OTTOMAN DIPLOMATS IN THE WEST: THE SULTAN'S AMBASSADORS TO THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE

Till the end of the 18th century, Ottoman diplomacy was characterized by nonresidential ambassadors, but this fact did not prevent the sultan from sending his envoys to foreign countries to discuss peace and war, to solve problems linked with trade or the border line, to obtain the ransom of slaves or to invite foreign rulers to feasts held in Istanbul. The famous Kara Mehmed, sent to Vienna in 1665, was not the elçi sent to a Western country. From 1384 to the war of Candia more than one hundred fifty Ottoman envoys were sent to the Republic of Venice and many of them had the title of elçi or, when the sultan's letters to Western rulers were written in Greek. that of "apokrysarion". During the Middle Ages other ambassadors were sent by the padisah to European countries, for instance Murad II sent his envoys in 1433 to Basel to emperor Sigismund, in 1439 to Krakow, in 1442 to Buda, in 1444 to Szeged to king Ladislas Jagellone and his allies. At the end of the fifteenth century, when prince Cem was prisoner in Europe, Bayezid II too sent many envoys to France, Rome, Milan, Venice and Mantua; close links then existed between the Ottoman empire and the small Mantuan state governed by Francis II Gonzaga; on the point of receiving the Ottoman ambassadors Kasım, this sovereign begin to learn the Turkish language and ordered his soldiers to go to battle crying the words "Turco! Turco!" (Turk).

Ottoman diplomacy was influenced by the Byzantine as well as the Oriental civilisation and Mogol culture: an ambassador had to be well treated according to the Quran, but also to show respect to the sovereign he represented, and an offence to him was as if it was made to his lord. For this reason the Ottomans used to imprison Venetian ambassadors during a war and, on the other hand, to severely punish those who dared to offend, or worse to kill, an Ottoman ambassador. When an Oriental ambassador reached Venice, Venetians tried to leave aside their Western ideas to treat him in an Oriental manner. Respecting the Ottoman way of thinking, they did not bother if the ambassador was called "slave" in the sultan's letter he brought; they used to provide him with clothes, food, money and a house prepared with carpets and other Oriental furniture.

Ottoman ambassadors to Venice were, above all, members of the *çavuş* corp, but there were also interpreters and members of the bureaucratic staff of the empire as well of the army, for instance *müteferrika*, *silahdar*, *sipahi*. *haznedar*, janizary or *ulak*. It is important to note that the four most important official interpreters of the court, the

divan-t hümayun tercumant, of the 16th century were all sent to Venice. First there was Ali-Bey, who-reached Venice-in-1514 and-in-1517; the-first-time-he-was-sent-not-only-to see the Venetian doge swear to observe the peace treaty but also to propose a military alliance. He looked like a Venetian noblemen, Paolo Vallaresso, but we have to consider the fact that he probably belonged to the branch of the Venetian Barbaro family who had chosen to live in the island of Santa Maura.

From a political point of view the six missions in Venice of the offial interpreter Yunus Bey were very important. They took place between 1519 and 1542. For instance in 1537 he was instructed to propose to the doge an alliance with France against the German Emperor, an alliance which was, however, refused by the Venetians. Yunus received the highest sums of money that the Republic ever gave to an Ottoman ambassador: 6.000 ducats in 1542; but he was a very influential person at the sultan's court and all the affairs with the Western countries were in his hands. He too had once been a Venetian subject, in fact he was the son of Giorgio Taroniti from the Greek town of Modon, then under Venetian rule.

Then there was Ibrahim (the Pole Joachim Strasz) who brought to the doge two fethname-s, the first in 1555, the second in 1567; he wanted also to see the city of Padua, in the famous university of which he had studied. The Hungarian Mahmud bey arrived in Venice in 1570 in order to reach France but he could not go on because of the beginning of the war of Cyprus; for this reason he was put in prison by Venetians, first in Venice and then in the castle of San Felice near Verona where some other important Turks were also kept; he was set free only three years later, when Ottomans and Venetians signed the peace treaty.

