AN OTTOMAN EMBASSY RETURNING FROM ITS MISSION: AHMED AZMI EFFENDI TRAVELING THROUGH CENTRAL AND SOUTH EAST EUROPE IN 1792

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Abstract: When Azmi Effendi was about to leave Berlin after his eleven months unsuccessful mission an incident occurred that shows clearly how differently his embassy was perceived by the Prussians. Although he was just a permanent envoy with a very specific mission, they considered him as a resident diplomat acknowledging to him all the privileges and rights of an ambassador and among them the authority on all the Ottoman subjects in Prussia. The peculiarity and uniqueness of the Ottoman diplomacy of the time was even more obvious during Azmi’s return journey. As all the diplomatic missions sent by the Sultans till that time were occasionally appointed there were neither exact instructions nor any sort of protocol on their return journey. Thus, Azmi followed the root he preferred, stopped wherever he pleased and came into contact with any government he could on his way back from Berlin to Constantinople. In this way the embassy concluded its return journey, which was conducted more as a private than as an official one. During it all its members had promoted their own interests sometimes totally opposed to the interests of the Ottoman Empire. Some years later the Ottoman state would discover the benefits of the institutionalization of diplomacy and would try to regulate its conduct in order to avoid similar attitudes.

Keywords: Ottoman diplomacy, traveling, Central Europe, South East Europe, Ottoman-Prussian relations, dragoman, Phanariots, eighteenth century

During the Austro-Russo-Ottoman war of 1787-1792 the Ottoman Empire sought for a European ally, as its traditional one, France was neutralized due to its internal problems that led to the French Revolution. The only potential ally was then Prussia. After several months of negotiations, a Prusso-Ottoman treaty of alliance was signed in January 1790, but due to a sequence of reasons the king
of Prussia Frederick-William II refused to participate in the war against Austria and Russia\(^1\). The Prussian minister of foreign affairs count Hertzberg had since 1787 declared his views on an extended remapping of the Central and Eastern European borders (Hertzberg Plan). Thus, he seemed to consider the Prusso-Ottoman alliance only as a means of pressure against Austria and Russia in order these two powers to accept his views on the final settlement of the borders after the upcoming second partition of Poland. Especially, the term of the treaty refering to the obligation of Prussia to declare war against Austria and Russia was useful to Hertzberg only as a threat\(^2\).

In July 1790 Austria and Prussia signed the Convension of Reichenbach, which restabilised the diplomatic relations between them. Among its terms there was the agreement that the Emperor would capitulate with the Sultan on the basis of status quo ante bellum\(^3\). In this way, the Prussians considered that they had fulfilled their obligations deriving from the Prusso-Ottoman treaty as they provided the Ottoman Empire with the chance to take back extended territories occupied by the Austrian forces\(^4\).

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Apart from the above mentioned another decisive factor for the reapproachment of Austria and Prussia at that time was the new and unpredictable phenomenon of the French Revolution. During the first months the Revolution was understood both by Vienna and Berlin as a usual revolt proving the weakness and disfunction of the Bourbons regime. But from the summer of 1790, there was a different approach to the matter in the Habsburg court given that Marie-Antoinette was sister of the Emperor. As far as in Prussia the ideological background of the Revolution was being understood more clearly, there too the support of the cooperation with Austria against the revolutionaries gained ground.

As this was the political background in Europe and the already heavily defeated by the Austrians and the Russians Ottoman Empire hoped only to the intervention of Prussia in order to be saved from a shuttering disaster and the lose of almost half of its European territories, the Porte worried whether Prussia would fulfill its obligations determined by the Prusso-Ottoman alliance. When, indeed, Friedrich Wilhelm von Knobelsdorf, the new ambassador of Prussia to the Porte, declared in August 1790 that as far as it concerned Austria any resolution could not be contrary to the Convension of Reichenbach, the Sultan decided to send an embassy to Berlin under Ahmed Azmi Effendi (d. 1821) to convince the Prussians to participate in the war. So as it is clear the embassy of Azmi Effendi was from the beginning a vain one, as Prussia had decided to remain loyal to the cooperation with the Austrians. No matter what the diplomatic competence of Azmi and his dragoman and councilor Karatzas was, they could hardly make any difference during the eleven months they stayed in Berlin.

