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## THE 1502-1504 CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN ŞEHZADE KORKUD AND THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM\*

**ABSTRACT:** *When the 1499-1502 Ottoman-Venetian war ended, Bayezid II's son, Şehzade Korkud, was granted the task of managing relations with the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Between 1502 and 1504, the two parties exchanged many missives. Their English translations are published here, together with the translations of other documents written by the Knights about their negotiations with Korkud.*

**KEYWORDS:** *Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Şehzade Korkud, Ottoman Empire, Rhodes.*

LA CORRISPONDENZA TRA ŞEHZADE KORKUD E I CAVALIERI DI SAN GIOVANNI DI GERUSALEMME NEGLI ANNI 1502-1504

**SOMMARIO:** *Quando scoppiò la guerra del 1499-1502 tra Venezia e l'Impero Ottomano Şehzade Korkud, figlio di Bayezid II, ebbe il compito di trattare con i Cavalieri di San Giovanni di Gerusalemme. Tra il 1502 e il 1504 il principe scambiò molte lettere con i cavalieri di cui qui ora si pubblicano le traduzioni in inglese, assieme a quelle di altri documenti scritti dai cavalieri e relativi alle negoziazioni in corso.*

**PAROLE CHIAVE:** *Cavalieri di San Giovanni di Gerusalemme, Şehzade Korkud, Impero Ottomano, Rodi.*

Just at the turn of the sixteenth century war broke out between a Holy See-brokered Christian alliance and the Ottomans, which included a major push to siege the port of Mytilene on the island of Lesbos<sup>1</sup>. In the immediate aftermath of this siege and conclusion of

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\* Abbreviations: Aom = Malta, Archives of the Order of Malta.

<sup>1</sup> N. Vatin, *Le siège de Mytilène (1501)*, «Turcica», 21-23 (1992), pp. 437-459.

hostilities, Şehzade Korkud (d. 1513), the Ottoman prince who had been in command of the province under siege, was transferred from his Aegean post of Manisa to the Mediterranean post of Antalya. Although it remains unclear why this transfer happened, or whether it was a promotion or a demotion, it appears likely that the prince was tasked with managing the highly sensitive and dangerous relationship with the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem<sup>2</sup>.

Upon arrival in Antalya, Korkud initiated an extensive correspondence with the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in Rhodes. The two parties exchanged missives several times between August 1502 and July 1504. In the course of these exchanges, the two parties engaged in a series of negotiations attempting to regularize relations between the two hostile parties and complete several highly sensitive prisoner exchanges. In this publication, we provide a literal translation into English of the full correspondence that took place between these two parties during that period.

Through an exploration of this correspondence, as well as the relevant narrative sources surrounding this relationship during these years, scholars might draw preliminary conclusions concerning the nature of Ottoman-Knights relations, protocols of captivity, and modalities of conflict in the Eastern Mediterranean during this period. While this exchange has been fully analyzed elsewhere, it is hoped that this translation will provide a scholarly service for those in the field<sup>3</sup>. In addition to letters which passed between Korkud and the Knights, also included in these translations are letters to or from the Knights which referred to the ongoing negotiations between them and Korkud.

#### **{AOM 79: 71v} [Latin]**

On day 26<sup>th</sup> of May 1502, Calogerus of Rhodes came with news from the son of the Grand Turk [Şehzade Korkud], who brought to the most revered Lord [Grand Master] letters written in Greek to the following effect:

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<sup>2</sup> For Şehzade Korkud's biography, see: N. Al-Tikriti, *Şehzade Korkud (ca. 1468-1513) and the Articulation of Early 16<sup>th</sup> Century Ottoman Religious Identity*, unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2004. For a comprehensive study of relations between the Ottomans and the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, see: N. Vatin, *L'Ordre de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem, l'Empire ottoman et la Méditerranée orientale entre les deux sièges de Rhodes: 1480-1522*, Peeters, Louvain, Paris, 1994.

<sup>3</sup> For further analysis of this correspondence, and citations for further scholarship, see: N. Al-Tikriti, *Ties that Bind: an Ottoman Maritime Patron from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*, in D. Couto, F. Günergun, M.P. Pedani (eds.), *Seapower, Technology, and Trade: Studies in Turkish Maritime History*, Deniz Kitabevi / Kaptan Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2014, vol. I, pp. 17-28.

**{AOM 79: 71v/72r} [Greek]**

We send worthy and appropriate regards to the most eminent and most glorious Cardinal, Grand Master, Lord of Rhodes, Governor of the Sea, and to your Lordship [Pierre d'Aubusson], in order for your eminence to know that the monk has safely arrived here at our place, and with him I have received a letter that your eminent Lordship has written. [And this our reply is] for you to learn about the change which my father [Sultan Bayezid II] has made, who removed my brother [Şehzade 'Alemşah] and put me here in these parts, so that the place may be freed from the many [causes for] grievances which the aforesaid brother of mine used to do. And therefore I inform your eminent Lordship that my father has given me the whole province [governorship/authority] which the aforementioned brother of mine used to hold; and moreover he has given me the whole of Antalya [Atalia] and other dominions. I am truly very glad that your Lordship is well. Therefore, I want your eminent Lordship to be informed as of now: may the subjects of your eminent Lordship proceed to the whole territory I govern. They can come and live as subjects of the Padişah [*pasatos*], exactly in the same way as in the places of your eminent Lordship. May your Lordship know: I have written to my father that I have learnt that your eminent Lordship is in good health. Therefore, I hope that he [my father] will soon send an envoy of his empire here in order to go greet your Lordship. As soon as he arrives, I shall send some other man of mine, too, so that he may also greet your eminent Lordship. I hope that there will come between all of us love and good relations.

**{AOM 79: 79r-80r} [Italian]**

[margin] Letter to Korkud Çelebi [Curcut Scialabi], son of the Great Turk [Bayezid]:

To the most illustrious and excellent Lord Çelebi [Schialapi] Sultan, most wise son of the Lord Khudāvendigār [Conochiari?] Sultan Bayezid Khān [Bagiazit Chan], greetings. We have received letters of your most illustrious Lordship from your honorable ambassador [endowed] with trust [on our part] in his person: from the report of whom and likewise from the aforementioned letters we have heard that your most illustrious Lordship is in good prosperity, in which, being a friend, I have taken much pleasure. Moreover, [we have heard] that your most illustrious Lordship has [received] in government from the Khudāvendigār [Conochiari], your father, the countries close to us and likewise others, in which matter we have taken pleasure, because we understand that your most illustrious Lordship is good and most virtuous and, therefore, from that [circumstance] can be hoped exalted

