

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

A PhD DISSERTATION

BY

BÜLENT ARI

THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
BILKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA TURKEY

DECEMBER, 2003

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**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
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IN

**THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
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ANKARA, TURKEY**

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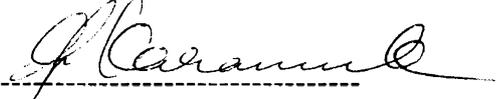
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Prof. Dr. Halil İNALCIK
Supervisor

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gümeç KARAMUK
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.



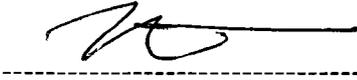
Assist. Prof. Dr. Oktay ÖZEL
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.



Assist. Prof. Dr. Nur Bilge CRISS
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.



Dr. Evgenia KERMELI
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Institute of Economics and Social Sciences



Prof. Dr. Kürşat AYDOĞAN
Director

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

Ari, Bülent

PhD, Department of History

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Halil İNALCIK

December 2003

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

Arı, Bülent

PhD, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Halil İNALCIK

Aralık 2003

Bu çalışma, 1612 yılında Osmanlı padişâhı Sultan I. Ahmed tarafından Hollanda Cumhuriyeti'ne verilen kapitülasyonlar 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 Hümâyun, 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 correspondence 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 bailos, 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

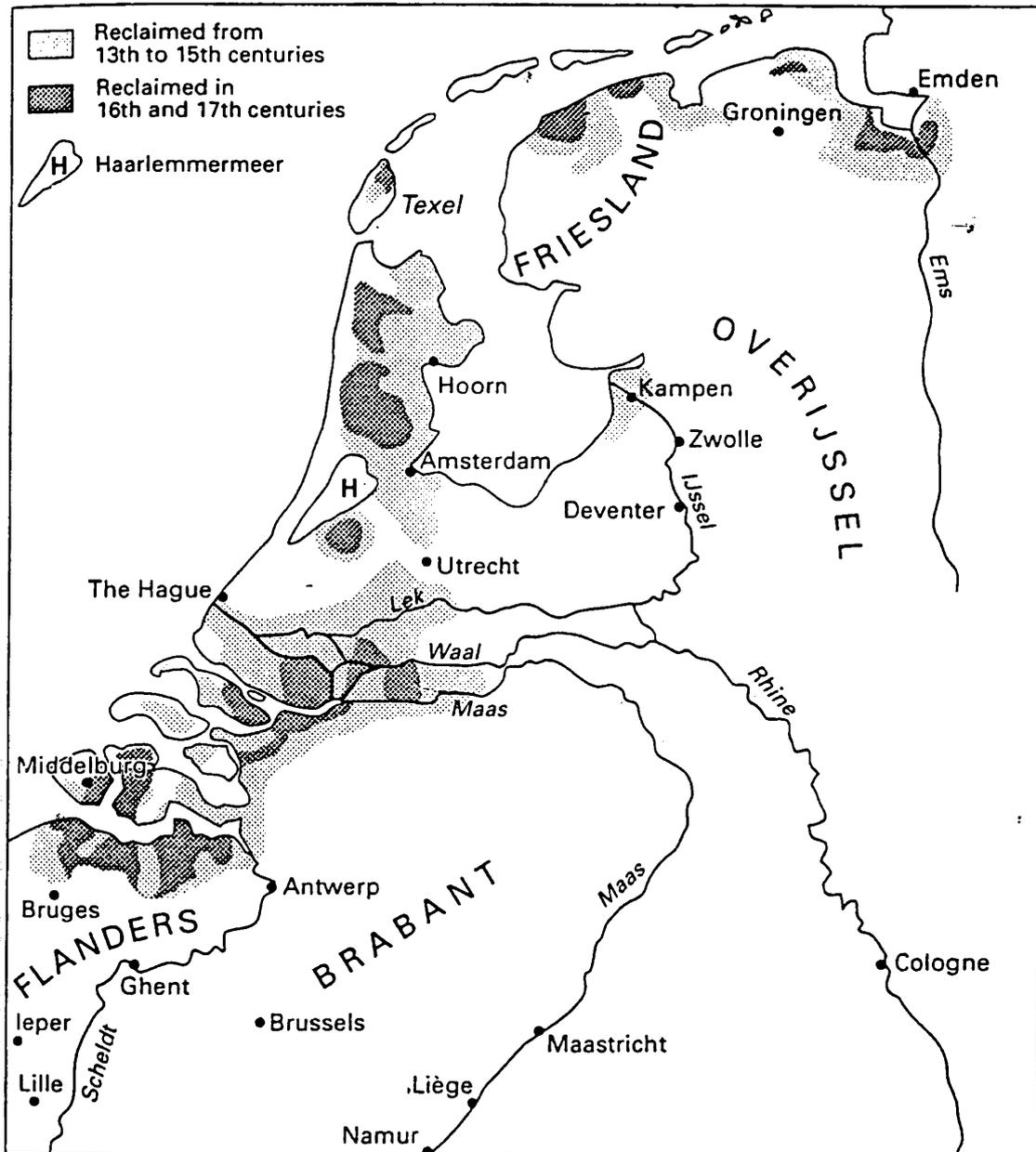
Source: *A Miracle Mirrored*, Eds. Karel Davids & Jan Lucassen, Cambridge: CUP, 1995, p63.

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.

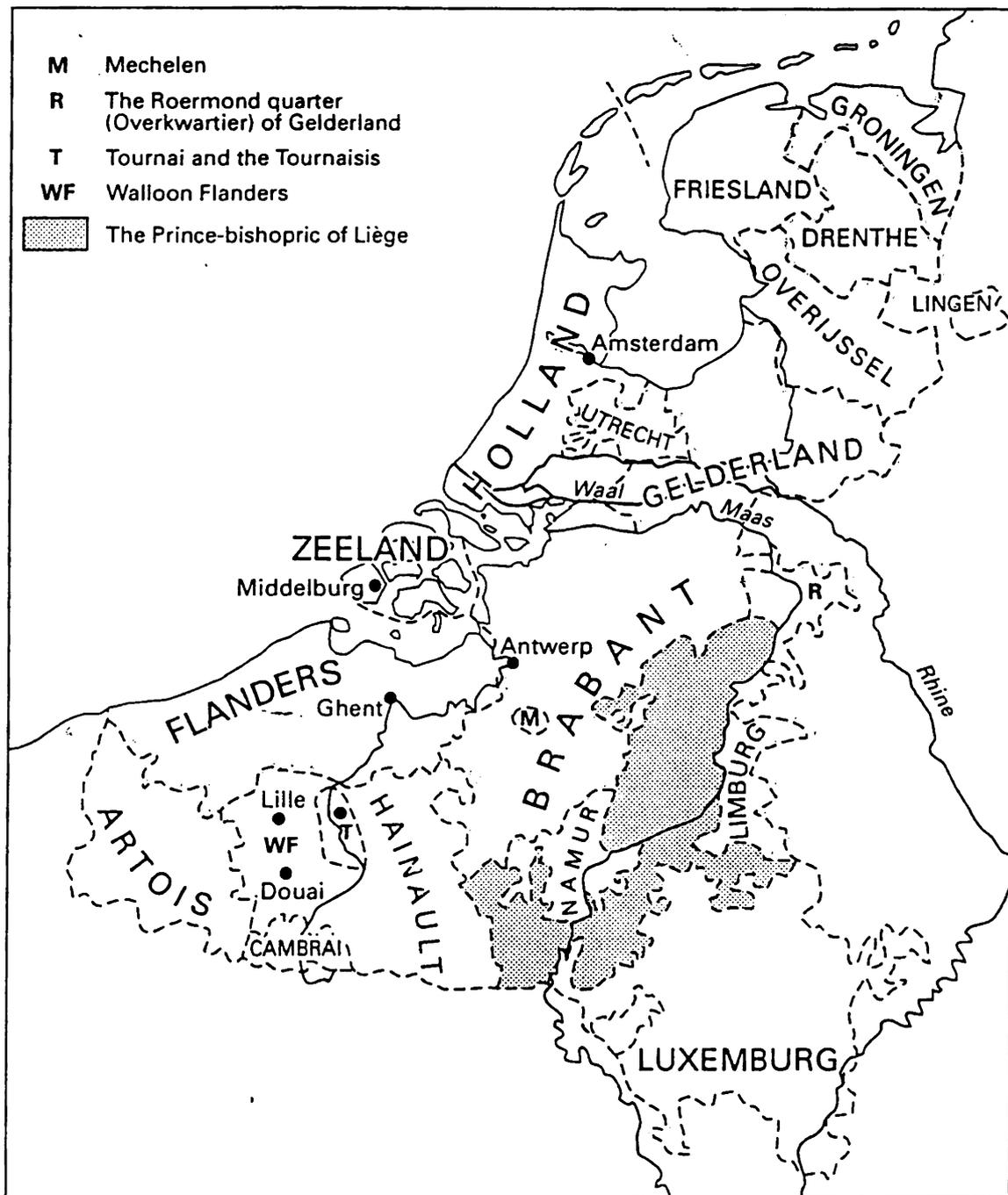
³² V. H. H. Green, *Renaissance and Reformation A Survey of European History Between 1450 and 1660*, (London: Edward Arnold Ltd.) p 229.

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.

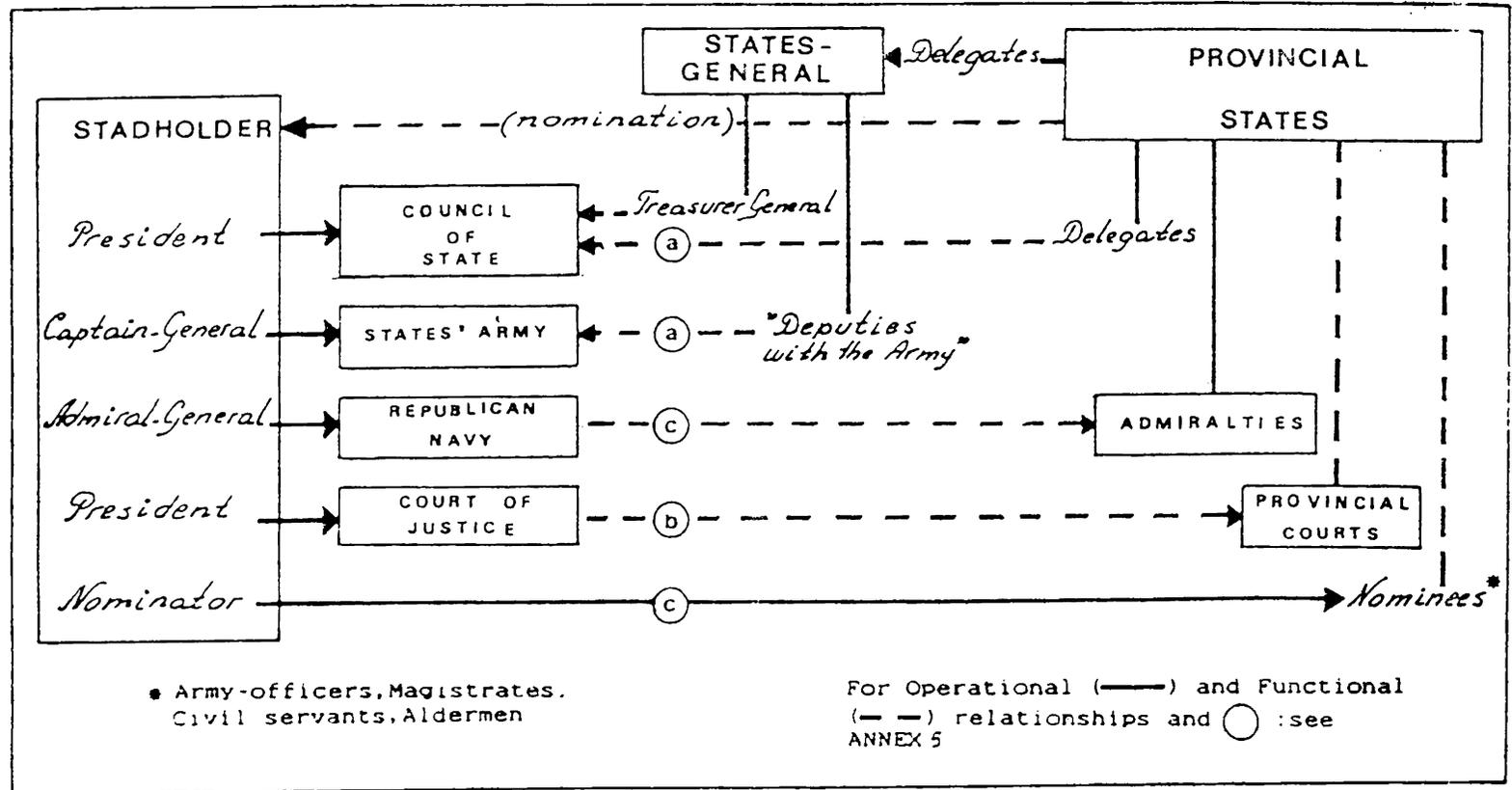


Fig. 22. The Position of the Stadholder

Source: B. Cox, *King William's European Joint Venture* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1995), p 48.

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 reddy 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 would. 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

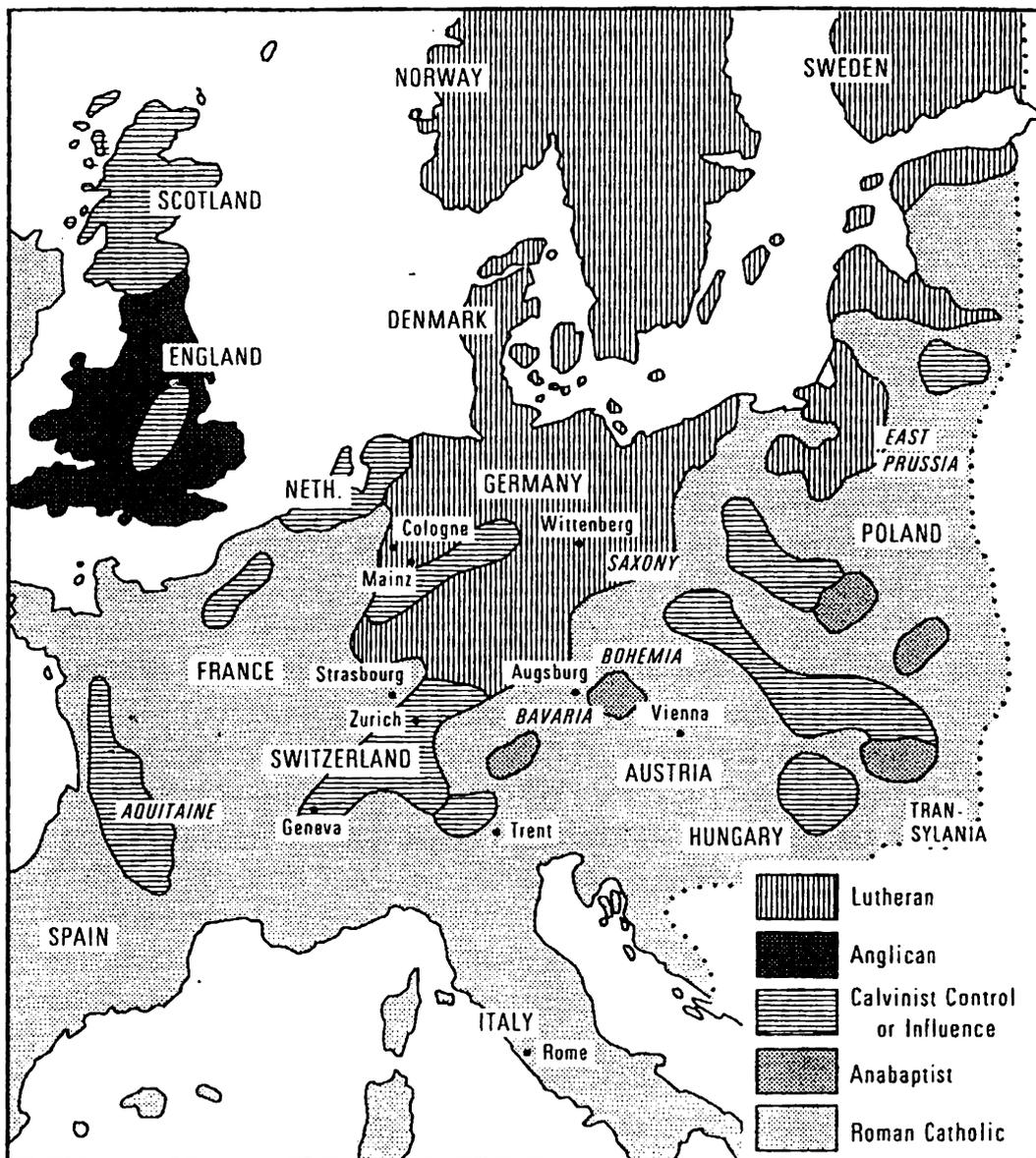
⁸⁰ Antoine Perrenot Granvelle (1517-1586), studied at the universities of Paris, Padua and Louvain. He was initiated in 1538 into the affairs of government by his father, a trusted minister of Charles V. His efficiency appealed to Philip II, who employed him in the Netherlands as chief minister, and 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.

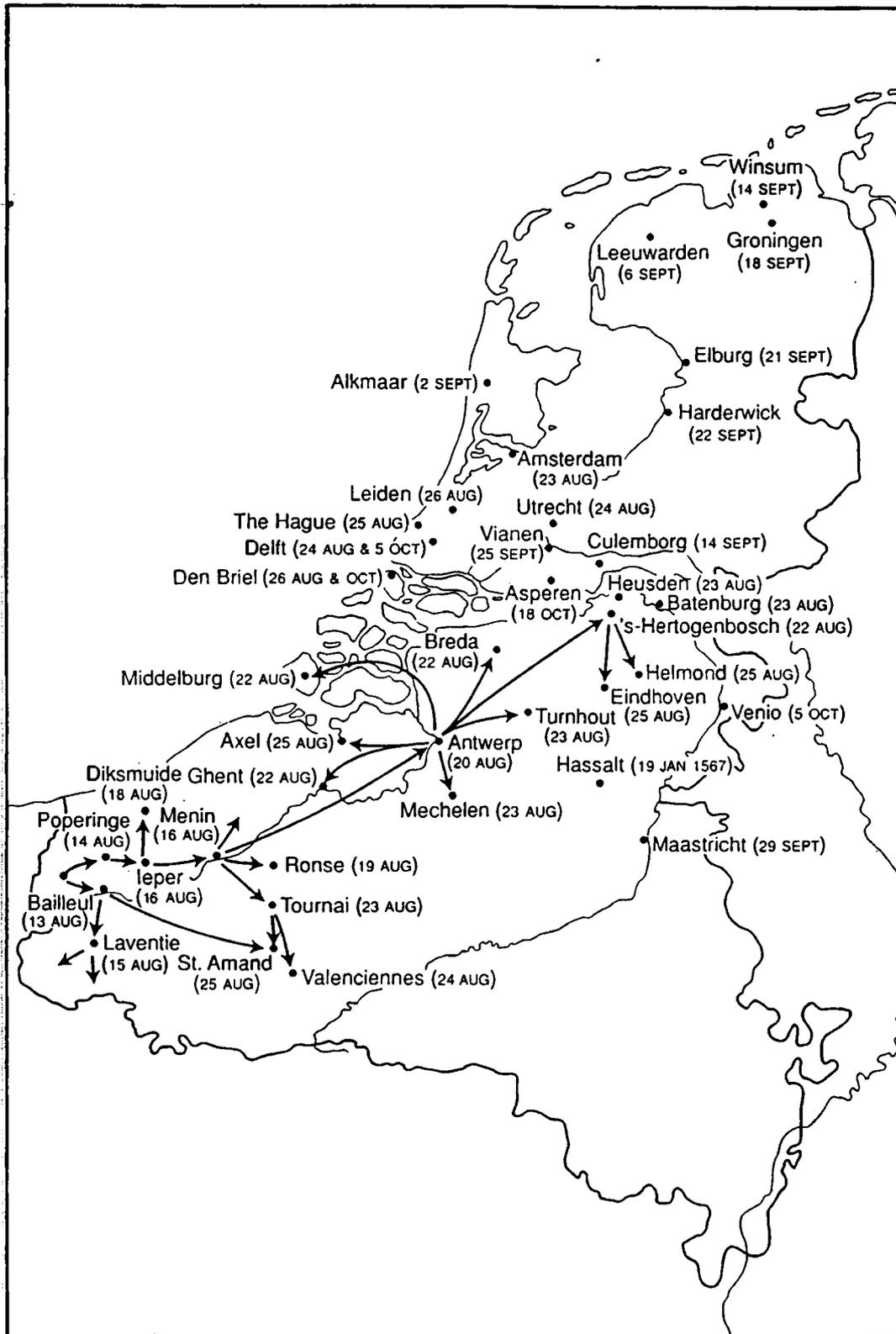
⁸⁸ Alastair Duke, *ibid.*, p 289.

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", *İ. 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 İnalcık, *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 İnalçık, *ibid.*, p 88-89.

⁶ Halil İnalçık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Klasik Çağ (1300-1600)*, (İstanbul: YKY, 2003), pp 52-57; H. İnalçık, '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 *Jelâli* 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 İ. H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. 3, p 256: “*Vezi̇r-i bi-nazir kuyular kazdırdı ve getirdükleri melâini kuyu başında çöktürdü ve birer birer boynun urdurdu ve bu tarık 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- Selâtîn*, 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 deñilen bî-dîn nice kanlar dökülmesine sebep olmağla siz Papaluya kılıç çeküb dâimâ arıları katl eyledüğüñüz 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 olmuştur. 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 hüsn-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 Papa'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 âharıñ 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*, (Templesmith, 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.

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 İnalcık, *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 İnalçık.

⁶⁵ Halil İnalçık, *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

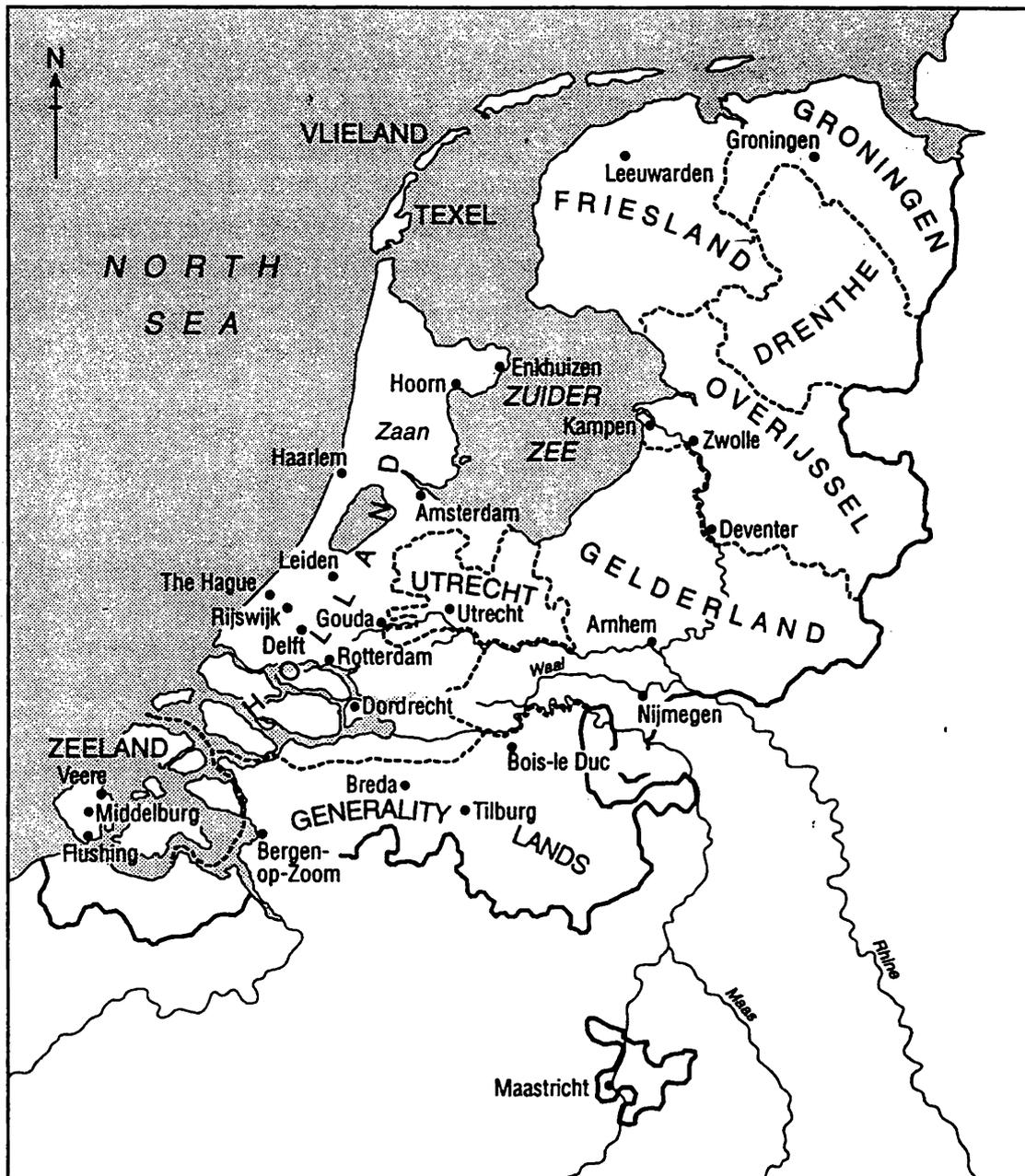
To raise their ambassador's revenue, English claimed that:

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", *Eİ²*, (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 cooplleden 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 porté 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 percyyvinge 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 Françe elçisi tarafından dahl ü ta'arrua olunmaya*".