Having finished what hardly can be described as a successful diplomatic mission in Berlin, Azmi Effendi began his journey back to the Ottoman capital in the first days of 1792. He had already spent eleven months in the Prussian capital and his basic aim, to convince Frederick-William II to declare war against at least the Russians, was not achieved. Nevertheless, the Russo-Ottoman War (1787-1792) had been stopped and the negotiations had begun at Sistov. Thus, the Ottoman envoy was ordered to return to Constantinople, as his embassy was not a permanent one, but just a mission whose typical role was just to carry the Sultan’s letter and hand it to the Prussian king. No matter how much Azmi and his dragoman Constantine Karatzas had tried during these eleven months to act

7. Ahmed Azmi was chosen because he had served as a member of the previous Ottoman embassy sent to Berlin under Ahmed Resmi in 1763. See Virginia Aksan, An Ottoman statesman in war and peace: Ahmed Resmi Effendi 1700-1783, (Leiden-New York-Köln: Brill, 1995), pp. 70-71.

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as a real diplomatic delegation and practice every diplomatic means available to make the Ottoman views heard by the Prussians they did nothing more than to remain in Berlin with no success on the diplomatic field 8.

In contrast to their poor diplomatic achievements in Berlin they had a lot of entertainment, they expanded their network of diplomats, politicians, scholars and businessmen by making new acquaintances and the dragoman Karatzas found the time to keep a diary of the embassy’s activities from the day they departed from Constantinople till the day they returned. The diary he kept is detailed, extended (its transcription consists of 900 pages) and still unpublished9. It provides valuable information that the relevant Prussian and Ottoman documents lack on the negotiations between the Ottoman embassy and the Prussian officials, his personal contacts and relationships in Berlin, the different understanding of Prussia’s institutions, society and intellectual life between the Greek dragoman and the Ottoman ambassador. It is also the unique source that presents the embassy’s journey to and from Berlin10.

Constantine Karatzas (c. 1735-1815) was a typical example of the middle-class Phanariots, the Greek-orthodox elite of the Ottoman Empire. His father Nikolaos was an official in the Danubian Principalities and an important scholar who possessed one of the larger libraries among the Greeks of his time. Constantine received high standard education and he was trained for a career as official both in the Danubian Principalities and the Ottoman administration. In his early years he served as secretary and later official of the Phanariot Princes


of Moldavia and Wallachia. Before the embassy to Prussia he had had a similar experience, not exactly diplomatic, as he was held prisoner of war in Russia as member of the retinue of the Prince of Wallachia Gregory Ghikas for five years (1769-1774). During the Russo-Ottoman war of 1786-1774 Ghikas as ruler of Wallachia, a tributary state to the Ottoman Empire, had to defend the Russian attack in Wallachia. Instead he cooperated with the Russians and fled to them, but due to the fact that he had his family and property in Constantinople both the Russians and himself presented the generous hospitality he received in Russia as imprisonment in order for him to be able to return to the Ottoman Empire, which he did, once the war was over. In 1790 Karatzas was chosen as dragoman of Azmi Effendi to Berlin under the influence of the Prussian embassy in Constantinople and especially of his father-in-law John Fragopoulos who was the first dragoman of the Prussian embassy for some thirty years. After his return from Berlin Karatzas was raised to the highest office in Wallachia, next only to the Prince of Wallachia, the office of the Ban of Craiova and he was suggested by the Prussian monarch to the Sultan as suitable for the office of Great Dragoman (=undersecretary of foreign affairs). Throughtout his career he kept diaries (1769-1811/1816?). Some of them are published, some are missing and others -as those from the mission to Berlin- are unpublished. The last ones are the most important and Karatzas spent a lot of his time in Berlin to write them down. Especially, during the last months of the embassy’s stay at the Prussian court he had plenty of free time to write his diary as their diplomatic activity was critically reduced11.

The embassy’s departure from Berlin was scheduled in the first place for early September 1791, eight months after its arrival (January 1791). On 26 August Azmi received a letter from the Great Vizier informing him that the Sultan’s decision on his departure was soon to be taken. In early September the Prussians too considered that the embassy was going to leave immediately12. In an informal meeting they had at Potsdam, Azmi asked the Prussian monarch, Frederick-William II to prepare his reply to the Sultan’s letter he had brought due to the fact he had to depart from Berlin at once. On 6 September every detail was arranged for the last audience with Frederick-William II and for Azmi’s departure on 25 and 27 September respectively. But the next day Azmi received a new letter from the Great Vizier ordering him to prolong his stay in Berlin13. The same day the dragoman Karatzas visited the Prussian minister of foreign affairs and

11. See Μηνάογλου, Οἱ Φαναριώτες καὶ ἡ ὅθωμανικὴ διπλωματία στὰ τέλη τοῦ ΙΗ’ αἰώνα [=The Phanariots and Ottoman diplomacy at the end of the eighteenth century].
12. See Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, I. HA GR, Rep. 11, Akten, Nr. 274a, Fasz. 3, fols 130r-134v. Καρατζᾶς, Εφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 101v.
13. See Καρατζᾶς, Εφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 103v.

