

Trade and Diplomacy in the
OTTOMAN – VENETIAN
RELATIONS
During the 16th Century

Thesis submitted to the
Institute of Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

History

by

Cafer Talha ŞEKER

Fatih University

June 2011

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To my parents Meryem & Nurettin ŐEKER couple
and my teachers...

APPROVAL PAGE

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AUTHOR DECLARATIONS

1. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

2. The program of advanced study of which this thesis is part has consisted of:

- i) Research Methods course during the undergraduate study
- ii) Examination of several thesis guides of particular universities both in Turkey and abroad as well as a professional book on this subject.

Cafer Talha ŞEKER

June, 2011

ABSTRACT

Cafer Talha ŞEKER June 2011

TRADE AND DIPLOMACY IN THE OTTOMAN – VENETIAN RELATIONS DURING THE 16TH CENTURY

Writing a history based on the Ottoman-Venetian affairs of four centuries by reading the Ottoman and Venetian languages will be a recognized study not only for the Mediterranean world but also for world history. Having a claim of being a useful step for historians who will attempt such kinds of studies, the aim in this thesis study is to contribute to scientific literature by looking at the general conditions in the century when the Ottomans were the most powerful.

The content of this thesis is:

In the introduction, the features of the relations which were experienced in previous centuries between the Ottomans and the Venetians will be briefly introduced. In this chapter, while at times, the paper makes use of primary sources like chronicles, mostly secondary source will be used.

In the first and second chapters, while handling how the diplomatic and commercial deeds between the Sultan and San Marco in the sixteenth century occurred through classifications, generally first-hand sources such as State Council Registries (*Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri*) and chronicles are used; secondary sources will also be used at times.

In the third chapter, how the conquest of the Island of Cyprus, organized from the Ottoman Palace, caused a crisis between the Ottomans and the Venetians in this century, will be covered with three titles under the light of direct primary sources. Here, it will be referred to as intelligence, transportation and navy administration.

Key words: Ottoman, Venetian, Trade, Diplomacy, Cyprus Campaign.

KISA ÖZET

Cafer Talha ŞEKER Haziran 2011

OSMANLI – VENEDİK MÜNASEBETLERİ'NDE TİCARET VE DİPLOMASİ: 16. YÜZYIL

Osmanlıca ve Venedik lisanını okuyarak 4 asırlık Osmanlı - Venedik münasebetlerinin vesikalarına dayalı topyekün bir tarih yazılması sadece Akdeniz değil dünya tarihi açısından da muteber bir çalışma olacaktır. Bu tez çalışmasında maksat da böyle çalışmalara başlayacak olan tarihçilerin istifade edeceği bir basamak olmak iddiası taşıyarak meseleyi Osmanlı'nın en kudretli olduğu asırdaki ahval-i umumiyyeye bakarak ele almakta olup bu sahadaki ilmi literatüre katkı sağlamaktır.

Çalışmanın giriş bölümünde, Osmanlı – Venedik arasında on altıncı yüzyıldan evvel meydana gelen tarihi münasebetler kısaca takdim edilecektir. Bu bölümde bazı Osmanlı vekayinameleri gibi birinci el kaynaklar az olmakla beraber daha ziyade ikinci el kaynaklardan malumat verilecektir.

Birinci ve ikinci kısımlarda, Sultan ile San Marco arasında on altıncı yüzyılda meydana gelen ticari ve diplomatik münasebetler takdim edilecektir. Burada, Osmanlı Devleti'nin Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri ve kronikler gibi birinci el memba daha ziyade kullanılıp, kısmen ikinci el kaynaklardan da malumat takdim edilecektir.

Üçüncü kısımda, Kıbrıs Seferi'nin Merkez'den idaresi ve bu esnada Osmanlılar ile Venedikliler arasındaki kriz dönemi üzerinde durulacaktır. Burada, doğrudan birinci el kaynaklar ışığında meseleye bakılarak istihbarat, nakliyat ve donanma idaresi gibi noktalara temas edilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı, Venedik, Ticaret, Diplomasi, Kıbrıs Seferi.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BOA : Bařbakanlık Osmanlı Arřivleri (Prime Ministry Ottoman
Archieves)

ASV: Archivio di Stato di Venezia

MD : Mühimme Defteri (the Ottoman State Council Registers)

H. : Hüküm (Verdict)

DİA : Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi

LIST OF EXPRESSIONS

The Ottoman Terms

- Ağa: (Agha) Master, chief.
Ağriboz: Euboea
Ahidname: (Arabic origin term. *Ahd*: Oath, *Name*: Paper) Treaty.
Akçe: Ottoman silver coin.
Al-i Osman: The sons of Osman.
Asr-ı seadet: the age of Prophet Muhammad.
Avlonya(tr): Vlore(ing), Valova(it)
Barça: A type of battleship in the Ottoman Navy.
Beğ: (Mr.) A kind of lord.
Beytu'l-mal: (Arabic origin term. *Beyt*: Home, *Mal*: Property) Treasury.
Cemaziye'l-evvel: A name of a month in the Islamic Calendar, Hijri.
Daru'l-harp: (Arabic origin term. *Dar*: House, *Harp*: War) At war.
Daru'l-İslam: The House of Islam. At peace.
Daru's-sulh (darussulh): At peace.
Dergah-ı Mualla: The Sublime Port.
Devlet-i Al-i Osman: the State of the sons of Osman. The Ottoman State.
Devlet-i Aliyye: The Sublime State.
Donanma-yı Hümayun: The Ottoman Navy.
Draç: Durres(ing), Durazzo(it)
Düvel-i Efrenciyye: The states in Europe.
Efrenciyye: (Arabic origin term. *Efrenc* means Frenk) European.
Elkab: The rhetorical part of a formal letter.
Eman: A person who is allowed to enter the Ottoman lands under protection by the Islamic Law.
Fatwa: An Islamic provision which is issued according to the Islamic Law.
Ferman: (Firman) An official decree of the Sultan.
Flori: (Latin origin word that Florence based root) Golden Coins.
Göke: A type of battleship in the Ottoman Navy.
Hazine-i Evrak: Archives
İcazetname: Licence, permission.
Kadi (Qadi): Muslim judge.
Kahve: (Arabic origin word) Coffee.
Kefere: (Arabic origin term) Unbeliever.
Küffar-ı haksar: God damn unbelievers.
Lahmacun: (Arabic origin word. *Lahm*: Meat, *acun*: Bread.)
Levend: A Muslim sea fighter.
Melain: Damned people. (Plural form of *Melun*)
Melun: Cursed. (Singular form of *Melain*)
Memalik-i Mahruse: The countries that were protected by the Sultan.
Mühimme Book: The Council Registers of the Ottoman State
Name-i hümayun: the Sultanate decree or verdict issued by the Sultan to the foreign rulers. A kind of diplomatic decree.
Osmanoğulları: the Ottomans (the sons of the first Sultan Osman)
Padishah: A Persian term which means Sultan in Arabic.
Rayah: the Ottoman subjects.
Riyal kuruş: Silver coins.
Sadr-ı azam: the Grand Vizier. The highest rank minister.

Sanjak: Prefectures in the Ottoman administrative division.
Saray: the Palace where the Sultan and his family live in.
Singin (Donanması): The Ottoman Navy which was defeated in Lepanto, 1571.
Subaşı: the Officers for public order.
Südde-i Seadet: (Arabic origin term) *Südde*: Gate, *Seadet*: Bliss. It is like “the Sublime Port”.
Şehzade: Prince (the Son of the Sultan)
Timar: Land system.
Tophane-i Amire: A factory where the Ottoman cannons were produced.

The Venetian Terms

Bailo: The Venetian Ambassador.
Collegio: The executive arm of the Venetian Government.
Dispaccio: The registers of the Bailo.
Flori: (Latin origin word that Florence based root) Golden Coins.
Grano Turco: The Grand Turk.
Relazione: The official reports of the Venetian Ambassadors.
San Marco: The center of Venice which refers to the Palazzo Ducale in history.
Serenissima: Most serene republic.
Sola fide: By faith alone.
Unanimita: Unanimity.
Vastissimo impero dei turchi: The vast empire of the Turks.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Every single event occurring between the Ottoman State and Venetian Republic from the beginning to the end, is extremely important for the histories of the World, Mediterranean, Turkey, Italy, and in terms of the history of the political, economic, social and cultural relations. And today when it is desired to study under these titles, there are two big archives: *Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives* for the Ottoman treasure of documents, *Archivio di Stato di Venezia* for Venetian treasure of documents. The records of these two archives concern directly not only the history of the two states but also the histories of other states. There are a lot of files describing the past for all of the states in Europe and Maghreb, East Mediterranean and even for Iran.

In this study, as it may be expected from a master thesis, it will be superficially looked at the events, by making an introduction from the pens of intellectuals of the time and personally from the formal palace correspondences of the time, royal decree and State Council registers like *Name-i Hümayun* which was sent to Venice, it will not be detailed much. For, the study handling the Ottoman-Venice diplomacy under the light of *treaties* with its technical detail has achieved by Hans Theunissen.

In this study, I will tackle the official relations between the Ottoman State and Venetian State happening in the 16th century by covering certain files within this rich world of documents. For this, the decisions about Venice in the Ottoman council registers of the aforementioned century from the existing book entries in Istanbul BOA will be evaluated. Accordingly, the second-hand studies achieved on the records in the Venetian archives have also been the reference sources of this thesis. Therefore, we will have looked at the issues from the Ottoman viewpoint. Nevertheless, by benefitting from the pens of the Ottoman intellectuals of the time and the memoirs of the seamen, we will see how the politics between Istanbul and Venice took place in Mediterranean, Balkans, Syria and other geographies.

With the encouragement of my respected teacher Professor Mehmet İpşirli, from whom I got support during my whole undergraduate and graduate studies, I have begun to study in this field. Thanks to his guidance, I have taken distance in understanding the Ottoman History and approaching the issues. I present my thanks

to hospitable Maria Pia Pedani for her intimate courses and articles that provoked my interest when I was a student for a semester at Universita Ca'Foscari di Venezia. Nevertheless, Vera Constantini, who is married to Salvatore Poppolardo, a symphathic historian from Sicily, who is studying Mediterranean History has drawn my attention as a young and hardworking academician, this Venetian Historian who knows the Ottoman records well and teach her students, even could give one hour seminar in her field in Turkish when she came to Fatih University has been the unofficial advisor of this study. I thank to Prof. İdris Bostan who suggested me valuable advices at the beginnign of the study. Mihai Maxim with whom I first met in his conference in Istanbul-Venice exhibition at Sabancı Museum and who knows Ottoman Turkish at a good level presented me some Ottoman records on which he works. I thank to him. I present my special thanks to my teachers, Associate Prof. Erdoğan Keskinılıç, one of the founders of history department at Fatih University and current chairperson, Prof. Tufan Buzpınar, the former chairperson of the department, Assist. Prof. Ebubekir Ceylan, a Middle East Historian with whom I went to Venice State Archive together, Dr. Ahmet Yaşar, who endearingly told me the Ottoman Social Life and Assist. Prof. Fatih Bayram who criticized my thesis and Associate Prof. Berdal Aral who criticized my study with regard to international relations' point of view. Ph.D student, Abdülmennan Mehmet Altıntaş has always been helpful with his beneficial recommendations and friendly criticisms. Şaduman Tuncer also gave technical support to that study. I thank to Özge Yağış and Ali Yiğit who helped me in preparing this study in English. I am also thankful to İskender Arslan who always helped me for technical requirements from the Institute.

The successes in this study belong to Prof. Mehmet İpşirli, and the mistakes to me if there is.

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PREFACE

Like Marxist history writing, I will not defend that every action and idea in the history occurred out of necessity. However, it can't be ignored that trade has had an undeniable place in humanity's history. While trade is a means in some countries, in some communities it can also be a goal. Yet, it is a historical fact that the objects that are obligatory for the continuation of human life be exchanged with commodities or be bought and sold with money that has a value between the sides.

To increase its naval forces's power, the Ottoman took his encouragement by observing his Venetian competitors' successes in the seas. Nevertheless, the relationship between the opponents is based upon two internationally accepted factors: Power and Interest. Although the Ottomans and Venetians are two powerful rival states, they often needed each other. For this reason, we see that political and commercial affairs starting immediately after wars with peace signatures continued. The struggle of both sides was continuing not only in the Mediterranean, but also in its hinterland in the Balkans at a high level.

As a requirement of commercial interests, in each phase of history, communities and states communicated with each other, and embarked on political attempts to manage the war and peace situations. On looking for models for the states which maintained the trade even when they were at war against each other, the affairs between the most powerful state of the 16th century, *Devlet-i Aliye* and another powerful state of trade and diplomacy, the Venetian Republic, could last for centuries for these interests. As seen in the content of the study, international trade is the goal for Venice, and a means for the Ottomans. For, the Ottoman country is large enough to become self-sufficient. The Venetians, however, combined the art of living on the water and trade and they maintained this through diplomatic successes. During the sixteenth century, while diplomacy was a means, trade was the goal for Venice; for the Ottoman, both of them were means and the goal was to rule the world.

Handling the history by dividing it into periods; in Anthic, Classical, and the Modern ages, though the progress of the trade and rules remained the same on some matters, formally it showed great changes. For instance, in every age, there was a class that kept the trade in its control; these classes that changed in the flow of

history took new appearances according to the age. In the age of mass production, beginning together with Industrial Revolution, the classes holding the trade in their control changed forms to a much bigger extent than seen in all times as the innovations of the age necessitated this. Lobbies and their activities can be given as an example for this. Today, by passing from multinational companies to global capital, while the merchant class preserved its domination as in the past, understandings were changed by abolishing the borders.

Within this study, putting the commercial and diplomatic affairs between the Ottoman State and Venetian Republic, which were occurring during the sixteenth century, into the center, I will touch upon the subject from the viewpoint of first-hand and second-hand sources.

Though Italy of the 21st century is in the Western alliance and against Russia, just as the Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi (2010) says Russia should join into EU, he is acting for the gas needs with extremely sympathetic relations as a requirement of his national interests and seeking policy of interest; Venice in the 16th century was making efforts in order to keep the relations with Istanbul permanent as a requirement of its indispensable interests against the Ottomans, the super power of the time, even though it was in the Christian Catholic Alliance. Looking at the Sefâret nâmes of the ambassadors at that time or correspondences of the governments under state control, we are writing history today. To write today in the future, however, such types of newspaper writings can be proof: Italian journalist Alessandro Barbera, (2010) in one of his article in La Stampa¹, was giving spots by drawing the commercial circumstances of Turkey. In december 2010, however, a writer from Italian La Repubblica Newspaper², Francesca Paola Pampinelli, by making advertisements, was mentioning the rising trade power, economic prestige and market value of Turkey in his column.

Just as such kinds of sources will be registers to understand today for the historians of the future, in a similar way, by examining the historical events of the 16th century, I will introduce this thesis with some of the existing sources so as to draw a trade-diplomacy table.

¹ <http://www.timeturk.com/tr/2010/12/07/gazeteleri-farketti-kendileri.html>

² <http://www.timeturk.com/tr/2010/12/14/yukselistekilerin-arasindaki-rolu.html>

The Ottoman term: The term ‘Ottoman’ was not being used at those times, it came out in recent time and it is used as a name given to a film whose shootings have been finished in history writing. The word ‘empire’ is, however, a name given by the Western history writing in the modern age. Actually, the Ottoman State did not have an *Imperia*. The shortest proofs of this are, today nobody in the geographies the Ottomans rule speaks Turkish and the archives of the states founded on these lands stay where they were. Imperialist states, however, do not act so. The archives of Endo-Malesia do not go back before 1950, because the Dutch took this archive to their country. Although Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt stayed under Ottoman rule for four centuries, in these places, Turkish isn’t spoken, whereas French is like a mother tongue in the Maghreb region. Accordingly, I will not use the phrase of “Ottoman Empire” which is most often used by historians without being questioned.

The Venetian- Italian Identity: the Venetians, were present before the birth of Italy and they became the last region with Rome to join Italy. The Venetian identity is older than the Italian identity. The term ‘Italian’ was a Latin term used for the peoples of this geography. The registers in the Venetian archives are not in Italian but in the Venetian language. The Venetian speaking in his own dialect may not be properly understood by other Italians. Venice, ruled by *Palazzo Ducale* in San Marco Square, was a republic that defined itself as *Repubblica*. But, it was not a republic with democracy as in the modern age. The women and the ignoble people did not have the right to elect and be elected. The rule of government was under the control of the representatives of noble families. The Venetians, who had established trade colonies in far geographies like the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, proceeded in the flow of history as a *Colonial* power. After the San Marco rule that captured Constantinople in 1204 carried the wealth of this city into Venice, the Eastern Roman Empire was collapsing more and more.

It is snigger to examine the period after 16th century in the Ottoman-Venetian Affairs in the Ottoman treasure of documents, because material is more classified and abundant. For the 16th century, official records are restricted with *mühimme* and pacts. It is necessary to look at the available book entries one-by-one for a century to draw out the decisions about Venice in *Mühimme Book*. However, after the 16th century, in order to do a study on Venice, “Foreigner Books” can be applied and studied more comfortably. In this study, I examined ten *mühimme books* by directly looking at them and 5 books by delving into thesis studies. The 16th

century is the century when there was no official annals. I researched issues about Venice from the publications of the Ottoman intellectuals in this century. Yet, just as I didn't look at all of the *mühimmes* without exception, I can't say that I looked at all of the annals.

To examine the relations with the Turks in 16th century, the Venetian sources include a lot of registries. Although my going directly to the Venetian treasure of documents and studying there encouraged Vera Constantini, because of the limited time, I have written this thesis focusing on the the Ottoman sources which are rich enough for a MA student.

It is obvious how essential to carry out a comparative history research from the Ottoman-Venetian treasure of documents is in terms of the Ottoman and Mediterranean Histories. It is still a necessity that the candidates of historians who improved themselves enough to be able to read both treasure of documents well study in this field and handle innumerable issues in hundreds of files. The publications of such historians as M. Tayyip Gökbilgin, Mahmut Şakiroğlu and Şerafettin Turan who studied in the Venetian Archives are appreciable introduction and provide a suggestive content for those who are willing to study in this field. The studies of academicians from Venetian historians like Pedani and Costantini are also important developments on the side of Venice. Writing a history based on the Ottoman-Venetian affairs of four centuries by reading the Ottoman and Venetian languages will be a recognized study not only for the Mediterranean world but also the world history. Having a claim of being a useful step for the historians who will attempt on such kinds of studies, the aim in this thesis study is to contribute scientific literature by looking at the general conditions in the century when the Ottomans were the most powerful.

INTRODUCTION:

A GENERAL SIGHT OF THE OTTOMAN – VENETIAN RELATIONS

A Portrait of the 15th Century

While the Venetians had been engaged in politics and trade from the early periods of the Middle Ages onwards, the Osmanoğlu Principality did not exercise a political will of its own yet. The first Ottoman-Venetian political relations began in 1373 after the decline of the Eastern Roman Empire, which was the most powerful rival of the Venetians and with which they had long-term relations; that is 112 years after the Venetians left Constantinople, where they entered in 1204 during the Crusades. The rapid expansion of the Ottomans in the Balkans³ resulted in it being a neighboring state with a border to Hungary first, later on Austria and finally with the Venetian homeland, which had land and power in the Morea Peninsula and the Balkans. Treaties written in Latin and signed in 1403, 1411 and 1419 between the two states are the first examples of diplomacy and relations in every field between the Ottomans and the Venetians. During the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, a Venetian ship sank and the attitude of the Venetian ships that came to aid Byzantine against the Ottomans necessitated a detailed consideration of the peace between the states. With this event, these two rivals started their relations which oscillated between peace treaties and crises leading to war at times when their interests conflicted. Ottoman-Venetian relations continued without a break for 414 years between 1373 and 1797. Insomuch that, immediately after each crisis and war, affairs were resolved and relations were reconstructed given the interests of the states.

The Turkish historian Uzunçarşılı, quoting from the American historian Herbert Adams Gibbons, writes that upon the death of Murad Khan in the Battle of Kosovo, the Venetians assigned an ambassador to pursue and

³ “Balkan” is originally a Turkish word.

conclude an agreement with the son who was to succeed the throne.⁴ In 1414, a Venetian diplomat who harbored in Trabzon, the State of Pontus, with his galley, met with the envoy of Mustafa, the exiled son of Bayezid Khan. There wasn't any result of this meeting since they did not want to destroy the relation with Çelebi Mehmet.⁵

Although the strong Venetian navy annihilated the new and tender Ottoman fleet in the Dardanelles in 1416, when the Ottoman forces, who had strength on land, subjugated Avlanyo (Vlore) in 1417, the trade route of the Dukedom came to be at risk. During those years, as the Venetians were competitors with some Latin kingdoms and enemies of some others in the Italian Peninsula, so the Ottomans were competitors and enemies of other Turkish principalities in the Anatolian Peninsula with whom they shared roots. Thus, while the Ottomans cooperated with those hostile to the Venetians, the Dukedom worked on finding allies against the Ottomans in Anatolia. Sultan Murad II was besieging Salonika and fighting with the ruler of Aydın Principality who had the support of the Karamans and the Venetians. The Genoese were helping the Ottomans in the meantime. In 1430, Venice could not gain the Hungarian support necessary to end the siege of Salonika and agreed to pay a tribute for a year to the Sultan for Albania.⁶ In the meantime, Ioannes Palaiologos VIII, the Emperor of Byzantium, which was the remainder of the Eastern Roman Empire, was seeking allies in the West. In 1439, when the Emperor of Byzantium accepted the union of the Eastern and Western Churches under the Church of Rome, the Pope declared a crusade and Venice was to participate in this alliance from the sea, the Hungarians from the land and the Karamans from the east.⁷ The Crusader Army was defeated by the Ottomans in the Battle of Varna in 1444. After the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Venice started to increase its precautions by strengthening its fortresses and fortifying the lands it had such as Ağrıboz. Yet, Fatih Sultan Mehmed besieged and

⁴ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, v.1, 7th press, Ankara. p.227.

⁵ Colin Imber, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 1300-1650*, (the Ottoman Empire) trans. by Şiar Yalçın, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2002, p.26.

⁶ Ibid, p.31.

⁷ Ibid, p.33.

conquered Ağrıboz (Euboea) with almost four hundred boats.⁸ According to the news reaching Istanbul, the Venetians were establishing an alliance with the Spanish and the King of Hungary against the Ottomans in 1464.⁹ While the Sultan was dealing with the issues in Albania and Karaman, Venice landed troops with eight ships on the shores opposite to Ağrıboz in 1468.¹⁰ Trusting Uzun Hasan, their ally in the East, the Venetians did not accept the peace treaty proposed by the Sultan and destroyed the ports of Syria and Adalia.¹¹ As the Venetians were frightened by the power the Ottomans had gained in the sea and not only on land, they sabotaged the ammunitions of the Ottoman Navy situated in Gallipoli in 1473 and transferred weapons and ammunitions to Uzun Hasan through the Mediterranean. However, Uzun Hasan could not receive the weapons and ammunitions and his army was defeated by the Ottoman cannons.¹² The Ottomans suppressed the principality of Karaman in 1474 and launched invasions close to the city of Venice. The Sultan, who led campaigns to the realm of Alexandria in 1477, seized another key place, the Fortress of Alexandria, on the shores of Albania after a long siege that lasted six months.¹³ Upon this immense progress of the Ottomans, Venice experienced a crisis in commerce and politics. After sixteen years of struggle, despite strong opposition to the Ottomans and a fierce dispute in the Senate, Venice agreed to make peace with the Ottomans, surrendered Limni and conceded to pay 10,000 gold ducats of tribute in 1479. Clearly, the transformation of the conflicts of interests between the states into military operations, the rapidly changing balances and the reflection of this onto geography necessitated that many states ally with forces who were their enemies in terms of religion and also against their competitors who were of the same religion and kin as them. Notwithstanding, diplomacy became the medium of peace for the issues that could not be resolved by force.

⁸ Ibid, p.44.

⁹ Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Kühül-Ahbar*, prepared by: M. Hüdai Şentürk, TTK Ankara 2003, p.134. Hasan-ı Rumlu, *Ahsenü't-Tevarih*, prepared by Mürsel Öztürk, TTK Ankara 2006, p.486.

¹⁰ Imber, p.145.

¹¹ Ibid, p.44

¹² Ibid, p.45.

¹³ *Kühül-Ahbar*, p.170-72.

Sultan Mehmed II, with the intention to go to Italy, sent soldiers to the coast of Pulia in Southern Italy after the peace treaty with Venice was signed in 1479. Gedik Ahmet Paşa conquered Otranto in 3 *Cemaziyelahir* 885 (11 August 1480).¹⁴ The Roman Church and the Italian kingdoms were able to breathe easily again when the Sultan, who desired to conquer Western Rome after the conquest of Eastern Rome, died almost a year after this considerable step. Considering the conditions in the Italian Peninsula in the 15th century, we see that the continuous competition between the Latin dukedoms and kingdoms strengthened the Turkish invasions from the east. During the disagreement about the salt markets between Venice and its neighbor Ferrara in 1481, Napoli, Milano and Florence supported Ferrara and the Pope and Genoa took the side of Venice.¹⁵ When the King of Napoli was at the heels of Rome and the ambassadors spent time going back and forth between all the Christian kingdoms trying to reach an agreement, the Ottomans were in the process of conquering the fortress of Otranto in southern Italy.

The news of the military landing on the shores of Italy spread to the Catholic kingdoms in a short amount of time and shook all of the countries, the Papacy being first. The correspondence of Fernando, the King of Aragon with the other kings indicates that Fernando, like the Pope, was trying to reconcile the Christians and organize a navy and land forces against the Turks. Fernando called for an alliance against the "Turkish threat" with envoys sent to Venice, the enemy of the King of Napoli and other countries. Venice expressed its prayer and wish that the Turks be removed with the death of Sultan Mehmet II in a letter sent to Aragonia a while later.¹⁶ The King of Napoli displaced the Turks, few in number, living on Italian lands with the provided support. Venice was busy reconstituting its internal and external affairs and was satisfied with observing its southern enemies, Napoli, the Papacy and the other Italian kingdoms deal with the "Turkish threat". In the

¹⁴ Uzunçarşılı, op.cit, p.138.

¹⁵ Constantino Marinesco, "Don Antonio De La Torre Tarafından Yayınlanan 'Katolik Kralların Uluslararası İlişkileri Üzerine Belgeleri'nin Genel Tarih Bakımından Önemi", trans. by Muzaffer Arıkan, VII/12-12 (1969) 223-246.

¹⁶ Muzaffer Arıkan, "Aragon Arşivinde Türkler", p.284.

meantime, an event occurred that put the Ottomans in a difficult position against the Catholic states. There is no doubt that Venice, like its competitors, desired to have Cem Sultan, who had stayed in the hands of the Knights of Rhodes for five years and then in the hands of the French King until 1489 as a captive-guest. Although Cem Sultan was brought from France to Rome in a Rhodian ship and presented to the Papacy in 1489, the French King Charles VIII, entered Italy with the aim of defeating the kingdom of Napoli and acquired Cem Sultan again in 1495.¹⁷ However, after the struggle to possess the Ottoman Prince, who was used as a medium against the Ottomans and who also became an issue among the Latin states, it ended with the death of this "captive-guest" within the same year, and the advances of the Ottomans towards the west started again and the counter attacks of Venice started to increase. Though not secured completely, the political unity in Anatolia was achieved to a great extent, whereas enmity and struggle resumed in the Italian Peninsula during these years.

In the meantime, according to the writings of Antonio Corselli who was in Edirne in 1485 disguised as a merchant to gather intelligence about the social, military and political conditions of the Ottomans, the Andalusian State located in the Iberian Peninsula was in a difficult position in the face of the King of Castile. The sovereign of Granada sent two envoys to Sultan Bayezid II to ask for help and express his desire to be united under the same flag.¹⁸

The relations between *Devlet-i Al-i Osman* and the Serenissima Republic was mainly a power struggle at the end of the 15th century. Subsequent to the long wars to seize the strategically located fortresses on the shores of the Morea Peninsula and the borderlands in the Balkans, both sides eventually signed a treaty in 1503.

¹⁷ op.cit, p.174.

¹⁸ Nevin Özkan, *Modena Devlet Arşivi'ndeki Osmanlı Devleti'ne İlişkin Belgeler (1485-1791)*, T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara 2004, p.30.

According to *Tevarih-i Ali Osman*¹⁹ written by the famous historian and scientist Ahmed İbn Kemalpaşa about the Ottoman – Venetian wars (1499-1503), while Ottomans subjugated such an important place as Durres (it.Durazzo, tr.Draç) on the shores of the Adriatic and were launching invasions as far as the center of the Dukedom, the Venetians sent ships to the Aegean, landed troops in Çeşme, plundered and laid siege to the island of Lesbos. If we briefly consider the events taking place between 1499 and 1503 from the perspective of the same work, we should take it into consideration that an absolute victory was not easy to gain in the struggle between Venice, a sea-state and a sea-force, and the Ottomans with mighty land forces. The reason is that fortresses on the shores of the Adriatic and the Morea Peninsula changed hands more than a few times within a few years.

