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THE FIRST DUTCH AMBASSADOR IN ISTANBUL: CORNELIS HAGA
AND THE DUTCH CAPITULATIONS OF 1612

A PhD DISSERTATION

BY

BÜLENT ARI

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY

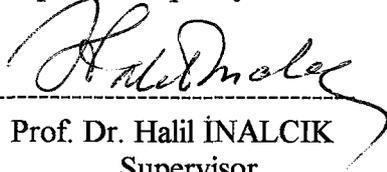
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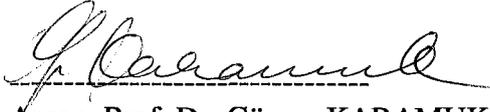
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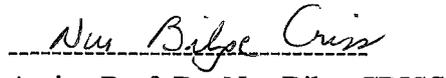
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ABSTRACT

THE FIRST DUTCH AMBASSADOR IN ISTANBUL: CORNELIS HAGA
AND THE DUTCH CAPITULATIONS OF 1612

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This dissertation evaluates the granting of capitulations to the Dutch Republic by the Ottoman Sultan in 1612, and early years of first Dutch ambassador Cornelis Haga. The United Provinces, formed by seven provinces of the Low Countries in 1579, signed Twelve Years Truce with Spain in 1609. The truce was the beginning of Dutch primacy in world economy, which would last until mid 17th century. The Dutch Republic sent Haga to achieve grant of capitulations by the Sultan Ahmed I. Despite intensive opposition of Venetian, French and English ambassadors at the Porte, Haga fulfilled his mission and remained in Istanbul as resident ambassador. From Haga's arrival onwards, Vizier Halil Paşa provided all kinds of assistance to him in establishing diplomatic relations with the Porte. In a few years Dutch consulates were opened in major port cities throughout the Mediterranean. Haga remained in Istanbul for 27 years, where he came for a temporary mission. Halil Paşa's protection was always crucial both for Haga and for the Dutch merchants. This study analyses the story of Haga as an ambassador relying on his register book including all diplomatic correspondences of his embassy. In other words, the dissertation is a case study for granting of capitulations by the Ottoman Sultan and the diplomatic maneuvers resorted by other ambassadors at the Porte.

Keywords: Holland, The Netherlands, Cornelis Haga, Halil Paşa, Capitulations, Ambassador, Diplomacy, States General, Levant Company, Europe.

ÖZET

İSTANBUL'DAKİ İLK HOLLANDA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ: CORNELIS HAGA VE
1612 HOLLANDA KAPİTÜLASYONLARI

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Aralık 2003

Bu çalışma, 1612 yılında Osmanlı padişâhı Sultan I. Ahmed tarafından Hollanda Cumhuriyeti'ne verilen kapitülasyonları ve İstanbul'daki ilk Hollanda elçisi Cornelis Haga'nın ilk sefâret yıllarını ele almaktadır. 1579 yılında yedi eyalet tarafından kurulan Hollanda Cumhuriyeti, 1609 yılında İspanya ile 12 Yıl Mütarekesi'ni imzaladı. Bu mütareke Hollanda'nın 17. yüzyıl ortalarına kadar süren dünya ekonomik liderliğinin başlangıcıdır. Hollanda Cumhuriyeti Sultan I. Ahmed'den kapitülasyon alabilmek için Haga'yı gönderdi. İstanbul'daki Venedik, Fransız ve İngiliz elçilerinin yoğun muhalefetine rağmen Haga görevini başarıyla tamamlayıp İstanbul'da kaldı. Haga'nın İstanbul'a gelişinden itibaren Vezir Halil Paşa ona her türlü yardımı yaptı. Birkaç yıl içinde Akdeniz'in bütün önemli liman şehirlerinde Hollanda konsoloslukları açıldı. Haga geçici görevle geldiği İstanbul'da 27 yıl kaldı. Bütün bu gelişmelerde Halil Paşa'nın Haga'yı ve Hollanda tüccarını himayesi oldukça etkili oldu. Bu tez, Haga'nın elçilik defterine dayanarak onun sefâretinin hikayesini anlatmaktadır. Bir başka deyişle, tez, Osmanlı padişâhının bir kapitülasyonu nasıl verdiğini ve Bâb-ı Ali nezdindeki diğer elçilerin bunu önlemek için yaptıkları diplomatic manevraları anlatan bir örnek olay mahiyetindedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hollanda, Cornelis Haga, Halil Paşa, Kapitülasyonlar, Elçi, Diplomasi, Levant Kumpanyası, Avrupa, Korsanlık, Akdeniz.

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INTRODUCTION

In this study, the basic aim is to evaluate the granting of capitulations to the Netherlands by the Sultan in 1612, and to evaluate the early years of the first Dutch ambassador in Istanbul, Cornelis Haga. In other words, the research will focus on the year 1612 while making flashbacks to Dutch history, and international developments in Northern Europe, the Mediterranean, North Africa and Middle East.

When I first started my research, I was thinking of concentrating only on Dutch history and Ottoman – Dutch relations. However, as my studies furthered and deepened, bibliographical and archival research inevitably dragged me into European political, cultural, economic and even religious developments. As time passed, together with Spain, England, Venice and even the Pope got involved in the Ottoman – Dutch relations.

After six years of research, in the end, I could convince myself that I could conclude the readings on the subject and complete the writing. Although I have collected a great collection of materials, I could use only about one tenth of them. Most of the materials were relevant to European history. They provided me with a general opinion about the conflicts, frictions, battles, and wars among the major powers of Europe, the Ottoman Empire, Spain, France, and Holy Roman Empire. Throughout the Dutch Revolt, between 1567 and 1609, England was also part of the diplomatic and military interaction with Spain. As can be followed at the

relevant chapter, Spain made a naval attempt in 1588 to get rid of England, and consequently defeat the Dutch Republic.

At the beginning of the 17th century, the time that I will be dealing with, Venice still played an important commercial, if not military role in the Mediterranean. But it would fall into a secondary role soon after. Together with Venice, Spain would also decline in this era at the expense of England and the Netherlands.

I will not try to contribute or challenge the known facts of European history. Nevertheless, my research shows that the role of the Ottoman Empire in this period was ignored, omitted, and sometimes underestimated. Prof. Halil İnalcık has written numerous articles on the influence of the Ottoman Empire on European affairs. As he puts it, without consideration of the Ottoman Empire, European history cannot be understood. Similarly, without considering European politics, Ottoman history cannot be clarified.

One dilemma of European historians is their difficulty in evaluating Ottoman archives. My humble contribution will thus be to combine Ottoman archival material with Venetian and Dutch documents. Thanks to the Venetian network of *bailos*¹ in Istanbul, Madrid, London, Paris and Vienna, and their reports, we could

¹ Venetian diplomatic agents in foreign capitals. Although *bailos* dispatched on the diplomatic developments regularly to the Doge and Senate in Venice, they acted as representatives of the Venetian merchants rather than a diplomatic agent. Because they were paid not by Venice, but by the merchants trading in the country they resided. Venetian merchants paid consulate fee to the Venetian bailo in Istanbul, in addition to the customs duty, called *cottimo*. This amount was 1% in 15th Century, but increased to 2 % in 16th and 17th centuries. Because of this in early 17th century the English and French ambassadors inclined to see the Venetian *bailo* as a representative of the Venetian

get very valuable information about the political, military, and economic developments in these centers. These reports provide us synchronic reactions of the political mechanisms in each country. The combination of that knowledge with Dutch and Ottoman approach, I believe, would enlighten future researchers and facilitate their efforts in evaluating the existing documents and archival material.

Dr. Aleander De Groot has made a research 25 years ago on the embassy of Cornelis Haga and his diplomatic activities in Istanbul covering the years between 1610 and 1630. He completed his dissertation at Leiden University, and Nederlands Archeology Institute published it.² This study, doubtless, filled a big gap on the early Ottoman - Dutch relations. Since it was basically addressed to the non-Turkish readers, his study also dealt with the administrative mechanism of the Ottoman Empire, such as the role of the Sultan, Divân-i Hümâyûn, and etc. Dr. De Groot spared a chapter on the life and the career of Halil Paşa as well. The last part of Dr. De Groot's study was allocated to the transcription and English translation of Dutch capitulations, granted by Sultan Ahmed I in 1612. His research covers the period of 1610 – 1630, which he included the attempts of a military alliance between the Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic. In his work, De Groot mostly relied on the collection of documents from Dutch archives,

merchants in Istanbul, rather than a plenipotentiary ambassador of Venice at equal rank with other ambassadors. The term was generally as *balyos* in the Ottoman documents.

² Alexander De Groot. *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic: A History of the Earliest Diplomatic Relations 1610-1630*, (Leiden/Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1978).

published by Dr. H. Heeringa, in 1910.³ He also published a book in Dutch without notes, mainly for popular use. But, in this study he widely used the documents available in the Dutch archives.⁴ That book was also among the main references of Dr. De Groot.

In this study, beside the above-mentioned sources, I tried to thoroughly evaluate the register book of Haga in particular. Although Dr. De Groot had mentioned Haga's book among his references, he rarely used the documents inside it. For this reason his dissertation reflected the Dutch point of view based on Haga's dispatches and resolutions of the States General. Although correspondence between Haga and the Dutch government has great importance in this field, conflicts and frictions between the power groups at the Porte cannot be neglected. Haga's register book provided wide range of documents, which reflect the attitude of all these groups in the Ottoman capital. Imperial decrees of the Sultans, letters of the Deputy-Grand Vizier, Şeyhülislam, Viceroys, and particularly correspondance of Halil Paşa carried both implicit and explicit messages regarding the Dutch capitulations and the embassy of Haga. Especially letters of Ottoman local authorities to the Porte are very important to observe the approaches of Ottoman officials in granting of capitulations under new conditions. I combined both Dutch and Ottoman documents to have a better view of the picture of this period. In this way, this dissertation is a kind of case study for granting capitulations to a foreign nation by the Ottoman Sultan. French and English capitulations were granted much earlier, but we have no detailed

³ *Bronnen Tot De Geschiedenis Van Den Levantschen Handel*, Ed. K. Heeringa, vols I-II, ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhof, 1910).

⁴ K. Heeringa, *De Eerste Nederlandsche Gezant Bij De Verheven Porte*, (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1917).

information about the diplomatic process. Through Haga's register book, which I tried to evaluate almost every detail in it, we could learn most of the political and diplomatic developments at the Porte. The documents also reflected the opinions of the Ottoman authorities regarding commercial and diplomatic reciprocity. These are the points that we have little information in Ottoman diplomacy.

As well known, the Low Countries at the time we are dealing with should be distinguished from the modern state of the Netherlands. The Low Countries covered today's Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and a small portion of northern France. A decade after the Dutch Revolt erupted, the seven provinces of the northern Netherlands established the United Provinces in 1579 with the Union of Utrecht, while the remaining ten was called the Spanish Netherlands. It must be remembered that the French armies occupied the Netherlands in late Eighteenth century, and Belgium gained independence in 1830 as a result of a series of revolts.

After giving general information on the geography, history, religion, administration, and economic and social structure of the Netherlands in chapter II, I have focused on the early contacts between the two countries in chapter III. After this brief information on the Low Countries, the early periods of Dutch trade in the Levant and the responses of the existing actors in the Mediterranean basin was handled. In this chapter, the impact of the Truce, and the situation of the Dutch merchants *vis-à-vis* the English and the Venetians was tried to be clarified relying on the reports of the Venetian *bailos* from major European and Ottoman capitals. In Ottoman point of view, although high respect was shown to the English, and all facilities were provided for the English merchants at the expense of the French and the Venetians, the English vessels were intensively involved in privateering. Moreover, Anglo - Spanish peace treaty signed in 1604 by James I

changed the attitudes of the Porte against England. James' abandonment of Elizabeth's policies affected the Ottoman Viziers' opinions vis-à-vis England. The Ottoman authorities, including Sultan Ahmed, began to conclude that there was no need to sustain the good relations with a country, which was not engaged in hostile relations with Spain any more. These attitudes could only be neutralized with the influence of *Şeyhülislam*. The change in the policy of the recently crowned English king and intensive English privateering in the Mediterranean has structured the ground for the establishment of friendly relations with the Dutch Republic.

In Chapter IV, which deals with the first Dutch envoy at the Porte, the attempts of the United Provinces to achieve granting of capitulations from the Ottoman Sultan were evaluated. Despite the intrigues of the Venetian *bailo* and the French ambassador at the Porte to prevent the Dutch capitulations, Haga could achieve an audience with the Sultan. The personality of Haga, his character, his respectful behavior towards the Viziers and other dignitaries of the Porte played an important role for this achievement. While the other ambassadors at the Porte continuously conflicted, and caused frictions, the patience and smooth approach of Haga influenced the Sultan, the Viziers, the *Şeyhülislam*, and even *Şeyh Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî*, who was very influential over the Sultan personally. This should be considered as vital for diplomatic success at the Porte. This period covers the immediate years of the embassy of Haga in Istanbul. To clarify the reactions of France, England, and Venice, and their ambassadors in Istanbul, I have used the Venetian archival material intensively. The Venetian documents reflect the diplomatic atmosphere of the major capitals of Europe at all respects.

Chapters V and VI of my dissertation dealt with the activities of Haga with the Ottoman senior authorities and the efforts of Halil Paşa to achieve the grant of Dutch capitulations from the Sultan. The intensive contacts of Dutch ambassador soon after his arrival in Istanbul required a thorough evaluation of the Ottoman documents beside the Dutch and the Venetian archival material. In this regard, the register book of Haga is the basic source, which Dr. De Groot attributed little attention.⁵ Other than the imperial decrees and the imperial letters of the Sultans this register book contains the letters of Ottoman authorities and of Halil Paşa. The letters of Halil Paşa to the Ottoman local authorities, regarding the protection of Dutch merchants and Dutch consuls at the initial years of Haga is noteworthy. These letters and other relevant documents were evaluated within the framework of a case study on granting capitulations by the Ottoman Sultan to a foreign nation, and establishment of a residential embassy in Istanbul.

The documents, which were evaluated for this dissertation, provided us detailed information about the background of granting comprehensive capitulations. Diplomatic developments about previous French and English capitulations were only known by the dispatches of the Venetian bailios, while in this case, the development of the events, the negotiations, the grant of capitulations, and afterwards could be followed from Ottoman, Dutch, English and Venetian archival materials. Thanks to the register book of Haga, which included all official and personal correspondence, we could obtain information in dept. Because of this, the full content of Haga's register book was enclosed at the Appendix with their English summaries to be used by future researchers. Each document was given at separate pages with document number and an

⁵ Manuscript. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplement Turc, No: 118.

English summary below. Some of the crucial documents, carrying political and diplomatic importance, were transliterated in the following pages. I hope it would be beneficial for the researchers who make studies on the Ottoman diplomatic and economic history.

The contribution of this study to the field would be to reflect the background of the discussions, negotiations, conflicts, and intrigues throughout the procedure of granting Dutch capitulations. In Dutch case, other than the Dutch ambassador, the English, French, and Venetian representatives were also involved in the process. It also shows us the international character of the capitulations. Granting of capitulations to one nation had great impacts on the commercial interests of the others. Because, achieving capitulations from the Ottoman Sultan greatly affected the volume of a country's Levant trade.

There are numerous bibliographical works on the Dutch Revolt between 1567 and 1609, which ended with the Twelve Years Truce in 1609. Dutch historians provided me with many kinds of secondary material on every aspects of the Netherlands. The monumental work of John Lotrop Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, in three volumes, taught me the chronological developments of the Dutch Revolt. The important work of Geoffrey Parker on the Dutch Revolt has given me inspiration on many aspects. One valuable and recent publication in this area, *The Dutch Republic* by Jonathan Israel, has provided me with precious knowledge on every aspect of Dutch history. Maps, tables, information on institutions, and culture and economic life are all available in his recent study. From Martin van Gelderen's book, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590*, I learned, in depth, about the Revolt. Marjolein 't Hart's *The Making of A Bourgeois State* also contributed to my study about the cultural and economic roots of the Netherlands.

Regarding the archival materials, the most important set of documents that occupied considerable space in Appendix as well, is the *Register Book* of Cornelis Haga. This valuable register book contains the imperial decrees, imperial letters, petitions, appointments, complaints, and the official dispatches from the Sublime Porte regarding the Dutch affairs. Consisting of 200 folios, which contain 217 documents, the book provided precious information about the early diplomatic and commercial activities of Haga. The original of the register book is kept in Paris, at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplement Turc, No: 118. The whole set of documents, written in Ottoman together with their English summaries in this register, is given in Appendix I (other than the official correspondence, Dutch, English, and French capitulations are also included in this register book). Although Dr. De Groot gave transliteration of the Dutch capitulations of 1612 in the final chapter of his dissertation, I also included full transliteration of 1612 capitulations in Appendix I following the Ottoman script.⁶ There are certain errors in reading by Dr. De Groot, which would change the meaning of the articles.

A second important source of documents is the Algemeen Rijks Archief (A.R.A.) in Den Haag. Beside the whole set of imperial letters belonging to later periods, very valuable collection of letters by Sultans, Grand Viziers, and other senior officials are kept in Staten Generaal, Secrete Kas funds. The original documents of the 1612, 1638, and 1680 capitulations are also available among this fund. With their golden ink monograms and marvelous *Divânî* style Ottoman calligraphic scripts, the capitulations are among the most precious documents of the A.R.A. They are kept in a special section and are not open for public use, but

⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplement Turc, No: 118 (Appendix I, document 72).

I could see and read the documents with special permission. The 1612 capitulations is only exhibited rarely in the A.R.A. Some of the documents in this inventory are also included in the embassy's register book. So, originals of certain documents can be found in the A.R.A., while their copies were registered in Haga's embassy book. I have mentioned this kind of documents at the footnotes and below the documents at Appendix I with the inventory and register number where the original of the document is available in the A.R.A.

Other valuable sources of documentation include the dispatches of the Venetian *bailos* from Constantinople, Paris, Madrid and London. The reports of the *bailos* provide background for the events that were not written in official documents. *The Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, Venice*, provided me information on the great rivalry between French, Venetian, and English ambassadors and their hatred against the Netherlands, i.e., Cornelis Haga.

The documents demonstrate that ambassador Haga had formed a strong circle of coalition among elite Ottoman officials. Vizier Halil Paşa was the most important and the most efficient official among the other chain of his supporters. On many occasions, Halil Paşa backed Haga both politically and financially to sustain his position in Istanbul. If Haga remained alone, he might have been a victim of unending plots designed by French, English, and the Venetian ambassadors.

The first two volumes of *Levantshen Handel* edited by K. Heeringa also constitute a first hand and crucial source outlining Haga's adventures in Istanbul. His diplomatic dispatches, reports, and memoranda provided me all the details of his early diplomatic activities in Istanbul. The States General's letters to Haga and to the Sublime Porte reflected and clarified the attitude of the Dutch

authorities towards the developments in Istanbul. The resolutions and the letters of the States General enlighten the atmosphere of the political developments in Northern Europe as well. Thanks to these whole set of documents it is possible to perceive the diplomatic structure of the major European capitals.

Despite being private records, the *Fuggers Newsletters* constitute a set of archival documents on the political, financial, and international developments of the period in Europe. One of the major creditors of Philip II, the Fuggers, lost huge amounts of money when Spain (Philip II) went bankrupt and was unable to pay its loans. That affected the Fuggers adversely and they lost their capital, which could almost purchase an empire. For this reason, the *Newsletters*, published by the Fuggers reflect the real political and military power balance system in Europe.

CHAPTER II

THE NETHERLANDS

A. The Low Countries

It should be noted that when we mention "the Netherlands" it is not politically and geographically the present - day Netherlands but rather the Spanish Netherlands. It was composed of present - day Netherlands plus Belgium, Luxembourg and even the Northern French towns of Cambrai and Douai. So, this area as a whole should be taken into account as the Habsburg Netherlands. Although Holland is only a province of the Netherlands, in Turkey and in some other countries, the word "Holland" was used to mention the Netherlands as a whole. Readers should remember this point. Ottoman documents, on the other hand, indicate the Netherlands as "*Nederlanda*" in its correct form. This research will provide relevant maps where necessary to trace the territorial losses and gains during the Dutch Revolt.

There were seventeen provinces in this area. Seven of them constituted the United Provinces with the Union of Utrecht in 1579. The leaders of the remaining ten signed the Treaty of Arras with Farnese¹ in the same year, and they subsequently began to be called the Spanish Netherlands.²

¹ Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, and governor-general of the Netherlands.

² Alexander De Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and Dutch Republic*, (Leiden-Istanbul: 1978) p 292.

1. Burgundy and England

The independent duchy of Burgundy included modern Belgium, Holland, and northeast France to within three miles of Calais. In the 16th century, the English ordinarily called the Netherlands “Flanders” or “The Low Countries” but continued to refer to “Burgundy” when they were discussing the traditional alliance. For nearly 200 years the alliance with “Burgundy” had been the cornerstone of English foreign policy. It was a military alliance against France and it created flourishing trade relationship.³

Philip II⁴ inherited from his father Charles V a classic example of the late Medieval system of “*dominium politicum et regale*.” In theory, the sovereign had broad authority, covering policy, justice and grace. The sovereign was the chief legislator, the supreme judge, and the only figure competent to grant pardon and reprieve. Since Charles V and Philip II were frequently absent from the Netherlands, they appointed a governor – general to govern the Low Countries.

In theory, the sovereign delegated his authority to the governor – general (*Dominium politicum et regale*), as developed by Sir John Fortescue in the 15th century treatise on the governance of England. Its essence was: “With regard to taxation, the king should rule by such laws as he makes himself (*Dominium regale*), but such laws should receive the assent of his people (*Dominium*

³ Jasper Ridley, *Elizabeth I*, (NY: Fromm, 1989) p 160.

⁴ Son of Emperor Charles V, and Isabel of Portugal (1527-1598). Became King of Spain, Naples, Milan, and the Netherlands (1556-1598) on his father’s abdication.

politicum). Koenigsberger had argued that the reign of Charles V over the Netherlands was a typical example of "*Dominium politicum et regale*".⁵

The Low Countries consisted of Seventeen provinces. Each province enjoyed typical Medieval liberties, privileges and immunities, including the right to preserve its own law and consent to its own taxes. This constitution of the Netherlands was called the *Joyeuse Entrée* made by the reigning duke in Brussels in 1335 after a solemn promise to recognize the liberties of the province of Brabant.⁶ The division of power between the prince and of the subjects relied on two pillars:

1. Privileges of 1477 (granted, or rather negotiated on the occasion of the unexpected death of the Duke, Charles the Bold on the battlefields of Nancy which led to a grave political crisis).
2. Joyous Entry of Brabant, a constitutional document to which, from 1356, every duke of Brabant had to take a solemn oath on the occasion of his inauguration by the Brabant States.⁷

Before the revolt, there was no meaningful separation of north and south in the Low Countries and that there was just one Habsburg Netherlands, within which the Seventeen provinces (despite the differences between them) were more or less united under the rule of the Habsburg court in Brussels. The separation of north and south, stemming from the Revolt of 1572, appeared to be

⁵ Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought*, p 19.

⁶ R. R. Palmer, *A History of the Medieval World*, (NY: Alfred Knopf, 1960) p 108.

⁷ Martin van Gelderen, ed. *The Dutch Revolt*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1993) p xiv.

an artificial, unnatural rapture, which had no basis in previous history.⁸ During most of the history of the United Provinces, allegiance and identity were based on provincial, civic, and sometimes also local rural sentiment rather than attachment to the Republic as a whole.⁹

As known by most of the readers, territories reclaimed from the sea constitute a great portion of today's Netherlands. Especially in the provinces of Holland and Zeeland, most of the areas are under sea level. Those regions were reclaimed as a result of continuous efforts to control the rivers and seawaters. Today, people in the Netherlands live in safety without any fear, since the seawaters are controlled with walls and dykes that are constructed with high technology.

In early ages, primitive dykes and dams had been constructed to control the movement of water. In this respect, some digging of drainage channels were made. But until around 1200, such efforts had remained on a limited scale and were insufficient to allow regular cultivation of the Low Lands in western regions of the Netherlands. That part of the Netherlands was subject to frequent flooding. 12th century Holland, Zeeland, Friesland, Groningen, and part of Flanders was waterlogged marshy lands, dangerous and thinly populated.

Most agricultural and commercial activity was carried out on higher ground, safe from flooding to the south and to the east. Only after 1200 did construction of dykes and reclamation proceeded systematically. During the 13th century,

⁸ J. Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p V.

⁹ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p VI.

extensive areas were dyked, drained, cultivated, and intensively colonized.¹⁰ By 1300, Holland, Zeeland, Friesland, Flanders and Groningen constituted a new country, protected and rendered productive by dikes, dams, polders, and huge river embankments.¹¹ Nevertheless, in the 14th century the Southern parts of the Low Countries were more developed than the Northern parts. Beyond Italy, the South Netherlands was the most urbanized area of Europe.¹²

2. Population

The 1348 Black Death, which lasted a century, devastated most European towns and cities. However, Holland and Zeeland were unique in Europe and experienced a continuous expansion of urban life throughout Europe's long depression.¹³ It should be remembered that by the late 15th century, Flanders and Brabants were still the two most populous and economically developed provinces.

By 1500, the area of the (later) Dutch Republic was already populated intensively with approximately 1 million inhabitants. A century later, the population was around 1.5 million, and by 1700 it reached to some 1.9 million. Most of the growth of the population was concentrated in the west in the province of Holland. By the year, 1650, about 48% of the population resided in Holland. It

¹⁰ Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic Its Rise Greatness and Fall 1477-1806*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995) p 9.

¹¹ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 10.

¹² J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 12.

¹³ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 14.

could be observed that by 1675, the people living in the cities comprised as much as 42% of the entire population.¹⁴

Table 1: Population of the main provinces in the Low Countries in 1477.

| Province | Population | % of the Netherlands | % Rural | % Urban |
|------------------|------------|----------------------|---------|---------|
| Flanders | 660.000 | 26.0 | 64 | 36 |
| Brabant | 413.000 | 16.0 | 69 | 31 |
| Holland | 275.000 | 10.5 | 55 | 45 |
| Artois | 140.000 | 5.5 | 78 | 22 |
| Hainault | 130.000 | 5.0 | 70 | 30 |
| Liege | 120.000 | 4.5 | - | - |
| Gelderland | 98.000 | 3.8 | 56 | 44 |
| Walloon Flanders | 73.000 | 2.8 | 64 | 36 |
| Friesland | 71.000 | 2.7 | 78 | 22 |
| Luxembourg | 68.000 | 2.6 | 85 | 15 |
| Overijssel | 53.000 | 2.0 | 52 | 48 |

Source: Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995, p.15.

To better understand the rate of urban population in the Netherlands, this research compares it to the urban population of other countries in Europe. (See Table 2). The size of the urban population was only 5% in Germany, around 9% in France, and less than 15% in Northern Italy as late as 1800.

¹⁴ Marjolein 't Hart, *The Making of a Bourgeois State, War, Politics and Finance During the Dutch Revolt*, (Manchester: 1993) p 16.

Table 2: Urban % of total population (cities over 10.000).

| Cities | 1600 | 1700 | 1800 |
|-------------------|------|------|------|
| N. Netherlands | 24.3 | 33.6 | 28.8 |
| S. Netherlands | 18.8 | 23.9 | 18.9 |
| England and Wales | 5.8 | 13.3 | 20.3 |
| Germany | 4.1 | 4.8 | 5.5 |
| France | 5.9 | 9.2 | 8.8 |
| Switzerland | 2.5 | 3.3 | 3.7 |
| Northern Italy | 16.6 | 13.6 | 14.3 |
| Poland | 0.4 | 0.5 | 2.5 |

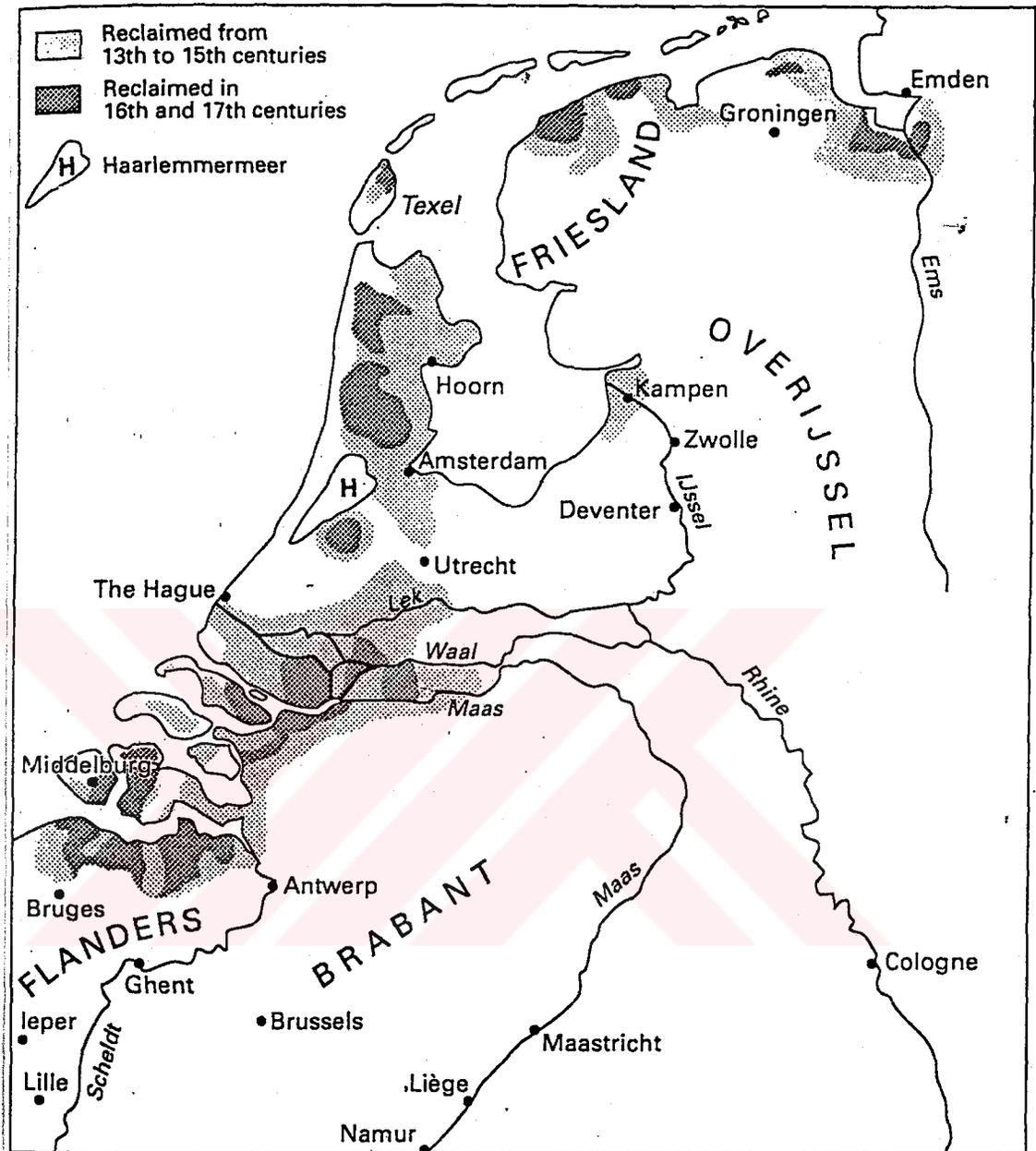
Source: *A Miracle Mirrored*, Eds, Karel Davids & Jan Lucassen, Cambridge: CUP, 1995, p63.

The reports of the Venetian ambassador in Spain, Michiel Soriano, give us highly detailed information about the geographic, demographic, and economic structure of The Low Countries:

The Low Countries by reason of extent of their frontiers, the multitude of their population, their riches, their proximity to the sea and to the rivers, and the beauty and the grandeur of their land are not inferior to any kingdom in Europe, and there is no other country in the world which is at the same time more sterile, and more wealthy. Their sterility is due partly to the climate, which is cold and damp, and partly to want of care on the part of the inhabitants, who busy themselves more with commerce and the arts of manufacture than with agriculture, and the land is allowed to run to pasture and to woods after the manner in which the English deal with their lands.

Their wealth is derived from the large trade, which is carried on with England, Flanders, Spain, Germany, Italy, and the whole world, because much merchandise is exported to those countries and much merchandise is imported from them, and these importations are partly consumed at home, and partly forwarded elsewhere. The goods, which are exported to all parts of the world, are tapestries, cloth, and linen.¹⁵

¹⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, vol, VII, p 327.



Areas reclaimed from the sea, and lakes in medieval and early modern times in the Low Countries

Source: Jonathen Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995, p 11.

As the economic importance of Holland increased, its population demonstrated a parallel growth. Holland was the focus of the Dutch economic miracle. It continued in the 17th century; by 1680, Holland alone contained over 40 % of the population of the Republic and probably more than half of its wealth. In this era Holland was the most highly urbanized area in Europe.¹⁶

The demographic structure of the Netherlands began to change in the 18th century. The Golden Age¹⁷ of the Dutch Republic had already concluded, and England had economic and naval primacy. Political and economic developments influenced Dutch demography. Between 1700 and 1750 the whole urban system disintegrated. Dutch urban system was based on fiscal-military advantages. Amsterdam became dominant, Rotterdam became the central seaport, and Zeeland declined to a secondary status. International ties shifted to Amsterdam at the expense of other towns. Most of the commercial activities that had been carried out throughout the whole urban system were now performed by Amsterdam. As a result, the population living in the cities decreased: Middelburg, Delft, Alkmaar, Hoorn lost 30 to 40 % of their population, Haarlem 45 %, Leiden 54 %, and Enkhuizen, an astonishing 68 %.¹⁸

3. The Netherlands: Administration

There had been four great princes in Medieval Netherlands:

- ✓ The Count of Flanders

¹⁶ J. L. Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic in the 17th Century*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) p 222.

¹⁷ "Goeden Eeuw", in Dutch.

¹⁸ Marjolein 't Hart, 'The Dutch Republic: The Urban Impact Upon Politics', in *A Miracle Mirrored*, Eds., Karel Davids and Jan Lucassen, (Cambridge: CUP, 1995) pp 76-77.

- ✓ The Duke of Brabant
- ✓ The Duke of Gelderland
- ✓ The Count of Holland and Zeeland

The territorial unification of the Low Countries was started in the late 14th Century. In 1384 Philip the Bold, the Duke of Burgundy, acquired Flanders and Artois. Before the turn of the century, Philip also acquired control over Brabant and Limburg. Under his grandson Philip the Good, a personal union between these provinces was forged in 1430. Three years later, Philip became Count of Holland, Zeeland, and Hainaut, thus unifying the core provinces of the Low Countries.

The defeat and death of Charles the Bold in 1477 at the battle of Nancy, however, not only led to the loss of the Duchy of Burgundy to the French king, it also led to a political crisis within the Low Countries. A "Legal Revolution" took place vis-à-vis grand privilege, which applied to Burgundian Netherlands as a whole, four provincial privileges and a dozen of urban privileges, the towns and states assembly imposed upon Mary of Burgundy, Charles' heiress, a number of institutional reforms. The States General recognized Mary as the legitimate successor of her father, and took measures to protect the Netherlands against the French king. The 1477 restriction of central power was temporary. Between 1490 and 1506 Philip the Fair regained much of the ground that had been lost in the 1477 crisis. The marriage of Philip with Juliana of Castille was an alliance between the Habsburgs and Spanish monarchs against the French king. Thus

the Low Countries was united with Spain. During his reign, Charles V completed the territorial unification of the Low Countries.¹⁹

Through a series of accidents, this mass of states, cities and *seignories* had fallen into the hands of one man, the Duke of Burgundy at the beginning of the 15th century. On the death of Duke Charles in 1477, the Netherlands reverted to his daughter, Mary, the wife of the archduke Maximilian, and then reverted to their son Philip and finally on Philip's death to his heir Charles, the future emperor.²⁰

On September 1517, Charles V left via Flushing for Spain to claim his Spanish inheritance. At this time, the Habsburg Netherlands was placed under the regency of his aunt, Philip of Habsburg's sister Margaret of Austria, a regency that lasted 13 years (1517-1530). Upon her death, Charles V chose his sister Mary of Hungary (1531-1540) as regent. Charles spent most of 1531 in Brussels, and he reorganized and strengthened the administration of the Low Countries. Charles deliberately chose Mary as an inexperienced figurehead with little knowledge of the Netherlands.

The Emperor set up three new institutions in 1531: a rather grand formal body called the Council of State, reorganized the council of finance, and established a secret council. These were the so-called collateral councils at Brussels, which were to survive, roughly in the same form, at the head of the administration of the Habsburg Netherlands until 1788. Officially, the Council of State was the most important of these organs and constituted the forum of the

¹⁹ Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1993) pp 16-18.

²⁰ V. H. H. Green, *Renaissance and Reformation*, (London: Edward Arnold Ltd) p 229.

principal *seigneurs*. It consisted of twelve members, most of whom were southern magnates. The Secret Council, on the other hand, contained no magnates and was staffed by professional bureaucrats and jurists. By formalizing two chains of authority and patronage, Charles hoped to accommodate both and minimize friction.²¹

The Dutch Provinces

- ✓ **Holland and Zeeland** had lived under the domination of the counts of Holland and the dukes of Burgundy,
- ✓ **Utrecht** had been the center of a bishopric for ages,
- ✓ **Groningen, Friesland** and part of the northern quarter of Holland (west Friesland) had belonged to the "Frisian freedom,"
- ✓ **Gelderland** had been a duchy of German Empire,
- ✓ Parts of **Overijssel** claimed allegiance to the holy Roman emperor.²²

Prince William²³ of Orange's day in the Netherlands consisted of a collection of duchies, counties, and *seignories* gathered together over the

²¹ Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp 36-37.

²² Marjolein 't Hart, *The Making of A Bourgeois State*, (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1993) p 15.

²³ Willem van Oranje (1533-1584). Prince of Orange of Nassau and Stadholder of Holland (1573-1584). Born at Dillenburg, inherited in 1544 of his cousin René of Nassau as lord of the extensive estates in the Netherlands and the south of France, of the principality of Orange. A closer confidant of Emperor Charles V, he was invited to the court of Brussels, but after the Emperor's abdication in 1556, he fell out with the Habsburg ministers. He became leader of the Dutch revolt, and finally was finally assassinated at Delft in 1584 by

centuries and ruled by the dukes of Burgundy (today these lands are divided among the Netherlands, France, Belgium, and Luxemburg).

There were Seventeen provinces, each with its own carefully guarded special privileges. Each had its own court of justice, and each city had its law courts, guilds, and charters. The Regent – the king's personal representative – lived in Brussels, where the central government was located. The central government appointed the Stadholder, or leading officer, for each province.²⁴

Political Structure of the Netherlands

In the following chapters, the terms “Stadholder” and “States General” will appear frequently. Especially during the Dutch Revolt, the status of Prince William of Orange as the Stadholder of Holland was crucial. For better understanding of his rule and position during the Revolt, this research will provide brief information on the status of Stadholder.

Stadholder

There had been certain changes in the nature of the Stadholder in time. The Dutch word *stadhouder* means governor or proconsul. The chief representatives of the Habsburg rulers in the provinces were the provincial governors, or Stadholders. Only Brabant and Mechelen, close to the court in

a Dutch, who wished to receive the prize over his head, dead or alive, at the amount of 25,000 gold pieces by Philip II.

²⁴ Gordon Longley Hall, *William, Father of the Netherlands*, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969) p 52.

Brussels, had no governor. The other provinces were grouped under Stadholders, who were invariably chosen from among the leading nobles.²⁵

A Stadholder was originally a provincial governor in the time of Habsburg rule. Throughout the Republic, the position became more ambivalent. From William the Silent onwards, the significance of the post fluctuated between almost monarchical authority and the limited power of a civil servant. During long periods, the position in Holland was not even filled (1650-1672, 1702-1747).²⁶

After acquiring Gelderland in 1543, Charles grouped the provinces north of the rivers under three Stadholders, and the northern Netherlands was divided into three separate blocks. In this way, the Emperor prevented any one of them from becoming excessively powerful.²⁷ Between 1572 and 1576, there was just one Stadholder in the rebellious Netherlands, William the Silent. Later, the States General appointed Rennenberg Stadholder of Friesland, Groningen, and Overijssel, while Jan van Nassau became Stadholder of Gelderland, so that there were again three Stadholders in the northern provinces.²⁸

Traditionally, the Stadholder appointed members of the town councils, the source of the Republic's sovereignty. The office of Stadholder existed for 160 years. The organization was oligarchical. Office holders appointed by the

²⁵ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 37.

²⁶ Marjolein 't Hart, "The Dutch Republic: The Urban Impact Upon Politics", *A Miracle Mirrored*, Eds. Karel Davids, Jan Lucassen, (Cambridge: CUP, 1995) p 66.

²⁷ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 300.

²⁸ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 301; for the full list of Stadholders in the Netherlands between 1572-1795 see p 302.

Stadholder were the same men who designated the delegates to the provincial States, who in turn, when required had the power to appoint the Stadholder.²⁹

The residence of the Burgundian dukes was Brussels, the capital of Brabant. Dukes exercised their governance in the Low Countries, either directly or through lieutenants (in Dutch *Stadhouders*). These lieutenants were identical to the "governors" in France, who were the military and political leaders in the provinces on behalf of and under the authority of the royal crown. The lieutenants fell between the two poles of government power, at the one end the intensifying administrative centralization of the dukes and at the other the persistent local self-governance of towns and noblemen. Indeed, the Stadholder's primary task was to connect the two poles into a single system of effective rule. The Stadholders had no fixity of office. They commanded the duke's troops as captains-general and executed his instructions.³⁰

The Stadholder, apart from the provincial states, was the pole of the political power and leadership in Holland. Yet the office was formally a subordinate one: the Stadholder was appointed, empowered, and instructed by the States. Formally, the position of Stadholder as the representative of the sovereign in Holland should have disappeared with the repudiation of Philip II in 1581, or perhaps after the death of Anjou in 1584. But it did not, and the post became an important component of the congeries of powers and offices, which enabled the Princes of Orange to attain a quasi-monarchical position within the Dutch Republic after 1618. The Stadholdership was a provincial, rather than

²⁹ B. Cox, *King William's European Joint Venture*, (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1995) pp 47-48.

³⁰ Herbert H. Rowen, *The Princes of Orange, The Stadholders in the Dutch Republic*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1988) p 2.

national office, and the powers of the Princes of Orange as Stadholder were probably less in Holland than in any other province. From 1618 onwards, the formal position and powers of the Stadholder in Holland remained more or less the same.³¹

Charles V succeeded his father as Duke of Burgundy in 1506. The Duke ruled the provinces through the Stadholder and ruled the Grand Pensionary whom he appointed. The Stadholder had considerable local authority. As commander-in- chief of the armed forces, the Stadholder was virtual chief justice and convener of the provincial Estates.³² It was during the last half-century of the rule of Charles V that the Stadholdership was consolidated in the form that would be adopted and transformed during the Revolt.

The Stadholderate under the Dutch Republic did not develop out of governorship-general, but out of the provincial stadholdership. The powers of the governor-general, were always superior authority of Charles. The ruling prince himself always appointed the Stadholders, although on the advice of the Regent. Governors exercised virtually all the rights of the ruling prince within their provinces. For the inhabitants, the Stadholders were the governors above the local authorities. Much of the Stadholder's prestige and effective power came from the fact that the professional armed forces in the provinces was in their hands as captains – general.³³

³¹ J. L. Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) pp 134-136.

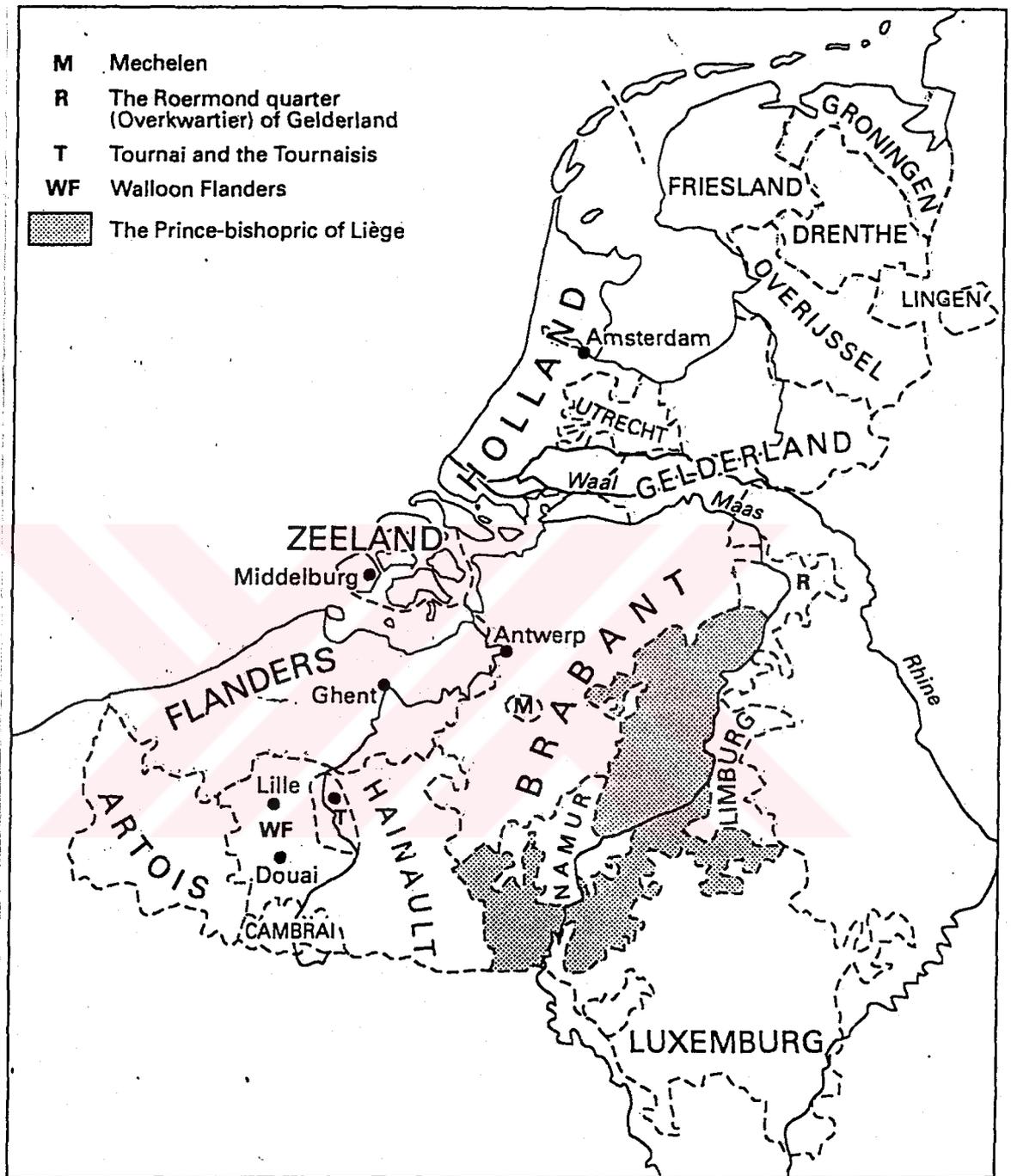
³² V. H. H. Green, *Renaissance and Reformation A Survey of European History Between 1450 and 1660*, (London: Edward Arnold Ltd.) p 229.

³³ H. H. Rowen, *The Princes of Orange*, p 4.



The Netherlands: showing the dates of acquisition by Charles V

Source: Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992, p 2.



The Provinces of the Netherlands in the Age of Charles V

Source: Jonathen Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995, p 36.

The range and depth of the Stadholder's powers can be seen precisely in the instruction given to the Prince of Orange, William I, when Philip II, who succeeded his father Charles V in 1555, named him Stadholder of the counties of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht and certain other adjacent territories in 1559. As Stadholder, William of Orange's tasks were defined both broadly and specifically.

The instructions maintained Philip's "rights, highness, and lordship." William was to seek the "welfare" of the provinces. He would provide justice to all who sought it and enforce the sentences of the courts. He would appoint burgomasters and members of the town councils, and call the States into session when needed. Overall, he was to do "everything and anything" that "a good and faithful governor-general can and should do."³⁴

Each province elected a *Stadhouder*, the former governor for the king but now an official of the Provincial Estates. The Stadhouder for Holland, who was Stadholder for most other provinces as well, became the highest dignitary of the Republic. The House of Orange came to dominate their post. The Princes of Orange were treated with the respect normally reserved for kings, and often leading his armies in the field.³⁵

As provincial governor, the Stadholder was traditionally the direct substitute of the sovereign, who appointed him. Philip II appointed William of Orange Stadholder of Holland in 1559, but he lost the job in 1567.³⁶ William the Silent had been appointed captain-general of the Republic's army, and Stadholder in each

³⁴ H. H. Rowen, *The Princes of Orange, The Stadholders in the Dutch Republic*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1988) p 4.

³⁵ Marjolein 't Hart, *Making of A Bourgeois State*, p 20.

³⁶ M. van Gelderen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p XVIII.

of the separate provinces.³⁷ The Stadholder **William I of Orange** was assured a leading position in the 1580s, but William of Orange could not rely upon a Dutch nobility, nor upon a bureaucracy.³⁸

Maurice succeeded him as captain-general and was elected Stadholder in five of the provinces, while **William Louis** held the other two.³⁹ Maurice was simultaneously Stadholder of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, and Overijssel, while his cousin William Louis, Count of Nassau (1560-1620) was Stadholder for Friesland and Groningen. Maurice was also the supreme Commander of the army, Admiral-general of the navy, and a member of the Council of State. **Frederick Henry** (1584-1647) succeeded his half brother Maurice as Stadholder in 1625. He became Captain-general, Admiral-general, and First noble of Holland.⁴⁰

Stadholders had formerly been representatives of the crown in each province, responsible for defense and good order. After 1579, their office was retained along with its traditional dignity and prestige, but the States controlled the appointment of the Stadholders.⁴¹

The Stadholder occupied an ambiguous position in enacting the terms of the constitution. He was head of the military establishment and possessed privileges such as the granting of free pardons and the nomination of certain magistrates, yet he was not empowered to exercise either judicial or fiscal

³⁷ David Moland, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, (London: Mac Millan, 1967) p 185.

³⁸ M. 't Hart, *Making of A Bourgeois State*, p 20.

³⁹ David Moland, *ibid.*, p 185.

⁴⁰ M. 't Hart, *Making of A Bourgeois State*, p 20.

⁴¹ David Moland, *ibid.*, p 185.

control. His office was not even unique in the Republic, since Friesland and Groningen had their own Stadholder from the beginning of the 17th century.⁴²

The States General

The provincial states were united in the States General, which Burgundian dukes had created in the course of the 15th century to further the idea of unity among the provinces, which in turn regarded the States General primarily as a useful instrument for increasing their influence on central policy.⁴³ Philip the Good's original purpose in creating the States General had been to simplify the process of putting fiscal demands to his subjects and to further the cohesion of the Netherlands, not the least by stabilizing and coordinating the provincial currencies.

Between 1488-1559, the States General met irregularly, yet relatively frequently, on average twice per year. Often the States General convened merely as a method of communicating rapidly with all the main provincial States at once.⁴⁴ When Philip II left the Low Countries in 1559, he decided that the States General formed a grave threat to royal power and that therefore it should not be summoned again.⁴⁵

⁴² Paul Zumthor, *Daily Life in Rembrandt's Holland*, (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1994) p xix-xx.

⁴³ M. van Gelderen, *The Dutch Revolt*, p x.

⁴⁴ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 39.

⁴⁵ M. van Gelderen, *ibid.*, p X.

In the 1550s, distrust and hatred of Spain, the Inquisition, and the government in Brussels and Madrid united many nobles and magistrates in their determination to resist. The States General, throughout the 16th century, remained largely a collection of 'voices' from the provincial States. They, in turn, were merely delegates of the towns whose instructions strictly governed what they were allowed to say. They did not challenge the government's right to control policy, but the States were increasingly voicing discontent with inflation, economic change, foreign wars, and new taxes.⁴⁶

The States General, or Their High Mightiness, consisted of delegates of the seven northern provinces. They represented their province first and the Republic only secondarily. Executive power was vested in the Council of State, which was made subordinate to the States General. The States General consisted of the delegates from seven provinces: Gelderland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Overijssel, Friesland, Groningen, and Holland.⁴⁷ The States General was composed of three gentlemen from Holland, two from Gelderland, two from Zeeland, two from Friesland, and one from each of the small provinces - Groningen, Overijssel, and Utrecht.⁴⁸

As the federal assembly of the united Provinces, the States General was not a sovereign body. The deputies were not free agents but rather the

⁴⁶ Charles Wilson, *The Transformation of Europe, 1558-1648*, (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1976) p 43.

⁴⁷ J. L. Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) p 211.

⁴⁸ M. 't Hart, *Making of A Bourgeois State*, p 19.

spokesmen of their provinces.⁴⁹ In the great towns of Haarlem, Dordrecht, Delft, Leiden, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam, a commercial oligarchy controlled local government and selected from its class the representatives to the States of Holland and to the States General of the Union.⁵⁰ The assembly was in permanent session, unlike the provincial States, which convened only occasionally (in Holland more often than the others). The States General met in The Hague (since no place outside Holland was safe from Spanish armies).⁵¹ The capital of Holland was in the same building as the States of Holland.⁵² The presidency of the assembly changed every week, being held by a representative of each province in turn.⁵³

The States General was more a conference of ambassadors from separate countries than a parliament.⁵⁴ Still, the powers of the States General were probably somewhat greater in practice than in theory. The States General had direct control of certain important matters: foreign relations, the armed force, and the administration of the Generality lands (these were the areas of Flanders, Brabant and Limburg, which were part of the Republic but had no representation in the States General). They sent out ambassadors and received representatives of foreign powers. Foreign policy, particularly matters of peace and war, were

⁴⁹ David Moland, *ibid.*, p 184.

⁵⁰ David Moland, *ibid.*, p 184.

⁵¹ J. L. Price, *ibid.*, p 211.

⁵² David Moland, *ibid.*, p 185.

⁵³ J. L. Price, *ibid.*, p 212.

⁵⁴ J. L. Price, *ibid.*, p 212.

decided in the assembly. Similarly, the States General was ultimately responsible for the direction and financing of the armed forces.⁵⁵

B. Religion and the Dutch Revolt

1 Religion in the Netherlands

Dutch religion had a family character. The family constituted the natural framework for all religious activity. The authorities made sure that from infant school onwards, religious instruction received was central to the curriculum. Each lesson began and ended with a prayer or reading of a passage from the Bible.⁵⁶

The Netherlands first received Reform within Lutheranism, enduring severe persecution. Later, as exiles from other countries flocked into the cities, Reformed Calvinism became predominant. A church gradually shaped itself with the Belgic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism, as it acknowledged symbols. The Belgic confession composed by Guido de Brés in 1561 was revised in 1562 and was publicly adopted by Synods of the Reformed church (1566, 68, 74, 77).⁵⁷

In the rise of modern western civilization, religion became a constituent element in the foundations of all political and social institutions. There was, however, no longer a single Christian religion but rather Christian religions.⁵⁸ In the middle of the 16th Century, Spanish rulers everywhere faced political

⁵⁵ J. L. Price, *ibid.*, p 211.

⁵⁶ Paul Zumther, *ibid.*, p 80.

⁵⁷ James Orr, "Calvinism," *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol 3, (Edinburgh: T&T Clarck, 1910) p 155.

⁵⁸ Albert Salomon, *In Praise of Enlightenment*, (Ohio: World Publishing Co., 1963) p 24.

difficulties involving religious opposition to the existence of Catholic Christendom.

The major problems of the Spanish kingdom were:

- ✓ The conversion of the Moriscos in Spain,
- ✓ The preoccupation of Central Germany with rebellion that combined Protestant heresy,
- ✓ The French alignment with the Ottomans during the reign of Charles V, which showed an alarming growth of Protestantism,
- ✓ The well - organized militant Calvinism that triggered a Revolt in the Netherlands in 1566,
- ✓ The English alignment with the Dutch as the Netherlands broke into open rebellion,
- ✓ The 1538 Morisco rebellion, which formed part of a widespread, political and religious movement against the Habsburgs and Catholic Christendom.⁵⁹

After the mid-16th century, deep-rooted hatred between the old and the Reformed churches had formed sharp ideological differences between the two groups spread throughout Europe. Compromise was impossible. In April 1565, the Spanish ambassador in France received a letter from his confidential agent, Abbé Mina (a close friend of the Cardinal Lorraine). Mina said:

Catholic princes must change their old ways. In the past, friends and foes were distinguished by the boundaries of provinces and kingdoms, men were called English, Germans, French, Spanish, Italians. Today one should speak only of Catholics and heretics.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Andrew Hess, "The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column in the Sixteenth Century", *The American Historical Review*, vol. 74, (1968) 1-25, p 4.

⁶⁰ Jasper Ridley, *Elizabeth I*, p 154.

In the north, the Reformed Churches were closely associated with the newly independent United Provinces. However, the Reformed Churches neither gained the status of 'established' churches nor probably gained the support of a majority of the people. After the dissolution of the Union of Church and State in 1796, Protestant Reformation became almost the private concern of the various denominations.⁶¹

It must be remembered that the Dutch Reformation and religious differentiation of the United Provinces with Spain and the Pope facilitated establishment of diplomatic relations between the Dutch Republic and the Ottoman Empire. The foreign policy of the Ottoman governments had always been to prevent formation of a Crusade, and to establish alliances with the nations among the Christian world. England was the first country, which was granted comprehensive capitulations in 1583, and was not dependent on the Pope. The United Provinces would be the second one, which resisted against Spain, both militarily and religiously. The religious structure of the Netherlands, in this respect, would be beneficial to analyse Ottoman – Dutch diplomatic cooperation against Spain. Despite this initial attempt remained in economic field, rather than a military coalition, the Porte had two powerful friends in northern Europe: England and the Dutch Republic. Taking into account this point, the friendly approach of Vizier Halil Paşa and the Şeyhülislam will be explained in the following chapters.

⁶¹ Alastair Duke, *ibid.*, p IX.



Location of Evangelical printing presses in the Low Countries, 1554-1565

Source: Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992, p 105.

2. Dutch Reformation

The early 16th century, witnessed wide scale complaint about the church in the Netherlands. Erasmus remarked, in 1525 on the general population's antipathy belt towards monks in Holland, Zeeland and Flanders.⁶² The church in the Low Countries was corrupt; its lower clergy were ignorant, indolent, and sometimes immoral.⁶³ In such an atmosphere, ground was already fertile for the spread of Protestantism in the Low Countries. The church in the Netherlands was probably as corrupt as anywhere in Europe. The greater nobles used it as a reservoir of offices for their younger sons and illegitimate offspring.⁶⁴

The loss of the moral authority of the old church in the Low Countries began before 1520. Nevertheless, the process had accelerated from 1519 onwards by the impact of Luther. Luther sounded the moral and religious decadence of the church, focusing attention on the Gospels.

As early as 1518-1519 versions of Luther's early writings surfaced in Emden, Dordrecht, Delft, Antwerp, and elsewhere. By the early 1520s, Reformation had adopted and spread through Luther's texts and was already major religious and cultural factors in every part of the Netherlands. Reaction soon came from the central authority. The Emperor Charles' ban of 1521, which was published in Flanders, prohibited the books and writings of Luther, ordering

⁶² J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 78.

⁶³ V. H. H. Green, *Renaissance and Reformation*, p 232.

⁶⁴ V. H. H. Green, *ibid.*, p 231.

such works to be burnt.⁶⁵ In Antwerp in July 1521, in the Emperor's presence, no fewer than 400 books- 300 of them seized from booksellers – were destroyed.⁶⁶

Persecution of Protestants continued for a few decades thereafter. Charles V's decree of 1550 was reissued by Philip II that prohibited all kinds of activities suspected of being against Catholicism. According to that decree:

Anyone who argued on the meaning of scripture who defaced images, or who attended a Protestant prayer – meeting was to be put to death. Men who recanted were to be beheaded; women who recanted were to be buried alive. Both men and women who refused to recant were to be burned.⁶⁷

According to the report of Sir John Hackett, the English ambassador in Habsburg Netherlands, in May 1527 to Cardinal Wolsey, "*Luther's influence was spreading greatly in Holland, Zeeland, Brabant and Flanders*" and that the Low Countries "*be all redde in great danger for yf there be three men that speckes, the tweyn keepis Luther ys openyon*".⁶⁸

While textbooks mention the Italian Renaissance, the German Reformation, the French Wars of Religion, and the Dutch Revolt, the Dutch Reformation is neglected because evangelicals in the Low Countries conspicuously lacked inspirational leaders in the heroic world. In the Low Countries, Reformation lies in the shadow of the Revolt.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 79.

⁶⁶ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 80

⁶⁷ Jasper Ridley, *Elizabeth I*, (NY: Fromm, 1989) p 154.

⁶⁸ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 80, from Hackett, *The Letters (1526-34)*, ed., E. Frances Rogers, 1971.

⁶⁹ Alastair Duke, *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries*, (London: The Hamledon Press, 1990) p ix.

After 1530 only a small minority of Dutch citizens were Anabaptist. *Anabaptists* separated themselves from the community, refusing to attend church, and instead forming their own prayer gatherings. These Protestants accepted the risks and paid the price. Their defiance resulted in terrible persecution, which lasted more than three decades.⁷⁰

The theology of Anabaptists was markedly different from that of the Calvinists and Lutherans concerning the doctrines of baptism and the incarnation of Christ. But the Anabaptists in the Southern provinces were similar to the 'magisteral' Reformers regarding their rejection of chiliastic beliefs and in their emphasis on ethical behavior. Their notion of priesthood radically differed from that of the Catholics, but not from that of the Calvinists. According to one Anabaptist minister, Jacob de Rore, Christ was the only high priest; before him all men were equal in authority.⁷¹

Calvinism

Until the 1550s, Calvinism was a minor factor in the Low Countries. Calvinism entered the Dutch speaking area essentially from France. John Calvin was a Frenchman, born *Jean Cauvin* in 1509. He called himself *Calvinus* in Latin. Calvin agreed with Luther's criticisms of the Roman Catholic Church and with most of Luther's fundamental religious ideas, such as justification by faith and not by works.⁷² However, one of the outstanding figures of Dutch Reformation,

⁷⁰ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 85.

⁷¹ Phyllis Marc Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands, 1544-1569*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1978) p 148.

⁷² R. R. Palmer, *History of the Modern World*, p 74-75.

Coornhert had rejected original sin and predestination, seeing man as free and capable of improvement, in contrast to Catholics and Protestants.⁷³

Luther insisted that God was somehow actually present in the bread and wine used in the service "*consubstantiation*". Calvin and his followers tended more to regard it as a pious act of symbolic or commemorative character. The chief difference between Calvin and Luther was twofold. First, Calvin stressed to a greater degree the idea of pre-destination. God, being Almighty, knew and willed in advance all things that happened. He knew and willed from all eternity that some were saved and some were damned. Calvinists in all countries were either militant, uncompromising, perfectionist, or Puritanist, as they were called first in England and later in America. The second major way in which Calvinism differed from Lutheranism was in Calvinism's attitude to society and to the state. Calvinists refused to recognize the subordination of church to state, or the right of any government.⁷⁴

The Reformed movement in the Netherlands was purely Calvinist in origin. That said, in its early stages it had few direct links with Calvin, Geneva, or with French Protestantism.⁷⁵ In later stages, Calvinism dominated Dutch Protestantism. Calvinism appeared late on the scene in the Low Countries, and played a real role before the 1550s.⁷⁶ From the late 1550s, Calvinism emerged as the strongest force in the Netherlands Protestantism.⁷⁷ The Calvinist movement

⁷³ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 98.

⁷⁴ R. R. Palmer, *ibid.*, p 74.

⁷⁵ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 102.

⁷⁶ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 74.

⁷⁷ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 105.

was the best-organized movement among the various Reformed sects in the Habsburg Netherlands, and indeed played a leading role in the Revolt itself.

In the northern Netherlands, Calvinism could not gain mass support in Holland, Zeeland, or any other rebel regions. For instance, in Holland the percentage of people who belonged to the Reformed Church in 1587 was not higher than 10%.⁷⁸ While this research grants that Calvinists were better organized and unified than Lutherans or Anabaptists the image, which has been presented of the Netherlands Calvinist elite is an exaggerated image of the Reformers' actual unity and power.⁷⁹

The divisions in the Netherlands were less acute because of the absence of a king. Calvinists viewed Philip II as neither an ally nor as a confirmed enemy. Public opinion in 1566 was not directed against Philip but rather against the

⁷⁸ Wiebe Bergsma, 'Church State and People' in *A Miracle Mirrored*, Eds. Karel Davids and Jan Lucassen, (Cambridge: CUP) p 216.

⁷⁹ Phyllis Mark Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands*, p 150.

Inquisitors and the friends of Granvelle⁸⁰ who lied to the king about the Reformers' activities.⁸¹

From the start, Calvinists distinguished between members and sympathizers. Calvinists did not want to have the whole population as members of the Calvinist church, thus they applied strict rules for admission.⁸² After the formation of the Dutch Republic, the Reformed Church in the Netherlands was not established by law, (in contrast with the Church of England). There were no fines imposed on people who refused to join the church.⁸³ In the southern Netherlands a different path was followed. The South was re-Catholicized by Crown and Church after 1579. Church became subordinate to state. Catholic church was restored by both coercion and persuasion. The Crown and church cooperated to suppress heresies.⁸⁴

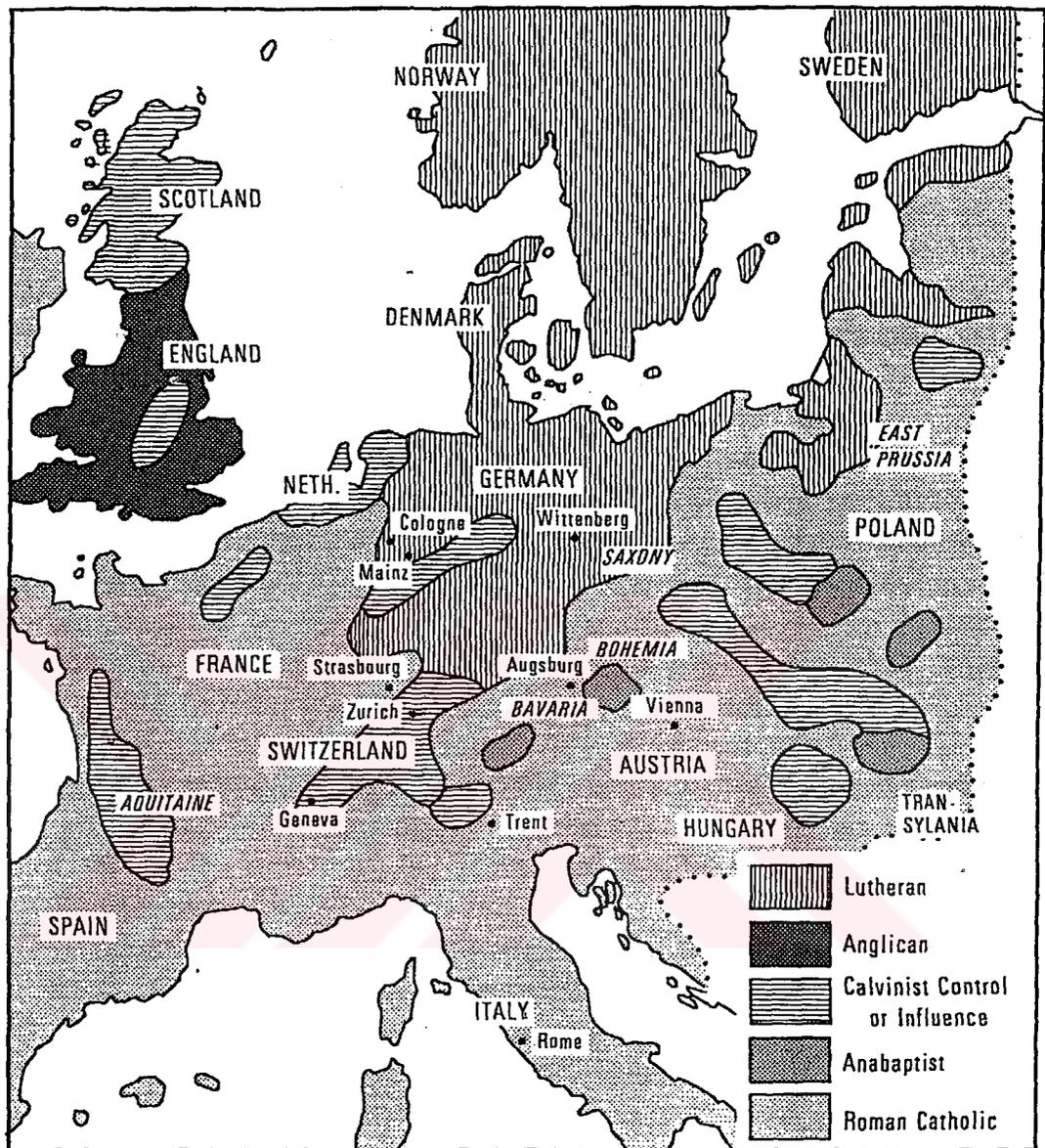
⁸⁰ Antoine Perrenot Granvelle (1517-1586), studied at the universities of Paris, Padua and Louvain. He was initiated in 1538 into the affairs of government by his father, a trusted minister of Charles V. His efficiency appealed to Philip II, who employed him in the Netherlands as chief minister, and he became a cardinal in 1561. In 1579 Granvelle became chief minister of Spain. He was highly influential in domestic, international, and religious affairs of Spain. He provoked the jealousy and hatred of the entire noble class. Many of the nobles suspected that he led an informal inner junta that really dictated policy for the Netherlands. Henry Kamen, *Who's Who in Europe 1450-1750*, (London: Routledge, 2000) p 132; Bernard Vlekke, *Evolution of the Dutch Nation*, (NY: Roy Publishers, 1945) p 143; Charles Wilson, *The Transformation of Europe 1558-1648*, (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1976) p 143.

⁸¹ P. M. Crew, *ibid.*, p 178.

⁸² Wiebe Bergsma, *ibid.*, p 216.

⁸³ W. Bergsma, *ibid.*, p 217.

⁸⁴ W. Bergsma, *ibid.*, p 217.



Religious Divisions in Europe in 1560

Source: Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550*, Yale: Univ. Press, 1980, p 373.

In the Dutch Republic, typical Dutch culture was not Calvinist but rather followed the Humanist tradition and the tolerance of manifold religious sects. As a result, religious factionalism was to play a role in the new balance of power and was to be mixed with party factions, pro-or-anti-Orange leagues.⁸⁵

In the half century between the start of the Revolt in Holland and the national synod of Dordrecht (1618-1619), the town magistrates had originally not wanted to recognize small Calvinist groups; instead, they sought guarantees for the maintenance of the Catholic church with Beggar garrisons in the towns, and Catholicism became identified with the Spanish enemy.⁸⁶ By the spring of 1573, Catholic worship ceased in parish churches and in Holland's religious houses. The magistrates released the need to work out a *modus vivendi* with the Reformed churches. More or less willing, the civil authorities – the magistrates and the provincial States – lent their authorities to the Reformed Church.⁸⁷ In 1607 a Minister in a synod at Delft declared that "he would not acknowledge the civil powers as Christian" until the authorities had expelled from the country everyone who refused to join the Reformed Church.⁸⁸

Calvinist orientation was generally a prerequisite for achieving the highest offices. But, the Republic did not become a country of "*cuius regio, eius religio*".⁸⁹ In 1555 the Peace of Augsburg had given to all rulers the right to determine the religion of their subjects under the formula "*cuius regio, eius religio*" (let the

⁸⁵ M. 't Hart, *Making of a Bourgeois State*, p 27.

⁸⁶ Alastair Duke, *Reformation and Revolt*, p XV.

⁸⁷ Alastair Duke, *ibid.*, p 289.

⁸⁸ Alastair Duke, *ibid.*, p 289.

⁸⁹ M. 't Hart, *ibid.*, p 27.

subject conform to the religion of his sovereign).⁹⁰ It was only after the great assembly of 1651 that the Reformed Calvinist church (*Hervormde Kerk*) achieved the status and power of a state church. It then became the only church to possess public places of worship and have the right to teach religion.⁹¹



⁹⁰ William Simpson and Martin Jones, *Europe 1783-1914*, (London: Routledge, 2000) p 9.

⁹¹ Paul Zumther, *Daily Life in the Rembrandt's Holland*, p 81.



The spread of the iconoclasm in the Netherlands in 1566

Source: Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992, p 118.

CHAPTER III

EARLY OTTOMAN-DUTCH RELATIONS

A. The Ottoman Empire at the turn of the 17th Century

The political and military developments of the late 16th century, which lasted until the early 17th century, dealt a heavy blow to the traditional institutional structures of the Ottoman Empire. A wide range of studies illustrates the effects of the general population's expansion in the Mediterranean basin. Most important among these studies include Fernand Braudel's *The Mediterranean*¹ and works of Ömer Lütfi Barkan² for the Ottoman territories.

Beyond unavoidable natural upheavals, the Ottoman state faced a series of military and fiscal difficulties. One such difficulty was war with Iran, which lasted from 1578 to 1639 with intervals. Although the Azerbaijan region and Shirvan was occupied by the Ottoman troops between 1578-1590, the military campaigns required constant logistical support from the center that necessitated huge amounts of resources. Furthermore, counter-attacks by Iranian forces pushed the Ottoman army back to Anatolia.³ The adventures of the Ottoman decision making class in the East was far more than a zero-sum game. The Ottoman Empire was already in deep fiscal crisis. The great devaluation of 1584 had shocked Ottoman

¹ F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, (NY: Harper Collins, 1972)

² Ö. L. Barkan, "Türkiye'de İmparatorluk Devirleri'nin Büyük Nüfus ve Arazi Tahrirleri ve Hakan'a Mahsus İstatistik Defterleri", *J. Ü. İktisat F. Mecmuası*, vol II, no: 1 (1940) 20-59, no 2 (1941) 214-247; Ö. L. Barkan, "Tarihi Demografi Araştırmaları ve Osmanlı Tarihi", *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, X, (İstanbul: 1953) 1-26;

³ Halil İnalçık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Eren, 2000) p 59.

finances. The sudden depreciation of the money in circulation caused discontent both among the ruling class and the people. Since most taxes were determined in fixed rates, local authorities and the military class were confronted with approximately 50 % of real decline in revenues.⁴ The flow of cheap silver from Europe flooded Ottoman markets.⁵ Under these circumstances, in which the treasury was already suffering from huge deficits, the Ottoman Empire engaged in war with Austria. This war would last thirteen years and would end with the Zsitva Török peace treaty of 1606, which can be considered as the conclusion of traditional Ottoman institutions. The already declining *timar* system, which enabled the Ottoman state to keep an extensive army without requiring any cash payment from the central treasury, almost totally collapsed after the thirteen years-long Austrian war. The Ottoman army, which had to wait in the war zone for a long time absorbed the cash resources of the Ottoman treasury. The Ottoman Sultan could no longer wage war with the *timariot sipahis*. The strong Austrian forces obliged the Ottoman state to recruit paid musketeers. The new system required much cash for the treasury, thus affecting the traditional *timariot* regime. The land tax collection right was purchased by the tax-farmers who promised advance payment to the Ottoman treasury.⁶

The musketeers who remained unemployed when the war was over destroyed the comfort and order of the Ottoman rural areas. Throughout Anatolia,

⁴ Ö. L. Barkan, "The Price Revolution of the Sixteenth Century: A Turning Point in the Economic History of the Near East", *International Journal of the Middle Eastern Studies*, No: 1, (1975) 3-28.

⁵ Halil İnalcık, *ibid.*, p 88-89.

⁶ Halil İnalcık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Klasik Çağ (1300-1600)*, (İstanbul: YKY, 2003), pp 52-57; H. İnalcık, 'Osmanlı Klasik İdare Sisteminin Bozuluşu', *Emin Bilgiç Hatıra Kitabı*, (İstanbul: 2000), p 130.

large groups of ex-soldiers were intensively involved in banditry. These *Jelali* rebellions were the main cause of the evacuation of the peasants, which was called "*Büyük Kaçgun*," or the Great Flight.⁷ The decline in the power of the Ottoman state mechanism was so apparent that the Venetian *bailo* Agostino Nani dispatched this information on 20 February 1601 to the Doge and Senate

The defects and shortcomings of this government are proving daily more apparent; and they try to cure them by changing the doctor not by going into roof of the ill.⁸

About six years later, the situation seemed no better. The English ambassador at Istanbul, Henry Lello on his way home came to the Venetian cabinet and spoke as follows. As far as he could see:

The Turkish Empire was in great decline – almost ruined. The Sultan is going from bad to worse, being now entirely given to pleasure, and paying small heed to the affairs of state. Moreover he has dismissed almost all his older and more able ministers, and has bestowed most offices upon creatures of his own, reared in the Seraglio, people of little ability, and no experience, and these incompetent ministers take off the head now of one, now of another, and confiscating their property, and else by the sale of offices.⁹

The French ambassador also shared the same opinion. According to the dispatch of the Venetian ambassador Agostino Nani, dated December 1, 1601:

Cicala (Ciğalazade Sinan Paşa) has reported to the Grand Vizier and to the Chief Eunuch in a sense hostile to the French Ambassador, declaring that he has been here (in Istanbul) for 16 years acting as a spy; that Cicala himself in the Morea intercepted letters of the king of France containing information about

⁷ Mustafa Akdağ, *Türk Halkının Dirlik ve Düzenlik Kavgası*, (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1975), pp 446-452; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. III/1, (Ankara: TTK, 1951) pp 102-117; İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. 3, (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1961) pp 237-256.

⁸ *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, IX, London: 1897, p 447.

⁹ *CSP, Venice*, XI, London: 1904, p 33.

the confusion of this kingdom (the Ottoman Empire), the incapacity of the Sultan (Mehmed III), and stating that now would be the time overthrow the Turkish Empire.¹⁰

The Truce of the Dutch Republic with the Spanish king coincided with the relatively quiet cycle of the Ottoman Empire. The young Sultan who ascended the throne, Ahmed I, concluded the peace treaty with Austria. The internal chaos and anarchy in the rural areas were suppressed with the harsh measures of the Grand Vizier Kuyucu Murad Paşa. He ordered execution of thousands of *Jelâlî* rebels to establish security in Anatolia again. But, he settled order under extraordinary conditions, rather than legal and just judgements.¹¹ His vizierate from 1606 to 1611 brought an end to the Jelali Rebellions, which adversely affected the demographic structure of Anatolia.

