

OTTOMAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS DURING THE REIGN OF MAHMUD I

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for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

History

by

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

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

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

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ABSTRACT

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OTTOMAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS DURING THE REIGN OF MAHMUD I

The purpose of this study is to explore a few aspects of the international relations of the Ottoman State; especially diplomatic relations in the reign of Mahmud I (1730-1754). Diplomacy is the way to conduct international relations. International political events and wars and the political relations on account of these events that took place during the reign of Mahmud I were dealt in the *Sefaretnames* written by the ambassadors. The aim of this study is to assess the diplomatic relations during the reign of Mahmud I as a whole. The reign of Mahmud I has been selected as the beginning and end of the scope of the study.

This thesis is mainly based on archival documents, *Vekayinames* (chronicles), travel books and secondary books. Chapter one presents the general features of the Ottoman Diplomacy and the next chapter expresses the reign of Mahmud I, the third chapter analyzes the relations between the Austria, Russia, Iran and the Ottoman State.

Key Words:

Ottoman diplomacy, diplomatic relation, *sefaretname*, envoy, ambassador, Mahmud I,

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BİRİNCİ MAHMUD DÖNEMİ OSMANLI DİPLOMATİK MÜNASEBETLERİ

Bu tezin amacı Osmanlı Devleti'nin I.Mahmud dönemindeki devletlerarası ilişkilerini aktarmaktır. Diploması, devletlerarası ilişkilerin yürütülme biçimini düzenler. Mahmud I döneminde cereyan eden devletlerarası siyasi olaylar ve savaşlar neticesinde artan diplomatik münasebetler elçilerin yazdıkları sefaretnameler ile birlikte ele alınmaktadır. Geniş kapsamlı bir araştırma konusundan oluşan bu çalışmanın amacı I. Mahmud dönemindeki diplomatik ilişkilerin bir bütün halinde değerlendirilmesidir Çalışma kapsamının başlangıç ve bitis tarihi olarak Mahmud I in saltanat zamanları (1730-1754) seçilmiştir.

Tezin hazırlanmasında kaynak olarak arşiv belgeleri, 18.yüzyıl Vekayinameleri, Osmanlı elçileri tarafından yazılan sefaretnameler ve ikincil kaynaklar kullanılmıştır. Birinci bölümde, Osmanlı diplomasisinin genel yapısı incelenmiş İkinci bölümde hem I.Mahmud'un hayatı hem de iç ve dış politik olaylar anlatılmış, üçüncü bölümde de Avusturya, Rusya ve İran'la olan münasebetler incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler:

Osmanlı Diplomasisi, diplomatik ilişkiler, sefaretname, sefir, I. Mahmud

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

T.T.K	Türk Tarih Kurumu
B.O.A	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Ottoman Prime Ministreal Archives)
C.H.R	Cevdet Tasnifi Hariciye Kısmı
C.İKT	Cevdet Tasnifi İktisadiye Kısmı
N.H.	Name-I Hümayun Defteri
O.T.A.M	Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi
D.İ.A	Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi
E.I ²	Encyclopedia of İslam (Second Edition)
İ.A	İslam Ansiklopedisi
M.E.B	Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı
V	Varak
Vol.	Volume

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Finally, I would like to offer endless thanks to my family who were always with me in this long and difficult process.

INTRODUCTION

OTTOMAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS DURING THE REIGN OF MAHMUD I

The Ottoman State occupied a significant place in world history. The Ottoman State was very powerful in the 16th century and became the most powerful state in Europe on account of the expansion of its territory. This magnificent rise could not continue in the 17th century and a dramatically new process commenced with the Karlowitz Treaty of 1699.

The Ottoman State had diplomatic relations with the other states since its foundation. Some of the conditions of the States such as their state of being a friendly or opponent country, Muslim or non-muslim, and sects as well as some factors such as legal, religious and political concepts designated and affected the diplomatic relations. However, Islamic laws always laid the foundation of decisions and attitudes.¹ Hence, the envoys always received warm welcomes as if they were guests.

The fact that Orhan Gazi got married to the Princess of Byzantium in the 14th century is the first proof of diplomacy in the Ottoman State.² As of the foundation, the envoys were reciprocally appointed between the Ottoman State and the Byzantium State. In the periods when the Ottoman State was strong, it did not adopt the principle of reciprocity.

From the foundation to the Zitvatorok Treaty, the Ottoman State applied diplomacy of *ad hoc*, i.e. single aspect diplomacy. For the first time with this treaty, which was signed in 1606, a ruler of a country was given a title at the equal status with the Sultan. It is in this period that single aspect diplomacy

¹ Mehmed İpşirli, "Elçi," (İstanbul: DİA. Vol. 11, 1995) 8.

² Kemal Girgin, *Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Dönemleri Hariciyye Tarihimiz*, (Ankara: TTK, 1992) 37-38.

was abandoned. Until 1793, the Ottoman State had not sent any permanent envoy to any European State. However, the European states sent permanent ambassadors to the Ottoman State after the conquest of Istanbul in 1453.

The Ottoman State was defeated as a result of the wars commenced in 1683, and her diplomatic history was exposed to alterations. The defeats of the Ottoman State in the war fields paved the way for the Ottoman State to have progress in respect to diplomacy.

The period that began with especially the Treaty of 1699 signed after the wars of 1683 was a turning point in the history of politics and diplomacy of the Ottoman State. The significance of diplomacy had increased. The losses in the war fields increased the importance of negotiations in the meetings on the table. When those who assess the Ottomans in a decline paradigm look at the matters from this perspective, they will end up in different result. The Ottoman diplomacy had progressed a lot.

The turning point of Karlowitz in 1699 was a complete trout for the Ottoman State. Thereupon, the Ottoman State lost its superiority. This heavy loss at the end of the 17th century had deep impacts on the Ottoman State. It lost her diplomatic superiority. As a matter of fact, this heavy defeat has been the most severe defeat that the Ottoman State had had since her foundation. The Ottoman State had to abandon some lands to Russia, Poland (Lehistan), Austria and Venice. This was the first loss of territory for the Ottoman State.

By the 18th century, Europe gained superiority in technology. As a matter of fact, Mahmud I understood this weakness for techniques and accordingly he tried to modernize the Ottoman Army in technical terms. While European civilization progressed, the Ottomans could not follow them. The Ottomans kept away from the prevalent reforms and renaissance in Europe. Keeping all these things in mind, Mahmud I carried out some reforms.

During this period in the reign of Mahmud I, Russia, Austria and Iran in the East led to troubles for him. The foreign affairs were centered on these three countries. There had been attempts to make alliances with Sweden and France against Russia. As a matter of fact, common alliances focused on self interests had become the subjects of the diplomacy in this period.

The more the international relations have increased in the globalizing world, the more the diplomatic relations have increased. Alan Palmer said, "It is easy to detect the indications of the collapse in the Ottoman State, but it is hard to understand how this empire stood so long" in her work entitled *A New History of a Collapse*.

The period of the reign of Mahmud I has not been studied completely. I was delighted for both collecting the pieces and putting forward a considerable work. How happy I am if I have contributed to the field.

The reign of Mahmud I is part of the 18th century, which is one of the least studied periods. Mahmud I had regained prestige to the Ottoman State.

Itzkowitz starts the 18th century by 1713-14 in Europe and makes it end with 1815 Vienne Congress. However, he initiates the 18th century for the Ottomans by the accession of Ahmed III to the throne in 1703 and ends it with the accession of Selim III to the power in 1789 or his fall down from the throne in 1809. Nevertheless, he also states that the period between the Treaty of Karlowitz and Küçük Kaynarca Treaty could have been more appropriate for the definition of the 18th century.³ Hence, this work also emphasizes on Ahmed III and the Patrona Halil Rebellion.

The period coincides with the second quarter of the 18th century. There had been many studies carried out about this span of time. All these were studied separately. Nonetheless, I have analyzed the period both in diplomatic and political terms. The classical periodization of the 18th century

³ Norman Itzkowitz, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu," *Osmanlı 1*, Ed. Kemal Çiçek and Cem Oğuz, (1999), 520.

was the time when the Ottoman State fell behind, but there were progresses in diplomacy. Many *sefaretnames* (ambassadorial reports) were written in this century. Each of all these *sefaretnames*, which have been the most important sources of diplomatic relations, has been subjects to the M.A. and PhD. dissertations.⁴

As seen above, most of the Ottoman *sefaretnames* belonged to this period. The decrease of war and increase of diplomacy in the 18th century were inversely proportional. The *sefaretnames* are considered as works which played significant roles in the westernization and modernization of the Ottoman State. Especially, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi's *Paris Sefaretnamesi* has attracted the attention of historians.

When we look at the chronology of the period of Mahmud I⁵, we see the expansion of the capitulations against France, Russia and Austria wars, then Belgrade Treaty, and the alliance of the Ottoman-Sweden against Russia. Also there was a war against Iran ruled by Nadir Shah then. International relations are analyzed in this context.

In the first Chapter, the general structure of the Ottoman diplomacy, the position of *reisülküttabs*, the importance of the ambassadors and *sefaretnames*, the functions of the ambassadors in the Westernization,

⁴ The *sefaretnames* that were written in the 18th century are: İbrahim Pasha's Vienne *Sefaretname* (1719), Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi's France *Sefaretname* (1720-1721), Ahmed Dürri Efendi's Iran *Sefaretname* (1721), Nişli Mehmed Ağa's Russia *Sefaretname* (1722-23), Mustafa Efendi's Nemçe *Sefaretname* (1730), Mehmed Efendi's Lehistan *Sefaretname* (1730), Mehmed Said Pasha's Takrir (1732-1733), Mehmed Emin Pasha's Russia *Sefaretname* (1740-1742), Salim Efendi's India Travel Book (1744-1749), Mustafa Nazif Efendi's Iran *Sefaretname* (1746), Hacı Ahmed Pasha's Iran *Sefaretname* (1747), Hattı Mustafa Efendi's Nemçe *Sefaretname* (1748), Ali Ağa's Lehistan *Sefaretname* (1755), Derviş Mehmed Efendi's Russia *Sefaretname* (1755), Ahmed Resmi Efendi's Vienne *Sefaretname* (1757-1758), Mehmed Ağa's Lehistan *Sefaretname* (1757-1758), Şehdi Osman Efendi's Russia *Sefaretname* (1757-1758), Ahmed Resmi Efendi's Prussia *Sefaretname* (1764-1765), Seyyid İsmail Efendi's Morocco *Sefaret Takrir* (1785-1786), Alemdar Mehmed Ağa's Buhara *Sefaretname* (1787-1791), Vasıf Efendi's Spain *sefaretname* (1787-1788), Yusuf Agah Efendi's Havadisname-i England (1793-1796), Mehmed Sadık Rifat Pasha's Italy Travel Book (1838).

Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, (Ankara: TTK, 1992).

⁵ Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi 1600-1914*, Vol.2 (İstanbul: Eren, 2004), 519.

treatments that were shown for the ambassadors in the period of Mahmud I are explained.

In the second Chapter, the life of Mahmud I, his internal and external policies are discussed. In additionally, the countries, which did not have intimate relations with the Ottoman State during the period but might be beneficial to discuss in order to analyze the relations, are discussed in brief. These countries are France, Sweden, Poland (Lehistan), Prussia, England, Venice and India.

The third chapter focuses on the political, economic and social condition of Europe as well as the world.

The relations of the Ottoman State with the three states, with whom she had most relations and also fought with the struggles with Austria, Russia and Iran, were dealt with. The *sefaretnames* related to these countries were analyzed.

It is very difficult to introduce literature here when we look at the period from a broader perspective. It is essential to mention certain historians and their works. The literature of this study consisted of the archive sources about the period of Mahmud I, other primary and secondary sources and the *sefaretnames*.

When the relations between the countries are analyzed, both primary and secondary sources as well as the *sefaretnames* should be analyzed. Hence, while scrutinizing the period of Mahmud I, the relations with the States will be studied in general and Austria, Russia and Iran will be especially dealt with, because there were many wars, treaties and diplomatic affairs between the Ottoman State and these countries.

First, the Ottoman Archive of the Prime Ministry, Name-i Hümayun Defterleri (Notebooks), History of Ali Emiri, İbnü'l Emin Tasnifi Saray Mesalihi, Cevdeti Hariciye and İktisadiye Defterleri and Hatt-ı Hümayunlar will shed light on the period. *Vakanüvis* (Historiographer) Subhi Mehmed Efendi

wrote the period of 1730-1744 in his work of history. Being stick to the original, the work was translated to Turkish by Mesut Aydiner.⁶ The work is of utmost importance for it consisted of information, about the ambassadors of the period, the feasts, some imperial letters and *temessüks*. Süleyman İzzi's *Tarih-i İzzi* gave accounts of the events that took place in the final period of Mahmud I.⁷ *Mür'it-Tevarih* was written by Şem'dani-zade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi. Münir Aktepe published it in 1976.⁸ It narrated the events of the period between 1730 and 1777.

Şemdanizade wrote his masterpiece by using from many sources. It is especially important to assess the events in the post Patrona Halil Rebellion period. Münir Aktepe's book named *Patrona Halil İsyanı* was written with the help of the works of art that had been written before him. There is detailed information about the period prior to and after Patrona Halil Rebellion.⁹ In the *Abdi Tarihi*, patrona rebellion is narrated in detail. It is published by Faik Reşit Unat.¹⁰ It is also worth looking at the history of Destari Salih. The original writer of the work is a person close to the Sultan from the palace named Destari Salih Efendi. The texts that he wrote are not available. A person named Salaheddin Salahi Efendi, who was principal clerk of the Sultan, collected the drafts and adapted to himself and Bekir Sitki Baykal copied the drafts from him. The significance of the work is that the Patrona Halil rebellion was seen and written from the perspective of the palace. Abdi

⁶ Mustafa Subhi Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi: Sami ve Şakir Tarihleri İle Birlikte 1730-1744* (inceleme ve karşılaştırma metin), Prepared by: Mesut Aydiner, (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2007).

⁷ İzzi Süleyman Efendi, *Tarih-i İzzi*, (İstanbul: Raşid ve Vasıf Efendiler Matbası, 1784).

⁸ Şem'dânîzâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, *Mür'it-Tevarih*, Prepared by Münir Aktepe, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1976) Vol 1.

⁹ M. Münir Aktepe, *Patrona isyanı 1730* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi) 1958.

¹⁰ Abdi Efendi, *Abdi tarihi: 1730 Patrona ihtilali hakkında bir eser* Prepared by Faik Reşit Unat, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1943.)

history saw the events outside. Assessing both the works together can reach us to the accurate information.¹¹

When we look at the secondary sources, the guide book is entitled *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri* (the Ottoman Ambassadors and Their Sefaretnames) written by Faik Reşit Unat.¹² Both the Sefaretnames were written in chronological orders and their contents were given. The pictures at the end of the book enriched the work. The Ottoman History of Hammer is important for both all conducting works on the Ottoman History and also for diplomacy. The envoys came to Babiali and those sent from Babiali are listed in the work in alphabetical order. The work deals with the Ottoman history from the very foundation to the year 1774. The list mentions 250 Ottoman envoys sent to 36 foreign countries. All the articles of Alaaddin Yalçinkaya are very important for the history of the Ottoman diplomacy. Meanwhile, Alaaddin Yalçinkaya's *Kuruluştan Tanzimat'a Osmanlı Diplomasi Tarihi Literatürü* (Historical Literature of Ottoman Diplomacy from the Foundation to the Tanzimat Reforms) is a reference article.¹³ Also the works of Kemal Beydilli, Halil İnalçık, İlber Ortaylı, Oral Sander, Virginia Aksan, Norman İtzkowitz, Abou-el-Hacc, Ali İbrahim Savaş and Onur Kınlı are important in regard to diplomacy. In this study, the concept of diplomacy and the historical background of it will not be mentioned. Onur Kınlı's Modernization and Diplomacy in the Ottoman may be read about it. Prof. Dr. Mehmed İpşirli's articles on Eman and embassies are vitally cooperative.

There are six sefaretnames, a travel book and a statement that belong to the period between the years 1730-1754. All of them were compiled to a

¹¹ Destarî Salih Efendi, Destarî *Salih Tarihi: Patrona Halil Ayaklanması Hakkında Bir Kaynak*, Prepared by Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi, 1962.)

¹² Unat, "Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri".

¹³ M.Alaaddin Yalçinkaya, "Kuruluştan Tanzimat'a Osmanlı Diplomasi Tarihi Literatürü", *TALİD* No:1/2 (2003), 423-489.

book or worked as thesis. There were also works conducted as dissertations on the aforementioned statement and travel book. The works mentioned are:

Mehmed Efendi's *Lehistan Sefaretnamesi* (1730) was studied by Hacer Topaktaş.¹⁴ The details of this work are available in the thesis entitled *Osmanlı Sefâretnâmeleri ışığında 1730 - 1763 yıllarında Osmanlı Devleti ile Lehistan/Polonya arasında diplomatik ilişkiler* (the diplomatic relations between the Ottoman State and Lehistan/Poland in the Light of the Ottoman Sefaretnames in the years between 1730 and 1763). Here, the sefaretnames were used as the main source. However, neither the original nor the transcript copy was given. Münir Aktepe has also an article on this topic. The sefaretname text was also provided in this work.¹⁵

Fuat Sanaç conducted a PhD research on Reisülküttab Mustafa Efendi's *Nemçe Sefaretnamesi*, 1730.¹⁶ The language of the work is German. The original copy of the sefaretname is available at the addendum section. He transcribed the sefaretname in both the Ottoman and German language.

The above work has been conducted as Master's Thesis by two people. Güler Şahinkaya also carried out a study named Reisülküttab Mustafa Efendi's *Nemçe Sefaretnamesi*¹⁷. Mehmed Dormin also had M.A. Thesis with the same name.¹⁸

Mehmed Dormin's work has been interesting, as the title was Reisülküttab Mustafa Efendi and 1737 *Nemçe Sefaretnamesi*. There is a mistake in this study related to the date (1737) in the content. We do not know exact date. There is no number of any archive in the study. The interesting point is that

¹⁴ Hacer Topaktaş, *Osmanlı Sefâretnâmeleri ışığında 1730 - 1763 yıllarında Osmanlı Devleti ile Lehistan/Polonya arasında diplomatik ilişkiler*, MA. Thesis (Trabzon: KATÜ, 2005).

¹⁵ Münir Aktepe, "Mehmed Efendi'nin Lehistan Sefareti ve Sefaretnamesi," *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 2 (1971) 133-140.

¹⁶ Fuat Sanaç, *Der Gesandtschaftsbericht Mustafa Efendis über die gesandtschaftsreise nach Wien im jahre 1730/31*. Phd Thesis (Universitaet Wien,1992).

¹⁷ Güler Şahinkaya, *Mustafa Efendi'nin (Reisülküttab) Hayatı ve Nemçe Sefaretnâmesi*, Undergraduate Thesis (İstanbul U.Edebiyat fakültesi, 1973).

¹⁸ Mehmed Dormin, *Reisü'l Küttap Mustafa Hattî Efendi: Hayatı ve Nemçe Sefaretnâmesi*, Undergraduate Thesis (İstanbul U.Edebiyat fakültesi, 1974).

no book states that this ambassador had two sefaretnames. There is also no such a book in Süleymaniye Library.¹⁹

Mehmed Said Efendi's *İsveç Takriri* (Sweden Statement 1732-1733), was the main topic of an M.A. Thesis titled, *18th yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Türk-İsveç İlişkileri ve Mehmed Said Efendi nin İsveç Elçiliği 1732-1733*, (Turk-Sweden relations in the first half of the 18th century and Mehmed Said Efendi's ambassadorship of Sweden).²⁰ Here the work was benefitted from in a large extend, but there is neither the original copy nor the transcribed one.

Mehmed Emin Pasha's *Rusya Sefaretnamesi* (1740- 1742) was published by Münir Aktepe.²¹ The transcript and the original copy were provided in the work.

Salim Efendi's *Hindistan Seyahatnamesi* (India Travel Book)²² (1744-1749), was given as six leaves transcribed copy by İsmet Miroğlu, in his article titled *Hindistan Hakkında 18th Yüzyılda Yazılmış Küçük Bir Eser* (A small work published on India in the 18th century).²³ It is also worked as M.A. Thesis.²⁴ Mustafa Nazif Efendi's *Iran Sefaretnamesi* (1746) has been the main theme of the thesis named *Mustafa Nazif Efendi'nin İran Elçiliği* (Mustafa Nazif Efendi's Iranian Ambassadorship).²⁵

¹⁹ The idea of Alaaddin Yalçınkaya and Kemal Beydilli was asked about this subject.

²⁰ İbrahim Baş, *18th yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Türk-İsveç İlişkileri ve Mehmed Said Efendi nin İsveç Elçiliği 1732-1733*, MA. Thesis (Trabzon: KATÜ, ISIS. 2004).

²¹ Münir Aktepe, *Mehmed Emni Beyefendi nin Rusya Sefareti ve Sefaretnamesi* (Ankara: TTK, 1989).

²² The Mughal Empire had sent an envoy to the Ottoman State in order to make an alliance against Iran in 1744. Whereas, the Ottoman State sent an envoy (Salim Efendi) to India. Salim Efendi also had gone with this envoy. After Mehmed Efendi came back he wrote a report about this trip between 1744 and 1749. He gave information about India and how to go to India.

See, Erhan Afyoncu, *Tanzimat Öncesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma Rehberi* (İstanbul: Yeditepe, 2009) 112.

²³ İsmet Miroğlu, "Hindistan Hakkında 18th Yüzyılda Yazılmış Küçük Bir Eser," *Tarih Dergisi* No: 34, (1983-84), 539-554.

²⁴ İsmail Hakkı Orhan, *Mehmed Salim Efendi'nin Hind Elçiliği Meselesi*, Undergratuated Thesis (İstanbul U. Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1972).

²⁵ Adnan Budak, *Mustafa Nazif Efendi'nin İran Elçiliği 1746-1747*, MA. Thesis (Trabzon: KATÜ, ISIS, 1999).

Hacı Ahmed Pasha's *İran Sefaretnamesi* (1747) was conducted a research on. The title of the research is *Kırımlı Rahmi Efendi'nin İran Sefaretnamesi* (Iran *Sefaretnamesi* of Crimean Mustafa Rahmi Efendi"²⁶ Earnest Tucker also mentioned about this work in detail in his work conducted on Nadir Shah. However, Tucker said that the Sefaretname might have written not for the description of the situation Iran was in but for the record of the account of the Embassy. "*Rahmi's job was to produce a literary account of the embassy, not to report on the actual situation in İran*".²⁷

Mustafa Hattı Efendi's *Nemçe Sefaretnamesi* was published by Ali İbrahim Savaş as a book.²⁸

The sefaretnames were analyzed in the following ways. The events of the period, the reasons for *sefaret* and the conditions of Europe and the Islamic states during the period when the *sefarets* were established, their policies and the policies of Mahmud.

The Ottoman ambassadors and *sefaretnames* have not received the attention they deserved. Either there was just a single *sefaretname* worked on or the *sefaretnames* were studied in general. During the process of the research for this study, there has been no monograpy evaluating the period of the reign of a Sultan as a whole. On the other hand, there is a general overview of a period in regard to diplomatic aspects. Hence, this study makes a difference.

This study would achieve its goal as long as it contributes to the prospective works, guide them and enrich the knowledge of the readers about the diplomatic relations of period of Mahmud I.

²⁶ Süleyman Toğaç, *Kırımlı Mustafa Rahmi Efendi'nin İran Sefaretnâmesi*, MA. Thesis (Ankara: Ankara U. ISIS, 2000). Crimean Mustafa Rahmi Efendi, who had joined in Hacı Ahmed Paşa's embassy, had written this report in a quite heavy style. Afyoncu, "Tanzimat Öncesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma Rehberi,"112.

²⁷ Ernest S.Tucker, *Nadir Shah's Quest for Legitimacy in Post-Safavid Iran* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida 2006) 100.

²⁸ Ali İbrahim Savaş, *Mustafa Hattı Efendi Viyana Sefaretnamesi*. (Ankara: TTK, 1999), 13.

CHAPTER 1

OTTOMAN DIPLOMACY

1.1 General Features of Ottoman Diplomacy

Being an Islamic State, the Ottoman State adopted Islamic law principles in foreign relations. All types of treaties (ahidname) were used to be inspected by the Shaykh-al Islam.²⁹ Ghaza ideology was the basic tenet of the Ottoman State philosophy. Nevertheless, the Ottomans also followed diplomatic traditions of former states such as Assurids and Saljukids. The idea of spreading Islam played a defining role.³⁰

From the foundation to the end of the 18th century, *eman*³¹ system had been basic principle in the international law, politics and commercial affairs of the Ottoman State. Although the perspective of *Eman* is based on Islamic concept, it gained different applications and meanings owing to the relations the Ottoman State had with very diverse states. *Eman* is a concept related to a foreign policy and power of a country. There had been various applications of it especially in the Ottoman policy history in the post 1699 period.³²

²⁹ Halil İnalçık, *Türk Diplomasi Tarihi nin Sorunları, Çağdaş Türk Diplomasisi 200 yıllık süreç* (Ankara: TTK, 1997) XVI.

³⁰ Ahmed Dönmez, *Karşılıklı Diplomasiye Geçiş Sürecinde Osmanlı Daimî Elçiliklerinin Avrupa'da Yeniden Tesisi 1832-1841*, MA. Thesis (Konya: Selçuk U. ISIS, 2006) 8.

³¹ *Eman* comes from the root word in Arabic EMN that means confident and security. *Eman* means guarantee anyone who is foreign person or military that wants to enter or delivered an Islamic country. See Mehmed İpşirli, "Osmanlı Devletinde *Eman Sistemi*", *Türk Diplomasi Tarihi nin Sorunları, Çağdaş Türk Diplomasisi 200 yıllık süreç* (Ankara: TTK, 1997) 3-11.

³² İpşirli, "Osmanlı Devletinde *Eman Sistemi*", 4.

A.Nuri Yurdusev tells the *eman* system from a plus as follows; "the aman system through the granting of ahidnames to the non-muslim communities within its own world, by which Christian and Jewish subjects of the Empire lived under their own laws and traditions, it was just one step further for the Ottomans to grant the same rights and privileges to those Christian states or communities which lay outside the Ottoman world". A.Nuri Yurdusev, *Ottoman Diplomacy Conventional or Unconventional* (Great Britain: Palgrave Macmillian, 2004) 2-4.

Diplomacy is related to the relations between the states through official representatives. Foreign policy reflects the expectations and goals of a country from the international system. The instruments and mechanism used to reach these aims is called diplomacy.³³ Diplomacy is an instrument of international relations. A.Nuri Yurdusev defines diplomacy as follows:

'Diplomacy is generally defined as the peaceful relations of political bodies that are defined in terms of equality and reciprocity. It is true that diplomacy cannot be separated from the foreign policies of states and the mutual relations among them. In other words, diplomacy is closely interwoven with international relations and foreign policy. But diplomacy is not identical with foreign policy and international relations. While diplomacy is an instrument of foreign policy for individual states, it constitutes an institution of the international system".³⁴

The Ottoman State began to use this significant instrument of the foreign policy long before.

The Ottoman State fought with the Byzantium, had peace, formed alliances, and therefore gained experience from the Byzantium in respect to diplomacy.³⁵

Ottoman state, from the fourteenth century onward, commenced having relations with Europe, built friendship with France in the 16th century, and would sent ambassadors to other European states. However, the fact that the Ottoman appointed ambassadors of non-Muslim origin became disadvantageous for the State.

³³ Ali İbrahim Savaş, *Osmanlı Diplomasisi* (İstanbul: 3F, 2007) 9-10.

³⁴ Yurdusev, "Ottoman Diplomacy Conventional or Unconventional" 2-4. Ottoman Diplomacy combined both conventional and unconventional characteristics. European resident ambassadors were not reciprocated, but the fact remains that they were allowed to reside in Istanbul. Ottoman envoys and ambassadors were frequently sent abroad on an ad hoc basis for various reasons of protocol and expediency.

³⁵ Mehmed İpşirli, "Ottoman State Organization", *History of the Ottoman State, Society&Civilisation Vol.1*, edited by E.İhsanoğlu (İstanbul: Zaman, 1999) 200-201.

There is not much information as to when for the first time the Ottoman State sent ambassadors to the foreign countries. However, besides military encounter, there were also relations with the neighboring Byzantium.³⁶ In addition to political and diplomatic relations, marriage alliances also took place. On the other hand, the Byzantium appointed ambassadors in the presence of the Ottoman.³⁷ Venice, a commercial republic, is considered as the founder of diplomacy in terms of the establishment of organizations. Venice established an Orient Academy in Istanbul. Experienced diplomats, Ottoman language were educated in here.³⁸ The permanent embassy that Venice founded in Istanbul was the first permanent embassy in the world, among the ones whose existence can be proven.³⁹

The Ottoman State followed a unilateral diplomacy towards European states. The statesmen, who acted within the frame of the principle of being self sufficient, were not eager to make treaties with the other states in resisting against the attacks and preserving peace, owing to the fact that there was a thought that an Islamic State cannot have Treaty with a Christian state having equal terms and conditions. This perspective paved the way for the Ottoman state to be alien to the diplomacy methods applied by the West.⁴⁰

³⁶ Hammer indicates that the first ambassador was send to Baghdad in the time of Orhan Bey in 1339. V. Joseph Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, translated by Mehmed Ata Bey, prepared by Mümin Çevik and Erol Kılıç (İstanbul: Sabah) Vol 9, 326-327.

³⁷ Ali İbrahim Savaş, "Genel hatlarıyla Osmanlı Diplomasisi," *Yeni Türkiye* 31 (2000): 489.

³⁸ Ibid: 489.

³⁹ See, M. Alaaddin Yalçınkaya, "Bir Avrupa Diploması Merkezi Olarak İstanbul 1792–1798 Dönemi İngiliz Kaynaklarına Göre", *Osmanlı I*, Ed. Güler Eren, (Ankara 1999) 662.

⁴⁰ Dönmez, "Karşılıklı Diplomasıye Geçiş Sürecinde Osmanlı Daimî Elçiliklerinin Avrupa'da Yeniden Tesisi 1832-1841," 8

According to Nuri Yurdusev the Ottoman State had a negative attitude toward the modern European diplomacy runs on the following logic. First, the Ottoman State was an Islamic polity. Secondly, the Ottomans had a sense of the absolute superiority of Islam and consequently contempt for Christian Europe. Thirdly, Islam required the Empire to conduct its external relations within the framework of the dichotomy of Darul Islam versus Darul Harb. This dichotomy thus envisaged a permanent state of war between the two ends.

The Ottoman State had not sent permanent ambassadors to foreign countries until 1793. The diplomacy in this term in the Ottoman State developed only towards the end of the 18th century. In the Magnificent days of the Ottoman State, diplomacy had relatively little effect on affairs of state. The sultans supported by an invincible army so they did not need diplomacy as a method. But by the end of the 17th century the empire had reached the verge of collapse, especially after the agreement of Karlowitz.⁴¹

The fact that the Ottoman State did not establish permanent embassies cannot be explained only with the reason that the State wanted to see the power in itself. On this perspective, there were also impacts of the Ottoman commercial groups and religious institutions for not having widespread activities. Moreover, the fact that the State was self sufficient also had huge effect on it. Hence, to act freely, they aimed at staying away from the political and diplomatic resolutions of the Europeans.⁴² In attaining information, the Ottoman State used to benefit from the neighboring states and countries that accepted the sovereignty of the Ottoman State. To illustrate, Crimean Khanate at the north, Wallachia and Moldova (Eflak and Bogdan) Voyvodaliks are some of them. In addition, the memoirs and travel books that the travelers wrote had been forming sources of information for the Ottoman State. Compilation, translation, geography books and maps were also sources of information. Katib Chelebi's Cihannüma is a gigantic work in this regard.⁴³

Fourthly, the Sublime Porte therefore repudiated resident diplomacy of Europe, which involved some sort of equality and secular relations among the relevant parties. A.Nuri Yurdusev, "Ottoman Diplomacy Conventional or Unconventional," 6 Otherwise Ottoman thinking in diplomacy the Shari'a provided for all the exigencies of life and government, thus making the Muslim state, in theory, self-sufficient.

⁴¹ Thomas Naff, "Reform and The Conduct of Ottoman Diplomacy Reign of Selim III, 1789-1807," *JAOS* 83 (1963), 295.

⁴² İpşirli, "Ottoman State Organization" 199-200.

⁴³ Hasan Korkut, "Osmanlı Sefaretnameleri Hakkında Yapılan Araştırmalar," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 1- 2 (2003), 492.

The Ottoman State did not adopt the rule of reciprocity in the interstate relations and correspondence. Many rulers were not treated equally in respect to their titles. Until the Zitvatorok Treaty in 1606, the Habsburg Emperor was called as '*King of Beç (Guinea)*', '*Çezar of Nemçe*'.⁴⁴ In the period when the State was powerful, the Ottoman State applied the policy of disparaging the weak state in terms of status. However, having no option but to give up such diplomacy, the State also lost her diplomatic superiority.

As of the period of Mehmed II, the Ottoman State became an international state and diplomacy entered the life of the Ottoman. The collapse of Byzantium affected the European diplomacy as well as the Balkans and the Middle East. The Ottoman State, which became the leader in the region and increased her power of guiding international relations, played a significant role. The privileges that Mehmed II gave to the Rum (Greek of Turkish otogin) Patriarchate and thus his tolerant policies on the Orthodox, Beyazid II's reception of the Jews fleeing from the Spain under his protection were the indications of the existence of diplomacy in the Ottoman State. The fact that Selim I (1512-1520) brought Caliphate to the Ottoman also strengthened the Ottoman politically. The Ottoman State would use the state of being the Caliph of the Muslims in the negotiations against the West. As a matter of fact, it would be used more in the 19th century.⁴⁵

Süleyman I's support of French King François I against the Charles (King of Spain) and issuing capitulations also shows the existence of Ottoman diplomacy.⁴⁶ The capitulations, which brought alternatives

⁴⁴ İlber Ortaylı, "Osmanlı Diplomasisi ve Dışişleri Örgütü," *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* 1 (1985) 278.

