

T.C.
İSTANBUL UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

MASTER OF ARTS THESIS

**(667 Sayılı KHK ile kapatılan Fatih Üniversitesi Yüksek Lisans
Tezi)**

**OTTOMAN DIPLOMACY AS REFLECTED IN ZİŞTOVİ (1791)
AND YAŞ (1792) NEGOTIATION**

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2016

**OTTOMAN DIPLOMACY AS REFLECTED IN
ZİŞTOVİ (1791) AND YAŞ (1792)
NEGOTIATIONS**

Thesis submitted to the
Institute of Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts
in
History

by
Deniz KILIÇ
June 2016



FATİH ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNE
YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZ SINAV TUTANAĞI

27/06
06.2016

Enstitünüz Tarih (Tezli – İngilizce) Anabilim Dalı 510513002 numaralı yüksek lisans öğrencisi DENİZ KILIÇ'ın hazırlayarak enstitüye teslim ettiği "Ziştovi (1791) ve Yaş (1792) Görüşmeleri Işığında Osmanlı Diplomasisi" adlı tezi, tez jüri üyeleri huzurunda 60...(altmış).....(*) dakika ile savunulmuş ve sonuçta adayın tezi hakkında,

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Jüri Üyesi : Prof. Dr. Kenan İNAN

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To my mum, dad and lovely brother



AUTHOR DECLARATIONS

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

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

i) Research Methods course during the undergraduate study

ii) Examination of several thesis guides of particular universities, both in Turkey and abroad as well as a professional book on this subject.

June 2016

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Degree Awarded and Date : June 2016

ABSTRACT

OTTOMAN DIPLOMACY AS REFLECTED IN ZİŞTOVİ (1791) AND YAŞ (1792) NEGOTIATIONS

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It is accepted that Ottoman Empire joined the modern diplomatic system with the establishment of its permanent embassy in London in 1793. Besides, the developments in the international relationships during the eighteenth century formed the background of Ottoman diplomacy. The process of Porte's adoption of the modern diplomacy started with Karlofça Treaty signed in 1699 completed via Zıştovi (1791) and Yaş (1792) treaties in the last ten years of the 18th century.

In this study, diplomatic importance of the Zıştovi and Yaş treaties will be analysed, paying particular importance to negotiations carried on before. In the introduction, the development of modern diplomacy in Europe and the relation with the Porte will be discussed. In the first chapter, Ottoman-Russian and Austrian Wars of 1787-1792 which ended with aforementioned treaties were explained briefly and then the diplomatic issues during these wars will be studied. The second chapter is devoted Zıştovi Negotiation's prominent issues which were signed between Ottoman-Austria empires, on the mediation of Prussia, Holland and Britain governments during 1790-1791 years and lasted approximately eight months, were discussed. The third chapter contains Yaş Negotiations and its important articles started after one month of Zıştovi Peace and roughly lasted four months.

The main argument of this dissertation is that the Ottoman Empire started to use modern diplomacy during war and especially peace meetings of 1787-1792 years. Although Ottoman delegates of both two negotiations could not speak common language, it is followed from the sources that they behaved like experienced diplomats and succeed in crisis they came across. Consequently, it is emerged that Ottoman Empire was ready to involve the international system.

Keywords: Zıstovi Treaty, Yaş Treaty, Ottoman Diplomacy, 1787-1792 Ottoman-Russia and Austria War



Anabilim Dalı : Tarih Anabilim Dalı
Tez Danışmanı : Yrd. Doç. Dr. Aysel YILDIZ
Tez Tarihi : Haziran, 2016

KISA ÖZET

ZİŞTOVİ (1791) VE YAŞ (1792) GÖRÜŞMELERİNİN OSMANLI DİPLOMASİSİNE YANSIMASI

Deniz KILIÇ

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun, 1793 yılında Londra'da açtığı ilk daimi elçilikle modern diplomasi sistemine katıldığı kabul edilmektedir. Bununla birlikte on sekizinci yüzyıl boyunca devletlerarası ilişkilerde ortaya çıkan olaylar Osmanlı diplomasisindeki gelişmenin arka planını oluşturmaktadır. 1699 yılında imzalanan Karlofça Antlaşmasıyla birlikte başlayan modern diplomasiye geçiş süreci yüzyılın son on yılında yapılan Zıştovi (1791) ve Yaş (1792) antlaşmalarıyla tamamlanmıştır.

Bu çalışmada Zıştovi ve Yaş antlaşmalarının müzakere süreci incelenerek Osmanlı diplomasi tarihi içerisindeki önemi tartışılmaktadır. Tez, giriş, üç bölüm ve sonuçtan meydana gelmektedir. Giriş bölümünde, Avrupa'da diplomasinin gelişimi ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun bu sisteme bakışının nasıl evrildiği anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Birinci bölümde, söz konusu antlaşmalara sebep olan 1787-1792 Osmanlı-Rusya ve Avusturya savaşları özet halinde verilmiş ve savaş sırasında meydana gelen diplomatik meseleler incelenmiştir. İkinci bölüm 1790-1791 yıllarında yaklaşık sekiz ay süren Osmanlı ve Avusturya imparatorlukları arasında Prusya, Hollanda ve İngiltere devletlerinin arabuluculuğunda gerçekleşen Zıştovi müzakerelerinde öne çıkan meseleleri tartışılmaktadır. Üçüncü bölüm, Zıştovi barışından bir ay sonra başlayan ve yaklaşık dört ay süren Yaş Görüşmeleri sürecine ve önemli maddelerine yer verilmektedir.

Yapılan bu çalışmanın ana argümanı Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun 1787-1792 yılları arasında gerçekleşen savaş ve özellikle de barış görüşmeleri esnasında modern diplomasiyi kullanmaya başlamasıdır. Her iki müzakereyi yürüten Osmanlı delegelerinin ortak dili konuşamamasına rağmen tecrübeli birer diplomat gibi hareket ettikleri, karşılaştıkları krizleri başarılı bir biçimde atlattıkları kaynaklardan takip edilmiştir. Sonuç olarak, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun uluslararası sisteme girmek için hazır olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Zıstovi Antlaşması, Yaş Antlaşması, Osmanlı Diplomasisi, 1787-1792 Osmanlı-Rus ve Avusturya Savaşı



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

There is no doubt this thesis would not have been completed without my dearest supervisor Asst. Prof. Dr. Aysel Yıldız's patient attitude and contribution. For this reason, I want to express my sincere thanks notably to her, also to my family and Prof. Mehmet İpşirli who provided full support from the very first year of my study, Prof. Kenan İnan who made valuable contributions by reading the thesis drafts and Prof. Kemal Beydilli for his advices. I am much obliged to my colleague Edip Öncü who helped the edition phase of the thesis, Mustafa Altunbay who helped for maps and Karadeniz Technical University History Department's research assistants for their never ending help and supports. Lastly, I am glad to express my gratitude to TÜBİTAK- BİDEB's financial support during my undergraduate and graduate study.

June, 2016

Deniz KILIÇ

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of Institutions and Documents

B.O.A.	Başbakanlık OsmanlıArşivi
C. AS.	Cevdet Askeriye
C. HR.	Cevdet Hariciye
HAT.	Hatt-ı hümayun

Abbreviations of Hicrî and Rumî Months and Days

M.	Muharrem
S.	Safer
RA.	Rebiyyü'l-evvel
R.	Rebiyyü'l-ahir
CA.	Cumade'l-ula
C.	Cumade'l-ahir
B.	Receb
Ş.	Şaban
N.	Ramazan
L.	Şevval
ZA.	Zi'l-kade
Z.	Zi'l-hicce

Other Abbreviations

Ibid	ibidem-in the same book or in the same articles
Vol.	Volume
Kg.	kilogram

1 INTRODUCTION

On 3 R 1205/ 10th November 1790, the Ottoman delegates arrived at Zıstovi. The war with Austria was approaching to an end and Abdullah Berri Efendi, Ibrahim Ismet Bey and Mehmed Dürri Efendi were appointed as the delegates of the Porte. One year later, the same cadre defended the interests of the Porte, this time at the peace negotiations with the Russians, in the town of Yaş (Iassi) to end the Russian-Ottoman War of 1787-1792. These two peace negotiations can be considered as Ottoman diplomatic victories against Austria and Russia since the Ottoman Empire which was not experienced in European diplomacy.

The origins of modern diplomacy date back to the establishment of permanent embassies, especially in the Renaissance Italian city-states.¹ Since the Italian city-states were weaker political entities, they needed permanent representatives in other countries. They did not have great armies to protect their territories and thus were vulnerable in case of foreign aggression. Their purpose was to ensure the constant flow of routine information on the developments in foreign states. Therefore, they positioned themselves according to the information coming from embassies.² These permanent embassies also looked after their compatriot merchants' interests in the foreign countries. For instance, Venice and Genoa's embassies in Constantinople were two of the successful embassies operating. Those two states controlled the trade on the Byzantine territories thanks to their representatives in the Empire. The Britain and

¹ M.S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy 1450-1919*, (New York: Routledge, 2013), 2-3. Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, (Boston: Dover Publications, 1988), 10.

² M.S. Anderson, *Europe in the Eighteenth Century 1713-1783*, (New York: Longman, 1989), 238. Hüner Tuncer, *Eski ve Yeni Diplomasi*, (Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık, 1995), 23. Derek McKay, H.M. Scott, *Büyük Devletlerin Yükselişi 1648-1815*, (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2011), 238. Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, (New York: Dover Publications, 1988), 55-60.

Dutch followed the Venetian model. They established embassies in the significant commercial places such as in the capitals of the Ottoman Empire, Russia, China, etc.³

Another important development in European diplomacy can be dated back to the Congress of Westphalia (1648), which ended the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648)⁴ in Europe. It was very instrumental in beginning of modern international diplomatic system in Continental Europe. The negotiation of various issues and a determination to avoid great wars were the important contributions of the conference. Nevertheless, at the end of the wars, France gained a brilliant triumph against the Habsburg.⁵ Therefore, the rise of France diplomacy began with this congress. France became a prominent power in the continental diplomacy among other European states at the time of Cardinal Richelieu (d. 1648).⁶ French also became the language of diplomacy thanks to her prominent role in European diplomacy. This lasted until the twentieth century.

In the eighteenth century, the European powers tried to train diplomats for their missions. *Academie Politique* was established as the first school of diplomacy in France in 1712 but it was closed after eight years. Britain established the Chair of Modern History in Cambridge and Oxford (1724). In 1797 the Russian Emperor Paul I opened the College of Foreign Affairs, too. Nevertheless, those schools did not become permanent.⁷ In addition foreign offices began to be established in the same period.⁸ The European governments, except the Ottoman Empire and Russia, joined the European diplomatic system after the Treaty of Westphalia (1648). Though a latecomer, Russia also joined the system almost a century before the Sublime Porte/

³ See. Henriette Rahusen-de Bruyn Kops, "Not Such an 'Unpromising Beginning': The First Dutch Trade Embassy to China, 1655-1657", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (Jul., 2002), pp. 535-578. For instance, in seventeenth century, British merchants paid the ambassador's salaries. James Mather, *Pashas Traders and Travellers in the Islamic World*, (London: Yale University Press, 2011), 135.

⁴ The wars in Europe between French, Denmark, Sweden and the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs (1618-1648). Stephan J. Lee, *Aspects of European History 1494-1789*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1984), 78-79.

⁵ Kenneth Colegrove, "Diplomatic Procedure Preliminary to the Congress of Westphalia", *The American Journal of International Law*, vol. 13, no. 3 (Jul., 1919), 482.

⁶ During the Thirty Years War, the French prime minister Cardinal-Duc de Richelieu followed the *raison d'état* policy, which mean that national interest is preferred firstly. Despite being a Catholic, he ensured France to favor the Protestant princes against the Catholic Habsburgs and France took advantage against the Habsburgs by this way. Henry Kissenger, *Diplomacy*, (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1994), 58-59.

⁷ .Derek Mckay, H.M. Scott, 248.

⁸ Such as the Foreign Office in France (1688) and Posolski Prikaz in Russia (1705). M.S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy*, 241.

Porte (*Bab-ı Âli*)⁹. Peter the Great (r. 1682- 1725) established the first permanent embassies of Russia in Europe. And then, Russia opened twenty-one permanent diplomatic missions in foreign countries between 1699 and 1721. These ambassadors were linked to *Posolski Prikaz*, the Russian Foreign Office.¹⁰ The Porte did not prefer to open permanent embassies in the foreign countries until 1793 although she was then a part of the European diplomacy but not that of the Westphalian system since the conquest of Constantinople

Many of the European states sent their permanent ambassadors to the Ottoman capital as well as important Ottoman cities such as Alexandria, Smyrna, or Aleppo.¹¹ The first permanent embassy in the new Ottoman capital, Istanbul was established by the Republic of Venice in 1454. It was followed by France in 1535; Britain opened her embassy in 1583, the Dutch in 1612, and Russia, Sweden and Poland in eighteenth century.¹² The Ottoman Empire, however, did not establish any permanent embassies in foreign countries until the end of the eighteenth century. The main cause of the Ottoman attitude originated from her sense of superiority over the non-Muslim states. In the eyes of the Ottoman Sultans their Muslim superpower was superior to all Christian worlds and she did not need to be represented in Dar-el Harb (abode of law). This attitude prevailed until the Ottomans began to suffer heavy military defeats.¹³ In this context, the Ottoman diplomatic history should be examined in three parts.¹⁴ The first part involves the years from the founding of the state to 1699. It is called *the ad-hoc period* in which the Ottomans followed unilateral diplomacy. During this phase,

⁹⁹ Expression which means that Ottoman government after the end of the eighteenth century. Mehmet İpşirli, “Bâbîâli”, *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. IV., (İstanbul: İSAM, 1991), 378.

¹⁰ M.S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy*, 239.

¹¹ Uğur Kocabaşoğlu, *Majestelerinin Konsolosları İngiliz Belgeleriyle Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’ndaki İngiliz Konsoloslukları (1580-1900)*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004), 34-35.

¹² Frédéric Hitzel, “Diplomatik Armağanlar: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Batı Avrupa Ülkeleri Arasında Modern Çağda Yapılan Kültürel Değiş-Tokuş”, *Harp ve Sulh Avrupa ve Osmanlılar*, ed. Dejanirah Couto, trans. Şirin Tekeli (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2010), 243.

¹³ A. Nuri Yurdusev, “The Ottoman Attitude toward Diplomacy”, *Ottoman Diplomacy Conventional or Unconventional?*, ed. A. Nuri Yurdusev, Chippenham and Eastbourne: Mc Millan, 2005, 6. Gül Akylmaz, “Osmanlı Hariciye Nezareti’nin Doğuşu” *XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi Ankara 4-8 Ekim 1999 Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, vol. III, (Ankara: TTK, 2002), 292-293. Thomas Naff, “Reform and the Conduct of Ottoman Diplomacy in the Reign of Selim III, 1789-1807”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 83, no. 3 (Aug.- Sep., 1963), 295.

¹⁴ Hurewitz divided Ottoman diplomatic history into the four phrases; unilateralism from 1453 to 1699, compelled negotiate from 1699 to 1793, reciprocal diplomacy from 1793 to 1821 and integration after 1821. J. C. Hurewitz, “The Europeanization of Ottoman Diplomacy: The Conversation from Unilateralism to Reciprocity in the nineteenth century”, *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten*, XXV, no.99, 460-461.

the Ottoman Empire accepted the establishment of permanent embassies in its domains but did not establish embassies in the foreign countries.¹⁵ The second period is between the years 1699 and 1793. Throughout eighteenth century, the Porte, due to the increasing and complicated problems with foreign powers, tried to adapt itself to international diplomacy by entering into alliance systems, especially toward the end of the eighteenth century. The turning point in this regard corresponded to the reign of Selim III (r. 1789-1807). During his reign, the Porte opened her first embassy in London (1793). The third phrase of the Ottoman diplomatic history started in 1793 and the Porte got integrated into modern diplomatic system step by step during course of the nineteenth century.¹⁶

The Ottomanists try to find an answer the question of why the Ottomans joined the modern European diplomatic system relatively late. They generally attributed this delay to the official Islamic policy against the non- Muslims. A. Nuri Yurdusev argued that according to the Islamic view of the world, the world territories are divided into two categories as *Dâr al-harb* (abode of law) and *Dâr al-sulh* (abode of peace). *Dâr al-sulh* is a territory which is occupied by a Muslim commander. The Ottoman territories, vassal principalities and tribute paying territories were considered as *Dâr al-sulh*. *Dâr al-harb* is the name given to the territories under non-Muslim rule. These lands are legitimate targets for Muslim attacks. According to the Muslim Law permanent peace is not possible for more than ten years between the two.¹⁷ According to the thesis of Paul Wittek, the Ottoman Empire was a *ghazi* state and they fought against *Dâr al-harb* for jihad.¹⁸ Thus, the Ottoman Empire fought to conquer the *Dâr al-harb*. The main motivation for the Ottoman soldiers was this religious spirit which promised booty for them. Therefore, the Ottoman Empire did not need to stay in peace with Europe or other non-Muslim countries and they did not use any diplomatic tools.

¹⁵ See, Bülent Arı, "Early Ottoman Diplomacy: Ad Hoc Period" *Ottoman Diplomacy Conventional or Unconventional?*, ed. A. Nuri Yurdusev, (Chippenham and Eastbourne: Mc Millan, 2005).

¹⁶ See, Ömer Kürkçüoğlu, "The Adoption and Use of Permanent Diplomacy" *Ottoman Diplomacy Conventional or Unconventional?*, ed. A. Nuri Yurdusev, (Chippenham and Eastbourne: Mc Millan, 2005).

¹⁷ A. Nuri Yurdusev, 6. Halil İncalçık, *Kuruluş ve İmparatorluk Sürecinde Osmanlı Devlet, Kanun Diploması*, (İstanbul: Timaş, 2015), 190. This attitude was changed after the Treaty of Zıttoruk (1606). The Porte signed Karlofça Treaty for twenty five years, Pasarofça Treaty (1718) for twenty four years and Belgrad Treaty (1739) for twenty seven years. Güneş Işıksel, "II. Selim'den III. Selim'e Osmanlı Diplomasisi: Birkaç Saptama" *Selim III and His Era from Anicén Régime to New Order*, ed. Seyfi Kenan, (İstanbul: İSAM Yayınları, 2010), 325.

¹⁸ Paul Wittek quoted by A. Nuri Yurdusev, 14.

The Ottoman Empire practiced unilateral diplomacy approximately for four centuries. The rationale behind the Ottoman unilateral diplomacy was; the Islamic attitude against the non-Muslim states, which was summarized above and the Ottoman sense of superiority over the other states. Because of this understanding the Ottoman envoys sent to Europe stayed in the host countries for a limited period of time. The envoys were sent abroad for certain reasons, the most important of which was peace negotiations. These envoys were not career diplomats. They were generally appointed among the military staff¹⁹ until the Treaty of *Karlofça* (Karlowitz) (1699). This staffs, who were usually chosen among the army commanders or governors, conducted peace negotiations up. Until then the Ottomans thought that they were still superior, so they believed they did not need professional diplomats who had to gain the upper hand in the negotiations or ambassadors in abroad to protect the interests of the state.²⁰ Actually, the eighteenth century became the transition period in the Ottoman diplomatic history. The Porte sent a reisülküttab, Rami Mehmed Pasha (d.1708) to the Congress of *Karlofça* (1698-1699) for the first time, a career bureaucrat in Ottoman history.²¹ This arose from the need of the Porte for diplomats and specialists in foreign affairs instead of a military officer for such a mission. In addition, the Ottoman delegates succeeded to save some of the Empire's European territories, despite great losses.²² In 1774, the Porte again preferred another reisülküttab, Ahmed Resmi Efendi (d.1783) for the peace negotiations.²³ In short, it was established as a tradition in the 18th century. In addition to the reisülküttabs, *amedî* (receiver)²⁴ scribes, or other bureaucrats from different departments of Porte was sent as peacemakers in this century. But still these bureaucrats were not trained for diplomatic missions. The Ottoman delegation at Zıstovi and Yaş negotiations came from different departments

¹⁹ For instance, Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi was a janissary in origin was sent to Paris as Ottoman envoy. Namık Sinan Turan, *İmparatorluk ve Diplomasi Osmanlı Diplomasisinin İzinde*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2014), 256.

²⁰ Namık Sinan Turan, 195. Except the peacemaker, Ottoman Empire was sending envoys to abroad for short missions like consolidation of peace after treaties. However, these envoys had worked in different departments of empire, such as treasurers, finance officer, etc.. Aysel Yıldız, "One man's campaign: Şehdî Osman's diplomatic mission to Russia" G. Barth-Scalmani – H. Rudolph – C. Steppan (eds.): *Politische Kommunikation zwischen Imperien. Der diplomatische Aktionsraum Südost- und Osteuropa* [Innsbrucker Historische Studien (29)] (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 155–178.

²¹ See more Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, "Ottoman Diplomacy at Karlowitz", *The Journal of American Oriental Society*, vol. LXXXVII, (1967), 498-512.

²² Ibid, 509-510.

²³ See, Virginia Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700-1783*, (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

²⁴ The receiver general of provincial correspondence addressed to the grandvizier.

of Porte, they were not career diplomats. On the other hand, the other parties of the negotiations chose their delegations usually among diplomats, especially those who knew the Ottomans well.²⁵

The first step of Ottoman orientation to modern European diplomacy was to make alliances with foreign powers against common enemies. In general, the Porte followed the international diplomacy rules and made alliances with different countries depending on the historical conjuncture. One of the most known examples was the Franco- Ottoman alliance (1536). Suleyman I (r. 1520-1566) helped the king of France, Francois I (r. 1515-1547).²⁶ One example in the eighteenth century was Sweden. The Ottoman Empire was engaged with Sweden as an unusual ally. The remarkable relations began with defection of Charles XII (r. 1697-1718), the king of Sweden to the Ottoman Empire. He was defeated by Russia in the Battle of Poltova (1709). After that, the Ottoman Empire and Sweden developed relations thanks to the works of the Swedish ambassadors in Istanbul.²⁷ Sweden provided first contacts with the Ottoman Empire and Prussia was another ally in the eighteenth century.²⁸ The Porte began to look for support against common enemies at the end of the eighteenth century. The Porte made secured alliances with Sweden in 1789 and Prussia in 1790 to put Austria and Russia off the track during its war against them (1789-1792).²⁹ These examples demonstrate that the Ottoman role in Europe was changing from the stronger state who helps to the weaker state who is helped.

The domestic and international developments of the late eighteenth century encouraged the Porte to make alliance with Sweden and Prussia in the Russo-Ottoman War in 1787-1792, which will be one of the topics of this dissertation. Between 1787 and 1792, most of the Balkan territories of the Ottoman Empire were under Russian and Austrian occupation (Wallachia, Moldova and the significant fortresses such as Ismail). Consequently, the Porte began to use diplomacy tools during these years by first allying with Sweden (1789). It was a good strategy on the part of the Porte since

²⁵ Such as Britain delegate Robert Murray Keith was staying in Istanbul as the ambassador of Britain or Austrian delegate Herbert Rathkeal was the ambassador of Austria in Istanbul before and after the war.

²⁶ Christine Isom- Verhaaren, *Allies with the Infidel: The Ottoman and French Alliance in the Sixteenth Century*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 40.

²⁷ Kemal Beydilli, "İsveç, Tarih" *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. XXIII, (İstanbul: İSAM, 2001), 409.

²⁸ Kemal Beydilli, *Büyük Friederich ve Osmanlılar XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı- Prusya Münasebetleri*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayını, 1985), 5.

²⁹ See. Kemal Beydilli, *1790 Osmanlı Prusya İttifakı (Meydana gelişi-Tahlili-Tatbiki)*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayını, 1984).

making an alliance with Sweden could weaken the Russian army by opening another frontier and blocking the Russian Baltic navy's passage from the Baltic Sea to the Mediterranean Sea. However, the alliance did not last long and Sweden made peace with Russia in 1790.³⁰ Around the same time, a new alliance with Prussia began to be discussed in the Ottoman capital which was to be concluded in 1790. The Zıstovi Treaty (1791) between the Ottoman and Austrian empires became the result of this alliance.³¹

Warfare and the Ottoman Diplomacy

During the course of eighteenth century, the Ottoman and Russian governments engaged in frequent warfare. It was difficult for both empires but it was the Ottoman Empire that suffered from territorial losses and defeats. Russia tried to expand its territories at the expense of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, those four wars were the product of expansion policy of Russian Empire. Russia tried to reach Black Sea with those wars. The defeats, territorial losses as well as the complicated international relations in the eighteenth century compelled the Ottoman Empire to attach more significance to diplomatic relations. Zıstovi and Yaş negotiations were chosen as the topic of this dissertation because these wars were the last examples of eighteenth century wars.

The Porte acknowledged the significance and the necessity of conducting modern diplomacy at the end of the Ottoman- Russo and Austrian War (1787-1792). During the nineteenth century, the Porte tried to specialize in diplomacy as a new policy option. The negotiations at Zıstovi and Yaş proved that Ottoman Empire was ready to join the European diplomatic system. Hence, one year after peace, Selim III established the first Ottoman permanent embassy, and Yusuf Agah Efendi was sent to London in 1793.³² In the following years Ottoman permanent embassies were established in Paris, Vienna and other European capitals. Also, the experiences gained at the peace negotiations demonstrated the need for career diplomats. From then on,

³⁰ Uğur Kurtaran, *Osmanlı Diplomasi Tarihinden Bir Kesit Osmanlı Avusturya Diplomatik İlişkileri 1526-1791*, (Kahramanmaraş: UKDE, 2009), 188. İsmail Soysal, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Çağdaş Diplomasiyi Benimsemesi Süreci", *Türk Tarih Kongresi 4-8 Ekim Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, vol. III, (Ankara: TTK, 2002), 313.

³¹ Beydilli, *1790 Osmanlı Prusya İttifakı*, 57-60.

³² More. Mehmet Alaaddin Yalçınkaya, *The First Permenant Embassy in Europe, The Embassy of Yusuf Agâh Efendi to London (1793-1797)*, (İstanbul: Isis Press, 2010).

the Porte focused on training diplomatic staff for peace negotiations.³³ One of the most known examples was Mehmed Said Galib Efendi who was a clerk present in these meeting. He became the next plenipotentiary in the Treaty of Paris (1802) and Treaty of Bucharest (1812). He became reisülküttab (minister of foreign office) twice in 1806 and 1808, and served as the Grand Vizier between 1823 and 1824.³⁴

The Ottoman Empire declared war against Russia on August 1787. With the involvement of Austria in the war in January 1788, the Porte was compelled to fight on two frontiers. The Ottomans were unable to stop the Austrian and Russian advances especially after 1789. Therefore, the Porte tried to make peace with Austria in 1790, with the mediation of its Prussian ally and an armistice was signed in Yergöğü on 17 September 1790, which would last for nine months. With the end of the armistice period, the Ottoman and Austrian delegates met in the town of Zıştovi in December 1790. This time Prussia, Britain and the Dutch Republic were the mediators. After some discussion on the borders, prisoners of war and other topics the parties concluded the peace treaty. Soon afterwards, the Ottoman Empire had to go to the peace table with Russia due to the lost territories and lack of new allies. The negotiations at Yaş took a short time comparing to Zıştovi and the treaty was peace signed in January 1792.

These two negotiations were significant in the Ottoman diplomatic history because for the first time in, the principle of *status quo ante bellum* became the basis of the peace treaties in Ottoman diplomatic history. Moreover, the Ottomans conducted diplomatic maneuvers before and during the negotiations, such as making allies against enemies and following a policy of balance of power. Therefore, the main purpose of this dissertation is to illuminate the importance of the peace negotiations at Zıştovi and Yaş within the context of Ottoman diplomatic history. This work also underlines the importance of peace of negotiations because these negotiations took place at a time when the Ottoman Empire was fully adapting to modern European diplomacy. After these negotiations and the peace treaties, Selim III begins to recognize the importance of the modern diplomacy. As said earlier, he began to

³³ For the evolution of Ottoman bureaucracy; Carter V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, (Princeton University Press: New Jersey, 1980).

³⁴ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, “Âmedi Galib Efendi’nin Murahhashı ve Paris’ten Gönderdiği Şifreli Mektuplar”, *Belleten*, vol. I, n.2 April 1937, 357-448, 358.

establish the first permanent Ottoman embassies as a part of his modernization efforts. The attempts at modernization increased in the reign of Mahmud II who founded the Foreign Office and other institutions.

The present thesis is organized in three chapters. The Russo-Ottoman and Ottoman-Austrian War and the diplomatic attempts of the Porte will be examined in the first chapter. The course of the war and the alliance attempts with Sweden and Prussia will be focused on in order to understand the general diplomatic atmosphere before the negotiations. The negotiations of Zıstovi and Yaş will be the topics of second and third chapters. The significant subjects discussed at the meetings will be analyzed thematically in two chapters. Moreover, some other information like the diplomatic etiquette, gifts, expenses, etc., will be explained as examples of eighteenth century Ottoman negotiations with Europeans. The general purpose of the dissertation is to trace the handprints of the Ottoman diplomatic attitude in its transition to modern diplomacy.

CHAPTER 1

2 THE RUSSO-OTTOMAN AND AUSTRIAN WAR OF 1787-1792 UNDER SCRUTINY

Introduction

During the course of the eighteenth century, the Ottoman and Russian Empires engaged in frequent warfare. The first decade (1710-1711)³⁵, third decade (1735-1739)³⁶, the sixth decade (1768-1774)³⁷ and the closing years of the same century (1787-1792) witnessed intensive warfare between these two countries. It was difficult for both empires but for the most part the Ottoman Empire suffered from territorial losses and defeats. Those four wars were the product of expansion policy of the Russian Empire who tried to enlarge her territories at the expense of the Ottoman Empire. This policy also fit the policies of the Habsburg Monarchy that allied with the Russians against the Ottomans to share the spoils. Austria went to war with the Ottoman Empire three times during the 18th century (1715-1718, 1735-1739 and 1787-1792)³⁸ being an ally of Russian in the last two of them. They were also the last two

³⁵ The war of 1710-1711 is known also Prut War. In 1709, the Russian army defeated Charles XII of Sweden in Poltova. Following the defeat, Charles XII sought refuge in the Ottoman Empire; the Russian troops began to attack the Ottoman borders under the pretext of following the Swedish king in the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, Ahmed III declared war against Russia in 1710. The war ended with the Ottoman defeat in the hands of the army of Peter the Great near the Pruth River. Thus, the war ended by the Treaty of Pruth (1711).

³⁶ Russia declared war against the Ottoman Empire due to the infiltrations of the Crimean Tatars into Southern Russia in 1735. the real underlying cause was due to the Russian expansion near the Black Sea. The Austrian government joined the war as an ally of Russia. The Ottoman government was not successful against the allied forces and the war ended with the Treaty of Belgrade (1739).

³⁷ The war of 1768-1774 started because of the Cossacks attacks into the Ottoman territories. The result was in fact disastrous for the Ottoman Empire. With the Küçük Kaynarca Treaty, which ended the war, so the Ottoman Empire lost Crimea in 1774.

³⁸ After the victory of Pruth, the Ottoman Empire fought against the Republic of Venice to take the Morean Peninsula back. Morea had been lost with the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699. After the recovery

Ottoman-Austrian wars. Thus, after the war of 1715-1718, Austria acted in concert with the Russian Empire according to its policy on the Sublime Porte.

Among these 18th century wars, this study focused on The Russo-Ottoman and Ottoman-Austrian Wars of 1787-1792 in order to better understand the changes of Ottoman attitude towards her enemies. The policy change of the Ottomans can be defined as evolving from a military state to a diplomatic state. Starting in the 17th century, the Ottoman Empire began to lose her supremacy on the battlegrounds. The military inefficiency and inferiority once again showed itself during the War of 1787-1792. Although the Ottoman Empire was defeated in the battlefield, she did not lose huge territories thanks to its successful utilization of the diplomatic conjuncture. She made alliances with Prussia, gained the support of Britain and followed the European significant developments closely; namely, the French Revolution. The analysis of the diplomatic factors and events during this war can explain the shift in the Ottoman *raison d'état* in terms of European politics.

In the 18th century, Ottoman Empire began to use diplomacy due to the lack of military achievements because the Empire could not catch up with Europe in the art of warfare. The treaties of *Ziştovi* (Sistova) and *Yaş* (Iassi), which were signed after the war of 1787-1792, are good examples for understanding the Ottoman utilization of diplomacy in order to compensate her military insufficiency. While the war was at its full course, the Ottoman Empire attempted to make an alliance with Prussia for her to persuade her enemies to stop fighting. Eventually, the Ottoman Empire stopped the Austrian army thanks to the help of the Prussian alliance.

2.1 The Russo-Ottoman and Austrian War of 1787-1792

The Russo-Ottoman and Ottoman-Austrian war of 1787- 1792, which was the last confrontation of the 18th century among the three states and the last one with the Austrian Habsburgs, broke out on 14 August by the attack of the Ottoman Empire initially. Russia (September 15, 1787) responded first, and then Austria (February 19, 1788) entered the war. On the Russian side the famine of 1787 weakened Russia's

of Morea, Austria defeated the Ottoman army in the war of Petrovaradin (1717) and the Treaty of Passarowitz (1738) was signed. By this treaty, Ottoman Empire regained Morea and other territories from Venice. Yet, Banat, Southeastern Syrmia, Northern Bosnia and Oltenia were lost to Austria.

hand. On the other hand, there was a problem in the Dutch territories of Austria. In addition to these, the French Revolution occurred in 1789, and it threatened the other monarchies in Europe. Due to revolts in western Austria, financial burden of the war, the French Revolution and crown changes, the war which was initiated by the Ottomans for recapturing the Crimean peninsula ended in 1791 with the Treaty of Zıstovi and the Treaty of Yaş in 1792.

The outbreak of hostilities between Russia and the Ottoman Empire were in fact directly related to the previous war, which ended with the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774). Three main causes come to the fore from the problems inherited from the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca: secret negotiations between Russia and Austria about the partitioning the territories of the Ottoman Empire, the Greek Scheme and Russia's expansionist policies in the Caucasia. The treaty was in fact considered as a truce more than a peace treaty for the both sides.³⁹

The loss of Crimea was a great trauma for the Ottomans. Indeed, this region was the first Muslim territory lost to a Christian power, and it turned out to be one of the most hotly debated topics of hostilities and negotiations. Another related problem was the fact that the Russians considered the Crimean independence as a chance to reach the Black sea through the strategic peninsula. Last but not the least; the Crimea was a good location for the Asian trade.⁴⁰ Both Chinese and Indian goods were transmitted from there to Europe, so Russia planned to capture the Black Sea basin. Therefore, the independence of Crimea was followed by direct annexation of the region by the Treaty of Aynalıkavak (1783). Nevertheless, Europe remained silent to this annexation since both France and Britain were occupied with the American colonial war since France supported the American revolutionary groups, and the British tried to stop the French.⁴¹ On the other hand, Prussia and Austria were reluctant to antagonize the Russia.

³⁹ Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III. 1789-1807* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971), 21. Prussian statesmen Count Görtz mentioned about it in the note to Count Finckenstein. "Russia accepted the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarja as only truce not a permanent peace treaty.", Johann Wilhelm Zinkeisen, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, tran. Nilüfer Epçeli, ed. Erhan Afyoncu, v. VI, (Istanbul: Yeditepe, 2011), 351.

⁴⁰ Halil İnalçık quoted in Serhat Kuzucu, "1787-1792 Osmanlı Rus Savaşı" (Unpublished Ph.D., diss, Fırat Üniversitesi, 2012), 7.

⁴¹ During the course of the 18th century, Europe was at war for many times; the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748), the Seven Years' War (1754-1763), the War of Independence of America (1775-1783). The reasons of these wars were the struggles on the overseas colonies between Britain and France. Between Austria and Prussia the main issue was the control of Central Europe.

Consequently, the Porte remained isolated on the international arena in the period between the post-Küçük Kaynarca Treaty and outbreak of the new war in 1787. Therefore, she did not dare to react severely against the annexation of the Crimea. Therefore, the Porte had to accept the convention of Aynalıkavak in 1779 by the mediation of Count St. Priest, the French ambassador to Constantinople (1768-1785).⁴² By this convention, the Ottoman Empire recognized the independence of the Crimea and the Ottoman sultans was not going to intervene in the domestic issues of the region. The only connection was in the religious sphere. This meant that links between two communities remained only moral and religious. After that, the Sultan would recognize and entitle the new Crimean khans only as being a caliph of the whole Muslim world.

Apart from the diplomatic isolation, there does not seem to have been a common attitude among the Ottoman bureaucrats in terms of the Russian relations. Whereas factions of bureaucrats were inclined to keep peaceful relations with Russia, the others wanted to declare war against her. This conflict of opinions became more visible in a council ordered by Abdulhamid I following the annexation of the Crimea. The sultan ordered a *meşveret* (council) in order to decide between declaring war or recognizing annexation. The Grand Vizier and Reisülkütab notified ambassadors to ask whether the script would be given or not. Penah Süleyman Efendi advised that the script should be given due to the lack of military power of Ottoman Empire. The Grand Vizier mentioned that neither the army nor the preparations were ready. The other members of the Council agreed with the peace. It was obvious that the Empire was not ready for a new warfare. During the same Council, remarks were made that the army and treasury was insufficient due to the costs of the previous wars. Moreover, Penâh Süleyman Efendi agreed with Hasan Paşa; he referred to the previous Russo-Ottoman War (1768-1774) and he mentioned about the difficulties in supplying provisions.⁴³ During that war when the army was in *Şumnu*, no supplies could reach to the battlefield from *Edirne* (Adrianople), which was the nearest center to region.⁴⁴

⁴² Matthew Anderson, *Doğu Sorunu 1774-1923; Uluslar Arası İlişkiler Üzerine Bir Deneme*, trans. İdil Eser, (İstanbul: YKY, 2001), 26.

⁴³ “Henüz esbâb-ı ceng ü peykârdan olan hazîne ve asker keyfiyeti ma’lûm-ı sıgar u kibâr olub bilâ-esbâb muharebeye tasaddî muntic-i âfât olduğu bî-irtiyabdır, evvel-emirde bunu mülâhaza etmelüdür.” For the details of the Council see Ahmed Vasıf Efendi, *Mehâsinü'l-Âsâr ve Hakaikü'l-Ahbâr*, prep. Mücteba İlgürel, (Ankara: TTK, 1994), 91.

⁴⁴ Vasıf, 92.

Six months after the annexation, the Sublime Porte had to accept the situation in 1784 at the Aynalıkavak Mansion with the regulation of Treaty of Aynalıkavak, because the Empire was not ready for war with Russia at that time.⁴⁵ The European powers remained silent to the annexation because of the French-British War. On the other hand, Emperor Joseph II of Austria planned the partition of the Ottoman Empire with Russia.⁴⁶ Frederick the Great, the King of Prussia, stayed neutral although he was against the partition of the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁷ Under these conditions, it was difficult for the Porte to engage in a new war with Russia.

Russia took the right to establish consulates by the 11th article of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca. According to the article,

“[...] And in order to be consistent throughout, the Sublime Porte also allows the residence of Consuls and Vice-Consuls in every place where the Court of Russia may consider it expedient to establish them, and they shall be treated upon a perfect footing of equality with the Consuls of the other friendly Powers [...].”⁴⁸

Every now and then the Russian consuls caused problems in the empire. For instance, some Greek-Orthodox churches in the Ottoman Empire began to hoist the Russian flag.⁴⁹ This increased tension among the Ottoman subjects. For instance, some residents of Crete attacked the Russian consulate members and they could only survive by escaping to Istanbul.⁵⁰

One of the causes of the Russo-Ottoman war was the famous Greek Scheme, which was first formulated during the the time of Peter I (r. 1721-1725).⁵¹ Catherine II (r. 1762-1796) of Russia and Joseph II (r. 1780-1790) of Austria began to discuss about partitioning the Ottoman Empire since the 1780s. The scheme was more or less ready in 1782. According to the plan, Wallachia, Moldavia and Bessarabia would unite

⁴⁵ Shaw, 23-24, Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 490-494.

⁴⁶ Although, France opposed the Russian expansion, she accepted the situation because of the influence of family ties with Austria (the Austrian princess Marie Antoinette and the King of France Louis XVI were married), the Prussian king Frederick ignored the Ottoman suzerainty, and Britain had to fix her losses resting from American Independence War, so she could not help, Nicolae Jorga, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, tran. Nilüfer Epçeli, ed. Erhan Afyoncu, v. VI, (Istanbul: Yeditepe, 2005), 39-44.

⁴⁷ Beydilli, *1790 Osmanlı Prusya İttifakı*, 35.

⁴⁸ “Treaty of Peace (KüçükKaynarca), 1774”, http://www.fas.nus.edu.sg/hist/eia/documents_archive/kucuk-kaynarca.php, 30.04.2016.

⁴⁹ Zinkeisen, 390.

⁵⁰ Zinkeisen, 351.

⁵¹ Hugh Rasdale, “Evaluating the Traditions of Russian Aggression: Catherine II and the Greek Project”, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 66/1, (June, 1988), 93. Peter I conquered the Port of Azov in 1696, so after that his advisor in foreign affairs Count Ostermann developed the idea of partitioning the Ottoman Empire. During the first half of the 1780s, Catherine II and Joseph II corresponded each other about the details of the plans.

into an independent principality called ancient Dacia and Count Potemkin, who was the commander of south Russian army and a favorite of Catherine II, would become the first prince of it. The territories lying between the River Dnieper and Bug River, and Hotin (*Khotzim*) fortress would be given to Russian domination. Russia would also occupy some strategic Ottoman islands in the Eastern Mediterranean. On the other hand, the Austrian government was to take the western parts of Balkans including Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and the Dalmatian coasts that were under the control of Venice. Morea and Cyprus would be given to Venice in return. One of the most challenging articles of the plan was the revival of the Byzantine Empire. The ultimate purpose was to kick the Ottomans out of the Balkans; and the Byzantine Empire would be restored covering the regions of Constantinople, Thrace, Macedonia, Bulgaria and northern Greece.⁵² The empire would be entrusted to Prince Constantine, the grandson of Catherine II. The scheme was formulated in 1779. Prince Constantine was born on that date and he was named by Catherine II as Constantine II.⁵³ He was raised for that mission. He learnt Greek even before he learnt Russian. Also, coins were struck that identified him as Constantine the Great and Tsargrad on the Bosphorus.⁵⁴ On the other hand, Empress Catherine was so much obsessed with that idea that Prince Constantine was breastfed by Greek wet nurses from Aegean islands. Another example of her obsession occurred during her Kerson visit in 1787. She passed under the triumphal arch on which the Greek inscription read: “*The way to Byzantium*”⁵⁵

Were the Ottoman Empire and other European states aware of the Greek Scheme? Historian Hugh Rasdale mentions the secrecy of plan by quoting the correspondence of Catherine II’s secretary; “*French knows nothing formally of our great project*”.⁵⁶ There is the possibility that the scheme was kept secret but not totally. At least the details may be unknown to the Porte and the European diplomats. Lord Segûr, the French ambassador to St. Petersburg mentioned Catherine II’s plans in his reports.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the correspondences and meetings in 1780s were remarkable for the other states. Especially, the Prussian ambassador informed the Sublime Porte

⁵² Shaw, 22. Anderson, “Doğu Sorunu”, 27. Rasdale, 93.