B. Dutch Trade in the Levant

Long before the official granting of the capitulations by the Ottoman Sultan in 1612, Dutch merchants were engaged in commercial activities in the Levant. From 1570s onwards, the Dutch merchants were present in the Levant. During the early stages of the Dutch Revolt, William of Orange had tried to establish formal contact with the Ottoman Sultan. The contact point in Istanbul was Joseph Nassi.¹² Born in Lisbon as Joao, son of Agostinho (Samuel) Miques (Mendes), a *marrano* professor of medicine, Joseph had been raised by her aunt Doña Gracia

¹⁰ CSP, Venice, IX, p 481.

¹¹ I. H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. 3, p 256: "Vezîr-i bî-nazîr kuyular kazdırdı ve getirdükleri melâini kuyu başında çöktürdü ve birer birer boynun urdurdu ve bu tarîk ile her gün bir iki kuyu dolardı ve müceddeden bir dahî kazılmağa muhtâc olurdu."

¹² Safvet, "Yosef Nasi", *Tarih-i Osmânî Encümeni Mecmuası*, Vol 2, XVI.

Mendes¹³ because of his father's death in 1525 when he was one year old. In 1547 he joined many other Portuguese *marranos* who fled from the Inquisition to Venice, and then to Istanbul in 1554. He joined to his aunt there soon and then openly threw off Catholicism and resumed his Jewish heritage. In Istanbul, together with his aunt Doña Gracia Mendes he was involved in the intrigues of the accession of Selim II to the throne. Nassi convinced Sultan Selim II to conquer Cyprus, and in 1569 he achieved promise of Ottoman support to the rebels in the Low Countries. He was very influential in the Ottoman court. From time to time he was involved in arbitration and diplomatic activities with the European powers.¹⁴

Informed of European affairs through intelligence from the frontier and through the commercial connections of the *Marrano*¹⁵ community in Istanbul, (whose leader, Don Joseph Nassi, advised Selim II), the Sultan dispatched imperial decrees designed to create an anti-Spanish coalition between Protestant

¹³ Member of most prominent Jewish banking family in Ottoman service during 16th century (1510-68). She was known as *La Señora*, or *Giveret*. After the death of her husband Francisco Mendes (Nasi) in 1537 she had become the major banker on her own right in Portugal, extending loans to the monarchs of Europe, such as Habsburg Emperor Charles V and French king Francis I. She was exiled by Inquisition and reached Istanbul in 1533. She gained political influence in the Ottoman court. Stanford Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire, and the Turkish Republic*, (London: MacMillan, 1991) p 88.

¹⁴ S. Shaw, *ibid.*, pp 88-89.

¹⁵ "New-Christians," crypto-Jews, Jewish converts to Christianity in Spain and Portugal. Jews in Europe were forced to convert to Christianity, particularly in mass in 1391. In the 14th and 15th centuries those of New-Christians were called *marranos*, who remained crypto-Jews and secretly continued to practice Judaism, were at times persecuted and burned. Those new-Christians, who converted and practiced their new faith, were called the *conversos*. S. Shaw, *ibid.*, p 12.

rebels in the Low Countries and the movements of the Morisco community in Spain.¹⁶

Prince William had sent a secret agent to Nassi in Istanbul. The efforts of that mission did not bring any substantial results.¹⁷ Alexander De Groot points out that “this mission seems not to have achieved anything.” However, there are certain clues, which demonstrated positive response to this approach. It seems that the Ottoman government responded positively to the Dutch approach. Two imperial letters of the Sultan, one to the Muslim community in Spain and another to the leaders of the Lutheran community in the Netherlands, confirm the determination of the Ottoman government to crush Spanish aggression at any cost. Actually, there is no date on either of these letters,¹⁸ which was collected by the chief Chancery of the Porte, Feridun Ahmed Beg.¹⁹

According to the imperial letter to the rulers and members of the Lutheran sect in Flanders, full political support was given to the Dutch Rebels to counter the Spanish and Catholic oppression.²⁰ This letter praised the religious beliefs of

¹⁶ Andrew Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*, (Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press, 1978) p 94.

¹⁷ A. De Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic*, (Leiden-Istanbul: 1978) p 84.

¹⁸ The only copy of the imperial letter is available in the collections of Feridun Beg, because in the General State Archives (ARA), the files of ‘Barbary’, ‘Constantinople’, and ‘Turkey’ contain documents no earlier than 1598, A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 289, note 15.

¹⁹ Ahmed Feridun Beğ, *Münşe’âtü’s- Selâtin*, vol II, (Istanbul: Takvimhâne-i Amire, 1265) pp 450-452, “Flandra ve İspanya Vilâyetlerindeki Luteran Mezhebi Ashâbına İsdâr Buyurulan Nâme-i Hümâyun”.

²⁰ “Siz dahî puta tapmayub kiliselerden putları ve sûret ve nâkusları redd edüb Hak te’âlâ birdür ve hazret-i İsa peyğamberi ve kuludur deyu i’tikâd edüb ve Papa derîilen bî-dîn nice kanlar dökülmesine sebep olmağla siz Papaluya kılıç çeküb dâimâ añları katl eyledüğünüz ecilden karadan ve deryâdan her hâl ile size mu’avenet-i husrevânemiz zuhûra gelmek ve ol zâlim-i bî-dîn elinden sizi halâs etmek lâzım olmuşdur. Husûsan

the Dutch people. This letter also mentioned the attacks on the icons in the Antwerp churches in 1566, the identical religious beliefs that God is one and unique and that Jesus was his prophet. The severe reaction of the Pope against the people was damned and it was stated that the Porte closely followed all these developments. Furthermore, a special envoy named Muharrem was sent to Flanders to consult with the nobles and the rulers there the religious, political, and military situation. Muharrem was conveyed both certain letters, and also oral information to prevent any attempt of the enemy against his contacts. Even very detailed personal information was given about the body of Muharrem. He carried signs of wound on his right chest and left leg. The letter was concluded with the promise of military support whenever a great assault was planned against Spain.

The Ottoman authorities could not achieve any of their projects. The Sublime Porte had a grand plan in the Mediterranean against Spanish and Papal

Flandra ve İspanya vilâyetlerinde nice yarar beğler ve beğzâdeler Papa'nın mezhebinden ve ızlâlınden istikrâh edüb Hakkıñ birliğin bilüb ikrâr ve hak dîne vâsıl olmak murâd edünüb, lâkin ol zâlimiñ zulmünden ve mekrinden havf eyleyüb müteellim olurlar imiş. Hâlâ yüce âsitânemiz kullarından Muharrem nâm kulumuz ol tarafın dilün ve ahvâlin bilür ve i'timâd olunur kulumuz olmağın size irsâl olundu. Vusûl buldukda gerekdir ki, cümleñüz i'tikâd etdüğünüz beğler ve Luteran beğleri ve a'yânıyla size dostluğumuzu mukarrer bilüb ve hûsn-i ittifakla mezbûr kulumuz ile mükâleme ve müşâvere edüb ağızdan dediği ve kağıd ile bildirdiği cemî'-i kelimâtını mübârek ağızımızdan sâdir olmuş gibi mukarrer bilüb dahî her ne yılda ve zamanda Papa bî-dînine asker çekmek ve ceng etmek murâd edinirseñüz âña göre i'timâd olunur âdemleriñüzü yüce âsitânemize gönderüb mezbûr kulumuz ile mâ'an ahvâliñüzü bildiresüz ki ne zamanda Papalu'ya kasd edüb vakt ta'yîn ederseñüz karadan ve deryâdan mu'avenet ve müzâheretimiz mukarrerdür bî-dînleriñ hakkında gelmekte cedd ü sa'y olasız ve merkûm kulumuz Muharrem'iñ sağ memesi altında ve sol ayağınuñ inciğinde yarası vardır, âña göre mukayyed olub nâme-i hümâyunumuz âhariñ eline düşüb hile ve hud'a ile mâbeynde olan dostluğu bilüb zarar ve güzend erişdirmek ihtimâli olmaya, vesselam".

aggression. Cyprus was the first leg of this plan. The conquest of Cyprus would keep piracy and commercial fleets under control. The expectation of the Viziers on the upheaval of the Moriscos in Spain was not totally baseless. According to Venetian *bailo's* report in Istanbul:

A chavasse who was for a long time the slave of Don Juan de Cardona is in frequent secret conference with Grand Vizier. He declared that 100,000 men would rise in Granada, on the appearance of the Turkish fleet in those waters; those men had their weapons hidden under ground in expectation of such an event.²¹

However, the conquest of Cyprus triggered a Crusader naval operation, and the Ottoman navy was almost totally destroyed²² at Lepanto in 1571.²³ The defeat was very heavy; the loss of the Ottoman naval power was so great that Ottoman government could no longer think about overseas adventures. From Lepanto onwards, Ottoman authorities concentrated upon the protection of only the Levant.²⁴

Dispatches were soon conveyed everywhere, causing great pleasure all over the Christian world. The joy was so great that people had great celebrations

²¹ *CSP, Venice*, VIII, p 519.

²² The naval battle of Lepanto on 7 October 1571 cost 18,000 lives in the Ottoman navy, another 10,000 were enslaved, and 15,000 Christian slaves were freed, Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vol. IV, (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1984) p 1078.

²³ For the order of the belligerent fleets, the story of the battle, the mistakes of the Turkish galleys, and the reasons of the Ottoman loss, see John Lothrop Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, vol. III, (London: 1899) pp 134-138.

²⁴ According to the personal information by Halil İnalcık, the Ottoman government gave up all future projects for overseas operations.

for the famous victory obtained against the Turks on sea even in the Low Countries.²⁵ In Rome and in Venice, celebrations and sermons lasted for weeks. In the church of St. Maria in Araceli, the French humanist Marc-Antoine Murad delivered a stirring sermon declaring that 'the glorious victory at Lepanto, which would be remembered forever, had closed the Mediterranean to the Turks and opened it to the Christians.'²⁶ Moreover, the victory of the Holy League against the Ottomans pleased Queen Elizabeth.²⁷ Despite the enmity between Spain and England, Queen Elizabeth issued this decree: "*The Queen Mother has assured the king of Spain to go forward against the Turk as a common enemy to all Christians.*"²⁸

It should be noted that only two years before, Pope Pious V had issued a bull to give moral support to English Catholics. The Bull excommunicated²⁹ and deposed Queen Elizabeth I on February 25, 1570. Pius V, with the authority, which God invested in him, declared that "*the aforesaid Elizabeth is an heretic*

²⁵ CSP, *Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth*, 1572-74, X, (London: 1876) p 28.

²⁶ Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vol. IV, (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1984) p 1099.

²⁷ Elizabeth I, Tudor. (1533-1603), Queen of England (1533-1603). Second daughter of Henry VIII and daughter of Queen Anne Boleyn. Succeeded to the throne on 17 November 1558. On becoming queen, she immediately affirmed the Protestant nature of the national church. Her foreign policy was directed towards England's survival. Her reign may be viewed as an unprecedented era of cultural, political and economic success. Rosemary O'Day, *The Tudor Age*, (London: Longman, 1995) p 189; Henry Kamen, *Who's Who in Europe 1450-1750*, (London: Routledge, 2000) pp 100-101; Lavinia Cohn-Sherbok, *Who's Who in Christianity*, (London: Routledge, 1998) pp 79-80.

²⁸ 7 February 1572, CSP, *Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth*, X, p 40.

²⁹ Full text of excommunication is in CSP, *Venice*, VII, p 448-450.

and favorer of heretics and that she is wholly deprived of her pretended right to the aforesaid kingdom."³⁰

The battle of Lepanto proved not to be decisive event, but the battle had shown that the Turks were not invincible.³¹ Despite the heavy defeat of the Ottoman fleet, the extraordinary efforts of the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa and the enthusiasm of the new Grand Admiral Kılıç Ali Paşa helped the Ottoman navy regained strength in the spring of 1572 again. Within two years, the Christian coalition dissolved and the Ottoman fleet recovered its former strength. During 1572, the members of the Holy League disagreed over whether north Africa or the Levant ought to be the next battlefield against the Ottomans.³² The disagreement provided the Ottomans enough time to prepare their fleet. The basic disagreement between Venice and Spain was that the Spanish king Philip II wanted Venice as an ally against the Ottoman Empire, but he did not wish to unduly strengthen Venice. After Lepanto, he refused to let the victorious fleet go east to serve Venice's interests.³³ The total destruction of the Ottoman fleet would change the power balance in the Levant. Ottoman naval power would be crippled, but would relatively strengthen Venice at the expense of Spain.

With the 1572 failure of the expedition of the Holy League, the Venetians urgently needed of peace with the Porte. Venice could gain peace by making concessions. The Venetian authorities claimed that they had spent more than

³⁰ Jasper Ridley, *Elizabeth I*, p 171.

³¹ Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, p 1099.

³² Andrew Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*, p 92.

³³ C. Lane, *Venice, A Maritime Republic*, p 248.

twelve million ducats on the war. The cost of peace would cost Venice 300,000 ducats and certain territorial concessions.³⁴

Venice realized that sustaining its commercial interests in the Levant relied upon the withdrawal from the League. Venice had already exceeded its financially and military capacity. On the other hand, the Ottomans had completely rebuilt their armada after Lepanto and were ready to wage another war. The Venetian territories in Dalmatia were in grave danger of falling into Turkish hands.³⁵ The Venetians had suffered and were so exhausted that every Venetian island in the Levant might well have surrendered with little or no resistance at the mere appearance of the Sultan's armada. Having lost Cyprus, Venice began to worry about Crete. Since the Sultan's ministers had proposed reasonable proposals for peace, Venetians were inclined to accept peace "to preserve her territories in the Levant and Dalmatia, for the benefit of their fellow Christians".³⁶

In the end, Venice signed a peace treaty with the Ottomans on March 7, 1573. Venice would pay an annual indemnity of 100,000 ducats to the Sultan for the error of challenging the Turco-Muslim empire.³⁷ The Venetian tribute of 500 ducats for the possession of Zante was raised to an annual assessment of 1,500 ducats, but the annual tribute of 8,000 ducats for Cyprus was cancelled. The

³⁴ Kenneth Setton, *ibid.*, p 1089.

³⁵ Kenneth Setton, *ibid.*, p 1092.

³⁶ Kenneth Setton, *ibid.*, p 1093.

³⁷ Andrew Hess, *ibid.*, p 92.

terms of the treaty were such that Charrière noted, "it would seem that the Turks had won the battle of Lepanto."³⁸

Spain's financial situation further developed a situation favorable to the Ottomans in the Mediterranean, and the Dutch rebels. The peace treaty between the Sultan and Venice left Spain to shoulder the entire military and financial burden of defending the Western Mediterranean. During war between 1572-76, Philip II spent as much as twice his revenues. Spain captured the Dutch city of Haarlem in July and Tunis in October 1573. However, the Ottomans took Tunis back in 1574. The Spanish defeat at Tunis taught him that he could not afford war on two frontiers. The struggle in both areas became Spain's costly stalemate. Philip II knew that Spain was capable of isolated victories in the Low Countries or in the Mediterranean in isolation, but he could not succeed both at once. He realized that as long as Spain was fighting on two fronts, she could not win on either.³⁹

The financial situation of Spain between 1571-1576 was so bad that Philip II was spending twice as much as his revenues. In 1571 the total revenues and expenditures was equivalent (around 5.5 million ducats), while in 1572 the total expenditure doubled, and rose to over 10 million ducats. In the same period, Philip II had to pay 2.5 million ducats of interest annually, and a total of 15 million

³⁸ Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, p 1091.

³⁹ Geoffrey Parker, "Spain, Her Enemies, and the Revolt of the Netherlands 1559-1648," *Past and Present*, No: 49, (London: 1979) 72-95, pp 84-85.

ducats within 6 years.⁴⁰ During this period, he had exceeded his revenues by as much as 200 %.⁴¹

Philip II, to overcome financial difficulty, tried borrowing on a wide scale. Merchant bankers were introduced with ever-greater interest rates. By the summer of 1575, the bankers realized the scale of Philip's deficit, and they refused to lend at all. The crown already owed 36 million ducats, equivalent of six or seven years' revenue. On September 1, 1575 Philip II took the decision to repudiate all his debts, which deprived him the machinery of credit and exchange. The governor-general in the Netherlands, Don Luis de Requesens wrote to Don Juan de Zuniga (his brother) on October 30, 1575:

Even if the king found himself with ten millions in gold and wanted to send them all here (Netherlands) he was no way of doing so with his bankruptcy. Because if the money were sent by sea in specie, it would be lost, and it is impossible to send it by letters of exchange, as hitherto because there is no merchant there (in Spain) who can issue them nor anyone who can accept any pay them.⁴²

Bankruptcy resulted in the collapse of Spain's unpaid army. Over 60,000 men were recruited on paper, whereas in 1576 actually Spanish troops in the Low Countries consisted merely of 8,000 men. The collapse of Spanish financial power in 1575 had its effects on Philip II's Mediterranean policy as well. Consequently, in early 1577, he sought an informal assurance that the Ottoman fleet would not operate in the West that year. The Ottoman Sultan agreed to his requests, and in 1578 a formal 'suspension of arms' was consolidated for one

⁴⁰ Geoffrey Parker, *ibid.*, p 90.

⁴¹ Andrew Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1978) p 95.

⁴² Geoffrey Parker, *ibid.*, p 87.

year and then prolonged for over a decade.⁴³ The result was disadvantageous for Dutch rebels. Philip II moved his troops from the Mediterranean to the Low Countries in 1577 and 1578, and the "Reconquest" began.

Until the end of the century, the enmity between the Ottoman Empire and Spain continued. Especially before the operation of the Spanish Armada, Queen Elizabeth used various efforts to convince the Ottoman Sultan to take joint action against Spain. Nevertheless, her continuous requests could not convince the Sultan to join such an adventure so far away. The Spanish threat in the Western Mediterranean was growing. Philip II added Portugal to his empire in 1580 and recovered the southern Netherlands (1578-1585). Now it was England's turn. Philip hoped to halt English persecution of Catholics, punish Elizabeth, stop English piracy in the Spanish new world possessions, and especially to block the English from allying with the rebellious Netherlanders.⁴⁴

With the Treaty of Nonsuch, signed in August 1585 between England and the United Provinces, Queen Elizabeth had committed to maintain a sizable English army in the Netherlands. More than 5,000 foot and a thousand horses would serve in Holland at the Queen's expense. The Queen would also meet a quarter of the total costs of the war against Spain. The strategically vital ports of Flushing, and Brill were to remain in English hands and be garrisoned at the Queen's expense.⁴⁵ Philip II knew the undertakings of Elizabeth by the Treaty of Nonsuch, and this treaty changed everything. It was a formal alliance between a

⁴³ Geoffrey Parker, *ibid.*, p 87.

⁴⁴ Givalomo Lippomano, 'The Armada Has Given Battle' in *Pursuit of Power*, Ed. James Davis, (NY: Harper & Publishers) p 106.

⁴⁵ Catherine Leach, *Sixteenth Century Europe*, (London: Mac Millan, 1991) pp 88-89.

foreign power and the rebels in the Low Countries, and could not be overlooked; it had to be faced; it had to be stopped.⁴⁶

The Great Armada, *armada católica*, was ready in 1588. Its basic aim was to carry out a new Lepanto against the "Turks of the North". The Armada consisted of 130 ships, which weighed 58,000 tons and carried 30,000 men and 2400 pieces of artillery - the greatest assemblage of naval power that was seen on Earth.⁴⁷

The English navy had only sixteen ships and seven pinnaces. Queen's four ships, Captain Drake's squadron of four ships, the Levant Company's squadron of seven ships, and the Lord Admiral's ship composed the English navy.⁴⁸ These sixteen ships were able to confront the huge Spanish Armada.

The Armada's expedition was perceived as a religious mission among the Catholic World. The Venetian ambassador in Spain, Girolamo Lippomano, reflected the spiritual atmosphere and the people's expectation of victory:

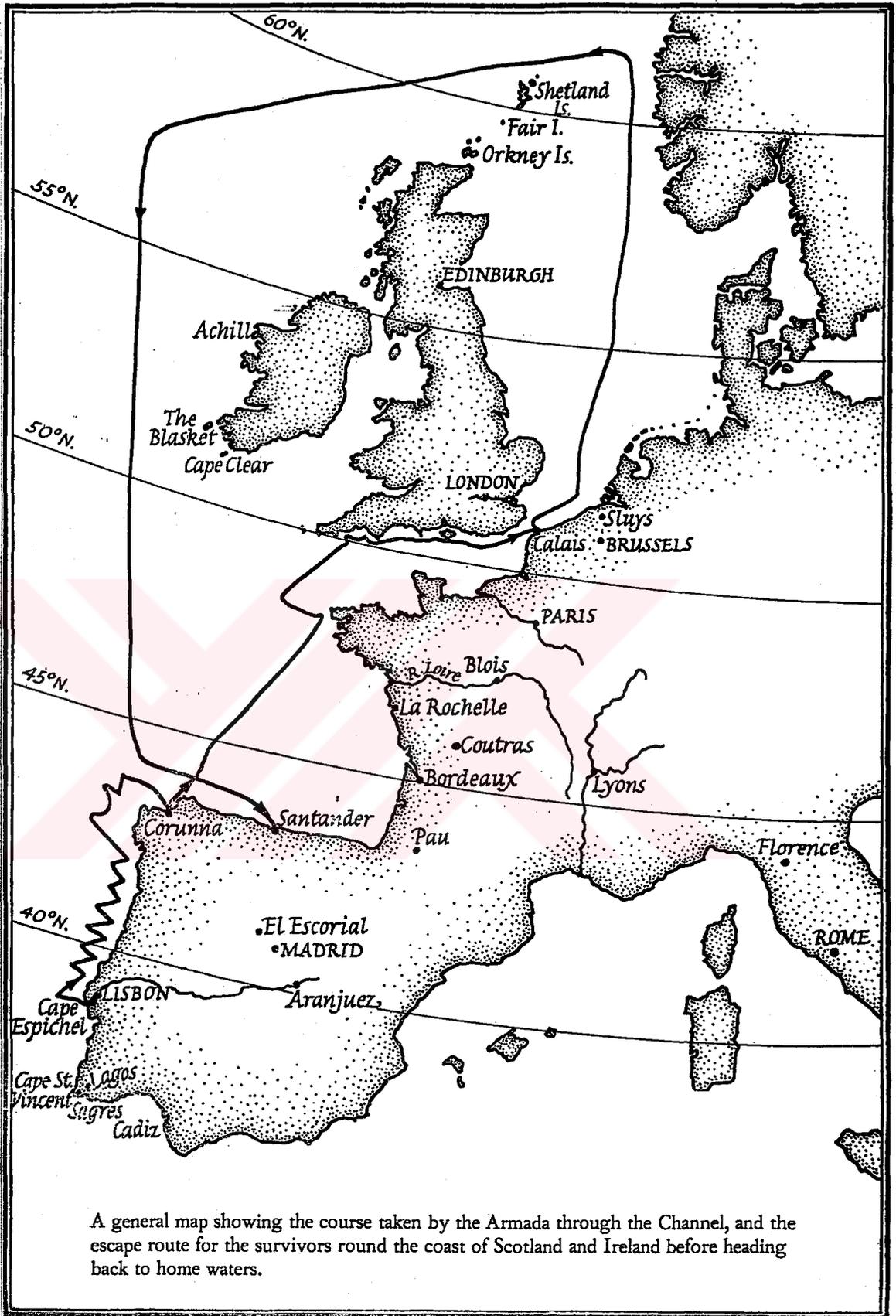
Here all the churches they make constant prayers; and the king [Philip II] himself is on his knees two or three hours every day before the sacrament. Everyone hopes that the greater the difficulties, humanly speaking, the greater will be the favor of God.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Geoffrey Parker, *ibid.*, p 89.

⁴⁷ R. R. Palmer, *History of the Medieval World*, p 111.

⁴⁸ Julian Corbett, Ed., *Papers Relating to the Navy During the Spanish War 1585-1587*, (Temple Smith, 1987) p XX. A list of the names of English ships is available in the cited reference.

⁴⁹ James Davis, ed., *Pursuit of Power*, (NY: Torchbook Library), p 110, from *CSP, Venice*, vol VIII.



A general map showing the course taken by the Armada through the Channel, and the escape route for the survivors round the coast of Scotland and Ireland before heading back to home waters.

Source: Garret Matingly, *The Defeat of the Spanish Armada*, Boston: 1994.

Both Queen Elizabeth and the English ambassador, Edward Barton at the Porte, spent immense efforts to convince the Sultan and the Viziers to dispatch an Ottoman navy against Spain. Efforts to move the Ottoman navy towards the western Mediterranean proved fruitless.⁵⁰ The party within the Ottoman government wanted to sustain the struggle against the Habsburgs in Central Europe rather than in the Mediterranean. The naval operation against Spain in the Mediterranean was thus suspended.⁵¹

Before the Armada's departure, Sultan Murad III wrote a letter to Queen Elizabeth in January 1587 to respond to the presentation of a memorandum by the English ambassador in Istanbul. The memorandum informed the Sultan about the ongoing naval struggle between England and Spain and Spain's increasing enmity that threatened England. In his letter, the Sultan promised his support to protect England from Spanish aggression:

My Imperial Majesty is convinced that you are right faithful to my Sublime Porte, and it is therefore necessary for you to observe all the terms of the various obligations, which bind both parties.⁵²

According to the dispatch⁵³ to the Doge and Senate by the Venetian bailo Lorenzo Bernardo on June 17, 1587 the Ottoman authorities were investigating the attitude of the other powers *vis-à-vis* Spanish aggression:

The French ambassador had a longer audience with the Grand Vizier (Siyavuş Paşa). The Capudan Paşa (Kılıç Ali Paşa) asked him if his master favored the Spanish attack on England. The ambassador answered that Spain would be favored if in nothing else, at least in being allowed to use French ports; for the

⁵⁰ *CSP, Foreign Series 1586-1588, XXI, pp508-509.*

⁵¹ Halil İnaıcık, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi*, p 428.

⁵² *CSP, Venice, VIII, p 239.*

⁵³ *CSP, Venice, VIII, p 286-287.*

Queen of England had deeply injured the King of France by killing his sister-in-law, the Queen of Scotland. 'Oh!' said the Capudan, 'then your master will allow Spain to take England, and to become so much more powerful'. 'No', replied the ambassador, ' he will not consent to that, but England will be conquered for the King of Scotland'

The Ottoman Empire did not form a naval alliance against Spain, but the Porte was pursuing a diplomacy to prevent any power from allying with Spain. On the eve of the Armada's sailing, the Sultan suspected a Venetian coalition with Spain. He did not hesitate to express himself:

"The Sultan said 'the Venetians are not behaving as well as they used to. I am informed that they are helping the King of Spain, who is my enemy, against the Queen of England, who is my ally.'"⁵⁴

Although there was no Ottoman operation against Spain, Venice (and others as well) was anxious not to provoke the Ottomans. The Venetian bailo, flurried by this alarming situation, immediately presented a memorandum to the Sultan to convince him that the rumors were completely untrue:

The Venetian ambassador has heard with great grief the false report, which has been made to the Sultan that the (Venetian) Republic has been acting in a manner hostile to the Queen of England. The Republic has never dreamed of such action. The English ambassador is fully aware of this, and has assured the Venetian ambassador, that, if he asked, he will declare the rumor to be absolutely false. Those who have given such information deserve to be severely punished.⁵⁵

The purpose of the *impresa d'Inghilterra* – the Invincible Armada – was to win control of the English Channel and to transport Parma's army of some 30,000

⁵⁴ Dispatch of Giovanni Moro, Venetian Ambassador in Constantinople, dated 18 May 1588, *CSP, Venice*, VIII, p 357.

⁵⁵ Memorial presented to the Grand Signor, *CSP, Venice*, VIII, p 358.

men from the Netherlands across the Channel.⁵⁶ Instead of a naval battle, individual English ships attacked the Spanish Armada using long-range guns. The Spanish fleet could not join the troops of Parma in the Netherlands. The English assault trapped the Armada in Calais Roads, and when a storm appeared, the great Armada could not find a safe port to take refuge. The huge Armada disappeared in the Channel.

Long before the sail of the Armada, the English ambassador in Istanbul, William Harborne, had created intensive diplomatic contacts for an Anglo-Ottoman alliance. Queen Elizabeth was well aware of an eventual Anglo-Spanish clash. To avoid a Spanish attack on the island, Elizabeth had made every effort to convince the Ottoman government to attack the Spanish coasts.⁵⁷ It seems that after his first arrival, the English ambassador had obtained a promise from the Sultan that if Queen Elizabeth would attack Spain in the Atlantic, he would send a great force to the Spanish coasts.⁵⁸ However, the efforts of Queen Elizabeth to move an Ottoman fleet proved fruitless. Even after the miracle rescue of England from the Spanish Armada, the Ottoman Porte was reluctant to dispatch a fleet to the Spanish coasts. On January 9, 1590, the Venetian ambassador Hieronimo Lippomane aptly summarized the situation:

Preparation of a great fleet. I do my best to find out the purpose for which it is being constructed. The purpose of the Turks is to keep all European powers in

⁵⁶ John Guy, "The Tudor Age" in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Britain*, Ed. Kenneth Morgan, Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, p 269.

⁵⁷ For more information about the diplomatic contacts of Queen Elizabeth and ambassadors William Harborne and Barton with the Sublime Porte, see Edwin Pears, "The Spanish Armada and the Ottoman Porte", *The English Historical Review*, vol. VIII, (London: 1989) 439-466.

⁵⁸ Edwin Pears, *ibid.*, p 444.

a state of anxiety and doubt, so as the more easily to induce them to grant any request the Sultan may prefer.⁵⁹

Even after evading the danger of the Spanish Armada, Queen Elizabeth had hope about the Ottoman alliance and naval assistance to England. She asked from the Sultan a naval operation to get rid of the Spanish danger. The Queen thought that the courage of Philip II had increased by the cancellation of the Ottoman fleet. According to Queen's opinion, the Ottoman naval campaign would not have jeopardized the Ottoman fleet:

The petition of poor and powerless me, which I make on the ground at the feet of the thrice happy Emperor. God knows, and so does your Imperial Majesty, how my mistress, has for seven years continuously, at the smallest sign from your Imperial Majesty, made war on the King of Spain, has done her best to ruin him and to cause his destruction. But what power can a woman like that have when she sets herself to measure arms with a King of that sort; and your Imperial Majesty is the cause of all the ills which now surround or may befall my mistress, for, on the faith of your promised help, she has broken the peace with the King of Spain. The King of Spain, knowing quite well that your Majesty has entirely abandoned any idea of attacking him, has withdrawn all his troops and forces.

The Queen tried to encourage the Sultan for easy victory through booty, and reminded him of Sultan Süleiman's the glorious expedition in 1526, a campaign against the Spanish Emperor to rescue the French king from his oppression:

It is quite certain that if even a small fleet sailed for Spain it would make itself master of those places, or else the inhabitants would fly and leave all their goods behind them so that the soldiers of the Sublime Porte would acquire great riches. The Sultan Suliman, on the merest request the King of France, sent out a vast armament to prevent the King of Spain from growing power and

⁵⁹ *CSP, Venice, VIII, p 512.*

in forces. It is written in history. By sending out an armament in his aid, France would be freed, and become your friend and ready to serve you."⁶⁰

In his reply, the Sultan promised the forthcoming naval campaign with 300 vessels, encroaching Spain. He also expected from the Queen that naval and military preparations be completed in conjunction with Ottoman forces:

This year we will spend out a fleet of three hundred galleys and maone, with suitable army, and for this purpose my Imperial army is already gone, and my Grand Vizier will go to the country of Spain. Now, when this letter reaches you, you will begin to make great preparations, and see that your forces are ready to effect a junction with mine. Then we, conquering many places by the grace of God, will display to light our infinity victories.⁶¹

However, this plan was never realized. The Sultan and the Ottoman government continuously leaked the news, which were mostly misinformation, that the Ottoman navy was ready to inaugurate a naval operation at any time. This policy undoubtedly disturbed the Spanish King and prevented him from safely organizing an attack over France and England. Ultimately, the Ottoman plan was successful, and Spain could never achieve its plans to occupy France and England. Its giant Armada was the only hope to occupy England, but sank with such projects forever.

Between 1579-1582 there had been certain diplomatic contacts between Istanbul and the Netherlands. One of them was the mission of Gabriel Defrens, or Mahmud Abdullah Frenk, who was of French origin, and later converted to Islam. He was captured and served as dragoman to the French embassy at the Porte. In 1579 he was sent to Spain and England with the order of Sokollu

⁶⁰ *CSP, Venice, VIII, pp 514-515.*

⁶¹ *CSP, Venice, VIII, p 517.*

Mehmed Paşa; in September 1580 to England; in June 1581 to France. On the return journey from London, he made a detour to carry a message from Elizabeth I to Prince William of Orange.⁶²

Other than these incidental political correspondences, there are certain documents indicating individual commercial activities in the Low Countries. Charles V's ordinances mentioned Dutch shipping to the Levant, Ragusa, Crete, Cyprus and Italy. Moreover, notarial and judicial archives point out that Dutch merchants from the northern provinces were trading in the Levant as early as the 1550s.⁶³ Before the Ottoman conquest of Chios in 1566, the island constituted the center of transit trade. The merchants of non-capitulatory countries were trading through Chios, which was a tributary of the Ottoman Sultan.⁶⁴ When general capitulations were granted to France for the first time in 1569 (just before the Ottoman preparations to conquer Cyprus), protection of English, Portuguese, Spanish, Sicilian, Anconian, and other Europeans were also granted to the French, so that merchants of non-capitulatory countries could trade under the French flag.⁶⁵

Towards the end of the century, diplomatic competition in Istanbul accelerated. In addition to intensive Venetian trade, the French were trading in the Levant. Since 1581, English merchants were trading under their own flag. The capacity of the English ships and the volume of the trade they made in the Levant caused rumors in the capital. Although twenty years had passed since the

⁶² A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 85.

⁶³ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 289, note 19.

⁶⁴ Information given by Halil İnalcık.

⁶⁵ Halil İnalcık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi*, (Istanbul: Eren, 2000) p 244.

granting of English capitulations, English ships had a reputation of piracy rather than for the quality of the goods they brought. In earlier years, the Venetians did not consider the English as real commercial rivals. The Venetian *bailo* in Istanbul Giovanni Francesco Moresini reported to the Doge and Senate:

In a whole year only one English ship has reached the city, and that such a small one that it did not bring a sixth of the cargo a Venetian ship would carry. Moreover the Englishmen had more guns than goods, which proved that her real object was to go pirating on her way home.⁶⁶

Upon the death of English ambassador Barton in 1597, his secretary Henry Lello was appointed the new English ambassador. Presents to the Sultan were brought by "The Hector," a ship carrying a large cargo of woolen goods that the Venetian ambassador reported, "*to be so excellent as to constitute a serious danger to Venetian trade in that country.*"⁶⁷ While he admitted that "The Hector" was a fine ship, he complained about English vanity in showing it off, (through its artillery and ammunition) to the Turks.⁶⁸

Because of the Ottoman war's two fronts (the war with Austria since 1593 and the expeditions against Iran), on the eve of the century the Levant trade experienced gradual decline. The Levant had lesser profit margin than the East India Company. The Levant Company paid the cost of the English ambassador, which meant additional costs to the shareholders.

According to the December 3, 1600 dispatch of Agostino Nani, the Venetian *bailo* in Istanbul, English ambassador Henry Lello reported that the trade had fallen incredibly low, while both ordinary and extraordinary taxation had

⁶⁶ CSP, Venice, VIII, p 84.

⁶⁷ CSP, Venice, IX, p XLIV.

⁶⁸ CSP, Venice, IX, p XLV.

greatly increased due to the continual presents, which had to be made for the pashas.⁶⁹ The English even thought of leaving the Levant entirely and instead focusing on the Indian trade. Lello added that:

If the English should succeed as the Flemish have done, in opening up a trade with the Indies, where the gains were far greater, it is possible that they may think of directing their trade to Venice, sending their merchandise to that city and abandoning all dealings with the Turk.⁷⁰

In the meantime there was a political group within the Ottoman government that wanted to break relations with England. Deputy-Grand Vizier (*kaymakam*) Ahmed Paşa, Grand Admiral Ciğalazade Sinan Paşa, and the Kazasker consulted with the French ambassador Francois Savary de Brèves on this issue. Venetian *bailo* Girolamo Capello dispatched on 17 June 1600 that

These personages contemplate not merely excluding English shipping but also abandonment of the English alliance, for they say they accepted it for the sole purpose of keeping the Queen in active hostility to the Crown of Spain, and now that she is on the point of making peace with Spain, her alliance is no longer suitable nor useful.⁷¹

The discussions of breaking of relations with England continued until 1606. Both Sultan Ahmed I and the Viziers favored breaking relations with England, because English ships were intensively involved in piracy. Hoca Sadeddin and Haydar Paşa were against the idea.⁷²

Previously, Grand Admiral Ciğalazade Sinan Paşa had made an effort to suspend diplomatic relations with England. However, he suddenly changed his

⁶⁹ *CSP, Venice, IX, p 436.*

⁷⁰ *CSP, Venice, IX, p 436.*

⁷¹ *CSP, Venice, IX, p 414.*

⁷² *CSP, Venice, X, p 311, 318.*

mind and favored the English. The Venetian *bailo* was also surprised with the new developments. He wrote to the Doge and senate that:

Things change their aspect here from one extreme to another. Only last year it was the desire not of the sultan only, but of all his ministers, and of Cicala himself (Ciğalazade Sinan Paşa Grand Admiral 1598-1605) to prohibit the English from trading this is chiefly due to the immense influence of Cicala, who formerly had little weight. The Grand Vizier (Yemişçi Hasan Paşa) explained that Cicala was of opinion that the English, who were better friends to the Porte than any other power, ought to be favored.⁷³

The insistence of the English ambassador and the Queen on the protection of the Flemish merchants in the Levant was based on a simple rationale: because of the contraction of the Levant trade, the English ambassador was unable to afford his expenses at the Porte. Venetian *bailo* Nicolo Molin summarized the situation in his dispatch dated May 4, 1605:

Perceiving that the Levant trade is almost ruined, and that the ambassador in Constantinople (Henry Lello) has not the where with to maintain himself, and the (Levant) Company no longer pays him his salary as it used to do.⁷⁴

To raise their ambassador's revenue, English claimed that:

All foreigners who desired to place themselves under the protection of the English flag should be free to do so. For they cannot draw their salaries except from the dues levied, and their payments can be exacted from the English subjects only, who are few in number, and so their fees (*cottimi*) will not nearly cover their current expenses.⁷⁵

⁷³ CSP, Venice, IX, p LX.

⁷⁴ CSP, Venice, X, p 237.

⁷⁵ Dispatch of Venetian *bailo* Giralamo Capello, dated February 7, 1600, CSP, Venice, IX, p 395.



The Dutch Republic (United Provinces)

Source: Karel Davids, J. Lucassen, Eds., *A Miracle Mirrored*, Cambridge: CUP, 1995, p 22.

C. Dutch Merchants in the Levant Until the Grant of Capitulations in 1612

Dutch merchants could trade under the French flag provided by the French capitulations of 1569.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, till the end of the century, Venetians had the lion's-share of the Levant trade.

In 1599, the volume of the Venetian trade was 1.5 million ducats, over 3 million for the whole of Christendom, of which ½ million was handled by the French, or by merchants trading under the French flag.⁷⁷

The permission for the commercial activities of Dutch merchants in the Levant was confirmed by the French King Henry IV in 1598.⁷⁸ Sultan Mehmed III also issued a *berat*⁷⁹ at the request of the French ambassador at the Porte that included the Dutch merchants under his jurisdiction. The French capitulations was renewed in 1597. There are records that in 1597 Dutch consuls and merchants were in Syria.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ It was usually accepted that the first general French capitulations was granted in 1535. However, neither Ottoman nor French archives demonstrate that any copy of the so-called 1535 capitulations exists. The only copy is the French one, which is a draft. It was never confirmed by the Ottoman Sultan. The first general French capitulations was granted in 1569 on the eve of the naval expedition to Cyprus. For detailed information on the subject, see Halil İnalcık, "İmtiyazat", *EF*, (Leiden: Brill, 1971)

⁷⁷ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, (NY: Harper Collins, 1992) p 403.

⁷⁸ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 87.

⁷⁹ Dated *Evâhir-i Ramazan 1006 / April 1598*.

⁸⁰ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 88; in Heeringa *Levanschen Handel*, I, pp 164-166, "Verhaal Van De Toelating Der Nederlanders In Turkije Onder Fransche Vlag", pp 164-166: "Tot vorderinghe van de coophandel, navigatie, hebben eenige cooplieden ghepractiseert

Until the late 16th century, Dutch merchants in the Levant were not protected by any particular ambassador. Merchants of non-capitulatory countries sailed under the protection of the sovereign they chose.⁸¹ According to the dispatch of Edward Barton dated March 3, 1597:

Amongst all the portes and provinces of the Levant, and the porte thereof Alexandria hath always byn free for all trafficants, so that the king of Spaine, the Pope and the other princes of Italy have not league with the Grand Signor, yet a publick generall priviledge hath of many yeares byn graunted unto 'nations forestiers', under which title we putt all that have not amity with the Grand Signor, to traffick securly unto those partes of Egipt and to have their severall cosuls, or if they thinke good, at their owne dosyer to goe under the protexion of the prince they best please.⁸²

In late 16th century, the number of Dutch merchants inclined in the Levant. According to English ambassador Henry Lello's dispatch to Robert Cecil⁸³ dated March 3/23, 1599, the volume of the Dutch Levant trade was still negligible, but that Dutch should be taken under the English flag:

The Fflemmings doe beginne to trade into these countreyes, which will cleane subvert ours, although it be now butt little worth; yet seeing noe means to prohibit them, I thought it better to take their protection then suffer them to goe under the Ffrench. Although the Grand Signor hath absolutely commanded they

oock te mogen traffiqueren in Afriken, Aegypten, Syriën ende Griecken, als tot Constantinopolen, Alexandriën, Tripoli, Patrassa, ende voorts door alle de dominiën van den grooten Turck, waertoe sij hebben versocht aen den koninck van Vranckrijck, om door sijnen ambassadeur in 't hof van den Tuck gerecommandeert te worden"; Van Meteren, Nederlandshe Historien, boek XIX, fol 397 also.

⁸¹ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 88.

⁸² Heeringa, *Levanschen Handel*, I, pp 164-165; *P.R.O., State Papers, Turkey*, III, p 175.

⁸³ Robert Cecil (1563-1617), statesman and diplomat. First Earl of Salisbury, and first Viscount Cranborne. In 1588 attached to Earl of Derby's mission to Spanish Netherlands. Secretary of State between 1596-1608. In 1598 envoy to France. In 1603, on the death of Queen Elizabeth, he secured the accession of James I of Scotland to the throne of England. Rosemary O'Day, *The Tudor Age*, (London: Longman, 1995) p 178.

shall come under H.M's her banner and noe other, yet with his continuall bribing her still troubleth me.⁸⁴

As mentioned above, there were two groups within the Ottoman government: those who favored and those who disliked the English. Although the Sultan promised the English ambassador that Dutch merchants would come under the English flag, this was only possible with the renewal of English capitulations in 1601.⁸⁵

According to the English ambassador, the Dutch merchants also preferred to sail under the English rather than the French flag. In the dispatch of Henry Lello to Robert Cecil dated 14 November 1599, the Dutch merchants who came to Syria preferred the English flag:

Flemminges are come with a shippe into Surria and have subytted themselves under the proteccion of H.M. sayinge: we are H.M.'s subjects and will be under her baner; which the Ffrench consul percyvinge sought to troble, threatninge that his ambassador should cause them to be hanged. Theye are more willinge to come under our baner than under the France.⁸⁶

Throughout 1600, the English ambassador continued his insistence to protect the Dutch merchants. The French ambassador did not surrender easily. He tried all methods, including bribing the viziers to change the attitude of the Porte on the protection of the Dutch merchants.

⁸⁴ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 169; also *P.R.O. Foreign, Turkey*, IV (1599-1604).

⁸⁵ Ahmed Feridun, *Münşeâtü's-Selâtîn*, vol. II, pp 550-552: "*Flandra vilâyetletinden Holandiya ve Zelandiya ve Frizlandiya ve Gilderlandiya nâm dört pâre vilâyetlerin tüccar tâifesi İngiltere Kraliçesi beyrağı altında gelüb gidüb konsolosluk hakkın İngiltere Kraliçesinin elçisine verüb min ba'd France elçisi tarafından dahl ü ta'arrua olunmaya*".

⁸⁶ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 167.

The Sultan had issued contradictory *firman*s regarding the protection of Dutch merchants, so that both the English and the French claimed that the right of protection of the Dutch belonged to them.⁸⁷ The case was actually very complex. The developments also confused the Viziers. In the end, vizier Ahmed Paşa wanted to conclude the issue. He repeatedly asked the Venetian ambassador to express his opinion, but the ambassador declined to do so. According to Venetian ambassador "*Ahmed Paşa, unable to reach a conclusion himself, sought to shelter his decision behind the ambassador's opinion*".⁸⁸

Ahmed Paşa sent a cavass and invited ambassador Girolamo Capello to talk to him personally. Upon his admittance, Ahmed Paşa opened a large map of Europe and asked who was the master of Flanders. The ambassador replied that his Catholic Majesty (the Spanish king) was the original owner. Ambassador G. Capello gave Ahmed Paşa a brief history of Philip I, the father of Charles V, to Philip II. He also told Ahmed Paşa what had happened in Flanders and explained the circumstances in Holland and Zeeland, the two disputed provinces between the English and the French ambassadors.⁸⁹ This seems to be the first general briefing received by an Ottoman vizier about the history of the Low Countries. The English claims regarding the Dutch merchants were based on the fact that

⁸⁷ The "flag issue" has a long story. It occupied the agenda of the French and English ambassadors at the Porte and of the Viziers from 1600 to 1606. For the consequent imperial decrees, the diplomatic conflicts between the two ambassadors and the correspondence, see Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Türk – İngiliz Münasebetlerinin Başlangıcı ve Gelişmesi (1553-1610)*, Ankara: A.Ü. DTCF Yayınlarından, 1953, pp 104-117; Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı – İngiliz İktisâdî Münasebetleri 1580-1838*, (Ankara: TKAE, 1974).

⁸⁸ CSP, Venice, IX, p 411.

⁸⁹ CSP, Venice, IX, pp 411-412.

Holland, Zeeland, Groningen, and Friesland were under the protection of Queen Elizabeth.⁹⁰

Evaluating the Venetian, English, and Ottoman documents on the “flag issue” from 1600 to 1609 creates a confusing conclusion. One of the parties was granted the right to protect the Dutch merchants and also the rest of the non-capitulatory countries. Soon afterwards, the other party dispatched a report claiming that they were victorious *vis-à-vis* the other side. According to the renewed French capitulations dated Evâhir-i Zilhicce 1015 / April 18-28, 1606, all the non-capitulatory merchants would sail under the French flag, not the English.⁹¹ Just a few weeks ago, the English ambassador Thomas Glower gave the good news in his dispatch dated March 18/28, 1606 to Lord Salisbury that “I had not onlie obtained the grant to renewe our capitulations againe, ‘that all the Fflemmings and all other merchantts forastiers whatsoever should come under the kinge of England his banner.”⁹²

The French and the English ambassadors had agreed, under the auspices and arbitration of the Venetian *bailo* Simon Contarini, to share the consular fees collected from the Dutch merchants. On October 17, 1609, Contarini dispatched⁹³ to the Doge and Senate that “the secretaries of the French and English ambassadors have brought for safe custody in this Chancery, a deed of accord between them.”

⁹⁰ Dispatch of the Venetian *bailo* Agostino Nani, dated December 3, 1600, *CSP, Venice*, IX, p 436.

⁹¹ *Fransa'ya Müceddeden Verilen Ahdnâme*, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplement Turc 118, (hereafter Supp Turc 118) (Appendix I), document 68.

⁹² Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 171.

⁹³ *CSP, Venice*, XI, p 370.

He also enclosed this agreement:

The consular fees exacted from the merchants ships that came from the seventeen provinces of Flanders, and the Low Countries or from elsewhere into the Levant, a fair division shall be made, the French consul taking half, and the English consul half, both of imports and exports. ... the accord is to be signed and sealed by both ambassadors and give to the Illistrrious bailo for custody and reference in case of dispute. ... If difficulties rise as to the interpretation of any cause, the bailo with two French and two English merchants shall decide.

The accord would be valid during the entire period of the ambassador's residence. In the end, the revenue gathered from the Dutch merchants would be divided equally between the French and the English ambassadors. According to the English ambassador Thomas Glower's dispatch, dated October 17, 1609, he was pleased with this solution:

Of the forrastiers beinge soliticited by some men of account who were of purpose sett by the French ambassador to come to an agreement with him soe live in peace and tranquillitie, whereby not only our affayres should passé the better amongst these infidels. Whereas it is included in our capitulations, yet the nation of 4 provinces of the t Countries, viz. Holland, Zelland, Frisland, and Giderland ought to paye us consulledge for the goods brought within the Gran Signor's dominions and the residue, being 13, belonginge unto the French. Wee are nowē agreede, ioyninge all the 17 provinces together, to divide it in two partes, the one parte of the consulledge for us, and the other for the French, wherein wee have the greatest advantage, as wel in quantitie as in qualitie, for I am informed by men of experience, yet the Flanders and Brabanders are the cheefe principals and richeste merchants, which are not inserted in our capitulations.⁹⁴

Four of the northern provinces, - Holland, Zeeland, Friesland, and Gelderland were under English protection. They were practically the only provinces that dealt with naval trade. The revenues from all seventeen Dutch provinces would be gathered and equally divided in two, to be shared between

⁹⁴ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 175.

the French and English ambassadors. The English ambassador seemed pleased with this division, claiming that the merchants of Brabant and Flanders were the richest. He would also share the consuledge (*cottimo*)⁹⁵ collected from their commercial activity. That was probably the best solution, pleasing the French politically, and economically. Anyway, the ultimate settlement would have had lasted only three years, and the United Provinces would have had its own capitulations in the English 1612.

The struggle between the English and French ambassadors had started with the promise of Sultan Mehmed III in 1597 on the occasion of arrival of an English ship arrived full of presents for the Sultan. The presents were for the accreditation of the English ambassador Henry Lello, who was the secretary of the late ambassador Edward Barton. The Sultan was very pleased with the quality of the presents, which apparently influenced his decision to include the non-capitulatory states' merchants to trade under the English flag.

⁹⁵ *Cottimo* are the fees collected by the ambassador or by the consul from the merchants. It is mentioned as *elçilik ve konsolosluk hakkı* in Ottoman documents. The local authorities used to collect fees or presents from foreign merchants. Such arbitrary, extra fees put a heavy burden over the merchants in time. To meet these kinds of expenses, the consuls began to collect fees, named *cottimo*, but the rate was collected at different rates by the ambassadors, Halil İnalçık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi*, p 240; Originally the rate of *cottimo* was 1 %, but in 1586 the Venetian consul in Syria raised it to 1.5 % because of the shortage of currency, F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, p 402; At the end of the century, we observe that the rate was increased to 2 %. English Ambassador at the Porte, Henry Lello, report to Robert Cecil in 1599 that 'at present the French ambassador has taken out a commandemente, that all, whatsoever under his baner, peye 2 percento besides their ordinarye consoladge towards his great brybe nowe given', Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 168.

The French ambassador, highly sensitive to the issue, immediately “*spent 6000 chequins to bribe the Viziers to cancel the Sultan’s decision*”.⁹⁶ The gifts presented to the Sultan were also influential in the continuous changing of favor from the French to the English. The Venetian ambassador’s dispatch read that “*French ships were small and only carried Sardines to Chios, the French ships no presents to the Sultan, as do the English.*”⁹⁷

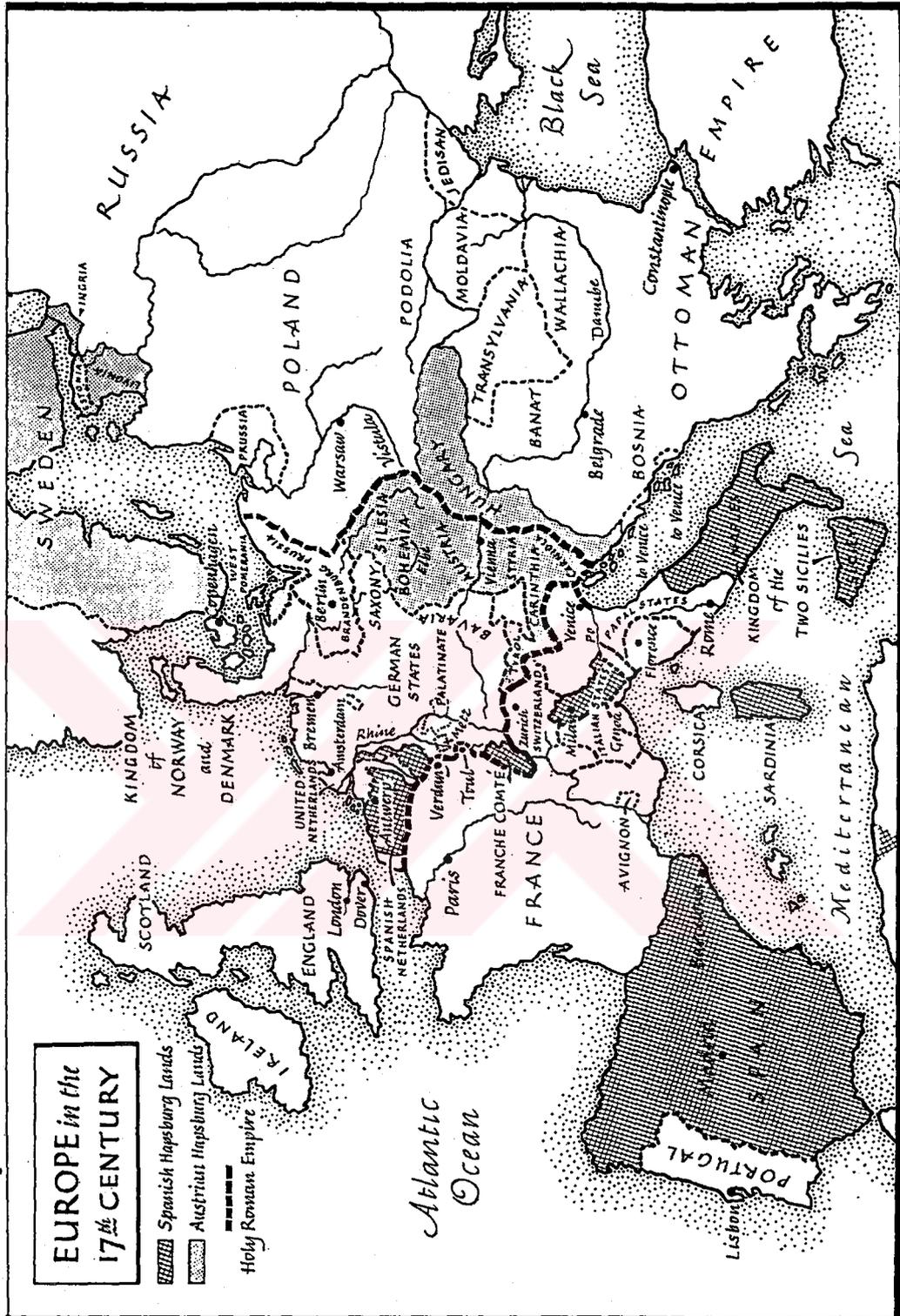
The origins and nature of the “flag issue” were clearly defined in the Sultan’s imperial decree⁹⁸ in late 17th century that the non-capitulatory countries’ merchants would sail under a capitulatory nation to allow the merchants to trade in Ottoman dominions. In a modern sense, the capitulations constitute a treaty of commerce. When non-capitulatory⁹⁹ merchants were also included in the overall commerce within the Ottoman territories, the volume of trade increased. In 1609, the long lasting competition between the English and the French regarding the protection of Dutch merchants seemed solved. However, that was the beginning of another rivalry in the Levant. The Venetian, French, and English ambassadors at the Porte would unite all their powers and influence to prevent the Dutch from being granted capitulations and from carrying out commercial activity under their own flag.

⁹⁶ CSP, Venice IX, p XLVII.

⁹⁷ CSP, Venice, IX, p 453.

⁹⁸ “*Ceneviz ve Alikorna misillü Asitâne-i sa’âdetimde balyosları ikâmet etmeyen tavâyif-i Nasarâ’nın bilâd-i İslamiyye’de tüccarları gelmek iktizâ eyledikde Devlet-i Aliyyem ile mûsâlaha üzere olub der-i devlet-medârımda baylosları mukîm olan müste’men tâyifesine ilticâ ve bayrağı altında duhûl edüm memâlik-i İslamiyye’de emîn ve sâlim ticâret edegelmeleriyle bayrak altına girmek husûsu bu kazıyyeden ibâretdir,*” Ahmed Refik, 12. *Asr-ı Hicrî’de İstanbul Hayatı*, (İstanbul: 1930) pp 74-76.

⁹⁹ “*harbî taife*”, in the Ottoman documents.



Europe in the 17th Century

Source: William L. Langer, *An Encyclopedia of World History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972

D. The Twelve Years Truce Between Holland and Spain (1609) and Afterwards

The conclusion of an Anglo – Spanish treaty on May 30, 1604 surprised and shocked Oldenbarneveldt¹⁰⁰. The question of peace divided the Dutch authorities. Oldenbarneveldt and the “truceites” were anxiously wanted a permanent settlement with Spain. Prince Maurice,¹⁰¹ who was supported by the maritime provinces of Holland and Zeeland, (which were growing rich by the war), desired its continuance.¹⁰² Venetian network of diplomats were following the developments in northern Europe. According to research by the Venetian network of correspondence, the Netherlands’ war party was considerably strong. The Venetian *bailo* in England, Antonio Foscarini, summarized the political situation in the United Provinces in his April 19, 1612:

¹⁰⁰ Jan van Oldenbarnevelt (1547-1619) studied law and advised to William of Orange. In 1576 he became pensionary (political-legal secretary) of Rotterdam. Oldenbarnevelt was one of the men responsible for forming the Union of Utrecht in 1579, which joined the seven provinces that opposed Spanish rule. In 1584 he backed Maurice as successor to William and was elected grand pensionary (land’s advocate of Holland, political and legal secretary of the States) in February 1586. He directed the politics and foreign policy of the United Provinces. Although there were no such offices or title, he became in practice both the prime minister and the foreign minister of the Dutch Republic for more than three decades. The true creator of the Dutch Republic, he adapted the institutions inherited from the past for the work of republican government. When he fell into sharp disagreement with Prince Maurice on the religious issue of Arminians and Remonstrants conflict, Prince Maurice organized a coup, arrested Oldenbarnevelt and his colleagues, had him tried by a special court, and executed him in 1619. Henry Kamen, *Who’s Who in Europe 1450-1750*, (London: Routledge, 2000) p 226; Herbert Rowen, *The Princes of Orange*, Cambridge: CUP, 1988, p 36.

¹⁰¹ Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange (1567-1625) was stadholder of Holland, Zeeland, and the major provinces of the United Provinces. Second son of William of Orange and Anna of Saxony. He succeeded the leadership of the rebel Netherlands after the assassination of his father in 1584. Thanks to his political and military successes, the United Provinces were able to sign the Twelve Years Truce in 1609. Maurice did not marry, he was succeeded by his brother Frederick Henry. Henry Kamen, *ibid.*, p 202.

¹⁰² *CSP, Venice*, XI, p VI.

Every letter I receive from Holland confirms the views that the United Provinces do not desire peace, nay there are many who are dissatisfied with the Truce. They are paying the maintenance of twenty-two thousand foot besides. The cavalry and the navy, and therefore with a very small increase in their forces they could carry on the war, which Maurice above all others earnestly desires. All this, which is quite well known to his Catholic Majesty, causes him to desire to convert the Truce into a peace.¹⁰³

The inauguration of negotiations among the United Provinces, Spain, and the Spanish Netherlands took two more years. Preliminary negotiations for a peace, not a truce, had been opened in March 1607 by an agreement between the Archdukes and the United Provinces to end hostilities. But the essential points, independence and the navigation to the Indies, were only defined by the Hague Conference, which eventually met in January 1608.¹⁰⁴

The negotiations started at The Hague in February 1608; the Truce was signed in April 1609. The seven northern provinces achieved an almost complete victory on seventeen northern provinces' independence¹⁰⁵ and colonial trade. To the northern Republic, the truce marked the beginning of a glorious half-century of economic and cultural expansion.¹⁰⁶ In his address to the Doge, the Venetian ambassador Wotton declared, "though the [Venetian] Republic was mistress in the Mediterranean, the United Provinces (the Dutch Republic) was one of the

¹⁰³ *CSP, Venice*, XII, p 335.

¹⁰⁴ *CSP, Venice*, XI, p VII.

¹⁰⁵ The first clause of the Truce recognized the Dutch independence was : «*Lesdits Sieurs Archiducs declarent, tant en leurs noms que dudit Sieur Roi, quilz sont contens de traiter avec lesdits Sieurs Etats Genereaux des Provences- Unies en qualité et comme les tenans pour Païs, Provenceset Etats libre sur lesquels ils ne prétendent rien*» *CSP, Venice*, XI, p XI.

¹⁰⁶ Charles Wilson, *The Transformation of Europe*, p 182.

strongest powers in the Ocean".¹⁰⁷ England worried about the Dutch peace with Spain. Some English believed that England had lost a great opportunity and that its naval power was declining as a result of the Dutch Republic peace. Others regretted the rich gains of privateering.¹⁰⁸ English king James I abandoned Elizabeth's policies and signed Anglo - Spanish peace treaty in 1604. After 1604 English corsairs appointed by the English government lost their jobs. Most of them, who wanted to continue their activities, sailed under the Dutch banner, since their own government had concluded a peace with Spain.¹⁰⁹

The Twelve Years Truce constituted a turning point for Ottoman – Dutch relationship. From then onwards, the Dutch Republic would feel free to engage in diplomatic relations. In a short span of time, the united Provinces gained capitulations and attained a great share from the Levant trade throughout the first half of the 17th century.

Until 1661, Winchelsea had to report that for every English ship in Turkey there were four Dutch ships. They exported great quantities of medium-priced

¹⁰⁷ *CSP, Venice, XI, p VII.*

¹⁰⁸ *CSP, Venice, XI, p VII.* Privateer is a vessel owned and officered by private persons, but carrying on maritime war under letters of marque. In this sense corsair activities should be distinguished from privateering. As English captains and Dutch Sea-beggars were permitted to carry out privateering by their sovereigns, north African seamen were allowed by the governors to privateer in the Mediterranean. In Ottoman Turkish, legal and illegal activities at sea were distinguished with the terms *korsanlık*, and *haydutluk*, respectively. For an example to privateering see Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 186: "*Ammâ Cezâyir Beğlerbeğisi varan evâmir-i şerîfeye itâat eylemeyüb gemilerimizi girift ve âdemlerimizi esîr eylemekden hâlf değıllerdir, pâdişâhın düşmanlarına nice ederler ise Nederalandalulara dahî böyle ederler. Cezâyir korsanları getirdükleri esbâb ve âdemlerin her onunda bir esir aldığı ecilden korsanlığa icâzet verür*".

¹⁰⁹ Maria Christina Anna Elizabeth Engels, *Merchants, Interlopers and Corsairs: The 'Flemish' Community in Livorno and Genoa (1615-1635)*, (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), p 51.

cloth known as *londrini* (distinct from the English *londr*) that they exchanged for silk, mohair, cotton, leather, wool, wax, alum, *gall-nut*, and drugs.¹¹⁰ On the eve of the establishment of official relations between the United Provinces and the Ottoman Empire, the Low Countries had a high potential for economic and commercial boom. In the closing of the 16th century, when Prince Maurice was still busy consolidating the borders by fortification and battle, Amsterdam informed the States General that Dutch trade and shipping were far greater than that of England and France. Yet, the commercial might of the Republic was then only in its infancy.¹¹¹ This paper concludes that Ottoman statesmen were undoubtedly aware of the ongoing clash in the Low Countries. On the other hand, they were not totally aware of the Dutch commercial supremacy and acceleration of the global Dutch naval hegemony.

Regarding the spice trade, Levant was open to the spice market from 1580s to 1625. By 1625, the Dutch had imposed their rule throughout the ocean and were then looking to America for fresh worlds to conquer. 1625 was the date that determined the incredible decline of the Levant trade.¹¹² The first warning was the Twelve Years Truce of 1609, which officially opened the Indian Ocean to the trading ventures of these new arriving merchants. In 1614, the appearance of the first large Dutch vessel in the Red Sea was another hint of what was to come.¹¹³ Actually, the final blow to the importance of the Levant trade was the East India Companies. Instead of medium scale and traditional peddling trade,

¹¹⁰ Sonia Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey, Paul Rycaut at Smyrna 1667-1678*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) p 54.

¹¹¹ Marjolein 't Hart, *Making of a Bourgeois State*, p 25.

¹¹² F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, p 399.

¹¹³ F. Braudel, *ibid.*, p 399.

these companies ushered in structural change. In 1625, both the English and the Dutch firmly established their domination over the Indian Ocean and established a strict monopoly over the Atlantic route.¹¹⁴

The United Provinces had already established the Dutch East India Company (VOC, *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*) in 1602, (before the Twelve Years Truce). The Dutch West India Company (WIC) for the Americas was formed in 1621. The Netherlands became very competitive with these two companies. These companies were established under a monopoly of the Dutch state to trade in the East and West Indies. Interestingly, the administrative boards of the companies were allowed to conclude treaties of peace and allegiance, wage defensive wars, and build strongholds in their regions.

Actually, these companies were created as extra-territorial states within the Dutch Republic. Nevertheless, they were formally under the supervision of the States General.¹¹⁵ However, one should be very careful in evaluating the comments regarding the decline of Ottoman transit trade in this period. As the volume of imported spices imported sharply declined as a result of Dutch monopoly in certain locations, customs revenue in other cities such as Izmir flourished. On the other hand, while the spice trade was abandoned in the Levant, The Indian trade in cotton goods and dyes increased.¹¹⁶ The monopoly of

¹¹⁴ Halil İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, p 358.

¹¹⁵ Marjolein 't Hart, *ibid.*, p 23.

¹¹⁶ Halil İnalcık, *ibid.*, p 359.

the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in Indonesia over spice trade and its price policy adversely affected the Levant trade route.¹¹⁷

Within such an atmosphere, political and diplomatic developments in Europe facilitated rapprochement between the Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic. The Anglo – Spanish peace treaty caused Ottoman statesmen to worry. Some Viziers openly expressed that there was no need to continue alliance with Queen Elizabeth I since she ended the war with Spain. The Ottoman Empire found in the Dutch Republic an ally within the Christian world.

E. Earliest Official Ottoman – Dutch Relations

The first relationship between the Dutch Republic and the Ottoman Empire was achieved through a non-official contact. Since 1600, the small city of Sluis, surrounded by marshes and shallow waters, was a base of Spanish galleys that had been brought from the Mediterranean to attack Dutch shipping. The capture of the city and destruction of the Spanish navy there had great importance for the security of the Dutch Republic. In the end, Dutch forces besieged Sluis and attacked the galleys, which were rowed by slaves who were mostly Muslim captives from Ottoman North Africa.¹¹⁸ One Turk from Istanbul managed to escape and the information he provided was of considerable importance to the Dutch. In the final attack, the Spanish galleys were defeated and 1400 Muslim oarsmen who were kept as slaves in the galleys were freed.¹¹⁹ In memory of this event, the small village near Sluis is still called *Turkeye*. The village is today

¹¹⁷ Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade and European Influence*, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962) pp 207-237.

¹¹⁸ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 155.

¹¹⁹ Z. Çelikkol, A. De Groot, Ben Slot, *It Began With the Tulip*, (Ankara: TTK, 2000) p 13.

administratively dependent on Oostburg, which is located at the Belgian border. The village is composed of about ten houses and in our excursion to the village with a small group neither the villagers nor the *gemainte Oostburg* (municipality) had any information why they carried the name Turkeye.¹²⁰

However, it is clear that the name was given after Prince Maurice seized the area from the Spanish in 1604. In memory of the enfranchisement of Turkish (Ottoman) slaves, the region was called Turkeye. Throughout the 80 Years War, a defense line was made to keep the occupied area. The strength of *Turkeye* derived from two fortresses named Great Turkeye and Little Turkeye. After the Peace of Münster in 1648, the fortresses were partially ruined. By the beginning of the 1702 Spanish wars of succession, Turkeye was also extended together with the fortress of Constantinople nearby Passageule. In 1735 the fortresses were reconstructed. When Belgium split in 1830, the fortresses were strengthened again because of their strategic importance.

Shortly after Dutch victory over the Spanish galleys, oarsmen slaves held in the galleys were sent home to Algeria.¹²¹ The States General had taken this opportunity to establish friendly relations with the Sublime Porte. Letters were conveyed to the governor of Algeria and to the king of Morocco. The States

¹²⁰ A plate is located in the crossroads before the village giving brief information about the history of the village. I would like to express my thanks to Marianna Cloosterman, who translated the information, and Kemal Kadi, who kindly accepted my offer and drove us to the village of "Turkeye" when I was in the Netherlands.

¹²¹ Appendix I, documents 116, 159, 186, and 211; Heeringa, *Levantshen Handel*, I, p 171, "die zij van de spaignaerden ende deselver galleyen veroverd hebben, van heure slavernige verlost, vrijdom gegeven ende naar heuren lande gesonden ende laten gaen hebben, daerinne dat d'heeren Staten alsnoch sullen continueren, versoeckende, nadeamel zij eenen gemeenen vijandt hebben".

General, in reciprocity, expected franchising of the Dutch slaves held in North Africa. When the Dutch commissioner Pieter Martensz Coy delivered the Turks and Moors to Morocco, the king of Morocco requested to send an envoy to Istanbul with a Dutch ship.¹²²

On this occasion the States General also wished to send a letter¹²³ to the Ottoman Sultan on the release of Dutch slaves within Ottoman dominions. It was the first official initiative of the States General through the connection of the king of Morocco. Because of many unexpected difficulties, transportation of franchised Ottoman slaves could be completed by 1605. However, the expected letters from Istanbul and Algeria were absent.¹²⁴ In 1606, the States General reiterated the issue. In 1607, an envoy from Sultan Ahmed I, Mustafa Aga (one of the *chavush* of the Seraglio, who was sent to England and France), conveyed a message to the States General including the thanks and good-will of Sultan Ahmed for the good-will shown by the States General in liberating the Ottoman slaves. Nevertheless, in the message of the Sultan, there was no emphasis on the free traffic of the Dutch ships in the Mediterranean under their own flag.¹²⁵

The States General drew another letter to clearly emphasize their request on the release of the Dutch slaves and commercial activity of the Dutch ships, which were being frequently seized by the Ottoman navy and the Ottoman

¹²² A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 92.

¹²³ Heeringa, "*Levantshen Handel*, I, p 170, "*Is goetgevonden te scrijven aen den Grooten Heere, ende Zijne Keyserlijcke Mejesteyt te onderrichten van de lanckduerige oorloge, die dese landen tegen den coninck van Spaignen ende het huys van Oostenrijck*".

¹²⁴ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 93.

¹²⁵ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 93.

corsairs.¹²⁶ In the letter¹²⁷ dated January 3, 1608, the States General indicated that the States General always had a friendly attitude towards the Ottoman Empire and the Dutch merchants were trading under French and English flags. The States General requested the liberation of all the ships and slaves held in Ottoman dominions.

In the meantime, the negotiations between the Dutch, Spain, and the Spanish Netherlands had been inaugurated in The Hague, in February 1608 and concluded as the Twelve Years Truce in April 1609. The Porte closely followed the developments in western Europe. Spain's situation was related to the Ottoman court's strategic interests. Just before the establishment of the official relationship between the Dutch Republic and the Ottoman Empire, two letters came to the States General and the Stadholder Prince Maurice. The first letter¹²⁸ was from Stefan Bogdan, ex-prince of Moldavia (Boğdan). The Prince had passed through Holland in 1591. In his July 14, 1610 letter from Constantinople, he mentioned that he held conversations with the Ottoman Grand Admiral on the power of the Dutch Republic and the advantage of establishing an official contact between the two states.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Heeringa, *Levantsche Handel*, I, p 173.

¹²⁷ Heeringa, *Levantsche Handel*, I, p 173, "De coopluyden van deze landen handelen onder de banniere van de coningen van Vranckrijk ende van Groot – Bretaignen , 'tselfe moeten zij doen on haer scepen ende goederen te versekeren, omme dat deselve anders niet en souden kunnen handelen, ten ware dat U.K.M. uuyt Z.KM. faveur ende gunste tot dese landen ende tot vermeerderinge van de commercie ende trafficq, (en) om selve daermede die meerder middelen (te) moegen hebben haer tegen de macht van den koninck van Spaignen ..."

¹²⁸ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 178-179, in Latin.

¹²⁹ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 94.

Another letter came from Giacomo Gisbrechti, or Jacob Gijsbrechts, who was a goldsmith from Antwerp, that later settled in Istanbul.¹³⁰ In his letter¹³¹ Gisbrechti emphasized that the Grand Admiral has consulted him on the developments in the Low Countries.¹³² A letter of Halil Paşa accompanied the letter of Gisbrechti. Halil Paşa offered the application of the States General to the Porte for an alliance and the possibility of getting capitulations for free trade of the Dutch merchants in the Levant.¹³³ Halil Paşa was well aware of the about the Dutch Revolt's developments and the enfranchisement of Ottoman Muslim oarsmen held in 1604 at Spanish galleys at Sluis.¹³⁴

The political situation was convenient for the United Provinces to establish diplomatic contact with the Porte. The Twelve Years Truce was signed recently, and gaining capitulations open the markets for the Dutch merchants in the Levant. Soon afterwards, another letter¹³⁵ came from Vizier Halil Paşa. His letter was read at the meeting of the States General on November 22, 1610.¹³⁶ By coincidence an envoy from the king of Morocco, Mevla Zeydan was in The Hague to propose a commercial agreement between the Dutch Republic and Morocco. Interestingly, the States General was reluctant to conclude an alliance with Morocco since it would be considered an alliance directed against Spain. In

¹³⁰ Heeringa, *De Eerste Nederlandsche Gezant Bij de Vergeven Porte*, (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1917) p 13.

¹³¹ Heeringa, *Levantshen Handel*, I, p 179-180.

¹³² Heeringa, *De Eerste Nederlandsche Gezant*, p 15.

¹³³ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 95.

¹³⁴ Heeringa, *De Eerste Nederlandsche Gezant*, p 13.

¹³⁵ The original of this letter does not exist. Its Dutch translation is available in Heeringa, *Levantshen Handel*, I, p 180-181.

¹³⁶ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 95.

the end, an agreement between Morocco and the United Provinces, was signed and concluded at The Hague on December 24, 1610.¹³⁷

This was the Netherlands's first official agreement with a Muslim country. Another agreement with the Ottoman Empire would soon follow. These early relations with Muslim States were not the Dutch Republic's only contacts. Despite its rich trades, far distance navigation, and the growing colonial and commercial activities in India, the Republic was in need of political alliances. The Truce provided a solid chance for the Republic to reinforce a network of coalitions to contain Spain. Establishing political ties with the Ottoman Empire was the most important one for the Netherlands to contain Spain.

As a result of the Revolt, the United Provinces were involved in almost every anti-Habsburg coalition. In 1614, Gustavus of Sweden allied with the Dutch; in 1618, the Dutch supported Bohemian rebels against the princes of Habsburgs; in 1630 the coalitions included Sweden; in 1635 France joined the anti-Habsburg league.¹³⁸ In the meantime, the Dutch endeavored to persuade both the English King James I and the French King Henry IV to sign a treaty of defense. While Henry signed in January 15, 1608, James raised difficulties. He insisted that the English treaty should be kept distinct from the French and that the Dutch must first secure recognition of their independence.¹³⁹ After the conclusion of the Truce with Spain, the United Provinces emerged as a sea power. They were expanding in East India and in the Levant. The first object: to obtain capitulations from the Ottoman Sultan along the same lines as France,

¹³⁷ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 97.

¹³⁸ Marjolein 't Hart, *Making of a Bourgeois State*, p 22-23.

¹³⁹ *CSP, Venice*, XI, p VII.

England, and Venice. However, all these three countries were suspicious about the intentions of the United Provinces.¹⁴⁰

The major European capitals' foreign missions closely followed the moves of the Dutch Republic. The Venetian ambassador in England, Antonio Foscarini, sent a dispatch on December 2, 1611 to the Doge and Senate regarding the departure of the Dutch envoy from Den Haag, stating that they hope to obtain equal privileges as enjoyed by other princes; and that they hope to establish consulates at Aleppo, Cairo, and other cities belonging to the Turk.¹⁴¹

However, the Dutch ambassador in London was very cautious to keep the English capital patient. He informed Lord Salisbury, almost apologetically that the Dutch had on other occasions negotiated for the liberation of slaves through the French and the English ambassador [at the Porte] always without result. He added that after the conclusion of the Truce, as the United Provinces were no longer able to enjoy those advantages over Spain, and as they desired to preserve intact the number of their ships and seamen; it was necessary for them to open trade in the Levant and the Mediterranean, besides the Indies and the Ocean.¹⁴² The Venetian *bailo* also observed that "the English merchants who trade with Turkey were very much disturbed" by Dutch initiative since they foresaw the decline of the London market. The *bailo* expected the severe opposition of the English ambassador in Istanbul, since the English Levant Company paid him.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ *CSP, Venice*, XII, p XXXIV.

¹⁴¹ *CSP, Venice*, XII, p 248.

¹⁴² *CSP, Venice*, XII, p 248.

¹⁴³ *CSP, Venice*, XII, p 248.

European merchants' fear of Dutch involvement in the Levant market was not baseless. Even before the acquisition of capitulations and the sailing of Dutch ships under English and French flags, the volume of the Dutch commerce shook the markets of Europe.¹⁴⁴ According to Antonio Foscarini's report:

During the last few months [1611], the Dutch have begun to send a large quantity of spices and other merchandise from the Levant into Germany; this is a serious blow to Marseilles and also to London, but less so.¹⁴⁵

The Dutch ships' commercial activities were enormous. *Bailo* A. Foscarini had foreseen the Dutch "Golden Age:" In a short time, the United Provinces' trade with all parts of the world would multiply.

He continued:

The Dutch are content with moderate gains and are richly supplied with excellent seamen, ships, money, everything, which used to be the specialties of Venice when her trade was flourishing.

The leading merchants in London indicated to him that:

The trade of Venice has gradually declined, because the Venetians have almost voluntarily abandoned navigation in great part, investing their money in estates, and so the number of ships has fallen off and the skill of her sailors likewise.

