

**THE FIRST SPANISH AMBASSADOR TO THE SUBLIME PORTE: JUAN
DE BOULIGNY AND HIS EARLY ACTIVITIES IN ISTANBUL BASED ON
HIS DIARY**

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İSTANBUL ŞEHİR UNIVERSITY

JANUARY 2015

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HIS DIARY**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
İSTANBUL ŞEHİR UNIVERSITY**

BY

AYŞE ÇİÇEK ÜNAL

**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN
HISTORY**

JANUARY 2015

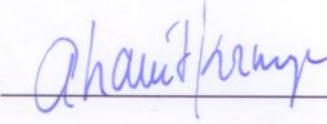
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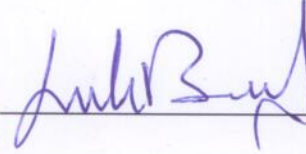
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A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'A. Çiçek Ünal', written in a cursive style.

ABSTRACT

THE FIRST SPANISH AMBASSADOR TO THE SUBLIME PORTE: JUAN DE BOULIGNY AND HIS EARLY ACTIVITIES IN ISTANBUL BASED ON HIS DIARY

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January 2015, 118 pages

The purpose of this study is to identify the relationship between Spain and the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century, based on the diary of the first Spanish ambassador, Juan de Bouligny. He was appointed by the Spanish court to negotiate Peace and Trade Agreements and he stayed for nearly three years (May, 1779–September 1782) in Constantinople. This fully comprehensive diary allows us to see the agreement process through the lens of Spanish plenipotentiary. The questions this study addresses are: (1) in which conjuncture was the agreement signed between these two great powers, (2) what was the function of this agreement, (3) which procedures were conducted throughout the agreement process, and (4) which networks and operations of the Spanish plenipotentiary took place in Constantinople. With the endeavours of diligent plenipotentiary, the agreement process reached a conclusion, however; the newly changed conjuncture did not allow it to be practiced. The French invasion in Egypt and un-going wars in Europe deteriorated the relations between Spain and the Ottoman Empire. The scope of this study does not include the aftermath of the agreement, as the study mainly focuses on investigating the diary and the agreement process. I used an inductive method regarding Bouligny's statements and notes, and I have revealed a complete and proper picture of the relationship between the two countries. The story arc was supported and completed by secondary sources with the aim of positioning the agreement in Ottoman diplomacy and the international relations of that era. I have examined the peculiarities of the diary by looking at the negotiations with foreign countries in a comparative perspective. This study will shed light on Bouligny's life, and his actions in Constantinople as well as his mission as an envoy. This thesis will contribute to diplomatic studies in international relations in history.

Keywords: diplomacy, the relations between Spain and the Ottoman Empire, Juan de Boulogne, foreign ambassadors, peace negotiations

ÖZ

BABIÂLİ'DE İLK İSPANYOL ELÇİSİ: JUAN DE BOULIGNY VE ONUN GÜNLÜĞÜ ÜZERİNDEN BABIÂLİ'DEKİ FAALİYETLERİ

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Tez Danışmanı: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Kahraman Şakul

Ocak 2015, 118 sayfa

Bu çalışmanın amacı ilk İspanyol elçisi Juan de Bouligny'nin günlüğü üzerinden XVIII. Yüzyıl İspanya-Osmanlı ilişkilerini incelemektir. İspanya devleti tarafından Barış ve Ticaret anlaşması yapmak üzere görevlendirilen Bouligny İstanbul'da yaklaşık üç yıl kalmıştır. Onun İstanbul'da bulunduğu süreçte kaleme aldığı günlüğü süreci İspanyol elçinin perspektifinden görmemizi sağlayacaktır. Bu çalışmada ele alınan problematikler şunlardır: İspanya-Osmanlı devleti arasındaki anlaşma nasıl bir konjonktürde yapılmıştır? Bu anlaşma süreci nasıl yürütülmüştür? İspanyol elçinin İstanbul'da bulunduğu bu süreçte faaliyetleri nelerdir ve diğer elçilerle arasında nasıl bir network vardır? İspanyol elçinin gayreti ve çabasıyla anlaşma süreci başarıyla nihayete ermiştir ancak bu anlaşmanın kısa sürede uygulanması pek mümkün olmamıştır. Fransız ihtilali ile tamamen değişen uluslararası konjonktür, ardından Mısır'ın Fransız deniz kuvvetleri tarafından işgal edilmesi Osmanlı-İspanya ilişkilerinin zedelenmesine neden olmuştur. Ancak bu çalışma günlük merkezinde sadece anlaşma sürecini incelediğinden anlaşma sonrası süreç çalışmanın kapsamına dahil edilmemiştir. Çalışmada, Bouligny'nin notları ve anlatıları üzerinden bütüncü bir yöntem kullanılarak o dönem Osmanlı-İspanya ilişkilerinin tam ve doğru bir resmini çizmeye çalışılmıştır. Anlaşmanın Osmanlı diplomasisi ve uluslar arası ilişkiler açısından fonksiyonunun anlaşılması amacıyla ilişkiler ağı ikincil kaynaklarla tamamlanmış ve tashih edilmiştir. İletişim ağı analizi yapılarak İspanyol elçinin diğer elçilerle görüşmeleri incelenmiştir. Ayrıca günlükte anlatılanların hususî yahut genel özellikler taşıyıp taşımadığını görebilmek için Osmanlı devletinin diğer Avrupa devletleri ile anlaşma süreçlerine karşılaştırmalı bir perspektifle bakılmıştır. Bu çalışma ilk İspanyol elçisi ve onun günlüğü üzerine Türkiye'de yapılan ilk çalışmadır. Bu nedenle tezin bu alandaki boşluğu doldurması amaçlanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: diplomasi, Osmanlı-İspanya ilişkileri, Juan de Bouligny, yabancı elçiler, anlaşma süreci

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the academic staff of the History Department of Istanbul Şehir University for providing an intellectual atmosphere for students and for supporting academic studies. I took several classes on Ottoman history, historiography, and paleography from Prof. Kemal KARPAT, Mehmet GENÇ, Prof. Engin Deniz AKARLI and Assoc. Prof. Abdulhamit KIRMIZI. I am indebted to these distinguished scholars for their assistance and guidance during my graduate studies. I did not have a chance to take courses from my advisor, Assist. Prof. Kahraman ŞAKUL but our tutorials, which lasted for months contributed greatly to my thesis. I owe inexpressible debt to my advisor for his comments and suggestions to better understanding the era studied.

I wish to thank the Academic Writing Center, especially Rana Marcella ÖZENÇ and Yakoob Ahmed who assisted me in writing better. They contributed with comments, suggestions, and critical revisions. I have to admit that this thesis could not be done without the support and encouragement of Rana Marcella ÖZENÇ. She has patiently spent much time and effort not only for me but for numerous students.

I would like to offer my special thanks to the staff of the International Relations Office, Hatice Melek TAŞÇI and Yasemin KILIT for making ERASMUS Training Agreements and conducting all procedures for students. I could achieve to actualize my dream with their support. I went to Spain via the ERASMUS Training Program for three months. I was supported financially by ERASMUS, TÜBİTAK and İstanbul Şehir University. TUBITAK also financially supported me during my undergraduate and graduate studies. I am grateful to these institutions, because it would not be possible to cover all stipends and financial concerns.

I want to thank to Prof. Emilio Gonzales FERRIN, the professor in Seville University, who accepted my ERASMUS application. He gave me a chance to benefit from the ERASMUS program and more so from Spain, enabling me to write my thesis on the diary of Spanish plenipotentiary, in June 2013.

I would like to express my many thanks to the coordinator of Türk Kültürüne Hizmet Vakfı, Şerafettin YILMAZ who encouraged me to have the propose of serving my country, and not to only aim for individual benefit. He has dedicated himself to the

education of Turkish students. During my studies in Spain, I was provided a grant from this institution.

Another person who has supported me is the president of Instituto Cervantes, Pablo Martin ASUERO. He has assisted me while reading the hand-written Spanish diary. He spared his valuable time to read and explain some conceptions in the diary. Since then, I have begun special courses in Instituto Cervantes to advance my Spanish knowledge. I wish to thank all my Spanish instructors in Cervantes.

I would like to express my gratitude to the president of ISIS Publication, Sinan KUNERALP who encouraged me to study the diary. He considered that this unique source belonging to the first Spanish ambassador is valuable and significant for studies on diplomacy.

I would like to thank Assist. Prof. Faruk BAL, one of the members of my thesis committee, for looking after me in Spain, as a father would his daughter. I had not been able to arrange accommodation until my arrival to Madrid. I had been in need for help, and he introduced a friend of his family who welcomed me as guest for a long time. I owe him greatly for assisting me in collecting documents from the archives, helping me apply to the libraries to become member, and familiarizing me with the city. He also continued to help me in Istanbul during my studies.

Special thanks to the professor with whom I met by coincidence in front of my office in the Süleymaniye Library. Assoc. Prof. Chakib BENAFRI had sent me a bibliography on this topic and his dissertation via e-mail nearly three years ago from Algeria. He assisted me in deciding on my topic and in choosing the sources I used in my thesis. He patiently answered questions I asked to understand the issue concisely.

A number of members of the Spanish archive (Archivo Historico Nacional de Madrid) and libraries have been of help in various ways. One of the most prominent libraries, CSIC (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas) provided a comfortable working environment and endless sources. Prof. Miguel Angel BUNES IBARRA, professor in Instituto de Historia, assisted me in reading some archival documents. I also have to admit that without his mediation, I could not be able to attain all documents I needed. His moral and financial support allowed me to gain academically further benefit.

I received also help from the staff of Ottoman Archives (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi), ISAM (Centre for Islamic Studies) in Istanbul, and staff of the library of

Istanbul Sehir University. I owe many thanks to the staff members of these libraries for their material support.

Finally and above all, I express my deepest gratitude to my dearest family. This dissertation could not be completed without supports of my husband, Yusuf ÜNAL and my parents, Sultan and Ekrem ÇİÇEK. I am thankful to my dearest sisters Havva, Fatma, Kübra and my brother Yunus expecting for my achievements. They motivated me to continue in academy after graduating from TOBB University in Ankara. However, Istanbul the city in my dreams and the persons I have met here facilitated to achieve my purpose. I would like to thank my neighbours and my friends, Zeynep ERÇETİN, Fatma Sultan AKTAŞ, Ayşe Gül AKTAŞ, Merve İZİN, Feyza ERDEN, Şeyma ÇAYIRPINAR, Esra CÜCEN, Betül BÜLBÜL, Sema AYZ and Elena AQUARIO. This thesis is dedicated to my lovely son, Ahmet Berâ.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

“Eğerçe maslahatın o kadar ehemmiyeti yok
ise de bu vukuat ol vaktin ahval-i
cariyesini bildireceğinden bazı mertebe tafsiline
mübaderet olunmak münasip görülmüştür.”¹

In the eighteenth century Mediterranean powers, Spain and the Ottoman Empire reached a compromise by signing a Peace and Trade Agreement after a long period fraught with numerous wars and quarrels. This agreement was a turning point in the history of Ottoman-Spanish relations. One wonders what kind of motives and international conjuncture lead these term opponents to such a compromise. Who were the main architects of this agreement?

This thesis attempts to answer these questions relying on mainly the diary of Juan de Bouligny, the first Spanish plenipotentiary sent to Istanbul. He was one of the most important figures who played a crucial role in reaching the Agreement between the two powers. His diary provides the reader with invaluable data about the peace process and negotiations. Bouligny started to pen his diary when the process begun and continued to write until the Agreement was brokered successfully. His diary not only does provide the precious accounts about the process leading to the agreement, but also sheds a new light on the political atmosphere of that particular era in both Ottoman Empire and Spain. Throughout the process Bouligny immersed himself in numerous diplomatic negotiations with Ottoman statesmen owing to which he had a chance to make keen observations about the Ottoman bureaucracy and the socio-political life in Ottoman Empire. His observations are so valuable in understanding the complicated nature of the diplomatic relations between the Ottoman Empire and Spain.

The diary forms the basis for the present study, though our study is not restricted to the accounts provided by the diary. Many documents and reports, available in the Spanish and Ottoman archives related to the period under discussion, were used to delineate the social-political atmosphere of the period in which the agreement was procured. It was not an easy task though, because it required a painstaking research to be able to sort out documents related to the period and the

¹Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, *Cevdet Tarihi*, v.I, p. 256

agreement among many other Ottoman archival materials which have been uncatalogued so far.

Though the diary has a great significance for the period in question, there has been no particular study about it in English or Turkish so far; neither do we have any study about its author. This thesis attempts to fill this gap and to draw a complete picture about the author and his text in its particular context by relying on the data gleaned from the primary and secondary Turkish and Spanish archival documents and other sources, this might be seen as one of the main contributions of this thesis. One can say that Spain is *terra incognita* for Turkish historians. It is hoped that this study will encourage students who are interested in history of Spain to conduct further research. This thesis also provides a general bibliography as a starting point for those interested in the matter.

On 18 June 2013, my adventure began. It had been nearly two hundred and twenty five years since the Spanish plenipotentiary, Juan de Bouligny, had departed from this world. I arrived at Barcelona; the city that saw Bouligny off, from its harbour on 5 December 1778. I endeavoured to trace his path and discover his story, which would enable us to perceive the once existing complex networks among various cities and countries of that era.

I did some background research before this journey. I had been prepared for my journey a long time as I took Spanish classes, including several practice and speaking courses, as well I read much on this topic, researched the culture and the history of Spain, found information about the Spanish archives and libraries, and I consulted professors about this study. I contacted many foreign professors by e-mail, and I applied for scholarship. It is sufficient to say my short journey took a long time. However, I have to admit this precious experience encouraged me for further studies with a broader interdisciplinary perspective. I discovered the treasure of documents about the Ottoman-Spain relations in the archives and libraries awaiting scholars. I had spent much of my time in the Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid (AHN) and libraries that provide a comfortable working environment and endless sources for readers, as well as the Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás affiliated to CSIC (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas), and the Biblioteca Nacional, and Real Academia de la Historia. In my thesis, I chose to focus on one source, the diary of Juan de Bouligny to be able to comprehend it in detail, yet I attained many dispatches of Bouligny to use in my dissertation.

I examined the relations between the two powers and the peace negotiations mentioned in this diary, also the memories, operations, and the perspective of the plenipotentiary. In the first chapter, I aimed to draw the frame of my thesis by explaining historical facts experienced in Spain during the era concerned. One can see the scarcity of sources written in Turkish. It is also not possible to attain sources written in English or Spanish in Turkey. Thanks to my investigation in Spain, I have created my own archive including documents, books, articles and some dissertations on the social and political history of Spain in the eighteenth century. Some of the books I used in this part are: Vicente Palacio Atard, *Espana y el Mar en el Siglo de Carlos III*, G.P. Stanley, *La Espana de los Borbones*, Joseph Perez, *Historia de Espana*, C.Fernandez Duro, *España en el exterior. Compendio histórico [siglos XIII-XIX]*, Antonio Dominguez Ortiz, *Sociedad y Estado en el siglo XVIII Espanol*, Juan Hernandez Franco, *La Gestion Politica y el Pensamiento Reformista de Conde de Floridablanca*, Manuel Rivero Rodriguez, *Diplomacia y Relaciones Exteriores en la Edad Moderna, 1453-1794*, Mawdsley Hargreaves, *Eighteenth Century Spain 1700-1788*.

After the depiction of the historical conjuncture increasing the inclination of the Spanish court to attempt to cooperate with the Ottoman Empire, I aimed to link the facts I found to the topic. In other words, I especially chose the historical facts that had great impact on the agreement process in compliance with the revised approach to diplomacy. In this new approach, it is necessary to link the interior policy of a power to its exterior affairs. During the historical processes of the eighteenth century, the changing of the dynasty in Spain, the prolonged economic, commercial and colonial wars, and the transformation of the system by reforms, opponents' rebellions, and plans to expand the trade hegemony were the topics and the conflicts with which the country dealt. Understanding the pillars of the Spanish policy and the conjuncture facilitates seeing the importance and the position of the agreement between the two powers.

Carlos III, the king of Naples who ascended the throne of Spain sent Juan de Bouligny with the mission of offering the Ottomans an extension of the treaty signed between Naples and the Ottomans in 1740. The appointment of Bouligny who was not from the ruling class is discussed in the following part. I introduced Bouligny according to data I collected on him. The limited sources used in this part are as follows: Fontaine Martin, *A History of Bouligny Family and Allied Families*, Didier

I examined the content of the diary with additional explanations related to the notes of Boulogne in order to complete the whole picture. I preferred to give brief information about Ottoman bureaucracy, as well as prominent characters such as Cezayirli Kaptan Hasan Paşa and the historical events in Constantinople. I used the method of text analysis to read the letters in detail. To eliminate the subjectivity of the main source it was required to check the information by cross-referencing other sources. I used some documents located in the Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid (AHN). The documents in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives (BOA) let me compare two distinctive perceptions. I need to admit I did not see any contradiction between the diary and these documents.

In order to reach precise understanding and complete a thorough examination of the peculiarities of the relationship between Spain and the Ottoman Empire, it was necessary for this study to compare the process with those of other European countries. I compared the process with that of Poland, Prussia, Naples, and Sweden. The sources I referred to are: Kemal Beydilli, *Büyük Friedrich ve Osmanlılar*, Fatih Yeşil, *Aydınlanma çağında bir Osmanlı kâatibi Ebubekir Râtib Efendi (1750-1799)*, Hacer Topaktaş, “Dersaadet’te Son Leh Elçisi: Franciszek Piotr Potocki’nin Elçiliği Ekseninde Osmanlı-Leh Diplomatik İlişkileri ve Uluslararası Boyutu (1788-1793)”, Ed. Sture Theolin, *İmparatorluğun meşalesi: XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun genel görünümü ve Ignatius Mouradgea d’Ohsson = The Torch of the Empire: Ignatius Mouradgea d’Ohsson and the tableau general of the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*”. We can see the same complaints in all examples regarding the incident such as on the suspension of negotiations, the problem of presenting valuable gifts to the bureaucrats to convince them, and long negotiations for the interests of the countries.

1.1. Literature Review

In this study, Ottoman diplomacy is not examined under a separate title. Thus it would be useful to review the studies on the eighteenth century Ottoman diplomacy to understand the framework within which negotiations of Boulogne took place. In this part, I aim to delineate the diplomatic system of that period by discussing the fundamental questions about the era.

The common view accepted by Hurewitz, Anderson, and Naff is the argument based on the Holy Law (*şeri’a*) according to which the Ottoman Empire remained theoretically at war with the infidel world. With a belief in permanent war with

European nation states, the Ottomans cannot of course have been expected to have a positive attitude toward diplomacy. J. C. Hurewitz, in his article “Ottoman Diplomacy and the European States System”, tries to answer the essential question of the Ottoman diplomacy: “unilateralism”. He alleges that the Ottomans unilateral diplomacy was based on the following reasons:

No sultan at the time ever made such a request; nor was there any compelling reason for him to do so. European unilateralism in fact, must have seemed to the Imperial Ottoman Government acknowledgement of its superiority. The commercial motive was absent. Islamic tradition reinforced unilateralism. In the late eighteenth century, the Empire had lost its strength in comparison to the European powers and had to establish resident embassies as part of its reform attempts.²

Thomas Naff, in “Reform and Conduct in Ottoman Diplomacy in the Reign of Selim III”, similarly argues that western ideas gradually began to overcome the barriers of Muslim prejudice against all things Christian and the evolution towards the modern nation-state of Turkey had begun during the reign of Selim III. Anderson in *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy 1450–1919* repeated that there were several reasons for the Ottomans’ lack of interest in establishing bilateral diplomatic relations with Europe. First of all, it controlled a large territory and the greatest military resources in the Mediterranean region. Also, it had an ‘unshakable sense of superiority’ to the entire Christian world. Nuri Yurdusev criticizes the prevalent view simplifying the topic from different aspects. His critique of Anderson is plausible: “In his analysis, one does not find any discussion of those terms in Islamic law, what is meant by Islamic religious conservatism and what the historical record could tell us about the existence or absence of ‘diplomatic’ relations and regular contacts between the Ottoman Empire and Europe.” In his book *Ottoman Diplomacy Conventional or Unconventional?* claims that in fact, when the actual historical record is taken into account, it is clear that the Ottoman Empire was not a theocracy based on holy law. The *kanun/yasa* of the Ottoman sultan was significant in the sphere of diplomacy. He also emphasizes the Ottoman pragmatism in the interpretation of Islamic perceptions in accordance with the interests of the court. This policy is evident in, *ahdname* to guarantee the security and freedom of non-Muslim Ottoman subjects as well.

² J.C. Hurewitz, “Ottoman Diplomacy and the European State System”, p. 146

The Peace and Trade Agreement between Spain and the Ottoman Empire is one of the most important examples of the Ottomans' pragmatic policy. Reis'ül-küttab [hereafter, Reis Efendi] asked the Spanish plenipotentiary for the advantages of the treaty offered not only for economy but also for political benefits. One can observe that the diplomatic usages of the Sublime Porte and its procedures caused the dissatisfaction of the foreign envoys. For Cevdet Paşa, the Sublime Porte focused on the imminent war with Russia so the Porte gave priority to the precautions and political alliances on the eve of a possible struggle instead of peace and trade agreement with any countries. Spanish envoy had addressed the commercial benefits of the agreement but the Porte considered that it would be reasonable to postpone the conduct of the negotiations for an indefinite time. Indeed, Spain would have been more important to the Ottomans if its naval forces had achieved to take over the control of Gibraltar from the Great Britain who had occupied the spot since the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713. In that case, The Ottoman side would be more willing to sign any treaty ensuring Spanish assistance and preventing Russian influence in the Mediterranean.

Cevdet Paşa examines the negotiation process between the Porte and Spanish envoy in detail. He explains the reason why he gave considerable space for these negotiations in his work: "the aim is to depict the circumstances at that era; even if the affairs at the agreement process were not significant". The gist of Cevdet's elaborate history is to distinguish the peculiarities of the Ottoman diplomacy on the example of Ottoman- Spanish negotiations. Cevdet Paşa also argued the paradigm that the Ottomans adopted of the hypocritical diplomacy, selling the mouth of a diplomat or uttering vague words in diplomatic language. One can see that this paradigm was effective in the period studied.

Hüseyin Serdar Tabakoğlu mostly refers *Tarih-i Cevdet* in his thesis. Tabakoğlu also considered the archival documents used by Cevdet Paşa. His thesis is really important as it was the first modern study on the topic based on the Ottoman archives. The perspective of the foreign envoy, notwithstanding another contribution of my thesis is the discussion of the Spanish political background of the treaty. This enables us to see the underlying reasons initiating the attempt to sign the agreement with the Ottoman Empire.

Kemal Beydilli, the pioneer studying the Ottoman diplomacy of late eighteenth century, lays out the mindset of the Sublime Porte in his work, "Dış Politika ve Siyasi Ahlak." Ottoman real-politics was based on ambiguous statements, noncommittal

stance, and delaying tactics. These are the usual Ottoman tactics that Boulogny also complains about throughout his memoirs. Following Cevdet Paşa, Beydilli also attributes the Ottoman pragmatic policy to the vulnerability and debility of the Empire at that period. Thus, the Ottoman diplomacy inevitably adapted to the European state system based on balance of power through signing alliances. It would contribute to continuity and integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

Yasemin Gönen in his thesis, “The Integration of the Ottoman Empire into the European State System during the Reign of Sultan Selim III”, analyses this process within the framework of European diplomacy. She discusses three main concepts; European state system, international law and balance of power in explaining certain historical events. Gönen remarks that in the XVIII. century, the Ottomans could not remain outside the European state system and balance of power. Thus, during the reign of Selim III, the Ottomans resorted to all tools of the state system: permanent diplomacy, alliance, and international law. Also, the law of neutrality began to develop and the Ottoman Empire for the first time, declared its neutrality at the end of the XVIII. century. She also discusses the concept of Eastern Question, one of the controversial issues in the Ottoman diplomacy. She asserts that the term was invented after the first partitioning of Polish-Lithuania Commonwealth in 1772, Küçük Kaynarca in 1774, and of Venice by France in 1790. According to her, this was not so much an eastern or western question as the question of expansionism at the expense of the weakest states. The Ottoman Empire became one of these weakest countries after the great losses in wars after 1683. Kahraman Şakul also underlines the controversy about the usage of the term, *Eastern Question*. Some historians see the question as going back to the 14th century or second siege of Vienna in 1683. Şakul, discusses the dimension of this term used as a code to cover a number of questions: Romanian Principalities, the Serbian Revolt, and French Invasion of Egypt. He assesses that the historians attempt to explain the entire history of relations between Europe and the Ottoman Empire by using this term.

Rıfaat Abou-el- Haj underlines the role of the military disaster in Zenta signalling an end to Ottoman hopes for a forcible recovery of territories lost to the Allies. In his article, “Ottoman Diplomacy at Karlowitz” he underlines that war rather than compromise had been its chosen and preferred instrument of international intercourse with Europe. However, military reversals unfolded the necessity to develop formal apparatus for diplomatic communication and the corps of trained

personnel a requisite for the negotiations. The agreement analysed in this thesis sets an example which shows us the indispensability of compromises against an archenemy, Russia and the functions of the bureaucratic system. He clarifies the principle of “*uti possidetis*” on the Karlowitz case. The Ottoman side negotiated in pursuant of this principle without expectation and restriction. This idea would be conducted by the Ottoman bureaucrats throughout the eighteenth century. Fatih Yeşil, in his book namely *Avrupa’ya Mensûb Olan Mizân-ı Umûr-ı Hariciyye Beyânındadır*, remarks that the scope of the policy based on status quo would be drawn by the power of military forces. However, the decreasing military power would not extend the scope so the role of the diplomacy became more crucial.

The corps of diplomacy was examined by Itzkowitz in his article, “Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities.” He argues that one of the eighteenth century realities was the creation of a new kind of top-level Ottoman staff. He coned this transformation as ‘Efendi-turned Paşa’ –a term that became popular in the literature. In this system, Reis Efendis were promoted to Paşas and even served as provincial governors unlike in previous centuries. He gives a long list of the bureaucrats to support his argument. Rami Mehmet and Mehmet Ragıp Paşa were the professional bureaucrats who served as Grand Vizier. The main discussion in his article is the views of Lybyer and Gibb and Bowen who viewed the Ottoman administrative system in a simplistic way and depicted it as a combination of ‘the Ruling Institution’ and ‘the Moslem Institution’. Itzkowitz asserts that they present no new supporting evidence from Ottoman sources and base their thesis on ambassadorial and consular reports, memoirs, and travel accounts. For him, the Ottoman system was rested on at least three pillars corresponding to the three main career lines: kalemîye, seyfiye and ilmiye. His delineation is based on the career lines rather than religion.

The anonymous pamphlet, “*Avrupa’ya Mensûb Olan Mizân-ı Umûr-ı Hariciyye Beyânındadır*” analysed by Fatih Yeşil presents us the mentality of the pro-peace bureaucrats. Yeşil remarks that this pamphlet was most likely written by someone among the supporters of peace in the war with Russia after Abdulhamid I ascended to the throne. The objective of the writer was to inform the Sultan and high state officials on the determination of the mediator country or countries in the negotiations with Russia. The writer succeeds to open the discussion of international relations based on the theory of balance of power in Europe at that time. In this system, religion is not a criterion to war making or peace making. Instead benefits of the each

country determine the structure of the foreign relations. This system also raises the importance of the mediator country. Indeed, the Ottoman diplomacy had appreciated the role of mediator country yet disadvantageous consequences of the wars compelled the Ottoman side to take a strategic decision. In accordance with his goal, the writer evaluates the situation of European countries and he suggests that France and Holland would be mediator countries as their authority in diplomacy were appreciable. For him, the Ottomans had to be cautious about neutral countries like Prussia and Austria against Russia. Yeşil's argument is that the Ottoman diplomacy had Islamic and imperial features in theory, but it actually developed a new approach in keeping with Machiavelist ideology in practice.

Virginia Aksan also points out the intense diplomatic activity of the Sublime Porte in the XVIII. century and calls this century, the century of diplomacy. She utilizes a number of surviving embassy reports and travel books from the period. Most of them are available in Turkish libraries and archives but there might be undiscovered documents waiting for historians' research as in the case of the Spanish plenipotentiary's diary. These reports would expand the dimension of diplomatic studies and contributes to observe uncovered networks among the ambassadors. One of the main arguments in Aksan's article, "Ottoman Political Writing" is the change in the Ottoman political language in favour of peace. She refers to the work of Ahmed Resmi, *Hulasatü'l-I'tibar*, which is a harsh criticism of the war. He was the first Turkish ambassador to travel to Prussia in 1763. Aksan focused on the concepts of devlet, memleket and taife, used by Ahmed Resmi and asserts that he was interested in convincing his reader of the necessity and benefits of peace. He criticizes the Ottoman decision to go to war with Russia. Ahmed Resmi's comments were based on the experiences and the pains of wars. Besides that Aksan refers to two samples: "Avrupa'ya Mensûb Olan Mizân-ı Umûr-ı Hariciyye Beyânındadır", and Koca Sekbanbaşı's work, *Hulasatü'l-Kelam fi Reddi'l-Avam*. Aksan clarifies the common points in the Ottoman-Islamic context for the legitimacy for peace, fixed and defensible boundaries, and European style discipline and training. The reformation of fiscal-military-administrative is broadly analyzed by Niyazi Berkes, in *The Development of Secularism*. He asserts that great defeats in wars and economic corruptions became the stimulus for the rise of the new attitude, fixed and defensible boundaries, and European style discipline and training. The reformation of fiscal-military-administrative is broadly analyzed by Niyazi Berkes, in *The Development of*

Secularism. He asserts that great defeats in wars and economic corruptions became the stimulus for the rise of the new attitude.

The increasing importance of diplomacy in this century is discussed by many historians. The quality and the quantity of the studies on this era is analyzed by Mehmet Alaaddin Yalçinkaya, in his informative article, “Kuruluştan Tanzimata Osmanlı Diplomasi Tarihi Literatürü”. This introductory work enables us to comprehend the whole picture of the literature and to realize the gap in this field. Yalçinkaya underscores qualitative and quantitative increase of the works on the Ottoman diplomacy. He lists numerous sources, archival documents, manuscripts, diaries, *seyahatnames*, and the foreign accounts dealing with international relations in the XVIII. century. There are various accounts which belong to Austrian, Russian, French ambassadors. One can easily realize the absence of the diary of the Spanish plenipotentiary and the secondary sources on the Ottoman-Spanish relations. One can assume that this less studying would be advantageous for the historian who plans to study on this subject but I should admit that the scarcity of the sources requires to be patient to seek tirelessly.

Another common view in the literature is that struggles and wars had been in the foreground of Ottoman-European relations until the XIX. century. Economic and commercial relations between the Ottomans and the European countries come only after. The Ottoman archival documents like *Name-i Humayun Defterleri*, *Salnâme-yi Nezaret-i Hariciye*, *Düvel-i Ecnebiye*, and *Bâb-ı Asâfi Kalemi* are the sources which can be used to comprehend these relations. Yalçinkaya points out that Istanbul became one of the prominent centres for Europeans after these close relations. Istanbul has been in a strategic position for European markets and balance of power. Hence, the task of the ambassadors in Istanbul was really hard. They had to be well-informed about the socio-political history of the Ottoman Empire. Some foreign officials had works on the Ottoman history. A British official, James Dallaway wrote a book entitled *Constantinople, Ancient and Modern*. The book of Swedish dragoman Ignatius Mouradgea d’Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l’Empire Othoman* presents us information on the Ottoman Empire. They were expected to protect current interests and to gain more concessions of their own countries. It was also important to be in foreign networks and to communicate with other ambassadors. The Spanish plenipotentiary is an example to see the connection among these envoys. Bouligny had no difficulty to understand the complicated and delicate process in the negotiations. He was really

aware of the possible preventions of the other ambassadors. Eventhough he was so cautious he could not avoid the interventions and preventions of some ambassadors. Indeed, trade concession was the underlying reason which caused competition among envoys.

Fatma Müge Göçek examines the relations between the Ottomans and the rising West in his book, *East encounters west: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* on the basis of the account of Çelebi Mehmet Efendi. He asserts that this embassy account, the first document written by an Ottoman official with the aim of observing and understanding the West, was the "first window opening to the West." Her analysis throughout the eighteenth century tries to document rising Western influence in Ottoman society. Western innovations in military, navigational, and commercial techniques consolidated the trading capacity so that the Ottoman land became markets for European goods. While the goal of the European countries was to sustain trade privileges, the Ottomans tried to procure allies by granting them. Göçek claims that these privileges given to the West became tools for political negotiation yet the use of trade concession as an Ottoman political weapon started working against the Ottomans in the eighteenth century. Maurits H. Van Den Boogert's argument supports this assessment. He draws our attention to the dramatic increase in the number of foreign powers that applied for commercial privileges for their subjects. In 1718 the Habsburg Emperor was granted capitulations, and Sweden followed in 1737. Then, Kingdom of the Two Sicilies obtained its own *ahdname*. Also in 1740 France acquired considerable extensions of its privileges with the renewal of its capitulations on a permanent basis. In 1747 the subjects of Tuscany were accorded trade privileges in the Levant, while Denmark got capitulations in 1746. Fifteen years later Prussia was granted an *ahdname*. Russia entered the system in 1774. This chain was completed by Spain in 1782. The Spanish plenipotentiary endeavoured to be equally advantageous in the Ottoman territories. His attempts studied in this thesis enabled to gain the same concessions like the other European countries.

