

MEHMED II CONFIRMS PEACE BETWEEN THE OTTOMANS AND VENICE¹
Text and Translation

25 January 1478/9

[*Gold tugra of Mehmed II*]

ὁ μέγας αὐθεντης κ(αὶ) μέγας ἀμοιράς σουλτάν μαϊχέμετ μπεεῖς. κ(αὶ) ἰὼς τοῦ μακάρη τοῦ μεγαλου
αὐθεντης τοῦ μουρατ μπεῖ | ὀμναίγω εἰς τὸν θ(εο)ν τοῦ ὄυ(ρα)νου κ(αὶ) γῆς κ(αὶ) εἰς τὸν μεγαν ημῶν
προφήτην τὸν μοᾶμαιθ. κ(αὶ) εἰς τὰ ἑπτὰ μούσάφρα τα κρατούμεν | κ(αὶ) ὀμῶλογοῦμ(εν) ημῆς ἡ
μουσουλμάνη κ(αὶ) εἰς τοὺς ρῆκδ' προφήτας τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ. πληῶν τὲ κ(αὶ) ὀλήγῶν κ(αὶ) ἡς τὴν μπήστην
ὀποῦ πηστεβῶ | καὶ ὀμολογῶ. κ(αὶ) εἰς τὴν ψηχῆν μου κ(αὶ) εἰς τὴν ψηχην τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ο)ς μου. κ(αὶ)
εἰς τὸ σπάθην το ζῶνομαι. αἰπηδὴν ἡ αὐθ(εν)τηά μου ἡχ(εν) | 5 | πρῶτερων ἀγάπην κ(αὶ) φηλήαν
μετατῆς ἐκλάμπρωτάτης κ(αὶ) ὕψηλωτάτης αὐθ(εν)τι(ας) τῆς βαινετή(ας). νῆν δαὶ πάλην βουλῶμαινῆ πῖ
| ἡσαι νέαν ἀγάπην κ(αὶ) ὀρκωμοτηκῶν εἰς βαιβεῶσην καλης φηλί(ας) κ(αὶ) ναί(ας)αγαπης. ἔπη τούτο
ἔστηλ(εν) δαὶ ἡ πρῶρημένη ἐκλαμπροτατη αυθ(εν) | τηα τῶν αἰξηρημένων καὶ σοφων ἀρχων
κυρ(ιον) Ιω(αννην) τὸν δαρηω σαϊκρετάρη(ον) ἀποκρησήαρην εἰς τὴν αυθ(εν)τήαν μου δηανά
πῖῆσωμ(εν) | τὴν λεγωμένην ἀγάπην με τα κάτω γαιγραμένα καίφάλεια παλαιάται κ(αὶ) ναια.² ἔπη
τουτῶ δαὶ ἡ αὐθ(εν)τία μου ηπῶσχομαι δηα τῶν ανῶ | γαιγραμένων ὀρκῶν τὸ καθῶς ἦτον αγαπη κ(αὶ)
φηλια πρότερων ἀνάμαισῶν μας ἡγουν μαὶ τοὺς ἀρχωντὰς κ(αὶ) ἀν(θρωπ)ους κ(αὶ) σημάχους αυτῶν |
10 | κάμνω δαὶ πίστην καλήν κ(αὶ) καθαρήν ἀγάπην τὸ δηάξηράς κ(αὶ) θαλάσου μαίσα κ(αὶ) ἔξω τοῦ
σταινου μαὶ χόρες κάστηρη νησηια καὶ τόπους | ὀποῦ σηκόνουσην το σημι(ον)³ τοῦ ἀγηου μάρκου. κ(αὶ)
ὀσαις θαίλουσην σηκόσην εἰς τὸ αἰξης. κ(αὶ) ὀση τῶπῖ ἡναι εἰς τὴν ἡποταγῆν καὶ ἐπίστα | σηαν αυτῶν.
κ(αὶ) εἰς πράματα ὀποῦ αἰχουσην αἰως τὴν σῆμερῶν. κ(αὶ) μαίλουσην αἰξην εἰς τὸν μαίλωντα χρώνον.
τὸ μὲν πρότῶν | οὐδῆς ἀν(θρωπ)ος τῆς αὐθ(εν)τι(ας) μου νὰ μηδὲν τῶλμήσοι νὰ πῆσοι ζημήαν ἡ
αἰνάντη(ον) αὐθ(εν)τι(ας) τῆς βαινετή(ας) οὐταὶ τοὺς ἀν(θρωπ)ους αυτῶν ἡ δαὶ | κ(αὶ) γένη νὰ ὀφήλη ἡ
αὐθ(εν)τηά μου ναπεδαίβη αὐτοὺς κατα τὴν αιτήαν τοὺς. ὀμήως κ(αὶ) ἡ εκλαμπρότατη αὐθ(εν)τια
προσημας. Ἔτερῶν | 15 | δαὶ αὶ ἀν απο τοὺς ἀν(θρωπ)ους τῆς αυθ(εν)τι(ας) μου ἐπάρθη απο τὴν
σῆμερων κ(αὶ) αἰμπρῶσθ(εν). ἡ τόπη ἡ ἀλῶν πράγμᾶν τῆς εκλαμπροτάτης αυθ(εν) | τι(ας) κ(αὶ) τὸν
αν(θρωπ)ον τῆς πάλη νὰ ἐπηστραίφεται ἔξωπησω. τῶ ὀπι(ον) νὰ ὀφήλουν καὶ αὐτὴ πρὸς τὴν