Finally, the Dutch ships' superiority was the most important reason, particularly frightening the Venetians. *Bailo* Foscarini confessed the inferiority of Venetian vessels *vis-à-vis* the Dutch and the English:

There is no either in England or in Holland a berton so small that she could not out-fight the biggest Venetian. If Venetian ships are often plundered, it is

¹⁴⁴ *CSP, Venice, XII, p 249.*

¹⁴⁵ *CSP, Venice, XII, p 249.*

because they won't fight, and if they meet with buccaneers they surrender, whereas others resist.¹⁴⁶

Bailo Foscarini reiterated the superiority of Dutch ships and their advantages in naval transportation in his April 19, 1612 dispatch:

It is to be feared that as the Dutch have begun to trade in almost all parts of the Mediterranean they will absorb all the traffic, as they are content with very moderate gains, their ships are light and do not cost half what English ships cost; owing to their lightness and the skill of their crews, they can sail with half the number of hands, and so though they last a little shorter time still they can offer freights at half the price of an English ship.¹⁴⁷

In such an atmosphere, the arrival of an official letter from the Porte caused great enthusiasm. The possibility of the Sultan granting capitulations would be both commercially and politically very advantageous for the Dutch Republic. After the turn of the century, the caravan trade had begun re-flourishing. In the Levant, the Aleppo route was restored to favor, (because it was shorter, and an overland route), since piracy was rife in the Indian Ocean after the 1590s and since silk became increasingly important in the European economy.¹⁴⁸ In England for instance, by the early 17th century the label "Turkey merchant" described Jacobean London's equivalent of a millionaire.¹⁴⁹

Upon receiving an official letter, both the States General and the Provincial States discussed¹⁵⁰ the possibility and advantage of sending a residential

¹⁴⁶ *CSP, Venice*, XII, pp 249-250.

¹⁴⁷ *CSP, Venice*, XII, p 334.

¹⁴⁸ F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, p 402.

¹⁴⁹ Charles Wilson, *Transformation of Europe*, p 135.

¹⁵⁰ The issue was discussed and a resolution was issued by the States General on 15 July 1611: "*Is in deliberatie geleet de sendinge te doen naar Constantinopolen ende geproponiert, oft men deselve sendinge vooreerst alleenlijck sal doen perticulierlijck*

ambassador to the Porte.¹⁵¹ In a report¹⁵² dated January 14, 1611, it was mentioned that navigation and trade in the Levant was great and excellent.

Antonio Foscarini informed Doge and Senate that to benefit from the possibility of an official close relationship with the Porte, "the Dutch have 8 vessels ready, and almost fully laden, for Constantinople and other places belonging to the Grand Signor".¹⁵³

After many discussions, the States General decided to send Cornelis Haga on a mission as an envoy to the Porte. Cornelis Haga was the son of Dirck Lambrechtsz Haga from Delft. He lived at Schidam near Rotterdam. His father was a merchant that occupied various public offices.¹⁵⁴ Cornelis Haga was born in 1587; before 1610 he had worked as a lawyer in The Hague. He gained a good reputation when he rescued two Dutch ships confiscated by the Swedish king. The rescue was influential in the decision to appoint him the mission of an embassy to the Sublime Porte.¹⁵⁵ The title of orator was given to him to conclude his mission in Istanbul. On September 7, 1611, he departed from the Netherlands for Istanbul. Over Keulen, Frankfurt, Nerenberg, Regensburg, and the Danube,

ende met cleyne costen, om te vercrijgne ontslaginge van de gevangens van dese landen in Turckiën, ende met eenen te sonderen, oft men aldaer van den G.H. soude kunnen vergrijgen vrije trafficque voor deser landen ingesetenen, gelijk die hebben de Françoysen ende Engelsen, ofte dat men eene solempnele ambassade sal senden aen den G. H. op het stuck van de commercie, om aldaer te resideren". Heeringa, Levantshen Handel, I, p 434.

¹⁵¹ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 97.

¹⁵² "Memorie Betreffende den Levantshen Handel", Heeringa, *ibid.*, p 429: "De vaert ende handel in Levanten is so groot ende treffelijk".

¹⁵³ Dispatch of Venetian bailo in England, Antonio Foscarini, *CSP, Venice*, XII, p 248.

¹⁵⁴ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 296.

¹⁵⁵ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 98.

the delegation reached Wien on October 7. He continued traveling over Hungary and passed the Eastern Alp mountains to reach Ragusa.¹⁵⁶

On December 3, 1611, a Dutch ship took the mission to Zante. From there two Dutch ships took the delegation to Chios (Scio) and then departed for Istanbul. In the end, the delegation reached St. Stephano (near Istanbul) on March 14, 1612.¹⁵⁷ Cornelis Pauw (son of famous burgomaster¹⁵⁸ Reinier Pauw), Ernst Brink, Cornelis Sijms from the ruling circles, Andries Suyderhoeff, and Lambert Verhaer, (who was earlier a goldsmith in Istanbul) also accompanied Haga.¹⁵⁹ On March 17, 1612, Haga and the delegation arrived in Istanbul.¹⁶⁰

Before the arrival of the Dutch delegation Halil Paşa had made contacts with diplomatic corps in Istanbul. Interpretation of diplomatic mission over these contacts was that the Grand Admiral was no more willing to establish formal relations with the United Provinces. According to the dispatch of Venetian bailo Simon Contarini, dated July 9, 1611, the English ambassadors deliberated with Halil Paşa. To him it seemed that:

The Kapudan Paşa was not so desirous to see the Dutch Ambassadors there as he was: the alliance between the Porte and the Dutch would be injurious to

¹⁵⁶ Heeringa, *De Eerste Gezant*, p 17-18.

¹⁵⁷ Heeringa, *De Eerste Gezant*, p 20; Memoirs of Haga: "*Door de hulpe ende genade Godts op den 14en Martij 1612 met goede gezondheid gearriveert sijnde tot Sant Stefano*", Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 206.

¹⁵⁸ Mayor.

¹⁵⁹ Heeringa, *De Eerste Gezant*, p18.

¹⁶⁰ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 190, letter of Haga to the States General dated 24 March 1612 from Constantinople: "*Op den 17en Martii in goede gesontheit met mijn swyte gearriveert tot Constantinoplen*"; Haga's Memoirs: "*ik heb tot St. Stephano gewacht op den 17 dito, ende also het logement bestelt sijnde buyten Constantinoplen in de Vinge de Pera*", Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 207.

everybody, and he was resolved on the arrival of the new French ambassador (Sancy) to unite with him in advising the Sultan to adhere to his old friends instead of making new ones.¹⁶¹

The resident ambassadors of the Porte were happy that Halil Paşa had changed his mind. It is probable that being aware of their jealousy for another rival in Istanbul, Halil Paşa had chosen a language *vis-à-vis* the English ambassador to make the ambassador think that he was no more willing to accommodate a Dutch resident ambassador in Istanbul.

However, only about one year later, the Dutch ambassador would reside in the Ottoman capital, who succeeded grant of capitulations by the Sultan for Dutch merchants. The new Dutch ambassador, Cornelis Haga, would eliminate all kinds of obstructions and intrigues against him.

¹⁶¹ CSP, Venice, XII, p 177.



A 16th Century merchant ship

Source: Colin Martin and Geoffrey Parker, *The Spanish Armada*, London: 1988, p 39.

CHAPTER IV
THE FIRST DUTCH ENVOY AT THE PORTE TO CONCLUDE
CAPITULATIONS: HAGA IN ISTANBUL

All measures were taken by the Ottoman government to facilitate the mission's travel. The Sublime Porte was sensitive about the safe and secure arrival of the foreign diplomatic missions to Istanbul, or in times of campaign, to the place where the Sultan was. To this end, the local authorities were all informed first to provide the security of the delegations. Then the Porte used to order the provision of all kinds of necessities of the envoys, and the accompanying delegation. Accustomed to the Ottoman diplomatic practice, a series of imperial decrees¹ dated Evâil-i Şevval 1020 / 7-16 December 1611 were sent by Sultan Ahmed I to the *kadis* and commanders of the fortresses on the way from Istanbul to the Polish border. The *kadis* were ordered to welcome the envoy and his delegation, and entertain them. The *kadis* were also warned to transmit the ambassador and the accompanying delegation to the next one *en route*, successively under secure conditions.

The States General had already informed the Ottoman government about Haga's departure. Halil Paşa replied² to the States General's letter and gave the

¹ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), doc 105: "*Südde-i sa'âdetimden Leh serhaddine varınca yol üzerinde vâki' olan kadılara ve kila' neferâtı ağalara hüküm ki, Flamenk kralı tarafından Asitâne-i sa'âdetime gelecek Kornilyo Haga nâm elçi her kanğıñızuñ taht-i hükûmetine vâsil olursa ... emîn ve sâlim biribirñüze irsâl ve İsâl eylemeñüz emrim olmuşdur*".

² In 1610 Halil Paşa wrote two letters, only one of them is known by Van Meteren. The letter cited here was written from Istanbul to Prince Maurice, Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 193; Original one in Turkish is at ARA, Staten Generaal, 1.01.08 / 12593.8.

good news that the Dutch ambassador was expected at the capital.³ The delay in Haga's arrival to Istanbul caused anxiety in the Netherlands. Actually, the travel of Haga lasted longer than usual. The land trip, combined with naval one, and changing vessels twice was the real cause of the delay. The State General was anxious about the fate of Haga and his accompanies as well. They did not want to cause any rumors at the Porte for this delay. To remove doubts about Dutch delegation, the States General wrote a letter to Halil Paşa, addressed, "To the Most Excellent, Valiant, and Prudent Lord, the Capudan Pasha, Admiral-in-Chief of the Grand Signor in Constantinople," dated May 4, 1612. Indeed, when the States General wrote the letter Haga had already reached Istanbul, and was even admitted by the Sultan personally three days ago. Moreover, Halil Paşa was no more a Grand Admiral but rather still an influential Vizier at the imperial *Divan*. By the recent shuffle at the *Divan*, Halil Paşa was dismissed from the post of Grand Admiralty. His position at the *Divan* as a Vizier was kept by the Sultan. In 1613, Halil Paşa would be appointed to Grand Admiralty for the second time. In the letter, the States General appreciated Halil Paşa's good will towards their country and regretted for the delay of the arrival of their "orator" in Constantinople. The States General also mentioned that there was a group of people who endeavored to countermine his position at the Porte.⁴

³ ARA, Staten Generaal, 1.01.08 / 12593.8, dated Evâil-i Şevval 1020 / 7-16 December 1611: "Beğzâdeleriñüzden Kornalye Ağna nâm elçiñizü karadan irsâl edüb ve name gönderdük deyu yazmışsız ... yollarda Dersaadete gelince kimesne mâni' olmaya deyu emr-i şerif verilmişdir".

⁴ CSP, Venice, XII, p362. The original copy of the letter in Dutch is at Heeringa, *Levantshen Handel*, I, p 194: "Wij krijgen dagelicx hoe langer soo meer advisen, dat Uwe Excellentie gunste ende affectie tot dese onse landen ende derselver ondersaten soo groot is, dat hem verdriet ende mishaecht, dat de compste van onsen gesante tot

Halil Paşa was expecting Haga with enthusiasm. Some others, expected the Dutch mission with great anxiety. The residential ambassadors of France, England and Venice did not want another rival at the Porte, let alone an Ottoman – Dutch alliance. Although Haga was instructed⁵ “*to avoid the difficulties, he shall take care not to make public his quality and the purpose of his journey,*” he was closely followed during his travel. The States General did not want Spain to perceive the discussions at the Porte as an alliance. Thus, Haga’s mission was declared a simple visit to enfranchise the Dutch slaves.⁶

Regarding the mission, the English ambassador Paul Pindar dispatched that an ambassador from the States of the United Provinces arrived at Scio (Chios), staying there a month to establish amity with the Grand Signor. Furthermore, Pindar said he was expected daily and would be admitted notwithstanding great opposition by the French ambassador, Achille de Harley Sancy.⁷

According to the instruction given to Haga by the States General, after having arrived in Istanbul, he would contact the merchants or other Dutchmen; if he considered favorable, he would include the Jacob (Giacomo), Carel (Carlo), and Nicolo (Nicolaes) Ghisbrechti brothers to join his embassy. In addition to

Constantinopolen so lange tardeert, besondere siende, dat ondertusschen eenige zijnen last bij den grootmachtichsten keyser aanbeyden te contamineren ende sonder effect te maecken”.

⁵ Heeringa, *Levantshen Handel*, I, p 186, “Instructie voor Mr. Cornelis Haga, 11 Augustus 1611: “*om twelck te beter te verhoeden, h,j sich oock wachten zal, zijne qualiteyt, ende werwaerts hij reyst, bekent te maeken*”.

⁶ B. Ari, ‘Early Ottoman – Dutch Relations’, in *The Great Ottoman Civilization*, (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2000) p 320.

⁷ Sir Paul Pindar to Lord Salisbury, dated 11 March 1612, Heeringa, *Levantshen Handel*, I, p 189.

them, he should also include two or three others in order to collect all such reports, which he shall deem necessary or advantageous for the execution of his mission.⁸ Haga was also instructed that "after having received sufficient report, he shall with the best and most effective means in accordance with the way and the customs there, bring himself into the good grace of the Vizier and the Captain Pasha"⁹ and the others of whom may be of use.¹⁰

Not all, but some of the diplomatic missions at the Porte welcomed Haga's arrival. British ambassador Sir Paul Pindar sent his secretary to greet his Dutch colleague.¹¹ The French ambassador Barón Sancy and the Emperor's representative (not resident, but *charge d'affaires* only) also sent their secretaries to salute Haga. However, neither the recently arrived Venetian *bailo* Christoforo Valier nor his predecessor Simon Contarini took any action of Haga's arrival.¹² Nevertheless, Halil Paşa's close and friendly approach removed his anxiety and pleased Haga. Halil Paşa's protection would always remain with Haga for a long time.

⁸ Heeringa, *Levantshen Handel*, I, p 186: "Tot Constantinopolen gearriveert sijnde, sal hem mogen verstecken – voer soo veele het noot zij – van de coopluyden ofte andere Nederlanders aldaer sijnde, ende nametlijck met Jacob, Carel, ofte Nicolaes Ghijsbrechtsen, een ofte twee van henluyden, ende noch twee ofte drie anderen, vanselven ofte anderen te becommen alzulcken berichtige als hij tot eene goede uuytvoeringe van sijne commissie noodich oft dienstich sal oordeelen te wezen".

⁹ To facilitate Haga's introduction in Istanbul, the States General had written a letter to Grand Admiral Halil Paşa, dated May 1612, (De Staten Generaal aan Den Admiraal van Turkije). However, Halil Paşa was no more Grand Admiral, but he kept his position at the Divan as Vizier.

¹⁰ Heeringa, *Levantshen Handel*, I, p 187.

¹¹ Heeringa, *Levantshen Handel*, I, p 208, Haga's Memoriael: "Op den 19en 's morgens heft enn heer Paulus Pindar, ambassadeur van de Majesteyt van Groot – Britannen mijn door sijn secretaries doen verwelle comen"; A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 107.

¹² A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 108.

Halil Paşa had sent his *dragoman* Paul Antonio Bon¹³ to meet Haga when he arrived. In their first meeting, Haga got the initial information about the intrigues of the diplomatic corps at the Porte and the Ghisbrechti brothers who were against Haga's mission. The next day, on March 18, 1612, since Grand Vizier Nasuh Paşa¹⁴ was commander-in-chief in the Persian campaign, the deputy-Grand Vizier Gürcü Mehmed Paşa and Halil Paşa welcomed Haga's arrival.¹⁵

Although the higher Ottoman authorities gave Haga a warm welcome, his mission would not be easy. He would confront strict opposition from all sides. Ghisbrechti and the local Dutch and Flemish merchants thought Haga was only a temporary envoy and that he would soon return home. They thought Ghisbrechti was the most suitable person for the residential embassy.¹⁶

¹³ Paulo Antonio Bon was a cloth, silk, and wool merchant in Istanbul from a local Venetian descent. He was dragoman of Halil Paşa and Grand Vizier Nasuh Paşa, A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 303, note 38.

¹⁴ Nasuh Paşa of Albanian origin, was appointed Grand Vizier on 12 C. ahir 1020 / 22 August 1611 while he was the Viceroy of Diyarbakır. He was executed in 1614 after 3 years of Grand Vizierate. Osmanzâde Tâ'ib Ahmed, *Hadîqatül-Vüzerâ*, Freiburg: D. Robischon, 1969, pp 59-61; İ. Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. 3, (Istanbul: Türkiye Yay., 1961) p 501.

¹⁵ Heeringa, *De Eerste Gezant*, p 22: "*De eerste vizier stand om het hoofd von het leger tegen de Perzen en kwam dus voreerst niet in aanmerking*"; Haga's Memoriael, Heeringa, *Levantshen Handel*, I, p 207, "*Op den 18 dito heeft de chahimacham primo visir alla Porta, ende Chalil bassa mijn doen verwellicomer*".

¹⁶ Heeringa, *De Eerste Gezant*, p 25: "*Hun argument was, dat Haga niet meer dan een koerier was, die spoedig terugkeeren zou, en dat de ware gezant, Jacob Gijsbrechtsz, nog moest opdagen*".

On Mach 20, Halil Paşa sent flowers and fruits to Haga. Halil Paşa would meet Haga secretly to discuss developments at the Porte.¹⁷ At their meeting, Halil Paşa informed Haga about the intrigues of the French and Venetian ambassadors who wanted to prevent his audience with the Sultan and granting of capitulations.¹⁸ The French ambassador Achille De Harley Sancy had offered 10,000 gold pieces as a bribe to prevent the Porte from granting capitulations to the Dutch.¹⁹ To overcome all kinds of difficulties, Halil Paşa indefatigably supported Haga with advice and practical help.²⁰

Indeed, it was the naval strength of the United Provinces that had impressed Halil Paşa. He was a page at the imperial palace and then chief falconer of the Sultan. Although he was not from naval origin, Sultan Ahmed I promoted Halil Paşa to Grand Admiralty in 1609. In the same year he led to a series of successful campaigns against privateers in the Mediterranean. During the patrol he was able to capture the giant Maltese galleon, under the command of Chevalier de Fraissinet. It was carrying eighty cannons, and nightmare of the entire merchant ships trafficking all around the Eastern Mediterranean. The

¹⁷ Heeringa, *Levantshen Handel*, I, p 208: "Op den 20 namiddach heeft Challil bassa mijn een present van bloemen ende allerley fruyte, nae de maniere van de Turcken gesonden, met aanbiedinghe van grote vruntschap, mijn oock ontbiedende, dat S.E. mijn garen secretlijck wilde spreecken, ende dat ick dien avont met alleen twee personen soude in S.E. huys comen".

¹⁸ Heeringa, *Levantshen Handel*, I, p 208: "Den ambassadeur van Vranckrijk ende Venetia veel gelts spendeerden aen alle bassaen om te verhinderen met U.H.M.E. enige aliancie te maecken, oock dat de voorgemelte heeren ambassadeurs aen S.E. een grote soma gelts hadden geoffreert om S.E. van de goede genegentheyt tot de landen van U.H.M.E. te diverteren ...".

¹⁹ A. N. Kurat, *Türk-İngiliz Münasebetleri*, p 116; A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 107.

²⁰ J. H. Kramers, "The Netherlands And Turkey in the Golden Age", *Analecta Orientalia*, vol. I, (Leiden: 1954) 113-119, p 120.

Ottomans called it "The Blackhell" while in Europe it was known as "The Red Galleon." Halil Paşa took another four or five galleons and numerous slaves to Istanbul. With this success, he gained great fame at the Ottoman capital and the Sultan promoted him to Vizierate on November 25, 1609.²¹ During this naval campaign he must have realized the importance of the galleons and the superiority of the Dutch ships at the seas. His contacts with diplomatic corps at the Porte equipped Halil Paşa with information about international developments.

Halil Paşa was also well aware of the Spanish threat. This could only be balanced by alliances with naval powers among the Christian world. The Sultan had already granted capitulations to the English in 1580. The United Provinces had resisted Spain for decades, and signed a truce very recently. Now, inclusion of the Netherlands into the Ottoman side would empower both sides. In case the United Provinces allied with the Porte, Spain would be circled from northern Europe, and the Ottoman Empire would feel safe in Eastern Mediterranean. Since disaster of Lepanto in 1571, the strategy of the Ottoman statesmen was based on the prevention of a possible Catholic alliance. Such a naval campaign would be organized by the Pope, and most probably, composed under the leadership of Spain, and with participation of Venice.

It was an Ottoman court practice that an envoy that arrived at the Porte should present precious gifts to the Sultan, the Grand Vizier, other Viziers and senior officials. As the sign of beginning a new friendship, Halil Paşa urged Haga to present gifts to the Şeyhülislam and to the seven Viziers of Divan.²² Haga

²¹ A. De Groot, "Halil Paşa, Kayserili" *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 15, p 324.

²² Heeringa, *De Eerste Gezant*, p 22: "Khalil drukte Haga op het hart on de zeven viziers en den Mufti eenige geschenken te vereeren, als begin van vriendschap".

thought that only the Sultan would be presented gifts. However, presentation of gifts for the other Viziers and Paşas were also necessary. In Ottoman court practice, presentation of gifts to the higher authority symbolized obedience and loyalty. The Viziers, members of the imperial *Divan*, represented Sultan's authority and also deserved gifts. Halil Paşa repeatedly advised Haga to increase the number and the value of the gifts. Initially, Haga was reluctant to give presents to the higher authorities, claiming he was not allowed to give any gifts other than those he brought from the Netherlands.²³ But Halil Paşa was aware of the intrigues and offers of bribes to the other Viziers to prevent Haga's audience with the Sultan. To prevent the intrigues, presents to the other Viziers and Şeyhülislam was necessary. Under such conditions, Halil Paşa lent 3,000 gold pieces to Haga for his immediate admission by the Sultan and the acquisition of the Dutch capitulations.²⁴

At the initial stage, Halil Paşa trusted his dragoman Paul Antonio Bon. He delegated the discussion and consultation of the Dutch affairs with Haga to Antonio Bon. In those days, Bon was so influential that Halil Paşa mentioned his name in his letter to the States General and Prince Maurice. Halil Paşa, praising Bon's efforts, indicated that Bon was the only person involved in the Dutch

²³ ARA, Staten Generaal, 1.01.08 / 12593.11, from the letter of Halil Paşa to the States General, and Prince Maurice: "*elçiñüz, ben hâlâ ol cânibden getirdiğüm pîşkeşden gayrı nesne vermeğe izin yokdur deyu cevâb vermekle*", see Appendix 6.

²⁴ *Loc cit.*, "*maslahatıñuz ilerü gelsin deyu bu muhibbiñüz gayretiñüz çeküb elçiñüzü âhar kimesneye muhtâc etmeyüb 'arziñuzu sıyâneten, kendü yanımızdan masrafıñuz içün üç bin filori harc etmişizdür*".

affairs. Bon also interpreted all the official correspondence between the United Provinces and the Porte.²⁵

As mentioned above, a group in Istanbul was against Haga's embassy; they were lobbying for the residence of Jacob Ghisbrechti at the Porte. Ghisbrechti wrote reports to the States General, indicating that Haga was only an orator (not a plenipotentiary ambassador), and was thus unable to conclude an agreement at the Porte.

With Halil Paşa's special efforts, the Deputy – Grand Vizier (*Kaymakam*) admitted Haga on March 23, 1612. *Kaymakam* [Hadım] Mehmed Paşa²⁶ had a very warm and friendly reception with Haga.²⁷ In the meantime, letters came from

²⁵ *Loc cit.*, "bu cânibden bizün kadîmî emekdârimız olan Venediklü Pavlo Antonyo nâm kimesnenüñ yüzü ag ve ber-hor-dâr olsun, şimdiye dek sizüñ dostluğunuzda müteallik umûru her zaman gelüb bu muhibbiñüz ile müşâvere edüb ibtidâ sizden bu muhibbiñüze gelen mektûb ve bu muhibbiñüzden sizüñ cânibiñüze gönderdiğimüz mektublar bendeñüzüñ müşâveresiyle olmuş idi. Velhâsil uğruñuzda hadden ziyâde cân ü başı ve mâliyle çalışub, gayret çeküb Al-i Osman pâdişâhı ile dostluğunuzda yalnız illet-i müstakile olmuşdur. Lâkin bazı kimesneler ol cânibe varub dostluğa biz sebeb olduk deyu söylerler imiş. Aslâ bu husûsa mezkûr Pavlo Antonyo'dan gayri kimesne karışmamışdur. O makûlelere l'timâd olunmaya. Biz ancak mezkûru bilirüz."

²⁶ He was appointed to Grand Admiralty after Halil Paşa in 1019/1611, and was also Deputy – Grand Vizier, since the Grand Vizier Nasuh Paşa was absent in Istanbul for Persian campaign. He was dismissed from Grand Admiralty in 1613, and in 1023/1614 he became Grand Vizier after the execution of Nasuh Paşa. Osmanzâde Tâ'ib Ahmed, *Hadîqatül-Vüzerâ*, pp 61-62; İ. Hami Danişmend, *ibid.*, p 501.

²⁷ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 211, "op den 23en ben ter audiëntie gereden van den voornemden chahimacham, genaempt Memet bassa, een einaichus sijnde, die mijn seer vridelick ontfangen heeff".

Grand Vizier Nasuh Paşa, who was at the Persian campaign, informing that a peace treaty was signed with Iran.²⁸

The next day, on March 24, Haga visited the Paşas and other Viziers who were members of the Divan.²⁹ The Viziers and paşas also had a warm welcome and were shown a friendly reception.³⁰ The third Vizier at the Divan, Davud Paşa, had provided brotherly entertainment and took a friendly attitude.³¹

The treasurer (*Defterdar*) Ekmekçizâde Ahmed Paşa also praised the Dutch merchants, adding that he believed the Dutch ships would soon traffic freely under their own flag. The two paşas, as the Deputy – Grand Vizier, and the other viziers, also informed Haga of the French and Venetian ambassadors' adverse propaganda in Istanbul to prevent his audience by the Sultan. If Haga would have received by the Sultan personally, granting of capitulations to the Dutch nation was probable.³² But, if they could succeed in preventing his audience with the Sultan, Haga would fall into the status of a mere messenger.

²⁸ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 211, "sijn brieven gecomen van Nasuff bassa, eerste visyr, op de frontieren sijnde van Persia, hoe dat de vrede tusschen den G. S. ende den coninck van Persia gearresteert was".

²⁹ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 108.

³⁰ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 212, "Op den 24en heb ick de visite andre visyren ende bassas gedaen, die mij allegader oock seer costelijck hebben ontfangen ende haere vruntschap overvloedelijck aengedient".

³¹ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 212, Haga's Memoriael: "Dhauit bassa, in ordinertius van de visyren, een extraordinaris beleeft man, heft mijn een broederlijke affectie ende vrundschap aengepresenteert".

³² Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 211, "Dese heeren, soowel den chahimacham als de andere bassaen, hebben mij verclaert, dat de ambassadeurs, principalijck die van Vranckrijck ende Venetia, seer jegens dese vruntschap heben gearbeyt, ende veel schatten willen spenderen om te beletten mijn receptie ende den vootganck van de vruntschap met U.H.M.E."

As Haga mentioned in his Memorandum, the position of Deputy – Grand Vizier (*Kaymakam*) in the absence of the Grand Vizier at the Porte was crucial. The Deputy – Grand Vizier acted on behalf of the Grand Vizier.³³ A warm welcome by the Deputy – Grand Vizier was significant, since he would personally present the petitions to the Sultan. As a result, the first contacts supposedly seemed favorable to Haga. Nevertheless, all these friendly attitudes by certain Viziers and the full support of Halil Paşa was not adequate for Haga to overcome all the difficulties and be admitted by the Sultan. The first open attack came from the Venetian bailo and the French ambassador, who wrote a petition to be delivered to Sultan Ahmed I through the chief of Black Eunuchs (*Kızlarağası*) Mustafa Ağa.

A. Intrigues of the French and the Venetian ambassadors

The next day, on March 25, 1612 Haga paid a visit to Şeyhülislam Hocaşade Mehmed Efendi.³⁴ He took a promising attitude *vis-à-vis* the Dutch ambassador and said that the Sultan's territories were open to all who would confirm their friendship to the Sublime Porte.³⁵ It should be noted here that the opinion of the Şeyhülislam played an important role in granting capitulations to a

³³ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 211, "Door den chahimacham, in absentie van den primo visyr, werden alle de saecken van het Turcxsche imperum in den name van den coninck verrechtet".

³⁴ Mehmed (Çelebi) Efendi was the elder son of the famous Şeyhülislam of Sultan Mehmed III, Hoca Sadeddin Efendi. He was appointed to this post for the second time in 1608. He was still occupying the position of Şeyhülislam when he died in 1615 because of plague in Istanbul. İ. Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol 3, İstanbul: Türkiye Yay., 1961, p 528; Abdülkadir Altınsu, *Osmanlı Şeyhülislamları*, (Ankara: 1972) p 54.

³⁵ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 213, "Die mijn oock verclaert heft, dat de Porta van den G.S. opentaet voor alle, die sijn vruntschap begeren".

non-Muslim nation. The warm attitude of Şeyhülislam Mehmed Efendi could be considered as the initial sign of the great possibility for achievement of Dutch capitulations. As in the case of previous capitulations, in conceding an *ahdnâme*, the Ottoman authorities first kept in view the principles of *fikh* (religious law), and then the political advantages to be expected from the applicant state, and economic and financial interests of the Ottoman Empire.³⁶ The Şeyhülislam should issue a *fatwa*, favoring the applicant state, so that the Sultan could grant an *ahdnâme*. In this respect, the United Provinces had a favorable past, since there was no hostility or any war between the two countries. Besides occupying an official position, Şeyhülislam Mehmed Efendi was personally influential over the young Sultan Ahmed I. This would, obviously, facilitate the efforts of Haga.

From there, Haga visited Halil Paşa. Halil Paşa informed him about the petition of the French and Venetian ambassadors to the Sultan. The English ambassador also consented for the petition.³⁷ Halil Paşa had learned about this attempt through his friends, Jewish merchants named Israel and Joseff Chelebies. Haga was unable to get a copy of the petition, then, but he could get information about its content. Much later, he obtained the petition's copy and

³⁶ Halil Inalcık, *İmtiyâzat*, p 1179.

³⁷ Haga's *Memoriael*: Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 213, "*Den ambassadeur van Vranckrijck, met consent ende gemeen advijs soo van dien van Groot – Brittanie als den bailo van Venetia, siende dat de bassaen haer weinich gehoor gaven, een memoriael ende remonstrantie hadden gemaecht aen den G.S. inhoudende veel afgunstige redenen, om S.M. te diverteeren van de vruntschap van de heeren Staten Generaal*"; A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 109.

conveyed it to the States General, including both the Turkish and the Italian translation.³⁸

In the petition, the two ambassadors reminded the Sultan that granting capitulations and establishing friendly relations with a foreign nation should be realized if trade and a peaceful relationship with the Ottoman subjects are possible. However, in that case, it was feasible that the Dutch would harm both the Ottoman treasury and the Sultan's subjects. The ambassador went on offering that if the Sultan would like to obtain information about the nature of the Dutch nation and the situation in their country, first of all, the Flemish (Dutch) was not a famous and glorious king. Furthermore, the Netherlands cannot be even considered as an independent country, and could be only considered as a governorship. Previously, they had rebelled against their Spanish king, and only after long - lasting battles coupled with the French king's arbitration could only a third of their country achieved freedom. The ambassador also indicated that their leader Maurice recently signed a peace treaty with Spain. However, he was only a commander (not a king), and he would be ineffective in keeping Dutch subjects under control. It was also greatly possible that they could arm fifty to a hundred galleys to attack the Ottoman coasts. According to the ambassador Dutch commercial goods were also not crucial for the Ottoman markets, since they would import spices, clothes, and oil, all of which were abundant in Ottoman territories. Moreover, Dutch navigation would diminish the revenues of Egyptian navigation and customs duties in Egypt, which would decline from 24% to 3 % in

³⁸ The letter is available at ARA, the Staten Generaal, 1.01.08 / 12593.1, with Turkish (in Ottoman script) and Italian translation. It was also copied into Haga's register book, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplement Turc, No: 118, doc 189. Transliteration of the full letter is given at Appendix I, doc 189.

Aleppo and Alexandria. Their greatest damage to the Ottoman economy: when they unloaded at Ottoman ports, they departed without loading any goods in order to easily privateer on the way back to their country.³⁹ Despite all these adverse propaganda, Halil Paşa tried to convince Divan's other members to have Haga's audience with the Sultan. In the end, on March 31, 1612 Halil Paşa informed Haga, (through his dragoman Paul Antonio Bon) that after consultation with the Şeyhülislam, they had decided to report to the Sultan for the audience with Haga.⁴⁰

On April 4, 1612 Haga paid another visit to Deputy – Grand Vizier Hadım Mehmed Paşa to thank him for his favorable report to the Sultan, which would make his audience with the Sultan possible.⁴¹ But that was not enough. Haga

³⁹ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), doc 189: “İzzetlü ve mürüvvetlü Sultanum, ... tâife-i merkûmenüñ mahiyyetini bilmek murâd-i şerîfleri ise Flandralu meşhûr ve nâmdar bir kral değıldür. İspanya'ya tâbi' bir beğlerbeğilik kadar ancak olur ... ve mezbûrlaruñ müstakıl zâbitleri yokdur ki kabâhatleri v ef'âl-i fâsikaları men' ü def' ede. Mahzâ Maverisu nâm zorba başı üzerlerine serdâr deyu nasb eylemişlerdir ki, anuñ mübâşeretiyile bir mikdâr zamandan beru İspanya ile sulh olmuşlardur. ... İspanya'ya ihânet etdükleri gibi padişâhın re'âyâsına etdikleri zamanda mazbut tâife değıldür ki, zâbitlerine istimdâd edüb ahd ü peymânlarından sual olunmazlar. ... Euzübillah İspanya ile yek-dîl ve yek-cihet olub İspanya tarafından kırk elli pare kalyon Flandra ile bi'l-ittifak yüz kıt'a kadırğa ihrâc edüb Memâlik-i Mahrûse'nüñ ba'zısına dokundukları takdirce mazarratlaruñ def'i müşkül hâldir. Bunuñ emsâli nice mazarrat maddeleri vardur ki mübârek başınıza zarar vermemeğün l'îlâmına cür'et olunmadı”.

⁴⁰ Haga's Memoriael, Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 217: “Op den 31 heeft Challil bassa door mijn drogeman Paulo Bon oben aendienen, dat den G.S. de saecke van mijn receptie ende aliancie met U.H.M.E. geremitteert hadde aen den raet van de bassaes, ende dat derhalven ophuyden in den raet was bestolen, dat de aliancie behoorde voortganck te hebben, dat men sulcx den mufti oock soude relateren, om S.E. advijs daerop gehoort, aen den G.S. rapport gedaen te werden, dat derhalven den gran cancellier bij den mufti gesonden was”; A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 111.

⁴¹ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 221: “Op den 4en ditto heb weredom besocht den chahimacham, soo om S.E. te bedancken van de favorable rapporten aen den G.S. van

had to learn more about the Ottoman court traditions.⁴² A Jew, familiar with the Ottoman practice, advised Haga to promise precious gifts to the Deputy – Grand Vizier, Şeyhülislam, *kızlar ağası*, and *kapı ağası* to achieve capitulations under favorable conditions.⁴³

On the first week of April 1612, the English ambassador Thomas Glover sent his secretary to Haga to apologize for not being able to greet him since his arrival. The excuse was his busy schedule until then. The following week, Haga and Glover exchanged visits twice and renewed the friendship between them.⁴⁴ For the time being, it seemed that the English embassy was no more the opposition, a positive development for Haga. In the meantime, Paul Antonio Bon continued informing Haga about the ongoing discussions at the Porte, for his embassy. On April 13, Bon brought news that the new Grand Admiral, *Bostancıbaşı*, and *Kızlarağası* (Chief of Black Eunuchs) came together and talked about him.⁴⁵

U.H.M.E. gedaen, als oock om S.E. te versoucken, dat met den eersten mocht orde gestelt werden, dat ick bij S.E. mocht audientie becomen”.

⁴² Heeringa, *De Eerste Gezant*, p 22: “Hoezeer vooral in Turkije geschenken de vriendschap onderhouden, zou Haga meer leeren begrijpen”.

⁴³ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 221: “Ick heb op ditto gespeurt, hoe dat enige Joden, ... daertoe sijn arbeydende om mijn enige grote presenten te doen beloven, soo aen den chahimacham, mufti, cyslaraga ende den capi aga, om also te geraecken tot enighe avantagiense capitulatiën”.

⁴⁴ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 223: “Op dito namiddach heeft Sir Thomas Glover den ouden ambassadeur van Groot – Brittannien, mijn besocht, ende de vruntschap, tusschen ons van tijden geweest”.

⁴⁵ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 225: “Den nieuwen capiteyn bassa, ende dan bustansi bassi ende den cyslar aga tesamen waren vergadert geweest, ende discourerende van mijn persoon”.

Among Haga's visits in Istanbul, one of the most important was to Shaikh Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî at Üsküdar (Scutari). The shaikh was very influential on both Sultan Ahmed I and Halil Paşa. He closely followed the foreign affairs and the balance of power in the Mediterranean. In one of his letters to Sultan Ahmed I, he suggested the necessity of strengthening the navy to confront the Spanish in the Mediterranean and to protect the Ottoman coasts. In another letter, the shaikh encouraged the Sultan to wage war with the infidels in the west, and expressed his grievance over fruitless campaigns against Iran.⁴⁶ Halil Paşa even consulted the inauguration of a campaign with the shaikh. In his letter to Halil Paşa, Hüdâyî favored the first Monday of Cumâde'l-âhire to start the expedition.⁴⁷ In their conversation on 25 April, Hudâyî assured Haga of the great probability of issuance of capitulations to the Dutch. He himself also favored the Dutch in their conflicts with the other ambassadors at the Porte.⁴⁸ Moreover, the spiritual leader received Haga favorably. From then onwards, it would be very difficult to prevent

⁴⁶ Gonca Baskıcı, *A Life Between Piety and Politics: Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî (ca.1543-1628)*, Unpublished master thesis, (Bilkent Univ., Ankara: 2000), p 86, quoting from Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî, *Tezâkir*, Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi, Kasıdecizâde, no. 323, p 53b-54a: "Husûsan Frenkle cidâl ve ceng farz olmuşdur. Kızılbaş-I bed-maaş ile olan kıtâl ü cidâliñ öşrû sarf olunsa küllî fetihler zuhûr ederdi."

⁴⁷ Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî, *Halil Paşa'ya Mektublar*, Üsküdar, Hacı Selimağa Library, Hüdâyî Efendi No: 262, p 3: "Sefer-i hümâyun tedârîki ile hâliñüz nicedir? İbtidâ-i sefere kangı gün mübârekdir diye sual olunmuş. İnşallâhü te'âlâ Cumâde'l-âhireniñ Düşenbe günü yevm-i mübârekdir. Sıhhat ve selâmetle şürû' oluna. Hazret-i melik-i ekber kemâl-i kereminden feth u nusretler müyesser eyleye". I am grateful to Gonca Baskıcı, who kindly provided me a copy of the letters of Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî to Halil Paşa.

⁴⁸ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 231: "Op den 25 dito ben gevaren na Scutari, een vleck in Asia over Constantinopoli, ende hebben besocht eenen Mahamet affendi, een Turcxschen sancton, sijnde een seer groot favoryt van Challil bassa, gerenomeert geleerste ende heylichste man onder alle de Turcken, derhalven van seer grote authoriteyt, sulcx oock dat den G.S. selfs hem comt besoucken in sijn huys, ende alle grote bassaen ende den mufti van hem soo veel houden, alsoff hij haven Godt ware; A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 112.

him from achieving his mission. After this visit, Haga now had the support of the two highest religious authorities, Şeyhülislam Hocasâde Mehmed Efendi, and shaikh Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî.

After his visit to Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî at Üsküdar, Haga got news at noontime that Deputy – Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa had suggested the Sultan have an audience with the Dutch ambassador two days later, on 29 April at Üsküdar Palace.⁴⁹ The news shocked him greatly. The admission of Haga at Scutari meant he would be viewed as an ordinary courier who conveyed the States General's message. Haga, on the contrary, was expected to achieve the grant of capitulations under the most favorable conditions for the Dutch nation. Under the circumstances, the diplomatic lobby against his mission would apparently be victorious. The situation changed frequently at the Porte.⁵⁰ Haga was surprised in every case when he was faced with constant difficulties and intrigues. Something needed to be done to achieve the audience at Topkapi Palace. Halil Paşa achieved it. It would take another two days to organize with a great ceremony the Sultan's admission.

The European capitals closely followed Haga's contacts. The Venetian *bailo* in London, Antoino Foscarini, had attained a copy of the letter by the States General to Halil Paşa. Foscarini indicated that the Dutch capital knew the identity of the opposition party in Istanbul. In his dispatch, the Venetian *bailo* advocated

⁴⁹ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 231: "Op den 27 dito ontrent den middach heb tijdige becomen, hoe dat den chahimacham aen den G.S. een supplicatie hadde gesonden om mijn op toecommenden Sonnedach audientie te comen geven, den G.S. wesende in Asia, in een vleck, genaempt Scutari".

⁵⁰ Heeringa, *De Eerste Gezant*, p 27, "De positive leek dus nog bedenkelijk genoeg en in het laatst van April wisselde Haga's stemming haast van uur tot uur".

that Haga was instructed by the States General to convince the paşas at the Porte through precious gifts, that he would bestow his favors well if the United Provinces was supported. According to the *bailo*:

Owing to their distance from Turkey, they were freed from any grounds for suspicion, while they were united to the Grand Signor in bonds of common hatred of Spain and desire for her downfall.⁵¹

Haga, in an ambiguous situation, was very much exhausted. Other than opposition from many fronts, he was unable to secure an audience, because the Sultan was away from Topkapi Palace. In his report⁵² to the States General, he stated that there had been much pains to have an audience of Grand Signor. However, to the Sultan's absence in his certain pleasure gardens, the pains had not born fruit. The Grand Vizier had promised that he would obtain an audience for him immediately upon his Majesty's return.

Haga also indicated the severe opposition against his presence at the Porte: "No stone has been left unturned to undermine me, which they do by holding out ample promises." Luckily, Haga also had good friends who made recommendations to him on his affairs and informed him about the opponents' activities. Thanks to his friends, he was able to win over the high officials, but he also complained that they were changing daily and that they knew nothing about the Netherlands. Haga praised his efforts and believed that since Halil Paşa was deposed from the Grand Admiralty, he could not do what he would have done.

⁵¹ Dispatch of Venetian bailo Antoino Foscarini in England, dated 24 May 1612, *CSP, Venice*, XII, p 361.

⁵² Enclosed to the dispatch of Venetian *bailo* in England, A. Foscarini from London, dated 5 July 1612, *CSP, Venice*, XII, p 387.

Haga had realized the Porte's realities: "The Turkish court changes rapidly, and it is difficult to count on support; the only course is to hit the right moment." He believed that the pressure of the other ambassadors induced the Porte to make big demands and to enquire minutely into the condition of the Netherlands. Fortunately, the Viziers obtained information from Jews and Moors, who spoke in their favor. In the end, Haga confirmed the promise of precious gifts by the States General.⁵³

The presents would be very costly for Haga. Other than the amount loaned by Halil Paşa⁵⁴ and from his personal account of 3,000 gold pieces, the ambassador had to spend more. To bear the enmity and opposition of the French, English, and Venetian ambassadors (together with the intrigues of the Ghisbrechti brothers), "*the Dutch ambassador had recourse to presents and great donations. He ran short of money, and was forced to take from the Jews on credit many lengths of silk, and woolens at ruinous prices, to meet his needs.*"⁵⁵

On the April 30 meeting of Divan, Halil Paşa could convince Deputy – Grand Vizier Hadım Mehmed Paşa, with the support of Defterdar Ekmekçizâde Ahmed Paşa, Vizier Davud Paşa, and the Grand Admiral Kara Mehmed Paşa for an audience with the Dutch ambassador Cornelis Haga by the Sultan on 1 May

⁵³ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 113.

⁵⁴ ARA, Staten Generaal, 1.01.08/12593.11: "*Asitâne-i sa'âdetde riâyeti lâzım olan gerek vüzerâ-yı 'izâm ve 'ulemâ-yı fihâm ve sâyir erkân-i devlete 'ale'l-husûs sa'âdetiü pâdişâhımızun rikâb-i hümâyununa pişkeşiñüz masrafiçün maslahatıñuz ilerü gelsin deyu bu muhibbiñüz gayretiñüz çeküb elçiñizü âhar kimesneye muhtâc etmeyüb kendü yanımızdan masrafiñuz içün üçbin filori harc etmişizdir*".

⁵⁵ CSP, Venice, XII, p 420.

1612.⁵⁶ During the meeting, Halil Paşa talked to Deputy – Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa on the Dutch ambassador's admittance by Sultan Ahmed I, and advocated strong grounds to establish official relations with the Dutch Republic, which was also supported by the other members of Divan.⁵⁷ All these efforts were not fruitless. In the end, the Deputy – Grand Vizier consented to offer the Sultan a report for an audience with the highest protocol and appropriate honors.⁵⁸

In Ottoman diplomacy, to acquire the status of a resident ambassador, very precious gifts had to be presented to the Sultan. To reach the Sultan, the senior authorities ranking from the Grand Vizier to the court guards had to be given

⁵⁶ Heeringa, *De Eerste Gezant*, p 27-28: "In overleg met Khalil Pasja zond hij dus een brief in de vergadering van de divan, waarin hij uitdrukkelijk verklaarde liever te villen sterven dan zich zulk een behandeling te laten welgevallen. Zijn vriend ondersteunde dit schrijven mondeling en toe de kaimakam deze beschuldigde dat hij zich bemoeide met dingen, die hem niet aangingen, vielen verschillende grooten Khalil bij, omdat deze dde zaak op touw gezet had en dus bevoegd was er voor op te komen. De kaimakam be 2 week eindelijk voordien aandrang en bepaalde dat de audientie in den meest plechtingen vorm zou plaats hebben".

⁵⁷ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 236: "Hierop heeft Challil bassa in divano met den chahimacham gesproken, die S.E. reichde, dat hij den G.S. een supplica wilde overgeven jegens zijn persoon, als dat hij hem met de saecke van zijn gouvernement – dat hem bevolen was – jegens ordere ende redenen was bemoevende. Waerop terstont bij de andre bassas ende principalijck den admiral van de zee ende tresaurier, oock Dahaut bassa, die den suster van den G.S. getrouwt heeft, geantwoort is, dat Challil bassa daer seer grote redenen toe hadde, als sulcxgedaen hebben de admirael van de see sijnde, ende derhalven daertoe geauctoriseert; oock dat sijselfs den G.S. Sullen te kennen geven, dat men niet en procedeert near behoren, tensij, men aen U.H.M.E. meer ende niet minder eere doet als men oyt aen andre gedaen heeft dat men sulcx schuldich is, ende niet aen de vijanden van den G.S. ende U.H.M.E. enich gehoor geven, tot nadeel van de landen en de aengevangen vruntschap".

⁵⁸ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 236: "Nae het scheidende van den raet heeft den chahimacham aen den G.S. gesonden ende S.M. gesuppliceert, na de usantie van desen hove, ten fijne S.M.soude believen in Constantinopolen te comen om mijn audiëntie te geven waerinne bij S.M. bewillicht sijnde, heeft den chahimacham datelijck mijn daervan geadverteert, ten fijne ick jegens den toecomenden dach mijn tot de audiëntie soude gereet maecken".

presents as well.⁵⁹ Only after the envoy was received by the Sultan to kiss his hands and presented the gifts would he gain the status of “ambassador.”⁶⁰

B. Haga convinces the Divan for audience

The long-lasting discussions⁶¹ among the religious and governmental authorities in Istanbul were concluded favorably for the Netherlands.⁶² Under the auspices of Halil Paşa, Haga was able to overcome all the difficulties. Until that time, he had to neutralize the intrigues of other ambassadors at the Porte. Besides, persuasion of senior authorities for audience also took a long period. In the end, the Deputy – Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa promised that he would

⁵⁹ For the status of “ambassador”, see *CSP, Venice*, IX, for English ambassador Edward Barton in 1593, p XLI, Henry Lello in 1597, p XLIV, French ambassador De Breves in 1593, p XXXVII.

⁶⁰ The Venetian *ballo* sent his regrets to the English envoy that he would not visit him in person, since the custom of the Porte was that no ambassador should receive visits till he had kissed hands with the Sultan, *CSP, Venice*, VIII, p XXXIII.

⁶¹ See Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), doc 173, The Deputy – Grand Vizier Hadım Mehmed Paşa indicated the process of deliberations in his letter to the the States General: “*Müdirân-i mülk-i millet olan umûmen vûzerâ-yı sahib-i firâset ve vûkelâ-yı ehl-i dirâset ile husûsan Şeyhülislam ve'l-Müslimîn ve'l-imâmü'l-ümme, ve'l-müftiyyü'l-Mü'minîn olan Müftü Efendi hazretleri ile hâkimân-i Şer'at-i Nebevî olan Kazasker efendiler vesâyir bu hânedân-i muhalledü'l-erkân hıdmetkârlarının kudemâ ve emekdarları ve iş görmüşleri ile müşâvere ve müzâkere olunub cümlenin ittifâkıyla arz-i ihlâs ve ihtisâs vesâir iltimâsınız ve dostluğunuz ... makbûl ve matbû' kılub...*”.

⁶² Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), doc 173: “*vârid olan nâmeleri tercüme ve telhîs olunub ittifak-i vezirleri sahibrâ ve ittihad-i vûkelâ-yı mülk-ârâ ve müşâvere ve ma'rifet-i 'ulemâ-yı şeriffin-i pirâye ile tarafımızdan sudûr eden muhabbet ve irâdet ve nihâyet hulûs-i meveddetiniz rikâb-i hümâyunlarına arz ü inhâ olundukda ... cânibiñûze hüsn-i nazar-inâyetleri zuhûr edüb ve elçiñüz pâye-i serfir-i 'âlâlarına yüz sürme husûsunda icâzet-i hümâyunları olmağla*”.

personally make efforts on behalf of the Dutch.⁶³ Although there was a positive atmosphere among the members of the Divan *vis-à-vis* Haga and the Netherlands recently, Haga was waiting for the reply in excitement. On that morning Haga had sent his dragoman to get the result of the Divan meeting.⁶⁴ Haga received the good news that the Sultan would receive him at the Seraglio. It was a great victory for Haga who won the first leg of the series of struggles at the Porte. He would note it in his "Memoriael" that with God's help he managed to be received by the Sultan despite all opposition against him.⁶⁵ At the beginning Haga did not believe that his audience with the Sultan would be so difficult, almost impossible. It is true that during his travel to Istanbul from the Netherlands he had observed diverse opinions.

Although the real purpose of his mission was secret, in one way or another the intelligence network of Venice managed to learn about it. Intention of achieving capitulations from the Ottoman Sultan was never made public by the States General. The Dutch envoy was said to conclude the mission of releasing Dutch slaves in North African provinces. Twelve Years Truce was signed only a few years ago, and thus the States General did not wish to disturb Spain. At this stage, implication of an Ottoman - Dutch alliance could cause suspicion at the Spanish court. Venetian French and English representatives were already

⁶³ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), doc 173: "*Şimden soñra dahî kâdir olduğumuz mertebe sa'y u dikkat ve bu ahd ü mîsâkın istihkâmına bezl-i himmet etmemiz mukarrerdir*".

⁶⁴ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 235: "*Op den 30 dito heb 's morgens beyde mijn drogomans in divano gesonden om te verstaen wat ondre soude gegeven werden*".

⁶⁵ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 236: "*Derhalven - door de genade Godts – jegens hope van alle de vijanden ende contamateurs op den eersten dach van Mey bij S.M. seer aengename audientie gehat*".

unwilling to accept another commercial rival in the Levant. Haġa, aware of the situation, tried to keep his mission confident. He confessed his knowledge of those intrigues against his presence at Istanbul in his petition to the Deputy – Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa.⁶⁶ He added that if his masters (the States General and Prince Maurice) were accepted as the Sultan subjects,⁶⁷ the Ottoman Empire would benefit.⁶⁸ To convince Mehmed Paşa for benefits of establishing friendly relations, Haga emphasized the Dutch Republic's naval strength all over the Christian world. He added that Dutch troops had occupied twenty-thirty Spanish castles at the Indian coast, and the Spanish were unable to resist.⁶⁹

Haga then indicated the reason for his presence in Istanbul. During the office of ex-Grand Admiral Halil Paşa, a letter was conveyed to him to ask for a possibility of official relationship between the two countries and granting of an independent Dutch capitulations, which would save the Dutch merchants from

⁶⁶ For complete text of the petition, see Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 168: *"Vilâyetimizden Islambol'a gelince üç dört kralın memleketine uğraduk, kimi Al-i Osman pâdişahının dostu ve kimi düşmanı; cümleden biri Françe ve Duka ve Nemçe ve İspanya ve Leh ve Venedik vilâyetlerine uğrayub Al-i Osman'a kul olmak niyeti ile geldiğimize vâkıf olmuşlar iken yine bize mâni' olmayub efendimiz hatrıçün niçe ta'zîm ve ikrâm eylediler. Hikmetü'l-Hüdâ bu Âsitâne-i sa'âdete dâhil olduğumuza Venediklü ve Françe'nün bir iki mutaassıb âdemleri efendimize ve âsitâneye kul olduğumuza hased edüb dostu ve düşmana karşı bize itibar ettirmemeğe sa'y ediyorlar".*

⁶⁷ It was a usual Ottoman diplomatic practice that when a foreign state applied to the Porte with a letter conveyed by an ambassador, they should express intention to be accepted under the protection of the Sultan.

⁶⁸ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 168: *"Benüm devletlû sultânım, iltifat-i 'aliyyeñüz olub efendimizi kulluğa kabul ederseñüz, Devlet-i Osman'a bu kadar nef'i olub ve ne kadar zarar olduğun inşaallâhu te'âlâ müşâhede edersiz".*

⁶⁹ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 168: *"Nasâra tâyifesinde derya yüzünde inâyet hakkıyla bizüm kalyonlarımıza mukâbeleye kâdir bir tâyife dahî yokdur. İspanya'nun Hindustan cânibinde olan kal'alarından yirmi otuz pâre kal'alarun alub zabt eyledük, kat'â bir nesneye kâdir olmadılar".*

coming under the French flag. At that time, Halil Paşa had replied that the Ottoman Sultans' doors were open to everyone who begged for protection and promised a sustained friendship. If an envoy was sent with letters immediately, it was highly probable that friendship would be established. For that reason, the States General sent himself for an embassy, Haga concluded in his petition.⁷⁰

All of the subjects that Haga emphasized in his petition would be realized. However, the last point, -the delivery of the reply and his immediate return home would be achieved only twenty-seven years later. Haga expected to receive a positive reply from the Ottoman court concerning their request on granting the Dutch Capitulations. Soon afterwards he would return to the Netherlands. The States General's initial plan was to send another ambassador after attaining permission, to trade freely in the Levant under the Dutch flag. Not Haga but the second ambassador would reside in Istanbul to represent the United Provinces.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 168: "*Françe bayrağı altında gelüb gitmek minnetinden halâs olub pâdişah-i rûy-i zemîn olan devletlû ve 'azametlû Al-i Osman pâdişahı zıllullah hazretlerine kul olmağışün sâbıkâ kapudân olan Halil Paşa hazretlerine âdem ve mektûb gönderdiklerinde - Hak te'âlâ sultanımdan ve anlardan râzı ola – mektubumuzuñ cevâbın yazub "Al-i Osman'ın kapusu açıkdur, her kim gelür ise gelsün redd yokdur, heman siz dahî doğruluk yolundan ita'at edüb ale't-ta'cîl nameñüz ve elçiñüz gönderün" deyu haber irsâl eylemekle mûmâileyh efendimiz muhibleri dahî bu hayırlı hıdmete bu kuluñuzu ta'yîn eyleyüb*".

⁷¹ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 168: "*Hemân devletlû başınız içün nâmemizü rikâb-i hümâyuna 'arz buyurub kalîl ve kesîr ne ise getirdiğimüz pîşkeşimizi kabûl edüb, nâmemizü yazub, 'ale't-ta'cîl kulunuzu gönderesüz inşallâhu te'âlâ. Öteden niçe metâ' ve akmîşe ile yükledüb elçimiz ile gelüb hâk-i pây-i şerfiñüze yüzler sürevüz*".

CHAPTER V
HAGA'S AUDIENCE WITH THE SULTAN AND
THE FIRST DUTCH CAPITULATIONS

The Ottoman court gave utmost priority to the ceremonial magnificence of the reception of foreign delegations by the Sultans. The extraordinary ambassadors were received in the presence of the Janissary corps, which usually coincided with the day of their quarterly payment (*ulûfe gûnû*). The ambassadors were met at the outer gate of the Topkapi Palace by the master of the imperial horses, *mirahûr*, together with dozens of gold and silver equipped horses. Then the Grand Vizier received the ambassador at the Imperial Chancery (*Divân-i Hümâyun*), after the colorful ceremony of quarterly payments of the Janissaries.¹ Haga's audience was not coincided with *ulûfe gûnû*, but still *Galebe Dîvân* was organized for him.

The audience of Haga at the Seraglio was one of the most marvelous ceremonies held for foreign representatives. He was received at the Seraglio with the highest protocol, which is called the "*Galebe Divan*."² On May 1, 1612³ Haga came to the Seraglio from his residence at Pera for an audience with the Sultan.⁴ The colorful welcome ceremony before the first gate of the Seraglio (*Bâb-i*

¹ 'Tevki'î Abdurrahman Paşa Kanunnâmesi', *Millî Tetebbu'lar Mecmuası*, vol I, p 513.

² For detailed information on the ceremony for ambassadors, see Mübahat Kütükoğlu, 'XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti'nde Fevkalade Elçilerin Ağırlanması', *Prof. Dr. İsmail Ercüment Kuran'a Armağan*, (Ankara: 1989) 199-231.

³ 29 Safer 1021.

⁴ Heeringa, *De Eerste Gezant*, p 29: "Op 1 Mei 1612 werd Haga van zijn woning in Pera door een stoet van Turken afgehaad om in optocht naar de Hooge Poerte en ter audientie bij den Sultan te worden geleid".

Hūmâyun) was received by all the *Sipâhis* (cavalry), hundred chaushes, headed by the *chaush bashi*.⁵ When he entered the Seraglio from the second gate⁶ Haga met about ten thousand Janissaries and two thousand *Sipâhis* standing under the galleries.⁷ From there, he was taken to the room where the Divan meetings were held. A chair was given to Haga to sit across the Deputy – Grand Vizier Damad Mehmed Paşa; Grand Admiral Mehmed Paşa, Vizier Davud Paşa, Nakkaş Hasan Paşa, Yusuf Paşa, and Halil Paşa was also present.⁸ On the other side of the Deputy – Grand Vizier, sat the two *kazaskers*,⁹ the *nişancı* (chief of the imperial chancery), and the *Defterdar* (Exchequer).

Upon arrival of Haga to the Divan, 300 *Kapicis* (door-keepers) and 500 chaushes (ushers) waited for him. All of them greeted the ambassador.¹⁰ Haga

⁵ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 236: “*Sipâhiler aga, opperste van alle de cavaglierie van den G.S. ende den chaus bassi, overste van alle de edelluydens, geaccompagneert met hondert chausen*”.

⁶ *Bâbüsselam*, or commonly called *Orta Kapı*.

⁷ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 237: “*Door dese Porte gepasseert sijnde, stonde in ordre onder twee galerie, den janitser aga – de overste van alle de janitsers ende voelvock in Turkije – met tien duysent janitsaren, ende aen de andere sijde ses sihahilar aga, capiteynen van de spahys ende ruterie, met twee duysent spahys*”.

⁸ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 238: “*In divano waeren geseten den chahimacham met alle de visyrs, bassas sijnde, mijn een stoel geset jegens over den chahimacham, aen wiens rechter sijde – die bij de Turcken de onwaerdichste gehouden wert, overmits onder het swaert van de andere – geseten waeren Mahomet bassa, admirael van de zee, Dahout bassa, Nacas Asan bassa, Jussuf bassa ende Challil bassa mitsgaders den nisangi bassa*”.

⁹ *Kazaskers* were the highest authorities at the head of the religious class. There were two *kazaskers* at the capital, *Rumeli* and *Anadolu* *kazaskeri*, who were at the head of the religious authorities and *kadis*, at Rumelian and Anatolian sides respectively.

¹⁰ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 239: “*Buyten divano commende, stande aldaer aen de rechterhandt den voorgedachte capitsylar chagiaci ende den chaus bassi, geaccompagneert met drie hondert capitsys ende vijfhondert chausen, wachtende op mijn compste*”.

received a warm welcome at the Divan. From there, the Deputy – Grand Vizier went before the hall¹¹ with all other Viziers and Paşas where the audience with the Sultan would be held.¹²

Before the audience hall (*Arz Odası*) stood twelve *kapıcıbaşı*s with silver-plated dresses. These *kapıcıbaşı*s held Haga's both arms and brought him before the young Sultan Ahmed I to kiss his hand.¹³ The Sultan was sitting on a marvelous throne embroidered with precious jewels. After the traditional protocol in the audience hall, the Deputy – Grand Vizier made a short speech supporting the ambassador. Afterwards, Haga made an address in Latin before the Sultan. His dragoman, Paul Antonio Bon translated it into Turkish and delivered it to the Deputy – Grand Vizier. With this the ceremony was concluded.¹⁴ Haga presented the letters that he brought from the Netherlands.¹⁵ These letters would be

¹¹ It is *Arz Odası*, which is located just at the entrance of the third gate of the Seraglio, which is called *Bâbüssa'âde*.

¹² Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 236: "*Hiernaes is den chahimacham met alle de bassas visyrs gegaen een voor een nae de camer van audientie*".

¹³ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 239: "*Voor de camer van audientie stonden twaalf capitsis bassis met silvere vergulde staffen, die met paren, eerst mij ende daarna den drogeman ende de edelluydens onder den arm geleyt hebben voordien G.S. om S.M. de hand te cussen*".

¹⁴ Heeringa, *De Eerste Gezant*, p 32: "... kan hij zijn redevoering in het Latijn houden, die daarna door Bon in het Turksch overgezet en ten slotte op schrift met de geloedsbrieven in een zakje van brokaat den kaimakam overhandigd weerd. Daarmee was de audientie afgeloopen".

¹⁵ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 173: "*vârid olan nâmeleri tercüme ve telhîs olunub ittifak-i vezirleri sahibrâ ve ittihad-i vûkelâ-yı mülk-ârâ ve müşâvere ve ma'rifet-i 'ulemâ-yı şerîffin-i pirâye ile tarafımızdan sudûr eden muhabbet ve irâdet ve nihâyet hulûs-i meveddetîñiz rikâb-i hümâyunlarına arz ü inhâ olundukda*"

translated into Turkish and then relevant replies would be written to the rulers in Den Haag. Their titles would be scripted in golden ink.¹⁶

In his address before the Sultan,¹⁷ Haga summarized the requests of the United Provinces from the Ottoman Sultan. In the introduction, he emphasized the great pleasure by the States of the United Provinces to hear the Sultan's readiness to accept their application on the establishment of friendly relations.¹⁸ Bound to the possibility of friendship; he was designated to achieve that mission as an ambassador.¹⁹ He mentioned that if the States of the United Provinces and Prince Maurice were accepted to represent the sustainment of friendly relations, and if Dutch merchants were allowed to travel and carry out commercial activities between the two countries, then it would be a beneficial and pleasant experience for the Ottoman Empire.²⁰

¹⁶ Heeringa, *De Eerste Gezant*, p 33: "De brieven, die Haga uit Holland had meegbracht, werden intusschen in het Turksch vertaald en aan den Sultan aangeboden. Deze was bijzonder gesticht door de attentie, die men in Den Haag had gehad om zijn naam entitles overal met gouden letters te schrijven".

¹⁷ The full text of Haga's address, both the original in Latin and the translation into Turkish, is available. For Latin see Heeringa, *Levanstchen Handel*, I, p 240-243, and for the Turkish translation, see Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 116.

¹⁸ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 116: "hâliyâ Olanda vilâyetlerinin cümle kralları üzere vâli ve zâbit ve Âsitâne-i sa'âdetlerine dostluk üzere mürâca'at edenler hakkında lütf u ihsanları mebzûl olduğun istima' eylemeğın".

¹⁹ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 116: "cümle krallarınıñ ittifakları ile 'azametlü ve şevketlü pâdişah-i İslâm'ın Âsitâne-i sa'âdet-âşiyânlarına sadâkat üzere kavli ü dostluk etmeğe fâlib olub bu hayırlu hıdmetin zuhûru için bu kemter kulların elçi ta'yîn edüb dostlarına irsâl eylemişlerdir".

²⁰ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 116: *cümle Hollanda krallarıyla efendimiz Morıç (Maurice) kralı kulluğa ve dostluğa kabul buyurub ticâret ve sadâkat üzere gelüb gidüb alış veriş edeler. Bu vechile ihsanları sudûr eder ise bu âna dek Al-i Osman ile dostluk üzere olan krallardan küllî hazz eylemeleri mukarrerdir.*"

Haga gave a brief summary of the belligerence between the Dutch Republic and Spain.²¹ Due to religious conflicts, clashes went on for over forty years between the two countries. Only very recently, was a Twelve Years Truce signed following the continuous requests of the Spanish king.²²

At this point, Haga mentioned the naval battle that took place at Sluis,²³ where Spain had established a naval base in 1600. Galleys had been brought from Spain to Sluis and they were utilized to attack the coastal towns under the control of the United Provinces as well as Dutch shipping.²⁴ In 1604, a great assault was organized and Sluis fell into Dutch hands. The Ottoman Muslim slaves numbering about 1400 were released from the Spanish galleys and were sent to North Africa by Dutch vessels. Haga recounted the event in his address to the Sultan and requested the release of the Dutch slaves throughout Ottoman territories. This request was already indicated in the instruction given to Haga by

²¹ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 116: "*Bundan akdem İspanya kralı Olanda ve tevâbi'inde olan cezârenüñ hâkimlerini ve krallarını harben Rim Papa'nuñ battal dînine da'vet edüb cümle Frengistan beğleriyle yek-dîl ve yek-cihet oldukda kuvvet-i kâhire ile kalkub 'azametlü pâdişah-i İslâm ocağına kasd eylemek niyetinde olduklarında bizim krallarımız Rim Papa'nuñ battal dînine ve din-perestliklerine râzı ve tâbi' olmayub*".

²² Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 116: "*kırk yıldan mütecâvizdir ki, İspanya krallarıyla efendimiz Morıç kralı bendenüz mâbeyninde 'azîm seferler ve ziyâde cengler vâki' olub 'inâyet-i Hak'la gerek bahr ve gerek berde bizim krallarımız gâlib olmağla bi'z-zarurî İspanya kralı beş defa elçisin gönderüb krallarımız ile sulh ricâ eylediler. Mâbeynimizde ba'zı şurût olmağla sulh olunmamışdı. Ba'dehû kadîmden komşumuz ve dostlarımız olan Françe ve İngiltere krallarının ricâlarıyla on iki yıla dek sulh olundu*".

²³ The number of the Muslim slaves released at Sluis is quoted as 1400 in most of the other documents such as the letters from the States General, but here Haga mention 1040 Muslim slaves, Appendix I, document 116: "*İspanya kralınuñ cümle donanma kalyonlarını ateşe urub husûsan Şelos (Sluis) nâm bir 'azîm şehirlerin krallarımız fethedüb bin kırk nefer Müselman esirlerin halâs edüb ve arkaları ve başlarına esbâb verüb ve harçlık verüb vilâyetlerine göndermişzdir*".

²⁴ Zeki Çelikkol, A. De Groot, Ben Slot, *It Began With the Tulip*, (Ankara: TTK, 2000) p 13.

the States General before departure for the embassy. According to the instruction, Haga had to remind the Grand Signor that the gentlemen of the States General in 1604 had sent the Turkish slaves home, provided with clothes and food from Dutch account when they had fallen into Dutch hands after the capture of Sluis, in great numbers, free and without any payment of ransom.²⁵

Haga indicated that release of the Ottoman slaves was not the Dutch Republic's only gesture. Whenever the Muslims met in Spain and in Spanish ships, and were held in captivity, they were immediately released.²⁶ Moreover, the States General refused to ally with Iran, although Iran had sent an envoy very recently and offered cooperation against the Ottoman Empire.²⁷ Under those circumstances, the Dutch Republic was strictly obedient to the Ottoman Sultan and promised that they would be enemies to the enemies of the Sultan. Haga concluded with the request to be granted capitulations by the Sultan.

On the other hand, the diplomatic missions at the Porte followed the developments with anxiety but could not prevent Haga's audience. The Venetian *bailo* Christoforo Valier had to report the reception in his May 5, 1612 dispatch.

²⁵ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 187: "... op haere reysen bij de subjecten van Z.K.M. ende van Z.M. geallierden gecaptiveert zijn ende in miserie van captiviteyt gehouden worden, soo tot Argil, Thunis ende verscheyden andere plaetsen als oock opte schepen ende galleyen, sal versoecken, dat deselve metten eersten vrij ende costeloos van heure gevangenisse ende captiviteyt gracieuselijck ontslagen mogen worden".

²⁶ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 116: "Ve bi'l-cümle İspanya vilâyetinde ve gemilerinde ele giren Müselman esirlerin halâs etmekden hâlf değillerdır".

²⁷ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 116: "Ve geçenlerde Kızılbaş cânibinden krallarımıza elçi ve pîşkeş gelüb Al-i Osman ile husûmetimiz vardur beynde yardım eyleñ deyu nâme getirüb ricâ eylediklerinde krallarımız ve efendilerimiz Moriç kralı bendeñüz murâdlarına müsâ'ade etmemişlerdir. Ve şimden gerü krallarımız ve hakimlerimiz 'azametlü ve şevketlü pâdişah-i İslâm uğrunda sadâkata hıdmet edüb dostlarına dost ve düşmanlarına düşman olmak üzere ahd ü peymân eylemişlerdür".

He confessed “the Dutch ambassador despairing of success owing to the opposition of the French ambassador and others, but supported by Halil Paşa and the Mufti, was admitted to kiss the Sultan's hand, and received a banquet in town after giving two thousand dallers to the Lieutenant Grand Vizier.” According to the *bailo*, Haga had succeeded in his objective to obtain free traffic for his nation, thanks to the promises of abundance of webs, both of wool and of silk, and declared that his masters would furnish fifty ships to the Turks when required.²⁸

By their letters, Vizier Halil Paşa and the Deputy – Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa informed the States General about the audience of the Dutch ambassador with the Sultan. Halil Paşa indicated that despite the opposition of the French and Venetian ambassadors and the promise of bribes to certain circles, Haga was able to kiss the Sultan's hand with his personal efforts. He added that the ceremony at the Seraglio was realized with the highest protocol that was never seen before.²⁹ The efforts of Halil Paşa were not fruitless. Although Haga was a young man at that time, his dignity and maturity was praiseworthy. Haga's attitudes and behavior throughout the ceremonies greatly impacted the Sultan and all other statesmen.³⁰ The Sultan was so impressed by Haga's respectful

²⁸ *CSP, Venice, XII, p 346.*

²⁹ See ARA, Staten Generaal, 1.01.08 / 12593.11: “*Françe ve Venedik balyosları sizüñ bu Âsitâne-i sa’âdet ile dostluk etmeñüze mâni’ olmak murâd edinüb bazı yerlere nice bin altun va’d eyleyüb elçiñüze el öpdürmemeğe çok sa’y eylemişler iken bu muhibbiñüz uğruñuzda dâmen-dermiyân edüb Hakkın inâyeti ile elçiñüze el öpdürüb bir mertebe ri’âyet etdirmişizdir ki anların nisbetine dahî bir elçiye olmamışdır*”.

³⁰ See ARA, Staten Generaal, 1.01.08 / 12593.11: “*elçiñüz ber-hor-dâr olsun sa’âdetlü pâdişâhımız hazretlerinin rikâb-i hümayunlarına vardıkda kemâl-i âdab ve erkân ile hareket etmekle ‘azametlü pâdişâhımız müşârünileyh elçiden küllî hazz buyurub*”.

approach that the Deputy – Grand Vizier reflected the atmosphere of the audience in his letter to the States General and praised him.³¹

In his letter to the States General, Şeyhülislam Hocazâde Mehmed Efendi also emphasized Haga's respectful attitude at the Divan.³² The Sultan praised Haga in his imperial letter.³³ The behavior of the envoys particularly before the Sultan, and during the discussions and negotiations with the senior authorities were crucial for the Ottoman diplomacy. Despite the fact that the Sultan's favor was decisive, the envoys might never the Sultan again. Since the envoy would sustain negotiations with the Grand Vizier and members of the imperial chancery, relations with these people would affect the fate of his country. In this respect, Haga was very successful and had positive effects for the initial phase of the Ottoman – Dutch relations.

Haga was very happy with the audience. He had completed the first leg of his mission with great success. He knew that it was only achieved with Halil

³¹ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 173: "elçiñüz ber-hor-dâr olsun, şol ki husûs-i ziyâde vesâyir umûr-i mühimmâtdandır, herbirinde ikdâm-i tâm ve ihtimâm ma'âl-ikrâm edüb aslâ bir yerde ve bir maslahatda ihmâl ve kusûr ve dakîka fevt etmeyüb husûsan rikâb-i hümâyuna yüz sürdükde âdâb ve hayâ üzere hareket etmekle sa'âdetlü ve azametlü pâdişahımız e'azzallâhu te'âlâ ensârahû hazretleri küllî hazz u safâ eylemişlerdir. Hıdmet ise ancak olur. Temam mertebe elçiliğe lâyıq âdemdir. Ve cümle vüzerâ kardaşlarımız ve sâyir erkân-i devlet "hıdmet âdemîsi böyle olmak gerekdir" deyu her biri tahsîn ve pesend edüb evzâ' u etvârından her vechile rızâ ve şükran üzere olmağla".

³² Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 78: "Bu cânibe gönderilen elçiñüz Kornelyo Haga her mertebe hûsn-i tedbîr edüb cümle husûsuñuzda küllî sa'y etmişdir. Temam elçi âdemîsidir, ancak olur".

³³ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 77: "merkûm elçiñüz kemâl-i edeb ve hayâ ile hıdmet-i risâleti ve sâir umûru edâ ve dostluğa lâyıq olan vech üzere hûsn-i sülûk-i resmîyyeyi müeddâ kılub ağızdan sipâriş eyledüğüñüz umûru takrîr edüb hûsn-i edâ ile dostluk haberleri mesâmi'-i aliyyemize vusûl bulmuşdur".

Paşa's extraordinary efforts. To present his compliments, Haga made his first visit to Halil Paşa the next day. On May 2, 1612, Haga expressed his appreciation to Halil Paşa for the arrangement of the audience with the Sultan and for his goodwill, efforts, and the great honor shown to him.³⁴

On May 3, 1612 Haga paid a visit to the Deputy – Grand Vizier and all the other Paşas both for himself and on behalf of the States General. The excellent audience provided to him, would be prestigious for his mission and for his title among the other ambassadors at the Porte. He emphasized that his nation would do its best for the continuation of good relations and friendship between the two countries.³⁵

A. Granting of the Dutch Capitulations

The States General would like to establish official relations with the Ottoman Empire in order to inaugurate commercial activities in the Levant as soon as possible. The Dutch merchants were already carrying out their trade under the French and English flags. Since the conclusion of Twelve Years Truce with Spain in 1609, the United Provinces was recognized *de jure* by Spain and now could

³⁴ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, 1, p 245: "Op den 2 May hebbe de visite gedaen aen Challil bassa ende S.E. bedanct voor de goede devoiren, in dese saecke gedaen, die met sijn gantsche corte, als van den doot verweckt, seer verblijt was, sijnde een grote veranderinge in S.E. saraglio ende vol vreuchden daer tevoren niet dan droefheyt en hatseer was, niet wetende, wat eynde de saecke soude hebben, tot S.E. conservatie ofte ruyne, bijaldien de vijanden tot haer voornemen hadden cunnen comen".

³⁵ Haga's Memoriael, Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, 1, p 245: "Op den 3 May heb de visite gedaen aen den chahimacham ende alle andere bassas, haere E.E. bedanckende voor de eere, in mijn persoon aen U.H.M.E. gedaen, ende van de gracieuse audientie, die S.M. mijn had de gegeven, versouckende voorts te wilen continueren in hare goede gunste tot onse gantsche natie, hare E.E. mijn verclarende allegader, hoe grote devoiren de andre ambassadeurs jegens dese vruntchap gedaen hadden".

traffic under their own flag freely. Furthermore, the United Provinces were free from all Spanish blockades and embargoes, applied from time to time. The States General was in need of official recognition by the Ottoman Sultan to make trade in the Levant. Because, Levant trade was very profitable other than spices, for luxurious goods, cotton, wax, leather, and furs as well.

As mentioned above, an instruction was delivered to Cornelis Haga, dated August 11, 1611 before his departure to Istanbul. The first part of the instruction included articles about his initial contacts at the Ottoman capital. The instruction³⁶ given to Haga contained two important points:³⁷

1. The release of the Dutch held in captivity in North African provinces and in the Ottoman territories.³⁸
2. The beginning of a commercial relationship.³⁹

To this end, Haga would try to achieve granting of the Dutch capitulations. Since the Şeyhülislam was the key person for capitulations with favorable

³⁶ "Instructie Voor Mr. Cornelis Haga, 11 Augustus 1611", Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, pp 186-188.

³⁷ Heeringa, *De Eerste Gezant*, p 36.

³⁸ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 187: "van Z.M. geallieerden gecaptiveert zijn ende in miserie van captiviteyt gehouden worden, soo tot Argil, Thunis ende vescheyden andere plaetsen als oock opte schepen ende galleyen, sal versoecken, dat deselve metten eersten vrij ende costeloos van heure gevangenisse ende captiviteyt gracieuselijck ontslagen mogen worden"

³⁹ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 188: "Sal het toecomende aen A.K.M. versoecken voor die onderdaenen van H.H.M. gracieuse concessie ende octroy om in ende omtrent alle Z.K.M. rijken, landen ende stede, ter zee, op versche wateren ende alomme, vrij ende onbeleth, in ,t gaen ende commen, te mogen reysen, varen, blijven, handelen ende trafficqueren".

conditions, he made a visit to Şeyhülislam on May 16, 1612.⁴⁰ Without his approval, no country could be granted capitulations. He must have first consented if the United Provinces fit for *ahdnâme*, according to Islamic law.

