᶜtikad kılalar'.
12) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* of Sultan Süleyman I.

The instrument of 1567

The treaty of 1567 was concluded between Sultan Selim II and Venice after the death of Sultan Süleyman I in 1566. The instrument consists of the following parts (*erkan*):[36]
1) The *invocatio*: 'hüve'.
2) The introductory formula: 'nişan-i… oldur ki'.
3) The *intitulatio*: 'şimdikihalde… hanın'.
4) The *expositio-narratio*. The *expositio-narratio* of this instrument is remarkable since it contains the *expositio-narratio*, the oath-formula and the formal pledge to respect the treaty, the *dispositio*, the *sanctio*, the additional article on the disputed fortresses and the remark about the draft of the treaty of 1540. Apart from the adaptation of the *expositio-narratio* of the instrument of 1540, there are no significant changes in these *erkan* and additions. Almost the complete text of the treaty of 1540 is inserted in the *expositio-naratio* of the instrument of 1567. The *expositio-narratio* of 1567 opens with the phrase 'bundan evvel' which introduces the inserted parts of the treaty of 1540. At the end of this insertion the phrase 'deyü seᶜidü 'l-hayat şehidü 'l-memat merhum babam hudavendigar ᶜaleyhi 'r-rahmet ve 'l-gufran zeman-i şeriflerinde nişan-i hümayun verilmiş imiş' is written to indicate once again that the complete insertion was part of the treaty given by Sultan Süleyman I in 1540. The inserted parts are the following:
a) The adapted *expositio-narratio*, in which the arrival of the Venetian ambassador in the time of Süleyman I, the conditions of the peace (cession of Napoli and Monemvasia and the payment of 300.000 ducats as tribute) and the decision to conclude peace (under the above stipulated conditions) are mentioned. The *expositio-narratio* ends with the introduction of the oath-formula: 'bundan evvel Venedik dojı… yemin dahı ederim ki'.
b) The oath-formula: 'yeri… hakkıyçün', and the formal pledge to uphold the peace, on condition that the Venetians respect the treaty as well: 'ma dam ki… barışıklık ola'. The date of inception is also mentioned.

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36 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text of the original Ottoman document (ASV, Documenti, Turchi 793) which can be found among the TEXTS and has been published previously by Şakiroğlu, *Ahidnameler*, 527-553.

c) The *dispositio*, which contains the articles of the treaty (of both political and commercial nature): 've Yanya… incitmeyeler'. Only a few clauses are explicitly reciprocal.
d) The *sanctio*, consisting of a combined admonition-oath-formula in which the sultan swears that he will respect the treaty, as long as the Venetians do the same: 'işbu zikr olunan… olmaya' (the phrase 'şöyle bileler' is lacking).
e) The additional article on the status of five disputed fortresses in Dalmatia. The fortresses of Degirmenler are to be returned to the Venetians. Concerning the remaining four disputed fortresses, Süleyman states that whatever solution to the dispute he adopts, the Venetians will have to respect his *emr-i şerif* which will be issued once the matter has been investigated: 've bu ᶜahd-name-i hümayun… ᶜamel oluna'.
f) The remark about the draft version which was sent to Venice but is no longer valid now that the final version has been issued: 've bu ᶜahd-name-i şerifimden… ᶜamel oluna'.
After this insertion the *expositio-narratio* of 1567 continues with the aforementioned 'deyü… verilmiş imiş' phrase. Then comes the word 'haliya' which introduces the events of 1567: the arrival of the Venetian ambassador and the renewal of the peace: 'haliya… bildirdiler'.
5) The introductory formula of the *dispositio*: 'eyle olsa… ve buyurdum ki'. Although the formula is a regular introduction of a *dispositio*, this instrument does not have a *dispositio* since there are no new articles to be added to the treaty. The formula is, therefore, an irregular introduction to the extensive *sanctio*.
6) The extensive *sanctio*, consisting of a combined admonition-oath-formula in which the sultan swears that he will respect the treaty, as long as the Venetians do the same: 'işbu zikr olunan… olmaya'. In addition an already existing clause is repeated. The Venetians most probably did not observe this clause on the treatment of corsairs as they should have done and consequently the Ottomans repeated it as part of the *sanctio*: 've ᶜahd-name-i hümayun… siyaset oluna'.
7) The combined *datatio-locatio*: 've bu ᶜahd-name-i hümayun… yazıldı'.
8) The (second) short *sanctio*: 'şöyle bileler'.
9) The *corroboratio*: 'ᶜalamet-i şerif-i ᶜalem-araya iᶜtimad ve iᶜtikad kılalar'.
10) The *legitimatio* of 1567: the *tugra* of Sultan Selim II.

The instrument of 1573

The treaty of 1573 was concluded at the end of the war of 1570-1573 during which the Ottomans conquered Cyprus. Although the Venetians and their allies had won the battle of Lepanto, the treaty by no means indicates a Venetian victory but rather an Ottoman one. The structure of this instrument seems rather unusual, being different from all earlier and later treaties. The text is very short and does not repeat all the concessions the Ottomans granted to Venice. The instrument which is preserved as an original Ottoman document and as a register copy in a *mühimme defteri* consists of the following parts (*erkan*):[37]

1) The *invocatio*: 'hüve… 'l-muᶜin'. In addition there is another short religious formula: 'allahü teᶜala celle celalühü'. The *mühimme*-version has no *invocatio*.

2) The elaborate *formula devotionis*, which is the first part of the *intitulatio*: 'hakk… mukareneti ile'. The *mühimme*-version does not have this formula. Although the *formula devotionis* is written before the *tugra* and the main body of the text, it is part of the *intitulatio*. The word 'hazret-i' followed by a small blank space in the text of the *intitulatio* indicates the spot where this *formula devotionis* should have been written if it had not been 'elevated' ('honorific elevation').

3) The oath: 'hazret-i huda… yemin ederim ki'. Although the oath itself is written before the *tugra* and the text of the instrument, it is connected by its contents with the *sanctio* at the end of the document. The *mühimme*-version does not have this oath. As the *formula devotionis*, the oath has been 'elevated'. A small blank space in the *sanctio* indicates the spot where the oath-formula should have been written if it had not been 'elevated' ('honorific elevation').

4) The introductory formula: 'nişan-i… oldur ki'. The *mühimme*-version begins here with a register rubric and abbreviates the introductory formula to 'nişan-i hümayun yazıla ki'

5) The *intitulati*o, consisting of:

a) The *formula devotionis*: 'hazret-i […]' (document version) and 'hazret-i hakk ᶜinayetiyle' (*mühimme*-version).

b) The *intitulatio* itself: 'ben ki… hanım'.

6) The *expositio-narratio*. Although it is stated in the *expositio-narratio* that the Venetian bailo in Constantinople presented a letter with the conditions for

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37 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text of the original Ottoman document (ASV, Documenti, Turchi 818) and the version from a *mühimme defteri* which can be found among the TEXTS. The treaty has also been published by Şakiroğlu, *Ahidnameler*, 527-553.

peace, realistically speaking the Ottomans must have forced the Venetians to accept **their** conditions. In his letter which is mentioned in the *expositio-narratio*, the bailo must have repeated the Ottoman conditions for peace and stated that he fully accepted them. The treaty's manner of formulation is rather surprising and underlines the humiliating character of the instrument. The Venetians were actually forced to present unfavorable and humiliating conditions and to ask the sultan to accept them as 'their conditions'. At the end of the *expositio-narratio* Selim II states that he accepts the conditions and that peace has been concluded: 'şimdikihalde… deyü zikr eylemiş'.

7) The introductory formula of the *dispositio*: 'eyle olsa… ve buyurdum ki'. Although the formula is a regular introduction to a *dispositio*, this instrument does not have a *dispositio* since there are no new articles to be added to the treaty. The formula is, therefore, an irregular introduction to the extensive *sanctio*.

8) The extensive *sanctio*, consisting of:

a) The combined admonition-oath-formula in which the sultan swears that he will respect the treaty, as long as the Venetians do the same. Although the oath itself is written at the top of the document next to the *formula devotionis* of the *intitulatio*, it is clearly connected with the *sanctio* in which Selim II promises to maintain peace, on condition that the Venetians do the same. In fact the oath itself should be inserted in the text of this *sanctio*: 'ma dam ki muma ileyhim begler tarafından şerayıt-i ᶜahd ve eman riᶜayet ve himayet olunub hılaf-i ᶜahd vazᶜ zuhur etmeye **hazret-i huda-i müteᶜalıñ vahdaniyeti ve ᶜazameti hakkıyçün ve habib-i ekrem seᶜadetlü peygamberimüz Muhammed Mustafa ᶜaleyhi efzalü 's-salevat ve ekmelü 't-tahiyatıñ hürmetiyçün ᶜahd ve yemin ederim ki** ben dahı ma beynde olan dostlukdan şürut ve ᶜuhuddan ᶜudul ve inhiraf göstermeyem ve südde-i seniye-i seᶜadet-destgahımıza kurudan ve yaşdan düşmenlik üzere olanlara ma dam ki Venedik dojı ve begleri kavla ve fiᶜlen muᶜin ve zahir olmayalar vakıᶜ olan sulh ve salahdan tecavüz etdirmeyem nitekim eski ᶜahd-name-i hümayunumda mesturdur'. There is also an indication in the original document that the oath has been transferred from the *sanctio*. At the place where the oath should have been inserted, a blank space occurs. The *mühimme*-version omits the oath.

b) The phrase 'şöyle bileler'.

9) The *corroboratio*: 'ᶜalamet-i şerife iᶜtimad kılalar'. The *mühimme*-version has only half the *corroboratio*.

10) The *datatio*: 'tahriren fi… tisᶜ-mi'e'. The *mühimme*-version has no *datatio*.

11) The *locatio*: 'be-mekam-i el-mahmiye m' (m = 'tamme': finished). The *mühimme*-version has no *locatio*.
12) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* of Sultan Selim II. The *mühimme*-version has no *legitimatio*.

The instrument of 1575.

The treaty of 1575 was concluded by Sultan Murad III and Venice after the death of Selim II. It is simply a renewal of the earlier treaties concluded by the Murad III's predecessors. The instrument consists of the following parts (*erkan*):[38]
1) The *invocatio*: 'hüve… ahadün'.
2) The introductory formula: 'nişan-i… oldur ki'.
3) The *intitulatio*, consisting of:
a) The *formula devotionis*: 'hazret-i hakk… mukareneti ile'.
b) The proper *intitulatio*: 'ben ki… hanım'.
4) The *expositio-narratio*. First the arrival of the Venetian ambassador who requested the renewal of the treaties concluded by Süleyman I and Selim II is mentioned: 'şimdikihalde… eyledikleri ecilden'. Then the main part of the text of Süleyman's treaty from 1540 is inserted. This insertion is introduced by the words 'sabıka Venedik dojı olan Petro Lando zemanında müşarün ileyh ceddim tabe serahü verdügi ᶜahd-name-i hümayunuñ mazmununda…' and ends with the words '… deyü mestur ve mukayyed olub'. The text of the treaty of 1540 is followed by that of the main part of the treaty of 1573. This second insertion is introduced by the words 'baᶜdehü merhum babam sultan Selim han tabe serahü dahı ol ᶜahd-name-i hümayunı mukarrer tutub aña muhalif iş olmaya deyü mukaddema Venedik dojı olan Yironimo Priyul zemanında ᶜahdname-i hümayun verdükdensoñra ma-beyn ᶜadavet üzere oldukda tekrar zikr olunan Venedik dojı ve begleri tarafından merhum ve magfur lehü babam hudavendigar rahmetü 'llahi 'l-meliki 'l-gaffar zemanında…' and ends with the words '… deyü mukayyed olmagın'. It is striking that in this version of the treaty of 1573 the oath is inserted in the *sanctio* as has been described above. However, the irregular introductory formula of the *dispositio*: 'bu ᶜahd-name-i hümayun-i meserret-makrunı verdüm ve buyurdum ki' of the treaty of 1573 has been eliminated. The *expositio-narratio* of the treaty of 1575 then

38 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text of the original Ottoman document (ASV, Documenti, Turchi 827) which can be found among the TEXTS.

continues with the conditions for peace, whereupon the decision to conclude peace is stated: 'hala… ve ᶜahd eyledimki'.
5) The extensive *sanctio*, consisting of the combined admonition-oath-formula in which the sultan swears that he will respect the treaty, as long as the Venetians do the same: 'Venedik dojı… tecavüz etdirmeyem'.
6) An additional article concerning prisoners of war. Unlike prisoners taken in times of peace, these prisoners of war will not be released automatically: 've ᶜadavetden… dafiᶜ olmaya'.
7) The *datatio*: 'tahriren fi… tisᶜ-mi'e'.
8) The *locatio*: 'be-mekam-i… 'l-mahmiye'.
9) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* of Sultan Murad III.

The instrument of 1576.

The treaty of 1576 was a confirmation of the treaty of 1575. Its text and structure are almost completely the same as that of 1575. Apart from some minor differences in the wording, the only significant change is that the instrument of 1576 lacks the extensive *formula devotionis* of the *intitulatio* but has a *corroboratio* and adds the phrase 'şöyle bileler' to the *sanctio*.[39]

The instrument of 1595.

With the treaty of 1595 a new phase in the development of the *ᶜahd-name* begins. During the period 1540-1576 the treaties had been renewed by simply inserting the text(s) of older capitulations into the *expositio-narratio* of the renewal. From 1595 onwards the existing treaties were renewed in a more practical way without inserting older texts. The treaties of 1595, 1604, 1619, 1625 and 1641 simply updated the *expositio-narratio* by adding the names of the (new) doge, the Venetian ambassador and the predecessors of the ruling sultan who was renewing the treaty. The instrument of 1595 which was concluded between Sultan Mehmed III and Venice after the death of Sultan Murad III consists of the following parts (*erkan*):[40]
1) The *invocatio*: 'hüve 'l-muᶜin'.

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39 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text of the original Ottoman document (ASV, Documenti, Turchi 861) which can be found among the TEXTS.

40 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text of the original Ottoman documents (ASV, Documenti Turchi 1086 and Documenti Turchi 1087). For these and other copies see the TEXTS.

2) The introductory formula: 'nişan-i… oldur ki'.
3) The *intitulatio in extenso*, introduced by 'şimdikihalde' and consisting of:
a) The *formula devotionis*: 'ᶜavn-i… ile'.
b) The *intitulatio* itself: 'ben ki… hanım'.
4) The *expositio-narratio*, in which the arrival of the Venetian ambassador and the conclusion of peace are mentioned. The *expositio-narratio* ends with the introduction to the oath-formula: 'hala… yemin ederimki'.
5) The oath and the formal pledge to maintain peace: 'yeri… mukarrer olub'.
6) The *dispositio*, containing the articles of the treaty: 've Yanya… mukarrer tutdum'.
7) The *sanctio in extenso*, consisting of:
a) The combined admonition-oath-formula, in which the sultan swears that he will respect the treaty, as long as the Venetians do the same: 'ma-dam ki… göstermeyem'.
b) The phrase 'şöyle bileler'.
8) The *corroboratio*: 'ᶜalamet-i şerife iᶜtimad kılalar'.
9) The *datatio*: 'tahriren fi… fihi'.
10) The *locatio*: 'be-mekam-i Kostantiniye 'l-mahruse m' (m = 'tamme': finished).
11) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* of Sultan Mehmed III.

The instrument of 1604.

The instrument of 1604 which was concluded between Sultan Ahmed I and Venice after the death of Sultan Mehmed III is preserved as an original Ottoman document and as a register copy in an *ecnebi defteri* and consists of the following parts (*erkan*):[41]
1) The *invocatio*: 'zikrü… evla'. The *ecnebi*-version has no *invocatio*, but has a register rubric instead.
2) The introductory formula: 'nişan-i… oldur ki'. The *ecnebi*-version abbreviates this formula.
3) The *intitulatio in extenso*, introduced by 'şimdikihalde' and consisting of:
a) The *formula devotionis*: 'ᶜavn-i… ile'.
b) The *intitulatio* itself: 'ben ki… hanım'.

41 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text of the original Ottoman document (ASV, Documenti Turchi 1145) and the register copy from an *ecnebi defteri* (Başbakanlık Arşivi, İstanbul, *Ecnebi Defteri* 13/1 (Venedik Ahkam), 7-11, no. 27. For both versions of this instrument see the TEXTS.

4) The *expositio-narratio*, in which the arrival of the Venetian ambassador and the conclusion of peace are mentioned. The *expositio-narratio* ends with the introduction to the oath-formula: 'hala… yemin ederimki'. The *ecnebi*-version lacks the *elkab* of the Doge of Venice and the *salutatio*-formulae in the *expositio-narratio* and the rest of the text.
5) The oath and the formal pledge to maintain peace: 'yeri… mukarrer olub'.
6) The *dispositio*, containing the articles of the treaty: 've Yanya… mukarrer tutdum'.
7) The *sanctio in extenso*, consisting of:
a) The combined admonition-oath-formula, in which the sultan swears that he will respect the treaty, as long as the Venetians do the same: 'ma-dam ki… göstermeyem'.
b) The phrase 'şöyle bileler'. The *ecnebi*-version omits 'şöyle bileler'.
8) The *corroboratio*: 'ᶜalamet-i şerife iᶜtimad kılalar'. The *ecnebi*-version omits the *corroboratio*.
9) The *datatio*: 'tahriren fi… 't-tahiyet'. The *ecnebi*-version has a shortened date.
10) The *locatio*: 'be-mekam-i Kostantiniye 'l-mahruse'. The *ecnebi*-version does not have a *locatio*.
11) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* of Sultan Ahmed I. The *ecnebi*-version has no *tugra*.

The instrument of 1619

The instrument of 1619 which was concluded between Sultan ᶜOsman II and Venice after the deposition of Sultan Mustafa consists of the following parts (*erkan*):[42]
1) The *invocatio*: 'zikrü… [evla]'.
2) The introductory formula: 'nişan-i… oldur ki'.
3) The *intitulatio in extenso*, introduced by 'şimdikihalde' and consisting of:
a) The *formula devotionis*: 'ᶜavn-i… ile'.
b) The *intitulatio* itself: 'ben ki… hanım'.
4) The *expositio-narratio* in which the arrival of the Venetian ambassador and the conclusion of peace are mentioned. The *expositio-narratio* ends with the introduction to the oath-formula: 'hala… yemin ederim ki'.
5) The oath and the formal pledge to maintain peace: 'yeri… mukarrer olub'.
6) The *dispositio*, containing the articles of the treaty: 've Yanya… mukarrer tutdum'.

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42 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text of the original Ottoman document (ASV, Documenti Turchi 1236) which is among the TEXTS.

7) The *sanctio in extenso*, consisting of the combined admonition-oath-formula in which the sultan swears that he will respect the treaty, as long as the Venetians do the same: 'ma-dam ki… göstermeyem'.
8) The *datatio*: 'tahriren fı… 'n-nebeviye'.
9) The *locatio*: 'be-mekam-i… 'l-mahmiye'.
10) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* of Sultan ᶜOsman II.

The instrument of 1625.

The instrument of 1625 which was concluded between Sultan Murad IV and Venice after the death of Sultan Mustafa consists of the following parts (*erkan*):[43]
1) The two *invocatio*-formulae 'hüve' (the first) and 'hüve 'l-muᶜin' (the second).
2) The introductory formula: 'nişan-i… oldur ki'.
3) The *intitulatio in extenso*, introduced by 'şimdikihalde' and consisting of:
a) The *formula devotionis*: 'ᶜavn-i… ile'.
b) The *intitulatio* itself: 'ben ki… hanım'.
4) The *expositio-narratio*, in which the arrival of the Venetian ambassador and the conclusion of peace are mentioned. The *expositio-narratio* ends with the introduction to the oath-formula: 'hala… yemin ederimki'.
5) The oath and the formal pledge to maintain peace: 'yeri… mukarrer olub'.
6) The *dispositio*, containing the articles of the treaty: 've Yanya… mukarrer tutdum'.
7) The *sanctio in extenso*, consisting of:
a) The combined admonition-oath-formula in which the sultan swears that he will respect the treaty, as long as the Venetians do the same: 'ma-damki… göstermeyem'.
b) The phrase 'şöyle bileler'.
8) The *corroboratio*: 'ᶜalamet-i şerife iᶜtimad kılalar'.
9) The *datatio*: 'tahriren fi… ve elf'.
10) The *locatio*: 'be-mekam-i… 'l-beliye'.
11) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* of Sultan Murad IV.

43 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text of the original Ottoman document (ASV, Documenti Turchi 1318) which is among the TEXTS.

The instrument of 1641.

The instrument of 1641 which was concluded between Sultan İbrahim and Venice after the death of Sultan Murad IV consists of the following parts (*erkan*):[44]

1) The *invocatio*: 'hüve 'l-mucin'.
2) The introductory formula: 'nişan-i… oldur ki'.
3) The *intitulatio in extenso*, introduced by 'şimdikihalde' and consisting of:
a) The *formula devotionis*: 'cavn-i… ile'.
b) The *intitulatio* itself: 'ben ki… hanım'.
4) The *expositio-narratio*, in which the arrival of the Venetian ambassador and the conclusion of peace are mentioned. The *expositio-narratio* ends with the introduction to the oath-formula: 'hala… yemin ederim ki'.
5) The oath and the formal pledge to maintain peace: 'yeri… mukarrer olub'.
6) The *dispositio*, containing the articles of the treaty: 've Yanya… mukarrer tutdum'.
7) The *sanctio in extenso*, consisting of:
a) The combined admonition-oath-formula, in which the sultan swears that he will respect the treaty, as long as the Venetians do the same: 'ma-damki… göstermeyem'.
b) The phrase 'şöyle bileler'.
8) The *corroboratio*: 'calamet-i şerife ictimad kılalar'.
9) The *datatio*: 'tahriren fi… ve elf'.
10) The *locatio*: 'be-mekam-i… 'l-beliye'.
11) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* of Sultan İbrahim I.

44 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the text of the original Ottoman document (ASV, Documenti Turchi 1470) which is among the TEXTS.

The form of the Ottoman ᶜahd-names: types and origins.

The oldest preserved *ᶜahd-name* dates from 1403. The form of this *ᶜahd-name* shows striking similarities with that of the Aydınian instrument (1348) belonging to Type II (see Chapter Six). The Ottoman instrument of 1403 begins with an *invocatio* which has not been preserved in the Aydınian treaty of 1348. Then comes an introduction in which the concluding parties are mentioned; first the party which has issued the treaty and then the parties with which the treaty has been concluded. In both instruments the Aydınian/Ottoman ruler introduces himself with a kind of *intitulatio*-formula. After this introduction comes the oath and the pledge to maintain peace. In the Ottoman instrument the oath itself precedes the pledge, whereas in the Aydınian instrument of 1348 the pledge precedes the oath. However, this is only a very slight difference since the oath and the pledge are closely connected. The *dispositio* of both instruments is in the characteristic unilateral style. Only two articles in the Ottoman treaty are reciprocal. Although the *dispositio* of the treaty of 1403 (as we have it, i.e. in the form of a rough translation) comes at the end of the instrument, it is likely that the original instrument ended with the date and the place of issuance. The instrument of 1348 also ends with the *dispositio*, although the Greek notary added a remark to the Latin translation in which the date is mentioned and the oath and the subscription of Hızır Beg is referred to. Most likely, the original document in Greek will have had Hızır's *tugra*. The original Ottoman document must also have had Süleyman's *tugra* or subscription (*legitimatio*) since in the rubric it is mentioned that the document was 'signate suo et suorum baronum'.

As mentioned in Chapter Six, the Aydınian instrument of Type II shows striking similarities with Byzantine treaties. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to conclude that the form of this instrument was influenced by Byzantine diplomatic practice. This would imply that the form of the Ottoman instrument of 1403 was also influenced by Byzantine practice. Considering that Süleyman Çelebi concluded a treaty with the Byzantines, the Venetians and a number of other Latin powers, it is not at all surprising that the form of the Ottoman treaty of 1403 should resemble Byzantine instruments. In fact, it would have been rather surprising if it did not, even though the original text was in Turkish. In 1348 the Emir of Aydın also concluded a treaty with a comparable group of other states. However, it is important to note that there is also a difference between the Byzantine treaties and those concluded by Hızır (1348) and Süleyman Çelebi (1403). The articles of Byzantine treaties

were reciprocal and these instruments can therefore be considered bilateral treaties, whereas the Aydınian and Ottoman instruments are clearly unilateral treaties formulated in accordance with Islamic legal principles.[45]

As it was Byzantine practice to exchange treaties and this had been done in 1348 when Hızır of Aydın and the Sancta Unio exchanged more or less similar instruments, it would be logical to assume that the same procedure was followed in 1403. The Ottomans would then have received similar instruments from all the parties with whom they had concluded peace.

Even though Musa Çelebi's instrument of 1411 was a renewal of Süleyman's treaties of 1403 and 1409, there are a number of significant differences between them with regard to their form. Unlike the treaty of 1403, Musa's instrument does not seem to have been influenced by Byzantine practice. The treaty begins with an *invocatio*, but it is not followed by an introduction in which the concluding parties are mentioned. Instead, the text continues with a combined *intitulatio*-oath-pledge-formula in which Musa swears to maintain the peace concluded with the Doge of Venice. Whereas in the treaty of 1403 the statement that peace has been concluded precedes the oath, in the treaty of 1411 the pledge follows the *intitulatio*-oath. The next part is the *dispositio* which is almost completely unilateral, as in the treaty of 1403. The instrument ends with a combined *datatio-locatio* formula in which the Venetian ambassador with whom the treaty was concluded is also mentioned. Normally the text would then have been complete. However, in a kind of appendix Musa states that due to some problems the treaty was concluded a few weeks later. Although it is not mentioned explicitly, it is likely that the original document did have Musa's *tugra* (*legitimatio*). There is also no indication as to whether both parties exchanged instruments.

The instrument of 1419 has generally the same form as Musa's treaty of 1411. However, there are two important differences between these two instruments. Whereas the treaty of 1411 is still very elementary, in the treaty of 1419 an *expositio-narratio* and a *sanctio* have been added to the instrument's structure. Introducing these two important *erkan* into the basic structure of the *ʿahd-name* must have been a relatively new development dating from the

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45 It is worthwhile to note that in the Byzantine-Venetian treaties of 1265, 1277, 1324 and 1332 the oath precedes the *dispositio*, like in Hızır's treaty of 1348 and Süleyman's treaty of 1403. However, in the Byzantine-Venetian instruments of 1343, 1349, 1357, 1390 and 1406, the *dispositio* is followed by the oath. Apparently there were two acceptable Byzantine practices current at the time. According to the one, the oath preceded the *dispositio*, whereas according to the other, the oath followed the *dispositio.* See Ménage, *Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents*, 287. On the treaty of 1403 see also Zachariadou, *Süleyman Çelebi*, 274-283.

beginning of the fifteenth century. Only the last treaties of 1403 and 1407 concluded by the emirs of Menteşe contain an *expositio-narratio*. However, they do not have a *sanctio*. This can be explained by the fact that the oath in the Menteşian type (Type I) is placed at the end of the document and not at the beginning, as in the Ottoman type. Another difference is that these late Menteşian instruments have a kind of *corroboratio* in which reference is made to the *tugra* of the emir.

When one compares the Menteşian and Aydınian instruments of Type I and Type II, it is clear that the Ottoman type of treaty has an essentially different structure. However, if one compares the treaty of 1419 with the treaties belonging to Type III (Aydın of 1346 and Menteşe of 1414), one immediately notices striking similarities. These three instruments have basically the same form. The Ottoman treaty of 1419 opens with an *invocatio*. That of the Menteşian instrument (if it had one) has not been preserved. Likewise, the Aydınian instrument has a very elaborate *invocatio*. Then, after the *invocatio* all three instruments have a similar *intitulatio*-oath-pledge-formula. This formula is very elaborate in the instrument of 1346. The Menteşian and Ottoman instruments also have an *expositio-narratio* in which the arrival of the Venetian ambassador and the conclusion of peace are mentioned. However, the Aydınian instrument, like all other fourteenth century instruments, does not have this *expositio-narratio*. Once again this indicates that the *expositio-narratio* in Turkish treaties must have been an innovation dating from the early fifteenth century, most likely under the influence of Byzantine(-Venetian) instruments.

Whereas the *dispositio* of the Menteşian treaty (1414) is reciprocal, that of the Ottoman instrument is still almost completely unilateral. The Aydınian instrument of 1346 has also one reciprocal clause but the other articles are unilateral in form. After the *dispositio* the Ottoman treaty has a simple *sanctio* in which the sultan promises and swears to maintain peace, as long as the Venetians do the same. The Aydınian instrument has a very elaborate *sanctio* which also includes a kind of *comminatio* (*laʿnet*). However, this *rükn* is lacking in the Menteşian instrument. The omission may be explained by the fact that the text of the *dipositio* of this instrument is clearly not that of the original document, but that of a Venetian version (possibly a draft). Thus, the Venetian translator may also have deleted the *sanctio* when he substituted the new *dispositio*. However, the Ottoman treaty of 1411 also did not have a *sanctio*. Thus, it may be that the *sanctio* was added to the Ottoman *ʿahd-name* after 1414 and appeared in such an instrument for the first time in 1419.

Another interesting point is that while earlier Menteşian treaties (1403 and 1407) had a kind of *corroboratio* in which reference was made to the *tugra*, the Menteşian instrument of 1414 does not contain such a reference. This omission can now also be explained: the Ottoman type treaty (1411 and 1419, as well as the later treaties) does not have such a *corroboratio* with mention of the *tugra*, even though the original Ottoman documents must have had a *tugra*. Apparently, Ottoman *ʿahd-name*s were corroborated another way. Both the Ottoman and the Menteşian instrument end with a combined *datatio-locatio*. However, the text of the Aydınian treaty lacks the date of issuance but mentions the date of inception and the duration of the treaty, and refers to the signature.

The similarities in form of the Aydınian and Menteşian instruments (Type III) which previously were only described in general terms, appear more clearly than ever when they are compared with the Ottoman instruments of 1411 and 1419. The Aydınian (1346), Menteşian (1414) and Ottoman instruments (1411 and 1419) all belong to the same type of instrument (Type III). In view of the fact that in 1414 Menteşe had once again become an Ottoman vassal and the treaty was concluded after successful negotiations between the Venetians and the Ottomans, it is not surprising that the form of the Menteşian treaty is similar to Ottoman instruments. In fact, the form in which the emir of Menteşe, now an Ottoman vassal, issued his treaty with Venice, may well have been dictated by the Ottomans. This would also explain why the form of the Menteşian instrument of 1414 (Type III) is completely different from that of the earlier Menteşian treaties which all belong to Type I. However, the similarities between the Ottoman instrument and the Aydınian treaty of 1346 are very surprising and indicate that the Ottoman and Aydınian chancery must have used the same model. Thus, we may conclude that in the period of the Turkish emirates up to 1419 three types of instruments existed:

1) Type I: a unilateral instrument which followed the 'Menteşian form' and was in accordance with Turkish-Islamic principles. The instruments belonging to this category are the Menteshian treaties of 1337, 1403-I, 1403-II and 1407, and the Aydınian treaty of 1353.

2) Type II: a unilateral instrument concluded in accordance with Turkish-Islamic principles but whose form was influenced by Byzantine practice. The instruments which belong to this category are the Aydınian treaty of 1348 concluded with the Sancta Unio, and the Ottoman treaty of 1403 concluded with the Byzantines, Venice, Genoa and some other Latin states.

3) Type III: a unilateral instrument which followed the 'Aydınian-Ottoman' form and was in accordance with Turkish-Islamic principles. The instruments that belong to this category are the Aydınian instrument of 1346, the Menteşian instrument of 1414, and the Ottoman instruments of 1411 and 1419.

The form of the instrument of 1430 clearly shows the next phase in the (rapid) development of the Ottoman *ʿahd-name* from 1403 onwards. Although basically the same as that of 1419 (there are no new parts added), there is one major difference: the pledge, which in the earlier Ottoman instruments was closely connected to the *intitulatio*-oath formula at the beginning of the text, is now separated from the *intitulatio*-oath by the *expositio-narratio*. Thus, the *intitulatio*-oath and the pledge have become entities in their own right and are no longer connected to each other. The *ʿahd-name* of 1430 is in many ways the first mature Ottoman instrument. It has the following *erkan*: an *invocatio*, a combined oath-*intitulatio*, a complete *expositio-narratio*, a separate pledge, a *dispositio* which has more reciprocal clauses than ever before, a *sanctio in extenso*, a combined *datatio-locatio*, and a *legitimatio* (which is not indicated, however).

The instrument of 1446 is the first Venetian *ʿahd-name* which has been preserved as an original Ottoman document. The text of this document, therefore, can give valuable additional information on the form of the Ottoman *ʿahd-name*. From a comparison with the instrument of 1430, it is immediately clear that the form of the two treaties is exactly the same. There is not a single difference; both instruments have exactly the same parts which appear in the same sequence. Evidently, after its rapid development from 1403 onwards the *ʿahd-name*, for the first time, acquired a fixed form.

The original Ottoman document in Greek was published by the Turcologist Babinger and the Byzantinologist Dölger. Dölger states that the *sanctio* of the instrument is 'die Corroboratio (mit umständlichem Hinweis auf den geleisteten Eid)'.[46] He is, however, mistaken. In the German translation of the original Greek text the reason for his mistake is quite clear. The Greek word 'hostai' has been translated as 'sodass'. Consequently, the meaning of the whole sentence is changed: '**sodass** der Vater meiner Hoheit, der Doge, samt der erlauchten Kommune der Hoheit Venedigs und samt ihren Beambten alles, was oben niedergeschrieben und beschworen is wie hier, **für gesichert und festgelegt halten können**'. Instead of 'sodass', 'hostai' should have been translated as a temporal conjunction ('hoste'), the translation would

46 Babinger, *Staatsvertrag*, 244.

then be 'as long as… [they] observe and maintain…'.[47] This meaning corresponds to the Italian translation: 'volemo che se habia per ferme et ratte per sempre, **fin che obseruerà et tignerà fermo** el padre de la mia signoria, el Doxe con la serenissima comunità de la Signoria de Venexia, et con i suo zentilhomeni, tuto quelo che sopra è scripto et zurado, infina li hauerà fermo la mia signoria el mio sacramento in tutto che è soprascripto et zurado'.[48] Consequently, this part can no longer be considered a *corroboratio* but should be considered a *sanctio* in which the Venetians are urged to maintain peace. Dölger's mistake is easy to explain. Byzantine treaties were corroborated at the end of the text by a reference to the oath of the emperor. As a Byzantinologist, Dölger automatically compared this Ottoman *ʿahd-name* with Byzantine instruments and thus took the Ottoman *sanctio* to be a Byzantine *corroboratio*. But, the Ottoman *ʿahd-name* is essentially different from a Byzantine treaty, despite the fact that there are many similarities in the formal structure. Both the Menteşian, Aydınian (Type I and II) and the Ottoman instruments (Type III) are originally unilateral peace treaties which have a common Turkish-Islamic background and were concluded in full accordance with Islamic legal theory, even though differences in form (three types) exist and the influence of Byzantine diplomatic practice is visible.[49]

The Turkish-Islamic background of the Ottoman instruments becomes clear when one compares their form with the Ottoman-Karamanid treaty of 1444. In this year Sultan Murad II forced the Karamanid Emir İbrahim to accept a humiliating treaty which reduced the Karamanids to being Ottoman vassals. The form of this instrument, called *name-i sevgend* or *ʿahd-name* (i.e. *Eidesurkunde*), is therefore that of a treaty concluded between lord and vassal. The structure of the instrument can be summarized as follows:[50]

1) The extensive *invocatio*: 'bi'smi 'llahi… kefilen'.
2) The combined *intitulatio*-oath formula: 'benkim… nazil oldı'.
3) The extensive pledge to maintain peace: 'merhum… yerde olmayım'.
4) The *dispositio*: 've mezkur… hizmetine vereyim'.
5) The combined *sanctio-comminatio* ending with a religious formula: 'va 'llahi… 'l-vekil'.

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47 Babinger, *Staatsvertrag*, 241 and 258.

48 *DVL*, II, no. 198, 368.

49 Babinger, *Staatsvertrag*, 244.

50 The analysis of the structure of this treaty is based on the facsimile of the original Ottoman text in Tekin, *op. cit.*, 23-24, 134-136; and the transliteration in Uzunçarşılı, *Vakfiye*, 120-121.

The form of the instrument is clearly that of a vassal unilaterally making a promise to his lord to maintain peace and to abstain from actions which would damage the interests of his sovereign. The pledge and the *dispositio* can be viewed as one elaborate promise by a vassal to his lord. The omission of the *expositio-narratio* is rather surprising, but may perhaps be due to the strictly unilateral character of the instrument. Since the Ottomans forced the Karamanids to make this unilateral promise, there was actually no need to insert an *expositio-narratio*. In fact, such a part simply would not be appropriate in this instrument. Furthermore, the fourteenth (Aydın 1346) and early fifteenth century (Ottomans 1411) treaties of Type III also did not have an *expositio-narratio*. Such a section did not originally exist in Turkish treaties (which were always unilateral treaties) and most likely evolved under the influence of Byzantine(-Venetian) instruments. The *sanctio-comminatio* of this Ottoman-Karamanid treaty is also strictly unilateral. İbrahim Beg promises and swears to maintain the treaty, and in the *comminatio* he states: 'eger edecek olursam va 'llah bu tangrı kelamı baña ve evladıma garim olsun'. The Aydınian instrument of 1346 also contained an elaborate *sanctio-comminatio*, which however stated that Hızır would maintain peace, as long as his treaty partner did the same (like in the Ottoman-Venetian treaties).

Although a number of differences in structure exist between this Ottoman-Karamanid treaty and the Ottoman-Venetian treaties, they are not significant and can be explained by the unilateral character of the Ottoman-Karamanid treaty and the bilateral character of the Ottoman-Venetian treaties. The Ottoman-Venetian treaty of 1430 is the first one to have a *dispositio* which for the most part consists of reciprocal clauses. The treaties of 1403, 1411 and 1419 were still predominantly unilateral. Perhaps because of this the instrument of 1411 did not have an *expositio-narratio* and a *sanctio*. The treaty of 1419 may then be considered an instrument with a transitional form. Although the clauses were still formulated in a unilateral style, the treaty itself had become a bilateral agreement which necessitated the insertion of a (bilateral) *expositio-narratio* and *sanctio*. Thereafter, the clauses in the *dispositio* were also formulated in a bilateral style. This practice occurs for the first time in the treaty of 1430 which was confirmed by the treaty of 1446. Because of their bilateral character these instruments needed an *expositio-narratio* in which the concluding parties are mentioned, and also required a *sanctio* in which it is stressed that both parties must uphold the peace.

Nevertheless, the similarities between the Ottoman-Karamanid and the Ottoman-Venetian instruments are striking. Since it is not unreasonable to

consider the Ottoman-Karamanid treaty to have a Turkish-Islamic and not a Byzantine background, it is also likely that both Ottoman and the Menteşian and Aydınian instruments all have the same Turkish-Islamic origin. One could then plausibly assume that Aydınian, Menteşian and Ottoman practice goes back to Seljukid traditions.[51]

However, the evidence provided compels us to accept the existence of Byzantine influence. The Byzantine-Venetian treaties were bilateral agreements and without a doubt these instruments have influenced the Ottoman-Venetian treaties. After 1419 the Ottoman-Venetian treaties became bilateral agreements. This is not only visible from the form of the instruments but likewise from the diplomatic procedure which was followed. It is known that in 1446, in return for the Ottoman instrument, the Ottomans demanded a similar document from the Venetians. This was also regular procedure when the Byzantines and the Venetians concluded treaties. Thus, the Ottoman-Venetian treaty had become a sworn *instrumentum reciprocum*. Both parties exchanged a similar text which they both had to confirm by an oath. In the presence of the Venetian ambassador the Ottoman sultan swore to maintain the treaty, and the Venetian government or one of its representatives did the same in the presence of Ottoman ambassadors. In March 1446 two Ottoman envoys were instructed to go to the Venetian bailo in Constatinople to obtain a document 'con là bolla de San Marco' which had to be confirmed by an oath 'in greco et in latino'. In September 1446 an envoy from the Venetian bailo in Constantinople presented the treaty which had been confirmed by the Venetian Signoria.[52]

In view of Dölger's erroneous remark that the treaty of 1446 contains a *corroboratio*, it is worthwhile explaining why the Ottoman instruments do not have such a formula. As was mentioned earlier, the Menteşian instruments of 1403 and 1407 did contain a reference to the *tugra* of the emir which may be considered a kind of *corroboratio*, albeit a very simple one. The Ottoman *ʿahd-name*s, however, were not corroborated by reference to the *tugra* but by the oath which was included in the text of the treaty and sworn by the sultan in the presence of the Venetian ambassador. Thus, the oath should be considered the (direct) *corroboratio*. A reference to the *tugra*, as in other Ottoman documents, was therefore not necessary. Other Ottoman documents like *nişan*s, which at this period already had *corroboratio*-formulae, did not contain the oath of the

51 Cf. Chapter Four on the Seljukid treaties.

52 Babinger, *Staatsvertrag*, 232-233 and 243-245; and Mehmed's letter in *DVL*, II, no. 199, 369.

sultan and therefore needed an explicit reference to the *tugra* which was the *legitimatio* of the document. The importance of the oath as *corroboratio* also appears from the name used to indicate 'our treaties': in Greek '*orkomotikon*' and in Turkish '*ᶜahd-name*'. The word *ᶜahd* not only means agreement, pact or treaty but also promise and **oath**. Thus, since there is no expression in English which covers this meaning, the more precise translation of *ᶜahd-name* is the German word *Eidesurkunde*.

The treaty of 1446 was renewed by Mehmed II in 1451 which in its turn was renewed in 1454 after the conquest of Constantinople. Both treaties have exactly the same form as those of 1430 and 1446, although the *invocatio*-formulae have not been preserved in the texts (Italian translations) that have come down to us. Moreover, the translation of the instrument of 1454 has some irregularities in its *dispositio* which, however, do not indicate that the original form of the treaty deviated from that of the *ᶜahd-name*s of 1430, 1446 and 1451.

In the aftermath of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, Mehmed II also concluded an *ᶜahd-name* with the Genoese inhabitants of Galata. This instrument has been preserved in several Greek versions and a Turkish version. The structure of the Greek and the Turkish version is as follows:[53]
1) The combined *intitulatio*-oath.
2) The *expositio-narratio*.
3) The *dispositio*.
4) Only in the Turkish version: the *sanctio*: 'şöyle bileler'.
5) Only in the Turkish version: the *corroboratio*: 'ᶜalamet-i şerife iᶜtimad kılalar'.
6) The *datatio-locatio*: in the Greek version a combined *datatio-locatio*, in the Turkish version a separate *datatio* and *locatio*.

The form of this instrument fits almost perfectly into the series of the Venetian instruments from 1430 onwards. The Greek version only lacks an extensive *sanctio*, but this can be explained by the unilateral character of the treaty. Galata was annexed and from 1453 onwards formed part of the Ottoman Empire. Mehmed II was unilaterally granting the inhabitants a number of privileges. The Turkish version, however, has some features which neither appear in the Greek version nor in the Venetian instruments of the time. The latter versions of the instrument have neither a *corroboratio* nor a *sanctio* equivalent to the phrase 'şöyle bileler'. Since the Turkish version is a

53 The analysis of the structure is based on the Greek text published in *MM*, III, 287-288; and Hammer, *Geschichte*, I, 675-678; and the Turkish text in Hocı, *art. cit.*, 49-53.

copy made from a *mecmuᶜa* and not that of the original document, it could well be that these two formulae were added later (in the sixteenth century?) when the treaty was copied into the manuscript. However, it is also possible that the Greek and Turkish versions of this treaty differed in form. The Turkish version resembles a document of the *nişan*-type, which usually has a short *sanctio* and *corroboratio*.

The Ottoman-Venetian treaty of 1479 is preserved as an original Ottoman document in Greek. Again, this instrument has basically the same form as those from 1430, 1446, 1451 and 1454. However, the instrument lacks the usual *invocatio* and *sanctio*-formulae.

The Ottoman-Venetian treaty of 1482 has been preserved as an original Ottoman document in Turkish (the oldest!) and in a Greek version. The existence of both a Greek and an Ottoman-Turkish text may indicate that from 1482 it became Ottoman practice to issue *ᶜahd-name*s in both Greek and Turkish. This would be a very logical development since the Venetians not only traded with Greek subjects in the Ottoman Empire but with Turkish subjects as well. Most of the Turks undoubtedly did not know Greek. It, therefore, became necessary to have Turkish versions of the treaty as well. Although we have no surviving examples of Venetian *ᶜahd-name*s in Turkish from before 1482 it is not unreasonable to assume that earlier treaties had been issued in Turkish as well. In fact, it is known that the treaty of 1403 was issued in Turkish. Whatever earlier Ottoman practice may have been, the existence of two versions of the treaty of 1482 for the first time makes it possible to compare their form.

The preserved Greek text, which is not that of the original Ottoman document in Greek, has no *invocatio* but opens with the *intitulatio* which is no longer connected to the oath. Instead the oath is connected to the pledge following the *expositio-narratio*. Thus, after the *intitulatio* the Greek text proceeds with the *expositio-narratio* which is followed by the combined oath-pledge. The sequence of the *dispositio*, the *sanctio* and the combined *datatio-locatio* is identical with the preceeding instruments. The text of the original document in Turkish differs in many ways from the Greek version. It opens with an *invocatio* at the top of the instrument. In the Greek treaty of 1446, however, the *invocatio* was written at the beginning of the main body of the text and not at the top of the document. The main body of the text in the Turkish version opens with an introductory formula such as was commonly used in Ottoman documents of the *nişan*-type. The *nişan* or *berat* was a type of document which was used to appoint goverment officials and to confer

privileges. After this introductory formula, the text continues with the *intitulatio* which, as is the case in the Greek version, is separated from the oath. Evidently, this change in structure not only occurred in this version. The text then continues with the *expositio-narratio*, the oath and the pledge, which also contains a *sanctio*, and the *dispositio*. Whereas the Greek version has a *sanctio* at the end, the Turkish version has a *corroboratio*-formula instead. The *datatio* and *locatio* are separated from each other, unlike the Greek text.

The Turkish text of the instrument of 1482 deviates in many ways not only from the Greek version of the same treaty but also from earlier Venetian *ʿahd-name*s. It has an introductory formula, a *corroboratio* and a separate *datatio* and *locatio*. It lacks the usual *sanctio* at the end and the combined *intitulatio*-oath has been replaced by a separate *intitulatio* and a combined oath-pledge which contains a *sanctio*.

Whereas in the Greek version of 1482 only the combined *intitulatio*-oath has been divided and replaced by the *intitulatio* and the combined oath-pledge, the Turkish version, which according to Ménage is a translation of the Greek version, deviates considerably from both the earlier instruments and the Greek version of 1482.[54] In fact, it seems that the Ottoman chancery tried to change the *ʿahd-name* into a more or less regular *nişan* (cf. the Genoese *ʿahd-name* of 1453). To achieve this, the usual introductory formula used in *nişan*s was added to the text. In addition, another feature of this type of document, the *corroboratio*, was inserted, and the separate *datatio* and *locatio* (also usual in other types of documents) replaced the combined *datatio-locatio*. It is not clear whether the change of the combined *intitulatio*-oath and pledge into an *intitulatio* and a combined oath-pledge (with a *sanctio* added) was also a result of this attempt to turn the *ʿahd-name* into a *nişan*. In the Greek version of the treaty, which in many respects is still very similar to the earlier instruments, this change also took place. Whatever the reason mayhave been for changing the form of the instrument, at least one thing is clear: until 1482 the Ottoman-Venetian treaties were not *nişan*s. This implies that it is necessary to consider these instruments as a separate type of document. It is now also possible to discern the first stages in the development of the Ottoman-Venetian treaties. After one unilateral treaty of Type II (1403) there followed two unilateral/partly bilateral treaties of Type III (1411 and 1419). From this unilateral/partly bilateral Type III bilateral instruments developed (1430, 1446, 1451, 1454, 1479). The treaty of 1482 is the first instrument which has

54 Ménage, *Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents*, 288.

been changed into some kind of *nişan*. The next series of *ʿahd-name*s will show whether this process of 'nişanization' of the *ʿahd-name* continued or whether the process was merely an isolated event.

The instrument of 1503 is also preserved in both a Greek and a Turkish version, but in this case both instruments are original Ottoman documents. As was mentioned earlier, the text of the instrument of 1503 is that of the draft of 1502. Again there are some differences between the Greek and the Turkish version. The Greek text opens as a regular letter (*name*) with an *intitulatio* and an *inscriptio* but has no *invocatio*. The Turkish version, which also has no *invocatio*, opens with the introductory formula for documents of the *nişan*-type ('nişan-i… oldur ki'). Then both versions continue with the same parts: the *expositio-narratio*, the oath-pledge, the *dispositio*, the extensive *sanctio* which includes a second oath, the combined *datatio-locatio* and the *legitimatio*. The only part missing in the Greek document is the concluding formula of well-wishing which can be found in the Turkish version.

The structure of this instrument (1503) differs from that of 1482, both in the Greek and the Turkish versions. The Greek versions present only one major difference. Instead of the usual *intitulatio* (1482), the instrument of 1503 has an *intitulatio* and an *inscriptio* which is normal practice in documents of the *name*-type (letters). In the Turkish versions, however, the instrument of 1503 lacks the *invocatio* and the *intitulatio*, but has a rather irregular *expositio-narratio* instead, immediately after the introductory formula ('nişan-i… oldur ki'), which is followed by the oath-pledge and the *dispositio*. However, in the treaty of 1503 the oath is much shorter than in the instrument of 1482. The instrument of 1503 then has an extensive *sanctio*, like in the Greek versions of 1482 and 1503. The Turkish instrument of 1482 did not have such a separate *sanctio*, but instead had a *sanctio* which was included in the combined oath-pledge. At the end the Turkish instrument of 1482 had a *corroboratio* which is no longer present in the treaty of 1503. The *datatio-locatio* of 1503 is once again, as in the Greek versions of 1482 and 1503, a combined *datatio-locatio* and not in separate parts as in the Turkish version of 1482. In the Turkish version of 1503 the concluding formula of well-wishing is new and had not yet been included in the Turkish version of 1482. Both instruments have the *tugra* as *legitimatio*.

The fact that this instrument was originally a draft may account for the following 'irregularities' in the Greek and the Turkish versions of the document of 1503: the omission of the *invocatio* (in both versions), the *intitulatio-inscriptio* opening of the Greek version, the omission of the

intitulatio in the Turkish version, the unusual *expositio-narratio* in which the names of the Doge of Venice and the Venetian ambassador are lacking (because they were not yet known), and the great emphasis which is placed on the conditions, and finally, the *sanctio* with the explicit statement that the treaty is only valid if the Venetians accept the conditions. Several similarities between the Turkish versions of 1482 and 1503 clearly suggest that certain formal changes which ocurred for the first time in 1482 were maintained in 1503, for instance: the introductory formula ('nişan-i… oldur ki') and the combined oath-pledge appear in both instruments, although the oath in the text of 1503 is much shorter than that in the text of 1482. However, a number of important differences between the Turkish instruments of 1482 and 1503 also reveals that the attempt to change the *ʿahd-name* into an ordinary *nişan* had only been partially successful (at this time). The extensive *sanctio* and the combined *datatio-locatio* have returned and the *corroboratio* has been deleted. The appearance of the formula of well-wishing at the end of the document should be considered a new addition. Thus, the *nişan*-like type of *ʿahd-name* which in 1482 evolved out of the instruments of 1430, 1446, 1451, 1454, 1479 has only partially survived in 1503. The addition of the introductory formula and the dividing of the *intitulatio*-oath (which resulted in the creation of a separate *intitulatio* and a combined oath-pledge) seem to have become part of the new type of *ʿahd-name*. Likewise, the return of the *sanctio* with the insertion of a second oath (this being a novelty)(instead of the combined oath-*sanctio*-pledge of 1482), the combined *datatio-locatio*, and the omission of the *corroboratio* show that what were basic parts of the instruments before 1482 (1430, 1446, 1451, 1454, 1479) have indeed survived.

The instruments of 1479, 1482 and 1503 were bilateral treaties. The Doge of Venice ratified and confirmed these treaties by swearing an oath in the presence of an Ottoman ambassador. As part of this procedure the Venetians also made an official Venetian version of the treaty which was sealed with the seal of the doge (the seal of San Marco) and given by the Venetians to the Ottomans. The Ottoman-Venetian treaties of 1479, 1482 and 1503, like the ones before, should be considered a sworn *instrumentum reciprocum*. The sworn Venetian version of the treaty of 1503 has been preserved. It is a Venetian translation of the Turkish version (and not of the Greek version) to which the Venetians added a new introduction and a new *datatio-locatio* at the end.

In the period 1482-1503, the Ottomans also concluded a number of treaties with the Hungarians. Some of these treaties have been preserved and thus it is possible to compare their form with that of the Venetian

instruments. The oldest of these Ottoman-Hungarian treaties is that of 1488 which has been preserved in the form of a copy or draft-version. Although this version is most likely not the text of the final instrument, it is instructive to compare it with the Ottoman-Venetian instruments. The structure of this Hungarian-Ottoman treaty may be summarized as follows:[55]

1) The *invocatio*: 'hüve'.

2) The *intitulatio*: 'benki… Murad hanım'.

3) The introductory formula of the *expositio-narratio*: 'şöyle maᶜlum ve ruşen ederim şol kimesnelere ki benim ᶜahd-namemi ve berat-i hümayunumı görmege ve işitmege layıklardır ki'.

4) The *expositio-narratio*, in which the conditions for peace are stated. The *expositio-narratio* ends with the introduction to the oath-*sanctio*: 'bundan evvel… yemin ederim ki'. The instrument does not have a *dispositio* with privileges which are granted on the basis of the peace.

5) The extensive *sanctio*, which consists of:

a) The oath: 'kuşandugum kılıc… Allah hakkıyçün'.

b) The *sanctio* itself: 'ma-dam ki… dönmeyem'. As long as the Hungarians maintain the treaty, the sultan will do the same.

The copy of this treaty lacks a *datatio-locatio* and a *legitimatio* (*tugra*), most likely because it is the text of a draft, the official version of which had not yet been issued.

In 1495 a new treaty was concluded between the Ottomans and the Hungarians. The text of this instrument has not been preserved. However, this treaty was renewed in 1498, and this text is preserved as an original Ottoman document written in Serbian. The structure of this instrument may be summarized as follows:[56]

1) The *intitulatio*, consisting of:

a) The *formula devotionis* (By the Grace of God).

b) The (extensive) *intitulatio* itself.

2) The introductory formula of the *expositio-narratio*. This formula in Serbian is basically the same as that used in the treaty of 1488 which was in Turkish.

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55 The analysis of the structure is based on the transliteration and the photograph given in Hazai, *Urkunde 1488*, 141-145. In this article Hazai gives a transliteration of the Ottoman-Turkish text. Hazai's transliteration contains some mistakes. These have been corrected by comparing his transliteration with the photographs of the original document also included in the article.

56 The analysis of the structure of this text is based on the modern German translation of the original Serbian text in Corovic, *art. cit.*, 52-59.

3) The *expositio-narratio*. The *expositio-narratio* of this instrument is very long and ends with the date of inception and the mention of the duration of the treaty. Because this instrument is a renewal of the treaty of 1495, the *expositio-narratio* does not stipulate the conditions of peace, but simply mentions that the articles of the treaty of 1495 remain in force.
4) The combined oath-*sanctio*, consisting of:
a) The oath.
b) The *sanctio* itself. As long as the Hungarians maintain the treaty, the sultan will do the same.
5) The combined *datatio-locatio*.
6) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* of Sultan Bayezid II.

A comparison of these two Ottoman-Hungarian instruments immediately reveals that their form is essentially identical. The draft of 1488 has a short *invocatio*, while the document of 1498 does not (not preserved?). The *intitulatio* of the treaty of 1498 is evidently more developed than that of 1488. A short *formula devotionis* has been added and the *intitulatio* itself is also much more elaborate in the treaty of 1498. The introductory formula of the *expositio-narratio* is the same, although the one of 1488 is in Turkish and the treaty of 1498 is in Serbian. The *expositio-narratio* of the instrument of 1498 is much longer than that of the treaty of 1488. This can be explained by the fact that the instrument of 1498 was a renewal of an earlier treaty. For the same reason this instrument also did not explicitly stipulate the conditions for peace, as is the case in the treaty of 1488. The *expositio-narratio* of this instrument has a relatively short general part, but then goes on to stipulate the conditions for peace *in extenso*. Of greater interest, however, is the combined oath-*sanctio* which appears in both instruments and in the treaty of 1498 is followed by a combined *datatio-locatio* and a *legitimatio* (*tugra*).

A comparison between these two Ottoman-Hungarian treaties and the Ottoman-Venetian instrument of 1482 reveals a number of interesting similarities and also some striking differences. The Turkish version of 1482 and the copy of the Hungarian treaty of 1488 have an *invocatio*, the Greek version of 1482 and the Hungarian document of 1498 (in Serbian) lack this formula. Moreover, the Turkish version of the Venetian *ʿahd-name* of 1482 begins with the introductory formula characteristic of documents of the *nişan*-type ('nişan-i… oldur ki') and is followed by the *intitulatio*. Both Hungarian *ʿahd-name*s, however, begin with the *intitulatio* and are followed by an introductory formula which, though the instrument of 1488 is also called a *berat*, is completely different and in fact introduces the *expositio-narratio*. The

Greek version of the Venetian *ᶜahd-name* of 1482 does not have an introductory formula at all. All treaties then continue with the *expositio-narratio*. This part is followed by the combined oath-pledge (including a *sanctio* in the Turkish version) in the Venetian instrument of 1482. Yet, both Hungarian instruments lack such a combined oath-pledge. The next part in the Venetian *ᶜahd-name* of 1482 (both versions) is the *dispositio* which contains reciprocal clauses in both treaties. The Hungarian instruments, however, lack such a *dispositio*, although the *ᶜahd-name* of 1488 stipulates the reciprocal conditions (but not the privileges!) for peace *in extenso* in the *expositio-narratio*. Next, the Hungarian instruments contain a combined oath-*sanctio*; while the Venetian treaty of 1482 (Greek version) only contains a *sanctio* in which reference is made to the oath. No separate *sanctio* is found in the Turkish version of the treaty of 1482 but only a *corroboratio* which is not found in the Greek version of 1482 or in the two Hungarian treaties. The Hungarian *ᶜahd-name* of 1488 has no *datatio-locatio*, while the Turkish version of the Venetian *ᶜahd-name* of 1482 has a separate *datatio* and *locatio*. Conversely, the *datatio* and *locatio* in both the Greek version of the Venetian treaty of 1482 and the Hungarian instrument of 1498 are combined.

As mentioned earlier, a number of changes which appear in the Venetian *ᶜahd-name* of 1482 were not retained in the treaty of 1503. Therefore, we should also compare the Hungarian instruments with the Greek and Turkish versions of the Venetian *ᶜahd-name* of 1503. The Turkish and the Greek version of the Venetian instrument of 1503 and the Hungarian instrument of 1498 (written in Serbian) have no *invocatio*. Only the copy of the Hungarian treaty of 1488 has a short *invocatio*. Like the Turkish version of 1482, the instrument of 1503 begins with the introductory formula characteristic of *nişan*s ('nişan-i… oldur ki'). The Greek versions of 1482 and 1503, however, do not have this opening and, like the Hungarian instruments, begin with the *intitulatio*. Both the *intitulatio* of the Greek version of 1503 and the Hungarian instrument of 1498 contain the same *formula devotionis* (By the Grace of God; in Turkish: 'Allahıñ ᶜinayetiyle'). The addition of this *formula devotionis* to the *intitulatio* was apparently a novelty which was introduced in the late fifteenth century. The Greek version of the Venetian treaty of 1503 has an *inscriptio*, characteristic of decrees and letters, which is not found in the Hungarian instruments. All instruments then continue with the *expositio-narratio* which contains the conditions for peace. In the Venetian instrument of 1503 (both versions) and the Hungarian treaty of 1488 these conditions are stipulated *in extenso*. However, the instrument of 1498 explicitly mentions that

it renews the conditions of the treaty of 1495. The combined oath-pledge, which is found in both the Greek and the Turkish version of the treaty of 1503, does not appear in the Hungarian *ʿahd-name*s. The next part in the Greek and Turkish versions of 1503 is the *dispositio,* whereas the Hungarian instruments lack this part. Both the two versions of the Venetian instruments of 1503 and the Hungarian instruments of 1488 and 1498 then have a combined oath-*sanctio*. The *datatio-locatio* in the Greek and Turkish version of 1503 and in the Hungarian *ʿahd-name* of 1498 is a combined *datatio-locatio*. The Turkish version of 1503 then has a concluding formula of well-wishing which is not found in the Hungarian treaties of 1488 and 1498 or the Greek version of 1503. All three original documents have the *tugra* as a *legitimatio*.

Notwithstanding the significant differences in form in the treaties, the Hungarian and the Venetian documents clearly belong to the same category of instruments: the *ʿahd-name*s. It is necessary, however, to postulate two sub-categories: a Venetian one and a Hungarian one, each with its own peculiarities. The main difference between them is that the Hungarian instruments, which are purely political instruments, have no *dispositio* containing articles which are granted on the basis of the treaty, as in the Venetian treaties. The Venetian *ʿahd-name*s, on the contrary, are not only political treaties but also contain commercial privileges which are granted in the *dispositio* of the instrument. The Ottoman-Venetian instruments should, therefore, be considered combined political and commercial instruments.

As was mentioned earlier, some striking differences in form exist between the Venetian instruments of 1482 and 1503. The introductory formula and the combined oath-pledge appear in these instruments, but some changes in the instrument of 1482 are not repeated in the instrument of 1503. The *corroboratio* does not appear in the treaty of 1503, nor did the Hungarian instruments of 1488 and 1498 have a *corroboratio*. The *sanctio* reappears in the treaty of 1503 (for the first time with a second oath). In both Hungarian instruments (1488 and 1498) we find a combined oath-*sanctio*. In the Greek *intitulatio* of 1503 a *formula devotionis* is inserted, like in the *intitulatio* of the Hungarian instrument of 1498, which has also a combined *datatio-locatio*. The combined *datatio-locatio* reappears in the treaty of 1503. Thus, it is clear that the Turkish version of the Venetian instrument of 1482 is exceptional in several respects. Some of the changes it contains were retained in the treaty of 1503, while others were discarded. The changes which were discarded in the treaty of 1503 were also not a feature of the Hungarian instruments. Moreover, two novelties in the Venetian *ʿahd-name* of 1503 (the introduction of the the

combined oath-*sanctio* and the insertion of the *formula devotionis* in the *intitulatio*) are also present in the Hungarian *ᶜahd-name*s. Only the addition of the concluding formula of well-wishing in 1503 is not found in the Hungarian treaties of 1488 and 1498. This was apparently a new development characteristic of the Venetian sub-type.

After the Venetians concluded a new treaty with the Ottomans in the spring of 1503, the Hungarians also dispatched an ambassador (Zober Martin) to Constantinople to negotiate a new agreement. The negotiations were successful and a new treaty was concluded which Bayezid II ratified and confirmed by swearing an oath: 'padişahlar ortasında vakıᶜ olan ᶜadet ve kanun üzere mezkur kıral elçisiniñ yanında and içüb…'.[57] Thereafter, this treaty was brought to Hungary by Zober Martin. In the meantime, however, Bayezid II had dispatched an ambassador to Hungary who also concluded a treaty. When the Ottoman treaty arrived in Hungary, it appeared that there were differences between the Ottoman text and the Hungarian text. Consequently, it was necessary to revise the treaty. The result was a new treaty in Latin which was ratified by the Hungarian king on 20 August 1503. King Vladislav swore to maintain peace in the presence of the Ottoman representative Hersek oglı Ahmed Paşa who in return swore on the Koran to maintain the treaty. After that a new Ottoman version of the treaty was issued (dated 4 November 1503/15 Cümada 'l-ula 909 = 5 November 1503). The date of inception, however, was 20 or 22 August 1503. In the text of Bayezid's treaty two different dates are mentioned: 20 August 1503 (a Christian date) and 28 Safer 909 (a Muslim date, = 22 August 1503), respectively. In this case the Ottoman document was issued after the treaty had become valid.[58] In 1488 the treaty became valid the moment the Hungarian king had sworn to maintain it: 've bu müsalıh ve dostluk ve eyü konşuluk iki yıla degin ᶜahd olundı ve zikr olan yıllarıñ ibtidası mezkur kıral benim elçimiñ öñünde and içdügi günden ola'.[59] This oath was then sworn in the presence of the Ottoman

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57 Gökbilgin, *Muahede*, 369-390. This article contains a series of photographs of the original Ottoman document version of the *ᶜahd-name* of 1503. Gökbilgin mentions in his article 'que le texte turc du traité fut photocopié par le savant hongrois Prof. Dr. Fekete. Des recherches furent alors effectuées sur ce document mais elles n'ont pas encore été publiées' (note 19, French version, 389). I do not know whether this document was published after 1958. Therefore, I have used the photographs published by Gökbilgin for a partial transliteration of this text.

58 See also Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 331-332; Fisher, *op. cit.*, 88. For the text of the treaty in Latin see Hammer, *Geschichte*, II, 616-620.

59 Hazai, *Urkunde 1488*, 144-145. In the short sentence quoted here Hazai makes two mistakes. He reads 'musalaha' instead of 'müsalıh' and omits 've eyü konşuluk'. Moreover, he reads yıllaruñ (yıllarıñ),

ambassador Hacı Zaganos who in a letter to Bayezid described the event as follows: 'kırala kendü mezhebince mübarek receb ayınuñ beşinci gününde yemin etdirdüm ve ᶜahd-name aldum'.[60]

These events provide us with important information on the procedure which was followed in such cases. It appears that for the Ottomans a treaty became valid the moment the concluding partner ratified and confirmed the peace by swearing an oath. It made no difference whether or not the Ottoman document-version of the treaty would be issued before or after this ceremony. The official date of inception was always the day when the concluding partner swore his oath, unless another date was explicitly mentioned in the treaty. Like the Ottoman-Venetian instruments, the Ottoman-Hungarian treaties, were also an *instrumentum reciprocum* consisting of an Ottoman version of the treaty and a Hungarian version which were exchanged between the concluding parties. In 1488 the Hungarian version was made after the Ottoman document was issued, but in 1503 it was the other way round. The Hungarian document in Latin was issued first and then the Ottomans drew up their Turkish version. According to Ménage the Ottoman document was 'another clumsily composed Turkish version of a non-Turkish - this time Latin - text'.[61] The structure of the Ottoman instrument of 1503 may be summarized as follows:[62]
1) The *invocatio* (not preserved?).[63]
2) The introductory formula: 'nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i kiti-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi 'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 'l-menni 's-sübhani hükmi oldurki'.
3) The *intitulati*o, consisting of the *formula devotionis* and the *intitulatio* itself, introduced by the word 'şimdikihalde': 'şimdikihalde Allahıñ ᶜinayeti ile ben ulu padişah cümleye[64] galib hudavendigar karanıñ ve deñiziñ sultanı ve Rum ve Karaman ve Anatolı ve Rumeli ve bunlardan gayrı dahı nice memleketleriñ padişahı ki sultan Bayezid hanın'.

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benüm (benim), elçimüñ (elçimiñ) and öñinde (öñünde). However, not one of the underlined vowels is vocalized with vowel signs or consonants ('ve' / 'ye').

60 Hazai, *Friedensverhandlungen*, 155-160. Hazai's article contains a transliteration and a photograph of the original Ottoman document. Hazai has 'gendü' instead of 'kendü', 'güninde' instead of 'gününde' and 'etdürdüm' instead of 'etdirdüm' in the sentence which is quoted here.

61 Ménage, *Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents*, 288.

62 The transliteration is based on the photographs published in Gökbilgin, *Muahede*.

63 Since the top of the document is not visisble on Gökbilgin's photographs, it is impossible to determine whether the instrument has an *invocatio* or not.

64 This word is hardly legible on Gökbilgin's photograph and could be something else (possibly more than one word).

4) The introductory formula of the *expositio-narratio*: 'benüm yüce hazretimiñ bu yazılan mektubunı ve ᶜahd-namesini görüb okuyanlara şöyle maᶜlum ola kim'.
5) The *expositio-narratio*, consisting of a general introduction ('bundan evvel… yedi yıla degin sulhı ve dostlugı kabul etdüm şol şart üzere ki') and the conditions for peace which are stipulated *in extenso* ('bu müddet-i sulh içinde… eyle olsa haliya bu ᶜahd-namede yazılan ᶜahdıñ şartları riᶜayeti içün'). The *expositio-narratio* ends with the introductory formula to the oath-*sanctio*.
6) The combined oath-*sanctio*: 'ibtida'en yeri gögi yaradan ve yüz yigirmi dört biñ peygamberle bizüm peygamberimiz hazret-i Muhammed Mustafayı salla 'llahü ᶜaleyhi ve sellem gönderen ve mecmuᶜ kitabları gökden indüren ulu Allahıñ ᶜazametine ve babam ruhuna ve oglancıklarım başına ve yürüdügüm yoluma ve kuşandugum kılıca and içerin ki bu ᶜahd-namede yazılan şartları riᶜayet edem in şa'a 'llah teᶜala ma-dam ki kıral canibinden olmaya benden dahı olmaya ve bu sulhda bile olan hıristiyan begleri canibinden benüm elüme vilayetime ve kalᶜalaruma ve şehirlerüme zarer ve ziyan yetişmeye ve ᶜahda muhalif bir nesne sadır olmaya benden dahı ᶜahda ve sulha muhalif nesne sadır olmaya yukaruda zikr olundugı gibi şöyleki hıristiyan beglerinden birisinden ᶜahda muhalif bir nesne vakıᶜ ola anuñ muhalefetinden sayir begler ile olan ᶜahda ve sulha zarer gelmeye ve bu sulhun ibtida'i tarihi ᶜİsa-i nebi tarihiniñ biñ beşyüz üçünci yılından mah-i agustosuñ yigirminci gününden ve bizüm peygamberimiz salla 'llahü ᶜaleyhi ve sellem tarihiniñ tokuz yüz tokuzuncı yılından safer el-muzaffer ayınıñ yigirmi sekizinci gününden başlanub mukarrer ola'.
7) The *datatio*: 'andan soñra bu ᶜahd-name ᶜİsa-i nebi tarihiniñ biñ beşyüz üçünci yılında mah-i novevrisiñ dördünci gününde ve bizüm peygamberimiz Muhammed Mustafa salla 'llahü ᶜaleyhi ve sellem tarihiniñ tokuz yüz tokuzuncı yılında mah-i cümada 'l-ulanıñ on beşinci gününde yazıldı'.
8) The *locatio*: 'be-mekam-i Kostantiniye'.
9) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* of Sultan Bayezid II.

A comparison between this instrument of 1503 and the earlier Ottoman-Hungarian treaties of 1488 and 1498 reveals that they have the same basic form. However, a small number of differences should be noted. Only the copy of 1488 has an *invocatio*. The treaty of 1498 which was in Serbian most likely did not have an *invocatio*; whereas the instrument of 1503 most likely did have an *invocatio*. Unfortunately, this formula is not visible in the photographs published by Gökbilgin. While the instruments of 1488 and 1498 begin with the *intitulatio*, the *ᶜahd-name* of 1503, like the Venetian treaties of

1482 and 1503 (Turkish versions), begins with the introductory formula characteristic of documents of the *nişan*-type ('nişan-i… oldur ki'). The *intitulatio* of 1503 is the same as that which was used in 1498, although the former is in Turkish and the latter in Serbian. The *expositio-narratio* of 1503 is introduced by a new introductory formula which is similar to, but not exactly the same as, the ones used in 1488 and 1498. After the *expositio-narratio* comes the combined oath-*sanctio*. The instrument of 1503 has a separate *datatio* and *locatio*, whereas that of 1498 has a combined *datatio-locatio*. Both the instrument of 1498 and that of 1503 have the *tugra* as *legitimatio*.

When comparing the form of the Venetian *ʿahd-name* of 1503 (Turkish version) with that of the Hungarian instruments of 1488 and 1498, a number of significant formal differences may be noted. Most of these differences also occur between the form of the Hungarian and Venetian instruments of 1503 (Turkish versions). Yet, one important difference no longer exists: both *ʿahd-name*s of 1503 are introduced by the introductory formula characteristic of documents of the *nişan*-type ('nişan-i… oldur ki'). However, the *datatio* in the Hungarian instrument is no longer combined with the *locatio* as in the Venetian *ʿahd-name* of 1503. Apparently, by 1503 the introductory formula characteristic of the *nişan* and the combined oath-*sanctio* had become more or less obligatory elements of the *ʿahd-name*. On the other hand, the combined oath-pledge (a remnant of the older Ottoman-Venetian treaties) and the concluding formula of well-wishing (an innovation, but apparently used only after a combined *datatio-locatio*) only appear in the Venetian sub-type. Likewise, the introductory formula of the *expositio-narratio* only appears in the Hungarian instrument of 1503 (most likely a remnant of the earlier *ʿahd-name*s of 1488 and 1498); while the omission of a concluding formula of well-wishing in this instrument should be explained by the divided *datatio* and *locatio*. It would seem that this separate *datatio* and *locatio* was also a relatively new development.

After the rapid changes in form between the years 1482 and 1503, the Venetian *ʿahd-name* entered into calmer waters. Although the treaty of 1503 was basically a draft, the development of a new type of *ʿahd-name* can already be discerned. Whereas the instrument of 1503 lacked some important elements, the capitulation of 1513 is the first Venetian *ʿahd-name* of this new type which is complete. The treaty of 1503 was also the last instrument (as far as is known) which was issued in both Greek and Turkish. From that time onwards Ottoman-Turkish increasingly gained importance until it eventually became the exclusive language employed by the Ottomans in their diplomatic contacts

with Venice and other European states. The Ottoman-Venetian treaties of 1513, 1517[65] and 1521 have exactly the same form. Compared with the draft of 1503 (Turkish version), they display a number of changes which for the most part should be explained in terms of the draft-status of the instrument of 1503. The instruments of 1513, 1517 and 1521 have an *invocatio*, a short but complete *intitulatio* (without a *formula devotionis*) and a clear and succinct *expositio-narratio*. The short oath-pledge and the *dispositio* have also been retained. However, in the treaties of 1513, 1517 and 1521 the extensive *sanctio* has become even more elaborate. Along with the oath and the admonition the phrase 'şöyle bileler' has been added. This short phrase and its variation 'şöyle bilesiz' belong to the most commonly employed *sanctio*-formulae in other types of documents (like the *nişan* or *hükm*). It should also be noted that the oath connected with the pledge, as well as the oath in the *sanctio* are unusually short. Whereas the single oath in the treaty of 1482 was still very elaborate, the insertion of a second short oath in the *sanctio* of the instrument of 1503 resulted in a significant simplification and shortening of the first oath. As mentioned earlier, the addition of a second oath in the *sanctio* was most likely the result of changes in the structure of other non-Venetian *ʿahd-name*s. As in the instrument of 1503 (Turkish version), the *ʿahd-name*s of 1513, 1517 and 1521 have a combined *datatio-locatio*. The Turkish version of this part in the instrument of 1517 is unfinished, but it can be reconstructed from the Italian version of the same treaty which has a complete combined *datatio-locatio*. For the same reason the Turkish version also has no concluding formula of well-wishing like the Turkish instruments of 1503, 1513 and 1521. All four instruments have the *tugra* as *legitimatio*.

The draft version of the treaty of 1540 also belongs to the same category of instruments as those of 1503, 1513, 1517 and 1521. Yet, it displays a small number of differences. As in the instrument of of 1503, its *expositio-narratio* contains the conditions on the basis of which peace is concluded. The treaties of 1513, 1517 and 1521 were simply renewals of earlier treaties made in times of peace. Consequently, the *expositio-narratio*s of these *ʿahd-name*s do not include conditions such as do the treaties of 1503 and 1540. The *expositio-narratio* is followed by the oath-pledge and the *dispositio* which also gradually changed. Whereas most clauses in earlier treaties were explicitly reciprocal, since the early sixteenth century the articles increasingly loose their explicit

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65 For a more detailed discussion of this capitulation see H. Theunissen, 'Four Ottoman Documents Pertinent to the Ottoman-Venetian Treaty of 1517', *De Turcicis Aliisque Rebus Commentarii Henry Hofman decicati*, Utrecht 1992, 79-104.

reciprocity. Although Ottoman merchants in practice must have enjoyed reciprocal rights in Venetian territories and it was still customary to exchange texts of the treaties, this may be an indication that the Ottomans had changed their ideas about the conclusion of treaties with non-Muslim states. Of course, it comes as no surprise that such a development took place in the first half of the sixteenth century, in particular during the reign of Sultan Süleyman I (1520-1566). During this period the Ottoman Empire reached the zenith of its political and military power. Consequently, the changing Ottoman political ideology may also have influenced the form of documents that were issued by the Ottoman chancery. It is known that during Süleyman's reign letters to foreign rulers (*name*) were sometimes formulated as decrees (*hükm*s).[66] Thus, it is not implausible that instead of concluding bilateral treaties with non-Muslim states the Ottomans, in view of their changed political ideology, now tended to conclude treaties which were conceded to foreign states as unilateral grants. This change in attitude could be the reason for an increasing *unilateralization* of the articles of the treaty (*dispositio*), as well as for a further *nişanization* of the form of the *ʿahd-name*. The first phase of this *nişanization* had already started in 1482 at the beginning of the reign of Bayezid II and eventually resulted in some significant changes in the form of the *ʿahd-name*.

After the *dispositio* the text of the draft of 1540, like in the treaties of 1503, 1513, 1517 and 1521, continues with the *sanctio* which includes a second oath. However, the phrase 'şöyle bileler' is lacking. Then an additional article concerning five disputed fortresses is added. The document ends with the combined *datatio-locatio*, the concluding formula of well-wishing and the *legitimatio* (*tugra*), just as the instruments of 1503, 1513, 1517 (partially) and 1521 do.

Another indication of the tendency to issue *ʿahd-name*s in the form of unilateral *nişan*s can be observed if one studies the form of the Ragusan *ʿahd-name* of 1512. The structure of this instrument may be summarized as follows:[67]

1) The invocatio. Since the preserved version is a copy from a *sicill*, the text has no *invocatio*. Instead the text begins with a formula in which it is stated that the present text is a copy.

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66 Moreover, the appointment of Celal-zade Mustafa as *re'isü 'l-küttab* seems also to have led to important changes in Ottoman chancery practice. See Ménage, *Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents*, 300-304.

67 The analysis of the structure of this instrument is based on the transliteration published in F. Dalsar, 'Bursa şer'i mahkeme sicillerine göre: Selim I.in Dobrovnik Cumhuriyeti ile yaptığı muahede', *Türk Tarih Vesikaları*, II, 12, 1942-1943, 410-414.

2) The introductory formula ('nişan-i… oldur ki').
3) The *expositio-narratio*, ending with the introduction to the *dispositio*: 'bundan evvel… buyurdum ki'.
4) The *dispositio*: 'sabıka… etdirem'.
5) The extensive *sanctio*, consisting of:
a) The combined admonition-oath in which Selim I states that he will maintain the treaty as long as the Ragusans fulfill their obligations as vassals: 'atam… dönmiyem'.
b) The phrase 'şöyle bileler'.
6) The *corroboratio*: '^{c}alamet-i şerife i^{c}timad kılalar'.
7) The *datatio*: 'tahriren fi sene 918'. Since this version is a copy, the *datatio* and *locatio* are most likely those of the copy and not of the original document.
8) The *locatio*: 'be-mekam-i Bursa'.

This instrument is a completely unilateral *nişan*. It opens with the introductory formula ('nişan-i… oldur ki') and then continues with the *expositio-narratio*. The instrument has no *intitulatio* which is usual in documents of the *nişan*-type. The *dispositio* is completely unilateral and contains both the (political) obligations of Ragusa as an Ottoman vassal and the (commercial) privileges which were granted in return. The instrument ends with an extensive *sanctio* which contains the (only) oath and a *corroboratio* of the type which is usual in ordinary *nişan*s. The separate *datatio* and *locatio* is also characteristic of ordinary *nişan*s, although these two parts in the present document most likely refer to the copy and not to the original document. This *^{c}ahd-name* is a perfect example of a treaty in the form of a *nişan*: a unilaterally granted instrument containing both political obligations and commercial privileges issued on behalf of a vassal. In fact, because Ragusa (Dubrovnik) was an Ottoman vassal, their *^{c}ahd-name* was issued in the form of a *nişan* and not in any other form. Conversely, since Venice was not an Ottoman vassal, her *^{c}ahd-name*s were not (completely) in the form of a *nişan*. Before 1540 the form of the Venetian instruments was still based on that of the older instruments which were not *nişan*s, although since 1482 the influence of the *nişan* brought about significant changes in the form of the *^{c}ahd-name*.[68]

The *nişanization* of the *^{c}ahd-name* can also be discerned in the Polish instrument of 923/1525, which in many ways is a curious combination of both the Venetian, Hungarian and Ragusan instruments and clearly illustrates the

68 Even though the Venetians paid tribute to the Ottomans and thus according to the Hanafite doctrine would be considered vassals, in practice they were not vassals, unlike the Ragusans. See Biegman, *op. cit.*, 29-45.

changes occurring in the form of the *ᶜahd-name*. The structure of this instrument may be summarized as follows:[69]

1) The *intitulatio*: 'ben ki… Süleyman şahım' and the f*ormula devotionis* which for the first time is not merely 'Dei gratia' but an expanded formula: 'By the grace of God and the miracles of the Prophet'.[70]

2) The introductory formula of the *expositio-narratio*: 'bu ᶜahd-name-i hümayunumı mütaleᶜa kılanlara maᶜlum ola ki'.

3) The *expositio-narratio*, consisting of a introduction in which the arrival of the Polish ambassador and the duration of the treaty are mentioned: 'haliya… kabul edüb', followed by the date of inception (*in extenso*) of the treaty and the introduction to the conditions of the peace: 'ibtida-i sulh… mukarrer etdük'. Then comes the *sanctio*-oath which is followed by the conditions of the peace: 'Allah… erişmeye'. These conditions are explicitly reciprocal. There is no *dispositio*.

4) The (second part of the) *sanctio*: 'şöyle bileler'.

5) The *corroboratio*: 'ᶜalamet-i şerife iᶜtimad ve iᶜtikad eyleyeler'.

6) The *datatio*: 'tahriren fi… 'l-hicriye'.

7) The *locatio*: 'be-mekam-i… 'l-mahruse'.

8) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* of Sultan Süleyman I.

The Polish instrument of 1525 is strongly reminiscent of the Hungarian instruments of 1488, 1498 and 1503. Undoubtedly, this instrument of 1525 was based on the earlier Ottoman-Polish treaties (1489, 1493 and 1510) which must have had many similarities with these Hungarian instruments. The treaty of 1525, as the Hungarian instruments of 1488 and 1498, opens with the *intitulatio* (the Hungarian treaty of 1503 begins with the *nişan*-formula), but in addition has an elaborate *formula devotionis* which can not be found in the Hungarian instruments of 1498 and 1503 that only have a short 'Dei Gratia' (in Serbian and Turkish). Like in the treaties of 1488 and 1498, the *expositio-narratio* has an introductory formula (the Hungarian treaty of 1503 does not have such a formula). Then all four instruments continue with the *expositio-narratio*. Whereas the Hungarian instruments of 1488 and 1503 have an *expositio-narratio* which contains the conditions of peace (the treaty of 1498 does

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69 The analysis of the structure of this instrument is based on the text published in Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 2a, 131-132.

70 Gökbilgin's version lacks this *formula devotionis*. Ménage, *Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents*, 300-301, deals extensively with the text of this *ᶜahd-name* and also mentions the existence of this *formula devotionis*. It is, however, not clear whether the document also has a *invocatio*. Gökbilgin's version does not give an *invocatio.*

not explicitly contain the conditions but 'renews' them) that is followed by the *sanctio*-oath, in the Polish instrument of 1525 the *sanctio*-oath precedes the conditions of peace (cf. the Venetian *ʿahd-name* of 1482 in Turkish). In this respect the treaty somewhat resembles the Venetian instruments from this time which have a combined oath-pledge after the *expositio-narratio* but before the *dispositio*. The Polish instrument, however, is not exactly the same since the *sanctio*-oath is more or less a part of the *expositio-narratio*, situated between the first part and the second part of the *expositio-narratio* and not a separate unit. The *expositio-narratio* ends abruptly with the second part of the *sanctio*: 'şöyle bileler'. This phrase appears for the first time in the the Ragusan instrument of 1512 and the Venetian instrument of 1513 (or the Genoese instrument of 1453?) and thereafter almost always returned as an element of the *ʿahd-name*. The Polish instrument of 1525 also has a *corroboratio* which is not present in any of the Hungarian instruments, nor in any of the Venetian treaties until 1540 (except for the instrument of 1482), and can only be found in the Ragusan *nişan*-type of *ʿahd-name* of 1512 (and the Genoese instrument of 1453?) which has (have) a similar *corroboratio*. The *datatio* and *locatio* are separated, as in the Hungarian treaty of 1503 and the Ragusan instrument of 1512. The Polish instrument, as is the case with most other instruments, also has a *tugra* as *legitimatio*. Thus, although the Polish instrument of 1525 still shows its fifteenth century origin and has many similarities with the Hungarian instruments, it also has some characteristics of the *nişan*-like Ragusan-type of *ʿahd-name*. The most striking difference, however, is the position of the *sanctio*-oath as part of the *expositio-narratio*.[71]

Although the final version of the Ottoman-Venetian treaty of 1540 is evidently based on the draft version, a number of differences should be discussed. During the final negotiations which took place on the basis of the draft-version, the Ottomans and Venetians agreed on some matters which had to be included in the text of the final treaty. These changes mainly consisted of the following matters: additions to the *expositio-narratio* which further specified the conditions for peace, points in the oath pledge about the territories of both parties, some new articles in the *dispositio*, and a settlement concerning the disputed fortresses. At the end of the document the observation was added that the draft treaty was replaced by the final version. A comparison of the final version with the draft reveals that these additions were simply inserted in the text of the draft. Thus, instead of composing a completely new text, the draft

71 Cf. Ménage, *Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents*, 300-301, who emphasizes the 'new style' of the Polish *ʿahd-name* of 1525.

version was upgraded to become the final version. These are the most important changes as far as the contents are concerned. In the diplomatic structure of the document some other notable changes are found. The phrase 'şöyle bileler' is added to the extensive *sanctio*, the concluding formula of well-wishing is omitted and a *corroboratio* ('ᶜalamet-i şerife iᶜtimad ve iᶜtikad kılalar') is added in its place. The final version of the treaty of 1540 no longer belongs to the same category of instruments as those of 1503, 1513, 1517, 1521 and the draft of 1540. The second stage of *nişanization* had begun.

In the years between the conclusion of the *ᶜahd-name* of 1540 with Venice and the renewal of this peace in 1567, the Ottomans also concluded a number of treaties with Poland and the Austrian Habsburgs. The text of the Polish instrument of 1553 has been preserved in two copies. The copy preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia was published by Gökbilgin.[72] However, a more complete version of the same instrument can be found in an *inşa* book preserved in the British Library in London (BL).[73] The three Austrian *ᶜahd-name*s were published by Schaendlinger.[74] The structure of these four instruments provides us with information about the development of the *ᶜahd-name* in the period between the two Ottoman-Venetian treaties of 1540 and 1567. The four instruments that will be discussed are the treaties from 1553 (Polish), 1559, 1562 and 1565 (Austrian). The structure of the Polish *ᶜahd-name* may be summarized as follows:

1) The *intitulatio*, consisting of:

a) The *formula devotionis in extenso*: 'hazret-i… mürafekatıyla' (only in the BL-version).

b) The *intitulatio* itself: 'ben ki… hanım' (both versions).

2) The introductory formula of the *expositio-narratio*: 'bu şerif ᶜahd-name-i hümayunumuzı görüb okuyanlara şöyle maᶜlum ola ki'.

3) The *expositio-narratio*, in which the arrival of the Polish ambassador and the date of the treaty are mentioned. The *expositio-narratio* ends with the introduction of the *dispositio*: 'şimdikihalde… işbu ᶜahd-name-i şerifi verdüm ve buyurdum ki'.

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72 Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 2, 128-130. Gökbilgins omits some parts of the text which occur in both versions. Since this study only describes the structure of the treaty no attempt will be made to correct Gökbilgin's mistakes.

73 British Library, Or. 9503, f.179v.-f.182r.

74 Schaendlinger, *Schreiben*, I, no. 23 (1559), 59-65; no. 25 (1562), 67-74; and no. 32 (1565), 87-94 (and the facsimiles of these texts in the second part of this publication).

4) The *dispositio*, containing the articles of the treaty. Most clauses are explicitly reciprocal and mainly concern Ottoman-Polish trade and the preventing of incursions (including those of the Tatars): 'yüce hazretim… ulak almaya' (BL)/'atların almaya' (Gökbilgin/Venice).
5) The *sanctio*, consisting of the combined admonition-oath formula: '(ve) bu ᶜahd-namede… olmaya'. The Venetian version of the instrument ends with the phrase 'şöyle bileler' which is lacking in the BL-version.
6) The BL-version has the phrase 'mehall-i tugradır' to indicate the *legitimatio* (*tugra*).

The preserved versions of the text do not have an *invocatio*, or a *corroboratio*, *datatio* and *locatio*. When we compare the form of this instrument with that of the Polish treaty of 1525 (there was only one other treaty concluded between that of 1525 and 1553 in 1533) we immediately notice some differences. Both instruments have an *intitulatio*, including a *formula devotionis* and the introductory formula of the *expositio-narratio*. Whereas the *expositio-narratio* of the treaty of 1525 was very long and contained the *sanctio*-oath and the conditions of peace, that of the instrument of 1553 is short and does not contain any conditions of peace. Instead it has a *dispositio* with the articles granted on the basis of the treaty which did not appear in the treaty of 1525. Moreover, the *sanctio*, including the oath in the instrument of 1553, is situated after the *dispositio* (as usual in other instruments) and not as part of the *expositio-narratio* like in the treaty of 1525. Thus, the most striking 'irregularity' of the instrument of 1525 does not occur later in the text of 1553.

The structure of the first Austrian *ᶜahd-name* (1559) may be summarized as follows:[75]
1) The introduction, in which it is stated that the document is a copy. However, since no final treaty was concluded, this *suret* must have been a copy of a draft version.[76] Being a copy, the document does not have an *invocatio* and a *legitimatio* (*tugra*): 'ᶜahd-name-i hümayun… olmuşdur'.
2) The *intitulatio*, consisting of:
a) The *formula devotionis*: 'hazret-i Hakk… ile'.
b) The *intitulatio* itself: 'ben ki… hanım'.

75 Schaendlinger, *Schreiben*, I, 59-65. This analysis is based on Schaendlinger's transliteration and the facsimile of document no. 23.

76 Ménage, *Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents*, 284-285.

3) The extensive *expositio-narratio*, in which the mission of the Habsburg ambassador Augerius Gislenius Busbequius[77] and the conditions of peace are mentioned. The instrument does not contain a *dispositio* since no privileges are granted in connection with the peace. The *expositio-narratio* ends with the introduction of the *sanctio*-oath: 'haliya… yemin dahı ederim ki'.[78]

4) The extensive *sanctio*, consisting of:

a) The oath: 'yeri ve gögi yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün'.

b) The *sanctio*: 'ma dam ki… ola'. The sultan will maintain peace, as long as the Habsburgs do the same.

5) An additional condition concerning the activities of the Uskok pirates, which was inserted at the instigation of the Venetians: 've derya… rişdirmeyeler'.

6) The combined *datatio-locatio*: 'bu ᶜahd-name-i[79]… olmuşdur'.

The structure of the second *ᶜahd-name* (1562) may be summarized as follows:[80]

1) The *invocatio* (?).

2) The *intitulatio*, consisting of:

a) The *formula devotionis*: 'hazret-i huda… mürafekatı ile'. Schaendlinger considers the *formula devotionis* in this document to be the *invocatio* because there is no other *invocatio*.

b) The *intitulatio* itself: 'ben ki…Selim hanım'.

3) Another *formula devotionis*: 'bi-ᶜinayeti… olmuşdur'.

4) The *inscriptio*: 'sen ki… hakimisin'.

5) The *expositio-narratio*, in which the mission of Augerius Gislenius Busbequius and the conditions for peace are mentioned. The *expositio-narratio* ends with the introduction to the oath-sanctio: 'dergah-i… yemin ederim ki'.

6) The extensive *sanctio*, consisting of:

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77 On Busbequius see Z. von Martels, *Augerius Gislenius Busbequius. Leven en werk van de keizerlijke gezant aan het hof van Süleyman de Grote*, Diss. Groningen 1989.

78 Schaendlinger translates the part of the *expositio-narratio* in which Ferdinand I is mentioned with his *elkab*, name and rank, as if it were a separate *inscriptio*: 'An den Imperator der christlichen Könige…'. However, Ferdinand is the subject of the sentence. Consequently, this part should be translated as: 'Der Imperator der christlichen Könige…'. The reason for Schaendlinger's mistake is that the two other *ᶜahd-name*s published by him (no. 25 and 32) do have such an *inscriptio*. He must have 'corrected' the Ottoman text in his translation without realizing his mistake.

79 The original text has 'bu ᶜahda name-i'. However the dative-suffix '-a' is a mistake of the copyist.

80 Schaendlinger, *Schreiben*, I, 67-74. This analysis is based on Schaendlinger's transliteration and the facsimile of document no. 25.

a) The oath: 'yeri ve gögi yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün ve ulu ᶜaziz peygamberimiziñ muᶜcizatı hakkıyçün'.
b) The *sanctio* itself: 'bu müᶜahede… sudur eylemez'.
7) An additional condition concerning the release of prisoners: 've haliya… olmuşdur'.
8) The combined *datatio-locatio*: 've bu ahd-name-i şerifimiz… yazıldı'.
9) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* of Sultan Süleyman I.

The structure of the third *ᶜahd-name* (1565) may be summarized as follows:[81]
1) The *invocatio* (?).
2) The *intitulatio*, consisting of:
a) The *formula devotionis*: 'hazret-i huda… mürafekatı ile'. Schaendlinger considers the *formula devotionis* in this document to be the *invocatio* because there is no other *invocatio*.
b) The *intitulatio* itself: 'ben ki…Selim hanım'.
c) Another *formula devotionis*: 'bi-ᶜinayeti… olmuşdur'.
3) The *inscriptio*: 'şimdiki halde… hakimisin'.
4) The *expositio-narratio*, in which the mission of the Austrian ambassador Albertus de Wijs[82] and the conditions of peace are mentioned: 'dergah-i… teslim olunub'.
5) The extensive *sanctio*, consisting of a combined admonition-oath: 'ol ᶜahd-i şerifim… yeri ve gögi yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün ve ulu ᶜaziz peygamberimiziñ muᶜcizatı hakkıyçün… sadır olmaz'.
6) The combined *datatio-locatio*: 'bu ᶜahd-name-i… yazıldı'.
8) The *legitimatio*: the *tugra* of Sultan Süleyman I.

Thus, all three *ᶜahd-name*s have the same form. The original documents most probably did have *invocatio*-formulae but these are no longer preserved. All three instruments have an extensive *intitulatio* consisting of a *formula devotionis* and the *intitulatio* itself. Moreover, two of the treaties (1562 and 1565) have a second *formula devotionis* after the *intitulatio* itself. The *expositio-narratio* of all three instruments begins with the titles, name and rank of the Habsburg emperor. In two of the instruments (1562 and 1565), this part has evolved into a real *inscriptio* ('sen ki… -sin'). In all three *ᶜahd-name*s the conditions for peace are stipulated *in extenso* in the *expositio-narratio*. None of the treaties has a *dispositio*. All three treaties, however, have an extensive *sanctio*

81 Schaendlinger, *Schreiben*, I, 87-94. This analysis is based on Schaendlinger's transliteration and the facsimile of document no. 32.

82 On Albertus de Wijs, see Martels, *op. cit.*

with the oath included and a combined *datatio-locatio*. The form of these three *ᶜahd-name*s can be compared with that of documents of the *name*-type which begin with an *intitulatio*. These *name*s, however, never have an extensive *sanctio* with an oath included, nor a combined *datatio-locatio*. These two elements were evidently exclusively used in documents belonging to the category of the *ᶜahd-name*. The Austrian *ᶜahd-name*s are clearly not *nişan*s. They have neither the introductory formula of the *nişan* ('nişan-i… oldur ki'), nor a *corroboratio*. Most importantly, however, they lack a *dispositio*. The treaties only contain conditions (in the *expositio-narratio*). But as in the case of the Venetian capitulations, they do not grant privileges in connection with the peace. It is clear that they are strictly political treaties of which the form is basically the same as the Ottoman-Hungarian treaties of 1488, 1498 and 1503[83], although the different parts of the Austrian instruments are evidently more developed.

A comparison with the Polish *ᶜahd-name* of 1553 reveals some similarities and differences. Both the Polish and the Austrian instruments begin with the *intitulatio* which also includes a *formula devotionis*. Then the Polish instrument has the introductory formula of the *expositio-narratio* which does not occur in the Austrian treaties. This introductory formula is most likely a remnant of the earlier Ottoman-Polish treaties (cf. the *ᶜahd-name* of 1525). Then all four instruments continue with the *expositio-narratio*. Like in the Austrian instrument of 1559 the *expositio-narratio* of the Polish treaty of 1553 also begins with a kind of *inscriptio-salutatio* ('şimdikihalde Lih vilayetiniñ kralı iftiharü 'l-ümera'i 'l-ᶜızami 'n-nasraniye Sicizmonduz / Sicizmondus Agustus erşede 'llahü') which is an integral part of the *expositio-narratio*. Only in the Austrian instruments of 1562 and 1562 has this part evolved into a real *inscriptio* ('sen ki… -sin'). Whereas the Polish instrument of 1553 has a short *expositio-narratio* and a *dispositio*, the Austrian instruments (as the Polish treaty of 1525) have an extensive *expositio-narratio* which contains the conditions for peace, but have no *dispositio*. All four instruments then have the *sanctio* which includes the oath. The Austrian *ᶜahd-name*s do not have the phrase 'şöyle bileler' and have a combined *datatio-locatio*. Since the *datatio* and *locatio* of the Polish instrument have not been preserved, no comparison can be made at this point.

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83 The main difference between the Hungarian treaties of 1488 and 1498 and the Hungarian *ᶜahd-name* of 1503 is that the latter has the introductory formula of a *nişan* ('nişan-i… oldur ki'), like the Venetian treaty of 1503 (Turkish version). This 'irregularity' may have been caused by influence of the contemporary Venetian instrument of 1503.

However, a comparison of the Austrian *ʿahd-name*s with the Ragusan instrument of 1512 reveals considerable differences. The Ragusan *ʿahd-name* was a fully developed *nişan* in which both the political and the commercial articles were 'granted' as privileges (in the *dispositio*). The Habsburg *ʿahd-name*s, on the other hand, are exclusively political instruments in which the conditions are mentioned in the *expositio-narratio*. Unlike the Ragusan *ʿahd-name*, these instruments are not *nişan*s. Consequently, they have a completely different form and are comparable to instruments like the Hungarian treaties of 1488, 1498 and 1503, and the Polish instrument of 1525. When compared with both the Hungarian-Polish-Austrian and the Ragusan *ʿahd-name*s, the Venetian instruments appear to be a combination of these two sub-types of the category of *ʿahd-name*s. On the one hand, the Venetian instruments are political treaties which regulate peaceful relations, like the Hungarian, Polish (especially 1525) and Austrian treaties. Consequently, some Venetian treaties (like those of 1503 and 1540) also contain conditions for peace which are stated in the *expositio-narratio*. On the other hand, the Venetian instruments also contain privileges which were granted by the Ottomans on the basis of the concluded peace, as is the case in the Ragusan *ʿahd-name* of 1512 and the Polish treaty of 1553. The Venetian instruments, both in contents and in form, are a mixture of the Ragusan category (*nişan*) and the Hungarian-Polish-Austrian category.

Until 1567 the text of every new Ottoman-Venetian treaty (concluded after a war, for instance in 1503 and 1540) or renewal of an existing treaty (for instance in 1513, 1517 and 1521) had been a completely new text which was especially composed for this purpose. Even though some parts of the new instrument were copied from a preceeding treaty (for instance the articles in the *dispositio*), the document itself contained no explicit indications that the new *ʿahd-name* was composed this way. The instrument of 1567 is the first one in which almost the complete text of an older treaty (1540) was incorporated into the *expositio-narratio* of the renewal. Before this extraordinary *expositio-narratio*, the form of the document had consisted of the *invocatio*, the introductory formula and the *intitulatio*. After the *expositio-narratio* there is an introductory formula for the *dispositio*. However, the document does not have a *dispositio* since the clauses of the *ʿahd-name* of 1540 which are renewed, are part of the insertion in the extensive *expositio-narratio*. The document then continues with the *sanctio in extenso* which incorporates the oath, as is the case in the Hungarian treaty of 1503, the Ragusan treaty of 1512, the Austrian treaties of 1559, 1562 and 1565 and the Polish treaties of 1525 and 1553. The oath in the

sanctio of this instrument is in fact the only oath of Sultan Selim II, though Süleyman's oath-pledge and the second oath in the *sanctio* from 1540 are also repeated in the *expositio-narratio*. After the *sanctio* and an additional clause, the instrument of 1567 continues with the combined *datatio-locatio* as in earlier treaties, the second short *sanctio* ('şöyle bileler') and the *corroboratio*. The end of this *ʿahd-name* is rather unbalanced. The combined *datatio-locatio* divides the *sanctio* into two parts and the document thus concludes with the second *sanctio* followed by the *corroboratio* instead of the *datatio* and *locatio*. Clearly, the combined *datatio-locatio*, which is a remnant of older Venetian *ʿahd-name*s, no longer fits in this instrument of the new type.

Whereas the instrument of 1567 was simply a renewal of a preceeding treaty (1540), the *ʿahd-name* of 1573 was a new treaty which was concluded after the Cyprus war. Although this treaty has basically the same form as that of 1567, there are some interesting differences and innovations. The instrument has an *invocatio* and a second *formula devotionis* at the top of the document. Then come the *formula devotionis* of the *intitulatio* and the oath of the *sanctio*. Both formulae are separated from the diplomatic parts to which they originally belonged and constitute outstanding examples of a phenomenon called 'honorific elevation'. The places in the document where these formulae would normally have been written are marked with small blank spaces.[84] However, in the copy of this instrument in a *mühimme defteri* short phrases were later inserted to complete the formulae. Consequently, the version in the *mühimme defteri* also lacks the extensive *formula devotionis* and the oath.

The main part of the text begins with the introductory formula characteristic for the *nişan* ('nişan-i… oldur ki'). This formula divides the *intitulatio* into two parts: the *formula devotionis* and the *intitulatio* itself. The use of this introductory formula and an *intitulatio* in one and the same document is remarkable. Normally an *ʿahd-name* has either an *intitulatio* (Hungary 1488 and 1498; Austria 1559, 1562, 1565; Poland 1525 and 1553) or a *nişan*-introduction (Ragusa 1512). However, all Venetian *ʿahd-name*s in Turkish from 1482 onwards and the Hungarian *ʿahd-name* of 1503 have both an introductory formula and an *intitulatio*. This can be explained by the fact that the Venetian *ʿahd-name*s from the period before 1482 opened with the *intitulatio*. The introductory formula of the *nişan* was simply added to the beginning of the instrument when the process of *nişanization* started.

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84 On the phenomenon of 'honorific elevation' see Ménage, *Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents*, 290-304; Keçik, *op. cit.*, 62-64; and Busse, *art. cit.*, 216-217.

The *expositio-narratio* of the Venetian instrument of 1573 can be compared with that of the Austrian *ʿahd-name*s of 1562 and 1565. In all three documents the conditions of peace are inserted in the *expositio-narratio* 'as part of a letter in which the concluding party presented the conditions to the Ottoman sultan'. However, the *expositio-narratio* in the Venetian documents ends with the usual introductory formula of the *dispositio*, whereas no such irregular introduction occurs in the Austrian instruments. In the Venetian instrument this formula introduces the extensive *sanctio*. The *sanctio* is followed by the *corroboratio* and a separate *datatio* and *locatio*. Whereas the instrument of 1567 still has a combined *datatio-locatio* which disturbed the structural balance, this irregularity has now been eliminated. Indeed, this *ʿahd-name* is a very remarkable instrument. Strictly speaking, it should have been in the form of a 'purely political *ʿahd-name*', comparable to the Austrian instruments, since it only stipulates the conditions for peace and does not have a *dispositio* in which privileges are granted. However, the Ottoman tradition of concluding treaties with the Venetians in the form of an *ʿahd-name*, which was structured like a *nişan* at that point, must have been very strong. Thus, this political instrument was drawn up like a *nişan*, implying an end product which was a highly unusual mixture of two sub-types of *ʿahd-name*s.

The Ottoman-Venetian instrument of 1575 is also a remarkable instrument. As in 1567, when Selim II renewed the *ʿahd-name* granted by his father Süleyman I in 1540, Murad III renewed the *ʿahd-name*s granted by his grandfather Süleyman I in 1540 and by his father Selim II in 1573. The instrument has an *invocatio* and the main part of the text begins with the introductory formula characteristic of *nişan*s ('nişan-i… oldur ki'). Then the text continues with the *intitulatio* which consists of the *formula devotionis* and the *intitulatio* itself. Whereas in the instrument of 1573 the *formula devotionis* was separated from the *intitulatio* itself ('honorific elevation'), in the instrument of 1575 these two parts are written next to each other. This implies that the *formula devotionis* should indeed be considered part of the *intitulatio*. However, no *formula devotionis* is found in the instrument of 1576 which is almost completely identical with that of 1575. The *expositio-narratio* of the *ʿahd-name* of 1575 (and 1576) is a remarkable piece of work. It consists of a new introduction which mentions the mission of the Venetian ambassador to request the renewal of the treaties concluded with Süleyman I (1540) and Selim II (1573). Since in the treaty of 1573 the articles granted to the Venetians were not stipulated *in extenso* (*dispositio*) but simply renewed ('merhum babam tabe serahü zemanında verilen ʿahd-name-i hümayun ve ahkam-i şerife ki cülus-i

hümayunumda tecdid olunub makbul-i şerifim olmuşdı eger ol ᶜahd-namelerde ve eger verilen evamir-i ᶜaliyede mukayyed olan hususları ke-ma kane mukarrer tutdum'), it was necessary to renew both the treaty of 1540, which stipulated the articles *in extenso*, and the treaty of 1573. Consequently, both the text of the treaty of 1540 and that of 1573 are inserted into the *expositio-narratio* of the treaty of 1575 (and 1576). Like the instrument of 1567, the *ᶜahd-name* of 1575 contains only one oath which is inserted in the extensive *sanctio* that follows the *expositio-narratio*. The *sanctio* is followed by an additional article and a separate *datatio* and *locatio*. The instrument, however, has no *corroboratio* as might have been expected. The instrument of 1576, however, adds the *corroboratio* ('ᶜalamet-i şerife iᶜtimad kılalar') and the phrase 'şöyle bileler' before the *datatio* and *locatio*.

When we compare the Venetian instruments of 1575 and 1576 with the Ragusan *ᶜahd-name* of 983/1575, we find striking similarities in form and in the way these instruments were renewed. The Ragusan *ᶜahd-name* was also renewed after Murad's accesion in 1575 and its structure may be summarized as follows:[85]

1) The *invocatio*: 'He is the Glorious… are continuous'.

2) The introductory formula ('nişan-i… oldur ki'): 'The order… is the following'.

3) The *expositio-narratio,* in which it is stated that the Ragusans obtained *ᶜahd-name*s in the time of Murad's forefathers and that the *ᶜahd-name* was renewed by Murad's father Selim II. Then the text of the treaty which was renewed by Selim II is inserted: 'Formerly… In the time of my deceased father… an Imperial Charter was given, reading:… their belongings made good'. The *expositio-narratio* then continues with the statement that two Ragusan ambassadors have come to request the renewal of the treaty, and it ends with the introduction of the extensive *sanctio*: 'Now that by the grace of God… therefore I, too, have kept it unaltered, and I have given again this my Imperial Sign'.

4) The extensive *sanctio*, which consists of:

a) The combined admonition-oath: 'I have ordered that… no deviation or deflexion from these stipulations shall be shown'.

b) The phrase 'şöyle bileler' ('Thus they shall know').

5) The *corroboratio*: 'upon the Noble Sign they shall rely, and believe it'.

6) The *datatio*: 'Dated… nine hundered eighty three'.

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85 The analysis of the structure of this instrument is based on the English translation in Biegman, *op. cit.*, 56-59. Biegman does not give the original Ottoman-Turkish text.

7) The *locatio*: 'In the city… The end' ('m' = 'tamma', 'finished').

There is virtually no longer any difference between this Ragusan treaty and the Venetian instruments from that time. Whereas at the beginning of the sixteenth century there were still a number of significant differences between the Ragusan *ᶜahd-name*, which at that time was already a perfect *nişan*, and the Venetian instruments, in 1575-1576 only one major difference still remained. The Venetian instruments still contain an *intitulatio* which is lacking in the Ragusan treaty. The Venetian *ᶜahd-name*s have almost completely evolved into a proper *nişan*. Over the hundred year period after 1482, the Venetian instruments slowly but persistently developed from an *ᶜahd-name* belonging to the 'bilateral political treaty'-category into an *ᶜahd-name* belonging to the *nişan*-category ('unilateral grant'-category).

Another *ᶜahd-name* in the form of a *nişan* which was issued by the Ottomans at approximately the same time is the (oldest) English capitulation of 1580. The text of this instrument has been reconstructed by Skilliter on the basis of some (incomplete) manuscript versions, and its structure may be summarized as follows:[86]

1) The *invocatio* (?) (although the reconstructed text does not have an *invocatio*, it is unlikely that the original document did not have such a formula).

2) The introductory formula characteristic for the *nişan*: 'nişan-i… oldur ki'.

3) The *intitulatio* (?). The *intitulatio* has also not been preserved. In a contemporary Latin translation an *intitulatio* has been added. However, the authenticity of this 'addition' is doubtful and it seems unlikely that the original document had an *intitulatio*. None of the manuscript versions give the *intitulatio* and it was not customary to omit this formula in copies. Moreover, the instrument opens with the usual introductory formula for *nişan*s and it was rather unusual to have both this formula and an *intitulatio*. Only the Venetian *ᶜahd-name*s have both but, as mentioned earlier, this is due to the fact that this type was originally an instrument which began with an *intitulatio*, and then from 1482 onwards had the introductory formula added.

4) The *expositio-narratio*, in which the mission of the Englishman William Harborne is mentioned as well as the decision to grant privileges: 'el-haletü hazihi İngiltere… hayyiz-i kabulde vakıᶜ olub işbu ᶜahd-name-i hümayun-i ᶜadalet-makrunumuzı ᶜinayet edüb'. The *expositio-narratio* does not end with a

86 The analysis of the structure of this instrument is based on Skilliter, *William Harborne*, 232-239 and the copy of the English *ᶜahd-name* in the British Library, Or. 9503, f. 248r-f.250v. Cf. Skilliters own analysis of the diplomatic structure which is not completely the same (Skilliter, *William Harborne*, 86-103).

finite verb and thus the text, without any transition, continues with the *dispositio*.
5) The *dispositio*, stipulating the privileges granted to the English: 've memalik-i mahrusemizde… hılafına cevaz göstermeyeler'.
6) The extensive *sanctio*, which in three of the four manuscripts lacks the oath. Only in one manuscript, characterized as corrupt by Skilliter, has the oath been added: 'işbu zikr olunan ᶜahd üzere ma-dam ki sadakat u ihlasda sabit-kadem ve rasih-dem olalar **bendahı dostlukların kabul edüb yemin ederim ki yeri ve gögi halk eden perverdegar hakkıyçün ve ecdad-i ᶜızamım ile babam tabe serahüm ruh-i pür-fütuhlarıyçün bu tarafdan dahı hılaf-i ᶜahd iş olmaya** bu canibden dahı şerayıt-i ᶜahd ve eman ke-ma kane merᶜi ve muhterem tutılub asla bir vechile hılafına cevaz gösterilmez'.[87]
7) The corroboratio (?). Although none of the manuscripts contains an *corroboratio*, the possibility can not be completely dismissed that the original document contained such a formula (especially since the *corroboratio* was often omitted in *defter* or *mecmuᶜa* versions of the treaties).
8) The *datatio*: 'tahriren fi evayil-i rebiᶜu 'l-ahır sene seman ve semanin ve tisᶜ-mi'e'.
9) The *locatio*: 'be-mekam-i Kostantiniye 'l-mahruse'.

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87 In my opinion this text is not as corrupt as Skilliter believes it to be. None of the other capitulations in this manuscript have turned out to be corrupt (except maybe for the Venetian one from 1575 which omits a part of the text). The English capitulation has some additions but is basically the same text as that of Skilliter. The most intriguing addition, however, is the oath formula at the end of the text. When Skilliter compares the English text with the French text of 1569, she writes: 'that the oath was deliberately omitted from the first English treaty can be seen when its *sanctio* is compared with that of the 1569 French treaty (oath italicized), as follows: 'As long as they shall be steadfast on the highway of sincerity and candour, *I for my part accept the friendship and make oath that for the sake of the Nourishing King who creates the earth and sky, and by the souls of my great ancestors and of my father (may their dust be perfumed)* from this side also let no action be done contrary to the treaty'. However, the resemblance between the oath in Turkish ('işbu zikr olunan ᶜahd üzere ma damki sadakat ve ihlasda sabit-kadem ve rasih-dem olalar bendahı dostlukların kabul edüb yemin ederim ki yeri ve gögi halk eden perverdegar hakkıyçün ve ecdad-i ᶜızamım ile babam [babam is not written correctly] tabe serahüm ruh-i pür-fütuhlarıyçün bu tarafdan dahı hılaf-i ᶜahd iş olmaya') and Skilliter's italicized oath is striking. So perhaps there was also a version of the English capitulation with an oath formula. Or was the oath itself in the original document 'elevated' as is the case in the Venetian *ᶜahd-name* of 1573? Maybe a confirmed and ratified version (including the oath) was given to Harborne after his return to Constantinople in 1582. This text may have been modelled after the French capitulation of 1569. Skilliter also states that 'there is no way to explain so grave an omission'. Ménage, *English Capitulation*, 377-378, suggests that because William Harborne was not an official English envoy and had not brought with him presents for the sultan, no oath was included in the text of the capitulation of 1580. In practice, however, the absence of the oath made no difference to the validity of the document, since the first English capitulation to include an oath was that of 1641.

This reconstruction illustrates what the *ᶜahd-name* as a *nişan* is supposed to have looked like. Its form was basically the same as that of the Ragusan and Venetian *ᶜahd-name*s, although the Venetian type still had its *intitulatio*. The Ottoman-Venetian treaties from 1595-1641 will show whether this and other remnants of the old Venetian type survived the *nişanization* of the *ᶜahd-name*.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the number of explicitly reciprocal clauses in the Ottoman-Venetian treaties was still considerable. However, from 1540 onwards most articles were unilaterally granted privileges. The decrease in the explicit reciprocity of the instruments coincides with the second stage in the process of *nişanization*. If the Ottoman-Venetian instruments were indeed becoming unilateral grants instead of bilateral treaties, it is also not unreasonable to expect a change in diplomatic procedures. In 1540 the Venetians presented the Ottomans an Italian version of the treaty in return for the Ottoman instrument. Both parties also ratified and confirmed the peace by swearing an oath in the presence of a representative of the concluding party. In 1567 Selim II confirmed the treaty by swearing an oath. However, for the period after 1540 there is no information indicating the exchange of documents or the confirmation of a treaty by both parties swearing an oath. Therefore, Selim's oath in 1567 seems to have been an isolated event in this period, suggesting that these diplomatic practices gradually went out of use after 1540. A unilateral grant was not confirmed or ratified by the receiving party but only by the conceding party. Indeed, even Selim's solemn oath of 1567 seems to have been an exception, as is shown by the fact that when the Ragusans dispatched an embassy to the sultan for the renewal of their *ᶜahd-name* in 1566, the ambassador's instructions only referred to the written oath in the *ᶜahd-name* itself.[88] Moreover, there is no indication that the sultan swore an oath when the English received their capitulation in 1580 or the Dutch received theirs in 1612. Thus, whenever an *ᶜahd-name* was granted as a *nişan,* i.e as a unilateral privilege, the document was simply presented to the foreign ambassador.

However, the practice of exchanging the texts of an instrument had not completely gone out of use. In 1578 after secret negotiations, the Spaniards concluded an armistice with the Ottomans. The truce was also called a

88 Biegman, *op. cit.*, 51: 'The achname…; which you shall cause to be with a swearing by the soul of the father of the Gran Signore, which swearing by the soul of the father does not occur in this one (i.e. of Süleyman), according to what the dragoman has explained to us, but there is only a swearing, like this, according to said dragoman: 'by his faith, by the soul of his ancestors, and by the health of his children'. Therefore, it would be only beneficial that he swears by the soul of his father, too'.

'capitulacion'. This instrument was renewed in 1580, and in 1581 a three-year armistice was concluded. This last document is preserved. Its form is not that of an *ʿahd-name*, but rather that of a simple *temessük*, i.e. a receipt confirming the agreement. The instrument is bilingual (in Italian and Ottoman-Turkish) and bears the official attestation by the Ottoman dragoman Hurrem Beg, the compiler of the text of the truce. This document must have been the master-copy from which three copies in Italian, signed by the Spanish ambassador, and one copy in Turkish, signed by the Ottoman Grand-Vizier Siyavuş Paşa, were made. The three Italian versions were kept by the Ottomans and the Turkish version by the Spaniards. This instrument is clearly not equal to an official truce, since its contents refer to further negotiations which could result in a real *ʿahd-name*. However, it is clear that the Ottomans and the Spaniards exchanged the text of the truce in two languages.[89]

This practice recalls the procedure used by the Ottomans and the Venetians until 1540.[90] Thus, it seems probable that until that time the Ottomans considered the Venetian *ʿahd-name*s to be bilateral treaties and not yet unilateral grants (*nişan*). A further indication of this is provided by the corroboration of the instrument. As was mentioned earlier, the Ottoman-Venetian treaties were corroborated by the oath of the sultan (both written and verbal). However, from 1540 (final version of the treaty) onwards all the Venetian *ʿahd-name*s contained an explicit *corroboratio* (with the exception of the treaty of 1575) characteristic of documents of the *nişan*-type ('ʿalamet-i şerife iʿtimad kılalar', or a variation of this formula). This makes it clear that the *ʿahd-name*s in the form of a *nişan* were no longer corroborated by the oath of the sultan, but by the *corroboratio* included in the document. In this *corroboratio* mention is made of the *legitimatio*, i.e. to the *tugra* of the sultan. There is no mention of an oath sworn by the sultan. Consequently, the Venetian instruments from 1540 onwards should be considered *ʿahd-name*s in the form of a *nişan*. Not only because of the form of the document but also in view of the procedure followed.

The Venetian *ʿahd-name*s from 1595 until 1641 constitute a new stage in the development of this type of document. Unlike in the years 1567, 1575 and 1576, when earlier treaties (1540 and 1573) were renewed by inserting parts of

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89 S. Skilliter, 'The Hispano-Ottoman Armistice of 1581', E. Bosworth (ed.), *Iran and Islam*, Edinburgh 1971, 491-515 (Skilliter, *Armistice*); and Braudel, *op. cit.,* II, 1143-1185.

90 Cf. Skilliter, *Armistice*, 501: 'Above all, the exchange of receipts bilingually valid, the Ottoman as much a translation of the Italian as the Italian of the Ottoman, is probably unique in Ottoman diplomatics'.

their texts in the *expositio-narratio* of the renewal, in 1595 a completely new instrument was composed, albeit on the basis of the earlier treaties. The form of the instruments of 1595, 1604, 1619, 1625 and 1641 is basically the same and the structure of all five instruments can be summarized as follows:
1) The *invocatio*. The instrument of 1625 has two *invocatio*-formulae.
2) The introductory formula ('nişan-i… oldur ki').
3) The *intitulatio*, consisting of:
a) The *formula devotionis*.
b) The *intitulatio* itself.
4) The *expositio-narratio*.
5) The combined oath-pledge.
6) The *dispositio*.
7) The *sanctio*, consisting of:
a) The combined admonition-oath.
b) The phrase 'şöyle bileler'. The instrument of 1619 lacks this phrase.
8) The *corroboratio*. The instrument of 1619 lacks the *corroboratio*.
9) The *datatio*.
10) The *locatio*.
11) The *legitimatio*.

This uniformity clearly shows that the form of the Venetian *ʿahd-name* stabilized during this period. Therafter, no more changes in the structure occurred. When we compare the form of these instruments with those from the period 1540-1576, we find that all the parts that were present in the document of 1540 and those introduced in the documents of 1567, 1573, 1575 and 1576 are also present in the documents from 1595-1641. The form is quite clear and standardized. Moreover, the way the *ʿahd-name*s were renewed was much easier than had been the case during the period 1567-1576 when large parts of older treaties were inserted in the new document. Instead of inserting the *dispositio* with the articles in the *expositio-narratio*, each and every renewal had its own *dispositio*. In fact, after 1595 it was only necessary to 'update' the *expositio-narratio* by changing the name of the Doge of Venice (if necessary) and that of the Venetian ambassador, and by adding the name of the immediate predecessor of the ruling sultan who issued the new document. Although there are minor differences in wording in the *expositio-narratio* of the renewals of 1604, 1619, 1625 and 1641, that of 1595 remained the basic model. On the basis of the *expositio-narratio* of 1595 the essential differences can be summarized as follows:

'hala mefahırü 'l-ümera'i 'l-ᶜızami 'l-ᶜiseviye meraciᶜu 'l-kübera'i 'l-fiham fi 't-tayifeti 'l-mesihiye Venedik dojı olan [Marino Grimani][91]
1604: Marino Grimani;
1619: Antonio Priuli;
1625: Giovanni Corner;
1641: Francesco Erizzo;
ve sayir begleri hutimet ᶜavakıbühüm bi-'l-hayr dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahıma [Leonardo Donà]
1604: Giovanni Mocenigo;
1619: Francesco Contarini;
1625: Simone Contarini;
1641: Pietro Foscarini;
kavaliyer prokurator nam yarar ve muᶜtemed ᶜaleyh ademisin elçi taᶜyin edüb ᶜarz-i sadakat ve ihlas eyleyüb merhumun ve magfur lehüm ceddlerim sultan Süleyman han ve sultan Selim han [ve babam sultan Murad han]
1604: ve sultan Murad han ve babam sultan Mehemmed han;
1619: ve sultan Murad han ve sultan Mehemmed han ve babam sultan Ahmed han;
1625: ve sultan Murad han ve sultan Mehemmed han ve babam sultan Ahmed han ve karındaşım sultan ᶜOsman han;
1641: ve sultan Murad han ve sultan Mehemmed han ve babam sultan Ahmed han ve karındaşlarım sultan ᶜOsman han ve sultan Murad han;
ᶜaleyhimi 'r-rahmet ve 'l-gufran zemanlarında dostluk ve müᶜahede oldugı üzere astane-i seᶜadetimle olan sulh ve salah ve işbu ᶜahd-name-i hümayunda münderic olan şürut ve ᶜuhud ke-ma kane mukarrer olub müceddeda ᶜahd-name-i hümayun verilmek babında istidᶜa etdükleri ecilden istidᶜaları hayyiz-i kabulde vakıᶜ olub bu üslub üzere ᶜahd-name-i hümayun verile deyü hatt-i hümayun-i seᶜadet-makrunumla ferman-i ᶜali-şanım sadır olmagın müşar ileyh Venedik dojı ile ve sayir begler ile sulh ve salah mukarrer olub müceddeda ᶜahd-name-i hümayun verilüb ᶜahd-namede münderic olan şürut ve ᶜuhud ᶜala vechi 't-tefsil beyan olunub işbu verilen nişan-i şerifimle ᶜahd ve eman müstehkem olub ve ᶜahd-i hümayunum mukarrer ve mü'ekked olmasıyçün yemin ederimki'.

Furthermore, some other parts of the documents were 'updated' (*tugra*, *intitulatio*, date, etc.). For instance the article on the payment of 300.000 ducats as tribute was updated by adding the name of the immediate predecessor of

91 The names of the doges and the ambassadors are given in the correct Italian spelling and not in the way the Ottomans wrote them in their documents.

the ruling sultan: 've mukaddema fitretden soñra merhum ve magfur lehü ceddim sultan Selim han zemanında tekrar sulh olundukda üç yıla degin vermege müteᶜahhid oldukları üçyüz biñ altunı tedricle bi-kusur eda etdikleri hızane-i ᶜamiremde mahfuz olan defterde mukayyed olub ve merhumun ve magfur lehüm ceddlerim sultan Süleyman han ve sultan Selim han [ve babam sultan Murad han]
1604: ve sultan Murad han ve babam sultan Mehemmed han;
1619: ve sultan Murad han ve sultan Mehemmed han ve babam sultan Ahmed han;
1625: ve sultan Murad han ve sultan Mehemmed han ve babam sultan Ahmed han ve karındaşım sultan ᶜOsman han;
1641: ve sultan Murad han ve sultan Mehemmed han ve babam sultan Ahmed han ve karındaşım sultan ᶜOsman han'. A mistake was made in this latest update. This fragment text should have been written as: 've sultan Murad han ve sultan Mehemmed han ve babam sultan Ahmed han ve karındaş**ları**m sultan ᶜOsman han **ve sultan Murad han**'.
'tabe serahüm zemanlarında zikr olunan filoriden gayri sayir vakıᶜ olan şartları ve ᶜahdları bi-'t-temam yerine getürdükleri ecilden tekrar işbu ᶜahd-namede derc olunmamışdır'.

The name of Sultan Mustafa I does not appear in this updated version, since the Venetian capitulations were not renewed during the two short reigns of this sultan but were automatically reconfirmed in letters sent by the sultan to Venice.

The exact same method was also used when the Dutch *ᶜahd-name* of 1612 was renewed in 1634 and 1680. In the draft of 1633, in the final renewal of 1634 and in the document of 1680 the existing *expositio-narratio* was adapted and some new parts were added. By adding phrases like 'mukademma valid-i macidimiz olan cennet-mekan firdevs-aşiyan merhum ve magfur lehü sultan Ahmed han hazretleriniñ zeman-i ba-emanlarında' (1634) to the existing *expositio-narratio* and inserting new parts which are introduced by words like 'hala', it was possible to update the *ᶜahd-name* without changing the basic structure and form of the existing document.[92]

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92 The text of the Dutch *ᶜahd-name* of 1612 has been published in a transliteration, as well as in an English translation by A. de Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic. A History of the Earliest Diplomatic Relations 1610-1630*, Leiden-İstanbul 1978, 231-260. De Groot's transliteration contains many mistakes. Furthermore he omits the text of the *invocatio*-formula and states that the 'Turkish *ᶜahdname* is written on paper ca. 40 cm wide, 4 m. long'. However, the original document is 56-58 cm. wide and over six meter long (619 cm.). De Groot's information seems to have been based on photographs rather than the original Ottoman document. This may also explain his omission of the *invocatio*-formula.

The Polish treaty of 1553 was renewed in 1568, 1587, 1592 and1598. In 1607, during the reign of Sultan Ahmed I, the treaty was once again renewed. Although the Venetian (from 1604 onwards) and Dutch (from 1634 onwards) instruments were renewed in the new manner, the Polish instrument was renewed in the old manner, comparable with that of the Venetian *ᶜahd-name* of the period 1567-1576 and the Ragusan *ᶜahd-name* of 1575. The structure of the Polish instrument of 1607 may be summarzied as follows:[93]

1) The *intitulatio*, consisting of:

a) The *formula devotionis*: 'hazret-i Huda… mürafekatı ile'.

b) The *intitulatio* itself: 'ben ki… hanım'.

2) The *expositio-narratio*, consisting of an introduction in which the old peace ('kadimü 'l-eyyamdan… ede gelmegin') and the arrival of the new Polish ambassador ('haliya… istidᶜa edüb') are mentioned. This introduction is followed by the articles (*dispositio*) of an older treaty which are inserted in the phrase 'mukaddema firdevs-mekan ᶜilliyin-aşiyan merhum ve magfur lehü babam hudavendigar tabe serahü zemanında kendülere verilen ᶜahd-name-i hümayunda ᶜahd ve şart olundugı üzere… [articles] … deyü bu hususuñ cümlesi makbul-i hümayunum olub müceddeden… işbu ᶜahd-name-i hümayunı verdim ve buyurdum ki'. The *expositio-narratio* ends with the usual introduction of the *dispositio*, which is not however followed by the *dispositio*, but by the extensive *sanctio*.

3) The extensive *sanctio*, consisting of a combined admonition-oath: 'muma ileyh… ber-karar ola'.

4) The combined *datatio-locatio*: 'bu ᶜahd-name-i şerifimiz… yazılmışdır'.

The instrument lacks an *invocatio* which may have been present in the original Ottoman document. When compared with the Polish treaty of 1553 there are a number of interesting differences. The Polish instrument of 1607 no longer has the introduction to the *expositio-narratio* but opens with the *intitulatio* which is immediately followed by the *expositio-narratio*. The insertion of the *dispositio* in the *expositio-narratio* can be explained by the fact that the instrument was a renewal of an earlier treaty. At the end the instrument has a *sanctio*-oath followed by the combined *datatio-locatio*. The instrument of 1553 also has a *sanctio*-oath but the preserved texts lack a *datatio-locatio*. However,

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For a complete transliteration of the text of this instrument and an analysis of the structure of the Dutch *ᶜahd-name*s of 1612, 1634 and 1680 see H. Theunissen, *Een Diplomatieke Analyse van de ᶜAhd-name*, (Unpublished) MA-thesis Utrecht University, Utrecht 1984 .

93 The analysis of the structure of this instrument is based on the copy in the Başbakanlık Arşivi, İstanbul, *Ecnebi Defteri* no. 55/1, 4-7.

the Polish instrument of 1525 had a separate *datatio* and *locatio*. This treaty also had a short *sanctio* without an oath (the extensive *sanctio*-oath was part of the *expositio-narratio*) and a *corroboratio*. The occurrence of a combined *datatio-locatio* in the instrument of 1607 is especially surprising, since such a formula appeared for the last time in the Venetian instrument of 1567 and undoubtedly was a feature of treaties of the period before that date.

From approximately the same period (the reign of Sultan Ahmed I) date two other *ᶜahd-name*s: the French capitulation of 1604 and the Dutch *ᶜahd-name* of 1612. Both instruments are very similar in form and have only one major difference. The structure of these instruments may be summarized as follows:[94]

94 For the transliteration and translation of the Dutch capitulation see De Groot, *op. cit.*, 231-260; for a corrected version of the same text see Theunissen, *op. cit.*, 12-26. The analysis of the structure of the French capitulation of 1604 is based on the text which was published in 1615 by the French ambassador François Savary after his return form the Ottoman Empire: *Articles du traicte faict en l'annee mil six cens quatre, entre Henri le Grand Roy de France , & de Navarre, Et Sultan Amat Empereur des Turcs* […], Paris 1615.

Diplomatic Parts	**France 1604**	**The Netherlands 1612**
The *invocatio*:	- (not preserved ?)	'zikrü… naᶜma'ühü'
The introductory formula:	'nişan-i… oldur ki'	-
The *intitulatio*, consisting of:		
a) The *formula devotionis*:	'hazret-i… ile'	'çun hazret-i… ile'
b) The *intitulatio* itself:	'ben ki… hanım'	'ben ki… hanım'
c) An additional *formula devotionis*:	-	'rehimehümü… olmuşdur'
The *expositio-narratio*:	'hazret-i… ma fi 'l-balı olub'	'hazret-i… sadır oldı ki'
The *dispositio*:	'bundan akdem Fransa… dahl ve teᶜarruz etdirilmeye'	'Nederlanda vilayetlerine… ziyade almayalar'
The *sanctio*, consisting of:		
a) The combined warning-oath:	've zikr olunan… ᶜamel olunur'	'işbu zikr olunan… ᶜamel olunur'
b) The phrase 'şöyle bileler':	'şöyle bileler'	'şöyle bileler'
The *corroboratio*:	'ᶜalamet-i şerife iᶜtimad kılalar'	'ᶜalamet-i şerife iᶜtimad ve iᶜtikad kılalar'
The *datatio*:	'tahriren fi… 't-tahiye'	'tahriren fi… 'n-nebeviye'
The *locatio*:	'be-mekam-i… 'l-mahmiye'	'be-mekam-i… 'r-reziye'
The *legitimatio*:	the *tugra* of Ahmed I	the *tugra* of Ahmed I

As can be seen in this table, the only major difference is the occurrence of the introductory formula in the French *ᶜahd-name*. All other differences are due to the fact that the diplomatic parts of the Dutch *ᶜahd-name* are even more elaborate than those in the French instrument. Basically, however, both instruments belong to the same category. The English (1580), Ragusan (1575) and French (1604) instruments open with the *nişan*-formula, whereas the Dutch capitulation of 1612 (but also those of 1634 and 1680) and the Polish *ᶜahd-name* of 1607 begin with the *intitulatio*. It is clear that from the end of the sixteenth century onwards all Ottoman *ᶜahd-name*s which were used to grant privileges to a foreign state belong to the category of *ᶜahd-name*s in the form of a *nişan*; though not all documents have completely the same form. Thus, we can postulate three sub-types of *ᶜahd-name*s in the form of a *nişan*:
1) The *ᶜahd-name* beginning with the *nişan*-formula without an *intitulatio*: England 1580 and Dubrovnik 1575.
2) The *ᶜahd-name* beginning with the *nişan*-formula with an *intitulatio*: France 1604.

3) The *ᶜahd-name* beginning with the *intitulatio* (and without the *nişan*-formula): The Netherlands 1612, 1633, 1634, 1680; Poland 1607.

When the structure of these three categories of instruments is compared with that of the Venetian *ᶜahd-name*s of the period 1595-1641, the following two models can be discerned:

Other *ᶜahd-name*s:[95]	**The Venetian *ᶜahd-name*s 1595-1641:**
1) The *invocatio*.	1) The *invocatio*.
2) The introduction-formula.	2) The introduction-formula.
3) The *intitulatio*, consisting of:	3) The *intitulatio*, consisting of:
a) The *formula devotionis*.	a) The *formula devotionis*.
b) The *intitulatio* itself.	b) The *intitulatio* itself.
c) The additional *formula devotionis*.	
4) The *expositio-narratio*.	4) The *expositio-narratio*.
	5) The oath and the pledge to maintain peace.
5) The *dispositio*.	6) The *dispositio*.
6) The *sanctio*, consisting of:	7) The *sanctio*, consisting of:
a) The combined warning-oath.	a) The combined warning-oath.
b) The phrase 'şöyle bileler'.	b) The phrase 'şöyle bileler'.
7) The *corroboratio*.	8) The *corroboratio*.
8) The *datatio*.	9) The *datatio*.
9) The *locatio*.	10) The *locatio*.
10) The *legitimatio*.	11) The *legitimatio*.

