

WHEN THE *SERENISSIMA* AND THE
GRAN TURCO MADE LOVE:
 THE PEACE TREATY OF 1478*

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ALTHOUGH a transcription of the 1478 Venetian-Ottoman peace treaty or *‘ahd-name* was published by Franz Miklosich and Ioseph Müller in 1865,¹ there has been no scholarly edition or English translation of this intriguing text. Miklosich and Müller apparently did not appreciate the forms and spelling of the *‘ahd-name* – often difficult to understand – and published a ‘correct’ version with classicized verbs. While this does not interfere with the content and meaning of the *‘ahd-name*, it does affect a perception of the document within its culture and as an example of the development of the Greek vernacular, and there is no accompanying commentary or contextual explanation. In contrast, numerous other Venetian-Ottoman documents and treaties have been published with transcriptions and commentaries. Two groups in particular should be noticed: the treaties directly preceding the 1478 treaty – that of 1446 published by Franz Babinger and Franz Dölger, and that of 1454 published by Samuele Romanin;² and the subsequent treaties of 1482 through 1641, published by Hans Theunissen.³ Given the lack of attention to this 1478 treaty, it seems appropriate to make available a more accurate reading of the Greek text, along with a translation and brief commentary.

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¹ F. MIKLOSICH, I. MÜLLER (eds.), *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana*, Vienna, 1865. vol. III, 295-298.

² For 1446: F. BABINGER, F. DÖLGER, *Mehmed’s II. frühester Staatsvertrag (1446)*, «OCP» 1949, 225-258. Also, A. BOMBACI, *Due clausole del trattato in greco fra Maometto II e Venezia, del 1446*, «BZ», 43, 1950, 267-271. For 1454: S. ROMANIN, *Storia Documentata di Venezia*, Venice, 1853-1861; 1975 edn., IV, 383-387.

³ H. THEUNISSEN, *Ottoman-Venetian Diplomats: The ‘Ahd-Names. The Historical Background and the Development of a Category of Political-Commercial*, «EJOS», 1, 1998 at <http://www.let.uu.nl/oosters/EJOS/EJOS1.html>.

'Make love' is the literal translation of the Greek term used for 'make peace', which is what the *'ahd-name* says, in its inimitable spelling: *πῆσαι νέαν ἀγάπην*. This is also how various Greek chronicles recorded the event: «ἔκαμαν ἀγάπη οἱ Βενετικοὶ μὲ τὸν ἀμηνῶν ... ἐποίησεν ὁμοίως αὐθέντης ἀγάπην μὲ τοὺς Βενετικούς... ἔκαμεν ἀγάπην ὁ σουλτάν Μερμετής μὲ τοὺς Βενετζάνους... ἔκαμε ἀγάπη μὲ τοὺς Βενετικούς... Τότε οἱ Βενετζάνοι ἐκάμασι ἀγάπην μὲ τὸν σουλτάνο». ⁴ The relationship was consummated when on 25 January 1478/1479, Mehmed II issued an *'ahd-name* to the Venetian emissary, Giovanni Dario, stipulating the terms of the peace that would conclude the 1463-1478 war. ⁵

As soon as word of the *'ahd-name* reached Venice, even before the document itself arrived, *provveditori* in the *stato da mar* were directed to begin to comply with its provisions. ⁶ Subsequently, an emissary from Mehmed accompanied Giovanni Dario from Constantinople to Venice to request formal confirmation by the *Signoria*. ⁷ Previous and

⁴ *Die byzantinische Kleinchroniken* («CFHB», 12); P. SCHREINER (ed.), Vienna, 1975-1979, vol. III, 294, 503, 514, 521; G. TH. ZÓRAS, *Χρόνικον περὶ τὸν Τοῦρκικον Σουλτάνον*, Athens, 1958, 119.

⁵ As early as 1466, Venice had made overtures toward peace, sending «David Ebreo», who received a «dura risposta» (M. SANUDO, *Diarii*, reprint, Bologna, 1969, IV, 324). Giovanni Dario's name is prominently mentioned in the *'ahd-name*: the Senato gives him credit for settling its provisions. ASVE: Secreto, Senato R. 28, f. 148v: «conclusionone pacis facte cum domino Turcho per fidelissimum secretarium nostrum Ioannes Darium». Dario first went to Constantinople in 1450, as translator for the ambassador to Constantine XI, and participated in a peace mission to Constantinople as early as 1471. Late in the war he accompanied two different ambassadors on further missions. For Dario see the excellent account by M. F. TIEPOLO, in *Greci nella cancelleria veneziana: Giovanni Dario*, Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studio *I Greci à Venezia*, Venezia, 5-7 nov. 1998, Venice, 2002, 257-314. For contemporary reporting, see M. SANUDO, *Le Vite dei Dogi, 1474-1494*. Padua, 1989, vol. 1, 10, 104, *passim*. Events can be traced through ASVE: Senato Secreta, R. 28, particularly ff. 12, 42v-43, 60, 64-65, 110-112, *passim*; also ASVE: Senato Mar R. 10, f. 138, *passim*. THEUNISSEN, 128-131 gives an overview of diplomatic efforts.

⁶ The Senato knew about the *'ahd-name* by 21 Febr.: ASVE: Senato Mar R. 11, f. 13 for 22 Febr. reports that Michele Salomon in Albania had heard from Giovanni Dario. On 25 February, the Senato sent letters to officials of the *stato da mar* and the fleet to begin transferring territories «per nos aquistita et occupata» and to do everything to ensure that they could «tranquillius vivere et vicinare saggia(men)te cum officialibus et subditus eiusdem domini» (ASVE: Secreta, Senato R. 28, f. 150 for 25 Febr. 1478/1479). SANUDO, *Le Vite*, vol. 1, 145-147 gives a copy of the proclamation of the peace in Venice, 25 April 1479, after the arrival of Lutfi-Bey, emissary from Mehmed to confirm the peace, and a description of his visit.