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

The Sultan had issued contradictory *firmans* 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 Muceddeden 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 nowe 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, wherin 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 consuleage (*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

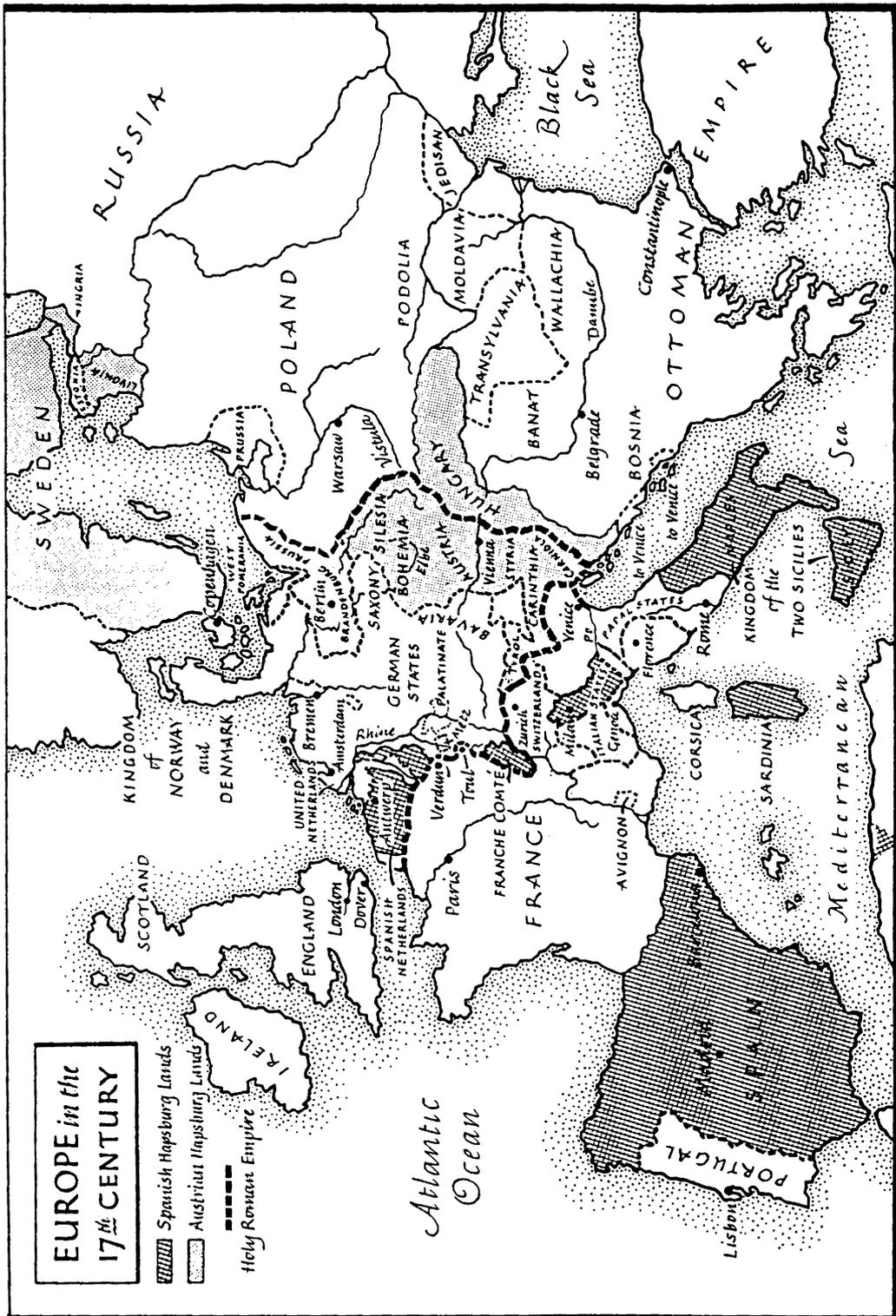
The origins and nature of the “flag issue” were clearly defined in the Sultan's imperial decree⁹⁸ in late 17th century that the non-capitulatory countries' merchants would sail under a capitulatory nation to allow the merchants to trade in Ottoman dominions. In a modern sense, the capitulations constitute 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 müsâlaha 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*, (Istanbul: 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, quils sont contens de traiter avec lesdits Sieurs Etats Genereaux des Provinces- Unies en qualité et comme les tenans pour Païs, Provinceset 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 değillerdir, pâdişâhın düşmanlarına nice ederler ise Netherlandalulara 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 *londn*) 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 Inalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, p 358.

¹¹⁵ Marjolein 't Hart, *ibid.*, p 23.

¹¹⁶ Halil Inalcık, *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 veroveret hebben, van heure slavernige verlost, vrijdom gegeven ende near 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 Keyserlijke 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 cooplyden van deze landen handelen onder de banniere van de coningen van Vranckrijk ende van Groot – Bretaignen , 'tselve moeten zij doen on haer scep en ende goederen te versekeren, omme dat deselve anders niet en soud en 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, *Levantshen 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 geprooneert, 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 kıla' neferâtı ağalara hüküm ki, Flamenk kralı tarafından Asitâne-i sa'âdetime gelecek Kornilyo Haga nâm elçi her kanğırızuñ taht-i hükümetine vâsil olursa ... emîn ve sâlim birbiriñüze irsâl ve isâl 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 şerîf 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 mishaeght, 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, besundere 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 B̄aron 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 drije 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 van 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 opdager*".

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 aenbiedinghe 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 om 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 'arziñizu sıyâneten, kendü yanımızdan masrafıñuz içün üç bin filori harc etmişdür*".

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 Venediklû Pavlo Antonyo nâm kimesnenüñ yüzü ag ve ber-hor-dâr olsuñ, 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. Velhâsıl 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 gayrı 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, *Hadiqatül-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 Paşâ, 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: "*Dhault bassa, in ordinertius van de visyren, een extraordinaris beleeft man, heft mijn een broederlijke affectie ende vruntschap aengepresenteert*".

³² Heeringa, *Levantschen Handel*, I, p 211, "*Dese heeren, soowel den chahimacham als de andere bassaen, hebben mij verclaert, dat de ambassadeurs, principelijck 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, Istanbul: Türkiye Yay., 1961, p 528; Abdülkadir Altınsoy, *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 İnalçık, *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 Turkish³⁸ 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 Alexândria. 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 mürüvvettlü Sultanum, ... tâife-i merkûmenüñ mahiyetini bilmek murâd-i şerîfleri ise Flandralu meşhûr ve nâmdar bir kral değildir. 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 olmuşlardır. ... İspanya'ya ihânet etdikleri gibi padişâhın re'âyâsına etdikleri zamanda mazbut tâife değildir ki, zâbitlerine istimdâd edüb ahd ü peymânlarından sual olunmazlar. ... Euzübillah İspanya ile yek-dîl ve yek-çihet 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 vermemek içün l'lâmına 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 aendienend, 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, Hüdâyî 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 olmuştur. Kızılbaş-l bed-maaş ile olan kıtâl ü cidâliñ öşrû sarf olunsa külli fetihler zuhûr ederdî."

⁴⁷ Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî, *Halil Paşa'ya Mektublar*, Üsküdar, Hacı Selimağa Library, Hüdâyî Efendi No: 262, p 3: "Sefer-i hümâyün 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 affendî, een Turcxschen sancton, sijnde een seer groot favoryt van Challil bassa, gerenomeert geleerste ende heylighste man onder alle de Turcken, derhalven van seer grote authorityt, 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 Hocaşâde 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 tijdinge 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'âdetlû pâdişâhımızun rikâb-i hümâyununa pîşkeşiñüz masrafiñuz 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 sijn persoon, als dat hij hem met de saecke van sijn 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 geautoriseert; oock dat sijnselfs 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 scheyden 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 believe in Constantinopolen te comen om mijn audiëntie te geven waerinne bij S.M. bewillicht sijnde, heeft den chahimacham datelijck mijn daarvan 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 *bailo* 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 vüzerâ-yı sahib-i firâset ve vükelâ-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 Şerî'at-i Nebvî 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 vükelâ-yı mülk-ârâ ve müşâvere ve ma'rîfet-i 'ulemâ-yı şerîfîn-i pirâye ile tarafımızdan sudûr eden muhabbet ve irâdet ve nihâyet hulûs-i meveddetiniz rikâb-i hümâyunlanna arz ü inhâ olundukda ... cânibiñuze hüsn-i nazar-inâyetleri zuhûr edüb ve elçiñüz pâye-i serîr-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. Haga, 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 İslambol'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 geldiğümüze 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".*

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 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".*

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 olmağičiün sâbıkâ kapudân olan Halil Paşa hazretlerine âdem ve mektûb gönderdiklerinde - Hak te'âlâ sultanımdan ve anlardan râzı ola – mektubumuzun cevâbın yazub "Al-i Osman'ın kaptusu 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 mümâileyh efendimiz muhibleri dahî bu hayırlu 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 getirdiğimiz pişkeşimizi 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 şerifiñüze 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 gūnū*). 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 Hūmâyun*), after the colorful ceremony of quarterly payments of the Janissaries.¹ Haga's audience was not coincided with *ulûfe gūnū*, 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 'Tevkiî 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 Ağırılanması', *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".

Hümâyün) 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 *Đivan*. 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: "*Hiernae 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 daerna 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 werd. Daarmee was de audientie afgelopen".

¹⁵ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 173: "*vârid olan nâmeleri tercüme ve telhîs olunub ittîfak-î vezirleri sahibrâ ve ittihad-î vûkelâ-yı mülk-ârâ ve müşâvere ve ma'rifet-î 'ulemâ-yı şerîfîn-i pirâye ile tarafımızdan sudûr eden muhabbet ve irâdet ve nihâyet hulûs-î meveddetiñiz 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 vilâyetlerinüñ cümle kralları üzere vâli ve zâbit ve Âsitâne-i sa'âdetlerine dostluk üzere mürâca'at edenler hakkında lütf u ihsanları mebzûl olduğun istima' eylemeğün*".

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 tâlib olub bu hayırlu hıdmetin zuhûru içün 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 Moriş 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 kadimden 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 göndermişizdir*".

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 gevangnisse 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 hâfî değillerdir".

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 sadâkâta 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 wools, 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 sizün 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 yûz sûrdükde âdâb ve hayâ üzere hareket etmekle sa'âdetlû ve azametlû 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 şükân 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 resmiyyeyl müeddâ kılub ağızdan sipâriş eyledüğüñüz umûru takrîr edüb hûsn-i edâ ile dostluk haberleri mesâmi'-i aliyemize 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*, I, 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*, I, 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 gevangnisse 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 Hoca 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 favorablijck 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 Turck 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 verlossing van de slaven, heeft S.E. daerinne mijn bejement".

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 artijckel 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 Engelant waren gecomen, ende betaelt als deselvige, 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 tefferdar, 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 hûmâyuna 'arz buyurub kalîl ve kesîr ne ise getirdiğümüz pîşkeşimizi 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 gerekdir” deyu her biri tahsîn ve pesend edüb evzâ’ u etvârından her vechile rızâ ve şükran üzere olmağla Âsitâne-i sa’âdet’de alıkonulmuşdur*”; ARA, Staten Generaal, 1.01.08 / 12593.11: “*azametlü pâdişâhımız 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*”.

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 içün bu muhibbiñüz dahî elçinün Âsitâne-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 *kadis* 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 kanğıruñ taht-i hükûmetine vâsıl olursa emîn ve sâlim biribirñize irsâl eylemeñüz emrim olmuştur. ... Dergâh-i âli silahdarlarından Osman zîde kadruhü 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 rıfatlı sultânum 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 etdükdün sonra efendilerimiz Üştâdı Ceneralleri ve Konte Maverisyo'ya sa'âdetlü 'âlem-penâh hazretlerinün nâme-i hümâyunların ve sultânumun ve sâir erbâb-ı devletin mekâtib-i şerîflerin teslim edüb ve hâlâ Âsitâne-i sa'âdetde vâki' akîdet ve ittihâdımız ve ahd ü emân ki sultânum 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 müşârünileyhimâya ve ehîbbâmıza mücib-i sūrû-i 'azîme ve a'dâya sebep-i kahr ü inhizâm olmuştur ki zibân ile ta'bîre gelmez*".

decided to reply these letters, and send presents to Istanbul.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 souden beantwoort ende de presenten besorcht ende gereetgemacht die in de voorschreven memorie staen gespecificceert 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-Dimeşkî 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 Abelman, *Osmanlılar ve Hollandalılar*, Istanbul: Unilever, 1990, p 8.

⁷⁰ B. Arı, *Conflicts According to the "Felemenk Ahdnâme Defter"*, 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-yi 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 İnalçık, "İmtiyâzât", *Eİ*, p 1179.

⁷³ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 22: "*Benim saâdetlü ve 'izzetlü sultânım, zikr olunan Nederlanda gemisinde tahmîl ve vârid olan bazı tuhâf ve hedâyâ ki efendilerime Üştâdı Ceneralleri hedâyâ için göndermişlerdir. Vâsıl olduklarında gerek emin Murad çavuşdan ve gayrısından bir ferde dahl 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 vâsıl oldu. Müstedâm-i ömr olası. Min ba'd dahî rûşen-i hıdmetiñüzde maktûrumuz 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 Negrón, 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 Negrón, ambassadeur van den coninck van Hongaria, tot Constantinopoli gearriveert, sijnde ontret een half we sijdens buyten de stadt bejegent van den sias 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 Fflemmish sent, butt myselfe thoughte best to omit that complaynte 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 hilekâr, 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 eşîra ve eşkıyâ ile bundan akdem mezbûr elçimizden nice dürlü hile ve hud'a ile hıyânet ve ihânet eyleyüb hakkında 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 ilâm 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 hakîkat 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 States Général 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 Giocomo Belegno to accompany him. Two of them would travel to North African provinces. Halil Paşa had written

kimesne dahl ü ta'arruz ve rencide ve remide 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 Niderlanda'ya tâbi' tüccâra rast geldikde esîr eylemeyüb ve malların gâret eylemeyeler, bu husûsa rızâ-yı şerîfim yokdur. Niderlanda'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 krallaruñ elçileri gibi Galata'da hıdmet-i risâlet ile oturmuşdur. ... İmdî benüm karındaşım, bu tâife Venediklü gibi değildir, ve ehl-i İslâm ile kadimî 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 Ağa reached Tunis and Algeria, the Dutch slaves would be released.⁸⁹

Ömer Ağa 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 Ağa 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 Ağa 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 Ağa'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 Rebîülevvel 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 hıdmetiñüze mümkün olduđu mertebe sa’y ü ikdâm etmek üzereyiz. Pâdişâhımız esirleriñüz her kande bulunursa âzâd olunması bâbında emr-i şerîf 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 esirlerinizün 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 esir eylemekden hâlf değillerdir, pâdişâhın düşmanlarına nice ederler ise Nederalandalulara dahî böyle ederler. Cezâyir korsanları getirdükleri esbâb ve âdemlerin her onunda bir esir aldığı 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, sizürñ gemileriñizü satar, düşman gemilerini nice alınırsa sizürñ dahî eyle alıruz, ammâ âdemleriñizü esir etmeyelüm' deyu cevâb vermişdir"*.

⁹⁵ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 209: *"Sadrâzam Nasuh Paşa hazretleri, arz-i ihlâs ve sadâkatimiz 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 Hocazade 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.

şerîfleriñüzden erzânî kılunmak ile katında hoş olmayub iltifat ve nazar-i şerîflerinden 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 şerîflerinde müyesser olunmamak ile katında hoş gelmeyüb ahdnâme-i hümayunda 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 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 buyurdıklarında zikr olunan nâme-i hümayunu fesh etdirilmeğî icrâ ve sıyânetinde sa'âdetlû sultanımuñ bezl-i hamıyyetlerün sarf eyleyüb bazı ashab-i ağrâzımızın fikr-i fâsıdlerin zuhûra getirilmeyüb mahcûb ve mağbûn kalmışlardır".*

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 takrîr eylediler ki, eyâlet-i mezbûrede olan eğer kul ağalarıdır ve yayabaşlar ve odabaşlar ve sâir neferât ve derya yüzünde gezen Cezâyirlü tarafından ahd ü şart ederüz ki mümâileyhim Üstâdı Cenerallerinün deryâda gezen gemilerine ve içinde olan bâzırganlarına 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".

¹⁰⁰ Leiden University, OR 1228, (Appendix 2): "deryâda gezen gemileriñüz, anlaruñ gemilerine rast geldiklerinde, Nelerlanda bayrağın gördüklerinde beru tarafdân boş tupun atub anlar ile işâretleşüb ba'dehû anlar dahî selam topun atub ve ri'âyeten telenketelerün indürüb selamlaşdukdan 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 Mavrisyu'nun mûhürlü mektubun, gemi reisleri ve zâbitleri gösterdikden soñra gemiñizde harbî keferâde emelleri 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 rencide ve remide 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 âlîde vezîr-i a'zam huzûrunda mahrûse-i Cezâyir ağalarımızdan ve yayabaşılarımızdan 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 cezâresinde bey' edüb kayd ü bend ile esîr ve hakîr olmağın asâkir-i mansûre tarafından dahî cevâb eyleyeler ki "zîkr olunan Mûselman 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'in 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 hâlî 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 hıdmetiñüze mümkün olduđu mertebe dâmen-der-miyân edüb sa'y ü ikdâm ve cidd ü ihtimam etmek üzereyüz. Hıdmetiñüz canımıza minnetdür".

¹¹³ Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 152: "Felemenk beğleriñüñ 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 bâzırgan revâne olub ticâret murâd etmekle cenâb-i şerîfiñüzle mâbeynimizde olan muhabbet ve kulluk ecliçün mektûb râğib olmağın mezkûr Eriko bâzırganuñ 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-i şerîfiñüz mebzûl ve bî-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 muhibbiñüze 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 içün 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 beğriñ 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 tercih ve takdîm olunmuşdur. Hâlâ Haleb vilâyetinde olan konsolosluk hıdmetinde bunun gibi beğzâde olmak lâyıkdır. Haleb'de olan konsolosluğü mûmâileyh beğzâdeye verüb gayri 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 devletlü başınız için nâmemizü rikâb-i hümâyuna 'arz buyurub kalil ve kesîr ne ise getirdiğimüz pîşkeşimizi kabûl edüb, nâmemizü yazub, 'ale't-ta'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 ortaliğa fitne brağub "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 vouch 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, Ismail 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 consuledege 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 buyurdıklarında zikr olunan nâme-i hûmâyunu fesh etdirilmeği icrâ ve sıyânetinde sa'âdetlû sultanımuñ bezl-i hamıyyetlerün sarf eyleyüb bazı ashab-i ağrâzımızın fikr-i fâsidlerin zuhûra getirilmeyüb mahcûb ve mağbûn kalmışlardır".*

more influential within the Ottoman government. For a long time, both Haga 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, *gümrük 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 Kilidülbahr 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 Inalcık, *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 İnalcık, *ibid.*, p 91; for caravan routes and duties on the Iranian silk trade, see Halil İnalcık, *Customs Register of Caffa*, (Harvard Univ. Press, 1995) pp 91-92; for examples on the conflicts about the local taxes, see B. An, *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 tolln 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 importerer*".

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, bâzırganları gelüb alış veriş ederler, mirîye küllî nef olur. Rencide olunurlarsa el çeküb gelmezler. Mezbûrun bâzırganları rencide etdirmeyüb tüccar tâyifesini himâyet üzere olasız. Mültezim inâd edüb iltizâmımızda yüzde beş akçadır derse, onların yerlerine âdem tedarik olunur, bilmiş olub mucceb-î 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 Ktallığı Arındaki Tarife", *Belgeler*, stated that the first tariff list appeared in Ottoman – French Commercial Treaty of 1740. However, in Felemek Ahdnâme Defteri, BOA, Ecnebî 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, Neleranda elçisi arz-i hâl gönderüb, Neleranda 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. Arı, ibid., document 1, p 68.*

²² Supp Turc 118 (Appendix I), document 108: *“Neleranda tarafından gemi ile rikâb-i hümâyunuma pîşkeş için irsâl olunan tuhaf ve esbâbdan gümrük emîni olan Murad Çavuş gümrük taleb eder deyu i’lâm 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 Ouwex),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 bâzirganlarıñuz 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 tebdîl edüb, yerlerine ol hıdmetin '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 *avaniyas*.

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, twaelff 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 specerien, 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 İnalçık, “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 Naïmâ 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. Naïmâ also indicated that goods manufactured within the country must be preferred so that money is not dispersed outside the Ottoman territories.⁵⁷ Naïmâ 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, gallnuts, 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 Naïmâ 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 Naïmâ (*Ravzatü'l-Huseyn Fî Hülâsâti Ahbari'l-Hâfikeyn*), vol IV, (Istanbul: 1281H), p 293: "âhar devletten hâsıl olan şeref ve ihtişâma 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 Naïmâ, *ibid.*, p 293: "Efrenc tâifesi çok kumaş getirüb bilâd-i İslamiyye'den yapağı ve tiftik ve mazı ve şap gibi şeyler alub sefine 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 melâin 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 zımnında 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 Edime misli olub lâkin şafakı bir mikdâr ziyâde olmağla herkes Frengî çukadır deyu anlara düşüb Selanik ve Edime'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 şerîfidir".

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 mûrûr ve ubûr eyleyen tüccar tâifesinin emvâl-i erzakları ve ğâret etmeleri [ile] mûn'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, silks, 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'eenemael 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 ghedienstigheyd de coopluyden, 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 verstecken ende ontbloot vinden van allen handelinghen, commerciën ende trafiquen, uytghenomen op de plaetsen van 't vastelande ende eylanden, in de Middelandse zee ende in de Archipelago liggende, van welcke dan noch, alsoo de handel op Italiën heel slecht valt, de traffelixte ende voornaemste is de negotiatie op Aleppo in Soria*".

⁸² B. An, *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 İzmir
Evâhir-i C. evvel 1027 / 16-25 May **1618**.
- Document 44)** Imperial Decree of Sultan Osman II to the Kadi in İzmir
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 (Ağriboz)
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
Evâhir-i Zilkâde 1022 / 2-11 January **1614**.
- 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 Şeyhülislam (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
Evâsıt-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
Evâsıt-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
Evâsıt-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
Evasıt-i Şevval 1021/ 5-14 December **1612**.
- Document 92)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Kadi of Bedrama
Evasıt-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
Evasıt-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
Evâil-i Şevval 1020/ 7-16 December 1611.
- 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
(Also see document 106)
- 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
(İnebahtı), 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
Evâil-i Receb 1026/ 5-14 July 1617.
- 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
Evâsit-i Muharrem 1022/ 3-12 March 1613.

- Document 115)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy of Egypt,
Vizier Mehmed Paşa
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 Paşa
(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
Evâhir-i C. âhir 1022/ 8-16 August 1613.
- Document 126)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy Ahmed Paşa
and to the Kadi of Aleppo
Evâhir-i C. âhir 1022/ 8-16 August 1613.
- Document 127)** Petition of the French and English Ambassadors to the Sultan
- Document 128)** Letter from the Viceroy of Cyprus Ali Paşa to the Governor of
Alexandria Mehmed Bey
Evâhir-i Ramazan 1022/ 4-13 November 1613.
- Document 129)** Letter of Viceroy Ali Paşa
- 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
Evâhir-i Muharrem 1023/ 3-112 March 1614.
- 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
(Also see document 139)
- Document 137)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I for Patriarch of Alexandrietta
Evâsıt-i R. âhir 1024/ 10-19 May 1615.
- Document 138)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy, Defterdar,
and Kadi of Aleppo
Evâhir-i R. evvel 1023/ 1-10 May 1614.
- Document 139)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy Ahmed Paşa,
Defterdar, and Kadi of Aleppo
Evâil-i Şaban 1023/ 6-15 September 1614. (Also see document 136)
- Document 140)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to Governor, Kadi and
Tax-farming Authority of Agriboz (Negroponte)
Evâsıt-i Receb 1023/ 17-26 August 1614. (Also see documents 58 and 141)
- Document 141)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I
(Also see documents 58 and 140)
- Document 142)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Osman II to the Viceroy of Batum,
and Kadıs 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
2 Muharrem 1028 / 20 December 1618. (Also see document 142)
- Document 145)** Imperial Letter by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and Kadi of Aleppo
Evâhir-i Zilkâde 1023 / 23 December 1614-1 January 1615.
- Document 146)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Kadi of İzmir
Evâil-i R. evvel 1021 / 2-11 May 1612. (Also see document 148)

- 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
Evâil-i R. âhir 1021 / 1-10 June 1612. (Also see document 146)
- Document 149)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Kadi of İzmir
Evâilt-i R. âhir 1021 / 1-10 June 1612.
- 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
Evâsıt-i Şevval 1027 / 1-10 October 1618.
- Document 154)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Kadi of İzmir
Evâil-i C. evvel 1021 / 30 June-9 July 1612.
- Document 155)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Osman II to the Kadi of İzmir
Evâsıt-i Zilkâde 1027 / 30 October-8 November 1618. (Also see document 113)
- Document 156)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Kadis, commanders of the castles, and customs custodians
Evâsıt-i C. âhir 1021 / 9-18 August 1612.
- Document 157)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy of Tunis
Evâsıt-i C. âhir 1021 / 9-18 August 1612. (Also see documents 158 and 159)
- Document 158)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy of Algeria
Evâsıt-i C. âhir 1021 / 9-18 August 1612. (Also see documents 157 and 159)
- 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
1 Receb 1021 / 28 August 1612. (Also see documents 159 and 161)
(Original document is available in A.R.A. Staten Generaal, 1.01.08/12593.12)
- 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
Evâsıt-i Ramazan 1021 / 5-14 November 1612.
(Also see documents 117, 118, 119, 120, and 121)
- Document 163)** Imperial Letter to the Viceroy of Aleppo
Evâil-i Ramazan 1025 / 12-21 September 1616. (Also see document 154)

- Document 164)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Kadi of İzmir
Evâil-i Zilkâde 1026 / 31 October-9 November 1617. (Also see document 165)
- Document 165)** Letter of Deputy-Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa
(Also see document 164)
- 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
(Original document available in A.R.A. S.G., 1.01.08/12593.13)
- 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
Also see documents 17, 178, and 180.