The Venetian *ᶜahd-name*s of the period 1595-1641 also clearly belong to this *nişan*-type of *ᶜahd-name*, although there is still one major difference between the other instruments and the Venetian ones. The Venetian *ᶜahd-name*s contain the combined oath-pledge which in this form first appeared in the instrument of 1482 but which can be traced back to the earliest Ottoman-Venetian treaties. However, it should be noted that from 1595 onwards the combined oath-pledge no longer ended with 'ola' but 'olub'. The form 'ola' (a finite verb) clearly marks the end of this part of the instrument, whereas the form 'olub' (an infinite verb) does not mark the end of a sentence but connects this part with the first following finite verb (in the *dispositio*). Thus, it is

95 It should be noted that these instruments may, but do not necessarily have to contain all mentioned diplomatic parts.

possible that already by that time the Ottomans themselves no longer considered this combined oath-pledge to be a separate diplomatical part of the instrument, but a part of the *dispositio*. If such is the case, no difference remains between the Venetian instruments and those of other states. In fact, the Venetian *ʿahd-name*s are then similar to the French capitulation of 1604 and properly belong to the instruments of sub-type 2.

Chapter Nine: The Diplomatic Parts of the *ʿAhd-name*

1) The invocatio-formula

In the first Ottoman-Venetian treaties (1403-1446) the *invocatio* is preserved, most likely because this formula was written at the beginning of the main text and not at the top of the document itself (cf. the original document of 1446). Had this not been the case, the *invocatio* would most likely not have been preserved in the translations that have come down to us. In the translations of 1451 and 1454 no *invocatio* has been preserved. However, the original Ottoman document of 1479 in Greek also has no *invocatio*. Surprisingly, not one of the *ʿahd-name*s written in another language than Turkish (Greek and Italian) has an *invocatio*-formula. Neither the original documents in Greek from 1479 and 1503, nor the original document in Italian from 1517, have an *invocatio*. Nor does the preserved Greek text of the *ʿahd-name* of 1482 (not an original document) have an *invocatio*-formula. Likewise, the original document of the Ottoman-Hungarian treaty of 1498 in Serbian also lacks an *invocatio*. This may be an indication that Ottoman documents in languages other than Turkish (in particular those in Western languages) usually did not have an *invocatio*.[1] Apart from the document of 1503 (an upgraded draft), all original documents in Turkish have an *invocatio*-formula (see table 1). In general the copies in *defter*s, etc., do not have *invocatio*-formulae.

The *invocatio*-formulae used in the Venetian *ʿahd-name*s (in Turkish) can be divided into four sub-categories (I-IV). The first two categories (I and II) contain the formulae which consist of, or begin with, the word 'hüve' (He). These formulae were used throughout the period 1482-1641 with two short intervals. In the years 1573-1576 and 1604-1619 the formulae of type III and IV were used.[2]

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1 A letter of Mehmed II in Italian has the following Turkish (!) *invocatio:* 'hüve 'l-gani'. See Ménage, *Seven Ottoman Documents*, 92, note 3. However, all Ottoman documents in Italian and Latin published by Ménage have no *invocatio* (no.'s 1 and 3).

2 On the *invocatio*-formula see Kraelitz, *Urkunden,* 12-17; Fekete, *Einführung,* XXX-XXXI; idem, *Persische Paläographie*, 26-27, Reychman, *Handbook*, 140-141; Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, 97-98; Keçik, *op. cit.,* 16-17; Schaendlinger, *Schreiben*, I, XIII-XVI; idem, *Schreiben*, II, XII; Heyd, *Documents,* 11; Guboglu, *op. cit.*, 56-58; and Gökbilgin, *Diplomatik ilmi*, 54-55.

The texts of the *invocatio*-formulae:

1403: 'In nomine di Dio verasio'.
1411: 'In nome del gran Dio nostro'.
1419: 'Al nome del Gran Dio, amen'.
1430: 'In nome del gran Dio nostro, amen'.
1446: 'Al nome del gran Dio, amen'.
1451: -
1454: -
1479: -
1482 (Greek): -
1482 (Turkish): 'Hüve 'l-gani 'l-mugni 'l-mucin' (I).
1503 (Greek): -
1503 (Turkish): -
1513: 'Hüve' (II).
1517 (Turkish): 'Hüve 'l-gani 'l-mugni 'l-mucin' (I).
1517 (Italian): -
1521: 'Hüve 'l-gani 'l-mugni 'l-mucin' (I).
1540 (draft): 'Hüve 'l-gani 'l-mugni 'l-mucti 'l-mucin' (II).
1540 (final): 'Hüve 'l-gani 'l-mugni 'l-mucti 'l-mucin' (I).
1567: 'Hüve' (II).
1573: 'Hüve 'llahü 'l-vahıdü 'l-ferdü 'l-melikü 'l-mucızzü l-mucin' / 'Allahü tecala celle celalühü' (III).[3]
1575: 'Hüve 'llahü 'l-vahıdü 's-samed lem yelid ve lem yuled ve lem yekün lehü küfü'en ahadün' (III).
1576: 'Hüve 'llahü 'l-vahıdü 's-samedü lem yelid ve lem yuled ve lem yekün lehü küfü'en ahadün' (III).
1595: 'Hüve 'llahü 'l-gani 'l-mugni 'l-mucti 'l-mucin' (I).
1595: 'Hüve 'llahü 'l-gani 'l-mugni 'l-mucti 'l-mucin' (I).
1604: 'Zikrü 'llahi tecala acla ve bi-'t-takdim ahakk ve evla' (IV).[4]
1619: 'Zikrü 'llahi tecala acla ve bi-'t-takdim ahakk ve evla' (IV).

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3 This *invocatio*-formula is a variation on the 112th surah of the Kur'an (suretü 'l-ihlas or sure-i ihlas): bi-'smi 'llahi 'r-rahmani 'r-rahim kul hüve 'llahü ahadün allahü 's-samed lem yelid ve lem yuled ve lem yekün lehü küfü'en ahadün. The same surah was also used as an *invocatio* in the Aydınian instrument of 1346. See Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 201.

4 Cf. the *invocatio*-formulae in the Dutch capitulations of 1612 and 1634: 'Zikrü 'llahi tecala acla ve bi-'t-takdim ahakk ve elyak ve evla tekaddeset esma'ühü ve tetabecat nac ma'ühü '(1612); and: 'Zikrü 'llahi tecala acla ve bi-'t-takdim ahakk ve evla tekaddeset esma'ühü ve tetabecat nac ma'ühü' (1634).

1625: 1) 'Hüve' (II). 2) 'Hüve 'llahü 'l-ᶜazizü 'l-gani 'l-muᶜin' (I).
1641: 'Hüve 'llahü 'l-ᶜazizü 'l-gani 'l-muᶜin' (I).

2) The introductory-formula or nişan-formula (notificatio)

The introductory-formula or *notificatio* characteristic of documents of the *nişan*-type appeared for the first time in the text of the oldest preserved original document in Turkish (1482). In none of the original documents in Greek and Italian has this formula been added to the text (1446, 1479, 1503, 1517). Like the *invocatio*, this introductory formula seems to have been used exclusively in documents in Ottoman-Turkish (see table 1). In copies of the *ᶜahd-name*s in *defter*s the formula is usually abbreviated to 'nişan-i hümayun oldur ki' or a variation of this (1573 and 1604).[5]

The texts of the *nişan*-formulae:

1482: 'Nişan-i hümayun-i ᶜali-şan ve misal-i meymun-i vacibü 'l-izᶜan neffezehü 'llahü 'l-melikü 'l-mennan ila inkırazi 'd-dühur ve 'l-ezman hükmi oldur ki'.
1503: 'Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sultani ve ferman-i münif-i vacibü 'l-izᶜan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 'l-menni 's-sübhani hükmi oldur ki'.
1513: 'Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i giti-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 'l-menni 's-sübhani hükmi oldur ki'.
1517: 'Nişan-i ᶜali-şan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i giti-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani hükmi oldur ki'.
1521: 'Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i giti-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 'l-menni 's-sübhani hükmi oldur ki'.
1540 (draft): 'Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 'l-menni 's-sübhani hükmi oldur ki'.
1540 (final): 'Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 'l-menni 's-sübhani hükmi oldur ki'.

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5 For the *nişan*-formula (*notificatio*) see Kraelitz, *Urkunden*, 25-26; Fekete, *Einführung*, XLVI; Gökbilgin, *Diplomatik ilmi,* 85-87; Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, 115-118; Schaendlinger, *Schreiben,* I, XXIV; idem, *Schreiben*, II, XIX; Wittek, *Urkunden*, I-VII; Guboglu, *op. cit.,* 70-71; and T. Gökbilgin, 'Venedik doju ve Leh kralına verilen bir kısım ahitnamelerin şekil ve muhteva bakımından taşıdıkları önem ve tarihi gerçekler', *VII. Tarih Kongresi*, Ankara 1973, II, 473-482, 475 (Gökbilgin, *Ahitname*).

1567: 'Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sami-mekan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 'l-menni 'l-mennani hükmi oldur ki'.
1573: 'Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sami-mekan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i giti-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 's-savni 's-samedani hükmi oldur ki'.
1575: 'Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sami-mekan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 's-savni 's-samedani hükmi oldur ki'.
1576: 'Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sami-mekan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 's-savni 's-samedani ve 't-tevfiki 's-sübhani ve 'l-menni 'l-mennani hükmi oldur ki'.
1595: 'Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sami-mekan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i ikbal-nüma-i cihan-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 's-savni 's-samedani hükmi oldur ki'.
1595: 'Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sami-mekan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i ikbal-nüma-i cihan-ara-i giti-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 's-savni 's-samedani ve 'l-menni 'l-mennani hükmi oldur ki'.
1604: 'Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sami-mekan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i ikbal-nüma-i cihan-ara-i giti-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 's-savni 's-samedani hükmi oldur ki'.
1619: 'Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sami-mekan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 's-savni 's-samedani ve 'l-menni 's-sübhani hükmi oldur ki'.
1625: 'Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sami-mekan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 's-savni 's-samedani hükmi oldur ki'.
1641: 'Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sami-mekan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 'l-menni 'l-mennani ve 's-savni 's-samedani hükmi oldur ki'.

Table 1. The invocatio and the nişan-formula

Date	Original document	*Invocatio*	*Nişan*-formula
1403	-	*	-
1411	-	*	-
1419	-	*	-
1430	-	*	-
1446	*	*	-
1451	-	-	-
1454	-	-	-
1479	*	-	-
1482 (Turkish)	*	*	*
1482 (Greek)	-	-	-
1503 (Turkish)	*	-	*
1503 (Greek)	*	-	-
1513	*	*	*
1517 (Turkish)	*	*	*
1517 (Italian)	*	-	-
1521	*	*	*
1540 (draft)	*	*	*
1540 (final)	*	*	*
1567	*	*	*
1573	*	*	*
1575	*	*	*
1576	*	*	*
1595	*	*	*
1604	*	*	*
1619	*	*	*
1625	*	* * (2)	*
1641	*	*	*

3) The intitulatio-formula and the formula devotionis or formula pietatis.

The *intitulatio* is one of the oldest diplomatic parts of the *ʿahd-name,* although in the beginning this formula was not a separate unit. The earliest *intitulatio*-formula appears in the treaty of 1403 which is a Byzantine-style instrument. The *intitulatio* in this instrument is part of the introduction in which the concluding parties are mentioned. The formula must have been in Turkish since the original document was written in that language. Nevertheless, Ménage suggests a Byzantine Greek origin for the *intitulatio.* He refers to the 'first' Ottoman *intitulatio* in Turkish which is found in the Venetian *ʿahd-name* of 1482. However, Ménage has overlooked the *intitulatio* in the Ottoman-Karamanid treaty of 1444 which was also in Turkish: 'Benkim İbrahim Begüm Merhum Mehmed oglı el-Karamani…'. This is without a doubt the oldest *intitulatio* preserved in Turkish. In the Turkish version of the Genoese *ʿahd-name* of 1453 the following *intitulatio* is found: 'Ben ulu padişah ve ulu şehinşah sultan Mehmed han bin sultan Murad hanım'. Moreover, in the treaties concluded between Venetian Crete and the Anatolian emirates of Aydın and Menteşe *intitulatio*-formulae, albeit simple ones, also form an element of the documents, whether they are instruments of Type I, II or III. Since we consider these treaties to be of Turkish-Islamic and not Byzantine origin, this would imply that the *intitulatio* is also a feature of Turkish-Islamic and not only of Christian-Byzantine documents. Even though it is not possible to exclude a Christian origin completely, the *intitulatio*-formula undoubtedly has a longer tradition in Turkish diplomatics than Ménage assumes and may well have a Turkish background.[6]

The texts of the *intitulatio*-formulae (see also table 2 and 3):

1403: 'Mi che sum Musulman Zalabi, soldan, fio del gran soldan Baysit imperador' ('Ben ki… -im').

6 Ménage, *Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents,* 288. On the *intitulatio* see also Kraelitz, *Urkunden*, 13-14; Fekete, *Einführung*, XXXII-XXXIII; idem, *Persische Paläographie*, 27-32 and 51-52; Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, 97-98; Reychman, *Handbook*, 144; Busse, *art. cit.*, 225-235; Keçik, *op. cit.*, 18-24; Schaendlinger, *Schreiben,* I, XIX-XXI; idem, *Schreiben,* II, XIII; Gökbilgin, *Diplomatik ilmi*, 57-59; idem, *Ahitname*, 475-476; and Guboglu, *op. cit.*, 58-61. Cf. Fekete, *Persische Paläographie*, 32, who states 'Diese Formel [the *intitulatio*] is zweifelsohne türkischen Ursprungs'.

In the instruments of 1411 and 1419 the *intitulatio* formed a unit together with the oath and the pledge to maintain the treaty.

1411: 'Mi el grando amira Mussi bei Zalabi, el fio del gran signor et gran amira condam Basaithbei zuro in Dio che fesse el cielo et la terra et el mar, et in lo Dio che manda li centouintiquattromillia profecti, zoè el primo Adam et l'ultimo Machomet, che confirma la fede di Mulsumani e le sete scripture, et in l'anema de mio auo et de mio pare, e in l'anema mia che io averò com lo jllustrissimo Doxe de Veniciani et cum lo honoreuel comum de quelli neta paxe, dreta et lial et veriteuele, secondo la paxe e confirmacion, la qual fese in prima la benedeta anema de mio frar Musulumambei in Gallipoli, e segondariamente al Zangodirburgar cum lo ambaxador de quelli Francesco Zustignam'.
1419: 'Mi, el gran signor e grande amirà sultan Mahametbei, fio del gran signor et grande amirà Condochicij de Basaithbei che fo zuro in Dio, fator del cielo e de la terra, et in el nostro propheta Mahometh, et in le sette Musaffi che ui credemo e confessemo, et in li CXXIIIJ.^{m} propheti, el primo Adam et l'ultimo Maometh, che conferma la fe di Mussulmani, et in l'anema de mio auo e de mio padre che nui haueremo con lo illustrissimo Doxe de Venexia e cum l'excelso so comun paxe dreta, lial e veriteuele'.

From 1430 till 1479 the *intitulatio* and the oath formed a unit together, but without the pledge. The latter was transferred to another position in the document, between the *expositio-narratio* and the *dispositio*.

1430: 'Mi gran signor e grande amirà, soldan Amorato, fio fo del gran signor e grande amira soldan Meemetbey zuro in lo Dio, creator del zielo e de la terra et alo gran nostro profeta Moamet, et ali sette Mussafi che auemo e confessemo nuy Musulmany, et ali CXXIIIJ.^{m} profeti de Dio, che fo primo Adam e l'ultimo Maomet, che confermò la fede di Turchi, et in la fede che credo e confesso, et in anema de mio auo e de mio padre, et in anema mia, et in la mia testa, e per la spada che me zengo'.
1446: 'Io gran signor et gran admirà soltan Maometh bey fio del gran signor et gran admirà soldan Maometh bey [sic, should be Murad beg], zuro in el Creator del cielo et de la terra et in el nostro gran propheta Maometh, et in nostri septe musaphi, che hauemo etconfessemo nui musulumani, et in li centouintiquattro millia propheti de Dio, di quali el primo fo Adam et l'ultimo Maometh, che hano confermado la fede di musulumani, et in la fede

che credo et confesso, et in la vita et in la testa de mio padre, et in la vita mia, et in la testa mia et in la spada che io me zenzo'.
1451: 'Mi gran Signor et grande amirà, soldan Machmetbegi, fio del gran signor e grande amirà soldan Mortbeg: zuro in Dio, creator del cielo et de la terra, et in li sete musaffi che tenimo et confessemo nui Mussulmani, et in li XXIIIJ grandi profeti de Dio, o più o men, et in la fede che mi credo et confesso, et in l'anima de mio auo e de mio padre, et in l'anima mia, et in la vita mia, e in la testa mia, et in la spada che io mi zenço'.
1454: 'Mi gram Signor et grande Amira Soldam Mahamet Bey fio fo del gram Segnor et gram Amira Morat bey Juro in Dio creator del Cielo et dela terra et in el gram propheta Mahamet et in li VII Musaphy che tegnimo et confessemo nuj Musulmani et in li XXIV^{m} propheti de dio o più o meno et in la fede che mi credo et confesso et in l'anima de mio padre, et in l'anima mia et in la spada che me zenzo'.
1479: 'The great Lord and the great Emir Mehemmed Beg and son of the late great Lord Murad Beg: I swear by the God of heaven and of earth, and by our great Prophet Muhammed, and by the seven *mushaf* which we Muslims hold and which we profess, and by the 124 [000] prophets of God, the greater and the lesser, and by the faith which I believe and I profess, and by my soul, and by the soul of my father, and by the sword which I gird around me'.

Whereas other *intitulatio*-formulae of Sultan Mehmed II in Italian already have a *formula devotionis* or *formula pietatis*, the *intitulatio*-formulae in the Venetian *ʿahd-name*s do not have such a formula. This may be an indication that the original document was written in Greek (or Turkish) since, in documents written in Greek, the Greek equivalent of this 'Dei gratia'-formula ('chareti theou') had not yet appeared during the time of Sultan Mehmed II:
'Mahumeth Dei gratiâ Imperator Turciae atque Graeciae &c.' (1466)
'Mahameth dey gra(tia) turchie et grecie Imp(er)ator' (1471)
'Mehemet dei gratia turchie gretieq(ue) Imp(er)ator &c.' (1478)
'Sultan Mohamet dei gra(tia) totius Asye et grecie Imperator etc.' (1480)
'Tou megalou authentos kai megalou amoira soultan Mouchamet' (1479, 1480, 1481).[7]

7 Ménage, *Seven Ottoman Documents,* 82, 85, and 92-93; and Bombaci, *Firmani,* no.'s I-XI and XIII.

During the reign of Sultan Bayezid II the *intitulatio* developed further. The Turkish title 'Han' was introduced instead of 'Beg' which had been usual in the *intitulatio*-formulae of Sultan Mehmed II and his predecesors, and the Greek equivalent of the *formula devotionis* 'Dei gratia' was introduced in the *intitulatio*. The development of Bayezid's *intitulatio* can be divided into three stages:
1) 1481-1483: 'Great Lord and great Prince Sultan Bayezid Han' ('Tou megalou authentos kai megalou amoira soultan Pagiazit chan').
2) 1485-1491: 'Sultan Bayezid Han, King of Kings and Autocrat of both continents, Asia and Europe' ('Soultan Mpagiazet chan theou chareti megistos basileus basileon kai autokrator amphoteron ton epeiron Asias te kai Europes').
3) After 1499: 'Sultan Bayezid Han the (very) great King and Autocrat of both continents, Asia and Europe' ('Soultan Pagizet theou chareti basileus kai autokrator amphoteron ton uperon Asias te kai Ebropes kai toon exes…').[8]

In the instrument of 1482 the *intitulatio* is for the first time an independant unit which is no longer connected with any other diplomatic part of the document.

1482 (Greek): 'I the great Lord and the great Prince (Emir) Bayezid, the son of (the late) Sultan Mehmed'.
1482 (Turkish): 'Ben ki sultan Bayezid bin sultan Mehmed bin sultan Murad hanın'.

The instruments of 1503 have either no *intitulatio* (Turkish version) or a combined *intitulatio-inscriptio* which is usual in documents of the *name*-type. A novelty in the Greek *intitulatio* is the introduction of a short *formula devotionis* or *formula pietatis* ('By the grace of God'). The origins of this short *formula devotionis* are undoubtedly Latin-Christian (and not Byzantine-Christian). This formula was adopted by the Ottomans in the second half of the fifteenth century, most likely as a result of their intensive contacts with (Latin) European states.[9]

1503 (Greek): 'Sultan Bayezid Han by the grace of God, great King and Emperor of both continents, Asia and Europe, etc. (*formula devotionis* and

8 Lefort, *op. cit.,* 14-16. See also Ahrweiler, *art. cit.,* 152.

9 Ménage, *Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents,* 289; and Lefort, *op. cit.*, 14-16.

intitulatio) to the illustrious lordship of the lofty and the illustrious and the honored doges of the Venetians, greetings (*inscriptio*)'.

During the reign of Selim I the *intitulatio*-formula in the Venetian *ʿahd-name*s became more elaborate. However, when compared with *intitulatio*-formulae in other documents, it is striking that those in the Venetian *ʿahd-name*s are very simple and short. Ménage explains the insertion of extra geographical names into the *intitulatio* as an Ottoman reaction to the *intitulatio*-formulae of the Hungarian king used in the Hungarian versions of the treaties concluded with the Ottomans (for instance 1498 and 1503). As if he wanted to match the string of the Hungarian king's territorial claims, Bayezid II started to use a longer *intitulatio* in his documents as well.[10]

1513: 'Ben ki sultanü 's-selatin bürhanü 'l-havakin sultan Selim-şah bin sultan Bayezid hanın'.
1517 (Turkish): 'Ben ki sultanü 's-selatin bürhanü 'l-havakin sultan Selim-şah bin Bayezid hanın'.
1517 (Italian): 'SULTAN SELIM SACH FILIUS SULTANI Baiesit chan Imperator Imperatorum Dei Gratia Imperator Maximus Asiæ, Europæ, Persarum, Syriæ, Arabum, et Ægypti Dominus Invictissimus, et cætera' (*formula devotionis* and *intitulatio).*

The Latin version of the *intitulatio* of 1517 is completely different from the Turkish version. The Latin *intitulatio* has a *formula devotionis* and mentions a series of territories which are not present in the Turkish version.

From 1521 onwards the *intitulatio* is introduced by the word 'şimdikihalde'. And although the *intitulatio* slowly becomes more elaborate, the formulae which appear in the Venetian instruments are still very simple when compared with those in other contemporary documents.

1521: 'Şimdikihalde ben ki sultanü 's-selatin bürhanü 'l-havakin sultan Süleyman-şah bin sultan Selim-şahım'.
1540 (draft): 'Şimdikihalde ben ki sultanü 's-selatin bürhanü 'l-havakin tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin sultan Süleyman bin sultan Selim hanın'.
1540 (final): 'Şimdikihalde ben ki sultanü 's-selatin bürhanü 'l-havakin tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin sultan Süleyman han bin sultan Selim hanın'.

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10 Ménage, *Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents,* 288-289.

1567: 'Şimdikihalde ben ki sultanü 's-selatin bürhanü 'l-havakin tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin sultan Selim han bin Süleyman hanın'.

From 1573 onwards the elaborate *formula devotionis* becomes a permanent part of the *intitulatio*-formulae of the Venetian *ʿahd-name*s. Such a *formula devotionis* only occurs in the Greek *intitulatio-inscriptio* of the instrument of 1503 and the Italian instrument of 1517. These two instruments, however, did not begin with an introductory *nişan*-formula. It seems that until 1573 it was imposible to use both a *nişan*-formula and a *formula devotionis* in the same document. The reason for this may have been that the *nişan*-formula separated the *formula devotionis* (which was written above the *tugra* but under the *invocatio*) from the *intitulatio* itself. Apparently, the *tugra,* which was added to the document as the last part, graphically separated the *formula devotionis* from the *intitulatio.* However, a *nişan*-formula not only separates the *formula devotionis* from the *intitulatio* graphically, but also as a diplomatic part (as *notificatio*, i. e. also verbally). Thus, until 1573 the *nişan*-formula may have prevented a *formula devotionis* from being added to the *intitulatio* of the Venetian *ʿahd-name*s. Other *ʿahd-name*s such as those of Austria (1559, 1562 and 1565) have very elaborate *intitulatio*-formulae including a *formula devotionis*. However, the Ragusan *ʿahd-name*s only have the *nişan*-formula and no *intitulatio*. Thus, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the simplicity of the *intitulatio* and the omission of the *formula devotionis* in the Venetian instruments until 1573 was due to the use of the elaborate *nişan*-formula in these *ʿahd-name*s.

Schaendlinger, when dealing with the *formula devotionis*, states that in some cases this *formula devotionis* should be considered as part of the *intitulatio*. Nevertheless, he too like many scholars of Ottoman diplomatics before him thinks that the *formula devotionis* is usually a 'second *invocatio*'. However, when the *invocatio*-formula is compared with the *formula devotionis*, we immediately notice that both formulae are completely different in their structure, even though they are both religious formulae. The formulae used in the Venetian *ʿahd-name*s clearly prove that they should be considered part of the *intitulatio* and not *invocatio*-formulae. In all Venetian *ʿahd-name*s from 1573 onwards (except that of 1576) the *formula devotionis* is an inseparable part of the *intitulatio*. Thus, even though it is possible that the *formula devotionis* graphically precedes the *tugra* (and this is usual when there is no *nişan*-formula), this formula should always be considered part of the *intitulatio*. Undoubtedly, the most convincing proof of this is that every document which

has a *formula devotionis* also has an *intitulatio*. However, the omission of the *invocatio* in these documents (whatever the reason may be) does not justify the assumption that the *formula devotionis* is an *invocatio in extenso*.[11]

Schaendlinger also remarks: 'Die bei Fekete angeführte Devotionsformel Allahuñ ᶜinayetiyle [i.e 'dei gratia', 'chareti theou'] "durch die Gnade Allahs" kommt in unseren Urkunden im wesentlichen nur im Kontext vor und nicht im Zusammenhang mit der Intitulatio und besitzt den eigentlichen Charakter einer Formula devotionis nicht, da sie sich nicht auf die Titel des Sultans bezieht'.[12] However, in early Ottoman documents from the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century 'Allahıñ ᶜinayetiyle' or its equivalent in Greek, Italian or Latin, often appears as part of the *intitulatio* (see above). Moreover, the (abbreviated) *formula devotionis* in the copy of the Venetian *ᶜahd-name* of 1573 in a *Mühimme Defteri* is also a variation of this 'Allahıñ ᶜinayetiyle': 'Hazret-i hakkıñ ᶜinayetiyle'.

From circa 1525 onwards, as part of the 'new style' of the Ottoman chancery, Ottoman-Turkish was exclusively used as the diplomatic language of the *ᶜahd-name*s instead of foreign languages (Greek, Latin, Italian). Together with the adoption of Ottoman-Turkish as the diplomatic language *par excellence* the *formula devotionis* in Ottoman-Turkish further developed. Ménage has convincingly shown that the elaborate *formula devotionis* in Ottoman-Turkish evolved from the short, originally Christian 'Dei Gratia' under Mongol-Crimean influence. Moreover, the new elaborate *formula devotionis* was not written next to the *intitulatio* itself (of which the *formula devotionis* formed part), as had been the practice but was 'elevated'. Thus, the *formula devotionis*, in which God, the Prophet Muhammed, and sometimes the four orthodox caliphs ('hulefa-i raşidin') and other holy men are mentioned, graphically precedes the name of the sultan, both his *intitulatio* as well as his *tugra*. This 'honorific elevation', which ultimately goes back to Chinese practice, was introduced around 1525 but in the Venetian series was only used in the remarkable Venetian *ᶜahd-name* of 1573, where not only the *formula devotionis* but also the oath of the sultan were 'elevated'. However, in the Venetian *ᶜahd-*

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11 Cf. Schaendlinger, *Schreiben,* I, XIII-XXI. On the *intitulatio* and the *formula devotionis* (*invocatio in extenso* or 'second *invocatio*') see also Kraelitz, *Urkunden*, 13-14; Fekete, *Einführung*, XXXII-XXXIII; idem, *Persische Paläographie*, 27-32 and 51-52; Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, 97-98; Busse, *art. cit.*, 25-35; Reychman, *Handbook*, 144; Guboglu, *op. cit.,* 58-61; and Gökbilgin, *Diplomatik ilmi*, 57-59.

12 Schaendlinger, *Schreiben,* I, XVIII-XIX. Schaendlinger, *Schreiben,* II, XIII, states 'Die Intitulatio was ausschliesslich den Urkunden vom Typus *name* vorbehalten, wo sie allerdings auch nicht immer angewendet wurde'. The Venetian *ᶜahd-name*s, however, prove that documents of the *nişan*-type could also have an *intitulatio* and a *formula devotionis*.

*name*s after 1573 the *formula devotionis* was no longer 'elevated', most probably because of the use of the *nişan*-formula which must have disturbed the balance of the instrument. In the Dutch *ᶜahd-name* of 1612, however, which does not begin with the *nişan*-formula, the *formula devotionis* is 'elevated', as must have been the normal practice.[13]

1573 (document): 'Hakk sübhane ve teᶜalanuñ ᶜulüvv-i ᶜinayeti ve sultan-i enbiya peygamberimüz Muhammed Mustafa salla 'llahü teᶜala ᶜaleyhi ve sellemüñ muᶜcizat-i kesiretü 'l-berekatları mukareneti ile (*formula devotionis*)'.
1573 (*mühimme*): 'Hazret-i hakkıñ ᶜinayetiyle' (*formula devotionis*).
1573: 'Ben ki sultanü 's-selatin bürhanü 'l-havakin tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin sultan Selim han bin sultan Süleyman han bin sultan Selim hanım' (*intitulatio*).
1575: 'Hazret-i hakk sübhane ve teᶜalanıñ ᶜulüvv-i ᶜinayeti ve sultan-i enbiya peygamberimiz Muhammed Mustafa salla 'llahü ᶜaleyh ve sellemiñ muᶜcizat-i kesiretü 'l-berekatı ve çehar yar-i ᶜızam ᶜaleyhim rızvanü 'llahi 'l-meliki 'l-ᶜallamıñ sümüvv-i himmetleri mukareneti ile' (*formula devotionis*).
'Ben ki sultanü 's-selatin bürhanü 'l-havakin tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin sultan Murad han bin sultan Selim han bin sultan Süleyman han bin sultan Selim hanım' (*intitulatio*).
1576: 'Şimdikihalde ben ki sultanü 's-selatin bürhanü 'l-havakin tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin sultan Murad han bin sultan Selim han bin sultan Süleyman bin sultan Selim hanım' (*intitulatio*).
1595: 'Şimdikihalde ᶜavn-i ᶜinayet-i rebbani ve meşiyet-i hidayet-i sübhani mukareneti ile' (*formula devotionis*).
'Ben ki sultan-i selatin-i cihan ve bürhan-i havakin-i devran tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin sultan Mehemmed han ibn sultan Murad han ibn sultan Selim han ibn sultan Süleyman han ibn sultan Selim hanım (*intitulatio*)'.
1604: 'Şimdikihalde ᶜavn-i ᶜinayet-i rebbani ve meşiyet-i hidayet-i sübhani mukareneti ile' (*formula devotionis*).
'Ben ki sultan-i selatin-i cihan ve bürhan-i havakin-i devran tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin sultan Ahmed han ibn sultan Mehemmed han ibn

13 Ménage, *Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents*, 290-302. Cf. Busse, *art. cit.*, 216-217; Fekete, *Persische Paläographie*, 55-56; and Keçik, *op. cit.*, 62-64 who also describe this 'honorific elevation' (for the Persian and Ak Koyunlu chancery). Cf. Fekete, *Persische Paläographie*, 38: 'Auf den osmanisch-türkischen Amtserlassen kam ein auf den Rand gesetzter Textteil gewönlich nicht vor. Nur den Namen Allah oder irgendein Epitheton Allahs pflegte man dort hinzuschreiben, zuweilen mit goldener Tinte'.

sultan Murad han ibn sultan Selim han ibn sultan Süleyman han ibn sultan Selim hanım' (*intitulatio*).
1619: 'Şimdikihalde ᶜavn-i ᶜinayet-i rebbani ve meşiyet-i hidayet-i sübhani mukareneti ile' (*formula devotionis*).
'Ben ki sultan-i selatin-i cihan ve bürhan-i havakin-i devran tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin sultan ᶜOsman han bin sultan Ahmed han bin sultan Mehemmed han ibn sultan Murad han ibn sultan Selim han ibn sultan Süleyman han ibn sultan Selim hanım' (*intitulatio*).
1625: 'Şimdikihalde ᶜavn-i ᶜinayet-i rebbani ve meşiyet-i hidayet-i sübhani mukareneti ile' (*formula devotionis*).
'Ben ki sultan-i selatin-i cihan ve bürhan-i havakin-i devran tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin sultan Murad han ibn sultan Ahmed han ibn sultan Mehemmed han ibn sultan Murad han ibn sultan Selim han ibn sultan Süleyman han ibn sultan Selim hanım' (*intitulatio*).
1641: 'Şimdikihalde ᶜavn ve ᶜinayet-i rebbani ve meşiyet-i hidayet-i sübhani mukareneti ile' (*formula devotionis*).
'Benki sultan-i selatin-i cihan ve bürhan-i havakin-i devran tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin sultan İbrahim han ibn sultan Ahmed han ibn sultan Mehemmed han ibn sultan Murad han ibn sultan Selim han ibn sultan Süleyman han ibn sultan Selim hanım' (*intitulatio*).

Table 2. The intitulatio, oath and pledge

Date	***Intitulatio*-oath-pledge**	***Intitulatio*-oath and separate pledge**	***Intitulatio* and combined oath-pledge**	***Intitulatio,* oath- pledge and oath-*sanctio***
1403	only *intitulatio*	-	-	-
1411	*	-	-	-
1419	*	-	-	-
1430	-	*	-	-
1446	-	*	-	-
1451	-	*	-	-
1454	-	*	-	-
1479	-	*	-	-
1482 (Turkish)	-	-	* + *sanctio*	-
1482 (Greek)	-	-	*	-
1503 (Turkish)	-	-	-	* no *intitulatio*
1503 (Greek)	-	-	-	* + *inscriptio*
1513	-	-	-	*
1517 (Turkish)	-	-	-	*
1517 (Italian)	-	-	-	*
1521	-	-	-	*
1540 (draft)	-	-	-	*
1540 (final)	-	-	-	*
1567	-	-	-	*14
1573	-	-	-	*
1575	-	-	-	*
1576	-	-	-	*
1595	-	-	-	*
1604	-	-	-	*
1619	-	-	-	*
1625	-	-	-	*
1641	-	-	-	*

14 The instruments of 1567, 1573, 1575 and 1576 have no oath-pledge. In the texts of 1567, 1575 and 1576, the oath-pledge is included in the inserted text of 1540.

Table 3. The intitulatio, formula devotionis and inscriptio-salutatio

Date	***Intitulatio***	***Formula devotionis***	**Indirect *inscriptio***	**+ *Salutatio***
1403	*	-	-	-
1411	*	-	-	-
1419	*	-	-	-
1430	*	-	-	-
1446	*	-	-	-
1451	*	-	-	-
1454	*	-	-	-
1479	*	-	-	-
1482 (Turkish)	*	-	*	-
1482 (Greek)	*	-	-	-
1503 (Turkish)	-	-	-	-
1503 (Greek)	*	*	*	-
1513	*	-	-	-
1517 (Turkish)	*	-	-	-
1517 (Italian)	*	-	-	-
1521	*	-	-	-
1540 (draft)	*	-	-	-
1540 (final)	*	-	-	-
1567	*	-	*	*
1573	*	*	*	*
1575	*	*	*	*
1576	*	-	*	*
1595	*	*	*	*
1604	*	*	*	*
1619	*	*	*	*
1625	*	*	*	*
1641	*	*	*	*

4) The indirect inscriptio-salutatio

Although the *inscriptio-salutatio* is not generally a standard diplomatic part of *ʿahd-name*s, it should be noted that in some documents *inscriptio*-like formulae are to be found. *Inscriptio-salutatio*-formulae usually appear in documents of the *hükm*-type, or documents opening with an *intitulatio* (especially those of the *name*-type). Documents of the *nişan*-type, however, do not have *inscriptio-salutatio*-formulae, simply because they are not addressed to a particular person. In the Austrian *ʿahd-name*s of 1559, 1562 and 1565 which are not *ʿahd-name*s of the (later) *nişan*-type, the *intitulatio* was followed by an *inscriptio* which in two documents even has the characteristic words: 'sen ki… -sin' (1562 and 1565). In these two cases we may speak of a real *inscriptio* which according to Ménage is 'deliberately derogatory'.[15] However, in the first document (1559) the characteristic phrase 'sen ki… -sin' is not used. Instead the word 'haliya' is used and it introduces the *expositio-narratio*. In the document of 1565 the *inscriptio* opens with the comparable 'şimdiki halde' but later the characteristic words 'sen ki… -sin' are added to the *inscriptio*. Consequently, the *inscriptio*-like sentence in the instrument of 1559 which lacks this feature can not be considered a real *inscriptio* addressed to a particular person. Apparently, the *inscriptio* of the draft instrument of 1559 was a somewhat underdeveloped predecessor of the *inscriptio*-formulae in the instruments of 1562 and 1565.[16]

However, in documents of the *nişan*-type the person who is appointed or who obtains a privilege from the sultan is usually mentioned. In many cases this person is not only mentioned by name but his titles, rank, etc. are given as well. Although this can not be considered a real *inscriptio* simply because the document is not addressed to the receiver of the privilege, the similarities in formulation are often striking. If the document had been a *hükm* directed to the same person, most likely the same titles (*elkab*) would have been used. Thus, for the purpose of the classification of the diplomatic parts in documents of the *nişan*-type, it is necessary to create a new category of

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15 Ménage, *Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents*, 289-290. For the Austrian documents see Schaendlinger, *Schreiben*, I, no.'s 23, 59-65; 25, 67-74; and 32, 87-94.

16 Ménage, *Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents*, 289-290. On the *inscriptio-salutatio* see Kraelitz, *Urkunden,* 23-25; Fekete, *Einführung,* XXXII-XXXVIII; idem, *Persische Paläographie*, 32-34 and 44-54; Reychman, *Handbook,* 144-146; Heyd, *Documents*, 11-12; Keçik, *op. cit.,* 25-33; Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen,* 98-99 and 104-105; Gökbilgin, *Diplomatik ilmi*, 59-70; Guboglu, *op. cit.*, 61-65; Schaendlinger, *Schreiben*, I, XXII-XXIV; and idem, *Schreiben,* II, XIII-XIX.

inscriptio-formulae. This *inscriptio* may be called an indirect *inscriptio*, in distinction from the (direct) *inscriptio*. An indirect *inscriptio* was used in documents (especially of the *nişan*-type) to indicate the receiver of the document who was not, however, the addressee. Especially from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, most *ʿahd-name*s of the *nişan*-type contain an indirect *inscriptio in extenso*. In this indirect *inscriptio* the ruler(s) of the state to which the privileges are granted is (are) mentioned, not only by name but often with extensive titles (*elkab*). The indirect *inscriptio-salutatio* is always part of the *expositio-narratio,* which often begins with this formula. As in the Austrian treaty of 1559, the indirect *inscriptio-salutatio* (or more accurately the *expositio-narratio* of which the indirect *inscriptio-salutatio* is a part) usually begins with words like 'hala' or 'şimdikihalde'. The usual *salutatio*-formula in the Venetian *ʿahd-name*s is 'hutimet ʿavakıbühü bi-'l-hayr'. In addition to this, the Venetian ambassador whose name also appears in the *expositio-narratio* is often mentioned along with his titles.

The texts of the *expositio-narratio*s containing the indirect *inscriptio-salutatio*-formulae (see also Table 3):

1482: 'Bi-ʿavni 'llah teʿala serir-i saltanete cülus-i hümayunum vakıʿ olub etrafdan ümera' ve selatin ʿatebe-i ʿulyama müraceʿat edib müsaleha ve müʿahede etdiklerinde benim re'y-i cihan-arayıma şöyle zahir oldı ki bundan evvel çün benim babam hudavendgar enare 'llahü bürhanehü **ʿumde 'l-ümera' Venedik dukası Yuvan Mocenigo ve sayir begleriyle** dostluk ve mehabbet ve müsaleha eylemişlerdi bendahı gördüm anlarıñla müsaleha etmek sebeb-i intizam-i ümur-i memleketdir la cerem ʿalem-i dünyada dostluk ve mehabbet fevkında hiç nesne olmaz imdi bendahı müsaleha etmege mayil olub **ʿumdetü 'l-ümera' Venedik dukası Yuvan Mocenigo ve erkan-i devleti ve sayir begleri ile** ve halkı ile dostluk ve mehabbet bünyadın eyleyem şimdikihalde mezkur begler **fahrü 'l-aʿyan zu 'l-ʿakli 'l-etemm Andoniya Vituriyi** ʿatebe-i ʿulyama elçilige ve aramızda olan dostluk ve mehabbet esasını mühkem etmege ve bu ʿahd-namede vakıʿ olan şerayıtı mukarrer kılmaga gönderdikleri sebebden bendahı anlarıñ müsalehaların ve ʿahdların kabul edib' (indirect *inscriptio-salutatio* and *elkab* of the Venetian ambassador).
1503: 'El-haletü hazihi Venedik beglerinden dergah-i ʿalem-penahıma elçi gelüb aralıkda sulh ve salah olmak taleb etdikleri ecilden bendahı şol vech üzere sulhı kabul etdim ki' (no indirect *inscriptio-salutatio*).

1513: 'Şimdikihalde **Venedik dojı Leonardo Loredan** südde-i ᶜazamet-penah ve ᶜatebe-i ᶜaliye-i celalet-destgahıma yarar ve muᶜtemed ademleri Anton Custiniyanı elçilige gönderüb ᶜarz-i ihlas ve mehabbet ve iᶜlam-i ihtisas ve meveddet edüb' (simple indirect *inscriptio*).
1517 (Turkish): 'Haliya **Venedik dojı olan Lonardo Loredan** dahı Bartalmiye ve Alvise Mocenigo nam yarar beglerini elçi taᶜyin edüb dergah-i cihan-penahıma irsal edüb ᶜarz-i ihlas ve mehabbet ve iᶜlam-i ihtisas ve meveddet edüb' (simple indirect *inscriptio*).
1517 (Italian): 'Et alpresente **il ditto serenissimo Dose di Venetia Misier Leonardo Lauredano** ha mandato Misier Bartholomio Contarini, et Misier Alvise Mocenigo cavallier sui degni Zentilhomeni à la mia altissima et gloriosa corte per demostrar lo amore et amicitia real et pace antiqua che era fra nui, et per firmarla et corroborarla di ben in meglio' (simple indirect *inscriptio*).
1521: 'Haliya **Venedik dojı olan Anton Griman** südde-i ᶜazamet-penah ve ᶜatebe-i ᶜaliye-i celalet-destgahıma yarar ve muᶜtemed ademlerinden Marko Miniyoyı elçilige gönderüb ᶜarz-i ihlas ve mehabbet ve iᶜlam-i ihtisas ve meveddet edüb' (simple indirect *inscriptio*).
1540 (draft): '**Venedik dojı olan Petro Lando** dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahıma Alovize Nando nam yarar ademini elçi taᶜyin edüb yüce astanıma ᶜarz-i ᶜubudiyet ve ihlas eyleyüb' (simple indirect *inscriptio*).
1540 (final version): '**Venedik dojı olan Petro Lando** dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahıma Alovize Bador nam yarar ve muᶜtemed ademisin elçi taᶜyin edüb yüce astanıma ᶜarz-i ᶜubudiyet ve ihlas eyleyüb' (simple indirect *inscriptio*).
1567: 'Haliya **Venedik dojı olan Yironimo Priyul erşedehü 'llahü teᶜala** astane-i seᶜadetime Marin Kavali kavaliyer nam elçisi ile mektub gönderüb' (indirect *inscriptio-salutatio*).
1573: 'Şimdikihalde **mefahırü 'l-ümera'i 'l-ᶜızami 'l-ᶜiseviye meraciᶜu 'l-kübera'i 'l-fiham fi 'l-milleti 'l-mesihiye muslihu mesalihi cemahiri 't-tayifeti 'n-nasraniye Venedik dojı ve begleri hutimet ᶜavakıbühüm bi-'l-hayrıñ** dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahımda baylosluk hidmetinde olan **kıdvetü ümera'i 'l-milleti 'l-mesihiye Marcantonio Barbaro** nam muᶜteber ademleri müşar ileyhim begleri canibinden girü sulh ve salah hususun iᶜlam ve işᶜar edüb' (elaborate indirect *inscriptio-salutatio* and *elkab* of the Venetian bailo).
1575: 'Şimdikihalde **mefahırü 'l-ümera'i 'l-ᶜızami 'l-ᶜiseviye meraciᶜu 'l-kübera'i 'l-fiham fi 'l-milleti 'l-mesihiye Venedik dojı Alvize Mosenigo ve sayir begleri hutimet ᶜavakıbühüm bi-'l-hayr** dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahımıza Yacomo Soranso kavaliyer prokurator nam yarar ve muᶜtemed ᶜaleyh

ademlerin elçi taᶜyin edüb ᶜarz-i ᶜubudiyet ve ihlas eyleyüb' (elaborate indirect *inscriptio-salutatio*).
1576: 'Hala **mefahırü 'l-ümera'i 'l-ᶜızami 'l-ᶜiseviye meraciᶜu 'l-kübera'i 'l-fiham fi 't-tayifeti 'l-mesihiye Venedik dojı olan Alvize Mostinigo ve sayir begleri hutimet ᶜavakıbühüm bi-'l-hayr** dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahıma Yacomo Soranso kavaliyer prokurator nam yarar ve muᶜtemed ᶜaleyh ademisin elçi taᶜyin edüb ᶜarz-i ᶜubudiyet ve ihlas eyleyüb' (elaborate indirect *inscriptio-salutatio*).
1595: 'Hala **mefahırü 'l-ümera'i 'l-ᶜızami 'l-ᶜiseviye meraciᶜu 'l-kübera'i 'l-fiham fi 't-tayifeti 'l-mesihiye Venedik dojı olan Marin Griman ve sayir begleri hutimet ᶜavakıbühüm bi-'l-hayr** dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahıma Lonardo Donato kavaliyer prokurator nam yarar ve muᶜtemed ᶜaleyh ademisin elçi taᶜyin edüb ᶜarz-i sadakat ve ihlas eyleyüb' (elaborate indirect *inscriptio-salutatio*).
1604: 'Hala **mefahırü 'l-ümera'i 'l-ᶜızami 'l-ᶜiseviye meraciᶜu 'l-kübera'i 'l-fiham fi 'l-milleti 'l-mesihiye Venedik dojı olan Marin Grimani ve sayir begleri hutimet ᶜavakıbühüm bi-'l-hayr** dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahıma Civan Monecuniko kavaler nam yarar ve muᶜtemed ᶜaleyh ademisin elçi taᶜyin edüb ᶜarz-i sadakat ve ihlas eyleyüb' (elaborate indirect *inscriptio-salutatio*). The *defter* version of this ᶜ*ahd-name* omits the *elkab* of the doge and the *salutatio.* Likewise, every other *formula pietatis* or *devotionis* in the text is omitted.[17]
1619: 'Hala **mefahırü 'l-ümera'i 'l-ᶜızami 'l-ᶜiseviye meraciᶜu 'l-kübera'i 'l-fiham fi 'l-milleti 'l-mesihiye Venedik dojı olan Antoniyo Priyuli ve sayir begleri hutimet ᶜavakıbühüm bi-'l-hayr** dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahıma Francesko Kontarin kavaler prokurator nam yarar ve muᶜtemed ᶜaleyh beg-zadeyi elçi taᶜyin edüb ᶜarz-i sadakat ve ihlas eyleyüb' (elaborate indirect *inscriptio-salutatio*).
1625: 'Hala **mefahırü 'l-ümera'i 'l-ᶜızami 'l-ᶜiseviye meraciᶜu kübera'i 'l-fiham fi 'l-milleti 'l-mesihiye Venedik dojı olan Civane Kornar ve sayir begleri hutimet ᶜavakıbühüm bi-'l-hayr** dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahıma Simon Kontari kavaliyer prokurator nam yarar ve muᶜtemed ᶜaleyh beg-zade'i elçi taᶜyin edüb ᶜarz-i sadakat ve ihlas eyleyüb' (elaborate indirect *inscriptio-salutatio*).
1641: 'Hala **mefahırü ümera'i 'l-ᶜızami 'l-ᶜiseviye meraciᶜu kübera'i 'l-fiham fi 'l-milleti 'l-mesihiye Venedik dojı olan Francesko Erico ve sayir begleri hutimet ᶜavakıbühüm bi-'l-hayr** dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahıma Petro Foskarini

17 Cf. Faroqhi , *Handelspolitik,* 207-209.

nam yarar ve mu^{c}temed ^{c}aleyh beg-zadeyi elçi ta^{c}yin edüb ^{c}arz-i sadakat ve ihlas eyleyüb' (elaborate indirect *inscriptio-salutatio*).

Table 4. The expositio-narratio and dispositio

Date	***Expositio-narratio***	**Extended *expositio-narratio***	**Introductory formula of the *Dispositio***	***Dispositio***
1403	-[18]	-	-	*
1411	-[19]	-	-	*
1419	*	-	-	*
1430	*	-	-	*
1446	*	-	-	*
1451	*	-	-	*
1454	*	-	-	*
1479	*	-	-	*
1482 (Turkish)	*	-	-	*
1482 (Greek)	*	-	-	*
1503 (Turkish)	*	-	-	*
1503 (Greek)	*	-	-	*
1513	*	-	-	*
1517 (Turkish)	*	-	-	*
1517 (Italian)	*	-	-	*
1521	*	-	-	*
1540 (draft)	*	-	-	*
1540 (final)	*	-	-	*
1567	-	*	*	-
1573	-	*	*	-
1575	-	*	-	-
1576	-	*	-	-
1595	*	-	-	*
1604	*	-	-	*
1619	*	-	-	*
1625	*	-	-	*
1641	*	-	-	*

18 This Byzantine-like instrument has an introduction in which the concluding parties are mentioned.

19 The name of the Venetian ambassador is mentioned at the end of the text together with the date. In a later addition other Venetian representatives are mentioned.

5) The expositio-narratio and the dispositio.

The earliest *expositio-narratio* which appears in an Ottoman-Venetian treaty is that in the instrument of 1419. The instrument of 1403 has a Byzantine-style introduction (*expositio-narratio*) in which the concluding parties are mentioned, whereas the instrument of 1411 does not have an *expositio-narratio* at all. As can be seen in Table 4, all Ottoman-Venetian treaties since 1419 contained an *expositio-narratio*. The instruments of 1567, 1573, 1575 and 1576 actually had a very extensive *expositio-narratio* in which the conditions for peace or large parts of older treaties were inserted. Consequently, these instruments do not have a *dispositio*. The articles of the treaty which was being renewed (*dispositio*) are inserted in the text of the *expositio-narratio* of the new treaty. Surprisingly enough, the extended *expositio-narratio* of two of these instruments ends with the usual introductory formula of the *dispositio*. However, no *dispositio* follows after this introductory formula.[20]

The texts of the introductory formulae of the *dispositio* and the *sanctio*:

1567: '… eyle olsa hıfz-i ᶜahd ve aman ᶜadet-i hasene-i selatin-i sahıb-kıran olmagın bendahı mukaddema verilen ᶜahd-name-i hümayunı mukarrrer dutub bu nişan-i seᶜadet-ᶜunvanı verdüm ve buyurdum ki…'.
1573: '… eyle olsa mezbur baylosuñ Venedik dojı ve begleri canibinden verdügi mektubunda münderic olan şürut üzere sulhı kabul edüb bu ᶜahd-name-i hümayun-i meserret-makrunı verdüm ve buyurdum ki…'.

The *sanctio* of the instruments of 1575 and 1576 is introduced by the following formula: 'müceddeden [1576: 'müceddeda'] bu ᶜahd-name-i hümayun-i seᶜadet-makrunı verdüm ve ᶜahd eyledimki [1576: 'eyledüm ki']'.

20 On the *expositio-narratio* and *dispositio* see Kraelitz, *Urkunden,* 26-27; Fekete, *Einführung,* XXXVII-XXXVIIII; Reychman, *Handbook,* 146; Heyd, *Documents*, 8-11; Keçik, *op. cit.,* 34-37; Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen,* 99-119; Gökbilgin, *Diplomatik ilmi*, 70-71; Guboglu, *op. cit.*, 65; Schaendlinger, *Schreiben*, XXIV-XXVI; and idem, *Schreiben,* II, XIX-XXII. On the language and grammar see Buri-Gütermann, *op. cit.*; and J. Matuz, Zur Sprache der Urkunden Süleymans des Prächtigen', *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, XXVI, 2-3, 1972, 285-297.

6) The oath, pledge and sanctio.

As can be seen in Table 2 (and Table 5), it is possible to distinguish five phases in the development of the oath, the pledge and the *sanctio*:[21]
1) The Byzantine-style instrument of 1403 has an introduction (with a short *intitulatio*) in which the concluding parties are mentioned, followed by a combined oath-pledge: 'Io zuro per quelo che ha fatto lo cieol e la terra et per lo mio Macometo Mustafa e per le mie vij mustafi e per lo mio altissimo grande profeta che nuy credemo e per anema de mio avo e per la testa de mio pare soldan e par l'anema mia, …'.[22]
2) The instruments of 1411 and 1419 have a combined *intitulatio*-oath-pledge (for the texts see the *intitulatio*).
3) The instruments of 1430-1479 have a combined *intitulatio*-oath and a separate pledge (for the texts of the combined *intitulatio*-oath see the *intitulatio*).
4) The instruments of 1482 have an *intitulatio* and a combined oath-pledge:[23]

1482 (Greek): 'I swear by the sword which I gird around me, and by the soul of my father, and by my own soul, and by the 124 [.000] prophets of God, and by our great Prophet Muhammed, and by the seven *mushaf* which we Muslims hold and profess, and by the faith which I believe, and by God the Creator of heaven and earth that I will…'.
1482 (Turkish): '(… eyman-i mugallaza ile yemin ederim ki) kuşandugum kılıc hakkıyçün ve atam ve dedem ruhıyçün ve oglancıklarım başıyçün ve benim başım ve canımiçün ve yüz yigirmi dört biñ peygamber hürmetiyçün ve hazret-i resuluñ ᶜaleyh efzalü 's-salevat ve ekmelü 't-tahiyat pak ve münevver ve mütahher ruhıyçün ve yedi mushaf hakkıyçün ve dinim hakkıyçün ve yeri gögi yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün (ki ma dam ki anlar bu ᶜahd ve bu sulh üzere sabit ve dayim olub hılaf-i ᶜahd anlardan nesne zahir olmaya bendahı bu ᶜahd ve sulh üzere sabit ve dayim olub hılaf-i ᶜahd benden nesne sadır olmaya)…'.

This oath-pledge also contains a *sanctio* ('ki… sadır olmaya') which in earlier and later instruments was a separate part at the end of the instrument.

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21 Only the text of the oath is given; that of the pledge is usually omitted.

22 For the text of the pledge see *DVL*, III, no. 159, 290-293; or Dennis, *art. cit.*, 77-82.

23 Only the text of the oath is given; for the text of the pledge see the texts (Turkish version) and *MM*, III, no. XXII, 313-317 (Greek version).

Before 1482 this *sanctio* did not contain a second oath. In the instrument of 1482 the *sanctio* is combined with the oath and the pledge in the beginning of the text. Thus, the treaty of 1482 is the first instrument in which there is a direct connection between the oath and the *sanctio*.
5) The instruments of 1503-1641 have an *intitulatio* (see above), a combined oath-pledge and a combined oath-*sanctio*. Only the instruments of 1567-1576 have no combined oath-pledge. However, in the instruments of 1567, 1575 and 1576 the oath-pledge of the treaty of 1540 is inserted in the *expositio-narratio* of these instruments together with other diplomatic parts of the same treaty. The oath-pledge-formulae in the instruments of 1503-1540 and 1595-1641 are the following:[24]

1503: '(… eyman-i mugallaza ile yemin ederim ki) yeri ve gögi yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün…'.
1513: '(… eyman-i mugallaza ile yemin ederim ki) yeri ve gögi yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün…'.
1517 (Turkish): '(… eyman-i mugallaza ile yemin ederim ki) yeri ve gögi yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün…'.
1517 (Italian): '(… Io mi ho chiamato contento firmar la bona amicitia et pace, come la era, et refirmarla, et zuro) per quel Dio che ha creato il cielo et la terra che…'.
1521: '(… eyman-i mugallaza ile yemin ederim ki) yeri ve gögi yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün…'.
1540 (draft): '(… yemin dahı ederim ki) yeri ve gögi yaradan hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ birligi hakkıyçün (ma dam ki anlar tarafından ᶜahda muhalif iş olmaya bendendahı müᶜahede-i şerifime mugayir vazᶜ sadır olmaya)…'. This oath-pledge also contains a kind of *sanctio* ('ma dam ki… olmaya').
1540 (final version): '(… yemin dahı ederim ki) yeri ve gögi yaradan hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ birligi hakkıyçün (ma dam ki anlar tarafından ᶜahda muhalif iş olmaya bendendahı müᶜahede-i şerifime mugayir vazᶜ sadır olmaya)…'. This oath-pledge also contains a kind of *sanctio* ('ma dam ki… olmaya').

24 Only the texts of the oath are given; for the texts of the pledge (and the Greek oath of 1503) see the TEXTS and *MM*, II, no. XXXV, 344-350 (Greek version of 1503).

The instruments of 1567, 1573, 1575 and 1576 do not contain an oath-pledge (except for the one from the inserted text of 1540). These instruments only have a combined *sanctio*-oath at the end of the text:

1595: '(… yemin ederimki) yeri ve gögi yaradan hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ birligi hakkıyçün (ma-dam ki anlar tarafından ᶜahda muhalif iş olmaya benden dahı müᶜahede-i şerifime mugayir vazᶜ sadır olmayub) min baᶜd…'. This oath-pledge also contains a kind of *sanctio* ('ma-dam ki… olmayub').
1604: '(… yemin ederimki) yeri ve gögi yaradan hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ birligi hakkıyçün (ma-dam ki anlar tarafından ᶜahda muhalif iş olmaya benden dahı müᶜahede-i şerifime mugayir vazᶜ sadır olmayub) min baᶜd…'. This oath-pledge also contains a kind of *sanctio* ('ma-dam ki… olmayub').
1619: '(… yemin ederim ki) yeri ve gögi yaradan hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ birligi hakkı içün (ma dam ki anlar tarafından ᶜahda muhalif iş olmaya benden dahı müᶜahede-i şerifeme mugayir vazᶜ sadır olmayub) min baᶜd…'. This oath-pledge also contains a kind of *sanctio* ('ma dam ki… olmayub').
1625: '(… yemin ederimki) yeri ve gögi yaradan hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ birligi hakkı içün (ma dam ki anlar tarafından ᶜahda muhalif iş olmaya benden dahı muᶜahede-i şerifime mugayir vazᶜ sadır olmayub) min baᶜd…'. This oath-pledge also contains a kind of *sanctio* ('ma dam ki… olmayub').
1641: '(… yemin ederim ki) yeri ve gögi yaradan hakk sübhane ve teᶜalanıñ birligi hakkıyçün (ma damki anlar tarafından ᶜahda muhalif iş olmaya benden dahı müᶜahede-i şerifime muga'ir vazᶜ sadır olmayub) min baᶜd…'. This oath-pledge also contains a kind of *sanctio* ('ma damki… olmayub').

The combined *sanctio*-oath

In the instrument of 1503 for the first time a combined *sanctio*-oath is found at the end of the instrument. In the treaties of 1503-1540 and 1595-1641 this *sanctio*-oath follows the *dispositio*. However, in the instruments of 1567-1576 which do not have a *dispositio*, the *sanctio*-oath immediately follows the extended *expositio-narratio.* In two instruments (1567 and 1573) the *sanctio*-oath is introduced by the introductory formula of the *dispositio* (see above). The

sanctio-oath-formulae of the instruments of 1503-1641 are the following (see also Table 2 and 5):[25]

1503: 'Bu zikr olunan şerayıt kabul olunursa bendahı anlarıñ müsalehaların kabul edüb eyman-i mugallaza ile yemin eylerim ki **yeri ve gögi yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün** Venedik dozı ile ve sayir begleriyle ve anlarıñ ademleriyle ve anlarıñ kalᶜlarıyle ve anlara müteᶜallık olan yerleriñ ve vilayetleriñ halkı ile ve ademleriyle fi 'l-cümle Aya Markonuñ sancagın götürenlerile benden ve sancak beglerimden ve subaşılarımdan ve ademlerinden anlarıñ vilayetlerine ve kalᶜalarına zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler'.
1513: 'Bu zikr olunan ᶜahd üzere anlaruñla dostlugı kabul eyleyüb eyman-i mugallaza ile yemin eylerim ki **yeri ve gögi yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün** ma dam ki anlar ᶜahdı ve dostlugı riᶜayet edüb ᶜahda muhalif nesne sadır olmaya benden dahı hılaf-i ᶜahd nesne vakıᶜ olmaya şöyle bileler'.
1517 (Turkish): 'Bu zikr olan ᶜahd üzere anlaruñ ile dostlugı kabul edüb eyman-i mugallaza ile yemin ederim ki **yeri ve gögi yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün** ma-damki anlar ᶜahdı ve dostlugı riᶜayet edüb ᶜahda muhalif nesne sadır olmaya bendendahı hılaf-i ᶜahd nesne vakıᶜ olmaya şöyle bileler'.
1517 (Italian): 'Et cusi cum li soprascritti capituli confirmo la amicitia bona et pace real che, è, infra nui **per il Dio che ha fatto il cielo et la terra**, che sempre che mantenirete vui li soprascritti capitoli, da me non mancara di obstruar la pace, come, è, ditto di sopra'.
1521: 'Bu zikr olunan ᶜahd üzere anlaruñla dostlugı kabul eyleyüb eyman-i mugallaza ile yemin eylerim ki **yeri ve gögi yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün** ma-damki anlar ᶜahdı ve dostlugı riᶜayet edüb ᶜahda muhalif nesne sadır olmaya benden dahı hılaf-i ᶜahd nesne vakıᶜ olmaya şöyle bileler'.
1540 (draft): 'İşbu zikr olunan ᶜahd üzere dostlugı kabul eyleyüb yemin ederim ki **yeri ve gögi yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün** ma dam ki ᶜahdı ve dostlugı riᶜayet edüb ᶜahda muhalif anlardan bir iş sadır olmaya bendendahı hılaf-i ᶜahd bir iş olmaya'.
1540 (final version): 'İşbu zikr olunan ᶜahd üzere dostlugı kabul eyleyüb yemin ederim ki y**eri ve gögi yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün** ma dam ki

25 On the *sanctio* see Kraelitz, *Urkunden,* 27-29 Fekete, *Einführung,* XXXVIII-XXXIX; idem, *Persische Paläographie*, 35-36; Reychman, *Handbook,* 147; Heyd, *Documents*, 10-11; Keçik, *op. cit.,* 38; Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen,* 99-119; Gökbilgin, *Diplomatik ilmi*, 71-74; Guboglu, *op. cit.,* 66; Schaendlinger, *Schreiben*, I, XXVII-XXVIII; and idem, *Schreiben,* II, XXII-XXIII.

ᶜahdı ve dostlugı anlar riᶜayet edüb ᶜahda muhalif anlardan bir iş sadır olmaya bendendahı hılaf-i ᶜahd iş olmaya şöyle bileler'.
1567: 'İşbu zikr olunan ᶜahd üzere dostlugı kabul edüb yemin ederin ki y**eri ve gögi halk eden perverdegar hakkıyçün** ma-dam ki ᶜahdı ve dostlugı anlar riᶜayet edüb ᶜahd-i şerife muhalif anlardan bir iş sadır olmaya benim cenab-i celalet-me'abım tarafından dahı hılaf-i ᶜahd iş olmaya… [additional clause] …şöyle bileler'.
1573: 'Ma dam ki muma ileyhim begler tarafından şerayıt-i ᶜahd ve eman riᶜayet ve himayet olunub hılaf-i ᶜahd vazᶜ zuhur etmeye **hazret-i huda-i müteᶜalıñ vahdaniyeti ve ᶜazameti hakkıyçün ve habib-i ekrem seᶜadetlü peygamberimüz Muhammed Mustafa ᶜaleyhi efzalü 's-salevat ve ekmelü 't-tahiyatıñ hürmetiyçün ᶜahd ve yemin ederim ki** ben dahı ma beynde olan dostlukdan şürut ve ᶜuhuddan ᶜudul ve inhiraf göstermeyem ve südde-i seniye-i seᶜadet-destgahımıza kurudan ve yaşdan düşmenlik üzere olanlara ma dam ki Venedik dojı ve begleri kavla ve fiᶜlen muᶜin ve zahir olmayalar vakıᶜ olan sulh ve salahdan tecavüz etdirmeyem nitekim eski ᶜahd-name-i hümayunumda mesturdur şöyle bileler'.
1575: 'Venedik dojı ve sa'ir begleri tarafından ma-dam ki ᶜahd-namelerde beyan olunan şera'it-i ᶜahd ve eman ke-ma yenbagi riᶜayet ve himayet olunub hılaf-i ᶜahd ve eman bir vazᶜ sudur etmeye **bendahı hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ ululugı ve vahdaniyeti hakkıyçün ve habib-i ekrem ve şefiᶜ-i ümem iki cihan güneşi seᶜadetlü peygamberimiz Muhammed Mustafa salla 'llahü ᶜaleyh ve sellemiñ hürmeti içün ᶜahd ve yemine muhalif** ma beynde münᶜakıd olan dostluk ve sulh ve salahdan ve şerh ve beyan olunan şürut ve ᶜuhuddan ᶜudul ve inhiraf göstermeyem ve südde-i seᶜadetimize kurudan ve yaşdan düşmenlik üzere olanlara Venedik dojı ve begleri kavla ve fiᶜlen hiç vechile muᶜin ve zahir olmadıklarınca vakıᶜ olan sulh ve salahdan tecavüz etdirmeyem'.
1576: 'Venedik dojı ve sayir begleri tarafından ma-dam ki ᶜahd-namelerde beyan olunan şerayit-i ᶜahd ve eman riᶜayet ve himayet olunub hılaf-i ᶜahd bir vazᶜ sudur etmeye **bendahı hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ ululugı ve vahdaniyeti hakkıyçün ve habib-i ekrem ve şefiᶜ-i ümem iki cihan güneşi seᶜadetlü peygamberimiz Muhammed Mustafa salla 'llahü ᶜaleyh ve sellemiñ hürmeti içün ᶜahd ve yemin ederimki** ma beynde münᶜakıd olan dostluk ve sulh ve salahdan ve şerh beyan olunan şürut ve ᶜuhuddan ᶜudul ve inhiraf göstermeyem ve südde-i seᶜadetimize kurıdan ve yaşdan düşmenlik üzere olanlara Venedik dojı ve begleri kavla ve fiᶜla hiç veçhile muᶜin ve zahir

olmaduklarınca vakıᶜ olan sulh ve salahdan tecavüz etdirmeyem… [additional clause] …şöyle bileler'.
1595: 'Ma-dam ki südde-i seniye-i seᶜadet-destgahımda kurudan ve yaşdan düşmenlik üzere olanlara Venedik dojı ve begleri kavlen ve fiᶜlen muᶜin ve zahir olmayalar vakıᶜ olan sulh ve salahdan tecavüz etdirmeyem **bendahı hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ ululugı ve vahdaniyeti hakkıyçün ve habib-i ekrem ve şefiᶜ-i ümem iki cihan güneşi peygamberimiz Muhammed Mustafa salla 'llahü teᶜala ᶜaleyh ve sellem hazretleriniñ hürmetiyçün ᶜahd ve yemin ederimki** ma beynde münᶜakıd olan dostluk ve sulh ve salahdan ve şerh ve beyan olunan şürut ve ᶜuhuddan ᶜudul ve inhiraf göstermeyem şöyle bileler'.
1604: 'Ma-dam ki südde-i seniye-i seᶜadet-destgahımda kurudan ve yaşdan düşmenlik üzere olanlara Venedik dojı ve begleri kavlen ve fiᶜlen muᶜin ve zahir olmayalar vakıᶜ olan sulh ve salahdan tecavüz etdirmeyem **bendahı hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ ululugı ve vahdaniyeti hakkıyçün ve habib-i ekrem ve şefiᶜ-i ümem iki cihan güneşi peygamberimiz Muhammed Mustafa salla 'llahü teᶜala ᶜaleyh ve sellem hazretleriniñ hürmetiyçün ᶜahd ve yemin ederimki** ma beynde münᶜakıd olan dostluk ve sulh ve salahdan ve beyan olunan şürut ve ᶜuhuddan ᶜudul ve inhiraf göstermeyem şöyle bileler'.
1619: 'Ma dam ki südde-i seniye-i seᶜadet-destgahımda kurudan ve yaşdan düşmenlik üzere olanlara Venedik dojı ve begleri kavlen ve fiᶜlen muᶜin ve zahir olmayalar vakıᶜ olan sulh ve salahdan tecavüz etdirmeyem **ben dahı hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ ululugı ve vahdaniyeti hakkı içün ve habib-i ekrem ve şefiᶜ-i ümem iki cihan güneşi peygamberimiz Muhammed Mustafa salla 'llahü ᶜaleyh ve sellem hazretleriniñ hürmeti içün ᶜahd ve yemin ederim ki** ma beynde münᶜakıd olan dostluk ve sulh ve salahdan ve şerh ve beyan olunan şürut ve ᶜuhuddan ᶜudul ve inhiraf göstermeyem'.
1625: 'Ma damki südde-i seniye-i seᶜadet-destgahımda kurudan ve yaşdan düşmenlik üzere olanlara Venedik dojı ve begleri kavlen ve fiᶜlen muᶜin ve zahir olmayalar vakıᶜ olan sulh ve salahdan tecavüz etdürmeyem **ben dahı hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ ululugı ve vahdaniyeti hakkıyçün [ve habi]b-i ekrem ve şefiᶜ-i ümem iki cihan güneşi peygamberimiz Muhammed Mustafa salla 'llahü teᶜala ᶜaleyh ve sellem hazretleriniñ hürmetiyçün ᶜahd ve yemin ederim ki** ma beynde münᶜakıd olan dostluk ve sulh ve salahdan ve şerh ve beyan olunan şürut ve ᶜuhuddan ᶜudul ve inhiraf göstermeyem şöyle bileler'.

1641: 'Ma damki südde-i seniye-i seᶜadet-destgahımda kurıdan ve yaşdan düşmenlik üzere olanlara Venedik dojı ve begleri kavlen ve fiᶜlen muᶜin ve zahir olmayalar vakıᶜ olan sulh ve salahdan tecavüz etdirmeyem **bendahı hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ ululugı ve vahdaniyeti hakkıyçün ve habib-i ekrem ve şefiᶜ-i ümem iki cihan güneşi peygamberimiz Muhammed Mustafa salla 'llahü teᶜala ᶜaleyh ve sellem hürmetiyçün ᶜahd ve yemin ederim ki** ma beynde münᶜakıd olan dostluk ve sulh ve salahdan ve şart ve beyan olunan şürut ve ᶜuhuddan inhiraf göstermeyem… [additional clause] … şöyle bileler '.

The oath

In the Venetian *ᶜahd-name*s until 1540 the oath was the *corroboratio* of the document. Thereafter, a separate *corroboratio*-formula in which the *legitimatio*, i.e. the *tugra* was referred to, took over this function from the oath. Ménage suggests a Christian origin for the elaborate oaths which appear in the fifteenth century Ottoman *ᶜahd-name*s: 'A Christian origin is to be postulated also, I suspect, for the oath which usually figures in an Ottoman capitulation and where the sanctions invoked by the sultan may number as many as eight: God the Creator, the Prophet, the seven mushaf, the 124.000 prophets of God, the sultan's sword, the 'way' which he follows, and the 'soul', 'life' or 'head' of himself, his father and/or his children. This wording goes far beyond the formulation which in Islam is fully binding: the oath which Murad II imposed upon Ibrahim Beg of Karaman in July 1444, for example, was essentially a simple *wa'llahi wa bi'llahi wa ta'llahi*. But such elaboration is not an Ottoman innovation, for characteristic elements of this multiform oath are already found in treaties sworn between the Duca di Candia and the princes of Menteşe and Aydın in the fourteenth century. In Venetian/Byzantine treaties, both parties usually swear on the Gospels and on the Cross; and I suspect that the 'seven mushaf' of the elaborated Islamic oath in some sense answers the four gospels, and the 'sword' perhaps the Cross. Again, at least from 1349 onwards, in renewing the truce with Byzantium the Venetian ambassador swore also on the soul (*psukhé*) 'of the Doge and the people of Venice'; and in 1403 Emir Süleyman swore similarly '*per anema de mio avo e per la testa de mio pare soldan e per l'anema mia*'. Perhaps too the '124.000 prophets of God' are the reciprocal of the Christian saints (the Hungarian king's oath to Bayezid II in 1503 included 'omnes Sanctos et Sanctas Dei'. The elaborate oath of the Ottoman *'ahdname*s evolved (I suggest)

in a series of calques upon Christian oaths, introduced under pressure from Christian, probably Venetian, negotiators seeking to bind with sanctions more effective (in their view) than a mere *wa'llahi* the semi-barbarous and piratical Turkish princes of the Aegean coastlands'.[26]

However, Ménage neglects the fact that in the Seljukid period oaths were already very important in Turkish-Islamic practice. Therefore, it seems likely that in Turkish-Islamic practice elaborate oaths also developed independently from Christian practice. The Mamluk oath from 1290 and the oaths in the Aydınian and Menteşian instruments of the fourteenth century point to the existence of extensive Islamic oaths. Although Christian influence in the wording of the oaths can not be entirely ruled out, Ménage's assumption that the elaborate oaths in the Ottoman *ʿahd-name*s evolved 'under pressure from Christian, probably Venetian, negotiators' seems unlikely. On the contrary, in my opinion the importance the Ottomans themselves attributed to oaths, (and not only in treaties with Christians) points to the existence of an old, well-established Turkish-Islamic tradition (cf. the oath in the Ottoman-Karamanid treaty).[27]

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26 Ménage, *English Capitulation*, 376. On the oath see also idem, *Seven Ottoman Documents,* 94; Babinger, *Staatsvertrag,* 252-254; Gökbilgin, *Ahitname*, 476-477; and Fekete, *Einführung,* XXXVIII; idem, *Persische Paläographie*, 36.

27 Cf. Fekete, *Persische Paläographie*, no. 22, 201-204 (= Keçik, *op. cit.*, no. 4, 134-135): 'Und Abkommen und Vertrag ('ᶜahd ve peyman') wurden geschlossen… In Gegenwart des Gesandten wurde ein Schwur ('kasem') geleistet…'. In this case a treaty was concluded between Uzun Hasan and Mehmed II (1474-1475). For another case of an oath when a treaty was concluded between (Turkish) rulers see Björkman, *op. cit.,* 54 (a treaty between Timur and the Mamluks). On the (Muslim) oath see also ibid., 169-170.

Table 5. The sanctio and corroboratio

Date	***Sanctio***	***Sanctio* including oath**	**+ 'şöyle bileler'**	***Corroboratio***
1403	-	-	-	-
1411	-	-	-	-
1419	*	-	-	-
1430	*	-	-	-
1446	*	-	-	-
1451	*	-	-	-
1454	*	-	-	-
1479	-	-	-	-
1482 (Turkish)	-	* (oath-pledge)	-	*
1482 (Greek)	*	*	-	-
1503 (Turkish)	-	*	-	-
1503 (Greek)	-	*	-	-
1513	-	*	*	-
1517 (Turkish)	-	*	*	-
1517 (Italian)	-	*	*	-
1521	-	*	*	-
1540 (draft)	-	*	-	-
1540 (final)	-	*	*	*
1567	-	*	*	*
1573	-	*	*	*
1575	-	*	-	-
1576	-	*	*	*
1595	-	*	*	*
1604	-	*	*	*
1619	-	*	-	-
1625	-	*	*	*
1641	-	*	*	*

7. The corroboratio.

The first Venetian *ᶜahd-name* which contains a *corroboratio*-formula is the instrument of 1482 (in Turkish). However, this formula can hardly be considered a regular diplomatic part of the *ᶜahd-name* at that time since only from 1540 onwards does it become customary to add such a *formula* at the end of the document.[28] In the *corroboratio* the *tugra*, which is the *legitimatio* of the document, is referred to. Consequently, the *corroboratio* only appears in documents that were issued officially or in copies made from such documents.[29] The *corroboratio*-formulae which occur in the Venetian capitulations are the following:

1482: 'bu bablarda temam iᶜtimad edib ᶜalamet-i şerif üzere iᶜtikad-i külli kılalar'.
1540 (final): 'ᶜalamet-i şerife iᶜtimad ve iᶜtikad kılalar'.
1567: 'ᶜalamet-i şerif-i ᶜalem-araya iᶜtimad ve iᶜtikad kılalar'.
1573: 'ᶜalamet-i şerife iᶜtimad kılalar'.
1575: -
1576: 'ᶜalamet-i şerife iᶜtimad kılalar'.
1595: 'ᶜalamet-i şerife iᶜtimad kılalar'.
1604: 'ᶜalamet-i şerife iᶜtimad kılalar'.
1619: -
1625: 'ᶜalamet-i şerife iᶜtimad kılalar'.
1641: 'ᶜalamet-i şerif-i ᶜalem-araya iᶜtimad ve iᶜtikad kılalar'.

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28 Cf. Keçik, *op. cit.*, 39: 'Wie schon Busse bei den Türkmenen festgestellt hat, macht die Corroboratio keinen wesentlichen Teil der türkmenischen Urkunden aus'. This interesting remark strengthens the idea that the Ottoman *ᶜahd-name*s have a Turkish-Islamic and not a Byzantine or Mamluk background, as has been suggested in the past. The *ᶜahd-name* is corroborated by the oath present in the text and not by a reference to it, like in Byzantine instruments. Cf. Ménage, *Seven Ottoman Documents*, 94: 'An oath usually (but not invariably) corroborates a treaty (ᶜahd-name)'.

29 On the *corroboratio* see Kraelitz, *Urkunden,* 29-30; Fekete, *Einführung*, XXXIX; idem, *Persische Paläographie*, 35-36; Reychman, *Handbook,* 147; Heyd, *Documents*, 12; Keçik, *op. cit.,* 39; Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen,* 99-119; Gökbilgin, *Diplomatik ilmi*, 73-74; Guboglu, *op. cit.*, 66; Schaendlinger, *Schreiben*, I, XXVIII; and idem, *Schreiben,* II, XXIII.

Table 6. The datatio, locatio and the concluding formula of well-wishing

Date	**Combined *datatio-locatio***	**Concluding formula**	***Datatio***	***Locatio***
1403	-	-	-	-
1411	* AM	-	-	-
1419	* AM	-	-	-
1430	* AM and AD	-	-	-
1446	* AM and AD	-	-	-
1451	* AM and AD	-	-	-
1454	* AM	-	-	-
1479	* AM	-	-	-
1482 (Turkish)	-	-	* AH	*
1482 (Greek)	* AM	-	-	-
1503 (Turkish)	* AD and AH	*	-	-
1503 (Greek)	* AD and AH	-	-	-
1513	* AD and AH	*	-	-
1517 (Turkish)	* unfinished	-	-	-
1517 (Italian)	* AD and AH	-	-	-
1521	* AD and AH	*	-	-
1540 Draft	* AD and AH	*	-	-
1540 Final	* AD and AH	-	-	-
1567	* AD and AH	-	-	-
1573	-	-	* AH	*
1575	-	-	* AH	*
1576	-	-	* AH	*
1595	-	-	* AH	*
1604	-	-	* AH	*
1619	-	-	* AH	*
1625	-	-	* AH	*
1641	-	-	* AH	*

8. The datatio, locatio and the concluding formula of well-wishing (apprecatio).

The *datatio* and *locatio* in the early Venetian *ᶜahd-name*s were combined *datatio-locatio*-formulae (see Table 6). The treaty of 1403 lacks this formula but since it was a Byzantine-style instrument, the *datatio-locatio* may have been a combined formula, like in Byzantine and other later Ottoman-Venetian treaties. From 1411 (1403) to 1567, all *datatio-locatio*-formulae in the Venetian *ᶜahd-name*s, except for those in the instrument of 1482, were combined formulae. Apart from the Venetian *ᶜahd-name*s, a number of other treaties have this combined *datatio-locatio* (for instance the Austrian instruments from 1559, 1562 and 1565). However, this type of *datatio-locatio* seems not to have been used in documents of other types. Consequently, we should consider this combined *datatio-locatio* as one of the main characteristics of documents of the *ᶜahd-name*-type. The combined *datatio-locatio* is completely in Turkish and not like the later *datatio*-formulae which are in Arabic or a mixture of Arabic and Persian. Another feature of this combined formula is that it gives the date according to the Muslim ('hicri') as well as the Christian ('miladi') era. In the fifteenth century both the Byzantine (AM) and Latin (AD) methods of dating were used. However, from the end of the fifteenth century onwards only Muslim (AH) and Latin (AD) dates were used in the Ottoman-Venetian treaties. During the period 1503-1540 the combined *datatio-locatio* was followed by a concluding formula of well-wishing or *apprecatio*. However, after the introduction of the *corroboratio* (in 1540) this particular formula came to be omitted.[30]

From 1573 onwards the combined formula was replaced by two separate formulae: a *datatio* which was written at the end of the text and a *locatio* which was written separately from the main body of the text in the left corner almost at the edge of the roll. From 1573 onwards the *datatio* was also no longer in both the Muslim and the Christian era. Thus, with the disappearance of the combined *datatio-locatio* the use of the Christian era also ended. Two *datatio*-formulae, those of 1595 and 1604, include a *salutatio* for the

30 On the *datatio* and *locatio* see Kraelitz, *Urkunden,* 30-39; Fekete, *Einführung,* XL-XLII; idem, Fekete, *Persische Paläographie*, 36-38; Reychman, *Handbook,* 147-148; Heyd, *Documents*, 12; Keçik, *op. cit.,* 40-41; Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen,* 99-119; Gökbilgin, *Diplomatik ilmi*, 75-78; Guboglu, *op. cit.*, 66-67; Schaendlinger, *Schreiben*, I, XXVIII-XXIX; idem, *Schreiben*, II, XXIII. On the *apprecatio* see Keçik, *op. cit.,* 42-43.

Prophet Muhammed. ('ᶜaleyh efzalü 't-tahiyet ellezi büᶜıse ila külli fihi' and 'ᶜaleyh efzalü 't-tahiyet'.)[31]

As for the place where the document was issued, it is interesting to note that when the document was issued in Constantinople, in all cases but one the name 'Kostantiniye' was used. Only in the instrument of 1503 was the name 'İstanbul' used. The *datatio*, *locatio* and concluding formulae of well-wishing used in the Venetian capitulations are the following:

1482: A separate *datatio* and *locatio* formula: 'Tahriren fi evahır-i zi 'l-kaᶜde 'l-haram li-sene sitt ve semanin ve seman-mi'e ' / 'Be-mekam-i Edirne 'l-mahmiye'.
1503: A combined *datatio-locatio*-formula with a concluding formula of well-wishing: 'İşbu ᶜahd-name bizim ulu peygamberimiz hazret-i resaletiñ ᶜaleyh efzalü 's-salevat ekmelü 't-tahiyat hicretiniñ tarihinden dokuz yüz sekizinci yıluñ cümada 'l-ahırınıñ yigirmi dördünci gününde ve hazret-i ᶜİsanıñ ᶜaleyhi 's-selam tarihinden biñ beş yüz ikinci yıluñ zikevris ayınuñ on dördünci gününde mahruse-i İstanbulda yazıldı ki hemişe devam-i devletim ve izdiyad-i şevketim ila yevmi 'l-kıyam mü'ebbed ve müstehkem ola hakku 'l-hakk ve nebiyetü 'l-mutlak'.
1513: A combined *datatio-locatio*-formula with a concluding formula of well-wishing: 'İşbu ᶜahd-name bizüm ulu peygamberimüz hazret-i resaletiñ ᶜaleyh efzalü 's-salevat ve ekmelü 't-tahiyat tarihinden dokuz yüz on tokuzuncı yılıñ şaᶜban ayınıñ on yedinci güni ve hazret-i ᶜİsanıñ ᶜaleyhi 's-selam tarihinden biñ beşyüz on üç yılınıñ ohtoros ayınıñ on yedinci gününde mahruse-i Edirnede yazıldı ki devam-i devletim ve izdiyad-i şevketim ila yevmi 'l-kıyam mü'ebbed ve müstehkem ola'.
1517 (Turkish): A combined *datatio-locatio*-formula (uncompleted): 'İşbu ᶜahd-name-i hümayun bizüm ulu peygamberümüz hazret-i resaletiñ ᶜaleyh efzalü 's-salevat ve ekmelü 't-tahiyat tarihinden tokuz yüz yigirmi üçünci yılıñ şaᶜban ayınıñ…'.
1517 (Italian): A combined *datatio-locatio*-formula: 'Data nel Cayro à di .xxij. de la luna di siaban del anno nuovecento vintitre. Del anno de christiani .M.D.Xvij. à di otto settembrio'.
1521: A combined *datatio-locatio*-formula with a concluding formula of well-wishing: 'İşbu ᶜahd-name bizüm ulu peygamberimiz hazret-i resaletiñ ᶜaleyh efzalü 's-salevat ve ekmelü 't-tahiyat tarihinden tokuz yüz yigirmi sekizinci

31 For a similar *salutatio*-formula see Keçik, *op. cit.*, no. 4, 189.

yılıñ muharrem ayınıñ on yedinci güni ve hazret-i ᶜİsanıñ ᶜaleyhi 's-selam tarihinden biñ beşyüz yigirmi birinci yılıñ zikevris ayınıñ gurresinde darü 's-saltaneti 'l-ᶜaliye mahruse-i Kostantiniyede yazıldı ki devam-i devletim ve izdiyad-i şevketim mü'eyyed ve müstehkem ola bi-'n-nebi ve alihi ve sahabihi ecmeᶜin et-tayyibin et-tecahürin'.

1540 (draft): A combined *datatio-locatio*-formula with a concluding formula of well-wishing: 'İşbu ᶜahd-name-i şerif bizüm ulu peygamberimiz hazret-i resaletiñ ᶜaleyh efzalü 's-salevat ve ekmelü 't-tahiyat tarihinden tokuz yüz kırk yedinci rebiᶜu 'l-evveliniñ yigirmi üçünci güni mahruse-i Kostantiniyede yazıldı ki devam-i devletim ve izdiyad-i şevketim ila yevmi 'l-kıyam mü'ebbed ve müstehkem ola'.

1540 (final version): A combined *datatio-locatio*-formula: 'Ve bu ᶜahdname-i hümayun bizüm ulu peygamberimüz hazret-i Muhammed Mustafanıñ salla 'llahü ᶜaleyh ve sellem tarihiniñ tokuz yüz kırk yedinci yılıñ cemazi 'l-ahır ayınıñ evvelki gününde yazıldı ki hazret-i ᶜİsa ᶜaleyhi 's-selam tarihinden ohtoros ayınıñ ikinci günidir darü 'l-hılafeti 'l-ᶜaliye mahmiye-i Kostantiniyede yazıldı'.

1567: A combined *datatio-locatio*-formula: 'Ve bu ᶜahdname-i hümayunum ulu peygamberimiz hazret-i Muhammed Mustafa salla 'llahü ᶜaleyh ve sellemiñ hicreti tarihinden tokuz yüz yetmiş dört zi 'l-hiccesiniñ on yedinci gününde yazıldıki hazret-i ᶜİsa peygamber ᶜaleyhi 's-selam tarihinden biñ beşyüz altmış yedi yılında yunus ayınıñ yigirmi dördünci günidir darü 'l-hılafeti 'l-ᶜaliye Kostantiniyede yazıldı'.

1573: A separate *datatio-* and *locatio*-formula: 'Tahriren fi 'l-yevmi 's-salis-i sehr-i zi 'l-kaᶜde 'ş-şerife min şühur-i sene semanin ve tisᶜ-mi'e' / 'Be-mekam-i darü 'l-hılafet Kostantiniye el-mahmiye m'.[32]

1575: A separate *datatio-* and *locatio*-formula: 'Tahriren fi evayil-i şehr-i cümada 'l-ula li-sene seles ve-semanin ve-tisᶜ-mi'e ' / 'Be-mekam-i Kostantiniye 'l-mahruse 'l-mahmiye'.

1576: A separate *datatio-* and *locatio*-formula: 'Tahriren fi evayil-i şehr-i cümada 'l-ahıra-i sene erbaᶜ ve semanin ve tisᶜ-mi'e' / 'Be-mekam-i Kostantiniye 'l-mahruse'.

1595: A separate *datatio-* and *locatio*-formula and *salutatio:* 'Tahriren fi evayil-i şehr-i rebiᶜu 'l-ahır min şühur-i sene sene erbaᶜ ve elf mine 'l-hicreti 'n-nebeviye ᶜaleyh efzalü 't-tahiyet ellezi büᶜıse ila külli fihi' / 'Be-mekam-i Kostantiniye 'l-mahruse m'.

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32 On the 'm' for 'tamme' see L. Fekete, 'Tamma und seine Synonyme', *Acts of the 25th International Congress of Orientalists*, Moskva 1963, II, 374-377.

1604: A separate *datatio*- and *locatio*-formula and *salutatio*: 'Tahrira fi evahır-i şehr-i cümada 'l-ahıra min şühur-i sene seles ᶜaşr ve elf mine 'l-hicreti 'n-nebeviye ᶜaleyh efzalü 't-tahiyet' / 'Be-mekam-i Kostantiniye 'l-mahruse'.
1619: A separate *datatio*- and *locatio*-formula: 'Tahriren fi evahır-i şehr-i muharremü 'l-haram min şühur-i sene seman ve ᶜişrin ve elf mine 'l-hicreti 'n-nebeviye' / 'Be-mekam-i darü 's-saltanet Kostantiniye 'l-mahruse 'l-mahmiye'.
1625: A separate *datatio*- and *locatio*-formula: 'Tahriren fi evasıt-i şehr-i recebü 'l-müreccebi-i sene erbaᶜ ve selesin ve elf' / 'Be-mekam-i darü 's-saltaneti 'l-ᶜaliye Kostantiniye 'l-mahruse 'l-mahmiye ᶜan […] 'l-afat ve 'l-beliye'.
1641: A separate *datatio*- and *locatio*-formula: 'Tahrirenfi evasıt-i şehr-i şevvalü 'l-mükerrem-i sene hamsin ve elf' / 'Be-mekam-i darü 's-saltaneti 'l-ᶜaliye Kostantiniye 'l-mahmiye 'l-mahruse'.

Table 7. The legitimatio and the corroboratio.

Date	**Original document**	***Legitimatio***	***Corroboratio***
1403	-	?	-
1411	-	?	-
1419	-	?	-
1430	-	?	-
1446	*	*	-
1451	-	?	-
1454	-	?	-
1479	*	*	-
1482 (Turkish)	*	*	*
1482 (Greek)	-	?	-
1503 (Turkish)	*	*	-
1503 (Greek)	*	*	-
1513	*	*	-
1517 (Turkish)	*	*	-
1517 (Italian)	*	*	-
1521	*	*	-
1540 (draft)	*	*	-
1540 (final)	*	*	*
1567	*	*	*
1573	*	*	*
1575	*	*	-
1576	*	*	*
1595	*	*	*
1604	*	*	*
1619	*	*	-
1625	*	*	*
1641	*	*	*

9. The legitimatio and corroboratio.

The *legitimatio* in Ottoman documents issued by the *divan-i hümayun kalemi* is always the *tugra* of the sultan. The earliest preserved Ottoman *tugra*s date from the time of Orhan (1288?-1360). Since the *tugra* was used as a *legitimatio* of issued documents, copies and translations never bear a *tugra*. However, sometimes a reference to the signature of the Ottoman ruler is found in a rubric or in the text of a copy ('mehall-i tugra'). In the rubric of the Italian translation of the treaty of 1403 such a reference is found: 'signate signo suo et suorum baronum'. Although it is not completely sure that the 'signo suo' in this reference is Süleyman's *tugra*, it is not unreasonable to assume that all orginal Ottoman document versions of the *ᶜahd-name*s bore a *tugra* as *legitimatio*. However, the *corroboratio* with reference to the *tugra* (*legitimatio*) was not usual before 1540. This implies that the Ottoman-Venetian instruments before that time were not corroborated by referring to the *legitimatio*. The oath, which was also included in the text, functioned as *corroboratio* of the *ᶜahd-name*. Only when the *ᶜahd-name* began to lose its bilateral character (*instrumentum reciprocum*) and evolved into a unilateral grant (and consequently into a document of the *nişan*-type), did the *corroboratio* in which the *tugra* was refered to become a permanent diplomatic part of the *ᶜahd-name*. The texts of the *tugra*s of the Ottoman rulers who concluded treaties with the Venetians are the following:[33]

1) Süleyman Çelebi: 'Emir Süleyman bin Bayezid '.
2) Musa Çelebi: 'Musa bin Bayezid Han'.[34]
3) Mehmed I: 'Mehmed bin Bayezid Han'.
4) Murad II: 'Murad bin Mehmed Han muzaffer'.[35]
5) Mehmed II: 'Mehmed bin Murad Han muzaffer da'ima'.
6) Bayezid II: 'Bayezid bin Mehmed han muzaffer da'ima'.
7) Selim I: 'Selim-şah bin Bayezid Han el-muzaffer da'ima'.

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33 These texts have been taken from Umur, *op. cit.,* 29. On the *tugra* and the *corroboratio* see Kraelitz, *Urkunden,* 17-23 and 29-30; Fekete, *Einführung,* XXXVIII-XXXIX and XLII-XLV; idem, *Persische Paläographie*, 27-31; Reychman, *Handbook*, 141-144 and 147; Gökbilgin, *Diplomatik ilmi*, 73-74 and 79-83; Guboglu, *op. cit.*, 67-70; Schaendlinger, *Schreiben*, I, XVI and XXVIII; idem, *Schreiben*, II, XII-XIII and XXIII; Busse, *art. cit.*, 225-235; and Keçik, *op. cit.*, 18-20, 39 and 58-61.

34 Wittek, *Urkunden*, III, 125-126, gives this text for Musa's *tugra*. However, so far no authentic *tugra* of Musa Çelebi has been found.

35 According to Fekete, *Persische Paläographie*, 32, the formula 'muzaffer' or 'muzaffer daima' has a Byzantine origin.

8) Süleyman I: 'Süleyman-şah bin Selim-şah Han el-muzaffer da'ima'.
9) Selim II: 'Selim-şah bin Süleyman-şah Han el-muzaffer da'ima'.
10) Murad III: 'Şah Murad bin Selim-şah Han el-muzaffer da'ima'.
11) Mehmed III: 'Mehmed bin Murad Han el-muzaffer da'ima'.
12) Ahmed I: 'Şah Ahmed bin Mehmed Han el-muzaffer da'ima'.
13) ᶜOsman II: 'Şah ᶜOsman bin Ahmed Han el-muzaffer da'ima'.
14) Murad IV: 'Şah Murad bin Ahmed Han el-muzaffer da'ima'.
15) İbrahim I: 'Şah İbrahim bin Ahmed Han el-muzaffer da'ima'.

Conclusions

The origin of the *ʿahd-name* goes back to the time of the Turkish emirates in Anatolia. This tradition is most likely based on Seljukid practice since there are many indications that the Seljukids conluded treaties with foreign states (especially vassal states) in the same way. The origin of the instrument as a type is therefore Turkish-Islamic and not Byzantine or Mamluk, as has been suggested before.[1] However, this does not exclude the posibility that the contents of these Ottoman-Venetian instruments (i.e. the articles in the *dispositio*) were influenced by those of the Byzantine-Venetian and the Mamluk-Venetian instruments. There are indeed many similarities in contents, which, however, do not justify the statement that the form of the Ottoman-Venetian *ʿahd-name*s was exclusively based on these Byzantine-Venetian and Mamluk-Venetian instruments. Credit for the similarities in contents most likely should be given to the Venetians themselves. Whenever Venice established political and commercial relations with another (Muslim) state or existing treaties were renewed, she tried to obtain the same privileges she enjoyed elsewhere. The centralized government system of Venice more or less guaranteed that negotiations with different states always resulted in similar or comparable privileges.[2]

The instruments of the Anatolian emirates from the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century can be divided into three main categories:

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1 Cf. İnalcık, *Imtiyazat*, 1183: 'With the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt, the value of capitulations increased enormously. Selim I renewed the capitulations granted by the Mamluk sultans to Venice […]. The suggestion that these more elaborate capitulations [i.e. the Mamluk capitulations] were the model for the capitulations later granted to the states of Western Europe [by the Otomans] […] is an exaggeration: the Ottomans seem rather to have followed the practice of the Anatolian emirates'.

2 Cf. Bombaci, *Trattato del 1446*, 267-271; and J. Wansbrough, 'A Maroccan Amir's Commercial Treaty with Venice of the Year 913/1508', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXV, 1962, 449-471, 466: 'It was the custom of the Venetian Signoria to send detailed instructions, amounting in fact to a petitio, arranged in paragraphs, with the envoys dispatched to foreign rulers for the purpose of securing commercial privileges. These instructions, in Latin or Italian, became the basis for the wording of the articles'. Wansbrough in this same article (470) states 'our [i.e. the Maroccan] treaty is a contract […] negotiated between two parties […] who from our texts appear to have regarded one another as equals. These circumstances alone distinguish the document from the unilateral commercial decrees of the Mamluk sultans and the capitulations of the Ottoman Turks, granted during this period to European rulers'. With respect to the Ottoman-Venetian treaties his remark is not correct. The Ottoman-Venetian treaties from that period were still sworn bilateral instruments with mainly explicit reciprocal articles.

1) Type I: a unilateral instrument following the 'Menteşian form' in accordance with Turkish-Islamic principles.
2) Type II: a unilateral instrument concluded in accordance with Turkish-Islamic principles but in form influenced by Byzantine practice.
3) Type III: a unilateral instrument following the 'Aydınian-Ottoman' form in accordance with Turkish-Islamic principles.

The earliest Ottoman instruments (1403, 1411 and 1419) either belong to Type II (1403) or Type III (1411 and 1419). The form of Type II was strongly influenced by Byzantine practice, whereas the form of Type III seems, at least in the beginning, not to have been influenced by the form of the Byzantine(-Venetian) instruments and should be considered unilateral treaties with predominantly non-reciprocal articles. From 1419 onwards, the instruments of Type III developed, most likely under the influence of contemporary Byzantine-Venetian treaties, into bilateral treaties with reciprocal articles. The procedure followed during the conclusion of these treaties also shows striking similarities with that of Byzantine(-Venetian) diplomatic practice at that time. A bilateral treaty was an *instrumentum reciprocum*. Both parties exchanged the text of the treaty in the form of a document with a *legitimatio*: signature (*tugra*) or seal. Moreover, both parties swore an oath to maintain the treaty. Thus, a treaty was a sworn *instrumentum reciprocum*. Such instruments were called in Greek *orkomotikon* and in Turkish *ʿahd-name*, i.e. an *Eidesurkunde*.

This clearly shows that these treaties were not documents belonging to the *nişan*-type. Only from 1482 onwards did the Venetian *ʿahd-name*s begin to change into *nişan*s. The first phase of *nişanization* started in 1482 and lasted until 1540. During this period the form of the *ʿahd-name* adopted a number of features of the *nişan*. The instrument as treaty, however, remained a sworn bilateral *instrumentum reciprocum*, although in the first half of the sixteenth century the explicit reciprocity of the articles slowly disappeared. Yet, the disappearance of this explicit reciprocity in the text does not necessarily indicate that the privileges were no longer reciprocal in practice. Throughout the sixteenth century (and later), Ottoman subjects, especialy *zimmi*s (Jews and Christians), profited from these treaties which made Ottoman trade with other European states possible: 'It was tacitly understood that reciprocal advantages were expected in return for the privileges conceded, and that if these advantages failed to materialize, the Muslim ruler could claim that the precondition of "friendship and sincerity" had been broken […]. When the Venetians were unable to guarantee secure passage by land and sea for Muslim

merchants operating in Venice […] the Ottoman government warned them to remember their obligations to give reciprocal protection'.[3]

In 1540 the second stage of the *nişanization* of the form of the *ʿahd-name* began. Especially in the second part of the sixteenth century, the differences in form between the instruments given to Venice, Dubrovnik and Poland began to disappear. The capitulations granted to France, England and the Netherlands in the second half of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century clearly show that during this period the Ottoman chancery successfully standardized the *ʿahd-name* as a *nişan*. The form of this *nişan*-like *ʿahd-name* was no longer that of a sworn bilateral treaty in which reciprocal privileges were granted, but had become a unilateral grant, although in practice the privileges were tacitly assumed to be reciprocal. During this second stage of *nişanization* the practice of exchanging the text of the treaty and swearing oaths to maintain the peace also went out of use (with the exception of political instruments like the Ottoman-Spanisch armistice of 1581). Unilateral grants were not supposed to be exchanged and sworn by both parties. Only the oath of the conceding party was necessary, but as of now in written and not in verbal form. Consequently, this *nişan*-type of *ʿahd-name* can no longer be considered a sworn *instrumentum reciprocum*. Although the name of this instrument in Turkish, i.e. *ʿahd-name* remained unchanged, the meaning of this word was no longer that of *Eidesurkunde*. All instruments which were used to conclude peace and to grant privileges, such as the Venetian *ʿahd-name*s, had become *ʿahd-name*s in the form of a *nişan*.

The *nişan*-form eventually transformed the *ʿahd-name* into a unilateral instrument. Originally the *ʿahd-name* had been a unilateral treaty which evolved into a bilateral treaty (fifteenth century), but in the second half of the sixteenth century the process of *nişanization* resulted in a treaty which once again was a unilateral grant fully in accordance with Islamic legal theory as discussed by Al-Kalkashandi. Thus, the Venetian *ʿahd-name* is similar to the Mamluk-Genoese instrument of 1290 which was also a unilateral treaty, mainly consisting of the granting of commercial privileges. However, whereas the Mamluk commercial privileges granted to Venice were *amanat* in the form of *marasim* and not treaties containing political clauses, the Venetian *ʿahd-name*s were (political) treaties (*hudan*) which were also used for the granting of commercial privileges. Thus, there remains a fundamental difference in form between the Mamluk and Ottoman instruments. Nevertheless, the *nişan*-type

3 İnalcık, *Imtiyazat*, 1180.

Venetian *ᶜahd-name* can also be considered a kind of *aman* (safe-conduct), which, however, not only granted commercial privileges but also established peace in the form of a unilateral instrument (cf. the Ragusan *ᶜahd-names*). In form the difference between the Mamluk and Ottoman instruments also remained visible: the Mamluk *marsum* was a decree (without an oath) and the Ottoman *ᶜahd-name* a *nişan* (with an oath).

Even though in the end the *ᶜahd-name*s became *nişan*s, we should consider all the different instruments that were concluded (with different states) by the Ottomans throughout the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth century - despite the different forms these instruments took - as documents of the *ᶜahd-name*-type (and certainly not as ordinary *nişan*s). Only when the *ᶜahd-name* is considered to be a separate type of document, can the instrument's long and interesting history and the development of its form be thoroughly understood.

Chapter Ten: Archives and Libraries and the *ᶜAhd-name*; the *ᶜAhd-name* and Ottoman Paleography

Archives and Libraries and the *ᶜAhd-name*

1. The Başbakanlık Arşivi in İstanbul

The Ottoman chancery and its archives

The Başbakanlık Arşivi (in the past also called the Başvekalet Arşivi, i.e. the Prime Ministry's Archives) evolved from several Ottoman archives. The financial administration (*defterdarlık*) had its own archives, as did the chancery (*divan-i hümayun kalemi*). However, not all *defter*s and documents of the chancery were preserved in these archives. In general, *defter*s and documents that were still in use were kept in smaller archives which formed part of the different *kalem*s or bureaux of the *divan-i hümayun*. This was also the case with the *ᶜahd-names*. These treaties with foreign powers were of great importance and were frequently consulted. Older treaties were also of great value since they could be used to resolve future conflicts, and earlier capitulations were often taken as a model when negotiating new treaties.[1]

In the time of Süleyman I the *divan-i hümayun* or imperial council consisted of the *sadr-i aᶜzam* (also *vezir-i aᶜzam*, grand vizier), the *kubbe vezirleri* (ordinary viziers), the *kazi-ᶜasker*s or army judges of Rumelia and Anatolia, two *defterdar*s, the *nişancı*, the *kapudan paşa* (the grand admiral) and the *beglerbegi* of Rumelia. The decisions of the *divan-i hümayun* were written down in the form of notes. These notes were passed on to the *divan-i hümayun kalemi*

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1 On the financial administration of the Ottoman Empire and its archives see Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez ve bahriye teşkilatı*, 319-375; J. von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, 2 vols., Hildesheim 1977 (ed. princ. Wien 1815), 137-189 (Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*); Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, 57-63; M. Çorbacıoğlu, 'Osmanlı devlet teşkilatında mevcut kalemler ve görevleri', *Tarih boyunca paleografya ve diplomatik semineri*, İstanbul 1988, 71-84, 73-84; Reychman, *Handbook*, 24-31; and H. Sahillioğlu, 'Ruznamçe', *Tarih boyunca paleografya ve diplomatik semineri*, İstanbul 1988, 113-139. On the history of Ottoman archives see Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez ve bahriye teşkilatı*, 51 and 76-110; Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, 89-91; A. Çetin, *Başbakanlık Arşivi kılavuzu*, İstanbul 1979, 1-4; and N. Aktaş and İ. Binark, *Ottoman Archives. Başbakanlık Arşivi*, Amman 1406 A.H. / 1986 A.D. (This work is in Arabic, its Arabic title is *Al-Arshif al-ᶜUthmani*). On the Başbakanlık Arşivi see also M. Sertoğlu, 'Osmanlı diplomatiği bakımından Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivlerinde bulunan belgelerin ilmi ve hukuki değerleri hakkında düşünceler', *Tarih boyunca paleografya ve diplomatik semineri*, İstanbul 1988, 59-69. For further literature see the bibliographies in Reychman, *Handbook*, 30-31; Çetin, *op. cit.,* 169-171; and Aktaş, *op. cit.*, 488-498.

or chancery which then issued documents in accordance with the decisions of the imperial council.[2]

The Ottoman chancery or *divan-i hümayun kalemi* consisted of three different offices or *kalem*s: the *beglik* or *beglikçi kalemi,* the *tahvil kalemi* and the *rü'us kalemi.* The *rü'us kalemi* issued the appointments of Ottoman officials who were paid in cash (the documents appointing them were known as *rü'us*), whereas the *tahvil kalemi* issued the appointments of Ottoman officials who were assigned fiefs as payment (*timar*, *zeʿamet*, etc., the document appointing them was a *berat* or *nişan).* The *beglikçi kalemi* (or *beglik kalemi*) was named after the *beglikçi* who was the head of all three *kalem*s. This bureau was also called the *divan kalemi* since it was mainly concerned with the affairs dealt with by the *divan-i hümayun*. Among the *defter*s kept by this bureau are the so called *mühimme defterleri* and *ecnebi defterleri.* These two types of *defters* contain texts of treaties concluded with foreign powers. Apart from copies of *ʿahd-name*s kept in *defter*s (from the end of the sixteenth century onwards), it seems reasonable to suggest that the *beglikçi kalemi* also made other copies kept on separate sheets of paper (or rolls). The document versions of the capitulations (i.e. those issued by the chancery and presented to a foreign state) were also written in the *beglikçi kalemi*.[3]

The official head of the Ottoman chancery was called the *nişancı*. The *nişancı* was a permanent member of the *divan-i hümayun* and as such a very important Ottoman official. One of his primary tasks was to draw the sultan's *tugra* on documents that were issued by the chancery. And he also looked after legal matters (especially matters covered by the non-religious lawbooks or *kanun-name*s). In the fifteenth and sixteenth century the *nişancı*

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2 On the *divan-i hümayun* and its individual members, see Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, I, 88-96, II, 70-101, 412-436; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez ve bahriye teşkilatı*, 1-38, 111-241; Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, 10-17; A. Mumcu, *Hukuksal ve siyasal karar organı olarak divan-ı hümayun*, Ankara 1986, 21-52, 71-169; Reychman, *Handbook*, 159-165; and T. Temelkuran, 'Divan-ı hümayun mühimme kalemi', *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, VI, 1975, 129-175,130-133.

3 On the *divan-i hümayun kalemleri* and the *defters* they kept see Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, II, 109-119; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez ve bahriye teşkilatı*; 39-55 and 76-110; Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, 18-22 and 77-80; Mumcu, *op. cit.*, 66-69; Çorbacıoğlu, *art. cit.*, 71-73; Reychman, *Handbook*, 160-168; M. Sertoğlu, '"Diplomatique" bilgisi bakımından Başvekalet Arşivi', *V. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, Ankara 1960, 355-364 (Sertoğlu, *Diplomatique*); and Temelkuran, *art. cit.*, 133-139. This division of the chancery into three main departments most probably did not yet exist in the time of Süleyman I.

was the official head of the Ottoman chancery and the representative of this institution in the *divan-i hümayun*.[4]

However, during the reign of Süleyman I the amount of work dealt with by the chancery must have increased considerably. Consequently, a new official was appointed as the actual 'manager' of the chancery. He was called the *re'isü 'l-küttab* or head of the clerks (scribes) and he supervised all the clerks and the daily work done in the chancery. Important documents such as *ʿahd-name*s were often drafted and written by the *re'isü 'l-küttab* himself (as the *nişancı* had done before him). During Süleyman's reign, the *re'isü 'l-küttab* was still the assistent of the *nişancı* but, from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards, he gradually became more important and eventually took charge of the *divan-i hümayun kalemi*, replacing the *nişancı*.[5]

In the second half of the seventeenth century the *bab-i ʿali* (also called *bab-i asafi* or *paşa kapısı*) was established (1654). This new institution, which consisted of the grand vizier's offices, gradually replaced the *divan-i hümayun* and became the Ottoman administrative center (during the end of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century). The *re'isü 'l-küttab* became the head of the whole Ottoman chancery which was absorbed by this new institution. The Ottoman chancery, which had originally been the chancery of the *divan-i hümayun*, now came to be the chancery of the grand vizier himself. Hereafter its importance and influence increased considerably.[6]

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4 Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, II, 133-134; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez ve bahriye teşkilatı*, 214-227; Reychman, *Handbook*, 164; T. Gökbilgin, 'Nişancı', *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, IX, 299-302; F. Babinger, 'Nishandji', *EI*[1], III, 1001-1002; and Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, 22-33.

5 Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, II, 109-110; Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez ve bahriye teşkilatı*, 242-248; Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, 33-45; Reychman, *Handbook*, 160-164; H. İnalcık, 'Reis-ül-Küttab', *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, IX, 671-683 (İnalcık, *Reis-ül-Küttab*); and J. Deny, 'Re'is ül-Küttab', *EI*[1], III, 1231-1233. In an entry in *Mühimme Defteri* 44 (p. 91) a certain Hamza Efendi is mentioned together with the date 13 Cemazi 'l-ahır 990 (July 1582). It is likely that this Hamza Efendi is the *re'isü 'l-küttab* since in that period a certain *Hamza Bey* was *re'isü 'l-küttab* in 1573-1579, 1582-1584 and 1587-1589, and a certain *Hamza Çelebi* was *re'isü 'l-küttab* from 1580 till 1582. It is not clear whether Hamza Bey, Hamza Çelebi and Hamza Efendi are the same person. However, this could be an indication that by 1582 the *re'isü 'l-küttab* was already the actual head of the chancery since his name was mentioned in the *defter*s. In the oldest *ecnebi defteri* (13/1, p. 124) extant a Hamza Efendi is mentioned as *re'isü 'l-küttab.* According to the entry ('fi gurre-i rebiᶜu 'l-evvel-i sene 1025 der zeman-i hazret-i Hamza efendi tale bekahü'), he was *re'isü 'l-küttab* in 1025/1616. This Hamza Efendi is most probably Yazıcızade Küçük Hamza Çelebi who was also *re'isü 'l-küttab* in 1599-1600, 1603 and 1622. This entry indicates that in 1616 the *re'isü 'l-küttab* was indeed the head of the chancery. In almost all *ecnebi defterleri* after this date other *re'isü 'l-küttab*s are mentioned.

6 Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez ve bahriye teşkilatı*, 39-40, 242-267; Çorbacıoğlu, *art. cit.*, 71-84; Sertoğlu, *Diplomatique*, 355-364; and Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, 21.

The position of the *reisü 'l-küttab* also gained further importance. Already at the end of the seventeenth century *re'isü 'l-küttab* Mehmed Rami, during the negotiations for the peace of Karlowitz (1699), acted as a kind of Secretary of State whose task it was to deal with foreign affairs. In the eighteenth century the influence of the *re'is efendi* gradually increased. Around 1777 a new department within the chancery was created: the *amedi kalemi*. The *amedi kalemi* was the private bureau of the *re'isü 'l-küttab* whose main function from this time forward was to attend to the foreign affairs of the Ottoman Empire. After the *amedi kalemi* had been established, the *ecnebi defterleri*, which until then had been kept in the *beglikçi kalemi*, were transferred into the new bureau of the *re'isü 'l-küttab*.[7]

The Ottoman chancery and its *defter*s

The *Mühimme Defterleri*

The *mühimme defterleri* (*ümur-i mühimme defterleri*) form one of the most important sources for Ottoman history. The total series kept in the Başbakanlık Arşivi consists of 263 volumes and covers the period from 961/1553 to 1323/1905.[8] There are, however, many gaps in the chronological sequence because of losses. Older volumes of the *mühimme defterleri* are preserved in the Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi. The oldest of these dates from 1544-1545.[9] The *mühimme defteri* is a kind of official letter book which contains

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7 Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez ve bahriye teşkilatı*, 55-58, 242-248; Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, 19, 36; İnalcık, *Reis-ül-Küttab*, 671-683; Temelkuran, *art. cit.*, 139; Çorbacıoğlu, *art. cit.*, 71-73, Sertoğlu, *Diplomatique*, 355-364; and Çetin, *op. cit.*, 57 and 68. According to Çetin, the *ecnebi defterleri* were kept in the *amedi kalemi.* Later in the eighteenth century other *defters* like the *name-i hümayun*, *suret-i ᶜahd* and *rikab defterleri* may also have been kept in the *amedi kalemi.* Çetin states that the *name-i hümayun*, *suret-i ᶜahd* and *rikab defterleri* were kept in the *divan kalemi* (= *beglikçi kalemi*). The first volume of this series, however, was copied in order to be given to the deputy ('vekil') *re'isü 'l-küttab.* Since this defter was copied to replace a number of *ecnebi defterleri*, it is likely that it was kept in the same place as the *ecnebi defterleri*, and that may have been in the *amedi kalemi.* Temelkuran states that they were kept in the *divan-i hümayun kalemi* to which both the *amedi* and the *divan kalemi* belonged. Çorbacıoğlu and Sertoğlu state that treaties with foreign states were kept in the *amedi kalemi.*

8 H. Majer, *Das osmanische "Registerbuch der Beschwerden" (Şikayet Defteri) vom Jahre 1675*, Wien 1984, I, 17. Majer states that 1323 is 1869. It is evident that he made this mistake by taking the first *hicri* date given by Çetin and not the second (1905).

9 The Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi has two volumes in its possession. The first covers the years 951-952/1544-1545 and the second the years 959-960/1552-1553. Heyd, *Documents*, XVIII and 3-4; Temelkuran, *art. cit.*, 155-157; and Majer, *op. cit.*, 17.In 1581 the French capitulation of 1569 was renewed. Originally, the French wanted to renew the French-Ottoman alliance of 1535, but no copy of

copies of all kinds of documents which were issued by the Ottoman government. These documents may be *hükm*s or *ferman*s as well as *berat*s and *name*s. Whenever the sultan or his grand-vizier were on a military campaign two separate registers were kept: the *ordu mühimmesi* in the military headquarters and the *rikab mühimmesi* in İstanbul. The texts in the *mühimme defterleri* are recorded in chronological order.[10]

Since all important documents issued by the Ottoman chancery were copied into the *mühimme defterleri,* it would be logical to suppose that the Ottomans also made *mühimme-copies* of the *ᶜahd-name*s given to foreign states. For this reason I have checked all the volumes from the beginning until approximately 1643.[11] Despite the vast quantity of materials contained in the *mühimme defterleri*, the number of *ᶜahd-name*s is rather small.[12] I have not been able to find more than the following four *ᶜahd-name*s in the *mühimme defterleri*:
1) *Mühimme Defteri* 6, no. 796, 371, copy of the Austrian *ᶜahd-name* of 972/1564-1565.[13]
2) *Mühimme Defteri* 21, no. 404, 165-166, copy of the Venetian *ᶜahd-name* of 980/1572-1573.
3) *Mühimme Defteri* 27, no. 256, 105, copy of the Austrian *ᶜahd-name* of 983/1575-1576.
4) *Mühimme Defteri* 43, no. 458, 246-247, copy of the English *ᶜahd-name* of 988/1580-1581.

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this treaty could be found in France. The French King Henry III then asked the Ottomans to check their archives, but they could not find a copy of it either. The French ambassador de Germigny wrote the following answer in which most likely a reference is made to the *mühimme defterleri*: 'Your Majesty's ancient capitulations have been sought diligently all these latter meetings of the Divan among the registers of this Porte, from the years [1]530 to 45, not found, however, and they have promised to renew the modern ones, which already have been drawn up, with other articles advantageous to your service'. See Skilliter, *William Harborne*, 171.

10 Heyd, *Documents*, 3-6; Çetin, *op. cit.*, 49-57; Temelkuran, *art. cit.*, 157-175; Majer, *op. cit.*, 15-21; M. Kütükoğlu, 'Mühimme defterlerindeki muamele kayıdları üzerine', *Tarih boyunca paleografya ve diplomatik semineri*, İstanbul 1988, 95-112; and Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez ve bahriye Teşkilatı*, 70-82.

11 *Mühimme Defterleri* 1-89. See Çetin, *op. cit.,* 49-52.

12 Cf. Faroqhi, *Venetian Presence*, 317, who concludes, when speaking of the *mühimme defterleri* as a source for Ottoman-Venetian relations: 'But on the whole, it can not be claimed that Ottoman-Venetian relations in times of peace are adequately covered by the documents contained in the volumes of *mühimme* records'.

13 I have not been able to see this text because it was not available during my visist to the Başbakanlık Arşivi. This text could be the Austrian capitulation of 15 Receb 972/16-2 1565 given by Süleyman I to Maximilian II. The original Ottoman document kept in Vienna has been published by Schaendlinger, *Schreiben*, I, no. 32, 87-94.

All four copies date from around the same period: 1564-1581 (972-988). From this one might conclude that *ʿahd-name*s were only copied into the *mühimme defterleri* during this relatively short period (15-16 year). One might also conclude that it was not customary in the Ottoman chancery to copy this type of text into the *mühimme defterleri.* Otherwise more texts (earlier and later) would have been copied. It may well not have been standard procedure to copy capitulations into the *mühimme defterleri*. Perhaps this is to be explained by the importance of the *ʿahd-name,* or by the unusual and lengthy procedure during the negotiations and the issuing of the document, or simply by the length of the text.

Then again, perhaps the *ʿahd-name* was too important to keep alongside other documents concerning daily administrative affairs. That would imply that the texts of capitulations were preserved separately in another part of the *beglikçi kalemi.* Usually the issuing of the actual document was preceded by long and difficult negotiations between the two parties involved. The issuing of an *ʿahd-name* was certainly not a daily affair. Therefore, the Ottoman chancery did not or could not follow standard procedures which included making copies in the *mühimme defterleri*. In this respect it is interesting to note that the Venetian *ʿahd-name* of 1573 was the only Venetian capitulation which was negotiated by the permanent Venetian representative in Constantinople (the bailo) and not by an extraordinary embassy from Venice. This *ʿahd-name* was also the shortest Venetian capitulation ever.[14] Thus, it may well be that *ʿahd-name*s were simply too long to be copied into the *mühimme defterleri.* In this respect it is also worth noting that the copy of the English *ʿahd-name* of 1580 is not complete (unfinished).[15]

Yet, it is difficult to explain why only four *ʿahd-name*s were copied into the *mühimme defterleri* and why this only happened during the period 1564-1581. Possibly the texts were copied into other *defter*s or on separate sheets of paper or rolls. In order to be able to determine this we should proceed to the next class of defters in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in İstanbul in which *ʿahd-name*s can be found: the *ecnebi defterleri* or *defatir-i düvel-i ecnebiye*.

The *Ecnebi Defterleri*

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14 Uzunçarşılı published a part of this *mühimme defteri*-version of the Venetian capitulation of 1573 in his *Osmanlı tarihi*. See Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, III, 25.

15 This text was used by Skilliter for her reconstruction of the first English capitulation (1580). See Skilliter, *William Harborne*, 232-236.

The *ecnebi defterleri* are a series of defters which contain texts concerning foreign states with which the Ottomans had diplomatic relations. In general the *defter*s contain texts concerning the diplomatic and commercial relations between the Ottoman Empire and foreign states. Most entries are rescripts which were issued by the Ottoman chancery in response to complaints or questions which foreign ambassadors presented in the form of an *ʿarz-i hal*, i.e. a petition. The total series kept in the Başbakanlık Arşivi consists of 111 volumes ranging from the United States of America to states such as Venice which no longer exist.[16] The *ecnebi defterleri* cover a long period that ends with the First World War (1916). But when exactly did the *ecnebi defterleri* emerge as a new type of *defter* within the Ottoman chancery?[17]

Çetin gives the years (beginning and end date) that these *defter*s contain. However, the dates are somewhat deceptive. On the basis of Çetin's information one would conclude that *Ecnebi Defteri* no. 57/1 is the oldest in the collection (Nemçe, 975-1210/1567-1795), followed by *Ecnebi Defteri* no. 13/1 (Venedik, 1013-1028/1604-1618) and *Ecnebi Defteri* no. 55/1 (Lehistan,1016-1173/1607-1759). That would imply that as a type of *defter* the *ecnebi defterleri* already existed in the second half of the sixteenth century, i.e at a time when capitulations were also copied into the *mühimme defterleri*.[18]

However, there are interesting differences between these three *defter*s. Firstly, it is striking that the Venetian one only contains the years 1604-1618, whereas the Austrian-German and Polish ones cover very long periods (1567-1795 and 1606-1759, respectively). Secondly, the Venetian *defter* not only deals with Venice but with Dubrovnik as well and evidently represents a different sub-type within the *ecnebi defterleri*. The method of registration used in the Austrian-German and Polish *ecnebi defterleri* differs considerably from that used in the Venetian-Ragusan defter. We should therefore take a closer look to these three defters:

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16 Çetin, *op. cit.,* 68-72. Çetin gives 107 volumes. Recent research, however, has shown that two other *defter*s, formerly identified as *Ahkam Defteri Mora* 1 and 2, are also *ecnebi defterleri*. *Ahkam Defteri Mora* 1 is a French *ecnebi defteri* covering the years 1128/1716-1141/1729. *Ahkam Defteri Mora* 2 turned out to be an English e*cnebi defteri* for the years 1159/1746-1163/1750. See Majer, *op. cit.*, 18. In addition to this Faroqhi has identified two *defter*s from the *maliyeden müdevver* series as *ecnebi defterleri* for Venice and Dubrovnik for the years 1617-1619 and 1618-1628. See Faroqhi, *Handelspolitik*, 207-209.

17 Çetin, *op. cit.*, 68-72; Faroqhi, *Handelspolitik*, 207-209.

18 Çetin, *op. cit.*, 69-70.

1) *Ecnebi Defteri* no. 57/1: 'Nemçelü ᶜahd-namesi min eva'il-i remezan-i sene 975 ila evasıt-i cemazi 'l-ahıra-i sene 1210'.[19] This *defter* contains the following texts:

- pp. 1-3: 'Tokuz yüz yetmiş beş (975/1567-1568) senesinde merhum sultan Selim han zemanında Nemçe çasarına verilen ᶜahd-name-i hümayun' (rubric written with red ink).
- pp. 3-5: 'Tokuz yüz seksen dört (984/1576-1577) senesinde taraf-i hümayundan Nemçe çasarına yazılan ᶜahd-name-i hümayun' (rubric written with red ink).
- pp. 5-7: 'Merhum sultan Ahmed han zemanında biñ on beş (1015/1606-1607) senesi recebi gurresinde Jitva bogazında söyleşilüb Nemçeye verilen ᶜahd-name-i hümayun tahrir tarihi fi evayil-i [rece]b-i sene 1017' (1608-1609)(rubric written with red ink).
- pp. 7-10: 'Merhum sultan Ahmed zemanında biñ yigirmi dört (1024/1615) senesinde taraf-i hümayundan Nemçe çasarına verilen ᶜahd-name-i hümayundur' (rubric written with red ink).
- pp. 10-14: 'Merhum sultan Ahmed han zemanında biñ otuz yedi (1037/1627-1628) senesinde taraf-i hümayundan Nemçe çasarına verilen ᶜahd-name-i hümayundur' (rubric written with red ink).
- pp. 14-15: 'Biñ elli bir (1051/1641-1642) senesinde Kapucı başı ᶜOsman aga irsalıyla çasar tarafına verilen mevadd kagıdıdır' (rubric written with red ink).
- pp. 15-17: 'Biñ elli tokuz (1059/1649) senesinde vezir-i aᶜzam Murad paşanıñ astane-i seᶜadetde ᶜahd-i sulh eyledikde verilen […] mevadd temessükidir' (rubric written with red ink).
- pp. 17-19: 'Biñ yetmiş beş (1075/1664-1665) senesinde tecdid-i ᶜahd olundukda taraf-i hümayundan Nemçe çasarına verilen ᶜahd-namedir' (rubric written with red ink).
- pp. 19-20: 'Biñ yetmiş beş (1075/1664-1665) senesinde Eyvar […] altında müzakere olunan sulhuñ mevadd kagıdıdır fi 16 M[uharrem] sene 1075 ᶜahd-nameniñ tahriri tarihi fi evayil-i Z[i 'l-kaᶜde-i] sene 1075 Eyvar sahrasında verildi' (rubric written with red ink).
- pp. 21-27: The text of the Treaty of Karlowitz (Karlovça) from the last decade of the month Şaᶜban 1110/1699. The text has no rubric but seems to be an exact copy of the issued document complete with *invocatio*, *datatio* and *locatio*. Black and gold ink are used instead of red ink.

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19 This *defter* is 16 cm. wide, 45-46 cm. high and ca. 2.7-3.5 cm. thick and has a brown leather cover. The title is written on a label on the front of the cover.

- After these treaties other texts follow. The dates of these texts range from 1111 (1699-1700) to 1210/1795-1796. Among the texts are the Treaty of Pozorofça (Passarowitz) from 1130/1717-1718 (pp. 55-61), the commercial treaty ('ticaret ᶜahd-namesi') of Bozdokça (same year)(pp. 62-66) and the Treaty of Belgrad (1152/1739-1740)(pp. 177-184).

2) *Ecnebi Defteri* no. 55/1: 'Lehlü ᶜahd-namesi min evayil-i rebiᶜu 'l-evvel-i sene 1016 ila evasıt-i şaᶜban-i sene 1173' (1607-1608/1759-1760).[20] This defter contains the following texts:

- pp. 4-7: 'Merhum sultan Ahmed han zemanında Leh kralına verilen ᶜahd-namedir, 20 rebiᶜu 'l-evvel 1016' (1607-1608)(rubric written with red ink).
- pp. 7-8: 'Biñ yigirmi altı (1026/1617) senesinde vezir İskender paşa tarafından Leh kralına yazılan ᶜahd-namedir' (rubric written with red ink).
- pp. 8-12: 'Merhum sultan İbrahim han cülusunda (1049/1639-1640) Leh kralına yazılan ᶜahd-name-i hümayun' (rubric written with red ink).
- pp. 12-15: 'Biñ yetmiş sekiz (1078/1667-1668) senesinde canib-i hümayundan Leh kralına yazılan ᶜahd-name-i hümayun' (rubric written with red ink).
- pp. 16-20: 'Biñ sekzen tokuz (1089/1678-1679) senesinde canib-i hümayundan Leh kralına yazılan ᶜahd-name-i hümayundur ki vezir-i aᶜzam Mustafa paşa zemanında müceddeden olan sulhda rica eyledügi mevadd ilhakıyla verilmişdir' (rubric written with red ink).
- At page 22 the Polish *ᶜahd-name* of 1111 (1699-1700) begins. This text has no rubric, but seems to be an exact copy in black and gold ink of an original document issued by the Ottoman chancery since it also contains the *datatio* and *locatio* of the document. There then follow texts from the year 1111 (1699-1700) and later.

Both *defter*s bear a remarkable resemblance to one another. First they contain treaties (with red rubrics) and only after the first treaty without a (red) rubric (which in both cases seems to be an exact copy of an issued document), other texts follow (from the same years as the last treaty). Apart from this, all treaties (in one *defter*) are written in exactly the same handwriting. There can hardly be any doubt that these treaties were copied by one and the same person. One can only conclude that these two *defter*s date from the years 1110-1111 (1698-1700). During these years the Ottoman chancery must have reorganized its older Austrian-German and Polish *defter*s. From older *ecnebi defterleri* and/or other sources only important texts (treaties) were copied and entered into the new *ecnebi defterleri*. This was done in strict chronological

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20 This *defter* is 16.5 cm. wide, 45.5-46 cm. high and ca. 0.4-0.8 cm. thick and has a brown leather cover. The title is written on a label on the front of the cover.

order. The texts of treaties that were copied from older sources all had a red rubric. The text of the treaty which originates from the time of the new *defter,* however, had no (red) rubric but was copied from an original document using black and gold ink. Therefore, the Austrian-German *ecnebi defteri* does not date from 1567, but from 1698-1699; nor does the Polish *ecnebi defteri* date from 1607, but from 1699-1700. Both *defter*s, however, do contain texts from the period 1567-1698/1699 and 1607-1699/1700, respectively. These texts were copied by the same scribe from older *ecnebi defterleri* and/or other sources. These sources are most probably lost and it is even not unlikely that the Ottomans themselves destroyed them once they had copied the most important texts as part of a big 'clean-up' operation in the chancery and its archive.

This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the other existing *ecnebi defterleri* from the seventeenth century. The Dutch *defter* ('Felemenklü ᶜahd-namesi') dates from the year 1091/1680 and opens with the capitulation given by the Ottomans to the Netherlands (called 'Nederlanda' or 'Felemenk') in the same year.[21] The English *defter* ('İngilterelünüñ nişan defteri') dates from the year 1086/1675-1676 and also opens with the capitulation from the same year.[22] The English capitulation starts on page 2, but pp. 29-32 have been left blank. On page 33 we read: 'İngiltere defteri'. Then on pp. 34-39 there are other later (eighteenth and nineteenth century) texts. Page 40 and 41 are blank and starting on page 42 a second copy of the English capitulation of 1675 is recorded. The first copy of the English capitulation (pp. 2-28) is written on paper which is different from that of the rest of the *defter.* In fact, this text was inserted into the *defter* later. The original *defter* started at (nowadays) page 33. Here (originally page 1) the title of this *defter* can be read: 'İngiltere defteri'. As with the Dutch *defter* (pp. 1-4), the first pages of the English *defter* were originally left blank, but later Ottoman scribes copied texts on these pages (pp. 2-7). It thus becomes clear that the original English *defter* from 1675 began on page 10 (now page 42) with the text of the English *ᶜahd-name* of the same year. Evidently, the Ottoman chancery started new *ecnebi defterleri* for England and the Netherlands in 1675 and 1680. Although the Ottomans had

21 *Ecnebi Defteri* 22/1. This *defter* is 15 cm. wide, 42.5-43 cm. high and ca. 3.7-4.5 cm. thick and has a brown leather cover. The title is written on a label on the front of the cover. Originally this *defter* began on page 5 with this capitulation. The first four pages contain texts from a later date which were also written there later.

22 *Ecnebi Defteri* 35/1. This *defter* is 14 cm. wide, 41 cm. high and ca. 1.5-2.4 cm. thick and has a brown leather cover with gold imprint. The title is written on a label on the front of the cover.

diplomatic relations with England from 1580 and the Netherlands from 1612 onwards, the oldest defters concerning these relations are from 1675 and 1680. Again the question arises as to whether the Ottomans themselves in their 'clean-up' eliminated older, no longer relevant defters.

However, some other *ecnebi defterleri* exist which can be used to clarify this point. There are French *defter*s from the years 1634-1666, 1673-1809 and 1687-1701. The last defter ('Fransa devletiniñ ᶜatik ahkam defteridir min sene 1099 ila sene 1113') apparently only contains Ottoman *hükm*s which were issued in response to French complaints presented to the Ottoman government in the form of *ᶜarz-i hal*s (or *ᶜarzuhal*s).[23] The *defter* from 1673, like the English and Dutch defters from 1675 and 1680, opens with a capitulation of the same year (1673, pp. 2-8).[24] Again we have here a new *ecnebi defteri* from approximately the same period as two other 'new' *ecnebi defterleri*. In the period 1673-1680 the Ottoman chancery apparently tidied up its collection of French, English and Dutch *defter*s and started with new *defter*s at an appropriate moment. In each case this 'appropriate moment' turned out to be the occasion when the Ottoman government issued new capitulations (1673, 1675 and 1680).

There is a French *defter* which is older yet, from the years 1634-1666.[25] This *defter* ('Fransa devletiniñ nişan ve ahkam defteridir (ᶜatik) min sene 1044 ila sene 1077') opens on page 2 with the following rubric: 'Françalulara verilen ahkam-i şerife kaydıdır'. Then the texts follow. However, this *defter* does not resemble the later French *ecnebi defterleri,* nor any other later *ecnebi defterleri*.[26] Indeed, it looks more like a *mühimme defteri* than an *ecnebi defteri.* As in the *mühimme defterleri*, entries in this *ecnebi defteri* 'are grouped under headlines mentioning a certain date with the day of the week'.[27] There seems to be a direct link between the *mühimme defterleri* and this early *ecnebi defteri*.

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23 *Ecnebi Defteri* 28/3. This *defter* is 15 cm. wide, 42 cm. high and ca. 1.4-2 cm. thick and has a cover of *ebru* paper and a brown leather spine. The title is written on a label on the front of the cover.

24 *Ecnebi Defteri* 27/2. I have no information on the outer appearance of this *defter*. However, since it is from approximately the same time as the other 'new' defters, it should also have more or less the same appearance.

25 *Ecnebi Defteri* 26/1. This *defter* is 14-14.5 cm. wide, 40-40.5 cm. high and ca. 1.4-2 cm. thick and has a brown leather cover. The title is written on a label upside-down on the reverse side of the cover.

26 The outer appearance of the *defter*, however, is more like the later *ecnebi defterleri* and not like the *mühimme defterleri* which are like the *şikayet defterleri* approximately 22-23 cm. wide and 32-33 cm. high. For instance *Mühimme Defteri* 21 is 19 cm. wide, 30 cm. high and 3 cm. thick; *Mühimme Defteri* 43 is 19 cm. wide, 30 cm. high and 3.5 cm. thick.