⁵³ It referred to Costantine I who was founder of East Roman Empire. Thus the grandson of Catherine II, Costantine II would be second founder of Roman Empire

⁵⁴ Hugh Rasdale, 93.

⁵⁵ Standford, 24.

⁵⁶ Hugh Rasdale, 97.

⁵⁷ Ségur quoted by Jorga, 57.

about the developments.⁵⁸ Even if they did not know the details about plan, they sensed some threats from those correspondence and meetings. Thus, Ottoman Empire might have been alarmed about the Russian plans and threats.

The rivalry between the two empires also ensued over the Georgian territories. It might have been instrumental in the outbreak of war. The purpose of Russia was to occupy the Georgian lands after the annexation of Crimea. Local Georgian kingdoms were also collaborating with the Russian government at the expense of the Ottomans. For instance, the King of Tbilisi requested protection from Russia and some other little kingdoms followed the same way. On the other hand, the Muslim population of the region, especially the Lezgians, opposed Russian expansion in Caucasia; so they rebelled.⁵⁹ Throughout the second half of the 1780's, tension in the region increased and Lezgians requested help from the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman officials supported them financially.⁶⁰ Shortly before the outset of the war, the Georgian question came to the fore. Bulgakov, the Russian ambassador in İstanbul, complained that the Ottomans helped the Lezgians and the Georgian slaves in the Ottoman lands.⁶¹

Despite their intentions and plans on the Ottoman Empire, neither Catherine II nor Joseph II planned to fight against the Ottoman Empire in the near future. The year of 1787 was not also suitable for war because Russia had to cope with drought

⁵⁸ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 521; they met at Mogilev in 1780 as first. Their second meeting was not secret. Catherine II visited Crimea to see developments at her new territories in 1787 and Joseph II met her outside of Kherson. Stanford , 24. "...sahîhan istimâ' olunduğu üzere Nemçe İmparatoru dahi müttelik olmak takrîbi ile Kerson şehrinde [Rusya] İmparatoriçesi ile mülâkat ve maan Kırım canibine varıp ba'dehû kendi memleketine avdet eyledi." Ü. Filiz Bayram, "Enverî Târîhî: Üçüncü Cild (Metin ve Değerlendirme)", (Unpublished Ph.D., diss, Marmara University, 2014), 236.

⁵⁹ One of the most famous leader of that upheavals was İmam Mansur who had disappeared in 1785. He had fought against the Russians with Lezgians, Abkhazians and Circassians for the regain Islamic supremacy in the Caucasia. Nevertheless he had proceeded fights until 1787, he disappeared after the defeats on that time. Jorga, 51, 58. However, he had gained victories against the Russia, it had encouraged Ottoman Empire to war. Zinkeisen, 361. On the other hand, İmam Mansur was seized by Russia in the falling of Anapa (1791). A. B. Şirokorad, *Rusların Gözünden 240 yıl Kıran Kıran Osmanlı-Rus Savaşları; Kırım-Balkanlar-93 Harbi ve Sarıkamış*, trans. Ahsen Batur, (İstanbul: Selenge Yayınları, 2013), 260. After his imprisonment he was killed in 1794. Şerafettin Erel and Cafer Barlas were quoted by Serhat Kuzucu, "1787-1792 Osmanlı Rus Savaşı", 142.

⁶⁰ Anderson, *Doğu Sorunu*, 31-32. Catherine II appointed Prince Suvarov to viceroy of Caucasia in 1776. However, Muslim population of region was troubled with the situation and a group of delegates appealed to the Ottoman Empire. Abdülhamid I approved their requests and appointed Ferah Ali Pasha who was coming from empire as a Georgian slave to Soğucak region to support and save local Muslim people. Serhat Kuzucu, "1787-1792 Osmanlı Rus Savaşı", 42-43.

⁶¹ Bayram, (2014), 224-230. Reis Efendi conveyed the questions of Bulgakov to members of divan and members expressed that "those people are the subjects of Ottoman Empire, so any foreign power could not intervene the problems.". Ahmed Vasıf Efendi, 209.

and famine at home.⁶² The Habsburg Empire had similar problems in their country. Joseph II had to divert his attention to the borders of Netherlands and send troops there due to the revolt in his possessions.⁶³ He needed time to shift his armies from the western borders to the eastern borders. Therefore, his declaration of war against the Ottoman Empire was delayed for five months. Austria manifested his support to the Russian Empire on the 19 February, 1788.⁶⁴ Yet, it was interesting that Sublime Porte led the Austrian ambassador Herbert Rathkeal to leave the empire with his dragoman after the Austrian declaration of war, although Bulgakov was sent to Seven Towers for imprisonment.⁶⁵ It may demonstrate that the Ottoman Empire did not prefer war with Austria indeed, and it might be a goodwill gesture to the Austrian authorities.

Joseph II was not eager for engaging in a war with the Ottoman Empire. According to Ségur,⁶⁶ he explained his ideas about the attacks against the Ottoman Empire after his visit to Crimea; “*I demand peace... I will not let Russia to settle in Constantinople... that woman is crazy*”.⁶⁷ He was also writing to his successor Leopold about the war, noting that there is a war which has to be in progress in the all kind of famine, plague and epidemics and there is little to be gained.⁶⁸ Thus, Austria had three reasons to participate into the war against Turks. First of all, Austria was an ally of Russia and she promised her help in case of a war against the Ottomans. Secondly, it was unfavorable for Austria if Russia captured all of the Balkan Peninsula, which was bordering Austria. The Habsburgs thought that if the Ottoman Balkan territories were to be occupied, Austria should get involved in the plan. For Austria, therefore a war against the Ottomans was an opportunity to expand towards Ottoman Bosnia and Serbia. Another concern of Austria was related to its foreign policy against Prussia. Throughout the eighteenth century Austria tried to isolate Prussia from the international arena.⁶⁹ Austria and Prussia had conflicts since middle of the eighteenth

⁶² Shaw, 26.

⁶³ Karl A. Roeder Jr., “Kaunitz, Joseph II and the Turkish War”, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 54, 4, (October, 1976), 544.

⁶⁴ Shaw, 27.

⁶⁵ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 523.

⁶⁶ Ségur was France Ambassador in St. Petersburg between 1784-1789.

⁶⁷ Ségur quoted by Jorga, 59.

⁶⁸ A. Von Arneth as cited by Anderson, *Doğu Sorunu*, 32.

⁶⁹ Karl A. Roeder Jr., (1976), 538-539.

century.⁷⁰ For this reason, Austria tried to make use of an opportunity in all areas, and it was a great chance to gain Russia against the Prussians.

The Ottoman Empire declared war against Russia but the Ottoman army was not ready for an extensive war in 1787. According to the letter of von Diez Prussian ambassador in Istanbul to Berlin, the Ottoman army lagged behind in the European technics of war.⁷¹ Also, some of the Ottoman officials were of the same mind about the deficiencies of the Ottoman army. In addition to this, the Ottoman treasure lacked the resources for new warfare. The urgency of the fiscal needs was clearly obvious during the war. The loan appeals of the Ottoman Empire from Holland and Morocco were rejected. Despite these concerns, some of the Ottoman officials led by the Grand Vizier Koca Yusuf Pasha, grand vizier of Ottoman Empire, supported the idea of war.⁷² The war preparations continued, gradually until 1783. In the years leading to the declaration of the war, the Sublime Porte was making war plans against the Russians due to the Crimean problem. It did not become possible for that moment but some measures were taken. Shortly before the declaration of war, the fortress of Özi (Ochakov) was fortified by the French expert André Lafitte Clavé, and also the Voivoda of Wallachia, Nikolai Mavrogeni⁷³ prepared the Danubian Navy; all costs of the navy were paid from Mavrogeni's personal coffers.⁷⁴

Halil Hamid Pasha⁷⁵ (grand vizier; 1782-1785) was storing supplies to the fortresses near the Russian borders. He took precautions for the possibility of war with Russia because the Crimean crisis was still hot.⁷⁶ However, these preparations were not enough for the actual war. The Ottoman Empire needed financial sources for a fullscale war. During the war, the Ottoman soldiers caused problems because of the

⁷⁰ Austria and Prussia had a conflict until the middle of the century because of the wars of succession (1740- 1748) and Seven Years War (1756-1763) for the domains on the German territories. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 351-363.

⁷¹ Zinkeisen, 338.

⁷² Stanford Shaw, 25.

⁷³ Phanariote notable, Hospadar of Wallachia (1786-1790).

⁷⁴ Jorga, 62.

⁷⁵ Ottoman grand vizier in the year between 1782 and 1785.

⁷⁶ “Me'mûr olduğum günden beru kat'â boş durmadım, leyl ü nehâr sarf-ı mâ-hasal-ı iktidar ederek cümlelizin ma'lûmu olan mertebe tedârükât tehyi'e edebildim, hâlâ seraskerler olan mahallere ve sâir ol etrafa sefer olur mülâhazasıyla Ordu-yı hümâyûn mürûr edecek yerlere vâfir zehair cem' olundu.” Ahmed Vasıf Efendi, 93.

financial issues. For instance in 1788, the janissaries rebelled against the commanders because of the lack of some equipment, ammunition or salaries.⁷⁷

2.2 Beginning of Austrian and Russo- Ottoman War and Diplomatic Activities

2.2.1 First stage of war

During the course of 18th century, Russia became the senior enemy of the Ottoman Empire alongwith the Holly League against Ottoman Empire which is resulted with Karlofça (Karlowitz) Treaty. The last war of the century was made against the same enemy between 1787 and 1792. In 1787, Catherine II went on an excursion of Crimea, to see her new territories and Joseph II of Austria accompanied her on trip. The news of Catherine II's excursion reached the *Bab-ı Ali* (Sublime Porte) through the reports of the foreign ambassadors residing in Istanbul. Bulgakov Russian ambassador to Istanbul also went to Kherson to join the retinue. However, Bab-i Ali did not enjoy the excursion and after his return, Süleyman Feyzi Efendi, reisülküttab, asked him to report new proposals.⁷⁸ He underlined the Russian determination to continue good relations with the Ottomans, the sources of the problems in *Özi* (Ochakov)⁷⁹, the border attacks and plunders in *Özi*, the disorder around Kuban, the taxation of vine, scale, tobacco and other goods for Russian merchants, the demands about the appointments of hospodars of Walachia and Moldova. In addition to these, he requested the issues about the Russian merchants ships sailing from Istanbul to *Karadeniz* (Black Sea)⁸⁰, the issue about a Russian ship which was claimed to be

⁷⁷ In 1788, ammunition was late for fifty days and because of that reasons soldiers rebelled against the Koca Yusuf Pasha in Sofya; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 529. On 15th February 1790, janissaries revolt against the Grand vizier Cezayirli Gazi Hasan Pasha, because of his efforts to discipline reorganize the army. He had to flee until the February of 22 when the alliance between Prussia and Ottomans was settled; Standford Shaw, 47.

⁷⁸ Ü. Filiz Bayram, 224-225; Jorga, 52.

⁷⁹ After the annexation of Crimea, the salt fields where was used by population of *Özu* (Ochakov) stayed in the lands of Russia. However, it became the problem that how to use of those fields between Ottomans and Russians. Serhat Kuzucu, "1787-1792 Osmanlı Rus Savaşı", 62-63.

⁸⁰ Ottoman Empire had banned to export some goods -wheat, tobacco, oil, etc- because Istanbul had needed those commodities. Exporting of them caused to incrise in prices of them and famine could be appear in the Ottoman Empire, so it was a problem that Russian merchant ships carried those commodities to Russia and those were blocked in the Istanbul when they were passing from Bosphorus. Serhat Kuzucu, "1787-1792 Osmanlı Rus Savaşı", 58-59.

hijacked by the Algerian pirates, the problem of establishing a consulate in Varna⁸¹, the plunders of some Turkic tribes around Tbilisi and the issue of kidnapping Georgian people as slaves.⁸² Suleyman Fevzi Efendi did not answer those issues clearly.

On 14 August 1787, the Porte made the war decision on demand of Koca Yusuf Pasha.⁸³ On 17 August, Bulgakov was summoned by Koca Yusuf Pasha to ask whether Russia would withdraw from Crimea or not. Bulgakov replied that he did not have the authority to answer and left the meeting without giving any answers about the situation. After three days, he and his two dragomans were sent to the Seven Towers⁸⁴, as customarily done to the ambassadors of hostile states, although it was declared that they were kept there not as prisoners of war but as guests.⁸⁵ For the Russians it meant the declaration of war. On the other hand, it was mentioned that Ottoman Empire was not properly ready for war. Some high ranking Ottoman officials such as Koca Yusuf Pasa supported the idea of war but there was neither a well-trained army nor an organized war plan. Although Russia did not desire an immediate war with the Ottomans, she responded to the Ottoman declaration of war on the 15th of September 1787. Russia expected Austrian entrance into war in a short time but Austria waited for another year to join the war.⁸⁶

Choice of the month of August for starting a military campaign against the Russians was not a smart idea. Traditionally, the war preparations began in spring and the armies went to the campaign before autumn. It is obvious that the campaign of 1787 was not a product of meticulous planning. Despite that situation, the Ottoman Empire entered war with Russia in August of 1787. The initial year of war was relatively quiet for both sides. No serious clashes occurred between the two empires, the year passed with an Ottoman assault to Kılburun (*Kinburn*) and a small scale naval warfare in the Black Sea. Since the Porte initiated the war to regain Crimea, they

⁸¹ Russian Empire had been demanding permission from Ottoman Empire to open consulate in Varna, but Ottoman Empire did not allow it due to the separatists activities in the Ottoman territories.

⁸² In 1785-1786, Russia tended towards Georgia and she began to protect King Erekle. However, Lezghis (a local Muslim community) had resisted against the Russian protection. Thus, they had been attacking to the Russian troops by the help of Ottoman Empire. Ali İhsan Bağış, *Britain and the Struggle for the Integrity of the Ottoman Empire; Sir Robert Ainslie's Embassy to Istanbul 1776-1794*, (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1984), 26-27.

⁸³ Shaw, 26, Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 504-505. Zinkeisen gives the date of meeting as August 13rd and meeting with Bulgakov as August 16th; Zinkeisen, 429.

⁸⁴ Before the declaration of war, ambassadors were called to informed the reasons of war. After the diplomatic not for war, they were prisoned in the Seven Towers until the end of war.

⁸⁵ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 505-506.

⁸⁶ Shaw, 27.

planned to first attack the Fortress of Kılburun, which was in the mouth of the River Dnieper, in October 1787. However, General Suvarov, the famous the Russian commander, resisted the attacks in the fortress and the Ottoman soldiers began to withdraw at the end of the day.⁸⁷ In addition to the siege of Kılburun, the Ottoman and Russian navies met each other in the Black Sea.⁸⁸ General Potemkin proposed to withdraw from Crimea in the first year of war. Yet, Catherine II refused the idea of withdrawing from both Crimea and Georgia.⁸⁹ Therefore, the year of 1787 became the prologue to the main engagements in the following year.

The following year, the Russian army did not attack the Ottoman border because she had to struggle with Sweden in the north. Nevertheless, the Ottoman and Russian sides became more active in the warfare by the joining of Austria into war.⁹⁰ By the coming of the summer, the armies were ready for the full engagement. First, Austria occupied the city of Yaş in April 1788 with the help of the Hospodar of Moldavia, Alexander Ipsilanti. Therefore, the line between the Ottoman powers and the Hotin (*Khotzim*) fortress was broken and the Austrian Commander, Marshal Coburg took the Fortress of Hotin on 19 September. This loss meant that the Ottomans lost the control of Moldavia.⁹¹

The Ottoman army under the command of Koca Yusuf Paşa reached Vidin in July 1788. On the 28 August, 1788, the battle broke out between the Austrian main corps and Ottoman army in the Strait of Mehadiye⁹², and the Austrian forces were defeated. The Fortress of Mehadiye was captured on 30 August and the Ottomans had control over southern Banat. Thus, the Ottoman army closed the passage of the Austrian army. Joseph II mobilized his army against the Ottoman forces again after the defeat at Mehadiye but Yusuf Pasha managed the war efforts effectively. The Ottomans defeated once again Austrian forces in Slatina on September 20. During the war, an interesting event occurred. Being stuck in Slatina for a few months, one night the Janissaries had a festivity in the army but the Austrian troops supposed that the

⁸⁷ Ibid, 28; Şirokorad, 212-215.

⁸⁸ The night of 4th October and 5th October. Şirokorad, 214-215.

⁸⁹ Anderson, *Doğu Sorunu*, 32; Şirokorad, 217.

⁹⁰ Virginia Aksan, *Ottoman War 1700-1870: An Empire Besieged*, (Pearson Longman: Britain, 2007), 166.

⁹¹ Shaw, 30.

⁹² Mehadiye where is on Bela river in Banat of Temesvar. Ibid, 524.

reason of festivity was new Ottoman troops coming to help the janissaries and they fled away from battlefield.⁹³

Russia gained the first victories in the Black Sea. Both the Ottoman and Russian navy were cruising in Black Sea; so they waged war for several times during the summer time. Gazi Hasan Paşa fought against Nassau Siegen and Paul Jones but these navy skirmishes did not bring any noteworthy results.⁹⁴ Yet, one of the most important attacks came in September; Özi was sieged by Count Potemkin, the general of the Crimean armies. On December 17, the Fortress of Özi fell to Russia.⁹⁵

In 1789, Ottoman Empire still carried hopes for victory despite the fall of Özi Fortress. At the beginning of that year, there were reasons to be hopeful. Mavrogeni, who was the Hospodar of Boğdan (Moldovia) attacked the Austrian troops and gained victories. He tried to take back the city of Yaş. Yet he could not complete his attacks due to the death of Abdülhamid I and the ascension of Selim III to the Ottoman throne in April.⁹⁶ Selim III's enthronement gave hope to both the subjects and the soldiers. Victories were expected from the young sultan. Yet, the Austrian and Russian troops gained victories one after another and the Ottoman army was not successful against the joint forces of Prince Coburg and Russian General Suvarov. Therefore, the Ottoman army had to fight on two different battlefronts.

Following his accession, Selim III dismissed Cezayirli Gazi Hasan Paşa and appointed him as commander in chief in Özi to take it back. Koca Yusuf, the grand vizier was dismissed in June and he was appointed as the commander in chief of Vidin to replace the new grand vizier Meyyit Hasan Pasha.⁹⁷ In the meanwhile, Kemankeş Mustafa Pasha and Mavrogeni left Fokshani to keep the two main corps of Russia and Austria apart. However, the corps of Suvarov and Coburg confronted the Ottoman army in Fokshani in July. They attacked the Ottoman army from two sides. The

⁹³ Ibid, 30;Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 533.

⁹⁴ Şirokorad, 221-224; Shaw, 29.

⁹⁵ Shaw, Zinkeisen, and Şirokorad gives the date of fall of Özi 17th of December 1788. Shaw, 29; Şirokorad, 228. However, Uzunçarşılı gives it as a January of 1789. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 542. Also it is mentioned same as Uzunçarşılı in the Enveri Tarihi. Filiz Bayram, (2014), 519.

⁹⁶ 6 April 1789. Shaw, 32.

⁹⁷ Filiz Bayram, 558-562.

Ottoman army was dispersed by the united corps of the allies at the end of the war on 1 August 1789.⁹⁸ The Ottomans began to prepare for a new encounter.

It passed to Wallachia and Moldavia after the Fokshani defeat. They reached the Rimnik River on 17 September but Russian forces came there before the Ottoman army attacked with the Austrian forces. The clash occurred once again on 21st of the same month. The battle resulted with great losses for the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman infantry began to escape from cannon fire. The battle, which was known as the Battle of Buzau (Boza) for the Ottomans, Rimnik for the Russians and Martineshti for the Austrians, was the beginning of the Ottoman retreat in the War of 1787-1792. The Ottoman Empire began to withdraw and gather the remaining soldiers because the Ottoman army was destroyed in Boza.⁹⁹ Moreover, many Ottoman soldiers were drown in the river, too.¹⁰⁰ Among them were also some high ranking officers such as, Mehmed Hayri Efendi, the reisülküttab.¹⁰¹ The remaining Ottoman soldiers returned to Ibrail, while the Russian and Austrian forces returned to Moldavia and Fokshani to spend the winter.

The news of fall of the Ottoman fortresses came one after another. First, the fortress of Belgrade, which was under siege for one month, was surrendered to the Austrian forces on 8 October. Later, General Potemkin turned towards Dniester and he took the Fortress of Akkirman on 11 October and Bender on 14 October without any serious resistance. Also, Count Coburg occupied Bucharest without resistance on 9 November when he was crossing back through the Carpathians. The Buzau defeat was one of the turning points of the war. After that defeat, the Ottoman armies could not score any victories against Austria and Russia anymore. The Ottoman armies were torn apart in those battles mostly because of the untrained peasants conscripted as soldiers.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Kuzucu, "1787-1792 Osmanlı Rus Savaşı", 130, 131; Shaw, 36. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 549-550.

⁹⁹ Shaw, 37-39; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti*, 552-554; Jorga, 82-83; Şirokorad, (2013), 234-238; Kuzucu, "1787-1792 Osmanlı Rus Savaşı", 131-132.

¹⁰⁰ Jorga and Şirokorad gives the number of Ottoman soldiers who died in the River of Buzau as 3000. Jorga, 82-83; Şirokorad, 238.

¹⁰¹ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti*, 553-554; Jorga, 83.

¹⁰² Shaw, 38-39.

2.2.2 Diplomatic relations: 1789-1790

Through the end of the eighteenth century, the Porte needed diplomatic allies due to its military weakness in wars of 1787- 1792. Between 1787 and 1791, therefore two diplomatic attempts were initiated with the European states to ease the burdens of the war: the Ottoman-Swedish alliance of 11 July 1789 and on the Ottoman-Prussian alliance of 31 January 1790.

The Russian and the Austrian governments were already beginning to show reluctance at continuing the war in 1788. In the same year, thus both asked for peace with the Porte with the mediation of the French.¹⁰³ However, the Porte's condition for peace was the restoration of the Crimea and other territories, which were occupied by Russia and Austria. Actually by 1789, important changes occurred in Europe that acted in favor of the Ottoman Empire. The major development was the French Revolution. The French Revolution broke out in the second half of the year. The revolutionary ideas began to affect the other European monarchies. Moreover, there were already discontent and upheavals against the Habsburg rule in the Netherlands. Due to the ideas of revolution consequently Russia and Austria asked to make peace with the Ottomans as soon as possible in order to figure out the results of the revolution. Another development was the death of Joseph II in February 1790. His brother Leopold II became the new king of Austrian Habsburg and he did not remain in a state of war anymore. After hearing that the Porte and the Prussia concluded an alliance, he accelerated to make peace with the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, Russia informed Prussia and Britain about her peace demands but she did not want to return to the pre-war status quo. Therefore, she rejected giving back the territories she won during the war.¹⁰⁴ Thus, these peace attempts proved unfruitful and the peace proposals were neither accepted by the European mediators, especially Prussia and Britain, nor by the Ottoman Empire.

The Grand Vizier Gazi Hasan Pasha belonged to the anti-war camp and sometime after his appointment, he attempted to make peace with Russia in *Şumnu* through the end of the year of 1788. Initially, Selim III was reluctant to make peace but Gazi Hasan Paşa sent a detailed report on the conditions of the army. The Porte

¹⁰³ Ibid, 31.

¹⁰⁴ Jorga, 90. Michael Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence 1683-1797*, (Longman:London, 2003), 387-388.

released Bulgakov and allowed him to return his country as a *bona fide* gesture.¹⁰⁵ The Russian commander, Potemkin sent an official from his retinue, Baruc to negotiate the peace. His drafts, however, were unacceptable for the Ottoman side. According to the draft, the Porte and the Swedes were to apologize. The Porte was to accept all the treaties signed since the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca. Crimea and the territories lying between Özi and River Dniester were to give Russia, an independent principality was to establish in Moldavia and Walachia. Finally, the Porte was expected to make peace with Austria but Sweden was going to be omitted from the peace with Russia.¹⁰⁶ That draft was not accepted by the Ottomans. They had negotiated with the Prussian Ambassador von Diez for a new alliance against Austria and Russia.

Throughout the eighteenth century, Ottoman Empire and Prussia tried to ally against Austria several times; namely in 1739, 1755, 1756, 1759, 1763, and 1787-1790.¹⁰⁷ Until 1763, Prussia made several alliance offers to the Ottomans in order to end her diplomatic isolation in Europe. Prussia changed her attitude towards an alliance with the Ottoman Empire after the Russian occupation of the Crimea. At that time, none of the European states supported the Ottoman Empire on the international stage. Frederic Wilhelm II was crowned as the new emperor of Prussia in 1786. The new king supported the Ottoman Empire against the Austria to end the isolation of Prussia. In 1787 the Prussian envoy in Istanbul von Diez (d. 1817) encouraged Prussia to get involved in the Middle Eastern theatre.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, during the initial stages of war, the Prussian government ordered von Diez to keep a neutral policy but soon after the outbreak of war, Prussian statesman Ewald Friedrich von Hertzberg (d. 1795) offered the his famous Hertzberg Plan to Frederic Wilhelm II. According to the plan, the Ottoman Empire would give Moldavia and Wallachia to Austria; Bessarabia, Özi and Crimea would be given to Russia; the Ottoman Empire would withdraw from Georgia and not intervene there anymore; Russia would have permanent consulates in Istanbul, Izmir and Sinop; the Danube River would be accepted as the natural border between Ottoman and Austrian empires, and the commercial treaties of Black Sea would be revised. Austria would give Galicia to Poland; Poland would give up her rights on Danzig, and Thorn was to be set as the border with Prussia.¹⁰⁹ Yet, the plan

¹⁰⁵ Jorga, 89; Beydilli, *1790 Osmanlı Prusya İttifakı*, 55.

¹⁰⁶ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 546.

¹⁰⁷ Beydilli, *1790 Osmanlı Prusya İttifakı*, 1-17.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 34.

¹⁰⁹ Zinkeisen, 469-470; Beydilli, *1790 Osmanlı Prusya İttifakı*, 35-36.

looked aloof from reality because neither Poland nor Austria could accept it. The aim of the Ottoman Empire in that war was to redeem Crimea. Diez informed Berlin about the Ottoman intentions.¹¹⁰ Hertzberg sent Karl Ludwig Bogislav von Goetze ¹¹¹to observe the conditions of Ottoman army to Ottoman camp and to help von Diez in Istanbul.

Prussia initially preferred to stay as a mediator during the war and encouraged the Ottoman Empire to make an alliance with Sweden. In 1788, Sweden was already at war with Russia. Swedish declaration of war was vital for the Ottoman Empire to block the entry of the Russian Baltic navy that was not going to be destined for the Mediterranean Sea. Thus, the Porte signed an alliance agreement with Sweden to stay in war with Russia (11 July, 1789) in Beykoz. Mehmed Raşid Efendi, the Reisülküttab, represented the Porte while John V. Heidenstan represented Sweden. According to the agreement, Sweden was to attack Russia both from land and at sea, and she would be supported financially by the Ottoman Empire by annual payment of two thousands purses¹¹² for the next ten years and the sides would sign peace with together.¹¹³

Throughout the second half of 1789, the number of diplomatic meetings between the Porte and von Diez increased because Berlin was not pleased with the performance of von Diez in concluding an alliance. Consequently, the Porte accepted Prussian mediation on the peace treaties. The treaty of alliance was signed on January the 4th of 1790. According to the treaty Prussia accepted to declare war against Russia and Austria in the autumn of 1790, if the enemy passed the Danube River. The Ottoman Empire would agree to the abandoning of Galicia to Poland for the benefit of Prussia, the Ottoman Empire would accept the commercial treaty between the two states in 1761 and guarantee protection from the Algerian pirates in Mediterranean. The Ottoman Empire would incorporate Prussia, Sweden and Poland to the peace treaty; Prussia would guarantee the Ottoman lands with Holland, Poland, Britain and Sweden, and the alliance would be approved into five months.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Zinkeisen, 470.

¹¹¹ Prussian general and military specialist was sending to help Ottoman commander by Prussia.

¹¹² It was called as *kese* included 500 *guruş* in Ottoman society but for that time included 416 *guruş*. Shaw, 37.

¹¹³ Kurtaran, 188; Shaw, 37; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 546.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 144-148.

The alliance was a diplomatic triumph for the Ottoman Empire. Soon the Porte ratified the agreement on 31 January 1790. For Berlin, however, the articles of the agreement were too compromising. Wilhelm was extremely unhappy with von Diez and he called him back to Berlin. Knobelsdorf was appointed instead of von Diez as the new ambassador to Istanbul.¹¹⁵ During the 1780s, all of the states involved in the war were suffering from domestic and external problems. The Ottoman Empire and the Russia had economic problems due to the heavy expenses of warfare. Austria had problems with her Dutch possessions and the Austrian Emperor Joseph II was seriously sick.¹¹⁶ He died on 22 February, 1790 and his brother Leopold II became the new emperor. On 26 March, he sent a letter to Frederic Wilhelm II asking him to end the war and conclude peace based on the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718).¹¹⁷ It was good news for the Prussian government, who from the beginning wanted to resolve the conflicts without resorting to war. Wilhelm II offered the Hertzberg Plan to Leopold. However, Leopold did not accept the article about the plans on Galicia. He sent Prince Coburg and his army over the Ottoman army in Yergöğü (*Giurgiu*) but the Ottoman forces resisted till the arrival of the reinforcement from Rusçuk in May.¹¹⁸ At the same time, Wilhelm II and the Prussian army were ready for war in the autumn of 1790. The main forces went to Silesia and the auxiliary forces were sent to the border of Russia and he approved to the Alliance (20 June 1790).¹¹⁹ Prussia abstained to approve the alliance until the diplomatic atmosphere got convenience for her.

Leopold, the new king of the Habsburgs was prepared to ensure the war but it was also known that he did not want to fight anymore. Nevertheless, he was not prepared to leave Galicia to Poland. According to the Polish government that “*The Turkish conquest in no way compare to the value of Galicia.*”¹²⁰ On the other hand, the Polish government consented to give Danzig and Thorn to Prussia.¹²¹ Also, Britain and Holland accepted the status quo because they did not demand any changes in Europe. Thus, Wilhelm II withdrew the Hertzberg Plan and both he and Leopold II

¹¹⁵ Shaw, 47.

¹¹⁶ Zinkeisen, 524-525 .

¹¹⁷ Karl A. Roeder Jr, 554; Zinkeisen, 528. By the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718), Banat, Lesser Walachia, North Serbia including Belgrade and Northern Bosnia were lost to the Austria. However those loses except Banat passed to under the control of Ottomans again by the Treaty of Belgrade (1739).

¹¹⁸ Shaw, 52.

¹¹⁹ Zinkeisen, 537.

¹²⁰ Roeder, 555.

¹²¹ Shaw, 53.

accepted to make peace based on the *status quo ante bellum*. Ambassador Fürst von Reuss and Baron Anton Spielmann on behalf of Austria and Hertzberg on behalf of Prussia stayed in Reichenbach until the 27th of June 1790. Then, the diplomatic negotiators of Britain and Holland joined them on June 31st. On July 11th, Berlin informed Hertzberg about changes of plan. After four days, a new peace proposal, based on *status quo ante bellum*, was offered and it was accepted on the 20th of July. Finally, The Convention of Reichenbach was signed on the 27th of July 1790. The convention depended on the status quo; it meant that Austria would withdraw from the territories occupied during the war but only the Hotin Fortress was going to remain in the hands of Austria in order to prevent Russian occupation until the Ottomans secured a peace treaty with Russia.¹²² By the Convention of Reichenbach, the status quo was maintained in Europe. Austria accepted the pre-war borders so that Leopold could focus on the domestic affairs to neutralize the effects of the France Revolution. Prussia had no gains except the prestige of being the mediator who ended the war. In addition, those two German states signed an agreement in Pillnitz Castle in August 1791 to avoid the bad effects of the French Revolution and to save the monarchy in France.¹²³

Austria sent an envoy to inform the Porte about the approval of both the alliance and the convention after the signing of the Reichenbach Convention.¹²⁴ Also Count Lousi was charged with the negotiation of Zıştovi as the Prussian negotiator.

Conclusion

The Ottoman Empire declared war against Russia in August 1787 to take back Crimea and suffered a big defeat. However, the Ottoman Empire's changing policy on securing alliances saved the day. The Porte made an alliance with Sweden at first. Since the two states fought against the same enemy. Later, an alliance agreement between Prussia and the Ottoman Empire was signed by the diplomatic attempts of the envoy of Prussia. Although the alliance with the Swedes became a disappointment for the Porte the Reichenbach Convention was the product of Ottoman diplomatic initiatives. As a result, the Ottoman Empire signed an armistice with Austria based on the convention.

¹²² Beydilli, *1790 Osmanlı Prusya İttifakı*, 79-81.

¹²³ Jorga, 93.

¹²⁴ *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, Vol. I-IV, (Dersaadet: Takvimhane-i Amire, 1270-1273). 23-25; Beydilli, *1790 Osmanlı Prusya İttifakı*, 89.



CHAPTER 2

3 THE NEGOTIATIONS OF ZIȘTOVI (SISTOVA) 1790-1791

Introduction

The French Revolution (1789) and the revolutionary wars broke down of political balance in Europe while revolutionary France went into a period of turmoil, the Habsburg Empire was also influenced negatively. Already at war with the Ottoman Empire since 1788, in 1790, Leopold II of Austria replaced Joseph II was in search of making alliance against the revolutionary France. He planned to end the war with Ottoman to make it. He aimed to rescue crown of Louis XVI of French and Marie Antoinette, the sister of Leopold II.

The Ottoman troops were defeated by the Austrian and Russian joint forces on several occasions¹²⁵ during the last two years of the war. Those defeats in the battlefields forced the Ottoman Empire to make peace with at least one of the two. Signing an armistice with the Austrian government would also enable the Porte to concentrate on the Russian frontier. Thus, the Ottoman Empire signed the Armistice of Giurgiu with Austria on the basis of The Convention of Reichenbach on September 18, 1790.¹²⁶

The first negotiations for so-called Ziștovi Peace Treaty started on 23 R 1205/30 December 1790, in Ziștovi (Sistova), a small town of Bulgaria near the Danube River. During this meeting, the Ottoman delegates welcomed the Austrian

¹²⁵ The Battles of Rimmik and Fokshan in 1789 were the two of the important ones.

¹²⁶ After the alliance of Prussian and Ottoman, Prussia sent his troops in the border of Austria and adviced a peace. On the result of this, they signed Reichenbach on 27th July 1790.

delegate and another mediator at the gate.¹²⁷ It was only the beginning of the first round of discussions. For seven months, eight representatives from five different states participated in the negotiations. While there were three delegates from the Porte and two each from the Habsburg and Prussia, Britain and the Dutch governments each sent one delegate. During the course of seven months, those eight plenipotentiaries made eighteen general meetings. The Ottoman delegates also held thirty six separate meetings with the Prussians for consulting various issues. Moreover, they made conferences with the mediators without the Austrian delegates nine times.¹²⁸ The plenipotentiaries communicated with each other in French, and the dragomans helped in translating the foreign delegates' speeches.¹²⁹ Besides, the dragomans attended many meetings between the Ottomans and the mediators. All these meetings were concluded by signing of the Treaty of Zıřtovi on August 4, 1791.

In this chapter, the negotiations of Zıřtovi will be examined in three sections: the preparations, the negotiation process and the end of negotiations. The preparations part includes the selection of Zıřtovi as the venue, the elaborations, the appointment of the plenipotentiaries for the meetings, and the etiquette. The negotiations process follows this part. The political discussions and the debates in each session and the articles of the peace treaty will be studied thematically.

3.1 Preparations for the Negotiations

3.1.1 The Appointment of Ottoman plenipotentiaries to negotiation in Zıřtovi

The military staff usually participated in the peace negotiations until the Treaty of Karlofça (Karlowitz) (1699). Following the example of Karlofça, the delegates in charge of the diplomatic issues were chosen mostly among the reisülküttabs because

¹²⁷ *Mükaleme Mazbatası*, vol. I (İstanbul: Takvimhane-i Amire, 1854), 122. B.O. A. HAT 1432 58618/1 (is dated 29 Z 1205).

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, vol. I, II; and III.

¹²⁹ *Ibid* vol. I, 122. B.O.A. HAT. 1432 58618/1 (is dated 29 Z 1205). Ahmet Cevdet Pařa, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, vol. V, (İstanbul: Dersaadet Matbaa-yi Osmaniye, 1309), 297-302.

of their experience in the international issues. For the negotiations of Zıstovi, same practice was followed and the reisülküttab was appointed as the first delegate.

As a state practice, the Ottoman officials used to be presented to the Sultan before being assigned to the extraordinary tasks. For the negotiations of Zıstovi, Reisülküttab Es-Seyyid Abdullah Birrî Efendi¹³⁰ who was in the army at the time was advised to the Sultan at first as a senior delegate (*murahhas-ı evvel*)¹³¹. The candidates for the second delegate (*murahas-ı sani*) were Raif İsmail Paşazade İbrahim İsmet Beyefendi¹³² or Abdullah Molla¹³³. Upon the approval of the Sultan, İbrahim İsmet Beyefendi was appointed as the second delegate with the rank of Chief Judge of Mecca because he had knowledge about Europe.¹³⁴ Finally, Mektubî Mehmed Dürri Efendi¹³⁵

¹³⁰ Abdullah Birrî Efendi (d.1212/1798) was appointed as the official charged with drafting the documents of importance (“mühimmenüvis”) (1182/1768-69) and then serhalife. He was employed as mektubî-i sadr-ı ali on C 1192/July 1778. His rapid rise continued with his promotion to the office of Reisülküttab (M 1204/October 1789) and the senior delegate (“murahhas-ı evvel”) during the negotiations with Austria (1205/1790-1791) and Russia (1206/1792). After his dismissal from the post of reisülküttab (M 1207/August-September 1792), Abdullah Efendi was appointed as ruzname-ı evvel, and muhasebe-i evvel. In the year 1209/1794-95, he became kethüda to Beyhan Sultan and kethüda-ı sadr-ı ali on 14 Ca 1209/7 December 1794. On L 1210/April 1796, he was appointed as tevkii but later dismissed and exiled to Bursa. He died on Ş 1212/January-February 1798. See Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, vol. II, hz. Nuri Akbayer (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), 374.

¹³¹ Ü. Filiz Bayram, (2014), 739.

¹³² İsmet İbrahim Bey (b. 1164/1750-d. 1222/1807), he was the son of Raif İsmail Pasha. He became Mollah of Aleppo in 1202/1787. In the year C 1205/ February 1791, he was appointed to qadi of army and second delegate (“murahhas-ı sani”) by the honor of qadi of Mecca. He became qadi of Istanbul in Za 1207/June 1793. After a year, he was sent to the Bursa. He was appointed to *kazasker* of Rumelia for two times (1801-1802 and 1804-1805). Finally he was charged with *Nakibüleşraf* in 1221/1806. See Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, vol. III, p.839.

¹³³ Tatarcık Abdullah Molla (d. 1211/1795-6) became tezkireci to Vassafzâde Esad Efendi. After a short period of exile in Limni, he was appointed as Haremeyn müfettiş. He became molla of Jerusalem (1185/1771), Egypt(1186/1772), Medina (1186/1173), obtained İstanbul and then Anadolu paye (1202/1787-8) and became the judge-advocate of the army (“ordu kadısı”). On 9 L 1204/22 June 1790, he was appointed as Anadolu

Kazasker and Rumeli kazasker in the same year (Z/August). On M 1209/August 1794, he was exiled to Güzelhisar and after his release became the Rumeli kazaskerfor a second time (1210/1795-96). Aysel Yıldız, “Vaka-yı Selimiye or Selimian Incident: A Study of the May 1807 Rebellion”, (Unpublished Ph.D. diss. Sabancı University, 2008),29-30.

¹³⁴ B.O.A. HAT 213 11672 (is dated 29 Z 1205/5 March 1791 in catalogue), B.O.A. AE. SSLM. III. 431 24642. B.O.A. HAT 194 9607. Ali Osman Çınar, “Mehmed Emin Edib Efendi’nin Hayatı ve Târîh’i”, (Unpublished Ph. D. Diss. Marmara Üniversitesi, 1999), 170.

¹³⁵ Dürri Mehmed Efendi (d. 1209/1795) entered divan kalemî in the year1165/1752. He served as mükâleme katibi (1182/1768-9), divan-ı hümayun kesedarı, tezkire-i sani (1197/1783), mektubcu. In 1205/1790, he became the third delegate (“murahas-ı salis”) and piyade mukabelecisi. After being employed as ruznamçe-i evvel (Ra 1205/December 1790) and defter emini, Dürri Efendi became reisülküttab on 23 M 1209/20 August 1794. He died on 13 C 1209/5 January 1795. See Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, vol. II, p. 424.

was charged with the duty of third delegate (*murahhas-ı salis*) in the retinue of Abdullah Birrî Efendi.¹³⁶

As for the lower ranking staff *divan-ı hümayun kisedarı* (treasurer of imperial council) and *küçük kale tezkirecisi*, Mehmed Avni Efendi and *Istanbul mukaatacısı* (tax former of İstanbul) Mehmed Said Galib Efendi were appointed as scribes of conference. They recorded the negotiations between the delegates and made the other correspondences between the Porte and the foreign delegates of Zıştovi. Hasan Efendi, the scribe to the armourers, was appointed as *defterdar* (minister of finance). Kostantinbeyzade Alexander Bey, the dragoman of Divan-ı Hümayun, was also sent to Sistova as the interpreter.¹³⁷ Moreover, Abdullah Bey was assigned as the *mihmandar* (hosts) to the British delegate Sir Robert Murray Keith and Ali Bey to the Dutch delegate Baron Reiner de Haeften.¹³⁸

The Habsburg government also made a list of their representatives. The chief delegate was Baron Peter Philippe d'Herbert Rathkeal, who previously served as the ambassador of Austria to Istanbul before the war.¹³⁹ Leopold II appointed Count Francis Esterhazy de Galantha¹⁴⁰ as the second plenipotenary, (3 B 1205/ 8 March 1791), after two and half months from the beginning of the conference.¹⁴¹

The mediators of the conference, Prussia, Britain and the Dutch Republic, also assigned their representatives. Marquis Jérôme Marki von Lucchesini, the ambassador of Prussia in Warsaw was first charged with being the mediator in the peace negotiations. British government appointed to Sir Robert Murray Keith, the British ambassador to Vienna. The Dutch Republic sent Baron Reiner de Haeften as a

¹³⁶ *Mükaleme Mazbatası*, vol I, 44, B.O.A. C..HR.. 33 1637, (25 M 1205/ 4 October 1790), B.O.A. C..HR.. 34 1677, 29 M 1205/ 8 October 1790).