Trade concessions boosted commercial activities throughout the Mediterranean coasts. In contrast to the Mediterranean, the Black Sea was closed to free trade. Beydilli discusses the opening the Black Sea to merchant vessels in his article, "Karadeniz'in Kapalılığı Karşısında Avrupa Küçük Devletleri ve Miri Ticaret Teşebbüsü". He points out that although *ahidnames* had customarily granted the right to trade in the Black Sea as well, this article was not put in effect due to prevention of

the Ottoman side. Beydilli attempts to answer the question why the Sublime Porte ensured the right to trade throughout the Black sea while prevented to trade activities in that region. For him, the Sublime Porte willingly restrained due to the fact that Russia could gradually gain the control of this trade route and strengthen its economic and political power. Trading Russian vessels via Bosphorus might cause scandals and stir the tension in Istanbul with the rumour that the Russians transport the food of the citizens in Istanbul. Russia could achieve to gain concessions to trade in the Black Sea after the longlasted struggles throughout the eighteenth century. Russia also cooperated with some European countries such as Spain, Holland, and Sweden in order to have an extensive commercial network from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean.

Another disputed issue between Russia and the Sublime Porte in the XVIII. century was the right of protection of the Orthodox Christians living in the Ottoman territory. This controversial argument is analyzed by Roderic Davison in his article, "Russian Skill and Turkish Imbecility". He uses the method of textual criticism with broad interpretation of the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca. The origin of the discussion was based on the statement of Austrian diplomat, Thugut (1774) who had not seen a copy of the original treaty. He describes the treaty as "the Russian Skill and Turkish imbecility". This catchy phrase has been used by Hammer, Sorel and many other historians since then. Davison seeks for the root of the story by looking the original copies of the treaty written in Russian, Turkish and Italian. He compares the statements in 7th and 14th articles. He asserts that neither article seven nor article fourteen affords any basis for a judgement that Russia had a general right of making representations or of protection or of intervention on part of the Greek-Orthodox subjects of the Sublime Porte. Russia did receive under the treaty, some specific rights to act within the Ottoman Empire on behalf of Christians. The rights were three: to build one Russo-Greek church in Istanbul, to make diplomatic representations about that one church and those who served it, and to make similar representations about the Christians of Moldavia and Wallachia. According to Davison, real Ottoman stupidity was to have gone to war over the Polish question and, once irrevocably at war, to have been defeated in the field.

These recent studies are really promising for the future of the diplomacy studies. Revisiting the questions and problems of the field, using distinctive methods, comparing original documents written in different languages, extending the scope of the field, and changing approaches to subjects contribute to enhance this discipline. The

dissertation entitled “An Ottoman Global Moment: War of Second Coalition in the Levant” written by Kahraman Şakul provides us to see the place of the Ottoman Empire within European equilibrium. He states that his study aims to employ a comparative approach in order to place the Ottoman Empire in the greater context of the changing world as captured in the title of this work. The dissertation of Hacer Topaktaş, another example, examines the unquestioned characteristic of the historiography of the Ottoman diplomacy. She objects the demarcation of the Ottoman diplomacy as classical period and the permanent diplomacy, she rather suggests to determine a transition period. Using diplomacy as a tool is the common point for both era and commercial benefits also had been an effect on international relations. She exemplifies that the first diplomatic relations were established with Venetians to enhance trade capacities of both sides. However, especially after the seventeenth century strategical and geographical conjuncture compelled the Sublime Porte to conduct “octopus diplomacy” to deal with complicated issues. In the light of all this information, I tried to contribute to the field with my thesis presenting archival documents, comparative method and broad perspective.

CHAPTER II: THE BACKGROUND OF THE SPANISH PLENIPOTENTIARY, JUAN DE BOULIGNY AND HIS MISSION IN CONSTANTINOPLE

2.1 Spain in the Eighteenth Century

There had been an excessively sharp demarcation line drawn between the internal and the external affairs of the state in the early twentieth century historiography. This dichotomist approach caused an artificial division preventing the understanding of the close connections between foreign policy or diplomacy and the government of the state, and has apparently lost much of its explanatory capacity. Recently, the conventional view has been challenged and studies opposed to long-standing practices have suggested the re-thinking and re-reading of diplomacy based on the integration of foreign and internal affairs.³ In accordance with this purpose, the story of Spain in the eighteenth century will be presented by linking it to external dynamics. This perspective will stimulate new and in-depth research on the reasons stimulating the compromise between Spain and the Ottomans.

For Spain the eighteenth century began with a change of dynasty, under the will of Carlos II, the grandson of Louis XIV of France who ascended the Spanish throne as Felipe V. The advent of a Bourbon monarchy in Spain was a milestone for new and more effective patterns of governance, but in short-term it enveloped the country in a disastrous War of Succession, which lasted thirteen years and drew in all great powers. The Habsburg dynasty did not accept the Borbouns' control on the throne and allied with the Holy Roman Empire, Great Britain, the Dutch Republic, Portugal, and the Duchy of Savoy to preserve the Spanish throne for the Habsburg candidate, Archduke Charles.⁴ The alliance was composed of almost all European countries that were interested in gaining the control of Spanish possessions. For Great Britain, this was actualized with the Treaty of Utrecht that ceded control of Gibraltar, the geopolitical centre of the Mediterranean trade, to secure its withdrawal

³ Daniel Frigo, *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy*, p. 5

⁴ G.P. Stanley, *La España de los Borbones*, p. 9

from the war in 1713.⁵ Herewith, Britain amplified its domination over the Mediterranean and secured its control over strategic regions.⁶ As it will be seen in the following parts, Spain worked on new strategies to be able to compensate this devastating loss in the XVIII century.

In the aftermath of the Succession War, Felipe V strove to give Spain its position back in Europe and he achieved, for the first time since the times of the Romans, to unite and centralize the administration over most of the country.⁷ There has been an inconclusive debate about this transformation. Joseph Perez criticizes the idea of a radical change by the Bourbons:

We have tendency to exaggerate the innovation aspect of the Bourbons and the influence of French ideas, but it should be emphasized that Spain had begun to change in the last quarter of the seventeenth century.⁸

While we acknowledge that Spain had the potential domestic tendency to transform itself, the main catalyst for change must be identified with the Bourbon dynasty. The newly founded government, for its own sake, began to annihilate the heritage of the Habsburgs, which were mostly affected by France. The views of G. Payne Stanley rest on the assumption that the political and economic influence of France evolved over the years into a relationship of exploitation.⁹ As well, the Bourbons dynasty in Spain had been critically impeached for pursuing a policy compatible to the interests of France.¹⁰ As it was noted above, there was extremely radical foregoing discussion on the issue, but the reasons convinced Spain to ally intensively with France derived from the political conjuncture.¹¹

⁵ C.Fernandez Duro, *España en el Exterior: Compendio Histórico [siglos XIII-XIX]*, p. 79

⁶ Vicente Palacio Atard, *España y el Mar en el Siglo de Carlos III*, p. 390

⁷ G.P. Stanley, p. 14

⁸ Joseph Perez, *Historia de España*, p. 311

⁹ J.Perez, *Entender Historia de España*, p. 174

¹⁰ John Lynch, *Historia de España*, p. 343-344

¹¹ The treaties among France, Spain and Napoli called “Los Pactos Families” were signed in 1733, 1743 and 1761 in order to ensure the assistance from the Bourbons against the expansion and the hegemony of Great Britain over the Levant trade and American colonies. Alejandro Cantillo, *Tratados Convenios y Declaraciones de Paz y de Comercio Desde el Año de 1700 Hasta el Día*, p. 468

During the XVIII. century, prolonged economic, commercial and colonial wars compelled Spain to adapt to the new epoch, concerning the mercantile policy and modern reforms mostly under the guidance of France. Though neither the ongoing reform projects pursued by primarily Felipe (1700-1746) then Fernando VI (1746-59) can be ignored, the reign of Carlos III (1759-1788) was regarded as a milestone and the most prosperous and illustrated one for the modern history of Spain.¹²

Carlos III, governed the Sicilians between 1733 and 1759, and he did so with his council of minister who accompanied the monarch also in Spain. The initial phase of the reforms started in the early years of the reign, with the revival of the economic and financial reforms implemented. It can be seen that the social and economic reforms were carried out entirely. The government took direct action to improve the administrative apparatus, education, agriculture and trade to strengthen the state by all means.¹³ However, this cannot be seen as a complete success due to the opposition of privileged groups, the guilds, the primogenitures, the Spanish Inquisition, and other institutions, which intended to hamper the reforms and the endeavours to progress. The new dynasty could not transform the society and economy of Spain.¹⁴ Aristocrats had been entrenched with their lordship and prosperities. Due to the tumultuous socio-political conditions, the food production and supply decreased, concomitantly the prices upsurged instantly. This chaotic situation caused the Jesuits, a religious group's rebellion against the regime, but they were expelled in 1767.¹⁵ The government concerned about the mercantile activities from the beginning of the century and accelerated administrative and financial reforms to be able to ameliorate the ongoing deterioration of the country. For this purpose, Spain endeavoured to accomplish its objective which was particular to expand its trade network and hegemony in the Mediterranean and in other regions, by giving special emphasis on diplomacy. Spain was not the only country which discovered the usefulness of the diplomacy in that regard in the eighteenth century.¹⁶ As the recent studies suggested, the eighteenth

¹² Antonio Dominguez Ortiz, *Sociedad y Estado en el siglo XVIII Espanol*, p. 299

¹³ Vicente Rogriguez Casado, *La Politica y Los Politicos en el Reinado de Carlos III*, p. 204, G.Payne Stanley, p. 20

¹⁴ John Lynch, p. 343

¹⁵ Vicent Llombart, *Campomanes Economista y Politico de Carlos III*, p. 358

¹⁶ J.Perez, p. 174

century saw the emergence of diplomacy in a modern sense, which served predominantly for the *raison d'état* through the agency of the newly formed diplomatic corps.¹⁷ Therefore, Spain's increasing emphasis on the diplomacy should be seen in this broader frame and in the light of new developments in the Europe in eighteenth century. In that regard, Manuel Rivero Rodriguez, calls the eighteenth century an era of diplomatic revolution referring to Salvador Mañer, Emer de Vattel, Voltaire and David Hume who focused on the importance of foreign policy in the frame of realism.¹⁸ For Spain, it required as a systematic and multi-level administrative system to adjust Spain to international diplomacy. The institution which played a crucial role during this process was the Secretary of State. The ministry directed all correspondence of foreign affairs, nomination of Ministers, and treaties of the Crown Princes and foreign countries.¹⁹ This ministry, transformed the system in the century, and became more prominent under the administration of Conde de Floridablanca.

Floridablanca was very adept at reading the international situation, and at furnishing the dynasty with theoretical analyses and concrete proposals on foreign policy matters, while taking careful cognizance of the advantages and disadvantages to the Kingdom. It was considered that a more extensive and organized administration system would facilitate to attain its aims in the international arena. "With the nomination of Floridablanca, Spain's foreign policy was evolved into the more proactive diplomacy."²⁰ He had the tendency to establish firm diplomatic relations with the European powers to broker both "political and economic cooperation" and alliances against Great Britain. "The principal elements led to the political polarization between the Bourbons and Britain in the eighteenth century was prolonged economic, commercial struggles and colonialist war."²¹ There is enough evidence to warrant a tentative hypothesis that the hostility and the competition between the Bourbons and the Great Britain determined the direction of the Spanish foreign policy to a great

¹⁷Juan Hernandez Franco, *La Gestion Politica y el Pensamiento Reformista de Conde de Floridablanca*, p. 184

¹⁸ Manuel Rivero Rodriguez, *Diplomacia y Relaciones Exteriores en la Edad Moderna, 1453-1794*,p. 165

¹⁹ Ibid, pp. 162-163

²⁰ J.H. Franco, p. 184

²¹ M. R.Rodriguez, p. 368

extent. Spain pursued a strategy aiming to create coalitions with Russia, Prussia, Portugal, France, North Africa, and the Ottoman Empire particularly after the Seven Year War indicating naval supremacy and colonialism of Great Britain.

The American Revolutionary War (1775–1783) exacerbated the already tense relationship between the Bourbons and Britain. “Spain, no less than France, wanted revenge for what was for them the shameful Treaty of Paris of 1763, and it appeared that both governments were, in principle, of a like mind to aid the rebel colonists in some way.”²² In 1779, Britain, with the intention of cutting off Spanish mediation in the Anglo-American conflict, pressured Spain to establish a coalition of two forces. Nevertheless, as it did not overlap Spanish interests, Senor Catholic Majesty threatened that this would cause a declaration of a war towards the archenemy, Britain. In late June 1779, the Spanish government decided to ban trade in various British goods. Concurrently, Spain kept a close eye on the interactions of its adversaries concerning pragmatically their own profits. The initial solidarity between Britain and Russia put pressure on Spain to direct its attention to take advantage of the situation. In 1777, Spain had already negotiated with Russia to isolate it from the British influence. The cooperation with the gradually powerful country, Russia, expanded not only to the Baltics but also obtained concession from the Ottomans to navigate freely in the Black Sea, which was important also for the Mediterranean trade. The blockage of Gibraltar played a crucial role for the Levant trade, in 1779 where the agreement process accelerated with Russia.²³ Meanwhile, Spain realized the importance of the agreement signed with Portugal on the eve of the war with Great Britain and diplomatic relations were established with Prussia.²⁴

In pursuance of its aims, Spain encouraged new trade routes, and trading companies, and opened new ports with other countries. The relative normalization of diplomatic relations and the policy of promoting consuls conducted by the government favoured the Spanish consular expansion. “In just half a century, the number of the

²² Mawdsley Hargreaves, *Eighteenth Century Spain 1700-1788*, p. 128

²³ Pedro Voltes Bou, "Rusia, Turquía y La Política de Floridablanca en 1779", pp. 65-69

²⁴ M. Hargreaves, p. 127, J.H. Franco, p. 130, The Treaty of Pardo was signed between Spain and Portugal on 1761, The Treaty of Guaranty and Commerce was signed in 1778, Alejandro Cantillo, p. 467

Spanish consuls definitely had increased eightfold.”²⁵ It can be reasonable to say Spain underwent an increasingly major transformation in the century, in order to manage to compete with Great Britain. Spain underwent the reforms in the administration and bureaucratic system, organizations of social and economic life, and the agricultural and industrial investments and more-centralized government aware of indispensability of interdependency of internal and external affairs. Well-educated and organized bureaucrats of the centralized government conducted a more active diplomacy contributing to not only politically significant alliances but also to the augmentation of the commercial capacity of the country. This policy served its purpose and the foreign trade of Spain, and increased significantly after 1778.²⁶ This conjuncture of the ongoing conflicts in the American colonies with the blockage of Gibraltar compelled Spain to form alliances with other countries to gain political support and increase the capacity of foreign trade.

2.2 The Mission of Juan de Bouligny in Constantinople

Spain and the Ottoman Empire were surprisingly parallel in their historical developments. The frame of events and internal developments are very similar in both countries. Arguably, both countries have entered a new era starting from the middle of the XV. Century and reached the height of their power after the conquests of Constantinople (1453) and Granada (1492), respectively.²⁷ These two powers, expanding concurrently into other continents, struggled for the domination of the Mediterranean for centuries. In the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, Spain gained victory mostly by the assistance of the Holy League and consolidated its power.²⁸ The sixteenth century was the era of manifest belligerence between the two countries.

²⁵ “En 1760, España contaba ya con 12 consulados con remuneración, cuatro de ellos en Francia (Marsella, El Havre, Burdeos y Nantes) dos en Portugal (Lisboa y Tavira), además de los de Londres, Holanda, Niza, Genova, Venecia y el de Elseneur, en Dinamarca. Diez años más tarde, Capmany contabilizó 22 consulados españoles frente a los 36 de Inglaterra y los 27 de Venecia. Bajo los ministerios de Grimaldi, del que dependió la *cartera* de Estado entre 1763 y 1776, y de José Moñino, conde de Floridablanca (1777-1792), las oficinas consulares se multiplicaron conforme se amplió el horizonte de las relaciones diplomáticas españolas.” J.P. Nadals, “Los Consules Espanoles del Siglo XVIII”, p. 213

²⁶ G.P. Stanley, p. 51

²⁷ Helena Sánchez Ortega, “Las Relaciones Hispánico-Turcas en el Siglo XVIII”, p. 171

²⁸ See for the comparative study of two countries in terms of administrative, institutional and financial system: Faruk Bal, “Osmanlı Devleti - İspanya iktisadi ilişkileri (16.-18. yüzyıllar)”, Doktora Tezi, Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü İktisat Anabilim Dalı İktisat Tarihi Bilim Dalı, 2011

Especially, after the Ottoman conquest of Algiers, this region became the battle ground between Spain and the Regencies.²⁹ Throughout the XVI-XVIII centuries the two antagonists, the Ottoman Empire, then Turkey, and Spain viewed each other with suspicion and refrained from establishing diplomatic relations at large, except sporadic and circumstantial approximation.³⁰

No doubt political conditions have had great impact on the attitude and memories of the societies. This running battle between the two powers created a long-lasting perception of hostility. In the common perception of Spain the Ottomans were the archenemy for centuries:

This barbarous nation is from obscure origin... How many cities, islands, and provinces under the Christian domains were ravaged? If the hand of God does not protect us, that in a short time, it will occupy the rest of the Christian world.³¹

It can be seen in the above quote that this tendency began to be challenged over time, particularly in the XVIII. century, when the countries' political and economic capacities had decreased. Needless to say, the written evidence help evaluate the general change in public opinion. For instance, the visit of Ahmet Vasıf, the Ottoman envoy who presented gifts to Carlos III after the ratification of the treaty, caused tremendous excitement in the society.³² Necati Kutlu found a short poem regarding the greeting of the envoy by the Spaniards among historical documents. The content of this short poem leads one to see the influence of the treaty that ensured the satisfaction with the government. The Sultan was called the Great Lord of the Orient, and the envoy was called the messenger bringing peace.

*Del Gran Señor de Oriente
Suceso tal no cuenta*

*Nos trajiste la paz
Mensajero a la España*

²⁹ İdris Bostan, *Beylikten İmparatorluğa Osmanlı Denizciliği*, p. 121

³⁰ H.S. Ortega, p. 151

³¹ The original version of the statement is “esta bárbara nación de oscuro origen...¿Cuántas ciudades, cuantas islas, cuantas provincias arrebató a los dominios cristianos? si la mano de de Dios no nos protege, que, en breve tiempo, se va a ocupar lo que resta del mundo cristiano.” Erasmo indicated in his work, *Utilissima consultatio de bello turcis inferendo*, H.S.Ortega, p. 172 It should be indicated here that Spain was no exception in terms of the prejudices against the Ottomans and Muslims in that period.

³² See for the narration of Vasıf Efendi. Ahmet Vasıf, *İspanya Sefaretnamesi*, Ali Emiri Efendi (Millet Ktb.) 818, Melek Öksüz, “Türk-İspanya İlişkileri Çerçevesinde Osmanlı-İspanya İlişkileri”, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, KATÜ, 1998, Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, Ankara: TTK Yay. , 1988, Ethan L Menchinger, “The Sefaretname of Ahmet Vasıf Efendi to Spain”, *History Studies*, Volume 2 / 3 2010, Hüner Tuncer, *Osmanlı Diplomasisi ve Sefaretnameler*, Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık, 1998

During this century, the mentality of “Holy War” was outmoded, and the ostensible disappearance of religious hostility facilitated the compromise with Muslims.³⁴ Mikel de Espalza analyzes *Verdadero Caracter de Mahoma y de Su Religion: Justa Idea de Esto Falso Profeta, sin Alabarle con Exceso ni Deprimirle con Odio* to reveal the interrelations between socio-political affairs and the theological mentality in the eighteenth century.³⁵ Even though the theological vision of Manuel Traggia regarding Mohammad, al-Quran, and the Turks or the Mediterranean Muslims includes long-standing prejudices, it was generally original and new. He emphasizes that there was certainly an impact of the very important mutation of the Spanish Mediterranean policy confronted by Muslim countries, especially the Turkish-Maghreb. He refers to the concrete example of the P. Traggia, and the manifestation of its consequences. The transition from antagonism to cooperation, in 1782, is not clear-cut, so it is required to have a systematic and coherent account for this long process in the XVIII. century.³⁶

In secondary sources, this period is viewed as “normalization” in a positive sense; “normalization of the relationship between Spain and the Islamic potentials.”³⁷ During the second half of the XVIII. century, successive Spanish governments whose interests were motivated by various causes sought the normalization of the relationships with Muslim countries and replaced aggression to Islam with a more

³³ This literature called “Corrido” denotes folk songs that narrate the significant issues. Mehmet Necati Kutlu, “İspanyol Belgelerine Göre İspanya Nezdinde Görevlendirilen İlk Osmanlı Elçisi Ahmet Vasıf Efendi”, p. 108

³⁴ Ortiz, p.302 Aristazabal, the member of the delegation who presented the gifts of Carlos III, wrote in his voyages notes “Viaje a Constantinopla”, this was the first Spanish navy anchored the port of Constantinople from the Holy Wars. “We could not come here even for peace.” Eloy Martín Corrales, “İspanya Osmanlı İlişkileri, 18. ve 19. yy”, *İspanya-Türkiye: 16. Yüzyıldan 21. Yüzyıla Rekabet ve Dostluk*, p. 236

³⁵ It may be translated to English as “True Character of Muhammad and His Religion: Fair Idea of This False Prophet, without Praise or Excessively Depress Hatred.” Manuel Traggia was born in Zaragoza, in 1755. He was a theologian, preacher, historian, journalist, and guerrilla in the war against France. Mikel Espalza, “Guerras y Paces Hispano-Turcas. Algunos Repercusiones Teologicas en la Obra de Manuel Traggia”, p. 13

³⁶ Pablo Hernández Sau, “De la Infidelidad a la Amistad: Las Relaciones Hispano-Otomanas en el siglo XVIII”, p. 92

³⁷ L. García, Hernando de Larramendi, *España, el Mediterráneo y el Mundo Árabe Musulmán*, pp. 20-21, “El perfume de la amistad. Correspondencia diplomática en archivos españoles (siglos XIII-XVI)”, pp. 83-90

positive attitude.³⁸ Atard points out the secular aspect of the Spanish foreign policy, which induced to disperse historical-religious prejudices that had made the Muslims natural enemies of Spain. Following, this led to leave traditional prejudices towards the Turkish enemies, and as in the Moroccan case, Spain tried to befriend the Turks.³⁹ The fundamental assumption made here is that the perception of Spain, which was independent of religious authority, played an important role in the transformation of relations.

When Boulogne came to Istanbul, he spent his first night in the guest house of the church. He asked the priest of the church to pray the God for his success, and assured him that the treaty would provide with favourable conditions for the Catholic pilgrims. In addition to that, when the treaty was declared in Spain to the public, it was stressed that one of the main objectives of this treaty, and cooperation with a Muslim state was to seek an opportunity to proselytize the Catholic religion among the Ottoman Muslim groups. By doing so, one can say that, the Spanish politicians aimed to legitimize the treaty in the eyes of people. It also shows that religion played an important role in public diplomacy of Spain in that time.⁴⁰

It seems reasonable to take into account the influence of international equilibrium. Conde de Aranda concisely clarifies the condition in his declaration as: "We will negotiate with them as England and Portugal had done, for *raison d'Etat*, for our interests. We permit the God of each religion, as we are not in the centuries of Crusades."⁴¹

As noted, public opinion had great impact on foreign policy, and the international conditions, as well. According to Palacio Atard, this was the rationalism

³⁸Javier Sabater Galindo," El Tratado de Paz Hispano-Argelino de 1786", p. 57

³⁹ V. P. Atard, p. 400

⁴⁰ "...oid oid oid, como de parte del rey nuestro señor saber a todos que el deseo que ha tenido siempre Senor Magestad de procurar a sus amados vasallos todas las felicidades, ventajas y conveniencias posibles le hicieron mirar como importantes y necessarias a la seguridad de sus personas en los paises de la dominacion Mahometana, al ejercicio y propagacion de la religion catolica en ellos, y a la extension del comercio, la libre Navegacion del Mediterraneo y la facilidad de traficar como otras naciones." Articulos of Paz y Comercio, pp. 25-26

⁴¹ Original versión: "Negociaremos con ellos como si fueron ingleses o portugueses, por la razón de Estado, y los justos motivos de nuestros intereses, pues estos son motivos consentidos, y permitimos la religión de cada Dios, pues ya no estamos en los ignorantes siglos de las Cruzadas." Nadal, *Diplomacia y Comercio*, p. 512

of the criteria of the international policy of Spain.⁴² During the 18th century it was seen there was a change in the international situation. European countries intensified their relationships by sending permanent ambassadors. “Spain recognized the significance of the integration to European equilibrium (*equilibrio europeo*).”⁴³ Above all, as the Bourbon dynasty had deep ties with the Ottomans, Spain was indirectly integrated into the French policy as a consequence of the ruling of the same dynasty. It should be indicated here that this change did not occur abruptly at the beginning of the century. During the reign of Felipe V, Spain planned to offer an agreement to the Ottomans, however public opinion and moral reflections demonstrated that cultural and political ambience was not suitable to change the ongoing-ancient attitude towards the Ottomans and the Muslim countries despite the fact that the antagonism towards the Turks was just a memory.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the conditions in Spain accelerated the process during the 1760s and the attempt to compromise with the Muslims actualized.⁴⁵

Carlos III, the monarch of Naples who ascended to the throne after Fernando VI (1746-1759) arrived to Madrid on 9 December 1759. The period of the Kingdom of Carlos III witnessed a major transformation in Spain's relations with Muslims, and the process, which is the subject of this study, began.⁴⁶ It must be taken into account that this conjuncture initially contributes to the comprehension and the interpretation of facts. When Carlos III ascended to the throne, France and England had fought one another for over four years, and they had been trying to achieve the acquisition of Spain during the ongoing war. France offered Spain a new family alliance and promised, in return, assistance to re-conquer Gibraltar, whereas Great Britain promised

⁴² J.H. Franco, p. 272

⁴³H.S. Ortega, p. 152

⁴⁴ H.S. Ortega, p. 153

⁴⁵ This was not the first attempt to cooperate with the Ottomans. In 1625, the reign of Naples charged Givani Montelbano to negotiate with the Ottomans on behalf of Spain. After, the Ottoman envoy Ahmet Çavuş was appointed to notify the throne of the sultan, Mehmet IV in 1649. A.H.N. Legajo Estado 2879, Mariano Arribas Palau, *La Documentacion del Archivo Historico Nacional Relativa a Turquia.*” C.I.E.P.O, p. 53, F.Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, p. VIII, XIII, See for the study based on the Spanish archives about the Ottoman envoy: Manuel Espada Burgos, “Andanzas Madrilenas de un Embajador Turco”, Madrid: Tirada Aparte de Los Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrilenos, Tomo XI, 1966

⁴⁶ Nadal, p. 512

the prevention of the attacks of the Anglo-American pirates. Spain reconciled with Portugal, traditional ally of England, after the Treaty of Limites was signed in 1750. Great Britain did not ratify the treaty of Pardo. Carlos III realized the hazards of the neutrality of supporting the interests of Spanish colonies. In 1761, Spain and France compromised to sign the Third Pacte de Famille.⁴⁷ In this tumultuous atmosphere, Carlos III, the new monarch of Spain, offered the Ottomans to extend the treaty signed between Naples and the Ottomans. Guillermo Ludolf conducted this inconclusive attempt. He began to negotiate on behalf of Spain, in 1760. He could not convince Ottoman bureaucrats to sign a treaty with Spain. In his report, it was requested to incorporate Spain into the treaty signed with Naples during the reign of Carlos III.⁴⁸ The negotiations were conducted for a while, yet this offer was to be an impasse after the death of Sadrazam Ragıp Paşa in 1763.⁴⁹ When this process is compared to the one conducted by Juan de Bouligny in 1783, it does not seem surprising that an agreement was not reached, as it required much effort.⁵⁰ This comparison leads one to think that Carlos III only attempted to extend the scope of the agreement, and he did not aim to follow a new path under fragile circumstances. In 1770 and 1771, the French court hinted Carlos III that the ambassador in Turkey would provide the means of granting the treaty, but this statement was not confirmed by any results.⁵¹

According to secondary sources, the agreement process during the 18th century, is illustrated as was in 1760, especially at the beginning of the enthronement of Carlos III, however the document located in the Ottoman archives regarding the relations, indicates Spain offered cooperation through the medium of a French ambassador and a Hungarian aristocrat, Francis II Rákóczi during the reign of Ahmed III (1703-1730).

⁴⁷ Diego Alarcía, “Guerra y Regalismo a Comienzos del Reinado de Carlos III: El Final del Ministerio Wall”, pp. 1057-1060

⁴⁸“ ...Devlet-i Aliyyenin dostu Sicilyateyn kralı İspanya kralı olup ol canibe azimet lazimesinde kendi kralzadesin Sicilyateyn krallığına nasb edip Devlet-i Aliyyede kendi yerine dostluğa kabul eylediği ve kendiler dahi dost-ı kadim Devlet-i Aliyye iken İspanya devletini Devlet-i Aliyye ile dostluk ve sulh u salah dahi ister ise kabul ederiz deyu tahrir ve inayet buyurulmağla...” BOA, HAT, 9/322

⁴⁹ Hüseyin Serdar Tabakoğlu, “XVII. Yüzyıl Osmanlı-İspanya İlişkileri”, p. 20

⁵⁰ Juan de Bouligny delineates the harsh conditions of the negotiation process in his diary, it will be evaluated in the following chapter.

⁵¹ Manuel Conrotte, p. 511

The document does not include an exact date but it may lead one to assume that the negotiations date back to the beginning of the century.⁵²

The motivations that reinvigorated Spain to initiate close relations with the Ottoman Empire were Spain's political interests and the Ottoman Empire's commercial convenience.⁵³ It can be seen that the schema of economic policy during the period of Carlos III was concerned with the richness of the subjects and the strength of the Monarchy. Since, at that time, Spain had already started to conduct a mercantilist policy, and the government was primarily concerned with rationalizing the administration of the state's economy without depending exclusively on the metal of colonial America.⁵⁴ Llombart summarizes the economic policy as such; "mas mercado mas Estado" (more market stronger state.)⁵⁵ Historians evaluate the case generally in a similar vein:

The system of Europe has changed: commerce enters all, or almost all, treaties as "raison d'état" wrote the Abbot Coyer in the mid-1700s, and Bougainville observed that "the balance of trade has become the balance of power."⁵⁶

Although the power of the Ottoman Turks was beginning to wane, they still controlled the eastern Mediterranean, and the Spanish government had been persuaded that it was desirable to establish trade relations with this important commercial area.⁵⁷ As aforementioned, Spain sustained trade commodities from Muslims countries over centuries via European countries, however Spain sought to solve jurisdictional questions of commerce and navigation by signing an agreement and establishing a direct trade route.⁵⁸ The pursued principal object was to secure active economic

⁵² "Sen ki Vezirim Devlet-i Aliyye ile İspanya devleti dostluk murad ettiklerini Rakofçizade ve Frence elçisi haber vermişler bu husus bir hoş mülahaza olunup Devlet-i Aliyyeye hayırlı ise mezkurlar İspanya'ya yazıp elçileri gelmek üzere mektup gönderilsin." BOA. A.E. III. Ahmed 224/21617. Needless to say that, the assessment requires to be proved by the other sources as it is not accurate to assert a claim based on only one archival document.

⁵³ J.H. Franco, p. 272

⁵⁴ Mikel Espalza, p. 12

⁵⁵ Vicent Llombart, *Campomanes Economista y Politico de Carlos III*, p. 356

⁵⁶ Daniel Frigo, p. 22

⁵⁷ Fontaine Martin, p. 120

⁵⁸ Jose Maria Sanchez Diana, "Relaciones Diplomaticas Entre Rusia y España en el siglo XVIII 1780-1783", p. 603

exchanges with the Ottomans, not to forget, dominating North Africa completely, Asia Minor, and the Balkans.⁵⁹

Spain continued to follow closely the internal and external developments in the Ottoman Empire, as can be seen obviously in the *Gaceta de Madrid* especially during the last quarter of the century:

News about the Battle of Turkish troops and Russian troops in Dniester with these latest victories. Numerous volunteers asking to join the Ottoman army. April 19 is arrested Patriarch of the Greeks, he was accused of treason. The Patriarch of the Greek is released (11 July 1769).⁶⁰

Russia and Turkey remain at war. The Ottoman Janissary army revolt against the Grand Vizier (6 October 1770).⁶¹

The news about the victory of Russian troops against the Ottoman army on the banks of the Danube (9 October 1770)⁶²

The plague extended in the Ottoman Empire. Cardinal Palavicini published an edict prohibiting entry of boats from Levant without quarantine in the Adriatic Sea (11 September).⁶³

As stated above, Spain devoted close attention to the Ottomans, especially its relations with European countries. The new policy adopted by Spain when the helm was in the hands of Floridablanca, supported the integrity of the Ottoman Empire to limit the ambitions of other countries. Nevertheless, this would not contribute to the integrity of the Ottomans and he fairly comprehended the geopolitical role of Turkey as a bulwark against the Russian expansion in the south.⁶⁴ 18th century witnessed long-lasting wars between the Ottomans and Russia and the defeats made the crisis more critical particularly in the last quarter of the century. Spain thought the moment opportune to intervene once more in the Crimean imbroglio to attempt to secure some concessions from the Ottoman Empire. From the perspective of Spain there was no doubt that Russia triumphed over Turkey and that the Turkish Sultan was forced to

⁵⁹ Nadal, pp. 540-541

⁶⁰ Gaceta de Madrid núm. 28, de 11.07.1769, páginas 217 a 218. PDF (Reference BOE-A-1769-355) http://www.boe.es/buscar/gazeta.php?accion=Mas&id_busqueda=590fbca21f4ffb011fae487b61911509-440-40

⁶¹ G.M. núm. 45, de 06.11.1770, páginas 376 a 377, PDF (Reference BOE-A-1770-621)

⁶² G.M. núm. 41, de 09.10.1770, página 346. PDF (Reference BOE-A-1770-567)

⁶³ G.M. 37, de 11/09/1778, páginas 383 a 384. PDF (Reference BOE-A-1778-432) Needless to say that these are some examples but there is a lot of news concerning the situation in the Ottoman Empire.

