in this period, and are very difficult to distinguish. One of them is the founder of one of the principal mosques of Uskübi. In the inscription on his fürbe beside the mosque (he died in 925/1519) he is called simply "Muṣṭafa Pasha", but in the foundation inscription, dated 898/1492, over the principal door of the mosque he is called "Muṣṭafa b. 'Abd Allâh". The erasure for this mosque and other pious foundations was drawn up 22 years later, in 920/1514; but here the founder is called "Muṣṭafa Pasha b. 'Abd al-Kerîm".

Here then are three persons who, having been called "b. 'Abd Allâh", reappear with more elaborate patronymics. This small problem deserves further investigation, and perhaps one of our Turkish colleagues, with the resources of the archives at his disposal, will pursue it. It can however already be said that although Dîrûd Pasha, as vizer, signs himself "b. 'Abd al-Wadîd" in 888/1483 and 901/1496, this does not necessarily exclude the identification of the Dîrûd b. 'Abd Allâh named in the penche as the same Dîrûd, who in 883/1478 had been beylerbey of Rumelî.

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THREE LETTERS FROM THE OTTOMAN "SULTANA" ŞÂFIYE TO QUEEN ELIZABETH I.

by

S. A. Skilliter.

The first of the three Turkish letters which are the subject of this study was sent to England in 1593 by Sâfiye, then Murad III’s Khâşekî—that is to say, as mother of his son and heir Mecmedmed, first-lady in the Sultan’s harem. She had great influence over the Sultan and in the contemporary European reports she is usually called the “Sultana”. After the death of Murad III (1574–93), throughout the reign of her son Mecmedmed III (1595–1603), she enjoyed the all-powerful position of Wâlide Sultan—“Sultana Mother”.

It was at this time, in 1599, that our second and third letters were written to Queen Elizabeth.

In order to provide comparison with the letters sent to England, a letter of the Khâşekî Şâfiye to the Signoria of Venice has been added as an appendix to this article, together with the copy of a letter written to the Doge and Signoria by a Wâlide, perhaps by Nâr Bânî, the Venetian mother of Murad III.

The first letter became famous, soon after its arrival in England, when Richard Hakluyt printed it in Italian and English translations in the 1598–1600 edition of The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation. Its Turkish original, which is preserved in the British Museum, is published here for the first time.
The second and third letters were discovered by Professor Akdes Nimet Kurat in the Public Record Office and were published by him; 8 I now publish them again and study them in a wider context. The contemporary Italian translations of all three letters, sent with them from Constantinople, are also included. Finally, an Italian letter addressed to Queen Elizabeth by the Sultan’s Jewish agent, the Kira Esperanza Malchi, and sent to England with the Sultan’s letters of 1599, is studied on the basis of the text published by Henry Ellis, 9 and here translated anew.

I make grateful acknowledgement to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish the documents which are in their collection, and also to the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office, who has allowed me to publish transcriptions and photographs of State Papers in which Crown Copyright is reserved.

DOCUMENT I

A letter in Turkish from the Khâleqd Şâfiye to Queen Elizabeth, written in the first decade of Rabî’ i 1, 1002/26 November–4 December 1593. British Museum, Cotton Ms Nero B. viii, ff. 61–2, see plate XXXVII.

Summary:

After elaborate praises of God and eulogies of the Prophet, Şâfiye, mother of the heir-apparent Mehmed, sends greetings to the Queen of England. Briefly alluding to the Queen’s gifts, she acknowledges the letter which the Queen’s ambassador delivered with them to the Qapnaqa who, for his part, had handed them all to her personal attendant. The letter has been read to her and its message understood; further correspondence is encouraged so that the Queen’s requests to the Sultan may be transmitted to him by Şâfiye in person.

Description:

The Turkish original and an Italian translation have been preserved in the British Museum since 1753 when the Cotton collection, to which our document belongs, was incorporated into the Museum’s library at its foundation. The printed catalogue of the collection describes the two documents, among those which constitute the miscellaneous volume

8 Türk̀-İngiliz müstahbelelerinin başlangıc ve gelİŞmesi (1553–1610), 209–10 (Documents XIV, ii).

The Sultana has to make occupy less than half of the twenty-four lines—i.e. lines 14-23. Here and there the writer reproduces, more or less faithfully, established formulas of Imperial letters—so, for example, the long series of titles of the Sultan (lines 7-10) and of the Queen of England (lines 12-13). The use of an archaism in line 17 can be noted: a word is used instead of the usual form from the King, instead of the expected form from the Crown-prince, instead of the expected form from the Crown-prince.

In the following transcription of the Turkish original the sections written in blue ink have been rendered, as far as they could be deciphered, from the faint marks still to be seen on the manuscript, although not visible on the photograph, or sometimes reconstructed with the help of the Italian translation. Sections offered by the latter but no longer legible on the original are left blank in the transcription but appear between square brackets in my English rendering. In order to simplify printing, the vocalization which is used occasionally in the original has been omitted altogether from my transcription.

Transcription [plate XXXVII]

Translation

5. "The links between the letters of the alphabet and the names of the royal family". To read this paragraph in Arabic, please note that the text is in Arabic script. The paragraph discusses the relationship between the names of the royal family and the letters of the alphabet.

6. "Muhammad" is mentioned. This is a reference to the Islamic prophet Muhammad, who is considered the last prophet in Islam.

7. "The practice of writing the name of the Ottoman sultan on official documents". This paragraph discusses the practice of writing the name of the Ottoman sultan on official documents.

8. "The use of the Ottoman script in writing". This paragraph discusses the use of the Ottoman script in writing.

9. "The importance of the Ottoman script in the Islamic world". This paragraph discusses the importance of the Ottoman script in the Islamic world.

10. "The use of the Ottoman script in writing the names of the Ottoman sultans". This paragraph discusses the use of the Ottoman script in writing the names of the Ottoman sultans.

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11. "In the era of Sultanate, the name of the sultan was inscribed on official documents". This paragraph discusses the practice of inscribing the name of the sultan on official documents.

12. "The significance of the Ottoman script in the Islamic world". This paragraph discusses the significance of the Ottoman script in the Islamic world.

13. "The importance of the Ottoman script in the Islamic world". This paragraph discusses the importance of the Ottoman script in the Islamic world.

14. "The use of the Ottoman script in writing". This paragraph discusses the use of the Ottoman script in writing.

15. "The importance of the Ottoman script in the Islamic world". This paragraph discusses the importance of the Ottoman script in the Islamic world.

16. "The use of the Ottoman script in writing". This paragraph discusses the use of the Ottoman script in writing.

17. "The significance of the Ottoman script in the Islamic world". This paragraph discusses the significance of the Ottoman script in the Islamic world.

18. "The importance of the Ottoman script in the Islamic world". This paragraph discusses the importance of the Ottoman script in the Islamic world.

19. "The use of the Ottoman script in writing". This paragraph discusses the use of the Ottoman script in writing.