- Document 180)** Letter of Vizier Halil Paşa to the Mütessellim (Deputy-Governor) of Cyprus
Also see documents 177, 178, and 179.
- 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
(Also see documents 58, 140, 141, and 185)
- 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
(Also see documents 157, 158, 159, 188, 195, and 212)
- Document 187)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to all Viceroys, Governors and Kadis
Evâsıt-i Ramazan 1022 / 25 October-3 November 1613.
- Document 188)** Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy of Algeria
Evâsıt-i Safer 1026 / 18-27 February 1617.
(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-viceoy in Cyprus, Munîrî Efendi)

Document 215) Letter by the Viceroy of Cyprus Ali Paşa to Mütessellim Münîrî Efendi
Evâhir-i Rebûlâhir 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, Münşeatü's-Selâtin, 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)

5

وکشت معتمدتہ اسپانیہ قرالی مداح آلہ توفہ وکشت قازوب طاشترخ اوزن ودرکچی سزاقتدیریز علیک
 ووتتمہ یسرورد ایل اول جانبین کوزر ووب دلد وقرتخ مارح ادراسطنک کد لندوبیکه یکم بر
 قلم ادراسطنک ودرک مرقوبه به واصل اولدق مرکز سوزوزیک وکر اولدنه ملکت صامیج وهاکی دن
 و صابری نام قران ایل علیک خیت بنایریب ما بنیه عقیدت اناکاه لم عهد ولطه اریوب لحد مزوج وکر
 اولدنه معتمدتہ اولد وخی پیرو قران فرودک صص وصال کند و آوند ککه میا شربک بر علیک حصار بنا
 و تعمیر ایچرور وحصار کد اوی ناصوب حصار نام قوشور وکر قوش ماودیسو کمن لند پیر . واول
 هوالبت اعطه دی و عولس قوشینت وری و عولس اولدق وری و قیفه نام قرال کوشه وک اسپه
 قرالی ایل عدوانه اوزن اریب حالا مزبور سوزوزیک اچید کوزر ووب اقدیریز ایل و من اخصان عقیدت
 عدولق اولدین با بنیه رجا و لئاس اترک کلت استعارین قبول ایچرور سول سطلک معقت اسپانیہ قرالی ایا
 رعق و دستلح و عقیدت اریب یوزوب حلقه وری ل وکر اولدنه قرال ووه غیرین ساعله وخی اوزن جانب
 رعق قرال و اصحاب معدیات ترم ایل صلی و صلا و و من رعق اخصان اوزن اولدنه با بنیه ایل معتمدتہ
 ایدر لرم لرم لرم لرم کد اقدیریزت دلایها قیم اولایمده عهد پیا نریب و در وین ورجانف یا شد و دستر و وس
 ووشنار ووشماندر و بالجله مشاد الیها اشناوی جزالدر مع قوش ماوریه و مفصلدی یک ککد قوش اکت
 اوزن وکسپانیه کن فرقتیند رعق ماکن و معدیات الله وعه اخذ اریوب کندون مراجعت اری ل . و سوز
 سوز سطلخ بر مغول احوال تفصیل اوزن یادوب خاکین سزیند املام ایلر عر اة اولدنه یک اقدیریز اریوب
 کوه بکوه ترقی واروبد اوزن اولوب خصص مزبوروه کای قسط لریب چکریب مجید یکله اعلاست کفای اقدیریز
 و بریزه ماوریه و سوز طوقه اصوصیا قرائین قزلباشی و اولدین اولک اچره مراجعت ایلریب ل و اولک اولدین
 استریب دق اولدین خیر لرد که مزبور اصوصیا قرالی اشناوی جزالدر دوش ماوریه کمن رعق اخصان معتمدتہ
 و سوزین اولد و فقه غیرین اسناد و سوزت و دسترزه اولک اقصای مرا و لریب کد بر مفصلدی بو ترقه
 اقم ذلال وکر که بانت اقدیریز طوقه ایلک رسالتن ایک خصص مزبور کند و اقدیریز بلط بلط مشاف
 غلجه اوزم عقده کد غلجه سوز . عالمانه معتمدتہ بر اضا روه کای قسط ایلریب اسناد و اولدین و سوزیز

Document 22) Niderlanda Elçisi tarafından ‘izzetlü Halil Paşa Hazretlerine Edirne’ye azîmet buyurduklarında yazduđu mektubun suretidür

Saadetlü ve ‘izzetlü Sultânüm hazretlerinin hâk-pây-i şerîfferine 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 rıf’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 muîn ve mesnedim yokdur. Bu diyârların bir garibi olub izdiyâd-i ömr-i devlet ve terakki-i ‘izz ü rıf’at ile ‘avdet-i şerîflerin ankarîb Rabbü’l-‘izzet erzânî ve müyesser kılıvere deyü rûz ü şeb tazarru ve niyâz eylemekden hâlî olmaduđumu iştiyâ-i şerîf buyurulmaya.

..... benim rıf’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 etdükdün sonra efendilerimiz Üştâdı Ceneralleri ve Konte Maverisyo’ya sa’âdetlü ‘âlem-penâh hazretlerinün nâme-i hümayunlann ve sultânümün ve sâir erbâb-i devletin mekâtib-i şerîflerin teslim edüb ve hâlâ Âsitâne-i sa’âdetde vâki’ akîdet ve ittihâdımız ve ‘ahd ü emân ki sultânüm hazretlerinün vâsitasıyla zuhûra gelüb ve bu sulh ü salâhı izhâr eylemek için vâki’ olan sa’y u ikdâm-i sa’âdetinüz tafsîl üzere istihbâr olunmađla efendilerimiz müşarünileyhimâya ve ehîbbâmıza mûcib-i sürûr-i ‘azîme ve a’dâya 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 olduđu teşkîren ve tahmîden tasaddur eylediklerinden gayrı rikâb-i hümayuna ve sa’âdetlü sultanumun hedâyâsı niçe tuhâf kısmı sâyir emti’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 isâl 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 dūr etmeđe sa’y edenlere makhûr olalar ve zikr olunan mektublar ile künhü ile ‘ayân ve beyân olunur. Ve vilâyetlerimizden gelen ahbâr-i sahiha budur ki,

Afrika semtine Keyna nâm memleket ki altun ve gümüş madenlerinden İspanya kralı müdâm altun ve gümüş andan kazub taşımak üzeredir. Geçen sene efendilerimiz 'azîm donanma bir serdâr ile ol câniblere gönderüb varduklarında Mavra adasındaki işbu bin yirmi bir Muharremün evâsıtındadır; mahall-i merkûmeye vâsıl oldukda mezkûr serdanmız zikr olunan memleket sâhibi ve hâkimi Ziyâ 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 Akrayi? ve Di de Fino? nâm krallar ki şimdiye dek İspanya kralı ile 'ahd ü emân üzere edüb hâlâ mezbûr serdanmıza elçiler gönderüb efendilerimiz ile arz ü ihtisâs akîdet-i 'ahd ü emân eylemeleri bâbında ricâ ve iltimas etdüklerinde istidalan kabûl eylemişlerdür. Şol şartla ki mukaddemâ İspanya kralı ile olan dostluk ve akîdetlerin bozub halef 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 istid'â ederler. Ma'lûmlarıdır ki, efendilerimiz müşârünileyhimâ kadîmül-eyyâmdan 'ahd ü peymânlan dûr 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 kanndaşı krallar olmak için mürâcaat eyleyübkralının oğlunu isteyüb redd etdüklerin haber aldık ki mezbûr Asusiya kralı Üştâdı Ceneralleri ve Konte Maverisyo'nun ehibb-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 dostlarınız 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-hahlansız; husûs-i mezbûr dîn ü devlete nâfi' bir umûrdur

deyu münâsib fehmi olunmağın bu ahvâl dahî ilâmına irtikâb olunduğu husûs-i mezbûrede sa'âdetlû ve kudretlû pâdişah-i âlem-penâh hazretlerinin rikâb-i hümâyunlarına ve 'izzetlû sadrazam hazretleriyle hîn-i mahalde söyleşüb re'y-i şerifleri ile tecvz buyurulub icâzet verilirse 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 inkiyâd etmeleri mukarrerdir ki ba'dehû ile akabince niçe menâfi'-i celîle müşahede olunur. Benim saâdetlû sultânım gerek emini olan Murad çavuşun hakkında ve hamr husûsunda sultânuma verdüğüm arzlar mercûdur ki mûciblerince ahkâm-i şerife ihrâc ve irsâl etdürüb ve selâm çavuşu Mustafa çavuş bendeleriyle iki kıt'a emr-i şerif ihrâc eylemek için iki arz-i hâl vermişim. Mercûdur ki anlar dahî avk eylemeyüb bu bendelerine gönderivereler.

Allâhu tebarake ve te'âlâ saâdetlû sultânımın ömrünü ve devletini yevmen-fe-yevmen ziyâde eyleyüb sâye-i adâletlerin üzerimizden hâlî eylemeyüb izdiyâd-i 'izz ü rif'at ile avdet-i saâdetlerün gözümüze erzânî ve müyesser kıluyere. Âmîn, yâ Rabbü'l-âlemîn. Bâkî fermân 'izzetlû sultanımıñdur.

Bende-i Muhlis
Kornelyo HAGA
Elçi-i Niderlanda

Benim saâdetlû ve 'izzetlû 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 gayrısından bir ferde dahl ü ta'arruz olunmayub aynı ile bu bendelerine gönderilmek bâbında müekked emr-i şerif ricâsına himmet buyurula.

Tahrîren fî gurre-i Zilhicce sene 1021

وروة لادولاء الكلايم قريه سكر اولاد خيلا بهر وروة لادولاء الكلايم حلا قريه وقرتواري اولاد عيني الوصو الكلايم
 بدينام لينا اولاد كور كور نزل لان الجيب وسارة عيني حلا صوبت قور كور ابرار بارز كانه كور و كور والون كور
 مشا عارة و يوز لاد اولاد انا حيو عهد نام لوز مطور ومقتر امكن وني قريه ليشدو لوز بش لاد اولاد حيو عهد
 الكلايم بديركين عهد نام هابو اوضي عكر اولاد باين لادون حلا كور كور كور و كور حلا لادولاء
 اللان اولاد عهد نام هابو موصي بارز كانه كور و كور والون كور كور مشا عارة و يوز لاد اولاد كور
 لادولاء حلا لادون عهد نام هابو نزل لان بارز كانه رجب ورمين لادولاء حلا
 عهد نام هابو زيار لادون كور كور كور حلا لادولاء حلا لادولاء حلا لادولاء حلا
 باية ايج واللام

وروة لادولاء الكلايم قريه سكر اولاد خيلا بهر وروة لادولاء الكلايم حلا قريه وقرتواري اولاد عيني الوصو الكلايم
 ولام عني هابو لادولاء لينا اولاد كور كور نزل لان الجيب وسارة عيني حلا صوبت قور كور ابرار بارز كانه كور و كور والون كور
 هابون نزل لان اولاد عهد نام هابو موصي بارز كانه كور و كور والون كور كور مشا عارة و يوز لاد اولاد حيو عهد
 مشا عارة و يوز لاد اولاد انا حيو عهد نام لوز مطور ومقتر امكن وني قريه ليشدو لوز بش لاد اولاد حيو عهد
 لادولاء حلا لادون عهد نام هابو نزل لان بارز كانه رجب ورمين لادولاء حلا
 لادولاء حلا لادون عهد نام هابو زيار لادون كور كور كور حلا لادولاء حلا لادولاء حلا لادولاء حلا
 باية ايج واللام

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 Üştâdı 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 zımmî Rim halkının imparatoruna elçilik hıdmetinde bundan akdem irsâl olunub mahall-i me'mura varub imparator-i mûmâileyhânın 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 Üştâdı Ceneralleri kendü nâmeleri Asitâne-i Sa'âdetde olan elçilerinün mübâşeretiyle rikâb-i hümâyunlarına i'lâm eylemişlerdir ki sizünle barışub mâbeynde sulh ü salâh olmasına izni 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 Üştâdı Ceneralleri efendilerim muhlisleri sıhhati üzere tarif ve diyâr-ı Efrencîde olan mülûk-i Nasara ve elektörlerin mâ-beynlerinde isnâd-i 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 vardır ve bi'l-cümle zikr olunan elçilerin etdikleri 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 kafil ve kesîr ve rikâb-i hümâyunlarına bir nesne i'lâm ve dahl eylemediğimizi alâ-mâ-hüve'l-vâkî' Üştâdı 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 hazretleriñdir.

Bende
 Elçi-i Neleranda
 Hâlâ

افندیوز اولان ننداندیک ایشا شرفلر
 طغتمین و بر اهل خرفلرینه کونندیلان و حالک موردند

دوئلور و غنور و سعادتلم سلطانم خرفلرینک حالک و خرفلرینه یوز مورد کون ملک و فی بند و بقدر اولور که علم خرفلرینه یوز
 پوریه کسالفعل بودون بکلکیمس اولان علی باشنگ که قدراسی ایلد غاسبار و عاصمان نام دی ریم خلقک ایزراد و رینه الیملک
 ایزال اولونوب محل مانوره واروب ایزراد و بر کورک چلمنه دا اولور بر الکرین ایلد و کلرینه شوبله تقریر ایلد و کورک
 عالیناه خرفلرینک بنجاب هم اولونیزدن پین فرمان شرفلر بر صادر اولد که حصو و کونم اظهار ایلد و کورک عیملانک ایشاد
 خرفلر کونم و نامه لر ایلد ایشاد سعادتله اولان الیملرینک میاشرتیلد رکاب ایما اولونیزینه یقینا ایلد کورک ایزراد و رینه
 صلاح اولسنه رو کورک لورک طو و دین چنگ اوزره مباشرت اولن و افندیلم ایشاد بر خرفلر سوال معلوم اوزره
 علی الحقیق خیرین الوب و یار فرنگ تانف اولان ملوک و الکفور نهار انک جمعاً تا بنیلرینه ایشاد و همتهان خرفلر فاشن و درستان
 اولور ذکر اولونان الیملر ایشاد مق ایلد افندیلم ایلد متعصم اولشرد و مثاله ایشاد بر خرفلر افندیلم خصوص پوزدن
 زیاده حال اولشرد ایکی سببین ایزراد کورک دیار اوزر کونم قدیمین دو سکر و عقیدت و اتحاد اوزره اولان قرالکر
 و الکرور لر یوز مقوله اخبار و مصیبتن غایتکه بجهت اولوب ثانیه یوز اصل نامحقول قضیه یک سببیه قدیمین اولان
 دو سکر و اتحاد لر فرسخ اولونمق اجتماع و ارد بر سعادتلم سلطانم یوز مقوله ایشاد و همتهان افندیلم غایب ایشاد و خرفلرینه
 خلل و بر حمله کونم طو و کلرین یوز تفصل اوزره و الکر سلطانم خرفلرینک بر حضور شرفلرینه عرض و ایشاد ایملد کسبارش
 المسوب و مفید عنایات کیشلریندن الجا لر کورک ذکر اولونان الیملر ایزراد کورک دنوانند حقیر ده نقل ایلد کلر اوزر
 خرفلرینک عیلمناه خرفلرینک عیلمناه خرفلرینک عیلمناه خرفلرینک عیلمناه خرفلرینک عیلمناه خرفلرینک عیلمناه خرفلرینک عیلمناه
 خرفلرینک متعلق امور و بهمانن الوجوه دخل و تفرض ایلد و کورک افندیلم ایشاد بر خرفلر غایب کونم سلطانم کورک شرفلر
 حق ایشاد و ایشاد سعادتلم سلطانم کورک و خرفلرینک عیلمناه خرفلرینک عیلمناه خرفلرینک عیلمناه خرفلرینک عیلمناه خرفلرینک عیلمناه
 سعادتلم و غنور و دوئلور و سعادتلم و سردار اکرم خرفلرینک خرفلرینک خرفلرینک خرفلرینک خرفلرینک خرفلرینک خرفلرینک

ایلی
 ایلی

Document 26) Petition of the States General to the Ottoman Grand Vizier
 It was heard that the viceroy of Buda Ali Paşa had sent an envoy to Austrian emperor. The envoy said to the emperor that the Dutch States General is not pleased with the peaceful relations between the Ottoman and Austrian states. It was claimed that the Dutch authorities preferred ongoing enmity and war between the two states. This is completely untrue and creates discontent among the other sovereigns in Europe.

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 selimât âfiyât meveddet-engiz 'izz-i huzûr-i şerîflerine ithâf ve ihdâ kılınduktan sonra inhâ-yı muhibb-i muhlis olunur ki, eğer bu muhibb-i hâlisü'l-vedâd ahvâlinde istifsâr câyiz buyurulursa bi-hamdullah ve'l-minne hüsn-i âfiyetde mevcûd olub Sultânüm hazretleri ile sıhhat ve âfiyet üzere mülâkat olmasının da'yyesinde 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 vâsıl olmaduğundandeyüz. Eğerçi 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. Zîrâ bir mertebe tâun olmuşdur ki taşradan gelen âdem ile söyleşmek kâbil değil idi, eğer bize, eğer sâir halka bir çok dâri 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 hazretlerinün 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 b ü gümân buyurulmaya. Bâkî ömr ü devlet ve kadr u sa'âdet ve der-zıll-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 vâkif 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 yazdımına 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 vâsıl ola.

Muhlisleri
Elçi-i Niderlanda

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 olduđuñuz 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 etdirülmek ricâ ve iltimas edüb ve sâyir her ne ki ilâm ve ilân olunmuş ise tafsil üzere pâye-i serîr-i sa'âdet-masîr husrevânemize arz-i takrîr olunub ilm-i şerîfimiz alâ vechi'l-kâmil cümlesine muhîr ve şâmil olub vesâyir dilden sipârîş olunan dostluk haberleri zî-mesâmi'-i aliyyemize 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 bî-dirîğ olmağın nâme-i hümâyunumuz inâyet edüb vusûl buldukda gerekdir ki dûdmân-ı sa'âdet-unvânımız ile hüsn-i sülûk ve musâfâtı dostluk levâzımı icrâ ve itiyâd üzere olub dostluk ve ittihad merâsimin mürâi kılâsız ve dâyim nâmenüz ile ahbâr-ı sıhhat ve selâmetiñizü müş'ir nâmeler irsâlinden hâlî olunmaya ki vürûdu hakkıñızda dâyimâ bu taraftan ülfet ve meveddeti mûcib nice eltâf ü inâyât sudûruna bâis ve izdiyâd-ı ittihadı yevmen-fe-yevmen meveddet idüğü muhtâc-i beyân değıldür.

Tahriren fi evâil-i şehri Rebiülevvel sene erba'a ve 'ışrîn ve elf mine'l-hicretü'n-nebeviyye aleyhi efdali't-tahîyye

Evâil-i Rebiülevvel 1024 / 31 March - 9 April 1615

Be-makâm-i Kostantiniyye
El-mahrûse

حکومت عثمانیه و فو قوا ریه با زیلا نه حکم ترمین مور تیر

وقتی که ما بچه و اهل اولی سلم اولاد ندر لادن ایلی سندن سله عوق حاله کوز روبا ندر لادن بارد کانه هر یک کوز کوز
اولاد کوز روبا عهده فائزه قیام اوزن کوز روبا اولاد ابرکن حلیه کوز روبا اولاد بیز ووز لای ندر لادن و فو قوا
و بار کانه ندر لادن اولاد اولاد کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا
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و یکن حاله بر ندر لادن حلیه کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا
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اوزن و یکن لوزن لایله و یکن اولاد اولاد کوز روبا
ایند لایله ندر لادن کوز روبا کوز روبا
فائزه اوزن اولاد کوز روبا
و یکن لوزن لایله کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا کوز روبا
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و یکن لایله

Document 45) Imperial Decree by Sultan Osman II to Viceroy, Defterdar and Kadi in Aleppo

The Dutch ambassador petitioned to the Sublime Porte that a contract had been signed and registered at the court at Aleppo between the Dutch consul together with the Dutch merchants and the customs custodian there, indicating that if the Dutch merchants pay their regular customs duties, they would be exempted from customs duties in case they purchase silk from Aleppo. However, then the custodian requested tax when they loaded silk. This is contrary to the agreement previously signed between them.

Dated Evasit-i Rebiulahir 1027 / 17-25 April 1618.

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.

فرمانه در تاجیکان استاده به سفیر فرانسه در استانبول
در نامه به امپراتور روسیه

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نشانه با پرده مکی اولدر که حفرة حق جده و عیان کنه علو عنایه به عایتی و سرور انبیا
 علیه و علی اوله انفسر لالتحیاتک تجرزه کنه لکبریا به لایله بیکه سطة منا وید سلاطین و کلاطین
 حراتین و ناپه کچن حروزه لودکن تیشین دوین زینین و لرتوف مدالین و لمعاد و لایر
 زینین و یار لصفه حرمین شریفین خاوی و قوس مبارکک حای و هاکی و دروم ایلی طوتور
 و صفه بی بوسه و سکنور و صفه بیه لانا طوی و قزقه و دیالته عاوی و و یار عوینانه و عیقا
 کروسناه و شمیر طغرنا زحماه سنا نزلدین قیغ و شمیر لولنه فارص و کورجسناه و و مور
 و تقلیس و شیرازه جانیلرین و قریغ و ووشته قیجاق لایلیلرین و فول لقره و شمیر زوله
 و ویا و یک و علی و دروم و جلد و دروم و دم و در لصفه تزحم و شرم و در لظنه
 بند و و کور و دین و لیا و شوکرین و صفا و معد و دین و عین و عده و لایلیلرین
 و در لایا و تونس و خلق لوز و طرابوزین و یای مالک و در لوزیده قوت قاهره حروزه
 و سلطون باحی و ملوکا نزلدین بوسه لاله لککن لالتعقیبه و فتح و شمیر کوز بلاء مراب
 و لمعاد و هاکی و یار ک شمد یاری و در لایکین عزت و شاد که ناچیدارین و دن و کور و قی و کور
 و نچ مالک و جزایر و بنا و ز و معا بیکه و قیابین و ی و نچ و یونیک عسکر نعدر ماکه و لکری
 نام فکده و لردور و بر حصص حصین نامدر که پالشا، معدله پناهی و شهرشا، قدرت
 و ستمی سطة لجر خاه لری سطة لجر خاه لری سطة لجر خاه لری سطة لجر خاه لری سطة لجر خاه
 سله فاه
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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.

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ربه سلطه عیاضه خاذه از بر سلطه بلخ خاذه از بر سلطه بايزيد خاذه از بر سلطه خورخام حضرت رها ب
 ملكه از قبا ب تباشه عین شولیدن اولدورنبا بیکه کاله فضلده حبله از بر بلخ اء سلاطین
 سرایف لالان ب وماوی حورقین اولدورن لاله ب اولدورن علی لاله تانز
 زنجار اولدورن لاطم العیوبه لمار الکبیر لالخام فی الملک المسیحی مضاع مضاع فی اء
 لاطیفه النصر لیز ساحبه از قبا له الحشر والوفار صبر ولانید الخرد اولدورن قبا
 وزنجیر بیستین من زنجیر حننه حورقیه بالحدیثه وکنه معنیه و مقبوله زنده و مدبریکه ان
 استانه سدره لچیکه خرمشده لصفه قرة اولدورن لاله المسیحی یروء قلعه سنک و لای
 وضابطی لصفه ذرا لچشموسا اولدورن نام مستبر اچسی و رها سدره و کتاخه کلوبه و
 بیخ و دور و نبره از حد الحیر زبا ب کرم و اء اولدورن عطا فر زنا و لند تبا بر لجهت
 و لدر زنجیر بیستین همدین با بیکه منصفه لصفه سدره مرضی اولدورن و سولگی کاکا ب بری
 اولدورن مری اولدورن زنجیر بیستین همدین امانی و لقصایر مانی لالبانی اولدورن بزره اء
 ذرا زنجیر بیستین لچیدرینه و قورسولدرینه و تاجر زینه و تر جاندرینه و سولر عایا زینه و من
 و قورسولدرینه فلن کلید سدره لستارزه لرون ملک و معرفه لایال اولدورن سید لجان
 سید لمانه رهم با با بر سلطه کما ب علیه لرحم و الرضولر زماه سدره مقور لدرینه
 همدانه با بیره دیر لوبه قاسم سلطنت و لورکنه خلایق جناب حلاله با بیره اولدورن
 لاکون لچور خدانه بی حیایه رجا و لنامی لولتمتیه بندر فی مقور و قور لیشور همدانه
 حیایه سدره عنولفی عنایه و لدر لای قلعه قزاقه قضا جوباندر بوجه سدره اولدورن کله
 و لکلن لورده ماعز لجنیز و پور تقال و قلده تاجر زینه و بچلیا و لنعونه و لسانیه و قلور
 و دویب و کنه و با بیره ذرا زنجیر بیستین همدین قری و سولگی مستحاکم نامی و سنجایی لای مالک لورده

کلوبه

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كيدیه در است كلكلارنه و شمه فغیه التورنر جو كیهی كرفه و كند و س اسیر ایله لر و فیدیه و
 بریه ناكله اسلحه و فغیه آلوبه كیدر كی كرفه اولنقن فرایچه لور و كیه اولنر جیرگ اسیر
 اولایه فرایچه لور و اسلحه كیدر نه اختیار لر ای ارضیه عاترة آلوبه كند و ولایت كیدر ایله
 حوچ ولایت آلوبه كیتوبه لهن اسلحه كیدر نه اسلحه كلكلارنه لغزوه صفا كی كرفه و ایچین
 اولنر بره اسیر ایله لر و لور كی فرایچه لور اسیر اولنور به اطلاع اولنور ایسایه ویرله و حوچ
 بجا طایفه ناولور ایله بزنگه كیدر نه متاع لور كلكلارنه متاع حوچ كندر جو بر فر و كیچ ایله
 دست اوله فرایچه بیچ هیجنه و ضامه لوزنه نایر لر به دعیه تیرنه كور و كار به اولوب
 كند و كار به متاعلر نه قیرنه به بایه طولوبه ككه آله كلیسه كیر و اولنور لوزنه اولنور
 زید به بایه طولیم و بیچ ایچره اولنور متاعه ماعدا اولنر كلیه ایلیكده ایچره اولنر كلیه
 متاعلر نه ككه طلب ایله لر و اولنر كلیه ایلیكده مانه اولنر و خنده لصفه فصایه و
 و باجه و یساق قوی و اولنر لوزنه زید سله مستلک رسی طلب اولنایه و اولنر لوزنه
 لیه تیرنه و لوزنه و عایبه اولنور به بادونه و قودونه و سیر اولنر و بلكنه و بروج كلیه
 زبر لر فرایچه نایه دست كلكلارنه اسیر و مال لر نه غاده لیدر لیکن روح به بایه طایه
 نزل نماننه بالرفقا تنبیه اولنور به تنبیه اولنور به تنبیه اولنر لیش رضیه و فی رضایه
 ترغیب یوقر اولنور فرایچه لور اسیر و اولنر لطلایه اولنور مال لر به بیقصور و بریل
 س به تنبیه اولنور قورسایه شناعه لند و كین مشه و لیه نام ایله اعلاجه ایله كرفه
 نكلیه كی نانتس اولنور اول نكلیه كی موزول اولوب غاده اولنور امراك اولنور
 اولنور تفصیح لند بریل به خصم لر ایچره و ضایه تنبیه اولنور تنبیه اولنور كلیه اولنور
 لر شریفه لستال لند اولنور اولنور فرایچه دعیه تیرنه و لوزنه فرایچه بیچ به طر قده
 قلعه لر نه و لیه نایه قبول ایچره فسا و لر نه و فرایچه تنبیه اولنور كلیه عقد اولنور نه
 خلاص و برنر جو روح به بایه طایه نزل نماننه و بریلن كیم نیکین معنیه كلیه موز اول
 و به بایه موین لیه كی نكده كین مقبول هیا و غ اولنر و جوز و توننه باجه اولنور
 كور فرایچه نكده لور و اولنر عطا به و بایه طایه نزل نماننه فرایچه لوزنه و بایه

