

CULTURE AND DIPLOMACY

AMBASSADORS AS CULTURAL ACTORS
IN OTTOMAN-EUROPEAN RELATIONS
FROM THE 16TH TO THE 19TH CENTURY

VOLUME II



Edited by

REINHARD EISENDLE · SUNA SUNER · HANS ERNST WEIDINGER

HOLLITZER





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TEACHERS,
EXPERTS,
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EUROPEAN PRINTERS IN ISTANBUL IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY: İBRAHİM MÜTEFERİKA AND OTHERS*

ORLIN SABEV (ORHAN SALIH, SOFIA)**

A dramatic episode of Ottoman history provides an eloquent illustration of how violence and peace, destructivity and creativity could exist simultaneously in history at one and the same place. On 28 September 1730 the Albanian Patrona Halil (d.1730), a dealer in ready-made goods, sparked the so-called Patrona Revolt which involved the Istanbul citizens, traders and artisans, along with the military, and led to Ahmed III's (b.1673, r.1703–1730) resignation from the throne.¹ The contemporary of this revolt, Abdi Efendi,² relates vividly that on the first day of the revolt, while the insurgents were angrily rushing into the Istanbul streets, on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus the Grand Vizier and the other state officials were entertaining themselves at the military campus in Üsküdar, and the Grand Vizier's deputy (*kaymakam*) was innocently planting tulips in his garden.³

The Patrona Revolt put an end to a short but quite remarkable period in Ottoman history, the so-called Tulip Age (1718–1730), hallmarked by the tulip, a flower that became the object of extreme adoration on the part of the Ottoman statesmen,⁴ which Abdi's account confirms in quite convincing a way.

* This article was first published in *Ottoman Empire and European Theatre*, vol. 2: *The Time of Joseph Haydn: From Sultan Mahmud I to Mahmud II (r.1730–1839)*, ed. MICHAEL HÜTTLER and HANS ERNST WEIDINGER. Vienna: Hollitzer, 2014 (= *Ottomania* 3), pp. 197–207.

** Institute for Balkan Studies and Center of Thracology, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

1 For more details about the Patrona Revolt cf. MÜNİR AKTEPE: *Patrona İsyanı (1730)*. Istanbul: İ. Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1958. – ROBERT W. OLSON: “The Esnaf and the Patrona Halil Rebellion of 1730: A Realignment in Ottoman Politics?”, in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 17/3 (1974), pp. 329–344.

2 Cf. FRANZ BABINGER: “Abdî Efendi”, in: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., ed. HAMILTON A. R. GIBB, vol. 1. Leiden: Brill, 1954, p. 97: “Ottoman historian. The only information about his life is that he worked under the Sultans Mahmüd I and Muştafâ III, i.e. about 1730–74. His history [...] deals mainly with the antecedents of Patrona Halil's rebellion and with the revolution itself (1730–1) and is one of the main contemporary sources for this event.”

3 FAİK R. UNAT (ed.): *Abdî Tarihi (1730 Patrona İhtilâli Hakkında Bir Eser)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1943, pp. 29–30.

4 For the Tulip Age cf. for example WILHELM HEINZ: “Die Kultur der Tulpenzeit des Osmanischen Reiches”, in: *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 61 (1967), pp. 62–116. – FATMA MÜGE GÖÇEK: *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987, pp. 72–81.

THE INTRODUCTION OF PRINTING IN THE TULIP AGE

The Tulip Age saw the first Ottoman efforts at modernization by following Western patterns and adopting European aesthetical norms and technological achievements, with the printing press being the most striking technological break from the traditional Ottoman culture. In 1727 Ahmed III authorized İbrahim Müteferrika (c.1670–1747) and Said Çelebi (d.1761) to run a printing house which was the first to print books with Arabic script in the Ottoman Empire. All the previous presses were run by Jews, Armenians and Greeks and printed in Hebrew, Armenian and Greek, respectively.

İbrahim Müteferrika presented his 1726 statement, titled *Er-Risāletü'l-müsemmā bi-Vesiletü't-Tibā'a* ('The utility of printing'), to the Ottoman statesmen, hoping to persuade them to approve his printing enterprise. He stated that all previous efforts at introducing Ottoman printing had failed.⁵ There is still no particular historical evidence for such efforts, but at least one intriguing historical fact could have led to the introduction of Ottoman printing by the late fifteenth century. Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror (b.1432, r.1444–1446 and 1451–1481) invited Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) to serve as a court painter in the Ottoman capital, but Leonardo refused the offer, having only recently started working for the Sforza court in Milan as a military engineer. However, when the armies of France captured Milan and incarcerated Duke Ludovico Sforza (1452–1508, r.1494–1498), Leonardo abandoned the city. He wrote a letter to the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II (b.1447 or 1448, r.1481–1512), offering his service as a military engineer with the intention of building a single-arch bridge over the Golden Horn. It seems that the Sultan was not impressed at all and this time Leonardo was not invited. Considering that Leonardo had designed a printing press around 1480–1482,⁶ one could presume that, had he been invited to the Ottoman court, he could have made some efforts to introduce the art of printing to the Muslims. But historical circumstances did not favour such an introduction by Leonardo.

5 The text is presented in transcribed form in TURGUT KUT and FATMA TÜRE (eds.): *Yazmadan Basmaya: Müteferrika, Mühendishane, Üsküdar*. Istanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Bankası, 1996, p. 34. A translation in English is provided in GEORGE N. ATIYEH (ed.): *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995, pp. 286–292.

6 Cf. BÜLENT ATALAY: "Leonardo – A Man for All Seasons", in: *The Genius of Leonardo: Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. MYRTO A. ROGAN. Istanbul: Rahmi M. Koç Museum, 2006, pp. 30–31, here p. 31, images on pp. 66–67.

THE MÜTEFERRIKA PRESS (1726–1742)

Introducing a new technology necessitates an agent who is proficient in its application and keen on overcoming obstacles. The establishment of the first Ottoman printing press was due to just such an agent, namely İbrahim Müteferrika. A number of non-Muslim printers existed, who could have run a press to print books for the Muslim reading public. But it seems the Ottoman ruling class, obliged to be Muslim by birth or conversion, would never allow a non-Muslim to print books for Muslims. Hence someone Muslim who was skilful at the art of printing was needed to launch such an enterprise. Müteferrika was of Hungarian and Protestant (most likely Unitarian) origin and became an Ottoman subject and convert to Islam when he was around the age of eighteen or twenty. He was probably already skilled at the art of printing while still in his native town of Koloszvár (today's Cluj-Napoca), Transylvania. He was at least a confident bearer of print culture, eager enough to undertake a risky enterprise such as the establishment of the first Ottoman Turkish printing press. On the other hand, in his service at the Ottoman court he created good relationships with the most influential Ottoman statesmen, the Grand Vizier mainly, making the implementation of his enterprise easier. The state-supported press had administrative permission for its opening and even some material support in the beginning.

The Müteferrika press operated from 1726 to 1742, printing sixteen editions in twenty-two volumes, including eighteen titles. One of them, a manual of the Turkish language, was intended not for Ottoman-Muslim readers but rather the Francophone reading public. Of the remaining seventeen titles, two were dictionaries (Arabic-Turkish and Persian-Turkish, respectively), ten dealt with history, two others combined historical and geographical accounts, one was completely a geographical work, one was on physics and one was on political and military issues. The books Müteferrika offered to the public (actually, a rather limited segment of that public) created their own demand because they were rare and not easily available and because of the scarcity of relatively current information. They also challenged the traditional Ottoman or Islamic concept of knowledge diffusion, which gave privilege to religious literacy.⁷

Contrary to the general opinion of historiography, Müteferrika's commercial outcomes were not bad at all, as his inheritance inventory dated 1 April 1747 reveals. Out of the roughly estimated total print of 10,000 copies only 2,976 copies remained unsold, meaning that Müteferrika was successful in disseminating almost

7 For more details cf. ORLIN SABEV: *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726–1746): Yeniden Değerlendirme*. İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2006.

70 percent of his prints.⁸ In comparison to Mütefferrika's unsold 2,976 copies, there were 3,906 unsold copies of *Typographia Medicea*'s three late-sixteenth-century prints of Avicenna (810 copies), Euclid (1,967 copies) and Al-Idrisi (1,129 copies). They were stacked in wardrobes in Palazzo Vecchio in Rome and inventoried in the eighteenth century.⁹ The total print of each of these editions is unknown but could hardly have exceeded 2,000, the total print in Renaissance Italy at the best.¹⁰ In his account of the utility of printing Mütefferrika considers, in particular, his enterprise as a counteraction to the Western prints in Arabic, mentioning the same prints of the Medici's press, which leads one to conclude that Mütefferrika's press proved more successful than *Typographia Medicea* was, in terms of sales. It is difficult to judge whether Mütefferrika's balance of trade was active or passive at all, as we do not know how much money was actually invested; but his balance of cultural challenge seems active when considered in the long term.

In his printing enterprise, Mütefferrika introduced some *ad hoc* layout changes while paying tribute to the strong scribal culture. It is well known that early European printers strove to print books with a layout as similar to the manuscripts as possible. Mütefferrika was no exception. Nonetheless, the first eight books he printed had no decoration (*unvan* or *serlevha*) on the introducing page, which was normally decorated in manuscripts.¹¹ But as soon as a book printed by Mütefferrika was bought it was illuminated by hand, as a number of preserved copies clearly show.¹² During these times, the book, whether in manuscript or printed form, was considered an organic combination of a text and a physical form, that is, the codex, which constituted the 'body' or the 'home' of the writing itself. Apart from the binding, the text on each page was framed by margins, and the introducing page was illuminated by ornamentation resembling the gates of monumental public buildings from the world of Islam.¹³ These ornamentations suggested that the reader, when entering a given book, was entering a building. Mütefferrika apparently noticed that his customers tended to have their printed copies illuminated, and with the ninth edition (*Usûlü'l-Hikem fî Nizâmi'l-Ümem*, 1732) he began printing

8 For a detailed analysis cf. ORLIN SABEV: "The First Ottoman Turkish Printing Enterprise: Success or Failure (A Reassessment)", in: *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. DANA SAJDI. London, New York: I. B. Tauris & Co, 2007, pp. 63–89.

9 Cf. PAUL LUNDE: "Arabic and the Art of Printing", in: *Saudi Aramco World* 32/2 (1981); <https://archive.aramcoworld.com/issue/198102/arabic.and.the.art.of.printing-a.special.section.htm>.

10 BRIAN RICHARDSON: *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 25–26.

11 Cf. ÇİÇEK DERMAN: "Osmanlılarda Tezhip Sanatı", in: *Osmanlı Devleti ve Medeniyeti Tarihi*, ed. EKMELEDDİN İHSANOĞLU, vol. 2. Istanbul: IRCICA, 1998, pp. 487–491.

12 Sofia, Bulgarian National Library, Oriental Department, O II 175. – Istanbul, IRCICA Library, 962/SÜ.T; 359./009561/KA.

13 Cf. DEREK HILL and OLEG GRABAR: *Islamic Architecture and Its Decoration A.D. 800–1500*. London: Faber and Faber, 1967, p. 83.

ornamentation on the introducing page.¹⁴ However, the customers would have the ornamentation segments coloured by hand, as we see in some of the preserved copies.¹⁵ Another change, this time in a break with manuscript tradition, can be seen in the inclusion of a quasi-title page in the last three of Müteferrika's editions. Although its layout resembled a title page, there was no title printed on it; instead, it featured the honourable titles (*elkâb*) of the sultan, the Grand Vizier and the grand mufti of the time, who gave official permission for the given print, as well as the place and year of printing.

In this approach traditional and new features are combined to accustom the customers more quickly and easily to innovations – not unlike the so-called Horsey Horseless, invented by a certain Uriah Smith (1832–1903) of Battle Creek, Michigan, in 1899. In his model a wooden horse head was attached to the front of an automobile to make it resemble a horse and carriage. In this way, Smith claimed, “the live horse would be thinking of another horse, and before he could discover his error and see that he had been fooled, the strange carriage would be passed.”¹⁶ Today considered one of the fifty worst cars of all time, this invention is nonetheless a good example of how the human mind perceives new forms by using well known old appearances.

Müteferrika's efforts in printing could seem a personal enthusiasm rather than a response to a real demand in Ottoman society for more books on certain topics. However, when his prints became artefacts in a world dominated by the manuscript tradition, they provided an alternative way of multiplying texts, shortening the time and widening the space of knowledge and information diffusion. Yet they set a precedent that made at least some who had been hesitant to accept the idea into active promoters of printing.

MÜTEFERRİKA'S 'SUCCESSORS': PRINTING AFTER 1747

Immediately after Müteferrika's death in February 1747 İbrahim Efendi and Ahmed Efendi received official permission to print books. The two new printers were former Müteferrika apprentices who were holding judge positions when printing permission was given. However, they printed nothing until they got their permission

14 Some comments about the layout changes in the Ottoman printed books cf. EKMELEDDİN İHSANOĞLU and HATİCE AYNUR: “Yazmadan Basmaya Geçiş: Osmanlı Basma Kitap Geleneğinin Doğuşu (1729–1848)”, in: *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 22 (2003), pp. 219–255.

15 Sofia, Bulgarian National Library, Oriental Department, O II 159; O II 150a; O II 17. – Istanbul, IRCICA Library, 491./5539435/FA.

16 URIAH SMITH quoted after [ANONYMOUS]: “The 50 Worst Cars of All Time”; <http://content.time.com/time/specials/2007/completelist/0,29569,1658545,00.html>.

confirmed by the new Sultan, Osman III (b.1699, r.1754–1757), in the beginning of 1755. Using Müteferrika’s presses, they managed to print the two volumes of the *Vankulu* dictionary in 1756 and 1757. It was the only book they printed.

However, the quest for printing was still in force. Efforts were made by James Mario Matra (1746–1808) when he was a secretary at the English embassy in Istanbul. He relates in a 1779 letter addressed to the English botanist Sir Josef Banks (1743–1820) that he had applied to the Ottoman state officials (“Secretary of State” and “Head of the Chancery”, in his words) for printing permission. Matra intended to print again a dictionary (the *Kamus* Dictionary) and Turkish translations of books dealing with astronomy and mathematics. Matra’s letter is the only source revealing these printing efforts, and the results of his undertaking are unknown.¹⁷ However, as no book printed by him has survived, one can suppose that he never managed to print such books.

THE REVIVAL OF PRINTING IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1780–1800)

The Ottomans themselves were also trying to revive their printing. In a memorandum (titled *Mecmua*) addressed to Sultan Abdülhamid I (b.1725, r.1774–1789) in the early 1780s, Süleyman Penah Efendi (1722 or 1723–1786) suggested the revival of Ottoman printing for administrative and educational purposes. He meant the printing only of secular texts, not religious texts such as the Quran and the Hadiths.¹⁸ Süleyman Penah Efendi’s proposal is remarkable evidence of the increasing need for a faster multiplication and wider dissemination of certain texts by means of printing toward the last quarter of the Ottoman eighteenth century. It is uncertain whether Süleyman Penah Efendi’s proposal had a direct effect on Abdülhamid I, but the latter himself initiated the revival of Ottoman printing by using Müteferrika’s old presses. In 1784 the Sultan appointed Raşid Mehmed Efendi (1753–1797), a head of the government chancery office, and Vasıf Efendi (d.1806), serving as an official annalist, to run a new printing enterprise. The Sultan’s order stipulated that only secular books were to be printed. The two printers operated Müteferrika’s old presses once again, printing eleven books, six of which were handbooks to be used in the new European-style military units established by the next reformative Sultan, Selim III (1761–1808, r.1789–1807). The other five

17 RICHARD CLOGG: “An Attempt to Revive Turkish Printing in Istanbul in 1779”, in: *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10 (1979), pp. 67–70.

18 CAHIT TELCI: “Bir Osmanlı Aydınının XVIII. Devlet Düzeni Hakkındaki Görüşleri: Penah Süleyman Efendi”, in: *Osmanlı*, ed. GÜLER EREN, vol. 7. Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 1999, pp. 178–188.

books were also on secular subjects.¹⁹ This printing house operated until Raşid Mehmed Efendi's death in 1797. Meanwhile, in the period 1787–1790, a printing house operated at the French embassy, which also printed military handbooks, as well as a grammar of the Turkish language for the Francophone public.