27 Heyd, *Documents*, 24-25.

Besides this French *ecnebi defteri*, some other early *ecnebi defterleri* exist as well. The first of these, and the oldest of all the *ecnebi defterleri*, is the combined Venetian-Ragusan *ecnebi defteri* from 1604-1618.[28] It has already been mentioned above. The two *defter*s which follow are no longer in the *ecnebi defterleri* series but appear in the *maliyeden müdevver* series (*Maliyeden Müdevver* 17901 and 6004). Faroqhi has identified these *defter*s as *ecnebi defterleri* for Dubrovnik and Venice. They cover the years 1027-1028 (1616-1619) and 1028-1037 (1618-1628). Both these *defter*s contain copies of *ᶜahd-name*s (one from ᶜOsman II and one from Murad IV).[29] Others are Ragusan *ecnebi defterleri* from 1628-1646[30], 1647-1662[31] and a Venetian *ecnebi defteri* from 1670.[32]

The last defter (called 'Dubravniklü ᶜahd-namesi' on its cover!) belongs to the same category of 'new' *ecnebi defterleri* as the Austrian-German and the Polish *defter*s. Although Çetin states that it covers the years 1670-1696, this is only partially correct. Like the German and Polish *defter*s, this Venetian one opens with a series of texts which were evidently copied from older sources. The first is a *nişan* concerning pirates. The rubric in red is as follows: 'Merhum ve magfur lehü sultan Mehemmed han zemanında korsan ta'ifesi hususuyçün verilen nişan-i hümayundur' (pp. 1-2). Next comes a copy of the Venetian capitulation of 1575. Again the rubric is in red: 'Tokuz yüz seksen uç senesinde merhum sultan Murad han ibn sultan Selim han zeman-i şeriflerinde Venedik dojına verilen ᶜahd-name-i hümayun suretidir' (pp. 3-8). This text is followed by copies of the instruments belonging to the peace treaty of 1669-1670 which was concluded at the end of the Candian War. The rubrics of these texts are all in red: 'Biñ seksen senesinde vezir-i aᶜzam Ahmed paşa zemanında Venedik cumhurına verilen mevadd kagıdı' (pp. 9-11) and:

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28 *Ecnebi Defteri* 13/1. Title: 'Dobra Venediklü ahkamı min evasıt-i rebiᶜu 'l-ahır 1013 ila evasıt-i muharrem 1028'. This *defter* is 15 cm. wide, 41 cm. high and ca. 1.4-2 cm. thick and has a cover of *ebru* paper with a brown leather spine. The title is written on a label on the outer cover.

29 Faroqhi, *Handelspolitik*, 207-209. I have not been able to include these *defter*s in my study.

30 *Ecnebi Defteri* 14/2. Title: 'Dubravniklü defteri min eva'il-i muharremü 'l-haram-i sene 1038 ila eva'il-i rebiᶜu 'l-ahır-i sene 1056'. This *defter* is 15 cm. wide, 41.5 cm. high and ca. 1.4-2 cm. thick and has a cover of *ebru* paper with a brown leather spine. The title is written on a label on the outer cover.

31 *Ecnebi Defteri* 15/3. Title: 'Dubravniklü defteri min eva'il-i receb-i sene 1057 ila eva'il-i cemazi 'l-evvel-i sene 1073'. Çetin, *op. cit.*, 69, gives as dates of this *defter* evayil-i Receb 1057 - evayil-i Cemazi 'l-evvel 1037, 1647-1627. This *defter* is 15 cm. wide, 41 cm. high and ca. 1-1.6 cm. thick and has a cover of *ebru* paper with a brown leather spine. The title is written on a label on the outer cover.

32 *Ecnebi Defteri* 16/4. Title: 'Dubravniklü ᶜahd-namesi […] and ᶜahd-name ve ahkam-i mahlut ve tevarih-i muhtelifdir'. This *defter* has a cover of *ebru* paper with a brown leather spine. The title is written on a (torn) label on the outer cover. This *defter* is 15 cm. wide and 41 cm. high.

'Merhum ve magfur lehü sultan Mehemmed han ᶜaleyhi 'r-rahmet ve 'l-gufran zemanında sene-i mezburede verilen ᶜahd-name-i hümayundur' (pp. 11-18). The next text is that of the treaty of Karlowitz (Karlofça) from 1112 (1701-1702). This text, however, is written with gold and black ink. After this treaty are all sorts of other texts in chronological order with dates beginning in 1111-1112 (1700-1702). Among these texts are the Venetian capitulations of 1118 (1706-1707) (pp. 73-83), 1130 (1717-1718)(pp. 99-107) and 1141 (1729-1729)(pp. 115-125). The dates given by Çetin for this *defter* are therefore not correct. The oldest text is indeed from 1669-1670 but the latest is definitely not from 1698. There can be little doubt that this *defter*, like the Austrian-German and Polish ones, dates from approximately 1111-1112 (1699-1701). Like those *defter*s, it also comprises texts which were copied from other, older sources which apparently no longer exist or have not yet been found.[33]

The two Ragusan *defter*s (1628-1646 and 1647-1662) in many ways resemble the French *defter* from 1634-1666. They too have the *mühimme defteri*-type headings. This same feature is also found in the combined Venetian-Ragusan *ecnebi defteri* from 1604-1618. This 'Venetian' *defter* is very interesting because it not only contains texts pertaining to Venice but also to Dubrovnik. On its cover is written: 'Dobra Venediklü Ahkamı min evasıt-i rebiᶜu 'l-ahır 1013 ila evasıt-i muharrem 1023'. On page 1 more specific information is given: 'Venedige ve Dubravnige müteᶜallık ahkam kaydıdır'. This *defter* is indeed a mixed Venetian and Ragusan *defter*, not only in name but in its contents as well:

- pp. 1-2: a Ragusan *ᶜahd-name*, preceded by the following heading: '[Yev]mü 'l-isneyn fi 19 şehr-i rebiᶜu 'l-ahır-i sene seles ᶜaşr ve elf'.
- pp. 7-11: a Venetian *ᶜahd-name*, preceded by the following heading: 'Der zeman-i hazret-i sultan Ahmed han [yev]mü l-hamis fi 21 şehr-i cemazi 'l-ahıra-i sene seles ᶜaşr ve elf'.

Hereafter, the *defter* contains other texts concerning both the Ragusans and the Venetians. The number of texts to do with the Ragusans, however, outnumbers those concerning Venice. On page 140 this *defter* is even renamed: 'Dubravnige verilen evamiriñ kaydıdır'.

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33 The exact same texts as in the Venetian *ecnebi defteri* are to be found in the *Mecmuᶜa-i Müᶜahedat* (or Müᶜahedat Mecmuᶜası). This publication is evidently based on the texts of capitulations and other instruments from the *ecnebi defterleri.* The oldest Russian *ecnebi defteri* (83/1) apparently also belongs to this same group. Its first date is from the same period: 1113/1701-1702. The *defter* is called in Çetin, *op. cit.*, 71: 'Ahidname' which indicates that it opens with the text of at least one capitulation. I have, however, not been able to verify this.

From all this information some (provisional) conclusions can be drawn. The *ecnebi defterleri* can be divided into three main categories:
1) The 'new' Austrian-German, Polish and Venetian *defter*s from approximately 1700. These defters contain a number of texts which were copied from other, older sources. These sources may have been separate documents as well as older *ecnebi defterleri*, *mühimme defterleri* or other *defter*s which contained these texts. Both the Austrian-German and Polish *defter*s open with an impressive number of older treaties. However, older Austrian-German and Polish *ecnebi defterleri* from which these texts might have been copied no longer exist. This makes it not unreasonable to suppose that these older defters were deliberately destroyed after the most important texts were copied into the new *defter.*

Surprisingly enough, in the Venetian *defter* only one older text is repeated (the capitulation of 1575). This could indicate that already by that time older Venetian *ecnebi defterleri* no longer existed or could not be found.[34] Likewise, by that time the combined Venetian-Ragusan *ecnebi defterleri* may have been used more for Ragusan than for Venetian *defter*s. This could explain why the Ottomans did not copy older Venetian *ᶜahd-name*s from these *defter*s.

If these defters were indeed considered to be Ragusan *defter*s rather than Venetian *defter*s, their existence can be explained in the following way. Apparently, the Ottomans preserved all the *ecnebi defterleri* concerning Dubrovnik, possibly because they considered Ragusa to be a part of the Ottoman Empire and not 'ecnebi' in the stricter sense. Therefore, it must have been important to preserve all texts concerning Ragusa and not only the most

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34 Faroqhi, *Handelspolitik*, 207-209. The Venetian series of *ecnebi defterleri* has some gaps. The oldest extant *defter* is the combined Venetian-Ragusan *defter* from 1604-1618. The two *defter*s following this volume are no longer in the *ecnebi defterleri* series but in the *maliyeden müdevver* series of the Başbakanlık Arşivi (*Maliyeden Müdevver* 17901 and 6004). Faroqhi has identified these *defter*s as *ecnebi defterleri* for Dubrovnik and Venice. They cover the years 1027-1028 (1616-1619) and 1028-1037 (1618-1628). Both *defter*s contain copies of *ᶜahd-name*s (one from ᶜOsman II and one from Murad IV). Then there is the Venetian *defter* which starts with texts from 1670 which were copied in 1701-1702. In between there is a gap of some 73-74 years. Recently, fragments of a Venetian *ecnebi defteri* covering a small part of this gap have been found. The fragments of this *defter* end in May 1683. This *defter* like many others was taken by the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Paşa on his military campaign to Vienna and was captured by the allied forces after the Turkish defeat in September 1683. See Majer, *op. cit.*, 14. However, it should be noted that during the Candian War (1645-1669) both diplomatic and commercial relations between the Ottoman Empire and Venice were seriously disrupted. During this period there might not even have been an *ecnebi defteri* in which rescripts for Venice were registered. The same may have happened during the years 1684-1699 when the Ottomans and Venetians were at war once again.

important treaties. This then may also have been the reason why they did not make a 'new' Ragusan *defter* some time later.[35]
2) The 'new' French, English and Dutch *ecnebi defterleri.* These defters all open with a 'new' capitulation. This means that this capitulation was the first text to be written down in the new *defter* and that the date of the *defter* and the capitulation are the same. In these *defter*s no older texts have been copied. Except for one older French *defter* (1634-1666), not one older *ecnebi defteri* of a state belonging to this category has been preserved. Again this could be an indication that at that time these older *defter*s were considered to be no longer relevant (the new treaty *de facto* replaced all older treaties). In this respect it should be noted that there is a basic difference between categories 1 and 2. Whereas the states belonging to the second category (France, England and the Netherlands) did not border on the Ottoman Empire and had never fought the Ottomans either on land or at sea, the countries belonging to the first category were potential enemies with whom the Ottoman Empire had had frequent military confrontations throughout its history. Since generally the treaties with these countries also contained political and military clauses often dealing with territorial questions (borders, etc.) which could be relevant at a later date, it was important for the Ottomans to have a complete record of all the treaties concluded with these states in the past.
3) The 'mühimme defteri'-type *ecnebi defteri*. This category includes the oldest *ecnebi defterleri* which are extant. The oldest are the combined Venetian-Ragusan *defter*s from 1604-1618, 1617-1619 and 1618-1628 (the last two are in the *maliyeden müdevver* series), followed by the Ragusan *defter*s from 1628-1646 and 1647-1662, and the French *defter* from 1634-1666. The Venetian-Ragusan and the Ragusan *defter*s together form a short series, which were probably preserved because of their importance for relations with Dubrovnik which was an Ottoman vassal state. The reason why the French *defter* was preserved is not clear. Neither the English nor the Dutch *ecnebi defterleri* from the period before 1675 and 1680 have been preserved.

The most intriguing *ecnebi defterleri*, however, are without a doubt the series of combined Venetian-Ragusan *defter*s. Why did the Ottomans use one *defter* for two different states? Maybe this indicates that the *ecnebi defterleri* were still relatively new in those days. These *defter*s could have been the first e*cnebi defterleri* and since the system had not yet been fully developped, it might have

35 On the status of Ragusa within the Ottoman Empire see Biegman, *op. cit.*, 29-45; and Faroqhi, *Handelspolitik*, 209-213.

been normal for two foreign states to share one defter.[36] In this regard it is important to remember that the four capitulations which are to be found in the *mühimme defterleri* all date from the period 1564-1581. That is not more than two to four decades before the oldest extant *ecnebi defteri*. If during the period 1564-1581 the *mühimme defterleri* were still used for texts concerning foreign states[37] and from 1604 onwards these types of text were collected in special 'foreign' defters, it could well be that the *ecnebi defterleri* as a separate class of *defter*s were introduced sometime between 1581 and 1604.[38] Before the creation of the *ecnebi defterleri* the capitulations were most likely copied into the *mühimme defterleri*, which at the time were used for both domestic and foreign affairs.[39] Sometime between 1581 and 1604 the Ottomans must have decided to separate foreign affairs from internal affairs and to create special *ecnebi defterleri*. However, these *defter*s, at least in the beginning, were in almost every respect the same as the *mühimme defterleri.* Hence, there can be little doubt that the *ecnebi defterleri* were actually modelled on the *mühimme defterleri.*[40] The cause of this division into 'foreign' and 'domestic' *defter*s could well have been the intensification of contacts with foreign states and the growing importance of

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36 Cf. Faroqhi, *Venetian Presence*, 317 for the following explanation: 'Documents dealing with Venice and with Dubrovnik are often collected in the same registers, possibly because Ottoman scribes liked to spell Dubrovnik (Ragusa) as Dobra-Venedik'.

37 Cf. Heyd, *Documents,* XV. Heyd points out that the *mühimme defterleri* contained copies 'until the seventeenth century, also of the Sultan's letters (name) to foreign rulers'.

38 The oldest texts in the 'new' Austrian-German *ecnebi defteri* date from 975 (1567-1568) and 984 (1576-1577). The third capitulation from this *defter* is that of 1015 (1606-1607). The oldest text in the Polish *defter* is from 1016 (1607-1608) and the oldest text in the Venetian *defter* is from 983 (1575-1576). The oldest text in the first *defter* is even older than the texts of the capitulations in the *mühimme defterleri* (1573-1580). That of 1575-1576 and 1576-1577 are from the same time. If these texts were copied from the *ecnebi defterleri*, these *defter*s must already have existed in that time. If this was not the case, these two texts must have been copied from another source (*mühimme defterleri*?). That would then imply that the first *ecnebi defterleri* were indeed created at the beginning of the seventeenth century, since the third Austrian capitulation is from 1606-1607 and the oldest Polish text is from 1607-1608.

39 I should again point out that I have not been able to find more than four capitulations in the *mühimme defterleri*. I can, therefore, not exclude the possibility that *ʿahd-name*s were copied in other *defter*s or on separate sheets of paper or rolls which were also kept in the *divan kalemi*. But none of these other possible sources has come down to us.

40 Faroqhi, *Handelspolitik*, 207-209. The outer form of the *mühimme defterleri* and that of the *ecnebi defterleri*, however, was not the same. Whereas the *ecnebi defterleri* were from the beginning onwards approximately 14-16 cm. wide and some 40-46 cm. high, the *mühimme defterleri* were much more like the *şikayet defterleri* (22-24 cm. wide, 32-33 cm. high). This could be another indication of a strict separation of documents pertaining to domestic and foreign affairs. The *şikayet defterleri* were also mainly used for domestic affairs.

these relations. The resulting increase of 'foreign' documents may well have necessitated the development of the *ecnebi defterleri*.[41]

The *Şikayet Defterleri*

A similar development took place around the middle of the seventeenth century when the *şikayet defterleri* emerged as a new type of *defter* in which 'decrees issued in response to personal complaints against officials, concerning disputes between individuals, &c were copied'.[42] That the *şikayet defterleri,* like the early *ecnebi defterleri*, resemble the *mühimme defterleri,* does not therefore come as a surprise.[43] The series of *şikayet defterleri* in the Başbakanlık Arşivi contains 208 volumes and covers the period from 1649 to 1813.[44] The *şikayet defterleri* do not include texts of *ʿahd-name*s. In fact, this type of *defter* was not meant to record this kind of text. Strictly speaking this *defter* should also not contain *hükm*s which were issued in response to the official *ʿarz-i hal*s presented by the Venetian bailo. Such decrees would be copied into the *ecnebi defterleri*, since these *defter*s only contain texts that were issued by the Ottoman chancery in response to complaints, etc., by the official representatives of a foreign state. However, the decrees issued in response to complaints of individual Venetians presented in petitions could be copied in the *şikayet defterleri*.[45]

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41 Cf. the reason given for the creation of the *şikayet defterleri* in Majer, *op. cit.,* 17-21

42 Heyd, *Documents*, 6; Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen,* 78-79. Matuz suggests that the *şikayet defterleri* already existed in Süleyman's time.

43 The outer appearance of the *şikayet defterleri* also resembles that of the *mühimme defterleri*.

44 Çetin, *op. cit.,* 59; and Temelkuran, *art. cit.*, 156. Temelkuran's *hicri* date 1059 does not correspond with his *miladi* date 1469. It should have been 1649. The *şikayet defterleri* are officially called *Atik Şikayet ve Ordu Rikab Defterleri.* Another *defter* kept in Vienna has recently been identified as a *şikayet defteri*. See Majer, *op. cit.*, 14-23.

45 Majer, *op. cit.*, 14-23; Faroqhi, *Venetian Presence*, 318; idem, *Handelspolitik*, 207-209. An example of a complaint by a Venetian merchant can be found in the first volume of the *şikayet defterleri*: 'Şikayet Defteri 1 min eva'il-i muharremü 'l-haram-i sene 1059 ila evahır-i zi 'l-hicce-i sene 1060' (1649-1650), no. 357, 73.

The *Name-i Hümayun*, *Suret-i ʿAhd* and *Rikab Defterleri*

Among the *defter*s belonging to this category, there are two *defter*s which according to Çetin date from the seventeenth century: *defter* no. 1 and no. 5.[46] The first *defter* covers the period 1111-1174 (1699-1761).[47] The earliest date, however, does not refer to the date of the creation of the *defter* but to the date of the oldest text in the *defter* (the Polish *ʿahd-name* of 1111/1699-1700). Likewise, the year 1174 (1760-1761) refers to the newest text in the collection (the Prussian *ʿahd-name* of 1174/1760-1761). The *defter* itself, moreover, dates from the year 1182/1768-1769. This information can be found in the introduction on the first page. The second text on that page makes it clear that the texts in this *defter*, all *ʿahd-name*s were copied from different *ecnebi defterleri* ('defter-i İngiltere, defter-i França, defter-i Venedik', etc.) by scribes of the *divan-i hümayun* ('divan-i hümayun küttabından'). This new *defter* which contained the newest *ʿahd-name*s given to all the major European powers (i.e. the capitulations in force at that moment) was to stay in the hands of the deputy ('vekil') *re'isü 'l-küttab*. The original *defter*s, however, were in the hands of the Ottoman army ('ordu-i hümayun'). When war broke out between the Ottoman Empire and Russia in 1768, the grand vizier had to go on military campaign and probably took the most important *ecnebi defterleri* along with him. To ensure that these texts were also available in İstanbul, the capitulations were copied into a single new *defter*. The existence of the Russian expedition would explain why this *defter* not only contains the most recent treaty with Russia but likewise the texts of four different treaties with Russia from the first half of the eighteenth century.[48]

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46 *Defter* no. 5 (1687-1702) was not included in this study because it was being catalogued during my visit. See Çetin, *op. cit.*, 57-58.

47 This *defter* is 19.5 cm. wide, 27.5-28 cm. high and 1.1-1.5 cm. thick. It has a beautiful red-brown leather cover with gold imprint and is kept in a box covered with *ebru* paper. The text on the cover is as follows: 'Suret-i name-i hümayun min evasıt-i rebiᶜu 'l-ahır 1111 ila evahır-i zi 'l-hicce 1174'. The first page of the *defter* (page 0, since it is not numbered) offers a table of contents ('fihrist'). The Venetian capitulation in this *defter* is also from the eighteenth century and is therefore not used for this study.

48 Çetin, *op. cit.,* 57-58; Majer, *op. cit.,* 15-17. From 1738-1739 onwards it was no longer permitted to take *defter*s into the war zone itself. Although the grand vizier had to take all *defter*s of the last thirty years with him, he was also obliged to leave those of the first ten years in Edirne, those of the second ten years in Sofia and those of the last ten years in Niş. This rule was most likely a reaction to the frequent losses of defters during the military campaigns of the last decades of the seventeenth century. Apparently, in 1768-1769 the risk had become even greater, since in that year the most important texts from the *ecnebi defterleri* that the grand vizier took with him on campaign were first copied.

The *Kamil Kepeci Tasnifi*

Among this group of *defter*s (which mainly consists of *defter*s from the *maliye kalemi* or *bab-i defteri kalemi,* i.e. the chancery of the financial department) some *defter*s from the *divan-i hümayun kalemleri* and the *bab-i asafi* are to be found. Those from the *amedi kalemi odası* are especially interesting. Some of these *defter*s contain *ʿahd-name*s. However, all are from the last years of the seventeenth century and from the eighteenth century, and I have not been able to find any copies of the Venetian capitulations. Nevertheless, what is striking is that not only new *ecnebi defterleri* were made during that period but a lot of other new *defter*s as well in which capitulations were copied.

The Ottoman chancery, the use of foreign languages and the *ʿahd-name* in daily practice

As mentioned earlier, a number of Venetian *ʿahd-name*s were written in languages other than Ottoman-Turkish. Especially during the fifteenth and in the beginning of the sixteenth century, Greek and Italian (and Latin) were used in the 'international' Ottoman chancery. Ottoman documents were sometimes also issued in Persian, Arabic, Serbian and even in German. The Greek used in the treaties of the emirates of Aydın, Menteşe and in the Ottoman instruments of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth century is the so called 'vulgar' or 'demotic' Greek and not the 'official' Greek which was used by the Byzantine chancery. Many Ottoman officials were of Greek origin. Consequently, sometimes even the Byzantine chancery used vulgar Greek in its correspondance with Ottoman officials.[49] During the reign of Sultan Mehmed II and Sultan Bayezid II (and before that time), Greek and other European languages seem to have been the most important languages used by Ottoman chancery for correspondence with foreign states. Only during the reign of Bayezid II did Ottoman-Turkish begin to gain the same status as an 'international' diplomatic language. In this period documents addressed to foreign rulers were often written in two languages, one of which was Turkish. Evidently, the early Ottoman chancery was 'multilingual', although the 'quality' of the Greek and Italian used was often not very good. The Greek of the *ʿahd-name* of 1503 is particularly corrupt and consequently the Venetians had many problems with this verion of the treaty. As a result, the Turkish

49 For an example of such a letter in 'vulgar' Greek see F. Dölger and F. Babinger, 'Ein Auslandbrief des Kaisers Johannes VIII. vom Jahre 1447', *Byzantinische Diplomatik*, Ettal 1956, 292-301.

rather than the Greek text was taken as the basis for the Venetian version of the treaty. Thereafter, Greek was no longer used for the Ottoman-Venetian treaties. The treaty concluded in 1517 was in both Turkish and in Italian (and Latin). Since the Ottoman-Polish treaties of 1502 and 1519 were also in Italian, it is possible that for a short period at the beginning of the sixteenth century Italian (and Latin) replaced Greek as the most important foreign language used in treaties. This may have been the case because the use of Greek in international diplomacy was rapidly declining (after 1453 there was no important state which still used Greek exclusively as the official chancery language). However, the Ottomans continued to use Greek in other documents until 1529. From approximately that same date, Ottoman-Turkish became the Ottoman chancery language *par excellence* and remained so until the nineteenth century when French became the second important diplomatic language of the Ottoman Empire.[50]

The Ottoman chancery usually issued at least two copies of the *ʿahd-name*. At the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century at least two copies in different languages were issued: one in Turkish and one in Greek or Italian. From the time of Süleyman I onwards at least two copies in Turkish were given to the Venetians. One for the doge and Signoria in Venice (the 'official' document which mainly had a representative and ceremonial function) and one for the Venetian bailo in Constantinople who used his 'official' copy in his work. In addition to these two documents, other copies were issued on behalf of Venetian consuls residing in the main cities of the Ottoman Empire. The Venetian ambassador Marco Minio obtained three document versions of the capitulation of 1521: one for Venice, one for the

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50 On the 'multilingual' Ottoman chancery and the use of languages other than Ottoman-Turkish see Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 185-186; Ménage, *Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents*, 283-304; idem, *Seven Ottoman Documents*, 92-101; Ahrweiler, *art. cit.*, 150-152; Gallotta, *Ğem*, 175-189; Lefort, *op. cit.*, 14-27; Babinger, *Staatsvertrag*, 242-246; Corovic, *art. cit.*, 52-55; F. Köprülü, *Bizans müesseselerinin Osmanlı müesseselerine tesiri*, İstanbul 1986, 165-173 (Köprülü, *Bizans*); E. Jacobs, 'Mehemmed II., der Eroberer, seine Beziehungen zur Renaissance und seine Büchersammlung', *Oriens*, II, 1949, 6-30; and J. Raby, 'Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXXVII, 1983, 15-34. On the Byzantine legacy of the Ottoman Empire see also Köprülü, *Bizans*; and Sp. Vryonis, 'The Byzantine Legacy and Ottoman Forms', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXIII-XXIV, 1969-1970, 251-308. M. Delilbaşı's unpublished thesis entitled 'Türk hükümdarlarına ait Yunanca ahidnameler ve nameler' most likely gives further information on this subject.

The Ottoman-Venetian treaties of 1446, 1479, 1482 and 1503 are preserved in Greek (1446, 1479 and 1503 as original Ottoman documents). The Ottoman-Hungarian treaty of 1498 is in Serbian. The Polish-Ottoman instrument of 1494 is in Latin. The Ottoman-Venetian treaty of 1517 and the Ottoman-Polish instruments of 1502 and 1519 are in Italian (and Latin).

bailo in Constantinople and one for the Venetian consul in Alexandria.[51] When Belin visited Cairo in 1850, he was able to study these official copies of the Venetian capitulations sent by the Ottoman authorities in Constantinople to the Venetian consuls in Egypt.[52] Further evidence for such a practice can be found in the Dutch *ecnebi defteri* of 1680. After the text of the new capitulation (dated 'evayil-i Remezan 1091') the following entries are written:

- 'Bir sureti müşar ileyhimiñ […][53] olmak içün ᶜaynıyla yazılmışdır fi 't-tarihi 'l-mezbur' (p. 12).
- 'Bir sureti dahı Halebde olan Nederlanda konsolosı yedinde temessük olmak içün yazılmışdır fi 't-tarihi 'l-mezbur' (p. 12).
- 'Bir sureti dahı İzmirde olan Nederlanda konsolosı yedinde temessük olmak içün yazılmışdır fi 't-tarihi ['l-mezbur]' (p. 12).
- 'Bir sureti dahı Begbazarında olan Nederlanda tüccarı yedinde temessük olmak içün yazılmışdır fi 't-tarihi 'l-mezbur' (p. 12).
- 'Bir sureti dahı Trablus-i Şamda olan Nederlanda tüccarı yedinde temessük olmak içün yazılmışdır fi 't-tarihi 'l-mezbur' (p. 12).

From these entries we can conclude that immediately after the issuing of the new capitulation five additional copies were made for Dutch consuls (in Aleppo and İzmir), Dutch merchants (in Begbazarı, Trablus-i Şam) and one unidentified person. In addition to these copies which were given to the Dutch themselves, the Ottoman government issued decrees (*hükm*s) to local officials in order to secure the implementation of the *ᶜahd-name*.[54] An example of such a *hükm* can also be found in the Dutch *ecnebi defteri* (p. 13): 'Haleb valisine ve menlasına ve muhassılına hükm ki astane-i seᶜadetimde mukim Nederlanda elçisi Custinu Kolyer hutimet bi-'l-hayr ᶜarz-i hal gönderüb müceddeden ᶜinayet ve ihsanım olan ᶜahd-name-i hümayunumuñ mazmunı sicill-i mahfuza kayd ve da'ima mazmun-i münifiyle ᶜamel olunmak babında hükm-i hümayunum verilmek rica eyledügi ecilden ᶜahd-name-i hümayun mucebince ᶜamel olunmak içün yazılmışdır fi evasıt-i [şevva]l-i sene [10]91'.

'Bir sureti Izmir mollasına ve gümrük eminine yazılmışdır fi 't-tarihi 'l-mezbur'.

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51 Albèri, *op. cit.*, Serie IIIa, III, 88-89.

52 Belin, *art. cit.*, 382-383.

53 Illegible.

54 İnalcık, *Imtiyazat*, 1179: 'After an ᶜahd-name was made, the sultan would send firmans to the relevant officials informing them of the articles and commanding them to obey them'. Three of the four versions of the Ragusan *ᶜahd-name* of 1575 discussed by Biegman, *op. cit.*, 54-55, are copies inserted in *hükm*s sent to the *kazi*s of Rumelia.

'Bir sureti dahı Trablus-i Şam beglerbegisine ve kazilere yazılmışdır fi 't-tarihi 'l-mezbur'.
'Bir sureti dahı Ankaraya yazılmışdır fi 't-tarihi 'l-mezbur'.
'Bir sureti dahı Kuş atasına yazılmışdır fi 't-tarihi 'l-mezbur'.

This entry shows that within one month after the issuing of the capitulation the Dutch ambassador in Constantinople presented an *ᶜarz-i hal* to the Ottoman authorities asking them to send *hükm*s to several local officials in the main commercial centres of the Ottoman Empire in order to enforce the application of the new capitulation (which had to be registered in the registers of the *kazi*s). The Ottoman chancery thereupon issued five decrees to officials in Aleppo, İzmir, Tripoli, Ankara and Kuşadası.[55]

These *ᶜarz-i hal*s or petitions presented by foreign ambassadors in Constantinople usually referred to the text of the capitulation and often included the article which had been violated. In the eighteenth centurythe French ambassadors in Constantinople had books filled with examples of *ᶜarz-i hal*s for every article of the *ᶜahd-name.* Sometimes these manuscripts even explicitly mention that a certain *ᶜarz-i hal* had successfully been presented ('bu üç maddeye tehammüli vardır'). The form of such an *ᶜarz-i hal* (eighteenth century) based on an article of the capitulation was as follows:
'İkinci madde:
Devletlü ve seᶜadetlü sultanım hazretleriniñ huzur-i ᶜaliyelerine ᶜarz-i hal oldurki França padişahı olanlar kadimden astane-i seᶜadetimiz ile dostluk üzere olub dostluga halel verir bir vazᶜları olmamagıla merhum ve magfur lehü sultan Süleyman han tabe serahü zemanında memnuᶜ olan metaᶜdan penbe ve rişte-i penbe ve sahtiyan verile deyü hükm-i hümayun verilmiş imiş hala astane-i seᶜadetimize olan kemal-i ihlas ve ihtisaslarına bina'en ecdad-i ᶜızamım nevvere 'llahü merakıdehüm zemanında memnuᶜatdan akçeleriyle bal mumı ve gön verilüb bir ferd maniᶜ olmaya deyü ᶜahd-name-i hümayununda kayd olmagın bendahı ke-ma kane mukarrer turdum deyü musarrah iken hala Galata gümrük emini olan [blank space] nam kimesne França tüccarımızıñ iştira eyledikleri penbe ve rişte-i penbe ve sahtiyan ve bal mumı ve göni ᶜahd-name-i hümayun mucebince sefinelerine tahmil etmege maniᶜ ve bu eşyalar memnuᶜatdandır deyü mugayir-i ᶜahd-name-i hümayun teᶜallül ve behane eylemegin seᶜadetlü sultanım hazretlerinden mercüvvdürki tüccarımızıñ ᶜahd-name-i hümayun mucebince iştira eyledikleri mersum eşyayı França sefinelerine tahmil ve França diyarına nakla mümaneᶜat

55 For an example of the same practice in the sixteenth century see Biegman, *op. cit.,* 54-55.

olunmamak babında Galata gümrük eminine hıtaben ferman-i şerifleri ᶜinayet ve ihsan buyurıla baki ferman seᶜadetlü ve devletlü sultanım hazretleriniñdir'.[56]

Apparently, the application of the contents of the *ᶜahd-name*s turned out to be a difficult problem. The Dutch ambassador Cornelis Haga wrote in 1614: 'If I were to tell about the injury and unpleasantness that the French, the English and the Venetians, who after all have been known here through so many years, are exposed to every day, even in Constantinople, instead of a letter I would have to write a bulky book'.[57] This was not a new problem in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, already in the sixteenth century the Venetians had faced the same problems.[58] Moreover, from the *ecnebi defterleri* in general one gets the strong impression that every foreign state had the same kind of problems with the enforcement of the capitulations. And even though these records only show a minor part of all disputes and complaints, the number of affairs decided in Constantinople (and ending up in the *ecnebi defterleri*) is still impressive.

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56 This text and many other French ᶜ*arz-i hals* can be found in Britsh Library, Or. 7000. This manuscript also contains copies of the French capitulations of 1153/1740-1741 and 1084/1673-1674. On f.37r. the following rubric is written (in red): 'Cedid ᶜahd-name-i hümayunuñ üzerine düşde ᶜarz-i hallerdir madde be-maddeye bir ᶜarz-i haldir ki tahrir olunur'. Therafter come the texts of the petitions. The *ᶜarz-i hal* given in the text can be found on f.37r.-f.37v. Or. 7006 in the British Library also contains examples of French petitions from the eighteenth century. In the eighteenth century complaining about violations of the capitulations had apparently become almost daily routine, since for every article there was an *ᶜarz-i hal* model.

57 Steensgaard, *art. cit.* ,19.

58 An interesting local affair during the reign of Süleyman I, which was even mentioned in the final version of the capitulation of 1540, is what we will call the İbrahim Geşturi affair. This affair deals with the Venetian complaint about demands by a local tax-collector for more money than regular practice (5%): 'Ve vilayet-i ᶜArabistanda sabıka yehudi olub soñra müsliman olan İbrahim Geşturi nam kimesne Beyrut ve Trablus iskelelerinde eger akçeden ve eger her metaᶜdan evvelden olıgelen ᶜadet ve kanun-i kadime muhalif ihdas etdügi bidᶜatlar refᶜ olunub kadimden niçe olıgeldi ise aña göre ᶜamel olunub kanun-i kadime muhalif kimseneye teᶜaddi etdirilmeye' (1540). In Bonelli, *art. cit.*, Appendix II, 362, the problem is discussed: 'Si aboliscano i diritti del 10 % imposti da Abramo Castro ebreo rinnegato, in Beirut e Tripoli' (from the proposed amendments and additions of the capitulation of 1540). However, in a *ferman* adressed to the *kazi*s of Şam, Trablus and Beyrut in 1545 (five years later!), Süleyman I orders that the *kazi*s prevent a certain İbrahim, undoubtedly İbrahim Geşturi, who is the *mültezim* ('iltizam eden') and *ᶜamil* in Trablus, from demanding more than the usual 5 % *gümrük*. For the *hükm* from 1545 see ASV, Documenti Turchi 537 (= Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 65, 191-192). The same İbrahim is also mentioned in ASV, Documenti Turchi 522 (= Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 88, 212-213). For similar cases see Faroqhi, *Venetian Presence*, 312-313, 328-344. Faroqhi stresses that 'the difficulty of enforcing the *ahidnames* (capitulations, privileges) can be easily understood without necessarily involving the model of 'Ottoman decline'.

The greatest number of Venetian complaints, however, never reached the capital and were settled by Venetian consuls and local Ottoman officials. Although the capitulations were the basis for both political and commercial relations between the Ottoman Empire and Venice, commercial affairs were considered to be local problems. The *ᶜahd-name*s only deal with commercial relations in a very general way and certainly did not regulate daily commercial contacts between Venetians and Ottomans. These daily contacts were regulated in other documents often issued after a complaint had been made by the Venetians. In the beginning of the seventeenth century all regulations concerning the Venetians in Aleppo were more or less joined together in four documents. These documents, which Faroqhi calls the 'little *ahidnames* of Aleppo', summarized the rescripts issued earlier and determined the status of the Venetian community in Aleppo from a local point of view, although generally speaking still within the framework of the official *ᶜahd-name*s.[59]

2. The Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi in İstanbul

The *defter*s containing *ᶜahd-name*s and preserved in the archive of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi are the following two: D. 7017/1 and D. 7018/2. Both *defters* date from the eighteenth century. On f.2r. of the first *defter* the name of the *defter* is given: 'ᶜahd-name-i düvel-i nasari'.[60] Above this title is an unreadable *mühür* (seal) with a *tugra*. According to the table of contents ('fihrist'), the *defter* contains the following capitulations: 'França ᶜahd-namesi (f.2v.-f.6r., 1084/1673-1674), İngiltere ᶜahd-namesi (f.6r.-f.12v., 1086/1675-1676), Nederlanda nam-i diger Felemenk [ᶜahd-namesi](f.12v.-f.16r., 1091/1680), Roma İmperartorı [ᶜahd-namesi](f.16v.-f.20r., 1130/1717-1718), İmperatorınıñ ticaret ᶜahd-namesi (f.20r.-f.23r., 1130/1717-1718), Moskov ᶜahd-namesi (f.23r.-f.26v., 1137/1724-1725), Venedik [ᶜahd-]namesi (f.26v.-f.32v., 1130/1717-1718), Dubravnik [ᶜahd-] namesi (f.32v.-f.33v., 1073/1662-1663), Leh kralı ᶜahd-namesi (f.34r.-f.37r., 1111/1699-1700)'. However, the *defter* contains more than these texts: '[…] Nemçe çasarına verilen ᶜahd-name […] (f.40v.-f.41r., 1075/1664-1665), […] Leh kralına ᶜinayet olunan ᶜahd-name-i hümayun […] (f.42r.-f.43v., 1089/1678-1679), […] Venedik dojına verilen ᶜahd-name-i hümayunuñ sureti […] (f.44v.-f.46v., 983/1575-1576), França padişahına iᶜta

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59 Faroqhi, *Venetian presence*, 319-320, 328-344; and Steensgaard, *art. cit.*, 18-25. See also Faroqhi, *Handelspolitik*, 207-222. On the organization of the Venetian consulates see Steensgaard, *art. cit.*, 25-26, 36-38 and 49-50.

60 The *defter* is 41 cm. high and 17.5 cm. wide. It has a cover of *ebru* paper and a brown leather spine.

olunan ᶜahd-name-i hümayunuñ kaydı […] (f.47r.-f.49v., 1084/1673-1674), İngilterelüye verilen ᶜahd-name-i hümayunuñ sureti […] (f.50v.-f.52v., 1086/1675-1676)', and 'Nederlandaluya ihsan buyurılan ᶜahd-name-i hümayun […] (f.58v.-f.61r., 1091/1680)'. The first group of texts (the ones mentioned in the table of contents) are all written by the same person. The second group of texts (those not mentioned in the table of contents) have also been written in the same handwriting.

The second *defter* has the *mühür* of Sultan ᶜAbdü 'l-Hamid I (1774-1789) and a table of contents ('fihrist') on f.2r.[61] According to this table, the *defter* contains the following texts: 'França ᶜahd-namesi (f.2v.-f.8v., 1084/1673-1674), İngiltere ᶜahd-namesi (f.8v.-f.19v., 1086/1675-1676), Nederlanda nam-i diger Felemenk [ᶜahd-namesi] (f.19v.-f.26r., 1091/1680), Roma İmperatorı [ᶜahd-namesi] (f.26r.-f.32r., 1130/1717-1718), İmperatorınıñ ticaret ᶜahd-namesi (f.32r.-f.36r., 1130/1717-1718), Moskov ᶜahd-namesi (f.36r.-f.40r., 1137/1724-1725), Venedik [ᶜahd-] namesi (f.40v.-f.48v., 1130/1717-1718), Dubravnik [ᶜahd-] namesi (f.48v.-f.50r., 1073/1662-1662)' and 'Leh kralı ᶜahd-namesi (f.50v.-f.54r., 1111/1699-1700)'. All texts in this *defter* are written in the same handwriting and were evidently copied at the same time (somewhere between 1724-1725 and 1774-1789).

Both *defter*s contain all the *ᶜahd-name*s which had been concluded with several European powers and were at that moment still in force, as well as some older capitulations. It is striking that exactly the same texts also appear in the *ecnebi defterleri* dealing with these states in the Başbakanlık Arşivi. The texts themselves also show close resemblances to those in the *ecnebi defterleri* (the same rubrics, the same copy mistakes, etc.). In fact, there can scarcely be any doubt that these texts were copied from a number of different *ecnebi defterleri* into one new defter. These new *defter*s were apparently copied for use within the palace.

3. The Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi in İstanbul

MS. Esat Efendi 3345 which is preserved in the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi in İstanbul is also of importance to the present study.[62] There are two shorts texts on the cover of this manuscript which give some information about the date and the contents of the manuscript. The first note pertains to

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61 The *defter* is 37 cm. high and 15.5 cm. wide. It has a gold-brown paper cover with red flowers imprinted.

62 The manuscript is 20 cm. high and 11 cm. wide and has a brown leather cover.

the contents: 'Nameha-i[63] şah-i ᶜAcem ve Buhara ve Hindistan ve sa'ir şahan-i tac-daran ve ᶜahd-name-i kralan ve sınur-name ve ᶜadalet-name ve vezir-i aᶜzam ve cümle vüzera taraflarından şah-i ᶜAceme mektublar 996' (1587-1588). The second note, however, gives additional information about the date of the contents: 'Der zeman-i sultan Selim han ve sultan Mehmed han ve sultan Murad ve sultan Süleyman han ba tesvid-i nişancı ᶜAbdü 'l Muhyi paşa ve nişancı Hamza paşa ve Çavuş-zade ve Hᵛaca efendi ve L[am] efendi inşalarıyla'. The texts in this *inşa defteri* are from the reigns of Sultan Süleyman I (1520-1566), Sultan Selim II (1566-1574), Sultan Murad III (1574-1595) and Sultan Mehmed III (1595-1603), and were composed by two *nişancı*s ('paşa') and three *re'isü 'l-küttab*s ('efendi') between approximately 1570 and 1596.[64]

This *inşa defteri* opens with the following *ᶜahd-name*s which were concluded with western European states: 'Venedik dojına ve beglerine ᶜinayet olunan ᶜahd-name-i hümayunuñ suretidir sultan Mehmed han ᶜahdında tecdid eylemişlerdir' (in the margins of f.164r.-f.168r. = pp. 2a-6a, 1004/1595-1596); 'França padişahına ᶜinayet olunan ᶜahd-name-i hümayundur sultan Murad han ᶜahdında tecdid eylediklerinde nişancı ᶜAbdü 'l-Muhyi paşa inşa eylemişdir '(in the margins of f.168r-f.170v. = pp. 6a-8b, 989/1581); 'Sultan Murad han ahdında İngiltere kraliçesi dostluk eyledikde inayet olunan ahd-name-i hümayunuñ suretidir' (in the margins of f.170v-f.172v. = pp. 8b-10b,

63 Written as 'nam[e]ha-i'.

64 On similar *inşa* collections see B. Kütükoğlu, 'Münşeat mecmualarının Osmanlı diplomatiği bakımındam ehemmiyeti', *Tarih boyunca paleografya ve diplomatik semineri*, İstanbul 1988, 169-176. According to Reychman, *Handbook*, 160-164, ᶜAbdü 'l-Muhyi Çelebi was *re'isü 'l-küttab* in 1570 and 1580. He became a *nişancı* too. In the rubric of one of the texts we read: 'Nişancı ᶜAbdü 'l-Muhyi paşa inşası ile Biç kralına verilen ᶜahd-namedir' (in the middle of f.174r. = p. 12a). This text is dated Safer 999 which is November-December 1590. A certain Hamza Bey was *re'isü 'l-küttab* in 1573-1579, 1582-1584 and 1587-1589. Another Hamza, Hamza Çelebi was *re'isü 'l-küttab* in 1580-1582. It is not clear whether Hamza Bey and Hamza Çelebi are the same person. A certain Hamza Efendi is mentioned on p. 91 in *Mühimme Defteri* 44 (990/1582), but it is not clear whether he was *nişancı* or *re'isü 'l-küttab*. If all these Hamzas are the same person (which is not unlikely), he must have been both *re'isü 'l-küttab* and *nişancı* during his career. Çavuş-zade and Hᵛaca Efendi must have been *re'isü 'l-küttab* in those days. Reychman, however, does not mention them in his list. Lam Efendi will have been a certain Lam ᶜAli Çelebi who was *re'isü 'l-küttab* in 1581, 1590 and 1596. Both *Çelebi* and *Efendi* seem to have been used as title of the *re'isü 'l-küttab* at that time. This may have been a transitional period. Whereas during Süleyman's reign the title *Çelebi* was used, in the seventeenth century the title *Efendi* was used (in the *ecnebi defterleri*). Cf. Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, 34. This *inşa defteri* was copied by one person. All texts are in the same handwriting. The texts of the capitulations were, however, originally composed ('inşa') by several *nişancı*s and *re'isü 'l-küttab*s.

988/1580-1581 with additions from 992/1584)[65]; and 'França padişahına verilen ᶜahd-name-i hümayundur sultan Mehmed han zemanında tecdid olunmuşdur' (in the margins of f.175r.-f.178r. = pp. 13a-16a, 1005/1596-1597). This manuscript clearly shows that at the end of the sixteenth century both the *nişancı* and the *re'isü 'l-küttab* were in charge of composing *ᶜahd-name*s.

4. The British Library in London

In the rich manuscript collection of the Oriental Department (Oriental Reading Room) of the British Museum in London another *inşa defteri* with *ᶜahd-name*s is to be found: Or. 9503.[66] This manuscript of 284 folia consists of two main parts: texts of documents sent to Ottoman officials (ca. f.1r.-f.177v.) and texts of documents sent to foreign states (ca. f.178r.-f.284v.). Among this last group a number of *ᶜahd-name*s occur. Like almost all the texts in this *inşa defteri*, these capitulations date from the sixteenth century (the reigns of Sultan Süleyman I and Sultan Selim II). In general this *inşa* book only contains a small number of texts from the beginning of the seventeenth century (dates from 956/1549 to 1012/1603-1604), which indicates that this *defter* dates from after the first years of the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, the manuscript gives no indications about its origin and date.[67]

Included among the *ᶜahd-name*s in this *defter* are the following texts: the Polish capitulation of 1553 (f.179v.-f.182r.); the Venetian capitulation of 947/1540-1541 (f.183r.-f.189r.); a renewal of the Ragusan capitulation from 957/1550 (f.193v.-f.194v.); another Ragusan capitulation from 958/1551 (f.194v.-f.195v.); the English capitulation of 1580 (?) (f.248r.-f.250v.)[68]; the French capitulation of 1569 (f.252r.-f.255r.); the Austrian capitulation of

65 This text has also been used by Skilliter for her reconstruction of the English capitulation of 1580. See Skilliter, *William Harborne*, 232-236.

66 The manuscript is ca. 30 cm. high and 13 cm. wide.

67 Cf. Skilliter, *William Harborne*, 92. Other capitulations in the British Museum are Cotton Roll, XIV. 10. (English capitulation from 1012/1603-1604); Or. 3338 (English capitulation of 1023/1614-1615); Sloane 3255 (English capitulation of 1051/1641-1642); and Or. 6850 (English capitulation of 1086/1675-1676). See Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1988, 78-79. Other English capitulations are Public Record Office, State Papers 108-540 (English capitulation of 1051/1641-1642) and Cambridge University Library MS. Add. 462 (English capitulation of 1622).

68 The text does not mention a date. Skilliter, *William Harborne*, 92, 102-103, 199-200 and 232-236; and Ménage, *English Capitulation*, 373-383. Skilliter has not used this version for her reconstruction of the English capitulation of 1580 because 'the text […] is corrupt'.

966/1559 (f.260v.-f.263v.); and a version (incomplete) of the Venetian capitulation of 1575 (f.267v.-f.270v.).

5. The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris

The collection of Turkish manuscripts and documents in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris contains many *ʿahd-name*s. Most of these are original documents or copies of French capitulations in *inşa* books or other compilations.[69] However, some manuscripts contain *ʿahd-name*s issued on behalf of other states like Venice, England and the Netherlands.[70]

One of the documents from the Bibliothèque Nationale which has been used for this study is the Venetian capitulation of 947/1540-1541. This document, like the one kept in Venice and another one in Carpentras (France), is an original document issued to the Venetians by the Ottoman chancery. Apart from the draft version of this document which is also kept in Venice, three documents of the final version of this treaty exist. This is a clear

69 Ancien Fonds Turcs 130 contains three French capitulations (from 977/1569-1570, 989/1581 and 1005/1596-1597); Ancien Fonds Turcs 148 is a copy of the French capitulation of 1084 (1673-1674; Supplément Turc 117 is a copy of the French capitulation of 1084/1673-1674. Supplément Turc 119 contains a copy of the French capitulation of 1084/1673-1674; Supplément Turc 724 is a copy of the French capitulation of 1740; Supplément Turc 728 is the French capitulation of 1146/1733-1734 (document roll); Supplément Turc 827 is the French capitulation of 1084/1673-1674 (document roll) and Supplément Turc 1241 is the French capitulation of 1153/1740-1741. See E. Blochet, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 2 vols. Paris 1932, I, 53-54, 61-62, 218, 220-221, and II, 43-44, 71 and 209.

70 Ancien Fonds Turcs 144 contains a copy of a capitulation for Milan (931/1524-1525) and a copy (incomplete) of the Venetian *ʿahd-name* of 928/1521; Supplément Turc 100 contains, amongst other mainly eighteenth century treaties, the French capitulation of 1153/1740-1741, the English capitulation of 1086/1675-1676, and the Dutch capitulation of 1091/1680; Supplément Turc 118 is a very interesting manuscript. It must have been the official letter book (chancery book) of the first Dutch ambassador in Constantinople, Cornelis Haga (1612). It contains copies of the French capitulation of 1015/1606-1607, the English capitulation given by Sultan Ahmed I (between 1603-1612) and the first Dutch capitulation from 1021/1612-1613. This last text was copied from the original document presented by the Ottomans to the Dutch ambassador. The scribe copied the complete text including the *invocatio*, the *formula devotionis* of the *intitulatio*, the *datatio* and the *locatio* and made a kind of imitation of the *tugra* (text: 'mekam-i tugra-i sultan Ahmed han'). The original document is kept in the Algemeen Rijksarchief (ARA) in The Hague together with the renewals from 1634 and 1680. See Blochet, *op. cit.*, I, 59-60, 209-210 and 218-220.

indication that the Ottoman chancery often made more than one official copy of an *ᶜahd-name* text.[71]

6. The Archivio di Stato di Venezia

The Archivio di Stato di Venezia (State Archives of Venice) possesses one of the most impressive collections of Ottoman-Turkish documents outside Turkey. This rich collection contains Ottoman documents in several languages (Turkish, Greek and Italian) from the time of Sultan Mehmed II (1451-1481) until the end of the Republic of San Marco in 1797. However, the greater part of the documents date from the period between 1530 and the Candian War (1645-1669). The number of Ottoman documents from the important period before 1530 is relatively small because of losses caused by fires which destroyed parts of the archive in 1479, 1483 and 1514. In 1574 and 1577 two other fires inflicted further damage upon the Venetian archives.[72]

A catalogue of all Ottoman documents (in Turkish, Greek and Italian) and related documents and manuscripts in other languages (mainly Italian translations of the original Ottoman documents) was published in 1994 (in Italian).[73] The material has been restored to its original chronological order. All documents (except for the rolls) and manuscripts are stored in new boxes ('buste') and have paper covers on which the number of the document or manuscript, its date and a short description of its contents have been written. The large documents (rolls) are kept separately in large plastic cylinders. However, numbers, dates and descriptions of these rolls can be found in the boxes too. This huge series of thousands of Ottoman documents, simply called 'Documenti Turchi', is now in excellent order and more accessible than ever before.

Apart from this series, there are other archive materials of Ottoman background in the Archivio di Stato. Without a doubt the second largest

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71 Supplément Turc 727. See Blochet, *op. cit.*, II, 44. Cf Skilliter, *William Harborne*, 173. The French capitulation of 1581 was issued in two copies: one for the royal archives in France and one for the French ambassador in Constantinople.

72 On the collection of Ottoman documents in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia see A. Bombaci, 'La Collezione di Documenti Turchi dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, XXIV, 1949, 95-107; and P. Sebastian, 'The Turkish Documents in the Venetian State Archives. A note on the Indice Bombaci.', *Studia Turcologica Memoriae Alexii Bombaci Dicata*, Napoli 1982, 497-510 .

73 *I "Documenti Turchi" dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, Inventario della miscellanea a cura di Maria Pia Pedani Fabris con l'edizione dei regesti di Alessio Bombaci)(= Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato Strumenti CXXII), Roma 1994.

collection of Ottoman documents is in the archive of the former Venetian bailos in Constantinople which is presently being catalogued. Other Ottoman documents can be found in private archives and collections which are preserved in the Venetian State Archive and other archives and libraries in Venice.[74]

Apart from the Ottoman documents, there is much more originally Venetian archive material available for the scholar interested in Ottoman history. Without any doubt Venetian sources must be considered among the most important sources for Ottoman history. The *Libri Commemoriali* contain Italian translations of Ottoman documents, while the *Liber Graecus* (in the *Miscellanea atti diplomatici e privati*) contains Italian translations of original Ottoman documents mainly in Greek (and some in Turkish). On the other hand, in the registers of the Venetian Senate (*Senato Secreta*) echoes of the numerous discussions of the Venetian senators and decisions of the senate concerning the Ottoman Empire can be found. The importance of these materials for Ottoman history can hardly be overestimated. All the sources of the Venetian State Archive (and not only the *Documenti Turchi*) deserve more attention from scholars of Turkish history and civilization than has hitherto been the case.[75]

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74 On the archive of the Venetian bailos see Bertelè, *op. cit.*, note 6, 381-382; and M. Şakiroğlu, 'Venedik Devlet Arşivinde bulunan İstanbul Balyosu Arşivi üzerinde bir araştırma', *Studia turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dicata*, Napoli 1982, 469-480. Among the interesting archival sources mentioned by Şakiroğlu is a copy of the Venetian-Ottoman treaty of 1454.

75 Possible Venetian sources for Ottoman history are the *Senato Misti* (1401-1440), *Senato Secreti* (1440-1556), *Senato Deliberazioni Costantinopoli* (in *registri* 1556-1796; and in *filze*, 1558-1797), *Senato Dispacci Ambasciatori Costantinopoli* (var. years), *Collegio Relazioni Ambasciatori Costantinopoli* (var. years). The latter two were published in Alberi, *op. cit.,* Serie IIIa, I-III; and N. Barozzi and G. Berchet (eds.), *Le relazioni degli stati europei lette al Senato dagli ambasciatori veneti nel secolo decimosettimo, Turchia*, Venezia 1871. On these sources see Thiriet, *Romanie vénitienne*, 9-15; and Brown, *op. cit.*, I, 293-334. On the *Liber Graecus* see Bombaci, *Liber Graecus,* 288-303.

The *ʿahd-name*s in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia

The Venetian capitulations rank among the most important Ottoman documents preserved in the Archivio di Stato. They are proof of the long and eventful relations between the Ottomans and the Venetians who repeatedly engaged in violent confrontations but also experienced periods of peace and flourishing (commercial) relations. The series of Venetian capitulations is in more than one way unique. There is no other western European archive in which such a complete series of *ʿahd-name*s illustrating more than three hundered years of war and peace is to be found.

Most of the French and English capitulations have not been preserved as original Ottoman documents. And the original documents that have survived are usually damaged and are scattered throughout England and France in different archives and libraries. Only the small Dutch series of capitulations (1612, 1634 and 1680) has been preserved in good condition in the Algemeen Rijksarchief (the State Archives) in The Hague.

The oldest Venetian *ʿahd-name* preserved as an original Ottoman document is that of 1446 (Greek). Thereafter come those of 1479 (Greek), 1482 (Turkish), 1503 (Greek and Turkish), 1513, 1517 (Turkish and Italian), 1521, 1540, 1567, 1573, 1575, 1576, 1595, 1604, 1619, 1625, 1641, 1699, 1701, 1706, 1718 and 1733. Only a few capitulations have not been preserved as original Ottoman documents: 1403, 1411, 1419, 1430, 1451, 1454, and 1669-1670. In spite of the frequent fires that ravaged the Venetian archives especially during the sixteenth century, a unique series has been preserved. These documents are not only a rich source for the study of Ottoman diplomatics in general and the analysis of the diplomatic structure of the *ʿahd-name* in particular, but are also important for the study of Ottoman paleography.

The *ʿAhd-name* and Ottoman Paleography

The paper

All Venetian *ʿahd-name*s, except for that of 1446 (parchment), are written on paper ('kagıd'). Normally two kinds of paper were used by the Ottoman chancery: a white, rather stiff thick paper and a yellowish, more thin paper. A single sheet of the yellowish paper was usually larger than that of the other kind of paper. The thinner paper was imported from Europe. Generally speaking, paper imported from Italy and Central Europe was cheaper than paper imported from India, China and Central Asia, the latter often being manufactured from silk (i.e. 'hariri', whereas paper produced from wood was called 'haşebi').[76]

The thin, yellowish kind of paper was generally used for correspondence with foreign states. This was the case, according to Reychman and Zajaczkowski, because such paper indicated a greater degree of respect for the addressee. But according to Fekete (and Gökbilgin), the Ottomans preferred this kind of paper because it was larger and thus emphasized the greatness and importance of the sultans.[77]

All Venetian *ʿahd-name*s issued by the Ottoman chancery (i.e. the original documents) are written on the yellowish kind of paper. The paper used at the end of the fifteenth and in the sixteenth century is slightly thinner than that used for the capitulations which were issued from the end of the sixteenth century onwards (until 1641). In general the paper has no regular structure and is rather fibrous (see Plate 1). However, occasionally the paper has a regular structure in which lines are visible (see Plate 2). This paper is also brittle and crisp and easy to tear.

In general the paper of the Venetian capitulations is still in reasonably good condition, although many documents are damaged, in some cases quite seriously. Most documents have tears, especially at the top, which, if proper

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76 For the Turkish terminology see M. Esiner Özen, *Yazma kitap sanatları sözlüğü*, İstanbul 1985.

77 Reychman, *Handbook*, 104-106; Fekete, *Einführung*, X-XI; Gökbilgin, *Diplomatik ilmi*, 23-24; S. Ünver, 'XVinci asırda kullandığımız filigranlı kağıtlar üzerine', *V. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, Ankara 1960, 388-391; M. Serin, *Hat san'atımız*, İstanbul 1982, 98-99; M. Yazır, *Medeniyet aleminde yazı ve islam medeniyetinde kalem güzeli*, 156-165 (Yazır, *Kalem güzeli*); F. Babinger, 'Papierhandel und Papierbereitung in der Levante', *Wochenblatt für Papierfabrikation*, LXII, 52, Biberach-Riss, 1215-1219; and idem, 'Appunti sulle cartiere e sull'importazione di carta nell'impero ottomano spezialmente da Venezia', *Oriente Moderno*, XI, 1931, 406-415. For other publications on paper see the bibliography in Reychman, *Handbook*, 105-106.

repairs are not undertaken, will finally lead to the entire document being destroyed. Only one document (1619) has been restored (a long time ago), but unfortunately the work was not of a professional standard. As a result, the condition of this document is even worse than that of the seriously damaged documents. Without a doubt all documents are in need of immediate professional attention and it would be better if they were not used for research purposes until they have been completely restored and further decay has been prevented.[78]

Watermarks

Watermarks can shed light on the origin of the paper because until the seventeenth century they were only used in paper of European origin. However, only two of our documents bear watermarks: the documents of 1479 and 1576. That of 1479 bears a watermark in the form of a pair of scissors, and that of 1576 displays two crossed arrows and a star connected to the arrows by a thin line.[79]

Preparation of the paper

Before the paper was used it was often prepared. There were two ways to prepare the paper: the simple and less expensive, and the complicated costly way. The simplest way to prepare the paper was topolish it with a smooth piece of glass, a flintstone or a shell. Dry soap was spread on the paper with a piece of cloth to facilitate the polishing. In Turkish this proces is called 'mührelemek'. The second way to prepare the paper was with a fluid substance called 'ahar' ('aharlamak'). *Ahar* was made from water and eggs ('yumurta aharı') or starch ('nişasta aharı', i.e. from wheat, etc.). *Ahar* was a gelatine-like substance which was spread on the paper. After drying the paper became smooth and even and easy to write on. The *ahar* also impeded the ink's

78 Franco Vendramin, the restorer of the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, is presently restoring the capitulations of 1619 and 1641.

79 In addition to this one of the copies of the capitulation of 1521 (V2) bears a watermark: in the form of an anchor. Cf. the watermarks in C. Briquet, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, 4 vols., Amsterdam 1968 (revised reprint of the 1907 edition), no.'s 3647-3771 (scissors), 6289-6302 (arrows), and 345-592 (anchors). The paper bearing these watermarks was most likely imported from Italy.

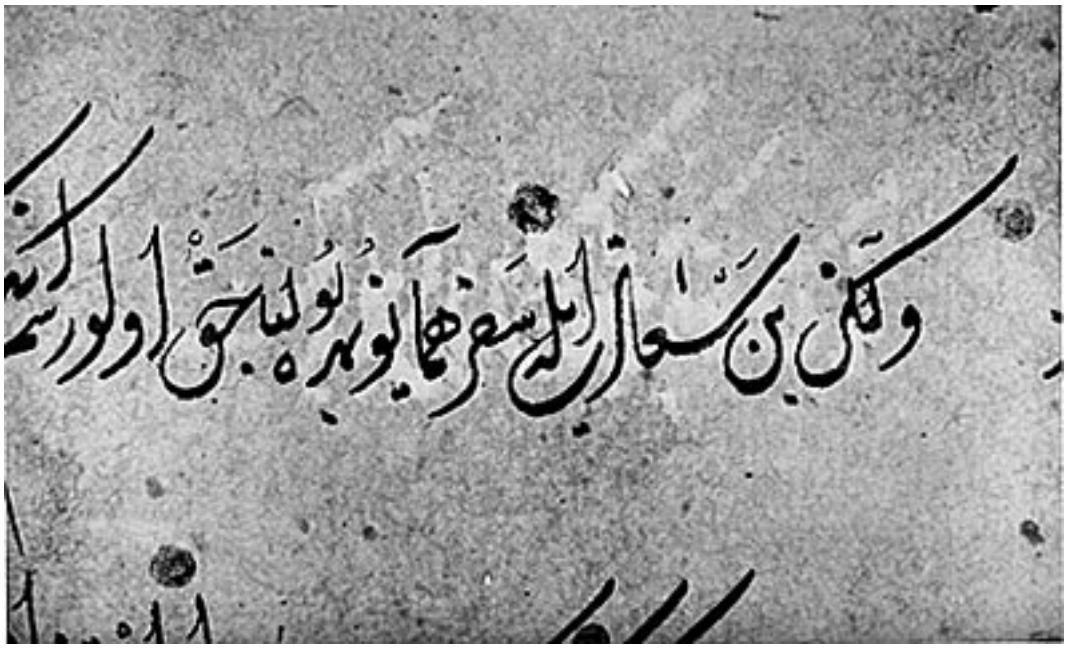


Plate 1

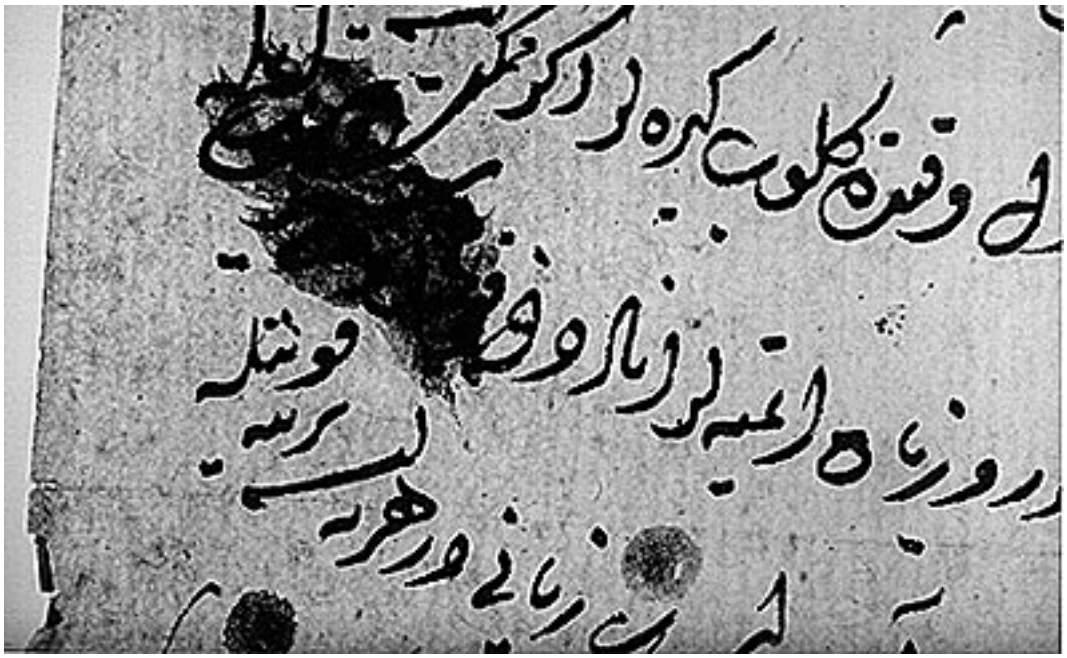


Plate 2

absorption into the paper, as well as making the paper water resistant.[80] All the paper used for the Venetian capitulations has either been polished or treated with *ahar*. However, the paper of some documents is very glossy and shiny and smoother than that of other documents. Again the documents from the fifteenth and sixteenth century (with the thinner paper) seem to have been processed with greater care than those of the seventeenth century which are sometimes not prepared at all.[81]

The size of the roll and the sheets of paper

All documents were originally rolls of paper consisting of two to nine sheets of paper.[82] The sheets which form the roll have been attached to one another with a kind of glue. The overlap of two sheets varies between approximately 0.5 and 1.5 cm. In order to obtain a smooth surface without a sharp edge the ends of the two sheets which were glued together were made thinner. Thus, when attached to one another, the roll shows no unevenness (see Figure 1). In this way the best result was obtained and the scribe had no difficulty in writing on these parts of the roll.[83] Nowadays, in most of the documents there are places where these overlaps have become unstuck. Possibly because of moisture, the glue has dissolved and the sheets are no longer joined together. The most extreme example of this is the final version of the capitulation of 1540. This document has broken up into its nine separate component sheets of paper.



Figure 1

The format of Ottoman documents in general is long and narrow. In the time of Mehmed II and Bayezid II ordinary decrees were written on paper 14-15 cm. wide. Documents from the time of Bayezid II and Selim I which were sent to Venice are almost always 22-23 cm. wide. The length of these documents

80 Ünver, *art. cit.*, 390-391; Serin, *op. cit.*, 100-102; Fekete, *Einführung*, XI; Gökbilgin, *Diplomatik ilmi*, 24-25; and Yazır, *Kalem güzeli.*, 166-170.

81 One of the copies of 1521 (V2) has also not been polished or treated with *ahar.*

82 Nowadays some of the documents are kept folded in boxes rather than as rolls.

83 Possibly the paper was polished or treated with *ahar* only after the sheets had been attached to one another.

is often two or three times greater than their width. However, not all documents were this one size. Exceptions are important documents sent to foreign states (letters, etc.) which were often written on large rolls of paper up to one meter wide and more than six meters long.[84]

The *ʿahd-name*s also belong to this category of important documents. They rank among the most prestigious of Ottoman documents and their importance was indicated by their outer appearance. Although the amount of text required more paper than usual, this alone can not explain the often exceptional length of the rolls. Table 1 clearly shows that at first the length of the rolls rapidly increased (114.5 cm in 1479), reaching a peak at the time of Süleyman I (686.3 cm. in 1540), but thereafter gradually decreased (195.2 cm. in 1641). However, in general the width of the rolls went on increasing (from 33 cm. in 1479 / 22.5 cm. in 1482 to 53.6 cm. in 1641). At first the number of sheets glued together also increased sharply, reaching a peak during Süleyman's reign (from 2 in 1479 to 9 in 1540), but thereafter the number began to decrease again (3 in 1641). It is worth noting that the Venetian document of 1540 (V) is much longer than the Carpentras document of 1540 (C). This clearly indicates that the Carpentras document was a copy for the Venetian bailo or a Venetian consul and not the 'official' document which also had a ceremonial function.

The capitulation of 1482 was written on paper 22.5 cm. wide. And the two copies of 1521 have approximately the same width (22 and 20.9 cm. wide). These three documents were evidently written on rolls made of pieces of paper which were also used for normal decrees at that time. All other documents are made of paper of greater width. Between 1479 and 1521 paper 26.2 to 33.5 cm. wide was used. From 1540 to 1567 the sheets were 35.5 to 42.2 cm. in width. Thereafter, the paper used was at least 40 cm. (1576) wide, although the width of most documents is between 47.8 and 57 cm.

Table 2 shows the length of every sheet of paper. Again, it becomes clear that the capitulation of 1482 was written on a roll made of sheets which were normally used for decrees (36.5 cm. long). All other documents between 1479 and 1521 were made of sheets between 55 and 70.5 cm. long. From 1540 to 1576 the length of the sheets varies considerably (from 34.5 to 89 cm.), however, most of them are between 75 and 88 cm. long. From 1595 to 1619 the length of a sheet is generally around 100 cm. Thereafter, the sheets become shorter again. In 1625 and 1641 they are around 68 cm. long.

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84 Fekete, *Enführung*, XII; and Gökbilgin, *Diplomatik ilmi*, 25-26.

Margins, lines and the empty space at the top of the document

All Ottoman documents had margins ('kenar'). Documents in Arabic script had the margins at the right side of the paper and those in Latin, Greek or Cyrillic script at the left side. According to Fekete, the margin was never drawn (with a pencil) or cut but usually folded. Generally, the margin was between 1/5 and 1/4 of the total width of the paper (5-7 cm.). In prestigious documents like *ʿahd-name*s no text was written in the margin.[85]

The Venetian *ʿahd-name*s in Turkish always have right margins and sometimes left margins; those in Greek and Italian have left margins but the capitulation of 1479 also has a right margin. Table 3 shows that the right margins range between 6.7 and 13.5 cm. or 18% to 33% of the total width of the paper.[86] This is less and more than Fekete states it usually is. From 1482 to 1567 the right margin in the capitulations (in Turkish) is at least 25%, but never more than 33%. This means that 1/4 to 1/3 of the total width of the paper was used for the right margin. Therafter, from 1573 to 1641 the right margin is between 9.8 and 13 cm. which is less than 1/5 to 1/4 of the total width. The capitulation of 1479 has both a right and left margin of 3 cm. (9%). The Greek text of 1503 and the Italian text of 1517 only have a left margin of 8 cm. (27%) and 4.7 cm. (18%). From 1521 onwards the texts in Turkish also have a small left margin ranging from 1 to 6.2 cm.

Only five documents in Turkish have a left margin which is clearly indicated (1521 V1, 1540 draft, 1540 final version, 1540 BN and 1619). The right margin in the Turkish documents, however, was almost always indicated (except for 1575). This was done by either folding (1482, 1517, 1540 BN, 1576-1641), pressing (1513, 1521, 1540 final version, 1567 and 1573) or cutting(1503 and 1540 draft version).

Of course, the easiest way was to fold the paper, but this left traces and more or less damaged the smooth surface of the paper. It is striking that this 'easy' technique was used in 1482 and 1517 and thereafter continuously during the years 1576-1641. In between these years the Ottoman chancery used more sophisticated methods (except for 1540 BN).

In 1513, 1521, 1540 (final version), 1567 and 1573 the right margin was made by pressing a ruler on the paper. This instrument was called 'mıstar' in Turkish. In the final version of the capitulation of 1540, not only the right

85 Fekete, *Einführung*, XII-XIII, and Gökbilgin, *Diplomatik ilmi*, 26.

86 The right margins of the two copies of 1521 are 3.6 and 3.8 cm. (16% and 18%). However, since these were not documents issued by the chancery, they are not included in this discussion.

margin but the left margin and the lines were also 'drawn' in this way. This was done on every sheet before they were glued together. The interlinear space was ca. 6 cm. At the top and bottom of every single sheet there was a margin of 3 cm. After the sheets were glued together, these two margins would also leave an interlinear space of approximately 6 cm.[87]

In the instruments of 1503 (the Greek and the Turkish version) and 1540 (draft version), the margins were actually cut with a sharp object, probably some kind of knife. This was a quite dangerous method because there was always the risk of cutting through the paper. However, both in 1503 and 1540 this was done with great accuracy and no damage was inflicted. Whereas the Turkish version of 1503 has only a short incision to indicate the right margin and the first line, the Greek version has both the left margin and all the lines incised. The interlinear space is 1.3 cm. The same method was used for the draft version of the capitulation of 1540. Both the right and the left margin and the lines (interlinear space of 9.7 cm.) were cut into the paper. This was done after the sheets had been glued together.[88]

In important and prestigious documents like *ʿahd-names*, Ottoman scribes tried to write as many words as possible in one line and thus as few lines as possible ('harfler sık satırlar seyrek ola'). As a result, the interlinear space was large and the number of lines small. Sometimes not more than 14 lines were written on a sheet of ca. 85 cm. (1540). Toward the end of the line the density of the words becomes greater and the words are written above each other. Sometimes the end of a line almost touches the line above it. This creates a special esthetic effect, but also had practical purposes. The line looks like a Turkish scimitar ('pala') but it also makes it impossible to add anything to the text. Another 'esthetic' precaution which prevented additions or changes was the lengthening of one of the last characters of the line until it reached the edge of the paper.[89]

Four documents have lines at fixed intervals (1503 Greek, 1540 draft version, 1540 V and 1540 BN). All other documents do not have fixed lines. The capitulations of 1482, 1513 and 1517 do not have much interlinear space. The lines are flat and written up to the edge of the paper. There is no left margin. Those of 1503, 1521, 1540, 1567 and 1573 have quite a bit of

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87 On the *mıstar* see Yazır, *Kalem güzeli*, 174-175; and Serin, *op. cit.*, 102.

88 On the cutting of lines see Fekete, *Einführung*, XIII; and Gökbilgin, *Diplomatik ilmi*, 27-28.

89 Fekete, *Einführung*, XIII; and Gökbilgin, *Diplomatik ilmi*, 27-28. Fekete states that sometimes not more than 20-22 lines could be written on a piece of paper 2 metres long, or 7-8 lines on a piece of paper half a metre long.

interlinear space and resemble the form of a scimitar. In 1521 a left margin appears for the first time. From 1575 onwards the interlinear space becomes less and the lines flatten again. The left margin also becomes smaller. In the documents of 1619, 1625 and 1641 there is almost no interlinear space left. The lines are completely flat and the text looks like one massive substance. The left margin is small.

The lengthening of one of the last characters of the line starts in the capitulation of 1513. Before that date this characteristic does not appear. Nor did these documents have a left margin. In the documents from 1540 this feature can be seen in its most extreme form (wide left margin). Thereafter, the lengthening remains but gradually becomes less extreme (smaller left margin). From 1619 onwards its starts to diminish (small left margin). In general we may conclude that whenever there is much interlinear space, the scimitar appearance of the lines and the lengthening of final characters are also most pronounced. This development reached its peak during the period 1521-1573 (absolute peak in 1540) and was directly influenced by the total length and width of the documents.

Normally, the text of Ottoman documents was not written at the top of the paper. A document usually opened with the *invocatio*-formula which was written just below the top of the paper. There then followed an empty space. This empty space was an Ottoman expression of respect for the addressee. The larger the empty space, the higher the rank of the addressee and hence the more the respect which was intended. The length of the empty space depended on the total length of the document and the rank of the addressee. A text written to someone lower in rank would start on the upper half of the paper, to someone equal in rank at the exact middle of the paper and to someone higher in rank on the bottom half of the paper.[90] Since the Ottoman sultan was the highest in rank, the text of his documents would almost always begin on the upper half of the roll. Only the French king was more or less equal to him and he was addressed as 'França padişahı'. Since the Doge of Venice and the Venetian Signoria were lower in rank, we would expect all texts of Venetian *ʿahd-name*s to begin on the upper half of the roll. Indeed, the empty space between the top and the *tugra* is never more than 26% of the total length of the document. Most often it is not even more than 6-16% of the total length. Even when we include the *tugra*, the text always starts on the upper half of the roll.

90 Fekete, *Einführung*, XII; and Gökbilgin, *Diplomatik ilmi*, 26-27.

The *tugra*, the last element to be added to the document, was also drawn in this empty space which then became smaller than it originally was. If we take a close look at the real empty space between the top of the document (or the *invocatio* just below the top) and the *tugra*, an interesting development may be discerned. In the documents of 1575 and 1604-1641 almost no empty space is left (3% or less). The space is nearly completely filled with the *tugra*. This *tugra* clearly belongs to the larger and higher type which emerged at the end of the sixteenth century. Evidently, the growth of the *tugra* was only possible at the expense of the empty space. Instead of paying respect to the addressee, it apparently became increasingly important to impress the addressee.

The ductus

The capitulations of 1479 (Greek), 1503 (Greek) and 1517 (Italian) not being written in Ottoman-Turkish, were obviously not written in Arabic script. All other documents, however, were written in Arabic script. The chancery script *par excellence* was *divani.* Although all documents were written in *divani*, they were not written in exactly the same form of *divani*. Moreover, the *divani* script gradually evolved. In the first *ʿahd-names* (1482-1517) the *divani* script is still reminiscent of the *tevkiʿi,* an older chancery script. Words are still written next to each other (see Figure 2). From 1521 onwards the *divani* assumes its classical form. Words are written almost above each other. From 1567 onwards this tendency becomes more accentuated and the *divani* develops into what is called *celi divani* or *divani celisi* (see Figure 3). The capitulations of 1619, 1625 and 1641, however, are written with much less care. Even though the script is still *divani*, there is a tendency toward *divani kırması* (shorthand *divani)*. Generally speaking, only *divani* was used for *ʿahd-name*s. However, in one document, the capitulation of 1573, the *sülüs* script was employed. A religious formula, the *formula devotionis* of the *intitulatio* and the oath are written in *sülüs* directly above the t*ugra.* The use of another (non-*divani*) script further accentuated these parts which were already 'elevated' above the main body of the text to which they belong. The practice of 'honorific elevation' was adopted by the Ottoman chancery around 1525, most likely under influence from the Mongol-Crimean chancery (See Table 4).[91]

91 On the scripts used by the Ottoman chancery see Fekete, *Einführung*, XIII-XXII; Gökbilgin, *Diplomatik ilmi*, 28-47; Yazır, *Kalem güzeli*, 65-91; Serin, *op. cit.*, 31-79; M. Yazır, *Eski yazıları okuma anahtarı*, Ankara 1978 (ed. princ. İstanbul 1942); and D. Günday, *Arşiv belgelerinde siyakat yazısı özellikleri ve divan*



Figure 2: early divani (above)

Figure 3: celi divani (under)

The color of the ink used shows a similar development (see Table 4). At first (1479-1521) only black ink was used. Between 1540 and 1604 both black and gold ink were used. Only the capitulations of 1567 and 1576 are written with black ink only. The short *ʿahd-name* of 1573 has some parts written with blue ink. However, it is surprising that this document, which was evidently written with great care, is not completely finished. The *tugra* has not been completed. A similar development can be seen in some other documents. The *tugra*s in the capitulations of 1540 (deliberately left unfinished because this was a draft version) and 1567 have also not been completed. Although in general these documents were written with great care and were evidently checked over by another chancery official (most likely the *nişancı* or the *re'isü 'l-küttab*), it is surprising that this kind of carelessness could occur. From 1619 onwards the *divani* script underwent a simplification, and once again only black ink was used.

In general gold and blue ink was used for words or phrases with a special meaning. Religious formulae (such as the *invocatio*, the *salutatio* and the *formula devotionis)*, the names of God and exalted persons like the Prophet Muhammed, as well as the names of sultans and the introductory formula ('nişan-i şerif… hükmi oldur ki') were often written with colored rather than black ink. This created a special effect which had more than a merely esthetic purpose. By writing these words and phrases with ink of another color, the meaning of the words was also emphasized. When the name of God or the names of important persons were written with gold or blue ink, this was done

to emphasize the respect one accorded them (a variation of 'honorific elevation').[92]

During the process of writing a special kind of sand was used to dry the ink. This golden sand called *altın rik* or *rih* in Turkish not only had a practical purpose but was also esthetic. The prepared paper was shiny, like the black and gold ink. When in addition golden sand was used, the whole document appeared even more glittering. This golden sand was used throughout the whole period (1479-1641) but not in every document.[93]

As a variation of the golden sand, though with a purely esthetic value, gold ink was used to spot the text. Gold ink was used this way far less than the golden sand. Only the documents of 1567 (first six lines) and the two from 1595 have been illuminated in this manner. Another frequent form of decoration was golden dots or balls added above the lines of the text. These dots were used for the first time in the capitulation of 1540 and thereafter appeared in almost every document except those of 1540 BN, 1576, 1619 and 1625. In the *ʿahd-name*s of 1540 (final version), 1575, 1595 and 1604 the whole text is decorated with golden dots. Those of 1540 (draft version, all lines except for the last three), 1567 (first seven lines), 1573 (only dots above the *invocatio*) and 1641 (the first half of the text) are only partially decorated. This could indicate that these documents were in fact not yet finished. In the case of the draft of 1540 and the capitulations of 1567 and 1573 this partial decoration can be easily explained. These three documents also have an unfinished *tugra* and some other shortcomings (1567 is only partially spotted with gold) which corroborates that they were never completed.[94]

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rakamları, Ankara 1974. On the 'honorific elevation' see Ménage, *Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents*, 290-302; Busse, *art. cit.*, 216-217; and Keçik, *op. cit.,* 62-64.

92 On ink see Fekete, *Einführung*, XXIII; Serin, *op. cit.,* 104-106; and Yazır, *Kalem güzeli*, 148-156. In Ak Koyunlu documents gold ink was also used for the 'Hervorhebung' of certain important words. See Keçik, *op. cit.*, 62-64; and Busse, *art. cit.,* 216-217.

93 Fekete, *Einführung*, XXIII; and Yazır, *Kalem güzeli*, 148-149.

94 Fekete, *Einführung*, XXIV.

The tugra

Much has been written on the *tugra* and since this is not the place to review its full history I will confine myself to some remarks about the outer appearance of the *tugra*s in the Venetian *ʿahd-name*s.[95]

The *tugra* had an important diplomatic function. It was the *legitimatio* of the document, i.e. that part which was added last and stressed the legitimacy of the document. In addition to this, the *tugra* was the symbol of the power the sultan and in that respect it had to impress the receiver or addressee of the document. To achieve this purpose great attention was given to drawing the *tugra*. In fact, its importance was so great that a special official called the *nişancı* was appointed to draw the *tugra*. The *nişancı* not only drew the *tugra.* He was the official head of the Ottoman chancery and a member of the *divan-i hümayun*. In the beginning the *nişancı* himself must have drawn the *tugra*. Later, possibly from the seventeenth century onwards a lower official called the *tugrakeş* in practice took over this task. The artistic quality of some of the *tugra*s is so high that one wonders whether artists from the imperial *nakkaş-hane* (painting studio) were also employed.[96]

The artistic development of the *tugra* can be divided into several phases. During the first phase (1420-1481), the *tugra* was still very simple. It consisted only of the text in black or gold and had only minor ornamental additions in blue and/or green within the text. The second phase (1481-1574) shows the addition of somewhat more elaborate decorations (flowers, etc.) within the *tugra* itself. Even though new colors are added (red, pink, grey, white, silver and lilac), the main colors remain black, gold and blue. During the third phase (1575-1625) the additional decorations start to become very prominent. They exceed the text of the *tugra* and sometimes almost obscure the actual *tugra*. New colors are added to the traditional palette. In the fourth phase (1625-1675) this development becomes even stronger.[97]

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95 On the Ottoman *tugra* see Fekete, *Einführung*, XLIII-XLIV; Uzunçarsılı, *Tuğra ve pençeler*, 101-157; Babinger, *Tughra.*, 188-196; Wittek, *Tughra*, 267-293; Umur, *op. cit.*; and A. Nadir (ed.), *Osmanlı Padişah Fermanları (Imperial Ottoman Fermans),* London 1986.

96 Fekete, *Einführung*, XLIII-XLIV; Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, 25; and E. Kühnel, 'Die osmanische Tughra', *Kunst des Orients*, II, 1955, 69-82, 81. According to Matuz the function of *tugrakeş* did not yet exist in the time of Süleyman I .

97 Kühnel, *art. cit.*, 71-74; and A. Bombaci, 'Les toughras enluminés de la collection de documents turcs des Archives d'État de Venise', *Atti del secondo congresso internationale di arte turca*, Napoli 1965, 41-65 (Bombaci, *Toughras*).

The *tugra*s on the Venetian *ʿahd-name*s fit perfectly into this scheme of the artistic development which has been excellently described by Kühnel and Bombaci. Bombaci's article on the *tugra*s is based on documents preserved in the Archivio di Stato and he was able to refine upon Kühnel's data. In fact some of the *tugra*s described by Bombaci (with illustrations) are amongst the documents we deal with (1503 Turkish, 1575, 1576, 1595 (2 times), 1604, 1619, 1625 and 1641). It is therefore not necessary to repeat his conclusions.[98]

However, some additional remarks about the *tugra*s on the Venetian capitulations may be in order. Table 5 shows the colors used in the *tugra*s. The *tugra* of 1540 (draft version) is only in gold and is clearly unfinished. Most likely this was done on purpose to indicate that this document was indeed a draft and not a document officially issued by the chancery. However, the capitulation of 1503 was originally also a draft and this document does have a finished *tugra.* This can be explained by the fact that this document was indeed that of the draft (of December 25, 1502) but later became the official treaty. Thus, the same document was upgraded from draft to final version and to indicate that it was the official document the *tugra* was added (most likely in March 1503). Two other documents have uncompleted *tugra*s (1567 and 1573). In the case of the capitulation of 1567, this is rather surprising and can not be explained other than as carelessness. The same document only has golden dots above the first seven lines and then an empty space of 28 cm. at the end of the document. This could indicate that the document was simply not completely ready when it was presented to the Venetians. The uncompleted *tugra* on the *ʿahd-name* of 1573 can be explained in the same way. This document not only has an unfinished *tugra* but it has no golden dots above the lines of the main text as well. Again it seems that this document was given to the Venetians before it was actually finished.

Table 6 gives information about the *tugra* in relation to the format of the document. The wider the paper becomes (and this is a continuous development), the wider the *tugra* becomes. However, the height of the *tugra* does not increase as much as the length of the paper. Between 1479 and 1575 the basic form of the *tugra* does not change: its width is always greater than its height. Whenever the paper becomes wider both the width and the height of the *tugra* increase proportionately. In 1575, for the first time, the *tugra* is higher (49 cm.) than it is wide (47 cm.). This change can be explained by the extensive decorations above the text of the *tugra*, which from this time on become

98 Kühnel, *art. cit.*, 69-82; and Bombaci, *Toughras*, 41-65.

increasingly important. In 1576 and 1595 there is a brief return to the older situation. The *tugra*, including its ornaments, becomes wider than its height However, the difference between height and width is not so great as it was before 1575. Therefore, this is merely an intermezzo and can hardly be considered a break in the overall trend. Therafter, the development which was initiated in 1575 resumes: the *tugra* keeps on 'growing'.

These changes are even more significant when we compare the growth of the *tugra* with the increase/decrease in length and the increase of the width of the documents. Between 1479 and 1540 the rolls become both wider (22.5-42.2 cm.) and longer (114.5-686.3 cm.); the *tugra,* however, does not grow that much. Although the width of the *tugra*, like the width of the paper, more or less doubles (18.5-38 cm.) and the height of the *tugra* also doubles, the length of the roll increases almost six times (114.5-686.3 cm.). As a result, the amount of space used for the *tugra* decreases from 4.7% to 2.8% of the total surface of the document.[99] In 1573 the percentage increases to 6.8 and the tendency slowly continues until 1595 (9.1%). This increase is caused by the continued growth of the *tugra* and by the gradual reduction of the length of the roll. From 1604 onwards this trend accelerates considerably. The *tugra* keeps on growing while the roll keeps on shortening. As a result of this development, the *tugra* during this period covers from almost 1/5 (18.3%) to more than 1/4 (27.4%) of the total surface of the document. Moreover the empty space between the top of the document and the text, which was used as means of showing respect to the receiver or addressee of the document, almost completely disappears.

From an artistic point of view the balance between document and *tugra* is completely lost. Whereas in the period before 1575 the *tugra* in all its simplicity radiated strength and artistic ingenuity, after 1575 the ever increasing load of ornaments reduces the *tugra* to an almost purely decorative symbol. It is as if the diminishing power of the sultans had to be concealed by an overkill in decoration: 'Il y a un parallèle entre la tendance à abuser de la rhétorique dans l'art de la composition (inşa) et la tendance à surcharger l'ornementation dans les toughras'.[100]

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99 The percentage has been calculated on the basis of the height and width of the tugra (= x cm.^{2}) in relation to the width and length of the roll (= y cm.^{2}).

100 Bombaci, *Toughras*, 43.

The preparation of the ᶜahd-name

Most Venetian *ᶜahd-name*s were issued in Constantinople. Only those of 1482 (Edirne), 1513 (Edirne) and 1517 (Cairo) were granted in other cities of the Ottoman Empire. Like most other (non-financial) documents issued in the name of the sultan, capitulations were written and copied in the *divan-i hümayun kalemi* (first in the *beglikçi kalemi* and later possibly in the *amedi kalemi* which were both bureaux of the *divan-i hümayun* and later of the *bab-i asafi*). It would be interesting to know whether the capitulations that were not issued in Constantinople were also written and copied by officials of the Ottoman chancery. The *ᶜahd-name*s issued in Edirne all date from the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century when important sections of the Ottoman chancery were still established in Edirne, the second capital of the Ottoman Empire. Although it is likely that at least a part of the chancery travelled with the sultan (and the *divan-i hümayun*) when he went on military campaign, we know of one capitulation that was not written or copied by an Ottoman official. The Italian version of the *ᶜahd-name* of 1517 was translated by the Venetian dragoman Teodoro Paleologo and edited and written by Daniele de' Ludovici, the secretary of the Venetian ambassadors Bartholomeo Contarini and Alvise Mocenigo.[101] This could indicate that there was no Ottoman chancery official on campaign with the sultan who knew Italian.[102]

Generally speaking, important documents like *ᶜahd-name*s were composed by the most skilled officials of the chancery. This might often have been the *nişancı* or the *re'isü 'l-küttab* himself. Of course, it is impossible to prove that all *ᶜahd-name*s were composed by a *nişancı* or a *re'isü 'l-küttab*. However, it seems quite logical to assume that they had responsibility for the task. This is confirmed by a note in an *inşa defteri* from the end of the sixteenth century kept in the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi which informs us that the *ᶜahd-name*s in this defter were composed by two *nişancı*s and three *re'isü 'l-küttab*s.[103]

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101 At the reverse side of this document there is a short note stating: 'originale redatto dal segretario Daniele de' Ludovici circospetto secretari dictorum oraturum'.

102 The width of the paper used for both versions of 1517 is smaller (26.2-26.8 cm.) than that of the paper used in 1513 (30.5) and 1521 (33.5). Possibly the chancery when on campaign was not as well equipped as in Constantinople.

103 Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, 36-37, stresses that already by the time of Süleyman I most important documents were no longer composed by *nişancı* but by the *re'isü 'l-küttab*. The *nişancı*, however, concentrated on the legal aspects of the documents. The Polish capitulation of 1525 was composed by *re'isü 'l-küttab* Celal-zade Mustafa. See Ménage, *Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents,* 300-301.

New Venetian *ʿahd-name*s were evidently always based on older treaties. One of the texts of the capitulation of 1521 was actually copied in 1540 in order to be used during the negotiations for a new treaty. It was Ottoman custom to make a draft version of the treaty first. Two such drafts (1502 and 1540) have been preserved in the Venetian archives.[104] When one compares the texts of all the Venetian capitulations from the beginning until 1641, it is almost impossible not to conclude that the Ottoman chancery had a traditional attitude towards these texts. Whenever a new treaty was concluded, the text of the previous capitulation (especially the *dispositio*) was scrupulously copied, often with often minor changes. Between 1540 and 1595 the text of the treaty remained almost unchanged. In fact, the text of the capitulation of 1540 was the basis of all treaties until 1595. When a new matter had to be settled, a new article was simply added to the text. Fundamental changes in the existing text, however, did not occur. The *ʿahd-name* of 1575 basically consisted of the text of the (short) capitulation of 1573 and that of 1540, which were inserted in the *expositio-narratio* of the instrument of 1575. In 1595 this text was completely revised and again remained almost unchanged until 1641. During this period no significant changes were made and the text could easily be updated with only minor changes and additions.

There are further indications that Ottoman chancery officials were very conservative when it came to composing the text of a new treaty. They preferred to copy an existing text as part of a new treaty than to compose a completely new text. Indications of this practice can also be found in the kind of copy mistakes. When copying (a part of) a text of an earlier treaty into (the draft of) the new treaty, scribes made mistakes. Non-Turkish names were often corrupted (written without any diacritical marks) and, as a result, became even more difficult to recognise. This is evident in the capitulations of the period 1540-1576 when a number of names mentioned in the treaty of 1540 were almost completely corrupted and in the end became virtually illegible. Nonetheless, no matter how many mistakes were made, words were never omitted. The fear of changing the text by deleting words was apparently greater than the fear of corrupting the text by making copy mistakes. Ordinary copy mistakes (in words that were not names) frequently occurred in each renewal

104 Heyd, *Documents*, 23-24; and Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, 79-80. Cf. Faroqhi, *Handelspolitik*, 206: 'In ein *ecnebi*-Register wurden Sultansreskripte eingetragen, welche auf Verlangen der jeweiligen Gesandten ausgestellt worden waren. Die Namen der Addressaten fehlen fast immer; die Titel sind oft stark verkürzt wiedergegeben. Daraus läßt sich erschließen, dass die Kopie nicht von der Reinschrift, sondern von einem Konzept angefertigt wurde'.

of the treaty. When on one occasion 've ne deñlü' became 'Venediklü' and 'harami' became 'dahı', the mistakes were not corrected, neither when the mistake was made for the first time nor at any later time. The contents of the text were thus altered without anyone noticing. Moreover, it was apparently impossible to correct the mistakes later, either because no one realized that they were mistakes or because no one dared to 'change' a text which was only meant to be copied.

This brings us to the important question of the checking of documents which were issued by the chancery and presented to the Venetians. The document versions that were presented to the Venetians were copied from final draft versions which were also copied into *defter*s.[105] After a scribe had copied the text, a higher chancery official, most likely the *nişancı* or the *re'isü 'l-küttab*, must have checked the text. Indications of this practice can be found on the reverse side of the documents. Sometimes small remarks like 'tecdid oluna deyü […]' (1595 V1), 'tecdid olunmuşdur '(1595 V1) or 'olmuşdur' (1604) and occasionally a 'sahh' sign or a small signature (1625 and 1641) have been written. Whenever the *re'isü 'l-küttab* or *nişancı* discovered mistakes they were corrected. Most Venetian capitulations show the traces of later corrections. Words were 'corrected' by adding letters which, however, often only resulted in further corruption. Sometimes additions were made above or below lines or between words in such small writing that they are hardly legible. Occasionally, mistakes were not corrected because one simply did not realize a mistake had been made or perhaps because there was no possibility to do so.

It also happened that, while copying, the scribe himself tried to correct his mistakes immediately. The Venetian capitulations of 1604 and 1641 have traces of such corrections. In 1604 the scribe apparently started with a wrong sentence and after some 5-10 words he realized his mistake. When the ink had dried, he eliminated the text by removing the ink and the top layer of the paper with a knife or some other sharp instrument. As a result, the paper is thinner at these spots When a lamp is held behind the paper, traces of the original text are visible underneath the later text which was written over it (see Plate 1). In 1641 another method was used. The scribe made a mistake at the

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105 Heyd, *Documents*, 23-24; Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, 79-80; and Faroqhi, *Handelspolitik*, 206-209. The text of the capitulation of 1573 was copied into a *mühimme defteri*. As with decrees in the *mühimme defterleri* the scribe added the phrase 'yazıldı' in order to indicate that the text was also issued as a document. The text of the capitulation of 1604 has been copied into an *ecnebi defteri*. Both the document and the defter version were most probably copied from a draft. Since they have the same date, we can not determine which one was copied first. The capitulations of Sultan ᶜOsman II and Murad IV from 1619 and 1625 were also copied into *ecnebi defterleri*.

end of a line. Whether he noticed his mistake immediately or later on, he corrected the text by covering the mistake with gold paint. When the paint dried, he wrote the correct text on the golden spot. Again, when a lamp is held behind the paper, the original text can be seen underneath the golden spot and the later text (see Plate 2).

When the document was finished, it was either put into a small bag or rolled up in a piece of cloth which was attached to the top of the document. The bags called 'kise' were made of satin, silk or brocade – in varied colors. The cloth that was attached to the documents was usually silk.[106] Only one of the Venetian capitulations still has its cloth cover. Until recently a piece of red-pink silk was attached to the top of the Venetian capitulation of 1540 which is kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale. It is not absolutely certain that this was the original silk. The top of the document was seriously damaged and restored (in the eighteenth century?) after which this piece of silk was attached. However, recently the document in the Bibliothèque Nationale has been restored. The whole document is now glued on a piece of pink silk and the original (?) piece of silk which was attached to the top is no longer there. A second piece of cloth is kept in the Archivio di Stato.[107] This time there can be little doubt that it is authentic. It is a piece of gold and silver silk brocade (with flowers). Its width (49-49.5 cm.) is the same as that of the capitulation of 1619 to which it was originally attached. This piece of brocade is extremely heavy and if it was indeed attached to the top of the document which seems to have been the case, this could explain the serious damage done to the top of the document. The brocade must have been too heavy for the paper and as a result the top of the paper tore off.

106 Fekete, *Einführung*, XXVII-XXVIII.

107 ASV, Documenti Turchi 1237. The piece of brocade is 49-49,5 cm. wide and 45.3 cm. long. Three of its sides have a hem. Only the side which was attached to the paper does not have a hem.

Table 1. Length, width, number of sheets and lines of the documents

Date	Length in cm.	Width in cm.	Sheets	Lines
1479 (Gr.)	114.5	33	2	49
1482	143 (1.)	22.5	4	59
1503 (T.)	300.4	39	5	45
1503 (Gr.)	246	30	4	25
1513	192	30.5	3	53
1517 (T.)	208	26.8	3	62
1517 (It.)	275	26.2	4	159
1521 (V1)	353.6	33.5	7	66
1521 (V2)	148.8	22	3	103
1521 (V3)	115	20.9	2	83
1540 (Draft)	686.3	42.2	8	60
1540 (V)	657.7	40.5	9	95
1540 (BN)	507 (2.)	35.5	7	74
1540 (C)	200	27	? (5.)	111
1567	583.7	41	8	68
1573	167	47.8	3	19
1575	547	52.3	7	83
1576	290.4	40	4	106
1595 (V1)	365.3	49.5	4	74
1595 (V2)	381.1	50	4	73
1604	341.7	49	4	63
1619	200 (3.)	49.5	2	73
1625	201	57	3	61
1641	195.2 (4.)	53.6	3	63

Remarks:

1. The document of 1482 (Turkish version) consists of four sheets. The top sheet is seriously damaged. What is left of it measures 26 cm. The *invocatio*-formula is torn off the document. It is written on a small piece of paper (9.2 x 15.5 cm.) which originally formed a part of the first sheet of paper. The original sheet, therefore, must have been at least 35.2 cm. (26+9.2). The other three sheets, however, are all 36.5 cm. long. The first sheet was most probably of the same length. The total length of the document (143 cm.) is thus based on four sheets of 36.5 cm. (146 cm.), minus the overlaps which total 3 cm.

2. The document consists of seven sheets of various lengths (45.5, 80, 68.5, 83.8, 84.2, 83.5 and 64 cm. minus the overlaps which total 2.5 cm. = 507). The top sheet was damaged and restored. Only 25.5 cm. of the original sheet is preserved. The original top sheet must have been between 40 and 60 cm. longer (65.5-85.5 cm.).
3. The document of 1619 consists of two sheets, one of 100 cm. and one of 84.5 cm. The shortest one (the top sheet), however, is damaged and part of it is missing. The original length of this sheet was most likely the same as that of the undamaged sheet. Thus, the total length (including one small overlap of 0.5) may have been approximately two metres.
4. The top sheet of this document is seriously damaged. The first sheet is 59.5 cm. long, the second and third sheet each 68.5 cm. It is not likely, however, that a part of the top sheet is torn off, since the *invocatio*-formula is still at the top of the document.
5. Since the data of the Carpentras document, as mentioned in Lehmann's book, are incomplete, no information on the number of sheets can be given.

Table 2. Width and lengths of every sheet of paper

Date	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1479	57.5	57.5							
1482	36.5 (6.)	36.5	36.5	36.5					
1503 (1.)	56.8	69	63.5	63	53.5				
1503	70	66.5	69	43					
1513	68.5	69	55,5						
1517 (2.)	70.5	70.5	70						
1517	69	69	69.5	70 (9.)					
1521 (3.)	55	53.5	54	54	53.8	54.5	32.5		
1521	37	58.5	55.5						
1521	58.5	57							
1540 (4.)	72.8	87.8	88.3	88.5	88.4	88.2	89	86.8	
1540	79	63	84.5	87.2	34.5	67.5	83.5	81	81.5
1540	25.5	80	68.5	83.8	84.2	83.5	64		
1567	79	78	79.8	79.3	78	79.2	34	79.8	
1573	75.5	56	36.2						
1575	80.3	80.3	80.5	80.4	78.8	74	75.6		
1576	68	74.2	75.3	74.7					
1595 (5.)	99.5	89	98.5	80.5					
1595	100.3	99.3	100.5	82.5					
1604	98.2	98.7	96.7	49.9					
1619	100 (7.)	100							
1625	67.5	67.5	67						
1641	59.5 (8.)	68.5	68.5						

Remarks:

1. The first document of 1503 is the one in Ottoman-Turkish, the second document the one in Greek.
2. The first document of 1517 is in Ottoman-Turkish, the second document in Italian.
3. The first document of 1521 is V1, the second V2 and the third V3.
4. The first document of 1540 is the draft, the second one is V, the third BN. The length of the top sheet of the BN document is nowadays 25.5 cm. but must have been originally 65.5-85.5 cm. Since Lehmann gives no information on the

number of sheets and their length, no data of the document in Carpentras can be given here.
5. The first document of 1595 is V1, the second V2.
6. The actual length of this damaged sheet is 35.2 cm.
7. The actual length of this damaged sheet is 84.5 cm.
8. This sheet is damaged but most likely still has its original length.
9. Only the first 3 cm. of this sheet are used. There are not more than 3 lines on it.

Table 3. Margins, lines and empty space

Date of the document	**Right margin in cm. and % of total width**	**Left margin in cm. and % of total width**	**Lines at fixed intervals in cm.**	**Empty space in cm. and % of length (3.)**
1479 (Gr.)	3. cm., 9 %	3. cm., 9%	-	19.5 cm., 17 %
1482	7 cm., 31 %	-	-	10 cm., 7 %
1503 (T.)	10.5 cm., 27 %	-	-	41 cm., 14 %
1503 (Gr.)	-	8 cm., 27 %	1.3 cm.	16.5 cm., 7 %
1513	8.7 cm., 28 %	-	-	31 cm., 16 %
1517 (T.)	6.7 cm., 25 %	-	-	23.5 cm., 11 %
1517 (It.)	-	4.7 cm., 18 %	-	26.4 cm., 10 %
1521 (V1)	6-8.5 cm., 25 %	3 cm.	-	21.5 cm., 6 %
1521 (V2)	3.6 cm., 16 %	0.8 cm.	-	7.4 cm., 5 %
1521 (V3)	3.8 cm., 18 %	-	-	13 cm., 11 %
1540 (Draft) (1.)	11.8 cm., 28 %	6.2 cm.	9.7 cm.	53 cm., 8 %
1540 (V)	12.2 cm., 30 %	5.1 cm.	5.7-6.1 cm. (2.)	40 cm., 6 %
1540 (BN)	8.5 cm., 24 %	5 cm.	4.5-5 cm.	40 cm. 7.6% (4.)
1567	13.5 cm., 33 %	3-3.5 cm.	-	47 cm., 8 % (5.)
1573	10 cm., 21 %	4-4.5 cm.	-	44 cm., 26% (6.)
1575	13 cm., 25 %	3 cm.	-	19 cm., 3 %
1576	9.5 cm., 24 %	1-1.5 cm.	-	21 cm., 7 %
1595 (V1)	11.6 cm., 23 %	2 cm.	-	32 cm., 9 % (7.)
1595 (V2)	11.2 cm., 22 %	3-4 cm.	-	35 cm., 9 %
1604	11.5 cm., 23 %	3 cm.	-	2 cm., 0 %
1619	10.2 cm., 21 %	3 cm.	-	? cm. (8.)
1625	11.5 cm., 20 %	3 cm.	-	1-2 cm., 1 %
1641	9.8 cm., 18 %	1.5-2 cm.	-	3-4 cm., 2 %

Remarks:

1. The *invocatio*-formula is almost always written at the top of the document, not more than a few centimeters below the edge of the sheet. Therefore, no distinction is made between the top and the *invocatio*.
2. Since Lehmann gives no information on the margins, lines and empty space, no data can be given here about the Carpentras document.
3. Every single sheet also has its own top and bottom margin of 3 cm.

4. The original top of the document is torn off just above the *tugra* (at 25.5 cm.) Because the paper has been restored, it is no longer possible to tell what the original length of the empty space was. The original top sheet must have been between 65.5 and 85.5 cm. The empty space, therefore, must have been between 40 and 60 cm. However, when compared with the other documents of 1540, 40 cm. seems to be most likely.
5. At the bottom of the document, there is an empty space of 28 cm.
6. In this space between the *invocatio*-formula and the *tugra* there are some other formulae (at 31 cm. from the top and 11 cm. from the *tugra*). At the bottom of the document there is an empty space of 60 cm.
7. At the end of the document there is an empty space of 9.5 cm.
8. Because the top has been restored after being seriously damaged, the original distance between the top and the *tugra* can no longer be ascertained.

Table 4. Ink, ductus and gold ornaments

Date	Ink	Ductus	Powdered	Dots and spots
1479	black	Greek	-	-
1482	black	divani	*	-
1503 (T.)	black	divani	*	-
1503 (Gr.)	black	Greek	-	-
1513	black	divani	*	-
1517 (T.)	black	divani	*	-
1517 (It.)	black	Italian	-	-
1521 (V1)	black	divani	*	-
1521 (V2)	black	divani	-	-
1521 (V3)	black	divani	-	-
1540 (Draft)	black, gold	divani	*	*
1540 (V)	black, gold	divani	*	*
1540 (BN)	black	divani	*	-
1540 (C) (1.)	black	divani	-	-
1567	black	divani	*	* *
1573	black, gold, blue	divani, sülüs	*	*
1575	black, gold	divani	-	*
1576	black	divani	*	-
1595 (V1)	black, gold	divani	-	* *
1595 (V2)	black, gold	divani	-	* *
1604	black, gold	divani	-	*
1619	black	divani	*	-
1625	black	divani	*	-
1641	black	divani	*	*

Remark:

1. Since Lehmann gives no information about the use of gold ink, gold powder and gold ornaments, no data can be given here.

Table 5. The colors used for the tugra

Date	Gold	Green	Blue	Black	Red	Pink	Grey	Other	Other
1479	*								
1482	*	*	*	*					
1503 (1.)	*		*	*					
1503	*								
1513	*								
1517 (2.)	*			*					
1517	*			*					
1521	*		*	*					
1540 (3.)	*								
1540	*		*	*					
1540	*		*	*					
1540	*								
1567 (4.)	*								
1573 (5.)	*								
1575	*		*	*	*	*	*		
1576	*		*						
1595 (6.)	*	*	*	*	*		*		
1595	*	*	*	*	*		*		
1604	*		*	*	*		*	brown	
1619	*	*	*	*	*			beige	yellow
								white	orange
1625	*	*	*	*	*	*		lilac	yellow
								white	orange
1641	*		*	*	*			white	orange

Remarks:

1. The first document of 1503 is in Ottoman-Turkish, the second in Greek.
2. The first document of 1517 is in Ottoman-Turkish, the second in Italian.
3. The first document of 1540 is the draft, the second V, the third BN and the fourth Carprentras (= C, Lehmann). The *tugra* of the draft is not finished.
4. The *tugra* is not finished.
5. The *tugra* is not finished.
6. The first document of 1595 is V1, the second V2.

Table 6. The tugra in relation to the document

Date of the document	**Length of the document in cm.**	**Width of the document in cm.**	**Height of the *tugra* in cm.**	**Width of the *tugra* in cm.**	**Amount of space used for the *tugra* in %**
1479 (Gr.)	114.5 cm.	33 cm.	7.2 cm.	24.6 cm.	4.7 %
1482	143 cm.	22.5 cm.	7 cm.	19 cm.	4.5 %
1503 (T.)	300.4 cm.	39 cm.	13 cm.	35 cm.	3.9 %
1503 (Gr.)	246 cm.	30 cm.	10 cm.	26 cm.	3.5 %
1513	192 cm.	30.5 cm.	8 cm.	25.2 cm.	3.4 %
1517 (T.)	208 cm.	26.8 cm.	10 cm.	18.5 cm.	3.3 %
1517 (It.)	275 cm.	26.2 cm.	9.3 cm.	20.2 cm.	2.6 %
1521 (1.)	353.6 cm.	33.5 cm.	9 cm.	27.5 cm.	2.1 %
1540 (Draft)	686.3 cm.	42.2 cm.	12.8 cm.	36 cm.	1.6 % (3.)
1540 (V)	657.7 cm.	40.5 cm.	20 cm.	38 cm.	2.8 %
1540 (BN)	507 cm.	35.5 cm.	18 cm.	33.5 cm.	3.3 %
1540 (C) (2.)	200 cm.	27 cm.	-	-	-
1567	583.7 cm.	41 cm.	9.4 cm.	25.7 cm.	1 % (4.)
1573	167 cm.	47.8 cm.	16.5 cm.	32.7 cm.	6.8 % (5.)
1575	547 cm.	52.3 cm.	49 cm.	47 cm.	8.1 %
1576	290.4 cm.	40 cm.	26.5 cm.	39 cm.	8.9 %
1595 (V1)	365.3 cm.	49.5 cm.	38 cm.	43.5 cm.	9.1 %
1595 (V2)	381.1 cm.	50 cm.	37 cm.	46 cm.	8.9 %
1604	341.7 cm.	49 cm.	66.5 cm.	46 cm.	18.3 %
1619	200 cm.	49.5 cm.	51 cm.	48 cm.	26.9 %
1625	201 cm.	57 cm.	61 cm.	51.5 cm.	27.4 %
1641	195.2 cm.	53.6 cm.	49 cm.	46 cm.	21.5 %

Remarks:

1. Only one (V1) of the three documents of 1521 has a *tugra*. V2 and V3 are both documents which were not issued by the Ottoman chancery and therefore have no *tugra*. For this reason they are not included in this table.
2. Lehmann does not give any information on the height and the length of the *tugra*.
3. This *tugra* is not finished.
4. This *tugra* is not finished.

5. This *tugra* is not finished.

The Texts

The Venetian Capitulation of 1482

The *ᶜahd-name* of 1482 is preserved in two different languages: Greek and Turkish. The Greek version can be found in the Venetian *Libri Commemoriali* and, together with an Italian translation, in the *Liber Graecus*. The text in the *Libri Commemoriali* has been published by Miklosich and Müller.[1] Bombaci for the first time noticed the existence of a copy of this Greek version in the *Liber Graecus*.[2] He also pointed out the existence of an original document in Ottoman-Turkish which is kept in the Venetian State Archives.[3] The text of this document was published by Gökbilgin in 1972[4] and by Gallotta in 1982.[5] The present text is based on the original document preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia and the two published versions of the same document.[6]

The Text

Hüve 'l-gani 'l-mugni 'l-muᶜin[7]

Bayezid bin Mehmed han muzaffer da'ima[8]

1) Nişan-i hümayun-i ᶜali-şan ve misal-i meymun-i vacibü 'l-izᶜan neffezehü[9] 'llahü 'l-melikü 'l-mennan ila inkırazi 'd-dühur ve 'l-ezman[10]

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1 *MM*, III, 313-317.

2 Bombaci, *Liber Graecus,* 294. The text in the *Liber Graecus* can be found on ff. 29r-31v.

3 Bombaci, *Liber Graecus*, 294 and 303.

4 Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 127, 39-42 (= Gökbilgin).

5 Gallotta, *Trattato,* 226-231 (= Gallotta). In this article Gallotta compares the Turkish and the Greek text and also gives a modern Italian translation of the Turkish text.

6 ASV, Documenti Turchi 26 (= V).

7 Gökbilgin and Gallotta omit the *invocatio*, probably because the piece of paper on which it is written has been separated (torn off) from the rest of the document.

8 Gökbilgin: Bayezid han bin Mehmed han el-muzaffer da'ima; Gallotta omits the text of the tugra at the beginning of his text but gives it elsewhere as 'Bayezid ibn Mehmed Han muzaffer da'ima'.

9 Gökbilgin and Gallotta: nevvere.

10 Gökbilgin has "d-deveran' instead of "d-dühur ve 'l-ezman'.

2) hükmi oldur ki ben ki sultan Bayezid bin sultan Mehmed bin sultan Murad hanın bi-ᶜavni 'llah teᶜala serir-i saltanete[11] cülus-i hümayunum vakıᶜ olub
3) etrafdan ümera'[12] ve selatin ᶜatebe-i ᶜulyama müraceᶜat edib müsaleha ve müᶜahede etdiklerinde[13] benim re'y-i[14] cihan-arayıma şöyle zahir
4) oldı ki bundan evvel çün benim babam hudavendgar enare 'llahü bürhanehü ᶜumde[15] 'l-ümera' Venedik dukası Yuvan Mocenigo[16] ve sayir
5) begleriyle dostluk ve mehabbet ve müsaleha eylemişlerdi bendahı gördüm anlarıñla müsaleha etmek sebeb-i intizam-i ümur-i memleketdir
6) la cerem ᶜalem-i dünyada dostluk ve mehabbet fevkında hiç nesne olmaz imdi bendahı müsaleha etmege mayil olub ᶜumdetü 'l-ümera' Venedik
7) dukası Yuvan Mocenigo[17] ve erkan-i devleti ve sayir begleri ile ve halkı ile dostluk ve mehabbet bünyadın[18] eyleyem şimdikihalde mezkur begler
8) fahrü 'l-aᶜyan zu 'l-ᶜakli 'l-etemm Andoniya Vituriyi[19] ᶜatebe-i ᶜulyama elçilige ve aramızda olan dostluk ve mehabbet esasını mühkem etmege
9) ve bu ᶜahd-namede vakıᶜ olan şerayıtı mukarrer kılmaga gönderdikleri sebebden bendahı anlarıñ müsalehaların ve ᶜahdların kabul edib eyman-i mugallaza[20] ile
10) yemin ederim ki kuşandugum kılıc hakkıyçün ve atam ve dedem ruhıyçün ve oglancıklarım başıyçün ve benim başım ve canımiçün[21] ve yüz yigirmi dört biñ peygamber hürmetiyçün
11) ve hazret-i resuluñ ᶜaleyh efzalü 's-salevat ve ekmelü 't-tahiyat pak ve münevver ve mütahher ruhıyçün ve yedi mushaf hakkıyçün ve dinim hakkıyçün ve yeri gögi yaradan

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11 Gökbilgin omits the dative-suffix: saltanet.

12 Gökbilgin and Gallotta omit the final 'hemze'.

13 Gökbilgin: etdiklerinden.

14 V: written as 'ray'.

15 Gökbilgin: ᶜumdetü.

16 V, Gallotta and Gökbilgin: Y[u]van Mocenigo; Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian doge 18 May 1478 - 4 November 1485.

17 V, Gallotta and Gökbilgin: Y[u]van Mocenigo.

18 Gökbilgin: bünyad. V: or 'bünyan' ?

19 V, Gallotta and Gökbilgin: [A]ndon[i]ya V[i]turi; Antonio Vitturi, Venetian ambassador (oratore) to Bayezid II. Gallotta: 'Vituri' without the accusative suffix '-yi'.

20 Gökbilgin: imana mugallaza.

21 Gallotta: canımçün.

12) perverdegar hakkıyçün ki ma dam ki anlar bu ᶜahd ve bu sulh üzere sabit ve dayim olub[22] hılaf-i ᶜahd anlardan nesne zahir olmaya bendahı bu ᶜahd ve sulh üzere
13) sabit ve dayim olub hılaf-i ᶜahd benden nesne sadır olmaya bugünden soñra benimle zübde[23] 'l-ümera' Venedik dukası Yuvan Mocenigo[24] ile ve bundan soñra
14) olacak duka ile ve sayir begleriyle ve anlarıñ ademleri ile ve anlara müteᶜallık olan yerleriñ ve vilayetleriñ halkı ile ve kalᶜalarıyla
15) ve burguzlarıyla ve adalarıyla fi 'l-cümle Ayu Markonuñ[25] sancagın götüren kimesneler ile ve şimdiden soñra götürecekleri ile ve cemiᶜi anlara müteᶜallık olan
16) yerleri ile yaşdan ve kurudan el-an ellerinde olan elleri ve günleri ile ve şimden soñra açılacak yerleri ile aramızda dostluk ve mehabbet ve müsaleha
17) ve barışıklık ola min baᶜd benim memalik-i mahrusemde olan sancakbeglerinden ve subaşılardan ve timar erlerinden fi 'l-cümle benim huddam-i encüm-irtisamımdan
18) hiç ahad bunlarıñ ellerine ve kalᶜalarına ve kendlerine[26] ve burguzlarına ziyan ve elem yetişdirmeye eger baña müteᶜallık olan kimesnelerden bunlarıñ vilayetlerine
19) ve ademlerine ziyan yetişürse ben zamin olam ki anı yerine koyub dahl eden kimesnelere siyaset ve tehdid eyleyem hakklarından gelem ziyanların yerine koyub cemiᶜ esirleri
20) girü anlara döndürem mezkur beglerdahı[27] bu üslubüzere zamin olalar baᶜde 'l-yevm mezkur begleriñ vilayetlerinden ve[28] kalᶜalarından[29] ve ademilerinden yahud
21) yerlerinden benim ademlerimden anlara müteᶜallık olan esbabdan bir nesne alursa ben[30] zamin olam ki yine yerine koyub mezkur beglere teslim eyleyem mezkur

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22 Gallotta: urub.

23 Gökbilgin: zeynü.

24 V, Gallotta and Gökbilgin: Y[u]van Mocenigo.

25 V, Gallotta and Gökbilgin: [A]yu Marko; usually 'Aya Marko', i.e. San Marco.

26 Gökbilgin and Gallotta: kendülerine.

27 Gökbilgin and Gallotta: begler dahı.

28 Gökbilgin omits 've'.

29 Gökbilgin: kıtᶜalarından.

30 Gökbilgin omits 'ben'.

22) begler dahı bu üslub üzere eyleyeler ve mezkur begleriñ bazirganları ve ademileri[31] fi 'l-cümle sefer ehli olan kimesneleri ki Venedik adına olalar
23) benim memalik-i mahruseme yaşdan ve kurudan kadırgalarıyla ve kökeleriyle ve gayr uşak[32] gemileri ile İstanbula[33] ve Galataya[34] ve Trabzona[35] ve Kefeye[36]
24) ve cemi[c]i baña müte[c]allık olan yerlere yaşdan ve kurudan olsun bogazıñ içinden ve taşından geleler ve gideler hiç ahad kayinen
25) men kane[37] anlara bir elem ve zarer yetişdirmeye ve [c]avarızdan emin olalar mezkurlara kendülere ve kendülere müte[c]allık olan horendelerine fi 'l-cümle
26) her neleri ki var ise[38] hiç ahad ziyan ve gezend yetişdirmeye ne vakt dilerlerse geleler ve dilerlerse gideler hemçünan mezkur begler dahı bu üslub üzere gideler[39]
27) ve Nakş[40] adanıñ dukası ve karındaşları ve sipahileri ve ademileri ve aña müte[c]allık olan yerler ve gemileri fi 'l-cümle derya yüzünde hareket eyleyen
28) kayıkları ve biremeleri[41] bu müsalehada dahil olalar anlardan dahı nesne taleb olunmayub Venedik halkı gibi olalar benim memalik-i mahrusemden derya yüzüne[42]

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31 Gökbilgin: ademleri.

32 Gökbilgin has 'k[a]pudanl[ı]k' instead of 'gayr uşak'.

33 V, Gallotta and Gökbilgin: [İ]stanbul.

34 V, Gallotta and Gökbilgin: G[a]lata.

35 V, Gallotta and Gokbilgin: Tr[a]bzon.

36 Gökbilgin omits 've Kefeye'. V and Gallotta: K[e]fe.

37 Gökbilgin omits 'kayinen'.

38 Gökbilgin: varise.

39 Gökbilgin: gireler.

40 V, Gallotta and Gökbilgin: N[a]kş. Gallotta: N[a]kş[ı]n.

41 A type of ship also called 'pérama', 'pereme', 'bereme', 'perime', 'preme' or 'prama'. The word exists in several 'Levantine' languages such as Greek, Turkish and Italian. See H. and R. Kahane and A. Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant. Turkish Nautical Terms of Italian and Greek Origin*, İstanbul 1988 (ed. princ. Urbana 1958), 558-559, no. 829. Concerning types of ships (mentioned in the *[c]ahd-name*s) see also Uzunçarşılı, *Merkez ve bahriye teşkilatı*, 456-479; and S. Soucek, 'Certain Types of Ships in Ottoman-Turkish Terminology', *Turcica*, VII, 1975, 233-249.

42 Gökbilgin: yüzine.

29) giden gemilerim ve kadırgalarım ve tonanmalarım rencberleriñ olsun benim [43] eger deñiz yüzünde Venedik gemilerine buluşurlarsa birbiriyle dostluk edib ahadühümadan ahara[44] zarer
30) yetişmeye ve haramiler kayıkları her ne yerde kim tutulurlarsa hakklarından gelüb siyaset eyleyeler eger Venedikden bir kimesne benim memalik-i mahruseme gelüb borc ve yahud
31) bir ziyan edib giderse anıñ gayri Venediklü kimesneyi tutmayalar mezkur begler dahı bu üslub üzere edeler eger Venedikden esir kaçub benim memalik-i mahruseme
32) gelürse eger müsliman olursa sahıbına biñ akçe vere eger müsliman olmazsa yine sahıbına teslim eyleyeler eger mezkur Venedik gemileri benim memalik-i mahruseme
33) gelüriken yolda yel çıkub helak olursa ne deñlü adem kurtulursa azad olalar ve tavarı kurtulursa sahıblarına verile mezkur
34) begler dahı bu üslub üzere eyleyeler eger Venedikden bir kimesne bunda fevt olub veresesi olmayub vasiyet dahı eylemiş olmasa anlarıñ gibileriñ
35) rızkları bi 'l-külliye Venedik baylosuna teslim oluna eger baylos olmazsa Venediklü bazirganlara vereler anlardahı[45] Venedik beglerine
36) teslim eyleyeler ve yahud baylos dedigi kimesneye vereler ve mezkur begler bayloslarını[46] İstanbula[47] göndüreler horendesiyle bile gelüb İstanbulda[48]
37) temekkün eyleye ki Venedik bazirganlarınıñ mesalıhın görüb ve gözde şerayıtı ne ise kendü ayinlerince yerine koya ve İstanbulda[49] subaşı olan kimesne
38) aña müteᶜallık ümurda mezkura muᶜavenet eyleye Venedige[50] müteᶜallık olan ademilerden şunlar ki dar-i harbdan zeman-i ᶜadavetde benim memalik-i mahrusemde

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43 Gallotta adds here '[olsun]'.

44 Gökbilgin has '[i]stiman ede' instead of 'ahadühümadan ahara'.

45 Gökbilgin and Gallotta: anlar dahı.

46 Gökbilgin: baylosların.

47 V, Gallotta and Gökbilgin: [İ]stanbul.

48 V: Gallotta and Gökbilgin: [İ]stanbul.

49 V, Gallotta and Gökbilgin: [İ]stanbul.

50 V: Venedik (sic).

39) esir olmuşlardır[51] ve şimdiden soñra azad olacaklardır ellerinde ᶜatak-name[52] buluna anlarıñ gibilere destur oluna horendeleriyle ve rızklarıyla[53]
40) varıb Venedik memleketlerine gideler kimesne maniᶜ olmaya ve aramızda nizaᶜlar götürülmekiçün ki ol nizaᶜlardan müsalehamuza ve dostlugumuza
41) zarer yetişmeye buyurdum ki cemiᶜ memalik-i mahrusemde şol yerlerden ki kadırgalar ve gemiler ve kayıklar haramilıga çıkub derya yüzüne gitdikleri vaktin[54] ki benim
42) kapudanım anlarıñla bile olmaya mezkur gemileriñ re'isleri ol yerleriñ hakimlerine mühkem kefiller vereler varıb[55] Venedik memleketlerine ziyan
43) yetişdirmeyeler eger kefil vermedin giderlerse mücrim ve güneh-kar olurlar hakklarından geline eger ziyan ederlerse ziyanları yerine konılub kendüleriñ
44) geregi gibi hakklarından geline ve bundan evvel merhum magfur lehü babam hudavendgar nevvere 'llahü merkadehü mezkur Venedik begleri ile müsaleha ve müᶜahede
45) etdikde Venedik baylosı her yıl on biñ filori tacirler hasılından piş-keş[56] vere deyü ᶜahd-namede kayd olunmuş imiş
46) el-haletü hazihi mezkur begleriñ kemal ihlasların ızhar etdikleri sebebden ᶜavatıf-i husrevanem muktezasınca ol on biñ piş-keş[57] filoriyi
47) anlara bagışladım bundan böyle taleb olunmaya ve merhum babam zemanında baᶜzı kazayayçün aradan ᶜadavet götürülsün deyü mezkur Venedik
48) begleri[58] yüz biñ filori vermege mültezim olub elli biñini[59] verib elli biñ filori baki kalmış imiş bu [60] üzere ᶜahd olundı ki bu zikr olunan

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51 Gallotta: olmuşlardan.

52 On the ᶜ*atak-name* or ᶜ*ıtık-name* see K. Jahn, *Türkische Freilassungserklaerungen des 18. Jahrhunderts (1702-1776)*, Napoli 1963 and C. Imber, 'Four Documents from John Rylands Turkish MS. no. 145', *Tarih Dergisi*, XXXII, 1979, 173-185, 175-179.

53 Gökbilgin: azıklarıyla.

54 Gökbilgin: vaktde.

55 Gökbilgin: ve andan.

56 Gökbilgin: biş.

57 Gökbilgin: biş.

58 Gallotta: 'begri' (sic for 'beg[le]ri').

59 Gökbilgin: biñin.

60 Gallotta adds here '[üslub]'.

49) elli biñ baki filoriyi hızane-i ᶜamireme teslim eyleyeler verdiklerinden soñra bu husus içün anlardan bi-vechin mine 'l-vücuh nesne taleb olunmaya ve mezkur
50) Venedik begleriyle şöyle müsaleha ve müᶜahede olundı ki merhum magfur lehü babam tabe mazceᶜuhü Benedito Treviziyan[61] adlu elçiye verdigi
51) sınur-namesinde mestur olan Vasika[62] kalᶜası ve Police[63] adlu yerler sınurlarıyla ve nahiyeleriyle kadimden kendüleriñ tesarrüflerindedir[64]
52) girü tesarrüflerinde ola dedigi sebebden bendahı mukarrer dutdum ki ber karar-i sabık yine tesarrüflerinde ola ve mezkur yerlerden kimesne nesne taleb
53) eylemeye fi 'l-cümle mezkurlarıla şöyle müsaleha ve müᶜahede olundı ki kadimden şimdiyedegin kendü tesarrüflerinde maᶜmul olıgelmiş[65]
54) sınurları babam hudavendgar nevvere 'llahü merkadehü meser[66] Nikola Kok[67] nam elçiye verdügi sınur-name mucebince ber karar-i sabık mukarrer
55) ola kimesne andan tecavüz etmeye ve ben zamin oldum ki mezkur begler babamla müsaleha eylediklerinden berü şimdiyedegin anlarıñ
56) memleketlerinden ne kadar esir tarik-i teᶜaddi ile alınmış ise babam zemanında ve benim zemanımda cemiᶜisini azad eyleyem rızklarını[68]
57) ve esbablarını bulduram ve edenleriñ hakklarından geldirem bu bablarda temam iᶜtimad edib ᶜalamet-i şerif üzere
58) iᶜtikad-i[69] külli kılalar tahriren fi evahır-i zi 'l-kaᶜde 'l-haram li-sene[70] sitt ve semanin ve seman-mi'e
59) be-mekam-i Edirne[71] 'l-mahmiye.

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61 V: B[e]nedito Tr[e]v[i]z[i]yan; Gallotta: B[e]nedito Nr[e]v[i]z[i]yan; Gökbilgin: B[e]nedito S[e]ruz[i]yan (Benedito Serujan). Benedetto Trevisan, Venetian ambassador to Mehmed II.

62 V, Gallotta and Gökbilgin: Vas[i]ka.

63 V, Gallotta: Police; Gökbilgin: Polise ('ye' without diacritical marks).

64 Gökbilgin omits 've nahiyeleriyle kadimden kendüleriñ tesarrüflerindedir'.

65 Gökbilgin: olıgelen.

66 V and Gallotta: m[e][s]s[e]r; Gökbilgin: m[e]y[e]r ('ye' without diacritical marks). The Italian 'messer' or 'missier' (sir) transliterated in Arabic script.

67 V and Gökbilgin: N[i]kola Kok; Gallotta has 'N[i]kola', but omits 'Kok'. Nicolò Cocco, Venetian envoy ('oratore') to Mehmed II in 1481.

68 Gökbilgin: azıklarını.

69 Gallotta: iᶜtimad(-i).

70 Gallotta: sene.

71 V, Gallotta and Gökbilgin: Ed[i]rne.

The Ottoman-Venetian *Instrumentum Reciprocum* of 1503

The Ottoman-Venetian *instrumentum reciprocum* of 1503 consists of the Ottoman *ᶜahd-name* which is preserved in an Ottoman-Turkish and a Greek original, and the Venetian document which was given to the Ottomans. The Venetian text which was presented to Bayezid II is basically a translation of the original *ᶜahd-name* in Ottoman-Turkish (and not of the Greek version of the text) to which a Venetian introduction and a new end (*locatio* and *datatio*) were added. An entry in the registers of the Senato Secreta of 13 May 1503 explains why the Venetians based their version of the treaty on the Turkish text and not on the Greek text: 'Dicte al orator del Signor Turco, sia risposto che habiamo facto tradur li capituli de la pace per lui presentati per nome del gran Signor suo et maxime quelli in lingua turca, per non apparer li greci, cussi ben compositi'.[1] The text of the Turkish original has been published before by Şakiroğlu.[2] The present version of this Ottoman-Turkish text is based upon the original document in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia and the version of Şakiroğlu.[3] The text of the Venetian document is based on a register copy in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia.[4]

The Ottoman-Turkish text

Bayezid bin Mehmed han muzaffer da'ima[5]

1) Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i[6] sultani ve ferman-i münif-i vacibü 'l-izᶜan-i[7] hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 'l-menni 's-sübhani[8] hükmi oldur ki el-haletü hazihi[9] Venedik beglerinden dergah-i ᶜalem-penahıma elçi

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1 ASV, Senato Secreta, reg. no. 39, f. 83v.

2 Şakiroğlu, *1503 tarihli andlaşma*, 1559-1569 (= Şakiroğlu).

3 ASV, Documenti Turchi 73 (= V). The original document in Greek (not discussed here) is ASV, Documenti Turchi 77. The Greek version is also published in *MM*, III, no. XXXV, 344-350.

4 ASV, Senato Secreta, reg. no. 39, ff. 89r.-91r.

5 Şakiroğlu omits the text of the *tugra*.

6 Şakiroğlu omits 'ᶜali-şan-i'.

7 Şakiroğlu omits the *izafet*.

8 Şakiroğlu: vel hayyül subhani.

9 Şakiroğlu: elhalet-i hazihi.

2) gelüb aralıkda sulh ve salah olmak taleb etdikleri ecilden bendahı[10] şol vech üzere sulhı[11] kabul etdim ki Aya Mavra[12] kalᶜasını mevcud olan halkı ile ve adasıyla ve ademisiyle fi 'l-cümle kalᶜanıñ[13] tobları ve tüfek ile[14]
3) ve esbabı ile vereler ve Çerne oglunuñ[15] alınan eli ben aldıgım tarihde mezbur Çerne oglı[16] her ne tesarrüf etdiyse kadimi yeri[17] olsun gerekse Venedik begleri vermiş olalar [18] vereler benüm dergah-i
4) muᶜallamdan bir muᶜtemed adem varub ve Venedik beglerinden bir yarar adem gelüb ol yerleriñ üzerine varub muᶜayyen ve mümtaz sınurla[19] ifraz edib[20] katᶜa dahl ve teᶜarruz etmeyüb vereler nizaᶜ münkatıᶜ ola ve Venedik elçisi ile
5) bunda[21] ᶜatebe-i ᶜalem-penahımda müsaleha emrin söyleşürken[22] Anabolı[23] kafirleri çıkub Mora[24] subaşılarından ve sipahlarından[25] alınan[26] mevcud olan dutsakları esbablarıyla bi-kusur vereler ve bendahı elçi

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10 Şakiroğlu: ben dahi.

11 Şakiroğlu: sulhu.

12 V: [A]ya Mavra; Şakiroğlu: Aya Mavra.

13 Şakiroğlu: kal'anını.

14 Şakiroğlu: tüfenkleri.

15 V: Ç[e]rne ogl[u]n[u]ñ; Şakiroğlu: Çerneoğlunun.

16 V: Çe]rne oglı; Şakiroğlu: Çerneoğlu.

17 Şakiroğlu: yerleri.

18 Şakiroğlu adds here 've'.

19 Şakiroğlu: sınurlar.

20 Şakiroğlu: edüb.

21 Şakiroğlu: bundan.

22 Şakiroğlu: söyleşirken.

23 V: [A]nabolı; Şakiroğlu: Anabolu.

24 V: Mora; Şakiroğlu: Mora.

25 Şakiroğlu: sipahilerinden.

26 Şakiroğlu: alunan.

6) bunda iken gemilerden alınan ve gayr[27] kenarlarda dutulandan bulunan kafirleri verem[28] ve Zañte[29] adası ki her yıl anuñçün hızane-i ᶜamireme beş yüz[30] filori[31] verilürdi[32] yine ol beş yüz filoriyi bi-temamihi[33] her yıl vereler
7) ve Anabolı[34] ve Menavesiyeniñ[35] sınurları babında anlardan bir yarar kimesne gelüb ve[36] benüm[37] dergah-i ᶜalem-penahımdan bir emin adem varub[38] nefs-i Anabolınıñ[39] ve Menavesiyeniñ[40] sınurları görülüb[41] taᶜyin[42] oluna bendahı[43] anlarıñ müsalehaların[44]
8) kabul edib[45] eyman-i mugallaza ile yemin eylerim ki yeri ve gögi[46] yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün[47] Venedik dozı ile[48] ve sayir[49] begleriyle ve anlarıñ ademleriyle ve anlara müteᶜallık olan yerleriñ ve vilayetleriñ halkı ile

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27 Şakiroğlu: gayrı.

28 Şakiroğlu: vermem.

29 V: Zañte (Zak[i]te); Şakiroğlu: Zakine.

30 Şakiroğlu: beşyüz. Şakiroğlu writes all numerals as one word.