As written in the Ottoman chronicles of the century, Kemal Reis, a seaman born in Gallipoli, was encouraged to make excursions by the Sultan and he became a legend in the Northern Mediterranean shores due to his victories achieved with his crowded navy; so much so, that mothers used his name to frighten the weeping children. After the death of Fatih Sultan Mehmet, this captain initially damaged the vassal states of Venice –that Cem Sultan went to- extensively²⁰ and then in 1495, set sail with the orders of the Sultan.²¹

The Duke of Venice, alarmed by the news of the Ottoman fleet consisting of more than five hundred galleys, barges and *gökes* setting sail and covering the surface of the sea in 1499, encouraged the neighboring Latin states to withstand this mighty force and prepared an allied navy consisting of a hundred and thirty well-equipped ships that can be classified as *barçes* and *gökes*.²² On the other hand, according to Katip Çelebi, under

¹⁹ İbn Kemal, *Tevarih-i Ali Osman*, 8th register, prepared by Prof. Dr. Ahmet Uğur, TTK, Ankara 1997.

²⁰ Cem Sultan had never been caught by the Venetians. However, he passed through their lands while going to the West.

²¹ Kemalpaşazade, *op.cit*, p.145-146.

²² *Ibid*, 176-179. Although the number of the Ottoman battleships were more than the Venetians, the Venetian ships were more powerful in these years.

Sultan Bayezid II who had ordered the building of huge ships, the Ottomans were also busy constructing a strong armada in order to reach the Morea Peninsula's beaches for a military expedition. The skilled workman Yani played an important role in building many strong war ships as he had been in Venice before and had learnt how to create them.²³ So, this shows that the Ottomans traced the Venetian shipyard techniques.

In the same year, the Sultan arrived near Leponto with *Ordu-yu Hümayun* while the war resumed between the two states. Iskender Pasha gave considerable damage to the Venetian military bases and troops on land.²⁴ The Ottoman forces damaged the enemy both materially and morally and also obtained material and moral power from the prisoners and spoils.

The Conquest of Modone and Koroni: We should consider the conquest of the citadels of Modone and Koroni by the Ottomans with reference to the work of Ibni Kemalpaşa.²⁵

In the year 1500, the Ottoman forces besieged the Morea Peninsula, the Adriatic shores and the Balkan borders with an extensive military operation. According to the orders of Yakup Pasha, the soldiers of Islam who were transferred to Preveze by sea went to Modone with the ships made and furnished with munitions in Preveze. Out of the three Venetian ships that came to aid after the bombardment of Modone, two were taken prisoner with their crew and the third ship fled. The Venetian Captain General died during the battle and even though Venice sent a bigger army to defend Modone, the soldiers of Islam were able to enter the citadel on 14 *Muharrem* 906 (Sunday, August 10, 1500). The Ottoman Forces fought against the strong Venetian Navy on one side and tried to capture the difficult citadel of Modone on the other side. The city was destroyed to a great extent during the war. Following the start of the reconstruction and repairs, the transformation of the city's biggest church into a mosque and the reading of

²³ Katip Çelebi, *Tuhfetu'l-Kibar fi Esfari'l-Bihar*, prepared by Orhan Şaik Gökyay, Kabcı Yayinevi, Istanbul 2007, p.36.

²⁴ Kemalpaşazade, op.cit, pp.190-193.

²⁵ Ibid, pp.200-219.

the sermon in the name of the Sultan after the first Friday prayer, the administration of the citadel was appointed.

Within the same year, the Army of Islam²⁶ mobilized for Koroni with the orders of the Sultan. Koroni was besieged under the leadership of Yakup Pasha from the sea and Ali Pasha by land. Notified that there would be a war in case the citadel did not surrender in peace, the administration of the citadel was persistent at first. With the mutiny that arose imminently within the citadel, the administration was disposed of and the citadel declared its surrender so as not to be subject to calamity. Thus, another important location that had been in the hands of Venetians for three centuries was seized by the Ottomans. Anavarya, one of the citadels in the vicinity, surrendered without firing a bullet. Furthermore, Meylün Castle, Firenk Fort and citadels such as Fenar surrendered voluntarily. Consequently, the number of the Ottoman military bases in the vicinity increased and the area became *Dar'ül İslam*.

As the Sultan appointed Ali Pasha to the Morea Peninsula and intended to conquer Lepanto, news regarding the attacks to the newly conquered castles by the enemy soldiers from Lepanto arrived. While Ali Pasha was fighting against the heathen soldiers, İsfendiyar Bey was launching cross-border attacks. The Duke of Venice recaptured the fortress of Anavarya close to the Morea Peninsula. News regarding his taking control of the vicinity and the intelligence about a sudden Venetian attack to burn the Ottoman ships newly constructed in Avlonya (Vlore) reached Avlonya *Beği*. He ambushed the enemy and even succeeded in taking the Venetian captain captive. During this year, attacks to the enemy borders continued since the enemy assaulted and harmed Turkish and Muslim residents in Bosnia. During the continuation of the Ottoman-Venetian struggle in the same year, Ottomans recaptured the fortress of Anavarya. The Venetians went as far as damaging the coasts of Anatolia and landing troops in Çeşme. In the meantime, Draç, another vital place in Albania, was seized by the Ottomans and the Venetians captured the fortress of Aya (Haghia) Mavri in

²⁶ *Leşker-i İslam* (The Soldiers of Islam) mentioned by Ibn Kemal for the Ottoman Army.

Albania in 1502. On the other hand, the Venetian Navy reached and attacked the island of Lesbos.

According to Katip Çelebi, after Lepanto, Modone and Kotroni were captured by the Sultan, the Venetian rulers were angry and called the French King for help in 1501. The King sent the Royal Navy which was under the command of his nephew. Ally navies consisting of 200 galleys moved towards the Ottoman coasts in the Egean Sea and besieged the castle of Midilli island. When Prince Korkut, who was a brother of Selim, heard it, he immediately helped the island. The Sultan also took a message and the Ottomans came to their aid. The French commander was killed and his head was hung on the castle's walls. The French Navy was defeated and also the Venetians. After that event Venetians did not annoy the Ottoman ships for revenge in the Mediterranean for a while. Sultan Selim was also engaged with situations in the East during this period. He ordered to conquering of Rhodos but it was postponed until the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent.²⁷

As the forces of both sides increased their threats by coming closer to the center of each state and used attacks on strategically important fortresses as a move which turned the geography into a chessboard, the risks of encountering economic and political crisis increased due to the issues such as the cost of the extended wars and the insecurity in those regions. At this point, Venice was at more risk, because the Dukedom's political stability depended on the commercial interests that relied upon the eastern ports and it did not have an alternative route to compensate for an economic crisis. That is, since targeting only the western ports as its market was not possible, the gravity of the situation necessitated making peace with the Ottomans and the Senate of Venice had to use diplomatic channels for that end. Venice was also at war with another Latin Kingdom, Milano, during these years. The mercantile class that ruled Venice was shaken by the lack of markets due to the economic recession brought about by the ongoing wars and the governance of Venice was overthrown due to their opposition. The envoys sent to *Devlet-i Aliye* were rejected due to the activities of Venice in the

²⁷ Katip Çelebi, op.cit, p.39.

Balkans that disturbed the Sultan. Venice procured peace subsequent to a formidable Ottoman diplomacy. The severe conditions of the Sultan and the proposed tribute were accepted.

The history of international relations between *Devlet-i Aliye* and Venice in the 16th century had their roots in the 15th century and in all of these experiences including wars and times of short-lived peace, were actively created through hardships. Within the span of a hundred years, both sides encountered each other in every battle-field both on land and sea and recognized each other well as military forces. During this process, although commercial activities resumed in relative security, we cannot talk about the same stability in the sphere of diplomacy. As the decisive influence of diplomacy was absent during the 15th century, the 16th century began with diplomacy and became a century during which the foundations of diplomacy and trade were strengthened in Ottoman-Venetian relations. As many of the traditions of this relationship which would continue until the 18th century were laid during this century, we will address these traditions in the main chapter of this work.

An Overview of the 16th Century

“Venetians have so much goods and money. They are always tricksters and considered as evil people. They took many castles from Romanian and Hungarian rulers by cheating them. They attitude sympathetic as if they are friend just in order to provide their absolute needs such as food and other commodities from the Ottoman ports. In fact they are full of ill will against the Muslims even more than other unbelievers.”²⁸ That was an Ottoman intellectual’s definition of the Venetians in the seventeenth century while describing the events of the sixteenth century.

After spreading the fear expressed in the “Turks are coming” in “the land of the Franks”, as *Osmanoğulları* called Europe, the most important victory the Ottomans gained in the 16th century is, without a doubt, uniting the world of Islam under its roof; that is “Devlet-i Aliye.” During the reign of

²⁸ Ibid, p.67.

Bayezid II, who inherited a state with broadened borders from Sultan Mehmed II, activities of reconstruction and art increased, the first extensive Ottoman History in Turkish was written²⁹, Persian and Arabian works were studied, there was the construction of medical centers, *külliyes* and shipyards began and the eminence of the state outside its borders spread to all of the world of Islam with the help provided to the Muslims of Andalusia. The Sultan, known as Sultan Selim the Stern, ascended to the throne in these conditions. He conquered the Mameluks, its most powerful co-religionist competitor and removed Iran as a threat and thus was entitled to the claim of a global state. A state that sent ships to the shores of Spain to save its co-religionists came to be obeyed and appreciated throughout all of the world of Sunni Islam in a short amount of time and became the center of the Caliphate. Hence, the Ottoman State was a power that Europe, whom the Ottomans called "*Efrençiyye*," was now more scared of. Some of the many examples of the recognition of the Ottoman predominance by the Christian West would be the rescue of the French King from the King of Spain and the letter from the Queen of France to the Sultan known as Suleyman the Magnificent requesting the non-participation of France in the occupation of Spain. In this way, the Ottomans started to intervene in the internal affairs of European States, *Düvel-i Efrençiyye*.

If we look at Europe in this day and age, we see various attempts at every corner of the old continent to constitute political unity. Spain, which was the strongest state in the Christian World throughout the 16th century, was not pursuing colonizing activities only in Europe but also on Maghreb's shores. The existence of Spain at the shores of the Southern Mediterranean in places such as Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, Jarbah and Benghazi continued in commercial, political and religious spheres. Spain, which recaptured its homeland with the "*reconquista*" from Muslims and gained power throughout Europe and beyond the borders, emerged as the protector

²⁹ Ahmed İbn-i Kemalpaşa, *Tevarih-i Ali Osman*.

of the Christian world as opposed to the Ottoman State which was the protector of the world of Islam.

During this century two states were accused of their relations with Turks: France and Venice. As Venice always gave priority to its own interests, it was called the "the Mistress of Turk"³⁰ by co-religionists and competitors. Only at times when the relations between San Marco and "Grano Turco" were not good, would Venice consider a Crusade. Yet, it was always Venice who made the first attempt for peace after a war. One of the clearest examples of this is that following the Battle of Leponto, mentioned as "Singin Navy" in the Ottoman sources, the envoy of Venice came to Istanbul and accepted to make peace under heavy conditions.

The five strategically important areas when we look at the 16th century are these: Weapons, Energy, Land, Production and Market.

All these subtitles were used for two goals as is the case throughout history: Power and Prestige.

The Ottoman State became a force that could not be denied and also a power that could not be ignored during 16th century. That is, for the stability of the absolute sovereignty and the future of the existing prestige, necessary mechanisms of strategy were developed to control the broadening borders and administer the new lands. As the envoy of Venice³¹ wrote in his report: "*vastissimo impero dei Turchi*" (The Sultan has infinite lands and people), which meant that the Sultan had land and energy (human and animal power) and these lands did not only yield agricultural products but also strategic opportunities. The ports meant markets. Raw, semi-finished and finished goods were transported from these ports to the Mediterranean and the hinterlands. The Sultan conducted this great system with his mighty weapons' technology and disciplined army. What should be taken into consideration is that the cost of this great army was met with the land revenues of Devlet-i Aliye without being a burden on the treasury. This was

³⁰ Lucette Valensi, *Venedik ve Bab-ı Ali, (Venise et la Sublime Porte)* trans. by A. Turgut Arnas, Bağlam Yayıncılık, İstanbul. p.35.

³¹ Valensi, op.cit, p.41.

called *Timar*³² and the envoy of Venice³³ researched and wrote about this system.

Let's look at Spain from this point: Spain had the Iberian Peninsula, Southern Italy and German lands under its control in the 16th century. It was fighting with the Ottomans in Northern Africa. It had magnificent sea forces and an army that established its superiority in Europe. It possessed markets, production, man power and missionary activities. However, the merchants of Spain could not enter the Eastern Mediterranean ports under their own flag like Venice and France. Spain, which could not sail freely in the Mediterranean because of the Ottomans and could not enter Eastern ports for a century, had hopes outside of the Mediterranean.

Although there had been wars between the states during this century, diplomacy and trade, the interruption of which would result in the fall of Venice, continued due to the interests of both sides. For this reason, Venetians researched about the Turks and other Muslims to know their enemies and shape their diplomacies accordingly. According to some documents, even the division between Shiites and Sunnis was recorded.³⁴

On the other hand, as understood from the correspondences between the Christian states³⁵, the Papacy had always worked for the unity of Christianity and to procure an alliance against the Turks with the "Spirit of a Crusader", "*sola fide*," leaving aside the enmities between Christian kingdoms.

The Ottoman Sultan, who was also the Caliphate, governed the Maghrib Muslims through organizing them with the Captains and Pashas sent there against Spain and other non-Muslims. *Firman*s, or an official decree from the Sultan, sent to the Turkish Governor-General in the Maghreb provinces in Turkish were sent to the heads of local Arab tribes in Arabic.³⁶

The map of the grand struggle in and around the Mediterranean in the 16th century was like this: the Ottomans and Spanish in the Maghreb, the

³² See James W. Redhouse, *Turkish and English Lexicon*, Çağrı Yayınları, p.619.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Nevin Özkan, op.cit, pp.123-30.

³⁵ Muaffer Arıkan, "Aragon Arşivi'nde Türkler".

³⁶ MD 3, H.578, 626.

Ottomans and Venetians around the Morea Peninsula and Eastern Mediterranean Islands, the Venetians and French in Leponto trade and Ottoman diplomacy, the Ottomans and Portuguese in the Indian Ocean and Red Sea.

Each island in the Mediterranean was important in terms of giving the sovereign state the opportunity for control and the shores of Maghreb were important as human markets in which thousands of captives were bought and sold. That is, these slave markets as sources of energy of the era were used in a way similar to the petrol markets of today. As air forces did not exist in the 16th century, ships were used in war and transportation and they sailed close to the shores to avoid storms, which makes the islands vital ports that served as stations. The Ottoman - Venetian struggle to be in control of these islands lasted from the 15th century to the middle of the 17th century. During the Mediterranean Wars with Venice, Spain and other Latin states, the Ottomans initially gained the Morea Peninsula and Ionian Islands from the Venetians, then respectively Rhodes (1522), Djerba from Spain (1560), Cyprus (1570) and Crete (1645-69) from Venice. As such, Devle-i Aliye established its dominance in the Mediterranean and since the economic foundations of its competitors depended upon them, it had the opportunity to intervene in their politics. Therefore, Christian kings and the mercantile class had to go beyond the Mediterranean and find new markets and centers.

It should be kept in mind that, the survival of the Eastern Mediterranean did not depend upon the Western Mediterranean, yet this was not the case for the Western Mediterranean. Thus, the European states of this century needed the geography of the Ottomans to provide the vital needs such as provisions and raw materials. When the difficulty of the struggle in the Mediterranean encouraged Portugal to reach the Indian shores by way of sailing around the whole of the African continent, the Ottoman State constructed a shipyard in the Red Sea in 1532 in the name of the head of the world of Islam. This was a move to protect Hejaz and also the Ottoman fleets in the Indian Ocean disturbed its competitors. The

Ottomans, who had always been the absolute sovereigns in the Eastern Mediterranean from Phoenicia to Alexandria, benefitted immensely from the conflicts of interest among their competitors to protect their strategic superiority all throughout the 16th century.

The Position of Other States in Ottoman - Venetian Relations

Karaman, Mameluk and Rhodos: These states were destroyed by the Ottomans before the first quarter of the 16th century and hence could not raise difficulties for the Ottomans by allying with the Venetians. As the Ottomans prevented these states from forming alliances with its Christians enemies, the Ottomans strengthened; Napoli and Milano, the rivals of Venice, were occupied by France before they could see the 16th century and afterwards they were seized by Spain. There had always been rivalry between the Papacy, Spain, France and Venice, and hence Venice constantly took this rivalry into account as it shaped its interests in its relations with the Ottoman State.

The Dukedom of Milano: Lombardy, which was always at war with Venice, sent ambassadors and established relations with the Ottomans and had always been a dukedom that disturbed Venice. The King of France invaded Napoli in 1494 and the Dukedom of Milano, an enemy of Napoli as well, had the same fate in 1500. Francois, the King of France claimed rights over Milano and Napoli until he became a prisoner of the King of Spain and freed by Sultan Suleyman.³⁷ Milano had been a battle ground between Spain and France throughout the 16th century.

The Kingdom of Napoli: It was the rival of Venice in Southern Italy. Alfonso V of Aragon conquered Napoli in 1435.³⁸ The King of Napoli was also the brother-in-law of Fernando of Aragon. His relations with the Ottomans produced inconveniences for Venice. Napoli, occupied by France in 1494, was shared between Spain and France in 1500.³⁹ Like many places in Europe, Southern Italy came under the control of Spain in the 16th century.

³⁷ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, TTK, Ankara, v.2 8th ed. (1998) p.464.

³⁸ Arıkan, "XIV-XVI Asırlarda Türk-İspanyol Münasebetlerine Toplu Bir Bakış", p.241.

³⁹ Ibid, p.461.

The Papacy: It was not only the enemy of the Ottomans, but also a very important center that intervened in the politics of all Christian states. It was a state that declared the Crusades, struggled for the unity of Christendom and troubled Venice many times. During the last quarter of the 15th century, the Papacy kept Cem Sultan, exhausted the Ottomans and had strong fleets like the other Latin kingdoms.

Dubrovnik: A satellite state of Venice until the 14th century; this small trading city state of Slavic origin took the side of the Sultan in 1365 and continued its existence under Ottoman protection. Although this small Catholic state with its incredible strategic position was under Ottoman rule, it provided ships for the Crusader Army in Varna with the influence of Papacy.⁴⁰ After such inconsistencies, it recognized the absolute authority of the Ottomans and did not depart from the side of the Ottomans in line with its interests.⁴¹ Thus, it experienced a period of peace and affluence alongside the global state of the era. As seen in the Ottoman *Hazine-i Evrak*, Dubrovnik had been major a source of intelligence throughout the 16th century. It shared a great deal of intelligence with the news sent to official centers of Devlet-i Aliye and envoys sent to the Sultan on special occasions.

France: The internal struggles of Christian Europe that continued all through the 15th century were still in effect at the beginning of the 16th century. At the time the Ottomans established a political unity in their own geography, France and mighty Spain were at war and Spain imprisoned the French King in 1522. Five years prior, the Ottoman Sultan defeated the Sultan of Mameluk in his homeland, Egypt, and the Shah of Iran in the battlefield. Spain struggled to invade every part of Europe with the intention of establishing political unity. France divided the territorial integrity of Spain and hence it had to either declare allegiance or surrender. In case Spain defeated France, there would not be power against it in Europe and the great Christian unity would be born. Under these circumstances, France was important for the power of the Ottoman state as opposed to Europe. As a

⁴⁰ Şerafettin Turan, "Dubrovnik", DİA, v.9, pp.542-44.

⁴¹ In order to see the commercial relationship between the Ottomans and the merchants of Dubrovnik, take a look at İdris Bostan, *Osmanlı Denizciliği*, Kitap Yayınevi, 2nd press. pp. 249-59.

matter of fact, the Ottomans' wish was realized with the letter of the French King addressed to Kanuni in 1526. The Ottomans put into effect its interventionist politics immediately. An invasion of Hungary was organized on the pretext of political legitimization and military operations. In 1526, when the strong Hungarian Army was defeated at Mohacs in a short amount of time, the only Christian state that rejoiced was France. The King of Spain immediately released the imprisoned French King, and with the economic and political privileges given to France in Ottoman ports and diplomacy, the loyalty of this state was secured for the duration of 16th century. Even though France received scorn and accusations from its co-religionists, it stayed on the side of the global state of the era as its interests necessitated. The fact that France was treated as the primary foreign state in the fields of diplomacy and trade distressed Venice. From the perspective of the Ottomans, Venetian diplomacy and political activities were now in conflict with France. As the Venetians defeated their rivals, the Genoese, in the 15th century, they endeavored to distance France from the foreign affairs of the Ottomans in the course of the 16th century. The reason for this endeavor was that while the French-flagged ships sailed to all the Ottoman ports unbothered, Venice could only make use of such a possibility with the consent of the Sultan.

Iran: Iranian rivals of the Ottomans such as Uzun Hasan in the 15th century and Shah İsmail in the 16th century allied with the Christians against the Ottomans. However, they were defeated by the army of the Sultan himself in the battlefield. A Venetian diplomat in the army of Uzun Hasan witnessed the Battle of Otlukbeli in 1473. Another Venetian diplomat named Vincenzo Degli Alessandri wrote about his observations which he acquired during his travel to Iran in 1570 and presented the Venetian Council with a report describing the issues in the land of Shah Tahmasb.⁴² Iran, who was a concern for the Ottoman State in the East, was not a force to be

⁴² In order to see the Venetians in Iran, take a look at the diaries of Giovanni Maria Angioiello, Vincenzo D'Alessandri, Caterino Zeno, Ambrogio Contarini. Their diaries were published in the Italian, English and Persian languages. Tufan Gündüz translated them from Persian into Turkish: *Seyyahların Gözüyle Sultanlar ve Savaşlar, Doğu'da Venedik Elçileri*.

underestimated in the 16th century. Despite having a strong army, they could not defeat the Ottoman forces on the battlefield since they did not possess firearms. The Ottoman – Iran Wars that undermined the superiority of the Ottomans in the West began with the Battle of Chaldiran in 1514 and continued throughout the 16th century. Tabriz, the capital city of Iran, was conquered in 1548 with a military expedition that Kanuni Sultan Süleyman participated in personally. Tehran became the capital of Iran. The conquest of Iran's capital, which was the most important ally of Venice in the East, was written both in the Ottoman chronicles and the Venetian sources.⁴³

Spain: Being the most powerful of the Christian states, it was the most potent non-Muslim rival of the Ottomans. The Spanish Unity founded by the unison of Aragon and Castile Kingdoms, which displaced the Muslim population in the Iberian Peninsula, grew stronger on the whole of the continent. The struggle between Spain and France influenced all of Europe in the course of the 16th century. Ottoman support protected France against Spain. Spain, after acquiring the Iberian lands with the *reconquista*, was fighting with the Ottomans in the Southern Mediterranean to gain fortresses and land in the Maghreb. Despite the Spanish support to some local groups, most of the Muslims in the Maghreb embraced the Ottoman rule; and thus the Ottoman – Spanish struggle in Northern Africa took place as a struggle between Islam and Christianity. The strong Spanish Navy was defeated by the English in 1588. Towards the end of the century, Spain dealt with its internal affairs.

Malta: Following the conquest of Rhodes in 1522, the Knights of St. John settled on the Island of Malta under the patronage of the King of Spain. They protected lands belonging to Spain in the Maghreb such as Tripoli and attacked Muslim ships.⁴⁴ For the administration of the Ottoman State who had political goals in the Maghreb, Malta had always been a desired island since it was an important location that united Northern and Southern Mediterranean and was the land of the knights and pirates who held an

⁴³ Özkan, op.cit, p.88.

⁴⁴ Uzunçarşılı, v.2, p.388.

extreme grudge and revenge against the Turks. The navy of Malta acted in collaboration with Christian navies against the Ottomans. Due to this, although besieged by the Ottoman Navy in 1551 in the Mediterranean where they continuously faced the Turkish threat, they did not surrender the island. Yet, the Ottoman Navy, *Donanma-yi Humayun*, acquired Tripoli from the governance of the Maltese and thus from the Spanish rule. The second siege of Malta resulted in defeat and Turgut Reis, the great Turkish captain, was martyred. In the next five years, Cyprus, the second biggest island in the Mediterranean under the control of Venice was conquered, yet Malta remained under Christian rule.

Portugal: Since the needs of Europe were provided from the markets beyond the continent, and as the Ottomans and Venetians dominated the Mediterranean markets, Spain and Portugal sailed to distant seas and started to find new markets in the 16th century. When the navy of Portugal sailed in and around the Indian Ocean, and even entered the Red Sea, the Ottoman State immediately constructed a shipyard in the Suez and sent ships to the Indian Ocean to fight the Portuguese. Two of the famous Ottomans who fought the Portuguese and communicated with the Islamic countries in the area were Piri Reis and Seydi Ali Reis. Seydi Ali Reis, who worked as a professor upon his return to Istanbul and whose books were translated into many languages, is as memorable a figure in naval history as Piri Reis is the one who declared the world to be round in the 16th century and who drew the famous map that showed the shores of America.

Portugal was trying to force the Sultan into making peace by way of sabotaging the Indian trade, which was of importance to the Ottomans. When we look at the comments of the Sultan on the subject, we see clear assertions that Portugal would continue to increase the enmity by damaging the trade.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ MD 6, H. 256, 257, 355.

Italian Wars

With the wars taking place between 1499 and 1504, known as the Italian Wars, Italy became the arena of struggle between European forces:

- The Battle of Novara: Took place between France and Milan. France was victorious and imprisoned the Duke of Milan.
- The Battle of Ruvo: Fought in Pulya, Southern Italy between France and Spain who could not share Napoli. The result was a Spanish victory.
- The Battle of Seminara: Took place three months after Ruvo; fought again in Southern Italy between Spain and France. Spain was victorious again.
- The last battle took place in Southern Italy around the same date between the forces of Spain and France. Spanish weapons defeated the French Army.
- The Battle of Garigliano: Took place at the end of 1503. Spain defeated France and ensured its dominance over Napoli.

In 1525, France was defeated by Spain once more in Pavia, Northern Italy. The French King was taken prisoner by Spain and he was freed by the intervention of the Ottomans.

Following the victory of the Ottomans at Mohacs in 1526 against the Hungarian and Crusader Army, the wars of domination in the realm of Italy between France, as an ally of the Ottoman State, and Spain lasted for a century.

The Battle of Landriano was fought in Lombardy in 1529. This battle between France, Florence and Milan on the one side and Spain and the Holy Roman Empire on the other side concluded with the victory of Spain.

1536-38: Between Spain and France, the ally of the Ottomans, over Milan.

1542-46: While the battle over Milan continued, France, actively supported by the Ottomans, was fighting against Charles V of Spain and Henry VIII of England. With the help of the Ottomans, France gained Nice from Spain in 1543. However, it was defeated by the Spanish on land. The

Ottoman forces stayed in Nice for a year and supported France. France partly evacuated Toulon for the Ottomans to use as a military base. In 1544, Toulon remained under the rule of Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha with an Ottoman flag in its fortress and the sound of the azan.

An Overview on the Ottoman - Venetian Diplomatic Perception

As it is not possible to understand the events related to the states which have diplomatic relations without the knowledge of their perception of state forms and systems of administration, we firstly need to look at the state forms of the Venetians and the Ottomans:

In the state established by *Osmanoğulları*, which in time came to be expressed with phrases that mean "the great state" as the head of the world of Islam, the Sultan was accepted as the owner of the state. Because of this, "*es-Sultan u zillullah alel arz*", meaning the Sultan is the shadow of God on earth, is written at the entrance of Topkapı Palace. With the mentality asserting obedience to the state and the Sultan, which came into being through the fusion of Islamic law and Turkish state forms, the Muslim public of the Ottoman State was tied to the Palace with affection and did not forget the Sultan even in their prayers. Since the Venetian State was very different from the Ottoman State, the absolute obedience of the Ottomans to the Sultan had always surprised the Venetians. Statements regarding this astonishment are especially recorded in Bailo reports.

The state and city of Venice were ruled not by only one family but by more than one noble family. As the administration was conducted by an absolute sovereign of a ruler in the other states, the Venetians established the position of *Doge* in order to represent their state through one image for *unanimita*.⁴⁶ Chosen by the representatives of the noble families, the *Doge* acted more like a president of the assembly than a sovereign during the designated time. This means that the status of the *Doge* for the Venetians

⁴⁶ Ancient Italian City States did not have a monarch or an absolute ruler. Because of this, Macchiavelli, in his Latin work *de Principatibus*, offers a monarch or an absolute leader for the Italian people like the Ottomans have. (Macchiavelli, *Hükümdar*, trans. by Gaye Demircioğlu – Ayşe Çavdar, Dergah Yayınları, İstanbul 2010)

was radically different than that of the Sultan; so much so, that they almost had nothing in common⁴⁷ since the *Doge* could not execute a decision contrary to the one made by the Venetian Senate. Contrary to this, the Sultan had the authority to order the exact opposite of the decision made by the advisory council. As long as the Sultan remained on the throne, his orders had the force of law, whereas the practices of the *Doge* could have meaning only according to the decisions of the Senate. For this reason, the famous Naima Mustafa Efendi, one of the Ottoman intellectuals and writers of the 17th century, criticized the state form of Venice as:

“Venetians gather in their assemblies and everyone talks at once. A resolution cannot be reached in the absence of majority and arguments begin again. As such, they lose time and damage themselves. Whereas, when our great Sultan makes his decision after the council, there is no objection but obedience and operations begin immediately.”