A.İbrahim Savaş separates the lives of Ottoman Diplomacy into three periods. The first term covers that the Ottoman State was more powerful and had diplomatic Zitvatorok Treaty. Second period covers that losing of the meaning of not to accept the principle of equal from 1606 until the treaty of Karlowitz. The last period also starts by Karlowitz in 1699.

⁴⁵ İpşirli, "Ottoman State Organization" 203-204.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 202.

for the Ottoman diplomacy at the beginning, narrowed the area of the movement of Turkish diplomacy as of the 17th century.⁴⁷ France and the capitulations would enlarge the area from 1740 onwards. This situation would put the Ottomans under harder conditions.

The Ottoman State used religion-sect conflicts in Europe, disagreements within the Western States and controversies in the diplomacy. For instance, the Ottomans were in favor of the Protestantism against the Catholicism. Certainly, Europe also used this against the Ottoman.⁴⁸

The year 1699 was the turning point in the diplomacy of the Ottoman State. It was the time when the Ottoman State accepted the superiority of Europe and for the first time the Ottoman accepted the Europeans as equal. In fact, such a situation was experienced between the Ottoman State and Austria with 1606 Zitvatorok Treaty. From then on, the Ottoman State would pursue diplomacy instead of war.⁴⁹ By Zitvatorok Peace Treaty, the annual tribute was also laid off by the Ottoman. Furthermore, it is recorded that, for the first time the ambassadors would not be among the low ranks such as *chesniger*, messenger, sergeant as it was then, and the minimum rank to be an ambassador would be among the ranked officers at the level of a flag officer.⁵⁰ The alteration in the name of Ottoman Diplomacy commenced with this treaty. This was also the first loss of prestige in diplomatic senses. Losing its diplomatic superiority after the Treaty of Karlowitz, the Ottoman state transferred to defense oriented foreign policy rather than aggressive and offensive one. From then on, the Ottoman State began to have politics of balance. However, the State put an exception to the defensive politics that began in 1699, which was vitally important for our period. In the post 1699

⁴⁷ Ibid, 207

⁴⁸ Ibid, 205

⁴⁹ Halil İnalçık, "Reisülküttab," Vol.9 (İA: 1988), 671-683.

⁵⁰ Kemal Beydilli, "Sefaret ve Sefaretname Hakkında Yeni bir Değerlendirme," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları Dergisi* 30 (2007) 17-18.

era, only in the reign of Mahmud 1 did offensive policies take place.⁵¹ The Karlowitz Treaty was the first sign of the Ottoman's withdrawal from Europe and the Balkans. This Treaty is important in the sense that the Ottoman State accepted the mediation of the European States in her history. Another importance is that for the first time with this agreement, the Ottoman State recognized the emperor title of the Russian Czar, whom she used to call Prince of Moscow.⁵² The success of Rami Mehmed Efendi, who was Chief of the Foreign Affairs (*Reisülküttab*) at the time of the Karlowitz Treaty, increased the importance of foreign affairs office in the Ottomans.

1.2 Foreign Affairs Office (Reisülküttablik)

It is not possible to comprehend the history of the Ottoman without mentioning the Institution of Foreign Ministry. Although it coincides with a short period between the years 1730-1754, it is worth mentioning Office of the foreign affairs.

During the classical period, there was no independent foreign affairs office in the Ottoman government.⁵³ Until the establishment of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, there was no organ to guide diplomacy in the Ottoman State. In addition to clerical works, *Reisülküttab* (chief of foreign affairs then) used to carry out correspondence and contacts related to the foreign affairs. His original duty is to be in charge of the imperial council (the Supreme Court in the Ottomans) sections. The

⁵¹ "I.Mahmud'un 25 yıl süren saltanat dönemi, Osmanlı diplomatlığının en parlak devirlerinden biridir". Abdurrahman Şeref, *Tarih-i Osmanli* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1339) II 178.

⁵² Savaş, "Genel hatlarıyla Osmanlı Diplomasisi" 498.

⁵³ There are different idea among historians when the reisülküttab title has emerged firstly. According to some historians it has from reign of Orhan Bey according to other historians also it has from 16th century.

Official records referred to him the first reisülküttab Haydar Çelebi. He was executed in 1525 because of he had joined for Janisaary rebellion.

See, Gül Akyılmaz, *Osmanlı Diploması Tarihi ve Teşkilatı* (Konya: Tablet, 2000) 36-38.

Before the Ottomans, Fatimids had used ra'is as title. The place of reisülküttab was regulated in detail in the codes of Fatih. Halil İnalçık, "Reisülküttab," 671-673.

Reisülküttab began, who was working under the supervision of the Marksman (Nişancı), to come into prominence during the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent.⁵⁴ The importance and authorities of the offices related to *Reisülküttab* and foreign affairs increased in the 18th century. As far as our topic is concerned, by the increase of diplomacy there was a parallel increase in the importance of the office of *Reisülküttab*.

Especially in the years following the Treaty of Karlowitz, *Reisülküttab* Rami Mehmed Efendi attended as a negotiator⁵⁵ and showed a great performance in the Treaty.⁵⁶ This event paves the way for the increase of the importance of *Reisülküttab* and foreign affairs office. In the following years, Rami Mehmed Pasha became a grand vizier.

Besides, diplomatic decisions were used to be taken in the Mansion of the Minister at the mid-afternoon divans. Especially the fact that the centre of the administration moved to Bab-i Ali paved the way for the *Reisülküttab* office to proper. The mid-afternoon divans (ikindi divanı) were presided by the grand vizier. Grand vizier is the one to say final words. The grand vizier, whose office in the palace was separated and settled to Bab-i Ali, moved the office of the *Reisülküttab* office to Bab-i Ali too. As a matter of fact it had

⁵⁴ Sevgi Gül Akyılmaz, *Reis-ül Küttab ve Hariciye Nezaretinin Doğuşu*, Ph.D Thesis (Konya: Selçuk U, ISS. 1990) 64.

⁵⁵ Managing Director, was called Murahhas, represented the state with powers to represent the apostles were those who served a one-time temporary. Before they had not to joined the negotiations themselves were given a high position was. According to the instructions given to them, they would make deals then they would try to get would try to get the most honorable peace. After the end of negotiations they translated the texts were created later on they signed the treaties by Murahhas'. Then the rulers of the states participating in the agreement would enter into force approved by the state treaties

See, Alkim Uygunlar, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu nda Modern Diplomasi ve Murahhaslık Kurumu*, MA. Thesis (Eskişehir: Osmangazi U. ISS. 2007) 4.

⁵⁶ İ.Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti nin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı* (Ankara: TTK, 1977) 242-246.

In addition, Reisülküttabs were the first chief all items of Divan-I Hümayun from 18th century. Ambassadors of foreign states have seen them as the secretary of state of the Ottoman State. Reisülküttab every day prepared the reports to give the GrandVizier at the pasha door then he send the reports checked to Sultan. Except that all financial and military affairs of the state and the influence he had promised

been a lower rank of a Marksman. From then on, as of 17th century, *Reisülküttab* was no more under a lower rank of the Marksman. The importance of the Marksman gradually decreased day by day; and the grand viziers gradually transferred increasing diplomatic responsibilities on themselves to *Reisülküttabs*. This process led to the emergence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁵⁷ As mentioned above, the *Reisülküttab* could not attend the Supreme Council, which was under the Marksman, in the palace. This new condition was a great status change for him.

There was a condition to be from the class of the Clerks to be a *Reisülküttab*. After being raised in the *kitabət* (literary composition) class of the Supreme Council, it was compulsory to pass some phases. In order to be a raised up in the profession of the Clerk, it was compulsory to continue the divan pens, and become specialized under the supervision of the masters. They also had to have skill of good handwriting. They had to be absolutely reliable people. Even the most confidential state works were passed under their pens. Hence, it was very important them to be able to keep secret.⁵⁸ All the registrations, except those of the financial ones, were conducted by the *Reisülküttabs*. Parallel to the diplomatic affairs of the State in the 18th century, the foreign bureaucracy became the main task of the *Reisülküttab* office. They were also closely related to the internal affairs. The correspondence between the grand vizier and the palace was also carried by them. Since the ambassadors were also directly affiliated to them, this institution was very important. Hence, resisulkuttabs had to be cultured and must have good command over political history knowledge.⁵⁹

The Clerks had immense effect on the progress of the Ottoman State. the religious scholars did not use to say anything beyond religious affairs but the clerks used to deal with any issue freely. They also contributed to the

⁵⁷ Akyılmaz, "Osmanlı Diplomasi Tarihi ve Teşkilatı," 53-55.

⁵⁸ İnalçık, "Reisülküttab," 676-677.

⁵⁹ Recep Ahışalı, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatında Reisülküttablık*, (İstanbul: Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı, 2001) 24-25.

development of Islamic culture by being interested in various sciences branches as science and literature. There were many Ottoman authors that became popular in the field of History, Geography and Law. One such an author is Mehmed Ragıb Efendi. Katip (Clerk) Chelebi is also a great historian. He criticized illiterate ulema (religious scholars) in his *Mizan al-hakk*.⁶⁰ His works of arts were also translated to the Western languages today.

Diplomacy, which was gradually intensified, and whose effect and importance were getting more and more important all over the world needed an institution in the Ottoman State too. The office of *Reisülküttab* also formed the basis for the foundation of the "Ministry of Foreign Affairs" to be established in the 19th century. The office of the *Reisülküttab* converted to Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1836.⁶¹ This conversion show us how in a sudden the class of clerks turned into a bureaucratic structure. As a matter of fact, this process is a good example to the Westernization, reform and rehabilitation efforts of the Ottoman State.

From then on, the statesmen coming from the the office of *Reisülküttab* would be grand viziers, which is a significant indication of transformation from military system to civil system.

1.3 The Roles of Ambassadors and Ambassadorial Reports

Previous states did not keep a permanent stay before one another. A state can only send an envoy to another in order to discuss a matter, to ratify an agreement or to announce the accession to the throne.⁶² The Ottoman State did not send permanent envoys to the foreign countries until 1792. In 1792, Yusuf Agah Efendi was appointed as a permanent envoy to London.⁶³ The

⁶⁰ İnalçık, "Reisülküttab," 678-679.

⁶¹ İpşirli, "Ottoman State Organization" 213.

⁶² Ali Seydi Bey, *Teşrifat ve Teşkilatımız* (İstanbul: Tercüman, 1973) 139.

⁶³ M.Alaaddin Yalçınkaya, *The First Permanent Ottoman-Turkish Embassy in Europe* (İstanbul: Eren, 2002) 29.

Ottoman State only sent envoys for political, diplomatic and or any other reasons. Upon the end of their terms, they immediately returned. So, the Ottoman State did not have a professionally trained body of diplomats.

Although the Ottoman State did not have permanent embassies in foreign countries, its international affairs were exceptionally conducted through people who were conferred the title of envoyship. They were fulfilling all the tasks mentioned above. The envoys were conferred the title of mediocre envoy and the superior envoy according to the importance of the state they were sent to. The envoys were chosen from the people who had experience in Ottoman bureaucracy, who were cultured, and spoke a foreign language. Upon their return, they were offered higher positions. They could become provincial treasurer, imperial stamp-bearer and governor-general. There were even envoys that ascended the position of Grand Viziership. Koca Ragib Pasha is one of those people.

When analyzing a state's history in terms of social, political, economical or from any other perspectives, no doubt, every document, detail and evidence is very important. Particularly, the works of the witnesses of that period are additionally valuable. In relation to our topic, the ambassadorial reports are very significant in this regard. They possess the features of being the first-hand source, and provide information at different stages or phases of Ottoman history.

The envoys, who were sent to other states, are called, ambassador. The reports that the ambassador's wrote, which include information on the countries they visited, the routes they took, the statesmen they met, the treatment they received, the political events and the activities they conducted, are called the ambassador's report. The number of most known ambassador's reports is 49. The first one, probably, belonged to 15th century. It is the report of Zaganos Efendi. Died in 1462, Zaganos Efendi's period of ambassadorship is not known. The earliest dated text of the ambassador's report we have is Kara Mehmed Pasha's ambassador's report, who paid a

friendly visit to Vienna in 1665.⁶⁴ The contents of the ambassador's reports until 1793 are written accounts of travels dealing mostly with historical, social and cultural topics. However, the ambassador's reports written after this date contain mainly political topics.⁶⁵ But, in these ambassador's reports, there is no mention of the political activities that the ambassador's got involved in the countries they were sent to. It is because the ambassadors considered this as confidential from the state's perspective. They mainly stated on the methods and rules of the protocol.⁶⁶ However, there are exceptions of this as well. In 1730, in the head-clerk Mustafa Efendi's ambassador's report, who was sent to Austria, in Ebubekir Efendi's ambassador's report of Austria and in Ahmed Resmi Efendi's ambassador's report, socio-economic and political topics are also mentioned.

Although there are ambassadors' reports available on Muslim and non-Muslim countries, which the Ottoman State had relations with, the vast majority of them were on the European countries and belonged to 18th to 19th centuries. Most of the known ambassadors' reports of forty-nine were written in 18th century. Ambassadorial reports contributed a great deal in changing Ottoman State's view of Europe.⁶⁷ As mentioned in the Westernization section, ambassadors' reports occupy a significant position in the modernization of Ottoman State. Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi's ambassador's report of France almost caused an awakening in the Ottoman history.

Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi's ambassador's report and all ambassadors' reports usually dealt with the fulfillment of the peace provisions after wars, and therefore, they do not have much historical

⁶⁴ Beydiili, " Sefaret ve Sefaretname Hakkında Yeni Bir Değerlendirme," 16.

⁶⁵ Savaş, "Genel hatlarıyla Osmanlı Diplomasisi," 492.

⁶⁶ İbrahim Şirin, *Osmanlı İmgeleminde Avrupa*, (Ankara: Lotus, 2006) 148.

⁶⁷ Korkut, "Osmanlı Sefaretnameleri Hakkında Yapılan Araştırmalar" 491.

value.⁶⁸ But Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi's ambassador's report was very significant in terms of Ottoman State's course of history in every aspect.

Particularly, after Karlowitz Treaty, diplomacy gained importance in the Ottoman politics and the significance of ambassadors and ambassadors' reports had increased. After Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi's ambassadorial report of Paris, we know that printing press was established.⁶⁹

During the Tulip Era, Grand Vizier Damat Ibrahim Pasha attached importance to the relations with the West and increased diplomatic relations. He sent observers and mostly envoys to the principal European capitals. He sent envoys to Vienna, Paris, Moscow and Poland.

Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Sait Efendi was sent in 1720 with a special official duty to secure an alliance with France. But Grand Vizier Damat Ibrahim Pasha asked him to report every progress and every detail. And Mehmed Efendi provided lots of information on many topics from the military structure of France to cultural aspects. This was very much important in the Westernization of the Ottoman State. Even the printing machine was set up after this report.⁷⁰ Building waterside residence, organizing festivals and festivities were all the results of this report. Mary Lucille Shay explains the role of diplomats as follow:

"At the first half of 18th century, on the basis of Venice's playing secondary role in the East lies the famous observation and comprehension capacity of its diplomats. Therefore, it is obligatory to evaluate these Venetian diplomats as witnesses."⁷¹ Ambassadors play an important role in the advancement or the non-advancement of the societies.

⁶⁸ Onur Kınlı, *Osmanlıda Modernleşme ve Diplomasi*, (Ankara: İmge, 2006) 118.

⁶⁹ Unat, "Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri," 52-53.

⁷⁰ Oral Sander, *Ankara'nın Yükselişi ve Düşüşü* (İstanbul: İmge, 1993) 146-147.

⁷¹ Mary Lucille Shay, *Venedik Balyoslarının Bakışıyla Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Lale Devri ve Sonrası*, trans. Münir Akın (İstanbul: Ark kitapları, 2009) 11 Ottoman State Officials called as balyos ambassadors of Venice.

After Karlowitz and Passarowitz Treaties, in the trade and other agreements, Austria, England, Holland and France and Russia, with Belgrade Treaty in 1739, obtained privileges and assurances of the century from the Ottoman State.⁷² With this treaty, peace was preserved in the Western border till 1768. Furthermore, this was the longest period of peace experienced on the Western border in the entire lifespan of the State. And this period was a sign of transition from the military imperialism to bureaucratic imperialism.⁷³

At times, the Ottoman State deported envoys. For example, in 1715, in Damat Ibrahim Pasha's battle with Venetians to gain control over Morea, Geneose had extended friendship towards Ottoman, but it was discovered that Geneose aided Venetians with ship, military troops and money. Thereupon, the Geneose ambassador in Istanbul was deported.⁷⁴

1.4 Treatments of the Ambassadors and their Observations

In the Ottoman State, the ambassadors were welcomed with the perception brought by Islamic faith. They were first regarded as guests. It was a great achievement for the foreign countries to have ambassadors in the Ottoman State. Istanbul was a legendary city for entire Europe. So, many ambassadors arrived here due to this curiosity. Istanbul was a fabulous city for European envoys.

Generally, envoys were grandly hosted in the Ottoman. Here, even though the aim was to show regard for the appointing state, but another aim was to make a display of the State and exhibit its glory. Thus, a show of powers was performed. For example, in 1756, Sigun De Gahler, arriving here after the friendship and trade agreements signed between Danish King Fredrick V and Osman III, was so impressed with the grandeur of his

⁷² Ortaylı, "Osmanlı Diplomasisi ve Dışişleri Örgütü" 278.

⁷³ Şirin, "Osmanlı İmgeleminde Avrupa," 175.

⁷⁴ İ.Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* IV-II (Ankara: TTK, 1988) 172.

reception that he included this splendor in the letter he wrote back to his country. He was dressed up in a robe with silver and gold ornaments. He stated that the Sultan's sword and the furniture around were all ornamented with precious germs.⁷⁵

The perception brought by Islam was also important. Islam's instruction of unrequited treatment of guests with respect and generous offerings increased the efforts spent in the reception of the ambassadors still more.

First thing that stands out in the reception of the ambassadors was the appointment of protocol officers, who explained the ambassadors how they would be welcomed according to general moral principles and local traditions and they would behave in the reception. Whenever a foreign envoy or delegation arrived, there was certainly a protocol officer present. As these officers informed the diplomats on how they would be received according to local traditions, they also provided information on what sort of behavior they should avoid while they were in the presence.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Hadiye Tuncer, *17. ve 18. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Danimarka İlişkileri* (Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaa, 1991) 8.

⁷⁶ Ömer Düzbakar, "XV -XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Devleti nde Elçilik Geleneği ve Elçi İaşelerinin Karşılanmasında Bursa'nın Yeri," *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi-The Journal of International Social Research*, 2-6 Winter (2009) 183 -185.

"İstanbul'a gönderilen Avrupalı elçiler geldikleri gün ya da birgün sonra Babıâli'ye başkâtibini yollayarak gelişlerini resmen bildiriyorlardı. Öncelikle reisülküttâb ve daha sonra sadrazam tarafından kabul edilirdi. Bir gün sonra, gelen elçiye genellikle Divan-ı Hümâyun tercümanı vasıtasıyla sadrazam tarafından çeşitli hediyeler gönderilerek "Hoş geldin"merasimi yapılırdı. Bu merasimler, elçinin büyükelçi veya ortaelçi oluşlarına göre farklılık göstermiştir. Elçi ile resmî görüşmeyi önce sadrazam sonra padişah yapardı. Elçi burada itimatnâmesini teslim ederdi. Ülkelerine dönecekleri zaman padişahın huzuruna tekrar kabul edilirdi. Daimî olmayan geçici yabancı elçiler küçük elçi iseler bazen padişahın huzuruna kabul edilmezlerdi. Padişahın cevapnamesi Divan-ı Hümâyun'da sadrazam tarafından elçiye verilirdi. Elçi gideceği zaman veda ziyareti yapardı. Ülkesine dönecek elçinin padişahın iznini alması gerekiyordu. Padişah izin verdiği huzura bazen resmî ve bazen gayr-ı resmî olarak kabul edilirler ve devletine götürmek üzere nâme-i hümâyûnu alırlardı. Sadrazam bazı elçilere dostluğu kuvvetlendirmek için ziyafetler vererek eğlenceler düzenlerdi. Müslüman devletlerin elçilerine, sadrazam ve vezirlerce ziyafet verilmesi ise adet haline gelmiştir. Ancak İstanbul'daki Avrupa elçilerine uluslararası standartlar dışında getirilmiş bazı sınırlamalar vardı. Bu sınırlamalar tek taraflı diplomasinin de ötesinde Osmanlı'ya özgü davranış şekilleriydi. İstanbul'a gelen elçiler İslamî emân anlayışı çerçevesinde misafir olarak kabul edilmekte güvenlikleri de dahil olmak üzere tüm masrafları Osmanlı tarafından karşılanmaktaydı. Avrupa da benzeri olmayan bu

Ambassadors' all the expenses were provided by the Ottoman State. All the expenses were supplied from the towns on the route. In some years when several envoys pass through the same route it would be unbearable for the region and therefore the route would be changed. After the Belgrade Treaty, the route of the envoys, who would be arriving from Russia and Austria in 1940, was changed because of this reason. When it was impossible for the Babaeski community to bear all the expenses, the districts of Havass-i Mahmud Pasha and Cisir-i Ergene were put in place.⁷⁷

A banquet was arranged for the envoys coming from Europe at a farm closer to Istanbul. Envoys coming from the East were met at the Eastern border and were accompanied till Istanbul. A welcoming ceremony for the Eastern envoys was held on the Kartal and Bostancibasi bridges. Some foreign country envoys were kept on waiting in the border till Ottoman State granted them permission to enter. It was strictly prohibited to play a band or to open a flag upon the envoys' entrances to Istanbul. If this rule was violated, people who were involved were penalized.⁷⁸

In the Ottoman State, the reception of either Muslim or Christian envoys by grand vizier or sultan was depended on a certain protocol. This protocol was explained in the protocol books and was carried by the protocol officers. The envoy reception ceremony varied according to the envoy's rank. When the envoy delegation heading to the Ottoman territory enters through the border, they were brought to the capital in the company of a host, who was sent from Istanbul and all their expenses were covered. Until their return, they and their attendants were considered the guests of the state.

uygulamaya tayinat adı verilmekteydi. Müslüman devletlerden gelen elçiler diğerlerine nazaran daha sıcak karşılanmıştır. İran'dan gelen elçiler barış zamanlarında padişah dışındaki devlet erkânı tarafından da kabul edilir, onlar adına ziyafet düzenlenmiştir. Osmanlı Devletine misafir gelen elçi heyetlerinin korunması devletin göreviydi. Devlet bunların güvenliğini sağlamak için sınırdan girişlerinden çıkışlarına kadar yanlarına yeniçeriler görevlendirirdi. Elçinin korunmasından sorumlu olan bu yeniçerilere yasakçı ismi verilirdi".

⁷⁷ Mübahat Kütükoğlu, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti'nde Fevkalade Elçilerin Ağırılanması," *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları Dergisi* Vol.27, 1-2 (1989) 200.

⁷⁸Ali İbrahim Savaş, "Asitane-i Sa'adet'e Gelen Yabancı Elçilerin Resm-i Kabul Protokolleri," *Askeri Tarih Bülteni* 40 (1996) 11-12.

The letter, which the envoy brought, was translated by the translator of the imperial council and he would be received by the Sultan in the palace with a ceremony at a date determined later.⁷⁹

At their arrival day at Istanbul, grand vizier would send fruits, syrup and flowers and inquire about comfort. Then, viziers would offer them feasts. Upon two or three days after their arrival at Istanbul, they would receive by the grand vizier at the Government Office. Three days after this visit, the ambassador would be brought to the Sultan's presence. The envoys had to meet certain requirements in order to be accepted in the presence. For example, the envoys were not allowed to come to the Sultan's presence with their swords. The envoys would aboard a boat from Tophane with a ceremony and arrive at Sirkeci. From there, they would proceed towards Topkapi Palace's gate Bab-i Humayun. Upon their arrival at Babusselam, they would dismount their horses. Their swords and horses would stay at the courtyard. The envoys would appear before the Sultan with their weapons. The ambassadors, except the matters grand vizier considered appropriate, would not say anything else to the Sultan.⁸⁰

The foreign envoys remained standing in the Sultan's presence. The Sultan welcomed the envoy while seated. Before 18th century, envoys were not being able to give their letters directly to the Sultan. But after 18th century, they began to give the letter, which they brought, directly to the Sultan. After the presentation, they would leave the Sultan's presence walking backwards without turning their back to him.⁸¹

The Ambassadors also brought very precious presents.⁸² Ambassador, before leaving the state, would come the Imperial Council for the second

⁷⁹ http://www.obmuze.com/2006/metin_2306.asp, (20. 05. 2011)

⁸⁰ Ali Seydi Bey, "Teşrifat ve Teşkilatımız," 140.

⁸¹ Savaş, "Asitane-i Sa'adet'e Gelen Yabancı Elçilerin Resm-i Kabul Protokolleri," 15-16.

⁸² Iranian ambassador Haji Khan brought nine elephants as a gift in 1746 from the Iran. Kütükoğlu, "Fevkalade Elçilerin Ağırlanması", 223.

time and appear before the Sultan. Here he would be given letter and presents which would be taken to his Sultan.⁸³

Grand viziers had rights including imprisoning envoys, having them beaten, killing their translators and deporting them.⁸⁴ For example, Koprulu Mehmed Pasha, during the war with Venetians, learns that the Venetian envoy at Ottoman State received a coded letter. He has the envoy called to his presence. But the envoy sends his son because he was sick. When Grand vizier Mehmed Pasha asks about this coded letter, the envoy's son gives rigid answers. Upon this, grand vizier has him beaten.⁸⁵

The Ottoman envoys, before heading for the foreign countries, accompanied by grand vizier, would also appear before the Sultan. They would wear the honorary robe and be handed over the presents that they would take with them. They also would be given oral instructions. The protocol of the country, which they would be appointed to, depended on whoever had sent the letter.

The reception ceremony of the countries, which the envoys were appointed to, was different from the ceremonies which took place in the Ottoman palace. We particularly come to know about these from the ambassadors' reports. Yirmisekiz Celebi Mehmed Efendi, in his report of France, mentioned the following. The reception ceremony at the palace was fabulous. The ceremony takes place in a large hall and is extremely crowded. Not only the top-level state officers, but also a large community of nobles consisting of women and men attended the ceremony. The presence of women in the ceremony greatly attracted Mehmed Celebi's attention. The reception of envoy by the King is also different. The Ottoman envoy could approach the King and hand over the Sultan's letters by himself. King received him standing. This was followed by opera and ballet

⁸³ Ibid, 218-229.

⁸⁴ Ali Seydi Bey, "Teşrifat ve Teşkilatımız," 140.

⁸⁵ Sırrı Tiz, "Huzurda Dayak Yiyen Fransız ve Rus Sefirleri," *Resimli tarih Mecmuası*, Vol. 3 No: 25-36 (1952).

performances.⁸⁶ Ottoman State, having included Constantinople within its territory, has always been a subject of curiosity in the European countries. Therefore, the Europeans crowd the streets when they learn that an Ottoman arrived. The Ottoman envoys determined their own style of appearing before the Monarch in the countries they were appointed to. In the ambassadors' reports of Mustafa Hatti Efendi and Mehmed Emin Efendi, these issues were mentioned.

After Zitvatorok Treaty, the number of Ottoman envoys appointed to the other countries increased. The Ottoman State's splendor was intended to be demonstrated by large delegations. This is Sultan's way of showing himself. In 1739, Canibi Ali Pasha went to Vienna with a delegation of 922 people. After Zitvatorok, the number of Austrian and Polish envoy delegations was not inferior to the Ottoman's.⁸⁷

1.5 Westernization in the Ottoman State

Ottoman State never considered westernization until the defeat in the frontiers of Vienna in 1683. It was superior and self-dependant. The change started after this event.⁸⁸ In 18th century, Europe gained power and Ottoman was weakened. In this process of westernization, the aim is to catch up with the already strengthened Europe.

18th century is the century of change in all over the world. These changes generally did not become local but universal. The changes in Europe could only be felt effectively by the Ottoman in this century. In this century new and old stood side by side.⁸⁹ The interaction specially appears before us

⁸⁶ http://www.obmuze.com/2006/metin_2306.asp, (20. 05. 2011).

⁸⁷ Beydilli, "Sefaret ve Sefaretname Hakkında Yeni bir Değerlendirme," 18-19.

⁸⁸ Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye nin Siyasi Hayatında Batılılaşma Hareketi* (İstanbul: Arba, 1996) 18-19.

⁸⁹ "XVIII. Yüzyılın ilk yarısında Osmanlı Devleti şekil olarak klasik dönemin özelliklerini göstereceği mana olarak yeni bir sürecin içerisinde. Bir yandan kadimden geleneğe aykırı bir iş yapılmaması geleneği devam ederken bir yandan da dünyada meydana gelen iktisadi ve siyasi gelişme ve değişimlere zorunlu bir adaptasyon söz konusudur. Osmanlı Devleti'nin

with the reforms of westernization in the 19th century. But, great steps were taken in the 18th century too.

We can track the steps of westernization in the Ottoman State in Karlowitz. Both a representative from bureaucracy, not from the military institution conducted the negotiations and the Ottoman State gave out the first signals of its adaptation of the system of diplomacy. Abou el Hac regards this treaty as the beginning of the Westernization of Ottoman Diplomacy.⁹⁰ With Karlowitz, in fact, a new era started for the Ottoman State. It increased the sense of curiosity towards Europe, which it once considered inferior. Ottoman would begin to study the West and discover the reason behind their victory over the Ottoman State. Ottoman attitude toward the West was to be the real beginning in Turkey of what later came to be known as the process of Westernization. Two different culture and religion would be caused curiosity. Ottoman upper class would approach western culture sympathetically.⁹¹

If the modernization and westernization in the Ottoman State are used in the same sense, it can be seen that it set an example for westernization in the development of the position of Foreign Ministry. 17th and 18th centuries, the position of foreign ministry, who was the head-secretary of grand vizier, showed parallelism with development of modern centralization and the application of modern bureaucracy.

Starting as an administrative secretaryship like US State Secretaryship, the position of head-secretaryship gradually got out of the tasks of

yeniden yapılanma içerisine girdiği bu dönem yeni Klasik dönem olarakta adlandırılabilir." Orhan Kılıç, *18.yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı Devleti nin İdari Taksimatı-Eylet ve Sancak Tevcihatı* (Elazığ: Ceren Matbaa 1997) 5.

"If people reading this book is closely related in history, they will realize that the first contacts with the West affected Ottoman slowly but deeply." See: Mary Lucille Shay, "Venedik Balyoslarının Bakışıyla Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Lale Devri ve Sonrası," 9.

⁹⁰ Virginia Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War&Peace Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700-1783* (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1995) XVI.

⁹¹ Halil Inalcık, *The Middle East and the Balkans Under the Ottoman Empire, Essays on Economy and Society* (Indiana: Indiana University Turkish Studies and Turkish Ministry of Culture Joint Series, 1987) 412.

secretariat and focused on foreign affairs. In 17th century too, the officers, who held these positions, were asked to serve as the Ottoman representatives in the diplomatic negotiations. According to the new changes in diplomatic position, the position of head-secretaryship also displayed some modifications.⁹² Gradually, the head-secretaryships, getting out of their military origin, began to consist of people with diplomatic origin.

The most important period of our history of westernization is that of Ahmed III (1703-1730). This also ended with a rebellion. The most important reason for Patrona Halil rebellion was not keeping the scholars and the ministers informed about the military reformations undertaken.⁹³ In the words of Enver Ziya Karal the first period of secularization represented by Tulip Period. It was ended with the outbreak of the Patrona Halil Rebellion.⁹⁴ This rebellion inflicted a heavy blow on the westernization adventure of the Ottoman State. But this adventure continued with rational politics of Mahmud I.

In 18th century the diplomatic convergence formed between Ottoman State and European States, especially with France resulted in the considerable cultural interaction between these two countries. In the 18th century, it was seen for the first time in the Ottoman State that the worldly pleasures were reflected in the art. Just like in the West, garden and flower arrangements, life-like embossments in fountains etc., were made. A Turquerie fashion began in Europe with the experiences that European diplomats and explorers brought from the east. Specially the on experienced

⁹² Rıfa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *Modern Devletin Doğası, XVI. yüzyıldan XVIII. Yüzyıla Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, Translated by Oktay Özel and Lancy Şahin (İstanbul: İmge, 2000) 116-117.

⁹³ Mehmed Karagöz, "Osmanlı Devletinde Islahat Hareketleri ve Batı Medeniyetine Giriş Gayretleri. (1700-1839)," *OTAM* 6 (1995) 181.

⁹⁴ Robert Olson, *Imperial meanderings and republican by-way: essays on eighteenth century Ottoman and twentieth century* (İstanbul: İsis, 1996) 16. See Enver Ziya Karal, *Tanzimattan evvel Garplılaşma hareketleri, 1718-1739* (İstanbul: Maarif Vekâleti, 1940) 19.

in decorative art. The east meant Muslim Ottoman Turk in the eyes of Europeans.⁹⁵

1.6 The Roles of Ambassadors in Westernization

Even though the westernization in the Ottoman State was said to start with *Tanzimat Fermanı*, it is required to look for its origins in the 18th century. This enhances the significance of both Mahmud I period and the ambassadors of the same period.

18th Century became the century of reformations both in Europe, America and in Ottoman State. Just like everywhere in the world, the reformation in the Ottoman State meant the inclination towards the west. The important point to emphasize here is that the movements of reformation in the Ottoman State had come down from the top and was implemented. It did not come from the bottom. These endeavors were the attempts of the sympathizing Sultan and grand viziers.⁹⁶

Ahmed Refik, in his work entitled *Historical Faces (Tarihi Similar)*, states that in the 18th Century, a great change started to emerge in the Ottoman politics. He explains the reason for this change was the effect of Europe on the Ottoman. He mentions the great contribution of three Ottoman envoys, who sent to Paris, on the modernization of the Ottoman State. These envoys are the Imperial-officer Suleyman Aga, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi and Said Efendi.⁹⁷ One of these primary channels, no doubt, is ambassadors and their reports. Damat Ibrahim Pasha sent Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi to France in 1721. Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi's

⁹⁵ Semra Germaner, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Kültür Ortamı, XVIII. Yüzyıl Resminde Elçilerle İlgili Törenler, Sempozyum Bildirileri 3* (İstanbul: Sanat Derneği yay, 1998) 131.