THE MÜHENDİSHANE PRESS AND ÜSKÜDAR PRESS

The printing equipment of the two aforementioned printing houses was used in a newly opened printing house at the Engineering School (*Mühendishane*) in the neighborhood of Hasköy, Istanbul. The Mühendishane press was established in 1797 as a consequence of a proposal made by Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson (1740–1807), a functionary of the Swedish Embassy in Istanbul, and Ebubekir Râtib Efendi (1749–1799), an Ottoman Ambassador to Vienna from 1791 to 1792. It published books on military and geographical topics, as well as dictionaries and legislative and propaganda brochures.²⁰ In 1802 the Mühendishane press was transferred to Üsküdar. The Üsküdar printing house functioned until 1824, when its presses were transferred to a printing house known as the Istanbul printing press. One is struck by the first-time printing of a religious text by the Üsküdar press in 1803: the sixteenth-century Ottoman author Imam Birgivi's (1522–1573) popular treatise on Islamic dogmas *Vasiyetname* ('The last will and testament'), followed by *Amentü* ('Creed'), a small treatise on Islamic creed. It is worth mentioning that Üsküdar press was directed by a certain Abdurrahman Efendi (d.1807), who graduated from an Ottoman theological and law school and became known as the first teacher of geometry at the so-called Mühendishane school founded in Istanbul in 1793.²¹

THE PRINTING OF RELIGIOUS TEXTS AND STRENGTHENING OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AS STATE POLICY

Müteferrika's permission to print only secular books, Süleyman Penah Efendi's insistence that only secular books should be printed, the completely secular by topic output of the presses that operated by the end of the eighteenth century – all clearly indicate that the Ottomans confronted not only the question, "To print or

19 JALE BAYSAL: *Müteferrika'dan Birinci Meşrutiyete Kadar Osmanlı Türklerinin Bastıkları Kitaplar*. Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1968, pp. 59–60.

20 Cf. KEMAL BEYDILLI: *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne, Mühendishâne Matbaası ve Kütüphanesi (1776–1826)*. Istanbul: Eren, 1995, pp. 15–17, 28–32, 99–261. – BAYSAL: *Müteferrika'dan Birinci Meşrutiyete*, pp. 61–62.

21 BEYDILLI: *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishane*, pp. 136–137.

not to print?”, but also the perhaps even more important question of what to print or not to print. A recent publication provides for the first time very important evidence about the state attitude towards the printing and trading of religious books such as the Quran, Hadith collections and treatises on Quran exegesis and Muslim jurisprudence. The Turkish scholar İsmail Erünsal (b.1945) published an order addressed to the chief judge of Istanbul and dated Safer 9, 1212 (3 August 1797). The order urged booksellers not to abuse the heir’s rights on an inherited legacy by intentionally underestimating the books they buy from these legacies. It warned that they would be severely punished in cases of misconduct and stressed that the booksellers would also be punished if they bought from such legacies and then sold printed Qurans, Hadith collections, exegeses, and books on Muslim jurisprudence, as the printing, buying and selling of such books was *şer’an memnû*²² (‘canonically forbidden’).

At the turn of the nineteenth century (1217/1802–1803) another Ottoman intellectual, Mehmed Emin Behiç (d.1809), wrote his *Sevānihü’l-Levāyih* (‘Inspired memorandums’). In contrast to Süleyman Penah Efendi, he pleaded for instructive books on Muslim religion, as well as Arabic textbooks, to be immediately printed in 3,000 to 4,000 copy-editions, to improve mass education in religion matters by providing pupils with cheaper textbooks. Behiç Efendi suggested printing the regulations (*nizāmname*) for the Muslim religious functionaries in the provinces, as well as textbooks for a school he also suggested, which would be designed to train scribes for the Imperial bureaucracy. He further insisted on the printing and disseminating of a penal code in accordance with the Sharia.²³ What is important in Behiç Efendi’s view is the fact that he is evaluating the vital role of printing in making education accessible to a wider social layer and in improving the work of bureaucracy and the implementation of the law.

Kemal Beydilli points out that the printing of religious texts at the Üsküdar printing house was directly linked with Behiç Efendi’s suggestions of 1802–1803. Yet the printing of such books, so popular with the reading public as to guarantee their best-seller status, was a fresh air for the Mühendishane press, which had been at a standstill prior to its transfer to Üsküdar.²⁴

It was not only Behiç Efendi who called for the strengthening of Islamic morals through a proper education in religious matters. The reign of Mahmud II (b.1785, r.1808–1839) turned this earlier, more or less informal proposal into a state policy.

22 İSMAIL E. ERÜNSAL: “Osmanlılarda Sahhaflık ve Sahhafılar: Yeni Bazı Belge ve Bilgiler”, in: *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 29 (2007), pp. 99–146, here pp. 115 and 145.

23 KEMAL BEYDILLI: “Küçük Kaynarca’dan Tanzimat’a Islahat Düşünceleri”, in: *İlmi Araştırmalar* 8 (1999), pp. 25–64, here pp. 43 and 46.

24 BEYDILLI: *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishane*, pp. 136–137. – IDEM: “Küçük Kaynarca’dan Tanzimat’a Islahat Düşünceleri”, p. 43.

The Sultan was prompted to follow such a policy because of the vast demoralization of his Muslim subjects due to the failures in the wars against Russia and Austria, as well as the Serb and Greek wars for independence. These failures were considered not only political but religious as well, and a proclamation of Mahmud II, dated Cemaziülevvel 21, 1225 (24 June 1810), is a good illustration of such an attitude. The Sultan called all his Muslim subjects to defend the state and the Muslim faith from the Russian troops that then occupied what is now northeastern Bulgaria. At the same time in the same region the Bektaşî order revived some local centres by attaching them to schools that educated the local population in Islamic dogmas.²⁵ In 1824 Mahmud II even issued a firman on the necessity of improving the elementary religious education of all Muslim children. The official newspaper *Takvim-i Vakâyi* ('Calendar of events'), in late 1831 and early 1832, called for the printing of books of religious instructions that would serve the religious functionaries in the implementation of their duties and guide those whose ignorance in the field of religion threatened public order.²⁶ In other words, printing was intentionally used for the multiplication of texts on religious matters, thus facilitating the dissemination of religious knowledge among the public. Religion seems to be a key instrument in the recovery of Ottoman statehood, with the newly created army that replaced the Janissary corps in 1826 being called *Asâkir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* ('Mohammedan victorious armies'). In fact, throughout the nineteenth century, prints on religious matters began gradually to prevail over those on secular matters.



To conclude one might suggest that, before the seemingly fortuitous introduction of Ottoman printing in the first half of the eighteenth century, the Ottomans felt a more latent than apparent want of printing. The Müteferrika press was definitely a personal enterprise that succeeded in engaging the needed support of statesmen. It offered to the reading public an alternative technology for the multiplication of texts, which could be applicable when the demand existed for books on certain topics or of specific genres. In the course of time printing proved its advantages in serving nineteenth-century reforms, mass education in particular, providing more copies in a shorter time than manuscript duplication could.

25 ORLIN SABEV: "Osmanlı Dönemi Şumnu Tekkeleri", in: *Uluslar arası Bursa Tasavvuf Kültürü Sempozyumu*, ed. MEHMED TEMELLI, vol. 4. Bursa: Bursa Kültür Sanat ve Turizm Vakfı, 2005, pp. 179–191.

26 ORHAN KOLOĞLU: *Takvimi Vekayi Türk Basımında 150 Yıl, 1831–1981*. Ankara: Çağdaş Gazeteciler Derneği, 1981, p. 155. – ALPAY KABACALI: *Türk Kitap Tarihi*, vol. 1: *Başlangıçtan Tanzimat'a Kadar*. İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1989, p. 109.

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THE RECRUITMENT OF EUROPEAN EXPERTS FOR SERVICE IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1732–1808)*

MEHMET ALAADDİN YALÇINKAYA (TRABZON)

The first substantial reform efforts began in the Ottoman Empire in the early eighteenth century. The policies pursued during the reign of Ahmed III (1673–1736, r.1703–1730) were determined in large part by the treaties of Karlowitz (1699) and Passarowitz (1718). In fact, these treaties marked a turning point in Ottoman relations with Christian Europe and signalled a temporary end to domestic economic and political problems. The loss of territories that were considered an inseparable part of the Ottoman Empire had a profoundly negative effect on Ottoman morale. Some state officials believed that efforts directed towards saving the empire were bound to fail. The Ottoman ruling elite and some intellectuals of the period argued that the superiority of the Europeans in certain areas should be accepted and that European practices should be adapted for Ottoman reforms. From the very beginning, Ottoman reformers were of the opinion that, with the adoption of the European military system and technology, it would be possible to repel the threat of Western encroachment on Ottoman territory.¹ Thus the traditionalist reform movement appeared as a synthesis of the old and the new ideas. Although this movement did not become successful to the extent it had intended, it opened the way for the radical reforms made during the reign of Mahmud II (b.1785, r.1808–1839) at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The reform movements of the eighteenth century achieved limited results due to the resistance of those who believed reform would only weaken the Ottoman system. Most of the reformers never reaped the fruits of their labour and paid for their radical views with their lives. They did, however, bequeath their knowledge to the next generation and served as model for the reformers who followed them.²

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1 For the Ottoman image of the West, cf. BERNARD LEWIS: *Muslim Discovery of Europe*. New York: Norton, 1982. For a general study on early Ottoman modernization, cf. FATMA MÜGE GÖÇEK: *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.

2 For general information regarding Ottoman reform policy, cf. KEMAL ÇIÇEK: “Niçin Sürekli Reform Yapmak Gereksinimi Duyuyoruz?”, in: *Yeni Türkiye* 4 (1995), pp. 50–58. – STANFORD J. SHAW: *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Modern Türkiye*, trans. MEHMET HARMANCI, vol. I. Istanbul:

THE FIRST EUROPEAN-STYLE REFORM MOVEMENT IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The first European-style reform movement in Ottoman history began during the reigns of Ahmed III and Mahmud I (b.1696, r.1730–1754). Seeing the Ottoman military system and technology as ineffective in competition with the Europeans, the Ottomans believed it was a necessity to adopt their systems.³ After the treaty of Karlowitz the Ottomans no longer constituted a threat to Europeans, and so restrictions ended on the European export of the raw materials needed for weapons production to the Ottoman Empire. The Protestants of Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden and other allied countries, however, began to feel the necessity of improving relations with the Ottomans. The mentality of the Crusades was waning in the Protestant world, and in the emerging competition between the ‘great powers’, cooperation with the Ottomans was considered an important political asset. The Ottoman relationship with Protestant countries such as Britain, Sweden and Prussia in the eighteenth century was replaced by good relations with Prussian Germany in the nineteenth century and with the United States in the twentieth century. Although Ahmed III did not directly determine these policies, he allowed for their implementation. After the treaty of Passarowitz the Sublime Porte abandoned its policy of expanding along the western frontiers and began to take defensive measures to prevent Austria and Russia from encroaching on Ottoman territory. The Grand Vizier and the Sultan had already lost hope of recapturing the territories, which had been lost previously. For the first time in the Ottoman history, the ruling elite showed an interest in European politics, not with the goal of expansion but with the goal of maintaining the peace. Damad İbrahim Pasha (d.1730) was the first Ottoman Grand Vizier who believed that understanding Europe was important for Ottoman foreign policy and trade. He supported his position with a number of initiatives, including the establishment of regular contact with the diplomatic representatives of European countries in Istanbul.⁴

E. Yayınları, 1994 (orig. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 1: *Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire 1280–1808*. Cambridge, 1977), pp. 307–310.

- 3 For a special study on Ottoman and Western military technology, cf. JONATHAN GRANT: “Rethinking the Ottoman ‘Decline’: Military Technology Diffusion in the Ottoman Empire, Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries”, in: *Journal of World History* 10 (1999), pp. 179–201. – RHODAS MURPHEY: “The Ottoman Attitudes Towards the Adaptation of Western Technology: The Role of the Efrenci Technicians in Civil and Military Applications”, in: *Contributions à l’histoire économique et sociale de l’empire Ottoman*, ed. JEAN-LOUIS BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT and PAUL DUMONT. Paris: Peeters, 1983, pp. 287–298.
- 4 On the foreign policy pursued by Damad İbrahim Pasha, cf. İSMAIL HAKKI UZUNÇARŞILI: *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/1. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1978, pp. 147–152.

During the time of the Tulip Period (1718–1730) the number of diplomatic envoys and representatives sent to foreign countries increased dramatically. These envoys to Paris, Vienna, Warsaw, Poland and Russia did more than carry out diplomatic and commercial negotiations; they also began collecting information and preparing reports on the diplomacy, culture, art, agriculture, industry, and technological power of Europe. The most influential of these reports was the one prepared by Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi (c.1670–1732), who resided in Paris from 1720 to 1721. This report had an immediate effect on the reform movement, opening the first and most important breach in the Ottoman iron curtain.

The decision was made to open new consulates, not only in European capitals but also in the cities where the Ottomans had important trade relations. No longer isolating themselves from European affairs, the Ottomans sought to collect information about the innovations of European countries. At this time they also took their first steps towards integration with the West.⁵

The eighteenth century saw changes in the fields of politics, military tactics, trade, economy and culture occurring outside the Ottoman Empire as well. European countries experienced a great transformation at the beginning of the century, becoming more deeply involved in the process of discovery and invention and following more closely the paths of intellect and science. This elevation of consciousness in European movements and political developments during the eighteenth century was called an age of ‘enlightenment’. In France and the Protestant countries of Europe, intellectuals began to observe and study the societies and civilizations that lay outside Europe’s cultural sphere. The Ottomans benefited from this change in Europe’s perspective and slowly began to cooperate with the Europeans in some areas. At the beginning the Ottomans preferred to work with those Europeans who were converts to Islam, but eventually they treated all Europeans in the same manner.⁶ Mutual taboos that had existed for centuries began to disappear in Europe and the Ottoman Empire.

In this period a board was established to translate cultural and scientific works, including some works of literature, from Arabic and Persian to Turkish. Because of this development, the use of Turkish dictionaries became common practice. The members of this board also translated several Western works of history, philosophy

5 There are many Turkish and foreign studies on Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed and his time in Paris. The most outstanding of these studies is FATMA MÜGE GÖÇEK’s *East Encounters West*.

6 For the changes in European attitudes towards the Ottomans, as well as the changing Ottoman approach to the Europeans, cf. DONALD QUATAERT: *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 6–11.

and astronomy.⁷ This limited translation of Western works affected the world view of traditional Ottoman society. These translators, however, never became as influential as the Ottoman diplomatic envoys and representatives: Muslim Turks who met with Europeans, witnessed their power on the battlefield and worked in their capital cities.

The movement that brought reform and change to the Ottoman Empire was led not by Ottoman subjects but by the ruling elite and their followers. The role of Ottoman diplomats and their retinues in the Ottoman Renaissance cannot be denied. The most important development of the Tulip Age was the first printing machine for Turkish-language books, introduced by Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed and his son Mehmed Said (d.1761). (The non-Muslim communities of the Ottoman Empire had already printed books in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Armenian.) While visiting the printing houses of Paris, Mehmed Said Efendi concluded that Turkish books might be printed in Istanbul. Upon his return he raised the issue with Hungarian-born İbrahim Müteferrika (c.1670–1745). Although there are various opinions on Müteferrika's conversion, he was nonetheless a pioneer, a convert to Islam in the eighteenth century, who introduced European ideas, knowledge, and technology⁸ – unlike members of the *devşirme* (boys recruited for the Janissary corps).

To establish the printing house, Mehmed Said Efendi and İbrahim Müteferrika applied to Grand Vizier İbrahim Pasha and presented him with a brochure written by Müteferrika on the advantages of printing books. The books printed by Müteferrika covered topics ranging from geography, history and defence to science and technology. Many were translations from Arabic and Western languages, although the histories of the first Ottoman history-tellers, or *vakanüvis*, were printed as well. The printing house of Müteferrika helped accelerate the modernization process and allowed the Ottoman elite to follow world developments more closely. The most lasting and effective product of the Tulip Age, the printing house also created a permanent record of the Ottoman revival.⁹

7 For the most important study including general information on the Tulip Period, cf. AHMED REFIK: *Lale Devri*. Istanbul: Askeri Kütüphane, 1913.

8 There are many comprehensive studies on eighteenth-century converts and experts of European origin. The number of such studies has increased recently. Researchers such as Ahmed Refik (1881–1937), İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı (1888–1977), Enver Ziya Karal (1906–1982), Niyazi Berkes (1908–1988), Stanford J. Shaw (1930–2006), Kemal Beydilli (b.1942), İdris Bostan, Virginia Aksan and Mehmet Alaaddin Yalçinkaya have written on this subject.

9 On the history and development of Turkish printing, cf. SELİM NÜZHET GERÇEK: *Türk Matbaacılığı: Müteferrika Matbaası*. Istanbul: Maarif Vekilliği, 1939. – NİYAZI BERKES: “İlk Türk Matbaası Kurucusunun Dinî ve Fikrî Kimliği”, in: *Belleten* 26/104 (1962), pp. 715–737. – See also the contribution by ORLİN SABEV “European Printers in Istanbul in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century: İbrahim Müteferrika and Others” in this publication.