- 1 . ASV: Documenti Turchi B1/2. A tergo: "1478 adi 25 zener i capitoli de la pace fece Ser Giovanni Dario." Scroll, 24 cm. x 58 ½ cm. Contemporary Venetian copies and translations are found in ASV: Misc. Atti Diplomatici et Privati, B45, *Liber Graecus*/1321/1 & 2 (hereafter LG), also ASV: Libri Commemorativi R. 16, f 142. Both correct some of the Greek of the 'ahd-name. Greek text in MIKLOSICH-MÜLLER, III, 295-298; also, M. G. LAMPRYNIDES, *H Naύπλιά* Athens, 1898; reprint 1950, 71-73. The Italian translation in the LG is printed in SANUDO, *Le Vite*, Vol. 1: 139-142. BABINGER, 370, cites the text and Turkish translation in V. MIRMİROĞLU, *Fatih Sultan Mehmed II devrine ait tarihi vesikalar*. Istanbul, 1945, 19-24. Peter Schreiner advised on the readings.
- 2 . This scribe's version of the fossilized literary παλαιά τε καὶ νέα .
- 3 . In the 1446 treaty, τῶ φλάμουλ(ων). BABINGER-DÖLGER, 236.

αυθ(εν)την μου. κ(αι) ἢ ἀν(θρωπ)οι κ(αι) πραμα | τευτη αὐτων δη αξεράς καὶ δηὰ θαλάσου νὰ
ἔρχονται εἰς πὰν τόπων τῆς αὐθ(εν)τι(ας) μου κ(αι) νὰ ἦναι σήγουρη κ(αι) ἄνετη μαι πάσαν τον
πραματην καὶ με κάτεργαται καὶ караβη⁴ | τω ὁμέως κ(αι) αὐτὴ πρὸς ἡμας εἰς τόπους αὐτῶν. κ(αι) ὁ
δούκας τῆς αξί(ας) κ(αι) ἢ αδ(ελφοι)⁵ του κ(αι) ἢ ἄρχονταις κ(αι) αν(θρωπ)οι τὸν μαὶ τὰ καράβῆ⁶των |
κ(αι) ἄλλα πλαιψήματα νὰ ἦναι εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην. κ(αι) ναμηδεν ὀφήλουσην καμῆαν δουλωσήνην τὴν
αὐθ(εν)τήν μου ἀμη νὰπερνουν ὡς⁶ βαιναι | 20 | τηκὴ καθῶς ἦσαν πάντα. Ἔτερων δαι ὅσα καράβη⁶
καὶ κάτεργα ἦγουν πραμάτευταδηκα κ(αι) ἄρματομένα τῆς αὐθ(εν)τηας μου ὅπωθ(εν) | κ(αι)
ανευραιθούσην μαὶ τα βαιναίτηκα νὰ ἔχουν καλὴν σὴντροφήαν κ(αι) ἀγάπην ἀλήλως. τα κρούσάρηκα
δαι καὶ κλέπτηκα ὅπωθ(εν) πῆας | θουση νὰ ἔχουν πέδαιψην. αἴτη ἀν τῆς βαινέτηκος πηση{ς} χραίως
ἦται ἄλων κακῶν εἰς τόπους τῆς αὐθ(εν)τίας μου ἢ ἄλλη βαιναίτηκη ναμηδεν | ἀνέχουντεν. κ(αι) ὁμῶς
καὶ ἢ αὐθ(εν)τι(α) βαιναιτι(ας) πρὸς τοὺς ἐδηκούς μας. κ(αι) ἢμ(εν) φήγη σκλάβος⁷ βαιναίτηκος κ(αι)
ἔλθη εἰς τούρκων χερρα |⁸ ἢ μ(εν) γένη μουσουλμάνος νὰ διδουν πρὸς τὸν αυθ(εν)την αὐτου ασπρ(α)