31 Şakiroğlu: filorti.

32 Şakiroğlu: virilürdir.

33 Şakiroğlu: tamame.

34 V: [A]nabolı; Şakiroğlu: Anabolu.

35 V: M[e]nav[e]s[i]ye; Şakiroğlu: Menavesiye.

36 Şakiroğlu omits 've'.

37 Şakiroğlu: benim.

38 Şakiroğlu: varup.

39 V: [A]nabolı; Şakiroğlu: Anabolu.

40 V: M[e]nav[e]s[i]ye; Şakiroğlu: Menavesiye.

41 Şakiroğlu: sınurlarını görüb.

42 Şakiroğlu: tasannu.

43 Şakiroğlu: ben dahi.

44 Şakiroğlu: mesalihlerin.

45 Şakiroğlu: edüp.

46 Şakiroğlu: göğü.

47 Şakiroğlu: hakkıçün.

48 Şakiroğlu: doji'ile.

49 Şakiroğlu: sair.

9) ve kal^{c}aları ve burguzlarıyla[50] ve ademleriyle[51] fi 'l-cümle Aya Markonuñ[52] sancagın götüren kimesnelerile[53] ve cemi^{c} anlara müte^{c}allık yerleriyle[54] yaşdan ve kurudan el-an ellerinde olan elleri ve günleri[55] ile
10) ve şimdiden soñra açılacak yerleri ile[56] ki kendü dindaşlarından alalar[57] benüm[58] sınurumda olmaya ve harac-güzarım olmaya ve Nakş[59] adasıyla ve aña müte^{c}allık girü kalan adalarıyla aramızda dostluk ve mehabbet
11) ve barışıklık ola benüm[60] memalik-i mahrusemde olan sancak beglerinden ve subaşılardan[61] ve timar erenlerinden fi 'l-cümle benüm[62] huddam-i encüm-ihtişamımdan[63] hiç ahad bunlarıñ vilayetlerine ve kal^{c}alarına ve burguzlarına[64] ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler[65]
12) eger baña müte^{c}allık kimesnelerden bunlarıñ vilayetlerine ve kal^{c}alarına ve burguzlarına[66] ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirlerse ol zareri ve ziyanı yerine koyub dahl eden kimesneleriñ[67] hakkından gelem

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50 Şakiroğlu: burgazlarıyle.

51 Şakiroğlu adds here 've'.

52 V: [A]ya Marko; Şakiroğlu: Aya Marco'nun.

53 Şakiroğlu: kimesneleriyle.

54 Şakiroğlu: yerler ile.

55 Şakiroğlu: köyleri.

56 Şakiroğlu: ola.

57 Şakiroğlu: olalar.

58 Şakiroğlu: benim.

59 V: N[a]kş; Şakiroğlu: Nakşa.

60 Şakiroğlu: benim.

61 Şakiroğlu: subaşılarından.

62 Şakiroğlu: benim.

63 Şakiroğlu: hüddamencüm ihtişamımdan.

64 Şakiroğlu: burgazlarına.

65 Şakiroğlu: yetişdirmeyenler.

66 Şakiroğlu: burgazlarına.

67 Şakiroğlu: kimesneler.

13) anlardahı[68] bu vechile mütekeffil olalar ki benüm elüme[69] ve kal[c]alaruma ve burguzlarıma[70] ve ademlerine[71] anlarıñ[72] beglerinden ve sipahlarından[73] ve ademlerinden hiç ahad zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler eger zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirlerse[74] ol zareri ve ziyanı
14) yerine koyub dahl eden kimesneleriñ hakklarından geleler ve mezbur begleriñ bazirganları[75] ve ademleri fi 'l-cümle sefer ehli olan kimesneleri ki Venedik adına ola benüm[76] memalik-i mahruseme yaşdan ve kurudan kadırga ile ve köke ile ve[77] gayr[78]
15) küçük gemi ile İstanbula[79] ve Galataya[80] ve Trabzona[81] ve Kefeye[82] ve baña müte[c]allık olan yerlere ne vakt dilerlerse bogazıñ içinden ve taşından geleler [83] gideler ve benüm[84] memalik-i mahrusemden derya yüzüne giden gemilerim ve kadırgalarım ve tonanmalarım[85]
16) rencberleriñ olsun benim olsun deñiz yüzünde Venedik gemilerine buluşurlarsa birbirine dostluk edib[86] zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler hemçünan

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68 Şakiroğlu: anlar dahi.

69 Şakiroğlu: benim ilime.

70 Şakiroğlu: kalalarıma ve burgazlarıma.

71 Şakiroğlu: adamlarıma.

72 Şakiroğlu: onların.

73 Şakiroğlu: sipahilerinden.

74 Şakiroğlu: yetişdirirler ise.

75 Şakiroğlu: bezirganları.

76 Şakiroğlu: benim.

77 Şakiroğlu omits 've'.

78 Şakiroğlu: gayrı.

79 V: [İ]stanbul; Şakiroğlu: İstanbul.

80 V: G[a]lata; Şakiroğlu: Galata.

81 V: Tr[a]bzon; Şakiroğlu: Trabzon.

82 V: K[e]fe; Şakiroğlu: Kefe.

83 Şakiroğlu adds here 've'.

84 Şakiroğlu: benim.

85 Şakiroğlu: donanmalarım.

86 Şakiroğlu: idüp.

anlarıñ gemileri ve kadırgaları ve tonanmaları[87] deñiz yüzünde benüm[88] gemilerime ve yahuz[89]
17) rencber gemisine buluşurlarsa dostluk üzere geçeler gideler zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler ve gayr[90] vilayetiñ harami barçalarına ve kadırgalarına ve gayr[91] gemilere geldikleri vakt Venedik kendü adalarına ve limunlarına[92] sıgındırmayalar
18) ve turgurmayalar ve azık vermeyeler dutmaları mümkin ise tutub[93] hakkından geleler ve illa men[c] ve redd[94] edeler ve hemçünan bendahı adalarıma ve limanlarıma gelen harami kadırgaları ve barçaları ve kayıkları sıgındırmayam[95]
19) ve turgurmayam[96] ve azık vermeyem dutulması mümkin ise tutub[97] hakklarından gelem ve illa men[c] ve redd[98] edem ve Venedikden bir kimesne gelüb benüm[99] memalik-i[100] mahrusemde bir kimesne ile satu bazar etse akçesin temam eda etmeden hile edib[101]
20) kaçub giderse ol kimesne bulunursa ki benüm[102] hükm-i hümayunum ile varub taleb oluna sahıbına rızkın alıvereler ve[103] benüm[104] memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesne varub Venedikde bir kimesne ile satu bazar edib[105] akçesin temam eda etmeden

87 Şakiroğlu: donanmaları.
88 Şakiroğlu: benim.
89 Şakiroğlu: veyahud.
90 Şakiroğlu: gayri.
91 Şakiroğlu: gayri.
92 Şakiroğlu: limanlarına.
93 Şakiroğlu: dutub.
94 Şakiroğlu: def.
95 Şakiroğlu: sığdırmıyan.
96 Şakiroğlu: turgurmıyan.
97 Şakiroğlu: dutub.
98 Şakiroğlu: def.
99 Şakiroğlu: benim.
100 Şakiroğlu: memlik-i.
101 Şakiroğlu: idüp.
102 Şakiroğlu: benim.
103 Şakiroğlu omits 've'.
104 Şakiroğlu: benim.
105 Şakiroğlu: idüb.

21) hile edib[106] kaçub geldigi sabit olursa bendahı[107] alıverem ve memalik-i mahrusemde bir kimesne [108] borc edinse[109] ve yahuz[110] bir vechile müttehem olsa dahı gaybet[111] eylese anuñçün[112] bir günahsuz dutulmaya ve Venedik beglerine anuñçün[113] töhmet olunmaya
22) meger ki anlarıñ memleketine vara tura[114] hemçünan bendahı eyle[115] edem ve baylosları[116] dilerse horendesiyle[117] gelüb mahruse-i Kostantiniyede[118] bir yıla karib tura[119] yıl temam olmadın gide dilerse horendesüz[120] gele oldahı[121] Venedigiñ
23) ulu beglerinden olmaya maslahat neyse göre yıl temam olmadın ol gide anıñ yerine ol vechile birdahı[122] gele ve Venedikden bir esir kaçub benüm[123] memalik-i mahruseme gelse müsliman olursa sahıbı gelicek sahıbına biñ akçe
24) verile sahıbı gelmeyüb vekil gönderirse ol biñ akçe vekiline verile eger küfri[124] üzere tururbut[125] ol esir ᶜaynı ile verile hemçünan bizden kaçub anlara varırsa anlardahı[126] bu vechile edeler ve Venedik gemileri

106 Şakiroğlu: idüp.

107 Şakiroğlu: ben dahi.

108 Şakiroğlu adds here 'bir'.

109 Şakiroğlu: edince.

110 Şakiroğlu: veyahud.

111 Şakiroğlu: gıybet.

112 Şakiroğlu: anun çün.

113 Şakiroğlu omits 'anuñçün'.

114 Şakiroğlu: varadura.

115 Şakiroğlu: öyle.

116 Şakiroğlu: Bailosları.

117 Şakiroğlu: hurendesüyle.

118 V: K[o]st[a]nt[i]n[i]ye; Şakiroğlu: Kostantiniyye.

119 Şakiroğlu: dura.

120 Şakiroğlu: huresendisüz.

121 Şakiroğlu: ol dahi.

122 Şakiroğlu: bir dahi.

123 Şakiroğlu: benim.

124 Şakiroğlu: küfrü.

125 Şakiroğlu: dururbut.

126 Şakiroğlu: anlar dahi.

25) benüm[127] memalik-i mahruseme gelürken[128] muhalif yel çıkub[129] ol gemiyi helak ederse nedeñlü[130] adem kurtulursa azad ola ve tavarları kurtulursa sahıbına verile eger memalik-i mahrusemden ol tarafa bir gemi
26) varurken muhalif yel çıkub ol gemiyi helak ederse nedeñlü[131] adem kurtulursa anlara dahl olunmayub ve tavarları kurtulursa sahıbına vereler ve katᶜa nizaᶜ etmeyeler ve memalik-i mahrusemden şol yerden ki kadırgalar
27) ve kayıklar ve gayr[132] gemiler derya yüzüne çıkub gitdikleri vakt ki benüm kapudanum[133] anlarıñla bile olmaya mezbur gemileriñ re'isleri[134] mühkem kefiller vereler ki varub Venedik memleketine zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler
28) eger kefil vermeden giderlerse mücrim ve günehkar[135] olalar hakklarından geline eger kefil verdikden soñra varub zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirlerse ne zarer ve ziyan olursa kefilleri vereler hemçünan Venedik tarafından
29) dahı derya yüzüne ki gemiler çıka Venedik kapudanı bile olmaya re'isleri[136] mühkem kefil verdikden soñra memalik-i mahruseme[137] zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirlerse ol olan zareri ve ziyanı kefilleri vereler
30) eger kefilsüz giderlerse günehkar[138] olalar mühkem hakklarından geleler ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir harac-güzar ve yahuz[139] bir ᶜamil kaçub Venedige müteᶜallık Anabolı[140] ve ya gayr[141] kalᶜalara[142] ve adalara varub anda temekkün etse

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127 Şakiroğlu: benim.

128 Şakiroğlu: gelirken.

129 Şakiroğlu: çıkıb.

130 Şakiroğlu: ne denlu.

131 Şakiroğlu: ne denlu.

132 Şakiroğlu: gayri.

133 Şakiroğlu: kapudanım.

134 Şakiroğlu: reisleri.

135 Şakiroğlu: günahkar.

136 Şakiroğlu: reisleri.

137 Şakiroğlu: mahrusemde.

138 Şakiroğlu: günahkar.

139 Şakiroğlu: veyahud.

140 V: [A]nabolı; Şakiroğlu: Anabolu.

141 Şakiroğlu: gayrı.

142 Şakiroğlu: kalelere.

31) kabul olunmaya varan ademümüze[143] teᶜallül etmeyüb ᶜaynı ile vereler şöyleki[144] bir kimesne adem öldürüb ve yahuz[145] ugurluk edüb rızk iletse[146] Anabolıya[147] ve ya gayr[148] adalara gitse ol kimesne'i[149] ᶜaynı ile vereler
32) hemçünan bendahı eyle[150] edem ve Venediklünüñ birbiri arasında nizaᶜları[151] olsa baylosları[152] ayinlerince diñleye[153] kimesne dahl etmeye ve Venediklü bazirgan Brusaya[154] ve yahud gayr[155] yere gitmek istese
33) baylosdan[156] icazet-name almayınca gitmeye eger temerrüd edib[157] icazet-namesüz gitmek isterse[158] subaşı baylosa[159] muᶜavenet edib[160] koyuvermeye ve Venedikden gelen gemileriñ neftileri memalik-i mahrusemde
34) hizmete dutulmaya nice geldilerse gemileriyle girü eyle[161] gideler ve Venedikden gelüb temekkün eden kimesneler evlü olsun ergen olsun bir yıla karib muᶜafiyet üzere turub[162] andan soñra şerᶜile

143 Şakiroğlu: adamımıza.

144 Şakiroğlu: şoyle ki.

145 Şakiroğlu: veyahud.

146 Şakiroğlu: eylese.

147 V: [A]nabolı; Şakiroğlu: Anabolu.

148 Şakiroğlu: gayri.

149 Şakiroğlu: kimesneyi.

150 Şakiroğlu: öyle.

151 Şakiroğlu: nizalar.

152 Şakiroğlu: Bailosları.

153 Şakiroğlu: dinlüye.

154 V: Brusa; Şakiroğlu: Brusa.

155 Şakiroğlu: gayri.

156 Şakiroğlu: Bailos'dan.

157 Şakiroğlu: idüp.

158 Şakiroğlu: istese.

159 Şakiroğlu: Bailosa.

160 Şakiroğlu: idüp.

161 Şakiroğlu: öyle.

162 Şakiroğlu: durub.

35) ᶜamel oluna ve Venediklüyle[163] bir harac-güzarıñ nizaᶜı olsa Venediklü[164] harac-güzar üzerine zimmi şahid getürse kabul oluna ve Venediklüden[165] bir bazirgan memalik-i mahrusemde yolda ve izde
36) ve ya köyde basılub rızkı alınsa ve yahuz[166] basıldıkda bazirgan depelenmiş olsa ya gayib olsa varisi yahuz[167] vekili gelürse şerᶜile görülüb hakk yerine[168] vara ve Venediklüden[169]
37) bir bazirgan ve ya bir kimesne fevt olsa metrukatıyçün[170] veresesi gelse ol rızkı taleb etse nesebde[171] harac-güzar şehadeti makbuldur müteveffaya[172] veraset taleb eden metrukatı açub
38) nesebi sabit olıcak metrukatı verile ve Magrib[173] müslimanlarından ve bunlardan gayri sayir yerleriñ bazirganları ki benüm memalik-i mahruseme[174] beyᶜ ve şira etmek içün[175] yaşdan ve kurudan gelmelü olıcak ki
39) Venedik hükm etdigi[176] yerlere ugraya ᶜadetleri ve kanunları üzere metaᶜlarınıñ rüsumun[177] aldıkdan[178] soñra maniᶜ olmayalar zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler memalik-i mahruseme[179] nice dilerlerse geleler ve gideler ve Korfuzdan[180]

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163 Şakiroğlu: Venedikliyle.

164 Şakiroğlu: Venedikli.

165 Şakiroğlu: Venedikliden.

166 Şakiroğlu: veyahud.

167 Şakiroğlu: yahud.

168 Şakiroğlu: yere.

169 Şakiroğlu: Venedikliden.

170 Şakiroğlu: metrukatiçün.

171 Şakiroğlu: nasbda.

172 Şakiroğlu: mütevaffayı.

173 V: M[a]gr[i]b; Şakiroğlu: Mağrıb.

174 Şakiroğlu: memaliki mahrusemde.

175 Şakiroğlu: için.

176 Şakiroğlu: ettiği.

177 Şakiroğlu: rüsumu.

178 Şakiroğlu: aldıktan.

179 Şakiroğlu: memaliki mahrusemde.

180 V: Korfuz; Şakiroğlu: Korfoz.

40) yukaru bogazda yürüyen gemiler Venedik olsun ve gayr[181] olsun ki Venedige ticarete varalar ve geleler bizden kimesne anlara[182] manic olmaya zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeye meger ki bir ugurluk[183] etmiş olalar ve bir bazirgan vefat
41) etse anıñ metrukatın taleb etmekiçün[184] vekil gelse ol vekilden isbat-i vekalet içün[185] şercile görüle bu zikr olunan şerayıt[186] kabul olunursa bendahı[187] anlarıñ[188] müsalehaların[189] kabul edüb eyman-i mugallaza ile
42) yemin eylerim ki yeri ve gögi[190] yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün[191] Venedik dozı ile ve sayir[192] begleriyle ve anlarıñ ademleriyle ve anlarıñ kalcalarıyle ve anlara müteccallık olan yerleriñ ve vilayetleriñ halkı ile ve[193] ademleriyle fi 'l-cümle
43) Aya Markonuñ[194] sancagın götürenlerile[195] benden ve sancak beglerimden ve subaşılarımdan ve ademlerinden[196] [197] anlarıñ vilayetlerine ve kalcalarına zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler işbu cahd-name bizim ulu peygamberimiz hazret-i resaletiñ
44) caleyh efzalü 's-salevat ekmelü 't-tahiyat hicretiniñ tarihinden dokuz yüz sekizinci yıluñ cümada 'l-ahırınıñ[198] yigirmi dördünci[199] gününde ve hazret-i cİsanıñ caleyhi 's-selam tarihinden biñ beş yüz ikinci yıluñ

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181 Şakiroğlu: gayri.

182 Şakiroğlu: onlara.

183 Şakiroğlu: uğruluk.

184 Şakiroğlu: etmek içün.

185 Şakiroğlu: sabit vekalet açıb.

186 Şakiroğlu: şerait.

187 Şakiroğlu: ben dahi.

188 Şakiroğlu: onların.

189 Şakiroğlu: mesalihlerin.

190 Şakiroğlu: göğü.

191 Şakiroğlu: hakkıçün.

192 Şakiroğlu: doju ve sair.

193 Şakiroğlu omits 've'.

194 V: [A]ya Marko; Şakiroğlu: Aya Marko.

195 Şakiroğlu: göturenleriyle.

196 Şakiroğlu: adamlarımdan.

197 Şakiroğlu adds here 've'.

198 Şakiroğlu: Cumadelahirinin.

199 Şakiroğlu: yirmidördüncü.

45) zikevris[200] ayınuñ on dördünci gününde mahruse-i İstanbulda[201] yazıldı ki[202] hemişe devam-i devletim ve izdiyad-i şevketim ila yevmi 'l-kıyam[203] mü'ebbed ve müstehkem ola hakku 'l-hakk[204] ve[205] nebiyetü 'l-mutlak[206]

The Italian text

[207]Patentes

LEONARDUS Lauredanus: Dei gratia Dux Venetiarum etc. Conço sia che ala presentia de la Signoria nostra el sia venuto el spectabile Halibey Subassi orator del Illustrissimo et Excellentissimo Signor Baiezit Magno Admirato et Sultan di Musulmani: et habiane per nome de sua Excellentia sotto lettere credential portato certi capitoli in lingua Turca et Greca, signati del gran segno doro de sua Signoria: per i qual la sua celsitudine fa bona: perfecta: et ferma pace et amicitia cum nui, et cum la Signoria nostra: liqual capitoli la Signoria sua ha zurati in presentia del circumspecto et fidelissimo Zacharia di Freschi secretario, et agente nostro in Constantinopoli: pertanto nui li quali sempre habiamo amata et amamo la pace: per procieder da quella molti beni, habiamo similiter per nome nostro et de la Signoria nostra zurata la pace cum el prefato Illustrissimo Signor cum li capitoli medemi lo qual zuramento nostro habiamo facto sopra li sancti Evangelij del nostro Signor Dio Misser Jesu Christo in presentia del sopradicto orator suo. Et cussi zura et promette la Signoria nostra observar et far observar inviolabelmente dali capetanij Rectori: provededori: sopracomiti, et tuti representanti et subditi nostri. El tenor veramente de essi capitoli de la pace, e, questo: Sultan Baiazit fiol de Sultan Mahameth Cahan, el qual ha potentia de adimpir tuti li soi desyderij per el mio Gran Segno io che son signor el mio Gran Segno Dio el qual e protector di principi, et nui che semo progadori de Dio cum laiutode dio questo commandamento. per el passado, e, venuto ala mia honorata porta

200 Şakiroğlu: dikevris.

201 V: [İ]stanbul; Şakiroğlu: İstanbul.

202 Şakiroğlu: yazıldıki.

203 Şakiroğlu: ila yevmüleyyam.

204 Şakiroğlu: hakkülehakk.

205 Şakiroğlu omits 've'.

206 Şakiroğlu: nebiyyet-i mutlak.

207 F. 89r.

lambassador de la Signoria de Veniexia cercando infra de nui far pace et acordio: Et io anchora faço pace cum questa condition.
Chel Castello de Santa Maura cum i homeni che se attroverano esser niui: et [208]la isola cum i homeni che se attroverano esser niui: et la isola cum i homeni cum tute le cose aspectante a esso castello zoe cum le bombarde schiopeti et le munition lhabiano a restituir.
Et el paexe che io ho prexo al fiol de Cernovich dal tempo che io lo acquistai tuto quel che ha posseduto el dicto Cernogogli, o del suo proprio stado, over chel ge fusse sta dato et concesso per la signoria de Veniexia me lhabino a dar.
Et dal mio honorato imperio vadi uno homo fussinente: et da parte de la sigonria venga uno homo fussinente, et vadino sopra el loco i quali habino a metter i veri confini per cessar le differentie.
Et cum lambassador de Venetiani parlando de la pace al mio honorato Imperio i Christiani de Napoli insiteno fuora et preseno de i subassi dela Morea et de i spachi tuti quelli presoni che fosserro vivi cum tute lor robe sença alcun manchamento habino a restituir: Et cussi anchora mi tuti quelli che fusserro stati presi o in navilij o neli mei lidi dala venuta del ambassador in qua quelli che se troverano ve li restituiro.
Et lisola del Zante per la qual ogni anno pagavano al mio casnar ducati 500 quelli 500 ducati me li habino a dar ogni anno.
Et a Napoli et Malvasia per i confini loro solamente da loro venga uno homo fussinente: et dal mio dominio vadi un altro homo fussinente i quali examinano ben et mettino i veri et zusti confini. Et io acceptaro quel che i fara.
Et cum el gran sacramento faço per quel Dio che ha creato el cielo et la terra cum el Doxe e la Signoriade Veniexia: et cum i loro homeni: et cum le zente del paese spectante a loro, e lor castelle e lor terre, e i loro homeni tuti insieme quelli che portano la bandiera de San Marco sia chi se voglia de loro et tuti quelli spectanti a loro terre si per mar come per terra e tuto quello che i se trova in loro poter et tuto el paese che da qui avanti acquistasserro che siano de la lor fede: et che non siano spectanti a mi, ne mie carraçari. Et lixola de Nixia, et tute le altre insule spectante a quella infra nui sia perfecta, et bona amicitia et pace.
Et del mio dominio ne sançachi o subassi, o timarati tuti insieme al paexe loro, o lor castelli o lor terre, o loro homeni danno ne impedimento ge habino a fare. Et se alguni spectante a mi a loro paese, o castelli, o terre, o loro

208 F. 89v.

homeni farano algun danno, o impedimento, quel danno et impedimento mettero a luogo: et el mal factor castigero. Et cussi loro anchora cum questa condition siano obligati al mio paexe, a mie castelli a mie terre, et a mie homeni da i lor signori et lor zentilhomeni, e loro homeni per niente algun danno o impedimento habino a far, et se farano alcun danno e impedimento, quel danno et impedimento, mettendolo a luogo el mal factor habino a castigar.

Et li marcadanti de la soprasta Signoria et homeni et tuti quelli che sono marcadanti, si per mar come per terra che passerano in nome de Venetiani che venirano nel mio dominio si per mar come per terra, cum galie o nave, o cum altri piçoli navilij a Constantinopoli: Pera: Trabesonda: et Caffa: over in ogni loco aspectante al mio dominio, quando li piace possino venir et andar dentro et fuora del streto.

Et se dal mio Imperio per mar insisse mie navilij, o mie gallie, o mie armade sia de marcadanti o mie, retrovandose in mar cum navilij venetiani lun cum laltro façino amichende compagnia et non se façi danno lun cum laltro et [209]simelmente li lor navilij, o gallie: o armade se attrovasserro in mar cum mie navilij, over navilij de marcadanti amichenelmente vadino: et vegnino, et che non li sia facto alcun danno o impedimento.

Et se de altri paesi venisse barçe de corsari, o gallie, o altri navilij venendo a li porti de la Signoria de Veniexia non li habino ad acceptar: et non li lassano star: et non li dagino victuarie: et se possibel sara de pigliarli, prenderli et castigarli, overamente caçarli via. Et similmente sel veniva ne li mei porti, o mie isole gallie o barçe de corsari o fuste io non li lassero intrar: et non li lassero star, et non li daro victuarie, et sel sera possibile de pigliarli li prendero et castigero, over li caçero.

Et se algun venisse del paexe de Venetiani in el mio Dominio, et fesse mercato cum alcuno, et che non facesse lintegro pagamento, et cum fraude o cum ingano scampasse: qual tal trovandose et venendo alcun cum el mio honorato commandamento farete satisfar el debito.

Et se dal mio imperio andara alcuna persona al paese de Venetiani: et contraçera alcun mercato, et non fara lintegro pagamento: et cum ingano scampera, venendo et provando io li faro dar la roba sua.

Et se algun nel mio Dominio fesse algun debito, o per alguna altra rason fosse delinquente et chel scampasse del mio paese un innocente non porti le pene

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209 F. 90r.

per lui: et che per tal rason la signoria non habia ad haver alcuna obligation: reservado se landasse a star nelpaese loro: et cussi faro anche io.
Et sel Baylo vol venir cum la sua fameia nel imperio mio de Constantinopoli staga avente uno anno: et anançi chel sia fornito lanno el se vadi cum Dio: et sel vol venga sença la fameglia, et quel non sia de quelli grandi signori de Veniexia, et habia a veder le facende loro: et che lanno non sia compido chel vadi via et laltro venga cum quella instessa condition.
Et se da Veniexia scampasse algun schiavo, et venisse nel mio Dominio: et deventasse Musulman, venendo el suo patron li sia dato mille aspri: et sel patron non venisse, et mandasse uno suo procurator quelli mille aspri sia dati al predicto procurador et sel fara in la sua fede sia restituito il proprio schiavo, et similmente se da nui scampasse façino quel medesimo.
Et se alcun navilio de Venetiani venendo al mio Dominio, per cativo tempo se rompesse li homeni che scapolerano siano franchi, et le robe restituite al suo patroni. Et se algun navilio de li mei per cativo tempo se rompesse a li soi lochi, li homeni che scapolerano siano franchi: et le robe restituite ai patroni: et non ge sia facto alcun oltrago.
Et sel dal mio Dominio de quelli luogi che ussirano galie o fuste o altri navilij andando in viaço per mar et che cum loro non sia mio capetanio, li patroni debiano dar bona et sufficiente segurta de non far alcun danno, o impedimento al paese de Venetiani: et se partirano sença dar segurta sarano delinquenti et sarano castigati: Et se dapoi dada la segurta anderano: et farano alcun danno, o impedimento, ogni danno et impedimento che farano la segurta pagerano. Et simelmente da la banda de Venetiani se lusira fuora algun navilio sença capetanio habiando data bona segurta a Veniexia, ogni danno o impedimento che fesserro nel paese, le segurta lhabiano ad pagar: et se andarano sença segurta come delinquenti siano puniti.
[210]Et se dal mio Dominio un caraçaro, o amaldaro scampera a Napoli apartinente a la Signoria de Venexia, o altre lor castelle, o isole che andasserro ad habitar in dicti luogi non siano acceptadi: et al homo che nui manderemo sença fraude ge sia consignato.
Et se algun havesse commesso alcun homicidio, over latrocinio, et chel portasse la roba a Napoli, o andasse ad altre isole quela tal persona ne sia consignada et cussi anchora mi faro ali vostri.
Et se fra Venetian et Venetian sara alcuna differentia el Baylo loro habi ad judicar: et che alcun non impedisca el Baylo.

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Et se alcun Venetian marcadante volesse andar in Bursa o in altro luogo non possa partir sença licentia del Baylo: Et se violentemente el volesse partir sença licentia, el subassi gli habia ad prestar favore, et non lo lassar partir.
Et li marinari che vegnirano cum li navilij Venetiani nel mio Imperio non siano tolti per alguna manual faction: ma cussi come vengono cum le lor nave cum quelle retornino.
Et se algun venisse da Venesia, et habitasse cum moglier o sença moglier possi star avente ad uno anno: Dapoi se façi quel che la rason vole.
Et se algun Venetian havesse alguna differentia cum caraçari la testimoniança de Venetiani passi contra caraçari.
Et se algun mercadante Venetian nel mio Imperio in strada, over in algun casal fosse asalta et toltoge la roba, overamente el marcadante non se trovasse: et chel suo heriede venisse a domandar la roba, over mandasse suo procurator se vedade raxon: et che la verita habia luogo.
Et se algun mercadante o altri Venetiani venisse à morte, e per le sue robe venisse el suo herede a domandar quelle in tal caxo la testimoniança de caraçari sia acceptada: et lo heriede del morto che vegnira a domandar le robe recognosuda la verita li sia restitui le sue robe.
Et se alcuni Mori barbareschi o de algun altro luogo marcadanti che venissero nel mio Imperio per marcadantar per mar o per terra venendo et tocando in algun luogo che commanda Venetiani le usançe et statuti habiando tolto i suo datij non li habiano a dar impaço, o far algun danno, o impedimento: Et che in el mio Dominio come piace a lor possino venir et andar.
Et dal Colfo in su nel canal li navilij che navegerano siano de Venetiani o de altri che anderano amarcadantiçar a Venexia et venirano algun di mei non li habi a dar algun impaço, over danno reservando se lhavesserro facto alcun male.
Et se algun mercadante vegnisse a morte, et sel venisse el suo procurador a domandar le sue robe, de quella procura se habia haver la verification et vedasse de rason.
Et se le sopradicte cose acceptarete, anchora io la vostra pace over capitoli accepto et cum el mio sagramento zuro, per quel Dio che ha creato el cielo et la terra cum el Doxe de Veniexia et Illustrissimma Signoria et lor homeni et cum i lor castelli et tute le terre et paese cum tute zente aspectante a loro et homeni tuti quelli che tienino la bandiera de San Marco da nui et mie sançachi, et da i mie subassi, et da i loro homeni il lor paese et lor castelli danno ne impaço alcuno non farano Questi capitoli el nostro gran propheta cadrat resul de anno nuovecento octavo del sexto mexe a .24. di. Et de la salute

de Christo del million .1502. adi .14. decembrio data in Constantinopoli [211]Imperio nostro. Et de continuo la mia grandeça sia in augumento et la mia grandeça sia anchor maçor per fina al Judicio: Et la mia generation fin al Judicio multiplichi: Dio, e Dio: et oltra el nostro propheta non veneremo altro propheta /. Data in nostro Ducali palatio die .XX. Maij Inditione .VI. MCCCCCIII[mo]./

[c]Ali Beg's credentials ('recredenziali') and Andrea Gritti's credentials.

[212]Illustrissimo Domino Turco

Le venuto ala presentia de la Signoria nostra, el spectabile Halibei subbassi orator de vostra Illustrissima Signoria: et ha diligentemente exequito quanto la celsitudine vostra li ha commesso, presentandone le lettere di quella insieme cum li capituli dela pace ad nui per la Signoria vostra mandati: El qual orator per rispecto de vostra Illustrissima Signoria habiamo veduto alegramente et honorato, et per le sue etiam bone conditione, et havemolo gratamente et cum bona conclusione expedito insieme cum el nobel homo Andrea Gritti qual, mandamo orator nostro ala celsitudine vostra per honorar quella i anni de la quale sijno molti. Die .XX. Maij 1503.

Traddite dicto oratori Domini Turci

Illustrissimo Domino Turco

Nui mandamo al presente al conspecto de la celsitudine vostra el nobel homo et dilectissimo citadini Andrea Gritti orator nostro per honorar la Excellenza vostra. Et per exponerli alcune cose in nome nostro: pregano adonque la Illustrissima Signoria vostra che in quelle cosse che el dicto nostro ambassator li referira, quella vogli prestargli indubia fede, come se nui presentialmente a bocha parlessamo cum la Excellentia vostra li anni de la qual siano molti. Die .XX. Maij 1503.

211 F. 91r.

212 F. 91r.

The Venetian Capitulation of 1513

The text of the *ᶜahd-name* of 1513 is preserved as an original document in Ottoman-Turkish. The text of this document has been published by Gökbilgin.[1] The present text is based on the original document from the Archivio di Stato di Venezia and Gökbilgin's version.[2]

The text

Hüve[3]

Selim-şah bin Bayezid han el-muzaffer da'ima[4]

1) Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i giti-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 'l-menni 's-sübhani[5] hükmi oldur ki
2) ben ki sultanü 's-selatin bürhanü 'l-havakin sultan Selim-şah bin sultan Bayezid hanın şimdikihalde Venedik dojı Leonardo Loredan[6] südde-i ᶜazamet-penah ve ᶜatebe-i ᶜaliye-i celalet-
3) destgahıma yarar ve muᶜtemed ademleri Anton Custiniyanı[7] elçilige[8] gönderüb ᶜarz-i ihlas ve mehabbet ve iᶜlam-i ihtisas ve meveddet edüb merhum babam ile olan dostluk ve mehabbet
4) mucebince benümle dahı dostluk olmak babında tecdid-i ᶜahd olunmasın taleb etdükleri ecilden bendahı anlaruñla dostlugı ve ᶜahdı kabul edüb işbu ᶜahd-name yazıldugı güne gelince öteden

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1 Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 129, 7-50 (= Gökbilgin).

2 ASV, Documenti Turchi 161 (= V).

3 Gökbilgin omits the *invocatio*-formula.

4 Gökbilgin omits the text of the *tugra.*

5 Gökbilgin: nüsire bi 'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 'l-yemeni 's-sübhani.

6 V: L[e]yonardo Lav[u]r[e]ntin; Gökbilgin: L[e]yonardo Lav[u]r[e]nt[i]n. Leonardo Loredan or Laurentin, Doge of Venice 2 October 1501 - 22 June 1521.

7 V: Anton Cust[i]n[i]yan; Gökbilgin: Antoni Cust[i]n[i]yan (Antonio Giustiniano). Antonio Giustinian, Venetian ambassador ('oratore') to Selim I 1513-1514. V: the suffix '-ı' is the accusative.

8 Gökbilgin: elçiligime.

5) ve berüden cüzvi[9] ve külli vakıᶜ olan kazaya debredilmemek üzere kavl olunub bu günden dostluk mukarrer olub bu ᶜahd-name'i verüb eyman-i mugallaza[10] ile yemin ederim ki yeri ve gögi yaradan
6) perverdegar hakkıyçün mezkur Venedik dojı ile ve sayir begleriyle ve anlaruñ ademleri ile ve anlara müteᶜallık olan yerlerüñ ve vilayetlerüñ halkı ile ve kalᶜaları ve burguzlarıyla ve ademleri ile
7) fi 'l-cümle Aya Markonuñ[11] sancagın götüren kimesnelerile ve cemiᶜ anlara müteᶜallık yerleriyle yaşdan ve kurudan el-an ellerinde olan elleri ve günleri ile şimdiye dek ve şimdiden soñra açılacak
8) yerleriyle ki kendü dindaşlarından alalar benüm sınurumda olmaya ve harac-güzarım olmaya ve Nakş[12] adasıyla ve aña tabiᶜ girü kalan adalarıyla aramızda dostluk ve mehabbet ve barışıklık
9) ola benüm memalik-i mahrusemde olan sancak beglerinden ve subaşılardan ve timar erenlerinden fi 'l-cümle benüm huddam-i encüm-ihtişamımdan hiç ahad bunlaruñ vilayetlerine ve kalᶜalarına ve burguzlarına ve ademlerine zarer
10) ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler eger baña müteᶜallık kimesnelerden bunlaruñ vilayetlerine ve kalᶜalarına ve burguzlarına ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirler ise ol zareri ve ziyanı yerine koyub dahl eden
11) kimesnelerüñ hakkından gelem anlar dahı mütekeffil olalar ki benüm elüme ve kalᶜalaruma ve burguzlaruma ve ademlerüme anlaruñ beglerinden ve sipahilerinden ve ademlerinden hiç ahad zarer ve ziyan
12) yetişdirmeyeler eger zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirler ise ol zareri ve ziyanı yerine koyub dahl eden kimesneleriñ hakklarından geleler ve mezbur begleriñ bazirganlarından ve ademlerinden fi 'l-cümle sefer ehli
13) olan kimesneleri ki Venedik adına ola benüm memalik-i mahruseme yaşdan ve kurıdan kadırga ile[13] ve köke ile ve gayri küçük gemi ile İstanbula[14] ve Galataya[15] ve Trabzona[16] ve Kefeye[17] ve baña müteᶜallık olan yerlere

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9 Variation of 'cüz'i'.

10 Gökbilgin: mugallazsa (sic).

11 V and Gökbilgin: Aya Marko.

12 V and Gökbilgin: N[a]kş.

13 Gökbilgin: kadırgalarıyla.

14 V and Gökbilgin: [İ]stanbul.

15 V and Gökbilgin: G[a]lata.

16 V and Gökbilgin: Tr[a]bzon.

17 V and Gökbilgin: K[e]fe.

14) ne vakt dilerler ise bogazıñ içinden ve taşından geleler ve gideler ve benüm memalik-i mahrusemden derya yüzüne giden gemilerüm ve kadırgalarum ve tonanmalarum rencberiñ olsun benüm olsun deñiz yüzünde
15) Venedik gemilerine buluşurlar ise birbirine dostluk edüb zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler edecek olurlar ise eger adem veger[18] esbab ve eger tavar ziyanıdır her ne ise yerine koyula hemçünan anlaruñ gemileri
16) ve kadırgaları ve tonanmaları deñiz yüzünde benüm gemilerüme ve yahud rencber gemisine buluşurlar ise dostluk üzere geçeler gideler zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler edecek olurlar ise eger adem veger[19] esbab
17) ve eger tavar ziyanıdır her ne ise yerine koyalar ve benüm memalik-i mahrusemden tonanma gemilerüm ki bir yaña sefere gide Venedige müte^{c}allık yere[20] olmaya Venedigüñ tonanması epsem kendü halinde dostluk
18) üzere durub hareket etmeyüb varub kimesne mu^{c}avenet eylemeye benüm tonanmalaruma zarer ve ziyan yetişmesine sebeb olmaya ve gayri vilayetiñ harami barçalarına ve kadırgalarına
19) ve gayri gemilere tuş geldükleri vakt Venedik kendü adalarına ve limanlarına ve hisarlarına sıgındırmaya ve turgurmayalar[21] ve azık vermeyeler dutmaları mümkin ise dutub hakklarından
20) geleler ve illa men^{c} ve redd edeler ve hemçünan bendahı adalaruma ve limanlaruma gelen harami kadırgaları ve barçaları ve kayıkları sıgındırmayam ve turgurmayam ve azık vermeyem dutulması mümkin ise dutub
21) hakklarından gelem ve illa men^{c} ve redd edem ve Venedikden bir kimesne gelüb benüm memalik-i mahrusemde bir kimesne ile satu bazar etse akçesin temam eda etmedin hile edüb kaçub gider ise ol kimesne
22) bulunursa ki benüm hükm-i hümayunumla varub taleb oluna sahıbına rızkın alıvereler ve benüm memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesne varub Venedikde bir kimesne ile satu bazar edüb akçesin temam eda etmedin
23) hile edüb kaçub geldügi sabit olur ise bendahı alıverem ve memalik-i mahrusemde bir kimesne borc edinse ve yahud bir vechile müttehem olsa dahı gaybet eylese anuñçün bir günahsuz dutulmaya

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18 V: contraction of 've eger'; Gökbilgin: ve eger.

19 V: contraction of 've eger'; Gökbilgin: ve eger.

20 Gökbilgin: yerde.

21 Gökbilgin: turgurmaya.

24) ve Venedik beglerine anuñçün töhmet olunmaya meger ki anlaruñ memleketine vara tura hemçünan bendahı eyle edem ve baylos kimi dilerler ise göndereler diler ise horendesiyle gelüb
25) mahruse-i Kostantiniyede[22] üç yıla karib dura üç yıl temam olmadın gide diler ise horendesüz gele maslahat ne ise göre üç yıl temam olmadın ol gide anuñ yerine ol vechile bir dahı
26) gele ve Venedikden bir esir kaçub benüm memalik-i mahruseme gelse müsliman olur ise sahıbı gelicek sahıbına biñ akçe verile sahıbı gelmeyüb vekil gönderirise ol biñ akçe vekiline verile eger küfri
27) üzere durursa ol esir [c]aynı ile verile hemçünan bizden kaçub anlara varırsa anlardahı[23] bu vechile edeler ve Venedik gemileri benüm memalik-i mahruseme gelür iken muhalif yel çıkub ol gemi
28) helak ederse ne deñlü adem kurtulur ise azad ola ve tavarları kurtulur ise sahıbına verile eger memalik-i mahrusemden ol tarafa bir gemi varır iken[24] muhalif yel çıkub ol gemi helak
29) ederse ne deñlü adem kurtulur ise anlara dahl olunmayub ve tavarları kurtulur ise sahıbına vereler kat[c]a niza[c] etmeyeler ve memalik-i mahrusemden şol yerden kadırga ve kayıklar ve gayri
30) gemiler derya yüzine çıkub gitdükleri vakt ki benüm kapudanım anlaruñla bile olmaya mezbur gemilerüñ re'isleri mühkem kefiller vereler ki varub Venedik memleketine zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler
31) eger kefil vermedin giderler ise mücrim ve günehkar olalar hakklarından geline eger kefil verdükden soñra varub zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirler ise ne zarer ve ziyan olur ise kefilleri vereler hemçünan
32) Venedik tarafından dahı derya yüzine ki[25] gemilerçıka Venedik kapudanı bile olmaya re'isleri mühkem kefil verdükden soñra memalik-i mahruseme zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirler ise ol olan zareri
33) ve ziyanı kefilleri vereler eger kefilsüz giderler ise günehkar olalar mühkem hakklarından geleler ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir harac-güzar ve yahud bir [c]amil kaçub Venedige müte[c]allık

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22 V and Gökbilgin: K[o]st[a]nt[i]n[i]ye.

23 Gökbilgin: anlar dahı.

24 Gökbilgin: varıriken.

25 Gökbilgin omits 'ki'.

34) Anabolıya[26] ve gayri kalᶜalara ve adalara varub anda temekkün etse kabul olunmaya varan ademimize teᶜallül etmeyüb ᶜaynı ile vereler şöyle ki bir kimesne adem öldürüb
35) ve yahud ugurlık edüb rızk iletse Anabolıya[27] ve ya gayri adalara gitse ol kimesneyi ᶜaynı ile vereler hemçünan bendahı eyle edem ve Venediklünüñ
36) birbiri arasında nizaᶜları olsa[28] baylosları ayinlerince diñleye kimesne dahl etmeye ve baylos olanı aharıñ borcı içün bunda kimesne dutub ödetmeye emma baylos
37) anı Venedik beglerine bildiricek Venedik begleri dahı eglemeyüb be-cidd cevabın göndereler ve Venedikden İnebahtıya[29] ve Moraya[30] bir bazirgan ki gele gayri kimesne borcı içün
38) anı dutub incitmeyeler ve Venediklü bazirganı Bursaya[31] ve yahud gayri yere gitmek istese baylosdan icazet-name almayınca gitmeye eger temerrüd edüb icazet-namesüz gitmek
39) ister ise subaşı baylosa muᶜavenet edüb koyuvermeye ve Venedikden gelen gemilerüñ neftileri memalik-i mahrusemde hıdmete dutulmaya nice geldiler ise gemileriyle girü eyle gideler ve Venedikden
40) gelüb temekkün eden kimesneler evlü olsun ergen olsun ma dam ki gelüb gidüb rencberlik edüb benüm memalik-i mahrusemde temekkün edüb yerleşmeye andan harac taleb olunmaya
41) ve Venediklünüñ baᶜzı harac-güzar kafirler ile nizaᶜları olub daᶜva edicek Venediklü şahidler ikamet ederler imiş husama olan bu yer kafirlerinden gerekdir deyüb
42) bunlara müzayeka verüb Venedik kafirleri şehadetin kabul etmezler imiş eyle olsa cümle kefere millet-i vahıde oldugı sebebden buyurdum ki anlaruñ eger kefere ile münazeᶜası olub
43) ikamet-i şahide ihtiyac olur ise kefere tayifesinden kankı[32] sınıfından[33] ki şahid ikamet edüb şerᶜ-i şerif-i nebevi muktezasınca isbat edeler kabul oluna ve Venediklüden

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26 V and Gökbilgin: [A]nabolı.

27 V and gökbilgin: [A]nabolı.

28 Gökbilgin: olmaya.

29 V and Gökbilgin: İneb[a]htı (or [A]ynab[a]htı).

30 V and Gökbilgin: Mora.

31 V and Gökbilgin: Bursa.

32 V: or 'kangı' as Gökbilgin has?

33 Gökbilgin: sınıfdan.

44) bir bazirgan memalik-i mahrusemde yolda ve izde ve ya köyde basılub rızkı alınsa ve yahud basıldukda bazirgan depelenmiş olsa ya gayib olsa varisi yahud[34] vekili gelür ise şerᶜile
45) görilüb hakk yerine vara ve Venediklüden bir bazirgan ve ya bir kimesne benüm memalik-i mahmiyemde vefat etse anuñ metrukatına beytü 'l-malcı karışmayub bayloslarına teslim oluna ve Magrib[35]
46) müslimanlarından ve bunlardan gayri sayir yerlerüñ bazirganları ki benüm memalik-i mahruseme beyᶜ ve şira etmekiçün yaşdan ve kurıdan gelmelü olıcak ki Venedik hükm etdügi yerlere ugraya ᶜadetleri
47) ve kanunları üzere metaᶜlarınıñ rüsumun[36] aldukdan soñra maniᶜ olmayalar zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler memalik-i mahruseme nice dilerler ise geleler gideler ve Korfuzdan[37]
48) yukaru bogazda yürüyen gemiler Venedik olsun ve gayr olsun ki Venedige ticarete varalar ve geleler bizden kimesne anlara maniᶜ olmaya zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeye
49) meger ki yaramazlık etmiş olalar ve Zañte[38] adası ki her yıl anuñçün hızane-i ᶜamireye beşyüz filori verirler idi yine ol beşyüz filoriyi bi-temamihi her yıl
50) verüb hızane-i ᶜamireme teslim edeler bu zikr olunan ᶜahd üzere anlaruñla dostlugı kabul eyleyüb eyman-i mugallaza ile yemin eylerim ki yeri ve gögi
51) yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün ma dam ki anlar ᶜahdı ve dostlugı riᶜayet edüb ᶜahda muhalif nesne sadır olmaya benden dahı hılaf-i ᶜahd nesne vakıᶜ olmaya şöyle bileler
52) işbu ᶜahd-name bizüm ulu peygamberimüz hazret-i resaletiñ ᶜaleyh efzalü 's-salevat ve ekmelü 't-tahiyat tarihinden dokuz yüz on tokuzuncı yılıñ şaᶜban ayınıñ
53) on yedinci güni ve hazret-i ᶜİsanıñ ᶜaleyhi 's-selam tarihinden biñ beşyüz on üç yılınıñ ohtoros[39] ayınıñ on yedinci gününde mahruse-i Edirnede[40] yazıldı ki devam-i devletim ve izdiyad-i şevketim ila yevmi 'l-kıyam mü'ebbed ve müstehkem ola.

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34 Gökbilgin: ve yahud.

35 V and Gökbilgin: M[a]gr[i]b.

36 Gökbilgin: rüsumunı.

37 V and Gökbilgin: Korfuz.

38 V and Gökbilgin: Zañte (or Zak[i]te).

39 V and Gökbilgin: ohtoros.

40 V and Gökbilgin: Ed[i]rne.

The Venetian Capitulation of 1517[1]

The capitulation of 1517 was issued in two versions: one in Ottoman-Turkish, the other in Italian. Both documents are Ottoman originals and bear the *tugra* of Sultan Selim I. The Turkish version has been published by Gökbilgin.[2] However, the Italian version which was first noticed by Mélikoff and Wansbrough, has never been published before.[3] The Ottoman-Turkish text is based on the version of Gökbilgin and the original kept in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia.[4] The Italian version is based on that of the original document in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia.[5] In addition to these two documents the text of the original letter (in Italian) sent by Selim I to the Doge of Venice[6] and the receipt (in Ottoman-Turkish) presented in return for the payment of the tribute of Cyprus are given.[7] Both the letter and the receipt were issued at the same time as the two capitulations.

The Ottoman-Turkish text[8]

Hüve 'l-gani 'l-mugni 'l-muᶜin[9]

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1 For a more detailed discussion of this capitulation see H. Theunissen, 'Four Ottoman Documents Pertinent to the Ottoman-Venetian Treaty of 1517', *De Turcicis Aliisque Rebus Commentarii Henry Hofman decicati*, Utrecht 1992, 79-104.

2 Gökbilgin, *Belgeler,* V-VIII, no. 130, 50-54 (= Gökbilgin).

3 Mélikoff, *art. cit.,* 126; J. Wansbrough, 'Diplomatica Siciliana', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XLVII, 1, 10-21, 17-18. Mélikoff's description is not very clear ('De cette époque datent les deux documents italiens rédigés les 8 et 10 septembre') but there can be no doubt that she meant the *ᶜahd-name* and Selim's letter to the doge (both in Italian). Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 363, also mentions a document in Italian but thinks this is the capitulation of 1502 ('Delle antiche Capitulazioni, vidi nell'Archivio di Venezia, quelle in italiano-veneto (colla tugra del Sultano Bajezid II) del 1502'). Since there is no Italian version of the treaty of 1502 (1503) anymore in the Archivio di Stato, it is possible that he made a mistake. In this case Bonelli was the first to notice the existence of the *ᶜahd-name* in Italian.

4 ASV, Documenti Turchi 167 (= V).

5 ASV, Documenti Turchi 169 (= V).

6 ASV, Documenti Turchi 172 (= V).

7 ASV, Documenti Turchi 170 (= V). For a contemporary Italian translation of this document see ASV, Documenti Turchi 171.

8 Names of persons and places are given in the footnotes with their Italian equivalents from Documenti Turchi 169 (= T).

9 Gökbilgin omits the *invocatio*-formula.

Selim-şah bin Bayezid han el-muzaffer da'ima[10]

1) Nişan-i ᶜali-şan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i giti-sitan-i hakani nüffize[11] bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani hükmi oldur ki
2) ben ki sultanü 's-selatin bürhanü 'l-havakin sultan Selim-şah bin Bayezid hanın bundan evvel Venedik dojı ile ma-beynde dostluk olub anıñ üzerine bab-i seᶜadet-me'abımdan
3) ᶜahd-name-i hümayun verilmiş idi eyle olsa haliya Venedik dojı olan Lonardo Loredan[12] dahı Bartalmiye[13] ve Alvise Mocenigo[14] nam yarar beglerini
4) elçi taᶜyin edüb dergah-i cihan-penahıma irsal edüb ᶜarz-i ihlas ve mehabbet ve iᶜlam-i ihtisas ve meveddet edüb ma-beynde olan dostluk ve ᶜahd ke-ma kane mukarrer ve müstehkem olmasın
5) taleb eyledügi sebebden bendahı kabul edüb dostlugı mukarrer kılub bu ᶜahd-name-i hümayunı verüb eyman-i mugallaza ile yemin ederim ki yeri ve gögi yaradan
6) perverdegar hakkıyçün mezkur Venedik dojı ile ve sayir begleriyle ve anlaruñ ademleriyle ve anlara müteᶜallık olan yerlerüñ ve vilayetlerüñ halkı ile ve kalᶜaları
7) ve burguzları ile fi 'l-cümle Aya Marko[15] sancagın götüren kimesnelerile ve cemiᶜ anlara müteᶜallık yerleriyle yaşdan ve kurıdan el-an ellerinde olan elleri ve günleriyle şimdiyedek
8) ve şimdiden soñra açılacak yerleri ile ki kendü dindaşlarından almış olalar ve alalar benüm sınurumda olmaya ve harac-güzarım olmaya ve Nakş[16] adasıyla ve aña tabiᶜ olan

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10 Gökbilgin omits the text of the *tugra.*

11 Gökbilgin: nüsıre.

12 V and Gökbilgin: Lonardo Lor[e]dan; T: Leonardo Lauredano. Leonardo Loredan or Laurentino, Doge of Venice 2 October 1501 - 22 June 1521.

13 V and Gökbilgin: Bartalm[i]ye; T: Bartholomio Contarini. The Turkish text omits 'Contarini', i.e. Bartholomio's surname. Bartholomio Contarini was one of the two Venetian ambassadors ('oratore') to Selim I in 1516-1519.

14 V: L[u]vizo Mocinogo; Gökbilgin: L[u]vizo Moc[e]nogo; T: Alvise Mocenogo. Alvise Mocenigo, Venetian ambassador (together with Bartholomio Contarini) to Selim I in 1516-1518.

15 V and Gökbilgin: [A]ya Marko; T: San Marco.

16 V and Gökbilgin: N[a]kş; T: Nixia.

9) adalarıyla aramızda dostluk ve mehabbet ve barışıklık ola benüm memalik-i mahrusemde olan sancak beglerinden ve subaşılardan ve timar erenlerinden fi 'l-cümle benüm huddam-i encüm-ihtişamımdan
10) hiç ahad bunlaruñ vilayetlerine ve kal^{c}alarına ve burguzlarına ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler eger baña müte^{c}allık kimesnelerden bunlaruñ vilayetlerine ve kal^{c}alarına
11) ve burguzlarına ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirler ise ol zareri ve ziyanı yerine koyub dahl eden kimesnelerüñ hakkından geldirem[17] anlardahı[18]
12) mütekeffil olalar ki benüm elime ve kal^{c}alaruma ve ademlerüme anlaruñ beglerinden ve sipahilerinden ve ademlerinden hiç ahad zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler eger zarer
13) ve ziyan yetişdirirler ise ol zareri ve ziyanı yerine koyub dahl eden kimesnelerüñ hakklarından geleler ve zikr olan beglerüñ bazirganlarından ve ademlerinden
14) fi 'l-cümle sefer ehli olan kimesneleri ki Venedik adına ola benüm[19] memalik-i mahrusemden yaşdan ve kurıdan kadırga ile ve köke ile ve gayri küçük gemi ile eger
15) İstanbula[20] ve eger Galataya[21] ve Trabzona[22] ve Kefeye[23] fi 'l-cümle baña müte^{c}allık olan yerlere ne vakt dilerler ise[24] eger bogazuñ içinden taşından
16) ihtiyar ederler ise ne vakt diler ise gelüb gideler ve benüm memalik-i mahrusemden derya yüzüne giden gemilerüñ ve kadırgalaruñ ve tonanmalaruñ ve[25] rencber gemilerinden
17) olsun benüm olsun deñiz yüzünde Venedik gemilerine buluşurlar ise birbirine dostluk edüb zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler edecek olurlar ise eger adem ve esbab

17 Gökbilgin: gelürüm.

18 Gökbilgin: anlar dahı.

19 Gökbilgin: benim.

20 V and Gökbilgin: [İ]stanbul; T: Constantinopoli.

21 V and Gökbilgin: G[a]l[a]ta; T: Pera.

22 V and Gökbilgin: Trabzon; T: Trabesunda.

23 V and Gökbilgin: K[e]fe; T: Caffa.

24 Gökbilgin: dilerlerise.

25 V: this word seems to have been stricken out by the scribe.

18) ve eger tavar ziyanıdır her ne ise yerine konula hemçünan anlaruñ gemileri ve kadırgaları ve donanmaları deñiz yüzünde benüm gemilerüme ve yahud rencber gemisine buluşurlar ise
19) dostluk üzere geçeler gideler zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler edecek olurlar ise eger adem ve eger esbab ve eger tavar ziyanıdır her ne ise yerine koyalar ve benüm memalik-i
20) mahrusemden donanma gemilerim ki bir yaña sefere gide Venedige müteᶜallık yere olmaya ve Venedigüñ donanması epsem kendü halinde dostluk üzere durub hareket etmeyüb varub
21) kimesneye muᶜavenet eylemeye benüm tonanmalarıma zarer ve ziyan yetişmesine sebeb olmaya ve gayr vilayetiñ harami parçaları ve kadırgalarına ve gayri gemilere tuş
22) geldükleri vakt Venedik kendü adalarına ve limanlarına ve hisarlarına sıgındırmaya ve turgurmayalar ve azık vermeyeler dutmaları mümkin ise dutub hakklarından geleler
23) ve illa menᶜ ve redd edeler ve hemçünan bendahı adalaruma ve limanlaruma gelen harami kadırgaları ve parçaları ve kayıkları sıgındırmayam ve turgurmayam ve azık vermeyem dutması
24) mümkin ise dutub hakklarından gelem ve illa menᶜ ve redd edem ve Venedikden bir kimesne gelüb benüm memalik-i mahrusemde bir kimesne ile satu bazar etse akçesin temam eda eylemedin
25) hile edüb kaçub giderse ol kimesne bulunursa ki benüm hükm-i hümayunumla varub taleb oluna sahıbına rızkın alıvereler ve benüm memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesne varub
26) Venedikde bir kimesne ile satu bazar edüb akçesin temam eda etmedin hile edüb kaçub giderse ki sabit ola bendahı alıverem ve memalik-i mahrusemde bir kimesne borc edinse
27) ve yahud bir vechile müttehem olsa dahı gaybet etse anuñçün bir günahsuz dutulmaya ve Venedik beglerine anıñçün töhmet olunmaya meger ki anlaruñ memleketlerine varub dura
28) hemçünan bendahı eyle edem ve baylos kimi dilerse göndereler dilerse horendesi ile gelüb mahruse-i Kostantiniyede[26] üç yıla karib dura üç yıl temam olmadın gide dilerse

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26 V and Gökbilgin: K[o]st[a]n[i]n[i]ye; T: Constantinopoli.

29) horendesüz gele maslahat ne ise göre üç [27] temam olmadın ol gide anıñ yerine ol vechile biri dahı gele ve Venedikden esir kaçub benüm memalik-i mahruseme gelse müsliman
30) olursa sahıbı gelicek sahıbına biñ akçe verile sahıbı gelmeyüb vekil gönderirse ol biñ akçe vekile verile eger küfri üzere dururlar ise ol esir ᶜaynı ile verile
31) hemçünan bizden kaçub anlara varırsa anlar dahı bu vechile edeler ve Venedik gemileri benüm memalik-i mahruseme gelürken muhalif rüzgar çıkub ol gemi'i[28] helak ederse nedeñlü adem
32) kurtulursa azad ola ve tavarları kurtulursa sahıblarına verile katᶜa nizaᶜ olunmaya eger memalik-i mahrusemden ol tarafa bir gemi varırken muhalif yel çıkub ol
33) gemi'i[29] helak ederse nedeñlü adem kurtulur ise anlara dahl olunmayub ve tavarları kurtulursa sahıblarına vereler katᶜa nizaᶜ ve teᶜallül etmeyeler ve memalik-i mahrusemden
34) şol yerde kadırga ve kayıklar ve gayri gemiler derya yüzüne[30] çıkub gitdükleri vakt ki kapudanım anlaruñla bile olmaya mezkur gemilerüñ re'isleri mühkem kefiller vereler ki varub
35) Venedik memleketine zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler eger kefil vermedin gidecek olurlar ise mücrim ve günehkar olalar hakklarından geline eger kefil verdikden soñra varub zarer ve ziyan
36) yetişdirirler ise ne zarer ve ziyan olursa kefilleri vereler hemçünan Venedik tarafından dahı derya yüzüne ki gemiler çıka Venedik kapudanı bile olmaya[31] re'isleri mühkem kefil
37) verdikden soñra memalik-i mahruseme zarer ve ziyan yetişdirecek olurlar ise ol olan zareri ve ziyanı kefilleri vereler eger kefilsüz giderler ise günehkar olalar
38) mühkem hakklarından geleler ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir haracgüzar ve yahud bir ᶜamil kaçub Venedige müteᶜallık yere Anabolıya[32] ve gayr kalᶜalara ve adalara varub anda temekkün etse

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27 Gökbilgin adds '[yıl]'.

28 Gokbilgin omits the 'hemze'-accusative.

29 Gokbilgin omits the 'hemze'-accusative.

30 Gökbilgin: yüzine.

31 Gökbilgin: olmasa.

32 V and Gökbilgin: [A]nabolı; T: Napoli.

39) kabul olunmaya varan ademimize teᶜallül etmeyüb ᶜaynı ile vereler şöyleki bir kimesne adem öldürüb ve yahud ugurluk edüb rızk iletse Anabolıya[33] ve gayr adalara gitse
40) ol kimesne'i ᶜaynı ile vereler hemçünan bendahı eyle edem ve Venediklünüñ biri biri arasında nizaᶜları olsa baylosları ayinleri mucebince diñleye kimesne dahl etmeye
41) ve baylos olanı aharuñ borcıyçün bunda kimesne dutub ödetmeye[34] emma baylos anı Venedik beglerine bildiricek Venedik begleri dahı eglemeyüb becidd cevabın göndereler
42) ve Venedikden İnebahtıya[35] ve Moraya[36] bir bazirgan ki gele gayri kimesne borcıyçün anı dutub incitmeyeler ve Venediklü bazirganı Brusaya[37] ve yahud gayri yere gitmek istese baylosdan
43) icazet-name almayınca gitmeyeler eger temerrüd edüb icazet-namesüz gitmek ister ise subaşı baylosa muᶜavenet edüb koyuvermeye ve Venedikden gelen gemilerüñ neftileri
44) memalik-i mahrusemde hizmete[38] dutulmaya nice geldilerse gemileriyle girü eyle gideler ve Venedikden gelüb temekkün eden kimesneler evlü olsun ve ergen olsun ma damki gelüb
45) gidüb rencberlik edüb benüm memalik-i mahrusemde temekkün edüb yerleşmeye andan harac taleb olunmaya ve Venediklünüñ baᶜzı harac-güzar kafirleri ile nizaᶜları olub
46) daᶜva edicek Venediklü şahidler ikamet ederlerimiş husama olan bu yer kafirlerinden gerekdir deyüb bunlara müzayeka verüb Venedik kafirleri şehadetin kabul
47) etmezlerimiş eyle olsa cümle kefere millet-i vahıde oldugı sebebden buyurdum ki eger anlaruñ kefere ile münazeᶜası olub ikamet-i şahide ihtiyac olursa
48) kefere tayifesinden kankı[39] sınıfından[40] ki şahid edüb şerᶜ-i şerif-i nebevi muktezasınca isbat edeler kabul oluna ve Venediklüden bir bazirgan

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33 V and Gökbilgin: [A]nabolı; T: Napoli.

34 Gökbilgin: ödütmeye.

35 V and Gökbilgin: İneb[a]htı ([A]ynab[a]htı); T: Lepanto.

36 V and Gökbilgin: Mora; T: Morea.

37 V and Gökbilgin: Brusa; T: Bursa.

38 Gökbilgin: hidmete.

39 Gökbilgin: kangı.

40 Gokbilgin: sınıfdan.

49) memalik-i mahrusemde yolda ve izde ve ya köyde basılub rızkı alınsa ve yahud basıldukda bazirgan depelenmiş olsa ve yahud gayib olsa varisi
50) ve yahud vekili gelürse şercile görilüb hakk yerine vara ve Venediklüden bir bazirgan ve ya bir kimesne benüm memalik-i mahrusemde vefat eylese anuñ
51) metrukatına beytü 'l-malcı karışmayub bayloslarına teslim oluna ve Magrib[41] müslimanlarından ve sayir anlardan gayri yerlerüñ bazirganları ki benüm memalik-i
52) mahruseme beyc ve şira eylemek içün yaşdan ve kurıdan gelmelü olıcak ki Venedik hükm etdügi yerlere ugraya cadetleri ve kanunları üzere
53) metaclarınıñ rüsumın[42] aldıkdan soñra manic olmayalar zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler memalik-i mahruseme nice dilerler ise geleler ve gideler Korfuzdan[43] yukaru bogazda yürüyen
54) gemiler Venedik olsun ve gayr olsun ki Venedige ticarete varalar ve geleler bizden kimesne anlara manic olmaya zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler[44] meger ki yaramazlık etmiş olalar
55) ve Zañte[45] adası ki her yıl anıñiçün[46] hızane-i camire içün beşyüz filori[47] verürler idi yine ol beşyüz filori[48] bi-temamihi her yıl verilüb
56) hızane-i camireme teslim oluna ve mukaddema diyar-i Mısır[49] Çerakese[50] elinde iken cezire-i Kıbrusdan[51] sal be-sal sekiz biñ filoriye bedel kumaş ve harac vermek
57) cadetleri imiş eyle olsa haliya diyar-i Mısır[52] devlet-i kahirem muktezasınca külliya feth olunub sayir memalik-i mahrusemden vakıc olub zikr olunan

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41 V and Gökbilgin: M[a]gr[i]b; T: Barbaria.

42 Gökbilgin: rüsumunı.

43 V and Gökbilgin: Korfuz; T: Corphu.

44 Gökbilgin: yetişdirmeye.

45 V and Gökbilgin: Zañte (or Zak[i]te); T: Zante.

46 Gökbilgin: anınçün.

47 Gökbilgin: filoriyi.

48 Gökbilgin: filoriyi.

49 V and Gökbilgin: M[ı]s[İ]r; T: il paese del Cayro.

50 T: cercassi, i.e the so-called Circassian or Burdjite Mamluks who ruled Egypt and Syria from 1382 to 1517.

51 V and Gökbilgin: K[ı]brus; T: Cypro.

52 V and Gökbilgin: M[ı]s[ı]r; T: il paese del Cayro.

58) harac yüce padişahlıgıma verilmesi lazım olmagın buyurdum ki harac-i mezbur kumaş olmayub her yıl sekiz biñ nakd-i firengi filori olub
59) mahruse-i İstanbula[53] gönderüb hızane-i ᶜamireme teslim edeler bu zikr olan ᶜahd üzere anlaruñ ile dostlugı kabul edüb eyman-i mugallaza ile yemin
60) ederim ki yeri ve gögi yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün ma-damki anlar ᶜahdı ve dostlugı riᶜayet edüb ᶜahda muhalif nesne sadır olmaya bendendahı hılaf-i
61) ᶜahd nesne vakıᶜ olmaya şöyle bileler işbu ᶜahd-name-i hümayun bizüm ulu peygamberümüz hazret-i resaletiñ ᶜaleyh efzalü 's-salevat ve ekmelü 't-tahiyat
62) tarihinden tokuz yüz yigirmi üçünci yılıñ şaᶜban[54] ayınıñ…[55]

The Italian text[56]

Selim-şah bin Bayezid han el-muzaffer da'ima[57]

1) SULTAN SELIM SACH FILIUS SULTANI
2) Baiesit chan Imperator Imperatorum Dei Gratia Imperator
3) Maximus Asiæ, Europæ, Persarum, Syriæ, Arabum,
4) et Ægypti Dominus Invictissimus, et cætera. Per avanti
5) cum el Serenissimo Dose di Venetia infra nui era dato
6) sacramento de la bona amicitia et pace - Et alpresente il
7) ditto serenissimo Dose di Venetia Misier Leonardo Lauredano
8) ha mandato Misier Bartholomio Contarini, et Misier Alvise
9) Mocenigo cavallier sui degni Zentilhomeni à la mia altissima
10) et gloriosa corte per demostrar lo amore et amicitia
11) real et pace antiqua che era fra nui, et per firmarla et
12) corroborarla di ben in meglio. Io mi ho chiamato contento fir-
13) -mar la bona amicitia et pace, come la era, et refirmarla,
14) et zuro per quel Dio che ha creato il cielo et la terra che cum
15) il Dose di venetia, et cum la signoria, et tutti altri signori
16) che sonno sui, et li sui homeni et li paesi che sonno sotto di essi et

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53 V and Gökbilgin: [İ]stanbul; T: Constantinopoli.

54 T: siaban.

55 V: the text here breaks off without the *datatio*- and *locatio*-formulae. For the complete *datatio* and *locatio* see the Italian version of the same *ᶜahd-name* hereafter.

56 Some words are given in the footnotes with their Turkish equivalents from Documenti Turchi 167 (T).

57 V: the *tugra* of Selim I is in Arabic script.

17) li sui homeni cum i castelli, et terre, et tutti quelli che portano
18) la bandiera di San Marco, et tutto il Dominio che à loro appartien
19) per mar et per terra, el paese che hanno alpresente in le sue
20) mano, et quelli che haveranno ad conquistar che siano de la
21) sua fede, che non siano de li mei confini, ne de li mei cara-
22) -zari,[58] cum la insula di Nixia, et insule che pertiesseno à
23) quella, che infra nui amor et bona pace et amicitia sempre
24) sera: et niuno del paese mio, sia sanzacco[59], subbasi[60], et tima-
25) -rati[61], et tutti li mei schiavi niuno habia ardimento à li homeni
26) à le terre, et paese de la signoria far danno, ne impedimento
27) et se alcuno de li mei homeni À li sui homeni, rocche, terre
28) et paesi fara danno alcuno io li castigero, et cusi dal canto
29) vostro vui siate obligati castigar quelli che faranno danno
30) alcuno al le mie terre, lochi, et paesi. Che tutti quelli
31) homeni de la signoria di venetia che vanno per el paese mio
32) per mare et per terra cum nave, galie, navilij picoli et grandi
33) à Constantinopoli, Pera, Caffa, et Trabesunda, dentro il stretto
34) et tutto il paese che tiene il gran signor possano andar et
35) ussir liberamente che niuno li dagi impacio: et cusi per tutto il
36) mio paese se lussisse armata, o, galie mie, o, che siano de merca-
37) danti, o, de mei homeni trovandosi in mar cum i navilij de la
38) signoria, che luno cum laltro facia bona amicitia, et amore-
39) -volmente si governino insieme, et che luno al altro non facia
40) danno, et se per caso si fara danno luno cum laltro de robbe et ho-
41) -meni, o, altro, el danno sia messo à suo luogo, et lo simile si
42) intendi per una parte et per laltra, si in li homeni, come in
43) li danni, che si habiano à metter à suo luogo. et se per tutto il
44) mio paese ussisse armada; et andasse in luogo che non appar-
45) tenisse alla signoria, la armada de la signoria stagi quieta
46) secundo la bona amicitia che havemo, et non si mova, et
47) non vada à dar aiuto à loro, et che non sia causa di far
48) venir qualche mal alla mia armada. Et se da
49) altri luogi galie, nave, o, barze de forestieri corsari ve-

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58 T: harac-güzar.

59 T: sancak begleri.

60 T: subaşılar.

61 T: timar erenleri.

50) -nisserro alli porti et insule de la signoria di venetia,
51) trovando la nostra armata, non li sia dato ricetto, ne
52) vittualie, et se sera possibile pigliarli et castigarli, ma se
53) non se potra pigliarli, si debbano caciar via, et non li dar
54) ricetto, et io simelmente mi obligo che le nave, barze, galie, o,
55) fuste che veniranno alli mei porti non daro ricetto, et se sera
56) possibile li pigliaro, et castigero, et se à caso non potesse pigliarli,
57) li caciaro via. Et se da venetia venisserro homeni
58) venetiani al mio paese et che facesserro mercantia di vender,
59) et comprar, et che non havesse pagato il iusto, et che facesse
60) qualche fraude, o, chel fuzisse, et si trovasse, quello che an-
61) dasse cum il mio commandamento sia satisfatto, et lo simile
62) si fara dal canto mio per il mio paese, trovandose che al-
63) -cuno de li nostri facesse inganno, o, fuzisse cum robbe de vene-
64) tiani, io satisfaro. Et se nel Dominio mio alcuno de
65) i venetiani havesse debito, o, facesse qualche mancamento,
66) et che fuzisse, et non si trovasse, per lui non si possa astrenzer[62]
67) ne pigliar alcuno, et per questo caso la signoria non habbia[63]
68) colpa, riservando se à caso lui andasse ad habitar il paese
69) de la signoria, et lo simile obligo anchora mi.
70) Et la signoria mandi che Baylo li piace, et se la vuol chel
71) Baylo vegni cum la sua fameglia à star à Constantinopoli
72) circa tre anni, vegni, et non essendo compiti i tre anni,
73) vada via, et sel vuol venir senza fameglia, o, cum fameglia,
74) vegni, Accio el possi veder i fatti de la signoria: et cusi
75) non compidi i tre anni vegni in suo luogo uno altro.
76) Et se à caso scampasse da venetia alcun schiavo, et venisse
77) nel mio Dominio, facendose mussulman, et venendo il patron
78) suo, o, suo procurator, li siano dati aspri mille, et sel fusse
79) christiano, li sia consignato il schiavo proprio, et cusi se de li
80) nostri fugisse, si facia il simile. Et se venendo navilij da
81) venetia al mio Dominio, et per fortuna havesserro investito
82) in terra, li homeni che scapoleranno siano liberi, et se le robbe
83) scapolasserro, siano consignate alli loro patroni, et lo simile si
84) facia à mei, et non si facia differentia alcuna.

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62 V: astren[zer]; the paper is damaged.

63 V: ha[bbia]; the paper is damaged.

85) Se del mio Dominio ussiranno nave, galie, fuste, o, altri
86) navilij in mare, chel capitaneo mio non sia cum loro,
87) quelli patroni di essi navilij dagano securta di non andar
88) alli luogi che pertegnano alla signoria à far danno, et se
89) à caso partisserro senza dar securta, et siano colpevoli, siano
90) castigati, cusi da una parte, come da laltra, et se havesserro
91) dato securta, quelli danni che faranno si habiano à dimandar
92) à quelli che haveranno fatto la securta, Lo simile sia obligata
93) la signoria dal canto suo. Se dal mio Dominio uno
94) carazaro[64], over amaldaro[65] scampasse via, et andasse à
95) Napoli, o, in altre terre alle insule, siano arrestati, et ne si
96) debbano accettar, et se nui mandamo uno, non debbano
97) contradir, ma debbano esser consignati à ditto homo nostro -
98) Se à caso uno homo amazasse uno altro, over robasse, et por-
99) -tasse robbe, et haver à Napoli, et in altre terre, siano re-
100) -stituite le robbe à quel homo che mandaremo, et se lhomi-
101 -cida fosse preso sia restituito, et cusi per lo simile si fara
102) dal canto nostro. Se li venetiani uno cum laltro haves-
103) serro differentia, lo Baylo habia ad aldir le loro differentie,
104) et iudicar secundo le sue leze, et niuno habia à darli im-
105) -pedimento. El Baylo per debito di uno altro non possi esser
106) astretto per alcuno à farlo pagar, et el Baylo debba avisar la
107) signoria per quel caso, et la signoria li debba mandar
108) la risposta presto. Se da venetia capitasserro mercadanti
109) à Lepanto, et alla Morea, et in altri luogi per debito de
110) altri, niuno li possi dar molestia ne impedimento.
111) Se uno mercadante venetiano volesse andar in Bursa, o,
112) in altro luogo, senza licentia del Baylo, non possi partir: et
113) se per caso volesse partir senza licentia, el subbasi debba
114) far quello chel Baylo vuol di non lassarlo partir.
115) De le nave che vengono da venetia nel mio Dominio
116) niuno possi tuor alcuno homo per angaria, ne per forza,
117) ma cusi come sonno venuti debbano partir. Et se uno
118) che venisse da venetia, o, cum famiglia, o, senza fameglia,
119) et che andasse à venetia, et ritornasse facendo le sue mer-

64 T: harac-güzar.

65 T: ᶜamel-dar, i.e. ᶜamil.

120) cantie, et chel non habitasse in perpetuo, niuno li possi di-
121) mandar carazo.[66] Se uno mercadante venetiano havesse
122) differentia cum uno carazaro[67], et il venetiano volesse produr
123) testimonij venetiani, et el sopraditto carazaro[68] non ardesse
124) accettar per rason, et li desse stracio; io commando che la
125) testimonianza de venetiani et altra nation sia valida, perche
126) christiano sopra christiano passa, et cusi sia accetta.
127) Se da la signoria di venetia uno mercadante venisse al
128) mio Dominio, et fusse assaltato, o, morto, et toltoli la robba, o,
129) fosse preso, venendo il suo herede, o, suo procurator, per rason si
130) debia examinar, et veder, et metter il danno à suo luogo.
131) Se alcuno mercadante di venetiani venisse al mio Dominio,
132) et chel morisse nel mio paese, le sue robbe tutte si debbano con-
133) -signar al Baylo et Beitumalzi[69] non debbano impariarsi.
134) Se di Barbaria, o, di altri luogi mussulmani venisserro à far
135) mercadantia nel mio Dominio capitando in le terre che per-
136) -tieneno alla signoria, pagando li datij, et li dretti secundo la
137) usanza, non se li possa dar impedimento, o, danno alcuno, et pos-
138) -sano venir et andar liberamente. Se da Corphu, o, dal
139) colpho infuso navilij de venetiani et altri andasserro et venisserro
140) per mercantie, niuno de li nostri li habia à dar impario,
141) over danno, riservando se havesserro fatto alcun mal.
142) De la insula del Zante ogni anno si pagavano ducati cinquecento
143) al mio casna,[70] si pagi il simile ogni anno al mio casna[71] ./.[72]
144) Peravanti il paese del Cayro nel tempo che lera de cercassi
145) de la insula di Cypro ogni anno veniva carazo[73] in robbe per
146) la summa de ducati ottomille, come era usanza di darle: Al-
147) -presente il paese del Cayro cum la gratia de Dio ho tolto cum
148) le arme, et tutto il resto del Dominio: et secundo il resto del

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66 T: harac.

67 T: harac-güzar.

68 T: harac-güzar.

69 T: beytü ʾl-malcı.

70 T: hızane-i ᶜamire.

71 T: hızane-i ᶜamire.

72 V: the scribe stopped here (./.), but later continued with the last article of the treaty (the settlement of the Cyprus-question). This may indicate that this article was added later.

73 T: harac.

149) mio paese questo, è fatto mio paese: pertanto quel carazo[74] che
150) si pagava, è, honesto; et perho commando che non siano piu
151) robbe, ma che siano ogni anno ducati ottomille, che siano man-
152) -dati à Constantinopoli, et consignati al mio casna.[75]
153) Et cusi cum li soprascritti capituli confirmo la amicitia bona et
154) pace real che, è, infra nui per il Dio che ha fatto il cielo
155) et la terra, che sempre che mantenirete vui li soprascritti
156) capitoli, da me non mancara di obseruar la pace, come,
157) è, ditto di sopra. Data nel Cayro à di .xxij. de la
158) luna di siaban[76] del anno nuovecento vintitre. Del
159) anno de christiani .M.D.Xvij. à di otto settembrio./.

The text of the letter of Selim I sent to the Doge of Venice Leonardo Loredan

Selim-şah bin Bayezid han el-muzaffer da'ima

1) SULTAN SELIM SACH FILIUS
2) Sultani Baiesit Chan Imperator Imperatorum Dei Gratia
3) Imperator maximus Asiæ, europæ, Persarum, Syriæ,
4) Arabum, et Ægypti Dominus Invictissimus, et cætera.
5) Al Illustrissimo Dose di venetia Misier Leonardo Lau-
6) -redano, et signoria di venetia. Sapiate come li vostri de-
7) -gni ambassatori Misier Bartholomio contarini, et Misier Alvise
8) Mocenigo cavallier eletti del numero de li vostri sapienti
9) Zentilhomeni, che havete mandato alla mia altissima, et gloriosa
10) corte, hanno demostrato il bon cuor et animo che havete di con-
11) -servar la bona amicitia et real pace che, è, stata et, è, infra
12) nui, et sonno venuti in tempo bono, et hora benedetta, et
13) hanno fatto la ambassata sua compita et degnamente et sonno
14) sta da nui visti et accettati cum bon et allegro core:
15) vedendo che havete fatto, come fanno i sapientissimi signori
16) che vuolesso conservar la bona et real pace et amicitia,
17) et cusi nui volemo conservarla, et perseverar in quella,
18) et la habiamo confirmata et corroborata, et expediti li

74 T: harac

75 T: hızane-i ᶜamire.

76 T: şaᶜban.

19) ditti virtuosi Ambassadori gratiosamente, et datoli grata
20) licentia, perche hanno fatto la ambassata cum quel degno et
21) savio modo che si doveva. Dechiarandovi che per haver
22) fiducia de le cose vostre havemo voluto per contento nostro
23) che Misier Alvise Mocenigo cavallier uno de li anteditti Am-
24) -bassadori vadi cum parte de la armata nostra fino à
25) Constantinopoli, dove el sera ben visto et carezato, et ritor-
26) -nera alla patria à piacer suo: Pero ne sera gratissimo che mostate verso
27) lui esser sta contenti di tal sua fatica. Data nel Cayro
28) A di .xxiiij. de la luna de siaban del anno novecentovintitre
29) Del anno de christiani .M.D.Xvij. à .x. di settembrio./.

The text of the receipt for the tribute of Cyprus[77]

Hüve

Selim-şah bin Bayezid han el-muzaffer da'ima

1) Vech-i tahrir-i kalem ve mucib-i terkim-i rekam oldur ki cezire-i Kıbrus[78] beglerinden yılda sekiz biñ
2) sikke eşrefi[79] hısabı üzere sene seman ᶜaşr ve tisᶜ-mi'e rebiᶜu 'l-uhra[80] gurresinden
3) sene seles ve ᶜişrin ve tisᶜ-mi'e rebiᶜu 'l-ula[81] gayetine gelince vakıᶜ olan
4) beş yıllık haracdan kırk biñ sikke eşrefi borcları olub haliya zikr olan
5) eşrefiyeden[82] on biñ sikke eşrefi ademleri Ancolo Mikel[83] elinden gelüb
6) sene seles ve ᶜişrin ve tisᶜ-mi'e şaᶜbanınıñ yigirmi bir[84] gününde hızane-i

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77 Some words from the Turkish text (= V) are given with their Italian translation from Documenti Turchi 171 (= T).

78 V: K[ı]brus; T: Cypro.

79 V: the word 'sikke' in this text is most likely used as a classifier like 'tane', 'baş' or 'ᶜaded'. If it had been connected by way of a Persian *izafet* with 'eşrefi', it should have been 'sikke-i eşrefiye', since 'sikke' is a feminine word in Arabic. T: serraphi.

80 V: has to be 'rebiᶜu 'l'ahır' because 'rebiᶜ' is not feminine. T: rebihul achir.

81 V: has to be 'rebiᶜu 'l-evvel' because 'rebiᶜ' is not feminine. T: rebihul evvel.

82 V: should have been 'eşrefi' because the word appears on its own and not in connection with 'sikke'. It is possible that the scribe forgot to write 'sikke-i' before 'eşrefiye'.

83 V: [A]nc[o]lo M[i]k[e]l. T: Anzolo Michiel.

84 V: 'yigirmi bir' seems to have been written in a slightly different handwriting, perhaps that of a later scribe.

7) ᶜamireme teslim olunub baki kalan otuz biñ sikke eşrefi borcların
8) tarih-i mezburdan üç ay temam olunca getürüb bi-kusur teslim etmege
9) Venedik elçileri miser Bartolomiyo Kontari[85] ve meser Luvizo Mocenigo[86]
10) kefil oldukları ecilden mezkurlara tarih-i mezburdan üç ay
11) vaᶜde verüb buyurdum ki vaᶜdeleri temam olıcak baki kalan
12) otuz biñ eşrefi borcların dahı getürdüb bi-kusur hızane-i ᶜamireme
13) teslim edeler şöyle bileler ᶜalamet-i şerifime[87] iᶜtimad kılalar
14) [88]tahriren fi 'l-yevmi 'l-hadi ve 'l-ᶜişrin-i şehr-i şaᶜbanü 'l-muᶜazzam min şühur-i sene seles ve ᶜişrin ve tisᶜ-mi'e
15) be-mekam-i[89] Mısr[90]

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85 V: m[i][s]s[e]r Bartolom[i]yo Kontari. T: messer Bartholomeo Contarini. 'Miser' is from the Italian 'misier' or 'messer' ('messere') meaning 'sir'.

86 V: m[e][s]s[e]r L[u]vizo Moc[e]n[i]go. T: messer Alvyse Mocenigo. 'Meser' is from the Italian 'misier' or 'messer' ('messere') meaning 'sir'.

87 V: or 'şerife'?

88 V: line 14 and 15 (*datatio* and *locatio*) are written in another handwriting. These two sentences were added later by the 'defterdar' or another official from the financial department.

89 It is remarkable that 'mekam' is used here in combination with Cairo. 'Mekam' was officially only used for the three imperial cities (capitals) of the Ottoman Empire (Kostantiniye/İstanbul, Edirne and Bursa).

90 V: M[ı]s[ı]r; T: Caviro. On the reverse side of the document is the 'kuyruklu imza' of an official from the financial deparment (*defterdarlık*): Mehmed el-hakir (possibly the *defterdar* himself). On the 'kuyruklu imza' on this and other receipts given to the Venetians see Pedani, *art. cit.*

The Venetian Capitulation of 1521

The *ʿahd-name* of 1521 is preserved in several different forms. The first is that of the original document issued in 1521 which bears the *tugra* of Sultan Süleyman I. This document, which is preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia[1], has been published by Şakiroğlu.[2] The second and third document versions of this capitulation are both copies. The first of these is an official copy issued on behalf of the Venetians by a *kazi* of Galata, named Hasan bin Musa.[3] The second copy, however, was most probably made in 1540. On the reverse side of the document a short text in Italian informs us about the status of this text: *Copia in lingua turca de li capitoli vechi, mandata da missier Alvise Badoer, orator à Costantinopoli per Zenesin truciman in lettere de 30 iulio 1540, la traduzion de la quel è in mano del circospetto Ludovico Spinelli secretario.* Undoubtedly, this text must have played a role during the negotiations between the Ottoman Empire and Venice concerning the treaty of 1540. The draft of this new treaty was dated 28 July 1540, that is only two days earlier than the date of the letter mentioned in the Italian note on the reverse side of the copy.[4] This copy was most likely also used by Gökbilgin for his version of the capitulations of 1521.[5] Another (unfortunately incomplete) copy of this treaty can be found in a kind of *inşa* book, a collection of documents from the sixteenth century, which is kept in the Bibliotèque Nationale in Paris. The manuscript itself most likely dates from the late seventeenth century and was obtained during the first half of the eighteenth century.[6]

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1 ASV, Documenti Turchi 188 (= V1).

2 Şakiroğlu, *1521 tarihli andlaşma*, 387-404 (= Şakiroğlu).

3 ASV, Documenti Turchi 189 (= V2).

4 ASV, Documenti Turchi 190 (= V3).

5 Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 128, 42-46 (= Gökbilgin). Gökbilgin also mentions a second copy of the capitulation of 1521, this could be Documenti Turchi 189 (= V2) which is about the same size and was/is kept in the same box ('busta').

6 Blochet, *op. cit.*, I, 59-60, Ancien Fonds no. 144 (= BN). The capitulations of 1521 can be found on f. 103v. - f. 113v. The text is completely vocalized and gives interesting information on the vocalization especially of the Turkish suffixes. However, since it would require too many footnotes to give the exact vocalization of all the words in this text in comparison with the other non-vocalized versions of the same text, I have abstained from doing this. Only in some cases, that is when the text differs from the other versions (in wording), the exact vocalization (of the word) is given. In addition to this, I have given the exact vocalization of a number of words when this provides interesting information about their possible pronounciation.

The Text

Hüve 'l-gani 'l-mugni 'l-mucin[7]

Süleyman-şah bin Selim-şah han el-muzaffer da'ima[8]

1) [9]Nişan-i şerif-i cali-şan-i sultani ve tugra-i [10]garra-i giti-sitan-i hakani nüffize[11] bi-'l-cavni 'r-rebbani ve 'l-menni[12] 's-sübhani[13] hükmi oldur ki[14]
2) şimdikihalde[15] ben ki sultanü 's-selatin bürhanü 'l-havakin[16] sultan Süleyman-şah[17] bin sultan Selim-şahım[18] haliya Venedik dojı[19] olan Anton Griman[20] südde-i cazamet-penah ve catebe-i caliye-i celalet-
3) destgahıma yarar ve muctemed ademlerinden Marko Miniyoyı[21] elçilige gönderüb carz-i ihlas ve mehabbet ve iclam-i ihtisas ve meveddet edüb merhum babam tabe serahü ile[22] olan dostluk ve mehabbet

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7 Gökbilgin and BN omit the *invocatio*; V2 omits the *invocatio*, but has a copy-formula: nükilet cane 'l-asl bi-'zni ve ena 'l-fakir Hasan bin Musa el-mevla be-mahruse-i Galata hılafeten cafa canhüma el-baki; V3 has a short *invocatio*: hüve. On formulae used by Ottoman *kazi*s to authenticate copies of imperial documents see F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, 'Legalisierungsformeln in Abschriften osmanischer kaiserlicher Erlaesse und Handschreiben', *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte*, II, 1923-1925, Hannover 1925, 137-146.

8 BN, V2 and V3 have no t*ugra*; Gökbilgin does not give the text of the *tugra* but only indicates that there is one by writing the word 'tugra'; Şakiroğlu: Sultan Süleyman Şah bin Sultan Selim Şah el-muzaffer daima.

9 BN: f. 103v.

10 BN: f. 104r. At the bottom of f. 103v. the first word of f. 104r. ('garra') is written.

11 Gökbilgin: nüsire; BN: enfeze.

12 Şakiroğlu: 'l-menu.

13 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3 omit 've 'l-menni 's-sübhani'.

14 Şakiroğlu: oldurki.

15 Şakiroğlu: şimdiki halde.

16 BN has 'sultanü 's-sultani 'l-havakin bürhan' instead of 'sultanü 's-selatin bürhanü 'l-havakin'.

17 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: Süleyman şah; Şakiroğlu: Süleyman Şah.

18 Gökbilgin and V3: Selim şahın; BN and V2: Selim şahı; Şakiroğlu: Selim Şahım.

19 Şakiroğlu: doju.

20 V1, V2 and V3: [A]nton Gr[i]man; Gökbilgin: [A]nton Gr[i]mani (Antoni Grimani); BN: [A]nton G[a]jman; Şakiroğlu: Anton Griman. Antonio Grimani, Doge of Venice, 6 July 1521 - 7 may 1523.

21 Şakiroğlu has 'yu' instead of 'yı' as accusative-suffix. V1, V2 and V3: Marko Min[i]yo; Gökbilgin: Marko Min[i]yo; BN: Marko Min[i]yo; Şakiroğlu: Marko Miniyo. Marco Minio, Venetian ambassador ('oratore') to Süleyman I 1520-1522.

22 BN: öyle.

4) mucebince benümle[23] dahı dostluk olması[24] babında [25]tecdid-i ᶜahd olunmasın[26] taleb etdikleri[27] ecilden bendahı[28] anlaruñla[29] dostlugı[30] ve ᶜahdı kabul edüb işbu ᶜahd-name yazıldugı güne gelince[31] öteden
5) ve berüden cüzvi[32] ve külli vakıᶜ olan kazaya[33] depredilmemek[34] üzere kavl[35] olunub bu günden dostluk[36] mukarrer olub bu ᶜahd-name'i verüb eyman-i mugallaza ile yemin ederim ki[37] yeri ve gögi[38]
6) yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün[39] mezkur Venedik dojı[40] Anton Grimanla[41] ve sayir begleriyle ve anlaruñ[42] ademleriyle ve anlara müteᶜallık olan yerleriñ[43] ve vilayetleriñ[44] halkı ile [45]ve kalᶜaları[46]

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23 Gökbilgin: bizimle.

24 Şakiroğlu: olmasın.

25 BN: f. 104v.

26 Gökbilgin, BN and V3: olmasın.

27 Şakiroğlu: itdükleri.

28 Şakiroğlu: ben dahi; BN: ben dahı.

29 Şakiroğlu: anlarınla.

30 Gökbilgin and V3: dostluk; Şakiroğlu: dostluğu; BN: dostlık.

31 BN omits 'gelince'.

32 Şakiroğlu and BN: cüz'i.

33 Gökbilgin and V3: kazayadan.

34 Gökbilgin and V3: debredilmemek; BN has 'dir-' followed by a blank space.

35 V2: kabul.

36 Gökbilgin and V3: dostlugı.

37 Gökbilgin and V2: ederimki; Şakiroğlu: iderümki.

38 Şakiroğlu: göğü.

39 Şakiroğlu: hakkiçün.

40 Şakiroğlu: doju.

41 V2 has 'Griman ile' instead of 'Grimanla'; Şakiroğlu: Griman'la; Gökbilgin: Grimaniyle. V1, V2 and V3: [A]nton Gr[i]man; Gökbilgin: [A]nton Gr[i]mani; BN: [A]nton Gazman; Şakiroğlu: Anton Griman.

42 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: anlarıñ; Şakiroğlu: anların.

43 Gökbilgin and V3: yerlerüñ.

44 Gökbilgin and V3: vilayetlerüñ.

45 BN: f. 105r. At the bottom of f. 104v. the first words of f. 105r. ('ve kalᶜa') are written

46 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: kalᶜalarıñ.

7) ve burgazlarıyla[47] ve ademleriyle[48] fi 'l-cümle Aya Markonuñ[49] sancagın[50] götüren kimesnelerile[51] ve cemiᶜi[52] anlara müteᶜallık [53] yerleri[54] ile[55] yaşdan ve kurudan el-an ellerinde olan elleri ve günleri[56] ile şimdiye dek
8) ve şimdidensoñra[57] açılacak yerlerile[58] ki[59] kendü dindaşlarından alalar benüm sınurumda olmaya ve harac-güzarım olmaya ve Nakş[60] adasıyla[61] ve aña tabiᶜ girü kalan adaları ile[62] aramızda dostluk
9) ve mehabbet[63] ve barışıklık ola benüm memalik-i mahrusemde olan[64] sancakbeglerinden[65] ve subaşılardan[66] ve timar [67]erenlerinden bi 'l-cümle[68] benüm huddam-i encüm-ihtişamımdan hiç ahad bunlaruñ[69]
10) vilayetlerine ve kalᶜalarına[70] ve burguzlarına[71] ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler eger baña müteᶜallık olan kimesnelerden bunlaruñ[72]

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47 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: burgazları ile; BN: bırgazları ile; Şakiroğlu writes that he has corrected the word 'bergos' to 'burgaz'. 'Burgaz', however, is the correct form.

48 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: ademleri ile.

49 V1, V2, V3, Gökbilgin and BN: [A]ya Marko; Şakiroğlu: Aya Marko.

50 BN: sancagını.

51 Şakiroğlu and BN: kimesneleriyle.

52 Şakiroğlu: cemiᶜ.

53 Gökbilgin and V3 add 'olan'.

54 Şakiroğlu: yerlerin.

55 Gökbilgin and V3: yerleriyle.

56 Şakiroğlu and BN: köyleri.

57 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: şimdiden soñra; Şakiroğlu: şimdiden sonra.

58 Şakiroğlu: yerleriyle.

59 Gökbilgin omits 'ki'.

60 V1, V2, V3, Gökbilgin: N[a]kş; BN: N[a]kş[a] (vocalized); Şakiroğlu: Nakşa.

61 V2: adalar ile.

62 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: adalarıyla.

63 BN: mühabbet.

64 Gökbilgin omits 'olan'.

65 V2: sancak beglerinden.

66 V2: subaşlarından.

67 BN: f. 105v.

68 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: fi 'l-cümle.

69 V2: bunlarıñ.

70 Gökbilgin and V3 omit 've kalᶜalarına'.

71 Gökbilgin, Şakiroğlu, V2 and V3: burgazlarına; BN: bırgazlarına.

72 V2: bunlarıñ; Şakiroğlu: bunların.

vilayetlerine ve kalᶜalarına ve burguzlarına[73] ve ademlerine[74] zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirler ise ol[75]
11) ol zareri ve ziyanı yerine koyub dahl eden kimesnelerüñ[76] hakkından gelem anlar dahı[77] mütekeffil[78] olalar ki benüm elüme ve kalᶜalaruma[79] ve burguzlaruma[80] ve ademlerime[81] anlaruñ[82] beglerinden ve sipahilerinden ve ademlerinden
12) hiç ahad zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler eger [83]zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirler ise[84] ol zareri[85] ve ziyanı yerine koyub dahl eden kimesnelerüñ[86] hakklarından geleler ve mezbur beglerüñ[87] bazirganlarından
13) ve ademlerinden bi-'l-cümle[88] sefer ehli olan kimesneleri ki Venedik[89] adına ola[90] benüm memalik-i mahruseme yaşdan ve kurudan kadırga[91] ile[92] ve

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73 Gökbilgin, Şakiroğlu, V2 and V3: burgazlarına; BN: bırgazlarına.

74 BN omits 've ademlerine'.

75 ' V1: 'ol' is written twice, at the end of line 10 and the beginning of the line 11.

76 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: kimesneleriñ; Şakiroğlu: kimesnelerin.

77 V3: anlardahı.

78 Şakiroğlu: mütekkeffil (sic).

79 Şakiroğlu: kal'alarıma.

80 Şakiroğlu: burgazlarıma; BN omits 've burguzlaruma'.

81 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: ademlerüme.

82 Şakiroğlu: anların.

83 BN: f. 106r. At the bottom of f. 105v. the first word of f. 106r. ('zarer') is written.

84 Şakiroğlu; yetişdirirlerse.

85 Gökbilgin: zarer.

86 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: kimesneleriñ; Şakiroğlu: kimesnelerin.

87 Gokbilgin, V2 and V3: begleriñ; Şakiroğlu: beğlerin.

88 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: fi 'l-cümle.

89 V2: 'Venedik' is written twice, at the end of line 18 and the beginning of line 19.

90 BN: olan.

91 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: kadırgaları.

92 Şakiroğlu: kadırgalarıyla.

kökelerile[93] ve gayri küçük[94] gemiyle[95] İstanbula[96] ve Galataya[97] ve Trabzona[98] ve Kefeye[99]
14) ve İskenderiye-i Mısra[100] ve sayir ᶜArabistanda[101] olan iskelelere ve bi-'l-cümle cümle-i[102] memalik-i mahruseme müteᶜallık olan yerlere ne vakt dilerler ise[103] bogazuñ[104] içinden ve taşından[105] [106]geleler ve gideler ve benüm[107] memalik-i mahrusemden
15) derya yüzüne[108] giden gemilerim[109] ve kadırgalarım[110] ve tonanmalarım[111] benüm olsun rencberiñ[112] olsun[113] deñiz yüzünde Venedik gemilerine buluşurlar ise[114] birbirine dostluk edüb zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler emma anlar dahı

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93 V2 and BN: probably kökeleriyle; Gökbilgin and V3: kökeleri ile; Şakiroğlu: kökeleriyle.

94 BN: küçek.

95 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: gemileriyle.

96 V1, V2, V3 and Gökbilgin: [İ]st[a]nbul; BN: [İ[st[a]nbul (vocalized); Şakiroğlu: İstanbul.

97 V1, V2, V3, Gökbilgin and BN (vocalized): G[a]l[a]ta; Şakiroğlu: Galata.

98 V1, V3 and Gökbilgin: Tr[a]bzon; V2: Trabuzon; BN: T[a]r[a]b[u]zon (vocalized); Şakiroğlu: Trabzon.

99 V1, V2, V3, Gökbilgin and BN (vocalized): K[e]fe; Şakiroğlu: Kefe.

100 V1, V2, V3 and Gökbilgin: [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]ye-i M[ı]s[ı]r; BN: [İ]sk[e]nd[e]ry[e]ye(-i?) M[ı]s[ı]r (vocalized); Şakiroğlu: İskenderiye-i Mısır.

101 V1, V2, V3, Gökbilgin and BN (vocalized): ᶜ[A]r[a]b[i]stan; Şakiroğlu: Arabistan.

102 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3 omit the 'hemze-izafet'; Şakiroğlu: cümleten.

103 Şakiroğlu: dilerlerse.

104 Gokbilgin, V2 and V3: bogazıñ; Şakiroğlu: Boğazın.

105 Şakiroğlu: darından, and gives in a note as explanation: dışından.

106 BN: f. 106v.

107 V2: benim.

108 BN: yüzinden.

109 Gokbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: gemilerüñ.

110 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: kadırgalarıñ; kadırgalaruñ.

111 Gökbilgin and V3: donanmalarıñ; V2 and BN: donanmalaruñ; Şakiroğlu: donanmalarım.

112 Gökbilgin and V3: rencberleriñ. V2: rencberüñ.

113 BN omits 'rencberiñ olsun'.

114 V1: or buluşurlarise?

16) gerekdir ki anuñ[115] gibi derya yüzünde ferman-i hümayunumla çıkmış hassa donanmalaruma[116] ve kadırgalaruma[117] ve sayir derya yüzüne[118] giden gemilerüme[119] buluşduklarında yelkenlerin[120] indirüb dostlukların ve ita^{c}at üzere oldukların bildireler
17) ve eger yelken[121] indirüb[122] dostlukların bildirdüklerindensoñra[123] zarer ve ziyan edecek olurlar ise eger adem ve eger esbab ve eger tavar[124] ziyanıdır her ne ise[125] [126]yerine konula hemçünan anlaruñ[127] gemileri
18) ve kadırgaları ve donanmaları[128] dahı deñiz yüzünde benüm gemilerüme[129] ve yahud[130] rencber gemilerine buluşurlar ise birbirine dostlukların bildirüb[131] dostluk üzere geçeler gideler[132] zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler edecek

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115 Gökbilgin and V3: anıñ.

116 Gokbilgin and V3: tonanmalarıma.

117 Gökbilgin and V3: kadırgalarıma.

118 Gökbilgin, Şakiroğlu, V2 and V3: yüzünde; BN: yüzinde.

119 Gökbilgin and V3: gemilerime; Şakiroğlu: gemülerüme.

120 V2 and BN: yelkenlerini.

121 V2 and BN: yelkeni.

122 Şakiroğlu: indürüb.

123 Gökbilgin: bildirduklarındansoñra; Şakiroğlu and V2: bildirdüklerinden soñra; BN: bildürdüklerinden soñra.

124 Şakiroğlu: davar.

125 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3 omit 'her ne ise'.

126 BN: f. 107r. At the bottom of f. 106v. the first word of f. 107r. ('yerine') is written.

127 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: anlarıñ; Şakiroğlu: anların.

128 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3 omit 've donanmaları'.

129 Şakiroğlu: gemülerüme.

130 V3: yahuz?

131 Gokbilgin, BN, V2 and V3 omit 'birbirine dostlukların bildirüb'; Şakiroğlu: bildürüb.

132 Şakiroğlu and BN omit 'gideler'.

19) olurlar ise eger adem ve[133] eger esbab ve[134] eger tavar[135] ziyanıdır her ne ise yerine koyalar ve eger ittifak düşüb harami ve levend gemisine buluşub ol harami gemisi bunlara kasd edüb cenk eyleye[136] ve[137] bi-'radeti[138] 'llah te^{c}ala
20) harami gemisine bunlar galib olalar hin-i müharebede nemıkdar[139] adem helak olur ise[140] ola [141]emma nedeñlü ademin[142] esir edüb diri dutarlar[143] ise[144] kendüler aslen[145] katl eylemeyüb bi-kusur sag ve salim südde-i se^{c}adetime irsal
21) edeler ta ki mühkem hakklarından gelüb bir vechile siyaset etdirem ki[146] gayrilerine[147] muceb-i ^{c}ibret ve[148] nasihat olalar ve benüm[149] memalik-i mahrusemden donanma[150] gemilerim ki bir yaña sefere gide Venedige müte^{c}allık yer[151] olmaya ve[152] Venedigüñ[153]

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133 Şakiroğlu omits 've'.

134 Şakiroğlu omits 've'.

135 Şakiroğlu: davar.

136 Gökbilgin and V3: eylese.

137 Şakiroğlu omits 've'.

138 Gökbilgin: bi-'zni; V3 is not clearly written, but it seems to be 'bi-'radeti'.

139 Şakiroğlu: ne mikdar.

140 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: olursa.

141 BN: f. 107v.

142 V2: ademi; BN; ademini.

143 Şakiroğlu: tutarlar.

144 Gokbilgin: dutarlarsa.

145 Gökbilgin, BN, Şakiroğlu, V2 and V3: asla.

146 V2: etdiremki; BN: itdüremki.

147 Gökbilgin and V3: gayrilere.

148 Gökbilgin omits 've'.

149 V2: benim.

150 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: tonanma.

151 Gökbilgin and V3 omit 'yer'.

152 Gökbilgin, BN, V3 and Şakiroğlu omit 've'.

153 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: Venedigiñ; BN: Venedik.

22) donanması[154] epsem[155] kendü[156] halinde dostluk üzere turub[157] hareket etmeyüb varub kimesneye[158] mucavenet etmeye benüm donanmalaruma[159] zarer ve ziyan yetişmesine[160] [161]sebeb olmaya ve gayri vilayetiñ harami parçalarına[162] ve kadırgalarına ve gayri
23) gemilere[163] tuş[164] geldügi[165] vakt Venedik kendü adalarına ve limanlarına ve hisarlarına sıgındırmaya ve turgurmayalar[166] ve azık vermeyeler [167] dutmaları[168] mümkin ise dutub ve nemıkdar[169] adem dutulur ise[170] kendüler mecal
24) vermeyüb ve aslen[171] meyl ve mühaba eylemeyüb heman cümlesiniñ mühkem hakklarından geline[172] ve[173] eger dutmaga[174] kadir olmazlar ise menc ve redd edeler ve hemçünan bendahı[175] adalaruma[176] ve limanlaruma gelen harami

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154 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: tonanması.

155 Şakiroğlu: isem.

156 BN: gine.

157 Gökbilgin, BN, Şakiroğlu, V2 and V3: durub.

158 Şakiroğlu: kimesne.

159 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: tonanmalaruma.

160 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: yetişdirmesine; BN: yetişdürmesine.

161 BN: f. 108r. At the bottom of f. 107v. the first word of f. 108r ('sebeb') is written.

162 Şakiroğlu, BN, V2 and V3: barçalarına.

163 Gökbilgin and V3: gemilerine.

164 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: duş.

165 Gökbilgin, BN and V3: geldükleri; V2: geldikleri; Şakiroğlu: geldüğü.

166 Gökbilgin and V3: turgurmaya; Şakiroğlu: durgurmiyalar.

167 Şakiroğlu adds here 've'.

168 V2: donanmaları.

169 Şakiroğlu: ne mikdar.

170 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: dutulursa; BN: dutılursa.

171 Şakiroğlu: asla.

172 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: geleler.

173 BN omits 've'.

174 Gökbilgin and V3: donatmaga.

175 Şakiroğlu: ben dahi.

176 Şakiroğlu: adalarıma.

25) kadırgaları ve barçaları ve kayıkları[177] sıgındırmayam ve durgurmayam[178] [179]ve azık vermeyem dutulması[180] mümkin ise mecal vermeyüb heman mühkem[181] hakklarından geleler[182] ve eger dutmak mümkin
26) olmaz ise[183] men[c] ve redd edem ve Venedikden bir kimesne gelüb benüm memalik-i mahrusemde bir kimesne ile satu bazar eylese[184] akçesini[185] temam [186] etmedin hile edüb[187] kaçub[188] gider ise[189] ol kimesne bulunur ise[190] ki benüm hükm-i hümayunumla varub[191]
27) taleb oluna sahıbına rızkı alıverile[192] ve benüm memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesne varub[193] Venedikde bir kimesne ile satu bazar edüb[194] akçesin [195] [196] temam eda etmedin kaçub[197] geldügi sabit olur ise[198] bendahı[199]

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177 BN first had 'kadırgaları ve barçaları ve kayıkları', but the scribe later 'corrected' this to 'kadırgalarını ve barçalarını ve kayıklarını'.

178 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: turgurmayam.

179 BN: f. 108v.

180 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: tutulması.

181 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3 have 'cümlesiniñ' and BN 'cümlesinüñ' instead of 'mühkem'.

182 Gökbilgin, BN, Şakiroğlu, V2 and V3: gelem.

183 Gökbilgin: olmazsa.

184 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: etse.

185 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: akçesin; Şakiroğlu: akçasın.

186 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3 add here 'eda'.

187 Gökbilgin and V3: edib.

188 Gökbilgin: kacub.

189 Gökbilgin and V3: gitse; Şakiroğlu: giderse.

190 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: bulunursa.

191 Gökbilgin and V3: varıb.

192 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: rızkını alıvereler.

193 Gökbilgin and V3: varıb.

194 Gökbilgin and V3: edib.

195 BN: f. 109r. At the bottom of f. 108v. the first word of f. 109r. ('dahı') is written.

196 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3 add here 'dahı'.

197 Gökbilgin: kacub.

198 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: olursa.

199 Şakiroğlu: ben dahi.

28) alıverem ve memalik-i mahrusemde[200] bir kimesne borc edinse ve yahud[201] bir vechile müttehem[202] olsa dahı gaybet[203] eylese anuñçün[204] bir günahsız dutulmaya Venedik beglerine anuñçün[205] töhmet olunmaya meger ki anlaruñ[206] memleketlerine[207] vara dura hemçünan
29) bendahı[208] eyle[209] edem ve baylos[210] kimi dilerler ise[211] göndereler dilerse[212] horendesiyle gelüb mahruse-i[213] Kostantiniyede[214] üç yıla karib dura temam olmadın gide diler ise[215] horendesiz gele maslahat ne ise göre üç yıl
30) temam [216]olmadın ol gide anuñ yerine bir dahı[217] ol vechile gele ve Venedikden bir esir kaçub[218] benüm memalik-i mahruseme gelse müsliman[219] olsa[220] sahıbı[221] gelicek[222] sahıbına biñ akçe verile sahıbı gelmeyüb

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200 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: mahrusemden; BN: mahruseme.

201 V2 and V3: yahuz.

202 BN: mühimm.

203 Şakiroğlu: gıybet.

204 V3: anuñiçün?

205 V2: anuñiçün.

206 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: anlarıñ.

207 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: memleketine.

208 Şakiroğlu: ben dahi.

209 Şakiroğlu: öyle.

210 Şakiroğlu: bailos.

211 Şakiroğlu: dilerlerse.

212 V2: dilerler ise.

213 Gökbilgin omits the 'hemze-izafet'.

214 V1, V2, V3, Gökbilgin and BN (vocalized): K[o]st[a]nt[i]n[i]ye; Şakiroğlu: Kostantaniyye.

215 Gökbilgin, BN, Şakiroğlu, V2 and V3: dilerse.

216 BN: f. 109v.

217 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3 have 'bir dahı' (V3: 'birdahı') after 'ol vechile'.

218 Gökbilgin: kaçsa.

219 BN: müsülman (vocalized).

220 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: olur ise; BN: oldı ise.

221 Şakiroğlu: sahibin.

222 Gökbilgin and V3: gelürse. V2: gelür ise; BN omits 'sahıbı gelicek'.

31) vekil gönderir ise[223] ol biñ akçe[224] vekiline verile [225] eger küfri[226] üzerine[227] durur ise[228] ol esir [c]aynı ile verile[229] hemçünan bizden kaçub anlara varır ise[230] anlardahı[231] eyle[232] edeler ve şöyleki[233] harami kayıkları deñizden ve gayri kimesneler
32) kurudan varub[234] Venedige tabi[c] olan[235] adaları[236] urub[237] ademlerin[238] esir edüb[239] getürüb Anatolıda[240] ve Rum Elinde[241] satalar [242]anuñ[243] gibi esir bulundukda geregi gibi

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223 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: gönderirse; BN: gönderse.

224 Gökbilgin: akce.

225 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3 add here 've'.

226 Şakiroğlu: küfrü; BN: küfr.

227 Gökbilgin: üzere.

228 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: dururs; BN: dursa.

229 V2 omits 'verile'.

230 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: varırsa; BN: varsa.

231 Gökbilgin and BN: anlar dahı.

232 Şakiroğlu: öyle.

233 V2: şöyle ki.

234 Gökbilgin and V3: varıb.

235 BN omits 'olan'.

236 BN: adalarını.

237 Gökbilgin and V3: vurub.

238 Gökbilgin: ademlerini.

239 Gökbilgin and V3: edib.

240 V1, V2, V3, Gökbilgin and BN: [A]natolı; Şakiroğlu: Anadolu.

241 V1, V2, V3 and Gökbilgin: Rum Eli; BN: Rum İli (vocalized); Şakiroğlu: Rum ili.

242 BN: f. 110r. At the bottom of f. 109v. the first word of f. 110r. ('anuñ') is written.

243 Gökbilgin and V3: anıñ.

33) dikkat[244] ve ihtimamla[245] teftiş olunub her kimiñ elinde bulunur ise[246] kimden aldugunı[247] bulduralar şöyleki[248] aldugı[249] kimesne levende müntehi olur ise[250] ve[251] ol levend dahı ele girer[252] ise[253] vakıᶜa esir Venedikiñ idügi[254]
34) zahir olur ise[255] ol levendiñ mühkem hakkından geline ve ol esir[256] eger müsliman[257] olmuş ise azad olub salıverile[258] ve[259] eger henüz küfri[260] üzerine[261] ise Venediklüye teslim oluna ve eger kimden alındugı[262]
35) maᶜlum olmaz ise ol esir bi-ᶜaynihi dergah-i muᶜallama getürilüb[263] [264] [265]südde-i seᶜadetimde ihtimam-i tamla teftiş oluna ol vakt dahı eger Venediklünüñ idügi[266] zahir olur ise[267] ve müsliman[268] olmuş ise

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244 BN: zat.

245 V2: ihtimam ile; BN: ihmamile.

246 Gökbilgin, BN, Şakiroğlu, V2 and V3: bulunursa.

247 Gökbilgin: aldugın; Şakiroğlu: alduğunu; BN: aldugını.

248 Şakiroğlu: şöyle ki.

249 Şakiroğlu: alduğu.

250 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: olursa.

251 BN omits 've'.

252 Şakiroğlu: girür; BN: girüb.

253 Gökbilgin and V3: girib; V2: girüb.

254 Şakiroğlu: idüğü.

255 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: olursa.

256 Gökbilgin has a 'hemze' on the 'elif' of 'esir'.

257 BN: müsülman (vocalized).

258 Gökbilgin: salıvere; Şakiroğlu: salıvirüle.

259 Şakiroğlu omits 've'.

260 Şakiroğlu: küfrü.

261 Gökbilgin and V3: üzere.

262 Şakiroğlu: alınduğu; BN: alındıgı.

263 Şakiroğlu: getürülüb.

264 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3 add here 'kaziyesi'.

265 BN: f. 110v.

266 Şakiroğlu: idüğü.

267 Gökbilgin and BN: olursa.

268 BN: müsülman.

36) azad ola[269] ve[270] eger henüz küfri[271] üzerine[272] ise girü baylosa[273] teslim oluna ve Venedik gemileri benüm memalik-i mahruseme gelürken [274] muhalif yel çıkub ol gemi[275] helak eder ise[276] nedeñlü adem
37) kurtulur ise[277] azad ola ve tavarları[278] kurtulur ise[279] sahıbına verile kapudan canibinden ve ademlerinden ve gayriden kat^{c}an[280] dahl olunmaya eger memalik-i mahrusemden ol tarafa bir[281] gemi varırken
38) [282]muhalif yel çıkub[283] ol gemi[284] helak eder ise[285] nedeñlü adem kurtulur ise[286] anlara dahl[287] olunmayub ve tavarları[288] kurtulur ise[289] sahıbına vereler aslen[290] niza^{c} etmeyeler ve memalik-i mahrusemden[291] şol
39) yerden ki kadırga ve kayıklar[292] ve gayri gemiler derya yüzüne çıkub gitdikleri vakt ki benüm kapudanım anlaruñla[293] bile olmaya mezbur

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269 Gökbilgin: olalar.

270 Gökbilgin omits 've'.

271 Şakiroğlu: küfrü.

272 Gökbilgin: üzere.

273 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: baylosuna; Şakiroğlu; bailosa; BN: baylosına.

274 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3 add here 'bir'.

275 V2 and BN: gemiyi.

276 Gökbilgin and V3: ederse.

277 Gökbilgin, Şakiroğlu and V3: kurtulursa.

278 Şakiroğlu: davaları.

279 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: kurtulursa.

280 Gökbilgin and V3: kat^{c}a.

281 Gökbilgin omits 'bir'.

282 BN: f. 111r. At the bottom of f. 110v. the first word of f. 111r. ('muhalif') is written.

283 V2 and BN: çıka.

284 BN: gemiyi.

285 Gökbilgin and V3: ederse; Şakiroğlu: iderse.

286 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: kurtulursa; BN: kurtılursa.

287 Şakiroğlu has 'sahib' instead of 'dahl'.

288 Şakiroğlu: davarları.

289 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: kurtulursa; BN: kurtılursa.

290 Gökbilgin and V3: kat^{c}a; V2 and BN: kat^{c}an; Şakiroğlu: asla.

291 BN: mahrusemdür.

292 Şakiroğlu: kayıkları.

293 Gökbilgin and V3: anlarıñla.

gemileriñ re'isleri mühkem kefiller vereler ki varub[294] Venedik memleketine zarer
40) ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler eger kefil vermedin çıkub[295] giderler ise[296] mücrim ve günahkar olalar mühkem hakklarından geleler eger kefil verdükdensoñra[297] [298]zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirler ise[299] ne zarer ve ziyan olur ise[300] kefilleri[301]
41) vereler hemçünan Venedik tarafından dahı derya yüzine[302] gemiler çıka Venedik kapudanı bile olmaya re'isleri mühkem kefiller[303] verdükdensoñra[304] memalik-i mahruseme[305] zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirler[306] ise ol olan[307]
42) zareri[308] ve ziyanı kefiller vereler eger kefilsiz gönderirler ise mücrim[309] ve günahkar olalar mühkem hakklarından geleler ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir harac-güzar ve yahud[310] bir ᶜamil kaçub[311] Venedige müteᶜallık Anabolıya[312] ve gayri kalᶜalara

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294 Gökbilgin and V3: varıb.

295 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3 omit 'çıkub'.

296 Gökbilgin: giderlerse.

297 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: verdükden soñra; Şakiroğlu: virdükden sonra.

298 BN: f. 111v.

299 Gökbilgin: yetişdirirlerse.

300 Gökbilgin: olusa; BN, V2 and V3: olursa.

301 Gökbilgin and V3: kefillerin.

302 Gökbilgin, Şakiroğlu, V2 and V3: yüzüne.

303 BN has 'kefile' instead of 'mühkem kefiller'.

304 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: verdükden soñra; Şakiroğlu: virdükden sonra.

305 V2: mahruse.

306 Şakiroğlu; yetişdirürler.

307 BN omits 'olan'.

308 Gökbilgin and V3: zarer.

309 BN: mücrum.

310 V2: yahuz.

311 Gökbilgin: kacub.

312 V1, V2, V3, Gökbilgin and BN (vocalized): [A]nabolı; Şakiroğlu: Anabolu.

43) ve adalara varub[313] anda temekkün[314] [315]etse kabul olunmaya[316] varan ademimize tecallül etmeyüb caynı ile[317] vereler şöyleki[318] bir kimesne adem öldürüb ve yahud[319] ugurluk edüb[320] rızk iletse Anabolıya[321] ve ya[322] gayri
44) adalara gitse ol kimesneyi[323] caynı ile vereler hemçünan bendahı eyle edem ve Venediklünüñ[324] biri biri[325] arasında[326] nizacları olsa baylosları[327] ayinlerince diñleye kimesne manic olmaya ve bir kimesneniñ baylosla[328] nizacı olsa
45) şöyleki[329] südde-i secadetim [330] İstanbulda[331] vakıc ola[332] kaziyesi[333] divan-i cali-şanımda istimac oluna ve lakin ben secadetle sefer-i hümayunda bulunacak olursam [334]anuñ gibi baylosla[335] vakıc olan münazeca mahruse-i İstanbul[336]

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313 Gökbilgin and V3: varıb.

314 Şakiroğlu: mütemekkin.

315 BN: f. 112r. At the bottom of f. 111v. the first word of f. 112r. ('etse') is written.

316 V2: olunmayu?

317 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: caynıyla.

318 Şakiroğlu: şöyle ki.

319 V2: yahuz.

320 Gokbilgin and V3: edib.

321 V1, V2, V3, Gökbilgin and BN (vocalized): [A]nabolı; Şakiroğlu: Anabolu.

322 Şakiroğlu omits 'ya'.

323 BN: kimesne'i.

324 Şakiroğlu: Venedikli'nün.

325 Şakiroğlu: birbiri.

326 Şakiroğlu has 'ile' instead of 'arasında'.

327 Şakiroğlu: bailosları.

328 Şakiroğlu: bailosla.

329 Şakiroğlu: şöyle ki; BN: böyleki.

330 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3 add here 'mahruse-i'.

331 V1, V2, V3 and Gökbilgin: [İ]st[a]nbul; BN: [İ]stanbul (vocalized); Şakiroğlu: İstanbul.

332 Şakiroğlu: olsa.

333 Gökbilgin: kaziyesin.

334 BN: f.112v.

335 Şakiroğlu: bailosla; V2: baylos ile.

336 V1 and V2: [İ]st[a]nbul; V3, Gökbilgin and BN (vocalized): [İ]stanbul; Şakiroğlu: İstanbul.

46) mühafezası içün konulan beg huzurunda kazisi maᶜrifetiyle istimaᶜ oluna ve[337] şöyleki[338] Venedik bazirganlarıyla[339] bir kimesneniñ nizaᶜları vakıᶜ olub [340] kaziye varalar Venediklünüñ kendü tercümanları
47) hazır olmayınca kazi olan daᶜvaların istimaᶜ eylemeye ve baylos[341] olanı aharıñ borcı[342] içün kimesne bunda dutub ödetmeye emma baylos[343] anı Venedik beglerine bildiricek[344] Venedik begleri
48) dahı eglemeyüb be-cidd[345] cevabın göndereler [346] Venedikden İnebahtıya[347] [348]ve Moraya[349] bir bazirgan ki gele gayri kimesne borcı[350] içün anı dutub[351] incitmeyeler ve Venediklü[352] bazirganı Brusaya[353] ve ya[354] gayri yere gitmek
49) istese baylosdan[355] icazet-name almayınca gitmeye eger temerrüd edüb[356] icazet-namesiz gitmek ister ise[357] subaşı baylosa[358] muᶜavenet edüb[359]

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337 Şakiroğlu omits 've'.

338 Şakiroğlu: şöyle ki.

339 V2: bazirganları ile.

340 BN adds here 'kazi olan'.

341 Şakiroğlu: bailos.

342 Şakiroğlu: borcu.

343 Şakiroğlu: bailos.

344 Şakiroğlu: bildirecek.

345 Şakiroğlu: mecidd.

346 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3 add here 've'.

347 V1, V2, V3 and Gökbilgin: İneb[a]htı (or [A]ynab[a]htı); BN: [A]ynab[a]htı (vocalized); Şakiroğlu: İnebahtı.

348 BN: f. 113r. At the bottom of f. 112v. the first words of f. 113r. ('ve Mora') are written.

349 V1, V2, V3, Gökbilgin and BN: Mora; Şakiroğlu: Mora.

350 Şakiroğlu: borcu.

351 BN: tutub.

352 V2 has 've Venediklü' written twice.

353 V1, V2, V3, Gökbilgin: Brusa; BN: Bursa (vocalized); Şakiroğlu; Burusa.

354 Gökbilgin, BN, Şakiroğlu, V2 and V3 omit 'ya'.

355 Şakiroğlu: bailosdan.

356 Gökbilgin and V3: edib.

357 Şakiroğlu: isterse.

358 Şakiroğlu: bailosa.

359 Gökbilgin and V3: edib.

koyuvermeye ve[360] Venedikden gelen gemilerüñ[361] neftileri memalik-i mahrusemde[362]
50) hizmete dutulmaya[363] nice geldiler ise[364] gemileriyle[365] eyle[366] gideler ve Venedikden gelüb temekkün eden kimesneler ergen olsun evli olsun[367] madamki[368] gelüb gidüb[369] rencberlik edüb[370] benüm memalik-i mahrusemde[371]
51) temekkün [372]edüb[373] yerleşmeye andan harac taleb olunmaya ve Venediklünüñ baᶜzı harac-güzar kafirleriyle[374] nizaᶜları olub daᶜva edicek Venediklü şahidler ikamet ederler imiş[375] husama olanlar[376] bu yer kafirlerinden
52) gerekdir deyü müzayeka verüb Venediklü kafirleri[377] şehadetin kabul etmezler imiş[378] eyle[379] olsa cümle-i[380] kefere millet-i vahıde oldugı[381] sebebden[382] buyurdum ki[383] anlarıñ eger kefere ile[384] münazeᶜası olub ikamet-i

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360 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3 omit 've'.

361 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: gemileriñ.

362 Gökbilgin: mahrusemden; BN: mahruseme.

363 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: tutulmaya.

364 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: geldiyse.

365 Gökbilgin and V3: gemileri ile.

366 Şakiroğlu and BN omit 'eyle'.

367 Gökbilgin, BN, V2 and V3: evlü olsun ergen olsun.

368 BN: ma damki.

369 Gökbilgin and V3: gidib.

370 Gökbilgin and V3: edib.

371 Gökbilgin: mahrusemden.

372 BN: f. 113v.

373 Gökbilgin and V3: edib.

374 Şakiroğlu: kafirler ile; BN: kafirleri.

375 Gökbilgin, BN and V3: ederlerimiş.

376 Şakiroğlu: olanlara.

377 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: kafirleriniñ; BN: kafirlerinüñ.

378 Gökbilgin and V3: etmezlerimiş; BN: itmişler imiş.

379 Şakiroğlu; öyle.

380 Gökbilgin and Şakiroğlu omit the hemze-izafet; BN: cümleyi.

381 Şakiroğlu: olduğu; BN: oldu ki.

382 BN: sebeb deyü.

383 Şakiroğlu and V2: buyurdumki; BN omits 'ki'.

384 BN: kefereile. Hereafter the scribe of BN starts to write every word wrongly (on purpose?) and, after a few words, continues with another text.

53) şahide ihtiyac olur ise[385] kefere tayifesinden kankı[386] sınıfdan[387] ki şahid ikamet edüb[388] şer[c]-i şerif-i nebevi muktezasınca isbat edeler kabul oluna ve Venediklüden bir bazirgan memalik-i
54) mahrusemde yolda ve izde ve ya köyde basılub rızkı alınsa ve yahud[389] basıldıkda bazirgan depelenmiş[390] olsa ya gayib olsa varisi ve yahud[391] vekili gelür ise[392] şer[c]ile[393] görülüb[394] hakk yerine vara
55) ve[395] Venediklüden bir bazirgan ve ya bir kimesne memalik-i mahmiyemde[396] gelüb ticaret üzere ve ya[397] kendü halinde yürürken ittifak vefat eylese anuñ metrukatına beytü 'l-malcı[398] karışmayub baylosuna[399] teslim oluna[400]
56) ve Magrib[401] müslimanlarından ve bunlardan[402] gayri sayir yerleriñ bazirganları ki benüm memalik-i mahrusemde[403] bey[c] ve şira eylemek[404] içün yaşdan ve kurudan gelmelü olıcak ki Venedik hükm etdügi[405] yerlere ugraya

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385 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: olursa.

386 Gökbilgin, Şakiroğlu: kangı.

387 V3: sınıfından.

388 Gökbilgin and V3: edib.

389 V2 and V3: yahuz.

390 Şakiroğlu: debelenmiş.

391 V2 and V3: yahuz.

392 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: gelürse.

393 Gökbilgin: şer[c]a.

394 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: görilüb.

395 Gökbilgin and V3 omit 've'.

396 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: mahmiyeme; Şakiroğlu: mahrusemde.

397 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3 omit 've ya'.

398 Gökbilgin: beytü 'l-mal.

399 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: bayloslarına; Şakiroğlu: bailosuna.

400 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: edeler.

401 V1, V2, V3 and Gökbilgin: M[a]gr[i]b; Şakiroğlu: Mağrib.

402 Şakiroğlu omits 'bunlardan'.

403 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3 omit 'benüm memalik-i mahrusemde'.

404 V3 is not written clearly.

405 Şakiroğlu: itdüğü.

57) ᶜadetleri ve kanunları üzere metaᶜlarınıñ rüsumların[406] aldıkdansoñra[407] maniᶜ olmayalar[408] zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler memalik-i mahruseme[409] nice dilerler ise[410] geleler [411] gideler ve Korfuzdan[412] yukaru bogazda yürüyen
58) gemiler Venedik olsun ve gayri olsun ki Venedige ticarete varalar ve geleler bizden kimesne anlara maniᶜ olmaya ve[413] zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeye meger ki yaramazlık etmiş olalar ve bir Venedik gemisi
59) ᶜadet [414] üzere İstanbulda[415] aranub gitdikdensoñra[416] ki kanun-i kadim üzere bir dahı[417] bogaz hisarları öñüne vardukda[418] aranub andansoñra[419] gitmege icazet verilür haliya kanun-i
60) kadime[420] muhalif Gelibolıda[421] dahı aranur imiş min baᶜd Gelibolıda[422] aranılmayub ᶜadet-i kadime[423] muktezasınca girü heman bogaz hisarları öñünde aranub gide ve Zañte[424] adası ki her yıl anuñçün[425]

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406 Gökbilgin: rüsumunı; V2 and V3: rüsumun.

407 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: aldıkdan soñra; Şakiroğlu: aldıkdan sonra.

408 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: olub.

409 Şakiroğlu: mahrusemde.

410 Gökbilgin: dilerlerse.

411 Şakiroğlu adds 've'.

412 V1, V2, V3 and Gökbilgin: Korfuz; Şakiroğlu: Körfozdan.

413 Gökbilgin and V3 omit 've'.

414 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3 add here 've kanun'.

415 V1, V2, V3, Gökbilgin: [İ]st[a]nbul; Şakiroğlu: İstanbul.

416 Gökbilgin and V3: gitdikden soñra; Şakiroğlu: gitdikden sonra.

417 V3: birdahı.

418 Şakiroğlu: vardıkda.

419 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: andan soñra; Şakiroğlu: andan sonra.

420 Gökbilgin: kadim.

421 V1, V2, V3 and Gökbilgin: G[e]libolı; Şakiroğlu: Gelibolu.

422 V1, V2, V3 and Gökbilgin: G[e]libolı; Şakiroğlu: Gelibolu.

423 Gökbilgin: kadim.

424 V1, V2 and V3: Zañte (or Zak[i]te); Gökbilgin: Zak[i]ne; Şakiroğlu: Zakine.

425 Şakiroğlu: anınçün; V3: anuñiçün?

61) hızane-i ᶜamireme beşyüz filori verilürdi[426] yine ol beşyüz filori[427] bi-temamihi[428] her yıl verüb hızane-i ᶜamireme teslim edeler ve Kıbrız[429] haracı[430] dahı her yıl şühur-i rumiyeden [431]
62) getürilüb[432] bi-kusur hızane-i ᶜamireme teslim oluna[433] katᶜan[434] tehallüf [435] olunmaya[436] bu zikr olunan ᶜahd üzere anlaruñla dostlugı[437] kabul eyleyüb eyman-i mugallaza ile yemin eylerim ki
63) yeri ve[438] gögi[439] yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün[440] ma-damki[441] anlar ᶜahdı ve dostlugı[442] riᶜayet edüb[443] ᶜahda muhalif nesne sadır olmaya benden dahı[444] hılaf-i ᶜahd nesne vakıᶜ[445] olmaya şöyle bileler

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426 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: verilüridi; Şakiroğlu: verilürdü.

427 Gökbilgin: filoriyi. V2: filoriyi?

428 Gökbilgin: 'be-temam' or 'bi-temam'.

429 V1: K[ı]briz; V2, V3 and Gökbilgin: K[ı]brıs; Şakiroğlu: Kıbrız.

430 Gökbilgin: haracını; V2: haracın; V3: 'haracın' or 'haracını'?

431 V1 and V3 have a small blank space here; Gökbilgin, V2 and V3 add here 'mahruse-i [İ]st[a]nbula'.

432 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: getürüb; Şakiroğlu: getirülüb.

433 Gokbilgin, V2 and V3 have 'teslim edeler' instead of 'bi-kusur hızane-i ᶜamireme teslim oluna'.

434 Gökbilgin and V3: katᶜa.

435 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3 add here 've tereddüd'.

436 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: eylemeyeler.

437 Gokbilgin and V3: anlarıñ dostlugunı; V2: anlarıñ dostlugı; Şakiroğlu: dostluğu.

438 Gökbilgin and V3 omit 've'.

439 Şakiroğlu: göğü.

440 Şakiroğlu: hakkiçün.

441 Şakiroğlu: madam ki.

442 Şakiroğlu: dostluğu.

443 Gokbilgin and V3: edib.

444 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: bendendahı.

445 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: sadır.

64) işbu ᶜahd-name bizüm ulu peygamberimiz[446] hazret-i resaletiñ ᶜaleyh efzalü 's-salevat ve ekmelü 't-tahiyat tarihinden tokuz yüz[447] yigirmi[448] sekizinci[449] yılıñ[450] muharrem ayınıñ on yedinci güni[451]
65) ve hazret-i ᶜİsanıñ ᶜaleyhi 's-selam tarihinden biñ beşyüz yigirmi birinci[452] yılıñ[453] zikevris[454] ayınıñ gurresinde[455] darü 's-saltaneti 'l-ᶜaliye[456] mahruse-i Kostantiniyede[457] yazıldı ki devam-i devletim
66) ve[458] izdiyad-i şevketim mü'eyyed[459] ve müstehkem ola [460]bi-'n-nebi ve alihi ve sahabihi ecmeᶜin et-tayyibin et-tecahürin.[461]

446 Gökbilgin and V3: peygamber.

447 Şakiroğlu: dokuzyüz.

448 Gökbilgin: yirmi.

449 Şakiroğlu: yirmisekizinci.

450 Gökbilgin: yılınıñ.

451 Şakiroğlu: onyedinci günü.

452 Şakiroğlu: binbeşyüzyirmibirinci.

453 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3: yılınıñ.

454 Gokbilgin and Şakiroğlu: dikevris.

455 Gökbilgin: gurresine; V2: gurresinden.

456 Şakiroğlu: 'l-'aliyyem.

457 V1, V2, V3 and Gökbilgin: K[o]st[a]nt[i]n[i]ye; Şakiroğlu: Kostantaniyye.

458 Gökbilgin omits 've'.

459 V2 is not written clearly.

460 Gökbilgin, V2 and V3 omit this last formula completely.

461 Şakiroğlu has 'et-tahirin' instead of 'et-tecahürin'.