⁹⁶ Karagöz, "Osmanlı Devletin de Islahat Hareketleri ve Batı Medeniyetine Giriş Gayretleri" 177-178.

⁹⁷ Ahmed Refik, *Tarihi Simalar* (İstanbul: Kitabhane-i Askeri, 1331) 40.

"*Ottoman diplomacy was one of the principal channels through which European ideas and methods were transmitted to the Ottoman State.*"

Yalçınkaya, "The First Permanent Ottoman-Turkish Embassy in Europe," 13.

ambassador's report is very important for the history of Ottoman Diplomacy and westernization.⁹⁸ He was directly related to interest in Western civilization. As soon as he returned, Sultan, and Grand Vizier particularly wanted to learn about European advancements in technology and science from him. They learn luxurious French life. The effective of French entered into Ottoman life. Europeanization started.⁹⁹ Grand vizier Damat Ibrahim Pasha benefited from the envoys in different ways. He set up a committee of translators and had the works of European history, philosophy and astronomy translated to this committee. He had this translations made by the envoys. He asked Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi, whom he sent to France, to analyze the applications there and learn about the applicability of these in the Ottoman State. He greatly valued the reports arriving from the envoys. Yirmisekiz Çelebizade Sait Efendi, who is the son of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed and was the first Turkish who spoke French, had a greater effect than his father. With the books, clothes, and furniture that he brought to Istanbul, he started a rush of Western fashion. After Sait Mehmed Pasha returned from Europe, he helped Ibrahim Muteferrika and the first Turkish Printing Press was established.¹⁰⁰ İbrahim made an important contribution to the Ottoman history of that process. In 1727, the arrival of printing press materialized as result of fatwa issued by the chief religious official allowing, even though within certain limits, the use of this invention of European origin and again the support of the leading scholars of this period.¹⁰¹ This clearly shows how much this religious institution, which was expected to be most conservative, favors the progress.

⁹⁸ *Sefaretnames* were not only ambassadorial reports, but effective instruments of modernization in the Ottoman State, something which shows the link between domestic and international affairs. Yurdusev, "Ottoman Diplomacy Conventional or Unconventional," 5.

⁹⁹ Halil Inalcık, *Turkey and Europe in History* (İstanbul: Eren, 2006) 190-191.

¹⁰⁰ Stanford J. Shaw, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Modern Türkiye*, translated by Mehmed Harmancı (İstanbul: E yay, 1982)

¹⁰¹ A.Hourani, U.heyd and R.H.Davidson, *İslam Dünyası ve Batılılaşma* (İstanbul: Yöneliş, 1997), 14.

Modernization and progress came to mean westernization. In this respect, Ibrahim Muteferrika had an important place in the modernization of the Ottoman State. He played a role in the history of the westernization of Turkey as carriers of new ideas and as intermediaries between cultures. He presented his work, which he wrote at the age of 53, called *Methods of Wisdom for the Other of Nations (Usulu'l-Hikem fi Nizamü'l-Ümem)* to Mahmud I in 1731. The aim of the book was to investigate the reasons for the aberrations in the organization of the Turkish state and for the strength of European states, and those things that the Turks had to learn and take from the latter in order to regain their power. The book put emphasis on the reasons why states, which once were defeated by the Ottoman in the past, defeat Ottoman now. Ibrahim Muteferrika dealt with the new methods and techniques of military science and warfare developed in Christian countries. His final remarks are:

“All the wise men of the world agree that the people of Turkey excel all other peoples in their nature of accepting rule and order. If they learn the new military sciences and are able to apply them, no enemy can ever withstand this state”¹⁰²

¹⁰² Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (London: McGill University Press, 1998) 43-45.

İbrahim Müteferrika was involved very much for the fabric of the paper. He wrote a report, which was about the conditions, that he was prepared it with masters in attached. See Appendix F, BOA, C.İKTS. Dosya 21, Gömlek 1018, From Poland in 1744 brought a report written by masters of the agreed conditions attached.

CHAPTER 2

REIGN OF MAHMUD I

2.1 Life Story of Mahmud I

When searching about a period belonging to a Sultan, it is important to mention about that Sultan himself. Being the 24th Sultan of the Ottoman State, Mahmud I's personality and life were very important from the aspect of understanding the developments of this period. Because in every event and the route it takes, a person's character proves to be very important. We wonder if Mahmud I had a dull personality or did he prove his intelligence after Patrona Halil incident. Because when we look at this period, it is seen that Mahmud I led a peace policy. While some people call him passive, in fact, both his reforms and diplomatic adventure prove it otherwise. He preferred peace but he was an Ottoman Sultan, who gave Ottoman a chance to breathe in the 18th century and, in that sense, made his community proud.

He was born on 3 Muharram 1108 (2 August 1696) in the province of Edirne. He was the eldest son of Mustafa and Saliha Sultan. He spent his childhood years in Edirne, started his first education here. His teacher was Ibrahim Efendi, the son of the chief religious officer Seyyid Feyzullah Efendi.¹⁰³

After the Edirne Event, which resulted in his father's dethronement, he was imprisoned with his father and brothers. They were brought to Istanbul by Ahmed III and settled at a quarter at the palace of masters.¹⁰⁴

Mahmud I's enthronement took place after Patrona Halil rebellion. Patrona Halil dethroned Ahmed III and approved Mahmud I in his place. Ahmed III and his seven princes pledged allegiance to Sultan Mahmud I. His reigns started on 1 October 1730 and came to an end on 13 December 1754.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Abdülkadir Özcan, "I. Mahmud", (Ankara: DIA Vol. 27) 348.

¹⁰⁴ Münir Aktepe, "I. Mahmud" (İstanbul: İA, Vol. 7, 1988), 158.

Mahmud I was acting precariously against the rebel Halil until he obtained all the power in his hand. During Patrona Halil's domination, entire Istanbul was in chaos. The bandit went to the extent of asking the destruction of the Sa'dabat mansions. Sultan Mahmud I, even though unwillingly, consented in their destruction rather than their burnings.¹⁰⁶ Due of this, the foreign envoys considered Mahmud I to be a puppet Patrona Halil and his accomplices. But it is not accurate at all. Mahmud I was, in fact, an intelligent and impatient person. He never became an inanimate Sultan. He worked very hard to improve the condition of the State.

Patrona Halil had become pretty much influential. He had all the convicts in the prisons and dungeon released but never allowed looting of properties. This is a proof of his effect on the rebels.

Although only the houses of Galata Voivodina, Chief Religious Officer Abdullah Efendi and some viziers were looted, he did not prevent it due to his own animosity. Sultan Mahmud I, with the intension of sending him away from the center, asked him whether he would desire to have a position but Patrona Halil, being prudent, never accepted it as he considered himself completely influential in governing of the State.¹⁰⁷

While Patrona Halil and his accomplices wanted to extend their authority, on 24 November 1731, the sultan called Patrona Halil and his accomplices to the palace with an excuse to discuss a new Iranian expedition and they were immediately killed upon their arrival.¹⁰⁸ After the execution of Patrona Halil, his wealth was determined to be three million five hundred

¹⁰⁵ Yılmaz Öztuna, *Devletler ve Hanedanlar 2* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990) 234.

¹⁰⁶ Ahmed Refik Altınay, *Lale Devri* prepared by İbrahim Hilmi (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi, 1932) 111.

¹⁰⁷ Münir Aktepe, *Patrona İsyanı* (İstanbul: İstanbul U.Edebiyat Fakültesi Yay. 1958) 157-161.

¹⁰⁸ Alan Palmer, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Son Üç Yüzyıl. Bir Çöküşün Yeni Tarihi*, trans. Belkis Ç. Dişbudak (İstanbul: Sabah Kitapları, 1993) 43-44.

thousand francs.¹⁰⁹ Mahmud I completely recaptured the administration after removing this rebel. And Mahmud I began to govern the State all by himself.

Sultan Mahmud I was interested in books and education. He paid special important to education. He set up three libraries in Istanbul.¹¹⁰ He also attached importance on paper and book. In addition to this, he founded religious structures, palaces, cisterns like Topuzlu cistern. He had the Beyoglu-Taksim water distribution center built. He set an example by having fountains built.

During his 25 years of reign, he never went out of Istanbul. But he succeeded in getting victories through his valuable grand viziers.¹¹¹ He is also interested in music and poetry. Here is an example of his own poem;

“Varalum kuy-ı dil-araya gönül hu diyerek;
Kokalım güllerini gonce-i hoşbu diyerek;
Şerbet-i lal-i hayali bizi öldürdü meded;
Gidelim kuyuna yarın bir içim su diyerek”.¹¹²

After the period of Ahmed I, no other sultan founded a new social complex in the period of 150 years until Mahmud I. Mahmud I had Nuruosmaniye social complex built located at the entrance of the Covered Bazaar. The mosque, after Mahmud I, was named after Sultan Osman, who had the mosque completed.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Refik, “Lale devri,” 111.

¹¹⁰ See, Uzunçarşılı, “*Osmanlı Tarihi 4-1*”, 327-328.

¹¹¹ Uzunçarşılı, “*Osmanlı Tarihi 4-1*”, 331.

¹¹² Ziya Nur Aksun, *Gayr-ı Resmî tarihimiz* (İstanbul: Marifet yay, 1997) 145.

¹¹³ Caroline Finkel, *Rüyadan imparatorluğa Osmanlı: Osmanlı imparatorluğunun öyküsü 1300-1923*, translated by Zülâl Kılıç (İstanbul: Timaş, 2007) 325.

He was a thin, short, well-tempered man, who gave priority to the maintenance of public order inside Istanbul and would go to meetings of the dawn in order to hear the people's complaints. Münir Aktepe, “I.Mahmud” (EI²: E.J.Brill, Vol. 6, 1991), 57.

Mahmud I died at the age of 58. He was buried at New Mosque, next to his father Mustafa. He never had children. Osmanlılar Albümü I, prepared by Abdülkadir Dedeoğlu (İstanbul: Osmanlı Yayınevi, 1981) 70.

Mahmud I's Arabic signature on the diplomatic documents is as such "The confirmed servant of Irresistible Sultan" or "The servant of Mecca and Medinah, Sultan Mahmud Khan, the son of Sultan Mustafa Khan".¹¹⁴ There is this same signature in Semdanizade Fındıklılı Suleyman Efendi's Mürüt Tevarih too.¹¹⁵

2.2 Financial and Social System in the Pre-Mahmud I Period

Financial policy of Ottoman State had three legs. These were catering, fiscalizing and traditionalism. In other words, these were meeting the needs of people, not doing something contrary to old and increasing revenues of treasury as much as possible¹¹⁶. This policy had continued exactly in the same way. But, it is an important point that new lands weren't attacked to gain war booty. During this period, Ottoman State fought only with the governments which challenged him or caused problems.

Shaw writes that "*After Suleyman the magnificent, Ottoman State started to weaken gradually*". And he supported this with some theses. These are depending system on individuals, accession of shortsighted people to important positions and existence of bribery and favoritism. Of course, these led to a decrease in reputation. Besides, with weakening of imperial author, Bandits' and notables' power increased. Decreasing of state's revenues and being these revenues in the hand of shortsighted managers caused deterioration of military and civil structure.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ "el-Müeyyedü'l-Müstein Billahi'l-Meliki'd-Deyyan" ya da "Hadimü'l-Haremeyni'l-Muhteremeyn es-Sultanü'l-Gazi Mahmud Han İbnü's-Sultanü'l-Gazi Mustafa Han" Necdet Sakoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Sultanları 36 Osmanlı Padişahı* (İstanbul: Oğlak Bilimsel Kitaplar, 1999) 386.

¹¹⁵ Aktepe, "Mür'it-Tevarih..", 132.

¹¹⁶ Mehmed Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2000) 45-50.

¹¹⁷ Stanford J. Shaw, *Eski ve Yeni arasında Sultan III. Selim Yönetiminde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu (1789-1807)* translated by Hür Güldü (İstanbul: Kapı yay. 2008) 3-5.

This period of weakening started only in the 18th century. Hence, starting of period of author right after Suleyman the Magnificent was to be left unproved. It started especially after the defeats of Ottoman State.

As revenues of war booties had been decreasing, salaries which were paid to soldiers decreased. With this decrement, living area of cavalrymen lessened. And these cavalrymen moved to trade. Hereby, complaints which arose from tradesmen had been increased like defiance to the state, cheating, deficient weighing and dissatisfaction¹¹⁸

The course, which led to Patrona Halil rebellion, was closely related with economic structure of Ottoman State. Ahmed III became distanced to the community and took care of collecting taxes regularly. For this reason, a number of people started to move towards the big cities having better public security and large work area. This situation caused both fallen in amount of agricultural product and taxes. Besides this, it gave rise to food shortage and emerging of a big group of unemployed people in cities. As a matter of fact, a food shortage occurred in Istanbul in 1740. Mahmud I sent orders to Kadis and regents to meet need of grain¹¹⁹.

Expenditures made for battles, defeats in campaigns and so not getting war booty, gifts of enthronement, wastes of palace always put Ottoman economy in difficulty. In addition to this, taxes being taking during campaigns became overwhelming. Once again, people where soldiers crossed charged with soldiers' expenditures. For this reason, Villagers left their villages or moved to cities. Exodus to cities gave rise to food shortage and unemployment. During this period, janissaries were trying to deal with trade as well. Thus, number of tradesmen was getting more than necessary in the cities. Especially, hierarchical structure emerged in Istanbul. Ahmed III

¹¹⁸ Ahmed Tabakoğlu, "Türk çalışma Hayatında Fütüvvet ve Ahilik Geleneği," *Kaynaklar* (1984) 31. There are document of archive that icludes the people for the releas of bread missing in 1162. They were imprisoned in the castle seddülbahr.

¹¹⁹ Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu nun İskân Siyaseti ve Aşiretlerin Yerleştirilmesi* (Ankara: TTK, 1988) 31.

tried to make reforms on financial and monetary issues. Grand vizier Çorlulu Ali Pasha and Nevşehirli Damat Ibrahim Pasha strived for this. But, precautions taken against Iranian battles and wastes of palace were not enough¹²⁰.

Europe was improving during the severe period of Ottoman. Whereas Europe got united, Ottoman had started to split and while technology was improving in Europe, Ottoman left adhered to old weapons and techniques¹²¹. Ottoman traders remained weak to join in international trade. In the 18th century, when military defeats started, they didn't think that it was necessary to improve some old techniques. Ottomans thought that they failed to apply their existed rules. During the 17th and the 18th centuries some reforms were attempted. The most important reformists of the 17th century were Murat IV and grand viziers of Köprülü Ahmed and Mehmed. In this period, west wasn't aware of the situation Ottoman in until unsuccessful attempt of Kara Mustafa Pasha when he couldn't conquer Vienna in 1683. After that West got into action. And, war ended with treaty of Karlowitz which has a great importance for Ottoman history. During following years, war continued¹²².

Despite all the negative data, there are some positive points. In the 18th century, in spite of insecure internal and external conditions, some Ottoman products were able to compete with west's products. Merchants of west who settled in Ottoman State were able to do wholesaling, because, retail trading was right of the local shopkeepers and merchants. Foreign merchants were

¹²⁰ Aktepe, "Patrona İsyanı," 1-3.

¹²¹ Even in the late eighteenth century, their Austrian opponents noted that the Turkish army still fought exactly 'as in the days of Suleyman the Magnificent', two hundred years before. The Marechal de Saxe in 1732 offered the following explanation: It is hard for one nation to learn another, either from pride, idleness or stupidity. Inventions take a long time to be accepted (and sometimes, even though everyone accepts their usefulness, in spite of everything they are abandoned in favour of tradition and routine)... The Turks today are in this situation. It is not valour, numbers or wealth that they lack; it is order, discipline and technique. Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 128.

¹²² Shaw, "Eski ve Yeni arasında Sultan III. Selim" 3-5.

trading with local minority. By this way, trading was getting into the hand of this group¹²³.

In the the 18th century, Ambassadors started to go to Europe to keep up with innovations and to make diplomatic attempts by sealing alliances. And also a number of merchants and diplomats from Europe started to come to Ottoman State and they began to bring European culture and innovations with them. And a process leading to Tulip Period had been experienced. This period ended with Patrona Halil rebellion¹²⁴.

The 18th century has been accepted as the beginning of reformist movements. Amcazade Hüseyin Pasha, son of Köprülü Mehmed pasha, carried on grand viziership after treaty of Karlowitz and made some reform efforts. He opened factories to cope with import goods. Turkish printing house was established for the first time in Ottoman State by a Hungarian proselyte. Before this, printing houses in Hebrew, Armenian, and Latin languages were established but the Turkish Press House wasn't. And Ibrahim Müteferrika, who had chosen Islam and brought influence of West's proselyte. Press house was the most important monument of Tulip Era¹²⁵.

Oral Sander writes that "Tulip Era was renaissance of Ottoman State". In the meantime, Westernization character of Ahmed III is mentioned. Ahmed III was a man of tolerance, peace, understanding modern world and being able to stay away from cabals of harem. Western influence on cultural and social life started for the first time at this period.

Looking at the internal structure of the Ottoman State, while financial power of minorities was increasing, Turkish public was getting poor. By spreading inner provinces like Konya, Aydın, Balıkesir, Manisa, Kütahya,

¹²³ Tabakoğlu, "Türk çalışma Hayatında Fütüvvet ve Ahilik Geleneği, 30-31.

¹²⁴ (During Tulip period, European architecture was imitated. Effort of living a life similar to Europe has been seen at palace and administrative part. Chairs and seats replaced divan. European entertainment life lived by elite part of community of Ottoman)

Shaw, "Eski ve Yeni arasında Sultan III. Selim"9-10.

¹²⁵ Itzkowitz, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu", 520.

European traders improved commercial structure by establishing commercial partnerships with minorities. People whose task burden increased began to move to cities. Deterioration in administration caused increment of banditry and notables power increased on local authority. Only harmony between Muslim and Non-muslim citizen wasn't not deteriorated. ¹²⁶

Karlowitz is accepted as point of origin in classical history of Ottoman. Ottoman State signed peace treaty as a defeated state, for the first time explicitly, in a battle and had to live a broad land known as a part of Dar-ul Islam (Abode of Islam). In foreign affairs defense policy had started due to military weakness. In addition to this, Resistance of local administrators against central authority started in this period. ¹²⁷

2.3 General Policies of Mahmud I

During the reign of Mahmud, imperial authority began to get weaker and notables' increase. Disorders emerged in ottoman society due to economic and social problems.

The Patrona Halil Rebellion occurred in Istanbul, in 1730. This rebellion had vast repercussions on the subsequent social, economic and political history of the Ottoman State. This event stopped the flow of ideas, literature, ambassadors and military consultants which begun to take place between Europe and the Porte during the reign of Ahmed III. Tulip Period was finished by that. Patrona Halil Rebellion encouraged rebelliousness. Patrona Halil Rebellion and Ottoman-Persian wars led to fall of decreasing effectiveness of imperial authority in the provinces was due to a large extent to these events and their consequences¹²⁸. After Patrona Halil rebellion, Mahmud I establish a full dominance. Not to fall into mistake of his father

¹²⁶ Yücel Özkaya, *XVIII. yüzyılda Osmanlı Kurumları ve Osmanlı Toplum Yaşantısı* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı,1985) 9-15.

¹²⁷ Sander, "Anka nın Yükselişi ve Düşüşü" 132-134.

¹²⁸ Olson, "Imperial Meanderings and Republican By Wars, Essays on Eighteenth Century Ottoman and Twentieth Century", 1-62.

and uncle, he kept tight his power by changing high state officials¹²⁹. By writing an imperial order to *Orduyi Humayun*, He ask for endeavor, favor, obedience, service against both issues on the world and internal issues like Patrona Halil rebellion¹³⁰. After Karlowitz Treaty, Ottomans were going to dwell upon the reason of superiority of Europe¹³¹. And after Ahmed III Mahmud I is going to continue to westernization movements. *Usulü-l Hikem Fi Nizamü'l ümem* written by Ibrahim Müteferrika has great influence on him. This work was prepared for Ahmed III but presented to Mahmud I. Müteferrika dwells upon and explains reasons of the deterioration. He points growing strength of Europe, geographic expeditions, changing military system as reasons for decline¹³². Mahmud I was an enthusiastic person about science. These ideas encouraged his efforts to advance state much further.

2.4 Domestic Politics

First ten years of Sultan Mahmud passed with handling events causing 1730 rebellion and disorder resulted by 1730. Especially, he concentrated on the problem of exodus to Istanbul and food shortage of Istanbul¹³³.

Patrona Halil Rebellion and Ottoman-Persian wars led to fall of effectiveness of imperial authority in the provinces. Mahmud I's method of reforms was to establish new bodies in old structure. Mahmud I needed to reform the army. He wanted to establish an army in European style. Because, in the wars lasted from 1683 to 1699, Europe won the battle with

¹²⁹ Alaaddin Yalçinkaya, "XVIII. yüzyıl: Islahat, Değişim ve Diplomasi Dönemi (1703-1789)", *Türkler* 12 (2002) 489.

¹³⁰ Tahsin Ünal, *Türk Siyasi Tarihi 1700-1914* (Ankara: Karınca Matbaası, 1955) 32.

¹³¹ Stanford Shaw, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Modern Türkiye* translated by Mehmed Harmancı (İstanbul: E yay, 1982) 277.

¹³² Mehmed Karagöz, "Osmanlı Devletinin de Islahat Hareketleri ve Batı Medeniyetine Giriş Gayretleri. (1700-1839)," 181-182, See, İbrahim Müteferrika, *Usul'ül-hikem fi nizam'ül-ümem* prepared by Ömer Okutan (İstanbul: Meb, 1990) 63-73 1930.

¹³³ Finkel, "Rüyadan İmparatorluğa Osmanlı," 324.

superiority of method and technique of war over Ottoman¹³⁴. Because of fear of insurgency, he was not touching to Janissaries and troops. But, He established Humbaracı guild¹³⁵. Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha who was a French officer converted to Muslim and Grand vizier Topal Osman Pasha became main assistants of Sultan. Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha tried to apply European army system to on Ottoman army. During this term, cannon foundry, gunpowder and rifle factories were established. A house of Geometry (Hendesehane) was opened in Üsküdar.¹³⁶ Janissaries' payments were given regularly. Besides this, the castles were built to protect the borders and military posts were placed under command of influential chiefs. Notables got more influence. But, their benefits and state's benefits were matching. Here, the point taking attention is increment of castle constructions. This shows how Ottoman gave weight to defense. Defeats led Ottoman to defensive policies.

At the first meeting Patrona Halil made with Mahmud I, He told his demand that the taxes accepted during period of Damat Ibrahim Pasha were to be removed. So, Mahmud I had this estate style taxes removed as a first action¹³⁷. Ibrahim Müteferrika press house which previously closed reopened again. And, a paper factory established in Yalova¹³⁸.

Mahmud brought water via pipe to northern side of Golden Horn, Pera and Beyoğlu. He built an octagonal place where water was allotted and this place is known as Taksim Square. He built Nuruosmaniye Mosque which is the first baroque mosque in Istanbul¹³⁹.

¹³⁴ Akdes Nimet Kurat, "XVIII. Yüzyıl başı Avrupa Umumi Harbinde Türkiye nin tarafsızlığı", *Belleter* Vol.7 No.6 (1943) 257.

¹³⁵ Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı Tarihi", 325.

¹³⁶ Karagöz, "Osmanlı Devletinin Islahat Hareketleri ve Batı Medeniyetine Giriş Gayretleri (1700-1839)," 182-183.

¹³⁷ Aktepe, "I. Mahmud ", 158.

¹³⁸ Refik, "Lale Devri", 117.

¹³⁹ Palmer, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Son Üç Yüzyıl..", 44.

But, with dismissal of Topal Osman Pasha, Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha was disgraced. Thus, westernization movements were interrupted until Mahmud III¹⁴⁰.

We can say Mahmud I's economic policies were successful. Mahmud I fixed financial situation and also filled the treasury¹⁴¹. The production of cotton increased so much. Especially, it increased hundred percent in Tokat. Industrial production improved. Of course, even this improvement was not enough to catch up with the improvement of west industry; it didn't run round in circles¹⁴². All these improvements show that there was an effort of reform in Ottoman State.

Especially first half of the 18th is positive for Ottoman Economy. European goods were not dominant in Ottoman territory. There is a self-sufficient Ottoman State. Lasting of economic power of Ottoman doesn't mean that there is a technical conversion as in Europe. Because at this period European economies improving so fast. Even though, imperial author power was diminishing in rural areas, Ottoman State was still controlling society and economy. Power of Notables in rural areas was limited to seizing the taxes collected in the name of state.¹⁴³ Mahmud I tried to the economy with his efforts.

2.5 Foreign Relations

After achieving a strong position in the internal affairs of the State, Mahmud I turned his attention to the external problems of the empire.

In this period, the foreign policy was based on peace. However when necessary, the war was not avoided. In this period, which is considered to be

¹⁴⁰ Karagöz, "Osmanlı Devletin de Islahat Hareketleri ve Batı Medeniyetine Giriş Gayretleri (1700-1839)," 182-183.

¹⁴¹ Robert Mantran, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, translated by Server Tanilli (İstanbul: Adam Yay, 1992) 340.

¹⁴² Genç, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi" 211-226.

¹⁴³ Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi 1500-1914* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005) 179-180.

a prosperous period for the Ottoman State, Mahmud obtained Belgrade by defeating Germany/Austria. Russia was drawn away from the Black sea, and Nadir Shah was forced to accept the territorial boundaries of the reign of IV. Murat. At a moment when Austria Emperor Charles VI died and his daughter succeeded him and all Europe was planning to be in war with Austria, he sent letters of advice to these States and mentioned about the violence and catastrophe of war and thus invited them to be in peace.¹⁴⁴

By the effort of French ambassador Vinov, common acts of Turks towards Russia and Austria alliance led to the victory of Turkish politics. Sa'dabat feasts began once again and the ambassadors were given gorgeous feasts.¹⁴⁵

However, Aladdin Yalçinkaya states that one of the reasons why Mahmud 1 followed such a peaceful policies is that he frequently used to replace high officials that may be threat for them and that he dealt with this struggle of power. No grand vizier except Koca Mehmed Ragip Pasha stayed in power for more than three years. Ragip Pasha was a grand vizier for 6 years and 3 months.¹⁴⁶

The Ottoman State entered to the 18th century by defeats but Mahmud I won somen important wars. Diplomatic relations also increased in the reign of Mahmud I.

2.6 Diplomatic Relations with Other States

Other states were also eager to build relations with the Ottoman State. Even the State of Denmark sent an official named Sigun De Gahler to Istanbul secretly in 1752. His aim was to establish commercial relations through buying some horses. As a matter of fact, he became successful and he

¹⁴⁴ İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi 4* (İstanbul: Türkiye yayınevi, 1972).

¹⁴⁵ Refik, "Lale Devri", 117.

¹⁴⁶ Yalçinkaya, "XVIII. Yüzyıl: Islahat..", 489-493.

signed agreement of peace and friendship in 1756.¹⁴⁷ The Ottoman State, which was founded in the 13th century and became one of the most prominent empire in the history of the world, had always been matter of curiosity for the other states.

Sweden: In the 17th century, the Kingdom of Sweden was the biggest and most dominant State of the North Europe. Sweden, which was also very powerful at the beginning of the 18th century, was dominant over the Baltic Sea. However, Russia, Denmark and Poland (Lehistan) were also willing to capture this place. These three states had an alliance declared war on Sweden. Sweden was victorious over Denmark and Lehistan, but could not defeat Russia. Charl XVII took refuge from the Ottoman State. The Ottomans hid him. When he returned to Sweden in 1714, most of the lands were captured. Upon his death, his sister Elenor succeeded him in 1719 as he had no child. The friendship with Sweden continued. When the Queen was enthroned, she sent an envoy to the Ottoman State and expressed her will to continue the friendship. The Queen left the throne to her husband Fredrik in 1720.¹⁴⁸ When Charl XII was leaving the Ottoman State he also borrowe some money. Later, Fredrik paid this debt back by sending military equipments.

Through his two diplomats Höpken and Karlson, Fredrik provoked the Ottoman State towards Russia. These two diplomats, who came to Istanbul in 1733, tried to have the Ottoman fight against Russia. French envoy also joined them. However, there was an ongoing war between the Ottoman State and Iran. Moreover, the Ottomans were alert to such types of games. The Ottoman State did not believe in these games. However, the Ottoman State signed a treaty of trade consisted of 18 articles with Sweden in 1736. A treaty of alliance was also signed in 1740. Accordingly, if Russia attacked any of these two states, the other one would also join the war against Russia

¹⁴⁷ Tuncer, "17 ve 18. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı..", 7.

¹⁴⁸ Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı Tarihi 4", Part 1, 243-244.

immediately. In 1741, when the war broke out between Russia and Sweden, Sweden asked the help of the Ottoman State right away. The Ottomans arbitrated and end the war. This treaty was renewed in 1790.¹⁴⁹

France: In fact, here France was not supposed to be analyzed distinctly. Only the states, to whom *Sefaretname* was written, would be glanced over. As a matter of fact, it is impossible to assess the diplomacy history of the Ottoman State excluding from France.

The relations between the Ottoman State and France began in the 16th century. The relations commenced with the capitulations made during the reign of the Kanuni. France is the first state to have commercial relations with the Ottoman State without having a border with her.¹⁵⁰ These were diplomatic, commercial and religious relations. Until her invasion of Egypty in 1798, the relations with France were in good terms. France arbitrates between the Ottoman State and many other states. The capitulations that began with Kanuni increased during the reign of Mahmud I on account of France's diplomatic efforts during the the Belgrade Treaty, signed between the Ottoman State and Austria in 1740, the capitulations were extended. French Tradesmen had right to have free movemet in the Black Sea.¹⁵¹

During the period between 1726 and 1743, Kardinal Flöri was the ruler of France. He wanted the Ottomans to be powerful for the stability of Europe and for his policies.¹⁵² The capitulations were the reasons why France allied with the Ottoman State against Ausria and Russia. In addition, France wanted to prevent Russia to go to the Black Sea. The most important articles of the capitulations were those related to religion, economics and law. By the time being, with the achievements of her envoys, France gained many

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 220-225.

¹⁵⁰ Nevin Özkan, "Venedik Senatosu Sekreteri Pietro Busenello'nun İstanbul Gözlemleri (1742-1746)," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 20 (2000) 292.

¹⁵¹ Azmi Süslü, "Osmanlı-Fransız Diplomatik İlişkileri 1798-1807," prepared by E. Semih Yalçın and Mustafa Ekincikli, *Makaleler, Bildiriler, Elektronik Yayınlar* (Ankara: Berikan yay, 2006) 35-38

¹⁵² Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı Tarihi 4," Part 2, 206.

privileges. Some of them, especially in respect to our present age, were as follow. As of 1740, Turkish courts could not put French citizens on trial; they do not pay tax; and their religious rituals could not be interrupted. French envoy Vilnöv, say to speak, made a trade agreement.¹⁵³ The treaty on the capitulations signed in 1740 between the Ottoman State and France was the seventh agreement of this regard. Almost in all the meetings, there was an article as "As a matter of a form of generosity and granting would continue as long as intimate relations were shown by France".

In this period, the Ottoman State had a full confidence in France. As stated in the chapter on Austria, Mahmud I did not take Austrian war of successions as an opportunity, and informed Maria Theresa that the peace treaty was continuing as it was. However, grand vizier sent a letter to the vice President of France through the French Ambassador. The grand vizier stated that while establishing allies of the states, France must also consider the interests of the Ottoman State.¹⁵⁴ As it is mentioned above in 18th century all countries used diplomacy for their profits. The Ottoman state also started to learn this. According to this documentary Mahmud I wanted to protect the interests of Ottoman State from France during the Austrian succession wars. For that Mahmud I send a letter to French Primeminister.

The diplomatic relations in this period were quite satisfactory. French officer Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha had contributed a lot to this success. There was a great French influence on the Ottomans in this century. Many feasts were organized in the honor of French envoy Marki dö Vilnöv for his supports in the making of the Belgrade Treaty. He returned to his country leaving his office to another ambassador in 1741. In the same year, Mahmud I sent Yirmisekiz Çelebizade Mehmed Said Efendi to France with an envoy. Mehmed Efendi went to France in 1720 as chamberlain of his father. Mahmud wanted to complain about Russia to France. Russia was supposed to destroy Azak

¹⁵³ Ünal, "Türk Siyasi Tarihi", 34-35.

¹⁵⁴ BOA, Hat 17, Gömlek 738, 1 Zilhicce 1746, See appendix I.

Fortress in accordance with the Belgrade Treaty, but Russia did not act accordingly. He also wanted to strengthen their relations. In 1742, the ambassador Mehmed Efendi returned back.¹⁵⁵

France wanted the Ottoman State to be powerful in military terms. Moreover, France wanted the Ottomans to have commercial superiority on the Meditterenean and the Black Sea. There were three aims of the French diplomacy: the extension of the capitulations, prevention of Austria from the Mediterrenean and Russia from the Black Sea and freedoom of Catholic population in their propaganda activities.¹⁵⁶

Keeping these aims in mind, France turned away from the Ottoman State, which signed KüçükKaynarca agreement, which had very heavy impositions, in 1768 upon her defeat by Russia in the wars that broke out in 1768. Meanwhile, France occupied Egypt.

The Ottoman State sent fifty five envoys to France from 1559 to 1902. Seven *Sefaretnames* of these envoys are known.¹⁵⁷ There is no text of any *Sefaretname* that belong to the period of the reign of Mahmud I.