اسیر

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فبرواند که بیخ معانی دعائین از نایب خصصت و قیة فرخ او نوبت و آنچه از بیایا زار و زواری از بی نداد
 بی و احتیاج ایی زو و ذکر شدت و دوزخ را بد و کز اولیاء کیدین فرخ؛ (تادلم بکله و قاضیه و غیره مسا و نسا ایبر
 و زینا از سبب و اموال کید و کت و زین و بر یوب و غن او نایب و بیکله ذکر تو و و ذکر و برید کند و حالت
 بودیایه فلانچ لور و فلانچ پیش بی بر خیل از نایب راه او زین کلید کید و تجار طایفه ستم و معتاد حیدر و
 اولی و صک و و فلانچ دعایین لاهج او نایب کینه مانع او کید و فرخ تو و قیة اول و یار تاجرن و بر جانن
 و سایر نایب متعلق او مدین و برید و فرخ و ماکنه کور و کلید بی و سزا و تجار ح لیب و بیکله رسم علی
 و فرزند سلی حقیر عاری و قافله او دن و بر و جانن صک کلید و کیدین قی و زین و و برید بود
 حاص و ککلو دیل و و غیره و عکس حلقه کت مانع اولی و تجار طایفه کت رضا زین بو عینک بیعت متاع
 جبر او زو زین بر یوب ندر او نایب و فلانچ لور و برید برید لور و بی بر جلوه طلب او نوبت اگر کید
 و کلید از کت طوقی طلب او نایب و ذکر برین رو اولی سبب و اموال کت و غن ایی کت و صیت لیب و کور
 و صیت زور و اولی و قسوس لور و مو قی اولی و لور لور و برید بی لیا لیل و قی و غن ایی فلانچ
 و لای نایب لایب و ذکر تاجرن و تاجرن و قسوس لور و ماکنه کور و بی و سزا و تجار ح و کفان خصوص
 و سایر امور شریعی قاضی؛ و لور و شیت و بخت لور و بی و با بی اولی صک زین او لور و بی و کت لور اولی
 موسی ایی لور و لور کینه برین او کید و بخت لور و لور و قیة لور و بی و خلاف شرع شریف قی و عریب
 لور لور و لور کت قاضیه و غیره او کید و یا خور و کت و غیره لور و کت کت کت کت کت کت کت کت کت کت کت
 و عو لور و نایب و بیعت کت کت کت لور و کت کت کت کت کت کت کت کت کت کت کت کت کت کت کت کت کت
 من و قی لور و لور بی و لور لور و یا خور و بر و کت کت لور و بیعت ایی لور و کت کت کت کت کت کت کت کت
 از و کت
 کت
 فلان کت

بر او مدین

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
بمذلة: ارساله لبلد قهوه عهداً لها من غير سيرة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الذوات في ذوالجلاد ووجهه فزاي شهابه الم ولرغوة سلابه دون انتصه وانكاه لكرن مانوه فرم عمانه
وايه الازم باحد ولنا لوزن ارضه وكسني قلبي بريه واو رنر موري فيجب جلال ابيه انتصه ابيه اكنه رمان
من الابع بربر كرايع سلالة مصلح خانه مري سلطه جلوس لرون تفديع لرون ايريد شربله هوز سلطه برون
اورقوه كس تدفع الى اياهم تصفياهم منصف الطهنة طره ورفا ايد ذلوا كينجا ايشو ايو كوني وان ريبه لارو
لذواتك عظيمه عظيمه الهه وموجهه سبنا ماشاها ابدى سلطه ريزا زاده واو رنر باوهنر مخلصه
ويهم كوس اصفه لقلع وزان وفضه صناعي ميسر ورناع قدره وحقه فبوس ويطر لور بلا ووعيد كس وان سياره
تفرقه لشيء ولها وان ان خاصه عا وبعث اهر لسلطه ابد مري عا مغير خرد اذيه كوس بايون كرايه رنر سب طاب
وزنر هنت صاحب ذلوا منافع ناره باره فزاي وي رولوا نه طاب وورايه نابره لوس في ايه خليه
والناب صاحب انساب رنر هنت ومجان وراع وونيد سكا نون لرون اسوه حال وجد استعا لقلان ورجع سلالة
اصرعه ذهاب وكس صانر رنر اباله لرون سواب اناج وسوان اعرامه خانه رنفا البية ورواية
بيلار كاتر لاقه علم ولان ثابت فرج واماوا عهد بيان رانها فرج لرواية لكونه لوان حكاه ان فيها في
وفي رنر سوزن لرون ايد نشير وسند سلطه عظمى استجاب خلاصه كبر الاكله واستقر عروة واقف وغير اكله
كان قديم في رنر تانه وذي كبر اهو ولنا لرونه بنا انا هاربه عون وبنو نر سكر كبر ورنر رنر رنر رنر لرون
رطنه
علا لرون روح وخنوز ايباع جنه كخانه ذووك ايشاه زمانه كس كرواية وسند رنر رنر
بده والكار وساهبه ومصافح لرون رنر لرون رنر لرون رنر لرون رنر لرون رنر لرون رنر لرون رنر لرون
باولنا يابن رنر
بيلار لرون ماوكم نر وركه كراونه كس ولنا واصل وپانه نامر ورنر لرونه ورنر رنر رنر رنر رنر رنر رنر رنر
تنه لرونه جان هارونه وفي ايبان لرونه اساس صاحبه ومصافح لرونه كراونه مخرجه لرونه لرونه لرونه
المن كرايه

Document 71) Imperial Letter by Sultan Osman II to the States General
Imperial letter to inform ascendance to the throne. After withdrawal of Sultan Mustafa I from Ottoman throne, he had ascended to the throne and to caliphate, with the general consent and approval of the notables and ulema. Until it was renewed, the capitulations, granted by Sultan Ahmed I, would remain valid. Dated Evail-i Cemaziyelevvel 1027 / 26 April-5 May 1618.
(Original document is available in A.R.A. Staten Generaal, 1.01.08/12593.29)

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فبهم ندين اجتهادى جنير اللوى استناد سقاوتدن عينايت اوليان
عهد نامه هرايون صون تيدن

فكر لانه مالو القبع اهن والين اولو فوهر لعلو بلنم نعلوه

جوه حفرة مكره و عيون و نبال و جناب و اهر المعطال لاله جنير الشيبو المتلا و ترمي القبر
و لا تغفل اكثر الكمال قدس ان ليه و د فوهر و جهر ان ليه من مقادير اوليه و بكر الاوت و در خدر و ج
فوقه و يشوليه ذى ان ليه و مقدر ليه ذوقه اصفا جبيره ان شفيع ان ليه و ذى الجوز الحى عطلة
صلو لاله و ما عليه و ح و فوهر و جهر ان ليه و كثره الكمال و اقر اوليه و اصحاب كوين و خلفا الازهرين فوهر
الذو قاعليم اجمين و جهر و اوليه و اقر اوليه و جهور اصفا جمانه و اقر اوليه و اقر اوليه
فهر و اقر اوليه و اقر اوليه و اقر اوليه

سلاطون
احمد
خان

Document 72) The Dutch Capitulations
A copy of the Dutch capitulations granted by Sultan Ahmed I.
Dated Evâil-i Cemaziyelevvel 1021/ 30 June-9July 1612.

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لله
 تاملنا في هذا ايدى الخ كرك الله تعالى الخيبر لثبوت ذكر اولنا في عهد اوزن ما اولك صدقنا اقلنا من ثابته في ذلك
 مع اولنا اريد نجي وكستلن قبول اربعه عهد بين ابي رومك يري دي وكو كارين غلى ايريه حله من مدين جبل
 بالله دمع تو اكد لاله غيب حق ايجي في واهل و عظام و بايخ انا الله تعالى ايم ارم و اوكيف
 ابي ايجي بو طرفه في عهد ميثان و مفاهيم و اتفاق ايش اولين عهد لثبوته عهد نام في ايريه سعاده
 نورنا كرموه شريف ايام عمر اول نور شويام بيله اعلامت شريفه (عنى اول اعتقاد قللا
 تحرير في اول ابر شهر بلانى للاولى سنة احدى وعشرين و الف

من الهجرة النبوية



دار السلطنة العلية
 قسطنطينية الحبيب
 حميت عن البلية
 والنهيد

The First Dutch Capitulations of 1021/1612

Çün hazret-i mâlik-i müheyman ve müte'âl ve cenâb-i vâhibü'l-'atâyâ ve'n-nevâl celle 'anî's-şebîh ve'l-misâl ve tenezzeh mine'n-nazîr ve'l-ihlâlîlî kemâl-i kudret-i ezeliyye ve vüfûr-i mevhibe-i lemyezeliyyesi mukâreneti ile ve mihr-i sipîhr-i nübüvvet ve ahter-i burc-i fütüvvet pişvâ-yı zümre-i enbiyâ ve muktedâ-yı fırka-i asfiyâ habîb-i hüdü şefî'ül-müznibîn fi'l-yevmi'l-cezâ Muhammed Mustafâ sallallahu 'aleyhi ve sellem hazretleriniñ mu'cizât-i kesrâtî'l-berekâtî murâfakatı ile ve ashâb-i güzîn ve hulefâ-i'r-râşidîn rızvânul-lahu te'âlâ 'aleyhim ecma'in ve cümle evliyâ-i hidâyet-karîn ve cumhûr-i asfiyâ-yı sa'âdet-rehîn kuddise esrâruhüm ilâ yevmi'd-dîn hazretleriniñ ervâh-i mukaddeseleri muvâfakatı 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 zıllu'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 eyman-i dâr ü diyâr olan Hameyn-i şerîfeyniñ hâdimi ve Kudüs-i mübârekiñ hâmi ü hâkimi ve dâru's-saltanati'l-'aliyye ve mufahhar-i makarr-i hilâfeti's-seniyye mahrûse-i İstanbul humiyet 'anî'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 eyman ve Habeş ve 'Aden vilayetlerinin ve dâru'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 'Îmâdiye 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 dâru'l-cihâd Tunus ve Trablusgarb ve Cezâyir-i Ğarb vilayetleriniñ ve Erdel ve Boğdan ve Eflak ve sâir dâru'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 diyârîñ ve bi'l-cümle aktâr-i berr u bahriñ şehriyân ve emâkin-i 'izzet-disârîñ tâcdân ve Akdeñiz ve Karadeñiz ve nice memâlik ve cezâyir ve benâdir ve me'âbirîñ ve kabâyil ü 'aşâyirîñ ve nice kerre yüzbîñ '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 - rahimehümullâhü'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-tevfiki's-samedânî zimâm-i iktidânımıza musahhar olmuştur. Hazret-i Hakk celle 'anî'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-eâlf ve'l-ahyâr ve'l-ebârîmıza mefâhiru'l-ümerâi'l-'izâmi'l-'iseviyye merâci'u'l-küberâi'l-fihâm fi'l-milleti'l-Mesihîyye muslihu mesâlihi cemâhirati't-tâyifeti'n-Nasrâniyye sâhib-i ezyâlî'l-haşmet ve'l-vakâr sâhib-i delâilî'l-meccd ve'l-iftihâr Nederlanda vilayetlerine tâbi' olan Ganderlanda ve Hollanda ve Zelanda ve Utraht ve Frizlanda ve Uvarsil ve Gruninga ve Gruncelanda ve dahî maşrîk-i Hindistânun vilayetlerine tâbi' nice memleketiñ Üstadı Ceneralleri ve hâkimleri hutimet 'avakîbühüm bi'l-hayr taraflarından nâme-i sadâkat-hitâmeleri ile kıdvet-i a'yânî'l-milleti'l-Mesihîyye 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 küllî 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 hayr-i 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 erzânî kılub fermân-i kazâ-cereyânımız bu vechile sâdir oldu ki,

1. Nederlanda vilayetlerine tâbi' zıkr olunan vilâyetleriñ ve anlara tâbi' olan yerlerin 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 Nederlanda tüccarından ba'zı harbî gemilere girüb lâkin kendü hallerinde ticâret üzere iken harbî gemilerde bulunduğuz deyu kendülerün esîr ve esvâblann girift eylemeyüb mâdâm ki kendü hallerinde ticaret üzere olub korsan gemisinde fesâd üzere olmayalar, ol bahâne ile esbâbların girift eylemeyüb ve kendülerün esîr eylemeyeler;
3. ve Zimmîlerden biri Memâlik-i Mahrûsemizden zahîre alub gider iken girift olundukda Nederlandalular'dan bile olanlar cebren esîr olunmayalar ve France pâdişâhı olanlar kadîmden Âsitâne-i sa'âdetimiz ile dostluk üzere olub dostluğa hâlel verir vaz'ları olmamağla, merhûm ceddîm 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 Netherlandalular 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'vâlan olanların husûsları Asitâne-i sa'âdetimde istimâ' oluna ve zikr olunan mevaddıñ hilâfına mukaddem ve mu'ahhar emr-i şerif 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'lü ola ve kassâmlar ve kadılar taraflarından resm-i kısmet 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 müşârünileyhimiñ 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 girdiklerinde 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 esîr eylemeyüb ve malların ğâret eylemeyeler ve bu husûsa rızâ-yı şerîfim yokdur;
18. Niderlanda'ya tâbi' olan vilâyetlerden esîr alurlar ise itlâk olunub malları bi-kusûr 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 esîr 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 halel gelmeye ve bu bâbda müşârünilyhimiñ şikâyeti makbûl-i hümâyunum ola;
19. ve Memâlik-i Mahrûsemizde vâki' olan beğlerbeğilere ve beğlere ve kadılara ve iskele emînlerine ahkâm-i şerîfe irsâl olunub femân-i kazâ-cereyânımız bu vechile sâdir 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'larıdır ve eğer karadan gelen âdemleri ve davarları ve metâ'larıdır, aslâ bir ferd dahl ü ta'arruz eylemeyüb kendü hallerinde ve kâr ü kisblerinde olalar;
20. ve Memalik-i Mahrusemizde şimdiye değün esîr 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 gemi girift ve içinde olanlar esîr eylemeyeler, anıñ gibi Niderlandalu'dan esîr 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 esîr 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 akçalarıyla 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 verdikten 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 davalarının 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 beytûmalcılar dahl ü ta'arruz eylemeyeler;
27. ve Niderlandalu'dan biri medyûn olsa, deyni borçludan taleb olunub aña kefil olmayıcak âhar kimesne tutulub taleb olunmaya;
28. ve eğer biri mürd olsa, esbâb ü emvâlin kime vasiyyet eder ise aña verile, vasiyyetsiz mürd olursa, konsolosları ma'rifetiyle evvel yerlü yoldaşına verile kimesne dahl eylemeye;
29. ve Niderlanda vilayetlerine tâbi' olan yerleriñ bâzirganları 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 hucet alalar soñra nizâ' olur ise hucet 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 hucet 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' esir 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 Trablüşşam ve Cezâyir ve Tunus ve Cezâyir-i Garb ve Mısır iskelelerine ve gaynlara ta'yîn etdikleri konsolosların tebdil edüb, yerlerine ol hıdmetin 'uhdesinden gelür âdemler ta'yîn edüb gönderdikde, kimesne mâni' olmaya;
35. ve tüccâr tayifesinin nzâlan 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 mühim maslahat ise gelince tevakkuf oluna, ammâ anlar dahî ta'allül edüb tercümanımız hâzır değüldür deyu 'avk etmeyeler;

37. ve levend kayıkları Netherlandalu'ya tâbi' olanlardan esir edüb götürüb Rumili'nde ve Anadolu'da satarlar, anıñ gibileri bulduklarında muhkem teftiş olunub, her kimiñ elinde bulunur ise esir 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 Netherlanda gemilerine buluşduklarında birbiri ile dostluk edüb zarar ve ziyan eylemeyeler, eğer deryâda ve limanlarda mâdâm ki kendi rızâlarıyla hediye vermeyeler, cebren âiât 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, Netherlandalular 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 içün 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 değin mahzene koduklarında metâ'nızı çıkardıñız deyu rencide etmeyüb ol vechile akçaların almayalar ve 'ahdnâme-i hümâyuna muhâlif kadılar ve hâkimler vesâyir ehl-i 'örf tayifesi rencide eylemeyeler;
43. ve Netherlanda'ya tâbi' olan kalyonları ve gemileri Kıbrıs'da ve Memâlik-i Mahrûsemizde olan iskelelerde akçalarıyla sâyir Müslimîn aldığı narh üzere murâd edindikleri mikdârı 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 veregelmele, Netherlanda 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 tayifesi 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 Memalik-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 mücibince verdikten 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 tercümanlan gelmeyince rencide olunmayalar, ammâ tercümanlan hâzır edeler;
49. ve Niderlanda'ya tâbi' olan kalyon ve gemileri geldiklerinde, gümrükde olan mubsırlar cefâ'en esbâblarını değerinden 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 ve fırtına 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 reft 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 'ahidnâme-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 mücib-i ibret olalar;

55. ve Niderlanda tüccarı ve sâyrir âdemleri satun aldıkları metâ'ı bey' ü şirâ' için Trabzon ve Kefe vesâyir Karadefniz'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' getürüb bey' ü şirâ' eyleyüb ticaret etdüklerinde kimesne mâni' olmaya ve metâ'larından 'ahdnâme-i hümayunum mücibince 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 ihtiyârlarıyla varduklarında, rızâlarıyla 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 'âmmе nevâlehû ve lâ ilâhe ğayruhû hakkıçün ve ecdâd-i 'izâmım ve babam - enârallahû te'âlâ - berâhinihimiñ ervâh-i şerîfeleriçün bu taraftan dahî hilâf-i ahd ü misâk ve muğayır-i 'ahd ü ittifak iş olunmayub işbu 'ahdnâme-i hümayun sa'âdet-makrûnumuñ mazmûn-i şerîfi ile 'amel olunur. Şöyle bileler. 'Alâmet-i şerîfe itimâd ve itikâd kılalar.
- Tahrîren fi evâili şehri-i Cemâziye'l-ûlâ sene ihdâ ve işrîn ve elf mine'l-hicreti'n-nebeviyye.
(20 - 29 June 1612.)

Be-makâm-i Darü's-saltanati'l-aliyye

El-Kostantiniyye

El-mahmiyye

Humiset ani'l-beliyye ve'r-razi'a

Imperial Letter by Sultan Ahmed I to the States General and Prince Maurice

Mefâhirü'l-ümerâi'l-'izâmi'l-İseviyye, 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 delâili'l-mecd ve'l-iftihâr Nederlanda vilâyetlerine tâbi' olan Ganderlanda ve Holanda ve Zelanda ve Utreht ve Frizlanda ve Ovurisel ve Groninğa ve Ğronçelanda ve dahî maşrık-i Hindistan'ın ve anlara tâbi' nice memleketlerin Üştadı 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 kıdvet-i a'yânî'l-milleti'l-Mesihyye Komelyo 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 ittihâd ve kasd ve 'azîmet üzere olmağla akzâ-yı murâdñız 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-yi 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 ilâm olunmuş ise nakîr ve kıtmîr tafsîl üzere pâye-i serîr-i sa'âdet-medâr-i husrevânemiz 'alâ vechi'l-kâmil muhît ve şâmil olub istid'ânñız üzere mufassal ve meşrûh 'ahdnâme-i âlişân yazılıb ihsân olunmuşdur. Ve sâir umûr ve mühimmâtñıza fevka'l-merâm müsa'ade ve istimân 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 hizmet-i risâleti ve sâir umûru edâ ve dostluğa lâyük olan vech üzere hüsn-i sülûk-i resmiyyeyi müeddâ kılub ağızdan sipâniş eyledüğñüz umûru takrîr edüb hüsn-i edâ ile dostluk haberleri mesâmi'i 'aliyyemize vusûl ve pişkeş 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 dūdmân-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 tahrîr olunduğu üzere dostluk ve ittihad merâsimin mer'î kılub dâimâ nâmeñüzle ahbâr-i sıhhat ve selâmetiñüzü müş'ir nâmeler irsâlından hâlî olunmaya ki vürûdu hakkıñızda dâimâ bu taraftan ülfet ve meveddeti mücebince eltâf ve inâyât sudûruna bâis ve izdiyâd-i ittihâdı yevmen-fe-yevmen müzeyyed idüğü muhtâc-i beyân değildir.

Tahrîren fi evâsıt-i şehri Cumâde'l-ülâ sene ihdâ ve 'işrin ve elf

(Evâsıt-i C.evvel 1021 / 10- 19 July 1612)

Bc-makâm-i Dârü's-saltana Kostantiniyye el-mahmiyye

مجلس کلمه و قیاسه مع ساریه امور شریفه
فد لانه لوزینه مونسره نام و ساریه برکنه دیکه ایله
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تویح دفعه مایره و در مصر لویح معلوم اکنه سر لادن (چیبی) سوده عوض حال کونر و ب
بونه لرحم طبعه اکنه طایفه سنده بیفن لولجره نرکنه لیدر مسلمانان قتل اتریه وین
و عربی لولانیه لولغیته اکنه طایفه سنده لولانیه طایفه سنده و لولانیه سوره لولجره
لهین وقف طایفه و غیره اکنه لولولجره کونر وین جو کیفیا وکل لولانیه خلاف سوره سرف
و عهدنامه مایونه مخالف دیکه لولولجره و عهدنامه سوره وین لولولجره سوره سرف
طایفه سنده لولولجره اکنه کیفیا وکل لولولجره دیکه لولولجره خلاف سوره سرف
و عهدنامه مایونه مخالف دیکه و عهدنامه سوره سرف و عهدنامه سوره سرف لولولجره
سوره سرف لولولجره طایفه سنده لولولجره لولولجره و عهدنامه سوره سرف لولولجره
مایونه مخالف و عهدنامه لولولجره و عهدنامه سوره سرف لولولجره سوره سرف
علامت سرف لولولجره لولولجره لولولجره لولولجره لولولجره لولولجره لولولجره

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)

ملكه كلبكيبه و عاصمة امير شريف صوري
 فوليد من نعمة الامير جويي فان شريف صوري
 وصيه اولاد وصيه اولاد

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من قولي شريف صوري
 حله ذلك في ارضه صوري

بنو ذبيح ياتي في بنو صوري اولاد و ذفر انو بنو صوري
 انو بنو صوري ياتي في بنو صوري اولاد و ذفر انو بنو صوري
 بنو صوري ياتي في بنو صوري اولاد و ذفر انو بنو صوري

نوقيع ديقع بايوه و اصغر اولاد معلوم اذ عقد نزل نزل في ابي شيخ سادة و من اكل نزل و بنو صوري اولاد
 و نريكه قونسلو نزل نزل لوه و نريكه موفوه لجهوه و نريكه سكة باهتو موفوه ليهي
 و يولكن اول جهوه و نريكه كهي سيد كلويه موفوه لاهي و كل اكله خضري بنو و لجهوه و بنو لجهوه
 لانه طلع و نريكه ليهي به خصوصه لاهي قول اول و موفوه لاهي و من اكله بنو و موفوه لاهي
 و من اوله و نريكه لاهي لاهي به خصوصه اذ عقد قول و موفوه لاهي و من اكله بنو و موفوه لاهي
 خلافه نريكه لاهي موفوه لاهي و موفوه لاهي و موفوه لاهي و موفوه لاهي و موفوه لاهي
 و عقد لاهي موفوه لاهي و موفوه لاهي و موفوه لاهي و موفوه لاهي و موفوه لاهي



Document 85) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and the Kadi of Aleppo

The Dutch merchant Daniel Monson was accused by the Venetian consul at Aleppo of stealing 80 bailes of cloth in Venice. However, it was later realized that those bailes were transported by a Venetian ship. Daniel Monson had had a fatwa on that issue. His case should be examined thoroughly at the court.

Dated Evâil-i Ramazan 1021 / 26 October-4 November 1612.
 (Also see document 85)

تکلیف نیز مساوی است که در هر دو جهت است و در اینجا، خصوصاً در آنچه بود که گفته شد که در هر دو جهت است و
 صرفاً در تکلیف او از برترینه و عهدنامه ها بود که مخالف تر از آنست که در غیره قرار بدینتره و هم کل آنکه از طرفین است و
 و در واقع این تکلیف است مبلغ و بعد از آنکه در هر دو جهت است که در اولاد فوئیه هر همة طرقة و کیدین علیاً البروک
 در جایزه است **البیروکلسا** آنچه از برترینه علیه هر دو جهت است که در اینجا مکتوبه تر بود که در هر دو جهت است
 از هر یک به بالماه لانا آنچه که در البیروکلسا است و غنایه بود و یار و هم تفصیل و از هم معالجه بود و در هر دو جهت است
 زبرد لیریم که در هر دو جهت است و آنچه در تکلیف و غیره بود و در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است
 عیاره سبب از جایزه که در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است
 و در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است
 بود که در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است
 در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است
 کل که در هر دو جهت است و در هر دو جهت است

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 الحمد لله رب العالمين
 والصلاة والسلام على
 سيدنا محمد وآله
 الطيبين الطاهرين
 اجمعين
 أما بعد
 فإني أفتيكم
 في ما سألتكم
 عنه
 والله اعلم
 بالصواب

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ملک بکریکیتہ رفیقہ حکم شریف کہ جو کہ وفودہ اشرف
 متذکرہ کتب خانہ و نذر خانہ و لغور و کالین برکنہ
 و ضرورتی لقمہ نذر خانہ لو مالک خود کتوں کویا

نویسہ رفیع حمایت و اصل لویج معلوم لقمہ نذر خانہ لقمی سہ سہ عطف حال کوزر و بن نذر
 ناب لقمہ برک کجاری لقمہ نذر خانہ حلب کجاری کتور و کالین بانیا و چوہ و یکل
 مووی و نریک چوہ و کجاری و خرو لقمہ نذر خانہ لقمہ نذر خانہ و غیرہ کہ نذر خانہ
 و رفوہ کتور و ضرورتی لقمہ لویج لقمہ نذر خانہ لقمہ نذر خانہ لقمہ نذر خانہ
 ناب لقمہ برک کجاری لقمہ نذر خانہ و کتور و نذر خانہ حلب کجاری کتور و کالین
 و کتور و نذر خانہ کجاری و کتور و نذر خانہ کجاری و کتور و نذر خانہ کجاری
 و کتور و نذر خانہ کجاری و کتور و نذر خانہ کجاری و کتور و نذر خانہ کجاری
 و کتور و نذر خانہ کجاری و کتور و نذر خانہ کجاری و کتور و نذر خانہ کجاری
 و کتور و نذر خانہ کجاری و کتور و نذر خانہ کجاری و کتور و نذر خانہ کجاری
 علامت شریف لقمہ نذر خانہ کجاری و کتور و نذر خانہ کجاری و کتور و نذر خانہ کجاری

Document 94) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and Kadi of Aleppo

When the Dutch ships brought woolen clothes and little goods from European countries or from the Netherlands, consuls of third countries or any other person should not intervene in their affairs.

Dated Evail-i Şevval 1021/ 25 November-4 December 1612.