⁶⁴ P.V. Bou, "Rusia, Turquía y La Política de Floridablanca en 1779", p. 91

establish an alliance with European countries. The fundamental assumption made here is that the impulse for the increasing concessions stemmed from the inevitability against Russian attacks as stated: “As a devastated consequence of Kucuk Kaynarca, the Ottoman Empire provided trade concessions to the European countries in its territory to ensure their neutrality in the Russian issue.”⁶⁵

France and the Italian republics, then Holland, Denmark, Sweden, England and Hamburg had signed treaties of friendship and trade with the Moroccans and Turks, to open the doors of markets and so that their ships could sail without risk of piracy. While the major parts of the European countries reached agreements contributing to commerce and free navigations with the Ottomans, Spain was still in a kind of permanent state of latent war against traditional Muslim enemies. “After The Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, other winds blowing in the Turkish capital, Floridablanca wanted to use them to eliminate the inherent and permanent hostility.”⁶⁶ Spain temporized the gain of concession so it would be an appropriate time to sign a treaty with the Ottomans who were occupied with the political struggles and Russian threats debilitating the power of the Empire.⁶⁷ Even though Spain looked for the convenient time for the agreement, the envoy was frustrated that the persuasion of the Ottoman side took such a long time and the negotiation process lasted approximately three years. This example helps us claim Ottoman diplomacy was based on more complicated and intricate principles. However, it can be reasonable to say that the possibility of an impending war between the Ottomans and Russians contributed to accelerate the process so as to ensure the neutrality of Spain.⁶⁸ “With Spain entering in alliance with Sweden against Russia, the cooperation of the countries controlling the Straits of Sunt (Baltic), Gibraltar (Mediterranean) and the Black Sea could close to Russia the seaways into the Mediterranean.”⁶⁹

⁶⁵ E.Martinez Ruiz, *Politica Interior y Exterior de Los Borbones*, p. 325

⁶⁶ V. P. Atard, pp. 393-399

⁶⁷ Bou, p. 94

⁶⁸ F.Hernandez, p. 276

⁶⁹ Kemal Beydilli, “İspanya”, p. 167

2.3 The Life of Juan de Bouligny⁷⁰

Carlos III deployed Juan Bouligny as an extraordinary envoy to conduct negotiations of the treaty in Constantinople on 30 June 1778. The question arises as why Bouligny was chosen for this mission of historical importance. The information regarding the first Spanish plenipotentiary is notably scarce and contradictory, even while considering his birthplace and origins according to historical sources. It is stated in many sources that he had been born in Alicante in 1726 into a French family; his father was a well-known French merchant.⁷¹ On the contrary, historian Emilio Garrigues, a prominent historian of the Ottoman-Spanish relations, challenges this information and claims his father was from Marseille.⁷² Conrotte, one of the distinguished historians on this subject, also rejects the common assumption about his French origins and, rather, contends that his Spanish origins were significant in his appointment as an envoy to the Sublime Porte: “One of the reasons why a Spanish person was nominated as an envoy was that Floridablanca aimed to provide a basis for national prestige and obviate French influence.” The discussion on the ethnic origins of the envoy underscores the nationalist perspective. It can be expedient to refrain from a retrospective approach for the sake of argument. What is required instead is to evaluate the fact concerning the historical conjuncture. Bouligny, whether or not of French-origin, occupied with trade in Seville, Alicante, and Madrid and this would rather be more effective in his appointment.⁷³

He was distinguished in commerce, and in 1753 he established permanent contact with the consul, Agustin Sanchez Cabello to start commercial operations with the coasts of the French Atlantic⁷⁴. The years around 1760 were recollected in the family memoirs, as marking the period when the family firm under the management

⁷⁰ Juan Bouligny began calling himself Juan de Bouligny, in order to emphasize his noble birth, a matter of little importance in his earlier career as a businessman, but an important consideration for a European diplomat in the eighteenth century. Fontaine Martin, *A History of Bouligny Family and Allied Families*, p. 120

⁷¹ Didier Ozanam, “Juan de Bouligny”, p. 292, Menendez Pidal, *Historia de España*, p. 423, Jesus Pradells Nadal, *Diplomacia y Comercio La expansion consular espanola en el siglo XVIII*, p. 541, Vicente Segui Roma, “Los Comerciales en Alicante”, p. 107

⁷² Emilio Garrigues, *Un Desliz Diplomatico La Pas Hispano-Turca*, p. 110

⁷³ M.Pidal, p. 423

⁷⁴ J.P. Nadal, p. 541

of Joseph and Juan Bouligny reached peak point in terms of wealth and prosperity as the leading firm in Alicante. In these years alone the family did one-seventh of the city's business.⁷⁵ In February, 1757, Bouligny was elected as deputy of Spanish Trade in Alicante, for which he moved to Madrid to manage the creation of a consul for his own city, however the simplicity of its management did not prevent him from contacting courtiers of political circles.⁷⁶ He married Elena Viviana Marconie, whose father was French official consular in Madrid. After his retirement, he decided to return to Madrid and apply for a governmental position in 1776. As an employment seeker, Juan Bouligny mapped out a careful, patient strategy. In developing and pursuing this strategy he had the aid of his wife Elena.⁷⁷ Before the end of the year 1776, it is likely that Juan had already established contacts with the Conde de Floridablanca, culminating in his appointment to Constantinople. The stated mission of the embassy was to explore the possibilities of establishing diplomatic and commercial relations with the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁸

He was appointed to Constantinople on an important secret mission to establish diplomatic and trade relations between Spain and the Ottoman Empire. On 5 December 1778, he set sail with his entourage from the harbour of Barcelona. His second son, Jose had accompanied him to Constantinople and acted as his secretary.⁷⁹ Bouligny endured many troubles. He had difficulty in fulfilling his duty successfully, and finally succeeded to convince the Ottoman side to sign a treaty, and then he was appointed as the plenipotentiary of Spain in Constantinople.⁸⁰ His wife Elena and his four other children joined him in 1784, and the negotiations reached a conclusion. However, they arrived in Istanbul at a particularly turbulent moment in the history of Ottoman-Russian relations. Thus, Elena decided to return to Spain taking their children Maria Antonia, Elena, Juan, and Dionisio with her to escape the problematic atmosphere. After they returned to Spain, Bouligny's prestige as an envoy facilitated the diplomatic

⁷⁵ F.Martin, p. 113

⁷⁶ V.S. Roma, p. 107

⁷⁷ F. Martin, p. 120

⁷⁸ V.S. Roma, p. 108

⁷⁹ F. Martin, p. 121

⁸⁰ As the peace process will be discussed in the next chapter.

careers of his children. His eldest son, Juan pursued a diplomatic career, first in the Spanish legation at Parma and later in Naples. As well, Dionisio was able to enter the royal Walloon Guards as cadet.⁸¹ Jose gained experience with his father in Constantinople, and he became plenipotentiary after Boulogne successfully completed his assignment as Spain's first ambassador in Constantinople for approximately ten years.

Even though the final results were successful in terms of diplomacy and trade for Spain, as it will be discussed in the following pages, the nomination of Juan de Boulogne, as a person who was not noble and without any reputation, by Floridablanca for such a delicate position is a controversial issue among historians. It is considered that Floridablanca was not well-informed about the diplomatic procedure conducted by the Ottoman Empire, and this is why he nominated a merchant for such a crucial role. Garrigues, the pioneer of the discussion, criticizes his appointment. He argues that such a significant mission would require the nomination of a noble with experience and reputation in the official service rather than a merchant. He emphasizes the inefficiency of the decision as stated below:

It is really a silly error to appoint a merchant to the Ottoman Empire while the European powers especially accentuate their prestige by means of royal ambassadors, this is also the reason of the suspensions over the course of the negotiations.⁸²

Chakib Benafri, Nadal, and Roma evaluate the question in the same vein as Garrigues. Vicente Atard suggests that it was a reasonable decision considering that no skilled Spanish diplomat was found who desired to travel to Constantinople with such a difficult mission.⁸³ It was clear to almost all those who wrote on the subject that Garrigues had great influence on the literature with his negative assumption: “*un desluz diplomatica*”.⁸⁴ It should be indicated that there have been many criticisms of his view.

⁸¹ F. Martin, p. 121

⁸² E. Garrigues, p. 111

⁸³ V.P. Atard, p. 400, Benafri, “There was no other option for Floridablanca so the nobles disdain to travel to Constantinople for such a mission.” p. 218

⁸⁴ Chakib Benafri, “Las Relaciones Entre España, El Imperio Otomano Y Las Regencias Berberiscas En El Siglo XVIII (1759-1792)”, p. 217, J.S. Nadal: “Floridablanca sent the envoy, unsuitable for the diplomatic and administrative mission” p. 541, V.S. Roma: “He is a cosmopolitan in formation and outstripped in the negotiations but not experimented in diplomacy and administration.” P.108, Juan Hernandez Franco refers to Garrigues, Floridablanca made a mistake in nominating an unexperienced merchant for the mission which required nobility and high social status so as to leave a good impression

For instance, Conrotte puts forward the claim that his profession was one of the important factors for the appointment. As a merchant, he spent a long time in the Orient and learnt perfectly the Turkish language as well as the political and social customs of the Ottomans.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, this assessment needs qualification since it is not supported by neither the sources nor the diary of Boulogny.

From a different point of view, the sole reason for Boulogny's appointment to the post was his profession according to Pidal who asserts that his case was not unique example, for Gardoqui who was nominated as the Spanish representative in the United States after the Independence War also a merchant.⁸⁶ Looking into Spanish ambassadors concurrently nominated along with Boulogny to the European countries provides insight on the issue. Jose Nicolas de Azara in Rome, Bernardo Del Campo in London, and Fernan Nunez in Lisbon and Paris all had undoubted bureaucratic qualities and political patronage.⁸⁷ In comparison to Boulogny, in the Ottoman Empire, the quality of the ambassadors differentiated in terms of their nobility and diplomatic experiences. This comparison can prompt the speculation that Spain obviously acted in a different manner regarding its distinctive priorities in the region. It would suffice to say, it seems reasonable to admit all assessments above are justifiable in their own right but the question requires taking into consideration the conjuncture and initiative motives.

Throughout the 18th century, there was a growing tendency for the government to strengthen the ties with the countries in the Levant. On the basis of the evidence currently available, it seems fair to suggest Floridablanca, the minister, increasingly strove to enhance the commercial capacity of the country, and aimed to take advantage of the experienced merchant. On logical grounds, it seems sensible to send a merchant to sign a peace and trade agreement principally based on commercial reciprocity. However, the process became more complicated with the unskilled conducts of the inexperienced envoy. Boulogny, despite his disadvantages and the opposition of other ambassadors, was able to conduct his mission by 1793.

on the Sublime Porte, see J. H. Franco, *La Gestion Politica y el Pensamiento Reformista de Conde de Floridablanca*, p. 274

⁸⁵ Manuel Conrotte, p. 102

⁸⁶ M. Pidal, p. 423

⁸⁷ V.P.Atard, pp. 201-212

On 19 January 1793, Boulogny decided to deliver the task to his son, at the age of sixty-seven after having received a corresponding license.⁸⁸ He settled permanently in Madrid in 1793. Juan Boulogny did not exercise any other mission until his death on 9 January, 1798.⁸⁹ Gaceta de Madrid published a message of condolences as follows:

Juan de Boulogny died, at the age of 71, having served earnestly and confidently to Lord Majesty on several commissions and carried them out with integrity, zeal, and the purpose of the common good of the nation. Boulogny deserved the honor of getting a commission in 1778 and signed the peace with the court of Constantinople. He endeavoured for so happy success ensuring the interests of both nations. Lord Majesty decorated him with the character of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the same court whose ministers and Divan always distinguished him with appreciation and high regard for his integrity, truth and good faith in their dealings and actions and having been licensed to this court, Majesty awarded honours with his council of state and expressions of his goodness and mercy.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ D.Ozanam, p. 293

⁸⁹ V.S. Roma, p. 108

⁹⁰ Gaceta de Madrid núm. 10, de 02/02/1798, páginas 109 a 111. It is also available online: <http://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1798/010/A00109-00111.pdf>

CHAPTER III: THE EYEWITNESS OF THE PEACE: THE DIARY OF JUAN DE BOULIGNY

The diary sheds light on the negotiation process from the start through the eyes of the man in charge. Juan de Bouligny notes his mission, and the conversations he had with Ottoman bureaucrats, as well as connections, contacts with the other ambassadors, visits, his considerations, and his impressions throughout the process. In short, the diary is a witness to the acts and deeds of the Spanish plenipotentiary in Constantinople. It may be useful to describe the diary for a better understanding of the source material before beginning our examination from a broader perspective.

3.1 The Characteristics of the Correspondence of Juan de Bouligny

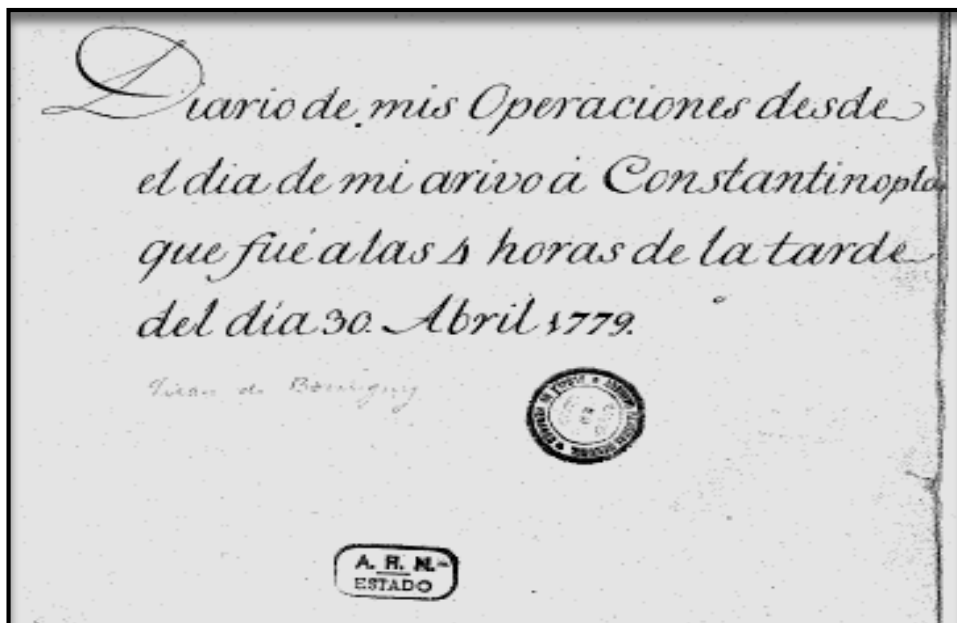


Figure 3.1 The Title of Bouligny's Diary

The diary of the first plenipotentiary, Juan de Bouligny, carried the title “*Diario mis Operaciones desde el dia de mi arivo a Constantinopla que fui a las 4 horas de la tarde del dia 30 Abril 1779* (The Diary of my Activities from the day of my arrival in Constantinople on 30th April 1779)”. This diary is located in the Archivo Historico Nacional de Madrid (A.H.N.) in Spain. The correspondence is categorized as Legajo 2912, in the section of Estado in which the documents of Consejo de Estado (Secretary

of State) are preserved. The correspondence is written in the eighteenth-century Spanish in terms of alphabet, script and punctuations, yet the envoy attached the copies of the petitions in French language submitted to the Sublime Porte. These letters were written in French “since the dragomans of the Empire do not know Spanish”.⁹¹ The Diary includes only one short passage in Italian dated November 23, 1779 sent to Cezayirli Gazi Hasan Paşa regarding a request for making an appointment with him.⁹² This multilingualism would be advantageous for Boulingny in his contacts with the European ambassadors. As mentioned before Conrotte claims that the major factor in his appointment was his experience in the Orient as well as his knowledge of the Turkish language and customs. However this claim is not supported by the memoirs itself which neither includes any statement in Turkish nor bears any hint side about his knowledge of Turkish.

The diary is well-organized, and the hand-writing is legible. As well, each passage has separate dates so as to facilitate tracing the story of the plenipotentiary. However, the narration is intense, implicative and includes various persons and facts. It is hard to follow the traces of Boulingny’s main arguments and feelings because of this intensity. However, as the negotiations dragged on for three years, the text is full of repetitive notes and references, all about the diplomatic process.

The diary begins with the date of the arrival of Boulingny on 30 April 1779 and ends with the conclusion of the negotiations on 14 September 1782. The diary covers a period of three years and five months, and consists of a totality of three hundred handwritten pages. Boulingny noted down events daily in May just after his arrival, and weekly in June, July, and August. Later on, it start to change depending on to the pace of the process. For instance, after he received the news that the Imperial Council would assemble to discuss a treaty offer in November 1780, he, once again, started to write daily.⁹³ Occasionally, Boulingny preferred to write quite briefly and merely informative, since he had considered that the negotiations would be short and

⁹¹ “Mis siguientes cartas escritas en idioma frances por no entender los dragomanes el Español (10-13 May 1779)” Juan de Boulingny, *Diario mis Operaciones desde el día de mi arivo a Constantinopla que fui a las 4 horas de la tarde del día 30 Abril 1779*, A.H.N. Legajo Estado 2912, p. 5

⁹² Boulingny, p. 54

⁹³ Boulingny, pp. 137-148

straightforward. Nonetheless, his mission would become wearisome. His fatigue is visible in the most frequent note “There is no answer yet”.⁹⁴

One of the significant questions relates to the goal of Juan de Boulogny in keeping a diary. It may be feasible to speculate that the aim and the audience of the work relying on the content and manner of his notes. As previously mentioned, the plenipotentiary entered his notes on daily or weekly basis so as to enable the reader to follow his activities on a timeline. It seems plausible to think that Boulogny wanted to provide his government with the minute details of his conducts in Constantinople by keeping a diary. Presumably, it would have been difficult to report the entire process in a single final report to be submitted upon returning to Spain. He was not a member of the ruling class, which presumably made him worried about his future career because of protraction of the negotiations with the Ottoman bureaucrats: “...the Court having sent me to this object, it was my duty to overcome the difficulties, lest my court accuse me of inaptitude.”⁹⁵

Interestingly enough, the diary includes few personal reflections on certain incidents such as 1782 fires in Istanbul. He is also informative about the official appointments and factional rivalries in the Ottoman court. Also, it contains only a number of comments about undesirable delays in the diplomatic process.⁹⁶ In a simple manner, Boulogny noted down everything, from his arrival to the time the treaty was signed, his settlement, and his contacts with the other ambassadors, the letters sent, and the presents given. This is a further evidence for the claim that Boulogny must have recorded everything to prove that he fulfilled perfectly the task assigned to him. The diary addresses his government, not the public. As a matter of fact, it does not present interesting comments or criticisms as would travel books of Spanish travellers such as, Aristazabal, Jose Moreno, and Gravina.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ “El día 30 Abril 1780 no tuve respuesta ni el día 1 de Mayo tampoco, 2 Mayo no teniendo respuesta.” p. 107 “No hay resolucion.” (10 December 1780) p. 151 “No hay respuesta.”(11 May 1781) p. 195

⁹⁵ Habiéndose enviado la Corte a este objeto, era de mi dever el venger las dificultades, porque si a cada una, que pueda ocurrir, me parece y diese parte, con razón me tendria en mi Corte por un inepto. (14 December 1780), pp. 156-157

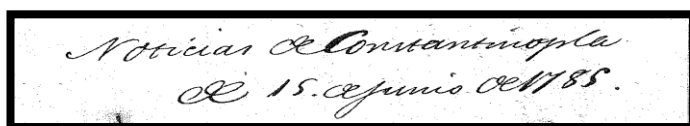
⁹⁶ Even though there is some information on the events in the Ottoman bureaucracy or the developments in the country, the diary centered on the acts of Boulogny.

⁹⁷ Ricardo González Castrillo, “El Viajede Gabriel de Ariztizábal a Constantinopla en 1784”, Universidad de Comptense de Madrid, Facultad de Filolojía, Sección de Semíticas, Opción Árabe e Islam, Junio,1994, Federico Gravina, *Viaje a Constantinopla*, Ed.Jose Sanchez Molledo, Miraguano Ediciones, Madrid, 2001, Jose, Moreno, *Viaje a Constantinopla en el año de 1784*, Madrid

Boulogny sent letters aiming to inform Spanish government about the process. I used some of them in this study to compare the information transferred with the real situation in Constantinople. After the negotiation came to conclusion, Boulogny was appointed as a Spanish ambassador in Constantinople. His letter turned to detailed reports entitled “Noticias de Constantinople”.⁹⁸ Studying his numerous reports on the Ottoman Empire, between 1783 and 1793, require further research and efforts.

3.2 The Operations of the Plenipotentiary in Constantinople

In this chapter, I will expand upon the acts of Juan de Boulogny starting from the time of his arrival to Constantinople until the negotiations with the Sublime Porte, based on his diary but with contributions from secondary sources, archives and other personal accounts. The Spanish plenipotentiary arrived at the coast of Constantinople at four o'clock in the evening on 30 April 1779 and consulted merchants from Hamburg about the procedure to pass through the Turkish customs. Did he declare his mission at the beginning or did he travel incognito? These are the questions that this chapter addresses. The best way to answer this question is to present an overview of the discussions from the secondary sources, and to assess the acts of the envoy as noted. Boulogny did not arrive at Constantinople with the accreditation of the plenipotentiary but instead as a simple merchant and a Franciscan agent.⁹⁹ Boulogny found it expedient to travel to Constantinople incognito, until the proper moment where he revealed his status as the representative of the Spanish crown.¹⁰⁰ In 1778, the Assembly of Madrid appointed the merchant, Boulogny, to negotiate with the Ottomans. He would pretend to go to Constantinople on commercial business, this way he would be able to contact discretely the authorities that had impact on the Ottoman bureaucracy.¹⁰¹ Aiming to disguise his diplomatic mission, the envoy extraordinary,



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⁹⁹V.S. Roma, p. 108, J.H.Franco, p. 274

¹⁰⁰Fontaine Martin, p. 120

¹⁰¹J.P.Nadal, *Diplomacia and Comercio*, p. 541

Bouligny, claimed he was on a commercial expedition.¹⁰² The fundamental assumption made here is that Bouligny kept his mission secret at the beginning. In other words, it was clear to all those who wrote on the topic that Bouligny behaved prudently by obscuring his intention. These assumptions are based on Bouligny's contacts with the merchants of Hamburg (Ahrens and Compa) when he reached Turkish customs and his conversations with the President of Santa Casa, Juan de Rivera.

However, the most recent study¹⁰³ on the issue points that Bouligny had received the mission of an official plenipotentiary rather than a secret agent. His credentials included the signing of any agreement, peace treaty for the good of both powers with the ministers of the Ottoman court. But he went to Italy first only to hide his diplomatic status from the people whom would not agree to these negotiations. There is enough evidence to put forward the hypothesis that Bouligny did not conceal the aim of his travels for a relatively short period. On 6 May 1779 –after five days- he visited Ludolf to discuss the issue:¹⁰⁴

I went to lunch to the house of the Neapolitan ambassador, Senor Ludolf with whom I discussed the issue and he offered me his dragoman Monsieur Chabert, to whom I could confide in completely.¹⁰⁵

Immediately upon his arrival, Bouligny delivered the letters of Floridablanca to the president of the Hospicio in Constantinople, P. Juan Rivera, the proctor of the holy land, and Conde Finochetti. Floridablanca ordered the Spanish administrator of the Hospicio¹⁰⁶ to initiate discussions on the possibilities of a peace agreement to

¹⁰²Miguel Angel Ochoa Brun, *Embajadas y Embajadores en la Historia de España*, p. 399. It is necessary to add that European envoys sometimes preferred to change their name and profession to conceal their mission at the beginning of their travel. For instance, Prussian envoy Fabian Havde Rexin in Constantinople departed from Berlin as if he would purchase horses. However, he was to gather information about the Ottoman Empire, and evaluate the inclination of Ottoman bureaucrats to any alliance with Prussia. Kemal Beydilli, *Büyük Friedrich ve Osmanlılar: XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı-Prusya Münâsebetleri*, pp. 27-28.

¹⁰³The study of Manuel Conrette puts forward the last analyses in 2006.

¹⁰⁴The intimacy began with this meeting between two envoys will continue throughout the negotiation process even some interruptions.

¹⁰⁵“Fui a comer casa el Senor Ludolf Ministro de Napoles con quien conferencié sobre el asunto y me ofrecio su Dragoman en quien podia poner toda mi confianza.”(6 May 1779), Bouligny, p. 4

¹⁰⁶Translated by Spanish dictionary orphanage, children's home, poorhouse. <http://www.spanishdict.com/translate/hospicio>

secure the transport of the pilgrims.¹⁰⁷ The Hospicio was located adjacent to the church of Santa Maria Draperis, which was led by Spanish Franciscans and protected by the French ambassador.¹⁰⁸ This Hospicio facilitated the settlement of the Spanish plenipotentiary in Constantinople and guided Boulogny until his official attempts could start. Boulogny stayed there for a while and asked the President about the Empire and the other ambassadors to be able to act in accordance with the regulations. As an adviser, the president informed the plenipotentiary about procedure and he exhorted him to realize the role of Kapudan-ı Derya Cezayirli Gazi Hasan Paşa, Reis Efendi and Grand Vizier in diplomatic negotiations:

He has informed me on the influence of Hasan Paşa, on Reis Efendi, on the character of Grand Vizier and the Great Lord. He has told me Hasan Paşa is in the favour of the Great Lord and this causes zeal which is the reason of his appointments for dangerous expeditions.¹⁰⁹

In accordance with this information, Boulogny gave the priority to the negotiations with Reis Efendi and Hasan Paşa, referring to them more than a hundred times. It was evident that cultivating good relations with these officials was the key to the treaty, as their letters to Boulogny and positions carried great weight in the imperial court. Kapudan-ı Derya Cezayirli Gazi Hasan Paşa was not in Constantinople at the time of Boulogny's arrival. The plenipotentiary contacted the Reisülküttap Abdurrezzak Bahir Efendi through official channels. He addressed the letters to him that laid out the principal objects of the Spanish court. Boulogny was informed by the Neapolitan ambassador, Ludolf about the official procedures step by step. Boulogny apprehended the salient role of the dragomans; he deemed his dragoman, Monsieur Chabert, suitable for this essential task. He recruited Chabert on May 10, 1779 as the mediator between the envoy and the Empire throughout the negotiation process.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷Gravina, p. 59 We are not informed about the content of these letters as Boulogny did not add the letters delivered to Juan Rivera and Conde Finochetti, thus it may be accepted as an opinion of Gravina based on his contacts.

¹⁰⁸The Church was the third largest church in Pera. See for history of the church: Yıldız Salman, "Santa Maria Draperis Kilisesi", pp. 45-46, Gravina, p. 37

¹⁰⁹Aviendome informado de la influencia de Hazan Bey, de la del Reys Efendi, del caracter del Gran Vizier y de el del Gran Senor, diferentes me han contextado en que hazan Bey esta en el favor del Gran Senor y que esto causa algunos zelos por cuyo motivo le encargan expediciones algo peligrosas. Boulogny, p. 3

¹¹⁰Boulogny, p. 5

After a short period, Boulogny addressed the first letter presenting his primary objectives to the Ottoman dragoman, Nicolaki Caraggia¹¹¹ as follows:

Having been informed by you of the norms of the Sublime Porte which did not allow Ministers' visiting or dealing with a foreigner without the permission of the Sovereign. That inquiry was also necessary to have knowledge of the subject, I have the honor to transmit a memoir addressed to His Excellency, the Reis Efendi, in which the subject of my commission is explained. Sir, I kindly request you to give the petition to the same minister, adding my kindest respects, and also demand the Sublime Porte to accept my petition about "shaking hands" to cooperate in an agreement so that each side of the agreement could benefit from the advantages of it. Indeed, my Lord, I'm well aware of the fact that all process need your kindly approval to go in effect. Hence, I kindly request from you, Sir to complete necessary procedures to reach a successful conclusion. I always present my gratitude, and hope to have the honor to receive a confirmation by you.

Signed, Jean de Boulogny¹¹²

The Ottoman negotiator was the Reisülküttap, the chief of the scribal service. He was the head of the bureau that was traditionally responsible for correspondences with foreign sovereigns and for the registration of treaties and concessions to foreign powers. Thus, he became increasingly occupied with matters of such kind. According to Findley, the diplomatic business of the declining empire grew in volume and seriousness.¹¹³ The scribal service underwent a fundamental transformation in corporate organization and status. After the establishment of the institution of the Sublime Porte in 1654, the men of the pen were divided from the centre and commenced to bureaucratize. In this quintessentially important phase in the

¹¹¹Nicola Caraggia, the dragoman of the Sublime Porte post probably comes from one of the most prominent families providing dragomans to the Porte, Karadja.

See Edited By G. J. H. van Gelder, Ed de Moor, *Eastward Bound: Dutch Ventures and Adventures in the Middle East*, Orientations ; 2, Editions Rodopi (January 1, 1994), pp. 130-159, p. 141 for the list of well-known dragoman families in that century.

¹¹²M'ayant été raporte de votre part que L'usage de la Sublime Porte ne permetait pas a ces Ministres de recevoir chez eux traiter avec un étranger franc sans la permission de leur souverain, et que de il fallait aussi en sçavoir le sujet, J'ay dont L'honneur de vous envoyer icyinclus une Memoire adressé mémoire adressé à Son Excellence le Reys Efendi dans la quelle est expliqué le sujet de ma commission. Je vous prie donc Monsieur d'avoir la bonté de le remettre au même Ministre, y joignant mes tres humble respect et le prier de vouloir bien y doner les mains a cooperar dans une affaire dont la conclusion ne peut être avantageux pour les deux puissances et comme j'n'ignore pas Monsieur, que tout doit passer par votre canal je vous prie de ne pas negliger vos bons offices, desquels restant infiniment obligé, j'en conserveray une parfaite reconnaissance et en attendant de pouvoir avoir l'honneur de vous le confirmer de bouche j'ay colluy.

Signé, Jean de Boulogny (May 13th, 1779) Boulogny, p. 6

¹¹³Carter Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 56

transformation of the central bureaucracy, Reisülküttap had an advantage over the others in that the premises of his office expanded he became more prominent than Kethuda and Çavuşbaşı. Sultan Mehmed IV presented Grand Vizier Derviş Mehmed Paşa with separate establishment known as the Bâbiali. Aksan points out that the first consequence of that move was the separation of the public government of the grand vizier and his staff from the sultan's private government and the second was the bureaucratization of the chancery branch of the Ottoman administration with this separation of the powers.¹¹⁴

By the end of the 18th century, more than one hundred officials were only affiliated to Reisülküttap and the scribal office conducted all foreign affairs. Itzkowitz conceptualizes this development with the phrase 'effendi-turned Paşa.' Many Reis Efendis were promoted to the rank of Paşa and appointed provincial governors as well as Grand Viziers in the eighteenth century.

The really ambitious eighteenth century Ottoman bureaucrat who had his heart set on the greatest advancement possible, which would mean becoming the Reis Efendi and then perhaps a provincial governor, or better still, Grand Vizier, would do well as a starter to secure for himself a haccanship under the Reis Efendi. Of the twenty-six men who held the office of Reisülküttap from 1697 to 1771, at least sixteen were from the central administration.¹¹⁵

Given that Reisülküttap was responsible for all foreign affairs, it does not seem astonishing that foreign representatives mistook him for Foreign Minister. For the most part, Reisülküttap had the highest position among the officials with whom foreign representatives could negotiate. D'Ohsson defined his position by stating, "The Secretary of State Chancellor was at the same time foreign minister".¹¹⁶

By sending the first letter, Boulogny initiated the negotiation process and he was to expect any response. After a while, he was informed by Chabert that he was expected to write an official letter encapsulating the policies and intentions of Spain. These convincing clarifications presented economic and political interests of respective countries as follows:

The notes on the effects of Spain for Turkey: cochineal, vermilion seed, indigo, saffron, dye bath, sugar, sheets of all grades, fabrics of silk of

¹¹⁴Virginia Aksan, *Ahmed Resmi Efendi (1700-1783)*, pp. 12-13

¹¹⁵Norman Itzkowitz, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities", p. 88

¹¹⁶"Tout à la fois ministre des affaires étrangères, secrétaire d'Etat chancelier". Aksan, pp. 27-28

Spain and the Indies, gold and silver gilding, piaster, doubloons and later, the other effects in accordance with the time.

The notes on the effects of Turkey for Spain: cottons, fur of goat, mohair, the chevron wool, ammoniac salt, opium, gum tragacanth, scarmonee and other fruits and the products of this Empire.