The Draft of the Venetian Capitulation of 1540

The *ᶜahd-name* of 1540 exists in two versions: a draft, dated 28 July 1540 and the final treaty, dated 2 October 1540. The existence of the draft version was first noticed by Bonelli who has published parts of it.[1] However, the complete text has never been published before. The present version of the draft is based on the Ottoman original in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia and (partially) on Bonelli's version.[2]

The text

Hüve 'l-gani 'l-mugni 'l-muᶜti 'l-muᶜin[3]

Süleyman-şah bin Selim-şah han el-muzaffer da'ima[4]

1) Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 'l-menni 's-sübhani hükmi oldur ki
2) şimdikihalde ben ki sultanü 's-selatin bürhanü 'l-havakin tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin sultan Süleyman bin sultan Selim hanın Venedik dojı olan Petro Lando[5] dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahıma[6] Alovize Nando[7] nam yarar ademini[8] elçi taᶜyin edüb
3) yüce astanıma ᶜarz-i ᶜubudiyet ve ihlas eyleyüb ma beynde[9] dostluk ve müᶜahede olub yüce dergahımla sulh ve salah olunması babında istidᶜa-i ᶜinayet-i padişahi eyleyüb kendüleriñ taht-i tesarrüflerinde olan kalᶜalarından Morada[10] vakıᶜ olan

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1 Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 332-363 (= Bonelli).

2 ASV, Documenti Turchi 425 (= V).

3 Bonelli omits the text of the *invocatio*.

4 Bonelli omits the text of the *tugra.*

5 V and Bonelli: P[e]tro Lando. Pietro Lando, Doge of Venice, 19 january 1539 - 9 November 1545.

6 Bonelli has 'dergahıma' instead of 'dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahıma'.

7 V and Bonelli: [A]lovize Nando. Alvise Badoer, Venetian ambassador (oratore) to Süleyman I in 1539-1540.

8 Bonelli: ademisin.

9 Bonelli: canibide.

10 V and Bonelli: Mora.

4) Anabolı[11] ve Menavesaye[12] nam kalᶜalarını ᶜatebe-i ᶜalem-penahıma teslim eyleyüb ve hızane-i ᶜamirem canibine dahı üç yüz biñ sikke efrenci altun verüb eda etmek üzere kendülere ᶜahd-i hümayunum ihsan olunmak tezarruᶜ etdügi ecilden bendahı mezid-i merhamet-i
5) husrevanem zuhura getürüb tefsil olunacak şartlar üzere anlara müᶜahede-i şerifim ihsan eyleyüb bu nişan-i hümayun-i seᶜadet-makrunı verüb ᶜahd-i şerifim bunuñ üzerine caridir ve ᶜahd-i hümayunum mukarrer ve mü'ekked olması içün
6) yemin dahı ederim ki yeri ve gögi yaradan hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ birligi hakkıyçün ma dam ki anlar tarafından ᶜahda muhalif iş olmaya bendendahı müᶜahede-i şerifime mugayir vazᶜ sadır olmaya mezkur Venedik dojı olan
7) Petro Landoyla[13] ve sayir begleri ve ademleri ile ve anlara müteᶜallık olan yerleriñ ve vilayetleriñ halkı ile ve bu ᶜahd-i hümayunum sadır olmazdan evvel ma beynde[14] ᶜadavet oldugı zemanda anlar canibinden şemşir-i zafer-te'sirimle alınan Bosna[15] sancagı ucunda kalᶜa-i Urana[16] ve kalᶜa-i Nadin[17]
8) ve kalᶜa-i Kuçac[18] ve kalᶜa-i Rastine[19] ve kalᶜa-i Velin[20] ve kalᶜa-i Sene[21] ve kalᶜa-i Degirmenlerle[22] ve Yanya[23] sancagında vakıᶜ olan Parga[24] kalᶜasıyla ve bu kalᶜalara tabiᶜ olan köyleriñ cümle haddları ve sınurları ile[25] ve Ak Deñiz içinde vakıᶜ olan cezirelerinden

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11 V and Bonelli: [A]nabolı.

12 V and Bonelli: M[e]nav[e]saye.

13 V and Bonelli: P[e]tro Lando.

14 Bonelli has 'canibde' instead of 'ma beynde'.

15 V and Bonelli: Bosna.

16 V and Bonelli: Urana.

17 V and Bonelli: Nad[i]n.

18 V and Bonelli: Kuçac.

19 V and Bonelli: Rastine.

20 V and Bonelli: V[e]lin.

21 V and Bonelli: S[e]ne.

22 Bonelli: Degirmenler. V and Bonelli: D[e]g[i]rm[e]nl[e]r.

23 V and Bonelli: Yanya.

24 V and Bonelli: Parga.

25 Bonelli: il[i]b.

9) cezire-i İskados[26] kal[c]asıyla ve cezire-i İskiros[27] kal[c]asıyla ve cezire-i Andıra[28] iki pare kal[c]asıyla ve cezire-i Sifnos[29] ve cezire-i Serfoz[30] kal[c]aları ile ve cezire-i İstendin[31] kal[c]asıyla ve cezire-i Kerpe[32] iki pare kal[c]asıyla ve Nakşaya[33] tabi[c] olan
10) cezirelerinden Nakşa[34] üç pare kal[c]asıyla ve cezire-i Santorin[35] kal[c]asıyla ve cezire-i Miso[36] iki pare kal[c]asıyla ve cezire-i Andobade[37] kal[c]asıyla ve ma[c]mur olmayub hali olan harabeden[38] cezire-i Ekine[39] ve cezire-i Mürted[40] ve cezire-i Termiye[41] ve cezire-i Baro[42] ve cezire-i Mikene[43] ve cezire-i Papaslık[44] ve cezire-i Mırgır[45] ve cezire-i Mallu Kiliseden[46]
11) gayri kal[c]aları ve burgazlarıyla bi-'l-cümle Aya Markonuñ[47] sancagın götüren kimesneler ile yaşdan ve kurudan el-an tesarrüflerinde olan elleri ve günleri ile şimdiye degin ve şimdidensoñra kendü dindaşlarından alacak yerleri ile ba[c]de 'l-yevm aramızda dostluk ve barışıklık ola [48]ve memalik-i

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26 V and Bonelli: [İ]skados.

27 V and Bonelli: [İ]sk[i]ros.

28 V and Bonelli: [A]nd[ı]ra or [A]ndra.

29 V and Bonelli: S[i]fnos.

30 V and Bonelli: S[e]rfoz.

31 V and Bonelli: [İ]st[e]ndin.

32 V and Bonelli: K[e]rpe.

33 V and Bonelli: N[a]kşa.

34 V and Bonelli: N[a]kşa.

35 V and Bonelli: Santorin.

36 V and Bonelli: M[i]so.

37 V: [A]ndobade; Bonelli: [A]ndobare.

38 Bonelli: cezayirden.

39 V and Bonelli: Eg[i]ne.

40 V and Bonelli: M[ü]rt[e]d (without diacritical marks).

41 V: T[e]rm[i]ye or T[e]rm[i]ne (without diacritical marks); Bonelli omits 've cezire-i Termiye'.

42 V and Bonelli: Baro.

43 V: M[i]k[e]ne; Bonelli omits 've cezire-i Mikene'.

44 V: Papasl[ı]k (without diacritical marks); Bonelli: Babasl[ı]k.

45 V and Bonelli: Mırg[ı]r.

46 V and Bonelli: Mallu K[i]lise (with final 'elif' written as K[i]lisa).

47 V and Bonelli: [A]ya Marko.

48 From here to note 50 Bonelli gives no text.

12) mahrusemde olan sancakbeglerinden ve subaşılardan fi 'l-cümle benim huddam-i encüm-ihtişamımdan hiç ahad anlarıñ vilayetlerine ve kalᶜalarına ve burguzlarına ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler ve eger cenab-i celalet-me'abıma müteᶜallık olan beglerimden ve ᶜasakir-i zafer-me'sirimden[49]
13) bunlarıñ vilayetlerine ve kalᶜalarına ve burguzlarına ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan erişdirirlerse vakıᶜ olan zarer ve ziyan ferman-i şerifimle yerine konulub dahl edenleriñ hakklarından geleler[50] ve mezbur begleriñ bazirganlarından ve ademlerinden
14) benim memalik-i mahruseme[51] yaşdan ve kurudan kadırgaları ve kökeleri ile ve gayri küçük gemileri ile mahruse-i İstanbula[52] Galataya[53] ve gayri memalik-i mahrusemde olan iskelelere ve diyar-i ᶜArabistandan[54] İskenderiye-i Mısra[55] ve sayir iskelelere gelmek istediklerinde dostluk üzere gelüb
15) gidüb ve bogaza girmelü olduklarında ve sayir memalik-i mahrusemde olan kalᶜalarıñ iskelelerine ve limanlarına geldiklerinde gaflet ile gelüb girmeyüb mükaddema dizdarlarına tenebbüh[56] eyleyüb icazet ile gelüb girüb meger ki rüzgar şiddet üzere furtuna olub
16) ol iskeleden gayri konacak yeri olmayub zaruret ola ol vakt gelüb gireler emma girü tenebbüh[57] eyleyeler ve gitmelü olıcak icazetsüz gitmeyeler [58]ve memalik-i mahrusemden derya yüzüne giden gemiler ve kadırgalar ve donanmalar deñiz yüzünde Venedik gemilerine
17) buluşurlarsa birbirine dostluk edüb zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler anlar dahı ferman-i şerifimle derya yüzüne çıkmış donanmalarıma ve kadırgalarıma ve sayir derya yüzünde yürüyen gemilerime buluşduklarında yelkenlerini indirüb dostlukların ve itaᶜat üzere oldukların
18) bildüreler ve eger yelkenlerin indirüb dostlukların bildirdiklerinden soñra zarer ve ziyan edecek olurlarsa eger adem ve esbab ve tavar ziyanıdır yerine konula hemçünan anlarıñ gemileri ve kadırgaları ve donanmaları dahı

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49 Variation of 'me'asirimden'.

50 Bonelli gives no text from note 48 until here.

51 Bonelli: mahruse.

52 V and Bonelli: [İ]stanbul.

53 V and Bonelli: G[a]l[a]ta.

54 V and Bonelli: ᶜ[A]r[a]b[i]stan.

55 V and Bonelli: [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]ye-i M[ı]s[ı]r.

56 Bonelli: tenbih.

57 Bonelli: tenbih.

58 From here until 59 note Bonelli gives no text.

deñiz yüzünde benim gemilerime ve yahud rencber gemilerine buluşurlarsa dostluk üzere geçüb
19) gideler zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler ve eger adem ve esbab ve tavar ziyanıdır her ne ise yerine koyalar ve eger ittifak düşüb harami ve levend gemisine buluşub ol harami gemisi bunlar kasd edüb cenk eyleye ve bi-'radeti 'llah teᶜala harami gemisine bunlar galib
20) olalar hin-i müharebede helak olandan gayri nekadar adem esir olub diri dutarlarsa kendüler asla katl eylemeyüb bi-kusur sag ve salim südde-i seᶜadetime irsal eyleyeler ta ki mühkem hakklarından gelinüb bir vechile siyaset etdirem ki gayrilere muceb-i ᶜibret ola ve benim memalik-i mahrusemden
21) tonanma gemilerim ki bir tarafa sefere gide Venedige müteᶜallık olmaya[59] Venedik donanması dostluk üzere epsem[60] kendü halinde olub Korfuz[61] ceziresinden içerü kendüler ihtiyar etdikleri kalᶜalarında turub hareket etmeyüb kimesneye muᶜavenet etmeyeler
22) benimle düşmanlık üzere olan kimesneleriñ donanmalarına[62] aralarına getürmeyeler ve anlara yardım etmeyeler ve azık vermeyeler bi-'l-cümle benim tonanmalarıma zarer ve ziyan erişdirmege sebeb olmayalar [63]gayri vilayetiñ harami barçalarına ve kadırgalarına ve gayri
23) gemilerine duş geldikleri vakt Venedik kendü adalarına ve hisarlarına sıgındırmayalar ve turgurmayalar dutmak mümkin olursa mecal vermeyüb hakklarından geleler benim canibinden dahı olvechile ᶜamel olunub gayri vilayetleriñ harami parçalarını ve kadırgalarını
24) limanlarıma ve hisarlarıma sıgındırmayub dutmak mümkin olursa dutub mecal vermeyüb hakklarından geleler ve Venedikden bir kimesne gelüb benim memalik-i mahrusemde bir kimesne ile satu bazar edüb akçesin temam vermedin hile edüb kaçub giderse benim hükm-i şerifimle varub
25) taleb olundukda ol kimesne bulunursa rızkını sahıbına alıvereler ve benüm memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesne varub Venedikden bir kimesne ile satu bazar edüb akçesin temam eda etmedin kaçub gelürse sabit olan hakkı alıverile ve memalik-i

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59 From note 58 until here Bonelli gives no text.

60 Bonelli: ebsem.

61 V and Bonelli: Korfuz.

62 Bonelli corrects 'donanmalarına' to 'donanmalarını'.

63 From here until note 65 Bonelli gives no text.

26) mahrusemden bir kimesne borc edinse ve yahud bir vechile müttehem olub gaybet eylese anuñiçün bir günahsız dutulmaya Venedik beglerine anuñiçün töhmet olunmaya meger ki anlarıñ memleketine vara tura bizüm canibimizden dahı olvechile etdirile ve baylosı
27) kimi dilerlerse göndereler dilerlerse horendesiyle gelüb mahruse-i Kostantiniyede[64] üç yıla karib tura temam olmadın gideler diler ise horendesiz geleler maslahat ne ise göre üç yıl temam olmadın ol gide anuñ yerine olvechile bir dahı
28) gele ve Venedikden bir esir kaçub memalik-i mahruseme gelüb müsliman olursa sahıbı gelürse biñ akçe verile sahıbı gelmeyüb vekili gelürse vekiline vereler ve eger küfri üzerine ise ol esiri [c]aynı ile vereler memalik-i mahrusemden kaçub anlara varırsa eger müsliman ise
29) ve yahud mürtedd ise te[c]allül etmeyeler elbette [c]aynı ile kendüyi vereler ve eger küfri üzerine ise sahıbına ve yahud vekiline biñ akçe vereler[65] ve şöyle ki harami kayıkları deñizden ve gayri kimesneler kurudan varub Venedige tabi[c] olan
30) adaları urub ademlerin esir edüb götürüb Rum Elinde[66] ve Anatolıda[67] satalar anuñ gibi esirler bulundukda geregi gibi[68] dikkat ve ihtimamla teftiş olunub her kimiñ elinde bulunursa kimden aldugın bulduralar şöyle ki aldugı kimesne
31) levende müntehi olursa ve ol levend dahı ele girüb vakı[c]a esir Venediginiñ idügi zahir olursa ol levendiñ mühkem hakkından geline ol esir müsliman olmuş ise azad ola salıvereler ve eger henüz küfri üzerine ise Venediklüye teslim oluna ve eger kimden
32) alındugı ma[c]lum olmaz ise ol esir kendü dergah-i mu[c]allama getürdülüb kaziyesi südde-i se[c]adetimde teftiş oluna ol vakt dahı eger Venediklünüñ sabit olursa müsliman olmuş ise azad ola ve eger henüz küfri[69] üzerine ise baylosa teslim oluna [70]ve Venedik
33) gemileri memalik-i mahruseme gelürken muhalif yel çıkub ol gemi helak olursa nedeñlü adem kurtulursa azad ola ve tavarları kurtulursa sahıbına

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64 V: K[o]st[a]nt[i]n[i]ye.

65 From note 63 until here Bonelli gives no text.

66 V and Bonelli: Rum Eli.

67 V and Bonelli: [A]natolı.

68 Bonelli omits 'geregi gibi'.

69 Bonelli: küfr.

70 From here until note 74 Bonelli gives no text.

verile kapudan canibinden ve ademlerinden ve gayriden katᶜan dahl olunmaya ve eger memalik-i mahrusemden
34) ol tarafa bir gemi varır iken muhalif yel çıkub ol gemi helak olur ise ve nedeñlü adem kurtulursa anlara dahl olunmayub ve tavarları sahıbına verile katᶜa nizaᶜ olunmaya ve memalik-i mahrusemden şol yerlerden ki kadırgalar ve kayıklar ve gayri
35) gemiler derya yüzüne çıkub gitdikleri vakt ki benim kapudanım anlaruñla bile olmaya re'isleri mühkem kefillere verile ki varub Venedik memleketine zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler eger kefil vermedin giderlerse mücrim ve günahkar olalar mühkem hakklarından geline ve eger kefile verdikden soñra zarer ve ziyan
36) ederlerse ne zarer ve ziyan olursa kefiller vereler hemçünan Venedik tarafından dahı derya yüzüne gemileri çıka Venedik kapudanı bile olmaya re'isleri mühkem kefillere verdikden soñra memalik-i mahruseme zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirlerse ol olan
37) zareri ve ziyanı kefiller vereler ve eger kefilsiz giderlerse mücrim ve günahkar olalar mühkem hakklarından geleler ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir harac-güzar ve yahud bir ᶜamil kaçub Venedige müteᶜallık kalᶜalara ve adalara varub temekkün etse kabul olunmaya varan
38) ademlere teᶜallül etmeyüb ᶜaynı ile vereler şöyle ki adem öldürüb ve yahud ugurluk edüb rızk iletse ᶜaynı ile vereler[71] benim canibimde dahı olvechile etdirilüb ol tarafdan adem öldürüb ve yahud ugurluk edüb rızk götürürse ᶜaynı ile vereler ve Venediklünüñ
39) birbiri arasında nizaᶜları olsa baylosları ᶜadetlerince diñleye kimesne maniᶜ olmaya ve bir kimesneniñ baylosla nizaᶜı olsa şöyle ki südde-i seᶜadetim mahruse-i İstanbulda[72] vakıᶜ ola kaziyesi divan-i ᶜali-şanımda istimaᶜ oluna ve lakin ben seᶜadetle sefer-i hümayunda bulunacak olursam anuñ gibi
40) baylos ile vakıᶜ olan münazeᶜa mahruse-i İstanbul[73] mühafezasıyçün konulan beg huzurunda kazi maᶜrifeti ile istimaᶜ oluna ve şöyle ki Venedik bazirganları ile bir kimesneniñ nizaᶜları vakıᶜ olub kaziye varalar Venediklünüñ
41) kendü tercümanları hazır olmayınca kazi olan daᶜvaların istimaᶜ etmeye emma anlar dahı teᶜallül edüb tercüman hazır degildir deyü ᶜavk etmeyüb

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71 V: the text originally had something else. This was, however, replaced by '-ler'.

72 V: [İ]stanbul.

73 V: [İ]stanbul.

tercümanlarını ihzar eyleyüb[74] ve baylos olanı aharıñ borcı içün kimesne bunda[75] tutmayub ödetmeye emma baylos anı Venedik
42) beglerine bildiricek[76] Venedik begleri dahı eglemeyüb[77] be-cidd cevabın göndereler [78]ve Venedikden İnebahtıya[79] ve Moraya[80] ve sayir memalik-i mahruseme bir bazirganki gele gayri kimesne borcı içün anı tutub incitmeyeler ve Venediklü bazirgan Brusaya[81] ve gayri yere gitmek istese
43) baylosdan icazet-name almayınca gitmeyeler eger temerrüd edüb icazet-namesiz gitmek isterse subaşı baylosa mu^{c}avenet eyleyüb koyuvermeye ve Venedikden gelen gemileriñ neftileri memalik-i mahrusemde hizmete tutulmayub nice geldiyse gemileri ile gideler ve Venedikden
44) gelüb temekkün eden kimesneler evlü olsun ve ergen olsun ma dam ki gelüb gidüb rencberlik edüb benim memalik-i mahrusemde yerleşmeye bir yıl temam olmadın girü gide anlardan harac taleb olunmaya ve Venediklünüñ ba^{c}zı harac-güzar kafirler ile niza^{c}ları
45) olub da^{c}va edicek Venediklü şahidler ikamet ederlerimiş hasm olanlar bu yer kafirlerinden gerekdir deyü müzayeka verüb Venediklü kafirleriñ şehadetin kabul etmezlerimiş eyle olsa cümle kefere millet-i vahıde oldugı ecilden buyurdum ki
46) anlarıñ eger kefere ile münaze^{c}ası olub ikamet-i şahide ihtiyac olursa kefere tayifesinden kankı sınıfdan ki şahid ikamet edüb şer^{c}-i şerif-i nebevi muktezasınca isbat edeler kabul oluna ve Venediklü bir bazirgan memalik-i mahrusemde yolda ve izde ve köyde basılub
47) rızkı alınsa ve yahud basıldıkda bazirgan depelenmiş olsa ve ya gayib olsa varisi ve yahud vekili gelürse şer^{c}ile görülüb hakk yerine vara ve Venediklüden bir bazirgan ve ya bir kimesne memalik-i mahmiyeme gelüb ticaret üzere kendü halinde yürürken vefat
48) eylese anıñ metrukatına beytü 'l-malcı karışmayub bayloslarına teslim eyleyeler ve Magrib[82] müslimanlarından ve bunlardan gayri memalik

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74 From note 70 until here Bonelli gives no text.

75 Bonelli omits 'kimesne bunda'.

76 V: 'bildir[i]cek' or 'bildirecek'.

77 Bonelli: eglenmeyüb.

78 From here until note 87 Bonelli gives no text.

79 V: İneb[a]htı.

80 V: Mora.

81 V: Brusa.

82 V: M[a]gr[i]b.

bazirganları ki beyᶜ ve şira eylemek içün yaşdan ve kurudan gelmelü olıcak ki Venedik hükm etdügi yerlere ugraya ᶜadet
49) ve kanunları üzerine metaᶜlarınıñ rüsumun aldıkdan soñra maniᶜ olmayalar zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler memalik-i mahruseme nice dilerlerse geleler ve gideler ve Korfuzdan[83] yukaru bogazda yürüyen gemiler Venedik olsun ve gayri olsun ki
50) Venedige ticarete varalar ve geleler kimesne maniᶜ olmaya zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler meger ki yaramazlık etmiş olalar ve bir Venedik gemisi ᶜadet ve kanun üzere İstanbulda[84] aranub gitdikden soñra ki kanun-i kadim üzere bir dahı bogaz hisarları
51) öñüne vardukda aranub andan soñra gitmege icazet verile haliya kanun-i kadime muhalif Gelibolıda[85] dahı aranur imiş min baᶜd Gelibolıda[86] aranmayub ᶜadet-i kadime muktezasınca girü heman bogaz hisarları öñünde aranub
52) gide[87] ve Zañte[88] adası ki her yıl anuñiçün hızane-i ᶜamireme beşyüz filori verilür idi yine ol beşyüz filori bi-temamihi her yıl verüb hızane-i ᶜamireme teslim eyleyeler ve Kıbrus[89] haracı ki sal be-sal sekiz biñ filoridir her yıl
53) şühur-i rumiyeden [90] mahruse-i İstanbula[91] getürüb teslim eyleyeler [92]ve memalik-i mahrusemden ᶜArabistan[93] memleketleri feth olundugı zemandan berü olıgelen üslub-i kadim üzere iki pare mavnaları Mısır İskenderiyesine[94] ve iki kıtᶜa mavnaları
54) dahı mahruse-i Şama[95] tabiᶜ olan Trablus[96] iskelesine olıgeldügi üzere esbab ve metaᶜları ile mukarrer olan vaktlerinde ve mevsumlarında gelüb

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83 V: Korfuz.

84 V: [İ]stanbul.

85 V: G[e]libolı.

86 V: G[e]libolı.

87 From note 78 until here Bonelli gives no text.

88 V and Bonelli: Zañte or Zak[i]te.

89 V and Bonelli: K[ı]brus.

90 V: small blank space.

91 V and Bonelli: [İ]stanbul.

92 From here until note 97 Bonelli gives no text.

93 V: ᶜ[A]r[a]b[i]stan.

94 V: M[ı]s[ı]r [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]yesi.

95 V: Şam.

96 V: Tr[a]blus.

gideler vaktinden ve mevsumundan te'hir etmeyüb eger mavnalardır ve eger büyük ve küçük
55) gemilerdir şimdiye degin nevechile gelüb gidüb beyᶜ ve şira edegelmişler ise girü edüb olıgelene muhalif nizaᶜ etmeyeler[97] ol mavnalara ve ademlerine benim beglerbegilerimden ve beglerimden ve sayir kullarımdan bir ahad kanun-i kadime muhalif
56) zulm ve teᶜaddi etmeye emn ve[98] eman üzere olalar kimesne anları incitmeye işbu zikr olunan ᶜahd üzere dostlugı kabul eyleyüb yemin ederim ki yeri ve gögi yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün ma dam ki ᶜahdı ve dostlugı riᶜayet
57) edüb ᶜahda muhalif anlardan bir iş sadır olmaya bendendahı[99] hılaf-i ᶜahd bir iş olmaya bu ᶜahd-name-i hümayunum yazıldıkda Bosna[100] ucunda kalᶜa-i Kuçac[101] ve Zastine[102] ve Velin[103] ve Sene[104] ve Degirmenler[105] nam harabe kalᶜalar içün
58) Bosna[106] sancagı begi el-an ol kalᶜalar alınub zabtımızdadır deyü ᶜarz etdügi ecilden zikr olunmuş idi emma Venedik dojı canibinden dergah-i muᶜallama varid olan mezbur elçileri ol kalᶜalar alınmamışdır girü bizüm zabtımızda deyü takrir edüb tekrar teftişe muhtac olub
59) görülmek lazım oldugı ecilden ol kalᶜalar ahvali ᶜahd-i şerifimde mevkuf kılındı vakıᶜa mezbur elçi takrir etdügi üzere olursa anlar tarafına teslim oluna Bosna[107] sancagı begi ᶜarz etdügi gibi ise soñra emr-i şerifim nevechile sadır olursa aña göre ᶜamel oluna
60) işbu ᶜahd-name-i şerif bizüm ulu peygamberimiz hazret-i resaletiñ ᶜaleyh efzalü 's-salevat ve ekmelü 't-tahiyat tarihinden tokuz yüz kırk yedinci [108]

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97 From note 92 until here Bonelli gives no text.

98 Bonelli omits 've'.

99 In a footnote Bonelli writes that the text originally had 'bendahı'. This is, however, not the case.

100 V and Bonelli: Bosna.

101 V and Bonelli: Kuçac.

102 V and Bonelli: Zast[i]ne.

103 V and Bonelli: V[e]lin.

104 V and Bonelli: S[e]ne.

105 V and Bonelli: D[e]g[i]rm[e]nl[e]r.

106 V and Bonelli: Bosna.

107 V and Bonelli: Bosna.

108 Bonelli adds here 'yılıñ'.

rebiᶜu 'l-evveliniñ yigirmi üçünci güni mahruse-i Kostantiniyede[109] yazıldı ki devam-i devletim ve izdiyad-i şevketim ila yevmi 'l-kıyam mü'ebbed[110] ve müstehkem ola.

109 V and Bonelli: K[o]st[a]nt[i]n[i]ye.

110 Bonelli: mü'eyyed.

The Final Version of the Venetian Capitulation of 1540

The final treaty of 1540 is preserved in several forms. The first one of these is the original document kept in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia[1] which has been published by Gökbilgin.[2] A second original document is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris[3] and a third in the municipal library of Carpentras also in France. This last document has been published by Lehmann.[4] In addition to these original documents, the present text is also based on a copy from a *inşa*-book which contains texts of Ottoman documents mainly from the sixteenth century and is preserved in the British Library.[5]

The text

Hüve 'l-gani 'l-mugni 'l-muᶜti 'l-muᶜin[6]

Süleyman-şah bin Selim-şah han el-muzaffer da'ima[7]

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1 ASV, Documenti Turchi 426 (= V). V lines: 1).

2 Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 1, 121- 128 (= Gökbilgin).

3 Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément turc 727 (= BN). See Blochet, *op. cit.*, II, 44. BN lines: (1).

4 Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 1-9 (= Lehmann). F. Babinger, 'Zum türkisch-venedigischen Friedensvertrag vom Jahre 1540', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, VIII, 1919-1920, 651-652, first noticed the existence of this document in Carpentras. Although both documents are copies of the final treaty, there are some interesting differences between the Venetian document and the one in Carprentras. A. Bombaci, 'Ancora sul trattato turco-veneto del 2 ottobre 1540', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, XX, 1942-1943, 373-381, has pointed out that the changes and additions in the document from Venice were made afterwards. The Ottomans had discovered some mistakes (the names of some islands were missing) and wanted to correct these. The corrections were only made in the official document which was sent to Venice and in the version they kept themselves. The other already issued (working) copies, however, were not corrected. One of these copies is the document from Carpentras which was meant to be used by the Venetian bailo or a Venetian consul. Another indication that the Carpentras document should be considered a working copy is its relatively short length (200 cm.) in comparison with that of the official document from Venice (657.7 cm.).

5 British Library (British Museum, London), Department of Oriental Manuscripts, Official Letters Turkish, Brit. Mus., Oriental (Or.) 9503, f. 183r - f. 189r (= BL).

6 Gökbilgin and BL omit the *invocatio*; Lehmann gives no *invocatio*. The original top of BN is torn off. The paper was restored and some illuminations (flowers) in eighteenth century style (to cover the restoration) were added to the original *tugra* of Süleyman I. The original *invocatio*-formula was also lost, but replaced by a new, shorter formula: hüve 'l-muᶜin.

7 Gökbilgin: sultan Süleyman bin Selim han el-muzaffer da'ima; Lehmann gives no *tugra.* BL omits the *tugra* but has instead the following rubric at the beginning of the text on f. 183r. 'Venedik ᶜahd-namesi suretidir'.

1) (1) Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni[8] 'r-rebbani ve 'l-menni 's-sübhani[9] [10] hükmi oldur ki[11]
2) (2) şimdikihalde ben ki sultanü 's-selatin [12] bürhanü 'l-havakin tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin sultan Süleyman han bin[13] sultan Selim hanın
3) Venedik dojı olan Petro Lando[14] dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahıma Alovize Bador[15] nam yarar ve muᶜtemed[16] ademisin elçi taᶜyin edüb yüce astanıma ᶜarz-i ᶜubudiyet (3) ve ihlas eyleyüb ma beynde[17] dostluk
4) ve müᶜahede [18]olub yüce dergahımla sulh ve salah olunması[19] babında istidᶜa-i ᶜinayet-i padişahi eyleyüb kendüleriñ taht-i tesarrüflerinde olan kalᶜalardan[20] Morada[21] vakıᶜ olan
5) Anabolı[22] nam kalᶜayı kullesiyle ve Menavasiye[23] nam kalᶜayı[24] (4) bile toplarını[25] ve çañlarını ve sayir yarak [26] alatını aldıklarından soñra içinde olan begleri ve ᶜulufecileri [27] kande isterlerse[28] esbablarıyla[29]

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8 Gökbilgin has 'baᶜde 'l-ᶜavn' instead of 'nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni'.

9 Gökbilgin omits 've 'l-menni 's-sübhani'.

10 BN adds here 've 's-savni 's-samedani'.

11 BL omits the introductory formula.

12 BL adds here 've'.

13 BL: ibn.

14 V, Gökbilgin, Lehmann, BL and BN: P[e]tro Lando. Pietro Lando, Doge of Venice, 19 January 1539 - 9 November 1545.

15 V, BN and Lehmann: [A]lovize Bador; Gokbilgin: [A]lovir Bador (Luigi Badoero); BL: [A]lovire Bador. Alvise Badoer, Venetian ambassador ('oratore') to Süleyman I in 1539-1540.

16 BL omits 've muᶜtemed'; BN: muᶜteber? (added later in another handwriting).

17 Gökbilgin: canibeynde.

18 BL: f. 183v.

19 BL: olması.

20 BL: kalᶜamızdan.

21 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: Mora.

22 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: [A]nabolı.

23 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin and BN: M[e]navas[i]ye; BL: M[e]navasine.

24 BL: kalᶜa'ı.

25 Gökbilgin: topları.

26 BL adds here 've'.

27 BL adds here 'her'.

28 BL: isterse.

29 V: written as 'esb[ab]ları[yla]' (sic); BN: esbabları[yla]?; Gökbilgin has 'isteyenleri'.

6) gidüb ve reᶜayadan dahı ihtiyarıyla[30] kalmak isteyenler kalub[31] gitmek isteyenler[32] esbabları ile[33] gitmek üzere ᶜatebe-i ᶜalem-penahıma teslim eyleyüb
(5) ve hızane-i ᶜamirem canibine dahı üçyüz biñ
7) sikke efrenci altun vermek üzere ki[34] yüz biñ filorisin şimdi verüb ve yine bu yıl içinde elli biñ filorisin dahı verüb ve baki yüz elli biñ filorisin bu yıldan sonra iki yıl
8) (6) içinde eda etmek üzere ki her bir[35] yılda yetmiş beşer biñ filori olur kendülere ᶜahd-i[36] hümayunum ihsan olunmak tezarruᶜ etdügi[37] ecilden bendahı[38] mezid-i merhamet-i husrevanem zuhura getürüb
9) tefsil olunacak şartlar üzere anlara müᶜahede-i şerifim ihsan eyleyüb bu nişan-i hümayun-i (7) seᶜadet-makrunı verüb ᶜahd-i şerifim bunuñ üzerine caridir ve ᶜahd-i hümayunum mukarrer ve mü'ekked olması içün[39]
10) yemin dahı ederim ki yeri ve gögi yaradan hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ birligi hakkıyçün ma dam ki[40] anlar tarafından ᶜahda muhalif[41] (8) iş olmaya bendendahı[42] müᶜahede-i şerifime mugayir[43] vazᶜ sadır olmaya mezkur Venedik
11) dojı [44]olan Petro Landoyla[45] ve sayir begleri ve ademleri ile ve anlara müteᶜallık olan yerleriñ ve vilayetleriñ halkı ile ve bu ᶜahd-i şerifim[46] sadır olmazdan evvel ma beynde[47] ᶜadavet

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30 BL: ihtiyarları ile.

31 Lehmann and BN have 'kalanlar anda kalub' instead of 'kalmak isteyenler kalub'.

32 BN: isteyenleri.

33 BN: esbablarıyla (added later in another handwriting); Lehmann has 'esbabları ile gitmek isteyenleri' instead of 'gitmek isteyenler esbabları ile'.

34 BL omits 'ki'.

35 Lehmann and BN omit 'bir'.

36 Gökbilgin: ᶜarz-i; BL: ᶜahd-name-i.

37 BL: eyledikleri.

38 BL: ben dahı.

39 BL: olmasıyçün.

40 BL: ma damki.

41 BL: mugayir.

42 BL: benden dahı.

43 BL: muhalif.

44 BL: f. 184r. At the bottom of f. 183v the first word of f. 184r. ('olan') is written.

45 V, Gökbilgin, Lehmann, BN and BL: P[e]tro Lando.

46 BL: ᶜahd-name-i hümayunum.

47 Gökbilgin: canibeynde.

12) (9) oldugı[48] zemanda anlar canibinden şemşir-i zafer-te'sirim ile alınan Bosna[49] sancagı ucunda kal[c]a-i Urana[50] ve kal[c]a-i Nadin[51] ve bu kal[c]alara tabi[c] olan köyleriñ cümle haddları[52] ve sınurları ile ve feth olundugı
13) zemanda yerinde mevcud bulunan re[c]ayasıyla ve Ak (10) Deñiz içinde vakı[c] olan cezirelerden İskados[53] kal[c]asıyla ve cezire-i İskiros[54] kal[c]asıyla ve cezire-i Andıra[55] iki pare[56] kal[c]asıyla ve cezire-i Sifnos[57]
14) ve cezire-i Serfoz[58] kal[c]aları ile[59] ve cezire-i Kerpe[60] iki pare kal[c]asıyla ve Nakşaya[61] tabi[c] olan cezirelerden [62] Nakşa[63] üç pare kal[c]asıyla ve cezire-i Santorin[64] ve Sire[65] ve Tinoz[66] cezireleri kal[c]aları ile[67]

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48 Gökbilgin: oldıgı.

49 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: Bosna.

50 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: Urana.

51 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin and BN: Nadin; BK: Badus.

52 Gökbilgin: hududları.

53 V, Lehmann and BN: [İ]skados; Gökbilgin: [İ]skanos (the 'nun' without diacritical mark) or [İ]şkanoz; BL: [İ]skatos.

54 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: [İ]sk[i]ros.

55 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin and BN: [A]nd[ı]ra; BL: İdura.

56 BN: par[e].

57 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin and BN: S[i]fnos; BL: S[i]knos ('nun' without diacritical mark).

58 BN: S[e]rfoz; V, Gökbilgin: S[e]rkoz (sic for S[e]rfoz); Lehmann also corrects 'S[er]koz' to 'S[e]rfoz'; BL: S[e]rfoz ('fe' without diacritical mark).

59 BL: kal[c]alarıyla.

60 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: K[e]rpe.

61 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: N[a]kşa.

62 BN adds here 'Sire ve Ninoz [cezireleri kal[c]a]ları ile (11) ve cezire-i' (not clearly written).

63 V, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: N[a]kşa; Lehmann has corrected 'N[a]fşa' to 'N[a]kşa'.

64 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: Santorin.

65 V: Sire; Gökbilgin: Şire.

66 V: Tinoz (or Ninoz, Niyoz?); Gökbilgin: T[i]nor.

67 Lehmann, BN and BL omit 've Sire ve Tinoz cezireleri kal[c]aları ile'.

15) ve cezire-i Milo[68] iki kal^{c}asıyla ve cezire-i Andobade[69] kal^{c}asıyla ve [70] ma^{c}mur olmayub hali olan harabeden[71] cezire-i Egine[72] ve cezire-i Mürted[73] ve cezire-i Termine[74] ve cezire-i Baro[75] ve cezire-i Mikene[76] ve cezire-i Papaslık[77] ve İstanbuliye[78] dahı Kerke[79] cezireleri[80]
16) (12) ve cezire-i Koyunluca[81] ve cezire-i Mırgır[82] [83] ve cezire-i Mallu Kilise[84] ki bu zikr olunan[85] cümlesi hassa-i hümayunumuñ tesarrüfündedir bunlardan gayri anlara tabi^{c} olub el-an zabtlarında olan[86]

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68 V, Gökbilgin and BN: Milo. V: this name seems to have been corrected from 'Miso' (like in the draft) to 'Milo'. Lehmann has (as in the draft) M[i]so; BL: M[i]tilo.

69 V and BN: [A]ndobade; Gökbilgin: [A]ndoyade; Lehmann has corrected '[A]ndobade' to '[A]ndobare'; BL: İdoyare.

70 BL adds here 'Sire bir kal^{c}asıyla ve Tinoz kal^{c}asıyla' (the names without diacritical marks).

71 Lehmann: cezayirden.

72 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: Eg[i]ne.

73 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin and BN: M[ü]rt[e]d; BL: F[e]rir ('ye' without diacritical marks).

74 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin and BN: T[e]rm[i]ne; BL: T[e]rine (without diacritical marks).

75 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: Baro.

76 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL ('nun' without diacritical mark) and BN: M[i]k[e]ne.

77 V, Gökbilgin: Papasl[ı]k; Lehmann and BN: Babaslık; BL: Papasl[ı]k ('pe' without diacritical marks).

78 V, Gökbilgin and BN: [İ]stanbul[i]ye.

79 V, Gökbilgin and BN: K[e]rke.

80 Lehmann and BL omit 've İstanbuliye dahı Kerke cezireleri'.

81 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL (without diacritical marks) and BN: K[o]yunluca.

82 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin and BN: Mırg[ı]r; BL: M[ı]rg[ı]r (without diacritical marks).

83 BL adds here 've [İ]stanbul[i]ye'.

84 V, BL and BN: Mallu K[i]lise (with final elif written as K[i]lisa); Gökbilgin: Hallu K[i]lise (K[i]lisa) (explained by Gökbilgin as Çanlu Kilise); Lehmann: Mallu K[i]l[i]se (with final elif written as K[i]l[i]sa).

85 Lehmann: olunanlar; BN: olunanlar?; BL: olunanıñ.

86 Gökbilgin: ola.

17) Tine[87] nam cezire kal[c]asıyla ve sayir tesarrüflerinde olan kal[c]aları ile[88] ve burgazları ile[89] (13) bi-'l-cümle[90] Aya Markonuñ[91] sancagın götüren kimesneler ile[92] yaşdan ve kurudan el-an tesarrüflerinde olan
18) elleri ve günleri[93] ile[94] şimdiye degin ve şimdiden soñra [95]kendü dindaşlarından alacak yerleri ile[96] ba[c]de 'l-yevm aramızda dostluk ve barışıklık ola ve Yanya[97] sancagı[98] (14) sınurunda vakı[c] olan
19) Parga[99] nam[100] mevzi[c] kullesiyle[101] ve varoşuyla ve haddı[102] ve sınurı ile ki emrimle[103] sabıkda yakılub yıkılmış idi haliya mezid-i [c]inayetimden yine anlar canibinden tesarrüf olunmasın
20) emr eyledim[104] yine anlarıñ ola emma mezbur Parga[105] ve aña tabi[c] olan (15) köylerde vakı[c] olan ademleri deñizden ve kurudan benim memalik-i mahruseme zarer ve ziyan ederlerse[106] Venedik begleri
21) ol zarer ve ziyanı[107] tazmin etdüreler ve edenleriñ[108] mühkem[109] hakklarından geleler ve memalik-i mahrusemde olan sancakbeglerinden (16)

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87 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin and BN: T[i]ne; BL: L[-]nu (without diacritical marks).

88 Gökbilgin and Lehmann omit 'ile'; BL: kal[c]alarıyla.

89 BL: burgazlarıyla.

90 BL: cümle.

91 V, Gökbilgin, Lehmann, BN and BL: [A]ya Marko.

92 BL: kimesnelerile.

93 Lehmann has 'corrected' 'günleri' into 'köyleri'; BL: köyleri.

94 BL omits 'ile'.

95 BL: f. 184v.

96 BL: yerleriyle.

97 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: Yanya.

98 Lehmann: sancagınıñ.

99 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin and BN: Parga; BL: Barga.

100 Written as 'na-' with the 'mim' lacking.

101 BL: kal[c]asıyla.

102 BL: hududı.

103 Lehmann and BL: emri(y)le.

104 BL: eyledüm.

105 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: Parga.

106 BL: ederler ise.

107 BL has 'zareri' instead of 'zarer ve ziyanı'.

108 BL: [e]denleriñ.

109 BN: added later in another handwriting.

ve subaşılarından[110] [111] bi-'l-cümle benim huddam-i encüm-ihtişamımdan hiç ahad anlarıñ vilayetlerine
22) ve kal[c]alarına ve burguzlarına ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler ve eger cenab-i celalet-me'abıma müte[c]allık olan beglerden[112] ve [c]asakir-i zafer-me'sirimden[113] (17) bunlarıñ vilayetlerine ve kal[c]alarına ve burguzlarına[114] ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan
23) erişdirirlerse[115] vakı[c] olan[116] zarer ve ziyan ferman-i şerifimle yerine konulub dahl edenleriñ hakklarından geleler ve mezbur begleriñ bazirganları[117] (18) ve ademlerinden benim memalik-i mahruseme yaşdan
24) ve kurudan kadırgaları ve kökeleri ile[118] ve gayri küçük gemileri ile mahruse-i İstanbula[119] ve Galataya[120] ve diyar-i [c]Arabistandan[121] İskenderiye-i [122] Mısra[123] ve Gelibolıdan[124] aşgada[125] olan bogaza ve İnebahtı[126]
25) ve Preveze[127] bogazlarına ve Moton[128] (19) limanına gaflet ile gelüb girmeyüb mukaddema dizdarlarına tenebbüh[129] eyleyüb icazet ile gelüb girüb meger ki rüzgar şiddet üzere furtuna olub

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110 BL: subaşılardan.

111 BL adds here 've'.

112 Lehmann, BN and BL: beglerimden.

113 V: variation of 'me'asirimden'; Gökbilgin and BN: me'asirimden.

114 BL: burgazlarına.

115 BL: erişdirirler ise.

116 Gökbilgin: lolan (sic for 'olan').

117 Lehmann, BN and BL: bazirganlarından.

118 BN omits 'ile'.

119 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: [İ]stanbul.

120 Gökbilgin has 'Galata' instead of 'Galataya'. V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: G[a]l[a]ta.

121 BL has '[c]Arabistanda' instead of '[c]Arabistandan'. V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: [c][A]r[a]b[i]stan.

122 Lehmann adds here 've'.

123 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]ye-i M[ı]s[ı]r.

124 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: G[e]libolı.

125 Gökbilgin: aşga.

126 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: İneb[a]htı.

127 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: Pr[e]v[e]ze.

128 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: M[o]ton.

129 Gökbilgin and BL: tenbih.

26) ve yahud anları harami [130]ve levend kayıkları kovub ol iskeleden gayri konacak yeri[131] (20) olmayub zaruret ola ol vakt gelüb gireler eger mümkin ise tenebbüh[132] eyleyeler ve gitmelü olıcak
27) icazetsüz gitmeyeler ve icazetsüz gidüb muhalefet edenleriñ hakklarından geline anuñiçün[133] Venedik beglerine töhmet olunmaya (21) emma bu husus altı aydan soñra ola ki Venedik
28) gemileri mütenebbih olub bu sebeble [c]ahd-i şerifime muhalif iş olmalu olmaya ve memalik-i mahrusemden derya yüzüne giden gemiler ve kadırgalar ve donanmalar deñiz yüzünde Venedik
29) gemilerine buluşurlarsa[134] birbirine dostluk (22) edüb zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler [135] anlar dahı ferman-i şerifimle derya yüzüne[136] çıkmış donanmalarıma[137] ve kadırgalarıma ve sayir derya yüzünde yürüyen gemilerime buluşduklarında yelkenlerin[138]
30) indirüb dostlukların ve ita[c]at[139] üzere oldukların bildüreler ve eger yelkenlerin indirüb (23) dostlukların bildirdikden soñra zarer ve ziyan edecek olurlarsa[140] eger adem ve esbab
31) ve tavar ziyanıdır yerine konula hemçünan anlarıñ gemileri ve kadırgaları ve donanmaları dahı deñiz yüzünde benim gemilerime ve yahud rencber[141] gemilerine buluşurlarsa[142] dostluk üzere geçüb

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130 BL: f. 185r. At the bottom of f. 184v. the first words of f. 185r. ('ve levend') are written.

131 BL: yer.

132 Gökbilgin and BL: tenbih.

133 Lehmann: anuñçün; BL: anıñ içün.

134 BL: buluşurlar ise.

135 BL adds here 've'.

136 BL: yüzine.

137 BL: donanmalara.

138 BN: yelkenlerini.

139 BL: ta[c]at.

140 BL: olurlar ise.

141 BL: rencper.

142 BL: buluşurlar ise.

32) (24) gidüb zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler [143] eger adem ve eger[144] esbab ve[145] tavar ziyanıdır her ne ise yerine koyalar ve eger ittifak düşüb harami ve levend gemisine buluşub ol harami gemisi bunlara kasd edüb
33) cenk eyleye ve bi-'radeti 'llah[146] te^{c}ala [147] (25) harami gemisine bunlar galib ola[148] hin-i müharebede helak olandan gayri nekadar[149] adem esir olub diri dutarlarsa[150] kendüler asla katl eylemeyüb
34) bi-kusur sag [151]ve salim südde-i se^{c}adetime irsal eyleyeler ta ki mühkem hakklarından (26) gelinüb bir vechile siyaset etdirem[152] ki gayrilere muceb-i ^{c}ibret ola ve benim memalik-i mahrusemden[153]
35) tonanma[154] gemilerim ki bir tarafa sefere gide Venedige müte^{c}allık olmaya Venedik donanması epsem[155] kendü halinde dostluk üzere durub (27) hareket etmeyüb varub kimesneye mu^{c}avenet eylemeye ve benim tonanmalarıma[156] zarer ve ziyan
36) erişdirmesine sebeb olmaya benim ile düşmanlık üzere olan kimesneleriñ tonanmalarını[157] aralarına getürmeyeler[158] ve anlara yardım etmeyeler ve azık (28) vermeyeler eger donanmalarından
37) her kim bu emrime muhalefet ederse eyledügi yerde Venedik begleri mühkem hakkından geleler sayirlerine muceb-i ^{c}ibret ola ve gayri vilayetiñ harami barçalarına ve kadırgalarına ve gayri

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143 Lehmann and BN adds here 've'.

144 BL omits 'eger'.

145 Gökbilgin omits 've'.

146 Gökbilgin: bareke 'llahü.

147 Lehmann and BN adds here 'ol'.

148 BL: olalar.

149 BL: nemıkdar.

150 Gökbilgin: düşerlerse; BL: düser ise; Lehmann: dönerlerse.

151 BL: f. 185v.

152 BL: etdürem.

153 BL: mahrusemde.

154 Lehmann and BN: donanma.

155 Gökbilgin: ers[e]m.

156 BL has 'donanmalaruma' instead of 'benim tonanmalarıma'.

157 BL: gemileri; BN: tonanmaları.

158 Lehmann: getürmeyüb; BL: girmeyeler.

38) gemilerine duş geldikleri[159] vakt (29) Venedik[160] kendü[161] adalarına ve limanlarına ve hisarlarına sıgındırmayalar ve turgurmayalar dutmak mümkin olursa dutub mecal vermeyüb hakklarından geleler benim canibinden
39) dahı olvechile ᶜamel olunub gayri vilayetiñ harami barçalarını[162] ve kadırgalarını[163] (30) limanlarıma ve hisarlarıma sıgındırmayub dutmak mümkin olursa tutub[164] mecal vermeyüb hakklarından geline[165] ve[166] Venedikden
40) bir kimesne gelüb benim memalik-i mahrusemde bir[167] kimesne[168] ile satu ve[169] bazar edüb akçesin temam[170] vermedin hile edüb kaçub giderse benim hükm-i şerifimle varub (31) taleb olundukda ol kimesne bulunursa rızkını[171]
41) sahıbına alıvereler ve benim memalik-i mahrusemden bir[172] kimesne varub Venedikden bir kimesne ile satu bazar edüb akçesin temam eda etmedin kaçub gelürse sabit olan [173]hakkı alıverile ve memalik-i
42) (32) mahrusemden bir kimesne borc edinse ve yahud bir vechile müttehem olub gaybet eylese[174] anuñiçün[175] bir günahsız[176] kimesne dutulmaya [177] Venedik beglerine anuñiçün[178] töhmet olunmaya meger ki anlarıñ

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159 BL: geldükleri.

160 BL: Venedige.

161 BL has 've' instead of 'kendü'.

162 Gökbilgin: parçalarını.

163 BL: kadırgaların.

164 Lehmann: dutub.

165 Lehmann, BN and BL: geleler.

166 BL omits 've'.

167 Lehmann, BN and BL omit 'bir'.

168 BL: kimesneler.

169 Lehmann and BL omit 've'.

170 V: later added with other ink.

171 Lehmann: rızkın.

172 Lehmann omits 'bir'.

173 BL: f. 186r. At the bottom of f. 185v. the first word of f. 186r. ('hakkı') is written.

174 BN: eyleye.

175 Gökbilgin: anuñçün; BL: anuñ içün.

176 BL omits 'bir günahsız'.

177 BL adds here 've'.

178 Gökbilgin: anuñçün; BL: anıniçün.

43) memleketine varub[179] tura bizüm[180] canibimizden dahı olvechile etdirile[181] ve baylosı[182] (33) kimi dilerlerse[183] göndereler dilerse[184] horendesi ile[185] gelüb mahmiye-i[186] Kostantiniyede[187] üç yıla karib
44) tura temam olmadın gide dilerse horendesiz gele maslahat ne ise göre üç yıl temam olmadın ol gide anuñ[188] yerine olvechile bir dahı (34) gele ve Venedikden bir esir kaçub
45) memalik-i mahruseme gelüb müsliman olursa sahıbı gelürse biñ akçe verile[189] sahıbı gelmeyüb vekili gelürse vekiline vereler ve eger küfri üzerine ise ol esiri ᶜaynı ile vereler memalik-i
46) mahrusemden kaçub (35) anlara varırsa eger müsliman ise ve yahud mürtedd oldıysa[190] teᶜallül etmeyeler elbette[191] ᶜaynı ile kendüyi vereler ve eger küfri üzerine ise sahıbına ve yahud[192] vekiline biñ
47) akçe vereler ve şöyle ki harami kayıkları deñizden (36) ve gayri kimesneler kurudan varub Venedige tabiᶜ olan adaları urub ademlerin[193] esir edüb götürüb Rum Elinde[194] ve Anatolıda[195] satalar [196] anuñ[197] gibi

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179 BL: vara.

180 Gökbilgin and BL: bizim.

181 BL: etdürile.

182 Gökbilgin and BL: baylos.

183 BL: dilerler ise.

184 Lehmann and BN: dilerlerse; BL: dilerler ise.

185 BL: horendesiyle.

186 Lehmann, BN and BL: mahruse-i.

187 V, Lehmann, BL and BN: K[o]st[a]nt[i]n[i]ye. Gökbilgin: K[o]st[a]nt[i]ye.

188 BL: anıñ.

189 BL omits 'biñ akçe verile'.

190 Gökbilgin: oldıgına; BL and BN: oldı ise.

191 Gökbilgin and Lehmann omit 'elbette'.

192 Gökbilgin has 'ya' instead of 'yahud'.

193 BL: ademlerini.

194 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: Rum Eli.

195 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: [A]natolı.

196 Lehmann adds here 've'.

197 BL: anıñ.

48) esir[198] bulundukda geregi gibi[199] dikkat ve ihtimamla[200] teftiş olunub (37) her kimiñ elinde bulunursa kimden aldugın bulduralar şöyle ki aldugı kimesne levende müntehi olursa ve ol
49) levend dahı[201] ele girüb vakıᶜa esir Venediginiñ idügi zahir olursa ol levendiñ[202] mühkem hakkından (38) geline ol esir müsliman olmuş ise azad olub[203] salıvereler[204] ve eger henüz küfri üzerine ise
50) Venediklü[205] teslim oluna [206]ve eger kimden alındugı maᶜlum olmaz ise[207] ol esir kendü dergah-i muᶜallama getürdülüb[208] kaziyesi südde-i seᶜadetimde teftiş oluna (39) ol vakt dahı [209] Venediklünüñ idügi sabit olursa müsliman
51) olmuş ise azad ola ve eger henüz küfri üzerine ise baylosa teslim oluna ve Venedik [210] gemileri memalik-i mahruseme[211] gelürken muhalif yel (40) çıkub ol gemi helak olursa
52) ve[212] nedeñlü adem kurtulursa azad ola[213] ve tavarları kurtulursa sahıbına verile kapudan canibinden[214] ve ademlerinden ve gayriden katᶜa dahl olunmaya ve eger memalik-i mahrusemden

198 Lehmann and BL: esirler.

199 BL omits 'geregi gibi'.

200 BL: ihtimam ile.

201 V: 'd-' was added later with other ink.

202 V and BN: '-iñ' was added later.

203 Lehmann and BN: ola.

204 BN: added later in another handwriting. BL: salıverile.

205 Lehmann, BN and BL have the correct form 'Venediklüye'.

206 BL: f. 186v.

207 BL: olmazsa.

208 Lehmann: getürülüb; BL: getürdilüb.

209 BL and BN add here 'eger'.

210 Gökbilgin adds here 'ile'.

211 BL: mahrusemden.

212 Lehmann and BL omit 've'.

213 BL: olalar.

214 BL: caniblerinden.

53) ol tarafa bir gemi (41) varırken muhalif yel çıka[215] ol gemi helak olursa ve nedeñlü adem kurtulursa anlara dahl olunmayub ve tavarları[216] sahıbına verile[217] kat^{c}a niza^{c}[218] olunmaya ve memalik-i mahrusemden
54) şol yerlerden ki kadırga ve kayıklar[219] ve gayri gemiler derya yüzüne[220] çıkub (42) gitdikleri vakt ki benim[221] kapudanım anlarıñla[222] bile[223] olmaya ol gemileriñ re'isleri mühkem kefillere[224] verile ki varub Venedik memleketine zarer ve ziyan
55) erişdirmeyeler[225] eger kefil vermedin giderlerse[226] mücrim[227] ve[228] günahkar olalar mühkem hakklarından geline (43) ve eger kefile[229] verildikden[230] soñra[231] zarer ve ziyan ederlerse[232] ne zarer ve ziyan olursa kefilleri
56) vereler hemçünan dahı[233] Venedik tarafından [234] derya yüzüne[235] gemileri[236] çıka Venedik kapudanı bile olmaya re'isleri mühkem kefiller

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215 Lehmann: çıkub.

216 BL has 've tavarları' written twice: at the end of line 11 and the beginning of line 12.

217 Lehmann: vereler.

218 BL: niz[a^{c}].

219 BN: kayıkları.

220 Lehmann has 'deryaya' instead of 'derya yüzüne'; BL: yüzine.

221 Lehmann and BN: benüm.

222 BN: anlaruñla.

223 Gökbilgin: yile (sic for 'bile').

224 BL: kefiller.

225 Lehmann: erişdürmeyeler.

226 BL: giderler ise.

227 BL: mühkem.

228 Gökbilgin and BL omit 've'.

229 The text originally had 'kefil', the final '-l' was eliminated and replaced bij '-le'; Gökbilgin has 'kefili'; Lehmann, BN and BL: kefil.

230 Lehmann, BN and BL: verdikden.

231 Gökbilgin: verildikdensoñra.

232 BL: ederler ise.

233 BL and BN omit 'dahı'.

234 Lehmann, BN and BL add here 'dahı'.

235 BL: yüzine.

236 BL: gemiler.

verdikdensoñra[237] memalik-i (44) mahruseme zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirlerse[238] ol
57) olan zarer[239] ve ziyanı kefilleri vereler [240] eger kefilsiz giderlerse[241] mücrim ve günahkar olalar mühkem hakklarından geleler ve memalik-i mahrusemden [242]bir harac-güzar ve yahud bir ᶜamil kaçub
58) Venedige müteᶜallık kalᶜalara ve adalara[243] varub (45) temekkün etse kabul olunmaya varan ademlere teᶜallül etmeyüb ᶜaynı ile vereler ve şöyle ki adem öldürüb
59) ve yahud ugurlık[244] edüb rızk iletse[245] ᶜaynı ile vereler[246] benim canibimden dahı olvechile etdirilüb[247] ol tarafdan (46) adem öldürüb ve yahud ugurlık[248] edüb rızk iletse[249] ᶜaynı ile vereler[250] ve Venediklünüñ
60) birbiri arasında nizaᶜları olsa baylosları ᶜadetlerince diñleye kimesne maniᶜ olmaya ve bir kimesneniñ baylosla[251] nizaᶜı olsa şöyle ki südde-i seᶜadetim mahruse-i İstanbulda[252] (47) vakıᶜ ola[253] kaziyesi

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237 Lehmann has 'kefillere verildikden soñra' instead of 'kefiller verdikdensoñra'; BL has 'kefile verdikden soñra'; BN: kefiller verdikden soñra.

238 BL: erişdirirler ise.

239 BN: zareri.

240 BL adds here 've'.

241 BL: giderler ise.

242 BL: f. 187r. At the bottom of f. 186v. the first words of f. 187r. ('bir harac') are written.

243 BL: atalara.

244 Lehmann and BN: ugurluk.

245 Lehmann and BN: iletseler.

246 V originally had something different. The original text was removed and replaced by '-ler'. However, a small part of the original text remains.

247 Lehmann: etdirüb.

248 Lehmann and BN: ugurluk.

249 V: or 'alınsa'? Lehmann: götürseler; BN: götürlerse.

250 BL omits 'benim canibimden dahı olvechile etdirilüb ol tarafdan adem öldürüb ve yahud ugurlık edüb rızk iletse ᶜaynı ile vereler'.

251 Lehmann: baylos ile.

252 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: [İ]stanbul.

253 Lehmann has 'ola vakıᶜ olan' instead of 'vakıᶜ ola'; BN: vakıᶜ olan.

61) divan-i ᶜali-şanımda[254] istimaᶜ oluna ve lakin ben seᶜadetle[255] sefer-i hümayunda bulunacak[256] olursam anuñ gibi baylos ile[257] vakıᶜ olan münazeᶜa mahruse-i[258] İstanbul[259] mühafezasıyçün konulan beg huzurunda[260]
62) kazisi (48) maᶜrifeti ile[261] istimaᶜ oluna ve şöyle ki Venedik bazirganları ile bir kimesneniñ nizaᶜları vakıᶜ olub kaziye varalar Venediklünüñ kendü tercümanları[262]
63) hazır olmayınca kazi olan daᶜvaların[263] istimaᶜ etmeye emma anlar dahı teᶜallül (49) edüb tercüman hazır degildir deyü ᶜavk etmeyüb tercümanlarını[264] ihzar eyleyeler[265] eger tercümanları
64) mühimm maslahatda olursa gelince tevakkuf oluna ve baylos olanı aharıñ borcı içün kimesne bunda[266] tutmayub[267] ödetmeye[268] emma baylos anı Venedik (50) beglerine bildiricek[269] Venedik begleri[270]

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254 Gökbilgin: ᶜali-şanıma.

255 BN: seᶜadet ile; BL has 'südde-i seᶜadetimle' instead of 'ben seᶜadetle'.

256 Lehmann: bulunaçak; BL; olıcak.

257 BL: baylosla.

258 Lehmann: mahmiye-i.

259 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: [İ]stanbul.

260 V: 'konulan beg huzurunda' was added later with other ink.

261 Gökbilgin and BL: maᶜrifetiyle.

262 BL: tercümanlar.

263 BL: daᶜvayı.

264 BL: tercümanların.

265 V originally had 'eyleyüb', however, this was changed into 'eyleyeler'; Lehmann and BN: eyleyüb.

266 BL has 'bunda' before 'kimesne'.

267 Lehmann, BN and BL: dutmayub.

268 Gökbilgin: övetmeye (sic for 'ödetmeye').

269 All: 'bildir[i]cek' or 'bildirecek'?

270 BN: begler[i].

65) dahı eglemeyüb[271] be-cidd cevabın göndereler ve Venedikden İnebahtıya[272] ve Moraya[273] ve sayir memalik-i mahruseme bir bazirganki[274] gele gayri kimesne[275] borcı içün anı tutub incitmeyeler ve Venediklü bazirganı[276]
66) Brusaya[277] ve gayri yere gitmek (51) istese baylosdan icazet-name almayınca gitmeyeler eger temerrüd[278] edüb icazet-namesiz[279] gitmek isterse subaşı baylosa mu^{c}avenet eyleyüb koyuvermeye ve Venedikden
67) gelen gemileriñ neftileri memalik-i mahrusemde hizmete[280] tutulmayub nice geldiyse[281] gemileri ile gideler ve Venedikden (52) gelüb temekkün eden kimesneler evlü olsun ve[282] ergen olsun ma dam ki[283] gelüb
68) gidüb rencberlik[284] edüb benim memalik-i mahrusemde yerleşmeye varub girü gide anlardan harac taleb olunmaya ve Venediklünüñ ba^{c}zı harac-güzar kafirler ile[285] niza^{c}ları (53) olub da^{c}va edicek
69) Venediklü şahidler[286] ikamet ederlerimiş hasm olanlar bu yer kafirlerinden gerekdir deyü müzayeka verüb Venediklü kafirleriniñ şehadetin[287] kabul etmezlerimiş eyle olsa cümle[288] kefere millet-i vahıde[289]

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271 Gökbilgin and Lehmann: eglenmeyüb.

272 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: İneb[a]htı.

273 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: Mora.

274 Lehmann and BN: bazirgan ki.

275 Lehmann: kimesneniñ.

276 BL: bazirgan.

277 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: Brusa.

278 BL: niza^{c}.

279 BL: icazet- (f. 187v.) namesiz.

280 BL: hidmete.

281 BL: geldi ise.

282 Lehmann omits 've'.

283 BL: ma-damki.

284 BL: rençperlik.

285 Lehmann and BN: kafirlerile.

286 BL: şahid.

287 BL: şehadetlerin.

288 BL omits 'cümle'.

289 BL: vahıdede.

70) oldugı ecilden buyurdum ki eger[290] (54) anlarıñ kefere ile münaze[c]ası olub[291] ikamet-i şahide ihtiyac olursa kefere tayifesinden kankı sınıfdan ki şahid ikamet edüb şer[c]-i şerif-i nebevi[292]
71) muktezasınca isbat edeler kabul oluna ve Venediklüden bir bazirgan memalik-i mahrusemde yolda ve izde ve köyde basılub (55) rızkı alınsa ve yahud basıldıkda bazirgan depelenmiş[293] olsa ve ya gayib olsa
72) varisi ve yahud vekili gelürse şer[c]ile görülüb[294] hakk yerine vara ve Venediklüden[295] bir bazirgan ve ya bir kimesne[296] memalik-i mahmiyeme[297] gelüb ticaret üzere kendü halinde yürürken (56) vefat
73) eylese anlaruñ[298] metrukatına beytü 'l-malcı[299] karışmayub bayloslarına teslim eyleyeler[300] ve Magrib[301] müslimanlarından ve bunlardan gayri sayir[302] yerleriñ bazirganları ki[303] bey[c] ve şira eylemek
74) içün yaşdan ve kurudan gelmelü olıcak ki Venedik (57) hükm etdügi [304]yerlere ugraya [c]adet ve kanunları[305] üzere[306] meta[c]larınıñ rüsumun[307] aldıkdan[308] soñra mani[c] olmayalar [309] zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler memalik-i

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290 BL and BN have 'eger' after 'anlarıñ'.

291 BL: olursa.

292 BN: added later in another handwriting.

293 Gökbilgin: denilmiş.

294 BL: görilüb.

295 BL: Venedikden.

296 BN omits 've ya bir kimesne'.

297 Lehmann: mahmiye.

298 Lehmann and BN omit 'anlaruñ'; BL: anıñ.

299 Lehmann: beytü 'l-malcılar.

300 Gokbilgin: eyleseler.

301 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: M[a]gr[i]b.

302 BL has 'sayir' before 'bunlardan'.

303 BL has 'bazirganlarıyla' instead of 'bazirganları ki'.

304 BL: f. 188r. At the bottom of f. 187v. the first word of f. 188r ('yerlere') is written.

305 V: '-ları' was added later with other ink; BL: kanun.

306 Lehmann and BN: üzerine.

307 Gökbilgin: rüsumı.

308 BL: aldıklarından.

309 BL adds here 've'.

75) mahruseme nice dilerlerse[310] geleler ve[311] gideler ve Korfuzdan[312] yukaru bogazda yürüyen gemiler Venedik olsun (58) ve gayri olsun ki Venedige ticarete varalar [313] geleler kimesne manic olmaya zarer ve ziyan
76) erişdirmeyeler meger ki yaramazlık etmiş olalar[314] ve bir[315] Venedik gemisi cadet ve kanun üzere İstanbulda[316] aranub gitdikden soñra ki[317] kanun-i (59) kadim üzere bir dahı bogaz hisarları[318]
77) öñüne vardukda[319] aranub andan soñra gitmege[320] icazet verile haliya kanun-i kadime muhalif Gelibolıda[321] dahı aranurimiş[322] min bacd Gelibolıda[323] aranmayub cadet-i kadime[324] muktezasınca girü[325] heman
78) (60) bogaz hisarları öñünde aranub gide ve Zañte[326] adası ki[327] her yıl anuñiçün[328] hızane-i camireme beşyüz filori verilür idi[329] yine[330] ol beşyüz filoriyi[331] bi-temamihi her yıl verüb[332] hızane-i camireme teslim eyleyeler ve Kıbrus[333]

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310 Lehmann and BN: dilerse; BL: isterse.

311 Lehmann and BN have 'gelüb' instead of 'geleler ve'; BL omits 've'.

312 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: Korfuz.

313 Lehmann and BL add here 've'.

314 BL: ola.

315 BN: added later in another handwriting.

316 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: [İ]stanbul.

317 BL omits 'ki'.

318 BL: hisarlarınıñ.

319 Gökbilgin and Lehmann: vardıkda.

320 V: the text originally had 'gitmek'. This was corrected to 'gitmege'.

321 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: G[e]libolı.

322 BL and BN: aranur imiş.

323 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: G[e]libolı.

324 Lehmann and BN: kadim.

325 BL omits 'girü'.

326 V, Lehmann and BN: Zañte or Zak[i]te; Gökbilgin: Zak[i]ne; BL: Zak[i]ye.

327 Lehmann and BN have 'dahı' instead of 'ki'.

328 Gökbilgin: anuñçün; BL: anıñiçün.

329 BL: or 'imdi'?

330 BL omits 'yine'.

331 Lehmann, BN and BL: filori.

332 Lehmann omits 'verüb'.

333 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin and BN: K[ı]brus; BL: Miruş ('ye' without diacritical marks).

79) haracı ki (61) sal be-sal sekiz biñ filoridir her yıl şühur-i rumiyeden [334] mahruse-i İstanbula[335] getürüb teslim eyleyeler ve memalik-i mahrusemden [c]Arabistan[336] memleketleri feth olundugı zemandan
80) berü olıgelen üslub-i kadim üzere iki pare mavnaları (62) Mısır İskenderiyesine[337] ve iki kıt[c]a mavnaları dahı[338] mahruse-i Şamda[339] tabi[c] olan Trablus[340] ve Beyrut[341] iskelelerine olıgeldügi üzere esbab ve meta[c]ları ile
81) mukarrer olan vaktlerinde [342] mevsumlarında[343] gelüb gideler vaktinde ve mevsumunda[344] (63) te'hir etmeyüb eger iki kıt[c]a mavnalardır[345] ve[346] eger dahı ziyadedir ve eger büyük ve küçük gemilerdir[347] şimdiye degin[348] [349]nevechile
82) gelüb [350] bey[c] ve şira ede gelmişlerse[351] girü edüb olıgelene muhalif niza[c] etmeyeler ve vilayet-i [c]Arabistanda[352] sabıka yehudi (64) olub soñra müsliman olan İbrahim Geşturi[353] nam kimesne Beyrut[354]

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334 All: a small blank space.

335 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: [İ]stanbul.

336 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: [c][A]r[a]b[i]stan.

337 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: M[ı]s[ı]r [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]yesi.

338 BN has 'dahı' written twice.

339 Gökbilgin, BN, BL and Lehmann have the correct 'Şama'. V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: Şam.

340 V, Gökbilgin and BL: Tr[a]blus; Lehmann and BN: Trablus.

341 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: B[e]yrut.

342 Lehmann, BN and BL add here 've'.

343 BL: mevsimlerinde.

344 Lehmann and BN have 'vaktinden ve mevsumundan' instead of 'vaktinde ve mevsumunda'; BL: vaktinden ve mevsiminden.

345 BL: mavnalardan.

346 BL omits 've'.

347 BN: gemileridir.

348 BL: şimdiyedegin.

349 BL: f. 188v.

350 Lehmann, BN and BL add here 'gidüb'.

351 BL: ede gelmişler ise.

352 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: [c][A]r[a]b[i]stan.

353 V, Gökbilgin, Lehmann, BN and BL: [İ]brahim G[e]şturi.

354 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: B[e]yrut.

83) ve Trablus[355] iskelelerinde eger akçeden ve eger her[356] metaᶜdan evvelden[357] olıgelen ᶜadet ve kanun-i kadime[358] muhalif ihdas etdügi bidᶜatlar refᶜ olunub (65) kadimden nice[359] olıgeldi ise[360] [361] aña göre ᶜamel
84) olunub kanun-i[362] kadime muhalif kimesneye teᶜaddi etdirilmeye ol mavnalara ve sayir gemilere ve tacirlerine benim beglerbegilerimden[363] ve beglerimden ve sayir kullarımdan bir ahad kanun-i kadime[364] muhalif zulm ve teᶜaddi etmeye[365]
85) emn ve eman[366] üzere olalar kimesne[367] anları incitmeyeler[368] (66) işbu zikr olunan ᶜahd üzere dostlugı[369] kabul eyleyüb[370] yemin ederim[371] ki yeri ve gögi yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün ma dam ki[372] ᶜahdı
86) ve dostlugı anlar riᶜayet edüb ᶜahda[373] muhalif anlardan bir iş sadır olmaya bendendahı[374] (67) hılaf-i ᶜahd iş olmaya şöyle bileler[375] [376] bu ᶜahd-name-i hümayunum yazıldıkda Bosna[377] sancagı ucunda kalᶜa-i

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355 V, Gökbilgin and BN: Tr[a]blus; Lehmann and BL: Trablus.

356 BL and BN omit 'her'.

357 BN: '-den' is added later in another handwriting.

358 BL: kanuna ve kadime.

359 Lehmann has 'nevechile' instead of 'nice'.

360 Lehmann and BL: olıgeldiyse.

361 BL adds here 'girü'.

362 BN originally had 'kanuna' but corrected this to 'kanun-i kadime' by adding 'kadime' (later).

363 Lehmann: beglerbeglerimden.

364 BN has 'kanuna' instead of 'kanun-i kadime'.

365 V: added later with other ink; BL: eylemeyeler.

366 BN omits 've eman'.

367 BL: kimse.

368 Lehmann and BL: incitmeye.

369 Lehmann: dostluk.

370 BN: edüb.

371 Lehmann and BN: ederin.

372 BL: ma damki.

373 BN: ᶜahd-i şerifime.

374 BL originally had 'bendahı' but corrects it to 'bendendahı'.

375 Lehmann and BN have 've' instead of 'şöyle bileler'.

376 BL adds here 've'.

377 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: Bosna.

87) Buçac[378] ve Zastine[379] ve Velin[380] ve Sine[381] ve Degirmenler[382] nam harabe kalᶜalar içün[383] Bosna[384] sancagı begi[385] el-an ol (68) kalᶜalar alınub zabtımızdadır deyü ᶜarz etdügi ecilden
88) zikr olunmuş idi[386] emma Venedik dojı canibinden dergah-i muᶜallama varid olan mezbur elçileri ol kalᶜalar alınmamışdır girü bizim[387] zabtımızdadır deyü takrir[388] eyleyüb (69) tekrar teftişe[389] muhtac olub
89) hususuyla[390] zikr olunan Degirmen[391] kalᶜaları ma beynde[392] nizaᶜlu olmagın mezid-i ᶜinayet-i husrevanemden[393] hududuyla[394] yine anlara verilmesin emr eyledim anlarıñ ola emma ol
90) dört kalᶜalar ahvali (70) [395]ᶜahd-i şerifimde mevkuf kılındı teftiş olunub görile[396] vakıᶜa mezbur elçiniñ takrir etdügi gibi ise anlar tarafına teslim oluna Bosna[397] sancagı begi[398]

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378 V, Lehmann and BN: Buçac; Gökbilgin: Bucac; BL: Bucac (last 'ce' without diacritical mark).

379 V, Gökbilgin: Zastine; Lehmann and BN, as in the draft, 'Rast[i]ne'; BL: Vasine.

380 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: V[e]lin.

381 V, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: Sine; Lehmann as in the draft 'S[e]ne'.

382 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: D[e]g[i]rm[e]nl[e]r.

383 BN: kalᶜalariçün.

384 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: Bosna.

385 BL: sancagıbegi.

386 BN: olunmuşdı; BL omits 'zikr olunmuş idi'.

387 Lehmann: benüm; BN: bizüm.

388 Lehmann: takdir.

389 Gökbilgin: teftiş.

390 BL: hususa.

391 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: D[e]g[i]rm[e]n.

392 BL: beyninde.

393 Lehmann has 'mezid-i ᶜinayet-i husrevanemden' after 'hududı ile'.

394 BN: added later in another handwriting; Lehmann: hududı ile.

395 BL: f. 189r. At the bottom of f. 188v. the first words of f. 189r. ('ᶜahd-i şerifimde') are written.

396 Lehmann and BN: görüle.

397 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: Bosna.

398 BL: sancagıbegi.

91) ᶜarz etdügi üzere ise soñra ol babda[399] emr-i şerifim nevechile sadır olursa (71) mucebiyle[400] ᶜamel oluna ve bu ᶜahd-name-i şerifimden[401] evvel[402] mezkur elçiniñ
92) Venedik dojuyla[403] müşavere edecek[404] baᶜzı hususları olmagın ᶜahd-name suretinde müfassal hükm-i şerifim yazılub gönderilüb anda kalmış idi (72) haliya ol
93) refᶜ olunub asl mukarrer olan ᶜahd-name-i şerifim budur bunuñ mazmun-i hümayunuyla ᶜamel oluna ve bu ᶜahdname-i hümayun bizüm[405] ulu peygamberimüz[406] hazret-i[407] Muhammed Mustafanıñ[408] [409] salla 'llahü ᶜaleyh ve sellem tarihiniñ[410]
94) (73) tokuz yüz kırk yedinci yılıñ[411] cemazi 'l-ahır ayınıñ[412] evvelki gününde yazıldı ki[413] [414] hazret-i ᶜİsa [415] ᶜaleyhi 's-selam[416] tarihinden ohtoros ayınıñ ikinci günidir darü 'l-hılafeti 'l-ᶜaliye mahmiye-i[417] Kostantiniyede[418]
95) yazıldı (74) [419] ᶜalamet-i şerife[420] iᶜtimad ve iᶜtikad kılalar.

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399 BL: olbabda.

400 Lehmann, BN and BL: mucebi ile.

401 BL: şerifimde.

402 BL: or 'ol'?

403 Lehmann, BN and BL: dojı ile.

404 BL: edicek.

405 Lehmann and BN: bizim.

406 Lehmann, BN and BL: peygamberimiz.

407 BL omits 'hazret-i'.

408 V: '-nıñ' was added later (incorrectly); BL omits '-nıñ'.

409 Gökbilgin adds here 've'.

410 Lehmann, BN and BL: tarihinden.

411 Gökbilgin: yılınıñ.

412 BN: cümada 'l-ahır; BL has 'cemazi 'l-ahırınıñ' instead of 'cemazi 'l-ahır ayınıñ'.

413 BN: yazıldıki; BL omits 'ki'.

414 Gökbilgin adds here 'peygamber'.

415 Lehmann, BN and BL add here 'peygamber'.

416 BL has 'salevatü 'llah teᶜala ᶜaleyh' instead of 'ᶜaleyhi 's-selam'.

417 BL: mahruse-i.

418 V, Lehmann, Gökbilgin, BL and BN: K[o]st[a]nt[i]n[i]ye.

419 Lehmann and BN add here 'şöyle bileler'; BL adds here 'şöyle bilesiz' and then stops.

420 Lehmann and BN have 'ᶜalamet-i şerif-i ᶜalem-araya' instead of 'ᶜalamet-i şerife'.

The Venetian Capitulation of 1567

The Venetian capitulation of 1567 is preserved as an original document in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia[1] and has been published previously by Şakiroğlu.[2]

The text

Hüve[3]

Selim-şah bin Süleyman-şah han el-muzaffer da'ima[4]

1) Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sami-mekan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni[5] 'r-rebbani ve 'l-menni 'l-mennani[6] hükmi oldur ki
2) şimdikihalde[7] ben ki sultanü 's-selatin bürhanü 'l-havakin tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin[8] sultan Selim han bin Süleyman hanın bundan evvel Venedik dojı[9] olan Petro Lando[10] seᶜidü 'l-hayat şehidü[11] 'l-memat babam hudavendigar tabe serahü zemanında Alovize Nador[12] nam ademin[13]
3) elçi taᶜyin edüb gönderüb ᶜarz-i ᶜubudiyet ve ihlas eyleyüb canibeynde[14] dostluk ve müᶜahede olub sulh ve salah olunmak babında istidᶜa-i ᶜinayet

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1 ASV, Documenti Turchi 793 (= V).

2 Şakiroğlu, *Ahidnameler,* 527-553 (= Şakiroğlu).

3 Şakiroğlu omits the text of the *invocatio*.

4 Şakiroğlu omits the text of the *tugra.*

5 Şakiroğlu: bi-'avni.

6 Şakiroğlu: 'l-menna'ni.

7 Şakiroğlu: şimdiki halde.

8 Şakiroğlu: zeman.

9 Şakiroğlu: doju.

10 V: P[e]trp Lando; Şakiroğlu: Petro Lando. Pietro Lando, Doge of Venice 19 January 1539 - 9 November 1545.

11 Şakiroğlu: şehadü.

12 V: [A]lovize Nador; Şakiroğlu: Alvize Badoero. Alvise Badoer, Venetian ambassador ('oratore') to Süleyman I in 1539-40.

13 V: or ademisin?

14 V: or ma beynde?

eyleyüb kendüleriñ taht-i tesarrüflerinde olan kalᶜalardan Morada[15] vakıᶜ olan Anabolı[16] nam kalᶜayı kullesiyle[17] ve Menavasiye[18] nam kalᶜayı
4) bile topların ve çañların ve sayir yarak alatın aldıklarından soñra içinde olan begleri ve ᶜulufecileri kande isterlerise[19] esbablarıyla gidüb[20] ve reᶜayadan dahı ihtiyarıyla kalanlar anda kalub gitmek isteyenleri[21] esbablarıyla gitmek üzere ᶜatebe-i ᶜalem-penahıma teslim eyleyüb ve hazine-i ᶜamire canibine üçyüz biñ sikke[22]
5) efrenci altun vermek üzere ki yüz biñ[23] filorisin şimdi verüb ve yine bu yıl içinde elli biñ[24] filorisin dahı verüb ve baki yüz elli[25] biñ filorisin bu yıldan sonra iki yıl içinde eda etmek üzere ki her bir yılda yetmiş beşer[26] biñ filori olur kendülere ᶜahd-i hümayunum ihsan
6) olunmak tezarruᶜ etdügi[27] ecilden mezid-i merhamet-i husrevane zuhura gelüb tefsil olunacak şartlar üzere müᶜahede-i şerifim ihsan edüb bu nişan-i hümayun-i seᶜadet-makrunı[28] verüb [29] ᶜahd-i şerifim bunuñ üzerine caridir ve ᶜahd-i hümayunum mukarrer ve mü'ekked[30] olmak içün yemin dahı ederim[31] ki
7) yeri ve gögi[32] yaradan hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ birligi hakkıyçün[33] ma-dam ki anlar tarafındanᶜahda mugayir iş olmaya

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15 V: Mora; Şakiroğlu: Mora.

16 V: Anabolı; Şakiroğlu: Anabolı.

17 Şakiroğlu: kulesiyle.

18 V: M[e]navas[i]ye; Şakiroğlu: Menamvasiye.

19 Şakiroğlu: isterlerse.

20 Şakiroğlu: gidüp.

21 Şakiroğlu: isteyenlerin.

22 Şakiroğlu: üçyüzbin sikke-i.

23 Şakiroğlu: yüzbin.

24 Şakiroğlu: ellibin.

25 Şakiroğlu: yüzelli.

26 Şakiroğlu: yetmişbeşer.

27 Şakiroğlu: etdüğü.

28 Şakiroğlu: makrunu.

29 Şakiroğlu adds here 've'.

30 Şakiroğlu: müekkid.

31 Şakiroğlu: eylerim.

32 Şakiroğlu: göğü.

33 Şakiroğlu: hakkı içün.

bendendahı[34] müᶜahede-i şerifime muhalif vazᶜ sadır olmaya mezkur Venedik dojı[35] olan Petro Lando[36] ve sayir begleri ve ademleriyle ve anlara müteᶜallık olan yerleriñ ve vilayetleriñ
8) halkı ile ve[37] bu ᶜahd-i şerifim sadır olmazdan evvel ma beynde ᶜadavet oldugı[38] zemanda anlar tarafından şemşir-i zafer-te'sirim[39] ile alınan Bosna[40] sancagı ucunda kalᶜa-i Urana[41] ve kalᶜa-i Nadin[42] ve bu kalᶜalara tabiᶜ olan köyleriñ cümle haddları[43] ve sınurlarıyla ve feth olundugı[44] zemanda yerinde mevcud bulunan reᶜayası ile
9) ve[45] Ak Deñiz içinde vakıᶜ olan cezirelerden İskados[46] kalᶜasıyla ve cezire-i İskiros[47] kalᶜasıyla ve cezire-i Andıra[48] iki pare kalᶜasıyla ve cezire-i Sifnos[49] ve cezire-i Serfoz[50] kalᶜalarıyla ve cezire-i Kerpe[51] iki pare kalᶜasıyla ve Nakşaya[52] tabiᶜ olan cezirelerden Sire[53] ve Tinoz[54] kalᶜaları ile[55] ve cezire-i Nakşa[56] üç pare kalᶜası ile[57]

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34 Şakiroğlu: ben dahi.

35 Şakiroğlu: doju.

36 V: P[e]tro Lando; Şakiroğlu: Petro Lando.

37 Şakiroğlu omits 've'.

38 Şakiroğlu: olduğu.

39 Şakiroğlu: nasirim.

40 V: Bosna; Şakiroğlu: Bosna.

41 V: Urana; Şakiroğlu: Urana.

42 V: Nadin; Şakiroğlu: Nadin.

43 Şakiroğlu: çayırları.

44 Şakiroğlu: olunduğu.

45 Şakiroğlu omits 've'.

46 V: [İ]skados; Şakiroğlu: Iskados.

47 V: [İ]sk[ı]ros; Şakiroğlu: Eskiros.

48 V: [A]nd[ı]ra; Şakiroğlu: Andra.

49 V: S[i]fnos; Şakiroğlu: Sifnoz.

50 V: S[e]rkoz (sic for S[e]rfoz); Şakiroğlu: Serfoz.

51 V: K[e]rpe; Şakiroğlu: Kerpe.

52 V: N[a]kşa; Şakiroğlu: Nakşa.

53 V: Sire; Şakiroğlu: Sire.

54 V: Tinoz (or Ninoz, Niyoz?); Şakiroğlu omits this name.

55 Şakiroğlu has 've Santorin' instead of 've Tinoz kalᶜaları ile'.

56 V: N[a]kşa; Şakiroğlu: Nakşa.

57 Şakiroğlu: kalᶜasıyla.

10) ve cezire-i Santorin[58] ve cezire-i Milo[59] iki kalᶜasıyla ve cezire-i Andobade[60] kalᶜasıyla ve maᶜmur olmayub hali olan harabeden cezire-i Egine[61] ve cezire-i Merid[62] ve cezire-i Termine[63] ve cezire-i Baro[64] ve cezire-i Mikene[65] ve cezire-i Papaslık[66] ve İstanbuliye[67] dahı Kerke[68] cezireleri[69] ve cezire-i Koyunluca[70] ve cezire-i Mırgır[71] ve cezire-i Mallu Kilise[72] ki[73]
11) bu zikr olunan cümlesi hassa-i hümayunumuñ[74] tesarrüfündedir bunlardan gayri anlara tabiᶜ olub el-an zabtlarında olan Tine[75] nam cezire kalᶜasıyla ve sayir tesarrüflerinde olan kalᶜaları ve burgazlarıyla bi-'l-cümle Aya Markonuñ[76] sancagın götüren kimesnelerile yaşdan ve kurıdan[77] el-an tesarrüflerinde olan elleri ve günleri[78] ile şimdiyedegin[79]
12) ve şimden soñra kendü dindaşlarından alacak yerleri ile baᶜde 'l-yevm aramızda dostluk ve barışıklık ola ve Yanya[80] sancagı sınurunda vakıᶜ olan

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58 V: Santov[i]rin (sic for Santorin); Şakiroğlu: Santorin.

59 V: Milo; Sakiroğlu: Milo.

60 V: [A]ndobade; Şakiroğlu: Andobare.

61 V: Eg[i]ne; Şakiroğlu: Egine.

62 V: M[e]rid; Şakiroğlu: Mürted.

63 V: T[e]rm[i]ne; Şakiroğlu: Termina.

64 V: Baro; Şakiroğlu: Baro.

65 V: M[i]k[e]ne; Şakiroğlu: Mikene.

66 V: Papasl[ı]k (Babasl[ı]k); Şakiroğlu: Papasluk.

67 V: [İ]stanbul[i]ye; Şakiroğlu: İstanboliye.

68 V: K[e]rke (or G[e]rge); Şakiroğlu: Kerke.

69 Şakiroğlu: cezirelerin.

70 V: K[o]yunluca; Şakiroğlu: Koyunluca.

71 V: Mırg[ı]r; Şakiroğlu: Mirgir.

72 V: Mallu K[i]lise (or K[i]lisa); Şakiroğlu: Mallu Kilisa.

73 Şakiroğlu omits 'ki'.

74 Şakiroğlu: hümayunum.

75 V: T[i]ne; Şakiroğlu: Tine.

76 V: [A]ya Marko; Şakiroğlu: Aya Marko.

77 Şakiroğlu; kurudan.

78 Şakiroğlu: köyleri.

79 Şakiroğlu: şimdiye değin.

80 V: Yanya; Şakiroğlu: Yanya.

Parga[81] nam mevziᶜ kullesiyle[82] ve varoşuyla ve haddı ve sınuruyla[83] ki emrimle sabıkda yakılub yıkılmış idi haliya[84] mezid-i ᶜinayetimden yine anlar canibinden tesarrüf olunmasın emr eyledim[85] yine anlarıñ

13) ola emma mezbur Parga[86] ve aña tabiᶜ olan köylerde vakıᶜ olan ademleri deñizden ve kurudan benim memalik-i mahruseme zarer ve ziyan ederlerse[87] Venedik begleri ol zarer ve ziyanı tazmin etdireler ve edenleriñ mühkem hakklarından geleler ve memalik-i mahrusemde olan sancakbeglerinden ve subaşılarından bi-'l-cümle benim[88] huddam-i encüm-ihtişamımdan

14) hiç ahad anlarıñ vilayetlerine ve kalᶜalarına ve burguzlarına[89] ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler ve eger cenab-i celalet-me'abıma müteᶜallık olan beglerimden ve ᶜasakir-i zafer-me'asirimden bunlarıñ vilayetlerine ve kalᶜalarına ve burguzlarına[90] ve[91] ademlerine zarer ve ziyan erişdirirlerse vakıᶜ olan zarer ve ziyan ferman-i şerifimle

15) yerine konulub dahl edenleriñ hakklarından geleler ve mezbur begleriñ bazirganlarından ve ademlerinden memalik-i mahruseme yaşdan ve kurıdan[92] kadırgaları ve kökeleri ve gayri küçük gemileriyle mahruse-i İstanbula[93] ve

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81 V: Parga; Şakiroğlu: Parga.

82 Şakiroğlu: kalᶜasıyla.

83 Şakiroğlu has 'hadd-i sınuruyla' instead of 'haddı ve sınuruyla'.

84 Şakiroğlu: haliyen.

85 Şakiroğlu: eylerim.

86 V: Parga; Şakiroğlu: Parga.

87 Şakiroğlu: ederler ise.

88 Şakiroğlu omits 'benim'.

89 Şakiroğlu: burgazlarına.

90 Şakiroğlu: burgazlarına.

91 Şakiroğlu omits 've'.

92 Şakiroğlu: kurudan.

93 V: [İ]stanbul; Şakiroğlu: İstanbul.

Galataya[94] ve diyar-i ᶜArabistandan[95] İskenderiye-i Mısra[96] ve Gelibolıdan[97] aşgada[98] olan bogaza ve İnebahtı[99] ve Preveze[100] bogazlarına ve Moton[101]
16) limanına gaflet ile gelüb[102] girmeyüb mukaddema dizdarlarına tenebbüh[103] eyleyüb icazetle gelüb girüb meger ki rüzgar şiddet[104] üzere furtuna olub ve yahud harami ve levend kayıkları kovub ol iskeleden gayri konacak yeri[105] olmayub zaruret ola ol vakt gelüb gire eger mümkin ise tenebbüh[106] eyleyeler ve gitmelü olıcak icazetsüz
17) gitmeyeler ve icazetsüz gidüb[107] muhalefet edenleriñ hakklarından geline anuñ içün Venedik[108] beglerine töhmet olunmaya emma bu husus altı aydan soñra ola[109] ki Venedik gemileri mütenebbih olub bu sebeble ᶜahd-i şerifime muhalif iş olmalu olmaya ve memalik-i mahrusemden derya yüzine[110] giden gemiler ve kadırgalar ve donanmalar deñiz yüzünde Venedik gemilerine
18) buluşurlarise[111] birbiriyle[112] dostluk edüb[113] zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler anlar dahı ferman-i şerifimle derya yüzine[114] çıkmış donanmalarıma ve kadırgalarıma ve sayir derya yüzünde yürüyen gemilerime buluşduklarında

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94 V: G[a]l[a]ta; Şakiroğlu: Galata.

95 V: ᶜ[A]r[a]b[i]stan; Şakiroğlu: Arabistan.

96 V: [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]ye[-i] M[ı]s[ı]r; Şakiroğlu: İskenderiyye-i Mısır.

97 V: G[e]libolı; Şakiroğlu: Gelibolu.

98 Şakiroğlu: Geliboludan aşağı.

99 V: İneb[a]htı (or [A]ynab[a]htı); Şakiroğlu: İnebahtı.

100 V: Pr[e]v[e]ze; Şakiroğlu: Preveze.

101 V: M[o]ton; Şakiroğlu: Moton.

102 Şakiroğlu: gelüp.

103 Şakiroğlu: tenbih.

104 Şakiroğlu: sert.

105 Şakiroğlu has 'bir yer' instead of 'yeri'.

106 Şakiroğlu: tenbih.

107 Şakiroğlu: gidüp.

108 Şakiroğlu: Venedük.

109 Şakiroğlu has 've illa' instead of 'ola'.

110 Şakiroğlu: yüızüne.

111 Şakiroğlu: buluşurlar ise.

112 Şakiroğlu: birbirlerine.

113 Şakiroğlu: idüp.

114 Şakiroğlu: yüzüne.

yelkenlerin indirüb dostlukların ve itaᶜat üzere oldukların bildireler ve eger yelkenlerin indirüb dostlukların
19) bildirdükden[115] soñra zarer ve ziyan edecek olurlarise[116] eger adem ve esbab ve tavar[117] ziyanıdır yerine konula hemçünan anlarıñ gemileri ve kadırgaları ve donanmaları dahı deñiz yüzünde benim gemilerime ve yahud rencber gemilerine buluşurlarise[118] dostluk üzere geçüb[119] gidüb zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler ve eger adem ve[120] esbab ve tavar[121] ziyanıdır her ne ise yerine koyalar ve eger ittifak
20) düşüb harami ve levend gemisine buluşub ol harami gemisi bunlara kasd edüb cenk eyleye ve bi-'radeti 'llah[122] teᶜala ol harami gemisine bunlar galib olalar hin-i müharebede helak olandan gayri nekadar[123] adem esir olub diri dutarlarise[124] kendüler asla katl etmeyüb bi-kusur sag ve salim südde-i seᶜadetime irsal
21) edeler ta ki mühkem hakklarından gelinüb bir vechile siyaset etdirem ki gayrilere[125] muceb-i ᶜibret ola ve memalik-i mahrusemden donanma gemilerim ki bir tarafa sefere gide Venedige müteᶜallık olmaya Venedik donanması epsem[126] kendü halinde dostluk üzere durub hareket etmeyüb varub kimesneye muᶜavenet etmeye ve benim donanmalarıma ziyan
22) ve zarer erişdirmesine sebeb olmaya benim ile düşmenlik[127] üzere olan kimesneleriñ donanmaları aralarına getürmeyeler ve anlara yardım etmeyeler ve azık vermeyeler eger donanmalarından her kim bu emrime muhalefet

115 Şakiroğlu: bildürdükden.

116 Şakiroğlu: olurlar ise.

117 Şakiroğlu: davar.

118 Şakiroğlu: buluşurlar ise.

119 Şakiroğlu: geçüp.

120 Şakiroğlu omits 'adem ve'.

121 Şakiroğlu: davar.

122 Şakiroğlu: 'llah-i.

123 Şakiroğlu: ne kadar.

124 Şakiroğlu: dutarlar ise.

125 Şakiroğlu: gayrilerine.

126 Şakiroğlu: isem.

127 Şakiroğlu: düşmanlık.

ederse[128] eyledügi[129] yerde Venedik begleri mühkem hakklarından geleler sayirlerine muceb-i ᶜibret ola
23) ve gayri vilayetiñ[130] harami parçalarına[131] ve kadırgalarına ve gayri gemilerine duş geldükleri[132] vakt Venedik kendü adalarına ve limanlarına ve hisarlarına sıgındırmayalar ve durgurmayalar dutmak mümkin olurise[133] dutub mecal vermeyüb hakklarından geleler benim canibimden dahı olvechile[134] ᶜamel olunub gayri vilayetiñ[135] harami barçaların
24) ve kadırgaların limanlarıma ve hisarlarıma sıgındırmayub dutmak mümkin olurise[136] dutub mecal vermeyüb hakklarından geleler ve Venedikden bir kimesne gelüb memalik-i mahrusemde kimesne ile satu ve bazar edüb[137] [138] akçesin temam vermedin hile edüb kaçub giderse hükm-i şerifle[139] varub taleb olundukda[140] ol kimesne
25) bulunurise[141] rızkın sahıbına alıvereler ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesne varub Venedikden bir kimesne ile satu bazar edüb [142] akçesin temam eda etmedin kaçub gelürse[143] sabit olan hakkı alıverile ve memalik-i mahrusemden[144] bir kimesne borc edinse ve yahud bir vechile[145] müttehem olub gaybet[146] eylese anuñ içün bir günahsuz kimesne dutulmaya Venedik

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128 Şakiroğlu: eder ise.

129 Şakiroğlu: eyledüğü.

130 Şakiroğlu: vilayetlerin.

131 Şakiroğlu: barçalarına.

132 Şakiroğlu: geldikleri.

133 Şakiroğlu: olur ise.

134 Şakiroğlu: ol vechile.

135 Şakiroğlu: vilayet.

136 Şakiroğlu: olur ise.

137 Şakiroğlu: idüp.

138 Şakiroğlu adds here 've'.

139 Şakiroğlu: şerifimle.

140 Şakiroğlu: olundukça.

141 Şakiroğlu: bulunursa.

142 Şakiroğlu adds here 've'.

143 Şakiroğlu: gelürise.

144 Şakiroğlu: memalik mahrusemsden.

145 Şakiroğlu: vech ile.

146 Şakiroğlu: gaybubet.

26) beglerine anuñçün[147] töhmet olunmaya meger ki anlarıñ memleketlerine varub dura bizim canibimizden dahı olvechile[148] etdirile ve baylos[149] kimi dilerlerise[150] göndereler dilerlerise[151] horendesi ile gelüb mahruse-i Kostantiniyede[152] üç yıla karib dura temam olmadın gide dilerise[153] horendesiz gele maslahat[154] ne ise göre
27) üç yıl temam olmadın ol gide anuñ yerine olvechile[155] bir dahı gele ve Venedikden bir esir kaçub memalik-i mahruseme gelüb müsliman olurise[156] sahıbı gelürise[157] biñ akçe verile sahıbı gelmeyüb vekili gelür ise vekiline vereler eger küfri[158] üzere ise ol esiri[159] ᶜaynı ile vereler [160] memalik-i mahrusemden kaçub
28) anlara varırise[161] eger müsliman ise ve yahud mürtedd oldı[162] ise teᶜallül etmeyeler ᶜaynı ile kendüyi[163] vereler ve[164] eger küfri[165] içinde ise sahıbına ve yahud vekiline biñ akçe vereler şöyleki[166] harami kayıkları deñizden ve gayri kimesneler kurıdan[167] varub Venedige tabiᶜ olan adaları urub [168] ademlerin esir edüb

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147 Şakiroğlu: anun içün.

148 Şakiroğlu: ol vech ile.

149 Şakiroğlu: bailos.

150 Şakiroğlu: diler ise.

151 Şakiroğlu: dilerler ise.

152 V: K[o]st[a]nt[i]n[i]ye; Şakiroğlu: Kostantaniyye.

153 Şakiroğlu: diler ise.

154 Şakiroğlu: maslahatı.

155 Şakiroğlu: ol vech ile.

156 Şakiroğlu: olursa.

157 Şakiroğlu: gelürse.

158 Şakiroğlu: küfrü.

159 V: added later above the line, written very small; Şakiroğlu omits 'esiri'.

160 Şakiroğlu adds here 'imdi'; this is however 'esiri' and not 'imdi'.

161 Şakiroğlu: varır ise.

162 Şakiroğlu: oldu.

163 Şakiroğlu: kendüye.

164 Şakiroğlu omits 've'.

165 Şakiroğlu: küfrü.

166 Şakiroğlu: şöyle ki.

167 Şakiroğlu: kurudan.

168 Şakiroğlu adds here 've'.

29) götürüb[169] Rum Eli[170] ve Anatolıda[171] satalar anuñ gibi esirler bulundukda geregi gibi dikkat ve ihtimamla teftiş olunub her kimiñ elinde bulunurise[172] kimden aldugın[173] bulduralar şöyleki[174] aldugı[175] kimesne levende müntehi[176] olurise[177] ve ol levend dahı ele girüb vakıᶜa esir Venediginiñ idügi[178] zahir olurise[179] ol

30) levendiñ mühkem hakkından geline ol esir müsliman olmuş ise azad ola salıverile ve eger henüz küfri[180] üzere ise Venediklüye teslim oluna ve eger kimden alındugı[181] maᶜlum olmazise[182] ol esir kendü dergah-i muᶜallama getürdilüb kaziyesi[183] südde-i seᶜadetimde teftiş oluna [184] ol vakt dahı eger Venediklünüñ idügi[185] sabit olurise[186]

31) müsliman olmuş ise azad ola ve eger henüz küfri[187] üzere ise baylosa[188] teslim oluna ve Venedik gemileri memalik-i mahruseme gelürken muhalif yel çıkub ol gemi helak olurise[189] nedeñlü[190] adem kurtulursa azad ola ve

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169 Şakiroğlu: getürüp.

170 V: Rum Eli; Şakiroğlu: Rumili.

171 V: [A]natolı; Şakiroğlu: Anadolu.

172 Şakiroğlu: bulunur ise.

173 Şakiroğlu: alduğun.

174 Şakiroğlu: şöyle ki.

175 Şakiroğlu: alduğu.

176 Şakiroğlu: münteha.

177 Şakiroğlu: olur ise.

178 Şakiroğlu: Venedikün itdüğü.

179 Şakiroğlu: olur ise.

180 Şakiroğlu: küfrü.

181 Şakiroğlu: alınduğu.

182 Şakiroğlu: olmaz ise.

183 Şakiroğlu: kaddıyyesin.

184 Şakiroğlu adds here 've'.

185 Şakiroğlu: olduğu.

186 Şakiroğlu: olur ise.

187 Şakiroğlu: küfrü.

188 Şakiroğlu: bailosa.

189 Şakiroğlu: olur ise.

190 Şakiroğlu: ne denlü.

tavarları[191] halas olurise[192] sahıbına verile kapudan canibinden ve gayriden katᶜa dahl olunmaya eger memalik-i
32) mahrusemden ol tarafa bir gemi varırken muhalif yel çıka ol gemi helak olurise[193] Venediklüden[194] adem kurtulurise[195] anlara dahl olunmayub tavarları[196] sahıbına verile katᶜa nizaᶜ olunmaya ve memalik-i mahrusemden şol yerlerden ki kadırga ve kayıkları[197] ve gayri gemiler derya yüzine[198] çıkub gitdükleri vakt ki
33) benim kapudanım anlaruñla bile olmaya ol gemileriñ re'isleri mühkem kefillere[199] verile[200] ki varub Venedik memleketine zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler eger kefil vermedin giderlerise[201] mücrim ve günahkar olalar mühkem hakklarından geline ve eger kefil verdükden[202] soñra
34) zarer ve ziyan ederlerise[203] ne zarer ve ziyan olurise[204] kefilleri vereler hemçünan Venedik tarafından dahı derya yüzine[205] gemileri çıka Venedik kapudanı bile olmaya re'isleri mühkem kefiller verdükden soñra memalik-i mahruseme zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirlerise[206]
35) ol zarer ve ziyanı kefilleri vereler eger kefilsüz giderlerise[207] mücrim ve günehkar[208] olalar mühkem hakklarından geleler ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir harac-güzar ve yahud bir ᶜamil kaçub Venedige müteᶜallık kalᶜalara ve adalara varub

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191 Şakiroğlu: davarları.

192 Şakiroğlu: olursa.

193 Şakiroğlu: olur ise.

194 In earlier texts: ve nedeñlü; V: 've nedeñlü' has become 'Venediklü'.

195 Şakiroğlu: kurtulursa.

196 Şakiroğlu: davarları.

197 Şakiroğlu: kayıklar.

198 Şakiroğlu: yüzüne.

199 Şakiroğlu: kefiller.

200 Şakiroğlu: vereler.

201 Şakiroğlu: giderler ise.

202 Şakiroğlu: verdikten.

203 Şakiroğlu: iderler ise.

204 Şakiroğlu: olur ise.

205 Şakiroğlu: yüzüne.

206 Şakiroğlu: yetişdirirler ise.

207 Şakiroğlu: giderler ise.

208 Şakiroğlu: günahkar.

36) temekkün etse kabul olunmaya varan ademlere teᶜallül etmeyüb ᶜaynı ile vereler ve[209] şöyleki[210] adem öldürüb ve yahud ugurlık[211] edüb rızk iletseler[212] ᶜaynı ile vereler benim canibimde[213] dahı olvechile[214] etdirilüb[215] ol tarafdan adem öldürüb
37) ve yahud ugurlık[216] edüb rızk götürseler[217] ᶜaynı ile vereler ve Venediklünüñ birbiri arasında nizaᶜları olsa baylosları[218] ᶜadetlerince diñleye kimesne maniᶜ olmaya ve bir kimesneniñ baylosla[219] nizaᶜı olsa şöyle ki
38) südde-i seᶜadetim mahruse-i İstanbulda[220] vakıᶜ ola kaziyesi divan-i ᶜali-şanımda istimaᶜ oluna ve lakin ben seᶜadetle[221] sefer-i hümayunda bulunacak olursam[222] anuñ gibi baylosla[223] vakıᶜ olan münazeᶜa mahruse-i İstanbul[224]
39) mühafezasıyçün[225] konulan beg huzurunda kazi maᶜrifetiyle istimaᶜ oluna ve şöyleki[226] Venedik bazirganları ile bir kimesneniñ nizaᶜları vakıᶜ olub kaziye varalar Venediklünüñ kendü tercümanları hazır olmayınca kazi olan
40) daᶜvaların[227] istimaᶜ etmeye emma anlar dahı teᶜallül edüb tercüman hazır degildir[228] deyü ᶜavk etmeyüb tercümanların ihzar edüb eger

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209 Şakiroğlu omits 've'.

210 Şakiroğlu: şöyle ki.

211 Şakiroğlu: uğrılık.

212 Şakiroğlu: eyleseler.

213 Şakiroğlu: canibimden.

214 Şakiroğlu: ol vech ile.

215 Şakiroğlu: etdirilib.

216 Şakiroğlu: uğrılık.

217 Şakiroğlu: getürseler.

218 Şakiroğlu: balyosları.

219 Şakiroğlu: bailosla.

220 V: [İ]stanbul; Şakiroğlu: İstanbul.

221 Şakiroğlu: seᶜadetile.

222 Şakiroğlu: olur isem.

223 Şakiroğlu: bailosla.

224 V: [İ]stanbul; Şakiroğlu: İstanbul.

225 Şakiroğlu: muhafazası içün.

226 Şakiroğlu: şöyle ki.

227 Şakiroğlu: davᶜaların.

228 Şakiroğlu: değildür.

tercümanları mühimm maslahatda olurise[229] gelince tevakkuf oluna ve baylos[230] olanı[231] aharıñ borcı[232] içün
41) kimesne bunda dutmayub ödetmeye emma baylos[233] anı Venedik beglerine bildiricek Venedik begleri dahı eglemeyüb be-cidd[234] cevabın göndereler ve Venedikden İnebahtıya[235] ve Moraya[236] ve sayir memalik-i mahruseme bir bazirgan ki gele gayri kimesne borcı[237] içün
42) anı dutub incitmeyeler ve Venediklü bazirganı Bursaya[238] ve ya gayri yere gitmek istese baylosdan[239] icazet-name almayınca gitmeyeler eger temerrüd edüb[240] icazet-namesüz[241] gitmek isterise[242] subaşı baylosa[243] muᶜavenet eyleyüb koyuvermeye ve Venedikden gelen gemileriñ
43) neftileri memalik-i mahrusemde hizmete dutulmayub nice geldiyse[244] gemileriyle eyle gideler ve Venedikden gelüb[245] temekkün eden kimesneler evlü[246] olsun ergen olsun ma-dam ki gelüb gidüb [247] rencberlik edüb memalik-i mahrusemde yerleşmeye varub girü gide anlardan harac taleb olunmaya ve Venediklünüñ baᶜzı harac-güzar kafirlerile[248] nizaᶜları olub daᶜva edicek

229 Şakiroğlu: olur ise.

230 Şakiroğlu: bailos.

231 Şakiroğlu: olan.

232 Şakiroğlu: borcu.

233 Şakiroğlu: bailos.

234 Şakiroğlu: bicid.

235 V: İneb[a]htı (or [A]ynab[a]htı); Şakiroğlu: İnebahtı.

236 V: Mora; Şakiroğlu: Mora.

237 Şakiroğlu: borcu.

238 V: Bursa; Şakiroğlu: Bursa.

239 Şakiroğlu: bailosdan.

240 Şakiroğlu: idüp.

241 Şakiroğlu: icazet-namesiz.

242 Şakiroğlu: ister ise.

243 Şakiroğlu: bailosa.

244 Şakiroğlu: gelirse.

245 Şakiroğlu: gelib.

246 Şakiroğlu: evli.

247 Şakiroğlu adds here 've'.

248 Şakiroğlu: kafirleriyle.

44) Venediklü şahidler ikamet ederlerimiş[249] hasm olanlar bu yer kafirlerinden[250] gerekdir[251] deyü müzayeka verüb Venediklü kafirleriñ şehadetlerin kabul etmezlerimiş[252] imdi cümle kefere millet-i vahıde oldugı[253] ecilden anlarıñ eger kefere ile münaze[c]ası olub ikamet-i şahide ihtiyac olurise[254] kefere tayifesinden[255] kangı sınıfdan ki[256] şahid ikamet edüb[257] şer[c]-i şerif-i nebeviye[258]
45) mucebince isbat edeler kabul oluna ve Venediklüden bir bazirgan memalik-i mahrusemde yolda ve izde ve köyde basılub rızkı alınsa ve yahud basıldukda bazirgan depelenmiş olsa ve ya[259] gayib[260] olsa varisi ve ya vekili gelürise[261] şer[c]ile görülüb[262] hakk yerine vara ve Venediklüden bir bazirgan memalik-i mahruseme gelüb
46) ticaret üzere kendü halinde yürürken mürd olsa metrukatına beytü 'l-malcı karışmayub bayloslarına[263] teslim edeler ve Magrib[264] müslimanlarından ve bunlardan gayri sayir[265] yerleriñ bazirganları ki bey[c] ve şira etmek içün yaşdan ve kurıdan[266] gelmelü olıcak ki Venedik hükm etdügi[267] yerlere ugraya [c]adet

249 Şakiroğlu: iderlermiş.

250 Şakiroğlu: kafirlerden.

251 Şakiroğlu: gerekdür.

252 Şakiroğlu: etmezler imiş.

253 Şakiroğlu: olduğun.

254 Şakiroğlu: olursa.

255 Şakiroğlu: ta'ifesinden.

256 Şakiroğlu omits 'ki'.

257 Şakiroğlu: idüp.

258 Has to be 'nebevi'.

259 Şakiroğlu omits 'ya'.

260 Şakiroğlu: ga'ib.

261 Şakiroğlu: gelürse.

262 Şakiroğlu: görüb.

263 Şakiroğlu: *bailos*larına.

264 V: M[a]gr[i]b; Şakiroğlu: Magrib.

265 Şakiroğlu: sa'ir.

266 Şakiroğlu: kurudan.

267 Şakiroğlu: itdüğü.

47) ve kanun üzere metaᶜlarınıñ rüsumun aldukdan soñra maniᶜ olmayalar zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler memalik-i mahruseme nice dilerise[268] gelüb gideler ve Korfuzdan[269] yukaru bogazda yürüyen gemiler Venedik olsun ve gayri olsun ki[270] Venedige ticarete varalar ve geleler[271] kimesne maniᶜ olmaya zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler
48) meger ki yaramazlık etmiş olalar ve bir Venedik gemisi ᶜadet ve kanun üzere İstanbulda[272] aranub gitdükden[273] soñra ki kanun-i kadim üzere bir dahı bogaz hisarları öñüne vardukda aranub andan soñra gitmege icazet verile haliya kanun-i kadime muhalif Gelibolıda[274] dahı aranur imiş
49) min baᶜd Gelibolıda[275] aranmayub ᶜadet-i [276] kadim muktezasınca girü heman bogaz hisarları öñünde aranub gide ve Zañte[277] adası dahı her yıl anuñçün[278] hazine-i ᶜamireme beşyüz filori verilür idi yine ol beşyüz filori bi-temamihi[279] her yıl verüb hazine-i ᶜamireye[280] teslim eyleyeler ve Kıbrıs[281] haracı ki sal be-sal sekiz biñ filoridir
50) her yıl şühur-i rumiyeden [282] mahruse-i İstanbula[283] getürüb teslim eyleyeler ve memalik-i mahrusemden ᶜArabistan[284] memleketleri feth oldugı[285] zemandan berü olıgelen üslub-i kadim üzere iki pare mavnaları

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268 Şakiroğlu: dilerlerse.

269 V: Korfuz; Şakiroğlu: Korfosdan.

270 Şakiroğlu omits 'ki'.

271 Şakiroğlu omits 've geleler'.

272 V: [İ]stanbul; Şakiroğlu: İstanbul.

273 Şakiroğlu: gitdikten.

274 V: G[e]libolı; Şakiroğlu: Gelibolu. Şakiroğlu: Geliboluda.

275 V: G[e]libolı; Şakiroğlu: Gelibolu. Şakiroğlu: Gelibolu'da.

276 Şakiroğlu adds here: kanun-ı.

277 V: Zañte (or Zak[i]te); Şakiroğlu: Zenta, Zakina and Zakine.

278 Şakiroğlu: içün (without anuñ).

279 Şakiroğlu: tamamen.

280 Şakiroğlu: ᶜamireme.

281 V: K[ı]br[ı]s; Şakiroğlu: Kıbrıs.

282 V: small blank space; Şakiroğlu omits the blank space.

283 V: [İ]stanbul; Şakiroğlu: İstanbul.

284 V: ᶜ[A]r[a]b[i]stan; Şakiroğlu: Arabistan.

285 Şakiroğlu: olunduğu; it should be 'olundugı'.

Mısır İskenderiyesine[286] ve iki kıtᶜa mavnaları dahı mahruse-i Şama[287] tabiᶜ olan Trablus[288] ve Beyrut[289] iskelelerine olıgeldügi[290] üzere
51) esbab ve metaᶜlarıyla mukarrer olan vaktlerinde ve mevsumlarında[291] gelüb gideler vaktinden ve mevsiminden te'hir etmeyüb eger iki kıtᶜa mavnalardır ve eger dahı ziyadedir ve eger büyük ve küçük gemileridir[292] şimdiyedegin[293] nevechile[294] gelüb gidüb beyᶜ ve şira edegelmişlerise[295] girü edüb[296] olıgelene muhalif nizaᶜ etmeye[297] ve vilayet-i ᶜArabistanda[298]
52) sabıka[299] yehudi olub soñra müsliman olan İbrahim Geşturi[300] nam kimesne Beyrut[301] ve Trablus[302] iskelelerinde eger akçeden ve eger her[303] metaᶜdan evvelden olıgelen ᶜadet ve kanun-i kadime muhalif ihdas etdügi[304] bidᶜatlar[305] refᶜ olunub kadimden nice olıgeldi ise aña göre ᶜamel olunub kanun-i kadime muhalif kimesneye teᶜaddi etdirilmeye
53) ol mavnalara ve sayir[306] gemilere ve tacirlerine beglerbegilerimden ve beglerimden ve sayir[307] kullarımdan bir ahad kanuna muhalif zulm ve teᶜaddi etmeye emn üzere olalar kimesne anları incitmeyeler işbu zikr olunan

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286 V: M[ı]s[ı]r [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]yesi; Şakiroğlu: Mısır İskenderiyyesi.

287 V: Şam; Şakiroğlu: Şam.

288 V: Tr[a]blus; Şakiroğlu: Trablus.

289 V: B[e]yrut; Şakiroğlu: Beyrut.

290 Şakiroğlu: olıgeldüki.

291 Şakiroğlu: mevsimlerinde.

292 Şakiroğlu: gemilerdir.

293 Şakiroğlu: şimdiye değin.

294 Şakiroğlu: ne vechile.

295 Şakiroğlu: idegelmişler ise.

296 Şakiroğlu: idüp.

297 Şakiroğlu: etmiyeler.

298 V: ᶜ[A]r[a]b[i]stan.

299 Şakiroğlu: sabıkan.

300 V: [İ]brahim G[e]şturi; Şakiroğlu: İbrahim Geştüri.

301 V: B[e]yrut; Şakiroğlu: Beyrut.

302 V: Tr[a]blus; Şakiroğlu: Trablus.

303 Şakiroğlu omits 'her'.

304 Şakiroğlu: itdüğü.

305 Şakiroğlu: bidᶜatleri.

306 Şakiroğlu: sa'ir.

307 Şakiroğlu: sa'ir.

ᶜahd üzere dostlugı[308] kabul edüb[309] yemin ederin[310] ki yeri ve gögi[311] yaradan perverdegar hakkıyçün[312]
54) ma-dam ki ᶜahdı ve dostlugı[313] anlar riᶜayet[314] edüb[315] ᶜahd-i şerifime mugayir anlardan bir iş sadır olmaya bendendahı[316] hılaf-i ᶜahd iş olmaya ve bu[317] ᶜahd-name-i hümayunum yazıldukda[318] Bosna[319] sancagı ucunda kalᶜa-i Buçac[320] ve Rastine[321] ve Velin[322] ve Sine[323] ve Degirmenler[324] nam harabe[325] kalᶜalar içün
55) Bosna[326] sancagıbegi[327] el-an ol kalᶜalar alınub zabtımızdadır deyü ᶜarz etdügi[328] ecilden zikr olunmuşdı[329] emma Venedik dojı[330] tarafından dergah-i muᶜallama varid olan mezbur elçileri ol kalᶜalar alınmamışdır girü bizim zabtımızdadır deyü takrir eyleyüb tekrar teftişe muhtac olub hususuyla[331] zikr olunan

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308 Şakiroğlu: dostlugu.

309 Şakiroğlu: idüp.

310 Şakiroğlu: iderim.

311 Şakiroğlu: göğü.

312 Şakiroğlu: hakkı içün.

313 Şakiroğlu: dostlugu.

314 Şakiroğlu: rağbet.

315 Şakiroğlu: idüp.

316 Şakiroğlu: ben dahi.

317 Şakiroğlu has 'deyü' instead of 've bu'.

318 Şakiroğlu: yazıldıkda.

319 V: Bosna; Şakiroğlu: Bosna.

320 V: Buçac; Şakiroğlu: Bucacs.

321 V: Rast[ı]ne; Şakiroğlu: Rastine.

322 V: V[e]l[i]n; Şakiroğlu: Velin.

323 V: Sine; Şakiroğlu: Sinya.

324 V: D[e]g[i]rm[e]nl[e]r; Şakiroğlu: Değirmenler.

325 Şakiroğlu: harab.

326 V: Bosna; Şakiroğlu: Bosna.

327 Şakiroğlu: Bosna Sancağı beği.

328 Şakiroğlu: itdüğü.

329 Şakiroğlu: olunmuş idi.

330 Şakiroğlu: Doju.

331 Şakiroğlu: hususiyle.

56) Degirmen[332] kalᶜaları ma-beynde nizaᶜlu olmagın mezid-i[333] ᶜinayet-i husrevanemden hududuyla[334] yine anlara verilmesin emr eyledim anlarıñ ola emma ol dört kalᶜalar ahvali[335] ᶜahd-i şerifimde mevkuf kılındı teftiş olunub görüle vakıᶜa mezkur elçiniñ[336] takrir etdügi[337] gibi ise[338] anlaruñ[339] tarafına
57) teslim oluna Bosna[340] sancagıbegi[341] ᶜarz etdügi[342] üzere ise soñra ol babda[343] emr-i şerifim nevechile[344] sadır[345] olurise[346] mucebi ile ᶜamel oluna ve bu[347] ᶜahd-name-i şerifimden evvel mezbur elçiniñ Venedik dojı[348] ile müşavere edecek baᶜzı hususları olmagın ᶜahd-name suretinde müfassal
58) hükm-i şerifim yazılub gönderilüb anda kalmışdı[349] haliya ol refᶜ olunub asl mukarrer olan ᶜahd-name-i şerifim budur bunuñ mazmun-i hümayunuyla[350] ᶜamel oluna deyü seᶜidü 'l-hayat[351] şehidü 'l-memat merhum babam hudavendigar ᶜaleyhi 'r-rahmet[352] ve 'l-gufran zeman-i[353] şeriflerinde

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332 V: D[e]g[i]rm[e]n; Şakiroğlu: Değirmen.

333 Şakiroğlu omits the izafet.

334 Şakiroğlu: hududiyle.

335 Şakiroğlu: ahvalin.

336 Şakiroğlu: elçinün.

337 Şakiroğlu: itdüğü.

338 Şakiroğlu: gibiyse.

339 Şakiroğlu: anların.

340 V: Bosna; Şakiroğlu: Bosna.

341 Şakiroğlu: sancağı beği.

342 Şakiroğlu: itdüğü.

343 V: final '-a' (he) is not written.

344 Şakiroğlu: ne vechile.

345 V: final '-r' is not written.

346 Şakiroğlu: olur ise.

347 Şakiroğlu has 'deyü' instead of 've bu'.

348 Şakiroğlu: Doju.

349 Şakiroğlu: kalmış idi.

350 Şakiroğlu: hümayuniyle.

351 Şakiroğlu: saᶜidü 'l-cihan.

352 Şakiroğlu: 'r-rahman.

353 Şakiroğlu omits 'zeman-i'.

59) nişan-i hümayun verilmiş imiş haliya Venedik dojı[354] olan Yironimo Priyul[355] erşedehü 'llahü teᶜala[356] astane-i seᶜadetime Marin Kavali[357] kavaliyer[358] nam elçisi ile mektub gönderüb Yakomo Soranco[359] kavaliyer[360] nam baylos[361] ile sabıka verilen ᶜahd-name-i hümayun mukarrer ve tecdid olunmak babında
60) istidᶜa-i ᶜinayet ve rica-i re'fet ve merhamet eylediler[362] [363] eyle[364] olsa hıfz-i ᶜahd ve aman ᶜadet-i hasene-i selatin-i sahıb-kıran olmagın bendahı[365] mukaddema verilen ᶜahd-name-i hümayunı[366] mukarrer dutub bu nişan-i seᶜadet-ᶜunvanı verdüm ve buyurdum ki
61) işbu zikr olunan ᶜahd üzere dostlugı[367] kabul edüb yemin ederin[368] ki yeri ve gögi[369] halk eden perverdegar hakkıyçün[370] ma-dam ki ᶜahdı ve dostlugı[371] anlar riᶜayet edüb ᶜahd-i şerife muhalif anlardan bir iş sadır olmaya benim cenab-i celalet-me'abım tarafından dahı

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354 Şakiroğlu: Doju.

355 V: Yiron[i]mo Pr[i]yul; Şakiroğlu: Gieronimo Priul. Girolamo Priuli, Doge of Venice 1 September 1559 - 4 November 1567.

356 Şakiroğlu: erşedallahü teᶜala.

357 V: Marin K[a]vali; Şakiroğlu: Marin Kavalli; Marino Cavalli, Venetian ambassador (oratore) to Selim II 1566-1567.

358 V: k[a]val[i]y[e]r; Şakiroğlu: kavaliyer. Originally the Italian *cavaliere*.

359 V: Yak[o]mo S[o]ranco; Şakiroğlu: Yakomo Soranco; Jacopo or Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian bailo in Constantinople, elected 2 June 1565.

360 V: k[a]val[i]y[e]r; Şakiroğlu: kavaliyer.

361 Şakiroğlu: *bailosu*.

362 V: illegible. The original 'eyledi' seems to have been changed to 'eylediler'; Şakiroğlu also has 'eylediler'.

363 V: maybe 've' is written here.

364 Şakiroğlu: öyle.

365 Şakiroğlu: ben dahi.

366 Şakiroğlu: hümayunu.

367 Şakiroğlu: dostlugu.

368 Şakiroğlu: iderim.

369 Şakiroğlu: göğü.

370 Şakiroğlu: hakkıiçün.

371 Şakiroğlu: dostluğu.

62) hılaf-i ᶜahd iş olmaya ve ᶜahd-name-i hümayunda eger ittifak düşüb harami ve levend gemisine buluşub ol harami gemisi bunlara kasd edüb[372] cenk eyleye harami gemisine bunlar galib olalar hin-i müharebede
63) helak olanlardan gayri nekadar[373] adem esir olub diri dutulurise[374] kendüler katl etmeyüb bi-kusur sag ve salim südde-i seᶜadete irsal edeler ki hakklarından geline deyü mestur ve mukayyed iken
64) girü bu hususla ᶜamel olunmayub şimdiyedegin[375] ᶜahda mugayir levend gemisine rast gelinüb cenkde helak olandan ma ᶜada esir olanlardan kimesne gönderilmemiş ise baᶜde 'l-yevm eger harami
65) ve eger levend hususunda ᶜahda mugayir bir vazᶜ sadır ola edenleriñ geregi gibi hakklarından gelinmek gerekdir aña göre ᶜahd[376] riᶜayet olunub levend ve haramiden ele gelenleri kendüler helak etmeyüb
66) zikr olundugı[377] üzere sahih ve salim gönderile ki oñat vechile siyaset oluna ve bu ᶜahdname-i hümayunum ulu peygamberimiz hazret-i Muhammed Mustafa salla 'llahü ᶜaleyh
67) ve sellemiñ hicreti tarihinden tokuz yüz yetmiş dört[378] zi 'l-hiccesiniñ on yedinci[379] gününde yazıldıki[380] hazret-i ᶜİsa peygamber ᶜaleyhi 's-selam tarihinden biñ beşyüz altmış yedi[381] yılında yunus[382] ayınıñ yigirmi dördünci[383] günidir[384]
68) darü 'l-hılafeti 'l-ᶜaliye[385] Kostantiniyede[386] yazıldı şöyle bileler ᶜalamet-i şerif-i ᶜalem-araya iᶜtimad ve iᶜtikad kılalar.

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372 Şakiroğlu: idüp.

373 Şakiroğlu: ne kadar.

374 Şakiroğlu: dutulursa.

375 Şakiroğlu: şimdiye değin.

376 Şakiroğlu: ᶜahde.

377 Şakiroğlu: olunduğu.

378 Şakiroğlu: dokuzyüz yetmişdört.

379 Şakiroğlu: onyedinci.

380 Şakiroğlu: yazıldı ki.

381 Şakiroğlu: binbeşyüzaltmışyedi.

382 Şakiroğlu: yulus.

383 Şakiroğlu: yirmidördüncü.

384 Şakiroğlu: gününde.

385 Şakiroğlu: ᶜaliyye.

386 V: K[o]st[a]nt[i]n[i]ye; Şakiroğlu: Kostantaniyye.

The Venetian Capitulation of 1573

The Venetian capitulation of 1573 is preserved in two different forms. The first one is the text of the original document that was issued by the Ottomans and given to the Venetians. This document is kept in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia[1] and has been published by Şakiroğlu.[2] The second one is the text preserved in the *mühimme defterleri* of the Başbakanlık Arşivi in İstanbul.[3] This last text was only known through its partial publication by Uzunçarşılı.[4] The present version is based on the original document in Venice, the *defter* in İstanbul and the published version of Şakiroğlu.

The text

1) Hüve 'llahü 'l-vahıdü 'l-ferdü 'l-melikü 'l-muᶜızzü 'l-muᶜin[5]

1) allahü teᶜala
2) celle celalühü[6]

1) hakk [7] sübhane ve teᶜalanuñ ᶜulüvv-i ᶜinayeti
2) ve sultan-i enbiya peygamberimüz Muhammed Mustafa
3) salla 'llahü teᶜala ᶜaleyhi ve sellemüñ muᶜcizat-i[8]
4) kesiretü 'l-berekatları mukareneti ile[9]

1) hazret-i huda-i müteᶜalıñ vahdaniyeti[10] ve ᶜazameti hakkıyçün[11]

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1 ASV, Documenti Turchi 818 (= V).

2 Şakiroğlu, *Ahidnameler,* 527-553 (= Şakiroğlu).

3 Başbakanlık Arşivi, İstanbul, *Mühimme Defteri* 21, 165-166, no. 404 (= MD). See Çetin, *op. cit.*, 49-57.

4 Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, III, 1, 25, note 1.

5 V: this line is written with gold ink.

6 V: this line is written with blue ink.

7 Şakiroğlu adds here 'u'.

8 Şakiroğlu: muᶜcizatı.

9 V: these four lines are written with gold ink at the right side of the paper. The following four lines are written left of these at the same level, also in gold ink. These two formulae (the *formula devotionis* and the oath) are 'elevated' ('honorific elevation').

10 Şakiroğlu has 've hidayeti' in stead of 'vahdaniyeti'.

11 Şakiroğlu: hakkı içün.

2) ve habib-i[12] ekrem seᶜadetlü peygamberimüz Muhammed Mustafa ᶜaleyhi efzalü
3) 's-salevat ve ekmelü 't-tahiyatıñ hürmetiyçün[13] ᶜahd ve yemin
4) ederim ki

Selim-şah bin Süleyman-şah han el-muzaffer da'ima[14]

1)[15] Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sami-mekan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i giti-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani[16] ve[17] 's-savni[18] 's-samedani hükmi oldur ki[19]
2) hazret-i[20] ben ki sultanü 's-selatin bürhanü 'l-havakin tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin sultan [21] Selim han bin sultan[22] Süleyman[23] han bin sultan Selim[24] hanım[25] şimdikihalde[26] mefahırü

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12 Şakiroğlu: habibi.

13 Şakiroğlu: 'l tahiyytaın-hürmeti içün.

14 Şakiroğlu: Sultan Selim Şah bin Sultan Süleyman Şah el muzaffer daima.

15 The text in the *Mühimme Defteri* (= MD) begins here. Above the proper text there is the following introduction:

1) [yev]mü 'l-erbeᶜa

2) fi 14 zi 'l-kaᶜde sene 980 Kostantiniye

3) yazıldı (in the right margin)

4) Venedik beglerine yazılan ᶜahd-name-i hümayun suretidir.

16 Şakiroğlu: bilᶜavn-i rabbani.

17 Şakiroğlu omits 've'.

18 Şakiroğlu: es-savnü.

19 In the text of the MD the introductory formula is abbreviated to 'nişan-i hümayun yazıla ki'.

20 V: after this first word there is a blank space. The *formula devotionis* now above the *tugra* was originally part of the *intitulatio* and had to be written here. The scribe started with the first word ('hazret-i') of this formula but did not finish it. Surprisingly the *formula devotionis* above the *tugra* lacks this 'hazret-i'. Therefore, the blank space indicates that the remaining part of the *formula devotionis*, although it was written above the *tugra* ('honorific elevation'), formed part of the *intitulatio*. The MD-version, which is lacking the extensive *formula devotionis* adds a short completion: 'hakkıñ ᶜinayetiyle' written above 'hazret-i' (as a correction).

21 MD adds here 'han', but corrects itself by way striking 'han' out again.

22 MD omits 'sultan'.

23 MD originally had 'Selim' but corrected it to 'Süleyman'.

24 MD omits 'han bin sultan Selim'.

25 Şakiroğlu: hanın.

26 Şakiroğlu: şimdiki halde.

3) 'l-ümera'i 'l-ᶜızami 'l-ᶜiseviye meraciᶜu 'l-kübera'i 'l-fiham fi 'l-milleti 'l-mesihiye muslihu mesalihi cemahiri 't-tayifeti 'n-nasraniye[27] Venedik dojı[28] ve begleri hutimet ᶜavakıbühüm[29] bi-'l-hayrıñ dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahımda[30] baylosluk[31] hidmetinde olan
4) kıdvetü ümera'i[32] 'l-milleti 'l-mesihiye[33] Marcantonio Barbaro[34] nam muᶜteber ademleri müşar[35] ileyhim begleri canibinden girü sulh ve salah hususun iᶜlam ve işᶜar edüb[36] bu babda kendü hattı ve mührüyle[37] mektubun astan-i[38] seᶜadet-aşiyanıma[39]
5) getürüb[40] istidᶜa-i[41] ᶜinayet eyledükde[42] yüce dergahımız eger dostluk ve eger düşmenlik[43] dileyenlere ᶜinayet [44] ile[45] meftuh ve mekşuf[46] oldugı[47] ecilden ᶜadet-i ba-seᶜadet-i şahanemiz üzere hayyiz-i kabulde vakıᶜ oldı[48]

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27 Şakiroğlu: mefahirü'l ümerai'l ᶜizamü'l ᶜiseviyye meraciü'l-kübera-i fiham fi'l milei'l mesihiyye muslih-i mesalih-i cemahir-it tayifeti'n nasraniye.

28 Şakiroğlu: Doju.

29 Şakiroğlu: ᶜavakibihum.

30 MD: destgahıma.

31 Şakiroğlu: bailosluk.

32 MD: 'l-ümera'i.

33 Şakiroğlu: kıdvetü'l ümera-i el-milleti'l mesihiyye.

34 V and MD: Markontono Barbaro; Şakiroğlu: Markantonio Barbaro. Marcantonio Barbaro, Venetian bailo in Constantinople 1568-1573.

35 Şakiroğlu: müşarün.

36 Şakiroğlu: idüp.

37 Şakiroğlu: mühriyle.

38 Şakiroğlu: asitane-i.

39 V: added later in a different small handwriting as a correction.

40 Şakiroğlu: getürüp.

41 Şakiroğlu: istiday-ı.

42 Şakiroğlu: eyledükte.

43 Şakiroğlu: düşmanlık.

44 V: small blank space.

45 V: a small blank space; MD first had 'ᶜinayet ile', but it was corrected to 'ᶜinayet-i hakkla'. The omission of 'hakk' in the Venetian document and the blank space can be explained as follows: the word 'hakk' most likely was to be written with another colour ink. However, this was never done and thus there remained a blank space. Neither did the MD-version, originally have 'hakk' but it was corrected later.

46 Şakiroğlu: meksuf.

47 Şakiroğlu: olduğu.

48 Şakiroğlu: oldu.

6) mezbur baylosuñ[49] mektubunda mukayyed olan cümle şartlarından[50] biri Venedik begleri merhum ve magfur lehü[51] babam sultan Süleyman han[52] tabe serahü zemanında verdükleri[53] üçyüz biñ[54] filoriyi[55] eski ᶜahd-namelerde mukayyed oldugı[56]
7) üslub üzere vereler ve andan gayri Sopot[57] nam hisarı dahı bile alınan toblarıyla vereler içinde olan reᶜayadan isteyen kala ve istemeyen esbab ve emvalı ve evlad ve[58] ensalı ile mürad edindikleri[59]
8) yere gideler kimesne maniᶜ olmaya ve Zaklise[60] ceziresinden ötüri[61] mukaddema beşyüz filori verirler idi haliya biñ filori ziyade edüb kadimden verdükleri[62] üslub üzere biñ beşyüz[63] filoriyi[64] südde-i seᶜadet-me'abımıza
9) irsal edeler ve merhum babam tabe serahü zemanında verilen ᶜahd-name-i hümayun ve ahkam-i şerife ki cülus-i hümayunumda tecdid olunub makbul-i şerifim olmuşdı[65] eger ol ᶜahd-namelerde ve eger verilen evamir-i ᶜaliyede mukayyed olan
10) hususları ke-ma kane mukarrer tutdum[66] ve Venedik begleri Kıbrıs[67] ceziresinden ötüri[68] sal be-sal südde-i seᶜadetime verdükleri[69] sekiz biñ

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49 Şakiroğlu: bailosun.