α ἦται κ(αι) ἐναι χρηστηγῶς να στραιφεται.εξωπίσω. κ(αι) αν τζα | 25 | κησθη ξύλων βαινέτηκων εἰς
των τόπον τῆς αὐθ(εν)τίας μου. ὅλη ἢ αν(θρωπ)οι να ἦναι αἰλευθρωμενη. καὶ ταπράματα
ναστραίφουντεν | εἰς τους νηκοκηροῦς. τῶ ὁμαιως κ(αι) ἢ αὐτὴ πρὸς ημας. καὶ ἢ μ(εν) αποθάνη
βαινετηκος ἀν(θρωπ)ος ἢς τοπων⁹ τῆς αὐθεντη(ας) μου ανευ δηαθήκης | ἢ κληρωνομί(ας). νὰδοθου
τὰπράματα αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν μπάήλων βαιναιτι(ας) ἐκὴ δαι ὅπου δαιν εὐρήσκαται μπάήλως νὰ
δοθουντεν | εἰς βαιναίτηκων χαιρηά. ὅστοῦ νὰγράφη ἢ βαιναίτηα οὔτος νὰγενη. Ἔτη δαι ἢ
εκλαμπρωτάτη αυθ(εν)τια νὰ ἔχη ἄδην καὶ εξου | σην ἢγουν νὰ στέλνη μπαήλων της εἰς τὴν
κωστάντήνωπολην. μαὶ τὴν φαμηλήαν του κατατὴν σηνηθηαν. ὀπήως να ἢμπορῆ | 30 | νακρηνη κ(αι) νὰ
δει ἢκὴ εἰς πραματατὸν βαιναίτηκων κατα τὴν σηνήθηαν αὐτον. καὶ ὁ σουπάσης νὰ ὀφηλη να τὸν δῆδη
βοήθηαν | κ(αι) συνδρωμῆν. κ(αι) ὁ λαϊγώμενως μπάήλως ὀποῦ θελη εὐρησκεσθ(εν) κατα τοὺς καιρους
νὰ ὀφήλην ἀδήδη τὴν αυθ(εν)την μου. | καθεν χρώνον δη ακανησχην φλουρηα βαιναίτηκα χηληάδες
δέκα ἀπο τὴν πράξην τῆς πραματί(ας) αυτῶν. Ἔτη δαι ὀφήλη ἢ ἐκλα | μπροτατη αὐθ(εν)τηα
βαιναίτι(ας) δη ἀπάσαν αἰτήαν ὀποῦ αισηνεβην μαίσιων ημῶν κ(αι) δη ἀπὰν χρέως ἦται κηνῶν ἦται
ἢδηῶν ἦται τηνῶν αιδή | κῶν τοὺς αν(θρωπ)ον δηὰ ὠλῶν τον περασμενων καιρων προ της μαχης¹⁰ ἔως
την σημαίρων. ναδόσου σην τὴν αὐθ(εν)τιαν μου δουκάτα βεναι | 35 | τικα ρ αἰῶς χρώνους δηω. κ(αι)
πλαιῶν ναμηδὲν δηναιται ἢ αυθ(εν)τηα μου ζητὴν χρέως καναίναν περάσμενων. μήται ἔκ τὴν
ἐκλαμπροτατην | αὐθ(εν)τιαν βαιναίτι(ας) μήται απο τοὺς ἀν(θρωπ)ους αὐτης. Ἔτερων δαι ὀφήλη ἢ

4 . με κάτεργαται καὶ караβηа is squeezed into the right margin.

5 . MIKLOSICH-MÜLLER print καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοι twice.

6 . ως added above the line

7 . In the 1446 treaty, σκλαβία, BABINGER-DÖLGER, 240.

8 . At this line, the mid-line of the paper, the paper is deeply creased and the ink smeared

9 . MIKLOSICH-MÜLLER: εἰς τον τοπον.

10 . There is a thick wavy line, perhaps meaningless, above καιρων προ της μαχης and another beneath καιρων .