deeds and laudable effects. Beyond this, your most illustrious Lordship, by aforementioned letters and the aforementioned ambassador, offers us the whole country you govern and your province so that we may be able to dispose about it in no other way that if it were ours; and that the ships from one part and the other may be able to go and return freely in order to sell and buy, each one just as in his own places according to the custom of good and beloved neighbours. Because about this [issue], your most illustrious Lordship has full [79v] free disposal on the part of the aforementioned Khudāvendigār. For which kind offers I thank your most illustrious Lordship much, and in turn I offer your Lordship all that which I can with all honesty do for you as for a friend. Moreover, the aforementioned ambassador has reported to us on behalf of your most illustrious Lordship that it would be good if among us a truce were made, and that your Lordship promises that no place of ours, either others that we would want to name, or even, in respect for us, the island of Cyprus, on the conditions reported to us on behalf of your most illustrious Lordship by the aforementioned ambassador, will be harassed by the ships of the subjects of the aforementioned Khudāvendigār. [The aforementioned truce] will confirm all that which by your most illustrious Lordship will have been done, offering to restore all damages that will have been done against the form of such an agreement and truce, so that it always may remain solid. We have always been lovers of peace and harmony, as a good thing commanded by God and given to the human race for its conservation. It is our nature to help, as far as it depends on us, everybody [and] not to harm anyone, and therefore we would like to hear more particularly from your most illustrious Lordship the conditions of the truce proposed by the aforementioned, so that it may be in agreement with the person and the authority given to me. Because, as I am certain that your most illustrious Lordship knows, the most holy Pope, our Lord, the most excellent kings, the most illustrious Lordship of Venice and other Christian princes, seeing the damages that used to be done by the fleets of the aforementioned Khudāvendigār to the Christians, have, by common agreement, united and equipped regular forces on land and sea for the sake of common protection and security, and all together have decided to give me the charge to handle that issue and have made me a functionary. Whence, I am obliged to work for the public interest. Therefore, I would like to know from your most illustrious Lordship who knows the will of your father Khudāvendigār, whether the aforementioned truce which we hear from your most illustrious Lordship will be made [as a] universal [one] with all [...] the Christian powers, for we are bound together with them in such a manner that none of them can be affected without the other being offended [too], and because, through the aforementioned

ambassador who sent to us the aforementioned letters, we are informed that [the truce] will be welcome to your most illustrious Lordship. We, moreover, send someone from our people to your Lordship. We have decided to send to you as the person explaining the issues our ambassador called Chiriaco Curi, who will ask that [80r] your most illustrious Lordship, concerning this matter, may make us hear your will so that we can give a more particular answer to your most illustrious Lordship, from whom I shall take pleasure to be informed whether I can do anything in particular that may be welcome to you, which, then, I shall do with pleasure as a good friend and neighbour. Written at Rhodes, on day 2nd of July, 1502.

**{AOM 79: 102v/103r} [Latin/Italian]**

To the most illustrious and serene ruler and most powerful Lord [Doge of Venice]:

[Introduction summary: author complains about incursions done by the Turkish fleet that inflicted Rhodes in particular, where booty was carried away. Against these infringements he asks the addressee for help. Then, starting on the last line of the page and continuing on the next page, the author reports about issues relating to “the Sophi” [Shāh Ismā‘īl]]

We will not omit what in our presence has been negotiated with the envoy of the son of the Turk [Korkud] during the past days, though we have written [it] at another occasion and likewise have communicated it to your Serenity’s Excellencies’ envoy and the governor of Cyprus, from whose reports we think that you are informed that some Persian, called “Sophi,” promising freedom to everybody, has gathered a huge army, set out to march against the Turk [Bayezid] and frightened the Ottomans. The Turk, in order to resist him, is deploying whatever military force he has in Greece and in Asia to the East and, as many think, he will be compelled to go there in person. [formulas of benediction on the addressee]; written at Rhodes, day 8<sup>th</sup> of August 1502.

**{AOM 79:103r} [23/08/1502]**

Most serene and most illustrious ruler and most powerful Lord [Doge]: yesterday our ambassador landed at Rhodes whom, upon request, we had sent to the son of the Great Turk [Korkud] with our answer to his letters and with the report of the same ambassador, just as we indicated these last days to your Serenity. Now, however, the aforementioned son, both through his own letters and through the aforementioned ambassador of ours, indicates to us that which he has written a while ago: it has been and still is in keeping with his father’s

will, to whom he immediately sent the ambassador despatched to us with our letters, that he shall pronounce a declaration concerning the places to be named in the peace treaty and their extent. He, moreover, confirms that he will keep us informed about that which his father has indicated to him concerning this matter. If in fact this is to be so, we will not fail to keep your Serenity up-to-date by way of our letters so that you may be able to plan according to events. This ambassador of ours found the Turks in Antalya [Satalia] in great confusion and distinct fear because of the Sophi [Shāh Ismā‘īl], the leader of a new army, who allures people to his sect by way of messengers and has already conquered several provinces by force of arms, and who has decided to reinstate Karaman [Caraman] in his kingdom and destroy the house of the Ottomans. It is said that more than 240 knights on horseback are roaming through the provinces of the Turk praising the Sophi sect in sermons, and that one ambassador of the Sophi is marching against the Turk with 120 knights on horseback. In our opinion, God Almighty has allowed wondrous things to happen in our times, and may He come and in His grace save your most felicitous Serenity. Dated: Rhodes, 23<sup>rd</sup> of August 1502.

**{AOM 80:42v-43r}**

About the Turkish issues: On the same day, the revered Lord Lieutenant reported that some ships are due to arrive at Foça [Fisk]. Therefore, it seems useful that letters be written to the son of the Grand Turk [Korkud] and to give him notice of the death of the Brother of good recollection, the most revered Lord Cardinal and Grand Master of good memory [Pierre d'Aubusson], most of all because it is believed that he already has news about this matter [obtained by unofficial ways]. Lengthy deliberation was held about this issue and it was decided that this was a good idea. Therefore, the revered Lords Lieutenant, the Admiral, Prior of England and Chastellain of Emposte, and the Prior of Portugal were appointed to find out the proper way [to do this], to have letters drawn up and eventually indicate to the revered Council what they have come up with.

**{AOM 80:51v} [Latin]**

About a letter to the Turk: Since lately the most revered Lord Grand Master and Lord Cardinal, brother Petrus D'Ambousson [Pierre d'Aubusson] of good remembrance, has passed away and we had news that the Grand Turk [Bayezid] had concluded a peace agreement with the most serene King of Hungary and with the most illustrious government of Venice, the revered Council [of Rhodes] decided to

despatch a small vessel to Foça [Fisque] in order to bring in the tributes to Rhodes, and it did not seem possible that such news [as that of the collecting of the tributes] could be kept secret, especially because many vessels had sailed from Rhodes by various ways, wherefore it has seemed advisable to write to the Grand Turk a letter to the following effect:

**{AOM 80:51v-52r} [Greek]**

Copy of a letter to the Turk [Bayezid]: ...All times most powerful King of Kings and the Great Lord Sultan Bayezid Khan: may your most illustrious Lordship accept worthy and appropriate compliments from us. May it be known to you that the three times blessed and most revered Lord Cardinal and Legate of the Apostolic See of our Roman Church and Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem of Rhodes, Brother Pierre d'Aubusson [Petros D'Aoumbouss], has paid back the common debt of death on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of the month of July and, being most honorable as at all time so, too, on the verge of his death, he himself, according to good order and custom, has appointed a successor and ordered the revered Lords of his council that they should make Lord [...] Grand Master on the see of the Order of Rhodes the most revered and glorious Lord Brother Emerikon D'Amboise from the house and country of the most exalted throne of the most powerful King of France. And as he [the late Grand Master] has ordered it, it happened. [In the meantime] however, he appointed as lieutenant to sit on the throne of government of Rhodes until the arrival from France of the aforementioned Lord [Emerikon D'Amboise] the revered and glorious Lord, his nephew Brother Gidos de Blanquefort, the Great Abbot of Auvergne [Alvernia]; and so it happened as he had ordered it. We wrote to that most revered Lord [Emerikon D'Amboise] directly and quickly that he should come from France, and we are waiting for him. Thus, since I, the aforementioned nephew of his, in agreement with all our glorious council, know the general will of the good friendship and harmony which was between you [*missing passage, probably due to a copyist's error*] eternally and unchangeably [*follows in parenthesis some general remarks on death which are partially unreadable due to poor image quality*], it seemed fair and appropriate to us that we should write to the most powerful Khudāvendigār [Khonokiari] and to your most illustrious Lordship so that you should know it. And concerning the difficulties of which we have heard that the ways [of traffic] have, we have sent our present letter to your most illustrious son, Sultan Korkud, so that he might forward it directly in order for it to arrive at the [center of] power of your Royal Highness. For we are eager to learn in written form about your health so that we might rejoice like true

relatives [as was the case with] the most blessed friend of yours [referring to the late Pierre d'Aubusson], because friendship used to be such a most certain [quality] of yours [in life] and one that is unchangeable [even] when you die. And thus we ask your Lordship: if there is anything you order from our part, write it to us and we want to comply with all pleasure. Written at Rhodes at our palace, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of July, 1503. [Signed] Brother Gidos De Blanquefort, Lieutenant of the Lordship of Rhodes and Great Abbot of Auvergne [Alvernia] and our glorious council.