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f-g': blue, g-h' crimson, b-i' black, f-j' scarlet, k-l' blue, k-f' gold, l-m' black, m-n' crimson, n-o' blue, o-p' scarlet, p-q' gold, q-r' black, r-s' blue, s-t' scarlet, t-u' crimson, u-v' gold, v-w' scarlet, w-x' blue, x-y' black, y-z' gold, z-a' crimson, a-b' black, b-c' scarlet, c-d' blue, d-e' black, e-f' gold, f-g' crimson.

f-g' reconstructed with the help of the translation, sufficiently supported by traces of letters.
Interpretazione della lettera che scrive la Serenissima Sultana del Gras Signor

Alla Serenissima Regina d’Inghilterra

1. Il Princípio del Ragionamento nostro sia scritta 15 Perfetta 16 nelle quattro parti del mondo, 17 in nome di quello che ha creato indifferentemente 18 tante Infinite creature che non
dueva no anima et pur sonso, 13 et di quello che fa girar il 18 nove cieli, 15 et che la terra
sette volte una sopra l’altra far firmar ; Signor et Re senza viceRe, e che non ha
comparasone 21 alla sua creazione ne opera, et uno senza precio adorato incomparabilmente
6. l’Altissimo Dio, Creatore, che non ha similitudine si come e descrito
dalli profetti, 19 alla cui 19 grandezza non si ariva, 20 et alla perfezione 22 la sua compinta non si oppone ; 23 et quel omnipotente creatore, et cooperatore alla grandezza 24 del quale Indina 25 tutti li profetti, 26 fra quali el 26 maggior, et che ha ottenuta 31 grazia, orto 32 del
paradiso, raggi 27 del 24 sole, Amato dal 28 Altissimo Dio 18 Machenet Mustafa, 29 al
quale et suoi adherenti, et Imitatori sia perpetua pace, alla cui semplicità 26
doloriera si fa ogni honore /
13 Quello che è Imperator de sette clima, 38 et delle quattro Parti del mondo Invincibile
14 Re di Grecia, Agamia, Ungeria, 40 Tartaria, Vulachia, 41 Rossia, turchia, Arabia,
15 Bagdet, Caramania, Abessia, 42 Giovassir, 43 Sirvan, Barbaria, Algieri, franchia,

The official Italian translation (Public Record Office, S.P. 97/2 ff. 295–6) [plate XXXVIII]
The translation is written on a single sheet of white paper, 42 × 31 cm., folded to form two leaves, each 31 × 21 cm. The watermark indicates that it is of European, probably Italian, origin. The writing is cursive, in black ink. Folio 2954 contains the title and first twenty-three lines of the text, folio 2958 the next twenty-four lines, and the last two lines are on folio 2960. Folio 2968 bears the endorsement: "'1594 Translation of the Empress letter to the Queens Majesty. Receaved at Grenewich ultimo Iulii.'

This, and not the presentation copy (British Museum, Cotton Ms Nero B. viii, f. 63) which has been preserved with the Turkish original, is the text copied by Richard Wrag in Constantinople and later reproduced by Hakluyt, with some minor variants. 14

15 It closely resembles watermark no. 606 (an angel and the initials " M R ") in J. Briquet, Les filigranes, 1 (1867). Briquet notes it for a letter written at Sinope in 1584.
16 Hakluyt, Glasgow reprint, vi, 114–16. The variants are indicated in my transcription.

Variants in Hakluyt:
13 scrittura. 15 perfetta. 17 parte. 18 indifferentemente. 19 il. 20 gli. 21 cieli. 22 comparacion. 23 profeti. 24 a la cui. 25 grandessa. 26 arrive. 27 perfezione. 28 oppone. 29 inciniamo. 30 il. 31 ottentato. 32 lutto. 33 ragi. 34 dal. 35 del. 36 e added. 37 Mahomet Mustaffa. 38 sepultura. 39 chimati. 40 Ungria. 41 Vulachia. 42 Abessis. 43 Giovassir.
16. Crovacia, Belgrado sempre felicissimo, et de dodici Avoli possessor della 
17. Corona, et della stripe di Adam fin hora Imperator fiel 47 de 48 
Imperator con-
18. servato dalla divina providenza Re di ogni dignita, et honore 
Sultan 
19. Morat, che il Signor Dio sempre augmenti le sue forze, et 
padre di quello a 
20. Ci aspeta la Corona Imperiale, orto, et Cipresso mirabile, 
degno della 
21. seda Regale, et vero Erede del comando Imperiale, dignissimo Mehemet 
22. Kan fiol 45 de Sultan Morat Kan, che Dio compiace li suoi 
disegni, et 
23. alonja li suoi giorni felici; Dalla parte della Madre del qual 
qui scrive

f. 293b

1. La presente alla serenissima, et Gloriosissima fra le Prudentissime 
Donne, et Eletta fra li 
2. trionfanti sotto il stendardo di Jesu Christo, Potentissima et 
Richissima Regrice, 
3. et al mondo singularissima fra il feminil sesso La serenissima Regina 
Inghilterra, 
4. che segue le vestigie di Maria vergine, il fine della quale sia con 
bene et perfezione 
5. secondo il suo desiderio / Le mando una salutazione di Pace cosi 
honorata 
6. che non basta tutta la copia de Rossignoli con le loro musiche 
arrivere non che 
7. con questa carta per l’amore singolare che è conceputo fra noi, 
che è simile 
8. a un horto de ucelli vaghi, che il Signore Dio la faci degna di 
salvacione, et il 
9. fine suo sia tale che in questo mondo et nel futuro sia con pace.

10. Dopo comparso li suoi onorati presenti dalla seda della serenità vostra, sapera 
11. che sono capitati in un hora, che ogni punto e stato una 
consolazione di lungo tempo, 
12. per occassione del Ambasciatore di vostra serenità venuto alla 
feice Porta del Imperatore 
13. con tanto nostro contento quanto si possi desiderare, et con quello 
a lettera 
14. di vostra serenità che ci è stata presentata dal nostro Enunciation 
con gran honore, 
15. la Carta della quale odorava di Canfora et Ambracano, et 
l’Inchiostro 
16. di Musco perfetto, et quella pervenuta In nostra manco 87 tutta la 
continenza 
17. di essa a parte a parte ho ascoltato Intentamente, Quello che hora 
si conviene 
18. è che corrispondente alla nostra affezione in tutto quello che si 
aspeta alle 
19. cose attenente alli paesi che sono sotto il Comando di vostra 
serenità, lei non manchi 
20. di sempre tenirmi dato noticia, acio che in tutto quello che 
l’occorra Io 
21. possi compiere la de quello che fra le nostre serenità e conveniente, 
acio che 87 
22. quelle cose che si interpredierano habino il desiderato buon fine, 
perché 
23. Io saro sempre racordello Al Altissimo Imperatore delle occorsene di vostra 
serenità, 
24. perché sia in ogni occasione compiaciuta, con che finendo la pace sia

f. 294a

1. con vostra serenità, et con quelli che seguitano dretamente la via 
di Dio; 
2. Scritta alli primi della luna di Rabielavo anno del 
Proffetta 1002 / 144
HE is the Helper! 157

The opening of the sincere speech and the commencement of the glorifying discourse,

having been decorated with the declaration of the uniqueness of His majesty and with the glorification of the magnificence and perfection of the Lord—High Exalted be He [above all] that they ascribe (unto Him)!—158 the Absolute and the Veiler 159 and the Creator [. . . ? 3 words . . . ]. Who, when its elements and forms and all its bodies and spirits did not exist, brought the world into existence, caused the nine spheres to revolve and established the seven earths,159 the Ruler who has no chancellor and the Supreme Creator who is without equal, the Maker of existing things, the Originator of shapes and colours, the Unique One, the Worshipped without peer, the Lord God—exalted be His glory above His creation!—

and having been ornamented with the salutation of the perfumed sepulchre and the pure soul of Lord Muḥammad [the chosen, upon whom and upon whose friends and followers be perpetual peace!], the apostle of the Lord of the worlds, the chosen prophet, the intercessor at the Day of Reckoning, the friend of God, of Muhammad who is the perfect eulogy of the Great Throne, of Muhammad who is the beautiful reflection of the Garden of Paradise, the seal of the prophets [. . . ? 2 words . . . ], the crown on the head of happiness, the pearl in the shell of existence, the chief of the prophets, of him who is the best of all His created beings and His elected,

thereafter,

His Highness Muḥammad Khān—may he live long and attain that which he desires!—the worthy of the gifts of the Ever-

157 This reference to God as the True Helper is an invariant appropriate to a letter which is essentially a promise of help.