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the Prussian prime minister in order to inform them of the change of their plans and to ask Frederick-William II’s permission to remain in Berlin after 27 September. The Prussian frustration on the Ottoman diplomacy’s lack of organization and trustworthy behavior was more than clear14.

From early October the embassy’s diplomatic activity was interrupted, as it was considered already absent by the Prussians and the other embassies in Berlin. On 1 November Karatzas pointed out in his diary that Azmi had asked and received by the Prussians the expenses of his return journey (2500 thalers), as this was the agreement between the two sides. Moreover, he underlined another embarrassing practice of Azmi: he had tried to sell the carriages that the Prussians had given them, when they arrived in Berlin, via the Prussian escort of the embassy Ludwig Gross15. Karatzas was so disappointed by the Ottoman envoy’s behavior and the fact that they were isolated from the rest of the diplomatic corps in Berlin that he wrote in his diary for those days: “due to the fact that none consorted with us, I have nothing to write down”16.

On 10 December Karatzas visited Friedrich Wilhelm Graf von Schulemburg, the Prussian minister of foreign affairs and asked the arrangement of their formal last audience with Frederick-William II as Azmi had received the order to depart. Karatzas submitted the same request to the Prussian prime-minister Karl Wilhelm Finkenstein, who instructed him on a last unofficial meeting between himself and the Prussian ministers of foreign affairs on the one side and Azmi and Karatzas on the other. On 13 December every detail concerning the protocol of the last audience was arranged and finally on 16 December they had their last audience with Frederick-William II. The evening of the same day they had their meeting with Finkenstein and the Prussian ministers too17.

As the embassy was preparing to depart an unfortunate incident happened. An Ottoman named Suleyman, who had been captured by the Russians during the war and had escaped to Poland and later to Prussia, had asked Azmi to accept him in his retinue and take him back with him to the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman envoy had accepted him, although he was not obliged by any diplomatic protocol to act this way; it was just his mercy and kindness that led him to that decision. He was not a resident diplomat to have under his protection all the Sultan’s subjects in Prussia. He was just an envoy with a very specific task to perform: to hand the Sultan’s letter to the Prussian monarch and receive his answer. But his decision to show his mercy to Suleyman was proved to be a wrong

15. See Καρατζᾶς, ‘Εφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 122v.
16. «Μὲ τὸ νὰ μὴν μᾶς συναναστρέφεται κανεὶς δὲν ἔχω πλέον τὶ νὰ σημειώσω». Καρατζᾶς, ‘Εφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 122v.
17. See Καρατζᾶς, ‘Εφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 129r-131r.
Suleyman was an ill-natured, crusty and crook person and he had caused many problems to Azmi so that he had asked the Prussians to arrest and keep him for some days in prison. But as he had shown his regret, Azmi excused him and demanded his release which had unfortunately happened. On 19 December Suleyman had left the embassy after stealing money and clothes from its members. Then, Azmi demanded that the Prussians found the burglar’s loot and as far as it concerned Suleyman himself it was totally indifferent to him what they would do with him. Suleyman’s case shows very clearly how differently the Ottomans and the Prussians perceived Azmi’s mission. Although he was just a permanent envoy with a very specific mission, the Prussians considered him as a resident diplomat acknowledging to him all the privileges and rights of an ambassador and among them the authority on all the Ottoman subjects in Prussia18.

On 24 December Frederick-William II showed for the last time his generosity towards the Ottoman delegation sending them more than 900 thalers as his farewell gift. From 26 till 31 December Azmi and Karatzas were paying some last farewell visits to people they had acquainted with in Berlin. On 1 January 1792 the Ottoman embassy carrying the Prussian monarch’s letter of response to the Sultan and many other private letters addressed to members of the Divan and members of the diplomatic corps in Constantinople departed at last from Berlin after eleven months of stay19.

As all the diplomatic missions sent by the Sultans till that time were occasionally appointed there were neither exact instructions nor any sort of protocol on their return journey20. Thus, Azmi followed the root he preferred, stopped

18. See Καρατζᾶς, Ἐφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 132r.
19. See Καρατζᾶς, Ἐφημερίδες (=Diaries), fols 138v-139r.
wherever he pleased and came into contact with any government he could on his way back from Berlin to Constantinople.