⁷ ASVE: Secreta, Senato R. 29 ff. 14v-15 for 4 May 1479. The emissary was Kahya Lutfi Beg. See MIKLOSICH, MÜLLER, III, 298, letter of introduction from Mehmed of 29 January

subsequent correspondence between Doge and Sultan covered additional provisions⁸ which had been negotiated at various levels for several years: these details were then quite literally worked out on the ground during the following years.⁹

Under the Ottoman system, *‘ahd-names* were issued as unilateral documents, whatever the extent of the preceding negotiation or degree of harmony between the parties.¹⁰ The initial provisions of the 1478 *‘ahd-name* repeat almost word for word similar provisions from the 1446, and 1454 treaties: the parties are equals, Mehmed takes the initiative to protect Venetian interests, and Venice promises reciprocal courtesies. Mutual security of ships, merchants and merchandise is assured, compensation for damages and punishment for piracy and banditry promised. The rights and protections of the Venetian *bailo* and community in Istanbul are guaranteed according to custom, although there was no similar Turkish community in Venice for another hundred years.¹¹

Here, the mutuality of the *‘ahd-name* shifts and a series of Venetian obligations are listed as conditions for peace: a flat tax of 10,000 ducats a year for trading privileges, a payment of 100,000 ducats within two

1478/9. See also M. P. PEDANI, *In Nome del Gran Signore. Inviati Ottomani a Venezia dalla Caduta di Costantinopoli alla Guerra di Candia*, Venice, 1994, 8-9, 50 n. 2, 53, 90 n. 106, 106-107; THEUNISSEN, ch. 9 gives the Ottoman view of Ottoman-Venetian relations.

⁸ All surviving (Greek) correspondence from Mehmed II to Doge Giovanni Mocenigo has been published. Six of these letters are in MIKLOSICH, MÜLLER, III, 293-309. Another thirteen, with Italian translations, were published by A. BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani greci di Maometto II*, «BZ», 47, 1954 298-319. Apparently none of the letters from the Doge to Mehmed has survived. In his discussion of the treaty, Babinger confusingly includes details from the collateral correspondence not in the *‘ahd-name*. F. BABINGER, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, transl. R. Manheim. Princeton (NJ), 1978, 369. The final statement of agreement was issued by Mehmed on April (31) 1481. ASVE: Documenti Turchi, B 1/2; MIKLOSICH, MÜLLER, III, 306-309. Mehmed died immediately after, on 3 May, which meant all details had to be re-negotiated under Bayezid II who issued his *‘ahd-name* on the peace on 12 January 1481/2. Bayezid's correspondence on the 12 January 1481/2 *‘ahd-name* and peace is in MIKLOSICH, MÜLLER, III, 309-317. The Turkish text is published in THEUNISSEN, 370 ff.

⁹ The boundaries of the territories had to be walked by Ottoman, Venetian and Greek representatives, and boundary markers negotiated. See D. G. WRIGHT, *After the Serenissima and the Grand Turco Made Love: the Boundary Commissions of 1480 & 1482*, in *550th Anniversary of the Istanbul University International Byzantine and Ottoman Symposium*, S. Atasoy ed., Istanbul, 2004, 197-212.

¹⁰ THEUNISSEN, 28, 91, 230.

¹¹ Diplomatic envoys were sent to Venice as the occasion required, where they were often housed in the house that had formerly belonged to Giovanni Dario. SANUDO, *Diarii*, xx, 543, 540, for Aug. 1515; xxii, 455, for Aug. 1516; and xxiii, 361 for Dec. 1517.

years for past debts, Lemnos and Skodar¹² to be handed over. In the concluding provisions of the *‘ahd-name* the parties again appear as equals: both sides will return territories taken in the war and the boundaries in the Morea are to return to their pre-war state. That Argos was not returned reflects the fact that it was taken in April 1463, before war was formally declared at midnight on 28 July.¹³ Negroponte was not returned, nor even discussed: its capture was a specific act of vengeance on the part of Mehmed II for Nicolo da Canale’s sack of Ainos.¹⁴ Although the return of Mani to the Ottomans eventually triggered a major revolt, Mani had not belonged to Venice before the war.¹⁵ The Ottoman military position was at this point strong enough that there was no clear compulsion for them to negotiate at all where Greece and the islands were concerned.¹⁶ This comes across clearly in the *Liber Graecus* Italian translation where pointing hands and «per volo domini» mark particular passages.¹⁷ It comes across even more clearly in provision requiring a «gift» to the landholder: Venice was under no illusions that she kept her Greek territories by other than Mehmed’s goodwill.¹⁸

¹² The inability to take Skodar/Scutari with two long sieges had been a humiliation to Mehmed. Sanudo seems to record Venetian opinion when he says that it was this frustration that led Mehmed to want peace: SANUDO, *Le Vite*, vol. 1, 124-125, 133, 134-135, 136.

¹³ *Estratti degli Annali Veneti di Stefano Magno*, in C. HOPF (ed.), *Chroniques Greco-Romanes inédits ou peu connues*, Berlin, 1873, 202-206, gives lists for 1463 and 1467, with some records from 1471, of sites in the Morea held by Venetians or Turks. See W. McLEOD, *Castles of the Morea in 1467*, «BZ», 65, 1977 353-363.

¹⁴ SETTON, *Papacy*, vol. 2, 293.

¹⁵ See D. G. WRIGHT, *Bartolomeo Minio: Venetian Administration in 15th Century Nauplion*, Ph.D. Diss., The Catholic University of America, 1999, ch. 4 for a discussion of the Kladas revolt of October 1480 which was triggered by the handover of Mani.