The envoys to the Republic were above all converts of European origin: to know Western languages and customs was considered very important for them, even if they spoke Turkish in the official meeting with the doge. Only at the beginning, before and just after the fall of Constantinople two persons were sent, usually a 'Turk' and a 'Greek'. Afterwards, some Caucasian or Anatolian subject was chosen only occasionally, and only when he already knew the Western world, because he had been a prisoner of war or had lived as slave in Europe. Very few Jews were sent to Venice by the sultan, and this happened usually during a war, when it was safer to use this kind of envoy. The most important of them was the physician Salomon Ashkenazi, who reached Venice just after the war of Cyprus to speak about problems connected with the border line. Ottoman ambassadors were usually not young but none of them died in Venice from a disease; there were only some of them who became ill, as for instance the subaşı Ali bey who fell ill after eatening too many oysters with orange juice.

To reach Venice they usually travelled by land as far as Dalmatian coast (Ragusa, Spalato or Zara), where they left their horses and used to engage some men in order to arrive in Venice with many servants and so impress their hosts; the envoy's servants were usually at least ten, but some amassadors arrived escorted even by eighty persons, such as the interpreter Ali bey in 1514. From the coast the ambassadors usually went on in a Venetian ship. As was usual for everybody, they had to spend some days in

quarantine, in Dalmatia or even in Venice, in order to avoid introducing the plague into the Venetian state. They were usually received on the Lido shore, in the house of the Counsil of Ten, and then many senators accompanied them to the flat prepared for them usually on the Giudecca island. Then they were received a first time in the hall of the Collegio, in the doge's palace, to present the sultan's letter, which had to be translated. The gifts brought by the sultan's ambassadors to the Venetian doge had usually only a symbolic value, and only sometimes they were horses or cloths; normally they were for instance handkerchiefs or belts, while in 1516 the envoy Mustafa gave to the doge the head of a lord of Bagdad, just defeated by his master. On the contrary much richer were the gifts brought to Venice by the envoys sent by Ottoman peripheral authorities, above all the *beylerbeyi* of Bosnia. Venetan ambassadors to Istanbul used to give precious cloths, Murano glasses, silver objects, grana cheese, or falcons and dogs not only to the sultan but also to many other important persons.

Then the envoys could spend some days in Venice. They often bought and sold goods, went to see the shops situated in the Rialto and in the Mercerie and the ships which were built in the Arsenal, and often had a view of the whole city from the top of St. Mark's bell tower. Sometimes they were invited, as other foreign ambassadors were, to take part in some feast organized by the Venetian nobility. If it was the right time of year they could see the Carneval, or the procession of Corpus Domini in St. Mark's square or the ceremonies for the Ascension. Only the interpreter Yunus bey attended vespers in the doge's chapel, as on the contrary was usual for Christian ambassadors. During their tours in Venice the ambassadors were always accompanied by some Venetians who had the task of keeping an eye on them, usually a young nobleman and an interpreter, who then had to inform the Senate of what the Turk had done. Their written reports give us an unusual image of the official representative of the sultan in Venice: we see, for instance, on a November evening in 1567 Kubad çavuş eating in his house while listening to a concert of an harpsichord and a violin, or in 1589 Bali who used to call the Venetian interpreter Michele Membrè hoca and frequently repeated the same word: güsel. A voyage to Venice meant also the possibility for Ottoman subjects of making the acquaintance of Venetians: Yunus bey, for instance, obtained permission in 1522 to go and see in Mestre the podestà Giovanni Francesco Mocenigo, a nobleman he had became acquainted with during his previous mission.

Ottoman envoys were received again in the Colleigo to treat political affairs they were concerned with, or to receive the written answer of the Republic to the sultan or to the grand vizier. There were for instance the periods of war, when ambassadors were sent to begin to negotiate peace. In some particular periods the Ottomans and the Venetians even tried to arrive at a military alliance; but this was never concluded, even if in 1510, 1617 and 1630 Ottoman subjects were engaged and fought under the Venetian flag. Moreover many amassadors were sent, above all in the 15th-16th centuries, to arrange the ransom of prisoners of war; Ottoman sujects were used in Venice as slaves only during a war but, after the peace treaty, they had to be given back to the sultan who was

obliged-to-send-to-Venice-the-Venetian-prisoners-in-Istanbul; for-this-reason-in-periods-of peace there were no Turkish slave rowers on Venetian galleys.