The embassy’s first stop after the departure from Berlin was Dresden on 5 January 1792. They stayed at Hotel de Saxe, the best hotel of the city, which was build against the Elector’s palace. Azmi explained to the Saxon officials that visited him from the first time of his arrival that he could not present himself officialy to the Elector due to the fact that this was not a custom of the Ottoman diplomacy and given that his passage through Dresden was absolutely unofficial and unscheduled, as his dragoman, Karatzas, noted in his diary. In any case, he would pay a visit to Frederick August III in case he was invited. This reference to the inability of presenting a diplomat to a foreign court unless so instructed by the Porte as a custom of Ottoman diplomacy is an element suggesting that in spite of the occasional appointments of diplomats a basic diplomatic tradition was already formed in the Ottoman Empire.

On 7 January count Camillo Marcolini, the prime minister of the Elector, visited the embassy. He carried an invitation to Azmi on behalf of Frederick-August
to attend to the evening ball at the palace. Azmi accepted the invitation, but declared that his presence should be considered as just ethimotypical. Few hours later another important visitor arrived at Hotel de Saxe, Frederick Gessler, the Prussian ambassador in Dresden. He excused himself for being able just to invite Azmi for coffee to the Prussian embassy due to his forthcoming return to Berlin. He informed them that the daughter of the favorite and councilor of the Prussian king Frederick-William II, Bischoffwerder, had arrived at the Prussian embassy and that she expressed her will to meet them. Karatzas asked him whether he believed that the Elector would accept the Polish crown\(^{25}\) and he replied that although nothing was certain, his own prediction was that he would accept it. Furthermore, he informed them that Prince Adam Czartoryski was in Dresden in order to arrange the issue on behalf of the Polish nobles. The same evening Azmi attended the ball being accompanied by Karatzas and the secretary of the embassy Moustafa Effendi. There, apart from the typical conversation with the Elector they had the chance to meet many Saxon and foreign diplomats\(^{26}\).

Next day the famous Polish statesman and diplomat Adam Czartoryski visited the embassy. Although he was proficient in Turkish and spoke in this language with other members of the embassy, he spoke French to Azmi and Karatzas. He insisted on asking Karatzas on two persons, Gregory Gkikas and Alexander Ipsilantis, both former Princes of the Danubian Principalities, and Karatzas replied appropriately\(^{27}\). After the meeting with Czartoryski they visited the famous art collection of Grüne Gewölbe, which was one of the most renowned museums. It constituted a part of the palace and was established by Frederick-August I\(^{28}\).

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25. He was Frederick-August III, who reigned from 1763 to 1827 and on March 1791 was elected by the Polish Diet -with the agreement of Austria, Russia and Prussia-as heir to the Polish king Stanislas Paniatowski. When Paniatowski died in 1798, Frederick-August III due to the second and third partitions of Poland rejected the Polish crown. Later, following the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire in 1806, he was proclaimed king of Saxony as Frederick-August I. See Erich Donnert, ‘Les luttes politiques et les tentatives de rénovation sociale en Pologne pendant la Grande Diète de 1788 à 1792’, *Revue des Études Slaves*, 61 (1989), 27-39. Agatha Kobuch, *Das Angebot der polnischen Königskrone an Kurfürst Friedrich August III. von Sachsen durch die Verfassung der Rzeczpospolita vom 3. Mai 1791* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1994), pp. 436-443.

26. See Karatzáς, Ἐφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 142\(^r\).

27. See Karatzáς, Ἐφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 143\(^r\).

28. He transformed Dresden into a cultural metropolis. Apart from establishing Grünes Gewölbe he was a Maecenas of Letters and Arts. He was the first Elector of Saxony, who became king of Poland in 1697, as August II. See *Barock in Dresden. Kunst und Kunstsammlungen unter der Regierung des Kurfürsten Friedrich August I von Sachsen (1694-1733) und des Kurfürsten Friedrich August II (1733-1763)*, ed. by
had only one entrance and nine rooms\textsuperscript{29}. The description of Grüne Gewölbbe that Karatzas provided in his diary is one of the oldest descriptions of an art collection from an Ottoman official and shows extended knowledge of art history\textsuperscript{30}.

Later that evening they attended the ball at the palace of the former Duke of Courland (1758-1763), Charles, uncle of the Elector. There, the Elector’s minister of the interior provided Karatzas with the anti-Russian pamphlet \textit{Du Péril de la Balance politique de l’Europe}\textsuperscript{31}.