At this point the early contacts of the first English ambassador at the Porte, William Harborne should be remembered. Harborne was first considered as a merchant rather than an envoy of England. French ambassador in Istanbul at that time, De Germiny, had spent great efforts to provide expulsion of Harborne. De Germiny had not only made secret meetings with the Ottoman statesmen, but also distributed large sums of money to achieve his desires. In those troublesome days, Harborne's ability had secured him two very powerful protectors, the Grand Vizier Siyavuş Paşa, and the secretary to the Sultan, the learned scholar Sadeddin.⁴¹ Hoca Sadeddin Efendi played a decisive role on the establishment of Anglo – Ottoman diplomatic relations. He supported Harborne and guided him during his early contacts at the Porte.⁴²

With great coincidence, his son and Şeyhülislam Hocasade Mehmed Efendi would also play a similar role forty years later, but this time for the United

⁴⁰ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 247: “Op den 16 dito heb de visite gedaen aen den mufti, met S.E. communicerende enige articulen van onse capitulatie aengaende te Turcxsche wetten, opdat S.E. soude believeen favorablíck derinne te aviseeren, 't welck S.E. mijn belooft heeft”.

⁴¹ CSP, Venice, vol. VIII, p xxxvii; Scholar, Şeyhülislam, and historian Hoca Sadeddin Efendi (1536-1599) was very influential in political issues at the Porte for over a quarter of a century, besides his religious function. He was appointed as the teacher of crown prince Murad at Manisa in 1573. When Murad III ascended to the Ottoman throne a year later, Hoca Sadeddin Efendi became one of the most influential figures at the Porte. he also kept his powerful position during the reign of Mehmed III, and became Şeyhülislam in 1598, until his death in 1599, Şerafettin Turan, “Hoca Sadeddin Efendi”, *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol 18, p 196.

⁴² A. N. Kurat, *Türk – İngiliz Münasebetlerinin Başlangıcı*, p 21.

Provinces. He would be the person to approve, religiously, inauguration of diplomatic relations with the Dutch Republic, and granting of capitulations by the Sultan. Like his father, Şeyhülislam Mehmed Efendi also favored the United Provinces as another non-Catholic ally for the Ottomans. Friendly relations with the Netherlands would apparently contribute to the superiority of the Ottomans over possible Papal coalitions.

Since *Nişancı* was the key element of the imperial chancery, Haga paid a visit to him the same day. He would be very influential in registering the articles of the establishment and continuation of friendly relations. Just before the inauguration of the official discussion on the articles of the Dutch capitulations, the *Bostancıbaşı* called Haga to talk to him personally at Scutari in the Seraglio.⁴³ The main reason was to learn about the background of the Dutch Truce with Spain, information that might result in an alliance against the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁴

On May 20, 1612 Haga made an afternoon visit to the Deputy – Grand Vizier to start the official negotiations on the Dutch capitulations.⁴⁵ The draft text was modeled on the previously granted French and English capitulations.⁴⁶ However, when compared, it can be easily noticed that the first French capitulations of 1569 and first English capitulations of 1580 contained certain

⁴³ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 248: "Op den 19 dito, sijnde de G.S. van Scutari in 't seraglio gecomen, heeft den bustansi bassi mijn doen versoucken, dat ick tot S.E. soude believe te comen in 't seraglio, dat S.E. seer begerich was om met mijn te spreken".

⁴⁴ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 117.

⁴⁵ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 249: "Op ditto nae den middach heb den chahimacham besocht, bregende aen S.E. de capitulatie, door mijn versocht, in 't Turcx overgeset, om daervan met S.E. te handelen ende S.E. meninge te verstaen".

⁴⁶ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 117.

articles in their simplest form.⁴⁷ Dutch capitulations would be more detailed and contain more articles than its predecessors.

The first and most sensitive issue for inaugurating of the official relationship was the liberation of all the Dutch slaves within the Ottoman dominions.⁴⁸ The Deputy – Grand Vizier, confirmed the request. Nevertheless, at this point, it should be noted that the release of the Dutch slaves could not be easily settled. The number of Dutch slaves in other parts of the Ottoman territories was negligible, and they were all released soon. But most Dutch slaves were held in Tunis and Algeria, where an almost autonomous administration existed. Beside the viceroy appointed by the Sultan, the commanders of the Janissary corps were also very influential in the administration of the North African provinces.⁴⁹

The viceroys there and the Janissary corps commanders raised certain reasons for the captivity of Dutch slaves. They persisted for many years to hold the Dutch in slavery. Actually the captains and the commanders had just reasons for their reluctance to release the Dutch slaves. They expected reciprocal release of the slaves from both sides. The details of the correspondence on this issue will be mentioned later in this study under the title of 'Efforts to Release Dutch Slaves'.

⁴⁷ For French capitulations of 1569, see A. Nimet Kurat, *Türk İngiliz Münasebetlerinin Başlangıcı*, pp 179-180; for English capitulations of 1580 see, A.N. Kurat, *ibid*, (from Oxford, Bodl. Library, Ms. Laud. Or. 67), pp 182-186.

⁴⁸ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 249: "Ende also het eerste was tracterende van de verlossinge van de slaven, heeft S.E. daerinne mijn bejegent".

⁴⁹ For information about the administration of Tunis, see Mehmet Maksudoğlu. "Tunus'ta Dayıların Ortaya Çıkışı," *A.Ü. İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol. XIV, (Ankara:1966) 189-202.

Another important matter was the rate of the Dutch merchants' customs duty. If a high rate of customs duties was fixed for the Dutch merchants, it would not be advantageous for them. English merchants were paying only 3 % on all goods exported and imported, since 1601. Even France, whose merchants were trafficking in the Levant for much earlier than English and Dutch, had to pay 5%. Adoption of 3% for the Dutch merchants would be very optimistic for Haga. Haga raised the question of geographical distance and the difficulty of transportation from far distances. Indeed, only merchants of the Mediterranean countries were advantageous in terms of distance. England had the same distance with the Netherlands. Relying on these points, Haga requested a 3% duty on all commercial exports and imports from the Ottoman ports.⁵⁰ At this point, the Deputy – Grand Vizier replied that on the issue of customs duty he should consult with the *Defterdar*. After the discussions, the *Defterdar* had granted his consent on 3 % customs dues for the Dutch merchants trading at the Ottoman ports. Until 1600, merchants flying French and English flags were paying 5% customs duty. At the renewal of English capitulations in 1601, the English ambassador had managed to reduce their duty to 3% for all goods exported and imported at the Ottoman ports. On June 1612, Haga visited the *Defterdar* to express his appreciation for this concession.⁵¹ Now, Dutch merchants would

⁵⁰ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 249: "Daernae op het artikel van de dacio van drie percento, in conformite van de Engelsche bij mijn versocht, heeft gevraecht, hoeveel onse natie, comende onder de bandiere van Vranckrijck, hadde betaelt, daerop geantwoort, dat sij eensleels onder Vranckrijck, oock eensdeels onder Engellant waren gecomen, ende betaelt als deselve, maer dat wij, nabuyren van de Engelsche sijnde, ende soo verre van hier als sij ende verder gelegen, niet en soude neffens haer mogen comen."

⁵¹ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 252: "Op den 8 dito heb de visite gedaen aen den tetterdar, S.E. bedanckende voor de goede devoiren gedaen, dat ons notie vergunt is te

trade in the Levant in equal terms with the English. French would continue to pay 5%. It was a successful achievement both for Haga and for the United Provinces.

The marriage of princess Cevherhan with the Grand Admiral and Vizier (Öküz) Mehmed Paşa interrupted the evaluation of the negotiations for a while, in the end, the Dutch capitulations were issued and delivered to Haga on 6 July 1612,⁵² dated Evâil-i C. Evvel 1021 / 2-11 July 1612.⁵³ It was expected that the Venetian *bailo* would soon report the granting of capitulations to the Dutch. The achievement of Dutch capitulations was reflected on the dispatch of the Venetian *bailo* Christoforo Valier, dated 7 September 1612. He reported that after long study and toil, the Dutch ambassador had signed and established the capitulations between his masters and the Porte. Imperial orders were duly issued for the Dutch merchants' good treatment. In his report, the Venetian *bailo* confessed the severe opposition of the French ambassador who even offered thousand *sequins* to upset the negotiations. The English ambassador was not behind. Although he took no initial steps, when he saw the far-advanced negotiations he endeavored to ally with France. He also offered to spend a similar sum for the same purpose. Haga had to spend great amounts to counterbalance opposition against him.

The Venetian *bailo* could get information daily from every diplomatic event at the Porte. Although two months had passed, Christoforo Valier was unable to

*betaelen in alle comerchie van den G.S. alleen dryeten hondert, sonder meer, versouckende voorts, dat S.E. mijn wilde favoriseren in enige verbode waeren, die bij mijn versocht sijn uuytgevoert te mogen werden"; A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 119.*

⁵² A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 120.

⁵³ For full text of the Dutch capitulations, see Appendix I, document 72; A. De Groot, *ibid.*, pp 231- 246; English translation of the text, 247-260.

get a copy of the Dutch capitulations. According to him, it was because of one of the divan secretaries' personal hostility to the Venetian embassy.⁵⁴ He was also mis-informed on the rate of the customs duty to be paid by the Dutch merchants. He was told that the Dutch would pay 5 % as the French, rather than 3 % as the English merchants paid.

The most important point *bailo* Valier learned secretly from the confidential meeting of Haga and the Deputy–Grand Vizier was Haga's offer to join the Dutch and Ottoman naval forces to attack Italy. Haga also promised in his masters' names that, whenever required, the Dutch Republic would furnish a large number of armed vessels with mariners, soldiers, and munitions in abundance.⁵⁵

B. Haga Remains in Istanbul

When he completed his mission successfully, Haga planned to return home soon.⁵⁶ But it would not be so. Initially, he was appointed as orator with a temporary mission of *ad hoc* nature. When he achieved capitulations for the merchants of the United Provinces and provided release of Dutch slaves in Ottoman dominions a resident ambassador at the Porte would replace Haga. Observing the fierce opposition of other resident representatives in Istanbul against Haga, Halil Paşa convinced him to remain for a while. But this period was extended for years after another. During his long stay at the capital Haga

⁵⁴ CSP, Venice, XII, p 420.

⁵⁵ CSP, Venice, XII, p 421; A.De Groot, *ibid.*, p 122.

⁵⁶ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 168, Haga's Petition to Deputy – Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa: "*Hemân devletlü başınız için nâmemizü rikâb-i hümâyuna 'arz buyurub kalîl ve kesîr ne ise getirdiğümüz pişkeşimizi kabûl edüb, nâmemizü yazub, 'ale't-ta'cîl kulunuzu gönderesüz inşallâhu te'âlâ*".

witnessed reign of four successive Sultans and the great insurrection of Janissaries in 1622 against Sultan Osman II. Throughout sixteen years of his reign, Sultan Murad IV did not allow Haga to leave Istanbul. Sultan Murad IV only allowed Haga to depart twenty-seven years later, in May 1639, one year before the end of his reign.

Although all legal procedure was completed according to Ottoman practice, Halil Paşa was worried about sustaining the Dutch capitulations if Haga left. Haga's residence in Istanbul would be key for continuing the official relationship. This point was clearly emphasized in the letters of both the Deputy – Grand Vizier, and Halil Paşa to the States General, and Prince Maurice.⁵⁷ Particularly, Halil Paşa worried about the French and Venetian ambassadors' intrigues to cancel the Dutch capitulations if Haga would have left.⁵⁸ The Grand Vizier was not in Istanbul, since he was at campaign against Iran. Everything regarding the Dutch capitulations was realized at his absence by the efforts of Halil Paşa and with the approval of the Deputy – Grand Vizier. The fate of Haga and the Dutch capitulations were dependent on the attitude of the Grand Vizier Nasuh Paşa. As will be explained in the following chapter, when returned from Eastern campaign in September 1612, Nasuh Paşa did not welcome the Dutch capitulations.

⁵⁷ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 173: "Ve cümle vüzerâ kardaşlarımız ve sâyir erkân-i devlet "hıdmet âdemîsi böyle olmak gerekir" deyu her biri tahsîn ve pesend edüb evzâ' u etvârından her vechile rızâ ve şükran üzere olmağla Âsîâne-i sa'âdet'de alıkonulmuşdur"; ARA, Staten Generaal, 1.01.08 / 12593.11: "azametlü pâdişâhımız müşârünileyh elçiden küllî hazz buyurub bu Âsîâne-i sa'âdetde elçilik hıdmetinde kala deyu fermân-i âlişânları sâdir olmağın hâlâ müşârünileyh elçi bu cânibde hıdmet-i mezbûrede alıkonulmuşdur".

⁵⁸ ARA, Staten Generaal, 1.01.08 / 12593.11: "zirâ bu cânibde olan Fransa ve Venedik elçileri câyiz ki soñra bir tarikle ortalığa fitne birağub "bunlar dostluk etmez" deyu bir söz söylememek için bu muhibbiñüz dahî elçinün Âsîâne-i sa'âdetde kalmasını münâsib görüb ol cânibe göndermedük".

Haga must be considered to be very lucky in achieving the Sultan's grant of capitulations. No one, other than the Sultan had the permanent authority within the Ottoman government. The power balance among the viziers of the Divan might have shifted at any time. The favor of the Sultan over any of them could end and consequently might even result with the execution of the statesman. When internal policies of the Porte shifted, there was a danger that the patrons upon whom foreign agents relied for support might be suddenly removed.⁵⁹ Halil Paşa had inaugurated the official correspondence with the States General in 1610 when he was the Grand Admiral. Although he was dismissed from his post in 1611, Halil Paşa kept his seat at the imperial *Divan* as Vizier. Throughout the early contacts of Haga at the Porte, Halil Paşa sustained his duty. Furthermore, the Sultan appointed him to Grand Admiralty for the second time in 1613, and Grand Vizierate in 1616. The rising graphic of Halil Paşa, as protector of Haga, was fortunate for him as well.

Since Haga could not convey the original text of the Dutch capitulations, '*ahdnâme*', granted by Sultan Ahmed I, sent it with his assistant, Lambert Verhaer. Osman Bey, who was a *sipâhi* and a man of Halil Paşa, would accompany Verhaer.⁶⁰ Osman had been sent to accompany Haga during his journey to Istanbul throughout the Ottoman territories. Osman traveled as far as the Polish border to encounter Haga there, and accompanied him till Istanbul. Imperial decrees were sent to all the *kadîs* and the commanders of the castles

⁵⁹ CSP, Venice, vol VIII, p xxxvii.

⁶⁰ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 123.

(*Dizdars*) to assist Osman Aga.⁶¹ Lamberto Verhaer carried the original text of the capitulations, its Dutch translation, and the *Memoriael* of Haga from his arrival till granting of the capitulations. On 14 July 1612, both Osman Bey and Verhaer departed overland via Buda to the Netherlands.⁶² Halil Paşa had written a letter to the Viceroy of Buda to request assistance on their way through Hungary.⁶³ When they reached the Netherlands, they sent a letter to Haga to inform him about their arrival and the recent developments concerning the Dutch navy's military success.⁶⁴ When Haga received the letter, Halil Paşa was at Edirne. He soon conveyed a letter to inform Halil Paşa about the arrival of these two men to the Netherlands.⁶⁵

On its resolution dated 19 September 1612, the States General, upon reading the *memoriael* of Haga, the letters of the Sultan, and of Halil Paşa,

⁶¹ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 105: "*Felemenk kralı tarafından Kornilyo Haga nâm elçi her kanğıñizuñ taht-i hükümetine vâsil olursa emîn ve sâlim biribirñize irsâl eylemeñüz emrim olmuşdur. ... Dergâh-i âlf silahdarlarından Osman zîde kadruhû vusul buldukda her biriñiz onat vechile mukayyed olub*".

⁶² A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 123.

⁶³ See Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 174.

⁶⁴ For the report of Lambert Verhaer to the States General, dated September 1612, see Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 259-261.

⁶⁵ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 22: "*benim rıfatlû sultânım bundan akdem bu cânibden irsâl olunan Lamberto Verhaer nâm kethüdâlarımız geçen hafta mektublar irsâl eylemişdir ki Nederlanda memleketine sağ ü sâlim muvassıl olub ve Asitâne-i Saâdetde vâki' cemî' ahvâl ü umûrumuzu tafsîl üzere nakl etdükden sonra efendilerimiz Üştâdi Ceneralleri ve Konte Maverisyo'ya sa'âdetlû 'âlem-penâh hazretlerinün nâme-i hümâyunların ve sultânımın ve sâir erbâb-ı devletin mekâtib-i şeriffirin teslim edüb ve hâlâ Âsitâne-i sa'âdetde vâki' akîdet ve ittihâdımız ve ahd ü emân ki sultânım hazretlerinün vâsıtasıyla zuhûra gelüb ve bu sulh ü salâhı izhâr eylemek için vâki' olan sa'y u ikdâm-i sa'âdetinüz tafsîl üzere istihbâr olunmağla efendilerimiz müşarünileyhimâya ve ehibbâmıza mûcib-i sūrû-i 'azîme ve a'dâya sebab-i kahr ü inhizâm olmuşdur ki zibân ile ta'bîre gelmez*".

decided to reply these letters, and send presents to İstanbul.⁶⁶ Precious presents were prepared in the Netherlands to be sent for the Sultan, for the Viziers, and for other dignitaries at the Porte such as the Şeyhülislam, and the *Defterdar*. Among the presents: velvet, satin, silk clothes, chairs, porcelains, maps, and various other materials.⁶⁷ The gifts included a globe in Ottoman characters and *Atlas Major* by Janszon Blaeu.⁶⁸ Another important present was strategic naval maps. Haga presented these maps, which the Dutch carefully kept out of the hands of other European states.⁶⁹ It was a clear sign of the Dutch Republic's intention to establish a close relationship between two countries not restricted by commercial activities only.⁷⁰ These maps must have influenced the positive attitude of the higher authorities towards the Netherlands and granting of the Dutch capitulations. The expression of goodwill, and obedience were necessary

⁶⁶ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 261: "19 September 1612. Is gelesen reecker memorie, overgegeven bij Lamberto Verhaer, bij den orateur Haga alhier gesonden, mette latest deperche van Constantinopolen, vermanende H.H.M. ten eynde de brieven van den Grooten Heere soudan beantwoort ende de presenten besorcht ende gereetgemacht die in de voorschreven memorie staen gespecificeert voor den Grooten Heere ende de bassa etc".

⁶⁷ For the full inventory of the presents, see Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 266-274, "Inventaris van de Goederen ende Presenten Aan Den Grooten Heer Ende De Bassas".

⁶⁸ This atlas was later translated on the order of Sultan Mehmed IV by Ed-Dımeşkî in 1685. It is available in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Bagdad Section No: 325-333. For detailed information on this subject, see Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Batı Bilimi ve Osmanlı Dünyası: Bir İnceleme Örneği Olarak Modern Astronominin Osmanlı'ya Girişi", *Belleter*, LVI (1992) p 739.

⁶⁹ Ben Slot, and Annelies Abelmann, *Osmanlılar ve Hollandalılar*, İstanbul: Unilever, 1990, p 8.

⁷⁰ B. Arı, *Conflicts According to the "Felemenk Ahdnâme Defteri"*, p 17.

for Ottoman diplomatic practice.⁷¹ The first lines of every *'ahdnâme* clearly defined these points. In return, the ruler binds himself to guarantee *amân*, which was confirmed by an *'ahdnâme*, "covenant," under the oath, *'ahd*.⁷²

The presents were loaded onto a ship and sent to Istanbul. The ship would arrive early in 1613. Haga had mentioned in his letter, dated 1 Zilhicce 1021 / 23 January 1613 to Halil Paşa, that the ship laden with presents was expected to reach Istanbul soon, and Haga requested that no one should interfere with the delivery.⁷³ Since all the goods exported or imported were subject to customs duties, Haga requested the exemption of these presents from duties by the customs custodian. In his letter to the States General, Halil Paşa confirmed the delivery of the presents and expressed his pleasure. He also reiterated his readiness to follow the Dutch affairs within the government.⁷⁴

⁷¹ The expression of goodwill and the intention of sustaining friendly relations by the Dutch Republic was noted in the imperial letter of Sultan Ahmed I to the States General and Prince Maurice, Appendix I, document 77: "*nâme-i muhabbet-mashûbuñuz vârid olub mazmûnunda Devlet-i Aliyyemize mücerred muhabbet ve meveddet dostluk levâzımı zuhûruna niyet ve akzâ-yı murâdıñız kendiñüzü ihlâs-i ehibba-yı Devlet-i Aliyyemizden ma'dûd bilüb kemâl-i hulûs ve muhabbet mücebince sülûk ve hareketde sâbit-kadem ve tarîk-i ihlas ve meveddetde râsih-dem olmak ve ahdnâme-i hümâyun inâyet ve erzânî kılınmak ricâ ve iltimâs edüb*".

⁷² Halil Inalcık, "İmtiyâzât", *EF*, p 1179.

⁷³ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 22: "*Benim saâdetlü ve 'izzetlü sultânım, zikr olunan Netherlanda gemisinde tahmîl ve vârid olan bazı tuhâf ve hedâyâ ki efendilerime Üştâdı Ceneralleri hedâyâ için göndermişlerdir. Vâsil olduklarında gerek emin Murad çavuşdan ve gayrısından bir ferde dahi ü ta'arruz olunmayub aynı ile bu bendelerine gönderilmek bâbında müekked emr-i şerîf ricâsına himmet buyurula*".

⁷⁴ ARA, Staten Generaal, 1.01.08 / 12593.20: "*Bu tarafa irsâl olunan tuhâf ve hedâyâñuz elçiñüz yedinden gelüb vâsil oldu. Müstedâm-i ömr olasız. Min ba'd dahi rûşen-i hıdmetiñüzde makdûrumuz masrûfdur*".

Then all the Porte's procedures were completed for Haga's diplomatic status. He was fully accredited ambassador of the United Provinces at the Porte. Nevertheless, his other colleagues in Istanbul did not want to admit Haga into their cycle. They all thought that the Dutch capitulations would be abolished in one way or another, and he would be sent back to the Netherlands. For this reason, at the initial stage his colleagues did not accept Haga at equal rank. The existing residential ambassadors demonstrated negative attitude against Haga in many occasions.

On 5 September 1612, when the envoy of the Hungarian king, Andreas Negron, approached the city all ambassadors in Istanbul would receive him three miles out of the city, together with the *çavuşbaşı* and thirty *çavuşs*.⁷⁵ The English ambassador Paul Pindar declined to join the ceremony. In his opinion there would probably be a dispute among the ambassadors on the issue of precedence. He thought the Dutch ambassador should be behind the other ambassadors at the Porte.⁷⁶ According to Pindar, even the status of the United Provinces among other states was under discussion. Nevertheless, despite all these difficulties, Haga would be able to reinforce his position at the Porte. At the end of 1613, when Halil Paşa was appointed Grand Admiral for the second time,

⁷⁵ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 281: "Op den vijfden ditto September is een heer Andreas Negron, ambassadeur van den coninck van Hongaria, tot Constantinopoli gearriveert, sijnde ontret een half we sijdens buyten de stadt bejegent van den siaus bassi, geaccompagneert tachtich siaussen, behalven oock jegens ende ingehoelt van alle de secretarisien ende suyte van de Christienschē ambassadeurs".

⁷⁶ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 258, from *CSP, Foreign, Turkey*, 7: "The French, Polish, Venetian, anf Fflemmmish sent, butt myselfe thoughte best to omit that complymente to avoid occasion of quarrel about precedence. The Fflemminge challengeth place before the Venice bailo; verrie ignorantly in my opinion because the state of Venice hath kingdoms in dmyinion but the States of the Low Countreyes have not yet found out the qualitie of their tenure".

he would have a more powerful status within the government. In 1616, Halil Paşa was appointed to the highest position of the Ottoman state: Grand Vizier. Until April 1628, Halil Paşa would occupy the position of Grand Admiralty for the third time, and the Grand Vizierate for the second time. When Halil Paşa died on 5 August 1629, Haga would lose his protector and one of his best friends in Istanbul.⁷⁷

C. Haga's Dragoman Paul Antonio Bon

From the first day of his arrival to Istanbul, Paul Antonio Bon was close to Haga. Halil Paşa had appointed his dragoman Bon to assist Haga. Bon, always with Haga, initially facilitated Haga's affairs. Halil Paşa conveyed all the necessary information and the secret correspondence to Haga through Antonio Bon. Bon knew all confidential information about the developments of Dutch affairs among the Viziers within the Ottoman government. Bon was also aware of the opinion of Venetian embassy on Haga and his mission at the Porte. He was one of the few people who had broad information about diplomatic developments in Istanbul. At Haga's early embassy, Bon was favorite of both Haga and Halil Paşa. But, it would soon come out that Bon had abused confidential information he carried, and his close relationship with Haga and Halil Paşa. It seems that Bon was also involved in the Dutch embassy's financial affairs. Haga was allocated a limited amount of money to carry out his mission, by the States General. But this amount was not adequate for his expenses in Istanbul. He required additional money to present gifts to the other members of the *Divan*. He was in need of

⁷⁷ For the life of Halil Paşa, see A. De Groot, "Khalil Pasha Kaysariyyeli", *EF*, (Leiden: Brill, 1971); in Turkish "Halil Paşa", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 15, (Istanbul: 1997).

money, in a short time, to realize audience with the Sultan. Haga had borrowed 3,000 ducats for the initial presents to be given to the Viziers. In a year's time, Haga had spent another 6,000 ducats for the embassy's other expenditures. Mostly Bon made all these expenditures and the sum was also paid duly to him. However, Bon later claimed that the total expenditure was not 9,000 ducats but rather more. Then, he claimed an extra 7,000 ducats for the rest of the costs. He was able to prove the amount of the expenditures with bills, vouchers, and witnesses. Haga had no chance but to pay the amount, totaling 16,000 ducats.

Those costly presents, combined with Antonio Bon's fake bills for unreal expenses put Haga into deep financial difficulty. Furthermore, Paulo Bon could get letters of advice from certain statesmen in Istanbul and went to the Netherlands to demand extra money. Under these circumstances, Halil Paşa wrote a letter to the States General regarding Bon's character and actions, and warned them not to believe Bon if he tried to request anything.⁷⁸ Informed of the situation, the States General complained about Bon in their letter to Vizier Mehmed Paşa, dated July 26, 1614. Actually, the States General intended to write it directly to the Sultan, but he gave up the idea so as to raise the issue to an official dispute.⁷⁹ But it seems that both Halil Paşa and the States General

⁷⁸ Original of the letter, ARA, Staten Generaal, 1.01.08/12593.20; for another copy see Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 131: "*Mesâlihîñüze mukaddemâ karışan Venediklü Pavlo bon nâm habîs ve hîlekâr, kendü zimmetleri üzere ... bu muhibbiñizü dahî utandırmışdır*".

⁷⁹ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 211; also see document 204: "*tercümânı olan Pavlo Bon nâm şakî hevâsına tâbî ve ba'zı eşirra ve eşkiyâ ile bundan akdem mezbûr elçimizden nice dürlü hile ve hud'a ile hıyânet ve ihânet eyleyüb hakkından gelinmek lâzım ve mühim iken müsâmaha eyleyüb mezkûr elçimize cefâ vü rencide eylemişlerdir. Hâlâ rikâb-i hümâyuna irsâl olunan nâme-i meveddetimizde husûs-i merkûmu yazub andan çekdiğimiz elâyimden bir mikdârın 'arz ü i'lâm eylemek sadedinde iken "innallâhe*

were very disturbed by Bon's behavior. Because, he knew all the secrets about Haga and Halil Paşa. Moreover, he informed all the diplomatic correspondence between the Dutch embassy and the Porte. It was an undesirable situation for both governments.

D. Efforts to Release the Dutch Slaves

As mentioned above, beyond commercial privileges to the merchants, achieving capitulations would have liberated the Dutch slaves who were kept in the North African provinces of Algeria and Tunis. The States General thought liberating Dutch slaves would be easy, and almost spontaneous. However, it took a long time with continuous correspondence between the States General, the Porte, and the viceroys of Algeria and Tunis. Haga also spent enormous efforts to free the Dutch subjects. Nevertheless, as reflected in the documents, it could not be achieved immediately. Initially, only a small minority of the Dutch slaves were released from North African provinces.

After admittance of Haga with the Sultan and just before the granting of the Dutch capitulations, Halil Paşa sent a letter to the States General and Prince Maurice to confirm the establishment of the official relationship between the Porte and the United Provinces. In that letter, Halil Paşa had promised to do his best to release Dutch slaves in Tunis and Algeria.⁸⁰ Soon after granting capitulations, the

me'assâbirîn" deyu ferâgat edüb Âsitâne-i sa'âdet'e olan 'arz ü meveddet ve ihlâsımızı dîr ü dilden kemâl-i hakikat ve sadâkat üzere idüğünü belki Hak te'âlâ kalb-i şeriflerine i'lâm eyleye ki icrâ-yı hak eyleye".

⁸⁰ ARA, Staten Generaal, 1.01.08 / 12593.11: "Cezâyir ve Tunus vesâyir Memâlik-i Mahrûse'de bulunan esirleriñüzün itlâkı husûsunda dahî kemâl mertebe sa'y-i ihtimâm olunub halâs eylemek mukarrerdir, ve şimden soñra gelüb giden gemileriñüze hiçbir

Sultan also emphasized, in his imperial letter to the Statés General and Prince Maurice, that he had issued imperial decrees all over the Ottoman dominions for the release of the Dutch slaves.⁸¹ The case was also indicated in the relevant articles of the Dutch capitulations.⁸² The Dutch merchants would no more be enslaved, and the existing Dutch slaves would be enfranchised without any ransom. Imperial decrees had already been sent by Sultan Ahmed I, dated Evâil-i Rebiülevvel 1021 / May 2-11, 1612, to the viceroys of Tunis, Algeria, and Tripoli to inform them of the Ottoman – Dutch friendship and the release of the Dutch slaves there.⁸³

All these correspondence with the viceroys of North African provinces, and the commanders of the Janissaries there proved any result. The only solution was to send a special envoy to Tripoli, Tunis and Algeria to achieve the release of the Dutchmen.⁸⁴ Halil Paşa consented to this plan and designated a learned man, *Müteferrika* Ömer Aga, and dragoman Giacomo Belegno to accompany him. Two of them would travel to North African provinces. Halil Paşa had written

kimesne dahl ü ta'arruz ve rencîde ve remîde eylememek bâbında dahî kapudanlara, beğlere vesâir zâbitlere muhkem tenbîh ve te'kîd etdürülmek muhakkaktır”.

⁸¹ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 77: “*Memâlik-i Mahrûsemizde vâki’ olan esirleriñüzü halâs ve itlâk olunması bâbında fermân-i şerîfimiz sâdir olmağla inâyet olunan ahdnâme-i hümâyunumuzda aynı ile meşrûh ve mukayyed olunmuşdur*”.

⁸² Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 72: “*korsanlar Nederlanda’ya tâbi’ tüccâra rast geldikde esîr eylemeyüb ve malların gâret eylemeyeler, bu husûsa rızâ-yı şerîfim yokdur. Nederlanda’ya tâbi’ olan vilâyetlerden esîr olurlar ise itlâk olunub malları bî-kusûr verile*”; A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 239.

⁸³ See Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), documents 16, 17, and 18.

⁸⁴ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 125.

letters⁸⁵ to the viceroys and requested the delivery of Dutch slaves to Ömer Aga. The Sultan also issued imperial decrees⁸⁶ to be conveyed by Ömer Aga.

Ömer Aga and the dragoman sailed first to Tunis from Istanbul on 29 August 1612.⁸⁷ Ambassador Haga had also written letters to the viceroys of Tunis and Algeria requesting the release of the Dutch slaves. A copy of the recently granted Dutch capitulations was given to Ömer Aga as well. In his letter to the viceroys of Tunis, Suleyman Paşa, the viceroy of Algeria and the commanders of the Janissaries there, Halil Paşa informed them of the residential status of Cornelis Haga as the Dutch ambassador, and his personal efforts on this matter.

He reminded the friendly attitude of the Netherlands towards the Porte and their release of numerous Muslim slaves when they captured Spanish galleys. Halil Paşa then requested the release of the Dutch slaves there, to reciprocate the gesture made by the Dutch. Halil Paşa concluded that in case the Dutch slaves were released, he would be saved from being embarrassed vis-à-vis the Dutch ambassador in Istanbul.⁸⁸ The day before the departure of Ömer Aga for

⁸⁵ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 159.

⁸⁶ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), documents 157, and 158.

⁸⁷ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 280: "Op den 27 dito heb affgevaerdicht een Homer Aga, sijnde mutafaraca, dat is van de voorneempse in de swyte van den Heer Challil bassa, benefens eenen Giacomo Belegno, trageman, die op den 29 dito, in den name Godts, soo met commandementen van G.S. als oock seer favorable bryven van Challil bassa aen den bassas van Tunis, Argiers, Tripoli de Barbaria".

⁸⁸ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 159: "Flandra tayifesinüñ mustakıl elçileri hâlâ sâir krallarun elçileri gibi Galata'da hıdmet-i risâlet ile oturmuşdur. ... İmdî benüm karındaşım, bu tâife Venediklü gibi değildir, ve ehl-i İslâm ile kadîmî muhibbî oldukları ve İspanya kadırgalarından binden mütecâviz Müselman esirlerin itlâ eyledikleri zâhiren mesmû'-i şerîfiñüz olmuşdur, bunlar kâfirlik ile bu denlû Müselman âzâd edüb, bize hod vâcib ve lâzımdır ki, gayret-i dîn-i İslâm için her kande ise istemedin âzâd etmektir ki, bu bahâne ile tâife-i mezbûre dahî nice nice menâfi' ve eyilükler müşâhede olunacaktır. ...

North Africa, Halil Paşa wrote a letter to the States General to inform them about the situation. In his letter, dated Receb 1,1021 / August 28, 1612, Halil Paşa indicated that he was spending great efforts personally for the Dutch affairs at the Porte, and when Ömer Aga reached Tunis and Algeria, the Dutch slaves would be released.⁸⁹

Ömer Aga made contacts in Tunis and Algeria. From Tunis he could save about eighteen Dutch, mostly old and sick, and from Algeria almost no one.⁹⁰ From there, Ömer Aga first passed to France and then to the Low Countries. In Antwerp, Spanish authorities put him into prison on suspicion of an Ottoman - Dutch alliance. He could only be released with the assistance of the States General, and he eventually reached The Hague. Ömer Aga returned to Istanbul in June 1614 after two years of traveling.⁹¹

The first official attempt for the release of the Dutch slaves in North Africa remained unsuccessful. The Sultan had to confess that Ömer Aga's attempts proved unsuccessful. The Sultan added, in his imperial letter to the States General, that imperial decrees would be sent to Algeria and Tunis to reiterate the release of Dutch slaves. This imperial letter was dated Evâil-i Rebûlevvel 1024 /

Benüm karındaşım, bu tarafda her kimin tâife-i mezbûrların esirleri bulunmuş ise cümle itlâk etdirilmişdir. Bu bâbda olan ricâmuz dutulub tâife-i mezkûrenûñ ol tarafda bulunan esirleri itlâk olunmasına dikkat buyurula ki, elçi yanında hicâbdan halâs oluruz”.

⁸⁹ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 160; original copy at ARA, Staten Generaal 1.01.08 / 12593.12: “Biz bu tarafda her hırdmetiñüze mümkün olduđu mertebe sa’y ü ikdâm etmek üzereyiz. Pâdişâhımız esirleriñüz her kande bulunursa âzâd olunması bâbında emr-i şerif inâyet eyleyüb ve tarafızdan Tunus ve Cezâyir beğlerine mektûblar yazub âdemimiz Ömer Ağa ile göndermişizdir”.

⁹⁰ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 126.

⁹¹ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 128.

March 31 - April 9, 1615.⁹² Haga petitioned Halil Paşa to request the release of the Dutch subjects. Haga complained about the Algerian viceroy's reluctance, accusing him of taking 10 % for each slave and goods captured by the corsairs.⁹³

The Haga's petition to the Deputy – Grand Vizier Ahmed Paşa reflected the hostile attitude of the Viceroy of Algeria. The Viceroy of Algeria even threatened the States General's envoy claiming that the Algerian corsairs would capture the Dutch ships but not enslave them. Haga requested imperial decrees to be sent to prevent Algerian corsairs from attacking Dutch ships.⁹⁴ Actually, the States General and Haga believed that the Grand Vizier Nasuh Paşa did not want to spend any effort to release the Dutch slaves. In their opinion, the Dutch capitulations was granted at a time while he was away from Istanbul as commander-in-chief at the expedition to Iran.⁹⁵ The States General, in their letter,

⁹² Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 32; Original copy at ARA, Staten Generaal, 1.01.08 / 12593.25: "*Tunus ve Cezâyir'de bulunan esirleri halâs etmek için evâmîr-i şerîfe ile kapum kullarından Ömer irsâl olunub Tunus ve Cezâyir'de Nederalandalu'dan yüzden ziyâde esir var iken ancak onsekiz nefer halâs olub ma'dâsı halas olmamışdır. Mukaddemâ inâyet olunan ahdnâme-i hümâyun mucibince Tunus'da ve Cezâyir'de bâkî kalan esirler itlâk etdirülmek ricâ ve iltimas edüb ... istid'ânız üzere murâdâtınız hayr-i kabûlde vâki' olmağla fermân-i kazâ-cereyânımız mucibince Tunus ve Cezâyir'de olan esirerinizün halâsına evâmîr-i şerîfe inâyet olunmuşdur*".

⁹³ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 186: "*Ammâ Cezâyir Beğlerbeğisi varan evâmîr-i şerîfeye itâat eylemeyüb gemilerimizi girift ve âdemlerimizi esîr eylemekden hâlî değillerdir, pâdişâhın düşmanlarına nice ederler ise Nederalandalulara dahî böyle ederler. Cezâyir korsanları getirdükleri esbâb ve âdemlerin her onunda bir esir aldığu ecilden korsanlığa icâzet verür*".

⁹⁴ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 195: "*Ammâ Cezâyir beğlerbeğisi pâdişâhın hatt-i hümâyunlarına 'amel etmeyüb dedi ki: 'benim murâdım budur ki, sizün gemilerinizü satar, düşman gemilerini nice alınırsa sizün dahî eyle alırız, ammâ âdemlerinizü esîr etmeyelüm' deyu cevâb vermişdir*".

⁹⁵ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 209: "*Sadrâzam Nasuh Paşa hazretleri, arz-i ihlâs ve sadâkatımız zamân-i şerîflerinde müyesser kılınmayub mübârek yed-i*

made the same complaint to the Deputy – Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa, dated July 26, 1614.⁹⁶ During Haga's diplomatic contacts after his arrival to Istanbul, Nasuh Paşa was away from the capital. He returned in September 1612, three months after the grant of Dutch capitulations.

Nasuh Paşa had a strong character. He was appointed to the Grand Vizierate after he poisoned Kuyucu Murad Paşa. Since Nasuh Paşa had become a charismatic statesman, as commander-in-chief and the Grand Vizier he was not on good terms with many people at the Porte when he returned from the Iran campaign in September 1612. All the deliberations for granting Dutch capitulations had happened during Nasuh Paşa's absence. He was a vicious enemy of Şeyhülislam Hocaşade Mehmed Efendi, who consented to and favored granting the Dutch capitulations.⁹⁷ Nasuh Paşa disliked these developments, and as soon as he returned, he attempted to cancel the Dutch capitulations.⁹⁸ However, his efforts to nullify Haga's diplomatic status and Dutch capitulations proved fruitless. The protection of Halil Paşa and the Deputy – Grand Vizier Hadım Mehmed Paşa secured the Dutch presence in the Ottoman Empire.

şerifleriñüzden erzânî kılunmak ile katında hoş olmayub iltifat ve nazar-i şeriflerinden dûr olmuşuzdur”.

⁹⁶ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 211: “*Velâkin hâlâ sadrazam devletlû ve sa’âdetlû Nasuh Paşa hazretleri zikr olunan akîdet ve ihlâs u meveddetimiz [anuñ] zaman-i şeriflerinde müyesser olunmamak ile katında hoş gelmeyüb ahdnâme-i hümâyunda olan uhûd ve kuyûdları icrâ ve ri’âyet eylemeyüb Memâlik-i Mahrûse’de olan esirlerimizi halâs ve itlâklarına izn ü icâzet vermediklerinden gayri Âsitâne-i sa’âdet’de olan bizim müstakıl ve doğru hayr-hâh elçimizi rencîde olunub”.*

⁹⁷ İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol 3, p 261.

⁹⁸ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 209: “*Hâlâ sadrazam ‘izzetlû ve sa’âdetlû Nasuh Paşa hazretleri Asitâne-i sa’âdete ‘azîmet buyurduklarında zikr olunan nâme-i hümâyunu fesh etdirilmeğî icrâ ve sıyânetinde sa’âdetlû sultanımuñ bez-i hamiyetlerün sarf eyleyüb bazı ashab-i ağrâzımızın fikr-i fâsidlerin zuhûra getirilmeyüb mahcûb ve mağbûn kalmışlardur”.*

To settle the dispute of the Dutch slaves held in Algeria, Halil Paşa had organized a meeting in Istanbul with the participation of the Dutch ambassador Cornelis Haga, the Viceroy of Algeria Süleyman Paşa, and the commanders of the Janissary corps in Algeria. In the session, both sides took oaths not to attack each other on the high seas nor to capture their ships. Moreover, the Algerian local commanders promised to obey the Sultan's imperial decrees. The Viceroy Süleyman Paşa and other commanders signed the declaration dated Evâsıt-i C. evvel 1026 / May 17-26, 1617.⁹⁹

In that session, both sides had settled the process of peaceful relationship by the Ottoman and the Dutch ships when they crossing the high seas. Both sides would fire guns for salutation, and the Dutch would present the certificate sealed and signed letter of Prince Maurice.¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately, the meeting called

⁹⁹ Leiden University, OR 1228, (Appendix 2): "vezîr-i âsaf-nazîr ve müşîr-i müşteri-tedbîr sipahsalâr-i gâziyân-i kişver-gîr Halil Paşa hazretlerinüñ huzûr-i 'izzetlerinde Üstâdı Ceneralleri câniblerinden olan elçi-i mezbûr Kornelyo Haga muvâcehesinde bi'l-fi'il Cezâyir beğlerbeğisi olan Süleyman Paşa ile Cezâyir cânibinden gelen Ocak ihtiyarları ve yayabaşları ve kul ağaları ile mâ'an gelüb şöyle takfîr eylediler ki, eyâlet-i mezbûrede olan eğer kul ağalarıdır ve yayabaşlar ve odabaşlar ve sâir neferât ve derya yüzünde gezen Cezâyirli tarafından ahd ü şart ederüz ki mümâileyhim Üstâdı Cenerallerinün deryâda gezen gemilerine ve içinde olan bâzirganlarına ve re'âyâlarına ve emti'â ve esbâblarına min ba'd Cezâyir'e beğlerbeği olanlardan ve deryâda gezen Cezâyirli tarafından bir vechile ta'addî ve tecâvüz ve zarar ve güzend erişdirilmeye".

¹⁰⁰ Leiden University, OR 1228, (Appendix 2): "deryâda gezen gemileriñüz, anlarıñ gemilerine rast geldiklerinde, Niderlanda bayrağın gördüklerinde beru tarafdand boş tupun atub anlar ile işâretleşüb ba'dehû anlar dahî selam topun atub ve ri'âyeten telenketelerün indürüb selamlaşduktan soñra kendü cânibimizden sandal ile birkaç mu'temed âdem gönderüb mümâileyhim Üstâdı Ceneralleriniñ berr ü bahrda hâkimleri olan kıdveti'l-ümerâi'l-milleti'l-Mesihyye Konte Maversiyu'nun mühürlü mektubun, gemi reisleri ve zâbitleri gösterdikden soñra gemiñizde harbî kefere âdemleri ve metâ'ları vardur deyu min ba'd yoklanmayub ve gemilerinden ol bahâne ile esbâb ve akçadan bir nesne alınmayub bir vechile dahl ü tecâvüz olunmaya ve min ba'd eyâlet-i Cezâyir'de

by Halil Paşa could not settle the dispute. Although ten years had passed since the granting of capitulations, the slaves in Algeria were not released. The Viceroy of Algeria sent a letter to the Porte, dated 1 Zilhicce 1031 / 7 October 1622, indicating that the Algerian corsairs and the Janissaries in Algeria were all obedient to the Sultan's decrees. However, the Viceroy went on, the friendly relationship should be based on reciprocal goodwill. Certain Dutch pirates had enslaved Algerian Muslims and sold them in Malta. The local commanders in Algeria claimed that, unless the Muslim captives were not returned, the Dutch slaves in Algeria would not be released.¹⁰¹

No records could be coincided about the release of any such Dutch slaves in Algeria, Tunis and Tripoli. The perception of reciprocity resulted with the sustainment of Dutch slaves in North Africa for such a long time. The fate of Dutchmen seems to be obscure. Indeed, the case has a long history. Both sides had previously engaged in privateering activities. Even at the registers of

Nederlandalu'nun âdemlerin ve esbâblarun ve gemilerin satdurmayub hiçbir vechile kimesneye rencîde ve remîde etdirilmeye”.

¹⁰¹ ARA, Staten Generaal, 1.01.08 / 12578.16, (Appendix 3): “*Merhûm Süleyman Paşa zamân-i şerifinde sene yirmi altı ba'de elf tarihinde İstanbul'da Dîvân-i âlfide vezîr-i a'zam huzûrunda mahrûse-i Cezâyir ağalarımızdan ve yayabaşlarımızdan Kapudan Paşa önünde kavî-i karâr ve ahd-i emân olunmuşdur. Ol vech üzere Felemek tâifesinden bir ferd esîr gemisine komayub konsulunun eline teslim eylesiz deyu cevâb eylemişsiz. ... Lâkin bazı Felemenk haramzâdelerinden şimdiki halde bir nice neferimiz esîr edüb Malta cezîresinde bey' edüb kayd ü bend ile esîr ve hakîr olmağın asâkir-i mansûre tarafından dahî cevâb eyleyeler ki “zîkr olunan Müselman esirlerimiz Malta'dan gelmeyince, bundaki olan Felemenk esirleri varmasun” deyu emr olunmuşdur, ve bu ahd üzere dahî âdemiñüz ile kavî-i karâr olunmuşdur”.*

Felemenk Defteri,¹⁰² dated 1091 / 1680, there are records about enslavement and captivity.¹⁰³

E. Halil Paşa and the Dutch Trade in the Levant

The main purpose of all these efforts to establish an official diplomatic relationship: to provide a peaceful environment for Dutch merchants throughout Ottoman dominions. Until the grant of Dutch capitulations, their merchants were under the protection of either French or English ambassadors at the Porte. They had to pay the consuleage fee, *cottimo*, to these ambassadors. Furthermore, in case of any conflict with local authorities or with the Ottoman subjects, Dutch merchants had to apply either French or English embassies. It also seemed controversial that in early Seventeenth Century, Dutch ships could sail as far as Indian Ocean, thousands of miles from the Low Countries, but had to fly foreign flags in the Levant. The Dutch were now enthusiastic to sail the Levant under their own flag.

When Dutch capitulations were granted, no obstruction remained to increase the volume of trade between the two countries. Within the same year, the Venetian ambassador in England, Antonio Foscarini, reported in his dispatch, dated December 21, 1612 that the Dutch trade in the Levant was growing rapidly. He added that "*only a few days ago 9 ships laden with silk, cotton, and other rich*

¹⁰² *Felemenk Ahdnâme Defteri*, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, *Düvel-i Ecnebiyye Defterleri*, No: 21.

¹⁰³ For the release of the Dutch slaves and the prohibition of subject enslavement, see Bülent Arı, *Conflicts Between the Dutch Merchants and the Ottoman Local Authorities According to the Felemenk Ahdnâme Defteri, Dated 1091/ 1680*, unpublished M.A. thesis, Bilkent University, 1996, p 51, Articles 2, 17; document 34, p 83; document 56, p 88.

merchandise of great value have arrived, besides the 6 ships which came in little earlier with the good fortune of a quiet passage and large gains."¹⁰⁴

In the first decade of the 17th century, Dutch ships had penetrated more intensively into the Levantine ports. Chief merchants were native Hollanders who sought new commercial opportunities in the Ottoman Empire. In this early period Dutch trade in the Levant had chiefly an import character, in which merchants exchanged specie for silk, cotton, angora wool, camel hair (mohair), currants, and many other exotic commodities. This unbalanced nature of Dutch shipping in the Mediterranean provided surplus cargo space, and consequently enabled them to compete easily with the Venetians and the Genoese in intra-Mediterranean carrying trade. Dutch ships navigated everywhere in the Levantine ports. Once Dutch ships had exchanged northern manufactures for silver at Seville or Cádiz, the empty hulls could be filled with Spanish salt and wool for sale in Spanish and Italian cities or in Istanbul. Then the specie acquired in Spain could be used in the Levant for purchasing goods destined for the Amsterdam market. Through this traffic all over the Mediterranean, Dutch vessels not only enjoyed low operating costs, but also low opportunity costs, and penetrated into the regional carrying trade.¹⁰⁵

Halil Paşa (like many ambassadors) was aware of the superiority of Dutch shipping over all other nations. The United Provinces was in its "Golden Age", and foundation of official representation at the Porte would immediately increase the volume of Dutch trade in the Levant. That is why English, French, and

¹⁰⁴ CSP, Venice, XII, p 463.

¹⁰⁵ Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), p 380.

Venetian representatives had spent extraordinary efforts to prevent the Dutch from trading under their own flag. On the eve of the granting of Dutch capitulations, the Venetian ambassador in England had feared that as the Dutch began to trade throughout the Mediterranean, they would absorb all the traffic. They were content with moderate gains, their ships were light, and they did not cost half of what English ships cost, thus they could offer half of the freight charges that of an English ship.¹⁰⁶

Halil Paşa did his best personally to promote the Dutch and facilitated their penetration into the Ottoman ports. It must be noticed that rather than the date of the capitulations,¹⁰⁷ the date of Haga's audience¹⁰⁸ with the Sultan was considered as inaugurating an official relationship between the two countries. So, the Porte concluded that from Rebiülevvel 1,1201 / May 2, 1612 onwards, the consulate fee to be paid by the Dutch merchants belonged to the Dutch consul. The amount collected in the meantime by the French consuls should be returned to the Dutch consul. In this respect, dragoman Abraham was sent to Aleppo at the accompany of a *kapıcıbaşı* from the Seraglio with letters from *Şeyhülislam* and the *kapıcılar kethüdası*.¹⁰⁹

In his correspondence, Haga talked about Halil Paşa's confidential and close cooperation. When Halil Paşa was in Edirne in early 1613, Haga had

¹⁰⁶ CSP, Venice, XII, p 333-334.

¹⁰⁷ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 72, Evâil-i C. evvel, 1021 / 30 June – 9 July 1612.

¹⁰⁸ 1 Rebiülevvel 1201 / May 2,1612, the next day after audience.

¹⁰⁹ See Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), documents 89, 90, 95, 98, 99.

written a letter to him, confessing how much he missed the Paşa and that he had no close friend other than Halil Paşa.¹¹⁰

As time passed, Haga was identified with close friendship of Halil Paşa at the Porte. In the official correspondence as well, his sympathy for Haga was clear. For instance, in Sultan Osman II's imperial decree to the kadı of Gallipoli, dated Evâsıt-i Şaban 1027 / April 3-12, 1618, (while Halil Paşa was Grand Vizier) the close friendship between the Dutch ambassador and Halil Paşa was emphasized and it was stated that he should be protected in all respects.¹¹¹ In his letter to the States General, dated Receb 1, 1021 / August 28, 1612, Halil Paşa promised that he would do his best to enhance the Dutch affairs at the Porte.¹¹² For instance, when one of the Dutch merchants, Erico Flamenko, traveled to Aleppo for trade, Halil Paşa wrote a letter to the Viceroy of Aleppo and requested that all kinds of facilities should be provided to him. Halil Paşa particularly emphasized that the Dutch ambassador was his close friend.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 22: "*Benim 'izzetlü sultânım rıfat ile bu cânıbden azîmet buyuraldan beru bir mertebe firkat çekerim ki Hazret-i Mevlâ bilür. Bu hayr-hâh bendeleri evvel hazret-i yâri teâlâ, sonra saadetlü sultanumdan gayrı mu'în ve mesnedim yokdur. Bu diyârlarun bir garîbi olub izdiyâd-i ômr-i devlet ve terakki-i 'izz ü rıfat ile 'avdet-i şerîflerin an-karîb Rabbü'l-'izzet erzânî ve müyesser kılıvere deyü rûz ü şeb tazarru ve niyâz eylemekden hâlf olmaduğumu iştiyâ-i şerîf buyurulmaya*".

¹¹¹ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 86: "*Nederlanda elçisi kadîmden sahib-i devlet hazretleriñ dostu olub her vechile himâyet ve sıyânet olunması lâzım olmuşdur*".

¹¹² Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 160: "*Biz bu tarafda her hidmetiñüze mümkün olduđu mertebe dâmen-der-miyân edüb sa'y ü ikdâm ve cidd ü ihtimam etmek üzereyüz. Hidmetiñüz canımıza minnetdür*".

¹¹³ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 152: "*Felemenk beğlerinñ dostluklarına bu muhibb-i hâlis bi'l-bâlleri bâis olub bu hayr-hâhlıkda illet-i müstakile olmuşdur. Hâliyâ mezkûr Felemek elçisi ziyâde dostumuz ve çırağımız olub Haleb diyârına Eriko Flamenko nâm bâzirgan revâne olub ticâret murâd etmekle cenâb-i şerîfiñüzle mâbeynimizde olan muhabbet ve kulluk ecliğün mektûb râğib olmağın mezkûr Eriko bâzirgânunñ üzerinden*

His efforts were directed at establishing an institutionalized Dutch commercial network all around the Ottoman ports in the Levant. To facilitate the commercial activities of the Dutch merchants in Cyprus, Vizier Halil Paşa had written to the *kadı*, the *defterdar*, *Aga* of the Janissary corps, and the *mütesellim* (deputy governor)¹¹⁴. When he was appointed Grand Admiral for the second time in 1613, he reconfirmed his readiness to continue assisting Dutch affairs.¹¹⁵ For instance, Halil Paşa requested from the Viceroy of Aleppo, Davud Paşa, protection of the Dutch consul and Dutch merchants in Cyprus, when he became Grand Vizier in 1616.¹¹⁶ Halil Paşa worked hard to get Cornelis Pauw appointed as the Dutch consul at Aleppo. When Sultan Ahmed I received Haga, Cornelis Pauw was also present at the audience hall. Soon after the grant of capitulations, Halil Paşa wrote a letter to the States General and requested the appointment of Pauw to the position of consulate at Aleppo. According to Halil Paşa, Cornelis Pauw had close affiliations among the Viziers at the Porte. Those affiliations would benefit the Dutch affairs at Aleppo in many respects. His insistence and promise of personal assistance was influential appointing Pauw as the Dutch

nazar-ı şerifîñüz mebzûl ve bi-dirîğ buyurulub eğer gümrük husûsudur ve eğer sâir mesâlihdir, mu'âvenet ve müzâheret buyurulub ... bir ferde rencide ve remide etdirmeyüb".

¹¹⁴ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), documents 177, 178, 179, and 180.

¹¹⁵ ARA, Staten Generaal, 1.01.08 / 12593.21: "*Pâdişâhımız kapudanlık hıdmetini gerü bu muhibbirñüze tefvîe edüb eğer gemileriñüzün ve eğer bâzırganlarıñuzuñ himâyeti husûsudur, elimizde olub mümkün olanı kendimiz görüb her hıdmetiñüze sa'y u ikdâm olunur*".

¹¹⁶ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 205: "*Flamenk elçisi kendü çırağımız olub Asitâne-i sa'âdet-medârın hülûsu üzere bendelerinden olmağla, cezîre-i Kıbrıs'da olan konsolos ve tüccarları üzerinden hüsn-i nazırların dirîğ buyurulmayub vâki' olan husûslarına mu'âvenet ve müzâheretiñüz için işbu mektûb irsâl olunmuşdur*".

consul at Aleppo.¹¹⁷ Initially, the States General might have no idea of appointing Pauw to the Dutch consulate in Aleppo. It is greatly probable that by suggesting Pauw, Halil Paşa planned to secure appointment of a strong personality at Aleppo. Aleppo was an important center for Indian transit trade. However, as a result of monopoly of the United Dutch East India Company (VOC) over spice trade, Aleppo lost its importance by 1630. Indian spice trade had then shifted to Atlantic route. In the Mediterranean, the major Levantine exports port was Izmir (Smyrna).

Assistance of Halil Paşa would not only realize the establishment of official relationship, but also facilitate the penetration of the Dutch merchants into the Levant markets with stronger legal status.

¹¹⁷ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 172: "*Rayiniyir Pavlo (Reiniersz Pauw) nâm beğniñ oğlu Kornele Pav (Cornelis Pauw) ulu beğzâdelerden olmağla 'hatırımuz içün ziyâde ri'âyet eylesiz' deyu iltimas eylemişsiz. ... kendü oğlumuz gibi görüb me'mûlûñüzden ziyâde 'azîm ri'âyet ve rağbet edüb hattâ elçiñüz rikâb-i hümâyuna yüz sürdükde, elçiñizün ardınca mûmâileyh beğzâde yüz sürüb sâir beğzâdelerden tercîh ve takdîm olunmuşdur. Hâlâ Haleb vilâyetinde olan konsolosluk hıdmetinde bunun gibi beğzâde olmak lâyıkdır. Haleb'de olan konsolosluğu mûmâileyh beğzâdeye verüb gayrı kimesneye vermeyesiz. Ricâmızı kabûl eylesiz. Zirâ mûmâileyh beğzâde bu câñibde vûzerâ-yı 'izâm ve a'yân-i devlet ile tamam mertebe dostluk ve âşinâlık hâsıl etmişdir. Size dahî bunun konsolos olması nâfi'dür*".

CHAPTER VI

DUTCH TRADE IN THE LEVANT

A. Nasuh Paşa and the Dutch Capitulations

The granting of capitulations was the most important legal threshold for free trade of the Dutch merchants in the Levant. This threshold was successfully overcome with the extraordinary efforts of Halil Paşa. The attempts of the Venetian *bailo* and the French ambassador had been eliminated. Their possible cooperation with the decisive makers and the influential authorities at the Porte was neutralized. Even after the granting of the Dutch capitulations, there was a danger of canceling it. It was legally possible because the Dutch capitulations, by nature, was not a bilateral treaty but rather a unilateral document, granted by the Sultan to other nations. Capitulations were issued in the form of *berat*, diploma that bind the Sultan only. Legally, the Sultan had the right to cancel or suspend capitulations whenever he wishes, or see any behavior contrary to the articles, stated in it. Furthermore, as all *berats*, the capitulations also lose its validity with the death of the Sultan. It has to be renewed, or the new Sultan should approve its validity.

The rivals of the Netherlands and of Haga were hopeful to convince the Sultan, in consultation with the Viziers, to break his oath. In this regard, those rivals needed the assistance of senior authorities at the Porte. Halil Paşa was aware of the imminent peril on the status of Haga and the Dutch capitulations.

For this reason, although Haga was planning to return¹ soon after the attainment of the capitulations, Halil Paşa did not consent his immediate return.² If Haga returned soon, the Dutch capitulations would remain only on paper. There would be no senior Dutch representative to follow the rights granted by the Sultan. It might be very late until the States General appointed a new ambassador.

When the Sultan granted the capitulations, the only chance to cancel it for the adversaries of Haga was the negative attitude of Grand Vizier Nasuh Paşa, who returned from the Persian campaign in September.³ Nasuh Paşa was victorious and able to bring the Persian envoy accompanying him to the capital, on September 20, 1612.⁴ With the other higher authorities in Istanbul, Haga paid a visit to Nasuh Paşa at his tent for welcome.⁵ Haga met Nasuh Paşa at his tent

¹ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 168: "*Hemân devletü başınız için nâmemizü rikâb-i hümâyuna 'arz buyurub kalîl ve kesîr ne ise getirdiğümüz pîşkeşimizi kabûl edüb, nâmemizü yazub, 'ale't-fa'cîl kulunuzu gönderesüz inşallâhu te'âlâ*".

² ARA, Staten Generaal, 1.01.08 / 12593.11 (Appendix 6): "*hâlâ müşârünileyh elçi bu cânibde hıdmet-i mezbûrede alikonulmuşdur, zirâ bu cânibde olan Fransa ve Venedik elçileri câyiz ki soñra bir tarikle ortalığa fitne birağub "bunlar dostluk etmez" deyu bir söz söylememek için bu muhibbiñüz dahî elçinün Âsitâne-i sa'âdetde kalmasını münâsib görüb ol cânibe göndermedük*".

³ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 282: "*Op den 20 dito is den visyr Nassuff bassa 's morgens vrouch gearriveert tot Calcidonia, leggende over Constantinopoli, alwaer S.E. sijn tneten geslagen heeft, sijnde denselvigen morgen jegens gereden van den chaimacham ende alle d'andre visyren, zijnde daernaer oock besocht van de n mufti, den emier bassi, cadileshiers ende alle andre grooten van Constantinopoli*".

⁴ Nasuh Paşa brought the Iranian envoys Kadiasker Kadı Han, Muizz-i Isfahânî and Huseyn-i Yezdî, who were the kadis of Isfahan and Kezvin respectively. Together with him, the envoys brought silk worth of 200 loads as tribute, İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi*, p 257.

⁵ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 282: "*Ick heb bij dese gelegenheyt met avijs van den heer Challil bassa S.E. in sijne tenten oock besocht ende verwellecompt, sonder enige particulierediscoursen te houden, overmits de menichte van 't volck, S.E.*

for the first time. It was an official ceremony, and there was others in the meeting as well.

On September 30, 1612, Nasuh Paşa held his first divan meeting in Istanbul as Grand Vizier at the Seraglio.⁶ He was absent at the time when Dutch capitulations was granted. Because of this, the States General believed, Nasuh Paşa was against the friendly relations with the Netherlands.⁷ He was able to cancel the Dutch capitulations, but as Grand Vizier, he made no attempt to further the commercial relations between the two countries. He was indifferent to the Dutch affairs in the Levant. It was Halil Paşa who personally organized the infrastructure for the Dutch merchants in the Levant. At the initial stage, Aleppo and Cyprus were the two most important locations for the Dutch commercial activities. Halil Paşa first tried to convince the Ottoman local authorities to protect the Dutch merchants. Because, not only Venetian, English and French ambassadors in Istanbul, but also their consuls raised difficulties for the Dutch merchants. They did not recognize the status of the Dutch consuls, and continued to collect consuleage fees from Dutch merchants as well. In this respect, Dutch merchants were in need of official support of the Porte. As an influential Vizier of the imperial *Divan*, Halil Paşa provided that support. When he was appointed as Grand Admiral for the second time in 1613, Halil Paşa became

gestadelijck comende besoucken, S.E. begerende, dat met hem tot Constantinopoli met meerder commoditeyt van alles soude discoureren".

⁶ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 282: "Op den 30 dito heeft den visyr azem Nassuff bassa sijn eerste divaen ende raetdach gehouden".

⁷ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 209: "*Hâlâ sadrazam 'izzetlû ve sa'âdetlû Nasuh Paşa hazretleri Asitâne-i sa'âdete 'azîmet buyurduklarında zikr olunan nâme-i hûmâyunu fesh etdirilmeği icrâ ve sıyânetinde sa'âdetlû sultanımuñ bezl-i hamiyetlerün sarf eyleyüb bazı ashab-i aġrâzımızın fikr-i fâsidlerin zuhûra getirilmeyüb mahcûb ve maġbûn kalmışlardır".*

more influential within the Ottoman government. For a long time, both Ħaga and Dutch merchants felt his support behind them.

B. Customs Duties for Dutch Merchants

The capitulations, in Ottoman practice, were legally superior to all local and regional regulations. In this sense, it must also have had superiority over the imperial decrees and diplomas (*berats*) issued by the Sultan. At this point, certain conflicts had emerged between the local authorities and the merchants who traded within the Ottoman dominions. The Ottoman territories had been separated into various customs zones; each with its own regulation with different tax rates and practices. The customs zones were maintained as fiscal units under the *mukata'a* system. The customs custodian, *gūmrūk emini*, designated sub-contactors for smaller units. The Istanbul customs zone consisted of ports and smaller landings (*iskele*) from Varna on the Black Sea coast to Kilidūlbahr on the Gallipoli peninsula. On the Anatolian side, the Istanbul customs zone included the coast from Yoros on the Bosphorus to the province of Aydin was in. In 1477, the Istanbul customs zone was extended to Antalya, in 1482, to Sinop and Samsun.⁸

On the main caravan routes, inland customs zones were established. The caravans had to follow the officially assigned routes and paid customs duties in the customs centers *en route*. To prevent the abuses of local officials, the

⁸ Halil Inalcik, *Customs Register of Caffa*, (Harvard Univ. Press, 1995) p 81.

merchants would be handed a document called *edâ tezkiresi*, certifying that all incumbent taxes were paid duly.⁹

Thus, when Dutch merchants were granted to trade under one tariff system, (which was 3%), local customs custodians, who farmed out the customs taxes, did not consent, because, it would affect their revenues. For instance, the farmer of the customs duties in Cyprus refused to bow the reduction, claiming that he himself had farmed the duty on the basis of 5%.¹⁰ The customs duty could be reduced, only with the arbitration of the *Defterdar*, Paşa, and the other local notables in Cyprus.¹¹ The situation had caused almost a crisis within the Ottoman government. Halil Paşa had written letters to the *kadi defterdar* Aga of the Janissary corps and Deputy Viceroy (*mütesellim*) of Cyprus to emphasize the importance of the existence of the Dutch merchants in the Levant. They should be protected, and should not be oppressed, nor frightened in their activities.¹² The Viceroy of Cyprus had also written similar letters to the *defterdar*, Deputy – Viceroy, and Customs custodian in Cyprus.¹³ Almost a shuttle correspondence

⁹ Halil İnalçık, *ibid.*, p 91; for caravan routes and duties on the Iranian silk trade, see Halil İnalçık, *Customs Register of Caffa*, (Harvard Univ. Press, 1995) pp 91-92; for examples on the conflicts about the local taxes, see B. Ari, *ibid.*, document 225, p 107.

¹⁰ Niels Steensgaard, "Consuls and Nations in the Levant from 1570 to 1650", *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, vol XV, (1967), 13-55, p 18.

¹¹ Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 442 – 443: "In Cipro daer de saecke wat wichtiger is ende overmits de grootheyt van de negotien van meerder importantie, heeft den emyn seer groote resistentie gedaen, willende nae de oude usantie vijff ten hondert nemen van onse natie, allegerende, dat daerop de tollen van den G.S. gepacht hadde, in tijde als d'onse, comende onder de bandiere van Vranckrijck, oock vijff ten hondert betaelden, ofte dat hem affslach soude geschieden, soovel als de resterende twee ten hondert jaerlicx soude importereri".

¹² Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document s 177, 178, 179, 180, and 181.

¹³ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document s 182, 183, and 184.

was carried out to convince the custodian, *emin*, to reduce the customs duty to the rate of 3%, as indicated in the capitulations.

The Viceroy of Cyprus had written a letter to his deputy in Cyprus, indicating that the Dutch nation had recently established friendly relations, and thus all facilities should be provided to them, so that they could be attracted for commercial activities. Otherwise, if they escaped, it might also harm the treasury as well.¹⁴ The Viceroy reminded that if the customs custodian (*gümrük emîni*) resisted for 5%, some others would be appointed to his position.

C. Conflicts on Customs Duties

Although the capitulations clearly stated that when the Dutch merchants imported and exported goods in Aleppo, Alexandria and in other places that, no more than 3 % customs duty should be collected from them, there had been frequent violations of the relevant article of the capitulations.¹⁵ The *gümrük emini* calculated the amount of customs duties on the basis of the estimated value of the commodity, *ad valorem*. The merchants and the custodian engaged in

¹⁴ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 182: "*Bunlar Dersa'adete yakında ita'at eylemişlerdir. İstimâlet verilürse, bâzirganları gelüb alış veriş ederler, mirîye küllî nef olur. Rencîde olunurlarsa el çeküb gelmezler. Mezbûrun bâzirganları rencîde etdirmeyüb tüccar tâyifesini himâyet üzere olasız. Mültezim inâd edüb iltizâmımızda yüzde beş akçadır derse, onların yerlerine âdem tedarik olunur, bilmiş olub mucceb-i mektûb ile âmil olasız*".

¹⁵ Dutch capitulations of 1021/1612, see Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 72, article 13: "*ve müşârünileyhimin rızâlarıyla tâcirleri vilâyetlerinden getirdikleri ve alub götürdükleri meta'larından Haleb'de ve İskenderiye'de vesâyir yerlerde yüzde üç akça gümrük vereler, ziyâde vermeyeler ve meta'ları ziyâde bahâya tutulmaya*".

frequent conflicts about the estimated values. The values of the commodities varied from one region to another, and thus were open to abuses.¹⁶

The merchants who combed western Anatolia in search of deals and discounts, viewed the insistence of Ottoman officials to estimate customs according to current prices in the port rather than purchase prices in the provinces. The capitulations stated only that the duty would be paid *ad valorem*, at the estimated value. They remained silent on the critical question of assessment. Was this to be a percentage¹⁷ of the purchase, or the current, or some fictitious price.¹⁸ Frictions between the merchants and the customs custodians were inevitable. The higher the value of estimation, the higher would be the revenue of the custodian. To provide true and just taxation of exported and imported commodities, and to eliminate the arbitrary estimation of the values, in time European nations imposed a tariff system instead of a general ratio.¹⁹

The request of excessive customs duty continued for decades. Even after the renewal of the Dutch capitulations for the third time by Sultan Mehmed IV in 1091/1680, conflicts arose between local authorities and the Dutch merchants.²⁰

¹⁶ B. Arı *ibid.*, p 43.

¹⁷ For the list of customs duty rate in different customs zones, see Halil İnalçık, *Customs Register of Caffa*, pp 95-96.

¹⁸ Daniel Goffman, "The Capitulations and the Question of Authority in Levantine Trade 1600-1650", *Journal of Turkish Studies*, vol. 10, (1986) p 156.

¹⁹ Şerafettin Tuan in "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile İki Sicilya Kıtallığı Arındaki Tarife", *Belgeler*, stated that the first tariff list appeared in Ottoman – French Commercial Treaty of 1740. However, in Felemek Ahdnâme Defteri, BOA, Ecnebi defterleri, 22/1, p 259-260, there exists a tariff list dated 1145 / 1732; for the tariff list, also see Bosscha Erdbrink, *Ottoman – Dutch Relations*, pp 292-301.

²⁰ For classification of these conflicts and examples of conflicts selected from the registers, see B. Arı, *ibid.*, Appendix.

In one of these conflicts, although the Dutch merchants were ready to pay 3 % for the goods they imported from Moldavia, the custodian Huseyin had requested twofold of the regular tax.²¹

The customs authorities were ambitious to collect duties from all good unloaded at the ports. For instance, Istanbul customs custodian Murad Çavuş even dared to request duty from the goods brought from the Netherlands to be presented to the Sultan and the other dignitaries at the Porte.²² The Sultan had to warn the Grand Admiral, the Deputy – Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa, and the Defterdar of Anatolia with an imperial decree to prevent the intervention of the custodian.

D. Dutch Consuls in the Levant

The next step after granting capitulations was to establish a network of consuls in the important commercial centers. Except for Spain and territories subject to Spain, where official representatives of the United Provinces were barred, the States General built up a network of resident representatives and consuls all around the Mediterranean within a few years.²³ Other than the resident ambassador (Cornelis Haga) in Istanbul, consulates were opened at

²¹ *"Istanbul Kaymakamına ve Kadısına Hüküm ki, Nelerlanda elçisi arz-i hâl gönderüb, Nelerlanda tüccarı Boğdanda iştirâ edüb getirdükleri meta'dan 'ahdnâme-i hümâyun mucebince yüzde üç akça gümrüklerin edâ etmeğe râzılar iken hâlâ gümrük emîni olan Hüseyn kanaat etmeyüb hilâf-i 'ahdnâme-i hümâyun iki kat gümrük taleb edüb ta'addî eylediğün bildirüb"*, B. Anı, *ibid.*, document 1, p 68.

²² Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 108: *"Nelerlanda tarafından gemi ile rikâb-i hümâyunuma pîşkeş içün irsâl olunan tuhaf ve esbâbdan gümrük emîni olan Murad Çavuş gümrük taleb eder deyu ilâm eylemeğın, ol makûle tuhaf ve esbâb sahîh pîşkeş ise gümrük emîni dahl eylemeye"*.

²³ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 98.

Aleppo (1612, Cornelis Pauw),²⁴ Alexandria (1613, French Consul Gabriel Ferfoji?),²⁵ Cyprus (1612, Jacobus Milis),²⁶ Morea, Lepanto, Negroponte, Mezistre (1617, Dimitri Andrea),²⁷ Venice (November 6, 1614, Gillis Ouwerx),²⁸ Genoa (1615, Nicolaes van Rhijn),²⁹ and Zante (December 5, 1618, Leonaert Steffen Engelbronner),³⁰ Livorno (March 30, 1612, Johan van Dael),³¹ and in Sicily (July 12, 1617, Simon Le Maire)³².

As can be understood from the above list of the Dutch consulates all over the Mediterranean, the achieving of capitulations from the Ottoman Empire provided an immediate improvement of Dutch trade in the Mediterranean. Recognition of the United Provinces by the Ottoman Sultan proved the legitimacy of the Dutch state. Without penetration into Ottoman markets, Dutch trade in the Mediterranean would not reach to considerable volumes. Establishment of a network of consulates all around the Mediterranean, only after the grant of capitulations by the Ottoman Sultan, made Dutch commercial advance possible. Through this network, Dutch merchants could find representatives who would protect their rights at the ports. Moreover, they could make greater profits through loading and unloading at the intermediary ports before the final destination.

²⁴ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), documents 87, 88, 89, 90, 97, 98, 99, 118, 159, and 172.

²⁵ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 115.

²⁶ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 151.

²⁷ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 166.

²⁸ Heeringa, *ibid.*, p 54.

²⁹ Heeringa, *ibid.*, p 54.

³⁰ Heeringa, *ibid.*, p 54.

³¹ Heeringa, *ibid.*, p 54.

³² Heeringa, *ibid.*, p 54.

During the first half of the Seventeenth Century Dutch exports to the Ottoman ports consisted of precious metals, mostly silver coins, luxury items, and colonial products from East and West Indies.³³ Some of the luxury goods were provided from Italian ports by Dutch ships, which unloaded there, and loaded again for Ottoman markets. The composition of Dutch commercial activity began to change towards mid–Seventeenth Century. Dutch ships now, were intensively loading raw materials from the Ottoman ports, in return for their manufactured goods.³⁴

After the Twelve Years Truce with Spain in 1609, the Dutch Republic was in need of political accreditation within the international system. The granting of capitulations by the Sultan provided a high prestige to the United Provinces. The Dutch Republic, now, had a resident ambassador in Istanbul together with Venice, France and England. Other nations' representatives were very jealous for the highest respect shown to Haga. The Dutch merchants got rid of the position of indebtedness and humiliation *vis-à-vis* the French and the English. Dutch merchants could be freely sail under their own flag and be protected by their own representative at the Porte. Furthermore, the Dutch ships and the Dutch merchants under Ottoman protection would impose a psychological effect over the enemies of the Netherlands.³⁵ This resulted with the immediate expansion of the Dutch network of consulates. The impact of quickening Dutch penetration of

³³ M. Bulut, "The Role of the Ottomans and Dutch in the Commercial Integration Between the Levant and Atlantic in the Seventeenth Century", *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 45,2, (Leiden: 2002) 197-230, p 215.

³⁴ M. Bulut, *ibid.*, p 215.

³⁵ (Appendix 6), ARA, Staten Generaal, 1.01.08 / 12593.11: "*Min ba'd gemileriñüz ve bâzırganlarıñuz bî-bâk ve bî-pervâ gelüb gidüb ...*".

the Levant from 1609 onward created a shock to their Venetian, French, and English rivals.

The States General appointed the Dutch consuls and issued their commissions. The Dutch capitulations provided the right to appoint consuls wherever the Dutch ambassador or the States General considered suitable.³⁶ They would also have the right to dismiss a consul and appoint another one. Local authorities would not be able to intervene in the appointment of the consuls. In the decisions of the States General, consultation with the Levant merchants proved influential. The system of payment to the consuls, however, was a weak point. Consuls in Aleppo, for instance, were entitled to the consuleage,³⁷ but, from this sum, they were also expected to pay the ordinary expenses of the consulate for gifts, *avantias*,³⁸ and etc. But the system did not work well in the Levant, where the consular costs tended to be higher and more unpredictable than in the European ports. Consequently, the rate of the consuleage fee caused frictions between the merchants and the consul. The merchants complained about the greed of the Dutch consul at Aleppo, Cornelis Pauw. Pauw on the other hand, stated that the factors were cheating him of declaring the commodities as

³⁶ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix 1), document 72, pp 66-67, article 32, from original copy, which is available at ARA, Staten Generaal, 1.01.08 / 12593.15, and 16: "*ve İskenderiye ve Trablusşam ve Cezâyir ve Tunus ve Cezâyir-i Ğarb ve Mısır iskelelerine ve gayrılara ta'yin etdikleri konsolosların tebdil edüb, yerlerine ol hizmetin 'uhdesinden gelür âdemler ta'yîn edüb gönderdikde, kimesne mâni' olmaya.*"

³⁷ *Konsolosluk hakkı*, in the Ottoman documents.

³⁸ The Italian *avania* "imposta grave, balzello vessatorio", "ingiustizia, sopruso" and the French *avanie* "vexation que les Turcs se plaisaient à faire subir aux Chrétiens dans de Levant," means unjustified and oppressive imposition; abuse; vexation. For etymological development of the word see Alessio Bombaci, and Aldo Gallotta, "The History of Avania", *Veröffentlichungen Der Societas Uralo- Altaica*, Band 47, Studia Ottomanica, (Harrasowitz Verlaag, 1997) pp 53-73.

under-valued.³⁹ Conflict can also be observed in the petition⁴⁰ of the Levant merchants in Amsterdam to the States General in 1615:

- ✓ The Consul should be scrupulous, and must not do business on his own account,
- ✓ A *cottimo* on the Venetian model ought to be established in the nation,
- ✓ The consul should receive a fixed salary,
- ✓ Gifts must only be made with the nation's approval, and they should be paid from the *cottimo*, as is done by the Venetians,
- ✓ Other extraordinary expenses on the nation's behalf should be paid from the *cottimo* as well, including the frequent gifts now being neglected on account of the consul's economic situation,
- ✓ Should the *cottimo* not suffice in case of a large extraordinary expense, a *tansa* (special duty) as large and as protracted as necessary should be imposed on the members of the nation, only of course with the nation's consent,
- ✓ The consul will be shown due respect.