εκλαμπροτάτη αὐθ(εν)τια βαιναίτι(ας) να παραδόση τὴν αὐθ(εν)τιαν μου | το κάστρον λαιγόμενον
σκώδρα ἐν τῇ αλβανητῆα. σοζωμένοι το να ἐκβάλη να ἐπάρη τὸν αρχῶν οποῦ αἶναι καιφαλη. κ(αι) τους
ρωγα | τορους.¹¹ κ(αι) ὅλους ἄλους αν(θρωπ)ους ἤτηνες θελουν δηανα πηγαίνου ἡγουν μαὶ
ταπραματατων ἤτη ἄρα κ(αι) ἂν εχούν. κ(αι) ἡ αὐθ(εν)τια να ἐπαίρη | τὰς σκαίβας κ(αι) ἄπασαν ἄλην
ἤλην πολεμηκὴν ἅ τη ἄρα καὶ ανευρησκαιται εἰς το παρων κάστρον. ανευ καμί(ας) εναντήόσαιως. Ἔτι
δαὶ ὀφήλη ἡ ἐκλα | 40 | μπρωτάτη αὐθ(εν)τια βαιναίτι(ας) ναστραίψη εἰς τὴν αυθ(εν)τιαν μου ἡγουν το
νησὴν της λήμνου. σοζωμέν(ου) τὸ να ἐπερνου τὴν καιφαλην καὶ τοῦς | ἄρχοντας καὶ ἄλη αν(θρωπ)οι
ἤτηνες θελήσου απηγαινου να ἐπέρνου ἄτη ἄρα καὶ αν εχουσή να πηγαινου ὀποθ(εν) θελουν καὶ
τηναις ὀπου | θελησου να ἀπομήνου εἰς το παρῶνησην να ἦναι σημπαθημενη. ἡσότη ἔγην(εν) αἴως
τόρα. | Ἔτη δαὶ ἡ παρῶν ἐκλαμπροτάτη αὐθ(εν)τια βαιναίτι(ας) να παραδοση πρὸς τὴν αὐθ(εν)τιαν μου.
τὰ παρῶν κάστρι καὶ τόπους ἄτηνα ἐπάρθησαν ἐν τη μάχη ἐκ τὴν αὐθ(εν)τηαν μου, ἡγουν εἰς ταμέρι |
τοῦ μοραίως. σοζωμαινου το ἡ ἄν(θρωπ)οι να ἦναι εἰς τὴν αἰξουσηαν τῶν. να πηγένουσην ὀπόθ(εν)
θέλουν, ἡγουν μαὶ ἡ τη ἄρα κ(αι) ἂν ἐχουσην. | 45 | καὶ ἡ μὲν θελοῦν τηνες δεαναπομενοῦ [ν] εἰς τοῦς
παρῶν τοποῦς καὶ κάστρη να ἦναι καὶ αὐτη πάντα σημπαθημένη ἡγουν απο πάσαν αιτηαν | ἡσότη
ἔγην(εν). αἴως τόρα. Ετη δαὶ ὀφηλη ἡ αὐθ(εν)τια μου ναστρεψη πρὸς αὐτοῦς. τὰς ἐμποδησμένας
περιῶχὰς ἡγουν εἰς τὰ παλέα | σύνορα τὸν καστρῶν αὐτον. ὀπου γητοναίβουσην μαὶ τοῦς τόπους της
αὐθ(εν)τη(ας) μου πάνταιχώθ(εν). δηα βαιβαίόσην κ(αι) ἐπη | κήρωση τῶν ἄνωθ(εν) γεγραμένων
καὶφάλαιων καὶ ορκωμοτηκῶν. ἔγην(εν) δαὶ ἡ παρουσα γραφὴ εν τῶ ἐτους ̅Ϛ̅ ̅Ϡ̅π̅Ϛ̅ ι(νδ) ̅ιβ̅ μ(ηνι)
οιάνουαριω ̅κε̅ ἐν κωσταντηνουπολι.¹²

Translation¹³

I, the great lord and great emir, Sultan Mehemed-Bey, son of the great and blessed lord¹⁴ Murat-Bey,
do swear by the God of heaven and earth, and by our great prophet Mohammed, and by the seven
*mushaf*¹⁵ which we Moslems possess and confess, and by the 124 thousand¹⁶ prophets of God (more or

11 . Venetian: *rogati* = council.

12 . The numbers for the date are written much larger than the text. At the conclusion of the LG Greek copy, LG 1321/1, a second scribe has noted: "Capitula pacis cum domino turco Mehemet Bey - orarre egregio & prestantissimo secretario Ioanni Dario."

13 . LG 1321/2 (Italian) is headed: Pax cum Domino Mahamet Imperator Turcorum 1478. Marginal comments from that manuscript will be included in italics in the text with the accompanying ☞. THEUNISSEN, 90-96, discusses the elements of the 'ahd-name conventional to Ottoman treaties. These elements, whose order can vary, are: invocatio or the name of God; names and titles of the parties; capitula or clauses; oath in extenso containing the prophets, Mohammed, and the seven *mushaf*; corroboratio, here the final confirmation; legitimatio, or *tugra*.

14 . LG 1321/2 adds, "dela bon memoria."

15 . The seven *mushaf* were the seven accepted versions of the Quran: this emphasized Mehmed's Sunni allegiance.