عليه كماله كونه وقائمه على حاوية درك يوزة وجرور قورون
عليه قريه خانه صاندة للقدرة اوي ووليد اولاد وياخو وخراب اولاد

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نبتة بيقه حاوية واصلت لفتح معلوم اولادك نزلت لچيسي وحي حاله كور ورويه عليه كوجك خانه اونه
برخايد بيروه نزلت لوزة يوزة وكنين وبيرو وقرود وكنه ووليد اولاد وياخو وخراب اولاد
ماد اولاد بيكره لحيه لصفحة وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد
في خرديه كيد وبي وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد
لير اولاد اونه وياخو وخراب اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد
لكنه بيرو وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد
في اولاد نقتش لير وبي كون نرويه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد
نوي لصفحة خرو اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد
النه لبقه اولاد نرويه وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد

محمد علي
قورون

بوزة وبي ووليد اولاد وكنه اولاد
ووليد اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد
ووليد اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد

سدر ووليد سلطان وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد
للكور وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد
مقع قريه انهم اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد
لحجة نوكر ووليد نوي اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد وكنه اولاد

محمد علي
قورون

Document 100) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to the Viceroy and Kadi of Aleppo
The Dutch merchants, Johannes, Perer? and Koder? had purchased an house in Aleppo
and have spent some money to repair it. However, the custodian there tried to takeover the
house from them. In that case, either the real value of the house should be paid or the
amount spent by the merchants should be reimbursed.
Dated Evâhir-i Zilkade 1021 / 13-22 January 1613.

Document 101) Petition of Ambassador Haga to the Sultan
The Dutch ambassador Haga has requested the sealing of the house of goldsmith Carlo
Gilberti until his case was heard before the Imperial divan.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله الذي جعلنا من ذرية نوح بن علي بن ابي طالب
موسى بن عمران بن قيس بن ابي طالب بن عبد المطلب بن هاشم بن عبد مناف بن قصي بن كلاب بن مرة بن كعب بن لؤي بن غالب بن فهر بن مالك بن النضر بن كنانة بن خزيمة بن مدركة بن إلياس بن مضر بن نزار بن معد بن عدنان

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله الذي جعلنا من ذرية نوح بن علي بن ابي طالب
موسى بن عمران بن قيس بن ابي طالب بن عبد المطلب بن هاشم بن عبد مناف بن قصي بن كلاب بن مرة بن كعب بن لؤي بن غالب بن فهر بن مالك بن النضر بن كنانة بن خزيمة بن مدركة بن إلياس بن مضر بن نزار بن معد بن عدنان
في سنة ١٠٨٠ هـ

و بعد ذلك تم مشيرونا نظام العالم تابع مناظم الامم مدبر امور اليهود والكهنة لثابت تم راجع الامم
بالدولة القبايب موسى بن قبايب الدولة والاقبال شريف اذ كانه للستدج والاولاد المحفوظة
مواظف للملك اللداعي وذلك على قود ملك ادولوب وذي عتباته وقائم مقام لاصغر في ايشان اولم
الاولاد اقتحام الامراء والاكابر مستجمع لجميع المعالي والمخالف والفتنة والله تم والختم
المختص بنو نبي الملك الباهدي في اذنه عامي كمشوق تاجه وفقد والده فلتند وادع معاليه
تدريج رفيع حيايه فهو لامله ليرجع مادم لدمع كشر لانه ليجسي مالا مدسامة عرض ماله كونه ووب
نزد لانه طرفنة كني لير وكابيه حايونم بيكشن ايچن ارسال اولنة نخت ولسيا برة بالعقد استانبول
كركه لامينه لدمعة ماله چاشن كركه طلب ليد وديو لعلام ليكليه اولمقوله ليجتد ولسيا ب
ميج بيكشن ايشه كركه لامينه وفد ايليه ميول لير ليد ووب بيود قويم كركه شريف واد ووقا
بديا بيج ماره لاصغر ارم اولنة ماله لير ووب ماله في اولمقوله نزل لانه جابنفة
كركه ايله كلافه ليجتد ولسيا ب لالحقيقة ميج بيكشن لير وفه كركه اولنة بيكشنه مزيوب
ماله چاشن كركه طلب ليد وكركه لوقع لير منج ورفع ايد ووب انكركه بيكشنه كركه ايشه ووب
انكركه بيكشن اولمقوله ليجتد ووب بيود ووب بيود ووب لير ليد كركه ايشه ووب حسب القانو
كركه لدمع ووشو يله بلاسن

Document 108) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to Grand Admiral and Second Vizier Mehmed Paşa

The Dutch ambassador has received certain gifts, transported by a Dutch ship to be presented to the Sultan. However, the customs custodian Murad Çavuş requested customs duty for the imperial treasury. Since those goods were brought for the Sultan, no duty should be demanded.

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 نمود ما شوم نام بر قطع شهرتین قرالیز فتح ابروب بیک قره نومه مسلمانه اسیرونی خلاصی
 ابروب وارد قالی و با شایسته اسباب و خولای و پروب و لایله کوز شزره و بالجه
 اسپانیه و لایتنه و کیلندره لاله کیره مسلمانه اسیرونی خلصی لاله کیره خایه و کلاره و اوزنا
 و تلغزینو غیرا بید اهرل سلومه بود و کلو معا و تیز و و استغز ظهور کلمه من بعد از شاهین
 تقالی نیجه نفعمز و خرم تر مشاهد او لانا مقدر و چله قریش جاننده قرالیزون لایلی
 پیش کس کلوب اولی عفاه لایم خصومتز و اریه یار و یلیک جو نام کتوز و ب رطلر
 ایلد کالین قرالیز و لافیز مورخ قرالیه بین کوز مراد و لایله مساعده ایتمام مار و شمره او
 ز لایلیوز و مالک یوز عظمتد و شوکتو کلاه اسلمه اذ غوریند صا و فانه خرمیت ابروب و ستاریند
 و عثمانیه و ثمن اولی اوزن عهد و بین ایلمار و بویوجه هر کاهمه اذ قیز یوز شکر
 و قرالیزوز که و قرجاوی بود که تاج اوز یوز کیله ایلد صد وقت اوزن مالک ایلد بینه
 اسکالیند و اریه کلوب آلبانی و کس ایلکه اجازت های اوزی و سایر و ستای ایزه و اولی
 باز کانیینه و یریلی عهد نامه همایونه اوزن عهد نامه عایت بوریلر قولوغ قبوله بود غلام
 الاقهار نماز سر افرایزیون کوم بوقولای و رسالت مراد که ایلد اوزن و پروب لایله کلغ
 خرمش و اولی و اولدی و عانتد اوصع حو سجانده و تقالی استغز ایلد ایلد و خلاص
 مقلوب روز قیامت که او جاقری نورانی ایدر بر سر سلطنت باقی و بایدار ایلد ایزه یار کمالها

در این کتاب
 در این کتاب
 در این کتاب

The Address of Ambassador Haga at His Audience with Sultan Ahmed I¹

Dâyimâ gâlib ve muzaffer olub maşrıktan mağrıbe varınca hükmü nâfiz ve emri cârî olan devletlü ve 'azametlü ve şevketlü pâdişah hazretlerinüñ Hak sübhânehü 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' eylemeğin cümle krallarınüñ ittifakları ile 'azametlü ve şevketlü pâdişah-i İslâm'ın Âsitâne-i sa'âdet-âşıyanlarına sadâkat üzere kavî ü dostluk etmeğe bin cân ü dil birle tâlib olub bu hayırlu hıdmetin zuhûru içün bu kemter kulların elçi ta'yîn edüb dostlarına irsâl eylemişlerdir ki, cümle Hollanda krallanyla 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 tevâbî'inde olan cezîrenüñ 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 tâbî' 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 krallanımız 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 krallanımız kalmalanyla 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 erişdimeleri mukarrer idi. Bu hususdan ötürü hâlâ Françe ve İngiltere [.....] [.....] [.....] üzere olub ziyâde dostluk üzeredirter. İspanya kralıyla mâbeynimizde [.....] [.....] [.....] eğer bahrda ve eğer berrde kal'alarn 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 hâfi değillerdir. Ol zaman dostluğumuz yoğidi. Yine ehl-i İslâm'a bu denlû mu'avenetimiz ve dostluğumuz zuhûra gelmişdir. Min ba'd inşallâhu te'âlâ nice nice nef'imiz ve hıdmetimiz müşâhede olunacaktır. Ve geçenlerde Kızılbaş cânibinden krallarımıza elçi ve pişkeş gelüb Al-i Osman ile husûmetimiz vardır beynde yardım eyleñ deyu nâme getirüb ricâ eylediklerinde krallarımız ve efendilerimiz Moriç kralı bendeñüz murâdlanna müsâ'ade etmemişlerdir. Ve şimden gerü krallarımız ve hakimlerimiz 'azametlü ve şevketlü pâdişah-i İslâm uğruna 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 serîr-i saltanatda bâkî ve pâyidâr eyleye, âmîn, yâ Rabbü'l-'âlemîn.

Kornelis Haga
Elçi-i Holanda

بمكتبه حسن بن علي بن احمد بن عاوية بن محمد

قريش بن نعيم بن ابي طالب بن علي بن ابي طالب

بعد اطلاع بمشور ولا اذ لم يبلغ الوفاة املدرك فلان ذبح طابو مؤذنه في شهر ربيع الثاني سنة ١٠٠٠
 عام فحق في ثمن تجارته ايام اسرا بوجه مطلوب بوجه اسلا ببولرة فلان ذبح مؤذنه في شهر ربيع الثاني سنة ١٠٠٠
 في شهر ربيع الثاني سنة ١٠٠٠ فلان ذبح مؤذنه في شهر ربيع الثاني سنة ١٠٠٠
 اجازت وعاير بمشور في شهر ربيع الثاني سنة ١٠٠٠ فلان ذبح مؤذنه في شهر ربيع الثاني سنة ١٠٠٠
 و ضرر و ضرر في شهر ربيع الثاني سنة ١٠٠٠ فلان ذبح مؤذنه في شهر ربيع الثاني سنة ١٠٠٠

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.

اسکنده جانده قوشلوسلق حقی ایچون
توند بلان: امر شریفک صورتیدر

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توقیع رفیع همایون واصل اولیجی معلوم اولد که ندر لاندہ ایچس سده سعادتہ عرض حال کوندوب عفا
بولتان عهدنامہ همایونده ندر لاندہ ولایتکریه تابع اولان کیلبره برکم اولورسه اولسون متاعلرین تمکیل
ایدوب کتور وکلرنده و بوجانیدن و سایر دن متاع تحمل ایدوب الوب کتور وکلرنده بالتمام کرکلرن ادا
ایدوب قوشلوسلق حقیقین ندر لاندہ قوشلوسلرینده توبیره اردو مطور و معیاد ایکن سال اسکنده ندر لاندہ
ولایتکریه تابع اولان کیلبره بعض کسده از متاع تحمل ایدوب و بوجانیدن و سایر دن الوب کتور وکلرن
قوشلوسلق حقیقین و بریبوب آنک کیلردن فی قصور ایچیلوب زیاده عفا ایدر لاسه کی ریلرندن
وکی ناظرندن ایچون حکم شریف و برنگک رجاسنه عرض ایکن سپردم که ندر لاندہ ولایتکریه
تابع اولان کیلبره اسکنده برده بر قشقی براردن اولورسه و بر قشقی ولایتکریه باز کاندلر لاسه متاع تمکیل
اندو کلرنده بوجانیدن و غیریدن الوب کتور وکلرنده عهدنامہ همایون مو جتی قوشلوسلق حقیقین فی قصور
الینجه متاع تمکیل اندو بریبوسه و چقارمق لازم کلده و کوره قوشلوسلق حقیقین ایچیه چقارمکسه نشو بلکه
باز کاندلر لاسه اولورسه اولسون و بریکده تحلیل ایدر لاسه عهدنامہ همایون مو جتی عاید اولان
قوشلوسلق حقیقین کی ریلرندن وکی ناظرندن ایچو برده سز ندر شریفه مخالف تعطیل و عفا اولورسیه
اگر بو خصوص ایچون امر شریف ابراز ایدر لاسه استیخای ایتیبوب اشبو امر شریف مو جتی عمل ایچیه
شو بلکه پیلر علامت شریفه و عفا و قیلر سز تحریر ایچ او اسط شریفه رجب المرجب شریفه و قشقی و الف
بر مورتی دخی قوسر کلر کسده و دهر در سنلار شریفه فی اوایل

امیر کمال

شهرتار لاول سنه اربع و عشرین و الف
بر مورتی دخی حلب کلر کسده و دفر و اربنه فی اوایل شهرتار لاول
سنه ۱۰۲۴

Document 132) Imperial Decree to the Viceroy 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.

قریس بکلیکس علی پاشا دن مکتوب اولان سلیمان بکله یازیلان مکتوب

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قدوت الاسراء الکرام حالاً قبریله سنه اولان سلیمان بک دلم عش بعد السلام انما اولمان اولد کبرند لاند
المن بدندن بوجانده خطابه و دفتر دار افندیه خطابه امر شریف واجب التشریف ولرد اولوب معقول بجاوشنده
مزبور لک المظفر و کله یینه قویو قلمی ماعدن یوزده اوج آچی کرک و برکک عدده ماده رنده مطور و مقید اولوب
و بو آنه کلنج یوزده اوج آچی ویره کلنلر ایکن مخالف قانون مزبور اردن زیاده آچی طلب ایلدو کلر ایملدن زیاده
التمن باینده فرمان اولمخین یدر نده اولان قانون نامه موجب کیرینه الدوقلمی ماعدن و کیرلندن بیفاندن
قانونی اوزره یوزده اوج آچی الددوب زیاده بر آچی و بر حبه لرین الددیه سنه و شمیدیه دکن زیاده آچی لرین
المش لر ایب کرو الیوروب قانون نامه بجاوشنده مخالف کسیر ایتمه ریه سنه ایله بله سنه یوز آخرا ایلمه
وانده بعضی اورو م تاجور لر سنه اولان قونلوس صحیفین و بر بکده غادو مخالفت ایدر لر ایتمه اکلانج مقید
اولوب قانون قدیم اوزره قونلوسله ویره کلمه کلر کلمه لرین کیره بو کجه دخی و یروب مخالف عادت بر فرزه
ایش ایتمه سنه یوزده اوج آچی اوانر شهر عزم الحرام سنه ۱۰۲۳
الفقر علی پاشا
میر میران قریس

اسندن سعادت اولان ندلان المنس و لکریک عرض ساد

ندلان بتابع اولان منستان و لایتنرین اول دیارک ماعلندن آتش و قونقل و غنقل و بوزنیا او عملنده اولو کجه
و تقویر و جهاد قسنتک افرامی کیرلر ایله ندلان و لایتنرینه کتوروب بعدن بارنگانلر و ذکر اولمان متعکک بعضین
کیرلر ایله اتمبوله و انیس و ساقره و سایر ممالک میج و سده اولان اسکله لر کتوروب بیج و شرا ایلمه کلرین
اسا و حال بو سیدی مجره آخدی و جلب ایچون باندگانلر یازمکن ایدر لر ذکر اولمان متعکک و جهاد ایله بارنگانلر
و سایر ممالک میج و سده اسکله لرینه کلمه کلرین اسنا و ملتزمین و سایر جا و مه مشروخ اوزره بارنگانلرین رکچین
بلانک ایچون بکلیکس و سنا قسکرینه و قاضیلر خطابه امر شریف صدق پور کیرلرین عنایت برجا ایدر
اولباس امر و فرمان دولتمور و سعادتک و عظمی پادشاه مکتوبه ۵۵ مسووح اوزره پادشاه تهنیت اوغوشدر

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, İstanbul, Chios and in other cities.

دستور مكرم مشير مخزن اعظم و تلو و سعادتو وضع پاشا
مختر شدن استادی بکالارینه نو کده و کتوبک صورت

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خاندان ابراهیم العظام العسریه صاحب البراء العظام فی اللغه المسمیه صلح مصالح با عمار الطایفه الفهرانیة صاحبان
شکر و الاوقار صاحب دلائل الجود والا فخر سعادتو و دولتو و عظمتو و شوکتو پادشاه استادی بکالارینه نو کده و کتوبک
اولان نده لاند ملکیت ساکنین ختمت عواقب بلبله دو سکنه لایق اولان سلام محبت غلام که اهل اسلام طرفه
اولان خلوص و محبتی لایق کلور افاق و ایما خفتند مکرر انما اولان اولده که سالبا سلطان الرین و الجرین
تغلبن المشرقیین و المشرقیین خدام المشرقیین ثانی الکندر و الفریزین صاحب الملک بال طول و العرض منظر قری ای سلطان
هادل قلی احمد فی الاصل سلطان الفکر و الما بدین معین العتفا و المتکررین سعادتو و دولتو و عظمتو و شوکتو پادشاه
اولان انصاره صورتیک طبا و صا و زمان و ملاذاکا سه دوران اولان اسکن سعادت اشبان و سکنه کده ملکوتیه
ایله سعادت و املاض و عرض محبت و اختصام ایچون ایچیک طرفیه کونده دو گلر معز اولکن قدمت اعیان اللله المسمیه
زیلوه و ذروت اطمنه و اسط سبل ارسال اولان عبودیت نامه کز کلوب مضموننده بوا اسکن سعادت اسبان
دوران خلدن ارکانه سبل و کولندن قول اولوب اطاعت و انقیاد لرن کنده و کن سربا رخصت پیلوب
باد سعادتیه ثابت خصم اولده و کلری اعلام ایلش سنه و اندن ما عبادتی مره کتوب که بازوب بلدی ش ایکن
ایلسی نرجه اولوب حضورت موقور پادشاه او قنوب دو سکنه و خلوص عبودیتک معلوم بیا اولنر
ایله مکرر مکرر ایچیک ایله کونده دو گلر پیشکنر و بی پاید سیر اعلامیه عرض اولوب قبول و قبول اولنر
ایله کلر حقی اولیه که برانده و کن بویوچ اسناد طوع و لوق ایل دو سکنه ایمن اگر حکام زمان

و اگر اکاسه دو سکنه بربسیج بود دولت علیه ایل دو سکنه و اشفاق ایتمکله کدول ایل برابر لوق و خصومت
مفاسد اولان سیر ایل و ملکیت عاجلرتیک اوزر زبیه غالب اولشدر و باب سعادت ما بکری و ایما
مدافعت و استقامت یوز فتن استانه سعادتکریه عرض اخلاص و اختصام ایدنرک مفوض و کاد اولوب
کسینه منع ورود اولده و بی ابلدن سکنه و بی ایچیک استانه سعادتکریه ساکن اولوق اوزده اطاعت و انقیاد
قبول بیا اولنری اولوب اولبا بده نامه بیا یون ملاطفت مشورتکریه ارسال و ایصال پور مشدر و اروب
وصول بولنده من بعد بی جاده سعادتکریه ثابت قدم و کاد براه عبودیتکریه راسخ دم اولوب و استانه
سختکریه و ایما عرض اخلاص و اختصام دن خالی اولوب و بازرگانکر متقل کلوب کدیب مقدما و پلا
مدنانه بیا اولنری اوزده کل اولاسن انق اولده کما ماداکر سعادتو و دولتو و عظمتو و شوکتو پادشاه
عالم پناه مخرتکریه استانه سعادتکریه خلوص و عبودیت و دو سکنه اظهار ایلدیه سکنه کلان بازرگانکر کرگ
مالرینه و جانرینه مالک پادشاهی ساکنین و قول آغازیندن و قوللریندن و با ایلا افراد افرین دن هیچ فردن
فر و زیان ایشدر ملک احتما بوقدر اگاوره سندن بی دو سکنه کده استقام و استوار اوره اولاسن
الباقی السلام علی من اتبع الهدی اولاً و اخرآ و ظاهراً و باطناً

المسئول
المسئول

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 İstanbul. 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.

صدر اعظم وقتلو قندش پاشا حضور تشریف طلب نکرانگی
اولان ادریات حضور تشریف کونند و کل ملسونک حضور

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پاشای کنگار حضور تشریف حضور عزت موفور لینه مسد قواعده مهرو محبت نوکده
فواظ و ودالنت اولور دعوات ساله محبت انبار اتقا قندن صکره ضمیر نیز بر شید لعانه انها محبانه بود که
بالفعل سه ساعده نندانه الجیسی عرض حال ایوب بوانه دکن نندانه طایفه سی بازنکاتر کتور دکتر
مناظرین کر کتور قانون نامه های پوره تعیین اولمان و بعد اوردن الی کلوب زیاده طلب التزلز انکن خالی طلب
انکتر طایفه منوره مناظر نیز ماضی و پیشینا پند و حرر و بعضی مناظر که دنگ حسابی اوزره التیق قانون نامه
« مسور اینک لایحه اولان قانون نامه مخالف زیاده طلب ایوب بوزده اوج اقی الورد دیو تدر ایله کلین
انعام انکله بوانه دکن آینه کلدوکی دنگ حسابی اوزره کرک آدر ب قانون نامه مخالف التامق اوزره مقفل
و مشیخ ابر شریف ویر کلین مکتوب مودت تخریر لوبوشدر لدر الوصول ماملول و الطاق کلین بلان بوبابره تام
افت و التام کوسر ب لایحه اولان قانون نامه های پورن موخیر طایفه نیز بوزره دن کرک آدر ب من بعد خلاف
مغادر و مغایر قانون نامه های پورن اینستلن زیاده اوزر دیو تدر ایتور مویوب و آلد میوب ابر اولان قانون نامه
های پورن ایله دقیقه قوت ایله که محبت سپوره سز باقی ایام غفور نعمت و منعم فرخه شملت دولام باد
الکندریه بطریق اچون کونند بلان لدر تشریفک موزر سدر

توقه رفیع های پورن و اصل اولیچو معلوم اوله که ندر بلان الجیسی سز سعادت عرض حال کونند ب اسکندریه
بطریق اولان دارنده فرمان های پورن فریلو بونند: قدم بعضی خصوصی اچون آسانه سعادت کلوب افلاق
و بعدان نظر نین کتور لری نصیحت اچون دعوت اولتمشتر قدیمین اسکندریه ده بطریق اولنکر اول تایلر
واره فلکن مکتور دخی و اربوب عدولترین ادا ایوب حالا آسانه سعادت کلوب اندن اسکندریه
کنک اچون ابر شریف ویر کلک رجاسند توفی المکنن یسوردم که بیکر لری لایحه وارد و قدر نیز بوزره بطریق
افلاق و لاینین آسانه سعادت کلوب کتور و مصالحین کوروب پنده اسکندریه جانبیه کنک ترا ایلدیو کن
انسانبول بطریق و سایر کتور ایشیج شریفه و ابر بیا بوزره خالی رعبدیه الجیوب و مانع اولیچ لدر مشیو ایله
سز علامت شریفه اعتماد قبل سز تخریر قوی اوسط شهر رفیع الا تشریفه اربع و عجزین و ارف

الکندریه
الکندریه

Document 136) Letter of Grand Vizier Nasuh Paşa to the Viceroy of Aleppo Ahmed Paşa
When the Dutch merchants imported gallnut, silk, and cotton, the custodian of Aleppo
requested excessive duties. The customs duty of the such imported goods should be
calculated in bale account, in accordance with the Ottoman legal regulations.
(Also see document 139)

Document 137) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I for Patriarch of Alexandrietta
Patriarch of Alexandrietta, Gabrilo had been invited by Wallachian princes for preaching.
He would then return to Alexandrietta, where he performed patriarchate. No one should
interrupt him on his way to Alexandrietta.
Dated Eväsit-i Rebiülâhir 1024 / 10-19 May 1615.

طلب بیکر کیسے و قاضی محمد و دفتر آریزہ حکم کہ
قانون نامہ دن زیادہ کرک الدرمیہ

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نوع بیخ بھائیون و اصل او بچی معلوم اولاک ندرلانده الحسب سده سعانه عرض حال کونندوب جلب استغفر تو انده کلده
انده اولان فراخچو و ونیک و انکلهج ندرلانده باز کانسر کتور دکری و آلوب کینتو کلر متاعلردن کرکری قانون نامہ بھائیون
موجز استغفر کلوب و ندرلانده اول کور بولدن اول فراخچو و انکلهج سپراخی استغفر کلور انکین استغفر زیادہ طلب اتور کرکین سال
ندرلانده باز کانسر فیک متاعلردن ماضی ورشته پنجه و حیر و بعض متاعلر که قانون نامہ بھائیونده دنگدن اتوق مستدر اکین سال
طلب استغفر کانسر امینکر که الد و شنه قناعت انیسوب قانون نامہ بھائیونده مخالف دار پس و چوبد و تلاتین و ابوراکو کلر
دسایر متاعلردن کتور لره تافع اولندن یوزده اولن لیس و نگر می طلب ایوب و آلوب و کتور لره زیادہ نقض اولیانندن
ندرلانده بھائیون موجز یوزده اول فر اولوزدیو تدر امینده کلرین عرض انکس سیر لردن انده کلده کی یوزده قانون نامہ
لر موجز اتوق ایوب سپور دوم که
پنجه و حیر و عموده و نر اسانی و راونت فراخچو و ونیک و انکلهج دن انده کلده کی یوزده اولان سده سعانه کلن
ویرلش هر لومج قانون نامہ لر موجز و سلب و قناعت
اشمیدیکن زیادہ انکلهج کبر و الیوزر سز بوخصو حکم خلافتی ایشرفی ابراز ایدر ایام ایشو ایشرفی بم موجز کل
بلبسنه و ندرلانده باز کانسر سابر قیاس اونمز نکور و نکاینکر مشر و مشر در آگاکوره مقید اولان سز مشر بلبل سز
علامت شریفه اعتماد قیل سز بخیر اخی او انز شهر ربیع الاول سنه ثلاث و عشرين و الف من ابر الیومیه

فوق
سید محمد

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.