Poland (Lehistan): After establishing sovereignty over Crimea and Bogdan at the North, the Ottoman State became a neighbor with Poland. The relations between the two countries were generally friendly. Political, commercial and diplomatics relations were built. The Ottomans said Lehistan for Poland. The reason of it was that in the Eastern European region where Poland was located, there used to be a prince called Leh. Poland was originated from the word Pole and means men of soil.¹⁵⁸

The diplomatic ties between Poland and the Ottoman State extend back to 1410¹⁵⁹. Fetret Period (interregnum) in the Ottoman State and the

¹⁵⁵ Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı Tarihi 4," Part 2, 208.

¹⁵⁶ Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, prepared by Ahmed Kuyuş (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2002) 79-80.

¹⁵⁷ Savaş, "Osmanlı Elçilerinin Sefaret Güzergâhları," 57

¹⁵⁸ Topaktaş, "Osmanlı Sefaretnameleri Işığında 1730-1763 yılları," 14.

¹⁵⁹ Z. Abrahamowicz, "Leh" (EI²: E.J.Brill, Vol. 5, 1986) 720.

insurgencies Lehistan had been the main reasons why the relations between the countries commenced lately. Hungarian King Sigusmind asked help from Polish King Ladislaus Jagiello against the Ottomans. However, the Polishes only agreed to have arbitrary role between the two countries, and sent to envoys to the Ottomans. Hence, an agreement that would continue between the Ottomans and the Hungarians for six years was signed.¹⁶⁰ After Varna War of 1444, Polishes became afraid of the Turks. In addition, they had cooperation with the Ottoman State against the attacks of the Habsburgs.¹⁶¹ After the treaty of Karlowitz, Poland became afraid of the danger of Russia, and thus approached to the Ottoman State.¹⁶²

Most wars took place in the 17th century between the two countries. The main reasons for the wars were Kazakh, Tatar raids, Poland's dissatisfaction with the borders, crusade unions and so on. In 1683 Vienne Wars also Poland was at the opposite frontier. After the Treaty of Karlowitz, a treaty was signed with Poland in 1703. The relations were in good terms with Poland after the treaty of Karlowitz. Poland was getting weaker and weaker. On the other hand, the Ottoman State was, so to say, protecting Poland because the danger of Poland was getting bigger and bigger. The Ottoman State wanted to preserve its borders.¹⁶³

When Mahmud I came to power, Ogüst II was in throne in Poland. As a matter of fact, when he died in 1733, problems of succession broke out in the country. Father-in-law of the King of France and former Lehistan king Stanislas Leçinski became the King. He informed Mahmud I about his enthronement in 1733. Austria and Russia had counter attacks and made Ogüst II's son Ogüst III the king. The Ottoman State sent a letter to the Austrian Prime Minister in 1734 and wanted him not to involve in this affair. However, they responded the letter informing the Ottoman that Austria and

¹⁶⁰ Topaktaş, "Osmanlı Sefaretnameleri Işığında 1730-1763 yılları", 16-18.

¹⁶¹ Abrahamowicz, "Leh" 720.

¹⁶² Ibid, 721.

¹⁶³ Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı Tarihi 4", Part 2, 189.

Russia would continue their struggle in cooperation. Consequently, Poland wars of succession broke out, which lasted with the Second Vienne Treaty in 1738. Ogüst III came to the throne.¹⁶⁴

Sending an envoy to the Ottoman State, III.Ogüst expressed his will to arbitrate to end the ongoing war of 1736 the Ottoman-Austria-Russia. When the envoy of Poland (Lehistan) came to Bogdan, the Ottoman State did not let the envoy come to Istanbul. He said that he would inform the envoy through the voivoda of Bogdan. As a result, Ogust III's kingship was recognized and the friendships between the two countries continued. When Ogust III died in 1763, a new problem of succession emerged.¹⁶⁵

"There is no other State that sent the Ottoman State as many envoys as the Kings of Polish." These envoys were appointed to complain about the Khanates of the Crimea, renew trade agreements, bring news from the region and and prevent the Ottoman invasions. Poland sent 48 envoys to the Ottoman State between the years 1440 and 1770. The Ottoman state sent 20 envoys. The routes of the envoys to Poland were: Istanbul, Yanbolu, Dobruca, Moldov, Hotin, Kamieniec, Lublin and Warsaw.¹⁶⁶

"The perceived image of the "Turk" was highly ambivalent. Fear and disgust were often mixed with fascination. The Poles criticized Ottoman "paganism" and tyranny, but admired its wealth, power, and order. Oriental dress and armour were adopted by Polish nobles."¹⁶⁷

"Under the strong influence of İslamic culture, Poland was shown to be a borderland between the Christian West and the İslamic Eastt. This was particularly evident in material culture, for the products of these İslamic craftsmen reached Poland either by trade or as the spoils of war." Also, many Turkish words enetered to Polish language.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, 192-193.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, 195.

¹⁶⁶ Savaş, "Osmanlı Elçilerinin Sefaret Güzergahları," 57-58.

¹⁶⁷ Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Leh Diplomatic Relations* (Nthrelands: Brill, 2000) XV.

¹⁶⁸ Abrahamowicz, "Leh", 722.

There is a *Sefaretname* on Poland written by Mehmed Efendi. However, information on his life is not available in any source.¹⁶⁹ He was sent to the King of Polish on 22 December 1730 to inform him about the enthronement of Mahmud I. He left Warsaw on 16 March 1731 to return to Istanbul. In his *Sefaretname*, he gave a detailed account of the things he did and the people he met with a clear Turkish.

As a result the relationship was good between the Ottoman State and Lehistan during Mahmud I. We learnt this from a document.¹⁷⁰

Venice¹⁷¹ : The relations between the Ottoman State and Venice were shaped with desire to establish dominance over Mediterranean since the very beginning. However, the commercial and diplomatic relations between the two countries continued even at the time of war.

Once a powerful state, Venice was a weak state in the 18th century. The power changed hands in Europe. The colonization struggles of France, Spain and England caused the way for Venice to be weak.

Mora subcontinent after the Treaty of Karlowitz and a part of Dalmatia were left in Venice, but the people of Rum were not satisfied with the administration of Venice. Damat Ibrahim Pasha recaptures Mora in 1715. After a war with Austria, who was angry at the recapture of Mora, Passarowitz Treaty was signed in 1718. Venice repossessed some places except Mora subcontinent. Passarowitz Treaty of 1718 was renewed with the envoy of Venice in 1733 during the reign of Mahmud I. There were no other

¹⁶⁹ Aktepe, "Mehmed Efendi'nin Lehistan Sefareti ve Sefaretnamesi," 133-136.

¹⁷⁰ The chieftan of Poland (Yuşef) sent a letter to the leader of the Ottoman soldier (serasker) in 1736. He wanted to go on peace between the Ottoman State. BOA, C.Hariciye, Dosya 139, Gömlek 6912 See: Appendix N

The king of Polish sent an envoy to the Ottoman State for friendship. BOA, Hat Dosya 3, Gömlek 72 Appendix O

Russia worked to break the relations between the Ottoman State and Poland. Russia used many instruments. One of them was to use the predecessors in Poland against the Ottoman State. But Russia could not be successful in this aim. The *voivoda* of Boğdan wrote a report for his subject in 1735. BOA, C.Hariciye, Dosya 129, Gömlek 6426 Appendix P

¹⁷¹ There is an important study about the Venetian ambassadors who had written on behalf of the Ottoman State between 1503 and 1641. For further information see Lucette Valensi, *Venedik ve Bab-ı Ali Despotun Doğuşu* (İstanbul: Bağlam, 1987).

relations between the two countries. In 1733, for the first and last time in Venetian-Ottoman relations, peace was considered perpetual. For this reason no other agreement was made after 1733 between the Republic and the Ottoman State.¹⁷²

In 1797, the places that Venice possessed were shared by France and Austria. Until this date, the relations between the Ottomans-Venice had been in good terms.¹⁷³

Venice occupies a crucial place in regard to the world diplomacy history. The first country to open embassy in the Ottoman was Venice. From the middle of the 15th to the 17th centuries Venice was the centre of diplomatic contacts between the European countries and the Ottoman State. Venice was also a centre of spying on both sides and political information about different states was often exchanged.¹⁷⁴ Venetians are the oldest Europeans to have commercial activities with the Ottoman State.¹⁷⁵

However, as Venice was weak and ineffective country in this period, it did not have many relations with the Ottoman State as well. There is no relationship worth mentioning after the Treaty of Passarowitz.

Venice first sent an envoy to the Ottoman State in 1408. On the other hand, the Ottoman State sent Venice an envoy in 1417. The Ottoman State sent 31 envoys to Venice between the years 1417 and 1720. Venice sent 45 envoys from 1408 to 1745. No *sefaretname* of the envoys sent to Venice is available.¹⁷⁶

Prussia: Prussia State was founded with the unification of Brandenburg, Prussia and Klev duchies in Germany in the 18th century.

The first relations between the Ottoman State and Prussia commenced upon grand vizier Mehmed Pasha's friendship letter to the Prime Minister of Prussia

¹⁷² Maria Pia Pedani-Fabris, "Ottoman Diplomats in the West: The Sultan's Ambassadors to the Republic of Venice", *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 11 (1996,) 191.

¹⁷³ Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı Tarihi 4,"Part 2, 169-170.

¹⁷⁴ Fabris, "Ottoman Diplomats in the West..", 192.

¹⁷⁵ Özkan, "Venedik Senatosu Sekreteri Pietro..", 284.

¹⁷⁶ Savaş, "Osmanlı Elçilerinin Sefaret Güzergâhları," 59.

during the war with Austria in 1718. In response, Prussia sent an envoy in 1720.¹⁷⁷

Prussia wanted to build commercial relations with the Ottoman State starting from the period of the reign of Friedrich I Sweden, on the other hand, wanted to reconcile the Ottomans and Prussia. In 1737, grand vizier Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha sent a letter to King Friedrich Wilhem I and wanted Prussia not to involve in a probable attack on the Ottoman State. The task of delivering this letter was undertaken by Höpkin and Karlson Swedish representatives in Istanbul, but no response came for the letter. Whether the letter was delivered or not was assigned to the Bogdan Voivoda. He assigned an envoy for this. However, no result was achieved since this envoy was bribed by the Russians.¹⁷⁸

Lieutenant Sattler was sent by Prussia in 1739 in order to make a confidential contact with the Ottoman State¹⁷⁹. This attempt of Prussia is an example to their intent to build a friendship with the Ottoman State. Enthroned in May 1740, Friedrich II especially wanted to develop these relations against Austria. He wanted to achieve his goal by locating some agents in the Ottoman State owing to the fact that Prussia had no embassy in Istanbul. In addition, Swedish ambassador and Humbaraci Ahmed Pasha also contributed to these relations. The relations were continued through the Swedish envoy. However, Prussia sent her first envoy in 1755.¹⁸⁰

There were exchanges of letters between the King of Prussia and Mahmud I in 1739.¹⁸¹

We learn most significant information about Prussia from two *sefaretnames*. One was written by Ahmed Resmi Efendi and the other one was written by Ahmed Azmi Efendi. Notwithstanding with the fact that they

¹⁷⁷ Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı Tarihi 4," Part 2, 232-233.

¹⁷⁸ Kemal Beydilli, *Büyük Friedrich ve Osmanlılar: XVIII. yüzyılda Osmanlı-Prusya Münasebetleri* (İstanbul: İstanbul U.Yayınları, 1985)4-6

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, 4-6.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, 8-13.

¹⁸¹ Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı Tarihi 4," Part 2, 232-233.

were not about our contemporary age, these *sefaretnames* have significant information about the structure of Prussia.

Ahmed Resmi Efendi was sent to Prussia in 1763. He stayed there for a year. He described Berlin in detail. He said that within a short period of forty to fifty years, the city developed a lot; there were thirty to forty bridges and beautiful gardens. He narrated that in order not to be in need of anyone, they build industrial facilities to produce clothes and various things. Since it was not allowed to import things and clothes from abroad, everything was expensive in the city.¹⁸²

Ahmed Azmi Efendi was appointed as an ambassador to Berlin in 1790. His aim was to convince Prussia to go to war against Russia. He did not succeed in it. He talked about the commercial life of Prussia in his *sefaretname*. There were no coffee, sugar, cotton and silk in Prussia. The government imposed huge taxes to prevent the flow of Akche abroad. They see imports as obstruct to their progress. The custom tax was thirty percent in Prussia while it was just three percent in the Ottoman State for the foreign products to enter into the country. Ahmed Azmi Efendi wrote that Prussia was not going into the war unless they were really bound to and instead they tried hard to develop the country by doing trade. He narrated that Friedrich the Great legated eight things for the development of the country. These are; increasing the treasury of the country with agriculture, not to have unemployed people, to manufacture products that are not available in the country, preserving the money of the state within the state, and if the ox of a villager dies, the government must give him one. Hence, the villagers are aimed at not being unemployed. It is also targeted to have everyone to sell his or products to whomever he or she wants, to have beggars work in

¹⁸² Yücel Özkaya, XVIII. Yüzyılda Prusya da Osmanlı Elçileri ve Bu Elçilerin Sefaretnamelerine Göre Almanya, *I.Uluslararası Seyahatnamelerde Türk ve Batı İmaj Sempozyumu Belgeleri*, (Eskişehir, 1985) 266.

construction, having everything within the rules and having rich state treasure for all the time.¹⁸³

England: England had not turned into an empire of colonization in the 18th century yet. However, her power on the seas was gradually increasing. For the safety of the trade routes of her own government, England wanted the Ottoman State to preserve her territorial integrity until the end of the 18th century. When the wars broke out between Russia and the Ottoman State and consequently the Ottomans were defeated, England would not protect the territorial integrity of the Ottoman State anymore.

During the reign of Mahmud I, the relations with England were few and friendly. England carried out the work of an arbitrator in the Treaty of Karlowitz. She was also an arbitrator in Passarowitz Agreement in 1718, for which the Ottoman State sent a letter of thanks. Whatever the help England asked from the Ottoman State about the tradesmen, the Ottomans provided them. England wanted to prevent the Ottoman-Russia and Austria war in 1736 but could not be successful.

During this period, the British envoys had good relations with the Ottoman State. James Porter, who was appointed as an ambassador in 1746, stayed in Istanbul for 16 years. He also wrote a book on the state organizations of the Turks.¹⁸⁴

England firstly sent an envoy to the Ottoman State in Yirmisekiz. From then to 1886, England sent 55 envoys to the Ottoman State. On the other hand, the Ottoman State first sent an envoy to England in 1619. From this date to 1897, the Ottoman State sent 27 ambassadors to England. In 1793, Yusuf Agah Efendi went to England.

India: The relations between the Ottoman State and India were in good term in this period. There were exchanges of envoys. Only during the Indian Expeditions of Nadir Shah these envoys were not sent and received.

¹⁸³ Ibid, 262-268-270.

¹⁸⁴ Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı Tarihi 4", Part 2, 212-214.

However, Nadir Shah's commencement to deal with the problems in Iran, these envoys again began to come and go.¹⁸⁵ In 1744, an ambassador named Seyyid Abdullah came from India to Istanbul. In response, the Ottoman State sent Salim Efendi¹⁸⁶ as an envoy. Salim Efendi took Yusuf Aga, who had already gone to India for commercial purposes, with him. Yusuf Aga brought his son Mehmed Efendi with him. When they arrived in India, Salim Efendi became sick and died. He appointed Yusuf Aga in his position before he died. Yusuf Aga carried out his tasks. He handed the imperial letter over. He stayed in India for six years. Taking the letters and gifts of the Indian Shah, he returned to Istanbul with his son. This report was written by his son. Later on his son was promoted upto the position of grand vizier.¹⁸⁷

Upon the appreciation of his report, Mehmed Emin Pasha was promoted rapidly. He first became a letter writer of the ministry. Then *Reisülküttab* and then nişancı (marksman). Then he became grand vizier. However, he became successful in ongoing Ottoman-Russian war. First he was dismissed from the post, and then he was scragged while he was in Edirne. His grave is in Edirne.¹⁸⁸

In his masterpiece, there is a detailed account of how to go to India, what were seen on the way and the way of life there. The work is consisted of 6 leaves.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ İsmet Miroğlu, Hindistan Hakkında XVIII. Yüzyılda Yazılmış Küçük Bir Eser, *Tarih Dergisi*, (1983-1984, İst. Üni, Ed, Fak) 541. The book of Seydi Ali Reis was the first book in this.

¹⁸⁶ Sâlim Mehmed Efendi was born in Trabzon. The date of his born has not been know. His real name was Mehmed'dir. He was a brainy and sophisticated person.

¹⁸⁷ Unat, Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri, 83.

¹⁸⁸ Kemal Beydilli, "Mehmed Emin Paşa", (DİA, Vol.28), 462.

¹⁸⁹ Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri Tarihi, No:884

2.7 The Ottoman Ambassadors during the Reign of Mahmud I (1730-1754)

After Karlowitz Treaty diplomacy began to be effective in the international relations of the Ottoman State owing to the fact that the defeats at the battlefields led Ottoman to seek other means. And this was possible by means of envoys to gather information about the conditions of the victorious countries. In the history of Ottoman Diplomacy, most of the ambassadors' reports were written in 18th century. And most of these took place during the period of Mahmud I. In this period of 24 years, envoys frequently left and returned. The ambassadors, who were assigned to foreign countries from Ottoman States, were as shown below:

Mehmed Sait Efendi Yirmisekiz Celebizade Russia-1731, Mehmed Sait Efendi Sweden-1731, Mehmed Aga Austria- 1732, Ragib Efendi Iran-1732, Huseyin Aga Iran- 1735, Young Ali Pasha Iran- 1736, Mustafa Pasha Iran-1736, Munif Mustafa Efendi Poland- 1737, Ali Pasha-Canibi- Austria-1740, Mehmed Umni Efendi Russia -1741, Mehmed Sait Efendi France- 1741, Huseyin Bey Naples -1741 (for taking some presents in return to the envoy who arrived for the signing of the friendship and trade agreements with Sicilian state on 7 April 1740), Munif Mustafa Efendi Iran-1741, Salim Efendi India -1744, Mustafa Hatti Efendi Austria-1748.¹⁹⁰ Here we have to include the ambassadors whose names were not mentioned but, who served both as an ambassador and wrote this story of ambassadorship in a report, and thus made it possible to come down to us. Firstly, Mehmed Efendi was assigned to Poland in 1730, the Head-Clerk Mustafa Efendi was appointed to Austria in 1730, Mustafa Nazif Efendi was assigned to Iran in 1746 and finally Hadji Ahmed Pasha was assigned to Iran in 1747.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ Girgin, "Hariciye Tarihimiz," 87-88.

¹⁹¹ Unat, "Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri," VII-VIII.

CHAPTER 3

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH AUSTRIA, RUSSIA AND IRAN DURING THE REIGN OF MAHMUD I

This study covers almost a quarter of the 18th. In this section, diplomatic relations that the Ottoman State had with various countries during the reign of Mahmud I are analyzed. Especially the relations with Austria, Iran and Russia will be focused on. In the light of the *sefaretnames* ambassadors were also sent to other countries like France, Sweden, Poland (Lehistan) and India. However, it was Austria, Iran and Russia that designated the diplomacy range of the period. Furthermore, the relations with these countries played a significant role for the future of the Ottoman State. This period also witnessed diplomatic conflicts between the countries.

Vak'anüvis Subhi Mehmed Efendi narrated the events in the period in his book. Mahmud I maintained safety in his country. They had serious conflicts with Iran. Finding this as a great opportunity, Russia formed allies with Austria and attacked the Ottoman State. As it is seen, Russia also signed treaties with Iran. France had friendly attitudes towards the Ottoman State. France allied with the Ottoman State against Austria.¹⁹²

3.1 European Affairs in the Pre-Mahmud I Period

The period that coincides with the first quarter of the 18th century can be conceived by going far back, especially with the period of change triggered by the Karlowitz. Owing to the fact that countries are discussed in detail in following chapters, here general situation is discussed.

Europe would change rapidly in the 18th century. The old state arrangements turned into central government system. The structures of the

¹⁹² Subhi Efendi, "Subhi Tarihi", LXXX-LXXXIII.

society changed and they became societies in which national states and nationalist ideologies were dominant.¹⁹³

At the second half of the 17th century, the power balances in the world were changed in the directions as follow. Defeats began to take places in Spain and the Ottoman State. England, Holland, France, Russia and Prussia emerged as powerful European States. These states also had number of allies in the Balkans and in Europe. In addition to the searches of ally, naturally the diplomats became more significant for their countries.¹⁹⁴ England formed alliences against France and Russia formed alliences against Sweden.¹⁹⁵

During the reign of Louis XIV, France became the most catholic and the most powerful state of Europe. However, France lost her superiority in Seas to England after a defeat in a war on sea in 1692. England, while just an island state at the beginning of the 17th century, became the most powerful sea state at the end of the same century. Rather than Amsterdam and London began to be the centre of world trade. At the beginning of the 18th century, England had big colonies in the East America. In addition, the activities of the East India Company founded in 1600 in India increased a lot and even England captured Calcutta city through this company. Bombay (now Mumbai) and Madras cities also recognized British sovereignty. At the beginning of the 17th century, mercantile considerations designated the foreign policy of England. England became the greatest industrial and commercial country in the world. Her commercial fields were American coasts, Mediterranean, in other words the Ottoman State ports and India.

¹⁹³ İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı da Milletler ve Diplomasi* (İstanbul: İş Bankası, 2008) 145.

¹⁹⁴ Mesut Aydınar, *Koca Ragıp Paşa*, Phd.Thesis (İstanbul, Mimar Sinan U. ISIS, 2005) 120. One can not join this opinion. Because Spain, the Netherlands, Sweden, Poland and the Ottoman State gradually lost their power.

Zuhuri Danışmand, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi* (İstanbul: Yeni Matbaa, 1966) 11.

¹⁹⁵ England struggle in France is called at the time of the Spanish Succession wars. Rusya struggle in Swetland is also called nothern wars. Akdes Nimet Kurat, "XVIII. Yüzyıl başı Avrupa Umumi Harbi nde Türkiye nin Tarafsızlığı," 245.

The main concern of her foreign policy was not to leave these bases to the dominance of a single country. Hence, she formed an ally with Holland in Europe against France.¹⁹⁶

While entering into the 18th century, Russia's becoming into an State was a significant situation for the world history. Enthroned in 1689, Czar Peter the Great tried to bring European techniques to Russia. His other aim was to drive the Turks away from the Black sea coasts and reach open seas. He wanted to be the sole power in the region. In order to do that, he fought with Sweden, which was another powerful state of the region. Sweden was the strongest state of the Baltic region.

The disadvantages of Sweden were that the territories under her sovereignty were away from the centre and thus it was difficult to control them. The increasing diplomatic activities also showed it here. There were meetings to arrange allies against Sweden. In May 1699, Denmark and Lehistan, Russian and Denmark and Russia and Lehistan signed treaties aiming at attacking Sweden at the same time. Keeping this goal in mind, Russia signed a treaty with the Ottoman State in 1700. There was a peace for a period of thirty years. The wars that began in 1700 between Sweden and Russia ended up with the victory of Russia in 1709. In fact, Sweden defeated the other states and even drew Russia back as far as to Ukraine, but for the fact that the expected assistances did not come, Sweden was defeated to Russia.¹⁹⁷

The nation states of Europe were strengthening their political unities. On account of technological advancements after Renaissance and reformation, their military became more powerful.¹⁹⁸ With the discovery of gold and silver mines, imperialism began to take place and therefore they gained sources for their financial welfare.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, 246-248.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, 250-253

¹⁹⁸ Shaw "Eski ve Yeni arasında Sultan III. Selim..", 5.

There was a period of Independent states in Europe. A considerable part of the population continued to live in rural areas. The tradesmen were the main actors of the economy. In France, the noblemen became weaker in political terms and the King gathered all the authorities in his hand. Later the noblemen would pave the way for French Revolution.¹⁹⁹

During this period the territory of the Ottoman State comprised Asia Minor, the Balkans and the Arab lands of the Middle East, played one of the most crucial roles in the economic development of Europe.²⁰⁰

3.2 Political Situation of the Ottoman State in Europe

Owing to her geographical position, the Ottoman State was on the way to trade routes. With the Karlowitz treaty in 1699, a new period began in the Ottomans as well as in the world. The Ottomans became weaker. New states joined the Ottoman-Venice fights on Mediterranean. France, England and Holland tried to take share from the cake. Meanwhile, the fact that Russia was aiming at the Ottoman territory indicated how severe times were waiting ahead for the Ottoman. Moreover, there were also fights with Austria in the Balkans.²⁰¹

When we look at the Ottoman State in the 18th century, the general condition was as follows. Two superpowers, the Ottoman and Habsburg States, reached a kind of balance in east-central Europe. The Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683 resulted in a coalition around the Hapsburgs against the Ottoman State. And a new country occupied to threat Ottoman. The Russian Empire entered the Black Sea region by capturing Azak in 1696.²⁰²

Right at the west of the neighbor there was Austria and the east of the neighbor Russia and Iran, which had always caused problems, at the

¹⁹⁹ Itzkowitz "XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu", 519.

²⁰⁰ İnalçık, "Turkey and Europe in History", 111.

²⁰¹ Yalçınkaya, "Bir Avrupa Diplomasi Merkezi Olarak İstanbul," 660.

²⁰² İnalçık, "Turkey and Europe in History", 112.

south. As it will be frequently stated in the following chapter, while Nemçe and Moscow had relations in the form of allies against the Ottoman, France had maneuvers and friendship with the Ottomans aiming at getting privileges. Time to time, England and Prussia would also try to preserve territorial integrity of the Ottoman for the fact they did not want Russian and Austria to expand their power. The European states did not notice the power of the Ottomans from 1353 to the Kosovo war in 1398. For the first time with this defeat, they began to fight against the Ottomans in Crusades attacks.²⁰³

Deteriorations began to take place in political, commercial, military and economic fields for the Ottoman during the period from the end of the 17th century to the seventeenth century. However, Europe had advancements. Europe experienced geographical discoveries, and commercial, economic and cultural activities in the Mediterranean region shifted to the Adriatic. With the War of Hundred Years and Protestant movements, conception of nation state dominated Europe. The Ottoman state could not take precautions against the changing world. Iran became a problem in the East and conflicts and fighting commenced with Russian in the North in the eighteenth century.²⁰⁴

By the Karlowitz agreement in 1699, most of Hungary was handed over to Slovenia, Croatia, Austria, and Mora to Venice. By the agreement of 1700, Azak fortress was left to Russia. Hence, the Balkans was under the threat of Austria, while Islands Sea and the Straits under Venice, and the Black Sea under Russia.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Ali İbrahim Savaş, "Osmanlı Devleti ile Habsburg İmparatorluğu arasındaki Diplomatik İlişkiler", *Türkler* IV (2002) 355.

²⁰⁴ Yalçınkaya, "XVIII. Yüzyıl İslahat..", 489-493.

²⁰⁵ Kurat., "XVIII. Yüzyıl başı Avrupa Umumi Harbinde Türkiye nin tarafsızlığı" 257. Akdes Nimet Kurat Beginning of the 18th century in Europe and Eastern Europe during the struggles taking place in the politics of the Ottoman State following sorts of other formalities 1-The managers of the Ottoman State were tired of the war did not use the situation of Europe. She refers to wars of succession, particularly in Spain 2- Due to the lack of entrepreneurial had not been development of the state. 3- The peaceful of GrandVizier Ali Pasha prevented the use of struggles to take advantage of the situation of other states. The

In the post Karlowitz agreement period, the Ottoman State had to quit acting single sided in the diplomacy.²⁰⁶ France had attitude in favor of the Ottomans while Russia and Austria acted against.

When Sultan Mahmud came to power, there was a war with Iran in the East that continued until 1746. The Ottoman-Austrian and the Ottoman-Russian wars commenced in 1736. In other words, the Ottoman State fought in three frontiers, namely the East, the North and the Balkans, during the reign of Mahmud I and also had diplomatic struggles.

The Ottoman-Europe peace period that began with 1739 Belgrade Treaty continued until 1768. In this period of 30 years while the European states were having conflicts with each other, the Ottoman State applied policies of hesitation and desolating herself.²⁰⁷ It is because the Ottoman State, which lost prestige and territory, did not want the country to be dragged into the wars again. From then on, Europe also noticed that it was more powerful.

The European State arranged their relations among themselves within a balance politics of European State System. On the other hand, although the Ottoman State was in a vital place for this politics of balance, she was not accepted to the European States System.

The European states that favored territorial integrity of the Ottoman State and Austria and Russia that wanted to occupy the Ottoman State had common attitude in the application of this policy. Owing to their commercial opportunities and desire to protect the Middle East market, England and France were in favor of the Ottomans to preserve territorial integrity. This

Ottoman state did not evaluate position of the king of Sweden tuck into Ukrain. Because Sweden put in Rusiia a difficult position. However the Ottoman State could prevent rising of Russia.

Ibid, 271

²⁰⁶ Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı Tarihi 4", 247.

²⁰⁷ Orhan Koloğlu, *Fransız Devriminin Osmanlı Diplomasisinde Yarattığı Hareketlilik, Türk Diplomasi Tarihi nin Sorunları, Çağdaş Türk Diplomasi 200 yıllık süreç*, Prepared by İ.Soyсал (Ankara: TTK, 1997) 13.

policy of defense and invasion policies of Russian and Austria would emerge as the Eastern Question issue. However, this is a topic of the 19th century diplomacy. But their foundations were laid in the 18th century. The Ottoman State also benefitted from this politics of balance.²⁰⁸ Perhaps the best example for that is following 1699, the Grand Viziers were appointed from diplomats rather than commanders.

3.3 Diplomatic Relations between the Ottoman State and Austria

The most significant policy of the conquest of the Ottoman State was certainly towards the Balkans and Europe. When the Ottoman State became as powerful a State as to challenge Europe, the Ottomans faced Habsburg Empire.

The relations between the Ottoman State and the Habsburg Empire commenced with the War of Mohach. The diplomatic relations between the two countries began in 1527. The oldest of the letters that Suleyman the Magnificent wrote to Ferdinand dates as far back as to this date. Ferdinand responded the letter sending an ambassador named Nicola.²⁰⁹ Ali Ibrahim savař stated that it could be better to analyze the relations between the two countries in three periods. The first period expands from the reign of the Suleyman the Magnificent to the Zitvatorok Peace Treaty.²¹⁰ Karl Teply also

²⁰⁸ İnalçık, "Türk Diplomasi Tarihi nin Sorunları," XVII.

"Throughout the centuries of XVI-XX, Austria, which was the neighboring state of the Ottoman in the north and the northwest, within the scope of Holy Rome German Empire, an archbishop that had to take responsibility of having direct relations with the Turks, was formed, and was named as Austrian Empire between the years 1804-1867, and Austria-Hungary Empire (Double Monarchy, Tuna Monarchy) between the years 1867-1918."

Kemal Beydilli, "Avusturya" (İstanbul: DİA, 1991) 174. Here, as it is mentioned about the period of Mahmud I that is you can look article for the other affairs.

²⁰⁹ Savaş, "Osmanlı Devleti ile Habsburg İmparatorluğu arasındaki Diplomatik İlişkiler", 557.

²¹⁰ It was in 1606. The Ottoman State did not see any European State on equal terms with him until this treaty. The Ottoman State until the treaty did not see any European State on equal terms with him. The Ottoman state always had more power in negotiation than the Habsburg Empire.

considers 1606 Zitvatorok Peace Treaty as the turning point.²¹¹ According to the treaty, the Sultan recognized that the Emperor is equal to him no matter if it was just from protocol aspect. Also, the fact that Austria's annual payments were terminated was an indication that the control was beginning to shift from the hands of the Ottomans.²¹² This is the first loss of prestige in diplomatic terms. The second period was the time from this agreement to the 1699 Karlowitz Treaty. In this period there was still superiority of the Ottoman military. However, there were equal rights in diplomatic terms. Finally, the third period was the time when the Ottoman State began to defend and mainly diplomatic relations commenced. This period begins after the Treaty of Karlowitz.

Hungarian Empire was defeated with the War of Mohach.²¹³ King Ludwig II died in this war. His brother in law Ferdinand II succeeded him, and a duello that would continue for two centuries commenced. The Ottoman State forwarded as far as to Vienne in 1529, but the weather conditions prevented the Ottomans to conquer this city. In order to prevent the conquest, Habsburg frequently used to send ambassadors to the Ottoman with gifts.²¹⁴

The Ottoman siege of Vienna became detrimental for the Ottomans. The wars continued until the Karlowitz Treaty in 1699; and treaties that were turning points for the Ottoman history were signed between the two countries. This peace was valid for 25 years and the Ottoman State handed Eflak, Temeshvar and Hungary excluding Banat over to Austria. In addition to be the commencement of the degradation, this treaty also removed the

²¹¹ Karl Teply, "Nemçe İmparatorlarının İstanbul'a Yolladığı Elçi Heyetleri ve Bunların Kültür Tarihi Bakımından Önemli Tarafları", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* Vol. VII No: 12-13 (1973) 249.

²¹² Beydilli, "Avusturya," 174.

²¹³ Savaş, "Mustafa hattı Efendi Viyana Sefaretnamesi", 2-3.

²¹⁴ Karl Teply, *Dersaadette Avusturya Sefirleri* translated by Selçuk Ünlü (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1988) 1-2.

power of the Ottoman to ask taxes and thus the European superiority began. The Ottoman State shifted to the position of defense.

Emperor Leopold died in 1705 and his elder son Joseph succeeded him. He sent an ambassador to the Ottoman State in 1706 and continued the peace. His brother Charles VI, the King of Spain, who succeeded him upon his death in 1711, also continued the friendship. However, with Damad Ibrahim Pasha's conquest of Mora from the Venetians in 1715, the relations were shattered.²¹⁵ Through the ambassador Ibrahim Muteferrika, the Ottoman wanted Austria to be neutral, but Austria did not accept it.²¹⁶ Austria wanted Mora back from the Ottoman on account of her alliance with Venice as well as the fear of a prospective attack of the Ottomans. However, when the Ottoman State did not accept it, the war began. The war ended with the victory of the Ottoman State and Passarowitz Treaty was signed in 1718. The highly crucial article of this Treaty from the perspective of our topic is Austria's will of the Ottoman to have a Shehbender in Vienne. Although the Emperor did not like to have an embassy of a low status, he accepted it. Ömer Efendi went to Vienne in 1725 with an envoy. As a matter of fact, neither Austria nor Ömer Efendi was satisfied with the situation. Consequently, Ömer Efendi was called back in 1732 and no one was sent instead of him.²¹⁷

The peace treaty which was signed for a period of twenty five years did not continue as long as it was expected. It is due to the fact that Austria wanted to withdraw the Ottomans from the Balkans and also benefit from the prevalent complex situation and weaknesses of the Ottoman. After Edirne Incident in 1703, Patrona Halil rebel, which caused a Sultan to be dethroned, took place. Austria did not miss the chance. For her

²¹⁵ Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı Tarihi IV-1" 197-199.