**{AOM 80: 52v} [Latin]**

Copy of a letter to the Grand Turk [Bayezid]: Likewise, the revered Council [of Rhodes] decided to inform the son of the Grand Turk [Korkud] about the death of the most revered Lord Cardinal and Grand Master of good remembrance, wherefore it wrote a letter to the following effect:

**{AOM 80: 52v-53r} [Greek]**

Copy of a letter to the son of the Great Turk [Korkud]: Most illustrious, glorious, and noble Lord Sultan Korkud, most fortunate son of the most powerful King of Kings and the Great Lord Sultan Bayezid Khan: may your most illustrious Lordship accept worthy and appropriate compliments from us. May it be known to you that the three times blessed and most revered Lord Cardinal and Legate of the Apostolic See of our Roman Church and Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem of Rhodes, Brother Pierre d'Aubusson [Petros D'Aoumbouss], has paid back the common debt of death on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of the month of July 1503 and, being most honorable as at all time so, too, on the verge of his death, he himself, according to good order and custom, has appointed a successor and ordered the revered Lords of his council that they should make Lord Grand Master on the See of the Order of Rhodes the most revered and glorious Lord Brother Emerikon D'Amboise from the house and country of the most exalted throne of the most powerful King of France. And as he [the late Grand Master] has ordered it, it happened. [In the meantime] however, he appointed as Lieutenant to sit on the throne of the government of Rhodes, until the arrival from France of the aforementioned Lord [Emerikon D'Amboise], the revered and glorious Lord, his nephew, Brother Gidos De Blanquefort, Great Abbot of Auvergne [Alvernia]; and so it happened as he had ordered it. We wrote to that most revered Lord [Emerikon D'Amboise] directly and quickly that he should come from France, and we are waiting for him. Thus, since I, the aforementioned nephew of his in agreement with all our glorious council, know

the good friendship which was between the most powerful Khudāvendigār [Khonokiari] of your most illustrious Lordship and the aforementioned most blessed and revered Grand Master, which friendship exists eternally and unchangeably in life and death, it seemed fair and appropriate to us that we should write to the most powerful Khudāvendigār and to your most illustrious Lordship. And, concerning the difficulties of which we have heard that the ways [of traffic] have, we have given an order and sent our present letters to the hands of your slave, the [S]ubashi of Muğla [Mogoulou], so that he should bring them quickly to the door of your Lordship. And we ask your most illustrious Lordship by the letter that we write to the most powerful Khudāvendigār that you shall decide to send him [Subaşı] quickly with a courier to bring [the letter] to the hands of his Royal Highness – for we are eager to learn in written form about the good health of the most powerful Khudāvendigār and of your most illustrious Lordship. On the one hand, we have ordered [the commander of] the ship which used to bring our letters that he should give them to the Subaşı and that he [the commander] should wait on Foça [Fiskos] until he would receive a reply in written form from your most illustrious Lordship, so that we know for sure whether you have received our letters; and therefore we ask you to order as quickly as possible that he [Subaşı] should bring it [your reply] to a courier on Foça on the aforementioned ship. On the other hand, if your most illustrious Lordship needs anything from our part, write it to us so that we may fulfill it with all pleasure. Written in our palace of Rhodes on the 27<sup>th</sup> of July, 1503. [Signed] Brother Gidos De Blanquefort, Lieutenant of the Lordship of Rhodes and our glorious council, and Great Abbot of Auvergne.

**{AOM 80: 81v-82r} [Latin]**

About the guaranty for a domestic slave of Valdimessa and Guido Borel, on the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of the month of February in the year 1503 since the incarnation of the Lord: Since in the past days a negotiator of the son of the Grand Turk, Korkud Çelebi [Curcut Scialabi], came to Rhodes in order to demand a truce and [the extradition of] some domestic slave of his called Kemal Bey [Camal Bey] who had been caught by the vessel of Maldonati – a slave who is now to be found in the possession of the Lords Brethren Guido Borel and Valdemessa on their own responsibility, and on that of Brother Maldonati as that of a proxy; and, in order for the truce to be able to be concluded more easily, the revered Council [of Rhodes] appointed the revered Lords the Lieutenant [of the Grand Master] of the Hospitallers, the Prior of England, Castellan of Emposte, and the Prior of Portugal to negotiate about the demands, and afterwards to report to the revered Council.

These revered Lords Commissioners held talks for several days with the aforementioned Lords Brethren Guido and Valdimessa, and in the end they reported to the revered Council, to the following effect, namely, that the aforementioned Lords Brethren Guido and Valdimessa, in whose possession the aforementioned Kemal Bey was, agreed to release the aforementioned slave and to sell him. Regarding the exact price, no decision has yet been taken for the very reason that the aforementioned revered Lords Commissioners intend to ingratiate the aforementioned Turkish negotiator and withdraw the aforementioned slave from the possession of the aforementioned Lords Brethren, and place him in some house in town so that he might be more at ease to get himself cured, and that it might appear that the words of the [Turkish] negotiator have prevailed in this issue, in so far that the Turks who are to be sent to Turkey by the negotiator in exchange for the servants and vassals of the island of Rhodes and of Calania may be able to report to the aforementioned Korkud Çelebi that his demands have been heeded, and that he may become more ready to return the vassals of the Order. The aforementioned Lords Brethren Guido and Valdimessa have asked to get a bail and security from the aforementioned revered Lords Commissioners equaling two thousand ducats in case the aforementioned slave Kemal Bey should escape from Rhodes. Therefore, the aforementioned revered Lords Lieutenant and Commissioners asked the revered Council convened in the house of the Lord Lieutenant himself to tell their decision. They themselves [the Commissioners] intend to issue the aforementioned guaranty and security at the expense of the common [public] treasury, not from private funds, because the guaranty is given in the common interest of the Order, not in the private interest of those individuals. For this reason, the revered Council along with the venerated Commissioners of the common Treasury and the Lieutenant of the Grand Preceptor [of the Knights] decided and agreed that the aforementioned security of two thousand ducats should be given to the aforementioned Lords Brethren Guido and Valdimessa in the name of the [common] Treasury in case of flight [of Kemal Bey] only and in a way that the demands of the common Treasury of the government and those [of the subjects] remain intact and no detriment may arise for it, and likewise they ordered that in the same house where the aforementioned slave [Kemal Bey] was to stay, four Brethren should live as servants who should day and night prevent him from escaping. This was reported by the aforementioned revered Lord Lieutenant to the present revered Lords Prior of England, Castellan of Emposte, [and] Prior of Portugal and to me, the Vice-Chancellor, [and] to the aforementioned Lords Brethren Guido and Valdemessa, who agreed to all the aforementioned the way it has been referred to; and I, the Vice-Chancellor, was instructed that

I should write it down in the present record in order for the issue to be remembered in the future. This has been issued in the Department of the venerated Italian [-speaking] nation and the Chamber of the aforementioned Lord Lieutenant in the year, month and day as mentioned above. Moreover, [I shall record] that Brother Jannottus Fontz, commander of the fortifications, held two domestic slaves of the aforementioned Kemal Bey. The aforementioned revered Lords ordered that the aforementioned Brother Jannottus should let them stay at the service of the aforementioned Kemal Bey in the same house, and a guaranty was granted in case they should escape, equaling any amount that would be fair; and the aforementioned Brother Janottus agreed and accepted the guaranty. [Recorded] on the same day and in the presence of the aforementioned revered Lords and of the Vice-Chancellor.