50 Şakiroğlu: şartlardan.

51 Şakiroğlu: mağfurleh.

52 Şakiroğlu omits 'han'.

53 Şakiroğlu: verdikleri.

54 Şakiroğlu: üçyüzbin.

55 MD: filori.

56 Şakiroğlu: olduğu.

57 V and MD: S[o]pot; Şakiroğlu: Sopot.

58 Şakiroğlu omits 've'.

59 Şakiroğlu: etdikleri.

60 V and MD: Zakl[i]se (or Zak[i]lse); Şakiroğlu: Zaklisa.

61 Şakiroğlu: ötürü.

62 Şakiroğlu: virdikleri.

63 MD omits 'biñ beşyüz'; Şakiroğlu: binbeşyüz.

64 MD: filori.

65 Şakiroğlu: olmuş idi.

66 Şakiroğlu: tutdım.

67 V and MD: K[ı]br[ı]s; Şakiroğlu: Kıbrıs.

68 Şakiroğlu: ötürü.

69 Şakiroğlu; virdikleri.

altunı[70] min baᶜd vermeyeler ve Arnavudlukda[71] ve Bosna[72] vilayetinde[73] olan yerler ki[74]
11) haliya baᶜzısı bu canibiñ[75] tesarrüfüne girüb ve baᶜzısı dahı Venedik begleriniñ ellerindedir iki canibiñ ellerinde olan hisarlarıñ kadimi sınurları ve karyeleri vere bozulmadın[76] ne vechile zabt olunu gelmiş ise min baᶜd
12) girü olvechile[77] zabt oluna ve bu babda tarafeynden mezbur vilayetleriñ hakimlerine müceddeda[78] emirler gönderilüb tenbih[79] oluna ve vere bozuldugı[80] zemanda iki[81] canibde[82] bulunub mahbus ve girift olunan
13) bazirganlara esbab ve metaᶜları[83] ve gemileri verilüb ıtlak olunalar[84] eger mezbur bazirganlarıñ metaᶜları satılub yahud zayiᶜ olmuş ise ki sabit ve zahir ola satılanlarınıñ[85] niçeye beyᶜ olunmuş ise
14) akçeleri ve zayiᶜ olanlarıñ kıymetleri ne ise behaları verile deyü zikr eylemiş eyle[86] olsa mezbur baylosuñ[87] Venedik dojı[88] ve begleri canibinden verdügi[89] mektubunda münderic olan

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70 Şakiroğlu: sekizbin altunu.

71 V and MD: [A]rnav[u]dl[u]k; Şakiroğlu; Arnavutluk.

72 V and MD: Bosna; Şakiroğlu: Bosna.

73 Şakiroğlu: vilayetlerinde.

74 Şakiroğlu has 'yerlerde' in stead of 'yerler ki'.

75 Şakiroğlu: canibim.

76 Şakiroğlu: vire bulmazdan.

77 Şakiroğlu: ol vechile.

78 Şakiroğlu: müceddeden.

79 MD: tenebbüh?

80 Şakiroğlu: vire bozulduğu.

81 Şakiroğlu: iken.

82 Şakiroğlu: canibeynde.

83 MD first had 've metaᶜıları'; the scribe apparently realized his mistake, struck the words out and wrote them correctly on the next line.

84 Şakiroğlu: olunanlar.

85 Şakiroğlu: satılanların.

86 Şakiroğlu: öyle.

87 Şakiroğlu: bailosun.

88 Şakiroğlu: Doju.

89 Şakiroğlu: virdüğü.

15) şürut üzere sulhı[90] kabul edüb bu ᶜahd-name-i hümayun-i meserret-makrunı[91] verdüm ve buyurdum ki ma dam ki[92] muma ileyhim[93] begler tarafından şerayıt-i ᶜahd ve eman[94] riᶜayet ve himayet olunub
16) hılaf-i ᶜahd vazᶜ zuhur etmeye [95] ben dahı ma beynde olan dostlukdan şürut ve ᶜuhuddan ᶜudul[96] ve inhiraf göstermeyem ve südde-i seniye-i[97] seᶜadet-destgahımıza kurudan ve yaşdan düşmenlik[98] üzere
17) olanlara ma dam ki[99] Venedik dojı[100] ve begleri kavla[101] ve fiᶜlen[102] muᶜin ve zahir olmayalar vakıᶜ olan sulh ve salahdan tecavüz etdirmeyem nitekim eski ᶜahd-name-i hümayunumda mesturdur şöyle bileler ᶜalamet-i şerife[103] iᶜtimad kılalar
18) tahriren fi 'l-yevmi 's-salis-i şehr-i zi 'l-kaᶜde 'ş-şerife min şühur-i sene semanin ve tisᶜ-mi'e[104]
19) be-mekam-i darü 'l-hılafet Kostantiniye[105] el-mahmiye m.[106]

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90 Şakiroğlu: sulhu.

91 Şakiroğlu: bu ᶜahidname-i meserret-makrunu.

92 MD: ma-dam ki.

93 Şakiroğlu: mumaileyhim.

94 Şakiroğlu omits 'eman'.

95 V: small blank space which indicates that the oath, now above the *tugra* next to the *formula devotionis* ('honorific elevation'), originally was to be written here.

96 Şakiroğlu: ᶜadul.

97 MD and Şakiroğlu omit 'seniye-i'.

98 Şakiroğlu: düşmanlık.

99 MD: ma-dam ki.

100 Şakiroğlu: Doju.

101 MD and Şakiroğlu: kavlen.

102 Şakiroğlu: fiilen.

103 Şakiroğlu: şerifime. MD stops here.

104 Şakiroğlu: tahriren fi'l yevm'üs sani şehr-i Zilkade-i şerife min şuhur sene seman ve tisᶜa mie.

105 Şakiroğlu: bi makam-ı darülhilafeti'l-Kostantaniyye. V: K[o]st[a]nt[i]n[i]ye.

106 Şakiroğlu omits the 'm' (for 'tamme': ready, finished).

The Venetian Capitulation of 1575

The capitulation of 1575 is preserved in several forms. The first is the original document that was issued by the Ottoman chancery. This document is kept in the Archivio di Stato.[1] Other versions of this treaty can be found in the *ecnebi defterleri* of the Başbakanlık Arşivi in İstanbul[2] and in a *defter* in the Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi.[3] The text of this capitulation has also been published in the *Mecmuᶜa-i Müᶜahedat*.[4] Another version in an *inşa* book of the British Library has not been used here because this text omits almost half the treaty.[5]

The text[6]

Hüve 'llahü 'l-vahıdü 's-samed lem yelid ve lem yuled ve lem yekün lehü küfü'en ahadün[7]

Şah Murad bin Selim-şah han el-muzaffer da'ima[8]

1) Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sami-mekan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 's-savni 's-samedani hükmi oldur ki[9]

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1 ASV, Documenti Turchi 827 (= V).

2 Başbakanlık Arşivi, İstanbul, *Ecnebi Defteri* 16/4 (Venedik), 3-8, no. 2 (= BBA). See Çetin, *op. cit*., 68-72.

3 Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, D. 7018/1, f. 44v. - f. 46v. (= TS).

4 *Müᶜahedat mecmuᶜası* (also known as *Mecmuᶜa-i müᶜahedat* or *Müᶜahedat-i ᶜumumiye mecmuᶜası*), 5 vols., İstanbul 1274-1275 (also 1294-1298), 130-141 (= MM).

5 British Library, Official Letters Turkish, Oriental (Or.) 9503, f. 267v. - f. 270v.

6 Names of persons and places are given in the footnotes with their Italian translation from Documenti Turchi 828 (T).

7 Variation of the 112th surah in the Koran (called the suretü 'l-ihlas or sure-i ihlas): 'bi-'smi 'llahi 'r-rahmani 'r-rahim kul hüve 'llahü ahadün allahü 's-samed lem yelid ve lem yuled ve lem yekün lehü küfü'en ahadün'. BBA and TS omit the *invocatio*-formula.

8 BBA and TS omit the *tugra* but instead of this and the *invocatio* they have the following rubric (BBA: in red ink at the top of page 3; TS: in orange-red ink at the top of f. 44v.): 'tokuz yüz seksen üç senesinde merhum sultan Murad han ibn sultan Selim han zeman-i şeriflerinde Venedik dojına verilen ᶜahd-name-i hümayun (TS: hümayunuñ) suretidir'. MM also replaces both the *tugra* and the *invocatio*-formula by a rubric (at the top of page 130): 'Venedik cümhuruyla münᶜakıd müᶜahedatıñ suretidir'.

9 BBA and TS abbreviate the introductory formula to 'nişan-i hümayun oldur ki'. MM omits the introductory formula.

2) hazret-i hakk sübhane ve teᶜalanıñ ᶜulüvv-i ᶜinayeti ve sultan-i enbiya peygamberimiz Muhammed Mustafa[10] salla 'llahü ᶜaleyh ve sellemiñ muᶜcizat-i kesiretü 'l-berekatı ve çehar yar-i ᶜızam ᶜaleyhim rızvanü 'llahi 'l-meliki 'l-ᶜallamıñ sümüvv-i himmetleri mukareneti ile[11] ben ki[12] sultanü 's-selatin bürhanü 'l-havakin

3) tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin sultan Murad han bin[13] sultan Selim han bin[14] sultan Süleyman han bin[15] sultan Selim hanım şimdikihalde[16] mefahırü 'l-ümera'i 'l-ᶜızami 'l-ᶜiseviye meraciᶜu 'l-kübera'i[17] 'l-fiham fi 'l-milleti 'l-mesihiye[18] Venedik dojı Alvize Mosenigo[19] ve sayir[20] begleri[21] hutimet ᶜavakıbühüm bi-'l-hayr

4) dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahımıza[22] Yacomo Soranso[23] kavaliyer prokurator[24] nam yarar ve muᶜtemed ᶜaleyh ademlerin[25] elçi taᶜyin edüb ᶜarz-i ᶜubudiyet ve ihlas eyleyüb ve merhum ceddim sultan Süleyman han [26] ve babam sultan Selim han ᶜaleyhima[27] 'r-rahmet ve 'l-gufran zemanlarında oldugı üzere dostluk

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10 T: Meemet Mustaffa'.

11 BBA and MM have 'şimdiki halde'; TS: 'şimdikihalde' instead of 'hazret-i hakk sübhane ve teᶜalanıñ ᶜulüvv-i ᶜinayeti ve sultan-i enbiya peygamberimiz Muhammed Mustafa salla 'llahü ᶜaleyh ve sellemiñ muᶜcizat-i kesiretü 'l-berekatı ve çehar yar-i ᶜızam ᶜaleyhim rızvanü 'llahi 'l-meliki 'l-ᶜallamıñ sümüvv-i himmetleri mukareneti ile'.

12 BBA, MM and TS: benki.

13 BBA, MM and TS: ibn.

14 BBA, MM and TS: ibn.

15 BBA, MM and TS: ibn.

16 BBA, MM and TS: hala.

17 TS: 'l-kübera.

18 BBA, MM and TS have 'min ta'ifeti 'l-mesihiye' instead of 'fi 'l-milleti 'l-mesihiye'.

19 V: [A]lvize Mos[e]n[i]go; T: Alvise Mocenigo; BBA has a small blank space instead of the name; TS and MM also omit the name but without a blank space. Alvise I Mocenigo, Doge of Venice 11 May 1570 - 4 June 1577.

20 BBA and MM: sa'ir.

21 TS: begler.

22 BBA, MM and TS: destgahıma.

23 V, BBA, TS and MM: Yakomo Soranso; T: Giacomo Soranzo. Jacopo or Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian ambassador ('oratore') to Constantinople 1575-1576.

24 V, BBA, TS and MM: k[a]val[i]y[e]r prokurator. T: cavalier & procurator.

25 BBA and TS: ademisini; MM: ademisi.

26 BBA, MM and TS add here 'tabe serahü'.

27 BBA, MM and TS: ᶜaleyhi.

5) ve müᶜahede ve yüce dergahımız[28] ile sulh ve salah mukarrer[29] olmak ve[30] ᶜinayet[31] eyledikleri [32] ᶜahd-namelerinde münderic olan şürut ve ᶜuhud ke-ma kane muhakkak[33] olmak ve [34] ᶜahd-nameleri tecdid olunmak içün ᶜaynı ile[35] dergah-i muᶜallamıza[36] gönderüb istidᶜa-i[37] ᶜinayet ve rica-i[38] re'fet ve temenni-i[39] himayet[40]
6) eyledikleri ecilden sabıka Venedik dojı olan Petro Lando[41] zemanında[42] müşarün[43] ileyh ceddim tabe serahü[44] verdügi[45] ᶜahd-name-i hümayunuñ mazmununda kendüleriñ taht-i tesarrüflerinde olan kalᶜalardan Morada[46] vakıᶜ olan Anabolı[47] kalᶜasın[48] kullesi ile[49] ve Menavasiye[50] nam kalᶜayı

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28 BBA, MM and TS: dergahım.

29 BBA, MM and TS omit 'mukarrer'.

30 BBA, MM and TS have 'babında' instead of 've'.

31 BBA, MM and TS: ᶜinayet-i rica.

32 BBA, MM and TS add here 'ecilden'.

33 BBA, MM and TS: mukarrer.

34 BBA, MM and TS add here 'mukaddema'.

35 BBA, MM and TS: ᶜaynıyla.

36 BBA and TS: muᶜallama; MM: muᶜallamla.

37 V: 'hemze-izafet'; BBA, MM and TS: 'ye-izafet'.

38 V and BBA: 'hemze-izafet'; TS: 'ye-izafet'; MM has no 'izafet'.

39 V: 'hemze-izafet'.

40 BBA, MM and TS omit 've temenni-i himayet'.

41 V: P[e]tro Lando; BBA and TS: P[e]tro Land; MM: Tiro Latd[-]r; T: Pietro Lando. Pietro Lando, Doge of Venice 19 January 1539 - 9 November 1545.

42 BBA and TS: rehanında; MM: hanında (copy-mistake).

43 BBA, MM and TS: müşar.

44 BBA, MM and TS omit 'tabe serahü'.

45 TS and MM: verdigi.

46 V, BBA and MM: Mora; TS: Mor[a]; T: Morea.

47 V, BBA, TS and MM: [A]nabolı; T: Napoli con la Rocca.

48 MM: kalᶜası.

49 BBA, MM and TS: kullesiyle.

50 V: M[e]navas[i]ye; BBA: M[e]nadas[i]ye (without diacritical marks); TS: M[e]nadas[i]ne (without diacritical marks); MM: K[a]navat; T: Malvasia.

7) bile topların ve çañların ve sa'ir yarak [51] alatın aldıklarından soñra[52] içinde olan begleri[53] ve ᶜulufecileri kande isterler ise[54] esbabları ile[55] gidüb ve reᶜayadan dahı ihtiyarı ile[56] kalanlar anda kalub gitmek isteyenler esbabları ile[57] gitmek üzere ᶜatebe-i ᶜalem-penaha[58]
8) teslim eyleyüb[59] ve hızane-i ᶜamire[60] canibine dahı üçyüz biñ sikke efrenci[61] altun vermek üzere ki yüz[62] biñ filorisin[63] olvakt[64] verüb ve yine ol yıl içinde elli biñ sikke filorisin verüb[65] baki yüz elli[66] biñ filorisin[67] ol yıldan soñra [68]iki yıl içinde eda etmek üzere
9) ki her bir[69] yılda yetmiş beşer biñ filori olur kendülere ᶜahd-name-i hümayun ihsan olunmak[70] [71] tezarruᶜ etdiklerinde[72] merhum ceddim nevvere 'llahü merkadehü[73] dahı mezid-i merhamet-i husrevanelerinden tefsil

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51 BBA, MM and TS add here 've'.

52 BBA, MM and TS: aldıkdansoñra.

53 MM: peykleri.

54 BBA and MM: isterseler; TS: isterlerse.

55 BBA, MM and TS: esbablarıyla.

56 BBA, MM and TS: ihtiyarlarıyla.

57 BBA and MM have 'isteyenleri ile' instead of 'isteyenler esbabları ile'; TS: isteyenleriyle.

58 BBA, MM and TS: penahıma.

59 BBA, MM and TS: edüb.

60 BBA, MM and TS: ᶜamirem.

61 BBA and TS have a small blank space instead of 'efrenci'; MM omits 'efrenci' without leaving a blank space.

62 BBA, MM and TS: yüz elli.

63 MM: filorin.

64 BBA and TS have 'sulh olundukda' instead of 'olvakt'; MM: sulh oldukda.

65 BBA, MM and TS omit 've yine ol yıl içinde elli biñ sikke filorisin verüb'.

66 BBA and MM omit 'elli'.

67 MM: filorin.

68 MM: page 131.

69 BBA: added later, in very small handwriting; MM omits 'bir'.

70 BBA, MM and TS: olunmasın.

71 BBA and MM add here 'rica ve'.

72 BBA, MM and TS: eylediklerinde.

73 BBA, MM and TS have 'müşar ileyh' instead of 'ceddim nevvere 'llahü merkadehü'.

olunacak şürut üzere anlara müᶜahede-i şerif ihsan eyleyüb [74] ᶜahd-i şerifim[75] bunuñ üzerine caridir ve ᶜahd-i hümayunum[76] mukarrer [77] olmasıyçün
10) yemin ederimki yeri ve gögi [78] yaradan hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ[79] birligi hakkı içün[80] ma-dam ki[81] anlar tarafından ᶜahda[82] muhalif iş olmaya bendahı[83] müᶜahede-i şerifime mugayir vazᶜ etdirmeyem[84] mezbur Venedik dojı ve sa'ir[85] begleri[86] ve ademleri ve anlara müteᶜallık olan yerleriñ[87] ve vilayetler[88] halkı ile[89] ve[90] bu ᶜahd-i şerifim sadır[91] olmazdan
11) evvel[92] ma beynde[93] ᶜadavet oldugı[94] zemanda anlar canibinden şemşir-i zafer-te'sirimle[95] alınan Bosna[96] sancagı uçunda[97] kalᶜa-i Urana[98] ve kalᶜa-i

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74 BBA, MM and TS add here 'nişan-i hümayunla (TS: hümayun ile; MM: hümayunumla) ᶜahd-i şerif erzani kılub ve'.

75 BBA, MM and TS: hümayunum.

76 BBA, MM and TS have 'ki' instead of 've ᶜahd-i hümayunum'.

77 BBA, MM and TS add here 've mü'ekked'.

78 BBA and MM add here 've cümle mahlukatı'; TS: ve cümle mahlukı.

79 MM: hazretleri.

80 BBA, MM and TS: hakkıyçün.

81 BBA, MM and TS: ma damki.

82 MM: ᶜahd.

83 BBA, MM and TS: benden dahı.

84 BBA, MM and TS: sadır olmaya.

85 TS: sayir.

86 MM: peykleri.

87 TS: yerlerin.

88 BBA and MM: vilayetleriñ; TS: vilayetlerin.

89 TS: halkıyla.

90 BBA, MM and TS omit 've'.

91 BBA, MM and TS omit 'sadır'.

92 BBA, MM and TS: mukaddem.

93 TS: ma beyninde.

94 BBA and MM: oldıgı.

95 BBA, MM and TS: te'sirim ile.

96 V, BBA, TS and MM: Bosna; T: Bossena.

97 BBA, MM and TS: ucunda.

98 V and BBA: [U]yurana; TS and MM: [U]yvarna; T: Vrana.

Nadin[99] ve bu kalᶜalara tabiᶜ olan köyleriñ cümle hududı ve sınurı ile feth olundugı[100] zemanda yerinde mevcud bulunan[101] reᶜayası ile[102] ve Ak Deñiz
12) içinde vakıᶜ olan cezirelerden İskados[103] kalᶜası ile[104] ve cezire-i İskiros[105] kalᶜasıyla[106] ve cezire-i Andıra[107] iki pare kalᶜasıyla ve cezire-i Sifnos[108] ve cezire-i Serfoz[109] kalᶜalarıyla ve cezire-i Kerpe[110] iki pare kalᶜası ile[111] [112] ve Nakşaya[113] tabiᶜ olan cezirelerden Sire[114] Tinoz[115] kalᶜalarıyla ve cezire-i Nakşa[116]
13) üç pare kalᶜasıyla ve cezire-i Santorin[117] ve cezire-i[118] Milo[119] iki pare kalᶜasıyla ve cezire-i Andobade[120] kalᶜasıyla ve maᶜmur olmayub hali olan[121] harabeden cezire-i Egine[122] ve cezire-i Merid[123] ve cezire-i Termine[124] ve cezire-i

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99 V: Nadin; BBA, TS and MM: Mardin; T: Nadin.

100 BBA and MM: olundıgı.

101 TS: olunan.

102 BBA, MM and TS: reᶜayasıyla.

103 V: [İ]skados; BBA, TS and MM: [İ]şkadoş; T: Sciatos.

104 BBA, MM and TS: kalᶜasıyla.

105 V, BBA, TS and MM: [İ]sk[i]ros; T: Schiro.

106 MM omits 'kalᶜasıyla'.

107 V, BBA, TS and MM: [A]nd[ı]ra; T: Andro.

108 V: S[i]ftos (sic for S[i]fnos); BBA, TS and MM: S[i]knos (sic for S[i]fnos); T: Sifno.

109 V: S[e]rkor (sic for S[e]rfoz); BBA, TS and MM: Semor; T: Sirfo.

110 V: K[e]rpe; BBA, MM and TS: G[i]rid; T: Chierpe.

111 BBA, MM and TS: kalᶜasıyla.

112 TS adds here 've cezire'.

113 V, BBA, TS and MM: N[a]kşa; T: Nexia.

114 V: Sire ('ye' without diacritical marks); BBA, TS and MM: Sir ('ye' without diacritical marks); T: Sira.

115 V, BBA, TS and MM: Tinoz (without diacritical marks)(or Ninoz, Niyoz?); T: Tino.

116 V, BBA, TS and MM: N[a]kşa; T: Nexia.

117 V: Santorin; T: Santurini; BBA and TS: Sasur; MM: Sasu (sic for Santor[in]). See also next note.

118 BBA, MM and TS omit 've cezire' but write the last three letters of '[cezi]re-i'.

119 V, BBA, TS and MM: Milo; T: Millo.

120 V: [A]ndobade; BBA, TS and MM: [A]ndotare; T: Andobada.

121 TS first writes 'olub' but then correctly adds 'olan'.

122 V, BBA, TS and MM: Eg[i]ne; T: Egna.

123 V: M[e]rid; BBA, TS and MM: M[ü]rt[e]d; T: Merit.

124 V: T[e]rmid; BBA: T[e]rmid ('ye' without diacritical marks); TS: B[e]rn[e]nd; MM: B[e]rm[e]nd; T: Termine.

Baro[125] ve cezire-i Mikene[126] ve cezire-i Papaslık[127] ve İstanbuliye[128] dahı[129] Körke[130] cezireleri ve cezire-i Koyunluca[131]
14) ve cezire-i Mırgır[132] ve cezire-i Mallu Kilise[133] ki bu zikr olunanlar[134] cümle havass-i hümayunumuñ tesarrüfündedür[135] bunlardan gayri anlara tabi[c] olub el-an zabtlarında olan Tine[136] nam cezire kal[c]asıyla ve sa'ir[137] tesarrüflerinde olan[138] kal[c]alar ile[139] ve burgazlarıyla[140] [141] bi-'l-cümle Aya Markonuñ[142] sancagın götüren[143] kimesneler ile yaşdan ve kurıdan[144]
15) el-an tesarrüflerinde olan elleri ve köyleri[145] ile[146] şimdiye degin [147]ve şimdensoñra[148] kendü dindaşlarından [149]alacak yerleri[150] ile ba[c]de 'l-yevm

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125 V: Baro; BBA, TS and MM: Bara; T: Paro.

126 V: M[i]k[e]ne; T: Micone; BBA, MM and TS omit 've cezire-i Mikene'.

127 V, BBA, TS and MM: Papasl[ı]k; T: Papaslich.

128 V: [İ]stanbul[i]ye; BBA, TS: [İ]stanbul[i]ye ('nun', 'be' and 'ye' without diacritical marks); MM: [İ]stanbula; T: Stampolia.

129 MM: vahı.

130 V, BBA, TS and MM: Körke or Görge; T: S. Giorgi.

131 V: K[o]yunluca; BBA, TS: M[o]yunluca (without diacritical marks); MM: M[o]yubluca; T: Coiunluge'.

132 V: M[ı]rf[ı]r (sic for M[ı]rg[ı]r); BBA, TS and MM: M[ı]rmır; T: Mirgar.

133 V, BBA, TS and MM: Mallu K[i]lise (with final elif written as K[i]lisa); T: Chiesa ricca.

134 BBA, MM and TS: olunan.

135 BBA, MM and TS: tesarrüfündedir.

136 V: T[i]ne; BBA, TS: T[i]n[e]r; MM: T[i]t[e]r; T: Thine.

137 TS: sayir.

138 TS has 'olan' written twice at the end of line 33 and the beginning of line 34.

139 BBA, MM and TS have 'kal[c]alarile' or 'kal[c]alarıyla'.

140 BBA, MM and TS: burguzlarıyla.

141 BBA, MM and TS add here 've'.

142 V: [A]ya Morka; BBA, TS and MM: [A]ya Marko; T: San Marco.

143 TS: götür[en].

144 BBA, MM and TS have 'yaşda ve kurıda' instead of 'yaşdan ve kurıdan'.

145 V: for the first time köyleri' is written instead of 'günleri'.

146 BBA, MM and TS have 'karyeleriyle' instead of 'köyleri ile'.

147 BBA: page 4. At the bottom of page 3 the first words of page 4 (ve şimden soñra) are written.

148 BBA and TS: şimden soñra.

149 MM; page 132.

150 BBA, MM and TS: yerler.

aramızda dostluk ve barışıklık ola[151] Yanya[152] sancagı sınurunda vakı[c] olan Parga[153] nam mevzı[c][154] kullesiyle[155] ve varoşuyla ve hudud ve sınurı ile[156] ki emrimle[157] sabıkda yakılub
16) yıkılmış idi[158] mezid-i [c]inayetimden yine anlar canibinden tesarrüf olunmasın emr eyledim yine anlarıñ ola emma mezbur Parga[159] ve aña tabi[c] olan[160] köylerde vakı[c] olan ademleri deñizden[161] ve kurıdan memalik-i mahruseme zarer ve ziyan ederler ise[162] Venedik begleri ol zareri[163] ve ziyanı tazmin etdüreler[164] [165] edenleriñ
17) mühkem hakklarından geleler ve memalik-i mahrusemde olan sancak beglerinden[166] ve subaşılardan[167] ve bi-'l-cümle benim[168] huddam-i encüm-ihtişamımdan hiç ahad[169] anlarıñ vilayetlerine ve kal[c]alarına ve burguzlarına ve ademlerine [170] zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler[171] ve eger cenab-i celalet-me'abıma müte[c]allık olan beglerden ve [c]asakir-i zafer-me'asirimden[172] anlarıñ vilayetlerine ve kal[c]alarına

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151 BBA, MM and TS: üzerine.

152 V, BBA, TS and MM: Yanya; T: Ianina.

153 V, BBA, TS and MM: Parga; T: Parga.

154 V: written as 'mevzı[c]a'.

155 BBA, MM and TS: kal[c]asıyla.

156 BBA, MM and TS: sınuruyla.

157 TS: emrim ile.

158 TS: yıkılmışidi.

159 V, BBA, TS and MM: Parga; T: Parga.

160 MM omits 'olan'.

161 BBA, MM and TS: deryadan.

162 BBA, MM and TS: ederlerse.

163 BBA, MM and TS: zarer.

164 TS and MM: etdireler.

165 BBA, MM and TS add here 've böyle bir iş'.

166 BBA and TS: sancakbeglerinden.

167 BBA, MM and TS: subaşılarından.

168 BBA, MM and TS omit 'benim'.

169 BBA, MM and TS have 'olan sıgar ve kibardan hiç bir ferd' instead of 'hiç ahad' (TS omits 've').

170 BBA, MM and TS add here 'bir vechile'.

171 BBA, MM and TS: erişdirmeyeler.

172 BBA, MM and TS: te'sirimden.

18) ve burguslarına[173] ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan erişdirirler ise vakıᶜ olan zarer ve ziyan[174] ferman-i şerifimle yerine konılub dahl [175]edenleriñ hakklarından[176] geleler ve mezbur[177] begleriñ bazirganlarından ve ademlerinden[178] yaşdan ve kurıdan [179] kadırga ve kökeleri ve gayri küçük gemileri ile[180] mahruse-i İstanbula[181] ve Galataya[182] ve [183] ᶜArabistandan[184]
19) İskenderiye-i Mısra[185] ve Gelibolıdan[186] aşga[187] olan bogaza ve İnebahtı[188] ve Preveze[189] bogazlarına ve Moton[190] limanına gaflet ile gelüb girmeyüb mukaddema dizdarlarına tenbih eyleyüb icazet ile[191] gelüb girüb meger ki rüzgar şiddet üzere [192] furtuna olub ve yahud anları dahı[193] levend kalyataları kovub ol
20) iskeleden gayri konacak yerleri olmayub zaruret ola ol vakt[194] gelüb gireler eger mümkin ise tenbih edeler ve gitmelü olıcak icazetsüz[195] gitmeyüb

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173 BBA, MM and TS: burguzlarına.

174 BBA, MM and TS: ziyanları.

175 TS: f. 45r.

176 BBA, MM and TS: hakkından.

177 BBA, MM and TS: mezkur.

178 BBA, MM and TS have 'memalik-i mahruseme' instead of 've ademlerinden'.

179 BBA, MM and TS add here 've'.

180 BBA, MM and TS: gemileriyle.

181 V, BBA, TS and MM: [İ]stanbul; T: Costantinopoli.

182 V, BBA, TS and MM: G[a]l[a]ta; T: Pera.

183 BBA, MM and TS add here 'diyar-i'.

184 V, BBA, TS and MM: ᶜ[A]r[a]b[i]stan; T: Arabbia.

185 V, BBA, TS and MM: [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]ye-i M[ı]s[ı]r; T: Alessandria Caiarina.

186 V, BBA, TS and MM: G[e]libolı; T: Galipoli.

187 BBA, MM and TS: aşagı.

188 V, BBA, TS and MM: İneb[a]htı (or [A]ynab[a]htı); T: Lepanto.

189 V, BBA, TS and MM: Pr[e]v[e]ze; T: Prevesa.

190 V, BBA, TS and MM: M[o]ton; T: Modon.

191 BBA and MM: icazetle.

192 BBA, MM and TS add here 'olmagıla'.

193 BBA, MM and TS omit 'dahı'.

194 TS and MM: olvakt.

195 BBA, MM and TS: icazetsiz.

muhalefet edenlerüñ[196] hakklarından geline anuñ içün[197] Venedik beglerine töhmet olunmaya emma bu husus altı aydan soñra[198] ola ki
21) Venedik gemileri mütenebbih[199] olub bu sebeb ile ᶜahd-i şerifime[200] muhalif iş olmalu olmaya ve memalik-i mahrusemden derya yüzüne[201] giden gemiler ve kadırga[202] [203]ve donanmalar deñiz yüzünde Venedik gemilerine buluşur ise birbirine[204] dostluk edüb zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler anlar dahı ferman-i şerifimle derya yüzüne[205] çıkmış donanmalarıma[206]
22) ve kadırgalarıma ve sa'ir derya yüzünde yürüyen gemiler ile buluşduklarında[207] yelkenlerin indirüb dostlukların ve itaᶜat üzere oldukların bildüreler ve eger itaᶜat üzere oldukların ve dostlukların bildirüb yelkenlerin indirdikden soñra zarer ve ziyan edecek olurlar ise[208] eger adem ve esbab
23) ve tavar ziyanıdur[209] yerine konula[210] hemçünan anlarıñ gemileri ve kadırgaları ve donanmaları dahı deñiz yüzünde benim gemilerimle[211] ve yahud rencber gemilerine buluşurlar ise[212] dostluk üzere[213] geçüb zarer ve

196 BBA, MM and TS: edenleriñ.

197 BBA and MM: anıñ içün; TS: anıñiçün.

198 MM: aydansoñra.

199 BBA, MM and TS: fitne.

200 BBA, MM and TS have 'fitne olub' instead of 'ᶜahd-i şerifime'.

201 BBA, MM and TS: yüzine.

202 TS: kadırgalar.

203 MM: page 133.

204 BBA, MM and TS: her birine.

205 BBA and MM: yüzine; TS: yüzünde.

206 BBA, MM and TS: donanma.

207 BBA, MM and TS: buluşdukda.

208 BBA and MM have 've eger yelkenlerin indirüb dostlukların bildirdikden soñra (MM: bildirdikdensoñra) zarer edecek olurlarsa' instead of 've eger itaᶜat üzere oldukların ve dostlukların bildirüb yelkenlerin indirdikden soñra zarer ve ziyan edecek olurlar ise'; TS has 'dostlukların bildirdikden soñra zarer edecek olurlar ise'.

209 BBA, MM and TS: ziyanıdır.

210 BBA, MM and TS: konıla.

211 BBA, MM and TS: gemilerime.

212 BBA: buluşurlarsa; MM: buluşur ise.

213 TS omits 'üzere'.

ziyan etmeyeler ve eger adem ve esbab ve tavar ziyanıdur[214] her ne ise yerine koyalar ve[215] eger ittifak düşüb levend ve harami[216]
24) gemisine buluşub ol harami gemisi bunlara kasd edüb cenk eyleye[217] harami gemisine bunlar galib olalar hin-i müharebede helak olandan[218] gayri[219] nekadar adem esir olub diri[220] dutarlar[221] ise kendüler asla katl etmeyüb bi-kusur sag ve salim südde-i seᶜadetime irsal edeler ki
25) mühkem[222] hakklarından gelinüb bir vechile siyaset etdürem ki[223] sa'irlerine[224] muceb-i ᶜibret ola ve memalik-i mahrusemden donanma gemilerim ki[225] bir tarafa sefere gide Venedige müteᶜallık olmaya Venedik donanması epsem kendü halinde dostluk üzere turub ve hareket etmeyüb varub[226] kimesneye muᶜavenet etmeye[227] ve benim donanma-i[228]
26) hümayunuma zarer ve ziyan erişdirmesine sebeb olmaya benim ile düşmenlik üzere olan kimesneleriñ[229] donanmaların aralarına getürmeyeler ve anlara yardum[230] etmeyüb[231] azık[232] vermeyeler [233] donanmalarından[234] her

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214 BBA, MM and TS: ziyanıdır.

215 MM omits 've'.

216 BBA, MM and TS have 'harami levend' instead of 'levend ve harami'.

217 BBA, MM and TS: ile.

218 BBA, MM and TS: olanlardan.

219 BBA, MM and TS: ma ᶜada.

220 TS: dir.

221 BBA, MM and TS: tutarlar.

222 BBA, MM and TS omit 'mühkem'.

223 BBA and MM: etdüremki.

224 TS: sayirlerine.

225 BBA, MM and TS omit 'ki'.

226 BBA, MM and TS omit 'varub'.

227 BBA, MM and TS omit 'etmeye'.

228 V: hemze-izafet; BBA, MM and TS: ye-izafet.

229 BBA, MM and TS: kimesneniñ.

230 BBA and MM: yardım.

231 BBA and MM: ve.

232 MM: arka.

233 BBA and MM add here 'eger'.

234 MM: donanmalarında; TS omits 'aralarına getürmeyeler ve anlara yardum etmeyüb azık vermeyeler donanmaların-' (or the BBA-variation of this passage).

kim bu emrime muhalefet eder ise[235] eyledügi[236] yerde Venedik begleri mühkem hakkından geleler
27) ki sa'irlerine muceb-i ᶜibret vakıᶜ[237] ola ve gayri vilayetiñ harami[238] parçalarına ve kadırga ve gayri gemilerine duş geldikleri vakt[239] Venedik kendü atalarına ve limanlarına ve hisarlarına sıgındırmayub durgurmayalar[240] dutmak[241] mümkin olursa[242] tutub[243] mecal vermeyüb [244] hakklarından geleler benim tarafımdan dahı
28) olvechile ᶜamel olunub gayri [245]vilayetiñ harami [246] barçaların[247] ve kadırgaların[248] limanlarıma ve hisarlarıma sıgındırmayub dutmak[249] mümkin olursa[250] [251] mecal vermeyüb hakklarından [252]geleler ve Venedikden biri gelüb memalik-i mahrusemde bir kimesne[253] ile satu bazar[254] edüb akçesin temam vermedin
29) hile edüb kaçub gider ise[255] benim hükm-i şerifimle varub taleb olundukda ol kimesne bulunur ise[256] rızkı sahıbına alıvereler ve memalik-i

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235 BBA, MM and TS: ederse.

236 MM: eyledigi.

237 TS omits 'vakıᶜ'.

238 BBA, MM and TS: dahı.

239 BBA and TS: vaktin.

240 BBA, MM and TS: turgurmayalar.

241 BBA, MM and TS: tutmak.

242 TS and MM: olur ise.

243 BBA, MM and TS omit 'tutub'.

244 BBA, MM and TS add here 'tutub'.

245 MM: page 134.

246 BBA, MM and TS add here 'gemilerin ve'.

247 BBA and MM: parça; TS: parçaların.

248 MM: kadırgalarını.

249 BBA, MM and TS: tutulmak.

250 TS: olur ise.

251 BBA, MM and TS add here 'tutub'.

252 BBA: page 5.

253 BBA: kimse; TS: kimse?

254 V: 'sat ve baz' or 'satu baz'; TS and MM: pazar.

255 BBA, MM and TS: giderse.

256 BBA: bulunursa.

mahrusemden bir kimesne[257] varub Venediklüden biri ile[258] satu bazar[259] edüb akçesin temam eda etmedin kaçub gelür ise[260] sabit olan[261] hakkı[262] alıverile ve memalik-i

30) mahrusemden[263] bir kimesne[264] borc edinse ve yahud bir vechile müttehem olub gaybet eyleye[265] anuñ içün[266] bir günahsuz[267] dutulmaya[268] ve[269] Venedik beglerine anuñ içün[270] töhmet olunmaya meger ki[271] anlarıñ memleketine[272] varub dura[273] bizüm[274] canibimizden dahı olvechile etdirile ve baylosı[275] kimi dilerler ise[276] göndereler[277]

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257 BBA and MM: kimse.

258 BBA, MM and TS: biriyle.

259 TS and MM: pazar.

260 BBA and MM: gelürse.

261 BBA, MM and TS: olıcak.

262 BBA, MM and TS omit 'hakkı'.

263 V: something is written above 'mahrusemden', the text seems to have been corrected to 'memalik-i mahrusemde Venediklüden'.

264 BBA, MM and TS: kimse.

265 BBA and MM: eylese; TS: ederse.

266 BBA: anıñiçün; MM: anıñ içün; TS: anıñçün.

267 BBA and TS have 'günahsız kimse' instead of 'günahsuz'; MM has 'günahına kimse'.

268 BBA, MM and TS: tutulmaya.

269 BBA, MM and TS omit 've'.

270 BBA: anıñiçün; TS and MM: anıñçün.

271 BBA, MM and TS omit 'ki'.

272 BBA, MM and TS: memleketlerine.

273 BBA, MM and TS: tura.

274 BBA, MM and TS: bizim.

275 BBA, MM and TS: balyoz.

276 BBA: dilerlerse; TS: dilerse.

277 BBA: göndüreler; TS: göndere.

31) ister ise[278] horendesi ile[279] gelüb mahruse-i Kostantiniyede[280] üç yıla karib dura[281] temam olmadın gide diler[282] ise[283] horendesüz[284] gele maslahat ne ise göre üç yıl temam olmadın oldahı[285] gide anuñ[286] yerine olvechile[287] biri[288] dahı gele[289] ve Venedikden bir esir kaçub memalik-i mahruseme gelüb müsliman olur ise[290]
32) ve sahıbı gelür ise[291] [292] biñ akçe verile sahıbı gelmeyüb vekili[293] gelür ise[294] vekiline vereler eger küfri üzere ise ol[295] esir [c]aynı ile[296] verile[297] memalik-i mahrusemden kaçub anlara varır ise eger müsliman ise [298] yahud[299] mürtedd oldı ise[300] te[c]allül etmeyeler[301] elbette[302] [c]aynı ile[303] kendüyi vereler ve eger küfri üzere ise

278 BBA, MM and TS: isterlerse.

279 BBA and MM: horendesiyle.

280 V: K[o]st[a]ntin[i]ye; BBA: K[o]st[a]nt[i]niye; TS and MM: K[o]st[a]nt[i]n[i]ye; T: Costantinopoli.

281 BBA, MM and TS: tura.

282 BBA and MM: dilerler.

283 TS: dilerse.

284 BBA, MM and TS: horendesiz.

285 BBA and MM: ol dahı.

286 BBA and MM: anıñ.

287 BBA and MM omit 'olvechile'.

288 MM omits 'biri'.

289 TS omits 'anuñ yerine olvechile biri dahı gele'.

290 BBA: olursa; MM: olu[r]larsa.

291 BBA, MM and TS: gelürse.

292 MM adds here 'bile'.

293 BBA and MM: vekil.

294 BBA and MM: gelürse.

295 BBA and MM omit 'ol'.

296 BBA and MM: [c]aynıyla.

297 TS omits 'sahıbı gelmeyüb vekili gelür ise vekiline vereler eger küfri üzere ise ol esir [c]aynı ile verile'.

298 BBA and MM add here 've'.

299 TS has 'eger' instead of 'ise yahud'.

300 BBA, MM and TS: oldıysa.

301 BBA, MM and TS: etmeyüb.

302 BBA, MM and TS omit 'elbette'.

303 BBA and MM: [c]aynıyla.

33) sahıbı ve yahud vekiline biñ akçe vereler ve şöyleki[304] dahı[305] kayıkları[306] deñizden ve gayri kimesneden kurudan[307] varub Venedige tabi[c] olan[308] ataları[309] urub ademlerin[310] esir edüb ve götürüb Rum Elinde[311] ve Anatolıda[312] satalar anuñ[313] gibi esirler[314] bulundukda geregi gibi dikkat
34) ve ihtimam ile[315] teftiş olunub her kimiñ elinde bulunur ise[316] kimden aldugın[317] bulduralar[318] şöyleki[319] aldugı[320] kimesne[321] levende müntehi[322] olur ise[323] ve[324] ol levend dahı ele girüb vakı[c]a esir Venedigiñ [325]idügi zahir olur ise[326] ol levendiñ mühkem hakkından[327] geline ol

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304 TS and MM: şöyle ki.

305 BBA, MM and TS: harami.

306 MM: kayıklar.

307 BBA, MM and TS: kurıdan.

308 BBA, MM and TS omit 'olan'.

309 MM: ademleri.

310 MM: ademleriñ.

311 V, BBA, TS and MM: Rum Eli; T: Gretia.

312 V, BBA, TS and MM: [A]natolı; T: Natolia.

313 BBA, MM and TS: anıñ.

314 MM: esir.

315 BBA, MM and TS omit 'dikkat ve ihtimam ile'.

316 BBA: bulunursa.

317 TS: aldıgın.

318 MM: buldıralar.

319 TS and MM: şöyle ki.

320 MM: aldıgı.

321 MM: kimse.

322 BBA, MM and TS have 'levend kısmından' instead of 'levende müntehi'.

323 BBA and TS: olursa.

324 BBA, MM and TS omit 've'.

325 MM: page 135.

326 BBA and MM: olursa.

327 MM: hakkında.

35) esir müsliman olmuş ise azad olub[328] salıverile ve eger henüz küfri üzere ise Venediklüye teslim oluna[329] ve[330] eger kimden aldugı[331] maᶜlum olmaz ise[332] ol esir kendü [333] getürdilüb[334] kaziyesi[335] südde-i seᶜadetimde[336] teftiş oluna olvakt[337] dahı eger[338] Venediklünüñ idügi
36) sabit olur ise[339] müsliman olmuş ise azad ola[340] [341] henüz küfri üzere ise bayloslarına[342] teslim oluna ve Venedik gemileri memalik-i mahruseme gelür iken[343] muhalif yel çıkub ol gemi helak olub nemıkdar adem kurtılur ise[344] azad ola [345] ve tavarları kurtılur ise[346] sahıbına verile kapudan canibinden
37) ve ademlerinden katᶜa dahl olunmaya ve eger memalik-i mahrusemden ol tarafa[347] bir gemi [348] varır iken muhalif yel çıka[349] ol gemi[350] helak olur ise[351]

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328 BBA and TS: olunub.

329 TS has 'vereler' instead of 'teslim oluna'.

330 MM omits 've'.

331 BBA and TS: alındugı; MM: alındıgı.

332 BBA and TS: olmazsa.

333 BBA, MM and TS add here 'dergah-i muᶜallama'.

334 BBA, MM and TS: getürilüb.

335 BBA and MM: kıssası.

336 MM: seᶜadetimden.

337 BBA, MM and TS omit 'olvakt'.

338 BBA, MM and TS omit 'eger'.

339 BBA, MM and TS: olursa.

340 BBA, MM and TS: oluna.

341 BBA, MM and TS add here 've eger'.

342 BBA, MM and TS: balyozlarına.

343 BBA, MM and TS: gelürken.

344 BBA: kurtulursa; TS: kurtulur ise.

345 BBA , MM and TS add here 've esbab'.

346 BBA: kurtulursa; TS: kurtulur ise.

347 BBA, MM and TS omit 'ol tarafa'.

348 BBA and MM add here 'ol tarafa'; TS: oltarafa.

349 BBA, MM and TS: çıkub.

350 BBA, MM and TS omit 'ol gemi'.

351 BBA, MM and TS have 'olub' instead of 'olur ise'.

Venediklü[352] adem[353] kurtulur ise[354] [355] anlara dahl olunmayub [356] tavarları sahıbına verile kat^{c}a dahl olunmayub ve[357] niza^{c} olunmaya ve[358] memalik-i [359]mahrusemden şol yerlerden ki

38) kadırga ve kayıkları ve[360] gayri gemiler[361] derya yüzüne[362] çıkub gitdikleri vakt ki[363] kapudanım anlar ile bile olmaya ol gemileriñ[364] re'isleri mühkem kefillere verile ki varub Venedik[365] memleketine zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler eger kefil vermedin giderler ise[366] mücrim ve günahkar[367] olalar mühkem hakklarından geline ve eger kefil verdikden soñra[368] zarer ve ziyan

39) ederler ise[369] ne zarer ve ziyan[370] olur ise[371] kefilleri vereler hemçünan Venedik canibinden dahı derya yüzüne[372] gemileri[373] çıka Venedik kapudanı bile olmaya re'isleri mühkem kefile[374] verdikden soñra[375] memalik-i

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352 BBA, MM and TS: içinden.

353 In the translation we read: 'gl'huomini uenetiani'. Thus it is no longer 've nedeñlü' as in earlier texts.

354 BBA: kurtulursa; MM: kurtılursa.

355 BBA, MM and TS add here 'Venediklüden'.

356 BBA, MM and TS add here 've'.

357 BBA, MM and TS omit 'dahl olunmayub ve'.

358 BBA, MM and TS: eger.

359 TS: f. 45v.

360 MM omits 've'.

361 BBA, MM and TS: gemileri.

362 BBA, MM and TS: yüzine.

363 MM: vaktki.

364 TS: olgemileriñ.

365 MM: Venedige.

366 TS: giderlerse.

367 BBA, MM and TS: günehkar.

368 MM: verdikdensoñra.

369 BBA: ederlerse.

370 TS omits 'ederler ise ne zarer ve ziyan'.

371 BBA and TS: olursa.

372 BBA, MM and TS: yüzine.

373 BBA, MM and TS: gemiler.

374 BBA, MM and TS: kefil.

375 MM: verdikdensoñra.

mahruseme zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirler ise[376] vakı[c][377] olan zarer ve ziyanı[378] kefilleri vereler eger kefilsüz[379] giderler ise[380]
40) mücrim ve günahkar[381] olalar mühkem hakklarından geleler ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir harac-güzar ve yahud bir [c]amil kaçub Venedige müte[c]allık kal[c]alara[382] ve atalara[383] varub temekkün etse kabul olunmaya varan ademlere te[c]allül etmeyüb [c]aynı ile[384] vereler ve[385] şöyleki[386] adem öldürüb ve yahud ugurluk[387] edüb rızk iletseler[388]
41) [c]aynı ile[389] vereler benim canibimden dahı [390]olvechile etdirilüb ol tarafdan[391] adem öldürüb[392] ve yahud[393] ugurluk[394] edüb[395] rızk götürür ise[396] [c]aynı ile[397] vereler [398] Venediklünüñ birbiri arasında niza[c]ları olsa

376 BBA: erişdirirlerse; TS and MM: erişdirirler ise.

377 BBA, MM and TS omit 'vakı[c]'.

378 TS has 'zareri' instead of 'zarer ve ziyanı'.

379 BBA, MM and TS: kefilsiz.

380 BBA and TS: giderlerse.

381 BBA, MM and TS: günehkar.

382 BBA, MM and TS: kal[c]alar.

383 BBA: atalar.

384 BBA, MM and TS: [c]aynıyla.

385 BBA, MM and TS omit 've'.

386 TS and MM: şöyle ki.

387 MM: ugruluk.

388 BBA, MM and TS have 'serika eyleseler' instead of 'iletseler'.

389 BBA, MM and TS: [c]aynıyla.

390 MM: page 136.

391 TS and MM: oltarafdan.

392 MM: öldirilüb.

393 BBA, MM and TS omit 'yahud'.

394 MM: ugruluk.

395 BBA, MM and TS omit 'edüb'.

396 BBA and MM: götürürse.

397 BBA, MM and TS: [c]aynıyla.

398 BBA, MM and TS add here 've'.

baylosları[399] ᶜadetlerince[400] diñleye kimesne maniᶜ olmaya ve bir kimesneniñ[401] baylos[402] ile nizaᶜı
42) olsa şöyleki[403] südde-i seᶜadetimde mahruse-i İstanbulda[404] ola vakıᶜ olan kaziyesi divan-i ᶜali-şanımda istimaᶜ oluna ve lakin [405]ben seᶜadet ile[406] sefer-i hümayunda bulunacak olursam anuñ[407] gibi baylos[408] ile vakıᶜ olan münazeᶜa[409] İstanbul[410] mühafezası içün[411] konulan[412] beg huzurunda kazi maᶜrifeti ile[413]
43) istimaᶜ oluna ve şöyleki[414] Venedik bazirganları ile[415] bir kimesneniñ[416] nizaᶜı vakıᶜ olub[417] kaziye varalar Venediklünüñ kendü[418] tercümanları[419] hazır olmayınca[420] kazi olan [421] daᶜvaların istimaᶜ etmeye emma anlar dahı teᶜallül edüb tercüman hazır degildir deyü ᶜavk etmeyüb tercümanların ihzar edüb

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399 BBA, MM and TS: balyozları.

400 BBA, MM and TS: ᶜadetince.

401 MM: kimseniñ.

402 BBA, MM and TS: balyoz.

403 TS: şöyle.

404 V, BBA, TS and MM: [İ]stanbul; T: Costantinopoli.

405 BBA: page 6. At the bottom of page 5 the first word of page 6 (ben) is written.

406 BBA, MM and TS: seᶜadetle.

407 BBA, MM and TS: anıñ.

408 BBA, MM and TS: balyoz.

409 BBA, MM and TS have 'nizaᶜları' instead of 'vakıᶜ olan münazeᶜa'.

410 V, BBA, TS and MM: [İ]stanbul; T: Costantinopoli.

411 BBA, MM and TS: mühafezasıyçün.

412 BBA, MM and TS: konılan.

413 BBA, MM and TS: maᶜrifetiyle.

414 MM: şöyle ki.

415 BBA, MM and TS: bazirganlarıyla.

416 MM: kimseniñ.

417 BBA, MM and TS: olsa.

418 BBA, MM and TS omit 'kendü'.

419 BBA, MM and TS: tercümanı.

420 BBA, MM and TS: olmadıkca.

421 BBA, MM and TS add here 'kimesne'.

44) eger tercümanları mühimm maslahatda olur ise[422] gelince tevakkuf[423] oluna ve[424] baylos[425] olanı aharıñ borcı içün kimesne bunda[426] dutmayub ödetmeye emma baylos[427] anı Venedik beglerine bildiricek Venedik begleri dahı eglemeyüb[428] be-cidd cevabın[429] göndereler ve[430] Venedikden İnebahtı[431] ve Mora[432] ve sa'ir[433] memalik-i mahruseme bir bazirgan
45) ki gele gayri kimesne borcı içün anı dutub[434] incitmeyeler ve Venediklü bazirganı Brusaya[435] ve gayri yere gitmek istese[436] baylosdan[437] icazet-name almayınca gitmeyeler[438] emma[439] temerrüd edüb icazet-namesüz[440] gitmek ister ise[441] subaşı baylosa[442] mu^{c}avenet edüb koyuvermeye ve Venedikden gelen gemileriñ neftileri[443]

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422 BBA, MM and TS: olursa.

423 BBA, MM and TS: te'hir.

424 MM omits 've'.

425 BBA, MM and TS: balyoz.

426 V: added later, in very small handwriting above 'dutmayub'.

427 BBA and TS both omit 'olanı aharıñ borcı içün kimesne bunda dutmayub ödetmeye emma baylos' (copy-mistake).

428 MM: eglenmeyüb.

429 TS: cevabıñ.

430 MM omits 've'.

431 V, BBA, TS and MM: İneb[a]htı (or [A]nab[a]htı); T: Lepanto.

432 V, BBA, TS and MM: Mora; T: Morea.

433 TS: sayir.

434 BBA, MM and TS: tutub.

435 V, BBA, TS and MM: Brusa; T: Bursia.

436 BBA, MM and TS: isteye.

437 BBA, MM and TS: balyozundan.

438 BBA, MM and TS: gitmeye.

439 BBA, MM and TS: eger.

440 BBA, MM and TS: icazet-namesiz.

441 BBA, MM and TS: isterse.

442 BBA, MM and TS: balyoza.

443 BBA, MM and TS have 're'isleri' instead of 'gemileriñ neftileri'.

46) memalik-i mahrusemde hidmete[444] dutulmayub[445] nice geldi ise[446] gemileri ile[447] gideler ve Venedikden gelüb temekkün eden kimesneler evlü olsun ergen olsun ma-dam ki[448] gelüb gidüb rencberlik edüb memalik-i mahrusemde yerleşmeye varub girü gide anlardan harac taleb olunmaya ve Venediklünüñ[449] baᶜzı harac-güzar

47) kafirler ile nizaᶜları olub daᶜva edicek Venediklü şahidler ikamet ederlerimiş[450] hasm olanlar bu yer[451] kafirlerinden[452] gerekdir[453] deyü müzayeka verüb Venediklü kafirleri[454] şehadetlerin kabul etmezler imiş imdi[455] cümle kefere millet-i vahıde oldugı[456] ecilden gerekdir ki [457] anlarıñ eger[458] kefere ile nizaᶜları[459]

48) olub ikamet-i şahide [460]ihtiyac[461] olur ise[462] kefere ta'ifesinden kangı[463] sınıfdan ki şahid ikamet[464] edüb şerᶜ-i şerif-i nebeviye[465] muktezasınca[466] isbat

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444 BBA: hizmete.

445 BBA, MM and TS: tutulmayub.

446 BBA, MM and TS: geldiyse.

447 BBA, MM and TS: gemileriyle.

448 BBA, MM and TS: ma damki.

449 TS: Venediklünün.

450 BBA, MM and TS: ederler imiş.

451 BBA, MM and TS: yerlü (BBA: '-lü' is added later, written very small above the line).

452 BBA, MM and TS: kafir.

453 MM: [gere]kdir or kafiriñdir?

454 BBA and MM: kafirleriñ; TS: kafirler.

455 BBA, MM and TS omit 'imdi'.

456 MM: oldıgı.

457 BBA, MM and TS add here 'eger'.

458 BBA, MM and TS omit 'eger'.

459 V: there is a loose 're' written under 'nizaᶜları'.

460 MM: page 137.

461 BBA, MM and TS: ihtiyacları.

462 BBA, MM and TS: olursa.

463 BBA: kankı.

464 TS omits 'ikamet'.

465 V: has to be 'nebevi'; BBA, MM and TS have 'şerᶜ-i nebevi'.

466 MM: iktizasınca.

edeler kabul[467] oluna ve Venediklüden bir bazirgan memalik-i mahrusemde[468] yolda ve izde ve köyde basılub rızkı alınsa ve yahud basıldıkda bazirgan depelenmiş olsa
49) ve ya ga'ib olsa varisi ve yahud vekili gelür ise[469] şer^{c}ile görilüb hakk yerine vara Venediklüden bir bazirgan memalik-i mahruseme gelüb ticaret üzere kendü halinde[470] yürürken mürd olsa metrukatına beytü 'l-malcı[471] karışmayub bayloslarına[472] teslim edeler ve Magrib[473] müslimanlarından
50) ve bunlardan[474] gayri sa'ir[475] yerleriñ[476] bazirganları[477] ki bey^{c} ve şira etmek[478] içün yaşdan ve kurıdan gelmelü olıcak ki Venedik hükm etdügi[479] yerlere ugraya ^{c}adet ve kanunları üzere meta^{c}larınıñ rüsumun aldıklarından[480] soñra mani^{c} olmayalar [481] zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler
51) memalik-i mahruseme nice dilerler ise[482] gelüb gideler ve Korfusdan[483] yukaru [484] bogazda[485] yürüyen[486] gemiler Venedik[487] olsun ve[488] gayri olsun ki

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467 BBA, MM and TS: istima^{c}.

468 MM: mahrusemize.

469 BBA, MM and TS: gelürse.

470 BBA, MM and TS omit 'kendü halinde'.

471 T: Beitelmalgi'.

472 BBA, MM and TS: balyozlarına.

473 V, BBA, TS and MM: M[a]gr[i]b; T: Barbaria.

474 BBA, MM and TS omit 've bunlardan'.

475 TS: sayir.

476 BBA, MM and TS have 'yerlerden olan' instead of 'yerleriñ'.

477 BBA, MM and TS: bazirganlar.

478 BBA, MM and TS omit 'etmek'.

479 MM: etdigi.

480 BBA, MM and TS: aldıkdan.

481 BBA and TS add here 've'.

482 BBA and TS: dilerlerse.

483 V: Korfus; T: Corfu'. BBA, MM and TS: Korf[u]z.

484 BBA, MM and TS add here 've'.

485 MM: bogazdan.

486 TS: yüriyen.

487 BBA, MM and TS: Venediklü.

488 BBA, MM and TS omit 've'.

Venedige ticarete varalar ve geleler kimesne[489] mani[c] olmaya [490] zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler meger ki yaramazlık etmiş olalar ve bir Venedik gemisi [c]adet
52) ve kanun üzere İstanbulda[491] aranub gitdikden soñra[492] ki[493] kanun-i kadim üzere bir dahı bogaz hisarları öñüne vardukda[494] aranub andan soñra [495] gitmege icazet vereler[496] ve hala[497] kanun-i kadime muhalif Gelibolıda[498] dahı aranurimiş[499] min ba[c]d Gelibolıda[500] aranmayub
53) [c]adet-i kadime muktezasınca girü heman bogaz[501] hisarları öñünde aranub gide ve Zakise[502] adası[503] içün[504] dahı her yıl [505] hızane-i [c]amireye[506] beşyüz filori verilürdi[507] yine ol beşyüz filori'i[508] bi-temamihi her yıl verüb hızane-i [c]amireye[509] teslim eyleyeler ve Kıbrıs[510] haracı ki[511]

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489 TS: kimse.

490 BBA, MM and TS add here 've'.

491 V, BBA, TS and MM: [İ]stanbul; T: Costantinopoli.

492 TS: gitdikdensoñra.

493 MM omits 'ki'.

494 BBA, MM and TS: vardıkda.

495 MM adds here 'ki'.

496 BBA, MM and TS: verile.

497 BBA, MM and TS: haliya.

498 V, BBA, TS and MM: G[e]libolı; T: Galipoli.

499 BBA, MM and TS: aranur imiş.

500 V, BBA, TS and MM: G[e]libolı; T: Galipoli.

501 TS has 'bogaz' written twice at the end of line 38 and the beginning of line 39.

502 V: Zakise; T: Zante. BBA, MM and TS: Zaklise (with final 'elif' written as 'Zaklisa').

503 BBA and TS: atası; MM: asası (sic).

504 BBA, MM and TS omit 'içün'.

505 BBA adds her 'anıñiçün'; TS and MM: anıñçün.

506 BBA, MM and TS: [c]amireme.

507 BBA, MM and TS: verilür idi.

508 BBA, MM and TS: filoriyi.

509 BBA, MM and TS: [c]amireme.

510 V: K[ı]br[ı]s; BBA, TS and MM: K[ı]brıs; T: Cipro.

511 MM omits 'ki'.

54) sal be-sal sekiz biñ filoridür[512] her yıl[513] getürüb [514] İstanbula[515] teslim eyleyeler ve memalik-i mahruseme [c]Arabistan[516] memleketleri feth olundugı[517] zemandan berü olıgelen üslub-i kadim üzere iki pare [518]mavnaları Mısır İskenderiyesine[519] ve iki kıt[c]a mavnaları
55) dahı mahruse-i Şama[520] tabi[c] olan[521] Trablus[522] ve Beyrut[523] iskelelerine olıgeldügi üzere esbab ve meta[c]ları ile[524] mukarrer olan vaktde[525] [526]ve[527] mevsimlerinde[528] gelüb gideler vaktinden ve mevsiminden te'hir etmeyüb eger iki kıt[c]a mavnalardır ve eger dahı ziyadedir ve eger büyük ve küçük
56) gemileridür[529] şimdiye degin ne vechile[530] gelüb gidüb bey[c] ve şira ede gelmişler ise girü [531] edüb olıgelene[532] muhalif niza[c] etmeyeler ve vilayet-i

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512 BBA, MM and TS: filoridir.

513 BBA, MM and TS have 'sal be-sal' instead of 'her yıl'.

514 BBA, MM and TS add here 'mahruse-i'.

515 V, BBA, TS and MM: [İ]stanbul; T: Costantinopoli.

516 V, BBA, TS and MM: [c][A]r[a]b[i]stan; T: Arabbia.

517 TS and MM: olundıgı.

518 TS: f. 46r.

519 V, TS and MM: M[ı]s[ı]r [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]yesi; BBA: M[ı]s[ı]r [İ]sk[e]nd[e]riyesi; T: Alessandria Caiarina.

520 V, BBA, TS and MM: Şam; T: Damasco.

521 BBA, MM and TS omit 'olan'.

522 V: Tr[a]blus; BBA and MM: Trabl[]u]s; TS: Trablus; T: Tripoli.

523 V, BBA, TS and MM: B[e]yrut; T: Barutti.

524 BBA, MM and TS: meta[c]larıyla.

525 BBA: vaktd[e]; TS: vakt.

526 MM: page 138.

527 TS omits 've'.

528 BBA, MM and TS: mevsimlerde. TS: 'vakt-i mevsimlerde'?

529 BBA, MM and TS: gemilerdir.

530 BBA, MM and TS: nevechile.

531 BBA , MM and TS add here 'olvechile'.

532 MM: olıgelen.

ᶜArabistanda[533] yehudi olub soñra[534] müsliman olan İbrahim Geşturi[535] nam kimesne Beyrut[536] ve Trablus[537] iskelelerinde[538] eger[539] akçeden
57) ve eger her[540] metaᶜdan evvelden olıgelen ᶜadet ve kanuna muhalif ihdas etdügi[541] bidᶜatlar[542]refᶜ olunub kadimden nice olıgeldiyse[543] aña göre ᶜamel olunub kanun-i kadime muhalif [544] teᶜaddi etdirilmeye ol mavnalara[545] ve sa'ir gemilere ve tacirlere[546] beglerbegilerimden ve beglerimden[547] ve sa'ir kullarımdan
58) bir ahad kanuna muhalif zulm ve teᶜaddi etmeye emn [548] üzere olalar kimesne[549] anları rencide etmeye işbu zikr olunan ᶜahd üzere dostlugı kabul edüb yemin ederimki[550] yeri ve gögi halk eden[551] perverdegar hakkı içün[552] madam ki[553] [554] ᶜahdı[555] ve dostlugı anlar[556] riᶜayet edüb

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533 V, BBA, TS and MM: ᶜ[A]r[a]b[i]stan; T: Arabbia.

534 BBA, MM and TS omit 'soñra'.

535 V: [İ]brahim G[e]şturi; BBA, MM and TS: [İ]brahim Gişuri; T: Ibrahim Chiesturi.

536 V, BBA, TS and MM: B[e]yrut; T: Barutti.

537 V: Tr[a]blus; BBA and MM: Trabl[u]s; TS: Trablus; T: Tripoli.

538 TS: iskeleler.

539 TS has 'eger' written twice at the beginning of line 6.

540 BBA, MM and TS omit 'her'.

541 MM: etdigi.

542 BBA: page 7.

543 MM: olıgeldi ise.

544 BBA and TS add here 'kimesneye'; MM: kimesne.

545 MM: mavnalar.

546 BBA, MM and TS: nazırlarına.

547 BBA and TS: begler; MM omits 've beglerimden'.

548 BBA and MM add here 've eman'; TS: eman.

549 BBA, MM and TS: kimse.

550 TS: ederim ki.

551 BBA, MM and TS have 'yaradan' instead of 'halk eden'.

552 BBA, MM and TS: hakkıyçün.

553 BBA, MM and TS: ma damki.

554 BBA, MM and TS add here 'anlar'.

555 BBA, MM and TS: ᶜahd.

556 BBA, MM and TS omit 'anlar'.

59) ᶜahd-i şerifime[557] muhalif anlardan bir iş sadır olmaya bendendahı[558] hılaf-i ᶜahd iş sadır[559] olmaya ve[560] bu ᶜahd-name-i hümayun[561] yazıldıkda Bosna[562] sancagı ucunda kalᶜa-i Bucac[563] ve[564] Rastiye[565] ve Degirmenler[566] nam harabe kalᶜalar içün Bosna[567] sancagı begi[568] el-an[569] alınub zabtımızdadır deyü ᶜarz etdügi[570]

60) ecilden zikr olunmuşidi[571] emma Venedik dojı canibinden dergah-i muᶜallama gelen elçileri ol kalᶜalar alınmamış[572] girü bizüm[573] zabtımızdadır deyü takrir edüb tekrar teftişe muhtac olub[574] hususa[575] zikr olunan Degirmen kalᶜaları[576] ma-beynde[577] nizaᶜlu olmagın mezid-i ᶜinayetimden

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557 BBA, MM and TS omit 'ᶜahd-i şerifime'.

558 BBA, MM and TS: benden dahı.

559 BBA, MM and TS omit 'sadır'.

560 BBA, MM and TS omit 've'.

561 MM: hümayuna.

562 V, BBA, TS and MM: Bosna; T: Bossina.

563 V: Bucac; BBA, TS and MM: Burcacı; T: Bucchiz.

564 BBA, MM and TS omit 've'.

565 V: Rast[i]ye (sic for Rast[i]ne or Zast[i]ne); BBA, TS and MM: Z[e]rasne; T: Zastina.

566 V, BBA, TS and MM: D[e]g[i]rm[e]nl[e]r; T: li Molini.

567 V, BBA, TS and MM: Bosna; T: Bossina.

568 BBA: sancagıbegi.

569 BBA, MM and TS have 'olan kimesne' instead of 'el-an'.

570 V: added later, in very small handwriting; MM: etdigi.

571 MM: olunmuş idi.

572 BBA, MM and TS: alınmamışdır.

573 BBA, MM and TS: bizim.

574 BBA, MM and TS have 'muhtacdır' instead of 'muhtac olub'.

575 MM: hususan

576 T: li castelli delli molini.

577 BBA: ma beynde; TS and MM: ma beyninde.

61) yine anlara verilmesin emr eyledim anlarıñ ola emma ol dört kal[c]alar ahvali [c]ahd-i şerifimde[578] mevkuf kılındı[579] teftiş olunub[580] görüle[581] ve[582] mezbur elçiniñ takrir etdügi[583] gibi ise anlar tarafından[584] teslim oluna Bosna[585] sancagı begi[586] [c]arz etdügi[587] üzere[588] ise
62) soñra[589] ol babda[590] emr-i şerifim nevechile sadır olur ise[591] mucebi ile[592] [c]amel oluna ve[593] bu [c]ahd-name-i şerifimden evvel mezbur elçiniñ Venedik dojı ile[594] müşavere edecek ba[c]zı [595]hususları olmagın [c]ahd-name suretinde[596] müfassal[597] emr-i[598] şerifim yazılub gönderilüb anda kalmış idi[599] hala ol
63) ref[c] olunub asl mukarrer olan [c]ahd-name-i şerifim budur [600] bunuñ mazmun-i[601] hümayunı ile[602] [c]amel oluna deyü mestur ve[603] mukayyed olub

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578 BBA, MM and TS omit '[c]ahd-i şerifimde'.

579 TS: fal[e/a]nd or kal[e/a]nd?

580 MM: olunur.

581 BBA, MM and TS: görile.

582 BBA, MM and TS omit 've'.

583 BBA and TS: eyledügi; MM: eyledigi.

584 BBA, MM and TS: tarafına.

585 V, BBA, TS and MM: Bosna; T: Bossina.

586 BBA and TS: sancagıbegi; MM: sancagını.

587 TS: etdigi.

588 BBA, MM and TS: gibi.

589 BBA, MM and TS omit 'soñra'.

590 BBA, MM and TS: olbabda.

591 BBA, MM and TS: olursa.

592 BBA and TS: mucebiyle; MM: muceble.

593 BBA, MM and TS omit 've'.

594 BBA, MM and TS: dojuyla.

595 MM: page 139.

596 MM: suretde.

597 MM: münfesıl.

598 BBA, MM and TS: hükm-i.

599 TS: kalmışdı.

600 BBA, MM and TS add here 'ki'.

601 TS: mazmunı.

602 BBA and MM: hümayunuyla; TS: hümayunla.

603 BBA, MM and TS omit 'mestur ve'.

baᶜdehü[604] merhum babam sultan Selim han tabe serahü dahı ol ᶜahd-name-i hümayunı mukarrer tutub aña muhalif iş[605] olmaya deyü mukaddema Venedik dojı olan[606]

64) Yironimo Priyul[607] zemanında ᶜahdname-i hümayun verdükdensoñra[608] ma-beyn[609] ᶜadavet üzere oldukda[610] tekrar zikr olunan Venedik dojı ve begleri tarafından merhum ve magfur lehü[611] babam hudavendigar [612] rahmetü[613] 'llahi[614] 'l-meliki 'l-gaffar zemanında dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahımızda[615] baylosluk[616]

65) hidmetinde olan Marko Antoniyo Barbaro[617] nam muᶜtemedün ᶜaleyh[618] ademleri girü sulh ve salah hususun[619] iᶜlam ve işᶜar[620] edüb kendü hattı ve mühri ile[621] astane-i seᶜadet-penahımıza[622] mektubun[623] getürüb[624] istidᶜa-i[625]

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604 BBA: baᶜd; MM omits 'baᶜdehü'.

605 BBA, MM and TS omit 'iş'.

606 BBA, MM and TS omit 'olan'.

607 V: Yiron[i]mo Pr[i]yul; BBA and TS: B[-]rogurgur B[-]b[-]rpul; MM: B[-]rogur Birpul; T: Hieronimo Privli. Girolamo Priuli, Doge of Venice 1 September 1559 - 4 November 1567.

608 BBA, MM and TS: verdikden soñra.

609 BBA, MM and TS: ma beyn.

610 BBA, MM and TS: olmagın.

611 BBA, MM and TS omit 've magfur lehü'.

612 BBA adds here 'ᶜaleyh'; TS: ᶜaleyhi.

613 TS: 'r-rahmetü.

614 MM omits 'llahi.

615 BBA and TS: destgahımıza; MM: destgahımda.

616 BBA, MM and TS: balyozluk.

617 V: Marko [A]nton[i]yo Barbaro; BBA: Marmontos[-]d Barbaro; TS: Marmontonid Barbaro; MM: Marmontos[-]d Barbaror; T: Marc'Antonio Barbaro. Marcantonio Barbaro, Venetian bailo in Constantinople 1568-1573.

618 BBA, MM and TS have 'muᶜtemed' instead of 'muᶜtemedün ᶜaleyh'.

619 BBA, MM and TS: hususunı.

620 BBA, MM and TS have 'işᶜar ve iᶜlam' instead of 'iᶜlam ve işᶜar'.

621 BBA, MM and TS have 'hatt ve mührüyle' instead of 'hattı ve mühri ile'.

622 BBA, MM and TS: ᶜunvanımıza.

623 T: added later, in very small handwriting above 'penahımıza'; BBA, MM and TS omit 'mektubun'.

624 MM: getü[rü]b.

625 T: hemze-izafet; BBA, MM and TS: ye-izafet.

ᶜinayet etdikde merhum müşarün[626] ileyh babam tabe serahü zemanında[627] istidᶜaları hayyiz-i[628] kabulde vakıᶜ olub
66) beyan olunacak şürut üzere müceddeden ᶜahd-name-i hümayun vermiş imiş anuñ dahı[629] mazmun-i hümayununda[630] mezbur[631] baylosuñ[632] mektubunda mukayyed olan cümle şartlarından[633] biri Venedik begleri merhum ve magfur lehü ceddim sultan Süleyman han tabe serahü[634] zemanında verdükleri[635] üçyüz biñ [636]
67) filori'i[637] ceddimiñ ᶜahd-namesinde[638] mukayyed oldugı[639] üzere vereler ve andan gayri Spot[640] nam hisarı dahı bile alınan topları ile[641] vereler [642] içinde olan reᶜayadan isteyen kala ve[643] istemeyen[644] esbab ve emvalı[645] ve[646] evlad ve ensabı ile[647] mürad edindikleri[648] yere gideler kimesne[649] maniᶜ ve dafiᶜ

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626 BBA, MM and TS: müşar.

627 V: illegible; BBA, MM and TS: yanında.

628 MM: hayyin (sic).

629 BBA and TS: anıñdahı; MM: anıñ dahı.

630 BBA, MM and TS have 'mazmununda' instead of 'mazmun-i hümayununda'.

631 BBA, MM and TS omit 'mezbur'.

632 BBA, MM and TS: balyozuñ.

633 BBA, MM and TS: sürutlardan.

634 BBA, MM and TS have 'babam' instead of 'ceddim sultan Süleyman han tabe serahü'.

635 BBA, MM and TS: verdikleri.

636 BBA, MM and TS add here 'sikke'.

637 BBA, MM and TS: filori.

638 BBA, MM and TS have 'eski ᶜahd-namelerde' instead of 'ceddimiñ ᶜahd-namesinde'.

639 MM: oldıgı.

640 V, BBA and MM: Spot; TS: Sebot; T: Soppoto'.

641 BBA: toblarıyla; TS and MM: toplarıyla.

642 BBA, MM and TS add here 've'.

643 TS omits 'isteyen kala ve'.

644 TS: istiman.

645 BBA, MM and TS: emval.

646 TS omits 've'.

647 BBA, MM and TS: ensabıyla.

648 BBA, MM and TS: etdikleri.

649 BBA and TS: bir kimse; MM: bir kimesne.

68) olmaya ve Zakise[650] ceziresinden[651] ötüri mukaddema[652] beşyüz filori verirlerdi[653] hala biñ filori ziyade edüb kadimden verdükleri[654] üslub üzere biñ beşyüz filori'i[655] südde-i seᶜadetimize[656] irsal edeler[657] ve merhum babam tabe serahü[658] zemanında verilen ᶜahd-name-i hümayun ve ahkam-i şerife
69) ki[659] cülus-i hümayunumda tecdid olunub makbul-i şerifim olmuş idi[660] eger ol[661] ᶜahd-namelerde ve eger verilen evamir-i ᶜaliyede mukayyed olan hususları ke-ma kane mukarrer tutdum ve[662] Venedik begleri[663] Kıbrıs[664] ceziresinden ötüri sabıka[665] sal [666]be-sal südde-i seᶜadetimize verdükleri[667] sekiz biñ altunı
70) min baᶜd vermeyeler ve Arnavudlukda[668] ve Bosna[669] vilayetlerinde[670] olan yerleriñ baᶜzısı haliya[671] bu canibiñ tesarrüfüne girüb ve baᶜzı[672] Venedik

650 V: Zakise; T: Zante; BBA, MM and TS: Zaklise (with final 'elif' written as 'Zaklisa').

651 MM: ceziresinde (sic).

652 BBA, MM and TS omit 'mukaddema'.

653 BBA, MM and TS: verirler idi.

654 BBA, MM and TS: verdikleri.

655 BBA, MM and TS: filori.

656 TS: seᶜadetime; MM; seᶜadetimde.

657 BBA, MM and TS: eyleyeler.

658 BBA, MM and TS omit 'tabe serahü'.

659 MM: şerifeki.

660 BBA, MM and TS: olmuşidi.

661 BBA, MM and TS omit 'ol'.

662 BBA, MM and TS omit 've'.

663 MM: begler.

664 V: K[ı]br[ı]s; BBA, TS and MM: K[ı]brıs; T: Cipro.

665 BBA, MM and TS omit 'sabıka'.

666 MM: page 140.

667 BBA, MM and TS: verdikleri.

668 V: Arnav[u]dl[u]k; BBA, TS and MM: [A]rn[a]v[u]dl[u]k; T: Albania.

669 V, BBA, TS and MM: Bosna; T: Schiavonia.

670 BBA, MM and TS: vilayetinde.

671 BBA, MM and TS omit 'haliya'.

672 BBA, MM and TS: baᶜzısı.

begleriniñ[673] ellerindedir[674] iki canibiñ ellerinde olan hisarlarıñ kadimi sınurı ve karyeleri vere bozulmadın ne vechile[675] zabt olıgelmiş[676] ise
71) min baᶜd olvechile zabt oluna ve bu babda tarafeynden mezbur vilayetleriñ hakimlerine müceddeden emirler gönderilüb tenbih oluna ve vere bozuldugı zemanda iki canibde[677] bulunub mahbus ve girift olunan bazirganlara esbab ve metaᶜları ve gemileri verilüb[678] ıtlak
72) olunalar[679] eger mezbur [680]bazirganlarıñ metaᶜları [681]satılub yahud za'iᶜ[682] olmuş ise ki sabit ve zahir ola satılanları[683] niçeye[684] beyᶜ olunmuş ise anuñ[685] akçeleri ve za'iᶜ[686] olanlarıñ kıymetleri ne ise behaları verile deyü zikr eylemiş eyle[687] olsa mezbur baylosuñ[688] Venedik dojı
73) ve begleri canibinden verdügi[689] mektubunda münderic olan şürut üzere sulhı kabul edüb ma-dam ki[690] muma ileyhim[691] begler tarafından şera'it-i[692] ᶜahd ve[693] eman riᶜayet ve[694] himayet olunub hılaf-i ᶜahd vazᶜ sudur etmeye hazret-i huda-i müteᶜalıñ vahdaniyeti ve ᶜazameti

673 MM: begleri.

674 BBA, MM and TS: elindedir.

675 BBA, MM and TS: nevechile.

676 BBA, MM and TS: oluna gelmiş.

677 BBA, MM and TS: canibden.

678 TS: verülüb.

679 TS: oluna.

680 BBA: page 8. At the bottom of page 7 the first word of page 8 (bazirganlarıñ) is written.

681 TS: f. 46v.

682 BBA, MM and TS: zayiᶜ.

683 BBA, MM and TS: satılanlarınıñ.

684 TS and MM: niceye.

685 BBA and MM omit 'ise anuñ'; TS: anuñ.

686 BBA, MM and TS: zayiᶜ.

687 BBA, MM and TS: öyle.

688 BBA and MM: balyozuñ; TS: balyoz.

689 TS and MM: verdigi.

690 BBA, MM and TS: ma damki.

691 BBA, MM and TS: ileyh.

692 BBA and TS: şerayit-i.

693 MM omits 've'.

694 MM omits 've'.

74) hakkı içün[695] ve habib-i ekrem seᶜadetlü[696] peygamberimiz Muhammed Mustafa[697] ᶜaleyh efzalü 's-salevat[698] ve ekmelü 't-tahiyatıñ hürmetiyçün ᶜahd ve[699] yemin ederim ki[700] bendahı ma beynde olan dostlukdan ve şürut ve ᶜuhuddan ᶜudul ve inhiraf göstermeyem ve astanemize[701] kurudan[702] ve yaşdan düşmenlik üzere[703] olanlara ma-dam ki[704]
75) Venedik dojı ve begleri kavlen[705] ve fiᶜlen[706] muᶜin ve zahir olmayalar[707] vakıᶜ olan sulh ve salahdan tecavüz etdirmeyem deyü mukayyed olmagın hala mezkurlar[708] zikr olunan eski[709] ᶜahd-nameye göre dergah-i[710] muᶜallamdan müceddeda[711] ᶜahd-name-i hümayun rica eyledükleri[712] ecilden ve yüce astanemiz eger dostluk
76) ve eger düşmenlik dileyenlere[713] ᶜinayet-i hakk sübhane ve teᶜala ile meftuh ve mekşuf olub kimesneniñ gelüb gitmesine redd ve menᶜ[714] olmamagın bendahı mezid-i [715] merhamet-i şahanemden merhum [716] ceddim ve babam

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695 BBA, MM and TS: hakkıyçün.

696 BBA, MM and TS have 'nebi-i muhterem' instead of 'seᶜadetlü'.

697 BBA, MM and TS: el-Mustafa. T: Meemet Mustaffa'.

698 BBA and TS: 's-salvat ('s-salat).

699 MM omits 've'.

700 BBA, MM and TS: ederimki.

701 BBA and MM: südde-i seniye-i seᶜadet-destgahımıza; TS: südde-i seᶜadetime.

702 BBA, MM and TS: kurıdan.

703 MM has 'üzere' before 'düşmenlik'.

704 BBA, MM and TS: ma damki.

705 MM and TS: kavla.

706 TS: fiᶜla.

707 BBA, MM and TS: olmaya.

708 BBA, MM and TS omit 'mezkurlar'.

709 V: seems to be written as 'iki'.

710 MM omits 'dergah-i'.

711 BBA and MM: müceddeden; TS: mücedded.

712 BBA, MM and TS: eyledikleri.

713 BBA, MM and TS have 've bu vech üzere astanemiz' instead of 've yüce astanemiz eger dostluk ve eger düşmenlik dileyenlere'.

714 BBA, MM and TS have 'menᶜ ve redd' instead of 'redd ve menᶜ'.

715 TS adds here 'ᶜinayet-i'.

716 MM adds here 've'.

tabe serahüma ᶜinayet eyledikleri ᶜahd-namelerde mestur ve mukayyed[717] olub merhum[718] [719]babam tabe serahü[720]
77) kabul etdügi[721] şürut ve ᶜuhud bi-'t-temam icra olunmak ve olvakt[722] hızane-i[723] ᶜamireye üç yıla degin teslim etmege müteᶜahhid oldukları üçyüz[724] biñ filoriden[725] henüz bu tarihe degin teslim etmeyüb baki kalan filori'i[726] dahı üç yıla degin bi-kusur teslim etmek
78) şartıyla sulh ve salahı kabul edüb müceddeden[727] bu ᶜahd-name-i hümayun-i seᶜadet-makrunı verdüm[728] ve ᶜahd eyledimki Venedik dojı ve sa'ir[729] begleri tarafından ma-dam ki[730] ᶜahd-namelerde beyan olunan şera'it-i[731] ᶜahd ve eman ke-ma yenbagi[732] riᶜayet ve himayet olunub hılaf-i ᶜahd ve eman[733]
79) bir vazᶜ sudur etmeye bendahı hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ ululugı ve vahdaniyeti hakkıyçün ve habib-i ekrem ve şefiᶜ-i ümem iki cihan güneşi seᶜadetlü[734] peygamberimiz Muhammed Mustafa[735] salla 'llahü[736]

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717 BBA, MM and TS have 'mukayyed ve mestur' instead of 'mestur ve mukayyed'.

718 BBA, MM and TS omit 'merhum'.

719 MM: page 141.

720 BBA, MM and TS omit 'tabe serahü'.

721 BBA, MM and TS: eyledügi.

722 BBA, MM and TS omit 'olvakt'.

723 BBA, MM and TS: hazine-i.

724 TS: üç yüz.

725 MM: filorin.

726 BBA, MM and TS: filoriyi.

727 TS: müceddeda.

728 TS: verdim.

729 TS: sayir.

730 BBA, MM and TS: ma damki.

731 BBA, MM and TS: şerayit ve.

732 BBA, MM and TS omit 'ke-ma yenbagi'.

733 BBA, MM and TS omit 've eman'.

734 BBA, MM and TS omit 'seᶜadetlü'.

735 BBA, MM and TS: el-Mustafa. T: Meemet Mustaffa'.

736 MM: '[lla]hü.

ᶜaleyh ve sellemiñ[737] hürmeti içün[738] ᶜahd ve yemine muhalif[739] ma beynde[740] münᶜakıd olan dostluk
80) ve sulh ve salahdan ve şerh ve[741] beyan olunan şürut ve ᶜuhuddan ᶜudul ve inhiraf göstermeyem ve südde-i seᶜadetimize kurudan[742] ve yaşdan düşmenlik üzere olanlara Venedik dojı ve begleri kavla[743] ve fiᶜlen hiç [744] vechile muᶜin ve zahir olmadıklarınca[745]
81) vakıᶜ olan sulh ve salahdan tecavüz etdirmeyem ve ᶜadavetden evvel ve[746] soñra hılaf-i ᶜahd alınan[747] esirler hususunda ᶜahd-namelerde beyan olunan şera'it[748] icra oluna emma ᶜadavet zemanında iki canibden dahı alınan esirler hususunda
82) ol şart cari olmayub esir sahıbları muhtar olub dilerler ise[749] beha ile[750] salıvereler isterler ise[751] kullanalar bir ferd[752] maniᶜ ve dafiᶜ[753] olmaya [754]tahriren fi evayil-i şehr-i cümada 'l-ula li-sene seles ve-semanin ve-tisᶜ-mi'e
83) be-mekam-i Kostantiniye[755] 'l-mahruse 'l-mahmiye.

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737 BBA, MM and TS: sellem.

738 BBA, MM and TS: hürmetiyçün.

739 BBA, MM and TS have 'ᶜahd ve yemin ederimki' instead of 'ᶜahd ve yemine muhalif'.

740 MM: ma beyninde.

741 TS omits 've'.

742 BBA, MM and TS: kurıdan.

743 TS and MM: kavlen.

744 BBA, MM and TS add here 'bir'.

745 MM: olmadıkca.

746 MM omits 've'.

747 MM: olan.

748 BBA, MM and TS: şerayit.

749 BBA, MM and TS: dilerlerse.

750 BBA, MM and TS have 'behaya kesüb' instead of 'beha ile'.

751 BBA and MM: isterlerse.

752 BBA, MM and TS have 'kimesne' instead of 'bir ferd'.

753 BBA, MM and TS omit 've dafiᶜ'.

754 From here BBA and TS omit; MM has the following shortened *datatio*-formula: fi sene 983.

755 V: K[o]st[a]ntin[i]ye; T: Costantinopoli.

The Italian Translation of the Venetian Capitulation of 1575

The present text is based on the Italian translation which is kept in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia.[1]

The text

[2]CAPITOLI DELLA PACE
FRA L'IMPERIO DE TVRCHI
ET IL SERENISSIMO DOMINIO VE
NETO CONFIRMATI PER
IL SERENISSIMO SULTAN MORAT
NELLA SVCCESSIO
NE SVA NELLO
IMPERIO L'AN
NO M.D.LXX
V
Tradotti per me Mattio Marucini

SVLTAN MORAT IMPERATOR FIGLI
VOLO DE SVLTAN SELIM IMPE
RATOR SEMPRE
VITTORIOSO

Per questo Segno Eccelso, & singolare, il qual per
gratia, & aiuto del puro Iddio significa singo-
ria del Mondo, si commanda in questo modo:
Per l'altissima gratia dell'Eccelso & Adorato Iddio,
& per gl'abbondantissimi miracoli del Salvator
[3]Meemet Mustaffa' nostro Proffeta signor de tutti gl'altri
proffeti, & con favor delli quatro beatissimi apostoli
che sono in Paradiso. Io, il quale al presente
son' Imperial, & Cesarea Maesta' Signor delli Signori
fra quelli singolare, & Donator de corone alli Signori

1 Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Documenti Turchi 828.

2 F. 1r.

3 F. 1v.

che sono sopra la faccia della terra, Sultan MO
RAT Imperator figliuolo de Sultan Selim Imperator,
figliuolo de Sultan Suleiman Imperator, figliuolo de
Sultan Selim Imperator. Havendo il potente, grande,
& Sublime fra li Signori christiani, & honorato fra li
populi de CHRISTO ALVISE MOCENIGO
che hora e' DOCE di VENETIA, & gl'altri signori
ch'el loro fine sin buono destinato Ambasciator' al
luoco dell'eccellisa mia Porta, ch'e' stantia de felicita' il Va-
loroso, & fedelissimo huomo suo nominato GIACOMO
SORANZO cavalier, & Procurator, ha summissivamente
& sinceramente supplicato, che con l'eccelsa mia Porta
sia la Pace, amicitia, & promessa, secondo ch'e' stato
nel tempo del questo mio Avo Sultan Suleiman, & del
[4]questo Sultan Selim mio padre, che Iddio gl'habbi miseri-
cordia, & ha pregato, che sia confirmata, come era
prima la capitolatione con tutti li patti In quella con-
tenuti, & mando' per il passato all'Eccellissima mia Porta li
istessi capitoli, chiedendo gratia che fossero renovati.
Nelli qual' Eccelsi capitoli, che dati gli foro dal questo Signor mio
Avo nel tempo di PIETRO LANDO era DOCE
di Venetia si contiene. Che consignando alla mia
Eccelsa Porta Napoli con la Rocca, & Malvasia terre
nelle Morea possedute da loro, doppo' tolte pero' le
arteglierie, campane, & altri instrumenti da com-
battere, li Rettori, & stipendiati che vi sono dentro
vadino con le loro robbe dove vogliono, & ancor
li sudditi, che voranno spontaneamente restar, resti-
no, & quelli che voranno andar possino con le rob-
be loro similmente andar. Promettendo anco di
dar al mio ricco thesoro duccati d'oro venetiani tre-
cento mille, cio e cento mille al presente, cinquanta
mille in quest'anno, il restante, che e' centocinquanta
[5]mille doppo' questo' anno in doi anni, cio e settanta
cinque mille all'anno. Io ho voluto essendo stato

4 F. 2r.

5 F. 2v.

pregato che gli siano concessi ancor li Eccelsi capitoli
delle queste misericordiose imperiali Maesta' concedere
alli detti signori l'honorata Pace con le condittioni, che
destintamente saranno narrate, & gli ho presentato a
nobil Segno con il qual l'honorata mia promessa e'
stabilita & accio che l'Eccelsa mia Capitolatione sia
stabile, & ferma Io giuro per l'unita' dell'Eccelso pu-
ro Signore che ha creato il Ciel et la Terra sempre che
dalla parte loro non sara' fatta cosa contra la promes-
sa. Da me ancor non seguira' innovatione, ne cosa
contraria a quella. Sara' dunque da questo giorno
innanci amicitia, & pace tra noi con il predetto Do
ce di Venetia, & con gl'altri Signori, & huomini suoi
& con le genti delli lochi, & paesi pertinenti a loro,
& con li luochi, & isole che furno tolte alli detti conla
mia potente, & Vittoriosa spada in tempo che tra noi
era inimicitia avanti che fossero fatti questi miei Eccelsi
[6]capitoli, cio e' li castelli Vrana, & Nadin, che sono nel
fine del Sangiaccato della Bossena con tutti li confini,
& termini delli casalli sottoposti a' detti castelli, &
con li sudditi loro, che si trovaron in detti luochi quando
furon presi, & con le isole che' sono in Arcipela-
go Sciatos con il suo castello; Schiro con il suo cas-
tello, Andro con doi suoi castelli, Sifno, et Sirfo con
li suoi castelli, Chierpe con li suoi doi castelli, &
delle isole sottoposte a' Nexia Sira, & Tino, & Nexia
con tre suoi castelli, Santurini, Millo con li suoi doi
castelli, Andobada con il suo castello. Et con le
isole deserte, & inhabitate, cioe Egna, Merit, Termi-
ne, Paro, Micone, Papaslich. Stampolia, S. Giorgi,
Coiunluge', cioe' l'isola di castrati, Mirgar, & Chiesa
ricca, Le qual sopraditte isole sono de mia Imperial
Maesta', oltre delle qual con l'isola de Thine con il
suo castello soggetta alli suddetti Signori di Venetia, &
in loro Dominio, & con gl'altri castelli, & fortezze
che sono sottoposte a' loro. Finalmente con tutti

6 F. 3r.

[7]quelli che portano il stendardo de San Marco, et con li paesi, & luoghi si da mar, come da terra, che fin'hora hanno in loro Dominio, & con li luoghi che per l'avvenir prenderanno delli suoi confedeli:-

.I. Che il luoco, ch'e' nel confine del Sangiaccato della Ianina nominato Parga, il qual per avanti de mio commandamento fu brusciato, & ruinato al presente per mia grandissima bonta' ho commandato, ch'el Sia ancor delli detti Signori, & che lo possedano con la Rocca, borgo, termine, & confin suo; Ma se gl'huomini di detto luoco della Parga, over delle ville sottoposte a' quello danneggiassero per mar, o' per terra li miei custoditi luochi, li Signori de Venetia faccianno pagar il danno, & severamente debbano far castigar li colpevoli:-

.II. Che ne dalli sangiachi, subassi', che sono nel mio custodito paese, ne in conclusione da alcuno delli nobeli, & servitori miei, che a' guisa delle stelle sono innumerabili non saranno danneggiati li paesi, citta, [8]fortezze, & huomini loro, & se alcuno delli miei signori soggeti alla mia Eccelsa Porta, overo alcuno delle mie vittoriose genti danneggiassero li paesi, citta', fortezze, & huomini loro sia de mio nobil commandamento rifatto il danno, & castigati li delinquenti:-

.III. Che li mercanti, & huomini de detti Signori Venetiani venendo si per mar, come per terra nel mio custodito paese con galee, navi, & altri navilii piccioli non debbano all'improviso entrare nella custodita citta' de Costantinopoli, ne in Pera, ne in Alessandria Caiarina, ch'e' nell'Arabbia, ne al stretto, ch'e' a' basso de Galipoli, ne alle boche de Lepanto, & della Prevesa, ne in porto de Modon, ma prima diano aviso alli castellani, & con licentia loro entrino, & se per contrario vento, o', per fortuna, overo, che quelli fossero fugati dalle fuste de corsari, & leventi, &

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7 F. 3v.

8 F. 4r.

che fossero neccessitati a' non poter alloggiar ad altra scalla, che a' quella; allhora venghino, & entrino, dando pero' aviso se sara possibile. & quando [9]saranno per partire, non partino senza licentia, & siano castigati quelli, che contrafaranno, ne siano percio' incolpati li Signori de Venetia, & se intenda questo ordine sei mesi doppo', accioche essendo avvertiti li navilij de Venetiani non segua cosa contraria a' questi miei Eccelsi Capitoli:-

.IIII. Che se li navilij, galee, & Armate, che partiranno dal mio custodito paese se trovassero con navilij de Venetiani non debbano fargli danno, ne insulto, ma l'un con l'altro amicarsi. Cosi ancor loro incontrandosi nelle mie Armate, & galee, che con il mio nobil commandamento saranno uscite in mar, & con altri miei navilij, che navigano mainando le loro velle faccino segno dell'amicitia, & dimostrino obedientia. Se doppo' mianate le loro velle, & fatta saper l'amicitia saranno danneggiati, sia il danno o' in huomini, o' in robbe, overo in animali sinno reffatti. Similmente se li navilij, galee, et Armate loro anco se trovassero con li miei navilij [10]over con navilij de mercantia passar debbano, come ricerca l'amicitia senza fargli danno, & se faranno danno si in huomini, come robbe, et animali quello riffar debbano:-

.V. Che se occorrera', che li detti attrovandossi con navilij de corsari, & leventi, et da quelli assaltati combattessero, & rimanessero vincitori non debbano ammazzar quelli, che prenderanno vivi, et fatti schiavi nella battaglia; ma debbano mandarli tutti alla mia Eccelsa Porta sani, et salvi, li qual (oltre quelli che nel conflitto saranno stati ammazzati) faro' con tale, & si gagliardo castigo punire, che saranno essempio a' gl'altri:-

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9 F. 4v.

10 F. 5r.

.VI. Che se dal mio custodito paese li miei navilij armati anderanno in parte alcuna, che non sia sottoposta a' Venetiani, la loro Armata stia nelli suoi termini secondo l'amicitia, & non si mova, ne vadi a dar agiuto ad alcuno, & non sia causa, che sia fatto danno alle mie Armate, ne lasciano andar fra loro le [11]Armate de miei nemici, & non gli diano aiuto, ne vistovaglia. Et qualunque della loro Armata, che contrafara' a' questo mio commandamento sia dalli Signori de Venetia severamente castigato nel loco ove havera' commesso l'errore accio, che sia esemio a' gl'altri:-

.VII. Che se anco li Venetiani si abbatteranno nelle navi, galee, over altri navilij de corsari alieni non debbano lasciargli haver ricapito, ne fermarsi nelle isole, porti, et terre loro, & se sara' possibile prenderli, che li prendano, & li castigano senza aspettar altro. Cosi anco sia fatto dal canto mio, che non sia lasciato haver ricapito nelli porti, & terre mie alle navi & galee de corsari alieni, & se sara' possibile prenderli, che siano presi, & subito castigati:-

.VIII. Che se alcuno venira' da Venetia & contrattera' con un' altro nel mio custodito Dominio, & se ne fuggira' maliciosamente avanti, che l'habbi finito de pagar li danari, quando egli sara' domandato da colui, che andera' col mio nobil commandamento, [12]& ch'el sara' trovato, le sia fatto dar la robba al suo patron. Similmente se alcuno del mio custidito Dominio andera', & contrattera' con un'altro da Venetia & non havendo finito de pagar li danari se ne fuggira', et venira' via, sia restituito quello, che sara' provato esser suo:-

.VIIII. Che se alcuno nel mio custodito Dominio fosse per debiti, o' per altro modo colpevole, et si assentasse non sia in luoco suo retenuto, un altro innocente, ne siano per

11 F. 5v.

12 F. 6r.

quel tale incolpati li Signori de Venetia, Salvo[13] se il detto andasse nel loro Dominio ad habitare. Cosi anco sia fatto dal canto mio:-

.X. Che mandino Bailo chi a' loro piacera', il qual habbi a' stare nella custodita citta' de Costantinopoli apresso anni tre, & habbi ad espedir li negotij che occorreranno, & possi venir con la sua moglie, et famiglia, o' senza, come a' lui parera', & avanti finiti li tre anni se parta, et succeda a' quel modo un'altro in suo luoco:-

[14].XI. Che se schiavo alcuno fuggira' da Venetia, & venira' nel mio custodito Dominio se sara' turco venendo il suo patron le sia dato aspri mille, & non venendo il patron, ma che venisse il suo commesso siano a' lui dati, & essendo il schiavo nella sua fede lui proprio le sia restituito. Et se alcuno fuggira' dal mio custodito Dominio, et andera' da loro s'el sara' turco, over, che habbi renegato la sua fede lui proprio debbano senza scusa alcuna restituire, ma se sara' christiano diano al patron suo, overo al suo commesso aspri mille:-

.XII. Che se le fuste de corsari per mar, & altri per terra anderanno ad assaltare le isole, & luochi sottoposti a' Venetiani, et facendo gl'huomini schiavi quelli conduranno nella Gretia, & Natolia, & li venderanno. Trovati simil schiavi sia fatta diligentissima inquisitione, & facciano, che quelli in le cui mani si troveranno detti schiavi trovino coloro, da chi gli haveranno tolti. Et se finalmente sara' stato corsaro [15]et ch'el si havesse nelle mani sia severamente castigato, se pero' sara' conosciuto il schiavo esser veramente venetiano, il qual se si havera' fatto turco sia liberato, & lasciato andare, & s'el sara' christian sia consignato alli Venetiani, & se non si venira' a' co-

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13 The text has 'salsuo'.

14 F. 6v.

15 F. 7r.

gnitione de colui, che l'havera' pigliato, sia il proprio schiavo condotto all' Eccelsa mia Porta, dove si essaminera' sopra il caso suo. Se all'hora sara' provato esser venetiano, & ch'el se habbi fatto turco, sia liberato, & s'el sara', come prima christiano sia consignato al Bailo:-

.XIII. Che se li navilij venetiani per vento contrario patiranno naufraggio venendo nel mio custodito Dominio tutti gl'huomini, che scapolerano siano liberi, et se le robbe scapolerano sianno date alli loro patroni, ne gli sia dal capitano, ne da gl'huomini suoi, ne da altri in modo alcuno dato Impedimento:-

.XIIII. Che se alcuno navilio andando dal mio custodito pa ese a' quelle parti per vento contrario patira' [16]naufraggio, gl'huomini venetiani, che scapolerano non debbano esser molestati da altri, & siano date le robbe alli patroni loro senza mover difficulta', ne contrasto alcuno:-

.XV. Che da ogni luoco del mio custodito Dominio quando uscira' in mare, galee, fuste, & altri navilij senza il Capitanio mio, li patroni de quei vascelli diano buoni piezi, accioche andando alli luochi de venetiani non facciano alcun danno, & se anderanno senza dar piezi cadino in colpa, & siano severamente castigati, & se doppo' data piezaria faranno danno over nocumento, li piezi habbino a' reffar il danno:- Et che similmente anco sia fatto dal canto de venetiani, quando uscirano in mar navilij senza il Capitano loro, si li patroni de detti navilij doppo' data buona piezaria danneggiassero li luochi del mio custodito Dominio li piezi riffar debbano il danno, che sara' seguito, & si anderanno senza dar piezi cadino in colpa, & siano severamente castigati:-

[17].XVI. Che se dal mio custodito Imperio fuggira uno carazaro o vero uno Datier, & andera' ad habitar nelle

16 F. 7v.

17 F. 8r.

terre, & isole sottoposte alli venetiani, non sia accettato, ma senza scusa alcuna lo diano agli huomini, che anderanno per haverlo:-

.XVII. Che se alcuno fara' homicidio, overo robbamento, & portera' il furto de li, restituiscano l'istessa robba, com'era, & il simile sia fatto dal canto mio. Che se alcuno portera' de qui faculta' tolta in quelle parti con haver commesso homicidio, o vero furto sia restituita integramente:-

.XVIII. Che se nascera' differenza tra l'un venetian, & l'altro, li Baili secondo il ritto loro li ascoltino, et non siano impediti da alcuno:-

.XIX. Che se alcuno havera' differentia col Bailo essendo la mia felice Porta nella custodita Citta' de Costantinopoli sia ascoltata la causa nella mia Sublime corte; & se per caso io con felicita' mi atrovasse in viaggio, sia ascoltata con saputa dal Cadi [18]de Costantinopoli inanti il Signore, che sara' lasciato al governo[19] di essa citta':-

.XX. Che se alcuno havera' differentia con li mercanti Venetiani, & anderanno al Cadi. Il Cadi non debba ascoltar le loro litte se non vi sara' presente l'Interprete de Venetiani, & non debbano li detti mercanti con scusarsi dicendo l'interprete[20] non e' presente mandar la causa in lungo, ma facciano, ch'el sia presente, il quale se sara' da servitio importante occupato se dimori fin ch'el venghi:-

.XXI. Che per debito d'altrui non possi esser retenuto, ne fatto pagare il Bailo; Ma avisando cio' il Bailo alli Signori de Venetia, quelli debbano prestamente senza indugio mandar la risposta:-

.XXII. Che se da Venetia Vno mercante venira' a Lepanto, alla Morea, over ad altri luoghi del mio custodito Dominio non possi esser retenuto ne molestato per

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18 F. 8v.

19 The text has 'gorverno'.

20 The text has 'interpetre'.

debito d'altrui:-

.XXIII. Che se alcuno mercante venetiano vora' andar [21]in Bursia, over altro luoco non possi andar senza pigliar una licentia dal Bailo, & si vora' disobedientemente andar senza licentia il subasci' dia aiuto al Bailo, & non lo lascia andare:-

.XXIIII. Che li marineri delle navi, che venirano da Venetia non siano nel mio custodito paese tenuti a' servetio alcuno, ma vadino con le navilij suoi, come sono venuti:-

.XXV. Che quelli che venirano da Venetia per habitare nel mio custodito Dominio maritati o' non maritati, sempre che venendo, & andando trafiche vanno, et non si fermeranno non sia da loro di mandato carazo:-

.XXVI. Che essendo da prima differentia tra quelli della nattione Venetiana, & alcuni christiani carazari, & littegando li venetiani produceano testimonij della loro nattione, onde li adversarij con dire bisogna tistimonij christiani de questo luoco davano travagli alli detti, & non accettavano la testimoni-[22]anza delli christiani venetiani. Pero' per essere christiani tutti d'una fede ho commandato, che se li venetiani haveranno differentia con christiani, & che gli facci bisogno produr testimonij pro ducendo christiani siano di che nattione si voglia possino testificar, & secondo l'honorata legge del Proffetta sia accettata la testimonianza loro:-

.XXVII. Che se alcuno mercante venetiano nel mio custodito Dominio fosse assaltato per strada, overo in casale, et le fosse pigliata la robba, overo che nello assalto fosse ammazzato, o' assentanto, se venira' l'herede, over commesso sia veduto per via di giustitia il caso, accio che la ragione habbia suo luoco:-

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21 F. 9r.

22 F. 9v.

.XXVIII. Che se mercante alcuno venetiano venira' nel mio custodito Dominio, & facendo li suoi negotij de mercantia morira', il Beitelmalgi', cioe il catavero non si debba impacciare nella robba sua, ma quella sia consignata alli suoi baili:-

[23].XXIX. Che se li mercanti turchi di Barbaria, & altri luochi venendo al mio paese per mar, & per terra per vender, & comprar capiteranno alli luoghi dove commandano li Signori de Venetia, doppo' toltogli li dretti delle mercantie secondo il suo canon, et usanza non gl'impediscano, ne gli lasciano far danno alcuno, accio che a' suo piacere possino venir, & partir dal mio custodito Dominio:-

.XXX. Che alcuno non dia impaccio, ne facci danno niuno alli navilij si de Venetiani, come d'altri, che da Corfu', in giu' anderanno, & veniranno da Venetia per trafficare, se non in caso, che havessero fatto qualche male:-

.XXXI. Che essendo fatta la cerca in Costantinopoli ad uno navilio venetiano secondo la consuetudine, & ordine doppo' partito, & andato alli castelli del stretto egli sia un' altra volta cercato secondo l'ordine antiquo, & poi siale data licentia de partire, & perche al presente contra detta consuetudine era cercato [24]a' Galipoli, pero' in detto luoco non si cerchera' piu', ma solamente secondo essa consuetudine predetta un'altra fiata cercato alli castelli se ne vadi via:-

.XXXII. Che li cinquecento cechini, che per l'isola del Zante si dava ogni anno al mio ricco thesoro, siano ancor a' quello ogn'anno intieramente consignati:-

.XXXIII. Che il Tributo dell'isola de Cipro, ch'e' de ottomille cechini all'anno, sia portato ogni anno a' ragione de mesi romani, & consignar lo debbano nella custodita citta' de Costantinopoli:-

.XXXIIII. Che doi galee grosse alli tempi deputati vengano, &

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23 F. 10r.

24 F. 10v.

vadano con mercantie in Alessandria Caiarina,
& altre doi alle scalle de Tripoli, & Barutti sotto-
poste alla custodita mia citta' de Damasco si come
e' stato antiquamente consueto dall'acquisto delli mei
paesi d'Arabbia in qua' & non siano differiti li suoi
tempi deputati, o, siano due galee grosse, o, piu', o, si-
ano navilij grossi, o, piccioli, et di quel modo, che fin
hora e' stato usato venir, & andar per comprar
[25]& vender di novo far debbano, & non sia mossa diffe-
rentia contra la consuetudine:-

.XXXV. Che siano annullate le nove, & male usance, le qual
si nelli danari, come in ogni mercantia contra
il canon, & ordine antiquo sono state introdotte
alle scalle de Tripoli, & Barutti da uno che per
avanti era hebreo nel paese d'Arabbia, & poi si
fece turco nominato Ibrahim Chiesturi, & sia fatto
secondo, che si facea da prima, & si advertisea
che non sia lasciato far torto ad alcuno contra
l'ordine antiquo:-

.XXXVI. Che da alcuno miei Beglerbei, ne signori, ne altri
miei schiavi non sia fatto ingiuria a' dette galee
grosse, ne ad altri navilij, ne alli mercanti suoi
contra l'antiqua consuetudine, li quali siano sicu-
ri, & non molestati da alcuno:-

.XXXVII. Che havendo io accettata l'amicitia sopra li predetti
capitoli. Giuro per il giusto Iddio Creator del
Cielo, & della Terra, & vero Nutritor del Mondo
[26]sempre che da loro non nascera' cosa contra alli
honorati capitoli; Da me anco non procedera' cosa
alcuna contr'a' quelli:-

.XXXVIII. Che doppo' scritti questi Eccelsi Capitoli fu fatto men-
tione delli castelli nominati Bucchiz, Zastina, et
li Molini, che sono nel Sangiaccato de Bossina per
haver il Sangiacco de Bossina fatto intender per
detti castelli, che sono ruinati haverli presi, & esser

25 F. 11r.

26 F. 11v.

in nostro potere. Ma havendo l'Ambasciator del Doce di Venetia, che' e' venuto alla mia Eccelsa Porta esposto quelli castelli non esser stati presi; ma essere nel loro dominio, e' necessario, che sia inquerito un'altra volta. Eccettuando li castelli delli molini, li qual essendo fra noi in differentia ho commandato, che dalla molta gratia de mia Maesta' siano a loro dati, & che siano suoi. Et quanto alla cosa delli quatro castelli, l'e' stata suspesa nell' eccelsa capitolatione, accio sia fatta inquisitione, & espedita, se veramente sara', come ha esposto l'Ambasciator detti [27]castelli siano consignati a' loro; se anco sara' come ha fatto saper il Sangiacco de Bossina; all'hora sia poi fatto secondo il mio nobil commandamento, che per questa causa sara' fatto:-

.XXXVIIII. Et perche' il prefatto Ambasciator avanti questi Eccelsi Capitoli havea da trattar alcune materei con il Doce di Venetia fu' capitorlamente scritto un nobil mio commandamento, & mandato a Ventia, & ivi resto', il qual hora sia annullato, et questi sono li veri, & confirmati miei Eccelsi Capitoli secondo il tenor delli quali sia operato

CAPITOLI DELLA PACE FATTA CON SULTAN SELIM PER IL CLARISSIMO BAILO BARBARO

.XXXX. Li qual capitoli per essere cosi notati furno ancor confirmati dal questo Imperator mio padre, che Dio le habbi [28]misericordia in tempo de HIERONIMO PRIVLI era DOCE di VENETIA dicendo che non fossa fatta cosa contrari a' quelli. Et doppo' datigli per il passato detti Eccelsi Capitoli, natta fra loro inimicitia. Vn'altra fiata Marc'Antonio Barbaro huo-

27 F. 12r.

28 F. 12v.

mo su fedelissimo, ch'era nel servitio del Bailazo
per il detto Doce, & li Signori de Venetia all' Eccelsa
mi Porta nel temp del questo Imperator mio padre,
ch'el Signor Dio Perdonator le doni gloria, mando'
una lettera de lor mano con il suo bollo alla Feli-
ce mia Porta, ch'e' luoco de bonta' trattando da no-
vo la Pace,& havendo domandato tal gratia, fu'
dal predetto questo Signor mio padre volontieri accetta-
ta la richiesta sopra li patti, che saranno dechia-
riti, & gli fu' data la nobil capitolatione nova.
Delli qual tutti patti, che forno scritti nella lettera
del predetto Bailo, & ancor, che sono nella contine-
za delli Capitoli predetti, quest'e' il presento:-

.XXXXI. Che li Signori de Venetia diano li cechini trecentomille
[29]che diedero nel tempo del questo Signor mio padre Sultan
Selim secondo, ch'e' scritto nelli Capitoli. Et oltre
de quelli, che diano il Castello nominato Soppoto'
con le arteglierie, che hanno tolto, & delle genti,
che sono dentro resti chi vole, & chi non vole vadi
con tutte le sue faculta', figlioli, moglie, & robbe
dove le piacera', ne sia da alcuno impedito:-

.XXXXII. Che per il passato davano per conto dell'isola del
Zante cinquecento cechini; et hora essendo acre-
sciuti de piu' mille cichini mille cinquecento secon
do l'ordine, che li danano da prima:-

.XXXXIII. Che li Eccelsi Capitoli, & nobil commandamenti,
che dati gli forno in tempo del questo Signor mio padre,
quali nella felice mia successione dell' Imperio
forno rinovati, & nella nobil presenza mia accet-
tati, quali ho confirmati, si com'erano prima
con le cose, che sono descritte si, in essi capitoli, come
ne gl'alti commandamenti, che gli sono stati dati:-

[30].XXXXIII. Che li Signori de Venetia non diano piu' all' Eccelsa mia Porta
li cechini ottomille, che davano ogn'anno per conto
dell'isola de Cipro:-

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29 F. 13r.

30 F. 13v.

.XXXXIIII. Che delli luochi, che sono nelli paesi della Schiavonia, & Albania alcuni sono pervenuti in poter nostro, & alcuni sono in potere delli Signori de Venetia, & li confini antiqui, & ville delle terre, che sono in Dominio d'ambe le parti siano posseduti sempre in quel modo, che soleano esser posseduti avanti, che fosse rotta la pace, & di cio' siano mandati commandamenti dall'un', et l'altra parte alli Rettori delli sopraditti paesi, perche siano advertiti;-

.XXXXV. Che li mercanti, che in tempo, che si ruppe la pace forno trovati dall'un', et l'altra parte, retenuti, & posti in preggione siano liberati, & gli siano date le mercantie, navilij, & robbe loro, & se chiaramente sara' provato esser state vendute, over smarite le mercantie de detti mer-[31]canti gli siano dati li danari di quanto a' ponto saranno state vendute, & il precio de tutto l'ainontar di quelle, che saranno smarite:-

.XXXXVI. Che havendo Io accettata la Pace iuxta li patti, che destintamente sono descritti nella lettere che diede' il sopradito Bailo per nome del Doce. & li Signori de Venetia, com'e' detto di sopra. Io giuro per la pura unita', & verita dell'Eccelso Signor Iddio, & per l'honor del gratioso, amabile, & felice nostro Proffeta Meemet Mustaffa' che le salutationi, & benedittioni de Dio siano sopra lui. Sempre che dalla parte loro saran osservati li patti, & promesse, & che non sia fatta cosa contra quelli. Io ancor mi rimovero', ne lascero contravenir' alli patti, pace, & capitoli che sono seguiti fra noi:-

.XXXXVII. Che, sempre ch'el Doce, & li Signori de Venetia non saranno favorevoli ne in fatti, ne in parole a' quelli, che saranno nemici dell'Eccelsa

31 F. 14r.

[32]mia Porta si per mar, come per terra Io non lascero' preferir la conventione seguita:-

CONFIRMATIONE DELLA PACE FATTA PER SULTAN MORAT

.XXXXVIII. Al presente havendo richiesto alla sublime mia corte li Eccelsi novi capitoli simili alli vecchi sopraditti. Io per la molta misericordia de mia Impereal Maesta', essendo per gratia dell'Eccelso Iddio la Alta mia Porta aperta si a' quelli, che vogliono amicitia, come inimicitia, ne essendo impedimento al venir, ne all'andar ad alcuno. Ho accettata la Pace con li patti, & promesse, che sono notate nelli Eccelsi Capitoli, che gli forno concessi dalli questi Signori mio Avo & mio padre, che Dio gli habbi [33]pieta'. Et finalmente gli ho dato li Eccelsi & felici Capitoli novi con il patto ne piu", ne meno, che accetto' mio padre:-

.XXXXVIIII. Che non havendo consignato fin'a' questo Millesimo ancor li cechini restanti delli trecentomille, che promissero' consignar al mio ricco Thesoro fin tre anni, quelli debbeno intieramente consignar fin tre anni al mio ricco Thesoro. Et gli ho promesso sempre che dalla parte del Doce, & gl'altri Signori de Venetia sara' osservata la promessa con li patti, che sono descritti nella Capitolatione, & che non segui cosa contraria a' quelli. Ancor io giuro per la pura Vnita', & Verita' dell'Eccelso, & grande Iddio, & per l'honor del gratioso, amabile, Salvator de suoi fedeli, & felice Sole di questo, & l'altro Mondo Meemet Mustaffa' nostro Proffeta, che le salutationi, & beneditioni siano sopra de lui. Non mi rimovero' dalli capitoli, & conven-

32 F. 14v.

33 F. 15r.

tioni descritte, ne lascero contravenire alla
[34]sincera Pace, Amicitia, & promessa che e' stabilita
tra noi:-

.XXXXX. Che, mentre ch'el Doce, & gl'altri Signori de Venetia non saranno favorevoli in modo alcuno ne in fatti, ne in parole a' quelli, che saranno in nemicitia con l'Eccelsa mia Porta, si per mar, come per terra; Io non lascero' transgredire alla bona Pace successa tra noi:-

.XXXXXI. Circa li schiavi presi si avanti, come doppo' l'inimicitia contra gli Eccelsi Capitoli, sia osservato il capitolo sopra cio' esponente in detta Capitolatione. Ma quello non sia osservato sopra quelli, che da ambe le parti sono presi in tempo dell'inimicitia, & sia in liberta' de loro patroni liberarli con danari, & servirsi de loro. Cosi saperanno, & presteranno fede all' honorato Segno:-

Data nell'Inclyta citta de Costantinopoli nell' anno di Meemet .983. alli primi[35] della luna de Giuma-
[36]ziulle'vel; cio e' nell'anno del Salvator nostro Iesu' Christo. M.D.LXXV. alli .X. Agosto.-

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34 F. 15v.

35 The text has 'pimi'.

36 F. 16r.

The Venetian Capitulation of 1576

The present text of the capitulation of 1576 is based on the original document which the Ottomans gave to the Venetians. It is now kept in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia.[1]

The text

Hüve 'llahü 'l-vahıdü 's-samedü lem yelid ve lem yuled ve lem yekün lehü küfü'en ahadün[2]

Şah Murad bin Selim-şah han el-muzaffer da'ima

1) Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sami-mekan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 's-savni 's-samedani ve 't-tevfiki 's-sübhani ve 'l-menni 'l-mennani hükmi oldur ki
2) şimdikihalde ben ki sultanü 's-selatin bürhanü 'l-havakin tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin sultan Murad han bin sultan Selim han bin sultan Süleyman bin sultan Selim hanım hala mefahırü 'l-ümera'i'l-ᶜızami 'l-ᶜiseviye meraciᶜu 'l-kübera'i 'l-fiham fi 't-tayifeti 'l-mesihiye
3) Venedik dojı olan Alvize Mostinigo[3] ve sayir begleri hutimet ᶜavakıbühüm bi-'l-hayr dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahıma Yacomo Soranso[4] kavaliyer prokurator[5] nam yarar ve muᶜtemed ᶜaleyh ademisin elçi taᶜyin edüb ᶜarz-i ᶜubudiyet ve ihlas eyleyüb ve merhum
4) ceddim sultan Süleyman han tabe serahü ve babam sultan Selim han ᶜaleyhima 'r-rahmet ve 'l-gufran zemanlarında oldugı üzere dostluk ve müᶜahede ve yüce dergahımla sulh ve salah olmak babında[6] ᶜinayet ve rica eyledikleri ecilden ᶜahd-namelerde münderic olan şürut ve ᶜuhud ke-ma kane
5) mukarrer olmak ve mukaddema ᶜahd-nameleri tecdid olunmak içün ᶜaynı ile dergah-i muᶜallama gönderüb istidᶜa-i ᶜinayet ve rica-i re'fet eyledükleri

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1 ASV, Documenti Turchi 861 (= V).

2 V: the top part of the paper is torn off. Thus, the *invocatio*-formula is only partially preserved. The parts within brackets are missing: [Hü]ve ['llahü] 'l-vahıdü 's-samedü lem yelid ve lem yuled ve lem [yekün lehü küfü'en ahadün].

3 V: [A]lvize Mostin[i]go. Alvise I Mocenigo, Doge of Venice 11 May 1570 - 4 June 1577.

4 V: Yakomo Soranso. Jacopo or Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian ambassador to Constantinople 1575-1576.

5 V: k[a]val[i]y[e]r prokurator.

6 V: added later, in very small handwriting.

ecilden sabıka Venedik dojı olan Petro Lando[7] zemanında müşar ileyh ceddim verdügi ᶜahd-name-i hümayunuñ mazmununda
6) kendüleriñ taht-i tesarrüflerinde olan kalᶜalardan Morada[8] vakıᶜ olan Anabolı[9] kalᶜasın kullesiyle ve Menavasiye[10] nam kalᶜa'ı bile topların ve çañların ve sayir yarakları alatın aldıkdan soñra içinde olan begleri ve ᶜulufecileri
7) kande isterlerse esbablarıyla gidüb ve reᶜayadan dahı ihtiyarıyla kalanlar anda kalub gitmek isteyenler esbablarıyla gitmek üzere ᶜatebe-i ᶜalem-penaha teslim eyleyüb ve hızane-i ᶜamire canibine dahı üçyüz biñ sikke efrenci altun
8) vermek üzere ki yüz biñ filorisin olvakt verüb ve yine ol yıl içinde elli biñ filorisin verüb baki yüz elli biñ filorisin ol yıldansonra iki yıl içinde eda etmek üzere ki her bir yılda yetmiş beşer biñ filori olur
9) kendülere ᶜahd-name-i hümayun ihsan ve tezarruᶜ etdüklerinde merhum muma ileyh dahı mezid-i merhamet-i husrevanilerinden tefsil olunacak şürut üzere anlara müᶜahede-i şerif ihsan eyleyüb nişan-i hümayun erzani kılub
10) ᶜahd-i şerifim bunuñ üzerine caridir ve ᶜahd-i hümayunum mukarrer ve mü'ekked olmasıyçün yemin ederim ki yeri ve gögi yaradan hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ birligi hakkıyçün ma-dam ki anlar tarafından ᶜahda muhalif iş olmaya benden dahı
11) müᶜahede-i şerifime mugayir vazᶜ sadır olmaya mezbur Venedik dojınıñ ve sayir begleri ve ademleri ve anlara müteᶜallık olan yerleriñ ve vilayetleriñ halkı ile ve bu ᶜahd-i şerifim sadır olmazdan evvel ma beynde ᶜadavet oldugı
12) zemanda anlar canibinden şemşir-i zafer-te'sirimle alınan Bosna[11] sancagı ucunda kalᶜa-i Uyuraniye[12] ve kalᶜa-i Nadin[13] ve bu kalᶜalara tabiᶜ olan köyleriñ cümle hududı ve sınurı ile feth olundugı zemanda yerinde mevcud bulunan

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7 V: P[e]troLando; Doge of Venice, 19 January 1539 - 9 November 1545.

8 V: Mora.

9 V: [A]nabolı.

10 V: M[e]navas[i]ye.

11 V: Bosna.

12 V: [U]yuran[i]ye (sic for 'Urana').

13 V: Nadin.

13) reᶜayasıyla ve Ak Deñiz içinde vakıᶜ olan cezirelerden İskados[14] kalᶜasıyla ve cezire-i İskiros[15] kalᶜasıyla ve cezire-i Andıra[16] iki pare kalᶜasıyla ve cezire-i Sifnos[17] ve cezire-i Serfoz[18] kalᶜalarıyla ve cezire-i Kerpe[19] iki pare kalᶜası ile
14) ve Nakşaya[20] tabiᶜ olan cezirelerden Sire[21] Tinoz[22] kalᶜalarıyla ve cezire-i Nakşa[23] üç pare kalᶜasıyla ve cezire-i Santorin[24] ve cezire-i Milo[25] iki pare kalᶜasıyla ve cezire-i Andobade[26] kalᶜasıyla ve maᶜmur olmayub hali olan harabeden
15) cezire-i Egine[27] ve cezire-i Merid[28] ve cezire-i Termid[29] ve cezire-i Baro[30] ve cezire-i Mikene[31] ve cezire-i Papaslık[32] ve İstanbuliye[33] dahı Körke[34] cezireleri ve cezire-i Koyunluca[35] ve cezire-i Mırgır[36] ve cezire-i Mallu Kilise[37] ki bu zikr olunanlar cümle havass-i hümayunumuñ

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14 V: [İ]skados.

15 V: [İ]sk[ı]ros.

16 V: [A]nd[ı]ra.

17 V: S[i]knos (sic for 'S[i]fnos').

18 V: P[e]rkor (sic for 'S[e]rfoz').

19 V: G[i]rid (sic for 'K[e]rpe').

20 V: N[a]kşa.

21 V: Sire.

22 V: T[i]noz (without diacritical marks)(or N[i]noz, N[i]yoz?).

23 V: N[a]kşa.

24 V: Santorin.

25 V: Milo.

26 V: [A]ndoyate (sic for '[A]ndobade').

27 V: Eg[i]ne.

28 V: M[e]rid.

29 V: T[e]rmid.

30 V: Baro.

31 V: M[i]k[i]ye (sic for 'M[i]k[e]ne').

32 V: Papasl[ı]k.

33 V: [İ]stanbul[i]ye.

34 V: Körke or Görge.

35 V: K[o]yunluca.

36 V: Y[ı]rkır (sic for 'M[ı]rgır').

37 V: Mallu K[i]lise (with final 'elif' written as 'K[i]lisa').

16) tesarrüfündedir bunlardan gayri anlara tabiᶜ olub el-an zabtlarında olan Tine[38] nam cezire kalᶜasıyla ve sayir tesarrüflerinde olan kalᶜalarıyle ve burgazlarıyla bi-'l-cümle Aya Markonuñ[39] sancagın götüren kimesneler ile[40] yaşdan ve kurıdan
17) el-an tesarrüflerinde olan elleri ve köyleri ile şimdiye degin ve şimdensoñra kendü dindaşlarından alacak yerler ile baᶜde 'l-yevm aramızda dostluk ve barışıklık üzerine Yanya[41] sancagı sınurunda vakıᶜ olan
18) Parga[42] nam mevzıᶜ[43] kullesiyle ve varoşuyla ve hadd[44] sınurı ile ki emrim ile sabıkda yakılub yıkılmış idi mezid-i ᶜinayetimden yine anlar canibine tesarrüf olunmasın emr eyledüm yine anlarıñ ola emma mezbur Parga[45] aña tabiᶜ olan
19) köylerde vakıᶜ olan ademleri deñizden ve kurıdan memalik-i mahruseme zarer ve ziyan ederlerse Venedik begleri ol zareri ve ziyanı tazmin etdüreler edenleriñ mühkem hakklarından geleler ve memalik-i mahrusemde
20) olan sancakbegleri ve subaşılarından ve bi-'l-cümle huddam-i encüm-ihtişamımdan hiç ahad anlarıñ vilayetlerine ve kalᶜalarına ve burguzlarına ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan yetişdirmeyeler ve eger cenab-i celalet-me'abıma müteᶜallık olan
21) beglerden ve ᶜasakir-i zafer-me'asirimden anlarıñ vilayetlerine ve kalᶜalarına ve burguzlarına ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirlerse vakıᶜ olan zarer ve ziyan ferman-i şerifimle yerine konulub dahl edenleriñ hakklarından
22) geleler ve mezkur begleriñ bazirganlarından ve ademlerinden memalik-i mahruseme yaşdan ve kurıdan kadırga ve kökeleri ve gayri küçük gemileri ile

38 V: T[i]ne.

39 V: [A]ya Marko.

40 V: added later, in very small handwriting.

41 V: Yanya.

42 V: Parga.

43 V: written as 'mevzıᶜa'.

44 Earlier texts had 'hudud ve' instead of 'hadd'.

45 V: Parga.

mahruse-i İstanbula[46] ve Galataya[47] ve diyar-i ᶜArabistanda[48] İskenderiye-i Mısra[49] ve Gelibolıdan[50]
23) aşga olan bogaza ve İnebahtı[51] ve Preveze[52] bogazlarına ve Moton[53] limanına gaflet ile gelüb girmeyüb mukaddema dizdarı olanlara tenbih eyleyüb icazet ile gelüb girüb meger ki rüzgar şiddet üzere
24) furtuna olub ve yahud anları dahı levend kalyataları kovub ol iskelelerden gayri konacak yerleri olmayub zaruret ola ol vakt gelüb gireler eger mümkin ise tenbih edeler ve gitmelü olıcak
25) icazetsiz gitmeyüb muhalefet edenleriñ hakklarından geline anuñ içün Venedik beglerine töhmet olunmaya emma bu husus altı aydan soñra ola ki Venedik gemileri mütenebbih olub bu sebeb ile ᶜahd-i şerifime muhalif iş olmalu olmaya ve memalik-i
26) mahrusemden derya yüzine giden gemiler ve kadırgalar ve donanmalar deñiz yüzünde Venedik gemilerine buluşur ise birbirine dostluk edüb zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler anlar dahı ferman-i şerifimle derya yüzine çıkmış donanmaları ve kadırgaları
27) ve sayir derya yüzünde yürüyen gemiler buluşduklarında yelkenlerin indirüb dostlukların ve itaᶜatların bildüreler ve eger yelkenlerin indirüb dostlukların bildirdükden soñra zarer ve ziyan edecek olurlar ise
28) eger esbab ve adem ve tavar ziyanıdır yerine konula hemçünan anlarıñ gemileri ve kadırgaları ve donanmaları dahı deñiz yüzünde benim gemilerimle ve yahud rencber gemilerine buluşurlar ise dostluk üzerine geçüb zarer ve ziyan
29) etmeyeler ve eger adem ve eger esbab ve tavar ziyanıdır her ne ise yerine koyalar ve eger ittifak düşüb harami ve levend gemisine buluşub ol harami gemisi bunlara kasd edüb cenk eyleye harami gemisine bunlar galib
30) olalar hin-i müharebede helak olandan gayri nekadar adem esir olub diri dutarlar ise kendüler asla katl etmeyüb bi kusur sag ve salim südde-i

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46 V: [İ]stanbul.

47 V: G[a]l[a]ta.

48 V: ᶜ[A]r[a]b[i]stan.

49 V: [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]ye-i M[ı]s[ı]r.

50 V: G[e]libolı.

51 V: İneb[a]htı (or [A]ynab[a]htı).

52 V: Pr[e]v[e]ze.

53 V: M[o]ton.

seᶜadetime irsal eyleyeler ki mühkem hakklarından gelinüb bir veçhile siyaset etdürem ki
31) sayirlerine muceb-i ᶜibret ola ve memalik-i mahrusemden donanma gemilerim ki bir tarafa sefere gide Venedige müteᶜallık olmaya Venedik donanması epsem kendü halinde dostluk üzere turub bir hareket etmeyüb varub kimesneye muᶜavenet etmeye
32) ve benim donanma-i hümayunuma zarer ve ziyan erişdirmesine sebeb olmaya benim ile düşmenlik üzere olan kimesneleriñ donanmaların aralarına getürmeyeler ve anlara yardım ve azık vermeyeler eger donanmalarından her kim bu emrime
33) muhalefet ederse eyledügi yerde Venedik begleri mühkem hakklarından geleler sayirlerine muceb-i ᶜibret vakıᶜ ola ve gayri vilayetiñ harami barçalarına ve kadırgalarına ve gayri gemilerine duş geldükleri
34) vakt Venedik kendü atalarına ve limanlarına ve hisarlarına sıgındırmayub durgurmayalar tutmak mümkin olursa tutub mecal vermeyüb hakklarından geleler benim tarafımdan dahı olveçhile ᶜamel olunub gayri vilayetiñ
35) harami barçaların ve kadırgaların limanlarıma ve hisarlarıma sıgındırmayub tutmak mümkin olursa dutub mecal vermeyüb hakklarından geleler ve Venedikden biri gelüb memalik-i mahrusemde bir kimesne ile satu bazar edüb
36) akçesin temam vermedin hile edüb kaçub giderse benim hükm-i şerifimle varub taleb olundukda ol kimesne bulunursa rızkı sahıbına alıvereler ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesne varub Venediklüden biri ile
37) satu bazar edüb akçesin temam eda etmedin kaçub gelürse sabit olan hakkı alıverile ve memalik-i mahrusemde bir kimesne borc edinse ve yahud bir veçhile müttehem olub gaybet eylese anuñ içün bir günahsız
38) tutulmaya Venedik beglerine anuñiçün töhmet olunmaya meger ki anlarıñ memleketine varub tura bizüm canibimizden dahı olvechile etdürile ve baylos kimi diler ise göndereler isterler ise horendesiyle gelüb mahruse-i Kostantiniyede[54]
39) üç yıla karib tura temam olmadın gide diler ise horendesiz gele maslahat ne ise göre üç yıl temam olmadın oldahı gide anuñ yerine olveçhile biri dahı gele ve Venedikden bir esir kaçub memalik-i mahruseme gelüb
40) müsliman olursa ve sahıbı gelürse biñ akçe verile sahıbı gelmeyüb vekili gelürse vekiline vereler eger küfri üzere ise ol esir ᶜaynı ile verile memalik-i mahrusemden kaçub anlara varır ise eger müsliman ise

54 V: K[o]st[a]nt[i]n[i]ye.

41) ve yahud mürtedd oldıysa tecallül etmeyeler elbette caynı ile kendüyi vereler ve eger küfri üzere ise sahıbı ve yahud vekiline biñ akçe vereler ve şöyleki harami kayıkları deñizden ve gayri kimesneden korkudan[55]
42) varub Venedige tabic olan ataları urub ademleri esir edüb ve götürüb Rum Elinde[56] ve Anatolıda[57] satalar anuñ gibi esir bulundukda geregi gibidikkat ve ihtimamla teftiş olunub her kimiñ elinde
43) bulunur ise kimden aldugun bulduralar şöyleki aldugı kimesne levende müntehi olursa ve ol levend dahı ele girüb vakıca esir Venediginiñ idügi zahir olursa ol levendiñ mühkem hakkından geline
44) ol esir müsliman olmuş ise azad olub salıverile ve eger henüz küfri üzere ise Venediklüye teslim oluna ve eger kimden aldugı maclum olmaz ise ol esir kendü dergah-i mucallama getürdilüb
45) kaziyesi südde-i secadetimde teftiş oluna olvakt dahı eger Venediklünüñ idügi sabit olursa müsliman olmuş ise azad ola ve eger henüz küfri üzere ise bayloslarına teslim oluna ve Venedik gemileri
46) memalik-i mahruseme gelürken muhalif yel çıkub ol gemi helak olub nemıkdar adem kurtulursa azad ola ve tavarları kurtulursa sahıbına verile kapudan canibinden ve ademlerinden katca dahl olunmaya ve eger memalik-i
47) mahrusemden ol tarafa bir gemi varır iken muhalif yel çıka ol gemi helak olur ise Venediklü adem kurtulursa anlara dahl olunmayub tavarları sahıbına verile katca dahl ve nizac olunmaya ve memalik-i mahrusemden
48) şol yerlerdenki kadırga ve kayıkları derya yüzine çıkub gitdükleri vakt ki kapudanım bile olmaya ol gemileriñ re'isleri mühkem kefillere verile ki varub Venedik memleketine zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler eger kefil vermedin
49) giderler ise mücrim ve günahkar olalar mühkem hakklarından geline ve eger kefil verdükdensoñra zarer ve ziyan ederler ise kefilleri vereler hemçünan Venedik canibinden dahı derya yüzine gemileri çıka Venedik kapudanı
50) anda olmaya re'isleri mühkem kefillere verdükden soñra memalik-i mahruseme zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirler ise olan zarer ve ziyanı kefilleri vereler eger kefilsiz giderler ise mücrim ve günahkar olalar mühkem hakklarından geline
51) ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir harac-güzar ve yahud bir camil kaçub Venedige mütecallık kalcalara ve adalara varub temekkün etse kabul

55 V: sic for 'kurudan'.

56 V: Rum Eli.

57 V: [A]natolı.

olunmaya varan ademlere teᶜallül olunmayub ᶜaynı ile vereler ve şöyleki adem öldürüb
52) ve yahud ugurluk edüb rızk iletseler ᶜaynı ile vereler benim canibimden olveçhile etdirilüb ol tarafdan adem öldürüb ve yahud ugurluk edüb rızk götürürler ise ᶜaynı ile
53) vereler Venediklünüñ biri biri arasında nizaᶜları olsa baylosları ᶜadetlerince diñleye kimesne maniᶜ olmaya ve bir kimesneniñ baylos ile nizaᶜı olsa şöyleki südde-i seᶜadetimde mahruse-i İstanbulda[58] ola
54) vakıᶜ olan kaziyesi divan-i ᶜali-şanımda istimaᶜ oluna ve lakin ben seᶜadetle sefer-i hümayunumda bulunacak olursam anuñ gibi baylos ile vakıᶜ olan münazeᶜa İstanbul[59] mühafezasıyçün konulan
55) beg huzurunda kazi maᶜrifetiyle istimaᶜ oluna ve şöyleki Venedik bazirganları ile bir kimesneniñ nizaᶜı vakıᶜ olub kaziye varalar Venediklünüñ kendü tercümanları hazır olmayınca kazi olan daᶜvaların
56) istimaᶜ etmeye emma anlar dahı teᶜallül etmeyüb tercümanı hazır degildir deyü ᶜavk etmeyüb tercümanların ihzar edüb eger tercümanları mühimm maslahatda olursa gelince tevakkuf oluna ve baylos olanı aharıñ borcı
57) içün kimesne bunda tutmayub ödetmeye emma baylos anı Venedik beglerine bildiricek Venedik begleri dahı eglemeyüb be-cidd cevabın göndereler ve Venedikden İnebahtı[60] ve Mora[61] ve sayir memalik-i mahruseme ki
58) bir bazirgan gele gayri kimesne borcı içün anı tutub incitmeyeler ve Venediklü bazirganı Brusaya[62] ve gayri yere gitmek isteye baylosdan icazet-name almayınca gitmeyeler eger temerrüd edüb icazet-namesiz
59) gitmek isterse subaşı baylosa muᶜavenet edüb koyuvermeye ve Venedikden gelen gemileriñ neftileri memalik-i mahrusemde hidmete dutulmayub nice geldi ise gemileri ile gideler ve Venedikden gelüb temekkün eden kimesneler evlü olsun
60) ergen olsun ma-dam ki gelüb gidüb rencberlik edüb memalik-i mahrusemde yerleşmeye varub girü gide anlardan harac taleb olunmaya ve Venediklünüñ baᶜzı harac-güzar kafirlerile nizaᶜları olub daᶜva edicek Venediklü şahidler

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58 V: [İ]stanbul.