¹³⁷ Ibid, p.55. Britain delegate Sir Robert Murray Keith mentions about the Ottoman chief dragoman Prince Morusi the son of hospodar of Moldavia in his letters. Sir Robert Murray Keith, K. B., *Memoirs and Correspondence (Official or Familier) of Sir Robert Murray Keith, K. B., Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Courts of Dresden, Copenhagen, and Vienna, from 1769 to 1792 with a Memoir of Queen Carolina Matilda of Denmark, and an Account of the Revolution there in 1772*, vol II, ed. Mrs. Gillespie Smyth, (London: Henry Colburn, 1849), 327, 431. The dragoman of

¹³⁸ Ali Osman Çınar, 170.

¹³⁹ On the other hand, Ottoman documents mention about another plenipotentiary named Toğot. Yet, due to his illness, Herbert came alone. *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, vol. I, 53.

¹⁴⁰ Esterhazy von Galantha was sent as a consequence of agreement between Emperor Leopold II and ranks of Hungary who had rebelled against Austria short times ago. Leopold II promised them that they have to right to speak about future of own borders and relations with neighbours by that agreement. *Mükaleme Mazbatası*, vol. I, 88; BOA, HAT. 1432 58618/ 3 (29 Z 1205).

¹⁴¹ Ibid, vol. II, 17. B.O.A. HAT 1432 58618, Sir Robert Murray Keith, K. B., (1849), 355.

delegate.¹⁴² Dragomans of the mediators were sent from Istanbul by the Ottoman government.¹⁴³

3.1.2 The selection of the venue

After the signing of the Armistice of *Yergöğü* (Georgiova) on 18 September 1790, both parties (Porte and Austria) began to discuss about the place of meeting. Since then the Porte usually selected the places for peace negotiations from the Ottoman territories or neutral zones customarily. It was an indication of Ottoman perception of superiority. This time, the Ottoman intention was to hold the sessions either in Zîştovi, Silistre or Rusçuk. Abdullah Birrî Efendi and Count Louisi, who were in charge of the Armistice of *Yergöğü* on the name of Prussia also agreed on the place of meeting on 7 M 1205/16 September 1790. Yet, the Habsburg government insisted on Bucharest, then under Habsburg occupation. According to the Ottomans Zîştovi was ideal among the possible venues because of its location on the *Tuna* (Danube) River and closeness to Vienna, Istanbul and Bucharest but Austria did not accept Zîştovi as the place of meeting. Louisi asserted that the Ottoman territory was not safe for plenipotentiaries and their families. According to him, the wives and children of these plenipotentiaries were different from the Ottomans. Their women would demand to go for a walk and enjoy strolling in town freely like men. Therefore, the inhabitants of the Ottoman towns might be disturbed by such habits and the Austrians were wary of unwanted disturbances or even attacks. In addition, the Habsburgs would bring many European servants with them and this might also cause problems among the inhabitants. According to the Austrians, such problems would not occur in Bucharest; so it would be a more suitable venue than the others.¹⁴⁴

After hearing the Habsburg objections the Ottoman delegate Abdullah Birri Efendi asked in return; “*You are now staying in Rusçuk with your retinue. Has any*

¹⁴² *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, vol. I, 47; *The Parliamentary Register or History of the Proceeding and Debates of the House of Common; Containing Account of the Most Interesting Speeches and Motions Accurate Copies of the Most Remarkable Letters and Papers, of the Most Material Evidence, Petition, &c laid before and offered to the House during the Second Session of the Seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain*, vol. XXXI (London), 102; Ali İhsan Bağış, (1984), 115.

¹⁴³ These dragomans are named as Pinkali of Prussia, Pizani of Britain and Velinborg of Austria (Jacob von Wollenborg) in the Ottoman documents. *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, vol. I, 202. Britain delegate Sir Robert Murray Keith gave his drogaman name as Pisani in his letter which is dated on December 23rd 1790 to his sister, too. Sir Robert Murray Keith, (1849), 326.

¹⁴⁴ *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, vol. I, 45. B.O.A. HAT. 148 6231C (7 M 1205/ 16th September 1790).

unpleasant situation occurred in there?”¹⁴⁵ The Austrian delegate could not convince Abdullah Efendi to hold the negotiations in Bucharest. The Austrian General Fredrick Josias of Saxe-Coburg- Saalfeld sent a letter to the Austrian representative about the meeting venue. The General suggested that the meeting place should be the town of Kravye, which was under Austrian occupation at the time, and upon the Ottoman approval of the place, the town could be left to Ottoman Empire.¹⁴⁶ No solutions emerged from the meeting of Abdullah Birri and Count Louisi. Both of them informed their courts about the meeting.

In response, Selim III remarked that; “[...] *Neither Bucharest nor Karayuva are suitable for this event. [...] Is this the glorious peace Prussia would provide? It is unacceptable. If they do not approve it, any place between Bükreş and Zıştovi can be selected and inform me on these grounds.*”¹⁴⁷

Count Luisi tried to persuade Birri Efendi by trying to mention the great expenses of conferences for the host country. Yet Abdullah Birrî Efendi responded rather in a harsh manner by saying that the expenses were minor details and they were the duty of the *defterdar* (head of the financial department), rather than the sultan or the grand vizier. “*Viziers do not deal with business. We should rather get busy with our own mission. What you mention is the duty of the merchants.*”¹⁴⁸

Subsequently, the Prussian delegate Count Louisi left Rusçuk and reached the Ottoman army headquarters after receiving the letter of Coburg about his departure on 27 M 1205/6 October 1790. Coburg finally approved the Zıştovi as a meeting venue but with some reservations about the accommodation such as the availability of heating stoves and plate glasses in the residences of the plenipotentiaries.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 46.

¹⁴⁶ Beydilli, *1790 Osmanlı Prusya İttifakı*, 104.

¹⁴⁷ “Mazbataları gördüm. Mükâleme güzel olmuş. Mahall-i mükâleme Bükreş ve Karayuva olmaz. Nemçelünün ayağına varmak gibidir. Memleketime şaendir çünkü Tuna sahilini tecviz itmemesi biraz teklif olunsun Prusya kralı Devlet-i Aliyye’ye şanlı müsalaha ittirdüm dimişti. Bu ise şaendir. Nice tecviz idersiz dinilüb eğer yine razı olmaz ise ne anların ve ne bizim dediğimiz olmayarak Tuna ile Bükreş beyninde bir kasaba ihtiyar olunsun ve kangî mahal ihtiyar olunur ise tarafıma bildiresiz” *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, 47-48.

¹⁴⁸ “Kaldı ki vüzera-yı sudur böyle mülâhazalara tenezzül eyleyeler. Bu defterdarların göreceği şeydir. [...] Biz siz kendü halimize bakalım böyle mülâhazalar tüccar makulesinin işidir.” Ibid, 48. However, It was recognized Louisi to get right. Ottoman plenipotentiaries were criticized due to their often fiscal request from center. It will be examined under another title end of the chapter.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 45-49. B.O.A. HAT 148 6231 (7 M 1205).

The Ottoman party consisting of the plenipotentiaries scribes and the treasurer arrived Zıstovi on 3 R 1205/10 November 1790. Five days later, the second plenipotentiary İbrahim İsmet Bey and the dragoman Alexander Vasil arrived with special provisioning for the guests from Istanbul. Until the arrival of the guest envoys, the Ottoman officials prepared their residences. Separate townhouses were allocated for each plenipotentiary. Special cushions, draperies, and various fabrics were supplied from the capital and its vicinity for the furniture of the rooms of the envoys.¹⁵⁰ Sir Robert Murray Keith's letter dated December 23 1790 to his sister writes that some articles such as the chairs, tables, bedsteads, kitchen furniture and housekeeping items were brought from Vienna.¹⁵¹ In addition to the envoys' rooms, the Ottomans prepared the meeting hall by placing two doors for equality of sides, representing the two states.¹⁵² For the Karlofça Treaty in 1699, the delegates had applied the same procedure by using four doors for four states.¹⁵³

The imperial treasury also sent some jewellery accessories from the capital for the decoration of the meeting hall in order to impress the envoys.¹⁵⁴ Following the Ottoman etiquette, a chandelier embellished with diamond was sent from the treasury for furnishing the meeting room.¹⁵⁵ Besides these decorations, ten coffee cups embroiled with jewels, as well as an inkstand and precious harnesses were sent to Abdullah Birrî Efendi, a box adorned with ruby and three precious harnesses to Abdullar Dürri Efendi, and a valuable sword and precious harnesses to İbrahim İsmet Beyefendi.¹⁵⁶ On the other hand, gifts such as coffee, candies, frankincense, horses with special harnesses, furs, sherbet cups, napkins, crystal cups, twenty bushels of sugar, forty or fifty watermelons and melons, ten Egypt chicken, twenty chicken and approximately ten lambs for the plenipotentiaries and their retinues were sent from capital because it was hard to find meat except geese, ducks and valuable fabrics around Zistovi.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁰ B.O.A. AE. SSLM. III 354 20345 (29 Z 1205).

¹⁵¹ Sir Robert Murray Keith, (1849), 326.

¹⁵² *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, vol. I, , 122.

¹⁵³ Sir Robert Murray Keith, (1849), 331. He also added that Ottoman officials followed the etiquette of Treaty of Karlofça.

¹⁵⁴ Hadiye Tuncer and Hüner Tuncer, *Osmanlı Diplomasisi ve Sefaretnameler*, (Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık, 1998), 16.

¹⁵⁵ *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, vol. I, 60.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p.87.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*,p.59. B.O.A. HAT 1417 57947 (10 CA 1205).

Marquis Lucchesini, the Prussian delegate, was the first to reach Zîştovi (28 RA 1205/ 5 December 1790),¹⁵⁸ followed by the Dutch mediator Baron Haeften (9 R 1205/16 December 1790). Sir Robert Murray Keith, representing the British party, arrived at Zîştovi two days later. He gave the details of his entry to the Turkish lands in his letter dated on December 23rd 1790 to his sister as such:

“I was carried at full gallop along a grassy plain, escorted by a detachment of the Austrian cavalry, and all the officers on horseback, together with the chief magistrate of Simniza and his suite; in short a most magnificent *cortège*. I found, on the brink of the Danube, two or three Turkish row-boats armed, and with *pavilions* at their sterns and cushions to sit on [...] My fleet fired their guns (little raged cannons), three and three, and were answered by an old castle on the Bulgarian side... When we touched the land, a great number of well-dressed Turks met me on horseback, and gave me a fine horse (all over embroidery), which I mounted; other horses were given to Mr. Stuart and every person belonging to me [...] We were conducted to the *tefterdar*'s custom-house, and brought into his apartment, where coffee, pipes, sherbet, sweetmeats, and *frankincense* were presented to us by turns; and Prince Morusi, chief interpreter to the Porte (a well conducted young man, son to a hospodar of Moldavia, and who will himself be one day sovereign of that country), made me a very polite compliment in the name of the Reis Effendi, who is the first of my colleagues.”¹⁵⁹

Baron d'Herbert was officially invited to the conference with a letter, written on a special paper of high quality and put in red letter pouch in (29 RA 1205/ 6 December 1790). The Ottoman Empire imprisoned the envoys and the ambassadors on the possibility of war according to the established customs, someone from the Ottoman envoy was sent to Austria as a hostage in return for the security of the Austrian envoy. The Ottoman hostage was sent with his dragoman on 13 R 1205/ 20 December 1790.¹⁶⁰

3.2 The Negotiations at Zîştovi

3.2.1 From “*Uti possidetis juris*”¹⁶¹ to “*Status quo ante bellum*”¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ B.O.A. HAT 1206 47294A (12 R 1205)

¹⁵⁹ Sir Robert Murray Keith, (1849), 326-327.

¹⁶⁰ British delegate Sir Robert Murray Keith gives Herbert's arrival as 19th December 1790 in his letter to the Duke of Leeds. Sir Robert Murray Keith, (1849), 329. Ahmet Cevdet Pasha writes that Herbert Rathkeal did not demand hostage for him. Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, vol. V, 69.

¹⁶¹ This phrase, which means as you possess, is used in international law to signify that the parties to a treaty are to retain possession of what they have acquired by force during the war. *West's Encyclopedia of American Law*, edition 2. S.v. "Uti Possidetis." Retrieved November 24 2015 from <http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Uti+Posidetis>. “İbka-i mâkân alâ mâkân” Kemal Beydilli, “Zîştovi Antlaşması”, *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. XLIV, (İstanbul: TDV, 2013), 469.

¹⁶² [Latin, The existing state of things at any given date.] *Status quo ante bellum* means the state of things before the war. The status quo to be preserved by a preliminary injunction is the last actual, peace

The Porte have followed the principle of “*Uti Possidetis*” (alâ hâlihî) in diplomatic negotiations since the fifteenth century.¹⁶³ This principle meant that the territories, occupied by a state during the war, would be accepted to stay under the control of that state in the peace treaty. One of the most distinctive examples is the Treaty of Karlofça (1699), which was signed on the principle of *uti possidetis*.¹⁶⁴ Until the Treaties of Zıstovi (1791) and Yaş (1792), *uti possidetis* continued to be the bases of treaties. The principle of *status quo ante bellum* was first used at the Treaty of Zıstovi as a basic principle of peace in the Ottoman history. This principle implied that the prewar boundaries of the states were going to be kept unchanged by the peace treaty except small border changes. During the nineteenth century, *status quo ante bellum* generally became the basic principle.

The transition from *uti possidetis* to *status quo ante bellum* arose from the need for preserving the balance of power among the Great states of Europe. By 1740, the alliance formations began to take shape in Europe. In the beginning of eighteenth century, the Elector of Brandenburg was rising as one of the great rulers in Europe. Until 1740, Prussia first raised a solid and organized army; then it began to expand its territories at the expense of Austria. At that time, Charles VI of Habsburg died without leaving a male heir. Saxony, Prussia, Bavaria, Spain, Naples, Genoa, Sweden and France repudiated Maria Theresa as the successor of Charles VI in Austria. The Austrian Succession Wars (1740-1748) began with Prussia invading Silesia in 1740. The wars ended with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 and Austria left Silesia to Prussia. The wars increased competition between the two German states. After the wars, both Prussia and Austria tried to make alliances with the other European powers against each other (i.e. France, Britain and Russia) in the second half of the century. They maintained the policy of gaining allies during the Seven Years Wars (1756-1763). Since the beginning, Frederick II tried to bring the Porte in his system of alliances. He got such a chance during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1768-1774.¹⁶⁵ Although Austria pretended to be against Russia and Prussia, taking part in a potential

able, uncontested status which preceded the pending controversy. West's Encyclopedia of American Law, edition 2. S.v. "status quo." Retrieved November 24 2015 from <http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/status+quo>

¹⁶³ Ménage, “Seven Ottoman Documents”, in S. M. Stern (ed.) *Documents from Islamic Chanceries*, (Oxford, 1965), 82-83, 102, cited by Rifa’at Ali Abou-El-Haj, (1967), 499.

¹⁶⁴ See Rifa’at Ali Abou-El-Haj, “Ottoman Diplomacy at Karlowitz”, *The Journal of American Oriental Society*, vol. LXXXVII, (1967), 498-512.

¹⁶⁵ Beydilli, *Büyük Friederich ve Osmanlılar*, 12-14.

Polish partition was becoming an attractive policy option. In 1780, pro-Russian Joseph II came to the throne, following the death of Maria Theresa. Consequently, the Prussian government began to support any activity that would work against Austria's expansion in Europe. Thus, Prussia made an alliance with the Ottoman Empire during the Russo-Ottoman and Austrian War (1787-1792). Because Prussia could not let neither Russia nor Austria to take control of the Ottoman European territories, he put forward the *status quo ante bellum* as the basis of the peace requirements. As a consequence of the French Revolution and Leopold II's accession to the throne, the Austrians quit fighting against the Ottomans anymore and accepted the peace requirement despite the Austrian Chancellor Kaunitz's unwillingness.¹⁶⁶

Prussia asserted that the articles of peace between Austria and the Ottoman Empire in Treaty of Reichenbach (July 27, 1790) was going to be based on the principle of *status quo ante bellum*. The principle of *status quo ante bellum* was important as in essence because Prussia did not want further strengthening of Austria who occupied the Eastern European territories of the Ottoman Empire during the war (1787-1792), and the King of Prussia worked to prevent the Balkan territories getting under Austrian control. Britain and the Dutch Republic also supported the idea of keeping the situation. Thus, The Treaty of Reichenbach was signed between Austria and Prussia on July the 27th, 1790 and it involved an article that Austria was going to sign the peace treaty with Ottoman Empire on the basis of *status quo ante bellum*.¹⁶⁷

The first conference of Zıstovi Congress was inaugurated with the exchange of authorisation of delegates (23 R 1205/ 30 December 1790). By the third session, the parties began to discuss the *status quo ante bellum* as a basis of peace. Upon reading the Treaty of Reichenbach, it was proposed that all fortresses, cities, towns and territories which were occupied by Austria was going to be given back to the Ottoman Empire in whatever condition they were in before the war, on the basis of status quo. The objection came from Herbert Rathkeal, the Prussian delegate, on the grounds that all places¹⁶⁸ were damaged due to the war. The Ottoman delegates were confused since

¹⁶⁶ Karl A. Roider Jr., "Kaunitz, Joseph II and the Turkish War", *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 54, 4, (October, 1976), 538-556. Hochedlinger, 246-262.

¹⁶⁷ Henry Smith Williams, *The Historians' History of the World; A Comprehensive Narrative of the Rise and Development of Nations as Recorded by Over Two Thousands of the Great writers of all Ages: Edited, with the Assistance of a Distinguished Board of Advisers and Contributors*, vol. XIV, (London: Kooper and Jackson Ltd., 1909), 497.

¹⁶⁸ Especially in Bosnian frontier, the fortresses of Çetin and Dzornik.

they did not know the meaning of *status quo ante bellum*. They discussed two and a half hours about the status quo, and the mediators left the meeting hall to negotiate in another room prepared for the Ottoman delegates. First, they read the authorisation of Count Lousi who was charged with signing the armistice between the Ottomans and the Austrians. The armistice included three articles: Prussia was not going to withdraw from the war until the Ottomans took all the territories which were occupied by Austria; Austria would not help Russia; and the fortress of Hotin was going to be left to Austria until the end of the Russo-Ottoman War. The British delegate Sir Robert Murray Keith wrote to the Lord of Leeds about their meeting. His letter read: “*The whole secret of this untenable, proposition was to get rid of the phrase status quo, which happens not to be included in the instruments of armistice, and which they pretended not to understand. The Ottoman ministers comprehended us perfectly; but gave up nothing.*”¹⁶⁹

The Ottoman plenipotentiaries discredited the meaning of the status quo about the resignation of the old treaties because they were trying to impose the idea to the other delegates that the status quo should just refer to the restoration of territories. They objected on the grounds that they were unfamiliar with the term. Due to this, they asked the meaning of the term frequently because it was unusual for the Ottoman party. They claimed that it was not applied in the previous peace treaties. Discussion about the meaning continued in the next conference on 3 C 1205/ 8 January 1791. The Austrian plenipotentiary Herbert explained the issue simply as the renewal of peace on whatever condition it was before the war declaration of Austria in 9 February 1788. The explanation of the Austrian diplomat was still open-ended. The Ottoman delegates worried that the Austrians could interpret the status quo to impose their demands after the peace.¹⁷⁰ The question of “What did the refer things that renew?” was main point for the Ottoman delegates.¹⁷¹ Neither at the Conference of Reichenbach nor at the Armistice of Yergöğü the meaning of the term was discussed in depth. In the Conference of Reichenbach, there was only an article about signing peace based on

¹⁶⁹ Sir Robert Murray Keith, 340.

¹⁷⁰ Beydilli, “Ziştovi Antlaşması”, 469. They were going to be justified during the sessions about return of captives. After Ottomans gave back the Austrian captives, they requested other captives who were taken prison by the private people. Although it had to post bail to free them, Austrian delegate Herbert claimed that these people was the subject of Austrian Emperor so quo they would returned to Austria without ant boil in accordance with the *status quo ante bellum*. If the boil was necessary, Ottoman government should pay it. Mediators admit that he had right, also.

¹⁷¹ *Mükaleme Mazbatası*, vol. I, 146-151.

status quo ante bellum but it was phrased in general terms.¹⁷² The armistice of Yergöğü, on the other hand, stipulated that a peace was going to be made based on the Treaty of Reichenbach within the nine months.¹⁷³

The plenipotentiaries of the two empires and the mediators discussed the meaning of *status quo ante bellum* and could not agree on whether to include the principle in the treaty or not at least until the sixth conference on 26 C 1205/31 January 1791. Sir Robert Murry Keith supported the views of Herbert since the first meetings; “*there are two hazardous meanings and Austria accepted hers which was giving up all occupied territories; so Ottomans have to accept the restoration old treaties.*”¹⁷⁴ Moreover, Prussian Lucchesini persisted that the term of status quo should be placed in the treaty as a base article due to its existence in the Treaty of Reichenbach.¹⁷⁵ In the fifth conference (5 C 1205/10 January 1791), Herbert Rathkeal informed that he could not proceed without status quo ante bellum as being the basic principle of discussion.¹⁷⁶ Between the fifth and sixth conferences the Ottoman delegates corresponded with the Porte requesting new orders about the status quo principle. Then they made a conference with Lucchesini on 9 C 1205/14 January 1791. Lucchesini told the Ottomans if they accepted the status quo, Britain would guarantee the articles of treaty. Actually, the Porte was leaning towards the acceptance of Herbert’s claims because they planned to send all of their army against Russia after concluding a peace with the Austrians. The Sultan gave the permission to the Ottoman plenipotentiaries to accept status quo. But they were also duly warned: “*Confidence to the words of Franks is not warrantable; they can be all different forms in different times. They look like a devil that formed human.*”¹⁷⁷ Therefore, the Ottoman party accepted the *status quo ante bellum* and also Herbert’s explanation of it in the sixth conference. Thus, second article of the peace involved the recognition and acceptance of strict status quo ante bellum and from 9th February 1788 on the treaties was going to be restored.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷² Beydilli, 1790 *Osmanlı Prusya İttifakı*, 80-81.

¹⁷³ Ibid, 101.

¹⁷⁴ *Mükaleme Mazbatası*, vol. I, 139.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 165.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 169.

¹⁷⁷ “*Âkvâl-i Frengiyeve itimad caiz değil. Her vakit bir sûrette görünürler. Sûret-i beşere temsil etmiş şeytana benzerler.*” Ibid, 175.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, vol, III, 186, B.O.A. HAT. 1432 58619, Journals of the House of Commons: From January the 32st, 1792, in the Thirty-second Year of Reign of King George the Third to November the 15th, 1792, in the Thirty-third Year of the Reign of King George of the Third. (1803), 30.

Still, the Ottoman delegates and the mediators accused Herbert time to time that he did not follow the status quo by demanding some territories from the Ottoman Empire.¹⁷⁹

3.2.2 The start of the actual negotiations (23 R 1205/30 December 1790- 4 Z 1205/ 4 August 1791)

Following the mutual agreement on the principle of *status quo ante bellum*, the committee of Zıştovi passed to the second phase: the discussion on the articles of treaty. The series of sessions lasted until the signing of Treaty on 4 Z 1205/ 4 August 1791. Eighteen of these sessions were held among all delegates and mediators. Thirty six of them were made between the Ottoman and the Prussian delegates, sometimes involving other delegates. These conferences are examined in three periods. The first period involved all of the negotiations until the sixteenth conference (8 L 1205/10 June 1791). These sixteen meetings took six weeks and both the Austrian and Ottoman parties made no concessions about their drafts due to the issue of İrşova (*Orsova*). During these sixteen meetings both the Ottoman and Austrian delegates did not give up on their demands from each other. Herbert Rathkeal could convince neither the Ottomans nor the mediators about his draft, so he and Count Esterhazy informed that they were going to leave the town of Zıştovi after the fifteenth conference (6 L 1205 /8 June 1791).¹⁸⁰ Moreover, one of the reasons of their departure might be the end of the armistice and they might hesitate whether they would be imprisoned.¹⁸¹ The Ottoman delegates and the mediators continued their meetings until the return of the Austrian delegates on 16 ZA 1205/ 17 July 1791. During these meetings, despite the Ottoman delegates tried to save their drafts, the Sultan and other high ranking officials demanded to make peace because they planned to attack Russia with all force including the armies on the Austrian forehead. Thus, the Ottoman delegates were persuaded to accept the Austrian draft and the third section of meetings began on 16 ZA 1205/ 17 July 1791 with the return of Austrian delegates.¹⁸² After that, the parties made only two more meetings to draft the document of peace. It appeared that Ottoman

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, vol. I, 228, 237, vol. II, 37

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, vol. II, 192-205. Ibid, vol. III, 2-6. B.O.A. HAT 258 14912.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, vol, III, 83. B.O.A. HAT 258 14913 (is dated 13 ZA 1205).

¹⁸² B.O.A. HAT 176 7731. B.O.A. HAT 176 7731B.

delegates were more moderate in their objections to the draft of Austria during the last two conferences.

The Ottoman and Austrian governments concluded the peace treaty based on the Convention of Reichenbach. According to the treaty, Austria was going to give back the Ottoman territories except the fortress of Hotin, which was going to be left to Austrian control until the end of Russo-Ottoman War. The two Empires were going to restore the old agreements and treaties. Except the above issues, the delegates discussed various topics during the negotiations such as borders problem, the restoration of Eflak to Porte, the prisoners of war, the Austrian commerce and merchants in the Ottoman territory, the Austrian diplomats who serve in the border cities of Ottoman Empire, the neutrality of Austria during the Russo-Ottoman War, the security of the Fortress of Hotin, and the movement of the subjects of the two Empires during the armistice time, etc.

The Prisoner of War: The exchange of prisoners of war as an official international practice began with the Treaties of Karlofça (1699) and Pasarofça (1718) between the Ottoman and Austrian Empires.¹⁸³ During the Ottoman- Russo and Austrian War, both parties held captives from each other. Before the negotiations, debates on the status of the prisoners of war started in Zıştovi between the plenipotentiaries of the Ottoman Empire and the Austrian dragoman Velinborg. Velinborg proposed that five hundreds Austrian prisoners of war were going to be exchanged with one thousand five hundreds eleven Ottoman prisoners of war in Vidin or Bosnia as a bona fide gesture. The officials charged for this mission were sent to Ruscuk. The prisoners of war were going to be registered with their full names and ranks and the officials were going to issue documents to each exchanged prisoners of war. Thus, the grand vizier ordered that the Austrian prisoners of war were going to be brought in small parties from the headquarters and Emin Ağa was appointed to supervise the exchange.¹⁸⁴

In letter of Herbert Rathkeal to the Ottoman officials concerning the issue of the prisoners of war, Herbert noted that two hundred and thirty Ottoman prisoners of war and all Muslim prisoners of war in Austria would be sent back to the Ottomans in return for the Austrian captives who were held in Yedi Kule (*The Seven Towers*),

¹⁸³ İlber Ortaylı, “Mübadele”, *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. XXXI. (İstanbul: TDV, 2006), 424.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, vol. I, 56-57.

Tersane (*Ottoman shipyard*) and fifty five of them who were held on the Russian ships were going to be delivered to the Austrians.¹⁸⁵ During the peace negotiations the exchange of the prisoners was discussed between the delegates. An Ottoman document gives some information on the number of exchanged them; three hundred Ottoman prisoners of war in return for 170 Austrians in Bosnian border and four hundred thirty Ottomans in return for 190 Austrians in Vidin.¹⁸⁶ According to the Ottoman document, which is dated in 17 N 1205/ 20 May 1791, three hundred Ottoman prisoners of war were released by Emin Ağa, and another four hundred thirty were brought to Vidin, three hundred to Rusçuk and five hundred thirty to Bosnia. Five hundred prisoners of war were exchanged by the Bosnians. Five hundred Austrian prisoners were gathered in Rusçuk. Thus, Ottoman officials registered more than one thousand and seven hundred prisoners in the documents.¹⁸⁷

The Ottoman officials were especially curious about one certain prisoners of war during the discussions. He was Alexander Ypsilanti (1725-1807), the last voivode of Moldovia. From time to time they asked about the situation of Ypsilanti to the Austrian delegates but could not any proper answer. Thus, the Ottomans rejected to return the Austrian captives until the Austrians delivered Ypsilanti. They decided that twenty or thirty of Austrian prisoners of war would be held in return for Ypsilanti.¹⁸⁸ Whenever the issue of the prisoners of war came to the agenda, the Ottoman delegates asked whether Ypsilanti was released or not. The dragoman came to the residence of the Ottoman delegates to ask about the captives in the Ottoman navy. According to the Austrian officials he was released but was still kept in Austria due to his debt.¹⁸⁹ The Ottoman insistence on the return of Ypsilanti stemmed from the deep suspicions about his loyalty; the Ottomans thought he collaborated with the enemy.¹⁹⁰

The prisoners of war were considered as booty in the pre-modern times. Not only the Ottoman State but also certain Ottoman subjects held captives. According the principle of status quo ante bellum the parties were not supposed to demand any ransom fee. In the conference between the Ottoman plenipotentiaries and the

¹⁸⁵ Ottoman officers recorded his name as “Konta Ester Esvalde” “قونته استر اسولده”. Ibid, vol. I, 67.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid vol. I, 67-68.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid vol. II, 124.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid vol. II, 94. B.O.A. HAT. 1432 58618, (29 Z 1205).

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, vol, II, 125, 171, 230.

¹⁹⁰ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. IV, part. I. 528. Shaw, 30. He probably returned to the Ottoman territories because he was appointed hospodor of Walachia (1796) and then of Moldovia in 1807.

mediators, the parties declared that “*The principle applies to the subjects as well, so Austria will return the Ottoman territories back and the Ottomans will return all Austrian prisoners of war invariably.*”¹⁹¹ Although at first the Ottoman delegate objected that it was difficult to get the slaves and captives from the subjects without ransom, they accepted the clause in accordance with the seventh article of the peace treaty. According to this article, both parties were going to release all slaves and prisoners of war, except the converts who changed their religions, Christian and Muslim alike. The Ottoman Government appointed Ata Efendi-zade Mehmed Arif Efendi and İffet Mustafa Bey as intendants (*mübaşir*) to investigate and collect the Austrian prisoners of war. They began to purchase the prisoners of war from the subjects by paying one hundred *guruş* per captive from the state treasury.¹⁹² In the following years after the peace, however, the issue of prisoners of war continued because of exchange problems. The courts were established to investigate the authenticity of the conversions. It was agreed that the slaves under fifteen years old were going to be given back even if they became Muslim.¹⁹³ Yet, another imperial script informed that those older than seven years old were not going to be delivered to their previous state without their consent.¹⁹⁴

The Border Issues during Zıstovi Negotiations: According to the Armistice of Yergöğü (1790), Prussia and Austria compromised that all territories Austria acquired from the Ottoman Empire was going to be returned. During the conference, however, some border problems occurred between Austria and the Ottoman Empire, especially regarding the demarcation of the Bosnian borders. The Ottoman delegates expressed their discontent before the conference was initiated with meeting the Prussian mediator Lucchesini in Zıstovi (17 R 1205/ 24 December 1790). The Ottoman and Prussian delegates demanded that the borders should be drawn in accordance with the Treaty of Belgrade (1739). Bosnia, Karloviçe (*Carlowitz*) remained in the Ottoman Empire up to the fortress of Novi. The River of Sava became the border line and there were not be any other territorial demands.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ Ibid, vol. II, 156.

¹⁹² Bayram, 254; Hava Selçuk, “Savaş Esirlerinin Din Değiştirmesi (Nemçeli Esirler Örneği)”, *Turkish Studies*, 9/4, Spring 2014, p. 1009.

¹⁹³ B.O.A. HAT. 222 12426 (14 RA 1207).

¹⁹⁴ B.O.A. HAT. 1409 57256 quoted by Selçuk, 1009.

¹⁹⁵ *Mükaleme Mazbatası*, vol. II, 78.

The territorial problems between two empires were about the borders of Tuna; the town of İrşova-yı Atik (Orsova) and the region of Hırvatlık¹⁹⁶. By the acceptance of status quo as the base principle, Austria reminded that the town of İrşova-yı Atik was a problem before the war so it should be discussed in the conference to fix the issue. İrşova was situated on the border region between the two Empires. İrşova-yı Atik had become the part of Austria as a result of the Treaty of Pasarofça (Passarowitz) in 1718. Later, the town was left to the Ottoman Empire with the forth article of the Treaty of Belgrade in 1739 but with the condition that the Ottoman Empire change the riverbed of Zerine (Cerine) within a year. According to the article, the riverbed of Zerine would flow back of the İrşova.¹⁹⁷ The Ottoman Empire started to build a channel for this project.¹⁹⁸ In 7 R 1189/ 7 May 1775, the Ottoman Empire gave the province of Bukovina to Austria in exchange for any Austrian rights on the town of İrşova-yı Atik, once more decided by the forth article of agreement of Bukovina.¹⁹⁹ Austria renounced its rights on İrşova-yı Atik by this agreement. Actually, the Austrian officers did not want to return all the territories because their army occupied the entire region. They compared the Russian attitude in similar situation. According to them, if Russia did not give the territories it occupied back to the Ottoman Empire, Austria should not give, too.²⁰⁰

In the tenth conference, Herbert Rathkeal submitted a paper about Austrian conditions of agreement on 17 R 1205/ May 20, 1791. The sixth article of the document was about the territory in front of Adakale, near the Una River: İrşova-yı Atik.²⁰¹ The

¹⁹⁶ The region belonged to Croatia in the north west of Bosnian borders.

¹⁹⁷ Uğur Kurtaran, (2009), 194-195, 220-221. Tahir Sevinç, “1739 Belgrad Anlaşması’nda Sınır Belirleme Çalışmaları ve Rus Esirlerin Serbest Bırakılması”, *Yeni Türkiye*, sayı. 68, Mart-Haziran 2015, p. 2792-2806, 2795-2796.

¹⁹⁸ Ottoman Empire started the building but it is not clear whether the Project was completed. Tahir Sevinç, “Osmanlı Devleti’nin İrşova Kanalı Projesi (1739-1741)”, *Turkish Studies*, vol. 8/9, Summer 2013, p. 2201-2216.

¹⁹⁹ “*Nehr-i Tuna’nın Sahil-i yesarında vaki Ada Kalesi’nin karşısında kain Atik İrşova kasabası canibinde tarafeyn mülklerine ihtilati Devlet-i İmparatoriye’nin gerek Lazarata ve gümrük nizamlarına ve gerek vücuh-i saireden hâlel vermekten hali olmadığından naşi kasaba-yı merkumeden ve ana muttasıl dil misullu araziden Devlet-i Aliyye’nin kefi-yed eylemesi hususu gerçi Devlet-i İmparatoriye tarafından takdim olunmuş idi elhalet-ü hazihi badezin hukuk-i hemcivariye ve Memalik-i İmparatoriye’nin nizam ve asayişine mugayir bi’l-cümle hareket-i nâsezadan kemal-i dikkat ve taharri ile ictinab eylemeleri zımında Atik İrşova ahalisinin zabıt ve rabıtlarını Devlet-i Aliyye taahhüt etmekle iki devletin havalı-i mezburede vaki hududu el’an bulundukları minval üzere kalmasına karar verilmiştir.*” Nihat Erim, “Devletlerarası Hukuku ve Siyasi Tarih Metinleri: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Andlaşmaları”, (TTK: Ankara, 1953), 146-147.

²⁰⁰ *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, (1854), vol. II, 88.

²⁰¹ *Ibid*, vol. II, 126. B.O. A. AE. SSLM.III 432 24647. In 1972, this place flooded because of barage on the Iron Gates. Today this town is under the Danube River.

Ottoman delegates rejected his territorial demand by reminding the Bukovina Agreement. They also asserted that it was against the essence of status quo ante bellum. In addition, it was contrary to the restoration of the old treaties and agreements because Austria should give up İrşova by the restoration of Bukovina. In the next meeting, however, on 24 R / May 27, Herbert Rathkeal reminded his complaints about the River of Zerne (*Cerna*)²⁰² that it should not flow through the new channel dug by Ottomans. Therefore, he tried to persuade the other delegates that the problem of İrşova-yı Atik originated before the war. According to the Ottoman delegate, of the Austrian demands on İrşova was against the status quo because it belonged to the Ottoman Empire before the war so it should be left in Ottoman control. Yet, Herbert Rathkeal added that it was a problem between the two Empires before war; so, the discussion of the issue was proper to status quo principle.²⁰³ In addition to these, the Ottoman delegates objected Rathkeal's claims by referring to the agreements between two Empires such as, the agreements of 1152 (1739), 1154 (1741-1742) and 1160 (1747-1748). They stated that the Austrian ambassador in İstanbul restored the forth article in 1154, and Empress Maria Theresa ratified it once more in 1160. Therefore, it meant that there was not any problem. They also added that the Ottoman authorities never answered the complaints officially, so the Ottoman Empire did not acknowledge this issue at that time.²⁰⁴

The Ottoman delegates informed the central government about the latest situation in the İrşova debate and they held meetings with the mediators to find ways on compromise. At first both the central government and the delegates held firm in their attitude against Herbert Rathkeal's demands. Although the mediators justified the proofs of Ottomans, the discussions continued until the fifteenth conference. Neither side retreated from their cases about İrşova-yı Atik during all conferences. Therefore, Herbert Rathkeal and Count Esterhazy submitted a document about holding İrşova in this conference. They threatened the Ottomans that they would leave Zıştovi on Thursday unless their demands were accepted.²⁰⁵ The Austrian plenipotentiaries left Zıştovi in 8 Şevval 1205/10 June 1791 after the sixteenth conference.

²⁰² In the Ottoman documents, River of Zerne called as River of Cerna, too.

²⁰³ *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, (1854), vol. II, 160-164.

²⁰⁴ Ibid, vol. II, 147-160; B.O.A. Hat 1431 58595; B.O.A. HAT 269 15717; B.O.A. AE. SSLM. III. 432 24647. B.O.A. HAT. 269 15699 (29 N 1205).

²⁰⁵ *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, (1854), vol.II, 164-178.

With the departure of Austrian plenipotentiaries from Zıştovi, the intense correspondence traffic between the Ottoman central government and the mediators led to the search of new strategies. During this interregnum, the Ottoman delegates and the Porte became more moderate against the Austrian demands because they wanted to make an immediate peace and in order to attack Russia with full force. Two arguments came to the agenda after all meetings, when the Ottoman high ranking officials consulted Istanbul; both İrşova and Hırvatlık became part of Dar al Islam so they should not be left to Austria and the Bosnians would not let this happen because they would probably prefer to fight for these places. However, continuing the war with the Austrians, however, would not benefit the Ottomans. The idea of extending the duration of the armistice for another year came from Abdullah Molla who was the *kazasker* of Rumelia at that time. The rationale reason behind was to attack Russia with all of the armies. Yet the Sultan rejected the problem due to the burden of hosting all foreign delegates in Zıştovi.²⁰⁶ On the other hand, the idea of leaving İrşova and Hırvatlık to Austria was approved in the Council consisting of the kaimakam, Abdullah Molla, Veli efendizâde Emin Efendi, Salihzade Efendi, who was the *kazasker* of Anatolia, İbrahim Molla Efendi the judge of Istanbul, Paşmakçızade Efendi, Dağıstani İbrahim Efendi, Ali Rıza Efendi, Yusuf Ağa the minister of darphane-i amire (*royal mint*), Osman Efendi, the treasurer, Raşid Efendi, Lalelili Mustafa Efendi and Shaykh al-Islam Mustafa Efendi. In this Council, Abdullah Molla and Lalelili Mustafa mentioned the reactions that the territorial losses. It might cause trouble especially among the Bosnians. At the end of the discussions, the idea of making peace was supported by Abdullah Molla, Emin Efendi, Salihzade Efendi as well as İbrahim Molla. It was decided that the Ottoman plenipotentiaries should make sure that no territory should be ceded until the appearance of a possibility of war. The Ottoman representatives were permitted to leave these regions in case of war.²⁰⁷ The minutes of the council were sent to Sultan Selim III who in turn approved the council's decision. Upon reading the decision, he stated that: "... *The peace is better than war... Let the plenipotentiaries to make the peace... If they can make a peace on the status quo, it will be so good. However they must not ask the order from here in the case of*

²⁰⁶ Ibid, vol. III, 36.

²⁰⁷ Ibid, vol. III, 63-69.

war.”²⁰⁸ Nevertheless, Selim III advised them not to invite the Austrian delegates to Zıştovi because it was the mediators’ duty to make such a call.

The meetings and correspondences ensued after the arrival of the Austrian delegates to the Conference of Zıştovi in 16 Za/ 17 July. The Ottoman delegates met with the Prussian mediator Lucchesini in the resident of the senior delegate Abdullah Berri Efendi on 20 Za 1205/ 21 July 1791 to inform him about the new draft of the Austrians. Berri Efendi declared that the draft was appropriate to accept.²⁰⁹ After two days, the Ottomans held another conference with all mediators to compromise on the draft. Since the beginning of the negotiations, the Ottoman delegates conceded the first time against the Austrian demands by accepting to leave some fortress²¹⁰ in the northwest of the Bosnian border. They did not, however, accept the article about İrşova immediately. Instead they made some offers for it such as; İrşova and the lowlands across Ada Kale would remain under the control of Ottoman Empire without any fortifications, or the lowlands would stay in Ottoman hands but İrşova would be occupied by neither power; or İrşova would be occupied by Austria without fortification but the lowlands would be given to the Ottoman Empire unconditionally. Nevertheless, according to Lucchesini Herbert probably was not going to compromise with any of these offers.²¹¹

One month later, Ottoman and Austrian delegates met for the seventeenth conference. In the last two conferences, Ottoman delegates confirmed the Austrian request. During the seventeenth conference, the articles of the treaty were read in French by the Austrians at the first day of Za 1205/ July 1791. After that it was agreed that each article was going to be read and the dragomans were going to approve them article by article.²¹² In the last conference, the copies of the treaty were exchanged between the delegates. According the peace treaty, the Ottoman Empire consented that İrşova-yı Atik was left to Austria, the piece of land opposite the island (Ada Kale) was going to remain neutral and there were not going to be any buildings, residences or

²⁰⁸ B.O.A. HAT. 1333 51985 (29 Z 1205).