On 9 January Karatzas accompanied by Bruggen, Elector’s minister of the interior visited the Royal Library of Dresden and he was impressed. The Library was established in the 16\textsuperscript{th} century, but was at the peak of its acme, when Karatzas visited it. Frederick-August III had spent a lot of money to enrich it. He had bought many important personal libraries, which resulted in a total of approximately 200,000 volumes in the late 18\textsuperscript{th} century. In 1786 the Library was housed in the famous Japanisches Palais\textsuperscript{32} on the river Elb\textsuperscript{33}. Karatzas was particularly

\begin{itemize}
  \item See \textit{Καρατζᾶς}, \textit{Ἐφημερίδες} (=\textit{Diaries}), fol. 143\textsuperscript{v}.
  \item See \textit{Καρατζᾶς}, \textit{Ἐφημερίδες} (=\textit{Diaries}), fol. 143\textsuperscript{v}. The full title of the anonymous pamphlet was: [Jacques Mallet du Pan], \textit{Du péril de la balance politique de l’Europe, ou Exposé des causes qui l’ont altérée dans le nord, depuis l’avénement de Catherine II au trône de Russie}, Londres 1789. It had been attributed both to the French royalist journalist Jacques Mallet du Pan, who was sent from Louis XVI to Frankfurt to reinforce the counter-revolutionary movement among the German nobles, and Claude de Peyssonel.
  \item Japanisches Palais had been built in Neustadt, a suburb of Dresden, in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Its name was given due to the Japanish style of its roofs. It is thought to be one of the masterpieces of barock architecture. In its early days, it housed the Elector’s collection of porcelain, whereas by the time Azmi visited it, it was used as Library, numismatical and archaeological museum. See Walter May, ‘Das Höllandische und das Japanische Palais’, in \textit{Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann. Der Architekt des Dresdner Zwingers}, ed. by Harald Marx (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1989), pp.198-206. Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, ‘The Federzimmer from the Japanisches Palais in Dresden’, \textit{Furniture History}, 34 (1998), 87-111.
\end{itemize}
impressed by its director Friedrich Adolf Ebert\textsuperscript{34}, whose knowledge and competence in Greek language he praised\textsuperscript{35}. Leaving from the Library Karatzas signed the visitors’ book\textsuperscript{36}. After the Royal Library they went to the renowned Galerie of Dresden (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister), which possessed some of the masterpieces of the great painters of the Italian Renaissance (Raphael, Giorgione, Titian, Correggio, Mantega, Botticelli, Parmigianino, Veronese and Tintoretto) along with the paintings of the famous Dutch, Flemish and German painters of the 17th century\textsuperscript{37}. The collection of paintings of the Electors of Saxony existed also since the 16th century, but it was greatly enlarged in the 18th century by Frederick-August I and his son and successor Frederick-August II\textsuperscript{38}. In the afternoon Azmi and Karatzas continued their meetings with various Saxon officials and foreign diplomats residing in Dresden.

The Ottoman embassy left from the capital of Saxony next day and it arrived in Lovosice, on the half of the road to Prague, on 11 January. Two days later it reached Prague\textsuperscript{39}. There, they were informed by the newspapers and some officials Karatzas met that the Russo-Ottoman Treaty of Jassy was signed. Dur-

\textsuperscript{34} Following the common practise of the library directors of his time, he composed a complex volume consisting of both a history and a catalogue of the Library of Dresden. See Friedrich Adolf Ebert, \textit{Geschichte und Beschreibung der Königlichen Öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden} (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1822).

\textsuperscript{35} See Καρατζᾶς, \textit{Ἐφημερίδες} (=Diaries), fol. 144\textsuperscript{v}.

\textsuperscript{36} His signature was spotted by Julia Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister in the \textit{Besucherbuch der Königl. Bibliothek [in Dresden] von 1753-1813}, p. 181, who had the kindness to inform me on the matter. There Karatzas signed as ‘Constantin Caradja Hatman Constantinopolitaine’. See Ίλια Χατζηπαναγιώτη-Σάγκμειστερ, \textit{Ὁ τεκτονισμὸς στὴν ἑλληνικὴ κοινωνία καὶ γραμματεία τοῦ 18ον αἰώνα: οἱ γερμανόφωνες μαρτυρίες} (=Freemasonry in the Greek society and literature of the eighteenth century: the German sources), (Athens: Periplous, 2010), pp. 102-103.


\textsuperscript{39} See Καρατζᾶς, \textit{Ἐφημερίδες} (=Diaries), fol. 145\textsuperscript{v}.
ing the few hours they spent in the city, the authorities sent an official to salute Azmi and to ask him to stay for some days. Then, he told Karatzas to reply that if they wanted him to stay, they should provide him with a daily allowance and a place to house the embassy. Karatzas denied to give such an answer and pointed out to him how embarrassing such a request would have been for the Ottoman envoy himself and generally the Empire. Finally, Azmi was convinced and allowed him to give any response Karatzas considered appropriate. This incident clearly indicates that Azmi considered the embassy’s return as no more than the tour of an exotic troupe, which anyone wishing to see should pay a ticket. After Karatzas replying adequately, the embassy departed the same day and they stayed at a miserable inn at Bechowitz.