According to Mehmet İpşirli, who is an expert in the field of Ottoman State Administration, Ottoman diplomacy, like many other institutions, was based on Islamic religious law, and the statuses of foreign states were assigned within the borders of Islam.⁴⁸

Dynamics Around the Ottoman – Venetian Political World

It can be claimed without a shadow of a doubt that diplomacy, or peace, is achieved with the superiority of the weapons and power. The practice of diplomacy, which is the science of ensuring peace and making negotiations for its continuation, was designated by the Sultan in the 16th century. The ranges of the powerful cannons and weapons used against both eastern and western rivals produced in *Tophane-i Amire* in Istanbul, located on the shores of neighboring Galata, gave superiority to the Sultan not only in the battlefields but also in peace negotiations that were conducted and

⁴⁷ For the Image of *il Doge* take a look at Alberto Tenenti's work: *Venezia e il senso del mare*. For the point of view of the Venetians to the Sultan, take a look at Vera Costantini's work : *Il Sultano e L'Isola Contesa*.

⁴⁸ Mehmet İpşirli, “Ottoman Diplomacy”, *History of the Ottoman State, Society & Civilization*, v.1, Edited by Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, Istanbul, 2001, pp.198-219.

that enabled him to act freely. The strategic raw materials used in the production of these weapons came from various places of *Memalik-i Mahruse* (divinely protected Ottoman lands). The Ottomans who controlled all of these key harbors and markets, at times provided strategic ammunitions for a Western state such as France, which was its ally.

Procuring its commercial and political interests in the Mediterranean through the channels of diplomacy for centuries, Venice was forced to revise its diplomatic practices as a result of the conquest of Egypt by its most powerful opponent, the Ottomans and the rule of the Fertile Crescent from Istanbul. It should be mentioned that religion as the primary mechanism that directed the nations throughout the Middle Ages was a boundary between communities and geographies. As such, collaboration and negotiation with those not sharing your belief was regarded as a great sin, treachery or deviance. This was experienced especially in the Christian world. Another side of this notion can be mentioned about diplomacy in the world of Islam. We will see evidences of this in the following pages as we address certain historical facts.

The response of the Christian world to the victories of the Ottomans in the battles during the course of the 15th and 16th centuries was not only pessimism and acceptance of the chain of defeats. Many religious Christians asked this question: "How come while we believe in the incarnation of God, Jesus Christ, Muslims who are our rivals have superiority over us?" The reply of some of the fanatical ecclesiastics was: "We, Christians, are being punished by God with Turks as the medium of punishment for our sins and our mistakes. This is not the victory of Barbarian Turks, but our sins."

The crisis of questioning and answers for the reformation that the world of Islam experienced in the age of modernity took place in Europe in the classical era and were overcome with difficulties. History affirms that states which have prestige are only as strong as the limits of their execution of diplomatic practices and the art of negotiation with foreign states.

Western communities, questioning their existence and responsibilities and considering their future, felt the necessity to start negotiations and

collaboration with the Ottoman State given the advance of Muslims towards the West, the continuation of establishing dominance until the 16th century following the Crusades, Islamization of Anatolia in terms of administration and the Ottoman rule over Eastern Europe. Franklin L. Baumer, drawing attention to the fact that the solidarity of Christian Europe began with the emergence of Turks as a formidable power, writes that; "This religious rigidity began to be overcome in the reform period by making agreements with heathens as interests necessitated in a more secular way with the shattering of "the common corps of Christendom".⁴⁹ The implication of this is that with the secularization of the administration of the state in 16th century Europe, European statesman would be in the same surroundings and negotiate with non-Christian opponents as they would with the Christian rivals. It should be noted that this situation applied to the European states other than Venice because as we can deduce clearly by the evidences through the course of history, the Venetian state was very different and advanced compared to the other Christian states. Hence, the reason why it was accused of deviating from religion by these states.

When we look at the official correspondences of this age, during which the impact of religion on diplomacy and life was at its highest, we can notice the diversity of the letters that describe the other side as infidels both in European and Ottoman sources. The Christian states used common phrases for the Turks such as "the common enemy" in their agreements and correspondences. The expressions rooted in the Middle Ages were obvious either in the correspondences between the King of Aragon and other Christian kings⁵⁰ or in the relations between England and France: "*christendom*", "*the christian republic*", "*the christian cause*" and "*the common enemy*."

The Treaty of London signed in 1518 was encouraged by the Pope so that Henry VIII, Francois I and Charles V would end the enmities between them and revive the whole of Christianity against the Turks, the common

⁴⁹ Franklin L. Baumer, "The Turk, and the Common Corps of Christendom", *The American Historical Review*, vol. 50, no. 1 (Oct., 1944), pp. 26-48.

⁵⁰ Muzaffer Arıkan, "Aragon Arşivleri'nde Türkler", p.268.

enemy. There was peace between England and France in 1532; in this way, Henry VIII and Francois I would defeat the enemy of belief, the Turks.⁵¹ However, the Sultan who followed the internal affairs of Europe was closely evaluating every opportunity to keep France out of this alliance.

When we look at the Ottoman *fermans* and official letters, we see repeating expressions that curse the non-Muslims such as “*kefere*,” “*melain*,” “*mel’un*” and “*küffar-ı haksar*.” The Sultan, even in a letter to the French King refers to a third state as *mel’un* although it shares the religious beliefs of France.⁵²

For the purpose of taking into the account the context surrounding the Ottoman – Venetian relations, we need to mention the internal structure of Europe in that era. The Roman Catholic Church was divided, Protestantism emerged in Germany and the Anglican Church came into being in England. A new enmity arose between the Catholic Southern Europe and Northern Europe that separated from this church. We shall briefly review the place of religion in politics in 16th century Europe by referring to the article of Baumer⁵³:

Catholic Spain was the enemy of Protestant England. In the mean time, the French King who allied with the Turks was accused of treachery.

When Malta was besieged by Turks in 1565, Protestants prayed for the inhabitants of the island even though they were against the Catholic Church. The English clergy was working against the Turks and they prayed for the Christians who fought against them.

Hooker was angry at this expression: “The Church of England should distance itself from the Catholic Church more than it distances itself from the Turks.”

Montague said: “Turks, the old Saracens, are the most obvious enemies of Christendom.”

⁵¹ Baumer, op.cit, p.28.

⁵² MD 7, H.2756.

⁵³ Baumer, pp.31-48.

Fuller said: "Christians in Rhodes defended their fortress with honor until 1523, the shame belongs to those Christians who could not send support to them."

Hungary was the shield of Christendom on land as was Malta in the sea.

Reaching an agreement with the Ottoman administration, Queen Elizabeth succeeded in founding the first permanent English Embassy in Istanbul and she was not uncomfortable with asking for the help of the Ottomans against Spain during the events of 1580.

At the time of the Peace of Cambrai, Charles V was calling for unity to defeat the Turks who were the common enemy.

Even though James, the King of England, made a distinction between the Catholic Church and the Protestant Church, he was pleased with the result of the battle which was being praised in poetry, believing that the victory in the battle waged between the race baptized in Lepanto and the turbaned, circumcised Turks was the gift of God to Christians. He desired a Christian unity against the Turks.

The ambassador of Venice mentions in 1618 that the King of England was eager about the activities against the Turks.

As it is seen, if there was a distinguishing progress in the relation between Turks and European states, that was due to abandoning the old meaningless methods. None of the statesman of England could imagine a world in which he would be equal with the Turkish Sultan. With the Treaty of Karlowitz, European states began to regard Turks as a force within Europe and not a power separate from themselves. This was due to the secularization process taking place in Europe.

If unity in Europe against the Turks could be established in the 16th century, the leader of this unity would be Spain and it would take the Papacy

under its influence. As we cannot regard events that had not occurred as history, the events that actually occurred show us that Spain could not successfully achieve its protectorate over Europe as the Ottomans did in the world of Islam, with the exception of Iran. Therefore, different political and religious authorities maintained their existence in Europe and the Ottomans managed to prevent the establishment of unity in the Christian world by making alliances according to their interests. The difference of Ottoman diplomacy than that of the Western states was that they did not have a tradition of founding permanent embassies in the countries with different religious beliefs. Actually, the Ottomans did not have such a need until after the change in balances emerging with the Industrial Revolution. The Sultan addressed the ambassadors of Western states during their term of residence. In exceptional situations, a private ambassador was sent to the king of the related country.

CHAPTER 1

OTTOMAN – VENETIAN DIPLOMACY

1.1 Envoys and Ambassadors

Since the Ottoman – Venetian official relations started with the agreement in 1373, during the 15th century, they struggled for supremacy against each other mainly in the Balkans.⁵⁴ Wars and agreements lasted until the beginning of the 16th century. In the second half of the 15th century, Venetian envoys started to get connections with Constantinople, which was captured by the Ottomans.⁵⁵ According to a Venetian traveler, Mehmet II, who conquered Constantinople, knew the Slavic and Greek languages.⁵⁶

The Venetians had always an ambassador system like many other European states and would appoint envoys to the Ottoman capitals which was an old tradition lasting before the Turks in Anatolia and Constantinople, concerning the Byzantine ages. However, the Ottoman society, in that time, preferred to live only in a land belonging to the Sultan and Islamic laws, *Daru'l-Islam* (The house of Islam). Furthermore, the Ottoman central authority strongly trusted the power of the Sultan and did not need a permanent embassy in the other states.⁵⁷

İpşirli states that “The Ottomans who aimed *fetih* and *gaza* (holy war) advanced in this way until the XVIIIth century thanks to their preponderance, however, after this date they mainly concentrated on the weapon of

⁵⁴ Şerafettin Turan, “Venedik’te Türk Ticaret Merkezi. Fondaco dei Turchi”, *TTK Belleten*, v.22, issue 126 (1968), p.248.

⁵⁵ In that process, the Sultan who conquered Constantinople in 1453, Mehmed II, was painted by the famous Venetian painter Gentile Bellini as a portrait. It was discussed whether to pose for a painter as a Sultan was authentic or not. Moreover, even if that pose was not real it was very normal because Bellini was able to paint the portrait even without seeing the Sultan but learning his physical appearance; similar to when he painted his own portrait. Today, the original portrait is exhibited at the London National Gallery.

⁵⁶ Bernard Lewis, *Müslümanların Avrupa’yı Keşfi*, (*Muslim Discovery of Europe*) trans. by İhsan Durdu, Ayışığı Kitapları, İstanbul 2000, p.95.

⁵⁷ Mehmet İpşirli, “Elçi”, *DİA*, v.11, pp.3-14.

diplomacy and made use of it in order to accomplish their purposes. The fact that the Ottomans did not send permanent ambassadors to Europe until the end of the 18th century enabled them to develop a more serene attitude towards the political struggles in Europe”.⁵⁸ Sometimes, until an envoy that had been sent abroad came back, a foreign envoy or a part of his attendants were kept in Istanbul, thereby reaching faster conclusions in foreign policy.⁵⁹

Ottoman raiders would organize raids into non-Muslim lands to defuse enemies’ defense lines and castles before the Sultan organized a campaign to conquer the new lands. Kemal Reis used to plunder Venetian castles in the Mediterranean islands and territories by the order of Sultan Bayezid II in the 1490s.⁶⁰ On the other hand, the ambassador system of the Venetians was to appoint envoys to Constantinople; they were called *Bailo* and were chosen from among well-educated noblemen. Through the considerable efforts of Andrea Gritti, after a long consultation process, the Sultan allowed Venetian ambassadors to stay in Istanbul⁶¹ more than one year but not more than three years before returning to Venice. However, Andrea Gritti⁶²

⁵⁸ Mehmet İpşirli, “Ottoman Diplomacy”, p.199.

⁵⁹ MD 5, H. 64.

⁶⁰ İbn Kemal, *Tevarih-i Ali Osman*, transcribed by Ahmet Uğur, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 1997, 8th register p.146.

⁶¹ “Istanbul” is started to be used for Constantinople by the second half of the 16th century generally. For example, the famous Ottoman scholar, jurist and historian Ahmed İbn Kemalpaşa uses “Konstantiniyye” for Istanbul at his history work *Tevarih-i Ali Osman*. The Ottomans, from the beginning to the 16th century, always used “Konstantiniyye” to call Constantinople which was pronounced in Arabic as was spoken by the Prophet Muhammed. In this way, Ottomans did not change the name of the city at the beginning as they did not change the name of many other cities they conquered.

⁶² Andrea Gritti, who made great efforts in Istanbul on behalf of the Venetian State and tagged the Ottoman statesmen, returned to his homeland after he received official permission about the Venetians who stayed in Istanbul for three years from the Palace and threw off the captivity to which he became a sacrifice because of an issue. According to the Venetian sources, he had three illegal sons from his coupling with a Greek woman while he was in Galata, in Istanbul.(Valensi, p.34) A while after he returned Venice, his two sons, Alvise and Giorgio turned back to Istanbul and settled in the capital city of “Grano Turco” permanently. There is still not evidence as to whether Alvise became a Muslim in the Venetian sources. That Alvise Gritti was killed while he was fighting in the Balkans in a three thousand army against the insurgents, although he did not convert into Islam, gives rise to two possibilities about him. The first one is that like the Venetians’ prediction, as a non-Muslim who remained as a Christian but by having close relationships with the Palace, as his father did, succeeded in commercial and political deeds, he was one of the Christian directors who was appointed to the Balkans as a Voivode and obedient to the Palace. The other possibility is that by having been influenced by the Muslim-Tuskish civilization in Istanbul where he was born, like many other Venetians and Europeans and adopting Islam, he became a Muslim. It indicates that he was given soldiers under his order after enthusing with a willingness and determination as seen in the newly converted Muslims and assuring the reliance of the Palace. The name of the district in Galata where Alvise resided was inherited from a name called *Beyoğlu* since his father was a famous Venetian Bey

was imprisoned once because he was found guilty of espionage.⁶³ The ambassadors of Serenissima were in one way looking after diplomacy with the Ottoman officials but also paying attention to Venetian trade interests, which were significant and vital for Venice.⁶⁴

An accomplished official who could work in Constantinople would find it beneficial to the career of a Bailo after returning to Venice.⁶⁵ On the other side, the Venetian sources point at about two thousand Ottoman envoys who were sent to Venice.⁶⁶ When those envoys of the Sultan reached Venice, a crowded group of Venetians would make efforts to see the magnificent Turk and his attendants from Istanbul; moreover, they were entertained by the Venetian noblemen in wealthy places during their accommodations in Venice.⁶⁷ The envoys of the Sultan on their way to Paris were also hosted in Venice.⁶⁸

On the other hand, the Venetian Senate took a decision in 1551 to send some youths to the Ottoman State regularly to learn Eastern languages in their mother lands.⁶⁹ The Bailo in 1680, Giambattista Dona, learned Turkish very well and he published a book about Turkish Literature after he

and Duke; and today, as a renowned municipality name in Istanbul, it was inherited from the nickname of Alvise in the Ottomans. The Venetian sources draw attention to the close relationship between Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha, a *devşirme* origin and Alvise. In each case, it seems hard to reach a definite result about the religion of this Beyoğlu. The accounts about Alvise Gritti of Uzunçarşılı, a well-known, and a latest era Ottoman Historian are based on Hammer too. Though Hammer is a noted historian whose studies are based on first hand sources, his arguments seem one-sided unless they are compared with different sources.

The Sources about Alvise's life discuss that he did not leave his Venetian and Christian identity. Ö. Kumrular, in her article about V. Charles and in her book *Türk Korkusu*, wrote that he died in Hungary while he was busy with his interests, and working for the Ottoman - Austrian struggle that would do Venice good. Pedani writes that he remained as a Christian in the Ottomans and was appointed a governor (voivoda) in the Balkans via his close connection with Ibrahim Pasha. A Venetian Turkolog L.Valensi, in her book,(this book was published in Turkish with the name of *Venedik ve Bab-ı Ali*, after it was exhausted, by İdris Bostan's encouragement, it was republished.) while telling the refuge of Alvise into the Ottomans and his father's agony for this, there is no expression that he protected his Venetian Christians. Even if it is possible that for its external interest, the state gave status to the son of the enemy state, Venice, and the approach that he was a Venetian spy and thus found close relations with the Ottomans seems like fiction.

⁶³ Uzunçarşılı, v.2, p.223.

⁶⁴ *Muhimme Defter* of Ottoman Official Records show that Venetian ambassadors resorted to the Sultan if they could not overcome a situation.

⁶⁵ Lucette Valensi, op.cit, p.31.

⁶⁶ Maria Pia Pedani, "Ottoman Diplomats in the West: the Sultan's Ambassadors to the Republic of Venice", «Tarih incelemeleri dergisi», 11 (1996), pp. 187-202.

⁶⁷ Özlem Kumrular, *Türk Korkusu*, Doğan Kitap, İstanbul 2008, p.275.

⁶⁸ Lewis, op.cit, p.124.

⁶⁹ Rinaldo Marmara, *İstanbul Latin Cemaati ve Kilisesi*, trans. Saadet Özen, Kitap Yayınevi, İstanbul 2006, p.59.

returned to Venice.⁷⁰ Moreover, the *Bailo* in 1559-60, presented a translated work of Cicero's, *de Senectute*, to Suleyman the Magnificent.⁷¹

The Venetian Bailo reports would consist of various information about social, economic, political and commercial developments taking place in the Ottoman lands in order to present when the ambassador returned to San Marco. For example, the reports would also state the unhappy situation of Turks gathering Christian boys who would become the enemy of Christians after being educated in the Turkish, Arabic and Persian languages carefully; they would report on how well-organized the Ottoman economic system, *Timar*, worked and some Venetian converts to Islam that were taking place on the the Ottoman side.⁷² For instance, Pedani's article presents the names as:

*"Venetian Hasan Pasha"⁷³ (Andrea Celeste, d. 1591.)
beylerbeyi of Algiers, Kapudan and also Cervantes' master when
the writer was a slave,*

*Gazanfer (of Venetian Michiel family, d. 1603) Kapağası about
30 years,*

*Mehmed Ağa Frenkbeyoğlu⁷⁴ (Marcantonio Querini, d. 1602)
the leader of Sipahi during the 1600 rebellion,*

⁷⁰ Valensi, op.cit. pp.23-24.

⁷¹ Lewis, op.cit. p.89.

⁷² Valensi, op.cit. pp.35-43-55.

⁷³ Hasan Pasha, called with his Venetian epithet because he was one of the Venetian converts, is one of the Ottomans who was appointed to a far, but important position, the Algerian Grand Senior. Hasan Pasha whose former name was Andrea Celeste, was the emir of the ship when the reputed Spanish writer Cervantes was a captive in an Ottoman ship. While Cervantes is telling his years spent as a captive in Algeria, he describes Hasan Pasha as an enemy who gives no quarter to Christians and mentions a lot of Muslims of Latin origin under Pasha's rule whom he charges with the betrayal of Christianity.(Kumrular, op.cit, pp.375-84.)

The awarding style in the firmans written from the Palace which were used for the state dignitaries was also being used for Hasan Pasha.(MD 12, H. 510.)

In spite of the fact that Hasan Pasha was one of the men of Captain Kilic Ali Pasha, while he was Algerian Senior, he was in bad odour with his master Captain Pasha.(Selaniki, p.172) Thusly, when he died in 999 Hijri (G. 1591) Koca (Great) Captain was buried in the tomb of Kilic Ali Pasha and another Italian nobleman, Cigalazade Sinan Pasha was superseded in the place of him.

⁷⁴ The Venetian sources are richer about this Venetian origin Muslim, and in the Ottoman first hand source his name is mentioned in Tarih-i Selaniki. As the "Frankish" word was in use for Europeans of the time, Mehmet Agha was called with a Frankish title. What is interesting is that whilst his mother and sister were nuns in Venice, he became a Muslim in the Ottoman country and worked in the Palace service for a long years. It is known that his former name was Marantonio Querini and he belonged to a noble Venetian family.(Pedani, "Safiye's Household") Mehmet Bey, who went to Hejaz and became

*Mehmed (Giacomo Bianchi) Gazanfer's nephew, became a one of four boon companions of Murad IV. (1623-1640)" were among them.*⁷⁵

An uncertain point in the Ottoman – Venetian historical past is whether Nurbanu Sultan and Safiye Sultan were originally Venetians. There is not any evidence in the Ottoman chronicles to prove that any of them were originally Venetian. However, the Venetian historian Maria Pia Pedani evaluates the circumstance that Nurbanu was a Greek subject of Venice and that she reached a privileged condition in the Ottoman Palace to be a woman sultan of *Devlet-i Aliye*. But, Safiye's condition is not clear enough.⁷⁶

With regards to the famous Venetian converts, the Ottoman primary sources contain information about their achievements, but doesn't mention their origins because the Ottomans did not care about the ethnic and national origins of people, but only their potential skills and beliefs.

The Venetian Bailo Paolo Contarini evaluated many political developments of *Saray* in the 1580s considering Nurbanu Sultan in his records.⁷⁷ She is known as she was taken to the Palace of the Sultan when she was a child and then was trained and grew up there according to the Ottoman education system of *Saray* until she married Selim II and in this way she became a Sultan, too.⁷⁸

a pilgrim in 1597 was a pious Muslim. There were also those who converted Islam and took part in the Ottoman society from the reknowned families of Venice like the famous Querini family.

⁷⁵ Pedani, "Venice and the Ottomans", *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, by Gabor Agoston and Bruce Masters, (2009) p.581.

⁷⁶ Pedani, "Safiye's Household and the Venetian Diplomacy", *TURCICA*, (2000) v.32, p.11.

⁷⁷ Leslie Pierce, *Harem-i Hümayun, (The Imperial Harem)* trans. by Ayşe Berkay, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, p.121.

⁷⁸ It is possible to access information about the famous women in the Ottoman history considering the works they left and the positions they had. But, it is not possible to find the answers of such questions as where they originally came from, from where they were taken to the Palace or made a *devşirme* (ie. the state of taking children from non-Muslim families and educating, and converting them into Islam) in the Ottoman sources. For, they were perceived as privacy of a family in the Ottoman society and above all since handling details about such prominent names of the Palace Household will be something immoral; excluding the last term of Ottoman history, what we know about the Hanim Sultans is confined only with the works they produced. As these works are foundations, *imaret* and donations, it is impossible to infer a result about them by looking at these works. Yet conditions on the Venetian side are more different. Even though there is not evidence as a first-hand source, due to the perspectives of some historians and some approaches borning out of some old ambiguous rumors, as a second-hand source based on predictions, the Western original pasts of some Ottoman Hanim Sultans are drawn attention to. Nurbanu and Safiye Sultans are two of them, though there is no scientific evidence though in the modern age a high number of fictitious novels have been written about these

On the other hand, sources emphasize that Venice was a privileged place for other Europeans to get information about the Ottomans.⁷⁹ It is another point mentioned in the Venetian records was that some Ottoman Sultans were enthroned very young; such an example was Murad IV, recorded by the Bailo Pietro Foscarini in 1637 which was found very strange by the Venetians.⁸⁰

The lives and properties of foreign, non-Muslims who came to Ottoman cities for commercial, political or touristic purposes were secured via an *Eman* by *Devlet-i Aliye*. While all expenses of official guests were covered by the government, if they were from a country with which the Ottoman State was in a crisis, they were either imprisoned or insulted.⁸¹ In connection with this matter, there are numerous findings from the Ottoman chronicles and governmental documents. For example, in 1649 when the Ottoman - Venetian crisis was about to break up, when Bailo's acts of espionage were proven, all Venetian diplomats in Ottoman cities were imprisoned and the spy interpreter of the Bailo was executed.⁸² The envoy that was sent three years later was also imprisoned in Edirne for sometime as a manifestation of the ongoing international crisis between the two countries. However, the Venetian envoy who came to Istanbul in 1670 was

famous Ottoman State *hanims*. Except from the assertion that she is a daughter of Greek origin family in Corfu Island under the rule of Venice, and in some way assimilated and taken to the Ottoman Palace, there is also a rumor among the Ottoman people coming to Venice that a person tells the Venetian people that the Ottoman Hanim Sultan is from Venice to do bussiness with them.(Pedani, "Safiye's Household") The well-known Ibrahim Pecevi witnessed a similar event to this and according to what he tells in his work, the French ambassador who was in Istanbul in the middle of sixteenth century by arguing that there is a blood relation between the French and Ottoman Dynasties, she boasts of this. According to the argument of the Ambassador whose aim is obvious to strenghten the connection between two states and gain interest, Mara Hatun (Maria), one of the wives of Sultan Murad Han II, was originally the daughter of the French King, and after she was abducted by pirates and presented to the Ottoman Palace, she went into the harem of the Sutlan and converted to Islam after she became pregnant.When the Ambassador mentions kinship by suggesting that this woman is the mother of Fatih Sultan Mehmet, Ibrahim Pecevi investigates the origin of this case and then interviews the Ambassador again. Although he expresses that the mother of Fatih is not a French, in other words, such a kinship between two dynasties is not certain with proof, the Ambassador doesn't accept this and he insistently mentions kinship. This persistence of him surprised Pecevi.(İbrahim Peçevi, op.cit, p.184) It should be naturally appreciated that in every age, when people act with the feeling of having a connection and relationship with the most powerful person or state, they can come up with such arguments which are difficult to prove.

⁷⁹ Pedani, "Venice and the Ottomans", p.582.

⁸⁰ L. Valensi, op.cit. pp.13-14.

⁸¹ İpşirli, op.cit.

⁸² Abdurrahman Abdi Pasha, *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekayinamesi*, prep. by Fahri Ç. Derin, Çamlıca Basım Yayın, İstanbul 2008. p.17.

welcomed by command of the Sultan.⁸³ In case of an assault on the Ottoman State, the envoy along with his attendants were imprisoned.⁸⁴

In the official letters delivered to the Sultan, the most important thing that was paid attention to by the Ottomans was the salutation of the Sultan of Devlet-i Aliye and the Caliph of the Muslim. Every official letter and decree began with a part called the *elkab* that included sentences that dignified the Sultan, and there were practices similar to that of the *Asr-ı Saadet* (The Age of the Prophet) period.⁸⁵ In *hümayun* letters addressed to the rulers or kings of other countries, letter-writers either used a menacing and strong or a friendly language that made the addressee feel the superiority of the Sultan.⁸⁶

It is important to notice that the foreign affairs of the Ottoman State were based on *fatwa* (Islamic religious law) and every decision was composed in compliance with religious practice. In Hanafism, the official sect of the Ottomans, the fatwa book called *Kitabu's-siyer* which was written by İmam-ı Muhammed, one of the popular leaders of the sect, was used in the Ottoman State's affairs.⁸⁷ The fatwa by Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Effendi became a legitimate attestation for the Cyprus expedition by the Ottomans. Thereby, the Venetians lost Cyprus as a result of the Ottoman expedition launched in 1571.

On the other hand, following the saying of Prophet Mohammed, "*Don't shoot the messenger,*" every envoy was duly considered and welcomed.⁸⁸ For the Ottomans, the safety of a foreign envoy from any part of Europe was very important and was taken as matter of honor. For example, when a French envoy that was on his way to Istanbul was detained in Italy by Charles V; the Ottomans immediately took action and sent a caveat to the Austrian Leader Ferdinand, the brother of Charles.⁸⁹ Venetian Bailos were

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Naima Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Naima*, prep. by Mehmet İpşirli, Türk Tarih Kurumu.

⁸⁵ İpşirli, op.cit.

⁸⁶ MD 6, H. 1424.

⁸⁷ İpşirli, op.cit.

⁸⁸ Ekrem Buğra Ekinci, *Osmanlı Hukuku : Adalet ve Mülk*, Arı Sanat Yayınları, İstanbul, 2008. p.311. Pedani, "Ottoman Diplomats in the West".

⁸⁹ İpşirli, op.cit.

allowed to settle in some Ottoman cities by the Sultan considering the economic benefits of ambassadors to *Memalik-i Mahruse* (protected countries) and in order to enhance peace by improving the trade interests of the *Rayah* (subjects of the state). In parallel with this, Venetian merchants were allowed to visit the Port of Rhodes in 1545.⁹⁰

Some confidential ambassadorial reports were acquired at the time. At this point, the records of Venetian ambassadors concerning the Ottoman identity were delivered to San Marco. The archives collected there were later found by the Austrians who seized Venice in 1797 and German historians such as von Ranke and Hammer had the opportunity to use these sources in their focused study of the era. Furthermore, von Ranke even put forward a movement called *historicism* to be used in historiography as he witnessed some historical issues himself.

It is doubtless that the history of a state cannot be written using the reports of a country's ambassador, because an ambassador may either twist the facts or reflect them from a single point of view. On the other hand, the content of a record can also be examined by comparing it to its opposite, since wrong is the exact opposite of right. Therefore, ambassadorial reports that describe the enemy and rival in a detailed manner are of great historical importance.

Venetian envoys gathered their reports in two separate files: *Relazione* and *Dispaccio*. *Relazione* books consisted of the matters and news concerning the political, military, educational and ceremonial practices of the Ottoman State, whereas *Dispaccio* reports were related to the social and daily events.⁹¹

When Sultan's envoys went to Venice, the Venetian entertained the Ottoman envoys according to Oriental customs.⁹² This shows that the

⁹⁰ MD E, H. 141.

⁹¹ See for Balyos in Turkish : Mahmut Şakiroğlu, "Balyos", DİA. / List of Venetian Ambassadors to the Ottoman State in Italian : Maria Pia Pedani, "Elenco degli inviati diplomatici Veneziani presso i sovrani Ottomani", EJOS, v.(2002) No: 4. / In English : Erick R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*.

⁹² Pedani, "Ottoman Diplomats in the West".

Venetian politicians were making an effort to please the Sultan's envoys in Venice by hosting them according to their culture as if they were in Istanbul.