¹⁶ One motivation behind Mehmed’s consent to peace at this point – after rejecting an almost identical arrangement a year earlier – was his need for Skoutari and his interest in Venetian non-interference with the planned assault on Otranto. He had, in fact, Venetian ships to ferry troops across the Adriatic in the summer of 1480 for the attack (SETTON, 339-342; SANUDO, *Le Vite*, vol. 1, 155; ZÓRAS, 119 for Skoutari: «και τὸ κάστρο ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἐπερίλαβε ὁ Τοῦρκος, διατὶ ἔχει καλὸν λιμῶνα διὰ τὴν ἀρμὰδα του, και διὰ νὰ φέρη τὰ φουσσάτα του στερέας νὰ τὰ περάσῃ εἰς τὴν Πούλια»: «The Turk took over that fortress because it had a good harbor for the fleet, for bringing the land troops to ferry them to Apulia». The Ottoman fleet was withdrawn by Bayazid on 10 July 1481.

¹⁷ These marginal comments (in italics here) and pointing hands are included in the English translation below of the *‘ahd-name*. The *Liber Graecus* contains the Greek transcription and Italian translation used as working copies by clerks for the *Signoria* (ASVE: Misc. Atti Diplomati et Privati, B45, *Liber Graecus* 1321/1 & 2).

¹⁸ P. PRETO, *Venezia e i Turchi*, Florence, 1975, 27, 32.

The *‘ahd-name* is written on a large scroll of Venetian-made paper, sized to provide the glossy surface *alla turchesca*. Just above the mid-line fold, on the right, the paper bears the watermark of a crowned eagle facing left. A second, smaller sheet of paper bearing the gold tugra of Mehmed II, is glued to the *‘ahd-name* immediately above the text. This smaller paper has the common scissors watermark.¹⁹

Julian Raby, in a study that emphasizes the literary and calligraphic quality of the Greek writers encouraged by Mehmed II in the earlier decades of his reign, can find nothing good to say about the authors and scribes of chancellery documents in the last decade. One of the first impressions, certainly, that arises from a reading of the 1478 treaty is that it depends on a purely oral understanding of the written language. But Raby goes on to say that, «the sultan grew ever more reliant on renegades and racial hybrids».²⁰ The competence in Greek needed by the chancellery was probably provided by captives or by children from the *devshirme* identified early as having a needed talent. Their ear for Greek would then be fully developed, as we see reflected in the text of this treaty, but their access to the traditional literate culture of Greek would be almost entirely cut off.

The formulae of the treaty, however, require some sort of literate agency. Someone was able to read in Greek from older treaties the conventional clauses that are repeated here.²¹ There are also distinctive

¹⁹ The watermarks are visible in a photograph of the *‘ahd-name*: J. RABY, *Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek Scriptorium*, «DOP», 37, 1983, fig. 21; J, K and M shows similar watermarks from Raby's identifications of documents from Mehmed's scriptorium, but not that of the *‘ahd-name*. The eagle is of the type in pls. 170-173 of E. HEAWARD, *Watermarks, Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, Hilversum (NL), 1950.

²⁰ RABY, 28. The latter term is unfortunate but, more than that, it suggests two possibilities – both unlikely. A Greek might convert to Islam in order to marry a Muslim wife – many did throughout the Ottoman centuries, notably in Crete – but then the maternal language of their offspring would be non-Greek and the opportunity to become fluent in Greek would be limited by the hostility of the Greek *millet*. In the opposite case surely the ambitions of the non-Greek father would be likely to prejudice a son against involvement with a subordinate *dhimmi* culture. In either case, the child would be irrecoverably cut off from the literate tradition supported by the *millet*.

²¹ The 1446 treaty studied in BABINGER-DÖLGER, although it contains many of the substantive provisions repeated in this treaty, does not include the kind of literary phrase discussed here. It is also noteworthy that the scribe of 1446 had an entirely different approach to many of the phonetic characteristics of the language. Rather than eliminate double consonants, for example, he puts in several where they are not needed, and his choice of epsilon against alpha-iota is far closer to literary orthography, than that found in the 1478 treaty.

literary echoes in the Greek that can hardly have come from a spontaneous translation of a Turkish or Latin original.

1. In line 8, «παλαιά τε καὶ νέα», is a formula occasionally found in Late Roman and Byzantine Greek, and several times in Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Romana*. Compare πλεῖόν τε καὶ ὀλίγον in line 3, which is accented very strangely («πληῶν τε καὶ ὀλίγων»).
2. The indefinite «εἴ τι ἄρα καὶ» (lines 38 and 44) appears first in Eusebius, and, much closer to the time of this treaty in a vivid sentence in Sphrantzes, «Διὰ μέσου οὖν, εἴ τι ἄρα καὶ εὐρισκόν τῶν ἀθλίων Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τῶν Ἀλβανικῶν συγγενῶν πολλακίς τῶν οἰκειῶν αὐτῶν, πάντα διηρπάζοντο καὶ ἠφάνιζον».²²
3. The two phrases, «συμπαθημένοι εἰς ὅτι ἔγεινε», (line 42) and «συμπαθημένοι ἀπὸ πάσαν αἰτίαν εἰς ὅτι ἔγεινε» (line 46) are more difficult since they are not otherwise attested and they echo a common phrase αἰτία εἰς τινα, where the grammatical object of εἰς is the agent responsible and not the target of whatever αἰτία is adduced. Here it seems to mean, «in whatever context it [a crime or other offence] occurred».

Phrases 1 and 2 at least, along with other passages in the treaty, argue the existence of an earlier and probably more literate text from which the composer of this treaty could draw.²³ The scribe, however, appears not to have had a written original but to have written from dictation. He wrote what he heard, and what he heard conformed very closely to the sound of Greek we should expect in the late 15th century. His rendering is orthographically erratic but appears phonetically sound, apparently even when he records the genitive of θάλασσα as «θαλάσου» (line 10).