MAHMUD I AND MUSTAFA III: OPENING TO EUROPE –
EUROPEANS IN THE SERVICE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Tulip Period reforms had ceased for a short time after the rebellion of Patrona Halil (1730). Mahmud I brought more determination and planning to the reforms and innovations that had been initiated during the reign of Ahmed III, when a French Huguenot (Protestant) Military officer, Rochefort,¹⁰ had been requested to prepare a report for the modernization of the Ottoman army. Recognizing that no one in the Ottoman military leadership was educated according to the advanced and superior military methods and techniques of Europe, Mahmud I also decided to use a European military adviser. The Sultan called upon a French noble, the Count of Bonneval, Claude Alexandre (1675–1747), to spearhead the Ottoman military modernization.

Bonneval had left France to serve Austria but was unable to make a place for himself there. Later he travelled to Sarajevo to declare his intention to serve the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans had no precedent for employing a non-Muslim directly in the service of the empire. Moreover, the country had recently passed through a period of rebellion, and to accept a non-Muslim into the service was considered inappropriate under the circumstances. The only alternative was for Bonneval to convert to Islam, which he ultimately did, taking the name of Ahmed. He came to Istanbul and began to serve in less important military jobs, where he attracted the attention of Grand Vizier Topal Osman Pasha (d.1733).

Topal Osman Pasha was in favour of establishing a modern infantry regiment, equipped with European weapons and trained according to European military tactics and discipline. Ahmed was first assigned to modernize the former demolition unit, or *humbaracı*, earning the name Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha. This assignment established a pattern for future reforms: new institutions would be created within the old structures in order to placate conservative opponents. Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha submitted a report to Sultan Mahmud I, recommending the reorganization of all Ottoman military organs in accordance with French and Austrian models. The implementation of this plan, however, was opposed by the Janissaries and so it was abandoned. Ahmed Pasha then devoted his energy to designing modern artillery regiments to be the symbol of Ottoman military modernization. This in-

10 In some cases, it was very difficult to determine the personal data of the persons mentioned. Thus, all information available on the respective persons will be given, ranging from only last names to full names and dates of birth and death. For the identity of Rochefort and his reform project, cf. NİYAZI BERKES: *Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma*. Istanbul: YKY, 2002 (orig. *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*. Montreal: McGill, 1964), pp. 46–51.

novation would affect other institutions as well, and a century later would target the Janissary units.¹¹

Barracks and training camps were allocated to Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha, and an engineering school, or *hendesehane*, was founded to establish a successful and contemporary artillery regiment. The members of the *humbara* units, given disciplined training and earning regular salaries, viewed military service as a profession. In essence these units provide the first example of European-style Ottoman institutions. They were organized after French and Austrian military models; even their uniforms differed from the classical Ottoman military dresses.

The task of Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha was very difficult, but he was aided by three French officers, who converted to Islam, as well as Irish and Scottish mercenaries.

Great care was taken in the selection of military students for the engineering school. In order to avoid protests, students were accepted from the *bostancı*, or palace guard units, as well as other older units. Conscious of their technological backwardness, the Janissaries opposed the participation of the modern military regiments in the Austrian expedition of 1736. Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha was dismissed from his office for a short time; after he was re-appointed, he served the Ottoman Empire until his death in 1747. After his death, his adopted son Milanolu Süleyman Ağa hoped to continue his work, but in 1750 the project was abandoned due to the growing Janissary opposition.

Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha advised Mahmud I that the defence of the empire should be based on economic as well as military power. He also contributed to the modernization of technical services in the Palace. With his encouragement, cannon, gunpowder and rifle factories were built. Ahmed Paşa also knew that reforms were needed beyond the establishment of the artillery school. Unable to initiate substantial reforms in other units, he tried to make them more disciplined and organized.¹² The Sultan intended to make more comprehensive reforms, but the fear of a new rebellion and the opposition of the Janissaries prevented him from doing so. The traditionalist reforms and innovations strengthened the Ottoman military forces, but they did not constitute a source of inspiration to awaken the spirit of progress and bring an end to passivity.

Following the traditionalist approach to reform, cultural activities established in the Tulip Age were encouraged by Mahmud I. Material support was given to the printing house of Müteferrika, as well as to poets; authors and artists were also supported. Public libraries were opened in Istanbul, and officials were sent to all

11 For general information about Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha and the eighteenth-century reforms, cf. UZUNÇARŞILI: *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/1, pp. 321–326. – BERKES: *Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma*, pp. 66–68.

12 UZUNÇARŞILI: *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/1, pp. 324–325. – BERKES: *Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma*, pp. 67–68.

parts of the country to collect important books and manuscripts. Parallel to the atmosphere of awakening and illumination, the first paper factory of the country was built in Yalova to meet the needs of publishers. In order to open this factory, workers were brought from Poland and additional paper was imported from France, Venice and Poland. In the capital a new system was established to address water permanently, and for the next 150 years Istanbul never suffered from a lack of water.¹³ These developments reinforced the reformist reputation of the Sultan and demonstrated his dedication to establishing the Ottoman Empire as a modern and civilized world state.

A ruler who championed reform and peace, Mahmud I was largely successful in keeping the Ottoman Empire far from domestic and foreign disasters. He was personally interested in the regular working of the printing house and took measures to assure that its needs for paper were met. In the military field, he addressed the problem of weapons and other military equipment, and helped establish the first engineering courses designed to train soldiers at the artillery school. The use of foreign experts and advisers in military and technological fields during the reign of Mahmud I encouraged the Ottoman officials and subjects to cooperate with the Europeans in every area.¹⁴ With no foreign threat facing the empire in this period, most of the initiated reforms, especially the military ones, soon began to lose their effectiveness. Some disappeared, and the printing house, the artillery regiments and the school of Humbaracıbaşı Ahmed Pasha were closed.

Mustafa III (b.1717, r.1757–1774) continued to implement the reforms introduced during the reigns of the previous sultans. He also initiated some European-style reforms of his own in the military. Mustafa III knew that the Janissary Corps needed reform but began with the modernization of the artillery units, which was easier to bring about. The conditions at home and abroad made the reorganization and improvement of the artillery school a necessity. As the Ottoman Empire entered the partition process, the Russians aimed to expand their territory at the expense of the Ottomans. France hoped to protect and increase its privileges in Ottoman territory and to this end worked to strengthen the Ottoman Empire against its enemies. The French decided to send a team of military experts to Istanbul in order to advise the Ottomans, a move that caused doubt at the Sublime Porte. The Ottomans were unwilling to trust the French after the rapprochement between France and Austria on the eve of the Seven Years War (1756–1763), and they rejected the offer.¹⁵

13 UZUNÇARŞILI: *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 4/1, pp. 327–330. – SHAW: *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, pp. 329–330.

14 M. MÜNİR AKTEPE: “Mahmud I.,” in: *İslam Ansiklopedisi (IA)*, ed. MARTIJN THEODOOR HOUTSMA, vol. 7. Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1957, pp. 158–165.

15 For more detailed information on this subject, cf. BERKES: *Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma*, pp. 76–85.

The most remarkable figure involved in Ottoman military reforms during the reign of Mustafa III was François Baron de Tott (1733–1793). The French-born son of a Hungarian noble, he travelled to the Ottoman Empire with Ferenc Rákóczi II (1676–1735) and later settled in France. Like his father, Baron de Tott chose the military as his career and became a lieutenant in 1754. When his sister's husband Charles Gravier, Count of Vergennes (1717–1787), was appointed French Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire in 1755, he came to Istanbul with him as the secretary of the French Embassy. In the following years, Baron de Tott came to the empire with different assignments and worked in the service of the Ottoman state during the reigns of Mustafa III and Abdülhamid I (b.1725, r.1774–1789). He was responsible for the modernization of the cannon factory and the introduction of lighter cast cannons that could be transported by horse. Baron de Tott supervised the construction of a modern cannon factory in Hasköy, designed to meet an increasing need as the Ottoman–Russian war intensified.

He supervised the defence of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus and introduced projects to build new fortresses and repair the older ones along the Bosphorus. He was also involved in creating modifications in the bridge systems of boats and in the shape of vehicles used for cannon transport. Mustafa III assigned Baron de Tott the task of supervising the construction of new ships in the shipyard.

Baron de Tott played an active role in fortifying the defence of the Dardanelles and in organizing the defence disposition of artillery units after the disaster of Çeşme. Moreover, he opened a new engineering school near the shipyard, where he taught courses. Pleased with the innovations introduced by Baron de Tott, Ottoman rulers abandoned their hesitant attitude towards European experts and demanded new technicians from France in 1773, hoping to extend reform to new areas. Mustafa III followed military reforms closely, visiting the cannon factories to learn about cannon casting and observing the training of the artillery units. The reforms introduced by Baron de Tott during the reign of Mustafa III bore fruit during the reign of Abdülhamid I. The short-term employment of French experts and technicians in the early 1770s paved the way for the long-term employment of foreign nationals in the service of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁶

16 On Baron de Tott and his work in service to the Ottoman Empire, cf. UZUNÇARŞILI: *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/1, pp. 342, 479–481. – GÉZA DAVID: “Baron de Tott, François”, in: *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (TDVİA)*, ed. BEKİR TOPALOĞLU, vol. 5. Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1992, pp. 83–84.

ABDÜLHAMID I AND SELIM III: CHANGES IN OTTOMAN UNDERSTANDING OF REFORM AND MODERNIZATION

Abdülhamid I and Selim III (1761–1808, r.1789–1807) realized that the Ottoman Empire needed to reform if it was to save itself from annihilation. They chose to accelerate the speed of reform and introduce new reforms as well, and became the most powerful eighteenth-century Ottoman sultans in modernizing the empire and recruiting European experts. Although Abdülhamid I set various groups at loggerheads with each other and resorted to classical Ottoman methods such as the frequent selection of new grand viziers, he also revived the traditionalist Ottoman reform movements. Selim III was much more radical concerning the Europeanization efforts and introduced new institutions along with side European lines.

During the periods of Abdülhamid I and Selim III more personnel were appointed to implement reforms. Both Sultans exceeded the efforts of their predecessors in meeting the military, technical, and educational needs of the Ottoman forces. Hoping to turn the Ottoman military into a well-matched opponent for European forces, they had numerous experts and advisers brought to Istanbul from Europe, who were no longer requested to convert to Islam or to dress in Ottoman uniforms.

Abdülhamid I was the first Ottoman Sultan to achieve significant progress by making use of European based reforms, which were pursued during the reigns of Selim III and Mahmud II.¹⁷ The most important figure in the reform movement, however, was Baron de Tott. Efforts were made to increase the number of speedy artillery units, which had been introduced during the reign of Mustafa III. In the aftermath of Küçük Kaynarca (1774), fortifications were built along the Rumelian and Caucasus coasts as well as along the Straits to prepare for a future war with Russia. The engineering school opened in 1773 and was expanded in 1776, establishing the foundation of the future engineering faculty.

After Baron de Tott left the empire, his assistants, Englishman İngiliz ('English') Resmî Mustafa Efendi and Frenchman Aubert (in Turkish: Obert), were employed by the State to continue his work. Speedy artillery units and the engineering school were dissolved for a prolonged period due to political pressure exerted by the Janissaries – despite the reform implemented in other areas of the Ottoman military, neither the grand viziers nor the sultans were able to resist their will.

17 The most comprehensive study on Abdülhamid I is the biography by Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, which utilized various primary and secondary sources including archival materials, manuscripts, travel books and memoirs. Cf. FİKRET SARICAOĞLU: *Kendi Kaleminden Bir Padişah Portresi Sultan I. Abdülhamid (1774–1789)*. Istanbul: Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı, 2001.

The Janissaries raised the most significant opposition to Ottoman military reformers and the reforms, but the most important reforms of this period were made in the Ottoman navy. The navy, especially its organization, had been greatly weakened by the Çeşme disaster in 1770. Although opposition was valid, to a certain extent for the reforms made in the land forces, it did not exist for the navy, and reforms and changes in the navy were carried out more easily, successfully and rapidly. After Gazi Hasan Pasha (1713–1790) was appointed Chief Admiral of the navy in 1774, modern warships were included and the navy made efforts to ensure strict discipline among its officers and sailors. New techniques in sea warfare were introduced and new shipyards were built and populated with engineers, technicians and masters brought from France. Moreover, Gazi Hasan Pasha took measures to make seamanship a profession. Naval officers and sailors were subject to constant training and discipline in the barracks of the shipyards and in the ports, which were used as military bases.

In order to train officers for the navy, the engineering school of Baron de Tott was transformed into a more comprehensive school, the Mühendishane-i Bahr-i Hümayun, or State Maritime Engineering School. Ottoman and foreign experts, including Baron de Tott and Resmî Mustafa Efendi, taught courses such as geometry and surveying. Although Gazi Hasan Pasha successfully modernized the navy in ten years, he could not repeat that success in the training of naval officers and sailors. Appointments were governed by favouritism and bribery rather than ability, and important tasks were assigned to incompetent officers. Irregularities and undisciplined actions were a frequent occurrence on ships. In spite of this, Gazi Hasan Pasha continued his activities without hesitation, sowing the seeds of the more comprehensive and substantial reforms that would be made in the future.¹⁸

The Ottoman reforms during the reigns of Abdülhamid I and Selim III continued sporadically, as they were often prohibited for a time before being re-implemented by a new group of reformers. The most serious obstacles to confront reformers were those put up by the Janissaries who, along with other military and societal groups, stood to lose their special privileges as a result of reform. Working in conjunction with the guilds, which suffered material losses from reforms, and the *ulema* ('Muslim religious scholars'), these groups managed to stall the implementation of reforms. Seeking to protect their own interests, a number of reformers who held high-level positions in the state opposed the efforts of rival reformers. The easiest way to forestall reform was to claim that certain measures ran contrary to Ottoman and Islamic traditions – an argument that easily secured the support

¹⁸ UZUNÇARŞILI: *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/1, pp. 473–484. – SHAW: *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, pp. 340–342. – SARICAOĞLU: *Sultan I. Abdülhamid*, pp. 188–201.

of great masses of people. Ottoman reformers, however, failed to establish contact with ordinary subjects and educate them about the reforms. In addition, there was no middle class, a group that might have been more willing to support reforms. The most important support for reform came in the form of a crisis. Depressions, for example, led to calls for reform to bring short-term economic relief. Regardless of political orientation, every sector of society, conservative or reformist, was in favour of making some changes in order to save the empire during a crisis. But as soon as the crisis passed, the people whose interests were harmed removed the reformists from government by calling on the support of the Janissaries.¹⁹

THE ROLE AND EMPLOYMENT OF EUROPEAN EXPERTS IN THE SERVICE OF THE EMPIRE ACCORDING TO THEIR NATIONALITIES AT THE TIME OF ABDÜLHAMID I AND SELIM III

During this period the Ottomans were much more oriented towards recruiting European experts in the military, navy, engineering, training staffs and lecturers for military schools, cartography and mining. Western experts were recruited mostly by means of commissioning European and Ottoman ambassadors. Military, naval, fortification and training technologies became a matter of great interest for European missions in Istanbul, starting with the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The European powers understood the importance of the Ottoman policy of adoption in transferring Europe's military technologies in particular during this period, and they began offering their services and rivalling each other to win a considerable share of this military market. Abdülhamid I and Selim III took this historical opportunity to carry out a policy of balance between those great powers of the West despite their disadvantageous and weakened situation. The Europeans who came to work in the Ottoman Empire during the reigns of these Sultans can be divided into four main categories with respect to their fields of expertise and employment, their channel of procurement and their nationality.²⁰ In this part of the paper we will examine Europeans in terms of their nationalities and their fields of expertise.

19 SHAW: *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, p. 346.

20 The most distinguished categories and classifications on foreign experts in the service of the Ottoman Empire are found in KEMAL BEYDILLI: *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne, Mühendishâne Matbaası ve Kütüphânesi (1776–1826)*. Istanbul: Eren, 1994, p. 83.

Field of Expertise	Engineers and architects
	Military and naval officers
	Physicians and surgeons
	Technicians and workers
Field of Employment	Fortress
	Naval docks and harbours
	Hospitals
	Barracks
	Arsenal, mortar corps and gunpowder factories
Channel of Procurement	Procured via the ambassadors of European countries
	Procured via permanent Ottoman ambassadors
	Procured via statesmen initiatives
	Fugitives and voluntarily joined captive soldiers
	Refugees
	Voluntary labourers
	Procured via mutual military and naval alliances
Nationality	French
	English and Scottish
	Swedish
	Austrian
	Prussian
	Spanish
	Italian
	Russian
Polish	

General Categories of European Experts in the service of the Ottoman Empire.