On the Ottoman side, the foreigners that were residing around the Venetian route in the Mediterranean were interrogated due to their identities. The suspicious ones among them were immediately taken into custody and the result of interrogation was reported to the center. In 1565 when a *daru'l-harp* vessel sank near Antalya and it was understood that there were fifteen French and twenty Venetian survivors, each of these people were kept in separate cells in order to avoid any kind of provocation.⁹³ When it was understood, as a result of the interrogation, that the vessel that had sunk was Venetian, the court ordered that the subjects of the friendly state (France) be released and the subjects of the enemy state (Venice) be sent to Rhodes.⁹⁴ Although the Ottoman State and Venice were seemingly at peace given self-interests, the Venetians were regarded as enemies by the Sultan and were not treated as the French were. Besides, the Venetians that were sent to Rhodes were probably used for prisoner exchanges between the parties. At the same time, there was an ongoing struggle between the Ottoman and Venetian pirates at sea. Twenty-seven Venetians captured from a Venetian vessel after a fight near the Morea Peninsula were used as oarsmen.⁹⁵ However, Ottoman merchants were not allowed to go to places other than Venice and Dubrovnik during the same year, more than likely due to the Malta operations.⁹⁶

The Ottoman intelligence agency was quite active in the Balkans. In 1558, an Ottoman spy learned that the daughter of King Frenuş was to marry Stefan when he visited Pécs on his way back from Venice. Having received the news, however, the Sultan ordered in a command sent to the Voivode of Moldova that the wedding should take place by his order.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, the intelligence agency of the Ottomans was receiving highly important news concerning the state of enemies at times of war. In 1559,

⁹³ MD 5, H. 660.

⁹⁴ MD 5, H. 1006.

⁹⁵ MD 5, H. 1037.

⁹⁶ MD 5, H. 1180.

⁹⁷ MD 3, H. 1457.

the court, having received the news of counter intelligence, ordered the delivery of twenty-five enemy spies to Istanbul.⁹⁸ On the other hand, a decree delivered to the Herzegovina officer stated that the reason why a Venetian was killed on Lise Island and the criminal who murdered the Venetian shall be examined.⁹⁹ During the same year, according to the news delivered by Ottoman spies, the previous Duke of Naxos worked for Venice and the Pope, and granted two hundred florin of gold to Venice and four-hundred to the Papacy. What is more, he was in collaboration with these states and created trouble in the Aegean Sea. Anatolian and Rumelian *Kadi* (Qadi: Muslim judge) were sent a decree commanding the arrest and imprisonment of this person.¹⁰⁰ In 1569, it is seen in relevant documents that the flow of intelligence between the parties was condensed when the tension between Istanbul and Venice relatively increased. The Ottoman subjects who were in contact with and leaking information to the Venetians were identified and punished; and spy letters from the Bailo were seized.¹⁰¹ When we take a look at the correspondence during the Cyprus expedition, the intensity of espionage activities is easily noticed. We are going to take a closer look at this incidence under the title "Central Administration of the Cyprus Expedition."

Now, let's take a look at the reports that reached Venice on the eve of the Ottoman - Crusader Wars in order to understand the state the Venetian embassies¹⁰²:

On April 3, 1594, the Bailo Marco Venier at Galata Pera sent a cryptogram to the Venice Doge and Senate. According to this report, some Spanish people who had gotten in contact with the court were trying to persuade the Ottoman State to declare war against Venice. Thereby, Venice, the Papacy, Florence, Savoy and other Italian principalities were going to be obliged to ally with Spain. This information was provided for the Bailo by the

⁹⁸ MD 3, H. 1504.

⁹⁹ MD 7, H. 860.

¹⁰⁰ MD 7, H. 1555.

¹⁰¹ MD 9, H. 60, 81, 97, 199. Transcribed by Orhan Paşazade as MA Thesis, (Summary and Transcription), Marmara University, Institute of Turkic Studies, İstanbul 2006.

¹⁰² 'Venice: April 1594', *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 9: 1592-1603* (1897), pp.123-126.

French ambassador. Venier, however, was also recording another diplomatic event. According to this, the Polish ambassador had asked for an appointment from the Sultan. And the Grand Vizier had inquired about the gift to be presented to the court by the Polish ambassador. When it was learned that there were no presents, an appointment was granted. However, this time, the English ambassador had wanted to mediate between them and asked the favor of the Grand Vizier. Ultimately, the Polish ambassador was taken under custody by command of the Grand Vizier.

According to a report sent on April 12, 1594 to Prague by the Venetian ambassador of Germany, the English had sent a well-equipped company of one thousand and four hundred soldiers to Holland for war.

According to another cryptogram sent to San Marco by the Bailo of Istanbul on April 14, 1594, it was written that the Turks were going to send an armada to Pulia and Calabria and attack there, and thereby they were going to be able to observe the resistance of the Venetians. Likewise, they were going to enter the Adriatic Sea if there was no defense by the Venetians. If the Ottomans did not attack Apulia they were going to attack Gibraltar as the French and English ambassadors had envisaged. Furthermore, this cryptogram by Venier included highly important information related to the negotiations with the Polish ambassador. When the Polish ambassador irrationally persisted in seeing the Sultan without presenting any gifts, the English ambassador intervened between the parties and warned the Polish ambassador not to be quarrelsome at such times of tension. Later, a Venetian agent working in Transylvania and the Polish ambassador visited Marco Venier. They were speaking in Latin during the negotiations and mentioned their respect for the Republic of San Marco; the Polish ambassador also explained that it was not going to be the Polish to attack the Turks first, but that they were not going to be the last as well if their allies take the offensive. Venier the Bailo thought that this Polish colleague of his was like an experienced soldier due to the scars on his face and his attitude.

In the cryptogram sent to the Doge and Senate on April 20, 1594 by the Venetian ambassador in Madrid, it was stated that the English had caused a great deal of destruction near Portugal and that the Portuguese had fortified many places.

In his letters dated April 22, 1594, Marco Venier, the Bailo was explaining the difficulties that the Venetian embassy had experienced in Istanbul. According to the information he received from a craftsman at the dockyard, a vessel had become useless and the Venetian ambassador was asking the Senate for new assistants to help him as he had not been able to sleep for two days since he had shouldered all of the work. Venier's secretary had had a stroke and he was not well according to the observations of the Bailo doctor. Since Marcantonio Borisi, one of the most useful clerks, had been sent to Venice to accompany Cavass Cafer on the way, Venier was left alone in the embassy with all of the bureaucratic and diplomatic duties. On the other hand, Alberti, who had been trained in Venice to speak Turkish, was forgetting the Turkish that he knew. At that point, Venier was insistently asking for qualified clerks such as Borisi, who could exchange Turkish letters with the authorities, to be sent immediately in order to recover the Bailo office in Istanbul. Otherwise, things were going to get more difficult.

In the report sent by the Venetian ambassador Francesco Vendramin in Madrid on April 23, 1594, the events going on in France and the situation of Spain were reported to Palazzo Ducale. According to this report, the King had gone to Paris and this had caused indignation in France, and it was believed in Spain that France could be divided. On the other hand, Portugal was supporting King Henry IV.

Having observed the year 1594 through the Bailo reports, now taking a look at the same year from the point of view of a contemporary Ottoman historian, Selaniki Mustafa Effendi:

“In 1593, German, Hungarian, Croatian, Polish, Czech, Bulgarian and Austrian forces sealed an alliance against the Ottomans. Moreover, the Venetian Navy put its vessels into service for the transfer of the foregoing nations' armies. During the same year, seven vessels

of the Venetian navy attacked an Ottoman vessel in defiance of peace, yet they were dispatched. In 1594, the Ottoman army won the war against allied Christian armies and obtained a victory. As they did before, the Venetians once again put diplomacy into effect after the war and sent the Bailo to Istanbul along with gifts and presents in order to acquire a pact from the Sultan."¹⁰³

When we look at the correspondence between the court and the *sanjaks* (districts), it is seen that the intelligence struggle and sabotage activities between the Ottoman State and Venice were continuing. Nevertheless, according to a Latin document, when Hasan Çavuş, as the representative of Suleiman the Magnificent, reached the Ancona port to meet the Duke of Florence, he could not go to Toscana as a result of the covert activities of the Venetians and Ottoman-Florence official negotiations were thereby sabotaged.¹⁰⁴ The Venetian embassy documents were also reporting the events concerning the Ottoman Navy whenever possible. In 1558, according to some reports by the Venetian ambassador, the craftsmen of the Ottoman dockyard were backward compared to the craftsmen of the Venetian dockyard.¹⁰⁵ It was also observed in the report that Turkish vessels were pathetic without arms and could not stand for more than one year.

Diplomatic relations, as well as safeguarding commercial stability on a legitimate basis, was also a guide to finding market commodities for the mercantile class. Although merchants spent a great deal of time on business, they did not have the opportunity to observe the conditions as the embassy workers did. A proper example in that sense could be that coffee was first noticed by Venetian diplomats and it was the Venetians who exported coffee to San Marco from the ports of Istanbul. Therefore, Venetian diplomacy did not only safeguard commercial activities and free circulation, but also dominated Venetian trade. Moreover, Venetian ambassadors were chosen from the influential families of Venice. Therefore, trade, the San Marco Senate and the *Doge* position were monopolized by these families belonging

¹⁰³ Selaniki Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selaniki*, prepared by Mehmet İpşirli, TTK, pp. 396.

¹⁰⁴ Nevin Özkan, op.cit, p.31.

¹⁰⁵ Imber, op.cit, p. 407.

to the same class. Nevertheless, when the debts of the Venetians to Ottoman merchants were reported to the court, the Sultan sent envoys and letters to the Doge in order to collect these payments. In 1569, Kubat Çavuş, who was in Venice then, met with the Doge in order to relieve an Ottoman-subject Jew, Aharon, and to have the debts paid by the Venetians.¹⁰⁶

Granted with an *eman* and provided with security, envoys brought to the *Südde-i Saadet*, as if they were slaves, so that they could resign themselves to the magnificence of the Sultan and the sovereignty of Devlet-i Aliye. For the first time in 1573, the Venetian ambassador along with his attendants was given a feast after the Venetians paid a heavy war compensation for Lepanto and the Vizier and the *Sadr-ı azam* (Grand Vizier) attended the feast on behalf of the State.¹⁰⁷ However, in the 18th century, diplomatic practices began to change quickly when *Devlet-i Aliye* started to lose power. The Europeans were no longer kissing the ground at court in order to pay tribute to the Sublime Porte. In 1700, a French envoy refused to give up his sword before meeting with the Sultan and this gave rise to a crisis; this also shows that diplomatic negotiations were pulling away from conventional practices.¹⁰⁸

During the early sixteenth century, the residential period of the Venetian envoys was extended to three years from one year and this improved diplomatic affairs as well as improving the number of the officers in the Venetian embassy. Eventually, during the eighteenth century, the last century of the Venetian State, in 1763 the population in the Venetian Embassy was 118.¹⁰⁹ At the same date, that number was 78 for the French.

1.2 Treaties (*Ahidname*)

Before examining the treaties that had dominated the Ottoman affairs with their enemies, it is important to know that the Ottoman State had

¹⁰⁶ MD 7, H. 2357.

¹⁰⁷ Selaniki, op.cit, p.661.

¹⁰⁸ Nevin Özkan, op.cit, p.70.

¹⁰⁹ Mustafa Kesbi, *İbretnuma-yi Devlet*, p.32-34. (The attendants number of other seven embassies in Constantinople in the same year were : England: 55, Flemenk: 38, Russia: 38, Austria: 37, Naples-Sicily: 35, Denmark which had already obtained a trade agreement with the Sultan: 31 and Sweden: 29.)

developed its judicial system according to Islamic Law and was therefore categorizing its subjects into two groups and rendering its verdicts in compliance with this categorization. While the subjects were categorized as Muslims and Non-Muslims, states were categorized as *Daru'l-Harp* and *Daru'l-İslam*. All non-Muslim states were called *daru'l-harp* and there was considerable status difference between the non-Muslim subject of the Ottoman State and the subjects of *daru'l-harp*. Subjects were allowed to carry out their mercantile affairs as well as other affairs only according to the Ottoman judicial system. Therefore, in order to understand the conditions of these treaties, it is necessary to know some principal elements of Ottoman Law. Below are the most important of these.

The concept of *siyer* in Islamic Law includes state, war, international affairs and citizen rights. The first known work of international law, called *es-Siyeru'l-Kebir*, was written by İmam Muhammed Şeybani in the eighth century.¹¹⁰

Since all Islamic states were considered as *daru'l-İslam*, the Muslims coming from other Muslim states such as Egypt or the Indian State of Gurgania were not kept waiting at the borders for official procedures and were allowed to enter Ottoman countries.¹¹¹ That is also why the Ottoman Navy fought against the Portuguese during the sixteenth century, although India did not belong to the Ottoman sovereignty. Moreover, the soldiers that fought against the Portuguese in command of Seydi Ali Reis at this time remained in those countries.

In accordance with the belief of Muslim supremacy, it was Devlet-i Aliye that designated the conditions of treaties and imposed them on their counterparts during the sixteenth century. Therefore, the emperor of Austria – the most powerful neighbour and an enemy to the Ottoman State then – was not considered an equal to the Sultan and could only meet with the Grand Vizier.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Ekinci, op.cit, p.301.

¹¹¹ Ibid, p.301.

¹¹² Ibid, p.310.

All treaties sent to the Venetians by the Ottomans started and ended with an oath.

According to the *ahde vefa* (*pacta sunt servanda*) provision of the Quran, the Muslims were obliged to keep their oaths and in case of an event that required that the oath be broken, they had to inform the other party of such an event. Accordingly, when the Meccans behaved inconsistently with peace after they had signed a treaty with Medina, the first Islamic state led by Hadrat Mohamed, the treaty was violated and Medina declared this to the Meccans.¹¹³ As a result, an expedition was organized for the conquest of Mecca. The Ottoman – Venetian crisis of 1570 also started in a similar way and ended with war. The Venetians were supporting the pirates who had attacked Muslim pilgrims in defiance of the treaty. This attitude had broken the peace and the fatwa by Shaykh al-Islam Ebussuud Effendi commanded that Cyprus be conquered.

Nine treaties were signed between the Ottoman Sultan and the Venetian State during the fifteenth century in order to establish peace. And there were ten treaties in the sixteenth century. According to the treaty of 1502, signed after the Ottoman – Venetian wars of 1499 – 1502¹¹⁴,

- Aya (Haghia) Mavra island along with its citizens and cannons entered under Turkish rule,
- The Venetian State continued to pay a tax of 500 gold ducats for the Zenta Island pursuant to the treaty of 1483,
- And only Venetian-flagged ships were allowed to sail in the Adriatic Sea.

The articles of this treaty are the same with most of the conditions of a later treaty that was signed by Sultan Selim I ten years later in 1513. Throughout the sixteenth century, only a few articles changed in treaties. Most conditions were the same as those of older ones. For example, according to a treaty signed between Yavuz Sultan Selim Han and Doge

¹¹³ Ibid, p.310.

¹¹⁴ Mahmut Şakiroğlu, “1503 Tarihli Türk – Venedik Andlaşması”, VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara (1983) TTK, pp.1559-1569.

Leonardo Loredan in 1513, the provisions were as follows (in simplified form)¹¹⁵.

- The peace between Haghia Marco¹¹⁶ and the Ottoman State shall continue,
- If the soldiers, fortresses etc. of the Ottoman State are harmed, you shall be punished,
- If offenders run away to your country, you shall punish them. Otherwise, shall be deemed in defiance of peace,
- Venetian merchants and their attendants may enter my countries by sea or land whenever they want and may use the straits to go to Istanbul, Galata, Trabzon and Kefe,
- If Ottoman and Venetian ships encounter at sea, they shall salute each other as a matter of peace and shall not do any harm to each other. In case of any harm, this shall be compensated.
- The pirates that do harm to Ottoman property shall not be allowed to take shelter in Venetian fortresses or Venetian territories. And they shall not be supported,
- No bondsmen shall be kept if a debtor goes back to his own country, the payables of such shall be paid by the state.
- The Venetian State may send a Bailo for a period of three years,
- If a prisoner flees from Venice and comes to my countries, his owner or the owner's trustee shall be paid one thousand coins; if the prisoner is a heretic, he shall be returned immediately. In the reverse case, you shall do the same!
- If a ship sinks during a voyage between the two sides, the survivors shall be free and their properties shall be returned to their owners,
- If any of the parties beaches a ship, they shall given security and in case of any damage, this shall be borne by the bondsmen,

¹¹⁵ Ottoman – Venetian Diplomatic agreements, *Ahidname*, were published by M.Tayyip Gökbilgin and Mahmut Şakiroğlu partly. In addition to this, all of them were published by Hans Theunissen, too: *Ottoman – Venetian Diplomatics: The Ahd-names*, 1998.

¹¹⁶ To say Saint, instead of Latino *San*, the Ottomans used to say the Greek *Aya* (Haghia). So, they called Venetian State center as Haghia Marco, too.

- If a person who pays tax to the Ottoman State or a murderer flees to a territory that is subject to Venice, he shall not be allowed to stay and shall be delivered immediately. We shall do the same to you,

- Problems among the Venetian shall be addressed by the Bailo,

- If a Venetian merchant goes to the territory between Venice and the Morea Peninsula, he shall not be kept in pledge for another person's debts. Yet, if he wants to go to other places, he shall get permission from the Bailo. If he attempts to go there without permission, the Bailo shall not allow him to go,

- If a witness is required for a lawsuit between a Venetian and another non-Muslim, the witness may be another resident non-Muslim and the problem can be solved thereby,

- The tarring and maintenance of Venetian ships shall not be carried out in my country,

- Either married or single, if a Venetian countryman frequently comes and goes to Ottoman territories, he shall not pay any taxes.

- If the life or property of a Venetian gets harmed in my country, his heir shall be paid the debt owed pursuant to Islamic law,

- If a Venetian dies in my country, his property shall be delivered to the Bailo and not the *Beytü'l-mal* (state treasury),

- The merchants of the Maghreb and other places shall be allowed to enter Venetian territories and no distress shall be caused in relation with their activities,

- No one apart from us shall damage the commercial activities between Korfu and Venice,

- You shall pay 500 *floris of gold* every year for the Zante Island.

- The treaty, hereby written in Edirne, shall not be violated.

When we look at the articles related to providing security in this treaty, we see that there is a kind of safety insurance in practice between the parties. Since almost all of these articles were stated in later negotiated settlements, there was an attempt to acquire rights by establishing peace and not by fighting wars. While the Venetians chose to pay taxes to the

Sultan for Korfu, a very strategically-important territory, the Sultan included relevant articles in the treaty in order to take advantage of these areas without acquiring them. Consequently, this article was of utmost importance for the mobility of foreign merchants coming from the protected countries of the Ottoman State. On the other hand, the incentives and facilities that the Venetian merchants were granted were also significant. Although most of the articles stated rules to be obeyed mutually, the Sultan was always superior.

The next treaty was prepared in 1517 when Sultan Selim Han conquered Egypt. Until this date, the Venetians had paid a yearly amount of 8,000 *floris of* gold to the Ottoman for the Island of Cyprus. After the Ottomans conquered Egypt, Sultan Selim added one more article to the treaty and sent it to the Venetian ambassadors Bartolomeo and Alvise Mocenigo along with Doge Leonardo Loredan in San Marco, and commanded that the tax be sent to Istanbul from then on. The new article was as follows: "I conquered Egypt which used to belong to the Circassians and learned that you were given tax and fabric that was worth eight thousand florin of gold. From now on, this tax of eight thousand florin of gold shall be paid to the state treasury of my porte."

In these treaties, in the *mukaddime* (introduction) parts of which Allah and his prophet were mentioned, the Sultan swore an oath that the treaties shall not be violated as long as no unlawful deeds are done.

In 1521, one year after Sultan Suleiman Han ascended the throne, another article was added to this treaty and the amended treaty was sent to the Venetian ambassador Marco Minio and the Doge Anton Grimani. The new article was as follows: "Pursuant to our law, after a Venetian ship leaves Istanbul after it is searched, it shall be searched once again at straits and other passages. Venetian ships had been searched in Gallipoli as well, yet they shall not be searched in Gallipoli anymore and may proceed on their way." Nevertheless, Zante and Cyprus taxes were still being paid.

In 1538, the Ottoman fleet under the command of *Kaptan-ı Derya* (fleet commander) Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha and the allied crusader fleet under the command of Andrea Doria fought near Preveze and the Ottoman

State, having won the war, asserted its superiority in the Mediterranean. Following this victory, a new treaty was signed between Kanuni Sultan Suleiman Han and the Venetians in 1540. The treaty sent to Venice via Ambassador Alvise Nando included the following articles in addition to the old ones:

- The fortresses on the Morea Peninsula such as Anabolu and Menavesaye shall be surrendered to my state.

- Three thousand gold coins shall be delivered to my state treasury.

- Only then shall this treaty be granted.

- Unless the treaty is violated by you, we shall remain loyal to this treaty.

- Venetian merchants and ships may come and go to my territories from Istanbul to Egypt and Arabia, yet they shall get permission in order to enter the ports. If they need to be protected from wind, they may enter the ports immediately and get the permission inside. They shall not leave the ports without permission as well.

- No one but I can interfere with the Venetians at sea and they shall lower their sails and pay tribute to my ships when they encounter my ships.

- If an Ottoman *levend* captures a subject from Venetian territory, the captive will be given back. If the captive converted to Islam, s/he will not be returned and will be free.

- Venetian territories and the Venetian Navy shall not help the ships of my enemies.

- When my fleets are on the move, the Venetian fleet shall remain behind Corfu Island. They shall not cause any trouble.

- If a Muslim or an apostate flees from my country, you shall return these to me. If you want to have him/her, you shall pay 1000 *akçe* to his/her master as we will do the same to you.

- If bandits or seamen attack you, give them to me, and I shall punish them as a deterrent to others.

- Venetian merchants have an *eman*. No one shall harm them and they may lawfully go to Damascus and Tripoli frequently.

- Bosnia has been conquered. Many fortresses have been seized near Bosnia and the Balkans.

Although Ottoman territories were extending and the superiority of the Sultan was growing year-by-year, border problems in the Balkans as well as some other issues could not be solved. Since the hard mountainous landscape of the territory served as a fortress for the rebels, the flat ground on the coast was open to attacks by pirates. And because these pirates served the Ottomans sometimes and the Venetians at other times, it was not easy to enforce the law around the Adriatic and its hinterland.

In 1568, a group of Ottoman subjects living in the Balkans fled and took shelter in a Venetian fortress. The Sultan sent a decree to the governor of Alexandria and reclaimed the fugitives from the Venetian fortress as per the treaty.¹¹⁷ In the same year, Genoa, Messina and Ancona vessels bearing the flag of France to trade with the Ottoman ports also were partly confiscated as French ships were at the port of Alexandria in Egypt, because of the debts of France to the Jewish Yasef Nassi, Duke of Naxos Island, who were at that time, subjects to the Sublime Porte t. However, this was carried out without notice to the court. When the Sultan learned about the matter, he sent a decree to the governor of Egypt in which he outlawed this unlawful deed and ordered that the collections be made only from French ships and French merchants.¹¹⁸ Later, a second order was sent to Egypt which commanded that no French merchant be damaged and the collections be made gradually and justly.¹¹⁹ Thereby, the French who had been exposed to loss of property were able to obtain their loss from the King of France.

On the other hand, in an official letter sent to Venice in 1569, the Venetians were being warned to adhere to the agreement since San Marco, in an offense against the treaty, had attacked Ottoman territories. In a diplomatic note sent to Venice in the same year, such matters as border

¹¹⁷ MD 7, H. 2594.

¹¹⁸ MD 7, H. 2666.

¹¹⁹ MD 7, H. 2695.

violations in the Balkans, fortresses built in defiance of the treaty, the Uskok pirates that plundered Ottoman coasts and the role of San Marco in all of these were mentioned.¹²⁰

At times of war, for example during the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1570-1573, the enforcement of treaties was no longer in use. In a decree sent after some non-Muslims survived a shipwreck near Anavarin, it was written that the survivors shall be released if they are subject to the Sultan and that they shall be imprisoned and sent to Istanbul if they are Venetians.¹²¹

According to a study by Theunisse, the treaties were signed on the following dates:

The Treaty of 1567: Was written in Istanbul at the behest of Selim Şah *bin* (son of) Süleyman Şah.

Its content was the same as the previous one.

The Treaty of 1573: Was written in Istanbul at the behest of Selim Şah bin Süleyman Şah.

Was given to the Venetian Ambassador Marcantonio Barbaro.

- No tax was going to be paid for Cyprus anymore. (Because Cyprus had been conquered by the Ottomans.)

- The tax for Zante was increased to 1500 from 500 gold ducats.

The Treaty of 1575: Was written in Istanbul at the behest of Şah Murad bin Selim Şah.

The Treaty of 1576: Was written in Istanbul at the behest of Şah Murad bin Selim Şah.

Was given to the Venetian Ambassador Giacomo Soranso to be delivered to the Doge Alvise Mostinigo.

The Treaty of 1595: Was written in Istanbul at the behest of Mehmed bin Murad Han.

The Doge of San Marco: Marin Grimani, Ambassador: Leonardo Donato or Dona.

¹²⁰ MD 7, H. 2768.

¹²¹ MD 12, H. 17.

A state that had been granted a treaty was considered a *darussulh* country according to Ottoman law. According to Islamic law, in order to fight a war with a *darussulh* country, the peace should have been broken.¹²²

As it is seen, when the Venetians were granted a treaty by the Sultan, they were also granted an *eman* (visa) and this was the reason why the relevant country was considered a *darussulh*. As long as peace continued between the parties, the counterpart was under Ottoman care and they were allowed to come and go whenever they wished. France was the most privileged country among other *darussulh* countries and this continued throughout the sixteenth century. Thereby, the statuses of a Spanish and a French person were totally different before *Devlet-i Aliyye*. The Venetians on the other hand acquired the status of *darussulh* through a great deal of diplomatic efforts.

In 1573, when the Venetians sent an envoy to Istanbul in order to request a treaty from the Sultan, the Ottoman Navy was in the Mediterranean in order to find its enemy and take Lepanto's revenge. The envoy Marcantonio Barbaro first presented the apologies and offers of San Marco and the new treaty was reported to the captains of the fleet via a decree. Thereby, the Ottoman naval forces that had been plundering Pulia's coasts learned that the Venetians had been granted another *eman* and *darussulh* status.¹²³ However, the situation was not the same for the Spanish. The Spanish were still among the enemy states as they were before the war. Spanish (Catalan) merchants were going to Ottoman ports regularly.¹²⁴ However, that was only possible under a French flag.

It is doubtless that it was very profitable for the Ottomans to grant treaties to the Venetians. Although Devlet-i Aliye had sufficient resources in its large territories, most ports were slacking off when no Venetians were there. The situation was the same for other European countries, too. When the King of Aragon was unable to order Venice in 1484, he broke connections with the state. However, it was the ports of Aragon that suffered a loss just

¹²² Ekinci, p.302.

¹²³ Katip Çelebi, op.cit, p.119.

¹²⁴ Uzunçarşılı, p.683.

like Valencia, Catalonia and Sicilia ports.¹²⁵ After all, it was the Venetians that circulated money and its equivalent in the Mediterranean.

With the treaty of 1573, Eastern Mediterranean affairs gained clarity.¹²⁶ After the Ottoman administration had acquired Egypt in 1517, the Venetians' interest and diplomacy in Levant changed with regard to the Ottoman sovereignty in the Eastern Mediterranean, but Cyprus was kept in the Venetian government by paying tribute to Istanbul instead of Cairo. However, with the collapse of Cyprus in 1570 and the agreement of *Ahidname* in 1573, the Venetian overseas policy was strongly dependent on the Ottoman foreign affairs. Thus, since the beginning of the century, the Venetian policy in the East, declined because of Ottoman expansions, and the last castle of the *Serenissima Repubblica*, Venice, in the east also fell down *de facto* and *de juri* in 1573.

1.3 Law-making and Law In Practice

Who was designating the judicial principles? The law in force throughout the sixteenth century was based on Islamic law. When looking at such writings as *name-i hümayun* (official letters) and treaties that were committed to paper for international affairs as well as the decrees that were written in order to administer internal affairs within the state, it is seen that it was the court that enforced the laws and specified the principles. From a Venetian perspective, it did not matter whether the principles of law imposed on other countries were religious or customary; therefore, we need to look at the face value of the problem. It is clear that it was the Ottoman court that specified the laws in relation to other countries. This started to change partially, only in the seventeenth century, because in the Karlowitz Treaty of 1669, it was the rules specified by the allied forces and not the Ottoman court that provided order in international law; although this prostrated the diplomacy between allied Austria, Venice and Poland.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Constantino Marinesco, *op.cit*, p.228.

¹²⁶ Salvatore Pappalardo, "Informazioni e Uomini Attraverso le Aree di Frontiera in Mediterraneo", *Studi Veneziani*, N.s. LIV (2007), pp.135-36.

¹²⁷ See. Monica Molnar, "Venedik Kaynaklarında Karlofça Antlaşması : Diplomasi ve Tören", trans. by Gökçen Sert, *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*, v.9, pp.783-791.

Throughout the sixteenth century, problems between parties were predicated upon the potential and prestigious superiority of parties in terms of armament capacity. For the Ottomans, these were the objects of being a superior state over other states.