59 V: [İ]stanbul.

60 V: İneb[a]htı.

61 V: Mora.

62 V: Brusa.

61) ikamet ederler imiş hasm olanlar bu yer kafirlerinden gerekdir deyü müzayeka verüb Venediklü kafirleri şehadetlerin kabul etmezler imiş imdi cümle kefere millet-i vahıde oldugı ecilden gerekdir ki anlarıñ eger kefere ile nizaᶜları
62) olub ikamet-i şahide ihtiyac olursa kefere tayifesinden kankı sınıfdan ki şahid ikamet edüb şerᶜ-i şerif-i nebeviye[63] muktezasınca isbat edeler kabul oluna ve Venediklüden bir bazirgan memalik-i mahrusemde yolda ve izde
63) ve köyde basılub rızkı alınsa ve yahud basıldıkda bazirgan depelenmiş olsa ve ya gayib olsa varisi ve yahud vekili gelür ise şerᶜile görilüb hakk yerine vara Venediklüden bir bazirgan memalik-i mahruseme gelüb ticaret
64) üzere iken kendü halinde yürürken mürd olsa metrukatına beytü 'l-malcı karışmayub bayloslarına teslim oluna ve Magrib[64] müslimanlardan ve bunlardan gayri sayir yerleriñ bazirganları ki beyᶜ ve şira etmek içün yaşdan
65) ve kurıdan gelmelü olıcak ki Venedik hükm etdügi yerlere ugraya ᶜadet ve kanun üzere metaᶜlarınıñ rüsumun aldıklarından soñra maniᶜ olmayalar ve zarer ziyan erişdirmeyeler memalik-i mahruseme nice dilerler ise gelüb gideler ve Korfusdan[65]
66) yukaru bogazda yürüyen gemiler Venedik olsun ve gayri olsun ki Venedige ticarete varub geleler kimesne maniᶜ olmaya zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler meger ki yaramazlık etmiş ola ve bir Venedik gemisi ᶜadet ve kanun üzere
67) İstanbulda[66] aranub gitdükden soñra kanun-i kadim üzere bir dahı bogaz hisarları öñüne vardukda aranub soñra gitmege icazet verile ve haliya kanun-i kadime muhalif Gelibolıda[67] dahı aranur imiş min baᶜd Gelibolıda[68] aranmayub
68) ᶜadet-i kadime muktezasınca girü heman bogaz hisarları öñünde aranub gide ve Zakise[69] dahı her yıl anuñ içün hızane-i ᶜamireme beşyüz filori verilürdi yine ol beşyüz filori'i bi-'t-temam her yıl verüb hızane-i ᶜamireye

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63 V: must be 'nebevi'.

64 V: M[a]gr[i]b.

65 V: Korfus.

66 V: [İ]stanbul.

67 V: G[e]libolı.

68 V: G[e]libolı.

69 V: Zakise.

69) teslim eyleye ve Kıbrıs[70] haracı ki sal be-sal sekiz biñ filoridir sal be-sal getürüb mahruse-i İstanbula[71] teslim eyleyeler memalik-i mahruseme ᶜArabistan[72] memleketleri feth olundugı zemandan berü olıgelen üslub-i kadim üzere iki pare
70) mavnaları Mısır İskenderiyesine[73] ve iki pare mavnaları dahı mahruse-i Şama[74] tabiᶜ olan Trablus[75] ve Beyrut[76] iskelelerine olıgeldügi üzere metaᶜ ve esbabları ile mukarrer olan vaktde ve mevsimlerinde gelüb gideler vaktinden
71) ve mevsiminden te'hir etmeyüb eger iki kıtᶜa mavnalardır ve eger dahı ziyadedir ve eger büyük küçük gemileridir şimdiye degin ne veçhile gelüb gidüb beyᶜ ve şira edegelmişler ise girü edüb olıgelene muhalif nizaᶜ etmeyeler
72) ve vilayet-i ᶜArabistanda[77] yehudi olub soñra müsliman olan İbrahim Geşturi[78] nam kimesne Beyrut[79] ve Trablus[80] iskelelerinde eger akçeden ve eger metaᶜdan evvelden olıgelen ᶜadet ve kanuna muhalif ihdas etdügi
73) bidᶜatlar refᶜ olunub kadimden nice olıgeldiyse aña göre ᶜamel olunub kanun-i kadime muhalif kimesneye teᶜaddi etdirilmeye ol mavnalara ve sayir gemilere ve tacirlerine beglerbegilerimden ve beglerimden ve sayir kullarımdan
74) bir ahad kanuna muhalif zulm ve teᶜaddi etmeye emn üzere olalar kimesne anları rencide etmeyeler işbu zikr olunan ᶜahd üzere dostlugı kabul edüb yemin ederim ki yeri gögi halk eden perverdegar hakkı içün ma-dam ki
75) ᶜahdı ve dostlugı anlar riᶜayet edüb ᶜahd-i şerifime muhulif anlardan bir iş sadır olmaya bendendahı hılaf-i ᶜahd iş olmaya ve bu ᶜahd-name-i hümayun yazıldıkda Bosna[81] sancagı ucunda kalᶜa-i Bucac[82] ve Rastine[83]

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70 V: K[ı]br[ı]s.

71 V: [İ]stanbul.

72 V: ᶜ[A]r[a]b[i]stan.

73 V: M[ı]s[ı]r [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]yesi.

74 V: Şam.

75 V: Tr[a]blus.

76 V: B[e]yrut.

77 V: ᶜ[A]r[a]b[i]stan.

78 V: [İ]brahim G[e]şturi.

79 V: B[e]yrut.

80 V: Tr[a]blus.

81 V: Bosna.

82 V: Bucac.

83 V: Rast[i]ne ('nun' without diacritical mark).

76) ve Degirmenler[84] nam harabe kalᶜalar içün Bosna[85] sancagı begi el-an alınub zabtımızdadır deyü ᶜarz etdügi ecilden zikr olunmuşdı emma Venedik dojı canibinden dergah-i muᶜallama gelen elçileri ol kalᶜalar alınmamışdır girü
77) bizüm zabtımızdadır deyü takrir edüb tekrar teftişe muhtac olub hususa zikr olunan Degirmen kalᶜaları ma beynde nizaᶜlu olmagın mezid-i ᶜinayetimden yine anlara verilmesin emr eyledüm anlarıñ ola emma ol dört kalᶜalar ahvali ᶜahd-i şerifimde
78) mevkuf kılındı teftiş olunub görile mezbur elçiniñ takrir etdügi gibi ise anlar tarafından teslim oluna Bosna[86] sancagı begi ᶜarz etdügi üzere ise soñra olbabda emr-i şerifim neveçhile sadır olursa mucebi ile ᶜamel oluna
79) ve bu ᶜahd-name-i şerifimden evvel mezbur elçiniñ Venedik dojı ile müşavere edecek baᶜzı hususları olmagın ᶜahd-name suretinde müfassal hükm-i şerifim yazılub gönderilüb anda kalmış idi hala ol
80) refᶜ olunub asl mukarrer olan ᶜahd-name-i şerifim budur bunuñ mazmun-i hümayunuyla ᶜamel oluna deyü mukayyed olub baᶜdehü merhum babam sultan Selim han tabe serahü dahı ol ᶜahd-name-i hümayunı mukarrer tutub aña muhalif
81) iş olmaya deyü mukaddema Venedik dojı olan Yironimo Priyul[87] zemanında ᶜahdname-i hümayun verdikdensoñra ma beyn ᶜadavet üzere olmagın tekrar zikr olunan Venedik dojı ve begleri tarafından
82) merhum babam hudavendigar rahmetü 'llahi 'l-meliki 'l-gaffar zemanında dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahımızda baylosluk hidmetinde olan Marko Antoniyo Barbaro[88] nam muᶜtemed ademleri girü sulh ve salah hususun iᶜlam ve işᶜar edüb
83) kendü hattı ve mührüyle mektubun astane-i seᶜadet-bünyanımıza getürüb istidᶜa-i ᶜinayet etdükde merhum müşar ileyh babam tabe serahü zemanında[89] istidᶜaları hayyiz-i kabulde vakıᶜ olub beyan olunacak şürut üzere
84) müceddeda ᶜahd-name-i hümayun vermiş imiş anuñ dahı mazmununda mezbur baylosuñ mektubunda mukayyed olan cümle şartlarından biri

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84 V: D[e]g[i]rm[e]nl[e]r.

85 V: Bosna.

86 V: Bosna.

87 V: Y[i]r[o]n[i]mo Pr[i]yul. Girolamo Priuli, Doge of Venice 1 september 1559 - 4 November 1567.

88 V: Marko [A]nton[i]yo Barbaro. Marcantonio Barbaro, Venetian bailo in Constantinople 1568-1573.

89 V: not clearly written. It looks like 'babında'.

Venedik begleri merhum ve magfur lehü babam sultan Selim han tabe serahü zemanında verdükleri
85) üçyüz biñ filori'i eski ᶜahd-namelerde mukayyed oldugı üzere vereler ve andan gayri Sopot[90] nam hisarı dahı bile alınan toplarıyla vereler içinde olan reᶜayadan isteyen kala ve istemeyen esbab ve emvalı ve evlad
86) ve ensabı ile mürad edindikleri yere gideler kimesne maniᶜ ve dafiᶜ olmaya ve Zakise[91] cezıresi içün mukaddema beşyüz filori verirlerdi hala biñ filori ziyade edüb kadimden verdükleri üslub üzere
87) biñ beşyüz filori südde-i seᶜadetimize irsal edeler ve merhum babam zemanında verilen ᶜahd-name-i hümayun ve ahkam-i şerife ki cülus-i hümayunumda tecdid olunub makbul-i şerifim olmuş idi eger ol ᶜahd-namelerde ve eger verilen
88) evamir-i ᶜaliyede mukayyed olan hususları ke-ma kane mukarrer tutdum ve Venedik begleri Kıbrıs[92] cezıresinden ötüri sal be-sal südde-i seᶜadetimize verdükleri sekiz biñ altunı min baᶜd vermeyeler ve Arnavutlukda[93] ve Bosna[94]
89) vilayetlerinde olan yerleriñ baᶜzısı bu canibiñ tesarrüfüne girüb ve baᶜzı Venedik begleriniñ elindedir iki canibiñ ellerinde olan hisarlarıñ kadimi sınurı ve karyeleri vere bozulmadın neveçhile zabt olunu gelmiş ise
90) min baᶜd olveçhile zabt oluna ve bu babda tarafeynden mezbur vilayetleriñ hakimlerine müceddeda emirler gönderilüb tenbih oluna ve vere bozuldugı zemanda iki canibden bulunub mahbus ve girift olunan
91) bazirganlara esbab ve metaᶜları ve gemileri verilüb ıtlak olunalar eger mezbur bazirganlarıñ metaᶜları satılub ve yahud zayiᶜ olmuş ise ki sabit ve zahir ola satılanlarınıñ niçeye
92) beyᶜ olunmuş ise akçeleri ve zayiᶜ olan kıymetleri ne ise behaları verile deyü zikr eylemiş eyle olsa mezbur baylosuñ Venedik dojı ve begleri canibinden verdügi mektubunda münderic olan
93) şürut üzere sulhı kabul edüb ma dam ki muma ileyhim begler tarafından şerayit-i ᶜahd [95] eman riᶜayet ve himayet olunub hılaf-i ᶜahd vazᶜ sudur etmeye hazret-i huda-i müteᶜalıñ vahdaniyeti ve ᶜazameti hakkıyçün

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90 V: S[o]pot.

91 V: Zakise.

92 V: K[ı]br[ı]s.

93 V: [A]rnav[u]tl[u]k.

94 V: Bosna.

95 V: 've' should be added here.

94) ve habib-i ekrem seᶜadetlü peygamberimiz Muhammed Mustafa ᶜaleyhi efzalü 's-salevat ve ekmelü 't-tahiyatıñ hürmeti içün ᶜahd ve yemin ederim ki bendahı ma beynde olan dostluk ve şürut ve ᶜuhuddan ᶜudul ve inhiraf
95) göstermeyem ve südde-i seniye-i seᶜadet-destgahımıza kurıdan ve yaşdan düşmenlik üzere olanlara ma-dam ki Venedik dojı ve begleri fiᶜla ve kavla muᶜin ve zahir olmayalar vakıᶜ olan sulh ve salahdan
96) tecavüz etdirmeyem deyü mukayyed olmagın hala zikr olunan eski ᶜahd-nameye göre dergah-i muᶜallamdan müceddeda ᶜahd-name-i hümayun rica eyledükleri ecilden ve yüce astanımızla eger dostluk ve eger düşmenlik dileyenlere ᶜinayet-i
97) hakk sübhane ve teᶜala ile meftuh ve mekşuf olub kimesneniñ gelüb gitmesine redd ve menᶜ olmamagın bendahı mezid-i merhamet-i şahanemden merhum ceddim ve babam tabe serahüma ᶜinayet eyledükleri ᶜahd-namelerde mukayyed ve mestur
98) olub babam kabul etdügi şürut ve ᶜuhud bi-'t-temam icra olunmak ve hızane-i ᶜamireye üç yıla degin teslim etmege müteᶜahhid oldukları üçyüz biñ filoriden henüz bu tarihe degin teslim etmeyüb
99) baki kalan filori dahı üç yıla degin bi-kusur teslim etmek şartıyla sulh ve salahı kabul edüb müceddeda bu ᶜahd-name-i hümayun-i seᶜadet-makrunı verdüm ve ᶜahd eyledüm ki Venedik dojı ve sayir begleri
100) tarafından ma-dam ki ᶜahd-namelerde beyan olunan şerayit-i ᶜahd ve eman riᶜayet ve himayet olunub hılaf-i ᶜahd bir vazᶜ sudur etmeye bendahı hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ ululugı ve vahdaniyeti hakkıyçün
101) ve habib-i ekrem ve şefiᶜ-i ümem iki cihan güneşi seᶜadetlü peygamberimiz Muhammed Mustafa salla 'llahü ᶜaleyh ve sellemiñ hürmeti içün ᶜahd ve yemin ederimki[96] ma beynde münᶜakıd olan dostluk ve sulh ve salahdan ve şerh [97] beyan olunan
102) şürut ve ᶜuhuddan ᶜudul ve inhiraf göstermeyem ve südde-i seᶜadetimize kurıdan ve yaşdan düşmenlik üzere olanlara Venedik dojı ve begleri kavla ve fiᶜla hiç veçhile muᶜin ve zahir olmaduklarınca
103) vakıᶜ olan sulh ve salahdan tecavüz etdirmeyem ve ᶜadavetden evvel ve soñra hılaf-i ᶜahd alınan esirler hususunda ᶜahd-namelerde beyan olunan şerayit icra oluna emma ᶜadavet zemanında

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96 V: added later, in very small handwriting.

97 V: 've' should be added here.

104) iki canibden dahı alınan esirler hususunda ol şart cari olmayub esir sahıbları muhtar olub dilerler ise beha ile salıvereler isterler ise kullanalar kimesne mani[c] olmaya
105) şöyle bileler [c]alamet-i şerife i[c]timad kılalar tahriren fi evayil-i şehr-i cümada 'l-ahıra-i sene erba[c] ve semanin ve tis[c]-mi'e
106) be-mekam-i Kostantiniye[98] 'l-mahruse.

98 V: K[o]st[a]nt[i]n[i]ye.

The Venetian Capitulation of 1595

The capitulation of 1595 is preserved in different forms. The Archivio di Stato di Venezia possesses two original document versions of this treaty issued by the Ottoman chancery.[1] Another version of this capitulation can be found in an *inşa*-book which is kept in the Süleymaniye Library in İstanbul.[2] The treaty has also been published by Belin who based his text on a document preserved in Cairo.[3] The present text is based on the two Venetian documents, the copy in the *inşa*-book and the one published by Belin.

The text

Hüve 'llahü 'l-gani 'l-mugni 'l-mucti 'l-mucin[4]

Mehmed bin Murad han el-muzaffer da'ima[5]

1)(1) Nişan-i şerif-i cali-şan-i sami-mekan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i ikbal-nüma-i cihan-sitan-i[6] hakani nüffize bi-'l-cavni 'r-rebbani ve 's-savni 's-samedani [7] hükmi oldur ki[8]
2)(2) şimdikihalde[9] cavn-i cinayet-i rebbani ve meşiyet-i hidayet-i sübhani mukareneti ile[10] ben ki sultan-i selatin-i cihan ve bürhan-i havakin-i devran

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1 ASV, Documenti Turchi 1086 (= V1; lines: 1) etc.) and Documenti Turchi 1087 (= V2; lines: (1) etc.). The first document originally comes from the archive of the Venetian bailo in Constantinople.

2 Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esat Efendi 3345, f. 2r (= f. 164r.) - f. 6r. (= f. 168r.)(= SEE).

3 Belin, *art. cit.,* 381-424 (= Belin). The document used by Belin was the copy of the Venetian consul in Egypt.

4 Belin gives no *invocatio*-formula.

5 Belin only mentions the *tugra.* SEE has no *invocatio*-formula and no *tugra,* but the following rubric written with red ink at the beginning of f. 2r. (f. 164r.): Venedik dojuna ve beglerine cinayet olunan cahd-name-i hümayunuñ suretidir sultan Mehemmed han cahdında tecdid eylemişlerdir.

6 V2 has 'cihan-ara-i giti-sitan-i' instead of 'cihan-sitan-i'.

7 V2 adds here 've 'l-menni 'l-mennani'; Belin has 've tugra-i cihan-sitan-i hakani' instead of 've tugra-i garra-i ikbal-nüma-i cihan-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-cavni 'r-rebbani ve 's-savni 's-samedani'.

8 SEE omits the introductory formula.

9 Belin: şimdiki halde.

10 V2 and SEE omit 'cavn-i cinayet-i rebbani ve meşiyet-i hidayet-i sübhani mukareneti ile'; Belin has 'cavn ve cinayet-i ilahi mukarini (sic for mukareneti?) ile' instead of 'cavn-i cinayet-i rebbani ve meşiyet-i hidayet-i sübhani mukareneti ile'.

tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin sultan Mehemmed han ibn[11] sultan Murad han
3) ibn sultan Selim han ibn[12] sultan Süleyman han ibn[13] sultan Selim hanım (3) hala mefahırü 'l-ümera'i[14] 'l-ᶜızami 'l-ᶜiseviye meraciᶜu 'l-kübera'i 'l-fiham fi 't-tayifeti[15] 'l-mesihiye Venedik dojı olan Marin Griman[16] ve sayir[17] begleri hutimet ᶜavakıbühüm bi-'l-hayr
4) dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahıma[18] Lonardo Donato[19] kavaliyer prokurator[20] nam yarar (4) ve muᶜtemed ᶜaleyh ademisin[21] elçi taᶜyin[22] edüb ᶜarz-i[23] sadakat ve ihlas eyleyüb merhumun ve magfur[24] lehüm ceddlerim sultan Süleyman han ve sultan Selim han[25] ve babam[26] sultan Murad han
5) ᶜaleyhimi 'r-rahmet ve 'l-gufran zemanlarında dostluk ve müᶜahede oldugı[27] (5) üzere astane-i seᶜadetimle olan sulh ve salah ve işbu ᶜahd-name-i hümayunda münderic olan şürut ve ᶜuhud ke-ma kane mukarrer olub müceddeda[28] ᶜahd-name-i hümayun verilmek[29] babında istidᶜa[30]

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11 Belin: bin.

12 Belin: bin.

13 Belin: bin.

14 Belin: müfahharü 'l-ümram?

15 V2, Belin and SEE: 't-ta'ifeti.

16 V1, V2, SEE: Marin Gr[i]mani; Belin: Marin Grimani. Marino Grimani, Doge of Venice 26 April 1595 - 25 December 1605.

17 Belin: sa'ir.

18 Belin has 'felek-destgahıma' instead of 'seᶜadet-destgahıma'.

19 V1, SEE and Belin: Lonardo Donato; V2: Lonardo Dona; Leonardo Donà, Venetian ambassador ('oratore') to Constantinople 1595.

20 V1: k[a]val[i]y[e]r pr[o]kurato[r]; V2: k[a]val[e]r prokurator; SEE: pr[o]kurato[r]; Belin: k[a]val[i]y[e]r prokutaror.

21 Belin: ademisini.

22 Belin omits 'taᶜyin'.

23 V2 has here 've'.

24 Belin: magfurun; SEE: magfurün.

25 Belin omits 've sultan Selim han'.

26 Belin: babamız.

27 Belin: oldıgı.

28 Belin: müceddeden.

29 Belin has 'ᶜahd olması' instead of 'ᶜahd-name-i hümayun verilmek'.

30 SEE: istidᶜası?

6) etdükleri[31] ecilden istidᶜaları hayyiz-i kabulde vakıᶜ olub (6) bu üslub üzere ᶜahd-name-i hümayun verile deyü[32] hatt-i hümayun-i seᶜadet-makrunumla ferman-i ᶜali-şanım sadır olmagın[33] müşar ileyh Venedik dojı ile[34] ve sayir begler ile[35] sulh ve salah mukarrer olub
7) müceddeda[36] ᶜahd-name-i hümayun verilüb [37] ᶜahd-namede münderic olan (7) şürut ve ᶜuhud ᶜala vechi 't-tefsil beyan olunub işbu verilen nişan-i şerifimle ᶜahd ve eman müstehkem olub ve ᶜahd-i hümayunum mukarrer ve mü'ekked olmasıyçün yemin ederimki yeri ve gögi
8) yaradan hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ birligi hakkıyçün ma-dam ki[38] (8) anlar tarafından ᶜahda muhalif iş olmaya benden dahı müᶜahede-i şerifime mugayir vazᶜ sadır olmayub min baᶜd Venedik dojı ve sayir[39] begleri ile ve ademleri ile[40] ve deryada ve karada
9) iki canibe müteᶜallık olan yerleriñ ve vilayetleriñ halkı ile ve Ak Deñizde vakıᶜ (9) Tine[41] nam-i diger İstendil[42] [43] ceziresi[44] kalᶜasıyla ve sayir[45] tesarrüflerinde olan cezireler ve şehirler ve kalᶜalar ve burgazları ile[46] sulh ve salah mukarrer olub

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31 Belin and SEE: etdikleri.

32 V2 has 'verilmek babında' instead of 'verile deyü'.

33 Belin and SEE omit 'bu üslub üzere ᶜahd-name-i hümayun verile deyü hatt-i hümayun-i seᶜadet-makrunumla ferman-i ᶜali-şanım sadır olmagın'.

34 V2 and Belin: dojuyla; SEE: dojıyla (vocalized).

35 V2: beglerile or begleriyle; Belin and SEE: begleri ile.

36 Belin: müceddeden.

37 Belin and SEE add here 've'.

38 Belin and SEE: ma damki.

39 Belin: sa'ir.

40 SEE: ademleriyle (written with double 'ye').

41 V1, V2, Belin and SEE (vocalized): Tine.

42 V1, V2, Belin and SEE (vocalized): [İ]st[e]ndil.

43 V2 adds here 'nam'.

44 V2: cezire.

45 Belin: sa'ir.

46 V2, Belin and SEE: burgazlarıyla.

10) bi-'l-cümle Aya Markonuñ[47] sancagın [48] götüren kimesneler ile yaşdan ve kurudan[49] el-an tesarrüflerinde olan elleri ve köyleri ile[50] (10) şimdiye degin tesarrüflerinde olub ve şimden soñra[51] kendü dindaşlarından alacak yerlerile[52] ba^{c}de 'l-yevm aramuzda[53] olan[54]
11) dostluk ve barışıklık mukarrer olub ve Yanya[55] sancagı sınurunda olan Parga[56] nam[57] mevzı^{c} ki[58] sabıka merhum ve magfur lehü[59] sultan Süleyman han nevvere 'llahü te^{c}ala merkadehü[60] (11) emriyle yakılub yıkılmış idi mezid-i ^{c}inayetlerinden yine anlar canibine tesarrüf
12) olunmasın[61] emr edüb zikr olunan mevzı^{c} kullesiyle[62] ve varoşuyla ve karyeleri ile[63] ve hudud ve sınuruyla merhum ceddim muma ileyh[64] hazretleri ^{c}inayet eyledügi[65] üzere anlarıñ (12) zabt ve tesarrüflerinde ola emma mezbur Parga[66] ve aña tabi^{c} olan[67]
13) köylerde vakı^{c} olan ademleri[68] deñizden ve kurudan[69] memalik-i mahruseme zarer ve ziyan ederlerse Venedik begleri ol zarer ve ziyanı tazmin

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47 V1, V2 and SEE: [A]ya Marko; Belin: Aya Marko.

48 SEE: f. 2v. (f. 164v.).

49 V2: kurıdan.

50 Belin: köyleriyle.

51 Belin omits 'şimden soñra'.

52 Belin: yerleri ile.

53 V2, Belin and SEE: aramızda.

54 Belin omits 'olan'.

55 V1, V2, Belin and SEE (vocalized): Yanya.

56 V1, V2, Belin and SEE (vocalized): Parga.

57 V2 omits 'nam'.

58 Belin omits 'ki'.

59 V2, Belin and SEE omit 've magfur lehü'.

60 V2, Belin and SEE omit 'nevvere 'llahü te^{c}ala merkadehü'.

61 Belin: olunmasını.

62 V2: kullesi ile.

63 SEE: karyeleriyle.

64 Belin has 'sultan Süleyman han' instead of 'muma ileyh'.

65 Belin: eyledigi.

66 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: Parga.

67 V2 omits 'olan'.

68 V2 omits 'ademleri'.

69 Belin: karadan.

etdüreler ve edenleriñ mühkem hakklarından geleler (13) ve memalik-i mahrusemde olan sancakbeglerinden[70] ve subaşılarından[71]
14) ve bi-'l-cümle huddam-i encüm-ihtişamımdan hiç ahad anlarıñ vilayetlerine ve kal[c]alarına ve burgazlarına ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler[72] ve eger cenab-i celalet-me'abıma müte[c]allık olan (14) beglerden[73] ve [c]asakir-i zafer-me'sirimden anlarıñ vilayetlerine ve kal[c]alarına
15) ve burgazlarına ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan erişdirirlerse[74] vakı[c] olan zarer ve ziyan[75] ferman-i şerifimle yerine konulub dahl edenleriñ hakklarından geleler ve mezbur[76] begleriñ (15) bazirganlarından ve ademlerinden memalik-i mahruseme yaşdan ve kurıdan[77]
16) kadırga ve kökeleri ve gayri küçük gemileri ile[78] mahruse-i [79]İstanbula[80] ve Galataya[81] ve diyar-i [c]Arabistandan[82] İskenderiye-i Mısra[83] ve Gelibolıdan[84] aşga olan bogaza ve İnebahtı[85] (16) ve Preveze[86] bogazlarına ve Moton[87] limanlarına gaflet ile[88]
17) gelüb girmeyüb mukaddema dizdarlarına tenbih eyleyüb icazet ile gelüb girüb meger ki rüzgar şiddet üzere furtuna olub ve yahud anları levend kalyataları kovub ol iskelelerden gayri konacak (17) yerleri olmayub zaruret ola

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70 SEE: sancak beglerinden.

71 SEE: subaşılardan.

72 V2, Belin and SEE: yetişdirmeyeler.

73 V1: added later, in very small handwriting.

74 V2: erişdirirler ise; SEE: yetişdirirler ise.

75 V1: 'zarer ve ziyan' is added later, in very small handwriting.

76 Belin and SEE: mezkur.

77 Belin: kurudan.

78 SEE: gemileriyle.

79 The text of V2 is not completely readable (because of damage) from here to '[c]Arabistan'.

80 V1, V2 and SEE: [İ]stanbul; Belin: [İ]stambul.

81 V1, V2?, Belin and SEE: G[a]l[a]ta.

82 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: [c][A]r[a]b[i]stan.

83 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]ye-i M[ı]s[ı]r.

84 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: G[e]libolı.

85 V1, V2, Belin: İneb[a]htı; SEE: Aynab[a]htı (vocalized).

86 V1, V2, Belin and SEE (vocalized): Pr[e]v[e]ze.

87 V1, V2 (vocalized), Belin and SEE (vocalized): M[o]ton.

88 V2 and Belin: gafletle.

18) ol vakt gelüb gireler eger mümkin ise tenbih edeler ve gitmelü olıcak icazetsiz gitmeyüb muhalefet edenleriñ hakklarından geline anuñiçün Venedik beglerine töhmet [89] olunmaya ve memalik-i mahrusemden derya yüzine giden
19) (18) gemiler ve kadırga vedonanmalar[90] deñiz yüzünde[91] Venedik gemilerine buluşursa[92] birbirine[93] dostluk edüb zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler anlar dahı ferman-i şerifimle[94] derya yüzine çıkmış donanma[95] ve kadırgalaruma ve sayir[96] derya yüzünde[97] yürüyen[98] gemiler ile
20) buluşduklarında (19) yelkenlerin indirüb dostlukların bildüreler ve eger yelkenlerin indirüb dostlukların bildirdükden[99] soñra zarer ve ziyan edecek olurlarsa[100] eger gemi ve adem ve esbab ve tavar ziyanıdır yerine konula[101] hemçünan anlarıñ[102] gemileri
21) ve kadırgaları ve donanmaları[103] dahı deñiz yüzünde (20) benim gemilerüme[104] ve yahud rencber gemilerine buluşurlar ise[105] dostluk üzere[106] geçüb zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler[107] eger gemiler ve ademler ve esbab ve tavar ziyanıdır her ne ise yerine koyalar ve eger ittifak

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89 SEE: f. 3r. (f. 165r.).

90 Belin has 've donanmalar' or 'vedonanmalar'; SEE: ve tonanmalar.

91 SEE: yüzinde (vocalized).

92 Belin and SEE: buluşur ise.

93 SEE: biri birine.

94 Belin and SEE: şerifle.

95 SEE: tonanma.

96 Belin: sa'ir.

97 Belin: yüzine.

98 SEE: yüriyen (vocalized).

99 V2, Belin and SEE: bildirdikden.

100 Belin: olursa.

101 SEE: konıla (vocalized).

102 SEE: anlaruñ.

103 V2 omits 've donanmaları'.

104 V2: gemilerime.

105 V2: buluşurlarsa; SEE: bulışurlar ise (vocalized).

106 SEE: üzre (vocalized).

107 V2: etmeye.

22) düşüb harami ve levend gemisine buluşub[108] ol harami[109] gemisi (21) bunlara kasd edüb cenk eyleye harami gemisine bunlar galib olalar hin-i müharebede helak olandan gayri nekadar adem esir olub diri tutarlar[110] ise asla[111] katl etmeyüb bi-kusur sag ve salim
23) südde-i seᶜadetime irsal edeler mühkem[112] hakklarından gelinüb (22) bir vechile siyaset etdüremki sayirlerine[113] muceb-i ᶜibret ola ve memalik-i mahrusemden donanma[114] gemilerimki[115] bir tarafa sefere gide Venedige müteᶜallık olmaya Venedik donanması[116] epsem[117] kendü halinde dostluk üzere turub
24) ve hareket etmeyüb varub kimesneye muᶜavenet etmeye (23) ve benim donanma-i[118] hümayunuma zarer ve ziyan erişdirmesine sebeb olmaya benimle düşmenlik üzere olan kimesneleriñ donanmaların aralarına getürmeyeler ve anlara yardım ve azık vermeyeler ve eger donanmalarından
25) her kim bu emrüme[119] muhalefet ederse (24) eyledügi yerde Venedik begleri mühkem hakklarından[120] geleler sayirlerine[121] muceb-i ᶜibret vakıᶜ[122] ola ve gayri vilayetiñ[123] dahı[124] barçalarına ve kadırgalarına[125] ve gayri gemilerine rast geldikleri vakt Venedik begleri kendü atalarına

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108 SEE: bulışub (vocalized).

109 V1: added later, in very small handwriting.

110 V2: dutarlar.

111 Belin: asl.

112 Belin has 'ta ki' instead of 'mühkem'.

113 Belin: sa'irlerine.

114 SEE: tonanma.

115 Belin: gemilerimle; SEE: gemilerim ki.

116 SEE: tonanması.

117 Belin: ise.

118 SEE: tonanma-i.

119 Belin: emrime; SEE: emrime (vocalized).

120 V2: hakkından; SEE: hakkında[n].

121 Belin: sa'ilerine.

122 Belin omits 'vakıᶜ'.

123 SEE: vilayetde.

124 V1 and V2: must be 'harami'.

125 V2 has 'barça ve kadırga' (with 've kadırga' added later, in very small handwriting above the line) instead of 'barçalarına ve kadırgalarına'; Belin and SEE have 'barçalarına ve kadırga'.

26) ve limanlarına ve hisarlarına sığındırmayub (25) turgurmayalar tutmak[126] mümkin olursa[127] tutub mecal[128] vermeyüb hakklarından geleler benim tarafımdan dahı olvechile ᶜamel olunub gayri vilayetiñ harami barçaların ve kadırgaların limanlaruma ve hisarlaruma sığındırmayub
27) tutmak [129] mümkin olursa[130] tutub[131] (26) mecal[132] vermeyüb hakklarından geleler ve Venedikden biri gelüb memalik-i mahrusemde bir kimesne[133] ile satu[134] bazar edüb akçesin temam vermedin[135] hile edüb kaçub[136] giderse benim hükm-i şerifimle varub taleb olundukda ol kimesne
28) bulunur[137] ise[138] rızkı (27) sahıbına alıvereler[139] ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesne[140] varub Venediklüden biri ile satu[141] bazar edüb akçesin temam eda etmedin kaçub gelürse sabit olan hakkı alıverile ve memalik-i mahrusemde bir kimesne borc edinse ve yahud
29) bir vechile (28) müttehem olub gaybet eylese anuñiçün bir günahsız tutulmaya Venedik beglerine anuñiçün töhmet olunmaya meger ki anlarıñ memleketine varub tura benim canibimden dahı olveçhile[142] etdürile ve baylos kimi [143] dilerlerse göndereler[144]

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126 SEE: dutmak.

127 V2 and Belin: olur ise.

128 Belin has 'mücell' or 'mücill'?

129 SEE: f. 3v. (f. 165v.).

130 V2 and SEE: olur ise.

131 Belin omits 'tutub'.

132 Belin has 'mücell' or 'mücill'?

133 Belin and SEE: kimse.

134 Belin: satar.

135 Belin: vermeden.

136 SEE: 'kaçub' was originally written without 'elif'. The scribe corrected his mistake and once again wrote 'kaç-', but this time with 'elif'.

137 Belin and SEE: bulınur.

138 V2: bulunursa.

139 V2 and Belin: alıverile.

140 Belin and SEE: kimse.

141 Belin: satar.

142 V2, Belin and SEE (vocalized): olvechile.

143 SEE here has a sign to indicate that from this point until note 148 the text is written in the right margin of f. 3v.

144 SEE: göndüreler.

30) (29) isterlerse[145] horendeleriyle gelüb mahruse-i Kostantiniyede[146] üç yıla karib tura temam olmadın[147] gide dilerse[148] horendesiz gele maslahat ne ise göre üç yıl temam olmadın ol dahı gide[149] anıñ[150] yerine olvechile[151] biri dahı gele ve Venedikden

31) (30) bir esir kaçub memalik-i mahruseme gelüb müsliman olursa ve sahıbı gelürse[152] biñ akçe verile sahıbı gelmeyüb vekili gelürse akçeyi[153] vekiline vereler[154] eger küfri üzere ise ol esir [c]aynı ile verile memalik-i mahrusemden kaçub (31) anlara varırsa[155]

32) eger müsliman ise ve yahud mürtedd oldıysa te[c]allül etmeyüb elbette[156] [c]aynı ile kendüyi vereler ve eger küfri üzere ise[157] sahıbı[158] ve yahud vekiline biñ akçe vereler [159] eger Magribiñ[160] levend kalyataları ve gayri yerleriñ korsan (32) kayıkları

33) deryadan ve sayir[161] karadan olan haramiler varub Venedige tabi[c] olan ataları ve gayri yerlerin[162] urub ademlerin esir edüb götürüb Rum Elinde[163] ve Anatolıda[164] ve Magribde[165] ve sayir[166] yerlerde satub ve ya kendüler kullanub

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145 V2: isterler ise; Belin omits 'isterlerse'.

146 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: K[o]st[a]ntin[i]ye.

147 SEE inserts 'olmadın' (originally forgotten) in the addition in the right margin of f. 3v.

148 SEE: end of the addition in the right margin of f. 3v. See note 143. The addition in the margin ends with a 'sahh'-sign to indicate that it is correct.

149 V1: added later, in very small handwriting.

150 Belin: anlarıñ.

151 V2: olveçhile.

152 V2 and SEE: gelür ise.

153 V2: akçe; SEE: akçe'i.

154 V2: verile.

155 Belin and SEE: varır ise.

156 Belin: alına.

157 V2 omits 'ise'.

158 V2 and Belin: sahıbına.

159 SEE adds here 've'.

160 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: M[a]gr[i]b.

161 Belin: sa'ir.

162 Belin and SEE: yerlerini.

163 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: Rum Eli.

164 Belin has 'Anatolı' instead of 'Anatolıda'. V1, V2, Belin and SEE: [A]natolı.

165 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: M[a]gr[i]b.

166 Belin: sa'ir.

34) (33) bu makule esir her kimiñ elinde bulunursa[167] bi-la tereddüd ellerinden alınub Venedik begleriniñ[168] bayloslarına ve ya kayim[169] makamlarına ve ya vekillerine teslim edeler ve ol harami [170] levend ele getürilüb mühkem hakklarından gelinüb[171] ve ol esir
35) müsliman (34) olmuş ise azad olub[172] salıverile ve ᶜahd-name-i hümayuna ve sulh ve salaha muhalif Venedik [173] reᶜayasın[174] baᶜzı kimesneler esir edüb ve elden ele kaçırmagıla ihtilala baᶜis olurlar imiş imdi sulh ve salah zemanında (35) vakıᶜ olan
36) Venedik[175] esirleri her kimiñ elinde bulunursa müsliman olmuş ise azad etdürile ve eger henüz küfri üzere ise işbu ᶜahd-name-i hümayunum ve sulh ve salah mucebince Venedik [176] baylosuna ve ya kendü[177] taᶜyin etdügi (36) ademisine[178] teslim etdirilüb
37) min baᶜd ᶜahd-name-i hümayuna ve sulh ve salaha muhalif esir etdirilmeyüb[179] edenleriñ hakklarından gelinüb teᶜallül ve behane etdürülmeye[180] deyü varid olan hatt-i hümayunum mucebince nişan-i hümayun verilmegin ke-ma kane ol nişan-i (37) hümayun mefhumuyla ᶜamel oluna ve Venedik
38) gemileri memalik-i mahruseme gelürken muhalif yel çıkub ol gemi helak olub nemıkdar adem kurtulursa azad ola[181] esbabları kurtulursa[182] sahıbına

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167 Belin: bulınursa.

168 Belin omits 'begleriniñ'.

169 Belin: ka'im.

170 Belin adds here 've'.

171 V2, Belin and SEE: geline.

172 V2: etdürilüb.

173 SEE here has a red point to indicate that the addition ('reᶜayası-Venedik') written upside down at the bottom of the page must be inserted at this point in the text. See also note 175.

174 Belin: reᶜayasını; SEE: reᶜayası.

175 SEE: end of addition. See also note 173.

176 SEE: f. 4r. (f. 166r.).

177 Belin: kendi.

178 Belin: ademine.

179 SEE: etdürülmeyüb.

180 V2: etdirilmeye.

181 In the text of V2 'azad ola' has been added later, in very small handwriting above the line. Under the line something else is written. However, it is illegible.

182 V2 omits 'esbabları kurtulursa'. These two words are possibly written under the line. However they are illegible. See the previous note. Belin and SEE: kurtulur ise.

verile kapudan canibinden ve ademlerinden ve sayirlerinden[183] kat^{c}a dahl olunmaya (38) ve memalik-i mahrusemden
39) ol tarafa bir gemi varırken muhalif yel çıka ol gemi helak olur ise[184] Venediklü[185] adem kurtulur ise[186] anlara[187] dahl olunmayub esbabları sahıbına verile kat^{c}a dahl ve niza^{c} olunmaya ve eger memalik-i mahrusemden şol yerlerden ki (39) kadırga ve kayıkları[188]
40) ve gayri gemiler derya yüzine çıkub gitdikleri vaktki[189] kapudanım anlar ile bile olmaya ol gemileriñ re'isleri mühkem kefillere verile ki varub Venedik memleketine zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler eger kefil vermedin (40) giderlerse[190] mücrim ve günahkar olalar
41) mühkem hakklarından geline ve eger kefil verdikden soñra[191] zarer [192] ederlerse[193] ne zarer ve ziyan olur ise[194] kefilleri vereler hemçünan Venedik canibinden dahı derya yüzüne[195] gemileri çıka Venedik kapudanı (41) bile olmaya re'isleri mühkem kefillere[196] verdikden soñra memalik-i
42) mahruseme zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirlerse[197] olan zarer ve ziyanı kefilleri vereler eger kefilsiz giderlerse mücrim ve günahkar olalar mühkem hakklarından geline ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir harac-güzar ve yahud bir ^{c}amil (42) kaçub Venedige müte^{c}allık
43) kal^{c}alara ve atalara varub temekkün etse kabul olunmaya varan ademlere te^{c}allül etmeyüb[198] ^{c}aynı ile vereler ve şöyleki[199] adem öldürüb ve yahud

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183 Belin: sa'irlerinden.

184 V2: olursa.

185 Belin: Venediklülerden.

186 V2: kurtulursa.

187 V1: added later, in very small handwriting.

188 Belin and SEE: kayıklar.

189 Belin: vakt ki.

190 SEE: giderler ise.

191 SEE: verdikdensoñra.

192 V2, Belin and SEE add here 've ziyan'.

193 V1 has 'zarer ederlerse' added later, in very small handwriting.

194 SEE: olursa.

195 V2, Belin and SEE: yüzine.

196 Belin: kefiller.

197 SEE: yetişdürürlerse.

198 Belin: olunmayub.

199 Belin: şöyle ki.

ugurluk edüb rızk götürür ise[200] ᶜaynı ile vereler [201] benim canibimden dahı (43) olvechile[202] etdirilüb
44) ol tarafdan adem öldürüb ve yahud[203] ugurluk[204] edüb rızk götürürler ise[205] ᶜaynı ile vereler[206] ve Venediklünüñ birbiri arasında nizaᶜları olsa baylosları ᶜadetlerince diñleye kimesne maniᶜ olmaya ve bir kimesneniñ[207] (44) baylosla nizaᶜı olsa şöyle ki[208]
45) südde-i seᶜadetimden[209] mahruse-i İstanbulda[210] ola vakıᶜ olan[211] kaziyesi divan-i ᶜali-şanımda istimaᶜ oluna ve lakin ben seᶜadet ile[212] sefer-i hümayunda bulunacak olursam anıñ[213] [214] gibi baylosla vakıᶜ olan (45) münazeᶜa İstanbul[215]
46) mühafezasıyçün konulan hakim huzurunda kazi maᶜrifetiyle istimaᶜ oluna ve şöyleki[216] Venedik bazirganları ile bir kimesneniñ nizaᶜı vakıᶜ olub kaziye varalar Venediklünüñ kendü tercümanları hazır olmayınca kazi olan (46) daᶜvaların
47) istimaᶜ etmeye emma anlar dahı teᶜallül edüb tercüman hazır degildir deyü ᶜavk etmeyüb tercümanların ihzar edüb eger tercümanları mühimm maslahatda ise gelince[217] tevakkuf oluna ve baylos olanı aharıñ borcı içün kimesne rencide etmeyüb

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200 SEE: götürürler ise?

201 SEE here has a sign to indicate an addition ('benim-vereler') which is written upside down at the bottom of the page. See also note 206.

202 V2: ol veçhile.

203 SEE omits 'yahud'.

204 SEE: ugurlık.

205 SEE: götürürlerse.

206 SEE: end of addition. See also note 201.

207 Belin: kimseniñ.

208 V2: şöyleki.

209 Belin: seᶜadetim.

210 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: [İ]stanbul.

211 V2 has 'vakıᶜ ola' instead of 'ola vakıᶜ olan'.

212 V2 and SEE: seᶜadetle.

213 V2 and Belin: anuñ.

214 SEE: f. 4v. (f. 166v.).

215 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: [İ]stanbul.

216 Belin has 'şöyleki' or 'şöyle ki'; SEE: şöyle ki.

217 Belin: gelinceye?

48) (47) müzayeka vermeye ve nesne ödetmeyeler emma müddeᶜi olanlar medyunları sakin oldugı yere varub hakimi maᶜrifetiyle hakk ve ᶜadl üzere[218] taleb oluna baylos dahı bu ahvaliñ fasl olunmasın[219] Venedik beglerine iᶜlam ede

49) ve Venedikden (48) İnebahtı[220] ve Mora[221] ve sayir[222] memalik-i mahruseme bir bazirgan ki gele gayri kimesne borcı içün anı tutub incitmeyeler ve Venediklü bazirgan Brusaya[223] ve gayri yere gitmek[224] isteye[225] baylosdan icazet-name almayınca gitmeyeler

50) eger temerrüd edüb (49) icazetsiz gitmek isterse subaşı baylosa muᶜavenet edüb koyuvermeye[226] ve Venedikden gelen gemileriñ neftileri memalik-i mahrusemde hidmete[227] tutulmayub nice geldiyse gemileriyle[228] gideler ve Venedikden gelüb temekkün eden

51) kimesneler evlü olsun (50) ergen olsun ma-dam ki[229] gelüb gidüb rencberlik edüb memalik-i mahrusemde yerleşmeye varub girü gide anlardan harac taleb olunmaya ve Venediklünüñ baᶜzı harac-güzar kafirlerile[230] nizaᶜları olub hin-i daᶜvada Venediklü

52) şahidler ikamet (51) ederlerimiş[231] hasm olanlar bu yer kafirlerinden gerekdir deyü müzayeka verüb Venediklü nasranileriñ şehadetlerin kabul etmezler imiş[232] imdi[233] cümle nasara millet-i vahıde oldugı[234] ecilden gerekdir ki anlarıñ eger kefere ile

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218 SEE: üzre (vocalized).

219 Belin: olunmasını.

220 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: [İ]neb[a]htı (or [A]ynab[a]htı).

221 V1, V2, Belin and SEE (vocalized): Mora.

222 Belin: sa'ir.

223 V1, V2, Belin: Brusa; SEE: B[u]rusa (vocalized).

224 SEE: getürmek.

225 Belin and SEE: istese.

226 Belin has 'salıvermeye' instead of 'koyuvermeye'; SEE: koyuvirmeye (vocalized).

227 Belin: hizmete.

228 SEE: gemileri ile.

229 Belin and SEE: ma damki.

230 Belin: kafirler ile.

231 V2 and SEE: ederler imiş.

232 Belin: etmezlerimiş; SEE: itmezlerimiş (vocalized).

233 Belin omits 'imdi'.

234 Belin: oldıgı.

53) nizaᶜları olub (52) ikamet-i şahide ihtiyac olur ise[235] kefere ta'ifesinden kankı[236] sınıfdan ki şahid ikamet edüb şerᶜ-i şerif-i nebevi muktezasınca isbat edeler kabul oluna ve Venedikden bir bazirgan memalik-i mahrusemde yolda ve izde
54)[237] ve köyde basılub (53) rızkı alınsa ve yahud basıldıkda bazirgan depelenmiş olsa ve ya gayib[238] olsa varisi ve yahud vekili gelür ise[239] şerᶜile görilüb hakk yerine vara ve Venediklüden bir bazirgan memalik-i mahruseme gelüb ticaret üzere kendü
55) halinde (54) yürürken mürd olsa metrukatına beytü 'l-malcı karışmayub bayloslarına teslim edeler ve Magrib[240] müslimanlarından ve bunlardan gayri sayir[241] yerleriñ[242] bazirganları ki beyᶜ ve şira etmegiçün yaşdan ve kurıdan[243] gelmelü olıcak ki (55) Venedik
56) hükm etdügi yerlere ugraya ᶜadet ve kanunları üzere metaᶜlarınıñ rüsumun aldıkdan soñra[244] maniᶜ olmayalar ve zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler memalik-i mahruseme[245] nice dilerlerse gelüb gideler ve Korfuzdan[246] yukaru (56) bogazda yürüyen
57) gemiler Venediklü olsun gayri olsun ki Venedige ticarete varalar ve geleler kimesne maniᶜ olmaya zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler meger ki yaramazlık etmiş olalar ve bir Venedik gemisi ᶜadet ve kanun üzere İstanbulda[247]
58) (57) aranub gitdikden soñra ki[248] kanun-i kadim üzere birdahı[249] bogaz hisarları öñüne vardukda[250] aranub andan soñra gitmege icazet verile ve

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235 SEE: olursa.

236 Belin: kangı.

237 SEE: f. 5r (f. 167r.).

238 Belin: ga'ib.

239 Belin: gelürise.

240 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: M[a]gr[i]b.

241 Belin: sa'ir.

242 SEE: yerlerüñ.

243 V2 and Belin: kurudan.

244 Belin: aldıkdansoñra.

245 SEE: mahrusemde.

246 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: Korfuz.

247 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: [İ]stanbul.

248 V2 omits 'ki'.

249 Belin and SEE: bir dahı.

250 SEE: vardıkda.

haliya kanun-i[251] kadime muhalif Gelibolıda[252] dahı aranur imiş min baᶜd Gelibolıda[253]
59) aranmayub (58) ᶜadet-i kadime muktezasınca girü[254] heman bogaz hisarları öñünde aranub[255] gide ve Zaklise[256] ceziresiyçün[257] sal be-sal astane-i seᶜadetime biñ beşyüz sikke altun irsal ve isal edeler ve memalik-i mahruseme ᶜArabistan[258] memleketleri[259]
60) (59) feth olundugı zemandan berü olıgelen üslub-i kadim üzere iki pare mavnaları[260] Mısır İskenderiyesine[261] ve iki kıtᶜa mavnaları[262] dahı mahruse-i Şama[263] tabiᶜ olan Trablus[264] ve Beyrut[265] iskelelerine olıgeldügi üzere esbab
61) (60) ve metaᶜlarıyla[266] mukarrer olan vaktde ve mevsimlerde gelüb gideler vaktinden ve mevsiminden te'hir[267] etmeyüb eger iki mavnalardır[268] ve eger dahı ziyadedir ve eger büyük ve küçük gemileridir şimdiye degin nevechile[269] gelüb gidüb beyᶜ ve şira (61) ede gelmişler ise

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251 SEE: illegible, 'kan' seems to be written instead of 'kanun'.

252 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: G[e]libolı.

253 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: G[e]libolı.

254 Belin omits 'girü'.

255 V2 has 'öñüne vardukda aranub' instead of 'öñünde aranub'.

256 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: Zakl[i]se.

257 SEE: ceziresi içün.

258 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: ᶜ[A]r[a]b[i]stan.

259 V1: added later, in very small handwriting; V2 omits 'memleketleri'.

260 SEE: mavunaları (vocalized).

261 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: M[ı]s[ı]r [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]yesi.

262 SEE: mavunaları (vocalized).

263 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: Şam.

264 V1, V2: Tr[a]blus; Belin: Trablus; SEE: T[a]r[a]b[u]lus (vocalized).

265 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: B[e]yrut.

266 SEE: metaᶜları ile.

267 Belin: te'ehhur.

268 SEE: mavunalardır (vocalized).

269 V2, Belin and SEE: ne vechile.

62) girü edüb olıgelene muhalif nizaᶜ etmeyeler ve mahruse-i İstanbulda[270] ve Beyrut[271] ve Trablus[272] iskelelerinde ve sayir[273] yerlerde eger akçe ve eger metaᶜdan evvelden olıgelene muhalif [274] ihdas olunan bidᶜatlar (62) refᶜ olunub kadimden
63) nice olıgeldiyse aña göre ᶜamel olunub kanun-i kadime muhalif kimesneye teᶜaddi etdirilmeye[275] ve merhum ceddim sultan Süleyman han zeman-i şerifinde verilen ᶜahd-name-i hümayun muktezasınca muᶜtad-i kadimden ziyade gümrük taleb (63) olunmayub gümrük
64) hususunda kanun-i kadim olan kanun-name defteri mucebince müstekıllen emr-i şerif verile ki dergah-i muᶜallamda ve Şam Trablusunda[276] ve Mısır İskenderiyesinde[277] ve sayir[278] memalik-i mahrusemde sakin olan Venedik baylosları ve konsolosları (64) ol emri
65) temessük edeler ve mezbur mavnalara ve sayir[279] gemilerine ve tacirlerine ve metaᶜlarına beglerbegilerimden[280] ve beglerimden ve sayir[281] kullarımdan hiç ahad kanun-i kadime muhalif zulm ve teᶜaddi etmeye emn üzere[282] olalar kimesne anları (65) rencide etmeye
66) ve Arnavudlukda[283] ve Bosna[284] vilayetlerinde olan yerleriñ baᶜzı[285] bu canibiñ tesarrüfüne girüb ve baᶜzı[286] Venedik begleriniñ ellerindedir iki

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270 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: [İ]stanbul.

271 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: B[e]yrut.

272 V1, V2 and SEE (vocalized): Tr[a]blus; Belin: Trablus.

273 Belin: sa'ir.

274 SEE: f. 5v. (f. 167v.).

275 SEE: etdürülmeye.

276 V1, V2 and SEE: Şam Tr[a]blusı; Belin: Şam Trablusı.

277 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: M[ı]s[ı]r [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]yesi.

278 Belin: sa'ir.

279 Belin: sa'ir.

280 SEE: begler begilerimden.

281 Belin: sa'ir.

282 SEE: üzre (vocalized).

283 V1, V2, Belin and SEE: [A]rnav[u]dl[u]k.

284 V1, V2, Belin and SEE (vocalized): Bosna.

285 Belin: baᶜzısı.

286 Belin: baᶜzısı.

canibiñ ellerinde olan hisarlarıñ kadimi sınurı ve karyeleri vere[287] bozulmadın[288] (66) ne vechile[289] zabt oluna gelmiş ise min baᶜd [290]
67) olvechile[291] zabt oluna deyü bu babda tarafeynden mezbur vilayetleriñ hakimlerine müceddeda[292] emirler gönderilüb[293] tenbih olunub ve sabıka Bosna begi olan Ferhad bege emirler varid olub Yakomo Soranso[294] nam Venedik (67) elçisi müvacehesinde sınur katᶜ olunub[295]
68) ne vechile taᶜyin ve tebyin oldıysa[296] vükuᶜı üzere ᶜamel oluna ve mukaddema fitretden soñra merhum ve magfur lehü ceddim sultan Selim[297] han[298] [299] zemanında tekrar sulh olundukda üç yıla degin vermege müteᶜahhid oldukları (68) üçyüz biñ altunı tedricle bi-kusur eda etdikleri[300]
69) hızane-i ᶜamiremde mahfuz olan defterde mukayyed olub ve merhumun[301] ve[302] magfur lehüm ceddlerim sultan Süleyman han ve sultan Selim han ve babam sultan Murad han tabe serahüm zemanlarında zikr olunan filoriden gayri (69) sayir[303] vakıᶜ olan[304]
70) şartları ve ᶜahdları bi-'t-temam yerine getürdükleri ecilden tekrar işbu ᶜahd-namede derc olunmamışdır min baᶜd ol hususlar içün dahl ve teᶜarruz olunmaya ve merhumun zemanlarında ve cülus-i hümayunumdan soñra verilen ahkam-i şerifeyi[305]

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287 Belin: biri.

288 SEE: vire bozulmadın (vocalized).

289 Belin: nevechile.

290 Belin adds here 'yine'.

291 SEE: ol vechile (vocalized).

292 Belin and SEE: müceddeden.

293 SEE: göndürilüb.

294 V1, V2 and SEE: Yak[o]mo Soranso; Belin: Yak[o]mo Sorantso. Jacopo or Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian ambassador ('oratore') to Constantinople 1582.

295 SEE: olınub.

296 Belin: olundıysa.

297 Belin: Süleyman.

298 V1: added later, in very small handwriting.

299 V2 adds here 'nevvere 'llahü teᶜala merkadehü'.

300 V2 and Belin: etdükleri.

301 Belin: merhum.

302 SEE omits 've'.

303 Belin: sa'ir.

304 Belin omits 'olan'.

305 SEE: şerife'i.

71) ke-ma kane mukarrer tutdum[306] ma-dam ki[307] (70) südde-i seniye-i seᶜadet-destgahımda kurudan ve yaşdan düşmenlik üzere olanlara Venedik dojı [308] ve begleri kavlen ve fiᶜlen muᶜin ve zahir olmayalar vakıᶜ olan sulh ve salahdan tecavüz etdirmeyem[309] bendahı
72) hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ[310] ululugı ve vahdaniyeti hakkıyçün[311] (71) ve habib-i ekrem ve şefiᶜ-i ümem iki cihan güneşi peygamberimiz Muhammed Mustafa salla 'llahü teᶜala[312] ᶜaleyh ve sellem hazretleriniñ hürmetiyçün ᶜahd ve yemin ederimki ma beynde münᶜakıd olan dostluk ve sulh ve salahdan
73) ve şerh[313] ve beyan olunan şürut ve ᶜuhuddan ᶜudul (72) ve inhiraf göstermeyem [314]şöyle bileler ᶜalamet-i şerife[315] iᶜtimad kılalar tahriren fi evayil-i[316] şehr-i rebiᶜu 'l-ahır min şühur-i sene[317] sene erbaᶜ ve elf mine 'l-hicreti 'n-nebeviye ᶜaleyh efzalü 't-tahiyet ellezi büᶜıse ila külli fihi[318]
74) (73) be-mekam-i Kostantiniye[319] 'l-mahruse m.

306 Belin: tuturum.

307 SEE: ma damki.

308 SEE: f. 6r. (f. 168r.). At the beginning of this new folio the last word of the previous folio (f. 5v.) 'dojı' is repeated.

309 SEE: etmeyeler.

310 SEE: hazre[tler]iniñ.

311 SEE: hakkı içün.

312 Belin and SEE omit 'teᶜala'.

313 Belin: neşr.

314 SEE ends here.

315 Belin: şerifeye.

316 Belin: eva'il-i.

317 Belin: sene-i?

318 Belin omits 'ellezi büᶜıse ila külli fihi'.

319 V1, V2: K[o]st[a]nt[i]n[i]ye; Belin: K[o]st[a]ntin[i]ye.

The Venetian Capitulation of 1604

The capitulation of 1604 is preserved in two versions. The first one is that of the original document issued by the Ottoman chancery which is now kept in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia.[1] The second version is that in the *ecnebi defterleri* in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in İstanbul.[2] The present text is based on both these versions of the treaty.

The text

Zikrü 'llahi teᶜala aᶜla ve bi-'t-takdim ahakk ve evla

Şah Ahmed bin Mehmed han el-muzaffer da'ima[3]

1) Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sami-mekan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i ikbal-nüma-i cihan-ara-i giti-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 's-savni 's-samedani hükmi oldur ki[4]
2) şimdikihalde [5] ᶜavn-i ᶜinayet-i rebbani ve meşiyet-i hidayet-i sübhani mukareneti ile ben ki sultan-i selatin-i cihan ve bürhan-i havakin-i devran tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin sultan Ahmed han ibn sultan Mehemmed han ibn sultan Murad han ibn sultan Selim han
3) ibn sultan Süleyman han ibn sultan Selim hanım hala mefahırü 'l-ümera'i 'l-ᶜızami 'l-ᶜiseviye meraciᶜu 'l-kübera'i 'l-fiham fi 'l-milleti 'l-mesihiye[6]

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1 ASV, Documenti Turchi 1145 (= V).

2 Başbakanlık Arşivi, İstanbul, *Ecnebi Defteri* 13/1 (Venedik Ahkam), 7-11, no. 27 (= BBA). See Çetin, *op. cit.*, 68-72.

3 BBA omits the *invocatio*-formula and the *tugra.* Instead the *defter* begins with a rubric at the top of page 7:

1) der zeman-i hazret-i sultan Ahmed han

2) [yev]mü 'l-hams

3) fi 21 şehr-i cümada 'l-ahıra sene seles ᶜaşr ve elf.

4 BBA abbreviates the introductory formula to: nişan-i hümayun oldur ki.

5 BBA originally had 'ben ki' here. The scribe realized his mistake and corrected it by striking 'ben ki' out.

6 BBA omits 'mefahırü 'l-ümera'i 'l-ᶜızami 'l-ᶜiseviye meraciᶜu 'l-kübera'i 'l-fiham fi 'l-milleti 'l-mesihiye'.

Venedik dojı olan Marin Grimani[7] ve sayir begleri hutimet ᶜavakıbühüm bi-'l-hayr[8] dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahıma[9] Civan Monecuniko[10] kavaler[11] nam yarar
4) ve muᶜtemed ᶜaleyh ademisin elçi taᶜyin edüb ᶜarz-i sadakat ve ihlas eyleyüb merhumun ve magfur lehüm ceddlerim sultan Süleyman han ve sultan Selim han ve sultan Murad han ve babam sultan Mehemmed han ᶜaleyhimi 'r-rahmet ve 'l-gufran[12] zemanlarından dostluk ve müᶜahede oldugı üzere astane-i seᶜadetimle olan
5) sulh ve salah ve işbu ᶜahd-name-i hümayunda münderic olan şürut ve ᶜuhud ke-ma kane mukarrer olub müceddeda ᶜahd-name-i hümayun verilmek babında istidᶜa etdikleri ecilden istidᶜaları hayyiz-i kabulde vakıᶜ olub bu üslub üzere ᶜahd-name-i hümayun[13] verile deyü[14] hatt-i hümayun-i
6) seᶜadet-makrunumla[15] ferman-i ᶜali-şanım sadır olmagın müşar ileyh Venedik dojı ile ve sayir begler ile sulh ve salah mukarrer olub müceddeda ᶜahd-name-i hümayun verilüb ve ᶜahd-namede münderic olan şürut ve ᶜuhud ᶜala vechi 't-tefsil beyan olunub işbu verilen nişan-i
7) şerifimle ᶜahd ve eman müstehkem olub ve ᶜahd-i hümayunum mukarrer ve[16] mü'ekked olmasıyçün yemin ederimki yeri ve gögi yaradan hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ birligi hakkıyçün ma-dam ki anlar tarafından ᶜahda muhalif iş olmaya benden dahı müᶜahede-i şerifime mugayir vazᶜ sadır olmayub
8) min baᶜd Venedik dojı ve sayir begleri ile ve ademleri ile ve deryada ve karada iki canibe müteᶜallık olan yerleriñ ve vilayetleriñ halkı ile ve Ak Deñizde vakıᶜ Tine[17] nam-i diger İstendil[18] ceziresi kalᶜası ile[19] ve sayir tesarrüflerinde olan cezireler ve şehirler ve kalᶜalar

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7 V and BBA: Marin Gr[i]mani. Marino Grimani, Doge of Venice 26 April 1595 - 25 December 1605.

8 BBA omits 'hutimet ᶜavakıbühüm bi-'l-hayr'.

9 BBA: destgaha.

10 V: C[i]van M[o]n[e]cuniko; BBA: C[i]van Mociko; Giovanni Mocenigo, Venetian ambassador to Constantibople 1604.

11 V: k[a]val[e]r; BBA omits 'kavaler' ('kavaliyer').

12 BBA omits 'ᶜaleyhimi 'r-rahmet ve 'l-gufran'.

13 BBA: hümayunum.

14 BBA omits 'deyü'.

15 BBA: seᶜadet-makrun ile.

16 BBA omits 'mukarrer ve'.

17 V and BBA: Tine.

18 V and BBA: [İ]st[e]ndil.

19 BBA: kalᶜasıyla.

9) ve burgazları[20] ile sulh ve salah mukarrer olub cümle[21] Aya Markonuñ[22] sancagın götüren kimesneler ile yaşdan ve kurudan el-an tesarrüflerinde olan elleri ve köyleri ile şimdiye degin tesarrüflerinde olub ve şimdensoñra[23] kendü dindaşlarından alacak yerleri ile baᶜde 'l-yevm
10) aramızda olan dostluk ve barışıklık mukarrer olub ve Yanya[24] sancagı sınurunda olan Parga[25] nam mevzıᶜ ki sabıka merhum ve magfur lehü[26] sultan Süleyman [27] nevvere 'llahü teᶜala merkadehü[28] emriyle yakılub yıkılmış idi mezid-i ᶜinayetlerinden yine anlar canibine tesarrüf olunmasın emr edüb
11) zikr olunan mevzıᶜ kullesiyle ve varoşuyla ve karyeleri ile ve hudud ve sınuruyla merhum ceddim müşarün ileyh[29] hazretleri ᶜinayet eyledügi üzere anlarıñ[30] zabt ve tesarrüflerinde ola emma mezbur Parga[31] ve aña tabiᶜ olan köylerde vakıᶜ olan ademleri deñizden ve kurudan
12) memalik-i mahruseme zarer ve ziyan ederlerse Venedik begleri ol zarer ve ziyanı tazmin etdüreler ve edenleriñ mühkem hakklarından geleler ve memalik-i mahrusemde olan sancakbeglerinden ve subaşılarından ve bi-'l-cümle huddam-i encüm-ihtişamımdan hiç ahad anlarıñ vilayetlerine
13) ve kalᶜalarına ve burgazlarına ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler ve eger cenab-i celalet-me'abıma müteᶜallık olan beglerden ve ᶜasakir-i zafer-me'sirimden[32] anlarıñ vilayetlerine ve kalᶜalarına ve burgazlarına ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan erişdirirlerse vakıᶜ olan
14) zarer ve ziyan ferman-i şerifimle yerine konulub dahl edenleriñ hakklarından geleler ve mezbur begleriñ bazirganlarından ve ademlerinden

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20 BBA: burgazlar.

21 V: added later, in very small handwriting. It should have been 'bi-'l-cümle' as in BBA.

22 V and BBA: [A]ya Marko.

23 BBA: şimden soñra.

24 V and BBA: Yanya.

25 V and BBA: Parga.

26 BBA omits 've magfur lehü'.

27 BBA adds here 'han'.

28 BBA omits 'nevvere 'llahü teᶜala merkadehü'.

29 BBA has 'muma ileyh' instead of 'müşarün ileyh'.

30 V: added later, in very small handwriting.

31 V and BBA: Parga.

32 BBA: me'asirimden.

memalik-i mahruseme yaşdan ve kurıdan kadırga ve kökeleri ve gayri küçük gemileri ile mahruse-i İstanbula[33] ve Galataya[34] ve diyar-i ᶜArabistandan[35]
15) İskenderiye-i Mısra[36] ve Gelibolıdan[37] aşga olan bogaza ve İnebahtı[38] ve Preveze[39] bogazlarına ve Moton[40] limanlarına gaflet ile gelüb girmeyüb mukaddema dizdarlarına tenbih eyleyüb icazet ile gelüb girüb meger ki rüzgar şiddet üzere olmagıla furtuna olub ve yahud anları
16) levend kalyataları kovub ol iskelelerden gayri konacak yerleri olmayub zaruret ola ol vakt gelüb gireler eger mümkin ise tenbih edeler ve gitmelü olıcak icazetsiz gitmeyüb ve[41] muhalefet edenleriñ hakklarından geline anuñiçün Venedik beglerine töhmet
17) olunmaya [42]ve memalik-i mahrusemden derya yüzine[43] giden gemiler ve kadırga ve donanmalar deñiz yüzünde Venedik gemilerine buluşursa birbirine dostluk edüb zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler anlar dahı ferman-i şerifle derya yüzine[44] çıkmış donanma ve kadırgalaruma ve sayir derya yüzünde yürüyen
18) gemiler ile buluşduklarında yelkenlerin indirüb dostlukların bildüreler ve eger yelkenlerin indirüb dostlukların bildirdikden soñra zarer ve ziyan edecek olurlarsa [45] eger gemi ve adem ve esbab ve tavar ziyanıdır yerine konula hemçünan anlarıñ gemileri ve kadırgaları ve donanmaları
19) dahı deñiz yüzünde benim gemilerüme ve yahud rencber gemilerine buluşurlar ise[46] dostluk üzere geçüb zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler eger gemiler ve ademler ve esbab ve tavar ziyanıdır her ne ise yerine koyalar[47] ve eger ittifak

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33 V and BBA: [İ]stanbul.

34 V and BBA: G[a]l[a]ta.

35 V and BBA: ᶜ[A]r[a]b[i]stan.

36 V and BBA: [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]ye-i M[ı]s[ı]r.

37 V and BBA: G[e]libolı.

38 V and BBA: İneb[a]htı.

39 V and BBA: Pr[e]v[e]ze.

40 V (vocalized) and BBA: M[o]ton.

41 BBA omits 've'.

42 BBA: page 8. At the bottom of page 7 've memalik-i' is written to indicate that the new page begins with these words.

43 BBA: yüzüne.

44 BBA: yüzüne.

45 BBA adds here 've'.

46 BBA: buluşurlarsa.

47 BBA originally had 'konula', but this was changed to 'koyalar'.

düşüb harami ve levend gemisine buluşub ol harami gemisi bunlara kasd edüb
20) cenk eyleye[48] harami gemisine bunlar galib olalar hin-i müharebede helak olandan gayri nekadar adem esir olub diri tutarlar ise[49] asla katl etmeyüb bi-kusur sag ve salim südde-i seᶜadetime irsal edeler mühkem hakklarından gelinüb bir vechile siyaset etdüremki sayirlerine muceb-i ᶜibret ola ve memalik-i
21) ve memalik-i[50] mahrusemden donanma gemilerimki bir tarafa sefere gidüb Venedige müteᶜallık olmaya Venedik donanması epsem kendü halinde dostluk üzere turub ve hareket etmeyüb varub kimesneye muᶜavenet etmeye ve benim donanma-i hümayunuma zarer ve ziyan erişdirmesine sebeb olmaya benimle düşmenlik üzere olan
22) kimesneleriñ donanmaların aralarına getürmeyeler ve anlara yardım ve azık vermeyeler ve eger donanmalarından her kim bu emrüme[51] muhalefet ederse eyledügi yerde Venedik begleri mühkem hakklarından geleler sayirlerine muceb-i ᶜibret vakıᶜ ola ve gayri vilayetiñ dahı barçalarına ve kadırgalarına ve gayri
23) gemilerine rast geldikleri vakt Venedik begleri kendü atalarına ve limanlarına ve hisarlarına sıgındırmayub turgurmayalar tutmak mümkin olursa tutub mecal vermeyüb hakklarından geleler benim tarafımdan dahı ol vechile[52] ᶜamel olunub gayri vilayetiñ harami barçaların[53] ve kadırgaların[54] limanlaruma
24) ve hisarlaruma[55] sıgındırmayub tutmak mümkin olursa tutub mecal vermeyüb hakklarından geleler ve Venedikden biri gelüb memalik-i mahrusemde bir kimesne ile satu bazar edüb akçesin temam[56] vermedin hile edüb kaçub giderse benim hükm-i şerifimle varub taleb olundukda ol kimesne bulunur ise[57] rızkı

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48 BBA has 'kasd edecek olursa' in stead of 'kasd edüb cenk eyleye'.

49 BBA: tutarlarsa.

50 V has 've memalik-i' two times, at the end of line 20 and the beginning of line 21.

51 BBA: emrime.

52 BBA: olvechile.

53 BBA: barçalarını.

54 BBA: kadırgalarını.

55 BBA omits 've hisarlaruma'.

56 BBA: bi-'t-temam.

57 BBA: bulunursa.

25) sahıbına alıvereler[58] ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesne varub Venediklüden biri ile satu bazar edüb akçesin temam eda etmedin kaçub gelürse sabit olan hakkı alıverile ve memalik-i mahrusemde[59] bir kimesne borc edinse ve yahud bir vechile müttehem olub gaybet eylese
26) anuñiçün bir günahsuz tutulmaya [60] Venedik beglerine anuñiçün[61] töhmet olunmaya meger ki anlarıñ memleketine varub tura benim canibimden dahı olvechile etdürile ve baylos kimi dilerlerse göndereler isterlerse horendeleriyle gelüb mahruse-i Kostantiniyede[62] üç yıla karib tura temam olmadın
27) gide dilerse horendesiz gele maslahat ne ise göre üç yıl temam olmadın ol dahı gide anıñ[63] yerine olvechile biri dahı gele ve Venedikden bir esir kaçub memalik-i mahruseme gelüb müsliman olursa ve sahıbı gelürse biñ akçe verile sahıbı gelmeyüb vekili gelürse akçeyi vekiline vereler
28) eger küfri üzere ise ol esir [c]aynı ile verile [64] memalik-i mahrusemden kaçub anlara varırsa [65] eger müsliman ise ve yahud mürtedd oldıysa[66] te[c]allül etmeyüb elbette[67] [c]aynı ile kendüyi vereler ve eger küfri üzere ise sahıbı[68] ve yahud vekiline biñ akçe vereler eger Magribiñ[69] levend kalyataları
29) ve gayri yerleriñ korsan kayıkları deryadan ve sayir karadan olan haramiler varub Venedige tabi[c] olan ataları ve gayri yerlerin [70]urub ademlerin esir edüb götürüb Rum Elinde[71] ve Anatolıda[72] ve Magribde[73] ve sayir yerlerde satub ve ya kendüler kullanub bu makule esir her kimiñ elinde bulunursa

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58 BBA: alıverile.

59 BBA: mahrusemden.

60 BBA adds here 've'.

61 BBA: anuñ içün.

62 V: the locative-suffix '-de' is added later, in very small handwriting. V: K[o]st[a]ntin[i]ye.

63 BBA: anuñ.

64 BBA adds here 've'.

65 BBA adds here 've'.

66 BBA: oldı ise.

67 V: added later, in very small handwriting.

68 BBA: sahıbına.

69 V and BBA: M[a]gr[i]b.

70 BBA: page 9.

71 V and BBA: Rum Eli.

72 V and BBA: [A]natolı.

73 V and BBA: M[a]gr[i]b.

30) bi-la tereddüd ellerinden alınub Venedik begleriniñ bayloslarına ve ya kayim makamlarına ve ya vekillerine teslim edeler ve ol harami levend ele getürilüb mühkem hakklarından gelinüb ve ol esir müsliman olmuş ise azad olub salıverile ve ᶜahd-name-i hümayuna ve sulh ve salaha muhalif Venedik reᶜayasını
31) baᶜzı kimesneler esir edüb ve elden ele[74] kaçırmagıla ihtilala baᶜis olurlar imiş imdi sulh ve salah zemanında vakıᶜ olan Venedik esirleri her kimiñ elinde bulunursa müsliman olmuş ise azad etdürile ve eger henüz küfri üzere ise işbu ᶜahd-name-i hümayunum[75] ve sulh ve salah mucebince Venedik
32) baylosuna ve ya kendü taᶜyin etdügi ademisine teslim etdirilüb min baᶜd ᶜahd-name-i hümayuna ve sulh ve salaha muhalif esir etdirilmeyüb[76] edenleriñ hakklarından gelinüb teᶜallül ve behane etdirilmeye deyü varid olan hatt-i hümayun mucebince nişan-i hümayun verilmegin ke-ma kane[77] ol nişan-i hümayun mefhumuyla[78] ᶜamel oluna ve Venedik gemileri memalik-i
33) mahruseme gelürken muhalif yel çıkub ol gemi helak olub nemıkdar adem kurtulursa azad ola esbabları kurtulursa sahıbına verile kapudan canibinden ve ademlerinden ve sayirlerinden katᶜa dahl olunmaya ve memalik-i mahrusemden ol tarafa bir gemi varırken muhalif yel çıka ol gemi
34) helak olur ise[79] Venediklü adem kurtulursa anlara dahl olunmayub esbabları sahıbına verile katᶜa dahl ve nizaᶜ olunmaya ve eger memalik-i mahrusemden şol yerlerden ki kadırga ve kayıkları ve gayri gemiler[80] derya yüzine[81] çıkub gitdikleri[82] vaktki[83] kapudanım anlar[84] ile bile olmaya ol gemileriñ re'isleri[85]
35) mühkem kefillere verile ki varub Venedik memleketine zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler eger kefil vermedin giderlerse mücrim ve günahkar olalar

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74 V: added later, in very small handwriting.

75 BBA: hümayun.

76 BBA has 'etdirilmeyüb' written twice. The second 'etdirilmeyüb', however, is stricken out and corrected to 'edenleriñ'.

77 V: 'ke-ma kane' is added later, in very small handwriting.

78 BBA: mazmunuyla.

79 BBA: olursa.

80 BBA: gemileri.

81 BBA: yüzüne.

82 BBA: gidecekleri.

83 BBA: vakt ki.

84 V: added later, in very small handwriting.

85 BBA: reyisleri.

mühkem hakklarından geline ve eger kefil verdikdensoñra[86] zarer ederlerse ne zarer ve ziyan olursa[87] kefilleri vereler hemçünan Venedik canibinden dahı derya yüzine[88] gemileri çıka Venedik
36) kapudanı bile olmaya re'isleri mühkem kefillere[89] verdikden soñra memalik-i mahruseme zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirlerse olan zarer ve ziyanı kefilleri vereler eger kefilsiz giderlerse mücrim ve günahkar olalar mühkem hakklarından geline ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir harac-güzar ve yahud bir ᶜamil kaçub Venedige müteᶜallık
37) kalᶜalara ve atalara varub temekkün etse kabul olunmaya varan ademlere teᶜallül etmeyüb ᶜaynı ile vereler ve şöyle kim[90] adem öldürüb ve yahud ugurluk edüb rızk götürürlerse[91] ᶜaynı ile vereler benim canibimden dahı olvechile etdirilüb ol tarafdan adem öldürüb ve yahud ugurluk
38) edüb rızk götürürlerse[92] ᶜaynı ile vereler ve Venediklünüñ birbiri arasında nizaᶜları olsa baylosları ᶜadetlerince diñleye kimesne maniᶜ olmaya ve bir kimesneniñ baylosla nizaᶜı olsa şöyleki[93] südde-i seᶜadetimden mahruse-i İstanbulda[94] ola vakıᶜ olan kaziyesi divan-i
39) ᶜali-şanımda istimaᶜ oluna ve lakin ben seᶜadet ile sefer-i hümayunumda[95] bulunacak olursam anıñ[96] gibi baylosla vakıᶜ olan münazeᶜa İstanbul[97] mühafezasıyçün konulan hakim huzurunda kazi maᶜrifetiyle istimaᶜ oluna ve şöyle ki[98] Venedik bazirganları ile
40) bir kimesneniñ nizaᶜı vakıᶜ[99] olub kaziye varalar Venediklünüñ kendü tercümanları hazır olmayınca kazi olan daᶜvaların istimaᶜ etmeye emma anlar dahı teᶜallül edüb tercüman hazır degildir deyü ᶜavk etmeyüb

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86 BBA: verdikden soñra.

87 BBA: olur ise.

88 BBA: yüzüne.

89 BBA: kefile.

90 BBA: şöyleki.

91 BBA: götürür ise.

92 BBA: götürürler ise.

93 BBA: şöyle ki.

94 V and BBA: [İ]stanbul.

95 BBA: hümayunda.

96 BBA: anuñ.

97 V and BBA: [İ]stanbul.

98 BBA: şöyleki.

99 BBA omits 'vakıᶜ' and has 'olsa' which, however, is stricken out.

tercümanların ihzar edüb eger tercümanları mühimm maslahatda ise gelince tevakkuf
41) oluna ve baylos olanı aharıñ borcı içün kimesne rencide etmeyüb müzayeka vermeye ve nesne ödetmeyeler emma müddeᶜi olanlar medyunları sakin oldugı yere varub hakimi maᶜrifetiyle hakk ve ᶜadl üzere taleb oluna baylos dahı bu ahvaliñ fasl olunmasın
42) Venedik beglerine iᶜlam ede ve Venedikden İnebahtı[100] ve Mora[101] [102]ve sayir memalik-i mahruseme bir bazirgan ki gele gayri kimesne borcı içün[103] anı tutmayub[104] incitmeyeler ve Venediklü bazirgan Brusaya[105] ve gayri yere gitmek isteye baylosdan icazet-name almayınca gitmeyeler eger temerrüd edüb
43) icazetsiz gitmek isterse subaşı baylosa muᶜavenet edüb koyuvermeye ve Venedikden gelen gemileriñ neftileri memalik-i mahrusemde hizmete[106] tutulmayub nice geldiyse[107] gemileriyle gideler ve Venedikden gelüb temekkün eden kimesneler evlü olsun ergen olsun ma-dam ki gelüb
44) gidüb rencberlik edüb memalik-i mahrusemde yerleşmeye varub girü gide anlardan harac taleb olunmaya ve Venediklünüñ baᶜzı harac-güzar kafirlerile[108] nizaᶜları olub hin-i[109] daᶜvada Venediklü şahidler ikamet ederler imiş hasm olanlar bu yer kafirlerinden gerekdir deyü müzayeka
45) verüb Venediklü nasranileriñ şehadetlerin kabul etmezler imiş imdi cümle nasara millet-i vahıde oldugı ecilden gerekdir ki anlarıñ eger kefere ile nizaᶜları olub ikamet-i şahide ihtiyac olur ise[110] kefere ta'ifesinden[111] kankı sınıfdan ki şahid [112] ikamet edüb
46) şerᶜ-i şerif-i nebevi muktezasınca isbat edeler kabul oluna ve Venedikden bir bazirgan memalik-i mahrusemde yolda ve izde ve köyde basılub rızkı

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100 V and BBA:İneb[a]htı.

101 V and BBA: Mora.

102 BBA: page 10.

103 BBA omits 'içün'.

104 BBA: tutub.

105 V and BBA: Brusa.

106 BBA: hidmete.

107 BBA: gelürse.

108 BBA: kafirler ise.

109 BBA omits 'hin-i'.

110 BBA: olursa.

111 BBA: tayifesinden.

112 BBA adds something here (illegible).

alınsa ve yahud basıldıkda bazirgan depelenmiş olsa ve ya gayib olsa varisi ve yahud vekili gelürse şercile görilüb
47) hakk yerine vara ve Venediklüden bir bazirgan memalik-i mahruseme gelüb ticaret üzere kendü halinde yürürken mürd olsa metrukatına beytü 'l-malcı karışmayub bayloslarına teslim edeler ve Magrib[113] müslimanlarından ve bunlardan gayri sayir yerleriñ bazirganları ki
48) beyc ve şira etmegiçün yaşdan ve kurıdan[114] gelmelü olıcak ki Venedik hükm etdügi yerlere ugraya cadet ve kanunları üzere metaclarınıñ rüsumun aldıkdan soñra manic olmayalar ve zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler memalik-i mahruseme[115] nice dilerlerse gelüb gideler ve Korfuzdan[116] yukaru bogazda
49) yürüyen gemiler Venediklü olsun gayri olsun ki Venedige[117] ticarete varalar ve geleler kimesne manic olmaya ve zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler meger ki yaramazlık etmiş olalar ve bir Venedik gemisi cadet ve kanun üzere İstanbulda[118] aranub gitdikden soñra ki[119] kanun-i kadim üzere
50) birdahı bogaz hisarları öñüne vardukda aranub andansoñra[120] gitmege icazet verile ve hala[121] kanun-i kadime muhalif Gelibolıda[122] dahı aranur imiş min bacd Gelibolıda[123] aranmayub cadet-i kadime muktezasınca girü heman bogaz hisarları öñünde aranub gide ve Zaklise[124] ceziresiyçün
51) sal be-sal astane-i secadetime biñ beşyüz sikke altun irsal ve isal edeler ve memalik-i mahruseme cArabistan[125] memleketleri feth olundugı zemandan berü olıgelen üslub-i kadim üzere iki pare mavnaları Mısır İskenderiyesine[126] ve iki kıtca mavnaları dahı mahruse-i Şama[127] tabic olan

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113 V and BBA: M[a]gr[i]b.

114 BBA: kurudan.

115 BBA: mahrusemden.

116 V and BBA: Korfuz.

117 V: added later, in very small handwriting.

118 V and BBA: [İ]stanbul.

119 BBA omits 'ki'.

120 BBA: andan soñra.

121 BBA: haliya.

122 V and BBA: G[e]libolı.

123 V and BBA: G[e]libolı.

124 V and BBA: Zakl[i]se.

125 V and BBA: c[A]r[a]b[i]stan.

126 V and BBA: M[ı]s[ı]r [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]yesi.

127 V and BBA: Şam.

52) Trablus[128] ve Beyrut[129] iskelelerine olıgeldügi üzere esbab ve metaᶜlarıyla mukarrer olan vaktde ve mevsimlerde gelüb gideler vaktinden ve mevsiminden te'hir etmeyüb eger iki mavnalardır[130] ve eger dahı ziyadedir ve eger büyük ve küçük gemileridir şimdiye degin nevechile gelüb gidüb beyᶜ ve şira ede gelmişler ise
53) girü edüb olıgelene muhalif nizaᶜ etmeyeler ve mahruse-i İstanbulda[131] ve Beyrut[132] ve Trablus[133] iskelelerinde ve sayir yerlerde eger akçe ve eger[134] metaᶜdan evvelden olıgelene muhalif ihdas olunan bidᶜatlar refᶜ olunub kadimden nice olıgeldiyse[135] aña göre ᶜamel olunub kanun-i kadime
54) muhalif kimesneye teᶜaddi etdirilmeye ve merhum ceddim sultan Süleyman han zeman-i şerifinde verilen ᶜahd-name-i hümayun muktezasınca muᶜtad-i kadimden ziyade gümrük taleb olunmayub gümrük hususunda kanun-i kadim olan kanun-name defteri mucebince müstekıllen[136] emr-i şerif verile ki dergah-i muᶜallamda ve Şam Trablusunda[137]
55) ve Mısır İskenderiyesinde[138] ve sayir [139]memalik-i mahrusemde sakin olan Venedik baylosları[140] ve konsolosları ol emri temessük edeler ve mezbur mavnalara[141] ve sayir gemilerine ve tacirlerine ve metaᶜlarına beglerbegilerimden ve beglerimden ve sayir kullarımdan hiç ahad kanun-i kadime muhalif zulm ve teᶜaddi

128 V and BBA: Tr[a]blus.

129 V and BBA: B[e]yrut.

130 V: or 'mavunalardır'?

131 V and BBA: [İ]stanbul.

132 V and BBA: B[e]yrut.

133 V and BBA: Tr[a]blus.

134 BBA omits 'eger'.

135 BBA: olıgeldi ise.

136 BBA: müstekılla.

137 V and BBA: Şam Tr[a]blusı.

138 V and BBA: M[ı]s[ı]r [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]yesi.

139 BBA: page 11.

140 BBA: balyosları.

141 V: or 'mavunalara'?

56) etmeye emn üzere olalar kimesne anları[142] rencide etmeye ve Arnavudlukda[143] ve Bosna[144] vilayetlerinde olan yerleriñ baᶜzı bu canibiñ tesarrüfüne girüb ve baᶜzı Venedik begleriniñ ellerindedir iki canibiñ[145] ellerinde olan hisarlarıñ kadimi sınurı ve karyeleri vere bozulmadın ne vechile[146] zabt oluna gelmiş ise
57) min baᶜd olvechile zabt oluna deyü bu babda tarafeynden mezbur vilayetleriñ hakimlerine müceddeda emirler gönderilüb tenbih olunub ve sabıka Bosna[147] begi olan Ferhad bege emirler varid olub Yakomo Soranso[148] nam Venedik elçisi müvacehesinde sınur katᶜ olunub ne vechile[149] taᶜyin ve tebyin oldıysa[150] vükuᶜı
58) üzere ᶜamel oluna ve mukaddema fitretdensoñra[151] merhum ve magfur lehü[152] ceddim sultan Selim han zemanında[153] tekrar sulh olundukda üç yıla degin vermege müteᶜahhid oldukları üçyüz biñ altunı tedricle bi-kusur eda etdikleri hızane-i ᶜamiremde mahfuz olan defterde mukayyed olub ve merhumun
59) ve magfur lehüm[154] ceddlerim sultan Süleyman han ve sultan Selim han ve sultan Murad han ve babam sultan Mehemmed han[155] tabe serahüm[156] zemanlarında zikr olunan filoriden gayri sayir vakıᶜ olan şartları ve ᶜahdları bi-'t-temam yerine getürdükleri ecilden tekrar işbu ᶜahd-namede derc olunmamışdır

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142 V: added later, in very small handwriting.

143 V and BBA: [A]rnav[u]dl[u]k.

144 V and BBA: Bosna.

145 BBA has 'canibeyniñ' instead of 'ikicanibiñ.

146 BBA: nevechile.

147 V and BBA: Bosna.

148 V and BBA: Yak[o]mo Soranso. Jacopo or Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian ambassador ('oratore') to Constantinople in 1582.

149 BBA: nevechile.

150 BBA: olundı ise.

151 BBA: fitretden soñra.

152 BBA omits 've magfur lehü'.

153 BBA has 'ceddlerim sultan Süleyman han ve sultan Selim han zemanlarında' instead of 'ceddim sultan Selim han zemanında'.

154 BBA omits 've magfur lehüm'.

155 BBA has 've babam sultan Mehemmed han' in very small handwriting as an addition above the line.

156 BBA omits 'tabe serahüm'.

60) min baᶜd ol hususlar içün dahl ve teᶜarruz olunmaya ve merhumun zemanlarında ve cülus-i hümayunumdan soñra verilen ahkam-i şerifeyi ke-ma kane mukarrer tutdum ma-dam ki südde-i seniye-i seᶜadet-destgahımda[157] kurudan ve yaşdan düşmenlik üzere olanlara Venedik dojı ve begleri
61) kavlen ve fiᶜlen muᶜin ve zahir olmayalar vakıᶜ olan sulh ve salahdan tecavüz etdirmeyem bendahı hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ ululugı ve vahdaniyeti hakkıyçün ve habib-i ekrem ve şefiᶜ-i ümem iki cihan güneşi peygamberimiz Muhammed Mustafa salla 'llahü teᶜala ᶜaleyh ve sellem hazretleriniñ hürmetiyçün ᶜahd ve yemin
62) ederimki ma beynde münᶜakıd olan dostluk ve sulh ve salahdan [158] ve beyan olunan şürut ve ᶜuhuddan ᶜudul ve inhiraf göstermeyem şöyle bileler ᶜalamet-i şerife iᶜtimad kılalar tahrira fi evahır-i şehr-i cümada 'l-ahıra min şühur-i sene seles ᶜaşr ve elf mine 'l-hicreti 'n-nebeviye ᶜaleyh efzalü 't-tahiyet
63) be-mekam-i Kostantiniye[159] 'l-mahruse.[160]

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157 BBA: destgahımdan.

158 BBA adds here 've şerh'.

159 V: K[o]st[a]nt[i]n[i]ye?

160 BBA has 'fi evahır-i şehr-i cümada 'l-ahıra sene 13' instead of 'şöyle bileler ᶜalamet-i şerife iᶜtimad kılalar tahrira fi evahır-i şehr-i cümada 'l-ahıra min şühur-i sene seles ᶜaşr ve elf mine 'l-hicreti 'n-nebeviye ᶜaleyh efzalü 't-tahiyet be-mekam-i Kostantiniye 'l-mahruse'.

The Venetian Capitulation of 1619

The Venetian capitulation of 1619 is preserved as an original document given by the Ottoman to the Venetians. This document is kept in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia.[1] The text of this treaty has also been published in the printed version of Ahmed Feridun Beg's *Münşe'atü 's-Selatin*.[2] A copy of this text can be found in an *ecnebi defteri* kept in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in İstanbul.[3] The present text is based on the document and the printed version.

The text

Zikrü 'llahi teᶜala aᶜla ve bi-'t-takdim ahakk ve evla[4]

Şah ᶜOsman bin Ahmed han el-muzaffer da'ima[5]

1) Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sami-mekan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 's-savni 's-samedani ve 'l-menni 's-sübhani hükmi oldur ki[6]
2) şimdikihalde ᶜavn-i ᶜinayet-i[7] rebbani ve meşiyet-i[8] hidayet-i sübhani mukareneti ile[9] ben ki[10] sultan-i selatin-i cihan ve bürhan-i havakin-i devran

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1 ASV, Documenti Turchi 1236 (= V).

2 Ahmed Feridun Beg, *Mecmuᶜa-i münşe'atü 's-selatin*, 2 vols., İstanbul 1274-1275 AH (1858)(second edition), II, 482-487 (= MS).

3 Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Maliyeden Müdevver* no. 17901, 2-4. This text is copied in a Venetian-Ragusan *ecnebi defteri* which is not kept together with the other *ecnebi defterleri*, but, for some unknown reason, ended up between *defters* from the financial department (*defterdarlık)*. On this *defter* see Faroqhi, *Handelspolitik*, 207-209.

4 V: the original *invocatio*-formula was torn off and is now glued up-side-down onto the paper next to the *tugra*. The text of the *invocatio* is not complete but the formula seems to be the same as that on the document of 1604: zikrü 'llahi teᶜala aᶜla ve bi-'t-takd[im ahakk ve evla].

5 MS omits the *invocatio*-formula and the *tugra,* but opens instead with the following rubric at page 482: 'Venedik dojına ᶜOsman han hazretleri tarafından müceddeda verilen ᶜahd-namedir'.

6 MS abbreviates the introductory formula to 'nişan-i hümayun hükmi oldur ki'.

7 MS: ᶜavn ve ᶜinayet-i.

8 MS: mahz-i.

9 MS: mukarenetiyle.

10 MS: benki.

tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin[11] sultan ᶜOsman han bin[12] sultan Ahmed han bin[13] sultan Mehemmed han ibn sultan Murad han
3) ibn sultan Selim han ibn sultan Süleyman han ibn sultan Selim[14] hanım hala mefahırü 'l-ümera'i 'l-ᶜızami 'l-ᶜiseviye meraciᶜu 'l-kübera'i 'l-fiham fi 'l-milleti 'l-mesihiye Venedik dojı olan Antoniyo Priyuli[15] ve sayir[16] begleri hutimet ᶜavakıbühüm bi-'l-hayr dergah-i seᶜadet-[17]
4) destgahıma Francesko Kontarin[18] kavaler prokurator[19] nam yarar ve muᶜtemed ᶜaleyh[20] beg-zadeyi elçi taᶜyin edüb ᶜarz-i sadakat ve ihlas eyleyüb merhumun ve magfur lehüm ceddlerim[21] sultan Süleyman han ve sultan Selim [22] ve[23] [24] Murad han ve sultan Mehemmed han[25] ve babam sultan Ahmed han
5) ᶜaleyhimi 'r-rahmet ve 'l-gufran zemanlarında dostluk ve müᶜahede oldugı üzere astane-i seᶜadetimle olan sulh ve salah ve işbu ᶜahd-name-i hümayunda[26] münderic[27] olan şürut ve ᶜuhud ke-ma kane mukarrer olub müceddeda [28] ᶜahd-name-i hümayun[29] verilmek babında

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11 MS omits '-i ru-i zemin'.

12 MS: ibn.

13 MS: ibn.

14 MS omits 'han ibn sultan Selim'.

15 V: Anton[i]yo Pr[i]yuli; MS: [A]nkoyi Pr[i]yul. Antonio Priuli, Doge of Venice 17 may 1618 - 12 August 1623.

16 MS: sa'ir.

17 MS: felek-.

18 V: Franc[e]sko Kontarin; MS: M[-]ralh[-]şko Kosar[i]s. Francesco Contarini, Venetian ambassador to Constantinople 1619.

19 V: k[a]val[e]r proku[r]ator; MS: k[a]vall[e]r pr[o]kuranor.

20 MS has 'muᶜteber' instead of 'muᶜtemed ᶜaleyh'.

21 MS had 'ecdad-i ᶜızamımız' instead of 'ceddlerim'.

22 MS adds here 'han'.

23 V: 'Selim ve' was added later in very small handwriting. The original text was: 'sultan Süleyman han […] ve sultan Murad han'; 've sultan Selim han' was thus forgotten. Now 'han ve sultan' has been omitted (there was no place to write it).

24 MS adds here 'sultan'.

25 V: at first 've sultan Mehemmed han' was omitted, but later the mistake was corrected. The words were then added above the line.

26 MS: hümayunumda.

27 MS omits 'münderic'.

28 MS adds here 'babam merhum sultan Ahmed han zemanında'.

29 MS omits '-i hümayun'.

6) istidᶜa[30] eyledikleri ecilden istidᶜaları[31] hayyiz-i kabulde vakıᶜ olub bu üslub üzere ᶜahd-name-i hümayun[32] verile deyü hatt-i hümayun-i seᶜadet-makrunumla[33] ferman-i ᶜali-şanım[34] sadır olmagın[35] müşar ileyh Venedik dojı [36] ve sayir[37] begler ile[38] sulh ve salah mukarrer

7) olub müceddeda ᶜahd-name-i hümayun[39] verilüb ve[40] ᶜahd-namede münderic olan şürut ve ᶜuhud ᶜala vechi 't-tefsil beyan olunub işbu verilen nişan-i şerifimle ᶜahd ve eman müstehkem olub ve ᶜahd-i hümayunum[41] mukarrer ve mü'ekked olmasıyçün yemin ederim ki[42]

8) yeri ve gögi[43] yaradan hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ birligi hakkı içün[44] ma dam ki[45] anlar tarafından ᶜahda muhalif iş olmaya benden[46] dahı müᶜahede-i şerifeme mugayir [47] vazᶜ sadır olmayub min baᶜd Venedik dojı ve [48] begleri[49] ve sayir[50] ademleri ile[51] ve[52] [53]deryada

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30 MS has 'istidᶜa-i ᶜinayet' instead of 'istidᶜa'.

31 MS: ricaları.

32 MS omits '-i hümayun'.

33 MS: makrunumuz ile.

34 MS: şanımız.

35 MS: olmagıla.

36 MS adds here 'ile'.

37 MS: sa'ir.

38 MS: beglerile.

39 MS omits '-i hümayun'.

40 MS has 'bu' instead of 've'.

41 MS has 'ᶜahd-name-i hümayun' instead of 'ᶜahd-i hümayun'.

42 MS: ederimki.

43 MS has 'yerleri ve gökleri' instead of 'yeri ve gögi'.

44 MS: hakkıyçün.

45 MS: ma damki.

46 MS: bundan.

47 MS adds here 'bir'.

48 MS adds here 'sa'ir.

49 MS: begleriyle.

50 MS omits 'sayir'.

51 MS: ademleriyle.

52 MS omits 've'.

53 MS: page 483.

9) ve karada iki canibe müteᶜallık olan yerleriñ ve vilayetleriñ halkı ile ve[54] Ak Deñizde vakıᶜ Tine[55] nam-i diger İstendil[56] cezиresi kalᶜası ile[57] ve sayir[58] tesarrüflerinde olan cezireler ve şehirler ve kalᶜalar ve burgazları ile[59] sulh ve salah mukarrer olub bi-'l-cümle Aya Markonuñ[60]
10) sancagın[61] götüren kimesneler ile yaşdan ve kurudan el-an tesarrüflerinde olan elleri ve köyleri ile[62] şimdiye degin tesarrüflerinde olub ve şimdensoñra kendü[63] dindaşlarından alacak yerleri[64] ile baᶜde 'l-yevm aramızda olan dostluk ve barışıklık mukarrer olub
11) ve Yanya[65] sancagı sınurunda olan Parga[66] nam mevzıᶜ ki[67] sabıka merhum ve magfur lehü[68] sultan Süleyman han nevvere 'llahü teᶜala merkadehü[69] emri ile[70] yakılub[71] yıkılmış idi[72] mezid-i ᶜinayetlerinden yine anlar canibine[73] tesarrüf olunmasın[74] emr edüb zikr olunan mevzıᶜ kullesi ile[75]

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54 MS omits 've'.

55 V: Tine; MS: T[i]ne (without diacritical marks).

56 V: [İ]st[e]ndil; MS: [İ]st[i]ne.

57 MS: kalᶜasıyla.

58 MS: sa'ir.

59 MS: burgazlarıyla.

60 V: [A]ya Marko; MS: [A]ya M[a]rko.

61 MS: sancagını.

62 MS: köyleriyle.

63 MS: kendi.

64 MS: yer.

65 V and MS: Yanya.

66 V: Parga (Barga); MS: Barga.

67 MS: mevzıᶜki.

68 MS omits 've magfur lehü'.

69 MS omits 'nevvere 'llahü teᶜala merkadehü'.

70 MS: emriyle.

71 MS: yakub.

72 MS: yıkılmışidi.

73 MS: canibinden.

74 MS has 'olunması babında' instead of 'olunmasın'.

75 MS: kullesiyle.

12) ve varoşı ile[76] ve karyeleri ile[77] ve hudud ve sınurı ile[78] merhum ceddim muma ileyh[79] hazretleri ᶜinayet eyledügi üzere anlarıñ[80] zabt ve tesarrüflerinde ola emma mezbur Parga[81] ve aña tabiᶜ olan köylerde vakıᶜ olan ademleri deñizden
13) ve kurudan[82] memalik-i mahruseme zarer ve ziyan ederler ise[83] Venedik begleri ol zarer ve ziyanı tazmin etdüreler[84] ve edenleriñ mühkem hakklarından geleler ve memalik-i mahrusemde olan sancakbeglerinden[85] ve subaşılarından ve bi-'l-cümle huddam-i encüm-ihtişamımdan[86]
14) hiç ahad[87] anlarıñ vilayetlerine ve kalᶜalarına ve burgazlarına ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler[88] ve eger cenab-i celalet-me'abıma müteᶜallık olan beglerden ve ᶜasakir-i zafer-me'asirimden[89] anlarıñ vilayetlerine ve kalᶜalarına ve burgazlarına ve ademlerine[90] zarer ve ziyan
15) erişdirirler ise[91] vakıᶜ olan zarer ve ziyan ferman-i şerifimle yerine konılub dahl edenleriñ hakklarından geleler ve mezbur begleriñ bazirganlarından ve ademlerinden memalik-i mahruseme yaşdan ve kurudan kadırga[92] ve kökeleri ve gayri[93] küçük gemileri ile[94] mahruse-i[95]

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76 MS: varoşlarıyla.

77 MS has 'köyleriyle' instead of 'karyeleri ile'.

78 MS: sınuruyla.

79 MS has 'müşar ileyh' instead of 'muma ileyh'.

80 MS omits 'anlarıñ'.

81 V: Parga (Barga); MS: Barga.

82 MS: karadan.

83 MS: ederlerse.

84 MS: edeler.

85 MS: sancak beglerinden.

86 MS has 'zevi 'l-ihtiramımdan' instead of 'encüm-ihtişamımdan'.

87 MS: kimesne.

88 MS: erişdirmeye.

89 MS: me'sirimden.

90 MS omits 've ademlerine'.

91 MS: erişdirirlerse.

92 MS: kadırgaları.

93 MS: sa'ir.

94 MD: gemileriyle.

95 MS omits 'mahruse-i'.

16) İstanbula[96] ve Galataya[97] ve diyar-i ᶜArabistandan[98] İskenderiye-i Mısriye[99] ve Gelibolıdan[100] aşga olan bogaza ve İnebahtı[101] ve Preveze[102] bogazlarına ve Moton[103] limanlarına[104] gaflet ile gelüb girmeyüb mukaddema[105] dizdarlarına tenbih[106] eyleyüb icazet ile gelüb girüb
17) meger ki[107] rüzgar şiddet üzere olmagıla[108] furtuna olub[109] ve yahud anları levend kalyataları kovub[110] ol iskelelerden gayri konacak yerleri olmayub zaruret ola[111] ol vakt[112] gelüb gireler eger mümkin ise tenbih edeler ve gitmelü olıcak
18) icazetsiz gitmeyüb muhalefet edenleriñ hakklarından geline anuñiçün[113] Venedik beglerine töhmet olunmaya ve memalik-i mahrusemden derya yüzine giden gemiler ve kadırga[114] ve donanmalar deñiz yüzünde Venedik gemilerine buluşur ise[115] birbirine[116] dostluk edüb zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler

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96 V and MS: [İ]stanbul.

97 V and MS: G[a]l[a]ta.

98 V and MS: ᶜ[A]r[a]b[i]stan.

99 V and MS: [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]ye-i M[ı]sri.

100 V and MS: G[e]libolı.

101 V and MS: İneb[a]htı (or [A]ynab[a]htı).

102 V and MS: Pr[e]v[e]ze.

103 V: M[o]ton; MS: M[o]ston.

104 MS: limanına.

105 MS: mukaddem.

106 MS: ihbar.

107 MS has 'ma damki' instead of 'meger ki'.

108 MS: olub.

109 MS: olmagıla.

110 MS: kogub.

111 MS has 'üzere olalar' instead of 'ola'.

112 MS: olvakt.

113 MS: anıñçün.

114 MS: kadırgalar.

115 MS: bulışurlarsa.

116 MS: biri birine.

19) anlar dahı ferman-i şerifle[117] derya yüzine çıkmış donanma ve kadırgalarıma[118] ve sayir[119] derya yüzünde yürüyen[120] gemiler ile buluşduklarında yelkenlerin indirüb[121] dostlukların bildüreler ve eger yelkenlerin indirüb[122] dostlukların bildirdikdensoñra zarer ve ziyan
20) edecek olur ise[123] eger gemi ve [124] adem ve [125] esbab ve tavar[126] ziyanıdır[127] her ne ise yerine konıla hemçünan anlarıñ gemileri ve kadırgaları ve donanmaları dahı[128] deñiz[129] yüzünde benim gemilerime ve yahud[130] rencber gemilerine buluşurlar ise[131] dostluk üzere geçüb zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler [132]
21) eger gemiler ve ademler ve esbab ve tavar ziyanıdır her ne ise[133] yerine koyalar ve eger ittifak düşüb harami ve levend gemisine buluşub ol harami gemisi bunlara kasd edüb[134] cenk eyleye harami gemisine bunlar galib olalar[135] hin-i müharebede[136] helak olandan[137] gayri nekadar adem

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117 MS: şerifimle.

118 MS: kadırgalar.

119 MS: sa'ir.

120 MS: yüriyen.

121 MS: yıkdırub.

122 MS omits 'dostlukların bildüreler ve eger yelkenlerin indirüb'.

123 MS: olurlarsa.

124 MS adds here 'eger'.

125 MS adds here 'eger'.

126 MS omits 've tavar'.

127 MS: ziyan olunan.

128 MS has 'dahı donanmaları ve kadırgaları ve gemileri' instead of 'gemileri ve kadırgaları ve donanmaları dahı'.

129 MS: derya.

130 MS omits 'yahud'.

131 MS: bulışurlarsa.

132 MS adds here 've'.

133 MS has 'gemi ve adem ve tavar ve esbab ziyan olunan bulunursa' instead of 'gemiler ve ademler ve esbab ve tavar ziyanıdır her ne ise'.

134 MS: eyleyüb.

135 MS: oldukda.

136 MS has 'cenk vaktinde' instead of 'hin-i müharebede'.

137 MS: olanlardan.

22) esir olub diri tutarlar ise[138] asla katl [139] etmeyüb bi-kusur sag ve salim südde-i seᶜadetime isal ve[140] irsal edeler ki[141] mühkem hakklarından gelinüb bir vechile siyaset etdüremki[142] sayire[143] muceb-i ᶜibret ola ve memalik-i mahrusemden donanma gemilerim ki[144] bir tarafa sefere gide Venedige
23) müteᶜallık olmaya Venedik donanması epsem kendü halinde dostluk üzere turub hareket etmeyüb varub[145] kimesneye muᶜavenet etmeye ve benim donanma-i hümayunuma zarer ve ziyan erişdirmesine[146] [147]sebeb olmaya benim ile[148] düşmenlik üzere olan kimesneleriñ donanmaların[149]
24) aralarına getürmeyeler ve anlara yardım ve azık vermeyeler ve[150] eger donanmalarından her kim[151] bu emrime[152] muhalefet ederse eyledügi[153] yerde Venedik begleri mühkem[154] hakklarından geleler ki[155] sayirlerine[156] muceb-i ᶜibret vakıᶜ ola ve gayri vilayetiñ dahı [157] barçalarına[158] ve kadırgalarına ve gayri
25) gemilerine rast geldükleri[159] vakt Venedik begleri kendü atalarına ve limanlarına ve hisarlarına sıgındırmayub turgurmayalar tutmak mümkin

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138 MS: tutarlarsa.

139 MS adds here 've zarer'.

140 MS omits 'isal ve'.

141 MS omits 'ki'.

142 MS: oluna ki.

143 MS: sa'irlere.

144 MS: gemilerimki.

145 MS omits 'varub'.

146 MS: erişdirmege.

147 MS: page 484.

148 MS: benimle.

149 MS: donanmalarını.

150 MS omits 've'.

151 MS: kimki.

152 MS: emre.

153 MS: eyledigi.

154 MS omits 'mühkem'.

155 MS: gerek.

156 MS: sa'irlere.

157 MS adds here 'harami'.

158 MS: parçalarına.

159 MS: geldikleri.

olursa tutub[160] mecal vermeyüb [161] hakklarından geleler benim tarafımdan dahı ol vechile[162] ᶜamel olunub gayri vilayetiñ harami
26) barçaların[163] ve kadırgaların limanlarıma[164] ve hisarlarıma[165] sıgındırmayub tutmak mümkin[166] olursa tutub mecal vermeyüb[167] hakklarından geleler[168] ve[169] Venedikden[170] biri gelüb[171] memalik-i mahrusemden[172] bir kimesne ile[173] satu bazar[174] edüb akçesin temam vermedin hile edüb[175]
27) kaçub giderse benim hükm-i şerifimle varub taleb olundukda ol kimesne bulunursa rızkı sahıbına alıvereler ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesne varub[176] Venediklüden biriyle satu bazar[177] edüb akçesin temam eda etmedin[178] kaçub gelür ise[179] sabit olan
28) hakkı alıverile ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir[180] kimesne borc edinse ve[181] yahud bir vechile[182] müttehem olub gaybet eylese anuñiçün[183] bir günahsız

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160 MS omits 'tutub'.

161 MS adds here 'tutub'.

162 MS: olvechile.

163 MS: parçaların.

164 MS: limanıma.

165 MS: hisarıma.

166 MS omits 'mümkin'.

167 MS has 'mühkem' instead of 'tutub mecal vermeyüb'.

168 MS: gelinür.

169 MS omits 've'.

170 MS: Venediklüden.

171 MS omits 'gelüb'.

172 MS: mahrusemde.

173 MS omits 'bir kimesne ile'.

174 MS has 'satı ve pazar' instead of 'satu bazar'.

175 MS has 'vermeyüb' instead of 'temam vermedin hile edüb'.

176 MS has 'biri' instead of 'bir kimesne varub'.

177 MS has 'Venediklü ile satı pazar' instead of 'Venediklüden biriyle satu bazar'.

178 MS has 'akçesini temama vermeden' instead of 'akçesin temam eda etmedin'.

179 MS: gelürse.

180 MS omits 'bir'.

181 MS omits 've'.

182 V: 'bir vechile' was added later in very small handwriting above the line.

183 MS: anıñçün.

tutulmaya Venedik beglerine anuñiçün[184] töhmet olunmaya meger ki anlarıñ memleketine varub tura benim canibimden dahı olvechile etdürile[185] ve baylos
29) kimi dilerlerse[186] göndereler isterler ise[187] horendeleriyle[188] gelüb[189] mahruse-i Kostantiniyede[190] üç yıla karib tura temam olmadın[191] gide dilerse[192] horendesiz gelüb[193] maslahat[194] ne ise göre üç yıl temam olmadın[195] ol dahı[196] gide anıñ yerine olvechile biri dahı gele
30) ve[197] Venedikden bir esir kaçub memalik-i mahruseme gelüb müsliman olur ise[198] ve sahıbı gelürse biñ akçe verile sahıbı gelmeyüb[199] vekili gelürse [200] akçeyi vekiline vereler eger küfri üzere ise ol esir[201] ᶜaynı ile[202] verile[203] memalik-i mahrusemden kaçub

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184 MS: anıñçün.

185 MS: etdirile.

186 V: the plural suffix '-ler' was added later in very small handwriting; MS: dilerse.

187 MS: isterlerse.

188 MS: horende ile.

189 MS: göçüb.

190 V and MS: K[o]st[a]ntin[i]ye.

191 MS: olmadan.

192 MS omits 'dilerse'.

193 MS: gele.

194 MS: maslahatı.

195 MS: olmadan.

196 MS: oldahı.

197 MS omits 've'.

198 MS: olursa.

199 MS omits 'sahıbı gelmeyüb'.

200 MS adds here 'ol'.

201 MS: esiri.

202 MS: ᶜaynıyla.

203 MS: vereler.

31) anlara varur[204] ise eger müsliman ise ve[205] yahud mürtedd oldı ise[206] te[c]allül etmeyüb elbette [c]aynı ile[207] kendüyi vereler ve[208] eger küfri üzere ise sahıbına[209] ve yahud vekiline biñ akçe vereler ve[210] eger Magribiñ[211] levend kalyataları ve gayri yerlerüñ[212]
32) korsan kayıkları deryadan ve sayir[213] karadan[214] olan haramiler varub Venedige tabi[c] olan ataları ve gayri[215] yerlerin[216] urub ademlerin esir edüb götürüb Rum Elinde[217] ve Anatolıda[218] ve Magribde[219] ve sayir[220] yerlerde satub
33) ve ya[221] kendüler[222] kullanub[223] bu makule esir her kimiñ elinde bulunur ise[224] bi-la tereddüd ellerinden alınub Venedik begleriniñ bayloslarına ve ya[225]

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204 MS: varır.

205 MS omits 've'.

206 MS: oldıysa.

207 MS: [c]aynıyla.

208 MS omits 've'.

209 MS: sahıbı.

210 MS omits 've'.

211 V and MS: M[a]gr[i]b.

212 MS: yerleriñ.

213 MS: sa'ir.

214 MS: karada.

215 MS: sa'ir.

216 MS: yerleri.

217 V and MS: Rum Eli.

218 V and MS: [A]natolı.

219 V and MS: M[a]gr[i]b.

220 MS: sa'ir.

221 MS: yahud.

222 MS: kendüsi.

223 MS: kullana.

224 MS: bulunursa.

225 MS omits 'ya'.

ka'im makamlarına[226] ve ya vekillerine[227] teslim edeler ve ol harami levend[228] ele getürilüb mühkem hakklarından gelinüb[229] ve[230] ol esir müsliman
34) olmuş ise azad olub[231] salıverile ve ᶜahd-name-i hümayuna ve sulh ve salaha muhalif[232] Venedik reᶜayasını baᶜzı kimesneler[233] esir edüb elden ele kaçurmagıla[234] ihtilala baᶜis olurlar imiş imdi sulh ve salah zemanında vakıᶜ olan
35) Venedik esirleri her kimiñ elinde bulunur ise[235] müsliman olmuş ise[236] azad etdirile ve eger[237] henüz küfri üzere ise işbu ᶜahd-name-i hümayunum ve sulh ve salah mucebince[238] Venedik baylosuna ve ya[239] kendü taᶜyin etdügi ademine[240] teslim etdirilüb[241]
36) min baᶜd ᶜahd-name-i hümayuna[242] ve sulh ve salaha muhalif esir etdirilmeyüb ve[243] edenleriñ hakklarından gelinüb teᶜallül ve behane etdirilmeye deyü varid olan hatt-i hümayun mucebince nişan-i hümayun[244] verilmegin ke-ma kane ol nişan-i hümayun mucebince ᶜamel
37) oluna ve[245] Venedik gemileri memalik-i mahruseme gelürken muhalif yel çıkub ol gemi helak olub nemıkdar adem kurtılursa azad ola esbabları

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226 MS: ka'immakamlarına.

227 MS: kendülerine.

228 V: added later in very small handwriting.

229 MS: geline.

230 MS: eger.

231 MS: olunub.

232 MS: mugayir.

233 MS omits 'baᶜzı kimesneler'.

234 MS: kaçırmagıla.

235 MS: bulunursa.

236 MS has 'oldıysa' instead of 'olmuş ise'.

237 MS omits 've eger'.

238 MS omits 'işbu ᶜahd-name-i hümayunum ve sulh ve salah mucebince'.

239 MS has 'vere' instead of 've ya'.

240 MS: ademisine.

241 MS: etdirib.

242 MS has 'ᶜahd-nameye mugayir' instead of 'ᶜahd-name-i hümayuna'.

243 MS omits 've'.

244 MS: ᶜali-şan.

245 MS omits 've'.

kurtılursa sahıbına verile kapudan canibinden ve ademlerinden ve sayirlerinden[246] kat^{c}a dahl [247]
38) olunmaya ve eger[248] memalik-i mahrusemden ol tarafa bir gemi varur iken muhalif yel çıka ol gemi helak olursa[249] Venediklüden[250] adem kurtılursa anlara[251] dahl olunmayub esbabları sahıbına verile kat^{c}a dahl ve niza^{c}[252] olunmaya ve[253] eger memalik-i mahrusemden[254]
39) [255]şol yerlerden ki[256] kadırga ve kayıkları[257] ve gayri[258] gemiler derya yüzine çıkub gitdikleri vakt ki[259] kapudanım anlar ile bile olmaya ol[260] gemileriñ re'isleri mühkem[261] kefillere[262] verile[263] [264] ki varub Venedik memleketine[265] zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler eger kefil vermedin[266]
40) giderler ise[267] mücrim ve günehkar[268] olalar mühkem hakklarından geline ve[269] eger kefil verdikdensoñra zarer ederler ise ne zarer ve ziyan[270] olursa

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246 V: the plural suffix '-ler' is added later in very small handwriting; MS: sa'irlerden.

247 MS adds here 've te^{c}arruz'.

248 MS omits 'eger'.

249 MS has 'olan gemiler oltarafa varırken helak olsa' instead of 'ol tarafa bir gemi varur iken muhalif yel çıka ol gemi helak olursa'.

250 MS: Venediklülerden.

251 MS omits 'anlara'.

252 MS omits 've niza^{c}'.

253 MS omits 've'.

254 MS: mahruseden.

255 MS: page 485.

256 MS: yerlerdenki.

257 MS: kayıklar.

258 MS: sa'ir.

259 MS: vaktki.

260 MS omits 'ol'.

261 MS: kavi.

262 MS: kefiller.

263 MS: vere.

264 MS adds her 'ta'.

265 MS: vilayetlerine.

266 MS: vermeden.

267 MS: giderlerse.

268 MS: günahkar.

269 MS omits 've'.

270 MS has 'zarer ve ziyan' instead of 'zarer ederler ise ne zarer ve ziyan'.

kefilleri vereler[271] hemçünan Venedik canibinden dahı derya yüzine [272] gemileri çıka Venedik kapudanı[273] bile olmaya re'isleri
41) mühkem[274] kefillere[275] verdikdensoñra memalik-i mahruseme zarer ve ziyan yetişdirirler ise[276] olan zarer ve ziyanı[277] kefilleri vereler[278] eger kefilsiz giderler ise[279] mücrim ve günehkar[280] olalar mühkem hakklarından geline ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir harac-güzar ve yahud bir ᶜamil
42) kaçub Venedige müteᶜallık kalᶜalara ve atalara varub temekkün etse kabul olunmaya varan ademlere teᶜallül etmeyüb ᶜaynı ile[281] vereler ve şöyleki[282] adem öldürüb[283] ve yahud[284] ugurluk[285] edüb rızk götürür ise[286] ᶜaynı ile vereler benim canibimden dahı
43) olvechile etdirilüb ol tarafdan adem öldürüb ve yahud ugurluk edüb rızk götürürler[287] ise ᶜaynı ile vereler[288] ve Venediklünüñ birbiri[289] arasında nizaᶜları olsa[290] baylosları ᶜadetlerince diñleye kimesne maniᶜ olmaya ve bir kimesneniñ baylos ile

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271 MS: vere.

272 MS adds here 'Venedik'.

273 MS has 'kapudanları' instead of 'Venedik kapudanı'.

274 MS: kavi.

275 MS: kefiller.

276 MS has 'erişürse' instead of 'yetişdirirler ise'.

277 MS omits 'olan zarer ve ziyanı'.

278 MS: vere.

279 MS: giderlerse.

280 MS: günahkar.

281 MS: ᶜaynıyla.

282 MS: şöyle ki.

283 MS: öldirüb.

284 MS: ya.

285 MS: ugrılık.

286 MS: götürürlerse.

287 V: the plural suffix '-ler' is added later in very small handwriting.

288 MS omits 'benim canibimden dahı olvechile etdirilüb ol tarafdan adem öldürüb ve yahud ugurluk edüb rızk götürürler ise ᶜaynı ile vereler'.

289 MS: biri biri.

290 MS: oldukda.

44) nizaᶜı olsa[291] şöyleki[292] südde-i seᶜadetimden[293] mahruse-i[294] İstanbulda[295] ola vakıᶜ olan[296] kaziyesi divan-i ᶜali-şan-i seᶜadet-aşiyanımda[297] istimaᶜ oluna ve[298] lakin ben seᶜadetle sefer-i hümayunda bulunacak olursam anuñ[299] gibi baylos ile[300] vakıᶜ olan

45) münazeᶜa[301] İstanbul[302] mühafezasıyçün konulan[303] hakim huzurunda kazi maᶜrifeti ile[304] istimaᶜ oluna ve şöyleki[305] Venedik bazirganları ile[306] bir kimesneniñ nizaᶜı vakıᶜ[307] olub kaziye varalar[308] Venediklünüñ kendü tercümanları hazır[309] olmayınca kazi

46) olan[310] daᶜvaların istimaᶜ etmeye[311] emma anlar dahı teᶜallül edüb[312] tercüman hazır degildir deyü ᶜavk etmeyüb[313] tercümanları ihzar edüb[314] eger

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291 MS: olursa.

292 MS: şöyle ki.

293 MS: seᶜadetden.

294 MS: mahmiye-i.

295 V and MS: [İ]stanbul.

296 MS has 'vakıᶜ ola' instead of ola vakıᶜ olan'.

297 MS has 'divan-i ᶜali-şanımda' instead of 'divan-i ᶜali-şan-i seᶜadet-aşiyanımda'.

298 MS omits 've'.

299 MS: anıñ.

300 MS omits 'baylos ile'.

301 MS: nizaᶜ.

302 V and MS: [İ]stanbul.

303 MS: konılan.

304 MS: maᶜrifetiyle.

305 MS omits 'şöyleki'.

306 MS: bazirganlarıyla.

307 MS omits 'vakıᶜ'.

308 MS: vardıkda.

309 MS omits 'hazır'.

310 MS: omits 'olan'.

311 MS: eylemeye.

312 MS: etmeyüb.

313 MS: etmeyeler.

314 MS omits 'tercümanları ihzar edüb'.

tercümanları mühimm maslahatda ise gelince tevakkuf oluna[315] ve baylos olanı aharıñ[316] borcı ve deyni[317] içün
47) kimesne[318] rencide etmeyüb müzayeka vermeyeler ve[319] nesne ödetmeyeler emma müddeᶜi olanlar medyunları sakin oldugı yere[320] varub hakimi[321] maᶜrifetiyle hakk ve ᶜadl üzere taleb oluna baylos dahı bu ahvaliñ fasl olunmasın[322] Venedik beglerine iᶜlam ede[323]
48) ve[324] Venedikden İnebahtı[325] ve Mora[326] ve sayir[327] memalik-i mahruseme[328] bir[329] bazirgan[330] ki gele gayri kimesne borcı içün anı[331] tutub incitmeyeler ve[332] Venediklü bazirgan Brusaya[333] ve gayri bir[334] yere gitmek isteye[335] baylosundan[336] icazet-name[337] almayınca gitmeyeler eger temerrüd edüb
49) icazetsiz gitmek isterse subaşı baylosa[338] muᶜavenet edüb koyuvermeye ve Venedikden gelen gemileriñ neftileri memalik-i mahrusemde hidmete

315 MS: edeler.

316 MS: gayrileriñ.

317 MS omits 've deyni'.

318 MS omits 'kimesne'.

319 MS has 'bir' instead of 'müzayeka vermeyeler ve'.

320 MS: yerlere.

321 MS: hakim.

322 MS: olunmasını.

323 MS: eyleye.

324 MS omits 've'.

325 V and MS: İneb[a]htı.

326 V and MS: Mora.

327 MS: sa'ir.

328 MS: mahrusemden.

329 MS: birinde.

330 MS: bazirganlar.

331 MS omits 'anı'.

332 MS omits 've'.

333 V and MS: Brusa.

334 MS omits 'bir'.

335 MS has 'gitmelü oldukda' instead of 'gitmek isteye'.

336 MS: baylosdan.

337 MS: icazet.

338 MS: baylosı.

tutulmayub nice geldi ise[339] gemileri ile[340] gideler ve Venedikden gelüb temekkün eden kimesneler evlü olsun ergen
50) olsun ma dam ki[341] gelüb gidüb rencberlik edüb memalik-i mahrusemde yerleşmeye[342] varub girü gide[343] anlardan harac taleb olunmaya ve[344] Venediklünüñ[345] baᶜzı [346] harac-güzar kafir ile nizaᶜları olub[347] hin-i daᶜvada[348] Venediklü [349] şahidler[350] ikamet ederler imiş[351]
51) hasm olanlar bu yer kafirlerinden gerekdir deyü müzayeka verüb[352] Venediklü nasranileriñ şehadetlerin[353] kabul etmezler[354] imiş imdi cümle nasara [355] millet-i vahıde[356] oldugı ecilden gerekdir ki anlarıñ eger[357] kefere ile nizaᶜları olub ikamet-i şahide

339 MS: geldiyse.

340 MS: öyle.

341 MS: ma damki.

342 MS: yerleşmeyüb.

343 MS: gideler.

344 MS omits 've'.

345 MS: Venediklüden.

346 MS adds here 'kimesneniñ'.

347 MS: oldukda.

348 MS omits 'hin-i daᶜvada'.

349 MS adds here 'daᶜvasına'.

350 MS: şahid.

351 MS: edermiş.

352 MS has 'taᶜciz edüb' instead of 'müzayeka verüb'.

353 MS: şehadetiñ.

354 MS: etmez.

355 MS adds here 'bir'.

356 MS omits '-i vahıde'.

357 MS omits 'eger'.

52) ihtiyac olursa[358] kefere ta'ifesinden kankı[359] sınıfdan ki[360] şahid ikamet edüb[361] şerᶜ-i şerif-i nebevi[362] muktezasınca isbat edeler[363] kabul oluna[364] ve[365] Venedikden[366] bir bazirgan memalik-i mahrusemde yolda ve izde ve köyde basılub rızkı alınsa ve yahud basıldıkda

53) bazirgan depelenmiş olsa ve ya[367] ga'ib[368] olsa varisi ve yahud[369] vekili gelür ise[370] şerᶜile görilüb hakk yerine vara ve[371] Venediklüden bir bazirgan memalik-i mahruseme[372] gelüb ticaret üzere[373] kendü halinde [374] yürürken[375] mürd olsa metrukatına

54) beytü 'l-malcılar[376] karışmayub bayloslarına teslim edeler ve Magrib[377] müslimanlarından ve bunlardan gayri[378] sayir[379] yerleriñ bazirganları ki beyᶜ

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358 MS: oldukda.

359 MS: kangı.

360 MS: sınıfdanki.

361 MS: ederler.

362 MS omits '-i nebevi'.

363 MS: ederlerse.

364 V: added later in very small handwriting.

365 MS omits 've'.

366 MS: Venediklüden.

367 MS: yahud.

368 MS: gayib.

369 MS: ya.

370 MS: gelürse.

371 MS omits 've'.

372 MS: mahrusemde.

373 MS omits 'gelüb ticaret üzere'.

374 MS adds here 'ticaret üzere'.

375 MS: yürür iken.

376 MS: beytü 'l-mal.

377 V and MS: M[a]gr[i]b.

378 MS omits 'bunlardan gayri'.

379 MS: sa'ir.

ve şira etmek içün[380] yaşdan ve kurudan [381] gelmelü olıcak ki[382] Venedik hükm etdügi yerlere ugraya[383] [384] ᶜadet ve kanunları[385] üzere
55) [386] metaᶜlarınıñ[387] rüsumun aldıkdan soñra[388] maniᶜ olmayalar[389] ve zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler[390] memalik-i mahruseme nice dilerler ise[391] gelüb gideler ve Korfuzdan[392] yukaru [393] bogazda yürüyen[394] gemiler Venediklü olsun gayri olsun ki[395] Venedige ticarete
56) varalar ve geleler kimesne maniᶜ olmaya ve zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler meger ki yaramazlık etmiş olalar ve bir[396] Venedik gemisi ᶜadet ve kanun üzere İstanbulda[397] aranub gitdikdensoñra ki[398] kanun-i kadim üzere bir [399] dahı bogaz hisarları[400]
57) öñüne vardukda[401] aranub andansoñra gitmege icazet verile ve hala[402] kanun-i kadime muhalif Gelibolıda[403] dahı aranur imiş min baᶜd

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380 MS omits 'ki beyᶜ ve şira etmek içün'.

381 MS adds here 'beyᶜ ve şira etmek içün'.

382 MS omits 'ki'.

383 MS: ugradıkda.

384 MS adds here 'metaᶜlarınıñ'.

385 MS: kanun.

386 MS: page 486.

387 MS omits 'metaᶜlarınıñ'.

388 MS: aldıkdansoñra.

389 MS: olmaya.

390 MS: erişdirmeye.

391 MS: dilerlerse.

392 V: Korfuz; MS: Korf[u]zdan.

393 MS adds here 've'.

394 MS: yüriyen.

395 MS omits 'ki'.

396 MS omits 've bir'.

397 V and MS: [İ]stanbul.

398 MS omits 'ki'.

399 MS adds here 'kerre'.

400 MS: hisarı.

401 MS: vardıkda.

402 MS omits 've hala'.

403 V and MS: G[e]libolı.

Gelibolıda[404] aranmayub ᶜadet-i kadime muktezasınca[405] girü heman bogaz hisarları öñünde[406] aranub gide ve Zaklise[407]
58) ceziresiyçün[408] sal be-sal astane-i seᶜadetime biñ beşyüz sikke altun irsal ve isal edeler ve[409] memalik-i mahruseme ᶜArabistan[410] memleketleri feth olundugı zemandan berü[411] olıgelen[412] üslub-i kadim üzere iki pare mavnaları[413] Mısır İskenderiyesine[414]
59) ve iki kıtᶜa mavnaları dahı[415] mahruse-i Şama[416] tabiᶜ [417] Trablus[418] ve Beyrut[419] iskelelerine[420] olıgeldügi[421] üzere esbab ve metaᶜlar[422] ile mukarrer olan vaktde[423] ve mevsimlerde gelüb gideler vaktinden[424] ve mevsiminden te'hir etmeyüb eger iki mavnalardır[425] ve eger
60) dahı ziyadedir ve eger büyük ve [426] küçük gemileridir şimdiye degin nevechile gelüb gidüb beyᶜ ve şira ede gelmişler ise[427] girü olvechile[428] edüb

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404 V: G[e]libolı. MS omits 'dahı aranur imiş min baᶜd Gelibolıda'.

405 MS omits 'ᶜadet-i kadime muktezasınca'.

406 MS has 'hisarında' instead of 'hisarları öñünde'.

407 V: Zaklise; MS: Zaklisa.

408 MS: ceziresi içün.

409 MS omits 've'.

410 V and MS: ᶜ[A]r[a]b[i]stan.

411 MS: zemandanberü.

412 MS: ola gelen.

413 MS: maᶜunaları.

414 V and MS: M[ı]s[ı]r [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]yesi.

415 MS: maᶜunalarıdahı.

416 V and MS: Şam.

417 MS adds here 'olan'.

418 V: Tr[a]blus; MS: Trabl[u]s.

419 V and MS: B[e]yrut.

420 MS has 'Beyruta' instead of 'Beyrut iskelelerine'.

421 MS: ola geldügi.

422 MS: metaᶜları.

423 MS: vakt.

424 MS: zeman.

425 MS: maᶜunalarıdır.

426 MS adds here 'eger'.

427 MS: gelmişlerse.

428 V: added later in very small handwriting; MS omits 'olvechile'.

olıgelene[429] muhalif niza^{c} etmeyeler ve mahruse-i İstanbulda[430] ve Beyrut[431] ve Trablus[432] iskelelerinde ve sayir[433] yerlerde[434] eger akçe[435] ve[436] eger
61) meta^{c}dan evvelden olıgelene muhalif ihdas olunan bid^{c}atlar ref^{c} olunub kadimden nice olıgeldi[437] ise aña göre ^{c}amel olunub kanun-i kadime muhalif kimesneye te^{c}addi etdirilmeye ve[438] merhum ceddim sultan Süleyman han[439] zeman-i şerifinde[440]
62) verilen ^{c}ahd-name-i hümayun[441] muktezasınca[442] mu^{c}tad-i kadimden ziyade gümrük taleb olunmayub[443] gümrük hususunda kanun-i kadim olan[444] kanun-name defteri mucebince müstekıllen[445] emr-i şerif verile ki dergah-i mu^{c}allamda ve Şam Trablusunda[446] ve Mısır İskenderiyesinde[447]
63) ve sayir[448] memalik-i mahrusemde sakin olan Venedik baylosları ve konsolosları ol emri temessük edeler ve mezbur mavnalara[449] ve sayir[450]

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429 MS: ola gelene.