²¹⁶ Savaş, "Osmanlı Devleti ile Habsburg İmparatorluğu arasındaki İlişkiler", 559.

²¹⁷ Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı Tarihi IV-1" 197-199. Ömer Ağa complained of Austria did not give the food and mail animal.

But Avusturia also said that given their ambassadors.

opportunities, Austria sometimes tried to establish a peace between the Ottoman State and Russia. In a war started with Russian in 1736, due to the heritage of Poland, Austria was in war with France, and conducted a mediating role through permanent ambassador Leopold Von Talman in Babi Ali. Due to her state of war with Iran, the Ottoman State believed in this mediation. However, Russia convinced Austria in accordance with the ally provisions she signed with Austria in 1726.²¹⁸ Austria assisted Russia. Until this date, Passarowitz Treaty had been valid, but Austria fought in alliance Russia. The war ended with the Treaty of Belgrade.

3.3.1 War of 1736 and 1739 Belgrade Treaty

This war is the most important Ottoman-Austria relationship during the reign of Mahmud I. Hence it will especially be analyzed.²¹⁹

We see Russia as the real cause of the war. Desiring to expand her territories, Russia connected Cherkez and Nogay to herself in 1720, and signed a peace Treaty by defeating Sweden in 1721. In heritage issue, Lehistan made whoever she wanted to be a king, and directed her route towards the Ottoman. One of the reasons of the courage of Russia was that Russia thought the Ottoman State to be exhausted on account of the wars with Iran between the years 1722-1736. Russia signed a treaty with Austria in Vienne in 1726. This agreement required them to have a common act against the Ottoman State. In 1733, Russia signed one more similar treaty of alliance. According to this treaty, in case Russia attacks, Austria would be a mediator and then immediately act with the Russia. As a matter of fact, Russia in 1736 and Austria in 1737 declared war against the Ottoman

²¹⁸ Savaş, "Osmanlı Devleti ile Habsburg İmparatorluğu arasındaki İlişkiler", 557-561.

²¹⁹ This treaty has been researched in detail in two study. See, Nurgül Bozkurt, *1739 Belgrad Antlaşması ve Tatbiki*, Phd Thesis (Isparta: Süleyman Demirel U.ISIS, 1999). And also see, Nihat Erim, *Devletlerarası hukuku ve Siyasi tarih Metinleri 1* (Ankara: TTK, 1953).

State.²²⁰ Meanwhile, the Ottoman State signed a treaty with Iran immediately and declared war against Russia.

Russia's excuse for the declaration of war was the claim of Crimea Khan Kaplan Giray's attack on her soils. The Ottoman State asked assistance of Crimea Khan for the ongoing wars with Iran. When Kaptan Giray wanted to pass through Kabartay, he encountered with the Russian interruption. He was prevented and Russia protested this using as a reason of war. Russia declared war on Ottoman state in April of 1736.²²¹

Meanwhile, Austrian King Charles VI both signed treaty with Russia and sent a letter to Mahmud I. In his letter, he mentioned that he did not want a war between the Ottoman State and Russia and thus desired to arbitrate for this. He forwarded this letter with ambassador Talman in Istanbul. He also mentioned that he was in alliance with Russia. He also wrote a letter to the grand vizier. This behavior was an attitude of gaining time to prepare for war.²²²

On the one hand, the Ottoman State wanted to believe in such an intention, and on the other hand prepared for a prospective war. In other words, Muhsinzade Abdullah Pasha was intelligent man. Austria was defeated in three frontiers namely Bosnia, Nish and Vidin. Meanwhile, Crimea Khan became victorious in Crimea. Following the defeats in the Balkans and in Crimea, Austria had to withdraw from Belgrade and wanted to have a peace. By the arbitration of France and Sweden, Russia also welcomed war as she was already in a difficult situation.²²³

Consequently, Belgrade Treaty was signed on 18 September 1739. The Ottoman State achieved a great success. Separate treaties were signed

²²⁰ Ibid, 17-22.

²²¹ Mufassal Osmanlı Tarihi V (İstanbul: Güven yay, 1962) 2488.

²²² BOA, Name-i Hümayun Defteri, No; 7, 446-447. Here he wrote that Talman was appointed as envoy.

²²³ Tahsin Ünal, *Türk Siyasi tarihi 1700-1958* (Ankara: Emel yay, 1978) 69-71.

with both Austria and Russia. The Treaty²²⁴ was consisted of 23 articles and a Khatim.²²⁵ After the war, which resulted with victory of the Ottoman State, Austria withdrew from Belgrade, Serbian cities and Eflak. Russia promised not to build ships on the Black Sea and destroy the fortresses at the port of Azac.²²⁶ The Belgrade Treaty is the first treaty that mentions the status of the Russian tradesmen in the Black Sea between the Ottoman State and Russia. In accordance with the article nine of the treaty, the Ottoman and the Russian tradesmen were agreed to have mutual free trades in their countries. Hence, the Russians would begin to have more trades in the Black Sea.²²⁷ Tahsin Ünal links Russia's agreement on signing such a favorable treaty for the Ottoman to the Ottoman-Swedish alliance (22 December 1739).²²⁸ Besides, Sweden and France had an alliance. It was started in 1739 and signed a treaty of alliance with Sweden in 1740. Meanwhile, Russia could not even get angry at Austria, who did not want to join the war in alliance with Russia but still joined owing to the pressures of Russia. They continued their alliance of 1726 with Austria. This is the final Ottoman Treaty signed with this King.²²⁹

The treaty was signed under the guarantee of a foreign country i.e. France, which led to a period of peace that would continue for fifty years.²³⁰ Since France facilitated to the making of this agreement, the capitulations

²²⁴ There are articles of the Treaty on History of Subhi, 581-591.

²²⁵ Erim, "Devletlerarası Hukuku ve Siyasi Tarih Metinleri", 82.

²²⁶ Ali M.Sallabi, *Osmanlı Tarihi. Kuruluşu, Yükselişi ve Çöküşü* (İstanbul: Ravza Yay. 2007,) 4.

²²⁷ İdris Bostan, "Rusya'nın Karadeniz de Ticaret e başlaması ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 1700- 1787," *Bellekten* Vol. LIX No:225 (1995) 357.

²²⁸ During this period, because of problems between Russia and Sweden in the Ottoman State and Sweden have been closer. According to the treaty with Sweden, during the war of Russia and Austria if Russia would attack anyone who had been the state of these two states of the Ottoman State and Sweden would help each other. In fact, in 1741 Sweden and Russia came to the position of the war. The King of Sweden had applied the Ottoman State and Mahmud I promised to remain loyal to forwarded the treaty. Otherwise Mahmud I provided the peace between Russia and Sweden. Mahmud I. So, the two states had to thank Mahmud I. Mesut Aydınar, "Koca Ragıp Paşa", 132.

²²⁹ Ünal, "Türk Siyasi Tarihi" 34.

²³⁰ Savaş. "Osmanlı Diplomasisi", 31-32.

given to France were significant in the collapse of the Ottoman. France preserved the opportunities of the Ottoman State for her own benefits. In other words, there was a unity of interests. Moreover, France also wanted to put pressure on Austria, which is France's rival in Europe.

Furthermore, by the treaty signed with Russia, Russia's existence as being an empire was recognized. Another point that attracts attention is that although Russia was not defeated in the war field, she was treated as defeated.²³¹ The Black Sea continued its existence to be a Turkish lake with this treaty which was suspended for a while.

This victory was welcomed with a great rejoice by the Ottoman public. Traditional reformers pointed out that the value of renovations brought by the victories over Austria and Russia are undeniably significant.²³² In addition, Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha's reforms in the army contributed a lot to the victory of the war.

3.3.2 Diplomatic Relations

The diplomatic relations that commenced during the reign of the Suleyman the Magnificent (in about 1527) continued in 1528 and these relations lasted until the World War I.²³³

The wars between the Ottoman State and Austria paved the way for diplomatic relations; however, another important point is other interactions originating from the neighborhood of borders. There were also many influences from each other in respect to costumes, culture and military tactics. There were also many trades between the two countries before the official trades. Only between the years from 1500 to 1700, 120 envoys were

²³¹ Savaş, "Osmanlı Diplomatikasına ait Name-i Hümayun," *OTAM* 7, 220.

²³² Alaaddin Yalçınkaya, "XVIII.Yüzyıl:İslahat..," *Türkler*, 492.

²³³ "Avusturya ya 1535 yılından 1895 yılına kadar 72 sefaret gerçekleşmiştir. Ama yalnızca sekiz sefaretname vardır. Avusturya da Osmanlı Devleti ne 1528 yılında elçi göndermeye başlamıştır. 1780 yılına kadar İstanbul'a 115 elçi göndermiştir". Savaş. "Osmanlı Elçilerinin Sefaret Güzergâhları," 55.

sent from Austria to the Ottoman State.²³⁴ We witness the Ottoman-Austrian diplomatic relations during the reign of Mahmud I from the *Nemçe sefaretnames* of Reisülküttab Mustafa Efendi and Mustafa Hattı Efendi.

At first, Austria sent two senior delegates to the Ottoman State in order to get some of the lands back. They were Sigmund Weixelberger and Johann Hobordansky. On other hand, the Ottoman State sent the first delegate named Memiş Çavuş to Ferdinand in 1535. Since he was powerful, the Ottoman State named the Hapsburg King as the sovereign of Vienne until 1606 Zitvatorok Treaty. However, following this date, they started naming Hapsburg Khanate as Çasar.

This is the first loss of prestige in foreign affairs of the Ottoman State.²³⁵ After the defeat of Vienne in 1683, with the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, the diplomatic activities of the Ottoman state began. The defeats in the war fields led the Ottoman State to think what could be done on the table. From then on, diplomacy played a significant role in the Ottoman State in accordance with the perception of the Sultans. Austria would also first try to preserve her position but would later make alliances with Russia. First of all, the treaty of alliance signed in 1726 was resigned in 1733 and 1747.

By a proposal given by Imperial Council in 1751, Russia's invasive policies in Europe and Asia were explained and it was also stated that Russia and Austria signed a treaty in Vienne in 1747. According to this recital, it was an offensive agreement. In case of an attack to the territory of either of the country, the other country would come to help.²³⁶ A war broke out between the Ottoman State and Austria and Russia in 1736 and it was ended with Belgrade treaty in 1739. The 21st article of the Belgrade Treaty is about the

²³⁴ Karl Teply, "Nemçe İmparatorlarının İstanbul'a Yolladığı Elçi Heyetleri..". 250.

²³⁵ Markus Köhbach, "Çesar veya İmparator? Jitvatorok Andlaşmasından Sonra Kayzerlerin Osmanlılar Tarafından Telakkubu Hakkında", translated by Yusuf A.Aydın, *Tarih Dergisi*, (2002) 162-165.

²³⁶ BOA, Dosya 166, Gömlek 8300 See Appendix K.

envoys.²³⁷ According to this article, the envoys of both the sides would be protected. The ambassador sent by Austria State, door chamberlain and other statesmen would wear whatever dresses they wanted. Just like the ambassadors, door chamberlains and diplomatic agents of the other states that were friendly with the Ottoman state, they would also be exempted from the taxes. The interpreter would be employed. When their messengers or other employees wanted to go from Vienne to Istanbul, or Istanbul to Vienne, as stated in the previous agreement, they would be given a document and provided with opportunities to travel in safety.²³⁸

Owing to these relations, many envoys were dispatched between the two countries. In 1740, Canib Ali Efendi Viyana was sent to Vienne and Mehmed Emin Efendi to Petersburg. In 1740, Emperor Charl VI died, and her daughter Maria Terezia succeeded him. Wars of succession, which would continue for eight years among Austria, Prussia, Bavyera, Saksonya, France and Spain, commenced. Despite the insistence of France, the Ottoman State did not join the war. Upon the will of Maria Terezia²³⁹ the Belgrade treaty was extended.

²³⁷ Twenty-first article of the Treaty of Belgrade relates the envoys. "Tarafeyn elçileri gelüp-gidip meks eyledüklerinde kadimü'l-eyyamdan beru olageldiği merasim ve rütbelerine i'tibar olundukları minval üzere bundan böyle tarafeynden gözedile ve müşarün-ileyh Roma İmparatoru tarafından gelen elçi ve kapu kethudası ve gayri ademleri istedikler, libası giydiklerinde kimesne bir türlü m'ni olmaya, eçileri ve kapu kethüdarları ve maslahat gūzarları sair Devlet-i Aliyye'nin dostları olan kralların eliçleri ve maslahat gūzarları gibi mu'af u müsellemler ve asude-hl olup, müşarün-ileyh Roma İmparatoru'nun rütbesine ve tasdirine göre adet-i hasene-i şehriyari olan resm üzere ri'ayet olunanlar ve tercemanları istihdam eyleyeler. Ulakları ve gayr-i âdemleri Beç'ten Asitane-i sa'adet'e ve Asitane-i Sa'adetten Beç canibine varup geldiklerinde kanun-ı kadim üzere yol emirleri virüp emin ü salim vararlar. Ve iktiza eyledükte kendülere mu'avenet oluna." Mesut Aydinler, "Subhi Tarihi," 589.

²³⁸ Uğur Kurtaran, *Osmanlı diplomasi tarihinden bir kesit : Osmanlı Avusturya diplomatik ilişkileri (1526-1791)* (Kahramanmaraş : Ukde Kitaplığı, 2009) 231-232.

²³⁹ Maria Theresa became ruler for his country is a useful. "Moder Habsburg history begins in 1740, with the accession of Maria Theresa as ruler over a group of relams which, lacking allies themselves, were immediately belegauered by a hostile alliance of five European states...The structural changes initiated from the 1740s onward contained a political-social, a cultural –ideological, and a dynastic-military element."

R.J.W.Evans, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 17-18

The Austrian Ambassador in Istanbul was given a document showing the extension of the treaty.²⁴⁰

With a letter in 1748, Mahmud I sent Mustafa Hatti Efendi as an envoy extraordinary to Austria and stated his friendship.

The relations after the Treaty of Belgrade were in good terms. In a document that Nemçe envoy submitted to the Ottoman State in 1754, he stated that his country was a loyal friend of the Ottoman State.²⁴¹ The words expressed in this document are the proof of friendly attitude that Austria had towards the Ottoman State. The Belgrade Treaty continued until Abdulhamid I when Austrian and Russia signed a Treaty and declared a war on the Ottoman State. Between the years from 1739 and 1787, envoys were dispatched to express friendship between the two countries.²⁴²

Notwithstanding with the fact that the Ottoman diplomacy of 18th century was away from having an offensive structure, the Belgrade Treaty was contrary to it. The Ottoman State recaptured Belgrade, which had been given with the Passarowitz treaty, and signed a treaty with Russia, which she did not defeat in the war, in favor of the Ottoman. Here, there was a diplomatic achievement.²⁴³ The Belgrade Treaty was movement of shifting military achievement to political arena. In the struggles the Ottomans had against the two countries and the treaty at the end of the war, the Ottoman State demonstrated that she was still a powerful state. The Treaties shows us the diplomatic achievements of Ragıp Pasha and his friends.²⁴⁴ As of this treaty, the superiority that passed to Austria with Karlowitz and Passarowitz was shattered, a significant proportion of the territories that had been lost taken back, and the two allied states that acted cooperatively against the Ottoman were separated. The peace also paved the way for the increase of

²⁴⁰ See, for about frontier ("Tahdid-i Hudud ve Temyiz-i sınıra dair Nemçe elçisine virilen temessük sureti) Subhi Efendi "Subhi Tarihi", 667.

²⁴¹ BOA, CHR, Defter 72- Gömlek: 3551.

²⁴² Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı Tarihi IV" Part I, 201.

²⁴³ Savaş, "Osmanlı Diplomáticasına ait Name-i Humayun", 251.

²⁴⁴ See, Mesut Aydınar, "Koca Ragıp Paşa", 110-111.

commercial and military activities between the two countries. Especially Vienne after the peace became a base in Europe for the Ottoman tradesmen.²⁴⁵

Hence, the period of peace that commenced in the foreign politics in the final period of the Ottoman would continue during the period of Mustafa III.

The main reasons why the peace period that the Ottomans applied in Europe was so effective and for a long period was: First, Austria's War of successions among the European countries, and their occupation with the war of Seven years. The second, German Prussia's expansionist policies against Austria, which was a powerful enemy of the Ottoman, kept both Austria and Russia busy. Finally, after the assassination of Nadir Shah in 1747 in Iran, the internal conflicts that Iran had did not cause any problem for the Ottoman State.²⁴⁶

Kont Hermann Czernin, an Austrian envoy, listed the requirements for the embassies in the seventeenth century shortly: Honest, stable secretary having a command over tight numbers, two proficient interpreters, a courier, ships ready for command, imperial protocol and confidential diary, list of the places for the gifts, informing the palace, a copy of the happenings within the territory, learning Arabic in early ages, and take four poor family children to work in the service of the Majesties later.²⁴⁷

3.3.3 Reisülküttab Mustafa Efendi's *Nemçe Sefaretnamesi* (1730)

Mustafa Efendi, who was dispatched to Nemçe in order to inform the accession of Mahmud I, was born in a village of Kastamonu in Hijri 1100 (1688). He was son of Ammarzade Ağa, a prominent figure in Kastamonu.

²⁴⁵ Ibid, 111.

²⁴⁶ Yalçinkaya, "The First Permanent Ottoman-Turkish Embassy in Europe", 88.

²⁴⁷ Teply, "Dersaadette Avusturya Sefirleri" 31. In addition there is a list of available gifts were presented the Sultan in this study. It is an example for that the Ottoman State was strong in this term.

Upon his father's death in his early age, he came to stay with his uncle in Istanbul.²⁴⁸ His uncle was Abdi Ağa, epitomist of grand vizier Elmas Mehmed Pasha. He attracted attention in terms of both knowledge and good manners. Tavukçubaşı Ali ağa became a groom in 1708 and when he died, Mustafa Efendi succeeded him. In 1730, he became the Chief *Mukaata*, and in the same year he was sent to Vienne to inform the enthronement of Mahmud I. then, he was appointed to various positions. In 1733, he was in charge of the Supreme Council. He attended the meetings with the ambassador of Nadir Shah in 1736 with Reissulküttab Ismail Efendi.²⁴⁹ He was appointed as Reisulküttab in 1736. He was an envoy in chief in the meetings for the Belgrade Treaty. Mustafa Efendi did not play an active role in the matters after Belgrade Treaty. He remained in this position until his discharge in 1741 and he went back to Kastamonu. He became a pilgrim in 1741, and became a *reisülküttab* again. He was in position for five years. He became *Ruznamçe-i evvel* in 1748. He died at the age of 62 in 1749. His grave is at the Bostan Seaport at the seaside of the Eyüp mosque cemetery.²⁵⁰

He was sent to Austria to inform the enthronement of Mahmud I.²⁵¹ Since the enthronement of Mahmud I took place eventfully after the riot of Patrona Halil, there is no record of envoy sent to foreign countries to inform the enthronement of Mahmud I. It is through the *Sefaretnâme* of Mustafa Efendi that we learn about his dispatch as an envoy.²⁵²

Until then Mustafa Efendi was the first ambassador to talk about political issues. His masterpiece was copied by Mehmed Emin biraderzade-i Kamil Ahmed Pasha in 1777 (1191). The language is quite clear. He benefitted

²⁴⁸ Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicili Osmanî* (Westmead: Greed International Publishers), 1971 Vol.4 429.

²⁴⁹ Subhi Efendi, "Subhi Tarihi" 84b-95b.

²⁵⁰ Şahinkaya, "Mustafa Efendi'nin (Reisülküttab) Hayatı ve Nemçe Sefaretnâmesi" IV-VI.

²⁵¹ Süleyman İzzi, "Tarih-i İzzi", 208 b. İzzi mentions about this task and it has been described in the transcript by the Şahinkaya.

²⁵² Aktepe, "Mehmed Efendi'nin Lehistan Sefareti ve Sefaretnamesi," 133-134 Millet kütüphanesi, No:844.

from German sources while writing his work. Hence, the name of the places and people were written in accordance with German pronunciation. For instance instead of Flamenk, Nidirlond was written.²⁵³

Mustafa Efendi did not emphasize imageries such as on commuted routes, and the structure of cities. He explained the structure and foundation of Habsburgs State. The reasons of the Spanish succession wars and other European matters were discussed in detail.²⁵⁴

He wrote his masterpiece as if he was writing a European history. He mentioned the chaotic situation of Europe on account of the wars of Spain. The works emphasize on this matter from beginning to the end. The foundation of Austria, its formation from the Herzegovanians, and the status of these Herzegovanians are dealt in detail:

“Roma İmparatorluğu tabir olunan Nemçe Devleti fi’l-asıl ülke ve sikke sahibi yedi hersek ve birkaç duka ve cumhurdan ibaret oulp beynlerinde muteber vela teşbih Kuds-i Şerif müsabesinde olan Roma’nın hizmet ve muhafaza ve nezaretine tayin olunmuş bir cemiyetdir.”

Mustafa Efendi defined Nemçe as such.²⁵⁵ Then he described the Herzogovanians (Herslikler) in detail.

“Fi’l-asıl Nemçe dahi zikr olunan Herseklerden ve dukalardan bir guruf makulesinin Devlet-i Aliyye-i ebed-karinin kevkeb-i inna fe-inna bi’l ekber mütelali yaz olduğun umumen müluk-i nasara ve hususa Roma’ya tabi olan Katolik taifesi müşahade edüp adt-i kadimeleri üzere tevaif misüllü kalsalar mecmu’ biladı dest burd-ı İslamyana olacağın teyakkun eylediklerinde İslamyana karib civarı olan Nemçe’yi üzerlerine takdim ve imdad ve ‘ianette bir mikdar şurut ve kuyud ile kıyam eylemelerin tertib edub fii’l-cümle def’i gavail eylemişler, hala iki yüz

²⁵³ Şahinkaya “Mustafa Efendi’nin (Reisülküttab) Hayatı ve Nemçe Sefaretnâmesi” IX.

²⁵⁴ Unat, “Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri,” 66.

²⁵⁵ Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Ali Emiri Tarihi No: 844, 2a.

seneye karib tanzim olunan kanunları üzere zikr olunan kal'adan ve Nikinşpurk nam mahalde çasarın ve cümle hersekler ve dukalar hasılı Roma'ya tabi' olan.kale ve cumhurların birer kapu kethüdarları vekilleri olup eyyam-ı mu'tadda diyete namiyle bir büyük divanları kaim ve İmperyo'ya müteallik hususların onda görüp Nemçe Çasarı vekili cümleye nezaret eyler ve hin-i i iktizada onunla dahi terafi olundukta bir türlü kanune müteallik hususa muhalefet edemeyub resmi kadimlerine rücu eyler."²⁵⁶

Then he was convinced that the State he observed was not equal to the Great State (i.e. the Ottoman State). he expressed it in the following lines:

"Bu taifenin diyanetleri hususunda olan şena'at ve napakileri ve devletleri hususunda vaki killet ve tezayüfleri ma'lum oldukta Devlet-i Ailye ne rütbede devlet olup din-i mübin dahi ne gune ayin olduğu bilinmiştir."²⁵⁷

"Askerlerini gayet tahte'l-kahr ve abd-ı memlukdan erzel istima edup adett-i cerime ile her neferi kendü zabiti katl etmekle zaruri itaatten payedar olmuşlar."²⁵⁸

Mehmed Efendi met some people from Vienna. He told them that people in the service of Memalik-i Aliye were in quite comfort, while the community was in severe conditions. Then he explained that it was not an equal state to the Ottoman State.²⁵⁹

He concludes his *sefaretname* in the following words: "Cümlenin veli nimeti olan devlet-i ebed karine lillah ü fillah hulus-ı niyet ve sefa-yı taviyyet ile hidmet eylemeğe iradat-ı cüziyyelerinin sarf eylemede takayyüd ve ihtimam buyururlar ise Nemçe değil cümle düşman-ı dinden ahz-ı intikam ve

²⁵⁶ Ibid, 4b-5a.

²⁵⁷ Ibid, 8a.

²⁵⁸ Ibid, 9a.

²⁵⁹ Ibid, 29a.

iş bu dünyayı fanide İskender misüllü bir niku nam bırakmaları emr-i mukarrerdir inşallah u Teala.²⁶⁰

The words written by Mustafa Efendi demonstrate us his intelligence and power of comparison. We also see that in a period, when the diplomacy was not sufficient in classical terms, how experienced ambassadors were available. As a matter of fact, just like a historian, he analyzed the issues of enthronement, the most crucial political matters of the countries he went, in detail. He looked at the events from various perspectives. He did not ignore the countries in the vicinity. He kept France, England, Italy, Poland and even Russia in mind while having his analysis. Finally, he dared to attempt to give advice to the Sultan.

3.3.4 Mustafa Hattı Efendi's *Viyana Sefaretnamesi* (1748)

Mustafa Hattı Efendi was sent to Vienne in 1739 with a title of envoy extraordinary in order to confirm the Belgrade Treaty. He was from Urfa and estimated to be born in 1700. However, his exact date of birth is not known. He was raised from the Kalem. He carried out clerical work of the Council and kethüdaship. He became a reisülküttab (Chief of Foreign affairs before the Tanzimat) in 1736.²⁶¹ Mustafa Hattı is also the father in law of Ahmed Resmî Efendi, Ambassador of Vienne and Prussia.²⁶²

After Agreement of Belgrad Mahmud I wanted to apply a policy of peace. During this period, a new event emerged in Austria. This case would be referred to as Austrian succession war in the history. If we move from the work of the teacher Ali, Austrian Emperor Charles VI died in 1740 and he did not have a son. The emperor's daughter, Maria Tereza became a ruler of the throne, but a fight broke out in the country.

²⁶⁰ Ibid, 30b.

²⁶¹ Savaş, "Osmanlı Diplomasisi" XV_VXI.

²⁶² Şirin, "Osmanlı İmgeleminde Avrupa", 184.

France and Prussia wanted to prevent Maria Tereza to take her throne back by causing conflicts in other German Princedoms. As soon as she was enthroned, Maria Tereza sent an envoy to the Ottoman State and informed that she recognized the Belgrade Treaty and that she wished the treaty to continue.

Mahmud had already been following a peaceful politics. He had been victorious from Belgrade. He had always been in conflicts with Iran. There was a problem of Russia at the borders. Hence, he had already been willing to have peace.²⁶³ Despite the efforts of French ambassador Castallane and Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha, the peace continued.²⁶⁴

Austrian ambassador Heinrich von Penkler was sent to the Ottoman State in order to inform about his rulers succeed to the crown. The ambassador was promoted from being an envoy to an ambassador in order to maintain the continuity of the peace. He was successful in the Ottoman State²⁶⁵ owing to the fact that despite all the efforts of the French ambassador Castalle, Austrian ambassador wanted this treaty to be extended indefinitely.

For the first time in its history of diplomacy, the Ottoman State decided to send ambassador reciprocally and thus sent Mustafa Hatti Efendi to Vienne with the title of a member of the Council of the Sultan (*nişancı*). Again for the first time an envoy extraordinary was given a title of membership to the Council of the Sultan. This rank was supposed to be given to the Ambassadors.²⁶⁶ Mustafa Hatti Efendi, whose task was to congratulate François I, set out with an envoy of 100 delegates. (23 January 1748).²⁶⁷

²⁶³ Unat, "Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri," 92.

²⁶⁴ Ibid, 8-9.

²⁶⁵ Hammer "Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi VIII" 59.

²⁶⁶ Savaş, "Mustafa Hatti Efendi Viyana Sefaretnamesi" 10.

²⁶⁷ Hammer "Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi VIII" 102. But Savaş remarked this number as 83 in his book.

They had two imperial letters of Mahmud I to be given to Maria Theresia and her husband Franz Stefan along with precious gifts and texts showing indefinite extension of the Treaty. For the first time in the Ottoman History, a peace agreement was extended indefinitely. Mustafa Hattî Efendi was received like an ambassador although he was an envoy. This is something that happens for the first time in the Ottoman history of diplomacy. Such an attitude shows how much the continuity of peace was important for Austria.²⁶⁸

In his *Sefaretname*²⁶⁹, he first mentioned about how he was appointed as an official, imperials letters and the way he received gifts. The text of the *Sefaretname* begins at the middle of 3/a and ends in 40/a.²⁷⁰ the language of the work is very polite and figurative.

Rather than protocols, he wrote the reasons of the Spanish wars of successions in Europe between the years 1701-1714. He stated that the economical condition of the Nemçe Empire was not in good terms, and that there were famine and costliness in the country.²⁷¹ Mustafa Hattî Efendi, who was sent to Vienne in 1748, taught the production and conductivity of electricity along with the experiments of electricity and physics.²⁷²

On account of the fact that Austria had always been the enemy of the Ottoman State, like all other ambassadors, Mustafa Hattî Efendi mainly observed the military power of Austria.²⁷³

In his *Sefaretname*, he gave accounts of routes, official receptions, the way he spent time during his stay, opera, and the fesat given in his honor. However, he did not write about his political and economic impressions.

²⁶⁸ Savaş, "Avusturya Basınında bir Osmanlı Elçisi", *Toplumsal Tarih* 37-42 (1997).

²⁶⁹ There are five different copies of the Vienna Sefaretname. See, Savaş, "Mustafa Hattî Efendi Viyana Sefaretnamesi", 12

²⁷⁰ Savaş, "Mustafa Hattî Efendi Viyana Sefaretnamesi", 13

²⁷¹ Şirin, "Osmanlı İmgeleminde Avrupa," 184.

²⁷² Belkıs Altuniş-Gürsoy, "Türk Modernleşmesinde Sefir ve Sefaretnamelerin Rolü", *Türk Dünyası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 36 (2006) 149.

²⁷³ Korkut, "Osmanlı Sefaretnameleri Hakkında Yapılan Araştırmalar," 495.

There were also comments in the *Sefaretname*. For instance, he wrote that the people of Nemçe were thankful to the Ottomans for the envoy she sent while France and Nemçe were in war. He also gave an account on the fact that especially the women came to visit the delegates of the embassy. He wrote that a few days after arriving in Vienne, he went to the President. The President mentioned that he had not seen such compliments from the Ottoman Sultans until then. The two imperial letters and gifts that were sent by the Sultan made the Austrian side very happy. He stated that from then on, they would always be friends.²⁷⁴ Such statements show that the diplomacy in the reign of Mahmud 1 was more active than ever before. Maria Thereza behaved warmly towards Mustafa Hatti Efendi and she introduced him to her children. He stated that she raised her children as friends to the Ottoman. Austrian Empress Maria Theresia never forgot that the Ottoman State was with the Austrians in their difficult times. In her lifetime, the peace continued. She was in reign between the years 1740-1780. Austria-Ottoman war broke out in 1787.²⁷⁵

In respect to the Ottoman Diplomacy, this *Sefaretname* shows that the language used in the previous centuries was given off. Furthermore, there were no rigid statements. The expressions Mustafa Hatti Efendi used in official receptions and farewell ceremony were given as examples to it. For the Austrian Emperor, the title such as puissant and respectable were used. This is a breaking point in the Ottoman diplomacy after Zitvatorok and Karlowitz. However, the Ottoman State did not show such a diplomatic attitude towards all the foreign countries. For instance, when Mehmed Emni Pasha went to Russia after Belgrade with an embassy, he was not as gentle as Mustafa Hatti Efendi.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁴ Savaş, "Mustafa Hatti Efendi Viyana Sefaretnamesi", 28-29.

²⁷⁵ Savaş, "Osmanlı Elçisi Mustafa Hatti Efendi'nin Sefareti ile ilgili Üç Belge," *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 12, 127.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 127.

3.4 Diplomatic Relations between the Ottoman State and Russia

The Russian Empire emerged in eighteenth century as the most dangerous opponent (hasım) of the Ottoman Sultans.

The Ottoman State and Russia have a long historical background. The relations began in the 16th century and continued for more than 500 hundred years. They have fought 12 times. Their first relations began during the reign of Bayezid II and Czar Ivan III with commercial activities. These relationship were conducted with the help of Crimeian Khan and and continued under the initiatives of the Ottoman State until the 18th century.²⁷⁷

The two countries resemble each other in many respects. Neither of the countries has a neighbor with whom they fought for such a long time and for so many times. The problems of both the countries became international problems. Their phases of development also show similarities and their political interests are not contrary with each other.²⁷⁸ During the period of 200 hundred years between 1678 and 1878, the Ottoman State and Russia went on war with each other for ten times and all these wars were subject to the researches in European History. The main reasons are: there were millions of Orthodox people in the Ottoman State and the will of Russia to establish dominance over Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea. The reasons of the most of wars were the problems of holy places and the dominance of the Slavs in the Balkans.²⁷⁹

The Ottoman State established sovereignty in the North by capturing Crimean Khanate in 1475. As of the 16th century, it fought with the Hapsburgs in the West and Iran in the East. After the collapse of the Altınordu Khanate, first Moscow Knezship was established in the region, and then their leader Ivan IV would announce his Czarship in 1547. As of 1551,

²⁷⁷ Osman Köse, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı-Rus Esir Mübadelesi," *Bildiriler* Vol.3-1, (1999) 349.

²⁷⁸ Svetlana Oreshkova, "Rus-Osmanlı Savaşları," *Osmanlı 1 (1999)*, 556.