²⁰⁹ *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, (1854), vol. III, 140.

²¹⁰ These fortress were named as Çetin and Droznik in the Ottoman Documents. Ibid, vol. 144.

²¹¹ Ibid, vol. III, 143-146.

²¹² Ibid, vol. III, 174- 178; AE. SSLM. III. 7 338.

fields on the land.²¹³ Finally, the fortresses of Çetin and Droznik were going to be demolished and stayed under the control of Austria in the Bosnian border.

Determining the Conditions of Retreat: The Ottoman Empire and Austria fought from 1788 to 1790. During the war Austria occupied of the Ottoman territories on the Bosnian border and the territories on Walachia and Moldovia. Austria accepted the restoration of these territories to the Ottomans at the armistice of Yergöğü (1790). The plenipotentiaries then began to discuss the plans of restoration after resolving the issue of Irsova.

The Ottoman side planned to divert their armies against Russia by concluding a peace with Austria. Nevertheless, the Ottoman armies in the Balkans were to follow the route of Eflak to reach the armies still fighting in the Russian war. As it was inferred from the first conferences, the Ottoman plenipotentiaries were expecting the restoration of Eflak to the Ottoman Empire before the signing of the peace treaty but the Austrian delegate remarked that it was not going to return Eflak before the conclusion of the peace. Thus, the Porte appointed Mahmud Pasha as the serasker of Eflak to take it back. He departed with fourty thousand soldiers from İskenderiye (Alexandria) and three hundred thousand *guruş* was allocated to him from the imperial treasury.²¹⁴

In an imperial script, Selim III ordered that if the treaty were to be signed before the end of the armistice, the restoration of the territories should wait until the last day of the armistice.²¹⁵ In the following conferences, the delegates discussed the time of retreat. Due to both Mahmut Paşa's late arrival and seasonal conditions, time of retreat was postponed until June by both the plenipotentiaries and mediators.²¹⁶ However, it did not go as it was planned. The delegates could not agree on the draft of treaty, so they could not sign it until the end of armistice. Due to this, the restoration of territories did not begin before concluding the peace treaty. By compromising on the articles, the Austrian party accepted the restoration of the territories according to the sixth article of the treaty. According to the article, Austria was going to leave Eflak in thirty days

²¹³ Journals of the House of Commons: From January the 32st, 1792, in the Thirty-second Year of Reign of King George the Third to November the 15th, 1792, in the Thirty-third Year of the Reign of King George of the Third. (1803), 32. *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, (1854), vol. III, 191.

²¹⁴ Ibid, vol. I, 177-178.

²¹⁵ Ibid, vol. I, 189.

²¹⁶ Ibid, vol. II, 2, 15, 27.

and Bosna in sixty days after the signing of treaty. Austria was going to follow the status quo and the fortresses were going to be restored to the condition they were before the war.²¹⁷

The Ottoman delegates and the mediators began to plan on how the restoration was going to be done and who was going to supervise it in the following conferences. According to the plans the Austrian army was going to withdraw from Eflak and the Ottoman army was going to replace them there. There were going to be two hours distance between the two armies. Mihail Sercov was going to become the new voivode of Eflak and he was going to pardon all the subjects who helped the Austrian army. One *mübaşir* and vizier were going to be appointed to accompany him. Moreover, there were not going to be the Ottoman officials were not going to have any soldiers with them. Eflak was going to be governed by the Austrian officials until the restoration is completed. The Bosnian borders were paid special attention because of Bosnian sensitivity about the fortresses of Çetin and Droznik. The Bosnian governor was going to attend to committee discussions for drawing the Bosnian borders. The Committee was going to refer the histories of İzzi and Suphi for the articles of the Treaty of Belgrade (1739) to keep the status quo.²¹⁸

The Ottoman plenipotentiaries requested officials from the Porte for the determination of the borders. Some potential candidates for determining the borders of İrşova, Eflak and Bosna were Mabeyni Mustafa Efendi, Yusuf Agah Efendi, Kasapbaşı-zade İbrahim Efendi, Şehremini Mehmed Efendi and Mehmed Dürri Efendi, the third plenipotentiary of Zıştovi Conferences. None of the candidates were geographical experts or experienced in border drawing, so some experts were going to be included to the retinue. Abdürrahim Efendi, Ebu Bekir Ağa, the military architect, Seyyid Osman Halife military architect and senior architect Hafız Efendi were proposed as experts.²¹⁹ Mehmed Dürri Efendi was chosen for determining borders by Selim III and Abdurrahman Efendi joined his retinue, too.²²⁰ Nevertheless, due to the appointment of Dürri Efendi as the third delegate of Yaş Conferences, Ağa Hüseyin Paşa in Eflak, Sabık Abdullah Efendi in İrşova and İsmail İsmet Efendi, the old clerk

²¹⁷ Ottoman documents gives the name of Austrian officials as Gerenal Valis in Eflak and General Matruski in İrşova responsible for restoration. Ibid, vol, III, 187-188.

²¹⁸ Ibid, vol. III. 214-219.

²¹⁹ B.O.A. C..HR.. 122 6098.

²²⁰ B.O.A. HAT. 195 9688.

of Janissary, military engineer Abdurrahman Efendi and the Governor of Bosnia were charged with border issues.²²¹ The selected boundary commission was sent to the border with maps, which were prepared during the conferences, and they worked there until 1795 to draw the borders.²²²

According to the fifth article, the Ottoman Empire also accepted the Fortress of Hotin stay neutral deposit till the end of the Ottoman-Russo War. The Ottoman delegation demanded the delivery of the Fortress of Hotin in 9 months after a peace treaty is made with the Russians. Therefore, on 17 RA 1207/ 30 October 1792, Austria guaranteed the restoration of Fortress of Hotin to Ferhad Pasha or another Ottoman official within thirty one days.²²³

The Departure from Zıstovi and the Gifts for Prussian, British, Dutch and Austrian Delegates: The Ottoman and Austrian plenipotentiaries compromised on the articles and they exchanged the copies of the treaty to send to their capitals for ratification. The Prussian ambassador gave three copies of the treaty in French to the Ottoman Empire in 3 Z 1205/ 4 August 1791.²²⁴ The Ottoman plenipotentiaries informed İstanbul that the negotiations were completed and submitted a list of gifts to be presented to the foreign delegates.²²⁵ The list of gifts included five pelisses (*kürkli elbas*), five equipped horses and valuable sable (*bol yüklü samur kürk*) for delegates, eight sables (*kantoş samur kürk*) for the privy secretary, thirty robes for various servants and valuable sable for Alexander the dragoman of Divan-ı Hümayun. In addition to the gifts, Ottoman Empire paid the mediators for their contributions and helps; 30.000 *guruş* as for their needs and expenses and 35.000 *guruş* as gift to Prussian delegate Lucchesini, 30.000 *guruş* as allowance to the British²²⁶ and Dutch delegates. Moreover, 2.000 *guruş* was given to the privy secretary of Prussian delegate and 1.000 *guruş* was reserved for the British and Dutch privy secretaries. Yet, the

²²¹ *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, (1854), vol. III, 230. B.O.A. HAT 196 9776.

²²² Shaw, (1791), 64.

²²³ B.O.A. HAT. 222 12426C (14 RA 1207).

²²⁴ *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, (1854), vol. III., 203; B.O.A. HAT 1432 58619; C. HR. 122 6098.

²²⁵ B.O.A. HAT 195 9688. B.O.A. HAT 133 5506A (4 Z 1205)

²²⁶ British delegate Sir Robert Murray Keith wrote to his sister that he refused that gift. Keith is quoted in Hacer Topaktaş, *Osmanlı-Lehistan Diplomatik İlişkileri: Franciszek Piotr Potocki'nin İstanbul Elçiliği (1788-1793)*, (Ankara: TTK, 2014), 80. Also those amounts was not paid as cash Money. *Hazine tezkeresi* (Documents of Ottoman Treasure) was given to the plenipotentiaries. Beydilli, "Zıstovi Antlaşması", 472.

proposed money did not arrive at the same with the gifts but waited for until the arrangements were made in the central treasury.²²⁷

All delegates met in the conference venue to exchange the ratifications of the treaty on 22 Z 1205/ 22 August 1791. The Prussian delegate Lucchesini brought the Ottoman confirmation and the British delegate Keith brought Austrians to the middle of conference room. Desserts, coffee and sherbets (flavoured sugar water) were served to the delegates and they left the residence after acquiring the gifts listed above. Forty to fifty artillery shots saluted from the fortress of Zıştovi to honour the peace.²²⁸ The same day, the mediators left Zıştovi. Their dragomans returned to Istanbul and they were given 2.500 *guruş* as in Sultan's benevolence. Finally, the Austrian delegate Herbert Rathkeal left Zıştovi on the first day of M 1206/ August- September 1791.²²⁹

Sultan Selim III was pleased with the performance of Ottoman delegates at Zıştovi. He remarked that: "Our plenipotentiaries served very well in Zıştovi. ... Ten *kese* revenue to Abdullah Berri Efendi, five *kese* revenue and rank of Istanbul to İsmet Bey and five *kese* revenue to Mehmed Dürri Efendi must be given per annum."²³⁰ These three delegates mentioned were appointed to serve at the Yaş Conference thanks to their success at the Zıştovi conferences and in concluding the peace treaty.

The Fiscal Burden of Negotiations: The Ottoman and the Austrian Empires concluded the peace on 4 August 1791. The conferences lasted almost eight months. By determining Zıştovi as the venue of conference, the Ottoman Empire was elevated to the host position during the conferences in there. Prussian, Britain, Dutch mediator delegates and their retinue stayed in Zıştovi during the conferences, too. Five plenipotentiaries, three mediators and their servants were hosted by the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the expenses of all delegates were paid from Ottoman treasury. During the meetings about the determination of negotiation venue, fiscal problems came to the agenda but Abdullah Berri Effendi told in advance that it was the duty of treasurers not theirs. Consequently, the meetings took place in Zıştovi and the Ottoman treasury paid daily allowance for all of the delegates.

²²⁷ *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, (1854), vol. III., 218-219, 222.

²²⁸ *Ibid*, vol. III., 221-222.

²²⁹ *Ibid*, vol. III., 223.

²³⁰ B.O.A. HAT 192 9411.

The Ottoman Empire met the expenses of Zıştovi conferences from Imperial Treasury (*Darbhane-i Amire*) in general. According to a research on the registers of *Darbhane-i Amire* in the second half of the eighteen century, 1.239.001 *guruş* was paid for diplomatic matters and 595.045 *guruş* of it was allocated to cover the expenses of Zıştovi negotiations.²³¹ The expenses can be examined under the goods, daily expenses and gifts. For instance, the foreign plenipotentiaries requested payment for food for themselves and their servants. Later 5928 *guruş* 14 *akçe* were demanded from capital on 21 S 1205/ 30 Ekim 1790.²³² The treasury paid for 221, 5 *guruş* of the total amount and the remainder was going to be procured from *gümrük emini* (custom officials) with the approval of the Sultan.²³³ Those were supplied either as cash or in kind. For the guest delegates, the amount was paid monthly, bimonthly or quarterly. The Ottoman government allocated 23.424,5 *guruş* to the Britain delegate for three months, 7.680 *guruş* for a month or 14.962 *guruş* for the months of Ramadan and Şevval to Prussian delegate²³⁴, and 26.099 *guruş* to the Austrian delegate for three months, too. The money was paid from *Darbhane-i Amire*. The Ottoman Empire paid approximately 217.690,5 *guruş* for of the allowances of the foreign delegates for nine months according to those records. In addition, 131.500 *guruş* was granted from the Sultan's treasury as allowance and gifts to the delegates and their dragomans or privy secretary in cash. That amount was consistent with the registers of *Darbhane*.²³⁵

The numbers suggest that the expenses of the negotiation conferences became a heavy burden for the treasury. The Ottoman treasury spent 48% of its budget for diplomatic matters in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Selim III complained about such expenses every now and then. The Ottoman delegates requested 40.000 *guruş* from the central treasury. The Sultan, however, was in dire waters and he wrote them that "Plenipotentiaries demanded money, again... I suppose that *reis* and *defterdar* got into a partnership... send them 100 pockets *akçe* from *Darbhane* but write that I will execute *defterdar*, finally."²³⁶ Although the Ottomans demanded to

²³¹ Moreover, a big part of the source was supplied from the heritage of old governor of Moldavia Mavrogeni who was executed Ömerül Faruk Bölükbaşı, "XVIII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Darbhâne-i Âmire", (Ph.D. diss. Marmara Üniversitesi: 2010), 183.

²³² B.O.A. AE. SSLM. III. 171 10189 (is dated 29 Z 1205).

²³³ B.O.A. AE. SSLM. III. 171 10198 (is dated 29 Z 1205).

²³⁴ B.O.A. HAT. 209 11107 (is dated 29 Z 1205).

²³⁵ B.O.A. HAT. 195 9685 (is dated 29 Z 1205).

²³⁶ B.O.A. HAT 273 16039.

host the peace negotiations in the Ottoman territories, the expenses of the conferences became a problem.

The Appointment of New Envoys for the Reinforcement of the Peace: The Ottoman Empire did not establish permanent embassies in the foreign countries until 1793. However, the Ottoman envoys were sent abroad for various reasons such as ascension to throne, important events, and announcement of war or exchange of envoys after peace. For instance, the Ottoman Empire sent Kara Mehmed Ağa to Vienna after the Treaty of Vasvar (1665) or Abdülkerim Paşa to St. Petersburg after the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774).²³⁷ In accordance with this tradition, the exchange of second rank envoys exists in the thirteenth article of the Peace of Zıstovi. Thus, the appointment of envoys came to the agenda after the ratification of the treaty.

Austria appointed Herbert Rathkeal who was ambassador in Istanbul before war to Istanbul once more. He was also the Austrian ambassador to İstanbul before the war. Nevertheless, Ottoman Empire did not determine its ambassador to Vienna and Herbert frequently asked about the departure of the Ottoman ambassador to depart from Zıstovi. Yet, according to the Ottoman customs, the foreign powers should send their charge d'affaires to İstanbul first and two envoys had to be exchanged at the border. Therefore, the Austrian dragoman Testa was appointed as charge d'affaires in İstanbul.²³⁸ Testa arrived at İstanbul and gave his letter of credentials from his Emperor to Bab-ı Ali (Sublime Porte) on 3 S 1206/ 2 October 1791.²³⁹ At that time, Ebubekir Ratıb Efendi was proposed to be sent to Vienna as an ambassador. Selim III accepted his nomination and he was appointed as the Ottoman ambassador with the title of *baş muhasebeci* on 11 M 1206/ 10 September 1791.²⁴⁰ Herbert left Zıstovi after the departure of Ebubekir Ratıb Efendi. Before his departure, the Sultan ordered gifts to be prepared in accordance with the old lists of gift to the foreign kings. The Ottoman Empire, however, waived from sending gifts after they heard that Herbert did not bring any gifts to the Sultan. Therefore, Ratıb Efendi left the gifts which costed one thousand

²³⁷ İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı'ya Bakmak Osmanlı Çağdaşlaşması*, (İstanbul: İnkılap Yayınevi, 2016), 139.

²³⁸ B.O.A. C. HR. 122 6098.

²³⁹ Ali Osman Çınar, 229.

²⁴⁰ “Ratıb cümleden ehven görünür lakin mahzuru var mı yok mu bilmem. Bu mu olur yoksa bu sulhtekilerden hangisi olur ise tarafıma bildirsin.” B.O.A. HAT 194 9553; Fatih Yeşil, *Aydınlanma Çağında Bir Osmanlı Kâtibi Ebubekir Râtıb Efendi (1750-1799)*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2011), 53,54; Mükâleme Mazbatası, (1854), vol. III. 231..

pocket *akçe* with the army in Edirne.²⁴¹ Finally, on 17 S 1206/ 16 October 1791 Herbert Rathkeal arrived at Istanbul and he set up his residence in Galata.²⁴² On the other end, Ebubekir Ratıp Efendi reached Vienna on 12 February 1792.²⁴³

3.2.3 The attempts on Ottoman- British ally

The Ottoman Empire recognized the importance of securing alliances with Prussia's intervention into the war. The alliance between the Ottoman Empire and Prussia became effective on the peace decision of Leopold II. The Ottoman officials thought that the alliance would force Russia to make a peace through demands. Therefore, they organized conferences about forming alliances with Prussia and Sweden again during the peace negotiations.

Ottoman Empire signed an alliance with Prussia on 31 January 1790. According to the fourth article of the agreement, the alliance was going to be renewed as a defensive alliance and states such as Britannia, Dutch, Poland and Sweden might be included the alliance in future. By the forth article, the Prussian delegates began to negotiate about the renewal of alliance on Ca of 1205/ January of 1791. The Ottoman officials decided to renew the council meetings, so the Ottoman and Prussian delegates signed an offensive alliance once again on 27 Cemaziyelevvel 1205/ 1 February 1791.²⁴⁴ The articles of the alliance treaty, which were agreed upon in 1790 were accepted once again and according to the treaty Prussia would fight against Russia. Prussian delegate informed the Ottoman delegates about Prussian, British and Dutch war preparations against Russia.²⁴⁵

William Pitt, the British Prime Minister of the time, was uncomfortable with Catherine II's policy on the Ottoman Empire. Russia had gradually become powerful overwhelming the Ottoman power in the regions and this also threatening British trade in Black Sea. Also, a group of British Parliamentaries could not bear the consequences of the loss of Russian trade. Nevertheless, Pitt made an alliance with Prussia as a result of his Russian policy. Pitt and George III, supported declaring war against Russia in

²⁴¹ Adnan Baycar, *Osmanlı- Rus İlişkileri Tarihi (Ahmed Câvid Bey'in Müntehabatı)*, (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları, 2004), 702. Fatih Yeşil, (2011), 58, 59.

²⁴² Ibid, 236.

²⁴³ Fatih Yeşil, (2011), 113.

²⁴⁴ *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, (1854), vol. II, 11.

²⁴⁵ Ibid, vol. II, 80, 84, 97, 111; B.O.A. AE. SSLM. III. 431 24640.

order to help the Ottoman Empire. Pitt also persuaded the British Parliament to reinforce the British navy for similar reasons.²⁴⁶ His proposal however was strictly objected by James Fox and other antagonists. According to them, some little territorial gains of Russia on Ottoman lands did not affect the balance of Europe.²⁴⁷ But the House of Lords accepted the draft by 97 votes against 34 votes.²⁴⁸ Moreover, 228 members of the House of Commons accepted the reinforcement of the navy for war and 135 were against in the voting made on 28 March 1791.²⁴⁹ It seems that Pitt persuaded the House of Commons. The Prussian delegate Lucchesini gave the signals about the atmosphere in Britain in the 16 R 1205/ 19 May 1791 with the following remark: *“there are many revolutions and some members of parliament are against to war but still king and prime minister are stronger. However it is not clear to be defeat the opposition of war.”*²⁵⁰

The Ottoman Empire and Prussia expected Sweden would declare war against Russia with the support of Britain. The Ottoman Empire was allied with Sweden during war. However, the Swedish army and navy could last only two years against Russia. In 1790, 14 August Sweden signed Treaty of Varala with Russia on the basis of status quo ante bellum. Prussia was supporting the alliance between the Ottomans and the Swedes to ease the burden on Turkey. At the time, Prussia also did not have a formidable naval power. The Prussian delegate probably planned to use the Swedish ships in the Baltic Sea. The Ottoman officials negotiated with Lucchesini about an alliance with Sweden again. The Ottoman Empire was ready to make a new alliance with them if the Swedish army declared war against Russia. The Ottoman delegates obtained information about the situation of the Russian navy in the Baltic Sea from the Prussian delegate. According to his report, Catherine II had three hundred ships there and Sweden could provide harbour for the British ships. If this happened, the Ottoman Empire could pay money, a condition which was promised in alliance.²⁵¹ It seems that the Porte was prone to the idea of an alliance with Sweden because they were trying to find fiscal sources to the Swedish needs in the Council on 2 Şaban 1205/ 6 April

²⁴⁶ Bağçeci, “İngiltere Başbakanı Genç William Pitt ve Özi Krizi”, *The Pursuit of History*, 2014, issue. 12, 365.

²⁴⁷ Ibid, 369.

²⁴⁸ Bağçeci, (2014), 371,

²⁴⁹ Ibid, 373.

²⁵⁰ *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, (1854), vol. II, 122.

²⁵¹ Ibid, vol. II, 2.

1791. Although the Swedes made peace with Russia without the Ottoman Empire, if Ottoman Empire helped them financially, the articles would be valid as it was before, Sweden would attack Russia from the sea and on land, they would make a peace together, Prussia would grant to peace and Ottoman Empire would pay eighteen thousandpouches of *akçe* as war contribution; two thousand would be paid in signing the alliance treaty, two thousand would be paid within a year and fourteen thousand would be pay in instalments.²⁵² The Swedish king Gustav III agreed with the alliance proposal but he put forward three conditions. According to him, Britain would send a navy to the Baltic Sea, Prussia would begin to occupy Russian lands from Riga and the Ottoman Empire would help. The Ottoman Empire gave the authority of concluding the alliance to the Prussian ambassador to Istanbul on 15 Şaban 1204/ 19 April 1791.²⁵³

The Porte tried to make alliance with Sweden and include Britain to the Prussian alliance. This plan did not work because of the opposition in the British Parliament and intervention of Spain and Denmark. These two states informed the British and the Prussians that if they would fight against Russia; Spain and Denmark would side with Russia and the war would turn into a European War.²⁵⁴ William Pitt withdrew his draft on 30 March 1791 due to opposition and he informed Prussia about the opposition in parliament and public opinion against entering into the war on the side of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, the potential intervention of Spain and Denmark might have influenced Pitt's decision. Once the attempt of British alliance failed so the chance of other alliances were damaged as in a domino effect, Prussia expected the British navy would save her shores in the Baltic Sea and Sweden was trusted the British power against Russia. As a result, Ottoman the plans of forming an alliance against Russia were not successful.

Conclusion

²⁵² Ibid, vol. II, 72-73.

²⁵³ Ibid, vol. II, 81-82, 85. B.O.A. AE. SSLM. III. 426 24426.

²⁵⁴ *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, (1845), vol. II, 119-120. Denmark reported that Catherine II was the right for her demands in the documents sent by Denmark to Prussia. Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, 307.

Austria was involved in the Russo-Ottoman War in 1788 due to his alliance with Russia and with the intension not losing Russia as an ally against Prussia. The war ended with the Treaty of Zıştovi in 4 August 1791 for fifty years. The peace conference continued approximately eight months because of the disagreement on the base principle of peace and border and prisoner of war issues. The conferences was interrupted on 10 June 1791 by the departure of the Austrian delegates to Bucharest due to the expiration of the armistice period. They returned to Zıştovi on 17 July 1791 after the Ottoman delegates accepted the Austrian draft. Despite the Ottoman territorial and military losses, the plenipotentiaries took a firm stand on their instructions. The Ottoman plenipotentiaries made no concessions to Austria at first; but they accepted the Austrian articles about the Ottoman- Austrian front. The draft of the treaty was finally completed in the eighteenth meeting. It was signed by Sultan Selim III, on behalf of the Ottoman Empire and Catherine II, on behalf of Russia. The ratified treaties were exchanged nineteen days after the last conference.

CHAPTER 3

4 THE CONGRESS OF YAŞ (IASSI) 1791-1792

Introduction

The Treaty of Yaş was concluded after a series of diplomatic correspondences and seventeen negotiations, in the town of Yaş between the delegates of the Ottoman and Russian governments. The negotiations at Yaş began on 13 RA 1206/ 10th November and ended on 16 C 1206/ 10th February 1792. Koca Yusuf Pasha would represent the Porte while General Potemkin was appointed the head of the Russian delegation. Shortly before the negotiations' however, Potemkin got sick and he died on October 15th 1791. Alexander Andreyevich Bezborodko was appointed in his stead as the new head of the Russian delegation at Yaş after Potemkin's death. The Ottoman delegation included Abdullah Berri Efendi, İbrahim İsmet Bey and Mehmet Dürri Efendi- who were also present at the Zıstovi negotiations Alexander de Samoiloff, Lieutenant General of her Imperial Majesty's Armies, Joseph de Ribas, Major General of the Russian Armies, Commander of the Galley Fleet and Serge de Lascaroff, Councilor of State were appointed to the meetings by the Russian Tsarina Catherine II.

The purpose of this chapter is to study the peace negotiations of Yaş, in terms of preparations of the peace negotiations' process, the diplomatic etiquette of the Ottoman and Russian empires, the articles which became subject of intense debate during the meetings; the articles concerning Kuban, *Garb Ocakları*²⁵⁵ as well as war indemnity. Lastly, now more experienced than before, the strong attitude of the plenipotentiaries of Porte against Russia will be examined.

4.1 Preliminary Preparations for Peace

The Porte declared war against Russia in 1787 to take back Crimea. When the war began, however, the events developed not in line with Ottoman war plans and more territories were lost to Russia as the war progressed. Due to the military defeats,

²⁵⁵ There Ottoman provinces in North Africa; Algeria, Tunisia and Tripoli.

the Ottoman Empire had to make demand armistice from Russia in Kalas (1791) for eight months.²⁵⁶ Therefore, after a while since the conclusion of peace with Austria the Porte started negotiations in the town of Yaş.

Russian advances continued in the Balkans and Caucasia with full speed throughout 1790 and 1791. The Ottoman strongholds fell to the Russians one after another: the Fortress of Kili was lost to the Russians on 23 October 1790, and then the Fortresses of Isakçı and Tolçı fell (1790). Moreover, Potemkin stormed and captured the Fortress of Ismail on 23 December 1790.²⁵⁷ On the other hand, the Russian and Ottoman armies continued fighting in the battlefields during the spring of 1791. The last great war between the two armies occurred in *Maçin*. (9 July 1791).²⁵⁸ The Ottoman Empire was defeated there, too. In addition, the Russians also attacked the Ottoman Caucasia. Lack of coordination between the armies and the individual mistakes of some commanders was the root of problems. Battal Hüseyin Pasha, who was appointed as commander of Anapa, for example, did not depart from Trabzon for a long time. He finally reached Anapa on 28 August 1790 but he did not move fast enough to meet the Russian army. After a few battles, he left the army by itself and he himself took refuge with the Russian army.²⁵⁹ The leadership crisis of at Anapa continued the next year, too. Abdullah Pasha became the new commander but he also delayed his arrival. Russia finally attacked and took the Fortress of Anapa on 26 July 1791.²⁶⁰

Around the same time, Prussia and Britain met with the Russian minister Count Ostermann to mediate between the Porte and Russia. The venue was Petersburg (16 July 1791). According to the understanding in there, the River of Dniester was going to be border between the two, and Russia was going to return the Ottomans other territories she gained.²⁶¹ The Ottomans would leave the Fortress of *Özü* (Oczakov) to Russia. This had tragic meanings for the Porte because although the primary goal of Abdülhamid I and his Grand Vizier Yusuf Pasha was to recover

²⁵⁶ After the first meetings, Russian plenipotentiaries informed that Catherine II led them to make armistice for four months.

²⁵⁷ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 574-576.

²⁵⁸ Aysel Yıldız, “Maçin” for coming.

²⁵⁹ Cengiz Fedakâr, *Kafkasya’da İmparatorluklar Savaşı Kırım’a Giden Yolda Anapa Kalesi (1781-1801)*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2014), 162-168.

²⁶⁰ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 584, Fedakar, 176.

²⁶¹ B.O.A. HAT. 0263 15179F, Mükâleme Mazbatası, vol. IV, 5.

Crimea, they lost more territories in this region. Catherine II completed the occupation of Crimea by pushing the Ottomans to the other side of Dniester by this armistice.

Ali Ağa who was Ottoman official presented a letter on behalf of the Porte to the Russian commander Repnin to offer peace. Repnin responded positively by saying that Russian Empire was ready to make a peace proposing the restoration of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774) and Aynalıkavak Convention (1779). In addition to these treaties, Russia proposed the River of Dniester to be the natural borderline. Actually, Selim III never thought to conclude a peace immediately. He would prefer to make peace following a decisive victory against the enemy and thus under better conditions. In his words this intention was apparent; “I wrote that the peace would be made after a successful war before but now they made a peace without any war. Are all the supplies and the money from the treasury wasted? My imperial desire is making peace after a war.”²⁶² He also advised that the army should not fight to make peace.²⁶³ According to this, Selim III had still an expectation for gains from war.

The sultan also accused British government for insisting on an armistice due to the news received from Azmi Bey, Ottoman envoy to Berlin. According to his report, the ambassadors of Prussia and Britain in St. Petersburg met with the Russian ministers to negotiate a peace between the Ottoman and Russian empires. Prussia did not approve peace accepting the River of Dniester as the new border between two. However, it was not possible to resist against Russia without British support. Therefore, Prussia had to acknowledge the Russian demands on the left bank of Dniester because Britain forfeited her plans of war against Russia and she was supporting the idea of peace.²⁶⁴

The humiliating defeats and losses in the Caucasia and the Balkans as well as the bad news from Prussia and Britain made most of the high-ranking commanders

²⁶² “[...] ceng olunarak sulh olunsun deyü yazmış idim. Şimdi bunlar asla ceng tarafına uğramayup heman sulha şurü’ eylemişler bu kadar tedarükât ve hazine heba olsun mu? ceng eyleyüp sulh olmaları matlûb-ı Hümayunumdur [...]” Sema Arıkan, , *III. Selim’in Sırkâtibi Ahmet Efendi Tarafından Tutulan Rûznâme*, (Ankara: TTK, 1993), 31-32.

²⁶³ “Moskov müsalahasını ordunun kulağına komak cenk itmeyin bunu bahane idin demek gibidir. Niçin böyle mülâhaza idersiniz deyü ferman buyrulmuş.” B.O.A. HAT. 0209 11129 (29 Z 1205/ 29 August 1791).

²⁶⁴ BOA. HAT. 0263 15179B (16 M 1206/ 15 August 1791).

in the army to lean towards ending the war. Consequently, an imperial Council was held whereby the decision in favor of a peace with the Russians was agreed upon. The Sultan was informed about the decision and in Maçın the Ottomans offered to make peace with Russia in 5 Z 1205/ 6 July 1791 through the Grand Vizier and the commanders in the army.²⁶⁵ Since the armistice was to end soon, the idea of peace with Russia was discussed in the Ottoman army and the capital after the defeats of Maçın and Anapa against Russia. The Ottoman commanders informed *Bab-ı Ali* about the bad situation of army. Another council was held in Istanbul in the mansion of the *Şeyhülislam* in 20 Ş 1205/ 22 June 1791 and there they decided to make a peace with the Russian government.²⁶⁶ A *layiha* (booklet) was written on the lack of qualified soldiers for another council in 18 S 1206/ 17 October 1791. The report sought solutions to improve the conditions of each army and troop. The booklet did not advise demanding of a peace with Russia but also added the need to do so.²⁶⁷ Therefore, an armistice was signed between Prince Repnin, the commander of army in Maçın, and Vasıf Efendi Kalas (11 Z 1205/ 11th August 1791).²⁶⁸ The document had three articles: the treaty of Kaynarca and treaties signed after would be restored; Wallachia and Moldovia would be returned to the Ottoman Empire; and the River of Dniester would be the border between two empires.²⁶⁹ The Porte, however, was not satisfied with the articles. Selim III accused the delegate of the Porte as being a “*Kızılbaş*”²⁷⁰ as Vasıf sealed the drafts by accepting Dniester as border.²⁷¹ The armistice was to be valid for eight months. This armistice was labelled a glory for Repnin in the biography of Potemkin.

“The Dniester was considered as the natural boundary of the two empires: and, to settle these limits for ever in the most incontestable manner, the Turks consented to abandon all their possession between that river and the Bog. On these condition preliminaries were signed, and Prince Repnin had the glory of accomplishing this important business, the conclusion of which he had brought about by a single victory.”²⁷²

²⁶⁵ Enverî, *Tarih*, III, s. 832-37; Vasıf, *Tarih*, TY 5978, v. 96b-99 are quoted by Aysel Yıldız, “Maçın” forthcoming. Ali Osman Çınar, 242. Kemal Beydilli, “Yaş Antlaşması”, *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. XLII. (İstanbul: TDV, 2013), 424.

²⁶⁶ Arıkan, 18.

²⁶⁷ B.O.A. C.HR. 136 6798 (18 S 1206/17 October 1791)

²⁶⁸ B.O.A. HAT. 0201 10286 (29 Z 1205/ 29 August 1791). *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, vol. IV, 5. Çınar, 206.

²⁶⁹ Bayram, 849.

²⁷⁰ A religious sect related to the Alevis. It was used for humiliation in there. *Redhouse Sözlüğü Türkçe/Osmanlıca- İngilizce*, (İstanbul: Redhouse Yayınevi, 2014), 662.

²⁷¹ “*İşte Vasıf kızılbaş acele eyleyip Turla hudud olarak esas temessüklerini temhir eylemiş.*” Arıkan, 36.

²⁷² *Memoirs of the Life of Prince Potemkin; Field-Marshal, and Commender-in-Chief of the Russian Army, Grand Admiral of the Fleet, Knight of the Principal Orders of Prussia, Sweden, and Poland, and*

4.1.1 The Beginning of negotiations

Before the meeting of The Congress of Yaş, the issue of mediating came to the agenda a few times. Prussia, Britain and Dutch served as the mediators of Treaty of Zıstovi. In accordance with the alliance between the Ottoman Empire, Prussia would also be the mediator of Russo- Ottoman peace negotiations. Yet, the Russian government refused Prussian mediation. Actually, after the Ottoman War against Holly League in 1683-1700, Russia followed the same policy and she did not want any mediation and signed the Treaty of Istanbul in 1700 apart from the Treaty of Karlovitz (1699). On the other hand, before the meetings, Herbert Rathkeal, the Austrian delegate in Zıstovi, asked the mediation of Austria to the plenipotentiaries of Porte in Yaş negotiations. They reported his request to the Porte. According to Bab-ı Ali's relevant report, dated 12 M 1206/ 31 August 1792, Russia did not accept any mediation for peace. Therefore, Russia did not offer mediation to anyone, too. This meant that foreign mediation was impossible for Russia. Although Herbert came to Yaş, he could not attend the meetings. He could join the Ottoman delegation but was not a practical situation for the Ottomans. Herbert's aim was to obtain new concessions from the Ottomans.²⁷³ But, Selim III did not accept the Austrian mediation, either.²⁷⁴ Actually, Porte did not prefer the mediation of Austria because Austria was trustworthy for the Porte and it served as a good excuse for the Porte that Russia did not accept the idea. In addition, it was presumed that Russia was unhappy with Austria that she made a peace with the Ottomans without Russia. Thus meeting at Yaş were made conducted without mediation of any country.

After this minor crisis on the mediation issue, the venue of the negotiations was discussed. Unlike Zıstovi, however, the Porte was not much concerned about the venue for negotiations. It did not interfere in deciding on the venue. Apparently, the Porte preferred to make peace as soon as possible because of the defeats and unfavorable conditions of its army. The Russian government chose the town of Yaş, which already under Russian occupation. Before the meeting in the town, the Porte sent gifts. In response, General Potemkin requested valuable cloths from St. Petersburg to present

of All the Orders of Russia; &c &c Comprehending Original Anecdotes of the Catherine the Second and of Russian Court, (London: English and Foreign Public Library, 1812), 237.

²⁷³ B.O.A. HAT. 87 3557 (12 M 1206/ 31 August 1791).

²⁷⁴ B.O.A. HAT. 991 41835 (15 M 1206/ 3 September 1791).

as gifts for the Ottomans and he presented a precious dagger adorned with gold and *champlevé* to the Grand Vizier. The Ottoman plenipotentiaries presented valuable cloths and chandelier adorned with diamonds for Potemkin, too.²⁷⁵ As may be recalled, it was the Porte that met the expenses of foreign plenipotentiaries and mediators in the Congress of Zıştovi. This time the Russian government informed the Ottomans before their arrival that they would pay the expenses of the Ottoman delegates. The Ottoman delegates, however, did not consent that Russia pay their expense and they responded that the Porte could pay all costs of her delegates. Yet, the Russians insisted on paying the expenses delegates of Porte and delegates of Porte accepted the allowance from Russian Empire. Thus, Russians paid two hundred and fifty *guruş* per each plenipotentiary and fifty and forty *guruş* per dragoman of Porte and script.²⁷⁶

The Ottoman plenipotentiaries arrived at Yaş in 3 S 1206/ 2 October 1791.²⁷⁷ The meetings were delayed due to health problems of General Potemkin. At first he was expected to get better but his situation got worse. He left Yaş for Oczakov on 15 October 1791.²⁷⁸ He died near the village of Nikoloşet on the road to Oczakov.²⁷⁹ Following his death, Count Bezborodko was appointed as the new representative of Russia in Yaş negotiations. After the delay, the first meeting finally started on 13 Ra 1206/ 10 November 1791. They decided that meetings were going to be done on Monday, Thursday and Saturday.²⁸⁰ During the first meeting, the delegates exchanged their credentials. The Russian party informed that Catherine II did not agree with the duration of eight months armistice and it would be changed to four months.²⁸¹ This demand was not accepted because delegates of Porte insisted on eight months. Yet, the four months armistice was accepted practically since the peace treaty was concluded in four months. The next meeting was held four days later, and as usual, the first topic to be discussed was about the subjects. Both sides mutually agreed on the status of the Ottoman and Russian subjects. Actually, it was the common article in most treaties present that was designed to protect the lives of the civil population in warzones. According to the Russian draft this topic was settled as such:

²⁷⁵ *Mükaleme Mazbatası*, vol. IV, 9. B.O.A. HAT. 146 6137 (19 M 1206/ 18 September 1791).

²⁷⁶ *Mükaleme Mazbatası*, vol. IV, 22.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 6.

²⁷⁸ *Memoirs of the Life of Prince Potemkin*, 241.

²⁷⁹ *Mükaleme Mazbatası*, vol. IV, 9. Arıkan, 48.

²⁸⁰ Beydilli, “Yaş Antlaşması”, 344.

²⁸¹ *Mükaleme Mazbatası*, vol. IV, 14-17. Arıkan, 52.

“[...] grant a reciprocal amnesty and general pardon to all those of their subjects, without any distinction, who have committed any crime against either of the two parties, setting at liberty those who are in the galleys or in prison, permitting all persons in exile, or banished, to return to their homes, with promise to restore to them, [...]”²⁸²

Another meeting between the Ottoman and Russian delegates was held on 24 RA 1206/ 21 November 1791. After the presentation of Count Bezborodko, his credential was read in meeting. He notified that Russia demanded twenty four thousand *kise* (purse) as war indemnity, and this became the hot topic of discussion. The Ottoman delegates objected the war indemnity on the grounds that it was already discussed in the meetings of armistice and the Russian delegate Repnin withdrew his demand. The remaining Russian delegates, however, were insisting on this article. Following this, the draft of an agreement containing 12 articles was presented. The new draft stipulated the cessation of hostility on both sides, the renewal of previous peace treaties, the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774), commercial treaties and Aynalıkavak Treaty, and the recognition of the occupation of Kuban, Crimea and Tuman. The River Dniester was to be accepted as the official border between the two empires. On the other hand, the fortresses of Bucak, Akkirman, Kili and Ismail and other territories would be returned to the Ottoman Empire with the condition of tax exemption for the native population of these regions for two years. There were other articles of the same draft on various issues, such as that the governor of Ahışa and Lezgians was not going to attack to Tiflis, Kuban was going to be an independent region.

Apparently, there were minor clauses which were considered problematic by the Ottoman delegates. Nonetheless, they informed the Russian plenipotentiaries that they were ready to accept most articles. However, they mentioned that they were not authorized to accept the war indemnity, the independence of Kuban and compensation of *Garb Ocakları*. Moreover, although the left bank of Dniester would be left to Russia, they demanded territory from there to build fortification. These four articles were decided to be discussed during the next meetings. In addition, the Russian delegate Baruc was sent to Grand Vizier to discuss these contradictory articles, the

²⁸² *Journals of the House of Commons: From January the 32st, 1792, in the Thirty-second Year of Reign of King George the Third to November the 15th, 1792, in the Thirty-third Year of the Reign of King George of the Third.* (1803), 820-821.

Ottoman third plenipotentiary Mehmed Dürri Efendi was charged with a similar mission to discuss with Count Bezborodko.

4.2 The Debates on Four Problematic Articles

4.2.1 The Border of *Turla* (Dniester)

The Crimean territory had served as a buffer zone between Ottoman and Russian empires until the Russian annexation of Crimea. The Ottomans became neighbors with the Russians in the north by the recognition of annexation in the Aynalıkavak Treaty (1784).²⁸³ The border issue between the two empires came to the agenda once again in the Yaş negotiations. According to the armistice (1791), the Dniester would be the natural border between two empires. The Ottomans, however, claimed that Repnin and Potemkin promised to give some territories from the left bank of Dniester and the Porte accepted the armistice under this condition.²⁸⁴ In the fifth meeting, the Ottoman delegates demanded some territories from the left bank of the river for the security of their borders. In response, the Russian delegates argued that it would be very insecure for their Empire if the Ottomans owned these territories. The Russian delegates added that the ambassadors of Prussia and Britain accepted the Dniester border in Petersburg and if this clause was not to be accepted, the armistice would be cancelled. They argued on this issue for five or six hours but they did not compromise.²⁸⁵ Thereupon Bezborodko informed that Catherine II consented to peace thanks to the article of Dniester border so the consideration of the article was under the responsibility of neither Potemkin nor anybody.²⁸⁶

Upon this misunderstanding, the Ottoman plenipotentiaries asked the Grand Vizier his views on a *modus vivendi*. Yusuf Pasha sent three reports to them.²⁸⁷ He preferred to accept the Dniester border without taking any territories than starting a new war but in return he requested that the Russian government not build any

²⁸³ M.S. Anderson, "The Great Powers and the Russian Annexation of the Crimea, 1783-84", *The Slovenic and East European Review*, vol. 37, No. 88 (Dec., 1958), 18.