He wrote swiftly and confidently. The angular style of most of his characters bears little resemblance to contemporary Greek hands as exemplified in Raby's article. He had a small repertory of ligatures: the ubiquitous ου, which he does not employ consistently, is written as a sort of swash 'V' shape, with a very small loop for the omicron; εν in the middle of words like ἀθηνετία and ας as the genitive ending

²² *Chronicon Minus*, 39.8, ll. 12-14: «Everywhere, if they found anything belonging to the hapless Greeks or, for that matter, to the Albanians, their own people, and sometimes even their own kinsmen, they looted it and carried it off».

²³ See notes to translation.

are regularly ligatured. It is difficult to be certain whether the $\alpha\varsigma$ ligature is intended to imply the accent on the preceding iota, so it has been omitted in the transcription in most instances. The combination of breathing and accent is often spaced out to such a degree that it is difficult to know whether the two diacriticals are really intended for the same letter. As noted below, there are places where he seems to use a breathing on one vowel and an accent on the next to indicate that the pair of vowels represents two distinct syllables. He made wide use of a narrow u-shaped diacritical which sometimes seems to be intended for a breathing, but at other times might be thought of as a slurred dieresis.

As noted above, the text appears to have been written from dictation, the scribe spelling by ear beyond the conventional substitution of *eta* and *omega*, and creating at first impression so many apparent idiosyncratic spellings, accents and word divisions that it is frequently easier to understand by reading aloud.²⁴ An examination of certain elements of the orthography demonstrates less idiosyncrasy and more rationality than does the first impression:

1. He uses $-\alpha\iota-$ and $-\epsilon-$ interchangeably: for example, «Βαιναιτίας», «μαί», «ναίας», «σαικρετάρηον» for Βενετίας, μὲ, νέας, σεκρετάριον, but «πηγένουσην» for πηγαινουσιν and, in a thorough inversion of standard orthography, «βαιβέοσην» (line 6), «πεδαίβη» (line 14), for βεβαίωσιν, παιδεύη.
2. He uses $-\beta-$ interchangeably with $-\upsilon-$ after $-\epsilon-$ (or $\alpha\iota$). Thus, «πηστέβω», «πεδαίβη», «σκαίβας» for πιστεύω, παιδεύη, σκεύας.
3. He writes double consonants as single: «σημάχους», «θάλασσα», «γαιγραμμένα» for σύμμαχους, θάλασσα, γεγραμμένα. He applies this same economy at the ends of words, as in «θελήσουν απηγαίνου νά» (line 41).
4. The various iotacized vowel sounds are represented most often by $-\eta-$, but almost all the other possibilities can be found.
5. $-\pi-$ is assimilated to $-\mu\pi-$ after $-\nu-$ («τὴν μπήστην», line 3).
6. Venetian terms are used for specifically Venetian institutions: «φαμηλήαν», «ρογάτορους», «σεκρετάρηον», «μπαίλως», «δούκας» for *familia*, *rogati*, *secretario*, *bailo*, *dux/doge*.

²⁴ The scribe (also probably Greek) responsible for the *Liber Graecus* Greek copy of the *ahd-name* made extensive corrections to the text.

7. He uses both dieresis²⁵ and breathing to indicate the separate pronunciation of two successive vowels: as «μπεεῖς», «μπαῖλως», «τώπιῖ ἦναι» (for τόποι εἶναι) and «πιῖήσωμ(εν)», «αιτήάν», «βαιβέεσσην», «βοῖήθηαν» and «κρησῖήρην».²⁶

The transcription that follows is a diplomatic edition with transcription as close to the original as possible, with no corrections or regularization for spelling, accents, or punctuation, and no addition of capital letters. The line breaks in the manuscript are indicated and abbreviations have been expanded. It is followed by an English translation and notes.

²⁵ The dieresis seems to have become something of a convention in Mehmet's scriptorium to indicate an otherwise unaccented -i-, simply dotting an -i-. See, RABY, figs. 34, 36, 38, 40, 41.

²⁶ In the first line, the diacriticals over *ιως* are difficult to interpret, and there seems to have been an erasure over the *omega*.

Mehmed II confirms peace between the Ottomans and Venice²⁷

25 January 1478 / 1479

[Gold tugra of Mehmed II]