FRENCH

From the 1720s onward, French experts began to permeate every area of Ottoman military, naval and engineering technology. The French were the first and largest group of European experts recruited by the Ottomans. Here we will mention French experts according to their importance and chronologically evaluate their activities in the service of the Ottomans.²¹

21 Research has recently increased on European experts employed by the Porte. Cf. MEHMET ALAADDİN YALÇINKAYA: “Osmanlı Devleti’nin Modernleşme Sürecinde Avrupalıların İstihdam Edilmesi (1774–1807)”, in: *Erken klasik dönemden XVIII. yüzyıl sonuna kadar Osmanlılar ve Avrupa: Seyahat, karşılaşma ve etkileşim*, ed. SEYFİ KENAN. İstanbul: İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi (İSAM), 2010, pp. 421–448. – TUNCAY ZORLU: *Innovation and Empire in Turkey: Sultan Selim III and the Modernisation of the Ottoman Navy*. London, New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008.

François Baron de Tott: Tott was the most famous person in this period. He tried to increase the number of rapid-fire artillery that was founded in the reign of Mustafa III. After the Küçük Kaynarca Treaty, he fortified the Black Sea and Caucasian shores and the Straits against future wars with Russia. He developed the Mathematicians school founded in 1776 and created the basic structure of the engineering school. After the termination of Tott's service, his assistants Resmî Mustafa Efendi and Aubert were employed in this area.²²

Kermorvan: He was a French expert who lectured in the school of geometry (Hendesehane).²³

Aubert (Obert), Granper and Cunny: French official Aubert started his service in January 1774 as a leader of rapid artillery. Under his command 250 rapid-fire artillerymen collected and started to train in Kağthane. But this organization was abolished in 1776 and Aubert and the other experts returned to their country.²⁴ In 1784 Aubert and his team came to Istanbul for the second time. Granper and Cunny were the most important members of this team, and they made some contributions to the renovation of the corps of bombardiers and miners (Humbaracı Ocağı) and the construction of the gun factories.²⁵

Saint Remy: Because of the Crimean Issue²⁶ the Ottomans took precautions against a possible Ottoman-Russian war; they fortified the fortress on Ottoman frontiers and recruited European experts for army and navy.²⁷ Between 1783 and 1788 many French experts and officers entered the Ottoman service. Saint Remy was one of these experts; a military engineer, he planned to create a new artillery foundry.

22 UZUNÇARŞILI: *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/1, pp. 473–484. – SHAW: *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, pp. 340–342. – SARICAOĞLU: *Sultan I. Abdülhamid*, pp. 188–201.

23 UZUNÇARŞILI: *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/1, pp. 480–481. Cf. for detailed information MUSTAFA KAÇAR: “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Askerî Teknik Eğitimde Modernleşme Çalışmaları ve Mühendis-hanelerin Kuruluşu (1808’e Kadar)”, in: *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları 2* (1998), pp. 69–137, especially pp. 83–84.

24 KAÇAR: “Mühendisanelerin Kuruluşu”, pp. 77–81.

25 UZUNÇARŞILI: *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/1. – FRÉDÉRIC HITZEL: “Defence de la Palace Turque d’Oczakow par un officier du Genie Français 1787”, in: *İkinci Tarih Boyunca Karadeniz Kongresi Bildirileri, 1–3 Haziran 1988*, ed. BAYRAM KODAMAN et al. Samsun: Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi, 1990, pp. 639–655, especially p. 642. – STANFORD J. SHAW: “The Established Ottoman Army Corps under Sultan Selim III (1789–1807)”, in: *Der Islam* 40 (1965), pp. 142–184.

26 In 1774, the Crimean Khans fell under Russian influence with the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, and in 1783 the entire Crimea was annexed by the Russian Empire. The Ottoman Empire, however, still considered this province part of its empire and felt it was of vital importance to retain it. Catherine II turned Crimea into a military base to expand the Russian influence over the Black Sea region. This led to another war between the Ottomans and Russians in 1787–1792.

27 SARICAOĞLU: *Sultan I. Abdülhamid*, pp. 144–152. – UZUNÇARŞILI: *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/1, pp. 482–485. – SHAW: *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, pp. 347–348.

But his new foundation did not work well, and so his project failed and he returned his country.²⁸

Laurent-Jean François Truguet, M. Tondu and Gregoire Miran: Truguet (1752–1839) was the commander of a French frigate that was in the port of Istanbul in 1782, and he lectured at the engineering school.²⁹ During the same time Tondu was employed as a lecturer at the engineering school.³⁰ Miran entered the Ottoman service as a translator for engineers and later began giving lectures and some lessons.³¹

M. Lifov: Employed to teach foreign languages (especially French and Italian), Lifov worked in Levend Çiftliği prior to this duty, and later was employed by the engineering school.³²

Jean-Jacques Sébastien Le Roy and Du Rest: Both men had entered Turkey with Saint Remy. Le Roy (d.1825) and Du Rest's (d.1787) team was employed in arsenal. They constructed many ships of different sizes between 1785 and 1787.³³

François (Fransuva) Alexi and Betolen: In Istanbul Alexi and Betolen were employed by the Ottomans in artillery.³⁴

André-Joseph Lafitte-Clavé and Joseph Gabriel Monnier: Lafitte-Clavé (1740–1791) was an important person in the Ottomans' modern military education, who came to Istanbul with a team of experts and technicians. His assistant Monnier (1745–1848) was a French royal engineer who came to Istanbul in the middle of 1784 and started his activities. They were employed at the fortification works and worked on the teaching staffs with Turkish lecturers. Lafitte-Clavé translated some important books on the military into Turkish.³⁵ After the French-Russian treaty in 1787, the French Government called back its experts in the service of the Ottoman army. But Lafitte-Clavé did not leave his job and instead continued his educational activities. Lafitte-Clavé prepared many plans, maps and reports on the

28 HITZEL: "Defence de la Palace Turque d'Oczakow par un officier du Genie Français 1787", p. 643. – EKMELEDDİN İHSANOĞLU: "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Bilim, Teknoloji ve Sanayide Modernleşme Gayretleri", in: *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 2 (1998), pp. 1–22, especially p. 14.

29 İSMAIL HAKKI UZUNÇARŞILI: *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı*. Ankara Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1984, pp. 502–503.

30 KAÇAR: "Mühendishanelerin Kuruluşu", p. 95.

31 Ibidem, pp. 94–95.

32 Ibidem, p. 108.

33 ZORLU: *Innovation and Empire in Turkey*, pp. 81 and 193. – İHSANOĞLU: "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Bilim, Teknoloji ve Sanayide Modernleşme Gayretleri", p. 14. – STANFORD J. SHAW: "Selim III and the Ottoman Navy", in: *Turcica* 1 (1969), pp. 212–241, especially cf. p. 216. – HITZEL: "Defence de la Palace Turque d'Oczakow par un officier du Genie Français 1787", pp. 642–643. – UZUNÇARŞILI: *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/1, p. 484. – IDEM: *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı*, pp. 502–503. – IDEM: "Sadrazam Halil Hamid Paşa", in: *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 5 (1936), pp. 213–267.

34 UZUNÇARŞILI: *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/1, p. 484.

35 KAÇAR: "Mühendishanelerin Kuruluşu", pp. 87–97. There is a large amount of information in Hitzel's above-mentioned article on Lafitte-Clavé's life and his services in Turkey.

Bosphorus and Black Sea shores. He was a successful French expert who gained importance and fame in the eyes of the Ottoman and French governments.³⁶

Anthoin (Antuan) Şabo and Poâtre: Şabo was a French military expert; Poâtre was employed by Halil Hamid Pasha (1736–1785) as an assistant for Şabo. The two prepared some reports on Özi and Hotin Castles and made some projects for the defence of Çanakkale and Soğucak Castles.³⁷

Chabaud de la Tour and Dumarest: Chabaud and Dumarest were French engineers. The former worked between 1783 and 1784, while the latter entered Ottoman service in the time of Halil Hamid Pasha in 1784.³⁸

Le Chevalier: Having entered the Ottoman service with Lafitte-Clavé, Le Chevalier left for Austria during the Ottoman-Russian-Austrian War.³⁹

Mazurier and Lazowski: These French experts were employed in fortifications and batteries in the Bosphorus and some castles on the Danube River.⁴⁰

Guinon Pampelonne: After Tott's departure Pampelonne was appointed to the responsibility for a modern arsenal in Hasköy. He worked with approximately forty artillery artisans and continued his service until 1799.⁴¹

Jacques-Balthazard Le Brun and Jean-Baptiste Benoit: Le Brun and Benoit were ship-construction engineers who entered the Ottoman shipyard service between June 1793 and 1804. Le Brun and his team worked in the shipyard, including the repair and expansion of a large number of warships. Le Brun also constructed what were the largest ships in the Ottoman Empire up to this time, and he and his colleagues trained a large number of highly talented engineers for the Ottoman navy.⁴²

Toussaint Petit: Apart from the dry dock models of the Swedish expert A. E. Rhode, the Ottomans also copied French dry dock models. Attempts were made to employ Grognard, a French dry-dock expert. Instead of Grognard, the Ottomans then employed his son Petit at a 500 piaster salary. But his job did not continue for long and he returned to Paris because of his failure.⁴³

36 Ibidem, pp. 99–101. – İSMAIL SOYSAL: *Fransız İhtilâli ve Türk-Fransız Diplomasi Münasebetleri (1789–1802)*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1987, pp. 53–54 and 64.

37 UZUNÇARŞILI: *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 4/1, pp. 482–483.

38 SOYSAL: *Fransız İhtilâli*, pp. 53–54. – KAÇAR: “Mühendishanelerin Kuruluşu”, p. 123.

39 SOYSAL: *Fransız İhtilâli*, p. 64.

40 SHAW: “The Established Ottoman Army Corps under Sultan Selim III (1789–1807)”, pp. 169–182. – SOYSAL: *Fransız İhtilâli*, p. 158.

41 SHAW: “The Established Ottoman Army Corps under Sultan Selim III (1789–1807)”, pp. 171–172. – SOYSAL: *Fransız İhtilâli*, p. 159.

42 İDRIS BOSTAN: “Osmanlı Bahriyesinin Modernleşmesinde Yabancı Uzmanların Rolü (1785–1819)”, in: *Tarih Dergisi* 35 (1994), pp. 177–192. – ENVER ZİYA KARAL: “Selim III. Devrinde Osmanlı Bahriyesi Hakkında Vesikalar”, in: *Tarih Vesikaları* 3 (1941), pp. 203–211. – SHAW: “Selim III and the Ottoman Navy”, pp. 222–228.

43 BOSTAN: “Osmanlı Bahriyesinin Modernleşmesinde Yabancı Uzmanların Rolü (1785–1819)”,

Parale: A French engineer, Parale lectured at the engineering school on mapping, geography and navigation. After the French invasion of Egypt, Parale's job came to an end.⁴⁴

Ferrageau: After the dismissal of the Swedish experts under French influence, the ship and dry dock expert Ferrageau was employed to complete unfinished works.⁴⁵

François Kauffer (Kofer): A French artist and technical expert in fortress construction and engineering, Kauffer (c.1751–1801) served the Ottoman Empire for many years. In June 1800 his salary was cut, but due to political issues in France, he took refuge in the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁶

Casey (Kisi or Keysi): A French military engineer, Casey was responsible for the preparation of casting cannons to be mounted on galleons. He was famous for his artillery in the Ottoman Army.⁴⁷

Trécourt (Tirekor) and his brother: Trécourt entered the Ottoman service with his brother in June 1794.⁴⁸

General Menant: Appointed for the French experts' needs in the Ottoman Empire, Menant also trained cavalry and artillery. He was in the Ottoman service between November 1796 and July 1798.⁴⁹

Dozuski: This French Army officer reported the deficiencies of the Bender and Hotin castles to Istanbul.⁵⁰

Marko Vasalu and his sons Şharlo (Şalolu), Antuvan, Nikola and Peter: Marko Vasalu was employed in the field of *makaracılık* ('block building') at the Imperial Arsenal together with his four sons.⁵¹

Brul: This Frenchman was employed as a surgeon in the galleons of the Imperial navy from 1794 onwards.⁵²

pp. 184–185. – IDEM: "Osmanlı Bahriyesinde Modernleşme Hareketleri- Tersanede Büyük Havuz İnşası, 1794–1800", in: 150. *Yılında Tanzimat*, ed. HAKKI D. YILDIZ. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992, pp. 69–90. For the same article cf. also IDEM: *Beylikten İmparatorluğa Osmanlı Denizciliği*. İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006, pp. 221–246.

44 UZUNÇARŞILI: *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı*, p. 509. – BEYDILLI: *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, p. 34.

45 SHAW: "Selim III and the Ottoman Navy", p. 224.

46 BOSTAN: "Osmanlı Bahriyesinin Modernleşmesinde Yabancı Uzmanların Rolü (1785–1819)", p. 182. – BEYDILLI: *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, p. 88.

47 BOSTAN: "Osmanlı Bahriyesinin Modernleşmesinde Yabancı Uzmanların Rolü (1785–1819)", p. 182.

48 London, Public Record Office, Foreign Office (PRO FO), 78/15, no. 31, SIR ROBERT LISTON: Letter to Lord Grenville, İstanbul, 25 December 1794. – BEYDILLI: *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, p. 88.

49 BEYDILLI: *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, p. 90. – SOYSAL: *Fransız İhtilâli*, p. 159.

50 BEYDILLI: *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, p. 89.

51 Ibidem, p. 90.

52 ZORLU: *Innovation and Empire in Turkey*, p. 88.

Penyola and Emenli Eneqli: Penyola was a ship engineer employed for the construction of a galleon at Gemlik in 1799–1800. Eneqli was an architect of ship construction also employed on the same galleon with Penyola.⁵³

Rikali and Petro: Rikali was employed as a pilot (*kılavuz*) in the Imperial navy. Petro was a whetstone master and carpenter.⁵⁴

Romus and Tortil: A French engineer, Romus was sent to Rhodes harbour in 1797/1798. Tortil was a French architect for the construction of galleons at Bodrum in 1796.⁵⁵

Baron Antoine de Juchereau de St. Denys: Juchereau de St. Denys (1778–1842) entered the service of the Ottomans in 1807. He was employed to prepare a report on the fortification of the Dardanelles.⁵⁶

ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH

After the French, the English were the largest group of European experts recruited by the Ottomans. In the second half of the eighteenth century English experts were individually employed by the Porte, but after the Iaşı treaty many of the English were employed in large groups.⁵⁷

Le Comte Ramsay Campell (Kampel Resmî Mustafa Ağa Efendi): A successor to Baron de Tott in the service of the Ottoman Empire, especially in the corps of artillery, Campell Mustafa Ağa was of Scottish origin but converted to Islam and took the name Mustafa. He was so successful in his in every appointed post in artillery corps and foundry that the Porte promoted him to a Generalship (*Paşalık*).⁵⁸

Baily İngiliz ('English') Selim: Baily also converted to Islam, taking the name Selim in 1792.⁵⁹ Sent to construct the fortifications of Ismail and Bender Forts in

53 Ibidem.

54 Ibidem, p. 89.

55 Ibidem.

56 Ibidem, p. 90.

57 MEHMET ALAADDIN YALÇINKAYA: "Nizam-ı Cedid Döneminde Osmanlı Devleti'nin Modernleşmesinde İngilizlerin Rolü", in: *Osmanlı*, vol. 6: *Teşkilat*, ed. KEMAL ÇIÇEK et al. Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999, pp. 684–694.

58 For more detailed information on Campell Mustafa Ağa, cf. WILLIAM ETON: *A Survey of the Turkish Empire*. London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1798, pp. 73–74. – London, PRO FO, 78/15, no. 31, SIR ROBERT LISTON: Letter to Lord Grenville, Istanbul, 25 December 1794. – WILLIAM WITTMAN: *Travels in Turkey, Asia-Minor, Syria, and Across the Desert into Egypt, During the Years 1799, 1800 and 1801 in Company with the Turkish Army and the British Military Mission*. London: Richard Philips, 1803, pp. 251–252. – KAÇAR: "Mühendishanelerin Kuruluşu", p. 84. – THOMAS WALSH: *Journal of the Late Campaign in Egypt: Including Descriptions of that Country, and of Gibraltar, Minorca, Malta, Marmorice, and Macri; with an Appendix; Containing Official Papers and Documents*. London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1803, pp. 66–67.