The first Dutch consul in Aleppo, Cornelis Pauw obtained permission to collect money, with the nation's consent to pay the extraordinary expenses, with his commission on June 30, 1614. The arrival of the newly appointed Ottoman officials should be greeted through presentation of gifts by the consul on behalf of the merchants, and of the nation residing there. In February 1616, the States General resolved that the costs of such expenditures should be born jointly by the members of the nation.

³⁹ Niels Steensgaard, "Consuls and Nations in the Levant", p 32.

⁴⁰ Heeringa, *ibid.*, pp 466-468: "*De Gemeene Negotianten Op De Levant (Te Amsterdam) Aan De Staaten Generaal*"; N. Steensgaard, *ibid.*, p 32.

Like the Levant merchants in Amsterdam, the Dutch ambassador at the Porte, Haga had on several occasions recommended that a fixed duty like the Venetian *cottimo* and *tansa*⁴¹ be imposed towards the payment of extraordinary expenses.⁴² It appears that before 1627, the Dutch nation had a special treasury at its disposal under the administration of two members of the nation.⁴³ *Cottimo* was a 2 % duty on all imported goods, but at the end of 1620s this amount proved to be insufficient to settle the extraordinary expenses, and in 1632 the special treasury had a debt of 6 – 7,000 Piastres, borrowed at 18 % per annum.⁴⁴

The extra costs had been paid by loans at high interest rates, and had accumulated debts proved impossible to settle later. Nevertheless, the account could be settled with a smooth solution. The debt of the treasury was taken over by the Directors of the Levant Trade in Amsterdam, and in return, they received the yield from an import duty of 2% on all Levantine goods exported to the Netherlands.⁴⁵

At Aleppo, which remained the pre-eminent emporium of the Middle East throughout the first half of the 17th century, the change since 1609 was strikingly evident. In July 1611, the Venetian consul at Aleppo reported home that the Dutch had become much more formidable rivals that is since their truce with Spain and that in the last two years many houses of the Dutch merchants had

⁴¹ *Tansa* is the extraordinary duty for the extraordinary *avanas*.

⁴² N. Steensgaard, *ibid.*, p 43.

⁴³ Heeringa, *ibid.*, p 546 and 563.

⁴⁴ Heeringa, *ibid.*, p 536; N. Steensgaard, *ibid.*, p 43.

⁴⁵ N. Steensgaard, *ibid.*, p 43.

suddenly sprung up at Aleppo. The statistics also confirm the Venetian consul's report.⁴⁶

Table 3: Volume of the Levant Trade.

| | 1604 | 1613 |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Venice | 1,250,000 | 850,000 |
| France | 800,000 | 1,750,000 |
| England | 300,000 | 250,000 |
| United Provinces | 150,000 | 500,000 |

Source: J. Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p 99.

According to the figures in 1604 the volume of Dutch trade was a little more than 1/10 of Venice's, and half of the English's. Soon after the Dutch capitulations, in 1613 the Dutch trade was more than half of the Venetians, and twice as much as the English.

Before the granting of capitulations, on the eve of the departure of Haga, the Levant merchants of Amsterdam had presented a report to the States General and claimed that the Levant trade had latterly emerged as one of the most vital plied by the Dutch in any part of the globe. They also argued that their commerce with Anatolia, Syria, Egypt, Cyprus, Aleppo, and Alexandria, as compared with that of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) with the East Indies, was potentially more important for the future welfare of the Netherlands than the

⁴⁶ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 98.

East India traffic.⁴⁷ The report assured the States General that raw materials, such as silk, cotton, and mohair, which were indispensable to the manufacture of a wide range of luxury and middle quality textiles in the west, are abundant and cheap in the Levant.⁴⁸

In 1611, the volume of the Dutch Levant trade was around 4 million guilders annually, which is slightly more in value than the Dutch East India traffic.⁴⁹ It should be noted that the Dutch East India Company had been established in 1602, and nine years has passed since then. In 1611, the Dutch capitulations were not guaranteed yet. Furthermore, Dutch Indian trade was run by the company (VOC), which monopolized spice trade from east Indies, whereas there was not a Dutch Levant company yet. It would be established in 1625.

The Amsterdam merchants went on in their report, should the Dutch succeed in achieving and consolidating a considerable trade mastery in the Mediterranean, comparable with what they had already achieved in the Baltic Russia, and the East Indies, then a glowing future for Holland's textile towns -

⁴⁷ "Memorie Betreffende Den Levantschen Handel", Heeringa, *ibid.*, p 429-431: "*De vaert ende handel in Levantel is soo groot ende treffelijck, dat sij den Oostindische passeert, uutgeseyt dat d'Oostindische handel den coninck van Spaengien seer schadelijck is in de negotien van sijn coninckrijcken ende in sijn regieringe*"; J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 98.

⁴⁸ Heeringa, *ibid.*, p 430: "*sij coopen op voorcoop en maecken de prijzen van de catoenen; soo dit dan factors van eenige companien sijn, sullen sij de beste prijzen ende de beste waren aen haer meesters geven ende de slechte ende gesengde catoenen aen andere, 'twelck wel thien, twaelf ten hondert scheelt een meer; jae all deden sij anders niet dan dat sij haer meesters schepen affladen ende lieten andere ligger*"; J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 99.

⁴⁹ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 99.

Leiden and Haarlem – would be assured and the manufacturing towns of Frankfurt would be made dependent on the Dutch *entrepot* for their supplies.⁵⁰

During the Golden Age of the Netherlands, Europe became dependent on the supplies provided by the Dutch shipping mechanism. The Baltic trade provided an immense source of revenue for the Netherlands. In 1600, 55% of the ships at Swedish and Russian ports carried the Dutch flag. Fifteen years later it was 67%. Until 1650, for every ten Dutch ships to England, only one made an opposite journey. It was practically a one-way traffic. The near monopoly of commercial transportation of the Dutch in Northern and Western Europe led to increasing international tension, and, in the end, Cromwell promulgated his famous "Navigation Act" in 1651.⁵¹ According to the Navigation Act, only English vessels could transport goods to England. The wars of 1652, and of 1665 followed.

During their brief period of success from 1609 to 1621, Dutch merchants in the Levant performed best in cotton trade. Annually, 6,000 sacks of cotton (around 3 million lbs) were exported from Cyprus, of which English and Venetians were dominant before 1609. The Dutch quickly gained ascendancy,

⁵⁰ Heeringa, *ibid.*, p 42: "*Tot noch is de meeste handle geweest ofte het principaelste van dien in de caetoenen; den handle vrij sijnde, souden d'onse comen in de sijdehandel ende andere soorten van waren. ... Dat den handel van groot importantie is, ... die sijde handel hier in 't lant sijnde, sullen de manefacteurs seer vermeerden, jae men sal in corten tijt alle sijdewaren uut dese landente Vranckfoort ter merckt brengen, die men daer nu vandaen haelt, gelijk geschiet met de specerijen, door de vaert van Oostindien, die dese landen hebben*".

⁵¹ Paul Zumther, *Daily Life in Rembrandt's Holland*, p 291.

and ousted their rivals from the scene.⁵² The same Dutch performance is true for trade in Egypt.

According to the documents,⁵³ the Dutch merchants were trading with cash payment instead of paying the return cargo with the commodities they brought from the Netherlands. The customs custodian in Cyprus was unhappy with this trade, since he could not collect the customs duty from silver Lion dollars, *Esedî Guruş* in Ottoman documents, and *leeuwendaalders* in Dutch.⁵⁴ Dutch capitulations exempted the precious metals from customs duty to eliminate scarcity of coins in the Ottoman markets. The mentality of the customs custodian is compatible with the Ottoman economic mind, which support an "economy of plenty" rather than a "mercantile economy". Ottoman authorities promoted imports to provide abundance in supplies with cheap prices, and at the same time they enabled the flow of cash to the imperial treasury through customs duties. As a result of this economic approach, Indian goods flooded the Ottoman markets especially from the early 17th century onwards. According to the estimate of the Venetian *bailo*, the Sultan's treasury alone earned an annual income of half a million gold pieces from the Indian trade.⁵⁵

⁵² J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 99.

⁵³ The major set of documents is Paris, Bibl. Nat. Supplement Turc 118, (Appendix 1).

⁵⁴ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 9: "*Nederlanda tâyifesi Cezîre-i Kıbrıs'a bir defâ meta' getirüb andan soñra getirmeyüb her sene ziyâde guruş getirürler ve metâ' alub giderler. Bu canibe getirdükleri ancak guruşdur; her yüzde üç guruş taleb olundukda ta'allül eyleyüb Asitâne-i sa'âdete 'arz olunmayınca vermezüz deyüb*".

⁵⁵ Halil Inalcık, "The Ottoman Cotton Market and India: the Role of Labor Cost in Market Competition", *The Middle East and the Balkans Under the Ottoman Empire*, (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1993) p 272.

Toward the end of the 17th century, the unusual growth of imports signaled the beginning of a crisis in Ottoman economy, causing great concern among Ottoman authorities.⁵⁶ The famous Ottoman historian Naîmâ has emphasized the hazard of the flow of Ottoman cash to other countries. He stated that it was not wise for the sovereigns to seek glory of luxurious goods imported from abroad. Naîmâ also indicated that goods manufactured within the country must be preferred so that money is not dispersed outside the Ottoman territories.⁵⁷ Naîmâ distinguished the commerce of West Europeans with the merchants of Russia. He praised the bilateral transactions of Europeans, since they imported high volume of clothes, and also loaded wool, mohair, gallsnuts, alum, and brought and unloaded Lion dollars to Izmir (Smyrna) and other Ottoman ports, Muscovite merchants, on the other hand, imported luxurious furs but never spent their money to the goods manufactured in the Ottoman territories.⁵⁸ Naîmâ complained about the flow of enormous cash for the goods imported from India. He indicated that although treasures were spent for these goods, the Indians bought nothing from the Ottoman lands. The customs duties collected from the imports was more

⁵⁶ Halil İnalçık, *ibid.*, p 272.

⁵⁷ Tarih-i Naîmâ (*Ravzatü'l-Huseyn Fî Hülâsâti Ahbari'l-Hâfikeyn*), vol IV, (Istanbul: 1281H), p 293: "âhar devletten hâsıl olan şeref ve ihtîşâma müte'llik eşyâya rağbet etmek pâdişahlara mâkul değildir ki anların rağbeti ile revaç bulub memleketiñ nükûd ve emvâli ol metâ' sebebiyle âhar memlekete gitmeye. Ekseryâ kendi memleketinde hâsıl olan tuhaf emtiaya rağbet etmek lâzımdır ki mal hariç yere dağılmaya; sâiereden emtia getirüb fûruht edenler aldıkları meblağı bilad-i İslâmiyye mahsûlünden kendülere lâzım eşyâya verilerse devr-i dâim akça yine memlekette kalmış olur"; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol II, (Ankara: TTK) p 692; H. İnalçık, *ibid.*, p 273.

⁵⁸ Naîmâ, *ibid.*, p 293: "Efrenç tâifesi çok kumaş getirüb bilâd-i İslamiyye'den yapağı ve tiftik ve mazi ve şap gibi şeyler alub seffine ile memlû Esedî altunu İzmir ve Payas ve Sayda ve İskenderiye iskelelerinde boşaldub etrâf-i memâlike tevzî olunur. Ammâ Moskov diyârından gelen samur ve sâir envâ-i zî-kıymet kürklere verilen akçayı ol melâîn memâlik-i İslâmiye'nin metâ'ına sarfetmezler".

hazardous than beneficial to the treasury. In this manner, the world's wealth accumulated in India. The same is true for Yemen because of her coffee exports.⁵⁹

E. Dutch Trade in Aleppo

The Dutch merchants achieved relatively less impressive progress in the Aleppo trade, where the main commercial item was Persian raw silk.⁶⁰ In the early 17th century, the Dutch were only recently beginning to challenge the trading powers of the Levant. For instance, until 1599, there was no direct contact between the Dutch *entrepot* and the commercial centers of the Levant. Cotton from Cyprus, mohair yarn from Ankara, Ionian currants, and Near Eastern raw silk reached Amsterdam in Dutch vessels in 1590s, but the ships were loaded at Venice and Venetian merchants consigned the goods.⁶¹ In 1599 the English ambassador Henry Lello reported to Sir Robert Cecil his worries about

⁵⁹ Naîmâ, *ibid.*, p 293-294: "*Kezâlik Hind metâ'larına bu kadar hazîne, emvâl gider, Hindliler memâlik-i Osmâniye'den birşey almazlar. Bunlardan gümrük alınmak fâidesi zımında olan zarar-i ma'neviye değmez. İradları çok, bilâd-i âhara adem-i ihtiyaçla masrafları yok menzilesinde olmağla dünyanın malı Hind'de ve kahvesi sebebiyle Yemen'de cem' olub mütemevvilleri Karun'a mu'adil olmuşlardır*"; İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *ibid.*, p 692; H. İnalçık, *ibid.*, p 272.

⁶⁰ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 99.

⁶¹ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 54.

the commercial activities of the Dutch in the Levant, but for the time being, he had seen no danger to prohibit them.⁶²

The Dutch negligence of Aleppo can be explained by the lack of Dutch manufacturing for fine goods. The Dutch produced no fine or medium quality woolen cloth, the most demanded item in the Ottoman markets. The Venetians in the Levant held the trade of clothes, made from Spanish wool. With their cheaper woolen cloths, the English were trying to undermine the commercial position of the Venetians. The Dutch, on the other hand, possessed no textile product, which was sold in the Levant and were forced to affect their purchases at Aleppo and elsewhere with Spanish silver.⁶³ The lower quality of the Dutch clothes was indicated in the joint petition of the French and Venetian ambassadors to the Sultan, when they heard that Haga came to achieve a grant of the Dutch capitulations, in 1612.⁶⁴

The Levant merchants of Amsterdam were aware that the Venetians and the French primarily controlled the silk trade in Aleppo.⁶⁵ The Dutch recognized that capturing the mastery of the Levant trade from the Venetians and the French

⁶² Heeringa, *ibid.*, p 169: "The Flemmings marchants doe beginne to trade into these countreyes, which will cleane subvert ours, although it be now but little worth, yet seing there in noe meanes to prohibit them."

⁶³ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 55-56.

⁶⁴ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 189: "Ve çuka getirdiklerinde küllî zarar olduğu dahî bâis budur ki Flandra'nın çukası eyü çuka değil. Selânik ve Edirne misli olub lâkin şafakı bir mikdâr ziyâde olmağla herkes Frengî çukadır deyu anlara düşüb Selanik ve Edirne'nin re'âyâsı sebab-i ma'îşetleri ve kâr ü kisbleri munkati' olub tüccar-i harbîye sebab-i kuvvet-i salâbet ve pâdişahın re'âyâsına bâis-i za'af ve inhizâm olduğu hod ma'lûm-i şerîfdir".

⁶⁵ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 99.

would pose difficulties. France and Italy, with their more developed silk industries, had the advantage of a greater domestic demand for raw silk than the Dutch.

The Dutch world trade supremacy can be classified in two phases:

✓ Phase One: 1590 – 1609

✓ Phase Two: 1609 – 1621

The Twelve Years Truce provided the turning point for Dutch hegemony in the world trade. From 1590 to 1609, the Dutch shipbuilding industry played the decisive role in Dutch supremacy. *Fluits*, or flyboats, developed in the 1590s. They were built to suit the bulk trades of the relatively safe waters of the Northern Europe. Flyboats could sacrifice speed, maneuverability and defense to maximize cargo and space and easy handling, and therefore they were cheaply operated by small crews. They were also cheap to build. Because they were simple vessels.⁶⁶ Indeed, the Venetian and the French ambassadors, in their joint petition to the Sultan in 1612, claimed the industrial superiority of the Dutch shipbuilding.⁶⁷

Combined with military and strategical advantageous position of the United Provinces after 1590, Dutch merchants began to invade the markets all over the world. When the Spanish army of Flanders under the command of Farnese marched into France to intervene in the Civil War in France, (leaving only skeleton forces to face the Dutch troops), the Dutch launched their first full scale

⁶⁶ Ralph Davis, *The Rise of Atlantic Economies*, (Ithaca: Cornell U. Press, 1984) p 181.

⁶⁷ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 189: "*sanatları ise gemicilikdir. Fakirler iken mahall-i merkûmu kereste yeri alub hezâr gemiler yapmağa ve sanatları olmağla nice gemiler peydâ edüb mürûr ve ubûr eyleyen tüccar tâifesinin emvâl-i erzakları ve çâret etmeleri [ile] mün'im ve ashâb-i mâl olmuşlardır*".

offensive in 1591. In seven years, the United Provinces had not only secured and doubled its territories, but had emerged as a European great power in terms of its military and naval strength.⁶⁸

During the first phase of development (from 1590 to 1609), the Dutch role in the rich trades of the Mediterranean had been greatly confined to supplying linen, *says*, and Russian luxury goods of furs, caviar, and leather to Italy. In the Levant, however, the Dutch enterprise had been marginal and considerably less significant than that of the English enterprise. In this period, the Dutch lacked the textiles and spices needed for a wider role.⁶⁹ For centuries, spices had been the major element in determining the balance of commercial power in the Mediterranean. In Northern Europe, the Dutch merchants who purchased spices from Lisbon were dominant as early as the 1590s. In the Mediterranean, however, it was still the Genoese, buying at Lisbon, and the Venetians, buying at Aleppo, dominated the spice markets.⁷⁰

According to the list of the eighty-five Dutch ships, which came to Venice during the sixteen months period from September 1615 to December 1616, and registered by the Dutch consul there, two of them carried cotton from Cyprus, another two from Istanbul carried wools and yarns, two from Tunisia with hides, wool, and amber, one from Algeria carried raw silk.

In the second phase from (1609 to 1621), Dutch merchants displaced the English and countered the predominance of the Italians and French in the Mediterranean. In this period, shares of the English merchants in the Levant

⁶⁸ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 40.

⁶⁹ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 100.

⁷⁰ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 56.

trade suddenly slumped under the impact of the Dutch. The English could not compete with Dutch shipping, their cheap freight rates, their access to Spanish silver, their range of commodities offered, or their superiority in the distribution of pepper and spices. Nevertheless, the English eclipse would be brief and would end in 1621.⁷¹ Moreover, the Dutch had rapidly expanded their commerce with the entire Mediterranean world from the Straits to Aleppo. Lower shipping charges, access to Iberian fine goods and silver, and mastery of the spice trade had provided the Dutch to develop in the Mediterranean trade at the expense of the Venetians, the French and the English.⁷²

From early 1620s onwards, commercial advantages of Dutch shipping began to hit themselves. As the Dutch ships required smaller crews, at the beginning they were soon capable of outrunning the English, who sailed with more expensively built ships and used larger crews in the Mediterranean. However Dutch ships were easy to capture by the corsairs, since their crew were smaller. Consequently, English trade with the Levant boosted in the 1620s. English ships were in general more expensive and always heavily armed, which made them better equipped for transport of high-value goods. Since luxury goods were often small in size and weight in proportion to their value, the cost of transport could be relatively higher than the costs made in carrying bulky goods.⁷³ English ships could carry luxury items with higher freight charges but guaranteed the deliveries.

⁷¹ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 101.

⁷² J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 150.

⁷³ Maria Christina Anna Elizabeth Engels, *Merchants, Interlopers and Corsairs: The 'Flemish' Community in Livorno and Genoa (1615-1635)*, (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), p 51.

F. Directors of the Dutch Levant Trade

By 1620, the Dutch commercial activity in the Mediterranean achieved overwhelming prominence. Around 1620 more than 200 Dutch ships were involved in the whole Mediterranean trade annually.⁷⁴ However, soon afterwards the situation changed again. In 1621, the flourishing phase of Dutch activities came to an abrupt end. The Dutch trade with Algeria collapsed. The loss of access to the Iberian peninsula, the doubling of Dutch freight charges for voyages to Italy within a matter of months, and the Genoese policy of discouraging contact under the Spanish pressure depressed all sections of the Dutch Mediterranean trade.⁷⁵ The end of the Twelve Years Truce played the basic role in this decline. With the ending of truce in 1621, merchant ships could no longer stop at the Spanish ports, and they were forced to get services from more distant ports like Toulon, Livorno, and Malta. Transport from the Baltic to the Mediterranean became more dangerous and therefore more expensive.⁷⁶

According to Haga, Dutch trade in the Levant had already suffered before the resumption of the war with Spain, due to the harmful activities of the Barbary corsairs in 1620 and 1621, which resulted in high insurance rates. Moreover, Spanish river blockade during 1625-29 cut the contact between southern and northern Netherlands, and as a side-effect Levantine products could no longer be transported easily from Holland to Germany, which had been a major market in

⁷⁴ Maria Christina Anna Elizabeth Engels, *Merchants, Interlopers and Corsairs: The 'Flemish' Community in Livorno and Genoa (1615-1635)*, (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), p 71.

⁷⁵ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 150.

⁷⁶ Maria C. A. E. Engels, *ibid.*, p 59.

northern Europe.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the severity of the post-1621 decline of the Dutch "Straits trade" (*straatvaart*) is hard to gauge, since no data are available for the period between 1620-1645.⁷⁸

In 1623, Haga reported to the States General that all the subsidiary branches of the Dutch Levant trade had declined, and Dutch commerce with Alexandria, Cairo, Smyrna, and Istanbul was under complete ruin. Furthermore, Dutch trade in Egypt and Palestine had ceased.⁷⁹ If immediate measures were not taken, the decline in the volume of Dutch trade in the Levant would continue. It was also clear that rather than individual efforts, an organized and central attempt were necessary to revive the trade in the Levant. The Dutch were participants in small private companies, who wanted to remain as free as possible. The equivalent of English Levant Company did not exist in the United Provinces and the merchants were only ready to accept regulations, which would serve their purposes.⁸⁰ Under these circumstances, in 1625 the Amsterdam merchant elite appealed to the States of Holland for urgent assistance. In their petition, the merchants stated that the war with the king of Spain, and the charters granted to East and West India Companies (V.O.C. and W.I.C.) had

⁷⁷ Maria C. A. E. Engels, *ibid.*, pp 71-72.

⁷⁸ Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy*, p 381.

⁷⁹ Heeringa, *ibid.*, p 498: "waerdoor de traffijcquen van onse natie op Alexandria, Gran Cayro, Smirna, ende Constantinopolen t'eenemaal geruïneert zijn geworden, sulcx dat ick sinder twee jaeren herwaerts van alle deselvige plaetsen geene rechten en heb genoten. ... Wat nu aengaet de laster van de protectie van der landen ondersaten, ick moet alomme in Smirna, Scio, Patras ende verscheyden andere havens, soe van Morae als Archipelago de consuls, onderhouden ende de Nederlantsche schippers ende comysen, voor alle andere vreemde natien of vrachten vaerende, doen protecteren, sonder daervan een penninck tot subsidie van de onkosten te genieten".

⁸⁰ Maria C. A. E. Engels, *ibid.*, p 52.

caused a decrease of trade in the Levant. "As a result of the decline of the naval traffic to Italy, the trade with the Ottoman ports also went down, except for a few locations", the merchants indicated.⁸¹

Taking into account the dispatch of Haga, and the appeal of the Amsterdam merchant elite, on June 25, 1625 the States General set up the organization of the Dutch Levant trade, "*Directeuren van den Levantschen Handel ende de Navigatie op de Middellandsche Zee*" (Directors of the Levant Trade and of Navigation to the Mediterranean),⁸² to reside in Amsterdam. The Directors of the Levant Trade would act not as a company with a monopoly, but rather as a board providing control and advice.⁸³ The Directorate would act as the representative body of the Dutch commerce in the Mediterranean. Among its main tasks: correspondence with the States' ambassador at the Porte and the Dutch consuls in various ports of the Levant and Barbary.

The Dutch Levant Directorate was not established as an organization of a commercial company such as the English Levant Company⁸⁴ or the Dutch East

⁸¹ Heeringa, *ibid.*, p 504-505: "*Verthoonen in aller ghedienstigheyt de cooplyuden, inwoonders der stede van Aemsteldamme, die de volghende requeste ondergeteeckent hebben, hoe dat sij 't sederteenighe jaren herwaerts, eensdeels door de oorloghen, die dese landen met den coningh van Spagnien voeren, andersdeels door de vergunde octroyen aen de Oost - ende West – Indische compagniën, sich verstemken ende ontbloot vinden van allen handelighen, commerciën ende trafiquen, uytghenomen op de plaetsen van 't vastelande ende eylanden, in de Middellandse zee ende in de Archipelago liggende, van welke dan noch, alsoo de handel op Italiën heel slecht valt, de traffelichte ende voornaemste is de negotiatie op Aleppo in Soria*".

⁸² B. Ari, *ibid.*, p 18.

⁸³ Bosscha Erdbrink, *Ottoman-Dutch Relations*, p 10.

⁸⁴ Already in the 1570s, a few decades before the Dutch, the English had started to trade in the Levant. English trade in the Levant had soon developed an institutional

India Company (VOC) imposing a monopoly over trade in the Levant. The Directorate conducted no trade in the Levant on its own behalf. It functioned, rather, as a bridge between the government and the merchants to keep up the network of Dutch consulates in the Mediterranean. Its basic mission was to act as a political and administrative platform for the elite merchants who dominated the Dutch trade in the Mediterranean. The Directors had a considerable influence on Dutch foreign policy as well. For this purpose, they maintained an agent at the Porte.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, according to Niels Steensgaard, even though the Directorate seems to have fulfilled an important task as a coordinating link between the various parties, the Directorate always remained a loose organization.⁸⁶

From 1625 onwards, Directors of the Commerce of the Levant introduced an official convoy system. Through the protection of merchant ships with convoys, the Directorate hoped to re-establish the once so prosperous Levantine trade. The major purpose of the board of the Directors was to protect Dutch ships against Spaniards and corsairs. Already in 1623 regulations had been made regarding the crewing, armament, and the obligatory sailing of the convoys.⁸⁷ Several other colleagues demanded formation of another kind of organization like

character; in 1592 Turkey Company and Venice Company merged to form the Levant Company. Maria C. A. E. Engels, *ibid.*, p 51.

⁸⁵ A. De Groot, *ibid.*, p 235.

⁸⁶ N. Steensgaard, *ibid.*, p 48.

⁸⁷ Before departure ships had to be inspected to confirm if they carried adequate armament and crew on board. A ship carrying mixed cargo should have minimum capacity of 180 'last', a last being two tons, with 50 men aboard and 24 cast iron guns, each gun should have the capacity of shooting 5 pounds of iron. The ship was only allowed to sail with two similarly equipped ships. Maria C. A. E. Engels, *ibid.*, p 60.

the VOC or WIC. According to them, the success of the English relied on the opportunity of their Levant Company to control all trade, and thus avoiding severe competition among its members.⁸⁸

The commercial volume of the Dutch trade could not fluctuate upwards soon by this measure. Venetian merchants began to cover their losses in the Levant's markets. The Thirty Years War and the change in the trade routes inland Europe played a decisive role at this shift. Before 1625, an important portion of the Levant goods imported to the Netherlands, especially cotton from Cyprus and Egypt, had been re-exported up the Rhine to Frankfurt, Ulm, and other German textile towns. However, the flow of cotton to the German markets was shifted to its pre-1609 route, being shipped to Venice by naval vessels, and then re-exported to Germany via overland.⁸⁹ So, from 1625 onwards, the Venetians recovered their ground in Egypt, Syria, and Anatolia. Together with England, the Venetians shared the commercial supremacy in the Levant with the English from 1621 to the mid 17th century.

The Ottoman commercial policy of open door and free import for an "economy of plenty" in its domestic markets resulted with drastic changes in the first quarter of the 17th century. Together with already existing Venetians, French, and English as the major commercial actors, the involvement of the Dutch in the Levant converted the nature of the Ottoman production from manufacture to supplier of raw materials to the Western merchants. There were already no export-oriented or organized international manufacturers in the Ottoman local markets. The Western fabrics, particularly woolen clothes in high volumes flooded

⁸⁸ Maria C. A. E. Engels, *ibid.*, p 60.

⁸⁹ J. Israel, *ibid.*, p 152.

the Ottoman markets. The Ottoman local producers became export-oriented raw materials suppliers, particularly with regard to silk (from Iran and domestic production), cotton, mohair yarn (from Ankara), and wool. The treasury was happy with the amount of customs duties flowing from European merchants' commercial activities in its territories. The treasurer was only concerned with the amount of the cash collected for the treasury, rather than the balance of payments, or foreign trade deficits. In those days, the Ottoman authorities did not perceive the economy in the mentality of mercantile considerations, but in the requirements of economy of plenty. The basic difference between the Ottomans and mercantilists: in the West a nation's economy was conceived globally like that of a corporation, with attention to the aggregate balance in favor of the country, whereas in the Ottoman Empire, the state tried to provide abundant goods for the market, with cheap prices.⁹⁰

For the payment of the raw materials, the foreign merchants needed cash. The more that raw materials were exported, the more that precious metals penetrated the Ottoman markets. The Dutch merchants, but also the English, the French, and the Venetian merchants transported Dutch Lion dollars (*leeuwendaalders* in Dutch, and *Esedî Guruş* in the Ottoman documents) in huge amounts. In the 17th century, the circulation of Lion dollars in the Ottoman markets was so vast that the Ottoman authorities had to issue official decrees to settle the parity of the Lion dollars *vis-à-vis* the Ottoman Piastres. The flow of precious metals also affected the depreciation of its currency in the Netherlands. Actually, the Dutch experienced monetary troubles that were endemic throughout the 17th century, and before the reforms of the '80s and '90s, they were unable to

⁹⁰ Halil İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, p 49.

prevent the deterioration of their own currency. The precious metals, which flowed into Amsterdam so freely and briskly, flowed out again as freely and nearly as briskly.⁹¹

In the export of precious metals to the other countries, the Exchange Bank of Amsterdam was critical. Founded in 1609 as an exchange bank, and administered under the supervision of the city, until 1681, its activities were confined to exchange and deposit banking. At its foundation, the bank had been required to carry on its business in the best and heaviest coins at their legal values. Since much of the currency was of foreign origin and commonly of inferior weight or fineness, the bank money had become almost wholly a money of account. Certain of the old heavy coins, however, had achieved popularity in other lands and were extensively exported by merchants for use in trade. The Lion dollars of Holland were highly prized in the scales of the Levant.⁹²

⁹¹ Violet Barbour, *Capitalism in Amsterdam in the Seventeenth Century*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1950) p 51.

⁹² Violet Barbour, *Capitalism in Amsterdam*, p 49.

CONCLUSION

The Dutch Republic, which experienced the "Golden Age" (Gouden Eeuw) throughout the first half of the Seventeenth century and sustained her global naval and commercial supremacy during the rest of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, attracted the attention of researchers in many respects. About Dutch Revolt and Dutch economic miracle, besides abundant bibliography in Dutch language, a wide range of publications is available in English as well. However, available studies about the Dutch Revolt and afterwards are generally focused on Eurocentric point of view. Researchers and authors handled the story of the Netherlands as if only the European powers were involved in. The expansion of the Dutch Republic in Asia and New Americas was also considered to be a struggle between the Netherlands and Spain, England, and France. In my opinion, the Ottoman Empire and Dutch Levant trade should also be included when discussing the economic development of the Dutch Republic from early 17th century onwards. In this respect, granting of capitulations to the Dutch merchants by Sultan Ahmed I in 1612 and diplomatic recognition of the United Provinces by the Ottoman Sultan played a decisive role.

The religious conflicts, the character of Prince William of Orange¹ and his role in the revolt were the most handled topics in contemporary Dutch literature. The modern writings, on the other hand, generally focused on the economic and the commercial superiority of the Netherlands in the following ages. Soon after the conclusion of the truce with Spain, the Dutch Republic had entered into a

¹ *Willem van Oranje* in Dutch.

phase of rapid economic and financial development. With their most advanced ships of the time, the Dutch navigation invaded the commercial markets of the world. The *fluit* (fly-boat) could transport the bulky goods, as well as the rich commercial goods with far cheaper fares than her any other rivals, operated by lesser crew.

Within decades after the Truce, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) could establish economic hegemony, and almost a commercial monopoly over the Indian spices. Combined with the Dutch West India Company (WIC), Amsterdam became a world entrepot and financial center. Various authors took attention to Netherlands' economic, naval, and commercial supremacy in the Seventeenth century. Immanuel Wallerstein summarized the global rivalry with "center-periphery" conflict. He classified the major economic powers as the core states, while the subordinates as the periphery states. However, unable to analyze thoroughly, he classified the Ottoman Empire as semi-periphery state, since he was also unable to deny its role in the Levant. Until 1630s, Ottoman Sultans could influence the political developments in Europe through their direct control over trade in the Mediterranean. When the ancient trade routes shifted to the oceans, the Levant trade fell into a secondary status. Moreover, the nature of the Mediterranean trade was distinct from mercantilist approach, which was adopted by the European states. Levant was neither an entrepot, like Antwerp (and later Amsterdam), and a single national market. The classification of Wallerstein should be evaluated with taking into account the unique nature of the Levant. There are certain requirements for better estimation on world trade and the main actors. First of all, lack of reliable statistical data on the volume of the Levant trade is one of the principal deficiencies. Another one is the difficulty for foreign researchers on reading the Ottoman documents. These difficulties can

only be overcome with further works, which would provide us more data on the importance of the Levant in this period. Ship registers, consignments, cargo types, and destinations are among the necessary data.

The United Provinces was the first core state that organized its manufacture and combined it with high volume of foreign trade and navigation capacity. The Netherlands would transfer her role to England in late Eighteenth century. Jonathen Israel has written the most comprehensive history of the Netherlands, *The Dutch Republic, Its Rise, Greatness and Fall 1477-1998*, in English, recently. It was a complementary study by the same author, of *The Dutch Primacy in World Trade 1585-1740*. Very recently, Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude published his book under the title *The First Modern Economy Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500-1815*. This study focused on the economic achievements of the Netherlands, rather than political developments. The book evaluated Dutch economic patterns in three chapters, structures, sectors, and analysis. However, all these researches focused on the religious, political, economic, commercial, and diplomatic experience of the Netherlands.

The researches I made for this dissertation focused on the first Dutch ambassador at the Porte, Cornelis Haga, and the first Dutch capitulations of 1612. In this respect, the initial section was allocated to the religious, political, and administrative structure of the Netherlands. This was particularly necessary for the readers who would like to get general information about the history of the Low Countries.

An important point that can be concluded from evaluation of the diplomatic correspondence in this period is the destruction of Ottoman naval power at the

battle of Lepanto in 1571. However, immediate recovery of the Ottoman navy surprised the Holy League. One of the allies, Venice, separated from the League and had to sign a peace treaty with the Ottoman Sultan in 1573. Throughout the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire still had a superior naval power in the Mediterranean, or at least it was a balancing power against Spain. In this period England had to rely on the Ottoman navy to feel secure against the Spanish aggression. Spanish navy continued to threaten England until 1588.

Together with the damages over the Ottoman army during the long-lasting Ottoman–Austrian war of 1593-1606, the Ottoman navy also declined relatively. This was influential on the Ottoman rulers to the search for new allies from among the Christian World. The establishment of friendly relations with the United Provinces and granting of capitulations to the Dutch nation was a result of Ottoman perception of depreciation in her power. As being a captain, Halil Paşa was well aware of the superiority of the Dutch naval power, and the Dutch ships, which were constructed under new techniques.

On the other hand, Halil Paşa had good relations both with the Venetian bailo, and the French ambassador at the Porte. His dragoman Paul Antonio Bon was a Venetian. He could perceive the approaches and reactions of the Venetians during the diplomatic activities of Haga in Istanbul. He neutralized all adverse attempts of the Venetian and the French ambassadors. Moreover, all diplomatic procedure to conclude the Dutch capitulations should be completed in a few months. If the discussions on this issue were delayed for a few months more, the Grand Vizier Nasuh Paşa would return from the campaign on Iran. When he returned, he would not have approved the negotiations. In that case the fate of the Dutch capitulations might have been different.

Halil Paşa also did not allow the departure of Haga after the grant of the Dutch capitulations. He knew that if the ambassador left, the cancellation of the capitulations was possible. Indeed, when Grand Vizier Nasuh Paşa returned from his campaign to Iran in September 1612, he tried to abolish it. But he was not successful in his attempt under the influential position of Halil Paşa.

Nevertheless, the importance of Dutch Levant trade declined towards the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century. It was perhaps inevitable because of the shift of the major trade routes from Levant to the Atlantic. The monopoly of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) over spice trade ruined the traditional spice route. From then onwards, the Levant became only a supplier of raw materials to the European markets. The economic and commercial importance of the Levant was not totally disappeared, but the Levant was no more on the transit trade routes. The Levant was still an important and enormous market for the clothes, spices, and luxurious items, and a supplier of raw materials. The Ottoman army provided strategical war materials from Amsterdam and England. Gunpowder, lead, steel, and tin were basically purchased from these two Northern countries.

The bilateral political, diplomatic, and commercial interests of the Dutch Republic and the Ottoman Empire facilitated establishment of official relations between the two countries. While evaluating the story of these early relations and the activities of the first Dutch ambassador at the Porte, Cornelis Haga, this study reached the following conclusions:

1. As to the commercial activities of Dutch merchants, Halil Paşa's enormous efforts to introduce the Dutch into the Levant must be emphasized. He personally wrote letters to the *kadis*, *defterdars*, viceroys, and even to the

custodians for the protection of the Dutch merchants. He requested the application of the conditions of the Dutch capitulations, and tried to prevent the violation of the capitulations. In 1613, Halil Paşa became Grand Admiral for the second time, and Grand Vizier in 1616. Ascendancy of Halil Paşa to the highest position in the Ottoman government was influential on the Dutch success in the Levant. A considerable outcome of this study is the importance of personal initiatives by an higher authority in achieving the grant of capitulations. General practice for introduction of a clerk to the Porte was in the form of apprenticeship to a bureau. In this regard, patronage and protection of an higher authority was necessary for introduction of an apprentice, and for his promotion in bureaucracy. Likewise, Halil Paşa undertook the protection of Haga against all kinds of diplomatic hostilities in Istanbul. Haga could achieve grant of capitulations only with the protection of Halil Paşa.

2. The final chapter deals with the situation of the Dutch trade in the Levant. It can be concluded according to the documents, the figures, and the reports, first the truce with Spain, and secondly, establishment of official relationships with the Ottoman Empire soon afterwards had enormous effects over the Dutch economic boom. Already in early 17th century, the Dutch Republic could overcome the Spanish military threat. Since the disappearance of Spanish Armada in 1588, the United Provinces could match the Spanish attacks on equal terms. Before the Twelve Years Truce, Dutch East India Company (VOC) was carrying commercial activities in Asia at the expense of other European merchants. This would also hit the Ottoman spice trade. What the Dutch Republic needed at this initial stage was the political recognition in the international arena. The Ottoman Empire provided that

political support, which had moral effects on the Dutch authorities. From then onwards, the Dutch Republic was perceived as an ally of the Ottoman Sultan.

3. Previous researches concluded the Dutch global economic and commercial supremacy in this period. Actually, Dutch ships could sail all around the world from late 16th century onwards. Dr. De Groot also considered the grant of capitulations by the Ottoman Sultan only as a technical issue. In his dissertation he advocated that Haga was only instructed to achieve capitulations for the Dutch merchants to trade in the Levant. Indeed, capitulations was vital for foreign merchants to penetrate the Levantine ports under their own flag. However, it is noteworthy that the United Provinces could open a network of consulates in the Mediterranean only after the Ottoman Sultan granted capitulations to the Dutch in 1612. Other than consulates in Ottoman ports, such as Aleppo, Alexandria, Cyprus, Morea, Lepanto, and Negroponte, Dutch consulates were opened in Livorno (1612), Venice (1614), Genoa (1615) Sicily (1617) and Zante (1618) successively. Sultan's diplomatic recognition was influential among other states as well. Before this recognition, there were no Dutch consulates in the Mediterranean port cities.

This study aimed in general to better grasp the process of granting capitulations to a foreign nation by the Ottoman Sultan in terms of depicting the nature of Ottoman – Dutch diplomatic and commercial relations at the initial stage. This stage enables us to understand not only the nature of the early Ottoman – Dutch relations, but also influence of internal dynamics of the Porte over this process. I hope this study would provide adequate material for future researchers in this field.

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Appendices

There are six Appendices in the dissertation. The first one includes 217 documents from Haga's register book kept in *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplement Turc 118*. The rest of the Appendices, each contain one document only, were selected from among the documents, which were kept in Algemeen Rijksarchief (A.R.A.), The General States Archive of the Netherlands in Den Haag (The Hague).

The documents listed in the Appendices are all provided with English summaries. In English summary, for each document I tried to include general content. Where available, I gave the name of the authority who issued the document and who it was addressed to. When available, I also gave the date of the document in both versions, that is, according to Hijra and Gregorian calendar.

Certain documents contain very important information regarding the Ottoman – Dutch relations and Dutch capitulations. Correspondance between the Sultans and the States General are vital in this respect. For this reason full transcription of such documents were given following the relevant documents to facilitate the study of future researchers. The words that I could not read are shown with ".....," while the words or sentences that could not be read because of fray or torn are shown with [.....].

Abbreviations

- **A.R.A.:** Algemeen Rijksarchief, The General States Archive of the Netherlands in Den Haag (The Hague)
- **Supp Turc:** Paris Bibliotheque Nationale, Supplement Turc 118 (Documents in Appendix 1, 199 folios).

- Document 14)** Imperial decree by Sultan Osman II to the viceroy [Suleyman Paşa] of Algeria
Evahir-i C.ahir 1027 / 15-23 June 1618.
- Document 15)** Imperial decree to the kadi of Andira (Mehtiye)
- Document 16)** Imperial decree of Sultan Ahmed I to the viceroy of Tunis
Evail-i R.evvel 1021 / 2-11 May 1612.
- Document 17)** Imperial decree of Sultan Ahmed I to the viceroy of Tripoli
Evail-i R.evvel 1021 / 2-11 May 1612.
- Document 18)** Imperial decree of Sultan Ahmed I to the viceroy of Algeria
Evail-i R.evvel 1021 / 2-11 May 1612.
- Document 19)** Imperial decree of Sultan Ahmed I to the governors, kadis and wardens from Rumelia to Buda.
Evail-i C.evvel 1021 / 30 June-9 July 1612.
- Document 20)** Imperial decree of Sultan Osman II to the viceroy, defterdar, and the kadis of Cyprus
Evasit-i Safer 1027 / 13-22 April 1618. (See doc. 37 on the same issue)
- Document 21)** Imperial appointment Diploma for the Greek Patriarch in Istanbul
4 R.evvel 882/16 June 1477.
- Document 22)** The report of the Dutch ambassador Cornelis Haga to Halil Paşa
Ğurre-i Zilhicce 1021 / 23 January 1613.
- Document 23)** Letter of the Viceroy of Cyprus to his representative (mütesellim) Süleyman Beg and defterdar İsa Beg
- Document 24)** Letter of the Viceroy of Cyprus to his mütesellim Süleyman Beg and defterdar İsa Beg
- Document 25)** Petition of the States General to the Ottoman Sultan
- Document 26)** Petition of the States General to the Ottoman Grand Vizier
- Document 27)** The Letter of the Dutch Ambassador to Baş Tezkireci Hacı Efendi
- Document 28)** Petition of the States General to the Ottoman Grand Vizier
- Document 29)** Petition of the States General to the Ottoman Grand Vizier
- Document 30)** Imperial Decree of Sultan Ahmed I to wine Custodian Murad Aga
5 Zilhicce 1024/ 25 Nov. 1616.
- Document 31)** Imperial Decree of Sultan Ahmed I to the Customs Custodian
16 Zilhicce 1024/ 6 Dec. 1616.

- Document 32)** Imperial Letter of Sultan Ahmed I to the States General and Prince Maurice
Evail-i R. evvel 1024/ 31 March-9 April 1615.
Original of the document available in A.R.A. SG, 1.01.08/12593/25.
- Document 33)** Letter of Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa to the States General
(sent on the same date with document 32).
- Document 34)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to Ali Paşa in Cyprus
Evâil-i Receb 1025/ 4-13 August 1616.
- Document 35)** Imperial Decree of Sultan Ahmed I to Ali Paşa in Cyprus
Evâhir-i Receb 1025/ 4-13 August 1616.
- Document 36)** Imperial Decree of Sultan Osman II to Ahmed Paşa and Kadi of Izmir
Evâhir-i R. âhir 1027/ 17-25 April 1618.
- Document 37)** Imperial Decree of Sultan Osman II to Viceroy and Defterdar of Aleppo
Evahir-i C. evvel 1027 / 16-25 May 1618 (also see doc 20).
- Document 38)** Imperial Decree of Sultan Osman II to Grand Admiral Ali Paşa
Evail-i C. âhir 1027 / 26 May-4 June 1618.
- Document 39)** Imperial Decree of Sultan Osman II to Governor of Morea and kadis in Morea
Evail-i C. âhir 1027 / 26 May-4 June 1618.
- Document 40)** Petition of Governor and Defterdar (Bookkeeper) of Cyprus
- Document 41)** Letter of Vice-Grand Vizier to Viceroy and Defterdar of Cyprus
- Document 42)** General Imperial Decree of Sultan Osman II to the Viceroys,
Governors and Kadis
Evâsıt-i Şevval 1027 / 1-10 October 1618.
- Document 43)** Imperial Decree of Sultan Osman II to the Kadi in Izmir
Evâhir-i C. evvel 1027 / 16-25 May 1618.
- Document 44)** Imperial Decree of Sultan Osman II to the Kadi in Izmir
Evâhir-i C. evvel 1027 / 16-25 May 1618.
- Document 45)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Osman II to Viceroy, Defterdar and Kadi in Aleppo
Evâsıt-i R. âhir 1027 / 17-25 April 1618.
- Document 46)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Kadi in Izmir
Evâil-i R. âhir 1026 / 8-17 April 1617.
- Document 47)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Grand Admiral Halil Paşa
Evail-i R. âhir 1023 / 11-20 May 1614 (also see doc. 58).
- Document 48)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to Viceroy Ahmed Paşa, Kadi
and Defterdar in Aleppo
Evahir-i R. evvel 1023 / 1-10 May 1614.

- Document 49)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the governors and kadis
Evâil-i Receb 1026 / 5-14 July 1617.
- Document 50)** Letter of Commander-in-Chief Halil Paşa to the Deputy-Grand
Vizier Mehmed Paşa
- Document 51)** Imperial Letter by Sultan Osman II to States General
Evâil-i C. evvel 1027/ 26 April-5 May 1618.
Original of the document is available in A.R.A. SG, 1.01.08/12593/29.
(Also see doc. 71)
- Document 52)** Letter of Deputy-Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa to States General
Evâil-i C. evvel 1027/ 26 April-5 May 1618.
- Document 53)** Letter of Kethüda Bayram of Grand Vizier to Derviş Mehmed Çavuş
in Aleppo
- Document 54)** Letter of Kazasker of Rumili Yahya Efendi to the kadi in Andirya
- Document 55)** Copy of the Kanunname (regulation) of the port of Tripoli
- Document 56)** A general Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the kadis, and governors
Evâil-i Receb 1021 / 28 August- 6 September 1612.
- Document 57)** Petition of Ambassador Haga to Sultan Ahmed I
- Document 58)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the governor and kadi of
Negroponte (Ağrıboz)
Evâsıt-i R. evvel 1022 / 1-10 May 1613 (Also see document 47).
- Document 59)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the kadi of İzmir (Smyrna)
Evâil-i Şaban 1022 / 16-25 September 1613.
- Document 60)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the governor Vizier Ahmed
Paşa and kadi of Aleppo
Evâsıt-i Safer 1022 / 2-11 April 1613.
- Document 61)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the viceroy and defterdar of Cyprus
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- Document 62)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the custodians of Aleppo
and Alexandrietta
Evâsıt-i Safer 1022 / 2-11 April 1613.
- Document 63)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to governor of Aleppo Vizier Ahmed Paşa
Evâsıt-i Safer 1022 / 2-11 April 1613.
- Document 64)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I
Evâsıt-i Safer 1022 / 2-11 April 1613.
- Document 65)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I
Evâsıt-i Safer 1022 / 2-11 April 1613.

- Document 66)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to Grand Admiral Vizier Mehmed Paşa
Evâsıt-i Safer 1022 / 2-11 April **1613**.
- Document 67)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to governor and kadi of Ağrıboz
Evâsıt-i Safer 1022 / 2-11 April **1613**.
- Document 68)** The French Capitulations
Evâhir-i Zilhicce 1015 / 18-28 April **1606**.
- Document 69)** The English Capitulations
The renewal of the English capitulations.
- Document 70)** Imperial Letter by Sultan Mustafa I to the States General
- Document 71)** Imperial Letter by Sultan Osman II to the States General
Evâil-i C. evvel 1027 / 26 April-5 May **1618**. (Also see doc. 51)
(Original document is available in A.R.A. Staten Generaal, 1.01.08/12593.29)
- Document 72)** The Dutch Capitulations
Copy of the Dutch capitulations, granted by Sultan Ahmed I.
Evâil-i C. evvel 1021/ 30 June-9 July **1612**.
- Document 73)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to Grand Admiral Ali Paşa
Evâhir-i Ramazan 1026/ 22 September-1 October **1617**.
(Also see documents 74 and 75)
- Document 74)** Letter of Mehmed to Paşa
(Also see documents 73 and 75)
- Document 75)** Letter of Kadiasker of Rumeli Yakub Efendi
(Also see documents 73 and 74)
- Document 76)** Letter of Grand vizier to the viceroy of Cyprus
- Document 77)** Imperial Letter by Sultan Ahmed I to Prince Maurice
Evâsıt-i C. evvel 1021 / 10-19 July **1612**.
(Original document is available in A.R.A. Staten Generaal, 1.01.08/12593.10)
- Document 78)** Letter of Şeyhülsilam (Hocazade Hacı Mehmed Efendi) to Prince
Maurice and States General
(Original document is available in A.R.A. Staten Generaal, 1.01.08/12593.2)
- Document 79)** Imperial Decree to the Governor of Morea Ali Paşa, Governor
of Mezistre and Kadis in Rumelia
- Document 80)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy of Aleppo
and the Kadi there
Evâsıt-i Ramazan 1021/5-14 November **1612**. (Also see documents 81, 82, 83)
- Document 81)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy of Aleppo
and the Kadi there (same with document 80)
Evâsıt-i Ramazan 1021/5-14 November **1612**. (Also see documents 80, 82, 83)

- Document 82)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and the Kadi of Aleppo Evâhir-i Ramazan 1021 / 15-24 November **1612**. (Also see documents 80, 81, 83)
- Document 83)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and the Kadi of Aleppo Evâsit-i Ramazan 1021/5-14 November **1612**. (Also see documents 80, 81, 82)
- Document 84)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and the Kadi of Aleppo Evâhir-i Ramazan 1021/15-24 November **1612**. (Also see document 85)
- Document 85)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and the Kadi of Aleppo Evâil-i Ramazan 1021 / 26 October-4 November **1612**. (Also see document 85)
- Document 86)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Osman II to the Kadi of Gallipoli Evâsit-i Şaban 1027 / 3-12 August **1618**.
- Document 87)** Letter to the Aga of Gallipoli Mehmed Aga 21 Şaban 1027 / 13 August **1618**.
- Document 88)** Imperial Letter by Sultan Osman II to the Kadi of Izmir Evâsit-i Muharrem 1028 / 29 December 1618-7 January **1619**.
- Document 89)** Letter of Bailiff of the Ushers in Seraglio, Mehmed Aga to the Viceroy of Aleppo, Davud Paşa (Also see documents 90, 95, 98, and 99)
- Document 90)** Letter of Bailiff of the Ushers in Seraglio Mehmed Aga to the Viceroy and Kadi of Aleppo (Also see documents 89, 95, 98, and 99)
- Document 91)** Imperial Decree by the Sultan to the Viceroy and Kadi of Aleppo Evasit-i Şevval 1021/ 5-14 December **1612**.
- Document 92)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Kadi of Bedrama Evasit-i Şevval 1021/ 5-14 December **1612**.
- Document 93)** Imperial Decree by the Sultan to the Kadis of Istanbul and Galata and the Custodian in Bandırma 4 R. âhir 1108/ 31 October **1696**.
- Document 94)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and Kadi of Aleppo Evail-i Şevval 1021/ 25 November-4 December **1612**.
- Document 95)** Imperial Decree by the Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and Kadi of Aleppo Evasit-i Ramazan 1021/ 5-14 November **1612**. (Also see documents 89, 90, 98, and 99)
- Document 96)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Osman II to the Defterdar of Cyprus 8 Cemâziyelâhir 1028/ 23 May **1619**.
- Document 97)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Osman II to the Kadi of Izmir Evâil-i Muharrem 1028/ 19-28 December **1618**.

- Document 98)** Letter of Şeyhülislam (Hocazade Mehmed Efendi) to the Viceroy of Aleppo
(Also see documents 89, 90, 95, and 99)
- Document 99)** Letter of Şeyhülislam (Hocazade Mehmed Efendi) to the Kadi of Aleppo
(Also see documents 89, 90, 95, and 98)
- Document 100)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and Kadi of Aleppo
Evâhir-i Zilkâde 1021 / 13-22 January 1613.
- Document 101)** Petition of Ambassador Haga to the Sultan
- Document 102)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and Kadi of Cyprus
Zilkâde 1021/ 13 December 1612-22 January 1613.
- Document 103)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy, Kadi, and
Defterdar of Aleppo
Evâhir-i Zilkâde 1021/ 13 -22 January 1613
- Document 104)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy, Kadi, and
Defterdar of Aleppo
3 Zilkade 1021/ 15 December 1612.
- Document 105)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Kadis of the Cities
from İstanbul to the Polish Border
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- Document 106)** Letter of Defterdar Ahmed Paşa to customs Custodian Murad Çavuş
(Also see document 107)
- Document 107)** Petition of Ambassador Haga to Defterdar Ahmed Paşa
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- Document 108)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to Grand Admiral and
Second Vizier Mehmed Paşa
- Document 109)** Imperial Decree to the Viceroy of Cyprus Davud Paşa
- Document 110)** Imperial Decree to the Kadis of Morea, Mezestre, Lepanto
(İnebaktı), and Patra
- Document 111)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Kadi of İzmir
Evâsit-i Muharrem 1022/ 3-12 March 1613.
- Document 112)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroys of Anadolu
and Karaman, governors and Kâdis there
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- Document 113)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Kadi of İzmir
(Also see document 155)
Evâil-i Receb 1026/ 5-14 July 1617.
- Document 114)** Imperial Diploma for the Dutch consuls' dragomans
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- Document 115)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceřoy of Egypt, Vizier Mehmed Pařa
Evâhir-i Muharrem 1022/ 13-22 March 1613.
- Document 116)** Petition of the Dutch Ambassador Cornelis Haga to Sultan Ahmed I
- Document 117)** Letter of the warden of the ushers of the seraglio Mehmed Aga to the Defterdar of Aleppo Yusuf Efendi
(Also see documents 118, 119, 120, 121, and 162)
- Document 118)** Letter of the warden of the ushers of the seraglio Mehmed Aga to the Viceroy of Aleppo Ahmed Pařa
(Also see documents 117, 119, 120, 121, and 162)
- Document 119)** Letter of the warden of the ushers of the seraglio Mehmed Aga to the custodian of Aleppo Hoca Bedik
Also see documents 117, 118, 120, 121, and 162)
- Document 120)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Governors and custodians on the way from İstanbul to Aleppo
Evâhir-i C. âhir 1022/ 8-16 August 1613.
- Document 121)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and Kadi of Aleppo
Evâsıt-i R. âhir 1022/ 31 May-9 June 1613.
(Also see documents 117, 118, 119, 120 and 162)
- Document 122)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and Kadi of Aleppo
Evâil-i C. âhir 1022/ 19-28 July 1613.
- Document 123)** Approval of enfranchising a slave
Evâil-i Safer 1023/ 13-22 March 1614.
- Document 124)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and Kadi of Cyprus
Evâil-i C. âhir 1022/ 19-28 July 1613.
- Document 125)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy, Defterdar and Kadi of Cyprus
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- Document 126)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy Ahmed Pařa and to the Kadi of Aleppo
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- Document 127)** Petition of the French and English Ambassadors to the Sultan
- Document 128)** Letter from the Viceroy of Cyprus Ali Pařa to the Governor of Alexandria Mehmed Bey
Evâhir-i Ramazan 1022/ 4-13 November 1613.
- Document 129)** Letter of Viceroy Ali Pařa
- Document 130)** Letter of Ahmed Aga in Tunis

- Document 131)** Letter of Halil Paşa to the States General and to Prince Maurice
(Also available in A.R.A. Staten Generaal, 1.01.08, 12593.20)
- Document 132)** Imperial Decree to the Viceroys of Alexandria, Cyprus, and Aleppo
Evâil-i C. evvel 1024/ 29 May-7 June 1615.
- Document 133)** Letter by the Viceroy of Cyprus Ali Paşa to his Deputy Süleyman Beg
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- Document 134)** Petition of Ambassador Haga
- Document 135)** Letter of Grand Vizier Nasuh Paşa to the States General
- Document 136)** Letter of Grand Vizier Nasuh Paşa to the Viceroy of Aleppo Ahmed Paşa
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- Document 137)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I for Patriarch of Alexandria
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- Document 138)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy, Defterdar,
and Kadi of Aleppo
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- Document 139)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy Ahmed Paşa,
Defterdar, and Kadi of Aleppo
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- Document 140)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to Governor, Kadi and
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- Document 141)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I
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- Document 142)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Osman II to the Viceroy of Batum,
and Kadis of Trabzon, Bayburd, Kemah, Sirmen, Oltu, and Maçka
4 Muharrem 1028/ 22 December 1618. (Also see document 144)
- Document 143)** Letter from the Viceroy of Tunis Ali Paşa to his deputy
(mütesellim) Süleyman Beg
2 Ramazan 1023 / 6 October 1614.
- Document 144)** Imperial Diploma by Sultan Osman II for the Metropolitan and
Bishop of Trabzon, Agamemnon
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- Document 145)** Imperial Letter by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and Kadi of Aleppo
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- Document 146)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Kadi of İzmir
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- Document 147)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Governors of Morea and Lepanto and the Kadis in that region
Evâsıt-i R. evvel 1021 / 12-21 May 1612.
- Document 148)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Kadi of İzmir.
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- Document 149)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Kadi of İzmir
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- Document 150)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and the Kadi of Aleppo
Evâsıt-i R.âhir 1021 / 11-20 June 1612.
- Document 151)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy of Cyprus
Evâsıt-i R. âhir 1021 / 11-20 June 1612.
- Document 152)** Letter of Halil Paşa to the Viceroy of Aleppo Davud Paşa
- Document 153)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Osman II to the Kadi of İzmir
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- Document 154)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Kadi of İzmir
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- Document 155)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Osman II to the Kadi of İzmir
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- Document 156)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Kadis, commanders of the castles, and customs custodians
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- Document 157)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy of Tunis
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- Document 158)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy of Algeria
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- Document 159)** Letter of Vizier Halil Paşa to the Viceroy of Tunis Süleyman Paşa
Date before 1 Receb 1021 / 28 August 1612. (Also see documents 160 and 161)
- Document 160)** Letter of Vizier Halil Paşa to Prince Maurice
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- Document 161)** Letter of Ex-Viceroy of Tunis Mehmed Paşa to Prince Maurice
Evâil-i C. lâhir 1021 / 30 July-8 August 1612.
- Document 162)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroys of Aleppo and Cyprus
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- Document 163)** Imperial Letter to the Viceroy of Aleppo
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- Document 164)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Kadi of İzmir
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- Document 165)** Letter of Deputy-Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa
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- Document 166)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Governor of Morea
(previous viceroy of Karaman) Ali Paşa, and the governors of
İnebahtı (Lepanto), Agriboz, Karlılı and Mezistre
Evâsıt-i Muharrem 1026 / 19-28 January **1617**.
- Document 167)** Letter of Mehmed Paşa
(Most probably addressed to Grand Admiral Çelebi Ali Paşa)
- Document 168)** Petition of the Dutch Ambassador Cornelis Haga to be admitted
by Sultan Ahmed I
(Also see document 116)
- Document 169)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Kadi of İzmir
Evâil-i R. âhir 1026 / 8-17 April **1617**.
- Document 170)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Kadi of İzmir, and the
Kadis within the provinces of Aydın, Saruhan, and Menteşe
Evâsıt-i R. âhir 1026 / 18-27 November **1617**.
- Document 171)** Letter of Vizier Halil Paşa to the States General and Prince Maurice
Evâhir-i R. âhir 1021 / 20-29 June **1612**.
(Original doc. available in A.R.A. Staten Generaal, 1.01.08/ 12593.11)
- Document 172)** Letter of Halil Paşa to Prince Maurice
3 C. evvel 1021 / 2 July **1612**.
- Document 173)** Letter of deputy-Grand Vizier (Hadım Mehmed Paşa)
Evâil-i C. evvel 1021 / 30 June - 9 July **1612**
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- Document 174)** Letter of Halil Paşa to the Viceroy of Buda
- Document 175)** Letter of Grand Admiral [Kara] Mehmed Paşa to the States General
- Document 176)** Letter of Grand Admiral Mehmed Paşa to the Viceroy of Aleppo.
- Document 177)** Letter of Vizier Halil Paşa to the Kadi of Cyprus
Also see documents 178, 179, and 180.
- Document 178)** Letter of Vizier Halil Paşa to the Defterdar of Cyprus
Also see documents 177, 179, and 180.
- Document 179)** Letter of Vizier Halil Paşa to the Aga of Janissaries in Cyprus
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- Document 180)** Letter of Vizier Halil Paşa to the Mütesellim (Deputy-Governor) of Cyprus
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- Document 181)** Letter by the Viceroy of Cyprus to the Defterdar in Cyprus
- Document 182)** Letter by the Viceroy of Cyprus to the Deputy Viceroy Hacı Kethüda in Cyprus.
Evâsıt-i Receb 1022 / 27 August-5 September 1613. (Also see document 183)
- Document 183)** Letter by the Viceroy of Cyprus to the Customs Custodian at the port of Cyprus.
Evâsıt-i Receb 1022 / 27 August-5 September 1613. (Also see document 182)
- Document 184)** Letter of Vizier Halil Paşa
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- Document 185)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to Grand Admiral Mehmed Paşa
? Ramazan 1022 / ? November 1613. (Also see documents 58, 140, 141, and 184)
- Document 186)** Petition of the Dutch Ambassador
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- Document 187)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to all Viceroys, Governors and Kadis
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- Document 188)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy of Algeria
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(Also see documents 157, 158, 159, 186, 195 and 212)
- Document 189)** Petition of the French Ambassador (Achille de Harley Sancy) and the Venetian Ambassador (Simon Contarini)
(Also available at A.R.A. Staten Generaal, 1.01.08/12593.1)
- Document 190)** Letter by the Viceroy of Tunis (Fazlullah Paşa) to Prince Maurice and the States General
(Original document is available in A.R.A. S. G, 1.01.08/12593.6)
- Document 191)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy of Cyprus, Kadi of Lefkoşa (Nicosia), and the Kadis of the port cities in the Mediterranean.
Evâil-i R. evvel 1022 / 21-30 April 1613.
- Document 192)** Petition of the Viceroy of Cyprus Ali Paşa
- Document 193)** Petition of the Dutch Ambassador Cornelis Haga
- Document 194)** Permission of departure for captain Urban
Evâhir-i Muharrem 1023 / 3-12 March 1614.
- Document 195)** Petition of the Dutch Ambassador Cornelis Haga to deputy-Grand Vizier Ahmed Paşa
(Also see documents 157, 158, 159, 186, 188, and 212)

Document 196) Permission of Departure for Covan Rimiran?

(Also see documents 194 and 198)

Dated Evâsıt-i Zilhicce 1022 / 22-31 January 1614.

Document 197) Imperial Decree by Sultan Osman II to the Kadi of Izmir

Evâsıt-i C. evvel 1027 / 6-15 May 1618. (Also see document 199 and 203)

Document 198) Letter of Halil Paşa to the wardens of the Castles at Gallipoli

(Also see document 196)

Document 199) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and Kadi of Aleppo

Evâsıt-i R. evvel 1026 / 19-28 March 1617. (Also see documents 197 and 203)

Document 200) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and Kadi of Aleppo

Evâsıt-i R. evvel 1026 / 19-28 March 1617.

Document 201) Letter of Ex-Deputy Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa to the Defterdar of Aleppo

Document 202) Letter to the commander of the Janissaries, Representative of the Janissaries in Algeria

Evâsıt-i R. evvel 1024 / 10-19 April 1615.

(Copies to Yusuf Dayı and to Janissary corps in Tunis)

Document 203) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy, Kadi and Defterdar of Aleppo

Evâil-i C. evvel 1024 / 29 May-7 June 1615. (Also see documents 197 and 199)

Document 204) Letter of Grand Admiral Halil Paşa to the Defterdar of Aleppo

(Another copy to Viceroy of Aleppo Ahmed Paşa)

Document 205) Letter of Grand vizier Halil Paşa to the Viceroy of Cyprus Davud Paşa

Document 206) Petition of the Dutch Ambassador Haga to Grand Admiral Halil Paşa

Document 207) Letter by the Viceroy of Cyprus Ali Paşa to the States General

Document 208) Letter by the Viceroy of Cyprus Ali Paşa to his Mütesellim

(Deputy) El-Hâc Süleyman Beğ

(Also see document 217)

Document 209) Letter by the States General to Deputy Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa

26 July 1614 (Also see document 211)

Document 210) Imperial Decree to the Commander of Cyprus Davud Paşa and Kadi of Cyprus

Document 211) Letter of the States General to Deputy Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa

26 July 1614. (Also see document 209)

Document 212) The Note of the Grand Vizier to the Sultan

(Also see documents 157, 158, 159, 186, 188, and 195)

Document 213) Letter of Halil Paşa

Document 214) Letter by the Viceroy of Cyprus Ali Paşa to the Defterdar of Cyprus
(Another copy sent to the deputy-viceyoy in Cyprus, Munîrî Efendi)

Document 215) Letter by the Viceroy of Cyprus Ali Paşa to Mütessellim Münîrî Efendi
Evâhir-i Rebîülâhir 1024 / 19-28 May 1615

Document 216) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and the Kadi of Cyprus
Evâhir-i Muharrem 1026 / 29 January-7 February 1617

Document 217) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and the Kadi of Cyprus
Evâhir-i Muharrem 1026 / 29 January-7 February 1617



Appendix 2

Leiden University, Legatum Warnerianum, OR 1228, p 165-167

Copy of the Memorandum by the Viceroy of Algeria Süleyman Paşa and Commanders of the Janissary Corps in Algeria

Dated Evâsıt-i C. Evvel 1026 / 17-26 May 1617.

(Also see Appendix 3, document A.R.A. Staten Generaal, 1.01.08/12578.16, no: 6)

Appendix 3

ARA, Staten Generaal, 1.01.08 / 12578.16, no: 6

Letter by the Viceroy of Algeria

Dated 1 Zilhicce 1031 / 7 October 1622.

(Also see Appendix 2, *Leiden University, Legatum Warnerianum, OR 1228*)

Appendix 4

Ahmed Feridun Beg, Münşeâtü's-Selâfîn, vol II, İstanbul: 1265/1849

Imperial Letter by Sultan Selim II to the Leaders of the Lutheran Sect in the Provinces of Flanders

Appendix 5

ARA, Staten Generaal, 1.01.08 / 12593.8

Letter by the Grand Admiral Halil Paşa to Prince Maurice

Dated 1 Evâil-i Şevval 1020/ 7-16 December 1611.

Appendix 6

ARA, Staten Generaal, 1.01.08 / 12593.11

Letter by the Grand Admiral Halil Paşa to Prince Maurice

Dated (Evâhir-i R.âhir 1021 / 20-29 June 1612)

صدر اعظمه اسكندريه
 بحال حضرت صدر اعظمه و عوان وزارت
 بهستندگی کوزج مندر لادن مایه ننده ویدلانم قرین نام
 تیتیع ازت کوزج کس اسید لولندور وزیر المللاک اولی ایچیه
 اول سال اولی ز لری الوصله کوزج که او ترینه
 اوهه تو تلیسونه نیج اریبر عهد نامه ای اینه
 وزیر لوزج ر لری لید و اوله تیتیع ایغور
 راننده بهیج متفور باغ و اولی وزیر

Document 5) Letter of Grand Vizier [Halil Paşa] to the Governor of Alexandria, Kasım Beg
 A Dutch subject, named Vilanmo Komelyo (Willem Cornelis) is under captivity in
 Alexandria. He was enslaved after the Dutch capitulation was granted. He
 should be immediately released according to the imperial decree (Emr-i Şerif),
 and delivered to the Dutch consul there. That kind of behavior, which is contrary
 to the conditions of their capitulations, should be wary of, because, the Dutch
 had established friendly relations with the Ottoman Empire with his [Halil Paşa]
 personal preference.

از تفرقه و تنگنای دولت علی بن سلطان محمد

از حاکم ایالت
مشرقی کاشان

بزرگان اینجانب سزاوارست که در حال کنونی در این ایالت و کانتون اولاد بیرون
امور و مصالح کور که و تنگنای لازم در این ایالت و کانتون اولاد بیرون
کلیه امور و وجوه طایفه مجبور و سزاوارست که در این ایالت و کانتون اولاد بیرون
بسیار بود و مجبور و سزاوارست که در این ایالت و کانتون اولاد بیرون
کلیه امور و وجوه طایفه مجبور و سزاوارست که در این ایالت و کانتون اولاد بیرون
و مصالح کور و کانتون اولاد بیرون و کانتون اولاد بیرون
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امیر

Document 8) Imperial diploma by Sultan Ahmed I for the Dutch consul in Izmir (Smyrna)
The Dutch ambassador (Cornelis Haga) has petitioned that a consul is required
to meet the affairs of the Dutch merchants in Izmir and environs, and he
authorized Nicolo Orando for this purpose. From then onwards his appointment
as consul in Izmir is ratified. He should be obeyed and never be opposed, and
the ships flying the Dutch flag should fully pay their cottimo (consulate fee) to
him. Evahir-i Receb 1026/ 25 July-3 August 1617.

و در ستمین بودین که در وقت تولد تبارین این اسامی نافع بر تقیه و در حق اعلام اولادیک ستمین است
 و بعد از دین و غیره خواهد بود که در خصوص برزور وین و دولت نافع بر اولاد و ستمین هم اولاد و بر اولاد
 و حق اولاد در کتاب اولادیک خصوص برزور و ستمین و برزور است. عالمی است غیر تباریکه که با هایت برزور و دولت
 صدر اعظم صورتیکه حیدر علی ستمین و این تباریکه از یک تبار است برزور و برزور است و اولاد که تباریکه برزور
 از صحت اولاد است و ستمین برزور و برزور است که در هایت برزور و برزور است و اولاد که تباریکه برزور
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 پنج ستمین است که در این اسامی برزور و برزور است و برزور و برزور است و اولاد که تباریکه برزور
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محمد
 محمد
 محمد

پنج ستمین است که در این اسامی برزور و برزور است و برزور و برزور است و اولاد که تباریکه برزور
 و برزور است که در این اسامی برزور و برزور است و برزور و برزور است و اولاد که تباریکه برزور
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Document 22) Niderlanda Elçisi tarafından 'izzetlü Halil Paşa Hazretlerine Edirne'ye azimet buyurdularında yazduğu mektubun suretidür

Saadetlü ve 'izzetlü Sultânüm hazretlerinin hâk-pây-i şerîflerine yüz sürmeyi Hak sübhanehû ve teâlâ vücûd-i şerîfinüz hatâ ve hatırlardan hıfz ü masun eyleyüb dünyevî ve uhrevî murâdât-i şerîflerün hayırla müyesser kılıvere. Âmin, yâ muîn.

Benim 'izzetlü sultânüm rif'at ile bu cânibden azîmet buyuraldan beru bir mertebe firkat çekerim ki Hazret-i Mevlâ bilür. Bu hayr-hâh bendeleri evvel hazret-i yâri teâlâ, sonra saadetlü sultanumdan gayrı mu'în ve mesnedim yokdur. Bu diyârların bir garibi olub izdiyâd-i ömr-i devlet ve terakki-i 'izz ü rif'at ile 'avdet-i şerîflerin ankarîb Rabbü'l-'izzet erzânî ve müyesser kılıvere deyü rûz ü şeb tazarru ve niyâz eylemekden hâlî olmaduğumu iştiyâ-i şerîf buyurulmaya.

..... benim rif'atlü sultânüm bundan akdem bu cânibden irsâl olunan Lamberto Virhaer nâm kethüdâlarımız geçen hafta mektublar irsâl eylemişdir ki Niderlanda memleketine sağ ü sâlim muvassıl olub ve Asitâne-i Saâdetde vâki' cemî' ahvâl ü umûrumuzu tafsîl üzere nakl etdükden sonra efendilerimiz Üştâdı Ceneralleri ve Konte Maverisyo'ya sa'âdetlü 'âlem-penâh hazretlerinün nâme-i hümâyunların ve sultânümün ve sâir erbâb-i devletin mekâtib-i şerîflerin teslîm edüb ve hâlâ Âsitâne-i sa'âdetde vâki' akîdet ve ittihâdımız ve 'ahd ü emân ki sultânüm hazretlerinün vâsıtasıyla zuhûra gelüb ve bu sulh ü salâhı izhâr eylemek için vâki' olan sa'y u ikdâm-i sa'âdetinüz tafsîl üzere istihbâr olunmağla efendilerimiz müşarünileyhimâya ve ehîbbâmıza mûcib-i sürûr-i 'azîme ve a'dâyaya sebep-i kahr ü inhizâm olmuşdur ki zibân ile ta'bîre gelmez. Ve 'ale'l- efendilerim Üştâdı Ceneralleri Konte Maverisyo ile mâ'an azametlü pâdişah-i âlem-penâh hazretlerine nâmelerün ve sa'âdetlü sultanuma ve sâyir erbâb-i devlete niçe mekâtib yazub ilticâ ve iltimasları hayr-i kabûlde muvassıl olduğı teşkîren ve tahmîden tasaddur eylediklerinden gayrı rikâb-i hümâyuna ve sa'âdetlü sultanumun hedâyâsı niçe tuhâf kısmı sâyir emtî'a ile alub zikr olunan mektublar ile mâ'an Niderlanda'nun bir gemi içinde tahmîl edüb Âsitâne-i sa'âdete göndermişlerdir ki inşallahü te'âlâ ankarîb îsâl olunub ve irsâl olunan mektublardan ehl-i İslâma ve sâyir umûr-i mu'azzamaya bu sulh ü salâhdan niçe menâfi'-i celîle hâsıl olub bir vechile izhâr ve müşâhede olunur ki cenâb-i şerîfiniz vâsita ve bâis olduğunuzu envâ'-i ta'zim ü tekrîm olunub ve a'dâmıza ki 'ahd ü emân ve akd-i inkıyâdımızı dür etmeğe sa'y edenlere makhûr olalar ve zikr olunan mektublar ile kühnü ile 'ayân ve beyân olunur. Ve vilâyetlerimizden gelen ahbâr-i sahîha budur ki,

Afrika semtine Keyna nâm memleket ki altun ve gümüş madenlerinden İspanya kralı müdâm altun ve gümüş andan kazub taşımak üzeredür. Geçen sene efendilerimiz 'azîm donanma bir serdâr ile ol câniblere gönderüb varduklarında Mavra adasındaki işbu bin yirmi bir Muharremünî evâsıtındadır; mahall-i merkûmeye vâsil oldukda mezkûr serdarımız zikr olunan memleket sâhibi ve hâkimi Ziyê de Sayoi nâm kral ile azîm muhabbet bağlayub mâbeyne azîm akdet-i ittihâd ve 'ahd ü emân edüb mahall-i mezbûre zikr olunan madenleri olduğu yerde kral-ı mezbûrun hüsn-i rızâsıyla kendü âdemlerimizin mübâşeretile azîm hisar bina ve ta'mîr eylemişlerdir. Ve hisarun adı Nassuya komuşlardır ki Konte Maverisyo'nun lakâbıdır. Ve ol cevânibde olan Di de Araste Kominte? Ve Di de Araste Akrayı? ve Dî de Fino? nâm krallar ki şimdiye dek İspanya kralı ile 'ahd ü emân üzere edüb hâlâ mezbûr serdarımıza elçiler gönderüb efendilerimiz ile arz ü ihtisâs akîdet-i 'ahd ü emân eylemeleri bâbında ricâ ve iltimas etdüklerinde istidaları kabûl eylemişlerdür. Şol şartla ki mukaddemâ İspanya kralı ile olan dostluk ve akîdetlerin bozub halel vereler ve zikr olunan krallardan gayrı semâ'la dahî öte cânibde olan krallar ve ashâb-i vilâyât bizüm ile sulh ü salâh ve arz-i ihlâs ve ihtisâs üzere olunmak bâbında istidâ ederler. Ma'lûmlarıdır ki, efendilerimiz müşârünileyhimâ kadîmü'l-eyyâmdan 'ahd ü peymânları dür üdir. Cân ü başla dostlarına dost ve düşmanlarına düşmandır. Ve bi'l-cümle müşârünileyhimâ Üştâdı Ceneralleri ma'a konte Maverisyo muhlisleri yeni memleketler feth etmek üzeredir ki ve İspanya'nun der-kabzında olan memâlik ve vilâyât elinden ahz edüb kendümüze mürâcaat edeler.