اغوسور سجاغی بکنه و عاصمه
و معاطعات تا طرینه حکم محمود تیر

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توقیع ریح سمانون و اصل اولیچ معلوم اولاک ندر لاندت المپسی سده سعاده عرض حال کوندر بوب ندر لاندت لودن
بوندن اقدام اغوسور قریبند در یاده کسینا پاره نمان ایزبران جوان نام رئیس کی سنده اولان آلات و اسبابی
و طویلیر و آنچه کسین تک قبض ایدوب و طویلیر دخی در یاده قالب بوندن اقدام الیویلر دیو ایشرف
و برایش ایکن کروتیلم اولیویب اگر طویلیر بیدر و غیر بیدر عهدنامه سمانون موجب الیویلر ملک ایچون ایشرف
رجاسنه عرض ایکن سبور دم که مزبور ایزبران جوان رئیس کی سنده لاندت کیلر ندر اولور در یاده پاره
آلات و اسبابی و طویلیر رئیس الیویلر خالیش الیویلر ایکن بکنه و غیره در و طویلیر دخی بر کنده الی
و در یاده خالیش الیویلر عهدنامه سمانون موجب تحصیل و تدارک اندوب واران ادی سنده کسین اندور سون لودن
ایشرفیم موجب عهدنامه سمانون قصور سده اندور سینه اولیویلر ایکن ایشرفیم مخالف عباد و مخالفت ایدر لاری ایکن
کیلر سراسم و کسین الیویلر ایکن که مکره اهرم نم و جهله صادر اولور سده موجب عمل اولونه مشویلر سلطان علامت
شریفه اعتماد علامت عکیر اتی او واسطه شهر رجب المرجب سنده تلمت و عزمین و الف من الصوب السوره

اغوسور
کسین

توقیع ریح سمانون و اصل اولیچ معلوم اولاک ندر لاندت المپسی سده سعاده عرض حال کوندر بوب بوندن اقدام سمانون
لودن اغوسور قریبند در یاده کسینا پاره نمان ایزبران جوان نام رئیس کی سنده اولان آلات و اسبابی
و طویلیر کسین تک قبض ایدوب و طویلیر دخی در یاده قالب بوندن اقدام الیویلر دیو ایشرف
و برایش ایکن کروتیلم اولیویب اگر طویلیر بیدر و غیر بیدر عهدنامه سمانون موجب الیویلر ملک ایچون ایشرف
رجاسنه عرض ایکن سبور دم که مزبور ایزبران جوان رئیس کی سنده لاندت کیلر ندر اولور در یاده پاره
آلات و اسبابی و طویلیر رئیس الیویلر خالیش الیویلر ایکن بکنه و غیره در و طویلیر دخی بر کنده الی
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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 Evāsit-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)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 سلی اولان حاجی سلیمان مکہ کو ندر بلان مکو بیدر

تاریخ
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ذات فرین رفعت زمین سلی اولان الحاجی سلیمان بنگ حضور لرینه در دعوات صافیات و غیر نیلیات
 و آفات آنجا خدن مکره انہما اول کتور کہ ندر لا تزدہ حکومتہ تابع است و دم نام شہرک تجار لرین اولان
 ابرام دہ لیا و پاولو دہ و بیلام نام و تیلو جانہ کلوب مقدما حکمت اما تیزدہ ساکن بعضی دہ تیلو ابرام
 ایدوب و لا تیلو تیزدہ اولان متاعدن نخل ایشیا کو ندر و ب نو آندہ دکن مایلتیزدہ اولان حاجی ابرام کور لیبو
 فالغین ساللا طرف لرین غیر بلون بیتک نام دس و کیل نصب ایدوب اول جانہ روانہ حکمت و تیزدہ
 جزرہ مر بود دہ ساکن لرین تیزدہ کسی نام دس کہ و نالیت مر بود دہ ساکن ذکر اولسان و تیلو ایدوب
 دس پنجم حاجی ابرام اولان اعلیہ و کیل نصب اولسان مر بود دہ بیتک واقع اولان اسباب و اراقتہ دخل
 و تعرض اولند و غنی استماع اولند مر اولیہ اولہ مائولدر کہ مر بودان و تیلو ایدوب دہوت ایدوب
 ریقتسای ایشیہ شریف مر بودان و تیلو کل سفلسین صفا سندن فی قصور و لا کسور ایدوب ایدوب
 و مخالفت ایدوب اولہ و کیل مر بودان صفا سنی اسانہ سعادتہ ایشال و ایصال ایللیہ تیزدہ ایدوب
 حضور تیزدہ و یا خود دیوان حالہ تیزدہ تیزدہ کور بلوب استفاق اولندہ الحاصل خصوص مر بودہ زیادہ
 تقدیر ایدوب حمایت و میانستہ نذل مقدور و سحی مانعی الصور اولندہ باقی ہمیشہ غور رفعت برترقی یاد
 خیر لایع الیوم النانی عشر شہر رمضان المبارک سنہ ثلث و عین و الف

Document 143) Letter from the Viceroy of Tunis Ali Paşa to his deputy (mütesellim) Süleyman Beg

Two Dutch merchants from Amsterdam, Abraham De Lina and Paulo De Willem had sent commercial goods to the non-Muslim subjects in Tunis. However, they did not pay the total liabilities, and still owed to the Dutch merchants. They sent a man to collect the money. If the case could not be solved at the court, they should be sent to İstanbul to be judged at the imperial court.

Dated 2 Ramazan 1023 / 6 October 1614.

طلب بکلیت سنیہ و عاقبتہ حکم

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تقی رفیع ہالیون و اعلیٰ اولیٰ حق معلوم اولاد کہ دارند فرمان ہمالون عربیہ حلیہ اولان ندرلانہ قوسکوسی
 رتہ سعادہ عرض حال کوندروب نفیس حلیہ ساکن اولہ و غی ہدایہ اقدنام کسنتک اوین ہز نور ہدایتک
 اوصل براد نام کسنتہ ناسی و کالتیل التہ سنیہ دکن ساکن اولوق اورزہ ہر سنیہ ایک نور خورش اچارہ ایل
 بوکاد یروب و عدہ تمام اولمش دکل ایکن ہز نور ہدایہ اقد دکر اولمان اوین دن مجرہ سقلمن ایچون
 اخروج ایلرم دیوب ولو خصوص ایچون قنوائی شریفہ اولدوغن بلد یروب حکم شریف طلب ایچکن
 پوریم کہ حکم شریفلر اردو قندہ خصای برابر ایدوب بروقع شرعہ فصل اولمش اولکالوب اون برش ایل
 مذکور افکش دکل اسہ حق اورزہ نقشتش و التذہ اولان قنوائی سنیہ نظر ایدوب کورمنن فی الواقع قصیدہ
 عرض اولندوغی کی اسہ اولیابدرہ مقتضای شریع قولہ عمل ایدوب بشرع شریفہ و قنوائی سنیہ مخالف
 کسنتہ تعلل و نزاع ایتدورمیدن بحسب الشریع لازم کلانن اجر ایللیکن لو خصوص ایچون تکرار
 سکلیت اولخالو ایللیکن شویله سر علامت شریفہ اعتماد کسنتہ کیری عی او اخر شریفی القعدہ
 الشریفہ کسنتہ ثلث و عرین و الف

مظاہر
 المصطفیٰ
 خرو و

بندوک دارنی التی سنیہ دک التی سنیہ
 ایچیدہ استیجارج ایلر مابیندہ استیجارتدکن
 مکرہ عدل شریف سنیہ عو ایلرہ مدیورہ افش
 ایدوب دارم قندہ بیعہ و ما اخرہ اچارہ شرف
 نادر اولور می بیان پوریلر شتاب اولنن اولمقدہ
 اولماز کتیبہ عرین العفر
 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.

Comandamento al Cadi di Izmir, che il Capitolo di Sivrihisar non pagasse nel fatto del capitato della nave l'iva di nuovo

ازینجا بمنه ایازیک کوردر

مذللان ایی من شصت و نعلی اربون کزول غایت ادناه عمدتاً هابون بروند که یکا ویریلانه متافره
 و ترقی الحیات اولیاد اولیاد بروند و قی که کلب لایله و بطور معتبره اربون برونه لایق تزلزلت کبریه
 بریک قوش الحان و کلون غایب لایله که کلب او اربون هندی بریک کورن معاصر اکتیغون اربون ازینجا
 قوشکین لایله بقو اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون
 ایکه و روزه ایلیریه حال اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون
 قوش الحان ویریکور سوری معاصر اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون
 خلف مکرر که کلب اولیاد اربون و قیوه اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون
 اربون بروند که لایله متا عده مکرر کلب لایله و غیره اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون
 ولدون عقی لایله و غیره اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون
 مکرر که کلب ایکنه جاز و کلب فایغ اربون
 اولیاد ایی اولیاد اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون اربون
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Document 153) Imperial Decree by Sultan Osman II to the Kadi of Izmir
 A Dutch ship has loaded at Kuşadası, but sank before Sivrihisar. The goods evacuated from the ship was put into an entrepot in Izmir. However, the custodian there has requested the customs duties again, although it was paid at Kuşadası. According to their capitulations, double payment of duties was not possible.
 Dated Evâsıt-i Şevval 1027 / 1-10 October 1618.

Letter by Vizier Halil Paşa to the Viceroy of Tunis Süleyman Paşa

'İzzet-medâr karındaşım paşa-i kâm-kâr hazretlerinüñ 'izz-i huzûr sürûrlarına ve dürer-i da'vât-i vâfire ve gurer-i teslimât-i mütekâsire îsârından soñra muhlisâne inhâ olunur ki, Flandra tayifesinüñ der-sa'âdet-medâra sâir krallarun 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 krallarun elçileri gibi Galata'da hıdmet-i risâlet ile oturmuşdur. Ve olıgeldiđi üzere taraf-i pâdişahîden ahdnâme-i hümâyun sadaka olunub mahzâ 'arz-i hulûsları sadaka ve enfâ' olduğu ve bunlar kadîmden ehl-i İslâm ile dost olub zarar ve ziyanları 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 verilmeyüb 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 şerif-i cihân-muta' verilmeđe işbu hâmil-i mektûb-i muhlis müteferrika başımız Ömer Ağa ile gönderilmişdir. İnşallahu te'âlâ müşerref olmak müyesser oldukda vûfûr-i lütfumuzdan ahdnâme-i hümâyun ve fermân-i 'izzet-makrûn mücebince esirlerinden her kimde var ise itlâk edüb mümâileyh Ömer ağa'ya teslim etdirilmesine himmet ve sarf-i mürüvvet buyurula. Mahzâ cenâb-i şerifiniz vechile Ocak azepleri bizüm çırađımız 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 zimmîlerinüñ itlâk olunmasın ricâ eylediđimizde emr-i şerif ve müstakıl âdemimüz yođiken bir cevâbımız ile cümlesin bu cânibe göndermişlerdir. Tunus gâzileri bu cenâb-i şerifiñüz çırađlarımızız. Ve anlardan ziyâde sa'âdetlü pâdişahımız hazretlerinüñ 'arz-i şeriflerin sakınur ve fermânun gözedür gâzilersüz. Tunus ocađından ve cenâb-i şerifiñüzden Trablus'dan dahî ziyâde mürüvvet ve lutf umaruz. Anlara nisbeten Tunus ocađı dahî tâife-i mezbûrenüñ ahdnâme-i âlişân ve fermân-i şerif üzere esirleri her kimde ise hüsn-i ittifak ile alub itlâk ve eđer cenâb-i şerifiñüzde dahî var ise âzâd edüb âdemimüze teslim etmesine bezli himmet buyurula ki bu bâbda olan lutfuñuz ve eyiliđiñüz zâyî' olur kıyâs etmeyesiz. Nice

mükâfatların ve menâfi'lerin müşâhade edeceksiz. İki dost arasında şerâyite ahd ü mîsak mütekâid oldukdan 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 hazretlerinün 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 sözümüz iki olmaz; emr-i şerif dahî olmazsa mektubumuz vardukda bulunan esirleriñüzü itlâk ederler. Trablus'dan bu denlü Venediklü esîrü çıkartdum. Venediklü hod kadîmî düşmanlarından idi. Siz hod ehl-i İslâm kadîmî muhibbi ve hayr-haysız. Sizün içün hiç tehallüf etmezler" deyu elçi yanında bu muhibbiñüz da'vâ etdiğümüz ecilden ve sizün 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 izhâr-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 İslâm şerefin anlayub anlar dahî edeceklerdir. Benüm karındaşım, bu tarafda her kimin tâife-i mezbûrların esirleri bulunmuş ise cümle itlâk etdirilmişdir. Hemân ol tarafda kaldı, kerem-i lutf edüb bu muhibbiñüzü elçi yanında hicâbda komayub bu bâbda olan iltimâsımız redd olunmaya ve sizün 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 sebab biz olmuşuzdur. Şöyle ki bu bâbda olan ricâmuz dutulub tâife-i mezkûrenün ol tarafda bulunan esirleri itlâk olunmasına dikkat buyurula. Yine bu muhibbiñüz uğrunuzda makdûdumuz sarf edüb hıdmetünüzde 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 mezbûrenün 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 hazretter-i âlî merbûtdur.

Bir sûreti Tunus'da
Yusuf dayıya

ve bir sûreti
Osman Dayının oğluna

سابقاً فریق بکدر بکبر اصف فریق حضرتی شد لایحه استماع بجز اولاد
 و فریق ما و دیسیر امدان اولاد که مکتوب صورت بند
 161-8
 افتخار و در این مقام لطیفه العیسوی خاطر الکبرایه الخیر المملکة السیعی معالی مصالح جاحض
 الطایفه النصرانیة سعوی و عدوانی بکبر و دروغ و کذب اصف ندر لایحه ماکر و کینه
 استماع و جنرالان و فریق ما و دیسیر جمع لایحه عواقبهم بکبر و دروغ و اصرار الیهین الصراخ
 و دروغ و قتلان و سلب و فحشاء لایحه سلام موقوت انجام اولاد فریقک اعلیٰ صراحت و لایحه خلاصه اولاد بکبر
 بینه اولاد جناب فریقک و استماع عدوانی بکبر اولاد نام و معروف بکبر بکبر اصف قوه اعیان اولاد
 الطایفه العیسوی فریقک و دروغ و اصرار الیهین بینه و دروغ اولاد و دروغ اولاد و معتد فریق اولاد
 سایر اولاد اولاد رعایه اولاد و الیهین و فی ضیافت و حرمت اولاد و دروغ اولاد و دروغ اولاد
 دروغی صلاح و اختصا مکتوب فریق اولاد فریقک اولاد فریقک اعلیٰ صلح ایام کام اولاد و دروغ
 استماع و دروغ اصف سلطان نصاب رعایه اصف هر نام و حایره سده موقوت معنیهم
 الیه بکبر که ایام جنابک رعایه و دروغ فریقک و دروغ فریقک اصف مکتوب حایره فریقک ماکر فریقک
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 و فریقک مقابله سنخ انواع رعایه و اولاد فریقک مکتوب فریقک مکتوب فریقک مکتوب فریقک
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Document 161) Letter of Ex-Viceroy of Tunis Mehmed Paşa to Prince Maurice
 The Dutch ambassador Cornelis Haga was admitted by the Sultan with highest protocol in the court. As mentioned in the capitulations, granted by the Sultan, the slaves available were released and delivered to the ambassador. From then onwards, the friendly relations would continue.
 Dated Evâil-i Cemâziyelâhir 1021 / 30 July-8 August 1612.

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 tâ-yifesinüñ hâkimi olan efendimiz Konte Maverisyo muhibbiñüz Françe bayrağı altında gelüb gitmek minnetinden halâs olub pâdişah-i rû-y-i zemîn olan devletlü ve 'azametlü Al-i Osman pâdişahı zillullah 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 mümâileyh efendimiz muhibleri dahî bu hayırlu hıdmete bu kuluñuzu ta'yîn eyleyüb kader derler bir acib 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 tâ-yifesinde derya yüzünde inâyet hakkıyla bizüm kalyonlarımıza mukâbeleye kâdir bir tâ-yife 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 akmişe ile yükledüb elçimiz ile gelüb hâk-i pâ-y-i şerîfiñüze yüzler sürevüz. Ümîddir ki, zamân-i devletiñizde bu hayırlu maslahat zuhûra gelüb içün hicâb çekmeyevüz. Bâkî emr-i fermân 'izzetlü sultânım hazretleriñdür.

Bende Kornelyale Haga
Elçi-i Flamenk

اول

مع توفیق دولتعالیه شکر عهد نامه شرف خاندان ایزدگوشه با بی یو به کمال اولادش مانع میکاره
 و خوش خلقی بود و غایت شوی اولادش در دولت اولادش از او شایسته و دولت تمام بر غیر او و مبارک شاه
 و در روز و صوبه مبتدیان ذان صدقش با ناکیزه اولادش بود و در سال طبع ال عتاه و قلام
 خلقین جهاه اولادش سادتی و قدرتی و عظمتی و شوکتی پادشاهی کبیری شاه خیرالامه میگذرد و مکتوب
 بعد از لیلیک و کار و نایب متقاضی خالیا با پیدا و واقع اولادش و در سلطنت و تحت اولادش میباید
 نامی جایز باشد شوم و بیان اولادش شرط و عهد و رعایت اولادش که بر جایند و در رعایت اولادش
 بر لاد روزگار - لاسد و کت و خاطر لادین وقت قدر بخار فون و غنه رضا و جواز کومند از سادتی
 و شوکتی پادشاهی کرده و قمار خستار کبیر عهد اولادش را بر بنیاد مصلحتی حکم و استوار و قول اولادش
 صدق میگذرد به اساس کرده مانع به خود و پادشاه و نیت و حمایت از مصلحت خود و
 سادتی و جوانی به هیچ لاسد و رعایت و عطا و مصلحت خود و پادشاه و نیت و حمایت از مصلحت خود و
 عهد و صلح کرده و سادتی و رعایت عامه خلق و رعایت مدد و مروت لیلیک لیلیک زحم شاه
 و صلح و شرف و عیش که سادتی و عظمتی پادشاهی کبیری عظیم لادش و عجم اولادش
 بلند استان ایله و سنج و اشخاص مبتد اولادش عهد و رعایت از فعال اولادش با ناکیزه اولادش
 و پیمانگی خلق و نفع نده عاریه اولادش قول صدقش خاندان از فعال اولادش با ناکیزه اولادش
 نجهت خاندان اولادش از شما ناکیزه مطیع اولادش به جوهرش ناکیزه صلح اولادش به کمال
 لادش صدق و صلح خود و عهد و اقرار را به نصیحتی خاندان از فعال اولادش با ناکیزه اولادش
 از شاه رفته و با اولادش و سادتی نایب و بر قدر اولادش با ناکیزه نجهت و مصلحت لادش و اولادش

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 Nelerlanda vilâyetlerine tâbi' olan memleketlerin Üştađı 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 üfete muvâfık-peyâm hallet-i fercâm ki ehl-i İslâm tarafına olan dostluđunuzdan 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 ikrâmıyla 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-maşrikîn 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-mesâkîn râfi-i ilâmü'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-fersâlan 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 milletü'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 tarıkından ri'âyet olundukdan soñra 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 şerîfîn-i pirâye ile tarafımızdan sudûr eden muhabbet ve irâdet ve nihâyet hulûs-i meveddetiñiz rikâb-i hümâyunlanna arz ü inhâ olundukda mir'at-zamîr-i münîrleri hâm gibi mücellâ ve pâk ve âyine-i hatır-atırları alâyiş-i tasannî ve riyâdan 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 vazıh ve rûşen olub taraf-i bâ-şereflerinde cânibiñüze ve hüsni-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 soñra mümâileyh elçiñüz vesâir elçiler olduđu üzere olduđu üzere Âsitâne-i sa'âdetde elçilik hıdmetinde olmak femân olunub ve müdîrân-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 şerî'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 cümlenin 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 mülâtafât-makrûn tahrîr olunmak fermân olunmağla hüsn-i teveccüh ve ittifâkı müştemil ahdnâme-i şeref-hitâmeleri ve nâme-i hümâyunları yazılıub 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 hatırlarına 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 kavî ü karâr sıdk-i makrûtları esas-gerdûn mânend-i kavî ve pâyidardır. Niyyet-i hümâyunları hayr ü salâha makrûn ve himmet-i sa'âdet-merhûnları hemîşe istirahat-i re'âyâyâ mâtukdur. 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 î'mâl-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 âsarı hüveydâ ola. Etrâf-i cevânibde olan il ve memleket sâhibleri meyânında ve havâkîn-i mülûk mâbeynlerinde hayr u i'tiyârınız ziyâde olub mahsûd-i te'hîd azâde-i cihân ve mümtâz kâmkâran-i zaman olmañuz mukarrerdir. Ve bu muhibbiñiz dahî ol cânibe lâzım olan hususlarda dostluk merâsiminin icrâsında dakîka fevt etmeyüb ol nesne ki islâh-i zâtü'l-beyne lâyıq ve olduğumuz makâmın muktezâsına muvâfıkdır, zuhûra getirülüb elimizden ve dilimizden geleni dirîğ 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 bez-i himmet etmemiz mukarrerdir. 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 sipihr-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 lâıyk ve münâsib olan budur ki, deryâ yüzünde yürüyen kapudanlarıñuza vesâyir gemi zâbitleri 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 selâtîn-i cihân ve a'zâm-i havâkîn ü zaman, tâc bahş-i husrevân-i âlişân, menba'i'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 mikdânınız 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 olunduğu 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 hükkâmdan 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. **Hıdmet ise ancak olur. Temam mertebe elçiliğe lâıyk 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 şükrân üzere olmağla Âsitâne-i sa'âdet'de alıkonulmuşdur. İnzâr-i alıyyeñüz ile manzûr ve teveccüh ve iltifâtınız ile mesrûr kılınmağa 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

وزیر تعلیم است
مکتب کتب صدر دفتر

باری

غرقو
 حضرت سید خضر شریف و اولاد ایشان را در این شهر و در هر مکانی که باشند
 با عزت و وقار و اولاد ایشان را در این شهر و در هر مکانی که باشند
 پادشاه عالیجاه خلعت خلعت حضرتین خاص قول در وقت دست و دست و دست و دست
 عهد و امامه ایام کلید سار و پیش همه عبد خالک اولاد بر این عهد نامه و حایره و بر کلم اولاد جانبدار
 قونلورین و کند و مالک و سید و کلاش را لایحه تجار کبیرین عهد نامه و حایره مخالف و بر این عهد نامه
 اولاد اولاد کبیر و مولد نام اولاد اولاد جانبدار اولاد قونلورین و تجار کبیرین
 دخیع و قونلورین و تجار اولاد کبیرین و اولاد قونلورین و کلاش اولاد اولاد قونلورین
 موبعد اعتناء فرموده لایحه و کند و برین بوقدر باجهت عمر و کلام تمام باد



Document 178) Letter of Vizier Halil Paşa to the Defterdar 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 177, 179, and 180.

وزیر خلیفہ پاشا حضرت وزیر قیصریہ کتبہ کوزر پاشا
مکتوبہ شریفیہ کوزر پاشا

خدا بجز ان کا کیا

و دولت ساقیت و نیلہات و ایفایہ اتقا فیصلی۔ انہا دولتہ افلا درہ ہونہ از قہر و از قہر و از قہر و از قہر
بولہ ملنوی کوزر مر و سعادت ملان ایلو ای کلوب و سندی (بیرکس) و اولو ایرکھلیر و اولو ایرکھلیر
نہ نہ پشاکو کہ آرتا ستر کلک کہ قبول ہا یزیر کہ اولو ایرکھلیر ہا نام و حجابہ عدقیہ یوزیر یوزیر
عزیز طغندر و اول جانبدار قوضو لندی و تجارتی و کیرہ اولو بیخیم و بیخ اولو نامی ایچہ و رتہ و رتہ
ایک طغندر و مولو بولوق ما کوزر قوضو لندی و تجارتی و کلوب ایچہ طغندر اولو زوزر زوزر
و رورینو ایچہ بر فہما و عذر بیخیم از زوزیر و قوزر صا لندی کلان اولو رتہ معا و ستر اولو لندی
و عہد نامہ حجابہ قوزری و حجابوزر زوزر ملنوی قوزر ایچہ کوزر یوزیر و حجابہ عدقیہ کوزر یوزیر
اولو و عہدہ قوزری رعایت اولو نامہ مع کلوب کلکوزر خالی اولو زوزر

نسیب اللہ علیہ السلام
خود پاشا

Document 180) Letter of Vizier Halil Paşa to the Mütesellim (Deputy-Governor) 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 177, 178, and 179.

عونا بکلیه کیلبره و ساجق بکلیه و فاضله حکم که بداند
کیلبره متاع بود کلدن بازگان هر کیم اولورسه اولورسه اولورسه اولورسه اولورسه
نذر لانه قوسلو سلیزیه و کیره لر

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توقع رفیع همایون و اصل اولی حق معلوم اولاکه نذر لانه ایچ سنده سعادتک عرض حال کوندر ب عنایت اولان
عهد نامه همایونده نذر لانه ولایتکریه تابع اولان کیلبره هر کیم اولورسه اولورسه اولورسه اولورسه اولورسه
و بوجانبین و سایر یردن متاع تجیل ایدوب کتد کلرنده بالتمام ککر کلرین ادا ایدوب خود سوسلی حقین نذر لانه
قوسلو سلیزیه و کیره لر دولو مسطور و مقید ایکن نذر لانه کیلبریه بود کلتنان شاعدن بعضی بازگاندر قوسلو سلیزیه حقین
و بر مکهده عماد البیوب قنق و لاینگ بازگانکی اولورسه اولورسه اولورسه اولورسه اولورسه اولورسه اولورسه
بود کلریندن صکره قوسلو سلیزیه حقین نذر لانه قوسلو سینه و کیره لر دیو امر شریف و بر لک زبانه عرض فکین سوروم
که نذر لانه ولایتکریه تابع اولان کیلبره هر قنقی یردن اولورسه و هر قنقی ولایتک بازگانکری متاع تجیل اندو کلریندن
صکره اگر کتور د کلرنده و اگر بوجانبین و سایر یردن الوب نذر لانه و ککر سایر ولایتک الوب کتد کلرنده ککر کلرین
بالتمام ادا اندو کلریندن صکره عهد نامه همایون موجب قوسلو سلیزیه حقین نذر لانه قوسلو سلیزیه و کیره لر اولورسه
و مقدم یا موخر امر شریف ابرار ایدر لراسه السماع اولوریه و چه شروح اوزیده عهد نامه همایون نخبه
عمل ایلیزیه شویله بلا سز علامت شریفه اعتماد قلا سز غیزانی او اسط شهر رمضان المبارک سنه اثنی عشر و الف

مقام قسطنطنیه
الحریر

Document 187) Imperial Decree by Sultan Ahmed I to all Viceroy, Governors and Kadis

When the foreign merchants transported their goods with the Dutch ships, the consulate fee should be paid to the Dutch consuls, regardless of the nationality of the merchants. Any kind of opposition on this matter should be avoided.

Dated Evâsıt-i Ramazan 1022 / 25 October-3 November 1613.

**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-yi şerîflerine yüzler sürdükdən sonra ilm-i şerîflerinden nihân değildir ki rub'-meskûn pâdişah-ı 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, beytül-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 mâli beytül-mâle küllî gadr ve noksan-i re'âyâ ve berâyâyâ mûcib-i ızlâl ve ihtilâle bâis ve bâdî olduğundan gayrı umûr-i muazzama ve dîn-i devlete alik kazıyye münâsib fehmi olunmayıb, evvelâ tâife-i merkûmenin mahiyetini bilmek murâd-i şerîfleri ise, Flandralu meşhûr ve nâmdar bir kral değildir. İspanya'ya tâbi' bir beğlerbeğilik 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 sonra bazı mesâlihın 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'in 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[ij] ve ef'âl-i fâsikaları men' ü def' ede. Mahzâ Maverisu (Prince Maurice) nâm zorba başı üzerlerine serdâr deyu nasb eylemişlerdir ki anıñ mübâşeretüyle 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 beytül-mâle olan gadr u noksan re'âyâ ve berâyâyâ 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 kıt'a kadirge ihrâc edüb Memâlik-i Mahrûse'nin ba'zısına dokundukları 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 kabâyihâ su-i zan olduğu ekser ihtimaldir. 'Ale'l-husus ki Flandra'dan getirdikleri emti'âdan ve bu cânibden tahmîl eyledikleri esbâblardan dahî cânib-i mirîye 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 olup 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' olup tüccar-i harbîye sebab-i kuvvet-i salâbet ve pâdişâhın 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 olur ve nice fesâda bâis olur ve bunun emsâli nice mazarrat maddeleri vardır ki, mübârek başınıza zarar vermemek için ilâmına cür'et olunmadı.