59 ÇAĞATAY ULUÇAY and ENVER KARATEKİN: *Yüksek Mühendis Okulu*. Istanbul: Berksoy Matbaası,

Ottoman Moldavia, he entered as an engineer in the service of the Porte. He was later also employed on the fortifications of the Danubian fortress near the Black Sea shores.⁶⁰

George Frederic Koehler: Originally a German officer, Koehler (d.1800) was in the service of Britain from 1780. He worked in Turkey on the Danubian fortress between 1788 and 1793, but left before completing its fortification. The first permanent Ambassador in London, Yusuf Agâh Efendi (1744–1824), tried to send Koehler again to Istanbul to fulfill his half-done projects, as was planned, but Koehler could not come to the Ottoman state for four years. In 1798 the French army under the command of Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) invaded Ottoman Egypt, and Koehler came to the Ottoman state to organize its army in June 1799. He left Istanbul for the campaign of Egypt but died of disease in Palestine on 29 December 1800.⁶¹

Richard White: Recruited by Yusuf Agâh Efendi, White was an English expert on the construction of gunboats in the river Thames. After his arrival in Istanbul he was taken into the service of the Porte.⁶² It is possible that he was employed to construct gunboats according to an improved plan in some of the ports of the Black Sea.⁶³ The Porte terminated White's job in July 1796.⁶⁴

Olaf: Also recruited in London by Yusuf Agâh Efendi and sent to Istanbul, Olaf was a dockyard artist. The Porte however soon dismissed him because of his lack of knowledge.⁶⁵

1958, pp. 80–81. – OSMAN NURİ ERGİN: *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi: İstanbul mektepleri ve ilim, terbiye ve san'at müesseseleri dolayısıyla*, vol. 1–2. Istanbul: Eser Matbaası, 1977, p. 322.

60 London, PRO FO, 78/15, no. 31, SIR ROBERT LISTON: Letter to Lord Grenville, Istanbul, 25 December 1794. – AHMED CEVDET PAŞA: *Tarih-i Cevdet, tertib-i cedid*, vol. 6. Istanbul: Matba'a-i 'Omânîye, 1303 A. H., pp. 45–46. – BEYDILLI: *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, pp. 50, 53.

61 For Koehler's life and activities, cf. MEHMET ALAADDİN YALÇINKAYA: *The First Permanent Ottoman-Turkish Embassy in Europe: The Embassy of Yusuf Agah Efendi to London (1793–1797)*. PhD thesis, Birmingham University, 1993 (publ. Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2010), p. 131. For Koehler's activities in Turkey, cf. London, PRO FO, 78/15, no. 31, SIR ROBERT LISTON: Letter to Lord Grenville, Istanbul, 25 December 1794. – Ibidem, 78/15, YUSUF AGÂH EFENDİ: Letter to Lord Grenville, London, 21 June 1794. – Ibidem, 78/14, SIR ROBERT AINSLIE: Letter to J. B. Burges, Istanbul, 25 February 1793. – Ibidem, GEORGE FREDERIC KOEHLER: Letter to J. B. Burges, London, 1 April 1795. – Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Ali Emiri Selim III, 3093, 27 Receb 1207/10 March 1793. – SHAW: "The Established Ottoman Army Corps under Sultan Selim III (1789–1807)", p. 169.

62 London, PRO FO, 78/16, SIR ROBERT LISTON: Letter to Lord Grenville, Istanbul, 16 June 1795. Here he describes White's recruitment as a "consequence of a letter of recommendation with which he had been furnished by the Turkish Ambassador in London".

63 Ibidem.

64 Ibidem, 78/17, no. 12, SPENCER SMITH: Letter to Lord Grenville, Istanbul, 10 July 1796.

65 BEYDILLI: *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, p. 89.

Daniel: Having worked in the Black Sea navy of the Ottoman Empire from 1787 to 1792, Daniel was another London recruit of Yusuf Agâh Efendi's for the service of the Porte. He came to Istanbul in March 1795 but was dismissed by the Porte because of his lack of engineering knowledge.⁶⁶

Spurring: The English naval architect Spurring was employed in the Ottoman dockyard.⁶⁷ He was a successor to Le Brun in completing the warship of Selimiye.⁶⁸

General Nathaniel Cooke: Cooke was an English official taken into the service with a letter of recommendation from Yusuf Agâh Efendi in 1796. He came to Istanbul with three French immigrant officers, Comte de Bizement and the Chevaliers de Montclar and de Conefsir.⁶⁹ There appear also two other unnamed persons in Turkish sources. One was an Englishman, an ironmonger (*timurcu*) who accompanied Cooke; but on his way to Istanbul he became sick in Wallachia and returned to Britain.⁷⁰ Cooke suggested that the Ottomans prepare their naval power to destroy the Russian fleet in the Black Sea and organize their army to attack the Russians. He also proposed that they attack the Austrians who were at war with France over Timișoara.⁷¹ This proposal was rejected in July 1796 by the Reis Efendi because it would bring the Ottomans into the war against Russia and Austria. This rejection was welcomed by the British chargé d'affaires John Spencer Smith (1769–1845).⁷² Cooke was regarded as an “adventurer” and dismissed by the Porte.⁷³

66 Ibidem. – BOSTAN: “Osmanlı Bahriyesinin Modernleşmesinde Yabancı Uzmanların Rolü (1785–1819)”, p. 186.

67 SHAW: “Selim III and the Ottoman Navy”, p. 223.

68 Ibidem, p. 225, note 5.

69 London, PRO FO, 78/17, no. 3, SPENCER SMITH: Letter to George Aust, Istanbul, 19 January 1796. This report does not mention the names of the French officers, but they are found in ibidem, 78/17, no. 12, SPENCER SMITH: Letter to Lord Grenville, Istanbul, 10 July 1796. The Turkish sources also do not give their names, cf. Istanbul, BOA, Cevdet Hariciye, 1730, and Istanbul, BOA, Ali Emiri Selim III, 4903.

70 This man is found in Cevdet Hariciye, 1730 and Ali Emiri Selim III, 4903.

71 A copy of Cooke's proposal is found in the PRO FO, 78/17. This copy was sent to Grenville by Smith. Cf. ibidem, 78/17, no. 12, SPENCER SMITH: Letter to Lord Grenville, Istanbul, 10 July 1796. Smith said, “I likewise take this opportunity of laying before you a copy of another paper that has lately fallen into my hand. It is the genuine production of a certain Mr. Cooke”. The document in hand suggests that Cooke was in Ottoman Turkey until June 1797. Cf. ibidem, 78/18, SPENCER SMITH: Letter to Lord Grenville, Istanbul, 15 June 1797. Smith reported that he “arrived here last year under the name of General Nathaniel Cooke: and who gave in that mischief making memorial I had the honor of communicating to your Lordship in my N.12 of that year. This man was soon disgraced very cavalierly, and after having exhausted all the resources of adventurous intrigue at length went about his business. And the last I have heard of him was at Smyrna seeking a passage to Italy”.

72 Ibidem, 78/17, no. 12, SPENCER SMITH: Letter to Lord Grenville, Istanbul, 10 July 1796.

73 Ibidem.

Mulart, Bermond and Kaloş: These Englishmen, experts on artillery, were also recruited by Yusuf Ağâh Efendi in London for the service of the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁴

SWEDISH

The employment of Swedish experts and officers dates back to 1790, after the treaty of alliance between Sweden and the Ottoman Empire on 11 July 1789 paved the way for the strengthening of naval and military technical help between the two countries. As part of their modernization movement the Ottomans were in need of technical staff and experts in shipbuilding. Most of the Swedish experts and technical staff were shipbuilders and naval architects, but there were also some gun-casting experts, infantry officers and tacticians who served in the Ottoman territories. They were mostly recruited by the mediation of the Swedish embassy in Istanbul and the Turkish Ambassador Yusuf Ağâh Efendi in London.

Mr. Rosenblad and Mr. Ranchot: The first Swedish engineers in the service of the Ottoman Empire, Rosenblad and Ranchot were dispatched to the Porte by the Swedish government in the spring of 1790 but returned to their country in late October of that year. There is no certain evidence of their dismissal by the Porte, but they were probably discarded due to lack of technical knowledge. For similar reasons the Porte refused several other Swedish engineers in 1790 and 1791.⁷⁵

A. E. Rhode (Rodé): An expert on dry-dock construction, Rhode came to Istanbul with other Swedish experts through mediation of Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson (1740–1807), the chargé d'affaires of Sweden in the Porte in June 1795.⁷⁶ The other Swedish experts were Fredrick Ludwig Af Klintberg, Kihlberg, Schantz, Minthen (Mihrrhen), Weidenhielm, Hörling, Malmen, Carlstrand, Hallen, Liljogren, Löngren and Elmström.⁷⁷ These people played considerable roles, especially in the construction of the dry dock and some ships in the naval arsenal. After several years serving in the Porte and completing their works, most of them returned to their country.⁷⁸

74 BEYDILLI: *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, p. 90.

75 ZORLU: *Innovation and Empire in Turkey*, p. 91.

76 For more information and discussions on Rhode and his friends, cf. BOSTAN: "Osmanlı Bahriyesinin Modernleşmesinde Yabancı Uzmanların Rolü (1785–1819)", p. 183. – BEYDILLI: *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, pp. 88–89. – London, PRO FO, 78/16, no. 24, SIR ROBERT LISTON: Letter to Lord Grenville, Istanbul, 25 June 1795.

77 The spelling of foreign names was often arbitrary. On this issue, cf. BOSTAN: "Osmanlı Bahriyesinin Modernleşmesinde Yabancı Uzmanların Rolü (1785–1819)", p. 183. – SHAW: "Selim III and the Ottoman Navy", p. 223. – BEYDILLI: *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, p. 88. – ZORLU: *Innovation and Empire in Turkey*, pp. 91–93. Cf. also ALI İHSAN GENCER: *Bahriye'de Yapılan Islâhât Hareketleri ve Bahriye Nezâreti'nin Kuruluşu (1789–1867)*. Ankara: Türk tarih Kurumu, 2001, p. 52.

78 BOSTAN: "Osmanlı Bahriyesinin Modernleşmesinde Yabancı Uzmanların Rolü (1785–1819)",

Lakos: Known to have been employed in the construction of the dry dock in the capacity of assistant engineer to Rhode in 1797,⁷⁹ Lakos was dismissed in 1804 due to incompetence.

Glenburg, Lokrini, Kalgram and Walson: These Swedish engineers were employed at the naval arsenals in the reign of Selim III.⁸⁰

Lingren, Linmark, Leon and Bragan: They were ordinary labourers in the service of the Porte. Lingren was an ironsmith, Linmark a carpenter, Leon an ironsmith and Bragan a stone cutter.⁸¹

SPANISH

There were two Spanish experts in the service of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Selim III.

Wloa (Volla): A master mechanic, Wloa was employed in the newly founded arms factory at the Levend Çiftliği in 1794,⁸² which manufactured rifles and bullets. Nearly twenty foreign people were under Wloa's supervision.⁸³

Migiel (Miguel): A Spanish cavalry or artillery officer, Migiel came to Istanbul with the permission of the Spanish government in January 1794.⁸⁴

ITALIAN

The few Italians employed by the Porte at the end of the eighteenth century worked mostly in the naval docks as carpenters and ironsmiths.

Francisco: He was employed to manufacture gunpowder at the factory in the European side of Istanbul from 1794 to 1795.⁸⁵

Yakomi and Joseppo (Yozop): Yakomi was an ironsmith of Genoese origin, employed in 1796 in the construction of the three-decker galleon in the naval arsenal. He also worked on the repair of rifles and other iron equipment used on the galleons.⁸⁶ Joseppo was of Venetian origin and worked with Yakomi as a carpenter in

p. 183.

79 Ibidem, p. 184.

80 SHAW: "Selim III and the Ottoman Navy", p. 223.

81 Ibidem.

82 London, PRO FO, 78/15, no. 31, SIR ROBERT LISTON: Letter to Lord Grenville, Istanbul, 25 December 1794.

83 Shaw spells the name of Wloa as Volla. Cf. SHAW: "The Established Ottoman Army Corps under Sultan Selim III (1789–1807)", p. 172.

84 BEYDILLI: *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, p. 89.

85 London, PRO FO, 78/15, no. 31, SIR ROBERT LISTON: Letter to Lord Grenville, Istanbul, 25 December 1794.

86 BOSTAN: "Osmanlı Bahriyesinin Modernleşmesinde Yabancı Uzmanların Rolü (1785–1819)",

the construction of galleons built at the naval Arsenal and on Rhodes. They each were allotted an eighty-piaster salary in June 1796. Their salaries were increased to 100 piaster after May 1805.⁸⁷

PRUSSIAN

Prussian experts and officers were employed by the Porte in artillery and mortar corps at the end of the eighteenth century.

Mühtedi Mehmed ('Mehmed the converted'): This Prussian engineer officer, an expert on artillery and mortar,⁸⁸ was under the patronage of the Grand Vizier Halil Hamid Pasha and converted to Islam, taking the name Mehmed.

POLISH

Polish experts were seen in the Ottoman service after the second half of the eighteenth century. There is no detailed information about their areas of employment.

Fulowski: This Polish expert came to Turkey with a group of five colleagues in the summer of 1774, but there is no certain information about their workplaces or their jobs.⁸⁹

AUSTRIAN

Only two people appeared from Austria.

Andon and Antoin: Andon was a bridge builder; Antoin, a draftsman. Antoin later converted to Islam and took the name Mustafa. In October 1790 they were employed by the Porte in Silistra to make drawings and design the plans of a bridge.⁹⁰

RUSSIAN

Only one Russian can be found in our study. His name is mentioned in a report by Robert Liston (1742–1836), the British Ambassador in Istanbul, to his Foreign Secretary, dated 25 December 1794.

p. 185–186. Yakomi was counted as a Frenchman by Gencer, cf. GENÇER: *Bahriye'de Yapılan Islâhât Hareketleri*, p. 52.

87 BOSTAN: "Osmanlı Bahriyesinin Modernleşmesinde Yabancı Uzmanların Rolü (1785–1819)", p. 185. Shaw cites Yozop as a Venetian architect. Cf. SHAW: "Selim III and the Ottoman Navy", p. 223.

88 KAÇAR: "Mühendishanelerin Kuruluşu", p. 89.

89 Ibidem, p. 81.

90 ZORLU: *Innovation and Empire in Turkey*, p. 97.

Mahmud Bey: Captured after a war in his infancy, he converted to Islam and was called Mahmud Bey. Under the patronage of Grand Vizir Koca Yusuf Pasha (1730–1800) he was assigned to a newly formed infantry troop.⁹¹

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TWO TURKISH-LANGUAGE PLAYS
WRITTEN BY EUROPEANS AT THE
ACADEMY OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES IN VIENNA
PRINTED IN 1761 AND 1810*

ÇETİN SARIKARTAL (ISTANBUL)

In this study I will focus on two plays. The first is *Godefroi de Bouillon*¹, a tragedy in three acts written in Ottoman Turkish and French by an unknown author – although here I will offer a proposition about its authorship. The play was performed in Vienna on 18 December 1757 and 28 January 1758 and printed there in 1761. The second is *Hikayet-i İbda-i Yeniçeriyân Ba Bereket-i Pir-i Bektaşiyân Şeyh Hacı Bektaş Veli-i Musliman* (‘Story of the foundation of the Janissaries with blessings of Sheikh Hadji Bektash, the Sage of the Bektashis, the Parent of Moslems’). This three-act play was written by Thomas Chabert (1766–1841) in Ottoman Turkish with a summary in French and printed in Vienna in 1810.²

GODEFROI DE BOUILLON

Godefroi de Bouillon is about the deeds of the Christian hero Godefroi (Godfrey, c.1060–1100) right after his conquest of Jerusalem during the first crusade (1095–1099). The play is based on Torquato Tasso’s (1544–1595) epic poem *Gerusalemme liberata* (‘Jerusalem delivered’, 1580) from the sixteenth century,³ which it also referred to in its preface.⁴ The author made a short description of the action of the play in that preface, giving some information about its scope and objectives.

The plot concerns the legend that Godefroi, despite his great victory against the Muslim Turks, modestly and virtuously refused the title King of Jerusalem, believing that position still belonged to Christ himself.

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1 [ANONYMOUS]: *Godefroi de Bouillon*. Vienna: Schilgin, [1761].

2 THOMAS CHABERT: *Hikayet-i ibda-ı yeniçeriyân ba bereket-i pir-i bektâşiyân Şeyh Hacı Bektaş Veli-i müsliman: 3 perde dram*, ed. NİYAZI AKI. Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi, 1969 (orig. 1810). – I am grateful to Zeynep Çamak, Şehsuvar Aktaş and Ayça Kırız for their kind help with translations from the original texts in French and Ottoman Turkish.