16 . MIKLOSICH-MÜLLER,, III 296, read this number as 124.

less),¹⁷ and by the faith which I believe and confess, and by my soul and by the soul of my father,¹⁸ and by the sword I wear:¹⁹

Because my Lordship formerly had peace and friendship with the most illustrious and exalted Signoria of Venice, now again we desire to make a new peace and oath to confirm a true friendship and a new peace. For this purpose, the aforementioned illustrious Signoria sent the learned and wise *kyrios*²⁰ Giovanni Dario, secretary, as emissary to my Lordship so we might make the said peace with the following old and new provisions. For this my Lordship swears by the above-written oaths that just as there was formerly peace and friendship between us, namely, with their lords and men and allies, I now profess good faith and an open peace by land and sea, within and without the Straits,²¹ with the villages, fortresses, islands, and lands that raise the sign of San Marco, and to those desiring to be from this time forward, *per Cypro* all those places that are in their obedience and supervision,²² and to the commerce which they have as of today and are going to have in the coming years.

[Confirmation of previous agreements]

[1]²³ First, no man of my lordship will dare to inflict injury or opposition to the Signoria of Venice or its men: if this happens, my Lordship is obligated to punish them according to the cause: similarly, the most illustrious Signoria [is obligated] toward us.

[2] Further, from this day forwards, if either land or other goods of the most illustrious Signoria and its men is taken by the men of my Lordship, it will be returned: similarly, they [are

17 . The phrase "more or less" does not appear in Turkish versions of the *ʿahd*-name. (Personal communication from Hans Theunissen.) The Italian of LG 1321/2, and of the Ottoman-Venetian treaty of 1454, has "o più o meno." ROMANIN, IV, 383.

18 In the 1446 treaty, when Sultan Murad was alive, Mehmed swore "by my head and the head of my father." BABINGER-DÖLGER, 239.

19 . This section is contained in the 1454 treaty. ROMANIN, IV, 383

20 . LG 1321/2, "homine." *Kyrios* can be translated either as "sir" or "lord." Apparently Dario, a *cittadino*, could not be called a "lord" in a Venetian document. The use of *homine* here rather than *sier/ser* indicates that Venice did not recognize Dario's knighthood from Mehmed. Senato R. 28 (1477-1479) f 132: "et tuor dal Sig. Turcho la confirmation de tal accordo et pace," from the letter to Thomaxio Maripietro, *provveditor* of the Fleet, directing him to meet Giovanni Dario in Greece and take him to Constantinople to conclude the peace. Also R. 28 f 64v-65 for instructions to Dario.

21 . Dardanelles.

22 . This provision was intended to include various other minor lords in the Aegean who gave nominal homage to Venice, although not Leonard II Tocco, Duke of Arta and the Ionian islands. See STEFANO MAGNO, f 37 and K. N. SATHAS, *Μνημεία Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας: Documents inédites relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*, Paris, 1880-1890, VI, 215: "come facea il duca di Nicosia et altri signori in Archipelago che levavano tal insegna, per esser in ditta paxe inclusi tutti luoghi de adherenti et che levavano ditte insegne."

23 . These provisions are numbered according to the Greek and Italian copies of LG 1321/1 & 2, and also the formal permanent copy in ASV: Libri Commemorativi R. 16, f 142 et seq.

obligated] to my Lordship.²⁴

[3] Their men and their merchandise may come by land and by sea to every land of my Lordship, and all the merchandise and the galleys and the ships will be secure and at ease: similarly, they [are obligated] toward us in their lands.²⁵

[4] Similarly, the Duke of Naxos and his brothers and their lords and men with their ships and other boats are in the peace.²⁶ They will not owe my Lordship any service, but the Venetians will hold them just as all used to be.

[5] Further, all ships and galleys, that is merchantmen and the fleet of my Lordship, wherever they may encounter the Venetians, will have good relations and peace with them.²⁷ Corsairs and klefts, wherever they are taken, will be punished.²⁸

[6] *per ordine domini soldan*: If any Venetian incurs a debt or [commits] other wrong in the lands of my Lordship, the other Venetians will bear no responsibility: similarly, the Signoria of Venice [vows the same] to our men.²⁹

[7] If any Venetian slave flees and comes into to Turkish hands and becomes a Moslem, they