158 Passages in square brackets are restorations based on the Italian translation.

159 For Sāliḥ see E.P., i, 717a ("A-Aynāt al-Humāzal").

159 On the cosmographic ideas expressed here, see E. J. W. Gibb's A History of Ottoman poetry, i (1909), chapter 2.

159 I.e. Şāfiye the Khāṣṣīk; on her see below, pp. 144 f.
and woman of Mary's way—may her last moments be concluded with good and may she obtain that which she desires!—lines 14-15 with the intention of her following the guidance in the right path, let there be made a salutation so gracious that (all) the rose-garden's roses are but one petal from it and a speech so sincere that the (whole) repertoire of the garden's nightingales is but one stanza of it, a prayer which bestows a fortunate end, a praise which brings forth felicity in this world and the next!

lines 15-19 After Her Felicitous Majesty's presents and gifts have been accounted for, it is to be made known that at an august time whose every moment was more precious than several years and every hour than several days and nights, by the hand of Her ambassador who came to rub his forehead on the threshold of happiness of His Majesty, the fortunate and felicitous Padishah of Islam and the Marslike sovereign, a special letter, full of marvels, whose paper was more fragrant than pure camphor and ambergris and its ink than finest musk, notifying indescribable and inmeasurable consideration and love towards (me) Her well-wisher, reached (me) by the good offices of the Agha of the Door of chastity and modesty and entered the circle of arrival by the hand of the highest attendant of the curtain of chastity. What was expressed in the contents of Her letter became recorded by the ear of acceptance, and in justice

lines 20-23 It caused the esteem heretofore attached to that cradle of rule and dominion to increase. If She will never cease from (sending) such letters which foster the increase of sincerity and love, this is to be made known: There shall never be cessation from news about Her good health arriving and news about Her good health becoming known, so that while striving for that illustrious princess's and honoured lady's salvation and Her success in Her desires, I can repeatedly mention Her Highness's gentility and praise at the footstool of His Majesty, the fortunate and felicitous

117 Le. Edward Barton; on him see below, p. 143 f.

118 Probably the famous Hungarian emir Ghezander (see Hammer, GOR, iv, 7), Qajars under Muzaf and Mohammed III. On Qajars see Gibb and Bowen, "Islamic Society and the West," i (1850), 78.

119 Le. the women's quarters in the harem.

120 Le. the Kāyā Qādn (Gibb and Bowen, i, 74); perhaps Jansdān Qādn (see Hammer, GOR, iv, pp. 102, 241).

82 Skillett, Three letters from Šāfiyye to Elizabeth I

Padishah, the Lord of the fortunate conjunction and the sovereign who has Alexander's place, and I shall endeavour for Her aims [... 4 words ... ]

line 24 And the most sublime salutation be upon whomsoever follows the right guidance! Written in the first decade of the month Rabī' al-Awal of the year one thousand and two of the Hegira of the Prophet—blessings and peace be upon him! 121

DOCUMENTS II AND III

Two almost identical Turkish letters from the Wālid Šāfiyye to Queen Elizabeth, undated [of circa 26 November 1589]. Document II is folio 10 and Document III is folio 5 of Public Record Office, S. P. 102/4, see plates XXXIX and XL.

Summary:

After greeting the Queen, the Wālid notifies the receipt of her letter and promises to act as her intermediary with the Sultan in the matter of the English capitulations. She urges the Queen to be firm in friendship. The arrival and acceptance of a coach from the Queen is mentioned and in return the Wālid sends various items of Turkish ladies-costume and certain jewels, all of which are listed; in this respect only do the two letters differ. The first, delivered by the Boštanjishsha, accompanies a robe, a girdle, sleeves, various handkerchiefs, and a crown of pearls and rubies; the second, delivered by the Kūna, accompanies a crown of diamonds and rubies.

Description:

As has already been noted (see above, p. 120), a transcription of these two letters has been published by A. N. Kurat. Document II is a sheet, 41 x 24½ cm., of white European paper, smooth on the written side, with a watermark which I am unable to identify. The invocatio is placed at the top edge, near the centre. The twenty-six lines of text, written in black ink, occupy 20½ cm. of the total length. The first line is 20½ cm. below the top edge and begins 9 cm. from the right edge, at an impressed line running from top to bottom. When, with line 15, the bottom of the paper was very nearly reached, the sheet was turned upside down and the text continued for another ten lines in the margin, these lines reaching from the bottom of the main text to near line 1. Then the paper was turned again and the final line (26) was written the right way up, at the very bottom of the paper, beneath line 15. 1 cm. above the first line and very near the right margin there is an impression, 16½ x 12 mm., of the Wālid's seal in black ink, the script appearing as black on white around the central lozenge and as white on
black inside it. The document, now folded in half, was originally folded ten times, from the bottom upwards.

Document III is a sheet, 38½ × 23 cm., of white Oriental paper, smoothed on the written side. The invocatio is placed at the top edge, near the centre. The thirty-one lines of text, written in black ink, occupy 19½ cm. of the total length. The first line is 28½ cm. below the top edge and begins 8½ cm. from the right edge, at an impressed line running from top to bottom. When, with line 15, the bottom of the paper was nearly reached, the sheet was turned upside down and the text continued for another fifteen lines in the margin, these lines reaching from the bottom of the main text to 24 cm. above line 1. Then the paper was turned again and the final line (31) was written right up at the very bottom of the paper, beneath line 15. This letter also bears an impression of the Wâlide’s seal, exactly like that of Document II, placed 1 cm. above the first line and 1½ cm. to the left of the margin. The document, now folded in half, was originally folded eleven times, from the bottom upwards.

The two letters are extremely primitive and crude in appearance and, as shall be seen, also in style. The hand, which is the same in both documents, is awkward and unskilled, the spelling is often incorrect and inconsistent, and the composition is in general poor and even faulty. They are personal letters of the Wâlide written, as we learn from an English witness, John Sanderson (see below, p. 151), in the harem by one of her women. Comparing them with the letters sent to Venice (see Appendix and plates XI and XII), it would seem that they are typical "Sultana" letters and that the beautiful letter of 1593 may be unique of its kind.

Transcription of Document II [plate XXXIX]
The Italian translations (Public Record Office, S.P. 102/61, ff. 74-5 and 78-9)

The translation of Document II (S.P. 102/61, ff. 74-5) is written on a single sheet of white European paper, 42 cm. long and originally 31 cm. wide (cf. ff. 78-9), but now, having been clipped, only 29½ cm. wide. The paper, which is watermarked with a crown, has been folded to form two leaves, each 29½ x 21 cm. The writing is a fine Italic, in black ink: many examples of this hand may be seen among the letters sent to England by Barton and Lello. There are twenty-seven lines of text, of which folio 74a contains twenty-one lines and folio 74b six lines. On folio 75a is the endorsement: "1599 Empresse of Turchi to her Majesty"; folio 75b is blank. The original six foldings can still be seen.

The translation of Document III (S.P. 102/61, ff. 78-9) is written on the same kind of paper and by the same hand as that of Document II

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The translation of Document II (S.P. 102/61, ff. 74-5) is written on a single sheet of white European paper, 42 cm. long and originally 31 cm. wide (cf. ff. 78-9), but now, having been clipped, only 29½ cm. wide. The paper, which is watermarked with a crown, has been folded to form two leaves, each 29½ x 21 cm. The writing is a fine Italic, in black ink: many examples of this hand may be seen among the letters sent to England by Barton and Lello. There are twenty-seven lines of text, of which folio 74a contains twenty-one lines and folio 74b six lines. On folio 75a is the endorsement: "1599 Empresse of Turchi to her Majesty"; folio 75b is blank. The original six foldings can still be seen.