**{AOM 80:82v} [Italian] [8 March 1503] [Summary in Latin of the following letter in Italian]:**

Letter written to Korkud Çelebi [Corcut Scialabi], son of the Grand Turk [Bayezid]: Most illustrious and most serene Prince and Lord Sultan Korkud Çelebi, son of the Grand Lord Khudāvendigār [Chonochiari: Bayezid], regards. In the past days the honourable ambassador of your most illustrious Lordship, Mehmet Bey [Mahomet Bey], has come to us, from whom we have received more letters of your most illustrious Lordship, from which [letters], as well as from the report of the aforementioned ambassador, we have been informed that the Lord Khudāvendigār and your most illustrious Lordship are in good health, of which, being dear friends, we are very glad. Moreover, we have heard that your most illustrious Lordship has decided to continue our good friendship and good relations that we have kept and are keeping with the Lord Khudāvendigār and your most illustrious Lordship, in order for the merchants of one side and the other to be able in the places of your most illustrious Lordship and in ours to do trade freely, sell, and buy at their ease, the matter of which has been very welcome to us, and we accept it full-heartedly, asking your most illustrious, just, and peace-loving Lordship to please persist in such a decision, as we hope, and order that the matters of conflict be removed, just as we shall do on our part, in order for our good relations to increase day by day from good to better, and so those who are the occasion of conflict may be punished. Moreover, from your letters and the report, we have heard that your most illustrious Lordship wishes to be given back from the hands of some captains of light vessels your slave Kemal Bey [Camal Bey] Kapıcıbaşı [Capizi Bassi] of your Porte who had been taken prisoner in the waters of Sourassari [?]. We, anxious to please your most illustrious Lordship, have with great effort

and pain sought to remove from the hands of the aforementioned captains the aforementioned Kemal Bey, so that they may not move him towards the west, and we have had him turned over into the possession of a third person for the sake of greater comfort for him, and in order for him to be able to get cured from his serious illness, from which we hope he will recover, with the help of the good care that will be taken with him by the physicians appointed by us, who will certainly provide no less effort with regard to him than if he were a case of ours; and because we suppose there is nothing urgent to do for the aforementioned ambassador, and we consider it very useful that the aforementioned ambassador should still stay some days, on the one hand for the comfort of the patient and on the other in order to receive a reply from your most illustrious Lordship; and because we know that your most illustrious Lordship is full of virtue, kind, just, and in favor of the aforementioned [agreement of] good relations, we ask that you shall serenely please order that our vassals taken prisoner by Kurtoğlu [Cortogoli] and their other companions led to some place in your province of Menteşe [Manthasia] together with their cloths may be fetched, for we are certain that their being taken prisoner is something that displeases your most illustrious Lordship, because the cloths belong to your affectionate friends and were taken in a time of good peace as is established between us, by letters of the Lord Khudāvendigār and of your most illustrious Lordship, who, by means of your wisdom realize that it is not fair that vassals shall break what the Lords vouch for. Therefore, your Lordship will do something most appreciated if you will please order that the aforementioned vassals of ours be sent here and set free again, so that we may get rid of the arguments the likes of which their relatives provide every day, and all the world may realize upon the return of the aforementioned ambassador that our love and goodwill is true and reciprocal. To your most illustrious Lordship we shall give some lengthier reply to all the things contained in the letter of your most illustrious Lordship, whom God may save for a long time. Dated: Rhodes, 8th of the month of March, 1503 A.D. [Signed] the Lieutenant of the most revered Master, and the Council of the Order of Rhodes.

**{AOM 80:98v/99r/99v} [Greek]**

[Letter of the most illustrious Korkud Çelebi about the release of Kemal Bey [Camalbei], his slave, sent to the aforementioned Lords Lieutenants [of the Grand Master] and the Council: On March the 8<sup>th</sup> 1504, Mehmet Bey, ambassador of Korkud, came to Rhodes bearing letters of Bayezid, who was seeking peace and free shipping, and asked that they give back Kemal Bey, Kapıcıbaşı [Capisi Bassi] from his Porte, who had been captured in the sea of Sourassari [?], and offered to have

some vassals of the [Christian] religion given back who had been taken prisoner by Kurtoğlu [Curtogli] and brought as slaves to Menteşe [Mandrache]. [...] And because he [Kemal Bey] was sick, they had him treated with care and were of the opinion that the ambassador should stay with him for some time in order to comfort him. This he did and sent a brother of his to Korkud in order to inform him thereof. Some days later, letters came from Korkud, who promised to live up to everything, and said that most of the Christian slaves were ready to be exchanged, and that he had those who were left over brought, and that he would have them all taken to the port of Foça [Fisque] as soon as possible.]<sup>4</sup>

To the Lord Admiral, the Lieutenant [of the Grand Master], trusted servant of the faith of Christ – may God make you prosper. After the compliments: you shall learn that in the past days we received one letter of yours with the brother of Mehmet Çelebi [Mehemet Tzalapi], that is: of our ambassador, and all which has been written [on your part]. We have recognized that there shall be among us good friendship and that our merchants shall do trade in a regular fashion on both sides, without any obstacle, and whatever occasion of evil and trouble there may be, it shall be punished. And, already a long time ago we have sent orders to our places [to the effect] that our friendship shall be sincere, and that it shall increase every day. And truly, someone has to uproot the bad thorn bushes out of the way so that there may be benefit. It seems that you have taken from the boats of the vessel Kemal Bey [Kamal Peyi], my Kapıcıbaşı [Kapitzi Pasi]. And we have learnt that you have appointed three physicians, they tried to cure him, and he will recover quickly. And likewise, you have kept there Mehmet Çelebi, my ambassador, for his [Kemal Bey's] comfort. Write me about Kurtoğlu, and about his company who took your slaves [vassals] and their belongings, and in case you have any complaint, such an issue shall become [part] of the good friendship and relations which used to be between us, most of all because there is an oath and friendship, firm, protected by God, and [*unreadable*], and because the relatives of the slaves whom Kurtoğlu has taken weep every day, complain, bring grievance, and reproach before you, because there is between us good relations and clear friendship and everybody knows it. And with my slave, that is, with my ambassador [as a messenger], please write us about him [Kemal Bey]. As soon as he will come here, we shall

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<sup>4</sup> This introductory explanation is provided in French, in I. Bosio, P. de Boissat, A. de Naberat, J. Baudoin, *Histoire des Chevaliers de l'Ordre de S. Jean de Hierusalem*, Jacques d'Allin, Paris, 1659, p. 215 (ch. 5).