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- 24 . ASV Senato Mar, R 11, f 20v for 20 April 1479, instructions to rettori in the stato da mar: "Et se algun Schiavo musulman fuzisse et portasse danari o robe del patro Restutiuite si la persona de schiavo chome la roba in observantia del Capitol de a pax. Et se per i nostri fossena robati fateli restituna la roba et acrameriti puniti li robador." Similarly in the 1454 treaty. ROMANIN, IV, 384. BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani*, 305-306, for 12 October 1479, protests the seizure of Ottoman goods and claims compensation.
- 25 . MIKLOSICH-MÜLLER, 299, letter of Mehmed II for 7 October 1479, reaffirms mutual security of trade.
- 26 . Duke of Naxos: Jacopo III Crispo (ruled 1463-1480). His brother was Giovanni III (ruled 1480-1494). B. SLOT, *Archipelagus Turbatus: Les Cyclades entre colonisation latine et occupation ottomane c. 1500-1718*, Leiden, 1982, 38. HOPE, 482, adds another brother, Stefano, a bishop. This paragraph is essentially that of the 1454 treaty, ROMANIN, IV, 384, and also a treaty of 1444. E. ZACHARIADOU, Μία Έλληνόγλωσση συνθήκη του Χηδῆρ Ἀϊδίνουγλου, "BZ" 55 (1962) 239.
- 27 . BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani*, 309, for 7 January 1479/80, where Turkish and Venetian subjects were fishing the same waters. In 1454 treaty, ROMANIN, IV, 384.
- 28 . BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani*, 303, for 23 September, 1479: περι τῶν ζημιῶν, ὅπου ἐποίησαν οἱ φοῦστες τοῦ Αὐλῶνος μέσα εἰς τὸν Κόλπον σας, ὠρίσαμεν τὸν Ἀχμάτ μπασιάν ὅτι νὰ ἱκανοποιήση τοῦ[ς] ἀνθρώπου[ς] σας, ὡς μίαν τρίχαν. καὶ πλέον νὰ μηδὲν ἔχουσιν ἄδειαν τὰ κουρσάρικα νὰ σεβαίνουσι εἰς τὸν Κόλπον σας. εἰ δὲ καὶ σεβαίνουσιν, νὰ παιδεύου[ν]ται ὅπου πιασθῶσιν. "About the damages inflicted by our fuste from Valona in your Gulf, we direct Ahmed (Gedik) Paşa to indemnify your people in full. Moreover, the corsairs have no permission to enter your Gulf, and if they do enter they are to be punished when captured." "Indemnify in full": ὡς μίαν τρίχαν "to a single hair." MIKLOSICH-MÜLLER, III, 299, for 7 October 1479, again reaffirms safety on sea and land. BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani*, 319, for 30 April 148, assures that Venetians would go unmolested on land and sea: θέλομεν βλέπειν εἰς ὄλους σας, τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ πραγματεῦτὰς καὶ ἀν(θρώπ)ους σας, ὡς ἰδιοῦς μας. "We desire to look on all yours, your nobles and merchants and men, as our own."
- 29 . A normal provision of long standing. See G. DENNIS, SJ, *The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403*, "OCP" 33 (1967) 79: "Item. Si algun mercadante fesse algun fallo, che algun altro mercadante non debia portar peno salvo quello proprio che haver fatto lo mal." Similarly in the 1454 treaty. ROMANIN IV, 385.

will give his master 1000 *aspers*³⁰; if he is a Christian he will be sent back.³¹

[8] If any Venetian boat is wrecked on the land of my Lordship, all the men will be freed and all the merchandise returned to their agent: similarly, they [are obligated] to our men.³²

[9] If any Venetian man dies in the lands of my Lordship, without a will or heir, his goods are to be given to the Venetian *bailo*; if no *bailo* is found, they will be given into Venetian hands. Venice will write what to do.³³

[10] Further, the most illustrious Signoria will have the right and authority specifically to send a *bailo* to Constantinople, with his household, according to custom, who will be able to dispense justice and administer Venetian affairs, according to their custom.³⁴ The governor will be obligated to give him aid and cooperation.³⁵

[*New provisions and conditions for peace.*]

[11] ☞ *per volo domini*: The said *bailo* who wants to secure his position during this time, is obligated to give my Lordship every year a gift of 10,000 Venetian florins³⁶ from the commercial