Drawing the borders of the Balkans had become an issue for some time between the Ottomans and the Venetians. The areas at the borders often led to disputes between the parties and caused judicial hardships. Despite the treaties, absolute peace could not be reached over this issue.¹²⁸

While this problem also continued during the seventeenth century, the negotiations that took place between an Ottoman Pasha and the Venetian ambassador in 1666 before the Treaty of Karlowitz included the following:

A dialog between Mehmed Kaim Pasha and the Venetian ambassador¹²⁹:

Pasha: What ideas do your rulers think about and are you the representative of them?

the Ambassador: Here I am to inform that we are proud to serve the Dear Sultan and that we would like to apologize for the recent actions whose situations created unpleasantness. We also would like to donate 24,000 *riyal kurus* per year and also surrender the castle of Klis in Bosnia to the Sultan.

Pasha: Your suggestion is not reasonable. The castle is already ours. If you concede it by peace the Sultan forgives you and your places stay away from any danger from our side.

the Ambassador: The Venetian rulers do not have delegated power to concede this castle free. We ask it from their powerful Majesties. If we are allowed for that castle we have also some other offers.

Pasha: Our Sultan conquers it easily by the help of Allah. Then, it costs you.

According to an Ottoman intellectual's statements, this negotiation revealed the attitudes of the Ottomans throughout the sixteenth and

¹²⁸ MD 7, H. 2493.

¹²⁹ *Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa Vekayinamesi*.

seventeenth centuries which gave superiority to friendly states and insulted enemies.

After the Herzegovina officer reported the problems in the Balkans to the center in 1565, the Sultan sent an official letter to the Venetian Doge and asked him to immediately handle the problems related to the Uskoks and other pirates being supported by Venetian castles, and stated that otherwise a fleet would be sent to Venice.¹³⁰ On the other hand, there were also friendly correspondences between the Sultan and the Doge. During the Malta Expedition of 1565, the Ottomans and the Venetians were sharing intelligence with each other.¹³¹ These reverses in the Venetian diplomacy doubtlessly disturbed the Christian community as the Venetian seemed to support to Ottomans to the detriment of the Maltese. Besides, although the Sultan regarded Venice as an enemy state even during times of peace, he condoned Venetian diplomacy. Within that period, Venice was regarded not as a non-Muslim enemy but as a friendly non-Muslim state; therefore, when it was reported that there were one-hundred and twenty non-Muslim ships near Aya Mavra and Preveze, the Sultan asked whether ships were Venetian or belonged to a non-Muslim enemy state.¹³² In 1567, when a captain named Kara Hacı seized a ship loaded with wheat, it was ordered by the Sultan that the ship be released if Venetian, and not be released if Spanish.¹³³ On the other hand, the Sultan asked the Doge favors for the sake of the friendly relations between the parties. The Sultan sent an official letter to the Doge so that the five-hundred gunmen procured by the King of Erdel can go through Venetian territories.¹³⁴ During the same year, by command of the Venetian Doge, the Venetian Bailo of Istanbul applied to the court and asked the Sultan to release the Venetian captives that had been taken prisoner by the voluntary seamen of the Ottoman State. The Sultan immediately reviewed this request and sent a decree to the Vizier Mustafa Pasha to have

¹³⁰ MD 5, H. 1194.

¹³¹ MD 6, H. 1424.

¹³² MD 6, H. 1288.

¹³³ MD 7, H. 907.

¹³⁴ MD 6, H. 1385.

the Venetians released and also ordered them to report the numbers to the center.¹³⁵

The castles at the Ottoman – Venetian borders also led to diplomatic crises and problems between the parties. It was reported to the court that some mischievous people had attacked tax officers and raided some villages and that these people took shelter in Venetian castles. In 1567, in the official letter sent by the Sultan via Kubat Çavuş to Venice, the Venetian Doge was asked to punish the castle commander who had supported these bandits and to deliver them to the Ottoman State later.¹³⁶ It was also reported to San Marco that if the Venetians did not fulfil these conditions, they were going to be considered to have violated the treaty. The same envoy was also charged with other duties. Four Ottoman subjects had been taken prisoner by Uskok pirates on their way to the Ancona port. And the Venetian Doge was also asked to surrender them to Kubat Çavuş. As we can understand, Uskok pirates were in contact with the Venetians.¹³⁷

1.4 *Eman* (Visa) and *İcazetname* (Passport)

As it is also seen in the most important articles of treaties signed between the Ottoman State and the Venetian State, the Venetians were allowed to go to Ottoman territories whenever they wanted. This permission was called *eman*¹³⁸ (such as a modern visa), and the passport of the time called *icazetname* was based on compliance with the relevant treaty based on the Ottomans' concept of law which was applied during the 16th century between the Ottomans and non-Muslim foreigners as an international requirement. *Icazetname* was granted by the ambassador of the relevant country. According to the *eman* law, the foreigners that had been granted an *icazetname* were called *müste'men*. As also seen under the part concerning treaties, the Venetians had to apply to the Bailo in order to acquire an

¹³⁵ MD 6, H. 1425.

¹³⁶ MD 7, H. 78.

¹³⁷ To read about piracy in Adriatic, see İdris Bostan, *Adriyatik'te Korsanlık*.

¹³⁸ See James W. Redhouse, *Turkish and English Lexicon*, Çağrı Yayınları, p.194. (For *müste'men*, *ibid*, p.1848.)

icazetname. The Ottoman *Subaşı* also helped the Bailo in order to set the Venetians who broke the law, straight.

Eman was originally an Islamic application and the Ottomans used it during their relations with the non-Muslim European peoples. It was given to a country that the Sultan had peace with after an *ahidname* was signed and that *eman* paper was called as *emanname*. The Genoese and the Venetians were the first foreigners to have it from Sultan Mehmed II after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453.¹³⁹

When complaints concerning the *eman* procedures of merchants were filed with the court, these complaints were immediately evaluated and problematic people were given a warning as soon as possible. In 1568, when the Bailo of the Venetians, who had faced bureaucratic problems in Syria, Tripoli filed a complaint to the court and the Sultan sent a decree to the Tripoli officer. In this decree, the Sultan commanded that the problematic chamberlains be suspended from duty.¹⁴⁰

According to the memoirs of the famous Admiral Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha, when he was about to go back to Algeria from Istanbul with four ships, they encountered eight powerful Venetian ships, "*varda costa*," near Koroni.¹⁴¹ Before the ships left Istanbul, the Grand Vizier had given an official letter to the commander written by the Bailo which stated that no Venetian ships shall attack the ships of the fleet. When they encountered the Venetians near Koroni, the captain sent this letter to the captain of "*varda costa*" and proceeded on his way without any disturbance. As can be understood from this incident, the *eman* (visa) law was successfully practised between the parties. Another important factor here is the advantage that the Ottoman acquired from not having a permanent ambassador present in foreign countries. At this point, having considered what could happen to the Bailo in Istanbul and his attendants, the Venetian captain did not touch

¹³⁹ Mehmet İpşirli, "Eman", DİA, pp.77-79.

¹⁴⁰ MD 7, H. 2341.

¹⁴¹ Diary of Great Admiral Barbarossa which was written down by one of his asistant Seyyid Muradi Reis was published in transcription by Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Barbaros Hayreddin Paşa Hatıratı*, Tercüman Yayınları, p.214.

Seyyid Muradi Reis, *Kaptan Paşa'nın Seyir Defteri*, *Gazavat-ı Hayreddin Paşa*, prepared by Ahmet Şimşirgil, Babıalı Kültür Yayıncılık.

Barbarossa although that meant missing a chance to seize these Muslim vessels. If there had been an Ottoman ambassador in Venice, the captain could have forgotten about his responsibility and could have attacked the Ottoman fleet in order to prove his bravery. Yet, still there were many incidents that broke the law even at times of peace. According to the same memoirs, the fleet of Barbarossa met two ships off the coasts of Pulia and captured them. They were Venetian ships containing goods and also twenty-four thousand golden coins. That income was granted to the *Levend* and also donated to the public of Algeria. In the other campaign, the Captain Pasha had seized nine ships near Palermo and another Venetian ship on the Adriatic and they had found ten thousand gold coins in these ships. Moreover, a pirate called *Kurdoglu* had also presented many gifts and ten thousand Venetian golden coins to Barbarossa Hayreddin Pasha. Such events show that piracy was involved in large numbers in the Mediterranean. It appears that Barbarossa was not only the conqueror of Algeria, but he was also conquering the hearts of Maghrebian peoples by sharing his power and money with them. So, although the Venetian permanent embassies were making use of diplomacy with the Sultan, sometimes it caused them to be dependent on the Ottomans when conditions turned into situations in the Mediterranean or in the Balkans such as when an important Venetian vessel was captured by Ottoman pirates. However, there was no Ottoman envoy or ambassador in Venice when the Ottomans captured the Venetians. Thus, the Venetians did not have a chance to exchange the captured envoys or noble men like both sides would do for other slaves.

Since the Ottomans were at the peak of their magnificence, pirate activities of the Ottoman seamen were not very difficult to account for. However, when these pirate activities occurred after treaties were signed, this could put the state in a tight spot.¹⁴² Similar to this, the actions of the Venetian pirates narrowed down the acting field of Venetian diplomacy. For example, in 1556, when Suleyman the Magnificent was on a campaign for

¹⁴² In order to see piracy in the Adriatic Sea, take a look at İdris Bostan, *Adriyatik'te Korsanlık*, Timaş Yayınları, 2009 İstanbul.

Zigetvar, he ordered to capture a few islands in the Mediterranean such as Chios (Sakız) which were shelters for the pirates who would always attack the Ottoman ships carrying pilgrims from Istanbul to the Egyptian port. In that time, there were 12 administrators from Genoa as the same number of Venetian rulers would stay in the island. When the Venetians got word of this circumstance, they immediately sent an envoy to the Ottomans with gifts to negotiate. However, the Ottomans captured the Island of Chios and other islands around. The biggest church of the island was converted to a mosque. Later on, they moved to the Pulia side to loot the coasts and came back to Istanbul before the Sultan returned from Belgrad.¹⁴³ Thus, the attempts of the Venetian diplomacy could not save Chios.

In 1572, some French people were taken prisoner in western Algeria. However, the Sultan sent a decree and commanded that they be released immediately since the French had been granted an *eman*. It was also stated in the decree that the French shall not be done any harm as this was very important for international law. It was also written in the decree that the French were not in the same status as the Venetians and that Venetians shall not be released.¹⁴⁴ On the other hand, since the Ottoman and the Venetians were at war during those times, there was no law to be practised between them. According to another decree sent to the governor of Aleppo, it was commanded that no Venetian be released and that they all be taken into custody.¹⁴⁵ In 1569, shortly before the war broke out, all of the Venetians in Aleppo were in the same situation.¹⁴⁶ These were people who had come to Ottoman territories before the war broke out and were paying the price of the war. Their lives depended on the lives of the Ottoman merchants that were in Venice. The Ottoman merchants in Venice were also experiencing difficulties in Venice. Nevertheless, the Sultan had taken San Marco's diplomats and other Venetians captives for the safety of his merchants and sent a note to the Venetian Doge which stated that no harm done to the

¹⁴³ Katip Çelebi, op.cit, pp.103-04.

¹⁴⁴ MD 12, H. 1102.

¹⁴⁵ MD 12, H. 1035.

¹⁴⁶ MD 9, H. 152. (Paşazade, op.cit)

merchants shall be tolerated and that they shall surrender the captives only when the merchants arrived home safely.¹⁴⁷ In 1570, the Sultan gave directions to the Vizier Sinan Pasha to solve the problem on mutual ground. The Sultan had the required cautions taken so that no merchant was harmed. When the Ottoman merchants in Venice safely reached Dubrovnik, the Ottomans were going to return the Venetian merchants to their country safely.¹⁴⁸ When the Bailo acknowledged and confirmed this condition, the Sultan informed his viziers of the situation and ordered them to do whatever was necessary.¹⁴⁹ However, when some Venetian merchants in Aleppo abused the liberty *eman* of the Sultan and disappeared in disguise, the Sultan had to send a new decree. According to the new decree, the bondsmen of the Venetians that had disappeared were going to pay the debts and the rest of the Venetians were going to be taken under custody so that they do not follow the example of others.¹⁵⁰ In 1569, although the oncoming crisis between the parties had already made itself evident, the Sultan gave directions as per the treaty concerning the plundering of the goods and humans on a Venetian ship that had sank during its Izmir-Venice voyage. The Sultan commanded that the goods be stored on Chios and later be sent back to Istanbul.¹⁵¹ The situation of the arrested Balio in Aleppo would be handled later according to the developments.¹⁵²

Having acknowledged the severe articles of the treaty of 1573, the Venetians were once again granted *eman* and *icazet* and started to do business in the Ottoman State. Since foreigners were not allowed to publish Arabic and Farsi books and bring them to the Ottoman State, the goods of some merchants were confiscated. Having learnt this, the Sultan had a

¹⁴⁷ MD 12, H. 530.

¹⁴⁸ MD 10, H. 6/8. Transcribed by Zülfiye Kaygusuz as MA Thesis, [The transcription and evaluation of Muhimme defters number 10 (page 1-179)] Atatürk University, Social Sciences Institute, Erzurum 2006.

¹⁴⁹ MD 10, H. 344/558. Transcribed by İbrahim Etem Çakır as MA Thesis, [The transcription and evaluation of Muhimme register no 10 (page 179-356)], Atatürk University, Social Sciences Institute, Erzurum 2006.

¹⁵⁰ MD 10, H. 244/375. (I.Ethem, op.cit.)

¹⁵¹ MD 9, H. 61. (Paşazade, op.cit.)

¹⁵² MD 12, H. 987.

decree written and warned foreign merchants not to engage in mischievous business and encroach on the rights of others.¹⁵³

¹⁵³ Original document in the appendix.

CHAPTER 2

OTTOMAN - VENETIAN TRADE

Venetian Trade: The existence of the Venetian State depended on its commercial activities. Therefore, its main policy was based on buying and selling. Most of the words that are contemporarily used to define commercial and seafaring activities descended from the Venetians.

Ottoman Trade: The Ottomans had fertile soils on three continents and its resources were completely dependent on the land. For centuries, the state covered military expenses through a system, called *timar*, based on land. Its commercial activities, on the other hand, were also based on the variety of agricultural activities and raw material resources. In short, while the Ottoman State was dependent on land, the Venetian State was dependent on the sea.

2.1 Goods and Markets

In spite of all political struggles and supremacy fights, both sides would put up with each other for only one reason: trade. There was a significant commercial circulation between the Republic and the Ottomans. The interest of the Ottoman upper class for the Venetian silk and woolen fabric goods would personify the trade affairs between the states.¹⁵⁴ The rich subject of the Sultan would buy Venetian glass and fabric until the middle of the 17th century.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, the Ottoman exports to Venice were grains, spices, raw silk, spring wool, cotton, leather, fur, woolen cloth, wax, marijuana. In contrary, from Venice to the Ottomans were fabrics made of wool, fabrics made of silk, paper, copper, goods made of glass and other things.¹⁵⁶

A considerable product from the East was the coffee that was transported by Venetian merchants to Europe. The first coffee house was

¹⁵⁴ Turan, op.cit. p.255.

¹⁵⁵ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Etrafındaki Dünya, (The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It)* trans. by Ayşe Berktaş, Kitap Yayınevi, İstanbul 2007, p.200.

¹⁵⁶ Turan, op.cit. p.254.

opened in Istanbul in the middle of the 16th century by two Arabs who came from Aleppo and Damascus and opened a coffee house in the heart of the Ottoman capital. In this way, *Kahve* has expanded to many other Ottoman cities as a new culture in the Ottoman public spaces ever since 1554.¹⁵⁷ The Bailo, Gianfrancesco Morosini, who had been in Constantinople between 1582-1585, first stated in *relazione* what coffee was and how people used it in the Ottoman community. In the *Collegio*, he was the first person who mentioned about coffee at the presentation of his official records taken in Istanbul.¹⁵⁸

Such strategic goods as horses, gunpowder and beeswax were not allowed to be taken out of the country.¹⁵⁹ When we look at the archives, we see that the severest punishments were inflicted on those who violated this rule. At the same time, the difficulties that were experienced while trying to prevent smuggling activities at the borders can also be seen in decrees. According to a decree sent to the governor of Basra from the court in 1565, such goods as combat vehicles, horses, iron, bullets and cereals were out of the country and it was commanded that such smugglers be caught and that the borders be protected.¹⁶⁰ Similarly in 1567, a soldier was placed on every ship in order to prevent the smuggling of grains, grapes, sponges and such materials to Venice and other countries.¹⁶¹ In the same year, the *kadı*s of Izmir and Foça were also warned about the speculation that the Venetians were sold grains and dried fruits.¹⁶² The *kadı*s were commanded to examine the purpose of Venetian ships to stop at the Izmir port and understand what they wanted.¹⁶³ Thus, it appears that sometimes prohibited goods' variety was changing according to the supply and demand conditions of the Ottomans.

¹⁵⁷ İbrahim Peçevi, *Peçevi Tarihi*, prep. by Murat Uraz, Neşriyat Yurdu, İstanbul 1968, p.196.

¹⁵⁸ Bennett Alan Weinberg & Bonnie K. Bealer, *the World of Coffeine*, Routledge 2001, p.19.

¹⁵⁹ Uzunçarşılı, v.2, p.686.

¹⁶⁰ MD 5, H. 67.

¹⁶¹ MD 7, H. 350.

¹⁶² MD 7, H. 352.

¹⁶³ MD 7, 364.

2.1.2 Wheat

The most strategic need for survival, cereals, were almost monopolized by the Ottoman State in the 16th century. It was forbidden to take such cereal products as wheat and barley out of the Ottoman State. According to a decree addressed to the officer and *kadi* of Ağrıboz in 1558, those who provide Venetian ships with products should be imprisoned.¹⁶⁴ When cereals were taken out of the country especially at times of necessity, the *kadis* and officers of the relevant district were warned.¹⁶⁵ The number of soldiers was fairly high in the Ottoman State and there were hundreds of Ottoman ships particularly in the Mediterranean. Therefore, cereals were the most important and primary food source. The goods dispatched from the ports were registered in the records by the *kadis* and sent to the center.¹⁶⁶ In 1565 when Egypt was in need of estates, the court allowed Suleiman Reis to come from Egypt and purchase estates around Çatalca and Yenişehir.¹⁶⁷ According to a decree addressed to the Voivode of Wallachia in the same year, one thousand kilos of barley had been prepared to be loaded onto ships in Niğbolu. And in 1567, since there was a scarcity of legumes such as rice, lentils and chickpeas in Istanbul compared to previous years, the governor of Egypt was sent word that commanded that these goods should not be loaded onto ships going to Salonika but directly to the ones coming to Istanbul.¹⁶⁸ Besides, the commercial goods sent to Salonika were mostly smuggled to foreign countries. It was also stated in the decree that neither Venetian nor other foreign ships should be given legumes. Nevertheless, the governor of Algeria, Kapudan Pasha, was charged to search foreign ships and interrogate their captains about the source of the goods they carried onboard.¹⁶⁹ However, when there was an excess of wheat within the borders of the Ottoman State, Ottoman statesmen were allowed to export wheat to *daru'l-harp* states such as Venice. According to important research by

¹⁶⁴ MD 3, H. 561.

¹⁶⁵ MD 3, H. 1479.

¹⁶⁶ MD 5, H. 149.

¹⁶⁷ MD 5, H. 1034.

¹⁶⁸ MD 7, H. 863.

¹⁶⁹ MD 7, H. 1650.

Fernand Braudel titled "the Mediterranean World," there was a shortage of wheat in Italian states between the years of 1548 and 1564. During this period, the difference between the purchase price from the Eastern Mediterranean and the sales price in Italy was almost threefold.¹⁷⁰ Another interesting incident was that a Venetian transport vessel that had been hired by the Ottoman Navy to be used during the conquest of Malta was used to transport cereals in 1565. The Vizier Mustafa Pasha was given a note to unload the Venetian vessel as soon as possible in order not to pay rent anymore.¹⁷¹ When no results were achieved during the Malta expedition, hundreds of kilos of cereals that had been sent to the navy forces were delivered to the governor of Rhodes to be sold there.¹⁷² As we can understand from here, if the amount of cereals was more than necessary for Rhodes, it was possible to sell them to other friendly states such as Venice. In 1567, however, voluntary seamen at sea confiscated a Venetian vessel loaded with wheat. They sold the wheat at the Nova seaport while the Venetian Captain blockaded the territory. The governor of Herzegovina had written a decree to overcome this crisis and he was asked to return the wheat if it belonged to the Venetians and not to return the wheat if it had been smuggled from the Ottoman State.¹⁷³ When a Venetian Captain going to the same area forced a young Muslim man to go onboard, the incident was reported to the court. Thereupon, the Venetian Doge was sent a letter and it was commanded that the young man should be released immediately.¹⁷⁴

2.1.3 Energy: Slaves and Animals

Energy has always been one of the most essential needs throughout the history of humanity. In this respect, scientists from different civilizations studied varying ways to create unique methods of doing things without

¹⁷⁰ Fernand Braudel, *II. Felipe Döneminde Akdeniz ve Akdeniz Dünyası*, (La Méditerranée et Le Monde Méditerranéen a L'Epoque de Philippe II) trans. by Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay, İmge Kitabevi, 1993, v.1, pp.696-97.

¹⁷¹ MD 5, H. 168.

¹⁷² MD 5, H. 320.

¹⁷³ MD 7, H. 554.

¹⁷⁴ MD 7, H. 862.

humans for humanity. Examples such as Leonardo da Vinci in the 15th and 16th century and the well-known inventor in the 12th and 13th centuries, Al-Jazari who lived in Diyar-i Bekr, Eastern Anatolia. He invented a machine that ran on water without the assistance of a human being; however, his invention lacked formal methods of production and thus his personal success wasn't used by humanity.¹⁷⁵ Although such inventions could not be improved and expanded properly in different areas like communication, during the classical age, the ships ran not only on sail, but also on the muscle-power of oarsmen when encountering wavy routes. On land, however, the required energy was obtained by employing slaves and animals. Until steam power was discovered in the modern age and changed the course of events with the Industrial Revolution, the energy sources of communities were only muscle strength and animal power. Therefore, the human beings sold in slave markets lived in a different world in the classical age. In Islam, setting a slave free was encouraged and regarded as a good deed. Nevertheless, until the modern age, master-slave relationships were not limited to a particular territory in the world and this was regarded as a global necessity. Similar to the working class of the modern age, slaves of the sixteenth century were unfree workers. Although judicial rights of slaves were almost the same both in the West and the Ottoman State, this is irrelevant to our subject.¹⁷⁶

While the ordinary slaves that were bought during the Ottoman-Venetian wars were sold in slave markets, important slaves were kept in a dungeon to be used for exchange. According to some sources, female slaves cost around 300 gold ducats.¹⁷⁷ Sometimes, slaves succeeded in fleeing as a result of negligence. In 1592, it was reported that some non-Muslim Croatian and Hungarian citizens of enemy states had run away from Istanbul and

¹⁷⁵ *1001 Inventions, Muslim Heritage in Our World*, 2nd edition.

http://www.californiasciencecenter.org/GenInfo/MediaRoom/PressReleases/1001Inventions/1001_Highlights.pdf

¹⁷⁶ See Ekrem Buğra Ekinci op.cit for slavery rights in the Ottoman Islamic Law System.

¹⁷⁷ According to the history of Peçevi, when Hayreddin Barbarossa Pasha was on his way back from the Preveza Victory, *levends* (sea wariers) captured many people as slaves and took goods from the Eagean Islands.

went secretly onboard a ship that was going to Venice.¹⁷⁸ There were even those who mutinied against the captain and attempted to hijack ships.¹⁷⁹

When rock oils and gases, as well as steam machines, started to be used in the modern age, older energy sources were no longer in use and the population structure of the world began to change. People began to turn into free slaves during the modern age and formed the working and consuming class of the age of serial-production. During the sixteenth century, the most important source of energy in the Mediterranean world was human and animal power. The human beings taken from the enemy ships that had been confiscated by the unofficial pirates of the Ottoman Sultan, as well as the human beings and animals of the enemy states, were traded in Ottoman markets, particularly in the North African markets.

Dockyard prisons were called *banyol*. The Europeans used the word *banio*, which meant bath in Italian slang, to define the dungeons in Maghreb. The conditions of dockyard dungeons in Europe were far worse compared to those in Istanbul.¹⁸⁰ There was a notorious dungeon right next to Palazzo Dukale in Venice.¹⁸¹ In 1568, a non-Muslim Ottoman subject, Kanbor Staline was going to bring back a Muslim prisoner after he finished his work in Venice. All *kadis* were informed about the matter in order to avoid any harm that could be done to this non-Muslim subject between Istanbul and Venice.¹⁸² The position of *kadi* in the Ottoman Judicial System was of great importance and an Ottoman *kadi* possessed strong authority. Indeed, when a complaining was filed to the court concerning a *kadi*, the Sultan immediately sent a supervisor to the relevant district in order to start an investigation. According to a complaint by a Venetian envoy that applied to *Dergah-ı Mualla* in 1568, a Venetian ship which had cast anchor at the Nova Port was raided by the *kadi* of Nova along with seventy soldiers and the olive oil onboard was emptied into the sea. The Sultan sent an official decree to the *kadis* of Foça

¹⁷⁸ Selaniki, p.330.

¹⁷⁹ Katip Çelebi, op.cit, p.195.

¹⁸⁰ Ekinci, op.cit, p.341.

¹⁸¹ Photo at appendix.

¹⁸² MD 7, H. 2124.

and Prepolye, and the governor of Herzegovina in order to understand the judicial dimension of the incident and the truth as it was.¹⁸³

In Islam, prisoners also had rights and it was forbidden to persecute or torture them until their judgements were passed. The basis of this rule was a deed by the Prophet Mohamed when he did not allow the prisoners to be kept waiting under the sun.¹⁸⁴ Although the Ottomans did not operate in the same way in every case, still, it is possible to say that they obeyed this rule partially. Some Christian prisoners even tried to change religion of their own accord as a result of the attitudes they were treated with. On the other hand, there even some significant people who wanted to become an Ottoman subject from among the Venetians and other Latin people who had been taken prisoner following wars. For example, the famous Spanish writer Cervantes was also taken prisoner by Ottoman pirates and had to spend five years in the dungeons of Algeria. He also wrote what he had witnessed.¹⁸⁵ The person about whom he complained most was a former Venetian called Hasan Pasha who had changed his religion and become a strict Christian hater. Another prisoner called Garino of Venice also deserted his religion and became a Muslim like hundreds of others.¹⁸⁶ In 1545, when the Venetian ambassador of Istanbul had applied to the court and demanded that a serious problem in the Balkans be addressed, the Qadis of Iskaradin and Hlivne were sent a decree to examine the situation in the Balkans and evaluate the matter. According to the complaint of the ambassador, the Zadra fortress was threatened with the support of the governors of Bosnia and Klis, and the peoples of 49 villages subject to this fortress were asked to pay homage and some of them were taken prisoner. The decree by the Sultan, however, commanded that the attack on these Venetian districts cease, the prisoners, if Venetian, be released, and that they not be released if they had come over as well as that no one should behave against the law as long as peace is not violated and that the official situation be reported to

¹⁸³ MD 7, H. 2226.

¹⁸⁴ Ekinici, op.cit, p.309.

¹⁸⁵ Kumrular, op.cit, pp.375-84.

¹⁸⁶ Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa, op.cit, p.69.

the court under official seal instantly.¹⁸⁷ This decree was also in compliance with the treaty between the two states. As we can understand from this, the Sultan did not allow the taking of Venetians as prisoners during times of peace.

2.1.4 Silk, Fabric and Textiles

Textile materials and raw materials has always been one of the most important needs of civilizations because every man from different backgrounds has to have cheap or expensive clothes. Silk and other textile materials were manufactured in various parts of the Ottoman State. The Venetians were purchasing these materials and sold the processed goods to other Western and Islamic states.

While Bursa was famous for silk goods, Bilecik was famous for its velvet. Karaman, Diyar-ı Bekr, Hısn-ı Keyfa, Aleppo and Damascus also had their own unique fabrics. Cotton textiles, the leading goods of exportation, were mostly found in Adana's markets between Bursa and Konya while Syria and Egypt were famous for cotton as well. On the other hand, a special kind of fabric manufactured in Trabzon was also a popular good that was in great demand.¹⁸⁸ The fabric produced near Avlonya and Salonika was used as a military material for Devlet-i Aliye. And there was also a Venetian Bailo in Avlonya. Avlonya was also an important place for Ottoman sailcloth.¹⁸⁹ The Jewish businessmen of the districts were given orders for water-resistant fabrics. The Sultan also provided incentives and tax reduction for such businesses.¹⁹⁰ Thereby, the sailcloth and the uniforms of Ottoman seamen were manufactured at affordable prices. However, a local good of the Ottomans, silk, was sent to Venice free from duty as per the treaty.¹⁹¹ And of course, the Venetians did not object to this. Furthermore, Ottoman merchants also delivered processed silk goods to Venice from Central

¹⁸⁷ MD E, H. 446.

¹⁸⁸ Uzunçarşılı, v.2, p.682.

¹⁸⁹ MD E, H. 214, 216, 315, 316, 422, 448.

¹⁹⁰ Feridun Emecen, "From Selanik to Manisa: Some information about the immigration of the Jewish weavers", *The Via Egnatia under Ottoman Rule 1380-1699*. Edited by Elizabeth Zaccharidou.

¹⁹¹ Uzunçarşılı, v.2, p.684.