ὁ μέγας αὐθεντης κ(αι) μέγας ἀμοιράς σουλτάν μαϊχέμετ μπεεῖς. κ(αι) ἰῶς τοῦ μακάρη τοῦ μεγαλου αὐθεντης τοῦ μουρατ μπει / ὀμναίγω εἰς τὸν θε(ο)ν τοῦ ὄυ(ρα)νου κ(αι) γῆς κ(αι) εἰς τὸν μεγαν ημῶν προφήτην τὸν μοῦμαιθ. κ(αι) εἰς τὰ ἐπτὰ μούσάφηα τα κρατούμεν / κ(αι) ὀμῶλογοῦμ(εν) ημῆς ἡ μουσουλμάνη κ(αι) εἰς τοῦς ,ῤῥδ' προφήτας τοῦ θε(ο)ῦ. πληῶν τὲ κ(αι) ὀλήγῶν κ(αι) ἦς τὴν μπήστην ὀποῦ πηστεβῶ / καὶ ὀμολογῶ. κ(αι) εἰς τὴν ψηχῆν μου κ(αι) εἰς τὴν ψηχην τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ο)ς μου. κ(αι) εἰς τὸ σπάθην το ζώνομαι. αἰπηδὴν ἡ αὐθ(εν)τηά μου ἦχ(εν) |5| πρώτερων ἀγάπην κ(αι) φηλήαν μετατῆς ἐκλάμπρωτάτης κ(αι) ὕψηλωτάτης αὐθ(εν)τι(ας) τῆς βαινετή(ας). νῆν δαι πάλην βουλῶμαινῆ πι / ἦσαι νέαν ἀγάπην κ(αι) ὄρκωμοτηκῶν εἰς βαιβεῦσην καλης φηλί(ας) κ(αι) ναί(ας)αγαπης. ἐπη τούτο ἔστηλ(εν) δαι ἡ πρωῆρημένη ἐκλαμπροτατη αὐθ(εν) / τηα τῶν αἰξηρημένων καὶ σοφων ἀρχων κυρ(ιον) Ιω(αννην) τὸν δαρηω σαϊκρετάρη(ον) ἀποκρησῆάρην εἰς τὴν αὐθ(εν)τήαν μου δηανά πιτήσωμ(εν) / τὴν λεγωμένην ἀγάπην με τα κάτω γαιγραμένα καίφάλεα παλαιάται κ(αι) ναια.²⁸ ἐπῆ τουτῶ δαι ἡ αὐθ(εν)τία μου ηπῶσχομαὶ δηα τῶν ανῶ / γαιγραμένων ὄρκῶν τὸ καθῶς ἦτον ἀγαπη κ(αι) φηλια πρότε- ρῶν ἀνάμεισῶν μας ἦγουν μαὶ τοῦς ἀρχωντὰς κ(αι) ἀν(θρωπ)ους κ(αι) σημάχους αυτῶν |10| κάμνω δαι πίστην καλήν κ(αι) καθαρήν ἀγάπην τὸ δηἄξηρὰς κ(αι) θαλάσου μαῖσα κ(αι) ἔξω τοῦ σταινου μαὶ χόρες κάστρη νησηια καὶ τόπους / ὀποῦ σηκόνουσην το σημι(ον)²⁹ τοῦ ἀγῆου μάρκου. κ(αι) ὄσαις θαίλουσην σηκόσην εἰς τὸ αἰξης. κ(αι) ὄση τῶπι ἦναι εἰς τὴν ἦποταγῆν καὶ ἐπίστα / σηαν αυτῶν. κ(αι) εἰς πράματα ὀποῦ αἰχουσην αἰῶς τὴν σῆμερῶν. κ(αι) μαίλουσην αἰξην εἰς τὸν μαίλωντα χρώνον. τὸ μὲν πρότῶν / οὔδῆς ἀν(θρωπ)ος τῆς αὐθ(εν)τι(ας) μου νὰ μηδὲν τὸλμήσοι νὰ πῆσοι ζημήαν ἡ αἰνάντη(ον) αὐθ(εν)τι(ας) τῆς βαιναιτήας οὔται τοῦς

²⁷ ASVE: Documenti Turchi B1/2. A tergo: «1478 adi 25 zener i capitoli de la pace fece Ser Giovanni Dario». Scroll, 24 × 58 ½ cm. Contemporary Venetian copies and translations are found in ASVE: Misc. Atti Diplomatici et Privati, B45, *Liber Graecus* / 1321/1 & 2 (hereafter *LG*), also ivi: Libri Commemoriali 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. LAMPYRNIDES, *Ἡ Ναύπλια*. 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.

²⁸ This scribe's version of the fossilized literary παλαιά τε καὶ νέα.

²⁹ In the 1446 treaty, τῶ φλάμουλ(ων). BABINGER, DÖLGER, 236.