reciprocate [by giving back the Christian prisoners]. And from today on let us keep a genuine face of friendship, and our people shall come and go, sell and buy from both sides; and those who ever put obstacles in the way, I [myself] want to punish them, and likewise you shall do so, too. And thus our friendship will increase. We have learnt that the aforementioned Kemal Bey will quickly recover, and therefore we ask of you that he be well cured. You have said that for the sake of Kemal Bey's comfort, you have kept in his company Mehmet Bey, our ambassador, and this you have done properly and well, with good intention, because every man has a heavy heart when far from home, and may God not allow that anyone from among your vassals [whom Kurtoğlu has taken] shall be far from home. When Mehmet Bey, our ambassador, will come here, send us a man of your choice so that he may supervise [the handover of the Christian vassals] and fetch your vassals, and no one [from among them] shall be left back here, most of all because Mehmet Bey is a man loyal to the one whose bread and salt he has eaten. Therefore, we do not trust anyone [else] from among our people [in such a difficult matter] who are here, lest they make a mistake and we thus put ourselves to shame before you. Moreover, we have sent an order to our ambassador and to all our judges [Kadi] and a similar order to the Subashis of Menteşe [Mantaseli] [to the effect] that he [your envoy] shall be accompanied with them [my officials] so that they may supervise [the handover of the Christians] and fetch your people and their belongings, and that they shall take them, all whomsoever they may take, and fetch them in order to hand them over to you. Likewise you, too, in agreement with your promise, shall send us Kemal Bey, and you shall release two Persian dervishes, so called poor men, one of them Turābī [Tourapi] and the other Nizāmī [Niyzam] for God's and Jesus Christ's sake. And for the sake of our friendship, accept our demand so that the bad people may hear that we have good friendship, and nothing else. God be with you.

**{AOM 80: 99v/100r/100v} [Greek]**

Copy of a letter written in reply to a letter of the most illustrious Lord Korkud Çelebi [Scialaby], handed over to his negotiator concerning the restitution of Kemal Bey and [?]: Most illustrious, glorious, valiant and worthy of all honor Lord Sultan Korkud, most fortunate son of the most powerful King of Kings and Grand Lord Sultan Bayezid [Payazyt] Khan. May your most illustrious Lordship accept worthy and appropriate compliments from us. In the last days we received your most illustrious Lordship's letters from the brother of Mehmet Çelebi [Maomet Tzialapis], your honorable negotiator, from whom we have heard that your most illustrious Lordship is in good health, and being beloved friends, we were very glad. Moreover, we have heard that your most illustrious

Lordship wants the good friendship and love which exists between your most illustrious Lordship and us to continue in the future, and to be maintained in order for it to grow from good to better, and for the sake of its manifold increase, your Lordship desires that the merchants and supervisors, along with their goods, may circulate with all freedom in our places, and that our merchants and supervisors likewise in the places of your Lordship, everyone just as in his own place, and that those who may be the origin of trouble may be duly punished. This pleased us a lot, and thus we accept your proposal with joy and positive attitude, and from our part genuine friendship and love will not be absent. You shall maintain it [too], and likewise shall the oath be honored which we have with the Lord Khudāvendīgār [Khonokiari: Bayezid], [holding it as dear] as the pupil of the eye, and so, in return, we ask your most illustrious Lordship to act. Furthermore, we have heard that your most illustrious Lordship was pleased that Kemal Bey [Kamal Payis], the Kapıcıbaşı [Kapitzi Pasis] of your honorable Gate, has been brought from the areas of the captains of the small vessels and put in custody in a good place. [And know] that we have ordered three physicians in order to cure him. And allow us to decide that they shall take care of him in the future, too: he needs it in order for him to recover his health quickly. Since we know for sure that we are doing something that pleases your most illustrious Lordship, so too, in return, being the most noble, sublime, and dearest dynasty that you are, you would act for us. For the love of your most illustrious Lordship, being your friends, we want to ensure that the physicians take good care of the aforementioned Kemal Bey and order that the physicians not be absent from him until he recovers well. And, meanwhile, we have realized that the aforementioned negotiator of yours is a good one, being intelligent and circumspect, and he reported all that which your most illustrious Lordship has ordered him with great care and ability. And, with our benevolence, he will take leave to go to your most illustrious Lordship, and he shall ask and prevail upon your most illustrious Lordship on our behalf that you may please grant to [some person(s)] authority that our subjects who have been taken by your subjects may be returned, and that they may return them to us, on the one hand in order for the friendship to be maintained, because they took them in the times of this friendship unjustly, and on the other hand, to show the whole world that our friendship is genuine and founded upon a good and perfect attitude, not with words [only]. And, we are certain that, if it pleases your most illustrious Lordship, you shall give this task to the aforementioned negotiator because he is an able man, and has eaten bread and salt with us, and he will exert so much effort and diligence that it will not be necessary for us to send one of our own men, since we confidently trust the word of your most illustrious Lordship. As for

the two Persian dervishes called Turābī [Tourapī] and Nizāmī [Nimzammi], they are not of our own [prisoners]. We have been waiting for their masters [to arrive] at Rhodes, who are far away, and when they arrive, we shall want to give them back in the best way possible. And in the same manner, we wished that your most illustrious Lordship should act for us.

As for the restitution which your most illustrious Lordship asks be provided for Iskender Bey [Skantar Paiyeis], who weeps, and as you say, has been wronged: to tell you the truth, this Iskender Bey does not weep with good reason, because he himself has [unjustly acquired] cloths of our subjects in his hands in great quantity, and therefore, this Iskender Bey can come to Rhodes [himself], or send someone and sort it out with whomsoever he has an issue, and [so] full fairness will become between them and the Paşa [Passa: Iskender Bey], insofar as he will get what belongs to him. As for the behaviour of Elmalı [Almaliosī] Mustafa, we have done what pleases your most illustrious Lordship, as you will learn from the aforementioned negotiator. One of our boats has come to Rhodes, by which have arrived four slaves who had been bought from Petrounion, [being slaves] from among those whom Kurtoğlu [Kourtoglis] has taken [prisoner]. And from these, and also from others, we have heard that at Strovilon [?] and in other places neighbouring Petrounion, there are many slaves subject to us whom the Turks have converted [to Islam], whom they had in some other place. We understand that since, as you have heard, we have a good friendship and peace with your most illustrious Lordship, so that they [your men] may have no reason to make them [our people] Muslims, this behaviour is not the will of your most illustrious Lordship, whom we ask to please make them [your people] give back these, our subjects, with care and without delay, and that you may send them to us, so that the goodwill of the one side as well as of the other may be fulfilled, and the subjects may not be alienated from their rulers. Written at Rhodes in the month of March, 1504. [Signed] the Lieutenant of the most venerable Lord Grand Master, and of the Council of the Assembly of Rhodes.

**{AOM 80: 101r/101v} [Latin summary, Italian text]**

Copy of a letter written by the most illustrious Korkud Çelebi [Corcut Scialaby], son of the Grand Turk [Bayezid], about the capture of Brother Johannes Montanez, Chiriaco Cury, and others from the light vessel of the Order, and about the handover of Kemal Bey: To the great Lords of Rhodes from the faith of Jesus, regards.