By the peace between the Ottomans and Spain, a great benefit should result for the whole of Turkey, the effects for Spain is offered directly by the producer and therefore more cheaply. It will be better establishing conduct with the Spaniards by the negotiations. This must raise the price of products because brokers raise the price of the thing more than it is worth.¹¹⁷

Bouligny believed, from the Ottoman point of view, these political and commercial interests would attract a great deal of attention and induce the acceptance of the treaty offer. Bouligny made reference particularly to the first article¹¹⁸ of the agreement signed between the King of the Two Sicilies and the Sublime Porte in 1740, aiming to ensure its fulfillment. This article confirms and guarantees the expansion of the implication of the treaty for the newly conquered regions and their subjects by the King of Two Sicilia and the Ottoman Empire. Bouligny indicates that the king of the Two Sicilies, Carlos III ascended to the throne of Spain so that the agreement would involve the subjects of Spain. The king of Spain sent the letter testifying to and aiming to extend the established friendship. In case of procrastinating in the reception and the recognition of the envoy, it would be understood that the Ottoman court did not have the same sentiment of amity. Unless the Ottomans opened negotiations, the agreement

¹¹⁷Notte des effects d'Espagne propres pour la Turquie cochenille, graine de vermillon, indigo, safran, bois de teinture, sucre, drapts de toutes les qualités, etofes de soye, d'Espagne et des Indes, dorure en or et argent, piastres, doublons, et bien d'autres effects que dans la suite du temps pourrait convenir.

Effects de la Turquie propres pour L'Espagne, cottons, en poil et file blanc et rouge, soye, fil de chevre, teftick, ou laine de chevron, sel armoniack, opium, gomme adragant, scarmonee et autres a fruits du produit de cet Empire.

Par la paix entre L'Empire d'Espagne et L'Empire Ottoman doit resulter un grand profit a toute la Turquie puisque pour lors receiront les effets d'Espagne de la première main et par conséquent à meilleur compte et par l'establisement des Negociants Espagnols ici il doit augmenter le prix des produits car plus d'achepteurs il y a de la chose plus elle vaut. Bouligny, p. 8

¹¹⁸“Devlet-i Aliyye-i ebed miknetim ile Sicilyateyn kralı beyninde inşaallahu teâlâ tasdiknâmesi vurûdundan sonra sâ‘ir dost olan Fransa ve İngiltere ve Flemenk ve ba‘dehû İsveç devletleri misüllü hâlet ile sulh u salâh akd olunmuştur. Binaenaleyh Devlet-i Aliyye‘me tabi‘ memâlik ve eyalât ve ülkât ve cezîrelerin re‘âya ve ahâlileri ile kral-ı müşarunileyhe tabi‘ olan zîr u bâlâ-yı Sicilyateyn'nin hükümetleri ve mülhakatları olan arazi ve cezîreleri ve kezâlik Toskana'nın şehirleri ve kostalları ve arazi ve cezîreleri ve bundan sonra vaktiyle tarafına tabi‘ olan memâlik ve hükûmâtın re‘âyaları beyninde işbu sulh u salâh mura‘at olunub ve emr-i ticarete dahi sâ‘ir düvele müsâ‘ade olunduğu üzere berren ve bahren cevaz virilüp ve emti‘alarının fûruhtu ve fırtına ve avâz-ı sâireden mutazarrır olan sefayinin tamiri ve kefâf-ı nefisleri için iktiza eden nesnenin akçeleriyle iştırâ‘ı tarafından câiz oluna.” BOA, HAT, 04/Ra/1153, 1428/ 58461.

would not be practiced in which case Spain would be dishonoured; this would be a disgrace provoking the resentment of Spain. Bouligny did not refrain from using this language of intimidation; the Sublime Porte could assure the friendship of Spain, for the latter could become the enemy as well in the case of non-agreement.¹¹⁹

There is much evidence in the letter to show that the style of writing, the language and the content of the letter is extraordinary. The envoy speculated about the consequences as if he received a pessimistic response. One can claim he aimed to leave a strong impression on the respondents. At the end, he deliberately used the term “becoming enemies”, implying the vulnerability of the Empire who had been embroiled in a long-term military struggle with its archenemies, Austria and Russia. Bouligny aimed to establish alliances against them. His intention was to oblige the Ottoman side to decide without haggling over the articles and to sign a treaty as soon as possible.

On May 17th, Chabert visited him while Bouligny was impatiently planning to write a letter. As an experienced dragoman, he urged him about the procedure and advised him to wait for a while to be able to get information about the reaction of the court: “My interpreter informed me about the affairs in the court, only time was needed to address the matters.”¹²⁰

One of the salient points in the diary is the delay of the first session in which the agreement draft would come up for discussion. Even though the Spanish plenipotentiary insisted on accelerating the procedure, the Ottoman side acted slowly to find out the intentions behind the offer. The Ottomans frequently sent the dragoman to seek responses, and the Ottoman Dragoman, during the meeting, warned Chabert not to ask for any response until three or four days had passed.¹²¹ Bouligny asked the dragoman about the postponement of the negotiations. The Dragoman replied that the reason for the delay was none other than the desire to conclude successfully; yet there were some procedures, which required time to observe properly. Bouligny complained about dilatory tactics, and underlined them in numerous places in his diary.¹²² Also, he

¹¹⁹Bouligny, pp. 9-10

¹²⁰Mi interprete me informó del estado de las cosas solo tuve tiempo de apuntar la materia. Bouligny, p. 10

¹²¹Bouligny, p. 17

¹²²Bouligny, p. 30

addressed the issue in his letters to the Spanish court as, “Time is too valuable to be lost but it [process] has taken so long.”¹²³ One may assume that as a person responsible for the process, he aimed to manifest his enthusiasm by emphasizing his attempts, though they had hitherto remained unfruitful.

Upon not receiving any response to his letters, he asked to be informed clearly by the Sublime Porte without any delay, he began to criticize harshly the procedure as follows:

There is no news, just sentences advancing patience and all will be perfect, nothing more.¹²⁴

As I see, Reis Efendi’s response is delayed, I have spoken firmly to make him understand that the behaviour of the Sublime Porte is worse than childish. It must be understood that deceiving someone is just deceiving oneself. Spain will never allow any power to interrupt the negotiation process.¹²⁵

Three years passed, the Sublime Porte usually wasted time with suggestions, on the contrary to the decorum and dignity of both potencies.¹²⁶

In reply to these audacious declarations, the Ottoman bureaucrats responded in pursuance of Ottoman foreign policies. In September, 1780 Bouligny got in touch with some friends of Reis Efendi to understand the Ottoman concerns so that he would be able to convince him to sign the treaty. They wished to sign a treaty, which demonstrated that the Ottomans did not have any enmity against Spain. However, the Ottomans could not be obliged to explain the reasons for a likely rejection of a treaty with Spain. All this would be accepted as a formal rejection and Bouligny would have to return to his country empty-handed.¹²⁷

After some time, Bouligny was informed that the Sublime Porte wanted to compromise so Reis Efendi was appointed to supervise the negotiation. Reis Efendi clarified the reason of the postponement; he simply did not have time to inquire about

¹²³A.H.N. Lejago ESTADO, 4761, 11 March 1782

¹²⁴Bouligny, p. 116

¹²⁵“las respuestas del Reiiis Efendi tiran a continuar las largas, le ja hablado con firmeza a fin que le hagan entender que el proceder de la Puerta, es peor que el de los niños, que al paso que entienden engañar se engañan ellos mismo, y que esto se reduzca a si o no, que no esperan que otras Potencias se mesclen del negocio, ni el que la España lo permita”. Bouligny, p. 189

¹²⁶Que son pasados ya tres años que la S.P me lleva entreteniendo pasandome en palabras cosa bien contraria al decoro y dignidad de ambas poterncias. Bouligny, p. 286

¹²⁷Bouligny, p. 119

Boulogny. This, for him, required arranging an agreement draft. He remarked that they should agree on a schedule for further negotiations. Needless to say the reason for the delay was the Porte's desire to scrutinize the issue carefully in accordance with the balance of diplomacy in Europe.¹²⁸

Boulogny was in despair over the conclusion of the agreement as it is stated in his diary and he emphasized the difficulties he confronted during the process.¹²⁹ He is careful to point out that every ambassador had to undergo the very same daunting procedure; thus, this was not a discrimination against Spain.¹³⁰ One should conclude that the process should last three-year long was not contrary to the norm. There is enough evidence to support this claim. For instance, one can observe the same during the negotiations with the Polish envoy, Potocki. When he complained about the postponement of the signing ceremony, the Porte responded that the agreement process with the Swedish envoy had lasted more than two years. Potocki strove approximately two years to conclude the negotiations.¹³¹ In 1755, the Swedish envoy, Rexin had arrived in Constantinople with the aim of offering a peace and trade treaty. Although the Sublime Porte did not turn down the offer, it postponed negotiations indefinitely. For Rexin, there was no other choice than to return to his country.¹³² İsmâil Ferruh Efendi, the second Ottoman permanent ambassador in London, met with the Portuguese envoy, Almieda, to negotiate a treaty ensuring concessions to Portuguese merchants. He resorted to the good old Ottoman tactics;¹³³ he delayed the issue forever without open rejection. This tactics was almost the gist of the contemporary Ottoman diplomacy. In this sense, diplomacy was the weapon of the weak.

For proper functioning of the negotiation process with foreign representatives and the dragomans of the Sublime Porte had important functions. "One of the features that distinguished the embassies in Istanbul from all other embassies in the Western

¹²⁸Boulogny, p. 118

¹²⁹Manuel Conrotte, p. 104

¹³⁰H.S. Ortega, p. 159

¹³¹Hacer, Topaktaş, "Dersaadet'te Son Leh Elçisi: Franciszek Piotr Potocki'nin Elçiliği Ekseninde Osmanlı-Leh Diplomatik İlişkileri ve Uluslararası Boyutu (1788-1793)", p. 209

¹³² Kemal Beydilli, *Büyük Friedrich ve Osmanlılar*, p. 32

¹³³Ercümen Kuran, "Avrupa'da Osmanlı İkamet Elçilerinin Kuruluşu ve İlk Elçilerin Siyasi Faaliyetleri", p. 36

capitals was the institution of “dragomans” via whom all transactions with the Sublime Porte were carried on; therefore the ambassador had to depend on them for the most essential work”¹³⁴ The appointment of this crucial job was really problematic. “All embassies in Constantinople faced the never-ending problem of finding dragomans who would be ‘competent, trustworthy and brave enough’ to risk the consequences of transmitting unpalatable messages to the Sultan.”¹³⁵ Despite all obstacles, Boulingny had to deal with the inabilities of his dragomans who functioned as the eyes of the envoy in the Sublime Porte. The first dragoman, Chabert’s negligent attitudes caused some postponements as it can be seen in the following passage:

My dragoman came, whose mysterious style in explaining I have not been satisfied with. He said to me the persons he had talked with a few days ago were Beylikçi and Tezkireci Efendis. I warned him to convey directly what he learned and not to obscure even the slightest thing. What I have been so dissatisfied with is that I am the director of this mission, I have charged him only to convey correctly what he heard in the Sublime Porte. I have to be informed about the news and governmental reports so that I can act accordingly.¹³⁶ I have written this letter to Ludolf: Senor, I have attached my orders, which I had informed M. Chabert by the letter written on 13 March, 1780. I suppose that he did not put them into practice. You have ordered him to support me but he also brushes your orders aside. He may terminate his task not to damage my work with his reckless acts.¹³⁷

Boulingny considered it was necessary to employ someone experienced and diligent to mediate. He proposed Talamas, the dragoman of the Hospicio, to take an active role in the negotiation on October, 13. Talamas rejected on account that the Hospicio was protected by the French ambassador and he was concerned about Ottoman spies.¹³⁸ However, he hinted that he would contribute covertly by conveying some messages from the Sublime Porte.¹³⁹ The case in point demonstrated the indispensability of an appointment of an ingenious and resourceful dragoman, Cosimo

¹³⁴Alexander H. De Groot, “The Dragomans of the Embassies in Istanbul 1785-1834”, Ed. J. H. van Gelder, Ed de Moor, *Eastward Bound: Dutch Ventures and Adventures in the Middle East*, p. 130

¹³⁵Roland Ruth, *Interpreters as Diplomats: A Diplomatic History of the Role of Interpreters in World Politics (Perspectives on Translation)*, p. 48

¹³⁶Boulingny, p. 52

¹³⁷Boulingny, p. 94

¹³⁸Boulingny, p. 126

¹³⁹Boulingny, p. 125

Comidas de Carbognano, of Armenian origin, who had worked with ambassadors.¹⁴⁰ Boulogny briefly introduced him in his account. He was twenty-five years old, knowledgeable in three languages (Turkish, Italian and Latin) and his grandfather was decapitated by the Ottomans.¹⁴¹ After Carbognano left his mission, Boulogny deemed Talamas more suitable and experienced for conducting this notable negotiation at the end. This way, he tried to compensate the delay of the negotiation; the other strategy he used was the same as other envoys: presenting gifts to the Ottoman bureaucrats in order to get support from the officials.¹⁴²

In that century, presenting gifts had a significant place in diplomatic relations. The quality and quantity of gifts indicated the status of the countries.¹⁴³ Foreign envoys generally expended their properties to be able to contact the only legal authority they could reach, which was Reis Efendi. Presenting gifts was accepted as an Ottoman tradition, demonstrating the ambition of the bureaucrats. Naff alleges that the tradition aimed to conceal bribery.¹⁴⁴ The first Russian envoy, Tolstoy, emphasized Ottomans' excessive addiction to fur which played a convincing role in the relationship and negotiation process.¹⁴⁵

Shortly after Boulogny wrote the letters on the political and economic interest of both countries, his dragoman conveyed that the Sublime Porte asked him to prepare a gift list. Boulogny immediately replied that it would be possible to present gifts, approximately forty-two pieces, by the time he received a positive response concerning

¹⁴⁰He was also the first dragoman who as a first time penned a book on the Turkish philology namely *Primi Principi Della Gramatica Turca, ad udo dei missionari apostolici di Constantinople*. Antonio Jurado Aceituno, "Bir Filolog Olarak Dragoman", pp. 217-233 Apart from the dragomans, Neapolitan chancellor, Marini contributed by communicating some bureaucrats.

¹⁴¹Boulogny, p. 258

¹⁴²Saadet Öner, "İsveç Devlet Arşivinde Mahfuz İ.M.D'Ohsson Evrakı Tasnifi ve Tahlili" p. 5

¹⁴³See Suraiya Faroqhi, *Negotiating a Festivity in the 18th century: "İbrahim Paşa and the Marquis de Bonnac"* in *Essays in honour of Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, Volume 1: Societies, cultures, sciences: a collection of articles, compiled by Mustafa Kaçar and Zeynep Durukal (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2006), pp. 279-294*, for the discussion between Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa and French Ambassador, Marquis de Bonnac on the determination of the gifts which would be presented to Ahmed III in the circumcision feast of his sons. She analyses this micro event by making general observations about the diplomatic relations and presenting gift.

¹⁴⁴Hacer, Topaktaş, "Dersaadet'te Son Leh Elçisi: Franciszek Piotr Potocki'nin Elçiliği Ekseninde Osmanlı-Leh Diplomatik İlişkileri ve Uluslararası Boyutu (1788-1793)" p. 83, 150

¹⁴⁵Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Türkiye ve Rusya*, p. 17

the signing of the treaty.¹⁴⁶ At the first section with Reis Efendi, he was asked to give gifts to the servants in the residence, as was the custom. Bouligny realized the significant role of gifts and he gave some gifts to Tezkereci and Amedî Efendis aiming to ensure their support.¹⁴⁷

According to Bouligny, the support of Captain Paşa (Cezayirli Hasan Paşa) who was the most influential character among the Ottoman bureaucrats was required. The navy was rebuilt under the leadership of one of the few Ottoman heroes to emerge out from the battle of Cheshme, Hasan Paşa. He was appointed as Kapudan-ı Derya in 1774 and remained nearly fifteen years in the office during the reign of Abdulhamid I.¹⁴⁸ Captain Paşa's prestige in the eyes of the Sultan and his influence on the administration staff had attracted the attention of historians. The relevant literature lays emphasis on his influence over Sultan Abdulhamid I as follow: "Abdulhamid I had been pleased with Hasan Paşa by consulting him on essential issues. His reference also had importance to contact some people."¹⁴⁹

Uzunçarşılı points out that there was a power struggle between Hasan Paşa and Halil Hamid Paşa, that ended with the discharging of the Grand Vizier being accused of plotting against Abdulhamid I.¹⁵⁰ This event strengthened the position of Hasan Paşa in the court.¹⁵¹ Hasan Paşa was not willing to be grand vizier, as a matter of fact that he was practically acting upon real authority by controlling the appointed viziers. However, the defeat of Özü (Ochakiv) in 1788 fell him from favour as the Sultan lost confidence in him.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁶"des la signature de la paix vous pouvais compter sur les environs quarante deux bourses que suivant que vous m'avez témoigné.seront nécessaires pour les présents que d'usage se font ici lors d'un Pareill événement." Bouligny, p. 10

¹⁴⁷"I assured them to give eight presents to Tezkereci Efendi and four presents to Amedi Efendi." Bouligny, p. 47 He had to ask for additional budget on December,5 1779. Bouligny, p. 55

¹⁴⁸Castrillo, p. 100, Stanford Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1789-1807*, p. 10 Mahir Aydın, "Cezayirli Hasan Paşa", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, cilt7, pp. 501-503

¹⁴⁹Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, *Kendi Kaleminden Bir Padişahın Portresi Sultan I. Abdülhamid (1774-1789)*, p. 126

¹⁵⁰İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Cezayirli Gazi Hasan Paşa'ya Dair", pp. 17-40, Caroline Finkel, *Rüyadan İmparatorluğa Osmanlı*, p. 339

¹⁵¹Virginia Aksan, *Ahmet Resmi*, p. 265

¹⁵²Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, p. 128

Hasan Paşa was the second most mentioned name after Reis Efendi who was mentioned more than a hundred times in the diary. It seems reasonable to say that the Spanish envoy attached a considerable degree of importance to Hasan Paşa whom he called Captain Paşa. He assumed that Hasan Paşa favoured an agreement with Spain.¹⁵³ At the moment of his arrival, Captain Paşa was not present in Constantinople, but he returned on October 13th. Bouligny requested an appointment immediately so as to explain his mission to this man of consequence. Bouligny was very hopeful about the outcome of the meeting since Captain Paşa had assured him that he would cooperate to bring the process to a successful end.¹⁵⁴ The dragoman, Chabert was of the same opinion as Bouligny, considering the great influence of Captain Paşa over the Ottoman bureaucrats. The dragoman had sought for his participation in the negotiations. It seems very interesting that Bouligny rated several individuals in his diary based on their efficiency in the decision-making process, e.g. Captain Paşa: 35%, Reis 40%, Ba^y 15%¹⁵⁵ and the Dragoman 20%.

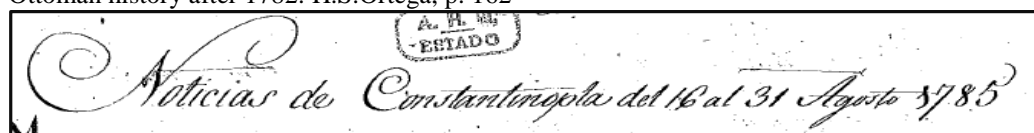
Even though Bouligny had mostly focused on the peace process, he did not forget to note some information about the situations and the events that had a great effect on the process.¹⁵⁶ Especially, he noted the appointments of Sadrazams, Reis Efendis or Beylikçi, determinant figures in decision-making and in the progress of the negotiations.¹⁵⁷ Throughout his mission in Constantinople, he witnessed frequent

¹⁵³Javier Sabater Galindo, "El Tratado de Paz Hispano-Argelino de 1786", p. 60

¹⁵⁴Bouligny, p. 55

¹⁵⁵Unfortunately I could not identify "Ba^y" due to the illegible letters.

¹⁵⁶This information covers very little proportion of the diary in comparison to the letters he sent after his appointment as a first ambassador. The letters written by Bouligny turned into a chronic for the Ottoman history after 1782. H.S.Ortega, p. 162



Almost all the documents are entitled as above. These letters are located in the Archivo Nacional de Madrid. Some of them are used in this study but the abundance of the letters requires further research.

¹⁵⁷ Sadrazam, Kalafat Mehmet Paşa was dismissed on August, 22, 1779 Silahdar Karavezir Seyyid Mehmed Paşa was appointed in his stead. Abdurrezzak Bahir Efendi was removed on October, 12, 1780 and Süleyman Feyzi Efendi took over only to be dismissed on November, 17, 1781. Bouligny, p. 40, 124, 241

changes in the administration staff, and he was preoccupied with the factional rivalries in the Sublime Porte.¹⁵⁸

As understood from the diary, Bouligny was not only preoccupied with the instability and frequent promotions and demotions in bureaucracy, as an impediment to the process. Also, he emphasized the fires in Constantinople, most frequently threatening the social and economic order. The fires were other distracters in the process because of the urgencies calling for the political centre's attention. The catastrophic dimensions of the fires occurred during the reign of Abdulhamid I, and this can be seen in the "Fire Pamphlet" (Hârîk Risâlesi written by Dervîş Efendi-Zade dervîş Mustafa Efendi 1782), a unique source written on the fires of that period. For the duration of April, 1779 to September 1782, approximately ten major fire events occurred. As foreign ambassadors and travellers showed great interest in recording the fires, it is not extraordinary that Bouligny took notice of three extensive fires:¹⁵⁹

On 4 August, 1779: The frequent fire incidents devastating wide areas in the city indicate dissatisfaction of the society against the court.¹⁶⁰

On 22 April, 1781: The fire in Constantinople, from eight in the morning until four in the evening, devastated more than 2100 houses, some of them had been very large.¹⁶¹

On 10 July, 1782: There is a persistent fire so that I cannot find anyone to deliver my letter.¹⁶²

The fire was used as a symbol signifying the opposition of some people, and this overlaps with the practical interests of low-income people in certain ways. The plundering of the houses sustains the unemployed who can also easily find jobs after the fire in the reconstruction business.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸Three Reis Efendis (Abdurrezzak Bahir, Süleyman Feyzi, Seyyid Mehmet Hayri) and five Grand Viziers (Kalafat Mehmet Paşa, Karavezir Seyyid Mehmed, İzzed Mehmed Paşa, Yeğen Seyyid Mehmet, Halil Hamid Paşa) were appointed within just three years.

¹⁵⁹Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, pp. 234-237

¹⁶⁰Bouligny, p. 39

¹⁶¹Bouligny, p. 188

¹⁶²Bouligny, p. 286 The first fire occurred in Aksaray, the latter one occurred in Ahırkapısı and the third spread throughout the old city in Hicrî, 13 Şaban 1196.

¹⁶³Garrigues, p. 119, Gravina, p. 69 Gravina also describes the common features of the Ottoman houses and finds them vulnerable to fire. He makes the point that the unemployed was not always the suspect for the fires in the city. The construction materials and the habit of smoking tobacco also caused disasters in the capital.

Foreign members and the dragomans witnessed these fires but they did not really suffer from them, as they mostly preferred to live in distant neighbourhoods such as Pera located on a hill with the complete view of the old city. We can say that Bouligny was a part of this peculiar lifestyle, which was an isolated and boring one, and the representatives had assembled a meeting nearly once a week to exchange the information obtained.¹⁶⁴ For Bouligny, this network with the Europeans gave him the chance to obtain information about Ottoman domestic and foreign policies. Aiming to understand the present situation, he frequently visited the ambassadors of the Neapolitan court and France.¹⁶⁵ Bouligny kept in sight the relations between the Ottomans and Western countries, Russia, and French. He requested to participate in the private audience between Reis Efendi and the Russian envoy that came to present gifts upon the treaty of Aynalıkavak, signed on March 21, 1779.¹⁶⁶ He noted some explanations about the relations between the Ottomans and Russia as follows:

The very interesting information about the diplomatic interaction of Constantinople at this time: "it has spread that the Court of Russia has not approved the deal made in previous December which was to establish the General Consul, Lascarof, in Moldova and Valachia. French ambassador mediated the negotiations which did not accord to the Ottoman court. Then the Minister of Russia, refused to ratify due to dissatisfaction with the agreement and discharged Staquief and immediately after he appointed another person who is defined as a firm and resolute character. He would arrive within May."¹⁶⁷

Bouligny was concerned with the operations of the Polish envoys aiming to sign a treaty of peace and trade with the Ottomans. It was a secret that the Polish envoys, Boscamp, subsequently Dzieduszycki and Mayor D'ote had been endeavoring

¹⁶⁴Ochoa Brun, p. 398

¹⁶⁵Me apliqué a tomar noticias relativas a la politica de este ministre. Bouligny, p. 51

¹⁶⁶Bouligny, p. 28 Crimean issue was temporary solved with this treaty guarantying the recognition of legitimacy of Şahin Giray as a ruler of Crimea by the Ottomans. Virginia Aksan, *Ahmet Resmi Efendi*, p. 273

¹⁶⁷Información muy interesante sobre la interacción diplomática del Constantinopla de la época " Se ha esparcido la voz, de que la Corte de Rusia no ha aprobado, la transacción que este Enviado hizo en Diciembre Ultimo sobre el establecimiento de su consul General, Lascarof, en la Moldavia y Vlachia, en cuyo assumpto, promedió el Embaxador de Francia, haciendo adherir Staquief, a la transacción no del todo conforme a los deseos de su Corte, y haziendose cargo dicho Embaxador de escribir al Ministro de Rusia, para que lo aprovasen el Ministro de Rusia le ha respondido nada satisfecho, y a su Enviado le ha concedido el retiro que pedía antes, concediendole una leve pensión; y ha nombrado otro, que dicen ser de un carácter firme y resuelto, y que llegará a esta por todo Mayo. Bouligny, pp. 186-187.

to sign a treaty under the protection of Russia so as to enhance trade potentials of Prusia and Russia.¹⁶⁸

Not only did he observe Ottoman diplomacy through the lens of foreign representatives, but he also struggled to prevent negotiations with the Sublime Porte from any interruption from the European countries. According to the British ambassadorial reports and the account of priest Dallaway, Constantinople was one of the prominent diplomatic centres. The city had been a strategic position as a commercial market and in terms of the balance of power for the European countries. What the European powers had always expected from their diplomatic missionaries was the protection of their interests and the acquisition of new benefits.¹⁶⁹ The network of foreign ambassadors in Constantinople was crucially important in terms of the protection of interests of respective countries. Most embassies sent their interpreters daily to the Sublime Porte to observe the course of events.¹⁷⁰

Kemal Beydilli underlines the relations of the foreign members in an example where Kont Beaujeu demanded protection from the Ottomans on behalf of Corsica and he confronted the interventions of many countries. The ambassador of Naples, Chevalier Majo, the ambassador of Holland, Calkoen, the Austrian ambassador Penckler and the ambassador from Venice informed their countries about this development which suddenly turned into an international issue.¹⁷¹ On some occasions, these interventions impeded the process as seen in the Swedish case. In 1755, Rexin aimed to negotiate with the Sublime Porte, yet the activities of the Austrian and French ambassadors affected the negotiations, ensuring they would not be completed successfully.¹⁷² Another example is the story of Dutch extraordinary ambassador Cornelius Haga who was sent to Istanbul to negotiate the capitulations. Despite obvious opposition from the French, English and Venetian ambassadors, Haga was

¹⁶⁸Boulogny, p. 110 See Hacer Topaktaş, "Dersaadet'te Son Leh Elçisi" for the whole process of the negotiation between Poland and the Ottomans.

¹⁶⁹See for the reports and Dallaway's book: M. Alaaddin, Yaşınkaya, "Bir Avrupa Diplomasi Merkezi Olarak İstanbul, 1792-1798 Dönemi İngiliz Kaynaklarına Göre", *Osmanlı I: Siyaset* (Bilim Ed: Kemal Çiçek-Cem Oğuz), Ankara, 1999, pp. 660-675, pp. 671-672

¹⁷⁰Naff, p. 299

¹⁷¹Kemal Beydilli, "Korsika ve Osmanlı Devleti", pp. 41, 42

¹⁷²Kemal Beydilli, *Büyük Friedrich ve Osmanlılar*, p. 32

able to achieve his goal.¹⁷³ Since this case was known, the ambassadors were usually warned against the adversities and the interventions of other ambassadors. The envoy from Poland, Potocki, was warned to be very cautious, advised against confiding in anyone. He was to contact only the Swedish ambassador whose activities would be followed carefully.¹⁷⁴ The British foreign secretary, Lord Grantham, in a dispatch, had instructed Robert Ainslie to act as a perfect friend to the Russian ambassador in Constantinople.¹⁷⁵ One can say that the most fundamental stage in undertaking a mission in Constantinople was organizing a proper atmosphere in which the envoy was able to achieve his goal.

Because of the above-mentioned reasons, Boulingny was careful against the interventions of the French and the Neapolitan ambassadors. He had to contend with the opposition of the ambassadors of other European powers.¹⁷⁶ His dragoman had been tracking whether the French ambassador was informed about the latest developments on August, 3.¹⁷⁷ After three months, Boulingny noted:

On November 16, my dragoman told that he was informed by an anonymous witness about the activities of French ambassador. He wants to disrupt my plan and to make opposition to the negotiations. Now, I have realized that this was the reason of the postponement of the process.¹⁷⁸

One of the fundamental factors disrupting the negotiation process was the objection of the French ambassador, Saint-Priest, as understood from the diary and dispatches.¹⁷⁹ The major contender was France who was anxious about the expansion of Spanish network of trade.¹⁸⁰ By mid-century, the French were proud that they had

¹⁷³Ethem Eldem, "Capitulations and Western Trade", p. 292

¹⁷⁴Hacer Topaktaş, p. 166

¹⁷⁵Ali İhsan Bağış, *Britain and the Struggle for The Integrity of the Ottoman Empire: Sir Robert Ainslie's Embassy to Istanbul 1776-1794*, p. 11

¹⁷⁶Galindo, p. 60

¹⁷⁷Boulingny, p. 38

¹⁷⁸"Este dia vino mi Dragoman a informarme como haviendo ido a la Puerta, uno de los Senores cuyo nombre no me quiso dezir le manifesto como el embajador francia se habia mesclado de nuestro negocio, habia causao opocicion, esto es la suspencion del negocio." Boulingny, pp. 51-52

¹⁷⁹Manuel Conrotte, p.106, A.H.N., Legajo 4761, 10 Agust 1782

¹⁸⁰"El mayor contrario era la francia por miedo que los espanoles no se asumen este comercio." Boulingny, pp. 91-92

effectively conquered the market, with a share of over 65 % against a mere 15 %, 3 % and 16 % for the English, Dutch and Venetians, respectively.¹⁸¹ France interrupted the process with the aim of preserving its hegemony over Ottoman trade as Boulingny noted. France was not the only opponent, Naples also tried to curtail the independence of Spanish diplomacy as quoted below:¹⁸²

On March 18, 1780 I had meeting in the Neapolitan ambassador, Ludolf's mansion. Then, he gave me a note which was dismissive. His attitude, his families' and servants' behaviour, which I have never seen before, made me confused extremely. However, I have to be prudent not to cause any scandal.¹⁸³

Boulingny complains about the Neapolitan ambassador Ludolf who acted as if he were in charge of negotiating on behalf of Spain while his duty was simply to mediate between the two powers. Boulingny, aiming to strengthen his authority among these ambassadors, emphatically indicated his responsibility and said they could participate in the negotiations as much as he would let them. On the basis of the statements repeated in the diary, it can be alleged that Boulingny defended himself against any possibility of forthcoming complaints by the Spanish court: "I am the sole and legitimate person to deal with the cases regarding to the Court of Spain. That must be understood."¹⁸⁴

Boulingny speaks openly without concealing his sentiments and considerations about this ambassador in the passage written on December 14, 1780. The aim of Ludolf was to scrutinize the activities of Boulingny; yet he did not have the slightest idea how to reach conclusion. Ludolf position was ready to praise the Sublime Porte. Ludolf had thought since the inception of his mission in Constantinople that Boulingny could not achieve to sign a treaty. Boulingny underlines his perseverance on this issue as follows:

As it is my duty, I have to struggle against all difficulties I may confront with. If I cannot accomplish this, it will be seen as my inability or

¹⁸¹Ethem Eldem, p. 301

¹⁸²Mercedez Garcia Arenal, p. 157

¹⁸³ "En la noche de este dia estando en el palacio de Napoles. El Enviado al salir de quarto de la asamblea me entrego un pliego, acompanandolo con voces nada atentas de que en jamas me escribiria ni hablaria ni me escucharia sobre el particular con tal emocion que toda su familia y criados pudo apercebirse, me sosprendio y huve de valerme de prudencia por no causar escandalo." Boulingny, pp. 94-95

¹⁸⁴ je suis la persone unique et legitime pour traiter les affaires qui regardent la Cour de Espagne que c'est uniquement avec moi qu'elle doit s'entendre. Boulingny, p. 123

clumsiness by Spanish court -that I will not achieve any result. Nearly four months passed but still we have been waiting for incoming and outgoing letters. In this period, we have witnessed various questions obstructing the negotiation process. I am the person who is responsible for all issues. I had to be careful about Ludolf. Since December, I have consulted with him five times, however he did not give any idea to conclude a treaty with Spain.¹⁸⁵

On the one hand, Bouligny dealt with the interventions of the French and Neapolitan ambassadors, on the other, he did not refrain from cooperating with some foreign representatives having relations with the Sublime Porte. The first example is the Swedish dragoman, Muragia (Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson) who reported that Sweden was not opposed to the negotiations in political and commercial aspects. Muragia was the son-in law of Kuleli who was of Armenian origins. He was well informed about all Ottoman bureaucrats and foreigners, especially the French.¹⁸⁶ Bouligny was in contact with him as it can be confirmed in the dispatches of d'Ohsson.¹⁸⁷ Some documents located in the Ottoman archives prove that d'Ohsson was in the favour of a treaty between Spain and the Sublime Porte and that he mediated in the process.¹⁸⁸ He aimed to get benefits by mediating between Spain and the Sublime Porte.