On 19 January they reached Hollabrunn and next day Stockerau, on the northern bank of Danube, very close to Vienna. They passed through the Austrian capital on 21 January without stopping as Azmi demanded from the Prussian ambassador residing there, Jacobi-Kloest, to provide him with a place to stay and he refused. They entered Vienna from its suburb Leopoldstadt, (present-day downtown Vienna) and they changed their horses in Langestrasse. Karatzas describes Vienna in his diaries as follows:

“Vienna’s roads are narrow and muddy much more than the ones of Constantinople. Its buildings and fences are made of bricks and they are not so high. This makes its roads less dark (moreover that happens because all the walls are outside plastered). It is built on plane ground, just as Bucarest, its suburbs are of natural beauty, especially in the beginning of the spring, of course Prague’s suburbs are much more beautiful, and as I believe with a better climate.”

40. See Καρατζᾶς, Εφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 145r-v. In his official relation submitted to the Porte Azmi does not mention this dialogue with the authorities of Prague. See Karamuk, Ahmed Azmi Effendi, pp. 246-247.
41. See Καρατζᾶς, Εφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 145v.
42. See Καρατζᾶς, Εφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 146v.
43. Azmi effendi explains in his relation to the Porte that he avoided to stay in Vienna due to the noise of the Austrian capital stating that he chose Schwechat for being a quiet place. The over-night fests and balls the embassy members attended these days that Karatzas mentions in his diaries, are excluded from Azmi’s narration. The envoy excused his two days delay in Vienna as obligatory due to the fact he had to arrange things for the rest of his journey. See Karamuk, Ahmed Azmi Effendi, p. 248.
44. «Ηι στράταις τῆς Βιέννας εἶναι στεναί, καὶ λασπώδερα περισσότερον ἀπὸ τής Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, τὰ κτήρια καὶ οἱ μπινάδες τῆς εἶναι ἀπὸ τούβλα καὶ ὁχι ύψηλα, ἐπομένως δὲν προέζηναν σκότος (ὄντα δὲ καὶ έξωθεν ἁσπία σουβατι-
After stopping to the first station just after Vienna, Schwechat, Azmi accompanied by the Prussian escort of the embassy Gross, Mustafa Effendi and Ali aga, went to Vienna, where he met with Jacobi-Kloest.45

Next day, Karatzas, who had argued with Azmi for his embarrassing requests during their return, as the embassy remained at Schwechat, rent a carriage and visited Vienna on his own. Firstly, he visited the Prussian ambassador with whom he had an interesting conversation on the French Revolution and the attitude of the Prussian king towards the Russian plan of attacking the Revolution. Jacobi-Kloest replied that neither the Prussian king, nor the Emperor were going to attack France and then asked Karatzas about Michael Soutsos and the Armenian dragoman and later ambassador of Sweden at the Porte, Mouradgea d’Ohsson.46 After the conversation Jacobi invited Karatzas for lunch, to which also Azmi had been invited.47

After leaving the Prussian embassy the Greek dragoman visited Fanny d’Arnstein, daughter of the Jewish banker of Berlin Daniel Itzig, whom Karatzas had met repeatedly in Berlin. She had married the Jewish banker Nathan d’Arnstein and was leaving in Vienna. She welcomed him and suggested to accommodate him in her house for as long as the embassy would have stayed outside Vienna. Various Greek merchants visited Karatzas at her house. Later, Fanny and Karatzas toured Vienna’s sight-seeings on her carriage. Firstly, they visited the museum of waxworks and then the famous Viennese park, Prater.49

45. See Karatzas, Ἐφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 147r.
47. See Karatzas, Ἐφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 147r-v.
49. See Karatzas, Ἐφημερίδες (=Diaries), fols 147v-148r.
50. See Karatzas, Ἐφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 147v.
It was there that Karatzas observed that even in the central-European capital a fury for the English culture dominated!

“From there we went to Prater, where is the city’s common place for walk in the summer, but even in winter, when the day is sunny, like today. It is in a suburb with many trees, called Leopoldstadt; it has properly manufactured roads which have well trimmed and very high horse chestnut trees on both of their sides creating a nice perspective for the eye. One of these roads needs two hours to walk and it reaches a beautiful small hill and ends at the Danube. There are many coffee shops all around Prater, which are very crowded during the summer buy selling various drinks and sweets, fruits and other foods. This day there were more than five hundred carriages and some of the English style with their top open (even here there is Englishmania)”51.