Another important moment in the relationship between Venice and Ottoman Empire was the ceremonies held in Istanbul and in Venice to ratify a peace treaty: the first agreement between the two states was made in 1390 while the last dates to 1733. All_the_Venetian=Ottoman_treaties_till_the_18th-century_have-all-the-elements-whichcharacterize a nisan, the imperial patent, but besides this, they also contain the oath, usually expressed in the sanctio, sometimes repeated in the dispositio and only in one case (1573) put into the invocatio. The earliest agreements were made by an official Venetian representative in the Levant; there the sultan swore to it, and then an ottoman amassador took it to doge, who, in his turn, swore to the translation issued in his name which was then taken to the sultan by his envoy. This exchange of ambassadors sent to attend the ceremonies of the two oathtakigns was common also in the relations between other Christian and Muslim states during the Middle Ages. That this was the old praxis is shown also by the misunderstandings which took place after the war of 1499-1502. The peace treaty of 1502-1503 has always been at the basis of many discussions among historians. It is dated December 1502 even if the peace was really made the following year. It was merely a draft, which was later considered valid as if it were the final version. This may be because at this moment the ceremony of oath taking seemed to be as important as the written document for the Ottomans. In 1503 the Ottoman ambassador, kahya Lütfi bey, who had been sent to attend the ceremony in Venice, asked the doge Leonardo Loredan to put on a belt which the sultan had already worn as a sign of friendship, and we know that this putting on of a belt the Turk signified assuming his-proper-place in the general-order and accepting his destiny, whether it was to rule a state, to govern a province, to be the wife of a man or to enter a brotherhood. This time, however, in front of Lütfi the doge swore to a document which was the exact translation of the Ottoman act issued in the sultan's name; only later the Ottoman ruler, on recognizing the mistake, asked the doge to repeat the ceremony with a document issued in his own name.

The war of Cyprus between the Republic and the Empire compelled the Ottomans to discuss the validity of the sultan's oath. Selim II had decided to conquer the island when he was still a prince, but after his coronation he renewed the treaty with Venice, waiting for the right moment to declare war. The right moment came in 1570 and he asked the doctors of Islamic law if it was right to make war with the Republic despite the agreements and the oath. They replied that the peace treaty had already been broken by the Republic herself, as she had damaged the border contries, taking Ottoman villages, taking prisoners and killing Muslims, building fortresses and giving hospitality to corsairs; besides, they said that, according to their books, Cyprus had belonged for thirty years (circa 647-680) to the fifth successor of Muhammad, Mu'âwiya, that it had been a Muslim country and that its mosques had been transformed into Christian churches; for all these reasons they declared that the sultan was free from his oath and, morover, if he wanted to rule according to religious laws, he had to fight

against the Venetian Repulic to conquer Cyprus. The war of Cyprus was the only one officially announced to the doge by an ambassador, in 1570 the *çavuş* Kubad arrived in Venice to ask the doge to give up the island, but this mission was due above all to the Venetian *bailo* in Istanbul who wanted to inform his lord of what was on the point of happening and had induced the grand vizir to think that the Venetians would have probably given up Cyprus of their own will.

From the second half of the 16th century onwards, the diplomatic praxis regarding the capitulations changed: all treaties were held at the High Porte by the Venetian ambassador. The agreed capitula were subsequently sent to Venice for ratification. The document ratified by the doge was returned to Istanbul, where a parallel document issued by the sultan was prepared to be sent to Venice. The written document had already taken the place of the oathtaking ceremony in the Ottoman world. For the agreements made at Karlowitz and Passarowitz the praxis was a little different. At Karlowitz for the first time in its history the Ottoman Empire was obliged to discuss an international agreement far from the sultan's seat. This fact obliged the Ottomans to accept the European praxis of negotiations by plenipotentiaries, who signed a document which had to be subsequently ratified by the different rulers. In 1699, after the exchance of the documents signed at Karlowitz, Venice asked the sultan to ratify the agreement and sent him a document signed by the doge, receiving in exchance one issued in the sultan's name. This document contained thirty three chapters, the first sixteen of which had already been signed by the plenipotentiaries, the others were the ratification of the old terms with imperial oath and the promise that the document would be valid as long as the sultan maintained his power. The same thirty three chapters are repeated in the capitulations of 1701 sworn by Mustafa II and that of 1706 sworn by Ahmed III. After Ahmed III's death, in 1733, Mahmud I had to renew the peace with the Republic. The Venetian bailo Angelo Emo was commissioned to obtain a new document containing all the clauses of Passarowitz, signed by the sultan and that would last as long as the Ottoman Empire existed. In fact until that moment the agreements with the Ottoman were valid as long as the sultan mantained his power, as was clearly written in many of them (not simply till his death as is usually stated). The Republic of Venice had already tried to obtain perpetual peace in 1718, but unsuccessfully. In 1720 the Ottoman had already concluded such an agreement with Russia. Now they asked the opinion of a man of religion; the reis efendi and the grand vizir consulted the müfti Damadzade, who replied that if a state looked for peace, the religion obliged the faithful to agree, following the traditional interpretation of Qurân, IV.94. In the end the Ottomans agreed to Emo's requests and the sultan signed the imperial document in which he promised peace for the duration of the Ottoman Empire. In 1733, for the first and last time in Venetian-Ottoman relations, peace was considered perpetual. For this reason no other agreement was made after 1733 between the Republic and the Empire.