Hasbihâli budur, bâkî emr ü fermân Sultânımıñdur.

میدیرة تونس نصرالله پاشا و شایة جفلا لایة کوندر و وکلا مکتوبین ترجمه سیر

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لفتحاً و ولاداً و لعلهم الطایفة للبستور لما رزیکبره و لتمام و لتمام و لتمام
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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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قدوس بکلیکلیک و لفقوسه فاسنه و بوزنه و کیرایا ندره فاضیله صوبه
حکم شریفه و در که خردوش کیدیه کلور کیدریکین مالکه قدوسه کین ایماله
یا سکرکارنه بکلیکیر و فاضیلر و غیره رضایه و غیره بکنن نامه بکنن
طلبه ایلمه لیه

نیزه
توقیع دنیع مایره و در صدر اولیچ معلوم لود که خردوش اولیچ و هو حال کوندر و ب ندرلانه و دوتیار
فالیندریج و کیدریک کلور لیک و کیدریک قدوس و سایر ایماله یا سکرکارنه قدوس بکلیکیر و سایر
فاضیلر و عهده نامه ها بونته خالف بکشیش و بکشیش و پرو که جو تندی و در کچه لیدر و نونه بایش
لر شریف و بولکن و عهده نامه لیکه لیدر خردوش فالیندریج و کیدریک لقصه بجا توه رضایه لودریا
بکشیش و بکشیش نامه نه طلبه لودن و غنه رضایه ها بونته بوردی بوردی که ندرلانه و دوتیار نه مایه لای
فالیندریج و کیدریک کلور لیک و کیدریک لکر قدوس و سایر لکر ایماله یا سکرکارنه رضایه و غیره بکلیکیر و فاضیلر
و غیره هر کم لودریه لودن و عهده نامه ها بونته خالف بکشیش و بکشیش نامه لربا بالیه و بوردی
لایه لودریه و دوتیار خردوش با ذکانه لیس خدود عهده نامه ها بونته و در مین لودن و غنه لایله
رضایه شریف بوردی لکر لایه شریف بوردی علامت شریف لایله و غیره کورگه لودریه شریف
بیچ اولدری لایله و عهده نامه ها

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.

وقریباً کتفا قلندی مامورین و تصور دین و نور که بر بایج و ستلغ لایق و خدواری
 و معر سیر لایق و تاج کتفا مامورین ملت تصاری 90 که بیوک قرالار و ستار کوزله عمارت
 تعمیر و ظمیر بر اولیای و معر اولیای و خند و صفای شریفی اولیای که بهر اولیای و مزل کتفا
 شریفی باع مالیک و فصاحت معر لری و عدالت چ نشانی ظاهر و باهر اولیای باع عدالت
 از و بار بار

سبب تجریر بودی اولیای و فلانده لو اشیو باعث تزکره آدریان نام زمی رئیس محروسه اسلامبول
 کلوب متاعنی پوشالوب ینتند لاندی جانینه کتکله بولج و ایزده خلاف عهد نامه عالیشان خود واحد
 دخل و ریغیده اتمامک ایچون کوزس کتب اولیای و بر لشد مادامه منور دن خلاف عهد نامه ممالون
 وضع صادر اولیای کتکله دخل و ریغیده المیدار خرنی او اولیای حرم الحرام سنه تکت و عثمانی حالف
 بیچاره کتکله
 عام

Document 193) Petition of the Dutch Ambassador Comelis 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.

بیتخیر عروف کولک
 ندرلانن قلوبلورنره اولوب تجارت ایلدی بوجا بنده کتله وارنن مکتوب
 بولده دیرلره نام ییش سیند قلوبو فی ایلدی بوجا بنده ندرلانن طرفند لک
 برلورلرین و لاروب اوغرا حوغی بناورولس کلا لره و دولس و
 ما و اکیم مزبور شیره خلف عهدنامه هما یوره بر وضع صادر اولوبه فرقه اولور
 قوض و قرض و ریجیح و ریجیح ایتمکس ایچره بوعروف کتیب اولوب ندرلانن
 لایح کلرک ایصجاب لیدینه قوز فی اولور کلا شوقی ایچره ایتمکس ایچره
 سعید
 کلا
 عارف
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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.

معا فوالله ولا اقره كلبه و يوه في زم من يخدمك و بنهاده صار ليك
 ذير قريح تجت ن وصافيات ا تحافزة صلح ا بخا اولنا اوله نذر الان
 لم يوبه بكم ملبوع موله ريعه لانه فوم ريس قلبه في ايد بواجب
 نذر الان طرفه نكت مراد ايد فوب اول جانبه وار وقت مامله
 اول كيدر و ك اوزح يو قلبه زنه رخلوف معارفه و خرو و حبي
 اول نايوب و شن امور نر معاونت اولته و باجي موبه ملبوع
 ما اوزح فلفنه و اهدب اوله نر لله



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)

ویر اعظم خلیل پاشا وزیر دربار عثمانی
 داود پاشا سفیر هلند کونند دوی ملک هلند
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 زلمو و سعادتمند باش حضرت خدیو شرفدارند در اوقات معاصرت عبت آیت و غفر لیلیات و انبیا مرید قیامت
 خاندن حکایت غیرین استاماناً بود که عالیار کاب ایماون شهر بار یاده عبودیت و دو ستمین اظهار المیلان غلبتک ایلیک کند و
 زعفر اولوب استانه سعادت مبارک فطرت اوزن بسند لریدن اولغله بزین قیسم اولان تو نولوسلری و تجار لر کا نوزندن
 نند تکرارینغ پیور لیب و افصح اولان خصوص ملین عمد نامه لر کا مو بینه معاشرت و مطابرت کرد بود کلک ایلیک ایلیک ایلیک
 و باغین الشیر مکتوب و داد خصوص شرفه طر و ایسل اولن شرفه و معلوفه مامور لر که مذکور لرک اول جانین اولان تو نولوسلری
 بز کلمه لر اور نندن نظر شرفه بکتر بندون و پیورینغ پیور لیب و افصح اولان خصوص ملین اللری اولان عمد نامه ایماون و اور
 و غیر معاشرت و مطابرت و عیانت و میبانت پیور لیب ایلیک کی بکسده ایشرفین و بانو پر غیر نظر تقیله عمد نامه لر بینه متعلق بعض
 موس ایلیون مذکور لر کی رکین و رعین ایلیک بر نسته لر ایلیک لر اسم اللری اولان عمد نامه ایماون و اول شرفه مو بینه
 پیور لیب و عمد نامه ایماون مخالف رکین ایلیک استیلا لرینغ و دفع ایلیک خلاق عمد نامه ایماون و اول شرفه
 بز جمله رکین و رعین ایلیک عیانت و میبانت پیور لیب و با ایلیک مذکور لر زمان شرفه لر ایلیک ایلیک و بزرگتر کردن
 باده مصون و عی اول لر ایلیک و غور رفعت و ایم باد

Document 205) Letter of Grand vizier Halil Paşa to the Viceroy of Cyprus Davud Paşa

Since the Dutch ambassador in İstanbul was a close affiliate of Halil Paşa, and a slave of the Sultan, the Dutch merchants in Cyprus should be protected, and all kinds of facilities should be provided to them.

ورسيدن مکتوباتی اولان علی پاشا حقیقتاً ندرلانده و اولانده مکتوباتی اولان
 مملکت اسنادی سرحدی ندرلانده مکتوباتی صورتی
 معاوضه الکرام العسویه مراجع الکراد العوامی المله المسیحیه صلح معالی پادشاه الطایفه السمرانیه صاحب ارباب
 الحشمه والوقار صاحب دلائل الحد والاقهار ندرلانده مملکتی ندرلانده اولان ولایتی مملکت اسنادی حیدرآباد و مملکت
 ختمت عواقب یلوی والترشاد و احسن البسیم بیل الصواب قبله و دستگیر و عیبه لایق سلام مودت انعام که لایق
 اسلام طرفی ندرلانده مکتوباتی متبادر احوالی ندرلانده مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی
 و سعادت لایق و عیبه مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی
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 و سبای روشن غامض الحارین کما یبقی حرمیت و رعایت اولوتوب قصصا قصور رقالمشدر من بعد دخی
 درینج اولوتوب ندرلانده مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی
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 و مصالحه کور سبای ندرلانده مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی
 اولان عقیدت و اخلاص و مودت و انتقام مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی
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 ایچون بعد السیوم دخی لوجانب خیرت اولوتوب مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی
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 اولوتوب جمع احوال کور سبای ندرلانده مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی
 و کتیب ندرلانده مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی مکتوباتی
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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 بکارکن علی پاشا صحراندر مسکنه
کوندر دوعی ملکوتی صورت سردر

ذت مدار رفعت خوار مسلم اولان الحاج سلیمان بکک حضورینه در دعوات امامان ووزیران
 واهیات اتقاخذن مکره اعلام ووزنما اولونورکه مدلاسه مملکت متابع استردام نام شهرتک عمارلندن
 ابرام ده لینا ویا ولوره ویلان نام ذمیلر بوزنن آقدم جزیره قبرس ده کن بعضی ذمیلر ایل بیج وشرایع
 بوندن نیجه اسباب و مساع کوندر ووب مایینلرنده اولان حایلر کوریلوب وانده اولان اچیزیک
 فصل اتمکس اچون کشفو طرقلرندن عولر موپنسن نام ذتی اولن جاننه کوندر شکر در ایلر اولر کوریلر
 اولنان تجار لر برانکه دعوت ایدوب مرور عولر مو اولر حاشا شد ووب بعد الحاب دقتلرنده قلاده
 خفلسن مرور عولر مو وادملرنده تسلیم ایلوب غنادو مخالفت ایدور میسن وجزیره مزبوره کسکین لردن
 پتروس کیننی نام دمی ولایت استردانده دن دگر اولنان ابرام ده لینا ویا ولوره ویلان نام ذمیلر
 ایلر دعوام و ایدردر دیو مزبور عولر مو ووزن اقسی اولوب ریختنده املکدن خالی دکلا المشره اذی ذتی
 بانکه کتوردب حکم قنیه ویا کاید ایلدین که دگر اولنان تجار لر ایلر دعواسی و اراسه بر وکیل نصب
 ایدوب ولایت مکتوبه کوندر پس که آنده دعوالر کوریلر و اگر کسکون اولر اراسه ایلکستی ذتی
 استان سحاده تو ایلر ایلدیکه تدر لاندن ایلر یاننده کوریلوب ویا خود اللرنده اولان عهدینه لر
 موجب احوال لر لر دیوان هما لوزنه لر یکه کوریلر الحاصل تر نور عولر مو کسک احوال و اراسه اعلای
 دخل ایدور صوب کسکین اولدوغی مرتبه ده استیانت و صیانتت اوزره اولوب موجب مکتوبه
 ایلر عامل اولر کسکین باقی و السلام کور افرانی غره ذلقعه السرفه کسه بلسه و عسکین و الف
 بوایل مطر پاشا کمانخا صحراندر کندر ایلر مسکنه یازدر

العولر علی پاشا
صحراندر کسکین

مقداسیلان بکک یازدر اندک حالایاندر ونگ مکتوبه ابرام سکالانم کلکن البسه تو قصوم
مقید اولوب بر ذتی شکایت ایدر ملو اولدیکسن زنده احوال المکتوبه 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)

آستانه سعادت و عالم تمام حیدر اعظم اولاد و عیال و سواران و درباریان
حرفی که در حال اولاد و فرزندان و حاکمان و کرامت و کبریا و کرمی

سلطان حفر نیک و حضور شریفی اعلام مجانبه و اها دوستانه اولاد که حالا آستانه سعادت
اولاد مستقیم و کرامت و کبریا و کرمی از قور نیلینو اخذ ایچک مکتوبین مبارک و محبت شریفی که در دنیا و کرامت و کبریا
و مسور اولوب حضرت ناز تعالیدن رحمت نود که عود دولت و خور نعمت سعادتین لیا فیو ما راه الملو سعادتین مبارک
بشکلیه که معایا و خلق عالم در شریفی مبارک شاکر و شکران اولدو قلمری اوزره و ایا سایه شریفی که آسوده حال اولاد منوال مقوم اوزره
روز و شب خیر و دعا و تکریم مشغول و مداومت انگ پروده حیو وارد که بوندن اقدام عقیدت اخلاص و صداقت اخلاص
و مؤتمن اظهار ایدوب لازم اولان امور یک تفریضه ایله مسد الیه آستانه سعادت اسال ایلدو کزده حضور منور ایدوب
و خلق جهان نافع بر فضیله اولو اصدی ایله ظهور کتور که سعی منور و بذل مقدور کز صرف ایلدو عکرتدن غیر محکم و مقدر
پادشاه عالیجاه حفر نیک عهد نامه هماهولری و ناده عت معقولین تصدیق باعث و بادی اولوش کز و با ایله آستانه سعادت
پادشاه میر و اتع جمع امور کز کاشیغی معاونت و معارضه کز ایچک در بیج پیور لید و غنندن غیری نقل سعادتین مستعمل اولان
ایله مشار الیک اوزریندن حسن نظر و وفور هایت و التقات و حاجت شریفی بی در بیج پیور لید عهد نامه هماهولری
موجبه بخار و ایلدو دخی انواع کرامت و رعایت لشدر خصوصها حال صدر اعظم عیال و سعادتین و سعادتین و با شکر
آستانه سعادتین پیور کزنده ذکر اولان نامه هماهولری قسح ایندور لید و اوزر کز صاننده سعادتین و سعادتین بدل
همترین حرف ایلدوب بعض اصحاب اغاضم کز فکر فاسدین ظهور کتور لیدوب بخوب و معیون قالمشدر احسان
مقوم عیال و سعادتین حفر نیک منور اول اول ازل عقیدت اخلاص احتیاطی باخث و بادی اولدو عکرتدن غیر
کند و تحیر قی و از یاد بولق دخی عیال و سعادتین حفر نیک معاونت و همت شریفی ایله بیست تلموز که حضور منور
اولوش کز معقولی ایچون ثواب عظم اولدو کزندن غیر کزنده و رعایان و مملکتین حفر نیک حاصل اولان نفع اول
حکمر سعادتین حفر نیک آستانه سعادتین پیور در حال دخی مرید عیالیندن رجاست بود که ایدو کلمه کی احسان
اوزره شکرین حکمر دخی ایچک اوزریندن نظر عین عیالیندن پیور لید که واقع اولان امور یک مقصد
معاونت و نظارت شریفی منور لید عیال و سعادتین حفر نیک علم شریفی نهان پیور لید که بوندن اقدام آستانه
الیندن اخذ ایلدو کز نیک اور تیوز نفوسا انحرار ایکن خلاص و الطاف ایله کزندن غیر لارم اولان قادیون و اولاد
و کزنده لید و سایر لوازم و اوزر جانان کندی با کزندن خراج و حرف ایدوب کیلر ایله و لایبکریه سالمین و فانیس ارسال ایضا
حکمری خلقی عیال و سعادتین اولوب بلکه مسیح شکر اولوش اوله انشا آید مدت حکمر دخی لید و عیالینده عیال و سعادتین

بجای

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خدمات هما بویژه بولنوب تقدیر از اوزره صداقت و مهارت بر مرتبه اظهار ایدر روز که ال عالم انجمنه اسلطان و ما اولی
 منوال مرفوم اوزره بوندن اقدام عظیم و عظیم و قدریکو بادشاه عالیه حضرت ترکیک رکاب همایونکین ارسال بولنوب
 مؤخره مسطور در بولوباید و عتق و مروتکوسلطانم حضرتکین نامن بود که خلافت سعادته اولی و سعادته
 خرویه ده اولان اسیر لیزی عنایت اولان عهدنامه همایون موجب و معاد و حاله مدار اولان تانم بولوب
 معتقد است که من و اطلاق اولن لری واجب و لازم ایکن بر سنه ظهور المیوب بحضرت صدراعظم و تکریم و سعادته
 نصیحت پادشاه حضرتکین عرض اخلاص و صداقت زمان شریفکیند میت قلمایوب مبارک یکیش بنگردن از زانی قلمون
 خوش اولیایوب التفات و نظر شریفکیند دور اولمشوز در المابنا خصوص مرفوم تکرار حاله عظیمکین و عدالتکین و عتق
 پادشاه عالیه حضرت ترکیک رکاب همایونکین ارسال اولنسان نام مرزه اعلام و عظمی بولنوب اولن لری و مرفوم
 و عنایت شریفکیند موجود که خصوص مزبور و سایر امور یکترک حقیقه معلومت شریفکیند ایده طلدکی اسان
 اوزره ایچ موسی الیبتک اوزرندن نظر و عنایت سعادته کین بندر رخ بولوبق باینده همت حاصله بولوب و بولوب
 محصلیند مکتوب شریفکیند ایله یاد اولنمق باینده اسان بولوب حق سبحانه و تعالی سعادته سلطانم حضرت ترکیک
 و بولوب شریفکیند خطا و خطردن حفظ و مصون الیبتک دنیومر و اخروی مرادات شریفکیند تفسیر عکینیر اسان
 با معین باقی عرو دولت عرو سعادت باد بکفرش ۶ شهر جولوسنه ۱۶۱۴ سولانت معا

غاصری
 و غیر خواص غاصری
 اسلای سولالی

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 برمد و کلرین غیر استکانه سعادتده اولان بزوم مستقیم و طوغری خیرخواه الگری ریخته اولونور
 کندی تبریحان اولان یا پولوبون نام شقی هوامنه تابع و بعضی اشرا و اشقیایلیک بوندن اقدم منور الگریه نوره اولونور
 و خدو ایلر خیانت و امانت ایللیوب سقذن کلنک لازم و مهم ایکن س که ایللیوب مرکز الگریه بجا و کچنده
 ایلشدر در حال رکاب همایونه ارسال اولمان نانه مورد تکرده خصوص امر قومی یاروت اشدن چکدو که الاین بر تقدیرین
 عرض و اعلام ایلیک صدورده ایکن ان اصدوح الصابیرین دلو فریخت ایوب استانه سعادتده اولان عرض مورد
 و اخلاص صری دیورلدن کمال حقیقت و صداقت او زره ایدو کنی بلکه حق تعالی کتب شریفه لینه الهم الیه
 اجرا حق ایللیه بو تفصل او زره بی اختیار یازوب مباریک باشیکوزه صداع و بریکه جرات اولندی که عظمتلو و عدالتلو
 پادشاه خلیفه روی زمین خضر نکر سقیم بو عادل و زبری و بیوک کونیکه لری سکر موجودر که ایدر کله و عی احسان
 او زره سقزده لازم و لایق اولان تربیه شریفی و معاونت سعادتترین درج سپور لیوب و مالک طرکده واقع
 اولان اسیر لرنی خلاص و اطلاق لینه بذل همت و عمارت لری احسان یورده که عدالتلو پادشاهک عهد نامه
 مفروضه لرین اجرا و رعایت اولونور که خلافته جواز کور ستر لیه و محال رکاب همایونه ارسال اولان نامه تر
 منکوره ایچوک الیه عدالتلو و قدر تلو پادشاه عالیه خضر نکر سق رکاب همایون لینه ایصال ایتور بلکه همت
 سپوریکه که بو مخلص لری ایلر قلدین اولان عیبت شریف لری یو بایده دخی مشامده اولنه امیندر که بعد السوم
 دخی التفات و نظر شریف لینه مظهر قلنو اول اول اقل افندو و والطره ایدو کن سپوزر که ما بنزده اولان
 عهد و لمان و عقیدت و اخلاص و صداقت و اختصاف کون به کون ترقی و از داد لوله و بو مخلص لریک
 یابنده واقع اولان خدمت شریف لری اشارت علمه لری ارزان قلندقره قادر اولدو و دکلو درج انور
 مز مقرر در حق سبحان و تعالی و سلطنتک وجود شریف لری سخطا و خطردن حفظ و مصون الیه
 مرادات شریف لری سخره بیستر غلبه لره املین ایامعین ناتی و دولت و سعادت بار

ککر لرفی ۲۶ شهر جنوری ۱۹۱۴ سپولایت مها

علمای
 محرم
 آسار

Letter by the States General to Vizier Mehmed Paşa ¹

Devletlü ve 'izzetlü ve rif'atlü sultânüm hazretlerinüñ 'izz-i huzûr-i şerîflerine 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 şerîfleri sâyir umûrumuz ile zuhûra getürmeğe dahî lâzım olan mu'avenet ve müzâheret cenâb-i sa'âdetiñüzden dakika fevt eylemeyüb sa'âdetlü sultânüm hazretlerinüñ bezl-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 dür 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 şerîfleri 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 şerîfleri dahî olmuşdur. Velâkin hâlâ sadrazam devletlü ve sa'âdetlü Nasuh Paşa hazretleri zikr olunan akîdet ve ihlâs u meveddetimiz [anuñ] zaman-i şerîflerinde 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 müstakıl ve doğru hayr-hâh elçimizi rencide olunub kendü tercümânı olan **Pavlo Bon** nâm şakî hevâsına tâbi' 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 ilâm 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 ilâm eyleye ki icrâ-yı hak eyleye. Bu tafsîl üzere bî-ihtiyâr yazub mübârek başınıza sadâ vermeye cür'et olundu ki 'azametlû ve 'adâletlû 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 bezl-i himmet ve 'inâyetleri ihsân buyurula ki, 'adâletlû pâdişahın 'ahdnâme-i makrûnların icrâ ve ri'âyet olunub hilâfına cevaz gösterilmeye. Ve hâlâ rikâb-i hümâyuna irsâl olunan nâmemizü mezkûr elçimizün eliyle 'adâletlû ve kudretlû 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 denlû dirîğ etmemiz mukarrerdür. Hak sübhânehû ve te'âlâ 'izzetlû 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
 Muhibb-i hayr-hâhları
 Üstadı Ceneralleri

صورت تلخیص و خط ممالون عوت مقرونند که
عنوانند صادر اولمشدر

پادشاه

اول طبعی قلم و خط و در کتب
اولان نافع و جمله جرایب یا علی

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سنانو و قتل و عدالتو
عالمیاه حضرت نیک کتاب ممالونند عوص اولان بود که بونند اقدم
زبان سعادت اقرانند عینه علییه اطاعت ایللان نندلان و لایتنک قرالی حال پاییه سریر اعلام الیه
مکتوب کونوروب نموننده عوص احلاض و اطاعت ایندو کندن غیر بونند اقدم تونس و جزایر لایتنک
اولان اسیر لیک اطلاق ایچون امر شریف رسیده سعادت ایلان ع نام قولکزی تعین اولوب واروب اون
سکنر اسیر لیک قوروب کندی رسیده سلم ایلوب لکن بر مقدار دینی خلاص اولنیمو قالمشدر دیوانی
قلان اسیر لیک کندی رسیده سلم ایلوب با بنده ملقبه و بریلان امر شریف موجب تونس و جزایر لیک رسیده احکام
شریف کوندر سلمی رسایدر کلاک مکتوبنک رسیده سی دخی پایه سریر اعلامه ارسال اولمشدر

پاشای کلکار

عزت مدار دولت قرار و
حضرت نیک حضور عزت مقور رسیده در ردیوات لایقه و عز
تکلیات خایقه اشارند فکرمه خلفانه آنها اولان بود که باعث مکتوب و داد فلاندره وارند مندی و دیتی
اینزیران نام اسیر لرودوس کیلرند اولوب حالاندر دولت پادشاه عالمیاه حضرت لیک رسیده دست اولوب کلکر
اجلن در دولت مدار غنن عهد نامه سورلوب عهد نامه رسیده برنه جانده اسیر لیک اولورسه کیر و مسطور
اولما غنن اطلاق اولناری با بنده مکتوب طکت المکن ترقیم اولوب ارسال حضور عزت قلندی و صوملن
مفعولدر که دکر اولان اسیر لیک یوقلیوب فی الواقع واریه اطلاق ایدوبس قدره اولان قول کور رسیده
ارسال ایچک با بنده بیمنل مروت رسوریلده باقی وجود دولت در ترقی باد برب 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 Emer 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.