3 METİN AND: *Şair Evlenmesi’nden Önceki İlk Türkçe Oyunlar*. İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka Kitabevi, 1983, p. 12.

4 [ANONYMOUS]: *Godefroi de Bouillon*, p. 6.

In the play's prologue a song is performed in Turkish, which describes the present and future conditions of Jerusalem, captured by the Christians.

At the opening of the first act, Commander Ormond, lusting for power and jealous of Godefroi, incites the Turks to kill him during the consecration ceremony, and advises Godefroi to go to the holy temple to make the ceremony immediately. Pierre the hermit, who has searched long and in vain for the sacred cross hidden by the Turks, believes it to be buried in the holy temple, and he directs Godefroi there – spoiling Ormond's deadly plan, as Godefroi would not be alone in the temple. Ormond seeks the complicity of Commander Renault, who refuses him and instead saves Godefroi from Ormond's trap.

Interludes follow the first and the second acts of the play. In the first interlude, the secular customs, rites and traditions of the Turks are represented, with visiting, eating, audience and assembly described in detailed action.

In the second act Godefroi is appreciative to Renault for having saved him from the trap of the Turks. He also forgives Ormond, who continues to plot against him. Godefroi tries to learn the secret of the holy cross from the Turks but is unsuccessful. The Egyptian ambassador is given an audience and he relates the demand that Jerusalem be resubmitted to Muslim rule. He adds that the Egyptian ruler is waiting on the command of all his forces just outside the city. The demand is refused and the threat is laughed away. The army is prepared for war.

The second interlude represents the religious ceremonies and traditions of the Turks: ablution, prayer, to tell beads, whirling of dervishes, how they lose themselves in ecstasy and how their sheikh guides them to recover. This last ceremony is performed in detail: the Koran is recited from the pulpit and a sermon is preached. The dervishes first perform the state of Muslims enchanted by the spirit of Muhammad. In that ecstasy they spin themselves thousands of times (*semah*) and then fall down exhausted. The sheikh prays, and his breath makes the dervishes recover. They restart to *semah*, fall down again. The procedure is repeated. At the last turn, dervishes stop whirling; they come together and lean on each other; and then they go home in deep reverence for God.

The third act is set during the war, when the Turks revolt, break down the doors of the jail and save Sultan Alaeddin, the former Turkish ruler of the city. Alaeddin agitates the Turks to go to the extreme and revolt with all their might. Ormond returns victoriously from the battlefield, saying that, besides the Arabs, he has also killed Godefroi with his own hands. But Godefroi pops up and reveals that he has saved himself by disguise. Pierre the hermit invites Godefroi to the coronation and consecration ceremony. Instead, Godefroi renounces all his rights and refuses the crown; he also forgives all the rebels. His great benevolence and forgiveness causes the Turks to express their repentance, and Alaeddin says that he is almost ready to follow that faith which has such a great power over souls. Pierre

the hermit, fascinated by this extraordinary situation, starts to make predictions about a brilliant and glorious future.

Before presenting my comments and proposition on the authorship and content and style of the play, I would like to give some details of the historical and cultural context in which it was produced.

Empress Maria Theresa (b.1717, r.1740–1780) decided to establish three important institutions according to the general reform in Austria's education system, which she had started: 1. Theresianische Akademie in 1746, to educate new statesmen; 2. Theresianische Militärakademie in 1751; and 3. Orientalische Akademie in 1754, to educate diplomats. Chancelier Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz (1711–1794), who served as the grand Ambassador of Paris from 1750 to 1753, must have closely examined the French education system and been influenced by it. Most probably taking the example of L'École des jeunes de langues de Louis-le-Grand, he recommended to the Empress a centralization policy in education and the establishment of an academy of oriental languages. He stated that the Institute Dil Oğlanları Mektebi ('The children of language') in Istanbul, which was connected to the nunciature, should be closed and a new school opened in Vienna under the control of the palace. He argued that the Istanbul school was not well organized and the students were extremely integrated with the Orient and became somehow alienated from their country. A letter from Maria Theresa, dated 20 April 1753, called back the students of language at the school in Istanbul. Eight were to be chosen to enroll in the new academy. That September the Empress officially approved of the project, and the task was given to Jesuit Father Josef Franz (1703–1776). He had won her trust with his vast knowledge and expertise in divergent fields, and through his service as tutor to the future King Joseph II (b.1741, r.1780–1790). Fluent and well-versed in the Turkish language, Josef Franz had also served as the secretary of Count Anton Ulfeldt (1699–1769), the nuncio in Istanbul for some time. On 1 January 1754 the school was opened under Franz's directorship, accompanied by two assistants. The first curriculum focused on language education. Along with Turkish as well as Arabic and Persian to support the Turkish, German, French and Italian languages were also taught as part of a general education in universal culture, theology, Latin, history, geography and calligraphy. As part of language education, the students would perform theatre plays in Turkish, French and Italian as well as German.⁵

The play *Godefroi de Bouillon* must have been written between the academy's opening in 1754 and 1757, considering that it was first performed at the end of that year in the presence of the Empress with all her entourage, as an exhibition of the

5 Cf. MARIE DE TESTA and ANTOINE GAUTIER: *Drogmans et diplomates européens auprès de la Porte Ottomane*. Istanbul: Isis, 2003, pp. 53–56. – KERSTIN TOMENENDAL: *Das türkische Gesicht Wiens: Auf den Spuren der Türken in Wien*. Vienna: Böhlau, 2000, pp. 63–66.

first achievements by the academy's students after three years of education. In the play, Christian characters speak in French and Muslim characters speak in Turkish. The author's preface explains his aim of creating an occasion for German players to speak Turkish for the first time, rather than to surprise minds with the beauty of the stage design or to charm the senses with the elegance and purity of French language.⁶

His much more modest and limited desire was to practice the Turkish language in public, in accordance with the main goal of the newly established academy, and to reveal Turkish character and customs by an accurate and harmonious imitation. To that end, something new for the theatre stage was attempted: it was supposed that the different nations represented in the play were well informed of each other's language – which has been considered possible and reasonable in that time and geography, and further confirmed by the epic poem of Tasso that inspired the writing of the play.

The play *Godefroi de Bouillon* is attributed to Josef Franz, the first director of the Academy of Oriental Languages, by François-Xavier de Feller in his *Dictionnaire historique ou biographie universelle*, printed in Paris in 1836. This source describes Father Franz as professor of experimental physics at the Academy of Vienna and the director of the Academy of Oriental Languages starting from 1754. It states that he was known as a highly esteemed personality due to his abilities, honesty and moral values. His available works are listed as *Dissertatio de Natura electri* (Vienna, 1751) and *Jeu de carte géographique* (1759).⁷ Metin And has proposed that the play might have been written by a student or a teacher at the Academy.⁸ I would assert that it is quite plausible to attribute the play to Father Franz himself – or at least to his directorship, considering that he was leading the academy together with two assistants. To make my argument more comprehensive, first I would like to make an account of the position of Josef Franz in the context of the great reform of education in Austria under the influence of Enlightenment.

It should be noted that Father Franz's education policy differed from the general scheme of the time. The practice-oriented education of the academy, lasting five years, was largely criticized for ignoring some disciplines in favour of a universal and moral education. Such an approach has been seen as possibly keeping students from a deeper understanding of the nation's characteristics, suggesting that, in their future tasks, especially in closed sessions, they might fail to evaluate certain situations from the nation's perspective.⁹

6 [ANONYMOUS]: *Godefroi de Bouillon*, p. 6.

7 FRANÇOIS XAVIER DE FELLER: *Dictionnaire historique ou biographie universelles*. Paris: E. Houdaille, 1836, p. 393.

8 AND: *Şair Evlenmesi'nden Önceki İlk Türkçe Oyunlar*, p. 11.

9 TESTA and GAUTIER: *Drogmans et diplomates européens auprès de la Porte Ottomane*, p. 58.

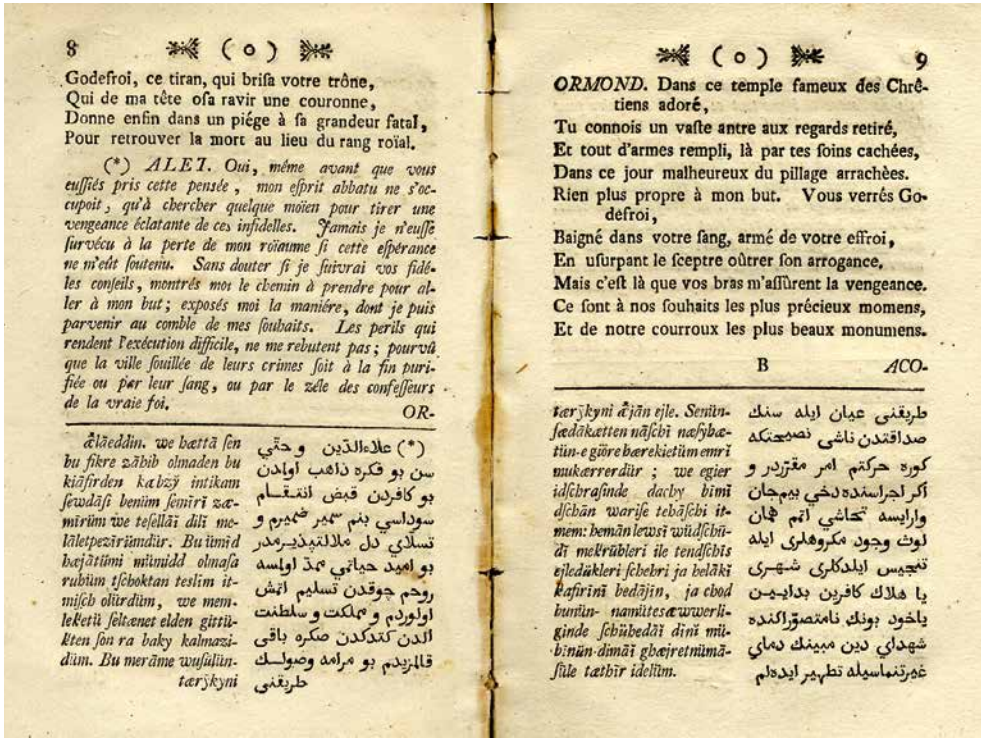


Fig. 1: [ANONYMOUS]: *Godefroi de Bouillon*. Vienna: Schilgin, [1761], pp. 8–9. Text passages in French and Ottoman. Vienna, Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Druckschriftensammlung.

One can suppose that, from the very beginning of his directorship, Father Franz was in a critical situation. Far from being something personal, this crisis was part of the general reform of religious orders and the Austrian educational system. The Gesellschaft Jesu, which had monopolized the direction of Austrian universities prior to 1749, gradually lost power until its total suppression in 1774, as far as the education system, royal confessorship and representation on the censorship commission were concerned.¹⁰ In fact Count Johann Anton Perggen (1725–1814) was appointed general supervisor of the Oriental Academy in 1769, as it was thought that the Jesuit Father Franz had mismanaged it.¹¹ The system was changed to a more disciplinary basis, requiring new courses in various subjects including positive sciences. But these alterations to the Oriental Academy should not be taken as a total elimination of the Jesuit religious influence on education. Despite the change in the academic curriculum, the next three directors of the Academy, from 1770 to

10 DEREK EDWARD DAWSON BEALES: *Enlightenment and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Europe*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2005, p. 214.

11 Ibidem, p. 213.

1849, were also Jesuit Fathers.¹² It should also be noted that members of the royal family were mostly educated by Jesuit tutors; even Emperor Joseph II, well known for his reformist policies, was educated largely by Jesuits, and he did not complain about his own education at all. Father Franz was also the old tutor of Joseph II, and when he died in 1776, the Emperor organized an expensive funeral for him, indicating Joseph's ongoing respect for his teacher.¹³

It can be plausibly argued that Father Franz must have tried to find a balance between scholastic and religious traditions and the reformist policies of the time. The play *Godefroi de Bouillon* can be considered the product of such a search to integrate religious values with Enlightenment ideals – something explicit in the tone of its preface, which is fully aware that the first fruits of the education at the Academy were being exhibited to members of the royal family, who were also the founders of the school, and to leading members of the government. Moreover, the last speech of Pierre the hermit in the finale of the play can also be read as Father Franz's own remarks as the director of the Academy:

“L'univers reproduit vient de changer de face;
Même de ces pays chassant les noirs horreurs,
Une lueur prédit tous nos futurs bonheurs.
Seigneur, accélérés notre jouissance,
Et en l'embellissant montrés votre puissance,
Ou Sion derechef établi de vous mains
Se verra gouverné par ses vrais SOUVERAINS.”¹⁴

To think about the concepts of a Christian empire and Zion in the same context might look strange for a modern audience, but Father Franz could well have dreamt of just such a synthesis.

HİKAYET-İ İBDA-İ YENİÇERİYAN BA BEREKET-İ PİR-İ BEKTAŞIYAN ŞEYH HACI BEKTAŞ VELİ-İ MUSLİMAN

The second play known to have been written by a European author at the Academy of Oriental Languages is *Hikayet-i İbda-i Yeniçeriyân Ba Bereket-i Pir-i Bektaşiyân Şeyh Hacı Bektaş Veli-i Musliman* by Thomas Chabert.¹⁵ The play was first intro-

12 Namely, Johann Nekrep (1770–1785), Franz Hoeck (1785–1832), Joseph Ottmar (1832–1849). Cf. TESTA and GAUTIER: *Drogmans et diplomates européens auprès de la Porte Ottomane*, p. 57, note 1.

13 BEALES: *Enlightenment and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, p. 220.

14 [ANONYMOUS]: *Godefroi de Bouillon*, p. 48.

15 At least two more plays were produced at the Academy: *Vakayî-i Acibe ve Havadis-i Garibe-i*

duced to Turkish academic circles in 1969 by Niyazi Akı. He published a transcription of the text in Latin alphabet, including a translation of the preface by the author and his own introduction.¹⁶ As Chabert described in his preface, the play was designed to appeal to the expectations of a Viennese audience that did not speak Turkish. Spectacle was therefore emphasized, which was also very helpful in portraying ceremonies of Muslim Turks and in representing their religious institutions, traditions, and values. Yet the primary aim of the play was “d’exercer les élèves de l’Académie J. et R. des langues orientales dans le langage épuré, rimé et fleuri de la Porte”¹⁷.

The play is based on two historical events or stories, cited by the author from well-known history books of the time. The first is a story about Sultan Murad I (b. c.1326, r.1360–1389), the third sultan of the Ottoman court. Müftü, the religious leader of the community as well as the judge at the court, observes that the Sultan does not attend the Friday public prayer, which is not convenient according to the requirements of communal religious life. One day, the Sultan goes to the court to serve as a witness in a case but Müftü refuses his testimony simply because he cannot be considered as a proper Muslim witness. The Sultan admits his fault and appreciates the decision; he promises to attend the Friday prayer together with the community from that time on. The second event is the Sultan’s establishment of the Janissary corps in 1362.¹⁸ The corps is constituted of selected Christian captives. It is told that the title Janissary (*yeniçeri* – new soldier) was given by Sheikh Hacı Bektaş Veli, the founder of the Bektaşî order; who also blessed the new corps. From that time on, all the janissaries belonged to Bektaşî order; they were trained in that ‘path’ (*tarikât*) as well as in warfare. Chabert states that those two events have been taken as the axes around which the play’s plot was constructed, because of their suitability for portraying, along with the characteristics of the Janissary corps, such scenes as the initiation ceremony of dervishes, their religious dances, performances and music, ceremonies of ablution, *ezan* (‘call for prayer’), and public

Kefşger Ahmed (‘Unusual adventures and strange news of Kefşger Ahmed’) and *Nasreddin Hoca’nın Mansıbı, Taklid Oyunu* (‘Nasreddin Hoca’s post, a play of imitation’). Metin And proposes the possibility that they were written by a Turk who had to hide his name, probably a visiting Turkish instructor at the Academy. Cf. AND: *Şair Evlenmesi’nden Önceki İlk Türkçe Oyunlar*, pp. 13–14. Further research is needed to find new plays and learn more about their authors.

16 CHABERT: *Hikayet-i ibda-ı yeniçeriyân ba bereket-i pir-i bektâşiyân Şeyh Hacı Bektaş Veli-i müsliman*.

17 Ibidem, p. 3.

18 There are divergent accounts and dates about the establishment of the Janissary corps. Some sources say it was founded during the reign of Sultan Murad I; others date it to the period 1324–1360, the rule of his predecessor Sultan Orhan. The close relationship between the Janissary corps and the Bektaşî order might be a later development. The account of Hacı Bektaş Veli’s connection with the establishment of the corps is regarded as a legend. For a detailed and comparative discussion of the topic based on divergent historical sources, cf. BEDRİ NOYAN DEDEBABA: *Bütün Yönleriyle Bektaşilik ve Alevilik*, ed. ŞAKIR KEÇELİ, vol. 2. Ankara: Ardıç Yayınları, 1999.

prayer guided by an imam. The court case also helps construct the details of the action and the development of the plot line.