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- 30 . One thousand *aspers* was then equal to about 22 ducats, a reasonable, if modest, price for a slave. H. İNALCIK, *Servile Labor in the Ottoman Empire*, "Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History," London, 1985. VII, 43-44. In 1479 so many men were captured in the Ottoman assault on the Ionian islands that they sold for 40 *aspers* apiece MAGNO, (1499-1472) *Évenements historiques en Grèce, 1479-1497*, in SATHAS, VI, 217. The same provision for 1000 *aspers* is in the 1446 and 1454 treaties. BABINGER-DÖLGER, 241; ROMANIN IV, 385.
- 31 . This matter of escaped slaves was a normal provision in treaties, frequently-reiterated in correspondence. Here the emphasis is Venetian-owned slaves but more commonly documents discuss Turkish slaves. For example: ASV: Documenti Turchi B1/10 and MIKLOSICH-MÜLLER III, 293, for 7 January 1478/9, and ASV: Miscellani atti diplomatici e privati, b. 45.1342 for 17 March 1480. Also in the 1446 and 1454 treaties. BABINGER-DÖLGER, 241; ROMANIN IV, 385. BOMBACI, *Due clausole*, 270-271.
- 32 . Again, a normal provision. For 1403, see DENNIS, 79: "12. Item. a lo mio paise et luogi si algum navilio se rompesse, che tuto quello che scapolasse, si haver como persone, sia scapolo e reso." ROMANIN IV, 386, for 1454: "chi i par tegnissi de tuto quello fosse scapolado e liberado senza algun impedimento liberamente." Also in the 1446 treaty. BABINGER-DÖLGER, 240. Bombaci, *Due clausole*, 268-269.
- 33 . A normal and sensible provision. For the 1454 treaty, ROMANIN IV, 386. DENNIS, 84, #6 reports the disappearance of goods valued at 2-3,000 ducats at the death of Ordelafo Falier.
- 34 . On 22 April 1479, Batista Gritti (1425-1494) q. Homobon q. Triadan, formerly *vicebailo* and then *bailo* in 1454, was reelected as *bailo* in April 1479. ASV: Arbori IV.17.184. ASV: Senato Mar R 11, f 20v for 22 April 1479. The dates are slightly different in SANUDO, *Le Vite*, Vol. 1, 146, who reports that, beginning on 4 May, four different men including Gritti, were elected to the position, all of whom refused to take it. Gritti was again elected on 25 May, when he finally consented to go.
- 35 . This paragraph is almost identical with that of the 1454 treaty. ROMANIN IV, 387. For a history of the position, see C. COCO & F. MANZONETTO, *Baili Veneziani alla Sublime Porta*. Venice, 1985, esp. 23-26.
- 36 . "Gift": *καρίσκια*, "little baskets," a Byzantine term for an obligatory gift from the peasants to the landholder. G. OSTROGORSKY, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine*. Brussels, 1954, 359-360. The Turks used florins to refer to ducats which had the same value. E. ZACHARIADOU, *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin, 1300-1415*, Venice, 1983, 141, cites a 1379 agreement between the Doge of Crete and the Emir of Theologo (Ephesos) in which the Doge wrote of 2000 ducats and the Emir of 2000 florins.

transactions.³⁷

[12] Further, the most illustrious Signoria of Venice is obligated, for every debt lying between us, and for all debts whether common or private or of certain of their men, for all the past time before the war until today, to give to my Lordship 100,000 Venetian ducats within two years.³⁸ *per volo dominii* Further, my Lordship cannot look for past debts, either from the most illustrious Signoria of Venice or from its men.³⁹

[13] Further, the most illustrious Signoria of Venice is obligated to hand over to my Lordship the fortress called Skodra⁴⁰ in Albania, except that it may remove the lord who is *rettor*, and the council, and all the other men⁴¹ who wish to depart, specifically, with their merchandise, if they have any. The Signoria will take the equipment and all other military materiel or whatever is found in the fortress at present without any opposition.

[14] Further, the most illustrious Signoria of Venice is specifically obligated to transfer to my Lordship the island of Lemnos, except that they will take the *rettor* and the gentlemen, and the other

37 . Bayazit II promised a reduction of the annual 10,000 payment to 5,000 on 16 September 1481, confirmed in the *ahd-name* of 12 January 1481/2. THEUNISSEN, 370ff; MIKLOSICH-MÜLLER III, 311, 316: ἡ βασιλεία μου παρατίθησι τὰ δύο ταῦτα κεφάλια . . . χάριν τῆς ἡμῶν φιλίας χαρίζομαι τὰ φλουρία τὰς καθ' ἕκαστον χρόνον τεταγμένας εἰς τὸ ὅπον δῶρων δέκα χιλιάδες· ἄλλο δὲ, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν φλουρίων τῶν τεταγμένων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκλαμπροτάτης αὐθεντίας τῆς Βενετίας πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν μου διδόναι καθ' ἕκαστον χρόνον αἱ πέντε χιλιάδες ἐρχόμεναι καθ' ἕσκατον χρόνον πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν μου εἰς τόπον δῶρων τὰς ἄλλας πέντε μετὰ τῶν πενήκοντα χιλιάδων τῶν φλωρίων ἀφήμι. “My Majesty sets aside these two provisions . . . For the sake of our friendship, I am given the required annual payment of 10,000 florins for the treasury (lit., place of gifts); but now that 5,000 from the required payment to my dominion each year given by from the most illustrious Signoria of Venice comes each year to my dominion to the treasury, I release the other 5[000] with the 50,000 florins.” Bayezid’s remission of the payments was certainly concerned with ensuring Venetian assistance in managing the potential for civil war with his brother, Cem Sultan. SETTON, 381-416.