Benim sa'âdetlü sultânım bu makûle ahvaller tafsîl üzere yazub hâk-pây-i şerîflerine i'lâm eylemeye cür'et olundu ki efendilerimizin umûru gün-be-gün terakkî ve izdiyâd üzere olub husûs-i mezbûrdan küllî hazz edecekleri sahîh bilmekle i'lâmına tekessül olundu. Ve bundan ma'dâ Moskof tarafından Asusiya kralının karındaşı kralları olmak için mürâcaat eyleyübkralının oğlunu isteyüb redd etdüklerin haber aldık ki mezbûr Asusiya kralı Üştâdı Ceneralleri ve Konte Maverisyo'nun ehîb-i ihtisâsı muakkad dostları olduğundan gayrı Âsitâne-i sa'âdetin dostlarından olmak aksâ-yı muradlarıdır ki bu muhlisleri bundan akdem kral-ı mezkûrun yanında efendilerimizin tarafından elçilik risâletinde iken husûs-i mezbûru kendü ağzıyla benimle söyleşüb müştak-i azîmdir. Ömrüm hakdan ki azametlü pâdişah-i âlem-penâh hazretleri bu ahbârdan küllî hazlar eyleyüb Âsitâne-i adâletlerinde dostlarunuz umûru izdiyâd ve terakki buldukları ehl-i İslâm'a dahî nâfi' bir kazıyyedir deyu i'lâm olunduğu saâdetlü pâdişahın müstakîm ve âdil vezîri ve hayr-hahlarısız; husûs-i mezbûr dîn ü devlete nâfi' bir umûrdur

deyu münâsib fehm olunmağın bu ahvâl dahî î'lâmına irtikâb olunduğu husûs-i mezbûrede sa'âdetlü ve kudretlü pâdişah-i âlem-penâh hazretlerinin rikâb-i hümâyunlarına ve 'izzetlü sadrazam hazretleriyle hîn-i mahalde söyleşüb re'y-i şerîfleri ile tecvz buyurulub icâzet verilürse inşallahu teâlâ mezbûr Asusiya kralı Âsitâne-i sa'âdete mürâcaat etdürüb an-karîb elçileri gelüb rikâb-i hümâyuna âdet üzere yüz sürüb arz-i ihlâs ve inkıyâd etmeleri mukarrerdir ki ba'dehû ile akabince niçe menâfî-i celîle müşahede olunur. Benim saâdetlü sultânım gerek emini olan Murad çavuşun hakkında ve hamr husûsunda sultânuma verdüğüm arzlar mercûdur ki mûciblerince ahkâm-i şerîfe ihrâc ve irsâl etdürüb ve selâm çavuşu Mustafa çavuş bendeleriyle iki kıt'a emr-i şerîf ihrâc eylemek için iki arz-i hâl vermişim. Mercûdur ki anlar dahî avk eylemeyüb bu bendelerine gönderivereler.

Allâhu tebarake ve te'âlâ saâdetlü sultânımın ömrünü ve devletini yevmen-fe-yevmen ziyâde eyleyüb sâye-i adâletlerin üzerimizden hâlî eylemeyüb izdiyâd-i 'izz ü rıfat ile avdet-i saâdetlerün gözümüze erzânî ve müyesser kılvere. Âmin, yâ Rabbü'l-âlemîn. Bâkî fermân 'izzetlü sultanımıñdur.

Bende-i Muhlis
Kornelyo HAGA
Elçi-i Niderlanda

Benim saâdetlü ve 'izzetlü sultânım, zikr olunan Niderlanda gemisinde tahmîl ve vârid olan bazı tuhâf ve hedâyâ ki efendilerime Üştâdı Ceneralleri hedâyâ için göndermişlerdir. Vâsıl olduklarında gerek emin Murad çavuşdan ve gaynısından bir ferde dahl ü ta'arruz olunmayub aynı ile bu bendelerine gönderilmek bâbında müekked emr-i şerîf ricâsına himmet buyurula.

Tahrîren fî gurre-i Zilhicce sene 1021

مودة لادرا الكرام قيس من اولاد سنيا ببر و مودة لادرا و الاكابر و الاقربى و قد وازره اولاد عمتي اولاد
 بيد تمام لينا اولادك من اولاد لاجين و رسوله من اولاد صون و اولاد ارباب بازرگان و كور و كور و اولاد كور
 من عرفة يوزر لوب اولاد اذ هو عهد نامه لوزن مطور و مقيد ايكين و من قيس ايشاد يوزر لوب اولاد كور و اولاد
 ايلكاري بيلير كين عهد نامه همايوه اوشو من اولاد باين اولاد من ايلكاري بيلير و اولاد كور و اولاد
 لادرا اولاد عهد نامه همايوه موصي بازرگان ايلكاري و اولاد كور و اولاد كور و اولاد كور و اولاد
 لادرا و اولاد باين اولاد بازرگان ايلكاري و اولاد كور و اولاد كور و اولاد كور و اولاد كور
 عهد نامه همايوه زياره لوب ايلكاري كور و اولاد كور ايلكاري ايلكاري ايلكاري ايلكاري
 باية ايج و اللام

مودة لادرا الكرام قيس من اولاد سنيا ببر و مودة لادرا و الاكابر و الاقربى و قد وازره اولاد عمتي اولاد
 اولاد من ايلكاري بيد تمام لينا اولادك من اولاد لاجين و رسوله من اولاد صون و اولاد ارباب بازرگان و كور و كور و اولاد كور
 همايون من اولاد و الاقربى باية اولاد كين ايلكاري اولاد اولاد من عرفة موصي بازرگان و اولاد كور و اولاد
 من عرفة يوزر لوب اولاد اذ هو عهد نامه لوزن مطور و مقيد ايكين و من قيس ايشاد يوزر لوب اولاد كور و اولاد
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 اولاد كور و اولاد باين اولاد بازرگان ايلكاري و اولاد كور و اولاد كور و اولاد كور و اولاد كور
 باية ايج و اللام

Document 23) Letter of the Viceroy of Cyprus to his representative (mütesellim) Süleyman Beg and defterdar İsa Beg
 The Dutch merchants there should pay 3% customs duty, instead of 5% in accordance with the capitulations granted to them.

Document 24) Letter of the Viceroy of Cyprus to his mütesellim Süleyman Beg and defterdar İsa Beg
 The Dutch ships loading or unloading at Cypriot ports should pay *cottimo* (consulage fee) to the Dutch consul there.

Document 25) Pâdişah Hazretlerine Üstâdı Ceneralleri Tarafından Arz-ı Hâlin Sûretidir

Devletlü ve adâletlü ve azametlü pâdişah-i âlem-penâh hazretlerinin rikâb-i hümâyun 'izzet-makrûnlarına yüz sürüb arz-ı bende budur ki, Hâlâ Budin beğlerbeğisi olan Ali Paşa'nın kethüdasıyla Gasparo Garasyan? nâm zimmî Rim halkının imparatoruna elçilik hizmetinde bundan akdem irsâl olunub mahall-i me'mura varub imparator-i mümâileyhânın divânında risâletlerin mübâşeret eylediklerinde şöyle takrîr eylediler ki, devletlü ve 'izzetlü pâdişah-i âlem-penah hazretlerinin cenâb-i hümâyunlarından fermân-i şerîfleri bize sâdır olmuşdur ki huzurunuzda izhâr eyleyevüz; Neleranda Üstâdı Ceneralleri kendü nâmeleri Asitâne-i Sa'âdetde olan elçilerinün mübâşeretiyle rikâb-i hümâyunlarına i'lâm eylemişlerdir ki sizünle barışub mâbeynde sulh ü salâh olmasına izn-i hümâyunları verilmek revâ görülmeyüb muttasıl ceng üzere olmak vechile evlâ ve enfa'dur deyü takrîr ve tasdîr eylemişlerdir. Adâletlü pâdişahım ahvâl-i merkûmu alâ-ma'a-vaka'a Üstâdı Ceneralleri efendilerim muhlisleri sıhhati üzere tarîf ve diyâr-ı Efrencide olan mülûk-i Nasara ve elektörlerin mâ-beynlerinde isnâd-î bühtân-i mezbûru fâş ü destân olduğundan gayrı, zikr olunan elçiler dahî minvâl-i merkûm üzere hakkımızda nakl eyledikleri hilâf-i vâkî' ol diyarlarda duyurub inandırmak ile krallar mezbûrdan dahî fitne-i merkûmu muhakkak kılub efendilerim ile muta'assıb olduklarından hayli elem çekmişlerdir ki kadîmden anlar ile olan akîdet ve ittihad ve dostlukları bilâ-sebeble adâvete tebdîl olmak ihtimâli vardur ve bi'l-cümle zikr olunan elçilerin etdükleri musîbet ve bühtândan efendilerimizin arzlarına ve hakikatlarına halel vermekle kendü taraflarından bu tafsîl üzere arz-i hâl eyler. Rikâb-i hümâyunlarına i'lâm olunmağa bu kullarına sipâriş eylemeleri ile bu mertebe küstahâne cür'et olundu ve hâlâ mezîd-i inâyât-i pâdişahdan ilticâ ve iltimaslar budur ki zikr olunan elçiler mezkûr imparatorun divânında ve meclisinde hakkımızda nakl eyledükleri cevâblarun cenâb-i hümâyunlarından ve vükelâ-yı izâmlarından cüdâ sâdır olunmayub hakikat-i hâl üzere imparator-i mezbûra müte'allik umûra kalîl ve kesîr ve rikâb-i hümâyunlarına bir nesne i'lâm ve dahl eylemediğimüzü alâ-mâ-hüve'l-vâkî' Üstâdı Ceneralleri efendilerim muhlislerine bu bâbda nâme-i hümâyun azamet-makrûnları ile izhâr eylemek bâbında himmet ve inâyet buyurula ki hîn-i mahalde sadâkatleri müşâhade eyleye. Bakî fermân adâletlü ve azametlü ve kudretlü pâdişah-i âlem-penâh hazretleriniñdir.

Bende
Elçi-i Neleranda
Hâlâ

Document 27) Baş Tezkireci Hacı Efendi Hazretlerine Elçi Tarafından Gönderilen Mektubun Suretidir

Cenâb-i 'izzet-meâb sa'âdet-nisâb devlet-iktisâb Hacı Efendi hazretleri kâm-yâb edâmallahü te'âlâ ömrühü ve devletühü el- e'd-devrân da'vât-i sâ'iyât selîmât âfiyât meveddet-engîz 'izz-i huzûr-i şerîflerine ithâf ve ihdâ kılındukdan sonra inhâ-yı muhibb-i muhlis olunur ki, eğer bu muhibb-i hâlisü'l-vedâd ahvâlinde istisâr câyiz buyurulursa bi-hamdullah ve'l-minne hüsn-i âfiyetde mevcûd olub Sultânüm hazretleri ile sıhhat ve âfiyet üzere mülâkat olmasının da'iyyesinde olduğumuz mülâhaza-i şerîf buyurula 'akb. Velâkin benüm 'izzetlü efendim hafî ve nihân buyurulmaya ki bizüm anda olan konsolosa bu muhibbiniz eliyle efendilerimiz tarafından 'izzetlü ve sa'âdetlü vezîr-i a'zâm hazretlerine bir arz-i hâl gönderilmiştir ve anda ola konsolos ahvâl niçe geçdü ise ağızdan dahî söyler. Cenâb-i sa'âdetinizün re'y-i şerîfleri her ne ise âna göre amel ederler. Ammâ Sultânüm hazretlerinden temennâ ve ricâ olunan oldur ki 'izzetlü ve sa'âdetlü vezîr-i a'zâm hazretlerine tefhîm buyurmasına sa'y-ı cemîlinizi bî-diriğ buyurula ve her ne cevâb-i şerîfleri olursa bu muhlisinize irsâl olunmasına himmet buyurula, zirâ bu bir takayyüd edecek maddedir. Eğer bizüm efendilerimizin ve eğer bu muhibbinizin arzına ve ahd ü misâkına müte'allik ma'nâdır âna göre takayyüd-i şerîfiniz olub zikr olunan arz-i hâlin cevâbın bu cânibe irsâl olunmasına ihsan buyurula ve benüm Sultanum sa'âdet ile bu cânibden teveccüh buyurduğunuzdan sonra hiç bu muhlisinize bir mektûb-i şerîfiniz gelüb vâsil olmaduğundandeyüz. Eđerçi anda olan konsolos her mektubda Sultânümün sıhhat haberün yazar, ammâ Sultânümün elinden olsa yüz kat ziyâde hazz ederüz ve bizüm ol câniblere mektûb göndermediğimize bâis budur ki beş altı ay tâun eleminden hisar semtinde idük. Zirâ bir mertebe tâun olmuşdur ki taşradan gelen âdem ile söyleşmek kâbil değil idi, eğer bize, eğer sâir halka bir çok dârı olmuşdur. Haleb'den mektub göndermedük, ammâ Hak bilür ki gece gündüz hâtırımuz yanınızdadır, şöyle ma'lûm oluna. Ziyâde ne demek kâbildir ki ma'lûm-i şerîfiniz olmaya. Heman Hak sübhânehü ve te'âlâ hazretlerinden ricâm oldur ki dâimâ Sultânüm hazretlerinin sıhhati haberin işidüb sağ ü sâlim mülâkat olmak müyesser oluna ve benüm 'izzetlü Sultânüm bu muhibbinizi mektûb-ı şerîfinüz ile yâd edüb vâki olan ahbârı ilâm etmesine izninüz ricâ olunursa minnet-i azîm olduğuna rey ü gümân buyurulmaya. Bâkî ömr ü devlet ve kadr u sa'âdet ve der-zill-i himâyet müstahkem benüm 'izzetlü efendim hafî ve nihân buyurulmaya ki zikr olunan arz-i hâl efendilerimizin mührü ileki benüm sâhib-i sa'âdet hazretlerinden gayrı kimesne vâkıf olmasun, âna göre sâhib-i sa'âdet hazretlerine ilâm buyurasız, zirâ efendilerim bana böyle sipâriş eylemişlerdir. Kimesnenün eline düşmesin deyü Frenk kalemi ile yazub göndermişlerdir, şöyle ma'lûm-i şerîfleri ola; benüm 'izzetlü efendim varan arz-i hâlin cevâbın sadrazam hazretleri yazdukda lutfunuzdan mercûdur ki arz-i hâlde niçe elkâb yazmış ise Rim halkının imparatoru yazdırmasına sa'y-ı cemîliniz bî-diriğ buyurula, zirâ bize lâzım olan böyle elkâb yazmaktır. Sadrazam hazretlerinin sulh için gönderdiği nâme-i şerîflerinde böyle elkâb yazmışlardır. Şöyle ma'lûm-i şerîfleri ola sa'âdetlü Hacı Efendi hazretlerinin huzûr-i şerîflerine vâsil ola.

Muhlisleri
Elçi-i Niderlanda

خبر از سر و آفتاب سلطان نامه حاجت شراب خنده
بازیدان امر شریفک صورتی

توقیح رفع محالون و اصل اولیجی معلوم اوله که در کباب کامیایه اطاعت انقاد و عمودیت ابدن نورانی
کلا دیوان عدالت محو نامه دم و عرض حال کونوز و بپوزن اقدم قرانیه و وزیریک و انکلتج الحیلر کفای نفی
یکون اچیلر ابله مانده دن و سایر الحیلر کردن بدستند بیک بدن خرد و قلمین مکرگ و سایر رسوم انچه دیو حکم
مالون و وزیریک بکزدنی اوله کونوز و بپوزن ذکر اولان الحیلر کردن بدستند بیک بدن خرد و قلمین مکرگ و سایر
بوی انچه دیو عدنامه محالون موجب دیوان محالون طرفین امر شریفک بیک کنینه ترو کرگ ابله در داخل
بوی بکرگ و سایر رسوم طلب الملکون صادر کلر در حصد منوع و دو او نوب من بعد ذکر اولان مقدر امر خردن
ازه اولان عدنامه محالون موجب دیوان طرفین و بریلان حکم شریفک مخالف مکرگ و سایر رسوم الدر لایق
له جانفینون دخی امر شریفک در حاکمته اعلام الملکون اندر عدنامه کونوز موجب عدنامه شرح و وزیریک رسوم
چون داخل و رنجیده اند و در لایق دیوانه بپوزن که حکم شریفک و لاد و قلمین بویا بدین صادر اولان امر
لی ایوب دخی ذکر اولان قدر لایق انچه حکم اوله کونوز اچیلر ابله و بپوزن اوزره بالاده قیل اولان
حکم کردن کونوز و لایق بدستند بیک مدره مکرگ کنی و سایر رسوم الملکون و بریلان عدنامه محالون
بوی دیوان محالون و بریلان حکم شریفک مخالف الدر و شریفک مخالف کنینه ایش اندر و شریفک
مخصوص بپوزن ایکن امر اخر ارسالته محتاج ایلمیه کونوز و بعد النظر بوی حکم محالون بپوزن
به ابله و قلمین حکم بپوزن اچیلر بدینه القاد بوی عدالت شریفک اعمی و عدالت کونوزی ایوم
خامس سهر در ایکن سنه اربع و عشرين و الف

مطمنظمه

اگر امین در اوقات بعد از ظهر با ارض معلوم اوله که حال الامانه معاودت کباب و سلطان و اطرافه و بیت ابدن نورانی الحیلر
اوله مانده و سایر الحیلر کردن کونوز و بپوزن اچیلر ابله صانون الوب کونوز و کلر بدستند بیک بدن خرد و قلمین مکرگ و سایر
لی ابله انچه دیو و دیوان محالون و وزیریک طرفین او امر شریفک و وزیریک بیک کنینه ترو کرگ ابله در داخل
اشته و در لایق کونوز که موجب عدنامه محالون و بریلان امر شریفک و لاد و قلمین بویا بدین صادر اولان امر
طلب التیج و دینکه غیب اولیجی کونوز در ان مهور است که کونوزی ایوم

Document 30) Imperial Decree of Sultan Ahmed I to wine Custodian Murad Aga
The Dutch ambassador petitioned to the Sublime Porte and requested permission to obtain wine without paying custom duty as the French, Venetian and English residents. So, he should be allowed to buy wine and keep in his residence without paying any duty for his own necessity only. Dated 5 Zilhicce 1024/ 25 Nov. 1616
Document 31) Imperial Decree of Sultan Ahmed I to the Customs Custodian
The Dutch ambassador and his staff should be allowed to transport 7000 medre wine annually, from Bandirma and other ports. Dated 16 Zilhicce 1024/ 6 Dec. 1616.

Document 32) ‘İzzetlü ve Sa’âdetlü Mehmed Paşa Hazretleri Zamanında Sa’âdetlü ve Şefkatlü Pâdişah-i Zıllullah Hazretlerinden Gönderilen Nâme-i Hümâyun ‘İzzet-Makrûnun Sûretidir

İftihârü'l-ümerâi'l-'izâmü'l-Iseviyye merâciü'l-küberâi'l-fihâm fi'l-milleti'l-Mesihîyye muslihu mesâlihu cemâhiru't-tâifetü'n-Nasrâniyye sâhib-i ezyâli'l-haşmeti ve'l-vakâr sâhib-i delâilü'l-mecd ve'l-iftihâr Neleranda vilâyetleri Üstadı Ceneralleri ve Konte Maversiyu hâkimleri hutimet avâkıbühüm bi'l-hayr tevkî-i refî-i hümâyun vâsıl olıcak ma'lûm ola ki hâlâ medâr-i selâtin-i rûy-i zemîn ve melce-i havâkîn-i devlet-karîn olan âşiyân-i 'izzetimize nâme-i muhabbet-mashûbunuz sâdır olub arz-ı ihlas ve itâ'atda sâbit-kadem olduğunuz ve mukaddemâ inâyet olunan 'ahdnâme-i hümâyunda vilâyet-i Neleranda'ya tâbi' olanlardan Memâlik-i Mahrûse'de ne kadar esir olmuş varsa halâs olalar deyü fermân olunmağla Tunus ve Cezâyir'de bulunan esirleri halâs etmek için evâmir-i şerîfe ile kapum kullarından Ömer irsâl olunub Tunus ve Cezâyir'de Nelerandalu'dan yüzden ziyâde esir var iken ancak onsekiz nefer halâs olub ma'dâsı halâs olmamışdır. Mukaddemâ inâyet olunan ahdnâme-i hümâyun ve irsâl olunan nâme-i 'izzet-makrûn mucibince Tunus'da ve Cezâyir'de bâkî kalan esirler itlâk etdirölmek ricâ ve iltimas edüb ve sâyir her ne ki i'lâm ve i'lân olunmuş ise tafsil üzere pâye-i serîr-i sa'âdet-masîr husrevânemize arz-i takrîr olunub ilm-i şerîfimiz alâ vechi'l-kâmil cümlesine muhît ve şâmil olub vesâyir dilden sipâriş olunan dostluk haberleri zî-mesâmi'-i aliyemize vusûl bulub istid'ânız üzere murâdâtınız hayr-ı kabûlde vâki' olmağla fermân-i kazâ-cereyânımız mucibince Tunus ve Cezâyir'de olan esirlerinizün halâsına evâmir-i şerîfe inâyet olunmuşdur. Âsitâne-i devletimize sadâkat ve ihlâs ile arz-ı muhabbet ve ihtisas üzere olan dostlar hakkında kemâl-i atîfet ve ref'etimüz bi-diriğ olmağın nâme-i hümâyunumuz inâyet edüb vusûl buldukda gerekdir ki düdmân-ı sa'âdet-unvânımız ile hüsn-i sülûk ve musâfâtı dostluk levâzımı icrâ ve itiyâd üzere olub dostluk ve ittihad merâsimin mürâfi kılâsız ve dâyim nâmenüz ile ahabâr-ı sıhhat ve selâmetiñizü müş'ir nâmeler irsâlınden hâlî olunmaya ki vürüdu hakkıñızda dâyimâ bu taraftan ülfet ve meveddeti mûcib nice eltâf ü inâyât sudûruna bâis ve izdiyâd-ı ittihâdı yevmen-fe-yevmen meveddet idüğü muhtâc-i beyân değıldür.

Tahiren fi evâil-i şehri Rebiülevvel sene erba'a ve 'ışrîn ve elf mine'l-hicretü'n-nebeviyye aleyhi efdali't-tahıyye

Evâil-i Rebîülevvel 1024 / 31 March - 9 April 1615

Be-makâm-i Kostantiniyye
El-mahrûse

تمام بنام خودت خدمت مندرجہ کتبہ صورتی

غرض کہ حضرت مندرجہ تہذیب و درویشی و خیریت کا فی اقامہ اولیٰ و عن وزیر اعلیٰ حضرت
 مقرر ہے کہ اللہ العالیٰ اعلان اولیٰ کہ اولیٰ کہ مندرجہ کتبہ استماع و سہولت اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع و سہولت
 اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع
 تیسرے موضع متاع کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع
 چوتھے موضع متاع کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع
 و عنہما لہذا بنام خودت و اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع
 لہذا بنام خودت و اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع
 ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع
 انہما مقرر ہے کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع
 اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع
 اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع
 عنہما و حال و سہولت اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع
 استماع و سہولت اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع
 میں ہی پورے کا کوئی تفسیر نہیں ہے لہذا قلم نہایں نہ بیکر لائے کہ مبلغ اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع اولیٰ کہ ایک کتبہ استماع

محمد علی

Document 41) Letter of Vice-Grand Vizier to Viceroy and Defterdar of Cyprus

It was realized by the petition that the Dutch merchants decline to pay customs duty for the coins they bring to the Cypriot ports. The case was questioned from the Dutch ambassador in Istanbul. According to the capitulations granted to the Dutch nation, coins were exempt from customs duty. (also see documents 9 and 40).

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از تفریق نامه بایزوله کلی در تفریق صورت بند

توقع رفع عماره و اصلاحی صلح رو که در لایحه ایلی برین مساعده عرض حاله ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب
 طایفه نزل زمانت غایت لولاه عهدنامه و عماره و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب
 حاله اوله عهدنامه و عماره و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب
 رعایت علی لکل بیرون و مع یایع فرود کلب و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب
 عماره و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب
 غایت لولاه اگر عهدنامه و عماره و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب
 ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب
 کید و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب
 در لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب
 رعایت و عماره و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب
 و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب
 تفریق عماره و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب

(1012)

از تفریق نامه بایزوله کلی در تفریق صورت بند

توقع رفع عماره و اصلاحی صلح رو که در لایحه ایلی برین مساعده عرض حاله ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب
 در لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب
 رعایت علی لکل بیرون و مع یایع فرود کلب و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب
 عماره و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب
 غایت لولاه اگر عهدنامه و عماره و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب
 ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب
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 رعایت و عماره و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب و لایحه اوله تفریق ایروب و مع یایع فرود کلب
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از تفریق نامه بایزوله کلی در تفریق صورت بند

Document 43) Imperial Decree of Sultan Osman II to the Kadi in İzmir
 The Dutch ambassador petitioned to the Sublime Porte and requested that the Dutch capitulations granted by the then Sultan his father Ahmed I remain valid until a new ahdname is granted. His request was admitted and would be valid. Dated Evahir-i Cemaziyelewwel 1027 / 16-25 May 1618.

Document 44) Imperial Decree of Sultan Osman II to the Kadi in İzmir
 The Dutch ambassador petitioned and requested that the Dutch ships laden with Venetian goods on the way to Levant were interrupted and certain presents were requested, claiming that Venetian goods were transported. Any kind of extra payments are contrary to the Dutch capitulations, and must be reimbursed. Dated Evahir-i Cemaziyelewwel 1027 / 16-25 May 1618.

من اهل الامم الكرام وراي كبراء الخاتم والقرن والادعوا الحفوة غير غيت اكثر التعلق استنة بسعدنا
 فان والارح بول لوزنت ولك الادلة سفيانكوي زير قريش وسفاح القضاة والفتاى الويه في زوجه والقا
 الادلة فاصير زير قفلهم توقع ربيع حاوية واصد لولبي صلي ادلكم من لان ابلي في حفر عوانه تا لير لوزيه
 هاجوه هو لوتنك كوز روي ماوس والله استنة بسعدنا زويه ان كوز كوز وراي اريونوب لوجا غرت
 ويكلم من بد بولن واين فوكر لونه لويه راس انه وضر اوي من اوج لوكثر بويرو كوز
 داروق بوياب ملر لاوله لوج لوزن عمر ايوب وفي فوكر لونه لويه راس اريونوب
 من فيه فوله وراجل كرفوه وكوز ورايوه لصلاب برفو ريكن وريما ليريه سن توياب
 ملاس توياب لعتق تلاك كوزك لاول بيزه رجب الكفر مان وعزى والى هاليج السوء على اهل اللج

محمد
 طودلي

Document 49) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the governors and kadis
 The Dutch ambassador would like to send 3 horses to the Netherlands for
 Stadtholder Prince Maurice. The horses should not be interrupted, nor prevented.
 Dated Evail-i Receb 1026 / 5=14 July 1617.

Document 56) A general Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the kadis, and governors

The [Dutch] merchants should not be intervened nor prohibited by the kadis and governors within the Ottoman territories and they should remain in a just and comfortable environment.

Dated Evail-i Receb 1021 / 28 August- 6 September 1612.

Document 57) Petition of Ambassador Haga to Sultan Ahmed I

The Dutch ambassador Cornelis Haga has petitioned Sultan Ahmed I that the local authorities were disobedient to the provisions of the Dutch capitulations. The Dutch capitulations were examined at the presence of the kadi of Istanbul, and all kinds of behavior, which were contrary to their capitulations were prohibited.

فرمانده و وزیرین و دکنکله قونسلواری و صفر و توتوغ ایلمیه فروری
باز یله کلک موریتیک قونسل

قوتیه رفیه هابونه و دمس دیویمی صلح و صفا ندر لادن ایلمیه سن شمسایه عمری مال کوندر روت فروری و دوسری
 بازرگانان کوی تجارت ندر لادن کوریتنه و اوروب قنا و اوروب ندر لادن قالیونایند یوکلر و ب ندر لادن تجارت
 مشاغل و اسکندرونه و سایر اسکالی کلر کلر قونسلواری صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری کلر فروری و دوسری
 و دکنکله ایلمیه قونسلواری بزم و لایحه تجارتی قونسلواری صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری قالیونایند
 کلر قنا صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری صفا و توتوغ ایلمیه کلر کلر اوروب و دکنکله صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری
 بیور و کلک موریتیک قونسلواری ایلمیه کلر کلر اوروب و دکنکله صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری
 دیر و کلک موریتیک ندر لادن تجارتی فروری و دکنکله و دکنکله و اوروب قنا و دکنکله قونسلواری
 کلر کلر قونسلواری صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری و دکنکله قونسلواری صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری
 فروری و دکنکله و دکنکله تجارتی و فروری ندر لادن و لایحه قنا و اوروب ندر لادن قالیونایند قونسلواری
 اسکالی کور و کلر قونسلواری صفا ندر لادن ایلمیه قونسلواری اوروب و دکنکله کلر کلر قونسلواری
 دکنکله تجارتی صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری و دکنکله قونسلواری صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری
 و صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری
 هابونه قنا و دکنکله قونسلواری صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری
 شهر صفر و دکنکله قونسلواری صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری صفا ندر لادن قونسلواری

Document 65) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I
 When the English, French, and Venetian merchants transported their merchandise to Aleppo and Alexandria with the Dutch ships, cottimo (consulate fee) should be paid to the Dutch consul there.
 Dated Evâsıt-i Safer 1022 / 2-11 April 1613.

فرانسیز قزاقینک لیسناه بی سعادتیه خارجه اولناه
فرانسه بی حاکومین صورتیدر

49

نشاه با یوره حکمی اولدر که حضرت حق جل و علی کن علو عنایه بی عایتی و سرور انبیا
 علیه و علی اولد قضا لایحه کن مجازت کندی لایحه بی لایحه بی لایحه بی لایحه بی لایحه بی لایحه
 حورقین و ناپو کجی حورولده اولدکن تیشین دوشین زینین و لوتوف مدلیس و زهاد اولد
 لایس و یار لطف حویس شریفین خاوی و قدس مبارکک حای و حاکی و دوم ایلی طیار
 و صعبه بی بوسه و سکولر و صعبه بی لایحه بی وقایه و دیالته غاوی و ویار و بیناه و بی
 کروسناه و شیز طفرنا فرحانه سنا نزلد بی قی و شید اولناه فارس و کورجستانه و مود
 و تقییس و شیرولده جانیا کین و قریع و وشت قیاج اقلین کین و فول لقریه و کدر زول
 دو یار دیک و علی و دوم و جلد و اولد و دوم و اولد و دوم و اولد و اولد و اولد
 بیدل و کور و بیس و لی و شولکن و صفا و معد و بیس و حسین و عده و لایس کین
 و اولد لایس و تونس و خلیج اولد و اولد و اولد و اولد و اولد و اولد و اولد و اولد
 و سطر و باس و مالکی نزلد بیوره لایس لایس لایس لایس لایس لایس لایس لایس لایس
 و لایس و مالک و یار ک تهر یار و اولد کین و نادر که ناچار دین و لایس و کور و قریع و کور
 و نچ مالک و جزایر و بنا و ز و معا بکه و قیابین و بی و بی و بی و بی و بی و بی و بی و بی
 نام قلم و لایس و بر حصص حصص نام لدر که پاریس، معدله پانچ و شیشا، قدرت
 و سنی بی سلطه لایس سلطه لایس سلطه لایس سلطه لایس سلطه لایس سلطه لایس سلطه

Document 68) The French Capitulations
 The renewal of the French capitulations. The merchants of the foreign countries other than Venice and England should no more sail under the English flag but sail under the French flag and pay their *cottimo* (consulate fee) to the French consuls. Dated Evâhir-i Zilhicce 1015 / 18-28 April 1606.

The First Dutch Capitulations of 1021/1612

Çün hazret-i mâlik-i müheyemen ve müte'âl ve cenâb-i vâhibü'l-'atâyâ ve'n-nevâl celle 'ani's-şebîh ve'l-misâl ve tenezzeh mine'n-nazîr ve'l-ihtilâliñ kemâl-i kudret-i ezeliyye ve vüfûr-i mevhibe-i lemyezeliyyesi mukâreneti ile ve mihr-i sipih-i nübüvvet ve ahter-i burc-i fütüvvet pişvâ-yı zümre-i enbiyâ ve muktedâ-yı fırka-i asfiyâ habîb-i hüdü şefî'ü'l-müznibîn fi'l-yevmi'l-cezâ Muhammed Mustafâ sallallahu 'aleyhi ve sellem hazretleriniñ mu'cizât-i kesîrati'l-berekâtı murâfakâtı ile ve ashâb-i güzîn ve hulefâ-i'r-râşidîn rızvânu'l-lahu te'âlâ 'aleyhim ecma'în ve cümle evliyâ-i hidâyet-karîn ve cumhûr-i asfiyâ-yı sa'âdet-rehîn kuddise esrâruhüm ilâ yevmi'd-dîn hazretleriniñ ervâh-i mukaddeseleri muvâfakâtı ile;

Ben ki sultan-i sanâdîd-i selâtîn ve esâtîn-i havâkîn ve tâc-bahş-i husrevân-i evrenk-nişîn kâsır-i kusûrû'l-kayâsire kâsır-i cumhûrû'l-ekâsire kahramânü'l-mâ' ve't-tîn zillu'llâhi te'âlâ fi'l-'arzeyni'l-mütemekkin 'alâ makâmi's-şerî'ati's-şerîfe (innî câ'ilün fi'l-'arzi halîfeten) ve eşref-i medâyin ü emsâr ve eymen-i dâr ü diyâr olan Hameyn-i şerîfeyniñ hâdimi ve Kudüs-i mübârekiñ hâmi ü hâkimi ve dâru's-saltanatı'l-'aliyye ve mufahhar-i makarr-i hilâfeti's-seniyye mahrûse-i İstanbul humiyet 'ani'l-beliyye ve mahmiyye-i Edirne ve mahrûse-i Bursanıñ ve Rumeli ve Temeşvar ve vilayet-i Bosna ve Budin ve Sigetvar ve Eğri ve Kanije ve Semendire ve Belgrad ve vilayet-i Anadolu ve Karamanıñ ve diyâr-i 'Arabistan ve Şâm-i dâru's-selâm-i nüzhet-makâmiñ ve nâdir-i 'asr olan mahrûse-i Mısır ve Yemen-i eymen ve Habeş ve 'Aden vilayetlerinin ve dârü'l-hilâfe Bağdâd ve Kûfe ve Basra ve Lahsa ve Suvâkin ve San'a ve Haleb ve Zülkadriyye ve Şehr-i Zül ve Adana ve Tarsus ve Antalya ve Kıbrıs ve Sakız ve Diyarbekr ve Rakka ve Rûm ve Çıldır ve eyâlet-i 'İmâdiye ve 'umûmen Kürdistân ve Kars ve Erzurum ve umûmen Gürcistan ve Demirkapı ve Tiflis ve Şirvanin ve Kefe ve Kuzlu ve Deşt-i Kıpçak iklimleriniñ ve dârü'l-cihâd Tunus ve Trablusgarb ve Cezâyir-i Ğarb vilayetleriniñ ve Erdel ve Boğdan ve Eflak ve sâir dârü'l-harbden kuvvet-i kâhire-i husrevâne ve satvet-i bâhire-i mülûkânemiz ile bi 'avni'l-llâhi'l-meliki'l-fettâh kabza-i feth u teshîre getirilen medâyin ü emsâr ve memâlik-i diyârıñ ve bi'l-cümle aktâr-i berr u bahriñ şehriyân ve emâkin-i 'izzet-disârıñ tâcdân ve Akdeñiz ve Karadeñiz ve nice memâlik ve cezâyir ve benâdir ve me'âbirıñ ve kabâyil ü 'aşâyiriñ ve nice kerre yüzbiñ 'asâkir-i nusret-meâsiriñ pâdişâh-i ma'delet-penâhı ve şehinşâh-i nusret-destgâhı, mazhar-i 'inâyeti's-sermediyye muhsin-i âyâtî'l-milleti'l-Muhammediyye Sultan Ahmed Han bin Sultan Mehmed Han bin Sultan Murad Han bin Sultan Selim Han bin Sultan Süleyman Han bin Sultan Selim Han bin Sultan Bayezid Han bin Sultan Mehmed Hân'ım - rahimehü'mullâhü'l-melikü'l-mennân - inân-i semend-i sa'âdetmend-i sâhib-kırânî kabza-i kuvvet u kudretimize mukarrer ve cümle rub' meskûn ve heft-iklîm bi-tevfîki's-samedânî zimâm-i iktidânımıza musahhar olmuştur. Hazret-i Hakk celle 'ani's-şebîh ve'r-rayb kemâl-i fazlı bî-hesâbı ile melce'-i selâtîn-i şerâyifi'l-ensâb ve me'vâ-yı

havâkîn-i ulu'l-ahsâb olan sÛdde-i seniyye-i celâdet-medâr ve atabe-i 'aliyye-i sa'âdet-karâr lâzâle melce'-i'l-eâlî ve'l-ahyâr ve'l-ebrânımıza mefâhiru'l-ümerâi'l-'izâmi'l-'İseviyye merâci'u'l-küberâi'l-fihâm fi'l-milleti'l-Mesihyye muslihu mesâlihi cemâhirati't-tâyifeti'n-Nasrâniyye sâhib-i ezyâli'l-haşmet ve'l-vakâr sâhib-i delâili'l-mecd ve'l-iftihâr Neleranda vilayetlerine tâbi' olan Ganderlanda ve Hollanda ve Zelanda ve Utraht ve Frizlanda ve Uvarsil ve Gruninga ve Gruncelanda ve dahî maşrik-i Hindistânun vilayetlerine tâbi' nice memleketiñ Üstadı Ceneralleri ve hâkimleri hutimet 'avakıbhüm bi'l-hayr taraflarından nâme-i sadâkat-hitâmeleri ile kıdvet-i a'yâni'l-milleti'l-Mesihyye mu'teber elçileri olan Kornilyo Haga zîdet itâ'atühû vusûl bulub irsâl olunan nâmeleri mütâla'a kılınub mefhûmunda 'arz-i ihlâs ve ihtisâs eylemek kusvâ-yı âmâlleri ve aksâ-yı mâ'fi'l-bâ'lleri olub ve harbî vilayetlere tâbi' gemilerde esir olan Müselmanları halâs eyleyüb külfî ri'âyet ile vilayetlerine gönderüb ve Memâlik-i Mahrûsemizde olan gemilere ve âdemlere bir zamanda tecâvüz etmeyüb hâlâ atabe-i 'aliyyemiz ile France ve İngiltere ile olduđu musâfât üzere vilâyetlerine tâbi' olan yerleriñ tüccarı ve âdemleri ve tercümanları Memâlik-i Mahrûsemize emn ü emân üzere metâ'ları ile gelüb gidüb ticâret eyleyüb ve müşârünileyhimâya olan dostluk muktezâsınca verilen 'ahdnâme-i hümâyun-i 'izzet-makrûn ve ahkâm-i şerîfe-i itâ'at-nümûn müşârünileyhim câniblerine dahî verilmek babında istid'â-yı 'atîfet etmeğın ve sâir her neyi tahrîr ü tastîr olunmuş ise mufassal ve meşrûh pâye-i serîr-i sa'âdet-i pâdişâhânemize 'arz u takrîr olundukda istid'âları hayri kabûl vâkı' olub ve elçileri rikâb-i hümâyunumuza yüz sürüb sâir elçiler olduđu üzere mümâileyh Kornilyo Haga sÛdde-i sa'âdetimizde elçilik hıdmetine ta'yîn olunub ve Memâlik-i Mahrûsemizde olan iskelelerde konsolos ta'yîn olunmak fermânım olub, işbu 'ahdnâme-i adâlet-unvânı 'inâyet ve erzâni kılub fermân-i kazâ-cereyânımız bu vechile sâdır oldu ki,

1. Neleranda vilayetlerine tâbi' zikr olunan vilâyetleriñ ve anlara tâbi' olan yerleriñ tüccâr tayifesi Memâlik-i Mahrûsemize gelüb ve gidüb alış veriş eyleyüb getürdükleri altun ve ğuruşdan resm alınmayub, beğlerbeğiler ve beğler ve kadılar ve defterdarlar ve darbhâne emînleri ve nâzırları dahl ü ta'arruz eylemeyüb ve ğuruşunuzu akça kat' ederüz deyu rencîde ve remîde etmeyeler;
2. ve Neleranda tüccarından ba'zı harbî gemilere girüb lâkin kendü hallerinde ticâret üzere iken harbî gemilerde bulunduğuz deyu kendülerün esîr ve esvâblarıñ girift eylemeyüb mâdâm ki kendü hallerinde ticaret üzere olub korsan gemisinde fesâd üzere olmayalar, ol bahâne ile esbâblarıñ girift eylemeyüb ve kendülerün esîr eylemeyeler;
3. ve Zimmîlerden biri Memâlik-i Mahrûsemizden zahîre alub gider iken girift olundukda Nelerandalular'dan bile olanlar cebren esîr olunmayalar ve France pâdişâhı olanlar kadîmden Âsitâne-i sa'âdetimiz ile dostluk üzere olub dostluğa halel verir vaz'ları olmamağla, merhûm ceddım Sultan Selim Hân - aleyhi'r-rahme ve'r-rızvân - zamanında 'arz olundukda memnû olan metâ'dan pembe ve rişte-i

pembe ve sahtiyân verile deyu hükm-i şerîf verilüb, ba'dehû Âsitâne-i sa'âdetimize olan kemâl-i ihlâs ve ihtisâslarına binâen merhûm ve mağfûrûn leh babam Hüdâvendigâr zamanında akçalarıyla balmumu ve gön verile, bir ferd mâni' olmaya deyu 'ahdnâmede kayd olunmağın, ben dahî kemâkân mukarrer dutdum.

4. Hâlâ Netherlandalar dahî Âsitâne-i sa'âdetimize 'arz u ihlâs ve ihtisâs edüb ve pâye-i serîr-i a'lâmıza 'arz u i'lâm olunan cümle istid'âları hayr-i kabûl vâkı' olmağla Francelulara verildiği üzere akçalarıyla pembe ve rişte-i pembe, ve sahtiyân ve balmumu ve gön verile, ol bâbda kimesne mâni' olmaya ve dahl ü ta'arruz kılmayalar;
5. ve deryâ el vermeyüb vilayetlerine varmağa ve bu cânibe gelmeğe mecâl olmadığı zamanda Memâlik-i Mahrûsemizden olan limanlarda ve iskelelerde yatub kendü hallerinde alış veriş edüb kimesne mâni' olmaya;
6. ve Netherlanda vilâyetlerinden olanların da'vâ ve husûmeti vâkı' olub dem ü diyet da'vâları olursa elçileri ve konsolosları âyînleri üzere görüb fasl edüb, kadılar ve zâbitlerden bir ferd dahl ü ta'arruz kılmayalar;
7. ve tâcirlerin ahvâli için nasb olunan konsoloslardan ba'zı kimesneler da'vâ etdiklerinde kendülerin habs etmeyeler ve evlerin mühürlemeyeler, konsolosları ve tercümanları ile da'vâları olanların husûsları Asitâne-i sa'âdetimde istimâ' oluna ve zıkr olunan mevaddıñ hilâfına mukaddem ve mu'ahhar emr-i şerîf ibrâz olunur ise istimâ' olunmayub 'ahdnâme-i hümâyunum mûcibince 'amel oluna;
8. ve Netherlanda vilayetlerine tâbi' olanlardan biri mürd olsa 'ahdnâme-i hümâyunuma muhâlif emvâl ü erzâkına beytûlmalcılar mal ğâyibdir deyu ve sâyir vechile dahl ü ta'arruz etmeyeler;
9. ve Netherlanda tâyifesine verilen ahkâm-i şerîfe muhkem ve müekked olub tâyife-i mezbûreye fâidelü ve nef'ü ola ve kassâmlar ve kadılar taraflarından resm-i kismet taleb olunmaya;
10. ve elçileri ve konsolosları istediklerü yasakçıları ve olageldiği üzere murâd edindiklerü kimesnelerü tercümanlıkda istihdâm eyleyeler, Yeñiçerilerden ve ğayrıdan istemedükleri hıdmetlerine karışmayalar;
11. ve sâkin oldukları evlerinde kendülerin ve âdemlerinden kefâf-ı nefsleriçün şıra sıkub hamr etdiklerinde kimesne mâni' olmaya;
12. ve Yeñiçeri kullarımızdan ve ğayrıdan her kim olursa olsun nesne istemeyüb ve cebr ile almayub zulm ü ta'addî etmeyeler;
13. ve müşârünileyhimifî rızâlarıyla tâcirleri vilayetlerinden getürdükleri ve alub götürdükleri metâ'larından Haleb'de ve İskenderiye'de vesâyir yerlerde yüzde üç akça gümrük vereler, ziyâde vermeyeler ve metâ'ları ziyâde bahâya tutulmaya;
14. ve gemilerine tahmîl edüb getirdükleri ve alub götürdükleri her nereden olursa olsun, gümrük alınagelen metâ'dan elçilik ve konsolosluk hakkın bî-kusûr Netherlanda konsoloslarına vereler;

15. ve bey' için ihrâc olunan metâ'dan İstanbul'da ve her kanğı iskelede olursa âhar iskeleye alub giderüz dediklerinde gümrük taleb eylemeyeler ve âhar iskeleye alub gitmeye mâni' olmayalar;
16. ve hâdis olan kassâbiye ve reft ve bâc ve yasakkulu alınmayub ve gemileri gitdiklerinde üçyüz akçadan ziyâde selâmetlik resmi taleb olunmayub;
17. ve Cezâyir-i Ğarb korsanları Niderlanda'ya tâbi' limanlara vardıklarında ri'âyet olunub barut ve kurşun ve sâir âlât ve yelken verülüb, lâkin korsanlar Niderlanda'ya tâbi' tüccara rast geldikde esir eylemeyüb ve malların ğâret eylemeyeler ve bu husûsa rızâ-yı şerîfim yokdur;
18. Niderlanda'ya tâbi' olan vilâyetlerden esir alurlar ise itlâk olunub malları bî-kusur verile, eğer korsanlar tecâvüz etdikleri müşârünileyhim nâmeleri ile i'lâm eyleyeler her kanğı beğlerbeği zamanında olursa ol beğlerbeği ma'zûl olub ğâret olunan emvâl ü esbâb anlara tazmîn etdirile ve etdikleri esir itlâk oluna, eğer emr-i şerîfime imtisâl etmezler ise anlar dahî Niderlanda vilayetlerine vardıklarında kal'âlarına ve limanlarına kabûl etmeyüb ta'addî etdiklerinde 'akd olunan 'ahde hâlel gelmeye ve bu bâbda müşârünilyhimiñ şikâyeti makbûl-i hümâyunum ola;
19. ve Memâlik-i Mahrûsemizde vâki' olan beğlerbeğilere ve beğlere ve kadırlara ve iskele emînlerine ahkâm-i şerîfe irsâl olunub fermân-i kazâ-cereyânımız bu vechile sâdır oldu ki, mâdâm ki müşârünileyhim taraflarından şerâyit ü 'ahd ü peymân ve âdet-i ihlâs ü meveddet kemâ-yenbağî sıyânet oluna, bu taraftan dahî kendü malları vesâir esbâb ü metâ'larıyla eğer deryâdan gelen kalyonları vesâir gemileri ve içlerinde olan âdemleri ve esbâb u metâ'landır ve eğer karadan gelen âdemleri ve davarları ve metâ'landır, aslâ bir ferd dahl ü ta'arruz eylemeyüb kendü hallerinde ve kâr ü kisblerinde olalar;
20. ve Memâlik-i Mahrusemizde şimdiye değin esir olanlar buldukları yerlerde itlâk oluna, bahâları Niderlandalular'dan taleb olunmaya, her kimlerden alınmışlar ise anlardan taleb edeler;
21. ve Niderlandalu'dan olanlar ehl-i İslâm gemilerinden ihtiyârları ile zahîre satun alub kendü vilâyetlerine gider iken harbî vilâyetine alub gitmeyüb ehl-i İslâm gemileri rast geldiklerinde, ahzdan soñra gerni girift ve içinde olanları esir eylemeyeler, anıñ gibi Niderlandalu'dan esir bulunur ise itlâk olunub esbâbı dahî verile;
22. ve harbî tüccâr tayifesi Niderlanda gemilere metâ' yüklediklerinde metâ'ı harbîniñdir deyu bir ferd rencide eylemeye ve Memâlik-i Mahrûsemize ve eğer âhar vilayetlere gider iken ve gelür iken, rencberliklerinde iken bir tarikle esir olurlar ise ol asıllar gerü halâs olalar;
23. ve Memâlik-i Mahrûsemize emn ü emân üzere gelüb giderek anıñ gibi deryâda furtına ve müzâyaka verdikde, lâzım olanlara eğer hassa gemiler halkıdır ve ğayrıdır mu'âvenet eyleyeler;
24. ve akçalanyla zâd ü zevâdeleri tedârikinde kimesne mâni' olmaya ve dahl ü ta'arruz kılmayalar;

25. ve Niderlanda vilayetleri tâcirleri ve tercümanları ve sâir âdemleri deryâdan ve karadan Memalik-i Mahrusemize gelüb bey' ü şirâ' eyleyüb 'âdet-i kânûn üzere rüsûm-i 'âdiyeleri verdikden soñra, gelişde ve gidişde kapudanlardan ve deryâda bulunan re'îslerden ve ğayrıdan ve 'asker halkından kimesne mâni' olmaya ve kadılar dahl ü ta'arruz kılmayalar, kendülerin ve âdemlerin ve esbâbların ve davarların kimesne rencide eylemeye;
26. ve eğer şiddet-i rüzgâr olub gemilerini derya karaya atar ise beğler ve kadılar ve ğayrılar mu'avenet eyleyüb kurtulan emvâl ü esbâb gerü kendülere verülüb beytûlmalcılar dahl ü ta'arruz eylemeyeler;
27. ve Niderlandalu'dan biri medyûn olsa, deyni borçludan taleb olunub aña keffil olmayacak âhar kimesne tutulub taleb olunmaya;
28. ve eğer biri mürd olsa, esbâb ü emvâlin kime vasıyyet eder ise aña verile, vasıyyetsiz mürd olursa, konsolosları ma'rifetiyle evvel yerlü yoldaşına verile kimesne dahl eylemeye;
29. ve Niderlanda vilayetlerine tâbi' olan yerleriñ bâzırganları ve konsolosları ve tercümanları Memâlik-i Mahrûsemizde bey' ü şirâ' ve ticâret ve kefâlet husûsunda ve sâir umûr-i şer'iyye vâkı' olundukda, kadıya varub sebt ü sicill etdürüb veyâ huccet alalar soñra nizâ' olur ise huccet ve sicille nazar olunub mucibi ile 'amel oluna, bu ikisinden biri olmayub da mücerred celb ü ahz için etdikleri da'vâ istimâ' olunmayub, mâdâm ki kadılardan huccet olmaya ve sicilde mastûr bulunmaya, hilâf-i şer' rencide olunmayalar;
30. ve ba'zı kimesneler bize şetm eylediñiz deyu iftirâ edüb hîle ve hud'a ile mücerred celb ü ahz için etdikleri da'vâları istimâ' olunmaya ve ol vechile hilâf-i şer'-i şerif rencide olunmayub men' olunalar;
31. ve bunlardan biri medyûn olsa veyâ bir vechile müttehem olub gıybet eylese ânûñ için kefâletsiz kimesne tutulmaya;
32. ve min ba'd Niderlanda'ya tâbi' esîr olur ise, konsolosları taleb edüb Niderlanda vilayetlerinden idüğü zâhir oldukda alınub Niderlandalulara vereler;
33. ve anlara tâbi' olub Memalik-i Mahrusemizde mütemekkin olanlar eğer evlü ve eğer ergen olsun, rencberlik edenlerden harâc taleb olunmaya ve elçileri hıdmetinde olan konsoloslar ve tercümanlar olageldiği üzere, harâcdan ve kassâbiyeden ve tekâlif-i 'örfiyyeden mu'af olalar;
34. ve İskenderiye ve Trablusşam ve Cezâyir ve Tunus ve Cezâyir-i Garb ve Mısır iskelelerine ve ğayrılara ta'yîn etdikleri konsolosların tebdil edüb, yerlerine ol hıdmetin 'uhdesinden gelür âdemler ta'yîn edüb gönderdikde, kimesne mâni' olmaya;
35. ve tüccâr tayifesinin nızâları yoğiken üzerlerine ba'zı metâ' birağulub ta'addı olunmaya;
36. Niderlandalu ile bir kimesnenin nizâ'ı olsa, kadıya vardukda Niderlandalu'nun tercümanları hâzır bulunmaz ise kadı da'vâları istimâ' etmeye, eğer mühîm maslahat ise gelince tevakkuf oluna, ammâ anlar dahî ta'allül edüb tercümanımız hâzır değüldür deyu 'avk etmeyeler;

37. ve levend kayıkları Nederalandalu'ya tâbi' olanlardan esîr edüb götürüb Rumilî'nde ve Anadolu'da satarlar, anıñ gibileri bulduklarında muhkem teftîş olunub, her kimiñ elinde bulunur ise esîr Müselmân olmuş ise kimden alduğun bildürüb alan kimesneye akçası andan aliverilüb, azâd olub saliverile;
38. ve Memâlik-i Mahrûsemizde deryâ yüzüne çıkan gemiler ve kadırgalar ve donanmalar, deryâda Nederalanda gemilerine buluşduklarında birbiri ile dostluk edüb zarar ve ziyan eylemeyeler, eğer deryâda ve limanlarda mâdâm ki kendi rızâlarıyla hediye vermeyeler, cebren âlât ü esbâblaruñ ve emrâd oğlanların ve ğayrı nesnelere alub ta'addî ve tecâvüz etmeyeler;
39. ve Françe ve İngilterelüler'e verilen 'ahdnâme-i hümâyunda mastûr ve mukayyed olan husûslar, Nederalandalular hakkında dahî mukarrer olub, anlara verilen 'ahidnâme-i hümâyun mûcibince eğer metâ' vesâyiridir 'amel oluna. Şer'-i şerîf ve 'ahidnâme-i hümâyunuma muhâlif kimesne mâni' ve müzâhim olmaya;
40. ve kalyonları ve gemileri gider oldukda, İstanbul'da aranub ve bir dahî Boğaz hisarları önlerinde aranub gideler, 'ahidnâme-i hümâyunuma muhâlif Gelibolu'da aranmayub, ol vechile akçaları alınmayub, rencide olunmaya;
41. ve Memâlik-i Mahrûsemizde olan iskelelerde kalyonları ve gemileri metâ' yükledüb, gümrüklerini bi't-temâm verdiklerinden soñra, mücerred celb ü ahz için gemilerin aramayalar ve ol vechile rencide ve remide eylemeyeler;
42. ve Haleb'den vesâyir Memâlik-i Mahrûsemizden harîr vesâyir metâ' aldıklarında, gümrüklerin edâ etdiklerinden soñra gemileriyle Kıbrıs vesâyir iskelelere geldiklerinde ba'zı metâ'ların satmak için çıkarmayub, ancak yükleriyle lâzım gelüb âhar gemiye tahmîl etdiklerinde veyâhud birkaç güne deĝin mahzene koduklarında metâ'ınızı çıkardıñız deyu rencide etmeyüb ol vechile akçalann almayalar ve 'ahdnâme-i hümâyuna muhâlif kadılar ve hâkimler vesâyir ehl-i 'örf tayifesi rencide eylemeyeler;
43. ve Nederalanda'ya tâbi' olan kalyonları ve gemileri Kıbrıs'da ve Memâlik-i Mahrûsemizde olan iskelelerde akçalarıyla sâyir Müslimîn aldığı narh üzere murâd edindikleri mikdân tuz tahmîl edüb, kimesne mâni' olmaya ve narhdan ziyâde akçaları alınmaya;
44. ve cezîre-i Kıbrıs'da gemiler safrası için tuz yüklenüb, ol tuz sâyir tuz gibi olmayub safra için gemilerine alanlar her 'arabasına yetmiş birer akça verelmekle, Nederalanda kalyonları ve gemileri vardukda ol tuzdan alub gemilerine safra yerine koduklarında, kadîmden olageldiği üzere her 'arabasına yetmiş birer akça alına, ziyâde alınmaya. Bu husûsda kadılar ve emînler vesâyir ehl-i 'örf tâyifesi rencide eylemeyeler;
45. ve Memâlik-i Mahrûsemize getürdükleri kurşun ve kalay ve demür ve çelik ve sâyir hurda metâ'a mâni' olmayalar ve 'ahidnâme-i hümâyunda yazıldığı üzere yüzde üç akça gümrük alınub, ziyâde talep olunmaya ve min ba'd ziyâde alınmaya ve ol vechile rencide olunmaya;

46. ve Niderlanda'ya tâbi' olan kalyon ve gemilere Dimyat ve İskenderiye ve sâyir iskelelerden ba'zı Müselmanlar rızâlarıyla esbâb ve metâ' tahmîl edüb İstanbul'a ve sâyir Memâlik-i Mahrusemize götürmeğe mâni' olmayalar ve Niderlanda gemilerine tahmîl olunmağla ziyâde gümrük talep olunmayub sâyir Müselmanlardan alındığı üzere gümrükleri alına ve kalyonları ve gemileri her kanğı iskelede olursa temâm gümrüklerin 'ahdnâme-i hümâyunum mûcibince verdikden soñra ba'zı anğarya için alıkoymayalar, anğarya teklîf etmeyeler;
47. ve bâzirganlardan biri metâ' ile gelüb Müselman olursa elçileri ve konsolosları vilâyetlerin bâzirganlarından aldığı esbâbı ve nakdiyyesi alunub elçilerine teslîm oluna ki, sâhiblerine göndereler. Bir kimesnenin hakkı üzerlerinde kalmaya. Bu husûsda hakimlerden ve kadılardan kimesne dahl ü ta'arruz kılmayalar;
48. ve Niderlandalular'dan birine hilâf-i şer'-i şerîf sen Müselman olduñ deyu rencide ederler ise 'amel olunmaya, eğer tercüman önünde nzâsıyla Müselman oldum der ise fihâ tercümanları gelmeyince rencide olunmayalar, ammâ tercümanları hâzır edeler;
49. ve Niderlanda'ya tâbi' olan kalyon ve gemileri geldiklerinde, gümrükde olan mubsırlar cefâ'en esbâblarını değlerinden ziyâdeye tahmîn ederler ise gümrük ne mikdâr olursa ol mikdâr metâ' alına, akça talep olunmaya;
50. ve kalyonları ve gemileri Âsitâne-i sa'âdetime itâ'at üzere olmayanlar ile ceng için çıkub, ceng olub düşman gemilerin alurlarsa ol zamân Memâlik-i Mahrûsemizde her kanğı mahalde ve liman ve iskelelerde ihtiyârları ile vefurtına ile varurlar ise kimesne dahl ü ta'arruz etmeye ve lâzım olan zâd ü zevâdelerin akçalarıyla alalar, kimesne mâni' olmaya;
51. ve Niderlanda vilayetlerinden ve âña tâbi' olan yerlerden emn ü emân ile Kudus-i şerîfi ziyârete gelüb gidenlere kimesne mâni' olmaya ve Kumâme nâm kilisede olan keşîşler ve ğayrılar dahl ü ta'arruz etmeyeler ve siz Luteran tâyifesindensiz deyu ta'allul ve bahâne eylemeyeler, lâzım olan yerleri ziyâret etdireler;
52. ve kalyonları ve gemileri Memâlik-i Mahrûsemize geldiklerinde hıfz ü sıyânet olunub emîn ve sâlim gerü gideler, eğer emvâl ü esbâb yağma olunmuş bulunur ise ğâret olunan emvâl ü esbâb ve âdemlerinin zuhûra gelmesi bâbında sa'y ü ikdâm olunub ehl-i fesâd her kim olur ise olsun gereği gibi haklarından geline;
53. ve elçileriniñ ve konsoloslarınıñ ve tercümanlarınıñ ve kendü âdemleriniñ hedâyâ ve libâsları ve me'kûlât ve meşrûbâtlarıçün akçalarıyla getürdükleri nesnelere gümrük ve bâc ve refit ve kassâbiye talep olunmaya;
54. ve beğlerbeğiler ve sancak beğleri ve kapudanlar kullarım ve kadılar ve nâzırlar ve emînler ve hassa re'îsler ve gönüllü re'îsler ve 'umûmen Memâlik-i Mahrûsemiz ahâlisi işbu 'ahdnâme-i hümâyunumun 'adâdet-makrûnu ile 'amel eyleyüb kat'â hilâfına cevaz göstermeyeler, şöyle ki, fermân-i kazâ-cereyânımıza muhâlefet ve mugâyeret üzere olub sa'y-ı bi'l-fesâd üzere olan tâife-i tâğiyeden olalar, ol makûlelere emân ve zamân verilmeyüb haklarından geline ki sâyirlere mûcib-i ibret olalar;

55. ve Nederlanda tüccarı ve sâyir âdemleri satun aldıkları metâ'ı bey' ü şîrâ' için Trabzon ve Kefe vesâyir Karadefîz'de Memâlik-i Mahrûsemizde olan iskelelere iledüb ve karadan Ten (Don) suyundan Azağ'a ve Moskov Rus vilayetlerine alub gidüb ve Memâlik-i Mahrûsemize ol cânibden metâ' getirüb bey' ü şîrâ' eyleyüb ticaret etdüklerinde kimesne mâni' olmaya ve metâ'larından 'ahdnâme-i hümâyunum mûcibince gümrükleri yüzde üç akça alunub ziyâde almayalar;
56. ve rüzgâr muhâlif olmağla, İstanbul'a gelecek gemileri Kefe'ye veyâhud ol câniblerde bir mahalle düşdükde veyâ ihtiyârilarıyla varduklarında, nızâlarıyla bey' etmeden cebren metâ'ı çıkarub almayalar ve ol câniblere varan kalyon ve gemilerine kimesne mâni' olmayub ve mahûf ve muhâtara olan yerlerde, hükkâm gemilerin ve içinde olan âdemlerin ve metâ'ların korudub sıyânet eyleyeler ki zarar ve ziyân olmaya ve lâzım olan zâd ü zevâdelerin bulunan yerlerde akçalarıyla almakda mu'âvenet eyleyeler ve esbâbların tahmîl için gemi ve araba tutmak istediklerinde şöyle ki âhardan tutulmuş olmaya, kimesne mâni' olmaya;
57. ve ol câniblerden İstanbul'a getürdükleri metâ'dan mâdâm ki satmak için âhar yerde çıkarmayalar, İstanbul'a gelince gümrük alınmayub bunda geldikde çıkardıkları metâ'dan gümrük alınub emîn ve sâlim ticaret eyleyeler, çıkarmadıkları metâ'dan gümrük alınmaya;
58. ve İstanbul'da metâ'larından yüzde üç akça gümrük alına, ziyâde almayalar; İşbu zikr olunan 'ahd üzere mâdâm ki sadâkat ve ihlâsda sâbit-kadem ve râsih-dem olalar ben dahî dostluğü kabûl edüb 'ahd ü yemîn ederim ki yerleri ve gökleri halk eden hüdâ-yı mu'în celle iclâlehû ve 'âmme nevâlehû ve lâ ilâhe ğayruhû hakkıçün ve ecdâd-i 'izâmım ve babam - enârallahû te'âlâ - berâhînihimiñ ervâh-i şerîfeleriçün bu taraftan dahî hilâf-i ahd ü misâk ve muğayır-i 'ahd ü ittîfak iş olunmayub işbu 'ahdnâme-i hümâyun sa'âdet-makrûnumuñ mazmûn-i şerîfi ile 'amel olunur. Şöyle bileler. 'Alâmet-i şerîfe itimâd ve itikâd kılalar.

Tahrîren fî evâili şehr-i Cemâziye'l-ûlâ sene ihdâ ve işrîn ve elf mine'l-hicretî'n-nebeviyye.
(20 - 29 June 1612.)

Be-makâm-i Darü's-saltanati'l-aliyye

El-Kostantiniyye

El-mahmiyye

Humiset ani'l-beliyye ve'r-razî'a

و در ظاهر صداقت و در مقاصد روزنه لفظ ملوک جنبه ملوک کبی که در کتب اخصاص احبابی و در لغت
 علی بن ابی طالب و در سیلاب کمال خوبی و جنبه موچ ملوک حرکتی باقی می ماند و طریقی از اخصاص و موقوفه
 و بیس و مع لولم و در نامه به خطایه عنایه و در ذلایه قلمی و جا و اخصاص لید و بی در حرکتی
 روزنی لید تقیر و تطیر تقصیر روزنه پای سری سر در مصدر حس و در نه نوح و نوح و تقیر
 روزنه جلا سنج علی شریف حس و در نه نوح و چه از کلمات لطیفی است که روزنه است عا کوز روزنه
 مقصد و بنوعی در نامه به عالیة با ذلایه لفظ روزنه در و در نامه کوز فوج از کلمه
 باید و استیاء و معا حد روزنه و ممالک رومی نوح و لفظ لفظ لید کوزین خلاصی و لفظ
 اولی و بیس لفظی فرقه های پنج صدر روزنه عنایه روزنه در نامه به شریف و در حلا عینای شروع
 و مقید روزنه و مرقوم از کلمه کمال روی و حیا یا حریفی سالتی لفظ و در لفظ لایح لفظ
 و چه روزنه حس ملوک سستی موقوفه قلبی در غزوه سیارین لید و در نامه لید روزنه حس
 و در نامه ای تقیر و مقید لید و سستی خبر لید علی بن رسول و پیشانی و در نامه کوز
 نظر شریف نرف از روزنه مقاصد لیا خیر قبوله موصول روزنه کیم قریع غنایه قوی روزنه
 و لیا لولایه عاطفه و لفظ از مقنوع و کت و در لولایه خصوصاً صداقت و اعتماد

و در جنبه و اعتماد روزنه لفظ و در مقصد کمال عاطفه و در فترت بیرون و در لغت لولایه
 وصول لید و در نامه کوز کوز کوز قریع لایا آمدن
 لایح و در نامه و در نامه صدر عنون لولایه حس که در مصیبتی خا و وجهی و سستی لولایه
 لولایه و اعتبار و روزنه لفظ فرایه و در کلمات قرالید و سستی لولایه کوز کوز لولایه
 سستی نرف صدر و در نامه در حایه و در نامه غنایه و در نامه سستی شریف لولایه
 و نامه کوز و کوز لولایه و در نامه و در نامه و در نامه کوز لولایه
 سستی و کلامت کوز در نامه لولایه خایه و در نامه و در نامه و در نامه لولایه
 و موقوفه موقوفه لولایه و در نامه و در نامه و در نامه لولایه
 محتاج بیایه و کلامت کوز لولایه و در نامه و در نامه و در نامه لولایه

Imperial Letter by Sultan Ahmed I to the States General and Prince Maurice

Mefâhirü'l-ümerâi'l-'izâmi'l-l-seviyye, merâci'ü'l-fihâm fi'l-milleti'l-Mesihyye, muslihu mesâlihu cemâhiru't-tâyifetü'n-Nasraniyye, sâhibü ezyâli'l-haşmeti ve'l-vakâr ashâb-i delâli'l-mecd ve'l-iftihâr Niderlanda vilâyetlerine tâbi' olan Ganderlanda ve Holanda ve Zelanda ve Utreht ve Frizlanda ve Ovurisel ve Groningâ ve Ğronçelanda ve dahî maşrik-i Hindistan'ın ve anlara tâbi' nice memleketlerin Üstadı Ceneralleri ve Kont Maverisyu ve sâir hâkimleri hutimet avâkıbühüm bi'l-hayr, tevkî'i refî-i hümâyun vâsıl olıcak ma'lûm ola ki, hâlâ melâz-i selâtîn-i rûy-i zemîn ve melce'-i havâkîn devlet-karîn olan âsitân-i adâlet-âşiyânımıza mu'teber beğzâdeleriñizden kıdvat-i a'yâni'l-milleti'l-Mesihyye Kornelyo Hağa zîdet itâ'atühû yedinden nâme-i muhabbet-mashûbuñuz vârid olub mazmûnunda Devlet-i Aliyyemize mücerred muhabbet ve meveddet dostluk levâzımı zuhûruna niyet ve akîdet ile kemâl-i ittihad ve kasd ve 'azîmet üzere olmağla akzâ-yı murâdınız atabe-i ulyâmıza arz-i meveddet ve ihlâs ve izhâr-i sadâkat ve ihtisâs üzere olan mülûk-i muhabbet-sülûk gibi kendiñüzü ihlâs-i ehibba-yı Devlet-i Aliyyemizden ma'dûd bilüb kemâl-i hulûs ve muhabbet mücebince sülûk ve hareketde sâbit-kadem ve tarîk-i ihlas ve meveddetde râsih-dem olmak ve ahdnâme-i hümâyun inâyet ve erzânî kılınmak ricâ ve iltimâs edüb ve her ne ki i'lâm olunmuş ise nakîr ve kıtmîr tafsîl üzere pây-e serîr-i sa'âdet-medâr-i husrevânemiz 'alâ vechi'l-kâmil muhîf ve şâmil olub istid'ânız üzere mufassal ve meşrûh 'ahdnâme-i âlişân yazılıb ihsân olunmuşdur. Ve sâir umûr ve mühimmâtınıza fevka'l-merâm müsa'ade ve istîmân ve mu'âhit olundu. Ve Memâlik-i Mahrûsemizde vâki' olan esirleriñüzü halâs ve itlâk olunması bâbında fermân-i şerîfimiz sâdir olmağla inâyet olunan ahdnâme-i hümâyunumuzda aynı ile meşrûh ve mukayyed olunmuşdur ve merkûm elçiñüz kemâl-i edeb ve hayâ ile hıdmet-i risâleti ve sâir umûru edâ ve dostluğa lâıyk olan vech üzere hüsn-i sülûk-i resmiyyeyi müeddâ kılub ağızdan sipârîş eyledüğünüz umûru takrîr edüb hüsn-i edâ ile dostluk haberleri mesâmi'-i 'aliyyemize vusûl ve pîşkeş ve hedâyâñuz manzûr-i şerîf-i şeref-efzâmıza mukârenet ile hayr-i kabûle mevşûl olmuşdur. Resm-i kadîm-i 'izzet-kavîmimiz üzere dâimâ ebvâb-i atîfet ve ihsânımız meftûh ve kûşâde olub husûsan sadâkat ve ihlâsla 'arz-i muhabbet ve ihtisâs üzere olan dostlar hakkında kemâl-i atîfet ve ref'etimiz bî-dirîğ ve âmâde olmağın nâme-i hümâyun sa'âdet-makrûnumuz vusûl buldukda gerekdir ki, kadîmü'l-eyyâmdan ilâ hâze'l-ân dûdmân-i sa'âdet unvânımız ile hüsn-i sülûk ve ve hemîşe dostluk levâzımı icrâsı i'tiyâd üzere olan Françe ve İngiltere kralları dostlarımızıñ edegeldikleri üzere siz dahî şeref-sudûr bulan ahdnâme-i hümâyun ve bu nâme-i 'izzet-makrûnumuz mazmûn-i şerîfi icrâyâ sa'y ve nâmeñüzde tahtîr olunduğu üzere dostluk ve ittihad merâsimin mer'î kılub dâimâ nâmeñüzle ahbâr-i sıhhat ve selâmetiñüzü müş'ir nâmeler irsâlınden hâlî olunmaya ki vürûdu hakkıñızda dâimâ bu taraftan ülfet ve meveddeti mücebince eltâf ve inâyât sudûruna bâis ve izdiyâd-i ittihadı yevmen-fe-yevmen müzeyyed idüğü muhtâc-i beyân değildir.

Tahrîren fi evâsıt-i şehr-i Cumâde'l-ülâ sene ihdâ ve 'işrîn ve elf
(Evâsıt-i C.evvel 1021 / 10- 19 July 1612)

Be-makâm-i Dârü's-saltana Kostantiniyye el-mahmiyye

مذکورہ کیسہ کے خلاف صدر شہزادہ
نور الدین اور زین العابدین نے وہاں پر کتبہ لکھا گیا
82

توفیق دینے مایورہ اور صدر لویجی معلوم اور کتبہ سرداروں کے لپیچ سے سزا دینے سے منع حال کو نزدیک
بوزرہ لقم علیہ لکھنے طایفہ سزا دینے اور کتبہ تو کتبہ لکھنے اور مسلمانانہ قتل اور تیرا وین
و عربی اور انہوں لکھنے اور غیبت لکھنے حال سرداروں طایفہ سزا دینے اور تیرا وین اور کتبہ
لہیں وقف طایفہ وغیرہ لکھنے اور لکھ کر دین جو کتبہ و کمال لکھنے خلاف شرع ہے
وہ نامہ مایورہ مخالف دینے اور کتبہ سے روک کر دینے اور تیرا وین اور کتبہ لکھنے
طایفہ سزا دینے اور لکھنے کتبہ و کمال لکھنے اور لکھ کر دینے خلاف شرع ہے
وہ نامہ مایورہ مخالف دینے اور کتبہ سے روک کر دینے اور تیرا وین اور کتبہ لکھنے
اور لکھ کر دینے اور کتبہ لکھنے اور لکھ کر دینے اور تیرا وین اور کتبہ لکھنے
مایورہ مخالف دینے اور کتبہ سے روک کر دینے اور تیرا وین اور کتبہ لکھنے
معلوم تر تیرا وین اور کتبہ لکھنے اور لکھ کر دینے اور تیرا وین اور کتبہ لکھنے

Document 84) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and the Kadi of Aleppo

An Englishman in Aleppo had murdered a Muslim in Aleppo and disappeared. Instead of that English, a Dutch subject, named Daniel Monson was arrested, although he did not bail for the English. The Dutch subject should be released and should not be accused, which was contrary to sharia and their capitulations.

Dated Evâhir-i Ramazan 1021/15-24 November 1612.
(Also see document 85)

مختلف پنج ما و سه لپه کلند و در جی اسکندرونه اسکیا، خصوصاً در لپه لود و اسکندرونه لود بر مقدار لپه خرچ و
 صرف لیکلار او لر بر تیره و عهدانه هابویه خالفه نرولانته و غیره تواید نرته و هر کل لپه اضر و قفس ایلما و
 و بر اعلی ایسکلار نه مبلغ و عدد جزویه و کلای کیده نرولانته لپه لولایه توید لپه هغه طرزه و کیده تیغای ایلر و
 نر جانی لفظه لپه بر کلای لپه لر بر تیره ملیس و توید لفظه قهره کینه مکتوبه نرولانته و بر تیره
 لر لر لپه یو بالماه لانه لپه کیده و لپه بر کلای هغه و عنایه یو دیوبه و یو نرولانته و لفظه مصالحه و قهرانه نرولانته
 نرولانته کوروبه کورولوبه و لپه و اسکندرونه و غیره توید لپه کینه عنایه اوله و کورولانته نرولانته
 عیاره ساری کینه لر کلای هغه چقا و یو لولیکلایه عیاره کینه کینه یو و نرولانته و مساعده کوروبه
 و لانه لفظه کینه لر سبب لفظه کینه و قهر و توقیر و مانع و نرولانته لولیکلایه نرولانته نرولانته نرولانته
 بر کینه نرولانته و لفظه کینه لر کلایه کینه لر کلایه کینه لر کلایه کینه لر کلایه کینه لر کلایه کینه لر کلایه
 لفظه لر لر بر تیره یو نرولانته لر لر بر تیره لر لر بر تیره لر لر بر تیره لر لر بر تیره لر لر بر تیره لر لر بر تیره
 کلای کینه و خرمته هر کیم توید لپه نرولانته لر لر بر تیره لر لر بر تیره لر لر بر تیره لر لر بر تیره لر لر بر تیره لر لر بر تیره

کورولانته
 لر لر بر تیره
 لر لر بر تیره
 لر لر بر تیره
 لر لر بر تیره

حکم کجای کجیند و غنیمت کجی نرسد که در آنجا از این کار طایفه سوز
کند و نه غایت اصف برون یکم از قتل و صحت از این بیزاری در آنجا
پیشیه و کاردانان را که از این کار طایفه سوز برون گویند اینها را

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وقتیه و غیره جاریه در اصل از این صلح اولاً که ترکان از این صلح سوزند و غنیمت کجی نرسد که در آنجا از این کار طایفه سوز
استان و سوزند مستقر از این صلح اولاً که ترکان از این صلح سوزند و غنیمت کجی نرسد که در آنجا از این کار طایفه سوز
نزهت علیه کاشی ترکان بجای ترکان در آنجا قتل و صحت از این بیزاری در آنجا
در آنجا از این صلح اولاً که ترکان از این صلح سوزند و غنیمت کجی نرسد که در آنجا از این کار طایفه سوز
سابقاً اولاً که ترکان از این صلح سوزند و غنیمت کجی نرسد که در آنجا از این کار طایفه سوز
پیشیه و کاردانان را که از این کار طایفه سوز برون گویند اینها را
از این بیزاری در آنجا قتل و صحت از این بیزاری در آنجا
دینار بیستم و بیست و یکم از این صلح اولاً که ترکان از این صلح سوزند و غنیمت کجی نرسد که در آنجا از این کار طایفه سوز
عمر و طفلی از این صلح اولاً که ترکان از این صلح سوزند و غنیمت کجی نرسد که در آنجا از این کار طایفه سوز
از این بیزاری در آنجا قتل و صحت از این بیزاری در آنجا
هر دو مکتوبه در آنجا قتل و صحت از این بیزاری در آنجا
و در سوزند و در آنجا قتل و صحت از این بیزاری در آنجا
از این بیزاری در آنجا قتل و صحت از این بیزاری در آنجا
از این بیزاری در آنجا قتل و صحت از این بیزاری در آنجا

Document 91) Imperial Decree by the Sultan to the Viceroy and Kadi of Aleppo

The French merchants used to pay 2% consulate fee. But, when the merchants complained about the request of excessive amounts, the existing French king assigned the revenues of certain villages in France for the French ambassador and abrogated the consulate fee for the ambassador. The Dutch merchants should pay 2% fee to their own ambassador according to the report of Grand vizier Nasuh Paşa.
Dated Evasit-i Şevval 1021/ 5-14 December 1612.

97

قبول كماله و ما به منكم من غير ان يكون من اولاد قبيلة قريظة و ان يكون من اولاد قبيلة قريظة
من اولاد قبيلة قريظة و ان يكون من اولاد قبيلة قريظة و ان يكون من اولاد قبيلة قريظة
و ان يكون من اولاد قبيلة قريظة و ان يكون من اولاد قبيلة قريظة

توقيع و قبضه هامة و رسمه و ايجاع معلوم او لا كما ذكرنا من لحيه و من حاله كمنزلة و بركة لقمه خيرة قبيل
رو اولاد باقويه و اولاد من اولاد و اولاد من اولاد و اولاد من اولاد و اولاد من اولاد
كمنزلة و كمنزلة و كمنزلة و كمنزلة و كمنزلة و كمنزلة و كمنزلة و كمنزلة
عز و حقه و كمنزلة و كمنزلة و كمنزلة و كمنزلة و كمنزلة و كمنزلة و كمنزلة
ابنة لمرتبغ و جانه و من كمنزلة و كمنزلة

وصوله لولد قريظة و باينه او كما و جهله مقيد اولاد و من اولاد قريظة و قريظة و قريظة و قريظة
و من اولاد قريظة و اولاد قريظة و اولاد قريظة و اولاد قريظة و اولاد قريظة و اولاد قريظة
قريظة و قريظة و قريظة و قريظة و قريظة و قريظة و قريظة و قريظة
و قريظة و قريظة و قريظة و قريظة و قريظة و قريظة و قريظة و قريظة
من الهمة النبوية على رخص الهمة

كامله
مظط
الوجه

Document 102) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and Kadi of Cyprus

When The Dutch subject Jacobus De Rosita died, the custodian in Cyprus alleged that his personal belongings were transferred to another ship and seized 700 piastres. If the case was true, the amount should be returned to his deputy or partner totally.