¹⁸⁵“el que siempre quería saber de mi, sin darme en jamas la menor idea relativa al exito, que bien al contrario, siempre le vehia dispuesto a aplaudir las largas de este Ministerio, que siguiendo su dictament en jamas veriamos el fin, y que habiendmoe embiado la Corte a este objeto, era de mi dever el venger las dificultades, porque si a cada una, que pueda ocurrir, me parece y diese parte, con razón me tendria en mi Corte por un inepto, y ademas resultaria el nunca concluir, porque entre van y vienen las cartas, pasan quatro meses, y en el intermedio ocurren novedades que hazen ineficazes las resoluciones, sobre lo que uno expone, que por tant siendo yo el encargado de la Negociacion es a mi a referile lo que halle apropiado que haya, pues soi el responsable de mis acciones, que no obtante ha observado que siempre le he tratado con la debida attention, que he estado con el mas de quince vezes desde noviembre: que nunca me ha dado menor idea”, Bouligny, pp. 156-157

¹⁸⁶Bouligny, pp. 111-112

¹⁸⁷Saadet Öner, pp. 163-167, *İmparatorluğun meşalesi: XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Genel Görünümü ve Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson = The Torch of the Empire: Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson and the tableau general of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century*, p. 29

¹⁸⁸“İsveç kralı büyük İspanya kralının devlet-i ebed-müddet ile ‘akd-i sulha murahhas gönderdiğini istimâ’ ve el altından kendi maslahatgüzârına ne işler isen işle Devlet-i aliyeyi İspanyalı ile ‘akd-i sulha terğib eyle. Zira İspanyalı Âsitane-i devlet-i âşiyânedan sulh ümidini kat’ eylediği halde beher hâl Moskovlu ile ‘akd ittifâk ider. Septe Boğazı ellerinde ve bî-nihâye sefâyine mâlik böyle bir devleti Moskovlu kendulere müttefik ittikleri halde iş pek müşkil olur dimiş olmağla İsveç maslahatgüzârı kendü tercümânı Muratçayı tercümânlık bahânesiyle murahhasın ma‘iyyetine terfik itmişdi.” CH 89/4420 (29/Z /1255) This document is dated 1255H.,(1840 Miladî), but the content is related to the our study. In order to prevent misunderstanding, it can be said that document is registered incorrectly. <http://katalog.devletarsivleri.gov.tr/osmanli/arsiv.aspx> (Access date:09/09/2014)

The second example is the Russian ambassador who visited Boulingny with the aim of giving advices for trade in the Black Sea. The goods available in Spain were listed as high quality wine, olives, figs, almonds, silk garments, precious fabrics, etc. in the diary. Russia had capacity to export cannabis and Siberian iron. Boulingny asked for a report that concisely presented the objectives of Russia.¹⁸⁹ There was no other note about this meeting but it seems plausible to correlate this event with the negotiations on the opening of the Black Sea to foreign shipping in 1803.

The Black Sea region was experiencing economic growth, together with the right political conditions in place. These developments fortified the importance of transporting trade goods from the Russian Black Sea region to Italy, Spain, Portugal and southern France.¹⁹⁰ After Russia granted some concessions in 1783, Sicily, Holland, Sweden and Spain also tried to obtain concessions in this region.¹⁹¹ Beydilli remarks the influence of Russia on the opening of the Black Sea to Spanish shipping. On the basis of the diary and Boulingny's meeting in which he negotiated about reciprocal trade with the Russian ambassador, it does not seem unexpected that Russia would support feverishly Spain on this issue after approximately ten years.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹Boulingny, p. 110

¹⁹⁰Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "Market Networks and Ottoman-European Commerce 1700-1825, *Oriente Moderno*, Nuova serie, Anno 25 (86), Nr. 1, The Ottomans And Trade(2006), pp. 109-128

¹⁹¹Kemal Beydilli, "Karadeniz'in Kapalılığı Karşısında Avrupa Küçük Devletleri ve Miri Ticaret Teşebbüsü", p. 689,704

¹⁹²Spain was able to get concession in 1803: "İspanya sefinelerinin bahr-ı mezkurda kain Rusya li manlarına amed-şüdlerine ruhsat ü cevaz verüp ancak haşmetli ispanya kralı dahi bil-mukabele memalik-i mahruseye Karakuruş götürmek üzere kendi tüccarlarına sipariş etmek ve götürecekleri Karakuruşlar ahar tarafa verilmeyip darphane-i amireye rayic-i vakt üzere tebdil ettirmeğe taife-yi tüccarı ibram ü ilzam edecekti."Beydilli, ibid, p. 708

CHAPTER IV: BOULIGNY'S UPHILL TASK: THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE INTERESTS OF TWO GREAT POWERS

After the mid-seventeenth century, production decrease and economic recession increasingly exacerbated incomes of the Ottoman court, forcing it into a vicious circle caused by defeats in wars. Harsh conditions made it essential to increase importation from European countries to be able to sustain qualified ammunition for ongoing wars, especially in the mid-eighteenth century.¹⁹³ After the 1740s, the Ottoman lands, gradually involved in the international market for commodities, became the destination for colonial goods coming from the New World.¹⁹⁴ *Ahdname*, the document, which ensures some concessions of expedition, trade and residence in the Ottoman territory for some countries, groups and persons enabled this intense trade exchanges.¹⁹⁵

The eighteenth century witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of foreign powers that applied to the Sublime Porte for granting of commercial privileges (*ahdname*) for their subjects. In 1718 the Habsburg Emperor was granted capitulations, and Sweden followed in 1737. Three years later, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies obtained its own *ahdname*. Also in 1740, France acquired considerable extensions of privileges with the renewal of its capitulations. In 1747 the subjects of Tuscany were accorded trade privileges in the Levant, while Denmark got its own capitulations in 1746. Fifteen years later, Prussia was granted an *ahdname*. Russia entered the system in 1774 after the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca.¹⁹⁶ One may draw attention to the absence of Spain, one of the latest countries competing to extend their own trade capacities in Levant. Spanish plenipotentiary, Juan de Bouligny began to negotiate with the aim of obtaining privileges given to other European countries.

¹⁹³Mehmet Genç, *Devlet ve Ekonomi*, pp. 218-219

¹⁹⁴McGowen, "The Age of the Ayans, 1699–1812", p. 727

¹⁹⁵Mübahat Kütükoğlu, "Ahidnâme", pp. 536-540, Sn. Inayatullah, "Amân", *Encyclopedia of Islam*, v.I, p. 430

¹⁹⁶Maurits H. van den Boogert, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System: Qadis Consuls and Beraths in the 18th century*, p. 10

Not only was the Ottoman side concerned with economic difficulties but also Ottoman trade privileges given to the West became tools of political negotiation. The Ottomans tried to procure allies by granting trade privileges.¹⁹⁷ It seems reasonable that the bureaucrats realized the importance of an alliance against archenemies, Russia and Austria, and attempted to cooperate with Poland and Sweden. During that era, Poland was strategically in an important position as a buffer that divided Russia from Austria.¹⁹⁸ Also, Sweden was an important ally against the common enemy Russia due to which reason the agreement was signed between two powers.¹⁹⁹ The Ottomans were increasingly inclined to ally Prussia especially after the outbreak of the Ottoman-Russian War.²⁰⁰

As seen in the aforementioned examples Russian threats facilitated the persuasion of the Ottoman side to make a deal with certain European powers. In 1770, one of the greatest Russian navies under the command of Kont Orlov began to move towards the Aegean Sea, passing through the Mediterranean. Britain, contemplating to enhance trade relations with Russia, provided military and logistical assistance. The Ottoman Empire had had no awareness until the French ambassador reported that the British navy assisted Russia so that it could arrive to the Ottoman marine shelf. After the discussions in the court, it was decided to take precautions, but this decision was practiced due to the fact that the Russian journey would last a long time.²⁰¹ This negligence cost the Ottomans the destruction of a large proportion of its navy in Chesma on 5–7 July 1770. “The news of the worst military disaster ever suffered by the Ottomans arrived in Istanbul simultaneously with the news of the complete destruction of the Ottoman navy at Chesma.”²⁰²

Ongoing Russian menace had compelled the Ottoman bureaucrats to begin negotiations with the Spanish plenipotentiary, as follows:

¹⁹⁷Fatma Müge Göçek, *East encounters west : France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 30

¹⁹⁸Hacer Topaktaş, p. 171

¹⁹⁹Fatih Yeşil, *Aydınlanma Çağında Bir Osmanlı Kâtibi Ebubekir Râtib Efendi (1750-1799)*, p. 386

²⁰⁰Beydilli, *Büyük Friedrich*, p. 97

²⁰¹Nimet Akdes Kurat, p. 26

²⁰² Aksan, *Ottoman Wars*, p. 154

Civan Polini, charged with signing a treaty with the Sublime Porte, has frequently asked for some explicit response to his proposal for nearly three years. For a long time it was preferred neither to refuse nor accept. This attitude made him pessimistic about the completion of this procedure. If the plenipotentiary returns to his country, the disappointed Spanish court may want to ally Russia against the Ottomans. Also, they may provide assistance to the Maltese and Genoese pirates. Another threat is that they may attack Muslim ships travelling to Egypt and Arabian Peninsula.²⁰³

Juan de Bouligny, after meeting with the Russian ambassador, Bulgakov noted the point mentioned in the diary that the conflicts between the Sublime Porte and Russia had great importance in Ottomans-Spain relations.²⁰⁴ Then he dispatched a letter stating that he expected the signing a treaty, otherwise he would return to his country. Though Ottoman bureaucrats realized the inevitability of concluding an agreement with Spain, they pursued policy based on cautious diplomacy in the negotiation process in order not to provoke hostility; we will turn to this subject in the following.

The Ottoman side intentionally extended the process to be able to increase the odds. Beydilli points out that the Ottoman diplomatic language reflected temporization based on ambiguous and deceptive statements that concealed the real purpose in the case of necessity. The interesting point is that the diplomats had to act in this manner with no qualms in order to conform to the established norms of contemporary European politics.²⁰⁵ This is corroborated with the evidence on the negotiations prior to the conclusion of the Treaty of Karlowitz. “The Sultan’s representatives under the

²⁰³ Büyük İspanya kralı tarafından Devlet-i aliyyeye akd-i musâlaha için Dersaadete ib’âs olunan Civan Polini nâm murahhas üç seneye bâliğ derbâr-ı adâlet-karârda ikâmet eylediği ve bu husûs için birkaç def’a ricâlar Devlet-i ebed-müddet akd meclîs-i şûra birle her birinde mesfûrun ye’s ile i’âdesi bir türlü câiz olmadığına binâen hakimâne müdâfa’a ve imrâr-ı evkâta sa’i olmasını enseb idüğünü beyân eyledikleri ve murahhas-ı mersûm bir türlü mücâb olmayıb ya budur ki sulh imkânda olmayacağını bana kat’î cevâb verirsiz yahûd Ragıp Paşa sadâretinde tesvîr olunduğu üzere küçük İspanya şurûtu gibi ‘ahd-i muhâdene râbîta-pezîr olur kelâmında ısrâr ve defa’ât ile kapuya takârîr-i ‘adîde tisyâr edib mersûm me’yûsen gittiği takdirde la-muhale zül ve hakâreti İspanyolu mütehammil olmayub Moskovlu ve Nemçeli ile aleyhimize râbîta ittifâk edecekleri ve bundan fazla Malta ve Ceneviz korsanlarına i’ânet ve beş on kıta sefîne terfîk ve Akdeniz sularına irsâl ile Mısır ve sevâhil-i Arabistân câniblerine gidib gelen sefîne-i İslamiyeyi izrâra ibtidâr ve bir gâile ihdâs eyleyecekleri zâhir aşikâr olduğundan ... BOA, CH 89/4420 (29/Z /1255) This document dated 1255 is related to the Spanish plenipotentiary in Constantinople in 1782 so I preferred to use it in this context.

²⁰⁴“Voces que anuncian ruptura entre esta y la Rusia de gran importancia en las relaciones hispano-otomanas.” Bouligny, p. 232

²⁰⁵Kemal Beydilli, “Dış Politika ve Ahlak”, p. 50

chairmanship of Başdefterdar Rami Mehmed Efendi, demonstrated a broader knowledge of Europe, a greater capacity for judicious compromise, and a more sophisticated application of diplomatic precedents.”²⁰⁶

The Sublime Porte responded to the first letter of Juan de Bouligny presenting the economic and political benefits of the treaty as below:

I am (Bouligny) honoured to respond to you that the political system of the Ottoman Empire is not only concerned with commercial benefits and political principles but also with maximum available gains, as in the case of any agreement signed. The High Sublime Porte is by now one of the most secure points in good intelligence and perfect harmony with all the powers of Europe. Nevertheless the very wisdom of the minister of this great empire is widely recognized, and it is known he does not lose sight of the cases that have the possibly of taking place in the future, this has been as such during the remote ages, and possible precautions have always been taken... While the friendship among the Emperors, my august Master, and his Catholic Majesty personally remains the same as before, we can strengthen this friendship further by means of a solemn and authentic instrument that cannot be carried out without an important agreement. It is stipulated that to be able to engage with the Ottomans it is expected not to give way and not to allow maritime forces or any power to pass through the Strait of Gibraltar. If the Authorized plenipotentiary has full authority to sign for the passage of this way and these conditions are met in full, we can start negotiating as wanted by the Spanish court. There is no other means by which this treaty will be signed.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶Rifa'at Abou el Hac, “Ottoman Diplomacy at Karlowitz”, p. 499

²⁰⁷J'ai l'honneur de vous repondre que le système politique de la Sublime Porte n'etant uniquement fondée sur le commerce et la base essentiel de ces principes politiques tenant d'autres vues superieures. toutes les fois qu'elle se trouve dans le cas de conclure quelque traité elle part des maximes dont le bout ne regarde pas seulement le gain et le profit concernant du commerce mais plus tot des utilites d'un autre genre par preference. grâces autres haut la Sublime Porte a l'heure qu'il est se voit dans la plus grande securité etant en bonne intelligence parfaite harmonie avec toutes les puissances de L'europe. est néanmoins de la sagesse du ministre très éclairé de ce grand empire. de ne pas perdre de vue les cas qui pourraient arriver à l'avenir, fut ce dans les siècles les plus éloignés et d'user des precautions possibles et comme par le passé l'on a vu qu'une flotte penetrant la Mediterranee aurait peu engager la Sublime Porte aussi d'armer pour proteger et defendre ces vastes possessions dans l'archipel, cet exemple la fait souhaiter de mettre des ormais un empechement a ce la, L'occassion de la mision de parait des plus favorables a remplir ce desir. certes L'amitié entre l'empereur mon auguste Maitre et sa Majeste Catholique personnellement subsiste au meme pie qu'aparavant, mais si l'on s'avisera de cimenter cette amitié par le moyen d'un instrument solemnel et autentique, cela ne saurait s'effectuer qu'en y passant un article par le quel sa M. Catholique s'engagera a ne pas donner psage et a ne permettre aux forces maritimes d'aucune puissance de passer le detroit de Gibraltar autrement Sebt Bogas y pour atenter aux forces et possessions imperiales de la Sublime Porte si le dit plenipotenciere est autorisé ayant le plein pouvoir de traiter de cette façon et a ces conditions et peut y satisfaire pleinement, on pourra entamer cette negotiation desireé par la cour d'Espagne on ne voit pas pour le present aucun autre moyen. Bouligny, pp. 19-21

The letter above explicitly states that the conclusion of a peace and trade agreement was contingent on Spain's commitment to close the Gibraltar to the warships of the enemies of the Ottoman Empire. This was the first article discussed by two sides in the negotiations. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, Gibraltar was under the occupation of Britain since the Succession War and Spain had no power to exercise control over this water channel. During the American War of Independence (1779-1783), Spanish attempts to recover Gibraltar had been defeated utterly. The Ottomans were well-informed about the affair and they expected Spain would deal a blow to Britain in the New World. One can sympathize with the expectation of the Ottoman bureaucrats, but the outcome was dispiriting. Spain could not achieve to regain the control of Gibraltar. It seems reasonable that Juan de Bouligny declined to give assurances regarding this issue but the Ottomans would frequently express this as a precondition to the signing of the agreement.

On one hand, Bouligny tried to persuade the Ottomans on the advantages of the proposed treaty with his numerous letters, ensuring the consolidation of amity between the two powers and securing mutual trade privileges. On the other hand, he tried to fulfil all prerequisites to convince the Ottomans to open formal negotiations. He was informed he had to write a formal letter to the vizier. Grand vizier since his approval was required in the process. Actually, Bouligny's interlocutor was the dragoman of the Sublime Porte, Nicolaki de Caraggia with whom he was in contact. The plenipotentiary endeavoured to convince the dragoman on the advantages of the treaty and had been asking him to request a private meeting with Reis Efendi for a long time. In their meetings, the dragoman ensured Bouligny about his good intentions in managing the diplomatic process since he was convinced in the benefits of an agreement. He promised to arrange a meeting with Reis Efendi as soon as possible.²⁰⁸

In approximately four months, Bouligny achieved to meet with Reis Efendi who asked the Sultan for permission, as stated briefly below:

It would be better not to respond negatively to the Spanish plenipotentiary concerning his proposal for an agreement with the Spanish court. It would be prudent to respond that the conjuncture is not appropriate for the agreement. The Sublime Porte may ask the release of Muslim captives as in the case of Tuscany. The plenipotentiary many times sent letters to request a meeting with Reis Efendi. In order to prevent hostility of Spain, it would be required to

²⁰⁸Bouligny, p. 68

arrange a meeting with the plenipotentiary in the mansion of Reis Efendi.²⁰⁹

On 4 September 1779 Boulogne conveyed the expectations of his court to the Reis Efendi in the first meeting. The plenipotentiary recorded these in eight points in his memoirs as follows:

1. I have no doubt that the current circumstances have prevented you from granting me this interview earlier otherwise it would harm the superiority of your wisdom.
2. Since the beginning of this era, the time of difficulties, we have come together with you, a minister of the Great Lord and myself plenipotentiary of my august master. As ministers of peace, we should bring this situation to an end, in the most beneficial and glorious manner, for the sake of both empires.
3. The Inscription that the Sublime Porte gave to me via his primer Dragoman on the twentieth of the previous month was political repulse that was correspondence of the amity and sincerity to my August Lord.
4. If the feelings of Sublime Porte are true and sincere, undoubtedly there are few reasons which may prevent the peace so it can not publish in these days, you can of course suspend the publication of the conclusion in two weeks or a month.
5. This case is very simple in nature since the article was established by the treaty with Naples formed in the time of Sultan Mustafa. It would be better to look into the treaty.
6. I came here with good faith that the Sublime Porte would correspond to my August Master with good faith, it does not matter to interrupt the conclusion by inadmissible conditions. The Sublime Porte could not show a single irruption against the Spanish forces since the happy time of year 1740 and the Turks have not been enslaved therefore.
7. Peace is so favourable to the happiness of the public that for the conclusion never put any obstacle as well as the Sublime Porte has always followed with all other powers far from fearing the public adversities. We must flatter otherwise the point of political reason that could impede the completion of so beneficial deal because I do not come here to make a new peace instead to complete the first article of the treaty with Naples.

²⁰⁹“Şevketlü Kudretlü Kerametlü Adaletlü Velinimetim Efendim,

Devlet-i Aliyye ebed-kıyâmlarıyla akd-i muhâdene ve musâfât ricası muhtevî İspanya kralının Der aliyyeye murahhas gönderdiği kimesnenin ve Sicilyâteyn elçisinin takrîrleri ricâl-i saltanat-ı seniyyeleri hâzır oldukları hâlde kırâ‘at olunmak mülâbesesiyle mesfûrlara külliyyen ye’s cevabı verilmeyib üslûb-ı hâkim ile şimdilik bu maddenin mevsimi olmadığını ve Toşkana dukasıyla rabita-ı mu‘âhede olundukda duka-yı mezbûr bir mikdâr isâre-yi müslimîni itlâk ... Reis Efendi kullarıyla mahfiyye mülâkât niyâz eylediklerini ihbâr ider ricâmend oldukları mülâkât kazıyyesine müsâ‘ade gösterilmese kavâid-i düvele menâfi olduğundan başka kralı mezburun iğbirâr-ı şikest-i hâtırını müceb olacağı bedîhî olmağın işbu pazartesi Reis Efendi kullarının sahilhânesinin mersumânın mülâkâtlarına ruhsat-ı sâmileleri buyurulur ise emr u fermân şevketlü kudretlü kerametlü adaletlü veli nimetim efendim padişahımdır.” A.AMD.29/101, 234665 (1187-1203). The document bears no date, but it must be written in 1779.

8. I beg you to conclude the negotiations after a long suspension.²¹⁰

Boulogny suggested that the treaty of Naples signed with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1740 during the reign of Carlos III should form as a template for the intended treaty with Spain.²¹¹ However, the Ottomans found this suggestion baseless on the grounds that the first article of this treaty guaranteed the expansion of conditions only to the new subjects of Naples rather than Carlos III.²¹² Thus, for the Ottomans, any treaty signed with Spain was bound to be a new one, rather than a simple extension of the previous treaty with Naples.

After these long explanations and subsequent promising statements from the Ottoman side, Boulogny became more hopeful about the acceleration of the negotiation process. However, he was to realize soon that nothing would change. He incessantly

²¹⁰“1. je ne doute pas que les circonstances actuelles vous auront empeche de m'accorder plus tot cette entrevue car le juger autrement ce serait faire tort a la superiorite de vos lumieres. 2. puisque l'epoque est venue nous trouvons ensemble vous comme ministre du Grand Seigneur et moy comme plénipotentiaire de mon auguste maitre il est temps que comme ministres du paix nous du ministres toutes les difficultes et finitions cette affaire si salutare et glorieux pour les deux empires. 3. L'escrit que La Sublime porte m'a donnée par son primer dragoman en datte douzieme du passe et plustot une repulse politique que une correspondance d'amitie a la sincerite du Roy mon auguste maitre. 4. si malgré ce que cet écrit indiqué, les sentiments de la Suplme porte sont vrais et sincerés comme j n'en dois point douter et que par des raisons quelle peut avoir reserveis la paix ne peut pas se publier dans le jour, vous pourions en attendant travailler a sa conclusion pour la publier dans quinze jours ou un mois. 5. cette affaire étant toute simple par sa nature puisque la travaill est fait soit parceque les article sont deja establis ou en suivant le traite de napes celli qui fur formé du temps du sultan mustafa; son aye agreable de me faire passer l'ecrit de ce traite pour le voir et y retoucher il y a quelque chose qui le merite. 6. venant ici comme je suis venu sous la bonne foi de la Suplme Porte que correspondrait a la bonne foy de mon auguste maitre il n'est pas question de interrompre la conclusion par des conditions inadmisibles. La Sublime Porte ne pourrait pas indiquer une seule irruption des forces de la monarchie Espagnole contre cet empire depuis l'heureuse époque de l'annee 40 et par consequent n'ont point fait des esclaves sur les Turks. 7. la paix est si favorable au bonheur public que pour la conclure il ne fait jamais y mettre le moindre obstacle e'est ainsi que la Sublime Porte. l'a toujours observe avec toutes les autres puissances bien loin de craindre l'animadversion publique on doit se flatter du contraire ainsi point de raisons politiques qui puissent contrarier la finalisation d'une affaire si salutare car je ne viens pas ici pour faire une paix ni un nouveau traite.” Boulogny, pp. 41-45

²¹¹The correspondence of Boulogny to Prime Minister, Conde de Floridablanca: “The articles related to trade would be the same as the agreement signed between Spain and The Ottoman Empire.” A.H.N., Legajo 4761, 10 January 1782

²¹² The first article of the Treaty with Naples: “Devlet-i Aliyye-i ebed müddet ile Sicilyateyn kralı beyninde inşaallahuteala tasdiknamesi vurudundan sonra sâir dost olan Fransa ve İngiltere ve Flemenk ve badehu İsveç devletleri misüllu halet ile sulh ve salah akd olunmuştur. Binaenaleyh Devlet-i Aliyyeme tabi' memalik ve eyalat ve ulkat ve cezirelerin reaya ve ahalileri ile kral müşarunileyhe tabi' olan zir u bala-yı Sicilyateyn'nin hükümetleri ve mülhakatları olan arazi ve cezireleri ve kezalik Toskana'nın şehirleri ve kezalik ve arazi ve cezireleri ve bundan sonra vaktiyle tarafına tabi olan memalik ve hükümetin reyaları beyninde işbu sulh u salah meri'at olunub ve emr-i ticarete dahi sair düvele müsaade olunduğu üzere berren ve bahren cevaz virilüp ve emtialarının furuhtu ve ve fırtına ve avarız-ı saireden mutazarır olan sefayinin tamiri ve kifaf-ı nefisleri için iktiza eden nesnenin akçeleriyle iştirası tarafından caiz oluna.” HAT,1428/58461,04/Ra/1153

dispatched petitions to receive any Ottomans response to his arguments and request to send his dragoman and his son to the Sublime Porte. Also, Bouligny prioritized to get the support of Cezayirli Hasan Paşa with whom he met on 31 December 1779.²¹³ Bouligny informed him that the Spanish court accepted to release Muslim captives. If the Sublime Porte rejected the offer of Spain, they would lose the chance of securing the goodwill of this country. During this meeting, Kaptan Hasan Paşa assured Bouligny he would obtain information about the developments and get involved in the process.²¹⁴

On 22, January 1780 Bouligny wrote a long letter offering concrete solutions, explanations and proposals on behalf of the Spanish court. In this manner, he aimed to reorient the direction of the process and expand the scope of the negotiations. He began by promising that his court would release the captives. Secondly, he underlined the necessity of an official declaration of mutual friendship between the courts for safe navigation. At that time, warships and pirates from both countries occasionally attack each other upon encounter in the open sea, regardless of the peace between two sovereigns. He subtly reminded the Porte of the necessity of exercising prudence in mutual relations lest one of the parties, having lost faith in other, began hostilities. This was apparently a veiled threat. Thirdly, Bouligny made a distinction between the alliance and treaty of trade and mutual friendship. For him, the alliance that the Sublime Porte demanded had to be arranged as a separate article. He added the following condition:

My king will undertake the obligation, when he will have the control of Gibraltar (that is besieged at present), to intercept the naval detachments dispatched to attack the dominions of this Empire. The Grand Senor will equally undertake the obligation to ensure that all African Regencies, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli and all other dependents of the Empire live in peace with Spain. If they violate the agreement, the Sublime Porte will force them to comply.

The forth, Your Excellency clearly declared that the Sublime Porte desires and is in the same position in this affair: it seems that the time has come to conclude. I show zealously my sincerity in my mission since I came here... I cannot subsist in the current position, if the Sublime Porte did not solve it with conclusion. I am forced to return to my country so we will lose substantially the unique opportunity that

²¹³Bouligny, p. 58

²¹⁴Bouligny, p. 63

will never present itself again, to establish friendship and to be quiet on the transition throughout Gibraltar.²¹⁵

In this letter, Bouligny disclosed the desire of the Spanish court to finish the conflicts with the North African Regencies. African privateers' assaults were potentially detrimental for the Spanish trade route for which peace with them was all the more crucial. Depending on this reality, quite a few historians have assumed that Spain had actually wanted a treaty with North Africa more than with the Sublime Porte. The main objective of Spain was to make a deal with North African countries using the proposed treaty with the Sublime Porte as a leverage. It is really interesting that Reis Efendi also mentioned the same point to the Bouligny on 27 November 1780, as follows: "It surprised me that Spain wanted to make an agreement with us although the two countries are at peace. They actually want peace with Algeria."²¹⁶

However, this was no exception for Spain. The European countries signing trade treaties with the Ottoman Empire in Levant also desired to sign the same treaty with the African countries aiming to sustain the security of the trade routes. To precisely understand and examine the peculiarities of the relationship between Spain and North African countries, we should compare the process with those of other European countries. Austria aiming to secure the Mediterranean trade route offered to sign a treaty with North African countries after the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718. At

²¹⁵2.entre les grandes puissances maritimes il faut des actes publics. les deux empires sont en armes, l'amitie secrete qui regne entre nos deux cours n'est pas publique aux sujets respectifs. les vaisseaux de guerre et corsaires peuvent se rencontrer et résulter des hostilites sans la volante des souverains. la prudence exige de prevoir tous ces inconvenients, du contraire les deux nations se regardant en Guerre il en resultera des hostilities. 3. pour ce qui regarde l'article d'alliance que souhaite etablir la Sublime Porte avec ma cour et que doit être un article separé du Traité. Que Senor Mio Catholique s'obligera des qu'il sera maître de gibraltar (qui est actuellement assiege) a empecher dans toute l'extention de ces cotes le passage des forces maritimes qui pourront venir a ataqer les possessions de cet empire. Et que le Grand Senor s'obligera egalemeent a que toutes les Regences d'affrique notamment. Alger, tunis, tripoli, et toutes les autres dependences de cet Empire vivent en Paix y bonne amitie avec L'Espagne s'abstinant d'ors en avant de toute sorte de piraterie de façon que s'ils ne s'abstienent pas et que de bonne foi ils n'entrent dans la vue de cette paix, doit la Sublime Porte les contraindre par la force. s'abstinant d'ors en avant de toute sorte de piraterie de façon que s'ils ne s'abstienent pas et que de bonne foi ils n'entrent dans la vue de cette paix, doit la Sublime Porte les contraindre par la force.4. Votre Excellence voit clairement par tout cet exposé que cette affaire s'est mis dans le meme point que la Sublime Porte l'a desiré: il parait que le temps de con clure est venu. j'ai procure depuis mon arrivée ici exposer avec ardeur à la Sublime Porte...je ne puis subsister dan la position actuelle et que par consequent si la Sublime Porte ne se resoud a finir. je me verrais obligé de me rapatrier et pour lors elle perdra sensiblement l'unique occasion que jamais se lui presentera de s'assurer de l'ami que mieux lui convien et d'etre cet empire tranquile sur le passage de Gibraltar. Bouligny, p. 72-76

²¹⁶"Fue habiendo estranado el R.E. que la España pidiese el firman cuando era regular, lo pidiesen los argelinos." Bouligny, pp. 134-135

first, the North African rulers denied this offer yet within thirty years they accepted it. Tunis and Tripoli in 1729, and Algeria in 1748 signed a treaty. There was an agreement between France and the Ottomans in 1535 and after nearly seventy years Tunes, Tripoli (1604) and Algeria (1619) signed a treaty with France.²¹⁷ In 1741, the dey of Tripoli Karamanlı Ahmed Paşa signed a treaty with Naples, which was a trade treaty based on seventeen articles. The Mediterranean trade of the European countries partly depended on this understanding reached with the North African regencies.²¹⁸ It seems reasonable to say Spain aimed to come to terms with the North African rulers yet this was not the only motivation to send a plenipotentiary who would spend nearly three years to negotiate in spite of many obstacles.

Bouligny first asked to his dragoman Talamas to inquire about whether Algeria needed the Porte's permission in the case of an agreement between Spain and Algeria. Should this be the case, would the Ottomans allow Algeria to sign a treaty? The dragoman answered positively, but remarked that although these regencies were free to do so, they did not have to respect any treaty between Spain and the Sublime Porte. Also, after they signed any treaty with Spain would they ask the Porte to confirm? He answered "yes". However, as these regencies were free and independent to do so, they did not have to submit any treaty signed with the Sublime Porte. After these regencies sign any treaty with Spain they would ask the Porte to confirm.²¹⁹ The official Ottoman chronicler at the time, Ahmet Vasıf, states this offer as follows:

Müluk-ı küffar miyanında kuvvet-i maliyye ve kesret-i merakib-i bahriyye ile şöhet-şîâr olan İspanyalu'nun sinîn-i çendinden beru Devlet-i Aliyye ile rabita-ı peyvend-i dostî ve safvet vesâir düvel misillû bazı şurut in'ikadiyle tahsil-i sûret-i aşfî ve emniyyet-i kusârâ-yi matlâbları olmaktan nâşi bundan akdem müsaade-i devlet-i ebed-müddet ile mazhar-ı eltaf-ı şamiletü'l-eknaf ve müceddeden akd-i şurut-ı muahede ile çehre-i ricaları dest-nevazende-i isaf olup Cezayir-i Garp Ocaklarının dahi işbu muahedeye idhal olunmaları tetimme-i matalib ve tekmile-i meariblerinden olduğuna binaen bu hususun dahi cilve-ger-i mecla-yi zuhûr olması babında dâmen-gîr-i ilticâ ve niyâz olmuşlar idi.