38 . It took two years to pay half the money. The 100,000 was money owed by two Venetian entrepreneurs—Bartolomeo Zorzi and Hieronimo Michiel—for leases on Turkish alum mines. SETTON, 328. BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani*, 314-315, for 23 March 1481, acknowledges payment of 50,000 ducats: οἱ εἰρημένοι ἄρχοντες, ἀποκρισιάριος καὶ μπάϊλος, δουκάτα βενέτικα χιλιάδες πενήκοντα διὰ μέρος δουκατῶν χιλιαδῶν . . . ἐδεχάμεθα μετὰ περιχαρίας: “the above-mentioned gentlemen, the ambassador and the bailo, [have brought] fifty thousand Venetian ducats of the hundred thousand [which] we have received with much appreciation.”

39 . Although this has “*per volo dominii*,” the provision was included in the peace proposal delivered by the *provveditor* of the Fleet, Thomaxio Maripietro more than a year earlier. ASV Secreta, Senato R. 28, f 60 for 19 November 1477.

40 . The fortress of Skodra (Scutari, Skodar) had twice been under siege by Ottoman forces: the second had lasted since the previous May. It was surrendered to him in March 1479 after the *provveditor*, Antonio de Leze, received a letter from the Senato which began: “Non dubitamus que ante receptione presentium notitia habueritis de conclusione pacis . . .” ASV Secreta, Senato R 28 f 149v for 25 February 1478/9. Two weeks before the peace Mehmed wrote: ὅτι ἐμῖς πρὸ τοῦ να λάβομεν τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Σκούταριν ἀπὸ τὴν ἐκλαμπρότητά σας. “before this, we will take the castle of Skoutari from your most illustrious [Signoria].” ASV: Documenti Turchi B1/10; also MIKLOSICH-MÜLLER, 294, for 7 January 1478/9.

41 . LG 1321/2: “quel zentilhommo che é rettor, le soldati, e tutti altri homini.”

men who want to go will take whatever they have to go wherever they want. Those who want to remain on the island will be pardoned for what they did until now.⁴²

[15] Further, the most illustrious Signoria of Venice will hand over to my Lordship the present fortresses and lands which were taken in the war from my Lordship, that is, in the parts of the Morea,⁴³ except that the men in their authority may go wherever they want with whatever they have. If any want to remain in the present territories and fortresses they will have complete pardons, specifically, for every act, if they did anything up to now.⁴⁴

[16] ☞ *per volo dominii*: Further, my Lordship is obligated to hand over to them the occupied lands, that is, to the former borders of their fortresses which neighbor with the lands of my Lordship on all sides.⁴⁵

The above-written provisions are confirmed and ratified and sworn.

The present writing was done in the year 6987, the 12th indiction, the 25th of the month of January, in Constantinople.

42 Lemnos was captured by Mehmed in 1456, then taken, retaken, and ravaged by both sides for the next 20 years. Its strategic location at the approach to the Hellespont made possession essential. "Ἐδωκαν οἱ Βενέτικοι τὴν Λήμνου καὶ τὸ Σκούταρι διὰ τὸ κάμουν ἀγάπην." "The Venetians gave Lemnos and Skoutari to make peace." SCHREINER, 401.

43 . This is essentially the Venetian request to return to the pre-war boundaries. Venice did try to get Manē, part of which had been given them by the Kladas family. ASV: Secreta, Senato R 28, f 12v for 8 May 1477: "importantium locorum que minima est existimari vz . . . brachium Mayne," but when the *provveditor* of the Fleet, Thomaxio Maripetro, went to negotiate with Mehmed six months later, he had instructions from the Senato to offer 5,000-10,000 a year to retain Manē. ASV: Secreta, Senato R 28, f 60 for 19 November 1477.

44 . ASV: Secreta: Senato R 28, ff 149-150 for 25 February 1478/9 directs the Captain-General, Antonio Loredan and *provveditori* to assist in transferring these territories: "etiam restituantur omnia loca que sua fuerunt in provintia Amoree et per nos aqistita et occupata fuerunt in soprascritto composito bellis." Also SATHAS, VI, 214 from BCMV Codici Cicogna, Ms. 3532, f 39: *Annali Veneti de Stefano Magno* (1499-1572).

45 . This was a major issue in settling boundaries in the Argolid and Modon-Coron. For the boundary commissions for the Argolid and Giovanni Dario, see note 9 above.