Dated Zilkade 1021/ 13 December 1612-22 January 1613.

89

قبول بکام کیند و وفور و قاضیه کما ترنیرکا چون تیره ۵ روز اوله
باقیه ۵ روز وسط نام تر اولون کتید و این وکلان وکلان تر اولون کتید
هو ای میطه ایمن اکل ایله وکله ایله وکلان کتید وکلان کتید وکلان کتید

ترقیه یقین مایه و اصل لایحه معلوم اولدو که تر اولون لایحه ای من حال کوز روین بونزه ارقم عربی قدر
روز اوله باقیه ۵ تر اولون طایفه ایله دو سکنه ایسایه اولون تر اولون کتید وکلان کتید
طایفه سده سی تر اولون کتید وکلان کتید وکلان کتید وکلان کتید وکلان کتید
خوشه ای کتید حالا بونزه تر اولون اوله غلیبر مولانیلوییه و یاخو وکیلته کتید
فکر اولنا لایحه ایله وکلان لایحه ایله وکلان لایحه ایله وکلان لایحه ایله
وصول اولدو بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه

مصلحت ایله ای روز وکلان وکلان لایحه ایله بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه
اولایه ایله بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه
و یاخو وکیلته لایحه ایله وکلان لایحه ایله بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه
ترنیر لایحه ایله بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه بونزه

کامل
مستطاب
اوسته

Document 103) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy, Kadi, and Defterdar of Aleppo

At the death of the Dutch subject Jacobus de Rosita, 300 piastres were taken from another Dutch, although he was not the bail. The case should be inspected and if he was found innocent, the amount should be reimbursed.

Dated Evâhir-i Zilkade 1021/ 13 -22 January 1613.

CE YÜKSEK HUKUMET KURUMU
T.C. DİŞİŞLER BAKANLIĞI

100.

ترددانچه لاجپه قوربن حقه استانه سندنه لير قرتنه و لورگه اولور و درجه
درجه لصدقه خا صند و قلاخ زغارنه حکم شريفکه بزمينه ليرين کمال ايصال ايلير
استانه عرالله لورده ايلير

مغز لقضاة و لکھجھ سندنه لالتصير و لکلام سندنه ولایت لير سندنه و درجه اول لورده
درجه اول و دوة قاصير زير قصلهم و مغز اولاندر و اولاد و اولاد و اولاد و اولاد و اولاد و اولاد
نقله لغازي زير قدره قریق دینق هاید و لورده اولاندر و اولاد و اولاد و اولاد و اولاد و اولاد
و دویته کلور استانه سندنه کلور قورده نام لاجپه بر قنقلکه کت حکومته و لورده اولاندر و اولاد
شع شریف و کچن و درمیه لورده کلور لیرین کمال ايصال ايلير لورده اولاندر و اولاد و اولاد
و لورده اولاندر و اولاد و اولاد و اولاد و اولاد و اولاد و اولاد و اولاد و اولاد و اولاد
رکاة و جهاد مقبول و لورده اولاندر لاجپه و درمیه لورده کلور کت حکومته و لورده اولاندر
بر وجه خلاف شع شریف کتیه و کچن و درمیه لورده کلور هر خصوصاً معارضه لیر و لیر و لیر و لیر
بر کت رسال و ايصال لیر و لیر شع شریف و لورده اولاندر کت لیر لیر لیر لیر لیر لیر لیر
علمه شع شریف لورده کلور اولاندر لورده کلور لورده کلور لورده کلور لورده کلور لورده کلور

Document 105) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Kadis of the cities from İstanbul to the Polish border
Kornelyo Haga (Cornelis Haga), the ambassador of the Dutch king had arrived the Polish border. Whenever the envoy arrive each city, he should be confronted and transmitted to the next location without any difficulty.
Dated Evâil-i Şevval 1020 / 7-16 December 1611.

مفاخر القصة والظلم معادة القضاء والكلوم موقد ومنتصف ويا من ودين بخير تنجنا من تحت والظلم
 قاضيان في فضائلهم توفيقهم ورفقهم في احوالهم وراحمهم في احوالهم وراحمهم في احوالهم وراحمهم في احوالهم
 فزرونا في طيبين من سائر اعدائهم مال كثر ورويتهم قضا كوزج و نوتة ليقو و و كسبيليا و كزرونا
 تجاريا و اكرت يربحنا طاعة مندة عايد و راجع و مصفر قونولوس عقق و اخذ و قيعي و يد و و و كسب
 و عورين متعلق و مصفر مصفر كسر و طرفقة ايريقو تا كزرونا نام اوس قونولوس عقق و ايريق
 موصوف و مرشيق و عفا و يلكي و يورج
 تحت قضا كوزج و مصفر و كزرونا و اكر و ايريق و يورج و ايريق و ايريق و ايريق و ايريق و ايريق
 ووزج عورنا و ايريق موصوف قونولوس عقق و يورج و ايريق و ايريق و ايريق و ايريق و ايريق
 و و كسب و عورنا و ايريق و ايريق و ايريق و ايريق و ايريق و ايريق و ايريق و ايريق و ايريق
 و و كسب و عورنا و ايريق و ايريق و ايريق و ايريق و ايريق و ايريق و ايريق و ايريق و ايريق

Document 110) Imperial Decree to the Kadis of Morea, Mezestre, Lepanto (İnebahtı), and Patra

The Dutch ambassador has appointed Erico Nalderand ? as the Dutch consul for those regions. From then onwards, he would collect the consulate fee and provide consulate services. No other person should intervene in his affairs any more.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين
والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد
الطيب الطاهر

وتمت بحمد الله تعالى
في شهر ربيع الثاني سنة
الف واربعمائة وثمانين
هـ الموافق لثلاثين من
مارس سنة الف واربعمائة
وثلث عشر
عليه افضل الصلوات
والطيبات

Document 115) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy of Egypt, Vizier Mehmed Paşa

Since there was not a Dutch consul in Egypt and in Alexandria, the French consul Gabriel Fernoji would perform as the Dutch consul there as well.

Dated Evâhir-i Muḥarrem 1022/ 13-22 March 1613.

Handwritten header text in Ottoman Turkish script.

Main body of handwritten text in Ottoman Turkish script, containing the petition of the Dutch Ambassador.

Document 116) Petition of the Dutch Ambassador Cornelis Haga to Sultan Ahmed I

The prince of the Netherlands would like to establish friendly relations with the Ottoman Sultan. The Dutch prince had war with Spain for over 40 years. Recently, a truce was signed for 12 years. The main reason for the war was the imposition of the Spanish king on the Netherlands the fake religion of the Pope. Now, if capitulations were granted, the friendship would be forged, and the Sultan would be praised among the Dutch nation.

The Address of Ambassador Haga at His Audience with Sultan Ahmed I¹

Dâyimâ gâlib ve muzaffer olub maşrıktan mağribe varınca hükmü nâfiz ve emri cârî olan devletlü ve 'azametlü ve şevketlü pâdişah hazretlerinüñ Hak sübhânehû ve te'âlâ ömr ü devletlerin ziyâde eyleye, hâliyâ Olanda vilâyetlerinüñ cümle kralları üzere vâli ve zâbit ve Âsitâne-i sa'âdetlerine dostluk üzere mürâca'at edenler hakkında lütf u ihsanları mebzûl olduğun istima' eylemeğın cümle krallarınıñ ittifakları ile 'azametlü ve şevketlü pâdişah-i İslâm'ın Âsitâne-i sa'âdet-âşiyânlarına sadâkat üzere kavî ü dostluk etmeğe bin cân ü dil birle tâlib olub bu hayırlı hıdmetin zuhûru için bu kemter kulların elçi ta'yîn edüb dostlarına irsâl eylemişlerdir ki, cümle Hollanda krallarıyla efendimiz Moriç (Maurice) kralı kulluğa ve dostluğa kabul buyurub ticâret ve sadâkat üzere gelüb gidüb alış veriş edeler. Bu vechile ihsanları sudûr eder ise bu âna dek Al-i Osman ile dostluk üzere olan krallardan küllî hazz eylemeleri mukarrerdir. Bundan akdem İspanya kralı Olanda ve tevâbi'inde olan cezâirenüñ hâkimlerini ve krallarını harben Rim Papa'nuñ battal dînine da'vet edüb cümle Frengistan beğleriyle yek-dîl ve yek-cihet oldukda kuvvet-i kâhire ile kalkub 'azametlü pâdişah-i İslâm ocağına kasd eylemek niyetinde olduklarında bizim krallarımız Rim Papa'nuñ battal dînine ve din-perestliklerine râzı ve tâbi' olmayub dinlerinde sâbit-kadem olmağla kırk yıldan mütecâvizdir ki, İspanya krallarıyla efendimiz Moriç kralı bendenüz mâbeyninde 'azîm seferler ve ziyâde cengler vâki' olub 'inâyet-i Hak'la gerek bahr ve gerek berrde bizim krallarımız gâlib olmağla bi'z-zarurî İspanya kralı beş defa elçisin gönderüb krallarımız ile sulh ricâ eylediler. Mâbeynimizde ba'zı şurût olmağla sulh olunmamışdı. Ba'dehû kadîmden komşumuz ve dostlarımız olan Françe ve İngiltere krallarının ricâlarıyla on iki yıla dek sulh olundu. Şol şartla ki mâbeynimizde sefer vâki' beru gerek İspanya ve gerek Olanda vilâyetler krallarımız kalmalarıyla aldıkları kal'alardan İspanya kralı el çeküb bizim hükûmetimizde olan kralı kendi hattıyla ve mührüyle bize 'ahdnâme göndermişdir. Eğer bizim askerimiz İspanya kralınıñ bu vechile etmemiş olsaydı Rim Papa'nuñ battal dînine kabul edelerdi, İspanya kralı ziyâde kuvvet bulub Françe ve İngiltere krallarına zarar erişdirmeleri mukarrer idi. Bu hususdan ötürü hâlâ Françe ve İngiltere [.....] [.....] [.....] üzere olub ziyâde dostluk üzeredirler. İspanya kralıyla mâbeynimizde [.....] [.....] [.....] eğer bahrda ve eğer berrde kal'aların ve kalyonların alub

¹ For the original address in Latin, see Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, pp 240-243.

vilâyetimize azîm İspanya kralınıñ cümle donanma kalyonlarını ateşe urub husûsan Şelos (Sluis) nâm bir 'azîm şehirlerin krallarımız fethedüb bin kırk nefer Müselman esirlerin halâs edüb ve arkaları ve başlarına esbâb verüb ve harçlık verüb vilâyetlerine göndermişizdir. Ve bi'l-cümle İspanya vilâyetinde ve gemilerinde ele giren Müselman esirlerin halâs etmekden hâlî değillerdir. Ol zaman dostluğumuz yoğidi. Yine ehl-i İslâm'a bu denlü mu'avenetimiz ve dostluğumuz zuhûra gelmişdir. Min ba'd inşallâhu te'âlâ nice nice nef'imiz ve hizmetimiz müşâhede olunacaktır. Ve geçenlerde Kızılbaş cânibinden krallarımıza elçi ve pîşkeş gelüb Al-i Osman ile husûmetimiz vardur beynde yardım eyleñ deyu nâme getirüb ricâ eylediklerinde krallarımız ve efendilerimiz Morıç kralı bendeñüz murâdlarına müsâ'ade etmemişlerdir. Ve şimden gerü krallarımız ve hakimlerimiz 'azametlü ve şevketlü pâdişah-i İslâm uğrunda sadâkata hıdmet edüb dostlarına dost ve düşmanlarına düşman olmak üzere ahd ü peymân eylemişlerdür. Bu yüce dergâhda efendimiz bendeñizün ve krallarımızın dahî ricâları budur ki, tâcirlerimiz gemiler ile sadâkat üzere memâlik-i İslâmiye iskelelerine varub gelüb alış veriş eylemeğe icâzet-i hümâyunları ve sâir dostluk eden kralların bâzirganlarına verilen 'ahdnâme-i hümâyun üzere 'ahdnâme inâyet buyurulub kulluğa kabûl buyurmağla beyne'l-akrân mümtâz ve ser-efrâz buyurular ki bu kulları der-sa'âdet elçilik ile oturub lâzım gelen hıdmetde devâm-i ömr ü devletleri du'âsında olam. Hak sübhânehû ve te'âlâ sa'âdetlü pâdişah-i İslâm'ı hatâlardan saklayub rûz-i kıyâmete dek ocakların nûrânî edüb serfir-i saltanatda bâkî ve pâydâr eyleye, âmîn, yâ Rabbü'l-'âlemîn.

Kornelis Haga
Elçi-i Holanda

تاریخ
ملا محمد علی کورانی
طبع و مکتوب در ایستادگی
کوندر و کونستانتینوپول
نام بزرگه من قونسلو سلطنتی

وایع عرفان وایع عرفان قدر و سعادت و ایستادگی
ایستادگی منور و ایستادگی منور
محتسب و ایستادگی منور
بایستادگی منور
ساکت و ایستادگی منور
بازرگانه و ایستادگی منور
دفعه و ایستادگی منور
ایستادگی منور
عزیز و ایستادگی منور
و ایستادگی منور

Document 117) Letter of the warden of the ushers of the seraglio Mehmed Aga to Defterdar of Aleppo Yusuf Efendi

The Dutch ambassador has appointed Cornelis Paw as the Dutch consul in Aleppo instead of [dragoman] Jewish Orahami?. From then onwards he would collect the consulate fee and undertake the affairs of the Dutch merchants in Aleppo. All kinds of assistance should be provided to him.

(Also see documents 118, 119, 120, 121, and 162)

قبولیه کتبی از طرف امانه بزرگ قونسلگری بکراک
بریک کونزولگری کتبی منسوبه

خوبه بریک و تلمه ازین و عاوه ملک دنیا و نفاذ دوله که بونده اوقه کفید اولدو کونزولگری
دو بویک کونزولگری بونج بالتمام بونج اولدو کونزولگری اولدو کونزولگری کتبی منسوبه
کتابه اولدو کونزولگری بونج کونزولگری اولدو کونزولگری کتبی منسوبه
بناج اولدو کونزولگری اولدو کونزولگری کتبی منسوبه
قونسلگری کتبی منسوبه کونزولگری کتبی منسوبه
کونزولگری کتبی منسوبه کونزولگری کتبی منسوبه
کونزولگری کتبی منسوبه کونزولگری کتبی منسوبه

Document 119) Letter from the warden of the ushers of the seraglio Mehmed Aga to the custodian of Aleppo Hoca Bedik

3 thousand piastres, which was bailed by the Dutch ambassador has been completely paid there. A box of clothes kept in return for that amount in Aleppo could be returned. The new consul Cornelis Paw should also be assisted in his affairs in Aleppo.

(Also see documents 117, 118, 120, 121, and 162)

مکتوبه فیروزخان احمد آغا و غاوه انشده

قرتکاین بزم پهلوان خلیل و سلیمان مانی علی حویر

بعد از صلح با تتر و کلاذخ از صلح اصفهان آمدند که فلان ندرت طایفه ندرت و شیخ و ندرت کلاذخ و ندرت
 نواح و غیره و ندرت نجات از ایام و صلح مطرب بعد از صلح و ندرت ندرت و ندرت و ندرت و ندرت و ندرت
 ندرت کلاذخ و ندرت کلاذخ و ندرت کلاذخ و ندرت کلاذخ و ندرت کلاذخ و ندرت کلاذخ و ندرت کلاذخ
 از اجازت و غیره و ندرت کلاذخ و ندرت کلاذخ و ندرت کلاذخ و ندرت کلاذخ و ندرت کلاذخ و ندرت کلاذخ
 و ندرت کلاذخ و ندرت کلاذخ و ندرت کلاذخ و ندرت کلاذخ و ندرت کلاذخ و ندرت کلاذخ و ندرت کلاذخ

Document 130) Letter of Ahmed Aga in Tunis

The holder of that letter had been in Istanbul and then departed for the Netherlands. He should not be interrupted on the way to his country.

آنگندره جاننده قوشلوسلوق حقی ایچون
توند بلاتان امرشده تکف صورتیدر

7.2.3

توقه رفع همایون و اصل اولونچ معلوم اوله که ندر لانه اچلسی سته سعاده عوص حال کوندوب عتفا
اولتان عهدنامه همایونده ندر لانه ولایتکریه تابع اولان کیلره بر کیم اولورسه اولسون متاعلین تمیل
ایدوب کتور دکلرنده و بو جانندن و ساردن متاع تمیل ایدوب ایدوب کتور دکلرنده بالتمک کمر کلرین ادا
ایدوب قوشلوسلوق حقیقین ندر لانه قوشلوسلوق سیرینه و بره اردیو منظره و مقید ایکن حال آنگندره ندر لانه
ولایتکریه تابع اولان کیلره بعضی کسینه لری متاع تمیل ایدوب و بو جانندن و ساردن ایدوب کتور کلرنده
قوشلوسلوق حقیقین و بر یوب ایدوب کتور کلرنده قوشلوسلوق حقیقین و بر یوب ایدوب کتور کلرنده
و کی ناطرین السور ملک ایچون حکم شریف و بر تک رجاسنه عرض ایکنین بوردوم که ندر لانه ولایتکریه
تابع اولان کیلره آنگندره بر قوشی بر اردن اولورسه و بر قوشی ولایتکریه باز کاندرا لسه متاع تمیل
اندو کلرنده بو جانندن و غیرین ایدوب کتور کلرنده عهدنامه همایون مو جوبی قوشلوسلوق حقیقین قوشلوسلوق
المنی متاع تمیل ایدوب کتور کلرنده و چقارمق لازم کلدو کوره قوشلوسلوق حقیقین ایلیچی چقار کیم ندر لانه
باز کاندرا لسه اولورسه اولسون و بر مکده تعلیل ایدور لسه عهدنامه همایون مو جوبی عاید اولان
قوشلوسلوق حقیقین کی ریسلرندن و کی ناطرین السور سزه ادر شریفه مخالف تعلیل و عتفا ایدور سیر
اگر بو خصوص ایچون ادر شریف ابراز ایدور لسه استماع ایتیموب ایشو ادر شریف مو جوبی عمل ایلیمیز
شوبله بیلر علامت شریفه اعتماد قیلیمیز غریر اخی او اسطال شریف رجب المریب ستر کلمت و قرین و الف
بر صورتی دخی قریس کلر کسینه و دهر ادر سنه لار شریفه فی اوایل
شهرتار لاول سنه اربع و عشترین و الف
بر صورتی دخی طلب کلر کسینه و دفتر ادر سنه فی اوایل شهرتار لاول

توقه رفع همایون
توند بلاتان امرشده تکف صورتیدر

سنه
۱۳۱۶

Document 132) Imperial Decree to the Viceroys of Alexandria, Cyprus, and Aleppo

When the merchants imported and exported goods with the Dutch ships, they should pay the consulate fee to the Dutch consuls, and the captains of the ships should collect the duties to be paid for the consuls.

Dated Evâil-i Cemaziyelevvel 1024/ 29 May-7 June 1615.

قبس بجگہ کی علی پاشا دن مسلحی اولان سلیمان نکر بازیلان مکتوبہ

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قدوت الاسراء الکرام حالاً قسیده منتر اولان سلیمان بک دلم عش بعد السلام انما اولمان اولدر کبر ندر لاندہ
 الہسی بدین بوجاہہ خطاب و دفتر دار افتدیہ خطاباً امر شریف واجب التشریف وارد اولوب معقول بجایاوشدہ
 منبور لک الدفتر و کلیرینہ قویہ و قلمی متاعین بوزنہ اوج آچی لک و یریک عدد نامہ لرنزہ مسطور و مقید اولوب
 و بوزنہ کلینی بوزنہ اوج آچی و یرہ کلن لک اینک خلاف قانون منبور لرنزہ زیادہ آچی طلب ایلدو کلر ایلدن زیادہ
 التحق بایندہ فرمان اولمخین بد لرنزہ اولان قانون نامہ موجو کلیرینہ الدوقلمی متاعین و کلیرینہ بوجایان
 قانونی اوزرہ بوزنہ اوج آچی الدردوب زیادہ بر آچی و بر حبت لرنزہ الدردیسر و شمیدید کین زیادہ آچی لرنزہ
 المشرایب کبرو الیوروب قانون نامہ بجاوندہ مخالف کسبیر الیش ایتدوریدہ ستر ایلدو ستر نوع آخرا لک
 و اندہ بعض اوزم تاجور لرنزہ اولان قونلوس متعین و یریکہ غارو مخالفیت ایدر لرنزہ اکادنی مقید
 اولوب قانون قدیم اوزرہ قونلوسلرہ و یرہ کلدو کلر کلیر لرنزہ کیرہ بوزنہ دخی و یروب خلاف عادت بر فرزدہ
 الیش ایتدوریدہ ستر قویہ او اوشتر عمر الحرام سنہ ۱۰۲۳
 الفخر علی پاشا
 میر بران قبرس

دله

منه من يتابع اولان من منان ولايتهم من اول وبارک متاع لرنزہ آتش و قونفل و غفل و بوزنہ او عسلند و لک کبر
 و غفور و بیدار قسنگ انراعی کلیر اولد ندلان و ولايتک کتوروب بعدد بارنگ کلر و ذکر اولمان متاعک بخصاین
 کلیر ایلد التنبول و انیس و ساقره و سایر ممالک سحر و سده اولان اسکله لک کتوروب سحر و شرا ایلدو کلر
 اساجال و سایر سحر اخذ و جلب اچون باندگان لرنزہ کار بکن ایدر لرنزہ ذکر اولمان متاع و بیدار ایلدو کلر
 و سایر ممالک سحر و سده اسکله لرنزہ کلدو کلر و اسنا و ملترتین و سایر جا و ممشوع اوزرہ بارنگ کلرین
 بلانک اچون بکنار کلیر و سحر و سحر کلیرینہ و قاضیلر خطاباً امر شریف صدقہ پور لک بایین غنیمت برجا ایدر
 اولبا این امر و فرمان دولتمند و سعادتکو و عظمی پادشاه مکده ...

Document 133) Letter by the Viceroy of Cyprus Ali Paşa to his Deputy Süleyman Beg
 The Sultan had sent an imperial decree to the defterdar of Cyprus. In accordance with that decree, the Dutch merchants should pay the consulate fee to the Dutch consul in Cyprus.
 Dated Evâhir-i Muharrem 1023/ 3-12 March 1614.
 Document 134) Petition of Ambassador Haga
 The Dutch ambassador petition to the Sultan that when the Dutch merchants bring spices and cotton from India, they might be allowed to sell their goods at Izmir, Istanbul, Chios and in other cities.

دستور مكرم مشير في حق وزير اعظم و تولد و سعادت و تسخير في
صفتان زرين السكوي بلكا لبريه كو كند و كي ملكوتيك صور مشير

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خامس الامراء العظام العيون ساجح البراء الغلم في الملة المسيحية صلح مصالح باعمر الطائفة الفرانسيه ساجح اجازيل
الثمة والوقار ساجح دلايل البره الاقبحار سعادت و دوتلو و عظمتو و شوكتو بياوش هو استاذتلك طرزي او سكر
اولان نده لاند ملكتلك ساكلكي ختمت عرا قه بالبر قبيله و سكتنه لائق اولان سلام عبت اعظام كه اهل السلام طرفه
اولان خلوص و ميستردن لازم كلور اخاف و اهدا قلندقدن مكره انما اولشان اولمده كه حالبا سلطان اليرين والجزين
فان المشرقين و المغربين خادم الحرمين الشريفين تاجي الكندر و الفريين ساجي الملك بالطول والعرض منفر قراي السلطان
المعاد ظر اسدي الاض سلطان الثغرات والميامين معين الصغاف والمظلمين سعادت و دوتلو و عظمتو و شوكتو بياوش
او اهدا الفاره صوبتريك ملجا حاضره زمان و ملاذ اكاسه او زمان اولان اسكان سعادت اشجان و سقا كندر ملكلترت
انبار عبوديت و اخلاص و عرض عبت و اخفاص ايجون اليك طريفه كوند و كلز معز او كلز قودت ايمان الله السميع
زيب و عه زيرت انا و نه و اسطاسل ارسال اولشان عبوديت نامه كز كلوب منفر بنده بو اسكان سعادت اسبان
و در زمان عتذالاركانه جان و كو كندن قول اولوب اطاعت و انقياد لرن كند و كن سد مباد رخصت بيلوب
باده صافقر بنده ثابت قدم اولد و عكزي اعلام ايلش سز و اندن ماعبادني مره كنهو كه مازوب بلدرش ايلكز
بلاسي نرته اولوب حضور عوت موقور بياوشه او قنوب دوستلكر و خلوص عبوديتك معلوم بياوشك
الافقن مكره مكر اوليكز ايله كوند و كلز پشكشكز دني پايه سيرر اعلا برينه و نض اولوب قبول قورين اولشك
الدي ملكز خفي اوليه كه بو انه و كن بو بو ج استاذ طر و لوق ايله دوستق ايند اكر حكام زمان

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و اكر اكاسه و در اندر بر بيلسي بو دولت عليه ايله دوستق و اشاق ايلكده كند و ل ايله برابر لوق و خصوصت
نمانند اولان سير ايل و ملكيت مابيلريك اوز برينه غالب اولشكدر و باب سعادت بأكبري و اياما
مداقت و استقامت بو زرين استاذ سعادت لبرينه عرض اخلاص و اخفاص ابدنكز و فتح و كشاده اولوب
كسندنيخ و رد اولد و نفي اجلدن سنگ دني ايلكز استاذ سعادت سگن اولوق اوزره اطاعت و انقياد
قبول بياوشكزي اولوب اولبا بنده نامه بياون ملاطفت مشورتين ارسال و ايعال پور مشكدر و اروب
وصول بولدره من بعد دني جاه صافقر بن ثابت قدم و اش براه عبوديتك راسخ دم اولوب و اش
سنگلوت و باا عرض اخلاص و اخفاص ان خالي اولوب و مازد كانكز متقل كلوب كيرب مقدا و بيا
عهد نامه بياوشكزي اوزره عكل اولاسز انش اهد كما مادامك سعادت و دوتلو و عظمتو و شوكتو بياوشك
عالم پناه صفتريك استاذ سعادت لبرينه خلوص و عبوديت و دوستق اظهار ايليكز كلان باز كانكز
مالبرينه و جانبرينه مالك پادشاهي ساكلكرين و قول اغارندن و قوللندن و بيا لكه افراد افرين دن حج فردن
فرد و زيان ابرشكرك احتمال بو قدر اكاسه كند دني دوستلكزه استقام و استوار اورده اولاسك
الباق السلام على من اتبع الهدى اولاً و اخرآ و ظهراً و باطناً

كدير
الملك
السلطان

Document 135) Letter of Grand Vizier Nasuh Paşa to the States General
The Grand Vizier approved the establishment of friendly relations between the two countries. With the admittance of the Dutch ambassador Cornelis Haga by Sultan Ahmed I, he would stay as the resident ambassador in Istanbul. Capitulations were granted to the Dutch nation, and as long as the friendly relations were sustained, the Sultan and the Ottoman government would respond accordingly.

طلب بیکریکسند و قاضی خود وقت ازین حکم که
قانون نامه دن زیاده کرک الدریمیه

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نوع بیخ بمایون و اصل او بخت معلوم اولاکه نذر لاندن الحقیقه سبده سحانه عوض حال کوندر بوب حلب استغفر تو ان کانون
ان اولان فراخه و ونیکه و انکله نذر لاندن باز کانکر کنور دکری و الوب کینتو کمر متا فلردن کرکری قانون متما کانون
بویخ انکله کلوب و نذر لاندن اول فرایخ و انکله سپراخی التندره کلور لایکن استغفر زیاده طلب انکر کن سال
نذر لاندن باز کانکر کیم متا فلردن ماضی و ورشته پنجه و سیریه بعضی متا فلر که قانون نامه بمایونده و نکلن انکله مستطرا لایکن سال
طلب امیر کیم سیر امیر کیم کله و ورشته قناعت انیسوب قانون نامه بمایونده مخالف دارچین و چوبد و ملائین و بوز او کیم
و سیر متا فلردن کیندولره قاضی اولاندن یوزده اولان بش و بکری طلب ایوب و الوب و کیندولره زیاده نقض اولیاندن
کیمدایا بمایون موبیخ یوزده اوچ اقره اوزردیو تعدر ایله و کلرین عوض انکله سیر لردن انکله کلدوکی اوزده قانون نامه
لر بویخ انکله لر ایوب سپردوم که
و ارا قده و تک مسای اوزده ان کلان ماضی و ورشته
بیز و سیریه نموده و نر اسانی و ماونت فراخه و ونیکه و انکله دن انکله کلدوکی اوزده الدریمیه اولان سده اسما کندن
و بر لشن مهر لوچ قانون نامه لر موبیخ و طلب دقتیله
و شیدیدکن زیاده انکله لایکیر و انیسوب سز بوضو حکم خلافتد ارشرف ابراز ایدر لایک اشبو ارشرف موبیخ
المیس و نذر لاندن باز کانکر ساره قیاس اونز نکلون کاییکر مشرو مشوردر آکا گوره مقید اولان سز مشورده لایک
ملاست لایکریفه اعتماد قیله سز بخیراخی او انز شهر ربیع الاول سنه ثلث و عشین و الف من ایوب انیسوبیه

فلسطیظه

Document 138) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy, Defterdar, and Kadi of Aleppo

The customs custodian in Aleppo had requested excessive customs dues from the Dutch merchants. They claimed that when they sailed under the British and French flag, they used to pay lesser taxes. Oppression of the custodian on the Dutch merchants should be prevented.

Dated Evâhir-i Rebiülevvel 1023/ 1-10 May 1614.

طلب بکار بستن و قاضی
و دفتر دار بند بایران حکم موشیر

129

توقيع رفع بهایون و اصل اولی معلوم اولاکه سنگی وزیرم آمد با شستن سندن سعادت مکسوب کوندر ب
 حلیه ندر لاندن قوسلوسی الی التذره اولان ندر لاندن بازرگانن کتود کلری و الوب کتود کلری عشر انسان بیج
 و بهارین حلیه عقوط اولان قانون نامه بهایون مویجی و بوشلرندن و بره کلد کلری اوزر مکرگ انبلی
 و ما یشتیند و سایر متاعلر تک کز کلری خصوصند دیوان بهایون و مالیه طرفندن احکام شریفه
 اراز ایوب ندر لاندن تا کلری الدقلری حریر و ماضی و شسته پینه و عوده و خراسانی و راوند و غیره متاعلرندن
 و وندیک تا کلری دن کلدوکی و سندن سعادتندن و کلر کلان مهر لو قانون نامه بهایون و حلیه دفتر اوزر مقبول
 اوزره و تک حسابی دوره سز دیو سوزلر و عن اعلام امکان و ندر لاندن الحلیه و عن حال کوندر ب ندر لاندن کلدوکی
 و بریلان احکام قدیمه مراجعت اولننده و تک حسابی اوزره الیه کلان حریر و ماضی و شسته پینه و عوده و خراسانی
 و راوند و غیره دن تکلیف و وندیک دن الیه کلدوکی اوزره الیه کلان حریر و ماضی و شسته پینه و عوده و خراسانی
 نامه مویجی و حلیه دفتر اوزر و مطور اولد و بی اوزره دوره سز من بعد زاده دوره سز دیو مقبول و عن اخله
 نقل دیوان بهایون طرفندن و مالیه جانبندن و بریلان اولدر شریفه مویجی عمل اولنمق ایدوب سوزدم که فرمان
 شریفه مویجی بریابد مقصدا دیوان بهایون نم و مالیه طرفندن و بریلان احکام شریفه مویجی عمل ایلیک شریفه خلافته جواز
 کوستر سز و لو ایشرفندن حکم خلافته ایشرف دنخ ابراز ایدر لاله ایشرف ایشرف مویجی دوره سز زاده
 آدور سز شریفه سز علامت شریفه اعتماد قلد سز کلری بی اوایل شهر شریفان المعظم کلد و شریفان

Document 139) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy Ahmed Paşa, Defterdar, and Kadi of Aleppo
 When the Dutch merchants load or unload gallnut, rhubarb, silk, scammony and cotton in Aleppo, their duties should be calculated according to bale account as registered in Ottoman legal regulations of Aleppo.
 (Also see document 136)
 Dated Evâil-i Şaban 1023/ 6-15 September 1614.

اؤ سور سقاغی بکنده و خاصه
و معاطعات تا طرینه حکم مور تیدر

130

توقع رفح همایون و اصل اولیچ معلوم اولار که ندرلانغ الحسب سنده سعاده عرض حال کوندرتوب ندرلانغ لودن
بودن اؤ سور قریبند دریاوه کی کسپاره ننان ایزبران جوان نام رئیس کی سنده اولان آلات و اسباب
و طویلر و آنچه کسین کسین قبض ایدوب و طویلر دخی دریاوه قلوب بودن اؤدم الیورلیک دیوایر شریف
و برایش ایکن کونیم اولیورلیک اؤر طویلریدر و غیریدر عهدنامه همالون موجب الیورلیک ایچون ایزبران
رجاسنه عرض انگن سپوردم که نرورد ایزبران جوان رئیس کی سنده ندرلانغ کیلر ندرن اولوب دریاوه پاره
آلات و اسباب و طویلر برتیم اولیورلیک خالشی الیه اگر کسین بکنده و غیره در و طویلر دخی برکنده اینه
و دریاوه خالشی الیه عهدنامه همالون موجب تحصیل و تدارک اندر و باران ادی سنده کسین اؤدم لودن
ایزبران موموجب برینه الیه قصور قلم اؤدم لودن اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر
کسین اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر
شریفه و عتقاد علان عکیر اقی اولیورلیک اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر
شریفه و عتقاد علان عکیر اقی اولیورلیک اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر

ایزبران

توقع رفح همایون و اصل اولیچ معلوم اولار که ندرلانغ الحسب سنده سعاده عرض حال کوندرتوب ندرلانغ لودن
بودن اؤ سور قریبند دریاوه کی کسپاره ننان ایزبران جوان نام رئیس کی سنده اولان آلات و اسباب
و طویلر و آنچه کسین کسین قبض ایدوب و طویلر دخی دریاوه قلوب بودن اؤدم الیورلیک دیوایر شریف
و برایش ایکن کونیم اولیورلیک اؤر طویلریدر و غیریدر عهدنامه همالون موجب الیورلیک ایچون ایزبران
رجاسنه عرض انگن سپوردم که نرورد ایزبران جوان رئیس کی سنده ندرلانغ کیلر ندرن اولوب دریاوه پاره
آلات و اسباب و طویلر برتیم اولیورلیک خالشی الیه اگر کسین بکنده و غیره در و طویلر دخی برکنده اینه
و دریاوه خالشی الیه عهدنامه همالون موجب تحصیل و تدارک اندر و باران ادی سنده کسین اؤدم لودن
ایزبران موموجب برینه الیه قصور قلم اؤدم لودن اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر
کسین اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر
شریفه و عتقاد علان عکیر اقی اولیورلیک اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر
شریفه و عتقاد علان عکیر اقی اولیورلیک اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر اؤر طویلر

Document 140) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to Governor, Kadi and Tax-farming Authority of Agriboz
Previously, the ship of captain Izberan Covan was ran aground nearby Agriboz. The cannons of the ship
together with the utilities, foodstuff and the money inside were captured by Keskin Beg. Although an imperial
decree was conveyed on that issue, nothing was returned yet. (Also see documents 58 and 141)
Dated Evâsî-i Receb 1023/ 17-26 August 1614.

Document 141) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I
The cannons, the utilities and the money that were captured from the ship of captain Izberan Covan, which
was broken into pieces nearby Agriboz (Negroponte), should be delivered to him. The Dutch subject should
also never be oppressed. (Also see documents 58 and 140)

طلب بکلیتہ وفاقہ حکم

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تفیع رفیع ہمایون واصل اولیٰ حق معلوم اولاکہ دارنق فرمان ہمالون غروبہ حلیہ اولان بندلانہ قوسلی
 مذہ ساطقہ عرض حال کو تدریب نفیس حلیہ و ساکن اولہ و غی ہدایہ اندنام کسہ تک اوسین بزبور ہدایت
 اوصل براد نام کسہ ناماسی و کالتیل الہ سنیہ دکن ساکن اولوق اورزہ ہر سنیہ ایک پوز غروبش اجارہ ایل
 نوکاد یروب و عدہ تمام اولمشن دکل ایکین بزبور ہدایہ اعدہ ذکر اولنان اوسین دن خود سطرین ایچون
 اخویج ایلرم دیوب و نو خصوص ایچون قموای شریف اولدوغن بلدیوب حکم شریف طلب ایچکلن
 پیریم کہ حکم شریف اولدوقدہ خصای برابر ایدوب بردفع شرعہ فصل اولمشن اولکایوب اون بوشن میل
 مذہر اولمشن دکل ایچون حق اورزہ نقشنش و التذہ اولان قمواسنہ نظر ایدوب کورینش فی الواقع قصہ
 عرض اولندوغی کی اسہ اولبا بدہ معتقنای شرع قولہ عمل ایدوب بشع شریفہ و قموای سفید مخالف
 کسہ بہ تعدل و نزاع ایتدورمیشن بحسب الشرح لازم کلانی ابرا ایلکسہ نو خصوص ایچون تکرار
 سکایت اولنالو ایلکسہ شویله سر علامت شریفہ اعتماد کلکسہ حکم شریفی او اشر شریفی القعدہ
 الشریفہ سنیہ ثلث و عرین و الف

ملا
 خور و سطرین

نیز عوک دارنق التی سنیہ دک الی تریک
 اچیدہ استیجارج ایل با بندہ استیجارتدوکن
 مکرہ خدر شریف سز عمو اجارہ بدیورہ بفس
 ایدوب و ایدر قومہ بیسہ و ماخرہ اجارہ شریف
 نادر اولور می بیان پیر یلوت شتاب اولنہ الم کدرہ
 اولماز کتتہ عرین العور
 عی عی

Document 145) Imperial Letter by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and Kadi of Aleppo
 The Dutch consul in Aleppo has rented a house for 6 years. Nevertheless, before the due time was over, the owner of the estate demanded evacuation of the house. The consul has also taken a fatwa from the mufti that such a demand was against the sharia. The case should be clearly examined in the court and a decision should be given in accordance with the legal regulations.
 Dated Evâhir-i Zilkade 1023 / 23 December 1614-1 January 1615.

Letter by Vizier Halil Paşa to the Viceroy of Tunis Süleyman Paşa

'İzzet-medâr karındaşım paşa-i kâm-kâr hazretlerinüñ 'izz-i huzûr sūrûrlarına ve dürer-i da'vât-i vâfire ve gurer-i teslîmât-i mütekâsire isârından soñra muhlisâne inhâ olunur ki, Flandra tayifesinüñ der-sa'âdet-medâra sâir krallarüñ elçileri gelüb oturduđu gibi bunlarun dahî elçileri oturmak ve sa'âdetlü pâdişah-i din-penâh hazretlerine dostluk eylemek bâbında bu muhibbiñüz vâsita olduğumuz ecilden hâlâ mustakıl elçileri hedâyâ ve nâmeleri ile gelüb dostlukları hayr-i kabûlde vâki' olub sa'âdetlü pâdişahımız hazretleri 'azîm hazz eylemişlerdir. Hâlâ sâir krallarüñ elçileri gibi Galata'da hıdmet-i risâlet ile oturmuşdur. Ve oligeldiđi üzere taraf-i pâdişahîden ahdnâme-i hümâyun sadaka olunub mahzâ 'arz-i hulûsları sadaka ve enfâ' olduđu ve bunlar kadîmden ehl-i İslâm ile dost olub zarar ve ziyânları şimdiye dek isâbet etmediđu ve İspanya gemilerin aldıklarında içinde niçe Müselman esirlerin itlâk edüb dâr-i İslâm'a çıkardıkları ecilden sa'âdetlü pâdişahımız hazretleri mahzûz olub her husûslarına sâirden ziyâde müsaade buyurmuşlardır. Ve 'ahdnâmelerinde şimdiye dek bu tâifeden esîr olanlar her kimde bulunursa bahâsı verilmeýüb itlâk oluna deyu mukayyed ve mastûrdur. Ve taraf-i pâdişahîden Flandra krallarına ve beğlerine bu makûle cevâb-i hümâyun yazılıub gönderildiđinden gayrı hâlâ ol tarafda ve Cezâyir'de tâife-i mezbûreden esîr olmuş her kimde bulunursa itlâk olunmak bâbında hükm-i şerîf-i cihân-muta' verilmeđe işbu hâmil-i mektûb-i muhlis müteferrika başımız Ömer Ağa ile gönderilmişdir. İnşallahu te'âlâ müşerref olmak müyesser oldukda vüfûr-i lütfumuzdan ahdnâme-i hümâyun ve fermân-i 'izzet-makrûn mücebince esirlerinden her kimde var ise itlâk edüb mümâileyh Ömer ağa'ya teslîm etdirilmesine himmet ve sarf-i mürüvvet buyurula. Mahzâ cenâb-i şerîfiniz vechile Ocak azepleri bizüm çirađımız ve dostumuz olduğunuz için ve tâife-i mezbûrenüñ dostluklarına sebep ve vâsita biz olmađla gayret bu muhibbiñüze düşmekle âdemimüz müstakıl bu husûs için gönderilmişdür. Mukaddemâ Süleyman ile Trablusgarb tarafına mektûb gönderülüb bir Venedik beğzâdesi ve onbeş mikdârı Venedik esirleri ve ada zımmîlerinüñ itlâk olunmasın ricâ eylediđimizde emr-i şerîf ve müstakıl âdemimüz yođiken bir cevâbımız ile cümlesin bu cânibe göndermişlerdir. Tunus gâzileri bu cenâb-i şerîfiñüz çirađlarımızızsuz. Ve anlardan ziyâde sa'âdetlü pâdişahımız hazretlerinüñ 'arz-i şerîflerin sakınur ve fermânun gözedür gâzilersüz. Tunus ocađından ve cenâb-i şerîfiñüzden Trablus'dan dahî ziyâde mürüvvet ve lutf umaruz. Anlara nisbeten Tunus ocađı dahî tâife-i mezbûrenüñ ahdnâme-i âlişân ve fermân-i şerîf üzere esirleri her kimde ise hüsn-i ittifak ile alub itlâk ve eđer cenâb-i şerîfiñüzde dahî var ise âzâd edüb âdemimüze teslîm etmesine bezl-i himmet buyurula ki bu bâbda olan lutfuñuz ve eyiliđiñüz zâyi' olur kıyâs etmeyesiz. Nice

mükâfatların ve menâfi'lerin müşâhade edeceksiz. İki dost arasında şerâyite ahd ü mîsak mütekâid olduktan sonra "mazâ-mâ-mazâ" fehvâsınca geçenden geçilür ceng ü cidâl ile esir olmuşlardur deyu hiç hatr-i şerîfe bu taraf hatur etmeyüb heman sa'âdetlü pâdişahımız hazretlerinüñ fermân-i şerife ve 'ahdnâmesine ri'âyeten ve kimin dahî bizüm hatırımuz içün ve kimin dahî kendü mürüvvetinüzden âzâd edüb bu muhibbiñüz içün yanında hicâbda komamakla mürüvvet ve himmet ola; "Tunus gâzileri olsun beğlerbeğisi olsun bizüm fetâ ziyâde dostumuzdur, yanlarında bir sözüümüz iki olmaz; emr-i şerif dahî olmazsa mektubumuz vardukda bulunan esirleriñüzü itlâk ederler. Trablus'dan bu denlü Venediklü esirü çıkartdum. Venediklü hod kadîmî düşmanlarından idi. Siz hod ehl-i İslâm kadîmî muhibbi ve hayr-haysız. Sizüñ içün hiç tehallüf etmezler" deyu elçi yanında bu muhibbiñüz da'vâ etdiğimüz ecilden ve sizüñ mürüvvet ve lutfuñuza olduğumuz ecilden müstakıl âdem gönderilmekle cür'et eyledik. İmdî benüm karındaşım, bu tâife Venediklü gibi değıldür, ve ehl-i İslâm ile kadîmî muhibbî oldukları ve İspanya kadırgalarından binden mütecâviz Müselman esirlerin itlâ[k] eyledikleri zâhiren mesmû'-i şerifiñüz olmuşdur, bunlar kâfirlik ile bu denlü Müselman âzâd edüb ızhâr-i mürüvvet ve rahmet ede, bize hod vâcib ve lâzımdır ki, gayret-i dîn-i İslâm içün her kande ise istemedin âzâd etmektir ki, bu bahâne ile tâife-i mezbûre dahî nice nice menâfi' ve eyilükler müşâhede olunacaktır. Ve sâir kefere istimâ' etdikde dîn-i İslam şerefin anlayub anlar dahî edeceklerdir. Benüm karındaşım, bu tarafda her kimin tâife-i mezbûrların esirleri bulunmuş ise cümle itlâk etdirilmiştir. Hemân ol tarafda kaldı, kerem-i lutf edüb bu muhibbiñüzü elçi yanında hicâbda komayub bu bâbda olan iltimâsımız redd olunmaya ve sizüñ dahî mürüvvetiñüz müyesser buyurulmaya, kapudanlıktan çıkduk deyu hemân sizü ferâmuş etmedük. Hâlâ kapudan olan karındaşımıza ve her mahalde gayretiñüz çeküb zikr-i cemîliñüz etmeden hâlî değılüz. Bu zamâna dek ibkâñuza sebep biz olmuşuzdur. Şöyle ki bu bâbda olan ricâmuz dutulub tâife-i mezkûrenüñ ol tarafda bulunan esirleri itlâk olunmasına dikkat buyurula. Yine bu muhibbiñüz uğrunuzda makdûdumuz sarf edüb hıdmetüñüzde dikkat ve ihtimâm eylemek mukarrerdür. Bu husûsda cümle Ocak tarafına dahî mektûb gönderülüb ricâ ve temennâ olunmuşdur. İnşallahu te'âlâ ümidimiz budur ki, cenâb-i şerifiñüz tereddüd ve anlar dahî ta'allül etmeyüb tâife-i mezbûrenüñ bulunan esirleri bulunan yerlerden itlâk oluna ve bi'l-cümle bu bâbda fevka'l-hadd ve'l-gâye memnun ve mecbûr oluruz ve elçi yanında hicâbdan halâs oluruz. Hakk celle ve a'lâ hazretleri sizi dahî niçe vartadan halâs edecektir. Eylece ma'lûm-i şerifiñüz ola. Bakî lutf u kerem hazretleri-âli merbûtdur.

Bir sûreti Tunus'da
Yusuf dayıya

ve bir sûreti
Osman Dayımın oğluna

The Petition of Haga to (Hadım) Mehmed Paşa for Audience with Sultan Ahmed I

Sa'âdetlü ve 'izzetlü sultanum hazretlerinüñ hâk-i pâ-y-i şerîflerine yüzler sürüb arz-i hâl olunan oldur ki, hâlâ Flandra vilâyetinüñ bir beği olub Flamenk tâyifesinüñ hâkimi olan efendimiz Konte Maverisyo muhibbiñüz Françe bayrağı altında gelüb gitmek minnetinden halâs olub pâdişah-i rûy-i zemîn olan devletlü ve 'azametlü Al-i Osman pâdişahı zillullah hazretlerine kul olmağičün sâbıkâ kapudân olan Halil Paşa hazretlerine âdem ve mektûb gönderdiklerinde - Hak te'âlâ sultanımdan ve anlardan râzı ola – mektubumuzuñ cevâbın yazub "Al-i Osman'ın kaptanı açıkdur, her kim gelür ise gelsün redd yokdur, heman siz dahî doğruluk yolundan itâ'at edüb ale't-ta'cîl nameñüz ve elçiñüz gönderün" deyu haber irsâl eylemekle mümâileyh efendimiz muhibleri dahî bu hayırlı hıdmete bu kuluñuzu ta'yîn eyleyüb kader derler bir acîb hâlet müşâhede eyledük. Vilâyetimizden İslambol'a gelince üç dört kralın memleketine uğraduk, kimi Al-i Osman pâdişahınıñ dostu ve kimi düşmanı; cümleden biri Françe ve Duka ve Nemçe ve İspanya ve Leh ve Venedik vilâyetlerine uğrayub Al-i Osman'a kul olmak niyeti ile geldiğimize vâkıf olmuşlar iken yine bize mâni' olmayub efendimiz hatrıçün niçe ta'zîm ve ikrâm eylediler. Hikmetü'l-Hüdâ bu Âsitâne-i sa'âdete dâhil olduğumuza Venediklü ve Françe'nün bir iki mutaassıb âdemleri efendimize ve âsitâneye kul olduğumuza hased edüb dosta ve düşmana karşı bize itibar ettirmemeğe sa'y ediyorlar. Benüm devletlü sultânım, iltifat-i aliyyeñüz olub efendimizi kulluğa kabul ederseñüz, Devlet-i Osman'a bu kadar nef'i olub ve ne kadar zarar olduğun inşaallâhu te'âlâ müşâhede edersiz. Nasâra tâyifesinde derya yüzünde inâyet hakkıyla bizüm kalyonlarımıza mukâbeleye kâdir bir tâyife dahî yokdur. İspanya'nuñ Hindustan cânibinde olan kal'alarından yirmi otuz pâre kal'aların alub zabt eyledük, kat'â bir nesneye kâdir olmadılar. Şöyle ki, efendimizin sahîh bu Âsitâneye kul olduğuna vâkıf oldular, bi'z-zarûrî anlar dahî itâ'at ve inkıyâd etmeleri mukarrerdir. Hemân devletlü başınız içün nâmemizü rikâb-i hümâyuna 'arz buyurub kalîl ve kesîr ne ise getirdiğimiz pişkeşimizi kabûl edüb, nâmemizü yazub, 'ale't-ta'cîl kulunuzu gönderesüz inşaallâhu te'âlâ. Öteden niçe metâ' ve akmîşe ile yükledüb elçimiz ile gelüb hâk-i pâ-y-i şerîfiñüze yüzler sürevüz. Ümîddir ki, zamân-i devletiñizde bu hayırlı maslahat zuhûra gelüb için hicâb çekmeyevüz. Bâkî emr-i fermân 'izzetlü sultânım hazretleriniñdür.

Bende Kornelyale Haga
Elçi-i Flamenk

کتب بعضی کند لرد و جانب و از این و متعلقان بر حسب اولاد و پوسول لر لرین بر بعضی بر نور
 با اولاد تو نه غنیه کند قار شامندر (شکل کینا که سوزن) اعتبار ازین نیز ازین و نیز
 با اولاد تو نه بوج بیورن و مدعی شریکند اولاد که بوظیفه اولاد فرایح و و نیز یک یا بسیار
 سیزده بوستانه سادله و سولی ازین کوز مانع اولاد و اولاد برین بنی بر اولاد بوج شریک
 و عن ایلیه ایچیکوزیه اولاد بر حکم جوق سب ایلیه ازین بوجیکوز لغور بیکره و لغز حرم میاه
 ازین حکم غنیه ایچیکوزیه اولاد بر حکم جوق سب ایلیه ازین بوجیکوز لغور بیکره و لغز حرم میاه
 و نیز بر ایچیکوزیه بو رعایه اولاد شندر و شاد زای ایچیکوز بر خور اولاد اولاد سادله
 پادشاه حرم غنیه ایچیکوزیه حضور جاپونانیه و از رفیق کال اولاد و درگاه ایچیکوزیه غنیه ایچیکوزیه
 پادشاه حرم شاد زای ایچیکوزیه کل حقیق بر بوجیکوزیه سادله ایچیکوزیه خدمت قار بوقان
 علیا نایب سادله لوکلان خدمت بوجیکوزیه اولاد زلفه فتنه بر لغز بوند و سولی ایچیکوزیه و بوجیکوزیه
 و و نیز ایچیکوزیه چایز که سادله بر ایچیکوزیه اولاد زلفه فتنه بر لغز بوند و سولی ایچیکوزیه و بوجیکوزیه
 سولی سوزن ایچیکوزیه بوجیکوزیه ایچیکوزیه بوجیکوزیه قالمش مناسب کور هوک بوجیکوزیه ما اولاد که میانه
 جاپونانیه ایچیکوزیه زایل کورس خور و راه حله خدمت اولاد ازین ایچیکوزیه ایچیکوزیه
 اولاد کمانه و بینه و کلد و بخار و تونس و سایر جا که عید ۵ بوناه اسپر ایچیکوزیه ایچیکوزیه
 خصوصت و حق کال ایچیکوزیه و اصلاح اولاد خدای ایچیکوزیه خدای ایچیکوزیه و سادله سادله کلایب کیده
 ایچیکوزیه ایچیکوزیه و عن و بجهت ایچیکوزیه ایچیکوزیه ایچیکوزیه ایچیکوزیه ایچیکوزیه ایچیکوزیه
 ایچیکوزیه ایچیکوزیه خادیم خدای طوتوب و لایه و سوزن کلایب بوجیکوزیه کوزر بیکره خانی
 اولاد ایچیکوزیه ایچیکوزیه ایچیکوزیه ایچیکوزیه ایچیکوزیه ایچیکوزیه ایچیکوزیه ایچیکوزیه

Letter of Deputy-Grand Vizier Hadım Mehmed Paşa to the States General

Mefâhirü'l-ümerâi'l-'izâmü'l-Iseviyye merâciü'l-küberâi'l-fihâm fi'l-milleti'l-Mesihyye muslihu mesâlihu cemâhiru't-tâifetü'n-Nasrâniyye sâhib-i ezyâli'l-haşmeti ve'l-vakâr sâhib-i delâilü'l-mecd ve'l-iftihâr Nederlanda vilâyetlerine tâbi' olan memleketlerin Üstadı Ceneralleri ve hâkimleri hutimet 'avâkıbühüm bi'l-hayr ve'r-reşâd ve ahsen-i ileyh sebîlü's-savâb kıbeline dostluk ve muhabbete lâıyk selâm-i meveddet-encâm ki pâdişah-i İslâm'a olan müvâlât ve musâfatlarından sâdır ahd ü ülfete muvâfık-peyâm hallet-i fercâm ki ehl-i İslâm tarafına olan dostluğunuzdan mütebâdir olur ithâf ve ihdâ kılunub hatırları takdîm olundukdan sonra inhâ-i muhayyete ve etibbâ-i dostâne budur ki hazret-i Hakk celle ve 'âlânîñ avn ü inâyet ve ikrâmıya manzûr ve melhûs ve hıyâb-i risâlet-penâh sallallâhu 'aleyhi ve sellemin sıyânet ve himâyetiyle masun ve mahfûz olan sultanü'l-berreyn ve'l-bahreyn ve hakânü'l-maşrıkîn ve'l-mağribîn hâdimü'l-Harameyni's-şerifeyn hâmi-i âmme-i memâlik bi't-tûl ve'l-'arz mazhar-i fehvâyi's-sultani'l-âdil zıllullah fi'l-'arz sultanü'l-ğuzât ve'l-mücâhidîn muînü'z-zu'afâ ve'l-mazlumîn zahirü'l-fukarâ ve'l-mesâkin râfi'-i i'lâmü's-Şer'i'l-mübîn Sultanü'l-Arab ve'l-Acem mâlik-i rikâbü'l-ümemi'l-müeyyed tebâyidullahi'l-melikü'l-müste'âd ve'l-muvaffak bi-tevfikullâhi'l-'azîzü'l-mestân şevketlü ve 'azametlü pâdişahımız Sultan Ahmed Hân-i sahib-kırân halledallâhu te'âlâ mülkühü ve saltanatuhü ve efâzü'l-âlemîn yerrahü ve ihsânühü hazretlerinin südde-i seniyye-i sipihr-âsâ ve atabe-i felek-fersâları ki melce-i melaz husrevân-i rûy-i zemîn ve me'az-i münce-i havâkîn-i evrenk-nişindir savb-i bâ-savâblarına nâme-i sadâkat-hitâmeñüz ile elçiñüz olan ümerâ-i millet'i'l-Mesihyye'nin umdesi ve küberâ-i İseviyye'nin kıdvesi Komelyo Haga zîdet ita'atühü vusûl bulub Âsitâne-i sa'âdet-âşiyânlarına izhâr-i muhabbet ve meveddet ve arz-i ihlâs ve sadâkat kılub mümâileyh elçiñüz birkaç gün muhabbet-i seferden âsûde ve rahat ve sâye-i sa'âdet-i pâdişahîde müstağrak-i hûn ü ihsân olmaları mihmân-nüvazlık tarîkından ri'âyet olundukdan sonra vârid olan nâmeleri tercüme ve telhîs olunub ittifak-i vezirleri sahibrâ ve ittihad-i vükelâ-yı mülk-ârâ ve müşâvere ve ma'rifet-i 'ulemâ-yı şerîfin-i pirâye ile tarafımızdan sudûr eden muhabbet ve irâdet ve nihâyet hulûs-i meveddetiñiz rikâb-i hümâyunlarına arz ü inhâ olundukda mir'at-zamîr-i münîrleri hâm gibi mücellâ ve pâk ve âyine-i hatır-atırları âlâyiş-i tasannî ve ri'yâdan musaffâ ve tâb-nâk olub re'y-i zerrin hikmet-karînleri hatt ü halelden müberrâ olmağla fi'l-hâl tarafıñızdan 'arz ü izhâr olunan muhabbet ve meveddet mi'ratü's-safâ-yı hatırlarında gün gibi vazîh ve rûşen olub taraf-i bâ-şereflerinde cânibiñüze ve hüsn-i nazar-inâyetleri zuhûr edüb ve elçiñüz pâye-i serîr-i 'âlâlarına yüz sürme husûsunda icâzet-i hümâyunları olmağla mümâileyh elçiñüz âyin ve üslûb üzere rikâb-i sa'âdet-makrûn-i hüdâvendigârîye ve elçiñüz yanında mâ'an rikâb-i hümâyuna yüz sürenler hil'at-i fâhire-i pâdişahî ile ri'âyet kılındukdan sonra mümâileyh elçiñüz vesâir elçiler olduğı üzere olduğı üzere Âsitâne-i sa'âdetde elçilik hıdmetinde olmak fermân olunub ve müdürân-i mülk-i millet olan umûmen vüzerâ-yı sâhib-i firâset ve vükelâ-yı ehl-i dirâset ile husûsan Şeyhülislam ve'l-Müslimîn ve'l-imâmü'l-ümme ve müftiyyi'l-mü'minîn olan Müftü Efendi hazretleri ile hâkimân-i şer'at-i Nebevî olan

Kazasker Efendiler vesâir bu hânedân-i muhalledü'l-erkân hıdmetkârlarının kudemâ ve emekdarları ve iş görmüşleri ile müşâvere ve müzâkere olunub cümlelerin ittifâkıyla arz-i ihlâs ve ihtisâs vesâir iltimâsınız ve dostluğunuz Halife-i rûy-i zemîn olan sa'âdetlü ve adâletlü pâdişah-i 'âlem-penâh hazretleri bi-hamdillahi te'âlâ hulûs-i niyyet ve sıdk-i berekâtıyla makbûl ve matbû' kılub dostluk ve âşinâlık dâiresine dâhil olunan hemîşe iltâk ve itâk-ferâ ve anları mebzûl ve şâmil olmağın ahdnâme-i hümâyun ve nâme-i şerife mülâfâfât-makrûn tahrîr olunmak fermân olunmağla hüsn-i teveccüh ve ittifâkı müştemil ahdnâme-i şeref-hitâmeleri ve nâme-i hümâyunları yazılıb irsâl olunmağın cânib-i muhibbiñüzden dahî mektûb-i meveddet-a'yân teveyyüd olunub revâne olundu. İnşallâhu te'âlâ bir hayırlı ve mübârek sa'atde varub vusûlü müyesser oldukda zât-i sadâkat-itâblarında umulan budur ki selâtîn-i Âl-i Osman ve hülâsa-i havâkîn-i cihân olan sa'âdetlü ve kudretlü ve 'azametlü ve haşmetlü pâdişah-i-sitân hazretleriyle cibilletiñizde merkûz olan iyilik ve kârdanlık muktezâsınca hâliyâ mâbeynde vâki' olan dostluk ve muhabbet levâzımı sıyânet ve ahdnâme-i hümâyunlarında şerh ü beyân olunan şürût ve uhûd ri'âyet oluna ki bu cânibden dahî ri'âyet olunub üzerlerinde bir yaramaz rüzgar esdiğüne ve hatırlanna zerre kadar gubar konduğuna cevaz gösterilmez. Sa'âdetlü ve adâletlü ve şevketlü pâdişah-i gerdun-vakar hazretlerinin ahd ve ikrâr-i hümâyunları bünyân-i mersûs gibi muhkem ve üstüvâr ve kavlı ü karâr sıdk-i makrûtları esas-gerdün mânend-i kavî ve pâyidardır. Niyet-i hümâyunları hayr ü salâha makrûn ve himmet-i sa'âdet-merhûnları hemîşe istirahat-i re'âyâyâ mâtuktur. Ümidir ki hazret-i vâcibü'l-vücûdü'l-inzâl hemîşe ömr ü devletleri efvân ve sâye-i devletlerinde âmme-i halk ve re'âyâyı mesrûr ve müreffehü'l-bâl eyleye zihî sa'âdet ve devlet ve şeref-izzet ki sa'âdetlü pâdişahımız gibi azîmü's-şân ve 'amîmü'l-ihsân pâdişah-i bülend-âsitân ile dostluk ve âşinâlık müyesser oldu. Ahd ü emânları taarruz ve hilâfdan berî ve va'd ü peymânları halel ve noksandan ârî olub akvâl-i sadâkat-fâlleri ef'âl-i ihlâs-mâllerine muvâfık ve îtmâl-i huccet-fâlleri akvâl-i sıdk-ictimallerine mutâbık olub ziyâde cevher-feşânlarından sâdır olan cümle kelimât-i hikmet-âyâtları sıdk u savâba makrûn ve va'd ü ikrâr hakâyık-şî'ârları ifâde-i illet ü iğrâzdan mahfûz ve masundur inşallâhu te'âlâ. Mâdâm ki dostluğunuz sâbit ve ber-karar olub mâbeynde muhabbet ve meveddet âsârı hüveydâ ola. Etrâf-i cevânibde olan il ve memleket sâhibleri meyânında ve havâkîn-i mülûk mâbeynlerinde hayr u i'tiyârnuz ziyâde olub mahsûd-i te'hîd azâde-i cihân ve mümtâz kâmkâran-i zaman olmañuz mukarrerdır. Ve bu muhibbiñiz dahî ol cânibe lâzım olan hususlarda dostluk merâsiminin icrâsında dakîka fevt etmeyüb ol nesne ki ıslâh-i zâtü'l-beyne lâyıq ve olduğumuz makâmın muktezâsına muvâfıktır, zuhûra getirülüb elimizden ve dilimizden geleni diriğ etmeyüb sa'y eyledük. Hakk celle ve a'lânın ulu inâyeti ve server-i enbiyâ 'aleyhi's-salât ve's-selâmın hidâyeti ile bu hayr-i maslahata bu vechile intizâm verilmek nasîb oldu. Şimden soñra dahî kâdir olduğumuz mertebe sa'y u dikkat ve bu ahd ü mîsâkın istihkâmına bezl-i himmet etmemiz mukarrerdır. Mâdâm ki öte taraftan naks-i muhabbete bâdî ve bâis bir hâlet zuhûr etmeye, bu muhibbiñiz vesâyir vüzerâ-yı izâm ve ulemâ-yı fihâm ve âmme-i sütte-i sîret-makâm ve kâffe-i hıdmetkârân-i atabe-i sipih-ihtişâm bi-iznillâhi te'âlâ cümlemiz tekeffül ve ta'ahhüd ederiz ki bu cânibden sağır ve

kebîr ve vazî' ve hiç ehaddan hilâf-i ahdnâme-i hümâyun bir vaz' u hareket zuhûr eylemeye ve ol cânibe dahî lâyıf ve münâsib olan budur ki, deryâ yüzünde yürüyen kapudanlarıñuza vesâyir gemi zâbıtları ve tüccar ve bâzırganlarıñuza muhkem tenbîh ve te'kîd oluna ki rûy-i deryâda olan ehl-i İslâm gemilerine ve yalılarda Memâlik-i Mahrûse-i pâdişahî ve kıla' ve bıka' ve kurâ' ve kasâbâta bir vechile dahl ü ta'arruz ve ta'addî ve tecâvüz eylemeyeler ve ekrem-i selâtın-i cihân ve a'zâm-i havâkîn ü zaman, tâc bahş-i husrevân-i âlişân, menba'î'l- ve'l-ihsân sa'âdetlü ve devletlü ve şevketlü ve himmetlü ve azametlü pâdişah-i sâhib-kırân hazretlerinin atabe-i ulyâlarına 'arz u izhâr olunan muhabbet ve ihlâs ve meveddet ve i'tiyâdınız ve def-i mikdârınız ziyâde ve hakkınızda teveccüh ve iltifât-i şerîfleri fevka'l-'âde olmuşdur. Cenâb-i Hakk ve kıyâs-i mutlak dâimâ re'âyâ ve berâyâyâ enfâ' ve alîk olan hayırlı işler takrîr ve halk eyleye, bi-lutf u kereme ve bi'l-cümle eğer ahdnâme-i hümâyundur ve eğer tarafıñıza sudûr eden nâme-i 'izzet-makrûnlarıdır, tahrîr ve tastîr olduğu üzere muhabbet ve sadâkat umûru sıyânet olunub me'mûl ve melhûzdan ziyâde ol cânibden dahî derûnî takayyüd ve ihtimâm oluna ki etrâf ü eknâfda olan mülûk ve hükâmıdan istimâ' eden dostlar mesrûr ve muhalifin olanlar meksûr olalar ve şimden soñra bu husûsun istikrâr ve istihkâmı ve sebat ve devâmı hakîkat ü asılda Hakk celle ve âlâ 'azze şânenin lutf u inâyetinden mesnûl ve zâhir-i halde hüsn-i sülûk ihtimâm-i merâsimin ri'âyetiñize mevkûf ve mahmûldür ve mûmâileyh elçiñüz ber-hor-dâr olsun, şol ki husûs-i ziyâde vesâyir umûr-i mühimmâtıdır, herbirinde ikdâm-i tâm ve ihtimâm ma'âl-ikrâm edüb aslâ bir yerde ve bir maslahatda ihmâl ve kusûr ve dakîka fevt etmeyüb husûsan rikâb-i hümâyuna yüz sürdükde âdâb ve hayâ üzere hareket etmekle sa'âdetlü ve azametlü pâdişahımız e'azzallâhu te'âlâ ensârahû hazretleri küllî hazz u safâ eylemişlerdir. **Hidmet ise ancak olur. Temam mertebe elçiliğe lâyıf âdemdir.** Ve cümle vüzerâ kardaşlarımız ve sâyir erkân-i devlet "hidmet âdemîsi böyle olmak gerekdir" deyu her biri tahsîn ve pesend edüb evzâ' u etvârından her vechile rızâ ve şükrân üzere olmağla Âsitâne-i sa'âdet'de alıkonulmuşdur. İnzâr-i aliyeyñüz ile manzûr ve teveccüh ve iltifâtınız ile mesrûr kılınmağâ himmet-i mevfûr buyurula. Ziyâde ne demek lâzımdır ki ma'lûm olmaya.

Bâkî ve's-selâm alâ men ittebe'a'l-hüdâ.

Tahrîren evâil-i şehri Cümâde'l-ülâ sene ihdâ ve işrîn ve elf.

(Evâil-i C. evvel 1021 /30 June-9 July 1612)

Be-medîne-i
Kostantınıyye
El-mahrûse

Mehemmed Paşa

مکتوب کاتبی حضرت وزیر اعظم
مکتوب کاتبی حضرت وزیر اعظم

اقدی

قرتلمو و فضیلتو حضرتین و حضور شریف قرته رویندیه و در راه و عید متواضع و غیر از این
و بلوغت و مسکن از نهاده مخصوصه برور که حالیه در این کجای بود بحریه قبوله از یک سالی
دختر اندک از نصاب و قوه حضرتیه قول و وصیت اوله و او (پیرین) بوضوین که تدریس
و بر مسرت کعبه او کعبه و کجا او زن بیدارند عهدنامه حایره و برین سالی (پیکار) رعایت
موقوفه اوله جانب کونسولاری و تجارت کبابی اوله و غلظت خلاف طرح و قافله ریخته و برین
در قریه و اوله اوله و لیسر صوبه کلبه و قوه غرضه مصلحت نامو کرده قونسولاری و تجارت کبابی
نظر کوز و زینو اوله و لیسر خلاف شرح قریه برین ریخته و قندی و تجارت در مرکز کلبه
مدینه استاندر با وجهی عمده مصلحت مصلحت

اطلع
علیه
الوزیر

Document 177) Letter of Vizier Halil Paşa to the Kadi of Cyprus

The Dutch merchants and their consuls should not be disturbed at any respect, and all kinds of assistance should be provided to them. They should be treated according to the Dutch capitulations, granted by the Sultan.

Also see documents 178, 179, and 180.

Petition of the French Ambassador Achille de Harley Sancy and Venetian Ambassador Simon Contarini to Sultan Ahmed I

'İzzetlü ve sa'âdetlü ve mürüvvetlü Sultanım hazretlerinin hâk-i pâ-y-i şerîflerine yüzler sürdükdən soñra ilm-i şerîflerinden nihân değildir ki rub'-meskûn pâdişah-î rûy-i zemîn 'azametlü ve rif'atlü pâdişahi's-selâm hazretleri bir gayrı memleket ile sulh ü salâh olmak üzere izn ü icâzet-i hümâyunları vâki' oldukda murâd ve maksûd budur ki, beytü'l-mâli'l-Müslimîne sebep-i nef'i ve enfâ'-i re'âyâ ve berâyâlarına bâis-i kâr ü kisb ve ziyâde âsûde hâl olalar deyu olur; veyâhud ıslâh-i merkûmu ricâ eyleyen ol pâdişahı mer'î ve muhterem olmağla olur; velâkin bu bâbda Âsitâne-i sa'âdete müracaat edüb emn ü emân rica eyleyen Flandralu mâl-i beytü'l-mâle külli gadr ve noksan-i re'âyâ ve berâyâyaya mûcib-i ızlâl ve ihtilâle bâis ve bâdî olduğundan gayrı umûr-i muazzama ve dîn-i devlete alik kazıyye münâsib fehm olunmayıb, evvelâ tâife-i merkûmenin mahiyetini bilmek murâd-i şerîfleri ise, Flandralu meşhûr ve nâmdar bir kral değildir. İspanya'ya tâbi' bir beğlerbeğlik kadar ancak olur ki bundan akdem efendileri İspanya kralına isyân edüb Celâli olduklarından gayrı tavâif-i merkûm[e]niñ mâbeynlerinde müddet-i mezîde ceng ü cidâl ve harb ü kıtâl vâki' oldukdan soñra ba'zı mesâlihîni tavassutuyla dört sehmden üç sehm yine Âsitâne'ye itâ'at etdürüb ve bir sehmi ki bir küçük cezîrede dört kı'ta şehirdir, Françe kralı anlara mu'în olmağla İspanya'ya müraca'at etmişler değildir. sanatları ise gemicilikdir. Fakirler iken mahall-i merkûmu kereste yeri alub hezâr gemiler yapmağa ve sanatları olmağla nice gemiler peydâ edüb mürûr ve ubûr eyleyen tüccar tâifesinin emvâl-i erzakları ve ğâret etmeleri [ile] mün'im ve ashâb-i mâl olmuşlardır ve mezburların müstakıl zâbitleri yokdur ki kabahatler[i] ve ef'âl-i fâsıkaları men' ü def' ede. Mahzâ Maverisu (Prince Maurice) nâm zorba başı üzerlerine serdâr deyu nasb eylemişlerdir ki anıñ mübâşeretiyile bir mikdâr zamandan beru İspanya ile sulh ü salâh üzere olmuşlardır. Hâlâ dahî Âsitâne-i [adâlet]-unvâna müraca'at edüb emn ü emân ricâ eyleyen bunlardır. Mahzâ beytü'l-mâle olan gadr u noksan re'âyâ ve berâyâyaya olan mazarrat ve ziyân ve halk-i âleme olan ızlâl ve ihtilâli hadd ü nihâyeti yokdur. Cümlesinden biri budur ki mezburlar sâbıkâ efendilerine İspanya'ya hıyânet ve ihânet etdikleri gibi ehl-i İslâm'a ve pâdişahın re'âyâsına etdikleri zamanda mazbut tâife değildir ki zâbitlerine istimdâd edüb ahd ü peymanlarından sual olunalar. Zîr[â] serdâr-i mezbûruñ azli ve nasbı re'âyânın elindedir. Bâ-husûs ki mezbûr Flandralu kadîmden İspanyanıñdır. Hâlâ dahî anlar ile emn ü emân üzerelerdir. Euzübillah İspanya mezburlar ile yek-dil ve yek-cihet olub İspanya tarafından kırk-elli pare

kalyon Flandra [ile] bi'l-ittifak yüz kıta kadırğa ihrâc edüb Memâlik-i Mahrûse'nin ba'zısına dokundıkları takdirce mazarratların def'i müşkil hâldir. Hâlâ Âsitâne-i adâlete ilticâ etdiklerine emn ü emânın maksûdu ve fikr-i fâsıkları bu makûle ef'âl-i kabâyiha su-i zan olduğu ekser ihtimaldir. 'Ale'l-husus ki Flandra'dan getirdikleri emti'âdan ve bu cânibden tahmîl eyledikleri esbâblardan dahî cânib-i mîrîye küllî zarar [ve] re'âyâ ve berâyâyâ gâyetle ziyandır. Zîrâ getirdikleri metâ' bahâr kısmı ve çuka kısmı ve yağdır. Cümlesi Memâlik-i Mahrûse'de bulunur, velâkin mezbûrlar kendi gemileri ile bahâr getirmeğile, Mısır gemileri varub-gelmeden el çeküb Haleb ve İskenderiye ki, ekser öşr-i bahârdır. Her yüzden yirmi dört akça resm-i gümrük aldıkları yerde mezburlardan yüzden üç akça ancak resm-i gümrük alalar. İstanbul gümrük mukâta'asına ve reft mâ-kassabiyye ve dellâliyye iltizamlarına küllî zarar müterettib olduğu hod ma'lûm-i şerîfdir. Ve çuka getirdiklerinde küllî zarar olduğu dahî bâis budur ki Flandra'nın çukası eyü çuka değil. Selânik ve Edirne misli olub lâkin şafakı bir mikdâr ziyâde olmağla herkes Frengî çukadır deyu anlara düşüb Selânik ve Edirne'nin re'âyâsı sebab-i ma'îşetleri ve kâr ü kisbleri munkati' olub tüccar-i harbîye sebab-i kuvvet-i salâbet ve pâdişahın re'âyâsına bâis-i za'af ve inhizâm olduğu hod ma'lûm-i şerîfdir. Benim 'izzetlü Sultanım, Flandralu eğerçi Âsitâne-i sa'âdete geldiklerine minvâl-i merkûm üzere bahâr ve çuka tahmîl edüb kendü menfaatleri için getirirler, lâkin bu cânibden vilâyetlerine avdet etdiklerinde min-ba'd Memâlik-i Mahrûse'den esbâb ve meta' tahmîl eylemeyib altun ve gümüş getirirler ki âsan vechile korsanlık edüb Memâlik-i Mahrûse'nin tüccar tâifesinin gemileri emvâl ve erzakların mu'tâdları üzere ğâret edüb gemileri bi'l-küllîye ğâret eyleyeler ki min-ba'd kabahatleri keşf olunmaya. Bu sebab ile nice canlar telef olub ve nice fesâda bâis olur ve bunun emsâli nice mazarrat maddeleri vardır ki, mübârek başınıza zarar vermemek için i'lâmına cür'et olunmadı.

Hasbihâli budur, bâkî emr ü fermân Sultânımıñdur.

مريدو تونس نصر لپاشا و شایه جزایه کوندر و وکه مکویک تجمیر

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لفتح و درو و در نظام لظایف لیبسوی نماز لکبره و الفح و التدریجی معلی معالج جاو لظایف لکتمایه
 سعوتو و عدالتو پاشا محاکم و روی و دستی رو و و نرد و نرد بکالینک لسانیه جزایه و قوس ما و یوسو
 فتح و الا عولقیه باجیر و لوسا و و کوی لیبسیر الصولیه و لاسدرو و قبالینه و دستلی و نجیه و یویح
 سدوم موو قه لکجام لولند و دفعه کاح لمدوم صد لقت و لزنایه کالصته رو لناه بود که لکچیز رو و و و
 قوه لمرایه لظایف لیبسوی قونلایه هغه ذیرخ لظاعه یرنره مکویک کلوی و معل بولوبه مضمون
 و صفحه لیم معلو فر لولندر لمدی و دستلی و نجیه و یویح مکویه موو قه سنه لرساله و لولندی طرفه و و و
 رول جانیه بر قونلوس نصیب و تعین لیبسیر لیبسیر و کمالیک و کمالیک لیبسیر بریمو ذک و دیاینه و لروین کللا لروینی
 حاد و رول جانیه لرو لینه لولبور و ز خدای غو جبر خیریا و معل بیت لریح من یدر سده تو پاشا نال
 رت حق لایه مطیح و منقل لیبسوی و دستلی لیبسیر مکای لولند و یویح و یویح لولور و کلار بایه و لاصح

علی من لیبسیر لرهدی

محمد
 نصر
 لیبسوی

Document 190) Letter by the Viceroy of Tunis (Fazlullah Paşa) to Prince Maurice and the States General

The Dutch ambassador in Istanbul Cornelis Haga has Written a letter to viceroy Fazlullah Paşa. He confirmed the establishment of friendly relations and the exchange of commercial ships between the two countries.