ἀν(θρωπ)ους αὐτῶν ἢ δαι / κ(αι) γένη νὰ ὀφήλη ἢ αὐθ(εν)τήᾶ μου
 ναπεδαίβη αὐτοῦς κατα τὴν αἰτήᾶν τοῦς. ὁμήως κ(αι) ἢ εκλαμπρότατη
 αὐθ(εν)τια προσημας. Ἔτερῶν |15| δαι αἱ ἀν απο τοῦς ἀν(θρωπ)ους τῆς
 αυθ(εν)τι(ας) μου ἐπάρθη απο τὴν σήμερων κ(αι) αἰμπρῶσθ(εν). ἢ τόπη ἢ
 ἄλῶν πράγμαῖν τῆς εκλαμπροτάτης αυθ(εν) / τι(ας) κ(αι) τὸν αν(θρωπ)ον
 τῆς πάλη νὰ ἐπηστραίφεται ἐξωπησω. τῶ ὀπι(ον) νὰ ὀφήλουν και αὐτη
 πρὸς τὴν αυθ(εν)την μου. κ(αι) ἢ ἀν(θρωπ)οι κ(αι)πραμα | τευτη αὐτων
 δη αξεράς και δηᾶ θαλάσου νὰ ἔρχονται εἰς πᾶν τόπων τῆς αὐθ(εν)τι(ας)
 μου κ(αι) νὰ ἦναι σήγουρη κ(αι) ἀνετη και πάσαν τονπραματην και με
 κάτεργαται και καραβη³⁰ / τω ὀμέως κ(αι) αὐτῆ πρὸς ἡμας εἰς τόπους
 αὐτῶν. κ(αι) ὀ δούκας τῆς αξί(ας) κ(αι) ἢ αδ(ελφοι)³¹ του κ(αι) ἢ ἄρχονταις
 κ(αι) αν(θρωπ)οι τον και τὰ καράβῆάτων / κ(αι) ἄλλα πλαιψήματα νὰ ἦναι
 εἰς τῆν ἀγάπην. κ(αι) ναμηδεν ὀφήλουσην καιμήν δουλωσῆνην τὴν
 αὐθ(εν)τήᾶν μου ἀμη νὰπερουν ὡς³² βαιναι |20| τηκῆ καθῶς ἦσαν πάντα.
 Ἔτερων δαι ὄσα καράβηα και κάτεργα ἦγουν παραμάτευταδῆκα κ(αι)
 ἄρματομένα τῆς αὐθ(εν)τηας μου ὀπωθ(εν) / κ(αι) ανευραιθούσην και τα
 βαιναίτηκα νὰ ἔχουν καιλήν σῆντροφήν και ἰγάπην ἀλήλως. τα
 κρούσάρηκα δαι και κλέπτηκα ὀπωθ(εν) πῆας / θουση νὰ ἔχουν πέδαψην.
 αἰτη ἀν τῆς βαινέτηκος πηση{ς} χραίως ἦται ἄλῶν καιῶν εἰς τόπους τῆς
 αὐθ(εν)τίας μου ἢ ἄλη βαιναίτηκη ναμηδεν / ἀνέχουντεν. κ(αι) ὀμήως και
 ἢ αὐθ(εν)τι(α) βαιναιτι(ας) πρὸς τοῦς ἐδηκούς μας. κ(αι) ἢμ(εν) φήγη
 σκλάβος³³ βαιναίτηκῶς κ(αι) ἔλθη εἰς τούρκων χερηα /³⁴ ἢ μ(εν) γένη
 μουσουλμάνος νὰ διδουν πρὸς τὸν αυθ(εν)την αὐτου ασπρ(α) ,αᾶ ἦται κ(αι)
 ἔναι χρηστῆαγῶς ναστραίφεται ἐξωπίσω. κ(αι) αν τζα |25| κησθη ξύλων
 βαινέτηκων εἰς των τόπον τῆς αὐθ(εν)τίας μου. ὀλη ἢ αν(θρωπ)οι να ἦναι
 αἰλευθρωμενη. και ταπράματα ναστραίφουντεν / εἰς τους νηκοκηροῦς.
 τῶ ὀμαιως κ(αι) ἢ αὐτη πρὸς ημάς. και ἢ μ(εν) αποθάνη βαινετηκος
 ἀν(θρωπ)ος ἢς τοπων³⁵ τῆς αὐθεντη(ας) μου ανευ δηαθήκης | ἢ
 κληρωνομί(ας). νὰδοθουν τὰπράματα αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν μπάῆλων
 βαιναιτι(ας) ἐκῆ δαι ὀπου δαιν εὐρήσκαιται μπάῆλως νὰ δοθουντεν / εἰς
 βαιναιτήκων καιρήα. ὀστοῦ νὰγράψη ἢ βαιναιτήα οὔτος νὰγενη. Ἔτη δαι
 ἢ εκλαμπρωτάτη αυθ(εν)τια νὰ ἔχη ἄδῆαν και εξου / σῆαν ἦγουν νὰ
 στέλνη μπαῆλων της εἰς τὴν κωστάντῆνωπολην. και τὴν φαμηλήῆν του
 κατατῆν σῆνηθηαν. ὀπῆως να ἢμπορῆ |30| νακρηνη κ(αι) νὰ δει ἢκῆ εἰς
 πραματατὸν βαιναιτήκων κατα τὴν σῆνήθηαν αὐτον. και ὀ σουπασης νὰ
 ὀφηλη να τὸν δῆδη βοήθηαν / κ(αι) συνδρωμήν. κ(αι) ὀ λαιγῶμενως

³⁰ «με κατεργαται και καραβηα» is squeezed into the right margin.

³¹ MIKLOSICH, MÜLLER print και οἱ ἀδελφοι twice.

³² ὡς added above the line.

³³ In the 1446 treaty, σκλαβία, BABINGER, DÖLGER, 240.

³⁴ At this line, the mid-line of the paper, the paper is deeply creased and the ink smeared

³⁵ MIKLOSICH, MÜLLER: «εἰς τον τοπον».