²⁷⁹ Sander, "Anka'nın Yükselişi ve Düşüşü", 136-139.

the Russians followed imperialistic policies. At first, the Ottoman State did not pay much attention to it, for they did not want the Crimean Khanate to be so powerful. Russia adds Kazan, Astrahan and many places to her territories. Although the Ottoman State had an embarked on an expedition in 1569 on account of complaints of the people in the Islamic region and Russia's prevention of the people from going to the pilgrimage. This expedition remained inconclusive. Russia became the strongest State of the Eastern Europe as a result of establishing her dominance over Ukraine in 1657 and alliance with Polishes in 1667. Aiming at preserving the status in the region, the Ottoman State had another expedition in 1687 and became successful. Bahçesaray Treaty, which is the first treaty between the Otomans and Russia in history, was signed.²⁸⁰

Peter the Great had two aims and also two obstacles at the end of the 17th century: To reach the Baltic and Black Sea. For this, she had two enemies: the Ottomans and the Sweden. On the other hand the Ottoman State would struggle a lot not to let Russia capture it. A Russian diplomat expresses this sensitivity of the Ottoman in the following lines:

"Babiali protects the Black Sea just like a young girl to whom no one would have right to touch. It seems that the Ottomans may stand for a foreigner to enter her private chamber, but can never stand and give permission for a ship to enter the Black Sea. Only with the collapse of the Turkish Empire can such a thing be possible."²⁸¹

After the defeat of the Ottoman State in Vienne in 1683, an anti-Turk holy league was formed by Austria, Venice and Lehistan. Russia also joins the league upon the insistence of Lehistan. The wars beginning with the allies continued for 16 years and ended with the Treaty of Karlowitz. Russia

²⁸⁰ Mehmed Ali Çakmak, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Kafkasya," *Osmanlı 1* (1999) 613-614.

²⁸¹ S. Bakruşin, A.Efimov, İ.Mintz and E. Kouminski, *Uluslar arası İlişkiler Tarihi I-Diplomasi Tarihi I* (İstanbul: May yay, 1977) 318.

had carried out many attacks and captured Azak fortress in 1696.²⁸² The capture of Azak fortress was also a test for the military of Peter the Great. Their belief in being in a position to fight with the Ottomans and thus remaining in the Black sea increased. From then on, he wanted to fight more with the Ottoman State. Hence, he was forming more allies with the European states. In 1697, he established a position of full authorized Russian Ambassador to commute among the important palaces of Europe. The delegate of the embassy that he sent Europe could not have alliances in fighting against the Ottomans. The timing was not appropriate. Venice was eager. However, as the embassy delegates had to return, they could not visit it. Peter the Great was also in this envoy with a nickname. This attempt served to the Westernization of Russia. Both the technical things were analyzed and contributions to Europeanization were made. There were also diplomatic outcomes of the expedition. Many Baltic countries were analyzed. From then on, Sweden, which possessed many shores of Prussia, Poland, Denmark and the Baltic, was also among the targets of Russia.²⁸³

In order to go to war with Sweden, Peter the Great sent an envoy to the Ottoman State in 1700 and maintained peace. Establishing an alliance with Denmark and Austria, Russia declared a war on Sweden and was defeated. However, this defeat paved the way for Peter the Great to revise his army better.²⁸⁴

Sweden always provoked the Ottoman State against Russia, as a result of which the Ottoman State declared a war on Russia towards the end of 1710. The war resulted with a defeat of Peter the Great in Prut. Russia returned the Azac Fortress on the table of peace. The Great Peter considered the Ottoman's acceptance of peace as a great luck. On the other hand, the Ottoman State would not get another chance to have such an advantageous

²⁸² Oreshkova, "Rus-Osmanlı Savaşları," 557.

²⁸³ George Vernadsky, *Rusya Tarihi*, translated by Doğukan Mızrak and Egemen Ç. Mızrak (İstanbul: Selenge Yay, 2009) 195-196.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 196.

treaty over Russia. This war caused Russia both lose of prestige and extension of her war with Sweden. Meanwhile, there were many revolts in the country due to the ongoing wars, but Peter the Great suppressed them. He always reorganized the army and the government. As a matter of fact, he was successful in this.²⁸⁵ Peter I was a great chance for Russia. Russia progressed with him. "Peter's contemporaries mostly considered his reign an era of transformation by the "great reformer". Most 18th century Russian writers described Peter's work as desirable and far-reaching, considered Europe a valid model."²⁸⁶

Prut peace was a compensation for the Ottoman for what she lost to Russia in Karlowitz. However, it is a situation that designates the future in a diplomatic sense. The block consisted of Sweden, the Ottomans, Poland and France in Prut may have been withdrawn in favor of the Hapsburgs and Russia in the East Europe.

After the peace treaty the strength of both Poland and Crimean Khanate got decreased. Noticing this, Crimean Khanate wanted Babiali to follow stronger anti-Russian politics. Crimea had more active policies than the Ottoman was; moreover Kaplan Giray built closer relations with France and claimed that he knew French diplomacy better than the Ottomans. He formed allies with Sweden in 1710 and helped her in war against Russia. In 1711, Kaplan Giray announced a universal politics. He stated about his policies not being under the protection of the Ottomans but as being Independent. Following this statement, the Ottomans warned Kaplan Giray not to depend on policies with Sweden very much.²⁸⁷ This was an interesting event between Crimea and the Ottomans. Peter the Great who Europeanized Russia died in 1725. First his wife, then his grandson and finally Peter the

²⁸⁵ Ibid, 198-199.

For the innovations was made by Petro in Russia see, Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Rusya Tarihi, Başlangıçtan 1917 ye Kadar*, (Ankara: TTK, 1987) 263-273.

²⁸⁶ David MacKenzie-Michale W.Curran, *A History of Russia, the Soviet Union and Beyond* (California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1993) 239.

²⁸⁷ Ortaylı, "Osmanlıda Milletler ve Diplomasi", 127-131.

Great II's sister Anna succeeds him. Anna, who was a widow, was enthroned on a condition not get married. However, she followed Peter the Great's policies in foreign policies. The traditional hostility between Russia and her neighbours- Sweden and Turkey- continued. It strengthened Russian dominance in the East. They aim at reaching Black Sea. She built friendly relations with Iran. She signed a Treaty with Austria against the Ottoman in 1736.

In 1736 Russia, allied to Austria, waged a war against Turkey who was supported by France. She, along with Austria, declared a war against the Ottomans in 1736. The Belgrade Treaty was signed in 1739. It is mentioned above. They came closer²⁸⁸ to the Black Sea²⁸⁹ with the Belgrade Treaty. Anna died in 1740. After two passive rulers, Elizabeth, the daughter of the Great Peter the Great, succeeded in 1741. She remains in power until 1761. In conclusion, the Ottoman State and Russia fought with each other for ten times between the years 1678 and 1878. These wars have been one of the basic topics of the European history. The reasons of the wars are the appropriateness of the Black Sea for infantry and cavalry in geographical aspects, Russia's desire to capture the Ottoman State, where there were millions of Orthodoxes (holy places were under the dominance of the Ottoman State), Black Sea's significance for the commercial flow of Russia and among the seas around Russia, Black sea's being the only one to freeze, Russia's will to establish sovereignty over the Slavs in the Ottoman administration, and perhaps the most crucial one is Russia eagerness to capture the Bosphorus and go to Mediterranean easily. The reasons for the wars to continue for a long time are the fact that both the states had strong armies and had stable allies.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁸ Kurat, "Rusya tarihi Başlangıçtan 1917 ye Kadar", 275-276.

²⁸⁹ There is a map about Ottoman-Russia frontier I have found at BOA. This is a handmade map. It shows the north east of the Ottoman State, rivers, and some cities. It is Russian. The scale is 1| 800 000, BOA, Hrt. 190, 1739 (1152) See, Appendix H.

²⁹⁰ Sander, "Anka'nın Yükselişi ve Düşüşü", 136-140.

3.4.1 Diplomatic Relations

Relations between the Ottoman and Russia were experienced intensely in the 18th century. But, there had been diplomatic relations since the 15th century²⁹¹. These relations mostly revolved around Trade in this century. Direct relationship had been established until Karlowitz. Russian foreign policy from 1726 to 1762 has been called the checkerboard system. Russia was to a considerable degree an enemy of its neighbors and a friend of its neighbors' neighbors, with other relations affected by this basic pattern. For example, France consistently remained an antagonist of Russia, because in its struggle for the mastery of the continent it relied on Turkey. Austria was the most reliable Russian ally. The two states shared hostility toward France, Turkey and Sweden.²⁹² At the beginning of the 18th century, Russia opened a resident embassy. The first ambassador was Knez Pyotr Aleksiyeviç Tolstoy, came in 1700. He stayed in Ottoman until 1714 and then arrested in 1711. He had written long reports about the Ottoman. These reports contained information about the political, military, social status, Ottoman.²⁹³

It was explained above that Russia had similarities to that of Westernization adventure of the Ottoman State. It can be said that Russia acted before Ottoman at diplomatic attacks. Being luck of Russia, Peter the Great crowned all defeats with a new revision. As he made a number of reforms in all field, he did the same thing at his diplomatic personnel cadre.

²⁹¹ "Rusya ya ilk defa 1514 yılında elçi gönderilmiştir. Bu yıldan 1889 yılına kadar Rusya ya otuzüç Osmanlı elçisi gitmiştir. Sekizine ait sefaretname vardır. Rusya da 1492 yılında Osmanlı Devleti ne elçi göndermeye başlamıştır. Bu tarihten 1802 yılına kadar Rus elçilerinin sayısı altmış dokuz dur." Savaş. "Osmanlı Elçilerinin Sefaret Güzergâhları," 56.

²⁹² Nicholas V.Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia* (Newyork: Oxford University Press, 1993) 251.

²⁹³ Ortaylı, "Osmanlıda Milletler ve Diplomasi", 145-146

He organized all diplomatic services over western model. He sent his first ambassador to Vienna. He established foreign affairs organization²⁹⁴.

Russian diplomacy used disputes, emerging domestic policy of the enemy state, expertly for benefits of Russia. At this period, the tactic was intervening domestic affairs of neighbors to influence their foreign policy. For example, master diplomat P. Tolstoy provided grand vizier, who was enemy of Russia, to be dismissed and sentenced to death in 1703. Russia used especially Christians, living in Istanbul, as spy²⁹⁵.

Mahmud I sent Prince Şerbatoff to Russia as an extraordinary ambassador to congratulate after he came to throne. Former ambassador Nephuieff came with new ambassador Wisniakoff. Bab-ı Ali responded kind act of Russia with sending Mehmed Said Efendi son of Yirmisekiz Çelebi²⁹⁶.

Diplomatic value of war, which started in 1736 and ended in 1739, is very important for the history of Turkish-Russian. Russia started this war with the aim of annexation of the Crimean and getting a share of Ottoman territory. But their all requests could not come up at the end of the war. They couldn't even appeal during the peace. France, intervened in between, was effective at this. The ambassador of France Markiz L.S. Vilnev was successful²⁹⁷.

After that, the important point for Europe, in terms of effects on both the Ottoman and the region, is that anymore European diplomats were involving in all peace treaties between Ottoman and Russia.

Exchange of prisoners was the point in question at the 18th century Ottoman-Russian relations. Works were not pacing properly due to have too many and scattered prisoners. Article of prisoner has been added to all agreements signed with Russia since 1700. For this reason, it has the feature that was mostly spoken in bilateral relations and subjected in international diplomacy in the peace time. In terms of our period, 7th article of Belgrade

²⁹⁴ S. Bakruşin, A.Efimov, İ.Mintz, E.kouminski, "Uluslararası İlişkiler Tarihi I..", 324-328.

²⁹⁵ Ibid, 329-330

²⁹⁶ Hammer, "Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi VII", 398-399

²⁹⁷ Oreshkova, "Rus-Osmanlı Savaşları..," 557.

Treaty was about prisoners. According to this, parts were going to send commissions to all around of their countries. Russia had promised to hand over all Ottoman prisoners, including Bosnians. In addition to roughness of geographical conditions, unwillingness of slave masters to surrender slaves in his hands, forced Ottoman Authorities. Belgrade Treaty has remained until war of 1768. At the end of the war, this issue got an important place in Küçük Kaynarca Treaty. Ottoman treated captives humanly and so thousands of captives accepted Islam and preferred living in Ottoman with their own willing. But, conditions of captives in Russia hadn't been able to know²⁹⁸. After the treaty of Belgrade, the chief issues in the letters they write to each other were article of captives and Tatars, escaping to Russia. In 1747, Russian Prime Minister Kont Aleksiyon Litonef wrote a letter to Ottoman grand vizier. In that letter, he wrote that Tatars, escaping subject of the Ottoman State to Russia, were not accepted and if there was they will be returned²⁹⁹.

According to the stipulations of the peace of Belgrade all three state would send ambassadors each other. As the sultan's envoy, Mehmed Emni Beyefendi's function to provide the Exchange of prisoners.³⁰⁰ Both state sent ambassadors to each other after Belgrade Treaty. One of them was also Mehmed Emin Pasha wrote a *Sefaretname*.

²⁹⁸ Köse, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı-Rus Esir Mübadelesi," 350-360

²⁹⁹ BOA, Hat 1415-57843

" Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniye'ye tabi tavaife Tatarın bazıları şikavetleri zımında teadiye müstehak olunanlar bu canibe firaren ilticaları vukuunda kabul olunmayub geriye redd ve teslim olunmaları ilhah buyurulmağla hulusane cevab olunur ki aharın umuruniye karışmak Rusya Devleti ne mahsus olmayub ve binaen Devlet-i Aliye'nin sahih reayalarından olub firaren gelenlerden ferd ve ahden bu ana değın himaye ve kabul olunmasına katien rıza verilmemiştir."

3.4.2 Mehmed Emni Pasha's *Rusya Sefaretnamesi* (1740-1742)

Mehmed Emin Pasha travelled to Russia in between 1740 and 1742 (1151-1155).

When Mehmed Emni Pasha, sent as an ambassador to Russia following to the treaty, arrived to Russia, Russian Czarina Anna had died in 1740. Ivan became a ruler. By changing name-i Hümayun (imperial letter), sent in the name of Anna, a new letter was (name) sent in the name of Ivan³⁰¹.

After Belgrade Treaty, Ottoman State and Russia sent ambassadors to correct the relations between each other on issues related to exchange of prisoners, giving Empire title to Russian Czars, demolition of Azak fortress and exchange of texts of treaties³⁰². Ottoman State sent Mehmed Emni Pasha with rank of ambassador to Russia. His brother Mr. Ibrahim, committee secretary (Divan Katibi) Şehdi Osman Efendi and *kethüda* Mehmed Aga presented next to him³⁰³.

Mehmed Emni Pasha was born in Vidin. His father was from Mevlana Family. After his father death, he was brought to Istanbul by grand vizier Elmas Mehmed Pasha and raised in Enderun. He presented at various public services. He became the Emir of Defterhane before he went to Russia in 1738. Also, when he returned from the embassy in Russia, which he appointed with titles of Anadolu Beylerbeyliği and pasha in 1748, he became Secretary of Janissary and died in 1750.

Mehmed Emin Pasha took name-i hümayun from sultan in person with a ceremony on 19th April 1740. After finishing preparation, he departed from

³⁰¹ Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı Tarihi IV", Part 2, 184-185.

³⁰² Subhi mentions as follow, " Devlet-i Aliye ile Nemçe ve Moskov Devletleri beyninde vuku' bulan musalahanın istihkamiçun sabıka Ruznamçe-i evvel Canib Ali Efendi'ye ve Deftardar Emni Mehmed Bey e Rumeli Beylerbeyliği payeliği virilüp Ali Efendi Nemçe ye ve Emni Bey Moskov elçisi nasb olunmuş idi."

Subhi Efendi, "Subhi Tarihi," 623.

³⁰³ Aktepe, "Mehmed Emni Beyefendi nin Rusya Sefareti ve Sefaretnamesi," 6.

Istanbul on 12 May³⁰⁴. From Russia also, Aleksandr Rumanzof departed and ambassadors were interchanged at Özi Castle³⁰⁵. He told these ceremonies and interchanges quite along in his *Sefaretname*.

After Mehmed Emni Pasha and the committee of embassy arrived to Moscow, they welcomed with a ceremony and placed to a building. They had been kept waiting for 20 days. They were interviewed with some generals. In the meantime, Czarina Anna Ivanovna had died and her 3 months old son Ivan Antonovitch was passed to throne. Mehmed Emin Pasha informed Istanbul by sending someone. Meanwhile, Russians traveled the committee of embassy around the city. New name-i hümayun, prepared in the name of new Czar, was brought in the middle of May in 1741. At the end, the committee of embassy was taken to Petersburg with a ship³⁰⁶. He had written that the distance was 140 hours between Moscow and Petersburg in his *Sefaretname*. Seeing that the ship, which they were taken to, arrange with crusade flags, Mehmed Emni Pasha had these flag lower and had their flags hang³⁰⁷. A secretary appointed by Prime Minister Kont Osterman welcomed Mehmed Emni Pasha. This person was an Ottoman citizen who was of Greek origin and grew up in Istanbul³⁰⁸.

Pasha was welcomed in the name of Czarina with a ceremony and banquet. One day after arrival, he interviewed the father of child Czar and Prime Minister. The following day, he saw Czarina and delivered Numa-i

³⁰⁴ Mehmed Emni Pasha represented a report for his needs during his travel. (*Mehmed Emni Paşa nın Rusya ya sefareti için levazımı memuriyetini tedarik için bir miktar akçe itası-verilmesi- hususunda verdiği takrir*) See: BOA, CHR, Dosya 142, Gömlek 7094, Ek J.

³⁰⁵ Unat, "Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri," 75-76.

³⁰⁶ Aktepe, "Mehmed Emni Beyefendi nin Rusya Sefareti ve Sefaretnamesi," 16

³⁰⁷ " Lakin haçlı bayraklar ile ri'ayetden mahzuziyyet islamımız şerayitine muhalif bir keyfiyet olmağla anları bu saatte ref' ve izaleye mübaderet edersiz ve inşallahü-te'ala ol sefineye süvar olacağımız vakitde piş ü pesini tezyin için benim şevketlu kerametlu ve kudretlu azametlu efendim veli-ni'metim ve veli-ni'met-i alemiyan, zıll-i Yezdan ve halife-i rahman, padişah-ı devran hazretlerinin bu bende-i kemine inayet ve ihsanları olan rayet-i nusret ayeti ve elviyye-i meymenet mülteviyeyi nasb ettiririz denildikde, bi-fazlillahü-te'ala muhalefete cesaret edemeyüp heman ol anda haçlı bayrakları havaliy-i sefineden iz'aç ve ihrac ve hengâm-ı rükubda rayat-ı islamiyyenin nasb ve idracı sefine-i merkumeye iras-ı revaç eylemiştir". *Ibid*," 57.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 51.

Hümayun to her. In addition to this, he presented seven horses and an adorned tent to her³⁰⁹.

A day before interview of Mehmed Emni Pasha and Czarina, A general and an interpreter came to pasha and talk about format of the interview. They want it as of French, Austria and Iran coming into presence. Czarina sits to throne, embassy, which comes to presence, kisses the ground three times and hands letter (name) to deputy of vizier. They asked Mehmed Pasha's idea. He said I should stay standing below Czarina's throne. And I should hand the letter over her. General told him that they needed to talk with Prime Minister. After an hour they talked again. They informed him that Prime Minister consented. But, out of respect for empress, after facing with her, they wanted him to return by drawing back. Pasha consented³¹⁰.

Mehmed Emni Pasha handled articles, which didn't become clear in Belgrade Treaty, such as demolition of Azak Fortress, exchange of prisoners, giving Emperor Title with regard to his authority and signed an obligation³¹¹. In the meantime, Russian ambassador handled issue of title of Emperor with grand vizier Koca Ragıb Pasha³¹².

Mehmed Emni Pasha received a letter from grand vizier in early November, 1741. In this, he was informed that duty of Russian ambassador Alexandr Romansof was ended, he was going to depart on 4th December and he was going to be at the border of Ottoman-Russian after 65 days. Pasha was wanted to act according to this. Pasha was invited to palace and given 2 letters for him and 2 letters for grand vizier. While pasha was waiting for journey preprance, throne change occurred and Elizabet Petrovna, daughter of great Petro, passed to throne. Czarina talked with Mehmed Emni Pasha and gave one more letter. Pasha had other letters confirmed and was departed with a little delay. (May 20).

³⁰⁹ Unat, "Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri," 78-80.

³¹⁰ Aktepe, "Mehmed Emni Beyefendi nin Rusya Sefareti ve Sefaretnamesi," 61.

³¹¹ Temessük is a stamped paper is issued by state. Z.Pakalın, *Tarih terimleri ve Deyimleri Sözlüğü* III (İstanbul: MEB 1993) 453.

³¹² Aktepe, "Mehmed Emni Beyefendi nin Rusya Sefareti ve Sefaretnamesi," 21

He arrived in Istanbul in 1742. He completed his duty by handling names to grand vizier. Pasha stayed a year and five months in Russia³¹³.

Being an important document in terms of relations of Ottoman-Russian between 1740-1742, *Sefaretname*, was written by someone who saw and heard a period of Russian History, has only one copy and that makes it more valuable³¹⁴.

Sefaretname consists of 19 pages. There is a mesnevi of 37 couplets, mentioning Russian and Austria wars and Belgrade. It was written in a heavy and bombastical Ottoman language. In the work he mentioned about going, route, defining of place of interchange of ambassadors, welcoming ceremony, having an interpreter who had origin of Greek and grew up in Ottoman. Then, he ended it with praising the sultan³¹⁵.

3.4.3 General Assessment of the Ottoman, Iran and Russian Relations

It is beneficial to take relations of three states together, in an important geography of the Middle East. When struggles between Ottoman and Iran are mentioned, it is useful to mention relations, occurring among these three countries.

There had been a struggle of control of the Caucasus since 16th century. But in the 18th century, another powerful partner emerged, Russia.

In the beginning of 18th century, disputes had started in Iran. By benefitting from disputes, Russia captured Derbend, Gilan, Mazenderan, Esterabad and Baku as if to protect his tradesman. Ottoman State disturbed

³¹³ Ibid, 22-26

³¹⁴ Unat, "Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri," 74

There is its copy in Library of İstanbul Murad Molla, no: 1435

Koca Ragıb joined to the negotiations with Nadir Shah. He also joined negotiations for treaty of Belgrad. He became Reisülkütab in 1741. He became GrandVizier in 1757. This duty went on 7 years. He died in 1764. The importance of reisülkütab increased in 18th century. Finkel, "Rüyadan İmparatorluğa Osmanlı" 328.

³¹⁵ Aktepe, "Mehmed Emni Beyefendi nin Rusya Sefareti ve Sefaretnamesi," 29-86

of spreading of Russia, established dominancy in Ravan, Nahçivan, Gence and Tebriz. Ottoman and Russia shared occupied places with Mukaseme-Namesi treaty in 1724³¹⁶. Treaty signed between ambassador of Russia Nepluieff and Managing Directors (murahas) on June 24th, 1724³¹⁷.

Czar died in 1725. Daghestanis had always fought with Russians in their own territories. They didn't want Russians. And in 1729, Nadir shah emerged. He ended Afghans invasion of Iran. He started to struggle of dismissal of Ottoman-Russia from the Caucasus. When the Russian State realized that they wouldn't be able to fight with them, they drewback from Iran and the Caucasus's territory by signing the Treaty of Gence in 1735³¹⁸.

While Ottoman was at war with Iran, Russia signed a treaty to detriment of Ottoman in 1736. Treaty was acquired and sent to Istanbul by hatman of Kazak Orlik³¹⁹. Starting with confirmation of amity, this treaty contained six articles. And at the last article, it was expressed that struggle would continue until Ottomans and Tatars retreat completely from Georgia and Persia borders.

Peace, started in 1746, continued also after death of Nadir Shah in 1747. Ottoman state didn't intervene to the disputes, continuing in Iran, because there wasn't and external intervention. There was no Russian intervention. The people of Iran established their own authority. Even though, they were not under dominance of Ottoman, they carried a torch for Ottoman Sultan. And, period of autonomous khanates had begun in the Caucasus.

³¹⁶ Çakmak, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Kafkasya," 616

³¹⁷ Owing to this treaty the Ottoman State sent a letter to Russia's Eastern Serasker Ahmed Pasha wanted to comply with this in 1735. Russia had not to attack to Dağistan so Ahmed Pasha would be attention about this subject.

BOA, CHR, Dosya 148, Gömlek 7360, Appendix L.

³¹⁸ Çakmak, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Kafkasya," 616-617

³¹⁹ Subhi Efendi, "Subhi Tarihi ,"LXXI. Orlik send a letter to Istanbul. He wrote as followed; "bu hilalde Moskovlu ile A'cam ta'ifesi akd-i musalaha-i müebbede idüp, canib-i Devlet-i Aliyye'ye ale'l-ittifak suikasd niyet-i fasidesinde oldukları ma'lum-ı devletleri olmak için, tarafeynden ahz u i'ta olunan temessükünün sureti Dersa'adetlerine irsal olunmuştur". Ayrıca suret-i temessük-i mezbur subhi tarihinde olduğu gibi yer almaktadır. Subhi Efendi, "Subhi Tarihi," 285-287

Autonomous khanates were established such as khanate of Şirvan, Şeki, Revan, Baku, Gence, Nahçıvan, Karabağ and Tiflis in the Caucasus. During the period of autonomous khanates (1750-1804), close relations were established between Ottoman and administrators of these khanates. Stirrings had begun with new Khans at the end of the 18th century. Anymore, Russia was going to start to struggle with the taking control of Czarina Katarina II in 1762³²⁰.

3.5 Diplomatic Relations between Ottoman State and Iran

The Middle East has a unique geographical position. It is an area situated at the junction of Europe, Asia and Africa. The shortest and most convenient air and water routes from Europe to Asia go through the Middle East. Every major empire in the history of the Old World has either been included in this area or has cast covetous eyes at it.³²¹ Being the most important part of the Middle East, Ottoman, Russian and Europe have struggle of dominance over Iran. But in terms of our period, we are going to witness the struggles between Ottoman and Russia. Europe is going to show itself gradually.

“As Europe constituted unchanging western policy of Ottoman State, Relations with Safavid, Avşars, Zends and Kaçars constituted base of unchanging eastern policy.”³²²

We witness the relations of Ottoman with Iran in the period of Safavids. In fact, Safavids were coming from a Sufi dervish order (Tarikat), name was Safaviye and founder was Shayh Safi El-Din. It was founded at Erdebil in Azerbaijan. Founder was possibly a sunnî. It got change into Shiah in the region, where Shiah was common. Having taken Azerbaijan form Akkoyunlus in 1501, Shah Ismail got the control, in time, and Shiah was accepted as the

³²⁰ Çakmak, “XVIII. Yüzyılda Kafkasya,” 617-618

³²¹ George Lenczowski, *The Middle East in World Affairs* (Newyork: Cornell University Press, 1956) XVII

³²² Mehmed İpşirli, “*Osmanlı Vekayinamelerinde İran*”, Tarihten Günümüze Türk-İran İlişkileri Sempozyumu, XVI-XVII. Asırlar Konya: TTK, 2002) 49.

religion of the state. And immediately, they began to struggle Sunni Ottoman next to them³²³. We can say that political relations between Ottoman State and Dynasty of Safavid had begun in the 16th century. Whereas various wars and peaces were experienced after Çaldıran War, with Treaty of Kasr-ı Şirin, a period of peace had been experienced for more than 100 years³²⁴.

To stop Ottoman progressing into West, European countries and Safavid state made alliances. The separation of the sects, having Ottoman eye on Azerbaijan and Safavids on Iraq and Anatolia, also border problems confronted this two countries. But, border problem was ended with Treaty of Kasr-ı Şirin at the end³²⁵.

Relation of European countries with Iran was not only a corporation against Ottoman but also Commercial. They had commerce in the form of both selling weapon to Iran and buying silk from them³²⁶.

"The Safavids benefited from the desire of several European states for any ally against the Ottomans, which encouraged diplomatic and trade relations. Even before the Safavid victory there were Western diplomats and traders in Iran and relations increased under the Safavids. Silk was the main export. Iran demanded textiles and ceramics from Western countries. Frequent wars with the Ottomans also took an economic toll."³²⁷

Peace period, longed last with Iran, had broken at the end of 17th century. In the last decade of the seventeenth century, the hold of the Turks over the Basra province had been weakened because of European wars and local revolts. The state of Iran obtained to control Basra in 1695. Meanwhile

³²³ C.E. Bosworth. *İslam Devletleri Tarihi* translated by M.İpşirli and E.Merçil (İstanbul: Oğuz, 1980) 213-21.

³²⁴ Münir Aktepe, *1720-1724 Osmanlı-İran Münasebetleri ve Silahşör Kemani Mustafa Ağa'nın Revan fetihnamesi* (İstanbul: İstanbul U. Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1970) 1.

³²⁵ Muhammed Rıza Nasırı, *Nasireddin Şah Zamanında Osmanlı-İran Münasebetleri* PH.D. Thesis (İstanbul: İstanbul U. 1977) 1-2.

³²⁶ Mehmed Saray, "Türk İnan Münasebetlerinde Şiiliğin Rolü", *Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü* 107, Serial III No: A.28, (1990) 51.

³²⁷ Nikki R. Keddie, *Modern Iran* (USA: Yale University Press, 2006) 12.

Ottoman State determined to re-establish own authority there in 1701. The Ottomans entered Basra without meeting with any resistance from the Persians. The Persian occupation of Basra thus ended without any clash with Turkey.³²⁸

After the Treaty of Passarovitz, Ottoman State freed in Persia. Damat Ibrahim Pasha wanted to get benefit from disputes, which Safavids were in, after Treaty of Passarovitz in 1718. Besides this, Russian also put an eye through Iran. There was a conflict between Sunnis and Shies. Damat Ibrahim Pasha didn't want to be silent to this. Janissaries also had pressure on grand vizier. In addition to this some statesmen wanted to recover the lands, which they lost in the west, from the east. Then, after long years, Ottoman state and Iran confronted again in the war field in 1723³²⁹. These conflicted lasted in the period of Mahmud I.

Iran fought on one side with Russia, on another side Afghans and also on one another side with Ottoman and lost quite a large land³³⁰.

Movement had begun, which would be a problem when Mahmud passed throne. The Safavid Governor of Afghanistan announced the independence in the 18th century. Afghans occupied a large part of Iran in 1722³³¹. Due to disputes in Iran, Russia captured Derbend and Baku. And Ottoman state invaded to Azerbaijan. With the treaty, signed in 1724, Ottoman got Azerbaijan, Karabağ and Georgia³³².

While Ahmed III was preparing to go to a campaign over Iran, Patrona Halil rebellion broke out. After all, one of the reasons that triggered the

³²⁸ Laurence Lockhart, *The Fall of the Safavi Dynasty* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1958) 52-54.

³²⁹ Aktepe, "1720-1724 Osmanlı-İran Münasebetleri" 1-3.

³³⁰ Finkel, "Rüyadan İmparatorluğa Osmanlı" 323.

³³¹ Bosworth, "İslam Devletleri Tarihi" 216.

³³² Aliyev Salih Muhammedoğlu, "İran (Osmanlı İnan Münasebetleri)" (İstanbul:DİA Vol.22, 2000),405.

rebellion was occupation of Hamadan, Kirmanşah, and Tebriz by New commander of Tahmasb by defeating Ottoman³³³.

But, after rebellion, Shah of Iran sent an ambassador; his name was Veli Mehmed, to congratulate Sultan Mahmud to Ottoman state. But, after that, Tahmasb II moved to Azerbaijan and Iraq against Ottoman. With that, Mehmed Khan and his committee were arrested and captivated in Mardin Fortress. Governor of Baghdad Ahmed Pasha was commanding the Ottoman Armies. Ottoman state defeated Iran in Sahara of Kurucan. Then Hamadan was occupied. Following these, Ottoman took Tebriz without fighting. Because of this, Mahmud I was given title of Ghazi. After Ottoman occupied Hamadan and Kirmanşah, Tahmasb appointed his delegate Mehmed Rıza Quli, presented in Istanbul, for peace. Negotiation had begun. Tebriz occupied at the end of these negotiations, so it wasn't be able to be included in treaty. Even though, Mahmud I was disappointed too much, he signed not to break the treaty. The point of attention is here, while Ottoman was the winner, it snatched some lands, it had already captured. Kirmanşah, Tebriz, Erdelan, Luristan and Huveyze left to Iran, Ottoman had already captured these³³⁴. This treaty is called pact of Ahmed Pasha. Because when Mahmud passed to throne he was dealing with Patrona Halil Rebellion and also there were defeats in war fields, he let this armistice with Iran.

When Tahmasb II understood that he wouldn't be able to fight with Afghans, He passed Nadir, powerful leader of the region, to command of armies by going Horasan and making alliance with him³³⁵. Nadir Beg, from Avşar Dynasty, became a servant of Tahmasb II (Nadir Quli Beg) and a new era had begun³³⁶.

³³³ Saray, "Türk İnan Münasebetlerinde Şiiliğin Rolü" 54.

³³⁴ Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı Tarihi 4" Part 1 218-223.

³³⁵ Filiz Güney, *XIX. yüzyılın ilk Yarısında Osmanlı İnan İlişkileri ve İnan'a Giden Osmanlı Elçileri* MA. Thesis (Afyon: Afyonk. U.ISIS, 2005) 12.

³³⁶ J.H.Kramers, "İnan" (İA: İstanbul, Vol. 5-2 1988), 1024.

Until 1736 at that time, he announced himself shah. To occupy throne, he persuaded notables of Iran that Tahmasb was out of mind and didn't have any ruling power. He told about that Tahmasb was not on behalf of war and giving chance to other states such as Ottoman³³⁷. In the meantime, statesmen and scholars saw convenient to accept the sect of Ja'fari to solve the problems caused by Shiah. And they announced Nadir monarch with the title of shah (March 8, 1736). Because of this, Nadir Khan was accused of being Sunni in Iran. So the period of Safavid became history. And the period of Avşar had begun. Besides, the issue of passing monarchy to progeny of Avşar was accepted³³⁸.