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فردوس بکهار کجیته ولفقوسه فاسنه ویزوره وکیر لیا ناره فاضیله صوبه
 کلج شریف ودرکه نردوزنه کجیته کلور وکیر رکیک مالک فوسه کجیته لیا ناره -
 باندو کالنه بکار کجیته وفاضیله و غیره رضای لوی بکشی نامنه بینه
 طلبه ایله لوی

توقیع دفعه نایره ورضه لویج معلوم لودو که نردوزنه لویج و صا حال که نردوزنه نردوزنه و دوتیار
 قالیون نریج وکیر لوی کجیته وکیر لوی کجیته قیدوس و سایر لیا ناره یا شکارنه قیدوس بکار کجیته و کجیته
 فاضیله عهد نامه هایدنه خالف بکشی و بکشی ویرده که جو ندره و کجیته لیدر نریج لویج باینده
 لر شریف ویر لک و بکشی و صا لکجه لیدر نردوزنه قالیون نریج وکیر نریج لوقه تجا ووه رضای لوی کجیته
 بکشی و بکشی نامنه فته طلبه لودوزنه رضای هایدنه لویج بینه بوردوم که نردوزنه و دوتیار نریج لویج
 قالیون وکیر کلور لویج وکیر لویج لک قیدوس و کجیته لویج یا شکارنه رضای لوی بکشی بکار کجیته فاضیله
 و غیره هر کجی لودوزنه عهد نامه هایدنه خالف بکشی و بکشی نامنه لسیا باریه ویر شریف
 لیدر لودوزنه نریج و دوتیار نریج باذکانه نریج خدغه عهد نامه هایدنه لویج و دوتیار لودوزنه عهد
 رضای شریف لودوزنه کجیته لویج شریف بینه علامته شریف لودوزنه عهد
 بیج لودوزنه لویج و عسریه کجیته

Document 191) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy of Cyprus, Kadi of Lefkoşa (Nicosia), and the Kadis of the port cities in the Mediterranean.

When the Dutch merchants arrived to the ports in the Mediterranean, the viceroy and the kadi in Cyprus, and in the other ports should not demand any kind of gifts from the Dutch merchants.

Dated Evâil-i Rebîülevvel 1022 / 21-30 April 1613.

وقراری که اتفاقاً قلندری نامی و تصویب فرمود که بر مابین دولت و استلخ لایحه و کذا در این
 و تصویب فرموده است که از نظام این ملت تضاد یک 9 که بیوک قرال و استلخ لایحه و کذا در این
 تصدیق و ظهر نیز بر اولیای و متعلق و تهر و غنه رضای شریفی از ولایت که در این قرار گرفتن
 شریفی نام مالک از یکا و فصاحت عمیق از وی و عملی که در شایسته ظاهر و باهر اولیای باقی و عملی
 از نه بار بار

سبب تحریر حروف اولیای فلاننده لو اشوبو با عمت ترکه آذربایجان نام ز می رئیس محروسه اسلامبول
 کلوب متاعنی بوشالوب یند فلاننده جاننده کتمکله بولس و ایزده خلاف عهدنامه عالیت انقود واحد
 دخل ورنجیده ایتماک ایچون بوتزس کتب اولیای و بر لشد ماداکه منبودن خلاف عهدنامه همالون
 وضع صادر اولیای هیچ کسند دخل ورنجیده المیدلر خورخی او انخرشدر حرم الحرام سنه ثلث و عشرین و الف
 بیچاره در رسا
 عامر

Document 193) Petition of the Dutch Ambassador Cornelis Haga

According to the Dutch capitulations, the Dutch merchants were exempted from jizya (poll tax for non-Muslims). However, the Dutch subjects, who settled for commercial reasons were requested to pay the jizya. That was against the Dutch capitulations and should be removed.

Document 194) Permission of departure for captain Urban

The Dutch captain named Urban had arrived İstanbul, and unloaded the cargo inside his ship. Then he would like to depart for the Netherlands. No one should interrupt him on his way to his country, which was contrary to the Dutch capitulations.

Dated Evâhir-i Muharrem 1023 / 3-12 March 1614.

بیت تحریر معروفه و کلام
 نذر انرا قلمی نکره اولوب تجارت ایلدو جانبد کلامه وارنن کلام
 بولده و میرانه نام یسین سینه قلمی یه ایلدو جانبد نذر انرا طرفه کلام
 مراد ایلدو و اولوب اولوغا حوخی بنا اولور کلام اولور و اولور
 ما اولور نیر یسینه خلف عهدنامه هما یوه بر وضع صادر اولور قورق اولور
 قورق و قورق و ریجیح و ریجیح ایتمکس ایچره بوعرف کتب اولور نیر و نیر
 اولور کلام کلام ایچینه نوز اولور کلام نیر ایچره ایچره ایچره ایچره

سنان
 کلام
 کلام
 کلام

Document 196) Permission of Departure for Covan Rimiran?

Captain Covan Rimiran? had arrived with a Dutch galleon, and then he would depart for the Netherlands. No one should interrupt him on his way to the Netherlands.

(Also see documents 194 and 198)

Dated Evâsıt-i Zilhicce 1022 / 22-31 January 1614.

نفاذ الامر والاقران كلبيج ويون كيم سيميزيك وبنغا وصار سيميزيك
 زير قريح تجتت وصافيات اذ كافترة صااح لبحا اولناة اولدره نذر الان لو
 لسيو باهتر ملاويج مولدة ريعير لة نام قوتى ريس قلوبه في لسيو بو جابدر
 نذر الانح طرفه نقت مراد اولدر فوب اوله جابده اولر وقت ماملو كدره
 اوليكلدو كيه اولوزح يو قلوبه زنه رخلوف معال قديم وخر ورجيح
 اولماليوب وشنه امور نرح معاونت اولولتة وياجي موبيت ملاويج لسيو
 مهر اولويج غلوفه فواهدب اولميه نر لله

القوم

Document 198) Letter of Halil Paşa to the wardens of the Castles at Gallipoli

Captain Covan Rimiran? would depart with his ship for the Netherlands. When he arrived at Gallipoli, after the regular control, he should not be imposed excessive dues and should not be annoyed.

(Also see document 196)

عبدالمعز کاتبی و قاضی سید و وفی قریب
بازرگان قونسلو قاضی احمد بن احمد قریب

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نوع رنج بهمان واصل او بخت معلوم اوله که ندرلانده ایچ سید سعادت عرفی حال کوندروب مقاما اطاعت
 انقیاد اتمین ایش و بریش بیدر ندرلانده و لایسلیرینه تابع اولان بازارگانلر قراجه و اسکانه بر بختی اتمند
 کور لر ایسی هکده ندرلانده و لایسلیرینیک ایستادیر چو بازارگانلر ایستادیر شوقه اطاعت و انقیاد ایروب مستقیم
 ایچ کوندروب و سایر ایستادیر سعادت اطاعت و انقیاد ایروب قریب اولور و کمد نامه ایمان و بریلوقا
 و ندرلانده قونسلو اولان کماله ایش و بریش بیدر ندرلانده ایچ اولورسه اولسون ندرلانده پیرانی اتمین
 کلوب ندرلانده ایچینه و قونسلو لرینه مراجعت ایروب عاقل اولان قونسلو ایچ حقین ندرلانده قونسلو لرینه
 وین لر یوسفان اولنماغین حلال بعضی بازارگانلر ندرلانده وین سولوب انکرک آتیلر بر اوزره اولور
 ندرلانده و لایسلیرینه تابع اولان و لایسلیرین ایش و بریش ایسلیر حلقه اولور ندرلانده قونسلو لرینه
 مراجعت اتمیب ایستادیر سعادت اطاعت انقیاد ایروب هکده اولیکله و کمد نامه ایمان قونسلو ایچ حقین
 و بریلوقا ایچین و عاقل ایچ ایچ کی حلیه کلان ندرلانده بازارگانلر بر کم اولورسه اولسون
 ندرلانده قونسلو لرین کند و لره قونسلو سن بلور بر خصو صدق مراجعت ایروب دوشن قونسلو ایچ
 حقین ندرلانده قونسلو لرینه و بریلوقا و سایر قونسلو لر ندرلانده بازارگانلر سکر قارشیدیر دیوار
 ایشریف و بریلوقا رجاسته عرض اتمین یوردیم که
 وارد و قدر ندرلانده و لایسلیرینه تابع اولان بازارگانلر بر کم اولورسه کورته طریقیه حلیه کلور لر
 اطاعت و انقیاد اتمه کلورین هکده و من بعد اولان قونسلو ایچ حقین کمد نامه ایمان موخجه
 ندرلانده قونسلو لرینه و بریلوقا و سایر قونسلو لر قارشیدیر سکر اکر و ایشریف ندرلانده
 ایه ایچولر لر یچ موخجه عمل ایچینه نشویلر بیلا سر علامت ایشریفه اعماد خیلر سکر سکر ایچ اولن
 بازارگانلر اول سکر ایچ و عشره و اوف

ایچ قونسلو
ایچ قونسلو

Document 203) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy, Kadi and Defterdar of Aleppo

According to the Dutch capitulations, any merchant, regardless of nationality, should apply to the Dutch consul when they arrive with a ship flying the Dutch flag. Nevertheless, it was heard that some Dutch merchants applied to other consuls and paid consulate fee to them. That was contrary to the Dutch capitulations and should be prevented.

(Also see documents 197 and 199)

Dated Evâil-i Cemâziyevvel 1024 / 29 May-7 June 1615.

ورسيدن بكار بنگرسي اولان علي پاشا حتم نازين بدو لاندو ولايتلرله مانع اولان اولان
 مملكت اسنادي حتم نازين اولان مملكت حتم نازين
 معا والامرا الكرام العسويه مراجع الكراء العام في الملة البسمة
 صلح معالي ايام الطائفة السمرانية صاحب ارباب
 الخشنة والوقار صاحب دلايل الجود والافتقار لاندو مملكت نازين اولان ولايتلر ك اسنادي حتم نازين و مملكت
 ختمت حواقيق بلو والترشاد و احسن البسميل الصواب قبله دوستانه و محبة لاني سلام مودت انعام كه اهل
 اسلام طرفلر نيزه اولان مملكت نازين متبادر احوال قلند قن مكره اعلام عجانة و زنهاده دوستانه لودر كره ولى تعظيم دولتكو
 و مساعدتو و محظمتو باو شاه ظل اقتدر حتم نازينك آسانه مساعدت اخصيائى لاندو اولان اظهار عفت و نودن و عرض
 احتلال صداقتك كالمندو اولمقلد آسانه مساعدت و وسائر ممالك عجميه وارد و داخل اولان عباد و كيايلر كورن
 رعایت و سياست اولوتوب سياستين معي و معي اولد قلمر عققدر خصوصاً بنوم تحت ايات حمزه كلان كيايلر كورن
 و وسائر دوشن عامه الحارمين كما بينت حريت و رعایت اولوتوب قصصا قصور رقالمشدر من بعد دخی
 دروغ اولوتوب و بونون اقدم معص اشخاص تجار يگوزه رنجنده ايديوب عهد نامه همايونه معاير رسته بوضع ايدي
 همايونه امتثال لكلكلر راجون حكيم حقاقت و نازدين اولمشدر كه كيايلر نيزه موجب تحريم اولمشدر
 ائت اشدت عا عدالتكو و بشوكتكو باو شاه عالمينا حتم نازين اولد دوستلق ايندن تكلام ذوى الاحترام محرم فر
 كور مشدر در عدالتك لثاوه و العام و احسانك رشاوه و كدر ايد اباده در و حاله در مساعدتو ايجك اولان
 ابراه عمت محبتك عهد كسي و كبر ارضسويبتك قدوسى قور نيلىو معفه زير ما اطاعتك كندو بونو
 و مصالحتك كورن بنوم ايله مشاوه ايلدوكده على و ت الادمان و وصوله بخل مقدر و ز دنج التيسر استانه
 اولان عقيدت و اخلاص و نودت و احتقا مكره مقابله سله لاني و كرا و اولان سياست و صانته و
 مساعدتو اولان الحكومر شارالده اظهار و مشاوه ايلدوكده صنف و مقال و استقامت ك رعایت و حاكمين
 ايجون بعد اليوم دخی بوجانب خيرات سله نيزه متعلق حدتلكر و افع اولد قور نيل بجمت اولوتوب مقدر
 جان اثار نازين نودت و بفع امانت مرقومه دو اولان مسلمنه و كيايلر ايجون مقوم اولان بسم
 اولد نيزه جمع احوال كورن ساراش حكمتيه و تا كيد ايلمشور در كه اول جانلو و داخل و نازين اولان ادمالين و
 و كيايلر نيزه بروده رنجنده و زنده اكلو بلسوب و اسكله كرده واقع اولان ايتا دخی لازم اولان رسم كورن
 اللرنده اولان نذولانده لو كرك عهد نامه تمامون مقتضاسته حتم نازين مملكت اللوب اكا خالفت من
 دخل و تعرف اتميد لروا نودر صدر كه ايام عدالت پادشاه حمزه حكار و ادمالين نوز سار اسوده حكار
 شكار و نكران اوزره اولد قور نين غير عرو جمله مضمون عدالتك موضع و مندرج اولان
 اجزا و رعایت و اولنه كرمصل و صلح و صلح و لاني و سرا و اولان امور يگوزه
 اجمال اولتور دكلد ز ياده نه دلك لار در له معلوملر اولد مانع و السلام على

Document 207) Letter by the Viceroy of Cyprus Ali Paşa to the States General
 Viceroy of Cyprus guaranteed the States General that in accordance with the capitulations, granted to the Dutch nation, their merchants and consuls would be protected, and all their affairs would be facilitated.

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فرس دگر گیتی علی پاشا صحراندر مسلمنه
کوندر دوعی ملکوتی صورتی

وقت مدار رفعت غرار مسلم اولان الحاج سلیمان بیگ حضورینو در دعوات عامات وکریان
واہیات اتقاخذن ملک و اعلام ورتما اولونور که مدلاہہ مملکت تاج استر دلم نام شہر وک عکارندن
ابرام ده لیا ویا ولودہ و بلا نام ذمیلر بونون اقدم جزیره قبرس کس بعض ذمیلر ایلیم و شرا ایوب
بونودن نئی اسباب و معایع کوندر ووب ماییلر ندر اولان سابلر کوریلوب وانده اولان لوجر تاج
فصل اکتاف لاجون کندو طر علندن عولر مویتاس نام ذتی اول جانته کوندر شردر ایلد اولر کوریلوب
اولتان تجار لر بر بانکہ دعوت ایوب مرور عولر موائل ج باشد ووب بعد الحساب دقت ندر قلاہ
مقلرین مرور عولر مو واد ملرینہ تسلیم ایلوب عناد و مخالفه ایذور میکن و جزیره مزبورہ کوریلوب
پتروس گیتی نام دی ولایت استر دکنده دن دکر اولمان ابرام ده لیا ویا ولودہ ویلام نام ذمیلر
ایله دعوام و ایدر ددیو مرور عولر مو و ایزراقنی اولوب ریختندہ املکدن خالی دکلر المیش انی ذتی
بانکہ کتوردب حکم قتیپہ و تاکید ایلیمین کور اولمان تجار لر ایلد دعواسی و اراسی بر وکیل نصب
ایوب ولایت ملک استر دکنده کوندرین کہ آنده دعولر کوریلوب و اگر نمون اولر اراسی ایگیتی ذتی
استانہ سعادتہ تجار لایلیہ کہ تدر لاندہ ایلمی بانندہ کوریلوب ویا خود اللرنده اولان عهد بانکہ لر
موجبی احوال لر مر دلوان ہما لوزہ بر عدلہ کوریلوب الحاصل مرور عولر مو تک احوال و ایزراقنی احوال
دخل ایذور عیوب ممکن اولدوگی مرتبہ ده حمایت و صیانت اوزرہ اولوب موحد ملکوتی
ایله عامل اولر سزباقی و السلام کور افری عہدہ آقعدہ السرفقہ سہ ملت و عسرن والف

بوابی سطرین کامنار خضر تکر کندر الیلہ مسلمنه یا ز شرد
مقداسیلمان بیکر یا ز شردک حالیا زدنک مکتوبک ابرام سلانم کلکن البتہ بونور
مقد اولوب بردتی شکایت ایدر دوا اولیمین ز نما را اعمال المکتوب صح

Document 208) Letter by the Viceroy of Cyprus Ali Paşa to his Mutesellim
(Deputy) El-Hâc Süleyman Beğ
The Dutch merchants from Amsterdam, Abraham de Lina and Pavlo de
Willem had sent commercial goods to certain non-Muslims in Cyprus.
However, since the merchants in Cyprus did not fully pay their debts, the
Dutch merchants sent Avlarmo Pinas? to take the remaining amount. He
should be assisted to take the money from the non-Muslim merchants in
Cyprus. The case was already written before. Then, Süleyman Beğ should
not ignore the issue, so that the Dutch could take their money.
(Also see document 217)

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خدمات هماهنگه بولسئوب تعهدوز اوزره صداقت و مهادتزی بر رتبه اظهار ایدر دوز که ال عالم اچنزه کسنان و بیان اوزره
 منوال مرفوم اوزره بوندن اقدم عظیمتو و قدرتو پادشاه عالم شاه خضر تریک رکاب همایونکیند ارسال اولان زمان
 مودتیزه مسطور در و بویاید و عتق و مروتلو سلطانم خضر تریکیند کسانم بود که خلافتانده سعادت و اولاد اچنزه کسنان
 کورس ده اولان اسیر لیریزی عنایت اولنان عهدنامه همایون موجب و بعد ماو حاله صادر اولان تشریف و لیریزی
 مقتضای سیر حکم و اطلاق اولنم لیری واجب و لازم ایکن بر نسنه ظهور انکیوب محض الفعل صدر اعظم و تلو سعادتلو
 نصیح پاشا خضر تریک عرض اخلاص و صداقتی زمان شریفلرینده بیتر قلمایوب مبارک پادشاهلریند ارزان مکن ایلمقینت
 خوش اولمایوب التفات و نظر شریفلریند دور اولسوز در اکابنا خصوص مرفوم تکرار حال عظیمتو و عداوتلو و عتق
 پادشاه عالم شاه خضر تریک رکاب همایونکیند ارسال اولنان نامه مزه اعلام و عطر اولسنده جوت اولندی و وزیران
 و عنایت شریفلریند موجود که خصوص مزبور و سایر امور بزرگ حقنزه معاونت شریفلریند ایدر کلدکی اسنان
 اوزره ایلمق موی الیه تک اوزریند نظر و عنایت سعادتلریند پندرنخ نیورلق باینده همت عالی نیورلق و بوی
 محکمه لیریزه مکتوب شریفلری ایلر باد اولنمق باینده احسان نیورلق حق سبحانه و تعالی سعادتلو سلطانم خضر تریک
 وجود شریفلریند خطا و غلطان حفظه مصون ایلیوب دنیور و اخروی مرادات شریفلریند خیر نیورلق کنیور ایدن
 با معین باقی عرو دولت عرو سعادت باد بحررفی ۶ به شهر جولوس ۱۶۱۴ سنه سولاتت معنا

غاصلری
 و خیرخواهملری
 اسلای حمرالری

Document 209) Letter by the States General to Deputy Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa

The States General was pleased with the efforts spent by Mehmed Paşa for granting the Dutch capitulations by the Sultan. Some people tried to prevent the Dutch capitulations, but Mehmed Paşa avoided them. Nevertheless, the Dutch slaves within the Ottoman territories were not released. Grand Vizier Nasuh Paşa was not willing to establish friendly relations with the Netherlands. All kinds of assistance were expected from Mehmed Paşa for Dutch affairs in the Seraglio and before the Sultan.

(Also see document 211)

Dated 26 July 1614

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اذن و اجازت و برسد و کلرین غیر استانه سعادتده اولان بزوم مستقیم و طوغری خیرخواه ایلرین ریختنه اولونور
 کندنی تبریحان اولان یا اولوبون نام شغی هوامنه تابع و بعضی اشرا و اشقیایک بوندن اقدم منور ایلرین فخر اولوب حیلله
 وضع ایلر خیانیت و ایمانیت ایلرین سقندن کلنگ لازم و ۲۴ ایلکن س حله ایلرین مریکور ایلرین جفا و ریختنه
 ایلرین در حال رکاب همایونه ارسال اولان نامه نمود ترزه حصول مرقومی یاروب انهن چکدورک ایلرین بر تقدیرین
 عرض و اعلام ایلک صدورده ایلکن ان اصدوح الصابرین دلو فوافت ایلرین استانه سعادتده اولان عرض نمود
 و اخلاص صری دیورلدن کمال حقیقت و صداقت اوزره ادوکنی بلکه حق تعالی طلب شریفلرینه الهام ایلدیکه
 اجراء حق ایلدیکه تو فصل اوزره بی اختیار یازوب مبارک باشیکوزه صداع و بریکر برات اولندی که عظمتلو و عدالتلو
 پادشاه خلیفه روی زمین خضرلرینک مستقیم بو عادل و زبری و پوک کونیکه لری سکر موجودر که ایدر کلدو حق ایلر
 اوزره حقرده لازم و لایق اولان تربیه شریفلری و معاونت سعادتلرین دروغ بیورلریوب و مالک خردوده واقع
 اولان ایلر لری خلاص و اطلاق لرینه بذل بخت و عمارلری ایلرین بیورلر که عدالتلو یارشا ملک عهد ملک
 مفروضلرین اجراء رعایت اولونورک خلاصه جواز کور سترلیه و حال رکاب همایونه ارسال اولان نامه منور
 منکوره ایلرین ایلر عدالتلو و قدرتلر پادشاه عالیهنا خضرلرینک رکاب همایونلرینه ایصال ایتور لک بخت
 بیورلر که بو مخلصلر ایلر قدیلرین اولان عیبت شریفلرین بیورلر دخی مشامده اولنه امیندر که بعد السوم
 دخی التفات و نظر شریفلرینه مظهر قلب اول اول اقل اقل و و الطاهر ایلرین بیورلر که ما بقدره اولان
 عهد و لیمان و عقیدت و اخلاص و صداقت و اختصا ص کون به کون ترحم و از داد اولوبه و بو مخلصلرینک
 یابنده واقع اولان خدمت شریفلرین ایشارت علم لری ارزان قلمنقدده قادر اولدور و کلدو دروغ ایلر
 من مقرر در حق سبحان و تعالی و ملوسلطامک و بو شریفلرین خطا و خطرون حفظ و مصون ایلر
 مرادان شریفلرین خیرله بیستر فلیوبره ایلرین ایا معین ماتی عیرو دولت عیو سعادت بار

علمای
 حرم
 آسناد

کورنی ۲۴ شهر بتولیبو ۱۶۱۴ پبولایت بها

Letter by the States General to Vizier Mehmed Paşa¹

Devletlü ve 'izzetlü ve rif'atlü sultânüm hazretlerinüñ 'izz-i huzûr-i şeriflerine ilâm-i muhibbâne ve inhâ-i dostâne olunan oldur ki, bundan [akdem] Âsitâne-i sa'âdet-hümâyuna 'arz-i sadâkat ve ihlâs ve akîdet ve ihtisâs ve meveddetimizi izhâr edüb lâzım olan umûrumuz görmek için bizüm müstakıl ve doğru Komelyo Haga elçimizi irsâl eylediğimizde sa'âdetlü ve 'azametlü ve kudretlü pâdişah-i 'âlem-penâh hazretlerinüñ rikâb-i hümâyunlarına hakkımızda vâki' olan terbiye-i şerifleri sâyir umûrumuz ile zuhûra getürmeğe dahî lâzım olan mu'avenet ve müzâheret cenâb-i sa'âdetinüzden dakîka fevt eylemeyüb sa'âdetlü sultânüm hazretlerinüñ bez-i himmetlerin sarf eylediğü tafsîl üzere haber almışızdır ki, Hak te'âlânın avn ü inâyeti ve 'izzetlü sultânüm hazretlerinüñ bulend 'aliyyü'l-berekâtları ile bazı a'dâmızı ki, bu muhlislerine nazar-i hümâyundan dūr etmeğe ve mâbeynimizde olan akîdet ve ihlâs-i ihtisâsı redd ü def' olmasına kasd eylemişlerdir. Efkâr-i fâsidleri ve etdükleri bühtanları zuhûra gelmeyüb küllî mahcûb ve mağbûn kalub ve elçimiz müşârünileyh ziyâde ri'âyet ve rağbet ile 'azametlü ve 'izzetlü ve kudretlü pâdişah-i rûy-i zemîn hazretlerinüñ rikâb-i hümâyunlarına yüz sürüb ve nice uhûd ve kuyûd ile ahdnâme-i şerifleri inâyet kılınub nâme-i 'izzet-makrûnları ile mâ'an bu muhibb-i muhlislerine tasdîr ve îsâl kılınmışdır ki, Âsitâne-i sa'âdet'de vesâyir Memâlik-i Mahrûse'de olan esirlerimizi halâs ve itlâk olunalar. Me'mûldür ki uhûd ve vu'ud-i hümâyunları üzere zikr olunan esirlerimizi itlâkına ve halâsına müekked fermân-i âlî buyurula ki, 'adâletlü ve 'azametlü pâdişah-i 'âlem-penâh hazretlerinüñ kavî ü karâr ve sıdk u makrûnları ve hülâsa-i himmet sa'âdet-merhûnları halk-i cihâna ve 'âmme-i nâsa mebzûl olub bâ-husûs bu hayr-hâh muhlislerine ki, bundan akdem İspanya'nın elinden ahz eylediğimiz bin dört yüz nefer Müselmanları esirlikden halâs ve itlâk eylediğimizden ma'dâ lâzım olan zâd ü zevâdeleri, libâs ve kisveleri vesâyir levâzımları kendü yanımızdan harc ü sarf edüb gemilerimiz [ile] gerü vilâyetlerine sâlimîn ve gânimîn irsâl ve îsâl eyledüğümüzü halk-i 'âleme şâyi' olub belki mesmû'-i şerifleri dahî olmuşdur. Velâkin hâlâ sadrazam devletlü ve sa'âdetlü Nasuh Paşa hazretleri zikr olunan akîdet ve ihlâs u meveddetimiz [anuñ] zaman-i şeriflerinde müyesser olunmamak ile katında hoş gelmeyüb zikr olunan ahdnâme-i hümâyunda mâhudu olan uhûd ve kuyûdları icrâ ve ri'âyet eylemeyüb Memâlik-i Mahrûse'de olan esirlerimizi halâs ve itlâklarına izn ü icâzet vermediklerinden gayrı Âsitâne-i

¹ Also see Appendix I, doc. 209, letter by the States General to Kaymakam (Hadım) Mehmed Paşa.

sa'âdet'de olan bizim müstakîl ve doğru hayr-hâh elçimizi rencide olunub kendü tercümânı olan **Pavlo Bon** nâm şakî hevâsına tâbî' ve ba'zî eşirra ve eşkiyâ ile bundan akdem mezbûr elçimizden nice dürlü hile ve hud'a ile hıyânet ve ihânet eyleyüb hakkından gelinmek lâzım ve mühim iken müsâmaha eyleyüb mezkûr elçimize cefâ vü rencide eylemişlerdir. Hâlâ rikâb-i hümâyuna irsâl olunan nâme-i meveddetimizde husûs-i merkûmu yazub andan çektiğimiz elâyimden bir mikdârın 'arz ü 'lâm eylemek sadedinde iken "innallâhe me'assâbirîn" deyu ferâgat edüb Âsitâne-i sa'âdet'e olan 'arz ü meveddet ve ihlâsımızı dîr ü dilden kemâl-i hakîkat ve sadâkat üzere idüğünü belki Hak te'âlâ kalb-i şeriflerine 'lâm eyleye ki icrâ-yı hak eyleye. Bu tafsîl üzere bî-ihyâr yazub mübârek başınıza sadâ vermeye cür'et olundu ki 'azametlü ve 'adâletlü pâdişah-i halife-i rûy-i zemîn hazretlerinüñ müstakîm bu 'âdil vezîri ve büyüklerisiniz; mercûdur ki, edegeldiği amân üzere hakkımızda lâzım ve lâyük olan terbiye-i şerîfleri ve mu'avenet-i sa'âdetlerin dirîğ buyurulmayub ve Memâlik-i Mahrûse'de vâki' olan esirlerimizi halâs ve itlâklarına bez-i himmet ve 'inâyetleri ihsân buyurula ki, 'adâletlü pâdişahın 'ahdnâme-i makrûnların icrâ ve ri'âyet olunub hilâfına cevaz gösterilmeye. Ve hâlâ rikâb-i hümâyuna irsâl olunan nâmemizü mezkûr elçimizün eliyle 'adâletlü ve kudretlü pâdişah-i 'âlem-penâh hazretlerinüñ rikâb-i hümâyunlarına isâl etdirilmeğe himmet buyurula ki bu muhlisleri ile kadîmden olan muhabbet-i şerîfleri bu bâbda dahî müşâhede oluna. Ümîddir ki, ba'de'l-yevm dahî iltifât ve nazar-i şerîfiñüz yine mazhar kılınub evvel ezel efendimiz ve vâsıtamız idüğün bilirüz ki mâbeynimizde olan 'ahd ü emân ve akîdet ve ihlâs ve sadâkat ve ihtisâs gün-be-gün terakkî ve izdiyâd bula. Ve bu muhlislerinüñ bâbında vâki' olan hudmet-i şerîfleri işâret-i 'aliyyeleri erzânî kılundukda kâdir olduğumuz denlü dirîğ etmemiz mukarrerdür. Hak sübhânehû ve te'âlâ 'izzetlü sultânunuñ vücûd-i şerîflerin hatâ ve hatırdan hıfz u masun eyleyüb murâdât-i şerîflerin hayırla müyesser kılsun. Amîn, yâ mu'în. Bâkî ömr ü devlet 'izz u sa'âdet bâd.

Tahrîren fî 26 şehr Culyu sene 1614. Bi-vilâyet-i Haag (26 July 1614)

Muhlisleri
Muhîb-i hayr-hâhları
Üstadı Ceneralleri

صورت تکمیل و خط ممالون عت موقوفه ندرکه
عنواننده صادر اولمشده

پادشاه

سحان و وقتلو و عدالمسکو

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اعلان مامورین عت اولان بود که بونین اقدم
عالمیه حضور ندریک رکاب ممالونین عت اولان بود که بونین اقدم
نیزان سعادت اقرارنامه عت علیه اطاعت ایلیلان ندرلان و ولایتک قرالی حالیا پایه مسیر اعلامیه
مکتوب کونوروب مضمونه عت احلاض و اطاعت ایستد کندن غیر بونین اقدم تونس و جزایر ولایتین
اولان اسیر ندریک اطلاق ایچون امیر شریف ایستد سعادتین عت نام قولکسی تعین اولوب وار توب اول
سکر ندر اسیر لرن قوتروب کندن لرنه قلم ایلیوب لکن بر مقدار درین حلاص اونیمو قالمشدر دیوباقی
قلان اسیر لری کندن لرنه قلم ایستد لسی پابنده مقلدما و بریلان امیر شریف موجودی تونس و جزایر بکریه احکام
شریف کوندر لسی رعاید رکلاک مکتوب ندریک تریقه سی دخی پایه مسیر اعلامیه ارسال اولمشدر

پاشای کلکار
حضرت ندریک حضور عزت موقور لرنه در دعوات لایقه و ندر
عزت مدار دولت قرار و تم
تکریات قایقه ایشارند ندرکه خلاصانه انما اولان بود که باعث مکتوب و داد خلاصه لوارند ندر فو و دین
ایزیران نام اسیر لری رودوس کیلرنده اولوب حالا آنلر دولتو پادشاه عالمیه حضور لرنه دست اولدو فکر
اجلن در دولت مدار فزندن عید نامه و بر لوب عید نامه لرنده برنه جاننده اسیر لری اولورسه کیر و مسطور
اولما عین اطلاق اولنالی پابنده مکتوب طکت المکن ترقیم اولوب ارسال حضور عزت قلندی و موملنج
مفعولد کبر دکر اولن اسیر لری یوقلیوب فی الواقع وار ایبه اطلاق ایوب سقرده اولان قولکریه
ارسال ایتمک پابنده بیمن مروت بیوریل باقی عود دولت در ترقی بادرب العباد
الحملی
خلیل

Document 212) The note of the Grand Vizier to the Sultan
In his report to the Sultan, the Grand Vizier summarized the letter of the States General requesting the release of the Dutch slaves within the Ottoman territories. Grand Vizier reported that Omer Aga was sent to Tunis and Algeria and he rescued 18 of the slaves, but some of them were still held there.

The Sultan ordered a letter to be written in reply.
(Also see documents 157, 158, 159, 186, 188, and 195)

Document 213) Letter of Halil Paşa
Halil Paşa informed (most probably Grand Admiral) that two Dutch, named Erner Hendriko and Derik Izberan? were held at the Ottoman ships in Rhodes. They should be released according to the Dutch capitulations, and delivered to the Dutch consul in Chios.

هو العزيز المعين

سورة تين

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي خَلَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَخَلَقَ الْبَرَّ
وَالْبَحْرَ بِالطُّولِ وَالْعَرْضِ وَهُوَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ وَالصَّلَاةِ
الْإِيمَانِ الْأَكْمَلِ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا وَسُنْدَانِ حَيْدَرِ الْوَالِدِ وَصَحْبِهِ نَجْمِ
الْهُدَى وَبَدْرِ الْمُنِيرِ

بانت تحرير حروف اوررکه شمد یکماله بر قاج سنه دن بر و مفاخر
الامراء العظام العیسویة مراجع الکبر الفخام فی الملة المسيحية مصلح مصالح
جواهر الطائفة النصرانية صاحب اذیال لشمة والوقار صاحب الایال

المجد والافتخار ندر لانه استادی جنز الی ختمت عواقبهم بالخیر
سلطان البرین والبحرین خادم الحرمين الشريفین سعادتلو وشوکلو
وعظمتلو پادشاهمن اعز الله انصاره وضاعف اقتداره حضرتلرک
ملجاء سلاطین عظامه وما لاذخواقین کرام اولان سد سنیه وعتبر
علیالرینه قدوة اعیان الملة المسيحية قورنیلیو فغانا معتبر
الچیلرین کوندروب دوستلق ایملک مراد ایلیوب کیمیلرله بازرکارلر
امن وسلامت اوزره واروب کتوب تجارت ایتد لری بائند استدرعا
عنایت ایلرک لری اجازن دوستلر لری حضورهایون سعادت

Appendix 2

Leiden University, Legatum Warnerianum, OR 1228, p 165-167

Copy of the Memorandum by the Viceroy of Algeria Süleyman Paşa and Commanders of the Janissary Corps in Algeria

The Dutch capitulations had been granted by the Sultan. To prevent privateering vis-à-vis themselves, the Viceroy of Algeria Süleyman Paşa and other prominent commanders of Janissaries gathered before the Grand Vizier Halil Paşa where the Dutch ambassador Cornelis Haga as also present. Both sides promised strictly that neither Dutch nor Ottoman or Algerian ships would attack each other.

Dated Evâsıt-i C. Evvel 1026 / 17-26 May 1617.

(Also see Appendix 3, document A.R.A. Staten Generaal, 1.01.08/12578.16, no: 6)

متر و نلرندك حصوله قرين اولوب جزايرك درياده كزن كيدري وغير
 من بعد تعدي و تجاوز ايلميوب جزاير لولردخي محبت و دوستلق
 اوزره اولار ديومفصل و مشروح عهدنامه همآيون و موآرد و مشآرد
 اوامر عليه متابعت و يرلش ايش عنایت اولان عهدنامه همآيون
 و اوامر عليه موجيبنجه من بعد حمالك محروسه يد كلوب كيدن
 و ساير درياده كزن تجار و غيري كيدرينه جزاير كيدريله كزن عسك
 اسلام طرفدن بوآنه كلنجه واقع اولان بعض نزاعلري ايجون
 ايتدكلري اوزره دخل و تعرض اولناملري ايجون بالفعل سردار لوقايله
 صدارت عظمى و وكالت كيري خدمتده اولان وزير آصف
 نظير و مشير مشترى تدبير سپهسالار غازيان كشور كير
 خليل پاشا يستر الله مايشاء حضرتلرينك حضور عزت لرنرد
 استاد جنراللري جانب لرندن اولان ايلچي مزبور قورنيليو هغعا
 مواجه رسنده بالفعل جزاير بگر بكي سي اولان امير الامراء الكرام
 كبير الكبر الفخام ذوى القدر و الاحترام سليمان پاشا دامر
 اقباله ايله جزاير جانب لرندن كلان اوچاق اختيارلري و يايا باشلر

وقول آغالری ایله معاً کلوب شویله تقریر ایلدیلر که ایالت مزبورده
 اولان اکر قول آغالریدر و یا یا باشیلر و او ده باشیلر و سایر نفقات
 و دریا یوزده کزن جزایر لو طرفندن عیند و شرط ایدر و زکرمو حی
 الیم استادی جنراللری نک دریا ده کزن کیلرینه و ایچده اولان
 باز کابلرینه و رعایا لرینه و امتعه و اسباب لرینه من بعد جزایر
 بکلر کی اولان لردن و دریا ده کزن سایر جزایر لو طرفندن بر وجه
 تعدی و تجاوز و ضرر و کزند ایرشد رلیه عنایت اولنان عهد
 نامه و متدماً ویرلین او امر علییه و حالاً بو عهد و شرطک
 استحکام بیچون اللرینه ویرلین امر شریف موجب نجه فرمان اولنان
 شروط قیوده هر نه ایسه رعایت اولنوب دریا ده کزن کملرین
 انلرک کیلرینه راست کلر کلریند زدر لاندک بیر اغن کورد که بر و طرف
 بوش طوبن اتوب انرا یله ایشار تلتشوب بعده انلر وخی سلام
 طوبن اتوب و رعایه تر نکتله لوین اندر ب سلام لشد قد نصکوه
 کند و جانمزدن صندال ایله بر قاچ معتمد آدم کوندر و ب مو
 الیم استادی جنراللری نک بر و بخرده حاکم لری اولان قدوه

لامرأة الملة المسيحية فونطوما وريسونيك مهرلو مکتوبن
 کبی زینیلری وضا بطری کوستردکد نضکره کی کرده حزنی کفر
 آدمتری و متاعتری وارد در دیو من بعد یوقلمیوب و کیکرند
 اول بیانه ایله اسباب و آنچه دن بر سنه المنیوب بر وجهه دخل
 و تجاوز اولمیه و من بعد ایالت جزایر ده ندر لاند لونک آملرین
 و اسبابلرین و کیملرین صاندرمیوب هیچ بر وجهه کمسنده
 ریخیده ورمیده ایندرلیه و انشاء الله تعالی حمیه جزایره
 وارد غمزه اندر اولان قول اغالری و یا یا باشیلری و اوده باشیلری
 و سایر نفقات و عسکری جا بنندن دخی بومشوال اوزره عهد
 و امان مکتوبی یازیلوب اندر اولان ندر لاند قونسلوسنه تسلیم
 اولنور و بالجمله سعادتلو پادشاه من حضرتلرینک طرف شریفلرین
 ویریلن عهد نامه هایون و مقدما و حالا ویریلن اوامر علیه
 موجبی ایله دایما عمل اولنوب بو صحیفه ده کتب اولنان شرط
 و قیوده مخالف وضع صد ویردن هر وجهه احتراز و اجتناب
 اولنور تحریاتی اواسط شهر جادی الاول سنه ست و عشرين و لطف

محمد یایاسی
 علی علی
 سلماس
 میر تیران
 جزایر

مصطفی احمد
 میر لوله
 حسین
 سر اورد

Leiden University
Legatum Warnerianum, OR 1228

Sûret-i Telhîs

Hüve'l-'azîzü'l-mu'în

Elhamdülillâhi'l-lezî hâliku's-semâvât, ve'l-arz ve hâliku'l-berrü'l-bahr bi't-tûl ve'l'arz ve hüve 'alâ küllî şey'in kadîr ve's-salevâtü'l-etmâni'l- kemâlât 'alâ sseyyidinâ ve senedenâ Muhammed ve 'âlihî ve sahbihî nücümü'l-hüdâ ve bedri'l-münîr

Bâis-i tahrîr-i hurûf oldur ki şimdiki halde birkaç seneden beru mefâhirü'l-ümerâi'l-'izâmî'l-İseviyye merâciü'l-küberâi'l-fihâm fi'l-milleti'l-Mesihyye muslihu mesâlihu cemâhiru't-tâifetü'n-Nasraniyye sâhib-i ezyâli'l-haşmeti ve'l-vakâr sâhibü'd-delâilü'l-imecd ve'l-iftihâr Nelerlanda Üstâdı Ceneralleri hutimet avâkıbühüm bi'l-hayr sultânü'l-berreyn ve'l-bahreyn hâdimü'l-Harameyni'ş-şerifeyn sa'âdetlü ve şevketlü 'azametlü pâdişâhımız e'azallahu ensârahû vezâif-i iktidâruhû hazretlerinin melce-i selâtîn-i 'izâm ve melâz-i havâkîn-i kirâm olan sütte-i seniyye ve atabe-i ulyâlarına kıdvet-i a'yânî'l-milleti'l-Mesihyye Kornelyo Haga nâm muteber elçilerin gönderüb dostluk eylemek murâd eyleyüb gemileriyle bazirgânları emn ü selâmet üzere varub gelüb ticâret etmeleri bâbında istid'â inâyet eyledikleri ecilden dostlukları huzûr-i hümâyun sa'âdet-makrûnlarında husûle karîn olub Cezâyir'îñ deryâda gezen gemileri ve ğayrılar, min ba'd ta'addî ve tecâvüz eylemeyüb Cezâyirîüler dahî muhabbet ve dostluk üzere olalar deyu mufassal ve meşrûh 'ahdnâme-i hümâyun ve müekked ve müşedded evâmir-i 'aliyye mutâba'at verilmiş imiş. İnâyet olan 'ahdnâme-i hümâyun ve evâmir-i 'aliyye mücebince min ba'd Memâlik-i Mahrûse'ye gelüb giden ve sâir deryâda gezen tüccar ve gayrı gemilerine Cezâyir gemileriyle gezen asker-i İslam tarafından bu âna gelince vâki' olan bazı nizâ'ları içün etdükleri üzere dahl ü ta'arruz olunmamaları içün bi'l-fi'il serdarlık ile sadâret-i uzma ve vekâlet-i kübrâ hıdmetinde olan vezîr-i âsaf-nazîr ve müşîr-i müşteri-tedbîr sipahsalâr-i ğâziyân-i kişver-gîr Halil Paşa yessera'l-lâhu mâ-yeşâ hazretlerinin huzûr-i 'izzetlerinde Üstâdı Ceneralleri câniblerinden olan elçi-i mezbûr Kornelyo Haga muvâcehesinde bi'l-fi'il Cezâyir beğlerbeğisi olan emîrül-ümerâi'l-kirâm kebîrül-küberâi'l-fihâm zül-kadri ve'l-ihtirâm Süleyman Paşa, dâme ikbâlehû ile Cezâyir cânibinden gelen Ocak ihtiyarları ve yayabaşları ve kul ağaları ile mâ'an gelüb şöyle takrîr eylediler ki, eyâlet-i mezbûrede olan eğer kul ağalarıdır ve yayabaşlar ve odabaşlar ve sâir neferât ve derya yüzünde gezen Cezâyirîü

tarafından 'ahd ü şart ederüz ki mûmâileyhim Üstâdı Cenerallerinün deryâda gezen gemilerine ve içinde olan bâzirganlarına ve re'âyâlarına ve emti'â ve esbâblarına min ba'd Cezâyir'e beğlerbeği olanlardan ve deryâda gezen Cezâyirlü tarafından bir vechile ta'addî ve tecâvüz ve zarar ve güzend erişdirilmeye. İnâyet olunan 'ahdnâme ve mukaddemâ verilen emr-i 'aliyye ve hâlâ bu 'ahd ü şürûtun istihkâmiçün ellerine verilen emr-i şerîf mücebince fermân olunan şürût [u] kuyûda her ne ise ri'âyet olunub deryâda gezen gemilerinüz, anlaruñ gemilerine rast geldiklerinde, Nelerlanda bayrağın gördüklerinde beru tarafdandan boş tupun atub anlar ile işâretleşüb ba'dehû anlar dahî selam topun atub ve ri'âyeten telenketelerin indürüb selamlaşduktan soñra kendü cânibimizden sandal ile birkaç mu'temed âdem gönderüb mûmâileyhim Üstâdı Ceneralleriniñ berr ü bahrda hâkimleri olan kıdveti'l-ümerâi'l-milleti'l-Mesihyye Konte Maverisyu'nun mühürlü mektubun, gemi reisleri ve zâbitleri gösterdikden soñra geminizde harbî keferede âdemleri ve metâ'ları vardur deyu min ba'd yoklanmayub ve gemilerinden ol bahâne ile esbâb ve akçadan bir nesne alınmayub bir vechile dahl ü tecâvüz olunmaya ve min ba'd eyâlet-i Cezâyir'de Nelerlandalu'nun âdemlerin ve esbâblarun ve gemilerin satdurmayub hiçbir vechile kimesneye rencide ve remide etdirilmeye ve inşallâhu te'âlâ mahmiyye-i Cezâyir'e varduğunuzda anda olan kul ağaları ve yayabaşları ve odabaşları ve sâir neferât ve askerî cânibinden dahî bu minvâl üzere ahd ü emân mektubu yazılıub, anda olan Nelerlanda konsolosuna teslim olunur ve bi'l-cümle sa'âdetlü pâdişahımız hazretlerinüñ taraf-i şerîflerinden verilen ahdnâme-i hümâyun ve mukaddemâ ve hâlâ verilen evâmir-i 'aliyye mucebi ile dâyimâ 'amel olunub bu sahîfede ketb olunan şürût ve kuyûda muhâlif va'z sudûrundan her vechile ihtirâz ve ictinâb olunur.

Tahrîren fi Evâsıt-i şehri Cemâziye'l-evvel sene sitte ve 'işrîyn ve elf
Evâsıt-i C.evvel 1026 / 17 -26 May 1617

Muslu/ Ser-bölük

Ahmed/ Ser-bölük

Memi/Yaya-başı

Memi/ Ağa

Ali/Ağa

Ali/Ağa

İbrâhim/Ser-oda

Hasan/Ser-oda

Süleyman

Mir-i mirân-i Cezâyir

Letter by the Viceroy of Algeria

Bâis-i tahrir-i hurûf budur ki,

Mefâhirü'l-ümerâi'l-'izâmi'l-İseviyye merâciü'l-küberâi'l-fihâm fi'l-milleti'l-Mesihîyye muslihu mesâlihu cemâhiru't-tâifetü'n-Nasraniyye sâhib-i ezyâli'l-haşmeti ve'l-vakâr sâhibü'd-delâilü'l-mecd ve'l-iftihâr Nelerlanda Üstâdı Ceneralleri hutimet avâkıbühüm bi'l-hayr taraflarından kıdveti'l-a'yâni'l-milleti'l-Mesihîyye Kornelyo nâm elçi yâdından olub mahrûse-i Cezâyir'de vâki' olan beğlerbeğisi hazretlerinin huzûr-i şerîflerine asâkir-i mansûre ahâli-i dîvân ağalarına ve ihtiyarlarına muhabbet-nâme getürüb mazmûnunda merhûm Süleyman Paşa zamân-i şerifinde vâki' olan sene yirmi altı ba'de elf tarihinde İstanbul'da Dîvân-i âlfide vezîr-i a'zam huzûrunda mahrûse-i Cezâyir ağalarımızdan ve yayabaşılarımızdan Kapudan Paşa önünde kavli karâr ve ahd-i emân olunmuşdur. Ol vech üzere gine sulhumüz sulh olsun ve kavlimiz kavli olsun elhamdülillâhi te'âlâ şimdiki halde endişe ve ihtilaf kalmadı, İspanya'dan el çekeydik kani ğarîm düşman idi Heman sizlerden ricâmız budur ki bizüm cânibimizden ve hazretleriñüz cânibinden korsan gemilerimiz ile İspanya üzerine varub karadan ve deryâdan deryâyı başlarına teng eyleyevüz deyu işâret eylemişsiz, ve bundan ma'dâ Felemek tâifesinden bir ferd esîr gemisine komayub konsulunun eline teslim eylesesiz ve bâzırgân ve korsan gemilerimiz ol cânibe vardukda rencide ve remide eylemeyüb hâcetleri ne ise görüb veresiz ve emn ü emânıñız ve sulh ü salâhıñız bu minvâl üzere ahd ü mâhud olsun deyu cevâb eylemişsiz. Eyle olsa ma'lûmuñuz ola ki pâdişah-i 'âlem-penâh hazretlerinin tarih-i mezbûrda vâki' olan emr-i hümâyunu üzere sulhumuz sulh olsun ve emn-i emân-i Rasûlullah olsun pâdişahımız uğruna baş can verüb emrine hilâfımız yokdur, dostuna dost ve düşmanına düşmandır, lâkin bazı Felemenk haramzâdelerinden şimdiki halde bir nice neferimiz esîr edüb Malta cezâfesinde bey' edüb kayd-i bend ile esîr ve hakîr olmağın asâkir-i mansûre tarafından dahî cevâb eyleyeler ki, *“zıkr olunan Müselman esirlerimiz Malta'dan gelmeyince,*

varmasun” deyu emr olunmuşdur, ve bu ahd üzere dahî âdemiñüz ile kavli karâr olunmuşdur. Nihâyet cümle korsan gemilerimiziñ başbuğlarına te’kîd ve sipâriş olunmuşdur. Eđer bâzırganlarıñuz ve korsan gemileriñüz rast geldiklerinde min ba’d rencide ve remide etdirmeyüb kürekci ve yelken ve aletlerine ve demürlerine dahl ü ta’arruz etmeyüb ihtirâz üzere olalar. İmdî sizler dahî korsan gemileriñüze muhkem tenbîh edüb bizim gemilerimize rast geldüklerinde mu’ayene edüb cenge mübâşeret etmeyeler. Sizüñle ahdimiz ahd ve emânımız emandır, min ba’d Felemenk tâifesine derya yüzünde rast geldiklerinde ta’addî ve tecâvüz ve zarar ve girift erişdirilmeye, inâyet olunan ahdnâme ve mukaddemâ verilen emr-i şerîf mûcibince fermân olunan şürût ve kuyûda her ne ise ri’âyet olunub min ba’d bir ferd kimesneye rencide ve remide olduğuna rızâmız yokdur, ve sizlerden dahî gerekdir ki gemileriñüz te’kîd ve sipâriş etdürüb min ba’d İspanya rızkın gemilerine tahmîl eylemeyüb kat’-i alâka olundukdan soñra bizim gemilerden sizüñ gemileriñize zarar ve hayf vâki’ olursa ol işi işleyen gemilerin muhkem haklarından gelmek mukarrer ve muhakkaktır. Heman göreyim sizi, bizim gemilerimiz ile rast geldiklerinde muhabbet ve meveddet üzere olub yek-dîl ve yek-cihet olub düşmanımız üzerine bir olub haklarından gelesiz. Elhamdülillah Âsitâne-i sa’âdet-destgâhında nice ki konsolosuñuz vardur, bundaki konsu dahî kezâlik hürmet ve ri’âyet olub ‘izzetlü pâdişahımız e’âzallahû ensârahû hazretlerinin emânında olanlara eđer bizim ve gerek bu cânibde Cezâyir asâkirinin muhalefeti yokdur ki bu bâbda vâki’ olan Felemenk tâifesinden az ve çok her ne ise bi’l-cümle konsoloya teslim olunmuşdur. zikr olunan esirlerimiz Malta’dan geldiğü gibi mezkûr Felemenklileri bir ferd komayub bi’l-cümle vilâyetlerine irsâl eylemek mukarrerdir.

Tahrîren fî gurre-i Zilhicce, sene ehade ve selâsîn ve elf. **1 Zilhicce 1031 / 7 Oct. 1622**
Ve dahî taht-i emâ[r]jetimizde vâki’ olan Emdem nâm yarar âdemlerine sipâriş oluna ki bir ferd kimesne zarar olunduğuna rızâmız yokdur.

✽ فلاندره واسپانیا ولایتلرنده کی لوتران مذهبی اصحابنه اصدار یوریلان نامه هما یوتک ✽
✽ صورتبندر ✽

مفاخر اعیان مله المسیحیه مراجع امراء طبائفة عبسویه فلاندره واسپانیا مملکتلرنده
لوتران مذهبی اوزره اولان بکرو بکرزاده لر و سائر لوتران مذهبی اعیانی ختمت عواقبهم بالخیر
مکتوب موالات اتصالز واصل اولیحق معلومکن اوله که روی زمینده اولان سلاطین عظام
مایننده خاندان سلطنت عنواتمز حق سبحانه و تعالی حضرت نرینک علو عنایتی و سولکو
پنجمین حضرت محمد المصطفی صلی الله تعالی علیه وسلم افندمک معجزات کثیر الیرکاتینه
جمله دن قوتلو قدرتلو عظمتلو اولوب نیجه تاج و تخت صاحبیرینک مملکت و ولایتلری
واق دکر و قره دکرک و حسانی یوق نیجه ولایتلرک پادشاهلغی جناب جلالتمآیزه مبسر

✽ ۴۵۱ ✽

و پروجر دن یوقدر خشم و قوت و قدرت مقدر اولدوغی جناب حق جل و علائک برلکنه
و محمد المصطفی صلی الله تعالی علیه وسلم افندمک حق پنجم برلکنه عامه اهل اسلامه
اعتقاد و اعتماد اولوب قوللرینه خیر صاندوغردن و حق برلکنه اعتقاد ایتموب شک
کتور نرک اوزرینه عسکر چکوب قوت قاهره مزایله حقارندن کلد و کنر ایچوندر سزدخی
پونه طایموب کلبساردن یوتلری و صورت و ناقوسلری رد ایدوب حق تعالی بردر و حضرت
عبسی پنجمیری و قوللردیو اعتقاد ایدوب و حالاجان و دلدن حق دینه طالب و راغب اولوب
و پاپا دنیلان بی دین خالقن برتلیوب حضرت عبسی علیه السلامه تکر بلیق اسناد ایدوب
الری ایله یایدقاری یوتلری و صورتلره طایوب حق برلکنه شک کتور ووب حق نیجه
قوللرین اول طریق ضلالتنه سوق ایدوب ابلیس کی اغوا و یروب نیجه قانلرد و کلسنه سبب
اولغله سز پاپالویه قلیچ چکوب دائما انلری قتل ایلد و کاکیز اجلدن مرحت شاهمانه و شفقت
ملوکانه مزهر و جهله سزک طرفدکره مصروف اولوب قره دن و در یادن هر حال ایله سز
معاونت خسروانه مز ظهوره کلک و اول ظالم بی دین لندن سزی خلاص و حق دینه
سوق ایتک لازم اولمشدر خصوصاً فلاندره واسپانیا ولایتلرنده نیجه برار بکرو بکرزاده لر
پاپانک مذهبندن و اضلالندن استکراه ایدوب حق برلکن یلوب اقرار و حق دینه واصل اولوق
مراد ایدینوب لکن اول ظالمک ظلمندن و مکرندن خوف ایلوب متالم اولور لر ایمش ایمدی

Imperial Letter by Sultan Selim II to the Leaders of Lutheran Sect in the Provinces of Flanders and Spain

Source: Ahmed Feridun Beğ, Münşeatü's-Selâtin, vol. II, İstanbul: Takvimhâne, 1265/1849.

Appendix 4

سزه اولان دوستلق و محبت و مرحمت و عاطفتمك اعلا می خیلیدنبر و مقصود همایونمز اولشدر لکن یو بایده سزه کوندر لکه اولور اولماز کسنه به اعتماد همایونمز اولدوغی اجلدن تأخیر اولمشیدی حالا یو جه آستانه مز قوللر ندن محرم نام قوللر اولطر فیک دلن واحوالن ییلور و اعتماد اولنور قوللر اولغین سزه اولان محبت و دوستلغی و مرحمت و شفقتی اعلام ایتمک ایچون سزه ارسال اولندی وصول بولدقده کر کدر که جهله کر اعتقاد ایتدو ککر بکر ولوتران بکرزاده لری واعیانیه سزه دوستلغی مقرر یلوب و حسن اتفایله مز بور قوللر ایله مکالمه و مشاوره ایدوب اغزدن دیدوکی و کاغد ایله ییلدر دوکی جمیع کلماتی مبارک اغز مردن صادر اولمش کی مقرر یلوب دخی هر نه ییلده و نه زمانه اتفایله پایا بی دیننه عسکر چکمک و جنک ایتمک مراد ایدینور سکر اکا کوره اعتماد اولنور آدمکرزی یو جه آستانه مزه کوندر رب مز بور قوللر ایله معا احوالکرزی ییلدیره سزه که تعیین ایلدو کر زمانه برو بگردن عساکر منصوره مز کوندر یلوب کر کی کی معاونت اولنه مندر جلده اولان اهل اسلام اعیانته دخی نامه همایونمز کوندر یلوب لوتران بکرزی و بکرزاده لری واعیانی پایالو اوزرینه عسکر چکمک ککر ندنه سزه دخی بر طرفدن بی دینلرک اوستنه یو ریوب معاونت ایله سزه دیو اشعار اولمشدر انلر ایله دخی دائما خبرلشوب دوستلشه سزه من بعد یو جه آستانه مزه کله جک آدمکرزی امن و حضور اوزره یو جه آستانه مزه اولشدر مقده اصلا تردد و تأخیر ایتوب درگاه معلامزه آدمکرزی کوندر رب دوستلغی و سائر احوالکرزی اعلامدن خالی اولیه سزه که جمیع عالمی یوقدن وار ایدن حق سبحانه و تعالی به معلومدر که سزه بو وجهله دوستلغی و عنایت شاهانه مزر کونه طبع و غرض ایچون اولموت محضاً سزه حق بر لکنه و سوکلو پیغمبر من حضرت محمد المصطفی صلی الله تعالی علیه وسلم افندمک حق پیغمبر لکنه و چار یار عظامک ارواح مقدسه لریه و اباه کرام واجداد عظامار و אחنی یاد ایله سزه عهد و عین ایدر مکه سزه دوستلق و محبت مقرر در و نه زمانه پایالویه قصد ایدوب وقت تعیین ایدر سکر قره دن و در یادن معاونت و مظاهر تمیز مقرر در و دوستلغی محقق

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یلوب حسن تدارک و اتفایله دقیقه فوت ایتوب بی دینلرک حقندن کلمکده جد و ساعی اوله سزه و مر قوم قوللر محرمک صاغ بهسی التده وصول ایاغنک انجکنده یاره سی وار در اکا کوره مقید اولوب نامه همایونمز آخرک الله دوشوب خسیله و خدعه ایله ماینده اولان دوستلغی یلوب ضرر و کزند ایشدیرمک احتمال اولیه والسلام

**Flandra ve İspanya Vilâyetlerindeki Luteran Mezhebi Ashâbına İsdâr
Buyurulan Nâme-i Hümâyunun Sûretidir ***

Mefâhirü'l-a'yânî'l-milleti'l-Mesihîyye, merâci'-i ümerâ-i tâife-i İseviyye, Flandra ve İspanya memleketlerinde Luteran mezhebi üzere olan beğler ve beğzâdeler ve sâir Luteran mezhebi a'yânı hutimet avâkıbühüm bi'l-hayr; mektub-i müvâlât ittisâlimiz vâsıl olıcak ma'lûmuñuz ola ki:

Rûy-i zemînde olan selâtin-i izâm mâbeyninde handân-i saltanat-unvânımız Hak sübhânehû ve te'âla hazretlerinin ulv-i inâyeti ve sevgili peygamberimiz hazret-i Muhammedü'l-Mustafa sallallahü te'âlâ aleyhi ve sellem efendimizin mu'cizât-i kesîrû'l- berekâtıyla cümleden kuvvetlü, kudretlü azametlü olub nice tâc ü taht sâhiblerinüñ memleket ve vilâyetleri ve Akdeniz ve Karadeniz'in ve hesâbı yok nice vilâyetlerin pâdişahlığı cenâb-i celâlet-meâbımıza müyesser ve berr ü bahrdan bu kadar haşmet ve kuvvet ve kudret mukadder olduğı cenâb-i Hakk celle ve a'lânıñ birliğine ve Muhammedü'l-Mustafa sallallahü te'âlâ aleyhi ve sellem efendimizin hak peygamberliğine âmme-i ehl-i İslamla i'tikâd ve i'timâdımız olub kullarına hayr sanduğumuzdan ve Hakkın birliğine i'tikâd etmeyüb şekk getürenlerüñ üzerine asker çeküb kuvvet-i kâhiremiz ile haklarından geldiğimiz içindür, siz dahî puta tapmayub kiliselerden putları ve sûret ve nakusları redd edüb Hak te'âlâ birdür ve hazret-i İsa peygamberi ve kuludur deyu i'tikâd edüb ve hâlâ cân ü dilden Hak dîne tâlib ve râğıb olub Papa deñilen bî-dîn hâlıkın bir bilmeyüb hazret-i İsa aleyhisselâma Tañrılık isnâd edüb elleri ile yapdukları putlara ve sûretlere tapub Hakkıñ birliğine şekk getirüb Hakkın nice kulların ol tarfk-i dalâlete sevk edüb İblis gibi iğvâ verüb nice kanlar dökülmesine sebep olmağla siz Papaluya kılıç çeküb dâimâ añları katl eyledüğüñüz ecilden merhamet-i şâhâne ve şefkat-i mülûkânemiz her vechile sizin tarafınıza masrûf olub karadan ve deryâdan her hâl ile size mu'avenet-i husrevânemiz zuhûra gelmek ve ol zâlim-i bî-dîn elinden sizi halâs ve hak dîne sevk etmek lâzım olmuşdur. Husûsan Flandra ve İspanya vilâyetlerinde nice yarar beğler ve beğzâdeler Papa'nın mezhebinden ve ızlâlından istikrâh edüb Hakkıñ birliğin bilüb ikrâr ve hak dîne vâsıl olmak murâd edünüb, lâkin ol zâlimiñ zulmünden ve mekrinden havf eyleyüb müteellim olurlar imiş. İmdi sizde olan dostluk ve muhabbetimiz ve merhamet ve atıfetimiziñ i'lâmı hayliden beru maksûd-i hümâyunumuz olmuşdur. Lâkin bu bâbda size gönderilmeğе olur olmaz

* Ahmed Feridun Bey, Müşe'âtü's- Selâtin, İstanbul: Takvimhâne-i Amire, 1265, pp 450-452.

kimesneye itimâdımız olmadığı ecilden te'hîr olunmuşıdi. Hâlâ yüce âsitânemiz kullarından Muharrem nâm kulumuz ol tarafın dilün ve ahvâlin bilür ve itimâd olunur kulumuz olmağın size olan muhabbet ve dostluğu ve merhamet ve şefkatimizi ilâm etmek için size irsâl olundu. Vusûl buldukda gerekdir ki, cümleñüz itikâd etdüğünüz beğler ve Luteran beğleri ve a'yânıyla size dostluğumuzu mukarrer bilüb ve hüsn-i ittifakla mezbûr kulumuz ile mükâleme ve müşâvere edüb ağızdan dediği ve kağıd ile bildirdiği cemî'-i kelimâtını mübârek ağzımızdan sâdır olmuş gibi mukarrer bilüb dahî her ne yılda ve zamanda Papa bî-dînine asker çekmek ve ceng etmek murâd edinirseñüz âña göre itimâd olunur âdemleriñüzü yüce âsitânemize gönderüb mezbûr kulumuz ile mâ'an ahvâliñizü bildiresüz ki ta'yîn eylediğiniñüz zamanda berr ü bahrden asâkir-i mansûremiz gönderilüb gereği gibi mu'avenet oluna. Müdeccelde olan ehl-i İslam a'yânına dâhî nâme-i hümayunumuz gönderilüb Luteran beğleri ve beğzâdeleri ve a'yânı Papalu üzerine asker çekdiklerinde siz dahî bir taraftan bî-dînleriñ üstüne yürüyüb mu'avenet edesüz deyu iş'âr olunmuşdur, anlar ile dahî dâimâ haberleşüb dostlaşasuz ve min ba'd yüce âsitânemize gelecek âdemleriñizü emn ü huzûr üzere yüce âsitânemize ulaştırmakda aslâ tereddüd ve te'hîr etmeyüb dergâh-i mu'allâmıza âdemleriñizü gönderüb dostluğunuzu ve sâir ahvâliñizü ilâmdan hâlî olmayasuz ki cemî'-i âlemi yokdan vâir eden Hak sübhânehû ve te'âlâya ma'lûmdur ki size bu vechile dostluğumuz ve inâyet-i şâhânemiz bir gûna tama' ve ğaraz için olmayub mahzâ siz Hakkın birliğine ve sevgili peyğamberimiz hazret-i Muhammedü'l-Mustafa sallallahü te'âlâ aleyhi ve sellem efendimizin hak peyğamberliğine ve cihâr yâr-i 'izâmıñ ervâh-i mukaddeselerine ve abâ-i kirâm ve ecdâd-i 'izâmım ervâhını yâd ile size ahd ü yemîn ederim ki size dostluk ve muhabbetimiz mukarrerdir ve ne zamanda Papalu'ya kasd edüb vakt ta'yîn ederseñüz karadan ve deryâdan mu'avenet ve müzâheretimiz mukarrerdür ve dostluğumuzu muhakkak bilüb hüsn-i tedârik ve ittifakda dakîka fevt etmeyüb bî-dînleriñ hakkından gelmekte cedd ü sa'y olasız ve merkûm kulumuz Muharrem'iñ sağ memesi altında ve sol ayağınuñ inciğinde yarası vardır, âña göre mukayyed olub nâme-i hümayunumuz âhariñ eline düşüb hîle ve hud'a ile mâbeynde olan dostluğu bilüb zarar ve güzend erişdirmek ihtimâli olmaya, vesselam.

Letter of Grand Admiral Halil Paşa to Prince Maurice

Kıdvetü'l-ümerâi'l-'izâmi'l-l-seviyye umdetü'l-küberâi'l-fihâm fi'l-milleti'l-Mesihîyye muslihu mesâlihu cemâhiru't-tâifetü'n-Nasraniyye vilâyet-i Flandra'nın ulu dükası Konte Maverisyu hutimet avâkıbühüm bi'l-hayr 'izzetlü ve sa'âdetlü pâdişâh-i âlem e'azzallâhu ensârahû hazretlerinün atabe-i ulyâlarıyla müvâlât ve musâfât üzere olanların dostluklarına lâıyk olan selâm ü senâ takdîminden soñra inhâ ve ilâm olunan budur ki; cânib-i muhibbiñüzden mektûbuñuz gelüb her ne yazılmış ise ma'lûmumuz olmuşdur. Me'mûlumüz üzere sizüñle dükalar ve beğleriñüzün bu cânibe bî-nihâye muhabbet üzere olduğıñuz iş'âr olunmuş; tamam mertebe hazz edüb bizüm dahî muhabbetimiz evvelkiden ziyâde olmuşdur. Heman min ba'd dahî sa'âdetlü ve 'azametlü pâdişahımız halîfe-i rûy-i zemîn halledet hilâfetuhû ilâ yevmi'd-dîn hazretlerinin âsitâne-i sa'âdetlerine 'ubûdiyyet ve dostluğunuz muhkem ve mukarrer eylemeye sa'y-i ikdâm eylesiniz. Ve *"te'sîs-i hulûs ve sadâkat ve izhâr-i kemâl-i 'ubûdiyyet için beğzâdeleriñüzden Kornâle Ağna (Cernelis Haga) nâm elçiñüzü sa'âdetlü pâdişah-i âlem-penâh hazretlerinün rikâb-i hümâyunlarına yüz sürmeğe karadan irsâl edüb ve nâme gönderdük"* deyu yazmışsınız. Mektubuñuz vâsil oldukda vükelâ-yi devlet ve vüzerâ-yı saltanat ile mükâleme ve meşveret olunub *"yollarda Dersa'âdete gelince kimesne mâni' olmaya"* deyu emr-i şerîf verilmişdir. Sa'âdetlü pâdişahımız hazretleriñün asitâne-i sa'âdet-âşiyâneleri âmme-i nâsa bel ki halk-i cihâna açıkdur. 'Ale'l-husûs dostluk ve kulluk izhâr eyleyenlere dâyimâ ihsân edüb ve kapusuna geleni reddetmemek ecdâd-i izâm ve abâ-yı kirâmlarından kendülere mirâsdur ve şimdiye dek 'ubûdiyyet ve sadâkat üzere olan krallar ve dükalar ve beğlerin her birinin kadr ü devletleri günden güne izdiyâd üzere olduğı ma'lûmuñuzdur. Sizüñ dahî inşallahu te'âlâ dostluğunuz sebab-i rif'atüñüz olub envâ'-i riâyet-i pâdişâhiye mazhar olmañuzda iştibâh yokdur. Eyle olsa adâletlü ve 'izzetlü pâdişahımız ebbedullahu devletuhû hazretlerine bu kadar 'ubûdiyyet üzere olduğıñuzu izhâr ve iş'âr etmişken bir dürlü dahî etmeyüb muhabet ve musâfât üzere olmak bâbında sâbit-kadem olub elçiñüzü göndermek üzere olası ve Cezâyir'de olan eserleriñüzüñ itlâkını iltimâs etmişsiz, inşallahu te'âlâ elçiñüz gelüb rikâb-i hümâyun-i pâdişâhiye yüz sürüb akd-i müvâlât ve rabt-i musâfât oldukdan soñra eğer gemileriñüzün ve eğer bâzırganlarıñuzuñ ri'âyetidür ve eğer sâir iltimâs olunan hususlardır, me'mûlünüzden ziyâde ri'âyet-i pâdişâhi ve himâyet-i şehinşâhi zuhûrunda iştibâh olunmaya ve sizüñle muhabbet üzere olub bu hususda müttefik olan dükalara ve beğlere bizüm tarafımızdan selam eylesiniz ve bu cânibe mektûb-i muhabbetiñüz eksik eylemeyesiz.

Tahrîren fi evâil-i şehri Şevvâli'l-mükerrem min şuhûr sene 'işrîn ve elf

Evâil-i Şevval 1020 / 7-16 December 1611

Tersâne-i Amire
Kostantıniyye
El-mahrûse

Halil
El-Kapudân

Letter of Halil Paşa to the States General and Prince Maurice

İftihârü'l-ümerâi'l-milleti'l-İsa muhtâr-i küberâ-i fırka-i Mesîha muslihu mesâlihu tâifetü'n-Nasârâ Netherlanda beğleri ve hâkimleri Kont Maverisyu hutimet avâkıbühüm bi'l-hayr tahıyyât ve selâm ki ehl-i İslâm'a olan ittibâ' cihetinden sâdır ve ve peyâm ki esbâb-i îmâna olan inkıyâd eclinden mütebâdir olur dostâne i'lâm ve inhâ olunur ki bundan akdem ol tarafa mektûb-i hullet-üslûb gelüb irsâl olunub izzetlü ve sa'âdetlü efendimiz ve velîni'metimiz şevketlü ve 'azametli pâdişahımız ki güzîde-i Âl-i Osman ve umde-i havâkîn-i devrândır, sâir krallar gibi âsitân-i sadâkat-bünyânlarına intisâb ve ihtisâs eylemek murâduñuz olmuş idi. İmdî evvâb-i aliyetü'l-itiyâdı meftûh ve mekşûf olub kimesnenüñ gelüb gitmesine men ü redd yokdur. Şimden soñra bâzirganlarıñuz Memâlik-i Mahrûselerine gelüb ticâret üzere olub Âsitâne-i sa'âdet-âşiyânelerine dostluk eylemek için elçiñüz ve nâmeñüz irsâl eyleñ ki gerü bu muhibbiñüz vâsita olub lâzım olan umûruñuzu rikâb-i hümâyunlarına arz u i'lâm eyleyelim inşallahu te'âlâ; *"Devletlü ve 'azametlü pâdişahımız sizüñ sadâkat ile dostluğunuzdan kemâl mertebe hazz edüb nâmeñüze ve elçiñüze me'mûlûñuzden ziyâde iltifat buyurmaları mukarrerdir"* deyu inhâ ve iş'âr etmiş idik. Ol mektubumuz size vusûl buldukda bu muhibbiñüzün sadâkat ile hayr-hâhlığıñı müşâhede eylediğñüz ecilden bir mikdâr tuhâf ve hedâyâ ile beğzâdeleriñüzden Komel Hağa nâm mu'teber elçiñüzü nâmeñüz ile ve bu muhibbiñize hitâben muhabbet mektublar ile irsâl eylemişsiz. Eymen-i evkatta bu yüce dergâha gelüb vusûl buldukda bu muhibbiñüz gerü vâsita olub gerek rikâb-i hümâyuna ve gerek vüzerâ-yı 'izâm ve 'ulemâ-yı kirâma hulûs ile mürâcaat ve dostluk eyledüğüñüzü i'lâm eyledüğüñüzde cümlesi müttefik olub müşârunileyh elçiñüzü Divân-i hümâyun-i pâdişâhiye getürüb rikâb-i hümâyunu öpdürüb hil'at-i fâhire ile mümtâz kılunub bir vechile ikrâm olunmuşdur ki dahî bir kralın elçisine böyle ri'âyet ve hürmet olunmamışdur. Ve nâmeñüz dahî kırâet olunub fehvâ-yı sadakat ihtivâsı ma'lûm-i hümâyunları oldukda istikâmet ve ihlâsınızdan kemal mertebe safâ eyledikleri ecilden 'azametlü pâdişâhımız tarafından dahî vech-i münâsib olduğu üzere nâme-i hümâyun tahrîr olunub an-karîb irsâl olunmak üzeredir. Heman cibilletiñüzde merkûz olan vüfûr-i sadâkat ve ihlâsınız muktezâsınca lâyıık olduğu üzere pîşkeş ve hedâyâñuzu ve kalyonlar ile tüccaruñuzu atabe-i ulyâya gönderüb 'arz-i ihlâs ve muhabbet etmekden hâlî olmayasız ki dostluk binâsının esâsı muhkem ve müşeyyed ola ve min ba'd gemileriñüz ve bâzirganlarıñuz bî-bâk ve bî-pervâ gelüb gidüb a'dâ-yı bed-râ şerinden emîn olduğunuzdan ma'da Efrenc bayrağıyla gelüb gitmek minnetinden dahî halâs olursuz ve Âsitâne-i sa'âdetde ri'âyeti lâzım olan gerek vüzerâ-yı 'izâm ve 'ulemâ-yı fihâm ve sâyir erkân-i devlete 'ale'l-husûs sa'âdetlü pâdişâhımızın rikâb-i hümâyunlarına pîşkeşiñüz masrafiçün elçiñüz *"ben hâlâ ol cânibden getirdüğüüm pîşkeşden gayrı nesne vermeğe izin yokdur"* deyu cevâb vermekle maslahatıñuz ilerü gelsün deyu bu muhibbiñüz gayretiñüz çeküb elçiñüzü âhar kimesneye muhtâc etmeyüb 'arziñuzu sıyâneten kendü yanımızdan masrafiñuz için üç bin filori harc etmişsizdir, ve bu cânibden bizüm kâdîmî emekdânımız

olan Venedikli Pavlo Antonyo nâm kimesnenün yüzü ağ ve ber-hor-dâr olsun şimdiye dek sizün dostluğunuz müteallik umûru her zaman gelüb bu muhibbiñüz ile müşâvere eđüb ibtidâ sizden bu muhibbiñize gelen mektûb ve bu muhibbiñüzden sizün cânibiñize gönderdiğimiz mektublar mezkûr bendeñüzün müşâveresiyle olmuş idi. Ve'l-hâşıl uğuruñuzda hadden ziyâde cân ü başı ve mâliyle çalışub gayret çeküb Al-i Osman pâdişahı ile dostluğunuz yalnız illet-i müstakile olmuşdur. Lâkin bazı kimesneler ol cânibe varub dostluğa biz sebep olduk deyu söylerler imiş. Aslâ bu husûsa mezkûr Pavlo Antonyum'dan gayrı kimesne karışmamışdır. O makûlelere i'timâd olunmaya. Biz ancak mezkûru bilirüz, ve ma'lûm-i şerîfiñüz ola ki bu tarafda olan Françe ve Venedik balyosları sizün bu Âsitâne-i sa'âdet ile dostluk etmeñize mâni' olmak murâd edinüb bazı yerlere nice bin altun vâ'd eyleyüb elçiñize el öpdürmeğe çok sa'y eylemişler iken bu muhibbiñüz uğruñuzda dâmen-dermiyân edüb Hakkın inâyeti ile elçiñize el öpdürüb bir mertebe ri'âyet etdirmişizdir ki anların nisbetine dahî bir elçiye olmamışdır. Ve müşârünileyh elçiñüz ber-hor-dâr olsun sa'âdetlü pâdişahımız hazretlerinin rikâb-i hümâyunlarına vardıkda kemâl-i âdab ve erkân ile hareket etmekle 'azametlü pâdişahımız müşârünileyh elçiden küllî hazz buyurub bu Âsitâne-i sa'âdetde elçilik hıdmetinde kala deyu fermân-i âlişânları sâdır olmağın hâlâ müşârünileyh elçi bu cânibde hıdmet-i mezbûrede alıkonulmuşdur, zirâ bu cânibde olan Fransa ve Venedik elçileri câyiz ki soñra bir tarikle ortalığa fitne birağub "bunlar dostluk etmez" deyu bir söz söylememek için bu muhibbiñüz dahî elçinün Âsitâne-i sa'âdetde kalmasını münâsib görüb ol cânibe göndermedük, mâdâm ki bu muhibbiñüz hayattayuz, cümle mesâlihiñüzü elçiñüzden ziyâde görüb Âsitâne-i sa'âdetde kapı kethüdâlığınız hıdmetinde sa'y-i ikdâm üzere olmamız mukarrerdir. Heman her ne hıdmetiñüz olur ise işâret eylesiz inşallah elden gelen dirîğ değildir, ve Cezâyir ve Tunus vesâyir Memâlik-i Mahrûse'de bulunan esirleriñüzün itlâkı husûsunda dahî kemâl mertebe sa'y-i ihtimâm olunub halâs eylemek mukarrerdir, ve şimden soñra gelüb giden gemileriñize hiçbir kimesne dahl ü ta'arruz ve rencide ve remide eylememek bâbında dahî kapudanlara, beğlere vesâir zâbitlere muhkem tenbîh ve te'kid etdürölmek muhakkaktır. Heman hatırıñız hoş dutub dâyim sadâkat ve dostluk mektublarıñuzu göndermekden hâlf olmayasız.

Bâkiü's-selâm alâ men ittebe'a'l-hüdâ.

Hurrire fi evâhir-i şehri Rebü'l-âhir min şuhûr sene ihdâ ve işrîn ve elf mine'l-hicreti'l-Muhammediyye 'aleyhi efdali't-tahıyye

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Be-medîne-i
Dâru's-saltana Kostantınıyye
el-mahrûse

Halil
El-Vezir