²¹⁷Chakib Benafri, pp. 106-113

²¹⁸Brahim Bouzai, p. 5, 14

²¹⁹Bouligny, p. 112

The passage above describes the Spanish intentions behind the proposal and the answer given to the Spanish plenipotentiary. Accordingly, the Sublime Porte could only invite the North Africans to be part of the treaty but it was their choice to take the invitation. The Sublime Porte communicated with Algeria in order to get the opinion of its dey who would determine the position of his own country on this issue. His response would reach Constantinople after a long time: “Ocaklunun bu hususda inân-ı ihtiyarları ellerine teslim ve harb u silm hususunda muhayyer oldukları tefhim ve ol babda ısdâr buyurulan evâmir-i aliyye İspanyalu’ya verilmiştir.”²²⁰

Bouligny realized that one of the essential points causing the suspension of the negotiation was Algeria’ refrainment from any agreement with Spain since Algerian corsairs had long been preying on the Spanish navigation.²²¹ For a long time, Algeria did not respond to the dispatch from the Sublime Porte. As the Porte initially expected, it would not be possible to take further steps without the Algerian approval. Upon the meeting with Reis Efendi, the long delay displeased Bouligny and he decided to send a petition complaining: “I did not demand the Sublime Porte to force Algeria to obey the treaty, as I have indicated before I beg for sending a writ of amity to them.”²²²

Despite the aforementioned interruptions, Bouligny continued contacting the Ottoman bureaucrats. He ordered Talamas to consult the issue to Huseyin Efendi who was accepted as a religious authority among Turks.²²³ Bouligny aimed to obtain the support of prominent men of religion that had influence higher echelons of power. Hüseyin Efendi did not have the opportunity to discuss the issue with the Vizier’s Kahya. Thus, Bouligny considered that it would be better to arrange a meeting with his close friends.²²⁴ On 11 September 1780 Talamas informed Bouligny about the results of the conversations between Huseyin Efendi and Reis Efendi’s close friends

²²⁰Ahmet Vasıf, *Mehasin’ül-Asâr ve Hakikatü’l-Ahbâr*, p. 147. The correspondence of Bouligny to Prime Minister, Conde de Floridablanca: “The Ottoman Empire declared that Tripoli, Algeria and Tunisia are independent to sign any agreement with Spain.” A.H.N., Legajo 4761, 10 January 1782

²²¹Bouligny, p. 135

²²²“yo no he pedido un mandamiento de la Puerta Otomana para que Argel obedezxa, si solamente un ferman de amista, según y cómo se lo he indicado por mi oficio del 26 de Octubre”, Bouligny, p. 185

²²³Bouligny, p. 112 *Sicil-i Osmanî* written by Mehmet Süreyya includes the biography of Hüseyin Effendi. He was hacegân and secretary (mühürdâr) of Grand Vizier, İzzet Mehmet Paşa. He was appointed as Başmukataacı and then Küçük Ruznameci. Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicil-i Osmanî*, c.III, p. 702

²²⁴Bouligny, p. 114

who played an essential role in the negotiations. The explanation was that the Sublime Porte conducted the business not only for Spain but also for all European countries in this manner.

In Ottoman bureaucracy, the *ulema* played an important role in negotiations with foreign countries. Their judgment was important for the legitimacy of any treaty with foreign countries. Ulema mostly evaluated the importance of any treaty regarding its convenience to the interests of the country. In the Ottoman Empire, religion was not an impediment on cultivating good international relations as opposed to the popular belief. Ulema approved treaties with Christian powers, infidels for the Ottomans, so long as they were in the interest of ‘the state and religion’. Beydilli emphasizes that the Ottomans gave priority to the main interests of the court rather than religious concerns.²²⁵ Upon the discussion on the proposed treaty, this subject was forwarded to Şeyhulislam Mahmud Şerif Efendi as was done in the case of the Swedish treaty in 1761.²²⁶ He did not see any harm in starting the negotiation process with the Spanish plenipotentiary.²²⁷ Bouligny noted that Hüseyin Efendi said this treaty was suitable according to him if it did not matter for the Sublime Porte.²²⁸ The Sublime Porte would continue to act in its own interest.

Even though the Sublime Porte accelerated the process and the issue was discussed in the Imperial Council. Nevertheless, took up the matter and discussed it thoroughly. It informed Bouligny to submit a new petition that reiterated all issues. In practise, that went to restarting the process all over. In June 1781 The Sublime Porte wanted Bouligny to summarize his objectives in this treaty whereas the plenipotentiary expected a meeting in which the concrete answers would be provided. He considered this a waste of time because the letter dated 13 May 1779 and the letter 9 June 1781 included the same content.²²⁹ Bouligny said it would be better to have a meeting with Reis Efendi but he was ready to present the offer in any case. One may wonder about the intentions of the Ottoman government in asking for a new letter of intent after

²²⁵Kemal Beydilli, “Dış Politika ve Ahlak”, p. 52

²²⁶Kemal Beydilli, *Büyük Friedrich*, p. 58

²²⁷Cevdet Paşa, *Cevdet Tarihi*, v.I, p. 261

²²⁸Bouligny, p. 213

²²⁹Bouligny, p. 207

nearly two years. It seems reasonable to assume that the rapid succession of high functionaries in the palace cost disruption in the negotiation process.²³⁰ Also this gives a hint as to the intentions of the Ottoman government aiming to act with a concrete plan.

The second meeting with Reis Efendi was on 14 July 1781 twenty months after the first one. Bouligny and his dragoman were welcomed by the dragoman of The Sublime Porte at the entrance of the pavilion. Upon the greeting ceremony, Reis Efendi, Beylikçi Efendi, Mouradgea d'Ohsson and the dragomans were ready to speak. The meeting began with an explanation of Reis Efendi regarding the procrastination of the negotiation process. He expressed his goodwill about the negotiation and underlined the necessity of upholding clauses of the treaty in future. Bouligny replied that the interests of two great powers would be ensured by the peace and trade agreement possessing the power to consolidate current friendship between the two countries. Subsequent results could be seen in the case of the agreement. The question asked by Reis Efendi crystalized the divergence views of both sides. This question was "Will Spain have the right to aid Russia after the treaty signed as was the case with Denmark and the others?" Bouligny tried to assure Reis Efendi that Spain no doubt promised not to support Russia against the Sublime Porte. The advantages of the friendship of Spain would be seen after the treaty was signed. The meeting ended at 3:00 P.M., but this discussion would last long.²³¹

Actually, Bouligny noticed that the Sublime Porte offered a defensive alliance in the apprehension of any cooperation between Spain and Russia.²³² He argued any changes to be made in the content of the treaty with Naples on the grounds that it also included the articles on cooperation and friendship between the two countries. According to Bouligny, it seemed curious to add a new article to the ultimate treaty. Ottoman bureaucrats did not accept any oral declaration of friendship. They rather preferred to include an article on the issue of neutrality. Accordingly, should one side be at war, the other would declare neutrality. Bouligny reacted against this proposal

²³⁰ Abdurrezzak Bahir Efendi was discharged on October, 12, 1780 and Süleyman Feyzi Efendi was appointed.

²³¹ Bouligny, p. 215

²³² "Talamas rastrea del Zaid Ibraim, que las miras son de hazer una Alianza defensiva Veá. y que recelo de la P.O es de la Rusia y España." Bouligny, p. 225

on the ground that he could not accept any article different from those of the treaty of Naples.²³³

The Ottoman bureaucrats were convened to discuss this topic and they approved of the proposed article that defined the conditions of neutrality. Accordingly, Spain would be neutral so long as the Sublime Porte did not fight two countries: France and Naples. The Ottomans too would declare neutrality in Spain's wars on any Muslim monarch but two: the Sultan of Morocco and the *Imam* of Yemen. The minutes of the meeting explains these exceptions by referring to the principle of reciprocity rather than any particular attachment to these two Muslim rulers.²³⁴

This stipulation was delivered to Bouligny as a secret article that guaranteed that Spain would not aid any enemy of the Sublime Porte even if it was a Spanish ally. The ultimatum dated 25 July 1782 ensured that the Sublime Porte would also comply with this stipulation. Bouligny offered to add this statement to the eighteenth article of the treaty of Naples instead of arranging it as an additional article. According to the article the Sublime Porte could not aid the Algerians. Bouligny considered that under these circumstances, Algerians would be left unaided which would be beneficial for Spain.²³⁵

The neutrality issue was under discussion until September when Reis Efendi came along with a new stipulation to the dismay of Bouligny. The Ottomans now demanded that should one of the allies come under attack, the other send a detachment of ten well-armed warships against its enemy. This proposal was the final straw for the Spanish side. Bouligny got angry about the expansion of the dimension of the treaty of Naples as seen in his response: "I will not take into consideration this. I will not even inform my court about it until the treaty is signed on the basis of the treaty with Naples."²³⁶

²³³Bouligny, pp. 219-220

²³⁴ "...bî-taraflık şartında Fransa ve küçük İspanyadan mâ'adâ düvelden biri ile Devlet-i 'aliyye beyninde muhâseme vuku'unda İspanya kralı bî- taraf olub husûm-u saltanat-ı seniyyeye mu'âvenet eylemeye ibâresini tahrîr eyledik de Devlet-i ebed-kıyâm cânibinden dahi Fas Sultanı ve Yemen İmamından gayri mulûk-ı İslâmiyyeden birisiyle İspanyalının muharebesi vakı' olduk da Devlet-i kavî-şevket dahi İspanyalının husûmuna i'ânet eylemeye kelâmını tasrihden murâd iki cânibde istisnâ kaziyyesinin musâvât bulunmak" A.DVN. DVE. (11)177/10 1195

²³⁵Bouligny, p. 224

²³⁶"No tomaré nada en consideración, ni menos lo participaré a mi Corte hasta que esté firmada la Paz con arreglo al Tratado de Napoles." Bouligny, pp. 228-229

While this discussion continued, the response of Algeria caused further distress. Mouradgea d'Ohsson informed Bouligny that the Algerian dey rejected the idea of a treaty with Spain and that he even had detained nine Spanish rutters.²³⁷ Now that no ambiguity remained regarding the position of Algiers, negotiations focused on other matters with increasing tension. The conference dated 14 January 1782 resulted in a compromise between Bouligny and the dragoman of the Sublime Porte concerning five articles: neutrality, the Regencies, the captives, the corsairs, and conformity with the treaty of Naples in articles relating to commerce.²³⁸

The third meeting with Reis Efendi was centred on the matter of friendship. The Ottoman side tried hard to include an article to secure an alliance, but the Spanish plenipotentiary resisted adamantly and, instead, offered to express a mere gesture of mutual and ostensible goodwill. After the meeting, Bouligny considered that the negotiation process would come to conclusion soon. He was informed that the Ottoman bureaucrats would discuss the issue and communicate with him the result in five days.²³⁹ Reis Efendi assured Bouligny that the Sublime Porte would put the finishing touches to the agreement draft and that the final version would satisfy both sides.

On 13 September 1782 the Sublime Porte decided to sign the treaty with the Spanish plenipotentiary the following day at 12:30 P.M. This pleasing news excited Bouligny who had been striving for the agreement for nearly three years. He noted the whole ceremony in detail as follows:

I left from Hospicio of Tierra Santa with my son accompanying me as my secretary, my dragoman Talamas, two major servants, two lackeys and two chadors at 11.30 am. We reached to the Tophane pier and we embarked to a boat with rowing four pairs of rowers. We entered to the Canal (the Golden Horn) and disembarked at Constantinople at 12.15 pm on the jetty of the bureaucrats where I waited nearly an hour for the horses sent by the Sublime Porte to the minister and his entourage. The custom of this court was to keep foreign members waiting there. I was told that Vizier had visited the new Mufti, yet the real reason for the delay was the fire in the city. Finally Reis Efendi sent three horses for each of us, me, my son and my dragoman. Everything was glorious. Six cavalries (çavuş) accompanied us.

²³⁷Bouligny, p. 229

²³⁸Bouligny, pp. 250-252

²³⁹Bouligny, p. 273

The march began under the guidance of six cavalries followed by my dragoman, then me and my son. The servants were on foot by the horses. In this manner we reached to Vizier's palace that was the Sublime Porte...I moved forward with my whole entourage on the foot to the grand staircase. Jescheritalcho (Teşrifatçı) Efendi and the dragoman greeted us and I was taken to a large saloon where I had to wait for the Vizier's coming to address the audience. We did not wait more than fifteen minutes. It was announced that it was time to enter the saloon.

The Grand Vizier is with much pomp sitting in the corner of its rich sofa. The Reis Efendi was on foot in his right side, and various officers of the court of the Vizier, Kahya Bey could not attend to the ceremony because of his illness.

To present myself to the Vizier, I showed him my reverence, one from half distance and another getting close to him, they brought me a stool to sit, but before, I had made the following speech on foot:

It was already expected from the beginning of the process that the peace and trade agreement between Ottoman and Spain would be successfully reached. My August Sovereign had conserved the sentiment of friendship and cooperation since the treaty of Naples signed during his sovereign in Naples. Likewise, the Ottoman Empire also corresponded with sincerity and friendship.

This epoch is so happy for both sides, and so glorious for the plenipotentiaries of both precious courts. I was honoured by the Sublime Porte to establish diplomatically negotiation with this distinguished Empire.

I concluded my speech and handed over the letter of agreement to the Vizier, then I sit.

Reis Efendi presented valuable gifts, then refreshments and sweets were served. We left grandiosely with our furs and embarked on ship. It was 16.00 pm. when we arrived to Hospicio.²⁴⁰

²⁴⁰“El día 14 de Noviembre de 1782 Salí del Ospicio de Tierra Santa a las 11 horas y media de la mañana, acompañado de mi hijo haciendo las funciones de Secretario, de mi Interprete Talamas, dos Criados Mayores, dos Lacayos y dos Choadares. Llegué al Embarcadero de Topjana, y me embarqué en un barco a quatro pares de remos. Pasé el Canal y desembarcamos en Constantinopla a las 12h. ¼ en la escala de los Ministros allí estube esperando cerca de una hora los caballos que la P.O embia para el ministro y sequito.

Tiene por costumbre este Ministerio el hazer esperar siempre allí a los Ministros estrangeros, y después satisface con una esc (falta hoja) a mí se me dió la de que habiendo ido el Vizir a visitar el nuebo Muftí, la marcha se habia retardado motibo de estar el transito embarazado por el desastre del incendio.

Llegaron al fin los caballos que el Reys Efendy mandó uno para mí, otro para mi hijo y otro para mi Interprete, todos ricamente enfantizados, y seis chaux a caballo para acompañarme.

La Marcha la abrió los seis chaux seguía mi Ynterprete, después Yo y enseguida mi hijo. Los criados a pie al lado de los caballos. Así que llegamos al Palacio del Vizir que es la P.Othomana ---portal se quedaron los seis chaux formados en dicha y yo con todo mi sequito proseguí mi marcha hasta el pie de la grande escalera. Salió luego Jescheritalcho Efendi (introductor de Embaxador) y el intérprete de la P., y me llevaron a una grande sala, en donde me tubieno compañía esperando que el Vizir pasan a la de audiencia; no pasó un quarto de hora que vino el aviso, y pasé a ella, acompañado del dicho introductor y del intérprete de la P., mi hijo seguía con el halavo, enbuelto con una rica tela de oro, después mi interpreto y criados mayores.

El gran vizir esta con mucha pompa sentado en el angulo de su rico sophá. El Reys Efendy en pie a su lado derecho, y diferentes oficiales de la Corte del Vizir no asistió el Kiaya Bey por estar indispuesto.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

For Spain the eighteenth century began with a change of dynasty, under the will of Carlos II, the grandson of Louis XIV of France who ascended the Spanish throne as Felipe V. The advent of a Bourbon monarchy in Spain was a milestone. After the War of Succession lasting nearly fifteen years, Spain lost the control of Gibraltar. Spanish trading capacity was imperilled by the British control in the heart of the Mediterranean. Thus, Spain worked on new strategies to compensate for this devastating loss in the XVIII century.

Though neither the ongoing reform projects pursued by primarily Felipe (1700-1746) then Fernando VI (1746-59) can be ignored, the reign of Carlos III (1759-1788) was regarded as a milestone and the most prosperous and illustrated one for the modern history of Spain. The government took direct action to improve the administrative apparatus, education, agriculture and trade to strengthen the state by all means. In the ministry of Floridablanca, it was considered that a more extensive and organized administration system would facilitate to attain its aims in the international platform. Spain pursued a strategy intending to conclude alliances particularly after the Seven Year War with states such as Russia, Prussia, Portugal, France, North Africa, and the Ottoman Empire in order to counterbalance the naval supremacy of Great Britain. Bouligny made every effort to reach a fruitful conclusion in this tedious process, since this agreement was so important on several counts. First and foremost it might be seen as a consequence of Spain's endeavours to surmount its political isolation since the

Al presentarme ante el Vizir le hize mi reverencia, otra a media distancia y otra al llegar cerca de su persona, me pusieron el taburete para sentarme, pero antes de tomar asiento le hize arenga del tener siguiente:

“La Providencia habia reservado a V.A la felicidad de Cooperar al éxito Glorioso de unir la Potencia de España en la Potencia Othomana por un tratado solemne de Paz y Amistad.

Señor mi augusto soberano, desde que entraro la Paz con este Imperio como Rey de las dos Sicilies ha conservado siempre los mismos sentimientos de afecto y de amistad: fiel observador de sus empeños no duda hallan de parte de este Ymperio las mismas sinceras disposiciones al Corresponderle

Es la época tan feliz para la una y la otra Potencia, y tan Gloriosa para los Plenipotenciarios de las dos Cortes es tanto más preciosa para mi quanto me facilita en el mismo acto el honor de felizitar al E.A sobre su elevación a la premier dignidad de este Imperio: elevación debida al mento distinguido, a las virtudes a las Luzes y a las altas prendas que adornan la persona de V.E.A El Cielo se digne bendecir e Ylustrar el Ministro de V.A a cuyo favor y benevolencia tomo la liberta de recomendarme con toda confianza”

Concluida tome el tratado de manos de mi hijo y lo pasé a la del Reys Efendi quien lo puso en manos del G.Vizir y tomé asiento. Bouligny, p. 300

succession wars during which Spain had to face off against various powers in Europe. In the eighteenth century, Spain sought to multiply its allies by forging positive diplomatic relations and fostering economic cooperation with other powers such as Russia, Portugal and Ottoman Empire, and it looked for gaining same privileges from Ottoman Empire as others did, and wanted to be represented on the equal footing with other European powers. That's why Boulogne used very frequently the following phrase; "*como otras naciones*" or "like other nations", in his diplomatic correspondences with Ottoman counterparts. The year, Spanish plenipotentiary was sent to Constantinople, in 1779, while American War of Independence was continuing in full-scale against Britain, Gibraltar was besieged by Spain. Gibraltar was defended efficiently until the American Independence War.

The sixteenth century was the era of manifest belligerence between the two countries. Throughout the XVI-XVIII centuries the two antagonists, The Ottoman Empire and Spain viewed each other with suspicion and refrained from establishing diplomatic relations at large, except sporadic and circumstantial approximation. In the XVIII. century, this tendency began to change. Spanish historian, Ortiz assesses that during this century, the mentality of "Holy War" was outmoded, and the ostensible disappearance of religious hostility facilitated the compromise with Muslims. In secondary sources, this period is viewed as "normalization" in a positive sense; i.e., "normalization of the relationship between Spain and the Islamic potentials."

Another factor increased the inclination of Spain to cooperate was *European equilibrium*. There was a change in the international situation. European countries intensified their relationships by sending permanent ambassadors. Historians evaluate the case generally in a similar vein: "*The system of Europe has changed: commerce enters all, or almost all, treaties as "raison d'état"*" wrote the Abbot Coyer, in the mid-1700s, *Bougainville observed that "the balance of trade has become the balance of power."* Spain similarly conducted the policy based on the ideology "*mas mercado mas Estado*" (more market more stronger state.)

The 18th century witnessed long-lasting wars between the Ottomans and Russia and the defeats made the crisis deeper particularly in the last quarter of the century. Spain thought the moment was opportune to intervene once more in the Crimean imbroglio to attempt to secure some concessions from the Ottoman Empire. From the perspective of Spain there was no doubt that Russia triumphed over the Ottoman Empire and that the Turkish Sultan was forced to establish an alliance with European

states. As Attard remarks, “after *The Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca*, other winds blowing in the Turkish capital, *Floridablanca* wanted to use them to eliminate the inherent and permanent hostility.”²⁴¹ Spain timed the negotiations on trade concessions the Ottomans were debilitated by the political struggles and Russian threats. In 1779, Juan de Boulogny was deployed as an extraordinary envoy to Constantinople.

His diary examined in this study is a witness to the acts and deeds of the Spanish plenipotentiary. These notes allow us to trace his activities and the negotiation process. Boulogny noted down everything, from the day of his arrival to the time the treaty was signed; his settlement, and his contacts with the other ambassadors, the letters sent, and the presents given all are recorded in his diary.

For the most part, Reisülküttap had the highest position among the officials with whom foreign representatives could negotiate. Boulogny directed his petitions to the dragoman of Reis Effendi. First petition declaring the intention of the plenipotentiary was addressed on May, 13th 1779. Boulogny made reference particularly to the first article of the agreement signed between the King of the Two Sicilies and the Sublime Porte in 1740, aiming to ensure its fulfillment. This article confirms and guarantees the expansion of the implication of the treaty for the newly conquered regions and their subjects by the King of Two Sicilies and the Ottoman Empire. Boulogny indicates that the king of the Two Sicilies, Carlos III ascended to the throne of Spain so that the agreement would involve the subjects of Spain. However, this claim was not taken into consideration in the Ottoman side. The Ottoman procrastination in the reception and the recognition of the envoy, frequent changes in the Ottoman bureaucrats and long debates on the articles even on some seemingly minor terms and concepts in the agreement disillusioned Juan de Boulogny. He is often critical of the daunting procedure and continuous delays in the negotiations. Protracted negotiations and haggling over the articles took more than two years. When we compare the negotiation duration with the other negotiations this was not a discrimination against Spain. Swedish and Polish envoys strove nearly three years.

Boulogny made every effort to reach a fruitful conclusion in this tedious process, since this agreement was so important on several counts. First and foremost it might be seen as a consequence of Spain’s endeavours to surmount its political isolation since the succession wars during which Spain had to face off against various

²⁴¹ V. P. Atard, pp. 393-399

powers in Europe. In the eighteenth century, Spain sought to multiply its allies by forging positive diplomatic relations and fostering economic cooperation with other powers such as Russia, Portugal and Ottoman Empire, and it looked for gaining same privileges from Ottoman Empire as others did, and wanted to be represented on the equal footing with other European powers. That's why Boulogne used very frequently the following phrase; "*como otras naciones*" or "like other nations", in his diplomatic correspondences with Ottoman counterparts. He, in accordance with the above-mentioned policy of Spain, stayed in Constantinople for three years to reach an agreement with the Ottoman, and became successful in this purpose after his adamant efforts.

During the negotiations, Ottoman bureaucrats scrutinized each article which would take place in the agreement meticulously. On some occasions, long debates over the various concepts prolonged the process and caused Boulogne to complain about the slowness of the process. He went further to accuse the Ottoman bureaucrats of dragging their feet deliberately to procrastinate the process, and he saw their treatments exclusively for Spain. However, when compared to the other agreement processes between the Ottomans and the European countries, the duration in which the Ottoman-Spanish agreement was procured would seem rather normal in the contrast to Boulogne's claims.

Here it should be noted that the Ottomans gave special emphasis on the reciprocity principle during the negotiations. In the neutrality article of the agreement it was stipulated that Spain would perpetuate its alliance, in any case, with France and Napoli in conformity with the *Familia Pacta*. On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire would provide any assistance to Morocco and Yemen upon their demands from the Ottomans. Spain did not rise any objection to this article, because this article implied that the Ottomans would not intervene in the relations between Spain and the other North African polities like Algeria, Tripoli and Tunis. It has much more significance for Spain to secure neutrality of the Ottomans in the case of a war between Spain and the aforementioned polities.

Boulogne succeeded to broker an agreement with the Ottoman Empire, after his adamant efforts. This trade agreement was akin to the agreement, which was signed in 1740, between Napoli and the Ottoman Empire²⁴². At the same time, Boulogne

²⁴² The only difference between the two agreements was the neutrality article in the Peace and Trade Agreement between the Ottoman Empire and Spain.

involved in a very broad network of international diplomacy during his stay in Istanbul. On some occasions he cooperated with other diplomatic missionaries who resided in Istanbul such as ambassadors of Napoli and Sweden, while sometimes he preferred to act very secretly. Apart from his endeavours for reaching an agreement with Ottomans, he contacted Russian ambassador to negotiate over the trade in the Black Sea.

One of the most important issues which caused delays in the process was the Spanish demand from Sublime Porte to force the deys of such Algeria, Tunis and Tripoli to accede to the agreement. However, the Porte declined this demand on the account that those policies were autonomous in establishing their diplomatic relations. Nevertheless, it promised to send *fermans* to the mentioned countries to encourage them to comply with the stipulations of the agreement. One can say that Spain, with this demand, sought to secure its trade in the Mediterranean from the pirate attacks. Because these African countries were main incubators for the pirates of the Mediterranean. Without securing its ships from the pirate assaults, the agreement reached between the two states would turn out to be fruitless.

Menendez Pidal asserts that the treaty represented psychological turn in the relations of the two powers, rather than its practicality in the real life. After all, the treaty could not bring about an immediate improvement in the relations in the short run. Pidal might have come to this conclusion by taking into the account the economic stagnation in the Levant after the Revolution Wars and the polarized political atmosphere in Europe after the French Revolution. After the revolution Ottoman Empire and Spain took stand against each other to support different camps which came to being as a consequence of the French Revolution. As seen in the claim of Pidal, the positions of the two states in this economic and political situation cause some historians to claim that the treaty bore poor results if not it was a futile and abortive attempt. However, one can say that although various adverse political and economic factors hindered the two states from yielding fruitful results after the treaty was signed, it should not lead us to overlook the favourable results of the treaty in the long term. This treaty's psychological outcomes ushered the further political and economic cooperation despite the intervening negative factors. In this regard the new Spanish consuls sent to the various Ottoman port cities such as İzmir, Oran, and Athens should be seen as the positive consequence of the mentioned favourable psychological atmosphere after the treaty was signed.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: The Articles of the Peace and Trade Agreement

ARTÍCULOS
DE PAZ Y COMERCIO

AJUSTADOS

CON LA PUERTA OTOMANA

En Constantinopla á 14 de Septiembre de 1782.

POR EL MINISTRO PLENIPOTENCIARIO DE S. M.

EL SR. D. JUAN DE BOULIGNY

Y EL DE LA MISMA PUERTA

EL HAGGI SEID MUHAMED BAXÁ, GRAN VISIR,

EN VIRTUD DE LOS PLENOS-PODERES

QUE SE COMUNICARON Y CANGEARON RECÍPROCAMENTE:

Cuyos Artículos fueron ratificados por el Rei Nuestro Señor
en 24 de Diciembre de 1782, y por la Puerta
en 24 de Abril de 1783.

*Y sus Ratificaciones cangeadas en Constantinopla el mismo
dia 24 de Abril, habiendo llegado á Madrid la de la Puerta
en Noviembre del propio año.*

✓
6

EN EL NOMBRE DE DIOS, &c.

ARTÍCULO PRIMERO.

ENTRE la Monarquía de España y el Imperio Otomano queda , mediante la voluntad de Dios , establecida la Paz desde el dia en que llegare la Ratificacion , en la forma y norma que la gozan las otras Potencias amigas; de modo que entre las Provincias y Estados de Tierra-Firme situados en qualquier parte de España , las Islas adyacentes , los Castillos &c , como tambien todos los Súbditos , Dominios y Provincias que posée esta Monarquía , y con el tiempo pudiere adquirir y unirlos á ella , y entre los Súbditos habitantes de los Dominios y Provincias , Tierras é Islas sujetas al Imperio Otomano, se guardará esta Paz por mar y por tierra, y será lícito el comercio recíproco, traficando con la misma libertad y del propio modo que comercian y trafican todas las otras Potencias ami-

Finalmente se practicará con los Súbditos de S. M. C. en todos los casos expresos , ó no expresos, en el presente Tratado, todo lo que se practica á favor de las otras Potencias amigas : y si se juzgase á propósito por ambas partes contrayentes añadir á estos Artículos establecidos ótros que estimasen útiles y necesarios , podrán proponerlos y tratarlos; y , puestos en orden, añadirlos al fin del presente Tratado.

CONCLUSION.

El presente Tratado se ratificará en el término de ocho meses , ó ántes si pudiere ser , y hasta entónces no se pretenderá indemnizacion de Presas que los Súbditos de ambas Potencias hubiesen hecho únos de ótros.

Y por fin no rehusará S. M. C. pasar oficios amistosos para evitar el curso de los Malteses , Romanos y Genoveses en el Archipie-
la-

23
lago , avisando á la Sublime Puerta sus re-
sultas.

En Constantinopla á 14 de Septiembre de
1782.

D Juan de Bouligny, El Haggi Seid Muhamed,
Plenipotenciario de S. M. C. Gran Visir.



CERTIFICACION

DE LA PUBLICACION DE LA PAZ

hecha en Madrid á 14 de Noviembre
de 1783.

DON Pedro Escolano de Arrieta , del Consejo de S. M, su Secretario , Escribano de Cámara mas antiguo y de Gobierno del Consejo , y D. Bartolomé Muñoz de Torres , tambien Escribano de Cámara del Rei nuestro Señor , del mismo Consejo : Certificamos que habiéndose juntado como á las dos de la tarde del dia de hoi en la Posada del Ilmo. Sr. Conde de Campománes , Decano Gobernador interino del Consejo , los Licenciados D. Mariano Colon de Larrea-regui , Caballero de la Real distinguida Orden Española de Carlos Tercero , D. Luis Alvarez de Mendieta , D. Joseph Antonio de Búrgos , D. Juan Mariño de la Barrera, D. Francisco Perez Mesía y D. Ramon de Hevia y Miranda , todos Alcaldes de la Casa

Y

y Corte de S. M., D. Ramon Zazo y Ortega, D. Julian Joseph Brochero, D. Gabriel Ortiz y D. Juan Felix Rujula, Reyes de Armas, y nosotros los dichos D. Pedro Escolano de Arrieta y D. Bartolomé Muñoz de Torres, entregó Su Ilma. á mí D. Pedro Escolano de Arrieta un papel rubricado de su mano en que se contiene la Orden de S. M. para la publicacion del Tratado de Paz y Comercio entre esta Corona y el Imperio Otomano, para que le diese al referido D. Ramon Zazo y Ortega, y le leyese al Público, cuyo tenor dice así: „Oid, oid, oid como de parte del Rei nuestro Señor se hace saber á todos que el deséo que ha tenido siempre S. M. de procurar á sus amados Vasallos todas las felicidades, ventajas y conveniencias posibles le hicieron mirar como importantes y necesarias á la seguridad de sus personas en los Países de la dominacion Mahomerana, al exercicio y propagacion de la Religion Católica en ellos, y á la extension

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del

del Comercio , la libre Navegacion del Mediterraneo y la facilidad de traficar , como otras Naciones en el Archipiélago y Costas de Levante ; que con este intento se ha mantenido y permanece en el dia entre esta Corona y la del Rei de Marruécos una perfecta amistad , y por la misma causa , entre ótras , dispuso S. M. que una de las conquistas que hicieron las Armas Españolas durante la guerra que felizmente se ha terminado, fuese la de la Isla de Menorca para quitar á los Cosarios Berberiscos el abrigo de sus Puertos. Pero no siendo suficientes estas medidas para llenar el objeto de la absoluta seguridad de los mares de Levante , estando expuestos todavía los amados Vasallos de S. M. á la dura esclavitud de los Turcos , y viviendo con el desconsuelo de no poder mantener sin muchos riesgos é inquietudes los Santos Lugares en que tuvo su cuna nuestra Santa Religion , y en que todavía se conservan los monumentos mas preciosos de ella;

ella ; resolvió S. M. se entablase una negociacion directa con la Corte de Constantino-
pla para establecer con los Dominios Turcos
la Paz de que esta Monarquía había care-
cido por espacio de tantos años ; y con efecto,
á honra y gloria de Dios nuestro Señor y
para bien y reposo de la Christiandad, ven-
ciendo las dificultades que se presentaron en
el curso de esta negociacion , se firmó el dia
catorce de Septiembre del año próximo pa-
sado de mil setecientos ochenta y dos con
el Gran Visir , en virtud de sus respectivos
Plenos-poderes, un Tratado de Paz y Co-
mercio entre las dos Potencias , el qual se
ratificó por S. M. en veinte y quatro de Di-
ciembre del propio año , y por la Puerta Oto-
mana en veinte y quatro de Abril del pre-
sente , cangeándose en el mismo las dos Ra-
tificaciones , habiéndose aprovechado el tiem-
po que ha mediado desde el dia en que se
ajustó la Paz hasta ahora en tratar de varios
puntos favorables á los Santos Lugares , á
los

los Católicos existentes en los Dominios Otomanos y al exercicio y propagacion de la Fe Católica en ellos , y que por fin ha llegado en este mes á esta Corte la Ratificacion de la Puerta : y en consecuencia de tódo se halla S. M. en paz , y lo están todos sus Súbditos , Vasallos y Dominios con el Imperio Otomano ; y por medio de esta paz, union y amistad S. M. y el Gran Señor , sus Herederos y Succesores , Reinos , Súbditos y Vasallos gozarán de todo lo convenido en este Tratado : y se manda de parte de S. M. á todos sus Súbditos y Vasallos que de aquí adelante cumplan y observen la dicha Paz inviolablemente sin contradiccion alguna, pena de ser castigados como quebrantadores de ella, sin remision ó gracia.“ Y en execucion de la Orden antecedente salimos de la Posada de dicho Ilmo. Sr. Decano Gobernador interino del Consejo , yendo trompetas y atabales , siguiendo gran número de Alguaciles de la Casa y Corte de S. M. nosotros

tros los infrascritos su Secretario y Escribano de Cámara , los Reyes de Armas y Alcaldes que quedan expresados , en cuya forma se fué á la Plazuela del Real Palacio , y frente del balcon de S. M. estaba formado para este efecto un tablado alfombrado , al que subieron los citados Alcaldes , Reyes de Armas y nosotros , y , estando en él , entregué yo D. Pedro Escolano de Arrieta al Rei de Armas D. Ramon Zazo y Ortega el papel que recibí de mano de Su Ilma. cuya copia es la que queda incorporada : y , habiéndole tomado , le leyó y publicó en altas é inteligibles voces , habiéndose tocado al principio y fin de la publicacion trompetas y atabales , desde cuyo sitio se pasó á la intermediacion de la Iglesia Parroquial de Santa María de la Almudena , y se hizo otra publicacion ; y tambien se executó ótra en la propia forma en la Puerta de Gualadaxara donde está el tráfico y comercio en otros tablados alfombrados , y todos tres con sus

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doseles y retratos de S. M. A todo lo qual concurrió gran número de gente , de que certificamos, y lo firmamos, para que así conste, en Madrid á catorce de Noviembre de mil setecientos ochenta y tres.= D. Pedro Escolano de Arrieta.= D. Bartolomé Muñoz de Torres.