Another occasion for sending an ambassador to Venice was to announce the sultan's victories in the East and in the West: from 1454 to the war of Cyprus at least twenty six fethname-s were brought by Ottoman envoys to the doge's feet. From the

time-of-Mehmed-II-the-sultan-also-used-to-invite-the-doge-to-the feasts-that-were-often-held in Istanbul either for his accession to the throne or for the circumcision of imperial princes; usually a Venetian ambassador was then sent to represent the doge in Istanbul. From the second half of the 16th century many envoys were sent to speak of commercial problems, often linked to the raids of the Uskok pirates. or to buy cloths and other-commodities for the court. At the beginning of the 17th century some envoys were sent from Istanbul to solve the problem created by the inhabitants of the island of Lagosta, who were under the rule of Ragusa, a Republic protected by the sultan, but who now wanted to put themselves under the Venetian shield. In this century, however, the missions begin to become rarer and rarer and at the time of the war of Candia they almost completely stopped.

Before leaving Venice the Ottoman ambassadors usually asked some favour of the doge, for instance the granting of freedom for some criminals or a letter of recommendation to the sultan to advance their career, or some office in the Venetian state for their Christian relatives or friends. Before they left they received many gifts. above all money and clothes for themselves and for the members of their suite. Then they embarked on a Venetian ship for the Dalmatian coast where they had left horses, and they could dismiss most of their suite whom they had usually engaged in those places to impress the Venetians with their importance and magnificence. A voyage to Venice was for all the Ottoman envoys a means of acquiring a lot of money: they not only received gifts but could also buy and sell goods and get other money if they succeeded in obtaining freedom for a prisoner or an exempion from duty for the merchants who had followed them from Dalmatia.

For about two centuries, from the middle of the 15th to the 17th centuries. Venice was the centre of diplomatic contacts between the European countries and the Ottoman Empire. The ambassadors of France and Mantua used to meet the Ottoman envoys in Venice and in 1530 the duke of Ferrara himself asked to see the ambassador Hüseyin. Venice was also a centre of spying on both sides and political information about different states was often exchanged. For a Western state to get information about the Ottoman empire in Venice was cheaper and perhaps easier than to send a spy to Istanbul. This situation came to an end only with the war of Candia and in 1704 the arrival of the Ottoman ambassador Mustafa, who had brought the news of the accession of Ahmed III, was seen by Venetian as an unusual event: Mustafa surely realized this fact and he treated his deferential hosts with a certain irony and a subtle vein of humour.

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VENICE	aim of the mission	Frienship and an alliance	agamst ure nepulic of Ochova -	Peace	The second secon	Modon and Koron		Prince Mustafa wants to reach	Europe by a Venetian galley Peace and ransom of slave	For the payment of some wheat	bought by a Venetian merchant	Frientship and peace	Peace and a fugitive slave		Peace	Peace and to obtain freedom for a Turk	condemned to death in Egriboz	To invite the doge to the feasts	for the sultan's son	To ask Venetians to destroy two castles	Peace	Trade and customs for salt	Argirocastro	Peace
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? - 15 May 1480 İskender - 22 May 1483		Mahmud (Mehmed)	Śnapź	5 Jan.1483	Zaklise and Cephalonia.
- 22 May 1483				15 May 1480	About peace and Naples.
		İskender	1	22 May 1483	[To France]