The translation of Document III (S.P. 102/61, ff. 78-9) is written on the same kind of paper and by the same hand as that of Document II

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Translation of Document II

1. Alla piu Gloriosa fra le Castissime del Signori grandi che seguitano
2. Tus, Eletta fra gli Magni & Potenti della legge Christiana,
3. moderatrice delle cosse della nazione Nazarena, fulgidissima
4. splendidissima & Honoratissima Sig.ra Regina D’Inghilterra
5. la cui fine sia con prosperità & ogni bene. Doppo che a vostra
6. Serenità saranno presentate le nostre pure & sincere salutazioni &
7. recomandazioni, le quale procedono dalla nostra molta sin-
8. -era amicita & benevolenza, a vostra Serenità sara noto &
9. manifesto, qualemente la letitera di vostra Serenità essendo qui venuta
10. & da noi ricevuta, abbiamo inteso tutto quello che la Serenità
11. vostra habbia scritto, & piacendo a Dio secondo quella da
12. noi sara osservato, della qual osservanza non solamente
13. vostra Serenità sia certissima ma anche si assicuri, che non manca-
14. -remo sempre d’esorrare il Serenissimo Re nostro figliuolo, accio
15. che debb osservare secondo gli suoi privilegii, sì che
16. la vostra Magesta per questa cosa non habbia nissuna cura, ma
17. degnarsi sempre star ferma nella nostra muta amicita, piac-
18. -endo a Dio non sara male. La Caroza qual vostra Magesta
19. habbia mandato essendo a noi stata conseguita hab-
20. -bian accettato con gratissimo animo : Noi ancora per la
21. fermezza della nostra muta amicita habbiano mandato

Translation of Document III

1. a vostra Serenità una Veste, una Cintura, un par di manichi,
2. duo fadolexi per infantil con d’Argento, & tre Seghitori
3. lavorati di seda, & Ghirlanda di perle al modo di
4. franchia, tutte queste preghiamo di degnarsi accetare
5. con buon animo. Cosi alla Magesta vostra sia noto. Nel
6. restante la salutiamo.
Translation of Document III

f. 78a
1. Alla Gloriosissima fra le castissime delle Signore grandi che se-
2. -guitano Ioan, Eletta fra li Magni & Potenti della legge
3. Christiana, moderatrice delle cose della natione Naza-
4. -rena, fulgissima Splendissima & Honoratissima Signora Regina
5. D’Inghilterra, la cui fine sia con prosperità &
6. ogni bene. Doppo che a vostra Serenità saranno presentate le nostre
7. pure & sincere salutations & recomandazioni le quale
8. procedono della nostra molta sincera amicitia & benevolen-
9. -za, a vostra Serenità sara noto & manifesto qualmente la lettera di vostra
10. Serenità essendo qui venuta & da noi ricevuta, habbiamo inteso
11. tutto quello che la Serenità vostra habbia scritto, & piacendo
12. a Dio secondo quella da noi sara osservato della qual osservan-
13. -za non solamente vostra Serenità sia certissima ma anche si assicuri
14. che non mancaremo sempre essortare il Serenissimo Re nostro figli-
15. -olo accio che debba osservare secondo gli suoi privilegi,
16. sì che la vostra Serenità per questa causa non habbia nissuna
17. cura, ma degnarsi sempre stare ferma nella nostra mutua
18. amicitia, piacendo a Dio non sara male La Carozza
19. qual vostra Serenità habbia mandato, essendo da noi stata con-
20. -segnata habbiam accetto con gratissimo animo.
21. Noi ancora a vostra Serenità habbiamo mandato, per mano
22. della Kira, che sta nel servito di una Girlanda

f. 78b
1. con diamanti mescolato al modo di franchia, qual acceta-
2. -re in buona parte. & altra di questo per mano di Bus-
3. -tangi Bassi ha habbiamo mandato, una nostra letiera, & alcune
4. robbe & una altra Girlanda mescolato con perle
5. così le sara noto. Nel restante la salutiamo.

English rendering: Document II

HE

Seal: Around the edge; Thou art my desire (my Murid), O dweller in the heavens! O Lord, O Mehemmed, glory of the world!

Centre; The mother of Sulthan Mehemmed Khan.

Skilister, Three letters from Saffye to Elizabeth I

lines 1-5 Address, see below n. 57.

lines 5-9 After the presentation and offering of sincere greetings and abundant salutations, rose-perfumed, which emanate from pure mutual confidence and the abundance of amiety, what has to be submitted and notified is this: Your letter has arrived and reached (us); whatsoever you said became known to us.

lines 10-15 God willing, action will be taken according to what you said.

Be of good heart in this respect! We do not cease from admonishing our son, His Majesty the Padishah, and from telling him: "Do act according to the treaty!" God willing, may you not suffer grief in this respect!

lines 16-19 May you, too, always be firm in friendship! God willing, it will never fail. And you sent us a coach; it has arrived and has been delivered. It had our gracious acceptance.

lines 20-24 We, too, have sent you a robe, a girdle, a sleeve, two gold-embroidered handkerchiefs, three towels, one crown studded with pearls and rubies. May you excuse me for it! Thus may it be known! Finally, prayer (for you).

67 The Turkish address, as it stands, is too faulty to be translated, therefore the translation of the correct form offered in n. 3 to the transcription is substituted here for it: "The pride of the great Christian princes, the chosen of the illustrious nobles in the Messiah’s nation, the supreme mediator of the states of the Nazarene sect, trailing the skirts of pomp and dignity, possessing the tokens of honour and glory, the king of England, may his last moments be concluded with good!" The usual address to Queen Elizabeth runs as follows: "The pride of the virtuous Christian women, the chosen of the honoured ladies in the Messiah’s nation, the supreme mediator of the Nazarene sect, trailing the skirts of pomp and dignity, possessing the tokens of honour and glory, Elizabeth, queen of England, may her last moments be concluded with good!"

68 I.e. Mehemmed III.

69 I.e. the first English capitations of 1800; see Hakluyt, Gospel reprint, v, 169.

70 Turkish bir yar "a sleeve". Sir W. Foster in his "The travels of John Sanderson in the Levant," Hakluyt Soc., 2nd ser., lviii (1831), p. 185, misread "a pair of shews (i.e. shoes)" for "a pair of sleeves" (= "sleeves, in the original of Sanderson’s journal.

71 The Kir\\u00e8 letter in her letter (see below p. 141 f.) describes these more fully.

72 Turkish Prenslik, not to be found in any standard dictionary but it can be understood from Sanderson’s account (Travels, p. 185) and the Kir\\u00e8’s letter (below, p. 142 f.) that it means "ruby". In support of this meaning can be quoted J. A. Vullers, Lexicon Persico-Latinum etymologicum, li (1884), s.v. 3, art. 3, "rub, rubid coloris". Prenslik may have denoted some inferior kind of ruby—Sanderson says that the jewels were "none of the finest".

73 The same Turkish expression must underlie the "sia con perdone" in the translation of Nur Rumi’s letter to the Ballo in 1579 (Spagio, "Una Sultana Veneziana, " Nuovo Archivio Fonetico, xix (1909), 34), which the Ballo in his accompanying letter explains as: "May you excuse me if the present is not suitable and what is deserved".
Document III

Invocation, seal and lines 1–9 are the same as the corresponding parts of Document II.

lines 10–14 God willing, one will act according to your wishes. We do not cease from admonishing our son, His Majesty the Pashah, and from telling him: “Do act according to the treaty!” Be of good heart in this respect!

lines 15–16 And may you, too, be firm in your friendship! God willing, it will never fail.

lines 17–30 And you sent us a coach; it has arrived and has been delivered. It had our gracious acceptance. We, too, have sent you by the hand of the Kira in our service a crown of rubies mixed with diamonds. May you excuse (me for it)!

And apart from this we had sent by the hand of the Bostanjibash a letter and a few articles, a crown with pearls and rubies intermixed. Thus may you know!

line 31 Finally, prayer (for you).