Know by our present letter that in the past days, when I had gone to Teke Eli [Tachi-eli], you sent a man and he demanded a peace, and I was very glad. And by the will of the Lord Khudāvendigār [Chonociari: Bayezid], we have concluded between us an oath that the people of

both sides may come and go, and since we trusted that oath, it was not proper that, when our Kapıcıbaşı Kemal [Capizi Bassy Chiamali] was on his way to Chios [Scio], your vessels came and took him, and brought him to Rhodes, and made him a slave. It would have been proper, when they learnt that he was our man, to take him and bring him to Chios, because the oaths of friendship so required. And when I learnt that he was in your possession, I said that since there was between us an oath of friendship it was not necessary to send a man for this reason. But, rather, I said that I would not send a man, [because] they would send him [Kemal Bey] to me [on their own]. Nevertheless, what we held and expected for sure has not been done. And I sent my man Mehmet with letters and demands, and I asked you, and you have not accepted my demands, but you have held back my ambassador for a long time, and afterwards you sent him to us all alone. And because you have done this, it seemed [best] to me to send news to my man, [saying] that he should bring a number of your people, because you said that you would send my slave Kemal [Chiamali], but you have not sent him, in order [for me] to know for what reason [you have failed to do so]. And this is the reason why he has brought a number of your people, not for any reason of war or hostility, because we live up to our commitments and oaths. And in case you should say [that you did not send Kemal Bey] because of Kurtoğlu [Cortogoli], who you say has taken [as prisoners] some of your people, [then I would say that] you know how much harm [in terms of punishment] we have done to them, executing them and [inflicting] other sorts of punishment, and we have seized their ships and themselves. And in order to fetch and bring your slaves, I have sent an order to the judges and my slaves that they should fetch them. And I am still busy fetching them. And because it has been done in this way [on your part], I have held them all back. And if God willed that you should give back my slave Kemal [Chiamali] and those I had first asked you for, who are Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh [Avdela], Mehmet Pervīn [Mahomet Pervy], Ya‘kup [Jacup], Sayyid Muhammad [Machamet], the Dervish Turābī [Turapi], [101v] Dervish Sālih [Lich?], Marrupas, and Dervish Jāndād [Ziantat], Hājjī ‘Abd Allāh [Changia Dulach], ‘Abd Allāh al-Sāmīr [Avdulach Assamyr], Hājjī ‘Alī [Chiangiali] from Tunis, Kāzīm [Chasim] from Tripoli, Hājjī Muhammad [Changia Mahamet], Hājjī Abū Bakr [Changiat Pupechyr] and Muhammad [Mahamet] from Jerusalem, and another contractor of ours – and furthermore still you have taken [prisoners] the sons of some Muslims – [then all would be well, so] you shall release those and let them come here, and I shall release these. But if, now, you do not release my slave Kemal, and our servants, and the aforementioned Sayyids and Dervishes and those Muslims whom your people have taken recently, and those servants and, moreover, if

you do not accept my demands, then [know that] after all at present there has been done nothing bad from our part: you, however, be either considerate friends or open enemies so as to allow me to decide about what I have to do and to write and report the measures [I have taken] to the Khudāvendigār [Chonochiari] and to send him your people. And the reason why I have held them back is this [as stated above]. Nevertheless, we have hope that no hostility will arise for us, but that you will let our people go and release them and that our [agreement of] peace, friendship and commitments will be stable and that again on the one part and the other for our people who will do trade between us there will not be hostility in any manner. And to this effect be informed and do and decide as seems best to you. Written in Ladhikiya [Ladichia: Denizli] on the first Monday of May in the year nine hundred and nine.

**{AOM 80: 101v/102r/102v} [Latin summary, Italian text]<sup>5</sup>**

Copy of a letter written by the revered Lords Lieutenant and the Council [of Rhodes] in reply to the letter of the most illustrious Lord Korkud Çelebi [Corcut Scialaby], son of the Grand Turk, about the handover of Kemal Bey [Camal Bey], and Brother Joannes Montanez, and Chiriaco Curry: [Italian] Most illustrious Lord: the slave of your most illustrious Lordship, Mehmet [Mahomet], has come to Rhodes, from whom we have received your letter by which your Lordship says that it would have been proper that we should immediately send Kemal Bey Kapıcıbaşı [Camal Bey Capizi Bassi] of your honourable Porte to your most illustrious Lordship, because he had been taken in a time of peace, and that since your most illustrious Lordship had asked us for him, but had not received him, your ambassador, upon his return from Rhodes to your most illustrious Lordship, has held back some of our people. Most illustrious Lord: your most illustrious Lordship knows that we have had a stable and secure peace for many years with the Lord Khudāvendigār [Chonochiari], your father, in general, and reconfirmed it after the death of the blessed soul of the Grand Master, and confirmed it with oaths from one side and the other once and for all, with your most illustrious Lordship in particular. And during the time of this peace, contrary to the oaths, Kurtoğlu [Cortogoli], his companions, and other pirates made sorties several times from the places of your most illustrious Lordship, and with light vessels they came to our places to rob and inflict damage as enemies, and then returned back to the places of your most illustrious Lordship with your

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<sup>5</sup> I. Bosio, P. de Boissat, A. de Naberat, J. Baudoin, *Histoire des Chevaliers de l'Ordre de S. Jean*, ch. V, p. 215.

slaves and their belongings, and finally they came to this island with a large host of light vessels and did the greatest damage. And we have never written about it to the Lord Khudāvendigār, hoping that your Lordship would punish them and make them return our slaves and their belongings. But, we have the right to say that the aforementioned robbers have not been given any other punishment than the one our galleys have given them, and that our slaves have been sold and ransomed publicly in the places of your most illustrious Lordship, and the majority of them was held at your honourable Porte, as if they were the booty of enemies, contrary to our oaths. Afterwards, the incident happened that a light vessel of a Knight called Maldonato, a Spaniard, in the sea of Sourassari took a light vessel of pirates, and in it he found the aforementioned Kemal Bey, and he brought him to Rhodes, and to us it was unknown which man he was, because he had been found in a ship of one of your pirates. Then, your ambassador Mehmet, from whom as from the letter of your most illustrious Lordship we heard that the aforementioned Kemal is a slave of your most illustrious Lordship, and that your Lordship asked for him, and being a just Lord, promised in compensation for him to give back to us our slaves [who are] rural labourers. And we have been satisfied, and the aforementioned ambassador for this reason sent his brother to your most illustrious Lordship, and returned and brought a letter from your most illustrious Lordship, and by that letter your Lordship has promised that our slaves were being fetched and would all be given back, and promised that all the world would recognize that our peace is stable, both in fact and in word. And, the waiting for the return of your ambassador's brother, along with your most illustrious Lordship's reply, was the reason why the aforementioned ambassador stayed at Rhodes on his own will, where he was treated well and well honoured, as is proper for a slave of your most illustrious Lordship, for the love of which, at the request of the aforementioned ambassador, we took the aforementioned Kemal Bey from the possession of the person who had taken him, and put him up at the house of a third person, and gave him three physicians, ordering that they should cure him with care from the serious sickness that he had, just as if he had been our greatest friend, and this they did, and brought him back into a good condition of health. After this, the aforementioned ambassador went away from here well honoured, and with many presents, and he again reconfirmed the peace [agreement] in the name of your most illustrious Lordship, and promised us that he would do his best to fetch and send [back] our slaves, so that we likewise should give back the aforementioned Kemal Bey. And when, according to these promises, he arrived at Foça, he disembarked with our people, and we bought and sold like good neighbours and men of peace. But, after many days,