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[To the Emparor].	To ask the Venetians to give shelter to the	Ottoman fleet in some Venetian harbours Fethname; and to speak about the	Struction III Mora	For a fugitive slave. For the murder of a Tunisian ambassador	which occurred in a Venetian country.	(To France and Cem)	For the murder of a Tunisian ambassador;	border line and other things.	From the sultan (the aim of	the missionis not clear).	Pirates and trade	[To Rome; to pay to the pope	the tribute for Cem].	Christian slaves of the Ottomans		To say something orally to the doge.	About the mission of çavuş	Kasım, who was victim of a theft About the archibishon of Dırac	Lawy of A
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59	i	ı	Oct.1495	To offer 20.000 Ottoman Christian knight to fight against France.
99		1	Jan.1496	1
61			fine 1497	[To the Emparor].
62	i	. 1	19 Jun.1497	Fethname for Persia and Eflâk. campaigns
63	Alessio	çavuş	MarApr.1500	Peace.
64	ii	; ; I	fine Jul.1500	1
65	Ali bev	subası	20 May/28 Apr.1503	Peace.
99	Mustafa Bey	,	23 Jan./27 Feb./5 Mar.1504	To receive the inhaitants of Aya
				Mavra made slaves by Venetians
				and for a commercial affair.
<i>L</i> 9	Yakub bey	sipahi, già sube	sipahi, già subaşı 15,17,21 Mar.1504	Peace; Alessio; border line of Anabolu.
89	Ali bey	sipahi	4,18,30 Jun.1504	Pirats.
69	Davud	•	Jul.1504	To sell goods blonging to the sultan.
70	Sinan	1	30 Jul.1504	To ask for help for the Ottoman
				ships going from Avlonya to Istanbul.
71	İlvas	silahdar	16,19 Dec.1507	Fethname
72	"Symix"	cavus	21 Jun./3 Jul.1512	Selim II' accession to the throne
73	Ali bey(I)	interpreter	30 Jan./1,2,6,10,12,18 Feb.1514 Peace.	Peace.
. 74	Mehmed	sipahioğlan	5,7,10,24 Dec.1514	Fethname for Persia campaing
75	Süleyman	ćavuş	29 Aug./1 Sep.1515	Fethname for Persia campaing
9/	Mustafa(I)	Śanaż	24 Aug.1516	Fethname for Persia campaing
11	Mehmed bev	sipahioğlan	27 Dec.1516/9 Jan.1517	Fethname for Egypt campaing
78	Ali bey(II)	interpreter	28 Oct./3,7 Nov.1517	Tribute for Cyprus and a commercial
		ı		affair.
79	Yunus(I)	sipahioğlan	10 Dec.1518/22,26 Jan.1519	Complaints of Ottoman subjects
80	Mustafa bey(II)	čannž	12 Jul./23 Sep./17 Oct.1519	Tribute for Cyprus
81	Ahmed	müteferrika	14,26 Nov.1520	Süleyman I' accession to the throne.

							Maı	ia P	ia P	eda	ni -	Fab	ris -										
													etians		****	with	armed Administration						
Fethname for Hungary campaing and other things.	Complaints of Ottoman subjects and for some stolen jewels	To ask Venetians to pay in Sirya the tribute for Cyprus	Fethname for Rodi campaing	Complaints to Ottoman subjects and horder line near Cattaro	Peace, friendship and complaints.	Fethname for Hungary campaing	Fethname for Hungary campaing	for the sultan's sons.	For the trade of salt.	Fethname for Hungary campaing	and coplaints for something	nappened in Salona and Kils.	To cash some money and to ask Venetians	to make an alliance with France.	Fethname for Hungary campaing	to ask Venetians to make an alliance with	France.	For two ships of Hayreddin	taken by Venetians.	Fethname for Hungary campaing and to have news about Havreddin	Fethname for Hungary campaing	To have news about Hayreddin.	
28 Oct./2,3 Nov.1521	26 May/2,7 Jun.1522	7,11 Sep.1522	27 Mar./1 Apr.1523	6,19 Oct./14 Nov.1524	5,7,11,19 Jun.1525	9,20 Oct.1526	21,29 Dec.1529/11 Jan.1530	Jan. 1930	emin in Makarska 21 Jul./21 Aug./2 Sep.1532	10,13 Dec./9 Jan.1533		12 Feb 1536	16,17 Jan.1537		15 Oct.1541	11,26 Apr.1542	1	.1542	15.40	17 Aug.1343	12 Nov.1543	1544	
28 06	26 M	7,11	27 M	6,19	5,7,11	9,20	21,29	0,0,0	ska 21	10,13		12 Fe	16,17		15 Oc	11,26	,	14 Jul.1542	17	nv / r	12 No	3 Apr 1544	
\$avuş	· .	ŝαnαδ	officer	Śavus	ćavuş	sipahioğlan	interpreter	or and	emin in Makar	interpreter		Cavus	interpreter		čannš	interpreter		čanaš		śnanż	Śnapś	Śannż	