THE KIRA’S LETTER
A letter in Italian from Esperanza Malchi, the Sultana’s Jewish agent, to Queen Elizabeth; dated 16/28 November 1599.

Summary:

After addressing the Queen, the Kira discloses how she has desired to serve her ever since entering the Sultana’s employ, and now that the Queen’s ambassador has arrived with a present for her mistress he has found her ready to help. She lists the presents sent in return from the Sultana, then advises the Queen about the gifts she should send—jewels, cosmetics, and fine cloth. These should be sent to the Kira who will deliver them herself to the Sultana.

The text of this personal letter of the Kira to the Queen was published, with his own translation into English, by H. Ellis in his

44 i.e. the Sultana’s Jewish agent, Esperanza Malchi; see below, pp. 144 f. Her own letter to Queen Elizabeth follows.
45 Probably the Bostanjibash Delli Ferhil Pasha: on him see Siijil-i-Othmanli, iv, 17; on his office see Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society and the West, i, 84.
uzanza di questo Regno, et un collar di perle et rubini; il tutto manda la sera, Regina all'illene, S. Imbas-iasi del Re Bostanghi Basi e' per mia mano gli ho consignato al ilmene, S. Imbasiasi una co- rona di diamante gioia di sua setra, quali dice piaera 3 a sua maesta portar per amor di lei et de la receputa dar aviso. Et per esser sua Maesta donna senza ver- gogna alcuna la posio hucarp con questo aviso il qual è che trovandosi nel suo regno aque destillati fini de hogni sorte per la facia et hogli hodoreire per le mani sua Maesta mi favoriza mandarne per mia mano (for this most serene Queen; by my hand as, being articles for ladies, she does not wish them to pass through other hands.) per il medesimo se si trovano nel suo Regno panini di seta ho di luna rosse stravaganti et conveniente per una tanta alla Regina come lei sua Maesta potra mandarli che piu avera lei caro questo che qual si voglia gioia che sua Maesta gli posia mandar non altro sollo pregar il S' Iddio gli dia vittoria di soi ne- mici et sempre sia S.M. prospera et fellice. Amen. Di Constantinopolis 16 Nov. 1599. Umlissima di S.M. Esperanza Malchi.

English rendering

To the Most Serene Queen of England, France and Ireland. Just as the sun gives light with its rays over the earth, Your Majesty's power and greatness extend throughout the whole universe, so much so that those who are of other nations and religion wish to serve Your Majesty. This I say on my own behalf, although being as I am a Jewess by faith and of a different nation from Your Majesty, from the first hour since it has pleased the Lord God to put it into the heart of this our most serene Queen Mother to use me in her service, I have always been desirous that the opportunity might arise for me to be able to show Your Majesty this good will of mine. Now that Your Majesty has sent this most illustrious ambassador to this kingdom with a present for this most serene Queen my lady, in as much as he was wished to make use of me, he has found me ready. And now at the leave-taking of the aforesaid most illustrious ambassador, the most serene Queen, wishing to show Your Majesty the love she bears you, is sending Your Majesty with this most illustrious ambassador, a robe and a girdle and two handkerchiefs worked with gold and three worked with silk according to the custom of this kingdom and a necklace of pearls and rubies; all of which the most serene Queen sends to the most illustrious Lord Ambassador by the hand of the Lord Bostanggi Basi and by my own hand I have delivered for you to the most illustrious Lord Ambassador, a crown of diamond gems from Her Serenity which she says it will please Your Majesty to wear for her sake, and to give notice of the receipt. And on account of Your Majesty's being a woman I can without any embarrassment employ you with this notice, which is that as there are to be found in your kingdom rare distilled waters of every kind for the face and odiferous oils for the hands, Your Majesty would favour me by sending some of them by my hand for this most serene Queen; by my hand as, being articles for ladies, she does not wish them to pass through other hands. Likewise, if there are to be found in your kingdom cloths of silk or wool, articles fantastic and becoming such an exalted Queen as she, Your Majesty will be able to send them, for she will hold this more dear than any jewel whatsoever that Your Majesty might send her. No more, only to pray the Lord God that He may grant you victory over your enemies and that Your Majesty may always be prosperous and happy. Amen. From Constantinople, 16 November 1599.

Your Majesty's most humble (servant),
Esperanza Malchi.

COMMENTARY

Anglo-Ottoman diplomatic relations were first established in 1583 when William Harborne arrived in Constantinople as Queen Elizabeth's ambassador, carrying her letters and delivering the royal present, due at the installation of every ambassador, to the Sultan—in this case to Murad III (1574–95). Harborne returned to England in August 1588, leaving behind as agent his secretary, the then twenty-five years old Edward Barton. 4 In spite of this inferior status, Barton at once involved himself in many of the far-reaching diplomatic intrigues which were rife in the Ottoman capital. To further his aims he even sought the support of the Imperial harem, using as his go-between probably the same Jewish

woman whom we shall later encounter as the co-operator of his successor, Henry Lello—that is to say Esperanza Malchi, the last representative of the series of women who, with the title of Kira, had served the Sultanas as medical advisers, entertainers, business-agents and in all their contacts with the outside world. In order to achieve full ambassadorial status Barton needed to procure a new present and it was only after a long and hard struggle on his part that in 1532 the Queen's second gift left England, so that in the October of that year he was at last able to deliver the royal letters and present to the Sultan. At the same time a special letter and gifts also arrived for the Sultana, sent on the advice of Barton who wished to encourage his good relations with the harem.

Şâfiye, the Sultana from whom our three letters emanate, was, according to the Venetian Baisos Morosini and Bernardo, of Albanian origin, a view confirmed by Soranzo, who describes her even more accurately as "nativa di Rezi, villa delle montagne de' Ducagini nell'Albania". Gerlach, another reliable contemporary informant, writes of her, however, in his Diary in 1575 as a Moldavian and in 1576 as a Bosnian, whereas the Bailo Tiepolo calls her a Slav in 1576 and the Bailo Zane calls her a Circassian in 1594. She must have been born in 1559, or not long after. The French ambassador de Germigny, on the authority of her Kira, says that her age was twenty-nine or thirty in 1583; equally relying on information from a Kira, the Portuguese Jew Solomon Usque, in his account for Barton of the events occurring at the death of Murâd III, says that Şâfiye was then (in 1595) forty-five. He tells us that as a girl of thirteen she became the concubine of the sixteen years old Prince Murâd who, since 1562, was Sanjak Beg of Saruhan. She was presented to him by his cousin Humálayh, then

1 Morosini (1588) in E. Albri, Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Venezi, III, iii, 283, 296; Bernardo (1592), ibid., III, ii, 360.
2 L. Soranzo, L'Ottomano (1598), p. 2. "Rezi" is perhaps the modern Kryza in the "Ducagini" mountains in the N.W. corner of present-day Albania; cf. the map in Enciclopedia Italiana, "Albania".
3 S. Gerlach, Tage-Buch (1674), pp. 77, 177.
4 Tiepolo in Albri, III, ii, 166; Zano, ibid., III, iii, 430.
5 In his report to Catherine de’ Medici, 12 July 1583; in Haruzanaki and Jorga, Documente pregnancy la Istoria Românilor, xi (1909), 166.
6 On him see C. Roth, "Salustio Lascaris...", Jewish Quarterly Review, N.S., xxxiv (1844-4), 65-68.
7 For facsimiles of the original (P.R.O., S.P. 97/3, f. 8-10) of his Relazioni de le cose occorse in Constantinopolis ne la morte di Sultana Murâ; and l’intrata del nuovo Sultan Mehemet see H. G. Rosedale, Queen Elizabeth and the Levant Company, plates vi-vii. Rosedale (pp. 19-20) offers a very faulty translation of it. For Şâfiye’s age see plate vii.