Anatolia and sold them there. According to a Venetian document dated 1591, Turco Hassan even sold a fabric made of camel hair to Vielmo Rubbi of Venice through a mediator called Giovanni Zacra. During those dates, foreign merchants were allowed to buy and sell goods via middlemen as per the Venetian Law of Commerce.¹⁹²

2.1.5 Spices

The popular food of the Mediterranean cuisine is surely cooked with spice mixtures. Still, there are many foods such as delicious Arabic-origin *kebabs* and *lahmacun* made with marinated meat or famous Italian dressings that are preferred in all world cuisines and not only in Mediterranean countries. In the sixteenth century, spices were the most important goods used in the food trade. Spices were transported from India to the Ottoman State via the famous Spice Route. When the activities of the Portuguese in the Indian Sea damaged the spice trade of the Ottomans, Ottoman seamen started to set sail around India and Yemen. On the other hand, the Venetians provided spices from Ottoman ports. After the spices coming from Mecca were transported to Damascus, they were loaded onto ships at the Beirut Port. And these were all taken under record. However, this changed in 1545. The spices were now transported to the Basra Port, then to Aleppo and then they were sent to the ports of Trablus. During this time, since the tax burden on the Venetians was considerably high, the Bailo appealed to the court in order to find a solution to this problem. Then, the Sultan gave directions for the investigation and examination of the tax collection problem in Damascus and Trablus.¹⁹³

2.1.6 Timber

Timber was the primary source for the construction of navy forces and it was procured from the rich forests of the Black Sea region.¹⁹⁴ Since the Black Sea had become a Turkish lake in this century, it was not a problem to

¹⁹² Pedani, *Le Carte del Sultano*, ASV.

¹⁹³ MD E, H. 366.

¹⁹⁴ MD 6, H. 949, 283, 969, 1116, 932. MD 12, H. 1209, 1173.

procure timber for the Sultan.¹⁹⁵ On the other hand, seafaring nations such as the Venetians were meeting the demand from the sources around Adriatic coasts and North-Eastern Italy.

2.1.7 Mines

The Sublime Porte procured its requirement for bullets and cannon balls from the mines in Anatolia and the iron mines in Bilecik. There were also silver mines in Amasya and copper mines in Kastamonu – Küre. In the Balkans, there were mines in such strategic places as Banjaluka in the provinces of Bosnia, Novo Brdo in Serbian (today in Kosovo as a district of the capital Pristina) and in Rudnik that were mostly conquered in this century. In addition to this, the Sidre mines close to Thessaloniki were also active in that time. These mines in the Balkans were continuously in operation to provide the raw-material needs of the weapon plants of the state.¹⁹⁶ There were also salt mines in Wallachia.¹⁹⁷

While the Ottomans made the most of the geography it was established upon, the Venetians monopolized the salt mines around the Adriatic. However, they had already lost other sources of raw materials around the Balkans to the Ottomans.

The Genoese, being an enemy to the Venetians, were paying a tax to the Ottomans in order to work out the aluminum mines in Foça. It is seen that the state sometimes gave the mines that it cannot personally handle to foreign groups. Aluminum was mostly sent to the Genoese and the Florentines. Another important mine was the aluminum mine in Gümülcine and it also served in the export market. The Dutch bought aluminum and wool from these areas under the French flag until the seventeenth century.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ To see the Ottoman Sailor and maritime sources, take a look at the phd study of Idris Bostan, *Tersane-i Amire*.

¹⁹⁶ Uzunçarşılı, II, p.683.

¹⁹⁷ MD E, H. 408.

¹⁹⁸ Uzunçarşılı, op.cit, p.683.

2.2 Routes and Fortresses

Today, contemporary states sometimes fight over oil and energy lines and designate their benefits over certain territories through international treaties. Similarly, the Mediterranean was a territory over which the power balance of great forces was arranged. In order to examine the Ottoman-Venetian relations in more detail, it is necessary to take a look at the economic, political and conventional situations of these states and their relations with foreign states.

While the relations among great powers in every age are based on and directed by certain interests, such as the importance of controlling the strategic places that sometimes designate world politics, in the sixteenth century, states were fighting in order to keep hold of their Mediterranean routes. It was the same in the Balkans as well. The struggle between the Ottomans and Austria continued after the Venetians also got involved in this struggle. The states were following different strategies of building fortresses in defiance of peace, and putting the enemy in a tight spot by organizing transfrontier raids; thereby obliging the enemy to diplomacy. All of these wars were fought in the name of establishing safety. During this century, trade and communication routes were the touchstones of politics. If a state did not possess any of these stones, they were supposed to be degraded to a position of tools. Such historical routes as *via egnatia*, *via maris* and *via likia* were connected to Istanbul in the sixteenth century. However, these routes used to belong to the Venetians. San Marco was paying tax to the *Südde-i Seadet* of the Sultan in order to use these sea and land routes.

After the Ottomans seized these routes, the taxes they collected from the users directly affected the economic situation in Europe. In the end, the routes that used to belong to the Venetians now belonged to a Muslim state that stipulated taxes, and this naturally affected the prices. According to a decree dated 1568, the Gallipoli attendant of property taxes was commanded that after foreign ships of countries such as France and Venice leave

Istanbul, they should be controlled at the Gallipoli Strait, and that if they carried forbidden goods, these goods should be appropriated.¹⁹⁹



Via Maris



Venice – Istanbul – Aleksandria Route

¹⁹⁹ MD 7, H. 1696.



Via Egnatia



Via Likia

Those who kept hold of these routes built fortresses and solidified the population residing in these areas in order to protect the routes. Durres, Vlore, Zante, Corfu, the Morea Peninsula, the Island of Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus and Syrian coasts were the strategically fortified districts on the route that connected Venice to the Istanbul and Alexandria ports. While some areas around the Adriatic and the Morea Peninsula were naturally a fortress because of their landscape, Syria had flat lands and it was necessary to keep both sea and land forces available in these districts. Until the Venetians completely lost the Island of Crete to the Ottomans in 1669, they kept a

navy and a military garrison available in the district. It was the same in Cyprus and the Venetians had strong fortresses and naval bases on islands such as Zante and Korfu. As we can see through the Ottoman-Venetian wars and treaties, after the Venetians lost important districts to the Ottomans, they preferred to keep other strategically important districts as Zante and Korfu at the expense of accepting the highest taxes and the strictest diplomacy rules. As we can observe in the articles of treaties, the Venetians were not allowed carry out maintenance work for their ships at Ottoman ports. That resulted in making longer the distance between the Venetian ports. Therefore, there were many Venetian ships that fell apart under sail, especially in the summer months. According to the relevant article of the treaty, the Venetians and the goods that survived these marine accidents were returned to their country. On the other hand, the people that were residing close to the coast were the ones that suffered most from the wars. At times of political tension and war, an Ottoman subject in Antalya could be attacked by a Venetian, his house could be plundered and he could be taken prisoner.²⁰⁰ That was because a fleet of the Serenissima Republic for Crete moved to plunder the Mediterranean coasts of the Ottomans as a retaliatory action. So, the people of the coasts were face-to-face with danger when crises took place between the Repubblica and the Sublime Porte. However, the situation was the same for those who lived on the Adriatic coasts. In times of war, because the Venetians were considered no more *daru's-sulh* by the Sultan, their places and borders were also under threat because of the Ottoman's actions. Therefore, it was believed, especially in the Italian peninsula, that Turks were pirates that abducted human beings. Wars and other incidents also doubled and aggrandized these myths. Therefore, there are still such phrases as; *Mamma gli Turchi!* (Mother! Turks!) and *Forte come un Turco* (as strong as a Turk) in contemporary Italian. These seem to be traces of the past.

²⁰⁰ MD 12, H. 66.

2.3 Commercial and Diplomatic Policy, Interests and Ultimatums

The Ottoman merchants started to reach Venice at the beginning of the 16th century and then increasingly by the agreement in 1540 which ended the war between Venice and the Ottomans in the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent.²⁰¹ Dependent on this, a place was provided for Turks in 1621 in Venice²⁰² which today is a legacy of that historical relationship near the Grand Canal, Fontego dei Turchi. However, in contrast to the government, there were Venetians opposite to that Turkish place while Jewish and Protestant German places already existed in Venice.²⁰³ After the Austrians captured Venice and the collapse of the San Marco State in 1797, the legal contract between *Devlet-i Aliyye* and *il Doge Veneziano* about that *fondaco* also expired. However, the last Ottoman Sadreddin who could speak the Venetian language very well claimed to stay at the building which was provided by San Marco to him and he resorted to the Ottoman embassy in Vienna to solve the problem, but he saw that Venetians could not act free any longer because of the Austrians. After he left the building, it was sold to a Venetian in the time of *Podesta* Giovanni Correr in 1843.²⁰⁴

According to an Ottoman letter (Name-i Humayun) sent to the Venetian Doge in 1558, the Doge was asked to catch a Venetian merchant that had cheated an Ottoman merchant and return the goods to the Ottoman State.²⁰⁵ There was another similar incident in 1565. When the debt owed to Ali Ağa, the headman of the former palace, by Aleksandra and his brother was not paid, the Sultan sent a *Name-i Hümayun* to the Venetian Doge Bronimos Pribol and commanded him to collect the debt immediately and that these people, one of them a deserter named Mehmed, be caught and delivered to Istanbul as soon as possible.²⁰⁶ There may be other reasons why this person who had changed religion was wanted other than those written

²⁰¹ Turan, op.cit, p.251.

²⁰² Pedani, "Fondaco dei Turchi", *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, Edited by Gabor Agoston & B. Alan Masters, pp.220-21.

²⁰³ Lewis, op.cit. pp.140-41.

²⁰⁴ Turan, op.cit. p.274.

²⁰⁵ MD 3, H. 963.

²⁰⁶ MD 5, H. 1825.

in official documents. What is important here, however, is that an offender shall be punished as per the Islamic Law. No one shall be pushed to become a Muslim or no one shall be hurt because of their beliefs according to the verse of the Koran that "There is no compulsion in religion."²⁰⁷ However, those who convert to another religion after they have converted to Islam shall be punished. Therefore, the state might be asking for this offender in order to punish him according to Islamic Law.

When the payments of non-Muslim Ottoman subjects did not come back from Venice, they filed a complaint to the court. In 1567, Kubat Çavuş who was sent to Venice was also charged with collecting a payment from a Venetian called Hayım. A Jewish Ottoman called Mayer had sent tar to another Jew, Hayım with a ship and was now indebted to the Ottoman customs. When he could not receive his payment for some time, the Venetian Doge received an official letter to collect the debt from the bondsmen of Hayım and deliver it to Kubat Çavuş.²⁰⁸

Those who attacked the merchants at sea and caused them to leave Ottoman ports were also arrested and punished. With a decree sent to the governor of the Morea Peninsula in 1565, the rowboats of the seamen who had committed this crime around Lepanto and Aya Mavra were confiscated and they were forbidden from building any type of sea vessels.²⁰⁹ The Ottomans did not cease the business activities of the people that lived in conquered districts and even encouraged them to continue. In 1565 when Chios was conquered, the governor of Kefe was sent a decree and commanded that the merchants in Chios should be transferred to Kefe and that they should not be allowed to engage in business there.²¹⁰ The people who lived in Dubrovnik were important for the Ottomans, and when they complained to the court that a captain called Kara Hacı had molested them and when the same complaint was filed also by the Venetians later, the

²⁰⁷ Ekinci, op.cit, p.317.

²⁰⁸ MD 7, H. 104.

²⁰⁹ MD 5, H. 1543.

²¹⁰ MD 5, H. 1539.

Sultan relieved Kara Hacı of duty and commanded that a new captain be assigned.²¹¹

The Sultan directly interfered in this problem because even a minor problem or change in the money market could affect the Ottoman subjects. An official letter dated August 8, 1565, addressed to the Polish King in order to protect the commercial rights of Moldovian subjects said:

*We have been reported that some Moldovians who came to Poland to sell goods or cattle were given invalid copper coins instead of silver coins. In the past, 1 gold coin = 70 copper coins, 1 piastre = 45 copper coins; yet now 1 gold coin = 93 and 1 piastre = 55 coins. This has incurred losses on the Moldovians. Besides, some bandits that ran away from Moldovia were given shelter in Poland. This situation in the markets to the detriment of Moldova shall be immediately rectified and Moldovian bandits shall be immediately arrested and punished.*²¹²

It would be useful to touch upon the status difference of France and Venice for the Ottoman Sublime Porte. In order to prevent a possible Christian allegiance from being sealed, the Sultan helped the French and gave them commercial privileges; the Sultan even provided military aid to France to defend it against Spain. One of the goods that were forbidden to be taken out of the country, gunpowder, was sometimes exported to France. In 1545, the King asked the Sultan for gunpowder. The court answered this demand positively and allowed the French envoy to purchase the amount of gunpowder that had been designated in Egypt. However, after a while, a decree was sent to Egypt and they were commanded not to give any gunpowder to the French. They were going to make up an excuse and treat them as if they had not been sent anything from the court. However, what made the court behave in this way was the changing situation, the growing demand and the decrease in the amount of gunpowder stocks.²¹³ On the other hand, according to some sources, the Ottoman fleet under the command of Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha helped the French fleet fight against

²¹¹ MD 7, H. 1621.

²¹² MD 5, H. 61.

²¹³ MD E, H. 266.

the Spanish. When the French ships were out of gunpowder, the French asked the Captain Pasha for some gunpowder. However, the Pasha, who was said to be very serious and strict with his job, scolded his ally and said "You should have loaded your ship with gunpowder instead of wine." Still, the western policy of the Sultan was based on keeping France on the side of the Ottoman State.

2.4 Taxes and Tributes

To give an example from history, we can find many similarities between the Ottoman Devlet-i Aliye of the sixteenth century and contemporary United States of America. One of the most important similarities is the agricultural power of being the leading cereals producer and having large amounts of lands. The Venetian ambassador reports of the classical age defining the Ottoman State as "the endless lands of the Sultan." Similar to the USA's leading position in wheat production, the Ottoman State was also a leading wheat producer in the sixteenth century which made its competitors dependent on the Ottoman lands. On the other hand, Venice and other European countries procured their cereal needs mostly through smuggling and the cereals they procured were often quite expensive.

In 1554, the Venetian Senate made a decision to encourage foreign and Venetian merchants to procure wheat for the country and that foreign ships that transported wheat were granted a discount.²¹⁴ When it was complained to the Sultan that there were price differences in various official destinations, the taxes applied on the routes were immovably designated by the court and the taxes were collected as per the judicial proceedings, and this was controlled and carried out by the *Kadi* as per a decree by the Sultan.²¹⁵ As we can understand from this, since it was a sensitive case that the taxes should be duly collected according to the applicable laws, the court was an attempt to carry out this work in compliance with the laws. However, a Venetian Bailo that applied to the Sultan in 1567 wanted to solve a commercial problem in Syria. The central authority had made the financial

²¹⁴ Braudel, op.cit, same page.

²¹⁵ MD 5, H. 1826.

affairs of Damascus and Aleppo subject to the treasurer of Aleppo. Since the Venetians had been taking their goods to Aleppo through the Trablus port, they did not want to be subject to the authority of Damascus concerning the customs procedures. The customs prices were possibly going to be higher and this was going to increase the prices directly. The Bailo explained at the court that this might damage the commercial relations between the two parties.²¹⁶ A similar incident also took place in 1545. In the same year, a decree was sent to San Marco from the court concerning the collection of 300,000 gold ducats payable from the Venetians.²¹⁷

The most important taxes that the Venetians paid to the Sultan were these:

- A yearly amount of 500 florins of gold for Zante (from 1483 to 1571),
- A yearly amount of 1,500 florins of gold for Zante (following the treaty of 1573),
- A yearly amount of 8,000 florins of gold for Cyprus (between the years of 1517 and 1571).

2.5 Conditions at peace and on war

When a crisis broke out and an oncoming war made itself evident, both the Venetians in the Ottoman State and the Ottomans in the Venetian State were taken into custody. However, at times of peace both were safe. Although Venetian Bailos were arrested and insulted at times of crisis, they were protected by janissaries and *subaşı* in times of peace. In order to avoid any damage to Venetian diplomats and merchants within the borders of the Ottoman State, all captains and districts were sent decrees. For example, the governor of Damascus was sent a decree commanding that the Venetians should be allowed to safely do business in the Levant district.²¹⁸

In order to provide more safety conditions for the Ottoman merchants in Venice, Sadrazam Rustem Pasha sent a letter to the doge of Venice,

²¹⁶ MD 7, H. 356.

²¹⁷ MD E, H. 243.

²¹⁸ MD E, H. 385.

Francesco Dona, in 1546.²¹⁹ Moreover, concerning the 16th and the 17th centuries, the Venetian Senate declared that they who disturb the Turkish merchants in the city would be punished by the state.²²⁰ In the same way, the Venetian merchants were also protected by the Sultan, such as, once a Venetian in Izmir resorted to the Ottoman officials because he was cheated in commerce and then he received indemnity through the protection of the officials.²²¹

When some people from Rhodos applied to the Sultan for the continuation of trade and the safety of merchants, Venetian ambassadors were allowed to settle on the Island of Rhodes. Thereby, merchants were going to come and go to the district. So, when a Venetian Bailo was appointed to a place, it turned into a very frequented place by the Venetian merchants.

In 1558, after some Ottoman seamen attacked the ships of Venice and Dubrovnik near Yanya, merchants started to not go there and this affected the ports economically. Thereupon, the Sultan warned the *Kadi* of Yanya to take care that the foreign merchants shall not be disturbed.²²²

Furthermore, the Ottomans provided suitable conditions to encourage the merchants to trade. As also seen in treaties, the Venetians were supposed to obey the surety rule while they were doing business. Therefore, no Venetian was going to be taken under custody in return for another Venetian's debt. The surety system was of great importance and the stability of business simply depended on this. Accordingly, a bondsman had to be a respectable person. This system was a kind of insurance system that built up commercial trust during the century. Of course, the existence of powerful bondsmen also meant that there were also guarantors.

At times of war, however, the law of treaty lost validity and Venice was considered a *daru'l harp* state. Therefore, fighting with Venetians out of the Ottoman State was classified under *cihad* and *gaza*. On the other hand,

²¹⁹ Turan, op.cit, p.253.

²²⁰ Ibid, p.268.

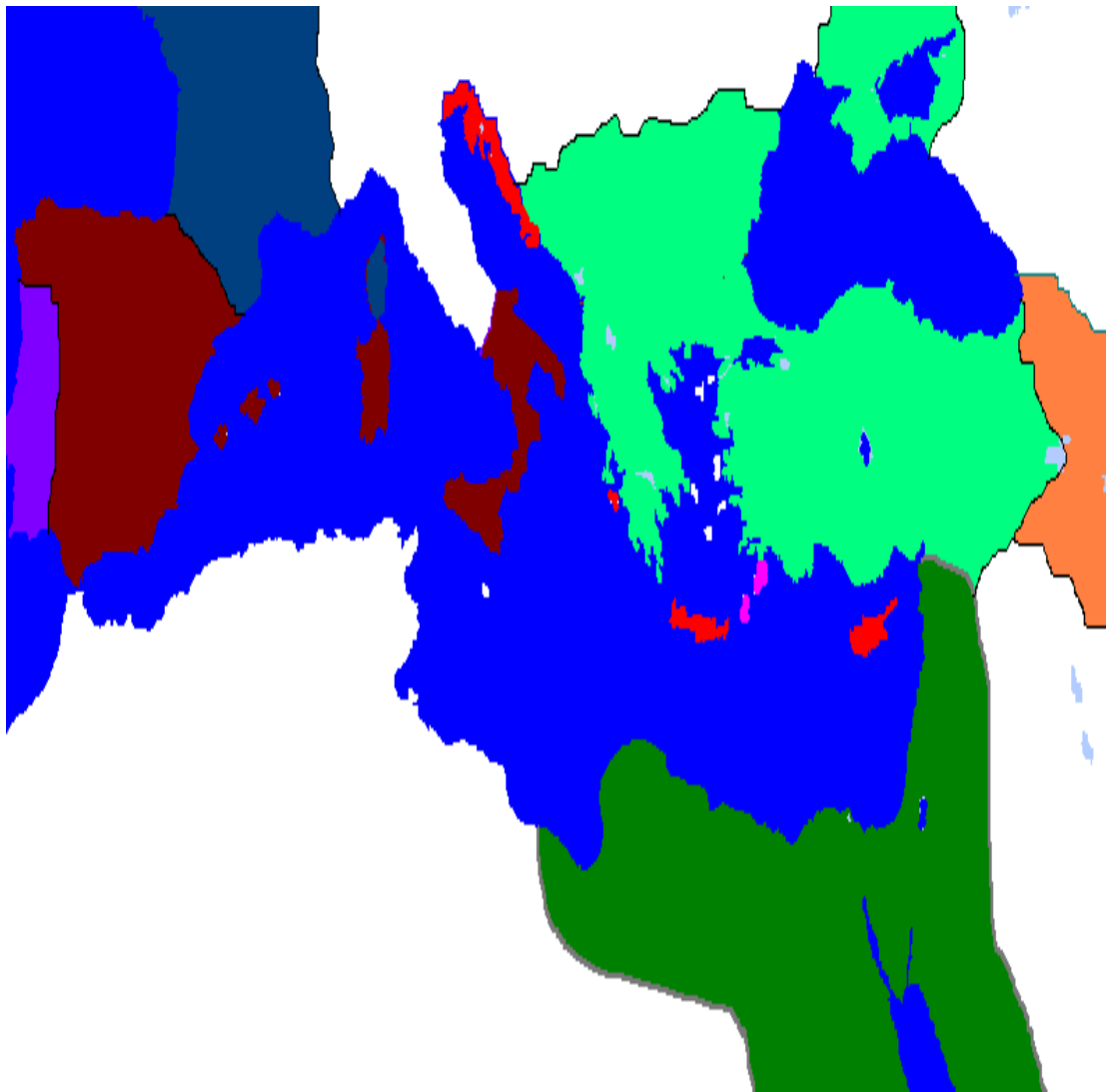
²²¹ Faroqhi, op.cit, p.201.

²²² MD 3, H. 1306.

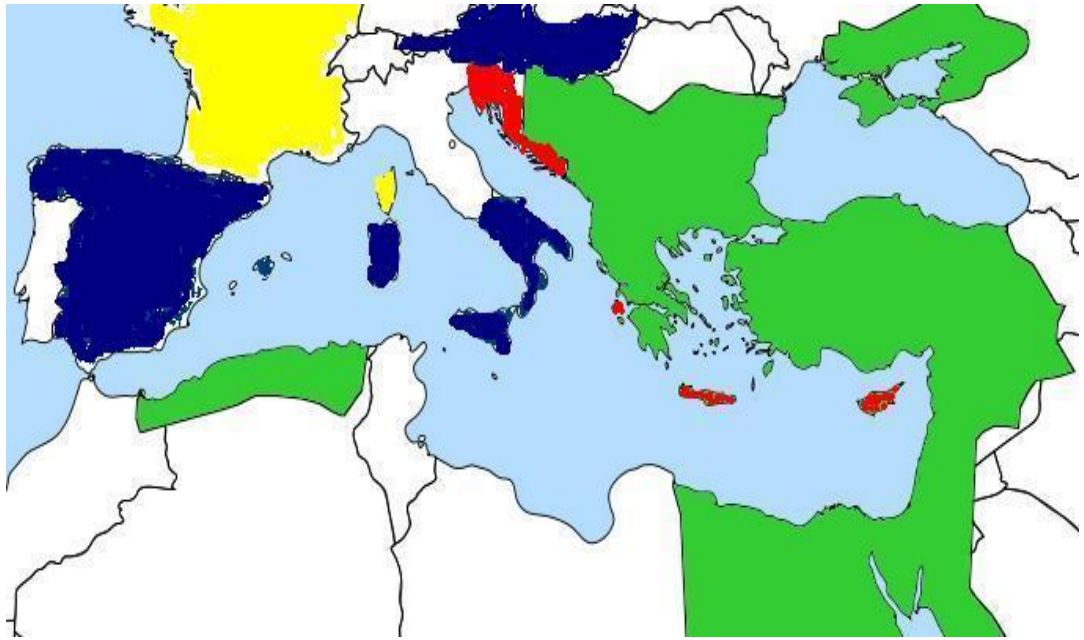
the Venetians within the borders of *Devlet-i Aliye* were arrested and kept until peace was established. For example, in 1537, although the Venetians were allowed to trade in the Ottoman ports by permission, *eman*, under the command of Andrea Doria, they attacked two Ottoman ships. Moreover they captured another Ottoman ship which was carrying officials and they killed all of them. Only one survivor reached the Ottoman Military. In this way, the Sultan ordered a campaign to be organized against the Venetian Gulf.²²³

²²³ Katip Çelebi, op.cit, pp.60-65.

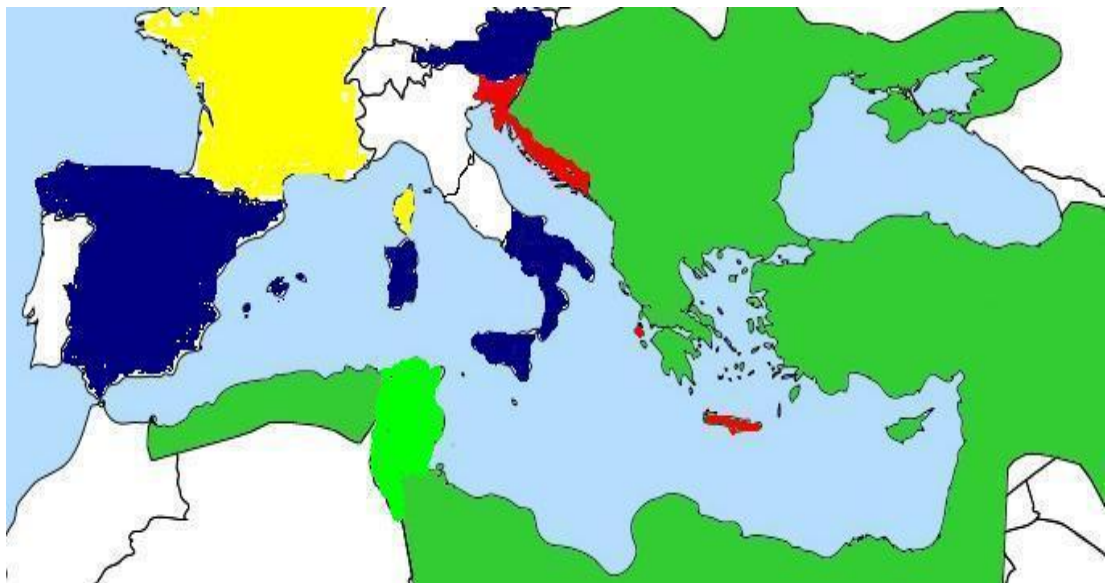
The political borders in the year 1515



- Light Green: the Ottomans
- Dark Green: the Mamluk Sultanate
- Brown: Iran Safevids
- Pink: the Knights of Rhodos
- Red: the Venetians
- Claret red: the Spanish Habsburgs
- Deep Blue: Kingdom of France
- Purple: Portugal



1522



1574

Green: the Ottomans
Red: the Venetians
Blue: the Spanish Habsburgs
Yellow: the Kingdom of France

After the crisis of 1499-1502 between the Sublime Porte and the Serenissima Republica di Venezia, similarly dialogue and diplomacy were disabled; moreover, the tension increased again between 1537-1540. So, the Ottoman Admiral Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha dropped anchor to find his Genoese original rival and hostile, Admiral Andrea Doria, in the Mediterranean to fight him. In this case, one of the famous Ottoman sea victories took place against the Crusader Armada near Preveza. Katip Çelebi expresses that when the Sultan was engaged in the campaign for Bogdan, the Ottoman Sea Power, *Donanma-yı Hümayun*, was seeking the allied navy from Venice, the Pope and the Spanish powers in the sea. In September, the allied navies dropped anchor very close to Preveza. The Christian Navies were consisting of over 600 war ships that 52 galleys were under the commandership of Andrea Doria, 70 Galleys of the Venetian General, 30 galleys of the Admiral of the Pope State, 10 galleys of the Portuguese King and other ships. However, the Islamic Navy was united with 122 galleys under the full control of Kapudan Pasha, Barbarossa Hayreddin. Just before the war, Barbarossa Pasha wrote down few verses of Holy *Kur'an* on paper and dropped them in the sea. He was not only considered a commander, but also saintly among the *Levendâs* who were the Ottoman fighters in the sea.

In Preveza, Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha beat Andrea Doria and the Ottomans won a significant war in the Mediterranean over their strong rivals. He returned to *Asitane* (the capital city) and a large party was held in the city.²²⁴ After this victory for the Ottomans, the Venetians requested diplomacy to get a new *ahidname* of the Sultan and a new *eman* was given to them in 1540 as presented above. It was sure that the commercial affairs and the communication jobs were in distress and could not work very easily. Thus, this caused a strong economic crisis in Venice and in the Balkans because the battles were taking place around the Adriatic regions.