فیرس دفتر اریبہ باریلان مکتوبیکم
 رفعت مدار دولت دتار ونلو افندیر خوزیشک حضور مستوجب الشکر اریبہ دعوات صافیات و تلبیان و اقیات
 انخافندن صکر انما و اعلام اولان اولور که ندر لاندی طرغون در سعادت و عرض حال مولیو بیضا صکر
 ندر لاندی ولایتینک استر ان نام شهره بر بارز کانه سپارش ایلدی کی اوزره بر ندر زمانه صانقور مقابله کسینک
 دیانور متاع کونیدیلدی دیو اللی اوج قنطاریه کوندر و و عدل سنده دکن تا کن ایلدی ب مکتور بارز کاکر خرس اولان
 باقوم ملی نام و کلسن اخذ ایلدی ب کوندر و کی بیله اچون دور دیک او بیور تیمن اکی غرض اولوب دکر اولان
 بیله بکجهای نام معلوم ایلکن ظلم ایلدر دیو اعلام ایلکین کوریلور ابر اسحق اولونق اچون بو جائه کور
 وقاضیسه مطابا ابر شریف اولدی اولماغین مکتوب و بر کتور لدر الوصول بو ایله مدار اولان ابر کرف
 معونتی عمل ایلدی ب مکتور باره کاکر و کلسن ندر لاندی صحیح اریبہ مخالف و بارز کاکر میاند اولان عدل سینه مطابک ایلان
 رور دنسک او بیور نش اکی غرض ایلدی تو جو ابر ندر لاندی سیوریلوب بو بایل اولان ابر شریف مخالف عمل
 و نزاع اولمیه داده ده دنگ لادر مر مشه عمر دولت زیاد امداد کورسقی اولور شتر ربع الا شتر ربع ابر و کورن
 بر صورت اخی مسلم منیر افندی باریلان
 معونتی عمل اریبہ صحیح
 اصف علی پاشا
 میران کورن

دولت قرین غت ربین مسلم منیر افندی حضورینه دعوات صافیات و تلبیان و اقیات انخافندن صکر انما و
 و اعلام اولان اولور که ندر لاندی بارز کاکر بر ندر لاندی کتور کور و آلوب کتور کور متاعن عهد نامه هما اولان
 موجی بوزده اوج اچر اینه زباده الخفی اچون و قبرس کاکر ندر لاندی بیرو سکی نام ذمی ندر لاندی ولایتیه کوندر و اکی
 پیک غرض ایلدی ب کوندر و کی بیله اچون بو جائه و دفتر اداره و قاضیسه مرار اکی قطعه لدر شریف وارد اولماغین
 و بر کتور لدر الوصول بو بایل کور خصوصننده بیله خصوصننده مدار اولان اولور شریف و عهد نامه هما
 بر فردی دخل و نخرق ایلدی ب موجی عمل ایلدی کس ندر لاندی قرال لدر عتیبه علیا بیه انتقاد اوزره دکر
 تاییت اولونق لادر در فرمان بویان دخی بو کور اوزرینه در واللام کورسقی اولور شتر ربع الا شتر ربع ابر
 بر صورت ایدی قبرس دفتر اریبہ مار کتور
 معونتی عمل اریبہ صحیح

Document 214) Letter by the Viceroy of Cyprus Ali Paşa to the Defterdar of Cyprus Molla Efendi had sent 53 kantar (1 kantar=56.449 kg) of cotton to a Dutch merchant in Amsterdam, to be sold and paid at a certain date. However, he did not wait until the due time, and taken the money from the merchant's deputy Yakomo Mily? The amount, (4372 Guruş) should be reimbursed with a court decision. (Another copy sent to the deputy-viceoy in Cyprus, Munîrî Efendi)

Document 215) Letter by the Viceroy of Cyprus Ali Paşa to Mütesellim Münîrî Efendi 3 % customs duty should be collected from the Dutch merchants, when loaded or unloaded at the Ottoman ports for the Netherlands. However, when a non-Muslim Cypriot merchant exported cotton, worth of 2000 guruş, a problem has arisen between the merchant and the custodian. Imperial decrees were sent to defterdar and kadi of Cyprus but the problem was not solved yet. The Dutch merchants should not be annoyed for such matters. Dated Evâhir-i Rebîülâhir 1024 / 19-28 May 1615

هو العزيز المعين

مسورة تخلص

المُحَمَّدِ الَّذِي خَلَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَخَلَقَ الْبَرَّ
وَالْبَحْرَ بِالطُّولِ وَالْعَرْضِ وَهُوَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ وَالصَّلَاةِ
الْإِيمَانِ الْأَكْمَلِ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا وَسَيِّدِنَا حَيْرٍ وَالرُّوحِ صَحْبِهِ نَجْمِ
الهُدَى وَبَدْرِ الْمُنِيرِ

باغت بحر حروف اوارر كه شمد يكجاله بر قاچ سنه دن برو مفاخر
الامراء العظام العيسوية مراجع الكبر الغمام في الملة المسيحية مصلح مصالح
جواهر الطائفة النصرية صلح اذبال نخشمة والوقار صاحب الابل
المجد والافتخار ندر لانه استادي جنر النري ختمت عوقبهم بالخبر
سلطان البرين والبحرين خادم الحرمين الشريفين سعادته وشوكلو
وعظمتو يا شاه من اعز الله انصاره وضاعف اقداره حضرته
مجاها سلاطين عظام وما اذخواقين كرام اولان سد سنه وعتبر
عليارينه قدوة اعيان الملة المسيحية قورنيليو خفا نام معتبر
المجيارين كوندروب دوستلق ايلك مراد ايلوب كميلرليه بازر كالك
امن وسلايت اوزره واروب كوب تجارت ايمه لري بانده اسدعا
عنايت ايلدك لري اجازن دوستلق لري حضور همايون 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 prmised 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 نرندة حصوله قرین اولوب جزایرک دریاده کرن کیلری و غیر
 من بعد تعدی و تجاوز ایلمیوب جزایر لولردخی محبت و دوستلق
 اوزره اولار دیومفصل و مشروع عهدنامه همایون و موکد و مشرد
 اوامر علیه متابعت و پرلش ایش عنایت اولان عهدنامه همایون
 و اوامر علیه موجبجه من بعد ممالک خرو سدیہ کلوب کیدن
 و سایر دریاده کرن تجار و غیر کیلرینه جزایر کیلر بله کرن عسکر
 اسلام طرفدن بوآنه کدنجه واقع اولان بعض نزاعلری ایچون
 ایتدکلی اوزره دخل و تعرض اولناملری ایچون بالفعل سردار لوقایله
 صدارت عظمی و وکالت کبری خدمتده اولان وزیر آصف
 نظیر و مشیر مشتری تدبیر سپهسالار غازیان کشور کیر
 خلیل پاشا یستر الله مایشاء حضرت لرینک حضور عزت لرند
 استاد جنرال لری جانبازدن اولان ایلیچی مزبور قورنیلیموشغا
 مواجه رسندک بالفعل جزایر بکریکیسی اولان امیر الامراء الکرام
 کبیر الکبیر الفخام ذوی القدر و الاحترام سلیمان پاشا دامر
 اقباله ایله جزایر جانبازدن کلان اوچاق اختیار لری و یایا پاشا

و قول آغالی ایله معاً کلوب شوپله تقریر ایلدیله که ایالت مزبورده
 اولان اگر قول آغالی دیر و یا یا باشیر و او ده باشیر و سایر نفرات
 و دریا یوزده کزن جزایر لو طرفندن عیند و شرط ایدر و زکرموی
 الیم استادی جنرال لری نک دریا ده کزن کیلرینه و ایچره اولان
 باز کابلرینه و رعایا لرینه و امتعه و اسباب لرینه من بعد جزایر
 بکلرکی اولان دن و دریا ده کزن سایر جزایر لو طرفندن بروجه بله
 تعدی و تجاوز و ضرر و کندن ایشدر لیه عنایت اولنان عیند
 نامه و متدماً ویرلین او امر علیه و حالاً بر عیند و شرط ک
 استحکام بیچون البرینه ویرلین امر شریف موجب بیجه فرمان اولنان
 شروط قیوده هر نه ایسه رعایت اولنوب دریا ده کزن کیلرینه
 انلرک کیلرینه راست کلر کلرند زدر لاندک بیر اغن کورد که برو طرفندن
 بوش طوبن اتوب انرا یله ایشار نشوب بعده انلر دخی سلام
 طوبن اتوب و رعایه ترنکته لرین اندر ب سلام لشد قد نصکود
 کند و جانمزدن صندال ایله بر قاچ معتمد آدم کوندروب محی
 الیم استادی جنرال لری نک بر و بحوده حاکم لری اولان قدوه

لامرأة الملكة المسيحية فونطوما دريسونيك مهرلو مکتوبن
 کسی ژنیسلی وضا بطری کوستر دکد نضکره کیگزده حزنی کنفر
 آدمتری و متاعتری وارد ریو من بعد یوقلمیوب وکیگزدر
 اول بهانه ایله اسباب واقعه دن برنسنه المیوب بر وجهله دخل
 و تجاوز اولنیه و من بعد ایالت جزایر ده ندرلانده لوزک آدمترین
 واسبالترین وکیترین صاندرمیوب هیچ بر وجهله کمسنده
 ریجیده ورمیده ایدرلیه وانشاء الله تعالی حمیه جزایره
 وارد غمزده اندر اولان قول اغاری ویا یا باشیلی واورده باشیلی
 و سایر نفرت و عسکری جانبندن دخی بومنوال اوزره عهد
 و امان مکتوبی یازیلوب اندر اولان ندرلانده فونسلوسنه تسلیم
 اولنور و بالجه سعادتلو پادشاه من حضر لرنیک طرف شرفیلرین
 ویریلن عهد نامه هایون و متدما و حالا ویریلن اوامر علیه
 موجب ایله دایما عمل اولنوب بو صحیفه ده کتب اولنان شرط
 و قیوده مخالف وضع صد ویزدن هر وجهله احتراز واجتناب
 اولنور نحریرانی اواسط شهر جمادی الاول سنه ست و عشرين و لطف

مصطفی احمد
 سرلور سرلور
 میرزا ابراهیم
 سرلور سرلور
 محمد یایلی
 علی علی
 میرزا میرزا
 جزایر

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 nücumü'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-Mesihîyye muslihu mesâlihu cemâhiru't-tâifetü'n-Nasraniyye sâhib-i ezyâli'l-haşmeti ve'l-vakâr sâhibü'd-delâilü'l-mecd ve'l-iftihâr Neleranda 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 südde-i seniyye ve atabe-i ulyâlarına kıdvet-i a'yânî'l-milleti'l-Mesihîyye 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'iñ deryâda gezen gemileri ve ğayrılar, min ba'd ta'addî ve tecâvüz eylemeyüb Cezâyirölür 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 uzmâ ve vekâlet-i kübrâ hıdmetinde olan vezîr-i âsaf-nazîr ve müşîr-i müşteri-tedbîr sipahsalâr-i gâziyân-i kişver-gîr Halil Paşa yessera'l-lâhu mâ-yeşâ hazretlerinüñ huzûr-i 'izzetlerinde Üstâdı Ceneralleri câniblerinden olan elçi-i mezbûr Kornelyo Haga muyâcehesinde bi'l-fi'il Cezâyir beğlerbeğisi olan emîrül-ümerâi'l-kirâm kebîrü'l-küberâi'l-fihâm zü'l-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 yayabaşılar ve odabaşılar ve sâir neferât ve derya yüzünde gezen Cezâyirölür

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 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 gemileriñüz, anlarıñ gemilerine rast geldiklerinde, Niderlanda bayrağın gördüklerinde beru tarafdā 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 Niderlandalu'nun âdemlerin ye esbâblarun ve gemilerin satdurmayub hiçbir vechile kimesneye rencîde ve remîde 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 Niderlanda konsolosuna teslîm 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 fî 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

Mîr-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-Mesihyye muslihu mesâlihu cemâhiru't-tâifetü'n-Nasraniyye sâhib-i ezyâli'l-haşmeti ve'l-vakâr sâhibü'd-delâilü'l-mecd ve'l-iftihâr Nederlanda Üstâdı Ceneralleri hutimet avâkıbühüm bi'l-hayr taraflarından kıdveti'l-a'yâni'l-milleti'l-Mesihyye Kornelyo nâm elçi yâdından olub mahrûse-i Cezâyir'de vâki' olan beğlerbeğisi hazretlerinin huzûr-i şeriflerine asâkir-i mansûre ahâli-i divân 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 âlîde vezîr-i a'zam huzûrunda mahrûse-i Cezâyir ağalarımızdan ve yayabaşılarımızdan Kapudan Paşa önünde kavli-i karâr ve âhd-i emân olunmuşdur. Ol vech üzere gine sulhumüz sulh olsun ve kavlimiz kavl 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 eylesiz ve bâzîrgân ve korsan gemilerimiz ol cânibe vardukda rencîde ve remîde 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 cezîresinde 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, bundaki olan Felemenk esirleri

bundaki olan Felemenk esirleri 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 bâzirganlarıñuz 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 tenbih edüb bizim gemilerimize rast geldüklerinde mu'ayene edüb cenge mübâşeret etmeyeler. Sizünle 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 sizün 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 haklanndan 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 geldüğü 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 واسپانيا ولايتلرنده كى لوتران مذهبي اصحابنه اصداريوريان نامه هما يونك ﴾
﴿ صورتيندر ﴾

مفاخر اعيان ملة المسيحية مراجع امراء طبائفة عيسويه فلاندره واسپانيا مملكتلرنده لوتران مذهبي اوزره اولان بلكر وبكراده لر وساثر لوتران مذهبي اعياننى ختمت عواقبهم بلخير مکتوب موالات اتصالمز واصل اوليحق معلومكز اوله كه روى زمينده اولان سلاطين عظام ماينسده خاندان سلطنت عنوانمز حق سبحانه وتعالى حضرت نرينك علو عنايتى وسوكلو پيغمبر من حضرت محمد المصطفى صلى الله تعالى عليه وسلم افندمرك معجزات كثير البركاتيله جله دن قوتلو قيدر تلو عظمتلو اولوب نيجه تاج وتخت صاحب نرينك مملكت و ولايتلرى واقى دكز وقره دكرك وحسابى بوق نيجه ولايتلرك پادشاهلغنى جناب جلالاً بجزه مبسر

﴿ ٤٥١ ﴾

و پروچر دن يوقدر حشمت وقوت وقدرت مقدر اولدوغى جناب حق جل وعلا نك برلكنه ومحمد المصطفى صلى الله تعالى عليه وسلم افندمرك حق پيغمبرلكنه عامه اهل اسلامه اعتقاد واعتمادز اولوب قوللرينه خير صاندوغز دن وحقك برلكنه اعتقاد ايتوب شك كتور نرك اوزرينه عسكر چكوب قوت قاهره مزايه حق لر دن كلد وكز ايتوندر سز دنى پونه طابيموب كابسار دن بوتلرى وصورت وناقوسلرى رد ايدوب حق تعالى بردر وحضرت عيسى پيغمبرى وقوليدر ديو اعتقاد ايدوب وحالاجان و دلدن حق دينه طالب وراغب اولوب وپاپا دينلان بى دين خالفن بر بيلوب حضرت عيسى عليه السلامه تكريلىق اسناد ايدوب اللرى ايله يادقلرى بوتلرى وصور تله طابوب حقك برلكنه شك كتوروب حقك نيجه قوللرين اول طريق ضلالته سوق ايدوب ابليس كى اغوا و بروب نيجه فانلرد و كلسنه سب اولقله سز پاپالويه قليچ چكوب دائما انلرى قتل ايلدوكا كز اجلدن مرحت شامانه وشغفت ملوكانه مز هر وجهله سزك طرفكزه مصر و ف اولوب قره دن ودر يادن هر حال ايله سزه معاونت خسروانه مز ظهوره كلك واول ظالم بى دين انلدى سزى خلاص وحق دينه سوق ايتك لازم اولشدر خصوصاً فلاندره واسپانيا ولايتلرنده نيجه يرار بلكر وبكراده لر پاپانك مذهبندى واضلا لندى استكراه ايدوب حقك برلكن بيلوب اقرار وحق دينه واصل اوليق مراد ايدوب لکن اول ظالمك ظنلدىن ومكردن خوف ايلوب متألم اولورل ايمش ايمدى

Imperial Letter by Sultan Selim II to the Leaders of Lutheran Sect in the Provinces of Flanders and Spain

Source: Ahmed Feridun Beğ, Münşeati's-Selâtin, vol. II, İstanbul: Takvimhâne, 1265/1849.

Appendix 4

سزه اولان دوستلق و محبت و مرحت و عاطفتمزك اعلاى خبليد نبر و مقصود همايونمز اولشدر لكن بويابه سزه كوندريكه اولور اولماز كسبه به اعتماد همايونمز اولدوغى اجلدن تاخير اولمشيدى حالا بوجه آستانه مز قوللر ندن محرم نام قوللر اول طرفك دلن واحوالن بيلور و اعتماد اوانور قوللر اولمغين سزه اولان محبت و دوستلغى و مرحت و شفقتى اعلام ايتك ايچون سزه ارسال اولندى وصول بولدقده كر كدر كه جله كز اعتماد ايتدو ككر بكار ولوزان بكرزاده لرى واعيانيله سزه دوستلغى مقرر بياوب و حسن اتفائله مز بور قوللر ايله مكالمه و مشاوره ايدوب اغردن ديروكى و كاغد ايله بيلدردوكى جيج كلاتى مبارك اغز مز دن صادر اولش كى مقرر بياوب دى هر نه بيلده و نه زمانده اتفائله پاي بي دينه عسكر چكمك و جنگ ايتك مراد ايدنور سكر اكا كوره اعتماد اولنور آدمركزى بوجه آستانه مزه كوندروب مز بور قوللر ايله معا احوال كزى بيلديره سزه كه تعيين ايلدو كز زمانده برو بچردن عساكر منصوره مز كوندروب كرى كى معاونت اولنه مندجلده اولان اهل اسلام اعبانته دى نامه همايونمز كوندروب ولوزان بكارى و بكرزاده لرى واعيانى پاپالو اوزر ينه عسكر چكد كرنده سزه دى بر طرفدن بي ديتلر ك اوسئنه بور بياوب معاونت ايله سزه ديو اشعار اولمشدر انلر ايله دى دائما خبرلشوب دوستلشه سزه و من بعد بوجه آستانه مزه كله جك آدمركزى امن و حضور اوزره بوجه آستانه مزه اولشدر مقده اصلا تردد و تاخير ايتوب دركاه معلومه آدمركزى كوندروب دوستلغى و سائر احوال كزى اعلامدن خالى اوليه سزه كه جيج عالمى يوقدن وار ايدن حق سبحانه و تعالى به معلومدر كه سزه بو وجهله دوستلغى و عنایت شاهانه مز ركونه طبع و غرض ايچون اولوبت لمخضبا سزه حقاك برلكنه و سوكلو بيغم برمز حضرت محمد المصطفى صلى الله تعالى عليه وسلم اقدمزك حق بيغمبر لکنه و چار يار عظامك ارواح مقدسه لینه و ابا كرام و اجداد عظام ار و اخى ياد ايله سزه عهد و عین ايدركه سزه دوستلق و محبت مقرر در و نه زمانده پاپالويه قصد ايدوب وقت تعيين ايدرسكر قره دن و در يادن معاونت و مظاهر تمز مقرر در و دوستلغى محقق

﴿ ٤٥٢ ﴾

بيلوب حسن تدارك و اتفائده دقيقه فوت ايتوب بي ديتلر ك حقدن كلكده جد و ساعى اوله سزه و مر قوم قوللر محرمك صاغ ميسى التنده وصول ياغنىك انچكنده باره سى واردر اكا كوره مقيد اولوب نامه همايونمز اخر ك انه دوشوب حيله و خدعه ايله ماينده اولان دوستلغى بيلوب ضرر و كزند ايرشد برك احتمالى اوليه 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 olduğu 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 dîlden Hak dîne tâlib ve râğib 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 getürüb Hakkın nice kulların ol tarîk-i dalâlete sevk edüb İblis gibi iğvâ verüb nice kanlar dökülmesine sebep olmağla siz Papaluya kılıç çeküb dâimâ añları katl eylediğünüz 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 olmuştur. 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 müteallim olurlar imiş. İmdi sizde olan dostluk ve muhabbetimiz ve merhamet ve atifetimiziñ i'lâmı hayliden beru maksûd-i hümâyunumuz olmuştur. Lâkin bu bâbda size gönderilmeğe olur olmaz

* Ahmed Feridun Bey, Müşe'âtü's- Selâtin, İstanbul: Takvimhâne-i Amire, 1265, pp 450-452.

kimesneye itimâdımız olmadığı ecilden te'hîr olunmuş idi. 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 ağızımızdan 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 eylediğiz zamanda berr ü baherden 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-dînlerüñ 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 dostluğunuz ve sâir ahvâliñizü ilâmdan hâlî olmayasuz ki cemî'-i âlemi yokdan vâir eden Hak sübhânehü 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 peygamberimiz hazret-i Muhammedü'l-Mustafa sallallahü te'âlâ aleyhi ve sellem efendimizin hak peygamberliğine ve cihâr yâr-i 'izâmîñ ervâh-i mukaddeselerine ve abâ-i kirâm ve ecdâd-i 'izâmîm ervâhını yâd ile size ahd ü yemîn ederim ki size dostluk ve muhabbetimiz mukarrerdir ve ne zamanda Papalu'ya kâd 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-dînlerüñ hakkından gelmekde cedd ü sa'y olasız ve merkûm kulumuz Muharrem'iñ sağ memesi altında ve sol ayağınun 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-'izâmî'l-Iseviyye umdetü'l-küberâi'l-fihâm fi'l-milleti'l-Mesihîyye muslihu mesâlihu cemâhiru't-tâifetü'n-Nasraniyye vilâyet-i Flandra'nın ulu dükası Konte Mavrisyu 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 lâyıq 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'mûlumuz 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 pâdişâhımız halife-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 pâdişâh-i âlem-penâh hazretlerinün rikâb-i hümâyunlarına yüz sürmeğe karadan irsâl edüb ve nâme gönderdük"* deyu yazmışsınız. Mektubuñuz vâsıl oldukda vükelâ-yi devlet ve vüzerâ-yi saltanat ile mükâleme ve meşveret olunub *"yollarda Dersa'âdete gelince kimesne mâni' olmaya"* deyu emr-i şerîf verilmişdir. Sa'âdetlü pâdişâhımız hazretlerinün âsitâne-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-yi kirâmlarından kendülere mirâsdur ve şimdiye dek 'ubûdiyyet ve sadâkat üzere olan krallar ve dükalar ve beğlerin her binnin kadr ü devletleri günden güne izdiyâd üzere olduğı ma'lûmuñuzdur. Sizüñ dahî inşallahu te'âlâ dostluğunuz sebeb-i rif'atüñüz olub envâ-i riâyet-i pâdişâhiye mazhar olmañuzda iştibâh yokdur. Eyle olsa adâletlü ve 'izzetlü pâdişâhımız ebedullahu devletuhû hazretlerine bu kadar 'ubûdiyyet üzere olduğunuz 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 esirleriñüzüñ 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 bâzırganlanñuzun ri'âyetidür ve eğer sâir iltimâs olunan hususlardır, me'mûlüñüzden ziyâde ri'âyet-i pâdişâhi ve himâyet-i şehinşâhi zuhûrunda iştibâh olunmaya ve sizüñle muhabbet üzere olub bu hususda müttelik 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
Kostantiniyye
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 Niderlanda 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 ilâm 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 ebvâb-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 vâsıta olub lâzım olan umûruñuzu rikâb-i hümâyunlarına arz u ilâm eyleyelim inşallahu te'âlâ; *"Devletlu ve 'azametlü pâdişahımız sizüñ sadâkat ile dostluğunuzdan kemâl mertebe hazz edüb nâmeñüze ve elçiñüze me'mûlüñüzden ziyâde iltifat buyurmaları mukarrerdir"* deyu inhâ ve iş'âr etmiş idik. Ol mektubumuz size vusûl buldukda bu muhibbiñüzün sadâkat ile hayr-hâhlıgıñı müşâhede eylediğñüz ecilden bir mikdâr tuhâf ve hedâyâ ile beğzâdeleriñüzden Kornel 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 vâsıta olub gerek rikâb-i hümâyuna ve gerek vüzerâ-yı 'izâm ve 'ulemâ-yı kirâma hulûs ile mürâcaat ve dostluk eyledüğñüzü ilâm eyledüğñüzde 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 pâdişahımız tarafından dahî vech-i münâsib olduğı üzere nâme-i hümâyun tahrîr olunub an-karîb irsâl olunmak üzeredir. Heman cibilletiñüzde merkûz olan vüfûr-i sadâkat ve ihlâsınız muktezâsınca lâyıık olduğı üzere pişkeş ve hedâyâñuzu ve kalyonlar ile tüccaruñuzu atabe-i ulyâya gönderüb 'arz-i ihlâs ve muhabbet etmekden hâlf 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 şerrinden emîn olduğñuzdan 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 pâdişahımızın rikâb-i hümâyunlarına pişkeşiñüz masrafiçün elçiñüz *"ben hâlâ ol cânibden getirdüğüm pişkeşden 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 masrafıñuz için üç bin filori harc etmişsizdir, ve bu cânibden bizüm kâdimî emekdârımız

olan Venedikl  Pavlo Antonyo n m kimesnen n y z  ađ ve ber-hor-d r olsun Őimdiye dek siz n dostluđunuza m teallik um ru her zaman gel b bu muhibbi n z ile m Ő vere ed b ibtid  sizden bu muhibbi nize gelen mekt b ve bu muhibbi n zden siz n c nibi nize g nderdiđimiz mektublar mezk r bende n z n m Ő veresiyle olmuŐ idi. Ve'l-h sıl uđuru nzda hadden ziy de c n   baŐı ve m liyle  alıŐub gayret  ek b Al-i Osman p diŐahı ile dostluđunuza yalnız illet-i m stakile olmuŐdur. L kin bazı kimesneler ol c nibe varub dostluđa biz sebep olduk deyu s ylerler imiŐ. Asl  bu hus sa mezk r Pavlo Antonyum'dan gayrı kimesne karıŐmamıŐdır. O mak lelere i'tim d olunmaya. Biz ancak mezk ru bilir z, ve ma'l m-i Őerfi n z ola ki bu tarafda olan Fran e ve Venedik balyosları siz n bu  sit ne-i sa'adet ile dostluk etme n ze m ni' olmak mur d edin b bazı yerlere nice bin altun va'd eyley b el n ze el  pd rmemeđe  ok sa'y eylemiŐler iken bu muhibbi n z uđru nzda d men-dermiy n ed b Hakkın in yeti ile el n ze el  pd r b bir mertebe n' yet etdimiŐizdir ki onların nisbetine dah  bir el ye olmamıŐdır. Ve m Ő r nileyh el n z ber-hor-d r olsun sa'adetl  p diŐahımız hazretlerinin rik b-i h m yunlanna vardıkda kem l-i  dab ve erk n ile hareket etmekle 'azametl  p diŐahımız m Ő r nileyh el den k ll  hazz buyurub bu  sit ne-i sa'adetde el lik hıdmetinde kala deyu fem n-i  liŐ nları s dır olmađın h l  m Ő r nileyh el  bu c nibde hıdmet-i mezb rede alıkonulmuŐdur, zir  bu c nibde olan Fransa ve Venedik el ileri c yiz ki so r  bir tarikle ortalıđa fitne bırađub "bunlar dostluk etmez" deyu bir s z s ylememek i n bu muhibbi n z dah  el n n  sit ne-i sa'adetde kalmasını m n sib g r b ol c nibe g ndermed k, m d m ki bu muhibbi n z hayattayuz, c mle mes lihi n z  el n zden ziy de g r b  sit ne-i sa'adetde kapı keth d liđınınız hıdmetinde sa'y-i ikd m  zere olmamız mukarrerdir. Heman her ne hıdmeti n z olur ise iŐ ret eyleyesiz inŐallah elden gelen diň deđildir, ve Cez yir ve Tunus ves yir Mem lik-i Mahr se'de bulunan esirleri n z n itl k hus sunda dah  kem l mertebe sa'y-i ihtim m olunub hal s eylemek mukarrerdir, ve Őimden so ra gel b giden gemileri n ze hi bir kimesne dahl   ta'aruz ve rencide ve remide eylememek b bında dah  kapudanlara, beđlere ves ir z bitlere muhkem tenbih ve te'kid etd r lmek muhakkakdır. Heman hatırı z hoŐ dutub d yim sad kat ve dostluk mektublanı zu g ndermekden h fi olmayasız.

B ki 's-sel m al  men ittebe'a'l-h d .

Hurrir  fi ev hir-i Őehr-i Rebi 'l- hir min Őuh r sene ihd  ve iŐr n ve elf mine'l-hicreti'l-Muhammediyye 'aleyhi efdali't-tahıyye

(Ev hir-i R. hir 1021 / 20-29 June 1612)

Be-med ne-i
D ru's-saltana Kostantınıyye
el-mahr se

Halil
El-Vezir