There is in fact much more to say about the play, from literary and dramatic perspectives, than was so modestly described by Chabert. First of all, the maturity of the Turkish language, accompanied by a vast knowledge of Muslim traditions and a close affinity with the manners, rituals, and established patterns of gesture and addressing of the Bektâşi order – a point already emphasized in another study of this play¹⁹ – make it quite difficult to believe that the play was written by someone who was not a member of the order, let alone a Christian believer. Secondly, the skillful manner by which two parallel plotlines are interwoven around two secrets related to the young slave Abdullah creates a fine balance between the plot-driven and character-driven aspects of the play. Abdullah, who later converts to Islam and initiates in the Bektâşi sect, keeps the secret of the rebel slaves who are trying to escape from the Turks, thus helping develop the action. But by his birth, he is personally the bearer of the great secret related to Sheikh Hacı Bektaş: in the finale, it is revealed at the court that Abdullah is the long lost son of Hacı Bektaş himself. Yet he is accused of being the leader of the rebels, and Hacı Bektaş, as the fair judge of the court, still sentences him to death. Sultan Murad's attempt to testify for Abdullah's innocence and honesty is refused as described above. The secrets about Abdullah and Hacı Bektaş are actually Chabert's invention; associating them with the old court story about Sultan Murad I was a brilliant creation. Fortunately for Abdullah, a Bektâşi dervish testifies about the true chiefs of the rebellion, proving his innocence, and the play ends with a feast of celebration accompanied by prayers. The play gives the details of the situation and introduces the characters in the first act. In the second act two parallel lines of plot are developed and driven to a climax. The third act integrates the two plotlines and resolves them through a great discovery. Between the acts, as in *Godefroi de Bouillon*, religious rituals and performances of Bektâşi and Mevlevi dervishes are represented.

A closer look at some details of the author's life and surroundings might help in interpreting the success of the play. Thomas von Chabert-Ostland was born to a famous dragoman family that had settled in the Pera district of Istanbul during the 1660s. Some members of the family also served as Ottoman court physicians. In 1780, the fourteen-year-old Chabert was sent from Istanbul to Vienna, where he was educated at the Imperial Academy of Oriental Languages, together with Antoine de Testa (1768–1839) and his cousin Barthelemy de Testa (1723–1809). All were accepted to the Academy, but Antoine de Testa was later transferred to the Academie Theresienne. An expert in oriental languages, Chabert became an in-

19 GIYASETTİN AYTAŞ: “Şinasi’den önce Yazılan İlk Türkçe Piyeslerde Hacı Bektaş Veli ve Bektaşilik üzerine Bir Araştırma”, in: *Hacı Bektaş Veli Armağanı*, ed. KADRI ERDOĞAN. Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1997, pp. 185–207.

structor at the Academy in 1785. At that time Franz Hoeck (1749–1835) was the director of the Academy, teaching foundation courses in Turkish, Arabic and Persian languages. Chabert, because of the high competence in his pronunciation of Turkish and Persian, taught speaking and comprehension to senior classes; he also taught French and Italian. During his studies, he had been educated in humanism and philosophy as well as in languages and geography. He was specially praised for the excellence of his writing in oriental languages and for his high moral values. He became a close friend of Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856), author of a famous history of the Ottoman Empire,²⁰ who entered the Academy in 1789. The two made studies in Orientalism and from 1809 to 1818 they published an academic Orientalist journal, *Les mines de l'orient*, with contributions from Waclaw Seweryn Rzewuski (1784–1831) and Franz von Dombay (1758–1810), who were also educated in the Academy. When Chabert died in 1841, the title “von Ostland” was added to his surname due to his contributions to Orientalist studies. He produced important works in German, French and Italian and also translated some *tezkires* (‘biographies’) of Turkish poets such as Abdül Latifi (1491–1582) and Aşık Çelebi (1519–1571).²¹

Returning to Chabert’s play on the Janissaries and the Bektaşî Order, some words in his preface seem to indicate his urge to write a play with such literary and dramatic perfection. In giving a list of what interests him in Turkish history and culture, he placed special emphasis on the political power of the Janissaries. He said that the subject of the play included

“tout ce qui caractérise ce fameux corps des Janissaires qui, depuis sa création, a détrôné tant de souverains, et dans ces derniers temps a excité ces deux terribles révolutions dont Selim III et Mustafa IV ont été les victimes.”²²

It is therefore not so easy to assert that the political circles in Vienna might have imagined that a revolution led by the Janissaries could have ended Ottoman power; but it is possible to propose that Chabert and his Orientalist friends in the Academy

20 JOSEPH VON HAMMER: *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, größtentheils aus bisher unbenützten Handschriften und Archiven*, 10 vols. Pest: Hartleben/Vienna: Strauss’ Sel. Witwe, 1827–1935.

21 TESTA and GAUTIER: *Drogmans et diplomates européens auprès de la Porte Ottomane*, pp. 215–234. – ALEXANDER H. DE GROOT: “Dragomans’ Careers: The Change of Status in some Families Connected with the British and Dutch Embassies at Istanbul, 1785–1829”, in: *Friends and Rivals in the East: Studies in Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Levant from the Seventeenth to the Early Nineteenth Century*, ed. ALASTAIR HAMILTON, ALEXANDER H. DE GROOT and MAURITS H. DE BOOGERT. Leiden: Brill, 2000, pp. 223–246.

22 CHABERT: *Hikayet-i ibda-ı yeniçeriyân ba bereket-i pir-i bektâşiyân Şeyh Hacı Bektaş Veli-i müsliman*, preface, p. 5.

might have been somehow influenced by the Bektaşî order and found elements in it that were apparently compatible with the ideals of the Enlightenment. Considering some later developments in both Ottoman and republican-era Turkish history, it is possible to trace more connections between the Bektaşî worldview and the Enlightenment ideology.

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Two conclusions can be made from the analysis of these Turkish-language plays written by European authors at the Imperial Academy of Oriental Languages. First, despite the seeming opposition of their fables – one is about the virtues of the Christian belief, the other praises a Muslim order – there exists an ideological connection between the two plays, based on humanism and Enlightenment ideals, which shows the consistency and development in the general education strategy of the Academy. Second, it is possible to observe that, even though the education of oriental languages was transferred to Vienna mainly to prevent students from becoming too orientalized, the power of its influence is revealed in Chabert's deep absorption in Bektaşî culture.

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INTERPRETING WORDS, TRANSMITTING IDEAS: GREEK DRAGOMANS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AS TRANSLATORS OF EUROPEAN THEATRE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

JOHN PLEMMENOS (ATHENS)

This study portrays the Greek dragomans of the Ottoman Empire as translators of European theatre in the long eighteenth century, which, in the Greek context, refers to the time before the Revolution of 1821 that led to Greece's liberation, and the foundation of the modern-Greek state. This delay is also due to the late reception of Enlightenment ideas in Greece (1770–1820).¹ The post of dragoman was created in the late-seventeenth century following the development of Ottoman bureaucracy and the increase in Ottoman diplomatic relations with the European powers.² The Greeks were preferred above other nationalities of the Ottoman Empire more for their Christian Orthodox denomination (which made them suitable for intermediaries with the other Christian nations) than for their polyglot background.³ The dragoman accompanied the Reis Effendi – the Ottoman Foreign Minister in the negotiations, although he officially had to report to the Grand Vizier.

Thirty-four Greek dragomans had served between 1661 and 1822, when this post was abolished by Sultan Mahmud II (b. 1785, 1808–1839), following the outbreak of the Greek revolution.⁴ Most of them began as Dragomans of the Fleet, i.e. intermediaries between the Ottoman government and the Greek subject, especially the islanders, and then rose to the post of Grand Dragoman or great interpreter, i.e. a representative of the sultan to foreign powers. Some were eventually promoted to the post of *hospodar* or Prince of Moldavia or Wallachia, but there was often a movement back and forth between the last two posts (great interpreter and Prince of Wallachia/Moldavia).

1 Cf. ANNA TABAKI: “The Long Century of the Enlightenment and the Revival of Greek Theater”, in: *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 25 (2007), pp. 281–294.

2 Cf. GEOFF R. BERRIDGE: “Diplomatic Integration with Europe before Selim III”, in: *Ottoman Diplomacy: Conventional or Unconventional?*, ed. AHMET NURI YURDUSEV. New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2004, pp. 114–130.

3 Cf. DAMIEN JANOS: “Panaiotis Nicousios and Alexandros Mavrocordatos: The Rise of the Phanariots and the Office of Grand Dragoman in the Ottoman Administration in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century”, in: *Archivum Ottomanicum* 23 (2005–2006), pp. 177–196.

4 ΕΡΑΜΕΙΝΟΝΔΑΣ Ι. ΣΤΑΜΑΤΙΑΔΕΣ: *Βιογραφία των Ελλήνων Μεγάλων Διερχομένων του Οθωμανικού Κράτους*, ed. Κ. ΤΕΦΑΡΙΚΙΣ. Athens: Α. Κτενας, Ρ. Σουτσα, 1865.

The Greek dragomans may have been political agents and Ottoman bureaucrats, but due to their cosmopolitan profile they were often familiar with European culture and art. Some of them had studied in Italy and elsewhere in Europe, others had travelled abroad, and all of them had been in close (and constant) contact with European diplomats and officials. Their polyglot background made them receptive to important European publications of every sort, hence their involvement in translating them into Greek. Their contact with European literature included theatrical works of various genres, such as tragedy, comedy, and opera.

It is possible that some of them may have attended theatrical performances during their time in European countries as students, or diplomatic attachés. For instance, Skarlatos Karadjas (1695–1780), an ascendant of the dragomans to be discussed below, had studied medicine with the great Dutch doctor Herman Boerhaave of Leiden⁵ (1668–1738), and even served as dragoman of the Dutch embassy in Istanbul for forty-four years (1720–1764).⁶ He then became Grand Dragoman of the Sublime Porte, succeeding his son Georgios (1724–1765) who died prematurely, and was the principal mediator (on behalf of the Ottomans) in the negotiations that led to the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774) signed between the Ottoman Empire and Russia, ending the Russian–Ottoman War of 1768–1774.

Four Greek dragomans born in the second half of the eighteenth century stand out as principal translators of European theatre into Greek: Ioannis N. Karadjas (1770–1808), Ioannis G. Karadjas (1754–1844), Dimitrios Mourousis (1768–1812), and Georgios Soutsos⁷ (1760–1816). It is important to note that each dealt with a different theatrical genre, namely, tragedy, comedy, opera, and pastoral. I. N. Karadjas translated three libretti (*Demofonte*, *Ipermestra*, *L'isola disabitata*) by the Italian poet Pietro Metastasio (1698–1782); I. G. Karadjas transferred into Greek eight comedies by the great Italian playwright Carlo Goldoni (1707–1793); Dimitrios Mourousis translated *Phèdre* by Jean Racine (1639–1699); and Georgios Soutsos translated Giovanni Battista Guarini's (1538–1612) pastoral tragicomedy *Il pastor fido* (1590) and two comedies by Goldoni. It should be added that these four authors succeeded each other as Ottoman officials from 1799 to 1818.

5 Herman Boerhaave (1668–1738) was one of the greatest professors of medicine in Leiden, and is also said to have cultivated chamber music at home. Cf. FIELDING H. GARRISON: “Medical Men Who Have Loved Music”, in: *The Musical Quarterly* 7/4 (1921), pp. 527–548.

6 CHRISTOS G. PATRINELIS: “Οι Φαναριώτες πριν από το 1821”, in: *Proceedings of the Third Scientific Conference ‘Ρωμιοί στην υπηρεσία της Υψηλής Πύλης’*, ed. PASCHALIS KITROMILIDES and TRIANTAFYLLOS E. SKLAVENTES. Athens: Society of Studying the Greek Orient, 2002, pp. 15–52, here p. 20, no. 6.

7 These Greek names (Ioannis, Dimitrios, Georgios) and surnames (Karadjas, Mourousis, Soutsos) are rendered phonetically, and do not follow other forms (e.g. Caragea, Moruzi, Suṭu).

The translations of I. G. Karadjas, Mourousis and Soutsos were ultimately published in Greece and Italy (in 1838, 1828 and 1804–1805 respectively), whereas I. N. Karadjas' output remained unpublished until very recently (2014). I. G. Karadjas and Soutsos were lucky to oversee the publication (and circulation) of their translations, whereas Mourousis was long dead (by 1812), when his work came to light. Yet, all four of them were important personalities of their age, and left their imprint on the Greek diplomatic and literary scene. It should also be added that three of them (I. N. Karadjas, Mourousis and Soutsos) reached the position of Grand Dragoman, and one (I. G. Karadjas) attained a higher post, i.e. that of Prince of the Danubian Principalities.

IOANNIS NIKOLAOS KARADJAS

Ioannis Nikolaos Karadjas (1770–1808), the so-called *beyzade* (son of a *bey* or master), was appointed as Interpreter of the Fleet (1802–1806) and as Grand Dragoman (1808) of the Ottoman Empire.⁸ His father, Nikolaos Karadjas (1745–1791) had served as Grand Dragoman (1777–1782) and Prince of Wallachia (1782),⁹ and had translated Voltaire's *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations* (1776).¹⁰ I. N. Karadjas, in his capacity as Interpreter of the Fleet, was selected by the Grand Admiral Küçük Hüseyin Pasha (1757–1803), a favourite of Sultan Selim III (1761–1808, r.1789–1807), but had later been dismissed following accusations of a lenient treatment of the Greek islanders. Nevertheless, in 1808, he took up the post of great interpreter of the Sublime Porte, but remained there for only two months due to the pleurisy that caused his death.

I. N. Karadjas seems to have received a sound education, possibly with the aid of his father's secretary, Epiphanius Demetriades (1760–1821), a Greek intellectual, and the author of a Greek tragedy, entitled *Persians* (*Πέρσαι*), recalling Aeschylus' tragedy but imitating Metastasio.¹¹ Ioannis Nikolaos is also credited

8 His appointment as interpreter of the Fleet has been transferred back to 1799–1800. Cf. VASILEIOS V. SPHYROERAS: *Οι δραγουμάνοι του στόλου. Ο θεσμός και οι φορείς*. Athens: s.typ., 1965, pp. 139–143.

9 CONSTANTIN KARADJA: "Sur l'origine des Karadja", in: *Revue Historique du Sud-est Européen* 7–9 (1938), pp. 222–226. – MIHAIL D. STURDZA: *Dictionnaire historique et généalogique des grandes familles de Grèce, d'Albanie et de Constantinople*. Paris: M. D. Sturdza, 1983, p. 257.

10 ARIADNA CAMARIANO-CIORAN: "Nicola Caragea, prince de Valachie, traducteur de la langue française", in: *Athina* 73–74 (1972–1973), pp. 245–266. – CONSTANTIN TH. DIMARAS: *La Grèce au temps des Lumières*. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1969 (= *Etudes de philologie et d'histoire* 9), p. 98.

11 ALEXIS POLITES: "Η δημόσια ανάγνωση των *Περσών* σε φαναριώτικο αρχοντικό τον Οκτώβρη του 1820 και η αφήγησή της από τον Marcellus το 1859", in: *Proceedings of the Third Theatrolological Conference 'Παράδοση και Εκσυγχρονισμός στο Νεοελληνικό Θέατρο. Από τις απαρχές ως τη μεταπολεμική*

with the translation of Montesquieu's seminal work, *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence* (1734).¹² His dramatic translations include three of Metastasio's best-known libretti: *Demofoonte* (*Δημοφοώνδης*), *Ipermestra* (*Υπερμνήστρα*) and *L'isola disabitata* (*Νήσος η έρημος*).¹³ He is also been suspected as the author of an anonymous manuscript containing translations of three other Metastasian works (*Temistocle*, *Antigono*, and *Amor prigioniero*).¹⁴ In a subsequent collection of Greek folk songs (1851) by the French Hellenist Comte de Marcellus (1795–1861), a former secretary at the French Embassy in Istanbul (1815–1820), he is referred to as the translator of the final stanza of Metastasio's cantata *Amor timido* (*Ζέφυρε γλυκέ/Doux Zéphyre*).¹⁵

I. N. Karadjas was not the first to translate Metastasio's libretti into Greek, the earliest attempts dating from the mid-eighteenth century in the Venetian-occupied Ionian islands.¹⁶ In 1779, six of Metastasio's libretti translated into Greek by an anonymous author (possibly Georgios Soutsos) were printed in Venice, with a reprint in 1806.¹⁷ In 1797, another popular Metastasian libretto, *L'Olimpiade* (1733), was translated and published in Vienna by the Greek author and patriot Rigas of Velestino¹⁸ (1757–1798). From among Metastasio's libretti, *Temistocle* (1736) stands out as the most popular one in Greek, since it was translated into Greek four times (two of which were published in Vienna in 1796 and 1838 respectively).¹⁹ Greek

εποχή, ed. ANTONIS GLYTZOURIS and KONSTANTINA GEORGIADI. Heraklion: Crete University Press, 2010, pp. 383–399, here p. 397.