Mehmed Yunus bey(IV)

91

Murad(I) Yunus bey(VI)

95

İbrahim

Şecca

86

Murad(II) Mehmed

Yunus bey(V)

Mehmed

93 94

Ali Yunus bey(III) Hüseyin

88 89 90

"Heinechan"

Hasan bey Hasan

Sinan

84

Halii

82

Yunus bey(II)

83

To receive the castle Velin in Dalmatia.	Border line in Dalmatia.	Border line in Dalmatia.	Fethname for Persia campaign.	Fethname.	To inform Venetians that Turgud reis was	in the sultan's service and about	complaints of some Ottoman merchants	To accompany to Istanbul some	relatives of Joseph Nasi.	Pirats and the relatives of Nasi.	Fethname and complaints of	some Ottoman merchants	Uskoks.	Passport for Bernardo Migues, brother of	Joseph Nasi, condemned by the Republic.	Money due to the kapıağası.	Pirats, contraband and customs.	Selim II's accession to the throne.	Fethname for Hungary campaing and	peace.	Trade and prisoners of Uskoks.	[To France]	For the island of Cyprus and declaration of	war.		From the grand vizier.	Border line.	[To Florence for the ransom of some slaves].
22 Jun.1546	çavuş and interpreter 25 Aug.1546	Jun.1547	1 Mar.1549	17 Mar.1550	11 Aug.1550			Nov.1551		28 May1552	24,30 Jan.1555		21 Jun.1557	30 May1558		21 Feb.1562	23 Aug.1563	5 Nov.1566	interpreter, mitteferrika 8,11 Jan. 1567		31 Oct.1567	interpreter, mitteferrika 19 Jan. 1570	29 Mar.1570			Mar.1574	Aug.1574	OctNov.1574
ćannż	çavuş and in	ŝαληδ	śannż	šavus	ćavuş	1		čαλαž	1	ćavus	interpreter	•	kapıcıbaşı	Śavus	,	kapıcı	ŝπλαδ	Śavus	interpreter,,	ı	ŝαλαδ	interpreter,,	Śnapź			ı	physician	reis
Ferhad	Cafer çelebi	Mehmed	Ferhad	Hüseyin	Ömer			Hüseyin	•	Sinan	fbrahim(I)		Mustafa agà	Hasan		Mehmed	Şecca	Mehmed bin İskender	İbrahim(II)		Kubad(I)	Mahmud bey	Kubad(II)		Hasan	Hacı Mustafa	Ashkenasi Salomone	Mustafa dei Cordovani(I)
101	102	103	104	105	106			107		108	109		110	I		112	113	114	115		116	117	118		119		120	121

				nice).					•					.		·s			*****				. o	***********	******		
	Murad III's accession to the	To free Mahmud from Hersek Nova.	Trade and ransom of prisoners.	To free some slaves (He dead in Venice).	To free some muslim prisoners.	Trade.	To invite the doge to the feast for the sultan's son	[To France].		[10 rialice].	To buy gold bars for the feast	forthe sultan's son and to free	Mahmud from Hersek Nova.		For Marino Scaruoli from Mora.	Dalmatia and to free some prisoners.	[To France].	Uskoks and trade.	Uskoks and trade.	Uskoks.	To buy golden cloths for the saray		To sell silk and to buy goods for the	To buy leads.	To buy golden cloths (he didn't	find them, so went to Florence).	
· Assessed 1	26 Mar.1575	before 22 Feb.1576	4,23 Jun.1576	JunAug.1576	4 Jun. 1580	17,20,25 Jun.1580	23 Aug.1581	11 Oct.1581	secretary interpreter 21 Sep /11 Oct 1591	protect 21 3cp./11 Oct.1361	3 Feb. 1582				Feb.1583	12 May 1583	[1583]	Jan.1588	13 Mar.1589	silahdar and çeşnigir 29 Aug./1 Sep.1589	8 Nov.1589	and the second s	1590	[1592]	18 Mar.1593		
	Śavuş	ek Nova -	čannž	reis	hoca	Śanaż	çeşnigir	çeşnigir miteferriba	secretary inte	sectoda y, mito	bölükbaşı		•	kapıcı	sipahioğlan	Śanaś			1	silahdar and	haznedar		t .	ŝnapo	čαnnž		
	Mustafa	Mustafa çelebi from Hersek Nova	Hasan(I)	Mustafa dei Cordovani(II) reis	Musliheddin	Hasan(II)	Hasan agà	Hasan agà Ali		e de la companya de l	Davud		:0	Omer	Ibrahim	Hacı Hasan	Hasan agà	? (slave of Seyyid Abdi)	j	Bali bey	Mustafa	Mehmed	Hasan	"Molcaz"	Mustafa		,
	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129)	101	151		122	761		133	134	135	136	137	138	139		140	141		