²⁸⁴ Ibid, 38.

²⁸⁵ B.O.A. HAT. 147 6210A (09 R 1206/ 6 December 1791) . Mükâleme Mazbatası, 44-47.

²⁸⁶ *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, vol. IV, 52.

²⁸⁷ 8 R 1206/5 December 1791, 14 R 1206/ 11 December 1791 and 17 R 1206/ 17 December 1791 (after meeting with Baruc).

fortifications in Özi and Hocabey.²⁸⁸ Nevertheless, the Russian delegates were insistent on the first version of article. Therefore, finally the Porte accepted the article concerning the border of Dniester. According to the article, the left bank of Dniester became Russian territory. This meant that the fortress of Özi and Hocabey were left to Russia and she could build fortifications wherever she wanted on there. Thus, Russia completed the annexation of Crimea and the Porte lost a fortress which was strategically important against northern incursions.

4.2.2 The Independence of Kuban

The Kuban issue was related to the Ottoman lands in the Caucasus. The independence of Crimea was already settled by the Küçük Kaynarca (1774). The Russian Empire then occupied the Crimea step by step and the Ottoman Empire agreed to the Russian occupation finally by the Treaty of Aynalıkavak in 1783. The Russian delegates demanded the resign of these old treaties during the Yaş negotiations. Moreover, Russia tried to include the territories of Kuban to Crimea this time. The Ottoman Empire was supposed to renew the treaty, which recognized the occupation of the Crimea, Tuman and Kuban. Yet, the Ottoman delegates objected that Kuban was not among the Crimean territories and therefore the specific reference of Kuban was omitted from the article.²⁸⁹ The Ottoman Empire accepted the recognition of Tuman and Crimean annexation in Yaş but still the issue of Kuban was not resolved.

During the negotiations Russia demanded that the territory of Kuban become independent by the sixth article of the draft. However, the Ottoman delegates rejected this idea right from the beginning. According to a report of Ottoman plenipotentiaries, dated R 1206/ October-November 1791, the issue was discussed in Kalas but it was not accepted. Kuban had a multi-ethnic population, and independence of this territory could have negative repercussions in Anatolia because the independence could create turmoil among the groups in the north of the empire and spread to the Ottoman territories.²⁹⁰ The Porte was ready to continue the war instead of recognizing the independence of Kuban. The Russian delegates presented the article concerning the Kuban issue with some changes during the meetings. The Russian side suggested that Kuban would continue to be under Ottoman control but if any Kuban tribesmen

²⁸⁸ *Mükaleme Mazbatası*, vol. IV, 63, 65.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 32.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 37.

attacked any Russian territory or populations, the Russian army could intervene in Kuban. This proposal was not accepted by the the Ottoman plenipotentiaries. Because this could lead to appeal from the native people for help from the Porte the situation could lead to a new war between two empires.²⁹¹ Instead, the Ottoman delegates proposed that Soğucak and Anapa would be left to the Ottoman Empire; the Kuban River would be the border between the Russia and Ottoman Empires, the latter promising to restrain the Kuban tribes.²⁹² The Russians, however, did not accept the Ottoman proposal because the Russians were suspicious of the Ottoman capacity or willingness to restrain the Kuban tribes. Count Bezborodko sent a report about Kuban to the Ottoman delegates arguing that;

“The subjects of Ottoman Empire in Kuban pillaged the goods and livestock of the Russian subjects. The damage was compensated but the kidnapped people were already sold as slaves. [...] The treaties with China and Maçin had harsher conditions for the Chinese than this proposal. The Chinese had to pay ten times more than what they stole. We did not demand it. [...] If we accept your draft, the fighting can start again one or two years later.”²⁹³

The Ottoman high ranking officials met at the Council named as ‘*Kethüda Bey Mükalemesi*’ during the same time with Yaş negotiations. The records of the Council were sent to the Ottoman plenipotentiaries in Yaş. According to the records, the proposed articles were discussed among the officials of the Porte. Neither the Kuban independence nor the Russian intervention in Kuban was acceptable for the Ottoman officials at the meeting. There they argued that: “Russia reports that the tribes of Kuban can do something. They cannot resist Russia! The Khans of Dağıstan and Lezgians get involved in the conflict. God Forbid! The half of Anatolia may be lost.”²⁹⁴

The Russian delegates proposed the third version of the article concerning Kuban in the thirteenth meeting (12 CA 1206/ 7 January 1792). According to the new version, Anapa and Soğucak would be returned to the Ottoman Empire, Kuban would be border between the two Empires but if any of the Kuban tribes attacked Russian borders for plunder, the Ottoman Empire would compensate the damages from its own treasury. The Russians added that deadline of armistice was approaching and it was the last proposal for Kuban. The Ottoman delegates left the the meeting room to discuss the new version. After the discussions they submitted their acceptance of the

²⁹¹ Ibid, 96.

²⁹² Ibid, 99.

²⁹³ B.O.A. HAT. 147 6209 (11 CA 1206/ 6 January 1792), *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, vol IV, 109-110.

²⁹⁴ *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, 136-137.

Kuban article by the last version.²⁹⁵ Also, they guaranteed that the article would be announced to the governor of Ahıska and other officials at the Kuban border.²⁹⁶

4.2.3 Issue of Garp Ocakları

The Ottoman provinces of Algeria, Tunisia and Tripoli were named as *Garp Ocakları*. These provinces had semi-independent governments. There were pirates in *Garp Ocakları* which were ruled by the local elites and those provinces practiced pirate activities in the Mediterranean Sea. Throughout the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire made treaties with European states because of piracy and protecting the European merchants from pirate activities was involved in the treaties. But piracy activities became problem again when the Ottoman Empire lost control on the pirates.²⁹⁷ Austria discussed the subject in the Zıştovi negotiations and there was an article concerning the protection of the merchants and compensation in the treaty. Russia demanded the same right in the Congress of Yaş.

The Russian plenipotentiaries brought this issue to consideration during the negotiations. In the seventh meeting (7 R 1206/4 December 1791) they requested that the clause ‘compensation of Russian merchants will be paid by Ottoman treasury’ to be included in the article, because the pirates of Garp Ocakları continued attacking the merchants despite the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca and trade agreements. Before the conclusion of peace, Catherine II already announced the acceptance of the trade article to her subjects. The Ottoman delegates informed the Russians that they did not have permission to make it and they added that the privilege was given to Austria in Reichenbach and the Ottoman Empire accepted it as the base of Treaty of Zıştovi.²⁹⁸

The Ottoman plenipotentiaries reported the developments to the Grand Vizier and Porte. The grand vizier Yusuf Pasha wrote that the article was not as critical as the renewal of hostilities but the privilege about trade could be given to Russia if it was included in the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca.²⁹⁹ Again, the reports coming from Porte on 14 R 1206/ 11 December 1792 referred the same decision; the article could be

²⁹⁵ Ibid, 118-119.

²⁹⁶ B.O.A. HAT. 0274 16120C (29 Z 1205/29 August 1791).

²⁹⁷ Serhat Kuzucu, “XVIII. Yüzyılda Uluslararası Bir Sorun Olarak Garp Ocakları’nın Akdeniz’deki Korsanlık Faaliyetleri”, *Akademik Bakış*, vol. 7, n. 17, 2015, 175-176.

²⁹⁸ B.O.A. HAT. 147 6210 A (9 R 1207/ 6 December 1791). *Mükaleme Mazbatası*, vol. IV, 59-62.

²⁹⁹ *Mükaleme Mazbatası*, vol. IV, 63-64.

accepted.³⁰⁰ After getting the instructions, the Ottoman delegates offered that the Porte could accept the article about Garp Ocakları in exchange of their demands on Kuban in the ninth meeting but this offer was rejected.³⁰¹ Selim III sent his authorization to accept this article in 25 R 1206/ 22 December.³⁰²

In Yaş, Mehmed Dürri Efendi paid a visit to Bezborodko, and notified him that the Russian demand on the issue was accepted.³⁰³ The plenipotentiaries of two sides finalized the seventh article on Garp Ocakları by adding the expression that '[...] the Sublime Porte, upon the requisition of the minister or chargé d'affaires of the Empire of Russia, engages to pay and satisfy the injured party from the imperial treasury, in the space of two months [...]' They specified the due date time for the payment of the compensation.. The Russian party demanded the compensation be paid within thirty days while the Ottomans insisted on three months, so the parties compromised on the issue that compensations would be paid within forty days after each attack.³⁰⁴

4.2.4 The War Indemnity Issue

One of the issues negotiated at the Yaş Congress was the war indemnity issue. Russia got a huge sum of war indemnity from Ottoman Empire following the War of 1768-1774 as specified in the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca.³⁰⁵ During the Yaş negotiations, the same demand was renewed by the Russians and Count Bezborodko delivered the Russian war indemnity demand (which was worth 24.000 *kise akçe*) to the Ottoman delegates when he presented his authorization.³⁰⁶

The Porte was already in the midst of a financial crisis and a war indemnity would only deteriorate the situation. Therefore, Yusuf Pasha informed his plenipotentiaries that the payment of a new indemnity was impossible for the

³⁰⁰ Ibid, 65

³⁰¹ Ibid, 76.

³⁰² Ibid, 131.

³⁰³ Ibid, 106. B.O.A. HAT. 147 6209 (11 CA 1206/ 6 January 1792).

³⁰⁴ For instance, four months after the peace, Russian embassy began to report Russian merchants who were attacked to Bab-ı Ali and practise of it can be followed Ottoman archival documents. For instance, a document which is dated 6 ZA 1206/ 26 June 1792; embassy mentioned some storage of Russians in Galata and a Russian merchant who is named Yudin? (یودین). They demanded storage to open and compensation of Yudin due to Garp Ocakları to be paid. B.O.A. C..HR.. 21 1022 (6 ZA 1206/26 June 1792).

³⁰⁵ In the additional article of treaty, war indemnity was written as fifteen *kise* (seven and half million *guruş*). Osman Köse, *1774 Küçük Kaynarca Andlaşması*, (Ankara: TTK, 2006),119.

³⁰⁶ Mükâleme Mazbatası, vol. IV, 25.

Empire.³⁰⁷ The basic argument of the Grand Vizier was that the indemnity was already discussed during the armistice negotiations, and the Porte signed the armistice without an indemnity clause.³⁰⁸ On 24 R 1206/ 21 December 1791, an Imperial Council was summoned in Istanbul and the Council decided that it was impossible to pay indemnity to Russia.³⁰⁹ This signified the final decision of the Porte. Thus, the Ottoman plenipotentiaries informed the Russian delegate that the Porte would not give more than twenty four thousand *kise akçe*. Bezborodko wrote a letter to the delegates for this issue stating that the responsibility of deciding on the indemnity was not at the hands of Prince Repnin; the compensation was the decision of Catherine II.³¹⁰ The Russian delegate Baruc presented a letter to Yusuf Pasha explaining the reasons of indemnity demand to the plenipotentiaries. The letter began with explaining the developments from the start of the negotiations. According to the letter, Herbert, Austrian envoy, submitted the Ottoman war declaration to Catherine II and he requested that the Ottoman subjects and merchants in the Russian territories be protected by Russia because he could save the Russians in the Ottoman territory with the permission of Sultan. After a few days he sent another courier and reported that he could not save the subjects of Russia in the Ottoman Empire although Russian officials avoided mistreatment of the Ottomans in the Russian territories. Therefore, Catherine II stated that she would not make a peace until a million³¹¹ per ship would be taken as an indemnity. When she sent her plenipotentiaries to Yaş, she reminded them not to forget to include a clause of indemnity.³¹² On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire was not ready to pay this amount because the compensation clause accepted in the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca caused great burden for the imperial treasury.

Selim III sent his Imperial Script about compensation to his delegates in Yaş on 20 R 1206/17 December 1791. The Script informed that the indemnity could not be paid to Russia due to the lack of cash in the treasury.³¹³ In another decree, Selim III asked to the Council whether treasury could pay twenty four thousand *guruş* or not and he ordered them to discuss that topic throughout.³¹⁴ The Council was summoned

³⁰⁷ In 8 R 1206/ 5 December 1791

³⁰⁸ Ibid, 64.

³⁰⁹ Ibid, 97.

³¹⁰ B.O.A. HAT. 147 6209 (11 CA 1206/ 6 January 1792). Mükâleme Mazbatası, vol. IV, 111.

³¹¹ The currency is not clear in the document but ruble is more possible than *guruş*.

³¹² Mükâleme Mazbatası, vol. IV, 112-114.

³¹³ Ibid, 130.

³¹⁴ Ibid, 132.

once again on this issue. The record of this meeting, which was called *Kethüda Bey Mükalemesi*, was sent to the Ottoman delegates. This document is actually a report of the views of the members of the Council on war indemnity. Some of them decided to calculate how much money the Russians demanded. Some others thought that it was a tribute to be paid to the enemies. According to another group, this amount should be paid and the peace should be made because Ottoman army could not resist against Russia any more contrary to what the Grand Vizier notified. This group claimed that Russia made peace with Sweden and her navy could pass from the Baltic Sea to reach the Mediterranean Sea. The arrival of Russian navy to the Mediterranean Sea could be disastrous for the Ottoman navy, which could not resist against the Russian navy in Black Sea. Some of them advised to take a debt of fifty *kise akçe* from the Grand Vizier but that idea was not supported because empire needed more essential solutions. They mentioned the indemnity clause of Küçük Kaynarca and the damages on the treasury as an example. Finally, it was decided that the amount should be lowered and paid in installments.³¹⁵ Under this condition, Selim III gave permission to the plenipotentiaries to accept the article of indemnity.³¹⁶

In the thirteenth meeting, therefore, the Ottoman delegates were ready to accept twenty four thousand *kise akçe* as the war indemnity, after securing the permission of Porte. With a twist of fate, however, Bezborodko entered the meeting hall to announce that Catherine II gave up on the indemnity while the meeting was in session.³¹⁷ This dramatic event occurred right before the Ottomans would announce the Sultan's decision to accept the indemnity demand. Actually, no one knows why the Tsarina changed her mind. The French Revolution and the revolutionary wars in Europe (1789) might be effective on the decision of Catherine II. Austria tried to form an anti-revolutionary alliance against French revolutionaries in Europe. This idea signalled the coming of a big war in Europe. Thus, Russia must have thought to be prepared for any situation that might occur in the near future. Selim III's *sırkatibi* (privy secretary) Ahmed Efendi mentioned the same point in his *ruzname* (Daily Routines of the Sultans). According to the *Ruzname*, the French Revolution worried the European monarchies and apparently those states planned to make alliance against the revolutionaries. According to him, the aim of the anti-revolutionary states was to

³¹⁵ Ibid, 132-136.

³¹⁶ Arıkan, 57.

³¹⁷ *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, vol. VI, 119. Arıkan, 59.

capture Paris, so Catherine II withdrew her indemnity demands. Moreover, Ahmed Efendi thought that the Ottoman Empire could be damaged much more if the revolution did not break out.³¹⁸ “May God cause the upheaval in France to spread like syphilis to the enemies of the Empire, hurl them into prolonged conflict with one another, and thus accomplish results beneficial to the Empire, amen.”³¹⁹ His assumption was logical and he was proven right when the events unfolded as such after the peace. Britain, Austria, Prussia, Sicily and Piedmont declared war against revolutionary France and Russia joined them in 1799, and Catherine II sent an army under the command of Suvarov to France.³²⁰

As result, it was apparent that the Porte depleted her resources during the war and the Empire desperately needed peace. Thus, the Sultan was ready to pay compensation for making peace. In addition, Russia preferred peace, too, despite being victorious in the battlefields. The tension in Europe especially affected the Russian policy on continuing the war against the Ottomans. Moreover, some natural factors such as famine, which was mentioned in the first chapter, might have been another reason for the Russian change of mind about war.

4.3 The Completion of the Peace Negotiations

The Ottoman and Russian plenipotentiaries made thirteen negotiations until they compromised on all articles of the treaty. In thirteenth meeting, the issues of Kuban, Garb Ocakları and war indemnity were resolved by Ottoman acceptance of paying compensation to the Russian merchants and Russian withdrawal of demands for war indemnity and independence of Kuban. The articles of Garb Ocakları and Kuban were finalized and exchanged in the fourteenth meeting.³²¹ *Temessük* (title deed) which was written in two languages -Russian and French- was prepared in the fifteenth meeting (15 CA 1206/ 10 January 1792) and it was sent with a Turkish translation to the Porte to be approved within five weeks. The Ottomans celebrated the

³¹⁸ Arıkan, 60.

³¹⁹ Pisani was quoted by Thomas Naff, “Ottoman Diplomacy and Great Powers, 1797-1802”, (Unpublished PhD, University of California-Berkeley, 1961), 117.

³²⁰ Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Revolution*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 85-86.

³²¹ *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, vol. IV, 120.

first phase of peace with the artillery shooting.³²² With the arrival of Yusuf Paşa's and Bezborodko's *teyitname* (the document of confirmation), the plenipotentiaries gathered in the meeting hall on 2 C 1206/ 28 January 1792. The Russian privy secretary read their approval in French and the dragoman of Russia translated it into Russian. The Ottoman *mükâleme katibi* (negotiation scribe) read it in Ottoman and the dragoman Alexander read the translation of it. Following this, the drafts were sent to Yusuf Pasha and Bezborodko for confirmation.³²³ They made a final negotiation on 16 C 1206/ 11 February 1792 after the arrival of *tasdikname* of Selim III and Catherine II. The scribes read and exchanged the documents to conclude the peace.³²⁴ Catherine II's *tasdikname* reached Istanbul on 1 B 1206/ 24 February 1792.³²⁵

After the end of the negotiations, the Ottoman delegates left Yaş on 24 C 1206/ 19 February 1792 and reached the imperial headquarters on 11 B 1206/ 5 March 1792.³²⁶ On the road to the headquarters, they ran across the Muslim captives. Russia freed them by issuing passports and giving them some money to reach Silistre or Şumnu.³²⁷ The Ottoman delegates arrived at Istanbul on 13 Ş 1206/6 April 1792.³²⁸

4.3.1 The Gift Presented

The delegates of the Porte brought some gifts to the Russians at the very beginning of negotiations and after the end of the negotiations. Unlike the Austrian delegate Herbert Rahtkeal, the Russians preferred to give gifts to the Ottoman delegates, too. Count Bezborodko sent the Sultan a diamond ornamented with flower via Teşrifatî Ahmet Bey, who became a member of the Ottoman delegation after the eighth meeting.³²⁹ Following the completion of draft, the Ottoman plenipotentiaries reported the Porte that the gifts for the Russian delegation should be prepared before the exchange day of the *tasdikname*. They advised the gifts prepared for the Russians to be more valuable than the ones presented to the Austrians and Prussians in Zıştovi

³²² Ibid, 127. B.O.A. C. HR. 69 3448 (29 C 1206/ 23rd February 1792).

³²³ *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, vol. IV, 147.

³²⁴ Ibid, 151.

³²⁵ Arıkan, 62.

³²⁶ *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, vol. IV, 152.

³²⁷ Ibid, 157.

³²⁸ Arıkan, 68.

³²⁹ *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, vol. IV, 65.

and they should be prepared for six privy secretaries and three dragomans of Bezborodko.³³⁰

A letter of the deputy of the Grand Vizier (*Kaimakam*) listed gifts in addition to the adorned horses for the Russian delegates. According to the report, two hundred *dirhem*³³¹ Oudh, a bottle of rosewood, three bottles rose geranium, a prayer rug made in Thessaloniki, tobacco, five hundred *kiyye*³³² Yemen coffees, a pocket of musk soap and valuable fabrics were prepared for Count Bezborodko. A bottle of rose geranium, one and half hundred *dirhem* oodh, ornaments with diamond, and some money was spared for Baruc.³³³ Some valuable fabrics and some money were to be fixed for his dragoman. After the exchange of *temessük*, Yusuf Pasha would send zibeline, one thousand *yaldız* and *Macar* gold, a chandelier with jewels, and fabrics worth 2160 *guruş* to Bezborodko.³³⁴ After the exchange of *tasdikname* the Porte planned sending a diamond ring worth 35.000 *guruş*, a chain watch with diamond worth 10.000 *guruş*, a golden box with diamond worth 10.000 *guruş* to Bezborodko, three diamond rings worth 30.000, 20.000 and 10.000 *guruş* to the other plenipotentiaries and 30.000 *guruş* to privy secretaries.³³⁵ The Ottoman delegates presented some money to the Russian scribes and the dragomans for their services, as 4.500, 3.500, 2.000, 1.000 *guruş*, respectively.³³⁶

The Porte also presented gifts to each delegate at Zıştovi but the Austrian government did not present anything to the Ottoman plenipotentiaries. The Russian delegates in Yaş, however, exchanged presents in return, including a diamond ring, a valuable box, zibeline and fur of stoat to the senior delegate of Ottoman Empire, a diamond ring, a watch, zibeline and fur of stoat for the second delegate and a watch, a box, zibeline and fur of stoat for the third delegate. In addition to the delegates, the Russians gifted rings with diamonds and some of gold to the scribes and some watches, rings and boxes to other officials.³³⁷

³³⁰ Ibid, 128-129.

³³¹ Ottoman unit of measure. 1 *dirhem*: 0,003207 kg. = 3,207 gr.

³³² *kiyye*: 1,282 kg.

³³³ Ottoman senior delegate Abdullah Berri Efendi requested Abruc to be presented due to his contributions to peace. B.O.A. HAT. 0032 1517.

³³⁴ *Mükaleme Mazbatası*, vol. IV, 145.

³³⁵ Ibid, 148,152.

³³⁶ Ibid, 152.

³³⁷ Ibid, 151.

4.3.2 The Exchange of ambassadors

Ottoman Empire had not established residential embassies in the other stated until 1793. Sultans had sent envoys to inform war, success, wedding ceremonies and other important events. As a piece of tradition, Ottoman Empire had sent and received delegates as envoys and ambassadors after the peace treaties. Ottoman Empire sent Ebubekir Ratıp Efendi to Vienna by the Zıřtovi Treaty. The Yař Treaty involved an article concerning exchange of ambassadors extraordinary between two empires. The plenipotentiaries in Yař had informed about appointment of ambassadors, route of them and other details.

The Treaty of Yař involved an article about the exchange of ambassadors extraordinary between the two empires. The plenipotentiaries in Yař informed each other about the appointment of ambassadors, route of them and other details. Thus, Ottoman delegate demanded the nomination of an ambassador from the Porte.

After the fifteenth meeting on 15 CA 1206/ 10^t January 1792, the plenipotentiaries requested the nomination of ambassadors extraordinary to the Porte once again because the delegation was planning to announce the names of the ambassadors of both sides until the exchange day of *tasdikname*.³³⁸ In the sixteenth meeting, Bezborodko notified that the ambassadors would be exchanged in Bender. Alexander de Samoiloff was announced as the new ambassador of Russia to Istanbul and he left on 5 C 1206/ 30 January 1792 to go to St. Petersburg for preparations.³³⁹ The name approved by Sultan Selim III was Ahmet Azmi Efendi, who was in Berlin with the duty of ambassador, he was conferred the title of *beylerbey* of Rumelia upon his appointment. The Sultan ordered that the Prussian king and Azmi Efendi to be informed about the situation and his name was given to Russia as the Ottoman ambassador on 16 C 1206/ 10th February 1792.³⁴⁰ However, Mustafa Rasih Efendi was sent to Russia taking the title of *beylerbey* of Rumelia as ambassador in 1792 and General Michael Larjonoviř Goleniřev Kutusov was sent to the Ottoman Empire.³⁴¹

³³⁸ Ibid, 120.

³³⁹ Ibid, 147.

³⁴⁰ Ibid, 150.

³⁴¹ Beydilli, “Yař Antlařması”, 347. See. Yılmaz Karakaya, “Mustafa Rasih Efendi’nin 1793 Tarihli Rusya Sefâretnâmesi” (Unpublished M.A. diss. İstanbul Üniversitesi:1996).

Conclusion

The negotiation process at Yaş was begun with signing of the armistice between two empires on 11 Z 1205/ 11 August 1791. Unlike Zıştovi Negotiations, the Ottoman Empire did not insist on hosting the meetings. The reasons were financial problems and ongoing defeats. During the meetings, the Ottoman party avoided resuming the war. The Porte's attitude was especially towards peace. The Ottomans met the demands moderately during the meetings except the issues of the independence of Kuban and war indemnity. The articles except these did not cause great challenge for both Empires. The Russians and the Ottomans held nine meetings together, from the fourth to the thirteenth they were alone. The seventeenth meeting was summoned including all of the delegates.

The Treaty of Yaş can be considered as a diplomatic triumph for the Ottoman delegates. The Ottomans lost only the Fortress of Özi and its close vicinity despite the fact that during the war Russia captured all of Boğdan (Moldovia). The Ottoman delegates also persuaded the Russians to give up from their demand of twenty four thousand *kise* war indemnity. The Ottoman delegation concluded the peace treaty with the minimum damage possible on 16 C 1206/ 11 February 1792.



5 CONCLUSION

The last war between the Ottoman Empire and the Austrian Empire took place between 1788 and 1791. Russia, however, soon joined the war against the Ottomans and fought until 1792. The rivalry between the Russian and Ottoman empires intensified following this war in the nineteenth century. The war unveiled the lack of organization and weakness of the Ottoman army in the battlefields of Europe. The Ottoman army literally fell apart twice, once in the Battle of Fokşan (1789) and once at Buzou (1789) by the allied armies of Russia and Austria. A great part of Ottoman

north-western territory was lost to enemies within a short period of time. To cope with the continuous losses the Ottomans began to pay more attention to diplomacy to preserve the very existence of the Empire. After these defeats and losses, the Porte became allies with Sweden and Prussia against the common enemies, Russia and Austria. By successful diplomatic attempts and with the help of European political and diplomatic developments, the Ottoman diplomatic delegations succeeded in taking most of the territories lost to Russia and Austria back in the negotiations at Zıřtovi and Yař.

In this dissertation, the peace negotiations of Zıřtovi (1791) and Yař (1791-1792) were examined in terms of physical preparations, draft discussions, Ottoman diplomatic etiquette and financial issues. The purpose of the thesis was to understand the Ottoman orientation towards modern diplomacy during the peace negotiations. The details of the negotiations were followed from *Mükaleme Mazbatası*³⁴², which was used as the main primary source in writing the second and third chapters. The work involves four volumes. Three of them include details about the Zıřtovi negotiations and last one gives details of the Yař negotiations. The registers of the meetings, document traffic such as letters or scripts from and to the capital and the drafts of articles were recorded in Mazbata. In addition to *Mükaleme Mazbatası*, the archival documents, especially from the collections of Ali Emiri Selim III, Cevdet Hariciye and Hatt-ı Hümayun served as other primary sources of the dissertation. Except the Ottoman documents, the correspondences of Robert Murray Keith, British delegate in Zıřtovi, was examined in order to interpret the developments from the eyes of an outsider during the negotiations at Zıřtovi. Due to the long duration of Zıřtovi meetings, there were more sources about Zıřtovi than Yař.

Zıřtovi and Yař negotiations were successive meetings but the attitudes of the delegates of the Porte to Austria and Russia were not similar during the meetings. The Ottoman delegates made a stronger impression in the Zıřtovi meetings. The alliance with Prussia, some successful battles just before the Armistice of Yergöğü (1790) and

³⁴² Anonym work which was published by Takvimhane-yi Amire Matbaası in 1854. Mehmed Said Galib Efendi, scribe of negotiations, was guessed as author of work because details in *Mükaleme Mazbatası* were expressed by member of the retinue of Ottoman delegates and the charge of Mehmed Said Galib Efendi was registering the meetings. He also wrote the records of Bükreř (Bucharest) Treaty under the name of Mevaridü'l-Uhud. It was studied as M.A. dissertation by M. İLKİN ERKUTUN. M. İlkin Erkutun, "Mevridü'l-Uhud 1812 Bükreř Andlaşması ile ilgili Galib Pařa evrakı" (Unpublished M.A. diss. Istanbul University, 1997).

the Austrian stance toward the French Revolution affected the Ottomans' performance positively. For instance, the Porte did not accept the Austrian proposals about the conference venue such as Bucharest or except Ottoman territory because it could mean accepting Austrian superiority. After long debates, Zîştovi, which was under the control of the Ottoman Empire, was accepted as the venue. On the other hand, the Porte easily conceded to the Russian demands for Yaş, which was under the occupation of Russia, as the venue for the peace negotiations with Russia to be meeting place. This was a clear signal that the Ottoman Empire recognized Russia as the victor. The plenipotentiaries of the Porte, however, fought on the issues of Kuban and war indemnity and the Russian delegate renounced their demands on these issues.

Another difference between the two negotiations was the issue of mediators. Russia rejected the idea of any mediation. Although the Treaty of Zîştovi was signed with the mediation of Prussia, Britain and the Dutch Republic; the Treaty of Yaş negotiations were conducted just between the Ottoman and Russian empires. On the other hand, the duration of the two negotiations was different from each other. The Yaş negotiations lasted for a period almost half of the time spent at Zîştovi negotiations. It was perhaps because Catherine II reached her goal by capturing the fortress of Özi. Thus, Russia completed the annexation of Crimea and Catherine II did not insist on other articles such as Kuban or war indemnity. On the other hand, the intention of the Austrian government was not so clear during the Zîştovi negotiations. Their delegates tried Ottoman patience by constantly demanding territories or privileges from the Ottoman Empire. Nonetheless, the delegates of the Porte attached more importance to Russian delegates than Austrians. Therefore, the delegates requested more valuable gifts for the Russians from Porte. Moreover, Russian delegates gifted some valuable things unlike Austria. Neither the delegates of Austria in Zîştovi nor its ambassador in Istanbul presented any gifts.

The war broke out just after the eighteenth century and subsequent to the negotiation period phase of Ottoman Empire's withdrawal from its offensive policy to diplomacy which is a more defensive policy. Despite enormous territorial losses during the war; Ottoman diplomats who prepared the peaces texts with the least loss by following significant improvements in the outer world in the event of negotiations proves this statement. Hence, in the nineteenth century, diplomacy, institutionalized in Ottoman Empire verifies this discours.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1- Zıstovi Ahidnamesi

“Sûret-i tasdik-nâme-i hümâyûn [94/b]

Hazret-i hüda-yı müte‘âl celle şânühü ani’s-şebîh ve’l misâlin meyâmin-i te’yîdât-ı ezeliyye ve tevfiât-ı lem-yezeliyyesiyle hazret-i sultân-ı taht-nişîn-i levlâk olan mefhar-ı evlâd-ı benî Âdem, maksûd-ı âferîniş-i halk-ı âlem, hâtem-i cümle-i rûsûl u enbiyâ, pişvâ-yı zümre-i asfiyâ, mahrem-i harem-i lî ma‘a’l-lah Muhammed resûllu’l-lâh -sallallâhü aleyhi ve sellem-in mu‘cizât-ı kesîretü’l-berekâtı murâfakati ve çehâr-yâr-i güzîn-ndvân-ullah-i te‘âlâ aleyhüm ecma‘în ve cemî‘-i evliyâ-yı hidâyet-karîn ve etkîyâ-yı kirâm-ı sa‘âdet-rehînin ervâh-ı mukaddeseleri muvâfakati ile;

Mahall-i Tuğra

Ben ki eşrâfû’l-büldân ve’l emâkin ve es‘adü’l-emsâr ve’l-medâyîn kıble-i ibâd-ı âlem ve mihrâb-ı teveccühât-ı benî Âdem olan Mekke-i mükerrime ve Medine-i münevvere ve harem-i Mescîd-i Aksâ ve Kuds-i Şerîf-i mübârekin hâdim ü hâkimi ve reşk-efgen-i kulûb-ı selâtin-i cihân olan bilâd-ı selâse-i mu‘azzama ki İstanbul ve Edime ve Bursa’dır; anlann ve Şâm-ı cennet-meşâmm ve Mısır-ı nâdiretü’l-asr-ı bî-hemtâ ve külliyyen Arabistân ve Afrikıyye ve Berka ve Kayrevan ve Haleb ve Irakeyn-i Arab u Acem ve Lahsâ ve Deylem ve Rakka ve Musul ve Şehr-i Zor ve Diyârbekr ve Zülkadriyye ve vilâyet-i Erzurum ve Sivas ve Adana ve Karaman ve Van ve Magrib ve Habeş ve Tunus ve Trablus-ı Şâm ve Kıbrıs ve Rodos ve Girid ve Mora ve Akdeniz ve Karadeniz ve cezâyir ü sevâhiliyle diyâr-ı Anadolu ve memâlik-i Rûm-ili ve husûsan Bağdad-ı dârü’s-selâm ve cemî‘an Kürdistân ve Rûm ve Türk ve Tataristan ve Çerâkise ve Kabartayân ve Gürcistân ve Deşt-i Kıpçak ve îlât-ı Tatar’a dâ’ir ol havâlilerde vâkı‘ bi’l-cümle sığmak ve etrafında kâ’in cümle oymakân ve muzâfâtıyle umûmen Bosna ve kale-i Belgrad-ı dârül-cihâd ve Sırb hükümeti ve anda olan kılâ‘ u husûn ve bilâd-ı Amabudluk ve bi’t-tamâm Eflâk ve Boğdan ve havâlisinde vâkı ma‘âkıl ü sügûr ve ta‘rîf ü tavsîfden müstagm bıkâ‘ ve emsânn pâdişâh-ı ma‘delet-penâhı ve şehen-şâh-ı nusret-destgâhı olan es-sultân ibnü’s-sultân ve’l-hâkân ibnü’l-hâkân es-sultân Selîm Hân ibnü’s-sultân gâzî Mustafa Hân ibnü’s-sultânü’l-gâzî Ahmed Şâh’ım ki menşûr-ı sa‘adet-nüşûr saltanatı tevki‘-i refî‘-i sultânü’l-berreyn ile muvakka‘ u müzeyyen ve misâl-i bî-misâl hilâfettim ünvân-ı azamet-nişân-ı hâkânü’l-bahreyn ile mutarraz ü muanvendir. Lâ cerem ber-müceb-i kelâm-ı [C.43-a] dünüyyü’l-nizâm ve mazmûnuna ri‘âyet vücûd-ı behbûd âlem-sûd-ı şâhâneme muvafık u ahrâ ve himmet-i vâlâ-nehmet şehr-i yârâneme lâıyk u evlâ olmuşdur.[95/a] Binâen-aleyh Devlet-i Aliyye’m ile Nemçe Devleti beyninde bir müddetden berü hasbe’l-kader tekevvün eden şikâk kemâfî’s-sâbık mübeddil-i hüsn-i vifâk olmak husûsuna tarafeynden izhâr-ı hâhiş ü râğbet olunup hukûk-ı hem-civâriye ri‘âyeten ve kadîmî

dostî vü meveddete hürmeten cânibeynin işbu hayr-niyyet ve irâde-i i'âde-i safvetleri mefâhir-i ümerâi'l-izâmi'l-îseviyye merâci'-i küberâi'l-fihâmi'l- Mesihîyye muslihû masâlih-icemâhîrû't-tâ'ifeti'n-Nasrâniyye sâhibû ezyâlî'l-haşmeti ve'l-vekâr sâhib-i delâilü'l-mecd ve'l-i'tibâr haşmetlü miknetlü İngiltere Kralı dostumuz Giyorgi-i sâlis ve haşmetlü, miknetlü Prusya Kralı dostumuz Friderikos Goylemiblos ve menziletlü Netherlande İstani ceneralleri dostlanmız hatem-allâhü avâkıbihüm bil-hayr ve'r-reşâd ve elheme ileyhim sebîle's-savâb ve's-sedâd cenâbların tavassud-ı kavileriyle dahi karîn-i suhûlet olup memâlik-i mahrûsa-i şâhânemden sâhil-i nehr-i Tuna'da vâki Zıştovi kasabasında akd u cem' olunan mecâlis-i mükâlemâtta taraf-ı saltanat-ı seniyyemden müzâkere-i mevâdd-ı musâlaha için b i' l f i' l r e'isü'l-küttâbım olaniftihârü'l-ümerâ ve'l-ekâbir mtistecmi'î cemî'î'l-me'âlî ve'l-mefâhir el-muhtâss bi-mezîd-i inâyeti'l-Melikil-kâdir Es-seyyid Abdullah Bern dâme uluvvuhû murahhas-ı evvel ve mevâlî-i fihâmdan hâlâ ordu-yı hümâyûnum kâdîsı akzâ kuzâtî'l-Müslimîn evlâ vülâtî'l-muvahhidîn ma'denül-fazl ve'l-yakîn râfî'-i a'lâmi's-şerî'at ve'd-dîn vâris-i u lû m ü 'l-enbiyâ ve 'l- mürselîn el- muhtass bi-mezîd-i inâyetil-Meliki'l-mu'în Mevlânâ Mîr Es-seyyid İbrâhim îsmet zîdet fazâilühû murahhas-ı sâni ve hâlâ Rûznâmçe-i evvel iftihârü'l-emâcid ve'l-ekârim câmi'ü'l-mehâmid ve'l-mekârim el-muhtass bi-mezîd-i inâyeti'l-Meliki'd-dâ'im Es-seyyid Mehemed Dürrî dâme mecduhû murahhas-ı sâlis nasb olunup kezâlik iftihâr-ı ümerâi'l-i'zâmil-îseviyye muhtâr-ı küberâi'l-flh âm i'l-Mesihîyye muslih-i masâlih-i cemâhîrî't-tâ'ifeti'n-Nasrâniyye sâhib-i ezyâlî'l hâşmet ve'l-vakâr sâhib-i delâilü'l-mecd vel-i'tibâr hâlâ Roma imparatoru ve Macar ve Çeh kralı ve sâ'ir nice mahallerin hükümdân [C.43-] olan haşmetlü miknetlü dostumuz Liyopoldoş-i sâni hatema'l-lah-ı avâkıbuhû bi'l-hayr ve'r-reşâd ve elheme ileyhi sebîle's-savâb ve's-sedâd cenâblan tarafından kıdveteyi ümerâyî'l-milletü'l-Mesihîyye devletinin müsteşân olan Petro Fılibo Baron de Herbert Rankal ve kezâlik devletinin hâlâ şambelları ve Kurhastin Konteliği'nin ve Tutes nâm Sinorya'nın sinoru Konte Françesko [9S/b] Esterhazy de Galanta hutimet avâkıbuhumâ bi'l-hayr murahhas nasb u ta'yîn olunup mutavassıt-ı düvel-i selâse-i muhteremenin murahhas elçileri ya'nî mefâhir-i ümerâyî'l-milleti'l-Mesihîyye İngiltere kralı müşârun-ileyhin meşveret-i mahsûsasın müsteşân ve Balito nâm askerî tarîk-i mu'teberenin kavelyeri ve asâkirinin Liyontat cenerali ve haşmetlü Nemçe İmparatoru cenâblarının devletinde fevkal-âde orta murahhas elçisi vecem'ıyyet-i musâlahada hâlâ murahhası kavalyeri Robert Mure Kit ve Prusya kralı müşârun-ileyhin hâlîyâ şambellam ve Leh kralı ve cumhûrunda fevka'l-âde murahhası orta elçisi ve Agliyan tarîkinin kavalyeri ve cem'ıyyet-i musâlahada hâlâ murahhası Markiz Brum de Lukezini ve Netherlande İstani ceneralleri müşârun-ileyhimin Oka Mrüzne ve Ten nâm mahallerin Sinoru ve Keldire eyâleti küberâsı a'zâsından ve Netherlande İstani ceneralleri cemiyetinde sâlifü'z-zikr eyâletin vekîli ve haşmetlü Nemçe imparatoru devletinde fevka'l-âde orta elçisi ve cem'ıyyet-i musâlahada hâlâ murahhası Baron Vetir de Heften hutimet avâkıbuhüm bi'l-hayr ma'rifet-i tavassut ve hulûl-i hüsn-i sa'yleri ile ruhsat-nâmeler yek digere irâ'e ve bi'd-defâ'et dostâne akd-i meclis olundukdan sonra âhid-nâme-i kat'ıyye-i musâlaha on dört mâdde ve bir hâtime üzerine bi't-terâzi tertîb ve tanzîm ve hicret-i nebeviyye- alâ sâhibuhâ efdâlü't-tahiyyenin- bin iki yüz beş senesi Zî'l-hicce'ti's-şerîfe'sinin üçüncü günü [3.8.1791] târîhi ve tarafeyn murahhaslarının ta'ahhüd ve imzâ ve mühürleri ve mutavassıtûn-ı mûmâ-ileyhimin mühür ve imzâ birle tasdikleri ile temessükler mübâdele olunup temessük-i mezbûr düstûr-ı ekrem müşîr-i efhâm nizâmü'l-âlem nâzım-ı menâzımü'l-ümem ve müddebbîr-i umûru'l-cumhûr bi'l-fikri's-sâkıb mütemmim-i mehâmi'l-enâm bi'r-re'yi's-sâib mümehhid-i bünyâni'd-devlet ve'l-ikbâl müşeyyid-i erkânü's-sa'âdet ve'l-iclâl mükemmil-i nâmûsi's-[C.44-a] saltanatı'l-uzmâ mürettib-i merâtibi'l-

hilâfeti'l-kübrâi'l-mahfûf bi-sunûf-ı avâtıfı'l-Meliki'l-A'lâ hâlâ vezîr-i â'zam ve serdâr-ı ekrem ve vekîl-i mutlakım olan Yusuf Paşa edâma'l-lahu te'âlâ iclâlehû ve zâ'afe bi't-te'yîd-i iktidârehû ve ikbâlehû tarafından rikâb-ı kamer-tâb-ı hümâyûnuma arz oluhdukda cümlesi karîn-i kabûl-i inâyet-şümûl-i mülûkânem olmağla lafzen be-lâfz ber-vech-i âtî beyân olunur. Devlet-i Aliyye ve Nemçe devleti elli sene mütemâdî miyânelerinde teyemmünen mün'akid olan şîrâze-i sulh u salâh ve dostî ve hüsn-i hem-civârîn [96/a] tecdîd ve ibkâsma müsâvât üzre hâhiş-ker ü râgıb olup işbu niyyet-i hayriyyeleri haşmetlü İngiltere kralı ile haşmetlü Prusya kralı ve menziletlü Flemenk İstani cenerallerinin tavassut-ı kavîleriyle dahi teshîl olup Zıştovi kasabasında akd u cem' olunan encümen-i musâlâhada murahhaslık hidmet-i celîlesi-çün şevketlü, kerâmetlü, azametlü, mehâbetlü, kudretlü cihândâr-ı kavî-baht ve hüsn-i gulâm ve şehri-yâr-ı âlî-baht felek-ihtişâm velî-nî'metimiz efendimiz bizleri nasb u ta'yîn buyurup, kezâlik haşmetlü, miknetlü Roma İmparatoru cenâbları, Petro Filibo Baron de Herbert Rankal nâm hâliyâ devletinin müsteşârı ve Balito nâm askerî tarîk-i mu'teberînin kavalieri ve asâkirinin Liyontat cenerali ve haşmetlü Nemçe imparatoru cenâbların devletinde fevk'al-âde murahhas orta elçisi ve cem'iyet-i musâlâhada hâlâ murahhası haşmetlü Prusya kralı cenâpların Markiz Brum de Lukezini nâm hâliyâ şambellanı ve Leh kralı ve cumhûrunda fevk'al-âde orta murahhas elçisi ve Agliyan tarîkinin kavalieri ve cem'iyet-i musâlâhada hâlâ murahhası ve menziletlü Flemenk İstani cenerallerinin Baron Vetir de Heften nâm Oka Mrüzne ve Ten nâm mahallerin Sinoru ve Keldire eyâletinin küberâsı azâsmdan ve Flemenk İstani ceneralleri cem'iyetinde sâlifü'z-zikr eyâletin vekîli ve haşmetlü Nemçe imparatoru devletinde fevk'al-âde orta elçisi ve cem'iyet-i musâlâhada hâlâ murahhası ma'rifet-i tavassut ve hüsn-i sa'yleri hulûliyle ruhsat-nâmelerimiz yek digere irâ'e ve bi'd-def'at dostâne akd-ı meclis olundukdan sonra işbu ahid-nâme-i kat'iyye-i musâlâhada tertîb olunan mevâdd ve şurût-ı [C.44-b] âtiyyede bi't-terâzi nizâm ve râbıta verilmiştir.