"In one sense, then, the Safavids may be said to have contributed to the emergence of the modern Persian state, by bequeathing to their successors a religious class powerful enough to challenge the authority of the shah".³³⁹

Nadir Khan was from Avşar branch of Oguz Turks³⁴⁰. He was born in Muharram/November 1688.³⁴¹ He became de facto ruler in 1732 and announced his shahship officially in 1736³⁴². Real name was Nadir Quli. He lived in town of Abiverd, Horasan. Being an ambitious person, Nadir became real Emir in here. In Ottoman archives, his name was mentioned as Tahmasb-Quli Khan³⁴³. Raymond Furan writes "*he was carrying a soul of bandit and worrier. He wanted to found Iran Empire by obtaining the Throne*

³³⁷ Bekir Kütükoğlu, Vekayi'nüvis, *Makaleler* (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1994) 331.

³³⁸ Abdurrahman Ateş, *Avşarlı Nadir Şah Döneminde Osmanlı-İran Mücadeleleri* Phd. Thesis (Isparta: Süleyman Demirel U.İSİS 2001) 82.

³³⁹ Roger M. Savory, *Studies on the History of Safawid Iran* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1987) VIII-34.

There is a detail study. See, Ateş "Avşarlı Nadir Şah Döneminde Osmanlı İran Mücadeleleri" There is literature in beginning of this study.

³⁴¹ J.R. Perry, "Nadir Shah" (EI², Vol. 7, 1993), 853.

³⁴² Ateş, "Nadir Şah Avşar ın Ölümünden Sonra İran da Hakimiyet Mücadeleleri ve Osmanlı Devleti nin İran politikası", *Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* Vol.8 No.2 (2006) 55.

³⁴³ Rıza Şabani "Avşarlar ve Zendiler Dönemi Tarih Kaynakları" İran ve Türkiye Arasındaki Tarihi ve Kültürel İlişkiler Konulu Makaleler Mecmuası 1," (Ankara: TTK, 2002) 1, ed. Ali Dehgahi and Zehra Subhani (Ankara: TTK, 2002)151.

of Persian. For this, he wasn't reluctant to use any violence".³⁴⁴ According to Lockhart he was a military genius and leader. "His merits as a soldier secured him rapid advancement, and, when he obtained the supreme command, he proceeded to conduct a series of important campaigns with the skill and assurance of a master". Lockhart resembles Nadir Shah to Napoleon, Alexander the Great and Frederick the Great. As a strategist Nadir was far all leaders to whom he was opposed.³⁴⁵

Nadir Shah was at war with Afghans during the treaty, which signed with Ottoman State. Nadir Khan was not happy with this treaty. Tahmasb Khan also hadn't been already happy with. Moreover, as a matter of fact, Ottoman state also wasn't delighted. Because there were some important places, which it captured in war and gave at treaty. And at restarting war, this time Nadir Khan was in command of Iranian Armies. With the help of Russia, he attacked to the Caucasus instead of Iraq. He captured Şirvan. After Gence, Tiflis and Revan, he captured important cities in Iraq such as Kirkuk. Ottoman was defeated by Iran. Because, his next purpose was lands of India, he offered negotiation³⁴⁶. Ottoman State also responded positively. Since, it was dealing with Austria and Russia.

Negotiation started again in 1736. Governor of Baghdad Ahmed Pasha was appointed for negotiation and about border issue Governor of Revan Genç Ali Pasha was sent to Iran with embassy³⁴⁷. In the period of Murat IV

³⁴⁴ Raymond Furon, *İran*, translated by Galib Kemali Söylemezoğlu (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi, 1943) 143-144.

³⁴⁵ L.Lockhart, *Nadir Shah* (London: Luzac&Co, 1938) 266-267.

³⁴⁶ Yalçınkaya, " XVIII.yüzyıl: Islahat..", 490-491.

³⁴⁷ Tanburi Arutin, *Tahmas Kulu Han'ın Tevarih* translated by Esat Uras (Ankara: TTK, 1942) 9-10. There is a travel guide named *Tahmas Kulu Han'ın Tevarih* (Tahmas Kul-ı Kahn's Tevarih)³⁴⁷ that belongs to this period. Tanburi Arutin who was among the delegates of the Mustafa Nazif Efendi went to Iran in 1746. The letters of the book is written in Armenian alphabet while the language was Turkish. The work of art is 33 pages in Translation. It belongs to the year 1746. Tanburi Arutin both narrated Shah's entertainment of them respectfully as well as expressed everything he saw. He also mentioned about the shapes of the places he saw but he mainly focuses on the events. For instance, he gave a detailed account of how Nadir Shah captured Kandahar, the techniques he used and his attitudes towards the people.

agreed on fixated borders. But Nadir Khan had other demands. These articles were acceptance of his monarchy, acceptance of the sect of Ja'fari as fifth sect, sending an Emirülhac to Kabe or Iran for each year, exchange of prisoners and possession permanent ambassador³⁴⁸. Of course, Genç Ali Pasha was not in a position to make decision on this subject. Nadir Shah sent Genç Ali Pasha back and also his ambassador Abdülbaki Khan to inform his acceding to the throne and for acceptance of peace treaty to Istanbul. Nadir Shah sent a letter to Sultan, to grand vizier and also to Şeyhülislam. Ottoman State separated technical and political subject from each other with coming ambassadors. Not only Ottoman ambassadors but also scientist joined to the meetings. Ottoman state accepted all articles except the sect of Ja'fari. Because, accepting the sect of Ja'fari as a fifth sect was evaluated as "bidat". At the end, they settled on letter of agreement and committee of ambassador was invited to palace. They were treated with kind presents. Letter of treaty was containing these articles; providing security of crossing of hajj caravans of Iran, supervisor of caravan could be able to use another title other than Emirülhac, which Ottoman used, possessing diplomatic agent bilaterally, releasement of prisoners, accepting the borders according to Treatment of Kasr-ı Şirin, sign in the period of Murat IV, not disrespecting The Prophet and His companions (ashab), not taking tax from the visitors of tombs of Hazrat Hassan and Hussein if it was not for trade, and a article ,which has diplomatical value, whereas Sultan and grand vizier would be able to write letter to Nadir Shah, to the sultan, only Nadir shah could be able to write. This case is important in term of showing superiority of Ottoman Sate over Iran³⁴⁹.

Acceptation of Sunnism by Iran welcomed in Ottoman State. But the article of Ja'farism was not accepted³⁵⁰. Then again, Nadir Shah relieved

³⁴⁸ Muhammedoğlu, "İran", 407.

³⁴⁹ Hammer, "Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi 7" 436-446.

³⁵⁰ Subhi Efendi, "Subhi Tarihi," 332.

Ottoman for a while by changing direction to Afghanistan and India. And Ottoman State was going to deal with Austria and Russia.

During the period of Ottoman State was fighting with Austria and Russia, at the East, enlarging the borders with campaign of Afghanistan and then India between 1737 and 1741, Nadir Shah turned his direction again towards the Ottoman. Iran had gotten bigger with campaigns of Afghanistan, India and Turkistan. Nadir Shah reached to dream of Empire³⁵¹.

Just before wars between two states began in the summer of 1743, Both Ottoman State and State of Nadir Shah were shaking with crises such as financial, economical and social etc. The higher taxes, the shrinking frontiers, and the agricultural decline resulted in the early eighteenth century in an unprecedented emigration from the provinces to the cities.³⁵²

The social and financial structure of Ottoman State in 18th and 19th centuries was different than in 15th and 16th. Previously, there were many private property and increased gradually. Private property on land was increased. Previously, villagers had production and reproduction tools, was free. Together with the 18th century, they became a source of labor under control of ruling class³⁵³.

In the spring of 1740, Drought of parley, wheat, oil and honey was being experienced at the capital of Ottoman. This situation caused to a riot. And this riot spreaded to a large part of the city, and was hardly suppressed. The tension was at the highest level. There were emerging fires in the city. Not paying salaries of army was giving rise to dissatisfaction and sometimes riots. Laying extra ordinary taxes on to rayah, who was not even able to pay current taxes, to be able to cover expenditures of Iran war caused them to raid to Istanbul. Raid of the rayah changed into a crisis. As in 1730 rebellion,

³⁵¹ Ateş, "Avşarlı Nadir Şah ve Döneminde Osmanlı İnan Mücadeleleri", 90.

³⁵² Olson, "Imperial meanderings and republican by-ways: essays on eighteenth century Ottoman and twentieth century" 15.

³⁵³ Abou-El-Haj, "Modern Devletin Doğası, XVI.yüzyıldan XVIII.yüzyıla Osmanlı İmparatorluğu" 114.

Sultan and grand vizier lied low. Agas of Janissaries tried to provide public order³⁵⁴.

On the other side, situation of Nadir Shah State was not different than of Ottoman. Besides, Nadir Avşar, returning from campaign of India with a large quantity of fortune, declared that he was not going to collect tax for three years. Nadir declared a three year moratorium on taxes but he revoked this promise when he commenced his war in Daghistan. Nadir Shah had the staggering wealth he had brought back from India stored at Kelat. Nadir confiscated many of the religious lands and added them to the crown lands. The entire Shah's wealth went into the treasury houses at Kelat. On his return to Persia, Nadir ordered a new tax which was even harsher. Whole villages and towns retired into the mountains to avoid from by the Shah's collectors³⁵⁵.

The economic situation of Ottoman State was much better than Iran. A documentary is a sample for this comment.³⁵⁶ In 1746 while an Iran ambassador came back to Iran he advised the Ottoman subjects to be in a grateful for the Ottoman State. Because he saw the people of the Ottoman State was more comfortable than the people of Iran. There was more safety in the Ottoman State.

When Mustafa Nazif had sent as an ambassador, Nadir Shah was informed that acceptance of the sect of Ja'fari was not possible. But, Nadir Shah continued this uncompleted issue. He sent an ambassador; name was Hacı Han, to Istanbul. And Ottoman stated impossibility of this with sending Münif Mustafa Efendi and Nazif Mustafa Efendi.

Putting Ja'farism matter forward, Nadir sent a committee of ambassadors to Istanbul to that end. Ambassador came with committee of 1200 people and guards unit of 4000 people. Nadir Shah wanted to make a show of by

³⁵⁴ Finkel, "Rüyadan İmparatorluğa Osmanlı," 324.

³⁵⁵ Robert W. Olson, *The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian Relations 1718-1743* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1975) 120.

³⁵⁶ BOA, Hat Dosya 6, Gömlek 191, 1159 R 11, Appendix M.

sending committee this much crowded. Ambassador was welcome magnificently. Here the purpose was to show off to ambassador. Ottoman came to a conclusion that ambassador was not authorized much enough and didn't acceded to become clear of matter of Ja'farism. They sent him back to his country.

Between the years 1743 and 1744, many revolts took place in Iran. Three rebellions broke out in Shirwan, Fars and Astrabad.³⁵⁷

Nadir Shah fought against Ottoman State due to the Sultan's refusal to recognize the Ja'fari sect. Nadir's main goal to end the Sunni labeling of Shi' is as infidels in his own realm.³⁵⁸

Nadir Shah thought that his ambassador wasn't hosted as much as necessary and open war within the scope of existing purposes. He asked for Baghdad from Ahmed Pasha. A lot of struggle had been given. Baghdad wasn't given. But, deciding to capture Kirkuk, Nadir Shah captured there³⁵⁹.

And, he went over Mosul. A number of fights happened in Mosul. Even though, how much ever he tried hard, and he couldn't capture Mosul. Wars had continued and Ahmed Pasha asked for peace. Ahmed Pasha and Nadir Shah made negotiations. He returned to Iran with giving back Kirkuk and Erbil, which he captured, and lifting the siege at Basra, because, disputes were at the critical level in Iran. When transcript of treaty arrived to Istanbul, it didn't see acceptance from Sultan, because of both not quitting of acceptance of Ja'farism as a sect and thinking it was not convenient to glory of Ottoman.³⁶⁰ During this time, Ahmed Pasha started again preparation of war with gathering his army. Nadir Shah offered peace proposals. When they were not accepted, he advanced around of Kars. And, he even asked Ahmed Pasha with sending two prisoners that who would answer the reason of war between two Muslim states in Hereafter. Because

³⁵⁷ Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia* (London: Macmillian and Co. 1930) 267.

³⁵⁸ Tucker, "Nadir Shah's Quest for Legitimacy in Post-Safavid Iran", 86.

³⁵⁹ Hammer, "Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi 8", 29.

³⁶⁰ There is a copy of this letter in BOA. See: Appendix A, BOA, Hat Dosya 5, Gömlek 162.

of disobedience of Soldiers of Ahmed Pasha, Iran defeated Ottoman state. But at the end of 73th day, Nadir Shah drew back. After that, Ottoman State attacked. But, in the fights, made in Revan, Ottoman State was forced to draw back. Because of disputes in his country, Nadir Shah couldn't be able to make use of the internal disputes of the Ottoman State³⁶¹.

Nadir Shah sent a negotiation committee under presidency of ambassador Feth Ali Khan to Istanbul. He also abandoned the acceptance of Ja'farism³⁶². Meanwhile, Lost of his old glory in his state had a great effect on the base of peace proposal³⁶³. Ambassador Feth Ali Khan placed at Palace of Ragıb Pasha in Üsküdar, Istanbul. Nadir Shah sent a letter of trust and a letter with his handwriting. Nadir shah quitted the demand of fifth sect. But, he demanded acceptance of Ja'faris to mosques of Sunnis. In addition to this, he also demanded returning of Kerbela and Necef, which is accepted as holy places. With confirmation of Şeyhülislam, presented at the negotiation, there wasn't left any religional obstacle. But, demand of land was not welcomed. It was decided that peace could be able to be made with acceptance of this article. And Nazif Mustafa Efendi joined to Iranian ambassador with the title of Ambassador. So he was sent to Iran (March 14,1746). He took 3 letters with him. The letters, the answer of sultan to Nadir Shah, letter of grand vizier to Şahrur Mirza son of Nadir Shah, and letter, written by Şeyhulislam, to Iranian ulema, were given to Mustafa Nazif Efendi for being delivered. He arrived in August, and signed a treaty on behalf of Ottoman³⁶⁴.

"The main Ottoman diplomatic goal remained the restoration of the conditions that had prevailed during the decades between the 1639 agreement and the end of Safavid rule."³⁶⁵

³⁶¹ Ateş, "Nadir Şah Devrinde Osmanlı İnan Mücadeleleri", 102-108.

³⁶² Nicolea Jorga, *Osmanlı imparatorluğu Tarihi* translated by Nilüfer Epeçeli, (İstanbul: Yeditepe, 2005) 371.

³⁶³ Mustafa Nuri Paşa, *Netayicü'l Vuku'at, Kurumlarıyla Osmanlı Tarihi*, prepared by Yılmaz Kurt (Ankara: Birleşik Yay, 2008) 336.

³⁶⁴ Hammer, "Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi 8", 66-67.

³⁶⁵ Tucker, "Nadir Shah's Quest for Legitimacy in Post-Safavid Iran," 93.

Nadir Shah articulated those words;” *My intention was not other than supporting Islam religion with alliance of two Muslim states and love of unity of this state with that Devlet-i Aliye*” before giving the letter to be sent to the Sultan³⁶⁶. He showed dignity to Nazif Efendi. In addition to this, Nazif Efendi was given letters, written from Şaruh Mirza to grand vizier and from molla to şeyhülislam.

Treaty signed between Nazif Efendi and Iran ambassadors on August 5, 1746. Treaty contained a preamble, which consisted of a fundamental and a condition, text of 3 articles and an annex.

After Nazif Mustafa Efendi brought obligations of Iran, The treaty was approved by the Sultan and Ambassador Hacı Ahmed Pasha, from Kesriye, was appointed to take obligations of Mahmud I to Nadir Shah. But, before Hacı Ahmed Pasha arrived next to Nadir Shah, Because Nadir Shah was slaughtered as a result of conflicts in Iran, Letter couldn't arrive Shah. But, and Treaty became valid³⁶⁷.

Border was accepted within the frame of Kasr-i Şirin Treaty, they were agreed on the issues; not disrespecting the companions of the Prophet, and even though Ottoman didn't accept the sect of Ja'fari, Shiah would be accepted within the circle of Islam. Also, remembering four Khalifas with well-being and pray³⁶⁸. Both sides saw accepting ambassadors of on the level of diplomatic agent and sending prisoner back to their countries. Besides, Mahmud congratulated Ibrahim Shah's, who was occupied the throne, enthronement by sending a letter. Ibrahim Shah also sent a letter Sultan

³⁶⁶ Ali Djafar Pour, *Nadir Şah Devrinde Osmanlı İnan Münasebetleri*, Phd. Thesis (İstanbul: İstanbul U, Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1977) 153.

However, see sefaretname of Nazif Efendi, 24-25.

³⁶⁷ Ateş, "Nadir Şah Devrinde Osmanlı İnan Mücadeleleri", page:114. The new ruler İbrahim Shah sent a letter to the Ottoman State in 1749. See, copy of letter Appendix B, BOA, Hat 5, Gömlek 180.

³⁶⁸ Yalçınkaya, "XVIII.yüzyıl: İslahat..", 493.

"In order to confirm the amity between the two governments and to demonstrate their good harmony, every three years the Ottoman Imperial Government and the Persian Government shall accredit ambassadors to each other's court. The attendant expenses shall be borne by the host government."

J.C.Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the near and Middle East* (Newyork: Macmillian, 1956) 52.

Mahmud. In this letter, he stated, with praising the Sultan, his pleasure and informing Khans that Treaty, made in the period of Murat IV was valid³⁶⁹.

After death of Nadir Shah, disputes occurred in Iran. Sons of Nadir couldn't capture the throne. But, the Ottoman State couldn't benefit from these disputes. Moreover, Mahmud I wanted, in an order he sent, Governor of Baghdad not to attack to Iran territory and also to host the people, refuging from there, as a guest³⁷⁰.

"Nadir Shah had a marvelous memory and he proved himself a great tactician. In the Persian Gulf Nadir made a bid for sea-power. He collected a fleet of twenty vessels manned by Portuguese and Indians. Sir Mortimer Durand said that Nadir was the last great conqueror in Asia and Napoleon the last conqueror in Europe."³⁷¹

Bekir Kütükoğlu shows Iran campaign as of the reasons of financial difficulties, which Ottoman faced with, rebellions and disorganization of Army³⁷². In this period, triggering fire of Patrona Halil rebellion was the war with Iran. Besides it put Ottoman state into difficulty.

The period of peace started in 1639, was returned with borders³⁷³. The wars, started again in 1722 and ended with campaign of Revan in 1745, were useless fights attempted in Iran. Because, to borders of 1639 were again returned with treaty. But, damage was huge. They put Ottoman into a difficult situation against Austria and Russia in terms of financial and military. Socially also can be added, because, Iran wars were effective on a number of disputes, from Patrona Halil Rebellion to many others. Ottoman Safavid

³⁶⁹ See appendix D, BOA, Hat Dosya 6, Gömlek 193.

³⁷⁰ Saray, "Türk İnan Münasebetlerinde Şiiliğin Rolü" 58.

³⁷¹ Sykes, "A History of Persia" 272-274

³⁷² Bekir Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-İnan Siyasi Münasebetleri 1578-1612* (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1993) XI.

³⁷³ Ahmed Davutoğlu "Osmanlı-İnan sınırının bugüne kadar değişmeden ulaşabilmiş olması doğal bir jeopolitik Hattin hukuki sınır haline dönüşmesinin sonucudur" der. The frontier in 1746 was accepted like agreement in 1639.

Ahmed Davutoğlu, *Stratejik Derinlik*, (İstanbul: Küre, 2001) 21.

wars affected the economy of the Ottoman State greatly. Also it gave a huge damage. So, Ottoman weakened in the Caucasus.

3.5.1 Diplomatic Relations

After the conquest of Istanbul, the European states began to see the Ottoman state as a serious threat. Hence, as the greatest opportunity, they had diplomatic relations with Iran, a neighboring country of the Ottoman. As of the 16th century, along with Iran, they began to put pressure on the Ottoman State. Denominational distinctions and both the states' desire to be great states were used by the Europeans. As oppose to the situation, the Ottoman State began to build cooperation with the Sunni Muslim states surrounding Iran, such as Uzbek Khanate.³⁷⁴

No matter how ardently the European States and Iran aspired to act in cooperation against the Ottoman, they could not succeed in having any joint attack. They could not express their desire to form an ally against the Ottoman at the same time or sometimes the distance between prevented them and they had lack of communication. Moreover, they sometimes could not believe in Iran stating that Iran is also a Muslim state. However, they sold gun and cannonball to Iran aiming at using against the Ottoman.³⁷⁵

Lockhart stated that the relations between Europe and Iran were in good terms especially in the 16th century, but see the collapse of the Safavid state as also the collapse of the relations.³⁷⁶ Despite the fact that during the reign of Nadir Shah, there were many wars between the Ottoman State and Iran, there were also diplomatic courtesies between the two countries. After being Shah, Nadir Avshar sent precious gifts to Mahmud I, and in exchange the Sultan sent him a gold poniard. While Iran was generally successful in the

³⁷⁴ Kemal Beydilli, "Kitabiyat" *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* X-XI (1981) 413-415.

³⁷⁵ Saray, "Türk İnan Münasebetlerinde Şiiliğin Rolü" 51.

³⁷⁶ Lawrence Lockhart, *The Cambridge History of Iran, Volume 6: The Timurid and Safavid Periods* (London: Cambridge U. 1986) 409.

Caucasia, there were vague wars in the Mesopotamia. When Nadir Shah died, Mahmud I got the poniard back. It is in the Topkapi Palace today.³⁷⁷

During the reign of Nadir Shah, there were frequent diplomatic visit conducted by the Ambassadors.³⁷⁸ They generally paid their visits with many delegates. These Ambassadors usually carried out their visits to inform the approval of the agreements. The Ottoman State always had ambassadors welcomed in a way to demonstrate the magnificence of the state. The embassy committees were received at the borders and their caterings were met from the towns and cities on the route.³⁷⁹

With these assignments, Mustafa Nazif Efendi was appointed as ambassador to Iran in 1746 during the reign of Mahmud I. He wrote a *sefaretname*.³⁸⁰ Nazif Efendi, in fact, had already paid two visits to Iran. He first went with Ambassador Raşit Fendi in 1729 and the second with the ambassador Mustafa Münif Efendi in 1741.³⁸¹

3.5.2 Mustafa Nazif Efendi's *İran Sefaretnamesi* (1746)

Upon the Ottoman States rejection of the Jaferi sect as the fifth sect, the Ottoman-Iran war broke out in 1743 and continued for 3 years. Due to the conflict and insurgencies in Iran, Nadir Shah sent an envoy to Istanbul and asked for peace. Upon this, Mahmud I sent Mustafa Nazif Efendi to Iran for a peace treaty.³⁸²

He was the son of Kara Mehmed Pasha, who was an Ottoman vizier. He was brought up in Enderun. He was a Kapucular Kethüda, he became Mirahur twice, and in his second term as a mirahur, he was sent to Iran as an ambassador.

³⁷⁷ Palmer, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Son 300 yıl Bir Çöküşün Yeni tarihi" 46-47.

³⁷⁸ There is list of ambassadors who came to the Ottoman state. Hammer, "Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi," 155.

³⁷⁹ Şabani "Avşarlar ve Zendiler Dönemi Tarih Kaynakları" 152.

³⁸⁰ Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Ali Emiri Tarihi, No:824

³⁸¹ Unat "Osmanlı Sefir ve Sefaretnameleri" 84

³⁸² Ibid, 84

Mustafa Nazif Efendi had been sent to Nadir Shah with an imperial letter³⁸³ upon a disagreement of an article in the peace treaty, for Mahmud I did not accept the article about Jaferism being the fifth sect of Islam. Hence, his reign was also congratulated. In the letter, Nadir Shah was addressed as Khan. He also gave an account of the reason why he did not accept his proposal.³⁸⁴

The peace treaty in which Nadir Shah gave up insisting on the acceptance of Jaferism as the fifth sect was signed. Mahmud I expressed his gladness upon receiving his ambassador in these words:

“İmdi O Padişah-ı Alicah hazretleri ulu padişaktır ve Halifetullah Mekke ve Medine Padişahıdır. Biz onları büyük bilürüz. Eğer büyük bilmez isek şer’i ve peygamberi bilmemiş oluruz. Benim rükun ve mezhep ve mülk ve mal manzurumdeğildir ve ol ulu ve aziz karındaşım hazretlerine bir türlü husumetim yoktur”.³⁸⁵

Nazif Mustafa Efendi’s most important service continued as long as ten months until his return to Baghdad with the delegate of the embassy upon the agreement signed on 4 September 1746.³⁸⁶

Nadir Sha also sent Mahmud I gifts with an imperial letter. After attesting convention to the governor of Baghdad and Ahmed Pasha, seraskier of the army, Nazif Mustafa Efendi returned to Istanbul in 1747. Upon his return, he first became an accountant of Anatolia, then the mayor of the city and chamberlain of the vizier. He was a scholarly, poetic and literary person. He died in 1755.³⁸⁷

³⁸³ A *Name-i Hümayun* was sent to Shah of Iran by Ottoman ambassador. A ditto of its in book of Subhi Efendi, “Subhi Tarihi”, 337.

³⁸⁴ Arutin, “Tahmas Kulu..”, 10-12.

³⁸⁵ Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri Tarihi, No: 824, 14.

³⁸⁶ When Nazif Mustafa Efendi went to Iran the helpers (mihmandars) of Shah Münif had met very kind. He presented the name-i hümayun to Shah. He mentioned about this ceremony in a report. See Appendix E, BOA, Hat 6-198

³⁸⁷ Unat, “Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri”, 85.

In his *Sefaretname*, he gave a detailed account of his travels, the things he saw, the negotiations and the respectful treatment he received.³⁸⁸ The work is consisted of a cover and thirty pages.³⁸⁹

While Mustafa Nazif Efendi prepares to set out for a journey, Nadir Shah invites him to his palace. He conveys him his friendship in the following words.

“Benim hulus-ı müctemi şevketlü, kerametlü aziz büyük karındaşım hazretlerine ne tarıkıyla olur ise arz ve ifade ile benim muradım iki devlet-i İslamiyenin ittifakları ile din-i İslam’ın takviye ve Devlet-i Aliyye ile bu devletin her hususta muhabbet ve ittihadları idi”.

He went on to add:

“Bu def’a akd u temhid eyledüğünüz emr-i musalaha o Padişah-ı felek cah hazretlerinin nezd-i hümayunlarında dahi makbul u marzi olacağı ruşen ve aşıkâr ve ila ahiri’l eyyam baki ve payidar olması zahir ve bedidardır”.³⁹⁰

There is an interesting narration by Arutin. He learnt something when they arrived in Khorasan. There was an Armenian locality in Khorasan, but there was no married Armenian there. When Tahmas Kulu became a Shah, like Çulha in Isfahan, he wanted to form an Armenian locality in Khorasan. He wanted every city and village to send an Armenian for him to be settled in Khorasan. Villagers and City dwellers sent all Wally Armenians to him. Then, Tahmas Kulu sent all these people to Khorasan. He gave them houses, lands, gardens etc. He also gave them a large house for them to make a church. However, these people did not work, they just stayed lazily without any work. Moreover, they had fights with the people of Khorasan and beat them. They spent the fund of Church. Tanburi Arutin also narrated these things in

³⁸⁸ Ibid, 85

³⁸⁹ Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi. Ali Emiri Tarihi, No: 824

³⁹⁰ Ibid, 24.

Khorasan. He said whom did you learn from good manners, from shameless.

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The eastern states showed off their forces to each other with the skills of their ambassadors. Mahmud I sent Miyahur Mustafa to Tahmasb in 1736. Iranian ruler brought him the most stubborn horse and wanted him to ride it; and the ambassador rode it with a great skill. This was important for him to show the power of the State at that period.³⁹² Tanburi Arutin also narrated this event in his work.³⁹³

The work ends with a poem of 11 stanzas.³⁹⁴

3.5.3 Hacı Ahmed Pasha's *İran Sefaretnamesi* (1747)

After Mustafa Nazif Efendi signed the agreement, both the countries sent ambassadors to each other. Before Nazif Efendi's arrival to Istanbul, the Sultan received the news that Nadir Shah would send an Ambassador named Mustafa Han to Istanbul along with precious gifts.³⁹⁵

In order not to be passive, the Sultan sent Kesriyeli Hacı Ahmed Pasha to Nadir Shah with precious gifts and attested copy of the agreement signed by Nazif Mustafa Efendi. Ahmed Pasha's *Sefaretname* was written by Kırımlı Rahmi Efendi who was among the attendants of him.³⁹⁶ Rahmi Efendi, was a well-known Ottoman poet and writer, was sent on this mission with him to produce a commemorative narrative account of the journey.

³⁹¹ Arutin, "Tahmas Kulu..", 36.

³⁹² Ünal "Türk Siyasi Tarihi", 37.

³⁹³ Ibid, 16-17

³⁹⁴ "...Güneş balçık ile sıvanmaz ey dil

Bir yanda olsa da bellidir kamil

Kendinden gayriyi beğenmez cahil

Kandi çalar kendi oynar demişler..."

Tanburi Arutin, "Tahmas Kulu Han'ın Tevrihi" 42,48

³⁹⁵ There is a list of presents in detail. See Appendix C. List is Persian. BOA, Hat 1-15-A.

³⁹⁶ Unat "Osmanlı Sefir ve Sefaretnameleri" 86-87.

Rahmi Efendi recorded when he slept Uzbeks would try to steal their animals.

When Rahmi Efendi heard thousands of rebels had gathered, he decided not to reach Nadir's camp. According to Rahmi Efendi Nadir's biggest problem was his oppressive rule and lack of legitimacy. Rahmi Efendi included the final plea for mercy that Nadir delivered after he realized that he was doomed. "Hey, my sons! I have collected and stored this amount of the treasure house of Qarun for you. Believe me, and give me some time. Tomorrow I will distribute treasure and land to all of your countries and make you rich." But they did not listen to him and began to hack away.³⁹⁷ In his *Sefaretname*, Hacı Ahmed Pasha gave detailed information about places of accommodation, cities and towns. However, after entering into Iranian border, he returned back upon receiving the news of the assassination of Nadir.³⁹⁸ The work is consisted of a cover and 84 pages, which means 42 leaves.³⁹⁹ The work is also a very good sample for 18th century Ottoman Turkish prose.⁴⁰⁰ It has a highly figurative language.

³⁹⁷ Tucker, "Nadir Shah's Quest for Legitimacy in Post-Safavid Iran", 100-103.

³⁹⁸ Şabani, "İran ve Türkiye Arasındaki Tarihi ve Kültürel İlişkiler..", 152.

³⁹⁹ Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri Tarihi, No: 819.

⁴⁰⁰ Unat "Osmanlı Sefir ve Sefaretnameleri",91.

CONCLUSION

The significance of the Ottoman diplomacy increased in the 18th century, when there was a halt in the rise of the Ottoman State.

The characteristics of the century were designated by the process initiated with the 1699 Karlowitz Treaty. The Treaty of Karlowitz is the first treaty signed by the Ottoman State and the Christian Alliance of Crusades. For the first time the Ottoman State accepted the arbitration of other States. The treaty, which was a turning point in the Ottoman Diplomacy, was an indication that the Ottoman State abandoned policy of single aspect in the diplomacy. The achievement demonstrated by Reisülkütab Rami Efendi would pave the formation of the first foundation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Hariciye Nezareti) in the years ahead. The office of *Reisülkütab* would turn into an independent institution of foreign affair step by step.

When Mahmud I came to the power, Patrona Halil Rebellion and Ottoman Persian wars were main problems for term of Mahmud I. These two problems caused other events. Robert Olson writes "*Despite the evidence of the Patrona Halil Rebellion as being a catalyst and a symbol which signalled a breakdown of the central zone of the Empire, and as a major impediment to the development of a middle class in the Ottoman Empire*".⁴⁰¹

Mahmud I tried to maintain domestic politics as well as have the Ottoman State to increase to the level of contemporary States. The establishment of Press printing house, which was a breakthrough, took place in this period. Open to the innovations, the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud I along with Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha tried to do some reformations in the army.

In the 17th century, during the reign of Murat IV and Köprülüs there were efforts to have reformations. The westernization, which began at the period of Ahmed III, also continued in that period. Being an intelligent leader, Mahmud I stayed away from show off, but the ambassadors he sent abroad

⁴⁰¹ Olson "Imperial Meanderings and Republican By Wars..", 62.

tried to learn about the West. Many envoys were sent abroad in this period. The fact that the envoys wrote *sefaretnames* has become very advantageous. These works of art are very significant in regard to the history of culture and diplomacy. In the *sefaretnames* of this period, except of the *Nemçe Sefaretnamesi* was written by Reisülküttab Mustafa Efendi, the envoys described their appointment to the post, the gifts they took with them, the routes, the ceremonies and the things they saw there. However, in his masterpiece, Mustafa Efendi wrote about political issues as well.

The issues of the period were in close terms with the situation of the Ottoman State as well as the neighboring states.

The Ottoman State struggled against the problems caused by Russia in the North, Austria in the West and Iran in the East. While the Habsburgs and Russia built alliances against the Ottoman State, France had some privileges from the Ottoman State with some diplomatic maneuvers. England and Prussia tried to preserve the territorial integrity of the Ottoman State, for Prussia did not want Austria become to more powerful in the region.

Russia altering after Peter the Great and Iran changing after Nadir Shah fought against the Ottoman State. Until the accession of Maria Theresa to the throne, Austria was in ill terms with the Ottoman State. The way the mentioned countries had been changed a lot with the mentioned rulers, similarly the Ottoman State had gone under many alterations with Mahmud I. His policy of peace and yet going to war when required designated the relations of the period.