The next Ottoman – Venetian crisis occurred between the years of 1570-1573 concerning the Island of Cyprus. Although the Venetians knew that Cyprus was captured by the Sultan, in the same year, gifts from Venice

²²⁴ Ibid, pp.72-73.

arrived to Istanbul for the ritual circumcision of the Prince. Furthermore, as an intelligence service of the Ottomans, the Sultan knew that the Venetians allied themselves with the Spanish to seek revenge for Cyprus.²²⁵ So, it appears that the Venetian Senate was acting as if were still friends by sending special gifts to the Ottoman Palace to gain time in order to complete the alliance and the military preparations. Thence, it was another time that the *ahidname* was disrupted and the *eman* was losing its validity one more time. Katip Çelebi explains that process:

“Cyprus was belong to the Venetian sovereignty. Although there was a peace between the Republic and *Devlet-i Aliye*, some pirates attacked Ottoman ships especially merchants and pilgrims on the route to Egypt. Moreover, an Ottoman official head of the provincial treasury was captured by the pirates and that made the Sultan very angry. After considered situations *Şeyh’ül Islam*²²⁶ Ebussuud Efendi declared a *fetwa*²²⁷ to permit the conquest of the island. He emphasised that it was a Muslim land a long time ago and today it had to be reconquered again. *Donanma-yı Hümayun* consisting of 360 ships, moved from Istanbul to get Cyprus on May. The Sultan also watched the departure of the navy from the harbor.”²²⁸

Even though the Crusader Armada could not save Cyprus, it defeated the Ottoman Navy in Lepanto.²²⁹ However, defeating an Ottoman Navy did

²²⁵ Selaniki, op.cit, pp.81-2.

²²⁶ “Leader of Education System, became an official representative in the State Council in the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent.” See Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, “*Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*”, M.E.B Istanbul 2004, v.3 p.347.

²²⁷ Proclaims of a judicial decision according to Islamic Law. See. idem. v.1 p.615.

²²⁸ Katip Çelebi, op.cit, pp.108-114.

²²⁹ Ibid, pp.114-120: “Pertev Pasha and Kapudan Ali Pasha came from Cyprus to Rhodos island to get some rest. They moved to meet the enemy navy to fight, but did not find any of them. Then they attacked the coasts of the Island of Crete. After taking many spoils, they also captured a few castles of the Venetians in the Mediterranean. Finally, they casted anchor to spend the winter in the harbor of Inebahtı (Lepanto). The enemy navies emerged there unexpected.

The enemy navys were: Venetians 100 galleys, the Pope 12, Marine 4, Malta 4, Spain 30, Genoa 10, Duke of Florance 10, Kalavri 4, Sicilia 12, Portugese 4 and others. (Hasan Beyzade gives numbers about the navies that the Crusader Armada was consisting of 300 ships while the Ottoman Navy was 250) The commanders were Andrea from Genoa, Marco Anton from Rome and the Spanish Captain Cevan Osteryako, who was a son of the Emperor of Austria Karl V as a boy of a fornication. The Venetian Captain was Sebastiano Vernio who was a Sir. When the Venetians’ food was gone, Spain gave them their decayed ship biscuits.

1571 October: Uluc Ali Pasha did not agree with Kapudan Ali Pasha for the fight. Pertev also agreed with him. However, Kapudan acted inordinately proud for a fight and the war took place between the powers. Kapudan Ali Pasha and many other captains lost their lives in this war while Pertev and Uluc Ali Pasha survived. The Ottomans lost the fight.

1572 July: The Venetians and other enemies would think that the Turks could not launch a navy to sea in this year while Kapudan Kılıc Ali Pasha moved to the Mediterranean with 234 galleys and 8

not provide any interest to Venice, but also caused damage both on eastern trade and diplomacy. After the war, the Venetians desired peace by making the French ambassadors the mediators between the Sultan and the Republic. They presented gifts and showed respect for a new friendship but also they continued attacking Ottoman ships in the sea.²³⁰ Katip Çelebi presents the same story like that in June 1573: the new *Donanma-yı Hümayun* moved to Avlonia to meet Venetian Navy or any other one. The enemies learnt that heavy Naval Forces put out to sea and did not move towards the Ottomans. Moreover, the Navy plundered the coasts of Pulia. Before they attacked places which belonged to the Venetians, they got a message from Istanbul that an agreement was made between the Doge and the Sultan. Some Venetian envoys came to the capital city and declared that the Venetian Doge payed homage to the Sultan and apologized for the last events. The Sultan ordered to not attack Venetian castles and ships but encouraged them to assault Spanish ships and places as possible.²³¹

Hence, when the Venetian Senate saw that supremacy was not possible by fighting the Ottomans, in order to defeat corruption and economic recession, the Venetians strongly needed to sign an *ahidname* of the Sultan to provide *eman* for them.

mavna. He met the Venetian Navy off of the Avarin coasts but both of them did not fight although they saw each other. The defeat and their coming to the Avarin coasts made the Sultan angry and he immediately ordered the building of a larger and stronger navy in a short amount of time.”

²³⁰ Hasan Beyzade Ahmed Pasha, *Hasan Bey-Zade Tarihi*, prep. by Şevki Nezihi Aykut, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2004, p.211.

²³¹ Katip Çelebi, op.cit, p.119.

CHAPTER 3

THE MANAGEMENT OF THE CYPRUS CAMPAIGN FROM THE CENTER

At the times when the international issues are not handled among the states through negotiation, as a result of the inactivity of diplomacy and the involvement of military action, great wars have come into existence during the course of history almost in every geography; some of them have reached until today with their effects. Since the approach of the world-wide states to the issues will be different from others, and if this state determines its actions with the policy of world-wide dominance, as the international issues are sometimes continued on peace by less efforts, sometimes as a consequence of understanding big conflicts of interest as a threat, war attempts will arise. The reason why the foreign policy of the USA, which completed the twentieth century as the world-wide state, is to be continued in each part of the world as having a goal, and to organize not only diplomatic but also cross-border military operations when required because of the probability that interests in very distant geographies can be taken by a rival or an enemy. This is undoubtedly to take the monopoly of the world with the opportunities history has given to them and to continue progressing by keeping its existing power. In this respect, the world-wide state of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Sovereignty, which determined its laws and world politics according to not secular rules but to its Islamic ideals unlike the modern-day claims, was organizing cross-border operations on its own legal ground for the prosperity of its internal interests and to abolish the external threats without letting them grow. An important point here is that some states prefer to draw the opposite side into war on a matter which they can handle at zero cost via diplomacy. While diplomatic negotiation seems more profitable in short-term appearances, in a long-term account, because on some issues, keeping peace can strengthen the rival or increase the number of the enemy; the understanding of defeating the enemy once with a more

burdensome cost, preventing the other rivals from turning into enemies and eliminating threats becomes the main principle of big states. However, weaker states always strive to not get harmed through diplomacy by giving some concessions, which is a necessity in a defensive policy.

Looking at the world in the sixteenth century, the Ottomans who introduced themselves as *Devlet-i Aliye* and acted with a self confident and determined state mechanism, acted in conformity with the policy of eliminating the threats before they grew, and not only used a firm hand to regulate the internal adjustment, but also in external problems, when they felt the presence of threat before them, they immediately tended towards military operation even without considering the agreement recommendations including some concessions of their enemies or rivals.

Similar to today's Turkey, the Island of Cyprus, was an international problem for the last century of *Devlet-i Aliye* and the Ottomans desired to conquer it during the sixteenth century, but the campaign was postponed because of other occupations. When it was 978 Hijri, 1570 in Gregorian, as a result of the heated discussions in Topkapi Palace, the Cyprus campaign was started by an ultimate organizational order. In this chapter, under the light of orders given by the palace, by handling the existing general conditions at the time of the Cyprus Campaign briefly, we will rather focus on the administration of the campaign from the center.

At this point, the basic resource will undoubtedly be numbered 7 and 12 *Mühimme Books*. We will handle such kinds of first-hand document collections which included official verdicts nearly recorded from the beginning to the end of the Cyprus Campaign, and which were turned into an esteemed registry book that some historians published from the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives under the areas of intelligence, navy control office and transportation

From Istanbul to Cyprus

The Ottoman Navy, consisting of three hundred and sixty ships, left the Istanbul shipyard accompanied by a ceremony which was also watched

by the Sultan in May. In July it dropped anchor in the Tuzla harbor of Cyprus and by landing troops, the Lefkose siege that would take three days began.²³² After the Lefkose Castle was conquered in September 1570, the Ottoman forces settling on the island were in constant communication with the center, and they were determining the position of war according to the orders sent by the intelligence centers. According to the taken news, with the encouragement of Venice and Papacy, the Latin Christian states were in preparation of a crusade and they were to come to aid Cyprus. As the Girne and Baf Castles surrendered peacefully so as not to face with the circumstance of Lefkose Castle, the last important castle, Magosa was only left. When the Ottoman Forces spent the winter with preparation and the following summer came, they started their military operation and before the ground soldiers set out towards Magosa, lest the possible enemy squadron reach for help, the Ottoman Navy weighed anchor next to the Magosa Castle in the southern part of the island. With the attendance of other mariners into two hundred and fifty ships under the administration of Vizier Pertev Pasha, they almost reached three hundred ships. While the Naval Forces were attempting this campaign, there was a considerable lack of oarsman and warriors.²³³ By having the troops landing with the *Devlet-i Aliye* Navy Forces, cannons and ammunition were vacated into the provinces in April 1571. At the time of the conquest of this castle, due to the fact that a tunnel dug by enemy miners exploded in only one place, nearly ten thousand Muslim soldiers were killed or injured.²³⁴ With the large attack of Anatolian soldiers on July 14, they got into the Castle and the sovereignty was taken at the end of July, in 1571; Magosa Castle (Gazimagusa) was conquered in a difficultly won triumph.

Leaving the region, the Ottoman Navy Forces with the purpose of precluding a Crusader Ally Navy from going to Cyprus, weighed anchor to the Morea Peninsula from the Rhodes-Crete route. However, since the sea season had passed, while some of the warriors and oarsmen in the navy

²³² Katip Çelebi, op.cit, pp.109-10

²³³ Ibid, p. 112.

²³⁴ Ibid, p.112.

were leaving after getting permission from their lords, as the land-owner's soldiers were generally on shore, the Ottoman Navy advanced towards the Inebahti Castle Harbor.²³⁵ On the other hand, it was newly learnt that it was close at hand a possible meeting with the Crusader Ally Forces. Eventually, the Ottoman Navy in Inebahti Harbor, which was in an inadequate situation, did not defend by retreating to the fore of the fortress in spite of the suggestion of Captain Uluc Ali Pasha and upon fighting against the Crusader Armada, it was beaten and experienced the famous sea defeat that drowned the "Invincible Turk", "*Forte come un Turco*", "*Grano Turco*" image lasting over a century in the history of the sea. What was lost was the invincible image of the Turk and Navy but the Island of Cyprus was not lost; in a year a more powerful Ottoman Navy was built and as a result of other changing conditions, two years later, Venice, by sending an ambassador for peace, would compromise with *Devlet-i Aliye* only after paying a burdensome compensation.

3.1 Intelligence Work

The Ottoman intelligence was working in an intensive way around the Adriatic; every day recent news was reaching the capital of the state. Although the intelligence system was not under a single organizational frame, by comparing the content of the information coming from various points, cautions were taken and orders were given to relevant places. For instance, mariners like Kara Hacı, who were running an illegal action in the Adriatic, were protecting the Ottoman shores against the enemy on one hand, and on the other hand, they were informing each situation they witnessed to the Center. Upon looking at the official correspondences, it is observed that a highly dense traffic of battle was experienced on the Istanbul-Avlonya-Dubrovnik line. Dubrovnik, a small merchant city state that was busy with commerce, was maintaining its existence as a rich Ottoman satellite state on the coast of the Adriatic in return for a certain exaction. This city was a center of intelligence, as they were conveying the information

²³⁵ Ibid, p.114

the merchants and groups got; significant news were being learnt. Dubrovnik's ambassadors were presenting various special news from the Adriatic to the Palace when they came to Istanbul. Before the Cyprus campaign was organized, the news²³⁶ sent by the Dubrovnikans which was about the conditions of the Venetian and Spanish forces during the process of dispatch and landing were facilitating the work of the Palace. In 978 Hijri, in the letter sent by the Palace to Dubrovnik, the Dubrovnikans were being appreciated since they had informed the Sultan about the one hundred galleys that the Spanish King Felipe II had sent to Venice to aid them, also other news about frengistan (a name used for Europe at that time by the Ottomans) and also the doings of the Pec King.²³⁷ In 979 Hijri, however, the Dubrovnikans conveyed crucial information at the time of war about the fact that the Venetian Navy was keeping a fleet around Crete, Bay and Koton.²³⁸ This service from them was fortifying the protection the Palace had for them.

The state officials who were behaving according to the domestic and foreign news coming from these centers were making their campaign organization considering this news. For example, before the Cyprus Campaign was organized, the Adriatic and Mediterranean general conditions were understood by benefitting from these sources of intelligence.

According to the permission he got from official authorities, Kara Hace was attacking the ships of the states with which *Devlet-i Aliye* was at war with, and was transmitting the news he took to the official authorities. In these raids, opposing spies were being captured. Around 1569, because he attacked the merchant ships of Venice, it disturbed the Dubrovnikans very much and embarrassed the state because of the complaints about him; thus, he was ordered to be arrested.²³⁹ The Venetians were repeating their disturbances by notifying the Palace that he was in Algeria.²⁴⁰ Not long later, Kara Hace must have gotten himself forgiven, for in another decree, he was assigned as the Ottoman Coast Guard, and was ordered to continue

²³⁶ MD 12, H. 205.

²³⁷ MD 12, H.266.

²³⁸ MD 12, H. 529.

²³⁹ MD 7, H. 1621.

²⁴⁰ MD 7, H. 2009.

intelligence work concerning the enemy without attacking Venetian districts.²⁴¹ Moreover, the mariners of Kara Haca, who was given even the *agha* of Avlonya Azepler, captured five people from the enemy ship that came from Crete to Venice in 978 Hijri and always sent intelligence to the Palace to demonstrate that he did his job more willingly. In the decree sent by the center, Kara Haca is ordered to join the Ottoman Navy under the rule of Vizier Pertev Pasha that will come around there, and obey the order of the Vizier.²⁴²

In another Sultanate decree, however, in the decision written to the Inebahti Ruler, he is warned from the center by being informed that it is not true that one hundred enemy ships will come to Inebahti. According to real intelligence news, some people from Inebahti *rayah* who were seeking Venetian interest were compassing in order to set the navy ships in the harbor on fire. He is also warned by the center about the necessity that arrangements and correspondence must be more disciplined so as to protect the region from internal and external dangers.²⁴³ Yet, in the complaint news Izdin Qadi sent, it is noted that one tax-paying subject and his three men from Izdin *rayah* were captured by Venice with the help of some Christian peasants who were Ottoman subjects. It is decreed that some of the guns sent from the Palace to Inebahti Castle should be left to Izdin for defense, and the Christian peasants accused of this treachery should be punished.²⁴⁴ These men whom the Venetians abducted were captured most probably to get intelligence, if not to be used in a captive exchange.

In another decision, however, in a written order sent from the center to the Anatolian and Rumelian Qadis, it is stated that the previous Duke of the Naksa Dukedom from the Aegean Isles betrayed the Ottoman State by going to Venice and allocating two hundred gold ducats for his own account and four hundred gold ducats for Papa's account; and that these men who

²⁴¹ MD 7, H. 2595.

²⁴² MD 12, H. 403.

²⁴³ MD 10, H.133/209 (Zülfiye Kaygusuz, op.cit.)

²⁴⁴ MD 10, H. 134/210 (ibid.)

also gave disturbance by wandering by frigates, must be caught.²⁴⁵ Since it was definitely forbidden to send cereal abroad from the country of the Sultan without getting permission, the intelligence about this issue was being written to the center. According to such news, the Algerian Grand Senior, Kapudan Pasha was given a written order that the enemy ships that took grains from Ottoman lands must be immediately caught in the sea and it must be learnt from which port and whom they took it.²⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the Dubrovnikans were not the only foreign state that had the aim of ingratiating with the Ottoman State for the sake of their interests; France which had been acting with privileges in every field in the Ottoman regions, was sharing intelligence with the Sultan. The French King, by sending an ambassador to Istanbul, was giving important and useful information that would be good for the Sultan as well as the information about its own domestic problems with the Lutherans who protested the Catholic Church. For example, the King posted such crucial information that the King of Pec asked for help from the German Seigneurs and was making preparations, and the Spanish King sent an ambassador to Venice.²⁴⁷ As a reply to this, the Sultan, who sent a very elegant official notice, congratulates the King for his sharing of intelligence and advises him to act carefully. Accordingly, France was granted privileges as long as they coincided with the Ottoman State's interests. For instance, while various Western states that entered the Ottoman ports with the French flag could proceed in the sea in safety since they were provided protection, for the provision of such a huge price as one hundred and fifty thousand gold ducats which was the claim of the Naksa Duke, Jewish Yasef Nassi, by sending Sultanate orders to the Egyptian governor it is ordered that only from French flag ships and merchants was this price to be collected.²⁴⁸ With the happenings of such kinds of international events and their management, a decree dispatch list was being sent from the center to such state representatives as the environment, border units, and the governor, Bey,

²⁴⁵ MD 7, H 1555.

²⁴⁶ MD 7, H. 1650.

²⁴⁷ MD 7, H 2756.

²⁴⁸ MD 7, H 2666,2695.

Qadi and Captain. In a Palace proclamation in 978 Hijri, the Sultan, with the help of intelligence that came from spies working in enemy states to the center, promptly conveyed to the Algerian Grand Senior that the Pope, the Portuguese and Spanish Kings had created a large navy and posed a threat. For this reason, he ordered the Algerian Grand Senior to attend the Ottoman Navy that will preclude the enemy navy from going to Cyprus after he submits the arms and ammunitions that he had been carrying.²⁴⁹

Because the Venetians had been in the Balkans before the Ottomans, even though these lands belonged to the Sultan's country, there were the Christians who favored the Venetians. In 978 Hijri, the spies who disguised and wandered in Hersek and collected intelligence were caught and sent to Istanbul.²⁵⁰ These spies were not only gathering information but also they were provoking the Christian public, particularly the peasants, into rebellion. In Yanya and Delvine, some mutineers refused to pay the tax and moved to ally with Venice; the center after learning this, decreed that the insurgents be punished.²⁵¹

Whenever the Ottoman-Venetian affairs were stretched, some types of mutinies in the Balkans and troubles that take a long time to be ruled out came into existence. From Cyprus Campaign's past to its end, this situation continued so. Since such events as the *rayah* rebellion in Delvine, the matter of Christian groups²⁵² who attempted to capture the Ottoman castles by allying with the Venetians began to rise and the center had to find solutions to these problems.

3.2 The Navy Administration

Each expedition whose name passes in the flow of history, no matter if it is on land or sea, absolutely needs intelligence activities and reconnaissance parties in order to progress in safety. The Army improves according to the prosperity of these parties in their work. Even the most

²⁴⁹ MD 12, H.211.

²⁵⁰ MD 12, H.291.

²⁵¹ MD 12, H.315.

²⁵² MD 12, H.391.

powerful army of the time can have disappointments due to the fact that these parties become weaker. In the Cyprus Expedition as well, the Sultanate Army was in constant correspondance with the center in accordance with the conditions of the term, just like every moment of the army was conveyed to the center; the recently arriving news from the center reached to the Army Sirdar.

Captain Ali Pasha, who was carrying the necessary equipment and ammunition for the conquest of a big island, and the Ottoman Navy under the command of the experienced seaman Vizier Piyale Pasha arrived in Cyprus two months after its departure from the Istanbul Harbor. The ships in this navy had three hundred and sixty ships in total and consisted of :

180 Galiot

10 Barge

170 Karamursel.²⁵³

The Army was, however, under the Fifth Vizier Lala Mustafa Pasha Commandment, was composed of Anatoliand and Rumelian soldiers, and the flag officers who joined the expedition with their soldiers were:

the Governor of Anatolia, Iskender Pasha,

the Governor of Karaman, Hasan Pasha,

the Governor of Maraş, Mustafa Pasha,

the Governor of Aleppo, Dervis Pasha,

Muzaffer Pasha,

Rumelian Soldiers:

Tırhala

Yanya

Morea

Elbasan

Except for Prezerin Beyler's soldiers, five thousand janissari, armorers and cannoneers.²⁵⁴

²⁵³ Katip Çelebi, op.cit, p.109.

²⁵⁴ Ibid, p.109.

When the navy was in Fenike, it waited for twenty days for the Anatolian Army, which had just set out. Then with the army loaded on the navy, it lifted anchor for Cyprus and on July 25 1570, it was anchored off of the coast of the island. After the Commander-in-chief, Lala Mustafa Pasha set foot on the land and settled in his tent, thus began the organization of a system for the siege of Lefkose Castle.²⁵⁵ The Algerian Grand Senior, Uluc Ali Pasha hadn't arrived yet. At the end of July, when the army landed on the island, Uluc Ali Pasha had met a strong Maltese fleet between Tunisia and Malta, waged war against it and destroyed the enemy.

Then, when his own ships came into the situation of needing reparations, he had to recede to Tunisia. Yet, one of his captains, the well-known Kare Hacı caught up with the Lefkose Battle with his soldiers in compliance with the command he had taken beforehand from the center. Thus, Uluc Ali Pasha did not attend the Cyprus Expedition, but after the conquest of the island, he reached the Ottoman Navy near the shores of Crete with his twenty ships and joined the Inebahti War. In this war too, by arriving in the capital, Istanbul as the single fleet that damaged the Malta ships but survived the rout and coming into the Sultan's presence and taking the nickname Kilic, he was to be complimentarily gratified with Captain of the Sea.

3.3 Supplies Shipment and Shipping

After the expedition decision was made from the center, while soldiers and ammunitions were composed for the armys thanks to the declarations sent to many provinces of the Ottoman lands, it was also ordered that an abundant rate of food be prepared. The *Al-i Osman* rule that wanted to reap the benefits of such great experiences as previously in, conquering an isle like Rhodes in 1522 that is close to the same geography, Djerba isle in 1560 in a far geography, or five years after this in 1565 besieging the Island of Malta, was making the shipment via experienced statesmen in their fields. Katip Celebi states that with the food shipment that came from all parts of

²⁵⁵ Ibid, p.110.

the country, the ports became full.²⁵⁶ In tens of declarations sent to qadi, governors and flag officers, some orders about shipping provisions from some provinces to some ports for the Cyprus Expedition are given. Nevertheless, the fleets of Rhodes, Sakız, Agriboz and Midilli Beys were also making ships so as to dispatch soldiers coming from Anatolia and Syria to Cyprus. These ships were participating Vizier Mustafa Pasha under the command of Iskenderiye Bey.²⁵⁷

The Result of the Expedition

As the significance of the Island of Cyprus in the Mediterranean made it a balance center among the powers, the power that could take it and keep it under its control was going to have a very precious base against its rivals. Though the base of the nineteenth century world-wide state England is still present in this island, these English bases on Cyprus are the haunts of the aircraft carriers of the twentieth century world-wide country, the USA and the Mediterranean fleet of the NATO Navy. In response to the fact that the Cyprus Greek Republic's Army tyrannized the Turkish public, the island was partially taken back through the Turkish Republic's military operation in 1974 both from air and land. The Turkish soldiers landing on the northern part of Cyprus reconquered the half of the island as a result of the failure of the Cyprus Greek Republic's Army, supported by Greece. Following this event, international crises have reappeared today and could still not be solved. At the time of this landing, the Turkish and Greek armies, who had not had a war experience since World War I. made non-ignorable mistakes. Because of communication mistakes between the Turkish Air Force and the Sea Force, the Turkish aircrafts bombarded three warships which belonged to the Turkish Navy supposing that they were from the Greek Navy, and also sank a ship named *Kocatepe*. The inconclusive defence of Cyprus Greek Republic's Army and the Greek Army Forces against the Turkish Army proved that they were impotent to protect the island without receiving another power's help. Henceforth, the Island of Cyprus, keeping its strategic value even today,

²⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 109.

²⁵⁷ MD 12, H. 215.

thanks to a grand organization at the time of the Ottoman conquest and the fact that that Sultan's ultimate authority was used with considerable discipline, quick results were obtained by means of the superior behavior ability performed by perfect Ottoman statesmen and obedience to order. In spite of the *Singin Donanması* (Lepanto) rout that occurred just after that, Cyprus was conquered as a respected result. Piyale Pasha, an old and experienced Captain, joined this expedition with the rank of Vizier, Lala Mustafa Pasha, who is of Bosnian origin and a relative of Sokullu Mehmet Pasha, was appointed as the commander-in-chief of the expedition. With the commander-in-chief's respect to the older, experienced admiral,²⁵⁸ Vizier, and his conformable movements, the administration of the expedition progressed in a discipline and order from the beginning to the end. Even though the Catholic Crusade and Christian Ally Forces composed of the Venetian encouragement and Papacy efforts at sea defeated the Ottoman Navy in September 1570, after Lefkose, the second biggest fortress of Cyprus, Famagusta (Gazimagusa) in 1571 two months after its capture by the Islamic Army, with a damaged armada in a bad condition, they could not attempt to recapture the Island of Cyprus by maintaining the campaign. Evaluating the issue from a different perspective, although the Crusader Armada captured Djerba Island and Castle in 1560, in the same year they were beaten by the Ottoman Navy that came to the rescue and they left the island to the Turkish rule again. In other words, the completely defeated allies of the Latin Navy could not hold the Djerba Castle and it was defeated both at sea and on land. Ten years after this event, the Turks conquered the Island of Cyprus with its castles, at this time, the Crusader Armada intended to retake the island by coming to their help. Because the Crusader victory was realized quite further from Cyprus, on the western coast of the Morea Peninsula, the rest of them could not reach the Island. Thus, Cyprus was left to Turkish rule.

²⁵⁸ With its movement into the European Languages, the word Admiral, *El-Emir El-Ma* (Emir of the Water) was beginning to be used as *Amirale* in Latin and *Admiral* in English. (1001 Inventions) Instead of Admiral, the Ottomans called that rank as "Kapudan Pasha". Admiral passed to Turkish as *Amiral* in the modern era.

With the capture of all points that bear crucial importance for the continuation of a Venetian State, *il Doge* country that holds only a strategic place like Crete, incurred great losses in the 16th century with the lost places. To prevent the Ottoman Navy that was sent by the Sultan for the conquest of Crete, and that would set out from Istanbul in the 17th century, from passing Canakkale, the Venetian Navy could achieve closing the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus between 1650 and 1657 for such a long time of seven years even if it was quite difficult. Drawing lessons from the loss of Cyprus eighty years prior that it could not prevent, Venice closed the Dardanelles and cut the Crete campaign from its central administration. Venice embarked on this work so as not to live the same outcome that it lived eighty years ago. When this barrier was passed over by the Ottoman Navy in 1657, just as it happened with Cyprus in the 16th century, the way to dispatch the Navy and shipment to Crete was opened and Crete, the last castle of Venice in the Mediterranean was captured by the Turks. From hencepoint forward, Venice began to collapse more and more and a century later, lived its last term. It is understood from here that even if the Turkish Navy was defeated in Inebahti, it prevented the enemy sea forces from coming to Cyprus and defending the rest of the island. Thus, this important Mediterranean island the Ottomans conquered, was opened to employment under the Turkish rule. For, in spite of the fact that the Allied Forces came out victorious, they could not pass east of the Morea Peninsula. Although the victory celebrations began in Europe, since the help of Western powers did not arrive in short time, the resistance of this aforementioned island ended completely. Though the efforts of Venetian infantry Marco Antoni Bragadin, who was in a struggle to stall the Ottoman forces and provide the Crusader Allies who had come to the help busy the Turkish military operation, in August 1571, it went bankrupt and the Castle which would be named Gazimagusa later fell into the hands of the Ottomans. Bragadin was killed.²⁵⁹ Two months after the Inebahti War, the Allied Crusader Armada and the Ottoman Navy met off the coast of Inebahti and they fought. In spite of the

²⁵⁹ Katip Çelebi, *op.cit*, p.113.

fact that the Ottoman Navy was defeated, it did not let the Crusader Navy go and save Cyprus. In another Ottoman conquest attempt eighty years after this, if there had been a Turkish Navy that would have met the Venetian Armada which came to the Dardanelles and closed the Bosphorus to impede shipment, off the coasts of the Morea Peninsula even at the cost of being defeated, the Istanbul-Crete connection would not have been cut for such a long time as seven years. Moreover, probably the conquest of Crete could have resulted not in such a long time as twenty-four years, but within a shorter time with a one year military operation just like in the situation of Cyprus.

In the strategic use of Cyprus, however, there was a Venetian island which was not only used by Muslim pilgrims on their way to Hijaz but also used by the European Christians on their way to Palestine to become pilgrims. This island was particularly visited by the ships that set out from Venice. But that this island was in the hands of Christians did not mean that Western ships could easily go there. Each state which wanted to travel in the route to the island had to be in peace with the Sultan. For instance, due to their being an ally of the Sultan, the French could proceed comfortably in the routes without having an island. Yet, the enemy of the Sultan, the Spanish could face Turkish pirates' attacks even off their own coasts like Barcelona. The United Italian State (the Kingdom of Italy) which gained power in the twentieth century, by going to Tripoli, was saying "we did not come to occupy, but returned to our previous Roman lands" in order to justify their occupation of Libya that they called with its ancient name. Partially similar to this, *Devlet-i Aliye*, in the 16th century, when it was a world-wide state, organized this campaign on such legal grounds by using his power as "Cyprus was a base for the pirates that gave harm to him, Venice which was in a state of peace did not stop this; furthermore, it was already an Islamic land and it was necessary to be retaken"

Finally, after a critical process, a desired but delayed operation took place and the conquest of Cyprus was carried out through a quite successful central administration.²⁶⁰

²⁶⁰ For those who would like to see the conquest of Cyprus from more different aspects, these studies are advised:

- I. İdris Bostan published a campaign diary of a person who attended the Cyprus Operation: “Kıbrıs Seferi Günlüğü ve Osmanlı Donanması’nın Sefer Güzergahı”, *Osmanlı Denizciliği*, Kitap Yayınevi, 2008 İstanbul.
- II. Maria Pia Pedani touched on points about Cyprus in her article: “Some Remarks upon the Ottoman Geo-Politic Vision of the Mediterranean in the period of the Cyprus War (1570-1573)”, *Frontiers of the Ottoman Studies: State, Province, and the West*, v.2, Edited by. Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki and Rhoads Murphey, I.B. Tauris, 2005 London-New York.
- III. Vera Constantini studied the Venetians in Cyprus and the Cyprus War in her Doctoral study and this was published as a book: *il Sultano e L’isola Contesa*.