Evvelk-i madde.

Fî-mâ-ba'd iki devlet beyninde ve teb'a ve re'âyâları miyânında berren ve bahren mü'eyyed ve umûmî bir sulh u salâh ve samîmi safvet ü muhabbet ve vifâk u musâfât-ı kâmile mer'î ve mu'teber ola; şöyle ki muhârebe esnasında gerek iki devlet beyninde ve gerek taraf-ı âherin tarafgîri olmuş cânibeyn re'âyâ ve teb'âsı tarafından vukû' bulan evzâ'-ı hasmâne ve etvâr-ı cebriye ve cerâim-i sâ'ireleri ale'l-umûm fî-mâ-ba'd nesyen mensiyyen ferâmûş olup gayr-ı vâkı i'tibâr oluna. Ve be-tahsîs Karadağ ve Bosna ve Sırb ve Eflâk ve Boğdan ahâlisinden Devlet-i Aliyye'ye hilâfen Nemçe devletine teba'iyet etmiş olanlar her kangı rütbeden iseler cerâyim-i sabıkaları [96/b] mensî i'tibâr olup afv ve kendü devletlerine hilâfen devlet-i imparatoriyyeye mütâba'at eyliyenler yevmen mine'l-eyyâm ta'arruz ve te'dîb ve rencîde olunmayup yurdlanna avdet ve emlâk ve imtiyâzât-ı sâ'irelerine mazhar olup kel-evvel vatanlarında emîn ve müreffeh'ül-bâl ikâmetleri câ'iz ola.

İkinci madde.

Mu'ahhid olan iki ulu devletler bin iki yüz iki senesi Cum'âdi'l-ûlâ'sının ikisinde [9.2.1788] vâkı'-i iiân -ı harbdan mukaddem câri olan istatüsko istrikt işbu musâlâhamn esâs-ı müştereki olmak üzre tarafeynden ikrâr ve kabûl ederler. Binâen-aleyh bin yüz elli iki senesi Cum'âde'l-âhir'inin evâhirinde [18.9.1739] vâkı' Belgrad ahid-nâmesinin ve sene-i mezkûre Şa'bân'ın üçünde [5.11.1739] akd olunan mu'âhedeyi ve elli üç senesi Zî'l-hicce'sinin on dördünde [30.2.1741] Belgrad ahid-nâmesini tefsîr ve îzâh eyliyen mu'âhedeyi ve bin yüz altmış târîhi Rebî'ül-evverinin

on birinde [23.3.1747] akd olunup Belgrad musalâhasını te'yîd eyliyen senedi ve kezâlik bin1230 yüz seksen dokuz senesi Rebî'ül-evvel'inin dokuzunda [10.5.1775] akd olunup Bikovina kazâsının ferâgatini nâtık olan mu'âhedeyi ve yine kıt'a-i mezkûrenin tecdîdine dâ'ir bin yüz doksana senesi Cum'ade'l-ûlâ'sında [18.6.1776-17.7.1776] akd olunan senedi bi-aynihâ ma'nâ-yı mutlaka vü me'âl-i sahîh ve kâmilleri üzre bir vechle hilâfına hareket olunmayup ve kimesneye etdirmeyerek tecdîd ve ibkâ eyleyip uhûd ve senedâl ve mu'âhedât-ı mezkûre işbu mâddede lâfzen be-lâfz dere ve tasdîr olunmuş gibi mü'ebbed-i akvâ ve mu'teber olup düstûrül'-amel tutula.

Üçüncü mâtde.

[C.45-a] bundan başka Devlet-i Aliyye-i ebed-peyvend, Garb ocakları korsanlarından ve sâ'ir Devlet-i Aliyye re'âyâsından Devlet-i İmparatoriyye limânlarından hurûc eden Nemçe tüccârı sefînelerinin te'mînini ve anlar tarafından dûçâr olunabildikleri bi'l-cümle hasârları tazminini mutazamın olup bin yüz doksana yedi senesi Ramazân'ının dokuzunda [10.7.1783] ta'ahhüdü hâvî verilen senedi ve cemî' arazî ve bihâr ü enhâr-ı Devlet-i Aliyye'de Nemçe imparatoru re'âyâsının serbestiyyet üzre ticâret ve seyr-i sefâyin eylemelerini hâvî bin yüz doksana sekiz senesi Rebî'ül-âhîr'inin ikisinde [24.2.1784] i'tâ olunan senedi ve Eflâk ve Boğdan memleketlerinde Erdel çobanlarının ve koyun sürülerinin mürûr ve ubûr ve ikâmetlerine dâ'ir bin iki yüz bir senesi evâsıt-ı şehr-i Saferül'-hayr'da [2-11.12.1786] verilen fermân-ı âlîşânı ve hudûdun hüsn-i nizâm ve âsâyişi ve re'âyânın [97/a] menfa'at ve emniyet maslahatı ve Nemçe Devleti'nin ticâret ve seyr-i sefâyinleri zımında bin iki yüz iki senesi Cernâziye'l-evvel'inin ikinci [9.2.1788] gününe değin cârî olup tarafeynden devletçe makbûl olan nizâm ve senedât ve evâmîr-i münîfe-i sâ'ireyi bi-aynihâ ma'nâ-yı mutlaka ve me'âl-i sabîh ve kâmilleri üzre bir vechle hilâfına hareket olunmayup kimesneye dahi etdirmeyerek tecdîd ve ibkâ eyleyüp işbu senedât u ahkâm ve devletçe makbûl sâlifü'z-zikr nizâmları lafzen be-lâfz dere ü tasdîr ve zikr ü tasrîh olunmuş gibi mü'ebbed-i akvâ ve mu'teber olup düstûrül'-amel tutula.

Dördüncü mâtde.

Devlet-i İmparatoriyye bin iki yüz iki senesi Cum'ade'l-ûlâ'sının ikisinde [9.2.1788] cârî istatüsko istrikt esâs makbûlüne tarafeynden dahi her şey'i tatbîk ve Devlet-i Aliyye'nin mu'amele-i dostî ve hakkâniyyetine kâmilan mukabele ve tevâfuk zımında ta'ahhüd ederki işbu seferde imparator-ı müşârun-ileyhin askeriyle istilâ olunan cemî' memâlik ve arâzî ve kılâ ve şehirler ve palankaları her kangı isim ve şöhet ile meşhûr iseler bi'l-cümle Eflâk memleketi ve Nemçe askerinin zabtında olan Boğdan kazâlan dâhil olarak kâmilan ve bilâ-taksîm Devlet-i Aliyye'ye tahliye ve terk ve redd ve teslîm sâlifü'z-zikr bin iki yüz iki senesi Cum'ade'l-ûlâ'sının ikisi târihinde iki devleti [C.45-b] tefrik eyleyen hudûd-ı kadîmeyi bi-aynihâ ibkâ eyleye. Ve istilâ olunan Devlet-i Aliyye'nin kılâ' u bıkâ' ve palankalarını hîn-i istilâda derûnlarında mevcûd Devlet-i Aliyye'nin otelerya ya'nî tob ve emsâli âlât-ı harbiyye-i seferiyyeleriyle bulundukları hâl üzre redd ü teslîm eylemeği ta'ahhüd eder.

Beşinci mâtde.

Hotin kal'esi ve ahâd-ı nâs beyninde Re'âyâ ta'biriyle meşhûr olan kazâsını kıl'a-i sâ'irede bi't-terâzi kabûl olunan şurût üzre Devlet-i Aliyye ile Rusıyya Devlet beyninde musalâha akd olunup devlet-i mezkûre tarafından zapt olunan arâzînin tahliyesi-çün vaz' ve ta'yîn olunacak müddet-i sarîh zarfında Devlet-i Aliyye'ye

tahliye vü terk ve red ü teslim oluna. Ol vakte dek kal'e-i mezkûre kazâsıyla ma'an Nemçe Devleti'nin yedinde bî-taraf olarak emâneten mahfûz olup fî-mâ-ba'd işbu muharebeye müdâhele etmeyerek Nemçe Devleti, Devlet-i Aliyye aleyhine veçhen mine'l-vücûh zâhiren yâhûd bi'l-vâsita bir dürlü harekât ile Rusıyya Devleti'ne imdâd ve i'ânet eylemiye.

Altıncı mâdde.

[97/b] tasdîk-nâmelerin mübâdelesi akîbinde tarafeynden tahliyelere ve istilâ-dîde olan mahallerin teslim ü tesellümlerine ve âti yy ü'l-beyân olan müddetlerde iki devletin hudûd-ı kadîmeleri ibkâsma cânibeynden mübâşeret oluna. Ve iki tarafın mübâşirleri Belgrad ahid-nâmesi'nin on üçüncü maddesiyle olgeldiği üzre intihâb ve ta'yîn olunup, ba'zısı Eflâk memleketi ve Boğdan'ın beş kazâsı tahliyesi maslahatına tasdîk-nâmeler mübâdelesi gününden hesâb birle otuz gün zarfında tekâmül etmek üzre me'mûr olalar. Sâ'ir mübâşirler dahi bin iki yüz iki Cum'ade'l-ûlâ'sının ikisinden mukaddem cânibeynin mutasarrıf oldukları arâzinin istatüsko istrikt kâ'idesi üzre Bosna ve Sırp memâlikinin ve inhâsıyla îrşova-i Atîk'in [Orşova] hudûdunu ibkâ zımnında, nehr-i Una'nın yukarı tarafına teveccüh eyleyeler. Una tarafına me'mûr olacak mübâşirlere tasdîk-nâmeler mübâdelesi gününden bed' ile iki mâh müddet tahsîs olunur. Zirâ müddet-i mezkûre kılâ'm istihkâmât-ı cedîdesini hedm ve hîn-i istilâda bulundukları hey'ete ircâ' ve kezâlik kal'eler ve palankalar derûnunda mevcûd cemî' otelarya ya'nî tob ve emsâli âlât-ı seferiyye ve mühimmât-ı harbiyye ve zehâ'irin 1240 [C.46-a] nakl ve celbleri zımnında müddet-i mezkûrenin lüzûmu der-kâdır.

Yedinci mâdde.

İşbu sefer hengâmmda askerî ve gayr-ı askerî zabt olunan cemî'-i üserâ-yı Devlet-i Aliyye bilâ-istisnâ Devlet-i İmparatoriyye tarafından sebîlleri tahliye ve Rusçuk ve Vidin ve Bosna havâlisinde Devlet-i Aliyye mübâşirlerine teslim olunup mukabelesinde ancak zindânlarda ve Bosna sergerdelerinden ba'zısmda bulunan Devlet-i İmparatoriyye'nin re'âyâ ve sultadları teslim olunup eyâdî-i efrâdda memâlik-i Devlet-i Aliyye'de mikdâr-ı kesîri bâkî olmağla Devlet-i Aliyye bu bâbda seferden mukaddem câri olan istatüsko istrikt kâ'idesine muvâfakat ve âsâr-ı mükeddire-i muharebeyi mahv ve izâle zımnında meccânen ya'nî bilâ-bahâ ve bilâ-bedel, tasdîk-nâmeler mübâdelesinden sonra iki mâh zarfında cemî'-i abîd ü esîrleri her kangısın ve cins ve rütbeden ve her kimde ve kangı mahalde bulunurlar ise redd ü teslim eylemeği ta'ahhüd eder; şöyle ki fî-mâ-ba'd tarafeyn re'âyâsından ferd-i vâhid cânib-i âherin memâlikinde kayd-ı esrde kalmıya ve ancak memâlik-i Devlet-i Aliyye'de kavâ'id-i mer'iyye üzre rızâen dîn-i İslâm'ı kabûl edenler ve memâlik-i Nemçe'de tanassur edenlerden ma'âdâ tarafeyn memâlikinde ferd-i vâhid kayd-ı esrde [98/a] kalmıya.

Sekizinci mâdde.

İşbu seferden mukaddem yahut sefer esnâsmda cânib-i âherin arâzîsine çekilmiş ve ra'ıyyeti kabûl edüp rızâ-yı ikâmet eden re'âyâ-yı cânibeyn tabî'i devletleri tarafından bir vakitte i'âde olunmaları iddî'a olunmayup teba'ıyyet eyledikleri devletin re'âyâ-yı sâ'iresi gibi add olunup, min ba'd haklannda ol vechle amel oluna. Kezâlik şol kimesneler ki iki devlette mâlik-i emlâk olanlar kimesne tarafından muhâlefet olunmaksızın hâllerine çesbân gördükleri vech üzre meskenlerini devleteynin birinde diledikleri tarafda ihtiyâr eylemeğe me'zûn olalar. Lâkin cânib-i âherin memâlikinde

mâlik oldukları emlâki fûrûht ederek ancak devlete ihtiyâr-ı teba'îyyet etmeğe mecbûr olalar.

Dokuzuncu mâtde.

Mu'âhid olan devletler musâlahanın semeresi olan ticâreti bir an akdem îfâ ve sâlifü'z-zikr ikinci ve üçüncü mâtde mezkûr şurûtn icrâsıyla istatûsko istrikt [C.46-b]i'âdesinin fâ'idesini esbâb-ı umrân-ı memâlikden ma'dûd ve tüccâr zümresine dahi temdîd ve bî-dirîğ etmek mülâhazasıyla nizâm ve râbta vermişlerdir ki intiddet-i muharebe tarafeyn re'âyâsma ya'nî Devlet-i Aliyye'de bulunan imparator cenâblannm re'âyâsma ve Nemçe Devleti'nde bulunan Devlet-i Aliyye re'âyâsma bir dürlü zararı îcâb etmemek için tarafeyn re'âyâsinin i'lân-ı harb vaktinde pesmânde kalan mesâlih-i metrûkelerini ve kable's-sefer carî olan hukûk ve de'âvî-i şer'îyye-i sâbıkalarını iddi'â ve mâl ve eşyâlarını istirdâd ve alacakları olan kimesneleri şer'e da'vet ve Belgrad ahid-nâmesinin on yedinci ve Pozorofçal ticâret-nâmesinin on sekizinci mâtdeelerine hilâfen i'lân-ı harb vaktinde edâsına muhâlefet ile lâzım gelen zarar ve hasâr-ı sâ'irelerini mutâlebe ve cemî'-i mevâdd-ı sâlifetü'l-beyânda mehâkim-i şer'îyye ve vülât ve zâbitân cânibine ede'l-mürâca'at serîan hakkaniyyet-i kâmile üzre ihkak-ı hakk olunup müddet-i muhârebe cihetiyle vakit mürûr eyledi deyu müdde'â aleyh tarafından illet olmak üzre îrâd olunmasına ruhsat verilmeye.

Onuncu mâtde.

İki devletin hudûdunda me'mûr olan vülât ve kumandanlara mutlaka nizâm ve intizâmın ibkâsını ve hudûdda âsâyış ve hüsn-i hem-civârî ve tarafeyn me'mûrları ma'rifetiyle ibkâ olunan sınırlarını veçhen min el-vücûh tebdîl ve tagyîr olunmayup vikâye olunmalarını ve nehb ü gâret ve sâ'ir güne tecâvüzlerin men'ini ve devleteyn beyninde carî olan uhûde mebnî kavâ'id ü nizâm-ı [98/b] sâbık üzre hareket olunarak zarar u hasâr vukû'unda iktizâ edenlerden tanzim ve tahsîl olunmasını nâtık ve kendüleri mes'ûl olacaklarını şâmil ekîd ve şedît evâmir-i şerife ile tenbîh ü te'kîd ve mütenebbih olmayanların töhmet ve cürümlerine göre te'dîblerine ihtimâm ve mübâderet oluna.

On birinci mâtde.

Kezâlik iki devletin hükkâm ve zâbitânma cidden tenbîh ve tavsiye oluna ki ticâret ve maslahatlarına mebnî tarafeynden hudûdu mürûr edenleri himâyet ve siyânet eyleyeler. Ve memâlik derûnunda seyâhat ve nehren iyâb u zihâbları câ'iz ola. Ve haklarında merâsim-i mihmân-nüvâzî icrasından başka ikinci ve üçüncü mâtde ile tasdîk olunmuş uhûd u senedât ve mevâsîkın muktezâsı üzre gerek nefsleri ve gerek getürdükleri kendi [C.47-a] ticâret mâlları için rûsûmât-ı mu'ayyeneden ma'âdâ nesne talep etmeyüp ve kimesne tarafından talep etdirilmeyüp himâyet ve siyânet olunalar.

On ikinci mâtde.

Devlet-i Aliyye memâlikinde Hazret-i îsâ dîninde olan Lâtîn râhibleri ve tâbi' olan kimesneler icrâ-yı âyîn ve kenîsâlarının ta'mîr ve termîmine ve Kudûs-i şerîf ve sâ'ir ziyaretgâhlarına varup gelmelerine ve himâyet ve siyânetlerine dâ'ir istatiisko istrikt kâ'idesine binâen gerek Belgrad ahid-nâmesinin dokuzuncu mâtdesiyle mezheb-i mezkûre intisâ'ade olunan imtiyâzâlî ve gerek ba'dehû şeref-sudûr eden evâmir-i münife ve senedât-ı sâ'ire-i şehen-şâhî tecdîd ve ibkâ olunalar.

On üçüncü mâtde.

Gerek işbu musalaha-i mübârekenin vesîle-i hayriyyesiyle ve gerek şevketlü, kerâmetlü, mehâbetlü, azametlü pâdişâh-ı kîtî-sitân ve âlem-penâh ve şehir-i yâr-ı tâc-bahş sitâre-i sipâh velî-nî‘metimiz efendimiz hazretlerinin taht-ı âlî-baht-ı mevrûslanna cûlûs-ı meymenet-me’nûs-ı hümâyûnları ve haşmetlü, miknetlü Roma İmparatoru cenâblarının hasbe'l-verâse âric-i erîke-i hükümdârî olduğunu ihbâr vesilesiyle cânibeynden orta elçiler irsâl oluna. Ve mûmâ-ileyhim elçiler hakkında devleteynde cârî ve mu’tâd olan rûsûm u teşrîfât ve ikram icrâ oluna ve istatüsko esterkat üzere hukûk-ı milele âid olan cemî‘-i imtiyâzât haklarında cârî olup mer‘î olan uhûd u şurût mantukunca rûtbelerine âid olan müsâ‘adât-ı sâ‘ireleriyle kâm-yâb olalar ve atabe-i aliyyeden Nemçe imparatoru cenâblannın orta elçisi halefleri hakkında dahi rûtbelerinin tefâvütüne nazar olunarak ve tebe‘a ve hademe ve müte‘allikleri ve hâneleri hakkında dahi kezâlik cârî [99/a] olalar. Ve Devlet-i imparatoriyye‘den iyâb u zihâb eden kavalierlerden kable's-sefer soyulanların, Devlet-i Aliyye emvâl-i magsûbelerinin tahsilini îcâb edicek cemî‘ esbâb ü vesâ‘ili müsâmaha ve iğmâz etmiyeceğinden ma‘âdâ fî-mâ-ba‘d kavalierlerinin âminen ve sâlimen iyâb ü zihâbları kâr-ger-i te’sîr olacak vechle iktizâ eden nizâmı icrâ oluna.

On dördüncü mâtde.

İşbu ahid-nâmenin bi-aynihâ mutabık sûret-i asliyyeleri birisi Türkî lisânında tertîb olunup tarafımızdan [C.47-b] imzâ ve birisi suhûlet için istishab olunan Fransız lisânı üzre Nemçe imparatoru cenâblannın murahhaslanndan ba‘de'l-imzâ retebetlü mutavassıt murahhas elçiler ma‘rifetleriyle ba‘de'l-mübâdele mu‘âhid olan cânibeyn devletlerine irsal oluna. Binâberîn imzâ gününden bed’ ile kırk gün zarfında ve evvelce mümkün ise tarafeynden imzâ olunmuş tasdîk-nâmeleri devleteyn beyninde sermeden mü‘ebbeden düstûrûl-amel ve tecdîd ve ibkâ olunmuş cemî‘ uhûd u mevâsik ve senedâtın mutabık sûretleriyle ma‘an yine mûmâ-ileyhim mutavassıt elçiler ma‘rifetleriyle cânibeyn murahhaslan beyninde mübâdele olunalar.

Hatime.

Bu zikr olunan on dört mâtdeyi şâmil ahid-nâme ve tasdîk-nâmelerin vakt-i merkumda mûmâ-ileyhim mutavassıt elçiler ma‘rifetleriyle mübâdele ve teslîmi husûslan şart u rabt olunduğu üzre inşâallahil-Meliki'l-allâm hüsn-i ihtimâm-ı tarafeyn ve sıdk u hulûs-ı cânibeyn ile pezîrây-ı hitâm olmak için yedimizde olan ruhsat-nâme-i hümâyûn mücebince işbu temessük terkim ü imlâ ve mühr ü imzâlanmız ile mahtûm u mûmzâ kılınup mutavassıtın-i mûmâ-ileyhim ma‘rifetleriyle murahhasîn-i merkûmîn yedi erine teslîm ve i’tâ olundu. Ve bu temessük-i mezkûrda mestur olmağın imdi işbu mevâdd-ı musâfât ve şerâ‘it-i muvâlât mâtâmki Roma imparatoru müşârun-ileyh ve ahlâfî taraflarından mer‘î vü mu‘teber ve zavâbıt u revâbıtı tatarruk-ı hâl el den himâyet ü siyânet olunarak müstahkem ve mukarrer ola. Taraf-ı hümâyûnumdan dahi zât-ı ma‘âlî-simât-ı şâhâne ve cenâbı hilâfet-me‘âb-ı mülûkâneme şâyân ve sezâ olduğu vechle ta‘ahhüd olunur ki şurût u kuyûd-ı musâfâta taraf-ı zâhirü’s-şeref-i şâhânemden ve ahlâf-ı sa‘adet-ittisâfımızdan ve vûkelâ-yı âlî-makâm ve mîr-i mîrân ve ümerâ ve zâbitân ve umûmen asâkir-i nusret irtisâmımızdan ve bi'l-cümle ubûdiyyetimiz ile şeref-yâb olan tevâ‘if-i hüddâmımız taraflarından ri‘âyet olunup birferd hilâfına vaz’ u hareket eylemeye.

Tahrîren fî'l-yevmü's-sânî aşer [99/b] min şehir-i Zîl-hiccetü’s-şerîfe li-sene hamse ve mi‘eteyn ve elf [12.08.1791].

İşbu zikr olunan tasdik-nâmelerin hâvî olduğu uhûd uşurût ve mevâsîkdan ba'zı umûr-
t cüz'iyyede tarafeyne mahz-ı hayr olmak mülâhazasıyla mevâdd-ı seb'âyı müştemil
diğer bir kıt'a dahi tasdik-nâme tahrîr ve mübâdele olunmasını devleteyn murahhasları
re 'y-i müstahsen görmeleriyle tasdik-nâme-i sâni sûreti dahi bi-aynihâ resm ü terkin
olundu. Ba'de'l-elkd?. Devlet-i Aliyye'm ile Nemçe Devleti beyninde bundan akdem
hasbe'l-kader tekevvün eden şikak kemâfi's-sâbık mübeddel-i hüsn-i vifâk olmak
husûsuna tarafeynden izhâr olunan hâhiş ü rağbete mebnî iki devlet miyâmında bu def'a
müceddeden mün'akid olan musâlahanın evân-ı hayriyyet-iktirânında vedd ü
safvetlerin ahadü hüma diğer berâhîn-i vâziha ile işâ'at ü i'lân ve taht u tasarruf ve
zîr-i hükümetlerinde olan hudûd-ı vâsi'alanında âtiyyede râbita-i dostî vü musâfâta
hâlel verecek esbâbı peşince def' ve hicret-i nebeviyye alâ sâhibuhâ efdâlüt-
tahiyyenin bin iki yüz beş senesi Zî'l-hicce'sinin üçünde [3.8.1791] memâlik-i
mahrûsa-i şâhânemden sâhil-i nehr-i Tuna'da vâkı' Zîştovi kasabasında tanzîm ve imzâ
olunan musâlaha-i kat'iyye ahid-nâmesi şerâ'itinde câ'iz görülen ancak tebdîlât-ı
âtiyyetü'z-zikri cânibeynin fâ'idesi zımnında te'kîd eylemek irâdesiyle taraf-ı saltanat-
ı seniyyemden müzâkere-i mevâdd-ı musâlaha için ta'yîn kılınan bi'l-fi'l re'isü'l-
küttâbım murahhas-ı evvel iftihârü'l-üm erâ ve'l-ekâbir müstecmi'-i cem î'ül-m a'âlî
ve'l-mefâhirü'l-muhtass be-mezîd-i inâyeti'l-Meliki'l-kâdir Es-seyyid Abdullah Berri
dâme uluvvuhû ve mevâlî-i fihâmdan hâlâ ordu-yı hümayûnum kâdisı murahhas-ı sâni
akzâ kuzâtî'l-müslimîn evlâ vülâtü'l-muvahhidîn ma'denü'l-fazl ve'l-yamın râfî'-i
i'lâmü's-şerî'at ve'd-dîn vâris-i ulûmî'l-enbiyâ ve'l-murselîn el-muhtass bi-mezîd-i
inâyeti'l-Meliki'l-mu'in Mevlânâ Mîr Es-seyyid İbrâhim İsmet zîdet fazâ'ilehû ve
Rûznâmçe-i evvel murahhas-ı sâlis iftihârü'l-emâcid ve'l-ekârim câmi'ül-mehâmid
ve'l-mekârim el-muhtass bi-mezîd-i inâyeti'l-Meliki'd-dâ'im Es-seyyid Mehmed
Dürri dâme mecdehû, iftihâr-ı ümerâi'l-i'zâmi'l- [C.48-b] İseviyye muhtâr-ı
küberâi'l-fihâmü'l- Mesihîyye muslih- i masâlih-i cemâhîri't-tâ'ifeti'n-Nasrâniyye
sâhib-i ezyâlül'-haşmet ve'l-vekâr sâhib-i delâ'ilü'l-mecd ve'l-i'tibâr hâlâ Roma
imparatoru ve Macar ve Çeh kralı ve sâ'ir [100/a] nice mahallerin hükümdân olan
haşmetlü, miknetlü dostumuz Leyopoldos-ı sâni hatem-allahu avâkibuhû bi'l-hayr
ve'r-reşâd ve elheme ileyhi sebîle's-savâb ve's-sedâdın murahhasları kıdvetü ümerâi'l-
milleti'l-Mesihîyye devletinin müsteşân Petro Filibo Baron de Herbert Rankal ve
kezâlik devletinin hâlâ şambelları ve Kurhastin Konteliği'nin ve Tutes nâm
Sinormanın Sinoru olan Konte Françesko Esterhazi de Galenta hutimet avâkibuhû bi'l-
hayr ile şurût-ı âtiyyeye bi't-terâzi râbita verilüp tarafeyn murahhasları mûmâ-
ileyhimînimzâları ile intimzâ ve mühürleriyle memhûr ve târîh-i mezkûr ile müverrah
mübâdele eyledikleri temessük, düstûr-ı ekrem müşîr-i efhâm nizâmü'l-âlem nâzım-ı
menâzımu'l-Umem müdebbir-i umûru'l-cumhûr bi'l-fikri's-sâkib mütemmim-i
mehâmü'l-enâm bi'r-rey'i's-sâ'ib mümehhid-i bünyânü'd-devlet ve'l-ikbâl müşeyyid-i
erkânü's-sa'âdeti ve'l-iclâl mükemmil-i nâmusu's-saltanatî'l-uzmâ müretteb-i
merâtibü'l-hilâfet-i'l-küberâ el-mahfûfu bi-sunûfî avâtıfî'l-meliki'l-â'lâ hâlâ vezîr-i
â'zam ve serdâr-ı ekrem ve vekîl-i muti akım olan Yusuf Paşa edâm-allâhü te'âlâ
iclâlehû ve zâ'if-i bi't-te'yîd-i iktidârehû ve ikbâlehû tarafından rikâb-ı kamer-tâb-ı
hümayûnuma arz olundukda karîn-i kabûl-ı inâyet-şümûl-i mülûkânem olmağla
temessük-i mezkûr hatimesiyle ma'an lafzen be-lafz ber-vech-i âti zikr ü beyân olunur.
Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmâniyye ve Devlet-i İmparatoriyye musâlaha-i ma'ködenin evân-
ı meyâmin-iktirânında ve dâd u musâfâtlarm birbirlerine berâhîn-i vâziha ile isbât ve
beyân ve taht u tasarruf ve hükümetlerinde olan hudûd-ı vâsi'al arında âtiyyede râbita-
i muvâlât-ı kâmileyi muhîl olabilür cemî' esbâbı şimdiden men' ü def' ve bin iki yüz
beş senesi Zî'l-hicce'tü's-şei'fenin üçünde [3.8.1791] Zîştovi kasabasında imzâ
olunmuş musâlaha-i kat'iyye ahid-nâmesi şurûtunda tecviz eyledikleri ancak tebdîlât-

ı âtiyyü'l-beyânı cânibeynin fâ'idesi zımnında te'yîd ü teşyîd eylemek irâdesiyle biz ki Devlet-i Aliyye murahhasları, biz Nemçe Devleti tarafından Petro Filibo Baron de Herbert Rankal nâm hâliyâ devletinin müsteşân ve Konte Françesk Esterhazi de [C.49-a] Galenta nâm devletinin hâlâ şambelları ve Kurhastin Konteliği'nin ve Tutes nâm Sinorya'nın sinoru olan murahhasları ile şurût-ı âtiyyeye bi't-terâzî râbîta vermişlerdir.

Evvelki mâtde.

Devlet-i Aliyye'nin mutasarrıf olduğu arâzî eyâlet-i Temeşvar'a ve nehr-i Una'nın sol yakasında [100/b] vâkı' kazâlara dâ'ir Devlet-i İmparatoriyye'nin metâlibine mebnî kable's-sefer meftûh bir müzâkere bulunmaktan nâşî mu'âhid olan iki ulu devletler havâlî-i mezkûrda hudûd-ı kadîmenin noksan ve kusûnn mütâla'a ve terâzî-i tarafeyn ve tevâfuk-ı cânibeyn ile fî-mâ-ba'd tagyîr ü tebdîl olunmayacak vech üzre îfâ vü tetmîm irâdesinde olup işbu mu'âhedenin mâtde-i sâniye ve sâlisinde musarraḥ kat'î râbîtaya karâr vermişlerdir. Şöyle ki; zikr olunan râbîta ile müzâkere-i sâbîka-i mezkûreye müteferritolan cemî' mevâdd-ı matlûbeyi mü'esses ve kat'î fasl u hasm eylemeğe nizâ-dâde olmuşlardır.

İkinci mâtde.

Binâen-aleyh Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmâniyye inzâ-dâde olur ki İrşova-i Atîk'in [Orşova] kasabası ve arâzîsi Ceme suyuna vannca Devlet-i İmparatoriyye'nin tasarruf ve hükûmetinde kala. Bu vechle ki ol tarafdân Ceme suyu fî-mâ-ba'd ve mü'ebbeden Nemçe Devleti'nin hudûdunu fâsıl ola. Lâkin şu şart-ı sarîḥ ile ki Devlet-i İmparatoriyye trşova kasabasına ve işbu mâtddenin mantukunca Devlet-i Aliyye tarafından terk u ferâgat olunan arâzinin bir mahalline ebeden istihkâm vermesi câ'iz olmya. Ve Belgrad ahid-nâmesinin beşinci mâtdesinde musarraḥ olan hudûd ile mahdûd Ada Kal'esi karşusmda vâkı' ova-i sağire ale'd-devâm ve alâ külli hâl iki devlet beyninde bî-taraf kala. Ya'nî hükûmet ve mülkiyeti devleteyn-i mezkûreteynin birine â'id olmya. Bu sûretde mu'âhid olan iki devletler ta'ahhüd ederler ki ova-i mezkûru mutlaka beriyye terk edüp binâ ihdâs ve ikâmet ve icrâ-yı zirâ'ate kimesneye izn ü ruhsat vermiyeler.

Üçüncü mâtde.

Kaldı ki Una'nın sol yakasında vâkı' kazalara dâ'ir mu'âhid olan iki ulu devletler bi't-terâzî râbîta vermişlerdir ki devleteynin hudûdu fî-mâ-ba'd mü'ebbeden vech-i âtiyyü'l-beyân üzre tanzîm [C.49-b] olunalar. İşbu şarta merbût olan harîtada sürh ile tersîm olunduğu vech üzre cânibeynin hudûdunu tefîk edecek hatt-ı cedîd ol havâlîde harîta-i mezkûrda işâret olunmuş mahalden Galina [Glina] nehrinin sâhil-i yemininden şurû' eyliye ve Hitni kazâsıyla ma'an Devlet-i İmparatoriyye'nin tasarrufunda terk etmek üzre ol taraf da olan bir küçük ırmağın doğruluğuna medd oluna ve harîtada san renk ile beyân olunan Isturlik yâhûd Isturlic [Sturlic] nâm Devlet-i Aliyye kal'esi enhâsmdan [101/a] çekile. Bu vechle ki kal'e-i mezkûre ve tob mesâfesiyle tasrîḥ olunacak enhâsı Devlet-i Aliyye'nin tasarrufunda kala ve andan hatt-ı mezkûr doğru yoldan Korana üzerine vanla. Ve nehr-i mezbûrun akındısına hilâfen Dreznik kazâsıyla ma'an Devlet-i İmparatoriyye'nin tasarrufunda kalmak üzre gidile. Ba'dehû hatt-ı mezkûr İzmolyanac1263 dağından ve Yenkov nâm mahalden tahdîd oluna. Ve andan ol tarafda vâkı' yüksek dağdan geçirile ki cebel-i mezkûrun eteğinde haritada san ile işâret olunan Layaz1266 nâm mahalli mevcûddur. Ve san ile işâret olunan Vakuf [Kulen Vakuf] yukarı bir sâ'at mesâfe nehr-i Una sâhiline vannca çekile. Ve andan hatt-ı mezkûr nehr-i Una'nın sol yakasını çıkarak garb tarafında vâkı' menba'ma

dek sürh ile işâret olunan hatt üzre vanlup yüksek dağların hizâsıyla en doğru yoldan hudûd-ı selâse-i hâliyemüntehi ola. Şöyle ki ehl-i İslâm İstemice'si [Stimica] Devlet-i Aliyye'nin tasarrufunda terk oluna. Devlet-i İmparatoriyye ta'ahhüd eder ki bir dürlü bahane ve illet ileveçhen mine'l-vücûh işbu mâtde ile Devlet-i Aliyye tarafından terk olunan kazânın bi'l-cümle mesâfesinde bilâ-istisnâ bir dürlü istihkâmâtı ta'mîr etmiye ve müceddeden binâ inşâ eylemiye.

Dördüncü mâtde.

Devlet-i İmparatoriyye dahi gerek İrşova-i Atîk'in kasaba ve arâzîsi ve gerek yukarıki Una'ya dâ'ir işbu mu'âhede-yi mahsûsamn şart-ı sâni ve sâlisinde râbta-pezir olduğu vech üzre hudûdun kat'en nizâmında Devlet-i Aliyye'nin ibrâz eylediği mu'âmele-i dostânesine kendü tarafından dahi mukabele ve devleteyn [C.50-a] beyninde teyemmünen akd olunan musâlahayı bir kat dahi temhîd ü te'kîd zımnında sarîhen ve tevâtüren beyân eder ki işbu hudûd nizâmını kat'î olmak üzre i'tibâr ve ikrâr eder. Ve vaz' olunan hudûd-ı mezkûreden ziyâde müstakbelde bir dürlü iddiâsı kalmadığını mu'terif ve müte'ahhid olur.

Beşinci mâtde.

Devlet-i İmparatoriyye sâbıkü'l-beyân olan hudûd tanzimi için rızâ ve memnûniyetini izhâr zımnında ta'ahhüd eder ki Devlet-i Aliyye'den istilâ eylediği cemî' kal'eleri ve palanka ve kasterleri elân bulundukları hâl üzre ta'mir ve inşâ olunan istihkâmât-ı cedidenin birisini hedm etmiyerek redd ü teslim bu takdirce ahid-nâme-i kat'iyyenin altıncı mâtdesinin nihâyetinde mezkûr hedm eylemek kayd u şartından keff-i yed eder.

Altıncı mâtde.

[101/b] kezâlik istilâ-dîde olan cemî' arâzînin bir an evvel kabza-i tasarruf ve mülkiyyetine idhâlleri zımnında Devlet-i Aliyye'nin izhâr eylediği hâhiş ü rağbetine Devlet-i İmparatoriyye muvâfakat ederek ahid-nâmenin altıncı mâtdesinde tahliyeler için vaz' olunan müddetlerin kasr ve takrîbini rızâ-i kabûl ve icâbet eder. Ve Devlet-i Aliyye ile râbta verir ki zikr olunan müddetler ahid-nâmenin imzâsı gününden hesâb olunup tasdik-nâmelerin mübâdelesi gününden hesâb olunmıya; ya'nî bi'l-cümle Eflâk memleketinin ve Boğdan kıt'ası beş kazasının tahliye ve terk ve teslîmi zımnında bu günkü günden otuz gün müddeti hesâb oluna ve istilâ olunan sâ'ir bi'l-cümle arâzî için bu günkü günden altmış gün müddeti hesâb oluna. Bundan başka cânibeyn ta'ahhüd ederler ki musâlahâ ahid-nâmesi tasdik-nâmelerinin mübâdelesini ahid-nâme-i kat'iyyenin on dördüncü şartında mezkûr kırk gün bedelinde nihâyetü'n-nihâye on beş gün zarfında mübâdele-i mezkûreyi icrâ edeler.

Yedinci mâtde.

İşbu mu'âhede-i mahsûsanın tasdik-nâmeleri başkaca bast oluna. Lâkin musâlahâ ahid-nâmesinin tasdik-nâmeleri mübâdele olunacak günde mübâdele olunalar. Kâfire bu zikr olunan yedi mâtdeyi şâmil mu'âhede-i mahsûsa ve tasdik-nâmelerin vakt-i merkurda mübâdele ve teslîmi husûsları şart u rabt [C.50-b]olunduğu üzre inşâ'allahü'l-Meliki'l-ali âm hüsn-i ihtimâm-ı tarafeyn ve sıdk u hulûs-ı cânibeyn ile pezirây-hitâm olmak için yedimizde olan ruhsat-nâme-i hümayûn mücebince işbu sened terkîm ü imlâ ve mühür ve imzâlarımız ile mahtûm ve mümzâ kılmup, murahhasîn-i mûmâ-ileyhimâ yedlerine teslîm ve i'tâ olundu deyu temessük-i mezkûrda mestur olmağın; imdi işbu mevâdd-ı seb'ayı şâmil mu'âhede-i mahsûsa

mâdâm ki Roma imparatoru müşârun-ileyh ve ahlâfı taraflarından mer'î ve mu'teber ve zavâbıt ve revâbıtı tatarruk-ı halelden himâyet ü siyânet olunarak müstahkem ve mukarrer ola. Taraf-ı hümâyûnumdan dahi zât-ı me'âlî-simât-ı şâhâne vü cenâb-ı hilâfet-me'âb-ı mulûkâneme şâyân u sezâ olduğu vechle ta'ahhüd olunur ki şerâ'it-i mu'âhede-i mahsûsa-i mezkûre taraf-ı zâhirü's-şeref-i şâhânemden ve ahlâf-ı sa'âdet-ittisâfımızdan ve vükelâ-yı âlî-makâm ve mîr-i mîrân ve ümerâ ve zâbitân ve umûmen asâkir-i nusret-irtisâmımızdan ve bi'l-cümle ubûdiyyetimiz ile şeref-yâb [102/a] olan tavâ'if-i huddâmımız taraflarından ri'âyet olunup bir ferd hilâfına vaz' ve hareket eylemiye. Tahriren fi'l-yevmü'l-sânî aşer min şehr-i Zi'l-hiccetü's-şerîfe li-sene-i hams ve mi'eteyn ve elf. [10.8.1791]Ve derûn-ı ahid-nâmede mezkûr mutavassıt olan düvel-i selâseye dahi birer kıt'a sûretleri verilmiştir.”³⁴³

Appendix 2. The Treaty of Sistovo (1791)

“In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

The Imperial and Royal Court, and the Sublime Ottoman Porte, animated with an equal desire to re-establish the happy bonds of peace, friendship and good neighbourhood which subsisted for half a century between the two empires and seconded in that salutary intention by the efficacious mediation of their Majesties the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia, and of their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, have appointed and chosen for their ministers plenipotentiary, at the congress for peace assembled at Sistovo his imperial and apostolick Majesty, Baron Peter Philip d'Herbert Rathkeal, his actual aulick councillor, and Count Francis Esterhazy de Galantha, his actual chamberlain, lord of the lordship of Tottis, and hereditary lord of the county of Forchtenstein; and the Sublime Ottoman Porte, the Reis Effendi, or minister for foreign affairs, Bari Abdullah, Effendi, l'orden cadissi, or chief justice of the Ottoman forces, Ismet Ibrahim, Bey, and the rousnamedgi, or comptroller general of the finances, Durri Mehmed, Effendi; who, by the intervention, through the channel, and in consequence of the good offices of the ministers. plenipotentiary appointed by the three high mediating powers; Sir Robert Murray Keith, a member of his Britannick Majesty's privy council, knight of the most honourable military order of the Bath, lieutenant general of his forces, his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of his majesty the emperor, now his minister plenipotentiary at the congress for peace; the Marquis Jerome de Lucchesini, actual chamberlain to his majesty the king of Prussia, his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his majesty the king and the Republic of Poland, knight of the order of the white eagle, now his minister plenipotentiary at the congress for peace; and the Lord of Optiemest and Zennewynen, member of the Equestrian order of the province of Guelderland, deputy from the said province to the assembly of their high mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, their envoy extraordinary to the imperial and royal court, now their minister plenipotentiary at the congress for peace; after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, and having held several friendly conferences together, have agreed on the following points and articles, which form the present definitive treaty of peace.