After their return to d’Arnstein’s house many Austrian officials arrived. The most important of them was the Emperor’s favorite, Karl von Lichtenstein, with whom Karatzas had a lengthy conversation both on literature and the captivity of the Prince of Moldavia Alexander Ispilantis in Brünn52. Apart from Prince Lichtenstein he held an interesting talk with a French officer, who had served for many years to the Emperor’s army and had participated also to the campaign of 1788-1790 against the Ottoman army. Despite the fact that at that time Selim III and his officials were trying to adopt the European war tactics, because they considered it as superior to the traditional Ottoman one53, Karatzas, who him-
self too considered the European superior to the Ottoman tactics, heard with great surprise by the veteran European officer that it was too difficult for them to face the attack en pelotov, the Ottomans were practicing.

“He told me that it was not so much their inexperience of tactics that drives them to defeat, given that their attack en pelotov is not easy to face, indeed very difficult to handle, and he was an immediate witness of this. The worse is that often one or two from the squad are frighten and leave, and then the whole squad follows them without thinking why they leave; and they do not retreat to gather their forces and fight their enemy back, but they are exterminated in this way sometimes even before the battle begins. If they could somehow avoid that disarray, they would greatly improve themselves” 54.

The same evening, he accompanied Fanny to the redoute, the masked ball (Redoutensaal at Hofburg), where he met unexpectedly another member of the embassy, the secretary Mustafa Effendi, who went there accompanied by a Jewish friend of his from Trieste55.

Next day Azmi, Karatzas, Mustafa and Gross returned from Schwechat to Vienna. They paid a visit to d’Arnstein and then to the Prussian embassy, where Jacobi-Kloest waited for them with many other guests. Among the diners were the British and Dutch ambassadors, who both had served as the representatives of their countries to the negotiations of Sistov56. Both had distinguished among

54. «Μοι ἀπεκρίθη δὲ ἡ ἐνδοξότης του, ὅτι δὲν εἶναι τόσον ἡ ἀπειρία τῆς τακτικῆς ὅπου τοὺς κάμνει νὰ νικώνται, ὡσάν ὅποι ἐφόδος τῶν ἐν πελοτοίν, ἠγουν μπουλούκια μπουλούκια δὲν εἶναι εὐκαταφρόνητος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δυσαπάντητος, καὶ αὐτὸ μόνος του τὸ ἐπεξεργάσθη. Τὸ χείριστον πάντων ὅμως εἶναι ὅποιο πολλάκις ἕνας ἢ δύο ἀπὸ ἀναμεταξύ των συναρπαζόμενοι ἢ ἐκφοβούμενοι φεύγουν, τοὺς ὅποιους ἀμέσως ἀκαλούθητε ἐν ὀλόκληρον σῶμα, καὶ δὲν στέκονται παρέκει διὰ νὰ στοχασθῶσιν διατι φεύγουν, ἢ διὰ νὰ συνέλθουν πάλιν καὶ νὰ ἀντισταθῶσιν εἰς τοὺς ἐχθρούς των, μόνον ἀφανίζονται τοιούτοτρόπως, ἐνίοτε καὶ προτοῦ νὰ ἔλθουν εἰς χείρας. Αὐτὴν τὴν ἀταξίαν των ἀν τὴν ἐδιόρθωσαν, μεγάλως ἠθελαν ὑφεληθῇ». See Καρατζᾶς, Εφημερίδες (=Diaries), fols 148v-v.
55. See Καρατζᾶς, Εφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 148v.
the Ottoman negotiators the Great Dragoman Alexander Mourouzis and asked Karatzas to give him their greetings. Apart from them Jacobi had invited an old friend of Karatzas from Constantinople, the former dragoman and then ambassador of Sweden to the Porte, Mouradgea d’Ohsson57, who passed from Vienna on his journey from France back to the Ottoman capital.

On 24 January, as the embassy departed from Schwechat, Azmi taking with him only Mustafa Effendi went to Preßburg/Bratislava, where he met with Ratib Effendi, who was heading to Vienna as the first permanent Ottoman ambassador to the Austrian court58, according to the Treaty of Sistov. Later, Ratib reciprocated the visit by sending to Azmi his dragoman, John Rossetis59.