Ferhat Pasha’s wife, according to the reports of Gerlach and the Bailo Tiepolo in 1576. In the summer-camp on Bozdagh near Manisa in May 1566 Şâfiye bore Murâd a son, the future Mehemmed III. Murâd left Manisa in 1574 upon news of the death of his father Selim II, whom he was to succeed. Şâfiye, as his Khâge, was now second place in the harem under his mother Nûr Bânû, the Venetian Cecilia Venier-Baffo, who until her death in 1583 ruled the harem as Hâlide Sultan. It must have been at this time that Şâfiye began to be identified with Nûr Bânû, an error of early date, first rectified by Albri in 1585 and finally discussed and dismissed by E. Spegni in 1900.

Morosini in his report of 27 December 1583 describes Şâfiye as a witty and quick-tongued lady, rather naughtly and possessing all the bad characteristics of the native Albanian; twelve years later, however, Usque calls her very prudent, wise, clever and most patient. He also remarks that although Murâd never made her his legal wife by giving her the "chebab" (i.e. kahîh, the "dowry"). He contented himself with Şâfiye alone for the first twenty years of the thirty-two years they lived together. Of their many children, besides Mehemmed, only two daughters survived: Asieh, the wife of Ibrahim Pasha and Fatima, who married first Khalil Pasha and later Je‘tar Pasha.

As Khâge, especially after the death of Nûr Bânû, Şâfiye enjoyed great influence in the affairs of the Empire; upon the accession of her son Mehemmed III (1595–1603), however, as Hâlide Sultan, she became all-powerful. Like her predecessor Nûr Bânû, Şâfiye was now corresponding with the rulers of Western states, using her Kira as agent.
During their revolt in 1600 against the harem tyranny the Spanis

demanded Şāfiye’s exile and the heads of the Qaṣmāgha Qaḥānfar and

the Bostanjbushu Ferkhā Agha, but without success. While her son

lived Şāfiye’s power could not be diminished. Although the two major

harem servants escaped, however, she was unable to protect her Kira,

who was stabbed to death and torn to pieces by the Spanis on 1 April 1600.

This assassination, which provoked many contemporary accounts, will be
discussed below. In January 1604, less than a month after her son’s
death, Şāfiye was exiled by her grandson Ahmed I to the Old Seraglio,

where she died in January 1619, during the reign of her great-grandson

‘Othmān II. 38

The ship which carried the Queen’s present, the Assencion of London,

set sail in March 1593 and reached Constantinople in September. One of

her passengers was Richard Wrag, to whom we owe a vivid eye-witness

account of the ceremony on 17 October during which Barton made the

presentation to the Sultan. 39 Şāfiye received her gift soon after this and

Wrag gives the following description: “The Present sent her in her

majesties name was a jewel of her majesties picture, set with some rubies

and diamants, 3 great pieces of gilt plate, 10 garments of cloth of gold,

a very fine case of glass bottles silver & gilt, with 2 pieces of fine Holland,”

which so gratefully she accepted, as that she sent to know of the ambas-

sador what present he thought she might return that would most delight

her majesty: who sent word that a suit of princely attire being after the

Turkish fashion would for the rareness thereof be acceptable in England.

Whereupon she sent an upper gowne of cloth of gold very rich, an under

gowne of cloth of silver, and a girdle of Turkis worke, rich and faire, with

a letter of gratification, which for the rariness of the stil, because you

may be acquainted with it, I have at the ende of this discourse hereunto

annexed, which letter and present, with one from the grand Signor, 40 was

sent by M. Edward Bushell, and M. William Aldridge over-land the 20 of

March, who passed through Valachia and Moldavia, & so through Poland.”

38 Hammer, GOR, iv, 354, 509.

39 In his A description of a Voyaige to Constantinople and Syria in Hakluyt, Glasgow

reprint, vi, 94–118.

40 Wrag’s list of presents to the Sultana agrees exactly with the official inventory in

B.M., Cotton Ms Nero B. xi, f. 154a.

The text of the Sultan’s letter is only known from the entry in Mūṣafirname Dellovi,

71, p. 69, no. 141, published by A. Reşit in Türkleş ve Kralliğe Elizabeth (1932), pp. 28–9

(Dec. 1932) and again by I. H. Ünsal in “On dolmuşunun acı bıçaklanma kadar Türk-

İngiliz müstahabına darı vezikalı, Belleten, xii (1840), 620–2.

The “letter of gratification” which Wrag refers to and appends to his “discourse” is the official Italian translation (see above, p. 126 f.). It must have been made in Barton’s house, where the Sultana’s letter was received and where Wrag was staying. The writer of the translation—and very probably its author also—was Paolo Mariani, a young and impetuous Venetian merchant who, after having been successively French and English consul in Egypt, was at that time acting as secretary to Barton, whose friend and confidant he was. 41 Comparison of its writing with that of an autograph letter of Mariani’s (S. P. 105/109, f. 17) immediately shows that both are by the same hand. This translation was sent overland to England together with the original and the Sultana’s gifts on 30 March 1594 and, according to the endorsement quoted above, was delivered at Greenwich on 10 August. Though in no way literal and in

many cases inaccurate, it renders adequately enough the contents and

tone of the letter as a whole. 42

The other Italian translation, which today still accompanies the

Turkish original in British Museum, Cotton Ms Nero B. viii, f. 63, and therefore at first might be regarded as the translation sent from Constanti

nople, after closer study appears to have been copied in London, with several mistakes, from the Mariani translation. Probably the latter was considered, not without reason, to be too poor in appearance to be presented to the Queen. 43 Therefore, an aesthetically more satisfying copy was produced which, after presentation, remained with the original, whilst the official translation was kept in the State Paper Office among the

Turkey papers.

The following inventory of the Sultana’s gifts, which gives the value of each article in aspers as well as in pounds sterling, must also have been drawn up in Constantinople under Barton’s supervision and sent off with the gifts and letter: 44

41 This is attested for 1592 when the English merchant John Sanderson arrived in

Constantinople; see The travels of John Sanderson, op. cit., p. 10. Ibid., 13, the record of

Mariani’s death in 1596.

42 The English translation which follows it in Hakluyt was probably made by Hakluyt

himself and has been repeatedly reprinted, e.g. in A. von Miltitz, Manuel des Consuls,

II, ii (1840), 109–10 (Appendice vii); Rosedale, op. cit., 2; E. Pears, “The Spanish Armada and the Ottoman Porte,” English Historical Review, viii (1893), 405.

43 This presentation copy seems to be the work of the then secretary for the Levant

correspondence: c.f. the copy of the Queen’s letter to the King of Morocco (B.M., Cotton

Ms Nero B. viii, f. 71) of 31 March, 1600, which is in exactly the same hand.

44 P.B.O., S.P. 97/2. f. 209–1; the text in M. Epstein, The early history of the Levant

Company (1964), pp. 13–14, is incomplete and inaccurate.
"The particular and the value of the Present sent from the Greate Sultan to his Majestie in Anno. 1593. as followeth.

Firste two garmentes of cloth of silver might cost
aspers .20000. £68.00.00.

More one girdle of cloth of silver might coste.
aspers .3000. £10.00.00.

More two handkerchers wrought with massy gold
aspers .6000. £24.00.00.

More one shell of gold which covered the scale of her letere to her Majestie uppore which was sett ii smale sparckes of Dyamondes and ii small sparckes of rubies might bee worth
£20.00.00.

The value of this present is. 720.00.00."

Additional note of circa 1599:

"In Lieu hereof the Comp : doe returne a coache richelye Furnished And Cravo her Majesties answer (if your ho : soe thinke meete) to the Sultana her letters."