contrary to the promise of your most illustrious Lordship given to us by your letter, and to the promise given by him [your ambassador], with no reason he took six of our people, among them Brothers Bucciere and Chiriaco, the matter of which, we believe, did not happen with the agreement of your most illustrious Lordship, because your Lordship is the son of the Grand Lord Khudāvendigār of the most noble house of the Ottomans, which has always kept its word because God thus commands and wants that the Lords who are His vicars upon earth be just and truthful, because God is justice and truth itself. And, when some other vassals of ours who were at Makri and at Foça heard about what had happened, they took without our knowledge some people of Makri and some slaves of Foça in order to get their relatives and friends back, who had been taken contrary to any reason by your ambassador. And, moreover, your subjects living in the neighbourhood of the Castle of St. Peter have disturbed the market and wounded some of our people without a reason, in a manner such that our people were forced to defend themselves, and they received news about those who had caused the turmoil, and some Turks were brought to Rhodes, and we have taken them from their possession, and we keep them, asking your most illustrious Lordship that, if your Lordship gives us back our eight men taken by your ambassador at Foça, we shall give those back from Makri, Foça, and the Castle of St. Peter, who are twenty-one. And as for what shall be done with Kemal Bey, your slave, we have written, and we still agree, that upon the departure of the aforementioned ambassador, and according to the promises made in the letter of your most illustrious Lordship, if our people taken by Kurtoğlu and other pirates return, we shall return the aforementioned Kemal Bey, just as is proper among good neighbours, and as the order of the good peace [agreement] demands, and we believe that your Lordship, because this is a just cause, will do it with pleasure, and we are certain that it will please the Lord Khudāvendigār, on the one hand because it is a just cause, and on the other because we know that he considers us his peace-loving friends. Written at Rhodes, on 15 June 1504. [Signed] the Lieutenant of the most revered Grand Lord and the Council of the Congregation of Rhodes.

**{AOM 80: 102v/103r/103v} [Latin summary, Italian text]**

Copy of a letter of the most illustrious Lord Korkud Çelebi [Corcut Scialaby], son of the Grand Turk, about the handover of Kemal Bey [Camal Bey] and of Brother Johanes Montanez and Chiriaco Curry: To the Lord Lieutenant of Rhodes, Lord Admiral great and worthy of the faith of Jesus – may God grant you prosperity from good to better – after the obligatory regards: Know that in the past we asked you and sent you a letter along with our ambassador Mehmet asking you

that you should let go and release the slave from among my courtiers, Kemal Bey [Chiamali]. And, under lots of excuses you have not done so, but instead you have kept my man for a long time, and afterwards you have sent him back alone. And, moreover, my man has kept six of your people, [among them] Chiriaco and Brother Joanni, and he brought the former one to my Porte. And, furthermore, I wrote you a letter [asking you] to release my man, his servants, and certain others who are slaves at Rhodes, whose names are: Seyyid ‘Abd Allāh [Seyt Avdella], Mehmet Pervīn [Mahomet Pervi], Ya‘kup al-Qassās [Jacup Alcassas], Seyyid Mehmet [Seyt Mahomet], Dervish Turābī [Dervish Turrapy], Dervish Sālīh [Sulich], ‘Umar, Dervish Jāndād [Giandat], Hājjī ‘Abd Allāh [Chagi Avdilla], ‘Abd Allāh al-Sāmīr [Avdula Cassamir], Hājjī ‘Alī [Changiali] from Tunis, Kāzīm [Chasi] from Tripoli, Hājjī Muhammad [Changi Machamet], Hājjī Abū Bakr [Changi Apubequir], Muhammad [Mahomet] from Jerusalem, and our contractor taken from Makri, and the Muslims taken from the shores whom we have said you should release. Nevertheless, you have not accepted my demands, nor have you released the men, but you have sent me a letter saying that we should [first] have the slaves who had been taken by Kurtoğlu [Cortogoli] fetched and released, and you would in return for them give our slave Kemal Bey. And furthermore, we had the slaves whom Kurtoğlu had taken recorded in a book, and vouched for their well-being. And furthermore, as soon as my letter has arrived, you must accept my word, and release, and let go from your side my slave Kemal Bey, and his servants, and all the aforementioned slaves, Sayyids, and Dervishes; and then from our side, that Chiriaco and Brother [Johanes] along with the other six people will be led and handed over. Upon this, we shall immediately exchange one by one the slaves whom Kurtoğlu had taken, along with these 21 Muslims who have been taken, and this time you have to release all the people mentioned above, and constantly demanded by us, so they may return. And, do not use tricks even in things in which you may find excuses, and give up all sorts of excuses. [Otherwise] it would be better that you should reply to us [right away], so that after all, you do not want to give the people back, than that you do not even [explicitly] say that you do not have with us friendship and goodwill or – what’s more – that you are not interested in having it. Moreover, you say that [the reason why you do not give back my people] is due to your men who have been taken, about whom the Lord Ruler is not informed. But, even so, no evil caused by us is as bad as every evil that your people cause, because they continuously plunder the shores out of malice and do not stop it, and from my judges we have confirmation [to this effect]. And, if this time you do not accept my word, and release those whom I demand, I myself shall let the Lord

Ruler know about all those damages that his people had to suffer, and that which will be ordered by the Lord Ruler, and that which he will command, will be carried out. Nevertheless, I ask you that you shall accept my word and make stop the excuses and acts of ill will, because to repent after the fact will not be profitable. Moreover, I ask you most dearly that the belongings of our slave, your prisoner, Mehmet [Mahomet], shall be given back to him for the love of us.

**{AOM 80: 103v/104r/104v/105r} [Latin summary, Italian text]**

Copy of a letter of the revered Lords Lieutenant and the Council in reply to the previous letter, about the handover of Kemal Bey [Camal Bey]: Most illustrious Lord, we have received the letter of your most illustrious Lordship and, being good friends, we are pleased to hear that your Lordship is in good health. We have read the aforementioned letter and understood everything contained in it, to which we shall give our reply, and we shall recall the preceding events in our justification and report it. Thereafter, we shall try to exonerate ourselves and to signal to all the world that we do not do unlawful things, nor do we love those who do them, and that we loyally honor what we promise, as God Almighty commands, who is the true witness of all human actions and judges them justly and, as we have experienced, favors those who are in the right. Your Lordship most illustrious, by the aforementioned letters, says that we have kept here at Rhodes your honorable ambassador for a long time, and that in the end we have sent him alone and have not wanted to comply with your demands. Most illustrious Lord: when your ambassador arrived at Rhodes, we honored him, treated him well, and welcomed him readily, since he is slave to our most great and honorable friend. From him, and from the letter of your Lordship, we have understood that you wished that Kemal Bey Kapıcıbaşı [Camal Bey Kapizi Bassi] from your honorable Porte be handed back, and that your Lordship, in return for this, promised to give us back our slaves, who are rural laborers of our islands, who had been taken in our territory in times of peace, contrary to all reason, by Kurtoğlu [Cortogoli] and other Turkish pirates sailing from the places of your Lordship, and returning from there [the islands they used to raid] with booty from our property. And, in order to put into effect the will of your Lordship, and to please you and to comply with your demand concerning the aforementioned ambassador, we sent the aforementioned ambassador's brother with our letter to your most illustrious Lordship, and of this same ambassador, in order to arrange the manner that had to be followed in the handover promised by one part and the other, and before such messenger brought back your answer, many days went by, and afterwards, upon his arrival, we received your letter, which promised