μπάλλως ὁποῦ θελη εὐρησκεσθ(εν) κατα τοὺς καιροὺς νὰ ὀφήλην ἀδήδη τὴν αὐθ(εν)την μου. / καθεν χρόνον δη ακανησχην φλουρηα βαιναίτηκα χηλῆάδες δέκα ἀπο τὴν πράξην τῆςπραματί(ας) αὐτῶν. Ἔτη δαι ὀφήλη ἢ ἐκλα / μπροτατη αὐθ(εν)τηα βαιναίτι(ας) δη ἀπάσαν αἰτήαν ὁποῦ αιση-νεβην μαίσων ημῶν κ(αί) δη ἀπὰν χρέως ἤται κηνῶν ἤται ἡδηῶν ἤται τη-νῶν αιδῆ / κῶν τοῦς αν(θρωπ)ον δη ἄ ὠλῶν τον περασμενων καιρων προ της μαχης³⁶ ἕως την σημαίρων. ναδόσου σην τὴν αὐθ(εν)τιαν μου δουκάτα βεναι | 35 | τικα ,ῤ αἰῶς χρόνους δηω. κ(αί) πλαιῶν ναμηδὲν δηναιται ἢ αὐθ(εν)τηα μου ζητῆν χρέως καναίναν περάσμενων. μήται ἕκ τὴν ἐκλαμπροτατην / αὐθ(εν)τιαν βαιναίτι(ας) μήται ἀπο τοὺς ἀν(θρωπ)ους ἄυτης. Ἔτερων δαι ὀφήλη ἢ ἐκλαμπροτάτη αὐθ(εν)τια βαιναίτι(ας) ναπαραδόση τὴν αὐθ(εν)τιαν μου / το κάστρον λαιγῶμενον σκῶδρα ἐν τῇ αλβανητήα. σοζωμένου το νὰ ἐκβάλη νὰ ἐπάρη τὸν αρχῶν ὁποῦ αἶναι καιφαλη. κ(αί) τοὺς ρωγα / τορους.³⁷ κ(αί) ὄλους ἄλους αν(θρωπ)ους ἤτηνες θελουν δηανα πηγαίνου ἡγουν μαι ταπραματατων ἤτη ἄρα κ(αί) ἀν εχοῦν. κ(αί) ἢ αὐθ(εν)τια νὰ ἐπαίρνη / τὰς σκαίβας κ(αί) ἄπασαν ἄλην ἤλην πολεμηκῆν ἄ τη ἄρα και ανευρησκαιται εἰς το παρων κάστρων. ανευ καμί(ας) εναντήόσαιως. Ἔτι δαι ὀφήλη ἢ ἐκλα | 40 | μπρωτάτη αὐθ(εν)τηα βαιναίτι(ας) ναστραίψη εἰς τὴν αὐθ(εν)τιαν μου ἡγουν το νησ-ῆν της λήμου. σοζωμέν(ου) τὸ νὰ ἐπερουν τὴν καιφαλην και τοῦς / ἄρχοντας και ἄλη αν(θρωπ)οι ἤτηνες θελήσου ἀπηγαινου νὰ ἐπέρουν ἄτη ἄρα και αν εχουσή νὰ πηγαινου ὁποθ(εν) θελουν και τηναις ὁπου / θελησου νὰ ἀπομήνου εἰς το παρῶνησην νὰ ἦναι σημπαθημενη. ἡσότη ἔγην(εν) αἰῶς τόρα. / Ἔτη δαι ἢ παρῶν ἐκλαμπροτάτη αὐθ(εν)τηα βαι-ετί(ας) νὰ παραδοση πρὸς τὴν αὐθ(εν)τιαν μου. τὰ παρῶν κάστρι και τόπους ἄτηνα ἐπάρθησάν ἐν τη μάχη ἕκ τὴν αὐθ(εν)τηαν μου, ἡγουν εἰς ταμέρι / τοῦ μοραίως. σοζωμαινου το ἢ ἀν(θρωπ)οι νὰ ἦναι εἰς τὴν αἰξουσην τῶν. να πηγένουσην ὁπόθ(εν) θέλουν, ἡγουν μαι ἢ τη ἄρα κ(αί) ἀν ἔχουσην. | 45 | και ἢ μὲν θελοῦν τηνες δεαναπομενοῦ[ν] εἰς τοῦς παρῶν τοποῦς και κάστρη νὰ ἦναι και αὐτη πάντα σημπαθημένη ἡγουν ἀπο πάσαν αιτηαν / ἡσότη ἔγην(εν). αἰῶς τόρα. Ἐτη δαι ὀφήλη ἢ αὐθ(εν)τηα μου ναστρεψη πρὸς αὐτοῦς. τὰς ἐμποδησμένας περιῶχὰς ἡγουν εἰς τὰ παλέα / σύνορα τὸν καστρῶν αὐτον. ὁπου γητοναίβουσην μαι τοὺς τόπους της αὐθ(εν)τη(ας) μου πάνταιχώθ(εν). δηα βαιβαίόσην κ(αί) ἐπη / κήρωσην τῶν ἀνωθ(εν) γεγραμένων καιφάλαιων και ορκωμοτηκῶν. ἔγ-ην(εν) δαι ἢ παρῶσα γραφή εν τῷ ἔτους ,ς λπζ̄ ι(νδ) ιβ̄ μ(ηνι) οἰάνουαριω κ̄ε ἐν κωσταντηνουπολι.³⁸

³⁶ There is a thick wavy line, perhaps meaningless, above «καιρων προ της μαχης» and another beneath «καιρων».

³⁷ Venetian: *rogati* = council.

³⁸ 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».

TRANSLATION³⁹

I, the great lord and great emir, Sultan Mehemed-Bey, son of the great and blessed lord⁴⁰ Murat-Bey, do swear by the God of heaven and earth, and by our great prophet Mohammed, and by the seven *mushaf*⁴¹ which we Moslems possess and confess, and by the 124 thousand⁴² prophets of God (more or less),⁴³ and by the faith which I believe and confess, and by my soul and by the soul of my father,⁴⁴ and by the sword I wear:⁴⁵

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*⁴⁶ 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,⁴⁷ 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,⁴⁸ and

³⁹ *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 *per*. 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*. ⁴⁰ *LG 1321/2* adds «*de la bon memoria*».

⁴¹ The seven *mushaf* were the seven accepted versions of the Quran: this emphasized Mehmed's Sunni allegiance.

⁴² MIKLOSICH, MÜLLER., III 296 read this number as 124.

⁴³ The phrase «more or less» does not appear in Turkish versions of the *‘ahd-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).

⁴⁴ In the 1446 treaty, when Sultan Murad was alive, Mehmed swore «by my head and the head of my father» (BABINGER, DÖLGER, 239).

⁴⁵ This section is contained in the 1454 treaty (ROMANIN, IV, 383).

⁴⁶ *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. «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 ff. 64v-65 for instructions to Dario.

⁴⁷ Dardanelles.

⁴⁸ 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 Ion-

to the commerce which they have as of today and are going to have in the coming years.

[Confirmation of previous agreements]

[1]⁴⁹ 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 obligated] to my Lordship.⁵⁰

[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.⁵¹

[4] Similarly, the Duke of Naxos and his brothers and their lords and men with their ships and other boats are in the peace.⁵² 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 rela-

ian 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 faceva 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 insigne».

⁴⁹ These provisions are numbered according to the Greek and Italian copies of *LG* 1321/1 & 2, and also the formal permanent copy in ASVE: Libri Commemorativi R. 16, ff. 142 *et seq.*

⁵⁰ ASVE: 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 Restituiute 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.

⁵¹ MIKLOSICH, MÜLLER, 299, letter of Mehmed II for 7 October 1479, reaffirms mutual security of trade.

⁵² 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. HOPF, 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 Ἑλληνογλωσση συνθήκη τοῦ Χηδῆρ Ἀϊδίνουγλου*, «BZ», 55, 1962, 239.