Judging from Bartons's letter [to Sir Thomas Heneage] of 1 April 1593, the present as inventoried above did not include all the articles which the Sultana had intended for the Queen; 33

"Concerning that your honour mentioneth in your honours Letters of the 28th September that the queen of England thinketh it strange that the attyre for the head, with the earings which were your honour saith the principall part of the Sultana her present to the queen of England were imbezelled; Indeed I remember to have advise your honour that part of the Sultana her present was reteyned by the mediatrix betweene the Sultana and mee, for that I was advertised that the Sultana had ordeyned divers gentilnesses for the queen of England and being my selfe demanded what were expedient to be sent from the Sultana to the queen of England I replied the forme of the Sultana her usuall attyre, upon which was sent mee what I sent into England, but what particularties were deteyned I know not, and though it grieved mee sore to heare that part was imbezelled, and know none could have it but the mediatrix betweene the Sultana and mee, yet because my selfe cannot come to the speech of the Sultana, and all my businesse passe by the handes of the said Mediatrix, loosing her freindship, I loose the practick with the Sultana, and therefore stirred not in the matter, and now to meddle therein by your honours order, when I am sure to reape noe gaine, but displeasure, and hinderance to many my affaires, I thinke itt not wisedome: onlyt it may serve for a warninge to have knowne her quality and hereafter to dyele more warily."

Fynes Moryson, who in 1597 was in Constantinople and Bartons's guest, tells the same story: 33 "Yea such is the Corruption of bribery and so generall [i.e. among the Turks at that time] as when the Empresse mother sent a present of a whole linnen attyre richely wrought, to Elizabeth Queen of England, many pieces thereof were detayned by her women, to the utter disgrace of the present, till our Ambassador redeemed them with more mony then they were woorth." A tentative solution to the problem of the missing jewels will be discussed later.

True to her promise, the Sultana soon had an opportunity to use her influence in the interest of the Queen. She asked the Sultan to allow Barton to act as mediator between the Porte and the Emperor in the Hungarian war which had broken out in 1592, but she was unsuccessful, as the ambassador Zane reports on 4 December 1593: 33 "I hear that the Sultana has tried to persuaded the Sultan to allow the English Ambassador to mediate for peace, but that his Majesty would no ear to her."

Queen Elizabeth did not write to the Sultana again until the time when she at last sent a long overdue letter and present to Mohammed III. Such a letter and present had been due since January 1595, to congratulate the Sultan upon his accession and had become still more urgently needed after Barton's death in January 1598, when his secretary Henry Lello had to be introduced as ambassador. Finally, when in March 1599 the royal present, which included the famous organ for the Sultan, left England in the Hecate, the ship also carried a beautiful coach for the Wālīde. Among those on board were the coachman Edward Hale and the organ-maker Thomas Dallam of Lancashire. Another passenger was John Sanderson, newly appointed by the Levant Company as their treasurer in Constantinople; both he and Dallam have left us invaluable journals, of which ample use will be made in the following account. 34

33 C. Hughes, Shakespeare's Europe: unpublished chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary (1903), p. 68.
34 See S. P. You., ix (1897), item 240.
35 Some parts of Sanderson's diary-book (B.M., Lansdowne Ms 241) have been published in The travels of John Sanderson, cited above. Dallam's journal is printed as The diary of Master Thomas Dallam, ed. by J. T. Bent, in Early voyages and travels in the Levant, Hakluyt Soc., lixxviii (1898). For an entertaining account of this journey, based on Dallam's Diary, see S. Mayou, An organ for the Sultan (1896)."
The Hector reached Constantinople at the end of August. It was at first suggested that the coach should be given to the Sultan, since the organ had been sadly spoiled during the long voyage, but this idea had to be abandoned for, as Lello reported to Sir Robert Cecil; "The coach must of necessity be given to the old Sultan after it hath been brattred here long agoe by some out of England that hath higthenes had ordained the same," for hire, who longe seinc have taken notice ther of and nowe sheweth hire selfe to be glade, having alreadie sente to me that I wold sende for two horses, out of hire owene stable, to drawe the same."

Excitement and curiosity began to mount. On 12 September Sūfiye went by water to view the English ship, following the Sultan in his golden caique. By 21 September Dallam had managed to repair the organ and had begun to erect it in the Seragliio; he notes in his Diary: "The same Daye, our Ambassadour sente Mr. Paule Findor, which was then his secretary, with a presente to the Sultana, she being at her garthyn. The presente was a Coatche of six hundred pounde pounds value."  

The success of the presentation is shown by Lello's report: "The Sultana sente me wordes, that I should sende hire the Queenes lettere and the Coatche, which she harde [i.e. heard] was destind for hire to the courte wher she was with hire sonne, which accordingly I sente together with a fame by my Secretarie accompanied with Gentlemen and Merchantes of thewhich she made a great dee monstration of joy by hire Agent or Aga, and took it very greatly sendinge to them three vestes of cloth of silver, 300 chequins of gold and 40 chequins to the Coatchman the like have never byn seen or herde here that any of these have given any like rewardes, also profering hire selfe readye to doe all

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25 August/A September 1599: P.R.O., S.P. 97/4, f. 43a.
26 The person who "brattred" or spread the rumour around was William Aldrich; see Lello's next report of 8/18 September.
37 Dallam, Diary, p. 63.
38 Thus more valuable than the organ which cost about £800. Dallam adds, enigmatically: "At that time the Sultana did Take great lykinge to Mr. Findor, and after wardes she sente for him to have his private company, but there meetings was cross (i.e. crossed)." Findor was certainly a good-looking man, to judge from a portrait made in 1614, an engraving of which is reproduced in Sanderson, Travels, facing p. 222. On him see DNS, but no reference is given there to his life in Constantinople before his appointment as ambassadour in 1611. Sanderson, not usually quick to praise, writes of him just after he had left for England in 1599: "He is a sensible, wise, jentlemannlike man, and one that hear hath much credited our nation. I protest to you I am sorry of his departure, for hear he will be mist (i.e. missed)." (Travels, p. 186.)
39 Lello to Cecil, 22 September/2 October 1599: P.R.O., S.P. 97/4, ff. 486, 50a. For Sanderson’s account see Travels, p. 181.
40 Probably Rowland Bucket the organ-painter; cf. Dallam, Diary, p. 66. For vivid descriptions of other coach rides made by Ntr Birn and Sūfiye in 1573 and 1577, see Gering, Tags-Buch, pp. 29, 304, 381.
41 Lello to Cecil, 21/31 October 1599: P.R.O., S.P. 97/4, f. 53b.
42 Probably the Kir penalties.
43 In spite of the present, Lello was having no success in his struggle for a new capitulation.
44 Lello explains Findor’s delay in leaving for England to report personally on the difficult situation in Constantinople, on 4/14 November: "After the departure of the Shipp I determined to send my Secretarie for England who leasetho hath lynn Retayed.by the Queen mother sayng shee must wight to her majesty." (P.R.O., S.P. 97/4, f. 576.)
45 Sanderson, Travels, pp. 184–5.
46 See above, p. 139, n. 69.
Master Pinder departeth; with him Master Conisbie and the workmen of the instrument sent. God prosper them into Ingland." 47 It may be noted that the present of 1599 is almost identical with that sent in 1593. Thanks to her own letter (see above p. 140 ff.) we know that the "Chara" mentioned here was Esperanza Malchi, the last of the series of Kira, whose professional activities are well illustrated by the letter—the trading in jewels, the acquisition of luxury articles for the ladies of the harem, the dealing with European ambassadors. Her long intimacy with Şâfiye would seem to have emboldened her to address Queen Elizabeth in rather familiar terms. Sanderson, who knew her, calls her "a short, fat, trouble", 48 The expression calls to mind George Sandys' description of Levantine Jewesses, written about ten years later: 49 "They are generally fat, and rank of the savors which attend upon sluttish corpulence. For the most part they are goggle-eyed. They neither shun conversation, nor are too watchfully guarded by their husbands. They are good workwomen, and can and will do any thing, for profit, that is to be done by the art of a woman, and which sutes with the fashion of these countreys."