They continued their route and on 26 January they arrived at Buda and the next day they passed across to Pest. At the same day they passed through Soroksaar and Örkeny, where they stayed the night60. Next day they passed through Kécskemét and on the 29 January from Szeged. On 1 February they stopped in Temesvár61. Five days later, emissaries from the Great Vizier arrived bringing with them the order to Azmi to fasten his return and reach Sumnu immediately, where the Great Vizier leading the Ottoman army had camped, as he had been assigned the office of the Ottoman ambassador to Russia and had to depart for St. Petersburg as soon as possible. Azmi asked directly Karatzas to follow him as his dragoman to St. Petersburg, but the Greek dragoman politely denied stating that his many debts and his age did not permit such an office to him. Azmi then

57. See Καρατζᾶς, Ἐφημερίδες (=Diaries), fols 148v-149r.
58. See Καρατζᾶς, Ἐφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 149v.
60. See Καρατζᾶς, Ἐφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 149v. Azmi effendi in his relation to the Porte avoided giving any detail on this specific route. He just mentioned that after Buda they arrived at Timisoara without any reference to any station in-between. He just referred to the names of all the other station from Timisoara to Constantinople narrating the rest of the journey in less than one page. See Karamuk, Ahmed Azmi Effendi, p. 248.
61. See Καρατζᾶς, Ἐφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 150v.
replied to Karatzas that he would talk about this issue with the Great Vizier, in order to select his dragoman.

After travelling through small towns and villages of Transylvania, the embassy reached on 13 February Hermannstadt/Sibiu. There Karatzas acquainted with Stamatis Axiotis, one of Mavrogenis officials in Vallachia, who was then serving the Austrians. He also visited the commander of the region, major general Rallis, who was a friend of Karatzas cousin, Prince Nikolaos Karatzas, in order to investigate the case of a messenger Azmi had sent and who was robbed there.

After that, on 16 February, they entered Ottoman controlled lands, where the officials of Valachia welcomed them. Next day they passed from the famous monastery of Kozia, which had been destroyed by the former Prince of Valachia, Mavrogenis. In the Valachian lands most of the local officials tried to avoid welcoming the Sultan’s envoy, as they should. On 19 February their appointed escort by the Prince Michael Soutsos met them at Rimnik. Two days later they passed through Pitesti, where Karatzas found a friend of his as commander. On 24 they arrived at Bucarest, where Karatzas personally received a very warm welcome from Michael Soutsos himself. He points out in his diary that the Prince placed him next to him and did not allow him to take of his hat as a sign of respect. Karatzas spent the next two days with the company of Gregory Soutsos, the prime minister of the Prince and visited some of his relatives in Bucarest. They departed from Bucarest on 28 February and they reached on 1 March Oltenitza, at the bank of the Danube. The strong wind did not permit them for three days to cross the river and pass to Tutrakan. On 7 March, they passed through Hezargrat/Razgrad. Next day they passed from Soumla and on 11 from Karnabat, whereas on 14 they arrived at the town of Forty Churces.

Next day they arrived at the Ottoman camp outside Luleburgaz. There they met with the councilor of Sellim III, Rasit Mustafa Effendi, the Reis Effendi (=OT-

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62. See Καρατζᾶς, Εφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 151r.
63. See Καρατζᾶς, Εφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 152c.
64. See Καρατζᾶς, Εφημερίδες (=Diaries), fols 152v-r.
65. See Καρατζᾶς, Εφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 153v.
66. See Καρατζᾶς, Εφημερίδες (=Diaries), fols 154v-6v.
67. See Καρατζᾶς, Εφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 154v.
68. See Καρατζᾶς, Εφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 155v.
69. See Καρατζᾶς, Εφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 155v.
70. See Καρατζᾶς, Εφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 157v.
71. See Καρατζᾶς, Εφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 157v.
72. See Καρατζᾶς, Εφημερίδες (=Diaries), fol. 158r.
toman foreign minister) Abdullah Beri and the Great Vizier Jousouf pasha. A day later at Corlu Karatzas met two of the Mourouzis brothers, George, who had just occupied the office of Great Dragoman replacing his brother Alexander, and Demetris. On 18 March they arrived at Kallikrateia in Thrace, after passing from Sylimbria and Epivates. Due to the fact that the embassy would enter the Ottoman capital the next day, Karatzas with the permission of Azmi departed on a ship to his house in Constantinople.

This semi-official travel, during which the Ottoman envoy was free to do whatever he wanted, caused a severe delay to the return of the delegation, which of course resulted consequently in delaying the departure of the Ottoman embassy to St. Petersburg, an incident of major importance for the Ottoman diplomacy. In this way the embassy concluded its return journey, which was conducted more as a private than as an official one. During it all its members had promoted their own interests sometimes totally opposed to the interests of the Ottoman Empire. Some years later the Ottoman state would discover the benefits of the institutionalization of diplomacy and would try to regulate its conduct in order to avoid similar attitudes.

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