142		Cafer	cavus	1 Jun.1594	Fethname.
143		Dervis aoà	cavus	1 Feb.1595	Uskoks and to buy cloths.
144		Hüsevin agà	cesnigir	1,8 Jun.1595	Mehmed III's accession to the
)		throne and peace.
145	κ	Mustafa agà	müteferrika	Aug.1597	[Coming back from France].
146	و	,	ćavus	Nov./Dec.1598	Fethname for Hungary campaign.
147	2	Davud	ćavus	May 1600	Uskoks.
148	_ ∞	Bartolomeo Coressi	physician	12 Apr.1601	Fethname for Hungary campaign,
					and accession to the throne.
149	61	Halil	šanaž	29 May 1602	Fethname for Hungary campaign.
150	0	Hızır agà	müteferrika	18 Aug.1603	Uskoks; to buy cloths; border line
151	17	Zülficar agà	müteferrika	26 Apr.1604	Island of Lagosta.
152	52	Mustafa agà	haznedar	30 May 1604	Ahmed I's accession to the throne
153	53	Hızır	müteferrika,kapıcıbaşı	ıcıpaşı	•
			of the great viz	of the great vizier about Dec.1604	Fethname
15	154	Osman	cavuş	17 Mar.1605	Uskoks.
15	155	Nathan Ashkenazi	,	21 Mar./12 Jul./8 Aug.1605	To buy golden cloths for the
					sultan.
15	156	Mustafa agà	müteferrika	17 Jun.1609	Uskoks.
-	157	Hacı İbrahim from Cairo	müteferrika	25 Sep.1609	Moriscos from Spain.
-	158	Dervis	cavus	Nov.1613-Mar.1614	Trade.
4	159	Hüsevin	ćavus	23 May 1614	Uskoks and complaints for a
			n		tower built in Lesina.
~	160	Sülevman	1	9 Dec.1614/14 Jan.1615	For Moriscos from Spain, and
i) }				for some women kidnapped by
					Venetians in Tunis.
ĭ	161	Mustafa	čannž	4 Mar./17 Apr.1618	Mustafa I's accession to the
			1		throne and trade.
201	162	Mehmed	ćαnnŝ	11 Jun.1618	Osman II's accession to the throne.

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Mustafa I's accession to the throne.	***	To accompany the new Venetian envoy	Murad IV's accession to the throne.	Inhabitants of Sinj.	Inhabitants of Sinj.	Fethname for the Egypt campaign	and inhabitants of Sini.	1640 Ibrahim I's accession to the throne.		Passport for the new bailo.	Peace.		[To France].	Peace.	Passport for the Venetian ambassador.	To buy cloths for the gran vizier.	Ahmed III's accession to the	throne.	Peace.	To buy cloths and other things.
	çavuş 22 Sep./2 Oct.1622	janizaries	kapıcı Sep.1622-Feb.1623	çavuş 22 Feb.1624:	kapıcı 25 Jul.1637	dizdar in Nadin 15 Oct.1637	ulak 2 Apr.1639		mitteferrika and kapicibaşı 26 Apr./9,23 May 1640	janizary	bevvab and yasakçı 1645	slave, ulak Mar. 1649	interpreter	janizary Jun, 1652	çavuş Oct.1656	çavuş Jun; 1658	- 19,31 Oct.1675	once telhisçi 5,15 Jul.1704		bey in Iskenderyie 1/56	- 1762
	Mustafa(I)	1.5	6			Ali agà	Mustafa <i>çelebi</i>	•	Mehmed agà	Murad	Hasan	i	٠	i	Mustafa	;	Marino Caboya	Mustafa agà	c		Ismail aga
,	163	164		165	166	167	168		169	170		171	172		173	174	175	176	777	// 1	1/8