In his article "Die jüdischen Kira im Serai der Sultane" 50 J. H. Mordtmann gives much information about the only three Kira who are known at present, although there may well have been more. The first, Fâ'tema Qudin, a Crimean Karaito as it seems, was Kira to .Fecha Sultan, the mother of Suleymân I; she appears to have accepted Islam just before she died in 1548. The second, Esther Handali, probably of a Spanish Jewish family, 51 served Nûr Bâni, Murâd III's mother, and died about 1590. The third Kira, Esperanza Malchi, whom we may conclude to have been of Italian origin from the evidence of her name and the language in which she wrote her letter, was probably in Şâfiye's service for many years, since before her assassination on 7 April 1606 she had achieved such great influence and acquired so much wealth.

47 The party included Pinder, Conisby, William Hickockes a merchant, Dallam, Michael Watson the joiner, Rowland Hacket the painter and the coachman Edmund Hale; they were accompanied as far as Zante by a renegade Englishman, a certain Finch of Chorley in Lancashire, who served them as dragoman.

48 Sanderson, Travels, p. 86. For "trublin" see OED, art. "Trub." 2. "A little stout woman"; also, "a stout, sloven; a wanton; an opprobrious term."


50 In Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen, Berlin, xxi/ii (1929), 1-38.

51 Her letter of 1583 to the Doge and Senate (Spani, op. cit., Doc. ii) is in Spanish, and Ubovi in his report made for Barton in 1585, quoted above, calls her "La Bola Memoria della chiara di Scienze" = Jones? 52

—— Humphrey Conisby, who was one of the party which accompanied the present to England and was therefore not in Constantinople when the Spahis revolted against the domination of the harem and assassinated the Kira, must have had a correspondent there who sent him the information which he uses in the following account: 52 "They [i.e. the Spahis] drew the Kerah out of her houe (this was a Jew Woman, most deare to the Sultana, who by such grace, with her complishes, governed in effect, the whole empire: & was worth at her death Millions). Her they haued through the streetes, forth at Andrinople gate, & there killing her [after she had offered more for her lyfe then their payes came unto] they cutte her into small pecces, every one, that could get, carrying backe through the streetes to their howses, a peace of her flesh, upon his knives pointe. She was widow, & had 3 sonnes: one (which was chiefe Customer) they caught in the howse with her; but cut not him so in pecces, only they slew him; & straight burnt him to ashes. The Seconde fled clean away, unheard of. The third to save himself turned Turk. I remember her the rather because She sent letters, & Presentes of worth (with the Sultanaes) from herself, to her Majesty."

Pinder's party had left Constantinople on 8 December 1599 and, after travelling overland through Greece and embarking on the Hector at Zante, reached England in mid-May 1600. They carried with them Şâfiye's letters and presents and the translations, the Kira's letter and present, letters from the Sultan 53 and the Qâ'immaqâm Khalil Pasha 54 to the Queen, and Lello's report to Cecil of 27 November. 55 In this report Lello dismisses Şâfiye's gifts as "but trifles not princiolye or beesemingly her Highnes, yet these their fashyon and amouyst in all generall esteemed a great matter of freindshyp, because it is not their use to send presents to any prynce whatsoever". At the end of his dispatch he remarks: "After the queene Mother had conseyld to me the present aforesaid for the Queen she sent another small thing with another Letter, by the handes of the Jew woman her chiefe Kay a to be sent to the Queen which together with the rest I doe send by my said Secretary."
There is some mystery about each of Şâfiye’s two gifts to Queen Elizabeth: that of 1593 lost its most valuable part, a jewelled head-dress, whereas that of 1599 seems to have been enriched by a head-dress additional to the one already included in the present. Could the Kira have been responsible for both these changes? Then the second şafâna would perhaps be the same “attire for the head, with the earings” which, according to Barton, was stolen from the present of 1593 by his “mediatrix” with the Sultana, i.e. the Kira. That it was the Kira who not only delivered the second şafâna but was also its donor is explicitly stated by Conisby and Sanderson in the passages already quoted above. Furthermore, the latter remarks in a marginal note to his autobiography, when speaking of the death of the Kira’s eldest son on 2 April 1606: 

“He was a goodly Gentleman Lew, some few days before, I had shewed him our Ship, and had talked with him at his Mothers house, and Master Paul Pinder and my selfe, were with his Mother, to whom [i.e. to Findar] shee delivered for the Ambassador, to send the Queen a Şafâna, of Rabines from the Sultana, and another of Diamonds from her selfe, with tears in her eyes I well remember.”

The evidence of these two English eye-witnesses, both of them connected with the present, is contradicted, however, by the Sultana’s second letter (Document III), by Lello, and by the Kira’s own letter. Other perplexing questions remain unanswered. Why should Şafâna have sent her present in two parts, each accompanied by a separate letter of almost identical content? Why two head-dresses with only one robe? Finally, why does Document II, the letter delivered by the Bostanjibash, mention neither its bearer nor the other letter and gifts to be delivered by the Kira, whereas Document III mentions both its bearer, the Kira, and the letter and gifts brought by the Bostanjibash?

The gift, poor though it may have been, did not reach England unremarked. The Fugger agent, reporting from Venice on 3 March 1600 writes: 

“We are advised from Constantinople that the Sultan has sent magnificent gifts of rubies, pearls and diamonds to the Queen of England with a request that she should effect a peace between him and His Imperial Majesty.”

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44 In S. Purchas, Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes, Glasgow reprint, ix (1905), p. 435; Travels, p. 65. The marginal notes were added by Sanderson himself; see Travels, introduction, p. xxxix.

lines 1–3 After the offering of greetings befitting your friendship with the threshold of happiness of His Majesty the fortunate Padishah, the Refuge of the world, what has to be notified is this:
lines 4–6 This letter of ours has been written and dispatched to Your Excellencies because your ambassador, whom you dispatched at this time to congratulate upon the Imperial accession, has sent and delivered your letter and some tokens of friendship to us.
lines 6–12 As long as you are steadfast in perfect friendship with His Majesty the fortunate Padishah, the Refuge of the world, then also is certain, God Almighty willing, the treating kindly of your ambassador and baileys, with every kind of favours and graces, on the Imperial part of His Majesty the fortunate and glorious Padishah. Your ambassador also, having been honoured and respected in every way, has now been allowed to leave and depart for those parts. It is certain that our best assistance, as befits friendship, will be exerted in your affairs which occur in the noble Presence of His Majesty the fortunate Padishah.

Document B
A letter in Turkish from the Khâschi Şâfi‘e to the Doge of Venice, undated. Date of receipt, 17 March 1589. Venice, Archivio di Stato, Documenti turchi, Rusta VII. 2 (41).

Transcription [plate XLII]

HE

Seal: . . . O Lord, O Mehemmed, glory of the world!

line 1 His Highness the Beg of Venice, the glory of Christendom, good ending!

lines 1–4 After the greeting this is what has to be imparted: Your letter having arrived, the news of your well-being and whatsoever you may have said has been understood. You do not keep aloof from false rumours. With exaggerated complaints harm is done to the Muslims. What is necessary is this:

lines 4–8 Since you have made peace with and are friendly towards the Padishah, do practise a proper friendship! Do not interfere in all kinds of matters, for as much as you do not remain quiet neither will the Padishah let you get away with it like this. As long as you keep within your limits the Padishah for his part will do no harm. Well then, keep quiet so that the friendship may be lasting and upright! Thus may you do!

lines 8–9 And from our side two robes of honour and two towels have been dispatched. May you accept (them)!

line 10 And if there should be some matters you are asking from this threshold, God willing they will be dealt with. Finally, farewell!

17 for: تفویضی.