12 STAMATIADIS: *Βιογραφίαι*, pp. 158–160.

13 His translations, preserved in a manuscript of Zosimaia Library, Ioannina, Greece, have been recently published in: IOANNIS NIKOLAOS KARADJAS: *Ανέκδοτες θεατρικές μεταφράσεις του Μεταστασίου (τέλη 18ου/αρχές 19ου αιώνα): Δημοφοώνδης, Υπερμνήστρα, Νήσος η έρημος*, ed. WALTER PUCHNER. Athens: Kostas and Eleni Ouranis Foundation, Theatrical Library, 2014.

14 The manuscript, dated 1785, is now preserved in the Benaki Museum in Athens, and remains unpublished. Cf. DIMITRIS SPATHIS: “Άγνωστες μεταφράσεις του Μεταστασίου”, in: *Eranistes* 16 (1980), pp. 239–284.

15 Cf. MARIE-LOUIS AUGUSTE DE MARTIN DU TYRAC, COUNT OF MARCELLUS: *Chants du peuple en Grèce*, vol. 2. Paris: Jacques Lecoffte et Cie, 1851, pp. 106–107.

16 THEODOSIS PYLARINOS: “Ανέκδοτες μεταφράσεις έργων του Πέτρου Μεταστασίου από τον Ζακύνθιο Ιωάννη Καντούνη (1731–1817)”, in: *Parabasis* 8 (2008), pp. 401–432.

17 Cf. EMILE LEGRAND: *Bibliographie Hellénique ou Description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs aux dix-huitième siècle*, ed. LOUIS PETIT and HUBERT PERNOT, vol. 2. Paris: La société d'édition Les Belles Lettres, 1928, p. 316, no. 978.

18 *Τα Ολύμπια, δράμα του αββά Μεταστασίου του Ιταλού, μεταφρασθέν εις την ημετέραν διάλεκτον*. Vienna: Markos Poullos Press, 1797. This work was included in his collective volume *Ηθικός τρίπους* ('Moral tripod') which also contains two other translated works: *La Bergère des Alpes* ('The shepherdess of the alps', 1768) by JEAN-FRANÇOIS MARMONTEL (1723–1799) and *Der erste Schiffer* ('The first navigator, 1789) by SALOMON GESSNER (1730–1788).

19 GONDA VAN STEEN: *Liberating Hellenism from the Ottoman Empire: Comte de Marcellus and the Last of the Classics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, pp. 126, 132–133.

translations of Metastasio found their way into foreign accounts, such as that of the British physician James Dallaway (1763–1834), who worked as chaplain of the British Embassy in Istanbul (1793–1795). In his travelogue of Istanbul, Dallaway includes the last stanza of Metastasio’s canzonetta *La libertà* in Greek and English transliteration, given to him “by a Greek gentleman of rank, well known for his erudition and elegance”²⁰.

Demofonte, in particular, had already been translated twice into Greek: first by the Greek poet Ioannis Kantounis of Zante (1731–1817),²¹ and again in 1794 by Polyzois Labanidjiotis (c.1726–1796), a Greek intellectual based in Vienna.²² Kantounis had studied medicine in Italy but did not work as a physician; his son Nikolaos Kantounis (1768–1834) became a well-known painter. Kantounis’ language is a mix of archaic Greek with local (Heptanesian) idioms, and with a systematic avoidance of foreign words. Labanidjiotis’ translation was printed at the Greek printing-press of George Vendotis, who was active in Vienna in the second half of the eighteenth century.²³ His prosaic translation used the vernacular Greek of the time ‘for the sake of the common people’ (“προς ωφέλειαν του γένους”).

In a similar fashion, *L’isola disabitata* was translated twice, first by Ioannis Kantounis (as *Ερμόνησος*) and then (as *Η ακατοίκητος νήσος*) by an anonymous author in prose, in an unpublished anthology from the last decade of the eighteenth century.²⁴ Yet, Ioannis Nikolaos’ translations, of all three plays, have been deemed (by experts in the field) superior to previous works, in terms of their language, clarity, and elegance.²⁵ Ioannis Nikolaos himself notes that all three of his translations were made ‘in the simple Greek dialect’ (“εις την απλήν ρωμαϊκήν διάλεκτον”), adding that the third work is ‘in verse’ (“διά στίχων”, coverpage).

20 “Io lascio un’ inconstante, tu perdi in cor sincero [...] Εγώ αφήνω το λοιπόν μιαν άστατον καρδιαν κ’ εσύ χάνεις μιαν καρδιάν αθώαν και κοσμίαν [...] I, in leaving so fickle a maid, you in losing so constant a heart.” Cf. JAMES DALLAWAY: *Constantinople Ancient and Modern, with Excursions to the Shores and Islands of the Archipelago and to the Troad*. London: Cadell, 1798, pp. 404–407.

21 THEODOSIS PYLARINOS: “Ο Δημοφών του Μεταστάσιου σε μετάφραση του προσολωμικού Ιωάννη Καντούνη”, in: *Parabasis* 9 (2009), pp. 533–586.

22 *Ο Δημοφόντης. Όπερα ήτοι Δράμα του κυρίου Αββά Μεταστασίου, καισαρικού Ποιητού, μεταφρασθείσα εκ της Ιταλικής διαλέκτου εις την ημετέραν απλήν φράσιν μετά στιχουργίας*. Vienna: Georgios Vendotis Press, 1794.

23 JULIA CHATZIPANAGIOTI-SANGMEISTER: “Η πρώτη ελληνική εφημερίδα, ο Ταχυδρόμος της Βιέννης (1784) των Βεντότη και Baumeister, και η δημιουργία μιας αστικής δημοσιότητας στους Νέους Χρόνους”, in: *Kondylophoros* 8 (2009), pp. 131–148.

24 This is Ms. Eliascu, also containing a Greek translation of Metastasio’s *L’Olympiade* (rendered as *Μεγακλής*, after the protagonist). Cf. PANAGIOTIS MOULLAS: “Μεταφράσεις και πρωτότυπα κείμενα από τον 18ο αιώνα (Περιγραφή ενός κώδικα)”, in: *Eranistes* 3 (1965), pp. 215–217.

25 Cf. WALTER PUCHNER: “Ανέκδοτες θεατρικές μεταφράσεις του Μεταστασίου από τον Ιωάννη Νικολάου Καρατζά (τέλη 18ου – αρχές 19ου αιώνα): Δημοφοώνδης, Υπερμνήστρα, Νήσος η έρημος”, in: *Parabasis* 12/2 (2014), pp. 145–180, here p. 180.

Demofonte, a *dramma per musica* in three acts, was originally set to music by the Italian composer Antonio Caldara (1670–1736), and premiered at the court theatre (Hoftheater) of Vienna in 1733, to celebrate the name day of Emperor Charles VI (b.1685, r.1711–1740). The opera's libretto, first published in Vienna in 1733, is one of the most popular libretti of Metastasio, since, up to 1800, it had inspired seventy-three operas by renowned composers, among them Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714–1787; Milan 1743), Johann Adolph Hasse (1699–1783; Dresden 1748), Baldassare Galuppi (1706–1785; Madrid 1749), Davide Perez (1711–1778; Lisbon 1752) and Giovanni Paisiello (1740–1816; Venice 1775). It was also adapted by other dramatists, such as Jean-François Marmontel (1723–1799) for his tragédie lyrique *Démophon* set to music by Luigi Cherubini (1760–1842; Paris 1788).²⁶

Ipermestra, a *dramma per musica* in three acts, premiered on 8 January 1744 at the court theatre of Vienna, in a musical setting by the German composer Johann Adolph Hasse for the wedding of Archduchess Maria Anna (1718–1744), the younger sister of Metastasio's patroness Empress Maria Theresa (b.1717, r.1740–1780). It was set to music at least ten times until the end of the century all over Europe by well-known composers, such as Christoph Willibald Gluck (Venice 1744), David Perez (Lisbon 1754), Ignazio Fiorillo (1715–1787; Brunswick 1759), and Giuseppe Sarti (1729–1802; Copenhagen 1766).²⁷

L'isola disabitata, an *azione teatrale* in one act, was performed in the Burgtheater in Vienna on 23 September 1754, in a musical setting by the Austrian-Italian composer Giuseppe Bonno (1711–1788), Metastasio's contemporary and collaborator in Vienna.²⁸ Among others, it was later set to music by Joseph Haydn (1732–1809; his tenth opera and the only one based on a Metastasian libretto) and performed at the Esterházy court in Hungary on 6 December 1779.²⁹ That same year it was performed by Giovanni Paisiello (1740–1816) in Lisbon as a *cantata seria per musica*.³⁰ Metastasio's work may have inspired a libretto of the same title by Carlo Goldoni,

26 FÉLIX CLÉMENT and PIERRE LAROUSSE (eds.): *Dictionnaire lyrique ou Histoire des opéras*. Paris: Administration du Grand Dictionnaire Universel, 1869, pp. 199–200.

27 For Metastasio's reception in other parts of Europe, cf. JOSÉ-MÁXIMO LEZA and TESS KNIGHTON: "Metastasio on the Spanish Stage: Operatic Adaptations in the Public Theatres of Madrid in the 1730s", in: *Early Music* 26/4 (1998), pp. 623–631. – DANIELA DI PASQUALE: "Staging the Translation of Opera as a Medium of (Sub)version: Portuguese Appropriation of Italian Melodrama in the 18th Century", in: *Doletiana* 3 (2011), pp. 1–20.

28 RUDOLPH ANGERMÜLLER: "Bonno, Giuseppe", in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. STANLEY SADIE. London: Oxford University Press, 1992.

29 JOHN A. RICE: "L'isola disabitata", in: *Haydn, Oxford Composer Companion*, ed. DAVID WYN JONES. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 213.

30 The original libretto (accompanied with an English translation) is found in the CD production *L'isola disabitata*, A Salon Opera (1831) by Manuel del Pópulo Vicente García (1775–1832) based on a libretto by Pietro Metastasio (1698–1782). Recording of World Premiere Performance Wake Forest University 7–8 April 2005, Teresa Radomski (musical director).

set to music by Giuseppe Scarlatti (1723–1777) in 1757, and revived in 1760 and 1773 under the title *La cinese smarrita*.³¹ Metastasio considered *L'isola disabitata* one of his favourite works, calling it ‘the most beloved of my children, among all her many older or younger siblings’.³²

Although the Greek translation preserves the overall structure of Metastasio’s work, the translator has changed the original text at certain points (and for certain reasons). First, he omitted parts of the *argomento* of the plots, particularly the final paragraphs, thus increasing the feeling of suspense for his readers. He also kept out Metastasio’s references to the ancient sources, such as Hyginus (c.64BC–17AD) (the author of *Fabulae*) and Pseudo-Apollodorus (1st or 2nd century AD) (the author of *Bibliotheca*), also cited in the original *argomento*. Finally, the translator expanded the translated verses of the aria parts from eight lines (divided into two four-line stanzas) to fourteen or sixteen lines (divided into to seven- or eight-line stanzas). This is unique among Metastasio’s European translations, as can be seen from the English translation that has preserved the original stanza lines of the arias, and has rendered the recitative parts in blank verse.³³

In terms of versification, the Greek translation uses the poetic verse throughout, although it sometimes shows some degree of variation (as to the type of meter and the number of syllable). In Metastasio’s text the recitatives are composed of eleven- and seven-syllable lines with a loose rhyme scheme, while the aria parts are set apart with regular meter and clear rhyme schemes. The Greek translation of *Demofonte* follows the fifteen-syllable iambic verse, the most common type in Greek poetry, except for certain passages forming the aria parts in the opera. *Ipermestra* opens with a fifteen-syllable verse in trochaic meter and (while incorporating various forms for the aria parts) proceeds with the same number of syllables in iambic meter. It should be added that this verse shift concerns the parts of the same heros and heroines (e.g., *Ipermestra* and *Elpinice*), while the Greek text employs a consistent rhyme scheme (couplets) according to Greek rules.

What prompted I. N. Karadjas to select these particular libretti remains an open question. One possible answer is the Greek themes, drawn from the ancient mythology that had already attracted the attention of previous Greek authors and translators. Another answer might be the regal roles and setting, particularly in the first two works, two topics familiar to Ioannis Nikolaos. In *Demofonte*, for instance, the central figure is the Thracian King Demophon and the setting is his palace in Thrace, while in *Ipermestra* the heroine is the daughter of King Danaus

31 Goldoni’s work (under the pen name Polisseno Fegeio) concerns a Chinese woman and Dutch sailors.

32 BRUNO BRUNELLI: *Tutte le opere di Pietro Metastasio*, vol. 4. Milan: A. Mondadori, 1954, p. 661.

33 Cf. PIETRO METASTASIO: *Dramas and Other Poems of the Abbé Pietro Metastasio Translated from the Italian by John Hoole*, vol. 2. London: Otridge and Son, 1800, pp. 77–158, 391–416.

(one of the characters) and the setting, his palace in Argos. A less possible (though not entirely implausible) reason may have been the themes of ‘oracle’ and ‘sacrifice’ (present in the same works) alluding to the Greek cause of liberation.³⁴

The use of Metastasian libretti by contemporary aristocrats for their own purposes during his period as court poet in Vienna has been already noticed by experts in the field.³⁵ Metastasio was employed by the Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI of the Habsburgs, for whom he produced more than twenty dramas. In his libretti, the central characters are usually (Greek, Persian, or Roman) kings, such as Alessandro, Artaserse, Siroe and Tito. His libretti extol the virtues of enlightened and moral monarchs, as happens in *La clemenza di Tito*, where the Roman emperor sacrifices his thirst for power and love to the common good. In the same way, the Greek translator of *Demofonte* chose King Demophon who, despite his original reservations, consents to his son’ Timanthes’ secret marriage to Dircea.

DIMITRIOS MOUROUSIS

I. N. Karadjas was succeeded as Grand Dragoman by Dimitrios Mourousis (1768–1812), the translator of Racine’s classical tragedy *Phèdre* (Paris 1677). His father, Alexandros Mourousis (c.1750/1760–1816), had also served the Ottoman Empire as Grand Dragoman (1790–1792) and as well as Prince of Moldavia (1792–1793, 1802–1806, 1806–1807) and Wallachia (1793–1796, 1798–1801). The father was said to have had as his tutors M. Tupet, Voltaire’s secretary, Claimaron, and the Jesuit Marchant, and he spoke French, Italian, Latin, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish.³⁶ The son Dimitrios is said to have served the Sultan Selim III and secured the erection of the Great School of the Greek Patriarchate in Kuruçeşme (off the Bosphorus), where he assumed the post of director. In 1812, following the Treaty of Bucharest (by which half of Moldavia was ceded to Russia), he was accused by the French of espionage and was executed on the orders of Sultan Mahmud II (b.1785, r.1808–1839).

His translation of Racine’s *Phèdre* was published posthumously in Syros island (1828) without his name, but his authorship is unanimously confirmed by the Greek sources.³⁷ Besides, his work is considered as the earliest attempt to translate Racine

34 For instance, the oracle King Demophon receives from Apollo is that “Beneath the wrath of Heaven your land must groan [...] ’Till to himself reveal’d the offender’s known, Who guiltless now usurps a prince’s right”. METASTASIO: *Dramas*, p. 84.

35 Cf. DAVID ADAM KIRKPATRICK: *The Role of Metastasio’s Libretti in the Eighteenth Century: Opera as Propaganda*. PhD diss., The Florida State University, School of Music, 2005, pp. 21–31.

36 FLORIN MARINESCU: “Ο Αλέξανδρος Μουρούζης Βοεβόδας των Παραδουνάβιων Ηγεμονιών”, in: *Archeion Pontou* 47 (1996–1997), pp. 147–153. – IDEM: *Etude genealogique sur la famille Mourouzi*. Athens: Centre de Recherches Néohelléniques, 1987.

37 WALTER PUCHNER et al.: *Ανέκδοτες δραματικές μεταφράσεις του ελληνικού προεπαναστατικού*