After the peace of Iran in 1746, the Ottoman State experienced a period of peace until 1768. It is highly interesting when we consider the prevalent conditions of the period. The situation west was in had been very effective in it, namely Austria had wars of successions 1740-1748, and War of Seven years 1756-1763. The period of peace, which started during the reign of Mahmud I covers the period of Osman III as well as the reign of Mustafa III

(1757-1774). By making some reforms, Mustafa III and Koca Ragip Pasha would use this situation to strengthen the army against Russia.⁴⁰²

It would not be wrong to state that Sultan Mahmud was a communal nationalist. He was very sensitive about the Glory of Islam. When Maria Theresa's husband was crowned and came to the power in Austria in 1745, he sent a marvelous envoy named Baron Penkler to Istanbul to inform about the accession of Austrian Emperor. Here at this imperial letter, at the section where there were titles for the Emperor, it was also written as the Kingdom of Jerusalem.⁴⁰³ Mahmud I was very annoyed with this and prevented the envoy to reach and deliver the letter to himself until the aforementioned title was removed. Upon the removal of the title, the envoy was accepted.⁴⁰⁴ Jerusalem is vitally significant for the Muslims. Hence, Mahmud I did not let him have this title. Here, Sultan Mahmud attempted to be the Caliph of all the Muslims.

18th century was also a period of the alliences. The ally Ottoman had with Sweden turned into a threat against Russia. The treaties of alliances as of 1726 that took between Austrian and Russia had also been elements of threats for the Ottoman State for many times.

The policy of getting together for self interests would cause troubles to the Ottoman State in the years ahead and pave the way for the emergence of Eastern Question. The European States, along with Austria and other states who preserved the territorial integrity of the Ottoman State, would also join in Russia's policy of invading the Ottoman State, which became very intense during the reign of Mahmud I. England and France used to preserve the territorial integrity of the Ottoman State owing to their self interest regarding trade. However, they joined the policy for not letting the Ottomans be captured by Russia and getting a share from the pie. This policy was pursued by England and France aso in the 19th century.

⁴⁰² Mantran, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi", 327

⁴⁰³ Aktepe, "Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Tarihi Mür'it-Tevarih" 1.

⁴⁰⁴ Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı Tarihi 4" Part 2, 201-202.

Compared to the periods before and after him, Sultan Mahmud was quite successful. He did not touch the treasury under his command. He even did trade of jewelry to earn his livelihood.⁴⁰⁵

In addition to the Treaty of Belgrade, the death of Nadir Shah paved the way for the commencement of an unexpected period in the Ottoman period. the country had a period of peace from 1746 to 1768. There had not been any such a period of 22 years without wars except 13 years between 1774 and 1787, and 6 years between 1792 and 1798. The country had not experienced any such a peaceful period until the Proclamation of the Republic.

As of the Karlowitz Treaty, the significance of the diplomacy increased in the 18th century. The defeats of the Ottomans in the war fields were replaced with diplomatic achievements. However, the State stood still with the help of diplomacy in the last two hundred years.

⁴⁰⁵ Ünal, "Türk Siyasi Tarihi," 35.

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1
ایلیهم شاه جنابک واردا اولون مورد نامه صلح خواجه بید

2
طرف اسی به ایلی مصطفی خاندن کلون مکتوبان خود کید

شاه مشارالیه تخت شاهی به جلوس ایدوب مقدماتاً مشارالیه کتوب
 عذری نادر شاه ارسال بودون نامه مصافحت خاتمه ها ایوانک
 مقصود نظر باد شاه جهت مراجع سلطان مراد خان رابع طابع
 زمانه نظر اولدی اوزدوب بن الدولین واقع اولون مصافحت خاتمه
 معلومی اولوب موافق و عبودی حاوی و بین الدولین اولون مصافحت
 و سلامیه فی محتوی عهد نامه لرامای دولت علیه به شایم اولوب
 و براننده محمد کیم خان ایله ارسال بودون نامه ها ایوانک
 صلح ضمنی منافی مصافحت اولون حرکتین اجتناب اولون ایوانک
 سرحدات اسلامییه ده اولون وزیر اوسانغ خطایا اوزدوب ایوانک
 اولدی فی تحریر اولغله شاه مشارالیه معلومی اولوب و براننده
 انشاری هفت و الا نعت ها ایوانک رفا حال رعایا و برابا به صورت
 اولدی فی مقصد اولغله شاه مشارالیه مقصودی دخی مطلب مزبور
 اولدی فی شرایط مصافحتاه رعایت و تحیا و زجدود دن مجابت اولون
 خصوصیت شاه مشارالیه دخی سجد لرغ اولون و قدر الیه تهنیه ایدوب
 و ایلی مصطفی خان نادر شاه و قرض امر سفارته ما مور اولدی فی شاه
 و ذلتنه من اعتبار و اعتماد شهراری اولون تقریبی ایله نادر شاهی
 و هدایای موهوبه فی ایصال و نوبان کما کنی فی نشید ایوانک اوزدوب خان
 موسی ایلی شاه مشارالیه دخی مجدد اسفارته ما مور انجلی طرف
 قانز انقیب خسرواته شاه مشارالیه بیوانک بیوانک برادر لری ندرله سن
 و دانا لر قیدن دروغ الفت و و داد شام مرانه رسیدن اولوب
 هر بار تنیقاً آقا ایله ابواب مهر و موافقتان قحقی شاه مشارالیه بافت
 ایسلاط خاری اولدی فی تحریر ایلیش

HAT 5/180

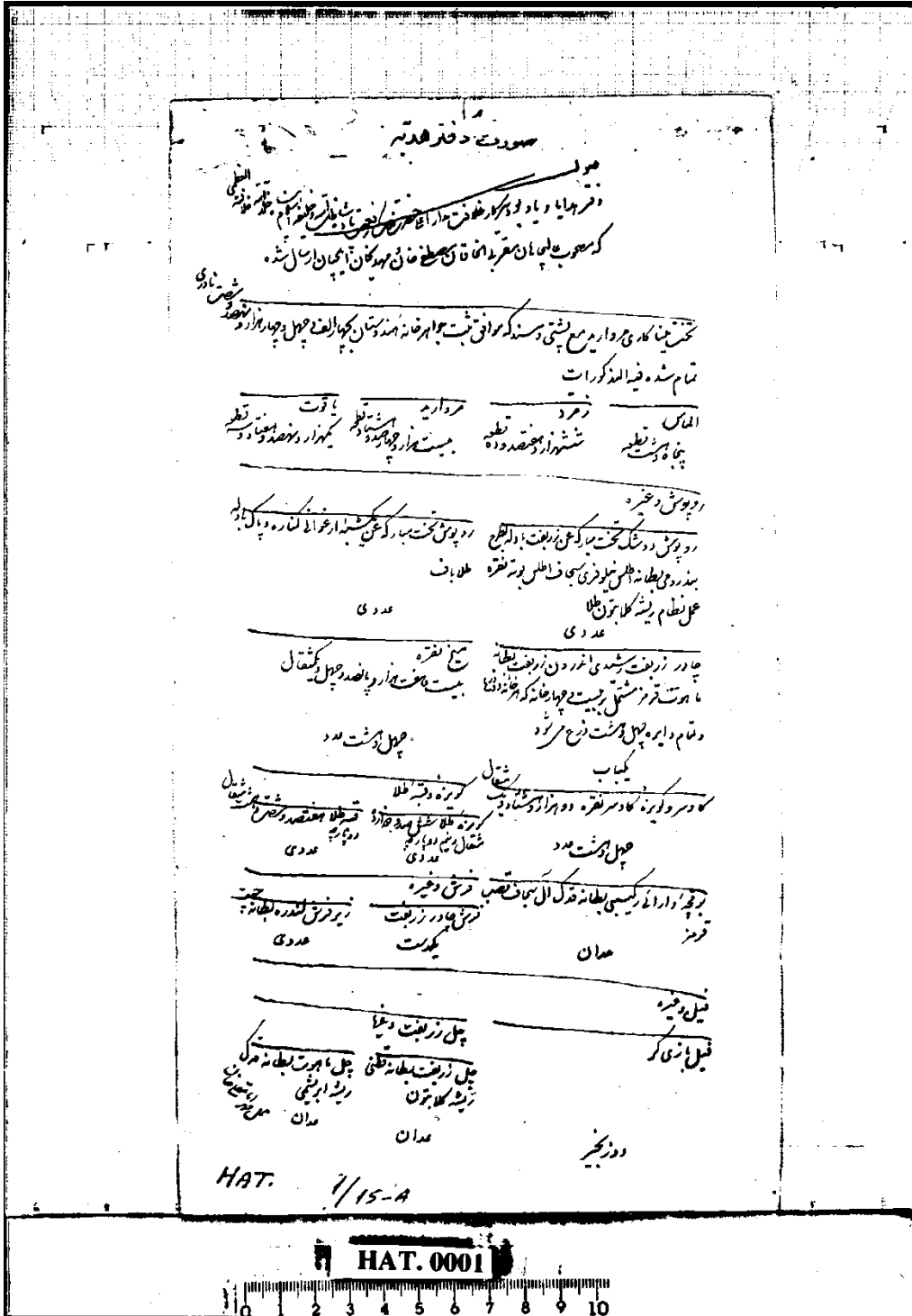
شاه مشارالیه مدتیاً کلون رفیق زوجه خود کید

شاه مشارالیه طرفین تحریر اولدان نامه فی مصطفی خان اولدی فی
 علیه ید عزیزت و امر سفارته مباد و قالی مقدماتاً خان موسی ایلی
 تنیه اولدی قرض موسی ایلی مبدیاً ندر طرف شاهی به مرهبعق
 اولون امر اولوب و براننده موسی ایلی مبدیاً ندر دخی مصطفی
 خان ایله سفارته ندر قحقی ارباب دولت علیه مراد ایدوب شاه
 مشارالیه معلومی اولون ندر قحقی موسی ایلی مبدیاً ندر
 و قرض امر سفارته ما مور اولدی اوزدوب ندر ایلی قحقی ایدوب
 مصطفی خان ایله برادر دولت علیه عازم اولسی تحریر ایلیش

مضمون رقم مزبور مبدیاً ندر مصطفی خان ایله سفاد رسادته کیمسیون
 اولوب ایلی مبدیاً ندر مصطفی خان ایله ایوانک خدمتین عفو و ایزدوب
 ایزدوب تحریر و مصطفی خان دخی موسی ایلی مبدیاً ندر قحقی ایدوب
 ایوانک باکر کیمسیون و موسی ایلی ایزدوب قحقی ایدوب ندر
 نشید فی مقصد خاتمه کیمسیون و کیمسیون ایزدوب رسادته
 ندر ایلی زوجه رفیق و ندر تحریر ایلیش

HAT. 0005

Appendix B: Hat Dosya 5, Gömlek 180. After the death of Nadir Shah the new ruler İbrahim Shah sent a letter to the Ottoman State for peace in 1749. It is a copy of this letter.

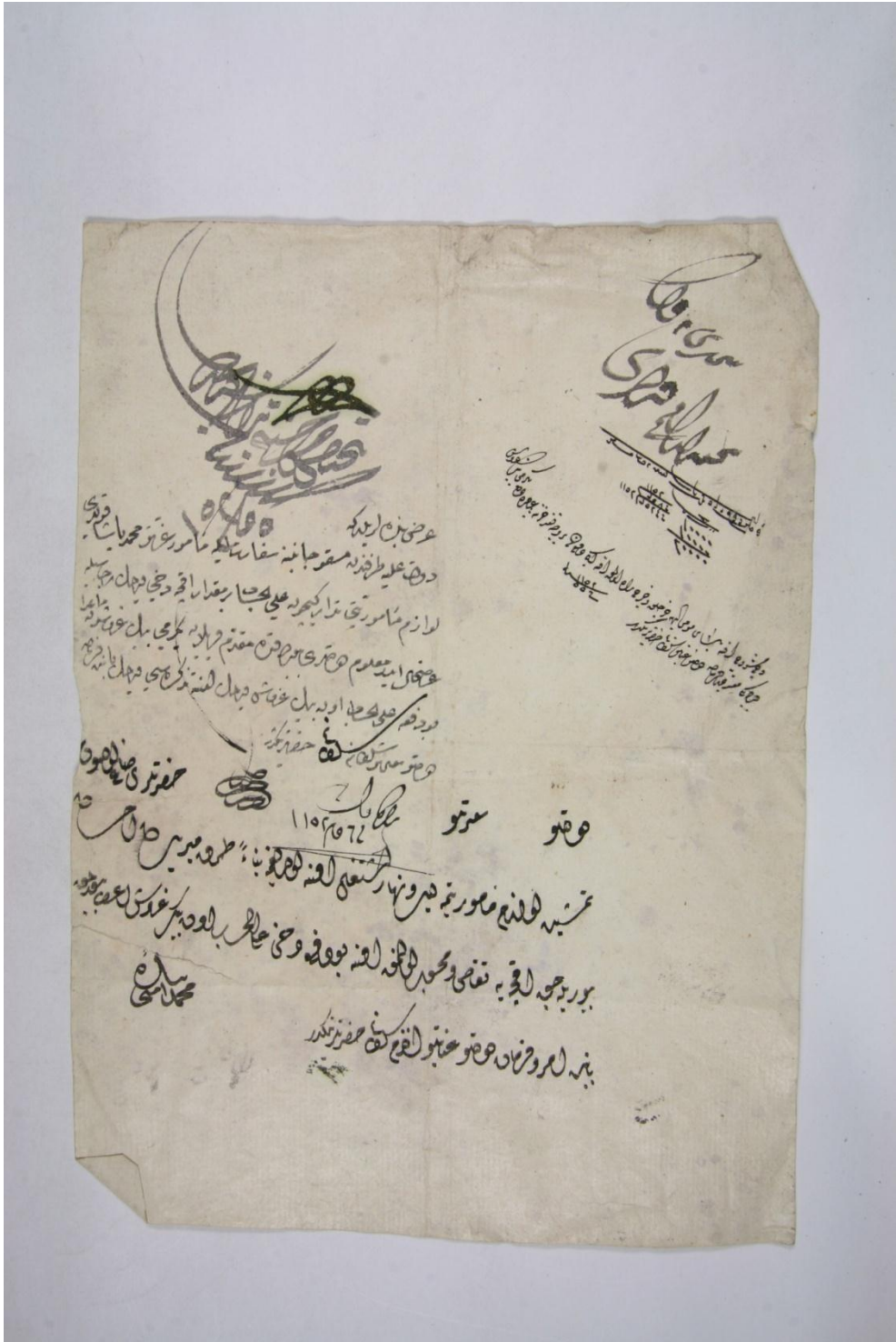


Appendix C: Hat Dosya 1, Gömlek 15-A. After the treaty Nadir Shah sent the presents to Mahmud I. There is a list of presents in detail. List is in Persian.

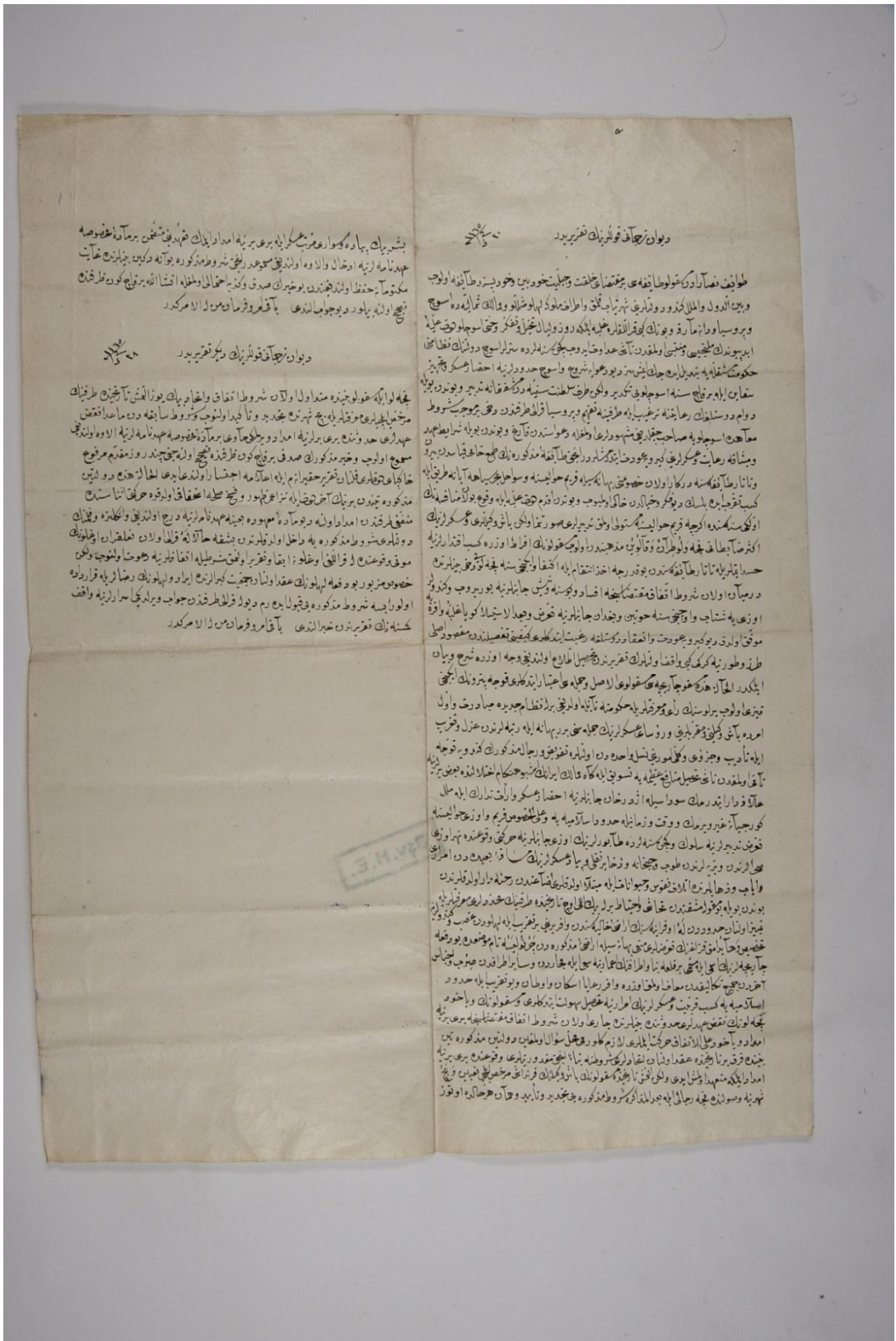


HRT.0190

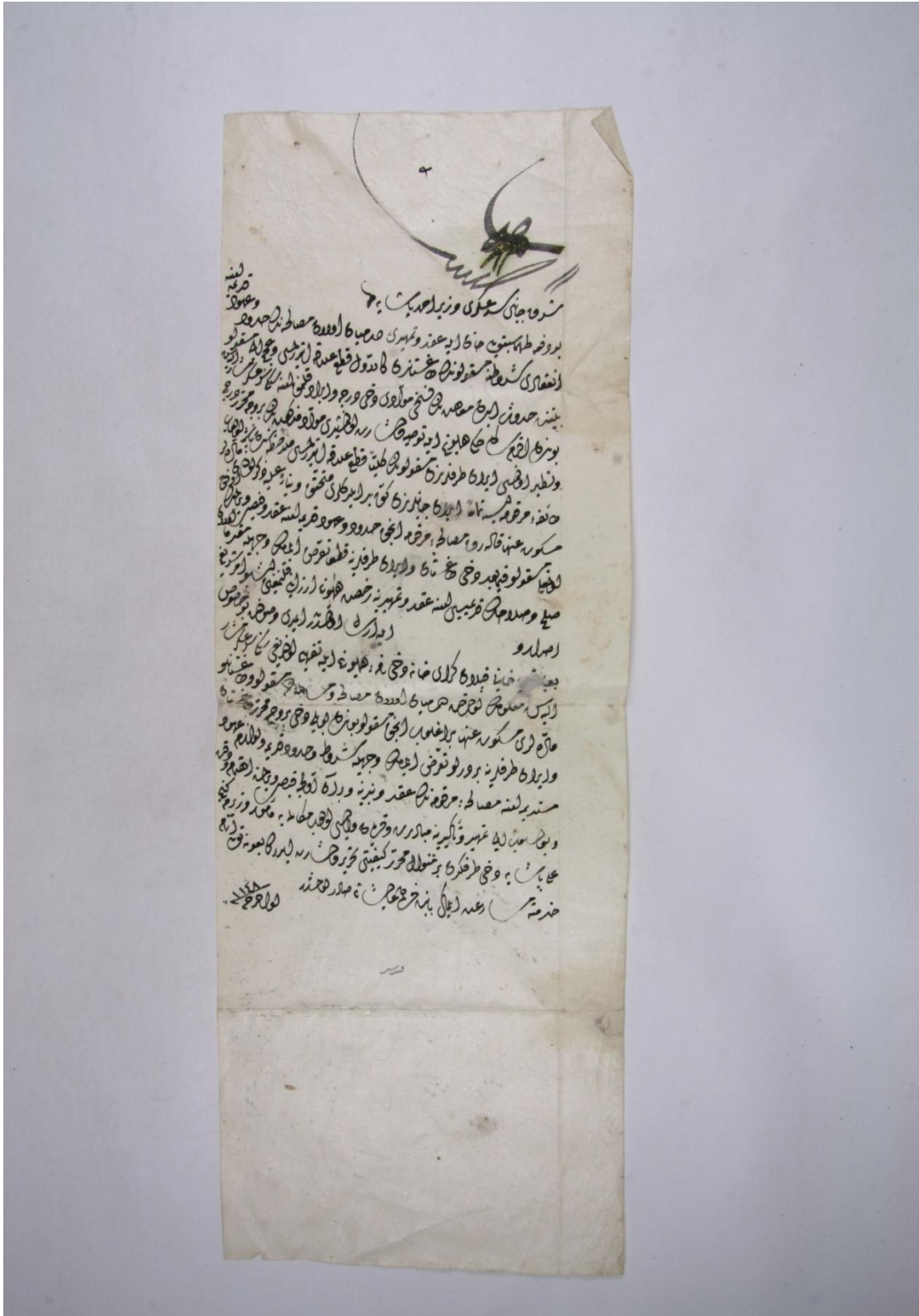
Appendix H: HRT.h. Dosya 190, 1739(1152) There is a map about Ottoman-Russia frontier I have found at BOA. This is a handmade map. It shows the north east of the Ottoman State, rivers, and some cities. It is Russian. The scale is 1\800 000.



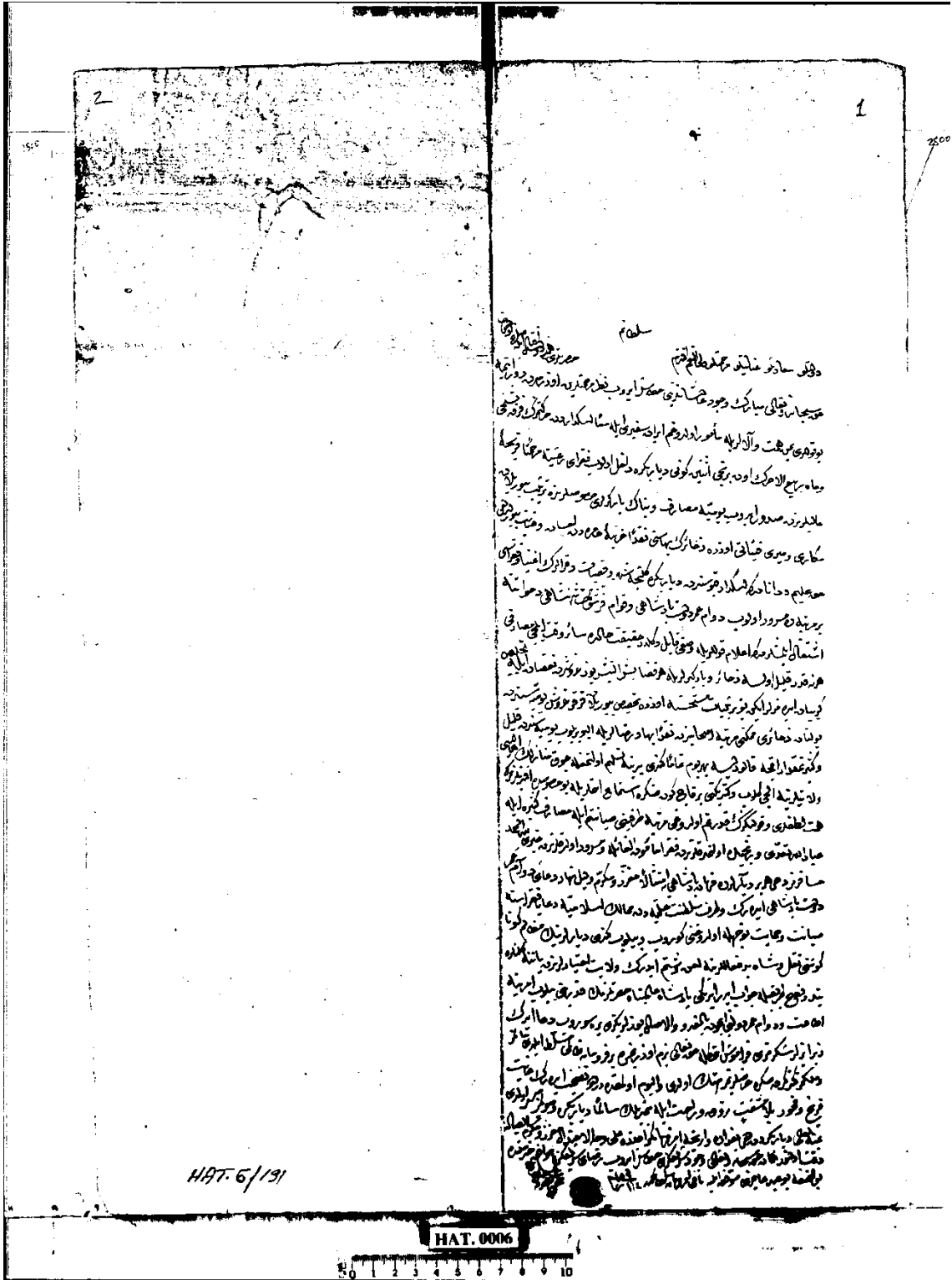
Appendix J: C.Hariciye Dosya 142, Gömlek 7094. Mehmed Emni Pasha represented a report for his needs during his travel.



Appendix K: C.Hariciye Dosya 166, Gömlek 8300. By a proposal given by Imperial Council in 1751, Russia's invasive policies in Europe and Asia were explained and it was also stated that Russia and Austria signed a treaty in Vienne in 1747.



Appendix L: C.Hariciye Dosya 148, Gömlek 736. The Ottoman State made an agreement. Owing to this treaty the Ottoman State sent a letter to Russia's Eastern Serasker Ahmed Pasha.

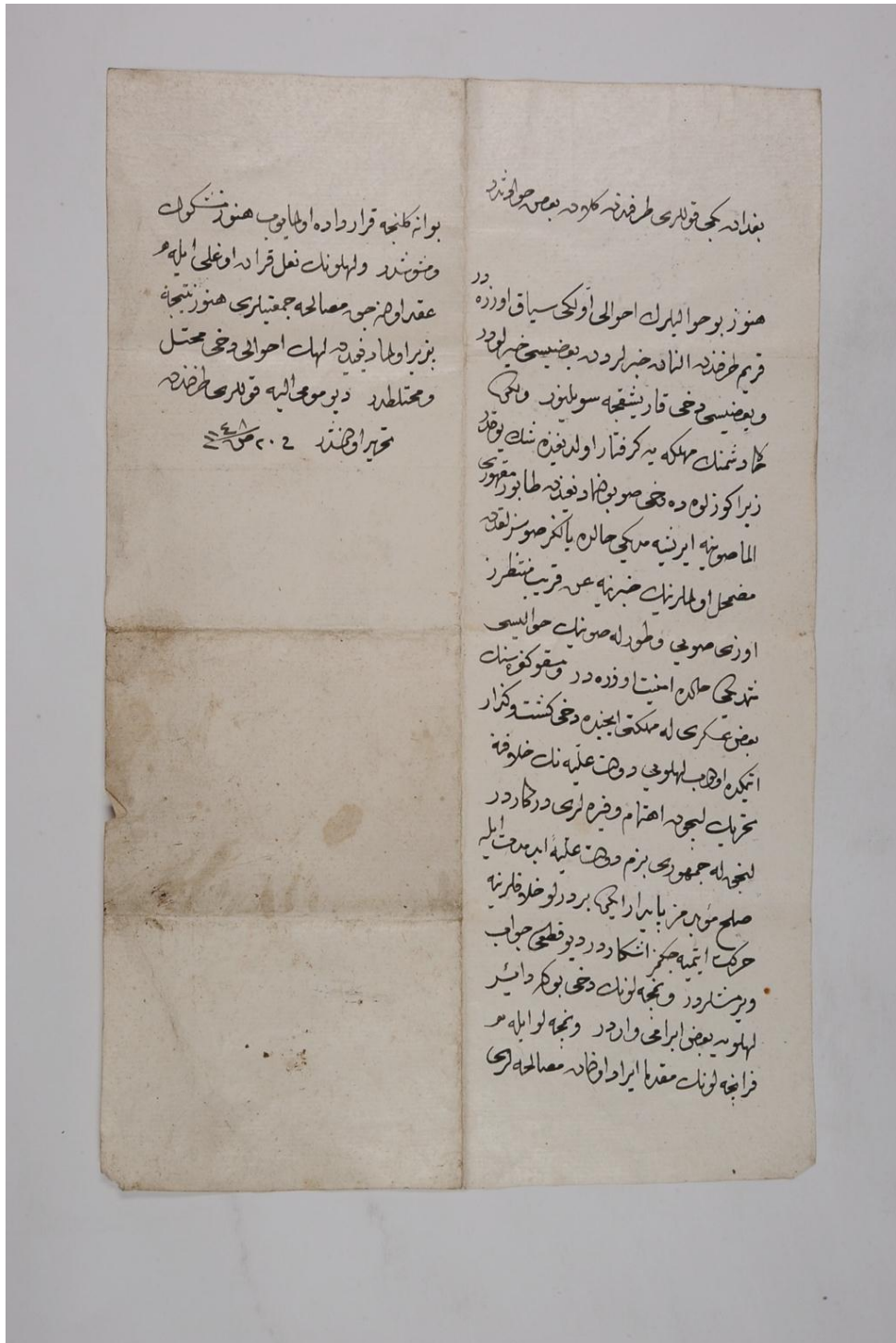


Appendix M: Hat Gömlek 6, Dosya 191. It is a letter was sent by Mehmed Aga.

مذیر مکرم سعادلو سرعسکر شاهی محمد پاشا حضرت به له ملکندان
یوسف نام باش بوشدن کلان مکتوبان نزحجه سید ۱۱۹۱

بوندن اقدام قار لوجیه نام حله عقد و تمهید و ضمان مصالحه
برو له جمهوری واقع اولان جمعیت مشورتلرین روض علیه ایله
اولان صلح و صلاحه رعایت و بعد فعا عقدا وضمان له جمعیتدن
کمال مرتبه دوستلغه رعایت و صیانت اولتوق اوزن قرد و برابوب
روض علیه دن دخی مرعات بیور بود دبو له جمهوریات مأمول
اولد یقندن حالا له ملکندان باش خطای فی مالات له اطرافنه
دوستلغان حفظ و صیانتنه متعلق کا عدل باروب کوندر کله
بود ایلدی دخی وظیفه م اوزن تا کیدا ولنه رف صلح و صلاحه
دایر کا عدلیم خیر اولوب له حدود دن اولان له عسکرینه
پراکند و اشاعه ابلشم و جناب سعادلو بوندن دوستانه اعلام
اولد یخی وجهه اوزن له جمهوری و بود ایلدی منون اولمشز
و روض علیه ایله له جمهوری بوندن صلح و اصلاح ایلامغ حفظ
و صیانت اولتوق خصوصندن کمال مرتبه ده ارنی و اشتیا قدم بوز
و جناب سعادلو بوندن دخی دوستلغ اوزن حسن حرکت اولنه جفان
مأمول این رز باقی دعوات خبریم لوبنه مشغول اولمشز در
میلا و حضرت عیسیانک بیک بیویز او قوز القیسنه سنه
ماه اغیستوسات اون بدیجی کوننده بار نام اهلوشه بوندن خبر
اولمشز

Appendix N: C.Hariciye, Dosya 139, Gömlek 6912. The chieftan of Poland (Yusef) sent a letter to the leader of the Ottoman soldier (serasker) in 1736. He wanted to go on peace between the Ottoman State and Poland.



بفراجه کجی قولری طرفه نه کلامه بعضی حواله
هنوز بو حواله لیک احوالی اولکی سیاق اوزده
قریم طرفه نه اناده خبر لر ده بعضی سیخه لر ده
و بعضی سیخی قاری شیغه سولیزد و کجی
کلامه نیک مملکه به کرفار اولدغین نیک بو
زیرا کوز لوه ده سی صونجه ادغینه طابور
المصونه ایرنه صی حاله بالکنر صون لوقه
مضعل اولار نیک جنبه نه عن قریب منتظر
اوزی صوبی و طوله صونیک حواله سی
تهدجی حاله احتی اوزده در و مو کوفه نیک
بعضی مکر له مملکتی اجینه دخی کشته و کفار
ایکنه اولوب اهلوی دوش علیه نیک خلوقه
سخر لیک لجه نه اهتمام و قریه لری در کار در
لبنجه نه جمهور سی بزم دوش علیه ایدر مت ایل
صالح مو بزم با بار ایکی بر در نو خلوقه نیک
حرکت ایتمه کجی انکار در دیو فطی حواله
و بر شرد و نجه لوند دخی بوک دایر
اهلوی بعضی برای وارد و نجه لوا به
فراجه لوند مقدا ایراد افاضه مصالحه سی

بوانه طنجه قرار داده اولوب هنوز نیک
و نوندر و له لوند نعل قرار اولوب
عقد اولوب حواله مصالحه جمعیله سی هنوز تبعه
بیرا اولادغین لهک احوالی دخی محتمل
و محتلد دبر مو حواله قولری طرفه
تحریر اولدند ۲۰۲۰ ص ۲

Appendix P: C.Hariciye Dosya 129, Gömlek 6426. Russia worked to break the relations between the Ottoman State and Poland. Russia used many instruments. One of them was to use the predecessors in Poland against the Ottoman State. But Russia could not be successful in this aim. The *voivoda* of Boğdan wrote a report fort his subject in 1735.