CONCLUSION

Finally, in touching shortly upon the Venetian comprehension of state and the Ottomans' mentality of what defines the state: the Venetian Republic was a marine and merchant state that was under the rule of noble families on the seaside; a state that was Catholic but far from the Pope and had an effort in determining its own policy; a state that didn't have a position of becoming a leader of the Christian world, and could abuse religion by making it a vehicle for its own business; a state that had its own administrative council; and a state that collected a heavy tax from its Orthodox people whose faith was different from theirs. In this republic, the right to elect and to be elected belonged only to the men from noble families. In spite of the existence of the church at every step, Venice was one of the famous prostitution centers of its time and *Venetian prostituta* is a reality. For this reason, Alvise, the illegitimate son of well-known Doge Andrea Gritti from a Greek woman when he was in Istanbul, could not build a career in Venice; thus, he settled in Istanbul and preferred to live here.²⁶¹ However, in the Ottoman country, the origin of a person did not matter, it was enough for him to demonstrate his maturity in state affairs or trade. Hence in the Venetian Republic, the mentality was that the public was not for the state, but the state was for public. The dominant class was never leaving its place; they were maintaining the presence of the city, or the Venetian State in domestic and foreign affairs. The leaders of this aristocracy were named as *patriciani*.

The mentality of the Ottomans was, however, very different from both that of Venice and many of its rivals. According to the dominant mentality of the Turks: "The word of *Padishah* is over all words" and therefore, nobody can side against the Sultan and state administration even if they are not content with the existing ruler and rule. The public is for the state. For, if there is a state, then there is public. If there is no state, the goals of this life

²⁶¹ Pedani, *Le Carte del Sultano*, ASV.

like religion, chastity, family and freedom are imperiled. And the safety of these can only be provided by the state.

Then, if the public is for the state, the state becomes for the public. Due to this, excluding the Shiah, the majority of the Sunni Islamic world obeyed the Turkish Caliphate in Istanbul and in some places, they accepted obeying the Sultan as something of a religious duty and obligatory. In spite of the fact that a similar religious understanding, "The Crusade Spirit" was present in the Roman Catholic Church, the Europeans could not handle their domestic problems and compose a certain ally under the rule of an absolute ruler; thus, they lost against the Ottomans in war and diplomacy for centuries. Nonetheless, Devlet-i Aliye was not accepted for a dynasty except for the Ottomans and thus the survival of the state could be enabled for seven centuries without being broken up. Since there is not a concept of noble aristocrat in the Ottoman land, if a vizier did wrong, he would be expelled, executed or when he retired for rest due to his age, his son or family could not lay claim in place of him. Even though a family like Köprülüler supported the Ottoman Family for a long time and determined the direction for the safety of the state, this occurred not as a judicial right, but via the chance they were given by the history. But, it is just the opposite in Venice and families such as *Mocenigo*, *Pesaro*, *Foscari*, *Contarini* always participated in the rule of the state, which turned the Venetian state into a company in which noble families were involved. In other words, in fact, Venice was like a big company that performed internationally big affairs.²⁶²

Until the modern time, the Ottomans acted according to their customs and they determined the law according to their own rules. The Ottoman Law was based upon the Islamic Law principles. As Baumer drew attention in his article, the negotiation capability of the old Italian states in the Christian world that came together with the Muslims began to rise up when the Christians became secularized, and learnt how to negotiate with the people whom they saw as enemies of the faith, and they gained successes that they could not even dream. Yet, this became a new development that collapsed

²⁶² The photos of these families' houses in the appendix.

old diplomatic states like Venice, because from now on, new opponents such as the Dutch, English and Portuguese arose. And by strengthening their political connection with Istanbul within a short time, these states went beyond the Mediterranean and took hold of new markets. Thus, what was coming down was not only the Ottoman-Venice relations, but also the sea dominancy of both sides.

While examining the historical Ottoman-Venetian affairs, the correlation of France with these affairs emerges itself. As referred briefly above when required, in the sixteenth century, France was seriously protected by the Ottomans. Furthermore, these helped to cost France thousands of golden coins to the Ottoman State. For, the commercial affairs with France earned the Ottoman ports more than this amount.

In the first quarter of the century, by the invitation of France, the Ottomans penetrated into the heart of Europe. The Ottomans landed on Toulon and stayed there about one year. In order to divide the possible allies that could be made up against the Ottoman State in Europe, and to break up their communities by keeping France separate from the other Europeans, serious importance was given to France. But this situation was making the French disrespectable in the eyes of their Catholic co-religionists. When Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha wanted to enter Rome by Tivere River while he was passing across the coast of Rome, the allied French General coaxed him to depart from this idea. For, this would return to France as a very big problem. The Pope could excommunicate the French King. In the Ottoman-French ally that continued during the whole sixteenth century, utmost importance was being given to the French merchants and statesmen. The Sultan, who did not sell strategic stuff like means of war even during peace time, first granted to France the demand of powder from him in 1545 even though he never sold it to them. Here, we witness a super state stalling another state who was under its own patronage. In our day and age, the big countries do the same thing to their allies.

Seeing the fact that history proceeded by repeating itself, from the disperal of the Roman Empire to the end of the sixteenth century, the

situation of Europe is like the corrupted state of geography named as "the Middle East" by the West. In the "Modern Age" the table of corrupted states and societies of the Islamic world resemble very much the long-lasting bloody wars of religion, bloody raids done to places of worship, the mentalities of terror that legitimatizes killing each other, corrupted religious rituals, an exhausted body of society and the statesmen who demand mediation from outside, the collaborations counted as treachery and moreover, the table lived in the "Middle Age" and "New Age" Europe.

Save for the Ottoman official correspondances, just as the annals are of high importance to look at San Marco from the Ottoman intellectuals' point of view, so as to look at the Ottomans from the Venetians' perspective, it is necessary to examine *Relazione* and *Dispacci* books.

It is interesting with regard to the Ottoman chronicles that the Venetians are called as unbelievers almost all over the pages. It is obviously known that the effect of the religious approaches on the societies was quite influential concerning the Middle Ages. In this case, the Venetians and the Ottomans would consider each other as true enemies in all senses in the chronicles, even if some of them were official. Although there were Venetians who believed that to run an eye over a non-Christian is sin and if it meets a Muslim in Venice, directly it goes to a dark and narrow place to punish his/her eyes for seeing an infidel;²⁶³ there were also some Venetian noblemen who desired strongly to get together with Turkish envoys.²⁶⁴ On the other hand, distinct stories exist that after a bloody battle there were captives who converted to Islam, such as the Venetian, Garino, in 1654.

All the chronicles and secondary sources considered, it appears that the Venetians were linked with the Ottoman ports as was necessary during the Middle Ages. The Sultan was on the way of the conquest of the important cities and strategic places in the Mediterranean and that caused the Venetians to worry if their commercial and political interests were under threat. According to the chronicles, it is obvious that the islands in the

²⁶³ Peçevi, op.cit, p.107.

²⁶⁴ Kumrular, op.cit. p.275.

Mediterranean were significant places for trade and sea connections and he who controlled them would benefit strongly as Suleyman the Magnificent said "he who controls the seas controls the world". That's why the Venetians would encourage the other European states under the framework of a Christian Crusade on the sea against the Ottomans; but after the war, the first were the Venetians to make peace with the Turks. It shows that Venetians used religion as an instrument for its international politics and interests. The Doge could organize a more powerful military against Grano Turco if he appeals to Christian allies. Otherwise, Venice was always to face a danger to lose new territories. In this way, the Venetians used the Spanish Navy many times. After the war and the peace, Venetian – Ottoman relations would develop by another way while the Ottoman – Spanish relations would get worse. On the other hand, a paper signed by the Bailo could help a seaman in the Mediterranean when the two sides' ships met each other, which was kind of a passport of the time. Meanwhile, it appears that Ottoman statesmen would try to use the *Bailo* for their quarrel like an internal drama like when few Venetian ships were confiscated by Kapudan Ali Pasha in 1618, Sadrazam Mehmet Pasha encouraged the Venetian ambassador to appeal to the Sultan to aim that they were not war ships but trade ships. In other words, it shows that the *Bailo* would look out for the situations among the Ottoman statesmen.

Venice was powerful in both maritime business and naval developments. In this case, Spain and the Venetian Republic would push the Ottomans to build great navies in the sea to save their ships and transports and more to have superiority against the rivals. In other words, the rise of the Ottoman naval powers developed as a required condition to provide security at the beginning, and then to defeat those Latin enemies in the sea. Katip Çelebi states significance of geographic and maritime science by saying "Geographic science is absolutely required to be considered for state affairs. Those cursed infidels attached importance for that science and reached India and the New World. Moreover, a kingdom called by *Duka*, such as Venetians,

were known as fisherman before, came to barricade the strait, Dardanel, of *Devlet-i Aliyye*²⁶⁵."

On land, Venice and Austria would try to use each other against the Ottomans while the Venetians would encourage the Croatians and the other Balkan peoples to revolt against the Sultan. That neighborhood was also lasting with the border situations between the Republic and the Ottomans.

Concerning the heritage from that historical relationship of those centuries reflected each century not only politically and commercially, but also in the social space. The actions of the Ottoman pirates and pirates on the Italian peninsula and other Southern European coasts caused an image about the Turks that they are horrible and very strong people who plunder Christian settlements and capture people at every age to sell as slaves. For example, mothers used to frighten their kids with Turks like Kemal Reis when they cried and/or misbehaved.²⁶⁶ In this way, that fear reflected into the Italian languages as phrases about Turks such as "*Mamma gli Turchi!*" which means "Mam! Turks coming!" and "*forte come un Turco*" means "strong like a Turk". As assistant of Hayreddin Pasha says the Venetian and other enemies called him Barbarossa, or red beard, and they would swear against him. Although the Pasha knew it, it did not disturb him, but was glad to be frightening the enemies of Islam. However, in the Turkish language there is no such sayings considering any fear from a nation. The Venetian and other Italians borrowed words in Turkish about political and commercial terms in usage such as *banca*, *iskonto*, *police*, *iskarpin* and maritime terms such as *kapudano*²⁶⁷ (*kapudan*), *borda*, *coperta (güverte)*, *timone (dümen)*, *alla banda (alabanda)*, *a blocca (abluka)*, *fortuna (firtina)*, *ballamezza (balyemez)*, *filo*, *fora*. On the other hand, the Venetian merchants took coffee from Istanbul to Venice and the coffee culture expanded throughout Europe from the streets of Venice.

²⁶⁵ Katip Çelebi, op.cit, p.17.

²⁶⁶ Ibn Kemal, op.cit, p.145.

²⁶⁷ Katip Çelebi states that *Kaptan* is taken from the Italian language into Turkish usage. Muslim Turks captured Anatolia and reached the Mediterranean and started to use maritime terms of Greek and Latin such as *Alarga*, *Alabanda*, *Funda*, *Orsabuca*. op.cit, p.165.

With regards to diplomacy, it obviously appears in the chronicles that Venetian ambassadors were under arrest when a war broke out between the Ottomans and the Venetians or if the *Bailo* was found guilty of espionage. Concerning the diplomatic dialogue for consultation, although the Venetian envoy sings another tune while they handle the castle case, the Ottoman Pasha never compensates or tolerates in diplomacy as he trusts his state and the power of the Sultan. It shows that the Ottomans direct the rules of diplomacy by insisting in their supremacy and they determine the concept of how they think. Thus, the Venetians would be expected to flatter during their relations with the Turks. In other words, power rules the style of negotiation as always. In addition, British diplomacy started to be involved with the Mediterranean states by the second half of the 17th century. In 1653, by British mediation, the Venetians sent an envoy to Istanbul even if Ottoman - Venetian relations were bad²⁶⁸.

The Ottoman intellectuals also had comments about the Venetian and other Latin languages. For example, Katip Çelebi, who translated geographic works in Latin to Turkish and compared them with each other, says that the best Italian language is the Toscana dialect, while the Venetian dialect is the worst.²⁶⁹ İbrahim Peçevi also discribed Venice and the Venetians in his work as a city of wealthy and hypocritical people like other Ottoman intellectuals who also define the Venetians as the biggest enemy of Islam,²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ a lying and cursed peoples and fisher-infidels.²⁷²

Concerning the political system, Naima who is the first official chronicler of *Devlet-i Aliyye* criticizes the Venetian system as pointless and that the council causes a loss of time due to the disputes in it,²⁷³ while the Venetians also regard the Ottoman system as very strange because a childlike *şehzade* can be a Sultan very young.

²⁶⁸ Naima, op.cit, p.1433.

²⁶⁹ Lewis, op.cit, p.93.

²⁷⁰ Peçevi, op.cit, p.107.

²⁷¹ Katip Çelebi, op.cit p.67.

²⁷² Naima, op.cit, p.1298.

²⁷³ Ibid, p.909.

Besides all of these things, the Venetian rulers got involved with the Turks out of their vital necessity and self-interests in the East, and efforts to keep their position in the Christian world, although co-religionists accused the Venetians of flattering the Turk. On the other hand, the Turks considered the Venetians as self-seeking and distrustful people, but the Venetians used to arrange their affairs with proficiency through a balanced policy until its collapse in 1797. After the golden age of the supremacy struggle of the Venetians and the Ottomans in the Mediterranean started to decrease, Venice fell down at the end of the 18th century and the Ottomans' Mediterranean supremacy and power decreased towards the end of the 19th century. Today, the historical embassy of Venice in Istanbul is used as an Italian consulate while a honorary Turkish consulate's flag waves in Venice as a memory of the old centuries. The building *Fontego dei Turchi* is used as a National Museum in the street *Salizada del Fontego dei Turchi*. In the old ages, some envoys and merchants of both sides would get together for diplomacy or to trade; today, grandchildren of both sides get together to understand the heritage of the old days by researching archives in Venice (Archivio Stato Venezia) and in Istanbul (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri), and discuss the events in seminars and in academic areas. The documents of those archives complete each other to write the history down from various aspects.

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Maps

(I have prepared all the maps to display the routes and the political borders by editing on the simple maps I have taken from wikipedia.)

Photographs

Cafer Talha Şeker (2008 Venezia)

APPENDIX



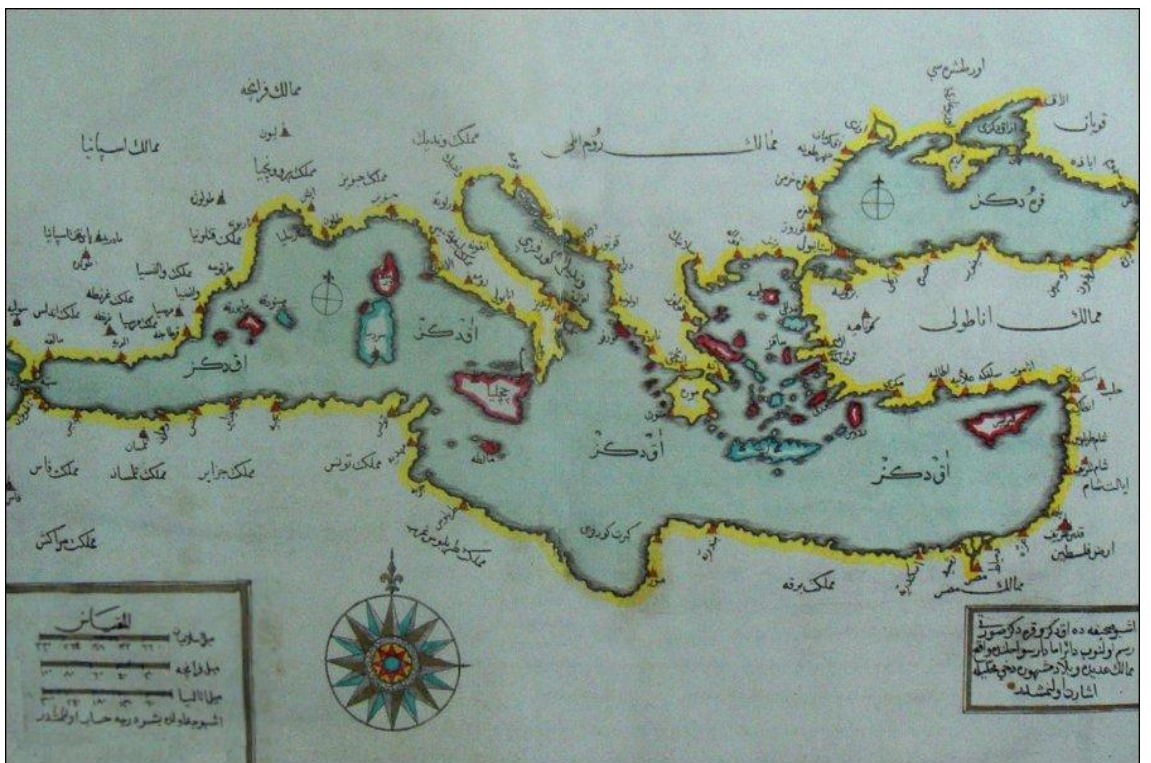
A summary of a Ferman of the Sultan which allows Italian merchants to trade in the Ottoman ports.

Date: AH 996 (AD 1587)

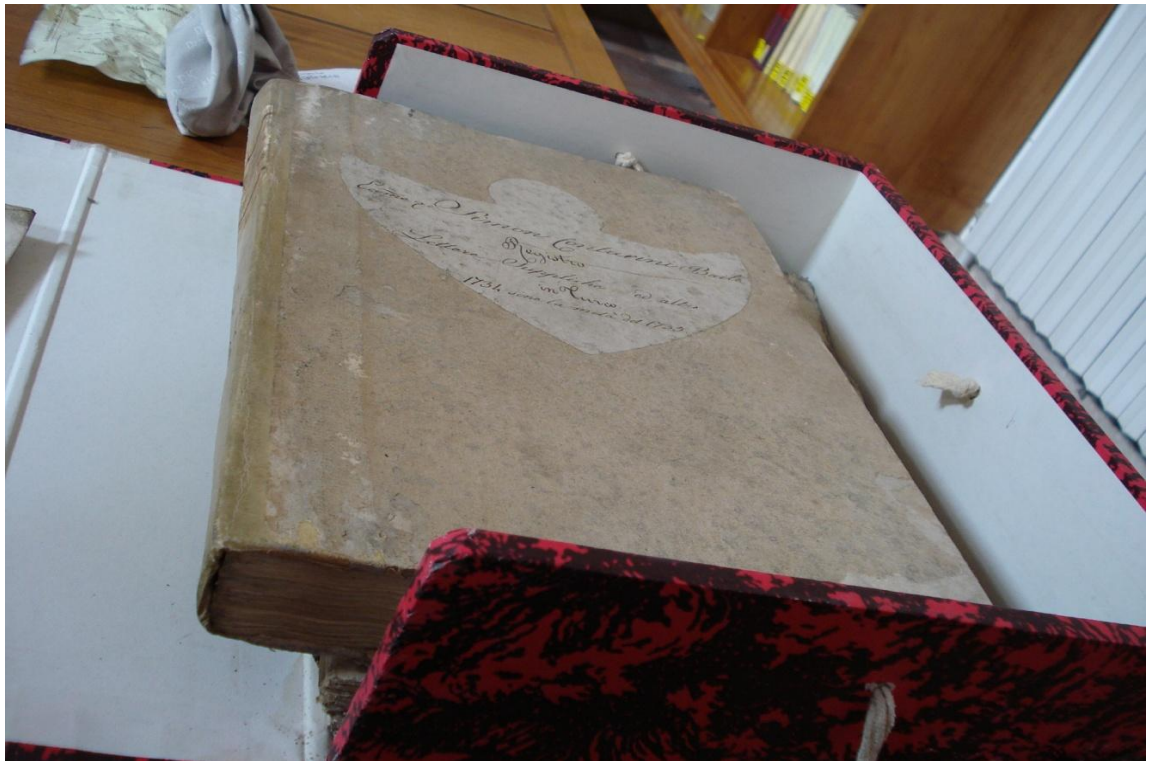
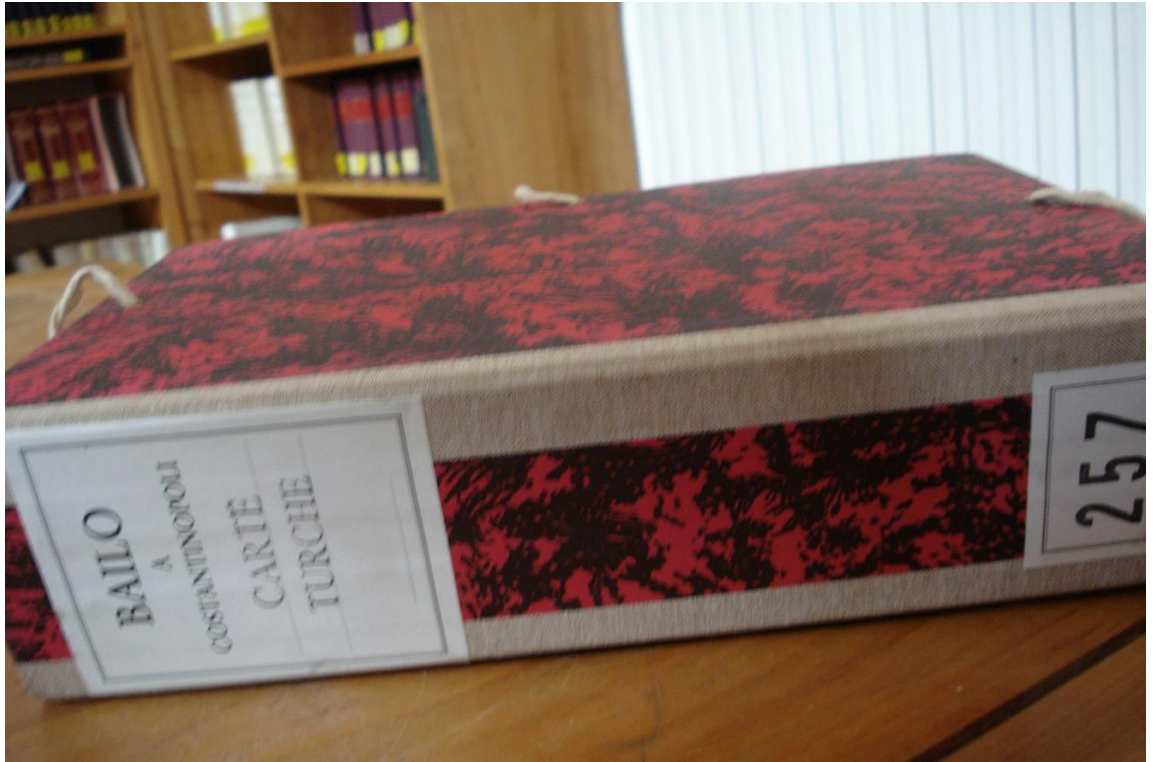
That document was published by Coşkun Yılmaz at *Tarih ve Düşünce*, 2003(6) p.26.



A perspective of Topkapı Palace from Galata where the Venetian Embassy was located in.



A map from Katip Çelebi's well-known work for Maritime History, *Tuhfetu'l-Kibar fi Esfari'l-Bihar*.



Turkish File (Carte Turche) in ASV contains the reports of many Bailo in Constantinople



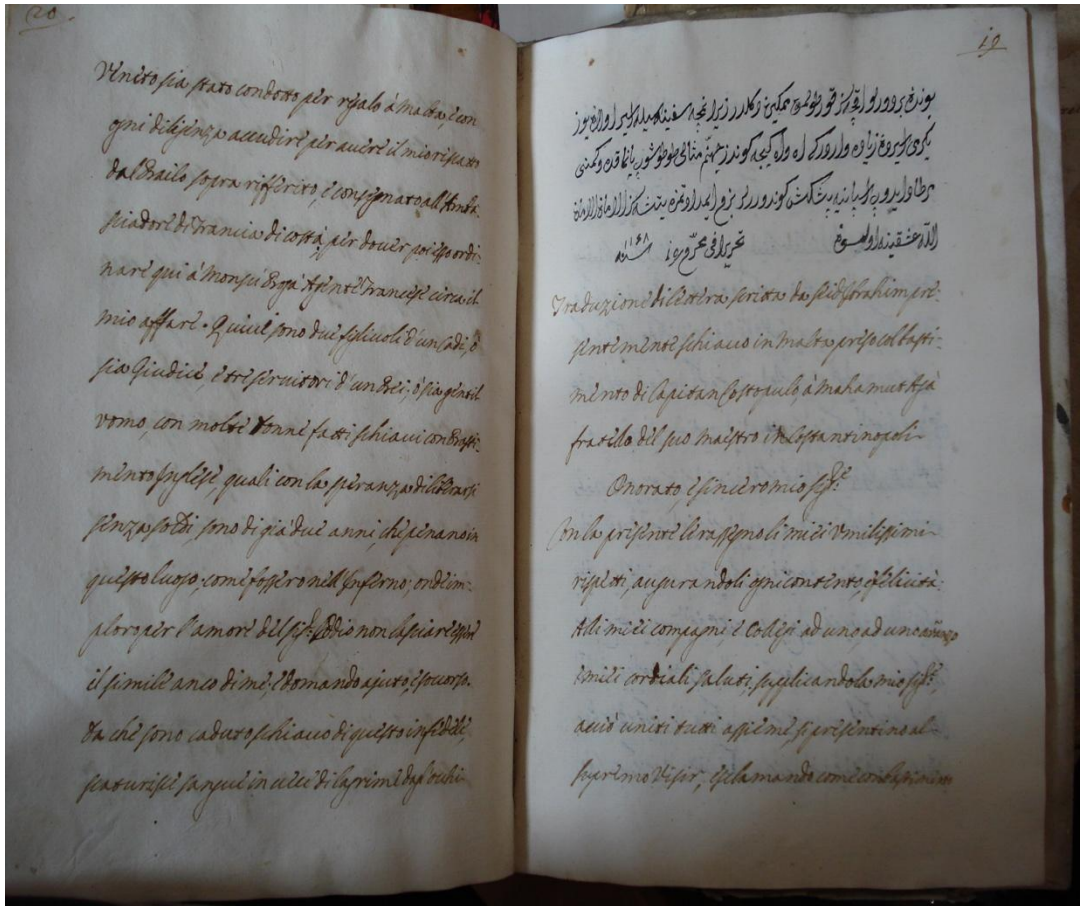
The Register of Bailo Simone Contarini had been in Constantinople, 1734-35.

Profusa in omnia vobis religione, amen, et auguror
 vobis una continua prosperitate in regno.
 Macta h'is d'ella luna di maharrem l'anno del
 gira 1144, cioè l'anno della metà d'ottobre 1734.
 Affettuoso, e sincero suo padre Ibrahim pachiauo in
 Macta

Marin Calaura Sub. Scritt.

فرانسز وانگلیز و ونڈیک و فلیمنک الحیدرینہ خطاباً لرحمہم کہ زیر حکومتند
 اولاد قالیوغ و شہید و بولہ قد و پتانتہ مستانی سفید لید مصر قاصحہ -
 طرفند نولوغ لیلہ یوکلور پانا طوج حوالہ لیرینہ کتور و کالی قہوہ نکل الحند
 اولاد تجار مطابق قہوہ رسومارین طرف میریدہ اولاد ایتما مک قصد لیلہ سفید
 لکلہ اولمیانہ یسین بکندرون قہوہ یسین بر بیابانہ یسین لخر لیدرون اولو اولاد
 مان میرینک تعطیل و کسر و نقصانند باوی اولاد لیلہ بعد الیوغ مصر قاصحہ طرفند
 تحمید لیلہ کالی قہوہ لری لبحق کلتانبول و از میر و سلا نیک و لظالید کمر کزینہ
 لخر لیدرون بورت لکلہ و قہوہ غیری محلہ لخر لیدرون لتمامتو بایندہ مقطع لری و

Venetian translation of an Ottoman formal letter addressing the French, English, Flemenk and Venetian ambassadors.



A painting describes Battle of the Dardanelles the Venetians vs. the Ottomans in 1656.



Fondaco dei Turchi where the Ottoman merchants used to reside



Window of Fondaco (Fontego)



Signs to *Fontego dei Turchi* which today is a museum



Gentile Bellini's work which is aimed that the Sultan gave pose to him



Bellini's works

(Above: Bellini painted his own portrait.

Below: He painted San Marco Place)



A view of *Archivio di Stato di Venezia* near Frari Church



Paintings of historical Venice on the wall of Ca'Foscari University



Above: The winged lion which was taken from Constantinople in the Byzantine ages and set up in San Marco place near *Palazzo Ducale*, the symbol of Venice.

Below: A historical Venetian vessel.



Ponte dei Sospiri (the bridge of sighs) connecting *Palazzo Ducale* to the Old Prison built in 1602.



Rialto Bridge and shops in Rialto quarter in Venice where the Ottoman merchants came



Above: Venetian silk neckties

Below: Venetian historical ornaments



Patriciani family houses near the Canal.

A view of *Casa Foscari* above which is today "Universita Ca'Foscari di Venezia".



An overview over the Rialto Bridge for the Grand Canal