that you would immediately return all our slaves who are to be found in your places, a good deal of whom were ready, and that the others would be fetched and sent to Foça [Fisk], and that things would be done in a way that all the world might realize that our goodwill is stable and true, both in deeds and in words. This is exactly what the aforementioned ambassador promised on your most illustrious Lordship's behalf, and it was offered that if all our slaves were not at Foça ready to be given back, he would go fetch them in person, so that one side and the other would be content and satisfied. We have written to your Lordship, and such is the truth, which the aforementioned ambassador knows very well, that as soon as [the release of] the aforementioned Kemal Bey, being your slave, was asked from us, we redeemed him from the hand of the pirate, the Spanish knight, and put him in the hand of a third person, and have treated him decently for the love of your Lordship, not like a slave taken prisoner from a ship of robbers, but as our friend, and we gave him three physicians, who cured him completely from the grave and ugly disease he had. The aforementioned ambassador stayed here all the time out of his free will, and was never held back, and on his own will he departed from here, from us decently on one of our vessels, well treated and with lots of presents. He promised on behalf of your most illustrious Lordship that he would make our slaves come to Foça, and that he would write later on so that we should send the aforementioned Kemal Bey, and the exchange should then take place. And thus this ambassador arrived at Foça bound by the oath of peace which is between us, and according to the promise given in your letter, and according to the guarantee given by this ambassador, our people disembarked, bought and sold, and did business like friendly and peaceful people, and good neighbors, for many days. Your ambassador, however, contrary to all reason and with no justification whatsoever, took Brother Joanni Bucciari, Chiriaco Curri, and six of our people, thus breaking the word of your most illustrious Lordship, and the commitment given by him, which is something as has never been done by an ambassador of any nation, and we believe it does not please your most illustrious Lordship, because you are a great and just Lord, and of such a noble house, and the son of such a great and glorious emperor. What's more, just when the aforementioned ambassador did such a thing, our subjects' ships were at Makri and Foça. All of a sudden, we learned that, in order to get back their relatives and friends taken prisoner by your ambassador, they took some people of Makri and young men of Foça. Moreover, the subjects of your most illustrious Lordship, out of sheer malice and with no reason, broke the market [peace] of our St. Peter's Castle, and hit our people, and caused a major tumult and injustice, so that our men

were forced to defend themselves, and to take those who had made the tumult, who are twenty people altogether and were brought to Rhodes. We took them in our hands and made them be treated like peaceful and friendly people, in order to give them back to your most illustrious Lordship, when you will order that Chiriaco, Brother Joanni Bucciere, and the other six unjustly taken by your ambassador be given back, since the agreement has been made between us and the commitment has been given from one side and the other by letter as well as orally, and as far as we are concerned, we shall not fail to observe the promises made from one side as well as from the other, about which your most illustrious Lordship is apparently not well informed, and you show by the aforementioned letter that it rather displeases you that the aforementioned Kemal Bey has not been sent with the aforementioned ambassador, adding that you will do something that we would regret, but then it would not help us any more to repent. Most illustrious Lord, we are good and peaceful friends of the Lord Khudāvendigār and of your most illustrious Lordship, and we are ready always to do everything that is just and decent as befits good friends. For this purpose, we are in this place at the command of the most serene Lords, the Christian rulers from whom we receive favor and assistance because we are their sons, and besides them we do not recognize any other sovereign. First to God, and then to them we are called to account about our behavior, and we hope to God that as long as justice will be with us His assistance may not fail us. As far as the Kemal Bey issue is concerned, your most illustrious Lordship, know how the aforementioned Kemal Bey, on the 20th of the present month, departed secretly at night from a house of one of our brethren, with whom he lived, during the time the aforementioned brother was asleep. He took many weapons from the aforementioned house, and went to the stables of the palace of the Lordship with his slaves. He took with him twelve of our slaves and armed them with the aforementioned weapons, and then they escaped with a rope over the wall. Because he was informed that a vessel of Spaniards was near the harbor, and seven men used to sleep inside it, he went to the aforementioned vessel, which had a landing plank joined to the land, and sent some of the aforementioned slaves ahead, who went aboard the vessel and suddenly killed one [of the men inside it], and then fought with the others. Kemal Bey was on land and hit the men from the vessel with [shots from] his bow, and when he saw that the vessel had now been gained, got aboard over the plank. The slaves, still in frenzy, cut the rope and pushed off the vessel, and Kemal Bey fell into the sea and was drowned. One of the slaves, the one responsible for this accident, died in the vessel together with another one from among the Christians, and the other slaves, seeing that the vessel they had

gained did not have oars inside it, left it and fled over the island. This issue has been very unpleasant to us and sincerely displeases us, because he was a slave loved by your most illustrious Lordship: we had ransomed him for two thousand ducats, had him cured as best could be done at the hand of three physicians, and spent a lot of money on him and treated him dearly for the love of your most illustrious Lordship. It did certainly not fit a man of the condition of the aforementioned Kemal Bey, as he was well treated like a friend, and lived in freedom outside the prison honorably, together with one of our brethren, to make such problems like putting his life in danger, kidnapping our slaves, killing Christian men in our territory, and trying to bring about damage and shame, all the more since it is something that he has done on his own, contrary to our will, as all Rhodes knows, and many Muslims believe that everyone must be patient. But despite this mischief caused by him, we had him buried decently. We would have preferred that such a thing would not have happened, in order not to lose the two thousand ducats that we had given to have him freed, and a lot of other expenses that we have expended for him in order to please your most illustrious Lordship, since you are our friend. Now that the case has evolved as it did, we want your most illustrious Lordship to realize that our word is stable, and that we did not break the agreement concluded, and therefore we shall give back the Muslims taken prisoner at Makri, Foça, and St. Peter's Castle, who are twenty, and your Lordship shall order that Chiriaco, Brother Bucciare, and the other six of our people taken by the ambassador, who are eight, and moreover, some of the other men from our territory taken by Kurtoğlu, be given back. Since your Lordship is of noble extraction and a strict observer of your word, we have hope that you will graciously give those men back to us according to the first agreement, since we spent money on Kemal Bey, and he died out of his own fault, contrary to our will, and since our people were taken in our territory in a time of peace, which we honor and observe with regard to the Lord Khudāvendigār and your most illustrious Lordship. Therefore, reason forbids that our people be mistreated or sold. Written at Rhodes, on 23 July 1504. [Signed] Lieutenant of the most revered Lord, the Great Master and the Council of the Order of Rhodes/

**{AOM 80:105v}[31/7/04]**

About the slave Kemal Bey [Camalbei]: In the name of the Lord, Amen. On the last day of July 1504, the revered Lord Master of the Castle of Emposte, in his function as Manager of the Common Treasury, reported in the presence of the revered Council, in ordinary session and with the Lords Brethren Guido Borel Valdiviessa and Maldonato, how

the Treasury had formerly received in its possession Kemal Bey, the Chamberlain of Korkud Çelebi [Corcut Scialabi], son of the Great Turk, under certain stipulations and conditions agreed upon with the aforementioned Lords Brethren, recorded in the present register on the 23rd day of the month of February 1503 AD. But, since Kemal Bey, being a prisoner of war and a slave to the aforementioned Lords Brethren, had tried to flee from Rhodes, and during that attempt fell into the sea, and was drowned and died, as is clearly established in the authentic document referring to this issue, the aforementioned Lords Brethren Guido Valdiviessa and Maldonato claim to get a compensation for the loss of their slave, and the revered Lords Managers of the Common Treasury claim such compensation [too]. [?...?]