Article I.

³⁴³ *Mükâleme Mazbatası*, vol. III, Çınar, 208-224, Kurtaran, 264-270, 273-276.

there shall be for the future a perpetual and universal peace, by land, and on the sea and the rivers, between the two empires, their subjects and vassals, a true and sincere friendship, a perfect and strict union, a cessation of, and a full and general amnesty for, all hostilities, violences, and injuries committed in the course of this war, by the two powers, or by the subjects and vassals of the one, who have taken the side of the other, and especially all the inhabitants of Montenegro, Bosnia, Servia, Wallachia, and Moldavia, who, in virtue of this amnesty, may all return to their former habitations, possessions, and rights whatsoever, and enjoy the same peaceably, without ever being disturbed, molested, or punished, for having declared themselves against their own sovereign, or for having done homage to the imperial and royal court.

Article II.

the two high contracting parties recognize and admit, as the common basis of the present pacification, the strict status quo, as it existed anterior to the war declared on the 9th of February 1788: In consequence whereof, they renew and confirm (be they what they may) in the strictest sense, and in their full extent, without ever doing, or suffering to be done, any thing to the contrary, the Treaty of Belgrade of the 18th of September 1739; the convention of the 5th of November in the same year, and that of the 2nd of March 1741, in explanation of the Treaty of Belgrade; the act of the 25th of May 1747, perpetuating the Peace of Belgrade; the convention of the 7th of May 1775, on the cession of The Buccowina; and lastly that of the 12th of May 1776, for the demarcation of the said province: all which treaties, acts, and conventions are, and shall for ever remain, in full and entire force and vigour, as if they were herein transcribed and inserted word for word.

Article III.

And, in particular, the Sublime Ottoman Porte renews and confirms (be they what they may) in the strictest sense, and in their full extent, without ever doing, or suffering to be done, any thing to the contrary, the sened or contract of the 8th of August 1783, containing the obligation, on the Part of the Sublime Ottoman Porte, to procure for the german merchant ships, sailing from the ports of the imperial court, security against the corsairs of barbary, and other Ottoman subjects, and a reparation for all the losses they may sustain therefrom; the sened or contract of the 24th of February 1784, in favour of the free trade and navigation of the imperial and royal subjects, in all the seas and rivers of the Ottoman dominions; the firman of the 4th of December 1786, concerning the passing, re-passing, and residence of the shepherds and flocks of Transylvania, in the Provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia; as also all other firmans, acts, and ministerial agreements, mutually recognized, and which were in force prior to the 9th of February 1788, for the tranquillity and good order of the frontiers, and for the advantage, security, and interests of the subjects, trade, and navigation of the Austrian dominions: all which seneds, firmans, acts, and agreements, so recognized, are and shall for ever remain in full and entire force and vigour, as if they were herein recited, transcribed, inserted, and explained, word for word.

Article IV.

The imperial and royal court, on its part, in order in like manner to restore things to the common basis of the strict status quo, of the epoch of the 9th of February 1788, and to correspond entirely with the friendly and equitable proceedings of the Sublime Ottoman Porte, engages to evacuate, cede, and restore to the said Ottoman Porte,

completely, and without any partition, all the possessions, territories, towns, fortresses, and palancas, of every denomination, conquered by his imperial majesty's troops, during the course of this war, including the whole Principality of Wallachia, and the districts of Moldavia, occupied by the Imperial troops, and to re-establish, as they were, the same ancient limits which divided the two empires at the said epoch of the 9th of February 1788: As to the fortresses, castles, and palancas conquered by the Ottoman Porte, the imperial court engages to restore them in the state in which they were, and with the ottoman artillery found therein, at the time of their reduction.

Article V.

And as to the fortress of Hotim, and its district, commonly called la Raya, they shall also be evacuated, ceded, and restored, on the same conditions as are agreed upon for the other fortresses; but not till after the Sublime Ottoman Porte shall have concluded a peace with the empire of all the Russias, and within the precise term which shall be stipulated for the evacuation of the conquests of the latter power: till which time, the imperial and royal court shall retain, as a neutral deposit, the said fortress, with its district, without intermeddling any further in the present war, or furnishing any further succours in any manner, directly or indirectly, to the Imperial Court of Russia, against the Sublime Ottoman Porte.

Article VI.

Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, each party shall proceed to the evacuations, and to the re-possession respectively of all conquests whatsoever, as well as to the re-establishment of the former limits of the two empires, within the terms hereinafter fixed: the respective commissaries being chosen and appointed, according to the 13th article of the treaty of Belgrade, some of them shall conduct the operations in Wallachia, and the five districts of Moldavia, so as to complete them in the space of thirty days, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications. the others shall repair to the upper Unna, to re-establish the limits of Bosnia, Serbia, and the ancient Burgh of Orsova, with its Suburbs; the whole, according to the strict status quo of the respective possessions, prior to the 9th of February 1788: a longer space of two months, computing from the same epoch, is granted to the latter, as that time is necessary for the demolition of the new works of the fortresses, and for restoring them to the state in which they were at the conquest, as well as for the removal of all the artillery, ammuniton, and stores.

Article VII.

All the Ottoman prisoners and captives, as well civil as military, taken during the course of this war, having, without any exception, been released by the imperial and royal court, and consigned to the ottoman commissaries at Roundzouk, Vidin and in Bosnia, whilst only such of the imperial and royal subjects and soldiers as were in the public prisons, or in the power of some of the Bosniack, lords, have been restored in exchange; and as a considerable number of them still remain in domestic slavery in Turkey, the Sublime Ottoman Porte, in order to this respect, to the rule of the strict status quo anterior to the war, and to terminate with it all the calamities attending it, engages to restore gratuitously, that is to say, without any price for their re-purchase or ransom whatsoever, to the imperial and royal court, in the space of two months after the exchange of the ratifications, all the prisoners of war and slaves, of whatever age, sex, or condition, wherever they may be found, or to what persons so ever they may

be long; so that in future no subject of either of the two parties shall be a slave under the dominion of the other; excepting those only who, according to the rules observed in like cases, shall be legally found to have voluntarily embraced the Christian religion, on the one side, or the Mahometan religion, on the other.

Article VIII.

Nevertheless the subjects of either party, who, before the war, or during the course of it, may have retired upon the lands of the other, submitted to that government, and remain there of their own accord, shall never be claimed by their natural sovereign, but shall in future be considered and treated as the other subjects of the power to which they have given themselves: in return, such individuals, as possess at the same time lands under both empires, may fix their habitations on either side, at their convenience, without any opposition being given to them; but they must determine, at their own choice, under which of the two governments they will live, and they must sell the possessions they may have under the other.

Article IX.

The high contracting parties, being desirous to renew, as early as possible, the intercourse of trade, which is the fruit of peace, and to extend to the useful class of merchants the benefit of the return to the strict status quo fixed by the 2nd and 3rd articles above, declare that the interval of the war, as such, ought not to cause any prejudice to the respective subjects, that is to say, neither to the imperial and royal subjects in the Ottoman Empire, nor to the Ottoman subjects in the Austrian monarchy, but that it is lawful to all of them to resume their affairs, in the same state in which they were left at the time of the declaration of war, to prosecute all their rights and claims whatever anterior to the war, to reclaim their credits and effects, to summon their debtors, to demand indemnifications for payments refused, or losses sustained, at the time of the declaration of war, against the tenor of the 17th article of the Treaty of Belgrade, and the 18th article of the Treaty of Commerce of Passarowitz; and finally to claim, in all cases, the assistance of the respective tribunals and governments, which, on their part, shall render speedy and impartial justice in this respect, without ever admitting, as a lawful exception, the lapse of time occasioned by the duration of the war.

Article X.

The most precise and strict orders shall be immediately given to the commanders and governors on the borders of the two empires, rendering them even personally answerable for their execution, as to the speedy re-establishment of the general police, public tranquillity, and good neighbourhood, in the whole extent of the confines, the inviolability of the boundaries restored by the respective commissaries, the preventing encroachments, incursions, and devastations, the procuring reparations for injuries and damages, and finally the punishing offenders and criminals, in proportion to their transgressions and crimes, proceeding, for that end, according to the rules and principles fixed by the preceding treaties and agreements between the two high courts, in order that all Things may be immediately restored to their former regular and peaceable state.

Article XI.

It shall be at the same time seriously enjoined and recommended to them to protect the subjects of the other party, whose commerce or affairs shall oblige them to pass the confines, to travel in the interior of the provinces, to pass freely up and down the rivers, observing and causing to be observed towards them not only the offices of hospitality, but also all the articles and regulations of the treaties, conventions, and acts confirmed in the 2nd and 3rd articles above, without requiring, or permitting to be required, from them, on any account whatsoever, any other recompense or duties, than such as are therein established, for the persons and merchandise of the other party.

Article XII.

And as to the exercise of the Catholic Christian religion in the Ottoman Empire, the priests, sectaries, churches there to be maintained or repaired, the freedom of worship and of persons, the frequentation and protection of the holy places in Jerusalem, and other parts, the Sublime Ottoman Porte renews and confirms, according to the rule of the strict status quo, not only the privileges stipulated by the 9th article of the Treaty of Belgrade for that religion, but also those which have been since granted by firmans and other acts issuing under its authority.

Article XIII.

Ministers of the second rank shall be sent on each side, as well upon the occasion of this happy peace, as to announce the accession of the respective august sovereigns to the thrones of their ancestors. These ministers shall be received with the ceremony, honours, and treatment accustomed between the two courts, and shall enjoy, in virtue of the strict status quo, all the privileges of the law of nations, and other immunities attached to their characters, according to the articles of the treaties, and the established custom. the same rule shall be observed with regard to the successors of the internuncio, and the imperial and royal minister plenipotentiary residing at the Sublime Ottoman Porte (attention being paid, however, to the difference of rank with which they may be invested) and also with regard to their subalterns, suite, attendants, and servants: and whereas several of their couriers coming from or going to the imperial court, were plundered before the war, the Sublime Ottoman Porte will not only not neglect any means which may procure a compensation for the effects of which they were robbed, but will also take the most effectual and solid measures, in order that such couriers may hereafter pass and repass with perfect security and protection.

Article XIV.

Two original instruments, perfectly conformable to each other, of the present treaty, one in the French language, which has been made use of for convenience, and the other in the Turkish Language, shall be signed, the first by the two imperial and royal ministers plenipotentiary, and the second by the three Ottoman Ministers plenipotentiary, exchanged one against the other by the intervention of the mediating ministers plenipotentiary, and sent respectively to the two high contracting courts. after which, and within the space of forty days, to be computed from the day of the signature, or sooner, if it can be done, the solemn acts of ratification, signed by the two august sovereigns, shall be likewise exchanged, through the means of the same mediation, between the said contracting parties, with legalized copies of all the treaties, conventions, and acts renewed, confirmed, and perpetually obligatory, upon the two parties. In consequence whereof, and in virtue of the full powers of his imperial and apostolic majesty, we Peter Philip, Baron d'Herbert Rath-Keal, and we Francis Count

Esterhazy de Galantha, his ministers plenipotentiary at the congress for peace, have signed the present treaty and authentic instrument of peace, and have caused the seals of our arms to be put thereto. Done at Sistovo, in the chamber of conferences, the 4th day of the month of August, in the year of grace 1791.

(Signed)

(L.S.) The Baron (L.S.) The Count Francis d'Herbert Rath-Keal. Esterhazy de Galantha.

We plenipotentiaries of his majesty the King of Great Britain, of his majesty the King of Prussia, and of their high mightinesses the States General of The United Provinces, having acted as mediators in the work of the pacification, declare that the above treaty of peace between the imperial and royal court, and the Sublime Ottoman Porte, with all the clauses, conditions, and stipulations which are therein contained, was concluded by the mediation of their majesties the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia, and of their high mightinesses the States General of The United Provinces. In witness whereof we have signed these presents with our hands, and have caused the seals of our arms to be put thereto. Done at Sistovo, this 4th of August 1791.

(Signed) -(L.S.) Robert Murray (L. S.) Jerome Marquis Reith. de Lucchesini. (L.S.) R. de Haefen.

Separated Convention between Ottoman and Austrian Empires

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

The Imperial and Royal Court, and the Sublime Ottoman Porte, being desirous, at the happy epoch of the conclusion of the pacification, to give to each other real proofs of their friendship, to prevent everything which might in future disturb the perfect harmony of the extensive confines of their dominions, and to sanction, for mutual benefit, the only alterations which they will ever permit in the articles of the whole definitive treaty of peace, signed at Sistovo this day, the 4th of August 1791, have, through their ministers plenipotentiary, on the part of the imperial and royal court, the Baron Peter Philip d'Herbert Rathkeal, actual aulick councillor, and the Count Francis Esterhazy de Galantha, actual chamberlain, lord of the lordship of Tottis, and hereditary lord of the county of Forchtenstein; and on that of the Sublime Ottoman Porte, the Reis Effendi, or minister for foreign affairs, Birri Abdullah, Effendi, the Ordon cadissi, or chief judge of the Ottoman Forces, Ismet Ibrahim, Bey, and the rousnamedgi, or comptroller general of the finances, Durri Mehmet, Effendi; agreed to the following articles;

Article I.

Whereas, anterior to the war, a negotiation was opened, upon the demands of the imperial court, of the lands of the Bannat of Temeswar, possessed by the Ottoman Empire, and of the districts situated on the left side of the Unna; the high contracting Parties considering, on the one hand, the defects of the ancient frontier in those parts, and being desirous, on the other, to remedy the same in a manner which may invariably conduce to the common satisfaction, have agreed to the final arrangement specified in the second and third articles of the present convention; by which arrangement they consent to terminate completely and definitively all the subjects of claim which made the object of the above-recited negotiation.

Article II.

In consequence whereof the Sublime Ottoman Porte consents, that the Burgh and lands of Old Orsova, to the Czerna, shall remain and continue in the possession and sovereignty of the imperial and royal court, so that the Czerna shall be, on that side, hereafter and forever, the frontier of the Austrian monarchy; but under this express condition, that the said imperial and royal court shall never fortify either the old Burgh of Orsova, or any part of the lands ceded by the Sublime Porte, in virtue of the present article. As to the little plain opposite the fort, on the Island of Orsova, bounded by the confines described in the fifth article of the Treaty of Peace of Belgrade, it shall remain for ever neuter, in the strictest sense, between the two empires, that is to say, the sovereignty thereof shall not belong to either of them; and the contracting parties engage to leave the said plain absolutely desert, without ever permitting any person to build or reside there, or to cultivate the soil.

Article III.

As to the districts on the left side of the Unna, the two high contracting parties have agreed, that the limits of the two empires shall be, hereafter and for ever, regulated in the manner following. the new line of separation, according to the drawing traced in red on the map annexed to the present article, shall begin in those parts, on the right shore of the Glina, at the point marked on the said map: it shall be continued along a small river, leaving Czettin, with its district, under the imperial and royal dominion; shall take its course along the banlieu of the Ottoman Fort Sturlich, or Sturlitz, marked on the map with yellow; so that the said fort, as well as its banlieu, determined at the distance of cannon shot, shall remain in the possession of the Ottoman Porte; from whence the said line shall be carried straight forward on the Corana, ascending that river up to and including Dresnick, which shall remain, with its district, under the imperial and royal dominion. The said line shall be continued from thence by the mountain of Smolianatz, and the place of Tichiero, following the high mountain, at the foot of which is situated the place of Lapaz, marked on the map with yellow, and it shall be continued to the unna, to the distance of an hour's journey above Vacup, marked with yellow, from whence the said line shall proceed upwards along the left shore of the unna, to its western sources, according to the line marked red, to end by the shortest way which the direction of the high mountains permit, at the present triple confines, thus leaving Turkish Sternica under the Ottoman dominion. the imperial and royal court engages never to repair or construct any fortifications whatsoever, under any name, or for any motive whatsoever, in the whole extent, without exception, of the district which the Sublime Porte cedes to the former, by virtue of the present article.

Article IV.

The imperial and royal court, in order to correspond, on its side, to the friendly dispositions which the Sublime Porte has manifested in the final arrangement of the confines, as well on the side of the Burgh and lands of Old Orsova, as on the upper Unna, in the manner agreed upon by the second and third articles of the present separate convention, and to strengthen and consolidate so much the more the happy peace just concluded between the two empires, declares, in the most solemn manner, that she acknowledges the present arrangement of confines as definitive, and engages not to form here after any pretensions beyond the limits above settled.

Article V.

The Imperial and Royal Court, in order to evince her satisfaction with the arrangement of the limits above settled, engages to restore to the Sublime Porte all the fortresses, castles, and palancas taken from the Ottoman Empire, in the State in which they are at present, and without destroying any of the repairs or new works made therein, renouncing consequently the clause for demolition, stipulated at the end of the sixth article of the definitive treaty.

Article VI.

In like manner the imperial and royal court, seconding the desire manifested by the sublime ottoman porte to re-enter speedily into possession of all the conquests, readily concurs in shortening the periods fixed for the evacuations by the sixth article of the said treaty, and agrees with the Sublime Ottoman Porte, that the said periods shall be computed from the day of the signature of the treaty, instead of the day of the exchange of the ratifications thirty days, reckoning from this day, the 4th of August, for the evacuation, cession, and restitution of the whole of Wallachia, and the five districts of Moldavia, and sixty days, reckoning from the same date, for all the other conquests. The two parties further engage to effectuate the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty of peace, in fifteen days at farthest, instead of the forty days fixed by the fourteenth article of the definitive treaty.

Article VII.

The ratifications of this separate convention shall be prepared separately, but exchanged the same day as the ratifications of the treaty of peace. in consequence whereof, and by virtue of the full powers of his imperial and apostolick majesty, we Peter Philip Baron d'Herbert Rath-Keal, and we Francis Count Esterhazy de Galantha, his imperial and royal ministers plenipotentiary at the congress for peace, have signed the present convention and authentic instrument, and have caused the seals of our arms to be put thereto. Done at sistovo, in the chamber of conferences, the 4th day of the month of August, in the year of grace 1791.

(Signed) (L.S.) The Baron (L.S.) The Comte Francis d'Herbert Rath-Keal. Esterházy de Galantha.”³⁴⁴

Appendix 3- Yaş Ahidnamesi

“Sûret-i tasdîk-nâme-i hümayûn

Hazret-i hüdâvend-i memâlik-bahşâ ve cenâb-ı tensîk-fermâ-yı umûr-ı kâffeti'l-verâ tekaddese zâtuhû an vasmeti'l-azdâd ve'l-[eşbâh]1433 an külli zevi'n-nihânın irâde-i bâhire-i samâdaniyye ve inâyet-i zâhire-i sübhâniyyesi ve seyyid-i asfiyâ ve sipehsâlâr-ı kitâbet-i enbiyâ habîb-i Hudâ şefî'-i yevm-i cezâ ulu Peygamberimiz Muhammedi'1-Mustafa -aleyhi ve alâ âlihi ve sahabehu ezkâü't-tahâyâ- hazretlerinin dest-yârî-i mu‘cizât-ı hamîyyetü'l-berekâtı ve ashâb-ı güzîn ve Hulefâ-i Râşidîn -

³⁴⁴ Journals of the House of Commons: From January the 32st, 1792, in the Thirty-second Year of Reign of King George the Third to November the 15th, 1792, in the Thirty-third Year of the Reign of King George of the Third. (1803), 29-33.

rıdvânu'l-lah-i te'âlâ aleyhim ecma'în- ve cümle evliyâ-yı hidâyet-karîn ve asfiyâ-yı takaddes-rehînin murâfakat-ı ervâh-ı tayyibe-i cennet me'vâl arıyla.

mahall-i tuğra

Ben ki eşrefü'l-büldân ve'l-emâkin ve ebrekü'l-medâyin ve'l-mesâkin kible-i cümle-i âlem ve mihrâb-ı teveccüh-i âmme-i ümem olan Mekke-i mükerreme ve Medîne-i münevvere ve Kuds-i şerîf-i mübârekin hâdim ü hâkimi ve hasretü'l-mülûk olan belde-i selâse-i mu'azzama -ki İstanbul ve Edirne ve Burusa'dır- anların ve Şâm-ı cennet-meşânın ve Mısır-ı nâdiretü'l-asr-ı bî-hemtâ ve külliyyen Arabistan ve Afrikıyye ve Barka ve Kayrevan ve Haleb-i şehbâ ve Irak-ı Arab [C.72-a] u Acem ve Basra ve Lahsâ ve Deylem ve Rakka [121/b] ve Musul ve Şehr-i Zor ve Diyârbekr ve Zül-kadriyye ve vilâyet-i Erzurum ve Sivas ve Adana ve Karaman ve Van ve Magrib ve Habeş ve Tunus ve Trablusşâm ve Kıbrıs ve Rodos ve Girid ve Mora ve Akdeniz ve Karadeniz ve cezâyir ü sevâhili ve diyâr-ı Anadolu ve memâlik-i Rûm-ili ve husûsan Bağdad-ı dârü's-selâm ve cemî'an Kürdistân ve Rûm ve Türk ve Tataristan ve Çerâkise ve Kabartayan ve Deşt-i Kıpçak ve îlât-ı Tatar'a dâ'ir ol havâlîlerde vâki umûmen sığınak vebî'l-cümle tavâ'if-i Tatar'ın halîfe-i âzam ve şehr-i yâr-ı sa'âdet-disâr-ı mu'azzamı ve kezâlik etrafında vâkı' cümle oymakân ve muzâfâtıyla, umûmen Bosna ve kal'e-i Belgrad-ı dârü'l-cihâd ve Sırb hükümeti ve anda olan kılâ' u husûn ve bilâd-ı Arnabudluk ve bi't-tamâm Eflâk ve Boğdan ve etrâflarında vâkı' kılâ' u husûn ve ta'rîf ü tavsiften müstagnî nice bıkâ' ve büldânın pâdişâh-ı ma'delet-şiyem ve şehen-şâh-ı şevket-alemi es-sultân ibnü's-sultân ve'l-hâkân ibnü'l-hâkân es-sultân Selîm Hân ibnü's-sultân Mustafa Hân ibnü's-sultân Ahmed Hân'ım. Ünvan-ı menşûr-ı sa'âdet-nüşûr saltanatım tevkî'-i refî'-i sultânü'l-berrîn ile müzeyyen ü pür-zîver ve yarlığ-ı belîğ hilâfetim nakş-ı nigâr-ı azamet-izhâr-ı hâkânü'l-bahreyn ile mu'anven ve ârâyîş-küsterdir. Lâ-cerem mübteğâ-yı kelâm-ı dürriyü'n-nizâm es-sultân zıllu'l-lâh-i fi arzahu zât-ı übbehed-nisâb-ı hüsvâneme atıyye-i behiyye-i ilâhiyye olan teşrîf-i şerîf-i hilâfet-mevhûbe ve câme-i lâtif-i saltanat-mergübenin ve (يا لشكر تدوم النعم كلها)³⁴⁵ muktezâsınca ifâ-yı teşekkürüne kıyâm ile (تعظم لامر الله ثققت عخلق)³⁴⁶levâzımım icrâ kusvâ-yı makâsıd-ı şâhânem olup, çünkü istihsâl-i âsâyîş-i ra'ıyyet ve istiksâb-ı me'âsir-i insâf u adâlet lâzime-i zimmet-i himmet-i tâcdârâne vü râtibe-i uhde-i atûfet-i hüsvânem olmuştur. Binâen alâ zâlik Devlet-i Aliyye-i ebediyyü'l-istimrâr ve saltanat-ı seniyye-i sermediyyü'l-istikrânımızla, müftehîretü'l-melikâtü'l-azîmâtü'l-îseviyye mümtâzetü'l-kebîrâtü'l-fehîmâtü'l-Mesîhiyye muslihu masâlih-i cemâhiri't-tâ'ifeti'n-Nasrâniyye sahibetü ezyâlî'l-haşmet ve'l-vekâr ve sâhibetü delâilî'l-mecd ve'l-i'tibâr, Rusıyya vilâyetlerinin ve tamâmen Rus ve ana tâbi nice nice ülkelerin fermân-fermâ ve pâdişâh ve imparatoriçe-i uzmâsı haşmetlü rütbetlü dostumuz Katherine-i sâniye hatem-allahu avâkıbîhâ bi'l-hayr ve'r-reşâd ve elheme ileyhâ tarîki's-savâb ve's-sedâd beyninde bundan [122/a] akdem mü'ebbeden maksûd olan râbita-i musâlaha ve musâfât ba'zı esbâb ve avânza binâen kabûl-i inhilâl [C.72-b]ve infisâm edüp, ol vechle zuhûr-ı ihtilâl ve vukû'-ı ceng ü cidâl bir müddetden berü sefk-i dimâya bâdî ve insilâb-ı emn-i ibâd-ullahı müstelzim ve mü'eddî olduğu işbu şûriş ve gavganın indifal ve sükûneti ve İbâd ve bilâdın ârâmiş üistirâhati zımnında işbu harb u kîtâlin def' ü izâlesiyle müceddeden sulh ve sâlâhın akd u rabtı gerek cânib-i nasfet-i menâkıb-ı hüsvânemizden ve gerek Rusıyya pâdişâh ve imparatoriçe-i uzmâsı müşârun-ileyhâ tarafından murâd olunup mâbeyni'd-devleteyn te'yîd ve te'yîd-i sulh u safvet ve te'kîd ü teşyîd-i silm ü meveddet olunması zımnında devlet-i müşârun-

³⁴⁵ "Allah'a şükür ettikçe bütün nimetler devam eder."

³⁴⁶ "Allah'ın emirlerini yüceltmek ve Allah'ın yarattıklarına şefkat beslemek gerek."

ileyhâ murahhaslarıyla akd-i meclis-i mukâleme edüp müzâkere ve tanzîm-i mevâdd-ı müsâleme ve musâfât eylemek için taraf-ı bâhiri's-şeref-i pâdişâhanemden ruhsat-ı kâmile ile murahhas-ı evvel tahsîs kılınan bi'l-fi' l Re'isü'l-küttâb'ım iftihârü'l- ümerâ ve'l- ekâbir müstecmi'-i cemî' ü'l-me'âlî ve'l-mefâhiri'l-muhtass bi-mezîd-i inâyeti'l-Meliki'l-kâdir Es-seyyid Abdullah Berrî dâme ulüvvühü ve murahhas-ı sâni' nasb olunan hâlâ dârü's-sa'âdetü's-saltanatü's- seniyyem kazâsı pâyesiyle ordu-yı hümâyûnum kâdisi olan akzâ kuzâtü'l -müslimîn evlâ vülâtü'l-muvahhidîn ma'denü'l-fazl ve'l-yakîn râfi'-i i'lâmi's-şerî'at ve'd-dîn vâris-i ulûmü 'l-enbiyâ ve'l-mürselîn el-muhtass bi-mezîd-i inâyeti'l-meliki'l-mu'în mevlânâ mîr Es-seyyid İbrâhim İsmet zîdet fezâilîhu ve murahhas-ı sâlis ta'yîn kılınan hâlâ Rûznâmçe-i evvel iftihârü'l-emâcid ve'l-ekârim câmi'ü'l-mehâmid ve'l-mekârim el-muhtass bi-mezîd-i inâyeti'l-meliki'd-dâ'im Es-seyyid Mehmed Dürri dâme mecduhunun başka başka yedlerine hutüt-ı hümâyûn-ı şehin-şâhânemle mu'anven ruhsat-nâme-i hümâyûnum i'tâ olunmağla müşârun-ileyhâ tarafından kezâlik murahhas-ı evvel olan bi'l-fii şambellam ve meşveret kaçırlaryasının müdürü ve taraf-ı kesîrenin kavalieri kıdvetihi ümerâ'i'l-milleti'l-Mesihîyye umdetü'l-küberâü't-tâ'ifeti'n-Nasrâniyye Aleksandr de Samoylaf mayör Ceneral ve ince donanmanın kumandanı ve taraf-ı kesîrenin kavalieri kıdvetihi ümerâ'i'l-milleti'l-Mesihîyye Yozef de Ribas ve devlet müsteşârı ve kavalieri kıdvetihi ümerâ'i'l-milleti'l-Mesihîyye Sereiyö de Laşkoref hutimet avâkıbuhum bi'l-hayr, hicret-i nebeviyye alâ sâhibuhâ efdâtü't-tahîyyenin bin iki yüz altı senesi Cumâde'l-ülâ'sının on beşinci[10.1.1792] gününde vâkı' milâd-ı [122/b] İsâ aleyhi's-selâmın bin yedi yüz [C.73-a] doksan bir senesi Kânûn-ı Evvel'inin yigirmi sekizinci gününde mahall-i mükâleme olan Yaş kasabasında sâlifü'z-zikr tarafeyn murahhasları birbirleriyle mülâkât ve kendülere verilen ruhsat-ı kâmile muktezâsı üzre mevâdd-ı musâlahayı bi'd-defa'ât müzâkere eyleyüp terâzi-i tarafeynleriyle on üç mâdde üzerine akd u rabt ve te'sîs ü tanzim eylemeleriyle zikr-i âtî on üç mâddeyi hâvî temhîd ve mübâdele eyledikleri ahid-nâme temessükleri düstûr-ı ekrem müşîr-i efhâm nizâmü'l-âlem nâzım-ı menâzımu'l-ümem medebbir-i umûru'l-cumhûr bi'l-fikri's-sâkıb mütemmim-i mehâmi'l-enâm bi'r-re'yi's-sâib mümehhid-i bünyânî'd-devlet ve'l-ikbâl müşeyyid-i erkânü's-sa'âdet ve'l-iclâl mükemmil-i nâmûsi's-saltanatî'l-uzmâ mürettib-i merâtibi'l-hilâfeti'l-kübrâ el-mahfûfu be-sunûf-ı avâtifi'l-Meliki'l-aiâbi'l-fi' l vezîr-i â'zam ve vekîl-i mutlak ve Serdâr-ı ekremim Yusuf Paşa edâmal-lahu te'âlâ iclâlehu ve zâ'afe bi't-te'yîd-i iktidârehu ve ikbâlehu dahi vekâlet-i mutlaka ve ruhsat-ı kâmileleri muktezâsı ve Rusiyya Devleti'nin müsteşâr-ı hâssı ve mükâleme nâzırı olan iftihârî'l- ümerâ'i'l- milleti'l- Mesihîyye umdetü küberâi't- tâ'ifeti'l- îseviyye Konte de Bezborotko hatem- allâhu avâkıbetuhu bi'l-hayrın devleti tarafından ruhsat-ı tâmmе ve kâmilesi lâzimesi üzre kabûl ve temessükde mastûr mevâddı tasdîk birle mu'teber u ma'mûlün bih mühürleriyle mahtûm tasdîk-nâmelerini tarafeyn murahhasları yedleriyle mübâdele etmeleriyle tarafeynin temessüklerinde mestur ve meşrut olan mevâdd-ı musâlahâ ve müsâlemeyi sadr-ı â'zam ve serdâr-ı ekrem-i müşârun-ileyh de'b-i dîrîn-i saltanat ve kâ'ide-i müstedîm-i Devlet-i Aliyye'm üzre dergâh-ı felek-bârgâh-ı pâdişâhânemize arz u telhîs etmeğle refâhiyyet-i ahâlî vü ra'ıyyet ve râhat-ı berâyâ-yı mülk ü millet için mevâdd-ı merkûme üzre akd ve temhîd olunan sulh u salâh-ı müstevcibü'l-felâh taraf-ı hümâyûnumuzdan dahi makbûl ve mu'teber tutulup hatt-ı hümâyûn-ı şevket-makrûnumuz ile muvaşşah ve tuğra-yı garrâ-yı cihân-ârâmız ile müşerref ahid-nâme-i hümâyûn sa'âdet-meşhûnumuz şeref-yâfte-i sudur olması lâzım gelmeğın lâfzen bi-lâfz mevâdd-ı sulh u salâh makbûl-ı hümâyûnumuz olup yerlü yerinde ri'âyet ve sıyânet olunması için zikr olunan mâddelerdir ki aynî ile işbu ahid-nâme-i hümâyûnumda zikr ü beyân ve şerh ü ayân kılınur. [123/a] [C.73-b]

Evvelki mâdde.

İki devlet beyninde sebkât eden her dürlü mu'âdât u muhâsamât şimdiden def' ü ref' olunup gerek şehin-şâh-ı azamet-nişân-ı Âl-i Osmân ve gerek bi'l-cümle Rusıyyalann pâdişâh ve imparatoriçe-i uzmâsı ve anlann verese-i taht ve ahlâflan beyninde ve re'âyâ ve berâyâlan miyânelerinde cemî'-i evzâ'-ı hasmâne vü mu'âdât ale'd-devâm terk olunup nes-y-i mü'ebbed ile mensî vü metrûk kala. Ve bundan böyle berren ve bahren musâlaha-i mü'ebbede cârî olup, tagayyürden ârî ve berî ve metîn ü üstüvâr dostluk ve revâbit-ı musâfâtı edâ birle el-hâleti hazîhi mün'akd olan musâlaha ahid-nâmesi şurûtunun kemâl-i safvet ve dikkat ü ihtimâm ile mer'î tutulmasına sa'y u ikdâm oluna. Bu vechle cânibeyn birbirlerinin hakkına bir dürlü hareket-i hasmâne ve esbâb-ı düşmanâneye sırren ve alâniyeten mübâderet etmiyeler. Ve tecdîd olunan işbu muvâlât ve musâfât muktezâsınca mu'âhid olan iki devletler bilâ-istisnâ cânibeyn re'âyâsmdan her kangılan iki tarafa cürm ü kabahatle mütteham iseler töhmetleri tarafeynden nesyen mensiyyen ale'l-ıtlak afv olunup çekdiri ve zindânlarda mahbûs olanları âzâd u ıtlak birle menfî ve meks etdirilen kesâna vatanlarına avdete izn ü ruhsat verilüp mukaddemâ nâ'il olduklan pâyve emvâlleri ba'de's-sulh kendülere redd ü ircâ' olunup âherler tarafından mezbûrlara bir dürlü zarar u ziyân ve ta'arruz tecvîz olunmayup ve mersûmînden her birisi hemşehrileri misillü memleketinde cârî olan kavânîn ve kavâ'idin zîr-i himâyesinde mahmî olarak geçineler.

İkinci mâtde.

Târîh-i hicrînin bin yüz seksen sekiz 1455 senesi Cumade'l-ülâ'sının on dördüncü [23.7.1774]* gününde ya'nî bin yedi yüz yetmiş dört 1456 sene-i Rûmiyyesi temmûzunun onunda akd olunan musâlaha ahid-nâmesi ve yine târîh-i hicrînin bin yüz doksan üç senesi Cemâziye'l-âhir'inin yigirminci [5.7.1779]** gününde ya'nî bin yedi yüz yetmiş dokuz sene-i Rûmiyyesi Mart'mm onunda akd olunan mu'âhede-i mukarrere ve târîh-i hicrînin yüz doksan yedi senesi Receb'inin yigirmi birinde [22.6.1783] ya'nî bin yedi yüz seksen üç sene-i Rûmiyyesi Haziran'ımn onunda akd olunan ticâret mu'âhede-i ve târîh-i hicrînin bin yüz doksan sekiz senesi Safer'inin on beşinde [9.1.1784] ya'nî bin yedi yüz seksen üç senesi [C.74-a] Rûmiyyesi Kânûn-ı evvel'in yigirmi sekizinde akd [123/b] olunan Rusıyya Devleti'ne Kırım ve Taman ilhâkım ve Kuban nehrinin hudûd olduğunu mübeyyin sened işbu ahid-nâme ve senedât-ı sâbıka ile tebdîl ve terk olunmuş mâtdelelerden mâ'adâ bâkî kalan bi'l-cümle şurût ile işbu ahid-nâme muktezâsınca te'kîd ü tasdîk olunurlar. Ve zikr olunan mu'âhedât ve senedât bilâ-hâlel mer'î ve mu'teber tutulup hüsn-i ri'âyetle kâmilan icrâ ve îfâsma devleteyn-i mu'âhedeteyn ta'ahhüd ederler.

Üçüncü mâtde.

Esâsın şart-ı sânisinde ile'l-ebed nehr-i Turla iki devletin smun ola. Bu vechle ki bundan sonra bi't-tamâm Rusıyya Devleti'nin hudûdu nehr-i mezbûra değin imtidâd oluna deyu mestur olduğuna binâen devleteyn-i müte'ahhideteyn beynlerinde bi'l-ittifak işbu mâtde ile karâr verildi ki Devlet-i Aliyye ile Devlet-i Rusıyya memâliki beyninde ale'd-devâm nehr-i Turla hudûd olup şöyle ki nehr-i mezbûrun sol tarafında olan bi'l-cümle arâzî ile'l-ebed kâmilan ve bilâ-mümâna'at Rusıyya Devleti'nin zîr-i hükümetinde bâlâ kala ve nehr-i mezbûrun sağ kolunda olan bi'l-cümle arâzî dahi Rusıyya Devleti tarafından redd olunup ile'l-ebed kâmilan ve bilâ-mümâna'at Devlet-i Aliyye'nin taht-ı hükümetinde bâlâ kala.

Dördüncü mâtde.

İmdi devleteyn hudûduna dâ'ir karâr-dâde olan nizâm ve intizâma binâen esâsın şart-ı râbî'î mûcibince iki devletin sâ'ir cümle smurlan işbu muhârebeye gelince ne vechle iseler yine ol vechle olup Rusıyya Devleti askerlerinden işbu muhârebede istîlâ olunan bi'l-cümle yerler ve derûnunda olan kal'eleri Rusıyya Devleti el-hâleti hazihi bulunduklan vech üzre Devlet-i Aliyye'ye redd eder. Binâen-alâ zâlik Rusıyya imparatoriçesi tarafından zabt u istîlâ olunan Bucak memleketi ve Bender ve Akkirman ve Kili ve İsmâ'îl kal'eleriyle ve cemî' kasabât ve mahallât ve kurâlan ve sâ'ir her ne derûnunda mevcûd ise Devlet-i Aliyye'ye redd eder. Kezâlik Boğdan memleketim cemî' şehirler ve emâkin ve mesâkin ve sâ'ir her ne derûnunda mevcûd ve mûnderic ise redd ü teslîm eder. Ve Devlet-i Aliyye dahi memâlik-i merkûmeyi mevâdd-ı âtiyetü'z-zikr üzre kabûl edüp alenen ve kâmilen ri'âyet edeceğini ta'ahhüd eder. [C.74-b] Evvelâ bâlâda mezkûr ikinci mâtde ile tecdîd olunan târîh-i hicrinin bin yüz seksen sekiz senesi Cemâziye'l-evvel'inin on dördüncü [23.7.1774] gününde [124/a] ya'ni bin yedi yüz yetmiş dört sene-i Rûmiyyesi Temmûz'unun onunda mün'akd ahid-nâmede ve yine târîh-i hicrinin bin yüz doksan üç senesi Cemâziye'l-âhir'inin yigirminci [5.7.1779] gününde ya'ni bin yedi yüz yetmiş dokuz sene-i Rûmiyyesi Mart'ının onunda nizâm bulan tenkîh-nâmede ve yine târîh-i hicrinin bin yüz doksan sekiz senesi Safer'inin on beşinci [9.1.1784] gününde ya'nî bin yedi yüz seksen üç sene-i Rûmiyyesi dâhilinde vezîr-i â'zam tarafından Devlet-i Osmâniyye cânibinden verilen senedde her ne ki Boğdan ve Eflâk memleketlerinin menfa'atine dâ'ir muharrer ve mûnderic ise bilâ-halel mer'î ve mu'teber tutulup, kemâl-i dikkatle îfâ ve icrâ oluna. Sâniyen atîk muhâsebeler için her ne güne ise gerek nukûd akçe ve gerek sâ'ir tarîk ile bir nesne Boğdan memleketinden talep olunmıya. Sâlisen işbu muhârebenin cümle müddeti-çün bir dürlü teklif ve yâhûd âher virgü taleb olunmaya. Muhârebe imtidâmda pâ-zede olduklan mazarrat ve tahrîbât-ı mûte'addidelerine nazaran bundan sonra dahi iki sene mühlet birle zikr olunan Boğdan memleketini her dürlü virgü ve tekâlîfden mu'âf birle işbu mühlet-i mu'âfiyet-i mezkûre mübâdele-i tasdîk-nâme târîhinden add oluna. RâbVan terk-i vatan edüp âher mahallere varmak rağbetinde olan hânedânlar, bi'l-ctimle eşyâlarıyla nakl etmeğe serbestiyyet üzre me'zûn olalar. Ve işbu hânedânlar emlâkini Devlet-i Aliyye re'âyâsından olan akrabâlarına ve diledikleri yine Devlet-i Aliyye re'âyâsmdan kimselere i'tâ ve kâ'ide-i memleket üzre yine mersûmlara fûrûht eyleyüp ve kendü mesâlihinin tanzîmi içtin vakt-i kâfileri olmak için serbestiyyet üzre vatanlarına nakl eylemelerine on dört ay müddet imhâl olup, işbu müddet-i mühlet tasdîk-nâme-i mübârekenin mübâdelesi târîhinden ma'dûd u mahsûb oluna.

Beşinci mâtde.