430 V and MS: [İ]stanbul.

431 V and MS: B[e]yrut.

432 V: Tr[a]blus; Trabl[u]s.

433 MS: sa'ir.

434 MS: iskelelerde.

435 MS: akçeden.

436 MS omits 've'.

437 MS: ola gelmiş.

438 MS omits 'kanun-i kadime muhalif kimesneye te^{c}addi etdirilmeye ve'.

439 MS omits 'han'.

440 MS: şeriflerinde.

441 MS omits '-i hümayun'.

442 MS: mucebince.

443 MS has 'gümrük alınub ziyade taleb olunmaya' instead of 'mu^{c}tad-i kadimden ziyade gümrük taleb olunmayub'.

444 MS has 'mu^{c}tad-i kadim olan' instead of 'kanun-i kadim olan'.

445 MS: müstekıll.

446 V: Şam Tr[a]blusı; MS: Şam Trabl[u]sı.

447 V and MS: M[ı]s[ı]r [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]yesi.

448 MS: sa'ir.

449 MS: ma^{c}unalara.

450 MS: sa'ir.

gemilerine ve tacirlerine ve metaᶜlarına beglerbegilerimden ve beglerimden[451] ve sayir[452] kullarımdan hiç ahad kanun-i kadime muhalif
64) zulm ve teᶜaddi etmeye emn üzere olalar kimesne anları rencide etmeye ve Arnavudlukda[453] ve Bosna[454] vilayetinde[455] olan yerleriñ baᶜzı[456] bu canibiñ tesarrüfüne girüb ve baᶜzı[457] Venedik begleriniñ ellerindedir iki canibiñ ellerinde olan hisarlaruñ[458]
65) kadimi sınurı ve karyeleri vere bozulmadın[459] nevechile zabt oluna gelmiş ise min baᶜd [460] olvechile zabt oluna deyü bu babda tarafeynden mezbur vilayetleriñ hakimlerine müceddeda emirler gönderilüb tenbih olunub ve[461] sabıka Bosna[462] begi olan Ferhad bege
66) emirler varid olub Yakomo Soranso[463] nam Venedik elçisi müvacehesinde sınur katᶜ olunub nevechile taᶜyin ve tebyin[464] oldı ise[465] vükuᶜı üzere ᶜamel oluna ve mukaddema fitretdensoñra[466] merhum ve magfur lehü[467] ceddim [468] sultan Selim[469] han[470]

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451 MS omits 've beglerimden'.

452 MS: sa'ir.

453 V: [A]rnav[u]dl[u]k; MS: [A]rn[a]budl[u]k.

454 V and MS: Bosna.

455 MS: vilayetlerinde.

456 MS: baᶜzısı.

457 MS: baᶜzısı.

458 MS: hisarlarıñ.

459 MS: bozulmadan.

460 MS adds here 'yine'.

461 MS omits 've'.

462 V and MS: Bosna.

463 V: Yak[o]mo Soranso; MS: Yakomos Rahu. Jacopo or Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian ambassador ('oratore') to Constantinople 1582.

464 MS omits 've tebyin'.

465 MS: olundıysa.

466 MS: fitretden soñra.

467 MS omits 'merhum ve magfur lehü'.

468 MS adds here 'merhum'.

469 MS: Süleyman.

470 MS omits 'han'.

67) zemanında tekrar sulh olundukda üç yıla degin vermege müteᶜahhid oldukları üçyüz biñ altunı tedricle[471] bi-kusur eda etdükleri[472] hızane-i ᶜamiremde mahfuz olan defterde mukayyed olub ve[473] merhumun ve magfur lehüm[474] ceddlerim[475] sultan
68) Süleyman han[476] ve sultan Selim han[477] ve sultan Murad han[478] ve sultan Mehemmed han[479] ve babam sultan Ahmed han tabe serahüm zemanlarında zikr olunan filoriden gayri sayir[480] vakıᶜ olan[481] şartları[482] ve ᶜahdları[483] bi-'t-temam yerine getürdükleri
69) ecilden tekrar[484] işbu ᶜahd-namede [485] derc olunmamışdır min baᶜd ol hususlar[486] içün dahl ve teᶜarruz olunmaya ve[487] merhumun zemanlarında ve cülus-i hümayunumdan soñra[488] verilen ahkam-i şerifeyi ke-ma kane mukarrer tutdum[489] ma dam ki[490] südde-i seniye-i seᶜadet-
70) destgahımda[491] kurudan ve yaşdan düşmenlik üzere olanlara Venedik dojı ve begleri kavlen ve fiᶜlen[492] muᶜin ve zahir olmayalar vakıᶜ olan sulh ve

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471 MS omits 'tedricle'.

472 MS: etdikleri'.

473 MS omits 've'.

474 MS omits 've magfur lehüm'.

475 MS: ecdadım.

476 MS omits 'han'.

477 MS omits 'han'.

478 MS omits 'han'.

479 MS omits 'han'.

480 MS: sa'ir.

481 MS omits 'vakıᶜ olan'.

482 MS: şürut.

483 MS: ᶜuhudı.

484 MS omits 'tekrar'.

485 MS adds here 'tekrar'.

486 MS: olhususlar.

487 MS omits 've'.

488 MS has 'hümayunumda' instead of 'hümayunumdan soñra'.

489 MS: tutub.

490 MS: ma damki.

491 MS has 'südde-i seᶜadetimle' instead of 'südde-i seniye-i seᶜadet-destgahımda'.

492 MS: kavla ve fiᶜla.

salahdan tecavüz etdirmeyem[493] ben dahı[494] hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ[495] ululugı
71) [496]ve vahdaniyeti hakkı içün[497] ve habib-i ekrem ve şefiᶜ-i ümem iki cihan güneşi peygamberimiz Muhammed Mustafa salla 'llahü ᶜaleyh ve sellem [498] hazretleriniñ hürmeti içün[499] ᶜahd ve yemin ederim ki[500] ma beynde münᶜakıd olan dostluk ve sulh ve salahdan ve şerh ve beyan olunan
72) şürut ve ᶜuhuddan ᶜudul ve inhiraf göstermeyem [501] tahriren[502] fi evahır-i şehr-i muharremü 'l-haram min şühur-i sene seman ve ᶜişrin ve elf mine 'l-hicreti 'n-nebeviye[503]
73) be-mekam-i darü 's-saltanet Kostantiniye[504] 'l-mahruse 'l-mahmiye.[505]

493 MS: etdirmem.

494 MS: bendahı.

495 MS has 'teᶜalanıñ' instead of 'teᶜala hazretleriniñ'.

496 MS: page 487.

497 MS: hakkıyçün.

498 MS adds here 'efendimiz'.

499 MS: hürmetiyçün.

500 MS: ederimki.

501 MS adds here 'şöyle bilesiz'.

502 MS: tahrira.

503 MS has 'sene 1028' instead of 'min şühur-i sene seman ve ᶜişrin ve elf mine 'l-hicreti 'n-nebeviye'.

504 V: K[o]st[a]ntin[i]ye.

505 MS omits the complete *locatio*-formula.

The Venetian Capitulation of 1625

The present text is based on the original document issued by the Ottoman chancery and now kept in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia.[1] A copy of this text can be found in a Venetian-Ragusan *ecnebi defteri* preserved in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in İstanbul.[2]

The text

Hüve

Hüve 'llahü 'l-ᶜazizü 'l-gani 'l-muᶜin

Şah Murad bin Ahmed han el-muzaffer da'ima

1) Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sami-mekan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 's-savni 's-samedani hükmi oldur ki
2) şimdikihalde ᶜavn-i ᶜinayet-i rebbani ve meşiyet-i hidayet-i sübhani mukareneti ile ben ki sultan-i selatin-i cihan ve bürhan-i havakin-i devran tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin sultan Murad han ibn sultan Ahmed han ibn sultan Mehemmed han ibn sultan
3) Murad han ibn sultan Selim han ibn sultan Süleyman han ibn sultan Selim hanım hala mefahırü 'l-ümera'i 'l-ᶜızami 'l-ᶜiseviye meraciᶜu kübera'i[3] 'l-fiham fi 'l-milleti 'l-mesihiye Venedik dojı olan Civane Kornar[4] ve sayir begleri hutimet ᶜavakıbühüm bi-'l-hayr dergah-i seᶜadet-
4) destgahıma Simon Kontari[5] kavaliyer prokurator[6] nam yarar ve muᶜtemed ᶜaleyh beg-zade'i elçi taᶜyin edüb ᶜarz-i sadakat ve ihlas eyleyüb merhumun

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1 ASV, Documenti Turchi 1318 (= V). The same document (together with a modern Italian translation) is published in Pedani, *Dimora*, 73-91.

2 Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Maliyeden Müdevver* no. 6004, 118-120. This text is copied in a Venetian-Ragusan *ecnebi defteri* which is not kept together with the other *ecnebi defterleri*, but, for some unknown reason, ended up among *defter*s from the financial department (*defterdarlık*). On this *defter* see Faroqhi, *Handelspolitik*, 207-209.

3 V: must be 'l-kübera'i.

4 V: C[i]vane Kornar. Giovanni I Corner, Doge of Venice 4 January 1625 - 23 December 1629.

5 V: Simon Kontari. Simone Contarini, Venetian ambassador to Constantinople 1624-1625.

6 V: k[a]val[i]y[e]r pr[o]kurator.

ceddlerim sultan Süleyman han ve sultan Selim han ve sultan Murad han ve sultan Mehemmed han ve babam sultan Ahmed han ve karındaşım sultan
5) ᶜOsman han ᶜaleyhimi 'r-rahmet ve 'l-gufran zemanlarında dostluk ve müᶜahede oldugı üzere astane-i seᶜadetimle olan sulh ve salah ve işbu ᶜahd-name-i hümayunda münderic olan şürut ve ᶜuhud ke-ma kane mukarrer olub müceddeda ᶜahd-name-i hümayun verilmek babında istidᶜa etdikleri
6) ecilden istidᶜaları hayyiz-i kabulde vakıᶜ olub bu üslub üzere ᶜahd-name-i hümayun verile deyü hatt-i hümayun-i seᶜadet-makrunumla ferman-i ᶜali-şanım sadır olmagın müşar ileyh Venedik dojı ile ve sayir begler ile sulh ve salah mukarrer olub müceddeda ᶜahd-name-i hümayun verilüb
7) ve ᶜahd-namede münderic olan şürut ve ᶜuhud ᶜala vechi 't-tefsil beyan olunub işbu verilen nişan-i şerifimle ᶜahd ve eman müstehkem olub ve ᶜahd-i hümayunum mukarrer ve mü'ekked olmasıyçün yemin ederimki yeri ve gögi yaradan hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ birligi hakkı içün
8) ma dam ki anlar tarafından ᶜahda muhalif iş olmaya benden dahı muᶜahede-i şerifime mugayir vazᶜ sadır olmayub min baᶜd[7] Venedik dojı ve sayir begleri ile ve ademleri ile ve deryada ve karada iki canibe müteᶜallık olan yerleriñ ve vilayetleriñ halkı ile ve Ak Deñizde vakıᶜ Tine[8]
9) İstendil[9] ceziresi ve kalᶜasıyla ve sayir tesarrüflerinde olan cezireler ve şehirler ve kalᶜalar ve burgazları ile sulh ve salah mukarrer olub ve bi-'l-cümle Aya Markonuñ[10] sancagın götüren kimesneler ile yaşdan ve kurudan el-an tesarrüflerinde olan elleri ve köyleri ile şimdiye degin
10) tesarrüflerinde olub ve şimdensoñra kendü dindaşlarından alacak yerleriyle baᶜde 'l-yevm aramızda olan dostluk ve barışıklık mukarrer olub ve Yanya[11] sancagı sınurunda olan Parga[12] nam mevzıᶜ ki sabıka merhum ve magfur lehü sultan Süleyman han nevvere 'llahü merkadehü emri ile
11) yakılub yıkılmış idi mezid-i ᶜinayetlerinden yine anlar canibine tesarrüf olunmasın emr edüb zikr olunan mevzıᶜ kalᶜasıyla ve varoşı ile ve karyeleri ile ve hudud ve sınurı ile merhum ceddim muma ileyh hazretleri ᶜinayet eyledügi üzere anlarıñ zabt ve tesarrüflerinde ola

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7 V: added later in very small handwriting above the line.

8 V: Tine.

9 V: [İ]st[e]ndil.

10 V: [A]ya Marko.

11 V: Yanya.

12 V: Parga (Barga).

12) emma mezbur Parga[13] ve aña tabiᶜ olan köylerde vakıᶜ olan ademleri deñizden ve kurudan memalik-i mahruseme zarer ve ziyan ederlerse Venedik begleri ol zarer ve ziyanı tazmin etdüreler ve edenleriñ mühkem hakklarından geleler ve memalik-i mahrusemde olan
13) sancakbeglerinden ve subaşılarından ve bi-'l-cümle huddam-i encüm-ihtişamımdan hiç ahad anlarıñ vilayetlerine ve kalᶜalarına ve burgazlarına ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler ve eger cenab-i celalet-me'abıma müteᶜallık olan beglerden ve ᶜasakir-i zafer-me'sirimden anlaruñ
14) vilayetlerine ve kalᶜalarına ve burgazlarına ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan erişdürürlerse vakıᶜ olan zarer ve ziyan ferman-i şerifimle yerine konılub dahl edenleriñ hakklarından geleler ve mezbur begleriñ bazirganlarından ve ademlerinden memalik-i mahruseme yaşdan ve kurudan
15) kadırga ve kökeleri ve gayri küçük gemileri ile mahruse-i İstanbula[14] ve Galataya[15] ve diyar-i ᶜArabistandan[16] İskenderiye-i Mısriye[17] ve Gelibolıdan[18] aşga olan bogaza ve İnebahtı[19] ve Preveze[20] bogazlarına ve Moton[21] limanlarına gaflet ile gelüb girmeyüb mukaddema dizdarlarına
16) tenbih eyleyüb icazet ile gelüb girüb meger ki rüzgar şiddet üzere olmagıla furtuna olub ve yahud anları levend kalyataları kovub ol iskelelerden gayri konacak yerleri olmayub zaruret ola ol vakt gelüb gireler eger mümkin ise tenbih edeler ve gitmelü olıcak
17) icazetsiz gitmeyüb muhalefet edenleriñ hakklarından geline anuñiçün Venedik beglerine töhmet olunmaya ve memalik-i mahrusemden derya yüzine giden gemiler ve kadırga ve donanmalar deñiz yüzünde Venedik gemilerine buluşursa birbirine dostluk edüb zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler anlar dahı ferman-i şerif ile
18) derya yüzine çıkmış donanma ve kadırgalarıma ve sayir derya yüzünde yürüyen gemiler ile buluşduklarında yelkenlerin indirüb dostlukların

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13 V: Parga (Barga).

14 V: [İ]stanbul.

15 V: G[a]l[a]ta.

16 V: cA]r[a]b[i]stan.

17 V: [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]ye-i M[ı]sri.

18 V: G[e]libolı.

19 V: İneb[a]htı.

20 V: Prev[e]ze.

21 V: M[o]ton.

bildüreler ve eger yelkenlerin indirüb dostlukların bildirdikden soñra zarer ve ziyan edecek olur ise eger gemi ve adem ve esbab ve tavar ziyanıdır
19) her ne ise yerine konula hemçünan anlarıñ gemileri ve kadırgaları ve donanmaları dahı deñiz yüzünde benim gemilerüme ve yahud rencber gemilerine buluşurlar ise dostluk üzere geçüb zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler ve eger gemiler ve ademler ve esbab ve tavar ziyanıdır her ne ise yerine koyalar
20) ve eger ittifak düşüb harami levend gemisine buluşub ol harami gemisi bunlara kasd edüb cenk ile[22] harami gemisine bunlar galib olalar hin-i müharebede helak olandan gayri nekadar adem esir olub diri tutarlarsa asla katl etmeyüb
21) bi-kusur sag ve salim südde-i se^{c}adetime isal ve irsal edeler ki mühkem hakklarından gelinüb bir veçhile siyaset etdürem ki sayirlerine mucib-i ^{c}ibret ola ve memalik-i mahrusemden donanma gemilerim ki bir tarafa sefere gide Venedige müte^{c}allık olmaya Venedik donanması epsem kendü halinde dostluk
22) üzere turub ve hareket etmeyüb varub kimesneye mu^{c}avenet etmeye ve benim donanma-i hümayunuma zarer ve ziyan erişdürmesine sebeb olmaya benimle düşmenlik üzere olan kimesneleriñ donanmaların aralarına getürmeyeler ve anlara yardım ve azık vermeyeler
23) ve eger donanmalarından her kim bu emrime muhalefet ederse eyledügi yerde Venedik begleri mühkem hakklarından geleler ki sayirlerine muceb-i ^{c}ibret vakı^{c} ola ve gayri vilayetiñ dahı[23] barçalarına ve kadırgalarına ve gayri gemilerine rast geldikleri vakt Venedik begleri kendü atalarına ve limanlarına ve hisarlarına sıgındırmayub
24) turgurmayalar tutmak mümkin olursa tutub mecal vermeyüb hakklarından geleler benim tarafımdan dahı olveçhile ^{c}amel olunub gayri vilayetiñ harami barçaların ve kadırgaların limanlarıma ve hisarlarıma sıgındırmayub tutmak mümkin olursa tutub mecal vermeyüb hakklarından geleler ve Venedikden biri
25) gelüb memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesne ile satu bazar edüb akçesin temam vermedin hile edüb kaçub giderse benim hükm-i şerifimle varub taleb olundukda ol kimesne bulunursa rızkı sahıbına alıvereler ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesne varub Venediklüden biri ile satu bazar edüb
26) akçesin eda etmedin kaçub gelürse sabit olan hakkı alıverile ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesne borc edinse ve yahud bir veçhile müttehem olub

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22 V: must be 'eyleye'.

23 V: added later in very small handwriting above the line.

gaybet eylese anuñiçün bir günahsız tutulmaya Venedik beglerine anuñiçün töhmet olunmaya meger ki anlarıñ memleketine varub tura benim canibimden dahı olveçhile etdürile
27) ve baylos kimi dilerlerse göndüreler isterlerse horendeleriyle gelüb mahruse-i Kostantiniyede[24] üç yıla karib tura temam olmadın gide dilerse horendesiz gele maslahat ne ise göre üç yıl temam olmadın ol dahı gide anıñ yerine olveçhile biri dahı gele ve Venedikden bir esir kaçub memalik-i mahruseme gelüb müsliman
28) olursa ve sahıbı gelürse biñ akçe verile sahıbı gelmeyüb vekili gelürse akçe'i vekiline vereler eger küfri üzere ise ol esir ᶜaynı ile verile memalik-i mahrusemden kaçub anlara varur ise eger müsliman ise ve yahud mürtedd oldı ise teᶜallül etmeyüb elbette ᶜaynı ile kendüyi vereler ve eger küfri
29) üzere ise sahıbı ve yahud vekiline biñ akçe vereler eger Magribiñ[25] levend kalyataları ve gayri yerleriñ korsan kayıkları deryadan ve sayir karadan olan haramiler varub Venedige tabiᶜ olan ataları ve gayri yerlerini urub ademlerini esir edüb götürüb Rum Elinde[26] ve Anatolıda[27]
30) ve Magribde[28] ve sayir yerlerde satub ve ya kendüler kullanub bu makule esir her kimiñ elinde bulunursa bi-la tereddüd ellerinden alınub Venedik begleriniñ bayloslarına ve ya kayim makamlarına ve ya vekillerine teslim edeler ve ol harami levend ele getürilüb mühkem hakklarından gelinüb ve ol esir müsliman olmuş ise azad olub salıverile
31) ve ᶜahd-name-i hümayun ve sulh ve salaha muhalif Venedik reᶜayasını baᶜzı kimesneler esir edüb ve elden ele kaçurmagıla ihtilala baᶜis olurlarimiş imdi sulh ve salah zemanında vakıᶜ olan Venedik esirleri her kimiñ elinde bulunursa müsliman olmuş ise azad etdürile ve eger henüz küfri üzere ise işbu ᶜahd-name-i hümayun
32) ve sulh ve salah mucebince Venedik baylosuna ve ya kendü taᶜyin etdügi ademisine teslim etdürilüb min baᶜd ᶜahd-name-i hümayuna ve sulh ve salaha muhalif esir etdürülmeyüb edenleriñ hakklarından gelinüb teᶜallül ve behane etdirilmeye deyü varid olan hatt-i hümayun mucebince nişan-i hümayun verilmegin ke-ma kane ol nişan-i hümayun mefhumuyla ᶜamel oluna ve Venedik gemileri

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24 V: K[o]st[a]nt[i]n[i]ye.

25 V: M[a]gr[i]b.

26 V: Rum Eli.

27 V: [A]natolı.

28 V: M[a]gr[i]b.

33) memalik-i mahruseme gelürken muhalif yel çıkub ol gemi helak olub nemıkdar adem kurtılursa azad oluna esbabları kurtılursa sahıbına verile kapudan canibinden ve ademlerinden ve sayirlerinden katᶜa dahl olunmaya ve memalik-i mahrusemden ol tarafa bir gemi varırken muhalif yel çıka ol gemi helak olursa Venediklüden adem
34) kurtılursa anlara dahl olunmayub esbabları sahıbına verile katᶜa dahl ve nizaᶜ olunmaya ve eger memalik-i mahrusemden şol yerlerden ki kadırga ve kayıkları ve gayri gemiler derya yüzine çıkub gitdikleri vakt ki kapudanım anlar ile bile olmaya ol gemileriñ re'isleri mühkem kefillere verile ki varub Venedik memleketine zarer ve ziyan
35) erişdürmeyeler eger kefil vermedin giderlerise mücrim ve günahkar olalar mühkem hakklarından geleler ve eger kefil verdikdensoñra zarer ederler ise ne zarer ve ziyan olursa kefilleri vereler hemçünan Venedik canibinden dahı derya yüzine gemileri çıka Venedik kapudanı bile olmaya re'isleri mühkem kefillere verdikden soñra
36) memalik-i mahruseme zarer ve ziyan erişdürürler ise olan zarer ve ziyanı kefilleri vereler eger kefilsiz giderler ise mücrim ve günahkar olalar mühkem hakklarından geline ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir harac-güzar ve yahud bir ᶜamil kaçub Venedige müteᶜallık kalᶜalara ve atalara varub temekkün etse kabul olunmaya varan
37) ademe teᶜallül etmeyüb ᶜaynı ile vereler ve şöyleki adem öldürüb ve yahud ugurluk edüb rızk götürür ise ᶜaynı ile vereler benim canibimden dahı olveçhile etdürilüb ol tarafdan adem öldürüb ve yahud ugurluk edüb rızk götürürlerse ᶜaynı ile vereler ve Venediklünüñ birbiri
38) arasında nizaᶜları olsa baylosları ᶜadetlerince diñleye kimesne maniᶜ olmaya ve bir kimesneniñ baylos ile nizaᶜı olsa şöyleki südde-i seᶜadetimden mahruse-i İstanbulda[29] ola vakıᶜ olan kaziyesi divan-i ᶜali-şanımda istimaᶜ oluna ve lakin ben seᶜadet ile sefer-i hümayunda bulunacak olursam anuñ gibi
39) baylos ile vakıᶜ olan münazeᶜa İstanbul[30] muhafezasıyçün konılan hakim huzurunda kazi maᶜrifetiyle istimaᶜ oluna ve şöyleki Venedik bazirganları ile bir kimesneniñ nizaᶜı vakıᶜ olub kaziye varalar Venediklünüñ kendü tercümanları hazır olmayınca kazi olan daᶜvaların istimaᶜ etmeye emma anlar dahı teᶜallül edüb tercüman hazır degildir deyü

29 V: [İ]stanbul.

30 V: [İ]stanbul.

40) ᶜavk etmeyüb tercümanların ihzar edüb eger tercümanları mühimm maslahatda ise gelince tevakkuf oluna ve baylos olanı aharıñ borcı içün kimesne rencide etmeyüb müzayeka vermeyeler ve nesne ödetmeyeler emma müddeᶜi olanlar medyunları sakin oldugı yere varub hakimi maᶜrifetiyle hakk ve ᶜadl üzere taleb oluna baylos dahı
41) bu ahvaliñ fasl olunmasın Venedik beglerine iᶜlam ede ve Venedikden İnebahtı[31] ve Mora[32] ve sayir memalik-i mahruseme bir bazirgan ki gele gayri kimesne borcı içün anı tutub incitmeyeler ve Venediklü bir bazirgan Brusaya[33] ve gayri bir yere gitmek isteye baylosundan icazet-name olmayınca[34] gitmeyeler eger temerrüd edüb
42) icazetsiz gitmek isterse subaşı baylosa muᶜavenet edüb koyuvermeye ve Venedikden gelen gemileriñ neftileri memalik-i mahrusemde hidmete tutulmayub nice geldiler ise gemiler ile gideler ve Venedikden gelüb[35] temekkün eden kimesneler evlü olsun ergen olsun ma dam ki gelüb gidüb rencberlik edüb memalik-i mahrusemde yerleşmeye varub girü gide
43) anlardan harac taleb olunmaya ve Venediklünüñ baᶜzı harac-güzar kafir ile nizaᶜları olub hin-i daᶜvada Venediklü şahidler ikamet ederlerimiş hasm olanlar bu yer kafirlerinden gerekdir deyü müzayeka verüb Venediklü nasranileriñ şehadetlerin kabul etmezlerimiş imdi cümle nasara millet-i vahıde oldugı ecilden gerekdir ki anlarıñ
44) eger kefere ile nizaᶜları olub ikamet-i şahide ihtiyac olursa kefere tayifesinden kankı sınıfdan ki şahid ikamet edüb şerᶜ-i şerif-i nebevi muktezasınca isbat edeler kabul oluna ve Venedikden bir bazirgan memalik-i mahrusemde yolda ve izde ve köyde basılub rızkı alınsa ve yahud basıldıkda bazirgan depelenmiş
45) olsa ve ya gayib olsa varisi ve yahud vekili gelürse şerᶜile görilüb hakk yerine vara Venediklüden bir bazirgan memalik-i mahruseme gelüb ticaret üzere kendü halinde yürürken mürd olsa metrukatına beytü 'l-malcı karışmayub bayloslarına teslim edeler ve Magrib[36] müslimanlarından ve bunlardan gayri

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31 V: İneb[a]htı.

32 V: Mora.

33 V: Brusa.

34 In earlier texts 'almayınca'.

35 V: added later in very small handwriting above the line.

36 V: M[a]gr[i]b.

46) sayir yerleriñ bazirganları ki beyᶜ ve şira etmek içün yaşdan ve kurudan gelmelü olıcak ki Venedik hükm etdügi yerlere ugraya ᶜadet ve kanunları üzere metaᶜlarınıñ rüsumun aldıkdansoñra maniᶜ olmayalar ve zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler memalik-i mahruseme nice dilerlerse gelüb gideler ve Korfuzdan[37]

47) yukaru bogazda yürüyen gemiler Venediklü olsun gayri olsun ki Venedige ticarete varalar ve geleler kimesne maniᶜ olmaya ve zarer ve ziyan erişdürmeyeler meger ki yaramazlık etmiş olalar ve bir Venedik gemisi ᶜadet ve kanun üzere İstanbulda[38] aranub gitdikdensoñra ki kanun-i kadim üzere bir dahı

48) bogaz hisarları öñüne vardukda aranub andansoñra gitmege icazet verile ve hala kanun-i kadime muhalif Gelibolıda[39] dahı aranur imiş min baᶜd Gelibolıda[40] aranmayub ᶜadet-i kadime muktezasınca girü heman bogaz hisarları öñünde aranub gide ve Zaklise[41] ceziresiyçün sal be-sal astane-i seᶜadetime biñ beşyüz sikke

49) altun irsal ve isal edeler ve memalik-i mahruseme ᶜArabistan[42] memleketleri feth olundugı zemandan berü olıgelen üslub-i kadim üzere iki pare mavnaları Mısır İskenderiyesine[43] ve iki kıtᶜa mavnaları dahı mahruse-i Şama[44] tabiᶜ olan Trablus[45] ve Beyrut[46] iskelelerine olıgeldügi üzere esbab ve metaᶜlar ile mukarrer olan

50) vaktde ve mevsimlerde gelüb gideler vaktinden ve mevsiminden te'hir etmeyüb eger iki mavnalardır ve eger dahı ziyadedir ve eger büyük ve küçük gemileridir şimdiye degin ne veçhile gelüb gidüb beyᶜ ve şira ede gelmişler ise

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37 V: Korfuz.

38 V: [İ]stanbul.

39 V: G[e]libolı.

40 V: G[e]libolı.

41 V: Zaklise.

42 V: ᶜ[A]r[a]b[i]stan.

43 V: M[ı]s[ı]r [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]yesi.

44 V: Şam.

45 V: Trablus.

46 V: B[e]yrut.

girü olveçhile edüb olıgelene muhalif nizaᶜ etmeyeler ve mahruse-i İstanbulda[47] ve Beyrut[48] ve Trablus[49] iskelelerinde
51) ve sayir yerlerde eger akçe ve eger metaᶜdan evvelden olıgelene muhalif ihdas olunan bidᶜatlar refᶜ olunub kadimden nice olıgeldi ise aña göre ᶜamel olunub kanun-i kadime muhalif kimesneye teᶜaddi etdirilmeye ve merhum ceddim sultan Süleyman han zeman-i şerifinde verilen ᶜahd-name-i hümayun muktezasınca muᶜtad-i kadimden ziyade gümrük
52) taleb olunmayub gümrük hususunda kanun-i kadim olan kanun-name defteri mucebince müstekıllen emr-i şerif verile ki dergah-i muᶜallamda ve Şam Trablusunda[50] ve Mısır İskenderiyesinde[51] ve sayir memalik-i mahrusemde sakin olan Venedik baylosı ve konsolosları ol emri temessük edeler ve mezbur mavnalara ve sayir gemilerine
53) ve tacirlerine ve metaᶜlarına beglerbegilerimden ve beglerimden ve sayir kullarımdan hiç ahad kanun-i kadime muhalif zulm ve teᶜaddi etmeye emn üzere olalar kimesne anları rencide etmeye ve Arnavudlukda[52] ve Bosna[53] vilayetlerinde olan yerleriñ baᶜzı bu canibiñ tesarrüfüne girüb ve baᶜzı Venedik begleriniñ ellerindedir
54) iki canibiñ ellerinde olan hisarlarıñ kadimi sınurı ve karyeleri vere bozulmadın neveçhile zabt oluna gelmiş ise min baᶜd olveçhile zabt oluna deyü bu babda tarafeynden mezbur vilayetiñ hakimlerine müceddeda emirler gönderilüb tenbih olunub ve sabıka Bosna[54] begi olan Ferhad bege emirler varid olub
55) Yakomo Soranso[55] nam Venedik elçisi müvacehesinde sınur katᶜ olunub neveçhile taᶜyin ve tebyin olundı ise vükuᶜı üzere ᶜamel oluna ve mukaddema fitretdensoñra merhum ve magfur lehü ceddim sultan Selim han zemanında tekrar sulh olundukda üç yıla degin vermege müteᶜahhid oldukları üçyüz biñ altunı tedricle

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47 V: [İ]stanbul.

48 V: B[e]yrut.

49 V: Trablus.

50 V: Şam Trablusı.

51 V: M[ı]s[ı]r [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]yesi.

52 V: [A]rn[a]v[u]dl[u]k.

53 V: Bosna.

54 V: Bosna.

55 V: Yak[o]mo Soranso. Jacopo or Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian ambassador ('oratore') to Constantinople 1582.

56) bi-kusur eda etdikleri hızane-i ᶜamiremde mahfuz olan defterde mukayyed olub ve merhumun ve magfur lehüm ceddlerim sultan Süleyman han ve sultan Selim han ve sultan Murad han ve sultan Mehemmed han ve babam sultan Ahmed han ve karındaşım sultan ᶜOsman han tabe serahüm zemanlarında
57) zikr olunan filoriden gayri sayir vakıᶜ olan şartları ve ᶜahdları bi-'t-temam yerine getürdükleri ecilden tekrar işbu ᶜahd-namede derc olunmamışdır min baᶜd ol hususlar içün dahl ve teᶜarruz olunmaya ve merhumun zemanlarında ve cülus-i hümayunumdansoñra verilen ahkam-i şerifeyi ke-ma kane mukarrer
58) tutdum ma damki südde-i seniye-i seᶜadet-destgahımda kurudan ve yaşdan düşmenlik üzere olanlara Venedik dojı ve begleri kavlen ve fiᶜlen muᶜin ve zahir olmayalar vakıᶜ olan sulh ve salahdan tecavüz etdürmeyem ben dahı hakk sübhane ve teᶜala hazretleriniñ ululugı ve vahdaniyeti hakkıyçün
59) ve habib-i[56] ekrem ve şefiᶜ-i ümem iki cihan güneşi peygamberimiz Muhammed Mustafa salla 'llahü teᶜala ᶜaleyh ve sellem hazretleriniñ hürmetiyçün ᶜahd ve yemin ederim ki ma beynde münᶜakıd olan dostluk ve sulh ve salahdan ve şerh ve beyan olunan şürut ve ᶜuhuddan ᶜudul ve inhiraf göstermeyem şöyle bileler ᶜalamet-i şerife
60) iᶜtimad kılalar[57] tahriren fi evasıt-i şehr-i recebü 'l-müreccb-i sene erbaᶜ ve selesin ve elf
61) be-mekam-i darü 's-saltaneti 'l-ᶜaliye Kostantiniye[58] 'l-mahruse 'l-mahmiye ᶜan[59] 'l-afat ve 'l-beliye.

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56 V: the paper is torn off: [ve habi]b-i.

57 V: the paper is torn off: [iᶜtimad kıl]alar.

58 V: K[o]st[a]ntin[i]ye.

59 V: after 'ᶜan' there is another word written which is illegible.

The Venetian Capitulation of 1641

The present text is based on the original document issued by the Ottoman chancery which is now kept in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia.[1]

The text

Hüve 'llahü 'l-ᶜazizü 'l-gani 'l-muᶜin

Şah İbrahim bin Ahmed han el-muzaffer da'ima

1) Nişan-i şerif-i ᶜali-şan-i sami-mekan-i sultani ve tugra-i garra-i cihan-sitan-i hakani nüffize bi-'l-ᶜavni 'r-rebbani ve 'l-menni 'l-mennani ve 's-savni 's-samedani hükmi oldur ki
2) şimdikihalde ᶜavn ve ᶜinayet-i rebbani ve meşiyet-i hidayet-i sübhani mukareneti ile benki sultan-i selatin-i cihan ve bürhan-i havakin-i devran tac-bahş-i husrevan-i ru-i zemin sultan İbrahim han ibn sultan Ahmed han ibn sultan Mehemmed han ibn sultan Murad han ibn sultan Selim han
3) ibn sultan Süleyman han ibn sultan Selim hanım hala mefahırü ümera'i[2] 'l-ᶜızami 'l-ᶜiseviye meraciᶜu kübera'i[3] 'l-fiham fi 'l-milleti 'l-mesihiye Venedik dojı olan Francesko Erico[4] ve sayir begleri hutimet ᶜavakıbühüm bi-'l-hayr dergah-i seᶜadet-destgahıma Petro Foskarini[5] nam yarar ve muᶜtemed ᶜaleyh beg-zadeyi elçi taᶜyin edüb
4) ᶜarz-i sadakat ve ihlas eyleyüb merhumun ve magfur lehüm ceddlerim sultan Süleyman han ve sultan Selim han ve sultan Murad han ve sultan Mehemmed han ve babam sultan Ahmed han ve karındaşlarım sultan ᶜOsman han ve sultan Murad han ᶜaleyhimi 'r-rahmet ve 'l-gufran zemanlarında dostluk ve müᶜahede oldugı üzere astane-i seᶜadetimle olan
5) sulh ve salah ve işbu ᶜahd-name-i hümayunda münderic olan şürut ve ᶜuhud ke-ma kane mukarrer olub müceddeden ᶜahd-name-i hümayun verilmek babında istidᶜa etdikleri ecilden istidᶜaları hayyiz-i kabulde vakıᶜ

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1 ASV, Documenti Turchi 1470 (= V).

2 V: must be 'mefahırü 'l-ümera'i'.

3 V: must be 'meraciᶜu 'l-kübera'i'.

4 V: Franc[e]sko [E]r[i]co. Franscesco Erizzo, Doge of Venice 10 April 1631 - 3 January 1646.

5 V: P[e]tro Foskarini. Pietro Foscarini, Venetian ambassador to Constantinople 1640-1641.

olub bu üslub üzere ᶜahd-name-i hümayun verile deyü hatt-i hümayun-i seᶜadet-makrunla ferman-i ᶜali-şan sadır
6) olmagın müşar ileyh Venedik dojı ile ve sa'ir begleriyle sulh ve salah mukarrer olub müceddeden ᶜahd-name-i hümayun verilüb ve ᶜahd-namede münderic olan şürut ve ᶜuhud ᶜala veçhi 't-tefsil beyan olunub işbu verilen nişan-i şerifimle ᶜahd ve eman müstehkem olub bu ᶜahd-i hümayunum mukarrer ve mü'ekked olmasıyçün
7) yemin ederim ki yeri ve gögi yaradan hakk sübhane ve teᶜalanıñ birligi hakkıyçün ma damki anlar tarafından ᶜahda muhalif iş olmaya benden dahı müᶜahede-i şerifime muga'ir vazᶜ sadır olmayub min baᶜd Venedik dojı ve begleri ve sa'ir ademleri ile ve deryada ve karada iki canibe müteᶜallık olan yerleriñ
8) ve vilayetleriñ halkı ile ve Ak Deñizde vakıᶜ Tine[6] nam-i diger İstendil[7] ceziresi ve kalᶜasıyla ve sa'ir tesarrüflerinde olan cezireler ve şehirler ve burgazları ile[8] sulh ve salah mukarrer olub ve bi-'l-cümle Aya Markonuñ[9] sancagın götüren kimesneler ile yaşda ve kuruda el-an tesarrüflerinde olan elleri ve köyleri ile
9) şimdiye degin tesarrüflerinde olub ve şimden soñra kendü dindaşlarından alacak yerleri ile baᶜde 'l-yevm aramızda olan dostluk ve barışıklık mukarrer olub ve Yanya[10] sancagı sınurunda olan Parga[11] nam mevzıᶜ ki sabıka merhum ve magfur lehü sultan Süleyman han nevvere 'llahü merkadehü emri[12] ile yakılub yıkılmış idi mezid-i ᶜinayetlerinden
10) yine anlar canibine tesarrüf olunmasın emr edüb zikr olunan mevzıᶜ kalᶜasıyla ve varoşuyla ve karyeleri ile ve hudud ve sınurı ile merhum ceddim muma ileyh hazretleri ᶜinayet eyledügi üzere anlarıñ zabt ve tesarrüflerinde ola emma mezbur Parga[13] ve aña tabiᶜ olan köylerde vakıᶜ olan ademleri
11) deñizden ve kurıdan memalik-i mahruseme zarer ve ziyan ederler ise Venedik begleri ol zarer ve ziyanı tazmin etdüreler ve edenleriñ mühkem hakklarından geleler ve memalik-i mahrusemde olan sancakbeglerinden ve

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6 V: Tine.

7 V: [İ]st[e]ndil.

8 V: later added.

9 V: [A]ya Marko.

10 V: Yanya.

11 V: Parga.

12 V: added later in very small handwriting.

13 V: Parga.

subaşılarından ve bi-'l-cümle huddam-i encüm-ihtişamımdan hiç ahad anlarıñ vilayetlerine ve kalᶜalarına ve burgazlarına
12) ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler ve eger cenab-i celalet-me'abıma müteᶜallık olan beglerden ve ᶜasakir-i zafer-me'asirimden anlarıñ vilayetlerine ve kalᶜalarına ve burgazlarına ve ademlerine zarer ve ziyan erişdirirler ise vakıᶜ olan zarer ve ziyan ferman-i şerifim ile yerine konılub dahl edenleriñ hakklarından
13) geleler ve mezbur begleriñ bazirganlarından ve ademlerinden memalik-i mahruseme yaşdan ve kurudan kadırga ve kökeleri ve gayri küçük gemileri ile mahruse-i İstanbula[14] ve Galataya[15] ve diyar-i ᶜArabistandan[16] İskenderiye-i Mısra[17] ve Gelibolıdan[18] aşga olan bogaza ve İnebahtı[19] ve Preveze[20] bogazlarına ve Moton[21] limanlarına gaflet ile
14) gelüb girmeyüb mukaddema dizdarlarına tenbih eyleyüb icazet ile gelüb girüb meger ki rüzgar şiddet üzere olmagıla furtuna olub ve yahud anları levend kalyataları kovub ol iskelelerden gayri konacak yerleri olmayub zaruret ola ol vaktde gelüb gireler eger mümkin ise tenbih edeler
15) ve gitmelü olıcak icazetsiz gitmeyüb muhalefet edenleriñ hakklarından geline anıñ içün Venedik beglerine töhmet olmaya ve memalik-i mahrusemden derya yüzine giden gemiler ve kadırgalar ve donanmalar deñiz yüzünde Venedik gemilerine buluşurlar ise biri birlerine dostluk edüb zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler anlar dahı ferman-i şerif ile
16) derya yüzine çıkmış donanma ve kadırgalarıma ve sa'ir derya yüzünde yürüyen gemiler ile buluşduklarında yelkenlerin indirüb dostlukların bildüreler ve eger yelkenlerin indirüb dostlukların bildirdiklerinden soñra zarer ve ziyan edecek olurlar ise eger gemi ve tavar ve adem ve esbab ziyanıdır her ne ise yerine konıla
17) hemçünan anlarıñ kadırgaları ve gemileri ve donanmaları dahı deñiz yüzünde benim gemilerim ve yahud rencber gemilerine buluşurlar ise dostluk üzere geçüb zarer ve ziyan etmeyeler ve eger gemiler ve ademler ve esbab ve

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14 V: [İ]stanbul.

15 V: G[a]l[a]ta.

16 V: ᶜ[A]r[a]b[i]stan.

17 V: [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]ye-i M[ı]s[ı]r.

18 V: G[e]libolı.

19 V: İneb[a]htı.

20 V: Pr[e]v[e]ze.

21 V: M[o]ton.

tavar ziyanıdır her ne ise yerine koyalar ve eger ittifak düşüb harami ve levend gemisine buluşub
18) ol harami gemisi bunlara kasd edüb cenk ile harami gemisine bunlar galib olalar hin-i müharebede helak olandan gayri nekadar adem esir olub diri tutarlar ise asla katl etmeyüb bi-kusur sag ve salim südde-i seᶜadetime irsal ve isal edeler ki mühkem hakklarından gelinüb bir veçhile siyaset
19) etdürem ki sa'irlerine muceb-i ᶜibret ola ve memalik-i mahrusemden donanma gemilerim ki bir tarafa sefere gide Venedige müteᶜallık olmaya Venedik donanması epsem kendi halinde dostluk üzere turub hareket etmeyüb varub kimesneye muᶜavenet etmeye ve benim donanma-i hümayunuma zarer ve ziyan erişdirmesine sebeb olmaya
20) benimle düşmenlik üzere olan kimesneleriñ donanmaların aralarına getürmeyeler ve anlara yardım ve azık vermeyeler eger donanmalarından her kim bu emrime muhalefet eder ise eyledügi yerde Venedik begleri mühkem hakklarından geleler ki sa'irlerine muceb-i ᶜibret vakıᶜ ola ve gayri vilayetiñ dahı barçalarına ve kadırgalarına
21) ve gayri gemilerine rast geldikleri vaktde Venedik begleri kendü atalarına ve hisarlarına ve limanlarına sıgındırmayub turgurmayalar tutmak mümkin olursa tutub mecal vermeyüb hakklarından geleler benim tarafımdan dahı olveçhile ᶜamel olunub gayri vilayetiñ harami gemilerin ve barçaların ve kadırgaların limanlarıma
22) ve hisarlarıma sıgındırmayub tutmak mümkin olursa tutub mecal vermeyüb hakklarından geleler ve Venedikden biri gelüb memalik-i mahrusemde bir kimesne ile satu pazar edüb akçesin temam vermedin hile edüb kaçub giderse benim hükm-i şerifimle varub taleb olundukda ol kimesne bulunursa rızkı
23) sahıbına alıvereler ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesne varub Venediklüden biri ile satu pazar edüb akçesin eda etmedin kaçub gelürse sabit olan hakkı alıverile ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir kimesne borc edinse ve yahud bir veçhile müttehem olub gaybet eylese anıñ içün bir günahsız tutulmaya
24) Venedik beglerine anıñ içün töhmet olunmaya meger ki anlarıñ memleketlerine varub tura benim canibimden dahı olveçhile etdürile ve baylos kimi dilerler ise göndereler isterler ise horendeleri ile gelüb mahruse-i Kostantiniyede[22] üç yıla karib tura temam olmadın gide dilerse horendesiz gele maslahat ne ise

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22 V: K[o]st[a]nt[i]n[i]ye.

25) göre üç yıl temam olmadın ol dahı gide anıñ yerine olveçhile biri dahı gele ve Venedikden bir esir kaçub memalik-i mahruseme gelüb müsliman olur ise ve sahıbı gelürse biñ akçe verile sahıbı gelmeyüb vekili gelürse akçeyi vekiline vereler eger küfri üzere ise ol esir ᶜaynı ile verile
26) ve memalik-i mahrusemden kaçub anlara varır ise müsliman ise ve yahud mürtedd oldı ise teᶜallül etmeyüb ᶜaynı ile kendüyi vereler ve eger küfri üzere ise sahıbı ve yahud vekiline biñ akçe vereler eger Magribiñ[23] levend kalyataları ve gayri yerleriñ korsan kayıkları deryada ve sa'ir karada olan haramiler
27) varub Venedige tabiᶜ olan ataları ve gayri yerlerini urub ademlerin esir edüb götürüb Rum Eli[24] ve Anatolıda[25] ve Magribde[26] ve sa'ir yerlerde satub ve ya kendüler kullanub bu makule esir her kimiñ elinde bulunursa bi-la tereddüd ellerinden alınub Venedik begleriniñ bayloslarına ve ya kayim makamlarına
28) ve ya vekillerine teslim edeler ve ol harami levend ele getürilüb mühkem hakklarından gelinüb ve ol esir müsliman olmuş ise azad olub salıverile ve ᶜahd-name-i hümayuna muhalif ve sulh ve salaha mugayir Venedik reᶜayasını baᶜzı kimesneler esir edüb elden ele kaçırmagıla ihtilala baᶜis ve badi olurlar imiş
29) imdi sulh ve salah zemanında vakıᶜ olan Venedik esirleri her kimiñ elinde bulunur ise müsliman olmuş ise azad etdürile ve eger küfri üzere ise işbu ᶜahd-name-i hümayun ve sulh ve salah mucebince Venedik baylosuna ve ya kendi taᶜyin etdügi ademisine teslim etdirilüb min baᶜd ᶜahd-name-i hümayuna ve sulh ve salaha
30) muhalif esir etdirilmeyüb edenleriñ hakklarından gelinüb teᶜallül ve behane etdirilmeye deyü varid olan hatt-i hümayun mucebince nişan-i hümayun verilmegin ke-ma kane ol nişan-i hümayun mefhumı ile ᶜamel oluna ve Venedik gemileri memalik-i mahruseme gelür iken muhalif yel çıkub ol gemi helak olub
31) ne mıkdar adem kurtılursa azad oluna esbabları kurtılursa sahıblarına verile kapudan canibinden ve ademlerinden ve sayirlerinden katᶜa dahl olunmaya ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir gemi ol tarafa varır iken muhalif yel çıkub ol gemi helak olursa Venediklüden adem kurtılur ise

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23 V: M[a]gr[i]b.

24 V: Rum Eli.

25 V: [A]natolı.

26 V: M[a]gr[i]b.

32) anlara dahl olunmayub esbabları sahıbına verile katᶜa dahl ve nizaᶜ olunmaya ve eger memalik-i mahrusemden şol yerlerdenki kadırga ve kayıkları ve sa'ir gemiler derya yüzine çıkub gitdikleri vakt ki kapudanım anlar ile bile olmaya ol gemileriñ re'isleri mühkem kefillere verile ki varub Venedik
33) memleketlerine zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler eger kefil vermedin giderler ise mücrim ve günehkar olalar mühkem hakklarından geleler ve eger kefil verdikden soñra zarer ederler ise ne zarer ve ziyan olursa kefilleri vereler hemçünan Venedik canibinden dahı derya yüzine gemileri çıka Venedik kapudanı bile olmaya
34) re'isleri mühkem kefile verdikden soñra memalik-i mahruseme zarer ve ziyan erişdirirler ise olan zarer ve ziyanı kefilleri vereler eger kefilsiz giderler ise mücrim ve günehkar olalar mühkem hakklarından geleler ve memalik-i mahrusemden bir harac-güzar ve ya bir ᶜamil kaçub Venedige müteᶜallık kalᶜalara ve atalara varub
35) temekkün etse kabul olunmaya varan ademe teᶜallül etmeyüb ᶜaynı ile vereler şöyleki adem öldürüb ve yahud ugurluk edüb rızk götürür ise ᶜaynı ile vereler benim canibimden dahı olveçhile etdirilüb ol tarafdan adem öldürüb ve yahud ugurluk edüb rızk götürürse
36) ᶜaynı ile vereler ve Venediklünüñ biri biri arasında nizaᶜları olsa baylosları ᶜadetlerince diñleye kimesne maniᶜ olmaya ve bir kimesneniñ baylos ile nizaᶜı olsa şöyleki südde-i seᶜadetimde mahruse-i İstanbulda[27] ola vakıᶜ olan kaziyesi divan-i ᶜali-şanımda istimaᶜ lakin ben seᶜadet ile sefer-i hümayunda bulunacak
37) olur isem anıñ gibi baylos ile vakıᶜ olan münazeᶜa İstanbul[28] mühafezasıyçün konılan hakim huzurunda kazi maᶜrifetiyle istimaᶜ oluna şöyleki Venedik bazirganları ile bir kimesneniñ nizaᶜı vakıᶜ olub kaziye varalar Venediklünüñ kendü tercümanları hazır olmayınca kazi olan
38) daᶜvaların fasl ve istimaᶜ etmeyeler emma anlar dahı teᶜallül edüb tercüman hazır degildir deyü ᶜavk etmeyüb tercümanların hazır edüb eger tercümanları mühimm maslahatda ise gelince tevakkuf oluna ve baylos olanı aharıñ borcı içün kimesne rencide etmeyüb müzayeka vermeyeler ve nesne ödetmeyeler
39) emma müddeᶜi olanlar medyunları sakin oldugı yere varub hakimi maᶜrifetiyle hakk ve ᶜadl üzere taleb oluna baylos dahı bu ahvaliñ fasl

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27 V: [İ]stanbul.

28 V: [İ]stanbul.

olunmasın Venedik beglerine iᶜlam ede ve Venedikden İnebahtı[29] ve Mora[30] ve sa'ir memalik-i mahruseme bir bazirgan ki gele gayri kimesne borcı içün
40) anı tutub incitmeyeler ve Venediklü bir bazirgan Brusaya[31] ve ya bir gayri yere gitmek isteye baylosundan icazet-name almayınca gitmeyeler eger temerrüd edüb icazetsiz gitmek isterse subaşı baylosa muᶜavenet edüb koyuvermeye ve Venedikden gelen gemileriñ neftileri memalik-i mahrusemde
41) hidmete tutulmayub niçe geldiler ise gemiler ile gideler ve Venedikden gelüb temekkün eden kimesneler evlü olsun ergen olsun ma dam ki gelüb gidüb rencberlik edüb memalik-i mahrusemde yerleşmeye varub girü gide anlardan haraç taleb olunmaya ve Venediklünüñ baᶜzı harac-güzar kafirler ile nizaᶜları
42) olub hin-i daᶜvada Venediklü şahidler ikamet ederler imiş hasm olanlar bu yer kafirlerinden gerekdir deyü müzayeka verüb Venediklü nasranileriñ şehadetlerin kabul eylemezler imiş imdi cümle nasara millet-i vahıde oldugı ecilden gerekdir ki anlarıñ eger kefere ile nizaᶜları
43) olub ikamet-i şahide ihtiyacları olursa kefere ta'ifesinden kankı sınıfdan ki şahid ikamet edüb şerᶜ-i şerif-i nebevi muktezası üzere isbat edeler kabul oluna ve Venedikden bir bazirgan memalik-i mahrusemde yolda ve izde ve köyde basılub rızkı alınsa ve yahud basıldıkda
44) bazirgan depelenmiş olsa ve ya ga'ib olsa varisi ve yahud vekili gelür ise şerᶜile görilüb hakk yerine vara Venedikden bir bazirgan memalik-i mahruseme gelüb ticaret üzere kendi halinde yürür iken mürd olsa metrukatına beytü 'l-malcı karışmayub bayloslarına teslim edeler ve Magrib[32] müslimanlarından
45) ve bunlardan gayri sayir yerleriñ bazirganları ki beyᶜ ve şira etmek içün yaşdan ve kurıdan gelmelü oldukda ki Venedik hükm idügi[33] yerlere ugraya ᶜadet ve kanunları üzere metaᶜlarınıñ rüsumun aldıkdan soñra maniᶜ olmayalar ve zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler memalik-i mahruseme niçe dilerler ise
46) gelüb gideler ve Korfuzdan[34] yukaru ve bogazdan yürüyen gemiler Venediklü olsun gayri olsun ki Venedige ticarete varalar ve geleler kimesne

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29 V: İneb[a]htı.

30 V: Mora.

31 V: Brusa.

32 V: M[a]gr[i]b.

33 V: has to be 'etdügi'.

34 V: Korfuz.

manic olmaya ve zarer ve ziyan erişdirmeyeler meger ki yaramazlık etmiş olalar ve bir Venedik gemisi cadet ve kanun üzere İstanbulda[35] aranub
47) gitdikden soñra ki kanun-i kadim üzere bir dahı bogaz hisarları öñüne vardıkda aranub andan soñra[36] gitmege icazet verile hala kanun-i kadime muhalif Gelibolıda[37] dahı aranur imiş min bacd Gelibolıda[38] aranmayub cadet-i kadime üzere girü heman bogaz hisarları
48) öñünde aranub gide ve Zaklise[39] ceziresiyçün sal be-sal astane-i secadetime biñ beşyüz sikke altun irsal ve isal edeler ve memalik-i mahruseme cArabistan[40] memleketleri feth olundugı zemandan berü olıgelen üslub-i kadim üzere iki pare mavnaları Mısır İskenderiyesine[41] ve iki kıtca mavnaları dahı
49) mahruse-i Şama[42] tabic olan Trablus[43] ve Beyrut[44] iskelelerine olıgeldügi üzere esbab ve metacları ile mukarrer olan vaktde ve mevsimlerinde gelüb gide vaktinden ve mevsiminden te'hir etmeyüb eger iki mavnalarıdır ve eger dahı ziyadedir ve eger büyük ve küçük gemileridir
50) şimdiye degin neveçhile gelüb gidüb beyc ve şira ede gelmişler ise girü olveçhile edüb olıgelene muhalif nizac etmeyeler ve mahruse-i İstanbulda[45] ve Beyrut[46] ve Trablus[47] iskelelerinde ve sa'ir yerlerde eger akçe ve metacdan evvelden olıgelene muhalif ihdas olunan bidcatlar
51) refc olunub kadimden neveçhile olıgeldi ise aña göre camel olunub kanun-i kadime muhalif kimesneye tecaddi etdirilmeye ve merhum ceddim sultan Süleyman han zeman-i şerifinde verilen cahd-name-i hümayun muktezasınca muctad-i kadimden ziyade gümrük taleb olunmayub gümrük hususunda kanun-i kadim

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35 V: [İ]stanbul.

36 V: added later in very small handwriting above the line.

37 V: G[e]libolı.

38 V: G[e]libolı.

39 V: Zaklise (written with final *elif* as Zaklisa).

40 V: c[A]r[a]b[i]stan.

41 V: M[ı]s[ı]r [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]yesi.

42 V: Şam.

43 V: Tr[a]blus.

44 V: B[e]yrut.

45 V: [İ]stanbul.

46 V: B[e]yrut.

47 V: Tr[a]blus.

52) olan kanun-name defteri mucebince müstekılla emr-i şerif verile ki dergah-i mucallamda ve Şam Trablusunda[48] ve Mısır İskenderiyesinde[49] ve sayir memalik-i mahrusemde sakin olan Venedik baylosı ve konsolosları ol emri temessük edeler ve mezbur mavnalarına ve sa'ir gemilerine ve tacirlerine
53) ve metaclarına beglerbegilerimden ve beglerimden ve sa'ir kullarımdan hiç ahad kanun-i kadime muhalif zulm ve tecaddi etmeyeler emn üzere olalar kimesne anları rencide etmeye ve Arnavudlukda[50] ve Bosna[51] vilayetlerinde olan yerleriñ baczı bu canibiñ tesarrüfüne girüb ve baczı Venedik begleriniñ
54) ellerindedir iki canibiñ ellerinde olan hisarlarıñ kadimi sınırı ve karyeleri vere bozulmadın ne veçhile zabt oluna gelmiş ise min bacd olveçhile zabt oluna deyü bu babda tarafeynden mezbur vilayetleriñ hakimlerine müceddeda emirler gönderilüb tenbihler olunub ve sabıka
55) Bosna[52] begi olan Ferhad bege emirler varid olub Yakomo Soranso[53] nam Venedik elçisi müvacehesinde sınır katc olunub neveçhile tacyin ve tebyin olundı ise vükucı üzere camel oluna ve mukaddema fitretden soñra merhum ve magfur lehü ceddim sultan Selim han zemanında tekrar sulh ve salah
56) olundukda üç yıla degin mütecahhid oldukları üçyüz biñ altunı tedricle bi-kusur eda etdikleri hızane-i camiremde mahfuz olan defterde mukayyed olub ve merhumun ve magfur lehüm ceddlerim sultan Süleyman han ve sultan Selim han ve sultan Murad han ve sultan Mehemmed han
57) ve babam sultan Ahmed han ve karındaşlarım sultan cOsman han ve sultan Murad han tabe serahüm zemanlarında zikr olunan filoriden gayri sa'ir vakıc olan şartları ve cahdları bi-'t-temam yerine getürdükleri ecilden tekrar işbu cahd-namede derc olunmamışdır min bacd ol
58) hususlar içün dahl ve tecarruz olunmaya ve merhumun zemanlarında ve cülus-i hümayunumdan soñra verilen ahkam-i şerifeyi ke-ma kane mukarrer tutdum ma damki südde-i seniye-i secadet-destgahımda kurıdan ve yaşdan düşmenlik üzere olanlara Venedik dojı ve begleri kavlen ve ficlen
59) mucin ve zahir olmayalar vakıc olan sulh ve salahdan tecavüz etdirmeyem bendahı hakk sübhane ve tecala hazretleriniñ ululugı ve vahdaniyeti hakkıyçün ve habib-i ekrem ve şefic-i ümem iki cihan güneşi peygamberimiz

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48 V: Şam Tr[a]blusı.

49 V: M[ı]s[ı]r [İ]sk[e]nd[e]r[i]yesi.

50 V: [A]rn[a]v[u]l[u]k.

51 V: Bosna.

52 V: Bosna.

53 V: Yak[o]mo Soranso; Jacopo or Giacomo Soranzo, Venetian ambassador ('oratore') to Constantinople 1582.

Muhammed Mustafa salla 'llahü teᶜala ᶜaleyh ve sellem hürmetiyçün ᶜahd ve yemin ederim ki
60) ma beynde münᶜakıd olan dostluk ve sulh ve salahdan ve şart ve beyan olunan şürut ve ᶜuhuddan inhiraf göstermeyem ve baᶜdehü cennet-mekan merhum ve magfur lehü karındaşım sultan Murad han tabe serahü zemanında korsan tayifesi hususuyçün verilen nişan-i hümayun
61) benim zeman-i seᶜadet-makrunumda dahı tecdid olunub Venediklüler ol nişan-i hümayunuñ meşrutun icra etdikleri ecilden bu tarafdan dahı ke-ma kane merᶜi ve muhterem tutılub mucebiyle ᶜamel oluna ve min baᶜd hılafına cevaz gösterilmeye şöyle bileler ᶜalamet-i şerif-i ᶜalem-araya iᶜtimad
62) ve iᶜtikad kılalar tahrirenfi evasıt-i şehr-i şevvalü 'l-mükerrem-i sene hamsin ve elf
63) be-mekam-i darü 's-saltaneti 'l-ᶜaliye Kostantiniye[54] 'l-mahmiye 'l-mahruse.

54 V: K[o]st[a]nt[i]n[i]ye.

Appendix

The following list contains all the toponyms which appear in the texts of the treaties. Many of these names are still in use today. For the most part their orthography in the treaties poses few problems and is consistent for almost two centuries (1482-1641); thus, they can easily be transliterated and identified. The consistency of the orthography would seem to be due to the fact that these names also frequently occur in other documents, and hence the scribes were familiar with a standard orthography.

However, there is a group of names which does give rise to problems of transliteration and identification. These are the names of relatively small and unknown localities in particular names of non-Turkish origin. The names of the islands in the Aegean Sea and cities and fortresses in the Balkans belong to this group. In such cases, the Ottoman-Turkish toponyms used were often corruptions of the original Greek, Italian or Slavonic. Neither the scribes in the Ottoman chancery nor the (later) copyists were familiar with these toponyms or may never had heard of them before. Thus, however carefully and accurately they may have worked, they were bound to make mistakes, mainly because of the foreign character of these toponyms. Moreover, the orthography of the toponyms in the older documents was often copied defectively or was altered in later documents based on these older ones, probably as a result of the difficulties the scribes had in reading the original. Thus, one finds a considerable degree of inconsistency in orthography and this causes problems for transliterating and identifying the toponyms. At times such problems are compounded by the omission of diacritical marks and a name can only be identified by comparing 'similarly' written toponyms in different documents.

In the first parts of this appendix (Tables 1-5), the toponyms which appear in every document are listed alphabetically. These tables are solely based on the texts of the issued documents, i.e. those with a *tugra* (for the toponyms in the treaty of 1521, however, all three document versions have been used). The reason for this is that, generally speaking, these versions of the texts are the most accurate. All later Ottoman copies of these texts in *inşa*-books and *defters*, as well as the versions published in the *Münşe'atü 's-Selatin* and the *Müᶜahedat Mecmuᶜası*, contain many mistakes and, indeed, some toponyms have become completely unidentifiable. These latter cases are mentioned in the footnotes to the texts.

The second part of this appendix consists of an annotated gazetteer. Again, only toponyms which occur in the issued documents are mentioned.

Table 1. Toponyms mentioned in the ʿahd-names of 1482, 1503, 1513 and 1517

1482	**1503**	**1513**	**1517**
Edirne	Anabolı	Anabolı	Anabolı
Galata	Aya Mavra	Bursa	Brusa
İstanbul	Brusa	Edirne	Galata
Kefe	Çerne oglı eli	Galata	İnebahtı or
Nakş	Galata	İnebahtı or	Aynabahtı
Police	İstanbul	Aynabahtı	İstanbul
Trabzon	Kefe	İstanbul	Kefe
Vasika (= Vatika)	Korfuz	Kefe	Kıbrus
Venedik	Kostantiniye	Korfuz	Korfuz
	Magrib	Kostantiniye	Kostantiniye
	Menavesiye	Magrib	Magrib
	Mora	Mora	Mısır
	Nakş	Nakş	Mora
	Trabzon	Trabzon	Nakş
	Venedik	Venedik	Trabzon
	Zañte or Zakite	Zañte or Zakite	Venedik
			Zañte or Zakite

Table 2. Toponyms mentioned in the ᶜahd-names of 1521 and 1540

1521	1540 A-K	1540 M-Z
Anabolı	Anabolı	Magrib
Anatolı	Anatolı	Mallu Kilise
ᶜArabistan	Andıra	Menavesaye* or
Brusa	Andobade	Menavasiye**
Galata	ᶜArabistan	Mırgır
Gelibolı	Baro	Mikene
İnebahtı or Aynabahtı	Beyrut**	Miso* or Milo**
İskenderiye-i Mısır	Bosna	Mora
İstanbul	Brusa	Moton**
Kefe	Degirmen(ler)	Mürted
Kıbrız or Kıbrıs	Egine	Nadin
Korfuz	Galata	Nakşa
Kostantiniye	Gelibolı	Papaslık
Magrib	İnebahtı or Aynabahtı	Parga
Mora	İskados	Preveze**
Nakş	İskenderiye-i Mısır and Mısır	Rastine* or Zastine**
Rum Eli	İskenderiyesi	Rum Eli
Trabzon and Trabuzon	İskiros	Santorin
Venedik	İstanbul	Sene* or Sine**
Zañte or Zakite	İstanbuliye**	Serfoz* or Serkoz**
	İstendin*	Sifnos
	Kerke**	Sire**
	Kerpe	Şam
	Kıbrus	Termiye* or Termine**
	Korfuz	Tine**
	Kostantiniye	Tinoz** (Ni[n/y]oz)
	Koyunluca**	Trablus
	Kuçac* or Buçac**	Urana
		Velin
		Venedik
		Yanya
		Zañte or Zakite

* Only mentioned in the draft version of the capitulation of 1540.
**Only mentioned in the final version of the capitulation of 1540.

Table 3. Toponyms mentioned in the ᶜahd-names of 1567, 1573 and 1575

1567 A-K	1567 M-Z	1573 and 1575 A-K	1573 and 1575 M-Z
Anabolı	Magrib	Anabolı	Magrib
Anatolı	Mallu Kilise	Anatolı	Mallu Kilise
Andıra	Menavasiye	Andıra	Menavasiye
Andobade	Merid	Andobade	Merid
ᶜArabistan	Mırgır	ᶜArabistan	Mırfır (= Mırgır)
Baro	Mikene	Arnavudluk*	Mikene
Beyrut	Milo	Baro	Milo
Bosna	Mora	Beyrut	Mora
Buçac	Moton	Bosna**	Moton
Bursa	Nadin	Brusa	Nadin
Degirmen(ler)	Nakşa	Bucac	Nakşa
Egine	Papaslık	Degirmen(ler)	Papaslık
Galata	Parga	Egine	Parga
Gelibolı	Preveze	Galata	Preveze
İnebahtı or	Rastine	Gelibolı	Rastiye (= Rastine)
Aynabahtı	Rum Eli	İnebahtı or	Rum Eli
İskados	Santovirin (=	Aynabahtı	Santorin
İskenderiye-i Mısır	Santorin)	İskados	Serkor
and Mısır	Sine	İskenderiye-i Mısır	Siftos
İskenderiyesi	Serkoz	and Mısır	Sire
İskiros	Sifnos	İskenderiyesi	Sopot*
İstanbul	Sire	İskiros	Şam
İstanbuliye	Şam	İstanbul	Termid (= Termine)
Kerke	Termine	İstanbuliye	Tine
Kerpe	Tine	Kerpe	Tinoz (Ni[n/y]oz)
Kıbrıs	Tinoz (Ni[n/y]oz)	Kıbrıs**	Trablus
Korfuz	Trablus	Korfus	Uyurana (= Urana)
Kostantiniye	Urana	Kostantiniye**	Venedik
Koyunluca	Velin	Koyunluca	Yanya
	Venedik	Körke or Görge	Zaklise or Zakise***
	Yanya		
	Zañte or Zakite		

* Only mentioned in the capitulation of 1573.

** Mentioned in both the capitulation of 1573 and 1575.

*** Zaklise is used in the capitulation of 1573, Zakise in that of 1575.

Table 4. Toponyms mentioned in the ᶜahd-names of 1576, 1595 and 1604

1576 A-K	**1576 M-Z**	**1595**	**1604**
Anabolı	Magrib	Anatolı	Anatolı
Anatolı	Mallu Kilise	ᶜArabistan	ᶜArabistan
Andıra	Menavasiye	Arnavudluk	Arnavudluk
Andoyate (=	Merid	Beyrut	Beyrut
Andobade)	Mikiye (= Mikene)	Bosna	Bosna
ᶜArabistan	Milo	Brusa	Brusa
Arnavutluk	Mora	Galata	Galata
Baro	Moton	Gelibolı	Gelibolı
Beyrut	Nadin	İnebahtı or	İnebahtı or
Bosna	Nakşa	Aynabahtı	Aynabahtı
Bucac	Papaslık	İskenderiye-i Mısır	İskenderiye-i Mısır
Brusa	Parga	and Mısır	and Mısır
Degirmen(ler)	Perkor (= Serfoz)	İskenderiyesi	İskenderiyesi
Egine	Preveze	İstanbul	İstanbul
Galata	Rastine	İstendil	İstendil
Gelibolı	Rum Eli	Korfuz	Korfuz
İnebahtı or	Santorin	Kostantiniye	Kostantiniye
Aynabahtı	Siknos (= Sifnos)	Magrib	Magrib
İskados	Sire	Mora	Mora
İskenderiye-i Mısır	Spot	Moton	Moton
and Mısır	Şam	Parga	Parga
İskenderiyesi	Termid	Preveze	Preveze
İskiros	Tine	Rum Eli	Rum Eli
İstanbul	Tinoz (Ni[n/y]oz)	Şam	Şam
İstanbuliye	Trablus	Tine	Tine
Körke or Görge	Uyuraniye (= Urana)	Trablus and Şam	Trablus and Şam
Kirid or Girid (=	Venedik	Trablusı	Trablusı
Kerpe)	Yanya	Venedik	Venedik
Kıbrıs	Yırgır (= Mırgır)	Yanya	Yanya
Korfus	Zakise	Zaklise	Zaklise
Kostantiniye			
Koyunluca			

Table 5. Toponyms mentioned in the ᶜahd-names of 1619, 1625 and 1641

1619	**1625**	**1641**
Anatolı	Anatolı	Anatolı
ᶜArabistan	ᶜArabistan	ᶜArabistan
Arnavudluk	Arnavudluk	Arnavudluk
Beyrut	Beyrut	Beyrut
Bosna	Bosna	Bosna
Brusa	Brusa	Brusa
Galata	Galata	Galata
Gelibolı	Gelibolı	Gelibolı
İnebahtı or Aynabahtı	İnebahtı or Aynabahtı	İnebahtı or Aynabahtı
İskenderiye-i Mısır and Mısır	İskenderiye-i Mısri and Mısır	İskenderiye-i Mısır and Mısır
İskenderiyesi	İskenderiyesi	İskenderiyesi
İstanbul	İstanbul	İstanbul
İstendil	İstendil	İstendil
Korfuz	Korfuz	Korfuz
Kostantiniye	Kostantiniye	Kostantiniye
Magrib	Magrib	Magrib
Mora	Mora	Mora
Moton	Moton	Moton
Parga	Parga (Barga)	Parga
Preveze	Preveze	Preveze
Rum Eli	Rum Eli	Rum Eli
Şam	Şam	Şam
Tine	Tine	Tine
Trablus and Şam Trablusı	Trablus and Şam Trablusı	Trablus and Şam Trablusı
Venedik	Venedik	Venedik
Yanya	Yanya	Yanya
Zaklise	Zaklise	Zaklise

Gazetteer of toponyms mentioned in the ᶜahd-names (1482-1641)

Anabolı: The fortress of Anabolı was mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1503 and consequently appeared in every treaty until that of 1595. In Italian Anabolı is called Napoli (1517), Napoli di Romania or Napoli con la Rocca (1575), in Greek Nauplion and in English Nauplia. It is situated along the east coast of the Morea (or Mora, i.e. the Peloponnesus). For this reason in Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* it was called Mora Anabolusı. Despite frequent Ottoman attempts to conquer it, Anabolı remained in Venetian hands from 1388 until the treaty of 1540 when the Venetians were forced to give it up.[1]

Anatolı: Anatolı, nowadays called Anadolu in Turkish and Anatolia in English was mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1521 and from that time onwards appeared in every treaty with Venice (except 1573). In the Italian translation of 1575 it was called Natolia. Anatolı seems to have been used in the treaties to indicate the lands of Asia Minor in general and not the specific *beglerbegilik* or *eyalet* of Anatolı. The whole of Asia Minor was conquered by the Ottomans in several stages between the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century (Selim I).[2]

Andıra or **Andra**: The island of Andıra or Andra (Cyclades) in the Aegean Sea was mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1540 and for the last time in that of 1576. In Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* the island was also called Andıra or Andra. In Italian the island was named Andro (1575). Its present Greek name is Andros. From 1437 until its final annexation by the Ottomans in 1566, Andros was ruled by the Sommaripa family, except for a short period

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1 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 65, 83, 87, 115 and maps VIII, X, XIII, XIV and XVI; Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 98-99; Piri Reis, *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, 4 vols., İstanbul 1988, II, 624-629; N. Göyünç, 'XVIII. yüzyılda Türk idaresinde Nauplia (Anabolu) ve yapıları', *İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'ya armağan*, Ankara 1976, 461-485. For the official statements concerning the transfer of Napoli di Romania from Venetian to Ottoman suzerainty see ASV, Documenti Turchi 436 (Turkish) and 438 (Greek). The Turkish text was published by Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no 80, 203-204; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, note 23, 353. See also Bombaci, *Firmani*, no. I, 300-305.

2 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 51-63, 78-83 and maps VII-XIII, XVI, XX, and XXIV-XXV; and T. Baykara, *Anadolu'nun tarihi coğrafyasına giriş*, Ankara 1988.

between 1437 and 1440 when it temporarily passed under direct Venetian rule. In 1537-1538 Andros became an Ottoman tributary.[3]

Andobade: The Aegean island of Andobade (Cyclades) was mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1540. In the treaties of 1567 and 1575 its name remained unchanged; in that of 1576, however, Andobade became Andoyate. After 1576 it is no longer mentioned. In Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* the island was called Andibara, and in Italian the island was called Andobada (1575). Its present day Greek name is Antiparos. Before its conquest by the Ottomans during Hayre 'd-Din Barbarossa's naval campaign of 1537-1538, Andobade was ruled by the Venetian family of the Loredani. Thereafter, the island passed under the rule of the Crispi of Naxos who were Ottoman tributaries until 1566.[4]

Arnavudluk: Arnavudluk or Albania is mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1573. Consequently, it appears in the capitulations of 1576 (Arnavutluk), 1595, 1604, 1619, 1625 and 1641, however, not in that of 1575. In older Turkish the name Arvanid was used instead of Arnavudluk. Albania was conquered by the Ottomans in several phases between 1385 and 1503. Arnavudluk was used in the text of the treaties to indicate approximately the lands of present day Albania which were partially Ottoman and partially Venetian.[5]

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3 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 64, 67 and maps VIII, X, XIII and XIV; K. Hopf, 'Geschichte der Insel Andros und ihrer Beherrscher in dem Zeitraume von 1207-1566', *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Classe*, XVI (Jahrgang 1855), Wien 1855, 23-131 (Hopf, *Geschichte Andros*, I); idem, 'Urkunden und Zusaetze zur Geschichte der Insel Andros und ihrer Beherrscher in dem Zeitraume von 1207 bis 1566', *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Classe*, XXI (Jahrgang 1856), Wien 1857, 221-262 (Hopf, *Geschichte Andros*, II); Slot, *op. cit.*, I, 28, 35-43, 73-80, 84-85; Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, I, 288-289, II, 596-601; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 343. In Bonelli's Italian translation from the Venetian *Libri Commemoriali* (XXII, 34-35) the island is called Andro. On the topography of the Aegean islands in the period before the Turkish conquest see J. Koder, 'Topographie und Bevölkerung der Aegaeis-Inseln in Spaetbyzantinischer Zeit', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, V, 1977, 189-234.

4 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 67 and map XIV; Piri Reis, *op. cit.,* II, 568-572; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros*, I, 125-128; idem, *Geschichte Andros,* II, 226; Slot, *op. cit.*, I, 31, 35-43 and 73-84; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 335-336, 342-343. Bonelli reads its name as Andobare. In Bonelli's Italian translation from the Venetian *Libri Commemoriali* (XXII, 34-35) the island is called Antipari.

5 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 44-45, 48-49, 63, 65-70, 75, 83, 88-89 and maps XII and XV; H. İnalcık, *Hicri 835 tarihli suret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1987 (ed. princ. 1954) (İnalcık, *Arvanid*). This last work contains a very useful map and index of place names in Albania. The coastal area of Albania is described in Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, II, 724-743.

Aya Mavra: The island of Aya Mavra is mentioned only once, in the capitulation of 1503. In Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* it is called Aya Mavri. This Ionian island, situated north of Cephalonia and south of Corfu, is called Santa Maura in Italian and Leukas in Greek. Before the Ottoman conquest in 1479 it was part of the possessions of the Tocchi family (Karlı Eli or Akarnania). The Venetians captured Santa Maura in 1502 but were forced to return it to the Ottomans in 1503.[6]

ᶜArabistan: ᶜArabistan is first mentioned in the capitulation of 1521 and in every treaty thereafter (except 1573). In the Italian translation of 1575 it was called Arabbia. Like Arnavudluk, ᶜArabistan was used to indicate a larger part of the Ottoman Empire without specific reference to a military or administrative unit (*eyalet* or *sancak*). It designated the Arab lands in general and hence included Syria, the Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt and Arabia. The whole of ᶜArabistan was conquered by Sultan Selim I during his campaign against the Mamluks in 1516-1517.[7]

Baro: The Aegean island of Baro (Cyclades) is mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1540. Like most of the other islands, it also appears in the treaties of 1567, 1575 and 1576. In Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* it is called Bara. It was also called Para in Ottoman-Turkish. In Italian it was called Paro (1575); its present day Greek name is Paros. Before its conquest by the Ottomans in 1537-1538, it was ruled by a succession of Italian families; the last of which was that of the Sagredi. Thereafter, the island passed under the rule of the Crispi of Naxos who were Ottoman tributaries until 1566.[8]

Beyrut: The city of Beyrut in the Lebanon is first mentioned in the final version of the capitulation of 1540. Thereafter, it appears in every new treaty except that of 1573. In the Italian translation of 1575 it is called Barutti. Beyrut was an important port for Venetian merchants who transported their

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6 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 86-87 and maps X, XVI and XXVI; Piri Reis, *op. cit.,* II, 690-701; and Hopf, *Geschichte Andros*, II, 225.

7 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 103-107, 120-121, 141-143 and maps XXI-XXIV and XXXII-XXXV.

8 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 67-68, 115 and maps VIII, X and XIV; Piri Reis, *op. cit.,* II, 564-573; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros*, I, 125-128; idem, *Geschichte Andros,* II, 226; Slot, *op. cit.*, 30, 35-43 and 73-84; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 343. In Bonelli's Italian translation from the Venetian *Libri Commemoriali* (XXII, 34-35) the island is called Baro.

merchandise to and from Syria. It became a part of the Ottoman Empire in 1516. In the first half of the seventeenth century Fahre 'd-Din II made the Lebanon virtually independent from the Ottoman Empire. During his reign the Lebanon, including Beyrut, enjoyed great prosperity thanks to intensive commercial relations with the Italians.[9]

Bosna: Bosna is first mentioned in the capitulation of 1540. It appears in all the treaties concluded between the Ottoman Empire and Venice. In the Italian translation from 1575, it is called Bossena or Bossina. Bosnia was raided by the Turks as early as the end of the fourteenth century. In the first half of the fifteenth century parts of Bosnia were (at least temporarily) in the hands of the Ottomans. In 1458 Bosnia became an Ottoman vassal and the sultan soon demanded tribute (1462). A Bosnian refusal to pay tribute led to the conquest of Bosnia by Sultan Mehmed II in 1463. Bosnia became an Ottoman *eyalet* or *beglerbegilik* during the reign of Sultan Süleyman I.[10]

Brusa: Brusa (conquered in 1326), the first capital of the Ottoman Empire, appears in all treaties except the ones from 1482 and 1573. In 1503, 1517, 1521, 1540, 1575, 1576, 1595, 1604, 1619, 1625 and 1641 it is called Brusa, in 1513 and 1567 Bursa. In the Italian text from 1517, it is named Bursa and in the translation of 1575 it is referred to as Bursia. Bursa was within the *sancak* Hudavendigar which belonged to the *eyalet* of Anatolı.[11]

Buçac: In the draft version of the capitulation of 1540 this place is called Kuçac. Thereafter, however, it was called either Buçac (final version of 1540 and 1567) or Bucac (1573, 1575 and 1576). In the Italian translation of 1575 it appears as Bucchiz. Buçac is mentioned together with Dergirmenler, Nadin, Rastine, Sene, Urana and Velin as a place in Dalmatia bordering on Bosna. These places were conquered by the Ottomans during the war of 1537-1540. However, the Venetians claimed that some of these places, including Buçac, still rightfully belonged to them. A mixed Ottoman-Venetian committee was installed to investigate this matter. In the documents which deal with this matter Buçac is mentioned: 'Bosna sancagı ucunda Pucac (= Buçac) ve Rastine ve Velin ve Sene'. In the same letter even more specific information is given

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9 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 103-106, 141-142 and maps XXI, XXIII, XXXII-XXXIII.

10 Pitcher, *op. cit.,*44-45, 48-49, 70-75, 89-93, 114-115, 125, 127, 137-138 and maps X-XIII, XVI, XXI and XXVIII. The coastal area of Dalmatia and Bosnia is described in Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, II 761-793.

11 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 35-37 and 53; and maps VII-X, XII-XIII, XVI and XXV.

about the location of Buçac: 'Bosna sancagı muzafatından (Bonelli: muzafatında) olan Klis nam kalᶜa mukabelesinde İsplit tabiᶜi olan (Bonelli adds here 'mezkur') Buçaç bir burguzdur'. From this information it becomes clear that the castle of Buçac was a dependency of Spalato (or Split, a Venetian possession) opposite Klis (Clissa, an Ottoman possession). The letter also mentions that at that time Buçac was ruined and uninhabited.[12]

Çerne Oglı Eli: The lands of Çerne Oglı are only mentioned in the capitulation of 1503. Çerne Oglı Eli is situated north of the Lake of Scutari in the border area between present day Albania and (former) Yugoslavia. It was called after one of the ruling noble families of Albania (Crnojevic). From 1513 to 1529 a descendant of this family, Çernoyeviç İskender, ruled as *sancak begi* of Karadag or Montenegro (which included Çerne oglı eli). Before and after his rule Karadag belonged to the *sancak* of Scutari (Arnavudluk İskenderiyesi).[13]

Degirmen(ler): The castles of Degirmenler, like Buçac, Nadin, Rastine, Sene, Urana and Velin appear for the first time in the capitulation of 1540 and for the last time in that of 1576 (but not in the capitulation of 1573). In the Italian translation of 1575 these fortresses or castles are called 'li Molini' or 'li castelli delli Molini'. Like the other castles mentioned in the same article of the treaty, Degirmenler must have been in Dalmatia on the border of Bosna. In a document from 1523 more information on the exact location of Degirmenler is given: 'ki İskadin ile Şebenik ma beyninde vakıᶜ olmuşdur'. From this it becomes clear that the castles of Degirmenler must have been located somewhere between Scardona (an Ottoman possession) and Sebenico (a Venetian possession). Although its status (Venetian or Ottoman) was at first disputed, in the final version of the capitulation of 1540 Degirmenler was returned to the Venetians.[14]

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12 Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 103, 16-17; idem, *Bosna ve Hersek*, 324-325; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, note 22, 351-353. Pitcher does not mention Buçac. However, on his map XXVIII Klis and Spalato are shown. I have not been able to locate Buçac on a modern map of Dalmatia.

13 Pitcher, *op. cit.*, 68-69 and map XV; Şakiroğlu, *1503 tarihli andlaşma*, 1562; H. Hacıbegiç, 'Karadağ sahilinde Grbaly nahiyesi hakkında resmi Türk vesikaları', *İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'ya armağan*, Ankara 1976, 67-90, 69. On Crnojevic see also Bombaci, *Firmani*, no. I, 300-305.

14 The document giving the location of Degirmenler is mentioned in Bonelli, *art. cit.*, note 27, 356-357. Gökbilgin has published the same text. In his version this passage is: 'ki İskradin ile Şebinik ma beyninde vakıᶜ olmuşdur'. See Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 101, 15; and idem, *Bosna ve Hersek*, 321, 324-325. Pitcher does not mention Degirmenler. However, on his map XXVIII Scardona and Sebenico

Edirne: Edirne, the second capital of the Ottoman Empire is mentioned in the capitulations of 1482 and 1513. However, it appears not in the text but in the *locatio*-formula, which means that both documents were issued in Edirne. Edirne or Adrianople was conquered by the Ottomans between 1361 and 1369 and soon thereafter became the second Ottoman capital. Even after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Adrianople remained a favorite residence of the Ottoman sultans.[15]

Egine: The island of Egine is mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1540 and also appears in those of 1567, 1575 and 1576. In Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* the island is called Egene and Agana and in the Italian translation of 1575 Egna. Its present day Greek name is Aegina. Egine had been a Venetian protectorate since 1425, but became a Venetian possession in 1451. It was conquered by Hayre 'd-Din Barbarossa during his naval campaign of 1537-1538.[16]

Galata: The Genoese colony Galata, situated along the Golden Horn opposite Constantinople, became Ottoman in 1453. Galata is first mentioned in the capitulation of 1482 and appears in every later treaty, except that of 1573. In the Italian capitulation of 1517 and in the translation of 1575 Galata is mentioned as Pera. Pera is also the name used in Western (mostly Italian) maps from the fifteenth and sixteenth century to indicate the old walled Genoese colony. On these maps the name Galata never appears. On Western maps from the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century, however, Galata is used to indicate the old Genoese area. On the other hand, the name Pera is used to indicate the new suburb which was built north of Galata, outside the walls. The Ottomans called this new Pera Beg oglı (nowadays Beyoğlu) after Alvise Gritti, the son of the Doge ('beg oglı') of Venice who had

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are shown. Degirmenler is not mentioned in the letters concerning the investigation carried out by the mixed committee. The reason for this is simple. In the final version of the treaty of 1540 Degirmenler, which was a ruin, was returned to the Venetians. This matter, therefore, was already resolved. I have not been able to locate Degirmenler on a modern map of Dalmatia.

15 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 42 and maps X, XII-XIII, XVI and XXVI. The exact date of the conquest of Edirne is still disputed. On this subject see Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 29 and note 16 on the same page.

16 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 65, 67, 115 and maps VIII, X, XIII and XIV; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros,* I, 125-128; idem, *Geschichte Andros,* II, 225; Slot, *op. cit.*, I, 73-80; Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, I, 288-289, II, 610-614; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 343. In Bonelli's Italian translation from the Venetian *Libri Commemoriali* (XXII, 34-35) the island is called Egena.

a large house in the vicinity of the present day Taksim Meydanı. In fact, the name Pera was never used in Turkish. This neighborhood grew in the sixteenth and seventeenth century and from that time onwards was the place where all foreign embassies and most of the foreign merchants were established. The Venetian embassy was also located in Pera.[17]

Gelibolı: Gelibolı is first mentioned in the capitulation of 1521 and then appears in every new treaty, except that of 1573. It was introduced in an article concerning the searching of Venetian ships. It is clear from this article that it was Ottoman practice to search ships on their way through the Dardanelles (Çanak Kalᶜa Bogazı) at Gelibolı. This practice is also referred to in Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye*. Gelibolı was among the first places in Europe to be conquered by the Ottomans (1354). Its Italian name was Galipoli (1575), nowadays it is called Gelibolu in Turkish and Gallipoli in English.[18]

İnebahtı or **Aynabahtı**: İnebahtı or Aynabahtı is first mentioned in the capitulation of 1513 and appears in every later treaty except that of 1573. İnebahtı or Lepanto, as it was called in Italian (1517 and 1575, its Greek name is Naupactos) became Venetian in 1407. It was an important port on the northern shore of the Gulf of Corinth and a vital position in the Venetian defense system. The Venetians paid tribute to the Ottomans for the possession of Lepanto. After two abortive attempts to conquer it in 1462 and 1477 (during the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1463-1479), the city finally fell to the Ottomans in 1499 (during the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1499-1502). In 1571 (7 October) İnebahtı was the scene of a naval battle between a Christian league and the Ottomans. The Christian victory over the Ottomans led to the destruction of the legend of Ottoman naval invincibility.[19]

İskados: The Aegean island of İskados (Northern Sporades) is mentioned in the capitulations of 1540, 1567, 1575 and 1576. İskados was in Venetian hands

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17 Bertèle, *op. cit.*, 81-82. On these maps see C. Kayra, *İstanbul mekanlar ve zamanlar* (Ak Yayınları Kültür ve Sanat Kitapları no. 52. Yeni dizi 6/1990), s.l. 1990; idem, *Eski İstanbul'un eski haritaları*, İstanbul 1990 (İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi. Kültür İşleri Dairesi Başkanlığı Yayınları. No. 1 1990); and idem, *İstanbul haritaları ortaçağdan günümüze* (*Maps of İstanbul from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*), İstanbul 1990. On the 'palazzo' of the Venetian bailo see Bertèle, *op. cit.*; and Coco, *op. cit.*, 79-85.

18 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 39, 43-44, 64-67, 85 and maps VIII, X, XIII-XIV, XVI, XXV and XXVI; and Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, I, 204-207.

19 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 67, 87, 118 and maps X, XII-XIV, XVI and XXVI; and Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, II, 674-681; Esin, *art. cit.*, 789-799. See also Bombaci, *Firmani*, no. I, 300-305.

from 1455 until 1537 when it was conquered by Hayre 'd-Din Barbarossa. In Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* the island is also called İskados. In Italian it was known as Sciatos (1575), while its present day Greek name is Skiathos.[20]

İskenderiye-i Mısır or **Mısır İskenderiyesi**: The important city of İskenderiye (Alexandria) in Mısır (Egypt) is first mentioned in the capitulation of 1521 when it was added to the text at the request of the Venetian ambassador Marco Minio. After this it appears in every new treaty, except that of 1573. İskenderiye was conquered in 1517 by Sultan Selim I who added the whole of Egypt to the Ottoman Empire. Already in Mamluk times Alexandria had been an important destination for Venetian merchants. İskenderiye was called İskenderiye-i Mısır or Mısır İskenderiyesi, i.e. Egyptian Alexandria in distinction from other cities in the Ottoman Empire which were also called Alexandria, for instance Arnavudluk İskenderiyesi or Albanian Alexandria (Scutari). The same distinction was also made by the Venetians. In the translation of the capitulation of 1575 the city is called Alessandria Caiarina. The translation 'Caiarina', i.e. Cairene Alexandria, can be explained by the fact that the name Mısır was used for both Egypt as a whole and the country's main city of Cairo.[21]

İskiros: The Aegean island of İskiros (Northern Sporades) is mentioned in the capitulations of 1540, 1567, 1575 and 1576. Like İskados, İskiros was Venetian from 1455 until 1537 when it was conquered by Hayre 'd-Din Barbarossa. In Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* the island is called İskiri. In Italian it was known as Schiro (1575), while its present day Greek name is Skyros.[22]

İstanbul or **Kostantiniye**: Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, was conquered by Sultan Mehmed II in 1453, after several earlier unsuccessful Ottoman attempts to capture it. It became the third Ottoman capital after Bursa and Edirne and remained the capital until the end of the Ottoman Empire. In the treaties both Kostantiniye and İstanbul are used.

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20 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 67, 84-85, 115 and map XIV; Slot, *op. cit.,* I, 73-80; Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, II, 602-603; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros*, I, 125-128; idem, *Geschichte Andros,* II, 226; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 343. In Bonelli's Italian translation from the Venetian *Libri Commemoriali* (XXII, 34-35) the island is called Schiatto.

21 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 105 and maps XXXIV-XXXV.

22 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 67, 84-85, 115 and map XIV; Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, II, 602-603; Slot, *op. cit.*, I, 73-80; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros*, I, 125-128; idem, *Geschichte Andros*, II, 226; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 343. In Bonelli's Italian translation from the Venetian *Libri Commemoriali* (XXII, 34-35) the island is called Schiro.

However, whereas İstanbul is used throughout the text of the treaties and only once in the *locatio*-formula (1503), Kostantiniye is seldom used in the text (never more than once in any given text) but always in the *locatio*-formula of the capitulations which were issued in Constantinople (except that of 1503). This seems to indicate that the Ottoman chancery had a preference for the use of Kostantiniye in *locatio*-formulae, at least in the treaties with Venice. In the Italian text of 1517 and in the translation of 1575, both İstanbul and Kostantiniye are consistently translated as Constantinopoli or Costantinopoli.[23]

İstanbuliye: The Aegean island of İstanbuliye or İstanboliye is mentioned in the capitulations of 1540 (only in the final version), 1567, 1575 and 1576. From 1310 until 1537 when it was conquered by Hayre 'd-Din Barbarossa, it was ruled by the Italian families of the Quirini and Grimani. Thereafter, it passed under direct Ottoman rule. Its Italian name was Stampolia (1575) or Stampalia, while its present day Greek name is Astypalaia.[24]

İstendin or **İstendil** (**Tinoz** or **Tine**): The Aegean island of Tinos or Tenos (Cyclades) is mentioned in the draft version of the capitulation of 1540 under the name İstendin. This same name also appears in Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* where the island is called İstindin. In the final version of the treaty of 1540, however, two different names appear: Tinoz and Tine. Both names could refer to the same island. There are, however, two possible explanations:
1) In the list of newly conquered Ottoman islands, İstendin (draft 1540) was replaced by its Greek name Tinoz (final version of 1540). However, Tine (its Italian name) was added to the text of the final version as an island which remained under Venetian rule. In the treaties of 1567, 1575 and 1576 both Tinoz and Tine are mentioned. Thereafter, in the capitulations of 1595, 1604, 1619, 1625 and 1641 Tinoz disappears, but Tine remains. It is even mentioned by its second ('nam-i diger'), proper Turkish name: İstendil. Tine was one of the few islands which did not pass under Ottoman rule during the naval operation of 1537-1538 or shortly thereafter. The island had become Venetian in 1390 and it remained so until the second decade of the eighteenth century. Only in 1715 were the Ottomans able to conquer Tinos (Treaty of Passarowitz 1718). In the Italian translation of the capitulation of 1575 Tinoz is called

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23 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 44, 47-48, 63-65, 73, 75 and maps VII-XIII. For maps of İstanbul see Kayra, *op. cit.*

24 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 67, 84-85, 115 and map XIV; Slot, *op. cit.*, I, 73-80 and 85; Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 97; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros*, I, 125-128; and idem, *Geschichte Andros,* II, 227.

Tino and Thine. However, even at that time the situation must have been confusing, since in none of the documents is Tinoz written in the proper way. Diacritical marks are almost always lacking. This could then be the key to the second and more likely explanation:
2) Since diacritical marks are not used in a proper way in any of the documents (final version 1540, 1567, 1575 and 1576), it could well be that the text does not refer to Tinoz but another island not mentioned elsewhere in the text. In that case the word can be read as Niyoz or Ninoz, the name of another Cycladic island south of Naxos, called Ios in Greek and Nio in Italian. This island, unlike Tenos which remained Venetian, was indeed conquered by the Ottomans during the campaign of 1537-1538 and passed under direct Ottoman rule. However, this would imply that a mistake has been made in the Italian translation of 1575, since the name of this island was translated as Tino.[25]

Kefe: The Genoese colony Kaffa (Caffa) was conquered by the Ottomans in 1475. Kefe is mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1482. It also appears in the treaties of 1503, 1513, 1517 (Italian version: Caffa) and 1521, but in the treaty of 1540 it was omitted. Its disappearance is remarkable, because this may be an early indication of the Ottoman practice of prohibiting foreign merchants from entering the Black Sea. In a decree dated 1530, which directly refers to the capitulation of 1521, the Venetians are still allowed to travel to the Black Seaports. However, in 1540 Kefe is no longer mentioned. This may indicate that from that time onwards the Black Sea was becoming the Ottoman *mare nostrum* from which foreign merchants, including the Venetians, were excluded. Between 1540 and 1550 there are still Venetian merchants trading in the Black Sea area but their number was diminishing.[26]

Kerke: The island of Kerke is first mentioned in the final version of the capitulation of 1540. Thereafter, it is referred to by the same name in the treaty of 1567. In the treaties of 1575 and 1576 its name was Körke or Görge. The identification of this island under its Turkish name poses some problems. In

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25 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 67, 84-85, 115, 138 and map XIV; Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, II, 592-595; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros,* I, 125-128; idem, *Geschichte Andros,* II, 225; Slot, *op. cit.*, I, 28-29, 32-33, 35-43, 73-80, 85-87, 115-116 and 250-279; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 343. Bonelli has Ninoz.

26 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 77-78, 95-97 and maps XII, XVI, XXI, XXIII-XXIV and XXX. For this decree dated 1530 see Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 175, 103-104. On this topic see H. İnalcık, 'The question of the closing of the Black Sea under the Ottomans', *Archeion Pontou*, XXXV, 1979, 74-110 (İnalcık, *Black Sea*).

the Italian translation of 1575 Körke or Görge was translated into S. (San) Giorgi, i.e. Saint George. However, this still leaves us with two possibilities. The first option: on present day maps of the Aegean a small island called Agios Georgios, i.e. Saint George is to be found. This island is located southeast of Aegina and (north)west of Kea and Kythnos. Although Agios Georgios is a tiny island, it is possible that it had strategic value since it controls the entrance to the Saronic Gulf (Athens) and the passage between mainland Greece and the Cyclades. This may have been the reason for including this island in the treaties. On a sixteenth century (Dutch) map Agios Georgios is called Albora; on a seventeenth century (Dutch) map, however, S. (San) Giorgio d'Arbora. On this last map the island is also presented as being much bigger than it is in reality. If this Agios Georgios is the same as Kerke/San Giorgi, it must have been conquered during the naval campaign of 1537-1538 since in 1540 it appears on the list of newly captured islands. The second option: in Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* there is a chapter on the Aegean island of Levitha (its present name) which Piri Reis refers to in Turkish as Koç Papas. Piri Reis says that this island is called San Corcide Lepite by 'infidel sailors' and that it has a big natural harbor. Without a doubt this name is a Turkish transliteration of San Giorgio di Levitha. On the sixteenth century Dutch map the island is called P. S. Zorzi (i.e. Porto San Giorgio in Venetian Italian). Again, reference is made to its good harbor. Hence, it is not unlikely that San Corci/S. Zorzi is the same island as Kerke/Körke/San Giorgi.[27]

Kerpe: The Aegean island of Kerpe, situated between Crete and Rhodes, is first mentioned in the capitulation of 1540 and also appears in the treaties of 1567 and 1575. In the treaty of 1576 its name was corrupted into Kirid or Girid. The island was thus confused with the name of the last important Venetian colony in the area: Crete. In Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* the island was also called Kerpe. Kerpe is known as Chierpe (1575) or Scarpanto in Italian and Karpathos in

27 Slot, *op. cit.*, I, 73-80; Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, II, 548-551; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 343. Bonelli reads Kerke (T.) and translates Karki (It.). Pitcher mentions neither Agios Georgios nor Levitha, although map XIV shows the Aegean islands. Both Agios Georgios and Levitha are indicated on any modern detailed map of the Aegean. Another possibility is that Kerke is the island of Chalki (in Turkish called Herke). However, this island seems to have been conquered by the Ottomans during the military campaign against Rhodes in 1522-1523. Therefore, it was not necessary to include Herke in the list of newly conquered islands in 1540.

Greek. Before its conquest by the Ottomans in 1537 the island was ruled by the Italian family of the Cornari.[28]

Kıbrıs: The island of Cyprus called in Turkish Kıbrus (1517, 1540), Kıbrıs (1521, 1567, 1573, 1575 and 1576) or Kıbrız (1521) was a Venetian possession from 1489 until its conquest by the Ottomans in 1571. In the period 1489-1517 the Venetians paid tribute to the Mamluks of Egypt for Cyprus. After Selim I conquered Egypt in 1517, the Venetians began to pay 8000 golden ducats as tribute to the Ottomans.[29]

Korfuz: The island of Korfuz (or Korfus in the capitulations of 1575 and 1576) is first mentioned in the capitulation of 1503 and appears in every later treaty, except that of 1573. In Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* the island is also called Korfuz. In Italian the island is called Corfu (1575) and in Greek Kerkyra. Corfu was Venetian from 1386 until the end of the Republic of San Marco in 1797. It was the key to the Adriatic Sea which the Venetians considered to be their property ('nostro golfo'). In 1537 during his seventh campaign Sultan Süleyman I attempted to conquer Corfu but failed.[30]

Kostantiniye: see **İstanbul**.

Koyunluca: The Aegean island of Koyunluca (Cyclades) is first mentioned in the final version of the capitulation of 1540 and also appears in the treaties of 1567, 1575 and 1576. In the Italian translation of 1575 the island is called 'Coiunluge', 'cioe' l'isola di castrati'. In another earlier translation, given by Bonelli, it is called 'is. (isola) de' Piegoreri' (pecora = koyun, sheep). However, Bonelli is not able to identify Koyunluca. Pitcher suggests that Koyunluca is the same as Seriphos, a Cycladic island west of Paros and Naxos. Şakiroğlu also mentions 'Serifos' but adds 'Sermina' as another possibility. The island of Seriphos, however,is already mentioned separately in the same texts as Serfoz (draft 1540), Serkoz (sic, final version 1540 and 1567), Serkor (sic, 1575)

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28 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 67-68, 115 and map XIV; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros,* I, 125-128; idem, *Geschichte Andros*, II, 228; Slot, *op. cit.,* I, 73-80; Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 95; Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, I, 418-421 and II, 602-603; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 343. In Bonelli's Italian translation from the Venetian *Libri Commemoriali* (XXII, 34-35) the island is called Chirbe.

29 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 83, 109, 118, 127, 130, 132, 137 and maps XXI, XXIII-XXV.

30 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 65, 67-68, 86-89, 111-112, 115 and maps XIII, XV-XVI, XXI and XXIII; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros,* II, 225; and Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, II, 708-723.

and Perkor (sic, 1576). In the Italian translation this island is called Sirfo. If Koyunluca and Serfoz are one and the same island, a mistake has been made while writing the final version of the capitulation of 1540. Koyunluca was added to the text but Serfoz was not taken out. Thus, the same island was mentioned twice with two different names in the final version of the treaty of 1540 and in those of 1567, 1575 and 1576. Before its conquest by the Ottomans in 1537-1538, Seriphos was ruled by succesive Italian families. The last of these were the Michieli who ruled from 1433 until 1537. Thereafter, Seriphos passed under direct Ottoman rule.[31]

Magrib: The Magrib is mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1503 and then appears in every later treaty, except that of 1573. Like ᶜArabistan or Arnavudluk, Magrib was used to designate a larger area and not a specific administrative or military unit in the Ottoman Empire. In the Italian text of 1517 and in the translation of 1575, Magrib is translated as Barbaria, i.e. the Barbary Coast in North Africa. This area includes Marocco (Fez or Fas), Algeria (Cezayir-i Garb), Tunisia (Tünus) and Libya (Trablus-i Garb). Although the Barbary Coast (except for Marocco) became part of the Ottoman Empire in the first half of the sixteenth century (under Hayre 'd-Din Barbarossa), direct Turkish interference in the affairs of these corsair states diminished after 1587 and Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli became autonomous vassal states of the Ottoman Empire. The activities of the Barbary corsairs caused much damage to Venetian merchants and the Venetian government complained continuously about them to the sultan in İstanbul. However, especially from the end of the sixteenth century onwards, the corsairs often did not obey the Ottoman sultans in İstanbul who were only their nominal rulers.[32]

Mallu Kilise: The island of Mallu Kilise is first mentioned in the capitulation of 1540 and also appears in the treaties of 1567, 1575 and 1576. According to Piri Reis, Mallu Klise or Mallu Kilse is a small Ionian island named Strivali south of Zante. However, it would be more logical to suggest that Mallu Kilise was an island in the Aegean Sea. In a translation given by Bonelli, the island is

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31 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 67-68, 115 and map XIV; Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 94-95; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros,* I, 125-128; idem, *Geschichte Andros*, II, 226; Slot, *op. cit.*, I, 27, 35-43, 73-80 and 85; Şakiroğlu, *Ahidnameler*, 543-544; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 335 and 343. In Bonelli's Italian translation from the Venetian *Libri Commemoriali* (XXII, 34-35) Serfoz (or Serkoz) is called Sercos.

32 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 100, 117-118, 121, 143 and map XXXVI.

called 'Malli Clissa, chiesa di facultà'; in the Italian translation of 1575, however, its name is translated as Chiesa ricca. This latter name is also given by Bonelli who writes that Chiesa ricca is the same as 'Pathmos'. The island of Patmos, however, is called Batnos Babas in Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* and Batnos by Pitcher. Şakiroğlu also writes that 'Mallu Kilisa' is 'Patnos'. Patmos was conquered by the Ottomans and added to the Ottoman Empire in 1521-1522 (during Süleyman's campaign against Rhodes).[33]

Menavasiye: The fortress of Monemvasia is first mentioned in the capitulation of 1503 as Menavesiye. Thereafter, in the draft version of the treaty of 1540 it was called Menavesaye, and in the final version of 1540, Menavasiye. In the capitulations of 1567, 1575 and 1576 its name remains unchanged (Menavasiye). In Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* the city is called Menevaşiye and Menavaşiye and, in the Italian translation of 1575, Malvasia. Later the city was also called Menavişe, Menekşe, Menefşe or Benefşe in Turkish. Monemvasia was a papal possession until the Venetians took it over in 1464. Although the Ottomans besieged Monemvasia several times, they never succeeded in capturing it. Only in 1540 was Venice forced to give up Monemvasia and Napoli, her last two possessions on the mainland of Greece.[34]

Mırgır: The Aegean island of Mırgır (Cyclades) is mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1540 and also appears in the treaties of 1567, 1575 (as Mırfır, sic for Mırgır) and 1576 (as Yırgır, sic for Mırgır). In Piri Reis' *Kitab-i*

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33 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 115 and map XIV; Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, I, 422-425 and II, 670-671; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros,* I, 125-128; idem *Geschichte Andros*, II, 225-226; Slot, *op. cit.*, I, 73-80; Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 343; Şakiroğlu, *Ahidnameler*, 544; and E. Zachariadou, 'Contribution à l'histoire du sud-est de la Mer Égée (firmans inédits de Patmos)', *Summeikt I,* Athina 1966, 184-230 (in Greek, with resumé in French).

34 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 83-87, 115 and maps XIII-XIV; Piri Reis, *op. cit.,* II, 626-628; Şakiroğlu, *Ahidnameler*, 542; On Monemvasia see also W. Miller, 'Monemvasiye during the Frankish Period 1204-1450', *Essays on the Latin Orient*, Cambridge 1921, 231-245; and P. Wittek, 'The Castle of Violets: from Greek Monemvasia to Turkish Menekşe', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and Africabn Studies*, XX, 1957, 601-613. In the *ecnebi defterleri* of the Başbakanlık Arşivi in İstanbul a renewal can be found of the *ᶜahd-name* given to the inhabitants of Monemvasia by Sultan Süleyman I (*Ecnebi Defteri* 14/2, no. 356, 176). The rubric is as follows: 'Menevesiye ehalisine merhum sultan Süleyman han verdügi ᶜahd-name-i hümayun tecdid olmagıla sureti bu mehalla nakl olmuşdur'. This *ᶜahd-name* was issued: 'tahriren fi evayil-i şehr-i rebiᶜu 'l-evvel-i sene tisᶜ ve erbeᶜin ve elf'. In this text Monemvasia is also called Menevasiye. For the official declarations stating the transfer of Monemvasia from Venetian to Ottoman suzerainty see ASV, Documenti Turchi 440 (Turkish) and 442 (Greek). The Turkish text has been published by Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, I, no. 81, 204; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, note 23, 354. In this document Monemvasia is called Menefşe. See also Bombaci, *Firmani*, no. I, 300-305.

Bahriye the island is called Yamorkı or Yamorki. In the Italian translation of 1575 it was called Mirgar and its present day Greek name is Amorgos. From 1446 until its conquest by the Ottomans in 1537-1538, Amorgos was ruled by the Italian family of the Quirini. Thereafter, Mırgır passed under direct Ottoman rule.[35]

Mısır: see **İskenderiye-i Mısır**.

Mikene: The Aegean island of Mikene (Cyclades) is mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1540 and also appears in the treaties of 1567, 1575 and 1576 (as Mikiye, sic for Mikene). In Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* the island is called Mükene. In the Italian translation of 1575 it was called Micone and its present day Greek name is Mykonos. Mykonos, which was ruled from 1390 onwards by Venice, was conquered in 1537-1538 and passed under direct Ottoman rule.[36]

Milo: The Aegean island of Milo (Cyclades) appears for the first time in the draft of the capitulation of 1540 as Miso. In the final version of the same treaty Miso was corrected to Milo. It is by this name that it is also mentioned in the treaties of 1567, 1575 and 1576. In Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* Melos, or Milos as it is now called, is referred to as Degirmenlik and in the Italian translation of 1575 it was called Millo. Milos was able to retain its autonomous position in 1537-1538 because it was part of the Duchy of Naxos which paid tribute to the Ottomans. Only in 1566 did the Crispi family lose their possessions, including Milos.[37]

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35 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 67, 115 and map XIV; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros,* I, 125-128; idem, *Geschichte Andros*, II, 227; Slot, *op. cit.*, 32, 35-43, 73-80 and 85; Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, II, 552-555; Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 97-98; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 343. In Bonelli's Italian translation from the Venetian *Libri Commemoriali* (XXII, 34-35) the island is called Morgor.

36 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 67, 115 and map XIV; Slot, *op. cit.*, I, 29-30, 35-43, 73-80 and 85; Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, II, 588-591; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros,* I, 125-128; idem, *Geschichte Andros,* II, 225; Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 99-100; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 343. In Bonelli's Italian translation from the Venetian *Libri Commemoriali* (XXII, 34-35) the island is called Meghena.

37 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 67, 15 and map XIV; Slot, *op. cit.*, I, 24-25 and 73-84; Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, II, 602-603; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros,* I, 125-128; idem, *Geschichte Andros*, II, 226; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 336 and 343. Bonelli suggests that 'Meso' is the island of Megisti. In Bonelli's Italian translation from the Venetian *Libri Commemoriali* (XXII, 34-35), however, the island is called Masso.

Mora: Mora is mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1503 and appears in every later treaty, except that of 1573. The peninsula is called the Morea in Italian (1575) and English. The Morea (also called the Peloponnesus) was conquered by the Ottomans between 1452 and 1540 when the last Venetian possessions, Monemvasia and Napoli, were annexed.[38]

Moton: The fortress of Moton is first mentioned in the final version of the capitulation of 1540. Thereafter, it also appears in the treaties of 1567, 1575, 1576, 1595, 1604, 1619, 1625 and 1641. In Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* two chapters are dedicated to Moton. In 1500 the Ottomans conquered Moton together with Koron and Navarino, two other important Venetian strongholds in the extreme south-west of Morea. It is called Modon in Italian (1575) and Methone in Greek.[39]

Mürted: The Aegean island of Mürted (Cyclades) is mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1540 and also appears in the treaties of 1567, 1575 and 1576, but then under another name: Merid. In Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* the island is also called Murtad or Mürted. However, in Bonelli's Italian translation from the Venetian *Libri Commemoriali* the island is called Murit and in the Italian translation of 1575 Merit. It was also called Zea or Zia and its present day Greek name is Kea. The rule of the Italian Premarini family ended in 1537 with the Ottoman conquest. However, the Gozzadini family (who, together with the Premarini, were the rulers of Kea before 1537) continued to rule the island (together with the Crispi of Naxos) as Ottoman tributaries until its final annexation in 1566.[40]

Nadin: The fortress of Nadin is mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1540. It also appears in the treaties of 1567, 1575 and 1576. It is situated in Dalmatia on the border of Bosna (Bosnia) and was conquered by the Ottomans during the war of 1537-1540. Nadin (in Italian Nadino) and Urana (in Italian Laurana) were not among the places (Degirmenler, Buçac, Rastine, Velin and Sene) disputed by the Venetians. In the aftermath of the

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38 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 85-87, 114-115 and maps XIII-XIV. The coastal area of the Mora is described in Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, II, 616-673. See also Bombaci, *Firmani*, no. I, 300-305.

39 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 65, 85-87 and maps XIII-XIV; and Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, II, 648-659; Esin, *art. cit.*

40 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 67-68, 115 and map XIV; Slot, *op. cit.*, I, 26-27, 35-43, 73-85, 113-115; Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 94-95; Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, II, 602; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros,* I, 125-128; idem, *Geschichte Andros,* II, 225-226; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 343.

peace of 1540, Süleyman I in a letter to the Doge of Venice demanded Venetian support for the restoration of the castle of Nadin: 'Klis sancagında taᶜmiri emr olunan Nadin kalᶜası…'. It is clear from this letter that Nadin belonged to the *sancak* of Klis (Clissa). In 1575 its Italian name was also Nadin.[41]

Nakşa: The Aegean island of Naxos (Cyclades) is mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1482 as Nakş. Thereafter, it appears with the same name in the treaties of 1503, 1513, 1517 and 1521. In the capitulation of 1540 it is called Nakşa and it is also mentioned by this name in the treaties of 1567, 1575 and 1576. In Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* the island is also called Nakşa. In Bonelli's Italian translation from the Venetian *Libri Commemoriali*, the island is called Nachsia, while in the Italian text of 1517 it is known as Nixia and, in the Italian translation from 1575, Nexia. In 1537-1538 the Duchy of Naxos, which since 1383 was ruled by the Crispi family, became a tributary of the Ottoman Empire. In 1566 it was annexed by the Ottomans who appointed Joseph Nassi as the new Duke of Naxos.[42]

Ninos or **Niyoz**: see **İstendin**.

Papaslık: The Aegean island of Papaslık is mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1540 and also appears in the treaties of 1567, 1575 and 1576. In Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* the island is called İlleki, Piskopiye ('efrenc dilince') and Tilo ('rum dilince'). In Bonelli's Italian translation from the Venetian *Libri Commemoriali*, the island is called Papasluch and in the Italian translation of 1575 Papaslich. The island is also called Piskopi, Episkopia, Telos, Tilos or Tylos Gioura. Mehmed II in 1479 unsuccesfully tried to conquer the island during his campaign against Rhodes. The island was annexed by the Ottomans in 1522 when Rhodes was conquered by Süleyman I.[43]

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41 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* maps XXVIII and XXIX; Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 104, 17; idem, *Bosna*, 325-326; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, note 25, 354-355. Its present day name is also Nadin.

42 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 67, 84-85, 115, 130, 132 and maps XIII and XIV; Slot, *op. cit.,* I, 31-32, 35-43, 73-84 and 88-113; Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, II, 560-563; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros,* I, 125-128; idem,*Geschichte Andros,* II, 226; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 343. On Naxos see also Safvet, 'Nakşa (Naksos) Dukalığı, Kiklad Ataları', *Tarih-i ᶜOsmani Encümeni Mecmuᶜası*, IV, 19-24, İstanbul 1329, 1444-1457. This last article also contains a list of the (late) Ottoman and Frankish names of the Aegean islands.

43 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 85, 115, 117 and map XIV; Piri Reis, *op. cit.,* II, 538-543; Slot, *op. cit.*, I, 73-80; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros,* I, 125-128; idem, *Geschichte Andros,* II, 227; Şakiroğlu, *Ahidnameler*, 544; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 336 and 343.

Parga: The fortress of Parga is mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1540 and also appears in the treaties of 1567, 1575, 1576, 1595, 1604, 1619, 1625 (as Barga) and 1641. In Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* this city is also called Parga, like in the Italian translation of 1575. In Piri Reis' time Parga was one of the last Venetian strongholds on the coast of mainland Greece (Epirus). It was conquered by the Ottomans during the war of 1537-1540, but returned to the Venetians in the treaty of 1567.[44]

Police: The fortress of Police is only mentioned in the capitulation of 1482 together with the city and castle of Vatika (Neapolis). After the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1463-1479 Venice retained all her possessions except Argos (peace-treaty of 1479). Police also remained Venetian. Police is translated by Gallotta as Politza and Poljica and by Gökbilgin as Politse. In a later document published by Gökbilgin 'Bolice', apparently the same fortress is mentioned. This time its location is revealed: 'Klis kalᶜasına karib Bolice nahiyesine…'. This 'Bolice' is a place near the city of Klis (Clissa) in Dalmatia.[45]

Preveze: The city and fortress of Preveze is first mentioned in the final version of the capitulation of 1540. It also appears in the treaties of 1567, 1575, 1576, 1595, 1604, 1619, 1625 and 1641. In the Italian translation of 1575 it is called Prevesa and its name in Greek and English is Preveza. Preveze was conquered by the Ottomans shortly before 1451 and had strategic value since it controlled the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf (Gulf of Arta). In 1538 Hayre 'd-Din Barbarossa won the naval battle of Preveze. This victory marked the beginning of Ottoman maritime supremacy.[46]

Rastine or **Zastine**: The fortress of Rastine or Zastine is first mentioned in the draft of the capitulation of 1540. In this draft the castle is called Rastine,

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44 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 65, 68, 83, 87 and maps XV-XVI; and Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, II, 698-701. Its present day Greek name is also Parga.

45 Gallotta, *Trattato*, 224 and 235; and Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 114, 26 and no 127, 42. Pitcher does not mention Police but map XXVIII shows Klis. There are several places in present day Dalmatia which could be Police. The most likely choice is Poljica (cf. Gallotta), a small town north of the city of Zadar. Other possibilities are Bulic (between Benkovac and Skradin, Scardona) and Policnik (north-east of Zadar). See also Bombaci, *Firmani*, no. I, 300-305, no. XII, 316-318.

46 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 65, 68, 83, 87 and map XIII; and Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, II, 695-701.

whereas in the final version it is called Zastine. Rastine also appears in the treaties of 1567, 1575 (Rastiye, sic for Rastine) and 1576. In the Italian translation of 1575, however, the place was referred to as Zastina. The fortress of Zastine was mentioned together with Urana, Nadin, Buçac, Velin, Sene and Degirmenler in the draft of 1540. All these places were situated on the border of Bosnia in Dalmatia and were conquered by the Ottomans during the war of 1537-1540. However, after the Venetians had claimed that four of these places were still in their possession (Buçac, Rastine, Velin and Sene), a mixed Ottoman-Venetian committee was appointed to investigate this matter. In a document which deals with this matter Rastine is again mentioned: 'Bosna sancagı ucunda Pocac (= Buçac) ve Rastine ve Velin ve Sene'. The same document gives even more specific information about the location of Zastine: 've Zastine denilen kalᶜa Hırvat (Hrvatska, Croatia) tarafında Şebenik tabiᶜi derya kenarında zeytun bagçesi içinde bir evdir el-an sahıbı içinde mütemekkindir'. Zastine was the name of a (fortified) house in an olive grove along the coast near Sebenico and its owner was still living there at that time.[47]

Rum Eli: Like Anatolı, Rum Eli is first mentioned in the capitulation of 1521 and appears in every later treaty, except that of 1573. Although there existed a *beglerbegilik* or *eyalet* of Rumeli which comprised large parts of present day Greece, (former) Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria, the name Rum Eli was commonly used to indicate the European parts of the Ottoman Empire in general (cf. Romania). Just as Anatolı was used to indicate the Anatolian parts of the Ottoman Empire.[48]

Santorin: The Aegean island of Santorin (Cyclades) is mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1540 and also appears in the treaties of 1567 (as Santovirin, sic for Santorin), 1575 and 1576. The island was called Santurini in the Italian translation of 1575 and its present day Greek name is Santorini or Thera. Like most of the other islands it was conquered by the Ottomans during Hayre 'd-Din Barbarossa's naval campaign in 1537-1538. Before its

47 Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 103, 16-17; idem, *Bosna ve Hersek,* 324-325; and Bonelli, *art. cit.,* note 22, 351-353. Pitcher does not mention Rastine but on map XXVIII Sebenico is shown. Rastine could be present day Razine, the name of a train station and village (?) along the coast south-east of Şibenik.

48 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 137-138 and maps X, XIII, XXIV, and XXVI-XXVII.

conquest by the Ottomans the island was among the possessions of the Duchy of Naxos which was ruled by the Crispi family.[49]

Sene or **Sine**: The fortress of Sene or Sine is first mentioned in the draft of the capitulation of 1540. In this draft it is called Sene, whereas in the final version it is called Sine. Sine also appears in the treaty of 1567, but unlike Urana, Nadin, Buçac, Zastine and Degirmenler it is not mentioned in the treaties of 1575 and 1576 (together with Velin). In the final version of the capitulation of 1540 Sine is mentioned together with Buçac, Velin, Zastine and Degirmenler as places which the Venetians claimed they were still in possession of, although the Ottomans stated that they had conquered them during the war of 1537-1540. From the documents which deal with this matter more precise information about the location of Sene can be obtained: 've aña (= Buçac) karib olub derya kenarında memleha hıfzı içün bina olunan Sene bedenlü bir evdir el-an harab olub içinde adem yokdur'. Sene was a fortified house built on the coast near Buçac to protect the salt-works. At that time it was a ruin and nobody was living there. Like Buçac, Sene was in the vicinity of Spalato and Klis.[50]

Serfoz: see **Koyunluca**.

Sifnos: The Aegean island of Sifnos (Cyclades) is mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1540 and also appears in the treaties of 1567, 1575 (as Siftos, sic for Sifnos) and 1576 (Siknos, sic for Sifnos). In the Italian translation of 1575 it was called Sifno and its present day name is Siphnos. Şakiroğlu suggests that Sifnos is either Siphnos or Sikinos. However, the latter

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49 Pitcher, *op. cit.*, 67, 115, 117 and map XIV; Slot, *op. cit.*, I, 33-34, 35-43 and 73-80; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros*, I, 125-128; idem, *Geschichte Andros*, II, 226; Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 94; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 343. In Bonelli's Italian translation from the Venetian *Libri Commemoriali* (XXII, 34-35) the island is called Sa[n]torin.

50 Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 103, 16-17. Gökbilgin lists Pucac (= Buçac), Rastine (= Zastine), Velin and a place called S[-]ka (translated as Siska by Gökbilgin). However, the last name evidently has to be Sene or Sine, since in the final version of the treaty of 1540 it is mentioned with exactly the same other three places. So either the name was written incorrectly in the document or Gökbilgin has misread it. Bonelli, *art. cit.*, note 22, 351-353. Bonelli presents a part of the same text. He correctly reads Sene. Pitcher does not mention Sene but Spalato and Klis are shown on map XXVIII. I have not been able to locate Sene on a modern map of Dalmatia. Gökbilgin mentions the name of the city of Sinj in combination with Buçac, Zastine, Velin and Degirmenler. He has evidently confused Sine/Sene with the important city of Sinj which is located in approximately the same area (north-east of Spalato and Klis), however not on the coast. See Gökbilgin, *Bosna ve Hersek*, 324-325.

is unlikely since Sikinos is another island. From 1464 until its final annexation by the Ottomans in 1617, Siphnos (Sifanto) was ruled by the Italian family of the Gozzadini.[51]

Sire: The Aegean island of Sire (Cyclades) is mentioned for the first time in the final version of the capitulation of 1540 and also appears in the treaties of 1567, 1575 and 1576. In the Italian translation of 1575 it was called Sira; its present day name is Syros. In Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* the island was also called Sire or Sira. However, the island was sometimes also called Şire or Şira in Turkish. Şakiroğlu also gives the Italian name Thesa for Sire. Syros (also Syra) belonged to the Duchy of Naxos which retained its autonomous status by paying tribute to the Ottomans until its annexation in 1566.[52]

Sopot: The fortress of Sopot is mentioned for the first timein the capitulation of 1573. Thereafter, it only appeared in the treaty of 1576. Sopoto was originally a Venetian possession north of Corfu on the Albanian coast and had often changed hands. At the end of the fifteenth century it was conquered by the Turks. In 1570-1572 the Venetians attacked Sopoto, but in the treaty of 1573 it was agreed that the fortress would be given back to the Ottomans.[53]

Şam: Şam is mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1540 and also appears in every later treaty, except that of 1573. Şam, like Mısır, was used to indicate both an *eyalet*, as well as a city. In the Italian translation of 1575 the city was called Damasco. The city of Damascus was called Şam but so was the *eyalet* dependent on the city (mainly Palestine and parts of Syria, Jordan and the Lebanon). In 1516 Sultan Selim I conquered Şam from the Mamluks.[54]

Termiye: This Aegean island (Cyclades) is mentioned for the first time in the draft of the capitulation of 1540 as Termiye. In the final version its name was changed to Termine. This last form of the name also appears in the treaty of

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51 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 67-68 and map XIV; Şakiroğlu, *Ahidnameler*, 543; Slot, *op. cit.*, 27, 35-43, 73-80, 85 and 113-115; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros,* I, 125-128; idem, *Geschichte Andros,* II, 226; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 343. In Bonelli's Italian translation from the Venetian *Libri Commemoriali* (XXII, 34-35) the island is called Sifnos.

52 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 67-68 and map XIV; Slot, *op. cit.*, I, 30, 35-43 and 73-84; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros,* I, 125-128; idem, *Geschichte Andros,* II, 225; Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, II, 574-579; and Şakiroğlu, *Ahidnameler*, 543.

53 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 89, 114 and map XV; and the map in İnalcık, *Arvanid*. See also Bombaci, *Firmani*, no. I, 300-305.

54 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 105, 141 and maps XXI, and XXIII-XXIV.

1567. Thereafter, the island's name appears as Termid (1575 and 1576). In the Italian translation of 1575 the island was called Termine. The island was also named Thermia or Thermina, whereas its present day name is Kythnos. Until 1617 Kythnos was ruled by the Gozzadini family who also ruled Sifnos.[55]

Tine and Tinoz: see İstendin

Trablus and **Şam Trablusı**: The city of Trablus is mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1540 and also appears in those of 1567, 1575, 1576, 1595, 1604, 1619, 1625 and 1641. This important port in the Northern part of the Lebanon was generally called Trablus-i Şam or Şam Trablusı (Syrian Tripoli) to distinguish it from the other Tripoli in the Ottoman Empire: Trablus-i Garb (Tripoli in Tripolitania or Libya). In the Italian translation of 1575 the city was called Tripoli. Trablus-i Şam was also the name of the *eyalet* dependent on the city. Like the whole of Şam, Trablus became part of the Ottoman Empire in 1516.[56]

Trabzon: The city of Trabzon in the eastern Black Sea area is mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1482. It also appears in the treaties of 1503, 1513, 1517 and 1521 (Trabzon and Trabuzon). Thereafter, like Kefe (another Black Sea port), it disappears from the treaties. Until its conquest by Sultan Mehmed II, Trabzon or Trebizond was a small independent Greek 'empire' ruled by a branch of the Byzantine Comneni family. They became Ottoman tributaries in 1453. In 1456 the Ottomans raided the environs of the city. Not long afterwards, in 1461, the city itself capitulated at the arrival of Ottoman troops. In the late sixteenth century Trabzon became an *eyalet*.[57]

Urana: The fortress of Urana is mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1540, together with Nadin, Buçac, Zastine, Velin, Sene and Degirmenler. All these fortresses in the coastal area of Dalmatia on the border of Bosnia were conquered by the Ottomans during the war of 1537-1540.

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55 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 67-68, 115 and map XIV; Slot; *op. cit.*, I, 26, 35-43, 73-80, 85 and 113-115; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros,* I, 125-128; idem, *Geschichte Andros*, II, 225; Şakiroğlu, *Ahidnameler*, 544; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, 343. In Bonelli's Italian translation from the Venetian *Libri Commemoriali* (XXII, 34-35) the island is called Termena.

56 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 106, 141 and maps XXIII-XXIV and XXXII-XXXIII.

57 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 55-56, 75, 77-78, 128-129, 139 and maps XVI and XXIV-XXV. On the closing of the Black Sea see İnalcık, *Black Sea*.

Urana and Nadin were not among the castles disputed by the Ottomans and Venetians in the aftermath of the peace of 1540. During the reign of Süleyman I, Nadin (which was near Urana) belonged to the *sancak* of Klis (Kilis) which formed part of the *eyalet* of Bosna. Later, around 1606 it belonged to the *sancak* of Kırka. It seems reasonable to assume that Urana too belonged to the same administrative and military units. Urana is mentioned in the capitulation of 1567 (as Urana), 1575 (as Uyurana) and 1576 (as Uyuraniye). In the Italian translation of 1575 its name was Vrana (in Italian it was also called Laurana). Its present day name is Vrana.[58]

Vatika: The fortress of Vasika or Vatika near Monemvasia in the Morea is only mentioned in the capitulation of 1482. In accordance with the peace treaty of 1479, which ended the war of 1463-1479 between Venice and the Ottomans, Vatika and its surroundings remained in Venetian hands. This was confirmed in the treaty of 1482. However, in the war of 1499-1503 Vatika or Neapolis was captured by the Ottomans.[59]

Velin: The fortress of Velin is first mentioned in the capitulation of 1540, together with Nadin, Buçac, Rastine, Urana, Sene and Degirmenler. All these fortresses in the Dalmatian coastal area bordering on Bosnia were conquered by the Ottomans during the war of 1537-1540. Velin was among the castles disputed by the Ottomans and Venetians in the aftermath of the peace of 1540. This matter was investigated by a joint Venetian-Ottoman committee which concluded that Velin was Ottoman. In 1546 the castle was still in Venetian hands because Süleyman I wrote a letter to the Doge of Venice in which he demanded the transfer of Velin to the *sancak begi* of Klis (Kilis), an officer called ᶜAbdi. Like Nadin and Urana, Velin apparently belonged to the *sancak* of Klis (Kilis). Another document gives a more precise description of the location of Velin: 've Velin denilen kalᶜa yine Hırvat (Hrvatska, Croatia) tarafında İstriviçe nam miri kalᶜaya karib yerde bir burguzdur'. From this it is clear that Velin was a castle located near Ostrovac in Dalmatia. Like Sene,

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58 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 137-138 and map XXVIII; Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no. 104, 117-118: 'Kilis sancagında taᶜmiri emr olunan Nadin kalᶜası'. Urana's present day name is Vrana. Vrana is a city between Şibenik and Zadar.

59 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 87 and map XIV; Gokbilgin, *Belgeler,* V-VIII, no. 127, 42; Piri Reis, *op. cit.,* II, 637-639; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, note 22, 351-353. Gökbilgin translates Vasika or Vatika as Vatca. See also Bombaci, *Firmani*, no. I, 300-305, no. XII, 316-318.

Velin is mentioned in the capitulation of 1567, but does not appear in any later treaties.[60]

Venedik: The city as well as the Republic of Venice is mentioned in all the treaties. Its Turkish name Venedik comes from the German Venedig. In Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* a large section is dedicated to both the territories of the Republic of Venice and the city of Venice proper. The Republic of Venice was also called the Republic of San Marco. The latter name also appears in the treaties as Aya Marko ('bi-'l-cümle Aya Markonuñ sancagın götüren kimesneler': all those bearing the standard of San Marco, i.e the subjects of Venice). The Doge of Venice was called either 'Venedik dukası' (1482) or 'Venedik dojı' (in all later treaties), and the Venetian Signoria was referred to as 'Venedik begleri'.[61]

Yanya: The city and *sancak* of Yanya is mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1540 and also appears in the treaties of 1567, 1575, 1576, 1595, 1604, 1619, 1625 and 1641. Yanya is the name of the chief city in Epirus which was ruled, in chronological order, by the Florentine Buondelmonti family, the Albanian house of Spata and the Tocchi of Cephalonia (Akarnania or Karlı Eli). The city was conquered by the Ottomans in 1430, following the division of Carlo Tocco's possessions among his heirs (1429). From the reign of Sultan Süleyman I onwards, Yanya was a *sancak* belonging to the *eyalet* of Rumelia. Yanya is also mentioned in Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* as an administrative center ('liva-i Yanya'). In the Italian translation of 1575 its name was Ianina, whereas its present day name is Ioannina in Greek and Yanina in English.[62]

Zañte, **Zakite**, **Zaklise** or **Zakise**: The Ionian island of Zañte is mentioned for the first time in the capitulation of 1503 and afterwards appears in every new treaty. It is called Zañte or Zakite in the treaties of 1503, 1513, 1517, 1521,

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60 Gökbilgin, *Belgeler*, V-VIII, no.'s 103 and 135, 16-17 and 61-62; idem, *Bosna ve Hersek*, 324-325; and Bonelli, *art. cit.*, note 22, 351-353. Pitcher does not mention Velin but map XXVIII shows Ostrovac. Could Velin be the present day village of Bjelina (north)east of Vrana and Benkovac?

61 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 64-70, 76, 79-81, 83-89, 91-92, 98, 108-109, 114-118, 132 and maps XVI, XVIII, XXI and XXIII-XXIV; and Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, II, 888-905. In Katib Çelebi's *Tuhfetü 'l-kibar fi esfari 'l-bihar* one section deals with Venice. Besides the usual Ottoman name Venedik, Katib Çelebi gives two other names: 'Venesya' and 'Vineçya'. These two names are derived from the Italian names of the city. For this small section about Venice see R. Kreutel, *Osmanisch-türkische Chrestomathie*, Wiesbaden 1965, no. 50, 48-49.

62 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 45, 65, 67, 137-138 and map XXVI; and Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, II, 694-695.

1540 and 1567. In the text of 1573 its name is Zaklise (or Zakilse) and, in that of 1575 and 1576, Zakise. Thereafter, in the treaties of 1595, 1604, 1619, 1625 and 1641, its name once again appears as Zaklise (or Zakilse). In Piri Reis' *Kitab-i Bahriye* the island is also called Zakilse (or Zaklise). In the Italian translation of 1575 its name was Zante (like its present day Italian name). Nowadays the island is called Zakynthos in Greek. From 1357 till 1482 the island was among the possessions of the Tocchi family of Cephalonia. In 1479 it was conquered (together with all the other possessions of the Tocchi) by Gedik Ahmed Paşa of Avlonya. However, already by 1480 Antonio Tocco had recovered Zante and Cephalonia, only to lose them again in 1482 (Zante) and 1483 (Cephalonia) to the Venetians. In 1485 the Venetians agreed to return Cephalonia to the Ottomans and to pay tribute for the continued possession of Zante. During the war of 1499-1503 Venice once again conquered Cephalonia. In accordance with the peace of 1503, she retained both islands but began to pay tribute for Zante: at first 500 golden ducats a year, and after the treaty of 1573, 1500 ducats a year. Venice continued to pay this tribute until 1699.[63]

Zastine: see **Rastine**.

63 Pitcher, *op. cit.,* 65, 86-87, 130-132 and maps XIII, XVI, XXI and XXIII; Hopf, *Geschichte Andros,* II, 225; Piri Reis, *op. cit.*, II, 666-673; and Şakiroğlu, *Ahidnameler*, 539 and 548. Şakiroğlu gives as names: Zenta, Zaklisa, Zakina and Zakine. Pitcher states that Venice paid 500 ducats a year as tribute until 1699.

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