274 DIANA GILLILAND WRIGHT · PIERRE A. MACKAY

tions and peace with them.⁵³ Corsairs and klefts, wherever they are taken, will be punished.⁵⁴

[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.⁵⁵

[7] If any Venetian slave flees and comes into to Turkish hands and becomes a Moslem, they will give his master 1000 *aspers*;⁵⁶ if he is a Christian he will be sent back.⁵⁷

[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.⁵⁸

⁵³ BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani*, 309, for 7 Jan. 1479/1480, where Turkish and Venetian subjects were fishing the same waters. In 1454 treaty, ROMANIN, IV, 384.

⁵⁴ BOMBACI, *Nuovi firmani*, 303, for 23 Sept. 1479: «περὶ τῶν ζημιῶν, ὅπου ἐποίησαν οἱ φοῦστες τοῦ Αὐλῶνος μέσα εἰς τὸν Κόλπον σας, ὠρίσαμεν τὸν Ἀχμάτ μπασιάν ὅτι νὰ ἱκανοποιήσῃ τοῦξ ἀνθρώπουξ σας, ὡς μίαν τρίχαν. καὶ πλέον νὰ μηδὲν ἔχουσιν ἄδειαν τὰ κουρσάρικα νὰ σεβᾶίνουιν εἰς τὸν Κόλπον σας. εἰ δὲ καὶ σεβᾶίνουσιν, νὰ παιδεύουῦνται 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 καὶπραγματευτὰς καὶ ἀν(θρώπ)ους σας, ὡς ἰδιηοὺς μας»: «We desire to look on all yours, your nobles and merchants and men, as our own».

⁵⁵ 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).

⁵⁶ 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*, in *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 1,000 *aspers* is in the 1446 and 1454 treaties (BABINGER, DÖLGER, 241; ROMANIN IV, 385).

⁵⁷ 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: ASVE: Documenti Turchi B1/10 and MIKLOSICH, MÜLLER III, 293, for 7 Jan. 1478/1479, and ASVE: Miscellani atti diplomatici e privati, b. 45.1342 for 17 Mar. 1480. Also in the 1446 and 1454 treaties (BABINGER, DÖLGER, 241; ROMANIN, IV, 385; BOMBACI, *Due clause*, 270-271).

⁵⁸ Again, a normal provision. For 1403, see DENNIS, 79: «12. Item. a lo mio paise et luogi si algun 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 scapolo e liberado senza algun impedimento liberamente». Also in the 1446 treaty. BABINGER, DÖLGER, 240; BOMBACI, *Due clause*, 268-269.

[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.⁵⁹

[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.⁶⁰ The governor will be obligated to give him aid and cooperation.⁶¹

[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 florins⁶² from the commercial transactions.⁶³

⁵⁹ 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.

⁶⁰ 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 (ASVE: Arbori IV.17.184; ivi: Senato Mar R 11, f. 20v for 22 Apr. 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.

⁶¹ 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.

⁶² «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 2,000 ducats and the Emir of 2,000 florins.

⁶³ 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 1481/1482. THEUNISSEN, 370 ff.; MIKLOSICH, MÜLLER, III, 311, 316: «ἡ βασιλεία μου παρατίθησι τὰ δύο ταῦτα κεφάλια... χάριν τῆς ἡμῶν φιλίας χαρίζομαι τὰς φλουρία τὰς καθ' ἕκαστον χρόνον τεταγμένας εἰς τόπον δώρων 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' ἕκαστον χρόνον πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν μου εἰς τόπον δώρων τὰς ἄλλας πέντε μετὰ τῶν πενήτηντα 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).

[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.⁶⁴ *per volo domini* Further, my Lordship cannot look for past debts, either from the most illustrious Signoria of Venice or from its men.⁶⁵

[13] Further, the most illustrious Signoria of Venice is obligated to hand over to my Lordship the fortress called Skodra⁶⁶ in Albania, except that it may remove the lord who is *rettor*, and the council, and all the other men⁶⁷ 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 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.⁶⁸

[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

⁶⁴ 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 Mar. 1481 acknowledges payment of 50,000 ducats: «οἱ εἰρημένοι ἄρχοντες, ἀποκρισιάρχιος καὶ μπάιλος, 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».

⁶⁵ Although this has «per volo domini», the provision was included in the peace proposal delivered by the *provveditor* of the Fleet, Thomaxio Maripietro more than a year earlier (ASVE: Secreta, Senato R. 28, f. 60 for 19 Nov. 1477).

⁶⁶ 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...» (ASVE: Secreta, Senato R 28 f. 149v for 25 Febr. 1478/1479). Two weeks before the peace Mehmed wrote: «ὅτι ἐμὲς πρὸ τοῦ να λάβομεν τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Σκούταριν ἀπὸ τὴν ἐλαμπρότιτά σας»: «before this, we will take the castle of Skoutari from your most illustrious [Signoria]» (ASVE: Documenti Turchi B1/10; also MIKLOSICH, MÜLLER, 294, for 7 Jan. 1478/1479).

⁶⁷ LG 1321/2: «quel zentilhomo che é rettor, le soldati, e tutti altri homini».

⁶⁸ 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 Λῆμνον καὶ τὸ Σκούταρι διὰ νὰ κάμουν ἀγάπην»: «The Venetians gave Lemnos and Skoutari to make peace» (SCHREINER, 401).

my Lordship, that is, in the parts of the Morea,⁶⁹ 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.⁷⁰

[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.⁷¹

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.

⁶⁹ 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. ASVE: Secreta, Senato R 28, f. 12v for 8 May 1477: «importantium locorum que minima est existimari v[er]o ... 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 (ASVE: Secreta, Senato R 28, f. 60 for 19 Nov. 1477).

⁷⁰ ASVE: Secreta: Senato R 28, ff. 149-150 for 25 Febr. 1478/1479 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 aquistita et occupata fuerunt in soprascritto composito bellis». Also SATHAS, VI, 214 from BCMVE: Codici Cicogna, Ms. 3532, f. 39: *Annali Veneti de Stefano Magno* (1499-1572).

⁷¹ 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.