Es copia de la Certificacion de donde se sacó, que original por ahora queda en mi poder para poner en el Archivo del Consejo , de que certifico yo D. Pedro Escolano de Arrieta , del Consejo de S. M. su Secretario y Escribano de Cámara mas antiguo de Gobierno de él. Y para que conste donde convenga lo firmo en Madrid á catorce de Noviembre de mil setecientos ochenta y tres.

D. Pedro Escolano de Arrieta.

HAT, 1429/58516, 26/N/1196²⁴³

HAT, 1429/58515, 07/I/1196

HAT, 1429/58525, 06/L/1196

Evvelki madde Devlet-i Aliyye-i ebed-müddet ile İspanya kralı beyninde İnşaallah-u Teala tasdiknamesi vurûdundan sonra sâir dost olan Fransa ve İngiltere ve Felemenk ve ba'dehu İsveç dükalıkları misillü hâlet ile sulh u salâh akd olunmuştur binâenaleyh Devlet-i Aliyyeye tâbi' memâlik ve eyâlât ve ülkât ve cezirelerin re'âyâ ve ahâlîleri ile kral-ı müşarun ileyhe tâbi' olan hükûmetler ve mülhekâtları olan arâzî ve cezîreleri ve şehirleri ve kastelleri ve bundan sonra vaktiyle tarafına tâbi' olacak memâlik ve hükûmâtın re'âyâları beyninde işbu sulh u salâha murâ'at olunub ve emr-i ticârete dahi sâir düvele müsâ'ade olunduğu üzere berren ve bahren cevaz verilip ve emti'alarının furuhtu ve furuşuna ve avarız-ı saireden mutazarrır olan sefâyinin tamiri ve kifâf-ı nefsleri için iktizâ iden nesnenin akçeleriyle iştirâsı terefeynden câiz ola

-İKİNCİ MADDE: Devlet-i Aliyyenin bi'l-cümle iskele ve gümrüklerinden kral-ı müşarun ileyhin sefâyininden ve re'ayalarından gümrük resmi yüzde üç vesâir dost olan düvel taraflarından verilen rüsûmatı edâ olunub mukâbilinde Devlet-i Aliyyenin sefâyini ve re'âyâsı dahi anlara tâbi' olan yerlere vardıklarında bu kıyas üzere sâir dost olan düvel misüllü rüsûmatlarını edâ ideler.

-ÜÇÜNCÜ MADDE: Devlet-i Aliyyeden Kral-ı müşarun ileyhin ikâmet edecek vekîli vesâtatıyla Devlet-i Aliyyenin münâsib olan bi'l-cümle iskele ve sevâhillerinde konsolosları ikâmet ettirilip azl ü nasblarında vekîl-i mûma-ileyhe rütbesine göre evâmîr-i aliyye ve berevât ihsan olunmasında ve konsolosların ve tercümânân ve etbâ'larının husûslarında sâir dost olan düvel elçileri ve tercümânân ve etbâ'larına olan müsâ'ade misüllü mu'âmele oluna

-DÖRDÜNCÜ MADDE: Re'âyâlarının mezhebi husûsunda ve Kuds-ü şerif vesâir yerlere varan seyyahları için sâir dost olan düvele mur'râat olunduğu üzere müsâ'ade oluna ve memâlik-i mahrûsanın herhangi mahallinde tüccar ve re'âyâlarından ve bayrağı altında olanlardan biri vefat ider ise muhallelâtı hükkâm ve zâbitân taraflarından müsâdere olunmayıp ve bu gûne muhallelât mal-i gaibtir deyu vaz'-ı yed ve istishâb olunmaksızın vekiline veya konsoloslarına vasiyeti üzere ashâbına verilmek için teslim oluna ve eğer bilâ-vasiyet vefat ider ise muhallelâtı vekiline ve konsoloslarına yahud vefat ettiği mahalde olan şerîklerine teslim oluna ve vefat eylediği mahalde konsolos ve şerîkleri bulunmadığı hâlde ol mahallin kâdısı şer'-i şerîf mucebince muhallelâtını defter eyleyüb bir emîn mahalle vaz u hıfz idüb resm-i kısmet talep olunmaksızın der-i devlette mukîm olan vekili tarafında ta'yin olunan âdeme biâa bahâne def ü teslim eyleye ve Devlet-i Aliyyenin re'âyâsına ve tüccârına dahi anların taraflarından kezâlik mu'âmele oluna.

-BEŞİNCİ MADDE: Konsolos ve tercümânları ile da'vâ zuhur eder ise dört bin akçeden ziyade da'vâ olunduğu hâlde da'vâları sâir mahalde istimâ' ve fasl olunmayıp Asitâne-i saâdete havâle oluna ve kezâlik Devlet-i Aliyye re'âyâsıyla kral-ı müşarun ileyhin tüccâr ve sair re'âyâları ve himayesi elinde olanlar bey' ü şirâ ve ticaret hususları ile vesâir bahâne ile da'vâ ve kâdiya vardıklarında tercümânlarından biri bulunmadıkça da'vâları istimâ' ve fasl olunmaya ve borçları ve kefâletleri ma'mûlünbih senedât ve defter olunmadıkça da'vâ olunan deyn için hilâf-ı şer'-i şerîf müdâhale olunmaya ve tüccârı beyninde da'vâ zuhûr eyledikde bu makûle olan da'vâları konsolosları ve tercümânları vesâtatlarıyla şürût ve kâideleri üzere görülmesi câiz ola ve bu mu'âmele hîn-i iktizâda anların memleketlerinde bulunan Devlet-i Aliyyenin tüccâr ve re'âyâsı haklarında dahi böylece mer'i tutula .

²⁴³ Tabakoğlu, pp. 106-114

-ALTINCI MADDE: Devlet-i Aliyyenin hükkâm ve zâbitânı kral-ı müşarun ileyhe tâbi'olanlardan her kim olursa olsun bir ferdi bilâ vech-i te'aadi ve tahkîr ve habs itmeyeler ve re'âyâlarından bir kimesne ahz olundukta vekîli ve konsolosu tarafından talep olunur ise teslîm olunup töhmetlerine göre te'dib oluna.

-YEDİNCİ MADDE: Devlet-i Aliyyenin re'âyâ ve tüccârı emîn ve müsterîh olmak için taraf-ı Devlet-i Aliyyeden kral-ı müşarûn ileyhin kürsî-i memleketi olan Alicante'de ikamet etmek üzere şehbender ta'yîn olunması câiz ola bu vecihle işlerini ru'yet idüb Devlet-i Aliyye cânibinden müsâ'ade olunan serbestiyyet bunların hakkında dahi cârî ola

-SEKİZİNCİ MADDE: Fenn-i mellahi'de mâhir olanlardan tarafeyn limânlarında fırtında tazyik olunan sefâyine i'ânet oluna ve şikest olan sefâyin derûnlarında bulunan emti'a ve sâir eşyaları buldukları üzere sahiblerine teslim olunmak için akreb olan konsolosa red oluna.

-DOKUZUNCU MADDE: Tarafeynin sefâyin-i askeri ve cepbane naklinde ve sâir hizmette istihdâm olunmak üzere cebr olunmaya

-ONUNCU MADDE: Devlet-i Aliyyenin sefâyini memâlik-i mahrûsadan dostluk üzere olup kral-ı müşarûn ileyhin memleketine giden sâir devletin sefâyini misüllü mu'tad olan lazartadan sonra kabul olunalar

-ONBİRİNCİ MADDE: Devlet-i Aliyyenin cenk-sefayini rûy-i deryada Kral-ı müşarûn ileyhin cenk sefinelerine müsadife eyledikte bayrağını dikip ve karşudan top ile selamlayıp dostluk izhar eyledikte Devlet-i Aliyyenin cenk sefineleri dahi layık olan vecihle dostâne mu'amele edip ve kezalik tarafeyn tüccar sefâyini dahi birbirlerine bayraklarını açıp dostâne mu'amele idecekler ve iş bu tarafeynin cenk sefineleri birbirlerinin tüccar sefayinine müsadife eyledikte sebillerin tahliye ve iktizâ iden mu'âvanet ile i'ânet olunub ve cenk sefâyini iktiza eden filükacılardan mâ'âdâ filûka ile tüccâr sefinesine iki nefer âdem irsâl ve tâcir sefinesinin senedini ve yol kağıdını görüp ma'mûlûnbih olduğunu bildikde bila tehir kendi sefinelerine avdet ideler ve sefinelerin bayrak ve senedâtları ma'lûm olmak için senedâtların birer memhûr sûreti ve bayrakların dahi resimleri tarafeynden verile.

-ON İKİNCİ MADDE: Kral-ı müşarûn ileyhin re'âyâsından ve ana müte'allik olanlardan biri İslama gelüp ve geldiğini konsolosundan veyahud tercümânlarından birisinin müvâcehesinden mukırr olur ise bu sûrette borcunu vermek ve kendi ve eşyasından mâ'adâ sâirlerin emti'alarından yedinde bulunan eşya dahi ba'de's-sübût ashâbına verilmek üzere vekiline ve konsoloslarına teslîm oluna

-ON ÜÇÜNCÜ MADDE: Kral-ı müşarûn ileyhe tâbi' olup himâyesinde ve bayrağı altında olan re'âyâ ve tüccâr tâifesi mâdem ki Devlet-i Aliyye düşmanlarından olan korsan tâifesi ile îsâl-i mazarrata sâ'i ve mezbûrlara askeri yazılmış olmayalar ol makûlelerin emval ve eşyalarına taarruz ve kendülerine te'addî olunmayub eşyalarıyla tahliye-i sebîl olunalar ve Kral-ı müşarûn ileyhin bayrağı ve "patente" tâbir olunan yol kağıdı ile olan sefâyinden biri Devlet-i Aliyyenin korsanları tarafından istirkâk olundukta sefîne-i merkûme ve donanmada olan tüccâr ve re'âyâ ve eşyalardan mâ'adâ devleteyn düşmanlarından ahz olunan tarafeyn sefâyini ve içinde olan tüccâr ve re'âyâsı mukarrer olan dostluk istihkâkı için mümkün mertebe tahsîl ve tarafeyne verilmeğe sa'y oluna

-ON DÖRDÜNCÜ MADDE: Bu iki devlet beyninde bulunan tarafeynin üserâsı bu hususa me'mur olanların ma'rifetiyle münâsib ve mu'tedil behâ ile itlâk yahud mübâdele olunalar ve itlâk ve yahud mübâdele oluncaya değin sahiblerinden lütf ile mu'âmele olunmak üzere tenbîh olunalar

-ON BEŞİNCİ MADDE: Kral-ı müşarûn ileyhin re'âyâlarından biri gümrükten eşya kaçırmış bulunur ise dost olan düvelin re'âyâsından ziyade bir vecihle te'dib olunmaya

ve tüccârları her ne mezhebden diler ise simsâr alup istihdâm ideler ve tüccârları husûsunda hilâf mu‘tâd bir kimesne cebren müdâhale eylemeye ve müdahale idenlerin muhkem haklarından geline Devlet-i Aliyyenin iskele, limân ve sedd’ül-bahrine ve sâir yerlerine gelen sefâyîleri dost olan düvelin sefâyîni misüllü yoklama olunalar

-ON ALTINCI MADDE: Devlet-i Aliyyenin sefâyîni Kral-ı müşarûn ileyhın hükümeti dâhilinde olan sevâhilde sefîne seçildiği ve sefâyîndan dahi kara görüldüğü mahalle değin düşmanı tarafından takîb ve te‘addî olunmasına anların taraflarından cevâz verilmemek ve kezâlik Devlet-i Aliyyenin sefâyîni dahi minvâl-i muharrer üzere anlar ile dost olan sefâyîne hadd-ı merkûm dâhilinde taarruz itmek husûsları kendileriyle dost bulunanlara taraflarından ihbâr olunub rızâ-dâde oldukları halde keyfiyet der-i Devlet-i Aliyyeye tahrîren ifade ve minvâl-i muharrer üzere karâr dâde ola.

-ON YEDİNCİ MADDE: Devlet-i Aliyyenin re‘âyâsından ve husûsan Ülgünlü ve Arnavutluk’ta olan korsan makûlesinden ve sâir bu yolda yürüyenlerden bir ferd bi’l-cümle Kral-ı müşarûn ileyhın sefâyîni ile husumet etmemek husûsu ve iskelelerine ve memleketlerine vardıklarında dostâne kabul ve sâir dost olan düvele mu‘tâd olan bi’l-cümle i‘ânetler bunların haklarında dahi icrâ olunmak haline emr u tenbih oluna ve zikr olunan tevaifin kral-ı müşarun ileyhın taht-ı hükümetinde olan arazi ahâlisi ile serbestiyet ve kendi halleri üzere ticaret için varup gelmeleri caiz ola iş bu akd olunan mevada muhalefet eden varsa tedib ve tarafeyne bu megulelerden olan fil-cümle zarar ve ziyân ve sair dost olan düvele müsaade olunduğu üzere tazmin ettirile ve Devlet-i Aliyyenin emr u fermanına muhalefet ve onların reyalarına teaddi ider olur ise yani korsanlık muamelesini eyler ise o meguleye deryanın açığında musadaka olunduğu halde akd olunan mevada hâlel gelmeksizin hakkında gelinmesi caiz ola ve kezalik Devlet-i Aliyye sefâyîni dahi bu vecih üzere hareket eylemek caiz ola Devlet-i Aliyye-i ebed kıyam ile İspanya devleti beyninde rabita pezirihüsün hitam olan işbu müsâlaha-i mütemeyyine Cezayir Garp ve Tunus ve Trablus ocaklarına ihbar olunub zikr olunan ocakların müsâlaha hususunda iradeleri kendi yedlerinde olmaktan naşi onlar dahi zikr olunan İspanya devlet-i ile başkaca akd-i müsâlaha eylediklerinde Devlet-i Aliyye bu mahfuz ve müsâlahaları makbul olacağını müşir ve tekiden dostluğu tavsiye birle müsâlahaya terğibi havi o emr-i şerife İspanya elçisi tarafından istida olunduk da her bir ocağa başka başka üç kıta evamir-i aliyye isdar ve teslimi caiz ola.

-ON SEKİZİNCİ MADDE: Devlet-i Aliyyenin iskele ve limanlarında ve kezâlik Kral-ı müşarûn ileyhın taht-ı hükümetinde olan iskele ve limanlarda tarafeyn düşmanlarına cenk sefâyîni techîz olunmasına cevâz verilmeye ve düşman bayrağı ile gelen sefâyînden tarafeyn sefâyînine te‘addi olunmasına cevâz verilmediğinden mâ‘adâ cânibeynin sefâyînine her vecihle mu‘âvenet olunub tarafeyn sefîneleri limanlardan çıktıklarında yirmidört saat mürûrundan sonra zikr olunan cenk sefâyîninin ihracına cevâz verile velâkin düşmanın hilesiyle bir sefîne istirkâk olunub ve istirkâk olunan sefîneye i‘ânet olunmasını mümkün olmadığı halde bulunan devletin limanlarında bu makûle avâriz zuhûru töhmet add olunmaya tarafeynin re‘âyâ ve tüccar sefâyîni düşman bayrağı ve düşmandan yol kağıdı almağa cevâz verilmeye ve bu makûller ahz olunduk da sefîne zâbiti ibreten lil-gayr sefînesinin direğine salb olunub ve sefînesi ve etbâ‘ını ve eşyası ahz edenin esîr ve ganimeti oluna ve tarafeynin re‘âyâsına ve memleketlerinde süknâsı karâr-dâde olanlardan mâ‘adâsına yol kağıdı ve bayrak verilmesine cevâz verilmeye

-ON DOKUZUNCU MADDE: Kral-ı müşarûn ileyhın tarafından ta‘yîn olunan vükela ve konsoloslardan bayrağı altında olanlar ticarete müte‘allik eşyalar için gümrüklerini verdiklerinde sâir dost olan düvelden tahsîl olunan konsolota resmi alınmasına cevâz verile ve re‘âyâlarından bir kimesneye barut ve top ve silah vesâir memnâ‘attan

olanlardan mâa'dâ ticarete müte'allik olan eşyayı sefâyne tahmîl eylemeye mümâna'ât olunmaya

-YİRMİNCİ MADDE: Kral-ı müşarûn-ileyh re'âyâsına ve taht-ı himâyesinde olan kimesnelere ticarete müte'allik bey'ü şîrâlarında sâir dost olan düvel misillü mu'âmele oluna ve ale'l-ıtlak câri olan sikkeden gayri sikke teklifi ile te'addî olunmayalar ve getirdükleri sikkeden hilâf mu'tâd bir türlü resm talep olunmaya

-YİRMİ BİRİNCİ MADDE: Azîmet üzere olan sefine hudûs eden da'vâ bahanesiyle alıkonulmayup da'vâ ve nizâ'ı konsolos vesâtıyla bilâ te'hir fasl oluna müte'ehhil ve mücerred olan re'âyâlarından cizye ve tekâlif-i sâire talep olunmaya ve re'âyâlarından birinin üzerine şer'-i şerîf muccebince mademki katl ü cerh keyfiyetleri sabit olmaya kendi halinde oldukça te'addî olunmaya ve işbu musarrah olan maddelerde ve bunlardan hâriç tasrîh olunmayan husûslarda sâir dost olan düvele mu'âmele olunduğu vecih üzere müsâ'ade oluna ve devleteyne fâideli ve lâzım ad olunan sâir mevâd-ı nâfi'anın dahi iş bu akd olunan şerâite derci tarafeyn münâsib görülür ise anlar dâhi îrâd ve müzâkere ve tertîbden sonra zamm ve derc olunmak câiz ola.

İspanya murahhasının bî-araflık maddesine dâir İspanya lisânı üzere kendi imza ve mührüyle mümzi ve memhûr takdim eylediği sened ile me'an Talamas nâm tercümanı imzasıyla mümzî verdiği taliyâni tercümesinin tercümesidir.

İspanya devlet-i ile Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye beyninde 21 maade ve bir hatime üzerine teberrüken ve temenniye mün'akid olan müsâlaha-yı müeyyide şerâtından başka işbu madde dâhi asıl ahidnâmede mestûr ve münderic misüllü mer'î her düstur'ul-'amel tutulmak üzere mu'âhede ve karâr-dâde kılınmıştır ki Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyyenin muktezâ-yı ittihâd-ı diniyye üzere mülûk-ı İslamiyyeden Fas padişahı ve Arabistan'a ... olan Yemen imamından gayri düvelden bisiriyle İspanya devleti beyninde muhâseme vuku'ında Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniyye kat'an ve katiyyen bir bahane ve illet ile hiçbir vakitte İspanya devletinin hasmı olanlara sırrî ve cehrî i'ânet ve müzâheret eylemeyüp kâmilen bî-araflık olma ve kezâlik musâvâten Kral-ı müşarûn ileyhin hâlât-ı lâzime-yi uhud ve muvâsıkı üzere France ve Sicilyateyn devletlerinden mâ'adâ düvelden birisine Devlet-i Aliyye beyninde muhâseme vuku'ında İspanya devleti kat'an ve katiyyen bir bahane ve illet ile hiçbir vakitte Devlet-i seniyyenin hasmı olanlara sırrî ve cehrî i'ânet ve müzâheret eylemeyüp kâmilen bî-araflık olma işbu madde dâhi asıl ahidnâmede derc olunmuş gibi aynıyla mer'î ve mu'teber olmak için tasdiknâme ile me'ân bir vakitte tasdik oluna binaenaleyh İspanya kralının murahhası olan Civan De Polini İspanya lisânı üzere muharrer iş bu senedi kendi yedimiz ile imza ve mührümüz ile temhir ve devletlü saadetlü vezir-i a'zam el-Hac Seyyid Mehmed Paşa hazretlerinin mümzi ve mühürleriyle memhûr-ı mazmûn-ı mezkûreyi hâvî lisân-ı Türkî üzere olan başka sened ile mübâdele etmişizdir.

Fi Constantiniyye-i mahmiye Milâd-ı İsanın 1782 senesi Eylülünün ondördünücü gününde tahrîr olunmuştur.

Appendix B: The Spanish Archival Documents

A.H.N. Estado 4761, (4 January, 1782)

S. XVIII
Carlos III

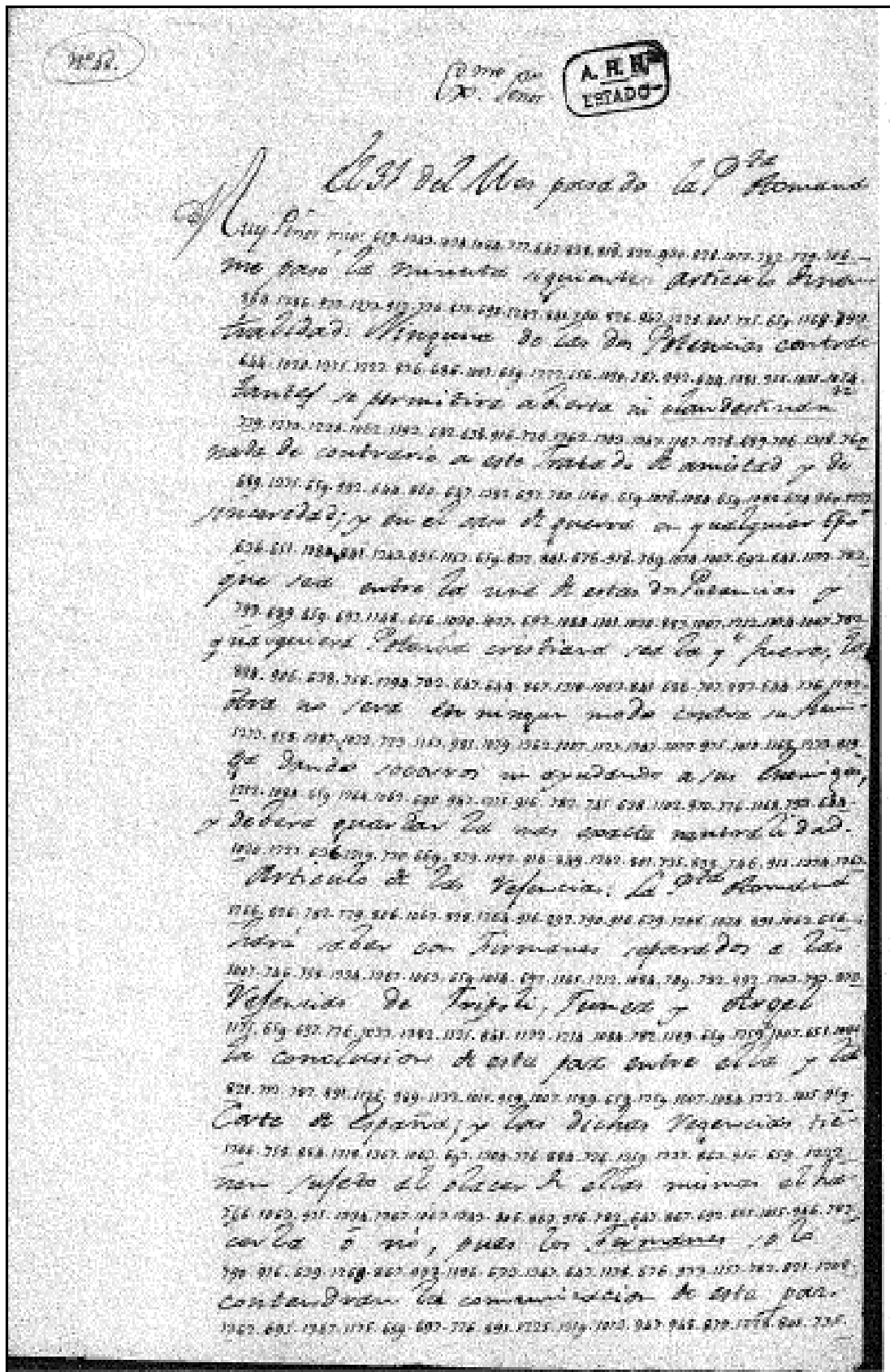
E. mo. Sr.
E. mo. Sr.

A. H. N.
ESTADO

X=)

Muy S. mo. En 23 de Noviembre
ultimo Srue. a V. E. que habiendo te-
nido ocasion de informar al Princi-
pe de Navarra del encaminto con q
el Rey procedia en la negociacion
con la Puerta Otomana, pues no esta
ya concluida mucho tiempo habra,
solo por haberse negado a ella a la
condicion que exigia la corte de Con-
stantinopla, de que impidieramos a los
enemigos de ella el transito por el
Estrecho de Gibraltar, le rogué que
hiciese saber esto al Emperador. Des-
pues de bastante tiempo me diria

The Emperador wanted to know that Spain would prevent the transition of her enemies through the Strait of Gibraltar



The Ottoman Empire declared that Tripoli, Algeria and Tunisia were independent to sign any agreement with Spain.

E^{mo} Senor

EXAMINADO

N^o 3

Este Ministerio continua en asegurarnos que han es-
 tado a Angel para que se ajuntar con la España y que así lo pu-
 do agra-
 do. 3216. 3185. 6823. 6818. 7005. 5500. 1300. 3668. 8283. 5212. 611. 7123. 1136.-
 rar a mi Corte, y que esperan que se hará con tal que
 960. 1280. 154. 7668. 6847. 6099. 8696. 2499. 1933. 5293. 3306. 1854. 611.-
 este año no se les haga otro ataque
 5915. 5500. 6022. 312. 5823. 6778. 438. 8177. 8162. 1924. 801. 1101. 4229. 5212.-
 como lo parados, que esto les irrita mucho y me han
 311. 2226. 1478. 8480. 8599. 1933. 2223. 2707. 5202. 2006. 8720. 2888. 1085. 6180.-
 encargado que así lo escriba y que el Gran Señor apruebe la paz
 9067. 4657. 5067. 1111. 7217. 8712. 315. 4417. 434. 8226. 1781. 2985. 1367. 1380. 8081.-
 con la España; por otra parte el alcaide Marruqui me ha
 5500. 5066. 3668. 8585. 5021. 1067. 6995. 7036. 2973. 8023. 7725. 2815. 2805. 1085.-
 avisado que todavía no ha sido respuesta a las cartas que han
 3628. 779. 319. 6051. 6088. 6180. 3886. 8069. 5250. 4662. 1551. 8880. 567. 7763. 900.-
 venido del Rey de Marruecos, que ofrecen **tracax lo** dicho
 6275. 2784. 2815. 2355. 8680. 1933. 2882. 8488. 7005. 2626. 3795. 1561. 1818. 7170. 8208.
 7011 de un día a otro. El Embarcador de Francia no me ha-
 5058. 2217. 8570. 1061. 1067. 2800. 1731. 8070. 7217. 3779. 4870. 9082. 2262. 3819. 1924.
 vuelto a hablar sobre alianza, de que informé a V. E. por
 6458. 6516. 1086. 3800. 1074. 8702. 6880. 8501. 8696. 8870. 1933. 7120. 5250. 9150. 3709.
 mi misma, el Gran Rey me ha hecho saber
 6977. 9144. 8440. 9289. 8550. 7223. 7209. 8695. 42. 1801. 5058. 2095. 1085. 1924. 6644.
 que en el día están tranquilos, pero vuelven a no
 641. 270. 1858. 6508. 2333. 1227. 8339. 603. 2052. 8556. 1561. 7211. 8480. 1700. 6028.
 saber nada al Imperador y defenderse porq. lo espja la fuerza.
 9070. 6617. 5650. 4222. 5211. 1683. 7510. 1153. 6111. 1794. 7217. 7150. 6662. 5109. 4410.-
 Dios sea en V. E. los mas felices años, Comedera. Comedera
 1^o Marzo 1785.

E^{mo} Senor

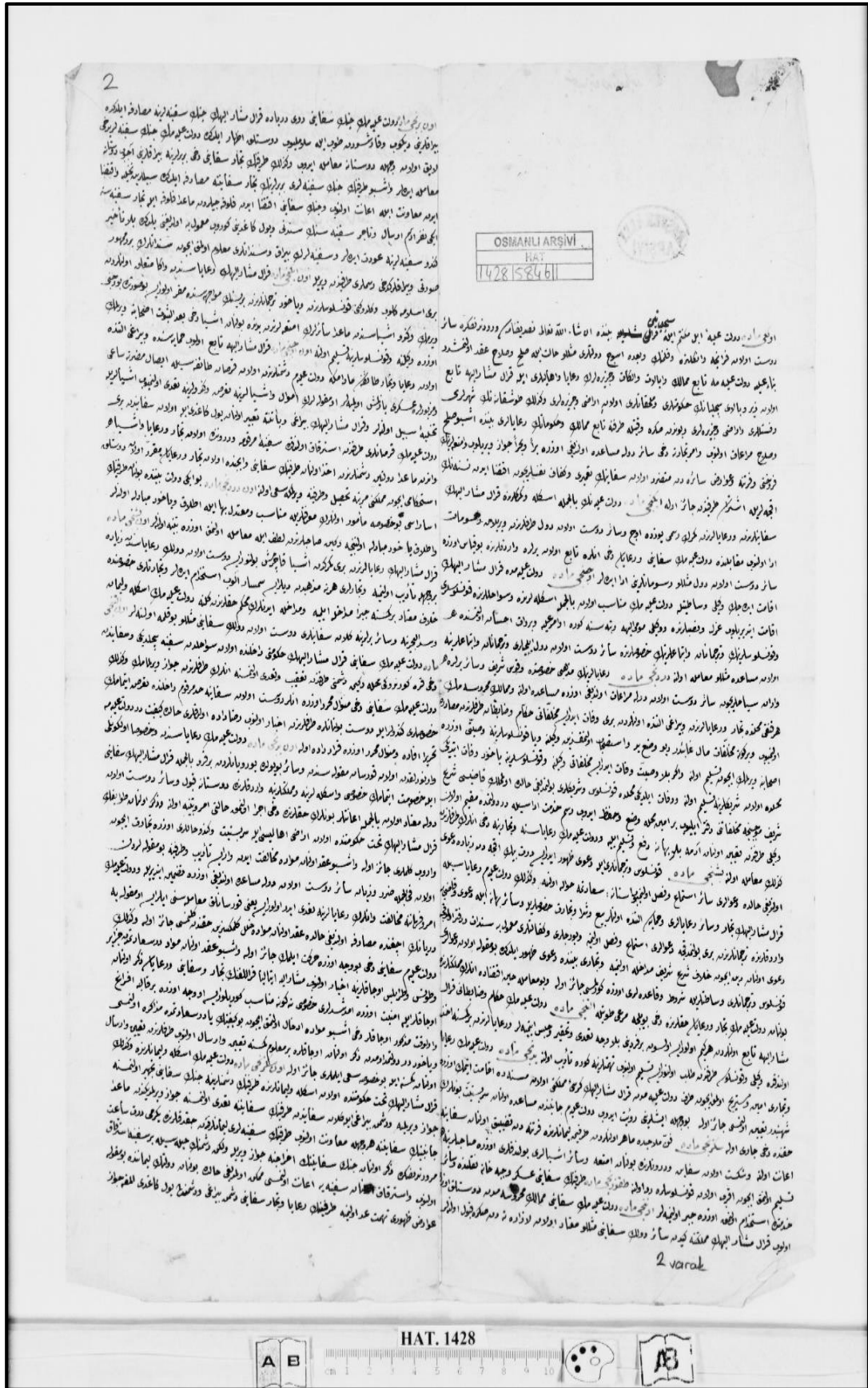
B. L. P. de V. E. Thomas
 venido, humilde. Luvier
 Juan de Arvizu

E^{mo} Senor Conde de Florida Blanca

It is stated that that the Ottoman Empire sent a letter aiming to see the intention of the Algeria to sign a treaty with Spain but it was expected that the response would be negative

Appendix C: The Ottoman Archival Documents

BOA, HAT, 1428/58461, 04/Ra/1153: Osmanlı Sicilyâteyn Anlaşması

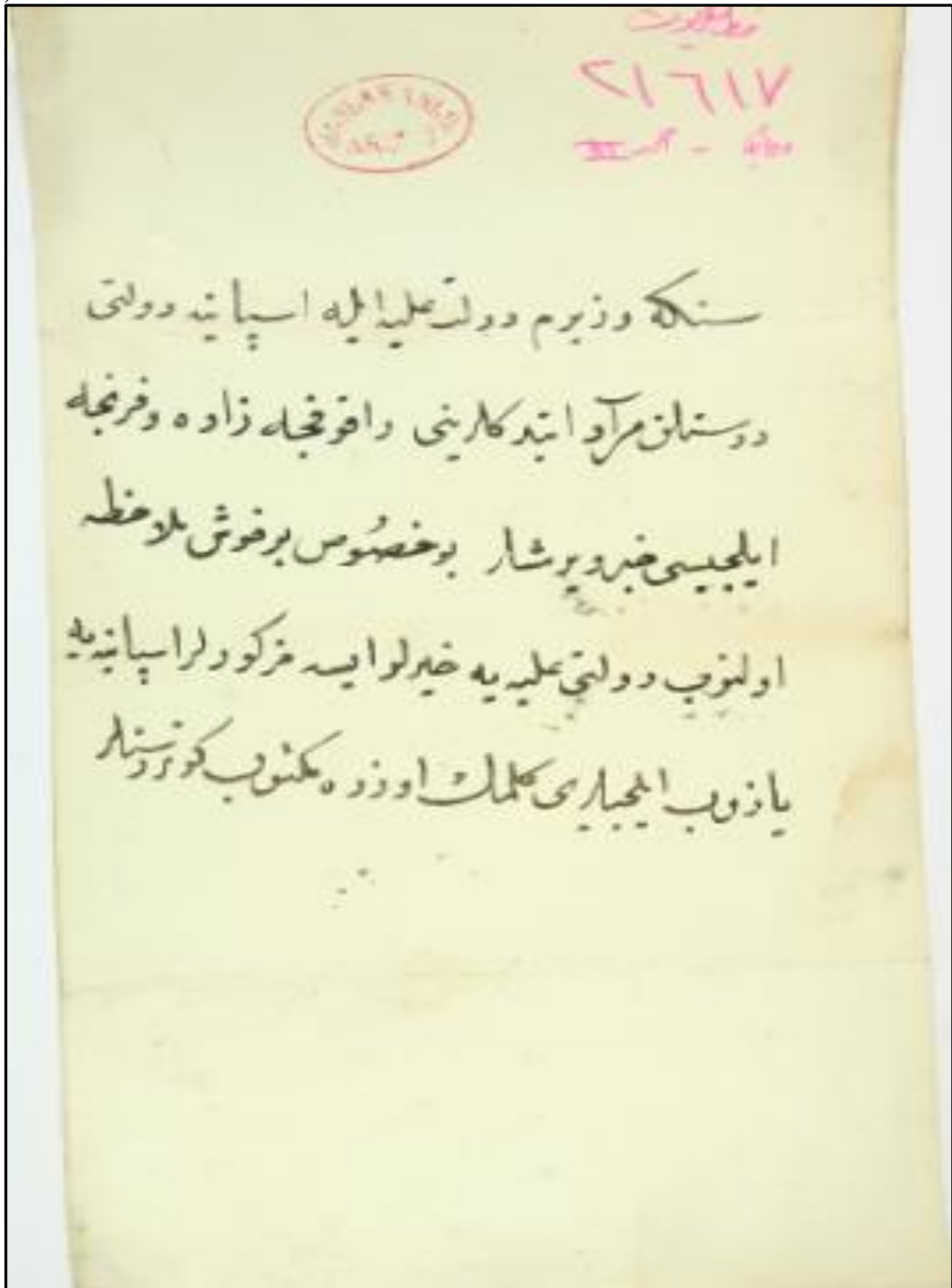


و بریده و بومغول را انداخته اولی که سفینه صابون عبق لغیر سفینه سنبلو در کتد صلب اولی و سفینه ذبای
 و اشیا ای اخذ این نیک اسیر و عتیق اول و طرز اولی رعایا بسینه و مکتوبه سخاسی قرار داده اولی در
 ماعلا سینه بول کاغذی و براق و لیسنه جواز و بریده اولی و طرز اولی در فرس مشا و بریهای طرز در قیامه اولی
 و غیره و فرس اولی در بیاضی انده اولی در تجارت منعمه اشیا لرکونه کلکری و برده کلکری سار دوست اولی
 در اولی تحقیق اولی در فرس اولی در سفینه جواز و بریده رعایا لرزیده بر کسینه به بارون و جنوب و سطح و سایر
 منگاتر در اولی در ماعلا تجارت منعمه اولی اشیا ای سفاینه تحیل ایکنه ممانعت اولی و بکرشی ماده
 فرس مشا در اولی رعایا بسینه و تحت حمایت منعمه اولی در اولی کسینه لره تجارت منعمه بیع و سزارزیده سار دوست
 اولی در اولی در اولی معامره اولی و طرز اولی جاری سکه در بگیری سکه تقلیدی ایله نقدی اولی در اولی در اولی
 سکه در خدوق معیار بر در اولی طلب اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی
 بهانه سینه ای تقویلی و طرز اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی
 جزیه و کالیف سار طلب اولی در رعایا لرزیده بر اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی
 ثابت اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی
 حضور در سار دوست اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی
 اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی
 ایوانه ماده طرز نافع ظهور و اقتضا ایله ماده در وجه اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی در اولی
 ایوانه و سار دوست و بعد از تنظیم احوال و الحاقی جائز اولی

HAT. 1428

A B





Sen ki vezirim Devlet-i Aliyye ile İspanya devleti dostluk murâd ettiklerini Rakofçizade ve Frence elçisi haber vermişler bu husus ber huş mülâhaza olunub Devlet-i Aliyye'ye hayırlı ise mezkûrlar İspanya'ya yazıb elçileri gelmek üzere mektup gönderilsin.