Devleteyn-i mûte'ahhideteynin miyânelerinde safvet ve muvâlâta delâlet olmak için ki el-hâleti hazihi beynlerinde sulh u salâhın ve hiisn-i ittifâkm tecdîdiyle kana'ât olunmayup zamân-ı müstakbel için musâlahamn râbta-i kaviyye ile rabtını ve her dürlü esbâb-ı mübâhase ve bürûdete müeddî olur [C.75-a] hâlâtın def'ine sa'y-i mâ-lâ-keâm ile tâlib oldukları cihetlerinden Devlet-i Aliyye te'ahhüd eder ki mukaddemâ sâdır olan fermân-ı âlî-şâmn bu def'a tecdîdiyle Tiflis hânının yed-i hükümetinde olan memleketine ve sekenesine [124/b] Ahışa vâlisi ve zâbitân-ı ser-hadd ve sâ'irleri min ba'd sırren ve alâniyeten bir dürlü bahâne ile bî-huzûr ve ta'addî etmemek ve kat'an htisn-i ittifâk ve hem-civâriyete mugayir taraflarından halel getirilmemek bâbında mezkûr Ahışa vâlisi ve ser-hadd zâbitânına ve sâ'ire eşedd-i tenbîh ü te'kid ile fermânlar ısdar ve tisyâr oluna.

Altıncı mâtde.

Bin yedi yüz seksen üç senesi Kânûn-ı evvel'in yigirmi sekizinci [8.1.1784] gününde bi'l-cümle Devlet-i Rusiyya'ya Kırım ve Taman ilhâkma dâir ve ol havâlîde devleteyn-i müte'ahhideteyn beyninde nehr-i Kuban hudût ta'yîn olunduğunu mübeyyin mün'akd olan senedi sâ'ir uhûd ile ma'an işbu mu'âhedenin ikinci mâddesiyle temhîd ü te'kîd eyledikten sonra Devlet-i Aliyye-i1461 Osmâniyye vakt-i müstakbel için devleteyn-i fahîmeteyn miyânelerinde sulh u salâh ve refâhiyyet ve hüsn-i ittifâkına halel getürebilür cümle vesâili teb'îd eylemek murâd ve maksûdunda olduğunu izhâr ti beyân için alenen va'd ü ta'ahhüd ederiz ki nehr-i Kuban'm sol yakasında hudûd dâhilinde mütemekkin tavâif bi'l-cümle Devlet-i Rusiyya'nın hudûd u sınırlarına tecâvüz etmemesine ve Rusiyya İmparatoriyye re'âyâlarma ve anlann emâkin ve mesâkinlerine ve arazîlerine dahi bir dürlü ta'addî ve gasb u hasâr zuhûra getirilmemesine ve hafî ve celî bir dürlü bahane ile Rusiyya âdemlerini kayd-ı esre giriftâr eylememeleri için zabt birle men' ü tahzîr zımmında kendü iktidarım ve cümle vesâ'ili bezi ve i'mâl edüp ol bâbda taraf-ı Devlet-i Aliyye'den hilâfında olan alâ eyyi-hâl eşedd üzre te'dîb ü gûsmâl olunacaklanm müş'ir lâzım gelen kimesnelere eşedd vechle fermânlar i'tâ ve zikr olunan tenbîhât işbu musâlaha-i hayriyye ba'de'l-in'ikâd tasdîk-nâmeleri dahi mübâdele olunduktan sonra ol havâlîlerde iân ü beyân olunalar. Ve eğer akvâm-ı mezkûre işbu ahid-nâmede karâr verildiği sûretten nâşî kendülere [C.75-b] eşedd üzre bâlâda zikr olunan tenbîhâtlarma dahi nazar etmeyüp anlardan bir kimesne bi'l-cümle Devlet-i Rusiyya'nın hudûtlanna tecâvüzü irtikâb ve gasb ü hasâret ve ızrâr u tahrîbât terettüb edüp yâhûd hayvanâtı ve sâ'ir nesneyi gasb ile alup götördükleri ve yâhûd Rusiyya âdemlerini kayd-ı esre giriftâr eyledikleri sebebiyle şikâyetleri takdîm olduğu sûretde der-akab ve bilâ-te'hîr gâret ve yâhûd gasb olunan nesne istirdâd birle terâzî oluna; ve bâ-husûs ahz [125/a] olunan Rusiyya âdemleri bir dürlü bahâneye idhâl olunmaksızın bilâ-te'hîr ve min gayr-ı tereddüt teftîş ü tahkik birle sebilleri tahliye vü azâd ve terettüb eden hasâret tazmîn birle cürm ü kabâhatle müttehim olan kimesnelerin dahi ibreten li's-sâ'irîn hudûd dâhilinde Rusiyya ser-hadd zâbiti tarafından nasb olunacak me'mûrun muvâcehesinde te'dîbleri icrâ ve îfâ oluna. Ve eğer gayr-ı me'mûl şikâyetleri takdîm olduğu târîhden altı ay zarfında dahi tazmîn olunmadığı sûretde Devlet-i Aliyye ta'ahhüd eder ki Rusiyya İmparatoriyye elçisi tarafından tahrîren inhâ olunduktan sonra bir ay zarfında bi'l-cümle müteretteb olan zarar ve hasârları kendü hazînesinden tazmîn edüp ve hem-civâriyyetde olan hudûdlann emniyyet ve refâhiyyetine halel getürdikleri-çün bâlâda mezkûr vaz' ve tanzim olunan te'dîbleri dahi bi-eyyi-hâl ve vücûh ile müttehimleri üzerinde fî'len ve min gayr-ı te'hîr icrâ ve îfâ oluna.

Yedinci mâdde.

Ticâret mâddesi tarafeyn hüsn-i ittifakının habl-i metîn ve rehîn-i aslîsi olduğu cihetle Devlet-i Osmâniyye, Rusiyya Devleti'yle bu vechle musâfât u muv âl âtını tecdîd-i kulûb-ı safvetini izhâr için ve devleteyn re'âyâlan beyninde ticâretini bilâ-mümâna'at âminen ve sâlimen icrâ ve tarafeyn menfa'atinin vech-i ehven üzre mütezâyid olmasına tâlib olduğuna binâen ve Devlet-i Rusiyya ile mün'akid olan ticâret mu'âhedesinde Cezâyir ve Tunus ve Trablusgarb Ocaklan'na dâ'ir altmış birinci mâddesini işbu mâdde ile düstûrül-amel i'tibâr eder. Rusiyya re'âyâlarmdan biri Cezâyir ve Tunus ve Trablusgarb Ocakları korsanlarına müsâdif olup bunlardan sebbî ve istirkâk olunur ise ve yâhûd zikr olunan korsanlar Rusiyya tüccânmm sefinesini ve yâhûd [C.76-a] mâlım alurlar ise Devlet-i Aliyye, zikr olunan ocaklann üzerinde olan iktidânını i'mâl ile bu vechle esîr olmuş Rusiyya re'âyâlarını tahlîs ve ahz olunmuş sefinelerini ve emvâl ü eşyâ-yı magsûbelerini ashâbma istirdâd ve lâzım gelen zarar u hasârlarını tahsîl etdire. Ve Devlet-i Aliyye tarafından verilen fermânlar Cezâyir ve

Tunus ve Trablusgarb ocakları tarafından icrâ olunmadığı haberi vürûdunda ba'de't-tahkîk ol vakit Rusıyya elçisi ve yâhûd maslahatgüzân tarafından Der-i Aliyye'de inhâ olundukda ol târîhden iki ay i'tibânıyla yâhûd mümkün olur ise daha mukaddem, Hasâne-i hümâyûndan tazmîn ve terâzî [125/b] husûsuna Devlet-i Aliyye ta'ahhüd eder.

Sekizinci mâdde.

Gerek inâs ve gerek zükûr cinsinden olan bi'l-cümle üserâ-yı muhârebe ve sâ'ir esîrler her ne pâyeye ve rütbede iseler iki devletin arâzîlerinde bulundukça Rusıyya Devleti'nde hüsn-i irâdetleriyle tanassur eden Müslimîn ve Devlet-i Aliyye'de yine hüsn-i irâdetleriyle dîn-i Muhammedi'yi kabûl eden Hıristiyânlardan mâ'adâ bi'l-cümle işbu ahid-nâme-i mübârekenin tasdik-nâmeleri mübâdelesinden sonra der-akab ve aslâ bir dürlü bahâne ile tarafeynden bilâ-ivaz u bi-gayr-ı semen azâd ve istirdâd ve teslîm olunalar. Kezâlik giriftâr-ı bend-i istirkâk olan bi'l-cümle Hıristiyânlar Lehlü ve Boğdanlu ve Eflaklu ve Moralu ve ahâlî-i cezâyir ve Gürcüler ve sâ'ir bi'l-cümle ve bilâ-istisnâ, bilâ-semen ü gayr-i ivaz azâd olunalar. Kezâlik işbu musâlaha-i mübârekenin in'ikâdından sonra bir takrîb ile giriftâr-ı bend-i istirkâk olan Rusıyya re'âyâ l an, Devlet-i Aliyye'de bulundukça redd ü teslîm olunalar. Ve kezâlik Devlet-i Aliyye'nin re'âyâ l an hakkına bi-aynîhâ ve mu'âmele-i müteşâbihe üzre hareket etmeğe Rusıyya Devleti ta'ahhüd eder.

Dokuzuncu mâdde.

Eğerci hâlâ musâlaha-i hayıyyenin maslahatı nizâm bulacağı takribiyle âlât-ı harbiyye te'hîr olunup i'mâl-i düşmanâne sudûr bulmayacağı her ne kadar meczûm ise dahi lâkin işbu mu'âhedeyi ba'de'l-imzâ Rusıyya Devleti'nin bu mâddeye dâ'ir baş murahhas kılınan bi'l-fi'l müsteşâr-ı hâssı tarafından der-akab Rusıyya Devleti asâkirinin donanmalannm üzerinde ser-gerdesine ihbâr edüp kezâlik iki ulu devletler [C.76-b] miyâmında sulh u salâh ve musâfat u mu v âl ât karâr bulduğunu Devlet-i Aliyye'nin sadr-ı â'zamı hazretleri tarafından dahi donanmalar ve miyâne-i asâkir-i Osmâniyân'da ifâde ve beyân olunur.

Onuncu mâdde.

Devleteyn beyninde musâlaha-i mübârekenin ve safvet ü muvâlâtm ziyâde takviyyesi zımnında iki devlet tarafından bi'l-ittifak ta'yîn olunacak vakitte cânibeynden alenen fevka'l-âde büyük elçiler ba's u tesyîr ve iki elçiler re's-i hudûdda mu'âmele-i müteşâbihe ile istikbâl olunup Devlet-i Aliyye ve Rusıyya Devleti indlerinde ziyâde mu'teber olan Avrupa devletleri elçileri haklannda icrâ olunan resm-i mu'tâd mûmâ-ileyhimâ haklannda dahi mer'î kılmp ve delâlet-i safvet-i cânibeyn olmak üzre elçiyân-ı mûmâ-ileyhimâ vesâtetiyle şân-ı devletlerine lâıyk hedâyâ irsal oluna.

On birinci mâdde.

İki ulu devletler beyninde işbu şurût-ı mu'âhede rabt u tanzîm olunup tarafeynden tasdik-nâmeleri dahi mübâdele olundukdan sonra Rusıyya [126/a] imparatoriyye askerleri ve ince donanması Devlet-i Aliyye memleketlerinden hurûca mübâşeret eyliyeler. Ve asâkir ve donanmanın bu makûle hurûclannda dahi vakt ü zamânın hâline tatbîk etmek lâzım gelmekle binâen-aleyh devleteyn-i müte'ahhideteyn bi'l-ittifâk, işbu gelecek bin yedi yüz doksan iki sene-i Rûmiyyesi Mayıs'ın on beşinci günü netice ve nihâyet-i va'de olmak üzre bi'l-müzâkere karâr vermeleriyle, ta'yîn olunan vakt-i

mev'ûdda Rusıyya askerleri nehr-i Turla'nın sol yakasına tamâmen ve kâmilten mürûr ve ince donanması nehr-i Turla boğazlarından tamâmen taşra hurûc eyleyeler. Ve Rusıyyalı tarafından istîlâ olunup, işbu musâlaha ahid-nâmesi mücebince Devlet-i Aliyye'ye redd olunacak kılâ' ve memleketlerde mâdâmki Rusıyya imparatoriyye askerleri buluna, işbu memleketlerin hükümet ve nizâmı Rusıyyalı'nın zabtında bulunduğu üzre kalup, cümle Rusıyya askerinin külliyyen hurûclan vaktine değin Devlet-i Aliyye cânibinden memâlik-i mezkûrenin hükümetine müdâhele olunmaya ve bu memleketlerde bulunan Rusıyya askerinin iktitâf-ı me'kûlât ve tedârik-i levâzım-ı sâ'iresine elân amel olduğu üzre kezâlik tamâmen [C.77-a] hurûclan gününe değin amel oluna.

On ikinci mâdde.

Cânibeyn murahhaslan işbu mu'âhedeyi imzâ eyledikten sonra şehen-şâh-ı azamet-nişân-ı Al-i Osmân hazretlerinin sadr-ı â'zamları tarafından ve bi'l-cümle Rusıyyaluların pâdişâh ve imparatoriçe-i uzmâsı cenâblarının dahi baş-murahhas ve bi'l-fi'l müsteşâr-ı hâssı tarafından işbu mün'akd olan musâlaha-i mübârekenin temhîd edecek tarafeyn senedleri yine murahhasların yedleriyle Yaş kasabasında iki haftada ve kabil olur ise müddet-i ekâlde mübâdele oluna.

On üçüncü mâdde.

Hâlâ mün'akd olan işbu musâlaha-i mübâreke-i mü'ebbedenin şerâyitini gerek azametlü şehen-şâh-ı Âl-i Osmân hazretleri ve gerek imparatoriçe-i uzmâ cenâbları tarafından kendü imzâlarıyla alenen tasdik-nâmeleriyle tasdik ve te'yîd eyleyüp zikr olunan tasdik-nâmeleri dahi işbu mu'âhede-i mübâreke nizâm-pezîr olan mahalde akdi târihinden beş haftada ve kabil ise daha mukaddem tarafeyn murahhasları vesâtiyle mübâdele etmek lâzım gelmeğle, işbu mu'âhedeyi cânibeyn murahhasları kendü imzâlarıyla imzâ ve mühürleriyle temhîr eyleyüp beynlerinde mübâdele eylemişlerdir.

Hâtime.

Bu zikr olunan on üç mâddeyi şâmil ahid-nâme ve tasdik-nâmelerin [126/b] vakt-i merkurda mübâdele ve teslîmi hususları şart u rabt olduğu üzre inşaallahü'l-meliki'l-allâm hüsn-i ihtimâm-ı cânibeyn ve sıdk u hulûs-ı tarafeyn ile pezirây-ı hitâm olmak için yedimizde olan ruhsat-nâme-i hümayûn mücebince işbu temessükü terkîm ü imlâ ve mühür ü imzâlarımız ile mahtûm u mümzâ kılup, Rusıyya Devleti murahhasları yedlerine teslîm ve i'tâ olundu. Ve bu zikr olunan temessükde muharrer ve mestur olmağla imdi işbu mevâdd-ı musâfât ve şerâyet-i muvâlât mâdâmki Rusıyya imparatoriçesi müşârun-ileyhâ ve ahlâfı taraflarından mer'î ve mu'teber ve zavâbit u revâbiti tatartuk-ı halelden himâyet ü sıyânet olunarak müstahkem ve mukarrer ola. Taraf-ı hümayûnumdan dahi zât-ı me'âlî-simât-ı şâhâne ve cenâb-ı şevket-me'âb-ı mülûkâneme sezâ-vâr u şâyân olduğu vechle ta'ahhüd olunur ki [C.77-b] şurût u kuyûd-ı musâfât taraf-ı zâhiri's-şeref-i şâhânemden ve ahlâf-ı sa'âdet-ittisâfımızdan ve vükela-yı âlî-makâm ve vüzerâ-yı azâm ve mîr-i mîrân-ı kirâm ve ümerâ ve zâbitân ve umûmen asâkir-i nusret-irtisâmımızdan ve fi'l-cümle ubûdiyyetimiz ile kâm-yâb olan tavâ'if ve huddâmımız taraflarından ri'âyet olunup bir ferd hilâfına vaz' u hareket eylemiye.

Tahriren fi'l-yevmi'l-hâmis ve'l-işrîn min şehri Cumâde'l-ülâ li-sene sitt ve mi'eteyn ve elf. [15.1.1792]. İşbu musâlaha müjdesiyle ordu-yı hümayûndan gönderilen

ulaklara birer sehm mâlikâne ve kürkler ilbâs ve atıyye-i hüsrevâne ihsân buyurulup neşr-i âvâze-i salâh olundu.”³⁴⁷

Apendix-4

“Treaty of Iassi

In the Name of Almighty God.

Her imperial majesty, the most high and most puissant empress and autocratrix of all the Russias, and his majesty, the most high and most puissant Ottoman Emperor, intending sincerely and mutually to put an end to the war which has continued to this time between their respective empires, and to reestablish peace, friendship, and good harmony upon a solid foundation, have thought fit to confide this good and salutary work to the care and direction of their supreme plenipotentiaries; namely, on the part of her imperial majesty of all the russias, the most illustrious and most excellent lord Alexander Count Besborodko, her actual privy councillor and knight of her orders; and on that of his majesty the Ottoman Emperor, the most illustrious and most excellent Lord Jousuff" Pacha, grand vizir of the Sublime Ottoman Porte; to the End that the said work of pacification may be completed by persons respectively chosen, named, and invested with the necessary full powers for stipulating, concluding, and signing the present treaty of peace. In consequence whereof there are chosen, named, and invested with full powers, to wit, on the part of the empire of all the russias, the most excellent and most honourable Alexander de Samoiloff, Lieutenant General of her imperial majesty's armies, her actual chamberlain, director of the chancery of her supreme council, and knight of different orders, Joseph de Ribas, major general of the armies, commander of the galley fleet, and knight of different orders, and Serge de Lascaroff, councillor of state and knight; and on the part of the Sublime Ottoman Porte, the most excellent and most honourable the Reis Effendi, Eiseid Abdallah Birri, the ordu cadissi, called Stambol Effendi, Seid Ibrahim Ismet Bei, and the rousnamadzii Evvel, Mahomet Durri, Effendi; who having met at Passi, have stipulated and agreed to the following articles, for establishing a perpetual peace between the two empires; as under:

Article I.

All acts of hostility shall cease from this time and forever, between her majesty the empress and sovereign reign of all the Russians, and his imperial majesty the grand signior, their heirs and successors to the thrones, as well as between their empires and subjects; as also all enmity, which shall be buried in eternal oblivion; and there shall be from henceforth a perpetual peace by land and sea; a constant friendship and unalterable harmony shall be re-established, and maintained with the most sincere, attentive, and strict observance of the articles of the treaty of peace now stipulated; so that neither of the two parties shall hereafter attempt against the other, either secretly or openly, any unfriendly act or proceeding; and in virtue of the renewal of so sincere a friendship, the two contracting parties grant a reciprocal amnesty and general pardon to all those of their subjects, without any distinction, who have committed any crime against either of the two parties, setting at liberty those who are in the gallies or in prison, permitting all persons in exile, or banished, to return to their homes, with promise to restore to them, after the peace, all the honours and estates which they

before possessed, without committing or suffering others, with impunity, to commit against them any insult, damage, or offence, under any pretext whatever, but that each of them may live under the safeguard and protection of the laws and customs of his country equally with his countrymen.

Article II.

The treaty of peace concluded the 10th of July 1774, in the Year of the Hegira 1188, the 14th of the moon zemaziel evvel; the explanatory convention of the 10th of March 1779, that is to say, the 20th of zemaziel ahir 1193; the Treaty of Commerce of the 10th of June 1783, that is to say, the 20th ridzeb 1197; and the act touching the incorporation of the Crimea and Taman to the Empire of Russia, which declares the River of Cuban to be the frontier, concluded the 28th December 1783, that is to say, the 15th saffer 1198, are confirmed, by this new treaty of peace, in all their articles, excepting only those which have been by the present or by former treaties successively changed; and the two high contracting parties engage to observe them religiously and unalterably, and to fulfil them with good faith and punctuality.

Article III.

In consequence of the second article of the preliminaries, declaring that in future the Dniester shall be the boundary between the two empires, so that from henceforth the frontiers of the Empire of Russia shall extend to that river; the two contracting parties have agreed with each other, and ordain by these presents, that the River Dniester shall constitute the frontier for ever between the Empire of Russia and the Sublime Porte; so that the whole territory situated on the left shore of the Dniester, shall remain in perpetuity under the full and incontestable dominion of the Empire of Russia; and the whole territory situated on the right shore of the said river, shall be restored and remain in perpetuity, under the full and incontestable dominion of the Sublime Porte.

Article IV.

In consequence of this regulation fixed, touching the limits of the two empires, and in virtue of the fourth article of the preliminaries, declaring that all the other frontiers shall remain the same as they were at the commencement of the present war, and that the countries occupied by the troops of the Empire of Russia during this war, shall be restored to the Sublime Porte, with all the fortresses therein, and in the state in which those fortresses now are; her imperial majesty restores to the Sublime Porte, Bessarabia, conquered by her armies, with the fortresses of Bender, Akierman, Kilia, and Ismail, and with the Burghs, villages, habitations, and every thing included in that province in like manner her imperial majesty restores the province of Moldavia, with all the towns, habitations, and every thing included in it, and the sublime ottoman porte receives them on the following conditions, under a solemn promise of perfectly observing them.

1. To observe and accomplish religiously every thing that was stipulated in favour of the two provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, in the treaty concluded in 1774, that is to say, in the year of the hegira 1188, the 14th of the moon zemaziel evvel; in the explanatory convention concluded in 1779, that is to say, the 20th of zemaziel ahir 1193; in the act of the 28th December 1783, or the 15th of the moon saffer 1198, signed by the grand vizir in the name of the Sublime Ottoman Porte.

2. Not to demand or exact from those countries any payment for old accounts, of what nature soever.

3. Not to exact from those countries any contribution or payment in the whole period of the war; but in consideration of the great variety of losses and devastations which they have sustained during the course of this war, to exempt them from all imposts and charges for two years, to be computed from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

4. To grant to the families who shall desire to quit their country and remove elsewhere, free egress with all their property; and, in order that the said families may have sufficient time to give to their near relations, subjects of the Ottoman Empire, or to whomsoever they may think proper, equally subjects of the Ottoman Empire, and to sell their moveable and immoveable property to subjects of the same empire, according to the laws of the country, and for the settlement of their affairs, the term of fourteen months is granted to them for such emigration from their country, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

Article V.

In testimony of the sincerity with which the two high contracting parties seek to re-establish peace and good harmony with each other, not only for the present, but also to secure it in a lasting manner for the future, by removing every thing which might hereafter give the slightest pretext for dispute or coolness; the Sublime Porte promises, in renewing at present the firman formerly issued, to send orders to the Pacha of Ahaltzik or Ahiska, commanding the frontiers, and others, for bidding them, most strictly, to disturb or molest hereafter, under any pretext, either secretly or openly, the countries and inhabitants which are under the government of the Czar of Cartalinia, expressly enjoining them not to disturb the good harmony and good neighbourhood in any part.

Article VI.

Having confirmed, by the 11th article of the present treaty, amongst other anterior stipulations, the act of the 28th of december 1783, concerning the incorporation of the Crimea and Taman to the Empire of Russia, and fixing the River of the Cuban as the boundary between the two contracting parties in those countries, the Sublime Ottoman Porte, as a proof of its sincere desire to prevent in future every thing that might disturb the peace, tranquillity, and good harmony between the two empires, promises and engages solemnly to employ its whole authority, and all the means proper, to restrain and check the people bordering on the left shore of the Cuban, so that they make no incursions into the territory of the Empire of Russia, nor do any damage, injury, waste, or robbery whatever, to or upon the Russian Subjects, or their settlements, or the lands or inhabitants, either openly or secretly, under any pretext what so ever; and that they do not carry away any of the people into slavery: in this view, the Sublime Ottoman Porte shall give the most positive orders to whom it may concern, together with the strongest prohibitions, under the most rigorous penalties, which are to be absolutely proclaimed in those places after the exchange of the ratifications of the present peace. if, after the stipulations made in the present treaty, and the prohibitions declared to the said people, any one of them should still presume to make incursions into the territory of the Empire of Russia, to cause any damage or injury whatever, steal cattle, or any thing else, or carry away Russian subjects into slavery, in such case, after having made

complaint thereof, justice shall be done without the least delay, by restoring what may have been pillaged or stolen. Above all, no difficulty shall be made relative to the restoration of, and search for, Russian subjects who shall have been carried off, making compensation likewise for all expences which may have been incurred, and rigorously punishing the offenders, in the presence of the Russian commissary appointed by the chief who shall command on the frontier. supposing that, contrary to all expectation, such justice shall not be done in the space of six months, to be computed from the day of making the complaint, the Sublime Porte engages to pay out of its own proper treasury, all the expences which those offenders shall have occasioned, in the space of one month after claim shall have been made by the russian minister: provided, that the punishments above specified, for disturbing the repose of good neighbourhood, are nevertheless to take place without the least delay.

Article VII.

Commerce being the true pledge and the most solid bond of reciprocal harmony, the Sublime Ottoman Porte, renewing peace and friendship with the Empire of Russia, in testimony of the sincerity with which it desires that a secure and advantageous trade between the subjects of the two empires may flourish in the best manner possible, promises, by these presents, to observe and follow the 61st article of the treaty of commerce with the Empire of Russia, relative to the Corsairs of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli; and namely, that if a Russian subject should meet with Corsairs of Algiers, Tunis, or Tripoli, and should be taken prisoner by them, or if those pirates should seize a ship, or any effects whatsoever from Russian traders, in such case, the Sublime Ottoman Porte engages to employ its authority with the said cantons for the release of every russian subject, who, in such case, should have been reduced to slavery, and for the restitution of the ship, merchandize, and effects which may have been taken, and for making compensation to the injured party for all the damages which might result therefrom and when intelligence should arrive, certifying the non execution of the firmans by the said cantons of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, the Sublime Porte, upon the requisition of the minister or chargé d'affaires of the Empire of Russia, engages to pay and satisfy the injured party from the imperial treasury, in the space of two months, or sooner, if it can be done, to be computed from the day of the aforesaid requisition.

Article VIII.

All the prisoners of war, and other slaves, of either sex, and of what quality and rank soever, who may be found in either of the two empires, excepting those who in the Russian Empire, being Mahomelans, may have voluntarily embraced the Christian religion; and those who being Christians, may have also voluntarily embraced the Mahometan religion in the Ottoman Empire; all such, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, without any pretext whatsoever, are to be reciprocally delivered up, surrendered, and restored, without any ransom or payment. in like manner all other Christians reduced to slavery; that is to say, Polanders, Moldavians, Walachians, the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, Islander, Georgians, and all others, without any exception, are also to be delivered up, without any ransom or payment. all such Russian subjects as by any accident whatever, after the conclusion of this salutary peace shall be reduced to slavery, and be found in the Ottoman Empire, shall also be restored and given up; which the Empire of Russia promises to observe, with perfect equality and reciprocity, towards The Ottoman Porte and its subjects.

Article IX.

Although, after the cessation of hostilities on the occasion of the happy negotiation of the peace now concluded, no misunderstanding can arise relative to hostile operations, yet, after the signature of the treaty of peace, the supreme plenipotentiary and actual privy councillor of the Empire of Russia, shall give notice thereof to the commanders in chief of the armies and fleets of the Empire of Russia; and in like manner, the supreme vizir of The Ottoman Porte, shall hotly to the Ottoman armies and fleets, that peace and friendship between the two great empires are entirely re-established.

Article X.

In order that the happy peace and sincere friendship between the two empires may be the more solidly confirmed, ambassadors extraordinary shall be solemnly sent on each part, at such time as the two courts shall determine with one accord. -the respective ambassadors shall be received and treated upon the frontiers with an equal etiquette, and with the same honours and ceremonies as are observed in the respective embassies between the powers the most honoured by the two empires. as a mark of friendship, presents suitable to the dignity of the two empires shall be reciprocally sent by the said ambassadors.

Article XI.

After the conclusion of the treaty of peace between the two great empires, and the exchange of the respective ratifications of the sovereigns, the imperial Russian troops and the galley fleet shall proceed to the evacuation of the territory of the Ottoman Empire. But as it is necessary to combine the said evacuation by the troops and the galley fleet with the circumstances of the season, the two high contracting parties have agreed to fix, as the latest term, the 15th of the month of May, old stile, of next year 1792, by which time all her imperial majesty's troops shall pass to the left shore of the Dniester, and the whole of the galley feet shall entirely quit the mouths of the Danube. As long as the imperial Russian troops shall remain in the conquered countries and fortresses, which, conformably to the treaty of peace, will be restored to the Ottoman Porte, the administration and order of affairs shall continue as it now is, under their government, and the Ottoman Porte shall not intermeddle therewith in any shape, till the time of the retreat of all the troops. The imperial Russian troops, to the last day of their retreat, shall receive in those countries all things necessary, and provisions, as are now furnished to them.

Article XII.

The actual privy councillor and supreme plenipotentiary on the part of her imperial majesty, the autocratrix of all the Russias, and the supreme vizir on the part of the Sublime Ottoman Porte, after the signature of the present treaty of peace, by the respective plenipotentiaries, shall exchange at Yassy, in the space of fifteen days, or sooner if it can be done, the hands of these same plenipotentiaries, reciprocal acts, certifying the conclusion of this happy and salutary work.

Article XIII.

The present treaty of perpetual peace happily concluded, shall be confirmed, on the part of her imperial majesty of all the Russias, and on the part of his. imperial majesty the Grand Signior, by solemn ratifications, signed with their hands; which ratifications shall be exchanged by the respective plenipotentiaries, where the treaty has been

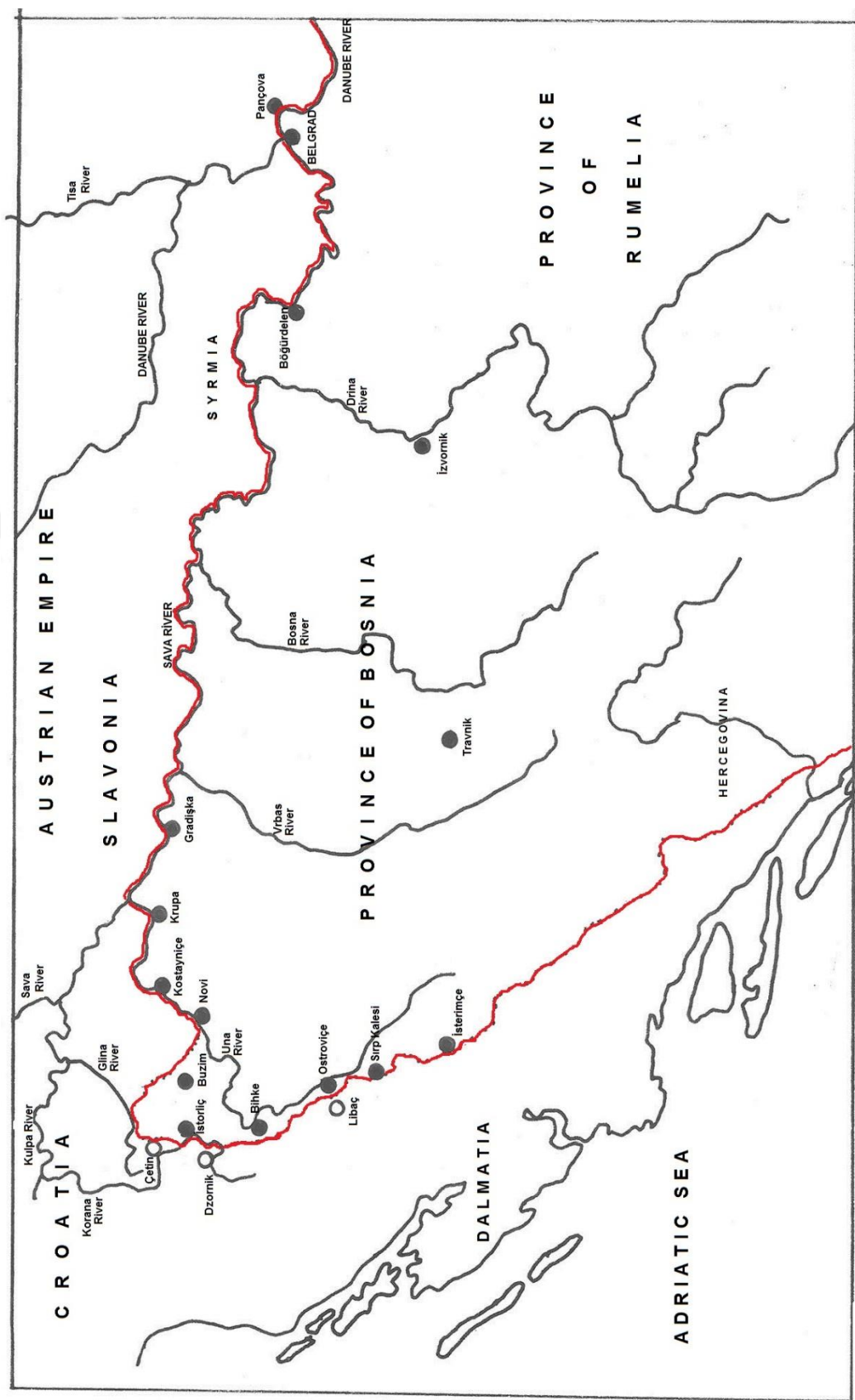
concluded, in the space of five weeks, or sooner if it can be done, to be computed from the day of the conclusion of this treaty, which the respective plenipotentiaries have signed, confirmed by their seals, and exchanged with each other this 29th day of December 1791, at Yassy.”³⁴⁸

Apendix-5

Maps of Ottoman Bosnian Borders after Treaty of Zıřtova

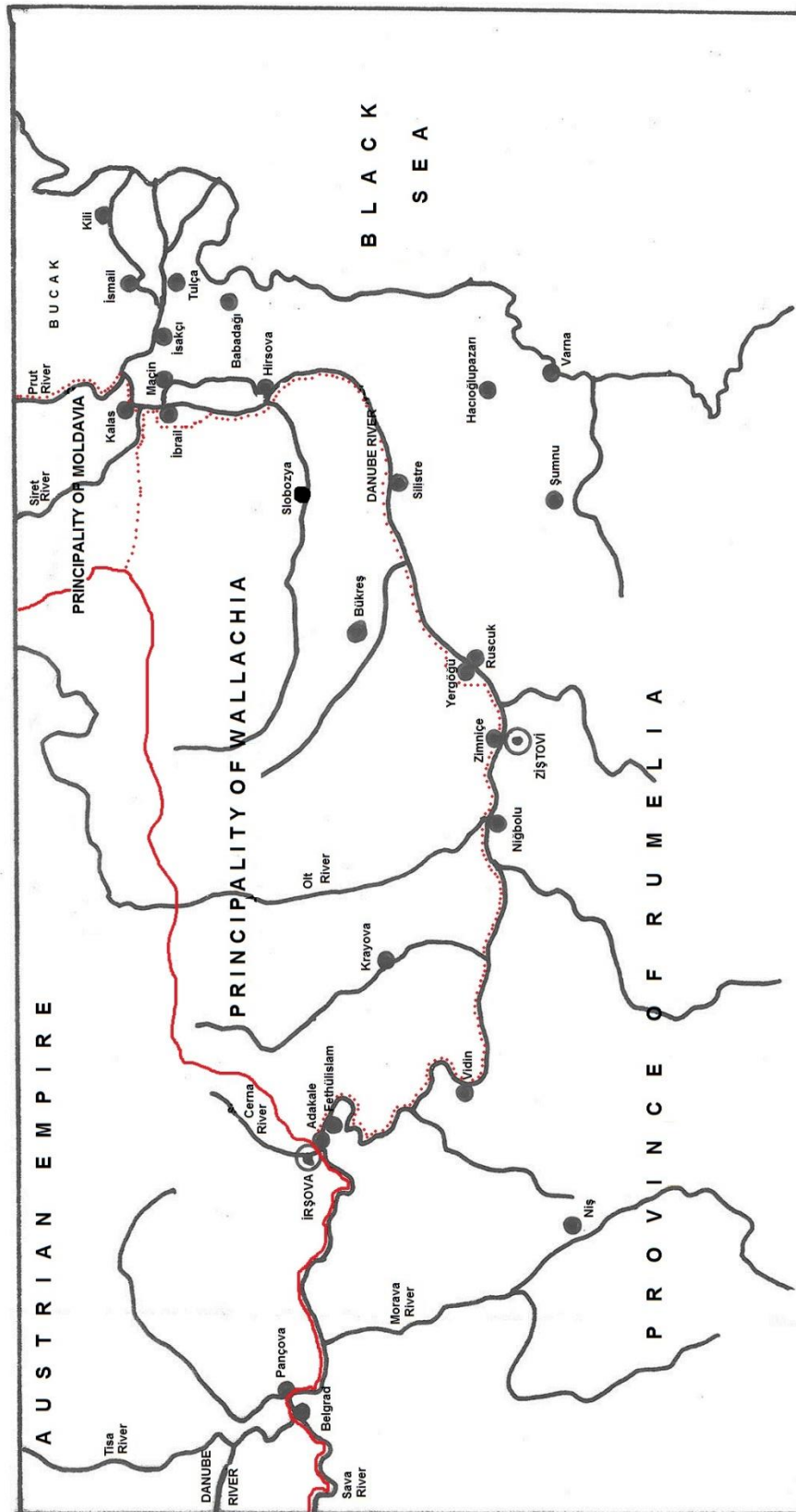


³⁴⁸ Journals of the House of Commons: From January the 32st, 1792, in the Thirty-second Year of Reign of King George the Third to November the 15th, 1792, in the Thirty-third Year of the Reign of King George of the Third. (1803), 820-823.



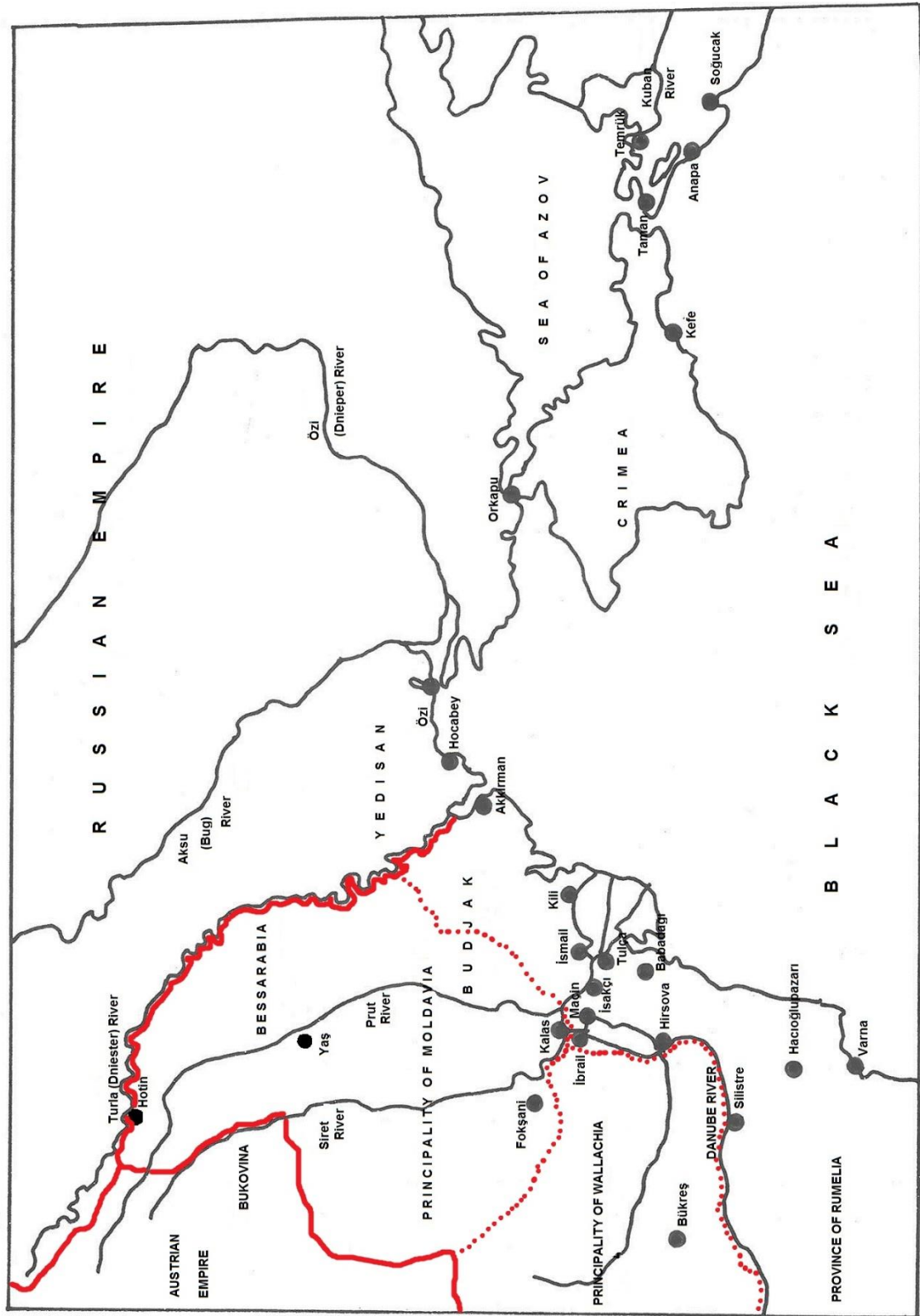
Apendix-6

Maps of Ottoman Wallachian and Moldavian Borders after Treaty of Zistova



Appendix-7

Map of Ottoman Crimean Borders after Treaty of Zıstovi



Appendix-7

Drawing about Zıstovi Negotiations³⁴⁹



³⁴⁹ Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, 371.

Curriculum Vitae

Deniz Kılıç was born in Istanbul in December 3rd of 1990. She was graduated from Department of History in Fatih University in 2013. Before her graduation, she took courses from Universita di Ca'Foscari and Venice International University in Venice/Italy by the Erasmus Programme (Fall Term of 2010-2011). In 2013 she was granted to master's degree in the field of History in Fatih University. At the end of 2014, she became research assistant in Karadeniz Technical University. She is now at the phase of dissertation termination and she is continuing to work in Karadeniz Technical University.