۲۵۶۱۹

۲

بسم و بزم خیر بر ای سرمد
 البینه هر وقتک مصالح تصدق و تبرع
 همدار و رندی مسوق انا تصدق و تبرع
 قطعاً بر مانع تو قدر حقیقت
 در حمله الموت خا الله تعالی
 خیر لوامیندونه ارمون

نوکلو کراشلو مهابلو قدرتلو اولنتم اقدم
 دولت علیه لریه بود فعه عقد را بطله دستی و اولوا خابن اسبابه دولتک استانه علیه لریه مقیم
 جوان بولینی نام مرخصی بزجانی قوبله کوز روج مصالحه مذکوره نك انقفا دزن انهار کمال تشکر
 کلامه انذار ابروج دولت علیه ابه عقد مصالحه ابرن دول سازه انقفا و صلح دزن مکه انک اخبه
 بزجان رجال دولت سینه به بعضا هدیه و بعضا هدیه بها اولرق نکرانه لک و برید کلک داب و برین
 اولتی سبک سببه مرخص مرسوم دخی قاعده قریبه به رعایه بونی تقیف و در سنا حسن قول ابه قولی
 رجاء ابرو دیجا کنز و باز سببه دفتر کونه بر قطعه کاغذ ابراز تمکله نظر اولد فیه جانب جا کرانه به قطعه
 محو هر حقیق ابه کفهای جا کری قولدینه بگری بک و در غیر الحجب اذی قولدینه کذلک بگری بک و بکلی
 اذی قولدینه اون بک و دیوان هابونلری بزجانی قولدینه بی بک بشوز غروشی و بر بکلری درج اولتی
 خصوص مزبورک بر وجه محرم مواد مسوق دن اولدنی هر قدر در کار دخی هر قدر برین مصالحه اوقان برید قولدینه
 عقب عقد صلحه و بر مشروح اوزره هدیه و بر دکلی بر ابرو دخی زمان کرامت نشان داورانه لریه بوسلو
 ماده لردن معلوم هابونلری اولقمقین بر اقم و بر حبه اخذینه کسنه نك زهره اولدنی و کون قولدلی
 و کون موی اهرم بده لری سابه عبا بکری هر قدر بوسلو سبک سخنی ابسه لردنی مصالحه مذکوره اسبابه
 دولتک اراده کسنه ما شاء اولدنی رقی هر حالک دلخواه دولت سینه لری اوزره نظام بوششیکن بود
 حرض بکلی دخی دولت علیه بر کونه شانی موجب ابروی معلوم ملکانه لری بوسلو قدره
 بوزله امر و اراده داورانه لری ارزان بیور بیلور سبک ارمون نکلو کراشلو مهابلو قدرتلو
 اولنتم اقدم بادنا هم خیر تکریم

Şevketlü Kerametlü Mehabetlü Devletlü Velî Nimetim Efendim

Devlet-i Aliyyeleriyle bu def‘a akd-ı, rabıta-ı dostî ve müvâlât eden İspanya devletinin Âsitâne-i aliyyelerinde mûkîmde Civan Polini nâm murahhası tercümânı kapuya gönderib musâlaha-yı mezkûrenin in‘ikâdından izhâr-ı kemâl-i teşekkürle kelâma ibtidâr edib Devlet-i Aliyye ile akd-ı musâlâha iden düvel-i sâire in‘ikâd-ı sulhlarından sonra işin içinde bulunan ricâl Devlet-i seniyyeye ba‘zen hediye ve ba‘zen hediye-behâ olarak şükrânelik verile gelmek de’b dirîn olmak mülâbesesiyle murahhas-ı mersûm dahi gâin-i kadîmeye ri‘âyete bunu teklîf ve dostâne hüsn ü kabûl ile kabûlünü rica eder deyub kendi yazısıyla deftergüne bir kıta kağıd ibrâz itmekle nazar olunduk da cânib-i çâkerâneme bir kıt‘a mücevherçiçek ile Kethüdâ-yı çâkeri kullarına yirmi bin ve Reis’ül-küttâb Efendi kullarına kezâlik yirmi bin Beylikçi Efendi kullarına on bin ve Divân-ı hümayûnları tercümânı kullarına yedibinbeşyüz kuruş verecekleri derc olunmak husûs-ı mezbûrun ber vech-i muharrer mevâd-ı mesbûkadan olduğu her ne kadar derkâr ve hatta ‘ahd-i garîbde musâlâha olunan Rusyalunun dahi akîb-i akd-i sulhda vech-i meşrûh üzre hediye verdikleri bedîdâr ise dahi zamân-ı kerâmet nişandâverânelerinde bu misüllü maddelerden mal‘ûm-ı hümayûnları olmaksızın bir akçe bir habbe ahzına kimesnenin zehresi olmadığı ve gerek kulları ve gerek mûma ileyhim bendeleri sâye-i ‘inâyetlerinde her ne kadar bu misüllü şeyden müstağni iseler dahi müsâleme-i mezkûre İspanya devletinin irâdesine mûmâşât olunmayarak herhâlde dilhâh-ı Devlet-i seniyyeleri üzere nizâm bulmuşken bu vecihle arz-ı ‘ubûdiyyet eylemek dahi Devlet-i Aliyyeye bir güne şânı müceb idiği mal‘ûm-ı mülûkâneleri bulunduk da ne vecihle emr u irâde-i daverâneleri erzân buyurulur ise emr u fermân şevketlü kerâmetlü mehâbetlü kudretlü velî nimetim padişahım hazretlerindir.

Benim vezirim,

Elbette her devletin musâlaha hayriyyeleri görüldük de hediyeler verildiyse mesbûk olduğundan buna kat‘ân bir mâni‘ yoktur ber müceb defter cümlesi alınsinhimmetu’llah-ı teâlâ hayırlu işlerden eylesun.

مجلس شورای عالی
وزارت معارف و اوقاف
و صنایع

بادنام

سولانو قدرتو کراملار عدالتو ولایتتم اقدم

دولت علیه ابرقیا ملایه عقد مهاده و مصافحات رعایتی محتوی اسبابه قرالک در علیه برخص کونردی کسملک سولانو
انجمنان تقییرلری رجال سلطنت سینه لری عاشر اولوقلری حالده قرات اولمن ملوبه سینه مسعودلره علیا یاس مولف
و برلیوب اسون حکیم ایله خدیجان بوماده نیک سرخی اولوقلری و طوشقاز و قه سینه و بط معاصیر اولوقلری و قه برنور
بیمقدار اسرای سلیبی اطلاق و درگاه معلول بنا شه همدیه اولوقلری ارسال ایقش اولوقلریه نادر اسبابه قرالی در ایقش
امده برقا صوبه نفر اسلوم اسیدلری در معادله کونردوب اولوقلری دن و فرجه مرتدی گزار ایره هکی انظار اولوقلری
فانسی تمرد اسار و کوسی په قرار و برملک مکن اولوقلری منفر بر تقیر اعطا اولوقلری اصعبی سوری جا کوزلی آشتوبان ایقش
خدرسه مشورت حضور داورانه لریه بعد العرض اقتضا ایرک تقیر مرخص مدکور اولوقلری مرتومه ترجمانلری و ساجلیه ایقش
اولوقلری رسومان ترجمانلری تکرار قبولیه کونردوب بو خصوصه و اثر لغوی کیمیا ناک شفاها ندر کوره سیموده رسین اولوقلری
قوللریله محلیه مدوقات نیاز ایققلاری اخبار ایرد هاسد اولوقلری صوقان قصبه سینه ساعدن کوسر لسه قواعده
دوله منافی اولوقلری قه قرال مرلورن اغدار و کست خارجه موجب اولوقلری بریه اولوقلری آشتوبان بار داری
کونی رسین اولوقلری قوللریک ساطحان سنون رسومانلک صوقا تلریه رخصت ساینه لری ادراف بورد ملور ایسه اولوقلری
سولانو قدرتو کراملار عدالتو ولایتتم اقدم بادشاهلره

Şevketlü Kudretlü Kerametlü Adaletlü Velinimetim Efendim,
Devlet-i Aliyye ebed-kıyâmlarıyla akd-i muhâdene ve musâfât ricası muhtevî İspanya kralının Der aliyyeye murahhas gönderdiği kimesnenin ve Sicilyâteyn elçisinin takrîrleri ricâl-i saltanat-ı seniyyeleri hâzır oldukları hâlde kırâ‘at olunmak mülâbesesiyle mesfûrlara külliye ye’s cevabı verilmeyib üslûb-ı hâkim ile şimdilik bu maddenin mevsimi olmadığını ve Toşkana dukasıyla rabıta-ı mu‘âhede olundukda duka-yı mezbûr bir mikdâr isâre-yi müslimîni itlâk ve dergâh-ı mu‘adelet-penâha hediye olarak irsâl etmiş olduğuna binâen İspanya kralı dahi ibtidâ‘i emirde birkaç yüz nefer İslam esirlerini der mu‘adete gönderib ol-vakte dek vağfirce müddet dahi güzâr edeceği aşikâr olmakdan nâşî temhîr-i esâs-ı dostîye karâr verilmek mümkün olacağı müş‘îr bir takrîr i‘tâ olunmasını ashâb-ı şûra çâkerleri istisvâb etmeleriyle hülâsa-yı meşveret huzûr-ı dâverânelerine ba‘del-arz iktizâ eden takrîr murahhas-ı mezkûr ve elçi-yi merkûma tercümânları vesâtıyla ib‘âs olunmuşdu mersumân tercümânlarını tekrar kapuya gönderib bu husûsa dâir bazı keyfiyâtın şifâhen müzâkeresi için Reis Efendi kullarıyla mahfiyce mülâkât niyâz eylediklerini ihbâr ider ricâmend oldukları mülâkât kaziyyesine müsâ‘ade gösterilmese kavâid-i düvele menâfi olduğundan başka kralı mezburun iğbirâr-ı şikest-i hâtırını müceb olacağı bedîhî olmağın işbu pazarertesı Reis Efendi kullarının sahilhânesinin mersumânın mülâkâtlarına ruhsat-ı sâmilere buyurulur ise emr u fermân şevketlü kudretlü kerametlü adaletlü veli nimetim efendim padişahımındır.

۶۴۰ خاچی با منفع الابواب افصح الحنفی الب

بیوک اسپانیا قراله طغتن دولت عید ابو عقد مصالحه ایچون در عادت ایدت افصح جوان برین نام
 مرضی او چنانچه بالغه در بار عملات قرارده اقامت ایدیک و بو محضوس ایچون بر قاج (تتمه جبار)
 دولت ایدرت عقد محسن شوری برله هر بریزه مسفر کره یاش ایچو اعاد کره برور لوجاز اولدولینه
 بنار حکمی نه موافقه و امر اوقات سول الحنفی انب سیمیکه ایدر کئی بیچ ایدر کئی و مرضی مریوم
 برور لوجاب اولیوب یا بودر که اسپانیا دولت و دولت سولتی سولتی سیم صله امکانه اولیوب
 بکاخلی بیواب در بریزه و یا حواد رغب باش عداز تیزه سویا و شیدی اوزره کوجیز اسپانیا شوری
 کئی عقد مهاده میرمه رابطله یذیر اولور کلمه انه امرار و رفعت ایدر فتویه تقاریر عدیه لیتا
 ایدوب مریوم مایرت کتیکه تقدیرده لایحه لایحه بوزک و حقاریه اسپانیا بو محقر ایدوب مستقولو
 و نجه لوی ایدر علیه ریطه اتفاق ایدر حکمکری و بونیز فضل مالطه و ضویه قور ساندنه ایدر
 و لیتن اوزر قلمه سفینه شیفه و آن دکر سولینه ارسال ایدر مصر و سواد عربتای جهانده کیدر
 کانه مسفره اسلمیم یا انزازه ایتار و برغانه اهدات ایدر حکمکری نظر و کتار اولدولینه
 کوز قوری به یتنی مسلم سولتی فیض ایدر قولدری ایدر غنسانه ایچون اسپانیا مرضی ایدر
 مامور قلدیفنی و اسپانیا قراله مسفره و نجه لوی ایدر بر وقت دولت عید شایم عقد اتفاق
 بر شرط نایق تمهید ایدرین سدرده مانه رجه مناسبه ایدر مصالحه به انقام دیرکرت مستحق
 کوز لویک مسفره جا کرر مرضی ایدر قاج محسن ملاقات و بر وقت اسپانیا لوی دولت قوری شولدر
 محضونه معاونت ایدر غننه وار بر شرط قلمه التوب بعده اسپانیا دولتی دولت امرادیز بریم
 سعیه اولیه عباره که بریزه دولت سفار ایدر برینم اعانت ایلیم بقیریه سزله منکره و درج الحنف
 اتفاق ایدر کئی مرضیه ایراد و مسفره بر شولتی قبولونر اشناخ و بونیز عیدری بر ایچو عاده ره
 و فی توافقه بولنه مدیندن بالاخره صورت مایری اولدولیم ایدر یوزره بعد العوض دولت ایدر
 ذات مصالحه یا قبول ایدر شردول سفار بقیریه ایلیم منازعه خیا اولدولیم ایچو بر ایچو مانده
 قالدیر مرضی بونیزه حاکم سول دولت سفاری عباره کئی و یا اکلایر بر عهده یا قبول
 ایدر یه عبادله سنده حاضر و آماده ایم دیو مسلم تیزه لوی طغتن مرضی بوزره بر قلمه تقوی
 و بر لویک حاکم شایر بر

اسپانیا مرضی مسعود بنو کعبه ملزم اولیوب چاکر خدمت ریخته نامور اوله له بالذفات
 کاه منازع فیها اوله موارد سدرتی منصفه ده که معاقبات استغابیه ترجمانی ارسال و قبولی
 وضع اتفاق ارا ایله کندونه سدرت و بر دیک تقریرده محرم موارد قبول ایره حکم ایله بر ملهم کندی
 افاده ایله به وضعی انذلیزمه استیذان و اخذ اجازت ای معاقبات ایره لم وانی غبت کوریم
 نه فائده وارور مرضی قلم السور کوره لم دشیمیم بر قاج کونز اوله منازع فیها اوله موارد مرقوم
 مترجمه بر کاغده بازوب ترجمه نیکدیش نظر سدرت بر ملهم کندی معاقبات ایره حکم ایله بر ملهم کندی

قالیبه اسوج دولتی دولت علیه ابرق ملک به عرض دولتی اطمینان علی الخوس مقبولودر همه صلح الیوه
 و اعتماد والذات حکم رویه لوترا اضمحلاله باغت اوله صلح الیوه مقبولودر فیما نزل ابرق
 اوله تقریریه باد مسعود کوره سدرت دولت ابردمه بنو کعبه سنی کور دیکه سینه چاکر اضمحلاله اوله تقریریه وضعی
 ظاهر در اسوج قراله بیکر اسپانیا قرالک دولت ابردمه ای مقصد سلم مرضی کونز دیکه استی
 وال اتفرغ کندر مصلحت اینه نه ایشیک ایشیک دولت علیه اسپانیا لولایه مقصد سلمه ترجمه
 زیرا اسپانیا لو استنام دولت اسپانیا درین صلح ایله ایله یکی حاله هر حال مقصد لولایه مقصد
 اتفاق ابردمه سینه بوغاری الدینه و بینهها سفایه ملک بودیم بر دولتی مقبولودر کور
 متفق ابردمه حاله ایشیک بیکر اوله و عین اوله اسوج مصلحت اینه کور ترجمانه
 مرادجه ترجمه بهانه سید و مصلحت مقصد ترجمه ابردمه

اسوج مصلحت اینه مرسوم ایشیک بودجه غده اشکال دو کونز معاینه کند و طر فندم تقض
 حاضر ای عارض بر قطع تغییر خیر و همورا قدیمه کونز مشن مضمونه مطالع سید لوله و معلوم
 اوله و مصلحت اینه مرسوم سنا کونز دیکه خبرده وضعی بنم دولتمک فائز اسولت سینه نه در
 خیر خواه اوله یعنی تعریف است قبیلده زیرا شو مقبولودر اینه کور غدر و لوله و مصلحت اینه
 عالمه ظاهر در دولت وانی دولت علیه سدرت نصرت و نظریه منوی بان اینه حقده تمنی ابردمه
 و مصلحت اینه کند و مصلحت اینه اسپانیا قراله ملک و فاری سینه لوله قران سلطو بر فائز
 و صاحب مکت قرالدر حضور سید اینه قطع قابله هر کور و سینه بوغاری بر نظر فنده اوله مرضی
 اوج بلید در عیدده سید اینه اقامت وضعی عقد مکالمه ایشیکه الفاظ خبریه ترجمه ابردمه

Yâ Müfettihü'l-ebvâb iftah lenâ hayrel bâb!

Büyük İspanya kralı tarafından Devlet-i Aliyyeye akd-i musâlaha için Dersaadete ib'âs olunan Civan Polini nâm murahhas üç seneye bâliğ derbâr-ı adâlet-karârda ikâmet eylediği ve bu husûs için birkaç def'a recâlar Devlet-i ebed-müddet akd-i meclîs-i şûra birle her birinde mesfûrun ye's ile i'âdesi bir türlü câiz olmadığına binâen hakimâne müdâfa'a ve imrâr-ı evkâta sa'î olmasını enseb idiğini beyân eyledikleri ve murahhas-ı mersûm bir türlü mücâb olmayıb ya budur ki sulh imkânda olmayacağını bana kat'î cevâb verirsiz yahûd Ragıp Paşa sadâretinde tesvîr olunduğu üzere küçük İspanya şurûtu gibi 'ahd-i muhâdene râbîta-pezîr olur kelâmında ısrâr ve defa'ât ile kapuya takârîr-i 'adîde tisyâr edib mersûm me'yûsen gittiği takdirde lâ-muhâle bu zül ve hakâreti İspanyolu mütehammil olmayub Moskovlu ve Nemçeli ile aleyhimize râbîta ittifâk edecekleri ve bundan fazla Malta ve Ceneviz korsanlarına i'ânet ve beş on kıta sefîne terfîk ve Akdeniz sularına irsâl ile Mısır ve sevâhil-i Arabistân câniblerine gidib gelen sefîne-i İslamiyeyi izrâra ibtidâr ve bir gâile ihdâs eyleyecekleri zâhir aşikâr olduğundan bu iki mahzûr-ı kaviye mübtenî selefim Süleyman Feyzi efendi kulları bâ-ruhsatnâme-i hümâyûn İspanya murahhası ile mukâlemeye me'mûr kılındığı ve İspanya kralı Moskov ve Nemçeli ile bir vakitte Devlet-i Aliyye 'aleyhine 'akd ittifâk eyleyecek bir şurût-ı nâfi temhîr olunduğu sûrette hemen vech-i münâsibi ile musâlahaya nizâm verilmek mustahsen görüldüğü ve selefim çâkerleri murahhası ile birkaç meclis-i mukâlemât ve bir vakitte İspanyalı Devlet-i kavî şevketin husûmuna mu'âvenet eyleyeceğine dâir bir şart kaleme alınıb ba'dehu İspanya devleti düvel-i aherâneden birine muîn olmaya ibaresi yerine düvel-i nasârâdan birisine i'ânet eylemeye ta'biri şart-ı mezkûra derc olunmak iktizâ eylediğini murahhasa îrâd ve mesfûr bu şartı kabulden imtinâ ve bundan gayrı bir iki maddede dahi tevâfuk bulunmadığından bilâhare sûret-i ba-hurriren evsâ-yı ni'âm efendilerimize ba'del-'arz Devlet-i ebed-kıyâm zât-ı musâlahayı kabul eyledi şu düvel-i nasâra ta'biriyle münâzî'-ı fihâ olan bir kaç maddesi kaldı murahhas bunlara mümâşât ve düvel-i nasâra 'ibâresini veya ona mümâsil bir 'ibâreyi kabul ider ise mübâdelesinde hâzır ve âmâdeyim deyu selefim bendeleri tarafından murahhas-ı mezbûra bir kıt'a takrîr verildiği muhât-ı 'ilm-i 'âliler

İspanya murahhası mesfûr bununla mülzem olmayub çâkerleri hizmet-i riyâsete me'mur olalı bid-defa'ât kâh münâzî'-ı fiha olan mevâdın sûretini mütâlebe ve kâh mülâkât istid'âsıyla tercümânını irsâl ve kulları dahi ittifâk-ı arâ ile kendisine selefimin verdiği takrîrde muharrer mevâdı kabul idecek ise ber-memhûr kağıdıyla ifâde eylesun ben dahi efendilerimize istizân ve'ahz icâzet ile mülâkât idelim ve illâ 'abes görüşülmeye ne fâide vardır merâmını kaleme alsın görelim demiştim birkaç gün evvel münâzî'-fiha olan mevâd-ı merkûmeyi mütercimân bir kağıda yazıp testîr eylemiş manzur-ı sâmîden buyrulmakda müdde'âsı ne idüğü zahire çıkâr.

Kaldık ki İsveç devleti Devlet-i 'aliyye ebed-kıyâmın karz devleti olub 'ale'l-husûs Moskovludan hüsn-i külli ol-vücuha dağdâr ve ellerinden gelse Rusyalunun izmihlâllerine bâ'is olacak halâtâ makdûrlarını bezl ider makûleden olduklarına binâen Moskov keferesinin Devlet-i ebed-müddet bu galebesini gördükçe sine-çâk ve teessüf oldukları vaz' u refâtlarına zâhirdir İsveç kralı büyük İspanya kralının Devlet-i ebed-müddet ile 'akd-i sulha murahhas gönderdiğini istimâ ve el altından kendi maslahatgüzârına ne işler isen işle Devlet-i aliyyeyi İspanyalı ile 'akd-i sulha tergîb eyle. Zira İspanyalı Âsitane-i Devlet-i âşiyâneden sulh ümidini kat' eylediği halde beher hâl Moskovlu ile 'akd ittifâk ider. Septe Boğazı ellerinde ve bî-nihâye sefâyine mâlik böyle bir devleti Moskovlu kendulere müttelik ittikleri halde iş pek müşkil olur

dimiş olmađla İsveç maslahatgüzârı kendü tercümânı Muradcayı tercümânlık bahânesiyle murahhasın ma‘iyyetine terfîk itmişdi.

İsveç maslahatgüzârı mersûm işlerin bu vecihle ‘ukde-i eşkâle düştüğünü mu‘âyene ve kendü tarafından tafsil-i macerayı hâvî bir kıt‘a takrîr tahrîr ve memhûren kullarına göndermiş mazmûnu mütâla‘a buyrulduk da ma‘lûm olur ve maslahatgüzâr-ı mersûm lisânen gönderdiği haberde dahi benim devletimin hândân-ı saltanat-ı seniyyeye ne derecelerde hayırhâh olduğunu ta‘rîfî ‘abes kâbilindendir zirâ şu Moskovlu’nun bize ettikleri gadr ve bu kadar memâlikimizi istilâları ‘âlemlere zâhirdir Devletim dâima Devlet-i ‘aliyyenin nusret ve zaferini hulûs-ı bâl ile hakdan temennî ider ki kenduye dahi nafi‘dir İspanya kralı mülük-ı nasâra miyânelerinde Fransa misüllü bir hanedân ve sâhib-i miknet kraldır Husûsen yüzelli kıt‘a kalyona mâlik ve Sebte Boğazı yed-i tasarruflarında olmađla murahhas üç yıldır Der-‘aliyyede sulh için ikâmet ve hatta ‘akd-i mükâleme olmuşiken elfâz-ı cüz‘iyye nizâ‘iyle me’yusan...

استیو ماه سلطان المعظّم اذن ایکنی نینا کونی کتجد اذن و در فرار اذنی و در سن اذنی و جبار استیو ماه
 احمد اذنی و کتجد ای سانه حاجی مرطانی اذنی و در اذنی سانه الحج مرطانی اذنی و حال در اذنی اذنی
 در سانه رطانی ایضی خلیل محمد اذنی و در اذنی بره کلون حجابه مواجهه اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی
 عنوان بونیک شمردن کنیز در کی و ترجمانه تحریر ایکنی تقاضا بر و در اذنی زخم شک و بونیز اذنی
 نهایت نهایت اذنی طرفی در اذنی غنیمت در اذنی رسم اعطای اذنی تقاضا بر اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی
 مطلوبه بی مرخصی مرای اذنی بد و در اذنی و در اذنی بر اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی
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 رسید اسپانیا لوند محرابه و اذنی اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی
 ایله کلونی تقریرین مراد ای جانده استنا قرضه سادات بونیمه و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی
 سلطان و امام نینا کونی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی
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 اشو کاغذیه کدوری فرانسه و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی
 علیه علیه عداوت ایدر ایدر اسپانیا قرالی اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی
 کان سلطانی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی
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 منصوصی مرایه مطلوب اولدنیغه بناز بوجوه شرط محقری مشروطه و در اذنی و در اذنی
 واقایه مقروضه و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی
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جزایر و تونس و طرابلس غرب اوجا قارینه اسپانیا لویایه و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی
 انکضایه قایم اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی و در اذنی
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İş bu mâh-ı Şa‘bân-ı mu‘azzamın on ikinci selâse günü Kethüdâ Bey ve Defterdâr Efendi ve Reis Efendi ve Çavuşbaşı Ağa ve Resmi Ahmed Efendi ve Kethüdâ-yı sâbık Hacı Mustafa Efendi ve Fahr(?) Emîni sabık El-Hâc Mustafa Efendi ve hala Defter Emîni Efendi Ahmed Efendi ve Tersane-i Amire Emîni Halil Mehmed Efendi kulları bir yere gelüp cümle muvâcehelerinde Der ‘aliyyede mukîm İspanya murahhası Civan Polini’nin şimdiye dek gönderdiği ve tercümânına tahrîr eylediği tekârir ve tezâkiri tercümeleri bundan akdemce nihâyetü’l-nihâye olarak taraf-ı Devlet-i ‘aliyyeden murahhas-ı mersûma i‘tâ olunan takrîr ile mevâd-ı hamse kağıdı ve müsâlaha-yı matlûbeyi murahhasın merâmı üzere red ve kabul şıklarında bir mahzûr var mıdır yok mudur beyân kılınmasını mutazammın kaleme alınan usûl feth ve kıra’at olundukda mecmu‘ı kelâma ibtidâr idib İspanya murahhası îrâd eylediği mevâd varakasında mestûr bî-taraflık şartında Fransa ve küçük İspanyadan mâ‘adâ düvelden biri ile Devlet-i ‘aliyye beyninde muhâseme vuku‘unda İspanya kralı bî-taraf olub husûm-u saltanat-ı seniyyeye mu‘âvenet eylemeye ibâresini tahrîr eyledik de Devlet-i ebed-kıyâm cânibinden dahi Fas Sultanı ve Yemen İmamından gayri mulûk-ı İslâmiyyeden birisiyle İspanyalının muharebesi vakı‘ olduk da Devlet-i kavî-şevket dahi İspanyalının husûmuna i‘ânet eylemeye kelâmını tasrihden murâd iki cânibde istisnâ kaziyyesinin musâvât bulunmak ve bir vakitte İspanyalı Fas Sultanı ve İmam-ı Yemen keşver ve memâliklerine itale-yi pâ-yı tecâvüz idüb memâlik-i mezkûrede sâkin zümre-yi muvahhidin Devlet-i ebed-kıyâmdan istiğâse eyledikleri sûrette iğâse ne meşru‘aya destrest hâsıl olmakla sulh-ı mezkûr şer‘at-i beyzâya tatbîk olunmak mülâhazası idüğü ta‘riften müstağnidir murahhasın iş bu kağıdında kendileri Fransa ve Küçük İspanyayı istisnâ yani her ne zaman bu iki tâife Devlet-i ‘aliyye ‘aleyhine ‘adâvet iderler ise İspanya kralı onlara muayyen olmak ve Devlet-i seniyyenin istisnâ ideceği Fas Sultanı ve Yemen İmamından sukûn olunub İspanyalı Sultan ve İmam müşarûn ileyhüma ile cenk ve derkâr eylediği takrîrde onlar istiğâse iderler ise dahi Devlet-i ‘aliyye kendilerine iğâse ve imdâddan el çekmek husûsu serâhaten matlûb olduğuna binâen bu vecihle şurût-ı ‘akdi meşrû‘ mudur değil midir ibtidâ istiftâ ve iftâya mevkûftur ve be-tahsîs Devlet-i ebed’iyyül-istimrâr İspanyalı ile tesâvî derecesinden sukût eylemek mahzûru dahi mukarrerdir.

Cezayir ve Tunus ve Trablus Garb Ocaklarına İspanyalı ile Devlet-i ‘aliyyenin ‘akd-i sulh eylediği ihbârıyla iktifâya kâni‘ olduğunu murahhas-ı mesfûr ibtidâ geldiği esnada îrâd edib sonra Reis’ül-küttâb sâbık Süleyman Feyzi Efendi ile vuku‘ bulan mukâlemelerinde ocaklar kaziyyesinde der-miyân ettiği sûret şimdi...

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